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SUBTHALAMIC NUCLEUS NEURONS DIFFERENTIALLY ENCODE EARLY AND LATE ASPECTS OF SPEECH PRODUCTION

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2 **ASPECTS OF SPEECH PRODUCTION**

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26 Jim Sweat.

27

28 **ABSTRACT**

29 Basal ganglia-thalamocortical loops mediate all motor behavior, yet little detail is known about the role of basal
30 ganglia nuclei in speech production. Using intracranial recording during deep brain stimulation surgery in
31 humans with Parkinson's disease, we tested the hypothesis that the firing rate of subthalamic nucleus neurons
32 is modulated in sync with motor execution aspects of speech. Nearly half of seventy-nine unit recordings
33 exhibited firing rate modulation, during a syllable reading task across twelve subjects (male and female). Trial-
34 to-trial timing of changes in subthalamic neuronal activity, relative to cue onset versus production onset,
35 revealed that locking to cue presentation was associated more with units that decreased firing rate, while
36 locking to speech onset was associated more with units that increased firing rate. These unique data indicate
37 that subthalamic activity is dynamic during the production of speech, reflecting temporally-dependent inhibition
38 and excitation of separate populations of subthalamic neurons.

39

40

41 **SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

42 The basal ganglia are widely assumed to participate in speech production, yet no prior studies have reported
43 detailed examination of speech-related activity in basal ganglia nuclei. Using microelectrode recordings from
44 the subthalamic nucleus during a single syllable reading task, in awake humans undergoing deep brain
45 stimulation implantation surgery, we show that the firing rate of subthalamic nucleus neurons is modulated in
46 response to motor execution aspects of speech. These results are the first to establish a role for subthalamic
47 nucleus neurons in encoding of aspects of speech production, and they lay the groundwork for launching a
48 modern subfield to explore basal ganglia function in human speech.

49 **INTRODUCTION**

50 Producing speech is the most complex of human motor behaviors, requiring dynamic interaction between
51 multiple brain regions. The segregated loop organization of basal ganglia-thalamocortical circuits suggests that
52 the basal ganglia, including the subthalamic nucleus (STN), play a critical role in speech production. This
53 concept is supported additionally by observations that impairments in speech production are common features
54 of basal ganglia-associated degenerative disorders including Parkinson's disease, and that other disorders in
55 speech production (e.g., stuttering) are associated with abnormalities in basal ganglia activity (Alm, 2004;
56 Giraud et al., 2008; Toyomura et al., 2015). Additionally, an extensive body of work in song birds implicate bird-
57 homologues of the basal ganglia (Doupe and Kuhl, 1999), including a homologue of the STN, in the learning
58 and production of vocalizations (Jiao et al., 2000). Many prominent models of speech production nonetheless
59 virtually ignore the basal ganglia (Hickok, 2012), as few studies have examined speech-related neural activity
60 in these subcortical nuclei directly (Ziegler and Ackermann, 2017).

61

62 Electrophysiological recordings obtained during the implantation of leads for deep brain stimulation (DBS)
63 represent the only clinically-indicated opportunity to measure neural activity directly from the basal ganglia in
64 awake, behaving human subjects. Previous reports of STN unit activity, however, have been limited to only a
65 single preliminary, qualitative analysis of speech production-related changes in STN firing rates (Watson and
66 Montgomery, 2006). Thus, recording from STN neurons during speech production is a unique opportunity to
67 test hypotheses about the role of this region in the control of complex motor function, where the basal ganglia
68 have alternately been hypothesized to participate in action selection, movement gain and motor learning
69 (Desmurget and Turner, 2010).

70

71 To begin to define the role of the STN in speech production more clearly, we established an intraoperative
72 protocol for microelectrode recording during a task that required subjects to read aloud single syllables
73 displayed on a computer screen. We then examined trial-to-trial timing of changes in STN unit activity relative
74 to either the visual presentation of single syllables or to the onset of speech production. Such time-locking is
75 considered as evidence for an underlying functional linkage between the behavioral event and the linked

76 neural discharge (Seal and Commenges, 1985; Anderson and Turner, 1991; DiCarlo and Maunsell, 2005). Our
77 results suggest that aspects of speech production are encoded in the STN through the inhibition and excitation
78 of functionally segregated neurons.

79

80 **METHODS**

81 *Subjects.* Subjects were 12 movement disorders patients (10 male) undergoing awake DBS surgery for
82 Parkinson's disease. Unified Parkinson's disease rating scale (UPDRS) testing was administered by a
83 neurologist within four months before DBS surgery. 10 of 12 subjects underwent bilateral DBS implantation
84 (left lead inserted first), while two underwent unilateral implantation (one left). All subjects underwent overnight
85 withdrawal from their dopaminergic medication prior to surgery. All participants provided written, informed
86 consent in accordance with a protocol approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of
87 Pittsburgh (IRB Protocol # PRO13110420). In our practice, lead implantation is undertaken using a Leksell
88 frame, with the patient in a semi-sitting position, and occurs first on the left side (for bilateral cases). In order to
89 minimize strain on patients, these subjects were not offered research participation on the second (right brain)
90 side. One subject underwent unilateral right-sided implantation.

91

92 *Electrophysiological recordings.* Unit recordings were carried out using the Neuro-Omega recording system
93 and Parylene insulated, microphonics-free tungsten microelectrodes (Alpha Omega, Nazareth, Israel).
94 Microelectrode impedances ranged from 200-600 k Ω . Targeting of the dorsolateral STN and microelectrode
95 recording (MER) were performed using a standard combination of indirect (starting AC-PC coordinates of $x =$
96 ± 12 , $y = -3$, $z = -4$) and direct (visualization of the STN in the $z = -4$ plane of a T2-weighted scan obtained on a
97 3-Tesla MRI scanner) targeting (Starr et al., 2002). For each subject, two to three simultaneous microelectrode
98 recording passes were made, starting at 15 mm above the surgical target with manual advance of the
99 microdrive in 0.1mm steps, using a center, and posterior and/or medial trajectories, with center-to-center
100 spacing of 2mm in a standard cross-shaped Ben-Gun array. Microelectrode signals were band-pass filtered at
101 0.075 Hz to 10 kHz and digitized at 44 kHz (NeuroOmega, Alpha Omega, Nazareth, Israel).

102

103 *Speech Task.* The speech task was performed during pauses in the microelectrode recording portion of DBS
104 lead implantation in which stable units were detected. Visual stimuli were created using Matlab software
105 (MathWorks, Natick, MA) and Psychophysics Toolbox extensions (Brainard, 1997; Pelli, 1997; Kleiner et al,
106 2007). Subjects were asked to read, in a normal manner, a consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) syllable
107 presented in white text on an otherwise dark computer screen. Each trial was initiated manually by the
108 experimenter, beginning with presentation of a green fixation cross at the center of the screen (0-250 ms),
109 followed by a variable-time delay (500-1000 ms) during which the screen remained dark. At the end of the
110 delay, text denoting a unique CVC syllable appeared on the screen and remained visible until the subject
111 completed their naming response. A white fixation cross was displayed on the screen during the inter-trial
112 interval (ITI; Figure 1A). Subjects were instructed to respond as soon as the word cue appeared. The CVC
113 stimuli were drawn from prior behavioral work (Moore 2012), and were matched along a number of
114 dimensions, including phoneme recurrence, number of letters, phonological neighborhood density,
115 orthographic neighborhood, and mean bigram frequency. Stimulus lists contained an equal portion of CVC
116 words and non-words, and were composed of consonants drawn from a set of 7 early- or 7 late-developing
117 consonant phonemes.

118
119 *Audio recordings.* Speech output was recorded using an omnidirectional microphone (8 subjects: Audio-
120 Technica, Stow, OH; model ATR3350iS, frequency response 50-18,000 Hz; 4 subjects: Preonus, Baton
121 Rouge, LA, model PRM1 Precision Flat Frequency Mic, frequency response 20-20,000 Hz) oriented at an
122 angle of approximately 45 degrees and a distance of approximately 8 cm to the subject's mouth. In the four
123 cases where the Preonus PRM1 microphone was used, a Zoom H6 digital recorder was used to digitize the
124 audio at 96 kHz. In all cases, the audio signal was split out to a Grapevine Neural Interface Processor, where it
125 was digitized at 30 kHz. The audio signal was synchronized with the neural recordings and with visual cue
126 events using digital pulses delivered via a USB data acquisition unit (Measurement Computing, Norton, MA,
127 model USB-1208FS).

128

129 *Task performance.* The audio signal was segmented into trials and responses were coded by a speech-
130 language pathologist using a custom-designed graphical user interface implemented in MATLAB. The
131 response epoch for each trial was defined to start at cue presentation and end at the start of the ITI. The audio
132 signal within each response epoch was coded as follows: (1) production onset was identified, (2) production
133 offset was identified, (3) the phonetic content was identified. Only trials that met the following criteria were
134 included for further analyses: (1) the subject's entire response could clearly be identified within the response
135 epoch; (2) the time from cue presentation to production onset (production latency) was less than the mean
136 production latency (1.2 s) plus 3 standard deviations (0.93 s) for all subjects (threshold = 4.0 s); (3) the
137 duration of the response was less than the mean production latency (0.60 s) plus 3 standard deviations (0.20
138 s) for all subjects (threshold = 1.19 s); (4) the subject's response was a CVC or CV syllable and was composed
139 of phonemes within the target set or the included mismatch set. Of 2,200 total trials, 150 (6.8%) were rejected
140 from further analysis on the basis of these response criteria. In 11 of the rejected trials, no response was
141 recorded. In 608 trials (139 of which were rejected), the response did not match the target.

