

Morse short-term memory and comprehension

Comprehension of Morse code predicted by item recall from short-term memory

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Abstract

Purpose: Morse code as a form of communication became widely used for telegraphy, radio and maritime communication, and military operations, and remains popular with ham radio operators. Some skilled users of Morse code are able to comprehend a full sentence as they listen to it, while others must first transcribe the sentence into its written letter sequence. Morse thus provides an interesting opportunity to examine comprehension differences in the context of skilled acoustic perception. Measures of comprehension and short-term memory show a strong correlation across multiple forms of communication. This study tests whether this relationship holds for Morse and investigates its underlying basis. Our analyses examine Morse and speech immediate serial recall, focusing on established markers of echoic storage, phonological-articulatory coding, and lexical-semantic support. We show a relationship between Morse short-term memory and Morse comprehension that is not explained by Morse perceptual fluency. In addition, we find that poorer serial recall for Morse compared to speech is primarily due to poorer item memory for Morse, indicating differences in lexical-semantic support. Interestingly, individual differences in speech item memory are also predictive of individual differences in Morse comprehension.

Conclusion: We point to a psycholinguistic framework to account for these results, concluding that Morse functions like “reading for the ears” (Maier et al., 2004) and that underlying differences in the integration of phonological and lexical-semantic knowledge impact both short-term memory and comprehension. The results provide insight into individual differences in the comprehension of degraded speech and strategies that build comprehension through listening experience.

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1 Humans are born with the ability to acquire a spoken language. They extend this capacity by
2 learning to use culturally-instructed symbols to represent units of speech or meaning, for instance
3 by acquiring the ability to read. Auditory Morse code is an acoustic form of symbolic
4 communication based on the English alphabet that can function like “reading for the ears” (Maier
5 et al., 2004). Here, the well-documented relationship between reading comprehension and verbal
6 short-term memory (Gathercole and Baddeley, 1993) leads us to investigate the potential for a
7 similar relationship between Morse comprehension and verbal short-term¹ memory.

8 *Morse perceptual fluency, comprehension, and short-term memory*

9 Morse code was developed as an informationally efficient and robust communication
10 system for telegraphy and maritime use (Fahie, 1884), and today it is most commonly used by
11 amateur radio enthusiasts (Halstead; 1949; Coe, 2003; Turnbull, 1853). An auditory Morse
12 message consists of sequences of short and long tone pips (spoken as “dit” and “dah,” and written
13 as “.” and “-”). Each letter of the Roman alphabet is represented by a unique combination of dits
14 and dahs. Perceptual Morse fluency is standardly measured by “copy speed,” which is the fastest

¹ In line with the predominant practice in speech sciences, we refer to performance on the immediate serial recall task as a measure of short-term memory. However, ordered serial recall likely involves additional cognitive and attentional processes such as those involved in intentional rehearsal, and not just passive storage. Historically, this led Baddeley and colleagues to consider forward and backward immediate serial recall tasks as measures of working memory (Baddeley, 1986).

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15 presentation rate at which a user can accurately transcribe a Morse message into its corresponding
16 English letter sequence.

17 Some skilled Morse users are able to comprehend a Morse message as they listen to it, in a speech-
18 like manner, without first transcribing it into printed English (For an example, see Supplemental
19 video 1). The ability to comprehend Morse online has been previously described within the
20 literature but has received little investigation. In the current study, we assess speech-like Morse
21 comprehension using a sentence repetition task. Spoken sentence repetition crucially rests upon
22 the meaningful interpretation of the incoming information (Miller & Isard, 1963; Potter and
23 Lombardi, 1990; Potter, 2012). Thus, when comprehension is intact, spoken sentences can be
24 readily repeated with high accuracy, and poor performance is diagnostic of a comprehension
25 disorder or low language proficiency (McCarthy and Warrington, 1987; Ziethe et al., 2013; Klem
26 et al., 2015; Theodorou, Kambanaros, and Grohmann, 2017; Marinis and Armon-Lotem, 2017).
27 Similarly, repeating a Morse sentence is straightforward for individuals who self-report
28 spontaneous online comprehension (See Supplemental video 2), but difficult for those without this
29 skill.

30 We also measure individual differences in Morse perceptual fluency, in this case using a
31 Morse transcription task in which participants copy a spoken Morse sentence letter-by-letter into
32 its English equivalent, concurrently with the sentence presentation. Importantly, similar to the
33 ability to repeat spoken pseudowords, the transcription of a Morse word can be done without
34 meaningful interpretation of the input. The widespread wartime use of Morse code, for instance,
35 often involved the high-speed copying and receiving of Morse messages crafted using encryption
36 algorithms that made comprehension impossible (Turnbull, 1853; Sterling, 2008).

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37 Finally, we measure short-term memory for Morse and speech lists using an immediate
38 serial recall task. This task is similar to digit and letter span tasks that are widely used in
39 assessments of language and reading abilities (e.g., Gathercole, 1999). Measures of comprehension
40 and short-term memory show a strong correlation across multiple forms of communication,
41 including spoken English, written English, and American Sign Language (Ben-Yehudah and Fiez,
42 2017; Just and Carpenter, 1992; Gathercole and Baddeley, 1993; Emmorey et al., 2017). If Morse
43 functions like “reading for the ears,” individual differences in Morse short-term memory should
44 predict differences in Morse comprehension, above any potential contributions from perceptual
45 abilities.

46 *Comparing Morse and speech short-term memory*

47 Morse, where skilled perception is not necessarily associated with skilled comprehension,
48 offers an opportunity to gain new insights into the relationship between short-term memory and
49 comprehension. We focus on aspects of short-term memory performance that have been associated
50 with three different speech-language abilities: 1) recency and suffix effects as markers of echoic
51 storage, 2) order errors as a marker of phonological-articulatory coding, and 3) item errors as a
52 marker of lexical-semantic support.

