# HOW ARE SPEECH SOUNDS REPRESENTED IN LONG TERM MEMORY?

Diogo Almeida

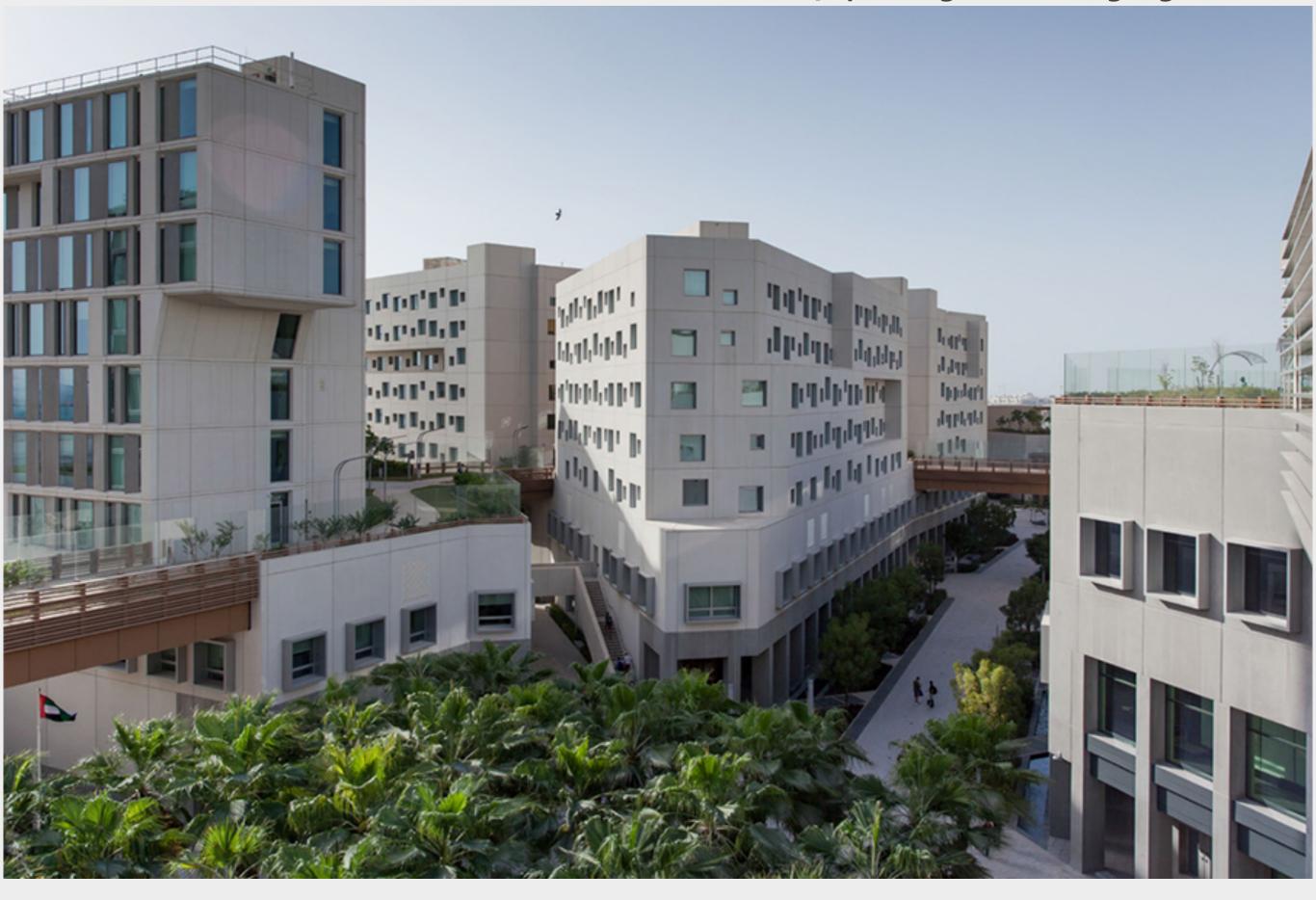
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جامعــة نيويورك أبـوظــي





students from over 80 countries, speaking 80-100 languages



# 01 THE METHODS

## GOAL:

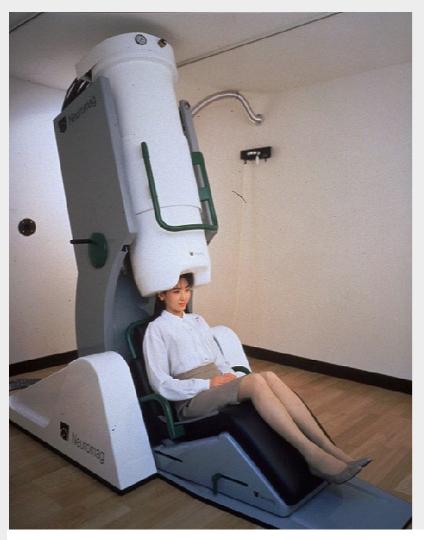
BRAIN DATA→STRUCTURE OF THE MIND

TODAY: SPEECH SOUNDS IN LONG TERM MEMORY

### ELECTROMAGNETISM:

ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPHY (EEG)
MAGNETOENCEPHALOGRAPHY (MEG)

MEG







### **ELECTROMAGNETISM**

Millisecond temporal resolution.

Neurons communicate thousands of times per second by sending each other tiny electrical impulses

Populations of neurons are connected into networks

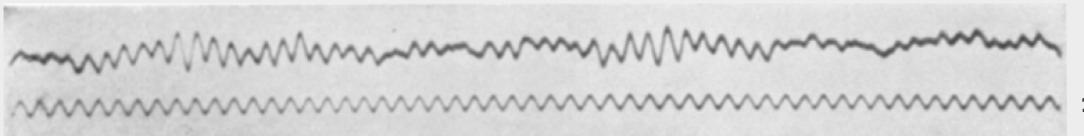
When networks fire in *synchrony*, the dynamics of the electric activity can be detected and recorded outside the skull.

### First EEG recording in a human.

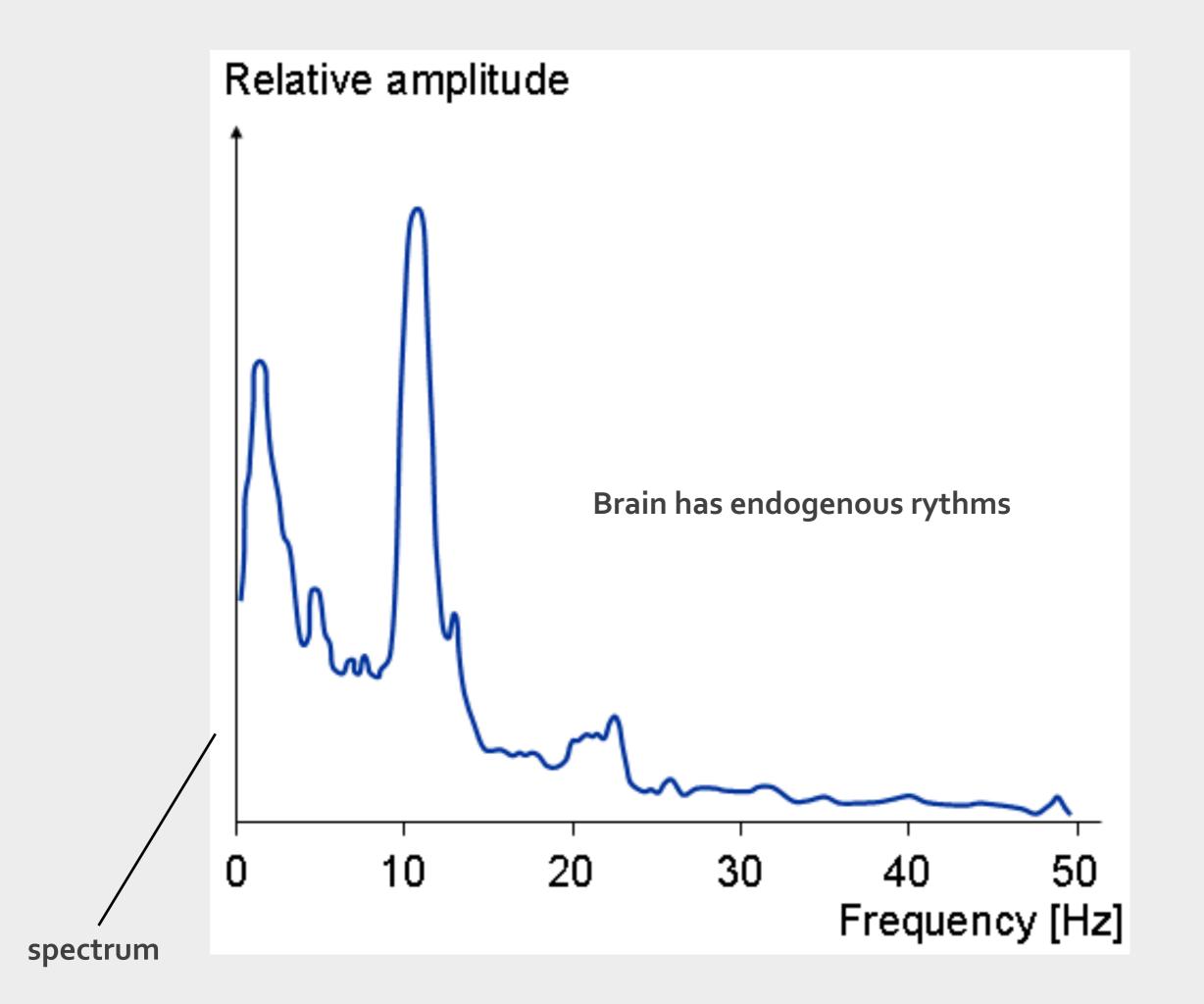


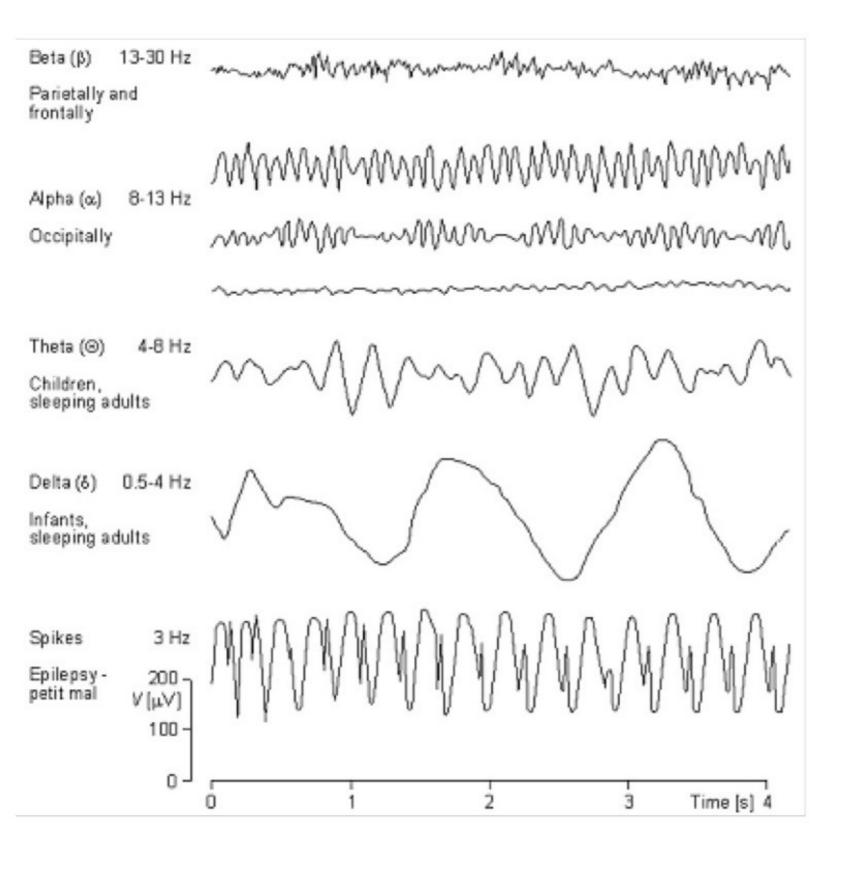


Hans Berger (1924/1929)



EEG10 Hz ref signal





- Delta 0.5-4 Hz
- Theta 4-8 Hz
- Alpha 8-13 Hz
- Beta 13-30 Hz
- Gamma 30-50 Hz

Brain rythms might reflect different consciousness/mood states

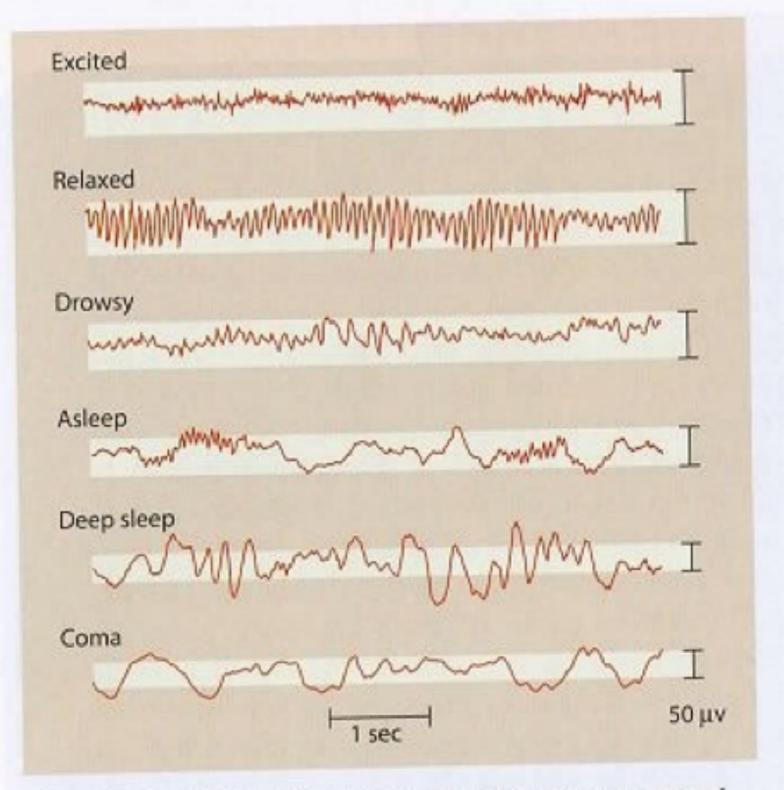
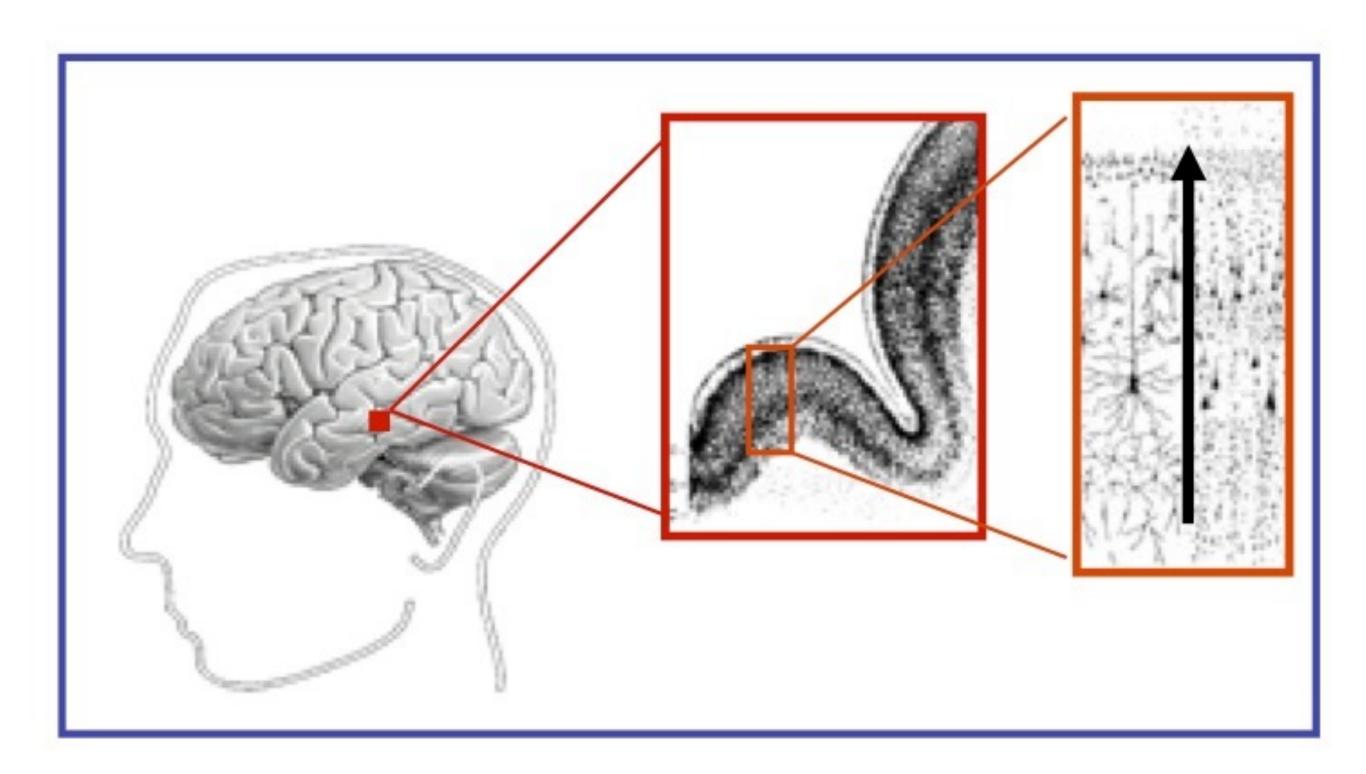
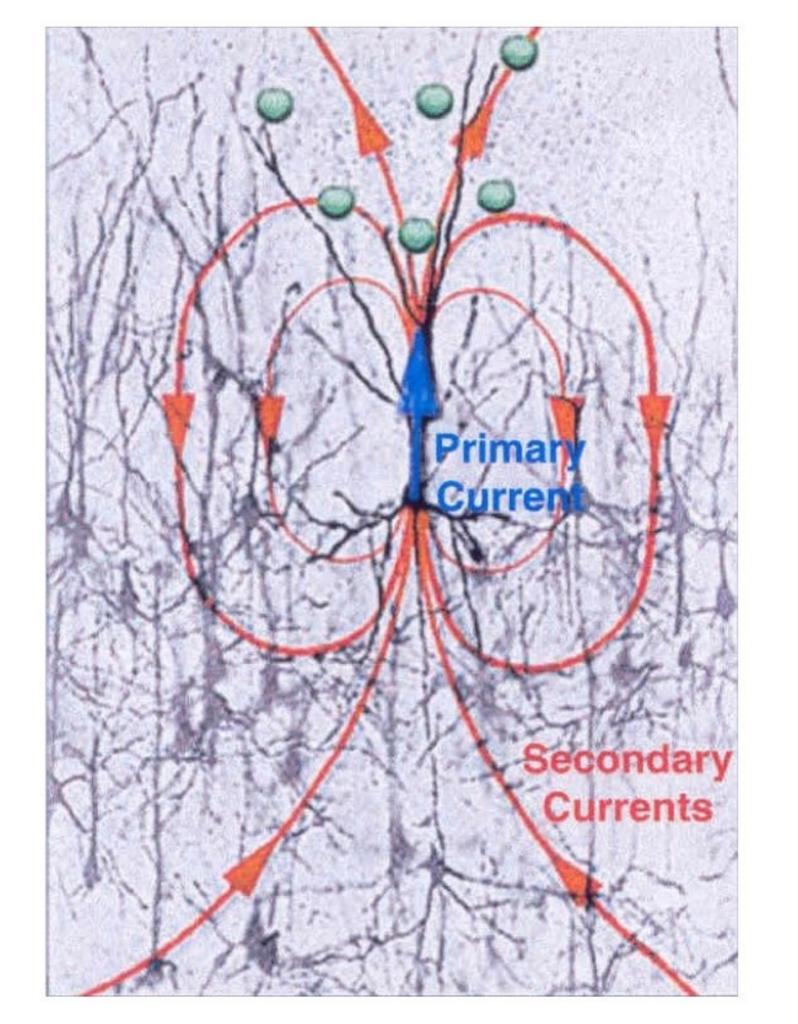
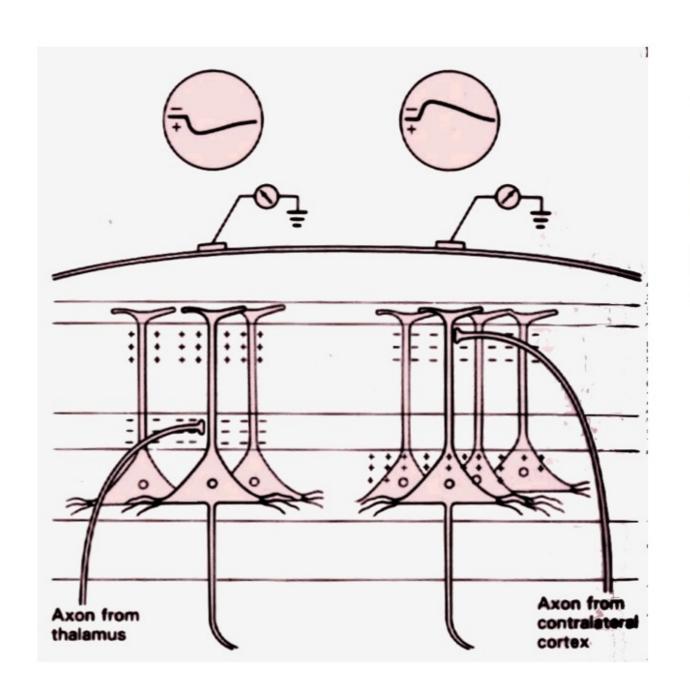


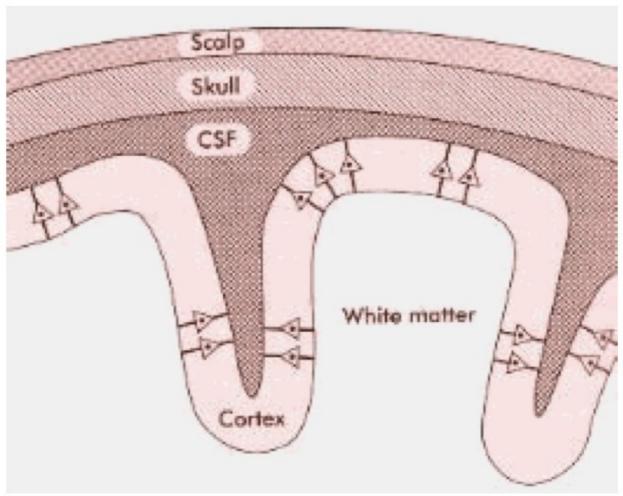
Figure 4.24 EEG profiles obtained during various states of consciousness. From Kolb and Whishaw (1986) after Penfield and Jasper (1954).

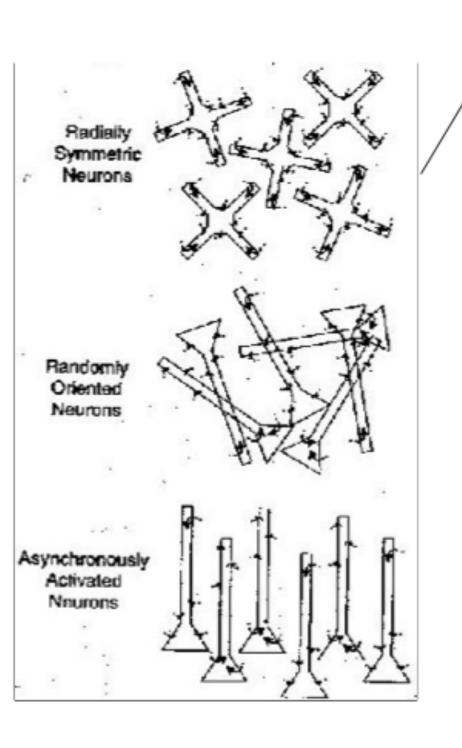
# WHERE DO ELECTROMAGNETIC SIGNALS COME FROM?