142
143 *Spike sorting.* Microelectrode recording data were imported into off-line spike-sorting software (Plexon, Dallas,
144 TX). A 4-pole Butterworth high-pass filter with a cutoff frequency of 200 Hz was applied to the microelectrode
145 recording signal and waveforms were detected by setting a negative threshold at an amplitude equal to
146 approximately 3 times the standard deviation of the voltage signal; single- and multi-unit action potentials were
147 then discriminated using principal components analysis. The results were graded according to the quality and
148 stability of the spike sorting over the duration of the recording. An assignment of "A-sort" was given only to
149 spike clusters that could be discriminated from background activity throughout the duration of a recording, and
150 whose spikes were not strongly modulated by cardiac rate (see Figure 1C-F). A-sorts were further subdivided
151 into single- and multi-unit subcategories. A cluster qualified as a single unit (SU) if: (1) the principal component
152 cluster was clearly separated from other clusters associated with background activity and other units, (2)
153 contained spike waveforms with a unimodal distribution in principal component space, and (3) displayed a
154 refractory period of at least 3ms in its inter-spike interval distribution (Starr et al., 2003; Schrock et al., 2009).
155 For some SU recordings, the location of the principal component cluster drifted gradually during the period of

156 the recording, likely due to a shift of the brain relative to the electrode. Other A-sorts were classified as multi-
157 unit (MU) recordings because the principle components cluster appeared to include waveforms from multiple
158 units, forming multimodal principal component distributions that could not be clearly separated on short time
159 scales, or that failed to obey the 3 ms refractory period in their inter-spike interval distribution. An assignment
160 of “B-sort” was given to spike clusters that violated the above criteria due to presence of a non-uniform or rapid
161 (5 second time scale) shift of the waveform cluster in principal component space, or due to incomplete
162 separation of the spike cluster from the cluster associated with background noise.

163 *STN unit baseline activity.* Baseline spike rates were estimated by averaging across trials the spike rates
164 during the baseline epoch, defined as the 1 s portion of the ITI preceding cue presentation. Because the firing
165 rate of MU recordings depends on the number of neurons contributing to the spike population and thus is
166 difficult to interpret, we calculated baseline firing rates only for SU recordings.

167 *STN unit activity during speech.* We used two different estimates of unit activity to test for task-related changes
168 in neuronal spike rate. We tested for task-related increases using a spike density function (SDF), which is a
169 direct representation of a unit’s mean instantaneous firing rate. We tested for task-related decreases using a
170 function that reflects a unit’s mean inter-spike interval (ISI), which scales with the reciprocal of instantaneous
171 spike rate. This approach was chosen to avoid potential under-sensitivity for the detection of decreases in firing
172 in SDFs due to floor effects (Alexander and Crutcher, 1990a). To construct an SDF function, spike time stamps
173 were rounded to 1 ms. The resulting time series was then convolved with a Gaussian kernel ($\sigma = 25$ ms). The
174 inter-spike interval (ISI) time series was computed from the 1 kHz binned time stamp time series by taking the
175 value of the current ISI at each millisecond time point:

$$176 \quad ISI(t) = ts_{i+1} - ts_i, \quad (\text{Equation 1})$$

177 for t between ts_i and ts_{i+1} , where ts is the set of consecutive time stamps for that spike population.

178 Across-trial means of the SDF and ISI functions were constructed aligned on two epochs of interest: (1) from
179 cue presentation to 0.5 s after the mean production onset for that session (aligned on cue presentation, termed
180 the cue epoch), and (2) from the mean time of cue presentation to 0.5 s after production onset (aligned on
181 production onset, termed the production epoch). A baseline period for each trial was defined as the 1 s portion
182 of the ITI preceding cue presentation, and the trial-wise mean SDF and ISI functions during this epoch served

183 as baselines against which the test epochs were compared. Baseline firing rates for each unit were defined as
 184 the mean of discharge rate during the baseline period across trials.

185
 186 A unit was considered to have significantly elevated firing during a given epoch if the mean spike density within
 187 that test epoch exceeded a threshold level for at least 100ms. The threshold was defined as the upper 5% of a
 188 normal distribution with a mean and σ of the baseline mean SDF, Bonferroni corrected for multiple
 189 comparisons (where the number of independent observations was considered to be the duration of the epoch
 190 of interest divided by the width of the Gaussian kernel, 50ms). Similarly, a unit was considered to have
 191 significantly reduced firing within a given epoch if the mean ISI time series exceeded a threshold ISI value for
 192 at least 100ms. The threshold ISI value was defined as the upper 5% tail of a normal distribution with a mean
 193 and σ of the baseline mean ISI time series, Bonferroni corrected for multiple comparisons (where the number
 194 of independent observations was the mean number of ISIs within the epoch of interest).

195
 196 *Speech onset- and cue- locking.* For all units with significant changes in mean firing, we sought to determine
 197 whether the timing of these responses was more closely locked to the presentation of the cue or to the onset of
 198 the production, by examining the trial-to-trial relationship between RTs and neuronal response onsets. First,
 199 response onsets were estimated for individual trials. The trial-to-trial timing of an increase in firing was
 200 estimated by searching for bursts. The spiking pattern within each trial (after cue presentation) was examined
 201 to find a sequence of at least 3 spikes with the highest Poisson Surprise (PS) Burst index. For a given
 202 sequence of n spikes within time interval T , the PS Burst index was based on the probability of encountering n
 203 or more spikes within time interval T , given a Poisson-distributed spike train with a discharge rate r .

$$204 \quad PS_{burst} = -\log_{10} \left(e^{-rT} \sum_{i=n}^{\infty} \frac{(rT)^i}{i!} \right). \quad (\text{Equation 2})$$

205 Similarly, the trial-to-trial timing of a decrease in firing was estimated by searching for pauses. The PS Pause
 206 index was based on the probability of encountering n or fewer spikes within time interval T , in a Poisson-
 207 distributed spike train:

$$208 \quad PS_{pause} = -\log_{10} \left(e^{-rT} \sum_{i=0}^n \frac{(rT)^i}{i!} \right). \quad (\text{Equation 3})$$

209 For both increase and decrease indices, r was estimated separately for each trial as the discharge rate across
210 the entire trial, and T was the duration of the trial. Only trials with burst or pause sequences whose PS indices
211 exceeded those found in that trial's baseline epoch were considered for further analysis. For each trial, the
212 onset time of the PS Burst (for units with significant excitatory responses) or PS Pause (for units with
213 significant inhibitory responses) spike sequences was defined as the neuronal response increase or decrease
214 onset, respectively.

215
216 Next, two intervals were correlated (Spearman rank correlation, MATLAB function `corr`) with the production
217 latency across trials for each unit: 1. the interval between cue presentation and the neuronal response onset
218 (neuronal response latency), and 2. the interval between the neuronal response onset and production onset
219 (neuronal response to production interval). A unit's response was considered to be temporally-locked to: 1. cue
220 onset, if a significant change in activity during the cue epoch was observed, and the corresponding neuronal
221 response to production interval was correlated ($p < 0.05$) with production latency (Figure 2A-B), or 2. the onset
222 of speech, if significant change in activity in the production epoch was observed, and the corresponding
223 neuronal response latency was correlated ($p < 0.05$) with production latency (Figure 2C-D). If both correlations
224 were significant, then the unit's response was considered to be both cue- and production -locked, i.e. its
225 activity was temporally associated with both events.

226
227 *Analysis of speech volume.* Relative speech volume was computed based on the audio recording
228 corresponding to the subject's response (speech) and the audio corresponding to the baseline epoch
229 (baseline). The ratio of the speech to baseline root-mean-square (RMS) amplitudes was represented as a
230 decibel statistic for each trial:

$$231 \quad dB(SNR) = 20 \times \log_{10} \left(\frac{RMS_{speech}}{RMS_{baseline}} \right) \quad (\text{Equation 4})$$

232 For all units with a significant speech-related modulation of firing, the relative speech volume was then
233 correlated (Spearman rank correlation, MATLAB function `corr`) across trials with the mean firing rate during
234 speech, i.e. between speech onset and speech offset for each trial. Because the timing of the firing rate
235 modulation varied between units and between trials, an additional analysis was carried out to examine the

236 correlation between relative speech volume and the mean burst firing rate (for increase-type responses) or
237 mean pause firing rate (for decrease-type responses; see Methods: Speech onset- and cue- locking). For
238 each type of firing rate measure, the firing rate was z-scored against the baseline firing rate (within each trial)
239 prior to computing the correlation.

240
241 *Anatomical localization of recordings.* Anatomical locations of microelectrode recordings were expressed in
242 terms of the microelectrode recording-defined STN boundaries along each electrode trajectory. Thus, each
243 microelectrode recording location was identified by its relative position within the Ben-Gun orientation (central,
244 posterior or medial) and the percent depth through the STN within that trajectory (with 0% representing the
245 ventral STN boundary and 100% representing the dorsal STN boundary). In addition, electrode localization
246 was carried using the Lead-DBS toolbox (Horn and Kühn, 2015). Preoperative and postoperative magnetic
247 resonance images were co-registered and normalized to Montreal Neurological Institute (MNI) space. MNI
248 locations of DBS lead placements were determined from post-operative images, and intraoperative
249 microelectrode locations were calculated based on their position relative to final lead placement. In order to
250 test whether unit responses recorded within the STN were anatomically segregated according to their speech-
251 related response types and locking types, linear discriminant analysis was used to classify units based on MNI
252 coordinates (MATLAB function `fitcdiscr`). 10-fold cross validation was used to estimate classification accuracy.

