

THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

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**The neural circuitry underlying the “rhythm effect” in stuttering**

Saul A. Frankford<sup>1</sup>, Elizabeth S. Heller Murray<sup>1</sup>, Matthew Masapollo<sup>1</sup>, Shanqing Cai<sup>1</sup>, Jason A. Tourville<sup>1</sup>, Alfonso Nieto-Castañón<sup>1</sup>, and Frank H. Guenther<sup>1,2,3,4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Speech, Language, & Hearing Sciences, Boston University, Boston, MA 02215

<sup>2</sup>Department of Biomedical Engineering, Boston University, Boston, MA 02215

<sup>3</sup>Department of Radiology, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, MA 02114

<sup>4</sup>Picower Institute for Learning and Memory, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA 02139

Send Correspondence to:

Saul Frankford  
Boston University  
Department of Speech, Language, & Hearing Sciences  
677 Beacon St.  
Boston, MA 02215  
[saulf@bu.edu](mailto:saulf@bu.edu)  
(215) 510-7179

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### **Abstract**

**Purpose:** Stuttering is characterized by intermittent speech disfluencies which are dramatically reduced when speakers synchronize their speech with a steady beat. The goal of this study was to characterize the neural underpinnings of this phenomenon using functional magnetic resonance imaging.

**Method:** Data were collected from 17 adults who stutter and 17 adults who do not stutter while they read sentences aloud either in a normal, self-paced fashion or paced by the beat of a series of isochronous tones ("rhythmic"). Task activation and task-based functional connectivity analyses were carried out to compare neural responses between speaking conditions and groups.

**Results:** Adults who stutter produced fewer disfluent trials in the rhythmic condition than in the normal condition. While adults who do not stutter had greater activation in the rhythmic condition compared to the normal condition in regions associated with speech planning, auditory feedback control, and timing perception, adults who stutter did not have any significant changes. However, adults who stutter demonstrated increased functional connectivity between bilateral inferior cerebellum and bilateral orbitofrontal cortex as well as increased connectivity among cerebellar regions during rhythmic speech as compared to normal speech.

**Conclusion:** Modulation of connectivity in the cerebellum and prefrontal cortex during rhythmic speech suggests that this fluency-inducing technique activates a compensatory timing system in the cerebellum and potentially modulates top-down motor control and attentional systems. These findings corroborate previous work associating the cerebellum with fluency in adults who stutter and indicate that the cerebellum may be targeted to enhance future therapeutic interventions.

**Keywords:** speech production; stuttering; cerebellum; basal ganglia; fMRI; connectivity

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### 49 **Introduction**

50 Stuttering is a speech disorder that impacts the production of smooth and timely  
51 articulations of planned utterances. Stuttering typically emerges early in childhood and persists  
52 over the lifespan for 1% of the population (Craig et al., 2009; Yairi & Ambrose, 1999). Speech  
53 of people who stutter (PWS) is characterized by perceptually salient repetitions and  
54 prolongations of individual phonemes, as well as abnormal silent pauses at the onset of syllables  
55 and words accompanied by tension in the articulatory musculature (Max, 2004). These  
56 disfluencies are often accompanied by other secondary behaviors such as eye-blinking and facial  
57 grimacing (Guitar, 2014). Along with these more overt characteristics, stuttering also has a  
58 severe impact on those who experience it, including increased social anxiety and decreased self-  
59 confidence, emotional functioning, and overall mental health (Craig et al., 2009; Craig & Tran,  
60 2006, 2014). Gaining a better understanding of how and why stuttering occurs will help to lead  
61 to more targeted therapies and improve quality of life for PWS.

62 Throughout the years, considerable effort has been made to identify the core pathology  
63 underlying stuttering (for reviews, see Max, 2004; Max et al., 2004). More recently, diverse  
64 brain imaging modalities have been used to examine how the brains of people who stutter differ  
65 from those who do not and how these measures change in different speaking scenarios or  
66 following therapy (see Etchell et al., 2018 for a complete literature review). Studies have  
67 consistently found that PWS show structural and functional differences in the brain network  
68 pertaining to speech initiation and timing (cortico-thalamo-basal ganglia motor loop; Chang &  
69 Zhu, 2013; Giraud, 2008; Lu, Peng, et al., 2010) and reduced structural integrity in speech  
70 planning areas (left ventral premotor cortex [vPMC] and inferior frontal gyrus [IFG]; Beal et al.,  
71 2013, 2015; Chang et al., 2008, 2011; Garnett et al., 2018; Kell et al., 2009; Lu et al., 2012).

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72 Functionally, previous work has indicated that during speech, adults who stutter (AWS) have  
73 reduced activation in left hemisphere auditory areas (Belyk et al., 2015; Braun et al., 1997;  
74 Chang et al., 2009; De Nil et al., 2000, 2008; Fox et al., 1996; Van Borsel et al., 2003) and  
75 overactivation in right hemisphere structures (Braun et al., 1997; De Nil et al., 2000; Fox et al.,  
76 1996, 2000; Ingham et al., 2000; Van Borsel et al., 2003), which are typically non-dominant for  
77 language processing. These studies strongly suggest that stuttering occurs as the result of  
78 impaired speech timing, planning, and auditory processing, and that brain structures not normally  
79 involved in speech production are potentially recruited to compensate.

80 In addition to these task activation analyses, previous studies have examined task-based  
81 functional connectivity (i.e. activation coupling between multiple brain areas during a speaking  
82 task) differences between AWS and ANS. Some studies show reduced connectivity between left  
83 IFG and left precentral gyrus in AWS (Chang et al., 2011; Lu et al., 2009), which suggests an  
84 impairment in translating speech plans for motor execution (Guenther, 2016). Other studies show  
85 group differences in connectivity between auditory, motor, premotor, and subcortical areas (  
86 Chang et al., 2011; Kell et al., 2018; Lu, Chen, et al., 2010; Lu et al., 2009; Lu, Peng, et al.,  
87 2010). Results of these task-based connectivity studies, as well as resting-state and structural  
88 connectivity studies (e.g., Chang & Zhu, 2013; Sitek et al., 2016), have made it apparent that  
89 stuttering behavior is not merely the result of disruptions to one or more separate brain regions,  
90 but also differences in the ability for brain regions to communicate with one another during  
91 speech.

92 In addition to examining neural activation in AWS during typical speech, imaging studies  
93 have also looked at activation during conditions where AWS speak more fluently. One such  
94 condition that has been widely examined behaviorally is the *rhythm effect* in which stuttering

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95 disfluencies are dramatically reduced when speakers synchronize their speech movements with  
96 rhythmic pacing stimuli (Azrin et al., 1968; Barber, 1940; Hutchinson & Norris, 1977; Stager et  
97 al., 1997; Toyomura et al., 2011). These fluency-enhancing effects are robust; they occur  
98 regardless of whether the pacing stimulus is presented in the acoustic or visual modalities  
99 (Barber, 1940), can be induced even by an imagined rhythm (Barber, 1940; Stager et al., 2003),  
100 and occur independently of speaking rate (Davidow, 2014; Hanna & Morris, 1977). Previous  
101 studies investigating changes in brain activation during the rhythm effect (Braun et al., 1997;  
102 Stager et al., 2003; Toyomura et al., 2011, 2015) have found that during rhythmic speech, both  
103 AWS and ANS had increased activation in speech-related auditory and motor regions of cortex  
104 as well as parts of the basal ganglia. These activation increases were especially pronounced for  
105 AWS as compared to ANS. (Toyomura et al., 2011) also demonstrated that these activation  
106 increases occurred in regions displaying under-activation during the normal speaking condition.  
107 This suggests that pacing speech along with a metronome improves fluency by “normalizing”  
108 under-activation in speech production regions. In light of the functional connectivity studies  
109 mentioned previously, characterizing changes in brain connectivity between typical and  
110 rhythmically-paced speech could illuminate how external pacing leads to normalized activation  
111 in the speech network and, ultimately, fluency.

112         In the present study, we employed functional MRI during an overt rhythmic sentence-  
113 reading task in AWS and ANS to characterize modulation of brain activation and functional  
114 connectivity related to the rhythm effect in stuttering. Meta-analyses in neurotypical adults have  
115 implicated a common network for rhythmic perceptual and motor timing (Chauvigné et al., 2014;  
116 Wiener et al., 2010) involving the cerebellum, basal ganglia, supplementary motor area, and  
117 prefrontal cortex, areas which have been integrated into models of rhythmic processing (Teki et

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118 al., 2012; Zeid & Bullock, 2019). Therefore, we predict that this network, and its connections  
119 with auditory and motor areas normally active during speech production, would be recruited to a  
120 larger extent during rhythmic compared to normal speech.

121

### 122 **Method**

123 The current study complied with the principles of research involving human subjects as  
124 stipulated by the Boston University institutional review board (protocol 2421E) and the  
125 Massachusetts General Hospital human research committee, and participants gave informed  
126 consent before taking part. The entire experimental procedure took approximately 2 hours, and  
127 subjects received monetary compensation.

128

### 129 *Subjects*

130 Seventeen AWS (12 males/5 females, aged 18-58 years, mean age = 29.8 years, SD = 12.5 years)  
131 and seventeen ANS (11 males/6 females, aged 18-49 years, mean age = 28.7 years, SD = 8.1  
132 years) from the greater Boston area were tested. Age was not significantly different between  
133 groups (two-sample t-test;  $t = 0.31$ ,  $p = 0.759$ ). Subjects were native speakers of American  
134 English who reported normal (or corrected-to-normal) vision and no history of hearing, speech,  
135 language, or neurological disorders (aside from persistent developmental stuttering for the  
136 AWS). Handedness was measured with the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971).  
137 Using this metric, all AWS were found to be right-handed (scoring greater than 40), but there  
138 was more variability among ANS (13 right-handed, 1 left-handed, and 3 ambidextrous). There  
139 was a significant difference in handedness score between groups (Wilcoxon rank-sum test;  $z =$   
140 2.20,  $p = 0.028$ ); therefore, handedness score was included as a covariate in all group imaging

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141 comparisons. For each stuttering participant, stuttering severity was determined using the  
142 Stuttering Severity Instrument, Fourth Edition (Riley, 2008); mean score = 23.6, range: 9 to 42;  
143 see Table 1 for individual participants). Four additional subjects (3 AWS and 1 ANS) were  
144 tested, but they were excluded during data inspection (described below in the *Behavioral*  
145 *Analysis* and *Task Activation fMRI Analysis* sections).

