

1	Structured sequence learning across sensory modalities in humans and						
2	nonhuman primates						
3							
4	Milne, A. E. <sup>1, 2</sup> , Wilson, B. <sup>2</sup> and Christiansen, M. H. <sup>3, 4, 3</sup>						
5							
6	<sup>1</sup> Ear Institute, UCL, London, WC1X 8EE, UK						
7	<sup>2</sup> Institute of Neuroscience, Henry Wellcome Building, Newcastle University, Framlington Place, Newcastle						
8	upon Tyne, UK.						
9	<sup>3</sup> Department of Psychology, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA						
10	<sup>4</sup> Haskins Laboratories, New Haven, CT 06511, USA						
11	<sup>5</sup> The Interacting Minds Centre and School of Communication and Culture, Aarhus University, 8000 Aarhus C,						
12	Denmark						
13							
14	* Authors contributed equally						
15							
16							
17	Correspondence:						
18 19 20 21	Morten H. Christiansen Department of Psychology 228 Uris Hall Cornell University						
22	Ithaca, NY 14853						
23 24	Phone: 607-255-3834 e-mail: christiansen@cornell.edu						
25							
26 27							
28							
29	Highlights						
30 31	• Sequence processing probes cognitive abilities that are relevant to language						
32	• In humans these abilities are subject to stimulus and modality-specific constraints						
33	• Comparative work is starting to provide evolutionary insights into these processes						
34	• Research in humans can guide future sequence processing work in nonhuman primates						
35	• Understanding these abilities requires a cross-species and cross-modal approach						
36 37							

- 38 Abstract [120 words]
- 39

40 Structured sequence processing tasks inform us about statistical learning abilities that are relevant to

41 many areas of cognition, including language. Despite the ubiquity of these abilities across different

- 42 tasks and cognitive domains, recent research in humans has demonstrated that these cognitive
- 43 capacities do not represent a single, domain-general system, but are subject to modality- and stimulus-
- 44 specific constraints. Sequence processing studies in nonhuman primates have provided initial insights
- 45 into the evolution of these abilities. However, few studies have examined similarities and/or
- 46 differences in sequence learning across sensory modalities. We review how behavioural and
- 47 neuroimaging experiments assess sequence processing abilities across sensory modalities, and how
- 48 these tasks could be implemented in nonhuman primates to better understand the evolution of these
- 49 cognitive systems.
- 50

51

#### 52 Introduction

The ability to recognise and learn predictive dependencies between environmental events is critical to 53 an animal's survival and is central to a wide range of behaviours. For example, statistical learning— 54 55 the development of sensitivity to distributional regularities in an input—appears to be important for 56 processes as diverse as linguistic processing [1] visual scene analysis [2], motor learning [3] and 57 many other behaviours that require the prediction of future events [4]. An early suggestion was 58 therefore that a single cognitive system for extracting statistical regularities might operate over a 59 number of different domains [5]. In humans, however, direct comparisons across sensory modalities, 60 or between different types of stimuli, suggest clear modality- and stimulus-specific constraints on how 61 information is processed [6-8], pointing to differences in the neural systems that underpin these

62 apparently similar behaviours ([9] and see Fig. 1).

63 Statistical learning experiments, including structured sequence processing tasks and artificial grammar learning paradigms, can be used to explore the ability to extract order-based regularities 64 from sequentially-presented stimuli [10,11], (see [12] for a historical review). This approach has 65 demonstrated that statistical learning abilities likely play a role in language acquisition [1,11] and 66 67 syntactic processing [13–15]. Furthermore, comparative experiments have identified similarities in 68 structured sequence learning across a wide range of nonhuman animals, providing insights into the 69 types of sequence processing abilities that may have been evolutionary conserved and those which 70 may have adapted to support language in humans (for reviews, see [16–18]). However, while both 71 auditory and visual sequence processing have been studied in nonhuman animals, direct comparisons 72 across modalities are lacking. Such comparisons will be critical in determining how closely the 73 cognitive systems supporting auditory and visual sequence processing in nonhuman primates 74 resemble those present in humans.

75 Understanding differences both between the species and across modalities can provide 76 important insights about potential cognitive specialisations that occurred during more recent human 77 evolution, and their contributions to the emergence of language. For example, while we might observe striking similarities in the responses of humans and monkeys using certain stimuli and particular 78 79 tasks, it remains possible that very different patterns of learning may be observed across the species 80 using different stimuli in another modality. Such differences would highlight not only those abilities 81 that appear to be evolutionarily conserved in nonhuman primates, but might point to behavioural abilities and the underlying neural substrates which have functionally differentiated in more recent 82 83 evolution, and their possible role in language. Identifying such potentially human-unique adaptations 84 will be critical in understanding how humans diverged from other primates, and how language might 85 be supported by the human brain [19].

86 In this paper, we summarise how sequence learning has been assessed across sensory
87 modalities in humans, consider how data from nonhuman animals might be compared in similar ways,

- and discuss how similarities and differences, across sensory modalities and species, might inform us
- 89 about the cognitive and neural systems that support statistical sequence learning.

