

The following publication Zhu, J., Shao, J., Zhang, C., Chen, F., & Wiener, S. (2023). Statistical Information Affects Spoken Word Recognition of Tone Languages in Stutterers: Evidence From an Auditory-Perceptual Gating Study. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, 66(9), 3382-3398 is available at [https://doi.org/10.1044/2023\\_JSLHR-23-00123](https://doi.org/10.1044/2023_JSLHR-23-00123). The journal web site is located at <https://pubs.asha.org/journal/jslhr>.

1           **Statistical Information Affects Spoken Word Recognition of Tone Languages in**  
2                   **Stutterers: Evidence from An Auditory-Perceptual Gating Study**

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15           **Conflict of Interest:** The authors have declared that no competing interests existed at  
16           the time of publication.

17           **Data Availability Statement:** The raw data supporting the conclusions of this article  
18           will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

19           **Ethics Approval Statement:** This study involving human participants was reviewed  
20           and approved by the ethics review board at the School of Foreign Languages of Hunan  
21           University. Written informed consent was signed by each participant.

22           **Funding Statement:** This study was supported by grants from the Humanities and  
23           Social Science Project of Ministry of Education of China (22YJC740008;  
24           22YJC740093), and the Fundamental Research Funds for the Central Universities of  
25           China (531118010660).

26 **Statistical Information Affects Spoken Word Recognition of Tone Languages in**  
27 **Stutterers: Evidence from An Auditory-Perceptual Gating Study**

28 **Abstract**

29 **Purpose:** Previous studies have shown that individuals who stutter exhibit abnormal speech  
30 perception in addition to disfluent production as compared with their nonstuttering peers. This  
31 study investigated whether adult Chinese-speaking stutterers are still able to use knowledge of  
32 statistical regularities embedded in their native language to recognize spoken words, and if so,  
33 how much acoustic information is needed to trigger this information.

34 **Method:** Seventeen stutterers and 20 typical, nonstuttering controls participated in a gating  
35 experiment. All participants listened to monosyllabic words that consisted of syllables and  
36 lexical tones and were segmented into eight successive gates. These words differed in syllable  
37 token frequency and syllable-tone co-occurrence probability in line with a Chinese spoken word  
38 corpus. The correct syllable-only, correct tone-only, correct syllable-tone word, and correct-  
39 syllable-incorrect-tone responses were analyzed between the two groups using mixed-effects  
40 models.

41 **Results:** Stutterers were less accurate overall than controls, with fewer correct syllables, tones,  
42 and their combination as words. However, stutterers showed consistent and reliable perceptual  
43 patterns triggered by statistical information of speech, as reflected by more accurate responses  
44 to high-frequency syllables, high-probability tones, and tone errors all in manners similar to  
45 those of nonstuttering controls.

46 **Conclusions:** Stutterers' atypical speech perception is not due to a lack of statistical learning.  
47 Stutterers were able to perceive spoken words with phonological tones based on statistical  
48 regularities embedded in their native speech. This finding echoes previous production studies  
49 of stuttering, and lends some support for a link between perception and production. Implications  
50 of pathological, diagnostic, and therapeutic conditions of stuttering are discussed.

51 **Keywords:** stuttering; statistical information; gating; spoken word recognition; syllable-tone  
52 words

53 **1 Introduction**

54 Stuttering is a neurodevelopmental disorder characterized by audible or silent elementary  
55 repetitions or prolongations that disrupt the flow of speech (Etchell et al., 2018; Wingate, 1978).  
56 The typical age of stuttering begins from 33 months after birth, and is found in roughly 5%–8%  
57 of preschool children at that age (Bloodstein & Bernstein Ratner, 2008). Approximately 80%  
58 of these children can recover either with or without therapy (Yairi & Ambrose, 2005). Stuttering  
59 in the teenage and adult populations is observed in about 1% where boys/men outnumber  
60 girls/women with a gender ratio being around 4:1 (Craig et al., 2002; Smith & Weber, 2017).  
61 In this study, we build on previous research related to stutterers' speech processing of Mandarin  
62 Chinese—a language that requires pitch perception for word meaning—in order to examine to  
63 what degree stutterers are able to track and make use of statistical information of Mandarin  
64 speech sounds.

65 **1.1 Stuttering Affects Speech Production**

66 Disfluencies in the flow of speech could occur at times in daily communications, yet  
67 stuttering-like disfluencies are distinct from normal disfluencies produced by typically fluent  
68 individuals in both quantity and quality (Smith & Weber, 2017). There is a rich literature that  
69 has identified the unusual pattern of speech production in individuals who stutter (IWS) as  
70 compared with individuals who do not stutter (IWNS). For example, Ambrose and Yairi (1999)  
71 was the first study to conduct a largescale and detailed analysis of speech samples among those  
72 who do ( $n = 90$ ) and do not ( $n = 54$ ) stutter. The production data were audio- and video-taped  
73 from two one-week-apart research sessions, where participants interacted with either their  
74 family members or the investigators. With the well-controlled observations, Ambrose and Yairi

75 (1999) drew a conclusion that part-word repetition, single-syllable word repetition, disrhythmic  
76 phonation (blocks, prolongations, and broken words), and repetition units were sufficient for  
77 differentiation purposes (stuttering versus nonstuttering). This unusual pattern was divergent  
78 from normal disfluencies, such as interjections of *um* and *ah* as well as phrase revisions (Yairi  
79 & Ambrose, 2005).

80 Stuttering-like disfluencies with these features have consistently been reported in a large  
81 number of subsequent studies (e.g., De Nil et al., 2008; Lu et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2012), with  
82 results further clarifying some specific and atypical production behaviors in stutterers: a higher  
83 percentage of stuttering for the initial consonant clusters whose phonemes were omitted,  
84 substituted, or distorted than the clusters without such errors (Wolk et al., 2000), lower  
85 repetitions for single-syllable words than fluently produced words, part-word repetitions, and  
86 sound prolongations (Anderson & Byrd, 2008), or the decreased accuracy in the nonword  
87 repetition task based on behavioral and kinematic indices (Smith et al., 2012). There is broad  
88 agreement that stuttering-like disfluencies are connected with stutterers' atypical control and  
89 coordination of their articulatory, respiratory, and laryngeal systems, disrupting the forward  
90 movement of speech (Howell et al., 2012; Lu et al., 2010; Walsh et al., 2015; see a meta-analysis,  
91 Belyk et al., 2015).

## 92 **1.2 Stuttering Affects Speech Perception**

93 Although stuttering is commonly diagnosed according to one's atypical speech production,  
94 rapidly growing research has also shown that stutterers' perceptual performance, which is the  
95 focus of the current study, is abnormal in tasks where the overt speech response was neither  
96 encouraged nor required (Bakhtiar et al., 2019; Corbera et al., 2005; Halag-Milo et al., 2016).

97 For instance, Neef et al. (2012) tested the stability of phoneme percepts by analyzing listeners'  
98 ability to identify voiced and voiceless stop consonants. In their study, two syllable continua  
99 (/də/-/tə/ and /bə/-/pə/) were synthesized based on voice onset time, the time interval of the  
100 burst and the beginning of glottal pulse in stop consonants (Cho & Ladefoged, 1999). Neef et  
101 al. (2012) found that in IWS, discriminatory performance was weaker and less stable relative  
102 to IWNS, with phoneme boundaries located at longer voice onset times. Likewise, Basu et al.  
103 (2018) examined stutterers' vowel-consonant speech syllable recognition (15 consonants paired  
104 with a vowel among /a/, /i/, or /u/) in quiet and conditions with masking noise. Results showed  
105 that speech syllable recognition in quiet and masked conditions was poor in stutterers.

106 Furthermore, despite the relatively few studies to date, recent studies have identified that  
107 the degraded speech perception at the segmental level can be generalized to the suprasegmental  
108 level among stutterers who speak a tone language as their mother tongue (Bakhtiar et al., 2019,  
109 2021; Shao et al., 2022). Tone languages (e.g., Mandarin, Cantonese, and Thai) make use of a  
110 speaker's fundamental frequency (F0), which corresponds to the reciprocal of vocal fold  
111 vibratory period during speech production (Wang, 1972), to convey lexical semantics in a pitch-  
112 to-meaning manner, similar to the linguistic function of segmental phonemes (Gandour, 1983).  
113 For example, the syllable-tone combinations of "ma" bearing Tone 1 (T1, high-level tone), Tone  
114 2 (T2, mid-rising tone), Tone 3 (T3, low-dipping tone), and Tone 4 (T4, high-falling tone) refer  
115 to "mother", "hemp", "horse", and "scorn", respectively, in Mandarin Chinese (Lee & Wiener,  
116 2020). Ample evidence indicates that variable F0 can be perceived as different but static  
117 categories (T1 to T4) by typical, native speakers (Peng et al., 2010; Shen & Froud, 2019).  
118 However, results from studies using lexical tone to measure stutterers' perception demonstrated

119 that IWS had difficulty in categorizing linguistic or non-linguistic (pure tone) pitch information,  
120 indexed by longer response time latency or lower perceptual accuracy, in quiet and masked  
121 conditions (Bakhtiar et al., 2019, 2021; Shao et al., 2022). Altogether, the above-mentioned  
122 work documented IWS's abnormally inferior performance to typically fluent controls in  
123 perceiving segmental and suprasegmental information of speech, pointing to an auditory-  
124 perceptual component in stuttering (Etchell et al., 2018; Howell & Bernstein Ratner, 2018; Neef  
125 et al., 2012).