146

### 147 *fMRI Paradigm*

148         Sixteen eight-syllable sentences were selected from the Revised List of Phonetically  
149 Balanced Sentences (Harvard Sentences; (*IEEE Recommended Practice for Speech Quality*  
150 *Measurements*, 1969; see Appendix). These sentences, composed of one- and two-syllable  
151 words, contain a broad distribution of English speech sounds (e.g. “The juice of lemons makes  
152 fine punch”). During a functional brain-imaging session, subjects read aloud the stimulus  
153 sentences under two different speaking conditions, one in which individual syllables were  
154 rhythmically paced by isochronous auditory beats (i.e., the *rhythm* condition), and one in which  
155 syllables were produced using a normal (unmodified) speech rate (i.e., the *normal*  
156 condition). For each trial, subjects were presented with eight isochronous tones (1000 Hz, 25ms  
157 duration) with a 270 ms interstimulus interval. This resulting rate of approximately 222  
158 beats/min was chosen so that participants’ speech would approximate the rate of the *normal*  
159 condition (based on previous estimates of mean speaking rate in English; (Davidow, 2014;  
160 Pellegrino et al., 2004). Participants were instructed to refrain from using any part of their body  
161 (e.g., finger or foot) to tap to the rhythm.

162         To avoid confounding interpretation of the BOLD response related to speech production  
163 with that of processing the auditory stimulus, the pacing tones were terminated prior to the

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164 presentation of the orthographic stimulus. On *rhythm* trials, subjects used the tones to pace their  
165 forthcoming speech, while on *normal* trials, they were instructed to disregard the tones and to  
166 read the stimuli at a normal speaking rate, rhythm and intonation. During a *rhythm* or *normal*  
167 trial, the orthography of a given sentence was presented with the corresponding trial identifier  
168 (i.e., “Rhythm” or “Normal”) presented above the sentence. The font color was either blue for  
169 *rhythm* and green for *normal* or vice versa, and colors were counterbalanced across  
170 subjects. Subjects were instructed to begin reading aloud immediately after the sentence  
171 appeared on the screen. In the event that they made a mistake, they were asked to refrain from  
172 producing any corrections and remain silent until the next trial. Silent *baseline* trials were also  
173 included wherein subjects heard the tones, and saw a random series of typographical symbols  
174 (e.g. ‘+ \ ^ & \$ / [ \ \$ = [ ] \* % / - @ \ | - % - / ’) clustered into word-like groupings (matched to stimulus  
175 sentences); subjects refrained from speaking during these trials.

176         Subjects participated in a behavioral experiment (not reported here) prior to the imaging  
177 experiment that gave them experience with the speech stimuli and the task. The time between  
178 this prior exposure and the present experiment ranged from 0 to 424 days. Immediately prior to  
179 the imaging session, subjects practiced each sentence under both conditions until they  
180 demonstrated competence with the task and sentence production. Subjects also completed a set  
181 of six practice trials in the scanner prior to fMRI data collection. To control basic speech  
182 parameters across conditions and groups, subjects were provided with performance feedback on  
183 their overall speech rate and loudness during practice only. Following this practice set, subjects  
184 completed between two and four experimental runs of test trials depending on time constraints  
185 (29 completed four, 4 completed three, 1 completed two). During the experimental session,  
186 verbal feedback was provided between runs if subjects consistently performed outside of the



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187 specified speech rate (220 ms to 320 ms mean syllable duration). Each run consisted of 16  
188 *rhythm* trials, 16 *normal* trials, and 16 *baseline* trials, pseudo-randomly interleaved within each  
189 run for each subject. All trials were audio-recorded for later processing.

190

### 191 *Data Acquisition*

192 MRI data for this study were collected at two locations: the Athinoula A. Martinos Center  
193 for Biomedical Imaging at the Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH), Charlestown Campus (9  
194 AWS, 9 ANS) and the Cognitive Neuroimaging Center at Boston University (BU; 8 AWS, 8  
195 ANS). At MGH, images were acquired with a 3T Siemens Skyra scanner and a 32-channel head  
196 coil, while a 3T Siemens Prisma Scanner with a 64-channel head coil was used at BU. At each  
197 location, subjects lay supine in the scanner and functional volumes were collected using a  
198 gradient echo, echo planar imaging BOLD sequence (repetition time [TR] = 11.5 s, acquisition  
199 time = 2.47 s, TE = 30 ms, Flip Angle = 90°). Each functional volume covered the entire brain  
200 and was composed of 46 axial slices (64 x 64 matrix) acquired in interleaved order and  
201 accelerated using a simultaneous multislice factor of 3 with a 192 mm field of view. The in-plane  
202 resolution was 3.0 x 3.0 mm<sup>2</sup>, and slice thickness was 3.0 mm with no gap. Two “dummy” scans  
203 were included at the beginning of each run to ensure equilibrium in the magnetic field prior to  
204 data collection. Additionally, a high-resolution T1-weighted whole-brain structural image was  
205 collected from each participant to anatomically localize the functional data (MPRAGE sequence,  
206 256 x 256 x 176 mm<sup>3</sup> volume with a 1 mm isotropic resolution, TR = 2.53 s, inversion time =  
207 1100 ms, echo time = 1.69 ms, flip angle = 7°).

208 Functional data were acquired using a sparse image acquisition paradigm (Eden et al.,  
209 1999; Hall et al., 1999) that allowed participants to produce the target sentences during silent

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210 intervals between volume acquisitions. Volumes were acquired 5.7-8.17 s after stimulus  
211 presentation to ensure a 4-6 second delay between the middle of sentence production and the  
212 acquisition, in alignment with the delay in the peak of the task-related blood oxygen-level-  
213 dependent (BOLD) response (Belin et al., 1999). By scanning after speech production has ended,  
214 this paradigm reduces head motion-induced scan artifacts, eliminates the influence of scanner  
215 noise on speaker performance, and allows subjects to perceive their own self-generated auditory  
216 feedback in the absence of scanner noise (e.g., Gracco et al., 2005). A schematic representation  
217 of the trial structure and timeline is shown in Figure 1.

218 Visual stimuli were projected onto a screen viewed from within the scanner via a mirror  
219 attached to the head coil. Auditory stimuli were delivered to both ears through Sensimetrics  
220 model S-14 MRI-compatible earphones using Matlab (The MathWorks, Natick, MA). Subjects’  
221 utterances were transduced with a Fibersound model FOM1-MR-30m fiber-optic microphone,  
222 sent to a laptop (Lenovo ThinkPad W540), and recorded using Matlab. Subjects took a short  
223 break after completing each run.

224

### 225 *Behavioral Analysis*

226 An automatic speech recognition engine was used to objectively measure how accurately  
227 subjects aligned their syllables to the metronome beats. Specifically, the open-source large-  
228 vocabulary continuous speech recognition engine *Julius* (Lee & Kawahara, 2009) was used in  
229 conjunction with the free *VoxForge* American English acoustic models (voxforge.org) to  
230 perform phoneme-level alignment on the sentence recordings. This resulted in phoneme  
231 boundary timing information for every trial. A researcher manually inspected each trial to ensure  
232 correct automatic detection of phoneme boundaries. Any trials in which the subject made a

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233 reading error, a condition error (i.e. spoke rhythmically when they were cued to speak normally  
234 or vice versa), or a disfluency categorized as a stutter by a licensed speech-language pathologist  
235 were eliminated from further behavioral analysis. One ANS that made consistent condition errors  
236 was eliminated from further analysis. One AWS was eliminated from further analysis due to an  
237 insufficient number of fluent trials during the *normal speech* condition (6/64  
238 attempted). Additionally, following the error trial elimination step, behavioral data from AWS13  
239 were deleted due to a technical error, so only 16 AWS are included in the behavioral analyses.

240 To evaluate whether there was a fluency-enhancing effect of rhythmic pacing, the  
241 percentage of trials eliminated due to stuttering in the AWS group was compared between the  
242 two speaking conditions using a non-parametric Wilcoxon signed-rank test. Measures of the total  
243 sentence duration and intervocalic timing from each trial were also extracted to determine the  
244 rate and isochronicity of each production. Within a sentence, the average time between the  
245 centers of the eight successive vowels was calculated to determine the intervocalic interval (IVI).  
246 The reciprocal ( $1/IVI$ ) was then calculated, resulting in a measure of speaking rate in units of  
247 IVIs per second. The coefficient of variation for intervocalic intervals (CV-IVIs) was also  
248 calculated by dividing the standard deviation of IVIs divided by the mean IVI. A higher CV-IVI  
249 indicates higher variability of IVI, while a CV-IVI of 0 reflects perfect isochronicity. Rate and  
250 CV-IVI were compared between groups and conditions using a mixed design ANOVA. A  
251 Bonferroni correction was applied across these two analyses to account for testing these related  
252 measures.

253

254 *Task Activation fMRI Analysis*

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255            *Preprocessing:* Following data collection, all images were processed through two  
256 preprocessing pipelines: a surface-based pipeline for cortical activation analyses and a volume-  
257 based pipeline for subcortical and cerebellar analyses. For the surface-based pipeline, functional  
258 images from each subject were simultaneously realigned to the mean subject image and  
259 unwarped (motion-by-inhomogeneity interactions) using SPM12’s realign and unwarp procedure  
260 (Andersson et al., 2001). Outlier scans were detected with Artifact Detection Tools (ART;  
261 [https://www.nitrc.org/projects/artifact\\_detect/](https://www.nitrc.org/projects/artifact_detect/)) based on motion displacement (scan-to-scan  
262 motion threshold of 0.9 mm) and mean signal change (scan-to-scan signal change threshold of 5  
263 standard deviations above the mean). Functional images from each subject were then  
264 coregistered with their high-resolution T1 structural images and resliced using SPM12’s inter-  
265 modal registration procedure with a normalized mutual information objective function. The  
266 structural images were segmented into white matter, grey matter, and cerebrospinal fluid, and  
267 cortical surfaces were reconstructed using the FreeSurfer image analysis suite (freesurfer.net;  
268 Fischl et al., 1999). Functional data were then resampled at the location of the FreeSurfer  
269 fsaverage tessellation of each subject-specific cortical surface.

270            For the volume-based pipeline, functional volumes were realigned and unwarped,  
271 centered, and run through ART as described for the surface-based pipeline. Functional volumes  
272 were then simultaneously segmented and normalized directly to Montreal Neurological Institute  
273 (MNI) space using SPM12’s combined normalization and segmentation procedure (Ashburner &  
274 Friston, 2005). A mask was then applied such that only voxels within the brain were submitted to  
275 subsequent analyses. The original T1 structural image from each subject was also centered,  
276 segmented and normalized using SPM12.

