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Non-adjacent Dependencies Processing

in Human and Non-human Primates

Raphaëlle Malassis, Arnaud Rey and Joël Fagot

Laboratory of Cognitive Psychology Institute for Language, Communication, and the Brain Aix-Marseille University & CNRS Marseille, France

Corresponding author: Joël Fagot, joel.fagot@univ-amu.fr

Laboratoire de Psychologie Cognitive – CNRS Aix-Marseille Université 3, place Victor Hugo - Case D 13331 Marseille Cedex 03 – FRANCE E-mail: joel.fagot@univ-provence.fr

Abstract

1	Human and non-human primates share the ability to extract adjacent dependencies
2	and, under certain conditions, non-adjacent dependencies (i.e., predictive relationships
3	between elements that are separated by one or several intervening elements in a sequence). In
4	this study, we explore the online extraction dynamics of non-adjacent dependencies in
5	humans and baboons using a serial reaction time task. Participants had to produce three-target
6	sequences containing deterministic relationships between the first and last target locations. In
7	Experiment 1, participants from the two species could extract these non-adjacent
8	dependencies, but humans required less exposure than baboons. In Experiment 2, the data
9	show for the first time in a non-human primate species the successful generalization of
10	sequential non-adjacent dependencies over novel intervening items. These findings provide
11	new evidence to further constrain current theories about the nature and the evolutionary
12	origins of the learning mechanisms allowing the extraction of non-adjacent dependencies.

<u>Keywords</u>: language evolution, statistical learning, sequence learning, long-distance dependencies, animal cognition

14 Statistical learning can be defined as the implicit learning of regularities embedded in 15 the environment, which has been proposed to play an important role in language acquisition 16 (for a review, see Romberg & Saffran, 2010) and many other aspects of cognition (e.g., in visual perception, Fiser & Aslin, 2001). Several experimental paradigms have been used to 17 18 study these fundamental learning mechanisms such as the Artificial Grammar Learning 19 paradigm (AGL, Reber, 1967), the Artificial Language Learning paradigm (ALL, Saffran et al., 1996) or the Serial Response Time paradigm (SRT, Nissen & Bullemer, 1987). In these 20 21 experiments, participants are typically exposed to sequences of nonsense stimuli (e.g., 22 syllables, tones or visual shapes) that are organized with a specific grammar. Learning of the 23 predictive relationships embedded in the input can then be assessed by presenting novel sequences that are either consistent or inconsistent with this grammar. 24

25 Comparative human/non-human studies can inform us about the nature and dynamic 26 of these learning mechanisms, and their occurrence during the evolution, by distinguishing 27 domain-general and evolutionary old processes from those that might have appeared more 28 recently in the human lineage. Comparative experiments have demonstrated so far that 29 animals, like humans, are highly proficient in learning predictive relationships between 30 adjacent elements (i.e., elements that are presented one after the other in a sequence, without any delay or element in between; see for a review: Cate & Okanoya, 2012; Conway & 31 32 Christiansen, 2001; Wilson, Marslen-Wilson, & Petkov, 2017). This ability has been reported in several primates (tamarins: Hauser, Newport, & Aslin, 2001; macaques: Wilson et al., 33 34 2013; Wilson, Smith, & Petkov, 2015; and baboons: Minier, Fagot, & Rey, 2016), and non-35 primate species (pigeons: Froehlich, Herbranson, Loper, Wood, & Shimp, 2004; rats: Toro &

Trobalón, 2005; and songbirds: Takahasi, Yamada, & Okanoya, 2010). Along with 36 37 neuroimaging data (e.g., Wilson, Kikuchi, et al., 2015), these behavioral data have led to the 38 hypothesis that the extraction of adjacent dependencies relies on evolutionarily conserved mechanisms (Friederici, 2004; Wilson et al., 2017). 39 40 In contrast, the evolutionary origins of the capacity to extract non-adjacent 41 dependencies (i.e., predictive relationships between elements that are separated by one or 42 several intervening elements in a sequence, hereafter "NADs") remain a matter of debate. A standard example of NADs in English is the relationship between auxiliaries and inflectional 43 44 morphemes that are separated in the speech stream by the verbal root (e.g., *is* read*ing*). 45 Crucially, extracting and recognizing these dependencies requires generalization over a 46 variable verb. Studies conducted in humans indicate that NADs extraction is more challenging for humans than the extraction of regularities between adjacent elements (Cleeremans & 47 48 McClelland, 1991; Gebhart, Newport, & Aslin, 2009; Newport & Aslin, 2004; Pacton, 49 Sobaco, & Perruchet, 2015; Perruchet & Rey, 2005; Wilson, Smith, et al., 2015). This 50 capacity develops later in human infancy (Gómez & Maye, 2005) than the sensitivity to 51 adjacent dependencies (Saffran, Aslin, & Newport, 1996; but see Marchetto & Bonatti, 2013, 52 for different findings). Moreover, the extraction of NADs looks especially challenging in 53 human adults outside some specific facilitative contexts. For instance, it is facilitated when 54 the non-adjacent elements have a high degree of perceptual (e.g., phonological) similarity (Creel, Newport, & Aslin, 2004; Gebhart et al., 2009; Onnis, Monaghan, Richmond, & 55 56 Chater, 2005), when the intervening elements are highly variable (Gómez, 2002; Onnis, 57 Monaghan, Christiansen, & Chater, 2005), or when the non-adjacent elements are located at

the edge of the sequences (Peña, Bonatti, Nespor, & Mehler, 2002). Studies also revealed 58 59 similar performances and constraints on NADs learning in experiments using linguistic and 60 nonlinguistic stimuli, such as tones (Creel et al., 2004; Endress, 2010; Gebhart et al., 2009), or actions (Endress & Wood, 2011), suggesting that the learning mechanisms involved in this 61 ability are not language-specific. Several experiments aimed to test whether animals can also 62 63 extract NADs. Wilson et al. (2015) exposed human participants and macagues to a complex grammar involving multiple adjacent and non-adjacent dependencies. All participants from 64 65 both species detected violations of the adjacent dependencies. By contrast, half of the tested 66 humans, and none of the monkeys were sensitive to the NADs. The authors concluded that 67 when multiple regularities are present, monkeys rely preferentially on local ones, whereas humans exhibit more flexibility. Human learners can encounter some difficulties with the 68 69 learning of several regularities simultaneously (e.g., Kovács & Mehler, 2009), but Wilson at al. (2015) suggests that this might be even more difficult for non-human learners. Animals' 70 71 focus on various local cues rather than on NADs has also been reported when multiple embedded NADs must be processed, as in the so-called center-embedded grammars (e.g., 72 73 Heijningen, Visser, Zuidema, & Cate, 2009). However, these results may point to a limitation 74 in the monkeys' ability to track several NADs simultaneously, rather than an inability to extract NADs per se. 75

Complementary information on animals' ability to learn NADs has been obtained from experiments using simpler grammars of the form $AX^{(n)}B$. In these grammars, A and B are two paired elements, with a non-adjacent transitional probability of 1, and $X^{(n)}$ is one or several (n) variable intervening elements. Two main types of NAD have been investigated

thus far using these grammars: dependencies between elements that are perceptually more
similar compared to the interspersed element(s) (i.e., that belong to the same perceptual
category, hereafter "feature-based NAD"), and learning of NADs without such perceptual
cues (often called "arbitrary associations").

