

Diversity in pitch perception revealed by task dependence

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Pitch conveys critical information in speech, music and other natural sounds, and is conventionally defined as the perceptual correlate of a sound's fundamental frequency (F0). Although pitch is widely assumed to be subserved by a single F0 estimation process, real-world pitch tasks vary enormously, raising the possibility of underlying mechanistic diversity. To probe pitch mechanisms, we conducted a battery of pitch-related music and speech tasks using conventional harmonic sounds and inharmonic sounds whose frequencies lack a common F0. Some pitch-related abilities—those relying on musical interval or voice recognition—were strongly impaired by inharmonicity, suggesting a reliance on F0. However, other tasks, including those dependent on pitch contours in speech and music, were unaffected by inharmonicity, suggesting a mechanism that tracks the frequency spectrum rather than the F0. The results suggest that pitch perception is mediated by several different mechanisms, only some of which conform to traditional notions of pitch.

Pitch is one of the most common terms used to describe sound. Although in lay terms pitch denotes any respect in which sounds vary from high to low, in scientific parlance pitch is the perceptual correlate of the rate of repetition of a periodic sound (Fig. 1a). This repetition rate is known as the sound's fundamental frequency, or F0, and conveys information about the meaning and identity of sound sources. In music, F0 is varied to produce melodies and harmonies. In speech, F0 variation conveys emphasis and intent, as well as lexical content in tonal languages. Other everyday sounds (birdsong, sirens, ringtones and so on) are also identified in part by their F0. Pitch is thus believed to be a key intermediate perceptual feature and has been a topic of intense interest throughout history^{1–3}.

The goal of pitch research has historically been to characterize the mechanism for estimating F0 from sound^{4,5}. Periodic sounds contain frequencies that are harmonically related, being multiples of the F0 (Fig. 1a). The role of peripheral frequency cues, such as the place and timing of excitation in the cochlea, have thus been a focal point of pitch research^{6–10}. The mechanisms for deriving F0 from these peripheral representations are also the subject of a rich research tradition^{6–14}. Neurophysiological studies in non-human animals have revealed F0-tuned neurons in the auditory cortex of one species (the marmoset)^{15,16}, although as of yet there are no comparable findings in other species^{17,18}. Functional imaging studies in humans suggest pitch-responsive regions in non-primary auditory cortex^{19–21}. The role of these regions in pitch perception is an active area of research^{22,23}. Despite considerable efforts to characterize the mechanisms for F0 estimation, there has been relatively little consideration of whether behaviours involving pitch might necessitate other sorts of computations^{24–27}.

One reason to question the underlying basis of pitch perception is that our percepts of pitch support a wide variety of tasks. In some cases it seems likely that the F0 of a sound must be encoded, as when recognizing sounds with a characteristic F0, such as a person's voice²⁸, but in many situations we instead judge the way that F0 changes over time—often referred to as relative pitch—as when recognizing a melody or speech intonation pattern²⁹. Relative pitch

could involve first estimating the F0 of different parts of a sound and then registering how the F0 changes over time. However, pitch changes could also be registered by measuring a shift in the constituent frequencies of a sound, without first extracting F0^{24–27}. It thus seemed plausible that pitch perception in different stimulus and task contexts might involve different computations.

We probed pitch computations using inharmonic stimuli, randomly jittering each frequency component of a harmonic sound to make the stimulus aperiodic and inconsistent with any single F0 (Fig. 1b)³⁰. Rendering sounds inharmonic should disrupt F0-specific mechanisms and impair performance on pitch-related tasks that depend on such mechanisms. A handful of previous studies have manipulated harmonicity for this purpose and found modest effects on pitch discrimination that varied somewhat across listeners and studies^{25–27}. As we revisited this line of inquiry, it became clear that effects of inharmonicity differed substantially across pitch tasks, suggesting that pitch perception might partition into multiple mechanisms. The potential diversity of pitch mechanisms seemed important both for the basic understanding of the architecture of the auditory system and for understanding the origins of pitch deficits in listeners with hearing impairment or cochlear implants.

We thus examined the effect of inharmonicity on essentially every pitch-related task we could conceive and implement. These ranged from classic psychoacoustic assessments with pairs of notes to ethologically relevant melody and voice recognition tasks. Our results show that some pitch-related abilities—those relying on musical interval or voice perception—are strongly impaired by inharmonicity, suggesting a reliance on F0 estimation. However, tasks relying on the direction of pitch change, including those using pitch contours in speech and music, were unaffected by inharmonicity. Such inharmonic sounds individually lack a well-defined pitch in the normal sense, but when played sequentially nonetheless elicit the sensation of pitch change. The results suggest that what has traditionally been couched as 'pitch perception' is subserved by several distinct mechanisms, only some of which conform to the traditional F0-related notion of pitch.

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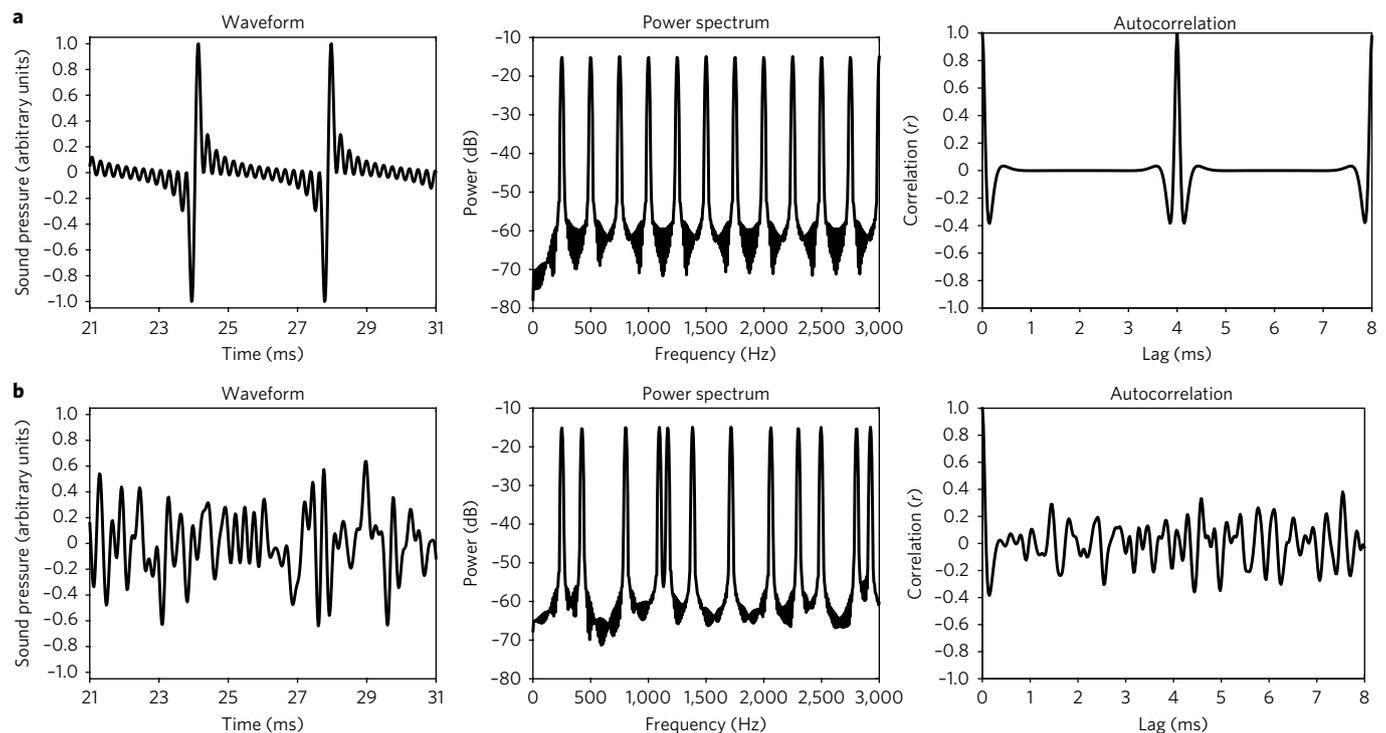


Fig. 1 | Example harmonic and inharmonic tones. **a**, Waveform, power spectrum and autocorrelation for a harmonic complex tone with a F0 of 250 Hz. The waveform is periodic (repeating in time), with a period corresponding to one cycle of the F0. The power spectrum contains discrete frequency components (harmonics) that are integer multiples of the F0. The harmonic tone yields an autocorrelation of 1 at a time lag corresponding to its period ($1/F_0$). **b**, Waveform, power spectrum and autocorrelation for an inharmonic tone generated by randomly ‘jittering’ the harmonics of the tone in **a**. The waveform is aperiodic and the constituent frequency components are not integer multiples of a common F0 (evident in the irregular spacing in the frequency domain). Such inharmonic tones are thus inconsistent with any single F0. The inharmonic tone exhibits no clear peak in its autocorrelation, indicative of its aperiodicity.

Results

Experiment 1: Pitch discrimination with pairs of synthetic tones.

We began by measuring pitch discrimination using a two-tone discrimination task standardly used to assess pitch perception^{31–33}. Participants heard two tones and were asked whether the second tone was higher or lower than the first (Fig. 2a). We compared performance for three conditions: a condition where the tones were harmonic, and two inharmonic conditions (Fig. 2b). Here and elsewhere, stimuli were made inharmonic by adding a random amount of ‘jitter’ to the frequency of each partial of a harmonic tone (up to 50% of the original F0 in either direction) (Fig. 1b). This manipulation was designed to severely disrupt the ability to recover the F0 of the stimuli. One measure of the integrity of the F0 is available in the autocorrelation peak height, which was greatly reduced in the inharmonic stimuli (Fig. 1 and Supplementary Fig. 1).

For the ‘Inharmonic’ condition (here and throughout all experiments), the same pattern of jitters was used within a given trial. In experiment 1, this meant that the same pattern of jitters was applied to harmonics in both tones of the trial. This condition was intended to preserve the ability to detect F0 changes via shifts in the spectrum. For the ‘Inharmonic-changing’ condition, a different random jitter pattern was applied to the harmonics of each tone in the experiment. For example, for the first tone, the second harmonic could be shifted up by 30%, and in the second tone, the second harmonic could be shifted down by 10%. This lack of correspondence in the pattern of harmonics between the tones should impair the detection of shifts in the spectrum (Fig. 2b) if the jitter is sufficiently large.

We hypothesized that if task performance was mediated by F0-based pitch, performance should be substantially worse for both Inharmonic conditions. If performance was instead mediated

by detecting shifts in the spectrum without estimating F0, performance should be impaired for Inharmonic-changing but similar for Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions. Finally, if the jitter manipulation was insufficient to disrupt F0 estimation, performance should be similar for all three conditions.

To isolate the effects of harmonic structure, a fixed bandpass filter was applied to each tone (Fig. 2c). This filter was intended to approximately equate the spectral centroids (centres of mass) of the tones, which might otherwise be used to perform the task, and to prevent listeners from tracking the frequency component at the F0 (by filtering it out). This type of tone also mimics the acoustics of many musical instruments, in which a source that varies in F0 is passed through a fixed filter (for example, the resonant body of the instrument). Here, and in most other experiments, low-pass noise was added to the stimuli to mask distortion products^{34,35}, which might otherwise confer an advantage to harmonic stimuli. Demonstrations of these and all other experimental stimuli from this Article are available as supplementary materials and at http://mcdermottlab.mit.edu/Diversity_In_Pitch_Perception.html.

Contrary to the idea that pitch discrimination depends on comparisons of F0, performance for Harmonic and Inharmonic tones was indistinguishable provided the pitch differences were small (a semitone or less; Fig. 2d; $F(1,29) = 1.44$, $P = 0.272$). Thresholds were ~1% (0.1–0.25 of a semitone) in both conditions, which are similar to thresholds measured in previous studies using complex harmonic tones³³. Performance for Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions differed slightly at two semitones ($t(29) = 5.22$, $P < 0.001$), and this difference is explored further in experiment 9. By contrast, the Inharmonic-changing condition produced much worse performance ($F(1,29) = 92.198$, $P < 0.001$). This result suggests that the

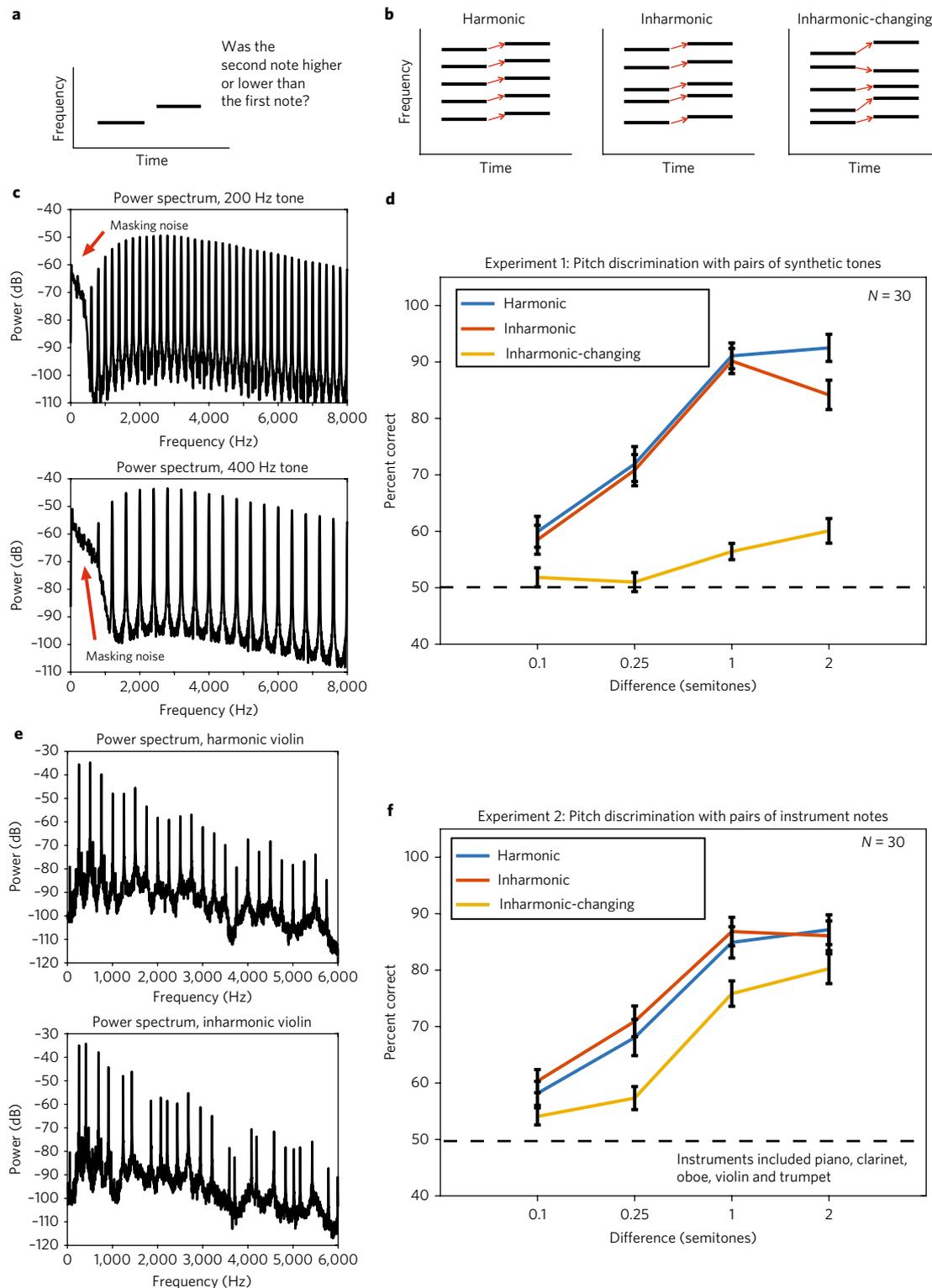


Fig. 2 | Task, example stimuli and results for experiments 1 and 2: pitch discrimination with pairs of synthetic tones and pairs of instrument notes.

a, Schematic of the trial structure for experiment 1. During each trial, participants heard two tones and judged whether the second tone was higher or lower than the first. **b**, Schematic of the three conditions for experiment 1. Harmonic trials consisted of two harmonic tones. Inharmonic trials contained two inharmonic tones, where each tone was made inharmonic by the same jitter pattern, such that the frequency ratios between components were preserved. This maintains a correspondence in the spectral pattern between the two tones, as for harmonic notes (indicated by red arrows). For Inharmonic-changing trials, a different jitter pattern was applied to the harmonics of each tone, eliminating the correspondence in the spectral pattern. **c**, Power spectra of two example tones from experiment 1 (with F0 values of 200 and 400 Hz, to convey the range of F0 used in the experiment). The fixed band-pass filter applied to each tone is evident in the envelope of the spectrum, as is the low-pass noise added to mask distortion products. The filter was intended to eliminate the spectral centroid or edge as a cue for pitch changes. **d**, Results from experiment 1. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. **e**, Example power spectra of harmonic and inharmonic violin notes from experiment 2. **f**, Results from experiment 2. Error bars denote standard error of the mean.

similar performance for Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions was not due to residual evidence of the F0.

