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3	Motor imagery of speech: the involvement of primary motor
4	cortex in manual and articulatory motor imagery.
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33 Abstract

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35 Motor imagery refers to the phenomenon of imagining performing an action without action 36 execution. Motor imagery and motor execution are assumed to share a similar underlying neural system that involves primary motor cortex (M1). Previous studies have focused on 37 motor imagery of manual actions, but articulatory motor imagery has not been investigated. In 38 this study, transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) was used to elicit motor-evoked potentials 39 (MEPs) from the articulatory muscles (orbicularis oris) as well as from hand muscles (first 40 dorsal interosseous). Twenty participants were asked to execute or imagine performing a 41 42 simple squeezing task involving a pair of tweezers, which was comparable across both 43 effectors. MEPs were elicited at six timepoints (50, 150, 250, 350, 450, 550ms post-stimulus) 44 to track the time-course of M1 involvement in both lip and hand tasks. The results showed 45 increased MEP amplitudes for action execution compared to rest for both effectors at time points 350, 450 and 550ms, but we found no evidence of increased cortical activation for motor 46 47 imagery. The results indicate that motor imagery does not involve M1 for simple tasks for 48 manual or articulatory muscles. The results have implications for models of mental imagery of simple articulatory gestures, in that no evidence is found for somatotopic activation of lip 49 muscles in sub-phonemic contexts during motor imagery of such tasks, suggesting that motor 50 simulation of relatively simple actions does not involve M1. 51

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53 **1. Introduction**

Motor imagery has been defined as "the mental rehearsal of simple or complex motor acts that 54 is not accompanied by overt movement" (Porro et al., 1996, p.7688). The concept of motor 55 imagery is inherently linked to that of motor execution, and the former is most easily 56 conceptualised as a covert form of - or subset of processes relating to - the latter (Jeannerod 57 2001). Fadiga et al. (1998) proposed that motor imagery includes aspects of motor execution 58 59 experience, on the basis that numerous biological parameters such as blood pressure and heart 60 rate, which increase during action execution, also correlate positively with action effort during motor imagery. Likewise, the time course of motor imagery and motor execution of actions 61 62 has been found to be similar (Parsons, 1994). Functional imaging had by this time also shown some overlapping activation for both types of processing (Porro et al., 1996; Roth et al., 1996). 63 Since such measures suggest a significant level of shared processing between the two 64 65 behaviours, the extent to which motor plans are used in motor imagery compared to motor execution has been the subject of debate. Notably, Vogt, Di Rienzo, Collet, Collins, & Guillot 66 (2013) proposed a continuum from action observation to motor imagery, along which the extent 67 of the simulation of motor plans differs, though neither effect motor unit activation. Similarly, 68 Jeannerod (2001) proposed that covert and overt action stages also represent a continuum 69 70 where execution suggests the existence of a covert stage, but covert actions do not evolve into the overt stage. In this sense, it can be said that a continuum of action processing, and so use 71 72 of motor plans for potential simulation of action, exists from action observation through covert simulation of motor plans to overt execution of motor plans. Such models often implicate 73 primary motor cortex (M1) as an important element in simulation processing (Tian, Zarate, & 74 75 Poeppel, 2016), but the central question remains at what level, and to what degree, motor imagery makes use of motor plans in the absence of overt action execution. 76

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78 Early studies into motor imagery made use of mental rotation paradigms and investigated how 79 complexity can affect reaction time. Two well-known examples of this are the Shepard-Metzler 80 visual rotation task (Shepard & Metzler, 1971) and the hand laterality task (Parsons, 1994). In 81 the Shepard-Metzler task, participants are asked whether two three-dimensional shapes (on a 82 two-dimensional plane) are matching objects or not. The task involves the use of mental rotation of this shape so as to try and decide whether two objects correspond or differ. Reaction 83 84 times tend to be positively correlated with the size of the angle that subjects are required to 85 rotate the object by mentally, so as to be able to provide a yes/no response. Similarly, the hand laterality task presents an image of a left or right hand on-screen, with the participant deciding 86 87 which hand is shown. Reaction times here tend to be positively correlated with the angle required to move the hand from its canonical position (achieved by lifting the hand in front of 88 89 the eyes) to that of the hand shown on-screen. Of particular note is that trials involving 90 uncommon angles or difficult flexion in real-world motor execution processes (e.g. right hand 91 rotated laterally rightward by >45°, which requires distinctly more wrist and elbow motion compared to internal leftward rotation of $>45^\circ$) are modulated to a similar degree in motor 92 93 imagery, even though no physical constraints exist. These tasks and other similar tasks have 94 been adapted for use with imaging methods such as positron emission tomography (PET) 95 (Deiber et al., 1998; Kosslyn, Digirolamo, Thompson, & Alpert, 1998) and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) (Porro et al., 1996; Richter et al., 2000, see Munzert et al, 2009 for 96 97 review). Many of these imaging studies find activation in supplementary motor area (SMA) 98 and premotor areas (Kosslyn, Thompson, Wraga, & Alpert, 2001; Richter et al., 2000), while some studies also find activation in M1 (Solodkin, Hlustik, Chen, & Small, 2004; Stippich, 99 Ochmann, & Sartor, 2002; again see Munzert et al, 2009, p. 308 for an extensive overview), 100 and especially early papers (see Porro et al., 1996) disagree on whether motor imagery activates 101 102 M1.