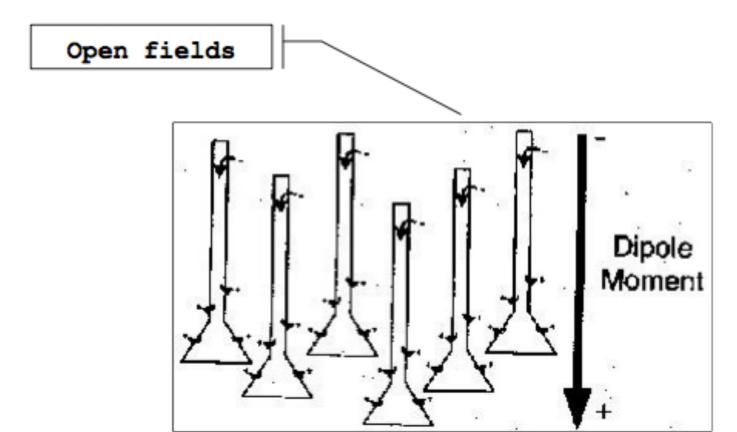


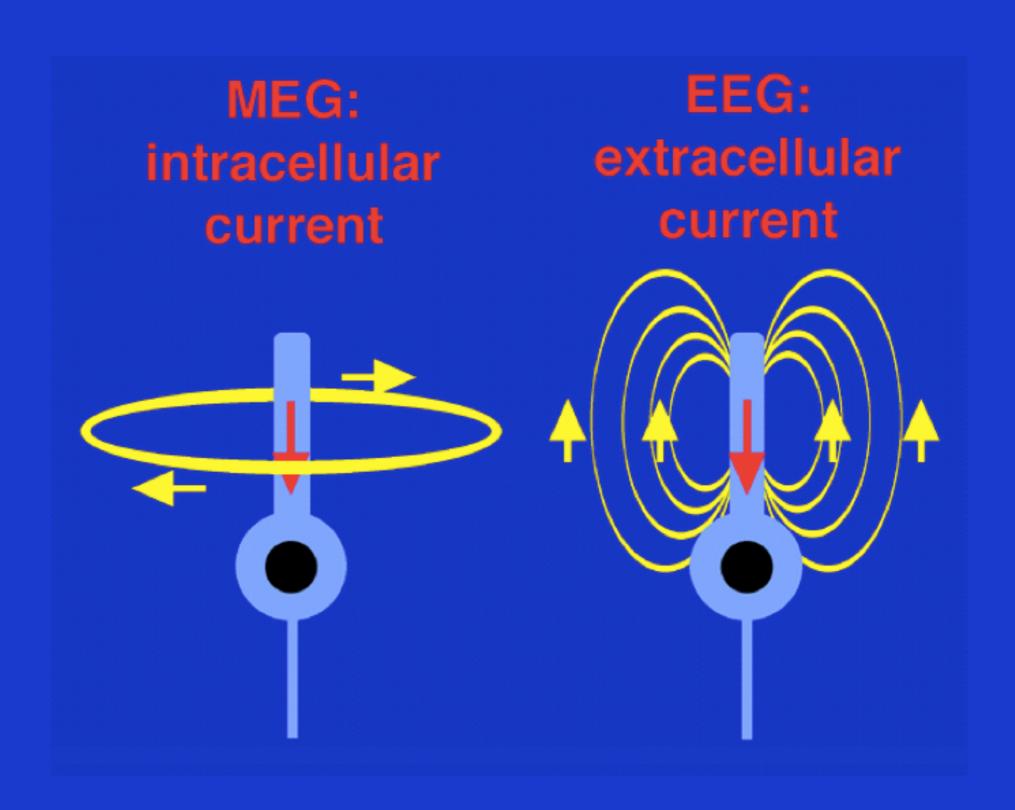






Closed-fields cancellation

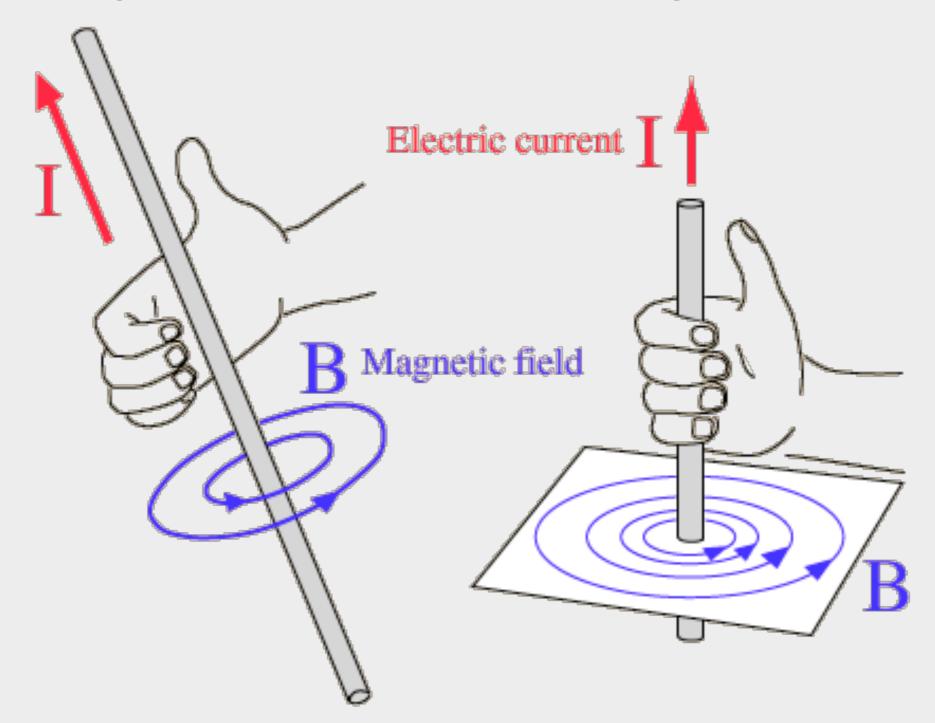




An electric current creates a magnetic field around it.

#### The right-hand rule:

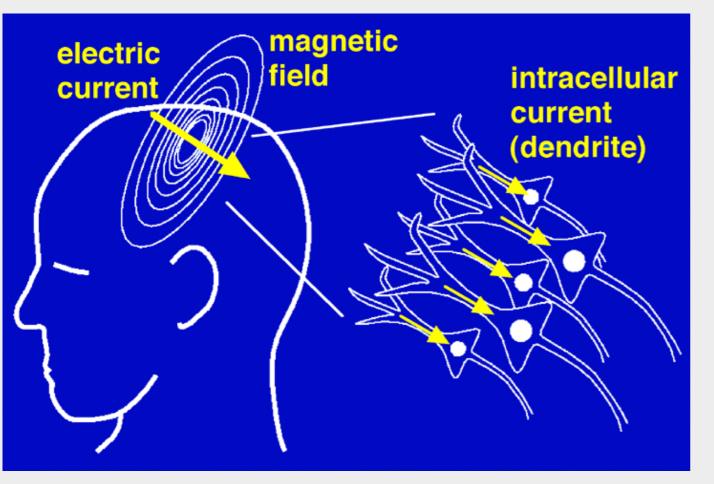
When the thumb of the right hand is pointing in the direction of the current, the fingers of the right hand curl in the direction of the magnetic field

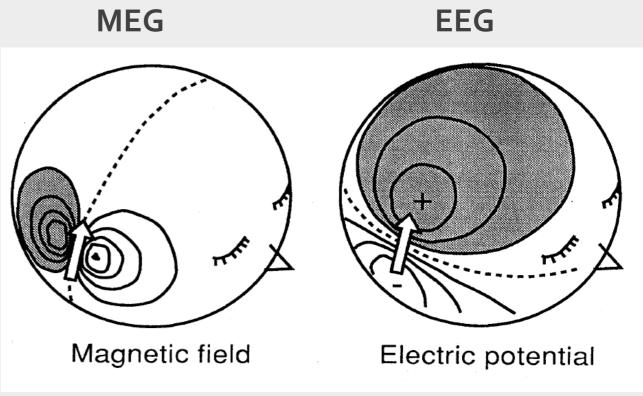


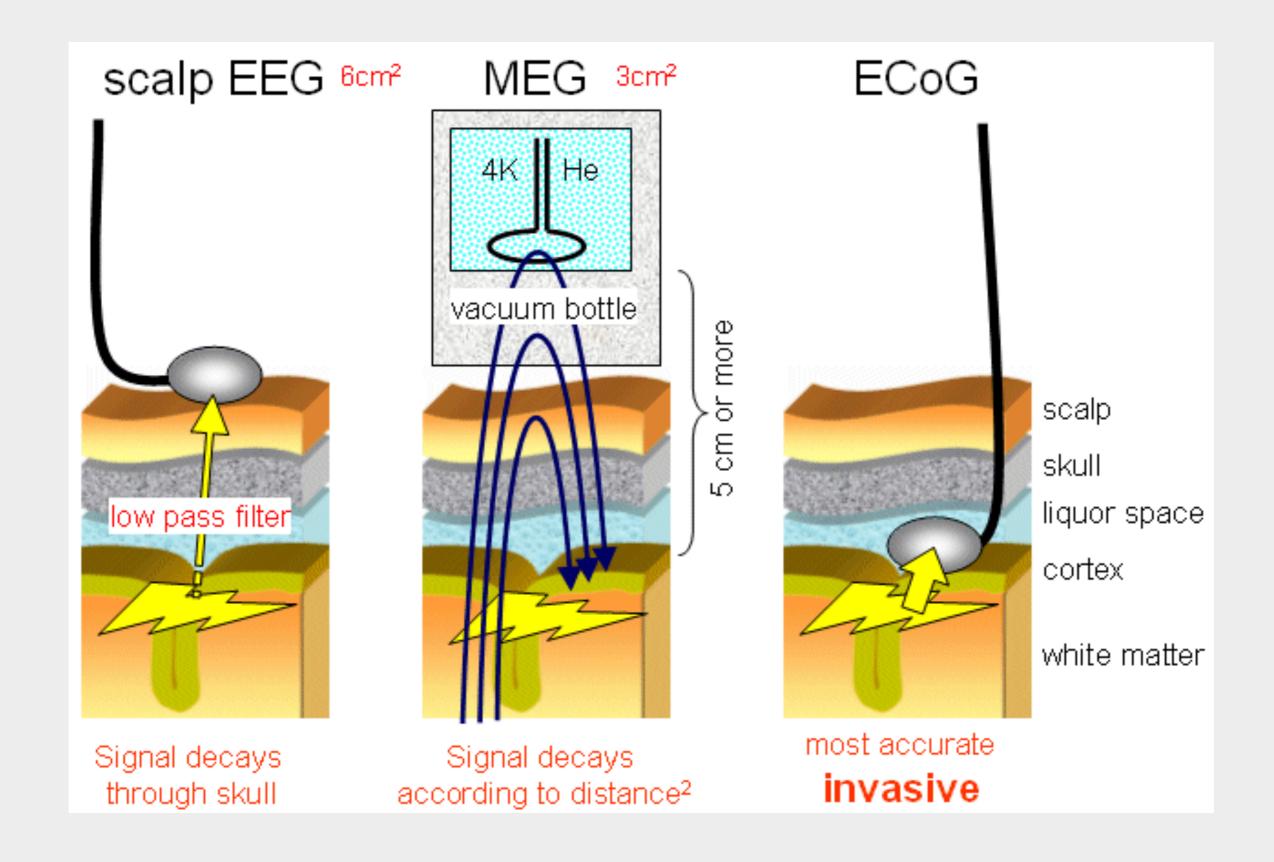
### **ELECTROMAGNETISM**

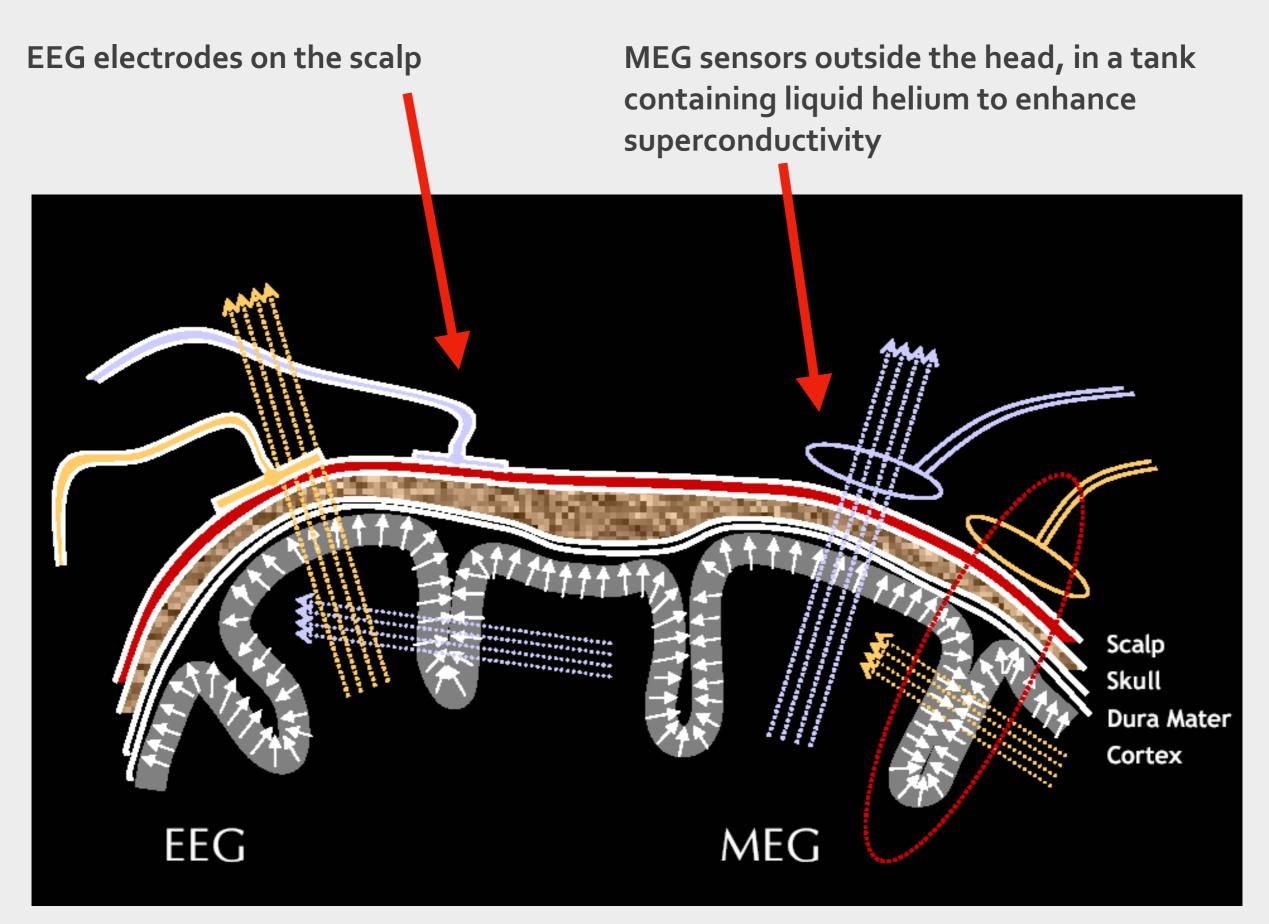
EEG (electroencephalography): electric potentials

MEG (magnetoencephalography): magnetic fields



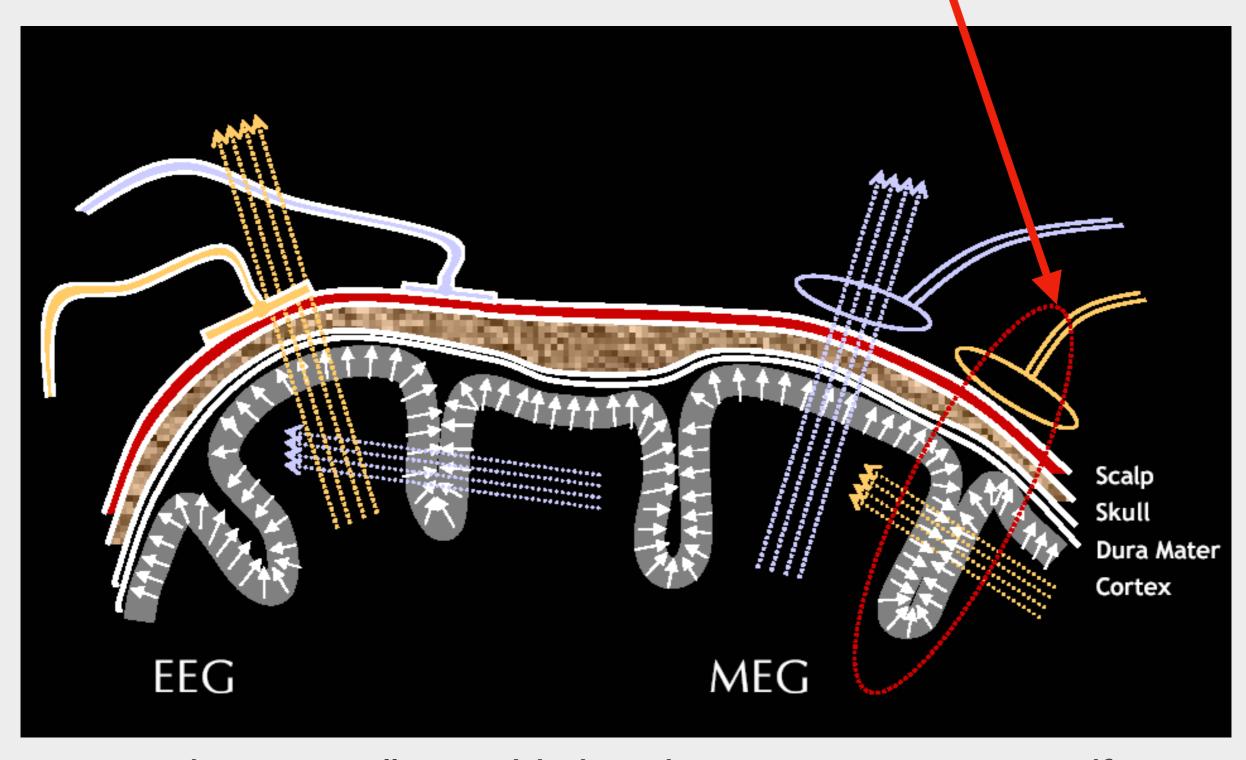






Source: http://www.allgpsy.unizh.ch/graduate/mat/180102/Lecture1.pdf

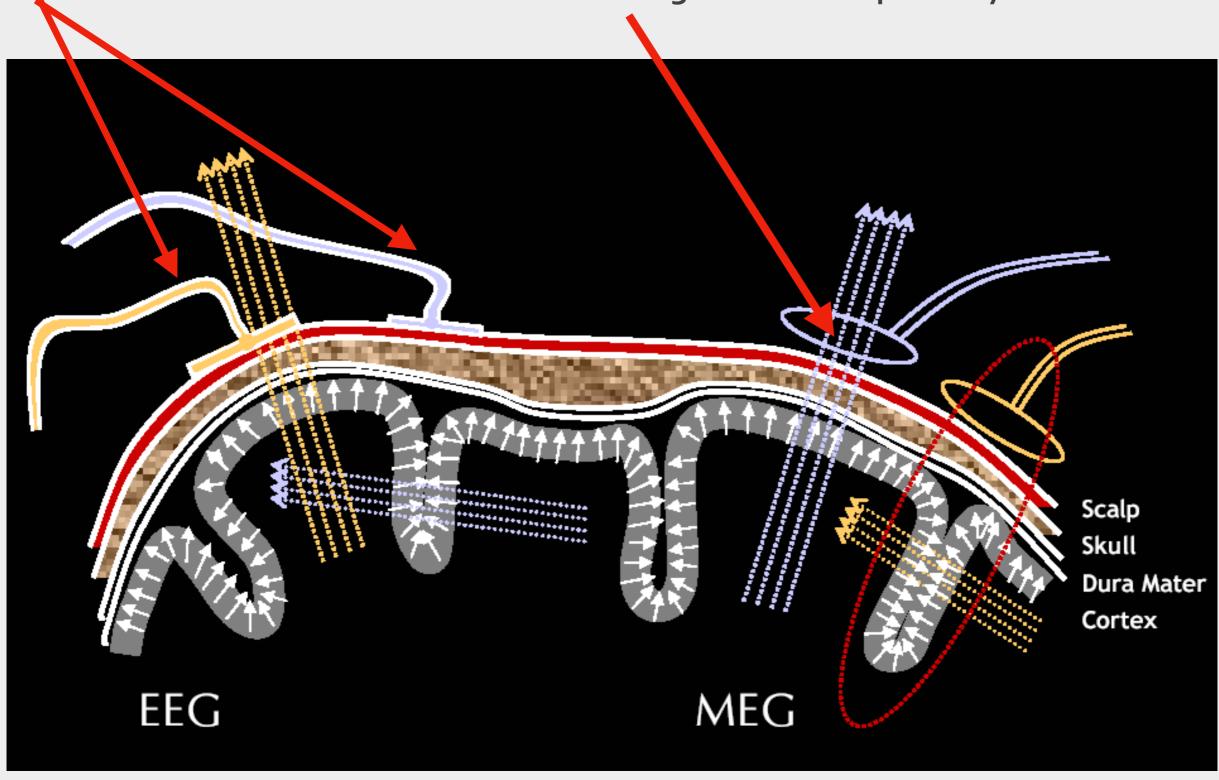
MEG signal is dominated by currents oriented tangential to the skull.



Source: http://www.allgpsy.unizh.ch/graduate/mat/180102/Lecture1.pdf

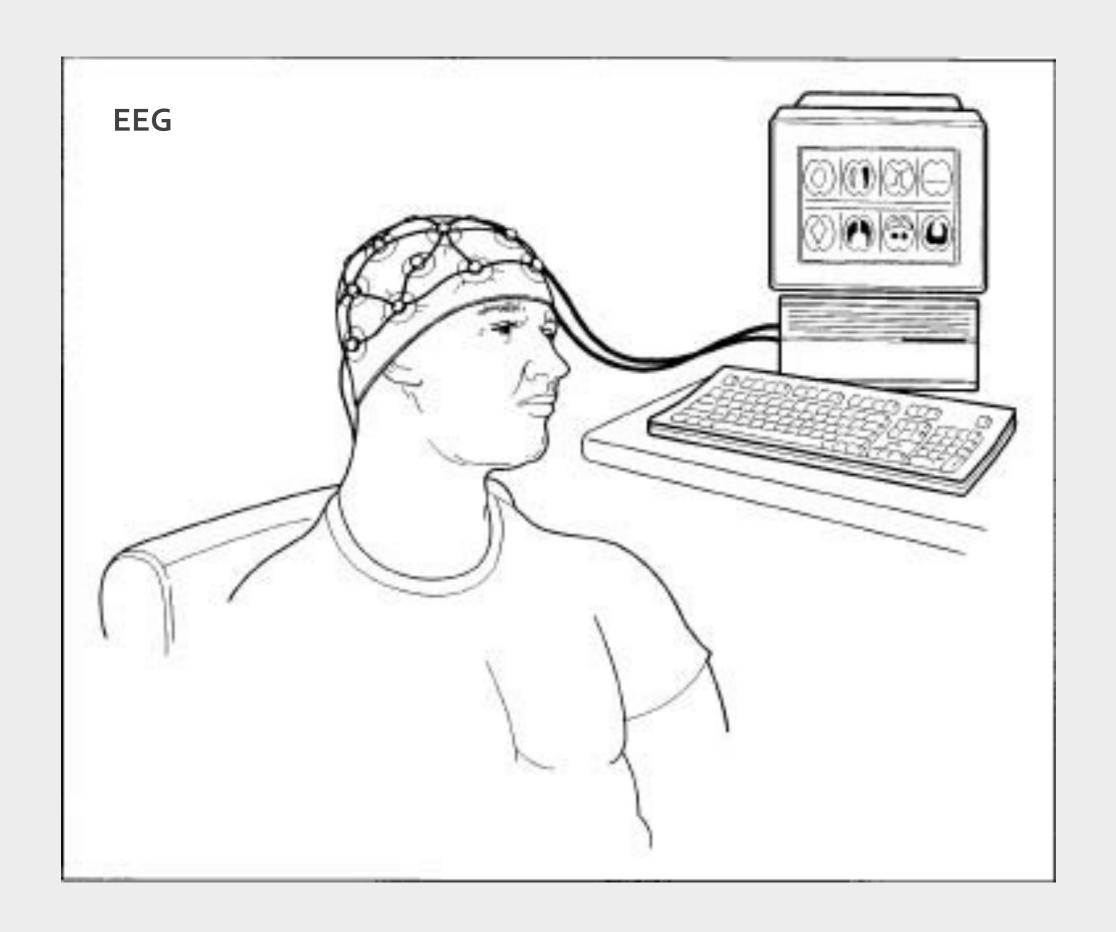
EEG picks up tangentially and radially oriented currents equally.