To assess whether listeners might have determined the shift direction by tracking the lowest audible harmonic, we ran a control experiment in which the masking noise level was varied between the two tones within a trial, such that the lowest audible harmonic was never the same for both tones. Performance was unaffected by this manipulation (Supplementary Fig. 2), suggesting that listeners are relying on the spectral pattern rather than any single frequency component. The results collectively suggest that task performance does not rely on estimating F0 and that participants instead track shifts in the spectrum, irrespective of whether the spectrum is harmonic or inharmonic.

Experiment 2: Pitch discrimination with pairs of instrument notes. To assess the extent to which the effects in experiment 1 would replicate for real-world pitch differences, we repeated the experiment with actual instrument notes. We resynthesized recorded notes played on piano, clarinet, oboe, violin and trumpet, preserving the spectrotemporal envelope of each note but altering the underlying frequencies as in experiment 1 (Fig. 2e; see Methods). As shown in Fig. 2f, the results of these manipulations with actual instrument notes were similar to those for the synthetic tones of experiment 1. Performance was indistinguishable for the Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions ($F(1,29) = 2.36$, $P = 0.136$), but substantially worse in the Inharmonic-changing condition, where different jitter patterns were again used for the two notes ($F(1,29) = 41.88$, $P < 0.001$). The results substantiate the notion that pitch changes are in many cases detected by tracking spectral shifts without estimating the F0s of the constituent sounds.

Experiment 3: Melodic contour discrimination. To examine whether the effects observed in standard two-tone pitch discrimination tasks would extend to multinote melodies, we used a pitch contour discrimination task³⁶. Participants heard two five-note melodies composed of semitone steps, with Harmonic, Inharmonic or Inharmonic-changing notes. The second melody was transposed up in pitch by half an octave and had either an identical pitch contour to the first melody or one that differed in the sign of one step (for example, a +1 semitone step was changed to a -1 semitone). Participants judged whether the melodies were the same or different (Fig. 3a).

We again observed indistinguishable performance for Harmonic and Inharmonic trials (Fig. 3b; $t(28) = 0.28$, $P = 0.78$); performance was well above chance in both conditions. By contrast, performance

for the Inharmonic-changing condition was at chance ($t(28) = -0.21$, $P = 0.84$, single sample t -test versus 0.5), suggesting that accurate contour estimation depends on the correspondence in the spectral pattern between notes. These results suggest that even for melodies of moderate length, pitch contour perception is not dependent on extracting F0 and instead can be accomplished by detecting shifts in the spectrum from note to note.

Experiment 4: Prosodic contour discrimination. To test whether the results would extend to pitch contours in speech we measured the effect of inharmonicity on prosodic contour discrimination. We used speech analysis/synthesis tools (a variant of STRAIGHT^{37–39}) to manipulate the pitch contour and harmonicity of recorded speech excerpts. Speech excitation was sinusoidally modelled and then recombined with an estimated spectrotemporal filter following perturbations of individual frequency components.

During each trial, participants heard three variants of the same one-second speech token (Fig. 4a,b). Either the first or last excerpt had a random frequency modulation (FM) added to its F0 contour, and participants were asked to identify the excerpt whose prosodic contour was different from that of the middle excerpt. The middle excerpt was ‘transposed’ by shifting the F0 contour up by two semitones to force listeners to rely on the prosodic contour rather than some absolute feature of pitch. Stimuli were high-pass filtered to ensure that listeners could not simply track the F0 component (which would otherwise be present in both Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions) and noise was added to mask potential distortion products. Because voiced speech excitation is continuous, it was impractical to change the jitter pattern over time and we thus included only Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions, the latter of which used the same jitter pattern throughout each trial.

As the amplitude of the added FM increased, performance for Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions improved, as expected (Fig. 4c). However, performance was not different for harmonic and inharmonic stimuli ($F(1,29) = 1.572$, $P = 0.22$), suggesting that the perception of speech prosody also does not rely on extracting F0. Similar results were obtained with FM tones synthesized from speech contours (Supplementary Fig. 3).

Experiment 5: Mandarin tone perception. In languages such as Mandarin Chinese, pitch contours can carry lexical meaning in addition to signalling emphasis, emotion and other indexical properties. To probe the mechanisms underlying lexical tone perception, we performed an open-set word recognition task using

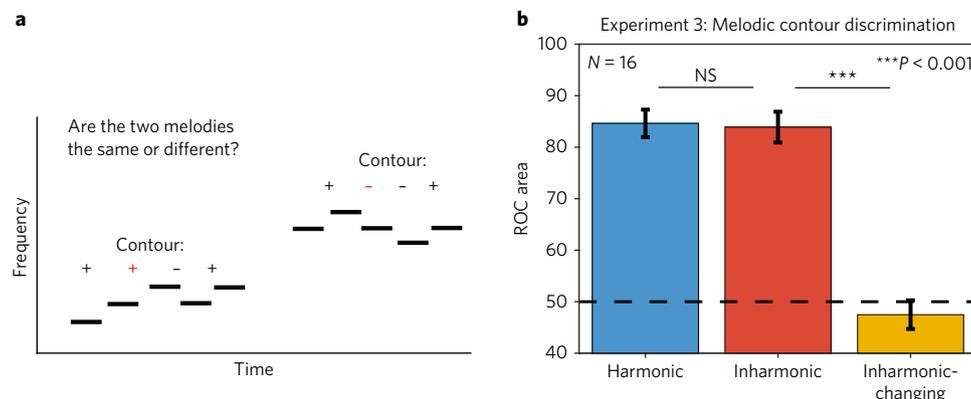


Fig. 3 | Task and results for experiment 3: melodic contour discrimination. **a**, Schematic of the trial structure for experiment 3. Participants heard two melodies with note-to-note steps of +1 or -1 semitones and judged whether the two melodies were the same or different. The second melody was always transposed up in pitch relative to the first melody. **b**, Results from experiment 3. Performance was measured as the area under ROC curves. Error bars denote standard error of the mean.

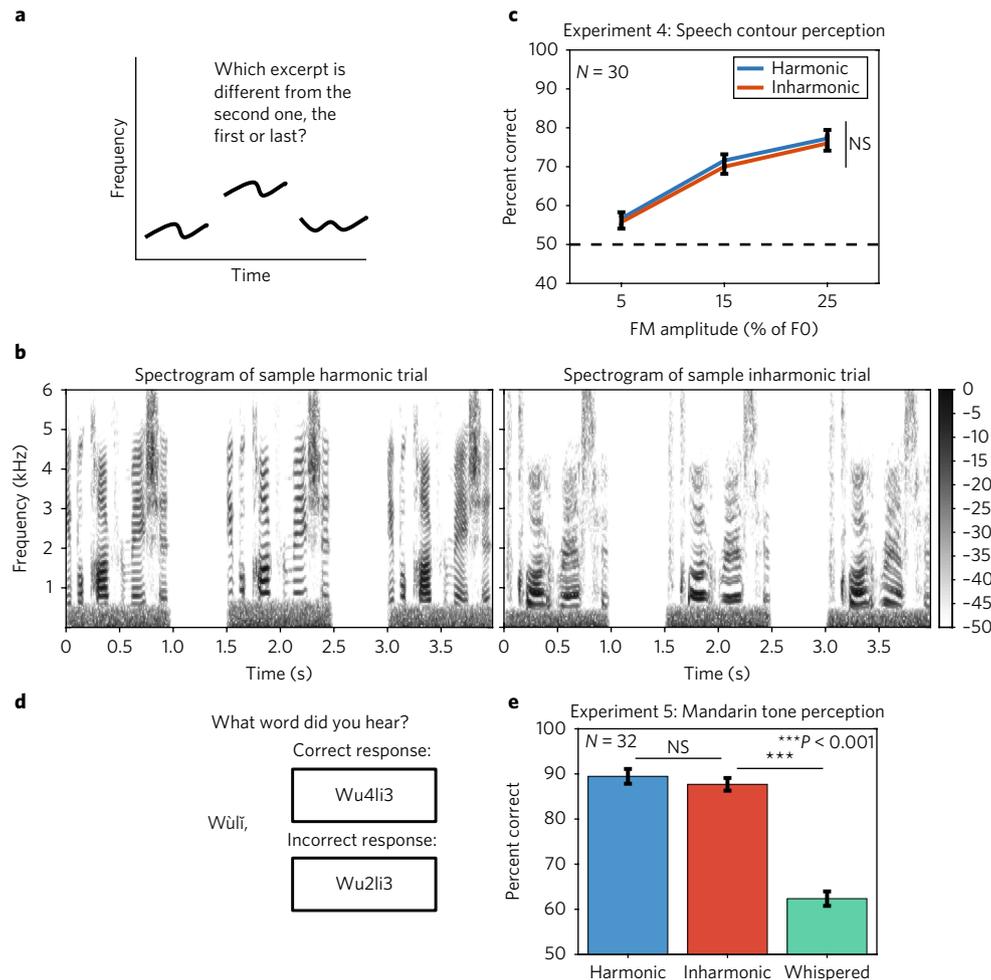


Fig. 4 | Tasks and results for experiments 4 and 5: speech contour perception and Mandarin tone perception. **a**, Schematic of the trial structure for experiment 4. Participants heard three 1 s resynthesized speech utterances, the first or last of which had a random frequency modulation (1–2 Hz bandpass noise, with modulation depth varied across conditions) added to the F0 contour. Participants were asked whether the first or last speech excerpt differed from the second speech excerpt. The second excerpt was always shifted up in pitch to force listeners to make judgements about the prosodic contour rather than the absolute pitch of the stimuli. **b**, Example spectrograms of stimuli from harmonic and inharmonic trials in experiment 4. Note the even and jittered spacing of frequency components in the two trial types. In these examples, the final excerpt in the trial contains the added frequency modulation. **c**, Results from experiment 4. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. **d**, Schematic of trial structure for experiment 5. Participants (fluent Mandarin speakers) heard a single resynthesized Mandarin word and were asked to type what they heard (in Pinyin, which assigns numbers to the five possible tones). Participants could, for example, hear the word Wùli, containing tones 4 and 3, and the correct response would be Wu4li3. **e**, Results for experiment 5. Error bars denote standard error of the mean.

Mandarin words that were resynthesized with harmonic, inharmonic or noise carrier signals. The noise carrier simulated the acoustics of breath noise in whispered speech and was intended as a control condition to determine whether lexical tone perception would depend on the frequency modulation introduced by the pitch contour. As in experiment 4, the resynthesized words were filtered to ensure that listeners could not simply track the lower spectral edge provided by the F0 component, and noise was added to mask potential distortion products. Participants (fluent Mandarin speakers) were asked to identify single words by typing what they heard (Fig. 4d).

As shown in Fig. 4e, tone identification was comparable for harmonic and inharmonic speech ($t(31) = 1.99$, $P = 0.06$), but decreased substantially ($P < 0.001$) for whispered speech ($t(31) = 22.14$, $P < 0.001$). These two results suggest that tone comprehension depends on the tone's pitch contour, as expected, but that its perception, like that of the prosodic contour, seems not to require F0 estimation. Listeners evidently track the frequency

contours of the stimuli, irrespective of whether the frequencies are harmonic or inharmonic.

Experiment 6: Familiar melody recognition. Despite the lack of an effect of inharmonicity on tasks involving pitch contour discrimination, it seemed possible that F0-based pitch would be more important in complex and naturalistic musical settings. We thus measured listeners' ability to recognize familiar melodies (Fig. 5a) that were rendered with harmonic or inharmonic notes. In addition to the Harmonic, Inharmonic and Inharmonic-changing conditions from previous experiments, we included Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions in which each interval of each melody (the size of note-to-note changes in pitch) was altered by one semitone while preserving the contour (directions of note-to-note changes) and rhythm (Fig. 5a). These conditions were intended to test the extent to which any effect of inharmonicity would be mediated via an effect on pitch interval encoding, by reducing the extent to which intervals would be useful for the task.

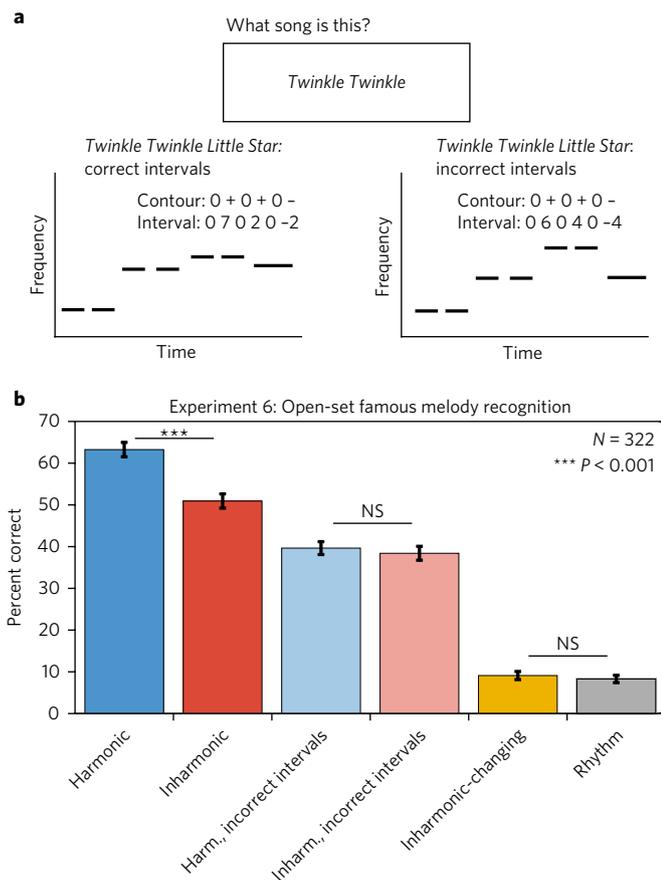


Fig. 5 | Task, results and schematic of incorrect interval trials from experiment 6: familiar melody recognition. **a**, Stimuli and task for experiment 6. Participants on Amazon Mechanical Turk heard 24 melodies, modified in various ways and were asked to identify each melody by typing identifying information into a computer interface. Three conditions (Harmonic, Inharmonic and Inharmonic-changing) preserved the pitch intervals between notes. Two additional conditions (incorrect intervals with harmonic or inharmonic notes) altered each interval between notes but preserved the contour (direction of pitch change between notes). The Rhythm condition preserved the rhythm of the melody, but used a flat pitch contour. **b**, Results from experiment 6. Error bars denote standard deviations calculated via bootstrap.

Additionally, to evaluate the extent to which participants were using rhythmic cues to identify the melody, we included a condition where the rhythm was replicated with a flat pitch contour. Participants heard each of 24 melodies once (in one of the conditions, chosen at random) and typed the name of the song. Results were coded by the first author, blind to the condition. To obtain a large sample of participants, which was necessary given the small number of trials per listener, the experiment was crowd-sourced on Amazon Mechanical Turk.