#### 90 Constraints on sequence processing in humans

91 A wide range of studies using different stimuli and tasks have shown that humans can extract 92 statistical regularities from a wide range of sequentially presented auditory or visual stimuli 93 (summarised in Table 1). These tasks vary in complexity, from learning relatively simple predictive 94 relationships between adjacent sequence elements, to more nonadjacent or long-distance dependencies 95 between stimuli, or embedded patterns involving multiple overlapping nonadjacent dependencies (for reviews see [17,20,21]). However, there is some debate regarding whether statistical learning across 96 97 sensory modalities is supported by a single amodal system or by multiple sub-systems that are subject 98 to stimulus- and modality-specific constraints [9]. While some studies show similar sensitivity to 99 transitional probabilities between stimuli on matched auditory and visual tasks [22] (see Box 1, Point 100 1), others report substantial differences. Similarly, although early work identified transfer of learning from one modality to another [5] (Box 1, Point 2) subsequent studies have suggested that transfer may 101 102 be task and structure dependent [23]. In particular, where tasks are based on learning specific relationships between individual stimuli (e.g. the nonsense word 'biff' predicts 'cav'), transferring the 103 104 relationships to a new modality requires learning the mappings between these two stimulus sets, and 105 therefore is unlikely to occur easily or implicitly. By contrast, more abstract representations or rules 106 could be more easily transferred between stimuli or modalities as learning is not linked to any specific 107 stimulus [24], but instead relates to patterns of stimuli (for example element repetitions [23,25]). 108 Nonetheless in certain tasks information from one modality can influence learning in another (Box 1, 109 Point 3). For instance, the addition of auditory cues can aid visual sequence learning [26], and 110 bimodal audio-visual presentation of the same sequence structure results in better performance than 111 unimodal presentation [27]. However, in humans there is little evidence that individuals' sequence 112 learning abilities are correlated across modalities or perceptual domains, further highlighting stimulus-specific constraints on sequence processing [9,28,29] (Box 1, Point 4). Finally, 113 neuroimaging work (Box 1, Point 5) can investigate whether the same brain regions are recruited for 114 115 sequence learning across modalities. Current evidence paints a complex picture of sequence 116 processing in the brain (Fig. 1) and is therefore considered in more detail in subsequent sections of this review. Taken together, this data suggests that there is unlikely to be a unitary sequence 117 118 processing mechanism that is tied, for example to general cognitive abilities (for a review see [30]).

# **119** Sequence learning in primates

120 In humans, sequence learning is observed reliably across a wide range of tasks and sensory

- 121 modalities, albeit with input-related constraints. It is therefore unsurprising that similar learning is
- also observed in other species. The study of nonhuman animals, particularly nonhuman primates, has

123 become a valuable way to investigate the evolutionary origins of cognitive and neural systems that 124 might be related to those that support language in humans [31]. Nonhuman primates have been tested with a wide variety of different sequence processing tasks [32-37]. Cross-species studies can inform 125 us about unique adaptations, including specialisations that have been recruited for language in humans 126 127 [38], as well as similarities between humans and other primates (see Table 1) [16,22,33,39,40]. 128 Behavioural and neurobiological similarities in sequence learning abilities between humans and other 129 primate species, suggest that certain sequence processing abilities appear to be evolutionarily 130 conserved [40–42]. However, there is a lack of evidence about how similarly these systems might 131 operate across different inputs or sensory modalities, and thus little information as to whether the 132 variability observed in human sequence learning across different modalities is conserved in nonhuman 133 animals.

134 In a recent experiment, we directly compared auditory and visual sequence learning in humans and monkeys [22] (see Box 1, Point 1). This study found similar patterns of responses to a 135 range of sequences of auditory and visual stimuli, suggesting these processes might be supported by 136 137 similar computations [22]. In humans, further insights into the domain-general nature of sequence 138 processing have been provided by assessing whether learning about one set of stimuli can be 139 transferred or generalised to novel stimuli or to a different modality (Box 1, Point 2; Table 1). 140 However, similar experiments have rarely been performed in nonhuman primates. Some studies have 141 shown that nonhuman primates generalise learning to previously unheard, novel sequences comprised 142 of familiar stimulus elements [16,32,43], but to date no studies have tested transfer to new stimulus sets or across modalities. There is some evidence of cross-modal influences, whereby the presentation 143 144 of sequences of auditory stimuli might have an impact on visual sequence processing (Box 1, Point 3) 145 in chimpanzees. In a two-alternative forced-choice experiment, chimpanzees were trained to select symmetrical rather than asymmetrical sequences of shapes (i.e., XYX vs XYY) [35]. In testing, the 146 147 presentation of the visual stimuli was preceded by a previously unheard auditory tone sequence that 148 was either congruent (symmetrical) or incongruent (asymmetrical) with the visual sequence the animals were trained to select. The presentation of incongruent auditory stimuli caused an increase in 149 150 reaction times, delaying their selection of the appropriate visual sequence [44]. This demonstrates that 151 properties of the auditory stimuli (i.e., the presence or absence of element repetitions) produced some interference in visual sequence processing, suggesting at least some cross-modal interactions in great 152 153 apes. However, the ability to generalise or transfer statistical regularities has yet to be fully 154 established in nonhuman primates.

In humans there is growing interest in assessing the patterns of individual performance across sequence learning tasks (Box 1, Point 4; for discussion see [9] and [30]). However, this line of enquiry has yet to be studied it nonhuman primates. Most primate studies use small sample sizes or use methods that are hard to replicate in the visual modality [37] - though also see [45]. Although, an opportunity could be provided by recent work in baboons in which voluntary engagement systemshave been shown to produce thousands of trials worth of a data from many animals [46,47].

161 Nonhuman primate research can provide invaluable insights into the evolution and neurobiology of the systems that support sequence processing. However, in comparative research 162 163 there are often unavoidable methodological and cognitive differences between the species which must be considered [38]. For example, nonhuman primates (and human infants) are often passively exposed 164 to sequences, while adult humans may be asked to attend to the stimuli, possibly resulting in different 165 166 patterns of learning. Similarly, humans can be instructed how to respond, while it is often more 167 practical to rely on animals' natural orienting responses. Alternatively, animals might be trained using an operant task for tens of thousands of trials [46,47], making direct comparisons to humans difficult. 168 169 There are also unavoidable cognitive differences between humans and other species. Humans may verbalise or label stimuli, using language to help process stimuli in ways unavailable to nonhuman 170 primates. They may also try and infer the goal of implicit learning experiments, and respond in the 171 172 manner that they think the experimenter desires, which is less likely in nonhuman animals. These 173 differences must be considered when designing comparative experiments and interpreting their 174 results, particularly when cross species differences are observed.