53 **Echoic Storage.** Echoic storage is thought to involve the retention of a single acoustic item
54 in a short-term memory store. Evidence for echoic storage comes from the recency effect, which
55 is the recall advantage observed for a final as compared to penultimate list item. It is typically
56 observed for auditory lists but not written lists (Crowder and Morton, 1969; Frankish, 1996). By
57 some accounts, the echoic store is speech-specific (e.g., Eimas and Corbit, 1973; Liberman,
58 Cooper, Shankweiler, & Studdert-Kennedy, 1967; c.f. Frankish 1996), in which case a recency
59 effect should not be observed for Morse lists. Others have argued that non-speech acoustic stimuli

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60 can benefit from echoic storage under some conditions. For example, Greene and Samuel (1986)
61 found a recency effect in the recall of an auditory tone sequence by skilled musicians, and
62 suggested that experience-dependent shaping of acoustic perception may lead to enhanced recency
63 effects (Greene and Samuel, 1986; Frankish, 1996). Thus, differences between Morse and speech
64 recency effects would provide evidence of underlying differences in echoic storage.

65 Suffix manipulations permit a further probe of echoic storage. A spoken suffix is an
66 additional item presented at the end of the list that is not to be recalled and is thought to gain access
67 to the echoic store, thereby displacing a final speech list item from memory and disrupting the
68 recency effect (e.g., Crowder, 1978). This displacement from echoic storage is sensitive to the
69 acoustic similarity between the final item and the suffix (Crowder and Morton, 1969; Frankish,
70 1996). For our task, on some trials an irrelevant Morse or spoken letter (i.e. a suffix) is presented.
71 Since Morse and speech are acoustically very distinct, a speech but not a Morse suffix should
72 displace the final item from a speech list, and thereby reduce the recall of the final item in a spoken
73 list. Conversely, if Morse recall benefits from echoic storage, then a Morse but not a speech suffix
74 should reduce the recall of a final item in a Morse list. Overall, differences between Morse and
75 speech suffix effects would provide additional evidence of underlying differences in echoic
76 storage.

77 **Phonological-articulatory coding.** Both spoken and written lists are thought to benefit
78 from phonological-articulatory coding. Though theories of short-term memory differ in important
79 details, a common idea is that both spoken and written items can gain access to an amodal
80 phonological store associated with speech planning, which allows the items to be retained using
81 articulatory rehearsal (Baddeley, 2003) or another speech-based strategy, but makes the items
82 prone to confusions based on phonological similarity (Jones et al., 2004; Page and Norris, 1998).

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83 Thus, differences between Morse and speech lists in patterns of item confusions would provide
84 evidence of underlying differences in phonological-articulatory coding.

85 **Lexical-semantic support.** Lexical-semantic information is thought to protect against the
86 degradation of items within phonological memory and facilitate memory repair (e.g. Jefferies,
87 Frankish, and Noble, 2009; Savill, Ellis, and Brooke, 2018). This is supported by studies
88 demonstrating effects of lexical and semantic variables on short-term memory performance. For
89 instance, recall is greater for lists of words as compared to nonwords, concrete as compared to
90 abstract words, and high as compared to low frequency words (Hulme et al., 1997; Jefferies,
91 Frankish, and Lambon-Ralph, 2006a,b; Lewandowsky and Farrell, 2000; Miller and Roodenrys,
92 2009; Poirier and Saint-Aubin, 1996; Saint-Aubin and Poirier, 1999; Quinlan, Roodenrys, and
93 Miller, 2017). Importantly, such lexical and semantic variables influence the rate of item but not
94 order errors (Lewandowsky and Farrell, 2000). Thus, differences between Morse and speech lists
95 in item errors would provide evidence of underlying differences in the use of lexical-semantic
96 support to maintain items in phonological memory.

97 *Summary*

98 To summarize, in this study we recruit skilled users of Morse code and assess their abilities
99 to repeat a Morse sentence, transcribe a Morse sentence, and immediately recall Morse and speech
100 lists in the order of their presentation. We expect to find individual differences in Morse
101 comprehension that cannot be simply explained by individual differences in perceptual fluency.
102 We also assess whether short-term memory performance for Morse and speech exhibit differences
103 in echoic storage, phonological-articulatory coding, and lexical-semantic support.

104

105

Methods

106

107 ***Participants***

108 Participants were required to hold an amateur radio license and possess a self-reported skill
109 level of sending and receiving Morse at 15 words per minute or above. All participants reported
110 extensive years of experience with Morse (20-54 years). The subjects provided informed consent
111 prior to participation according to a protocol approved by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional
112 Review Board and paid for their participation.

113 Twenty-five participants completed this study. An initial set of six participants completed
114 the study in the laboratory. Due to difficulties in recruiting such a specialized sample, the
115 procedures were modified to permit recruitment and testing of geographically distant participants,
116 and the remaining 19 participants performed the experiment at home. For these participants, the
117 experimental materials and equipment were sent to their residence, and included headphones,
118 program installation software, a flash drive, two spiral bound answer booklets, comment sheets,
119 instruction packets, and pre-paid return postage. After each participant received the materials, a
120 scheduled phone call with an experimenter provided an opportunity to review the materials and
121 address any points of uncertainty. Participants were asked to complete all parts of the study within
122 a week, calling the investigator if they experienced any confusion or problems executing the
123 experiment. Crucially, the instructions, stimuli, response output, and experimental software were
124 identical across the laboratory and at-home participant groups. Following data collection, three
125 participants were excluded from analyses for not following instructions (e.g, reporting the suffix)
126 and one for data loss. The reported data are from the remaining 21 participants, all of whom are
127 male (mean age of 59 years \pm 9 SD).

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128 To maximize our sample size, we recruited expert Morse code users over a two year period,
129 using advertisements sent to Morse code clubs and organizations, and recruitment tables at amateur
130 radio festivals until we exhausted this recruitment network. By leveraging the use of both in-lab
131 and at-home testing, we were able to obtain a sample size consistent with that reported in other
132 short-term memory studies (e.g. Frankish, 2008) that examine different error types produced by
133 stimulus differences (e.g. intelligible vs. clear speech). However, a limitation of this study is that
134 it is underpowered to observe subtle effects. In addition, any study conducted outside of the
135 laboratory faces additional challenges such as monitoring compliance with instructions. For
136 instance, although we saw no evidence of this, individuals could have disregarded our instruction
137 to immediately write each letter as they heard it in our perceptual fluency task.

