

Grey matter volume differences in the left caudate nucleus of people who stutter

Paul F Sowman^{1,2,3}, Margaret Ryan^{1,2}, Blake W Johnson^{1,2}, Greg Savage^{2,5}, Stephen Crain^{2,4},
Elisabeth Harrison⁴, Erin Martin¹, and Hana Burianová⁶

¹Department of Cognitive Science,
Macquarie University, New South Wales 2109, Australia

²Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Cognition and Its Disorders,

³Perception and Action Research Centre, Faculty of Human Sciences, Macquarie University,
New South Wales 2109, Australia

⁴Department of Linguistics,
Macquarie University, New South Wales 2109, Australia

⁵Department of Psychology
Macquarie University, New South Wales 2109, Australia

⁶Centre for Advanced Imaging,
The University of Queensland, Queensland 4072, Australia

Corresponding Author: Paul F Sowman, Department of Cognitive Science, Australian
Hearing Hub, 16 University Avenue, Macquarie University, North Ryde, NSW 2109,
Australia. paul.sowman@mq.edu.au

Abstract

The cause of stuttering has many theoretical explanations. A number of research groups have suggested changes in the volume and/or function of the striatum as a causal agent. Two recent studies in children and one in adults who stutter (AWS) report differences in striatal volume compared that seen in controls; however, the laterality and nature of this anatomical volume difference is not consistent across studies. The current study investigated whether a reduction in striatal grey matter volume, comparable to that seen in children who stutter (CWS), would be found in AWS. Such a finding would support claims that an anatomical striatal anomaly plays a causal role in stuttering. We used voxel-based morphometry to examine the structure of the striatum in a group of AWS and compared it to that in a group of matched adult control subjects. Results showed a statistically significant group difference for the left caudate nucleus, with smaller mean volume in the group of AWS. The caudate nucleus, one of three main structures within the striatum, is thought to be critical for the planning and modulation of movement sequencing. The difference in striatal volume found here aligns with theoretical accounts of stuttering, which suggest it is a motor control disorder that arises from deficient articulatory movement selection and sequencing. Whilst the current study provides further evidence of a striatal volume difference in stuttering at the group level compared to controls, the significant overlap between AWS and controls suggests this difference is unlikely to be diagnostic of stuttering.

Introduction

An influential review by Alm (2004) puts forth a theoretical account of stuttering that has at its core a primary dysfunction in motoric cuing circuits subserved by the striatum – a significant subregion of the basal ganglia that consists of the caudate nucleus, putamen, and ventral striatum. More recently, in modeling the neural mechanisms of stuttering, the work of Civier, Bullock, Max, and Guenther (2013) posits a dysfunction in dopaminergic transmission mediated by the striatum. Such theoretical work builds on observations that lesions of the basal ganglia (BG) are associated with acquired stuttering (e.g. Carlier et al., 2000; Cipolotti, Bisiacchi, Denes, & Gallo, 1988; Kent & Rosenbek, 1982; Kono, Hirano, Ueda, & Nakajima, 1998; Ludlow, Rosenberg, Salazar, Grafman, & Smutok, 1987; Marsden, 1982; Marshall & Neuburger, 1987; Meyers, Hall, & Aram, 1990; Nebel, Reese, Deuschl, Mehdorn, & Volkman, 2009; Soroker, Bar-Israel, Schechter, & Solzi, 1990; Tani & Sakai, 2011; Theys, De Nil, Thijs, van Wieringen, & Sunaert, 2013; Wallesch, 1990; Yoshida, 1989); and that there are commonalities between stuttering and other BG associated movement disorders such as Parkinson’s disease (Anderson, Hughes, Rothi, Crucian, & Heilman, 1999) and Tourette syndrome (Ludlow & Loucks, 2003). Moreover, activations of the striatum correlate with measures of stuttering (Ingham et al., 2004; Toyomura, Fujii, & Kuriki, 2011), and functional imaging evidence suggests a critical role for the striatum in speech fluency (Ellfolk et al., 2014). Additional evidence of BG involvement in stuttering are the findings that the symptoms of stuttering may be alleviated by antidopaminergic drugs (Burns, Brady, & Kuruvilla, 1978; Rosenberger, Wheelden, & Kalotkin, 1976), and may be exacerbated by dopamine agonists e.g. levodopa (Anderson et al., 1999). However, it is important to note that positive effects of amphetamine/methylphenidate administration (which enhance dopamine levels) in stuttering suggest that the relationship between stuttering and dopamine levels is not straightforward (e.g. see Devroey, Beerens, & Van De Vijver, 2012; Fish & Bowling, 1965;

Rabaeys, Bijleveld, & Devroey, 2015). Furthermore, not all stutterers improve when taking dopamine antagonists (Brady, 1991).

When comparing brain activations during speech in adults who stutter (AWS) to those in adults who do not stutter (AWDS) using positron emission tomography, Wu et al. (1995) found that AWS exhibited less activity in the left caudate during both fluent and dysfluent speech. Furthermore, the same research group showed increased fluorodopa (a fluorinated form of L-DOPA used as a radiotracer to measure dopamine metabolism) uptake in the left caudate tail in AWS compared to AWDS (Wu, Riley, Maguire, Najafi, & Tang, 1997), albeit in a group of only three AWS. A number of more recent neuroimaging studies have also reported abnormal striatal activations or abnormal connections to/from striatal areas in AWS (e.g. Chang, Kenney, Loucks, & Ludlow, 2009; Chang & Zhu, 2013; Giraud et al., 2008; Lu, Chen, et al., 2010; Lu et al., 2009; Lu, Peng, et al., 2010).

