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Mapping speech kinematics to brain activity with concurrent and time-registered measures of speech movements and brain function

Ioanna Anastasopoulou[1]*,

Douglas O. Cheyne[2,3], Pascal van Lieshout[2],

Blake W Johnson[1]*

[1]Macquarie University, School of Psychological Sciences, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia
[2]University of Toronto, Department of Speech-Language Pathology, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
[3]Hospital for Sick Children Research Institute, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

* Corresponding authors
Email: ioanna.anastasopoulou@hdr.mq.edu, blake.johnson@mq.edu.au

Running head: Neuroimaging of speech motor control

Keywords: magnetoencephalography (MEG), speech movement tracking, speech production, speech motor control

34 **Abstract**
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Articulography and functional neuroimaging are two major tools for studying the neurobiology

of speech production. Until now, however, it has generally not been feasible to use both in the

same experimental setup because of technical incompatibilities between the two methodologies.

Here we describe results from a novel articulography system dubbed Magneto-articulography for

the Assessment of Speech Kinematics (MASK; Alves et al., 2016), which is technically

compatible with magnetoencephalography (MEG) brain scanning systems. In the present paper

we describe our methodological and analytic approach for extracting brain motor activities

related to key kinematic and coordination event parameters derived from time-registered MASK

tracking measurements (Anastasopoulou et al., 2022). Data were collected from two healthy

adults with tracking coils on the tongue, lips, and jaw. Analyses targeted the gestural landmarks

of reiterated utterances /ipa/ and /api/, produced at normal and faster rates (Anastasopoulou et al.,

2022; Van Lieshout, 2007). The results show that (1) beta band (13-30 Hz) neuromotor

oscillations are present and can be readily separated by filtering from the high frequency MASK

coil fields; (2) primary speech sensorimotor cortex can be reliably located in peri-rolandic

regions of the left hemisphere from the beta band signals; and (3) kinematic parameters of

speech movements can be mapped on to neuromagnetic brain signals using multivariate pattern

analytic techniques. These results show that MASK provides the capability, for the first time, for

deriving subject-specific articulatory parameters, based on well-established and robust motor

control parameters, in the same experimental setup as the brain recordings and in temporal and

spatial co-register with the brain data. The co-registered MASK data dramatically improves the

precision and inferential power of MEG measures of speech-related brain activity compared to

previous methodological approaches. This new capability for measuring and characterising

speech movement parameters, and the brain activities that control them, within the same

experimental setup, paves the way for innovative cross-disciplinary studies of neuromotor

control of human speech production, speech development, and speech motor disorders.

Introduction

 In recent years, systematic studies of speech motor control in the human brain have significantly expanded our understanding of the neural foundations of expressive speech. Converging evidence now points to a comprehensive re-evaluation of conventional and long-held theoretical models of speech production (see recent reviews by Hickok & Venezia, 2023 and Silva et al., 2022). This re-evaluation is ongoing and rapidly evolving, but there is an emerging shift away from the traditional Wernicke-Geschwind model's emphasis on Broca's region in the left hemisphere, and towards a greater recognition of the computational roles and network connections of various premotor, motor, sensory, and insular regions of the cerebral neocortex (Hickok & Venezia, 2023).

Much of the information that informs these new models comes from non-invasive neuroimaging techniques, predominantly functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) (Bohland & Guenther, 2006; Peeva et al., 2010; Pang et al., 2011; Behroozmand et al., 2015; Rong et al., 2018; Tourville et al., 2019; Heim & Specht, 2019) and associated techniques including diffusion tensor imaging (DTI) (Forkel & Catani, 2019; Chang et al., 2020; Janssen et al., 2022).

Non-invasive electrophysiology with electroencephalography (EEG) and magnetoencephalography (MEG) have added important detail regarding timing of neuronal processing events (Munding et al., 2016; Salmelin et al., 2019; Leckey & Federmeier, 2019). Finally, recent years have provided an increasing amount of very highly detailed electrophysiological evidence from invasive electrophysiological (electrocorticography; ECoG) recordings of speech motor regions in neurosurgical patients (Bouchard et al., 2013; Ramsey et al., 2018; Chartier et al., 2018; Silva et al., 2022).