### 126 **1.3 Stuttering Behaviors Characterized by Statistical Regularities**

127 Previous studies have explored and developed multiple elegant accounts for stuttering  
128 behaviors over the decades (Byrd et al., 2007; Corbera et al., 2005; Lescht et al., 2022). For  
129 instance, one of the widely accepted explanations referred to stutterers' abnormal (delayed or  
130 disrupted) phonological encoding during speech processing (Coalson & Byrd, 2015; Pelczarski  
131 et al., 2019; for a review, see Sasisekaran, 2014), such that stutterers' abstract phonological  
132 representation remained less robust in comparison to that of the controls (Neef et al., 2012;  
133 Shao et al., 2022). Importantly, there was an unstated assumption based on the stuttering data  
134 in several prior studies, which involved the possible effect of statistical regularities embedded  
135 in the language input on stuttering (Smith & Weber, 2017).

136 As declared by Smith and colleagues (Smith, 1990, 1999; Smith & Kelly, 1997; Smith &  
137 Weber, 2017), a combination of neurological, genetic, linguistic, environmental, emotional, and  
138 speech motor factors contributes to stuttering (Smith & Weber, 2017). The surrounding  
139 environment is filled with diverse statistical information, which can automatically be tracked  
140 by an individual in the absence of explicit feedback (Saffran, 2003; Saffran et al., 1996) in

141 various domains, including speech (Saffran et al., 1996; Wiener & Ito, 2016), music (Peretz et  
142 al., 2012), and visual (Brady & Oliva, 2008) domains. The process of tracking these regularities  
143 involves statistical learning, which is fundamental to language acquisition (Saffran, 2003;  
144 Thiessen, 2017). Among these regularities, word frequency has been implied to play a role in  
145 stuttering in a handful of studies, though statistical learning was not primarily measured  
146 (Anderson, 2007; Castro et al., 2017; Coalson & Byrd, 2015). Brundage and Bernstein Ratner  
147 (2022) indicated that the less frequent a word is in a language, the more likely it will be stuttered  
148 or disfluent. For example, Anderson (2007) reported that low word frequency has an effect on  
149 stutter events; likewise, Newman and Bernstein Ratner (2007) found that the magnitude of the  
150 response time difference was greater in IWS than IWNS when producing words of low versus  
151 high frequency (Coalson & Byrd, 2015). A recent study by Coalson and Byrd (2017)  
152 additionally revealed the frequency effects on the suprasegmental feature of lexical stress, the  
153 relative prominence given to a syllable within a word (Teschner & Whitley, 2004). In English,  
154 the trochaic stress pattern occurs more frequently than the iambic stress pattern (e.g., IMport  
155 /'impɔrt/ versus imPORT /im'pɔrt/, Choi et al., 2019). Correspondingly, Coalson and Byrd  
156 (2017) found that when no auditory-orthographic cues were provided, IWS were more accurate  
157 when recalling trochaic than iambic nonwords in terms of their verbal responses. Nonetheless,  
158 most of the mentioned studies were indirect investigations of stutterers' use of knowledge about  
159 statistical information and mainly concentrated on their production behaviors, with few studies  
160 using word stimuli that contained phonological tone at the suprasegmental level of speech in a  
161 perception task.

#### 162 **1.4 The Present Study**

163 Our goal was to fill the research gap by evaluating whether statistical regularities  
164 embedded in the language input would affect stutterers' speech perception. The gating paradigm  
165 (Grosjean, 1980, 1996) provides a valuable opportunity for this assessment among stutterers.  
166 Firstly, the test stimuli were words from Mandarin Chinese, because syllables with tones can  
167 map directly to a morpheme or word and hence ensured the relatively straightforward  
168 examination of how speech input affects phonological (syllable and tone) and lexical (syllable-  
169 tone combination as a word) processing (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener et al., 2019). Two types  
170 of statistical regularities were manipulated using the Mandarin Chinese spoken word corpus  
171 SUBTLEX-CH (Cai & Brysbaert, 2010): syllable token frequency (syllable frequency) and  
172 syllable-tone co-occurrence probability (tone probability; see more details in the Method  
173 section).

174 Secondly, as shown in Figure 1, the gating task involves the auditory presentation of a  
175 stimulus with increasingly longer fragments/gates, through which listeners are required to  
176 report the word in response to the heard token. Gating, therefore, allows for an investigation of  
177 how much acoustic information is needed for the listeners to access the mental lexicon to  
178 correctly recognize the segments, tones, and their combination as words. Notably, in early gates  
179 when the acoustic information is insufficient for correct identification, gating forces listeners  
180 to draw on their previous language experience and predict likely syllables, tones, and their  
181 combinations, that is, draw on their knowledge of the statistical distribution of Chinese speech  
182 sounds (Zhu et al., 2022).

183 **[Insert Figure 1 around here]**

184 Wiener and Ito (2016) used the gating paradigm to test native Chinese speakers. The



185 stimuli consisted of syllable-tone words that incorporated high and low syllable token  
186 frequencies paired with a tone that was either most or least likely to co-occur with the syllable,  
187 based on a Chinese spoken word corpus (SUBTLEX-CH, Cai & Brysbaert, 2010). Participants  
188 were required to type the perceived word using the Pinyin romanization system (which  
189 specified the syllable and tone number, e.g., “da2”) after listening to each stimulus. The first  
190 gate presented only the word onset, while Gates 2 through 7 presented the onset and successive  
191 40-ms increments. The complete word was presented at Gate 8. Results in Wiener and Ito (2016)  
192 revealed that correct responses for high-frequency syllable-tone words outnumbered low-  
193 frequency syllable-tone words. Besides, the authors analyzed correct-syllable-incorrect-tone  
194 responses, reflecting enough acoustic information for segmental identification but not  
195 suprasegmental identification. With the limited F0, listeners would either report an acoustically  
196 similar tone (e.g., T2 as T3, Moore & Jongman, 1997) or a more probable tone associated with  
197 the syllable (T2 more often than T4 on the syllable “ren”, Cai & Brysbaert, 2010). Wiener and  
198 Ito (2016) concluded that adult listeners immediately made use of the statistical regularities (i.e.,  
199 syllable frequency information and tone probability information) for spoken word recognition  
200 in order to overcome the truncated speech presented via gating. Similar findings were reported  
201 in different populations, including learners of Chinese as a second language (Lee & Wiener,  
202 2020; Wiener & Lee, 2020; Wiener et al., 2019) and individuals with congenital amusia (also  
203 known as “tone deafness”, Peretz, 2016; Zhu et al., 2022).

204 To summarize, the present gating study builds on prior work and adopts the gating stimuli  
205 from Wiener and colleagues (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener et al., 2019; Zhu et al., 2022) to test  
206 stutterers’ spoken word recognition. Because previous studies showed that stutterers performed

207 worse than typical individuals in speech perception at both segmental and suprasegmental  
208 levels (Corbera et al., 2005; Halag-Milo et al., 2016; Neef et al., 2012; Shao et al., 2022), we  
209 hypothesized a lower accuracy in perceiving syllables, tones, and/or syllable-tone words in  
210 stutterers versus nonstuttering controls. Meanwhile, as implied from the literature (Castro et al.,  
211 2017; Coalson & Byrd, 2015; Howell & Bernstein Ratner, 2018; Smith & Weber, 2017), it may  
212 be the case that stutterers will be sensitive to statistical regularities embedded in the language.  
213 We hence expect that stutterers will exhibit a perceptual pattern similar to the controls; that is,  
214 stutterers' spoken word recognition will also be affected by stimulus statistics in that high-  
215 frequency speech stimuli would be perceived more accurately than low-frequency stimuli.

## 216 **2 Method**

### 217 **2.1 Participants**

218 Seventeen individuals who stutter (IWS) and 20 individuals who do not stutter (IWNS)  
219 were recruited for this gating study. The two groups were closely matched for age, gender, and  
220 education level, such as high school degree, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree (Lescht et  
221 al., 2022). The demographic information is displayed in Table 1. All participants spoke  
222 Mandarin Chinese as their native language and were naïve to the purposes and methods of the  
223 study. None of them reported having any hearing, neurological, or psychological disorders.

224 Following previous studies (e.g., Bakhtiar et al., 2021; Halag-Milo et al., 2016; Howell et  
225 al., 2012), the Stuttering Severity Instrument–Third Edition (SSI-3; Riley, 1994) was used to  
226 confirm the stuttering status. The speech sample video-recorded for assessing stuttering severity  
227 encompassed an unstructured interview and a reading passage, each containing at least 600  
228 words and independently evaluated by two research assistants majoring in speech therapy. The

229 percentage of stuttered syllables, the average length of the three longest stuttering blocks, and  
230 the degree of physical concomitants were calculated based on SSI-3 (Riley, 1994). A high  
231 consistency was achieved between the two raters as shown by the reliability analysis  
232 (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ ). The severity of the IWS's stuttering ranged from mild to very severe (SSI-  
233 3 score: Mean = 15.88, SD = 7.01, range = 9–34). No IWNS demonstrated any stuttering-like  
234 disfluencies on the SSI-3 (Riley, 1994).

235 **[Insert Table 1 around here]**

236 Using digit span tests in either forward or reverse order derived from Wechsler Adult  
237 Intelligence Scale-Revised by China (Gong, 1992), the participants' working memory was also  
238 measured. The independent-samples *t* tests revealed that IWS did not differ from IWNS in age  
239 or working memory (both *ps* > .05). All participants were right-handed according to a  
240 handedness questionnaire adapted from a modified Chinese version of the Edinburgh  
241 Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971). Each participant signed the consent form prior to the  
242 experiment and was paid for the participation. The study procedures were approved by the  
243 ethics review board at the School of Foreign Languages of Hunan University.