175 Nevertheless, the existing behavioural evidence from nonhuman primates indicates that, as in 176 humans, sequence learning can occur in the auditory and visual modalities, and in primates we 177 observe similar responses across different types of input [22] as well as some interactions across the 178 modalities [44]. However, initial human studies also focused on general similarities in statistical 179 learning. It was only when these capacities were probed in more detail that evidence of modality-180 specific constraints on processing emerged. As such, the evidence suggests that humans do not 181 possess a single, domain-general system that operates identically over all auditory and visual sequences. Rather the system appears to be more complex and operates under modality and stimulus-182 183 specific constraints. If we are to compare humans and monkeys to draw evolutionary inferences, we 184 must be careful to compare like to like and not to over-extrapolate from one modality, task, or type of stimulus to all others. Additional evidence is required to understand if nonhuman primates, like 185 186 humans, show sequence learning abilities that vary both qualitatively and quantitatively across 187 modalities [6], and if these differences were important for the evolution of language.

## 188 Sequence learning in the brain: across modalities and species

189 Human neuroimaging experiments using sequence learning and artificial grammar paradigms have

identified a broad network of regions involved in sequence processing (see Fig. 1). Some of these

- regions are primarily engaged in only the auditory or visual modality, while other areas are involved
- in sequence processing regardless of stimulus modality. In particular, a number of regions such as the
- inferior frontal gyrus including the frontal operculum [20] and Broca's territory tend to be engaged by

- sequence processing tasks in both the auditory [42,48] and visual modality [49,50] (see Fig. 1 and
- 195 Table 2). This evidence suggests that overlapping areas are involved in structured sequence learning
- across modalities, at least for certain tasks. Importantly, though, some of this overlap might be
- attributed to similarities in task demands and response types [20]. For example, comparisons across
- tasks that require identification of a violation to the sequence structure (see final column, Table 2)
- 199 could reflect similarities in general error detection mechanisms rather than just those which relate to
- 200 the extraction of sequence-based regularities.

201 Recently, comparative fMRI experiments using auditory sequence processing tasks in both humans and macaques [42,43] have demonstrated that sequence violations produced activity in certain 202 homologous frontal, temporal and parietal regions, particularly inferior frontal regions including the 203 204 frontal operculum [43] (see Fig. 1). In this study, activity was also observed in the homologue of Broca's area in macaques, but not in humans, suggesting potential differentiation of this region [43] 205 (for a review see [17] and also [42,51]). Visual experiments and direct comparisons across modalities 206 207 have yet to be performed using primate neuroimaging, but these will be critical to fully understand the 208 evolution of the neurobiological systems that support sequence processing (see Fig. 1).

209 While these fMRI studies can provide valuable insights into the neural substrates responsible 210 for detecting sequence violations, it is also important consider other brain areas within the neural 211 network involved in sequence processing. Primarily unisensory areas, such as primary auditory and 212 visual cortex are also likely to play important role in these tasks (Fig. 1 and [2]) and processing that 213 occurs within these regions is likely to have implications for operations that occur upstream, in higher cortical areas (see [9] for a review). In both humans and monkeys, direct recordings of neuronal 214 responses have highlighted the role of auditory cortex during sequence processing [52]. This study 215 216 identified both neurons that showed a preferential response to sequence violations, and others that responded to sequences that do not contain a violation [52]. These results indicate that even the 217 218 earliest cortical regions are sensitive to the order of elements in a sequence (see also [53]). Although 219 some studies have assessed processing in early visual cortex [2,54], as yet no study has directly 220 compared how primary auditory and visual cortex respond to identically structured sequences. Experiments carefully considering the role of sensory cortices and their interactions with other brain 221 222 areas including inferior frontal gyrus, either using direct recordings or neuroimaging techniques, are 223 critical for understanding how different brain regions contribute to the processing of sequence 224 information, and how this might vary across different stimuli or modalities (Fig. 1).

225

# 226 Conclusions

Understanding how the brain supports complex cognitive operations, like those involved in sequenceprocessing, requires rigorous research to differentiate the mechanisms that have been conserved since

229 our last common ancestor with nonhuman primates from those that have diverged. It is initially 230 tempting to assume that similar patterns in behavioural data point to the presence of a single, domain-231 general cognitive or neurobiological system. However, in humans there is little evidence to support 232 such a conclusion [9]. In primates, there is initial evidence for similar sequence processing abilities, both between humans and monkeys, and between auditory and visual modalities [22]. However, we 233 should learn from the human work and not assume that identical processes are at play until we probe 234 235 exactly how (and how similarly) auditory and visual sequences are processed, both behaviourally and in the brain. Another key missing element is the potential role of development in the emergence of 236 sequence processing skills in nonhuman primates. Our understanding of cross-sensory sequence 237 processing in nonhuman primates is in its infancy, but by learning from work done in humans, future 238 research may provide insights that are not possible in humans. These would not only improve our 239 240 understanding of how sequence learning abilities evolved, but also the core neuronal computations 241 and mechanisms which support them.

242

#### 243 Box 1: Methods of assessing sequence processing across modalities

A number of approaches have been used to assess how sequence processing operates across
different types of stimuli or sensory modalities, to provide insight into the nature of the cognitive
and neural systems involved. These include:

- Directly comparing learning of identically structured sequences across different stimuli
   or modalities.
- 249 2. Assessing generalisation of learning to new stimuli or transfer to another modality.
- 3. Investigating cross-modal influences, such as inhibition or facilitation of the learning ofartificial grammars presented in different modalities.
- 252 4. Exploring correlations in individual performance across statistical learning tasks.
- 5. Studying the brain areas and networks engaged in processing sequences presented indifferent modalities.