As shown in Fig. 5b, melody recognition was modestly impaired for Inharmonic compared to Harmonic melodies ($P < 0.001$, via bootstrap). By contrast, performance was indistinguishable for Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions when melodic intervals were changed to incorrect values ($P = 0.50$). The deficit in melody recognition with inharmonic notes thus seems plausibly related to impairments in encoding pitch intervals (the magnitude of pitch shifts), which are known to be important for familiar melody recognition³⁶. Performance in the Inharmonic conditions was nonetheless far better than in the Inharmonic-changing or Rhythm conditions

($P < 0.001$ for both), consistent with the notion that the pitch contour contributes to familiar melody recognition and is largely unaffected by inharmonicity.

Experiment 7: Sour note detection. To further examine whether pitch interval perception relies on F0, we assessed the effect of inharmonicity on the detection of an out-of-key ('sour') note within a 16-note melody^{40,41}. Sour notes fall outside the set of notes used in the tonal context of a melody and can be identified only by their interval relations with other notes of a melody. Melodies were randomly generated using a model of western tonal melodies⁴². In half of the trials, one of the notes in the melody was modified by one or two semitones to be out of key. Participants judged whether the melody contained a sour note (explained to participants as a 'mistake' in the melody; Fig. 6a). Notes were band-pass filtered and superimposed on masking noise as in the contour and two-tone discrimination tasks (to ensure that the task could not be performed by extracting pitch intervals from the F0 component alone; see Supplementary Fig. 4c,d for comparable results with unfiltered notes). We again measured performance for Harmonic, Inharmonic and Inharmonic-changing conditions.

Consistent with the deficit observed for familiar melody recognition and in contrast to the results for pitch contour discrimination (experiment 3), sour note detection was substantially impaired for Inharmonic compared to Harmonic trials (Fig. 6b; $t(29) = 4.67$, $P < 0.001$). This result is further consistent with the idea that disrupting F0 specifically impairs the estimation of pitch intervals in music.

Experiment 8: Interval pattern discrimination. It was not obvious a priori why inharmonicity would specifically prevent or impair the perception of pitch intervals. Listeners sometimes describe inharmonic tones as sounding like chords, appearing to contain more than one F0, which might introduce ambiguity in F0 comparisons between tones. However, if the contour (direction of note-to-note changes) can be derived from inharmonic tones by detecting shifts of the spectrum, one might imagine that it should also be possible to detect the magnitude of that shift (the interval) between notes. A dissociation between effects of inharmonicity on pitch contour and interval representations thus seemed potentially diagnostic of distinct mechanisms subserving pitch-related functions. To more explicitly isolate the effects of inharmonicity on pitch interval perception, we conducted an experiment in which participants detected interval differences between two three-note melodies with harmonic or inharmonic notes (Fig. 6c). In half of the trials, the second note of the second melody was changed by one semitone so as to preserve the contour (sign of pitch changes), but alter both intervals in the melody. Tones were again bandpass filtered and superimposed on masking noise.

As shown in Fig. 6d, this task was difficult (as expected, one semitone is close to previously reported pitch interval discrimination thresholds⁴³), but performance was again better for harmonic than inharmonic notes ($t(17) = 4.59$, $P < 0.001$, t -test). Because this task, unlike those of experiments 6 and 7, did not require comparisons to familiar pitch structures (known melodies or key signatures), it mitigates the potential concern that the deficits in experiments 6 and 7 reflect a difficulty comparing intervals obtained from inharmonic notes to those learned from harmonic notes through experience with western music. Instead, the results suggest that intervals are less accurately encoded (or retained) when notes are inharmonic, suggesting a role for F0-based pitch in encoding or representing the magnitude of pitch changes.

Experiment 9: Pitch discrimination with large pitch intervals. To better understand the relationship between deficits in interval perception (where pitch steps are often relatively large) and the lack

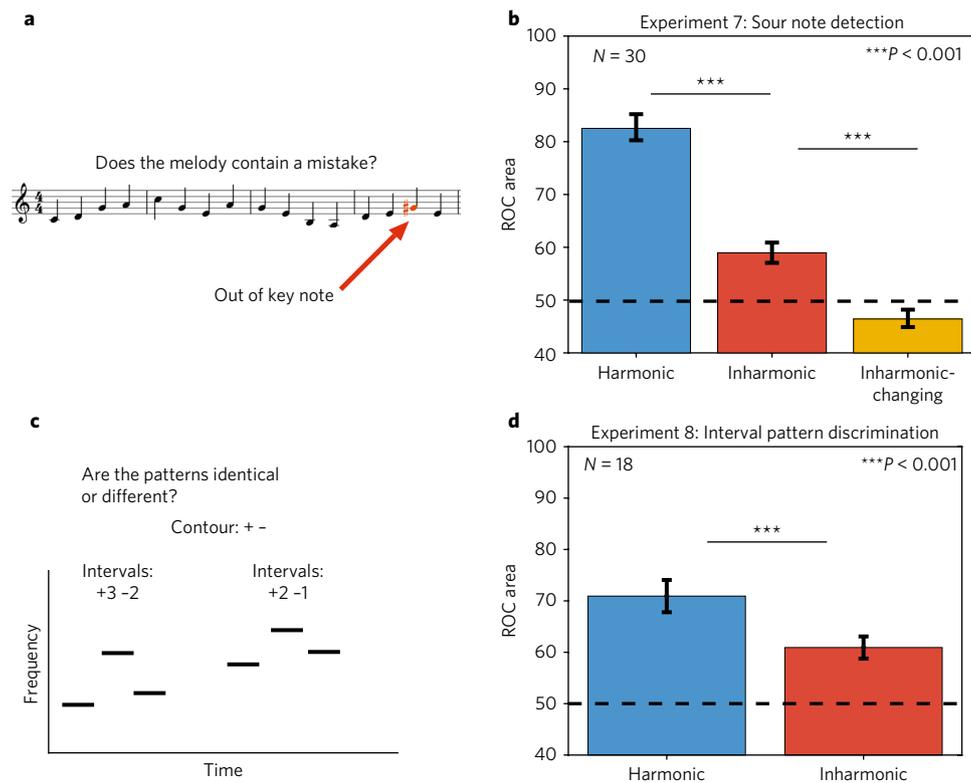


Fig. 6 | Task and results for experiments 7 and 8: sour note detection and interval pattern discrimination. **a**, Sample trial from experiment 7. Participants judged whether a melody contained a 'sour' (out of key) note. **b**, Results for experiment 7. Performance was measured as the area under ROC curves. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. **c**, Schematic of a sample trial from experiment 8. Participants judged whether two melodies were the same or different. On 'different' trials (pictured) the two melodies had different intervals between notes, but retained the same contour. The second melody was always transposed up in pitch relative to the first. **d**, Results for experiment 8. Performance was measured as the area under ROC curves. Error bars denote standard error of the mean.

of impairment for two-tone pitch discrimination (experiment 1, where steps were small), we conducted a second pitch discrimination experiment with pitch steps covering a larger range (Fig. 7a). As shown in Fig. 7b, the results replicate those of experiment 1, but reveal that performance for Harmonic and Inharmonic tones differs somewhat (by ~10%) once pitch shifts exceed a semitone (producing an interaction between tone type and step size;

$F(1,27) = 71.29$, $P < 0.001$). One explanation is that, for larger steps, the match between the spectral pattern of successive tones is occasionally ambiguous, leading to a decrease in performance for Inharmonic tones (although participants still achieved above 85% on average). The lack of a similar decline for Harmonic conditions suggests that F0-based pitch may be used to boost performance under these conditions.

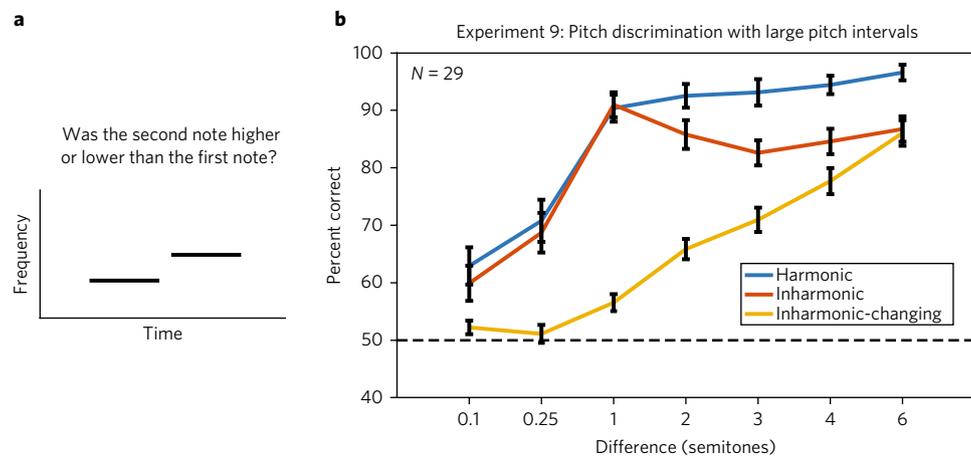


Fig. 7 | Task and results for experiment 9: pitch discrimination with large pitch intervals. **a**, Schematic of trial structure for experiment 9. During each trial, participants heard two tones and judged whether the second tone was higher or lower than the first. The stimuli and task were identical to those of experiment 1, except larger step sizes were included. **b**, Results from experiment 9. Error bars denote standard error of the mean.

By contrast, performance on the Inharmonic-changing condition progressively improved with pitch difference ($F(6,168) = 80.30$, $P < 0.001$). This result suggests that participants were also able to detect pitch differences to some extent through the average density of harmonics (higher tones have greater average spacing than lower tones, irrespective of the jitter added). By six semitones, where Inharmonic and Inharmonic-changing conditions produced equivalent performance ($t(28) = 0.45$, $P = 0.66$), it seems likely that participants were relying primarily on harmonic density rather than spectral shifts, as there was no added benefit of a consistent spectral pattern. Overall, the results indicate that pitch changes between tones are conveyed by a variety of cues and that listeners make use of all of them to some extent. However, pitch conveyed by the F0 appears to play a relatively weak role and only in particular conditions.

The difference between Harmonic and Inharmonic performance for larger pitch steps nonetheless left us concerned that what appeared to be deficits in interval size estimation in experiments 7 and 8 might somehow reflect a difficulty in recovering the direction of pitch change, because the intervals used in those two experiments were often greater than a semitone. To address this issue, we ran additional versions of both experiments in which the direction of pitch change between notes was rendered unambiguous; notes were not band-pass filtered, so the F0 component moved up and down, as did the spectral centroid of the note (Supplementary Fig. 4a). This stimulus produced up-down discrimination of tone pairs that was equally good irrespective of spectral composition ($F(2,58) = 0.38$, $P = 0.689$; Supplementary Fig. 4b), demonstrating that the manipulation had the desired effect of rendering direction unambiguous. Yet even with these alternative stimuli, performance differences for Inharmonic notes were evident in both the sour note detection and interval pattern discrimination tasks ($t(18) = 3.87$, $P < 0.001$, $t(13) = 4.54$, $P < 0.001$; Supplementary Fig. 4c–f). The results provide additional evidence that the deficits on these tasks with inharmonic stimuli do, in fact, reflect a difficulty encoding pitch intervals between sounds that lack a coherent F0.

Experiment 10: Voice recognition. In addition to its role in conveying the meaning of spoken utterances, pitch is thought to be a cue to voice identity²⁸. Voices can differ in both mean F0 and in the extent and manner of F0 variation, and we sought to explore the importance of F0 in this additional setting. We first established the role of pitch in voice recognition by measuring recognition of voices whose pitch was altered (experiment 10a).

Participants were asked to identify celebrities from their speech, resynthesized in various ways (Fig. 8a). The speakers included politicians, actors, comedians and singers. Participants typed their responses, which were scored after the fact by the first author, blind to the condition. Due to the small number of trials per listener, the experiments were crowd-sourced on Amazon Mechanical Turk in order to recruit sufficient sample sizes. The speech excerpts were pitch-shifted up and down, remaining harmonic in all cases. Voice recognition was best at the speaker's original F0 and decreased for each subsequent pitch shift away from the original F0 (Fig. 8b). This result suggests that the average absolute pitch of a speaker's voice is an important cue to their identity and is used by human listeners for voice recognition.

To probe the pitch mechanisms underlying this effect, we measured recognition for inharmonic celebrity voices (experiment 10b). Participants heard speech excerpts that were harmonic or inharmonic at the original pitch, or resynthesized with simulated whispered excitation, and again identified the speaker. Recognition was substantially worse for Inharmonic speech (Fig. 8c; $P < 0.001$), suggesting that at least part of the pitch representations used for familiar voice recognition depends on estimating F0. Recognition

was even worse for whispered speech ($P < 0.001$), suggesting that aspects of the prosodic contour may also matter, independent of the integrity of the F0.

Experiment 11: Novel voice discrimination. As a further test of the pitch mechanisms involved in voice perception, we measured the effect of inharmonicity on the discrimination of unfamiliar voices. Participants were presented with three speech excerpts and had to identify which one was spoken by a different speaker from the other two (Fig. 8d). Speech excerpts were taken from a large anonymized corpus⁴⁴ and thus were unknown to participants.

As with celebrity voice recognition, we observed a significant deficit in performance for Inharmonic compared to Harmonic speech ($t(29) = 3.88$, $P < 0.001$, Fig. 8e) and a larger impairment for whispered speech ($t(29) = 16.24$, $P < 0.001$). These results are also consistent with a role for F0 in the representation of voice identity and show that voice-related deficits from inharmonicity do not only occur when matching an inharmonic stimulus to a stored representation of a normally harmonic voice (as in experiment 10). Deficits occur even when comparing multiple stimuli that are all inharmonic, suggesting that voice representations depend in part on F0-based pitch. We note also that the inharmonicity manipulation that produced an effect here and in experiment 10 is identical to the one that produced no effect on prosodic contour discrimination or Mandarin tone identification (experiments 4 and 5). It thus serves as a positive control for those null results—the manipulation is sufficient to produce a large effect for tasks that depend on the F0.

To further test whether the performance decrements in voice recognition and discrimination reflect impairments in estimating F0, we conducted a control experiment. Participants performed an alternative version of the voice discrimination task of experiment 11 in which the mean and variance of the F0 contours of each speech excerpt were equated, such that F0-based pitch was much less informative for the task. If the effect of inharmonicity were due to its effect on some other aspect of voice representations, such as vocal tract signatures extracted from the spectral envelope of speech, one would expect the deficit to persist even when F0 was rendered uninformative. Instead, this manipulation eliminated the advantage for harmonic over inharmonic speech ($t(13) = 0.43$, $P = 0.67$), suggesting that the deficit in experiments 10 and 11 are in fact due to the effect of inharmonicity on pitch perception (Supplementary Fig. 5a,b). This conclusion is also supported by findings that inharmonicity has minimal effects on speech intelligibility, which also depends on features of the spectral envelope resulting from vocal tract filtering. For example, Mandarin phoneme intelligibility (assessed from the responses for experiment 5) was unaffected by inharmonicity (Supplementary Fig. 5c,d).