## 244 **2.2 Stimuli**

245 The auditory stimuli were adapted from previous studies (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener et  
246 al., 2019; Zhu et al., 2022). On the basis of Chinese phonology (Wang, 1973), all these selected  
247 stimuli were legal Chinese monosyllabic words combined by syllables at the segmental level  
248 and lexical tones at the suprasegmental level. Correspondingly, syllable token frequency and  
249 syllable-tone co-occurrence probability of each stimulus were manipulated, following  
250 statistical distribution as determined in the 33.5-million spoken word corpus of SUBTLEX-CH

251 (Cai & Brysbaert, 2010).

252 In detail, a median common log frequency at 4.4 was firstly obtained based on the  
253 calculation of all token occurrences of a particular syllable independent of tone in SUBTLEX-  
254 CH (Cai & Brysbaert, 2010). Then, a syllable whose log frequency was above 4.8 was  
255 considered high token frequency (F+; e.g., “da”), whereas a syllable whose log frequency was  
256 lower than 4.0 was considered low token frequency (F-; e.g., “niao”). There were 24 syllables  
257 including 12 F+ syllables (with a mean log frequency at 5.08) and 12 F- syllables (with a mean  
258 long frequency at 3.84). Likewise, tone probability, referring to the most probable (P+) or least  
259 probable (P-) tone, was defined by dividing the token count for a given syllable-tone word by  
260 the token count of that particular syllable irrespective of tone. The P+ tone occurred in more  
261 than 50% of the syllables’ utterances (e.g., T2 on “pang”) in SUBTLEX-CH (Cai & Brysbaert,  
262 2010), whereas P- tone occurred in less than 20% of the syllables’ utterances (e.g., T1 on “pang”)  
263 in this corpus. Each syllable carried both tones, resulting in a total of 48 syllable-tone words  
264 (24 F+/F- syllables × 2 P+/P- tones) for the present study.

265 A female native speaker from Beijing, China, with no history of speech, language, or  
266 hearing disorders, recorded all the words at 44.1 kHz in a soundproof booth. Five Chinese  
267 natives then confirmed that these words and their constituent segments and lexical tones were  
268 correct and all sounded natural. These native speakers did not attend the main experiment. Gates  
269 were generated using Praat software (Boersma & Weenink, 2018). Each word was fragmented  
270 into eight gates, starting from the consonant onset up to the beginning of the first regular  
271 periodicity of the vowel (Gate 1). The intermediate gates were developed with six 40-ms  
272 gradual increments on the rhyme (Gates 2 to 7), with the last gate (Gate 8) being the full word

273 (see Figure 1). Because a single talker uttered these words (different from the multi-talker  
274 sounds, see Wiener & Lee, 2020), some cues, including duration and intensity, of the words  
275 were not normalized such that they could be auditorily presented in their original form as the  
276 naturistically produced tokens. This serves the current research purpose by estimating effects  
277 of stimulus statistics instead of acoustic cues on speech perception. Besides, the 40-ms  
278 increment size for the intermediate gates was implemented, which made the current study  
279 comparable to previous gating studies (e.g., Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener et al., 2019). In  
280 summary, there were 384 auditory items in this study (48 words  $\times$  8 gates).

### 281 **2.3 Procedure**

282 Participants were told to give their responses by typing the perceived words using Pinyin,  
283 a Romanization system taught in primary school, to specify the syllable and lexical tone. The  
284 four lexical tones were inserted as the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, whereby listeners felt comfortable  
285 and easy to type their answers using the computer keyboard, e.g., for “tie3” the number  
286 represented T3. The responses of Chinese characters were avoided because of the existing  
287 polyphonic characters with multiple pronunciations (e.g., “薄” has three syllable-tone  
288 combinations of “bao2”, “bo2”, and “bo4”), which would otherwise contaminate the results  
289 (Wiener & Ito, 2016). Both IWS and IWNS were told that the heard token might be a fragment  
290 instead of the entire word in order to avoid the potential floor effect, especially in early gates  
291 (Wiener et al., 2019). Moreover, since stutterers have difficulty perceiving speech (Bakhtiar et  
292 al., 2019, 2021; Neef et al., 2012), a pretest training was given for the participants to review the  
293 constituent initials and finals in a self-paced manner, following previous practice (Zhu et al.,  
294 2022). These word elements were listed on a paper handout, with none of the full syllable-tone

295 combinations presented.

296 The main experiment began after the roughly 15-minute pretest training. Each participant  
297 was seated in a quiet room and listened to the tokens over headphones, which were randomly  
298 presented in a duration-blocked fashion (i.e., blocks from Gate 1 to Gate 8) via E-Prime 2.0  
299 (Schneider et al., 2002). The order of gates from the first to the last gates was fixed to avoid the  
300 carryover effect of speech recognition from full to fragmented acoustic information (Wiener &  
301 Ito, 2016). Crucially, the present study served as an untimed task with no time limit designated  
302 in each trial, because a task with time pressure could affect IWS in numerous ways (see  
303 discussions in Lescht et al., 2022). Meanwhile, we did not provide an experimenter-generated  
304 set of targets/answers. Hence, both IWS and IWNS had to self-select items from their mental  
305 lexicon, which could benefit the estimation of the use of statistical knowledge when listeners  
306 encountered the truncated speech (Lescht et al., 2022; Wiener & Ito, 2015, 2016). Participants  
307 could familiarize themselves with the procedures by doing practice trials that did not contain  
308 the stimuli occurring in the main experiment. In total, the whole experiment lasted  
309 approximately 40–50 minutes.

#### 310 **2.4 Data Preparation Before Analysis**

311 Illegal responses that violated Chinese phonology (nonwords, e.g., “mau1” and “biy2”)  
312 were firstly excluded (1%, cf. 4% in Wiener & Ito, 2016). With this criterion, a total of 14,019  
313 responses was eligible for data analysis. To comprehensively clarify how statistical regularities  
314 of syllables, tones, and their combination as words affected listeners’ typing answers, a manual  
315 check was done for each trial in order to identify correct syllable-only responses (e.g., the  
316 response “qi3” to the stimulus “qi2”), correct lexical tone-only responses (e.g., “gang1” to

317 “pang1”), and correct syllable-tone word responses (e.g., “zhou2” to “zhou2”).

318 Each response was additionally checked if it was incorrect with lexical tone, i.e., tone  
319 errors. These tone errors were defined as correct-syllable-incorrect-tone responses by stutterers  
320 and nonstuttering controls. Two types of tone errors were further separated, namely acoustic-  
321 based errors and probability-based errors, in line with the preceding studies (Wiener & Ito, 2016;  
322 Wiener et al., 2019; Zhu et al., 2022). Acoustic-based errors involved reporting an acoustically  
323 similar tone given the two tones’ similar F0 cues. For example, T1 and T4 both start from the  
324 high pitch register, and native and non-native listeners commonly confuse this tone pair,  
325 especially in early gates where short fragments contained high F0 (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener  
326 et al., 2019). Similarly, T2 and T3 could be confused with each other due to their initial acoustic  
327 ambiguity (Moore & Jongman, 1997). For example, the response “wu3” to the stimulus “wu2”  
328 was coded as an acoustic-based error. The other error type was probability-based errors, which  
329 stemmed from reporting the statistically more probable tone associated with the perceived  
330 syllable. These errors could occur in spite of the two tones’ acoustic dissimilarity. As an instance,  
331 the response “da4” to the stimulus “da2” was regarded as a probability-based error, given that  
332 these tones started in opposite registers and were not acoustically similar. The responses that  
333 did not belong to the two types of errors (e.g., “hong3” to “hong4”), or happened to be either  
334 acoustic-based or probability-based error (e.g., “bin1” to “bin4”) were not further analyzed  
335 (Wiener & Ito, 2016).

336 With the formula of  $\log[(\text{probability error} + 0.5)/(\text{acoustic error} + 0.5)]$ , the empirical log  
337 of the error ratio was computed for each participant at each gate as a function of syllable  
338 frequency (F+ and F-). A positive log ratio reflected that a listener made more probability-

339 based errors than acoustic-based errors, but a negative value indicated that a listener made more  
340 acoustic-based errors than probability-based errors (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener & Lee, 2020;  
341 Wiener et al., 2019).

## 342 **2.5 Data Analysis**

343 The data were analyzed by constructing generalized (accuracy) or linear (error log ratio)  
344 mixed-effects models with the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015) in R (R Core Team, 2021).  
345 The response to each trial was coded as 0 (incorrect) or 1 (correct) for each participant. Gate-  
346 by-gate analyses were carried out to identify the locus of speech statistics effect on speech  
347 perception at both segmental and suprasegmental levels. To increase power and reduce the  
348 number of models run, gates were collapsed into four windows (e.g., Window 1 by Gates 1 and  
349 2, Window 2 by Gates 3 and 4, Window 3 by Gates 5 and 6, and Window 4 by Gates 7 and 8;  
350 Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener et al., 2019; Zhu et al., 2022).

351 For the analysis of correct responses, the models were built with group (IWS and IWNS),  
352 syllable frequency (F+ and F-), and tone probability (P+ and P-) acting as fixed factors, with  
353 the dependent variables being syllable-only accuracy, lexical tone-only accuracy, or syllable-  
354 tone word accuracy in the four windows. For the analysis of tone errors, the models were built  
355 with group (IWS and IWNS), syllable frequency (F+ and F-), and window (Windows 1 to 4)  
356 acting as fixed factors, with empirical log ratio as the dependent variable. Two-way and three-  
357 way interaction terms were also included as the fixed effects in the models. By-subject and by-  
358 item random intercepts and slopes for all possible fixed factors were included in the initial  
359 model (Barr et al., 2013). Using the analysis of variance function in lmerTest package  
360 (Kuznetsova et al., 2017), the initial model was compared with a simplified model that excluded



361 a specific fixed factor for both accuracy and error analyses. Pairwise comparisons with Tukey  
362 adjustment were calculated using the lsmeans package (Lenth, 2016).