Current evidence is clear that spoken language processing draws on a complex set of neural computations performed in a widely distributed set of brain regions (Levelt et al., 1998; Munding et al., 2016; Carota et al., 2022). These computations range from abstract and high-level aspects of semantics and syntactics to the low-level sensorimotor processes that directly control and modulate the overt movements of speech articulators of the peripheral vocal tract (Indefrey & Levelt, 2000; Tong et al., 2022). Experimental and clinical protocols for mapping of expressive speech centres therefore employ a wide variety of speech tasks according to their specific experimental or clinical aims (Salmelin et al., 2019). Speech tasks can be variously deployed to emphasise different aspects of spoken language processing: Story listening, object naming, rhyming, and covert word production invoke relatively high level linguistic processes and have been shown to reliably activate distributed areas of prefrontal, temporal and parietal cortex, including Broca's area in the left hemisphere (Bowyer et al., 2005; Doesburg et al., 2016; Kadis et al., 2011; Youssofzadeh & Babajani-Feremi, 2019; Correia et al., 2020); while in

contrast, non-word/pseudoword tasks are intended to limit the requirements for semantic,

syntactic and attentional processing and elicit neural activity that is more restricted to brain

regions associated with sensorimotor processes (Frankford et al., 2021).

The subject of the current paper is set within the context of low-level speech motor

control: the phonological, phonetic, and sensorimotor processes that fairly directly control and/or

modulate the neuromuscular output to the articulators. In this context, an important

methodological limitation of current neuroimaging research is that, with rare exceptions

(Chartier et al., 2018; Mugler et al., 2018), researchers obtain little or no information about the

actual movements of said articulators. This is a fundamental limitation in light of evidence that

speech (and other movements) is encoded in the form of kinematic movement trajectories in

neurons in primary motor cortical neurons (Chartier et al., 2018; Conant et al., 2018; Kolasinski

et al., 2020). Such essential information is technically difficult to obtain for crucially important

articulators (such as the tongue) which are located out of the line of sight within the oral cavity.

Unfortunately, specialised electromagnetic and ultrasound articulography techniques that are

capable of non-line-of-sight speech tracking are technically incompatible with the scanner

environments used for functional imaging with fMRI and MEG (Anastasopoulou et al., 2022).

In the following, we describe our method for linking speech kinematics to brain activity

using a novel MEG setup. This setup enables us to simultaneously and accurately measure

speech movements and brain function. The system, termed Magnetoencephalography for

Assessment of Speech Kinematics (MASK), can track the independent motion of up to 12

lightweight coils that are similar in size and shape to the tracking coils used in conventional

electromagnetic articulography (EMA). In contrast to the passive induction coils used in EMA,

MASK coils are actively energized by sinusoidal currents, and their associated magnetic fields

are measured by the MEG sensors.

To distinguish between the coil fields and brain activities, we drive the tracking coils at

frequencies higher than 200 Hz, which allows us to separate coil fields from brain activities that

primarily occur at frequencies lower than 100 Hz. To determine the coil positions we use the

same computational algorithms used in conventional MEG to localize and track head positioning

and movement. Line-of-sight is not required, permitting tracking of all oral articulators,

including the tongue.

MASK can track articulator movements at rates up to 50 cm/s (Alves et al.). Spatial

accuracy depends on the distance of the tracking coils from the MEG sensor array. For coils that

are close to the array (like those on the tongue), the accuracy is less than 1 mm relative position

error, similar to the standard MEG head position indicator coils. However, for coils that are more

distant from the helmet sensor array (like those on the lower lip), spatial accuracy decreases non-

linearly to approximately 1-2 mm.

In a previous paper we have described in detail movement parameters (amplitude,
duration, velocity) and interarticulator phase relationships derived from direct MASK
measurements of articulator movements; and have demonstrated that MASK reliably
characterizes key kinematic and movement coordination parameters of speech motor control
with a resolution that is comparable to standard electromagnetic articulography devices
(Anastasopoulou et al., 2022). In the present work we proceed to describe our methodology for
separating speech-related brain signals from MASK signals; for localising these in time-
frequency and space; and for establishing a mapping between kinematic parameters and brain
activities. The scope of the present paper is restricted to a description of analyses carried out at
the single subject level. Group-level analyses are described in Anastasopoulou et al. (2023a, b)
and forthcoming publications.
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Methods

Participants: Two healthy adults participated in this study: S1 (M, 31.6 years; S2 (M, aged 26.5

years). Both participants were monolingual native speakers of Australian English. All procedures

were approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee.