253
254 *Analysis of spike isolation and stability.* In order to quantify the sort quality of STN units, two different
255 measures were adapted from a method by Joshua and colleagues: signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) and isolation
256 score (IS) (Joshua et al. 2007). Signal-to-noise was defined as

$$257 \text{SNR} = \frac{\text{peak-to-peak}}{\text{Noise}}, \quad (\text{Equation 5})$$

258 where *peak-to-peak* indicates the signal amplitude, or difference between the minimum and maximum of the
259 average spike waveform, and the *Noise* is the standard deviation of the concatenated residuals (spike
260 waveforms minus average spike waveform) (Joshua et al. 2007). Isolation score is an estimate of the
261 probability that a given individual spike waveform (typically 66 samples, e.g. 1.5 ms, long) belongs to the
262 assigned spike cluster rather than the noise cluster (Joshua et al. 2007). Clusters for each candidate single

263 unit and for noise (all other waveforms from the same recording) were defined in the first two dimensions of a
 264 principal components analysis (Plexon Offline Sorter). Our measure of the similarity of waveforms within a
 265 cluster was based on the Euclidean distance, $d(X, Y)$, between raw waveforms X and Y , both from the same
 266 cluster:

$$267 \text{ Similarity}(X, Y) = \exp(-d(X, Y)(\lambda/d_0)) , \quad (\text{Equation 6})$$

268 normalized according to the average Euclidean distance between spikes in the spike cluster, d_0 , and a gain
 269 constant, λ (equal to 10 (Joshua et al. 2007)). That similarity index was then normalized according to the
 270 mean similarity between within-cluster waveforms X and all other waveforms Z (e.g., waveforms from other
 271 spikes and noise):

$$272 P_X(Y) = \frac{\exp(-d(X, Y)(\lambda/d_0))}{\sum_{Z \neq X} \exp(-d(X, Z)(\lambda/d_0))} , \quad (\text{Equation 7})$$

273 Importantly, in order to consistently characterize this quantity across units, we chose to modify the method by
 274 Joshua and colleagues by selecting an equal number of waveforms in the spike and noise clusters for each
 275 unit whenever possible. Thus, if a sort resulted in a greater number of noise waveforms than spike waveforms,
 276 the noise cluster was estimated by randomly subsampling noise waveforms to match the number of spike
 277 waveforms (random subsampling was performed using MATLAB function `randperm`, using a uniform
 278 distribution). If, on the other hand, the number of spike waveforms (N_{spike}) was greater than the number of
 279 noise waveforms (N_{noise}), the normalization term in the similarity index was adjusted to weight spike and noise
 280 waveforms equally:

$$281 P_X(Y) = \frac{\exp(-d(X, Y)(\lambda/d_0))}{\sum_{Z \in Spike, Z \neq X} \exp\left(-d(X, Z)\left(\frac{\lambda}{d_0}\right)\right) + \frac{N_{spike}}{N_{noise}} \sum_{Z \in Noise, Z \neq X} \exp\left(-d(X, Z)\left(\frac{\lambda}{d_0}\right)\right)} . \quad (\text{Equation 8})$$

282 Summing the similarity index over all waveforms in the spike cluster results in a measure of how close
 283 waveform X is to the spike cluster compared to the noise cluster:

$$284 P(X) = \sum_{Y \in Spike} P_X(Y) . \quad (\text{Equation 9})$$

285 Equal weighting of the normalization term in equations 7 and 8 thus ensures that a $P(X)$ value of 0.5 indicates
 286 that waveform X is equidistant from the spike and noise clusters. Finally, the isolation score is computed by
 287 taking the mean value of the above measure in the spike cluster:

$$288 IS = \frac{1}{N_{spike}} \sum_{X \in Spike} P(X) . \quad (\text{Equation 10})$$

289 Signal-to-noise ratios and isolation scores were computed for all single- and multi- units, including all spikes
290 during speech task performance. In order to further assess spike stability during speech, these measures
291 were then calculated separately for spikes recorded during the baseline epoch and speech epoch (1 s
292 following production onset). For each unit, baseline and speech epoch spikes were pooled across trials. We
293 then used a permutation testing procedure to determine whether the difference between baseline and speech
294 measures of signal-to-noise ratio and isolation score was greater than expected by chance. In order to
295 determine the null distribution of the test statistic – the difference between baseline and speech measures of
296 isolation – we generated 1000 surrogate statistics by randomly selecting “baseline” waveforms and “speech”
297 waveforms from all waveforms detected during the baseline and speech epochs.

298

299 To assess the degree to which quantitative measures of isolation predicted unit type (single- vs. multi- unit)
300 and unit sort quality (A vs. B sort) linear discriminant analysis was used to classify units based on signal-to-
301 noise ratio and isolation score measures (MATLAB function fitcdiscr). 10-fold cross validation was used to
302 estimate classification accuracy.

303

304 RESULTS

305 Subject demographics are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. Twelve subjects each performed between 1 and 4
306 blocks of 60 trials during single unit recording sessions (median 2.5 blocks, mean 160 trials). An average $6.5 \pm$
307 1.9% of trials were excluded from analysis due to incorrect responses. Across subjects, the mean latency to
308 the onset of a production was 1.10 ± 0.31 s, and the mean duration of speech was 0.605 ± 0.175 s. A subject's
309 mean production latency correlated significantly with the subject's speech UPDRS sub-score (Spearman rho =
310 0.72, $p = 0.02$). This correlation failed to reach significance for speech duration (Spearman rho = -0.09, $p =$
311 0.8) or the fraction of trials with incorrect responses (Spearman rho = -0.62, $p = 0.06$). The subjects' total
312 UPDRS score was not correlated with any of these task measures (production latency: Spearman rho = 0.22, p
313 = 0.5; speech duration: Spearman rho = -0.23, $p = 0.5$; percent correct: Spearman rho = 0.22, $p = 0.5$).

314

315 A total of 45 neuronal recordings met the criteria for A-sorts (22 single-unit, 23 multi-unit recordings). Thirty-
316 four additional recordings met criteria for B-sorts (3 single-unit, 31 multi-unit recordings). The mean baseline

317 firing rates were not significantly different between A- and B-sort single units (21.8 ± 3.2 spikes/s vs. 27.3 ± 7.1
318 spikes/s; mean \pm standard error, $p = 0.55$, unpaired t-test), and were consistent with data reported previously
319 from the human STN (Rodriguez-Oroz et al., 2001; Abosch et al., 2002; Starr et al., 2003; Theodosopoulos et
320 al., 2003; Romanelli et al., 2004; Schrock et al., 2009).

321
322 Spike sort quality was quantified for all units using signal-to-noise ratio and isolation score measures. Isolation
323 scores were significantly different between single- and multi- units (single-unit median = 0.97, inter-quartile
324 range (IQR) = 0.06; multi-unit median = 0.86 IQR = 0.15; $p = 8.6 \times 10^{-9}$, Wilcoxon rank sum test), and between A
325 and B sorts (A sort median = 0.93, IQR = 0.11; B sort median = 0.86 IQR = 0.19; $p = 3.1 \times 10^{-5}$, Wilcoxon rank
326 sum test). Similarly, signal-to-noise ratios were significantly different between single- and multi- units (single-
327 unit median = 9.8, IQR = 2.2; multi-unit median = 5.4 IQR = 1.5; $p = 6.3 \times 10^{-11}$, Wilcoxon rank sum test), and
328 between A and B sorts (A sort median = 7.7, IQR = 4.3; B sort median = 5.3 IQR = 1.7; $p = 8.5 \times 10^{-5}$, Wilcoxon
329 rank sum test). Based on these two measures, a linear discriminant analysis classifier could distinguish
330 between single- and multi- units with $85.0 \pm 0.5\%$ accuracy (significantly greater than chance, 66.6%, $p = 6.6 \times$
331 10^{-16} , unpaired t-test), and between A and B sorts with $67.2 \pm 4.4\%$ accuracy (significantly greater than chance,
332 54.3%, $p = 6.5 \times 10^{-6}$, unpaired t-test).

333
334 Overall, a high percentage of units demonstrated a speech-related change in firing. 22 units exhibited
335 significant increases in firing rate, 13 units showed significant decreases, and 7 units showed a mixed
336 increase/decrease response during the production epoch. The proportion of units exhibiting these speech-
337 related changes did not depend on sort quality (A- or B-sorts) or on unit type (single or multi unit; Table 3).
338 Figure 3A-C shows examples of these unit response categories. While there was an overall significant
339 difference in the proportions of neurons in the four response categories (increase, decrease, mixed, and non-
340 response, $\chi^2 = 25.8608$, $p = 1.02 \times 10^{-5}$), there was no significant difference between the proportion of
341 increase-type and decrease-type units ($\chi^2 = 2.3$ $p = 0.13$). The prevalence of speech-responsive units did not
342 relate to the subjects' symptom severity, and the proportion of units recorded from each subject that showed
343 increase, decrease, cue-locking or speech-locking response types was not correlated with the speech sub-

344 score or total UPDRS score (Table 4). Increase- and decrease-type single-units were not differentiated
345 statistically by baseline firing rates (increase-type firing rate = 20.6 ± 6.4 spikes/s; decrease-type firing rate =
346 34.4 ± 10.5 spikes/s; $p = 0.27$, unpaired t-test). The mean latency of neuronal responses (defined as onset of
347 the first significant change relative to production onset, see Figure 3D-F) also was similar between increase
348 and decrease response types (-0.23 ± 0.07 s and -0.20 ± 0.14 s, respectively, $p = 0.87$, unpaired t-test). In the
349 one participant with right STN recordings (2 multi-units), no speech-related responses were found.