84 Successful learning of feature-based NADs has been recently reported in two primate 85 species, with visual (Sonnweber, Ravignani, & Fitch, 2015) and auditory stimuli (Ravignani, 86 Sonnweber, Stobbe, & Fitch, 2013). Successful generalization across isomorphic visual and auditory sequences was also demonstrated recently (Ravignani & Sonnweber, 2017). In 87 88 addition, positive results were obtained in rats, with NADs between elements that were 89 phonologically similar (i.e., vowels vs. consonants, and vice-versa; de la Mora & Toro, 2013), 90 whereas previous experiments conducted on NADs extraction in this species led to negative 91 results in the absence of phonological similarity (Toro & Trobalón, 2005). Perceptual 92 similarity therefore appears to facilitate the extraction of NADs in some non-human animal 93 species, as it does in humans (e.g., Onnis et al., 2005). These findings support the hypothesis 94 that NADs extraction is sustained by a general-purpose learning mechanism, interacting with 95 general perceptual constraints (i.e., extra-linguistic, such as Gestalt principle of similarity, 96 Creel et al., 2004), both being shared by phylogenetically distant species (Newport & Aslin, 97 2004; see however de la Mora & Toro, 2013, and Toro, Nespor, Mehler, & Bonatti, 2008, for 98 a discussion of potential human-specific constraints on speech processing).

Evidence for successful NADs learning in the absence of such perceptual cues can also
be found in non-human animals. To date, three distinct experiments were conducted on that
topic. Newport, Hauser, Spaepen, and Aslin (2004) assessed the ability of tamarins (*Saguinus*)

102 *oedipus*) to extract dependencies between non-adjacent syllables in a speech stream, using a 103 familiarization procedure. Six 3-syllable nonsense words of the form AXB (three 104 instantiations of A-B pairs and one of two X syllables inserted in the middle) were presented 105 in a continuous stream during several minutes via a loudspeaker. After this familiarization 106 phase, the tamarins' reactions to words (e.g., A₁XB₁) versus part-words (B₁A₂X) were tested. 107 Tamarins exhibited a higher rate of orientation responses towards the speaker after a part-108 word than after a word, suggesting that they learned the NADs. The authors concluded that 109 the tamarins accurately segmented this continuous stream into triplets of syllables based on 110 these NADs. However, one limitation of this study is that the tamarins' ability to generalize 111 these dependencies over novel intervening X syllables was not tested. Therefore, this 112 experiment leaves unexplored the question of how the NADs were processed and stored in 113 their memory. Indeed, they could have extracted the three A-B non-adjacent relationships, or instead memorized the six AXB "words" as wholes. The same limitation also applies to Milne 114 115 et al. (2016) who used a passive listening method in rhesus macaques (Macaca mulatta) and 116 the recording of event-related potentials. Despite the results suggesting the learning of NADs, 117 this study failed to provide generalization tests to confirm that the learned NADs could be 118 maintained over novel intervening events.

To our knowledge, Sonnweber et al. (2015) is the only study proposing this kind of test in a non-human species. These data were obtained in one subgroup of chimpanzees (*Pan troglodytes*) referred to as the "arbitrary associative dependencies" group. These chimpanzees were presented on each trial with two "strings" of visual shapes depicted concurrently on a screen in a two-alternative forced choice task. The task required to choose the strings of the

form AXⁿB (with five instantiations of A-B pairs and 60 instantiations of X items, with n = 1124 125 or 2) over XXⁿX strings. What the participants precisely learned was evaluated by a series of 126 tests proposed after the training phase. The two main generalization tests (Test 2: extension of 127 the number of X elements, and Test 3: introduction of novel X shapes) were successfully 128 completed by one participant over the three tested chimpanzees. However, the fact that the 129 items were presented concurrently rather than sequentially raises potential issues. The processing of associations between spatially distant elements, especially at rather small 130 131 distance (up to 12 cm from each other during training, with a maximum of 30 cm in Test 2, 132 according to the reported pixel measures), can arguably rely on strategies different from those 133 available for the extraction of sequential NADs. For instance, once the chimpanzees have 134 learned that only the left- and right-most shapes of each string matter in this task, they can 135 make quick eye-movements from one to the other and process them as if they were adjacent, despite the spatial distance. Extraction and recognition of sequential NADs, in contrast, may 136 137 require to hold an element in working memory and relate it to another element occurring later 138 in the sequence (Wilson et al., 2017). Therefore, Sonnweber et al. (2015) offers promising 139 findings about non-human primates' ability to generalize NADs, but these researches would 140 need to be extended to the case of sequential NADs. Another limitation of the comparative 141 literature is that it contains no comparative data on the temporal dynamics of NADs learning in human and non-human animal species. Earlier, we reported that baboons and humans 142 143 learned adjacent dependencies at the same speed (Minier et al., 2016; Rey, Minier, Malassis, Bogaerts, & Fagot, submitted). A remaining issue is whether this is also true for NADs. 144

The aim of the present study was twofold in this context. It was firstly to provide 145 146 human and baboon comparative data on the fine-grained dynamics of NADs extraction. It was 147 secondly to test whether baboons can generalize sequential NADs over novel intervening elements. In Experiment 1, baboons and humans performed a serial response time task (SRT, 148 149 Nissen & Bullemer, 1987), requiring to follow a stimulus appearing sequentially at different 150 locations on a touchscreen. In a subset of the presented sequences, the first target location 151 predicted the last target location, while the second target location varied. Response times 152 provided an online behavioral metric of NADs learning. In Experiment 2, generalization of 153 the NADs over novel intervening locations was tested. During this test, novel consistent 154 sequences were contrasted with novel sequences violating the dependencies. This violation 155 method was inspired from Gómez (2002). Only baboons took part in this second part of the 156 study, as generalization has already been demonstrated in humans (Endress & Bonatti, 2007; 157 Frost & Monaghan, 2016; Marchetto & Bonatti, 2015). 158 159 **Experiment** 1 160 Method 161 Baboons 162 Participants and apparatus 163 Participants are 16 Guinea baboons (*Papio papio*, 11 females, age range 4-21 years) 164 from the CNRS primate facility (Rousset-sur-Arc, France). They live within a larger group of 26 individuals, within a 700 m2 outdoor enclosure and had a permanent access to ten 165

166 Automated Learning Devices for Monkeys (ALDM, for a detailed description, see Fagot &

Bonté, 2010; Fagot & Paleressompoulle, 2009) equipped with a 19-inch touch screen and a 167 168 food dispenser. The main feature of ALDM equipment is that a radio frequency identification 169 reader (RFID) identifies each baboon via a microchip implanted in each arm. The baboons 170 can therefore participate to the research at will, without being captured, as the test programs 171 recognize them automatically. All baboons had previously participated to numerous 172 computerized experiments using the ALDM test systems, including experiments on sequence processing (Minier et al., 2016), but they have never been exposed to tasks requiring the 173 174 learning of NADs. The experiment was controlled by the EPrime software (Version 2.0, 175 Psychology Software Tools, Pittsburgh).