### 363 **3 Results**

#### 364 **3.1 Accuracy Results**

365 Figure 2 exhibits the mean syllable accuracy, tone accuracy, and syllable-tone word  
366 accuracy by IWS and IWNS at different gates. It shows the gate-by-gate improvement across  
367 the test tokens for both groups of listeners: more acoustic information of the stimuli led to  
368 higher accuracy. At each gate, the same pattern occurred: tones were identified most accurately,  
369 followed by syllables and syllable-tone combinations; besides, IWS were less accurate in  
370 general than IWNS. The between-group differences as a function of statistical regularities were  
371 further analyzed and reported below.

372 **[Insert Figure 2 around here]**

##### 373 **3.1.1 Correct Syllable-Tone Combinations**

374 Figure 3 plots the mean syllable-tone word accuracy in IWS and IWNS as faceted by  
375 syllable frequency and tone probability at different windows, with error bars showing 1  
376 standard error (SE). The figure shows that IWS were more accurate as more acoustic  
377 information was provided, but their performance remained poorer than their nonstuttering peers.  
378 The mixed-effects models revealed the significant main effects of group ( $\chi^2(1) = 5.14, p < .05$ ),  
379 syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 26.10, p < .001$ ), and tone probability ( $\chi^2(1) = 6.73, p < .01$ ), with  
380 their three-way interaction ( $\chi^2(1) = 3.95, p < .05$ ) at Window 1. Further analysis of this  
381 interaction showed that IWNS ( $M = 0.12; SD = 0.33$ ) were more accurate than IWS ( $M = 0.04;$   
382  $SD = 0.20$ ) when listening to F- syllables combined with P- tones ( $\beta = 1.18, SE = 0.47, t = 2.54,$

383  $p < .05$ ). Besides, P- tones were recognized less accurately than P+ tones when presented on F-  
384 syllables for both IWS ( $\beta = -2.21$ ,  $SE = 0.59$ ,  $t = -3.73$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and IWNS ( $\beta = -1.39$ ,  $SE =$   
385  $0.55$ ,  $t = -2.54$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Regardless of tone probability and group, F- syllables were always  
386 identified less accurately than F+ syllables ( $p < .05$ ). At Window 2, the models revealed a  
387 significant main effect of syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 18.13$ ,  $p < .001$ ) as well as an interaction  
388 between syllable frequency and tone probability ( $\chi^2(1) = 3.87$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Further analysis of this  
389 interaction showed that as compared with P+ tones, P- tones were less accurate when they co-  
390 curred with F- syllables ( $\beta = -1.64$ ,  $SE = 0.68$ ,  $t = -2.39$ ,  $p < .05$ ); moreover, both IWS and  
391 IWNS less accurately recognized F- syllables than F+ syllables in combination with P- tones  
392 ( $\beta = -3.23$ ,  $SE = 0.69$ ,  $t = -4.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

393 **[Insert Figure 3 around here]**

394 There was a significant main effect of group at Window 3 ( $\chi^2(1) = 6.13$ ,  $p < .05$ ), which  
395 revealed that IWNS ( $M = 0.76$ ;  $SD = 0.42$ ) had a higher accuracy than IWS ( $M = 0.66$ ;  $SD =$   
396  $0.47$ ). There were also a significant main effect of syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 13.11$ ,  $p < .001$ ),  
397 and an interaction between syllable frequency and tone probability ( $\chi^2(1) = 6.71$ ,  $p < .05$ ).  
398 Further analysis of this interaction showed that P- tones were less accurately identified than P+  
399 tones with F- syllables ( $\beta = -1.65$ ,  $SE = 0.57$ ,  $t = -2.88$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and F- syllables were less  
400 accurate than F+ syllables when carrying P- tones ( $\beta = -2.67$ ,  $SE = 0.58$ ,  $t = -4.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ) by  
401 both groups with or without stuttering. Similar to Window 3, the models revealed a significant  
402 main effect of group ( $\chi^2(1) = 5.44$ ,  $p < .05$ ) at the last window, which demonstrated that IWS  
403 ( $M = 0.79$ ;  $SD = 0.41$ ) had a lower accuracy than IWNS ( $M = 0.88$ ;  $SD = 0.32$ ) for the test  
404 tokens regardless of their statistical characteristics. The significant main effect of syllable

405 frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 19.75, p < .001$ ) and interaction between syllable frequency and tone  
406 probability ( $\chi^2(1) = 6.97, p < .01$ ) were found. Further analysis of this interaction showed that  
407 F- syllables were less accurately identified than F+ syllables with P- tones ( $\beta = -2.43, SE = 0.46,$   
408  $t = -5.30, p < .001$ ), and P- tones were less accurately recognized than P+ tones on F- syllables  
409 ( $\beta = -1.20, SE = 0.44, t = -2.76, p < .01$ ). Other effects did not reach significance ( $ps > .05$ ).

410 In summary, results of syllable-tone word accuracy revealed that IWS were outperformed  
411 by IWNS when either the fragments or the entire words were heard, particularly for the tokens  
412 of infrequent syllable and improbable tone with minimal acoustic information provided at  
413 Window 1. This manifested IWS's reduced spoken word recognition relative to IWNS. Besides,  
414 analogous to IWNS, IWS more accurately identified P+ tones on F- syllables (as compared  
415 with P- tones) and P- tones on F+ syllables (as compared with F- syllables) across the four  
416 windows, regardless of how much acoustic information was auditorily presented. This finding  
417 revealed that similarly to the nonstuttering controls, stutterers' perception was affected by  
418 statistical regularities embedded in a language with phonological tone. Next, correct syllable-  
419 only responses were analyzed and reported below.

### 420 **3.1.2 Correct Syllable-Only Responses**

421 Figure 4 depicts the mean syllable-only accuracy in IWS and IWNS as faceted by syllable  
422 frequency and tone probability at different windows, with error bars showing 1 SE. This figure  
423 shows the rising accuracy in both IWS and IWNS when acoustic information increased from  
424 the first to the last windows, but IWS showed a lower average accuracy than IWNS. The mixed-  
425 effects models revealed that at Window 1, there were significant main effects of group ( $\chi^2(1)$   
426  $= 6.14, p < .05$ ) and syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 37.15, p < .001$ ), which demonstrated the higher

427 accuracy in IWNS ( $M = 0.50$ ;  $SD = 0.50$ ) than IWS ( $M = 0.41$ ;  $SD = 0.49$ ) independent of  
428 stimulus statistical characteristics; besides, both groups more accurately recognized F+  
429 syllables than F- syllables co-occurring with either P+ or P- tones. The models revealed a  
430 significant main effect of syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 33.71$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and an interaction  
431 between syllable frequency and tone probability ( $\chi^2(1) = 3.91$ ,  $p < .05$ ) at the second window.  
432 Further analysis of this interaction showed that both groups performed less accurately when  
433 listening to F- syllables than F+ syllables with either P- tones ( $\beta = -3.97$ ,  $SE = 0.64$ ,  $t = -6.24$ ,  
434  $p < .001$ ) or P+ tones ( $\beta = -2.17$ ,  $SE = 0.63$ ,  $t = -3.46$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and they less accurately  
435 recognized P- tones than P+ tones on F- syllables ( $\beta = -1.34$ ,  $SE = 0.62$ ,  $t = -2.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ) but  
436 not F+ syllables ( $\beta = 0.46$ ,  $SE = 0.64$ ,  $t = 0.72$ ,  $p = .47$ ).

437 **[Insert Figure 4 around here]**

438 At Window 3, the models uncovered a significant main effect of syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1)$   
439  $= 23.46$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and an interaction between syllable frequency and tone probability ( $\chi^2(1) =$   
440  $7.58$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Further analysis of this interaction showed that as compared with P+ tones, P-  
441 tones were recognized less accurately on F- syllables ( $\beta = -1.61$ ,  $SE = 0.62$ ,  $t = -2.60$ ,  $p < .01$ );  
442 besides, F- syllables were less accurately recognized than F+ syllables with P- tones ( $\beta = -3.74$ ,  
443  $SE = 0.65$ ,  $t = -5.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The similar main effect of syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 21.10$ ,  $p$   
444  $< .001$ ) and interaction between syllable frequency and tone probability ( $\chi^2(1) = 8.74$ ,  $p < .01$ )  
445 were revealed at Window 4. Further analysis of this interaction showed that both groups less  
446 accurately identified P- tones than P+ tones on F- syllables ( $\beta = -1.62$ ,  $SE = 0.55$ ,  $t = -2.98$ ,  $p$   
447  $< .01$ ), and F- syllables than F+ syllables as bearing P- tones ( $\beta = -3.56$ ,  $SE = 0.69$ ,  $t = -5.18$ ,  $p$   
448  $< .001$ ). Other effects were not significant ( $ps > .05$ ).

449 In summary, results of syllable-only accuracy demonstrated reduced accuracy by IWS  
450 compared to IWNS in terms of syllable identification at Window 1. Besides, both groups more  
451 accurately perceived F+ syllables than F- syllables regardless of tone probability at Windows 1  
452 and 2, yet, as acoustic information further extended, F+ syllables were more accurately  
453 recognized than F- syllables with co-occurrence of P- tones alone. Correct lexical tone-only  
454 responses were next analyzed and reported.

