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5	The relationship between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary
6	abilities in children: Insights from by-group and continuous analyses
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30	

31 Abstract Purpose: To explore the relationship between speech perception, speech production, and 32 33 vocabulary abilities in children with and without speech sound disorders (SSDs), analyzing 34 the data both by group and continuously. Method: Sixty-one Australian-English speaking children aged 48-69 months participated in 35 36 this study. Children's speech production abilities ranged along the continuum from SSDs 37 through to typical speech. Their vocabulary abilities ranged along the continuum from typical 38 to above average ("lexically precocious"). Children completed routine speech and language 39 assessments in addition to an experimental Australian-English lexical and phonetic judgment task. 40 Results: When analyzing data by group, there was no significant difference between the 41 speech perception ability of children with versus without SSDs. Children with above average 42 vocabularies had significantly better speech perception ability than children with average 43 44 vocabularies. When analyzing data continuously, speech production and vocabulary were both significant positive predictors of variance in speech perception ability; both individually 45 in simple linear regression and when combined in multiple linear regression. There was also a 46 47 significant positive correlation between perception and production of two of the four target phonemes tested—/k/ and /f/—among children in the SSD group. 48 Conclusion: Results from this study provide further insight into the complex relationship 49 between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities in children. While 50 there is a clinical and important need for categorical distinctions between SSDs and typically 51 developing speech, findings further highlight the value of investigating speech production 52 and vocabulary abilities continuously as well as categorically. By capturing the heterogeneity 53 among children's speech production and vocabulary abilities, we can advance our 54 understanding of SSDs in children. 55

3

While learning to talk, children develop their abilities to perceive, store, and say 56 words. When perceiving speech, children create and process sound-based representations 57 58 from acoustic input (Rvachew & Brosseau-Lapré, 2018). The creation of sound-based representations in infancy is thought to contribute to early speech production (Kuhl, 2004; 59 Vihman, 2017) and the development of children's vocabulary knowledge (Werker & 60 Gervain, 2013; Werker & Yeung, 2005). These abilities are believed to be interconnected 61 62 (Massaro & Chen, 2008; Rvachew, 2007; Rvachew & Grawburg, 2006). The Relationship Between Speech Perception and Speech Production: What Do We 63 64 **Know?** Our understanding of the relationship between speech perception, speech production, 65 and vocabulary is incomplete, particularly when we consider children with speech sound 66 disorders (SSDs). SSDs refer to "any combination of difficulties with the perception, 67 articulation/motor production, and/or phonological representation of speech...that may 68 impact speech intelligibility and acceptability" (International Expert Panel on Multilingual 69 Children's Speech, 2012). The representation-based account of SSDs in children posits that 70 children with SSDs have underspecified or poor quality underlying phonological 71 representations for words (e.g., Edwards et al., 1999; Geronikou & Rees, 2016; Sutherland & 72 Gillon, 2005). This means they may also be at risk for difficulties in other abilities that rely 73 on underlying phonological representations—such as speech perception, phonological 74

awareness (PA), and vocabulary (Benway et al., 2021). Speech perception is integral to

forming robust underlying phonological representations of words (Edwards et al., 1999;

77 Munson et al., 2010), and difficulties with speech perception are thought to underlie

78 difficulties in speech production (Hearnshaw et al., 2019; Munson et al., 2011; Rvachew &

79 Grawburg, 2006; Rvachew & Jamieson, 1989). However, only some, not all, children with

SSDs are reported to have poorer speech perception compared with their typically developing
peers (Hearnshaw et al., 2019). It is unclear why this is the case.

82 This perspective of speech perception influencing speech production aligns with the psycholinguistic box-and-arrow model proposed by Stackhouse and Wells (1997) to illustrate 83 the steps involved in speech processing. In this model, words are first perceived, then mapped 84 onto a lexical representation which encompasses a range of information including 85 phonological and semantic (Baker et al., 2001; Stackhouse & Wells, 1997). These 86 87 representations are then accessed to produce a word. This unidirectional relationship of 88 speech perception influencing speech production also aligns with the majority of research identified in a systematic review and meta-analysis conducted by Hearnshaw et al. (2019), 89 where difficulties in speech perception appeared to lead to difficulties with speech production 90 in children aged 3;0-7;11. 91

This hypothesis that a broad perceptual difficulty underlies SSDs in children drove 92 early research in the field (e.g., Cohen & Diehl, 1963; Sommers et al., 1972; Travis & 93 Rasmus, 1931). However, in Locke's (1980a, 1980b) landmark papers, he proposed instead 94 that children with SSDs may have particular problems with perception of sounds or contrasts 95 they produce incorrectly. Since Locke, the search for a specific perception difficulty among 96 children with SSDs has dominated research efforts (e.g., Geronikou & Rees, 2016; Rvachew 97 & Jamieson, 1989; Shuster, 1998). In most of these studies, researchers have recruited 98 children with specific speech errors. For example, in a study of 7-year-old children with /s/ 99 errors, Rvachew and Jamieson (1989) found that "children with articulation errors 100 demonstrate speech perception difficulties that are specific to the misarticulated sound and/or 101 its substitution rather than perceptual difficulties that are generalized to many speech sounds" 102 (p. 205). They further stated that "the present results lend more support to the hypothesis that 103 it is the speech perception deficit that causes, or contributes to, the articulation disorder." (p. 104

207). A relationship between perception and production of /1/ errors in children aged 7 to 9 105 (Cabbage et al., 2016) and 7 to 13 (Shuster, 1998) has also been reported. However, not all 106 107 studies have found evidence of phoneme-specific perceptual errors in children with SSDs. For example, although Edwards et al. (2002) found a significant difference between children 108 with SSDs and children with typically developing speech in their performance on a speech 109 perception task based on discrimination of final consonants, this difference "could not be 110 attributed to a particular error pattern, because children with final consonant deletion did not 111 perform more poorly than children without final consonant deletion." (Edwards et al., 2002, 112 113 p. 240). Additionally, Brosseau-Lapré et al. (2020) summarized that while many children with SSDs present with phoneme-specific speech perception difficulties for phonemes they 114 produce incorrectly, "most children with SSD present with broader perceptual difficulties ... 115 their underlying phonological representations of words may be generally poorer than their 116 peers with TD" (p. 3608). 117

118 When considering the representation-based approach and evidence from previous research, speech perception appears to be integral to speech production (Edwards et al., 1999; 119 Hearnshaw et al., 2019; Munson et al., 2010). If we are to better understand the nature of 120 121 SSDs in children, we need to further consider the role of speech perception and how children build their underlying representations of words. Given that underlying representations of 122 words include semantic and lexical knowledge, as well as phonological (Baker et al., 2001; 123 Stackhouse & Wells, 1997), studying children's vocabulary knowledge might offer much 124 needed insights into the nature of underlying representations in children with SSDs. 125

## 126 The Relationship Between Speech Perception and Vocabulary: What Do We Know?

The presence of a relationship between speech perception and vocabulary is well
supported (e.g., Benway et al., 2021; Edwards et al., 2002; Mills et al., 2004; Rvachew &
Grawburg, 2006; Werker et al., 2002). However, the nature of this relationship is different

from that between speech perception and speech production. Unlike speech production where
4- to 5-year-old children are expected to have acquired most of their speech sounds and have
intelligible speech (McLeod & Crowe, 2018), children are not expected to have learnt all the
words they will ever know by the age of four or five. Similarly, for speech perception, while
4- to 5-year-old children are expected to be able to perceive words and phonemic contrasts,
researchers have found that speech perception abilities are not "adultlike" until after children
are 12 years old (Hazan & Barrett, 2000; Rvachew & Brosseau-Lapré, 2018).