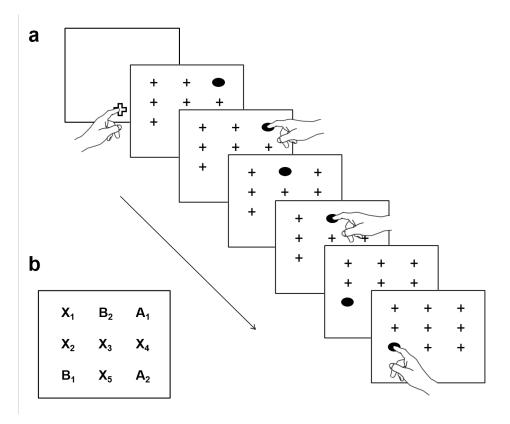
176

Procedure

Participants had to perform a serial response time (SRT) task which required following 177 178 and touching a dot moving in a pre-defined order on a touch screen. Each trial began by the 179 display of a fixation cross (120x120 pixels) presented at the bottom of the screen (see Fig. 180 1a). Touching this stimulus triggered the display of a matrix of 9 locations (3x3) which 181 contained 8 white crosses (60x60 pixels each) and a red circle target (80x80 pixels). 182 Participants had to touch the target. The target then disappeared and moved to the next 183 location on the screen. There was no delay between the offset of the target and its next 184 display. A trial consisted in a sequence of three targets. An accurate completion of the 3-target sequence delivered grains of dry wheat inside the ALDM test unit. An incorrect response (i.e., 185 186 selection of an incorrect location) stopped the trial and triggered a 5-sec timeout without food 187 reward. Trials in which the participants failed to select a stimulus within 5-sec after the target's appearance were aborted and presented again in the next trial. The time elapsed 188 between the appearance of the target (i.e., the red circle) and the baboon's touch on this target 189

190 was recorded as the response time. Response times were recorded for each response in the 3-

191 target sequence.



192

Figure 1: (a) General procedure of the serial response time task in Experiment 1. After
 touching the fixation cross, participants had to touch the red circle target that appeared
 successively at three different locations. (b) Locations on the touchscreen. Letters are given
 for illustrative purposes but were not displayed.

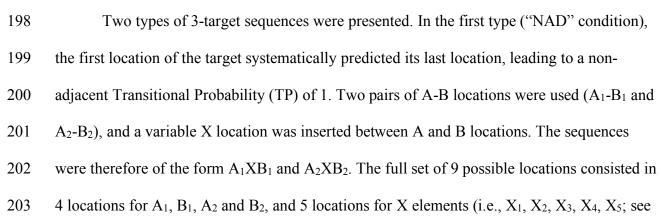


Fig. 1b). These locations were chosen pseudo-randomly among the nine possible spatial locations of the matrix, with the sole constraint that neither A_1 and B_1 , nor A_2 and B_2 , could be located next to each other. As the five X locations were presented at equal frequencies, the second location was uninformative about the third target location. The TP between the first and the second target locations was equal to 0.2, and the TP between the second and the third was equal to 0.5. A total of ten (two A-B pairs * five X locations) NAD sequences were used (see Table 1).

211 The second type of sequences had an XXB₁ and XXB₂ structure. These sequences 212 were used in the control condition. To equate for the number of sequences per condition, 10 213 control sequences were constructed, as illustrated in Table 1. TPs between the first and third 214 locations, as well as between the second and third locations, were equal to 0.5 in these 215 sequences. It was therefore impossible to use adjacent or non-adjacent dependencies to predict 216 the third target location. NAD and control sequences were presented at equal frequencies 217 across the experiment. This equates motor practice in the two conditions. Experiment 1 218 involved a total of twenty 100-trial blocks. Each block contained five randomly intermixed 219 presentations of the 10 NAD and 10 control sequences described above. All baboons were 220 presented with the same sequences. Custom-written Python code (www.python.org) was used 221 to generate the sequences.

222

Table 1 The 2 presented in 1.	-
NAD	Control
$\begin{array}{c} A_1 \; X_1 \; B_1 \\ A_1 \; X_2 \; B_1 \\ A_1 \; X_3 \; B_1 \\ A_1 \; X_4 \; B_1 \\ A_1 \; X_5 \; B_1 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} X_3 \ X_1 \ B_1 \\ X_5 \ X_2 \ B_1 \\ X_2 \ X_3 \ B_1 \\ X_1 \ X_4 \ B_1 \\ X_4 \ X_5 \ B_1 \end{array}$
$\begin{array}{c} A_2 \; X_1 \; B_2 \\ A_2 \; X_2 \; B_2 \\ A_2 \; X_3 \; B_2 \\ A_2 \; X_4 \; B_2 \\ A_2 \; X_4 \; B_2 \\ A_2 \; X_5 \; B_2 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} X_3 \; X_1 \; B_2 \\ X_5 \; X_2 \; B_2 \\ X_2 \; X_3 \; B_2 \\ X_1 \; X_4 \; B_2 \\ X_4 \; X_5 \; B_2 \end{array}$

224

225 Training

226 The baboons were familiar with the general principle of the task at the beginning of 227 the experiment, as they previously performed a SRT task involving 9-target sequences 228 (Minier et al., 2016). Before the experimental phase described above, the baboons received an 229 initial training phase of twenty100-trial blocks in which the first, second and third target 230 locations were selected randomly in the matrix. These random sequences were constructed 231 with the constraint to systematically avoid the repetition of any given target location within 232 the 3-target sequence. The aim of the training phase was twofold: (1) to familiarize the 233 baboons with the 3-target sequences (instead of 9 as in Minier et al., 2016), and (2) to limit 234 any long-term effect of the regularities previously learned.

