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Validation of an Acoustic-Based Framework of Speech Motor Control:  
Assessing Criterion and Construct Validity using Kinematic and Perceptual Measures

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28 **ABSTRACT**

29 **Purpose:** This study investigated the criterion (analytical and clinical) and construct (divergent) validity of a  
30 novel, acoustic-based framework comprised of five key components of motor control: *Coordination*,  
31 *Consistency*, *Speed*, *Precision*, and *Rate*.

32 **Method:** Acoustic and kinematic analyses were performed on audio recordings from 22 subjects with  
33 amyotrophic lateral sclerosis during a sequential motion rate task. Perceptual analyses were completed by  
34 two licensed speech-language pathologists, who rated each subject's speech on the five framework  
35 components and their overall severity. Analytical and clinical validity were assessed by comparing  
36 performance on the acoustic features to their kinematic correlates and to clinician ratings of the five  
37 components, respectively. Divergent validity of the acoustic-based framework was then assessed by  
38 comparing performance on each pair of acoustic features to determine whether the features represent distinct  
39 articulatory constructs. Bivariate correlations and partial correlations with severity as a covariate were  
40 conducted for each comparison.

41 **Results:** Results revealed moderate to strong analytical validity for every acoustic feature, both with and  
42 without controlling for severity, and moderate to strong clinical validity for all acoustic features except  
43 *Coordination* without controlling for severity. When severity was included as a covariate, the strong  
44 associations for *Speed* and *Precision* became weak. Divergent validity was supported by the existence of  
45 multiple distinct articulatory constructs in the framework, as evidenced by weak to moderate pairwise  
46 associations between all acoustic features except *Speed* (*F2Slope*) and *Precision* (*ConVar.F2Slope*).

47 **Conclusions:** This study demonstrated that the acoustic-based framework has potential as an objective,  
48 valid, and clinically useful tool for profiling articulatory deficits in individuals with speech motor disorders.  
49 The findings also suggest that compared to clinician ratings, instrumental measures are more sensitive to  
50 subtle differences in articulatory function. With further research, this framework could provide more  
51 accurate and reliable characterizations of articulatory impairment, which may eventually increase clinical  
52 confidence in diagnosis and treatment of patients with different articulatory phenotypes.

53

## 54 INTRODUCTION

55 Despite the growing number of diagnostic applications for speech testing (Parkinson’s disease [PD],  
56 Hlavnicka et al., 2017; depression, Williamson et al., 2019; COVID-19, Quatieri et al., 2020), there is little  
57 consensus regarding how to characterize the diversity of articulatory impairments across individuals with  
58 speech motor disorders. Although articulation is only one of five subsystems (i.e., along with phonation,  
59 resonance, respiration, and prosody) necessary to produce speech, articulatory impairments have a  
60 disproportionate effect on overall speech intelligibility (Lee et al., 2014; Rong et al., 2015; Sidtis et al., 2011).

61 The most widely used paradigm for characterizing speech impairments was developed over fifty years  
62 ago by Darley, Aronson, and Brown (DAB) (1969a and 1969b) and relies on identifying auditory-perceptual  
63 clusters of speech abnormalities. During the clinical assessment of articulatory function, clinicians—guided  
64 by the DAB paradigm—listen for signs of articulatory abnormalities, such as imprecise consonants. The  
65 detection of articulatory abnormalities triggers a more comprehensive probe into identifying anatomic and  
66 physiologic mechanisms. This assessment typically includes grading oral muscle strength and tone as well as  
67 movement range, speed, steadiness, and consistency (Darley et al., 1969a and 1969b; Enderby & Palmer,  
68 2008). The reliability and validity of clinician-based assessments, however, have increasingly come into  
69 question because of listener bias and disagreement among clinicians (Borrie et al., 2012; Bunton et al., 2007;  
70 Kent, 1996). Consequently, researchers have been developing quantitative measures of impaired articulation  
71 (Green et al., 2013; Gupta et al., 2016). Identifying *acoustic* features has been of particular interest because  
72 good quality speech recordings can now be easily obtained from a multitude of personal devices (e.g., smart  
73 phones, laptops, etc.).

74 In a recent study, we introduced a novel acoustic-based framework for profiling articulatory motor  
75 impairments composed of the following five components: *Coordination*, *Consistency*, *Speed*, *Precision*, and  
76 *Rate* (Rowe & Green, 2019). The definition of each component is provided in Table 2. These components are  
77 based on articulatory features derived from the DAB paradigm (i.e., incoordination, irregular articulatory  
78 breakdowns, reduced range of movement, and imprecise consonants) and previous literature investigating limb  
79 and speech motor control (Adams et al., 1993; Fletcher, 1972; Gracco & Abs, 1986; Green et al., 2000;

80 Ketcham & Stelmach, 2003). Each component in our framework is represented by an acoustic feature that best  
 81 reflects the corresponding articulatory construct (e.g., the number of syllables produced per second represents  
 82 *Rate*). However, a critical step toward the successful adoption of new speech measures in the clinical and  
 83 research settings is determining their validity. Despite the abundance of previous research investigating  
 84 articulatory function and the promise of acoustic-based technology, little attention has been directed towards  
 85 establishing the analytical, clinical, or divergent validity of acoustic-based features (Allison et al., 2020).

**Table 2.** Definitions of five articulatory components in framework.

<b>Articulatory Component</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<i>Coordination</i>	❖ appropriate temporal alignment of articulatory movements to meet the task demands
<i>Consistency</i>	❖ similarity of consecutive repetitions of speech sounds
<i>Speed</i>	❖ quickness of articulatory movement during each speech sound
<i>Precision</i>	❖ clearness and distinctiveness of speech sounds
<i>Rate</i>	❖ quickness of completion of repeated speech sounds

86

87 Research on improving clinical speech diagnostics ultimately strives to identify features with high  
 88 clinical utility (i.e., how impactful the measure is to a patient's functional communication). Clinical utility,  
 89 however, is predicated on prior evidence of *analytical validity* (i.e., the measure's ability to accurately and  
 90 reliably assess the quantifiable articulatory characteristic) and *clinical validity* (i.e., the measure's ability to  
 91 detect the clinical status of the articulatory characteristic) (Baehner, 2016), both of which are within the scope  
 92 of *criterion validity*. In addition to criterion validity, establishing *construct validity* (specifically *divergent*  
 93 *validity*) is crucial for determining that the measures of interest are not redundant and truly represent distinct  
 94 constructs.

95

#### 96 ***Assessing Criterion Validity of Acoustic-Based Articulatory Features: Analytical Validity***

97 The analytical validity of an acoustic articulatory feature is supported when it is highly correlated with  
 98 another reliable measure representing the same articulatory construct. For example, the analytical validity of  
 99 vowel space area (VSA) (measured acoustically) as a construct of *Precision*, which is defined as articulatory  
 100 distinctiveness, is supported by a strong correlation with tongue displacement (measured kinematically).

101 Testing for these associations is particularly essential in the speech domain because mappings between  
102 articulatory movements and acoustic features are many-to-one; the vocal tract can be configured in various  
103 ways to achieve the same acoustic outcome (Stevens, 1972). Features derived from speech biomechanics are  
104 increasingly viewed as direct representations of articulatory patterns and, therefore, provide a good reference  
105 standard for less direct methods, such as acoustic analyses (Green, 2015). Nevertheless, evidence for the  
106 analytical validity of existing acoustic measures of articulation, particularly in patients with disordered speech,  
107 is sparse. Below we review recent findings organized by the five key components identified in our framework  
108 (i.e., *Coordination*, *Consistency*, *Speed*, *Precision*, and *Rate*).

109 ***Speed***: For features representing *Speed*, one study investigated speakers with amyotrophic lateral  
110 sclerosis (ALS) and found moderate correlations between the slope of the second formant (F2) and the  
111 movement speed of the articulators, which was registered using three-dimensional (3D) electromagnetic  
112 articulography (Yunusova et al., 2012). F2 slope has been shown to be a viable correlate of articulatory  
113 movement *Speed*, as it represents the rate of change in the vocal tract configuration during speech (Kent &  
114 Kim, 2003; Kim et al., 2009; Yunusova et al., 2012). ***Precision***: Yunusova et al. (2012) also investigated the  
115 relationship between F2 range and articulator displacement but found only a weak association (Yunusova et  
116 al., 2012). This latter finding was in contrast to a prior study that demonstrated strong correlations between  
117 acoustic specification or distinctiveness (as indexed by the Euclidean distance in the first formant (F1)/F2  
118 planar space between the high vowel /i/ and the low vowel /a/) and articulatory specification (as indexed by  
119 the extent of tongue displacement between the high vowel /i/ and the low vowel /a/) in healthy speakers  
120 (Mefferd & Green, 2010). ***Consistency***: In addition to measures of *Precision*, Mefferd and Green (2010)  
121 examined movement variability using the spatiotemporal index (STI) both kinematically and acoustically,  
122 revealing a weak association between the two measures of STI (Mefferd & Green, 2010). However, a recently  
123 developed acoustic measure of *Consistency*, cycle-to-cycle temporal variability of envelope fluctuations, was  
124 shown to be highly correlated with the kinematic correlate of tongue movement jitter in speakers with ALS  
125 (Rong, 2020). ***Rate***: Aside from consistency, Rong (2020) investigated acoustic and kinematic measures of  
126 articulatory rate, revealing a strong relationship between syllable repetition *Rate* (derived acoustically) and  
127 alternating tongue movement *Rate* (derived kinematically) during an alternating motion rate task (Rong, 2020).