255 Evidence from each of these different approaches can provide important insights into the system(s) 256 that support sequence learning (see Table 1). However, the data must be carefully considered. For 257 example, similar patterns of behavioural responses across modalities (e.g., [22]) might be suggestive 258 of a single, domain-general system. Yet, it is also possible that this result arises from similar 259 computational principles that are applied in different cognitive or neural systems [9]. Similarly, while 260 a lack of transfer between modalities suggests some separation in auditory and visual sequence 261 processing (e.g., [7]), humans may be able to generalise certain stimulus properties (e.g., presence 262 or absence of repetitions) to novel stimuli, independent of the sequence structure. Evidence of 263 activation in different brain regions across modalities (e.g., in auditory and visual cortex) can inform 264 us about the (potentially modality specific) role of initial sensory processing on sequence learning. 265 However, in cases where both auditory and visual stimuli engage the same brain areas, it is 266 important to rule out other explanations, such as task-specific effects, before drawing conclusions 267 about the domain-generality of the functions of these regions. For example, comparison across tasks that require identification of a violation to the sequence structure could reflect similarities in general 268 269 error detection mechanisms rather than just those which relate to sequence processing. Relatedly, 270 whether learning and testing occurs in an implicit or explicit paradigm is likely to impact how 271 different neural systems are engaged [20,55]. Overall, sequence processing is likely supported by 272 complex cognitive and neurobiological systems (Fig. 1). Understanding the nature of these systems 273 requires us to carefully consider and interpret the data from several different sources to appreciate 274 how stimulus- and modality-specific constraints might interact with more domain-general neural 275 substrates or cognitive computations.

276

## 277 [Figure 1. attached separately]

278 Figure 1. Brain areas involved in auditory and visual sequence processing in humans and 279 macaques. Upper panel (adapted from [9]), shows key brain areas involved in auditory and visual 280 sequence processing. Brain areas associated with modality-specific auditory and visual processing 281 are shown in blue and orange circles respectively, and areas involved in domain-general processes in 282 combined blue and orange circles. These tasks engage a broad network of areas, including areas that 283 are both primarily unisensory, and those which are involved in both auditory and visual processing. It 284 may be important to consider the contribution of each of these nodes to fully understand how 285 sequence processing operates across modalities. This panel illustrates that a broad set of regions are 286 involved in sequence processing tasks, but that these are not identical across modalities, challenging 287 the idea of a "domain-general" sequence processing network in the brain. The lower panel shows 288 the location of anatomical homologues of those regions identified in humans in [9]. Brain areas 289 involved in auditory [42,43] and visual [56,57]sequence processing tasks in nonhuman primates are 290 shown in filled blue circles. This highlights that, in the auditory modality similar activation is 291 observed in humans and monkeys in a number of homologous regions (compare filled and half-filled 292 blue circles in upper and lower panel), including IFG, STG, IPL and caudate. In monkeys, visual 293 sequence processing has been measured in inferotemporal cortex using electrophysiological 294 recordings [56,58], although other regions are undoubtedly also involved. Therefore, homologues of 295 the regions seen in visual tasks in humans are denoted by open circles with dashed lines, highlighting 296 the need for further research into the role of these regions in the visual modality. The depicted 297 regions are not intended to constitute an exhaustive set of brain regions sub-serving each domain in 298 either species. Abbreviations: C, cuneus; CA, caudate; FG, fusiform gyrus; H, hippocampus; IFG, 299 inferior frontal gyrus; IPL, inferior parietal lobule; IT, inferotemporal cortex; STG, superior temporal 300 gyrus; T, thalamus; A, anterior; P, posterior; D, dorsal; V, ventral; L, left; R, right.

	Experiment	Auditory	Visual	Artificial Grammar (AG)	Key Results
		Stimuli	Stimuli		
Humans					
Effects across	Conway and Christiansen, 2005 [6]	Tones	Location	Two Reber-style AGs with probabilistic relationships between adjacent elements	Auditory > visual
modalities	Conway & Christiansen, 2009 [59]	Tones	Textured squares	Reber-style AG with probabilistic relationships between adiacent elements	Fast presentation: Auditory > visual; Slow presentation: Visual > auditory
	Emberson et al., 2011 [8]	Nonsense words	Abstract shapes	Stream segmentation: high probabilities between elements that form 'words' (i.e. triplets of elements), with low probabilities between words	Fast presentation: Auditory > visual; Slow presentation: Visual > auditory
	Walk & Conway, 2016 [29]	Tones/ nonsense words	Abstract shapes / colour	Sequences consisting of both auditory and visual stimuli, in which each element could only be followed by one auditory or one visual element	No evidence of cross-modal learning or learning of cross- category dependencies
	Milne et al., 2017 [22]	Sound effects	Abstract shapes	Simplified Reber-style AG with probabilistic relationships between adjacent elements.	Similar patterns of learning across modalities. Visual performance > auditory performance
	<b>Zimmerer et al., 2011</b> [60]	Syllables	Abstract shapes	A <sup>n</sup> B <sup>n</sup> AG with nonadjacent, embedded relationships between two perceptual classes of stimuli	No significant difference between modalities
Transfer between	Conway and Christiansen, 2006 [7] Durrant et al. 2016 [61]	Tones	Colours / shapes	Two Reber-style AGs with probabilistic relationships between adjacent elements	Multiple AGs were learned simultaneously if presented in different modalities (no transfer occurred) After 24 hours consolidation, deterministic pattern in topes
mouanties		Tories	Location	between elements	transferred to location of shapes
	Altmann, Dienes & Goode, 1995 [5]	Tones/syllables /nonsense words	Letters/ syllables	Two Reber-style AGs with probabilistic relationships between adjacent elements	Transfer from auditory stimuli to visual stimuli, and vice versa.
Cross-modal influences	<b>Mitchel and Weiss, 2011</b> [62]	Tones	Abstract shapes	Stream segmentation: high probabilities between elements that form 'words' (i.e. triplets of elements), with low probabilities between words	Simultaneous auditory and visual presentation. Learning only occurred in both modalities when statistical boundaries corresponded across modalities
	Mitchel et al., 2014 [63]	Syllables	Abstract shapes	Two Reber-style AGs with probabilistic relationships between adjacent elements	Automatic integration of visual information during auditory statistical learning
	Onnis and Thiessen, 2013 [26]	Italian syllables/tones	Letters	Stream segmentation: high probabilities between elements that form 'words' (i.e. triplets of elements), with low probabilities between words	Visual learning aided by auditory stimuli
	Robinson and Sloutsky, 2007 [64]	Syllables	Shapes and colour	Stream segmentation: high probabilities between elements that form 'words' (i.e. triplets of elements), with low probabilities between words	Statistical information in auditory stream influenced visual learning
	Seitz et al., 2007 [27]	Abstract sounds	Abstract shapes	Stream segmentation: high probabilities between elements that form 'words' (i.e. triplets of elements), with low probabilities between words	Audio-visual sequence learning better than unimodal learning
	van den Bos et al., 2012 [65]	Nonsenses words	Abstract shapes	Probabilistic nonadjacent dependencies	Nonadjacent sequence learning aided by cue from second modality