Building on functional imaging evidence, three structural studies have uncovered alterations in striatal morphology that suggest a link between the aforementioned observations of abnormal striatal function, and striatal structure in stuttering. However, the laterality and nature of the abnormality reported varies between these studies. Two of these studies were conducted in children: Reduced grey matter volume relative to matched controls was found in the right caudate nuclei of right-handed boys who stutter (Foundas, Mock, Cindass, & Corey, 2013), and in the left putamen of children who stutter (CWS) (Beal, Gracco, Brettschneider, Kroll, & De Nil, 2013). Lu, Peng, et al. (2010) also investigated grey matter volume (GMV) in the striatum and found increased GMV in the left putamen in AWS compared to AWDS.

While a study of children close to the onset of stuttering may provide the best indication of its cause, comparing differences in brain structure or function between child and adult studies can help elucidate whether and which differences in the adult brain are as a result of compensatory mechanisms and/or the stutter itself (Beal et al., 2013; Chang,

Erickson, Ambrose, Hasegawa-Johnson, & Ludlow, 2008; Sato et al., 2011). Commonalities in volumetric deviations between CWS and AWS compared to controls would support the conclusion that such deviations might be causally related to stuttering. Conversely, if a volumetric change is found in CWS that is not seen in AWS, this would lend itself to the contention that either childhood stuttering can manifest as a different disorder to persistent developmental stuttering, or that neuroplasticity has compensated for the early abnormality in AWS. Such a situation may point to a different cause of stuttering than the striatal source proposed in the studies with children (e.g. Beal et al., 2013; Foundas et al., 2013). That Lu, Peng, et al. (2010) found an increase in GMV rather than the decrease found in the two studies with children raises the above concerns. Attempted replication of the Lu, Peng, et al. (2010) findings are therefore warranted.

The current study aimed to test the hypothesis that changes in striatal GMV, consistent with that seen in studies of CWS, will be seen in AWS. Such a finding would support a causal role for the striatum in stuttering. Using region-of-interest (ROI) voxel-based morphometry (VBM) we examined GMV in the striatum of both hemispheres in a group AWS, and compared them with a matched cohort of AWDS. We hypothesized that the striatum of AWS would exhibit a significant reduction in volume of grey matter, as was found in Foundas et al. (2013) and Beal et al. (2013)

Methods

Fifty-four adults (27 AWS and 27 AWDS) participated in the current study. The mean age (\pm SD) of the AWS was 45.9 ± 16 years and the AWDS 47.1 ± 15 years. There were seven female subjects and one left-handed male in each group. Control subjects (AWDS) had no history of stuttering.

Stuttering participants were recruited based on self-report as recommended by

Guntupalli, Kalinowski, and Saltuklaroglu (2006), Guitar (2015), and Yairi and Seery (2015). Stuttering participants were asked to self-rate their current stuttering severity and the range of severities over which their stuttering could vary on a 10-point scale (1=no stuttering, 10=extremely severe). Age of stuttering onset, duration of stuttering, and information about any stuttering treatment was also recorded, along with any other relevant information offered by participants. 26 of the 27 stuttering participants had received a diagnosis of stuttering and 25 had undergone treatment for their stutter¹. A ten-minute speech sample of conversational speech was audio-recorded to calculate stuttering severity (percent syllables stuttered) at the time of the investigation². This sample was rated by a qualified speech pathologist. These data are summarized in Table 1. No participants (AWS or AWDS) had any history of any other speech, hearing, language or neurological illness³. All participants were fluent in English. Bilingual participants were included in the study and matched by languages spoken across experimental groups. All participants provided written informed consent and the research was approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee.

¹ The single participant who had not received a diagnosis of stuttering had presented as a control in another study. Substantial stutters were observed in his conversational speech by the three researchers present. This participant later reported a history of stuttering

² In the percentage of syllables stuttered calculation, repetitions, prolongations and blocks were classed as stuttered syllables. Multiple repetitions on one syllable were classed as a single stutter, as per Guitar (2015).

³ Participants were excluded if they had experienced, or were currently experiencing any other speech, hearing, language, cognitive, psychological or neurological disorder other than their stutter, or if they were on any neuroactive medication. 26 of the 27 participants can be classed as persistent developmental stutters as their stuttering developed at age 12 or under. However, stuttering onset for one participant was at 19 years. It is possible that this participant's stutter was not developmental, but rather had a neurogenic or psychogenic cause (Guitar, 2015). Chang, Synnestvedt, Ostuni, and Ludlow (2010) found that similar neuroanatomical differences were seen in adult-onset stutters as compared to persistent developmental stutters.

Table 1 - Subjects' information.

		Stuttering subjects				Non-stuttering subjects			
Number		27				27			
Male:Female		20:7				20:7			
Chronological age		47.6 years				45.9 years			
Detailed information about stuttering subjects									
ID	Gender	Handedness	% Stuttered syllables	Usual SR	SR Range	Total no. syllables analysed	Speech rate (syllables/min.)	Age of onset (years)	Treatment
S1	F	R	3.9	4	3-8	1428	198	7	Y
S2	F	R	1.7	3	1-9	851	219	5	Y
S3	F	R	0	2	2-5	1960	273	3	Y
S4	F	R	0.8	2-3	1-5	2237	232	5	Y
S5	F	R	0.9	2	2-4	2311	258	5	Y
S6	F	R	3.4	4	2-5	1604	204	3	Y
S7	F	R	4	4-5	3-10	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	3	Y
S8	M	R	4.4	6	4-7	1477	221	5	Y
S9	M	R	0	2	2-6	1101	230	5	Y
S10	M	R	2.6	3	2-4	1862	220	5	Y
S11	M	R	4.8	2	1-5	2943	255	6	Y
S12	M	R	0.6	2	1-4	2351	264	5	Y
S13	M	R	2	3.5	2-8	1855	236	12	Y
S14	M	R	0.5	2	2-4	1650	212	9	Y
S15	M	R	3.1	3	1-5	1408	212	5	N
S16	M	R	0.6	2	2-3	2413	247	3	Y
S17	M	R	2.7	4	2-6	1184	236	5	Y
S18	M	R	0.7	2-3	1-7	2000	271	4	Y
S19	M	R	1/2	1	1	1897	227	5	N
S20	M	R	2.1	4	1-7	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	10	Y
S21	M	L	0.2	2-3	1-6	1689	231	5	Y
S22	M	R	9.4	1-5	1-5	1108	176	5	Y
S23	M	R	1	3	1-7	1668	241	7	Y
S24	M	R	3	2-3	1-9	2454	254	7	Y
S25	M	R	0.6	3	2-6	1422	270	5	Y
S26	M	R	1.1	2-5	2-6	1904	220	5	Y
S27	M	R	0.9	1	1	2258	278	19	Y