128 ***Coordination***: Lastly, the validity of acoustic features representing *Coordination* has been minimally  
129 investigated. One notable study found strong correlations between the timing of F2 movement and that of the  
130 lingual and labial movements during the production of /u/ in healthy speakers and speakers with ALS (Weismer  
131 et al., 2003). Taken together, although the literature supporting analytical validation is growing, (1) findings  
132 have been inconsistent to date and (2) there is a critical need for additional validation testing of acoustic-based  
133 articulatory features.

134

### 135 ***Assessing Criterion Validity of Acoustic-Based Articulatory Features: Clinical Validity***

136 The aforementioned findings provide preliminary support for the analytic validity of each measure –  
137 specifically with regard to their ability to quantitate a target articulatory characteristic, such as *Coordination*.  
138 However, despite the uniqueness of articulatory testing in clinical speech exams, research examining the *clinical*  
139 *validity* of acoustic-based articulatory features is limited (Enderby & Palmer, 2008). Most clinical validity  
140 research has focused on acoustic measures of vocal function rather than articulatory function. While still  
141 emerging, this literature is supported by a critical mass of research establishing links between different  
142 acoustic-based voice features and their clinical perceptual correlates (e.g., cepstral peak prominence and  
143 breathiness, Heman-Ackah et al., 2002; jitter and roughness, Rabinov et al., 1995; harmonics-to-noise ratio  
144 and hoarseness, Yumoto et al., 1984). Similar attention is needed to establish the clinical validity of acoustic  
145 measures of articulatory motor impairments.

146 The use of assessments, such as the Frenchay Dysarthria Assessment (FDA) (Enderby & Palmer,  
147 2008), and established frameworks, such as the DAB paradigm (Darley et al., 1969a and 1969b), requires  
148 clinicians to routinely identify and rate the severity of perceived articulatory impairments, such as imprecision,  
149 to guide the diagnosis of speech motor subtypes. Of the articulatory features derived from the DAB paradigm,  
150 the clinical validity of *Rate* has been the most thoroughly investigated, with previous research demonstrating  
151 moderate to strong associations between acoustic features representing *Rate* and their perceptual correlates  
152 (Grosjean & Lane, 1981; Tjaden, 2000; Turner & Weismer, 1993; Waito et al., 2021).

153 Although recent work has examined perceptual ratings of *Precision* (Eklund et al., 2015; Folker et al.,  
154 2010; Jiao et al., 2016; Sidtis et al., 2011; Tjaden et al., 2014; Waito et al., 2021), only one study, to our

155 knowledge, used perceptual ratings to examine the clinical validity of an acoustic-based measure of *Precision*.  
156 The study by Jiao et al. (2016) found a moderate correlation between their novel measure of articulatory  
157 precision (i.e., articulation entropy, which characterizes a speaker’s phonemic inventory through a non-  
158 parametric estimate of the entropy of the distribution of sounds) and perceptions of precision (Jiao et al., 2016).  
159 Previous studies have examined associations between perceptual measures and various acoustic-based  
160 articulatory features, such as F2 slope or fricative duration (Kent et al., 1989; Kim et al., 2011; Feenaughty et  
161 al., 2014; Lansford & Liss, 2014; Sapir et al., 2007; Weismer & Martin, 1992; Whitfield & Goberman, 2014);  
162 however, the perceptual measures consisted of global ratings of severity, intelligibility, or speech clarity rather  
163 than direct correlates of the articulatory construct of interest (e.g., *Speed*).

164 One study used a free classification approach, in which listeners were instructed to group similar-  
165 sounding speakers (Lansford et al., 2014). As a separate part of the experiment, five clinicians rated the speech  
166 samples on articulatory imprecision. The authors also analyzed articulatory *Precision* using acoustic VSA,  
167 formant centralization ratio, and vowel dispersion. This study, however, examined whether the *listeners*, who  
168 were not instructed to rate any specific articulatory feature, created clusters that corresponded with the  
169 perceptual ratings and acoustic features. Thus, the authors did not assess the association between the clinician  
170 ratings and acoustic correlates of *Precision*. Overall, there is a paucity of studies investigating *direct* perceptual  
171 correlates of specific acoustic-based articulatory features beyond *Rate* (e.g., F2 slope and *Speed*; syllable  
172 length variability and *Consistency*). This gap in the literature translates to a significant need for more research  
173 assessing the clinical validity of articulatory features, with the ultimate goal of promoting the use of validated  
174 acoustic features in the clinical setting.

175

#### 176 ***Assessing Construct Validity of Acoustic-Based Articulatory Features: Divergent Validity***

177 Construct validity, which determines whether a specific measure is assessing the intended construct,  
178 is supported if (1) it is strongly correlated with another measure representing a similar articulatory construct  
179 (known as *convergent validity*) and/or (2) it is weakly correlated with another measure representing a distinct  
180 articulatory construct (known as *divergent validity*). Research on the construct validity—particularly divergent  
181 validity—of acoustic-based articulatory features is scarce at best. This scarcity may be due, in part, to the lack

182 of studies that simultaneously examine multiple components of articulation. Recent work investigated speech  
183 phenotypes in multiple sclerosis (MS) (Rusz et al., 2018) and progressive supranuclear palsy (PSP) (Skodda  
184 et al., 2011), but these studies only used one or two features to represent the articulatory subsystem. Indeed,  
185 much of the clinical acoustic literature has been based on a unidimensional description of articulation, focusing  
186 primarily on global measures such as *Rate*, which reduces the need or ability to examine construct divergence.

187

### 188 ***Validating an Acoustic-Based Framework of Articulatory Motor Control***

189 As aforementioned, our novel acoustic-based framework for characterizing articulatory impairments  
190 (Rowe & Green, 2019) was developed based on key components of motor control identified from the limb and  
191 speech literature (i.e., *Coordination*, *Consistency*, *Speed*, *Precision*, and *Rate*). Because impairments in  
192 *Coordination*, *Consistency*, *Speed*, *Precision*, and *Rate* are common to many speech motor disorders, these  
193 features, individually, are sensitive but not specific. Recent work has demonstrated that individual features,  
194 such as *Rate*, do not provide sufficient information to distinguish speech phenotypes within diseases such as  
195 ALS (Stipancic et al., under review). Instead, identifying *profiles* of articulatory characteristics, including  
196 characteristics that are spared, may be integral for distinguishing speech subtypes.

197 Articulatory phenotypes are critical not only for diagnostic purposes but also for providing information  
198 regarding the potential interaction between components. Prior work, for example, has identified speed-  
199 accuracy tradeoffs consistent with Fitts' law (Fitts, 1954; Lammert et al., 2018). Thus, speakers may reduce  
200 their speaking rate as a compensatory mechanism to increase accuracy and improve their intelligibility. From  
201 a clinical standpoint, articulatory tradeoffs may be essential for understanding why some treatments are more  
202 beneficial for one population or patient than another (Yorkston et al., 2007). For example, reduced *Speed*  
203 during Slow Speech treatment may result in reduced *Consistency* (Kleinow et al., 2001; Mefferd et al., 2014),  
204 which may pose issues for patients with *Consistency* deficits that impact intelligibility. A unifying framework  
205 of articulation will advance our understanding of the effects of certain pathophysiologies on articulatory  
206 function and the phenotypic profiles that may influence response to therapy.

207 In two previous studies, we tested the “known groups” validity of the framework (Rowe & Green,  
208 2019; Rowe et al., 2020). Known groups validity assesses whether a measure (e.g., syllables per second) can

209 differentiate groups known to differ on a variable of interest (e.g., *Rate*). Our studies revealed divergent  
 210 articulatory profiles for patients with ALS and PD. Individuals with ALS exhibited deficits across all  
 211 components except *Consistency*, consistent with the increased weakness and effort caused by gradual motor  
 212 neuron degeneration (Darley et al., 1969a and 1969b; Strand, 2013). In contrast, individuals with PD only  
 213 demonstrated impaired *Speed*, consistent with the reduced movement resulting from basal ganglia  
 214 hypofunction (Darley et al., 1969a and 1969b; Strand, 2013). The findings of this research, therefore, provided  
 215 strong preliminary support for the known groups validity of the framework.

216 In the current study, we used speech samples from patients with mixed flaccid-spastic dysarthria  
 217 secondary to ALS because the neuronal degeneration characteristic of this population has broad impacts on  
 218 articulatory performance, which allows for the representation of deficits in nearly all components of interest.  
 219 We first assessed the *criterion (analytical and clinical) validity* of the acoustic-based framework by examining  
 220 associations between: (1) performance on the five acoustic features and performance on their kinematic  
 221 correlates (*analytical validity*) and (2) performance on the five acoustics features and clinician ratings of the  
 222 five framework components (*clinical validity*). We then assessed the *construct (divergent) validity* of the five  
 223 acoustic features by comparing them to one another. That is, we know from prior work that the features selected  
 224 for the framework assess articulatory performance. However, to determine whether the features represent  
 225 *distinct* articulatory constructs, we examined correlations between each pair of acoustic features, with weaker  
 226 associations interpreted as greater divergence. Our research questions were as follows:

- 227 1. ***Criterion (Analytical and Clinical) Validity:*** How does performance on the acoustic features relate  
 228 to performance on their kinematic correlates (*analytical validity*) and to clinician ratings of the five  
 229 components (*clinical validity*)?
- 230 2. ***Construct (Divergent) Validity:*** Do the acoustic features in our framework represent distinct  
 231 articulatory constructs?