138 *Stimulus materials*

139 Using freely available online software, 18 English sentences were transcribed into Morse
140 code at three different rates (16, 19, and 25 words per minute). The sentences were divided into
141 two sets, with the assignment to a sentence comprehension versus perceptual fluency task
142 counterbalanced across participants, matched for average number of words across sentences in
143 each task, for each participant. The sentences were 5-7 words and created to be plausible but not
144 predictable. The audiofile from one sentence was accidentally misnamed causing one of the
145 sentences to be omitted and replaced with another in some participants, and so these sentences
146 were not included in the scoring for any participant. The same software was used to create audio
147 files for eight Morse letters (H, R, W, M, F, X, K, L, Q). Audio recordings were also created of a
148 female native English speaker naming aloud the same set of letters. The resulting files were used
149 as Morse and Speech list items (H, R, W, M, F, X, K, L) and an irrelevant suffix item (Q) in an
150 immediate serial recall task.

151 ***Experimental design***

152 The study consisted of a Morse sentence comprehension task, a Morse perceptual fluency
153 task, and an immediate serial recall task. Additionally, prior to this experiment, participants
154 performed an initial immediate serial recall task with 5-item lists across three presentation
155 modalities (written, speech, Morse). These results are not included because most participants
156 performed at or near ceiling for all conditions.

157 **Morse comprehension and perceptual fluency.** For the Morse sentence comprehension
158 task, participants were presented with nine sentences at three different rates (16, 19, and 25 words
159 per minute). Participants were asked to write each sentence in English on paper as soon as they
160 finished hearing it. To assess Morse perceptual fluency, participants were presented with nine
161 sentences at three different rates (16, 19, and 25 words per minute). Participants were asked to
162 write down (“copy”) each sentences in English as they were listening to them. Performance was
163 coded as the proportion of accurately transcribed words.

164 **Morse and speech short-term memory.** For the immediate serial recall task, participants
165 first heard a list of letters, and then immediately following the list presentation they were instructed
166 to write the presented items as English letters in their order of presentation, and if they could not
167 recall a letter, they allowed to mark an omitted response in any give position. Stimuli were
168 presented acoustically at a rate of one letter every 1.5 sec. The list of letters for a given trial was
169 randomly selected without replacement from pool of eight letters (H, R, W, M, F, X, K, L). On
170 some trials, an additional letter (Q) was presented 500 ms after the onset of the response cue.
171 Participants were instructed *not* to report this suffix item. Each list was immediately followed by
172 a visual response cue that prompted subjects to write down their responses on a separate notecard
173 for each trial. The task used a 2x3x2 design with stimulus type (speech, Morse), suffix type

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174 (speech, Morse, none), and list length (4 or 6 letters) as within-subject factors. There were 10 trials
175 per condition. Stimulus type was blocked and counterbalanced across participants, such that a
176 participant first completed either all of the Morse or all of the speech. Within each type of block,
177 the no-suffix condition always occurred first, and the remaining two suffix conditions were
178 presented in random order. List length was blocked such that the four letter lists were presented
179 first in each condition. A brief practice session was used to familiarize participants with the task.
180 For at-home participants, this was done with the experimenter over the phone. Nearly all
181 participants exhibited perfect or near-perfect recall of the 4-item lists, and so the data from this
182 condition are not included in the reported analyses.

183 *Analysis Approach*

184 **Overall measures of task performance and relationships between tasks.** In the first
185 stage of data analysis, we computed the overall level of accuracy for the Morse comprehension,
186 Morse perceptual fluency, and the serial recall tasks for the Morse and Speech conditions,
187 separately. Accuracy on the Morse comprehension and perceptual fluency tasks was coded as the
188 percentage of correctly produced words across the three different rates of sentence presentation.
189 Accuracy on the serial recall task was defined as a correct item in the correct position. We then
190 used paired t-tests to compare Morse comprehension and perceptual fluency accuracy, and to
191 compare serial recall accuracy for the Morse and speech conditions. Lastly, we examined the
192 correlations between Morse short-term memory and comprehension, above and beyond those
193 explained by individual differences in Morse perceptual fluency. This analysis was implemented
194 as a hierarchical regression model in which Morse perceptual fluency was entered as the first
195 predictor followed by overall Morse short-term memory.

196 **Investigating components of short-term memory.** A second set of analyses examined
197 specific aspects of short-term memory performance, with the goal of better understanding observed
198 differences between Speech and Morse serial recall. To probe for differences in echoic storage, we
199 first tested for recency effects in Morse and Speech conditions; this was done through paired t-
200 tests comparing accuracy at position 5 versus 6 using data from the No-Suffix condition only, to
201 avoid possible effects of a suffix item on echoic storage. Another paired t-test compared the size
202 of the effect across the two conditions, subtracting accuracy for position 5 from position 6 to
203 compute a difference value that was used as the dependent measure. As another way to probe the
204 nature of echoic storage for Morse and Speech lists, we used a generalized linear mixed effects
205 model (implemented in R with glmer and the nlme package) to investigate the effects of our suffix
206 conditions on the recall of the most recent list item. This model included List condition (Morse,
207 speech) and all three suffix conditions (no-suffix, speech suffix, Morse suffix) as factors,
208 participant as a random factor, and single trial accuracy of the final item as the dependent
209 measure².

210 To evaluate differences in phonological-articulatory coding and lexical-semantic support,
211 incorrect responses on the immediate serial recall task were coded as either an order or an item
212 error. Order errors were defined as the recall of a list item in an incorrect list position. Item errors
213 were defined as an omitted response for a given list position or the recall of an item not presented
214 on the list. For each participant, we computed the mean rate of order errors for each list condition,
215 collapsing across the three different suffix conditions. Separate paired t-tests were used to compare
216 the rate of order errors between Morse and Speech conditions, and the rate of item errors between

² Family: binomial (logit), Formula: Acc ~ Type * Suffix + (1 + Suffix | Participant)

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217 Morse and Speech conditions. In addition, we examined the correlation between the patterns of
218 order errors for Morse and Speech. This was done by computing the frequency at which each
219 spoken letter was mistakenly swapped with another spoken letter at recall (e.g number of times F
220 was swapped with R), and the frequency at which each Morse letter was swapped with another
221 Morse letter at recall to generate separate confusion matrices for Morse and Speech. We then
222 conducted a Pearson correlation analysis between the two resulting confusion matrices in R.