Effects of musicianship. It is natural to wonder how the effects described here would vary with musicianship, which is known to produce improved performance on pitch-related tasks^{33,45,46}. A comparison of musician and non-musician participants across all of the experiments (with the exception of experiment 5, in which most participants identified as musicians) indeed revealed that musicians were better than non-musicians at most tasks; the only experiments in which this was not the case were those involving voice identification or discrimination (Supplementary Figs. 6–8). However, the effects of inharmonicity were qualitatively similar for musicians and non-musicians. Tasks involving the direction of pitch changes (two-tone discrimination, melodic contour discrimination and prosodic contour discrimination; experiments 1–4) all showed similar performance for harmonic and inharmonic stimuli in both musicians and non-musicians (Supplementary Fig. 6). Tasks involving pitch intervals or voice identity (experiments 6–11) produced better performance for harmonic than inharmonic stimuli in both groups

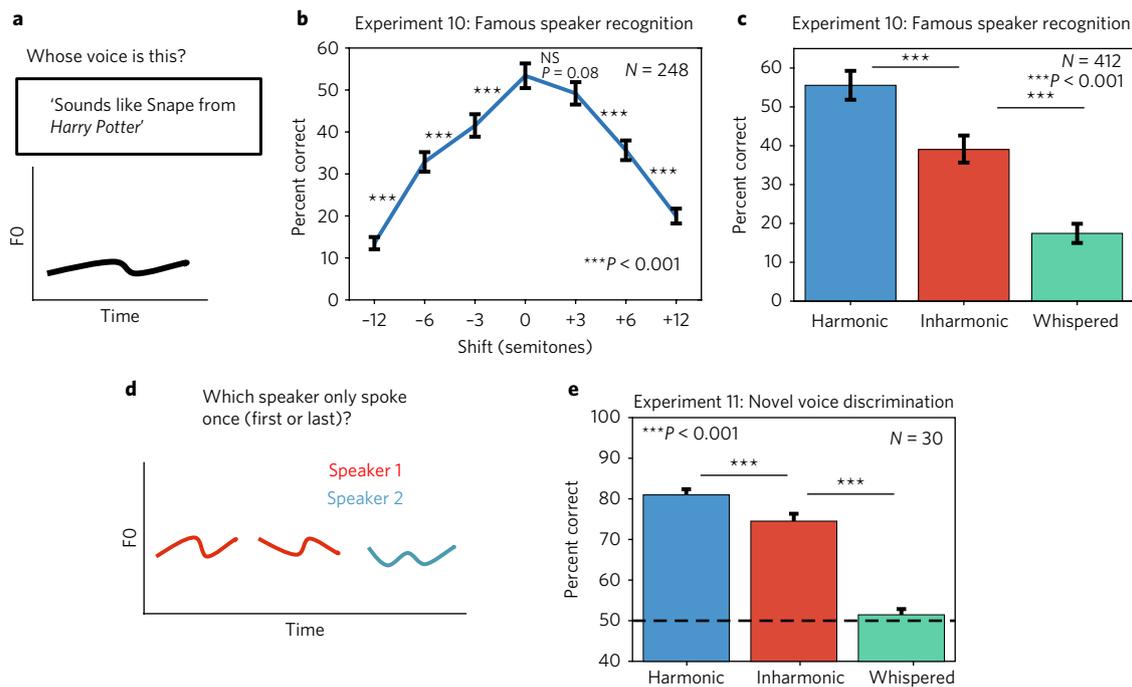


Fig. 8 | Task and results for experiments 10a, 10b and 11: famous speaker recognition and novel voice discrimination. **a**, Description of experiments 10a and 10b. Participants on Mechanical Turk heard resynthesized excerpts of speech from recordings of celebrities and were asked to identify each speaker by typing their guesses into a computer interface. **b**, Results from experiment 10a, with harmonic speech pitch-shifted between -12 and $+12$ semitones. Here and in **c**, error bars plot standard deviations calculated via bootstrap. **c**, Results from experiment 10b. Stimuli in the Whispered condition were resynthesized with simulated breath noise, removing the carrier frequency contours. **d**, Schematic of trial structure for experiment 11. Participants heard three 1s resynthesized speech utterances from unknown speakers, the first or last of which was spoken by a different speaker than the other two. Participants judged which speaker (first or last) only spoke once. **e**, Results from experiment 11. Error bars denote standard error of the mean.

(Supplementary Figs 7 and 8). The lone exception was experiment 8 (interval pattern discrimination), where most non-musicians performed close to chance in both conditions. The similarity in results across groups suggests that the differences we find in the effect of inharmonicity across tasks is a basic feature of hearing and is present in listeners independent of extensive musical expertise.

Discussion

To probe the basis of pitch perception, we measured performance on a series of pitch-related music and speech tasks for both harmonic and inharmonic stimuli. Inharmonic stimuli should disrupt mechanisms for estimating F0, as are conventionally assumed to underlie pitch. We found different effects of this manipulation depending on the task. Tasks that involved detecting the direction of pitch changes, whether for melodic contour, spoken prosody or single pitch steps, generally produced equivalent performance for harmonic and inharmonic stimuli. By contrast, tasks that required judgements of pitch intervals or voice identity showed substantially impaired performance for inharmonic stimuli. These results suggest that what has conventionally been considered ‘pitch perception’ is mediated by several different mechanisms, not all of which involve estimating F0.

Tracking spectral patterns. Our results suggest a mechanism that registers the direction of pitch shifts (the contour) by tracking shifts in spectral patterns, irrespective of whether the pattern is harmonic or inharmonic. This mechanism appears to operate for both musical tones and for speech. When the correspondence in spectral pattern was eliminated in the Inharmonic-changing conditions of experiments 1–3, performance was severely impaired. These results provide evidence that the match in the spectral pattern between notes underlies the detection of the pitch change and that under these

conditions pitch changes need not be detected by first estimating the F0 of each note.

Previous results have shown that listeners hear changes in the overall spectrum of a sound⁴⁷ (for example, the centroid, believed to underlie the brightness dimension of timbre, or the edge), that these shifts can produce contour-like representations⁴⁸, and that these shifts can interfere with the ability to discern changes in F0^{47,49,50}. Our findings differ from these previous results in suggesting that the substrate believed to underlie F0 estimation (the fine-grained pattern of harmonics) is often instead used to detect spectral shifts. Other prior results have provided evidence for ‘frequency shift detectors’, typically for shifts in individual frequency components⁵¹, although it has been noted that shifts can be heard between successive inharmonic tones⁵². Our results are distinct in showing that these shifts appear to dictate performance in conditions that have typically been assumed to rely on F0 estimation. Although we have not formally modelled the detection of such shifts, the cross-correlation of excitation patterns (perhaps filtered to accentuate fluctuations due to harmonics) between sounds is a candidate mechanism. By contrast, it is not obvious how one could account for the detection of shifts in inharmonic spectra with an F0-estimation mechanism, particularly given that the same inharmonicity manipulation produces large deficits in some tasks, but not in tasks that rely on detecting the direction of pitch shifts, even when shifts are near threshold.

F0-based pitch. The consistently large effects of inharmonicity in some pitch-related tasks implicate an important role for F0-based pitch (historically referred to as ‘virtual’ pitch, ‘residue’ pitch or ‘periodicity’ pitch). F0-based pitch seems necessary for accurately estimating pitch intervals (the magnitude of pitch shifts; experiments 6–8) and for identifying and discriminating voices (experiments 10 and 11).

These results provide a demonstration of the importance of F0-based pitch and a delineation of its role in pitch-related behaviours such as interval perception and voice recognition.

Implications for relationship between F0 and pitch. Taken together, our data suggest that the classical view of pitch as the perceptual correlate of F0 is incomplete; F0 appears to be just one component of real-world pitch perception. The standard psychoacoustic assessment of pitch (two-tone up-down discrimination) does not seem to require the classical notion of pitch. At least for modest pitch differences and for the stimulus parameters we employed, it can be performed by tracking correspondence in the spectral pattern of sounds even when they are inharmonic.

Are the changes that are heard between inharmonic sounds really ‘pitch’ changes? Listeners describe what they hear in the Inharmonic conditions of our experiments as a pitch change, but in typical real-world conditions the underlying mechanism presumably operates on sounds that are harmonic. The changes heard in sequences of inharmonic sounds thus appear to be a signature of a mechanism that normally serves to registers changes in F0, but that does so without computing F0.

Alternatively, could listeners have learned to employ a strategy to detect shifts in inharmonic spectra that they would not otherwise use for a pitch task? We consider this unlikely, both because listeners were not given practice on our tasks prior to the experiments, and because omitting feedback in pilot experiments did not alter the results. Moreover, the ability to hear ‘pitch’ shifts in inharmonic tones is typically immediate for most listeners, as is apparent in the stimulus demonstrations that accompany this paper.

Several previous studies found effects of inharmonicity in two-tone pitch discrimination tasks. Although at face value these previous results might appear inconsistent with those reported here, the previously observed effects were typically modest and were either variable across subjects²⁵ or were most evident when the stimuli being compared had different spectral compositions^{26,27}. In pilot experiments, we also found spectral variation between tones to cause performance decrements for inharmonic tones, as might be expected if the ability to compare successive spectra were impaired, forcing listeners to partially rely on F0-based pitch. Our results here are further consistent with this idea—effects of inharmonicity became apparent for large pitch shifts and a fixed spectral envelope, when spectral shifts were ostensibly somewhat ambiguous. It thus remains possible that F0-based pitch is important for extracting the pitch contour in conditions in which the spectrum varies, such as when intermittent background noise is present. However, in many real-world contexts, where spectra are somewhat consistent across the sounds to be compared (as for the recorded instrument notes used in experiment 2), F0 seems unlikely to be the means by which pitch changes are heard. The classic psychoacoustic notion of pitch is thus supported by our data, but primarily for particular tasks (interval perception and voice recognition/discrimination), and not in many contexts in which it has been assumed to be important (melodic contour, prosody and so on).

In addition to F0 and spectral pattern, there are other cues that could be used to track changes in pitch in real-world contexts, several of which were evident in our data. When tones were not passed through a fixed bandpass filter (Supplementary Fig. 4), listeners could detect a pitch shift even when there was no F0 or consistent spectral pattern. This suggests that some aspect of the spectral envelope (the lower edge generated by the F0, or the centroid^{47,48,53}) can be used to perform the task. We also found good up-down discrimination performance even when the spectral envelope was fixed and the spectral pattern was varied from note to note, provided the steps were sufficiently large (Inharmonic-changing condition in experiment 9). This result suggests that listeners can hear the changes in the density of harmonics that normally accompany pitch shifts. It thus

appears that pitch perception is mediated by a relatively rich set of cues that vary in their importance depending on the circumstances.

Comparisons with previous models of pitch. Previous work on pitch has also implicated multiple mechanisms, but these mechanisms typically comprise different ways to estimate F0. Classical debates between temporal and place models of pitch have evolved into the modern view that different cues, plausibly via different mechanisms, underlie pitch derived from low- and high-numbered harmonics^{14,21,31,32,54}. The pitch heard from low-numbered ‘resolved’ harmonics may depend on the individual harmonic frequencies, whereas that from high-numbered ‘unresolved’ harmonics is believed to depend on the combined pattern of periodic beating that they produce. In both cases, however, the mechanisms are thought to estimate F0 from a particular cue to periodicity. By contrast, we identify a mechanism for detecting changes in F0 that does not involve estimating F0 first and that is thus unaffected by inharmonicity (a manipulation that eliminates periodicity). The pitch-direction mechanism implicated by our results is presumably dependent on resolved harmonics, although we did not explicitly test this. Resolved and unresolved harmonics may thus best be viewed as providing different peripheral cues that can then be used for different computations, including but not limited to F0-based pitch.

Previous work has also often noted differences in the representation of pitch contour and intervals^{29,36,55}. However, the difference between contour and interval representations has conventionally been conceived as a difference in what is done with pitch once it is extracted (retaining the sign versus the magnitude of the pitch change). By contrast, our results suggest that the difference between contour and interval representations may lie in what is extracted from the sound signal—pitch contours can be derived from spectral shifts without estimating F0, whereas intervals appear to require the initial estimation of the F0s of the constituent notes, from which the change in F0 between notes is measured.

Future directions. Our results suggest a diversity of mechanisms underlying pitch perception, but leave open the question of why multiple mechanisms exist. Real-world pitch processing occurs over a heterogeneous set of stimuli and tasks, and the underlying architecture may result from the demands of this diversity. Some tasks require knowledge of a sound’s absolute F0 (voice identification being the clearest example), and the involvement of F0 estimation is perhaps unsurprising. Many other tasks only require knowledge of the direction of pitch changes. In such cases, detecting shifts in the underlying spectral pattern is evidently often sufficient, but it is not obvious why extracting the F0 and then measuring its change over time is not the solution of choice. It may be that measuring shifts in the spectrum is more accurate or reliable when shifts are small.

It is conversely not obvious why pitch interval tasks are more difficult with inharmonic spectra, given that pitch direction tasks are not. Inharmonic tones often resemble multiple concurrent notes, which could in principle interfere with the extraction of note relationships, but no such interference occurs when determining the direction (provided the spectra shift coherently). The dependence on a coherent F0 could lie in the need to compress sound signals for the purposes of remembering them; pitch intervals must often be computed between notes separated by intervening notes, and without the F0 there may be no way to ‘summarize’ a pitch for comparison with a future sound. As discussed above, F0 may also be important for comparing sounds whose spectra vary, obscuring the correspondence in the spectral pattern of each sound. These ideas could be explored by optimizing auditory models for different pitch tasks and then probing their behaviour.

One open question is whether a single pitch mechanism underlies performance in the two types of task in which we found strong effects of F0-based pitch. Voices and musical intervals are

acoustically distinct and presumably require different functions of the F0—for example, the mean and variation of a continuously changing F0 for voice, versus the difference in the static F0 of musical notes—such that it is not obvious that they would be optimally served by the same F0-related computation. A related question is whether the importance of harmonicity in musical consonance (the pleasantness of combinations of notes)⁵⁶ and sound segregation^{57–59} reflects the same mechanism that uses harmonicity to estimate F0 for voice or musical intervals.

It remains to be seen how the distinct mechanisms suggested by our results are implemented in the brain, but the stimuli and tasks used here could be used toward this end. Our findings suggest that F0-tuned neurons^{15,16} are unlikely to exclusively form the brain basis of pitch and that it could be fruitful to search for neural sensitivity to pitch-shift direction. Our results also indicate a functional segregation for the pitch mechanisms subserving contour (important for speech prosody as well as music) and interval (important primarily for music), suggesting that there could be some specialization for the role of pitch in music. We also found evidence that voice pitch (dependent on harmonicity) may be derived from mechanisms distinct from those for prosody (robust to inharmonicity). A related question is whether pitch in speech and music taps into distinct systems^{60–62}. The diversity of pitch phenomena revealed by our results suggests that investigating their basis could reveal rich structure within the auditory system.

Methods

Participants. All experiments were approved by the Committee on the use of Humans as Experimental Subjects at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and were conducted with the informed consent of the participants. All participants were native English speakers.

A total of 30 participants (16 female, mean age 32.97 years, standard deviation (s.d.) = 16.61 years) participated in experiments 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 11, as well as the experiments detailed in Supplementary Figs. 4b and 9d. These participants were run in the laboratory for three 2 h sessions each (except one participant, who was unable to return for her final 2 h session). Of these participants, 15 had over 5 years of musical training, with an average of 13.75 years (s.d. = 14.04 years). The sample size was over double the necessary size based on power analyses of pilot data; this ensured sufficient statistical power to separately analyse musicians and non-musicians (Supplementary Figs. 6–8).

Another set of 30 participants participated in experiment 2, as well as the control experiment detailed in Supplementary Fig. 2 (11 female, mean age of 37.15 years, s.d. = 13.36). Of these participants, 15 had over 5 years of musical training, with an average of 17.94 years (s.d. = 14.04 years).

A total of 20 participants (8 female, mean age of 38.14 years, s.d. = 15.75 years) participated in the two follow-up experiments, as detailed in Supplementary Fig. 4c–f. Of these, 9 participants had over 5 years of musical training, with an average of 12.18 years (s.d. = 13.64 years).

Fourteen participants completed the control experiment described in Supplementary Fig. 5a,b (5 female, mean age of 40 years, s.d. = 13.41 years). Two identified as musicians (average of 9.5 years, s.d. = 0.71 years).

Between these four sets of experiments (combined N of 94), we tested 70 different individuals – 2 individuals completed all four sets of experiments, 3 completed three sets, and 12 completed two sets.

Participants in online experiments (experiments 5, 6 and 10) were different for each experiment (their details are given in the respective experiment descriptions). For Mechanical Turk studies, sample sizes were chosen to obtain split-half correlations of at least 0.9.