350
351 Response types were observed to be differentially associated with speech onset- and cue- locking. Among 29
352 units with significant increases in firing rate during the production epoch, the responses were preferentially
353 time-locked to production (41%), with a minority time-locked to cue onset (7%) or to both cue and production
354 onset (7%) (Figure 4). In contrast, among 20 units with significant decreases in firing rate, 40% were time-
355 locked to cue onset, while only 15% had responses time-locked to production onset, and no responses were
356 time-locked to both cue and production onset (Figure 5). Again, the proportion of responses showing speech-
357 versus cue- locking firing changes did not depend on sort quality or on unit type (Table 5). A Chi-square test
358 was used to verify that increase-type neural responses were more likely to be time-locked to the production
359 onset than were decreases ($\chi^2 = 3.89$, $p = 0.049$), whereas decrease-type responses were more likely to be
360 time-locked to cue onset ($\chi^2 = 7.99$, $p = 0.0047$; Table 6). The mean latency of neuronal responses (defined as
361 the mean neuronal response latency across trials) was shorter for cue-locked responses (0.76 ± 0.12 s) than
362 for speech-locked responses (1.08 ± 0.08 s; $p = 0.039$, unpaired t-test). The mean neuronal response to
363 production interval (defined as the mean neuronal response to production interval across trials) was also
364 greater in magnitude for cue-locked responses (-0.48 ± 0.12 s) than for speech-locked responses (-0.15 ± 0.6
365 s; $p = 0.011$, unpaired t-test).

366
367 Encoding of speech duration was not prevalent in recorded STN units. The duration of the neural response
368 had a significant correlation with the duration of speech production (Spearman correlation, $p < 0.05$) in only 2
369 of 29 units with increase-type responses, and in only 1 of 20 neurons with decrease-type responses. These
370 proportions were not significantly different from zero (Fisher's exact test, $p=0.49$ for increase-type responses,

371 p=1.0 for decrease-type responses), indicating that they are too small to be estimated statistically from this
372 experiment.

373

374 Evidence for encoding the volume of speech was found in a small number of decrease-type STN units. When
375 firing rate during speech was examined for each trial, none of the 29 increase-type responses and 1 of 23
376 decrease-type responses showed a significant correlation ($\rho = -0.27$, $p = 0.04$) with relative speech volume.
377 Similarly, when mean burst or pause firing rate was examined, none of the 29 increase-type responses and 2
378 of 23 decrease-type responses (2 subjects) showed a significant correlation ($\rho = -0.42$, -0.30 ; $p = 0.020$,
379 0.025 , respectively) with relative speech volume across trials.

380

381 We did not find evidence for topographical organization of response types. Unit recording locations were
382 analyzed based on the recording trajectory (center, 23 units, average span 4.7 ± 0.5 mm; posterior, 29 units,
383 average span 5.2 ± 0.5 mm; or medial, 27 units, average span 5.6 ± 0.6 mm), and the recording depth, relative
384 to the microelectrode recording-defined boundaries of the STN within each trajectory. There was no significant
385 difference in STN recording depth between speech response types (excitatory, inhibitory, mixed, no response;
386 see Figure 6 (Kruskal-Wallis test, central trajectory $\chi^2 = 7.2$, $p = 0.066$; posterior trajectory $\chi^2 = 6.2$, $p = 0.10$;
387 medial trajectory $\chi^2 = 7.2$, $p = 0.066$). There was also no significant difference in STN recording depth between
388 locking response types (production onset-locked, cue-locked, locked to both events, no locking) in any of the
389 recording trajectories (Kruskal-Wallis test, central trajectory $\chi^2 = 5.6$, $p = 0.13$; posterior trajectory $\chi^2 = 3.9$, $p =$
390 0.27 ; medial trajectory $\chi^2 = 2.1$, $p = 0.35$). Collapsing the recording depths across trajectories did not reveal
391 significant differences between response types. Microelectrode recording locations additionally were
392 normalized to MNI space, allowing for group-level analysis within a common coordinate system (Figure 7).
393 Linear discriminant analysis was used to model speech-related response types and locking types of units
394 based on their MNI coordinates, in order to test whether speech-related responses are anatomically
395 segregated within the sampled region of the STN. The classification accuracy of this model was not higher
396 than expected by chance.

397

398 Finally, we tested for potential influences of recording stability by comparing single-unit isolation between
399 baseline and speech epochs, for each unit. Overall, 23/79 units showed a small but significant change
400 between baseline and speech isolation scores (7 decreases, 16 increases, $3.8 \pm 0.7\%$ mean magnitude
401 change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing). Similarly, a significant change between baseline and
402 speech signal-to-noise ratios was observed in 25/79 units (14 decreases, 11 increases, $9.5 \pm 1.0\%$ mean
403 magnitude change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing). However, the specific change in spike
404 isolation measure was not consistently related to the speech-related modulation in firing. Specifically, among
405 22 units with increase-type responses, 4 showed decreases, and 5 showed increases between baseline and
406 speech isolation scores ($4.1 \pm 1.3\%$ mean magnitude change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing);
407 while 7 showed decreases, and 3 showed increases between baseline and speech signal-to-noise ratios ($6.6 \pm$
408 1.2% mean magnitude change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing). Similarly, among 13 units with
409 decrease-type responses, 2 showed decreases, and 2 showed increases between baseline and speech
410 isolation scores ($4.6 \pm 2.6\%$ mean magnitude change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing); while none
411 showed an decrease, and 1 showed an increase between baseline and speech signal-to-noise ratios (18%
412 mean change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing). Among 7 units with mixed-type responses, none
413 showed a decrease, and 3 showed increases between baseline and speech isolation scores ($2.5 \pm 1.3\%$ mean
414 change from baseline; $p < 0.05$, permutation testing); while none showed an decrease, and 1 showed an
415 increase between baseline and speech signal-to-noise ratios (8% mean change from baseline; $p < 0.05$,
416 permutation testing).

417

418 **DISCUSSION**

419 We found that both phasic increases and decreases in the discharge rate of STN neurons accompany the
420 production of speech. In this study, subjects read aloud syllables presented on a computer screen, a
421 behavioral paradigm that requires a series of neural events beginning from processing the visual cue to
422 activating motor commands for the vocal organ. Neural events that occur early in this series, such as
423 processing of the visual cue and forming a phonological plan, might be expected to be time-locked to cue
424 presentation. Events that occur later in the series, such as forming and executing the motor speech plan, might

425 be expected to be time-locked to speech output. We showed that decrease-type responses are predominantly
426 locked to cue presentation and increase-type STN responses are predominantly locked to the onset of speech.
427 These findings suggest that STN inhibition may be associated with early, cognitive aspects of speech
428 production, while STN excitation may be associated with later, motor aspects of speech production.

429
430 The extent to which speech-related activity in the STN may reflect lower-order movement-related activity, akin
431 to results from studies involving simple limb movements, versus higher order functions has important
432 implications. Although kinematic aspects of speech production often improve following DBS (Pinto et al., 2004;
433 De Gaspari et al., 2006; Parsons et al., 2006; Mikos et al., 2011), a decrease in verbal fluency is the most
434 common cognitive side effect of STN-DBS, with specific deficits in lexical and grammatical processing having
435 been observed, albeit inconsistently across studies (Phillips et al., 2012). The observation of increases in firing
436 rates associated with speech onset are expected, in the context of previous studies of limb movement-related
437 activity. In STN recordings from both human subjects and non-human primates, firing rate increases comprise
438 75-93% of movement-related responses during active and passive limb movements (Wichmann et al., 1994;
439 Rodriguez-Oroz et al., 2001; Abosch et al., 2002; Starr et al., 2003; Theodosopoulos et al., 2003; Romanelli et
440 al., 2004; Schrock et al., 2009). We found that nearly half of increase-type responses in our study were locked
441 to the onset of speech, indicating that motor aspects of speech production are encoded in STN activity. A
442 significantly smaller proportion of increase-type responses was locked to cue presentation (7%) and to both
443 cue presentation and speech production onset (7%), with remaining responses not clearly associated with
444 either event.

445
446 In contrast, we observed that early stages of speech production may involve the inhibition of STN neurons. We
447 found that a large proportion (40%) of decrease-type responses were locked to cue presentation, with cue-
448 locked responses occurred at significantly lower latencies relative to cue presentation, compared with speech-
449 locked responses. A smaller proportion (15%) of decrease-type responses were locked to speech production
450 onset, with remaining responses not clearly associated with either event. Although minority populations of
451 neurons with movement-related firing-rate decreases have been reported previously (Wichmann et al., 1994;

452 Schrock et al., 2009; Lipski et al., 2017), and active movements have been associated with a higher proportion
453 of decrease-type responses in the STN (Lipski et al., 2017), it is remarkable that such a high percentage of
454 decrease-type responses were observed in the present study. Interestingly, and in contrast to our results, a
455 marked reduction of STN activity was reported to be associated with the onset of speech production in the only
456 previous report of STN unit activity recorded during speech production (Watson and Montgomery, 2006),
457 although that study was largely descriptive in nature, limiting comparisons to our data. Although other
458 investigators have shown correlations of STN single unit firing rates and rhythms to premotor functions, such
459 as the encoding of difficulty level of a choice task (Zaghloul et al., 2012; Zavala et al., 2016), cue-locked
460 decreases in firing were not reported. Our data do suggest that, in comparison to limb movement, speech may
461 involve a different balance of activation and suppression in the STN, and that modulation of this balance may
462 occur at the single neuron level prior to speech onset.