Although young children's early words are thought to be stored holistically 137 138 (Gruenenfelder & Pisoni, 2009; Metsala, 1997; Storkel, 2002) and are influenced by their developing speech perception abilities (McAllister Byun & Tessier, 2016; Samuelson, 2021), 139 vocabulary growth is also thought to influence the development of more detailed and 140 segmented underlying representations of words (Gruenenfelder & Pisoni, 2009; Metsala, 141 1997; Storkel, 2002). This influence of vocabulary on speech perception has been described 142 143 in the lexical restructuring hypothesis, which posits that underlying representations of words in the lexicon become more detailed and segmented to allow for storage and retrieval of 144 similar words as children's vocabularies grow (Gruenenfelder & Pisoni, 2009; Metsala, 1997; 145 146 Storkel, 2002). The lexical restructuring hypothesis aligns with research showing a positive relationship between the size of infants' vocabularies and the ability to perceive finer 147 phonetic detail in speech (Mills et al., 2004; Werker et al., 2002). It also aligns with and 148 explains the pattern of development of PA abilities-from awareness of larger segments such 149 as words and syllables when the vocabulary is smaller, through to awareness of smaller 150 segments such as phonemes as the vocabulary expands (Rvachew & Brosseau-Lapré, 2018; 151 Rvachew & Grawburg, 2006; Sutherland & Gillon, 2005). 152

But what do we know about the vocabulary knowledge of children with SSDs?Children who are hypothesized to have poorer underlying representations of words. Reports

of vocabulary knowledge in children with SSDs are mixed. Munson et al. (2011) reported 155 that "children with SSD typically have appropriately-sized vocabularies for their age. Though 156 157 some studies do report that children with SSD have slightly smaller-sized vocabularies than their peers without SSD, they are typically well above conventional cutoffs for language 158 impairment." (p. 26). By contrast, some research has shown that children with SSDs are at 159 risk for concomitant language impairment (e.g., Eadie et al., 2015; Macrae & Tyler, 2014; 160 Shriberg & Kwiatkowski, 1994). However, when the means, standard deviations, and ranges 161 of vocabulary scores reported within the speech perception literature are closely inspected, 162 163 there is also evidence of children with above average vocabulary abilities within SSD groups (e.g., Benway et al., 2021; Brosseau-Lapré & Schumaker, 2020; Edwards et al., 2002; 164 Monnin & Huntington, 1974; Rvachew, 2007; Rvachew & Grawburg, 2006; Rvachew et al., 165 2003). Children with above average vocabulary abilities for their age may be referred to as 166 "lexically precocious". In previous studies of 2-year-old children, lexically precocious talkers 167 168 have been classified as those with an expressive vocabulary score above the 90th percentile (e.g., Kehoe et al., 2015; Kehoe et al., 2018), or those with expressive vocabulary scores at or 169 above the 85th percentile (Smith et al., 2006). Smith et al. (2006) proposed that "children 170 171 who can perceive and produce a greater number of phonemic contrasts should be more successful at comprehending input, more experienced at producing output, and thereby may 172 more easily learn new words." (p. 370). Their proposition also supports a positive 173 relationship between speech perception and vocabulary abilities. However, across the speech 174 perception literature, as a group, children with SSDs and above average vocabulary have not 175 been specifically examined or discussed. 176

To summarize, not all children with SSDs have problems with vocabulary. In fact, in
some cases their vocabulary may be above average (e.g., Benway et al., 2021; BrosseauLapré & Schumaker, 2020; Edwards et al., 2002; Monnin & Huntington, 1974; Rvachew,

2007; Rvachew & Grawburg, 2006; Rvachew et al., 2003). Speech perception, speech
production, and vocabulary are all connected and involved in building underlying
representations (Benway et al., 2021; Massaro & Chen, 2008; Rvachew, 2007; Rvachew &
Grawburg, 2006). To better understand the underlying nature of children with SSDs, we need
to examine research that has considered all three abilities: speech perception, speech
production, and vocabulary.

# The Relationship Between Speech Perception, Speech Production, and Vocabulary in Children With SSDs: What Do We Know?

188 Few researchers have studied all three abilities in children with SSDs. In a study specifically focused on speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary, Edwards et al. 189 (2002) found a significant difference in perception of final consonants between children with 190 SSDs and typically developing speech. They also performed a multiple regression analysis 191 examining the effects of age, receptive and expressive vocabulary, and speech production on 192 193 perception of final consonants. Receptive vocabulary (accounting for 31% variance) and speech production raw score (accounting for 8.2% variance) were the two significant 194 predictors of speech perception performance. Rvachew and Brosseau-Lapré (2015) also 195 196 considered perception, production, and vocabulary in a randomized trial of different intervention approaches targeted at improving speech production in French-speaking 4-year-197 old children with SSDs. They found that targeting speech perception in therapy sessions 198 alongside vocabulary at home (via dialogic reading) led to improvements in speech 199 production (Rvachew & Brosseau-Lapré, 2015). Additionally, this improvement in speech 200 201 production was comparable to that made by children who had targeted speech production in therapy and home practice (Rvachew & Brosseau-Lapré, 2015). 202 Other researchers have studied speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary 203

204 abilities within the context of other related abilities that also depend on underlying

representations. For example, Rvachew and Grawburg (2006) examined PA abilities of 4- to 205 5-year-old children with SSDs. They found that speech perception and receptive vocabulary 206 207 were linked in children with SSDs. Speech perception and receptive vocabulary both influenced PA abilities—speech perception did so directly as well as indirectly mediated by 208 receptive vocabulary (Rvachew & Grawburg, 2006). Benway et al. (2021) examined the 209 relationship between PA, speech perception, and vocabulary in 7- to 17-year-old children 210 211 with SSDs. They found that speech perception and vocabulary both significantly predicted PA ability, however, unlike in preschool-age children there did not appear to be an indirect 212 213 effect of speech perception mediated by receptive vocabulary (Benway et al., 2021).

These studies provide insight into the relationship between speech perception, speech 214 production, and vocabulary in children with SSDs. However, there is scope to expand on and 215 add to this research. Specifically, these previous studies have included children with 216 vocabulary scores that place them in the average to above average range. In previous studies 217 218 that have analyzed vocabulary as a continuous measure, vocabulary has been considered across the full range of abilities included within each study—including advanced 219 vocabulary-but in most cases, the role of advanced vocabulary on speech perception and 220 production has not been explicitly discussed. One exception is Benway et al. (2021) who 221 acknowledged that the overall high receptive vocabulary scores of their participants may have 222 contributed to their findings that vocabulary did not mediate the relationship between speech 223 perception and PA. Children with SSDs and precocious vocabularies present a conundrum 224 regarding the quality of their phonological representations and speech perception abilities. 225 Based on their SSD, we might expect these children to present with poor speech perception 226 abilities. On the other hand, based on their larger vocabularies, we might expect them to 227 present with robust speech perception abilities. Edwards et al.'s (2002) finding that 228 vocabulary was the strongest predictor of speech perception ability in their model (accounting 229

for 31% variance), would suggest that these children are more likely to present with robust
speech perception abilities. However, this requires further investigation. Children with
precocious vocabularies therefore provide a unique opportunity to study the complex
relationship between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary knowledge, and
to understand the contribution of speech perception to both speech production and vocabulary
knowledge. A valuable way to gain further insight would be by considering results from both
by-group and continuous analyses.