Materials: Speech tracking data and neuromagnetic brain activity were recorded concurrently

with a KIT-Macquarie MEG160 (Model PQ1160R-N2, KIT, Kanazawa, Japan) whole-head

MEG system consisting of 160 first-order axial gradiometers with a 50-mm baseline (Kado et al.,

1999; Uehara et al., 2003). MEG data were acquired with analogue filter settings as 0.03 Hz

high-pass, 1000 Hz low-pass, 1000 Hz sampling rate and 16-bit quantization precision.

Measurements were carried out with participants in supine position in a magnetically shielded

room (Fujihara Co. Ltd., Tokyo, Japan). Five head position indicator coils (HPI) were attached in

the head in an elastic cap, and their positions were measured at the beginning and at the end of

the experiment, with a maximum displacement criterion of < 5 mm in any direction. The coils'

positions with respect to the three anatomical landmarks (nasion, right and left preauricular

landmarks) were measured using a handheld digitiser (Polhemus FastTrack; Colchester, VT).

The occlusal plane was digitised using a plastic protractor with three sensors (Rebernik et

al., 2021). MASK coils were placed at mid-sagittal positions on the vermilion border of the

upper and lower lip, the tongue body (2 cm from the tongue tip) and the lower incisor sensor

which were attached to a thin thermoplastic mould. Tongue sensors were attached with surgical

glue (Epiglu, MajaK Medical Brisbane; Australia), while lip sensors were attached with surgical

tape.

Time-aligned speech was recorded in an auxiliary channel of the MEG setup with the

same sample rate (1000 Hz) as the MEG recordings. An additional speech recording was

obtained with an optical microphone (Optoacoustics, Or-Yehuda, Israel) fixed on the MEG

dewar at a distance of 20 cm away from the mouth of the speaker; and digitised using a Creative

sound blaster X-Fi Titanium HD sound card with 48 kHz sample rate and 8-bit quantization

precision. The higher resolution recordings were aligned off-line using the MATLAB

alignsignals function to the MEG speech channel to bring them into time register with the

neuromagnetic data.

Experimental protocol: Participants performed five tasks, four speech production tasks and one

button press task. Speech productions were non-word disyllabic sequences with a V1CV2

structure, /ipa/ and /api/, and each was produced in a reiteration fashion at normal and faster

rates. The tongue and lip gestures for /ipa/ and /api/ are mirror reversed in phase, providing a

robust behavioural contrast in terms of interarticulator coordination (Anastasopoulou et al.,

2022). Variations in speech rate were used as a control variable to examine the intrinsic stability

of the coordination (Kelso 1996, Van Lieshout et al., 1997). Asking participants to change their

speaking rate (frequency of executed movements) is a typical characteristic of studies which

investigate coordination dynamics (Kelso, 1995, Van Lieshout et al., 1997). The same reiterated

stimuli have

been used in previous studies investigating speech motor control strategies in normal and in

disordered populations (van Lieshout et al. 1997; van Lieshout et al. 2002; van Lieshout et al.

2007; van Lieshout, 2017). Nonword stimuli with no linguistic information avoid familiarity

issues (van Lieshout, 2017) and have been widely used in the literature to investigate normal and

pathological function in speech motor control (Murray et al., 2015; Case & Grigos, 2020).

Participants performed manual button presses on a response pad with the index finger of

their dominant hand at a self-paced rate of about 1 per 2 seconds.

Participants were presented with a fixation cross on a display screen and instructed to

take a deep breath. The stimulus nonword then appeared on the screen for 12 sec. For the normal

rate production, participants were required to utter productions at a normal, comfortable rate as

they would do while conversing with a friend, until the stimulus nonword disappeared from the

screen. For the faster rate, they were instructed to produce the stimuli as fast as possible while

maintaining accuracy (van Lieshout et al. 2002). Following van Lieshout (2007), we refer to the

reiterated productions generated within the span of a breath intake as a "trial set". A short break

was provided

after each trial set. Participants generated about 10 individual productions in each normal rate

trial set and about 12 individual productions in each faster rate trial set. Since 100+ individual

trials (in this case, individual nonword productions) are typically required for downstream

analyses of MEG data, the number of trials was increased to 10 trial sets at each rate. The

recorded productions of a female native Australian speaker were used to train the participants

before data acquisition began. Participants were trained to avoid incorrect speech productions or

head movements, were required to produce each task correctly at the correct rate before data

acquisition began and to avoid eye blinking during the speech production trial sets. They were

allowed to blink their eyes between the trial sets but were instructed to avoid these during trial

sets.