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277           Following preprocessing, two AWS were eliminated from subsequent analyses; one due  
278 to excessive head motion in the scanner (>1.5mm average scan-to-scan motion) and one due to  
279 structural brain abnormalities.

280

281           *First-level Analysis:* After preprocessing, BOLD responses were estimated for each  
282 subject using a general linear model (GLM) in SPM12. Because images were collected in a  
283 sparse sequence with a relatively long TR, the BOLD response for each trial (event) was  
284 modeled as an individual epoch. The model included regressors for each of the conditions of  
285 interest: *normal speech*, *rhythm speech*, and *baseline*. Trials that contained reading errors,  
286 condition errors, or disfluencies were modeled as a single separate condition of non-interest.  
287 Condition regressors were collapsed across runs to maximize power while controlling for  
288 potential differences in the number of trials produced without errors or disfluencies. For each  
289 run, regressors were added to remove linear effects of time (e.g. signal drift, adaptation) in  
290 addition to six motion covariates (taken from the realignment step) and a constant term.  
291 Additional regressors were added to remove the effects of acquisitions with excessive scan-to-  
292 scan motion or global signal change (taken from the artifact detection step, described above).  
293 The first-level model regressor coefficients for the three conditions of interest were estimated at  
294 each surface vertex and subcortical voxel, then averaged within anatomical regions of interest  
295 (ROIs; see below). The mean *normal speech* and *rhythm speech* coefficients were then  
296 contrasted with the *baseline* condition within each ROI to yield contrast effect-size values for the  
297 two contrasts of interest (*Normal – Baseline* and *Rhythm – Baseline*) in all ROIs.

298           *Region-of-Interest Definition:* Cortical ROIs were labeled according to a modified  
299 version of the SpeechLabel atlas previously described in (Cai et al., 2014); the atlas divides the

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300 cortex into macro-anatomically defined ROIs specifically tailored for studies of speech. Labels  
301 are applied by mapping the atlas from the FreeSurfer *fsaverage* cortical surface template to each  
302 individual surface reconstruction.

303 Subcortical and cerebellar ROIs were extracted from multiple atlases. Thalamic ROIs  
304 were extracted from the mean atlas of thalamic nuclei described by (Krauth et al., 2010). Basal  
305 ganglia ROIs were derived from the non-linear normalized probabilistic atlas of basal ganglia  
306 (ATAG) described by (Keuken et al., 2014). Each ROI was thresholded at a minimum  
307 probability threshold of 33% and combined in a single labeled volume in the atlas’s native space  
308 (the MNI104 template). Cerebellar ROIs were derived from the SUI2 25% maximum probability  
309 atlas of cerebellar regions (Diedrichsen, 2006; Diedrichsen et al., 2009, 2011). Each atlas was  
310 non-linearly registered to the SPM12 MNI152 template and then combined into a single labeled  
311 volume.

312

313 *Second-Level Group Analyses:* Two sets of analyses were carried out to detect activation  
314 differences across groups and conditions: hypothesis-based primary analyses, and exploratory  
315 secondary analyses. The primary second-level analyses were carried out on a small set of  
316 hypothesis-based *a priori* ROIs (see Figure 2). These included regions belonging to the cortico-  
317 basal ganglia-thalamo-cortical motor loop (Guenther, 2016), meta-analyses of rhythmic  
318 perceptual and motor timing (Chauvigné et al., 2014; Wiener et al., 2010), and prior  
319 neuroimaging studies examining the rhythm effect in stuttering (Stager et al., 2003; Toyomura et  
320 al., 2011). Statistical corrections were applied for the number of ROIs tested. The following  
321 cortical ROIs in the SpeechLabel atlas were grouped to test our hypotheses: ventral and mid  
322 primary motor cortex (MC), ventral and mid premotor cortex (PMC), supplementary motor area

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323 and pre-supplementary motor area (SMA), posterior superior temporal gyrus and planum  
324 temporale (pSTg), and ventral and dorsal inferior frontal gyrus pars opercularis (IFo). By  
325 grouping the ROIs, we better match the extent of areas shown to be involved in rhythm  
326 processing/stuttering in prior reports and increase the sensitivity of our analyses by reducing the  
327 number of ROIs.

328 Additional exploratory analyses were performed to determine if activation from other  
329 brain regions active during speech production was also modulated by group or condition. For  
330 each exploratory analysis, results are reported if they have a *p*-value less than 0.05, uncorrected.  
331 To determine this set of regions, second-level random effects analyses were performed on first-  
332 level contrast effect sizes in all ROIs for each group separately. Regions with significant positive  
333 activation (thresholded at one-sided  $p < 0.05$ , and corrected for multiple comparisons using a  
334 false discovery rate correction [FDR; Benjamini & Hochberg, 1995] within each contrast) in any  
335 of these four contrasts were included in subsequent analyses (see Supplementary Figure 2 and  
336 Supplementary Figure 3 for the complete list).

337 Group activation differences were examined in the two speech conditions compared to  
338 baseline (*Normal – Baseline, Rhythm – Baseline*) as well as the *Group × Condition Interaction*.  
339 Additionally, differences between the two speech conditions (*Rhythm – Normal*) were examined  
340 in each group separately. These group and condition effects were determined using a  
341 GLM. Average subject motion was added as a regressor of non-interest for all analyses. In  
342 addition, to account for differences across the two data collection sites, an additional regressor of  
343 non-interest was included for all analysis. Due to significant difference in handedness between  
344 the two groups (see Subjects section above), handedness score was also included as a regressor  
345 of non-interest for between-group and interaction analyses. Finally, to control for stuttering

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346 severity, a modification of the SSI-4 score, heretofore termed “SSI-Mod,” was included as  
347 another regressor of non-interest in the between-group and interaction analyses. SSI-Mod  
348 removes the secondary concomitants subscore from each subject’s SSI-4 score, thus focusing the  
349 measure on speech-related function. The SSI-Mod and SSI-4 composite scores for each subject  
350 are included in Table 1. Additional regression analyses were carried out to determine whether  
351 stuttering severity, measured by the SSI-Mod, or disfluencies occurring during the experiment  
352 were correlated with task activation. Because very few disfluencies occurred during the rhythm  
353 condition, we were only able to calculate the correlation between the percentage of disfluencies  
354 occurring during *normal* trials (“Disfluency Rate”) and the *Normal - Baseline* activation. Note  
355 that because trials containing disfluencies were regressed out of the first-level effects,  
356 correlations with Disfluency Rate are capturing activation related to the *propensity* to stutter and  
357 not disfluent speech itself. The primary analyses were performed using a strict statistical  
358 correction of  $p_{FDR} < 0.05$ , while the exploratory analyses were performed using an uncorrected  
359 alpha level of 0.05.

360

### 361 *Functional Connectivity Analysis*

362 *Preprocessing and analysis:* Seed-based functional connectivity analyses (SBC) were carried  
363 out using the CONN toolbox (Whitfield-Gabrieli & Nieto-Castanon, 2012). The same  
364 preprocessed data used for the task activation analysis were used for the functional connectivity  
365 analysis. The seeds for this analysis comprised the same “speech production” ROIs used in the  
366 exploratory task activation analysis, defined either in *fsaverage* surface (cortical) or MNI volume  
367 (subcortical) space. The BOLD time series was averaged within seed ROIs. To include  
368 connections between the speech production network and other regions that potentially have a



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369 moderating effect on this network, the target area in this analysis was extended to the whole  
370 brain. The target functional volume data were smoothed using an 8 mm full-width half maximum  
371 Gaussian smoothing kernel. Following preprocessing, an aCompCor (Behzadi et al., 2007)  
372 denoising procedure was used to eliminate extraneous motion, physiological, and artifactual  
373 effects from the BOLD signal in each subject. In each seed ROI and every voxel in the smoothed  
374 brain volume, denoising was carried out using a linear regression model (Nieto-Castañón, 2020)  
375 that included 5 white matter regressors, 5 CSF regressors, 6 subject-motion parameters plus their  
376 first-order temporal derivatives, scrubbing regressors to remove the effects of outlier scans (from  
377 artifact detection, described above), as well as separate regressors for each run/session (constant  
378 effects and first-order linear-trends), task condition (main and first-order derivative terms), and  
379 error trials. No band-pass filter was applied in order to preserve high-frequency fluctuations in  
380 the residual data.

381 For each participant, a generalized PsychoPhysiological Interaction (gPPI; McLaren et  
382 al., 2012) analysis was implemented using a multiple regression model, predicting the signal in  
383 each target voxel with three sets of regressors: a) the BOLD time series in a seed ROI,  
384 characterizing baseline connectivity between a seed ROI and each target voxel; b) the main  
385 effects of each of the task conditions (*normal*, *rhythm*, and *baseline*), characterizing direct  
386 functional responses to each task in the target voxel; and c) their seed-time-series-by-task  
387 interactions (PPI terms) characterizing the relative changes in functional connectivity strength  
388 associated with each task. Second-level random effects analyses were then used to compare these  
389 interaction terms within and between groups and conditions, specifically the *Rhythm - Normal*  
390 contrast in AWS and ANS and the *Group × Condition* interaction. The same regressors of non-  
391 interest used in the task activation analyses were included here as well. For each comparison,

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392 separate analyses were run from the 103 seed ROIs to the whole brain. Within each analysis, a  
393 two-step thresholding procedure was used; voxels were thresholded at  $p < 0.001$ , followed by a  
394 cluster-size threshold of  $p_{FDR} < 0.05$ . To control for family-wise error across the 103 separate  
395 seed-to-voxel analyses, a within-comparison Bonferroni correction was applied so that only  
396 significant clusters with  $p_{FDR} < 0.000485$  ( $0.05/103$ ) survived the threshold.

397

### 398 **Results**

#### 399 *Behavioral Analysis*

400 Stuttering occurred infrequently over the course of the experiment, with 7 out of 16 AWS  
401 producing no disfluencies. There was, however, a significantly lower percentage of disfluent  
402 trials in the *rhythm* condition (0.38%) compared to the *normal* condition (1.35%;  $W = 42$ ,  $p =$   
403  $0.023$ ; see Figure 3). There was no group  $\times$  condition interaction or group main effect on  
404 speaking rate but there was a significant main effect of condition with *normal speech* (3.977  
405 IVI/sec) produced at a faster rate than *rhythmic speech* (3.460 IVI/sec;  $F(1,31) = 37.8$ ,  $p_{FWE} <$   
406  $0.001$ ). For isochronicity, there was no main effect of group or group  $\times$  condition  
407 interaction. There was a significant main effect of condition, where subjects had a lower CV-IVI  
408 (greater isochronicity) in the *rhythm* condition (0.25) than the *normal* condition (0.13;  $F(1,31) =$   
409  $503.3$ ,  $p_{FWE} < 0.001$ ).