### 237 A Continuous Approach to Studying the Relationship Between Speech Perception,

## 238 Speech Production, and Vocabulary

Children's speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities can be 239 studied in one of two ways-comparing abilities according to preassigned "impaired", 240 "typical", or "above average" groups, or along a continuum from weaker to stronger abilities. 241 When we allocate children to pre-defined groups based on their ability—using, for example, 242 a percentile cut-off—we are placing an arbitrary distinction in an already continuous 243 measure. Such cut-points are based on a potentially faulty assumption: that each group is 244 categorically different from the other group. By-group comparisons have traditionally been 245 used in clinical research as they offer clinically relevant insights. However, they also obscure 246 within-group variability and heterogeneity between children's abilities (Perry & Kucker, 247 2019). Another option is to consider abilities as continuous measures along a spectrum. 248 Analyzing as a continuous measure enables us to examine the true influence of raw ability 249 and to examine individual differences between children (Iacobucci et al., 2015; Perry & 250 Kucker, 2019). This also addresses potential issues with "median-splitting" data; such as less 251 information about individual participants and performance; loss of power; and where 252 multicollinearity is present, Type I errors (Iacobucci et al., 2015). 253

Perry and Kucker (2019) reflected that heterogeneity between children's abilities 254 "highlights the importance of understanding both group differences and individual variation 255 256 in characterizing atypical populations" (p. 556). Motivated by this idea, they conducted a study with late-talking children. They used both by-group (t-test, ANOVA) and continuous 257 (mixed-effects regression) methods to analyze the same data. A *t*-test showed that both 258 groups demonstrated an important word learning milestone (the shape bias); an ANOVA 259 260 showed that while each group demonstrated the bias, late talkers lagged behind their peers with typical language; a continuous mixed-effects regression demonstrated qualitative 261 262 differences between the groups in that the shape bias was related to vocabulary structure for children with typical language, but not late talkers (Perry & Kucker, 2019). Perry and Kucker 263 (2019) highlighted the different conclusions that could be drawn from each analysis and 264 acknowledged the value of continuous analysis; particularly with regards to understanding 265 heterogeneity, individual abilities, and the range of abilities of children. 266

267 To date, different combinations of speech perception, speech production, and/or vocabulary have been considered as continuous measures in some studies with children with 268 SSDs focused on underlying representations (e.g., Benway et al., 2021; Brosseau-Lapré & 269 Roepke, 2019; Edwards et al., 2002; Preston & Edwards, 2010; Rvachew, 2007; Rvachew & 270 Grawburg, 2006). The variable of interest for these continuous analyses was PA-with the 271 exception of Edwards et al. (2002) where it was speech perception, and Rvachew (2007) 272 where it was reading ability. Brosseau-Lapré and Roepke (2019), Edwards et al. (2002), and 273 Rvachew (2007) used both by-group and continuous analyses. Edwards et al. (2002) 274 performed ANOVA as their main analyses comparing speech perception performance 275 between groups—age groups in Experiment 1 and SSD versus typically developing speech 276 groups in Experiment 2. In their discussion they also reported results from a multiple 277 regression analysis including speech perception, age, receptive and expressive vocabulary, 278

and speech production as continuous variables (Edwards et al., 2002). Based on means and 279 standard deviations reported in their paper, Experiment 2 included some children with above 280 average vocabulary within the SSD group. However, above average vocabulary was not 281 specifically discussed. Additionally, in their study, the SSD group presented with 282 significantly lower receptive and expressive vocabulary scores than the typically developing 283 speech group. In the studies by Brosseau-Lapré and Roepke (2019) and Rvachew (2007), the 284 by-group and continuous analyses had different focuses. In Brosseau-Lapré and Roepke 285 (2019), their by-group analysis examined different types of speech errors produced by 286 287 children with SSDs versus typically developing speech, while their continuous analysis examined the relationship between different types of speech errors and PA abilities. In 288 Rvachew (2007), their by-group analyses compared performance across a range of abilities in 289 three groups of children—SSDs with low phonological processing abilities, SSDs with high 290 phonological processing abilities, and typically developing speech. Their continuous analysis 291 examined the predictive relationship between speech perception and PA abilities before 292 starting kindergarten, and reading ability in grade one (Rvachew, 2007). 293 Analyzing data by-group and continuously provides two ways of examining the same 294 295 phenomenon. Each method can bring a different and valuable perspective to understanding children's abilities. Our study will expand on and add to previous research by using 296 complementary by-group and continuous analyses with a sample of children with SSDs and 297 typically developing speech, with vocabulary abilities ranging from average to precocious, 298 focusing on speech perception as an outcome measure for both by-group and continuous 299

analyses. With this approach we seek to advance our understanding of the relationship

301 between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary.

**302 Aim and Hypotheses** 

303	The aim of this study was to explore the relationship between speech perception,
304	speech production, and vocabulary abilities in 4- to 5-year-old children with and without
305	SSDs, with typical through to precocious vocabulary abilities. We were specifically
306	interested in further understanding the relationship between a) speech perception and speech
307	production, and b) speech perception and vocabulary, each from the perspective of the
308	representation-based account. That is, we considered speech perception as the dependent
309	variable. We investigated these children's speech perception abilities in two ways-by-group
310	based on speech production and vocabulary ability, and then by considering both speech
311	production and vocabulary abilities, each along a continuum.
312	1. In the by-group analysis, we classified children as either presenting with SSD or
313	typical development in speech production. We also classified children as either having
314	average or precocious vocabulary abilities. Our research question was:
315	Is there a significant difference in speech perception ability between children with
316	SSDs and those with typically developing speech, and children with average
317	vocabulary and those with precocious vocabulary?
318	We predicted poorer speech perception in the SSD speech production group than in
319	the typical speech production group. We also predicted poorer speech perception in
320	the average vocabulary group than in the precocious vocabulary group.
321	2. In the continuous analysis, we treated speech perception, speech production, and
322	vocabulary scores as continuous variables. Our research question was:
323	Do speech production and vocabulary abilities account for variance in speech
324	perception ability?
325	We predicted that both would account for variance in speech perception.
326	Method
227	Darticipants

327 Participants

We recruited 67 children aged 48-69 months (36 boys, 31 girls), from Canberra, 328 Australian Capital Territory (ACT), Australia, and the surrounding region via advertisements 329 330 on parenting group social media sites and in private speech pathology clinics. Inclusion criteria were: children speaking Australian-English; normal hearing (based on a hearing 331 screening); and normal oral musculature structure and function (based on Robbins & Klee, 332 1987). Exclusion criteria were: children with childhood apraxia of speech (CAS) or 333 childhood dysarthria; children with an identified cause for their speech difficulty including 334 cleft palate or hearing loss; and children with a diagnosed developmental delay or autism. 335 336 We conducted a power analysis using the average effect size from studies included in Hearnshaw et al.'s (2019) systematic review. The average effect size was calculated based on 337 36 available effect sizes across 25 papers comparing differences in speech perception ability 338 between children with SSDs and typically developing speech. The average Cohen's d was 339 1.50. Using this effect size, for 80% power the necessary total sample size would be 18 340 341 participants (nine per group). We also looked at a smaller subset of papers included in Hearnshaw et al.'s (2019) meta-analysis. These studies all used lexical and phonetic 342 judgment tasks which is the type of speech perception assessment task used in the current 343 study. The average Cohen's *d* based on eight available effect sizes from Hearnshaw et al.'s 344 (2019) meta-analysis was 1.14. Using this effect size, for 80% power the necessary total 345 sample size would be 28 participants (14 per group). 346 Of the 67 children recruited as participants, six were excluded from final analysis. 347

Three children completed only one of the two required assessment sessions. Two children did not pass the hearing screening in either session. One other child was excluded due to noncompliance across multiple tasks. Hence, we included results from 61 participants (31 boys, 30 girls) in our analyses.

The children's socioeconomic status (SES) was quantified based on (i) mother's 352 highest education level and (ii) residential postcode. The mean and median highest education 353 354 level for children's mothers was a completed bachelor's degree. Highest education level ranged from completion of Year 10 in high school (11 years of formal schooling) through to 355 completion of a postgraduate qualification. For residential postcode, The "Index of Relative 356 357 Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage" (IRSAD; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018) was used based on data collected in the 2016 Australian census. A decile of 1 358 represents the most disadvantaged areas, while a decile of 10 represents the most advantaged 359 360 areas. For rank within Australia, the mean decile score was 9.5, the median was 10, and the range was 8–10. 361