232

### 233 ***Controlling for Severity***

234 Establishing criterion and construct validity can be challenging because of the potentially confounding  
 235 effects of overall severity. Researchers must continually ask, *How can I be sure that a measure of “precision”*

236 *actually measures precision and is not solely a proxy for overall speech motor severity?* The overall severity  
237 of a speech motor disorder is likely to have a global impact on speech with a concurrent effect on many, if not  
238 all, measures of articulatory function. This severity-driven covariation among measures of articulation may  
239 challenge statistical approaches designed to test for unique articulatory motor deficits. As a result, strong  
240 correlations between measures may be due to a relationship with a third variable, such as severity, rather than  
241 to excellent analytical or clinical validity, or poor divergent validity.

242 Nevertheless, including speakers across the whole range of the severity spectrum allows for greater  
243 generalizability of a study's findings and provides the variability needed to adequately model the data. Indeed,  
244 severity often drives changes in articulation, particularly in a population with impaired speech. Thus, removing  
245 the variability related to severity may also remove important variability in articulatory function needed to  
246 assess differences in the measures. To account for the different roles of severity in this study, we first examined  
247 clinical, analytical, and divergent validity *without* controlling for severity. Then, for the measures with  
248 moderate to strong associations, we conducted partial correlations—with severity as a covariate—to provide  
249 a better understanding of its contribution to the relationship.

250

## 251 **METHOD**

### 252 **Subjects**

253 Subjects for the study included 22 individuals with ALS (14 males, 8 females; age in years: 39-71,  
254  $M = 52.89$ ,  $SD = 9.65$ ) selected from two databases. The demographic and speech characteristics of the  
255 subjects are outlined in Table 1. Seven ALS speakers were selected from the X-ray Microbeam (XRMB)  
256 Speech Production Database (R01DC00820; Westbury, 1994), and 15 ALS speakers were selected from the  
257 database of an ongoing longitudinal study conducted at the MGH Institute of Health Professions (IHP)  
258 (R01DC0135470; Green, 2013). Participants in the MGH IHP database scored within normal limits on the  
259 ALS Cognitive Behavioral Screen (CBS; Wooley et al., 2010). The XRMB database did not include  
260 information on cognitive function. All subjects were native English speakers and passed a bilateral hearing  
261 screening at 30dB at 1000, 2000, and 4000 Hz.

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**Table 1.** Demographic and speech characteristics of speakers with ALS.

Subject	Age	Sex	Database	SMR Severity Rating	Overall Severity Rating	Intelligibility Rating
ALS01*	56	M	MGH IHP	1.5	0	0
ALS02*	46	F	MGH IHP	4.5	3	0
ALS03*	34	M	MGH IHP	0	0	0
ALS04*	64	F	MGH IHP	76	91	76.5
ALS05*	—	M	MGH IHP	72.5	28.5	0
ALS06	62	F	MGH IHP	83.5	100	100
ALS07*	60	F	MGH IHP	72	45.5	24
ALS08*	50	M	MGH IHP	36.5	10.5	0
ALS09*	54	M	MGH IHP	5	2	0
ALS10	59	M	MGH IHP	68.5	14.5	0
ALS11*	56	M	MGH IHP	85	89.5	75
ALS12	—	M	MGH IHP	0	1.5	0
ALS13*	59	M	MGH IHP	3.5	0	0
ALS14	—	F	MGH IHP	68.5	43	14
ALS15*	—	F	MGH IHP	26	6	0
ALS16	39	F	XRMB	63.5	52.5	13
ALS17	43	M	XRMB	25.5	30	0
ALS18	55	M	XRMB	100	100	100
ALS19	44	M	XRMB	100	93	86.5
ALS20	43	M	XRMB	100	100	100
ALS21	71	F	XRMB	79.5	47	11
ALS22	57	M	XRMB	10	18	5.5

*Note.* Em dashes indicate missing data. Severity and intelligibility ratings were made based on a visual analog scale (VAS) with the labels “Normal” (0) on the left to “Very Impaired” (100) on the right. \* = subject was included in kinematic analysis.

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For the purpose of describing the speech of the subjects, two licensed speech-language pathologists (SLPs) rated perceptual severity and intelligibility of the speakers during two tasks (i.e., the sequential motion rate [SMR] task and a connected speech task) on visual analog scales (VASs); the methods for obtaining these ratings will be discussed further in the Procedure section. The subjects exhibited a wide range of SMR severity ratings (based on the SMR task) ( $M = 49.16$ ,  $SD = 37.67$ ), overall severity ratings (based on the connected speech task) ( $M = 33.86$ ,  $SD = 38.72$ ), and intelligibility ratings (based on the connected speech task) ( $M = 27.52$ ,  $SD = 39.87$ ). Independent samples t-tests of the perceptual ratings between the two databases revealed no significant differences for any of the severity rating types (SMR severity rating:  $t(11.25) = -1.67$ ,  $p = .12$ ; overall severity rating:  $t(12.51) = -2.11$ ,  $p = .06$ ; and intelligibility rating:  $t(9.08) = -1.29$ ,  $p = .23$ , respectively).

## 275 **Procedure**

276 All subjects performed the SMR task (part of the diadochokinetic [DDK] task), in which they  
277 repeated the syllable sequence /pataka/ as quickly and accurately as possible on one breath. An experimenter  
278 was present in the room to ensure that subjects performed the task correctly. The SMR task was used  
279 because it is efficient, widely implemented in the clinical setting, and sensitive to bulbar motor involvement  
280 in individuals with ALS (Rong et al., 2018). Moreover, it is well suited to extract acoustic features that are  
281 representative of each component.

282 *Acoustic data acquisition.* For both databases, acoustic data were collected at a sampling frequency  
283 of 22 kHz. Data was collected in a quiet room to minimize any background noise that may have introduced  
284 variability into the acoustic signal. During the task, subjects wore a head-mounted, professional-quality  
285 microphone positioned approximately 5 cm from their mouth.

286 *Kinematic data acquisition.* Kinematic data for 11 subjects (all from the MGH IHP database) were  
287 analyzed for this study due to limitations in data availability. Kinematic data was collected at a sampling  
288 frequency of 40-160 Hz. Lip and tongue movements were obtained using the Wave electromagnetic  
289 articulography tracking system (Wave; Northern Digital, Inc.). Five-degree-of-freedom sensors were  
290 attached to four anatomical locations: (1) the vermillion border at the center of the upper lip; (2) the  
291 vermillion border at the center of the lower lip; (3) on the surface of the ventral tongue approximately one  
292 cm posterior to the apex (i.e., tongue tip); and (4) on the surface of the dorsal tongue approximately four cm  
293 posterior to the apex (i.e., tongue dorsum). All signals were recorded in three dimensions (i.e., anterior-  
294 posterior, superior-inferior, and medial-lateral). Lip sensors were adhered to the subject using medical tape  
295 and tongue sensors were placed using PeriAcryl Oral Tissues Adhesive (GluStitch Inc.), a non-toxic dental  
296 glue. For a reference marker, one six-degree-of-freedom sensor was secured to the center of the subject's  
297 forehead. This marker was used to re-express the lip and tongue data relative to a head-based coordinate  
298 system, thereby subtracting head movement from the analysis.

299 *Perceptual data acquisition.* Two licensed SLPs with clinical expertise in speech motor disorders  
300 rated the speech of the individuals with ALS in this study. Each clinician listened to a total of 54 randomized  
301 audio recordings of the subjects using Audacity (Audacity Team, 2020). The clinicians first listened to 27

302 randomized recordings of connected speech, which included five randomly selected subject recordings  
 303 repeated for the calculation of intrarater reliability. To maximize the number of words heard by the listener,  
 304 the 15-word sentence from the randomly generated Sentence Intelligibility Test (SIT; Yorkston et al., 2007)  
 305 was selected for the subjects from the MGH IHP database. Since the SIT was not collected for the XRMB  
 306 database, a segment of the hunter passage (i.e., “*This March, Tom found himself by a small stream with a*  
 307 *gun at rest in the crook of his arm.*”) was selected. This segment was chosen for its comparable length to the  
 308 15-word sentence from the MGH IHP database. While listening to each recording, the clinicians completed a  
 309 survey through REDCap electronic data capture tools (Harris et al., 2019) hosted at MGH IHP. In this  
 310 survey, the SLPs were asked to rate overall severity and intelligibility of the subject’s speech on a 100-point  
 311 VAS with endpoints labeled “Very Impaired” (100) on the left and “Normal” (0) on the right.