Stimuli. Logic of stimulus filtering. Similar performance for harmonic and inharmonic sounds could in principle result from an ability to ‘hear out’ the F0 frequency component in both cases. To prevent this from occurring, we filtered stimuli to remove the F0 component and added noise to mask distortion products, which could otherwise reinstate a component at the F0 for harmonic stimuli (for details of this filtering and masking noise see ‘Tasks with synthetic tones’ and ‘High-pass filtering and masking noise’). The exceptions to this approach were the experiments on real instrument notes (experiment 2) and voice identification or discrimination (experiments 10 and 11). Filtering was not applied to the instrument tones because it seemed important to leave the spectral envelope of the notes intact (because the experiment was intended to test pitch discrimination for realistic sounds). We omitted filtering for the voice experiments because piloting indicated that both experiments would show worse performance for inharmonic stimuli, suggesting that participants were not exclusively relying on the F0 component. Given this, we opted to feature the version of the experiments with

unfiltered voices given their greater ethological validity. Moreover, filtered speech showed qualitatively similar results, so in practice the filtering had little effect on the results (Supplementary Fig. 9). All experiments for which filtered stimuli were used were likewise replicated with unfiltered stimuli and in practice it had little effect on the results (Supplementary Figs. 4 and 9).

Tasks with synthetic tones. Stimuli were composed of notes. Each note was a synthetic complex tone with an exponentially decaying temporal envelope (decay constant of 4 s^{-1}) to which onset and offset ramps were applied (20 ms half-Hanning window). The sampling rate was 48,000 Hz. For experiments 1, 3, 7, 8 and 9, notes were 400 ms in duration. For experiment 6, note durations were varied to recreate familiar melodies; the mean note duration was 425 ms (s.d. = 306 ms), and the range was 100 ms to 2 s. Harmonic notes included all harmonics up to the Nyquist limit, in sine phase.

To make notes inharmonic, the frequency of each harmonic, excluding the fundamental, was perturbed (jittered) by an amount chosen randomly from a uniform distribution, $U(-0.5, 0.5)$. This jitter value was chosen to maximally perturb F0 (lesser jitter values did not fully remove peaks in the autocorrelation for single notes; see Supplementary Fig. 1). Jitter values were multiplied by the F0 of the tone and added to the frequency of the respective harmonic. For example, if the F0 was 200 Hz and a jitter value of -0.39 was selected for the second harmonic, its frequency would be set to 322 Hz. To minimize salient differences in beating, jitter values were constrained (via rejection sampling) such that adjacent harmonics were always separated by at least 30 Hz. The same jitter pattern was applied to every note of the stimulus for a given trial, except for ‘Inharmonic-changing’ trials, for which a different random jitter pattern was generated for each note. Unlike the temporal jittering manipulations commonly applied to click train stimuli in neurophysiology experiments¹⁵, the frequency jittering manipulation used here preserves the presence of discrete frequency components in the spectrum, allowing the possibility that spectral shifts could be detected even in the absence of an F0.

For all experiments with synthetic tones, each note was band-pass filtered in the frequency domain, with a Gaussian transfer function (in log frequency), centred at 2,500 Hz with a standard deviation of half an octave. This filter was applied to ensure that participants could not perform the tasks using changes in the spectral envelope. The filter parameters were chosen to ensure that the F0 was attenuated (to eliminate variation in a spectral edge at the F0) while preserving the audibility of resolved harmonics (the 10th or lower, approximately). For supplementary experiments in which this filter was not applied, each note was unfiltered, but harmonic amplitudes were set to decrease by 16 dB per octave.

To ensure that differences in performance for harmonic and inharmonic conditions could not be mediated by distortion products, we added masking noise to all band-pass filtered notes (all experiments described in the main text). We low-pass filtered pink noise using a sigmoidal transfer function in the frequency domain with an inflection point at the third harmonic of the highest note in the given sequence and a slope yielding 40 dB of gain or attenuation per octave on the low and high sides of the inflection point, respectively. We scaled the noise so that it was 10 dB lower than the mean power of the three harmonics of the highest note of the trial that were closest to the 2,500 Hz peak of the Gaussian spectral envelope³⁵. This filtered and scaled pink noise was added to each note, creating a consistent noise floor for each note sequence.

Speech tasks. Speech was manipulated using the STRAIGHT analysis and synthesis method^{37–39}. STRAIGHT decomposes a recording of speech into voiced and unvoiced vocal excitation and vocal tract filtering. If the voiced excitation is modelled sinusoidally, one can alter the frequencies of individual harmonics and then recombine them with the unaltered unvoiced excitation and vocal tract filtering to generate inharmonic speech. This manipulation leaves the spectral shape of the speech largely intact, and supplementary experiments (Supplementary Fig. 5) suggest that intelligibility of inharmonic speech is comparable to that of harmonic speech. The jitters for inharmonic speech were chosen in the same way as the jitters for inharmonic musical notes (described above in ‘Tasks with synthetic tones’). The same pattern of jitter was used throughout the entire speech utterance and the entire trial for experiments 4 and 11. STRAIGHT was also used to perform pitch shifts, modify the F0 contour of speech utterances, and create ‘whispered speech’ (the voiced vocal excitation is replaced with noise). Noise-excited stimuli were generated by substituting simulated breath noise for the tonal/noise excitation combination otherwise used in STRAIGHT. The breath noise was high-pass filtered white noise. The filter was a second-order high-pass Butterworth filter with a (3 dB) cutoff at 1,200 Hz whose zeros were moved towards the origin (in the z plane) by 5%. The resulting filter produced noise that was 3 dB down at 1,600 Hz, 10 dB down at 1,000 Hz and 40 dB down at 100 Hz, which to the authors sounded like a good approximation to whispering. Without the zero adjustment the filter removed too much energy at the very bottom of the spectrum. The stimuli were thus generated from the same spectrotemporal envelope used for harmonic and inharmonic speech, just with a different excitation signal. Speech was sampled at 12,000 Hz.

High-pass filtering and masking noise. Unless otherwise noted, all speech (except ‘whispered’ speech) was high-pass filtered to prevent participants from using the lowest harmonic as a proxy for the pitch contour, which a priori seemed like

a plausible strategy for the inharmonic conditions. Filtering was accomplished by multiplying by a logistic (sigmoid-shaped) transfer function in the frequency domain. The transfer function was given an inflection point at twice the mean F0 (that is, the average frequency of the second harmonic) of the utterance. The slope of the sigmoid function was set to achieve 40 dB of gain/attenuation per octave on either side of the inflection point (that is, with the F0 40 dB below the second harmonic and with the fourth harmonic 40 dB above the second harmonic). This meant that the F0 would be attenuated by 80 dB relative to the fourth harmonic.

In addition, masking noise was added to prevent potential distortion products from reinstating (for harmonic conditions) the F0 contour that had been filtered out. We low-pass filtered pink noise using a sigmoid function with an inflection point at the third harmonic ($3 \times$ the mean F0 of the utterance) and the same slope as the low-pass filter described above, but with opposite sign (such that the noise was attenuated by 40 dB at $3 \times$ F0 relative to $1.5 \times$ F0 and by 80 dB at $6 \times$ F0). The noise was then scaled so that its power in a gammatone filter centred at the F0 was 10 dB below the mean power of harmonics 3 to 8 in a pitch-flattened version of the utterance. Assuming any distortion products are at most 20 dB below the peak harmonics in the speech signal³⁵, this added noise should render them inaudible. The filtered and scaled pink noise was added to the filtered speech signal to create the final stimuli.

Audio presentation: in lab. In all experiments, The Psychtoolbox for Matlab⁶³ was used to play sound waveforms. Sounds were presented to participants at 70 dB over Sennheiser HD280 headphones (circumaural) in a soundproof booth (Industrial Acoustics).

Audio presentation: Mechanical Turk. We used the crowdsourcing platform provided by Amazon Mechanical Turk to run experiments that necessitated small numbers of trials per participant. Each participant in these studies used a calibration sound to set a comfortable level and then had to pass a 'headphone check' experiment that helped ensure they were wearing headphones or earphones as instructed (described in ref. ⁶⁴) before they could complete the full experiment.

Feedback. For all in-lab experiments, conditions were randomly intermixed and participants received feedback ('correct'/'incorrect') after each trial. Feedback was used to assure compliance with task instructions. Pilot results indicated that results without feedback were qualitatively similar across all tasks. Feedback was not given during Mechanical Turk experiments because they were open-set recognition tasks. Participants did not complete practice runs of the experiments.

Statistics. For experiments 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 and 11, percent correct was calculated for each harmonic condition and difficulty (if relevant). Paired *t*-tests were used to compare conditions, and for experiments 1, 2, 4 and 9, the effects of harmonic condition and difficulty (step size and modulation depth, respectively) were further examined using repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs). For experiments 3, 7 and 8, hits and false alarms were converted into a receiver-operating characteristic (ROC) curve for each condition. The area under the ROC curve was the metric of performance; this area always lies between 0 and 1, and 0.5 corresponds to chance performance. Comparisons between conditions were made using paired *t*-tests.

For open-set recognition tasks on Mechanical Turk (experiments 5, 6 and 10), results were coded by the first author, blind to the condition. For example, in experiment 10, a response such as 'He plays Professor Snape in Harry Potter', would be coded as 'Alan Rickman'. Percent correct was calculated for each condition from the resulting scores. For experiments 6 and 10, confidence intervals were estimated using bootstrap (10,000 repetitions, with participants sampled randomly with replacement; data were non-Gaussian due to the small number of trials per condition per participant) and *P* values were calculated using the cumulative distribution function of the means of the bootstrapped samples.

Experiment 1: Basic discrimination with pairs of synthetic tones. *Procedure.* Participants heard two notes and were asked whether the second note was higher or lower than the first note. There were three conditions: Harmonic (both notes were harmonic), Inharmonic (both notes had the same random jitter) and Inharmonic-changing (the two notes had different random jitter patterns). After each trial, participants clicked a button to indicate their choice ('Down' or 'Up'). Participants completed 40 trials for each step size in each condition in a single session. Here and in other in-lab experiments, participants were given short breaks throughout the session.

Stimuli. Each trial consisted of two notes, described above in the section 'Tasks with synthetic tones'. We used the method of constant stimuli; the second note differed from the first by 0.1, 0.25, 1 or 2 semitones. The first note of each trial was randomly selected from a log uniform distribution spanning 200–400 Hz.

Experiment 2: Basic discrimination with pairs of instrument notes. *Procedure.* The procedure was identical to that of experiment 1.

Stimuli. Each trial presented two instrument notes resynthesized from recordings. Notes were selected from the RWC Music Database of Musical Instrument Sounds.

Only notes coded in the database as 'Mezzo Forte', and 'Normal' or 'Non Vibrato', were selected for the experiment. Five instruments were used: piano, violin, trumpet, oboe and clarinet. The first note of each trial was randomly selected from a uniform distribution over the notes in a western classical chromatic scale between 196 and 392 Hz (G3 to G4). A recording of this note, from a randomly selected instrument, was chosen as the source for the first note in the trial. If the second note in the trial was higher, the note two semitones above (for the 2 semitone trial), or one semitone above (for 0.1, 0.25 and 1 semitone trials) was selected to generate the second note (reversed if the second note of the trial was lower). The two notes were analysed and modified using the STRAIGHT analysis and synthesis method^{37–39}; the notes were pitch-flattened to remove any vibrato, shifted to ensure that the pitch differences would be exactly 0.1, 0.25, 1 or 2 semitones, and resynthesized with harmonic or inharmonic excitation. Excitation frequencies were modified for the Inharmonic or Inharmonic-changing conditions in the same way that the synthetic tones were modified in Experiment 1 (section 'Tasks with synthetic tones'). The resynthesized notes were truncated at 400 ms and windowed with a 20 ms half-Hanning window. Note: onsets were always preserved, and notes were sampled at 12,000 Hz.

Experiment 3: Contour perception. *Procedure.* The experimental design was inspired by the classic contour perception task of Dowling and Fujitani⁶⁵. Participants heard two 5-note melodies on each trial and were asked to determine whether the melodies were the same or different. There were three conditions: Harmonic, Inharmonic or Inharmonic-changing, as in experiments 1 and 2. Following each trial, participants clicked a button to select one of four responses: 'Sure different', 'Different', 'Same', 'Sure same'. Participants were instructed to attempt to use all four responses equally throughout the experiment. Participants completed 40 trials for each condition in a single session. Participants with performance >95% correct averaged across Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions (13 of 29 subjects) were removed from analysis to avoid ceiling effects; no participants were close to floor on this experiment.

Stimuli. Five-note melodies were randomly generated with steps of +1 or -1 semitone, randomly chosen. The tonic and starting note of each melody was set to 200, 211.89 or 224.49 Hz. On 'same' trials, the second melody was identical to the first except for being transposed upwards by half an octave. On 'different' trials, the second melody was altered to change the melodic contour (the sequence of signs of pitch changes). The alteration procedure randomly reversed the sign of the second or third interval in the melody (for example, 1 became -1, in semitones).

Experiment 4: Speech contour perception. *Procedure.* Participants heard three, 1 s speech utterances and were asked whether the first or the last was different from the other two. Following each trial, participants clicked a button to select one of two responses: 'First different', 'Last different'. Percent correct for each condition was used as the metric of performance. Participants completed the two tasks in counterbalanced order. Participants completed 40 trials for each condition in a single session.

Stimuli. For each trial a single 1 s speech excerpt was randomly chosen from the TIMIT training database⁶⁶. For each participant, selections from TIMIT were balanced for gender and dialect region. The three speech signals used in a trial were resynthesized from this original speech excerpt. The 'same' utterance was resynthesized without altering the excitation parameters. To make the 'different' utterance, the speech was resynthesized with a random frequency modulation added to the original F0 contour. The frequency modulation was generated by bandpass-filtering pink noise between 1 and 2 Hz using a rectangular filter in the frequency domain. These band limits were chosen so that there would be at least one up-down modulation within the 1 s speech segment. The added modulation was normalized to have a root-mean-square (r.m.s.) amplitude of 1, multiplied by the modulation depth (0.05, 0.15 or 0.25, depending on the condition), then multiplied by the mean F0 of the speech segment, and then added to the original F0 contour of the speech segment. The second speech signal in each trial was shifted up in pitch by two semitones relative to the first and third, but otherwise unaltered. Stimuli were synthesized with either harmonic or jittered inharmonic excitation, using an extension of STRAIGHT^{37,38}. The frequency jitter applied to harmonic components was constant within a trial. Each speech excerpt was high-pass filtered and masked as described above (section 'High-pass filtering and masking noise').

Experiment 5: Mandarin tone perception. *Participants.* A total of 32 self-reported native Mandarin speakers were tested using Amazon Mechanical Turk (17 female, mean age of 36.7 years, s.d. = 10.99 years). Of these, 27 answered 'Yes' to the question 'Have you ever known how to play a musical instrument?'

Procedure. Participants were instructed that they would hear 120 recordings of single words in Mandarin that had been manipulated in various ways. They could only hear each recording once. Their task was to identify as many words as possible. Responses were typed into a provided entry box using Hanyu Pinyin (the international standard for romanization of standard Chinese/modern standard

Mandarin), which allows for the independent coding of tones (labelled 1–5) and phonemes. For example, if a participant heard the word 'pǎo', they could respond correctly with 'pǎo', have an incorrect tone response (ex. 'pǎo2') or an incorrect phoneme/spelling, but correct tone, response (ex. 'wǎo'). Participants were given several example responses in Pinyin before they began the experiment. Participants heard each word once over the course of the experiment and conditions were randomly intermixed.

Stimuli. In Mandarin Chinese, the same syllable can be pronounced with one of five different 'tones' (1 – flat, 2 – rising, 3 – falling then rising, 4 – falling, 5 – neutral). The use of different tones can change the meaning of a syllable. For this experiment, 60 pairs of Mandarin word recordings spoken by a single female talker were chosen from the 'Projct SHTOOKA' database (<http://shtooka.net/>). Each pair of recordings consisted of either two single syllables (characters) with the same phonemes but different tones, or two 2-syllable words, with the same phonemes but different tones for only one of the syllables. For example, one pair was Wǔli/Wǔli: Wǔli, meaning 'physics', contains the fourth and third tone and is written in Pinyin as 'Wu4li3', whereas Wǔli, meaning 'unreasonable', contains the second and third tones and is written in Pinyin as 'Wu2li3'. All combinations of tone differences were represented with the exception of third tone versus neutral tone. Only a few combinations involving the neutral tone could be found in the SHTOOKA database, which also reflects the relative scarcity of such pairings in the Mandarin language. To span the range of Mandarin vowels, the different tones within each word pair occurred on cardinal vowels (vowels at the edges of the vowel space), or diphthongs containing cardinal vowels. Additionally, to represent a range of consonant/vowel transitions, all voiced/unvoiced consonant pairs (ex. p/b, d/t) found in Mandarin and present in the source corpus were represented. Harmonic, Inharmonic and Whispered versions of each word were generated using STRAIGHT. A full list of words is available in the Supplementary Information (Supplementary Table 1). Stimuli were high-pass filtered and masked as described in the section 'High-pass filtering and masking noise'.