For research question one, children were divided into two speech groups based on 362 their performance on the Diagnostic Evaluation of Articulation and Phonology (DEAP) -363 Phonology Assessment (Dodd et al., 2002). The SSD group included 30 children (15 boys, 15 364 365 girls) with SSDs characterized by a range of phonological error patterns (e.g., stopping, cluster reduction, velar fronting, palatal fronting, deaffrication) and/or articulation-based 366 errors (e.g., interdental lisp, lateral lisp). For phonological errors, children were allocated to 367 the SSD group based on having at least five instances in the DEAP-Phonology Assessment 368 (Dodd et al., 2002) of at least one phonological pattern-based error not appropriate for their 369 age as per Appendix D from the DEAP Manual (Dodd et al., 2002). For articulation-based 370 errors, both the DEAP Manual (Dodd et al., 2002) and extant literature were considered. 371 Specifically, although Appendix A from the DEAP Manual (Dodd et al., 2002) stipulates that 372 sibilants /s, z/ are in the consonant inventories of 90% of children by the age of 3;5, other 373 researchers such as Smit (1993) suggest that some children's productions of these sibilants 374 may be age-appropriate despite being "slightly distorted", while other distortions may be 375 deemed "clinically significant". Therefore, the first two authors classified children with 376

clinically significant distortions (e.g., lateralization or interdentalization of sibilants 377 impacting intelligibility) on more than 50% of opportunities in the DEAP-Phonology 378 379 Assessment (Dodd et al., 2002) as also presenting with SSDs. Regarding severity of SSD, based on the Therapy Outcome Measures (Enderby & John, 2019), 20/30 children presented 380 with a mild SSD, 6/30 with a moderate SSD, 1/30 with a severe/moderate SSD, and 3/30 with 381 a severe SSD. For children with a phonological-based SSD (n = 18), severity was determined 382 by number of age-inappropriate phonological processes. For children with an articulation-383 based SSD (n = 12), severity was determined by the number and nature of articulation errors 384 385 (Enderby & John, 2019). The TD group included 31 children (16 boys, 15 girls) with typically developing speech. These children presented with no age-inappropriate 386 phonological pattern-based errors and no clinically significant sibilant distortions. For 387 research question two, children's speech production abilities were considered continuously. 388 Children's raw scores on the DEAP-Phonology Assessment (Dodd et al., 2002) ranged from 389 390 38-141 (out of a total of 141), with an average of 116. These raw scores were calculated based on percentage of consonants correct (PCC) from the 50-word sample as per the DEAP-391 Phonology Assessment form. 392

393 For research question one, children were also divided into two vocabulary groups following assessment: the lexically precocious group and the average vocabulary group. No 394 children presented with below average vocabulary. We classed 28 children as having 395 "lexically precocious" vocabulary as they scored at or above the 85<sup>th</sup> percentile on both the 396 Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test – 4 (PPVT-4; Dunn & Dunn, 2007) and the Expressive One 397 Word Picture Vocabulary Test – 4 (EOWPVT-4; Martin & Brownell, 2011). Of the 28 398 lexically precocious children, 12 were in the SSD group and 16 were in the TD group. We 399 chose the criteria of receptive and expressive vocabulary scores at or above the 85<sup>th</sup> percentile 400 because these scores are greater than one standard deviation above the mean and considered 401

"moderately high" to "extremely high" scores according to the PPVT-4 test form (Dunn & 402 Dunn, 2007). This also aligns with the expressive vocabulary cut-off used by Smith et al. 403 404 (2006) in their study of lexically precocious 2-year-olds. We included both receptive and expressive vocabulary in our criteria as we were interested in both receptive and expressive 405 vocabulary in our analyses. For research question two, children's vocabulary abilities were 406 considered continuously. Children's raw scores on the PPVT-4 (Dunn & Dunn, 2007) ranged 407 from 54-135, with an average of 99. Children's raw scores on the EOWPVT-4 (Martin & 408 Brownell, 2011) ranged from 37-108, with an average of 76. 409

Children also passed a pure tone audiometric hearing screening at 30dB for 500Hz,
1000 Hz, 2000 Hz, and 4000 Hz. This conservative approach of 30dB was taken to adjust for
screening in homes which may be noisier environments compared with research labs or
soundproof booths (see, for example, McLeod et al., 2017 who used a more conservative cutoff of 40dB). All children presented with age-appropriate oral structures and functions based
on Robbins and Klee (1987), and no significant medical conditions or other developmental
concerns as noted by parent report. Table 1 displays participant characteristics.

417 **Procedure** 

Children were seen in their homes for two testing sessions, one week apart. Each
session lasted 60 to 120 minutes. This research project was approved by the University of
Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC; Project Number 2017/887). Sessions
were audio and video recorded with parents' consent.

422 Children's speech production and receptive and expressive vocabulary abilities were 423 assessed using standardized tests as reported in the *Participants* section. At the beginning of 424 the first session, before completing the first module of the speech perception task, children 425 were also asked to name picture cards depicting the eight target words used in the speech 426 perception task: "cat, coat, chain, chin, rat, rope, sheet, shoe". This task ensured children427 were familiar with the target words to be presented in the speech perception task.

#### 428 Experimental Australian-English Speech Perception Task

Speech perception abilities were assessed using an experimental computer-based 429 Australian-English lexical and phonetic judgment task developed and used in prior research 430 by Hearnshaw et al. (2018). The design and methodology of this task were based on 431 Rvachew's Speech Assessment and Interactive Learning System (SAILS) program (Rvachew, 432 2009); however, we developed our own guidelines for the number of stimuli and speakers 433 434 included, as well as speaker characteristics as summarized below (Hearnshaw et al., 2018). Stimuli from Australian-English speakers were presented using E-prime<sup>®</sup> 2.0 (Psychological 435 Software Tools Inc, 2014). 436

Speech Recordings. Speech samples were collected from 27 Australian-English 437 speakers. Each speaker was recorded saying eight different words-"cat, coat, chain, chin, 438 rat, rope, sheet, shoe"—across four different word-initial phonemes—/k, ff, I, ſ/. Twenty-four 439 productions of each word were included in the task; spoken by three male and three female 440 adults and three male and three female children with accurate speech productions, and six 441 male and six female children with speech errors. A range of speech errors were included for 442 each phoneme-for example, common phonological errors such as fronting, stopping, 443 deaffrication, and gliding, as well as distortion errors such as interdentalization and 444 lateralization. Some of these speech errors were similar to those made by children in the 445 current study. The 24 samples of each target word were allocated evenly across two modules 446 per word. Hence, the tool included a total of 192 speech samples across 16 modules. Lexical 447 and phonetic accuracy of each sample was determined by 100% consensus of the first two 448 authors. These codings were then assigned within E-prime<sup>®</sup>. 449

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Speech Perception Task Procedure. Children listened to four blocks of 48 words 450 across the two sessions; one at the beginning and end of each session. In session one, the first 451 452 block was presented as the second activity; immediately following the familiarization production task, while in session two, the first block was presented as the first activity. The 453 order of presentation of stimuli and modules was randomized for each child. Blocks 454 contained four modules; one per phoneme. For example, a child may have listened to "sheet, 455 456 cat, chain, rat" at the beginning of session one and end of session two and "shoe, coat, chin, rope" at the end of session one and beginning of session two. Wilcoxon signed-rank tests 457 458 were used to compare speech perception performance in session one versus session two and at the beginning versus the end of each session. All comparisons were non-significant, p > p459 .05. 460

Each module was presented on a laptop screen. Children listened to three practice 461 items followed by 12 examples of a single target word, each spoken by a different speaker. 462 Children used both lexical (i.e., target word) and phonetic (i.e., clear phoneme) judgment to 463 decide whether each presentation was a correct or incorrect example of the target word. They 464 indicated their decision by pressing either a happy face (for correct productions) or sad face 465 (for incorrect productions) button located on a Psychological Software Tools Serial Response 466 Box<sup>TM</sup>. Children's response accuracy was recorded by E-prime<sup>®</sup> and listed against the 467 codings allocated by the first two authors. Two pictures were shown on the laptop screen 468 during each module—one depicting the target word and the other depicting the target word 469 covered by a red cross-to facilitate judgment of accurate and inaccurate productions of the 470 target word. The position of these pictures corresponded with the position of the happy and 471 sad face buttons on the Serial Response Box<sup>TM</sup> (i.e., correct picture on the left, happy face 472 button on the left; incorrect picture on the right, sad face button on the right). The end of each 473 module was indicated by a brief animated picture on the computer screen, which also served 474

as reinforcement. Children and the examiner wore headphones during administration of thespeech perception task.