235 Data analyses

236 Our set of statistical analyses compared response times on the third target (RTs) in the 237 NAD and control conditions. Remember that the NAD and control sequences were presented 238 at equal frequencies across the experiment. This procedure allowed us distinguishing response 239 time accelerations due to a practice effect, as participants performed the control and NAD 240 sequences an equal number of times, and those attributable to the learning of the predictive 241 relationships present in the NAD sequences. Importantly, the final transitions between the 242 second and the third target locations were the same across conditions (i.e., X₁₋₅-B₁ and X₁₋₅-243 B₂). Motor constraints were therefore controlled for that last transition. Shorter RTs in the 244 NAD compared to the control condition would therefore indicate successful learning of the 245 NADs.

246 For statistical analyses, the data of the exposure phase were grouped in five blocks of 247 400 trials. For each participant, mean response times on the third target (RTs) was computed 248 for each condition and block. These data were then analyzed using repeated-measures ANOVA involving the Condition (NAD and Control) and Block (1-5) as within-participant 249 250 factors. Post-hoc comparisons were performed using Tukey Honestly tests (p < .05) 251 On average, the sixteen baboons required five days of testing (range 3-7 days) to 252 complete the experiment. Incorrect trials were removed from the data set (1.6%), as were 253 removed all the trials with response times greater than two standard deviations from the mean 254 (5.0% of the remaining trials, computed for each participant and each block).

255

256 Humans 257 Participants and apparatus 258 Ten human participants participated in this experiment (five females, age range 19-259 24). All participants were students of Aix-Marseille University and were paid for their 260 participation. All participants were right-handed, had normal or corrected-to-normal vision, 261 and were naïve as to the goal of the study. Participants performed the task while sited in front of a 19-inch touch screen. The experiment lasted approximately three hours per participant. 262 263 and was divided in two sessions. Testing sessions were separated by two days at most. 264 **Procedure and data analyses** 265 The task and stimuli were similar in their general principles for humans and for 266 baboons, with only slight differences between species. First, the number of blocks was 267 reduced by half in humans (n = 10), in comparison to baboons (n = 20). This reduction was motivated by the long duration of the experiment (i.e., three hours with the current design). 268 269 Second, humans did not receive a food reward at the end of each correct trial, contrary to 270 baboons. The duration of the time-out and inter-trial interval were otherwise similar in the two species. Third, humans were instructed at the beginning of the experiment to follow the red 271 272 target as quickly and accurately as possible. They were also told that a green screen meant 273 that they did not correctly touch the target. Participants were interviewed at the end of the 274 experiment to assess their declarative knowledge of the regularities embedded in the 275 sequences. They were asked: "Did you notice any regularity, or rule, in some of the 276 sequences?".

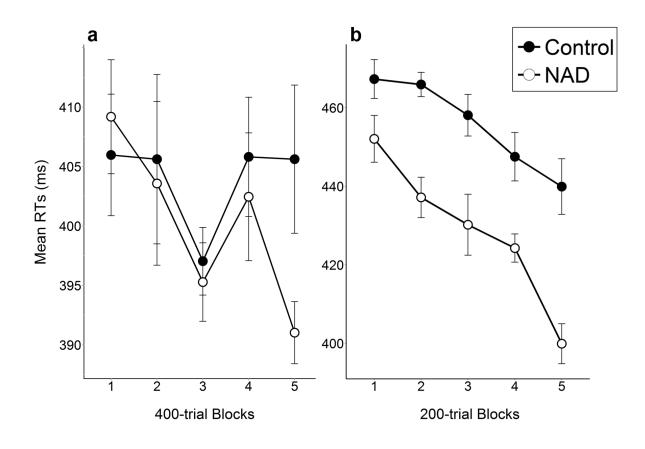
277 Regarding the training phase, human participants were first trained on the SRT task278 using the same procedure as for baboons, but their number of training trials was reduced to

279	ten 100-trial blocks. Statistical analyses were the same as for baboons, except that blocks of
280	the exposure phase were grouped in five blocks of 200 trials (instead of 400).
281	Incorrect trials were removed from the data set (7.3%), as well as trials with response
282	times greater than two standard deviations from the mean (3.3% of the remaining trials,
283	computed for each participant and each block).
284	
285	Results
286	Baboons
287	Mean RTs obtained in baboons are reported for each condition and block in Fig. 2a.
288	The repeated measures ANOVA revealed that the effect of Condition did not reach the
289	standard significance level (i.e., .05), F (1, 15) = 4.21, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. No main effect of
290	Block was found ¹ , F (1, 15) = 1.21, p = .29, but there was a significant interaction between
291	these two factors, F (1, 15) = 13.73, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$. Post-hoc analyses revealed that RTs
292	were significantly shorter in NAD compared to the control trials for the last block (Block 5,
293	Cohen's $d = .29$), but not for the previous blocks (1-4). Altogether, the findings suggest that
294	baboons successfully learned the NADs in our task, but that this learning took a substantial
295	number of trials.

296

¹ As noted by some reviewers, an increase in RTs for both conditions is observed between Blocks 3 and 4 (see Fig. 2a). We have no definitive explanation to this increase, which can be explained by a series of factors not directly related to the task, such as an interfering social event in the group of baboons, or a change in weather conditions.





298

<u>Figure 2</u>. Response times for the third target (RTs) depending on the block, for the control and
 the non-adjacent dependencies (NAD) conditions in Experiment 1, for baboons (a) and for
 humans (b). The bars represent standard errors from normalized data.

302

303

304 Humans

305 Mean RTs are reported for each condition and block in Fig. 2b. Repeated measure

306 ANOVAs revealed a main effect of Condition, F (1, 9) = 38.60, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .81$, indicating

307 faster responses in the NAD (429 ± 65 ms) compared to the control condition (456 ± 58). A

- reliable main effect of Block was found as well, F (1, 9) = 30.99, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .77$, as was
- found a significant Block*Condition interaction, F (1, 9) = 11.87, p < .01, $\eta_p^2 = .57$. Post hoc

analyses on this interaction indicated a RTs advantage in the NAD condition compared to the
control condition that was significant from the first block (*ds* = Block 1: .25, Block 2: .42,
Block 3: .39, Block 4: .39, Block 5: .70). These results suggest that humans began to learn the
NADs earlier than baboons, during the first block, and that this learning was amplified
throughout the course of the experiment.