312 The clinicians then listened to 27 randomized recordings of the SMR task, which included five  
 313 randomly selected subject recordings again repeated for intrarater reliability. While listening to each  
 314 recording, the clinicians completed another survey through REDCap. In this survey, they were first asked to  
 315 rate the severity of the SMR task. The survey then explained that the clinicians would be given five  
 316 components of articulation along with their definitions on which to rate each subject’s SMR performance  
 317 (see Table 2). Each item was rated using a 100-point VAS with endpoints labeled “Very Impaired” (100) on  
 318 the left and “Normal” (0) on the right. Recent work has demonstrated strong correlations between VAS  
 319 ratings and orthographic transcription (Abur et al., 2019; Hustad, 2006; Stipancic et al., 2016) and even  
 320 slightly higher interrater reliability for VAS ratings than for intelligibility derived from orthographic  
 321 transcription (Hustad, 2006; Stipancic et al., 2016). For both connected speech and SMR recordings, the  
 322 clinicians were blind to speaker identity and diagnosis and were allowed to re-listen to the recordings as  
 323 many times as needed. These ratings served as the perceptual features used for this study (see Table 3).

**Table 3.** Acoustic, kinematic, and perceptual features used to assess analytical and clinical validity.

Acoustic	Kinematic	Perceptual
<i>Coordination</i>		

<p><b>Ratio of /p/-/t/ Duration to /t/-/k/ Duration (DurRatio):</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Durations from (a) release burst of /p/ to release burst of /t/ and (b) release burst of /t/ to release burst of /k/ were extracted from each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>2. Ratio of (a) to (b) was calculated for each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>3. Mean ratio of (a) to (b) was calculated across all three repetitions for each subject</li> </ol>	<p><b>Ratio of Durations between Labial and Lingual Closures:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Durations from (a) labial opening for /pa/ to anterior lingual release for /ta/ and (b) anterior lingual release for /ta/ to posterior lingual release for /ka/ were extracted from each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>2. Ratio of (a) to (b) was calculated for each syllable of /pataka/</li> <li>3. Mean ratio of (a) to (b) was calculated across all three repetitions for each subject</li> </ol>	<p>ratings of appropriate temporal alignment of movements to meet task demands</p>
<b>Consistency</b>		
<p><b>Between-Repetition Variability in Syllable Duration (RepVar.Syll):</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Durations from (a) release burst of /p/ to release burst of /t/, (b) release burst of /t/ to release burst of /k/, and (c) release burst of /k/ to release burst of /p/ were extracted from each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>2. Standard deviation of (a), (b), and (c) was calculated across three repetitions for each syllable (e.g., /pa1/, /pa2/, /pa3/)</li> <li>3. Mean standard deviation of syllable duration was calculated across all three syllables for each subject</li> </ol>	<p><b>Between-Repetition Variability in Durations between Closures:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Durations from (a) labial closure for /pa/ to anterior lingual elevation for /ta/, (b) anterior lingual elevation for /ta/ to posterior lingual elevation for /ka/, and (c) posterior lingual elevation for /ka/ and labial closure for /pa/ were extracted from each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>2. Standard deviation of (a), (b), and (c) was calculated across three repetitions for each syllable (e.g., /pa1/, /pa2/, /pa3/)</li> <li>3. Mean standard deviation of syllable duration was calculated across all three syllables for each subject</li> </ol>	<p>ratings of stability of speech sounds across multiple repetitions</p>
<b>Speed</b>		
<p><b>Second Formant Slope in Consonant-Vowel Transition (F2Slope):</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. F2 time series was extracted from vowel segment in /ka/, and F2 slope of consonant-vowel transition was calculated using first timepoint as onset frequency and midpoint as offset frequency</li> <li>3. Mean F2 slope of /ka/ was calculated across all three repetitions for each subject</li> </ol>	<p><b>Lingual Velocity:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Maximum and minimum values of first derivative of posterior lingual movement (as indexed by TD_d velocity maxima and minima) were extracted from /ka/</li> <li>2. Mean TD_d velocity of /ka/ was calculated across all three repetitions of /ka/ for each subject</li> </ol>	<p>ratings of quickness of movement during each syllable repetition</p>
<b>Precision</b>		
<p><b>Between-Consonant Variability in F2 Slope (ConVar.F2Slope):</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. F2 time series was extracted from vowel segment in /pa/, /ta/, and /ka/, and F2 slope of consonant-vowel transition was calculated using first timepoint as onset frequency and midpoint as offset frequency</li> <li>2. Standard deviation of F2 slope was calculated across /pa/, /ta/, and /ka/ for each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>2. Mean standard deviation of F2 slope was calculated across all three repetitions for each subject</li> </ol>	<p><b>Between-Consonant Variability in Lingual Speed:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Maximum and minimum values of first derivative of posterior lingual movement (as indexed by TD_d velocity maxima and minima) were extracted during /pa/, /ta/, and /ka/ for each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>2. Standard deviation of TD_d velocity was calculated across /pa/, /ta/, and /ka/ for each repetition of /pataka/</li> <li>3. Mean standard deviation of TD_d velocity was calculated across all three repetitions for each subject</li> </ol>	<p>ratings of clearness and distinctiveness of consonants</p>
<b>Rate</b>		
<p><b>Syllables per Second (SyllRate):</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Duration from release burst of /p/ in first repetition of /pataka/ to vowel offset in third repetition of /ka/ was extracted for each subject</li> <li>2. Syllables per second was calculated by dividing number of syllables produced in three repetitions by task duration</li> </ol>	<p><b>Closures per Second:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Duration from labial closure for /pa/ in first repetition of /pataka/ to labial closure for /pa/ in fourth repetition of /pataka/ was extracted for each subject</li> <li>2. Syllables per second was calculated by dividing number of cycles of labial closure for /pa/, anterior lingual elevation for /ta/, and posterior lingual elevation for /ka/ produced in three repetitions by task duration</li> </ol>	<p>ratings of quickness of completion of syllable sequences</p>

324

325 **Acoustic Analysis**

326

327

328

The acoustic recordings were analyzed using Praat (Boersma, 2001). Prior to analysis, each wideband spectrogram was manually reviewed for signal artifacts. Formant settings were set to a maximum frequency of 5500 Hz for women and 5000 Hz for men. The first repetition of /pataka/ (identified by the

329 release burst of /p/ in /pa/ to the final glottal pulse in /ka/) was excluded due to the variability often  
 330 associated with initiating a complex speech task. Each spectrogram was parsed at the phoneme level for  
 331 three repetitions of the sequence /pataka/. Each consonant was parsed from its release burst to the first glottal  
 332 pulse of the subsequent vowel (i.e., the vowel onset). Each vowel was then parsed from the vowel onset,  
 333 which also includes the consonant transition, to the final glottal pulse (i.e., the vowel offset). These signals  
 334 were used to develop the acoustic features that make up our novel framework of articulatory motor control  
 335 (see Figure 1 and Table 3). The data required for each feature was extracted using a custom Praat script and  
 336 calculated using custom MATLAB (MathWorks, 2019) and R (R Core Team, 2014) scripts. The rationale for  
 337 the feature selected for each framework component is as follows:

338 ***Coordination* → Ratio of /p/-/t/ Duration to /t/-/k/ Duration (DurRatio):** Articulatory *Coordination* is a  
 339 poorly defined construct and, as a result, many different acoustic features—representing arguably distinct  
 340 constructs—have been used in the speech motor control literature. Seminal work in speech motor control  
 341 posited that *Coordination* refers to the spatiotemporal patterning of speech articulators and has been  
 342 measured using quantitative indices representing movement sequencing, interarticulator coupling, motor  
 343 equivalence covariability, and movement smoothness (Caruso et al., 1988; Gracco & Abs, 1986). *DurRatio*  
 344 best reflects the indices of movement sequencing and smoothness. In the case of the SMR task, sequencing  
 345 from the labial closure for /p/ to the tongue tip closure for /t/ and then to the tongue back closure for /k/ with  
 346 the appropriate relative timing of the three gestures will result in a smooth production of the syllable  
 347 sequence. If all articulatory closures are achieved in an efficient manner, the /p/-/t/ and /t/-/k/ durations  
 348 should be approximately equal, producing a ratio of 1. *DurRatio* thus reflects movement smoothness during  
 349 a sequencing task, with values further from 1 indicating reduced *Coordination*.

350 ***Consistency* → Between-Repetition Variability in Syllable Duration (RepVar.Syll):** *RepVar.Syll* consists  
 351 of the standard deviation in syllable duration across repetitions of /pataka/. Variations of *RepVar.Syll* have  
 352 frequently been employed in the clinical speech science literature, as syllable variability is a sensitive  
 353 measure in populations who lack stability in repeated sound productions (Kent & Rosenbek, 1983; McNeil et  
 354 al., 1995; Rong, 2020). *RepVar.Syll* thus reflects variability in syllable duration across multiple productions.  
 355 All values were reversed (multiplied by -1) to ease interpretability of the correlations with the kinematic and

356 perceptual measures. Therefore, larger *negative* values indicate more variability or reduced *Consistency*.