410

#### 411 *Task Activation fMRI Analysis*

412 The cortical results of the *Normal - Baseline* and *Rhythm - Baseline* contrasts in each  
413 group are presented in Supplementary Figure 1. The set of 103 cortical and subcortical ROIs that

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414 were significant in at least one of those contrasts and used for subsequent exploratory analyses is  
415 illustrated in Supplementary Figures 2 and 3.

416 For the primary analysis, ANS had greater activation in the *Rhythm* condition compared  
417 to the *Normal* condition in left grouped supplementary motor areas (SMAs), posterior superior  
418 temporal gyrus (pSTG), ventro-anterior thalamus (VA), and ventro-lateral thalamus (VL), and in  
419 right grouped premotor cortex (PMC), caudate nucleus (Caud), and VA ( $p_{FDR} < 0.05$ , see Table 2  
420 and Figure 4). No significant differences were found between conditions in AWS. For the  
421 complete exploratory results, see Supplementary Table 1 and Supplementary Figure 4. Notably,  
422 eight exploratory ROIs survived an FDR statistical correction: left planum temporale (PT), pre-  
423 supplementary motor area (preSMA), superior parietal lobule (SPL), anterior insula (aINS),  
424 planum polare (PP), supplementary motor area (SMA), VA, and right ventral premotor cortex  
425 (vPMC). For the same exploratory contrast, AWS showed increased activity in left PT, and right  
426 ventral inferior frontal gyrus pars opercularis (vIFo) in the *Rhythm* condition, and decreased  
427 activation in right anterior dorsal superior temporal sulcus (adSTs) and cerebellar vermis lobule  
428 VIIIb. To explore whether the failure of these effects to survive the corrected significance  
429 threshold was due to overall greater variability among AWS participants, we averaged *Rhythm* -  
430 *Normal* effects across all exploratory ROIs and performed Levene’s test for equality of  
431 variances. AWS had significantly larger variance across subjects ( $F = 3.42$ ,  $p = 0.019$ ).

432 For the primary analysis, no significant differences were found between groups for either  
433 *Normal* - *Baseline* or *Rhythm* - *Baseline*. In the exploratory analysis, AWS had decreased  
434 activation in left anterior frontal operculum (aFO;  $p = 0.009$ ) and the internal portion of the  
435 globus pallidus (GPi;  $p = 0.047$ ), as well as midline cerebellar vermis VIIIb ( $p = 0.038$ ), in the  
436 *Rhythm* - *Baseline* contrast compared to ANS.

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437           In our primary analysis, no ROIs showed a significant interaction between groups and  
438 conditions. In the follow-up exploratory analysis, an interaction was found in five ROIs (see  
439 Supplementary Table 2 and Supplementary Figure 5): left PP, aFO, cerebellar lobule VIIIa (Cbm  
440 VIIIa), and the external portion of the globus pallidus (GPe), and midline cerebellar vermis VIIIb  
441 ( $p < 0.05$ ). In all cases, ANS had increased activation in the *Rhythm* condition compared to  
442 *Normal*, while AWS showed no change or a decrease.

443

### 444 *Brain-Behavior Correlation Analyses*

445           In our primary analysis, no significant correlation was found between SSI-Mod and  
446 *Normal - Baseline* or *Rhythm - Baseline* in any ROI when correcting for multiple comparisons.  
447 There were, however, significant positive correlations between Disfluency Rate and *Normal -*  
448 *Baseline* activation in left VA and VL as well as right VL (Table 3).

449           Exploratory results can be found in Supplementary Table 3. Of note, positive correlations  
450 were found between SSI-Mod and activation in bilateral premotor and frontal opercular cortex  
451 and negative correlations were found in left anterior auditory cortex. In addition, positive  
452 correlations between Disfluency Rate and *Normal - Baseline* were found in right parasyllvian  
453 regions and bilateral putamen.

454

### 455 *Functional Connectivity Analyses*

456           *Within group:* Within the AWS group, seven connections were significantly stronger in  
457 the *Rhythm* condition as compared to the *Normal* condition ( $p_{FDR} < 0.000485$ ), all involving the  
458 cerebellum (see Table 4 and Figure 5). Both left and right cerebellar lobule VIIIa displayed  
459 greater connectivity with clusters in bilateral orbitofrontal cortex (OFC; two distinct clusters with

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460 right cerebellar lobule VIIIa [clusters 3 and 4 in Figure 5], and one cluster with left cerebellar  
461 lobule VIIIa straddling the midline [cluster 2]), and right cerebellar lobule VIIb had greater  
462 connectivity in an overlapping region of right OFC (cluster 1). Right dentate nucleus showed an  
463 increase in connectivity with one cluster covering medial cerebellar lobule VI and Crus I (cluster  
464 5), and a second cluster in right lateral cerebellar lobule VI and Crus I (cluster 6). Finally, there  
465 was increased connectivity between cerebellar vermis Crus II and a cluster in the superior  
466 cerebellum more anteriorly (cluster 7). In all cases, there was either a negative relationship or no  
467 relationship during the *Normal* condition, and a positive relationship during the *Rhythm*  
468 condition. To determine whether these differences were specific to AWS, a *post hoc* analysis  
469 found that these connections did not reach significance in the ANS group, even using an  
470 uncorrected alpha level of 0.05. Instead, ANS had different connections that were significantly  
471 stronger during *Rhythm* speech compared to *Normal*: between left VA and a cluster in right  
472 occipital cortex (OC) and fusiform gyrus (FG); and right preSMA and a cluster at the junction of  
473 left SPL, precuneus (PCN), and OC. There was also a decrease in connectivity between left  
474 substantia nigra (SN) and a cluster in left OC (see Supplementary Figure 6).

475 *Group × Condition Interaction:* There were four connections that showed a significant  
476 interaction between group and speech condition (*Normal* and *Rhythm*; see Figure  
477 6). Connections that were lower in the *Rhythm* condition for AWS and greater in this condition  
478 for ANS included: right cerebellar lobule V to left medial rolandic cortex and posterior SMA  
479 (result cluster labeled 1 in bottom-left panel of Figure 6); left putamen to right aMFG (extending  
480 to right medial cortex; cluster 2); and left vPMC to left frontal pole (FP) and anterior middle  
481 frontal gyrus (aMFG; cluster 3). A connection that was greater in the *Rhythm* condition for AWS  
482 and lesser in this condition for ANS was between right cerebellar lobule V to right cerebellar

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483 lobule Crus I, Crus II, and dentate nucleus (cluster 4). Simple effects from each group and  
484 condition are shown in the bottom panel of Figure 6. Based on the results that showed increased  
485 connectivity for AWS between different parts of the cerebellum during rhythmic speech, we  
486 performed a test comparing average pairwise connectivity among all 21 cerebellar ROIs active  
487 during speech. This test revealed that these ROIs show a significant group  $\times$  condition  
488 interaction ( $t = 2.90$ ,  $p = 0.004$ ), driven by an increase in connectivity for AWS from *Normal* to  
489 *Rhythm* ( $t = 3.94$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and a non-significant decrease in connectivity for ANS ( $t = -1.23$ ,  $p$   
490  $= 0.880$ ).

491

### 492 **Discussion**

493 This study aimed to characterize the changes in functional activation and connectivity  
494 that occur when adults time their speech to an external metronomic beat and how these changes  
495 differ in AWS compared to ANS. Extending previous work, this paradigm was novel in that the  
496 metronome was paced at the typical rate of English speech. The rate and rhythmicity of paced  
497 speech by AWS was also similar to that of ANS. Consistent with prior literature, AWS produced  
498 significantly fewer disfluencies during externally-paced speech than during normal, internally-  
499 paced speech (Figure 3). In addition, while ANS exhibited greater activation during rhythmic  
500 speech than normal speech in left hemisphere auditory, premotor, and sensory association areas,  
501 as well as right hemisphere premotor cortex, AWS did not exhibit any significant differences  
502 between the conditions. AWS also had greater functional connectivity during rhythmic speech  
503 than normal speech between bilateral inferior cerebellum and orbitofrontal cortex and among all  
504 cerebellar speech regions. Finally, functional connections between right cerebellum and medial  
505 sensorimotor cortex and between both left vPMC and right putamen and right prefrontal cortex

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506 were significantly modulated by group and condition. The following sections discuss these  
507 results in relation to prior behavioral and neuroimaging literature.

508

### 509 *A Compensatory Role for the Cerebellum in AWS*

510         The role of the cerebellum for mediating speech timing is well-known (see Ackermann,  
511 2008 for a review), and damage to this structure can lead to “scanning speech,” where syllables  
512 are evenly paced (Duffy, 2013). Previous work posits that when the basal-ganglia-SMA  
513 “internal” timing system is impaired in AWS, the cerebellum, along with lateral cortical  
514 premotor structures, forms part of an “external” timing system that is recruited (Alm, 2004;  
515 Etchell et al., 2014). In support of this, numerous fMRI and PET studies demonstrate cerebellar  
516 overactivation and hyper-connectivity during normal speech production in AWS (e.g., Brown et  
517 al., 2005; Chang et al., 2009; Ingham et al., 2012; Lu, Peng, et al., 2010; Lu et al., 2012; Watkins  
518 et al., 2007) that is reduced following therapy (De Nil et al., 2001; Lu et al., 2012; Neumann et  
519 al., 2003; Toyomura et al., 2015), a potential indication of an organic attempt at compensation.  
520 In the present study, the increased connectivity among speech-related regions of the cerebellum  
521 along with increased fluency during the rhythm condition may thus reflect similar neural  
522 processes.

523         It should be noted that this functional connectivity likely does not necessarily reflect  
524 direct structural connectivity between a seed and target region. Except in the case of connectivity  
525 between the cerebellar cortex and the dentate nucleus, which are structurally connected, viral  
526 tracing studies have found that each part of the cerebellar cortex forms closed-loop circuits with  
527 areas of cerebral cortex (Strick et al., 2009), meaning that different parts of cerebellar cortex do  
528 not communicate directly. Nonetheless, as suggested by (Bernard et al., 2013), we interpret the

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529 result of increased “within-cerebellar” connectivity as reflecting an increase in synchrony among  
530 multiple cerebro-cerebellar loops. Thus, in AWS, areas of cerebral cortex may simultaneously  
531 impinge on distinct areas of cerebellum to utilize the cerebellum’s temporal processing  
532 capabilities to ensure accurate speech timing during the *rhythm* condition.