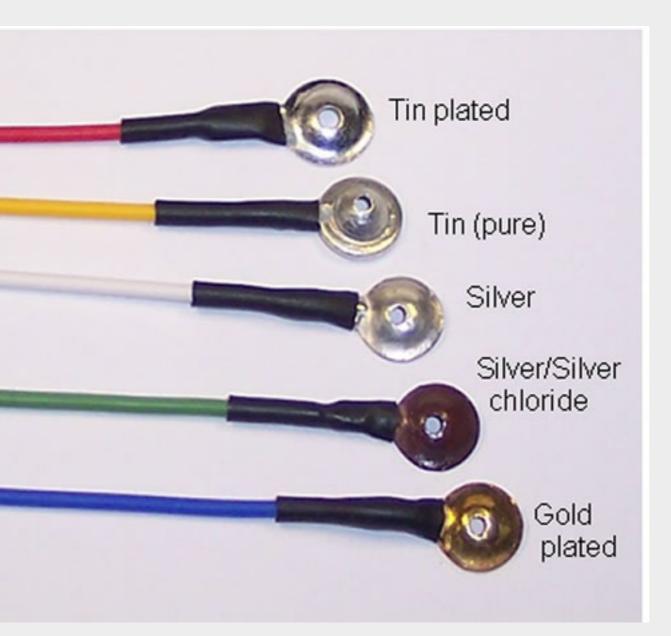
Currents oriented perfectly radial to the skull are missed in MEG. But there is very little signal that is so perfectly radial.



Source: http://www.allgpsy.unizh.ch/graduate/mat/180102/Lecture1.pdf

## THE EEG

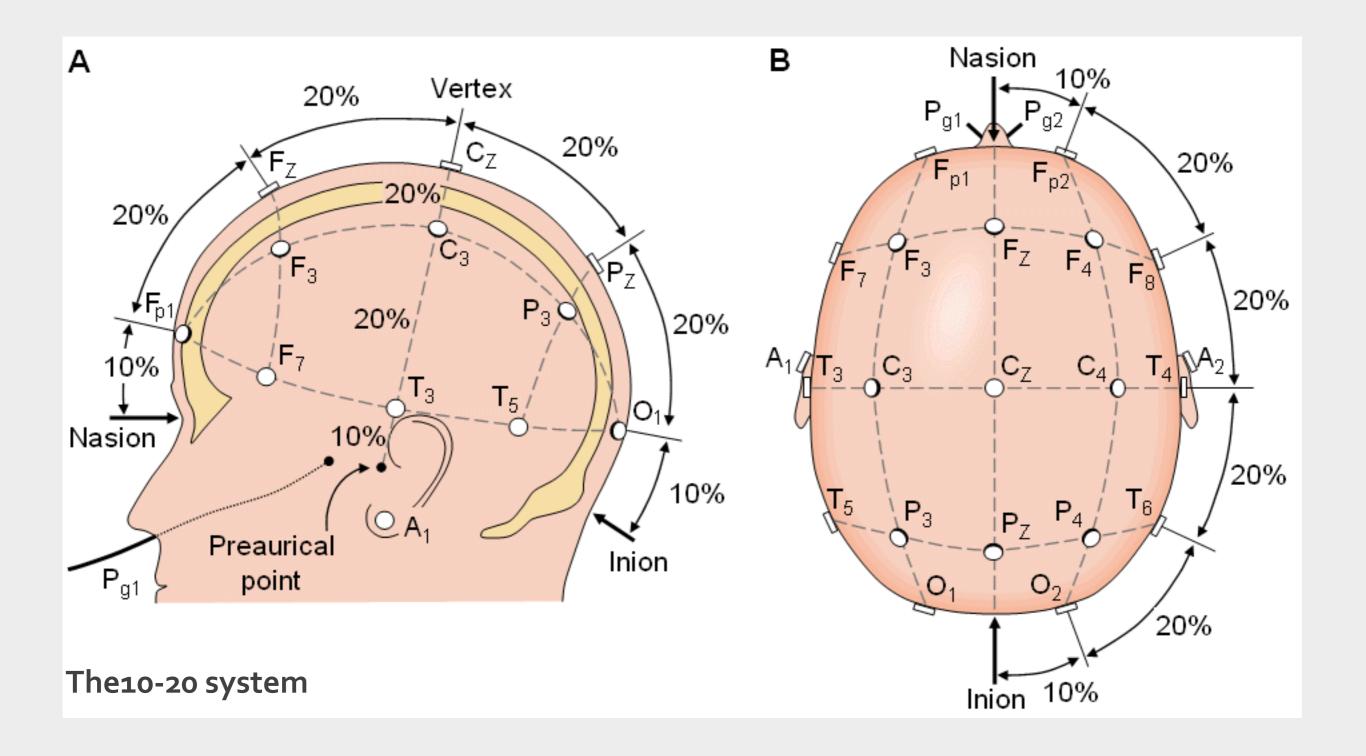




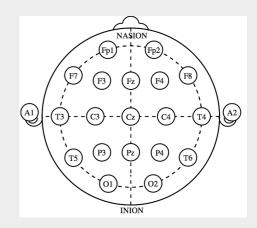
Metal electrodes are attached to an elastic cap