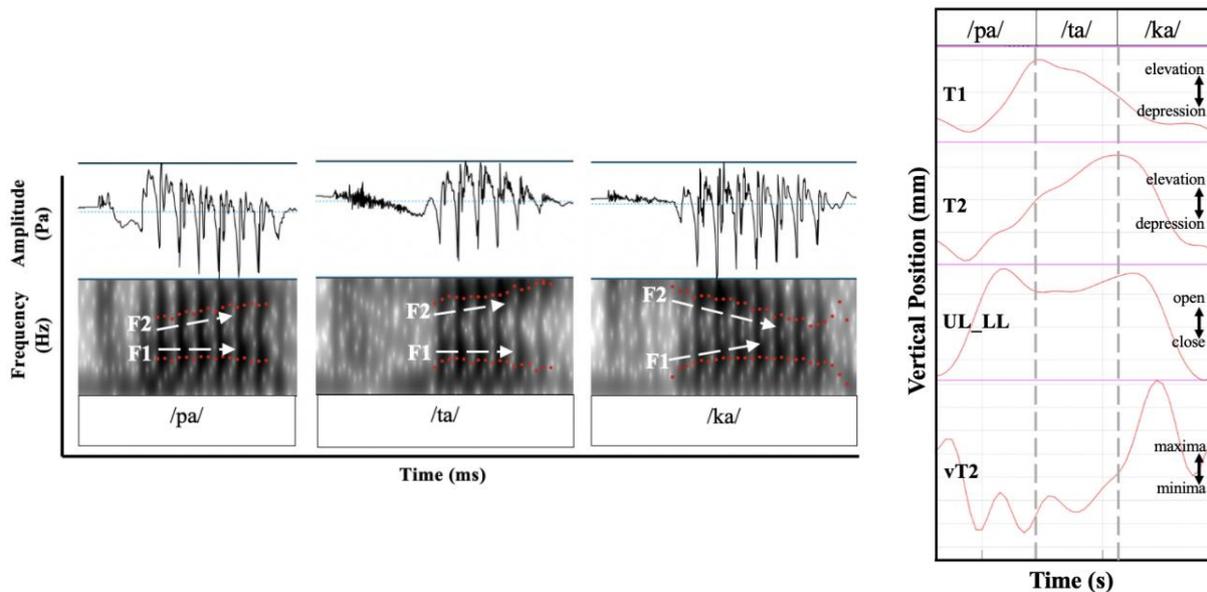
357 ***Speed* → F2 Slope of Consonant Transition (F2Slope):** *F2Slope* consists of the slope of F2 (i.e.,  
 358 range/time) in the consonant-vowel transition of /ka/. Prior work has advocated for the use of stimuli that  
 359 result in large changes in vocal tract configuration (Kim et al., 2009). The decreasing consonant-vowel  
 360 transition of /ka/ was, therefore, used because it is the greatest and most robust of the three consonants,  
 361 suggesting that the transition may be particularly sensitive to articulatory abnormalities. *F2Slope* thus  
 362 reflects the speed of lingual movement, with smaller values indicating reduced *Speed*.

363 ***Precision* → Between-Consonant Variability in F2 Slope (ConVar.F2Slope):** Much of the acoustic and  
 364 kinematic literature on articulatory *Precision* has focused on vowel distinctiveness, using measures such as  
 365 vowel space area, formant ranges during the production of diphthongs, or articulatory displacement during  
 366 the production of corner vowels. In the current study, we focused on consonant distinctiveness because  
 367 behavioral research has shown that consonants, though more challenging to measure acoustically, may have  
 368 a greater impact than vowels on word-based intelligibility (Owren & Cardillo, 2006). *ConVar.F2Slope*  
 369 consists of the standard deviation in F2 slope across the three distinct consonant-vowel transitions of /pa/  
 370 /ta/, and /ka/. F2 slope was selected over F2 range because of the information it provides about place *and*  
 371 manner of articulation, as the slope encapsulates both formant frequency range and length (Chen & Alwan,  
 372 2000; Delattre et al., 1955; MacKay, 2014). Indeed, place of articulation can be determined by formant  
 373 frequency range (e.g., compared to alveolar stops, bilabial stops produce a longer vocal tract, which results  
 374 in a smaller transition range), while manner of articulation can be determined by the length of the consonant  
 375 transition (e.g., compared to stops, fricatives tend to have a slower rate of vocal tract adjustment, which  
 376 results in a longer, more gradual transition length) (MacKay, 2014). Using the transitions of /p/, /t/, and /k/ is  
 377 particularly informative given the antagonistic places of articulation for each phoneme, which should  
 378 theoretically produce highly distinct transitions. *ConVar.F2Slope* thus reflects variability in F2 slope across  
 379 the three discrete consonants, with smaller values indicating less variation or reduced *Precision*.

380 ***Rate* → Syllables Produced Per Second (SyllRate):** *SyllRate* is the number of syllables produced per  
 381 second during the SMR task. The measure of *Rate* in syllables per second has been used extensively  
 382 throughout acoustic literature, as reductions in this measure are a prominent sign of articulatory decline in

383 speech motor populations (Nishio & Nimi, 2006; Tjaden & Watling, 2003; Ziegler & Wessel, 1996).  
 384 *SyllRate* thus reflects the rate of syllable sequence performance, with smaller values indicating reduced *Rate*.  
 385

**Figure 1.** *Left panel:* Acoustic spectrogram and waveform of the utterance /pataka/ produced by a speaker with ALS. *Right panel:* Time series of anterior lingual movement (T1), posterior lingual movement (T2), labial movement (UL\_LL), and velocity of posterior lingual movement (vT2) during the utterance /pataka/ produced by a speaker with ALS.



386

### 387 Kinematic Analysis

388 All kinematic data was analyzed using a custom MATLAB (MathWorks, 2019) software program  
 389 called Speech Movement Analysis for Speech and Hearing research (SMASH; Green et al., 2013). Prior to  
 390 analysis, each file was manually checked for movement artifacts and missing markers. Lip and tongue  
 391 movements in each signal were then smoothed using a 15-Hz low-pass filter to remove high-frequency noise  
 392 and resampled at 100 Hz. To account for head movement during the task, 3D Euclidean distances were  
 393 derived between the following signals: (1) the reference marker (on the forehead) and the tongue tip (TT\_d);  
 394 (2) the reference marker and the tongue dorsum (TD\_d); and (3) the upper and lower lips (UL\_LL\_d). All  
 395 movements were assessed along the vertical (y) axis of the frontal plane (see Figure 1). The first repetition of  
 396 /pataka/ (identified by the first cycle of upper and lower lip closure) was excluded due to the movement

397 variability often associated with initiation of a complex speech task. Each file was parsed at the syllable level  
398 for three repetitions of /pataka/. The syllable /pa/ was parsed from the UL\_LL\_d minima (i.e., lip closure) to  
399 the subsequent TT\_d minima (i.e., tongue tip closure), /ta/ was parsed from the TT\_d minima to the  
400 subsequent TD\_d minima (i.e., tongue dorsum closure), and /ka/ was parsed from the TD\_d minima to the  
401 subsequent UL\_LL\_d minima. These signals were used to develop the kinematic measures used for this  
402 study (see Figure 1 and Table 3).

403

#### 404 **Statistical Analysis**

405 All statistical analyses were completed in R (R Core Team, 2014).

#### 406 ***Interrater Reliability***

407 For both the acoustic and kinematic data, the first author parsed all the SMR samples. To obtain  
408 interrater reliability, a second trained researcher then re-measured the boundaries of a random selection of  
409 20% of the samples from both datatypes. Because parsing was the only manual step in the data analysis,  
410 reliability was assessed based on the agreement on the measures derived from the parsed data. ICC (2,1) (i.e.,  
411 two-way random single measures used for consistency/absolute agreement) was used to calculate interrater  
412 reliability for the acoustic and kinematic data as well as for SMR severity ratings, overall severity ratings,  
413 intelligibility ratings, and perceptual ratings of each framework component.

414

#### 415 ***Intrarater Reliability***

416 To obtain intrarater reliability, the first author re-measured the boundaries of a random selection of  
417 20% of the SMR samples from both the acoustic and kinematic data. ICC (2,1) was used to assess intrarater  
418 reliability on the measures derived from the parsed acoustic and kinematic data, whereas percent agreement  
419 was used to assess intrarater reliability for SMR severity ratings, overall severity ratings, intelligibility  
420 ratings, and perceptual ratings of each framework component. For the measure of percent agreement, the  
421 ratings were considered to be in “agreement” if they were within 10 points on the 100-point VAS. Intrarater  
422 reliability was calculated for both clinicians individually, and then the mean intrarater reliability was  
423 calculated. Percent agreement was used instead of ICC (2,1) for the perceptual ratings due to the small

424 sample size of data points (i.e., five) used for this calculation, as each repeated speaker only had one  
425 datapoint. Although only a small number of speakers were re-measured for the acoustic and kinematic data  
426 as well, we had a sufficient amount of data to assess reliability using ICC (2,1) because measures were  
427 calculated for each repetition (i.e., first, second, and third) and syllable (i.e., /pa/, /ta/, /ka/).

428

### 429 *Effects of Sex on Acoustic Features*

430 Because there was an unequal ratio of males and females in the group of ALS speakers, we used  
431 independent t-tests to examine the effect of sex on each of the five acoustic features.