463

464 This study was not designed to determine whether early, cue-locked STN modulation of activity reflects
465 responses to the presented stimulus (i.e. reading) versus other aspects of preparing to speak. Although it is
466 important to note that cortical activation of motor commands, as well as adjustments in the chest wall,
467 laryngeal and articulatory musculature, occur well before the acoustic signal is realized, and in a time-locked
468 manner, we relied upon the acoustic output as a simple and non-invasive landmark for exploring timing
469 relationships (Bouchard et al., 2013). Direct measurements of respiratory or articulatory kinematics, however,
470 are indicated for futures studies, to more clearly understand behavioral correlates of STN speech-related
471 activity. Whether similar STN responses would be observed with non-speech related engagement of the same
472 musculature also is an open question. Notably, our findings are based on data collected in patients with PD,
473 and it was not possible to determine the extent to which the dynamics of cortico-subthalamic coupling
474 described reflect physiological versus pathophysiological basal ganglia function. Nonetheless, the prevalence
475 of speech-responsive units did not relate to the subjects' symptom severity, as measured by UPDRS.

476

477 The STN functions within the basal ganglia thalamocortical circuit primarily by way of glutamatergic inputs to
478 the GABAergic output neurons of the globus pallidus internus and substantia nigra pars reticulata. The firing

479 rate model of basal ganglia function posits that increases in STN activity may have a suppressive effect on
480 basal ganglia-recipient circuits while decreases may be facilitatory. This balance of basal ganglia-mediated
481 activation and suppression has been understood most frequently in terms of either selecting and focusing
482 motor actions (Mink, 1996; Redgrave et al., 2010), or modulating their gain over time (Alexander and Crutcher,
483 1990b; Nambu et al., 2000, 2002; Nambu, 2005; Turner and Desmurget, 2010; Thura and Cisek, 2017).
484 Proponents of an action selection hypothesis have proposed that the STN participates in a response inhibition
485 function to reduce premature action when multiple competing responses are possible (Frank, 2006). Our
486 findings of suppressed STN firing locked to speech cues and increased STN firing locked to speech
487 production, however, are not consistent with action selection-related functions of the STN. Similarly, Zeigler
488 and Ackerman (Ziegler and Ackermann, 2017) recently compiled extensive evidence in support of the idea
489 that, for well-learned adult speech, basal ganglia circuits play key roles in the emotional/motivational
490 modulation of speech (i.e., in prosody) but not in the selection and sequencing of articulatory gestures.
491
492 Speech-related phasic increases in the STN likely are a result of excitatory inputs and decreases likely a result
493 of inhibitory inputs. The major excitatory input into the STN comes from the neocortex via the basal ganglia
494 hyper-direct pathway (Nambu et al., 2002) which forms glutamatergic synapses onto distal dendrites of STN
495 projection neurons (Künzle, 1978; Romansky et al., 1979; Kitai and Deniau, 1981; Romansky and Usunoff,
496 1987). The primate STN receives direct projections from broadly distributed cortical areas including primary
497 motor cortex, pre-motor cortex, supplementary motor area, dorsolateral prefrontal, anterior cingulate, and
498 inferior frontal cortex (Afsharpour, 1985; Parent and Hazrati, 1995; Nambu et al., 1997; Haynes and Haber,
499 2013). A primary form of inhibitory drive arises from GABAergic projections to the STN from the external
500 segment of the globus pallidus, via the indirect basal ganglia pathway (Nauta and Mehler, 1966; Romansky
501 and Usunoff, 1987; Bell et al., 1995; Sato et al., 2000). Thus, it is possible that speech onset-locked increased
502 firing rate responses (STN excitation) could be mediated via the hyper-direct pathway, while cue-locked
503 inhibitory responses during speech could be mediated via the indirect pathway. These findings also can be
504 interpreted in the context of the GODIVA model (Bohland et al., 2010) of speech production. This model posits
505 a dual role for the basal ganglia, participating in two processes that may be correlated with cue presentation

506 and speech production in our task: (1) a planning loop that is involved in generating a phonological sequence
507 corresponding to the target word, and (2) a motor loop that releases the planned speech sounds for motor
508 execution.

509
510 This study did not examine inter-hemispheric differences in speech-related STN activity, as recordings were
511 performed in the left STN in 11/12 subjects. Similarly, language laterality was not specifically assessed, and
512 the current cohort is skewed towards right-handed individuals (See Table 1). There are good reasons to expect
513 both the left and right STN will exhibit speech-related responses, since speech-related potentials are
514 represented in a bilateral fashion (Grözinger et al., 1980) and functional neuroimaging studies have
515 demonstrated robust activation of the precentral and postcentral gyri bilaterally during overt speech production
516 (Turkeltaub et al., 2002; Guenther and Hickok, 2015). Interestingly, clinical outcome studies on speech and
517 STN DBS have suggested that left STN stimulation has a greater impact on speech production compared to
518 right sided stimulation (Aldridge et al., 2016), thus future experiments designed to examine bilateral responses
519 in individual patients are needed to address questions of the impact of language laterality.

520
521 It is important to consider that respiratory kinematics and articulatory movements may change intracranial
522 pressure, potentially transiently affecting unit recording quality. In order to examine the possibility of these
523 transient changes affecting our assessment of speech-related physiological modulation of STN neuron firing,
524 we tested unit isolation measures following the onset of speech relative to baseline. We found that signal-to-
525 noise ratio and isolation score were significantly altered in 25 and 23 of 79 units, respectively. Importantly,
526 however, the magnitude of change in isolation measures was small, and the direction of change was not
527 predictive of speech-related response type. Given that intraoperatively recorded human single-unit activity
528 seldom is completely stable across time, the isolation measure difference between baseline and speech likely
529 reflects ongoing fluctuations in isolation rather than specific effects of speech. Small changes in isolation
530 during speech may also be attributed to modulation of background population activity during speech, which
531 affects isolation of sorted units.

532

533

In summary, our results demonstrate that STN neurons comprise separate functional populations whose

534

activity during speech production can be differentiated by the timing and direction of firing rate changes. The

535

extent to which these functional groupings may be specific to speech versus common to complex motor

536

function is an important question for future work, in light of conflicting theories of the role of the STN, and that

537

of the basal ganglia as a whole, in motor behaviors. Our ongoing studies aim to examine the granularity of STN

538

functional encoding in and to verify the specificity of these findings to speech production.

539

540

541 **FIGURE LEGENDS**

542 **Figure 1. Speech task and representative spoken and neural responses.** (A) Intraoperative syllable
543 speech task. Subjects were asked to read aloud words presented on a computer screen. Each trial consisted
544 of a sequence beginning with the fixation cross turning green for 250 ms, followed by a variable delay black
545 screen (500-1000 ms), followed by a unique CVC syllable cue appearing on the screen until the response was
546 recorded. A white fixation cross appeared during the inter-trial interval. (B) An example audio spectrogram
547 time-aligned to the onset of a subject's utterance of the syllable "loath." The time (in s) of cue presentation is
548 indicated by the solid vertical line, and the response onset and offsets are indicated by dotted lines. (C) A
549 single unit recording from the subject's STN, showing an increase in firing during speech. Red hash marks
550 indicate timing of detected spike waveforms from the background activity. (D) Overlay of 50 spike waveforms
551 from the single unit shown in (C). Scatterplots of the first two principal components (E; principal component1
552 and principal component2), as well as the first principal component and spike timestamp (F), showing clear
553 separation of single unit spike waveforms (red) corresponding to the example shown in (C) from background
554 (blue).

555
556 **Figure 2. Schematic illustrating cue- and speech production-locking neuronal response types.** (A)
557 Hypothetical example of cue-aligned trials, illustrating a constant neuronal response latency with varying
558 speech production latencies. (B) Corresponding correlation schematic showing that a significant correlation
559 between neuronal response to production onset interval and speech production latency indicates cue-locking.
560 (C) Hypothetical example of cue-aligned trials, illustrating a constant neuronal response to production onset
561 interval with varying speech production latencies. (D) Corresponding correlation schematic showing that a
562 significant correlation between the neuronal response latency and speech production latency indicates speech-
563 locking.

564
565 **Figure 3. STN neuronal firing is modulated during speech.** Examples of A-sort single unit neuronal
566 responses during speech showing (A) increases, (B) decreases and (C) mixed responses in firing rate, aligned
567 to production onset ($t=0$). Spike rasters across trials are shown on top in panels A-C, and mean firing rate (A,

568 C) or mean inter-spike interval (ISI; B) is shown on the bottom. Diamonds labeled with a “c” indicate mean time
569 of cue presentation; diamonds labeled with an “e” indicate mean speech end; dashed error bars indicate the
570 corresponding standard deviations. (D-F) Raster plots illustrating the timing of firing rate responses across the
571 population of unit recordings. Each row represents a unit’s significant changes relative to baseline, during a
572 time segment surrounding production onset. The time scale is normalized across units from 0.5 s before the
573 mean cue onset until 0.5 s after the mean end of speech.

574
575 **Figure 4. STN neuronal firing increases are primarily speech-locked.** (A) An example of an A-sort single
576 unit whose firing rate increase is locked to production onset. Spike raster (top) and mean firing rate (bottom)
577 aligned to cue presentation. Significant spike bursts are shaded for each trial according to their Poisson
578 Surprise index. Trials are sorted by speech production latency; speech production onset for each trial is
579 indicated in green. (B) The time interval between cue presentation and burst onset (neuronal response latency)
580 and between burst onset and production onset (neuronal response to production interval) for each trial is
581 correlated against production latency. (C) Summary of correlation analyses for all unit recordings with
582 increase-type responses, showing 12/29 responses locked to production onset (red circles), 2/29 responses
583 locked to cue presentation (blue circles), and 2/29 responses locked to both cue and production onset (black
584 circles). Open circles in (C) and indicate B sorts.