315 Post-experiment interviews revealed that none of the participants reported the 316 existence of a predictive relationship between the first and the last locations (i.e., neither A₁-317 B₁ nor A₂-B₂ relationships were reported). However, 4 out of 10 participants correctly 318 reported that two locations only were used at the last step of the sequence. In addition, four 319 participants could explicitly verbalize some of the triplets (from one to four triplets, 320 depending on the participant). Six of these triplets of locations were NAD sequences, and four 321 were control sequences. To assess whether the results we obtained were triggered by the participants' declarative knowledge of this subset of sequences, we replicated the analysis 322 323 described above after removing from the dataset the corresponding trials, and these exclusions 324 did not change the pattern of statistical results. Overall, these data suggest that human 325 participants could extract the NADs. They further suggest that while human participants 326 exhibited learning of the regularities, as inferred from their response times, this learning was implicit. 327

328

329 **Discussion**

In Experiment 1, baboons and humans could extract the NADs, as both species
responded faster to the third target when its location was predicted by the first target location

332 (NAD condition) than when it was not (control condition). Fig. 1 suggests that this difference 333 progressively increased in both species, with substantial differences between them. A 334 significant difference in RTs between the two conditions was found from the first block of 335 exposure in humans. This effect only emerged after five blocks in baboons, revealing a 336 substantial difference in the amount of exposure necessary for each species to exhibit 337 successful learning of the NADs. Considering that each of the two NADs was presented 100 times within a 400-trial block, we estimate that baboons demonstrated learning after 400 (100 338 339 * 4 blocks) presentations of each NAD. In contrast, this advantage in response times reached significance since the first 200-trial block in humans, meaning that learning took place within 340 341 the first 50 presentations of these NADs. Moreover, effect size of the difference between the two conditions on the last block was small to medium in baboons (d = .29), while it was 342 343 medium to large in humans (d = .70).

344 However, a discrepancy in task practice between the two species might partly explain 345 these differences between humans and baboons. Indeed, all our baboons had already participated to a study involving a SRT task (Minier et al., 2016), and performed 20 blocks of 346 347 random sequences before completing the current experiment. In contrast, human participants 348 only performed 10 random blocks and never had been trained to the SRT task before. This 349 discrepancy in task practice between the two species might explain why humans' response 350 times decreased progressively throughout the experiment in both the control and the NAD 351 conditions, whereas baboons only showed this acceleration in the NAD condition. 352 Importantly, the baboons responded faster on average than humans on the first block (Mean \pm 353 $SD = 406 \pm 43$ and 460 ± 62 ms, respectively, t (24) = 2.58, p = .02, d = .99), probably as a 354 consequence of their extensive practice with the task, while the two species show comparable

RTs on the last block (400 ± 54 and 420 ± 56 ms, respectively, t (24) = 0.89, *p* = .38). These data suggest that a ceiling effect might have limited baboon's acceleration in the NAD condition.

One limitation of this first experiment is that it does not rule out the possibility that the participants progressively learned the NAD sequences by rote, or a subset of them, and responded faster at the third location because of this rote learning, but without extracting the NADs embedded in these sequences. Experiment 2 addresses this hypothesis in baboons by testing their ability to generalize the NADs over novel intervening locations.

- 363
- 364

Experiment 2

365 Experiment 2 tested whether baboons merely learned the ten A_1XB_1 and A_2XB_2 sequences as wholes, or extracted instead the A_1 B_1 and A_2 B_2 non-adjacent relationships. 366 367 Baboons were exposed successively to two different "languages"² in a within-participant design, and two experimental phases were proposed for each language. The first phase 368 corresponded to the exposure phase of Experiment 1, except that the set of possible locations 369 370 was increased from 9 to 16 locations. Six of these locations remained unused during that 371 phase. During the second phase, which is referred to as the test phase, the baboons were 372 presented with two types of novel sequences. In half of these sequences, the NADs learnt 373 during the exposure phase were presented over the six locations not used during the exposure

² We borrow here the term "language" to the literature on artificial language learning, the set of sequences being considered here as a set of "words".

374 phase. The dependencies were inconsistent in the remaining half of the sequences (i.e., A₁ 375 was presented with B₂ and A₂ with B₁). Importantly, the consistent sequences in Language 1 376 were the inconsistent sequences in Language 2, and *vice-versa*. This two-language design 377 therefore guaranties that any difference in response times between the conditions will reflect 378 the learning and generalization of the NADs, rather than idiosyncratic sequence features 379 related to differences in motor constraints.

380

381 Methods

382

Participants and apparatus

Experiment 2 involved 14 (10 females, age range 4-21 years) out of 16 baboons of Experiment 1, because we were unable to test two of the previous participants for reasons unrelated to our research. The apparatus was the same as in the previous experiment. The general testing procedure was also the same as in Experiment 1, except that the display contained 16 (4x4) possible locations rather than only 9 (3x3).

388 **Procedure**

Table 2 provides the full lists of sequences used in Languages 1 and 2. The first exposure phase was identical to Experiment 1 in both languages. In Language 1, sequences took the form A_1XB_1 and A_2XB_2 for the NAD trials (50% of the trials), and XXB_1 and XXB_2 for the control trials (50% of the trials; see Table 2), with six different instantiations of the X locations. In Language 2, the sequences took the form A_1XB_2 and A_2XB_1 for the NAD trials, and control sequences were the same as in Language 1. The remaining six locations (noted Y₁₋₆) were never used during the exposure phase. Locations have been chosen pseudo-

randomly, with the sole constraint that A_1 and B_1 , as well as A_2 and B_2 , could not be located next to each other in the matrix. Fig. 3 shows the sixteen locations on the touchscreen that were used in Experiment 2. Note that the locations were the same in both languages, and that only the NADs differed between them.

400 Baboons then received three types of sequences during the test phase. The first type 401 (50% of the trials) corresponded to the NAD sequences of the exposure phase. For the two 402 other types of trials, sequences were either consistent with the NADs of the exposure phase 403 ("Consistent" condition, 25% of the test trials), or inconsistent with those dependencies 404 ("Inconsistent" condition, 25%). In these two latter conditions, the second location of the 405 sequence was drawn from the set of Y locations never used during the exposure phase. 406 Therefore, sequences were novel in these two conditions. In Language 1, consistent sequences 407 took the form A₁YB₁ and A₂YB₂, while inconsistent sequences took the form A₁YB₂ and 408 A₂YB₁. In Language 2, the consistent sequences were the inconsistent sequences of Language 409 1 (i.e., A₁YB₂ and A₂YB₁), while the inconsistent sequences were the consistent ones of 410 Language 1 (i.e., A₁YB₁ and A₂YB₂). Twelve sequences were constructed for each condition. 411 NAD, consistent and inconsistent trials were randomly intermixed within each block of the 412 test phase.

Each baboon participated successively to the two language sessions. For each language, the baboons received 40 blocks of 96 trials during the exposure phase, and 20 blocks of 96 trials in the test phase. Note that the amount of exposure changed from 20 blocks in Experiment 1 to 40 in Experiment 2, for both languages, because we hypothesized that learning was still in progress during the last blocks of Experiment 1. To limit potential

418 influences of Language 1 acquisition on the learning of Language 2, six months elapsed

419 between the two language sessions, during which the baboons were exposed to different

420 unrelated tasks. Furthermore, a random phase consisting of 35 blocks of 96 trial blocks was

421 given to the baboons at the beginning of the Language 2 session.