With regards to the manual nonspeech task, participants were asked to rest their right

hand on a response button with two buttons which were associated with the numbers '1' and '2'.

They had to press the button numbered '1' with their right index finger when a '+' appeared on

their screen for approximately every ~2sec for 180sec (see Figure 1B). (Cheyne et al.,

2008; Cheyne et al., 2014; De Nil et al., 2021; Johnson & He, 2019).

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217   **Fig 1 about here**

Analysis:

Analysis of the articulatory signals and trial identification: The articulatory signals were

analysed using EGUANA software (Henriques & van Lieshout, 2013; van Lieshout, 2021) to

identify coil locations, orientations, and signal magnitudes. Movement artifacts were initially

screened out, and subsequent analyses were focused on accurate productions (Case & Grigos,

2020), with errors such as substitutions and lengthy pauses being excluded.

/ipa/ and /api/ productions involve specific movements of the lips and tongue. To create

the voiceless stop /p/ sound, a bilabial closure (BC) gesture is used. The two tongue body

constriction gestures (TB) are used to produce the sounds /i/ and /a/. The BC gesture was

calculated using the two-dimensional (x-y) Euclidian distance of the upper and lower lip

positions, while the tongue body gesture was derived from the two-dimensional (x-y) Euclidian

distance of the tongue body and the nasal reference coil, as described in van Lieshout et al.

(2007). The kinematic and coordination parameters were computed using the methods described

in (Anastasopoulou et al., 2022).

Once the analysis of the kinematics and coordination was complete, the opening and

closing movements of each cycle were identified using the minimum and maximum vertical

position of the gestural and articulatory signals (Van Lieshout, 2017). The amplitude levels of

the opening and closing movements at 10% and 90% were determined for each individual cycle.

Custom-written MATLAB scripts were then utilized to determine the times corresponding to the

10% and 90% amplitude levels of each opening and closing movement of each individual

gestural signal of BC and TB. Finally, the individual times of the onset and offset of the opening

and closing movements were brought into time register with MEG data by aligning the acoustic

signal of the MASK acquisition signal and the acoustic signal recorded in the MEG adult

acquisition computer, as shown in Figure 2.

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247   **Fig 2 about here**

Analysis of MEG signals:

Speech Motor Cortex Localiser: The *BrainWave* MATLAB toolbox (Jobst et al., 2018;
cheynelab.utoronto.ca/brainwave) was used for analysis of MEG data. As an independent
localiser, the onset of each individual trial was identified based on the onset of the closing
movement of the BC gestural signal. For each production task, continuously recorded MEG
signals were sequenced into 15 second epochs (5 sec pre and 10 sec post stimuli locked). All
epoched data sets were low pass filtered from 0 – 100 Hz. For the source analysis, each
participant's individual MRI coregistered with the MEG source localisation and normalised into
standard adult MNI template space using SPM8 (Welcome Institute of Cognitive Neurology).

Multivariate pattern analysis of MEG data: Using source reconstructed MEG time series
("virtual sensor" data) extracted from the localiser voxel locations, we used the multivariate
pattern analysis toolbox MVPA-light (Treder, 2020) to map the effects of speech movement
variables on neuromagnetic brain signals.

Results

MASK tracking signals. Figure 3 displays acoustic recordings and tracking signals of the tongue

body (TB) and bilabial closure (BC) from Participant 1 for a single trial of each of the four

speech production tasks. The participant produced 14 utterances of /ipa/ and /api/ at a normal

speaking rate and 18-19 utterances at a faster rate.

The contrast between the mirrored positions of the tongue and lips in /ipa/ and /api/ is

clearly observed in both the MASK and EMA measurements of tongue and lip gestures. Peaks

and valleys in Figure 3 indicate the high and low positions achieved by the BC and TB gestures

during the production of /api/ and /ipa/. Valleys occur during the bilabial constriction gesture and

the tongue body gesture for /i/, while peaks occur for the tongue body gesture of /a/. In /api/, the

/p/ closure occurs during the upward motion of the TB, going from the low /a/ to the high /i/

position. On the other hand, in /ipa/, the /p/ closure occurs during the downward motion of the

TB, going from the high /i/ to low /a/ position. The gestural movements of /ipa/ and /api/ are

mirror images, with the relative timing of the motions of TB and BC gestures reversed.