585
586 **Figure 5. STN neuronal firing decreases are primarily cue-locked.** (A) An example of an A-sort multi-unit
587 whose firing rate decrease is locked to cue presentation. Spike raster (top) and mean firing rate (bottom)
588 aligned to cue presentation. Significant decreases in firing rate (pauses) are shaded for each trial according to
589 their Poisson Surprise index. Trials are sorted by speech production latency; speech production onset for each
590 trial is indicated in green. (B) The time interval between cue presentation and pause onset (neuronal response
591 latency) and between pause onset and production onset (neuronal response to production interval) for each
592 trial is correlated against production latency. (C) Summary of correlation analyses for all unit recordings with
593 inhibitory responses, showing 3/20 responses were locked to production onset (red circles), 8/20 units were

594 locked to cue presentation (blue circles), and none locked to both cue presentation and production onset (black
595 circles). Open circles in (C) and indicate B sorts.

596

597 **Figure 6. Anatomical distribution of speech responses in the STN.** Unit locations are represented
598 according to the recording trajectory and recording depth relative to electrophysiology-defined STN boundaries
599 (0% corresponds to the ventral STN border and 100% corresponds to the dorsal STN border. Box plots
600 represent the median and inter-quartile range of recording depths within each response category.

601

602 **Figure 7. Anatomical distribution of STN microelectrode unit recordings in Montreal Neurological**
603 **Institute space.** (A) Speech-related unit response types and (B) locking types were not segregated in
604 normalized anatomical coordinates.

605

606 TABLE LEGENDS

607 **Table 1. Subject characteristics.** Demographic, recording and speech performance characteristics. NR = not
608 recorded, s.e. = standard error.

609 **Table 2. Additional subject characteristics.** Side of tremor dominance and presence of voice or hearing
610 complaints.

611 **Table 3.** Unit type and sort quality do not determine response type.

612

613 **Table 4.** Subject symptom severity is not correlated with unit speech response types.

614

615 **Table 5.** Unit type and sort quality do not determine locking type.

616

617 **Table 6.** Dissociation between cue-locking decreases and speech-locking increases of firing.