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104 Several studies have examined the involvement of M1 in motor imagery, primarily in the hand area of M1, using transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS). For instance, Izumi et al. (1995) 105 106 asked participants to REST, THINK (motor imagery) or CONTRACT (motor execution) with regard to index finger abduction, with electrodes measuring electrical activity at the *first dorsal* 107 interosseous (FDI – index finger abductor) (Izumi et al. 1995). A TMS pulse was administered 108 109 3-5 seconds after the instruction was given. Fifteen motor-evoked potentials (MEPs) were 110 collected per participant per condition. MEPs are responses induced in specific muscles by administering a TMS pulse to the cortical site governing muscle activation on the M1, and 111 112 reflects the underlying excitability of the neurons at that cortical site and throughout the motor pathway. An increase in MEP amplitude reflects an increased underlying activation of the 113 114 motor site and pathway, and is referred to as facilitation. Significant differences were found 115 between the positively modulated THINK and non-modulated REST conditions, as well as between CONTRACT and THINK conditions and CONTRACT and REST conditions, 116 showing that M1 is active not only during motor execution, but also motor imagery. Further 117 studies investigating motor imagery effects find differences between motor imagery and rest 118 conditions in forearm (Yahagi et al., 1996) as well as biceps and thumb muscles (Fadiga et al., 119 1998). With respect to other muscles, Tremblay, Tremblay, & Colcer (2001) similarly 120 examined leg muscle responses (quadriceps and thigh muscles) using MEPs and found similar 121 facilitation effects in M1 for imagery respective to non-facilitation during rest. In summary, a 122 number of TMS studies have shown that motor imagery increases the excitability of primary 123 124 motor cortex as measured by larger MEPs.

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126 While the focus of the above papers is rightly on the increase in MEPs, there is little discussion 127 as to the fine-grained chronometry of motor imagery processes, as few studies included several 128 timepoints across which MEPs were compared. However, one such study by Hashimoto & Rothwell (1999) made use of TMS to investigate a simple task with flexion and extension of 129 the wrist, measuring MEP amplitude at the *first dorsal interroseous* (thumb abductor, here used 130 as the control muscle), *flexor carpi radialis* and *extensor carpi radialis* (two muscles engaged 131 132 in radial abduction of the wrist). Nine participants were told to imagine performing repetitive wrist movements at a rate of 1Hz, with TMS applied over the hand area of M1 at 0ms, 250ms, 133 134 500ms and 750ms after an auditory cue. Using averages of 8 MEPs, the authors found increases in MEP amplitude over the time course 0ms - 250ms, with a plateauing and decrease of MEP 135 136 amplitude at 750ms in *flexor* and *extensor carpi radialis*. However the authors did not compare 137 activation in imagery condition with an execution condition. Given the simplicity of the task, it should be possible to replicate such detailed chronometric results for the first dorsal 138 139 interosseous when it is the muscle of interest, as it is here.

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141 Hyde et al. (2017) used the hand laterality task to measure the involvement of M1 in motor imagery of simple and extensive manual rotation using TMS. Hyde et al. measured MEPs from 142 143 the hand (FDI) region in M1 to measure its involvement in motor imagery. Single-pulse TMS was administered at latencies of 50ms, 400ms and 650ms post-stimulus presentation. The latter 144 two time-points (400 and 650ms) were included as previous studies (Ganis, Keenan, Kosslyn, 145 & Pascual-Leone, 2000; Tomasino, Borroni, Isaja, & Rumiati, 2005) showed increased 146 reaction times during the task when TMS was administered at these time points. The early 147 (50ms) timepoint was added as an early stimulation reference point. Twenty-two participants 148 149 were tested and subdivided into groups of 'likely motor imagery users' and 'likely non-motor 150 imagery users' on the basis of whether performance was better in case of simple biomechanical actions (e.g. a 90° internal rotation) than of complex biomechanical action (e.g. a 90° external 151 rotation). Those likely to have used motor imagery were thought to use a strategy whereby they 152

153 mentally rotated their hand to fit the hand displayed, whereas those likely not to have used motor imagery are thought to have used a strategy whereby they rotated the on-screen picture 154 to fit their hand rather than vice versa. If response times were not modulated on the basis of 155 physical difficulty, it was assumed that a strategy other than motor imagery was used, and 156 subjects were placed in the likely non-motor imagery group. In the likely motor imagery users 157 group, there was an increase in MEP at all three timepoints (vs. baseline), while this was not 158 159 the case for likely non-motor imagery users. This increase in MEP during motor imagery presented evidence for increased cortical excitability of hand M1 during imagery of manual 160 161 movement.