432

### 433 *Criterion (Analytical and Clinical) Validation of Acoustic Features*

434 To examine the relationship between performance on the acoustic features and clinician ratings of  
435 the five components (clinical validity), we conducted either Pearson product moment correlations or  
436 Spearman's rank order correlations (depending on the normality of the model residuals) between the acoustic  
437 measures and perceptual ratings of each articulatory component. Subsequently, for the acoustic measures and  
438 perceptual ratings that were moderate to strongly associated, we conducted partial correlations with severity  
439 as a covariate. Similarly, to examine the relationship between performance on the acoustic features and  
440 performance on their kinematic correlates (analytical validity), we conducted Pearson product moment  
441 correlations or Spearman's rank order correlations (depending on the normality of the model residuals)  
442 between the acoustic and kinematic measures for each component. Subsequently, for the acoustic and  
443 kinematic measures that were moderate to strongly associated, we conducted partial correlations with  
444 severity as a covariate.

445

### 446 *Construct (Divergent) Validation of Acoustic Features*

447 To examine construct validity, we assessed the pairwise associations between performance on the  
448 acoustic features. For this analysis, we first conducted either Pearson product moment correlations or  
449 Spearman's rank order correlations (depending on the normality of the model residuals) for each pair of

450 acoustic features. Subsequently, for the pairs of acoustic features that were moderate to strongly associated,  
 451 we conducted partial correlations with severity as a covariate.

452

## 453 RESULTS

454 Descriptive statistics of performance on the five acoustic-based framework components in ALS  
 455 speakers are reported in Table 5.

**Table 5.** Means and standard deviations of the five acoustic-based framework components in speakers with ALS.

<b>Coordination (DurRatio)</b>	<b>Consistency (RepVar.Syll)</b>	<b>Speed (F2Slope)</b>	<b>Precision (ConVar.F2Slope)</b>	<b>Rate (SyllRate)</b>
1.04 (.45)	-13.39 (6.97)	4.94 (4.32) kHz	5.44 (3.67)	4.92 (2.03) syll/sec

456

### 457 *Interrater Reliability*

458 ICC (2,1) demonstrated moderate to excellent interrater reliability for SMR severity ratings, overall  
 459 severity ratings, speech intelligibility ratings, and all five components measured acoustically, kinematically,  
 460 and perceptually except *Consistency* (see Table 4). For the moderate ICCs (i.e., .63 for acoustic *Consistency*,  
 461 .68 for kinematic *Speed*, and .70 for kinematic *Precision*), scatterplots of the data revealed an outlier that  
 462 influenced each ICC calculation. When the outlier was temporarily removed in a post hoc analysis, all ICCs  
 463 increased to .83 or greater. We were, however, surprised to find poor reliability for the perceptual ratings of  
 464 *Consistency*. Further inspection of the scatterplots of the perceptual data revealed two distinct ranges of  
 465 *Consistency* values for the clinicians, with one range much more restricted than the other. Despite a strong  
 466 correlation between the perceptual ratings of the two clinicians, one clinician used the entire length of the  
 467 VAS to rate *Consistency* (i.e., between 0 [normal] to 100 [very impaired]), whereas the other clinician rated  
 468 *Consistency* between 0 and 20 for all subjects. This discrepancy in VAS ranges has been explored in prior  
 469 work on how the internal yardsticks of raters tend to differ for perceptual features (Miller, 2013). Differences  
 470 in what a rater regards as disordered can be influenced by many factors, such as the order of stimuli  
 471 presentation during the listening task or clinician experience with the population or parameters on which

472 they are rating. These factors may have contributed to the poor reliability in the perceptual ratings of  
 473 *Consistency*, though additional research is needed to further test this potential explanation.

**Table 4.** Inter- and intrarater reliability with significance levels (\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ) for acoustic, kinematic, and perceptual measures of each component in speakers with ALS.

Measure	Interrater Reliability	Intrarater Reliability
<b>Coordination</b>		
Acoustic (DurRatio)	ICC (2,1) = .90**	ICC (2,1) = .98***
Kinematic (Variability in Lingual Correlation)	ICC (2,1) = .89**	ICC (2,1) = .89***
Perceptual (Coordination Rating)	ICC (2,1) = .86**	% agreement = 80
<b>Consistency</b>		
Acoustic (RepVar.Syll)	ICC (2,1) = .63*	ICC (2,1) = .92**
Kinematic (Variability in Durations between Closures)	ICC (2,1) = .96***	ICC (2,1) = .97***
Perceptual (Consistency Rating)	ICC (2,1) = .31*	% agreement = 90
<b>Speed</b>		
Acoustic (F2Slope)	ICC (2,1) = .88**	ICC (2,1) = .77*
Kinematic (Lingual Velocity)	ICC (2,1) = .68*	ICC (2,1) = .68*
Perceptual (Speed Rating)	ICC (2,1) = .92**	% agreement = 70
<b>Precision</b>		
Acoustic (ConVar.F2Slope)	ICC (2,1) = .83*	ICC (2,1) = .82*
Kinematic (Variability in Lingual Velocity)	ICC (2,1) = .70***	ICC (2,1) = .71**
Perceptual (Precision Rating)	ICC (2,1) = .77*	% agreement = 100
<b>Rate</b>		
Acoustic (SyllRate)	ICC (2,1) = .99***	ICC (2,1) = .99***
Kinematic (Closures per Second)	ICC (2,1) = .99***	ICC (2,1) = .99***
Perceptual (Rate Rating)	ICC (2,1) = .84*	% agreement = 100
<b>Severity</b>		
SMR Severity Rating	ICC (2,1) = .96***	% agreement = 80
Overall Severity Rating	ICC (2,1) = .92**	% agreement = 90
Speech Intelligibility Rating	ICC (2,1) = .97***	% agreement = 100

474

#### 475 **Intrarater Reliability**

476 ICC (2,1) demonstrated moderate to excellent intrarater reliability for all five components measured  
 477 acoustically and kinematically (see Table 4). Percent agreement ranged from 70 to 100 for SMR severity  
 478 ratings, overall severity ratings, speech intelligibility ratings, and ratings on all five framework components  
 479 (see Table 4). For the moderate ICCs (i.e., .68 for kinematic *Speed* and .71 for kinematic *Precision*),  
 480 scatterplots of the data revealed an outlier that influenced the ICC calculations. Therefore, similar to results  
 481 for interrater reliability, all ICCs increased to .91 or greater when the outlier was temporarily removed in a  
 482 post hoc analysis.

483

484 **Effects of Sex on Acoustic Features**

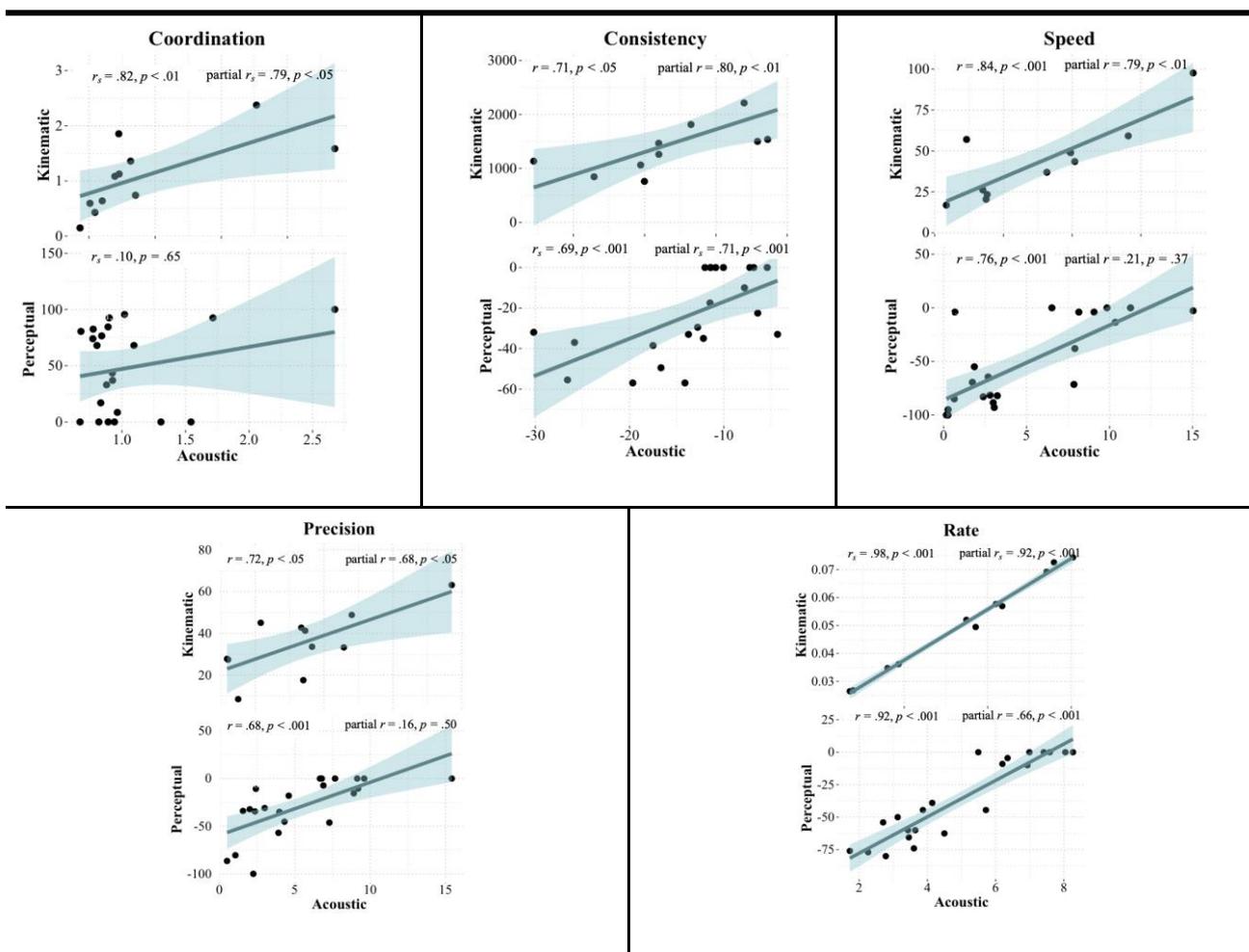
485 There were no significant effects of sex for any of the five acoustic features. We thus combined the  
 486 data from both sexes for all correlation analyses.