618

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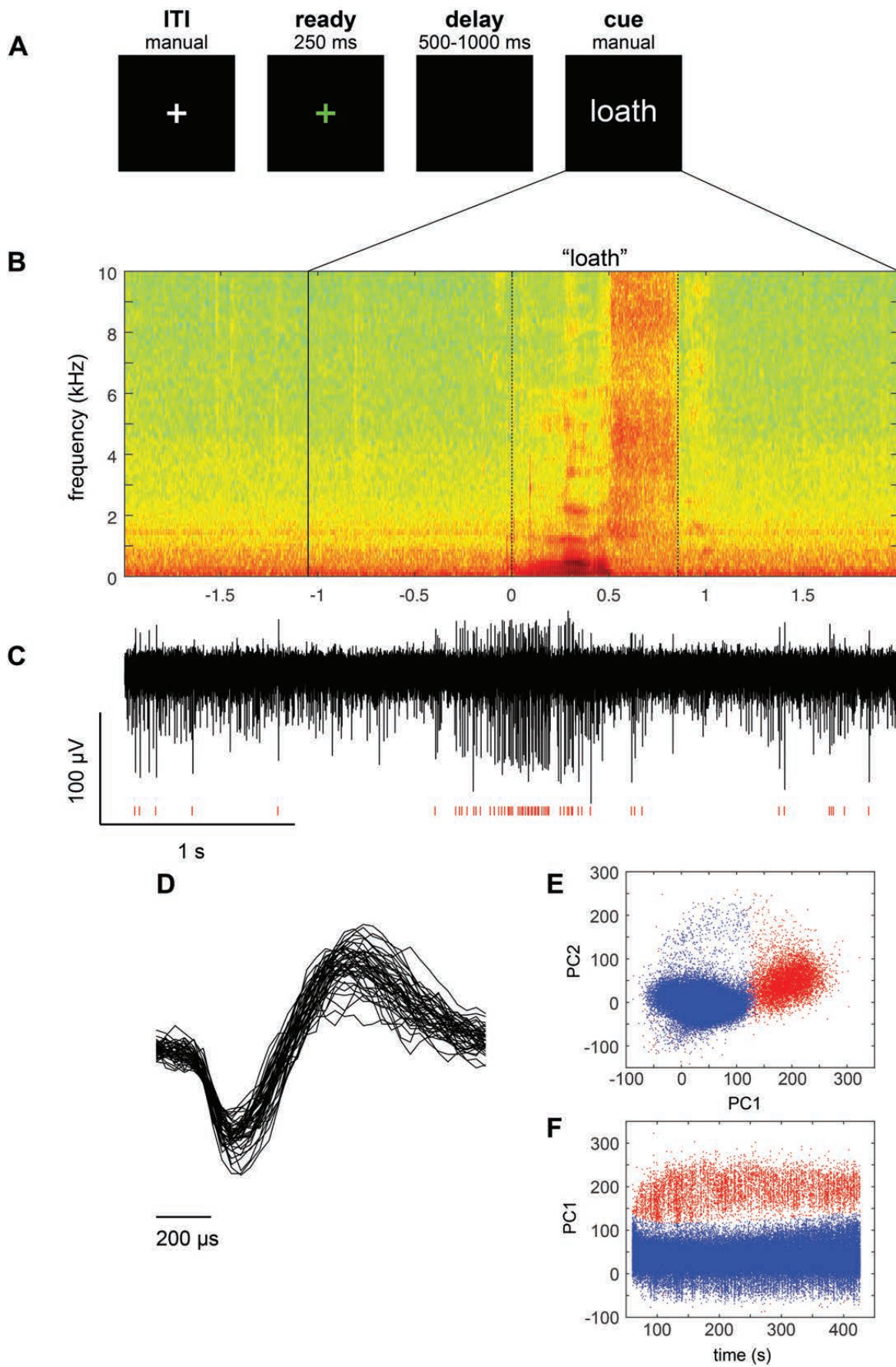
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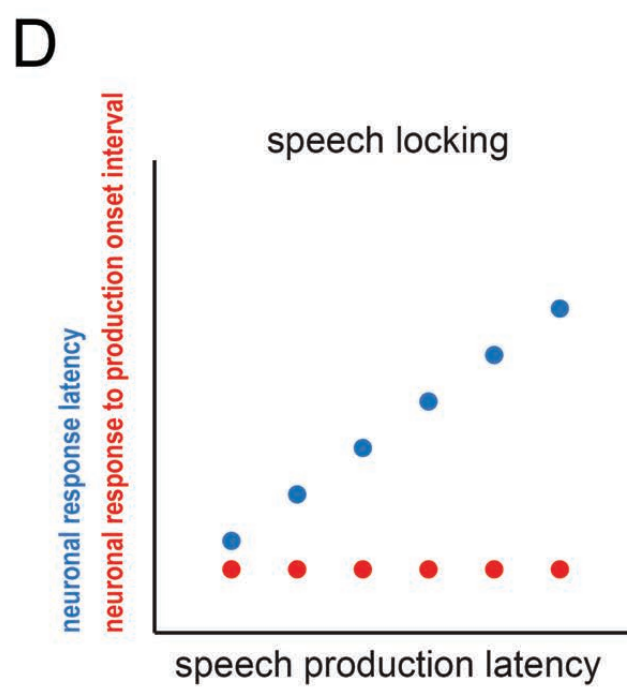
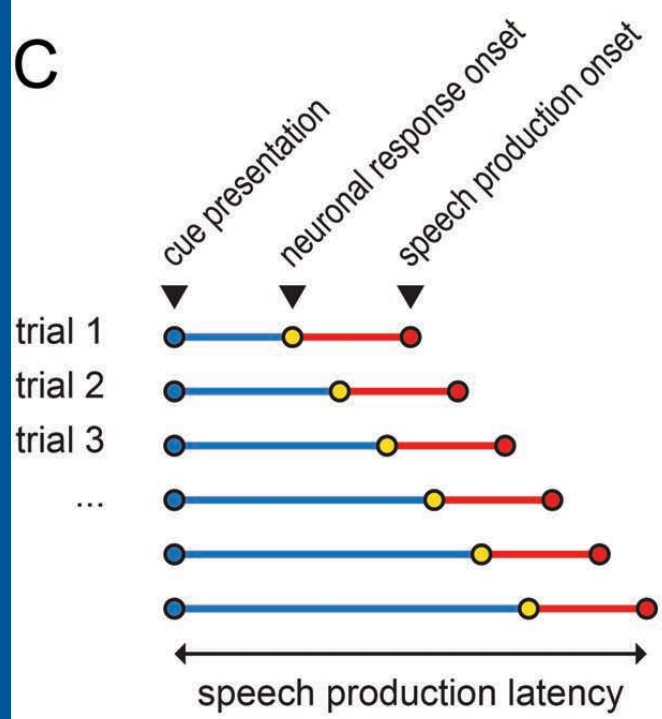
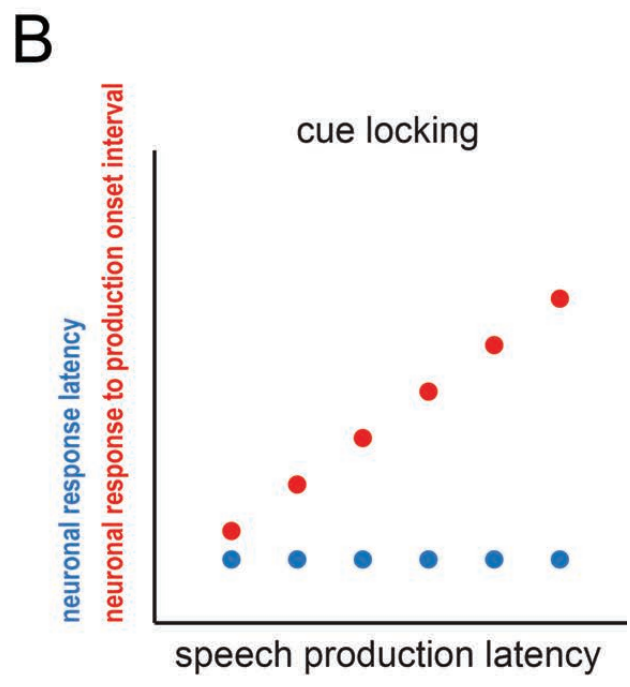
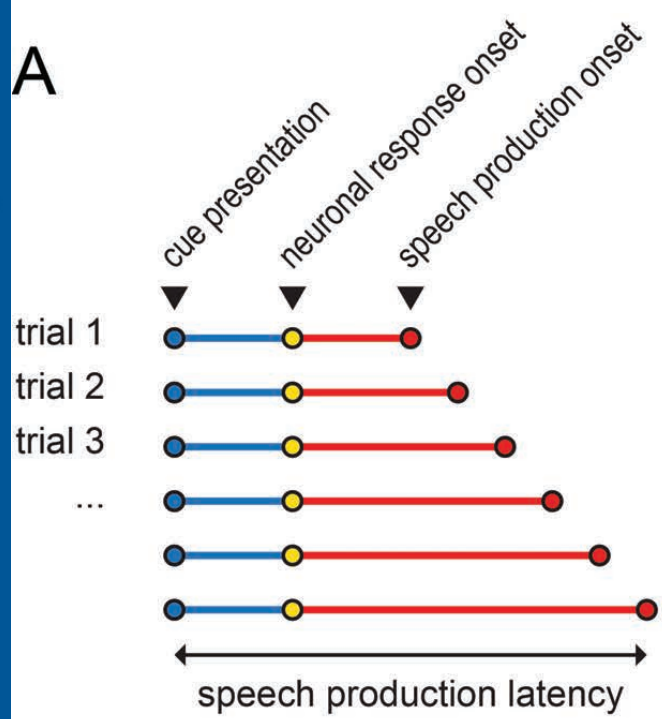
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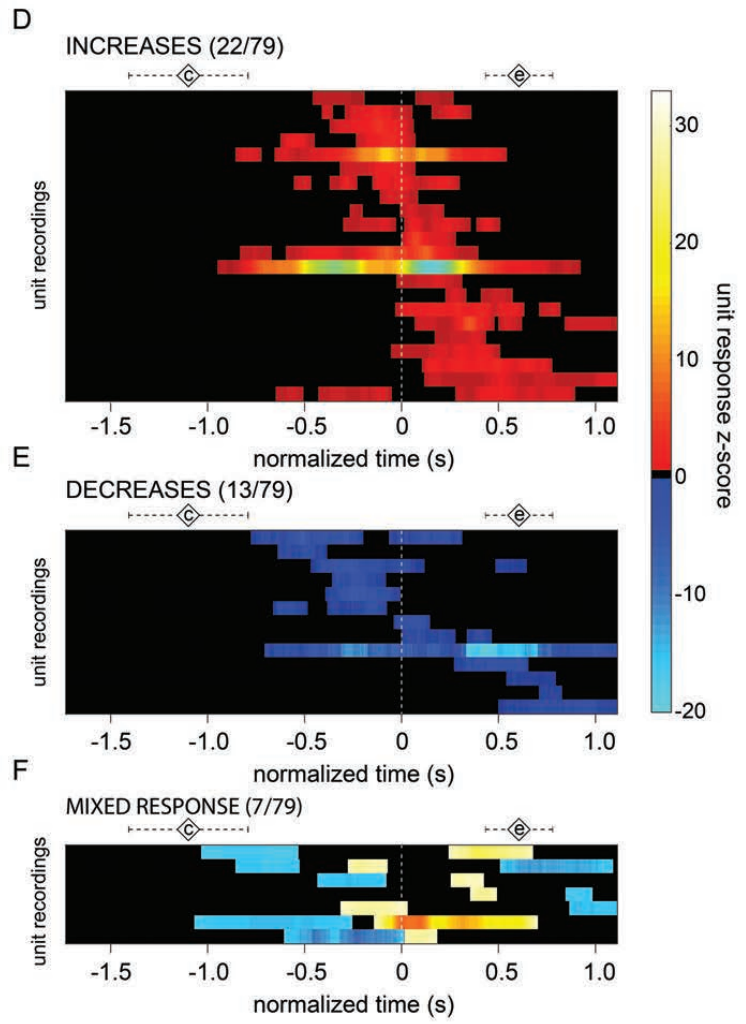
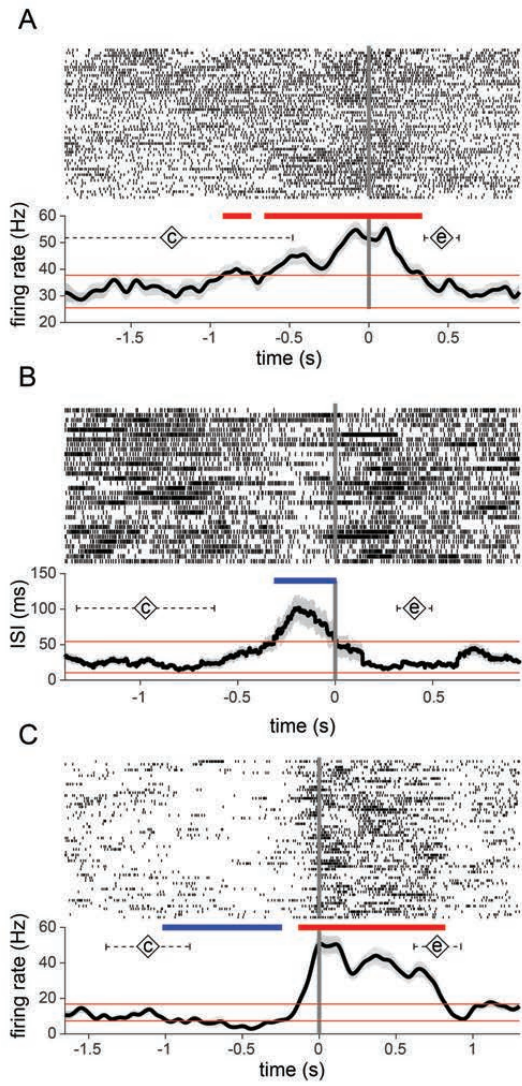
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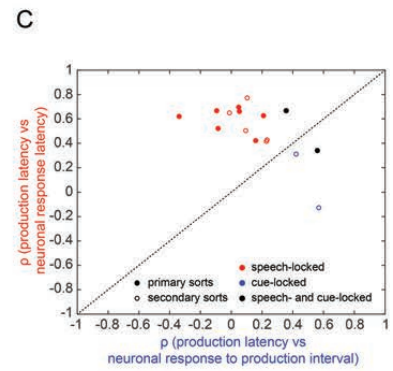
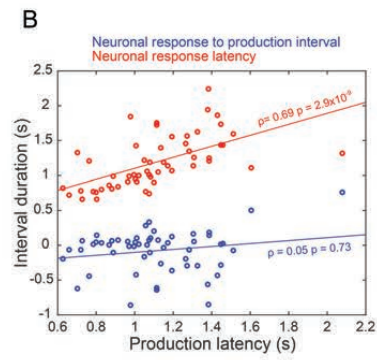
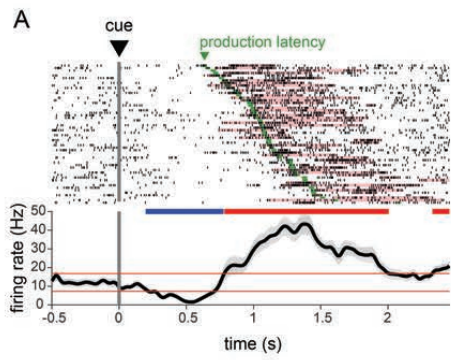
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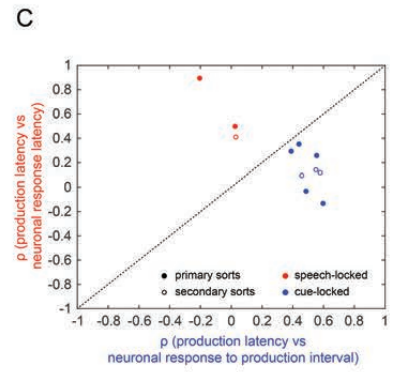
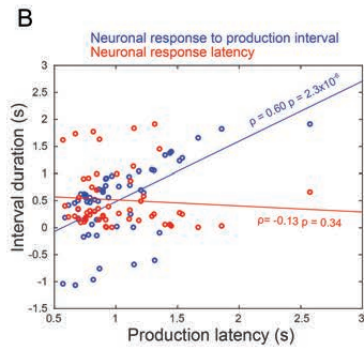
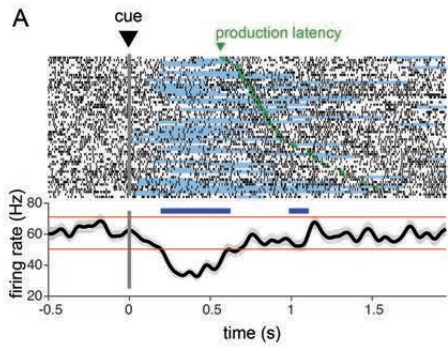
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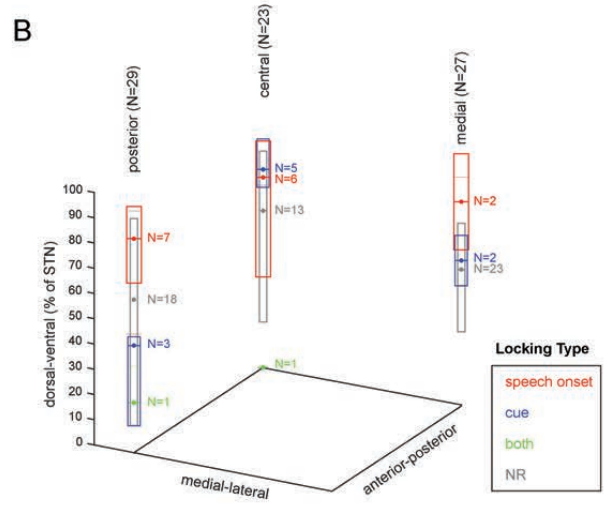
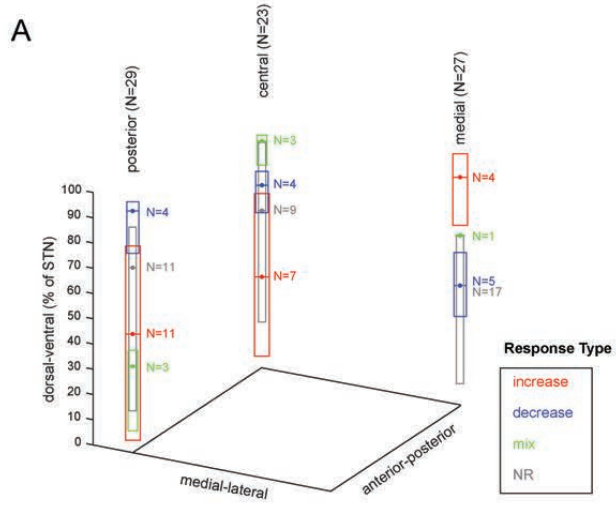