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The current study aimed to extend findings of previous work (Hyde et al., 2017; Hashimoto & 163 Rothwell, 1999) on motor imagery in hand muscles by studying the effects of motor imagery 164 for facial muscles, specifically the articulatory muscles, i.e. orbicularis oris (OO) in a sub-165 phonemic context. The sub-phonemic quality of a simple lip task is on par with the non-166 linguistic nature of a simple hand task – a task containing linguistic elements is eschewed in 167 favour of establishing the viability of basic imagery data collection from both effectors. While 168 motor imagery has been investigated using several hand muscles as well as leg muscles, there 169 is a lack of studies in other muscles – to our knowledge there has been no investigation into 170 articulatory muscles, such as lips or tongue, even though speech imagery is a well-known 171 phenomenon (Alderson-day & Fernyhough, 2015; McGuire et al., 1996; Oppenheim & Dell, 172 2008; Sokolov, 1972). Moreover, the effect of observation of speech on cortical excitability of 173 lip area is similar to observation of other motor sequences, e.g. manual sequences (Watkins, 174 175 Strafella, & Paus, 2003; Fadiga, Craighero, Buccino, & Rizzolatti 2002). Several studies have examined motor imagery of speech actions using fMRI with motor tasks (Huang, Carr, & Cao, 176 177 2001; Shuster & Lemieux, 2005; Szenkovits, Peelle, Norris, & Davis, 2012; Tian, Zarate, & 178 Poeppel, 2016). For instance, Tian & Poeppel (2010; 2012) used fMRI and motor imagery tasks to investigate the topography and time course of imagined speech actions and found that 179 such imagery actions are likely part of a simulation process. This simulation process is likely 180 a sub-process of an internal forward model used in prediction and online correction of 181 182 movement errors. Manual motor imagery has been investigated with neuroimaging and by measuring MEPs, and motor imagery of speech has been investigated using neuroimaging 183 184 techniques only. No study so far has thus investigated cortical excitability as measured using MEPs related to motor imagery for speech actions, and as far as we are aware, no study has 185 directly compared cortical excitability of hand and lip actions in a motor imagery context. Sub-186 cortically, hand and lip MEPs arise via different efferent motor pathways: the corticospinal 187 pathway innervates the hand while the corticobulbar pathway innervates the lip muscles 188 (Adank, Kennedy-Higgins, Maegherman, Hannah, & Nuttall (2018). As a result, there are 189 190 differences between MEPs recorded from these sites. One difference concerns MEP latency, 191 which is longer in the hand due to the length of the corticospinal tract compared to the 192 corticobulbar tract, resulting in an MEP around 20ms post-pulse as opposed to 8-10ms post-193 pulse in the lip. A second difference concerns MEP morphology, which is single-peaked in the hand but often multi-peaked in the lip. As a result the MEP extraction method (area-under-the-194 curve vs peak-to-peak) is critical and should be standardised across studies. Given these 195 differences which have not been addressed in the motor imagery literature, it is necessary to 196 197 evaluate the effects of motor imagery processes in corticobulbar-innervated muscles such as 198 orbicularis oris, and whether results from the hand literature can be generalised to such muscles 199 (at least with regard to simple actions).

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We examined motor imagery in hand and lip muscles while participants performed a simple motor imagery task. While a number of previous studies used a multi-finger finger tapping task

203 to investigate hand motor imagery, such a task is difficult to extend to the lip muscles due to the smaller number of joints and muscles involved. We opted instead for an imagery task that 204 was simple and could be performed equally with both effectors using simple compression. 205 206 similar to joint flexion (Hashimoto & Rothwell, 1999). In the study, participants were asked to either imagine pressing together a set of wooden tweezers between their lips (lip motor imagery 207 task), or between their thumb and index finger (hand motor imagery task), or to press together 208 209 the wooden tweezers between the lips (lip motor execution task), or fingers (hand motor 210 execution task), or to do nothing (remain at constant contraction - baseline). The squeezing together of the lips in particular can be considered a sub-phonemic articulatory gesture, used 211 212 in the production of plosive sounds, such as p/2. In line with Hyde et al. (2017) and Hashimoto & Rothwell (1999), we used a chronometric design and measured MEPs at various time points 213 214 from trial onset, including 50, 150, 250, 350, 450 and 550ms. A wide range of time points was 215 used as it is unclear to which extent motor imagery and motor execution of speech muscles follow the same time course. By examining motor imagery and motor execution in speech and 216 hand muscles we aimed to clarify to which extent primary motor cortex for sub-phonemic 217 218 movement engages during motor imagery, as well as how this involvement develops over time.

- 219
- 220 **2. Method**

221 2.1 Participants

222 Twenty participants (11F, 9M, mean age = 22y 7m, SD = 3y 8m, age range = 19-34) took part in the experiment. Handedness was established via the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory 223 (Oldfield, 1971), which found all participants to be right-handed. Participants reported no 224 225 history of neurological/ psychiatric disease, and none reported use of any long or short-term medication. No medical conditions, relevant or otherwise, were reported, and neither was any 226 227 history of specific repetitive motor activity or muscle disorders. All subjects completed all 228 conditions on the same day in one session, and had a minimum high school-level education. Experiments were undertaken with the understanding and written consent of each subject, 229 according to the University College London Research Ethics Committee (UREC). We 230 231 adhered to data collection and reporting conventions as established in Chipchase et al. (2012). 232

233 2.2 Materials

We used a tweezer-like tool to effect constant muscle contraction as well as to provide a tool for the motor execution condition (Figure 1). Prompts were displayed on a 21.5" computer monitor screen while participants sat approximately 70cm away. Prompts were a combination of symbols (font size 24), with '%%' representing hand use and '&&' representing lip use.