SR = severity rating. Severity ratings are italicised. *a* the speech pathologist did not, or was not able to record this data.

MRI Data Acquisition

Anatomical T1-weighted magnetic resonance images were acquired at Macquarie University Hospital, Sydney, using a 3 Tesla Siemens Magnetom Verio scanner with a 12-channel head coil. Anatomical images were acquired using an MP-RAGE sequence (TR = 2000 ms, TE = 3.94 ms, FOV = 240 mm, voxel size = 0.94 mm³, TI = 900, flip angle = 9°).

MRI Preprocessing & Data Analysis

Structural images were processed using SPM8 (Wellcome Trust Center for Neuroimaging, London; <http://www.fil.ion.ucl.ac.uk/spm>). All preprocessing steps were conducted using standard procedures implemented in the VBM toolbox of SPM8. All the steps for data processing were followed precisely as detailed by Ashburner (2010). Briefly, structural images were normalized, modulated, and smoothed with 8 mm full-width at half maximum (FWHM) kernel. This smoothing kernel has been used in recent VBM studies in stuttering (e.g. (Beal et al., 2013; Chang et al., 2008) and is thought to represent the best balance between smoothness and the ability to facilitate inferences about regionally specific group differences (Beal et al., 2013). Whilst smaller kernels (6mm) enhance spatial specificity, such small kernel sizes are recommended for large groups ($n > 50$) and larger kernels (8-10mm) are recommended as best for comparisons between groups of ~25 subjects each (Shen & Sterr, 2013).

The primary focus of the analyses was the effect of stuttering status on GMV within the striatum. We therefore defined an ROI to represent the bilateral striatum which included the body, head, and tail of the caudate nucleus, the putamen and the nucleus accumbens

region of the ventral striatum. The ROI was constructed using the IBASPM parcellation atlas in the WFU PickAtlas Standard Atlases tool (Alemán-Gómez, Melie-García, & Valdés-Hernandez, 2006). Statistical tests were performed using SPM routines. An absolute threshold mask of 0.2 was applied and the striatal ROI was included as an explicit mask in the second level statistical analysis comparing AWS with AWDS. Independent two-sample t-tests were used to test for statistically significant differences between the categorical variable Group (AWS vs. AWDS). Subjects' ages (demeaned) and total GMV were modeled as nuisance covariates (Tae, Kim, Lee, & Nam, 2009). Statistical parametric maps thus derived were thresholded voxelwise at $p = 0.05$ [corrected by family-wise error (FWE)] level. A further exploratory whole-brain analysis was conducted at a relaxed, uncorrected threshold of $p=0.001$.

Results

Overall total volume of grey matter was not different between groups: 710mL for AWDS vs. 707mL for AWS ($p = 0.86$). ROI analysis revealed a single significant cluster (extent = 201 voxels) of reduced GMV within the striatum of AWS compared with AWDS. The peak of this cluster ($p = 0.002$, $Z = 4.18$) was located in the left caudate body at -18, 12, 17 (MNI coordinates) (Figure 2). There were no significant regions of increased grey matter for AWS compared with AWDS within the striatal ROI.

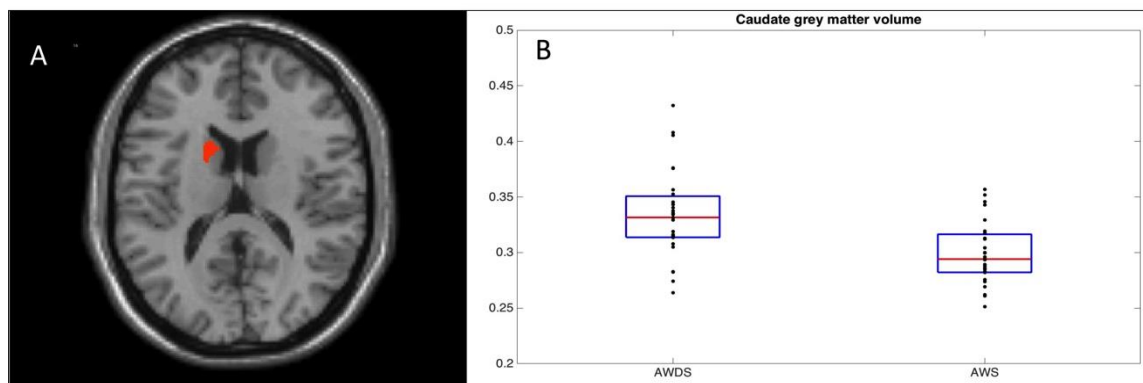


Figure 1.

A. Reduced striatal grey matter in stuttering. Red area indicates significantly reduced grey matter in AWS compared with AWDS. Image thresholded at $t=3.43$ ($p<0.05$, FWE-corrected) and overlaid on the single subject template brain (single_subj_T1) from the SPM8 toolbox.

B. Individual subject GMV values extracted using the volume displayed in A as a mask. Black dots correspond to individual subject grey matter mean intensities within the mask, blue box represents the interquartile range and the red horizontal line the group mean. Considerable overlap between groups is evident.