223 **Relationship between item memory and Morse comprehension.** Because we presume
224 that lexical-semantic information is common to Speech and Morse, we wondered if individual
225 variability in lexical-semantic support for Speech (measured as item memory for speech) could
226 partially account for differences in Morse comprehension. To answer this question, a hierarchical
227 linear regression tested whether individual item errors for Speech predicted individual differences
228 in Morse comprehension, and whether item errors for Morse accounted for any additional
229 variability in comprehension above and beyond the variability that was predicted by speech item
230 memory. We tested this through a hierarchical regression model. To minimize any effects due to
231 differences in echoic storage, data were only included from the congruent suffix conditions (Morse
232 lists with a Morse suffix, speech lists with a speech suffix).

233 **Results**

234 ***Overall measures of task performance and relationships between tasks***

235 Accuracy on the Morse comprehension task was more variable and slightly poorer (M =
236 85%, SD = 19%, range 40 - 100%) than accuracy on the Morse perceptual fluency task (M = 90%,
237 SD = 12 %, range 55- 100%). Accuracy on the serial recall task was poorer for Morse as compared
238 to speech lists (M = 74 % (SD= .19) for Morse, M=83% (SD = .15) for speech, $t(21) = -4.23$, $p <$
239 .001).

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240 Measures of comprehension and short-term memory typically show a strong correlation
241 (Just and Carpenter, 1992; Gathercole and Baddeley, 1993; Emmorey et al., 2017). To test whether
242 this is true for Morse, over and above any contributions from perceptual fluency, we conducted a
243 hierarchical regression with Morse perceptual fluency and Morse short-term memory accuracy as
244 predictors of Morse comprehension accuracy. Adding Morse short-term memory to the model
245 significantly changed the R value from .32 to .55 (see Table 1), and short-term memory
246 significantly predicted comprehension, $p = .037$.

247 [Table 1]

248 *Investigating components of short-term memory*

249 To understand the component abilities that might underlie the poorer serial accuracy for
250 Morse as compared to Speech lists, we conducted a series of analyses focusing on: 1) recency and
251 suffix effects as markers of echoic storage, 2) order and item errors as markers of phonological-
252 and lexical-semantic support, respectively.

253 **Echoic storage.** Planned analyses comparing positions 5 and 6 revealed a significant
254 recency effect for speech ($t(20) = -4.32, p < .001$) and a trend for a significant recency effect for
255 Morse ($t(20) = -1.94, p = .067$); the size of the recency effect did not significantly differ for Morse
256 code as compared to Speech lists, $t(20) = -1.69, p = .106$ (Figure 1).

257 [Figure 1]

258 Suffix effects were examined with a generalized linear mixed effects model that revealed
259 a significant main effect of List condition, $p < .001$, main effect of Suffix, $p = .005$, and two-way
260 list x suffix interaction, $p < .001$. Further, post-hoc t-tests at the final position revealed the expected
261 pattern of results for a spoken list: presentation of an acoustically similar (speech) suffix resulted

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262 in poorer final item recall as compared to presentation of an acoustically dissimilar suffix (Figure
263 2), whereas results for Morse trended in the expected directions, but did not reach significance.

264 [Figure 2]

265 Taken together, the key effects of recency and suffix effects for Morse that would provide evidence
266 for speech-like storage of a final Morse item in echoic memory (Crowder and Morton, 1969) were
267 not statistically robust (despite exhibiting a pattern consistent with speech) and so the evidence
268 that supports this conclusion is weak at best. Additionally, while list differences were observed,
269 the size of the effects are too small to account for the large difference in overall short-term memory
270 accuracy for Morse as compared to speech.

271 **Patterns of order and item errors.** Similar rates of order errors were observed for Morse
272 ($M=.37$, $SE = .05$) and speech lists ($M=.32$, $SE = .06$), and a t-test comparing the two rates yielded
273 a non-significant result, $t(21) = .95$, $p = .36$. We also compared the confusion matrices for Morse
274 and speech items using a Pearson correlation analysis and found a significant correlation, $r(62) =$
275 $.36$, $t = 3.07$, $p = .003$. The results are consistent with the idea that the ordered recall of Morse and
276 speech lists both rely on a speech-based mechanism in which order information is sensitive to
277 phonological confusability between items.

278 We also computed the overall number of item errors for each list condition, collapsing
279 across the three different suffix conditions. We observed higher rates of item errors for Morse lists
280 ($M=.42$, $SE = .09$) than speech lists ($M=.17$, $SE = .05$) with a t-test revealing a highly significant
281 difference between the two list conditions, $t(20) = 5.17$, $p < .001$. This result indicates that items
282 in a Morse list are more likely to be forgotten than items in a speech list.

283 [Figure 3]

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284 **Relationship between item memory and Morse comprehension.** In a final analysis we
285 investigated whether individual differences in item errors for Speech predict differences in Morse
286 comprehension, and whether item errors for Morse accounted for any additional variability in
287 comprehension above and beyond the variability that predicted by speech. We found that item
288 memory for speech significantly predicted Morse comprehension, corrected $R^2 = .31$, $F = 8.5$, $p =$
289 $.009$. Adding item errors for Morse did not improve the model's predictive power, (see Table 2),
290 corrected $R^2 = .35$, $p = .022$. This finding indicates that although item memory for Morse is poorer
291 than for speech, individual differences in item memory reflect an underlying factor that is common
292 to Morse and speech short-term memory, and this underlying factor contributes to Morse
293 comprehension.