#### 477 Reliability

The first author performed the initial transcriptions and also re-transcribed a randomly selected 10% of the *DEAP–Phonology Assessments* (Dodd et al., 2002). Point-by-point intrarater reliability was 97.8% based on 1320 points. The second author also transcribed the same randomly selected 10% of the *DEAP–Phonology Assessments* (Dodd et al., 2002). Point-bypoint inter-rater reliability was 96.1% based on 1320 points. Cohen's  $\kappa$  was calculated to determine if there was agreement between the two authors' transcriptions. There was substantial agreement,  $\kappa = .758$ , p < .001.

## 485 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using independent-samples t-tests and ANOVA for by-group 486 analyses, and simple and multiple linear regression for continuous analyses. The dependent 487 variable was speech perception ability-the total number of items correct on the novel speech 488 perception assessment task out of a total of 192 (range 88-182). A p-value less than .05 was 489 considered statistically significant. Effect sizes were calculated using Pearson's r and  $R^2$ , and 490 partial eta squared (partial  $\eta^2$ ). In line with Gaeta and Brydges (2020), r of .25 represents a 491 small effect, .40 a medium effect, and .65 a large effect.  $R^2$  of .06 represents a small effect, 492 .16 a medium effect, and .42 a large effect (based on Gaeta & Brydges, 2020). Partial  $\eta^2$  of 493 .01 represents a small effect, .06 a medium effect, and .14 a large effect (Cohen, 1977). 494 Analyses were completed using R (R Core Team, 2021; version 4.1.2) in Rstudio 495 (Rstudio Team, 2021; version 2021.09.0). Data manipulation and plotting were completed 496 using the tidyr (Wickham & Girlich, 2022; version 1.2.0) and ggplot2 (Wickham, 2016; 497 version 3.3.5) packages. 498

499

#### **Speech Production Groups** 501

502 Figure 1 shows a violin plot displaying overall performance on the speech perception task for the SSD and TD groups. Speech perception performance was quantified as total 503 number of items correct on the speech perception task out of a total of 192. An independent-504 samples *t*-test showed no significant difference in speech perception performance between 505 the SSD (M = 143.967, SD = 22.716) and TD (M = 153.484, SD = 15.438) groups, t(59) = 15.438506 1.919, p = .060, r = .240.507

508 Contrary to our first hypothesis, there was no significant difference in speech perception ability between SSD and TD groups. To investigate this unexpected finding, we 509 conducted post-hoc exploration of the relationships between perception and production of the 510 four target phonemes included in the speech perception task—/k,  $\mathfrak{t}$ ,  $\mathfrak{t}$ 511 See Supplemental Material 1 for an overview of perception performance on each phoneme 512 513 per group. In summary, there was no significant correlation between perception and production of any of the four phonemes for the TD group, and two of the four phonemes—/tf, 514 I/—for the SSD group. There was a significant moderate positive correlation between 515 perception and production of the other two target phonemes for the SSD group:  $\frac{k}{r} = .416$ , 516 p = .022) and /f/ (r = .539, p = .002). 517

#### Vocabulary Groups 518

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Figure 2 shows a violin plot displaying overall performance on the speech perception 519 task for the average vocabulary and precocious vocabulary groups. An independent-samples 520 *t*-test showed a significant difference in speech perception performance between the average 521 vocabulary (M = 144.09, SD = 20.92) and precocious vocabulary (M = 154.36, SD = 17.11) 522 groups, *t*(59) = 2.074, *p* = .042, *r* = .259.

#### Speech Production and Vocabulary Groups 524

When speech production and vocabulary were considered in the same model, a twoway ANOVA showed a significant main effect of vocabulary group on speech perception performance, F(1, 58) = 4.079, p = .048, partial  $\eta^2 = .066$ . There was not a significant effect of speech production group on speech perception performance, F(1, 58) = 3.876, p = .054, partial  $\eta^2 = .063$ .

Note the standard deviation of 22.716 in the SSD group reported in the *Speech Production Groups* section, which shows large variability in speech perception performance
across children with SSDs (see also Figure 1). As per recommendations from Perry and
Kucker (2019), next we analyzed the data continuously to further explore this heterogeneity
and variability, and to further consider the role of vocabulary in this relationship.

# 535 Speech Production, Vocabulary, and Speech Perception: Continuous Analyses

### 536 Speech Production and Speech Perception

A simple linear regression analysis was run to examine whether speech production accuracy (*DEAP–Phonology Assessment* raw score) accounted for variance in overall speech perception performance. Figure 3 shows a scatterplot of this relationship, as well as showing individual children's scores on the speech production and speech perception tasks. Speech production accuracy was a significant predictor of variance in speech perception performance; accounting for 16.7% of variance, F(1, 59) = 11.85, p = .001,  $R^2 = .167$  (see Table 2a for coefficients and confidence intervals).

#### 544 Vocabulary and Speech Perception

A simple linear regression analysis was run to examine whether receptive (*PPVT-4* raw score) and expressive vocabulary (*EOWPVT-4* raw score) accounted for variance in overall speech perception performance. Since multicollinearity was present between receptive and expressive vocabulary (r = .816, p < .001) and our categorical measure of lexically precocious was determined using both the receptive and expressive measures, we calculated a single composite vocabulary score averaging across *PPVT-4* and *EOWPVT-4* raw scores for each child. As the *PPVT-4* and *EOWPVT-4* tests are each scored on a different scale, we converted each measure to a z-score before averaging across receptive and expressive vocabulary. Figure 4 shows a scatterplot of the relationship between combined vocabulary zscore and overall speech perception accuracy. Vocabulary was a significant predictor of variance in speech perception performance; accounting for 20.3% of variance, F(1, 59) =15.02, p < .001,  $R^2 = .203$  (see Table 2b for coefficients and confidence intervals).

#### 557 Speech Production, Vocabulary, and Speech Perception

558 A multiple linear regression analysis was run to examine the influences of speech production accuracy (DEAP-Phonology Assessment raw score) and vocabulary (mean z-score 559 calculated from PPVT-4 and EOWPVT-4 raw scores) on overall speech perception 560 performance. Speech production accounted for 6.8% of unique variance in overall speech 561 perception performance and was a significant predictor, p = .024. Vocabulary accounted for 562 563 10.3% of unique variance and was also a significant predictor, p = .006. These two variables combined contributed significantly to speech perception and accounted for 27.1% of variance 564 in overall speech perception performance, F(2, 58) = 10.76, p < .001,  $R^2 = .271$  (see Table 2c 565 for coefficients and confidence intervals). 566

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#### Discussion

In this study we examined the relationship between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities in Australian-English speaking 4- to 5-year-old children along a continuum from SSDs through to typical speech production, and typical through to precocious vocabulary abilities. When analyzed by group, there was no significant difference in speech perception abilities between children with SSDs and children with typically developing speech. There was a significant difference in speech perception abilities such that children with precocious vocabularies performed better than children with average vocabulary abilities. When analyzed continuously, both speech production and vocabulary
were significant predictors of variance in speech perception ability. We also found a
significant positive correlation between perception and production of two of the four target
phonemes—/k/ and /ʃ/—among children in the SSD group.

# 579 No Difference in Speech Perception Ability of Children With Versus Without SSDs:580 Why?

Unlike much of the previous literature and contrary to our first hypothesis, our results 581 did not show a significant difference in overall speech perception performance between 582 583 children in the SSD and TD groups. What are some possible reasons for this finding? Based on a power analysis using an effect size from the previous literature, the sample 584 size of this study should provide adequate power to find an effect. In both the by-group and 585 continuous analyses examining the relationship between speech perception and speech 586 production, the effect sizes were much smaller than the average of d = 1.50 and d = 1.14 from 587 the previous literature. For our by-group analysis comparing speech groups, the effect size 588 was r = .240 which converts to d = 0.494. For our continuous analysis including speech 589 production raw scores, the effect size was  $R^2 = .167$  which converts to d = 0.896. One 590 possible reason for the smaller effect sizes is the high number of children in the SSD group 591 with precocious vocabulary abilities. While we know that children with SSDs and precocious 592 vocabulary abilities have been included in previous research, in many of these studies we do 593 not know what number or proportion of children with SSDs have presented with precocious 594 vocabularies. One exception is Rvachew and Grawburg (2006) who have presented 595 individual results on their speech perception and receptive vocabulary assessments in Figure 596 2 of their paper. It is possible that our sample does not match many groups of children with 597 SSDs who have participated in previous research. 598

599 Setting aside effect sizes, the precocious vocabulary abilities of nearly half the 600 children in this study provide interesting insight into the relationship between speech 601 perception and speech production. Our findings suggest it is difficult to examine the 602 relationship between speech perception and speech production without also considering 603 vocabulary.