533         The orbitofrontal cortex has also been shown to play a role in increasing fluency.  
534 Previous work on the OFC in AWS have shown greater OFC activation during speech in more  
535 fluent speakers (Kell et al., 2009), greater OFC activity following therapy for AWS (Kell et al.,  
536 2009), and increased activation in adults who spontaneously recovered from stuttering during  
537 adulthood in the left OFC compared to both persistent AWS and controls (Kell et al., 2009). The  
538 current study did not show greater activation in the OFC, but did show increased connectivity  
539 with the cerebellum during rhythmic speech. Previous studies have also found a relationship  
540 between increased functional connectivity between the cerebellum and the OFC and decreased  
541 stuttering severity in AWS (Sitek et al., 2016) and in adults who spontaneously recovered from  
542 stuttering during adulthood compared to ANS (Kell et al., 2018). Thus, increased connectivity  
543 between the cerebellum and OFC may underpin successful long-term compensatory behavior  
544 (i.e. fluency), which is induced by the rhythm condition in the current study.

545         There were also cerebellar connections that showed significant interactions between  
546 groups and conditions whereby the rhythm condition had the opposite effect on connectivity in  
547 the two groups. The AWS group had increased connectivity between right cerebellar lobule V  
548 and another cluster in posterior cerebellum, while the ANS had decreased connectivity. This  
549 increase in the AWS supports the earlier argument that increased connectivity within the  
550 cerebellum may reflect a compensatory mechanism. The AWS group also had decreased  
551 connectivity between the right cerebellum lobule V and left medial sensorimotor cortex and



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552 SMA, while the ANS group had increased connectivity between these areas. This may reflect  
553 that AWS have positive connectivity between the cerebellum (“external”) and medial premotor  
554 (“internal”) areas in the normal condition to compensate for the impaired “internal” basal-ganglia  
555 timing system. This connection is decreased in the rhythm condition because the AWS no longer  
556 attempt to use the medial structures. Conversely, ANS may have increased connectivity between  
557 these regions in the rhythm condition because the internal system is both working properly and is  
558 being used to a greater extent as seen in the task activation results. Together, all of these results  
559 support the theory that in AWS, an “external” timing system mediated by the cerebellum plays  
560 an increased role in speech production during externally-timed speech and can lead to increased  
561 fluency.

562

### 563 *Increased Prefrontal Mediation During Rhythmic Speech*

564 The AWS group also had decreased functional connections between right aMFG and both  
565 right vPMC and right putamen during the rhythm condition, whereas the ANS had increased  
566 connectivity. The right aMFG, a portion of dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, has been previously  
567 implicated in high-level cognitive tasks that require holding multiple pieces of information in  
568 memory (Barbey et al., 2013; Wager & Smith, 2003), including reframing emotional situations  
569 (Falquez et al., 2014; Ochsner et al., 2012). In the context of stuttering, it is well known that  
570 people who stutter will often monitor their upcoming speech in order to anticipate and potentially  
571 correct disfluencies (Garcia-Barrera & Davidow, 2015; Jackson et al., 2015). However, after  
572 noticing how speaking along with a metronome improves fluency, they may be less likely to  
573 continuously monitor their speech to the same extent. Therefore, decreased connectivity between  
574 right aMFG and left vPMC, an area hypothesized to encode speech motor programs (Guenther,

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575 2016), in the rhythm condition may reflect this decreased monitoring of upcoming speech. As  
576 connections between lateral prefrontal cortex and basal ganglia structures mediate attention-  
577 shifting (Morris et al., 2016), decreased monitoring may also lead to decreased connectivity  
578 between right aMFG and right putamen. ANS, on the other hand, may exhibit an increase in  
579 connectivity between these regions because there is no fluency advantage to rhythmic speech and  
580 may require more monitoring to speak rhythmically. This conscious shift in attention may be  
581 mediated by increased connectivity between right putamen and right aMFG in ANS (Morris et  
582 al., 2016). Thus, the interaction found between group and condition in functional connections  
583 between speech planning and sequencing areas and right aMFG may be reflective of different  
584 changes in attentional demands between groups.

585

### 586 *Changes in Activation due to Rhythmically-Timed Speech*

587 Comparing neural activation between rhythmic and normal speech showed that ANS had  
588 greater activation during rhythmic speech than normal speech in left hemisphere auditory,  
589 premotor, and sensory association areas, as well as right hemisphere ventral premotor  
590 cortex. Activation in left auditory associative cortex (PT, PP) and right ventral premotor cortex  
591 (vPMC) may be related to increased reliance on auditory feedback control during this novel  
592 speech condition. Previous studies have shown that auditory feedback errors lead to increased  
593 activation in posterior auditory areas (Hashimoto & Sakai, 2003; Parkinson et al., 2012; Takaso  
594 et al., 2010; Tourville et al., 2008), and greater activation in right vPMC is thought to generate  
595 corrective responses to sensory errors in response to this altered sensory feedback  
596 (Golfopoulos et al., 2011; Hashimoto & Sakai, 2003; Tourville et al., 2008). Alternatively, left  
597 PT has been described as an auditory-motor interface (Hickok et al., 2003); therefore increased

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598 activation in left PT may be indicative of the need to hold the rhythmic auditory stimulus in  
599 working memory and translate it into a motoric response in the rhythm condition of the current  
600 study. This is supported by increased activity (found in the exploratory analysis) in left anterior  
601 insula and superior parietal lobule, additional regions commonly recruited in working memory  
602 tasks (Rottschy et al., 2012).

603         There was also increased activation during rhythmic speech in areas thought to be  
604 involved in speech planning and sequencing (left SMA, pre-SMA, caudate and VA; Bohland et  
605 al., 2010; Civier et al., 2013; Guenther, 2016), articulatory planning of complex sequences (left  
606 aINS; (Ackermann & Riecker, 2010; Bohland & Guenther, 2006; Shuster & Lemieux, 2005),  
607 producing complex motor sequences (left SPL; Haslinger et al., 2002; Heim et al., 2012),  
608 producing untrained sequences (left SPL; Jenkins et al., 1994; Segawa et al., 2015), and  
609 attending to stimulus timing (left SPL; Coull, 2004). The rhythm condition requires participants  
610 to produce speech in an unfamiliar way. This change in their speech production results in speech  
611 becoming less automatic, and may require greater recruitment in these areas for timing the  
612 sequence of syllables (Alario et al., 2006; Bohland & Guenther, 2006; Schubotz & von Cramon,  
613 2001). Bengtsson et al. (2004, 2005) found that for both finger tapping and simple repetition of  
614 “pa,” more complex timing led to increased activation in SMA and preSMA compared to simple  
615 patterns. The increased need to implement a timing pattern recruited these same structures that  
616 mediate temporal sequencing.

617         Unlike previous studies (Braun et al., 1997; Stager et al., 2003; Toyomura et al., 2011,  
618 2015), AWS did not exhibit significantly increased activation in the *rhythm* condition compared  
619 to the *normal* condition. The most consistent finding from these studies was that both  
620 groups showed increased activation in bilateral auditory regions during rhythmic speech and that

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621 AWS showed greater increases in the basal ganglia. In the present study, the lack of clear  
622 between-condition effects within the AWS or between the AWS and ANS group may be due to  
623 more individual variability for AWS than ANS for this contrast. Future work is needed to  
624 determine whether this within-group variability is driving the null findings in the AWS group.  
625 Furthermore, Toyomura et al. (2011) found that while areas of the basal ganglia, left precentral  
626 gyrus, left SMA, left IFG, and left insula were less active in AWS during normal speech, activity  
627 in these areas increased to the level of ANS during rhythmic speech. These results suggested that  
628 rhythmic speech had a “normalizing” effect on activity in these regions, which differs with the  
629 present results.

630         There are methodological differences between the current work and similar studies that  
631 also could have impacted the results. In the current study, the rhythmic stimulus was presented  
632 prior to speaking regardless of the condition, unlike previous work in which the participant heard  
633 the stimulus while speaking and only during the rhythmic condition (Toyomura et al. 2011).  
634 Thus, group effects reported by Toyomura and colleagues (2011) may reflect differences in  
635 processing the auditory pacing stimulus in addition to differences in speech motor processes.  
636 Second, our study sought to examine the rhythm effect when speech was produced at a  
637 conversational speaking rate. Previous studies used a metronome set at 92 - 100 beats per  
638 minute, considerably slower than the mean conversational rate in English (228 - 372 syllables  
639 per minute; Davidow, 2014; Pellegrino et al., 2011) and the rate observed in our study  
640 (approximately 207 syllables per minute). While Toyomura et al. (2011, 2015) instructed  
641 participants to speak at a similar rate during the normal condition (when previous studies had  
642 not), the slower tempo overall may have led to increased auditory feedback processing. This  
643 could have modified the mechanisms by which ANS and AWS controlled their speech timing.

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644 Finally, only one of the previous studies accounted for disfluencies during the task in their  
645 imaging analysis (Stager et al., 2003), despite significant correlations with brain activation  
646 (Braun et al., 1997). However, given the small number of disfluencies in this and previous  
647 studies, this effect may have had a limited impact on the results.

648

### 649 *Correlation Between Activation and Severity*

650 The primary analysis found significant positive correlations between Disfluency Rate and  
651 activation in the *Normal-Baseline* contrast in left VA thalamus and bilateral VL thalamus. These  
652 nuclei are part of both the cortico-cerebellar and cortico-basal ganglia motor loops, and are  
653 structurally connected with premotor and primary motor areas (Barbas et al., 2013). As relays  
654 between subcortical structures and the cortex, increased activation for participants with a higher  
655 disfluency rate during the task may reflect greater reliance upon these modulatory pathways  
656 during speech. It is also worth noting that with an exploratory threshold ( $p < 0.05$ , uncorrected),  
657 some ROIs follow similar patterns to previous literature. Higher SSI-Mod scores were associated  
658 with weaker activation in left auditory areas. This correlation has been shown before (Fox et al.,  
659 2000) and there are numerous reports of atypical activity and/or morphology in left auditory  
660 cortex in AWS (e.g. Belyk et al., 2015; Chang et al., 2009; De Nil et al., 2000, 2008; Fox et al.,  
661 1996; Stager et al., 2003; Van Borsel et al., 2003). Similarly, the propensity to stutter during the  
662 task, measured by Disfluency Rate, is associated with greater cortical activation in largely right  
663 hemisphere regions, and bilateral subcortical activation at uncorrected thresholds. The right-  
664 lateralized cortical associations in the present study may reflect increased compensatory activity  
665 in AWS (as in Braun et al., 1997; Cai et al., 2014; Kell et al., 2009; Preibisch et al., 2003;  
666 Salmelin et al., 2000). This is supported by the fact that fluency-inducing therapy lead to more

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667 left-lateralized activation (De Nil et al., 2003; Neumann et al., 2003, 2005), similar to that of  
668 neurotypical speakers. It should be noted that due to the low number of disfluencies exhibited  
669 during the task, determining a clear relationship between stuttering severity and activation may  
670 not have been possible.