[Table 2]

Discussion

296 In this study, we investigated individual differences in perceptual fluency, comprehension,
297 and short-term memory for Morse stimuli. We find strong evidence that differences in Morse short-
298 term memory predict differences in Morse comprehension, above and beyond any contributions
299 from differences in perceptual fluency. Further, we find that short-term memory is poorer for
300 Morse as compared to speech, and this difference is primarily explained by poorer item memory
301 for Morse. Finally, we find that individual differences in Morse short-term memory are predictive
302 of differences in Morse comprehension, and that even more specifically, item errors in serial recall
303 predict poorer comprehension. Interestingly, item errors for speech sufficiently account for
304 enough of the variability that item memory for Morse does not add any additional predictive power.
305 Below, we draw upon parallels to the reading literature concluding that Morse functions like
306 “reading for the ears” and we explain how a psycholinguistic framework can account for the

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307 observed relationships between short-term memory (for Morse and speech lists) and Morse
308 comprehension. We end by considering the implications of our results for understanding individual
309 differences in the comprehension of distorted speech and listening strategies that impact learning
310 from experience.

311

312 ***The relationship between short-term memory and Morse comprehension***

313 Our findings are consistent with decades of research showing that measures of verbal short-
314 term memory are highly predictive of differences in written comprehension (Just and Carpenter,
315 1992; Gathercole and Baddeley, 1993). Since Morse code is based on a 1:1 mapping between a
316 perceptual input and a particular letter of the Roman alphabet, like the written alphabet it provides
317 for largely consistent mappings between perceptual inputs and corresponding phonological and
318 semantic knowledge of spoken English. Thus, it should not be surprising that we find a reading-
319 like relationship between individual differences in Morse short-term memory and Morse
320 comprehension.

321 While our participants varied in their Morse short-term memory, in general their short-term
322 memory for Morse lists was poorer than for speech lists. To investigate the underlying sources of
323 this difference, we analyzed aspects of short-term memory associated with three different speech-
324 language abilities: recency and suffix effects as a marker of echoic memory, order errors as a
325 marker of phonological-articulatory coding, and item errors as a marker of lexical-semantic
326 support for items maintained in a phonological store. We observed large and highly significant
327 differences only for the rate of item errors for Morse as compared to speech lists. Our observed
328 dissociation between order and item error effects is consistent with neural evidence associating

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329 item errors in short-term memory with a ventral semantic processing pathway and order errors
330 with a brain network for attention and executive control (Majerus et al., 2013).

331 Psycholinguistic perspectives on short-term memory have explained differences in item
332 errors as the natural outcome of a highly interactive speech-language network. Figure 4
333 schematically illustrates this perspective as applied to the current study. In these perspectives,
334 active representations within a phonological store associated with speech planning are
335 interconnected with lexical-semantic representations stored in long-term memory (for review, see
336 Acheson & McDonald, 2009). Those items with stronger lexical-semantic representation are better
337 protected from loss or degradation within the phonological store, resulting in better recall of the
338 items (Jefferies, Frankish, and Lambon-Ralph, 2006a,b; Lewandowsky and Farrell, 2000). This
339 leads us to infer that Morse lists experience weaker support from lexical-semantic knowledge,
340 causing poorer item memory and hence poorer overall recall of Morse as compared to speech lists.

341 Because psycholinguistic perspectives on short-term memory posit that immediate serial
342 recall is parasitic on the speech-language network, factors attributed to this network should
343 influence both short-term memory and comprehension (as depicted in Figure 4). Our results
344 provide support for this general prediction. Specifically, we find that individual differences in item
345 memory for Speech lists similarly predict individual differences in Morse comprehension, despite
346 the overall poorer item memory observed for Morse lists. This somewhat counterintuitive pattern
347 of results fits easily with two related ideas. The first is that the integration of phonological and
348 lexical-semantic knowledge is weaker for Morse as compared to speech, which is to be expected
349 given that individuals have vastly more experience listening to and comprehending speech as
350 compared to Morse. In this way, Morse once again seems to function like “reading for the ears,”
351 as reading experience is thought to build the integration of orthographic, phonological, and

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352 semantic knowledge that is a hallmark of skilled reading comprehension (Perfetti and Hart, 2004).
353 The second idea is that individuals vary in the strength of their integration of phonological and
354 lexical-semantic knowledge, but do so similarly for Morse and speech. This makes sense if Morse
355 and speech stimuli for the same concept map onto the same lexical-level knowledge, as would be
356 expected given that Morse (like printed English) symbolically represents spoken English.
357 Therefore, those individuals with the strongest lexical-semantic integration should exhibit stronger
358 item memory across perceptual differences in input.

359

360 ***Implications for auditory comprehension of distorted speech***

361 Our results also provide a new perspective on auditory comprehension of degraded speech
362 input. They are strikingly similar to results found by Frankish (2008), who compared the
363 immediate serial recall of lists with distorted (less intelligible) versus non-distorted (intelligible)
364 spoken letters as stimuli. Frankish found that the rate of item errors was higher for the distorted as
365 compared to non-distorted list condition, but that order errors showed no difference between
366 distorted and non-distorted spoken letters. Frankish attributed his results to differences in echoic
367 storage, because the differences in item recall were greatest at the final position. Our data are not
368 as easily interpreted as arising from an echoic store, as individual differences in item memory
369 predicted Morse comprehension even under under suffix conditions that should minimize echoic
370 storage. Instead, we suggest that differences in lexical-semantic support better explain our results.
371 Differences in lexical-semantic support may also help to explain the Frankish (2008) results.
372 Unintelligible (distorted) speech stimuli (like those used by Frankish) create uncertainty in mapping
373 the acoustic input onto phonological and lexical-semantic knowledge in long-term memory. As a

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374 result, this weakens lexical-semantic integration and so less intelligible stimuli are more likely to
375 be forgotten in short-term memory – the core result from the Frankish study.