Conducting gel is apply to connect electrodes to the scalp









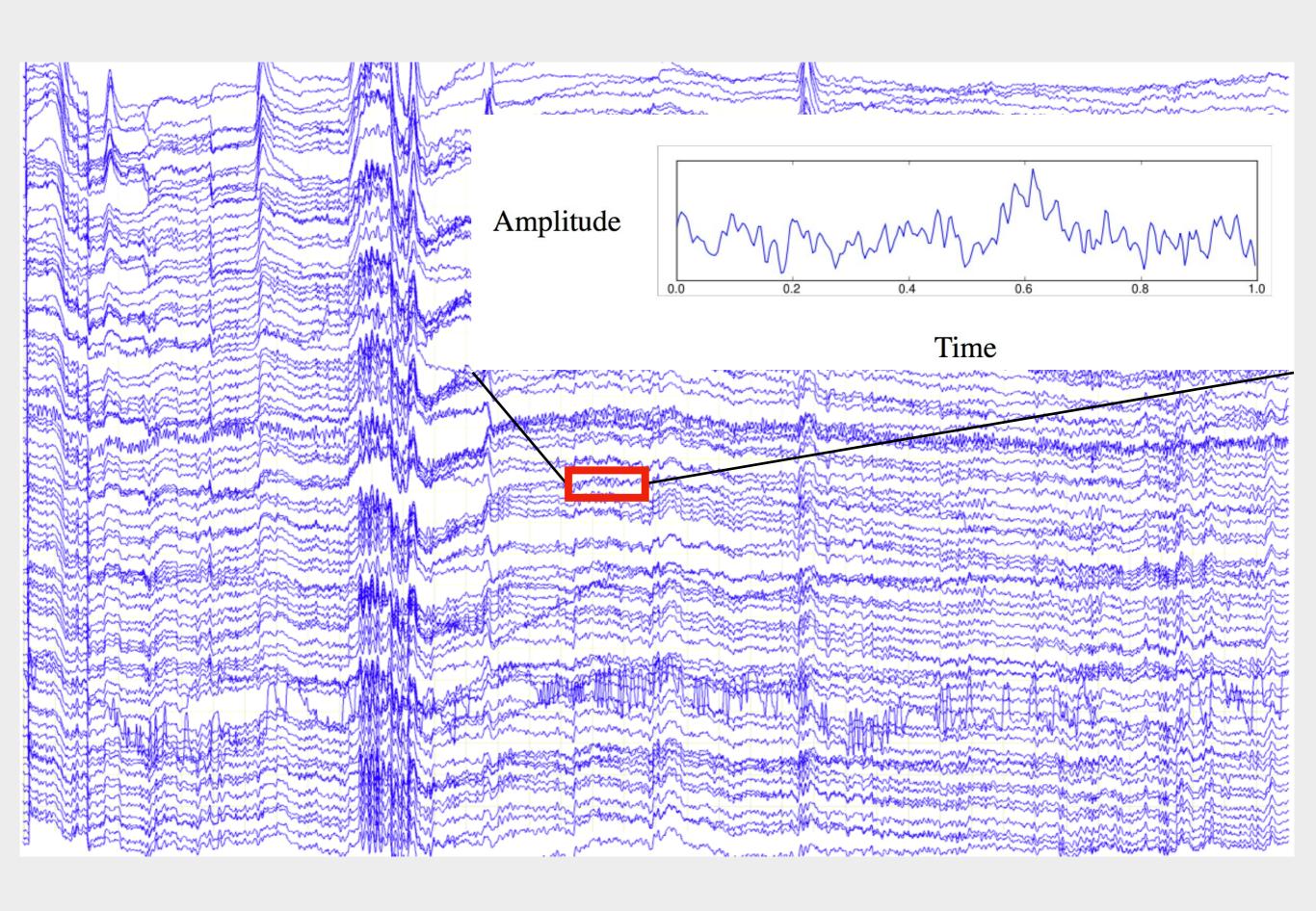


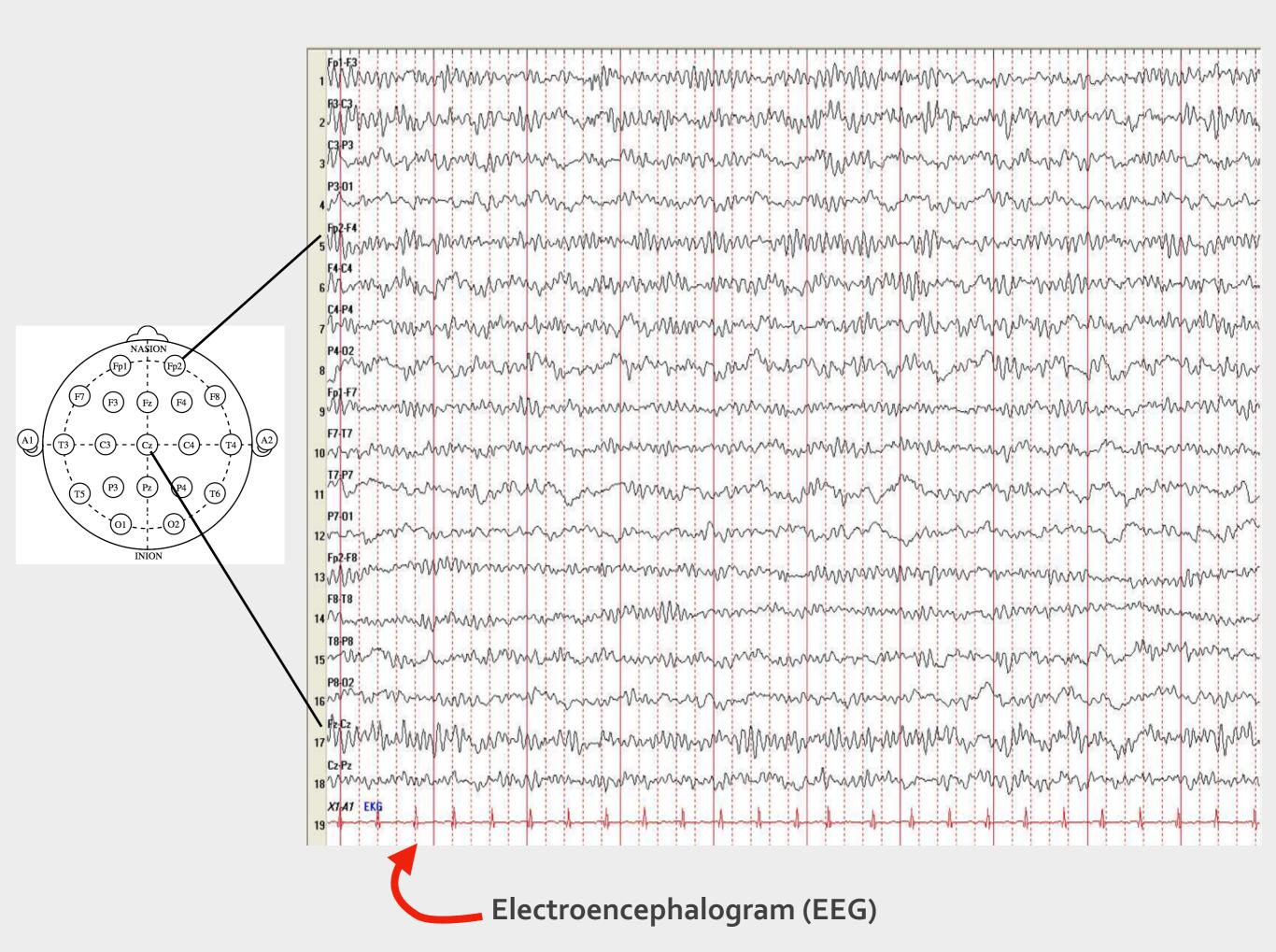
### Amplifier



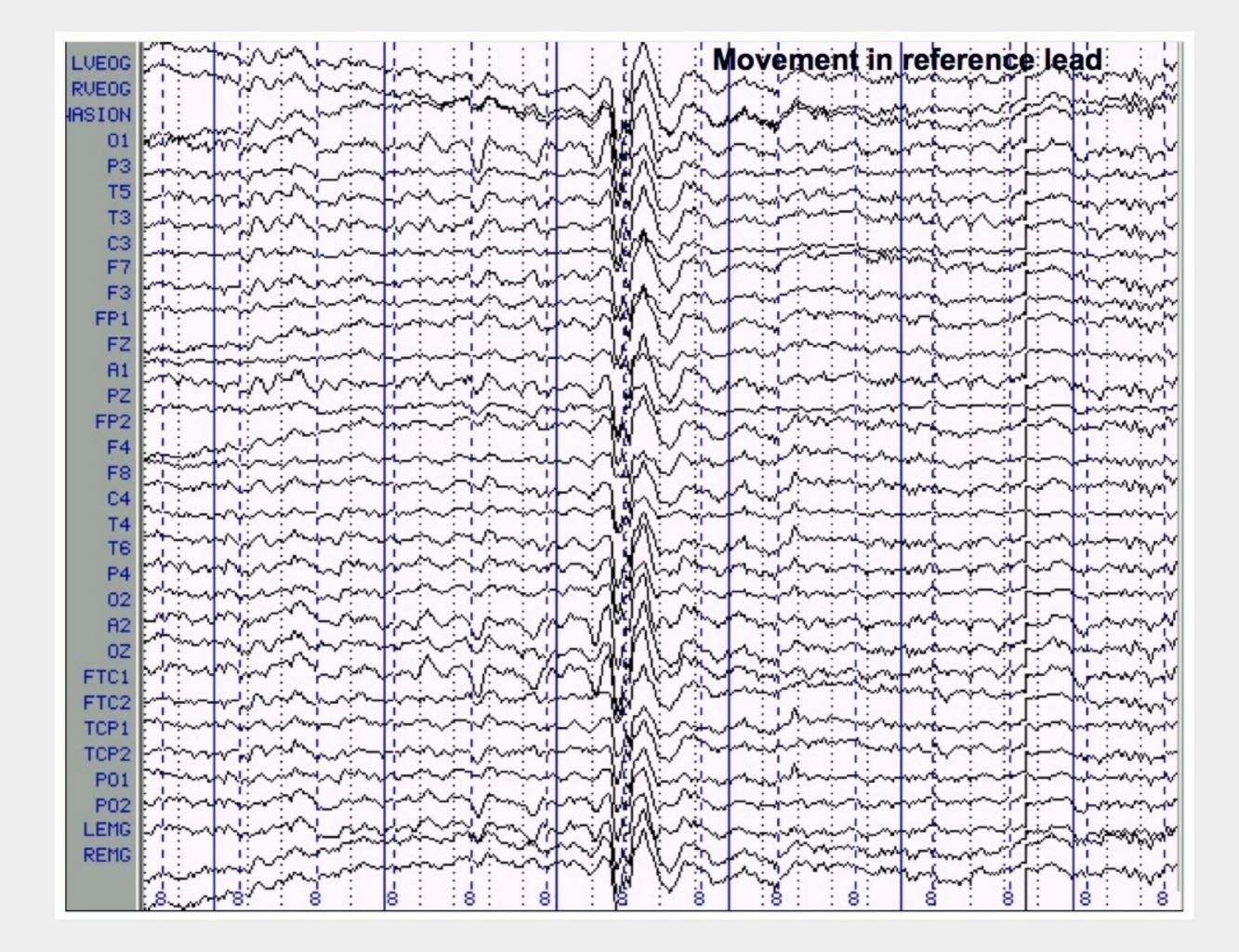
A/D converter

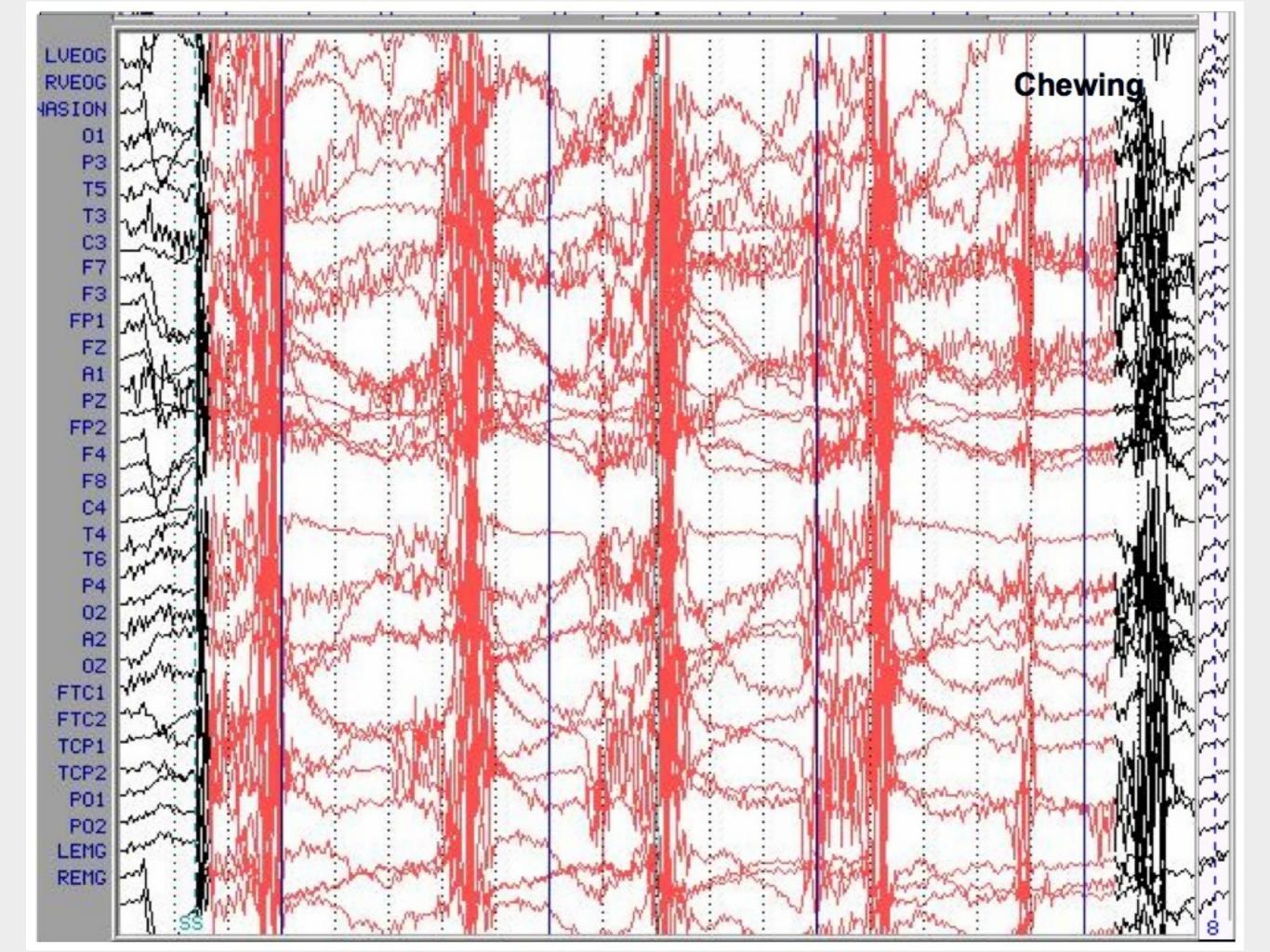


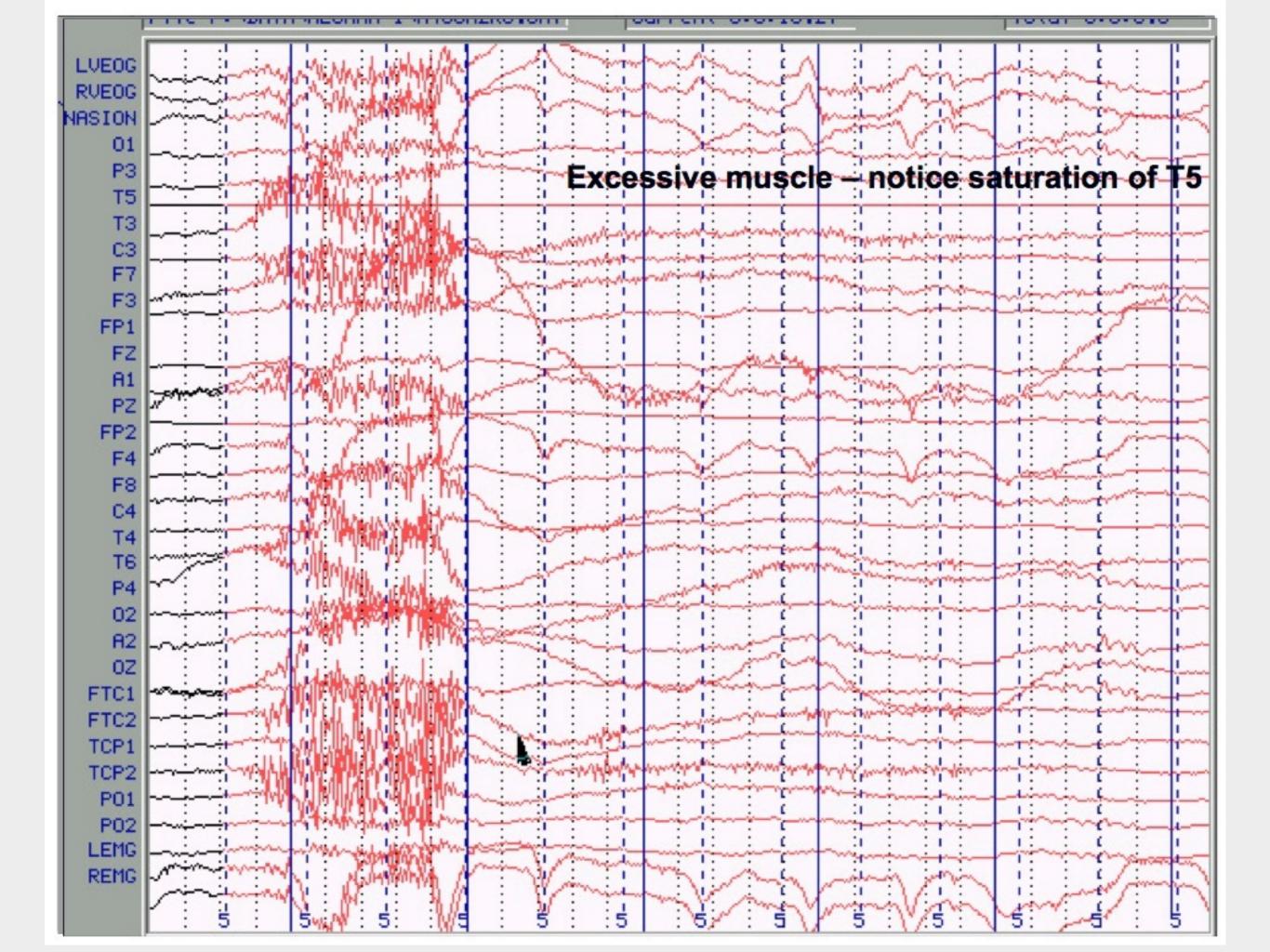


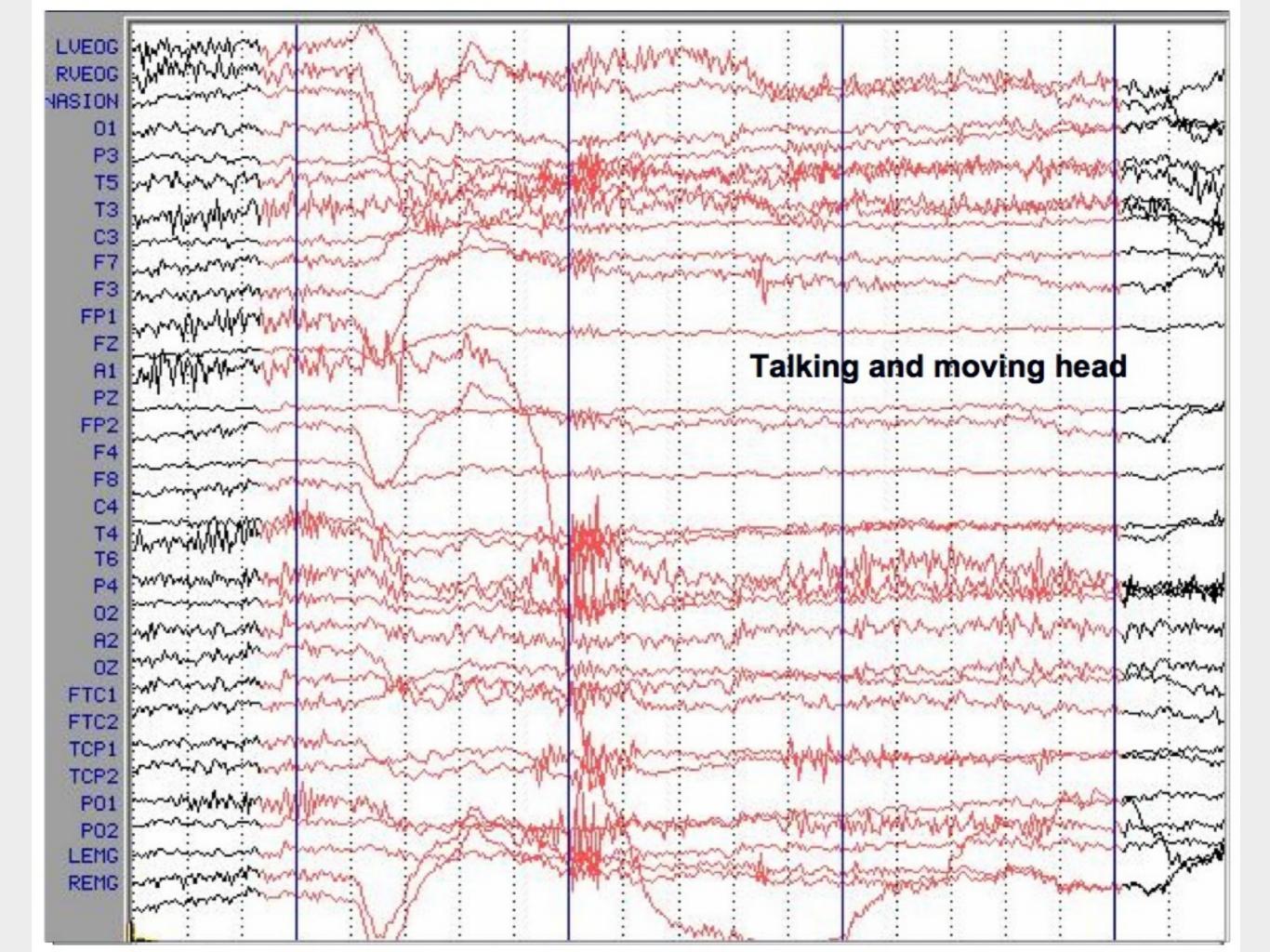


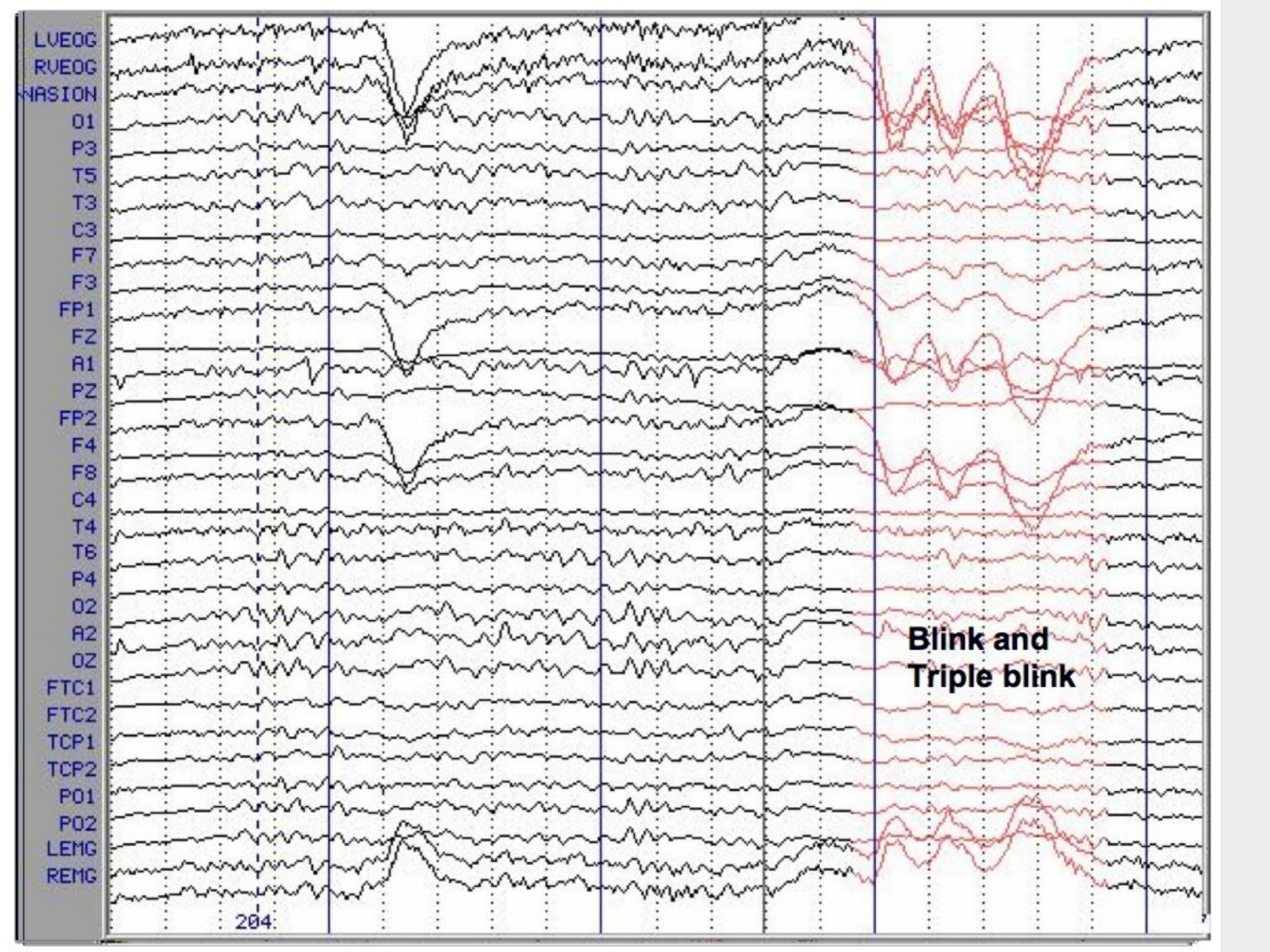
# ARTIFACTS IN THE EEG SIGNALS

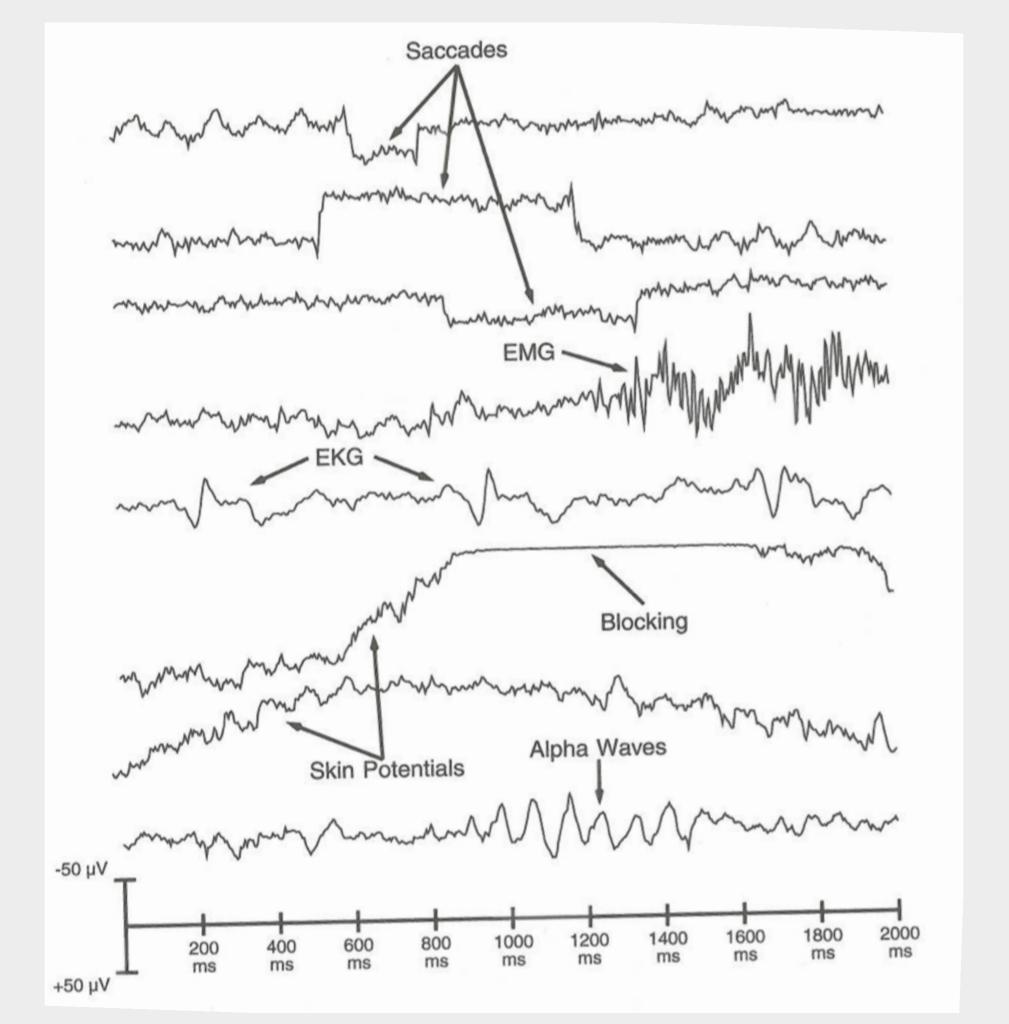






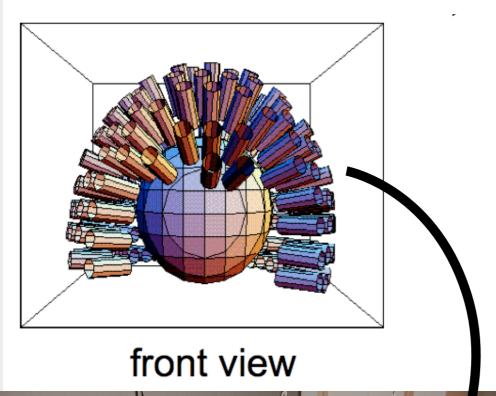




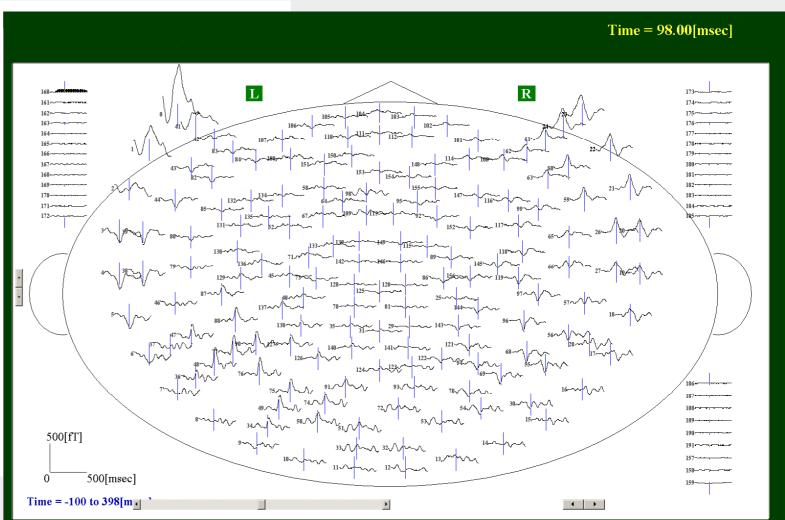


### THE MEG

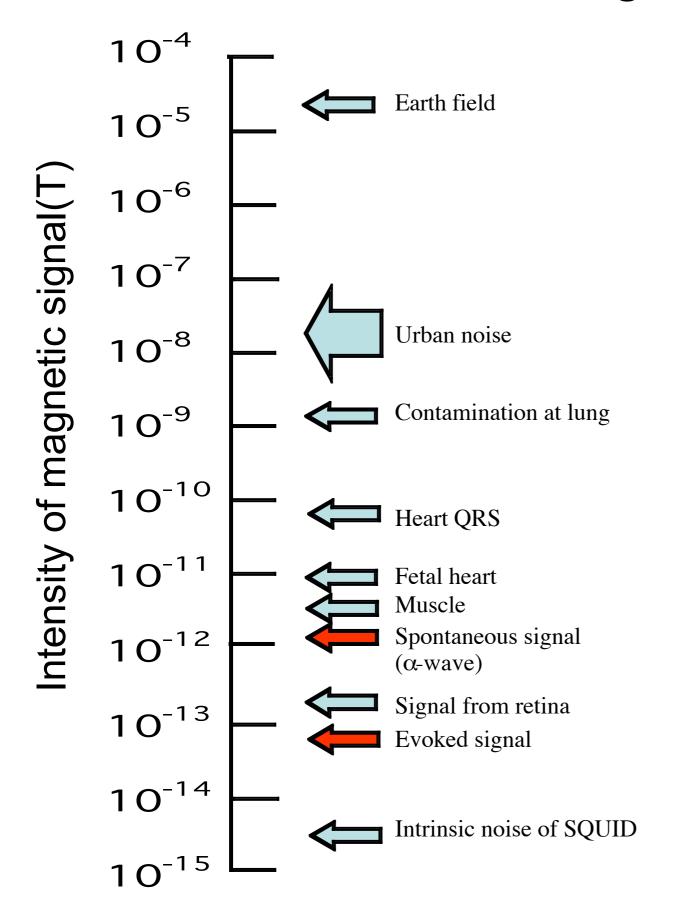
### MEG

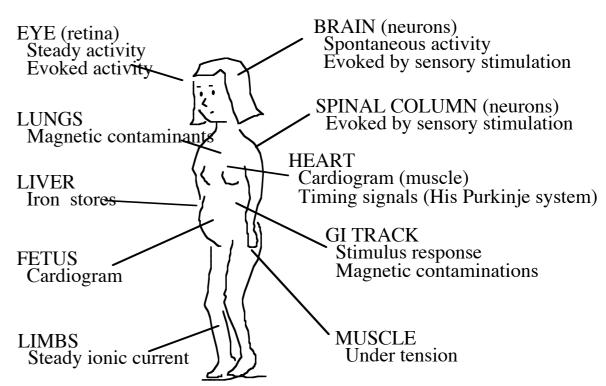






#### How small are the electromagnetic signals from the brain?





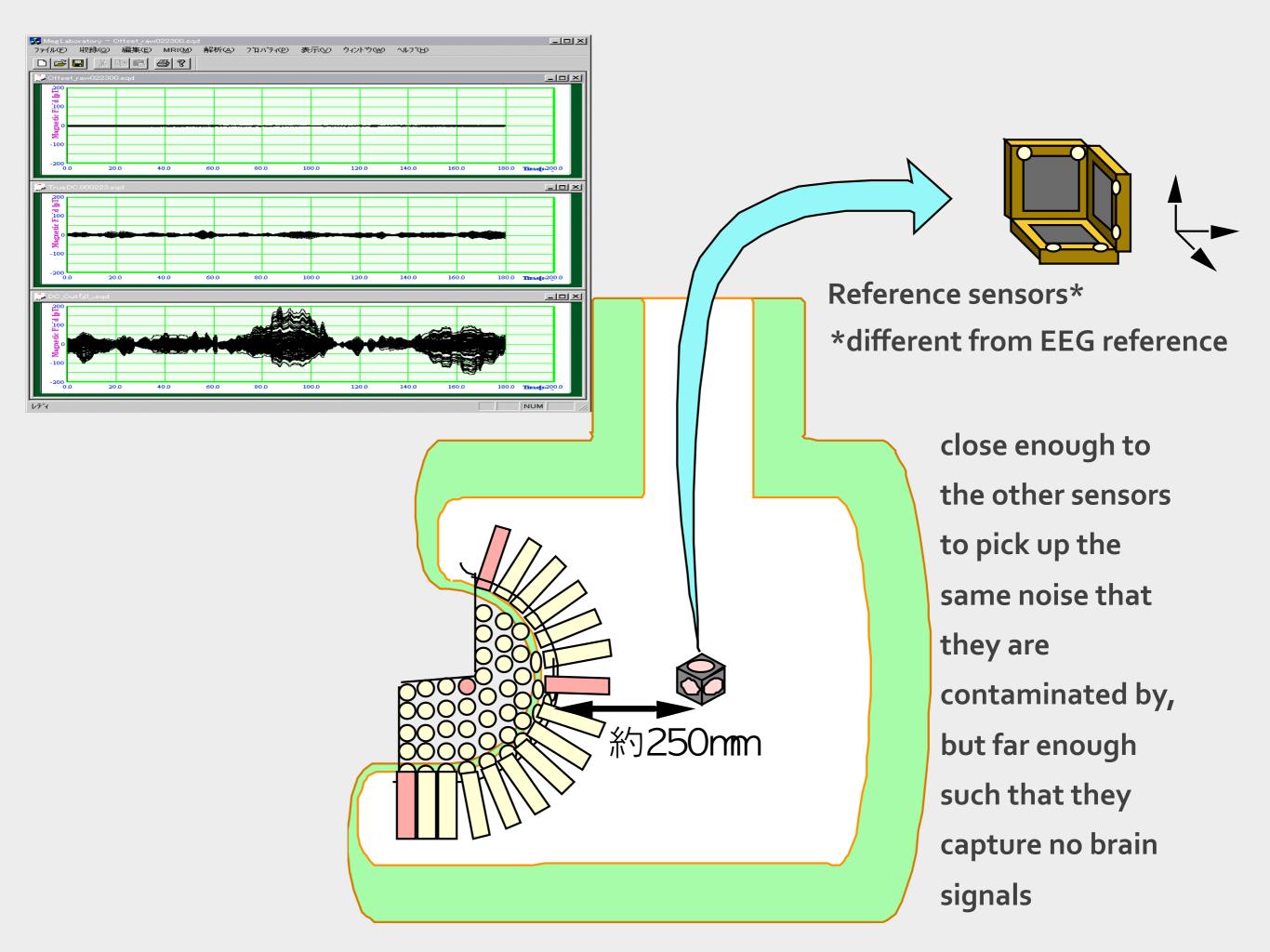
#### Biomagnetism

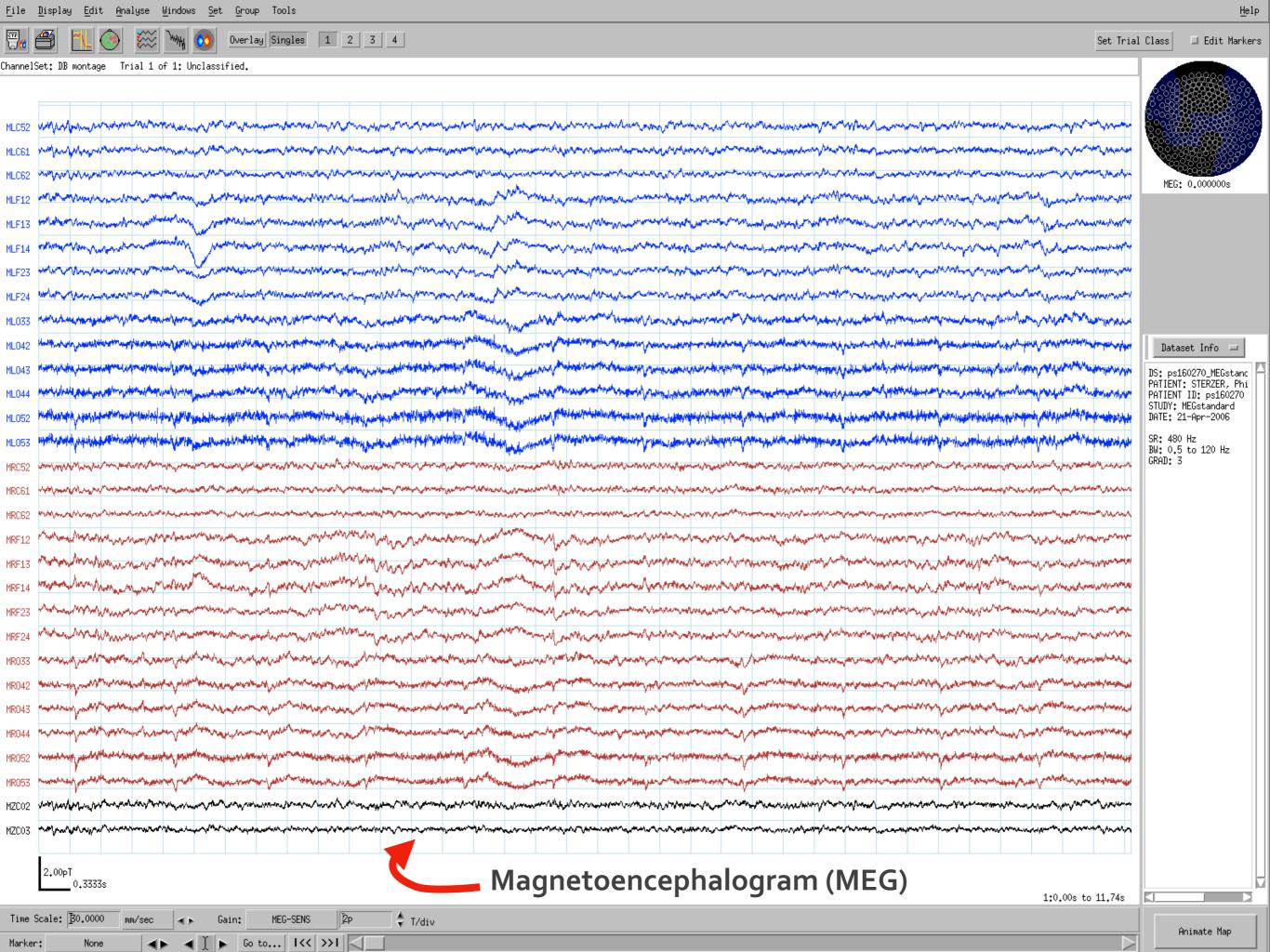
requires high sensitivity sensors (low noise amplification and high gain)

### Noise reduction: Magnetically Shielded Room - MSR

Besides the gradiometers and the reference sensors.