Experiment 6: Familiar melody recognition. *Participants.* A total of 322 participants completed the experiment (143 women, mean age of 36.49 years, s.d. = 11.77 years). All reported normal hearing and 204 answered 'Yes' to the question 'Have you ever known how to play a musical instrument?'

Procedure. Participants were asked to identify 24 familiar melodies (see Supplementary Table 2 for a full list of melodies). There were five main conditions: Harmonic, Inharmonic, Inharmonic-changing and Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions in which the intervals were altered randomly by one semitone, with the constraint that the contours stayed intact. The experiments contained additional conditions not analysed here. Participants were given the written instructions 'You will hear 24 melodies. These melodies are well known. They come from movies, nursery rhymes, holidays, popular songs, etc. Some of the melodies have been manipulated in various ways. Your task is to identify as many of these melodies as you can. You will only be able to hear each melody once! Even if you don't know the name of the tune, but you recognize it, just describe how it is familiar to you. e.g., is it a nursery rhyme? What movie is it from? Who sings it?' Participants were allowed to type their responses freely into a provided space.

Stimuli. Harmonic (with either correct or incorrect intervals), Inharmonic (with either correct or incorrect intervals) and Inharmonic-changing variants of 24 well-known melodies were generated by concatenating synthetic complex tones. The tonic was always set to an F0 of 200 Hz. A complete phrase of each melody was used (approximately 4 s of music per melody). For trials where the intervals were modified, ± 1 semitone was randomly added to every note in the melody. Interval perturbations were iteratively sampled until they produced a new melody whose contour was the same as that of the original melody. For Rhythm conditions, the rhythm of the melody was played using a 200 Hz tone. Participants heard each melody once. Three melodies were assigned (randomly) to each condition (the experiment contained additional conditions not analysed here). This produced 966 trials per condition across all participants.

Experiment 7: Sour note detection. *Procedure.* Participants heard one 16-note melody per trial, and were asked whether this melody contained a 'sour' note (a 'mistake')^{40,41}. There were three conditions: Harmonic, Inharmonic and Inharmonic-changing. Following each trial, participants clicked a button to select one of four responses: 'Sure mistake', 'Maybe mistake', 'Maybe no mistake', 'Sure no mistake'. Participants were instructed to attempt to use all four responses equally throughout the experiment. Participants completed 42 trials for each condition in a single session.

Stimuli. Sixteen-note melodies were created using a modified version of a generative model outlined in ref. ⁴². This model uses a range profile (to restrict absolute range of a melody), a proximity profile (to restrict the size of note-to-note leaps) and a key profile (to maintain a consistent key within a melody), to generate melodies on a note-by-note basis. The Temperley (2008) range profile was modified to restrict the range of the five-note contours to 1.5 octaves and

the proximity profile was changed to allow a maximum leap of five semitones (a perfect fourth). Melodies were rejected if they contained a sequential note repetition (yielding a contour step of 0 semitones). Only major key profiles were used and these were altered from the Temperley (2008) model so that there was no chance of notes outside the designated key. Melodies, initiated randomly on 200, 211.89 or 224.49 Hz, were generated and rejected until one was obtained with a specified scale degree (1, 3 or 5—the tonic, median or dominant, randomly distributed over the course of the experiment, with 14 of each scale degree per harmonic condition) in the 12th, 13th, 14th or 15th note position. For 'sour' trials, the desired scale degree (1, 3 or 5) was changed: 1 was moved upwards by a semitone, 3 was moved upwards by two semitones and 5 was moved upwards by one semitone. Melodies were rejected and a new melody was generated if the sour note altered the original contour. Only one note was altered in each 'sour' trial. A fixed bandpass filter (described above) was applied to each note.

Experiment 8: Interval pattern discrimination. *Procedure.* Participants heard two 3-note melodies that had identical contours, but in half of the trials, the interval relationship between the notes changed by one semitone⁴³. Half the trials had Harmonic notes and the other half of the trials had Inharmonic notes. A fixed bandpass filter (described above) was applied to each note. Participants were asked whether the melodies were identical or different. There were four possible responses: 'Sure different', 'Maybe different', 'Maybe same' and 'Sure same'. Participants were instructed to attempt to use all four responses equally throughout the experiment. Participants completed 40 trials per condition in a single session. This task was difficult, and participants with performance less than 0.55 across both conditions (12 of 30 participants) were excluded from analysis.

Stimuli. The two 3-note contours were generated randomly using a uniform distribution and step sizes of $\pm 1, 2, 3, 4$ and 5 semitones (5 semitones was the largest step size used in Experiment 7). The two melodies were separated by a 0.6 silent gap. 'Different' conditions were generated by randomly adding 1 or -1 to the middle note of the comparison melody, with the restriction that the original contour could not change (for example, creating a unison). The first melody started on 200 Hz and the second melody was always transposed up by half an octave.

Experiment 9: Basic discrimination with larger step sizes. The stimuli and procedure were identical to those of experiment 1 except for the addition of 3, 4 and 6 semitone step sizes.

Experiment 10a and 10b: Famous speaker recognition. *Participants 10a.* A total of 248 participants, 123 female (mean age of 35.95 years, s.d. = 9.89 years), completed experiment 10a; 133 answered 'Yes' to the question 'Have you ever known how to play a musical instrument?'

Participants 10b. Experiment 10b was completed by 412 participants, of which 212 were female (mean age of 36.7 years, s.d. = 10.99 years); 220 answered 'Yes' to the question 'Have you ever known how to play a musical instrument?'

Procedure (both). Participants on Mechanical Turk were instructed that they would hear short recordings of people speaking: 'These speakers are well-known. They are actors, politicians, singers, TV personalities, etc. Some of the voices have been manipulated in various ways. Your task is to identify as many of the speakers as you can. You will only be able to hear each audio sample once! If you don't know the name of the speaker, but you recognize their voice, just describe how it is familiar to you. e.g., What character does this actor play? What is this person's profession? etc.' Participants typed their responses into a box provided on the screen.

Stimuli. For both experiments, overlapping subsets of 40 recognizable celebrity voices were chosen; 24 of the 40 voices were used for Experiment 10a and 39 of the 40 voices for Experiment 10b. The exact number of voices used in each experiment was determined by the number of conditions. The full list of celebrity voices is provided in Supplementary Table 3. Clean recordings of these celebrities' voices were found using publically available videos, radio interviews, podcasts and so on. Four seconds of speech were selected for each celebrity. For experiment 10a, harmonic voices were resynthesized (using STRAIGHT) to have a shift in pitch of $-12, -6, -3, 0, 3, 6$ or 12 semitones. Participants heard each voice only once (in one of the seven conditions) and heard four examples of each pitch shift condition. For experiment 10b, there were three conditions: Harmonic, Inharmonic and Whispered. The speech reported in the main results was not high-pass filtered (section 'Logic of stimulus filtering'), although an identical pattern of results was found for filtered speech (filtered using the same procedure described above (Supplementary Fig. 9)). This experiment contained additional conditions not analysed here. Participants heard three trials for each condition. All voices recognized correctly on fewer than 10% of trials were excluded from the analysis to avoid floor effects—this removed 9 of 28 (32%) voices from experiment 10a and 17 of 39 (44%) voices from experiment 10b. The excluded voices did not contribute to the scores for a participant in a condition. In some cases this eliminated all the voices in a condition for a participant, in which case that participant's score was excluded from the mean score for that condition. No participants were fully

excluded from analysis as a consequence of this threshold. The inclusion of these poorly recognized voices in the analysis did not alter the qualitative pattern of results across conditions, although it lowered overall performance.

Experiment 11: Novel voice discrimination. *Procedure.* Participants heard three 1 s samples of speech and were asked to identify the sample spoken by a different speaker than the other two (first or last). The two samples spoken by the same speaker were distinct (taken from different sentences). Following each trial, participants clicked a button to select one of two responses: ‘First different’, ‘Last different’. Participants completed 48 trials for each condition in a single session.

Stimuli. For each trial, 1 s speech excerpts were randomly chosen from the TIMIT training database. The excerpts were presented sequentially, with a half-second pause between each excerpt. Two excerpts were produced by the same speaker and one was from another speaker of the same gender and from the same dialect region. There were three conditions—Harmonic, Inharmonic and Whispered—the stimuli for which were all synthesized from STRAIGHT as described above and were not high-pass filtered (section ‘Logic of stimulus filtering’), although equivalent results were found for filtered speech (Supplementary Fig. 9).

Life Sciences Reporting Summary. Further information on experimental design is available in the Life Sciences Reporting Summary.

Code availability. Custom code for synthesizing inharmonic versions of speech and other natural sounds is available at <http://mcdermottlab.mit.edu/downloads.html>.

Data availability. All data are provided in Supplementary Table 4.

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Author contributions

M.J.M. designed the experiments, collected and analysed data and wrote the paper. J.H.M. designed the experiments and wrote the paper.

Competing interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

Additional information

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▶ Experimental design

1. Sample size

Describe how sample size was determined.

To establish sample size for main in-lab experiments, we performed power analyses on pilot data. Our final sample size was approximately double the size needed to detect an effect with power of .9 given an alpha of .05 (because we wanted to be able to separately analyze musicians and non-musicians, i.e., split the sample in half). For Mechanical Turk studies, sample sizes were chosen to obtain split-half correlations of at least .9 in the pattern of mean performance across conditions.

2. Data exclusions

Describe any data exclusions.

For experiment 3, participants with performance >95% correct averaged across Harmonic and Inharmonic conditions (13 of 29 subjects) were removed from analysis to avoid ceiling effects; no participants were close to floor on this experiment. For experiment 8, due to its difficulty, participants with performance less than .55 across both conditions (12 of 30 participants) were excluded from analysis. For Experiments 10a-b, all voices recognized correctly on less than 10% of trials were excluded from the analysis to avoid floor effects – this removed 9 of 28 (32%) voices from Experiment 10a and 17 of 39 (44%) voices from Experiment 10b. Exclusion criteria were not pre-established.

3. Replication

Describe whether the experimental findings were reliably reproduced.

Every experiment was piloted to establish sample sizes, and then re-run to obtain the data presented in the paper. All experimental findings replicated.

4. Randomization

Describe how samples/organisms/participants were allocated into experimental groups.

N/A

5. Blinding

Describe whether the investigators were blinded to group allocation during data collection and/or analysis.

For Experiments 5, 6, and 10, answers were coded for analysis by the first author, blind to the experimental condition.

Note: all studies involving animals and/or human research participants must disclose whether blinding and randomization were used.

6. Statistical parameters

For all figures and tables that use statistical methods, confirm that the following items are present in relevant figure legends (or in the Methods section if additional space is needed).

n/a Confirmed

- The exact sample size (n) for each experimental group/condition, given as a discrete number and unit of measurement (animals, litters, cultures, etc.)
- A description of how samples were collected, noting whether measurements were taken from distinct samples or whether the same sample was measured repeatedly
- A statement indicating how many times each experiment was replicated
- The statistical test(s) used and whether they are one- or two-sided (note: only common tests should be described solely by name; more complex techniques should be described in the Methods section)
- A description of any assumptions or corrections, such as an adjustment for multiple comparisons
- The test results (e.g. P values) given as exact values whenever possible and with confidence intervals noted
- A clear description of statistics including central tendency (e.g. median, mean) and variation (e.g. standard deviation, interquartile range)
- Clearly defined error bars

See the web collection on [statistics for biologists](#) for further resources and guidance.

► Software

Policy information about [availability of computer code](#)

7. Software

Describe the software used to analyze the data in this study.

All ANOVAs performed using SPSS (Version 24). MATLAB (R2016b) was used for all other analyses.

For manuscripts utilizing custom algorithms or software that are central to the paper but not yet described in the published literature, software must be made available to editors and reviewers upon request. We strongly encourage code deposition in a community repository (e.g. GitHub). [Nature Methods guidance for providing algorithms and software for publication](#) provides further information on this topic.

► Materials and reagents

Policy information about [availability of materials](#)

8. Materials availability

Indicate whether there are restrictions on availability of unique materials or if these materials are only available for distribution by a for-profit company.

N/A

9. Antibodies

Describe the antibodies used and how they were validated for use in the system under study (i.e. assay and species).

N/A

10. Eukaryotic cell lines

a. State the source of each eukaryotic cell line used.

N/A

b. Describe the method of cell line authentication used.

N/A

c. Report whether the cell lines were tested for mycoplasma contamination.

N/A

d. If any of the cell lines used are listed in the database of commonly misidentified cell lines maintained by [ICLAC](#), provide a scientific rationale for their use.

N/A

► Animals and human research participants

Policy information about [studies involving animals](#); when reporting animal research, follow the [ARRIVE guidelines](#)

11. Description of research animals

Provide details on animals and/or animal-derived materials used in the study.

N/A

12. Description of human research participants

Describe the covariate-relevant population characteristics of the human research participants.

In-lab experiments:

Thirty participants (16 female, mean age of 32.97 years, SD = 16.61) participated in Experiments 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, and 11. These participants were run in the lab for three two-hour sessions each (except one participant, who was unable to return for her final 2-hour session).

30 participants participated in Experiment 2, as well as the control experiment detailed in Supplementary Figure 2 (11 female, mean age of 37.15 years, SD=13.36).

20 participants (8 female, mean age of 38.14 years, SD=15.75) participated in the two follow-up experiments detailed in Supplementary Figure 4c-f.

14 participants completed the control experiment described in Supplementary Figure 5a-b (5 female, mean age of 40 years, SD=13.41).

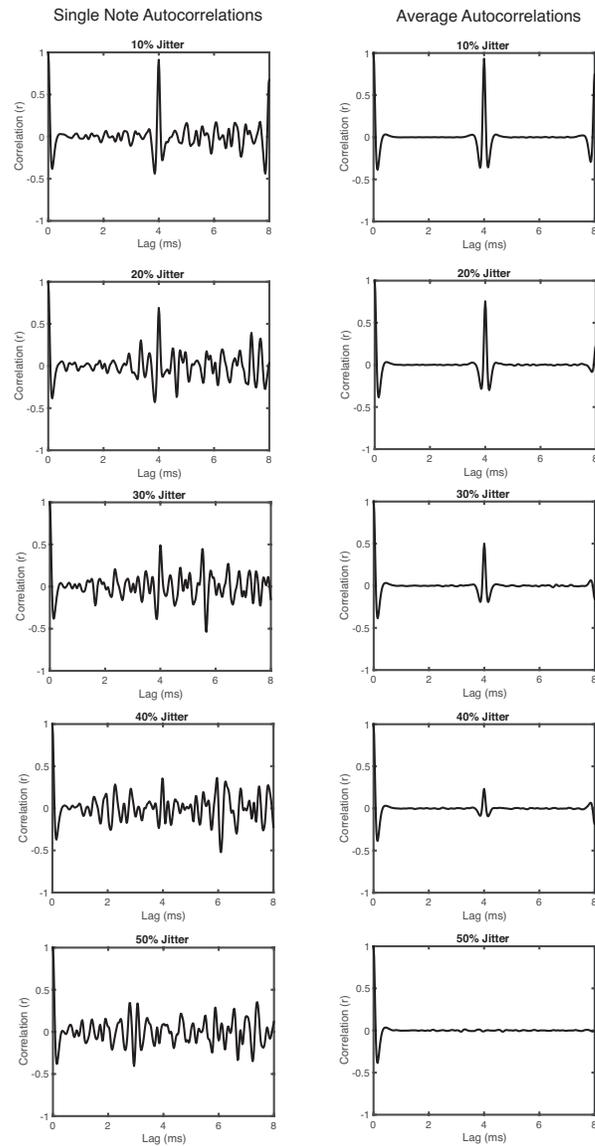
Mechanical Turk experiments: 32 participants were tested on Amazon Mechanical Turk (17 female, mean age = 36.7 years, SD=10.99) for Experiment 5. 322 participants, 143 women, mean age of 36.49 years, SD=11.77 years, completed Experiment 6 on Amazon Mechanical Turk. 248 participants, 123 female, with a mean age of 35.95 years, SD=9.89 years, completed experiment 10a on Amazon Mechanical Turk. 412 participants, 212 female, with a mean age of 36.7 years, SD = 10.99 years completed experiment 10b on Amazon Mechanical Turk.