376 One important distinction between the present study and Frankish (2008) is that our study used
377 auditory stimuli that were acoustically clear and accurately perceived by all participants, and yet
378 we observed individual differences in comprehension and short-term item memory. This
379 underscores the well-established point that differences in the quality or variability of the acoustic
380 input do not solely explain differences in short-term memory and comprehension of speech items.
381 For instance, individuals with with cochlear implants show tremendous individual differences in
382 word recognition ability (Koeritzer et al., 2018; Moberly, Pisoni, and Harris, 2017; Nagaraj, 2017;
383 Pisoni et al., 2018a) that are poorly predicted by the quality of the acoustic output provided by the
384 implant (Battmer, Linz, and Lenarz, 2009; Pisoni et al., 2018b). Similar to our findings for Morse,
385 these differences in comprehension are correlated with individual differences in short-term
386 memory, and not simply explained by listening experience (in this case, amount of elapsed time
387 since the implant surgery). Interestingly, one of the many likely factors that does seem to be
388 important is the nature of listening experiences with the cochlear implant (Houston and Bergeson,
389 2014; Wang, Shafto, and Houston, 2018). For instance, infants with cochlear implants show
390 individual differences in attentional orienting to speech input, which may account for individual
391 differences in speech and linguistic development that have been associated with differences in
392 lexical-semantic abilities (AuBuchon, Pisoni, and Kronenberger, 2015; Pisoni et al., 2018a).
393 Further evidence that attention has an impact on listening comes from studies of adults with typical
394 hearing (e.g. Kraljic, Samuel, and Brennan, 2008).

395 Putting these ideas together, we suggest that while there are many sources of individual
396 differences in speech comprehension, differences in lexical-semantic integration may be an

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397 explanatory mechanism that is relevant for seemingly different areas of speech research. Applying
398 this idea to our study, many of the participants with the strongest comprehension of Morse reported
399 using it on a regular basis to communicate with ham radio operators around the world, and began
400 doing so at a relatively early age. Potentially, the nature of this listening experience may have
401 fostered the mapping of Morse onto lexical-semantic knowledge, as well as the integration of
402 phonological and lexical-semantic knowledge for both Morse and speech, which would in turn
403 support maintenance of item information in short-term memory. Collectively, these results point to
404 the value of further research on how different listening experiences impact short-term memory and
405 comprehension outcomes (AuBuchon, Pisoni, and Kronenberger, 2015).
406

407

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Tables

Table 1. Hierarchical linear regression for Morse comprehension using perceptual fluency and Morse short-term memory as predictors.

	b	SE b	β	t-value	sig
Constant	.17	.30			
Copy performance	-.39	.32	.25	1.24	.231
Morse short-term memory	-.45	.20	.45*	2.25	.037

Note $R^2 = .30$ corrected $R_{\text{corr}}^2 = .22$, * $p < .05$ *

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Table 2. Hierarchical linear regression for Morse comprehension using Speech item and Morse short-term memory as predictors.

	b	SE b	β	t-value	sig
Constant	.92	.04		21.91	.000
Speech Item Errors	-.76	.26	-.55	-2.8	.009

Note $R^2 = .31$ corrected $R_{\text{corr}}^2 = .27$, * $p < .05$ *

Excluded variables			
	β	t	sig
Morse Item Errors	-.37	-1.02	.32

Figure Legends

Figure 1. Overall accuracy at each serial position speech (circles) and Morse (triangles) lists.

Recall accuracy is the proportion of items recalled correctly in the correct position.

Figure 2. Final item accuracy for speech and Morse lists. For speech, speech suffix condition results poorer final item recall as compared to Morse suffix, $t(20) = -3.94, p = .001$ or no suffix ($t(20) = -4.48, p < .001$). For Morse showed a similar pattern emerges but does not reach significance: poorer final item recall for Morse suffix condition as compared to presentation of an acoustically dissimilar (speech) suffix, $t(20) = -1.67, p = .11$ or no suffix ($t(20) = -1.75, p = .10$).

Figure 3. Proportion of Item and Order Errors. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean over subjects.

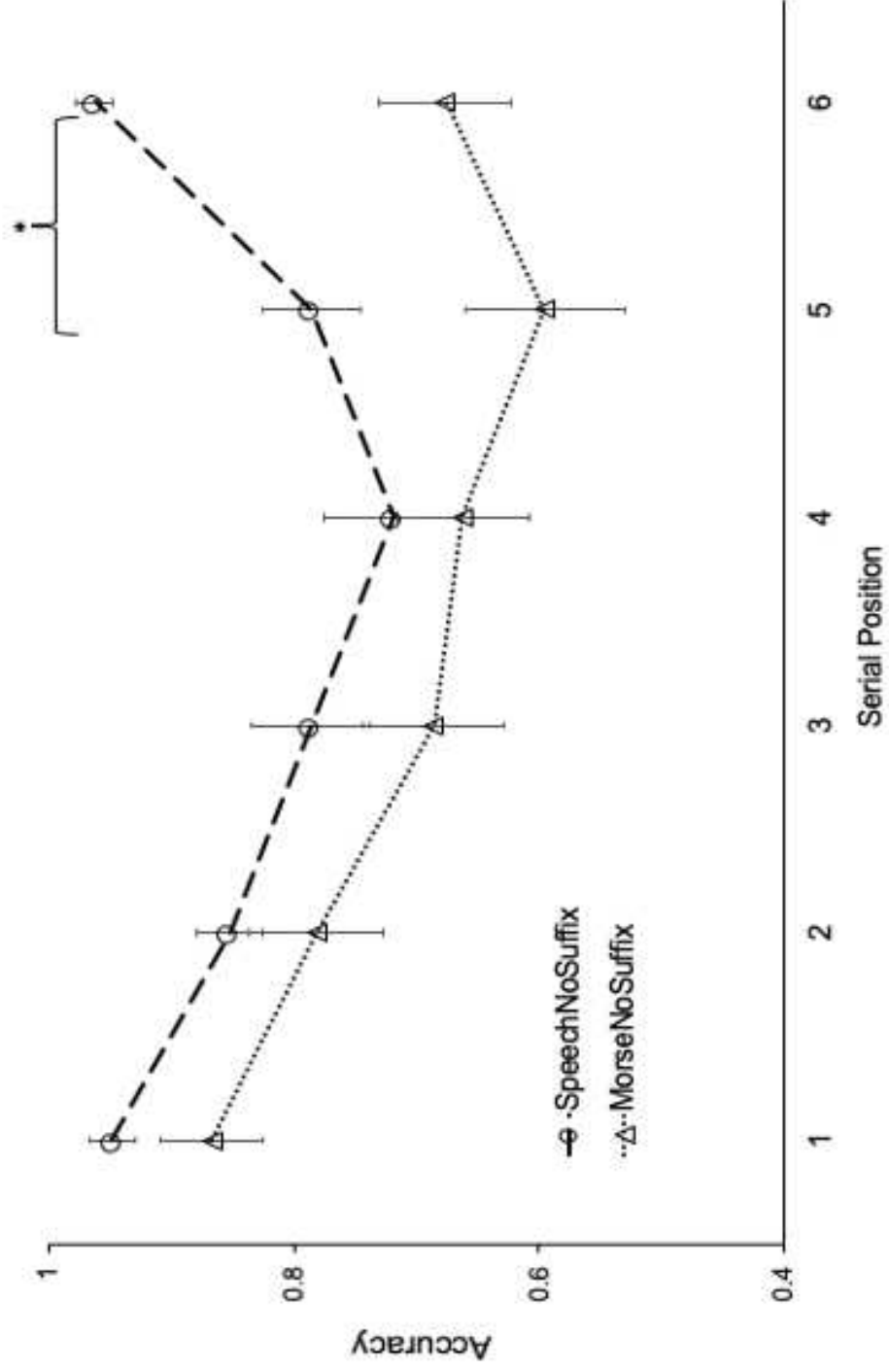
Figure 4. Psycholinguistic perspective on commonalities between Morse and Speech. Both the Immediate Serial Recall (ISR) task and Sentence Comprehension tasks involve acoustic input which can be phonologically coded and mapped onto long-term lexical semantic knowledge (left panel), with perceptual fluency (A) reflecting the strength of acoustic mapping onto the phonological level, and lexical-semantic integration providing support (B) to maintain phonologically coded items in short-term memory. Phonological coding is conceptually depicted as something akin to a set of phono-lexical representations in a high level speech plan, with an activation gradient that declines across successive positions. Echoic memory is not depicted, but would be represented as the acoustic trace of the most recently heard item. In the ISR task (middle panel), the acoustic input arrives as a sequence of letters which maps onto learned letter-name and lexical long-term knowledge about English letters. This provides lexical-semantic support for item memory. Comprehension (right panel) rests on successful phonological coding and activation of