Correlations across tasks	Siegelman & Frost, 2015 [9]	Syllables/ computerised sounds	Abstract shapes	Either deterministic or probabilistic nonadjacent relationships in triplets of elements	No correlations between modalities		
Nonhuman primates							
Effects	Milne et al., 2017 [22]	Sounds effects	Abstract	Simplified Reber-style AG with probabilistic relationships	Similar responses across modalities		
across			shapes	between adjacent elements.			
modalities							
Transfer	-	-	-		-		
between							
modalities							
Cross-modal	Ravignani & Sonnweber,	Tones	Shapes	Symmetrical vs asymmetrical triplets of elements	Auditory pattern influences visual sequence processing		
influences	2017 [44]						
Correlations	-	-	-		-		
across tasks							

**Table 1.** A number of behavioural approaches have been used to access sequence learning across modalities in humans (top panels) and these are outlined in Box 1 (Points 1 to 4). These include a range of different tasks and the stimuli sequences vary in complexity, assessing the learning of different types of sequencing relationships (for recent reviews, see [17,20]). In humans, these studies provide little evidence for the existence of a single 'domain general' sequence processing system, and instead highlight clear stimulus- and modality- specific constraints [9]. Moreover, there does not appear to be a clear link between the types of stimuli or the complexity of the sequences, and cross-modal effects or transfer across modalities. Fewer studies have assessed structured sequence learning across modalities in nonhuman primates (bottom panels). Initial results suggest some similarities across modalities. However, implementing some of the approaches used in human studies in nonhuman primate research will allow us to better understand the constraints under which the sequence processing system(s) operate across modalities and tasks, and how these compare to those observed in humans. This has the potential to provide valuable insights into the evolution of sequence processing abilities, highlighting both those specific abilities and cognitive processes that are evolutionarily conserved, and those which might have diverged and specialised more recently in human evolution.

Modality	Experiment	Stimuli	Artificial grammar	IFG activity	Contrast
Linguistic					
	Cunillera et al., 2009 [66]	Syllables	Stream segmentation	Left	Sequences/random vs rest
Auditory	Goranskaya et al., 2016 [67]	Syllables	A <sup>n</sup> B <sup>n</sup>	None	Learners vs non-learners
	Karuza et al., 2013 [68]	Syllables	Nonadjacent	Left	Forward vs backward order
	Wilson et al., 2015 [43]	Nonsense words	Simplified Reber- style	Bilateral	Violation vs consistent
Visual	Bahlmann et al., 2008 [69]	Syllables	A <sup>n</sup> B <sup>n</sup> vs (AB) <sup>n</sup>	Left	Hierarchical vs adjacent
	Bahlmann et al., 2012 [70]	Syllables	A <sup>n</sup> B <sup>n</sup>	Left	Sequence vs counting
	Folia & Petersson, 2014 [55]	Letters	Reber-style	Bilateral	Violation vs consistent
	Forkstam et al., 2006 [71]	Letters	Reber-style	Left	Classification vs sensorimotor
	Friederici et al., 2006 [49]	Syllables	A <sup>n</sup> B <sup>n</sup> vs (AB) <sup>n</sup>	Left	Violation vs consistent
	Hauser et al. 2012 [72]	Nonsense words	BROCANTO	Right	Consistent vs violation
	Kepinska et al., 2016 [73]	Nonsense words	BROCANTO	Left	Violation vs consistent
	Lieberman et al., 2004 [54]	Letters	Reber-style	Left	Consistent vs violation
Non-Linguistic					
Auditory	Bekinstein et al., 2009 [48]	Tones	Local Global	Bilateral	Global - local violation
	Wang et al., 2015 [42]	Tones	Local Global	Bilateral	Violation vs consistent
Visual	Aizenstein et al., 2004 [74]	Shapes/ colours	Transitional probabilities	Bilateral	Pattern vs no pattern
	Bahlmann et al., 2009 [75]	Abstract shapes	A <sup>n</sup> B <sup>n</sup> vs (AB) <sup>n</sup>	Left	Hierarchical vs adjacent
	Thiel et al., 2003 [76]	Symbols	Bigrams	Bilateral	New vs Old
	van Opstal et al., 2009 [77]	Symbols	Deterministic sequence	Left	Pre-learning vs post-learning

**Table 2**. Summary of fMRI sequence learning studies involving linguistic auditory and visual, and non-linguistic auditory and visual stimuli. Most, but not all, studies showed activity in inferior frontal gyrus (IFG), in Broca's territory and/or the frontal operculum. However, the same artificial grammars are rarely used across modalities, and studies frequently use different contrasts to measure different effects. Futhermore there are relatively few studies that use non-linguistic materials. Direct comparisons using the same artificial grammars across modalities are needed to better understand the neurobiological system that

supports sequence processing. Although a recent meta-analysis highlights the frontal operculum as the region most consistently implicated across artificial grammar learning studies [20].