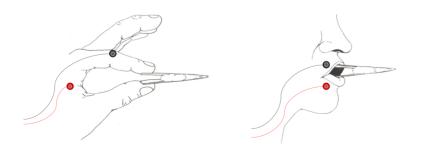


Figure 1: Examples of the tweezers as used in the hand (left panel) and lip (right panel) conditions. Participants were instructed to maintain a baseline level of activity as trained on in a pre-thresholding session. New tools were provided for each participant, with a white cotton filling acting as a spring to provide tension for muscle activation.

Colour was used to indicate whether the action should be imagined (blue) or overt (red), or whether no action should be taken (black). Prompts were displayed on a light-grey background,

- and were preceded by a white fixation cross.
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242 **2.3 Procedure**

243 Each trial began by displaying a white fixation cross for 1000ms. The prompt was shown for 2000ms, with TMS pulses administered at 50ms, 150ms, 250ms, 350ms, 450ms, or 550ms 244 245 post-stimulus (counterbalanced). The screen was cleared of all prompts and remained clear for at least 2000ms, but longer dependent on when the TMS pulse was given. The inter-pulse-246 interval was kept constant at 6000ms. The next trial then began with a new fixation cross (see 247 fig. 2A). Blocks consisted of 25 trials presented in two minutes, with a break of one minute in 248 between each block. Each break was a minimum of one minute, after which the second tester 249 250 pressed a control key to continue, unless the participant requested more time for a break. Trials 251 were blocked by effector in separate blocks (first effector counterbalanced across participants), with motor execution, motor imagery and baseline prompts as interleaved, mixed trials to avoid 252 253 potential muscle activation carry-over effects from one stimulus to the next. Each prompt was 254 presented 15 times so that 15 MEPs could be used to derive an average for each trial type at each of the chronometric time points (see fig. 2A). The experiment consisted of 450 trials in 255 256 total (150 per task, 30 per time point). The experiment lasted 2 hours (45 mins of TMS).

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Participants were recruited using the UCL online participant pool by advertising the study as a
 session which examined the effects of attention on task processing without explicit reference
 to MEPs, reaction time, grip strength, or imagery.

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Upon arrival, the study was explained to the participant, and they were given information about the TMS procedure. The participant was then shown what they were expected to do for each symbol. A training session showed each trial type four times allowing the experimenter to make comments on the actions performed. Training lasted 2 minutes and all participants were able to successfully perform the actions.

Upon completion of the TMS section of the study, an audiometry test was completed (tested at 0.5, 1, 2, 4, and 8kHz, in accordance with guidelines from the British Society of Audiology (2011), as was a Montreal Cognitive Inventory test (Nasreddine et al., 2005) to exclude any abnormalities. Finally, participants completed the Varieties of Inner Speech Questionnaire (VISQ, McCarthy-Jones & Fernyhough, 2011). The VISQ was included to test for a potentially positive correlation between any VISQ factors (level of condensed inner speech, level of dialogic inner speech, level of other people represented in inner speech and level of

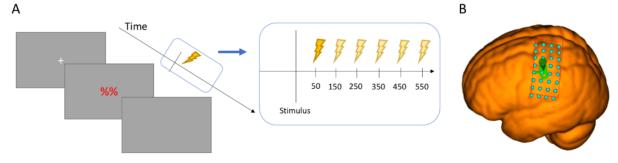


Figure 2: (*A*) Chronometric design of the study showing the six time points in relation to the stimulus; (*B*) the grid surface for the MNI brain used in thresholding.

275 motivational inner speech) and MEP area-under-the-curve (AUC), as it is expressly designed 276 to assess the nature of inner speech and the extent to which it is used on a per-subject level.

All MEPs were initially extracted from Spike² using custom-made scripts that allowed for the

extraction of the electromyography (EMG) signal for a time-frame between 1000ms pre-TMS

pulse and 40ms post-TMS pulse. The area-under-the-curve (AUC) of each MEP was then calculated, with hand MEPs spanning the region 13-40ms post-TMS pulse, and lip MEPs spanning the region 8-35ms post-TMS pulse due to their shorter onset time. An equally long section of 27ms was extracted pre-pulse to allow post-hoc checks of equivalent baseline contraction across conditions. The first MEP in each block was then removed as the first MEP is non-representatively larger than those that follow, and this ensures stable neuronavigated coil placement is in place. The mean and standard deviations for the data of each effector was

calculated and used to standardise the results and so enable cross-effector comparisons (z-

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scores).