Table 2. Regions of significantly different GMV for AWS relative to AWDS from the whole-brain voxel-based morphometry analysis at $p < .001$ uncorrected.						
Contrast	Cluster	Peak MNI coordinate	Structures (AAL)	Associated Brodmann areas	Number of Voxels	
AWS>AWDS	1	-34.5 -19.5 -24	L Fusiform	36	648	
			L Hippocampus	20	434	
			L Parahippocampal		87	
			L Inferior Temporal		83	
	2	36 -22.5 -27				5
			R Fusiform	36	479	
			R Parahippocampal	20	223	
			R Hippocampus		169	
			R Cerebellum		39	
	3	48 -22.5 -1.5	Amygdala		12	1
					303	
R Superior Temporal			22	172		
AWDS>AWS	1	-18 12 16.5	R Middle Temporal	21	127	
						244
			L Caudate		208	
		L Putamen		9		

Discussion

The current study adds weight to the contention that stuttering is linked to striatal volume. We show that, on a group level, the left caudate nucleus, an area critical for movement sequencing and speech fluency (e.g., Gerardin et al. (2004), contains reduced GMV in AWS compared to a group of matched controls. That striatal dysfunction might underlie stuttering is a proposition that has long been favoured by some researchers (e.g. Alm, 2004; Maguire, Riley, & Yu, 2002). Alm (2004), introduced a theoretical framework for stuttering which claims that dysfunction in internal timing circuits that cue movements, (likely to also be important for prosody; see e.g. Schirmer, 2004; Schirmer, Alter, Kotz, & Friederici, 2001), is at the core of the disorder. Alm's theoretical work, recently extended by Etchell, Johnson, and Sowman (2014a), provides converging evidence from neuroimaging studies which show a significant degree of overlap between the structures that underpin internal timing of movement and those brain regions proposed to be causally involved in stuttering. Central to this proposed timing network is the striatum – albeit with a primary focus on the putamen which seems to be the most active part of the striatum during motoric

timing tasks (Coull, Cheng, & Meck, 2011). The complex connections of the striatum mean its precise role in the control of speech fluency has not yet been completely elucidated, however, there is general agreement that it plays a central role in selection and sequencing of motor programs (e.g., Gerardin et al. (2004). A deficit in striatally mediated timing circuits would be expected to manifest beyond the domain of speech and it is therefore important to note that a number of recent studies in CWS suggest that general temporal sequencing deficits are indeed evident in stuttering (Etchell, Ryan, Martin, Johnson, & Sowman, 2015; Falk, Muller, & Dalla Bella, 2015; Wieland, McAuley, Dilley, & Chang, 2015; for review see Etchell, Johnson and Sowman 2014b). Temporal sequencing is a defining feature of fluent speech production, and in this regard it has been shown that the striatum, and particularly the left caudate nucleus, is involved in the perception of prosody (Wittfoth et al., 2010), the suppression of irrelevant words (Ali, Green, Kherif, Devlin, & Price, 2010), the production of multisyllabic utterances (Soros et al., 2006), and speech rate (Riecker, Kassubek, Groschel, Grodd, & Ackermann, 2006; Riecker et al., 2005). Our finding that the grey matter in the left caudate nucleus may be compromised in AWS fits well with the proposed behavioural relevance of the caudate nucleus in speech (Bohland, Bullock, & Guenther, 2010) and the typical symptomatology of stuttering that includes failure of speech initiation (blocking) and sound and syllable repetition. Furthermore, a number of studies have implicated the left caudate in the development of stuttering acquired secondary to lesions (Caplan et al., 1990; Carluer et al., 2000; Ciabarra, Elkind, Roberts, & Marshall, 2000; Kono et al., 1998; Kumral, Evyapan, & Balkir, 1999; Theys et al., 2013) or in relationships between developmental stuttering and levels of functional activation (Giraud et al., 2008; Ingham, Grafton, Bothe, & Ingham, 2012; Toyomura et al., 2011; J. C. Wu et al., 1995; J. W. Wu et al., 1997). We know of only one other report of significantly reduced GMV in left caudate in AWS, however full details of this study are not available (Milford et al., 2012).

The striatal volume deviation reported in this study fits well with some theories of stuttering, and on the surface, seems to be consistent with previous findings. However, the inconsistency between the location of the difference between AWS and controls found here, and that reported in the previous studies needs to be discussed. Foundas et al. (2013) also found reduced caudate volume in their study of boys who stutter, but the reduction in their study was right lateralised compared to our finding of a left lateralised difference. Beal et al. (2013) found comparable left lateralized GMV reduction in their study of children who stutter, however this was located in the adjacent putamen, rather than the caudate. Lu, Peng et al.'s study of AWS found *increased* rather than *decreased* GMV in the putamen. Moreover, several studies of grey matter morphology have not found differences between groups in the striatum (Beal, Gracco, Lafaille, & De Nil, 2007; Chang et al., 2008; Kell et al., 2009; Song et al., 2007) and, in one instance, failed to find any difference in grey matter at all (Jancke, Hanggi, & Steinmetz, 2004). How then to explain these different findings? The most likely sources of such differing findings can be traced back to the significantly different profiles of the groups tested and also the different analytic methodologies used. For example, findings in the study by Foundas et al. show that more severe stutterers tend to show greater volume in their left caudate as compared to the right, whereas, milder stutterers and controls, tended to show a larger right caudate volume as compared to the left. As many of the subjects in the current study were at the milder end of the stuttering continuum, it is possible we have measured a more right-lateralized group on average. Perhaps differential levels of stuttering severity are reflected in the laterality of striatal volume differences. Methodology-wise, Foundas et al. (2013) present caudate volumes as a percentage of total hemispheric volume. It is therefore possible that reductions in other left hemisphere language areas (see e.g. Chang et al., 2008) might have mitigated the effects of any absolute volume reductions in the left caudate. Furthermore, the obvious differences in age and gender characteristics are a likely