# Acknowledgments

Supported by a Medical Research Council (MRC, U.K.) PhD Studentship to AM; Sir Henry Wellcome Postdoctoral Fellowship to BW (WT110198/Z/15/Z).

# References

- 1. Saffran JR, Senghas A, Trueswell JC: **The acquisition of language by children.** *Proc Natl Acad Sci U S A* 2001, **98**:12874–5.
- Turk-Browne NB, Scholl BJ, Chun MM, Johnson MK: Neural Evidence of Statistical Learning: Efficient Detection of Visual Regularities Without Awareness. J Cogn Neurosci 2009, 21:1934–1945.
- 3. Grafton ST, Hazeltine E, Ivry R: Functional Mapping of Sequence Learning in Normal Humans. *J Cogn Neurosci* 1995, **7**:497–510.
- 4. Courville AC, Daw ND, Touretzky DS: **Bayesian theories of conditioning in a changing world**. *Trends Cogn Sci* 2006, **10**:294–300.
- 5. Altmann G, Dienes Z, Goode A: **Modality independence of implicitly learned grammatical knowledge**. *J Exp Psychol Learn Mem Cogn* 1995, **21**:899.
- 6. Conway CM, Christiansen MH: **Modality-constrained statistical learning of tactile, visual, and auditory sequences**. *J Exp Psychol Learn Mem Cogn* 2005, **31**:24.
- Conway CM, Christiansen MH: Statistical Learning Within and Between Modalities: Pitting Abstract Against Stimulus-Specific Representations. *Psychol Sci* 2006, 17:905–912.
- 8. Emberson L, Conway CM: **Timing is everything: Changes in presentation rate have opposite effects on auditory and visual implicit statistical learning**. *Q J* 2011,
- 9. Frost R, Armstrong BC, Siegelman N, Christiansen MH: **Domain generality versus modality** specificity: the paradox of statistical learning. *Trends Cogn Sci* 2015, **19**:117–125.
- Reber AS: Implicit learning of artificial grammars. J Verbal Learning Verbal Behav 1967, 6:855–863.
- 11. Saffran JR, Aslin RN, Newport EL: Statistical Learning by 8-Month-Old Infants. *Science* (80-) 1996, 274:1926–1928.
- 12. Christiansen MH: **Implicit-statistical learning: A tale of two literatures**. *Top Cogn Sci* [date unknown],
- 13. Conway CM, Pisoni DB: Neurocognitive basis of implicit learning of sequential structure and its relation to language processing. *Ann N Y Acad Sci* 2008, **1145**:113–131.
- 14. Kidd E, Arciuli J: Individual Differences in Statistical Learning Predict Children's Comprehension of Syntax. *Child Dev* 2016, **87**:184–193.
- 15. Misyak JB, Christiansen MH: Statistical Learning and Language: An Individual Differences Study. *Lang Learn* 2012, **62**:302–331.
- Wilson B, Slater H, Kikuchi Y, Milne AE, Marslen-Wilson WD, Smith K, Petkov CI: Auditory artificial grammar learning in macaque and marmoset monkeys. *J Neurosci* 2013, 33:18825–18835.
- 17. Wilson B, Marslen-Wilson WD, Petkov CI: Conserved Sequence Processing in Primate Frontal Cortex. *Trends Neurosci* 2017, **40**:72–82.
- 18. Santolin C, Saffran JR: Constraints on Statistical Learning Across Species. *Trends Cogn Sci* 2017, doi:10.1016/J.TICS.2017.10.003.
- 19. Christiansen MH, Chater N: The language faculty that wasn't: A usage-based account of natural language recursion. *Front Psychol* 2015, 6.
- 20. Udden, Julia; Männel C: AGL and its neurobiology. [date unknown]:In Press.
- 21. Vries MH De, Christiansen MH, Petersson KM: Learning Recursion : Multiple Nested and Crossed Dependencies. *Biolinguistics* 2011,