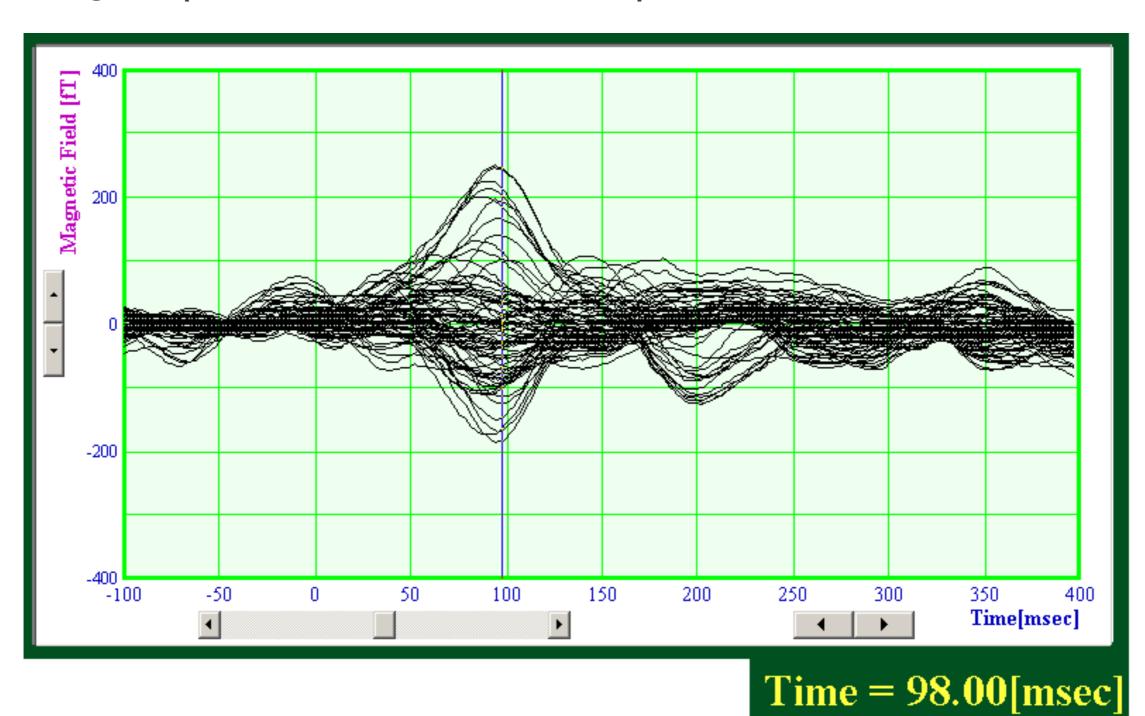






# Exemple of a butterfly plot: All sensors over right termporal lobe superposed

Peak at 98 ms post-onset of acoustic stimulus presentation



# EVENT RELATED POTENTIALS (ERP): EEG

# EVENT RELATED FIELDS (ERF): MEG

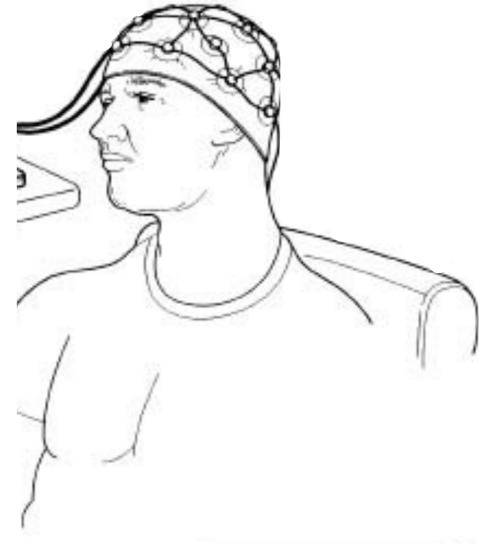






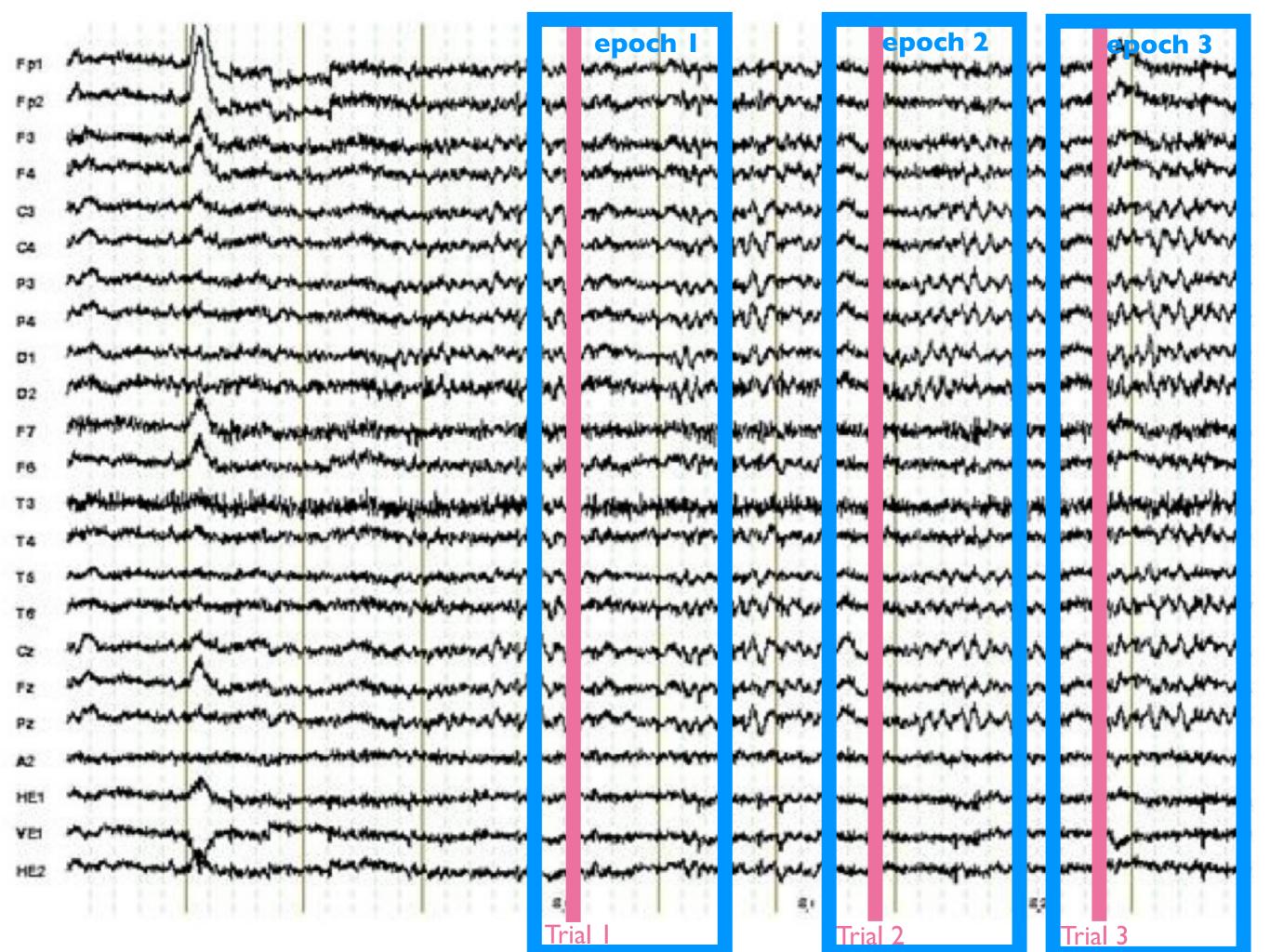






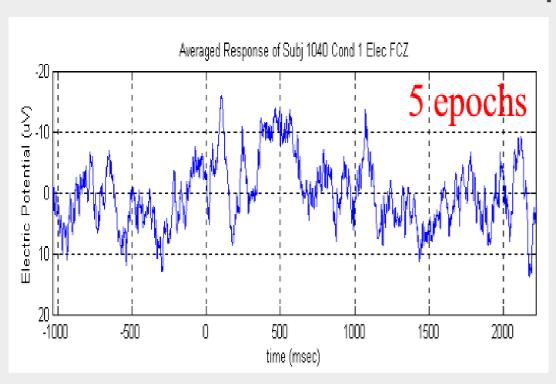


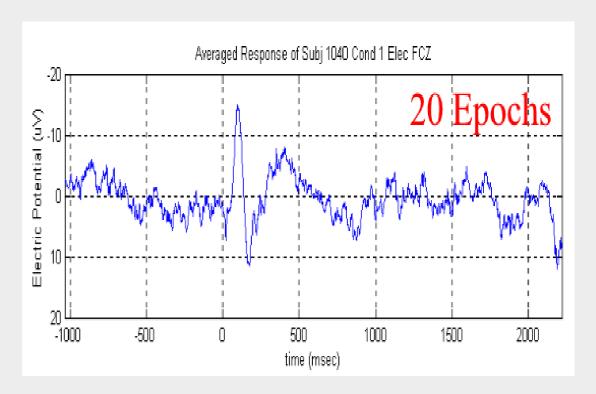


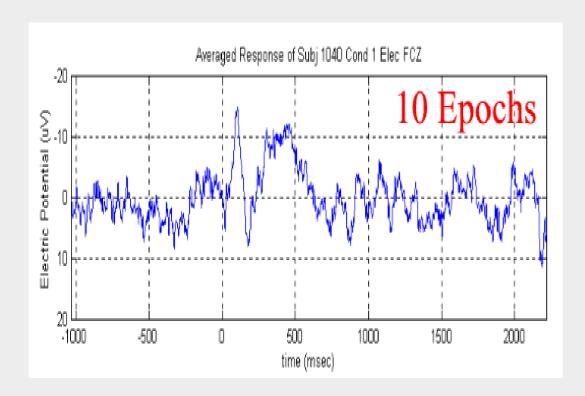


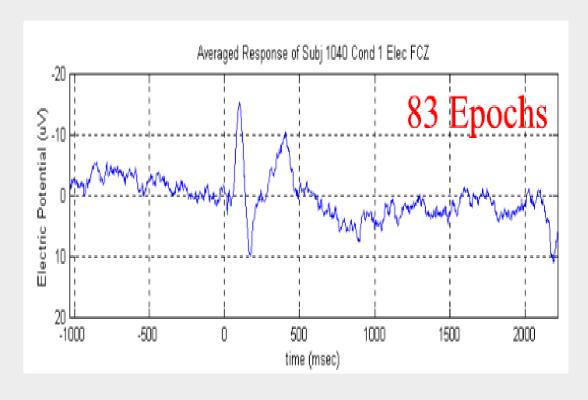
### **EVENT-RELATED BRAIN POTENTIALS**

#### **Epoch means**

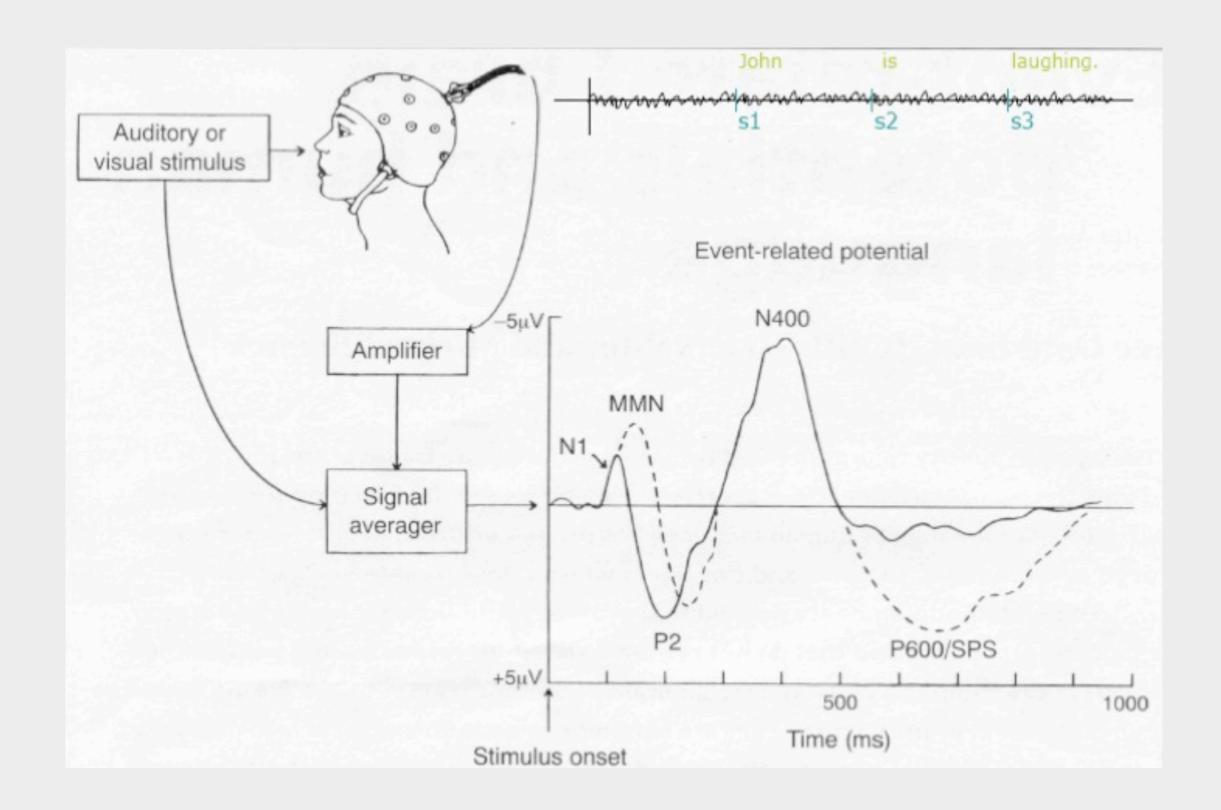






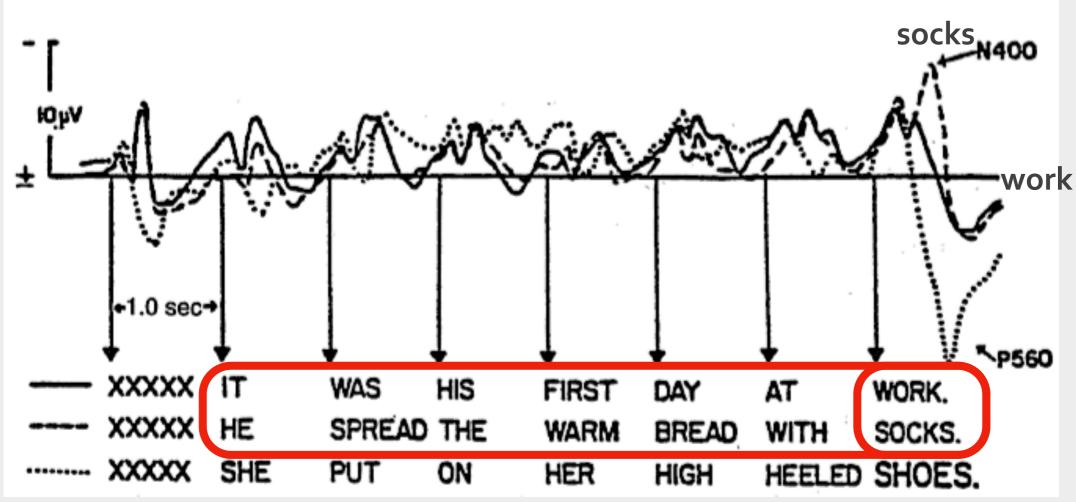


### **EVENT-RELATED BRAIN POTENTIALS**



### **EVENT-RELATED BRAIN POTENTIALS**



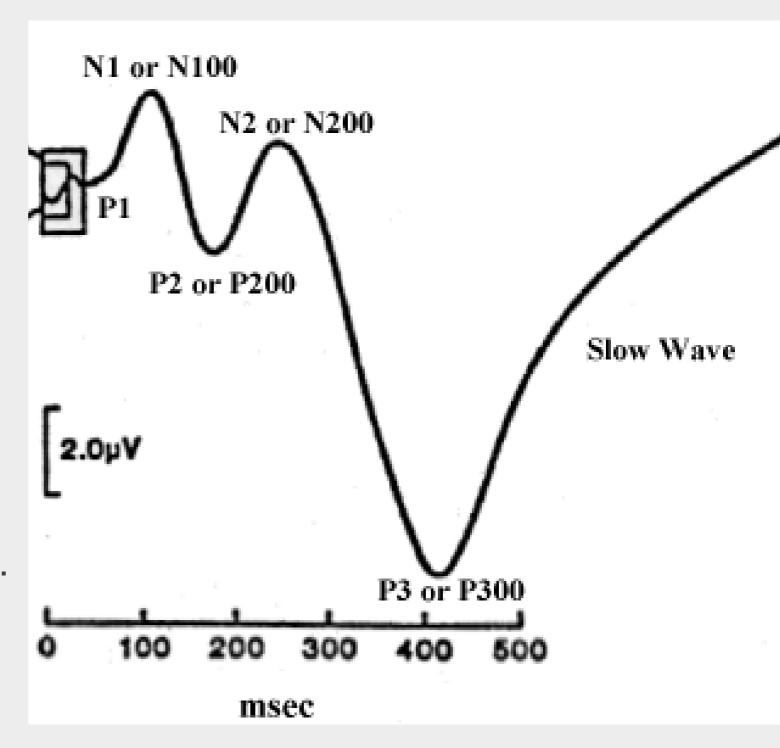


#### LABELLING OF ERP COMPONENTS

**P** or **N**: whether the component is negative or positive going.

Number after the letter: Approximate peak latency of the components. 1, 2, 3, etc. are short for 100ms, 200ms, 300ms and so forth.

Traditionally, negative is plotted up and positive down.

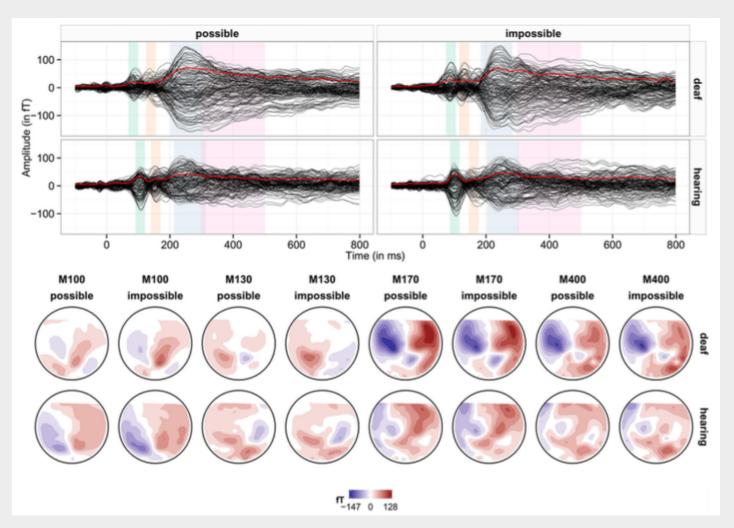


http://neurocog.psy.tufts.edu/images/ERP\_components.gif

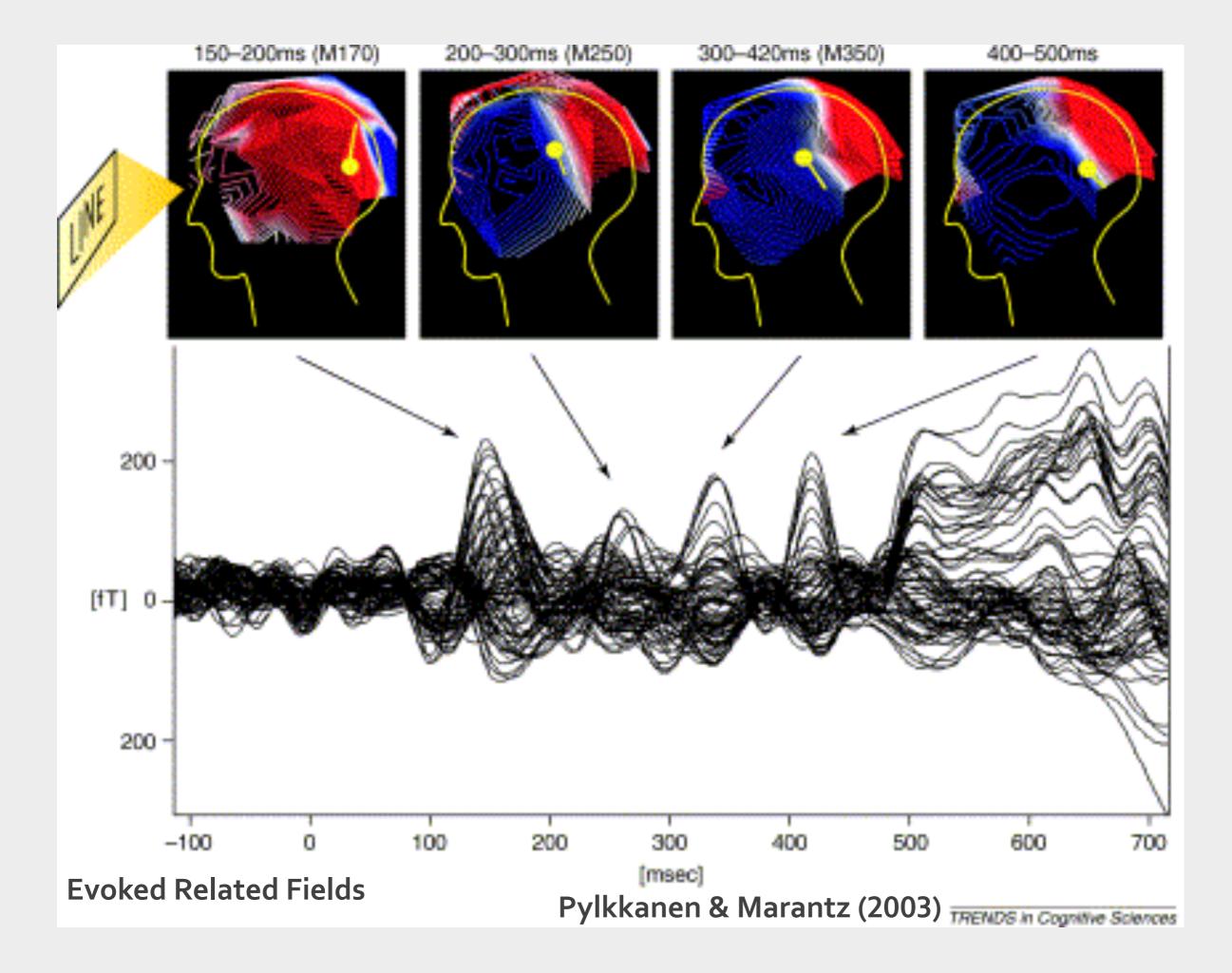
## Labelling of MEG components

**M**: signal is a mix of outgoing and ingoing magnetic flux, no single polarity.

Number after the letter: Approximate peak latency of the components. 1, 2, 3, etc. are short for 100ms, 200ms, 300ms and so forth.