source of variation from our results (Raz et al., 2003). As noted by Beal et al., (2013), the relationship between gender and brain structure development is not well understood, but androgen exposure may have an impact on striatal grey matter volumes (Goddings et al., 2014; Herting et al., 2014; Mueller et al., 2011). This factor is important to consider when assessing the results of Lu, Peng, et al. (2010) whose study found increased GMV in the putamen of AWS compared to AWDS, as their stuttering cohort consisted of a higher proportion (5/6) of males than the control sample (3/4). Furthermore, only four of the participants (1/3) in the Lu, Peng, et al. (2010) study had received speech treatment. In contrast, almost all of the subjects in our study had received treatment, raising the possibility that compensatory techniques learned in speech therapy might have altered the distribution of grey matter in the striatum as a compensatory mechanism. Given that Beal et al. (2013) and Foundas et al. (2013) report on children and Lu, Peng, et al. (2010) on largely untreated AWS, this is another source of potential difference between theirs and our results. Foundas et al., (2013) did not report whether their participants had undergone stuttering treatment. However, their differential finding of reduced right caudate volume as compared to the left-lateralised reduction in this study may have been as a result of differential participant demographics. Foundas et al. (2013) calculated the degree of right-handedness of their participants, whereas only the dominant hand was recorded in this study. This study included one left-handed participant, albeit in both control and stuttering groups. It is therefore possible that the participants in Foundas et al.'s were slightly more left hemisphere dominant than our subjects. In fact, Foundas et al. found that nine of their fourteen children who stuttered had both atypical caudate asymmetry and atypical manual laterality. In addition, our study included seven females in both the stuttering and control groups, which may also have impacted on striatal laterality which is known to be functionally different in females compared to males (Martin-Soelch et al., 2011; Zaidi, 2010). As noted above, the relationship

between gender and also handedness with brain structure development is not well understood (Beal et al., 2013).

Finally, the comparatively low numbers of subjects that tend to be reported in such studies is cause for a cautious approach when assessing the consistency or lack thereof in anatomical studies of stuttering. Shen and Sterr (2013) state that the results of their study demonstrate that a group size of 25 is the lower limit for finding a between group difference when two different groups of participants are compared (at least for studies that use the DARTEL method). Whilst the current study meets that criteria, the apparent heterogeneity of the subjects suggests that more subjects would be appropriate. Certainly, the comparatively small numbers reported in the studies of Lu, Peng, et al. (2010); 12 AWS vs 12 AWDS, Foundas et al. (2013); 14 CWS vs 14 CWDS, and Beal et al. (2013); 11 CWS vs 11 CWDS, preclude any report to date from being the definitive description, and highlights the need for a more consistent methodological approach across studies such that data might be appropriately pooled in future meta-analyses. The data to date are methodologically inconsistent in a number of areas. Whilst most have used largely automated methods based on different flavours of the VBM approach (Beal et al., 2013; Beal et al., 2007; Chang et al., 2009; Jancke et al., 2004; Lu, Peng, et al., 2010; Milford et al., 2012; Song et al., 2007), notably Foundas et al. (2013), used a manual tracing approach. The automated methods include many parameters that may be varied and have the possibility of generating different outcomes. For example, the size of the kernels used to smooth the grey matter maps varies from 3mm in (Lu, Peng, et al., 2010) to 10mm in (Beal et al., 2007). Given that the spatial extent of significant findings generally increases with the size of the smoothing kernel, the difference in the location of grey matter volume reductions within small anatomical structures such as the striatum could be significantly affected by the choice of smoothing kernel. Shen and Sterr (2013),

recommend that a small kernel of 6mm is appropriate for studies comparing groups where there are approximate 50 subjects in each, but that studies at the lower limit (~25 in each group) should use a kernel of 8-10mm. When assessing the results of uncorrected results in particular, this is of especial significance. Poldrack et al. (2008) caution that the risk of false-positives in uncorrected data depends on its smoothness. Therefore, whilst we present results of uncorrected whole-brain analysis primarily for comparison with other studies (see table 2), we caution against any conclusions being drawn from these uncorrected results.

The findings of this study, that the reduction in GMV in the striatum seen in CWS, can also be seen in AWS, adds weight to evidence that nominates the area as playing a causal role in stuttering. This finding is supported by Beal et al.'s (2013) work, who showed that a group of young male AWS spanning from early in stuttering development at age 6, to a later age of 12, had reduced left striatal GMV. Whilst the degree to which these findings are in fact consistent with each other must be weighed carefully; the methodological inconsistencies between the studies could explain slight differences in precise anatomical locations between the studies. Our uncorrected results show that whilst the peak difference in the striatum was located in the caudate, the spatial extent of the cluster encroaches into the adjacent putamen. It is unknown the extent to which individual differences in gender, handedness, or extent of treatment impact on brain structure. Further studies engaging a longitudinal component that examine GMV in children early in stuttering development, then again periodically at later stages of adolescence and adulthood, could aid, not only in separating the causal from the reactive aspects of striatal differences in stuttering, but also control for these individual differences.

Acknowledgments

This work was funded by the National Health and Medical Research Council (#1003760) and was also supported by the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for Cognition and its Disorders (CE110001021) (<http://www.ccd.edu.au>). Paul F. Sowman was supported by the National Health and Research Council, Australia (#543438) and the Australian Research Council (DE130100868).