487

488 **Criterion (Analytical and Clinical) Validation of Acoustic Features (Research Question 1)**

489 To determine whether to use a parametric or nonparametric correlation for each pair of measures, we  
 490 conducted the Kolmogorov-Smirnov (KS) test, which assesses the normality of the distribution of the model  
 491 residuals. The KS test revealed violations of the assumption of normality ( $p < .05$ ) for four of the 10 pairs.  
 492 Thus, the four aforementioned pairs were analyzed using Spearman's correlations, while the remaining six  
 493 were analyzed using Pearson correlations (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2.** Pearson ( $r$ ) or Spearman's ( $r_s$ ) bivariate and partial correlation coefficients demonstrating the acoustic-kinematic and acoustic-perceptual relationships for the five components in speakers with ALS (Research Question 1).



494 For the acoustic-kinematic comparisons (i.e., analytical validity), all correlation coefficients revealed  
 495 moderate to strong associations for the five components both with and without controlling for severity (see  
 496 Figure 2). For the acoustic-perceptual comparisons (i.e., clinical validity), moderate to strong relationships  
 497 were found between the acoustic features and the perceptual ratings for all components except *Coordination*  
 498 (*DurRatio*) without controlling for severity. However, when severity was used as a covariate, moderate to  
 499 strong associations were found only for *Consistency* (*RepVar.Syll*) and *Rate* (*DDKRate*) (see Figure 2).

500  
 501 **Construct (Divergent) Validation of Acoustic Features (Research Question 2)**

502 To determine whether to use a parametric or nonparametric correlation for each pair of measures, we  
 503 again conducted the KS test. The KS test revealed violations of the assumption of normality ( $p < .05$ ) for  
 504 seven of the 10 pairs. Thus, the seven aforementioned pairs were analyzed using Spearman's correlations,  
 505 while the remaining three were analyzed using Pearson correlations (see Table 6).

**Table 6.** Pearson ( $r$ ) or Spearman's ( $r_s$ ) bivariate and partial correlation coefficients with significance levels (\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ) demonstrating divergence in performance on the acoustic features in speakers with ALS (Research Question 2).

	<b>Coordination</b>	<b>Consistency</b>	<b>Speed</b>	<b>Precision</b>	<b>Rate</b>
<b>Coordination</b>					
<b>Consistency</b>	$r_s = -.13$				
<b>Speed</b>	$r_s = .17$	$r_s = .49^*$ partial $r_s = .02$			
<b>Precision</b>	$r_s = .15$	$r_s = .51^*$ partial $r_s = -.01$	$r_s = .92^{***}$ partial $r = .81^{***}$		
<b>Rate</b>	$r_s = -.13$	$r_s = .62^{**}$ partial $r_s = .21$	$r_s = .81^{***}$ partial $r = .49^*$	$r_s = .85^{***}$ partial $r = .52^*$	

506  
 507 Without controlling for severity, the correlation coefficients revealed weak relationships for four of  
 508 the ten pairs of acoustic features, moderate relationships for three pairs, and strong relationships for the final  
 509 three pairs (see Table 6). However, when controlling for severity in the moderate to strong correlations, all  
 510 relationships decreased, with only *Speed* (*F2Slope*) and *Precision* (*ConVar.F2Slope*) still demonstrating a  
 511 strong association. It should be noted that the weak associations, which best exemplify divergent validity,

512 were not statistically significant. However, detecting such small effects requires a larger sample size than we  
513 had in our study. A post hoc power analysis demonstrated that, while detecting the medium to large effects  
514 we found ( $r = .5$  to  $r = .9$ ) requires approximately 20 participants, detecting a small effect ( $r = .2$ ) would  
515 require 266 participants. Thus, we expect these weak relationships to become statistically significant with a  
516 larger sample size, as more datapoints would increase statistical power.

517

## 518 **DISCUSSION**

519 The goal of this study was to validate a novel acoustic-based framework for characterizing  
520 articulatory motor impairments in speakers with ALS. The framework is composed of five unique  
521 components of articulatory control: *Coordination*, *Consistency*, *Speed*, *Precision*, and *Rate*. Our first  
522 research question examined criterion validity by comparing performance on the acoustic features to their  
523 kinematic correlates and to clinician ratings of the framework components. Our second research question  
524 examined the construct validity of the five acoustic features by comparing performance on each acoustic  
525 feature to the other four features. There were two key findings from our study: (1) All acoustic features  
526 except *Coordination* (*DurRatio*) exhibited moderate to strong analytical *and* clinical validity; and (2)  
527 construct divergence was demonstrated across most correlations. All acoustic, kinematic, and perceptual  
528 measures, except for the perceptual rating of *Consistency*, demonstrated moderate to excellent inter- and  
529 intrarater reliability.

530

### 531 ***Evidence for Criterion Validity of Acoustic-Based Articulatory Features: Analytical Validity***

532 Taken together, analytical validity was supported by moderate to strong associations between the  
533 acoustic features and their kinematic correlates for all five framework components both with and without  
534 controlling for severity. These findings were largely in line with those of previous work. The strong  
535 correlation we found for *Coordination* is consistent with the associations Weismer et al. (2003) reported  
536 between the timing of F2 movement and of lingual and labial movements. Similarly, Mefferd and Green  
537 (2010) observed a moderate association between acoustic- and kinematic-based articulatory specification  
538 (*Precision*) in healthy speakers (Mefferd & Green, 2010). The strong relationships we found for *Speed*, *Rate*,

539 and *Consistency* are also consistent with prior research. Yunusova et al. (2012), in her work examining  
 540 movement *Speed*, noted strong associations between articulator *Speed* (derived kinematically) and F2 slope  
 541 in speakers with ALS. Additionally, Rong (2020) found strong associations between (1) the *Rate* of  
 542 alternating tongue movements and acoustic envelope cycles per second (*Rate*) and (2) the variability in the  
 543 acoustic envelope and tongue movement jitter (*Consistency*) in speakers with ALS (Rong, 2020).

544 Nevertheless, there were two notable distinctions between our findings and those of previous studies.  
 545 First, Yunusova et al. (2012) found only a weak relationship between F2 range and articulator displacement  
 546 (*Precision*) in speakers with ALS. This discrepancy may be partially due to the differences in the type of  
 547 phonemes examined, as Yunusova et al. (2012) investigated vowel distinctiveness, while our study  
 548 investigated consonant distinctiveness. Second, Mefferd and Green (2010) observed a weak correlation  
 549 between acoustic and kinematic measures of *Consistency*. The authors, however, examined only healthy  
 550 controls, who typically exhibit less variability than patients with speech motor disorders, which would yield  
 551 a weaker relationship (Mefferd & Green, 2010).

552

### 553 ***Evidence for Criterion Validity of Acoustic-Based Articulatory Features: Clinical Validity***

554 Overall, without controlling for severity, our study revealed moderate to strong clinical validity for  
 555 every acoustic feature except *Coordination (DurRatio)*. With severity as a covariate, the associations  
 556 between the acoustic features for *Speed (F2Slope)* and *Precision (ConVar.F2Slope)* and their perceptual  
 557 ratings decreased to weak relationships. However, as aforementioned, because severity can drive articulatory  
 558 impairments in speech-impaired populations, removing all the variability related to severity may also remove  
 559 important differences in articulatory function. This interdependence of severity and articulatory function may  
 560 be particularly present when both variables are determined by clinician judgment. Therefore, the decrease in  
 561 association upon controlling for severity does not necessarily detract from the clinical validity of *Speed* and  
 562 *Precision*. It may, instead, reflect the disproportionate role of perceived *Speed* and *Precision* in the  
 563 clinicians' judgments of severity or of severity in determining *Speed* and *Precision*.