Overall, the TB and BC tracking signals measured with MASK are entirely comparable

in morphology and quality with those obtained from a conventional electromagnetic

articulography setup (please see Anastasopoulou et al., 2022, for a direct comparison of MASK

and EMA signals measured during the same utterances described here).

Fig 3 about here

Derived kinematic profiles. The next stage in our analysis pipeline involves generating profiles

that capture the relationships between key kinematic parameters of BC and TB gestures.

Specifically, we examine the amplitudes, durations, velocities, and stiffnesses of gestural

movements, as these parameters are known to covary in highly consistent ways and reflect

"invariant" properties of speech kinematic movements. These invariant properties are crucial in

understanding the motor control of human speech.

Figure 4 illustrates the covariation of these kinematic parameters for /ipa/ and /api/ for

two participants. Our analysis shows that movement peak velocity increases as a linear function

of movement amplitude, indicating that larger movement distances are associated with higher

peak speeds. Furthermore, we observe comparable amplitude/velocity relationships for opening

and closing movements, suggesting that these parameters are controlled similarly regardless of

movement direction. This roughly linear relationship between amplitude and peak velocity is a

well-established characteristic of speech kinematics, and has been described for a variety of

articulators, gestures, and utterances (33,38). Regarding the stiffness vs. duration relationship,

our results indicate that stiffness systematically decreases as a curvilinear function of durations

less than 200 ms, after which the relationship plateaus into a relatively flat line.

Fig 4 about here

Gestural phase relationships. The preceding analyses have focussed on the kinematic properties

of individual speech movements, we will now shift our attention to the coordinative properties of

articulator movements within and between speech gestures. Coordination in speech motor

control is typically defined in terms of relative timing, as indicated by the relative phase between

two articulators or two gestures [(26, 28, 39); for alternative conceptualizations of coordination

see for e.g., Pearson and Pouw (40) and Vilela Barbosa et al. (41)].

van Lieshout et al. (26) distinguished between two types of coordination: "intra-gestural

coordination," which is based on relative phase signals between upper and lower lip movements,

and "inter-gestural coordination," which involves relative phase calculations between the TB and

BC gestures. We computed TB vs. BC phase coordination for both the /ipa/ and /api/ tasks.

We would expect the relative timing of the UL and LL to remain consistent across

different speaking rates to ensure intelligibility. As expected, the intra-gestural coordination of

UL and LL in the three speech tasks (Figure 5, top panel) showed highly similar relative phase

relationships across normal and faster speech rates in both participants. These findings suggest

that the relative timing of lip movements is highly stable for a given gesture in a specific

phonetic context within a particular speaker (see also Anastasopoulou et al., 2022).

As mentioned earlier in the raw tracking results, the gestural movements of /ipa/ and /api/

can be seen as mirror images, with the relative motions of the tongue body and BC gestures

reversed. This reversal is evident in the inter-gestural timing plots of Figure 5 (bottom panel) for

both participants. Notably, both participants exhibit highly similar relative phase values for

individual productions, which are consistent across speaking rates. Therefore, the patterns of

relative phase across the four gestures plotted are highly comparable. These inter-gestural

patterns are also comparable to the inter-gestural patterns described for the same gestures by van

Lieshout et al. [(26), Figure 9]. Overall, our results and the findings of van Lieshout et al. (26)

suggest that inter-gestural coordination is a highly stable motor control parameter both within

and between participants for these types of tasks.

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335   **Fig 5 about here**

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Speech-related brain signals. We now turn our attention to extraction of the neural signals

contained in the MEG-MASK measurements. As noted previously, the bulk of known

EEG/MEG brain responses reside at relatively low frequencies (sub-100 Hz) of the overall

frequency spectrum and can thus be readily separated from the (> 250 Hz) MASK tracking

signals by low pass filtering.

This component of our analysis pipeline proceeds in two successive phases: *Localisation*,

followed by *classification*. In the localisation phase we begin with a formidably high

dimensional analysis space (several thousand spatial voxels) and aim for a highly reduced subset

of brain regions to provide the focus for subsequent analyses. In the present context our spatial

region of interest (speech motor cortex) is localised by applying synthetic aperture (SAM)

beamforming to 15 seconds duration MEG segments encompassing 10 seconds prior to and 5

seconds after speech trial onsets. To maximise the number of trials (and consequently, the signal

to noise ratio) in this analysis we use trial sets from all four speech tasks (for a total of 40 trial

sets). Figure 6 shows that the SAM beamformer cluster maxima encompass the middle portion of

the prefrontal gyrus (mPFG) and the immediately adjacent region of the middle frontal gyrus

(MFG), both established areas of low-level speech motor control (Silva et al., 2022). The

anatomical localisation of the mPFG is nicely supported by comparison with the SAM

beamformer map for the button press task, which shows a cluster maximum in the hand knob of

the immediately dorsal region of precentral gyrus.