Another possible reason for the finding of no significant difference in overall speech 604 perception performance between children in the SSD and TD groups is because we did not 605 606 set-out to specifically assess perception of phonemes produced in error by these children. 607 Given the research supporting the presence of a phoneme-specific speech perception difficulty in children with SSDs (e.g., Monnin & Huntington, 1974; Rvachew & Jamieson, 608 1989), in assessing the same four phonemes across a mix of children, some who produced 609 these phonemes in error and others who produced them correctly, we may have missed the 610 presence of a phoneme-specific difficulty. However, based on other researchers such as 611 612 Brosseau-Lapré et al. (2020), children with SSDs may also be expected to present with broader perceptual difficulties, and hence, we may still expect to see an effect in this study. 613

#### 614 The Relationship Between Speech Perception and Production of Specific Phonemes

In this study, children who produced /k/ and /f/ incorrectly were also more likely to 615 perceive those phonemes incorrectly. This provides some support for a speech perception 616 difficulty specific to phonemes produced in error. However, we found significant 617 relationships between perception and production for only two out of four target phonemes: /k, 618 [/. Rvachew and Jamieson (1989) stated that "this relationship between speech production 619 errors and speech perception ability may not exist for all phoneme contrasts because the role 620 of auditory perception in the development of articulation skills may vary depending on the 621 particular phoneme being learned" (p. 200). Development may be playing a role in this 622 finding. /k/ and /J/ are the two earliest-developing of the four target phonemes and are age-623

appropriate sounds in production for 4- and 5-year-old children. However, /tf/ and /1/ especially /1/—are phonemes that may be too perceptually and/or motorically complex for 4and 5-year-old children to produce accurately (Cialdella et al., 2021; Preston et al., 2020). This finding suggests that there may be a relationship between perception and production of specific phonemes, however this may only be seen for phonemes that are within the expected phonemic repertoire for a child's age. This has implications for designing speech perception assessment tasks and which phonemes to assess in children at specific ages.

# 631 Speech Production and Vocabulary Predict Unique Variance in Speech Perception

632 Abilities

Speech production and vocabulary were both significant predictors of variance in 633 speech perception ability. For children with SSDs, the relationship between speech 634 perception and speech production has been well established in the literature, however there 635 has been less of a focus on the relationship between speech perception and vocabulary 636 637 (Hearnshaw et al., 2019). Given the emphasis in the research literature on the relationship between speech perception and speech production in children with SSDs, it is interesting that 638 in this study vocabulary predicted more variance in speech perception than that predicted by 639 speech production. Although, we note that this finding is consistent with Edwards et al. 640 (2002) who found that receptive vocabulary accounted for 31% variance in perception of 641 final consonants, while speech production accounted for 8.2% variance. Once again, the 642 greater range of vocabulary scores (in particular, high vocabulary scores) for children with 643 SSDs in the current sample is a possible explanation for this finding. 644

We also observed that speech production and vocabulary accounted for variance in speech perception both separately and when combined. On its own, speech production accounted for 16.7% of the variance in children's speech perception ability; with the inclusion of vocabulary, we were able to determine that 6.8% of this variance was unique to

speech production and 10.0% was shared with vocabulary (differences in decimal points due 649 to rounding). Similarly, vocabulary accounted for 20.3% of the variance in speech perception 650 651 ability, but only 10.3% of the variance was unique to vocabulary. The combined variance captures, in part, the other cognitive factors that affect children's performance on 652 standardized assessments (e.g., general language ability, attention, cognition, processing 653 speed, and memory). Thus, an advantage of linear regression is that the inclusion of multiple 654 variables allows researchers to better isolate the unique effects of each construct on their 655 outcome variable. Put another way, without the inclusion of vocabulary in the model, we 656 657 would be unable to determine the extent to which the variance accounted for by our measure of speech production (16.7%) was truly the result of differences in children's speech 658 production (6.8%) and not simply differences in general cognitive ability. The inclusion of 659 additional variables in our model would potentially further improve our ability to isolate the 660 effect of speech production and vocabulary. 661

662 While this study gives insight into the relationship between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities, as explained by Edwards et al. (2002), the directionality 663 of these relationships cannot be determined or confirmed by these results. Regarding speech 664 665 perception and speech production, while much research supports the perspective that speech perception influences speech production, researchers have also suggested other possible 666 directionalities (Hearnshaw et al., 2019). For example, speech production may influence 667 speech perception (e.g., Attoni et al., 2010; Monnin & Huntington, 1974); or there may be a 668 bidirectional relationship between speech perception and speech production, with each 669 influencing the other (e.g., McAllister Byun, 2012; Shuster, 1998). Regarding speech 670 perception and vocabulary, the lexical restructuring hypothesis provides evidence that 671 vocabulary growth influences development of speech perception (Gruenenfelder & Pisoni, 672 2009; Metsala, 1997; Storkel, 2002). However, other research supports the influence of 673

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speech perception on the development of vocabulary knowledge (e.g., McAllister Byun &
Tessier, 2016; Samuelson, 2021). This study adds to the body of research showing that
speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities appear to be related and are
worth considering in children with SSDs.

## 678

# What Did We Learn From By-Group Versus Continuous Analyses?

The complementary by-group and continuous analyses yielded results that provided different insights into our data. Looking at the *t*-test in isolation, we found no significant difference between the speech perception abilities of children with SSDs versus typically developing speech. This is in contrast with the majority of the previous literature that does show a difference between these groups (Hearnshaw et al., 2019). However, the continuous analyses showed that speech production did predict variance in speech perception abilities.

The lack of significant difference between the speech perception abilities of SSD 685 versus TD groups may align with conclusions from previous studies that some, but not all, 686 687 children with SSDs have speech perception difficulties (Hearnshaw et al., 2019). Heterogeneity between children may prevent group differences from being seen in the results. 688 There are many possible sources of heterogeneity; for example, general language ability, 689 attention, cognition, processing speed, and memory. By including children with SSDs along 690 the continuum from average to precocious vocabulary abilities, we know there are differences 691 between children within the SSD group. This was accounted for in the continuous analyses 692 but not in the *t*-tests. Despite this, by-group analyses also contribute important information, 693 and diagnosis and grouping can be important in clinical and research settings. However, we 694 695 should remember that these cut-points are arbitrary and not assume that all children in a particular group are the same. 696

#### 697 **Theoretical Implications**

Findings from this study have theoretical implications regarding the relationship 698 between speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities. Based on the 699 700 representation-based account of SSDs, children with SSDs are thought to have underspecified or poorer quality underlying phonological representations for words (e.g., Edwards et al., 701 1999; Geronikou & Rees, 2016; Sutherland & Gillon, 2005). Difficulties with speech 702 perception and the formation of robust acoustic-auditory representations for words have been 703 704 reported to underlie speech production errors in children with SSDs (e.g., Anthony et al., 2010; Brosseau-Lapré & Schumaker, 2020; Edwards et al., 1999; Munson et al., 2010). 705 706 However, the findings from our study align with other research in suggesting we need to better consider the heterogeneity among children, with the knowledge that not all children 707 with SSDs have difficulties with speech perception. For example, in our study, participant 43 708 presented with good speech perception, above average vocabulary, and poor speech 709 production. Participant 36 presented with good speech perception, average vocabulary, and 710 711 poor speech production. By contrast, Participant 29 presented with poor speech perception, average vocabulary, and poor speech production. What is the difference between these 712 children with SSDs who do and do not struggle with speech perception? 713

714 One consideration is motor ability. McAllister Byun and Tessier (2016) posited that motor performance and underlying representations work together as children learn to speak. 715 Some children with SSDs may have difficulty perceiving a word, which may in turn lead to 716 poorly specified underlying phonological representations, and an inability to create an 717 appropriate motor plan to produce speech. By contrast, some children with SSDs may have 718 adequate perception and well-specified underlying phonological representations, but perhaps 719 a reduced ability to create or access a suitable motor plan for speech production. This aligns 720 with the understanding that children's motor speech abilities and control improve with age 721 throughout childhood and even into adulthood (McAllister Byun & Tessier, 2016; Munson et 722

al., 2010). As discussed regarding the finding of shared variance between speech production
and vocabulary measures in this study, other abilities may contribute to speech perception (as
well as speech production and vocabulary) performance, for example, general language
ability, attention, cognition, processing speed, and memory. In summary, there does not
appear to be a one-size-fits-all theoretical explanation for the relationship between speech
perception, speech production, and vocabulary in children with SSDs.