671

### 672 *Limitations*

673         Despite training in a prior session and feedback immediately prior to scanning,  
674 participants’ *rhythmic* speech productions were significantly slower than their *normal* speech  
675 productions. Since rate reduction is another method that reduces disfluencies in PWS (Andrews  
676 et al., 1982), this potentially could have led to the changes in both fluency and brain activation  
677 found herein. This same issue was reported in one previous neuroimaging study of the  
678 metronome-timed speech effect (Toyomura et al., 2011). As previously mentioned, the effect on  
679 rhythmic speech on fluency occurs even at high speaking rates (Davidow, 2014). Additionally,  
680 studies examining the effect of speaking rate on brain activation have found positive correlations  
681 with activation in sensorimotor cortex, SMA, insula, thalamus, and cerebellum (Fox et al., 2000;  
682 Riecker et al., 2006). This is the opposite effect of what we would expect given that increased  
683 activation was found (in ANS) during the slower *rhythmic* condition. While not conclusive, this  
684 evidence mitigates the concern that a decreased speaking rate accounted for neural changes  
685 found in this study.

686         In addition, the current results are not consistent with a recent meta-analysis examining  
687 activation differences between AWS and ANS (Belyk et al., 2015, 2017) which found that AWS  
688 consistently had overactivation in right hemisphere cortical structures, and underactivation in left  
689 hemisphere structures, especially in motor and premotor areas. However, the present study’s

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690 exploratory analysis suggested that AWS had decreased activation in left frontal operculum  
691 during the rhythmic condition as compared to the ANS group. Previous work has shown gray  
692 matter and white matter anomalies in and near left IFG (Beal et al., 2013, 2015; Chang et al.,  
693 2008, 2011; Kell et al., 2009; Lu et al., 2012), which may be related to this under-activation.  
694 Based on the exploratory nature of these findings, future work as well as meta-analytic testing is  
695 needed to determine whether these are true population differences.

696

### 697 **Conclusion**

698 In this study, we examined brain activation patterns that co-occur with the introduction of  
699 an external pacing stimulus. We found that AWS showed an overall decrease in disfluencies  
700 during this condition, as well as functional connectivity changes between the cerebellum,  
701 prefrontal cortex, and other regions of the speech production network. Involvement of these  
702 structures suggests that rhythmic speech activates compensatory timing systems and potentially  
703 enhances top-down feedback control and attentional systems. This study provides greater insight  
704 into the network of brain areas that either support (or respond to) fluency in relation to the  
705 rhythm effect and its correspondence to longer-term fluency provided through natural  
706 compensation or therapy. It is our hope that in conjunction with the large body of work already  
707 published on fluency-enhancing techniques and future studies with more focused analyses, the  
708 field will come to a better understanding of the pathophysiology of stuttering and fluency, and  
709 that this information will be used to provide more targeted treatments and, ultimately, improve  
710 quality of life for those who stutter.

711

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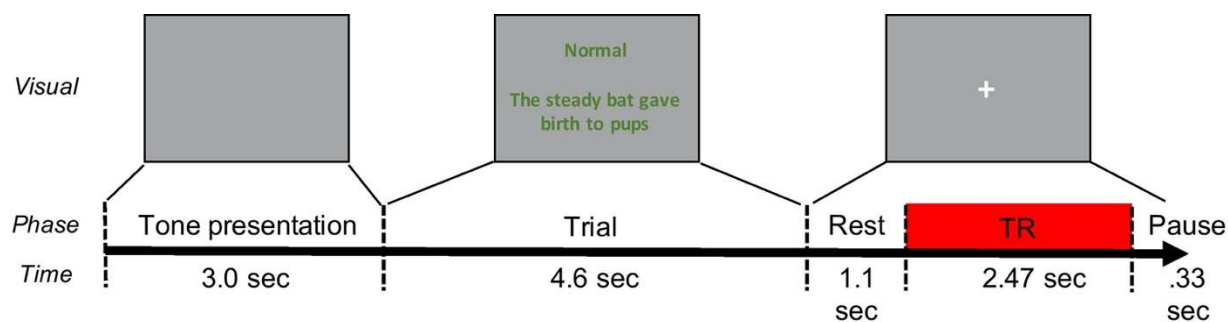
**Appendix**

*Stimulus sentences used in the present experiment*

1. Rice is often served in round bowls.
2. The juice of lemons makes fine punch.
3. The boy was there when the sun rose.
4. Her purse was full of useless trash.
5. Hoist the load to your left shoulder.
6. The young girl gave no clear response.
7. Sickness kept him home the third week.
8. Lift the square stone over the fence.
9. The friendly gang left the drug store.
10. The lease ran out in sixteen weeks.
11. The steady bat gave birth to pups.
12. There are more than two factors here.
13. The lawyer tried to lose his case.
14. The term ended late June that year.
15. The pipe began to rust while new.
16. Act on these orders with great speed.

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1111 **Figure 1:** Schematic diagram illustrating the temporal structure of stimulus presentation during  
1112 functional data acquisition. At the start of each trial, isochronous tone sequences were presented  
1113 for 3.0 seconds. The visual stimulus then appeared and remained on screen for 4.6 seconds. 1.1  
1114 seconds after stimulus offset, a whole-brain volume was acquired. The next trial started 0.33  
1115 seconds after data acquisition was complete. TR = repetition time.

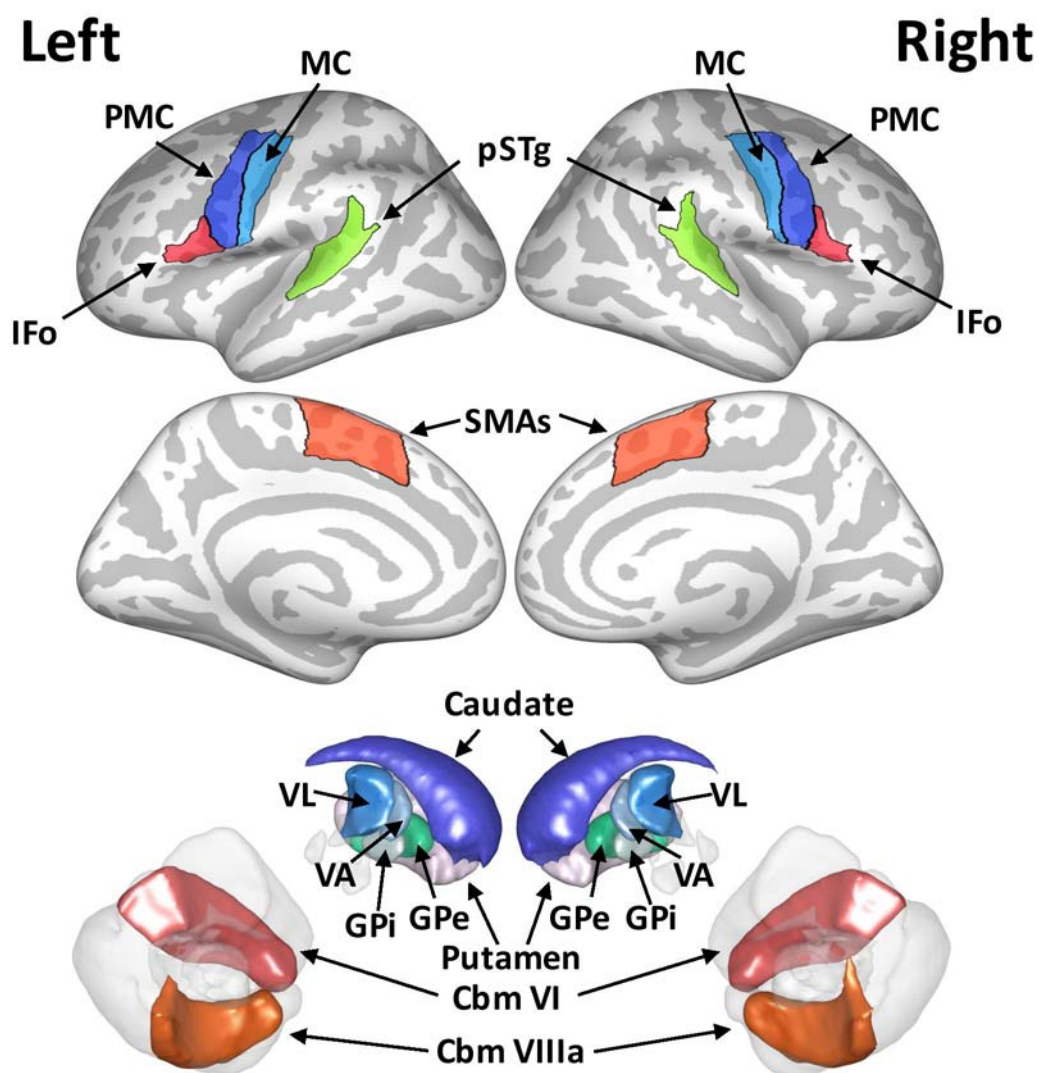


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## THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

1118 **Figure 2:** Regions of interest included in the primary hypothesis-based analysis. Cortical regions  
1119 are displayed on an inflated cortical surface, while subcortical and cerebellar regions are  
1120 rendered in 3-D volume space. IFo = grouped dorsal and ventral inferior frontal gyrus pars  
1121 operularis, PMC = grouped ventral and mid premotor cortex, MC = grouped ventral and mid  
1122 motor cortex, pSTg = grouped posterior superior temporal gyrus, SMAs = grouped  
1123 supplementary motor areas, VL = ventrolateral thalamic nucleus, VA = ventroanterior thalamic  
1124 nucleus, GPi = internal portion of globus pallidus, GPe = external portion of globus pallidus,  
1125 Cbm VI = cerebellum lobule VI, Cbm VIIIa = cerebellum lobule VIIIa.