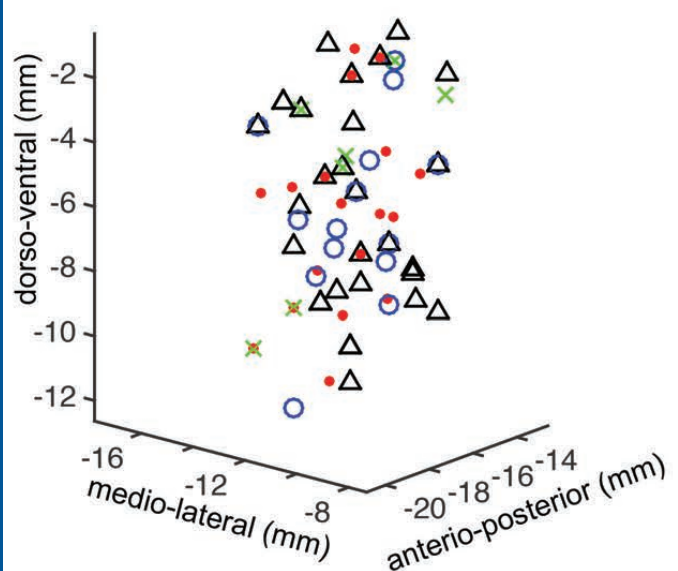






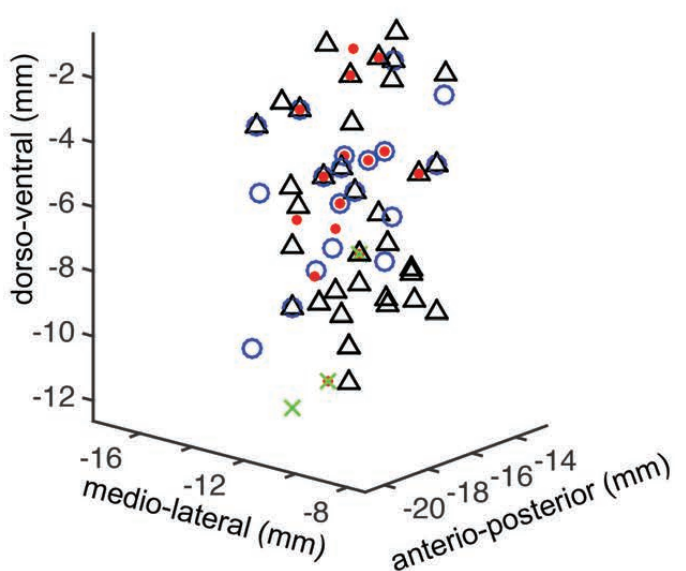


A



- increase-type
- decrease-type
- × mixed
- △ no response

B



- speech-locked
- cue-locked
- × both
- △ neither

Table 1. Subject Characteristics.

Subject	Age	sex	handedness	UPDRS III off score		recorded hemisphere	# units recorded	# sessions	mean production latency (s)	production latency S.E. (s)	mean speech duration (s)	speech duration S. E. (s)	% correct trials
				speech	total								
1	60	male	R	NR	53	L	6	2	1.5	0.005	0.777	0.005	89%
2	68	male	R	1	47	L	15	4	1.01	0.016	0.578	0.016	95%
3	47	female	R	NR	NR	R	2	3	0.91	0.010	0.623	0.01	100%
4	60	male	R	0	31	L	1	2	0.77	0.020	0.642	0.02	98%
5	68	male	L	1	50	L	6	2	0.75	0.039	0.592	0.039	97%
6	56	male	R	1	46	L	5	2	0.86	0.009	0.467	0.009	98%
7	82	male	R	2	36	L	11	3	1.99	0.007	0.442	0.007	76%
8	66	male	R	0	46	L	8	4	0.67	0.007	0.61	0.007	97%
9	66	male	R	2	45	L	8	2	1.13	0.023	0.745	0.023	93%
10	71	female	R	1	24	L	6	3	1.26	0.016	0.796	0.016	86%
11	77	male	R	1	27	L	2	2	1.33	0.012	0.539	0.012	96%
12	59	male	R	1	40	L	9	3	1.04	0.004	0.452	0.004	96%
mean ± s.e.	65.0 ± 2.7	-	-	1.0 ± 0.2	40.4 ± 2.9	-	6.6 ± 1.2	2.7 ± 0.2	1.10 ± 0.11	0.014 ± 0.003	0.605 ± 0.035	0.014 ± 0.003	93 ± 2%

Table 2. Additional Subject Characteristics.

Subject	tremor dominance	voice or respiratory complaints	hearing complaints
1	Bilateral (greater on L)	none	none
2	NR	none	none
3	L	none	none
4	NR	none	none
5	Bilateral (greater on R)	none	none
6	L	none	none
7	NR	none	none
8	NR	dysphonia; atrophy of the bilateral true vocal fold; hypophonic speech related to Parkinsonism and atrophy.	none
9	no	NR	yes
10	NR	vocal fold atrophy, dysphonia, dysphagia	none
11	yes	vocal fold atrophy, dysphonia	bilateral hearing aids
12	no	none	none

Table 3. Unit type and sort quality do not determine response type.

	total	no response	increase	decrease	mixed
A sort units	45	19	13	10	3
B sort units	34	18	9	3	4
χ^2	-	0.89	0.06	2.53	0.62
p	-	0.34	0.81	0.11	0.43
Single units	25	10	6	5	4
Multi units	54	27	16	8	3
χ^2	-	0.69	0.27	0.33	2.3
p	-	0.41	0.60	0.56	0.13
total	79	37	22	13	7
% of baseline firing rate (mean \pm s.e.)			178 \pm 15%	68 \pm 3%	203 \pm 30% 62 \pm 7%

Table 4. Subject symptom severity is not correlated with unit speech response types.

Correlation with Speech UPDRS	proportion of units by response type			
	increase-type	decrease-type	speech-locked	cue-locked
Spearman ρ	0.28	0.08	0.39	0.45
p-value	0.44	0.82	0.27	0.20
Correlation with Total UPDRS	proportion of units by response type			
	increase-type	decrease-type	speech-locked	cue-locked
Spearman ρ	0.04	-0.03	-0.51	-0.30
p-value	0.92	0.92	0.11	0.36

Table 5. Unit type and sort quality do not determine locking type.

	total	locked to cue	locked to production onset	locked to both
A sort units	29	5	9	2
B sort units	20	5	6	0
χ^2	-	0.44	0.006	1.44
p	-	0.51	0.94	0.23
Single units	19	3	5	1
Multi units	30	7	10	1
χ^2	-	0.41	0.27	0.11
p	-	0.52	0.60	0.74
total	49	10	15	2

Table 6. Dissociation between cue-locking decreases and speech-locking increases of firing.

	total	locked to cue	locked to production onset	locked to both
Increase-type responses	29	2 (7%)	12 (41%)	2 (7%)
Decrease-type responses	20	8 (40%)	3 (15%)	0 (0%)
χ^2	-	7.99	3.89	1.44
p	-	0.0047*	0.049*	0.23
total	49	10	15	2