422

X ₁	X ₂	A ₁	Y_1
B ₁	Y_2	X_3	Y_3
Y_4	X_4	Y_5	Y ₆
A_2	X_5	B_2	X_6

423

424 <u>Figure 3</u>. Locations on the touchscreen in Experiment 2. Letters are given for illustrative
425 purposes but were not displayed. Note that the locations were the same for Languages 1 and
426 2.

427

Language 1 (L1) and Language 2 (L2).					
NAD (L1)	NAD NAD Control		Consistent (L1) / Inconsistent (L2)	Inconsistent (L1) / Consistent (L2)	
$A_1 X_1 B_1$	$A_2 X_1 B_1$	$X_2 X_1 B_1$	$A_1 Y_1 B_1$	$A_2 Y_1 B_1$	
$A_1 X_2 B_1$	$A_2 \ X_2 \ B_1$	$X_3 X_2 B_1$	$A_1 Y_2 B_1$	$A_2Y_2B_1$	
$A_1 X_3 B_1$	A2 X3 B1	X6 X3 B1	A1 Y3 B1	A2 Y3 B1	
$A_1 \: X_4 \: B_1$	$A_2 \ X_4 \ B_1$	$X_1 \; X_4 \; B_1$	$A_1 \; Y_4 \; B_1$	$A_2 \; Y_4 \; B_1$	
$A_1 \: X_5 \: B_1$	$A_2 \: X_5 \: B_1$	$X_4 X_5 B_1$	$A_1 Y_5 B_1$	$A_2 \ Y_5 \ B_1$	
$A_1 \: X_6 \: B_1$	A2 X6 B1	X5 X6 B1	A1 Y6 B1	A2 Y6 B1	
$A_2 X_1 B_2$	$A_1 X_1 B_2$	$X_2 X_1 B_2$	$A_2 Y_1 B_2$	$A_1 Y_1 B_2$	
$A_2 X_2 B_2$	$A_1 \ X_2 \ B_2$	$X_3 X_2 B_2$	A2 Y2 B2	$A_1 Y_2 B_2$	
$A_2 \ X_3 \ B_2$	$A_1 X_3 B_2$	X6 X3 B2	A ₂ Y ₃ B ₂	$A_1 \; Y_3 \; B_2$	
$A_2 \; X_4 \; B_2$	$A_1 \ X_4 \ B_2$	$X_1 X_4 B_2$	A2 Y4 B2	$A_1 \; Y_4 \; B_2$	
A2 X5 B2	A1 X5 B2	X4 X5 B2	A2 Y5 B2	A1 Y5 B2	
A2 X6 B2	A1 X6 B2	X5 X6 B2	A2 Y6 B2	A1 Y6 B2	

<u>Table 2</u>. The 48 sequences presented during Experiment 2, for Language 1 (L1) and Language 2 (L2).

430 Data analyses

431Two separated sets of analyses were conducted on the exposure and test phases.432Blocks were grouped for these analyses in 10 (Exposure) and 5 (Test) blocks of 384 trials433each. Learning of NADs during the exposure phase was evaluated with repeated-measures434ANOVA performed on RTs and involving the Condition (NAD, Control), Language (1, 2)435and Block (1-10) as within-participant factors. Post-hoc comparisons were performed using436Tukey Honestly tests (p < .05).437Generalization was evaluated in the test phase with repeated-measures ANOVA on

438 RTs involving the Condition (NAD, Consistent, Inconsistent), Language (1, 2) and Block (1-

5) as within-participant factors. RTs in the consistent and inconsistent conditions were further
compared for the first test block using repeated-measures ANOVA involving the Condition
(Consistent, Inconsistent) and Language (1, 2) as within-participant factors. RTs in the
consistent and inconsistent conditions were further compared for the first test block using a
repeated-measures ANOVA involving the Condition (Consistent, Inconsistent) and Language
(Language 1, Language 2).

We also investigated potential effects of spatial factors on the generalization of NADs. This analysis was conducted with an ANOVA using the Condition (Consistent, Inconsistent) and Pair (A₁-B₁, A₂-B₂, A₁-B₂, A₂-B₁) as within-participant factors, and the RTs obtained in the first test block as dependent variable. An additional set of analyses tested whether generalization occurred for every novel Y location. One-tailed paired t-tests (p < .05) were used to assess if RTs were reliably longer in the inconsistent compared to the consistent condition for each Y location.

To complete Language 1 session, the fourteen baboons required 8 days (range 5-12) on average. The same baboons required on average 10 days (range 5-17) of testing to complete Language 2 session. Incorrect trials were removed from the data set (Language 1: 1.7%, Language 2: 2.1%), as well as trials with RTs greater than two standard deviations from the mean (4.9 % and 5.1%, respectively, computed for each participant and each block).

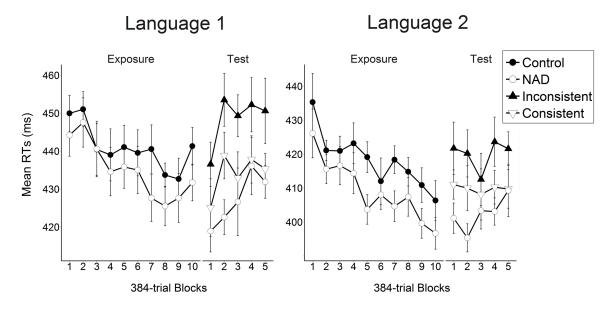
457

458 Main Results

459 Mean RTs are reported in Fig. 4 for each language, phase and condition. For the 460 exposure phase, the main effect of Condition was significant, F (1, 13) = 16.28, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 =$

461 .56, corresponding to faster response times in the NAD (Mean \pm SD = 422 \pm 44 ms) than in

- 462 the control condition $(430 \pm 43 \text{ ms})$. Also significant was the main effect of Block, F (1, 13) =
- 463 16.88, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 = .56$, showing that RTs decreased with practice. Finally, the main effect
- 464 of Language was also significant, F (1, 13) = 6.60, p < .01, $\eta_p^2 = .34$, indicating faster
- 465 response times on average for the second (414 ± 32 ms) compared to the first language ($438 \pm$
- 466 50 ms). The Condition*Block interaction was close to significance level, F (1, 13) = 3.21, p =
- 467 .10, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. There were no other interactions (all ps > .42). The main effect of condition,
- 468 along with the absence of Condition*Language interaction, indicate that the baboons were
- able to learn the NADs in both languages.



472 <u>Figure 4</u>. Mean response times (RTs) on the third target obtained in each condition of the
 473 exposure and test phases of Experiment 2 and for each language. Bars represent standard
 474 errors from normalized data.