### 729 Lessons Learned From Studying Children With Precocious Vocabularies

We know from previous research that children with poorer vocabulary abilities and 730 731 SSDs may have poorer speech perception than children with SSD-only or typically developing speech (e.g., Brosseau-Lapré et al., 2020; Nathan et al., 2004). Here we found that 732 children with higher scores on receptive-expressive vocabulary measures tended to have 733 stronger perceptual abilities. This aligns with previous research and supports the hypothesis 734 that knowing many words may be a protective factor for speech perception in children with 735 SSDs. With better specified underlying representations, children can potentially quickly 736 retrieve the motor plans for previously produced speech, which in turn may help speech 737 production (McAllister Byun & Tessier, 2016). This suggests that building a child's 738 vocabulary might improve the quality and robustness of their underlying representations 739 enough to support other areas such as speech perception or speech production. This aligns 740 with Rvachew and Brosseau-Lapré (2015)'s finding that building vocabulary at home via 741 dialogic reading, paired with speech perception training in therapy sessions led to 742 improvements in speech production abilities of French-speaking 4-year-old children with 743 SSDs. The clinical implications of this suggestion warrant further investigation. 744

745 Clinical Implications

Findings from this study add to the literature supporting the need for SpeechLanguage Pathologists (SLPs) to assess the speech perception abilities of children presenting

with speech concerns. Our findings about the potentially important role of vocabulary in 748 SSDs add to findings from other research and support a need to re-consider the areas of 749 750 assessment on a routine assessment battery for these children. Historically, vocabulary has not been consistently included (McLeod & Baker, 2014). Our findings raise questions over 751 this practice, suggesting vocabulary assessment may be a valuable inclusion as part of routine 752 753 care. By conducting a comprehensive assessment, SLPs may be able to better profile 754 individual children's strengths and needs and make evidence-informed decisions to optimize management. As Perry and Kucker (2019) suggest, "by capturing heterogeneity, we can 755 756 better conceptualize and understand individual abilities (especially within at-risk and disordered populations) and make more informed conclusions about children, their abilities, 757 outcomes, and interventions" (p. 556). If we better understand the nature of the problem, we 758 can better plan and optimize management of SSDs for children. 759

#### 760 Limitations and Future Directions

761 One limitation of this study is that most children with SSDs presented with a mild or moderate speech difficulty. Moreover, children presented with average to above average 762 vocabulary abilities. Future research could include children with a more even spread of 763 764 abilities along the whole continuum from low to typical speech and low to high vocabulary. We also included children with phonological and/or articulation errors. Future research could 765 focus on the speech perception abilities of children with phonological or articulation errors 766 only. Additionally, recruiting children with speech production errors on the phonemes 767 assessed in the speech perception task would allow for further investigation of speech 768 perception errors specific to phonemes produced in error. Future research could also further 769 investigate the language abilities of children with SSDs—examining language abilities 770 beyond vocabulary, using, for example, a language sample and/or other comprehensive 771 language assessment measures. 772

Although speech production and vocabulary were each significant predictors of 773 variance in speech perception ability, together they predicted 27.1% variance in speech 774 775 perception. There is a need for future research to explore what other variables and abilities are predictors of speech perception. Another limitation of this study is that all assessments 776 used in this study were static. Future research could also include dynamic assessments—such 777 778 as word learning assessments-to provide additional insight into children's learning 779 (Camilleri & Law, 2014). Furthermore, although the overall high SES across participants is a product of the recruitment location, this may reduce the generalizability of findings to other 780 781 populations; especially considering that high maternal education is a potential protective factor for speech and language ability (Harrison & McLeod, 2010). Finally, future research 782 could investigate the value of profiling not only speech perception and production abilities of 783 children with SSDs, but also vocabulary, and then providing tailored intervention to optimize 784 785 outcomes.

786

#### Conclusion

This study provides further insight into the complex relationship between speech 787 perception, speech production, and vocabulary abilities in children, as well as the value of by-788 group alongside continuous analyses. There was no significant difference in speech 789 perception ability between children with and without SSDs, however both speech production 790 and vocabulary significantly predicted variance in speech perception ability. This research 791 has further highlighted the heterogeneity among children, and different profiles of strengths 792 and needs across speech perception, speech production, and vocabulary. Future research is 793 needed to investigate the value of tailoring management according to children's individual 794 profiles of abilities. 795

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800	Data Availability Statement
801	The datasets generated and analyzed during the current study are not publicly
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803	

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## 1041 **Table 1**

### 1042 *Participant Characteristics*

	SSD <sup>a</sup> group		TD <sup>b</sup> group		
	M <sup>c</sup> (range)	$SD^d$	M <sup>c</sup> (range)	$SD^d$	
Age (months)	56.03 (48-69)	5.92	57.58 (48-68)	5.50	
DEAP <sup>e</sup> (PCC <sup>f</sup> )	73.78 (27-90)	13.37	91.03 (80.9-100)	5.25	
<i>PPVT-4<sup>g</sup></i> (raw score)	97.93 (54-135)	22.61	99.90 (64-134)	17.30	
<i>PPVT-4<sup>g</sup></i> (standard score)	116.63 (87-139)	14.03	116.29 (92-141)	12.43	
<i>EOWPVT-4<sup>h</sup></i> (raw score)	75.33 (37-108)	16.28	77.52 (53-96)	11.19	
<i>EOWPVT-4<sup>h</sup></i> (standard score)	119.53 (85-146)	13.79	120.23 (86-140)	13.43	
SES <sup>i</sup> (mother's highest education level)	Bachelor's degree (Vocational training – Postgraduate qualification)	n/a	Bachelor's degree (High school – Postgraduate qualification)	n/a	

1043 <sup>a</sup>SSD = speech sound disorder. <sup>b</sup>TD = typically developing. <sup>c</sup>M = mean. <sup>d</sup>SD = standard

1044 deviation. <sup>e</sup>*DEAP* = *Diagnostic Evaluation of Articulation and Phonology* – *Phonology* 

1045 Assessment.  $^{f}PCC =$  percentage of consonants correct.  $^{g}PPVT-4 =$  Peabody Picture

1046 *Vocabulary Test-4.* <sup>h</sup>*EOWPVT-4* = *Expressive One Word Picture Vocabulary Test-4.* <sup>i</sup>SES =

1047 socioeconomic status.