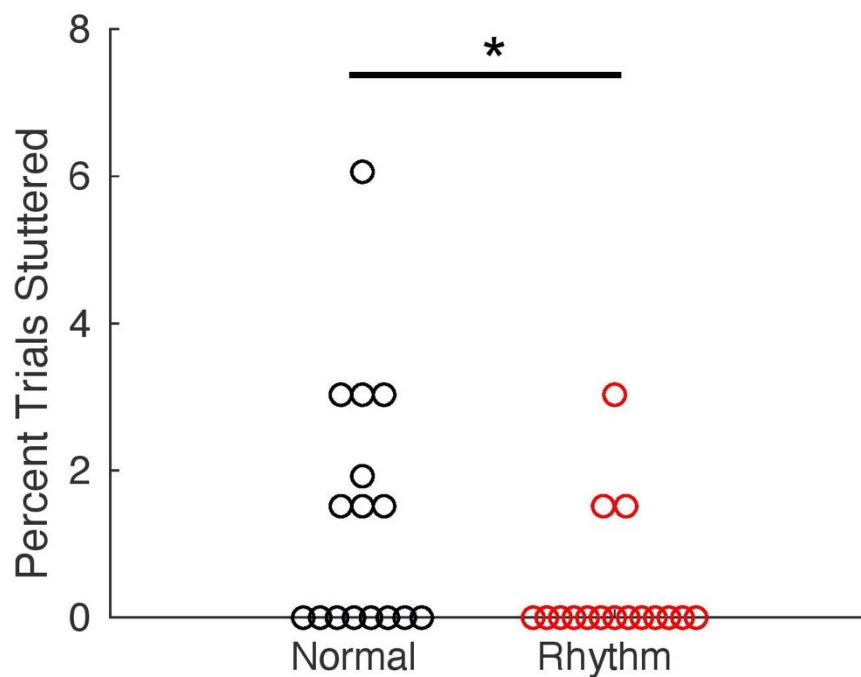
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THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

1127 **Figure 3:** Comparison of dysfluencies between the normal and rhythm conditions for AWS.

1128 Circles represent individual participants. \* $p < 0.05$ .

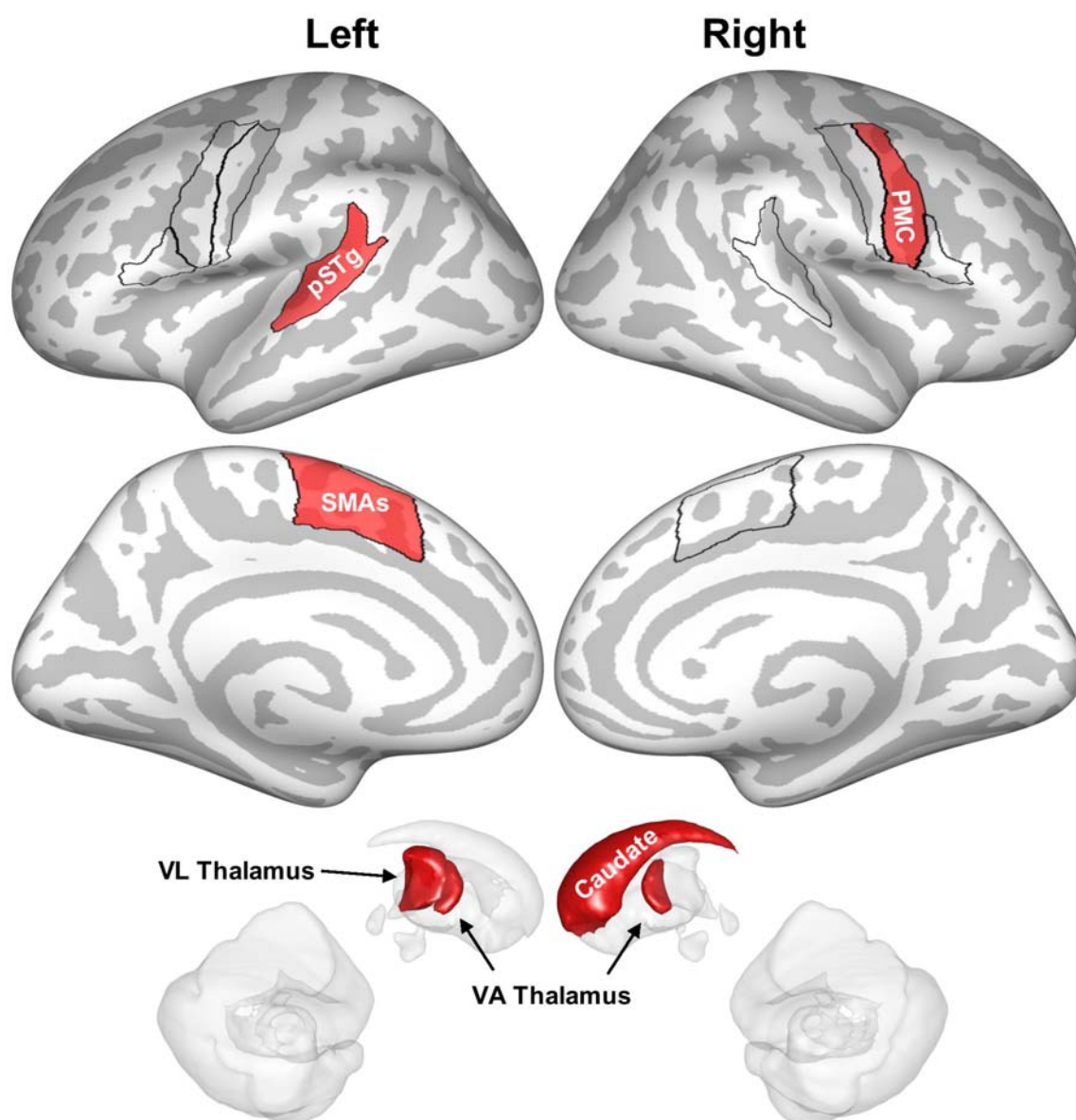
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## THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

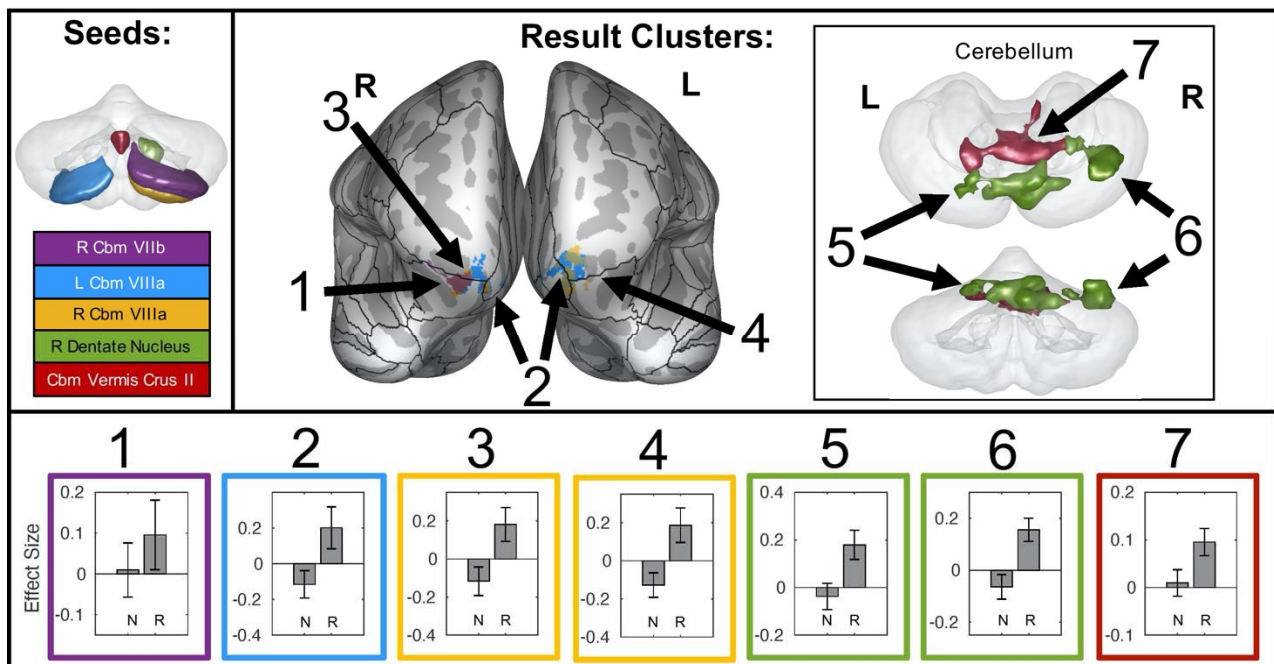
1131 **Figure 4:** Primary regions-of-interest (ROIs) significantly more active during the rhythmic  
1132 condition than the normal condition for ANS in the primary analysis ( $pFDR < 0.05$ ) are  
1133 highlighted in red and plotted on an inflated cortical surface or on a 3-D rendering of subcortical  
1134 structures. Black outlines indicate cortical ROIs included in the primary analysis (as in Figure 2).  
1135 pSTg = posterior superior temporal gyrus, SMAs = grouped supplementary motor areas, PMC =  
1136 grouped ventral and mid premotor cortex, pSTg = grouped posterior superior temporal gyrus and  
1137 planum temporale, VA = ventro-anterior, VL = ventro-lateral.



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## THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

1139 **Figure 5:** A summary of functional connections that are significantly different between the  
1140 normal and rhythm conditions in AWS. Seed regions for these connections are indicated in the  
1141 upper left corner on a transparent 3D rendering of the cerebellum (viewed posteriorly), and  
1142 colors in the rest of the figure refer back to these seed regions. Seven target clusters (representing  
1143 7 distinct connections) are displayed in the upper right portion of the figure. Target clusters 1-4  
1144 are projected onto an inflated surface of cerebral cortex, along with the full cortical ROI  
1145 parcellation of the SpeechLabel atlas described in Cai et al. (2014). Target clusters 5, 6 and 7 are  
1146 displayed on a transparent 3D rendering of the cerebellum (top view: superior; bottom view:  
1147 posterior). The bottom portion of the figure shows the connectivity effect sizes in the normal and  
1148 rhythm conditions for each connection. Error bars indicate 90% confidence intervals. N =  
1149 normal, R = rhythm, L = left, R = right, Cbm = cerebellum.