References

- Alemán-Gómez, Y., Melie-García, L., & Valdés-Hernandez, P. (2006, June 11-15). *IBASPM: Toolbox for automatic parcellation of brain structures*. Paper presented at the 12th Annual Meeting of the Organization for Human Brain Mapping, Florence, Italy.
- Ali, N., Green, D. W., Kherif, F., Devlin, J. T., & Price, C. J. (2010). The role of the left head of caudate in suppressing irrelevant words. *J Cogn Neurosci*, 22(10), 2369-2386.
- Alm, P. A. (2004). Stuttering and the basal ganglia circuits: a critical review of possible relations. *J Commun Disord*, 37(4), 325-369.
- Anderson, J. M., Hughes, J. D., Rothi, L. J., Crucian, G. P., & Heilman, K. M. (1999). Developmental stuttering and Parkinson's disease: the effects of levodopa treatment. *J Neurol Neurosurg Psychiatry*, 66(6), 776-778.
- Ashburner, J. (2010). VBM Tutorial.
- Beal, D. S., Gracco, V. L., Brettschneider, J., Kroll, R. M., & De Nil, L. F. (2013). A voxel-based morphometry (VBM) analysis of regional grey and white matter volume abnormalities within the speech production network of children who stutter. *Cortex*, 49(8), 2151-2161.
- Beal, D. S., Gracco, V. L., Lafaille, S. J., & De Nil, L. F. (2007). Voxel-based morphometry of auditory and speech-related cortex in stutterers. *Neuroreport*, 18(12), 1257-1260.
- Bohland, J. W., Bullock, D., & Guenther, F. H. (2010). Neural representations and mechanisms for the performance of simple speech sequences. *J Cogn Neurosci*, 22(7), 1504-1529.
- Brady, J. P. (1991). The pharmacology of stuttering: a critical review. *Am J Psychiatry*, 148(10), 1309-1316.
- Burns, D., Brady, J. P., & Kuruvilla, K. (1978). The acute effect of haloperidol and apomorphine on the severity of stuttering. *Biol Psychiatry*, 13(2), 255-264.
- Caplan, L. R., Schmahmann, J. D., Kase, C. S., Feldmann, E., Baquis, G., Greenberg, J. P., et al. (1990). Caudate infarcts. *Arch Neurol*, 47(2), 133-143.

- Carluer, L., Marie, R. M., Lambert, J., Defer, G. L., Coskun, O., & Rossa, Y. (2000). Acquired and persistent stuttering as the main symptom of striatal infarction. *Mov Disord*, 15(2), 343-346.
- Chang, S. E., Erickson, K. I., Ambrose, N. G., Hasegawa-Johnson, M. A., & Ludlow, C. L. (2008). Brain anatomy differences in childhood stuttering. *Neuroimage*, 39(3), 1333-1344.
- Chang, S. E., Kenney, M. K., Loucks, T. M., & Ludlow, C. L. (2009). Brain activation abnormalities during speech and non-speech in stuttering speakers. *Neuroimage*, 46(1), 201-212.
- Chang, S. E., Synnestvedt, A., Ostuni, J., & Ludlow, C. L. (2010). Similarities in speech and white matter characteristics in idiopathic developmental stuttering and adult-onset stuttering. *J Neurolinguistics*, 23(5), 455-469.
- Chang, S. E., & Zhu, D. C. (2013). Neural network connectivity differences in children who stutter. *Brain*, 136(Pt 12), 3709-3726.
- Ciabarra, A. M., Elkind, M. S., Roberts, J. K., & Marshall, R. S. (2000). Subcortical infarction resulting in acquired stuttering. *J Neurol Neurosurg Psychiatry*, 69(4), 546-549.
- Cipolotti, L., Bisiacchi, P. S., Denes, G., & Gallo, A. (1988). Acquired stuttering: a motor programming disorder? *Eur Neurol*, 28(6), 321-325.
- Civier, O., Bullock, D., Max, L., & Guenther, F. H. (2013). Computational modeling of stuttering caused by impairments in a basal ganglia thalamo-cortical circuit involved in syllable selection and initiation. *Brain Lang*, 126(3), 263-278.
- Coull, J. T., Cheng, R. K., & Meck, W. H. (2011). Neuroanatomical and neurochemical substrates of timing. *Neuropsychopharmacology*, 36(1), 3-25.
- Devroey, D., Beerens, G., & Van De Vijver, E. (2012). Methylphenidate as a treatment for stuttering: a case report. *Eur Rev Med Pharmacol Sci*, 16 Suppl 4, 66-69.
- Ellfolk, U., Joutsa, J., Rinne, J. O., Parkkola, R., Jokinen, P., & Karrasch, M. (2014). Striatal volume is related to phonemic verbal fluency but not to semantic or alternating verbal fluency in early Parkinson's disease. *J Neural Transm*, 121(1), 33-40.
- Etchell, A. C., Johnson, B. W., & Sowman, P. F. (2014a). Behavioral and multimodal neuroimaging evidence for a deficit in brain timing networks in stuttering: a hypothesis and theory. *Front Hum Neurosci*, 8, 467.

Etchell, A. C., Johnson, B. W., & Sowman, P. F. (2014b). Beta oscillations, timing, and stuttering. *Front Hum Neurosci*, 8, 1036.

Etchell, A. C., Ryan, M., Martin, E., Johnson, B. W., & Sowman, P. F. (2015). Abnormal time course of low beta modulation in non-fluent preschool children: A magnetoencephalographic study of rhythm tracking. *Neuroimage*, 125, 953-963.

Falk, S., Muller, T., & Dalla Bella, S. (2015). Non-verbal sensorimotor timing deficits in children and adolescents who stutter. *Front Psychol*, 6, 847.

Fish, C. H., & Bowling, E. (1965). Stuttering. The effect of treatment with D-amphetamine and a tranquilizing agent, trifluoperazine. A preliminary report on an uncontrolled study. *Calif Med*, 103(5), 337-339.