- 22. Milne AE, Petkov CI, Wilson B: Auditory and visual sequence learning in humans and monkeys using an artificial grammar learning paradigm. *Neuroscience* 2017, doi:10.1016/j.neuroscience.2017.06.059.
- 23. Tunney RJ, Altmann GTM: The transfer effect in artificial grammar learning: Reappraising the evidence on the transfer of sequential dependencies. *J Exp Psychol Learn Mem Cogn* 1999, **25**:1322–1333.
- 24. Daltrozzo J, Conway CM: Neurocognitive mechanisms of statistical-sequential learning: what do event-related potentials tell us? *Front Hum Neurosci* 2014, 8:1–22.
- 25. Gomez RL, Gerken L, Schvaneveldt RW: **The basis of transfer in artificial grammar learning.** *Mem Cognit* 2000, **28**:253–263.
- 26. Onnis L, Thiessen E: Language experience changes subsequent learning. *Cognition* 2013, **126**:268–284.
- 27. Seitz AR, Kim R, van Wassenhove V, Shams L: Simultaneous and independent acquisition of multisensory and unisensory associations. *Perception-London* 2007, **36**:1445–1454.
- 28. Cope TE, Wilson B, Robson H, Drinkall R, Dean L, Grube M, Jones PS, Patterson K, Griffiths TD, Rowe JB, et al.: Artificial grammar learning in vascular and progressive non-fluent aphasias. *Neuropsychologia* 2017, doi:10.1016/j.neuropsychologia.2017.08.022.
- 29. Walk AM, Conway CM: Cross-Domain Statistical–Sequential Dependencies Are Difficult to Learn. *Front Psychol* 2016, **7**:1–9.
- 30. Siegelman N, Bogaerts L, Christiansen MH, Frost R: **Towards a theory of individual** differences in statistical learning. *Philos Trans R Soc B Biol Sci* 2017, **372**:20160059.
- 31. Fitch WT: *The evolution of language*. Cambridge University Press; 2010.
- 32. Hauser MD, Glynn D: Can free-ranging rhesus monkeys (Macaca mulatta) extract artificially created rules comprised of natural vocalizations? *J Comp Psychol* 2009, **123**:161.
- Newport EL, Hauser MD, Spaepen G, Aslin RN: Learning at a distance II. Statistical learning of non-adjacent dependencies in a non-human primate. *Cogn Psychol* 2004, 49:85–117.
- 34. Ravignani A, Sonnweber R-S, Stobbe N, Fitch WT: Action at a distance: dependency sensitivity in a New World primate. *Biol Lett* 2013, **9**:20130852.
- 35. Sonnweber R, Ravignani A, Fitch WT: **Non-adjacent visual dependency learning in chimpanzees**. *Anim Cogn* 2015, **18**:733–745.
- 36. Heimbauer LA, Conway CM, Christiansen MH, Beran MJ, Owren MJ: A Serial Reaction Time (SRT) task with symmetrical joystick responding for nonhuman primates. *Behav Res Methods* 2012, 44:733–741.
- Saffran JR, Hauser MD, Seibel RL, Kapfhamer J, Tsao F, Cushman F: Grammatical pattern learning by human infants and cotton-top tamarin monkeys. *Cognition* 2008, 107:479– 500.
- 38. Conway CM, Christiansen MH: **Review: Sequential learning in non-human primates**. *Trends Cogn Sci* 2001, **5**:539–546.
- 39. Hauser MD, Newport EL, Aslin RN: Segmentation of the speech stream in a non-human primate: statistical learning in cotton-top tamarins. *Cognition* 2001, **78**:B53–B64.
- 40. Attaheri A, Kikuchi Y, Milne AE, Wilson B, Alter K, Petkov CI: **EEG potentials associated** with artificial grammar learning in the primate brain. *Brain Lang* 2015, **148**:74–80.
- 41. Milne AE, Mueller JL, Männel C, Attaheri A, Friederici AD, Petkov CI: **Evolutionary origins** of non-adjacent sequence processing in primate brain potentials. *Sci Rep* 2016, **6**:36259.
- 42. Wang L, Uhrig L, Jarraya B, Dehaene S: Representation of numerical and sequential

patterns in macaque and human brains. Curr Biol 2015, 25:1966–1974.

- 43. Wilson B, Kikuchi Y, Sun L, Hunter D, Dick F, Smith K, Thiele A, Griffiths TD, Marslen-Wilson WD, Petkov CI: Auditory sequence processing reveals evolutionarily conserved regions of frontal cortex in macaques and humans. *Nat Commun* 2015, 6:1–19.
- 44. Ravignani A, Sonnweber R: Chimpanzees process structural isomorphisms across sensory modalities. *Cognition* 2017, **161**:74–79.
- 45. Siegelman, N., Bogaerts, L., Kronenfeld, O. & Frost R: ). Re-defining "learning" in statistical learning: what does an online measure reveal about the assimilation of visual regularities? *Cogn Sci* [date unknown],
- 46. Fagot J, Gullstrand J, Kemp C, Defilles C, Mekaouche M: Effects of freely accessible computerized test systems on the spontaneous behaviors and stress level of Guinea baboons (Papio papio). *Am J Primatol* 2014, **76**:56–64.
- 47. Grainger J, Dufau S, Montant M, Ziegler JC, Fagot J: Orthographic Processing in Baboons (Papio papio). *Science* (80-) 2012, **336**:245–248.
- 48. Bekinschtein TA, Dehaene S, Rohaut B, Tadel F, Cohen L, Naccache L: Neural signature of the conscious processing of auditory regularities. *Proc Natl Acad Sci* 2009, **106**:1672–1677.
- 49. Friederici AD, Bahlmann J, Heim S, Schubotz RI, Anwander A: **The brain differentiates human and non-human grammars: Functional localization and structural connectivity**. *Proc Natl Acad Sci U S A* 2006, **103**:2458–2463.
- 50. Petersson KM, Forkstam C, Ingvar M: Artificial syntactic violations activate Broca's region. *Cogn Sci* 2004, **28**:383–407.
- 51. Christiansen, Morten H, Mueller RA: **Cultural recycling of neural substrates during language evolution and development**. In *The Cognitive Neurosciences V*. Edited by Gazzaniga MS, Mangun GR. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; 2014:675–682.
- 52. Kikuchi Y, Attaheri A, Wilson B, Rhone AE, Nourski K V, Gander PE, Kovach CK, Kawasaki H, Griffiths TD, Howard MA, et al.: Sequence learning modulates neural responses and oscillatory coupling in human and monkey auditory cortex. *PLOS Biol* 2017, **15**:e2000219.
- 53. Hasson U: **The neurobiology of uncertainty: implications for statistical learning**. *Philos Trans R Soc B Biol Sci* 2017, **372**:20160048.
- 54. Lieberman MD, Chang GY, Chiao J, Bookheimer SY, Knowlton BJ: **An Event-related fMRI Study of Artificial Grammar Learning in a Balanced Chunk Strength Design**. *J Cogn Neurosci* 2004, **16**:427–438.
- 55. Folia V, Petersson KM: Implicit structured sequence learning: An fMRI study of the structural mere-exposure effect. *Front Psychol* 2014, **5**:1–13.
- 56. Meyer T, Olson CR: Statistical learning of visual transitions in monkey inferotemporal cortex. *Proc Natl Acad Sci* 2011, **108**:19401–19406.
- 57. Meyer T, Olson CR: Statistical learning of visual transitions in monkey inferotemporal cortex. *Proc Natl Acad Sci* 2011, **108**:19401–19406.
- 58. Meyer T, Ramachandran S, Olson CR: **Statistical Learning of Serial Visual Transitions by Neurons in Monkey Inferotemporal Cortex**. *J Neurosci* 2014, **34**:9332–9337.
- 59. Conway CM, Christiansen MH: Seeing and hearing in space and time: Effects of modality and presentation rate on implicit statistical learning. *Eur J Cogn Psychol* 2009, **21**:561–580.
- 60. Zimmerer VC, Cowell PE, Varley RA: Individual behavior in learning of an artificial grammar. *Mem Cognit* 2011, **39**:491–501.
- 61. Durrant SJ, Cairney SA, Lewis PA: Cross-modal transfer of statistical information benefits

from sleep. Cortex 2016, 78:85–99.