### 455 3.1.3 Correct Lexical Tone-Only Responses

456 Figure 5 displays the mean lexical tone-only accuracy in IWS and IWNS as faceted by  
457 syllable frequency and tone probability at different windows, with error bars showing 1 SE.  
458 The figure shows that the starting point of mean lexical tone-only accuracy was about 50%,  
459 higher than mean syllable-tone word and syllable-only accuracies, pointing to the relative ease  
460 of tone identification; other patterns were similar in that more acoustic information led to higher  
461 accuracy, and IWS showed their lower perceptual accuracy than IWNS.

462 **[Insert Figure 5 around here]**

463 The mixed-effects models revealed no significant main or interaction effects involving  
464 group, syllable frequency, and tone probability at Window 1. There was a marginally significant  
465 main effect of group ( $\chi^2(1) = 2.97, p = .09$ ) at the second window, which demonstrated a trend  
466 that IWS ( $M = 0.81; SD = 0.39$ ) were outperformed by IWNS ( $M = 0.83; SD = 0.38$ ). At Window  
467 3, a significant main effect of group ( $\chi^2(1) = 5.91, p < .05$ ) was found, suggesting that IWNS  
468 ( $M = 0.93; SD = 0.26$ ) had a higher accuracy than IWS ( $M = 0.88; SD = 0.33$ ) irrespective of  
469 speech statistics relating to syllable and tone. The main effect of group was again uncovered ( $\chi^2$   
470  $(1) = 4.87, p < .05$ ) at Window 4, which reflected that IWS ( $M = 0.93; SD = 0.26$ ) had a lower

471 accuracy than IWNS ( $M = 0.97$ ;  $SD = 0.17$ ). Other effects were not significant ( $ps > .05$ ).

472 In summary, results of mean lexical tone-only accuracy exhibited that IWS were poorer  
473 than IWNS in tone perception mainly at Windows 3 and 4, where the acoustic information in  
474 the auditory items gradually approximated the full word. This hinted that IWS's abnormal  
475 speech perception also existed at the suprasegmental level of lexical tones, even though the  
476 complete F0 cues were available. Next, incorrect responses of correct-syllable-incorrect-tone  
477 errors were reported below.

### 478 **3.2 Correct-Syllable-Incorrect-Tone Errors**

479 Following Wiener and colleagues (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener et al., 2019; Zhu et al.,  
480 2022), the correct syllable but incorrect tone responses were analyzed using the mixed-effects  
481 models. This involved the cases of enough acoustic information for correct identification of the  
482 syllable, but not necessarily sufficient acoustic information for F0 categorization of the tone.  
483 Listeners were hence forced to use the limited F0 information, which led to an acoustic-based  
484 error, or rely on their statistical knowledge of the most probable tone associated with the heard  
485 syllable, which resulted in a probability-based error.

486 **[Insert Figure 6 around here]**

487 Figure 6 portrays the mean log ratio of errors in IWS and IWNS as faceted by syllable  
488 frequency at different windows, with error bars showing 1 SE. The figure shows that the log  
489 ratio approximates zero as gates become longer, indicative of the gradually equal (and limited)  
490 number of both types of tone errors as stimulus acoustic information increases; besides, more  
491 negative log ratios for frequent than infrequent syllables are exhibited for both IWS and IWNS.  
492 The mixed-effects models firstly revealed a significant main effect of group ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.55$ ,  $p$

493 < .05) and an interaction between group and syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 5.22, p < .05$ ). Further  
494 analysis of this interaction showed that IWS ( $M = -0.40; SD = 0.43$ ) had a more negative log  
495 ratio than IWNS ( $M = -0.19; SD = 0.41$ ) when listening to F+ syllables ( $\beta = 0.22, SE = 0.07, t$   
496  $= 3.01, p < .01$ ); besides, IWS had a more negative log ratio for tones carried by F+ syllables  
497 than F- syllables ( $\beta = -0.21, SE = 0.04, t = -4.80, p < .001$ ). The models also revealed the  
498 significant main effects of syllable frequency ( $\chi^2(1) = 15.80, p < .001$ ) and window ( $\chi^2(1) =$   
499  $22.14, p < .001$ ), with their two-way interaction ( $\chi^2(1) = 18.01, p < .001$ ). Further analysis of  
500 this interaction showed that both groups had a more negative log ratio for tones on F+ syllables  
501 than F- syllables at Window 1 ( $\beta = -0.26, SE = 0.05, t = -5.13, p < .001$ ), Window 2 ( $\beta = -0.17,$   
502  $SE = 0.05, t = -3.36, p < .001$ ), and Window 3 ( $\beta = -0.11, SE = 0.05, t = -2.27, p < .05$ ). This  
503 suggested listeners' reliance on syllable token frequency information. In addition, as tones co-  
504 occurred with F+ syllables, the log ratio was more negative at Window 1 than other later  
505 Windows 2, 3, and 4, respectively ( $ps < .05$ ); likewise, for F- syllables, the log ratio was more  
506 negative at Window 1 than at Window 3 and at Window 2 than at Window 3, respectively ( $ps$   
507  $< .05$ ). This demonstrated that listeners were less likely to make acoustic-based tone errors with  
508 increased acoustic signal. Other effects were not significant ( $ps > .05$ ).

509 Collectively, the results of the mean log ratio of errors showed that both IWS and IWNS  
510 primarily made acoustic-based errors on F+ syllables (as compared with F- syllables), but IWS  
511 were more likely to make acoustic-based errors on F+ syllables (as compared with IWNS).  
512 These errors became less common as the stimulus acoustic information increased.

#### 513 **4 Discussion**

514 The current study examined stutterers' spoken word recognition in the face of

515 impoverished acoustic input using a gating paradigm (Grosjean, 1980, 1996; Wiener & Ito,  
516 2016). The auditory words varied in syllable token frequency and syllable-tone co-occurrence  
517 probability, in line with the Chinese spoken word corpus of SUBTLEX-CH (Cai & Brysbaert,  
518 2010). These syllable-tone words were played in increasing gates to individuals who stutter  
519 (IWS) in order to examine whether statistical regularities in the auditory input affect their  
520 spoken word recognition behavior. Their performance, including both accuracy and tone errors,  
521 was compared with a control group of individuals who do not stutter (IWNS) and analyzed with  
522 mixed-effects models. Notably, syllable-tone word accuracy, syllable-only accuracy, tone-only  
523 accuracy, and correct-syllable-incorrect-tone errors were all analyzed to systematically evaluate  
524 whether stutterers' abnormal speech perception co-occurred at both the segmental and  
525 suprasegmental levels. We reported two key findings.

526       First, we corroborated that there was an auditory-perceptual component in stuttering  
527 (Halag-Milo et al., 2016; Howell & Bernstein Ratner, 2018; Smith & Weber, 2017), with IWS  
528 showing poorer speech perception than IWNS for either segments or suprasegmentals (Bakhtiar  
529 et al., 2021; Basu et al., 2018; Corbera et al., 2005). This finding was robust as the IWS were  
530 less accurate than IWNS across comparisons of statistical analyses. This finding held for the  
531 first window of syllable-only analysis, suggesting that when minimal acoustic information was  
532 provided (onset and up to 40 ms of the vowel), IWS struggled to recognize the syllable. For the  
533 lexical tone-only analysis, this finding held for Windows 2, 3, and 4 (onset and 80 ms or more  
534 of the vowel), which indicated that tone categorization was problematic for IWS even when the  
535 majority of F0 information was available (Bakhtiar et al., 2019; 2021; Shao et al., 2022). For  
536 the syllable-tone word analysis, IWS again showed less accurate identification than IWNS at



537 all windows except Window 2. The correct-syllable-incorrect-tone analysis additionally  
538 revealed that for F+ syllables, IWS were more likely to make acoustic-based tone errors than  
539 IWNS across the four windows. Taken together, these findings underline the difficulty that IWS  
540 have with speech perception as compared with typical individuals, and that difficulty occurs  
541 not only in recognizing syllables and lexical tones, but in recognizing syllable-tone combination  
542 as words (Bakhtiar et al., 2019; 2021; Neef et al., 2012; Shao et al., 2022).

543       Second, we found that in our syllable-only and syllable-tone word analyses, IWS made  
544 use of the statistical information to correctly recognize high-frequency (F+) syllables more  
545 accurately than low-frequency (F-) syllables. This finding held for both IWS and IWNS across  
546 all the four windows in both analyses involving syllable. This strengthens the claim that the  
547 syllable plays an important role in Chinese speech perception (and production) for native  
548 speakers, including individuals who stutter (Chen et al., 2002; You et al., 2012). Given the  
549 roughly 400 unique syllables in Mandarin Chinese (Duanmu, 2007), more frequent syllables  
550 are “privileged” than less frequent syllables during lexical processes (Lee & Wiener, 2020).

551       This syllable result also relates to a recent study which also required participants to  
552 respond in a typed mode (Lescht et al., 2022). Lescht et al. reported that while IWS generated  
553 fewer words than IWNS in letter fluency performance, they showed a pattern of generating  
554 more words with fewer syllables, because shorter words (e.g., bat, cat, and mat) more frequently  
555 occur than longer words (e.g., elephant and elegant) in a cluster sharing similar phonemes in  
556 English.