289 2.4 Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation

Following the successful conclusion of the training session, the electrodes (Ag/AgCl, Ø10mm) 290 291 were attached to the FDI (tendon-belly montage) and the OO (belly-belly montage), and two minutes were used for training to maintain baseline activity at 20% of maximum voluntary 292 293 contraction. This was intended to ensure consistent muscle activation maintained throughout the experiment, except when responding in the action condition. The EMG signal was sampled 294 at 5000Hz, amplified by a factor of 1000 and band-pass filtered between 100-2000Hz using a 295 296 1902 amplifier, with digital-to-analog conversion using a Micro1401 unit (both Cambridge 297 Electronic Design, Cambridge, UK) connected to a Windows 7 PC. Frameless stereotaxy (Brainsight, Rogue Resolutions, Montreal, Canada) was used to localise the area of stimulation 298 299 for each effector, making use of the built-in MNI-152 model. A virtual 8 x 4 grid was placed over the motor cortex with the centre corresponding to MNI coordinates -64, -4, 39 (see fig. 300 2B). This was done to search for the hand and lip motor areas in a simple and consistent manner. 301 This system was also used to ensure correct coil location and stability were maintained 302 throughout. A figure-of-eight coil (Ø 70 mm) was placed at a 45° angle relative to the sagittal 303 304 plane, inducing a posterior-anterior current flow approximately perpendicular to the lateral 305 fissure. Once all grid points had been given a minimum of three TMS pulses, the MEPs were extracted from Spike², averaged and visualized using a heatmap display command in 306 MATLAB, displaying the best area to stimulate for each effector. Thresholding was performed 307 using a standard thresholding procedure in which 5/10 MEPs must be elicited (Rossini et al., 308 1994; Rossini et al., 2015; Watkins et al., 2003). An MEP was defined as a peak-to-peak 309 amplitude of 500µV for FDI and 200µV for OO. Once active motor threshold (aMT) was 310 established, testing threshold was set to 120% of aMT. This resulted in effector-specific motor 311 312 threshold and testing intensities as necessitated by the inherent differences between the motor thresholds of facial and manual muscles (Groppa et al., 2012). 313

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316 **2.5 Analysis**

We first performed a Repeated-Measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the combined lip 317 and hand data to establish the effect of the factors Effector (hand vs. lip), Condition (motor 318 execution, motor imagery, baseline) and Timepoint (50, 150, 250, 350, 450, 550ms) on the 319 areas-under-the-curve of MEPs. This overall ANOVA was followed up by two separate 320 321 ANOVAs for each effector separately to investigate the key interactions. Follow-up *t*-tests 322 were also performed. All results were Greenhouse-Geisser corrected where assumptions of 323 sphericity were violated. All significance values were corrected for multiple comparisons 324 (Bonferroni) where applicable. MEPs were removed from the analysis if they exceeded 3 SDs

from the effector-specific mean, which resulted in the removal of 64 MEPs (~0.7%). No subject scored <26 in the Montreal Cognitive Assessment, indicating normal cognitive function in all participants.

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330 **3. Results**

331 3.1 Overall data

Average MNI coordinates for hand were [-40, -15, 67] and average MNI coordinates for lip 332 were [-59, -8, 46] (see supplementary table 1). Due to issues with the frameless stereotaxy 333 system, we were able to extract localisation data from 13 out of 20 participants. A one-way 334 ANOVA comparing baseline muscle contraction levels found no significant differences in 335 baseline contraction across conditions in either the hand (motor imagery mean = 0.22mV/ms, 336 SD = 0.10 mV/ms; motor execution mean = 0.22 mV/ms, SD = 0.10 mV/ms; baseline mean = 337 0.21 mV/ms, SD = 0.10 mV/ms; F(2,357) = .058, p = .943, n.s.) or lip (motor imagery mean = 338 0.37 mV/ms, SD = 0.19 mV/ms; motor execution mean = 0.38 mV/ms, SD = 0.19 mV/ms; 339 340 baseline mean = 0.37 mV/ms, SD = 0.19 mV/ms; F(2,357) = .095, p = .910, n.s.), showing that any difference in MEPs was not due to different levels of pre-pulse contraction. 341

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We proceeded to use z-scores of the averaged data for a 2 x 3 x 6 omnibus ANOVA comparing 343 Effector (hand vs. lip), Condition (motor execution, motor imagery, baseline) and Timepoint 344 (50, 150, 250, 350, 450, 550). There was no significant main effect of Effector (F(1, 19) = .014, .014)345 p=.906, n.s.) as expected given our use of z-scores, but there was a significant main effect of 346 Condition (F(1.1, 20.9) = 54.202, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .740$). Post-hoc comparisons show that motor 347 execution MEPs (*Mean* = .297, *Standard Error* = .097) were significantly larger than motor 348 imagery (M = -.177, SE = .122, p < .001) and baseline MEPs (M = -.188, SE = .116, p < .001), 349 350 but that there was no difference between motor imagery and baseline MEPs (p=1), see fig. 3A. A second main effect was found for Timepoint ($F(2.6,49.4) = 22.273, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .540$). 351 Post-hoc comparisons showed a significant difference between the first timepoint and all 352 353 subsequent timepoints (minimum Mean Difference = -.166, SE = ..036, p=.003), except 354 timepoint 150 (MD = -.030, SE = .022, p = 1), see fig. 3B. There was also a significant Condition

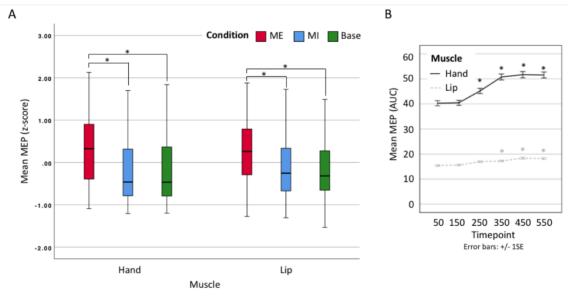


Figure 3: (A) Box plot showing z-scores for all data. Lip results appear as smaller due to their naturally smaller size. ME= Motor execution, MI = Motor imagery, Base = Baseline. (B) Line plot showing mean MEP AUC (raw) by timepoint. Error bars represent $\pm 1SE$, $\alpha = .001$.