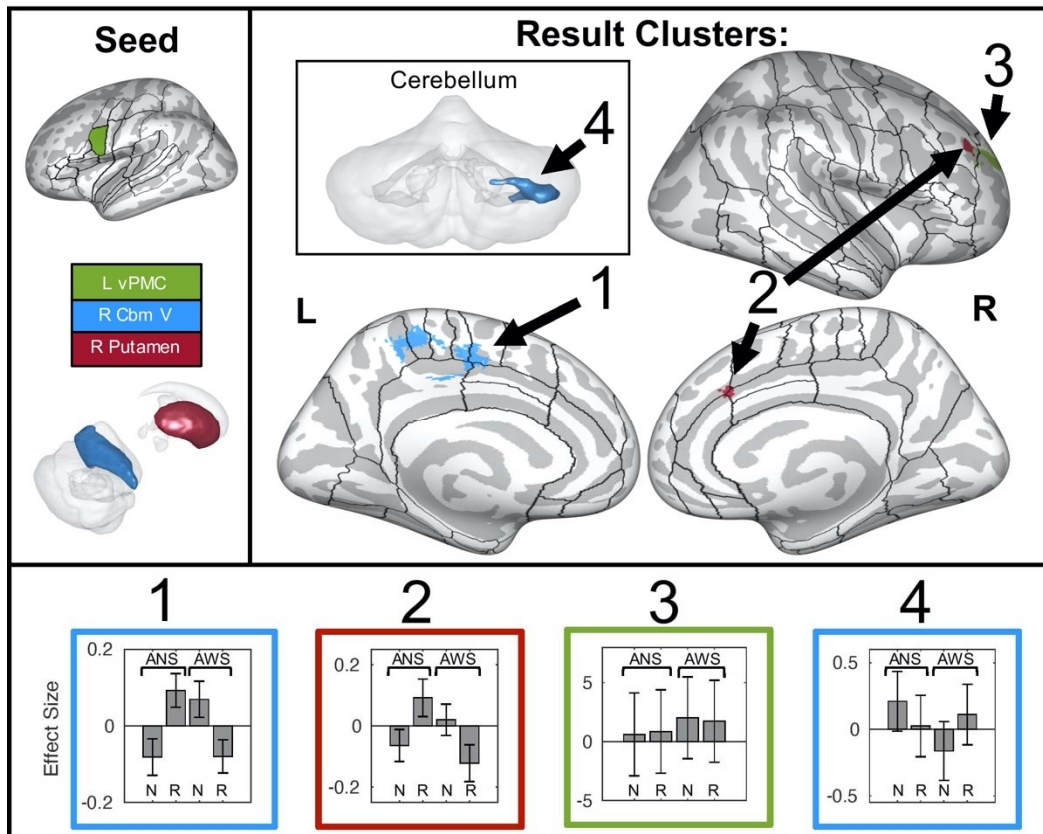


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THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

1152 **Figure 6:** A summary of functional connections that show significant interactions between group  
1153 and condition. Seed regions for these connections are indicated in the upper left panel on an  
1154 inflated cortical surface (top; ROIs are as in Figure 2) or on a transparent 3D rendering of the  
1155 cerebellum and subcortical structures viewed from the right (bottom). Colors in the rest of the  
1156 figure refer back to these seed regions. Four target clusters (representing 4 distinct connections)  
1157 are displayed in the upper right portion of the figure. Target clusters 1, 2, and 3 are projected  
1158 onto an inflated surface of cerebral cortex, along with the full cortical ROI parcellation of the  
1159 SpeechLabel atlas described in Cai et al. (2014). Target cluster 4 is displayed on a transparent 3D  
1160 rendering of the cerebellum (posterior view). The bottom portion of the figure shows the  
1161 connectivity effect sizes for each connection in the normal and rhythm conditions, separately for  
1162 each group. Error bars indicate 90% confidence intervals. N = normal, R = rhythm, L = left, R =  
1163 right, vPMC = ventral premotor cortex, Cbm = cerebellum.



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1165 **Table 1:** Demographic and stuttering severity data from adults who stutter. F = female; M =  
1166 male; SSI-4 = Stuttering Severity Index – Fourth Edition. SSI-Mod = a modified version of the  
1167 SSI-4 that does not include a subscore related to concomitant movements. Disfluency Rate = the  
1168 percent of trials containing disfluencies during the Normal speech condition.

<b>Subject ID</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>SSI-4 Composite</b>	<b>SSI-Mod</b>	<b>Disfluency Rate</b>
AWS01	19	F	28	19	0%
AWS02	22	F	31	26	3.03%
AWS03	31	F	30	22	3.03%
AWS04	21	M	9	7	1.92%
AWS05	58	M	14	11	0%
AWS06	23	M	42	29	0%
AWS07	53	M	27	22	0%
AWS08	44	M	20	16	0%
AWS09	20	M	18	15	1.52%
AWS10	22	M	27	18	3.02%
AWS11	21	M	19	16	6.06%
AWS12	20	M	24	14	1.52%
AWS13	29	M	33	28	*Missing Data
AWS14	18	F	14	11	0%
AWS15	35	M	30	19	0%
AWS16	42	M	22	17	1.52%
AWS17	29	M	14	12	0%

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## THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

1171 **Table 2:** Primary regions-of-interest with activation differences between the rhythm and normal  
1172 conditions for ANS and AWS ( $p < 0.05$ ). \* indicates regions that survive a significance threshold  
1173 of  $pFDR < 0.05$  for their respective analyses, unc = uncorrected, SMA = grouped supplementary  
1174 motor areas, PMC = grouped ventral and mid premotor cortex, pSTg = grouped posterior  
1175 superior temporal gyrus and planum temporale, VA = ventroanterior thalamic nucleus, VL =  
1176 ventral lateral thalamic nucleus.

ROI	Hemisphere	<i>t-value</i>	<i>p-unc</i>
<i>ANS, Rhythm &gt; Normal</i>			
SMA <sub>s</sub>	Left	4.68	0.0004*
PMC	Right	3.22	0.0062*
pSTg	Left	2.94	0.0108*
VA	Left	3.88	0.0017*
	Right	2.98	0.0098*
VL	Left	3.59	0.0030*
Caudate	Right	3.72	0.0023*

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THE NEURAL CIRCUITRY UNDERLYING THE “RHYTHM EFFECT” IN STUTTERING

1179 **Table 3:** Primary regions-of-interest with significant correlations between severity measures and  
1180 speech activation in AWS ( $p < 0.05$ ). \* indicates regions that survive a significance threshold of  
1181  $pFDR < 0.05$  for their respective analyses, unc = uncorrected, VA = ventroanterior thalamic  
1182 nucleus, VL = ventrolateral thalamic nucleus.

ROI	Hemisphere	<i>t-value</i>	<i>p-unc</i>
<i>Normal-Baseline Correlation with Disfluency Rate</i>			
VA	Left	4.15	0.0013*
VL	Left	3.43	0.0049*
	Right	3.44	0.0049*

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1185 **Table 4:** Functional connectivity analysis results. ROI = region-of-interest, MNI = Montreal Neurological Institute, FDR = false  
1186 discovery rate, L = left, R = right, Cbm = cerebellum, FP = frontal pole, FMC = fronto-medial cortex; FOC = fronto-orbital cortex,  
1187 SCC = subcallosal cortex, Inter = interposed nucleus, Den = dentate nucleus, vCMA = ventral cingulate motor area, dCMA = dorsal  
1188 cingulate motor area, ACC = anterior cingulate cortex, OC = occipital cortex, LG = lingual gyrus, TOFG = temporo-occipital fusiform  
1189 gyrus, SPL = superior parietal lobule, PCN = precuneus AG = angular gyrus, aMFG = anterior middle frontal gyrus, SFG = superior  
1190 frontal gyrus, preSMA = presupplementary motor area, MC = primary motor cortex, SC = somatosensory cortex, SMA =  
1191 supplementary motor area, PCC = posterior cingulate cortex, SPL = superior parietal lobule.

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Seed ROI	Target Cluster Regions	Peak MNI Coordinates (x,y,z)			Cluster Size (# of Voxels)	p-FDR
<i>AWS, Rhythm &gt; Normal</i>						
L Cbm VIIIa	Midline Orbitofrontal Cortex (L FP, L FMC, R FP, R FOC, R FMC, L FOC, L SCC)	-4	44	-24	785	< 1 x 10 <sup>-6</sup>
R Cbm VIIIa	Left Orbitofrontal Cortex (L FP, L FMC, L FOC)	-6	38	-24	361	< 1 x 10 <sup>-6</sup>
	Right Orbitofrontal Cortex (R FOC, R FP, R FMC)	30	38	-20	381	< 1 x 10 <sup>-6</sup>
R Cbm VIIb	Right Orbitofrontal Cortex (R FOC, R FP, R FMC)	16	42	-24	269	0.000006
R Dentate Nucleus	Superior cerebellum (Ver VI, R VI, L VI, R Crus I, L Crus I, R Crus II)	8	-82	-22	402	< 1 x 10 <sup>-6</sup>
	Right Superior Cerebellum (R VI, R Crus I)	36	-60	-24	215	0.000052
Cbm Vermis Crus II	Superior cerebellum (L VI, R VI, R V, L V, R I-IV, Ver VI, L I-IV, R Inter, L Inter, R Den)	8	-60	-22	354	< 1 x 10 <sup>-6</sup>
<i>ANS, Rhythm &gt; Normal</i>						
L VA Thalamus	Right Occipital Cortex (R LG, R TOFG, R Cbm VI, R OC, Ver VI)	32	-70	-10	163	0.000442
R preSMA	Left Parieto-Occipital Cortex (L SPL, L OC, L PCN, L AG)	-16	-70	32	212	0.000150
<i>ANS, Normal &gt; Rhythm</i>						
L Substantia Nigra	Left Occipital Cortex (L OC)	-16	-92	-8	189	0.000216
<i>Group x Condition Interaction</i>						
L vPMC	Right Prefrontal Cortex (R FP, R aMFG, R SFg )	20	54	24	290	0.000035
R Putamen	Right Prefrontal Cortex (R aMFG, R dCMA, R SFg, R FP, R ACC)	22	22	30	212	0.000426
R Cbm V	Right Posterior Cerebellum (R Cbm Crus I, R Cbm Crus II, R Cbm VIIIa, R Cbm Den)	44	-58	-42	400	0.000005
	Left Medial Sensorimotor Cortex (L medial SC, L SMA, L PCN, L medial PMC, L medial MC, L PCC, L dCMA, R medial PMC, L SPL)	2	-14	48	351	0.000010

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