564 Of the five articulatory components, *Rate* and *Precision* were, to our knowledge, the only  
 565 components for which clinical validity had been investigated prior to the current study. The moderate to

566 strong correlation between *Rate (SyllRate)* and its perceptual correlate is consistent with previous studies, all  
567 of which revealed strong associations between instrumental and perceptual measures of *Rate* (Grosjean &  
568 Lane, 1981; Tjaden, 2000; Turner & Weismer, 1993). Likewise, the moderate correlation observed in our  
569 study between acoustic and kinematic measures of *Precision*, prior to controlling for severity, has been  
570 reported previously (Jiao et al., 2016). Findings of strong clinical validity for *Rate* and *Precision* are not  
571 surprising given the auditory-perceptual cues that might encode slower *Rate* (e.g., increased vowel duration,  
572 decreased pause duration) and imprecise speech (e.g., consonant bursts, aspiration, voicing distinctions).

573 In contrast to *Rate* and *Precision*, no study, to our knowledge, has examined the association between  
574 auditory perceptions of *Coordination*, *Consistency*, or *Speed* and their quantitative correlates in speech motor  
575 impaired populations. Similar to *Rate* and *Precision*, *Speed* and *Consistency* may be encoded by acoustic  
576 cues (e.g., increased vowel duration for *Speed* and between-repetition changes in syllable length for  
577 *Consistency*) that may aid in their perception. Indeed, our study revealed moderate to strong correlations for  
578 both *Speed (F2Slope)* (prior to controlling for severity) and *Consistency (RepVar.Syll)* and their perceptual  
579 correlates.

580 Although no study, to our knowledge, has investigated the auditory-perceptual correlates of  
581 *Coordination*, research on chewing has identified challenges with visually perceiving coordinative  
582 movements (Simione et al., 2016). Similar to Simione et al. (2016)'s study, our study revealed weak  
583 associations between *Coordination (DurRatio)* and its perceptual rating. The visual perception of  
584 *Coordination* may be challenging because there is no information beyond the jaw movement, such as the  
585 movements of the tongue or velum. Furthermore, the variations in movement may be small in amplitude and,  
586 therefore, difficult to perceive. Perceiving *Coordination* auditorily may be even more challenging because of  
587 the added phenomena of motor equivalence and quantal effects. Motor equivalence as it relates to acoustic-  
588 based motor control is the ability to achieve the same goal through different movement configurations (Kelso  
589 et al., 1984). Similarly, quantal theory explicates the nonlinear relations between vocal tract movement and  
590 speech acoustics, where in some cases, articulator movements do not result in corresponding acoustic  
591 changes (Stevens, 1972). For example, moving the jaw laterally while speaking may be a sign of  
592 dyscoordination (Laboissiere, Ostry, and Feldman, 1996), but this movement is likely to have minimal

593 impact on speech output. Although little is known about the extent to which these factors influence the  
594 percept of *Coordination*, these aspects of articulatory-acoustic relations raise the possibility that the level of  
595 analysis we are using for our framework (i.e., acoustic) may not fully convey perceptual information about  
596 dyscoordination. Thus, while a weak association could indicate poor clinical validity, this finding may  
597 instead be indicative of the challenges with perceiving *Coordination*.

598

### 599 ***Evidence for Construct Validity of Acoustic-Based Articulatory Features: Divergent Validity***

600 Strong correlations between measures from different levels of analysis (e.g., acoustic with kinematic  
601 or acoustic with perceptual) are essential for establishing criterion validity; such relationships do not,  
602 however, demonstrate that our acoustic features are representing *distinct* constructs. To investigate construct  
603 divergence, we examined correlations between each pair of acoustic features. Therefore, divergence would  
604 be evidenced by weak associations for the correlation analyses.

605 Interestingly, even without severity as a covariate, our findings revealed divergence between five of  
606 the ten pairs of acoustic features. This finding supports the existence of multiple distinct constructs,  
607 particularly given that we had not yet accounted for severity. Upon introducing severity as a covariate, the  
608 majority of the moderate to strong relationships were reduced to weak relationships, which provides  
609 evidence that the measures represent distinct constructs and suggests that severity had been driving at least a  
610 portion of the initial relationships. The strong association that remained between *Speed (F2Slope)* and  
611 *Precision (ConVar.F2Slope)*, regardless of severity, was expected given that both measures are derived from  
612 F2 slope. Nevertheless, a larger sample size is needed to examine this relationship further and to determine if  
613 the divergence we found among the majority of acoustic pairs is statistically significant or meaningful. With  
614 a greater number of subjects, future work could also implement factor analyses, which would further inform  
615 the presence of divergence and multidimensionality of the framework components.

616

### 617 **Clinical Implications**

618 Our findings support the reliability, validity, and clinical utility of the proposed articulatory motor  
619 framework. Analytical validity was supported by moderate to strong correlations between all five acoustic

620 features and their kinematic correlates. Clinical validity was also supported by moderate to strong  
621 associations with clinician ratings for all features except *Coordination (DurRatio)* when severity remained in  
622 the model. While the weak correlation for *Coordination (DurRatio)* may indicate that our acoustic feature is  
623 unable to quantitate incoordination, it may more likely underscore an ongoing challenge with the perceptual  
624 judgement of articulatory function. Indeed, although our findings suggest that clinician perception is  
625 consistent with performance on the five acoustic features, the clinicians in our study had a significant amount  
626 of experience with perceptually characterizing dysarthria subtypes. In real-world clinical settings, clinicians  
627 have varying levels of experience with speech motor populations, which biases their judgements of different  
628 features from the DAB model. As a result, there is often disagreement among healthcare professionals  
629 regarding differential diagnosis and appropriate treatment (Borrie et al., 2012; Bunton et al., 2007; Kent,  
630 1996). The accuracy of DAB characterizations could be further impacted when features are particularly  
631 subtle, such as in more mild cases of dysarthria (Allison et al., 2017; Rowe et al., 2020). Given the analytical  
632 validity demonstrated for the five acoustic features, our acoustic-based framework could provide clinicians  
633 with a more accurate and reliable means of characterizing and assessing speech motor function.

634

### 635 **Limitations and Future Directions**

636 A primary limitation of our study is its small sample size. Given that the kinematic analyses were  
637 performed on only half of the subjects, the associations found with the corresponding acoustic measures  
638 should be interpreted with caution, as they could change with additional data. Indeed, to assess analytical  
639 validity, we only used the acoustic data from the 11 participants with kinematic data, which greatly reduced  
640 our sample size and, consequently, leads to a higher likelihood of finding spurious correlations. Further  
641 research is needed with larger sample sizes to determine whether our correlations remain.

642 In addition, because we used data from an existing database, our study was limited in the  
643 demographic and descriptive information that was available for the subjects. The XRMB database did not  
644 include data on timing or site of disease onset, cognitive function, or bulbar status, which is often examined  
645 using the speech item from the ALS Functional Rating Scale – Revised (ALSFRRS-R; Cedarbaum et al.,  
646 1999). In the absence of clinical measures of bulbar involvement, we used clinicians' VAS ratings of

647 severity. While prior work provides favorable evidence for the use of VAS ratings of intelligibility in  
648 research (Abur et al., 2019; Hustad, 2006; Stipancic et al., 2016), less literature is available on VAS ratings  
649 of *severity*. Furthermore, severity or intelligibility ratings are typically performed by the clinician, whereas  
650 the ALSFRS-R is a self-report measure. Additional research is, therefore, necessary to determine the  
651 relationship between VAS severity ratings and the current clinical standard of the ALSFRS-R. Moreover,  
652 because the XRMB dataset did not include the SIT, the continuous speech stimuli for assessing severity and  
653 intelligibility were different between databases; the same utterance from the Hunter passage was used for all  
654 participants from the XRMB dataset, whereas the participants from the MGH IHP dataset had distinct sets of  
655 sentences. Since perceptual judgement is currently the clinical standard for assessing severity, it is difficult  
656 to know whether the datasets truly were comparable in severity or whether familiarity with the utterances  
657 influenced clinicians' ratings of participants in the XRMB dataset.

658         Lastly, it is important to acknowledge the challenge of assessing criterion validity with an imperfect  
659 standard (i.e., perceptual judgement). Indeed, perceptual judgements can be unreliable and vulnerable to  
660 subjective biases (Borrie et al., 2012; Bunton et al., 2007; Kent, 1996). Thus, further evaluation of other  
661 standard accuracy characteristics, such as sensitivity and specificity, is needed to improve confidence in the  
662 clinical utility of new speech measures.

663

## 664 **Conclusions**

665         The results of this study demonstrate that our acoustically driven framework has potential as an  
666 objective, valid, and clinically useful tool for profiling articulatory deficits in individuals with speech motor  
667 disorders. Our findings also suggest that compared to clinician ratings, instrumental measures may be more  
668 sensitive to subtle differences in articulatory function. With further research, this framework could provide  
669 accurate and reliable characterizations of articulatory impairment, which may eventually increase the  
670 efficacy of diagnosis and treatment for patients with different articulatory phenotypes.

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672

673

674 **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

675 The authors acknowledge the grants awarded by the NIDCD, part of the NIH: R01DC009890 (Principal  
 676 Investigators [PIs]: Jordan R. Green, Yana Yunusova), R01DC013547 (PI: Jordan R. Green), R01DC017291  
 677 (PIs: Yana Yunusova, Jordan R. Green), K24DC016312 (PI: Jordan R. Green), and F31DC019556 (PI:  
 678 Hannah P. Rowe).

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