Physiological activities at the locations of the SAM beamformer cluster maxima are

visualised in the "virtual sensor" time frequency plots below their respective brain maps. For the

button press task the time-frequency plot shows the well-established pattern of beta-band (13-30

Hz) desynchronisation, starting several hundred ms before the button press, persisting for several

hundred ms after, and followed by a "rebound" beta synchronisation at about 600-700 ms after

the button press.

A comparable pattern of beta band activity is evident in the speech virtual sensor plot,

keeping in mind the different time scales (1.5 sec for button press, 15 sec for speech) and

movement requirements (a single punctate button press versus 10 seconds of steady state,

reiterated speech) of the two tasks. Beta band desynchronisation begins several hundred ms

before speech onset and persists for the duration of the speech movements. Note that in this plot

the baseline of the colour scaling (the five second inter trial set rest period) was chosen to

emphasise event-related desynchronisation. Baselining to the speaking portions of the epoch will
emphasise the event-related synchronisation during the rest period).

Taken together, the results of the localisation procedure provide a focussed and well-
grounded target for subsequent analyses that can incorporate the kinematic and coordination
parameters derived from MASK. The plausibility of the mPFG/MFG target is well-supported by
the time-frequency characteristics of the virtual sensor and its anatomic location immediately
dorsal to the established landmark of the PFG hand knob, independently localised with data from
the button press task: a task that has been long established to provide highly reliable beta-band
activations located in the hand regions of the sensorimotor cortices (Cheyne, 2014).

The speech-related plausibility of the mPFG/MFG region is also strongly supported by
recent evidence from invasive neurosurgical studies of expressive speech function. The region of
the precentral gyrus located immediately ventral to the hand motor region of the precentral gyrus
has been functionally defined in neurosurgical studies and termed middle precentral gyrus
(midPrCG). It has been posited that this region functions to coordinate complex phonological
sequences into motor plans (Silva et al., 2022). Further, the coactivation of the posterior region
of the middle frontal gyrus (pMFG) in our results is to be expected since this region that is
tightly functionally associated with the midPrCG (Glasser et al., 2016).

Finally, we can assert that the results of the localiser procedure are highly robust and
reliable across participants. In separate reports (Anastasopoulou et al., 2023a; Anastasopoulou et
al., 2023b) we have reported group localiser results for a sample of 10 healthy adults.

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391 **Fig 6 about here**
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Mapping speech movement parameters to brain activity. At this stage of the analysis pipeline,
we have separate sets of well-defined movement and brain parameters, and the remaining task is
to reconcile these into an integrated representation of the relationship between brain activities
and overt speech movements. As our goal here is to probe for and identify salient neural activity
patterns, the underlying logic of our analytic approach is to treat the movement parameters as
independent variables and the temporally associated MEG measurements as the outcome
variables.

Figure 7 shows the patterning of MEG neural activity in participant S1133 resulting from
application of a simple binary classifier, using the production variable (/ipa/ versus /api/) as the
classifier variable. At the normal speaking rate, classification accuracy is clearly maximally
clustered within the beta band, supporting the relevance of this neuromotor oscillation to the

speech movement variables (as noted previously, the /ipa/ and /api/ productions require mirror

symmetric relative phases of the TB and BC gestures). Interestingly, at the faster speaking rate,

the classification accuracy cluster maxima shifts to a distinctly higher frequency within the beta

band, and with an increase in the prominence of a frequency cluster in the mu-band, another

prominent and well-established rhythm of the central sensorimotor cortices (Cheyne, 2014).

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412   **Fig 7 about here**

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Conveniently, the multivariate pattern analysis approach can readily accommodate high

dimensional classifications as well. To extend analyses from the simple binary classifications

described above, techniques such as Representational Similarity Analysis (RSA) are now

commonly employed in neuroimaging analyses. In RSA pattern classification is based on

dissimilarities in brain activity obtained between each pair of experimental conditions in a multi-

level experimental design (Kriegeskorte, 2008; Kriegeskorte & Kievit, 2013). Previous studies

have successfully applied RSA to tracking data of hand movements (Kolasinski et al., 2020),

articulator movements during vowel production (Carey et al., 2017), and acoustic measurements

during speech production. (Zhang et al., 2020).