Foundas, A. L., Mock, J. R., Cindass, R., Jr., & Corey, D. M. (2013). Atypical caudate anatomy in children who stutter. *Percept Mot Skills*, 116(2), 528-543.

Gerardin, E., Pochon, J. B., Poline, J. B., Tremblay, L., Van de Moortele, P. F., Levy, R., et al. (2004). Distinct striatal regions support movement selection, preparation and execution. *Neuroreport*, 15(15), 2327-2331.

Giraud, A. L., Neumann, K., Bachoud-Levi, A. C., von Gudenberg, A. W., Euler, H. A., Lanfermann, H., et al. (2008). Severity of dysfluency correlates with basal ganglia activity in persistent developmental stuttering. *Brain Lang*, 104(2), 190-199.

Goddings, A. L., Mills, K. L., Clasen, L. S., Giedd, J. N., Viner, R. M., & Blakemore, S. J. (2014). The influence of puberty on subcortical brain development. *Neuroimage*, 88, 242-251.

Guitar, B. (2015). *Stuttering: An Integrated Approach to Its Nature and Treatment* (4th ed.). China: Wolters Kluwer Health/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Guntupalli, V. K., Kalinowski, J., & Saltuklaroglu, T. (2006). The need for self-report data in the assessment of stuttering therapy efficacy: repetitions and prolongations of speech. The stuttering syndrome. *Int J Lang Commun Disord*, 41(1), 1-18.

Herting, M. M., Gautam, P., Spielberg, J. M., Kan, E., Dahl, R. E., & Sowell, E. R. (2014). The role of testosterone and estradiol in brain volume changes across adolescence: a longitudinal structural MRI study. *Hum Brain Mapp*, 35(11), 5633-5645.

Ingham, R. J., Fox, P. T., Ingham, J. C., Xiong, J., Zamarripa, F., Hardies, L. J., et al. (2004). Brain correlates of stuttering and syllable production: gender comparison and replication. *J Speech Lang Hear Res*, 47(2), 321-341.

Ingham, R. J., Grafton, S. T., Bothe, A. K., & Ingham, J. C. (2012). Brain activity in adults who stutter: similarities across speaking tasks and correlations with stuttering frequency and speaking rate. *Brain Lang*, 122(1), 11-24.

Jancke, L., Hanggi, J., & Steinmetz, H. (2004). Morphological brain differences between adult stutterers and non-stutterers. *BMC Neurol*, 4(1), 23.

Kell, C. A., Neumann, K., von Kriegstein, K., Posenenske, C., von Gudenberg, A. W., Euler, H., et al. (2009). How the brain repairs stuttering. *Brain*, 132(Pt 10), 2747-2760.

Kent, R. D., & Rosenbek, J. C. (1982). Prosodic disturbance and neurologic lesion. *Brain Lang*, 15(2), 259-291.

Kono, I., Hirano, T., Ueda, Y., & Nakajima, K. (1998). [A case of acquired stuttering resulting from striatocapsular infarction]. *Rinsho Shinkeigaku*, 38(8), 758-761.

Kumral, E., Evyapan, D., & Balkir, K. (1999). Acute caudate vascular lesions. *Stroke*, 30(1), 100-108.

Lu, C., Chen, C., Ning, N., Ding, G., Guo, T., Peng, D., et al. (2010). The neural substrates for atypical planning and execution of word production in stuttering. *Exp Neurol*, 221(1), 146-156.

Lu, C., Ning, N., Peng, D., Ding, G., Li, K., Yang, Y., et al. (2009). The role of large-scale neural interactions for developmental stuttering. *Neuroscience*, 161(4), 1008-1026.

Lu, C., Peng, D., Chen, C., Ning, N., Ding, G., Li, K., et al. (2010). Altered effective connectivity and anomalous anatomy in the basal ganglia-thalamocortical circuit of stuttering speakers. *Cortex*, 46(1), 49-67.

Ludlow, C. L., & Loucks, T. (2003). Stuttering: a dynamic motor control disorder. *J Fluency Disord*, 28(4), 273-295; quiz 295.

Ludlow, C. L., Rosenberg, J., Salazar, A., Grafman, J., & Smutok, M. (1987). Site of penetrating brain lesions causing chronic acquired stuttering. *Ann Neurol*, 22(1), 60-66.

Maguire, G. A., Riley, G. D., & Yu, B. P. (2002). A neurological basis of stuttering? *Lancet Neurol*, 1(7), 407.

Marsden, C. D. (1982). The mysterious motor function of the basal ganglia: the Robert Wartenberg Lecture. *Neurology*, 32(5), 514-539.

Marshall, R. C., & Neuburger, S. I. (1987). Effects of delayed auditory feedback on acquired stuttering following head injury. *J Fluency Disord*, 12(5), 355-365.

Martin-Soelch, C., Szczepanik, J., Nugent, A., Barhaghi, K., Rallis, D., Herscovitch, P., et al. (2011). Lateralization and gender differences in the dopaminergic response to unpredictable reward in the human ventral striatum. *Eur J Neurosci*, 33(9), 1706-1715.

Meyers, S. C., Hall, N. E., & Aram, D. M. (1990). Fluency and language recovery in a child with a left hemisphere lesion. *J Fluency Disord*, 15(3), 159-173.

Milford, R. M., Heitmann, R. R., Nordahl, C. R., Martinsen, A., Mykkeltveit, V., & Specht, K. (2012). Differential effects in speech production in person who stutter in a combined speech perception and production task, *IFA Congress of Fluency Disorders*. Tours, France.

Mueller, S. C., Merke, D. P., Leschek, E. W., Fromm, S., VanRyzin, C., & Ernst, M. (2011). Increased medial temporal lobe and striatal grey-matter volume in a rare disorder of androgen excess: a voxel-based morphometry (VBM) study. *Int J Neuropsychopharmacol*, 14(4), 445-457.