475

471

476 Analyses conducted on the test phase revealed a significant effect of Condition, F (2, 26) = 13.39, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .51$. Post hoc analyses revealed that the three conditions differed 477 478 significantly on average from each other. Baboons were faster to respond to the third target in 479 the NAD condition $(415 \pm 46 \text{ ms})$ than in the two other conditions (Inconsistent condition: 434 ± 47 ms, d = .41; Consistent condition: 441 ± 46 ms, d = .15). Critically, they were also 480 481 significantly slower in the inconsistent compared to the consistent condition (d = .26). A main effect of Language was found, F (1, 13) = 8.75, p = .011, $\eta_p^2 = .40$, RTs being faster in the 482 second compared to the first language session. No reliable effect of Block was found, F (1, 483 13) = 1.52, p = .24, but the Block*Condition interaction was significant, F (2, 26) = 3.82, p < .25484 485 .05, $\eta_p^2 = .23$, RTs in the NAD condition only progressively increasing throughout the test phase. No other reliable interactions among these factors were found (all ps > .54). An 486 487 ANOVA conducted on the first test block confirmed that a significant difference between the 27

488

8 consistent and inconsistent conditions was already present at the onset of that phase, as

489 revealed by a main effect of Condition, F (1, 13) = 9.53, p < .01, $\eta_p^2 = .42$. No other main

- 490 effect or interaction were found (ps > 12).
- 491

492 **Spatial factors**

An ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between Condition and Pair, F (3, 39) = 494 4.56, p < .01, $\eta_p^2 = .26$. Post-hoc tests revealed significantly longer RTs in the inconsistent 495 compared to the consistent condition for two pairs: A₂-B₂ (416 ± 68 and 389 ± 44 ms, 496 respectively, d = .44) and A₂-B₁ (467 ± 61 and 438 ± 53 ms, d = .50), but not for the A₁-B₁ 497 (458 ± 38 and 463 ± 58 ms) and A₁-B₂ (379 ± 45 and 384 ± 43 ms) pairs. These results 498 suggest that baboons have been able to generalize two out of the four NADs.

Table 3 reports the results of the one-tailed paired t-tests evaluating whether the generalization obtained with the two NADs mentioned above occurred on every novel Y location. RTs were longer in the inconsistent compared to the consistent condition for all Y locations, and this difference was significant for four out of the six Y locations (i.e., Y₂, Y₃, Y₄, Y₆), and approached significance for a fifth one (i.e., Y₅). Therefore, these results suggest that the baboons generalized the NADs over several novel Y locations, with only one exception for Y₁.

Table 3Response times (Mean \pm SD, ms) and results of the one-tailedpaired t-tests assessing generalization over each novel Y locations, for the A2-B1 and A2-B2 NADs during the first test block. *df*s were all equal to 13.

	Y_1	Y ₂	Y ₃	Y4	Y5	Y ₆
Inconsistent	426 ± 33	445 ± 69	434 ± 37	472 ± 76	435 ± 54	436 ± 49
Consistent	419 ± 39	391 ± 40	413 ± 35	423 ± 49	419 ± 65	415 ± 38
t	0.91	3.51	3.36	2.72	1.32	1.80
Cohen's d	.15	.96	.60	.77	.27	.48
р	.19	< .01	< .01	< .01	.10	< .05

508

509 **Discussion**

510 Two results were obtained in Experiment 2. First, baboons successfully learned the 511 NADs during the exposure phase, replicating the findings already obtained in Experiment 1. 512 Second, for two NADs response times were slower for inconsistent than for consistent test 513 trials. This finding suggests generalization of these NADs over the novel intervening 514 locations. Importantly, these results suggesting generalization cannot be accounted for by learning of the consistent sequences, since each beginning of a sequence (i.e., A1-Y1-6 and A2-515 516 Y_{1-6}) was followed by a B_1 or B_2 location at equal frequency within each language session. 517 Analyses moreover confirmed that the speed advantage for consistent sequences was already 518 present at the onset of the test phase. 519 Interestingly, reliable generalization was only observed for the two NADs beginning 520 by A_2 which was located in the lower-left corner of the matrix (see Fig. 3). By contrast, the 521 baboons failed to properly generalize the two NADs beginning at the A₁ location, which was 522 not located in a corner. This result suggests that the saliency of the predictive target had an

of the above two NADs was not observed for the only Y element located in a corner of the matrix (Y₁), possibly because of its greater saliency, or eccentricity in the matrix, compared to the other Y locations which were more central. Taken together, these findings suggest that the baboons can generalize NADs over novel locations, but that this ability may be hindered by spatial factors.

- 529
- 530

General discussion

531 In Experiment 1, humans and baboons responded faster to the last target in the NAD 532 compared to the control sequences. Importantly, participants did not merely learn that the 533 sequences always finished by one of two locations (with a probability of .5 for each), but 534 processed the conditional probabilities of the third location, given the first location. This 535 result was replicated in baboons in Experiment 2. These data overall provide evidence of baboons' ability to learn NADs. However, while humans presented a significant difference in 536 537 response times between the two conditions within the first exposure block, this difference 538 appeared after approximately 400 presentations of each NAD in baboons. This difference in 539 learning speed differs from what has been found for adjacent dependencies (Minier et al., 540 2016; Rey et al., in press). In these earlier studies, baboons and humans learned at similar 541 speed (in less than 200 trials) the predictive relationships between two locations presented at 542 the end of three different triplets. This suggests that learning of NADs is more difficult for 543 baboons than humans, while these two species seem equally fast for learning adjacent dependencies. Importantly, the amount of exposure required by the baboons to extract NADs 544 545 in the current experiment is in the same range as previously found with habituation-

dishabituation paradigms in other primate species (e.g., 672 presentations in Newport et al.,
2004). This amount may serve as a reference for designing future experiments investigating
related topics.

549 For two NADs we found that when presented with novel intervening locations the 550 baboons were slower to respond when the sequences were inconsistent with the learned NADs 551 than when the dependencies were preserved. To our knowledge, this result is the first demonstration in a non-human species of a successful generalization of sequentially non-552 553 adjacent dependencies over novel intervening elements. The current results therefore extend 554 to the case of sequential NADs Sonnweber et al.'s findings (2015), in which generalization of 555 NADs was tested between visual shapes presented concurrently. Along with previous findings 556 in humans (e.g., Frost & Monaghan, 2016), our study indicates that this ability is shared 557 across different primate species. However, successful generalization of the NADs in the current SRT study appeared to be modulated by spatial features of the stimuli. Indeed, the 558 559 baboons only generalized the two NADs whose predictive target was located in a corner of 560 the matrix and generalization was not observed for one of the novel intervening location 561 which was also located in a corner. These data present some similarities with previous 562 findings in the auditory domain. For instance, Endress, Scholl, and Mehler (2005, see also Peña et al., 2002) reported that human participants could properly extract some specific 563 regularities from auditory sequences only when the relevant stimuli were presented at an edge 564 565 of the sequences. Moreover, several studies manipulating the phonological parameters of the 566 stimuli suggested that the relative saliency of the non-adjacent and intervening elements 567 impacts the extraction of NADs (Creel et al., 2004; Onnis et al., 2005; Toro & Trobalón, 568 2005). Taken together, these findings suggest (1) that perceptual factors constrain the

sextraction of NADs, and (2) that this effect occurs in both the auditory and visuo-spatialdomains.