Figure 8 illustrates this approach with an RSA dissimilarity matrix derived from the

amplitude/velocity and duration/stiffness plots for bilabial closure gesture for participant S1119

in Figure 4. Expressed as velocity distances as a function of amplitude, the Figure 8

representation (left) retains the roughly linear increase in magnitude as a function of amplitude.

This linearity is visually obvious when one considers amplitude excursions between about 5-10

mm relative to all other amplitudes since the bulk (about 55%) of data points fall within this

range. As may be anticipated from the curvilinear stiffness/duration X/Y plot of Figure 4, the

stiffness dissimilarity representation is strikingly different, with a roughly linear increase in

stiffness distances for durations less than about 50ms; and differences approaching zero at longer

durations, reflecting the plateau portion of stiffness duration in Figure 4.

From this point the implementation of RSA multivariate pattern analysis to the time-

registered neuromagnetic data is straightforward: in simple terms, the ensuring classification of

neural data will attempt to find the best match of neural activity patterns to the behavioural

patterns represented in the dissimilarity matrices. According to the specific aims of a given

experiment, multivariate pattern analysis can be deployed to identify matching patterns of

activity in space ("spatial spotlight" analysis); or alternatively, to extract time series from a

predefined region of interest (specified by the localiser analysis in the preceding) and identify

matching patterns of activity in time ("temporal spotlight" analysis).

Since multivariate analyses typically require higher levels of physiological signal to noise

ratios relative to simple binary contrasts, and since the scope of the present technical paper is

restricted to single subject (level 1) analysis, we defer a description of the application of the RSA

classification analyses to neuromagnetic data to a forthcoming report on a statistically tractable

group of participants.

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450   **Fig 8 about here**

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Discussion

In the current paper we have outlined and described the technical capabilities of MASK-MEG at

an individual participant level, for measuring and characterising speech movement kinematics

and coordinative dynamics; for spatial localisation of anatomically pertinent regions of interest

within the widely distributed brain language network; for frequency localisation of

physiologically relevant sensorimotor brain signals; and for mapping of the high dimensional

space of derived kinematic parameters on to temporally co-registered physiological signals.

MASK-MEG addresses an important gap in current neuroscientific capabilities for

studying expressive language function in the human brain. While we possess robust and well-

established methods for measuring and characterising overt movements of the speech

articulators, and highly sophisticated equipment and methods for defining the brain activities that

control these movements, the two methodologies are not readily or easily combined within a

single experimental setup. As a result, speech movement tracking and speech neuroimaging

methods have largely evolved within separate laboratories -- even separate disciplines -- and

there remains no easy way to co-register and reconcile the different types of information that are

derived from them. The advent of neuroimaging-compatible speech tracking technologies such

as MASK opens a new window for integrative studies of human speech motor control,

combining precision measures of overt speech behaviours with temporally co-registered and

spatially localised measures of brain function.

Recent results from invasive ECoG studies of human neurosurgical patients provide

compelling reasons to believe that such integrative capabilities will be important for future

progress in understanding speech motor control. For example, Chartier et al. (2018) obtained

direct cortical recordings of human speech sensorimotor cortex together with (inferred)

articulatory kinematics derived from a recurrent neural network based articulatory inversion

technique which learned a mapping from produced speech acoustic to a speaker generic

articulator space. These authors reported that individual electrodes preferentially encoded

articulatory kinematic trajectories, reflecting coordinated articulator movements toward specific

vocal tract shapes. Such observations obviously converge neatly with and provide strong support

for current theoretical conceptualisations of articulatory phonology and task dynamics

(Saltzman, 1986; Browman & Goldstein, 1992; Goldstein & Fowler, 2003). As such, it seems

clear that concurrent speech movement tracking and non-invasive neuroimaging should provide

richer datasets with mutually reinforcing inferential power and precision relative to experiments

that currently are largely conducted with only one or the other measure of speech motor control.