355 × Timepoint interaction ($F(3.8, 71.4) = 24.651, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .565$) with no other interactions 356 found. Having shown that there is no difference between the effectors after standardisation 357 around the mean (z-scores) we used the raw data in our per-effector analyses.

359 **3.2** Lip

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360 A 3 x 6 repeated-measures ANOVA comparing Condition (motor execution, motor imagery, baseline) and Timepoint (50, 150, 250, 350, 450, 550ms) was run on the lip data. The 361 analysis of the lip MEPs showed a main effect of Condition (F(1.2, 22.8) = 30.999, p < .001, 362 $\eta_p^2 = .620$), with contrasts revealing motor execution MEPs to be significantly larger than 363 motor imagery MEPs (MD = 3.512, SE = .582, p < .001) and baseline MEPs (MD = 3.583, 364 SE=.647, p<.001), but with no significant difference found between the motor imagery and 365 baseline conditions (MD = .070, SE = .233, p = 1). There was also a main effect of Timepoint 366 $(F(2.864,54.422) = 10.893, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .364)$, with contrasts revealing MEPs at 50ms to be 367 significantly smaller than at 350ms (MD = -1.526, SE = .418, p = .025), 450ms (MD = -2.287, 368 369 SE = .538, p = .006) and 550ms (MD = -2.234, SE = .478, p = .002), see fig. 4. This main 370 effect, however, was entirely driven by a significant interaction between Condition × Timepoint (*F*(3.883, 73.778) = 12.630, *p*<.001, η_p^2 = .399). Specifically, the MEP size only 371 increased with time in the motor execution condition but not in the motor imagery or baseline 372 conditions (see fig 4b). Planned follow-up tests confirmed that while there were no 373 374 differences across timepoints in the motor imagery and baseline conditions, there were significant differences across timepoints in the motor execution conditions, with MEPs at 375 50ms significantly smaller at than at 250ms (t(19) = -3.894, p = .001), 350ms (t(19) = -4.543, 376 p < .001), 450ms (t(19) = -5.466, p < .001), and 550ms (t(19) = -6.591, p < .001), see 377 supplementary table 3. In other words, MEP size only changed when participants actually 378 379 squeezed the tweezers with their lips, and not when they only imagined doing so. 380

381 3.3 Hand

A 3 x 6 repeated-measures ANOVA comparing Condition (motor execution, motor imagery,

baseline) and Timepoint (50, 150, 250, 350, 450, 550ms) was run on the hand data. There was a main effect of Condition (*F*(1.120, 21.272) = 46.083, *p*<.001, η_p^2 = .708), indicating that

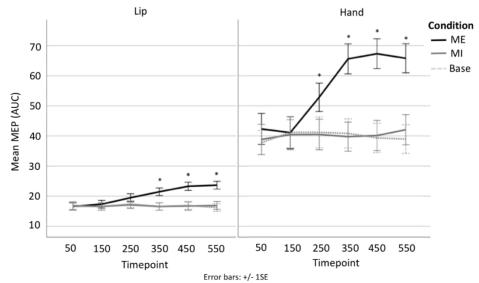


Figure 4: Line graph showing change in mean MEP AUC per time point and effects of condition. *ME* = *Motor execution, MI* = *Motor imagery, Base* = *Baseline*

385 motor execution MEPs were significantly larger than motor imagery MEPs (MD = 15.549, SE =2.285, p < .001) and Baseline MEPs (MD = 15.944, SE =2.267, p < .001), but with no 386 significant difference found between the motor imagery and baseline conditions (MD = .396, 387 SE = .638, p = 1), see fig. 3. There was also a main effect of Timepoint (F(2.424, 46.062) = 388 14.491 p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .433$), with contrasts revealing MEPs at 50ms to be significantly smaller 389 than at 250ms (MD = -5.186, SE = 1.116, p = .003), 350ms (MD = -9.089, SE = 1.421, p < .001), 390 450ms (MD = -9.282, SE = 1.702, p < .001) and 550ms (MD = -9.301, SE = 2.008, p = .003), 391 392 see fig. 4. This was once again driven entirely by a significant interaction between Condition × Timepoint (*F*(3.504, 66.572) = 15.162, *p*<.001, η_p^2 = .444). Hand MEPs only increased with 393 time in the motor execution condition but not in the motor imagery or baseline conditions (see 394 395 fig. 4a). Follow-up tests confirmed that while there were no differences across timepoints in the motor imagery and baseline conditions, there were significant differences across timepoints 396 in the motor execution conditions, with MEPs at timepoint 50 significantly smaller than at 397 398 250 ms (t(19) = -3.835, p = .001), 350 ms (t(19) = -5.006, p < .001), 450 ms (t(19) = -5.863, p < .001)399 .001), and 550ms (t(19) = -5.415, p < .001), see supplementary table 2. In other words, MEP size only changed when participants actually squeezed the tweezers by hand, and not when 400 401 they imagined doing so, as per the lip conditions.