557       More importantly, we found novel evidence that stutterers were able to perceive the  
558 syllable-tone words according to syllable-tone co-occurrence probabilities. Similar to IWNS,

559 IWS were more likely to make acoustic-based tone errors on F+ syllables than F- syllables from  
560 Windows 1 to 3 (onset and up to 200 ms of the vowel) in our analysis of correct-syllable-  
561 incorrect-tone errors, given that F+ syllables were easier to predict than F- syllables (Zhu et al.,  
562 2022). Crucially, the most prominent instance was that in our analysis of syllable-tone word  
563 accuracy, the interaction between syllable frequency and tone probability emerged in both  
564 groups across the windows, irrespective of the stuttering status and the amount of acoustic  
565 information. The results showed that both IWS and IWNS more accurately recognized F+  
566 syllables with P- tones as compared with F- syllables, and F- syllables with P+ tones as  
567 compared with P- tones. This again corroborated previous findings from gating (typical Chinese  
568 speakers, Wiener & Ito, 2016; learners of Chinese as a second language, Wiener & Lee, 2020,  
569 Wiener et al., 2019; individuals with congenital amusia, Zhu et al., 2022; spoken word  
570 recognition in noise, Wang et al., 2023), and word reconstruction experiments (Wiener, 2020;  
571 Wiener & Turnbull, 2016).

572 This result is also in line with several speech production studies in the stuttering literature,  
573 which indirectly connected statistical information of speech with stuttering (Anderson, 2007;  
574 Bernstein Ratner et al., 2009; Brundage & Bernstein Ratner, 2022). For example, word  
575 frequency had an effect on the occurrence of stutter events and affects the length of reaction  
576 time in word production (Anderson, 2007; Newman and Bernstein Ratner, 2007). More recently  
577 and relatedly, Coalson and Byrd (2015, 2017) additionally demonstrated that accuracy of verbal  
578 responses by IWS was also impacted by the frequency effects even for the suprasegmental unit  
579 of lexical stress in English (more frequent trochaic stress pattern versus less frequent iambic  
580 stress pattern). However, Coalson and Byrd (2015, 2017) used nonword stimuli whose word-

581 likeness was rated as “unlike a word” and “neutral”, with the frequency of syllable (at the  
582 segmental level) being invariant (Baayen et al., 1995).

583 Taken together, our study revealed a *typical* pattern of statistical regularities in atypical  
584 speech perception among stutterers. That is, statistical regularities embedded in the language  
585 input impacted on how IWS perceived the syllable-tone words, despite their fewer correct  
586 responses as compared with their fluent peers. The above-mentioned results relating to stimulus  
587 statistical characteristics hence demonstrated that statistical regularities, either for segments or  
588 suprasegmentals, could be a moderating factor in stutterers’ speech perception. Furthermore, a  
589 potential link between speech perception and production could be supported, given statistical  
590 information affects speech perception and production in IWS despite their abnormal speech  
591 processing (Anderson, 2007; Brundage & Bernstein Ratner, 2022; Castro et al., 2017; Coalson  
592 & Byrd, 2015, 2017). In our perceptual study, IWS showed inferior performance to IWNS  
593 across the between-group comparisons; however, they could recognize a word based not only  
594 on its syllable token frequency but also on the syllable-tone co-occurrence probability,  
595 presumably due to their lifetime exposure to their native language. Previous studies have shown  
596 that listeners are able to involuntarily track the embedded patterns from their surrounding  
597 environment without explicit instruction, such as the three-syllable linguistic (Omgie &  
598 Stewart, 2011; Saffran et al., 1996) or three-motif music word segmentation (Peretz et al., 2012;  
599 Saffran et al., 1999) from a non-pause, continuous sound flow. Likewise, in the absence of  
600 active feedback, listeners can build a phonological category for a mental lexicon because they  
601 automatically capture the frequency and variability of the heard sounds (Escudero & Williams,  
602 2014; Maye et al., 2002). This process of subliminally computing the regularities is important

603 in statistical learning (Erickson & Thiessen, 2015). Although our study did not focus on  
604 statistical learning by IWS, the results could indicate their preserved statistical knowledge that  
605 was accumulated implicitly via their everyday experience with Chinese. This might contribute  
606 to their comparable pattern in perception as IWNS. The recent evidence showing IWS's spared  
607 implicit learning further suggested that IWS could manage to perceive speech in a statistical  
608 manner despite their degraded speech perception (Alm, 2021; Höbner et al., 2022; Smits-  
609 Bandstra & Gracco, 2013). For example, Smits-Bandstra and Gracco (2013) argued that  
610 although IWS showed less implicit sequence learning relative to IWNS, their slower reaction  
611 times were found only for early but not late learning trials, which implied delays but not  
612 deficiencies in general learning. It was thus likely to conclude that IWS perceived the gated  
613 tokens by drawing on their implicit knowledge of statistical information, i.e., syllable frequency  
614 and tone probability, in their native language.

615 Stutterers' degraded speech perception appears to be primarily attributed to their aberrant  
616 lexical access to the mental lexicon (Lescht et al., 2022; McGill et al., 2016; Newman &  
617 Bernstein Ratner, 2007). The gating experiment delicately controls the length of each gate and  
618 evaluates the amount of acoustic information needed to access the mental lexicon (Grosjean,  
619 1996; Wiener & Ito, 2016). Our study followed previous gating studies with the same test tokens  
620 and replicated the finding in terms of the performance profile in typical, healthy individuals  
621 (Wiener & Ito, 2016; Wiener & Lee, 2020; Wiener et al., 2019). However, IWS were  
622 outperformed by the nonstuttering controls with their fewer correct responses; besides, they  
623 were more likely to make acoustic-based tone errors on F+ syllables. This could reflect that  
624 IWS's processing of stimulus acoustic signal was diminished (Basu et al., 2018; Corbera et al.,

2005), hence they required more acoustic input to access the mental lexicon and correctly identify the syllable-tone word as compared with IWNS. Meanwhile, there are multiple functions, such as conceptualization, selection, and determination of a lexicon (Levelt, 2001; Levelt et al., 1999), involved in lexical access. Although not measured directly, some cognitive functions related to lexical access could remain abnormal in IWS (Maxfield et al., 2015; McGill et al., 2016; Pellowski, 2011), especially considering their poorer performance than IWNS when the full word was played in the current study. For example, it has been articulated that IWS have difficulties in selecting a target word among a cohort of candidate words (Lescht et al., 2022; Maxfield, 2020). The limited lexical selection in IWS was partially ascribed to their abnormal inhibitory control system, which refers to the capacity to plan and suppress inappropriate responses under instructions or in novel or uncertain situations (Choi et al., 2013) and afflicts both child and adult stutterers (Eggers et al., 2010; Maxfield, 2020). Relatedly, Anderson and Wagovich (2017) found that IWS's inhibitory control abilities were different from IWNS in suppressing a dominant response while executing a conflicting response, manifesting a "less controlled response style" (Eggers et al., 2013; see a meta-analysis, Ofoe et al., 2018). Consequently, IWS were graded lower than IWNS, as exhibited in the current auditory-perceptual gating study. In addition to aberrant inhibitory control of lexical selection, future experiments may want to define whether other sub-component(s) of lexical access or executive functions in stutterers could be divergent from typical individuals, which interferes with their word retrieval among the stored lexical items and reduces the efficient operation of their lexical access skills (Etchell et al., 2018; Lescht et al., 2022; Maxfield et al., 2012).

An alternative account referred to IWS's poor phonological processing abilities (Byrd et

647 al., 2007; Halag-Milo et al., 2016; Sasisekaran, 2014). Previous studies have consistently found  
648 the group differences in phonological categorization of speech sounds, including segmental  
649 phonemes and suprasegmental lexical tones, between IWS and IWNS. For example, Neef et al.  
650 (2012) uncovered that IWS perceived categories of phonemes less distinctly (Basu et al., 2018).  
651 The recent studies replicated Neef et al.'s results and further revealed that although being native  
652 tonal-language speakers, IWS still had difficulty in categorizing lexical tones (e.g., Bakhtiar et  
653 al., 2019, 2021; Shao et al., 2022). These studies identified that in categorical perception,  
654 between-category comparisons were discriminated more easily than within-category  
655 comparisons by both groups; however, a significantly lower score obtained by IWS than IWNS  
656 was observed in processing between-category comparisons, which indicated IWS's less robust  
657 phonological representation than IWNS (Bakhtiar et al., 2019, 2021; Shao et al., 2022; see Xu  
658 et al., 2006 for discussions). Our study did not give a pool of experimenter-generated targets  
659 for listeners to select a response (e.g., Lescht et al., 2022); instead, both IWS and IWNS self-  
660 selected the items from their mental lexicon (Grosjean, 1996; Wiener & Ito, 2016). It was likely  
661 that IWS's unstable phonological representation led to their greater ambiguity in speech  
662 perception (Neef et al., 2012; Shao et al., 2022), as shown by the current findings of IWS's  
663 worse performance than IWNS.

664         With respect to ramifications for clinical intervention, our finding of preserved statistical  
665 knowledge of language in stutterers is informative for researchers, clinicians, and speech  
666 therapists to design the training programs to rehabilitate stuttering. Emotional or temperamental  
667 factors, such as negative quality of mood (Johnson et al., 2010), are tightly connected with  
668 stuttering. Two stages can be divided in terms of treatment efforts: at the early stage stutterers

669 could practice using high-frequency speech stimuli more often so as to build their confidence  
670 (i.e., due to their higher accuracy or fluency), but at the later stage there could also be the low-  
671 frequency speech materials with which stutterers have severer problems. By harnessing the  
672 statistical information embedded in speech, the training efforts may firstly guide IWS to learn  
673 to perceive/produce the high-frequency words, or design some situations where the  
674 conversational speech contains the high-frequency words as many as possible. Correspondingly,  
675 statistical characteristics of speech elements, including segments and suprasegmentals, may be  
676 cautiously considered, because they interacted with each other as shown in our analyses (e.g.,  
677 IWS more accurately identified F+ syllables with P- tones but not P+ tones, as compared with  
678 F- syllables). With this “statistical” training method, the accurate speech perception/production  
679 that IWS might achieve is beneficial to soften their anxiety of making errors and establish their  
680 confidence, possibly reducing their avoidance behaviors in the challenging situations (with low-  
681 frequency or stuttered tokens) and reaching more communication effectiveness (Byrd et al.,  
682 2022). Future studies or intervention programs with a component relating to stimulus statistical  
683 regularities (i.e., separating or choosing stimuli based on their statistics) could be worthy of a  
684 try in an aim to mitigate stuttering.