Almeida, Poeppel & Corina, 2015



### TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL RESOLUTION OF EEG

Millisecond temporal resolution.

Localization of neural generators complicated.

- Different tissues and the skull differ in their conductivity:
   Electric potentials do not pass through these structures undistorted.
  - Localization requires realistic head models.

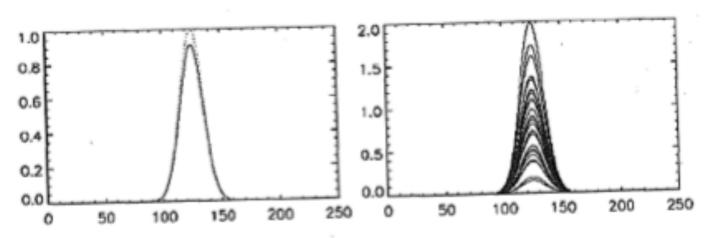
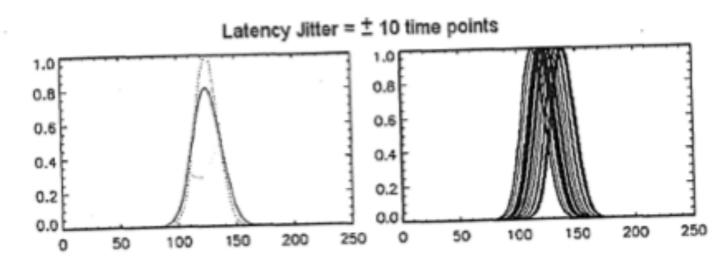


Figure 10.1

Effect of amplitude variability. (*Left*) The simulated ERP component is drawn with a dotted line and the average with a solid line. (*Right*) Simulated component on each single trial (the y-axis differs from the left plot). The single-trial amplitudes were drawn from a Gaussian distribution with a mean of 1.0 and a standard deviation of 1.0.



Assumption of ERPs: time-locking!

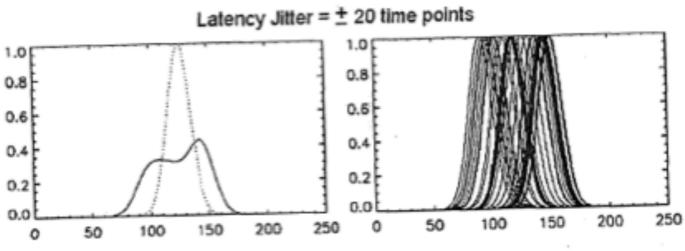
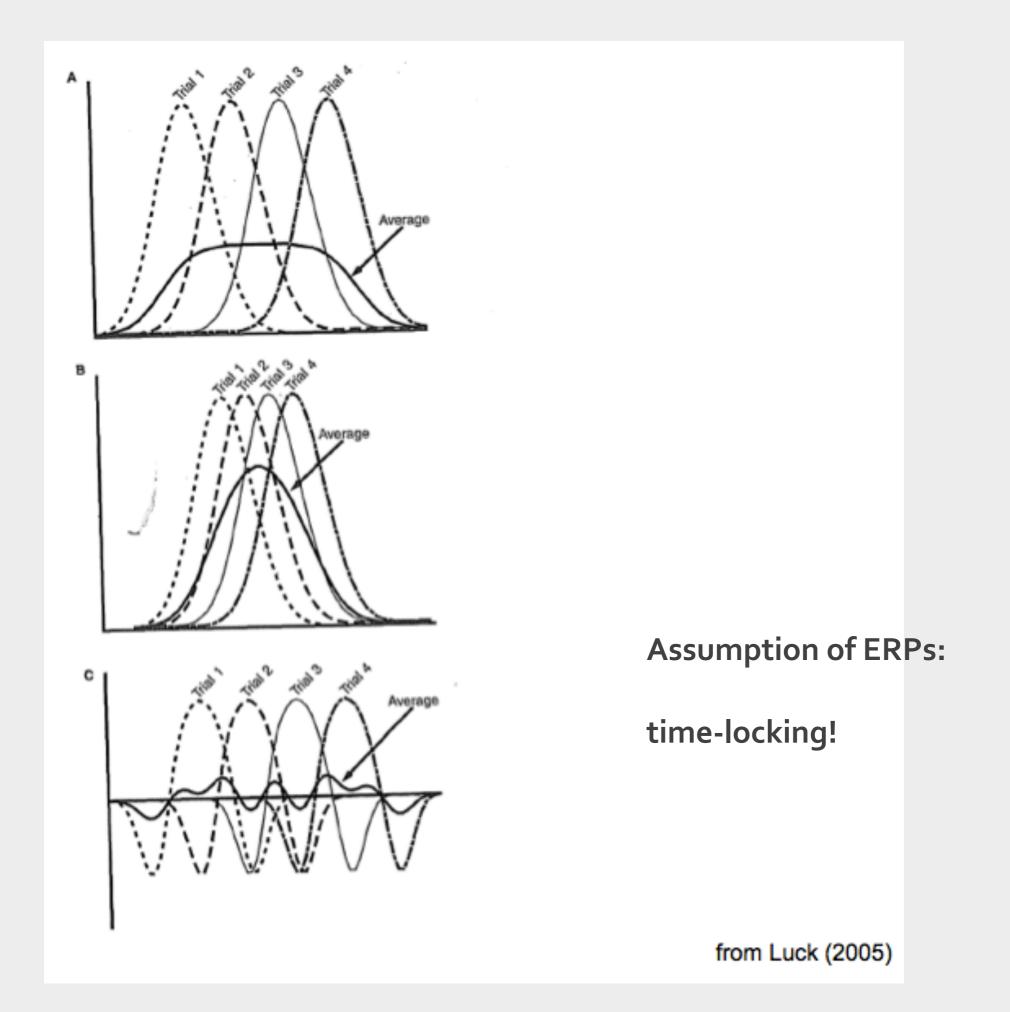
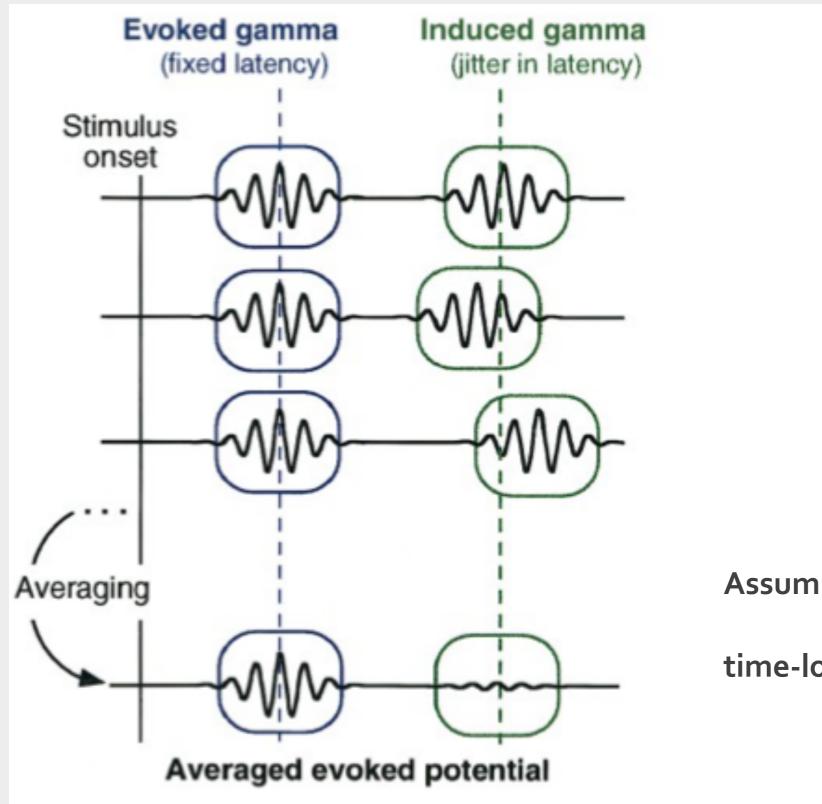


Figure 10.2

Effects of latency variability. (Left) The simulated ERP component is drawn with a dotted line and the average with a solid line. (Right) Simulated component on each single trial.

from Handy (ed.) (2005)





**Assumption of ERPs:** 

time-locking!

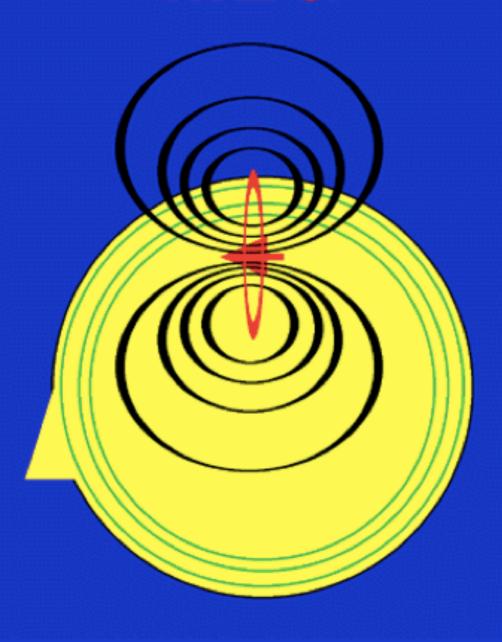
From Tallon-Baudry et al (1999)

# SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EEG AND MEG AND BETWEEN ERPS AND ERFS

## EEG more 'smeared' than MEG

MEG

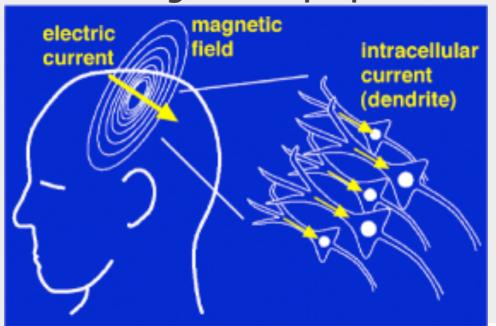
EEG

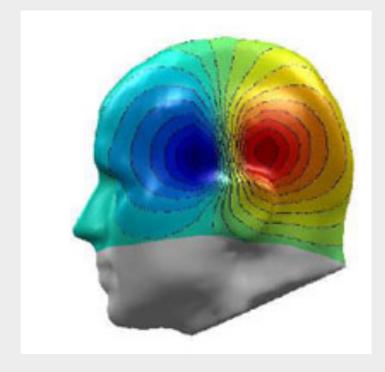


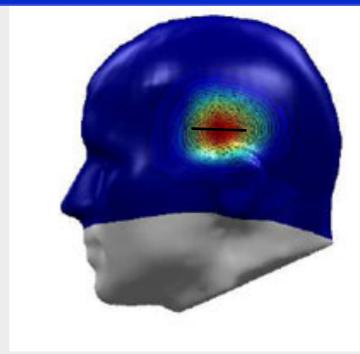


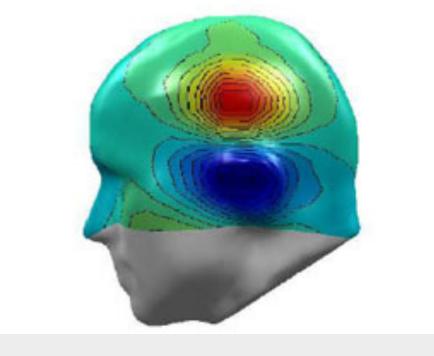
# ELECTRO X MAGNETOENCEPHALOGRAM

**EEG** and **MEG** signals are perpendicular





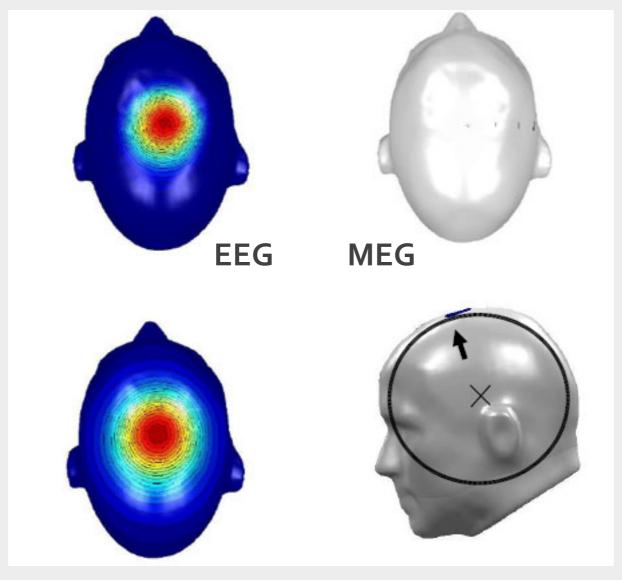




EEG dipolar source

**MEG** 

#### MEG not sensitive to radial source orientations



dipolar source

# MEG (ERFs) EEG (ERPs) N400m N400

### 02 THE PROBLEM TODAY

### SPEECH PERCEPTION VS LEXICAL STORAGE

Long history of research on speech perception

- Goal: mapping an acoustic event to a phonetic interpretation
- General assumption: that's all there is!

### SPEECH PERCEPTION VS LEXICAL STORAGE

Long history of research in the sound structure of languages

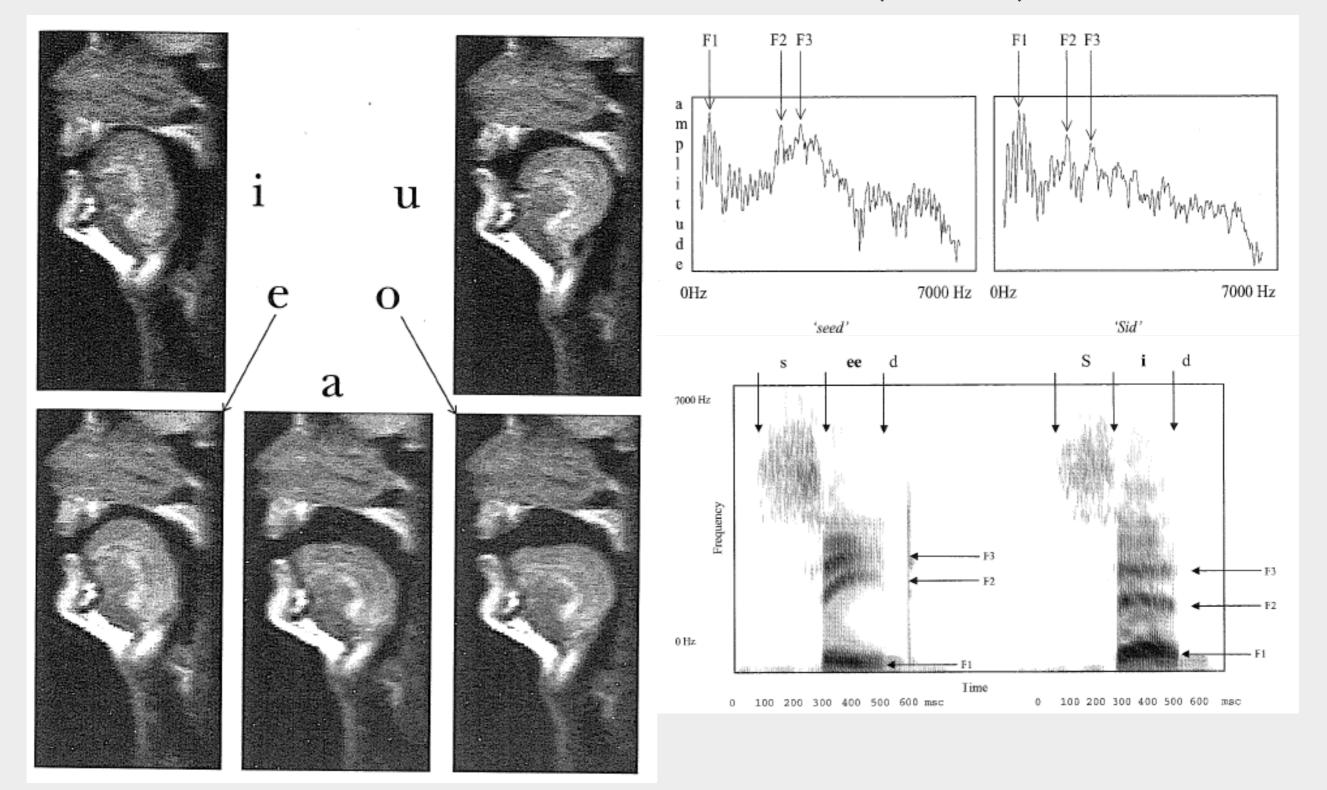
- Phonology
  - Goal: determine the representational format of a speech sound for lexical storage

## SPEECH PERCEPTION: MAPPING PROBLEM

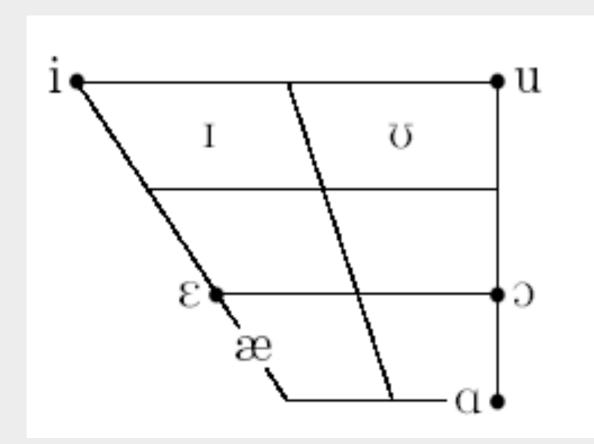
Nature of mapping

• e.g.: vowels

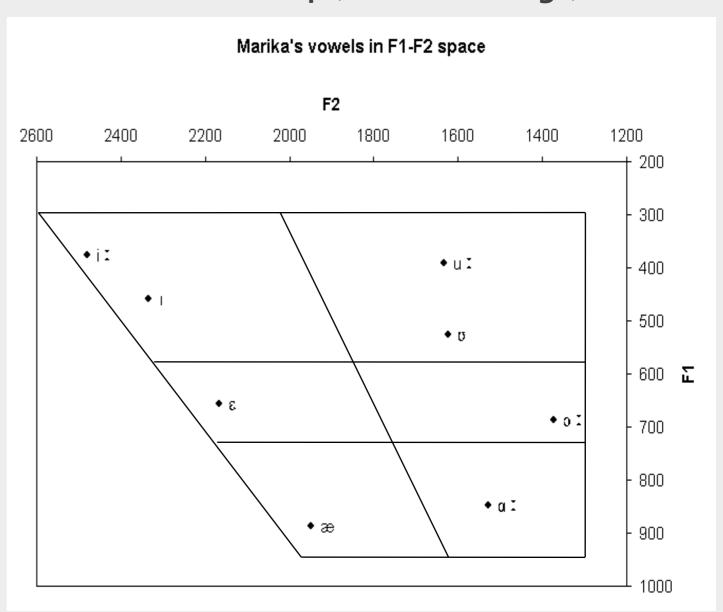
### tongue position creates different filters — Certain frequencies have more energy than others (formants)



#### articulatory map (from IPA)



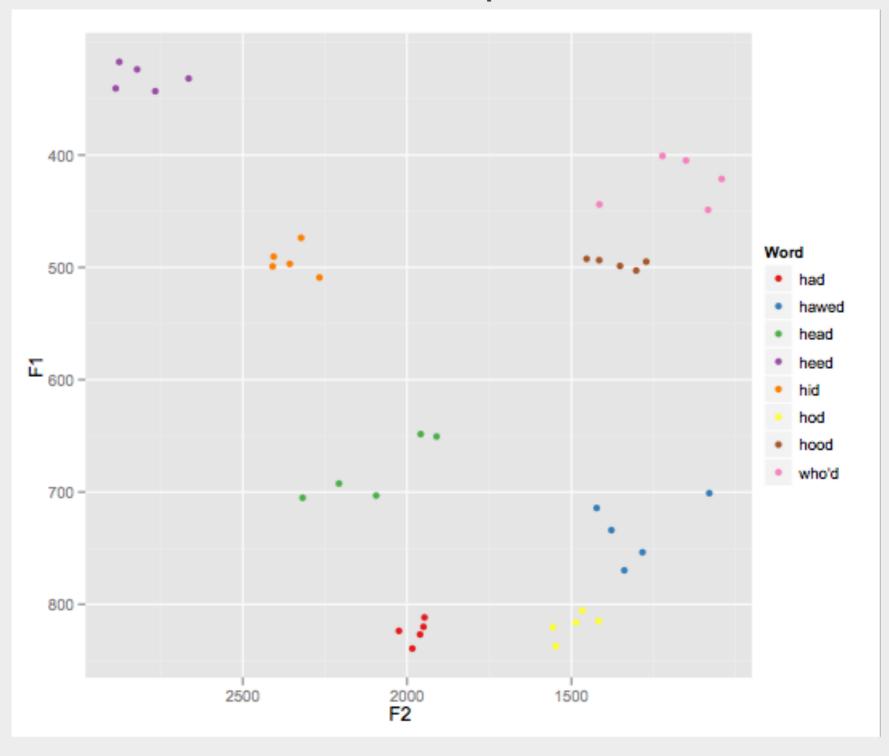
#### acoustic map (from recordings)



# SPEECH PERCEPTION: MAPPING PROBLEM

Problem of variation

#### Data from one person



#### Data from several people



### **HOW MANY "T"S?**

Till

Still

Seat

Tree

Butter

Button

#### **PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION**

$$t - t^{h} - t^{7} - t^{w} - r - ?$$

Button 
$$[b \wedge ? n]$$

#### DOES ALL THIS VARIATION MATTER?

**YES:** for pronunciation

Native vs non-native sounding speech!

Bulk of speech perception research stops here!

Map: acoustic events → phonetic units

Assumption: words are stored as strings of phonetic units

#### DOES ALL THIS VARIATION MATTER?

NO: for storing different words

- [t] and [p] are also different sounds, but they also help distinguish word forms in english
  - Pill vs Till, Pan vs Tan, Map vs Mat
- You cannot find pairs of words that would differ only in terms of
  - tvsth ||| tvstw ||| tvs?|||tvsr

#### PHONES VS PHONEMES

Large number of "sounds" used in actual pronunciation

We call these phones

Only a subset of phones are lexically contrastive

We call these phonemes

#### PHONEMES ARE AN ABSTRACTION

Layer of representation that groups distinct phones together

[t-th-tw-?-r] can be represented with a single symbol /t/

Crucially, phonemes are language-dependent!

[t-th-tw-?-r] can be represented with a single symbol /t/...

...IN (AMERICAN) ENGLISH, not so in other languages!