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Diversity in pitch perception revealed by task dependence

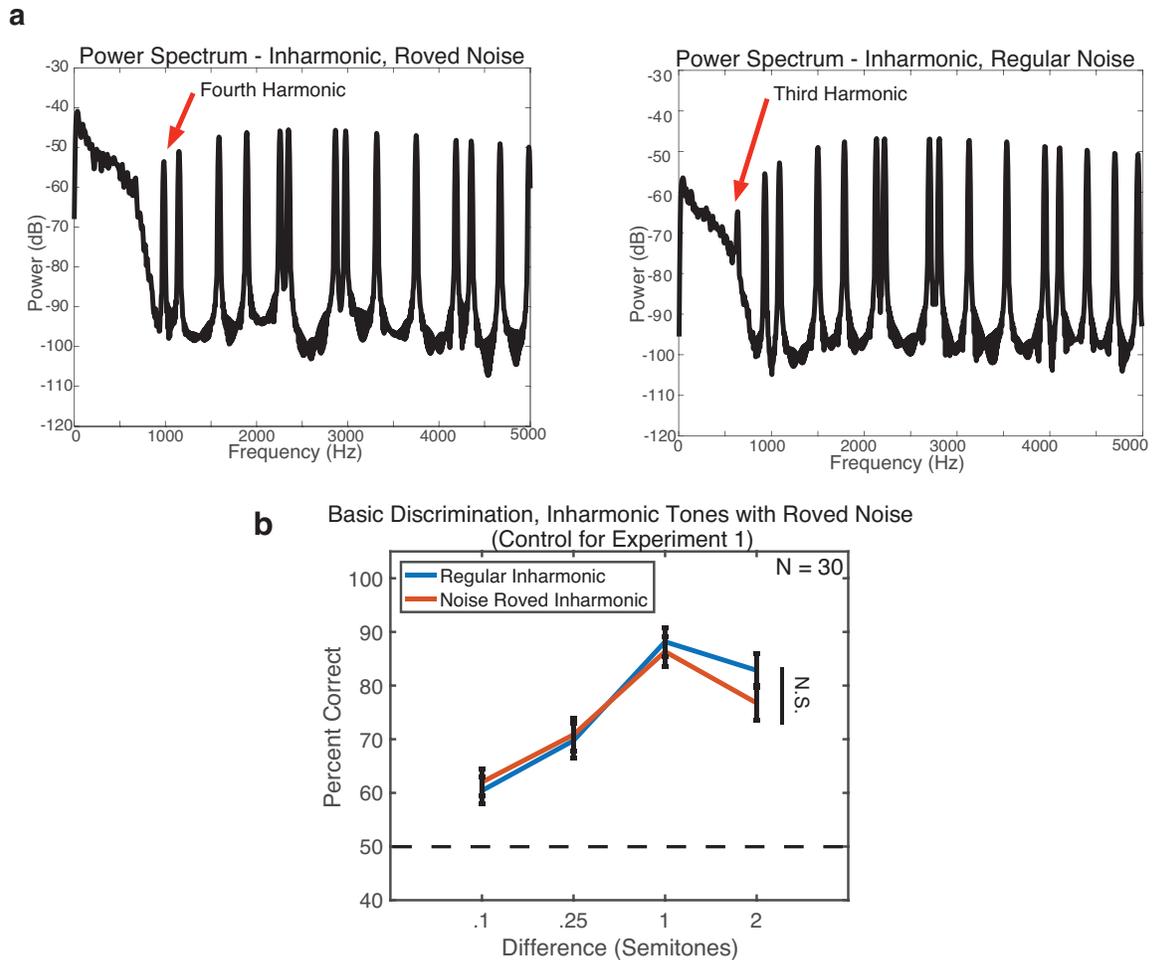
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¹Department of Brain and Cognitive Sciences, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, USA. ²Program in Speech and Hearing Bioscience and Technology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA. *e-mail: mjmcp@mit.edu



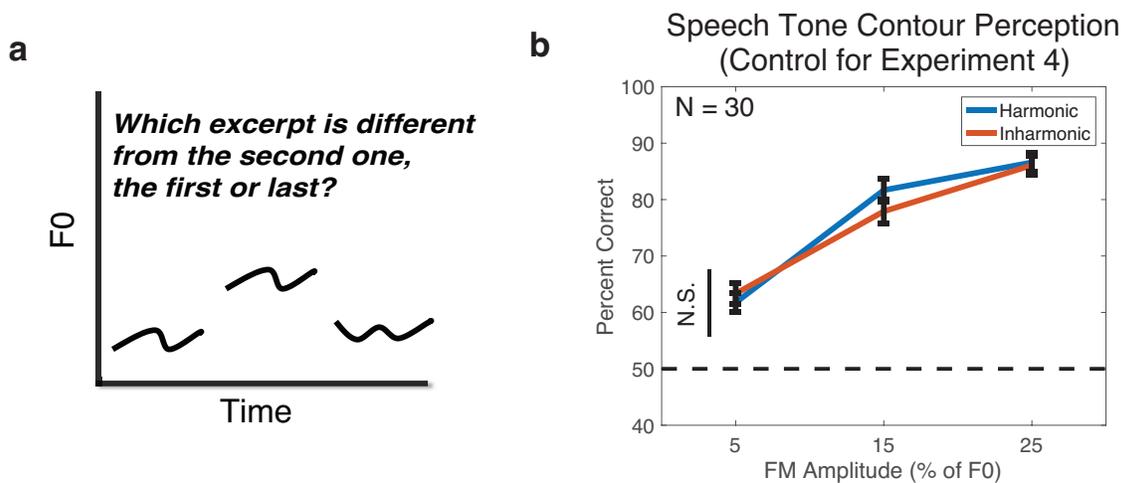
Supplementary Figure 1: Effect of jitter magnitude on the autocorrelation function

- (A) Waveform autocorrelations for complex tones with an F0 of 250 Hz whose component frequencies were randomly jittered by different amounts. Jitter values were sampled from uniform distributions: $U(-.1, .1)$, $U(-.2, .2)$, $U(-.3, .3)$, $U(-.4, .4)$ and $U(-.5, .5)$, the latter of which was used in the main experiments. Jittered frequency values were obtained by multiplying the sampled jitter value by the F0 and adding the result to the frequency of the original harmonic.
- (B) Averaged autocorrelations of 1,000 250 Hz complex tones with frequencies randomly jittered by different amounts²⁹. Averaging over a large number of stimuli with different jitter patterns reveals any residual periodicity in the tones. It is apparent that jittering harmonic frequencies by 10% has little effect on the presence of a defined peak in the autocorrelation, but the size of this peak decreases as the jitter values increase, disappearing by 50% jitter.



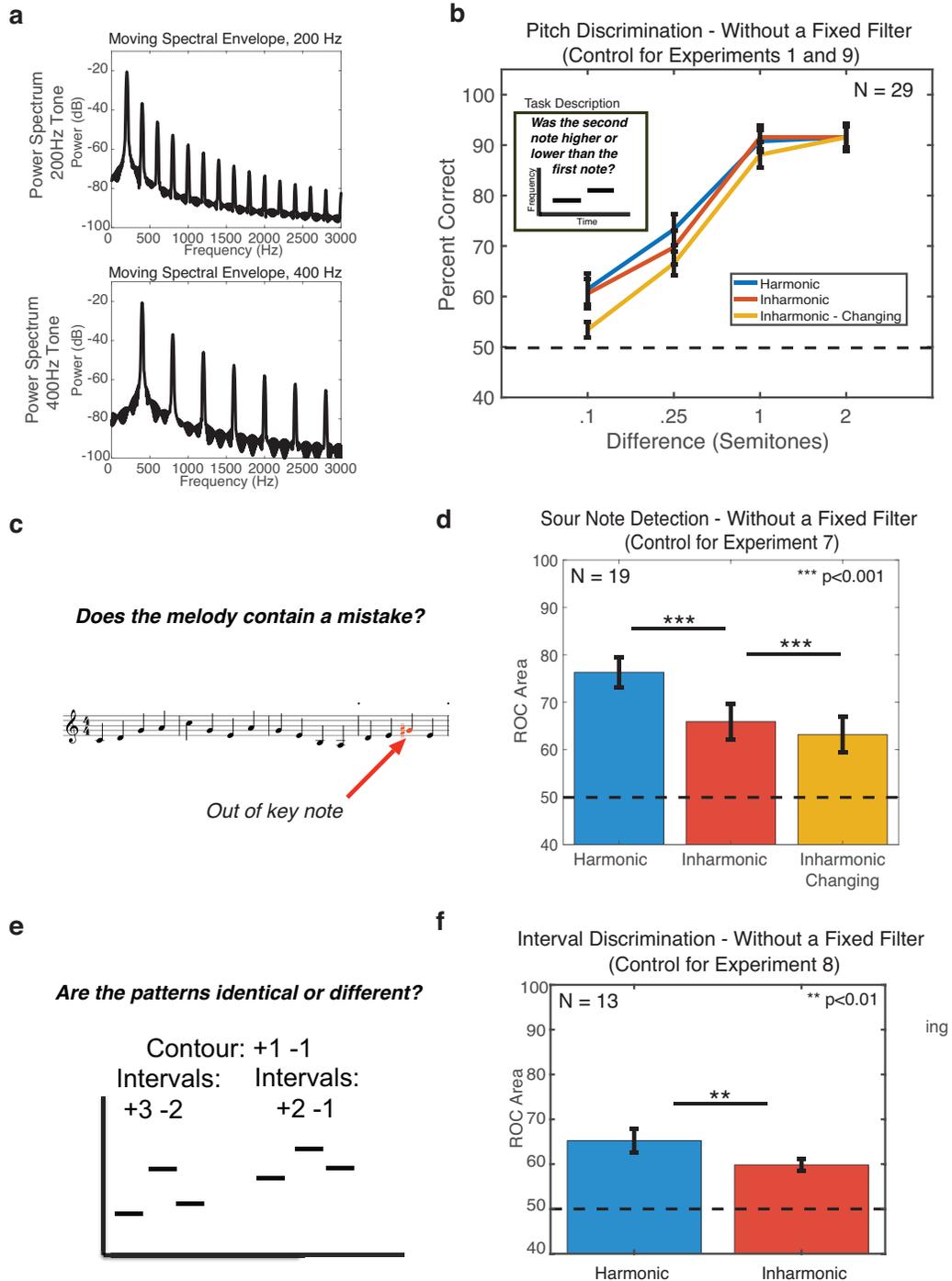
Supplementary Figure 2: Example stimuli and results from control experiment with roved noise (control version of Experiment 1 – pitch discrimination of inharmonic tones)

- (A) Power spectra of two examples tones from a control experiment in which the masking noise level was roved. Procedures and parameters for this experiment were identical to those of Experiment 1 (same note range, pitch differences, number of trials), except only Inharmonic tones were tested, with and without roved masking noise levels. The condition without roving was identical to that used in Experiment 1. The condition with roving noise was identical to the regular noise condition except that the masking noise for one of the tones (randomly selected), was increased in level by 12 dB. This ensured that the lowest audible harmonic was different between the two tones.
- (B) Pitch discrimination results for inharmonic tones with and without roved noise. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. A repeated measures ANOVA was used to assess statistical significance. There was no main effect of noise roving ($F(1,29)=1.41, p=.245$), suggesting that listeners were not performing the task by tracking the lowest audible harmonic.



Supplementary Figure 3: Task and results from frequency-modulated contour discrimination experiment (control version of Experiment 4)

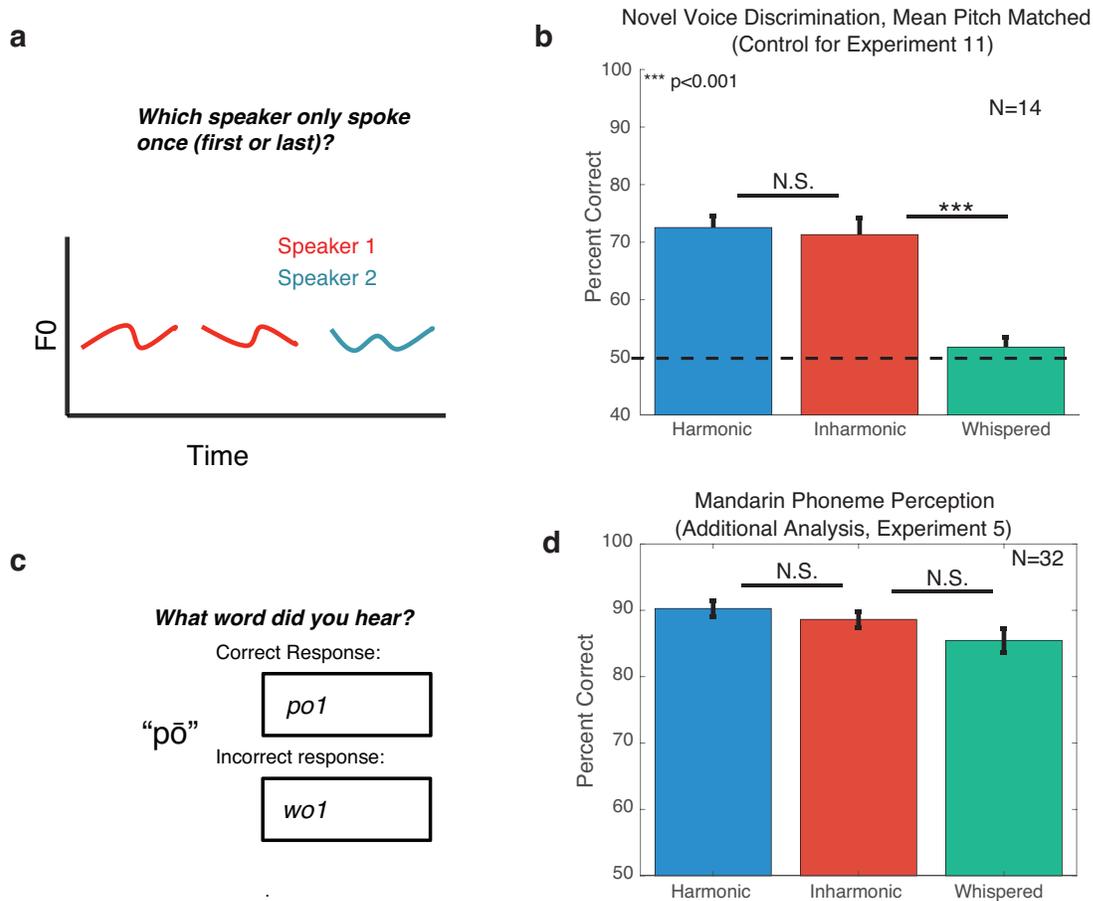
- (A) Schematic of FM Speech Contour Discrimination task. The procedure was identical to that of Experiment 4 except that the F0 contour of the selected speech segment for a trial was extracted using STRAIGHT and used to synthesize harmonic and inharmonic complex tones with the F0 contour of the speech utterance. Participants heard three one-second tone contours, the first or last of which had a random frequency modulation added to its F0 contour (the added FM was white noise bandpass-filtered between 1-2 Hz, with a modulation depth that varied across conditions). Participants were asked whether the first or last tone differed from the second tone, which was transposed up in pitch for all trials. We applied a low-pass filter to the frequency-modulated tones to approximate the natural falloff in amplitude of higher harmonics in speech. This filter was a logistic function in the frequency domain with an inflection point at 4,000 Hz and a slope of 40 dB per octave at the inflection point. Because there are breaks in the F0 contour of speech (during unvoiced segments), we applied 10 ms half-Hanning windows at the onsets and offsets of each voiced segment. If voiced segments were shorter than 20 ms, they were replaced with silence. Stimuli were high-pass filtered and masked as described in the section on High-pass Filtering and Masking Noise in the Methods.
- (B) Results from FM contour discrimination experiment. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. A repeated measures ANOVA was used to assess statistical significance. There was no main effect of harmonicity ($F(1,29)=.462$, $p=0.502$). (Compare results to Figure 4c, which obtained similar results with speech stimuli).