685 We conclude by noting the limitations of the study. Firstly, our study did not record  
686 participants’ response time. Response time serves as an important index of the efficiency of  
687 how listeners process the tokens (Strange et al., 2011), which has been widely used for between-  
688 group comparisons between IWS and IWNS in the stuttering literature. After controlling the  
689 typing speed (e.g., with baseline typing tasks, Lescht et al., 2022), the introduction of response  
690 time into data analysis would draw a more comprehensive picture, such as the speed-accuracy

691 trade-off (Bakhtiar et al., 2019; Howell & Bernstein Ratner, 2018), of stuttering behaviors.  
692 Secondly, our stimuli were not produced by different speakers. Future studies may want to  
693 exploit the gated tokens that were uttered by both male and female speakers (e.g., Wiener &  
694 Lee, 2020) to improve the ecological validity of the lab-based setting and better mimic the real-  
695 life speech situations. Thirdly, as stimulus acoustic cues play a significant role in speech  
696 perception, it would be interesting to explore how stimulus statistical and acoustic information  
697 interact to influence stutterers' perceptual performance, as compared with nonstuttering  
698 controls. A study manipulating both types of information benefits such an estimation. Lastly,  
699 our study did not design a production task in addition to the perception task. Further  
700 experiments may employ both tasks so as to directly evaluate the effects of statistical  
701 information on speech processing and address the perception-production link in IWS more  
702 clearly. Besides, with the aid of brain imaging tools, the cerebral correlates of this link are  
703 expected to be uncovered. This is crucial to the understanding of the pathology of stuttering as  
704 a multifaceted disorder involving both speech perception and production (Smith & Weber,  
705 2017), and is heuristic for the treatment efforts to remediate stuttering in that IWS's perception  
706 skills also need to improve as their production abilities.

707 In conclusion, individuals who stutter showed degraded speech perception for Chinese  
708 spoken words. They showed lower accuracy for Chinese syllables, tones, and their combination  
709 as syllable-tone words; moreover, they were more likely to make acoustic-based tone errors.  
710 Nevertheless, despite their impoverished performance, stutterers exhibited the reliable pattern  
711 similar to typical, nonstuttering control listeners, indicative of their preserved statistical  
712 knowledge of tracking regularities embedded in speech. In all, our findings manifest an



713 auditory-perceptual component involving phonological tone in stuttering, but there remains a  
714 typical pattern in stutterers' atypical speech perception in relation to statistical information of  
715 speech.

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952 **Tables and Figures**

953 **Table 1.** The demographic information of IWS and IWNS.

<b>Subject information</b>	<b>IWS</b>	<b>IWNS</b>
No. of participants (Male)	17 (12)	20 (12)
Age in years, Mean (SD)	26.76 (4.42)	24.30 (3.73)
Working memory, Mean (SD)	13.71 (2.57)	14.35 (0.99)
Education (HS:BA:MA)	5:10:2	5:11:4

*Note.* IWS = individuals who stutter; IWNS = individuals who do not stutter; HS = high school degree; BA = bachelor's degree; MA = master's degree.

954

955 **Figure 1.** The schematic illustration of the gating paradigm. The length of the colored bar  
956 represents the amount of stimulus acoustic information. The stimulus acoustic information  
957 extends with the increasingly longer gates from the syllable onset (Gate 1) to the full word  
958 (Gate 8), with the 40-ms incremental size for the intermediate gates (Gates 2 to 7).

959

960 **Figure 2.** Mean correct tone, syllable, and syllable-tone word responses by IWS and IWNS at  
961 each gate.

962

963 **Figure 3.** Mean correct syllable-tone word responses as faceted by syllable frequency and tone  
964 probability by IWS and IWNS at each window (error bar =  $\pm 1 SE$ ).

965

966 **Figure 4.** Mean correct syllable-only responses as faceted by syllable frequency and tone  
967 probability by amusics and typical listeners at each window (error bar =  $\pm 1 SE$ ).

968

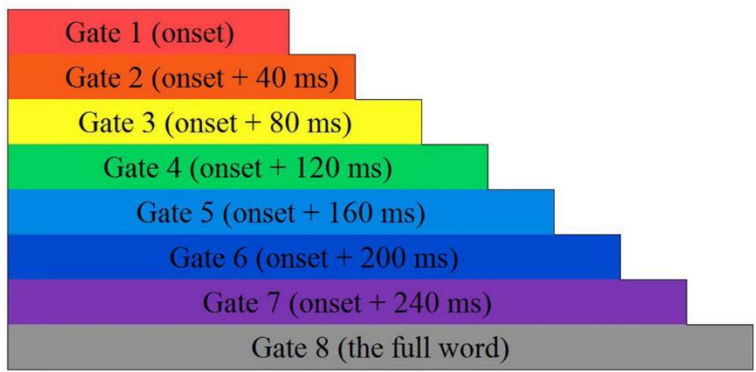
969 **Figure 5.** Mean correct lexical tone-only responses as faceted by syllable frequency and tone  
970 probability by IWS and IWNS at each window (error bar =  $\pm 1 SE$ ).

971

972 **Figure 6.** Mean empirical log ratio of tone errors as faceted by syllable frequency by IWS and  
973 IWNS at each window (error bar =  $\pm 1 SE$ ).

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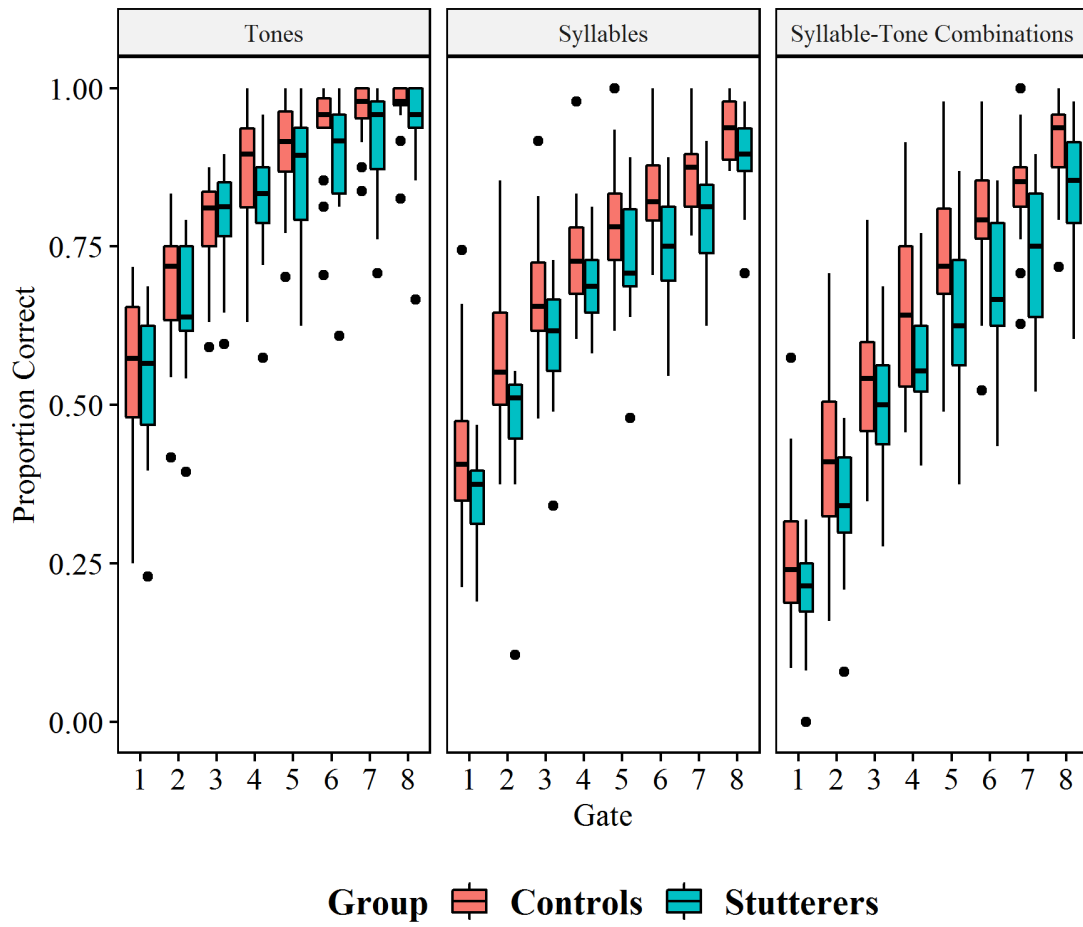
975 Figure 1