- 62. Mitchel AD, Weiss DJ: Learning across senses: Cross-modal effects in multisensory statistical learning. *J Exp Psychol Learn Mem Cogn* 2011, **37**:1081–1091.
- 63. Mitchel AD, Christiansen MH, Weiss DJ: Multimodal integration in statistical learning: Evidence from the McGurk illusion. *Front Psychol* 2014, **5**.
- 64. Robinson CW, Sloutsky VM: Visual processing speed: effects of auditory input on visual processing. *Dev Sci* 2007, **10**:734–740.
- 65. van den Bos E, Christiansen MH, Misyak JB: **Statistical learning of probabilistic nonadjacent dependencies by multiple-cue integration**. *J Mem Lang* 2012, doi:10.1016/j.jml.2012.07.008.
- 66. Cunillera T, Càmara E, Toro JM, Marco-Pallares J, Sebastián-Galles N, Ortiz H, Pujol J, Rodríguez-Fornells A: **Time course and functional neuroanatomy of speech segmentation in adults**. *Neuroimage* 2009, **48**:541–553.
- 67. Goranskaya D, Kreitewolf J, Mueller JL, Friederici AD, Hartwigsen G: Fronto-Parietal Contributions to Phonological Processes in Successful Artificial Grammar Learning. Front Hum Neurosci 2016, 10.
- 68. Karuza EA, Newport EL, Aslin RN, Starling SJ, Tivarus ME, Bavelier D: **The neural** correlates of statistical learning in a word segmentation task: An fMRI study. *Brain Lang* 2013, **127**:46–54.
- 69. Bahlmann J, Schubotz RI, Friederici AD: Hierarchical artificial grammar processing engages Broca's area. *Neuroimage* 2008, **42**:525–534.
- 70. Bahlmann J, Korb FM, Gratton C, Friederici AD: Levels of Integration in Cognitive Control and Sequence Processing in the Prefrontal Cortex. *PLoS One* 2012, **7**:e43774.
- 71. Forkstam C, Hagoort P, Fernández G, Ingvar M, Petersson KM: Neural correlates of artificial syntactic structure classification. *Neuroimage* 2006, **32**:956–967.
- 72. Hauser MFA, Hofmann J, Opitz B: **Rule and similarity in grammar: Their interplay and individual differences in the brain**. *Neuroimage* 2012, **60**:2019–2026.
- 73. Kepinska O, Rover M de, Caspers J, Schiller N: **On neural correlates of individual** differences in novel grammar learning: an fMRI study. *Neuropsychologia* 2017,
- 74. Aizenstein HJ, Stenger VA, Cochran J, Clark K, Johnson M, Nebes RD, Carter CS: Regional Brain Activation during Concurrent Implicit and Explicit Sequence Learning. Cereb Cortex 2004, 14:199–208.
- 75. Bahlmann J, Schubotz RI, Mueller JL, Koester D, Friederici AD: Neural circuits of hierarchical visuo-spatial sequence processing. *Brain Res* 2009, **1298**:161–170.
- 76. Thiel CM, Shanks D, Henson R, Dolan R: Neuronal correlates of familiarity-driven decisions in artificial grammar learning. *Neuroreport* 2003, **14**:131–136.
- 77. Van Opstal F, Fias W, Peigneux P, Verguts T: **The neural representation of extensively trained ordered sequences**. *Neuroimage* 2009, **47**:367–375.

## Annotations:

\*Christiansen and Chater, 2015. Suggest that the ability to process recursive structures in language derives from complex sequence learning skills evolved in the human lineage. Constraints on sequence learning is argues to have played an important role in the cultural evolution of linguistic structure, including the limited ability to process recursive constructions.

**\*Durrant et al., 2016.** Using a simple statistical learning task with deterministic sequences, transfer was observed from the auditory to the visual modality but only after a 24-hour consolidation period. Initial evidence is provided showing the relevance of consolidation for cross-modal transfer that requires further investigation using probabilistically structured sequences.

\*Milne et al., 2017. In the first study to directly test structure sequence learning abilities across species (human vs. macaque) and modalities (auditory vs. visual), the same artificial grammar was used to generate sequences of computer-generated sound effects or abstract shapes. Both species were sensitive to violations of the artificial grammar and showed patterns of responses were highly consistent across the two modalities. These data suggest that similar computations are likely to occur across modalities in the both human and nonhuman primates.

\*Siegelman & Frost, 2015. Human participants were tested on a range of statistical learning tasks using auditory and visual, verbal and non-verbal stimuli. The results found that performance was not correlated across the tasks showing that at an individual level statistical sequence learning abilities do not reflect a unified capacity.

**\*Walk and Conway, 2016.** In a multimodal sequence learning experiment subjects could not learn relationships between items of different perceptual categories or perceptual modalities. This study demonstrates that statistical learning can operate within but not across domains.

**\*Wilson et al., 2015.** Comparative fMRI was used to identify key brain areas in ventral frontal cortex which are similarly involved in auditory sequence processing in both macaque monkeys and human participants. In humans, this region is plays a role in syntactic processing. These results identify evolutionarily conserved neural substrates that are involved in sequence processing.