# PHONEMES ARE AN ABSTRACTION & LANGUAGE DEPENDENT!

#### **English:**

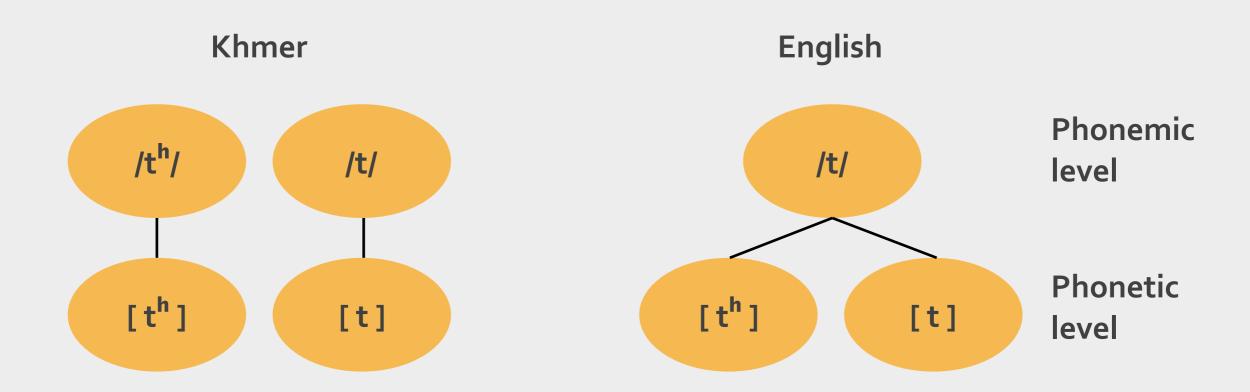
[thop] vs [top] = same word (just weird without aspiration)

#### Khmer:

 $[t^h \supset p] = to support [t \supset p] = be suffocated$ 

## PHONEMES ARE AN ABSTRACTION & LANGUAGE DEPENDENT!

[th] vs [t]: phonemic in Khmer, but only phonetic in English



General Agreement: You always hear phones

Less Agreement: you store phonemes, not phones

**Phones** linked to the same **phoneme** are usually predictable from context

- You get aspiration for /t/ in syllable initial positions
- You get unaspirated [t] after /s/
- You get the flap in between vowels
- Etc.
- So maybe it's all about coarticulation?

**Phones** linked to the same **phoneme** are usually predictable from context

- So maybe it's all about coarticulation?
- ...But sometimes the variation is random(-ish)
  - What is the first consonant in words like "human" or "huge"?
  - Sometimes [h], sometimes [j] and sometimes even [ç]

**Phones** linked to the same **phoneme** are usually predictable from context

So maybe it's all about coarticulation?

...But sometimes there's conditioning at a distance

- E.g. Vowel Harmony (here, Hungarian)
- Bab Babnak; Rum Rumnak
- Hit Hitnek; Tök Töknek

# PROBLEM OF TWO LEVELS OF REPRESENTATION

Locus of phenomena?

Example: Place assimilation:

- "Sweet boy" often sounds as "sweep boy"
- But "sweep toy" never sounds as "sweet toy"
- Phonetically or phonologically conditioned?

# BUILDING BLOCKS OF PHONES: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

[t] [d]

- [+plosive]
- [+coronal]
- [+anterior]
- [-voice]

- [+plosive]
- [+coronal]
- [+anterior]
- [+voice]

## BUILDING BLOCKS OF PHONES: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Strong representational claim:

- They are the smallest building bocks of language (atoms of speech)
- Used to store sounds in the mind

### ERP OF INTEREST:

MISMATCH NEGATIVITY (MMN)

### THE MISMATCH NEGATIVITY (MMN)

#### Stream of acoustic stimuli

- One type is repeated a lot (standard)
- The other appears only occasionally (deviant)
- MMN is (broadly construed) the difference between the two

#### Elicited pre-attentively!

 Participants are instructed not to attend on the auditory stream, but on reading a book or watching a silent movie

### THE MISMATCH NEGATIVITY (MMN)

#### Standard description:

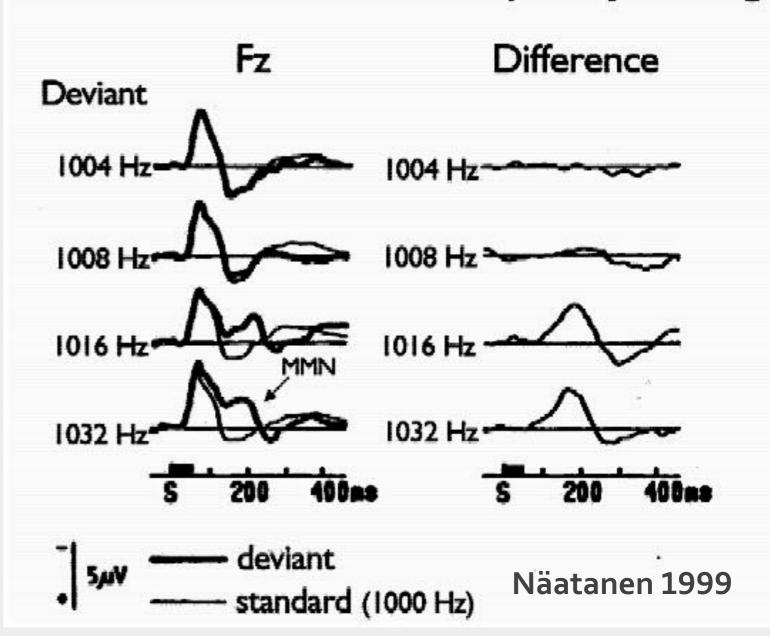
- Automatic auditory difference detection in memory
- The repeated presentation of the standards creates/induces/ retrieves a memory trace of the ongoing stream
- The deviant clashes with that representation
- MMN is the error signal

MMN as error signal

Sensitive to the magnitude of the difference between standards and deviants!

Larger (acoustic)
differences lead to
larger MMN effects.

#### MMN as a Function of Frequency Change

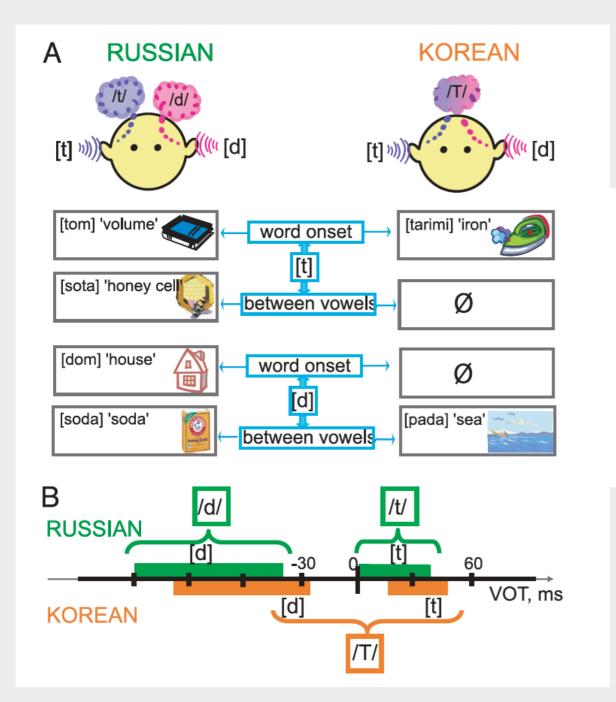


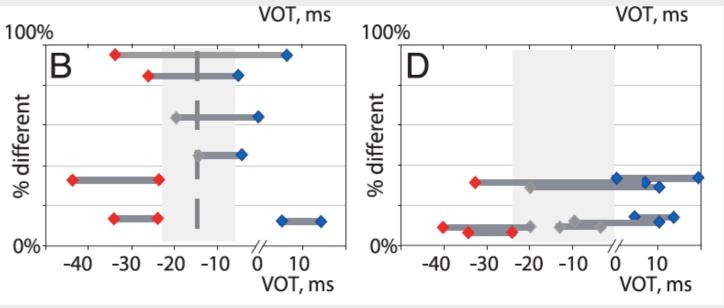
### THE MISMATCH NEGATIVITY (MMN)

Crucial question (for language scientists)

- MMN is sensitive to continuous acoustic differences
- Is it also sensitive to the categorical differences at the level of speech perception?

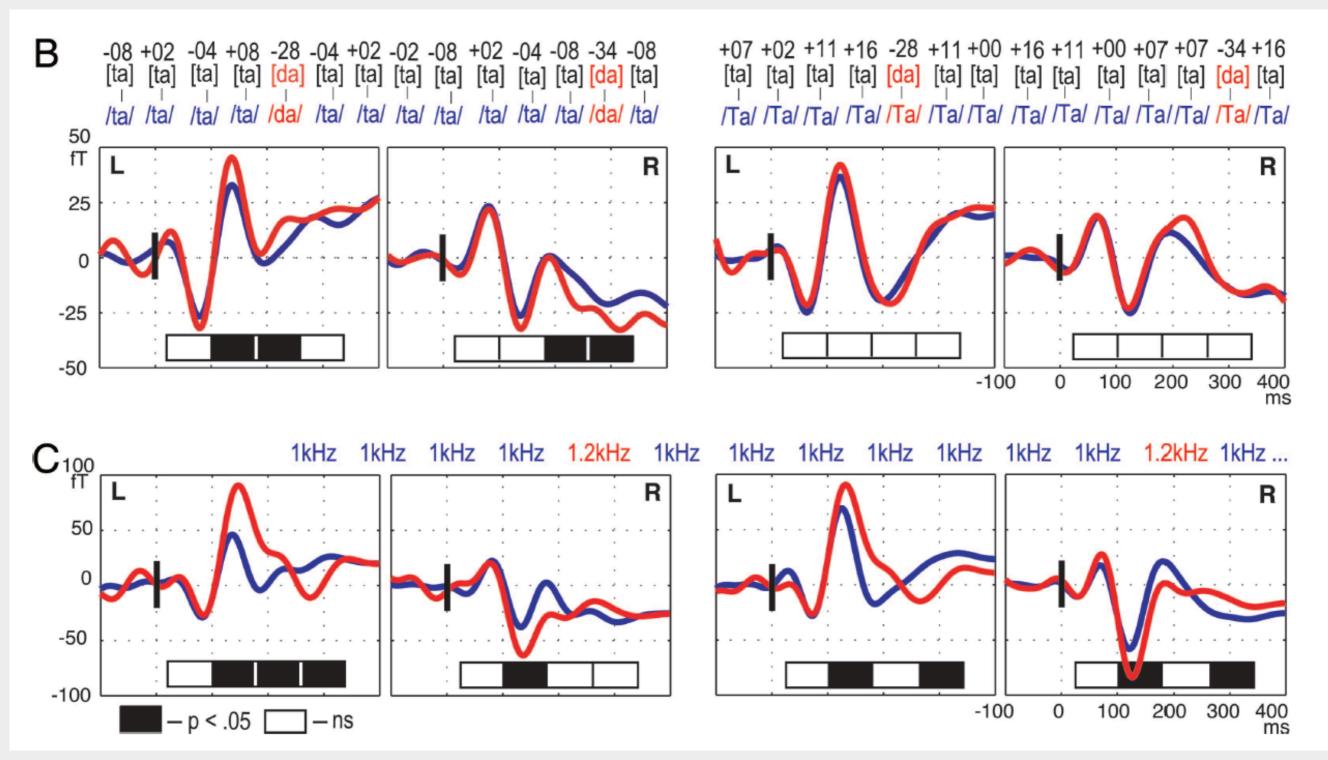






Kazanina et al (2006) PNAS

Russian Korean



## QUESTION 1: SPARSE OR FULL CODING?

# BUILDING BLOCKS OF PHONES: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

[t] [d]

- [+plosive]
- [+coronal]
- [+anterior]
- [-voice]

- [+plosive]
- [+coronal]
- [+anterior]
- [+voice]

## BUILDING BLOCKS OF PHONES: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Strong representational claim:

- They are the smallest building bocks of language (atoms of speech)
- Used to store sounds in the mind

Sounds with [coronal] place feature [t, d, s, z, n] are a bit special

- Very common in the world's languages
- Often change on historical scale (by assimilation or deletion)
- Assimilate to other sounds, but reverse is not true
  - "Sweet boy" often sounds as "sweep boy"
  - But "sweep toy" never sounds as "sweet toy"

Sounds with [coronal] place feature [t, d, s, z, n] are a bit special

Proposal 1: some kind of default value

**Proposal 2:** do *not* need to be *stored* in long-term memory

• for e.g.: Underspecification

[CORONAL] does not need to be stored in long-term memory (lexical storage)

But you still need it for pronunciation

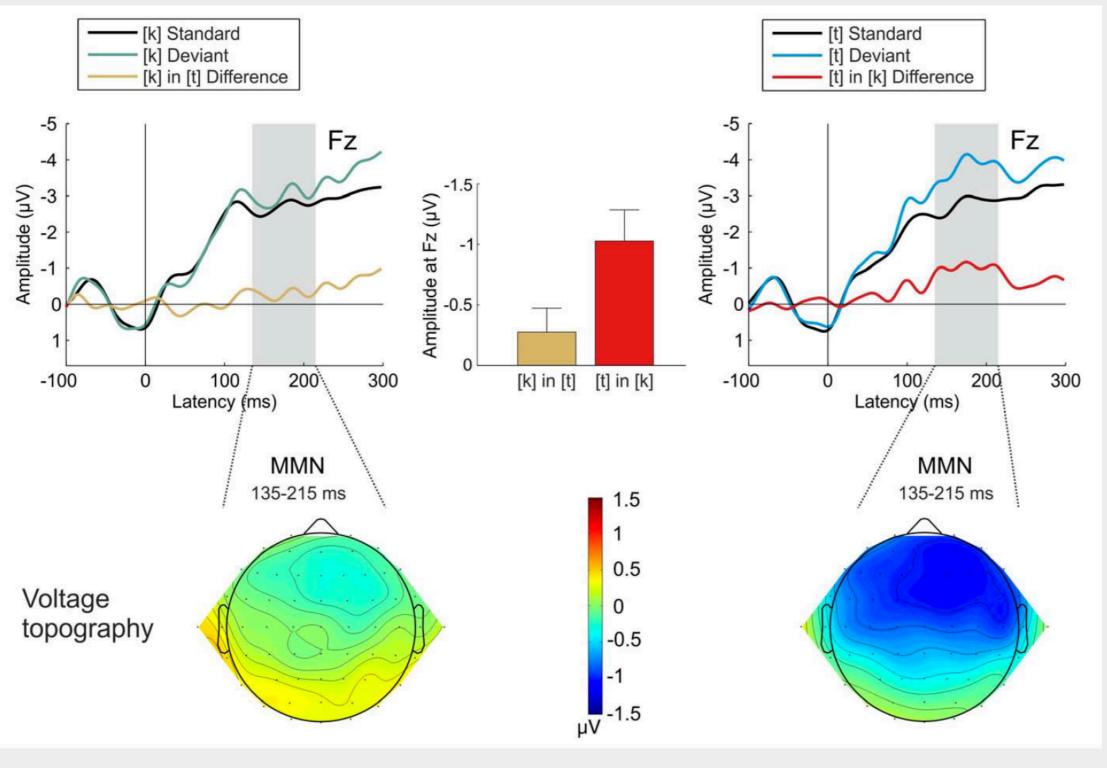
Inserted by default if place slot is empty

MMN expectations

Phonetic level: [Coronal] [Coronal] [Coronal] [Coronal]

Long Term memory: [Coronal] ... -> ... [ ]

## Mismatch Negativity (MMN) possibilities Dorsal Dorsal Dorsal 100 Cor Cor Dorsal

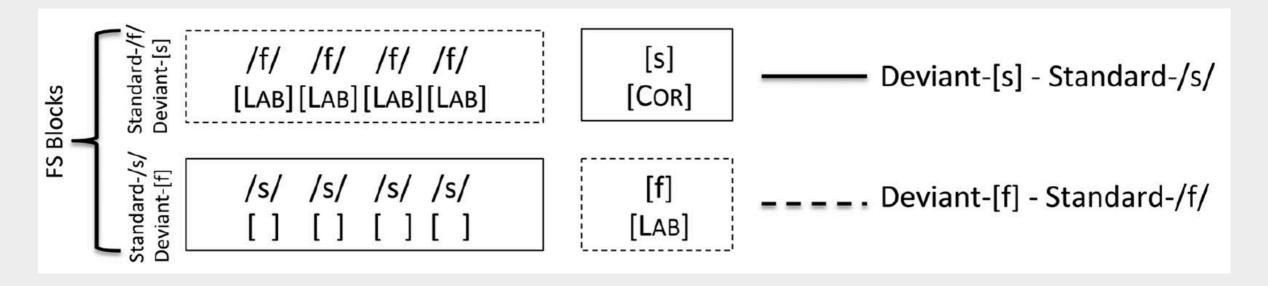


Scharinger et al (2013)

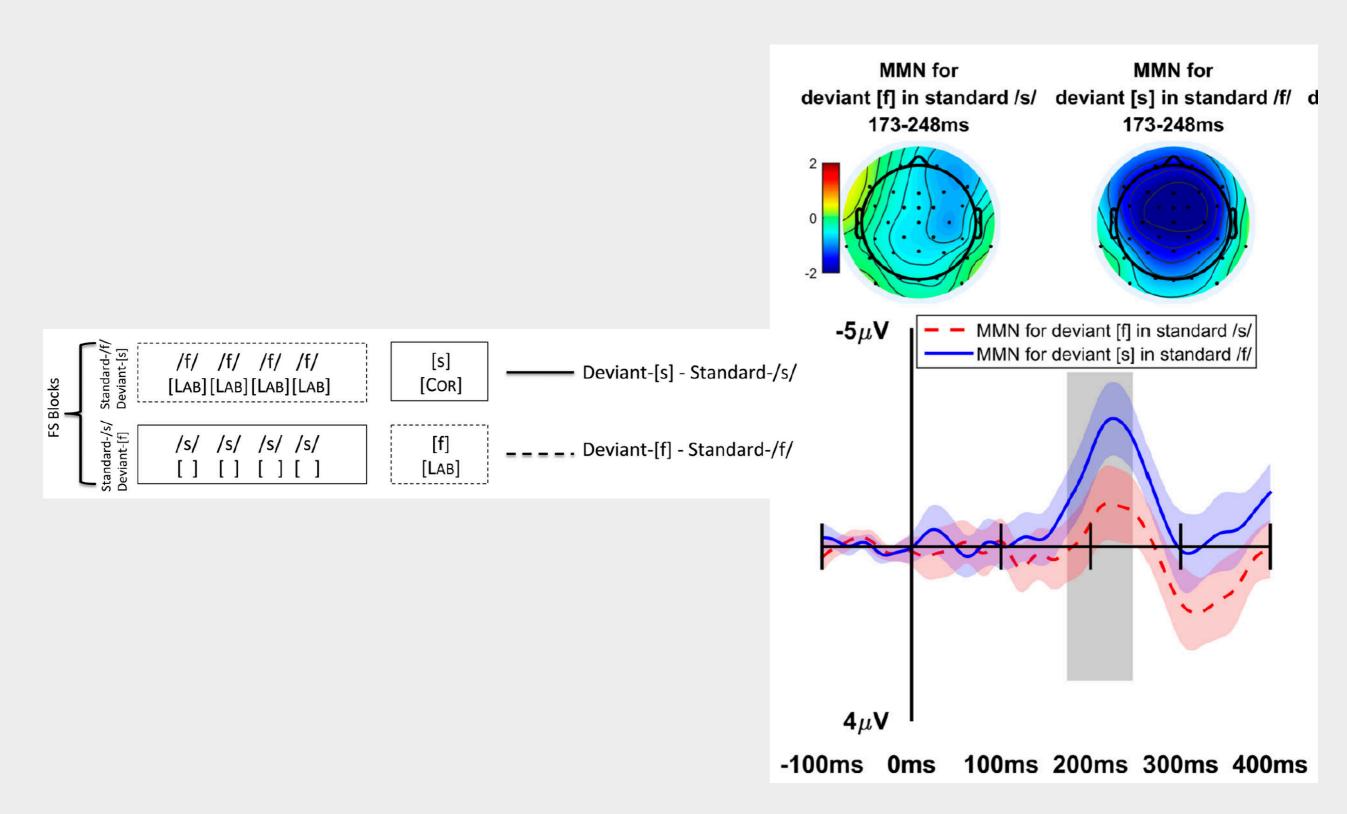
(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES & ALMEIDA, 2016, LCN)

Evidence for [CORONAL] underspecification for stops: t, k

**Test 1:** Replication with fricatives: s, f



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES & ALMEIDA, 2016, LCN)

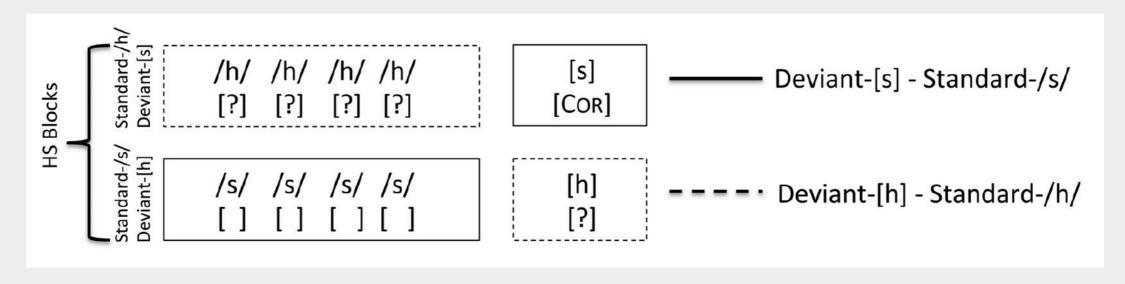


(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES & ALMEIDA, 2016, LCN)

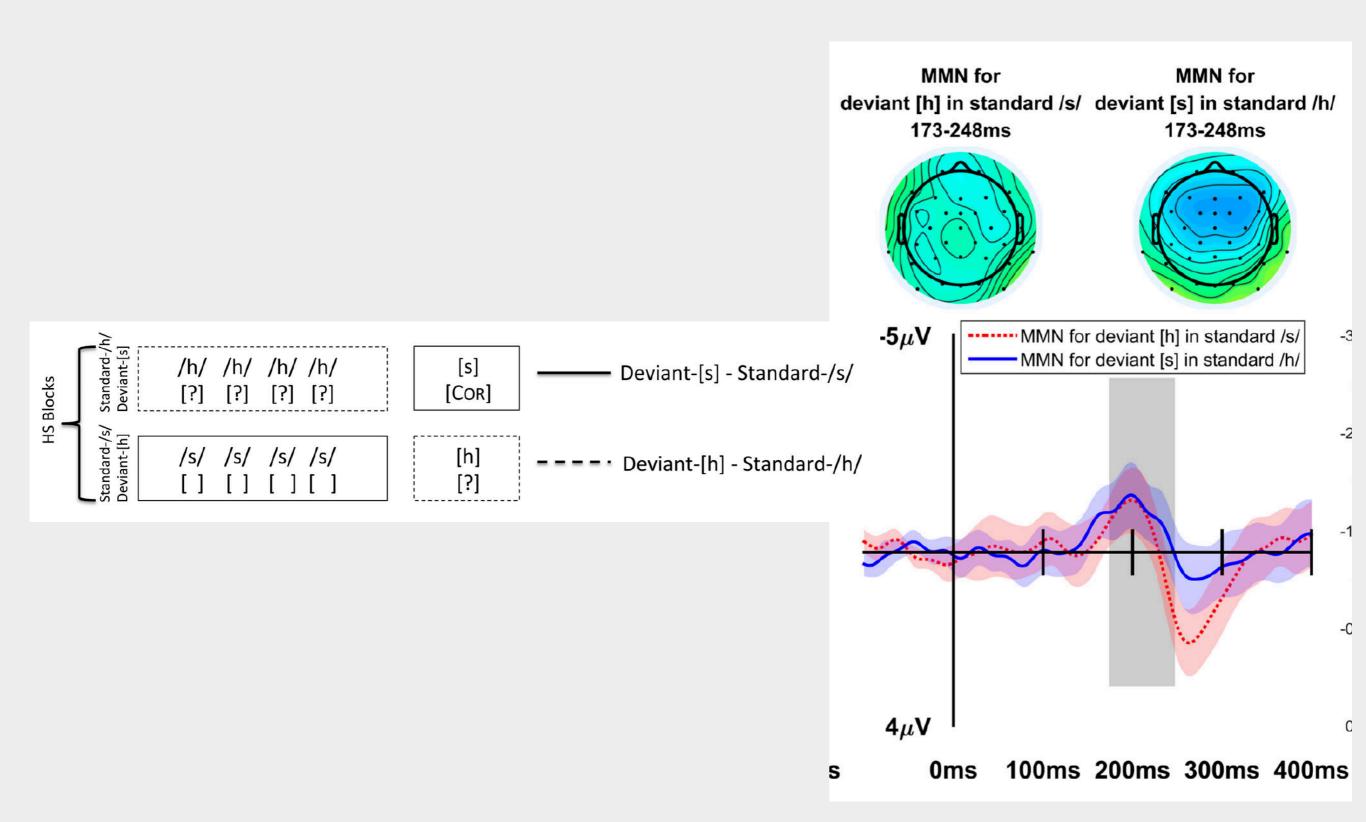
**Test 2:** Figure out the case of [h]: Also proposed to have a default place