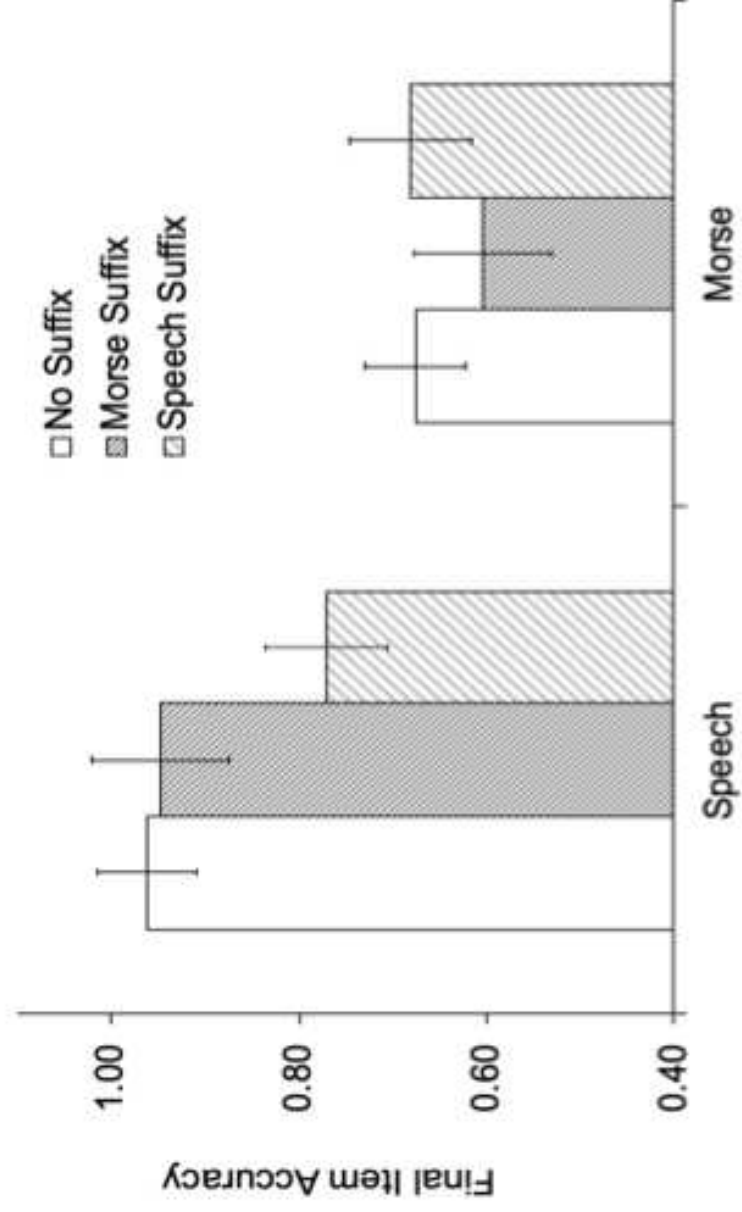
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long-term lexical knowledge as well. Across the participant sample tested, overall integration is weaker for Morse than Speech accounting for differences in item memory across conditions. However, individual differences lexical-semantic integration (B) would similarly affect both ISR and sentence comprehension performance, and thus account for correlations between these two tasks.