402

403 **4. General discussion**

This study aimed to examine whether primary motor cortex was facilitated for speech motor imagery by examining a simple motor imagery task in lip and hand muscles. A secondary aim was to describe the time course of both motor imagery and motor execution in speech and hand muscles. We conducted an experiment in which participants performed a speech or manual action, imagined performing the action, or did nothing.

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The results showed that primary motor cortex was facilitated during action execution for both effectors, but we could not find evidence supporting the prediction that mental imagery involves M1, therefore not replicating results from earlier studies (Hyde et al., 2017; Hashimoto & Rothwell, 1999). The pattern of increasing MEPs in the results for lip and hand during action execution followed a comparable time course, but differences in area-under-thecurve of the MEPs were more pronounced for hand muscles.

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The effect of action execution in both lip and hand muscles showed that MEPs successfully captured M1 facilitation during execution of actions, with the time course showing the expected increase between 150-350ms, plateauing thereafter. Compared to the lip, it might appear that the hand showed changes in reaction times more quickly given that it was different to baseline at an earlier timepoint, though this is likely to be a result of lip MEP changes being overall smaller rather than a result of actual reaction time differences, as the hand action likely engages a larger pool of motor units relative those engaged in lip.

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425 The results showed no evidence of cortical facilitation for the imagery condition compared to the baseline condition for either effector. This result was unexpected as previous studies 426 focusing on hand actions (Hyde et al., 2017; Hashimoto & Rothwell, 1999) reported cortical 427 facilitation during imagery. Both studies used tasks which are broadly comparable to the task 428 429 used in the present study, namely a mental rotation task and a mental flexion task. However, it 430 should be noted that Hyde et al. only reported an increase in MEP amplitudes for imagery 431 compared to baseline for a subset of their participants (namely the ones that were classified as using motor imagery to a higher extent). We attempted a similar approach with our data and 432

433 split our participants into two groups depending on their VISO scores using a medial split. However, even for those showing higher VISO scores, no increase in MEPs was found for the 434 435 hand data (or the lip data). Also, there was no evidence of a general positive correlation 436 between the VISQ scores and the MEP data across participants for either effector (or condition). The lack of an increase in MEPs related to motor imagery in our results might be 437 attributable to task effects. Specifically, it could be the case that our task did not sufficiently 438 439 encourage participants to engage in motor imagery. The task was deliberately simplified to allow for a direct comparison across hand and lip muscles. Studies that use a more complex 440 task tend to report larger increases in MEPs, for instance a study by Roosink & Zijdewind 441 442 (2010) did find such a modulation of MEPs. In this study, the authors measured the difference in corticospinal excitability between action observation and motor imagery processes to infer 443 444 the usefulness of these processes in motor rehabilitation. The authors found significant 445 differences between active action observation and motor imagery conditions, with active action observation showing greater MEPs than simple or complex motor imagery conditions (which 446 447 are not between them significantly different). As a result of their statistical analysis in which 448 the rest condition mean and SD was used to obtain z-scores for the experimental conditions, the rest condition was not included in the multi-level analysis, and the authors did not claim 449 that the motor imagery conditions were significantly different to the rest condition. However 450 the authors did report significant differences between simple and complex actions. Based on 451 the results for a complex task reported in Roosink & Zijdewind and the lack of a clear result 452 for simple tasks reported in Hyde et al (2017) it seems possible that our task was too simple to 453 454 encourage participants to engage in motor imagery.

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With respect to the time course results, it was expected that earlier timepoints would be associated with smaller MEPs than any later timepoints. Data from both effectors showed the expected pattern of increasing MEP amplitudes for later time points, which was likely due to motor preparation and motor response. This addressed our secondary aim and clarified the time points post-stimulus at which motor excitability was notably modulated during motor processes. Follow-up analyses showed that this was a result of motor execution and very different from motor imagery, which showed no difference to the baseline at any timepoint.

- In sum, TMS can be used to measure changes in cortical excitability associated with overt 464 movement in simple tasks, but is perhaps not suitable for measuring motor imagery of 465 movement in simple tasks. There are several possible reasons for the lack of an increase in 466 MEPs associated with motor imagery compared to the baseline condition. The first could be 467 that MEP data can index larger changes in cortical activity for active movement, but not for 468 subtler changes, such as imagery of such movement. While certain studies are able to show 469 increases in blood flow to motor regions during imagery (see Munzert et al., 2009, p. 308), 470 471 including articulation imagery, direct measurement via TMS is more difficult to achieve and is perhaps dependent on effort. 472
- 473