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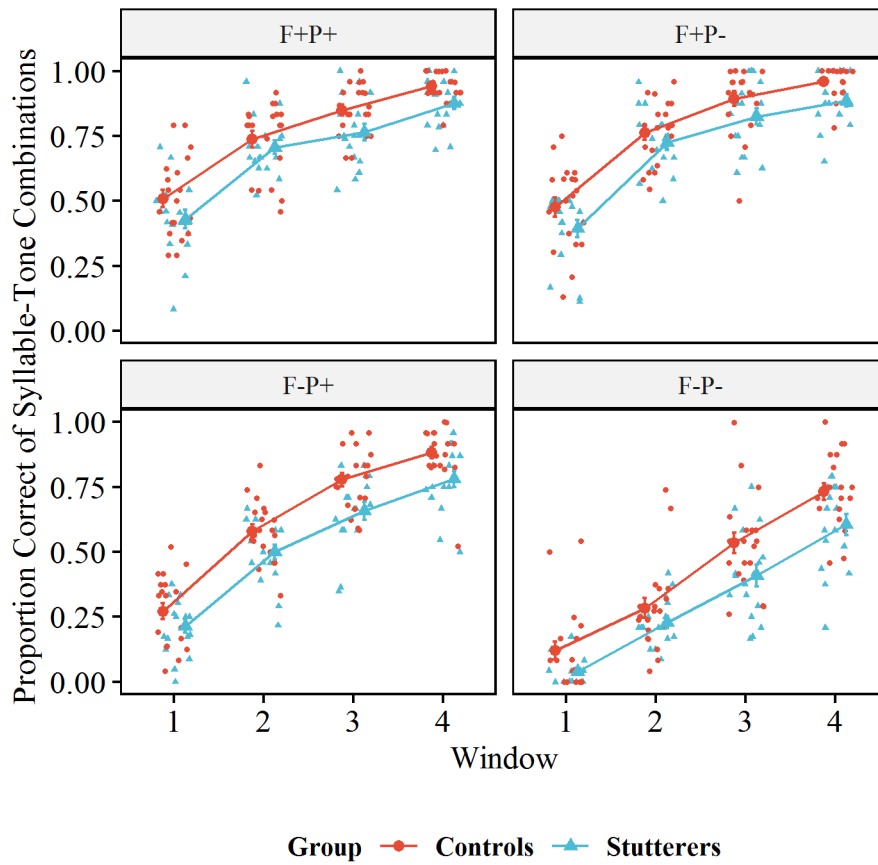
978 Figure 2



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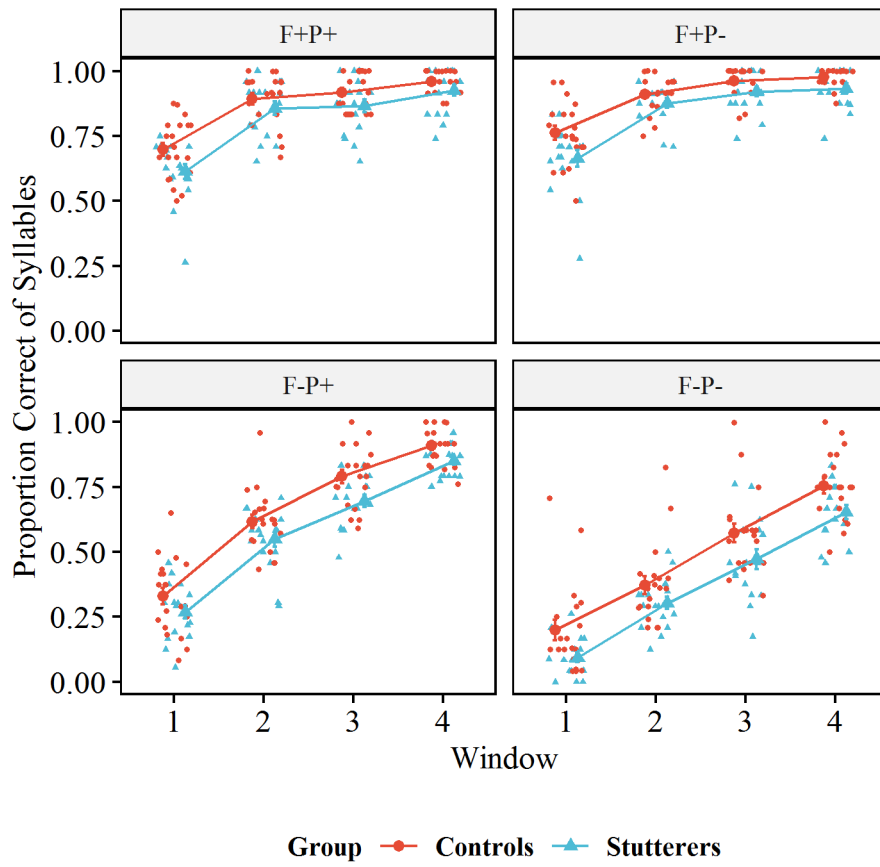
981 Figure 3



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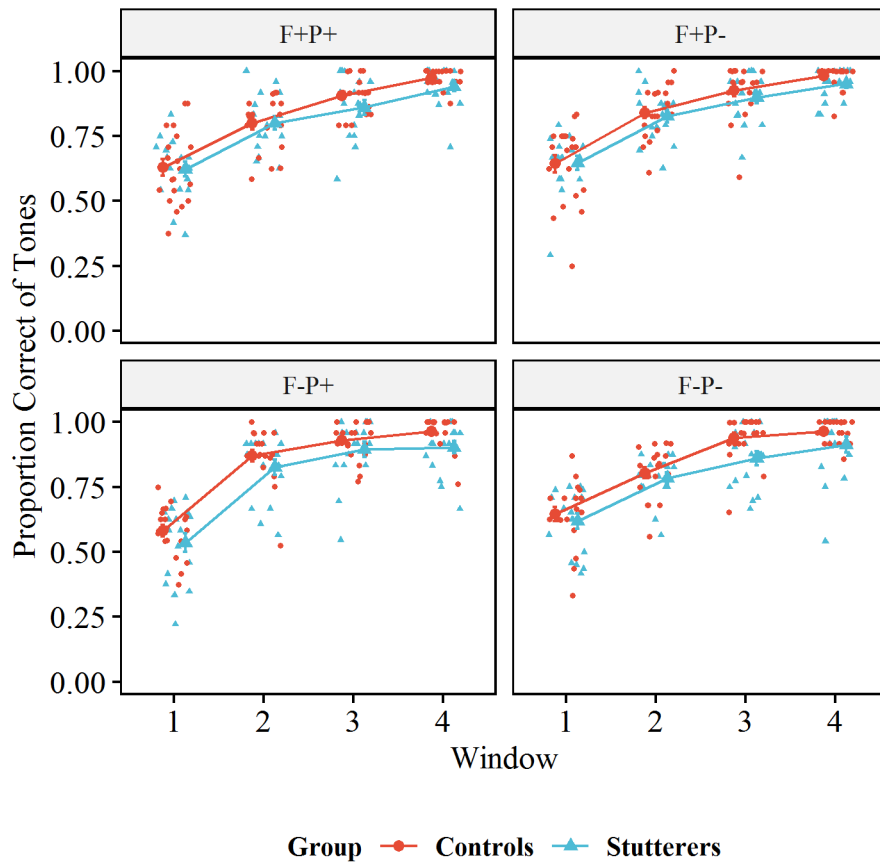
984 Figure 4



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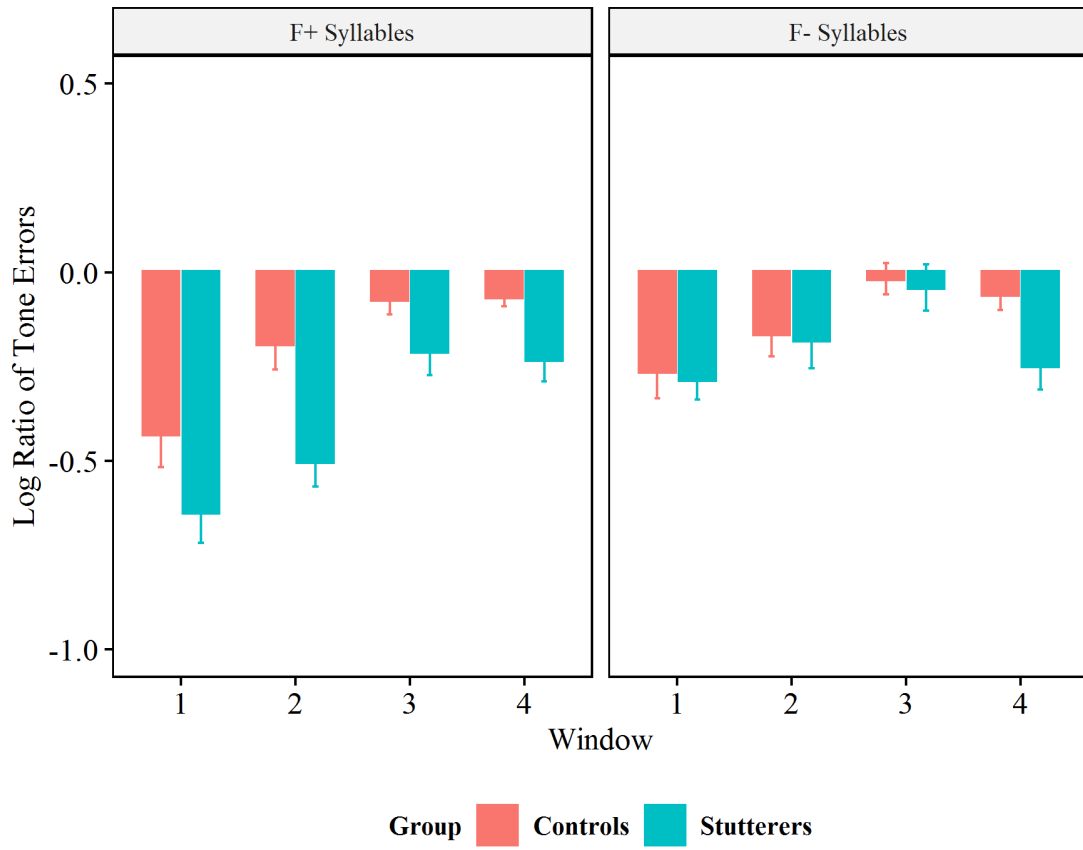
987 Figure 5



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990 Figure 6



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