### 1049 Table 2

- 1050 Coefficients Tables for: (a) Simple Linear Regression of Speech Production Accuracy
- 1051 (DEAP–Phonology Assessment Raw Score) on Overall Speech Perception Performance, (b)
- 1052 Simple Linear Regression of Vocabulary (Vocabulary Z-Score Calculated from PPVT-4 and
- 1053 EOWPVT-4 Raw Scores) on Overall Speech Perception Performance, and (c) Multiple
- 1054 Linear Regression of Speech Production Accuracy (DEAP–Phonology Assessment Raw
- 1055 Score) and Vocabulary (Vocabulary Z-Score) on Overall Speech Perception Performance
- 1056 **a** 1057

Standard Coefficients *t*-statistic *p*-value Lower 95% Upper 95% Error 98.498 14.797 .000 128.106 (Constant) 6.657 68.889 **DEAP** Raw Score .432 .126 3.443 .001 .181 .684

1058

#### 1059

b

	Coefficients	Standard	<i>t</i> -statistic	<i>p</i> -value	Lower 95%	Upper 05%
	Coefficients	Error	<i>i</i> -statistic	<i>p</i> -value	Lower 9570	
(Constant)	148.803	2.281	65.234	.000	144.239	153.368
Vocabulary	9.355	2.413	3.876	.000	4.526	14.184
Z-Score						

1060

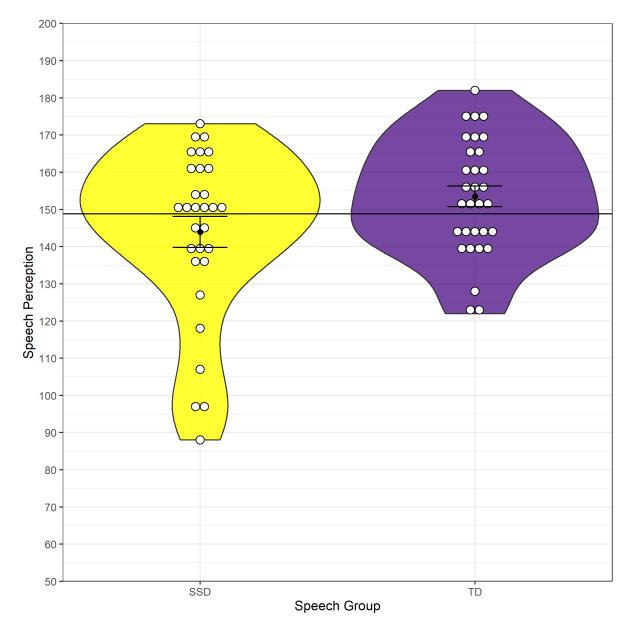
1061

c

	Coefficients	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -statistic	<i>p</i> -value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%
(Constant)	114.330	15.018	7.613	.000	84.267	144.392
DEAP Raw Score	.296	.128	2.320	.024	.041	.552
Vocabulary	7.192	2.508	2.868	.006	2.172	12.213
Z-Score						

1062

- 1064 Figure 1
- 1065 *Violin Plot Displaying Overall Speech Perception Performance for the Speech Sound*

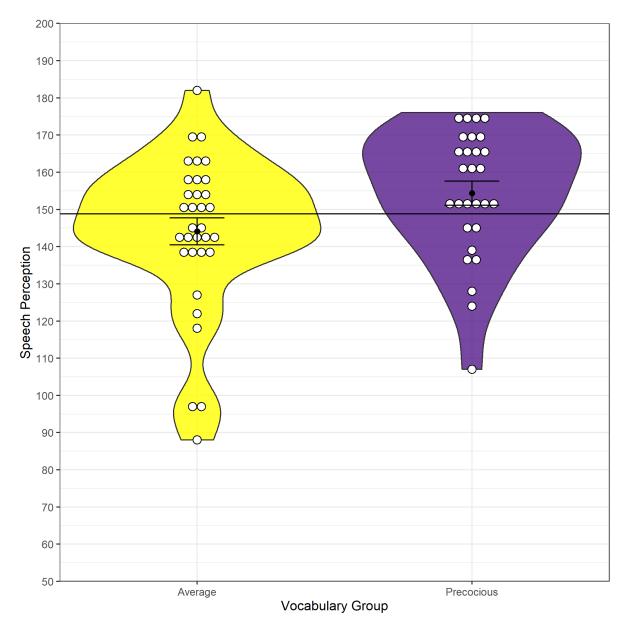


1066 Disorder (SSD) and Typically Developing (TD) Groups

1068 Note: Line at 149 on the y-axis shows the mean *Speech Perception* score across all children1069 combined

**Figure 2** 

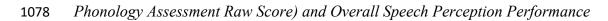
# *Violin Plot Displaying Overall Speech Perception Performance for the Average Vocabulary*

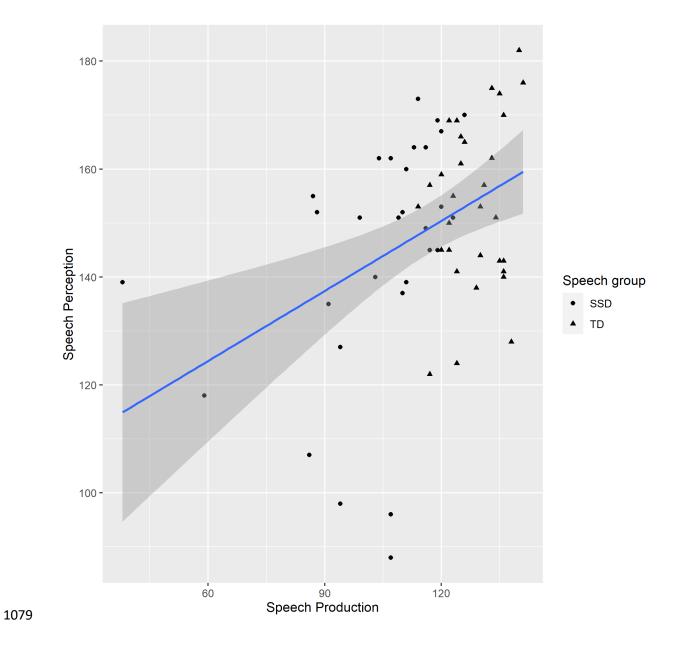


1072 and Precocious Vocabulary Groups

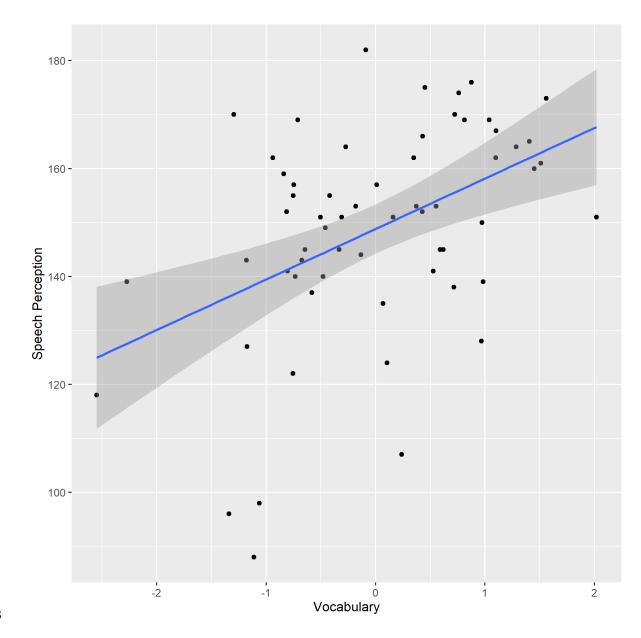
1074 Note: Line at 149 on the y-axis shows the mean *Speech Perception* score across all children1075 combined

- **Figure 3**
- 1077 Scatterplot Showing the Relationship Between Speech Production Accuracy (DEAP-





- 1080 Figure 4
- 1081 Scatterplot Showing the Relationship Between Combined Vocabulary Z-Score and Overall



1082 Speech Perception Performance

51

1084

## Supplemental Material

1085 Supplement 1: Overview of Speech Perception Performance on Each Phoneme Per Speech

1086 Group (Overall Number Correct out of a Maximum of 48)

1087 Group (Overall Number Correct out of a Maximum of 48)

	SSD <sup>a</sup> gr	oup	TD <sup>b</sup> group		
	M <sup>c</sup> (range)	$SD^d$	M <sup>c</sup> (range)	$SD^d$	
/k/	37.90 (21-46)	7.30	41.48 (27-48)	5.21	
/ʧ/	36.27 (16-44)	6.35	38.48 (26-46)	4.96	
$ \mathbf{I} $	33.53 (23-43)	5.60	35.10 (26-45)	4.98	
/ʃ/	36.27 (23-44)	5.67	38.42 (30-46)	4.38	

1088 <sup>a</sup>SSD = speech sound disorder. <sup>b</sup>TD = typically developing. <sup>c</sup>M = mean. <sup>d</sup>SD = standard

1089 deviation.