474 It could also be the case that participants did not engage in motor imagery as requested, which would yield results similar to those above. A number of participants pointed out that while the 475 task was intuitive, imagery was not always attained without difficulty. Another reason could 476 be that while active muscle movement activates corresponding motor regions, imagery of 477 muscle movement does not. In this case, our results would contradict several imaging studies 478 479 that have found action imagery activates motor regions, but would fit with a number of TMS 480 studies that have found no increase in EMG in motor imagery using simple tasks, (e.g., Fadiga et al., 1998; Tremblay et al., 2001; and Yahagi et al., 1996). One final possibility is that the 481 premotor cortex and SMA actively inhibit primary motor cortex in motor imagery, but not 482

483 motor execution, precisely to ensure that no overt movement occurs. This may in turn cancel 484 out the activation of primary motor cortex as it is engaged in motor simulation. While this 485 process would affect MEP size negatively, the fMRI Blood-Oxygen-Level Dependent (BOLD) 486 signal would not dissociate between deactivation and activation, potentially explaining studies 487 that show premotor area activation (e.g. Deiber et al., 1998; Kasess et al., 2008). Additionally, 488 there may be inhibition further downstream (e.g. the brainstem or spinal column) which would 489 not be observable in the MEP.

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491 The design of the study also presented certain limitations. As it is not feasible 492 to consistently obtain lip MEPs without muscle contraction (see Cattaneo & Pavesi, 2014), 493 participants were required to perform active isometric contraction throughout the task. 494 Therefore, as a result, our participants effectively performed two simultaneous tasks, the motor 495 execution and imagery task and the isometric contraction task. As a result, the EMG signal 496 could have masked underlying subthreshold voluntary activity. This issue needs to be 497 addressed in future studies, e.g., by attempting a replication of the hand task without voluntary 498 contraction, so that the consistency of task results between active and relaxed muscles can be 499 further examined. Another possibility is the use of a specialised population with regard to lip muscles, e.g. wood and brass instrumentalists, to explore whether a lower threshold or indeed 500 the use of resting motor threshold is possible. In addition, this specialist population may already 501 routinely engage in motor imagery of lip movements through mental rehearsal, which could be 502 exploited in an imagery task. 503

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505 This study explored the use of MEPs in measuring the excitability changes in M1 during imagery of simple actions in hand and lip muscles. The use of MEPs to address these questions 506 507 specifically in lip muscles, using both execution and imagery conditions and recording the time 508 course of excitability changes, represents a combination of research techniques to deliver a novel approach towards investigating motor imagery. Given the limited usability of MEPs (i.e. 509 they can be used to index M1 activation and nerve innervation along the motor pathway, but 510 not other cortical regions), this study does not impact on those models of motor simulation 511 512 which do not necessarily implicate the M1. Similarly, it should be noted that speech is a complex use of muscle groups, rather than simple use of one single muscle – further research 513 514 should be conducted into phonemic-level tasks, both hand- and lip-related, to learn more about how motor imagery may be used in higher-level articulatory performance. 515

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In sum, this study aimed to establish whether motor imagery of simple tasks differed from a 517 baseline and action execution condition at the cortical level for hand and lip muscles, and to 518 assess the time course of cortical changes associated with each effector. The results showed 519 520 that while action execution of simple tasks could be indexed using TMS and MEPs, the same 521 was not found for motor imagery of these tasks. Similarly, while we found that it was possible to record how excitability increased over the six time points for the action execution condition, 522 a similar increase was not recorded for the motor imagery condition. We conclude that the 523 involvement of motor cortex regions during motor imagery may be dependent on task 524 complexity, and may not be implicated in the simulation of simple tasks. Alternatively, motor 525 cortex involvement may be suppressed prior to the signal arriving at the muscle. 526 527

528 Ethics statement

529 This study was carried out in accordance with the recommendation of the UCL Research Ethics

530 Committee (UREC, #0599.001). All subjects gave written informed consent in accordance with

- the Declaration of Helsinki and the General Data Protection Act 2018.
- 532

533 **Conflict of Interest**

- 534 The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial
- relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.
- 536

537 Author contributions

- 538 GM and PA designed the study, GM collected and analysed the data and wrote the paper. PA,
- 539 HN, JD assisted in writing the paper. HN assisted in amending the paper. We thank Sophie
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- 541

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696	Figure legends
697	Figure 1: Examples of the tweezers as used in the hand (left panel) and lip (right panel)
698	conditions. Participants were instructed to maintain a baseline level of activity as trained
699	on in a pre-thresholding session. New tools were provided for each participant, with a
700	white cotton filling acting as a spring to provide tension for muscle activation.
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702	Figure 2: (A) Chronometric design of the study showing the six time points in relation to the
703	stimulus; (B) the grid surface for the MNI brain used in thresholding.
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705	Figure 3: (A) Box plot showing z-scores for all data. Lip results appear as smaller due to their
706	naturally smaller size. ME= Motor execution, MI = Motor imagery, Base = Baseline. (B) Line
707	plot showing mean MEP AUC (raw) by timepoint. Error bars represent \pm 1SE, α = .001.
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709	Figure 4: Line graphs showing change in mean MEP AUC per time point and effects of
710	condition. ME= Motor execution, MI = Motor imagery, Base = Baseline.
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