These new technical capabilities also have clear clinical relevance for advancing our

understanding and treatment of developmental and acquired disorders of speech. Speech-sound

difficulties are the most common problems encountered by paediatricians and present formidable

social, educational and employment obstacles in cases where these problems cannot be readily
treated and resolved. Childhood apraxia of speech (CAS) is an intriguing example of a highly
debilitating and persistent disorder of speech development whose origins are considered to lie
within the brain mechanisms responsible for coordinating and sequencing speech movements,
but whose study with conventional neuroimaging approaches has so far proved highly resistant
to establishing any clear connection to any particular brain region. In such cases, the capability to
directly map speech kinematic and coordination function in speech motor control centres within
highly focal and specific brain regions promises to provide more powerful insights into the
origins of speech problems in CAS (and conversely, into why speech development proceeds
more smoothly in most other children). Similarly, acquired apraxias of speech are a common and
debilitating outcome of strokes and other brain injuries. The greater functional specificity of
MASK-MEG has a clear bearing on studies aimed at understanding the nature and degree of
functional compromise and plastic capabilities in the brain of these patients.

Author Contributions

IA conducted the experiment. IA and BJ analyzed the data. All authors conceived, designed the

experiment, discussed the results, wrote, and edited the manuscript.

Data Availability Statement

The raw data supporting the conclusions of this article will be made available by the authors,

without undue reservation.

Funding

This work was supported by a Child Development Fund Research Grant (Ref. no. 2532 – 4758)

and a Discovery Project Grant (DP170102407) from the Australian Research Council.

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Experimental procedures. **A.** Speech task. Instructions were displayed for 30s,

followed by a 5s fixation cross '+' and breath intake in preparation for the speech production

trial set. During a trial set participants produced the indicated nonword in a reiterated fashion for

12s. 10 consecutive trial sets were performed for each nonword stimulus. **B.** Button press task.

Instructions were displayed for about 30s followed by a fixation cross, during which participants

performed self-paced button pressed with the index finger of their dominant (right) hand at a rate

of about 1 per 2 seconds for a total of about 90 trials.

Figure 2: Temporal alignment of MEG and MASK signals. MASK (PsiFi) articulatory signals

are brought into register with the MEG brain data using the MATLAB *alignsignals* function on

the MEG and PsiFi acoustic signals (top and second rows).

Figure 3. Representative acoustic and kinematic measurements from MASK. Data are shown for

two participants for a single /ipa/ trial set at normal and faster speaking rates. Shown are (from

top to bottom) waveforms for the audio signal, tongue body (TB) gesture, and bilabial

constriction (BC) gesture.

Figure 4. Covariation of kinematic parameters of speech movements for two participants. Left

columns: Velocity versus amplitude. Right columns: Stiffness versus duration. BC = bilabial

closure. TB = tongue body.

Figure 5. Intra- and inter-gestural coordination in /ipa/ and /api/ productions, indexed by relative

phase. UL = upper lip, LL = lower lip, BC = bilabial closure, TB = tongue body.

Figure 6. Localisation of speech motor cortex. *Left: Anatomical Landmarks*. 1 – Hand regions

of precentral gyrus (hand knob); 2 – Hand region of postcentral gyrus; 3 – Middle precentral

gyrus; 4 – Middle frontal gyrus; 5 – Rolandic fissure; 6 – precentral gyrus; 7 – postcentral gyrus.

Top right panel: *SAM beamformer maps*. Button press task elicited activation of hand region of

pre (motor) and postcentral (somatosensory) gyri. Speech task shows maximal activation in

middle precentral gyrus, immediately ventral to the hand motor region of the precentral gyrus.

Speech activation cluster also encompasses the middle frontal gyrus immediately adjacent to the

middle precentral speech region. Bottom right panel: Time-frequency plots showing temporal

evolution of oscillatory responses at virtual sensors placed at locations of cluster maxima shown

above.

Figure 7. Binary classification (/ipa/ vs. /api/) for time-frequency data for S1133. Classification

accuracy is plotted as a function of time and frequency.

Figure 8. Representational Similarity Analysis (RSA) matrices of bilabial closure kinematic

parameters for S1119. Left: Velocity distance matrix. Right: Stiffness distance matrix. These

distance matrix representations can be readily interpreted with respect to xy plots of Fig. 4:

Velocity distances increase as a linear function of amplitude distances. In contrast, stiffness

distances are largest at smaller durations and plateau thereafter.

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S1119 /ipa/ normal

'--' BC onset of closing movement
':' BC offset of closing movement
'--' TB onset of closing movement
':' TB offset of closing movement

Button Press

Speech