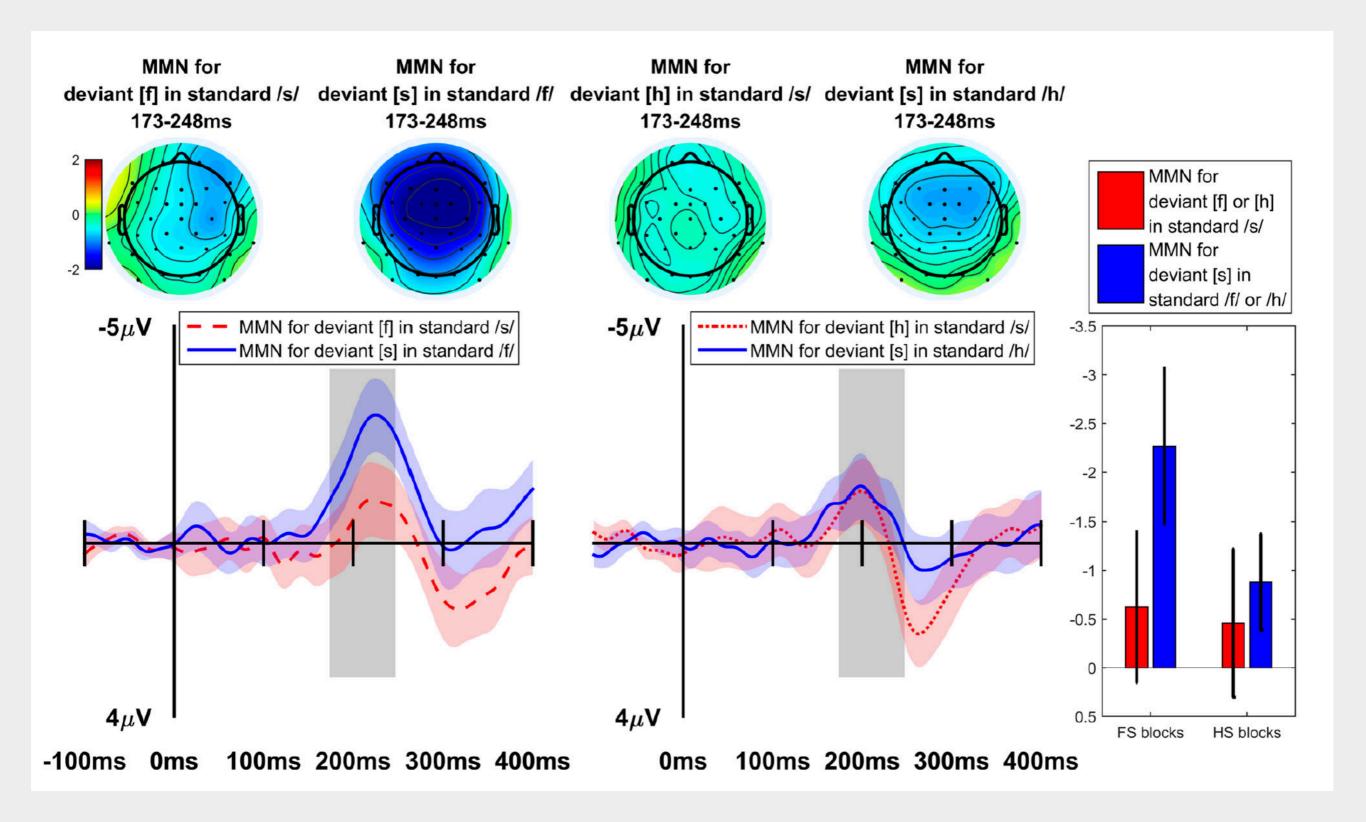
#### PREDICTION:

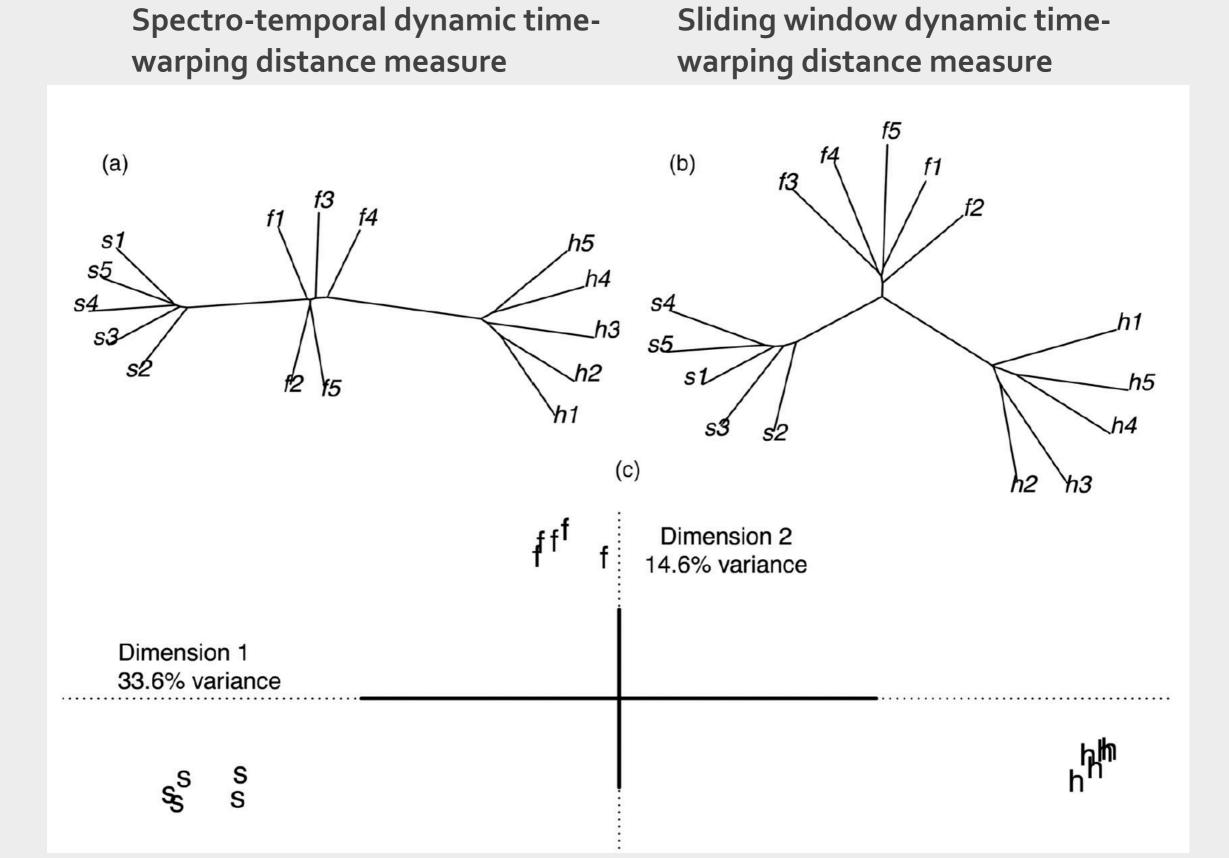
- If [h] has a place feature, then aMMN
- if not, then no aMMN?



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES & ALMEIDA, 2016, LCN)







Combined analysis of two distance matrices with DISTATIS

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES & ALMEIDA, 2016, LCN)

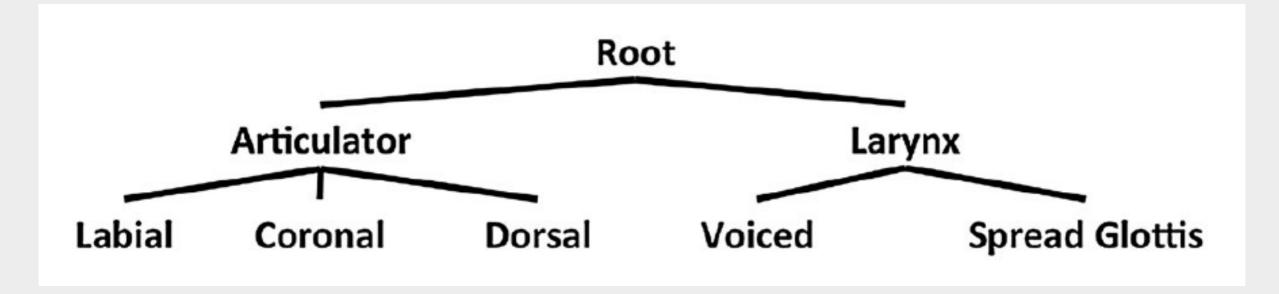
#### CONCLUSIONS

- Evidence for [CORONAL] underspecification for fricatives as well
- [h] also seems to be underspecified (did not clash with [s])

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES & ALMEIDA, 2016, LCN)

How does a system deal with two default values?

- Old proposal: oral vs laryngeal articulators are in different tiers
- Explains debucalization phenomena (e.g., s→h in some Spanish dialects)



POLITZER-AHLES, SCHLUTER, WU & ALMEIDA (2016). JEP:HPP.

Evidence for suprasegmental (tonal) underspecification as well

Mandarin

- 4 Tones
- T3 assimilates to other tones, other tones never turn into T3

POLITZER-AHLES, SCHLUTER, WU & ALMEIDA (2016). JEP:HPP.

Evidence for suprasegmental (tonal) underspecification as well

Mandarin

Same pattern of results

- T3 shows asymmetric MMN effects
  - in Chinese speakers but not English speakers
- Other Tones do not

### QUESTION 2: HOW PHONETICALLY ABSTRACT ARE THESE LONG-TERM REPRESENTATIONS?

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

Voicing: Amount of vibration in your vocal folds

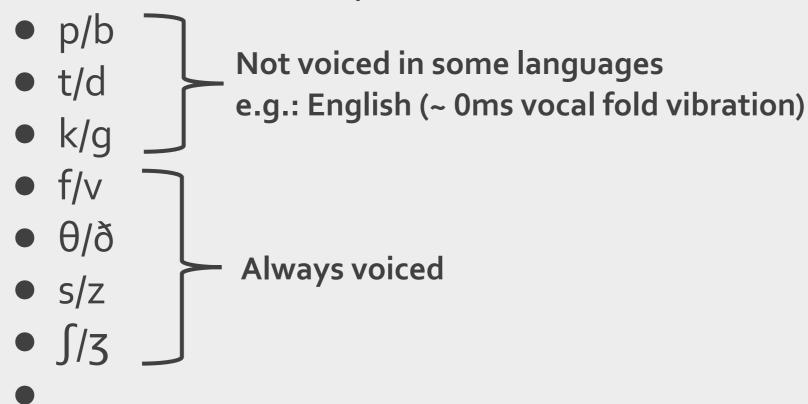
Distinguishes pairs of otherwise identical phones:

- p/b
- t/d
- k/g
- f/v
- θ/ð
- s/z
- 5/3
- ...

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

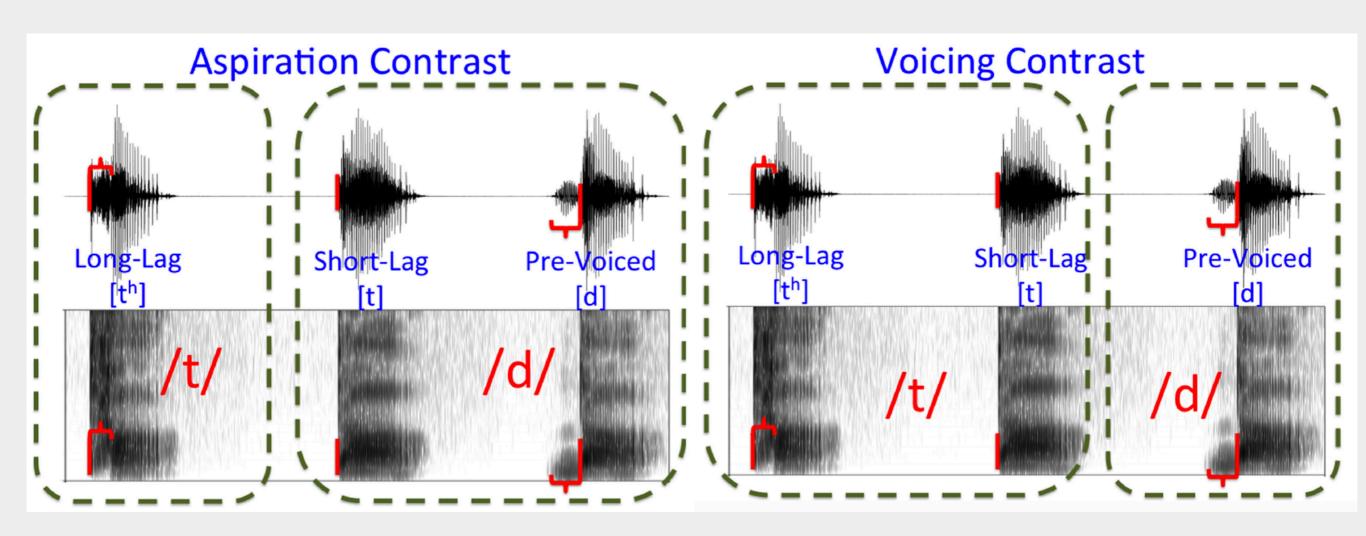
Voicing: Amount of vibration in your vocal folds

**Problem:** Phonetic implementation varies



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

Voicing: [SPREAD GLOTTIS] [VOICE] OR [±VOICE]



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

Voicing: [SPREAD GLOTTIS] [VOICE] OR [±VOICE]

#### English

- With phonetic detail: T = [SG] vs D = [-SG] or []
- Hestvik & Durvasula (2016) showed asymmetric MMNs
  - tttttd>>dddddt
- Compatible with T = [SG] vs D = []

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

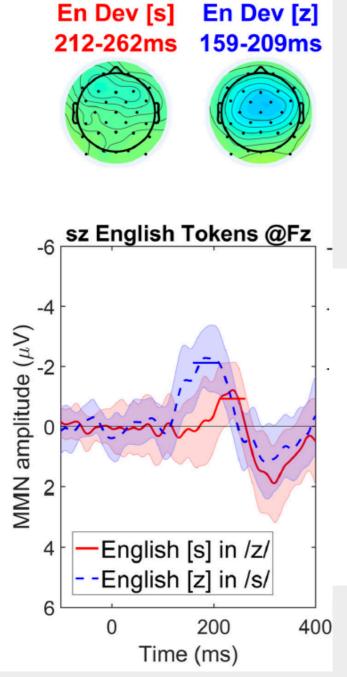
Voicing: [SPREAD GLOTTIS] [VOICE] OR [±VOICE]

**Test 1:** English stops vs fricatives

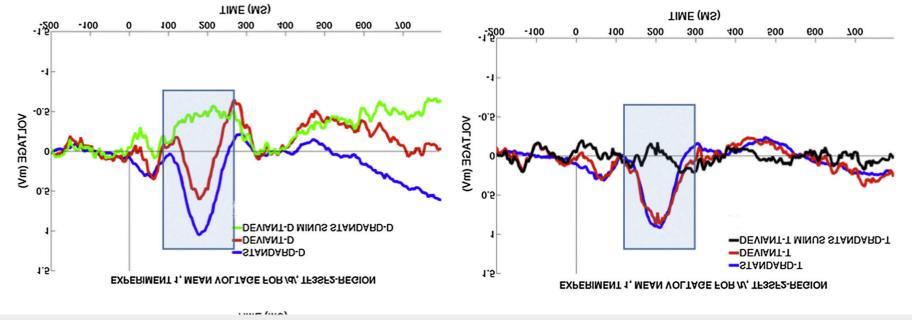
- With phonetic detail: T = [SG] [ ] vs D = [ ] [ ]
- With phonetic detail: S = [ ] [ ] vs Z = [ ] [VOICE]
- PREDICTION: MMN asymmetry should reverse compared to Hestvik & Durvasula (2016)

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

#### **English speakers**



Hestvik & Durvasula (2016) (comparison is with green and black lines; voiceless lower than voiced difference waves in both cases.)



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

Voicing: [SPREAD GLOTTIS] [VOICE] OR [±VOICE]

**Test 1:** English stops vs fricatives

- With phonetic detail: T = [SG] [ ] vs D = [ ] [ ]
- With phonetic detail: S = [ ] [ ] vs Z = [ ] [VOICE]
- PREDICTION: MMN asymmetry should reverse compared to Hestvik & Durvasula (2016)
  - But it does not

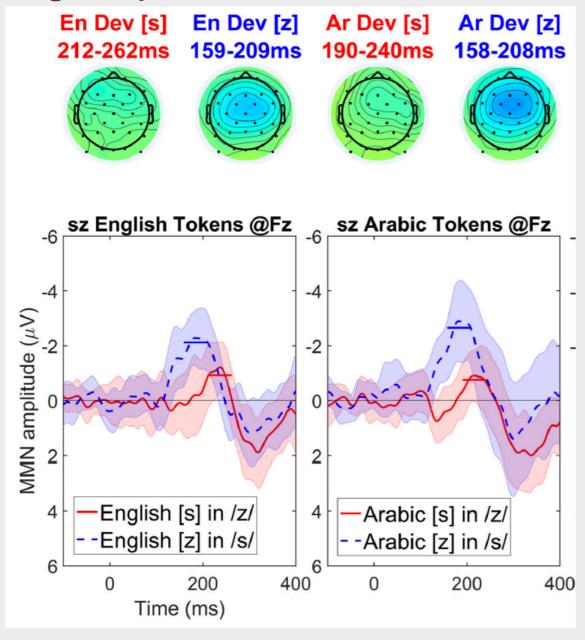
(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

**Test 2:** English vs {Russian, Arabic}:

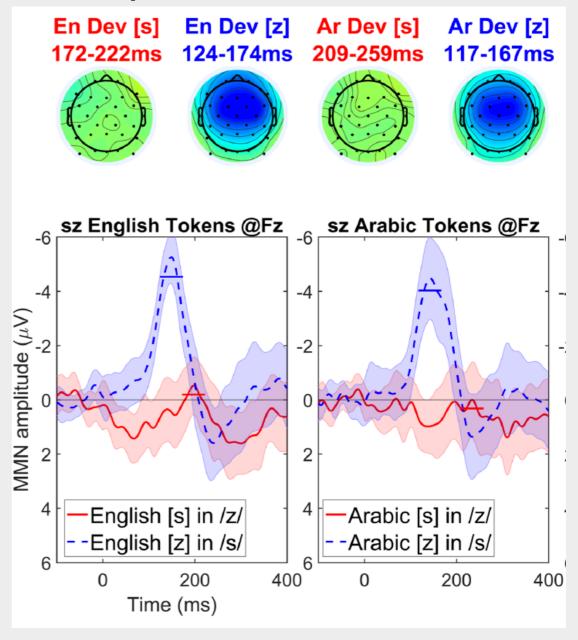
- With phonetic detail: [SG] [ ] vs [ ][Voice]
  - MMN asymmetry should change according to the language
- Binary, phonetically abstract: [±VOICE] vs [±VOICE]
  - Same MMN pattern across the three languages

(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

#### **English speakers**

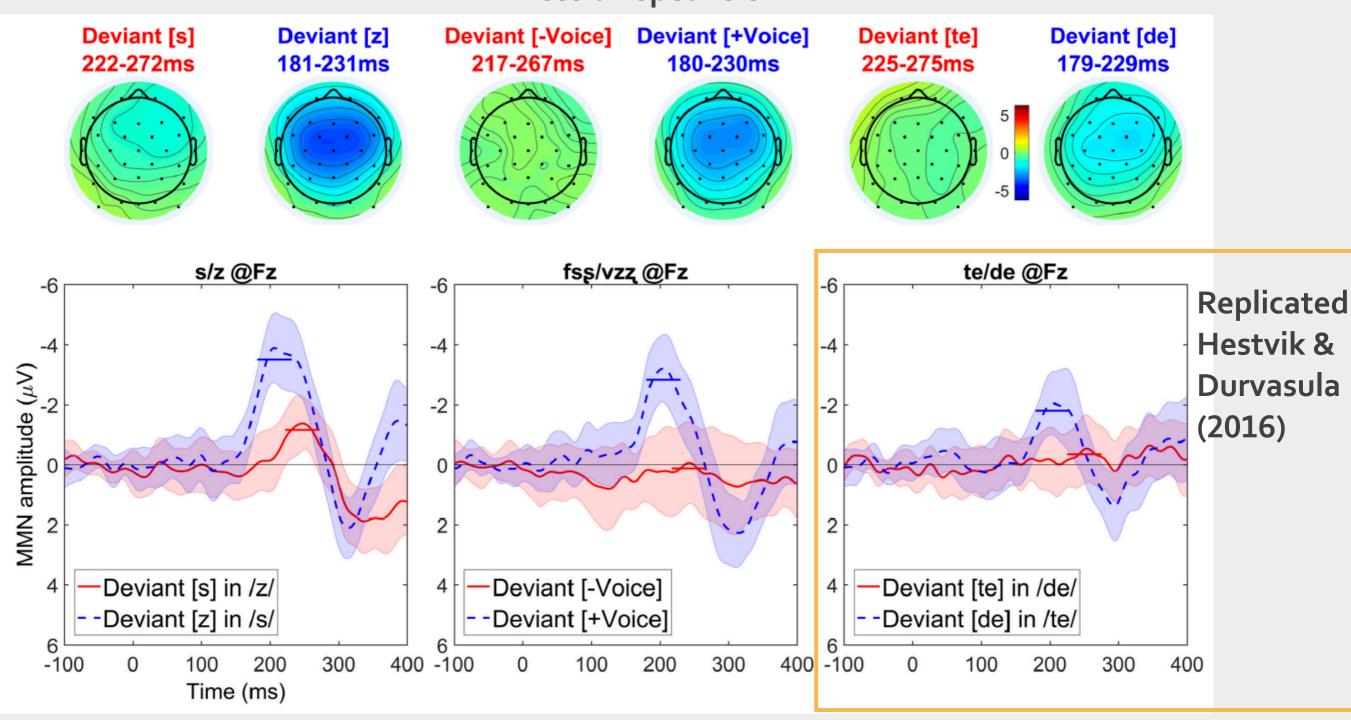


#### **Arabic speakers**



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

#### **Russian speakers**



(SCHLUTER, POLITZER-AHLES, AL KAABI, & ALMEIDA, 2017, FRONTIERS)

**Test 2:** English vs {Russian, Arabic}:

- Same MMN pattern across the three languages
- Marking seems to be [] vs [-Voice] or [] vs [] [SG]
  - Crucially, it's whatever feature is responsible for the unvoiced series that seems to be marked

### 03 CONCLUSIONS

#### CONCLUSIONS

Question 1: sparse vs redundant coding?

- Sparse
  - Certain features are abstracted away from the lexicon

**Question 2:** How much phonetic detail is encoded in long-term memory?

- LTM representations are phonetically quite abstract
  - phonetic details are abstracted away in the lexicon

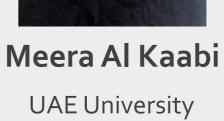
**Kevin Schluter**University of Minnesota



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# THANKYOU! ANY QUESTIONS?