Nebel, A., Reese, R., Deuschl, G., Mehdorn, H. M., & Volkmann, J. (2009). Acquired stuttering after pallidal deep brain stimulation for dystonia. *J Neural Transm*, 116(2), 167-169.

Poldrack, R. A., Fletcher, P. C., Henson, R. N., Worsley, K. J., Brett, M., & Nichols, T. E. (2008). Guidelines for reporting an fMRI study. *Neuroimage*, 40(2), 409-414.

Rabaeyns, H., Bijleveld, H. A., & Devroey, D. (2015). Influence of Methylphenidate on the Frequency of Stuttering: A Randomized Controlled Trial. *Ann Pharmacother*, 49(10), 1096-1104.

Raz, N., Rodrigue, K. M., Kennedy, K. M., Head, D., Gunning-Dixon, F., & Acker, J. D. (2003). Differential aging of the human striatum: longitudinal evidence. *American Journal of Neuroradiology*, 24(9), 1849-1856.

Riecker, A., Kassubek, J., Groschel, K., Grodd, W., & Ackermann, H. (2006). The cerebral control of speech tempo: opposite relationship between speaking rate and BOLD signal changes at striatal and cerebellar structures. *Neuroimage*, 29(1), 46-53.

Riecker, A., Mathiak, K., Wildgruber, D., Erb, M., Hertrich, I., Grodd, W., et al. (2005). fMRI reveals two distinct cerebral networks subserving speech motor control. *Neurology*, 64(4), 700-706.

Rosenberger, P. B., Wheelden, J. A., & Kalotkin, M. (1976). The effect of haloperidol on stuttering. *Am J Psychiatry*, 133(3), 331-334.

Sato, Y., Mori, K., Koizumi, T., Minagawa-Kawai, Y., Tanaka, A., Ozawa, E., et al. (2011). Functional lateralization of speech processing in adults and children who stutter. *Front Psychol*, 2, 70.

Schirmer, A. (2004). Timing speech: a review of lesion and neuroimaging findings. *Brain Res Cogn Brain Res*, 21(2), 269-287.

Schirmer, A., Alter, K., Kotz, S. A., & Friederici, A. D. (2001). Lateralization of prosody during language production: a lesion study. *Brain Lang*, 76(1), 1-17.

Shen, S., & Sterr, A. (2013). Is DARTEL-based voxel-based morphometry affected by width of smoothing kernel and group size? A study using simulated atrophy. *J Magn Reson Imaging*, 37(6), 1468-1475.

Song, L. P., Peng, D. L., Jin, Z., Yao, L., Ning, N., Guo, X. J., et al. (2007). [Gray matter abnormalities in developmental stuttering determined with voxel-based morphometry]. *Zhonghua Yi Xue Za Zhi*, 87(41), 2884-2888.

Soroker, N., Bar-Israel, Y., Schechter, I., & Solzi, P. (1990). Stuttering as a manifestation of right-hemispheric subcortical stroke. *Eur Neurol*, 30(5), 268-270.

Soros, P., Sokoloff, L. G., Bose, A., McIntosh, A. R., Graham, S. J., & Stuss, D. T. (2006). Clustered functional MRI of overt speech production. *Neuroimage*, 32(1), 376-387.

Tae, W. S., Kim, S. S., Lee, K. U., & Nam, E. C. (2009). Effects of various intracranial volume measurements on hippocampal volumetry and modulated voxel-based morphometry. *J Korean Soc Magn Reson Med*, 13, 63-73.

Tani, T., & Sakai, Y. (2011). Analysis of five cases with neurogenic stuttering following brain injury in the basal ganglia. *J Fluency Disord*, 36(1), 1-16.

Theys, C., De Nil, L., Thijs, V., van Wieringen, A., & Sunaert, S. (2013). A crucial role for the cortico-striato-cortical loop in the pathogenesis of stroke-related neurogenic stuttering. *Hum Brain Mapp*, 34(9), 2103-2112.

Toyomura, A., Fujii, T., & Kuriki, S. (2011). Effect of external auditory pacing on the neural activity of stuttering speakers. *Neuroimage*, 57(4), 1507-1516.

Wallesch, C.-W. (1990). Repetitive verbal behaviour: Functional and neurological considerations. *Aphasiology*, 4(2), 133-154.

Wieland, E. A., McAuley, J. D., Dilley, L. C., & Chang, S. E. (2015). Evidence for a rhythm perception deficit in children who stutter. *Brain Lang*, 144, 26-34.

Wittfoth, M., Schroder, C., Schardt, D. M., Dengler, R., Heinze, H. J., & Kotz, S. A. (2010). On emotional conflict: interference resolution of happy and angry prosody reveals valence-specific effects. *Cereb Cortex*, 20(2), 383-392.

Wu, J. C., Maguire, G., Riley, G., Fallon, J., LaCasse, L., Chin, S., et al. (1995). A positron emission tomography [18F]deoxyglucose study of developmental stuttering. *Neuroreport*, 6(3), 501-505.

Wu, J. W., Riley, G., Maguire, G., Najafi, A., & Tang, C. (1997). PET scan evidence of parallel cerebral systems related to treatment effects: FDG and FDOPA PET scan findings. In W. Hulstijn, H. Peters & P. Lieshout (Eds.), *Speech Production: Motor control, brain research and fluency disorders*. (pp. 329-339). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Yairi, E., & Seery, C. (2015). *Stuttering: Foundations and Clinical Applications, 2nd Ed.* (2nd ed.). USA: Pearson Education, Inc.

Yoshida, T. (1989). [A case of delayed postanoxic encephalopathy with bilateral lesions of the corpus striatum]. *Seishin Shinkeigaku Zasshi*, 91(5), 303-317.

Zaidi, Z. F. (2010). Gender differences in human brain: a review. *The Open Anatomy Journal*, 2(1).