571 The exact nature of the processes involved in NADs extraction and recognition is still 572 debated in the literature, and at least three theories are proposed. According to a first theory, 573 the mechanisms that support NADs extraction are the same associative mechanisms as those 574 allowing the learning of adjacent dependencies (Perruchet, Tyler, Galland, & Peereman, 575 2004). This single-process account proposes that the joint attentional processing of two elements is a necessary and sufficient condition to associate them, even when these are distant 576 in space or time (Pacton & Perruchet, 2008). A second and complementary theory proposes 577 578 that the extraction of adjacent and non-adjacent dependencies involves similar statistical 579 learning mechanisms, but emphasize the role played by working memory for NADs extraction (Conway, Deocampo and Smith, 2016; Wilson et al., 2017). According to this dual-580 581 system theory, the detection of adjacent relationships would be sustained by modality-specific 582 processes involving perceptual-motor neural networks (Conway et al., 2016), or ventral 583 regions of the frontal cortex (Wilson, Kikuchi, et al., 2015), while the extraction of non-584 adjacent relationships would additionally recruit more dorsal areas (Wilson et al., 2017). 585 According to a last hypothesis (Endress & Bonatti, 2007; Endress, Nespor, & Mehler, 2009; Peña et al., 2002), humans and possibly other animals (Endress, Carden, Versace, & Hauser, 586 587 2010) may be endowed with some rule-based mechanisms dedicated to fast learning of "classes" of elements occurring at the edges of sequences (e.g., here, learning that A1 and A2 588 589 always occur in the first position), as well as statistical learning mechanisms for the 590 computation of transitional probabilities (e.g. A₁ B₁). The current experiment did not aim at

assessing the edge-based positional learning hypothesis but examined the extraction timecourse of those transitional probabilities.

593 In humans, learning occurred early in the experiment, and was strengthened 594 throughout the entire exposure phase. In baboons, learning of the NADs occurred later in the 595 experiment, but a similar progressive emergence was observed. In previous SRT experiments, 596 we found that the learning of adjacent dependencies in triplets (Minier et al., 2016), or pairs of 597 shapes (Fagot, Malassis, & Medam, 2017) gave rise to similar progressive (albeit earlier) 598 decrease in response times throughout the exposure to these regularities. These data, along 599 with previous findings (Frost & Monaghan, 2016; Romberg & Saffran, 2013; Vuong et al., 600 2016), suggest that adjacent and non-adjacent dependencies might be extracted by similar 601 statistical learning mechanisms. However, they do not allow disentangling between the single-602 process and the dual-system proposals described above. Indeed, the difference in speed learning that is observed between baboons and humans might reflect an involvement of 603 604 working memory in NADs extraction, as working memory capacity differ between these 605 species (e.g., Fagot & De Lillo, 2011). However, addressing this question would require 606 additional behavioral and brain imaging studies. Regarding behavioral studies, correlational 607 designs in humans and non-human primates would allow examining individual differences in 608 statistical learning ability across different types of dependencies (i.e., adjacent and nonadjacent, Siegelman, Bogaerts, Christiansen, & Frost, 2017; Siegelman & Frost, 2015), as 609 610 well as exploring the relationships between working memory capacity and NADs extraction. 611 Comparative neuroimaging studies have already suggested that adjacent dependencies are 612 processed by evolutionary conserved brain structures, including the frontal operculum and 613 anterior insula (Wilson, Kikuchi, et al., 2015). However, further researches are also needed in

614	this domain to discover whether NADs processing is sustained by similar or different neural
615	substrates in human and non-human primates (Milne et al., 2016; Wilson et al., 2017).
616	Another important question is the domain generality of the mechanisms involved
617	during the learning of NADs. For instance, are the extraction of NADs in the current SRT task
618	and the extraction of NADs in natural languages (such as in <i>is</i> read <i>ing</i>) supported by the same
619	learning mechanisms? Evidences accumulated so far reveal a contrasted pattern (Frost,
620	Armstrong, Siegelman, & Christiansen, 2015). On the one hand, individuals with specific
621	language impairment have been found to exhibit poor performance in auditory statistical
622	learning tasks (e.g., Evans, Saffran, & Robe-Torres, 2009) as well as in SRT tasks (Lum,
623	Conti-Ramsden, Morgan, & Ullman, 2014), compared with typically-developing individuals.
624	They also express greater difficulties in processing NADs in an AGL-SRT task (Hsu,
625	Tomblin, & Christiansen, 2014). In another study, Misyak, Christiansen, and Tomblin (2010)
626	found a positive correlation between typically-developing individuals' ability to process long-
627	distance dependencies from a natural language and NADs in an AGL-SRT task. On the other
628	hand, statistical learning appears to be subject to modality and stimulus specificity (e.g.,
629	Conway & Christiansen, 2005, 2006). Siegelman and Frost (2015) reported for instance that
630	the performance of their participants did not correlate between any of four statistical learning
631	tasks they have used (auditory-verbal, auditory-nonverbal, visual, and SRT tasks). These
632	results suggest the existence of modality and stimulus specific constraints on statistical
633	learning mechanisms, which prevent drawing strong conclusions regarding the similarity
634	between NADs extraction in natural languages and in our visuo-spatial task.
635	From an evolutionary standpoint, the ability to keep track of predictive relationships
636	between non-adjacent events might present various functional advantages, for instance for

637 planning complex behavioral or motor sequences, or for monitoring social interactions and 638 their outcomes (Sonnweber et al., 2015). In baboons, this process may allow for instance to 639 detect that a threat behavior from an individual A is followed by a scream from an individual 640 B, even if other individuals emit unrelated vocalizations in between. One general advantage of 641 the learning of NADs might also be a reduction in memory demands. For instance in song 642 birds, admitting an optional or variable song element between two others (thereby being non-643 adjacent) could limit the number of pairwise transitions needed to be memorized (Petkov & 644 Wilson, 2012). In our experiments, the extraction of two NADs may be cognitively less 645 demanding than the learning and storage of ten sequences.

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648						
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