Figure

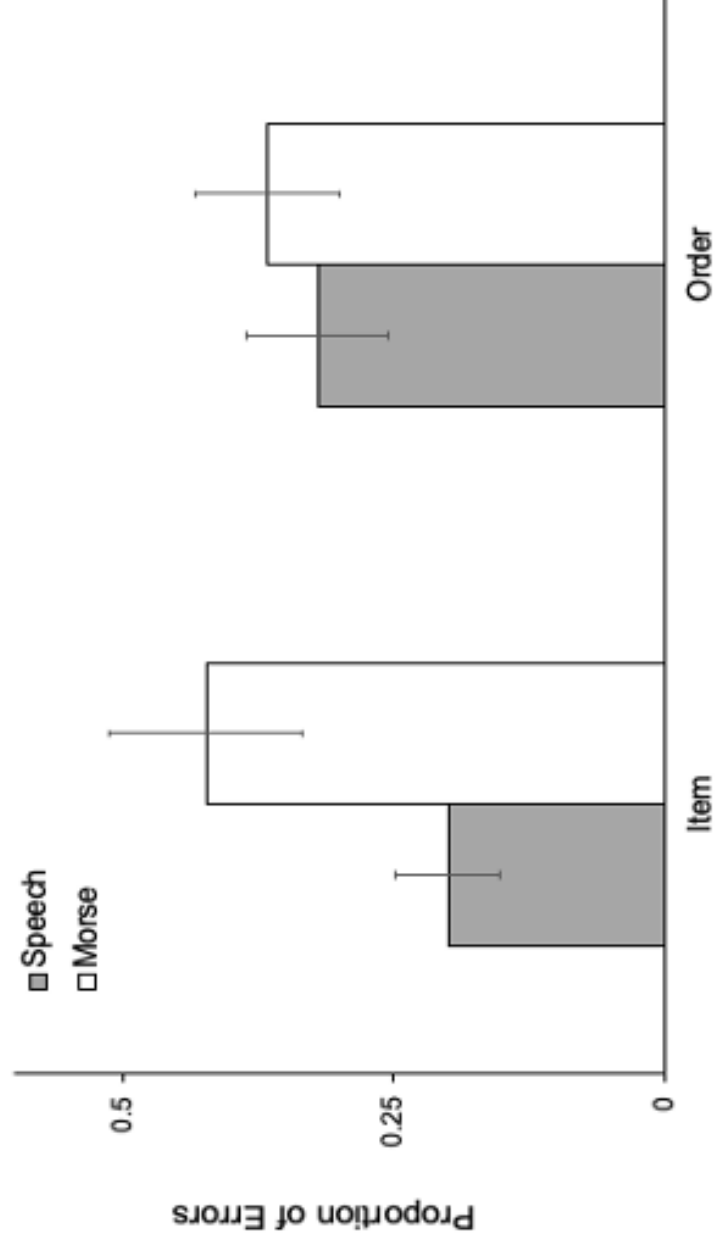
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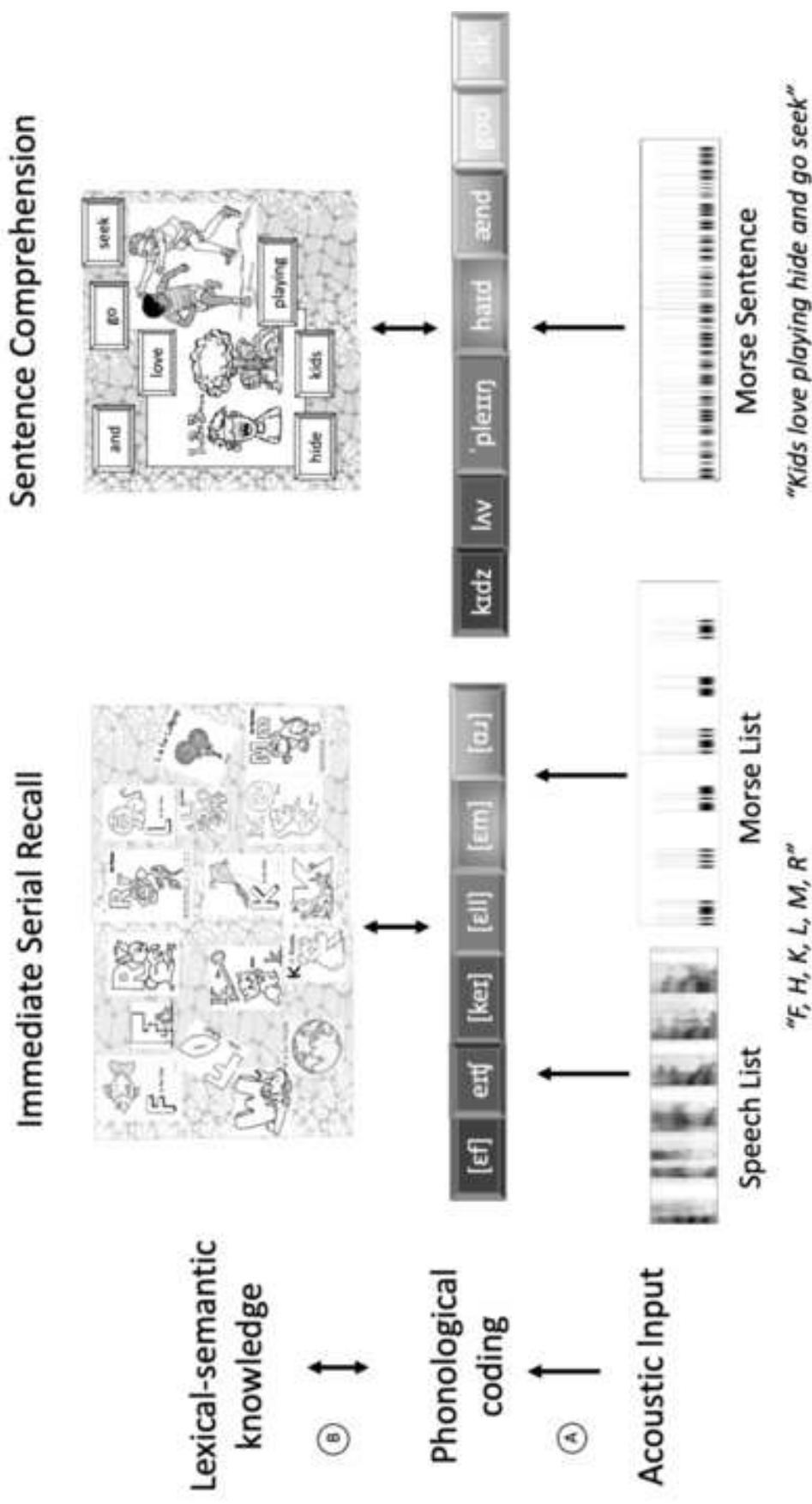




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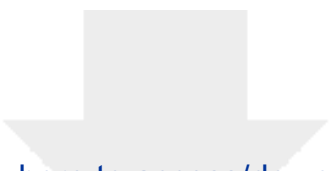
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