Supplementary Figure 4: Stimuli and results for control versions of pitch discrimination, sour note detection and interval discrimination with unfiltered notes

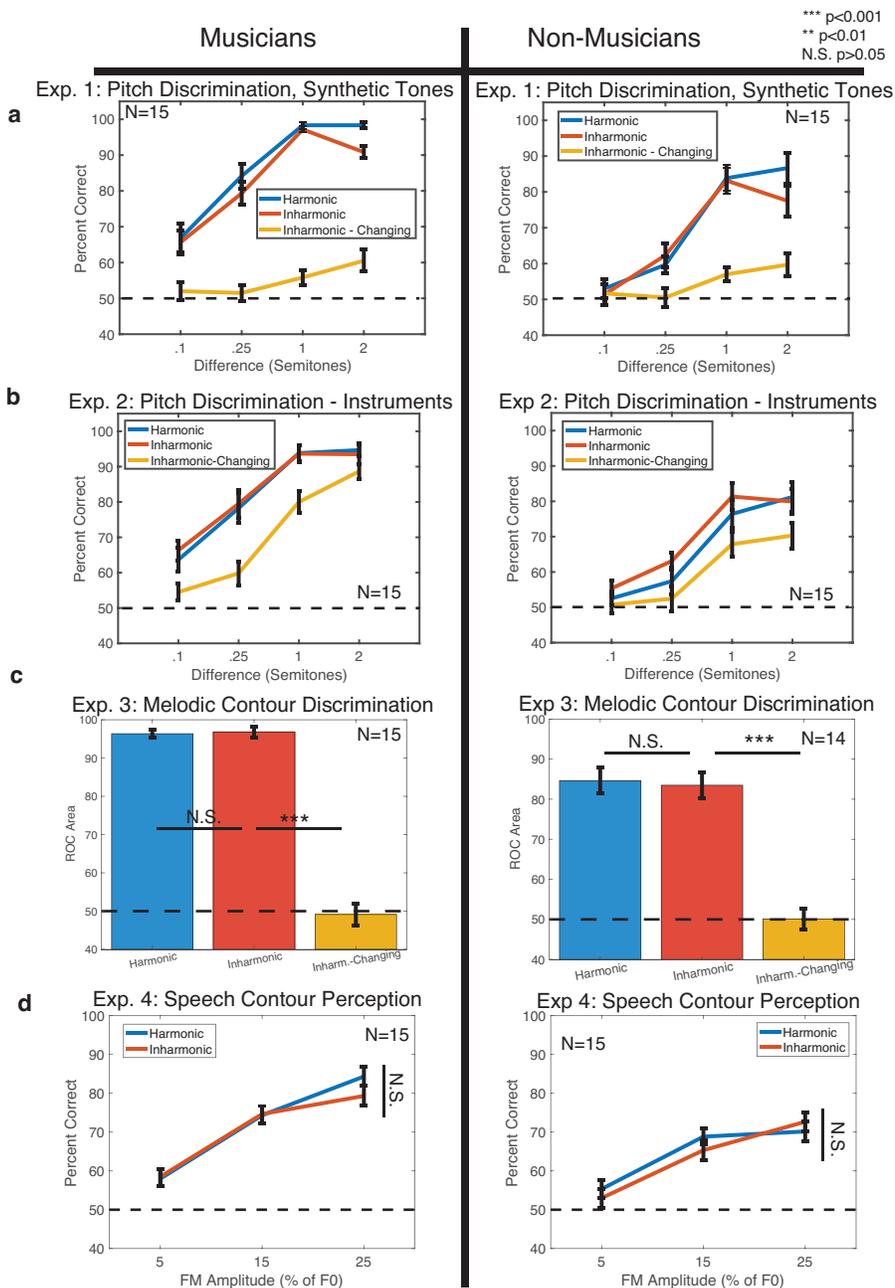
(A) Example notes from pitch discrimination experiment without note filtering. Power spectra are shown for 200 Hz and 400 Hz tones. The harmonics of each note decreased 16 dB/octave in amplitude, but were not passed through the fixed bandpass filter used in Experiments 1 and 9. The center of mass of the spectrum, and its lower edge, thus shifted with the pitch of each note, rendering the direction unambiguous.

- (B) Results for pitch discrimination with unfiltered notes. In contrast to Experiment 1, performance was similar across conditions, indicating that listeners could perceive the shift direction irrespective of the correspondence between the harmonics of successive notes, presumably because the direction is signaled by the spectral envelope. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. (Compare to Figure 2d and 2f).
- (C) Schematic of Sour Note Detection task. Participants judged whether the note contained a 'sour' (out of key) note.
- (D) Results for Sour Note Detection with unfiltered notes. The pattern of performance was similar to that of Experiment 7, where a fixed spectral envelope was used, suggesting that any ambiguity in the pitch shift direction in the stimuli of Experiment 7 was not critical to the main result. A participant with performance less than .55 across all three conditions was removed from analysis. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. Paired t-tests were used to assess statistical significance. (Compare to Figure 6b).
- (E) Schematic of Interval Pattern Discrimination task. Participants judged whether two three-note tone sequences were the same or different. The second tone sequence was always shifted up in pitch relative to the first. On 'different' trials (pictured) the two stimuli had the same contour, but the second stimulus was altered so that its intervals differed by 1 semitone from the corresponding intervals in the first stimulus.
- (F) Results for Interval Pattern Discrimination for unfiltered notes. The experiment replicated the main effect of Experiment 8, where a fixed spectral envelope was used, suggesting that any ambiguity in the pitch shift direction in the stimuli of Experiment 8 was not critical to the main result. Participants with performance less than .55 across both conditions were removed from analysis (7 of 20 participants). Error bars denote standard error of the mean. Paired t-tests were used to assess statistical significance. (Compare to Figure 6d).



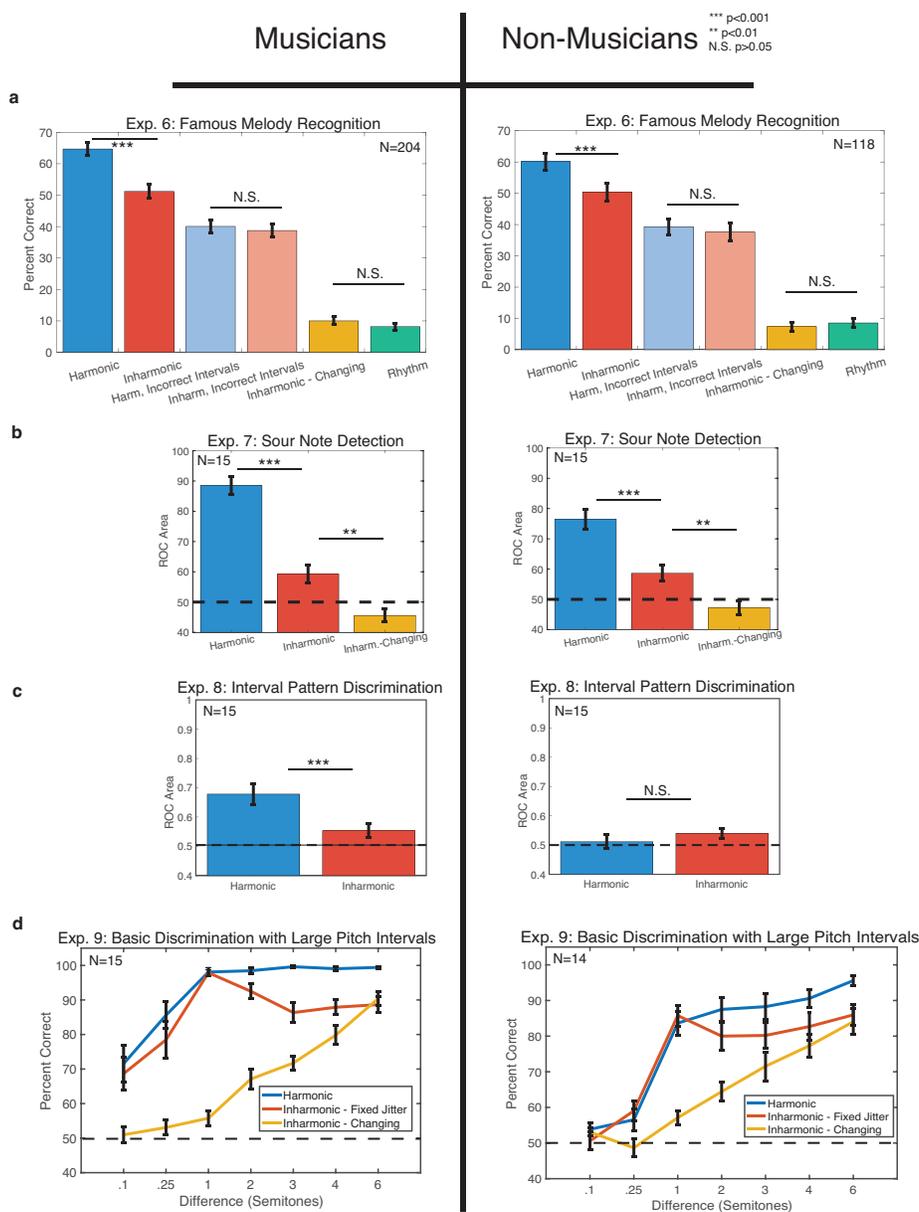
Supplementary Figure 5: Task description and results for voice discrimination control experiment with pitch-matched voices, and mandarin phoneme perception analysis

- (A) Schematic of experimental paradigm. The experiment was identical to Experiment 11, except that speech excerpts were matched for mean and variance of the F0 contour. Three speech files were selected, and the mean and standard deviation of their pitch contours were equated before resynthesis. There were 64 trials per condition (192 trials per subject).
- (B) Discrimination performance for pitch-matched voices. Paired t-tests were used to assess statistical significance.
- (C) Schematic of experimental paradigm – the same experiment as Experiment 5 (Mandarin Tone Perception) in the main text.
- (D) Results from Mandarin Phoneme Perception. Results from the Mandarin Tone Perception experiment were scored for phoneme accuracy in addition to tone accuracy. For example, if a participant heard the word ‘cuo4’, but typed in ‘cuo1’, their response would be scored as correct for phoneme but incorrect for tone. If they typed in ‘duo4’, they would be marked incorrect for phoneme but correct for tone. Paired t-tests were used to assess statistical significance.



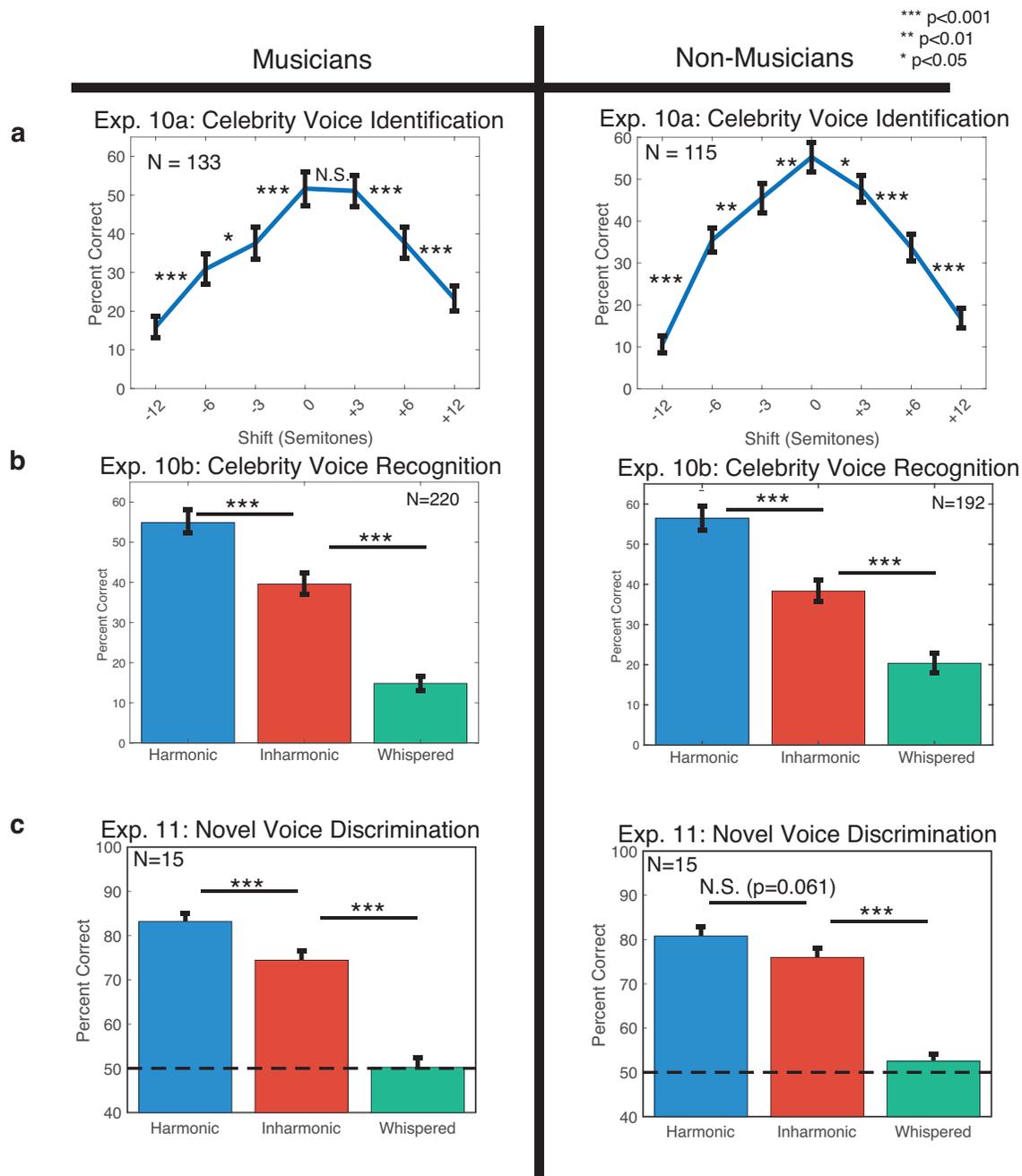
Supplementary Figure 6: Comparison of results for musicians and non-musicians for Experiments 1-4.

- (A) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 1 – Pitch Discrimination with Pairs of Synthetic Tones. Here and in other panels, error bars denote standard error of the mean, and conventions are as in figures in main text. (Compare to Figure 2d).
- (B) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 2 – Pitch Discrimination with Pairs of Instrument Notes. (Compare to Figure 2f).
- (C) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 3 – Melodic Contour Discrimination. (Compare to Figure 3b).
- (D) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 4 – Speech Contour Perception. (Compare to Figure 4c).



Supplementary Figure 7: Comparison of results for musicians and non-musicians, for Experiments 6-9.

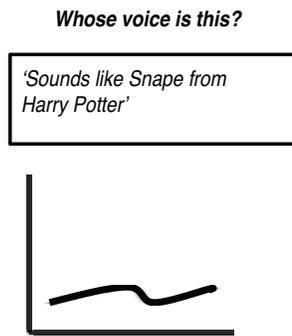
- (A) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 6 – Famous Melody Recognition. Error bars denote standard deviations, calculated via bootstrap. Here and in other panels, conventions are as in figures in main text. (Compare to Figure 5b).
- (B) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 7 – Sour Note Detection. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. (Compare to Figure 6b).
- (C) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 8 – Interval Pattern Discrimination. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. (Compare to Figure 6d).
- (D) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 9 – Pitch Discrimination with Pairs of Notes (Larger Step Sizes). Error bars denote standard error of the mean. (Compare to Figure 7b).



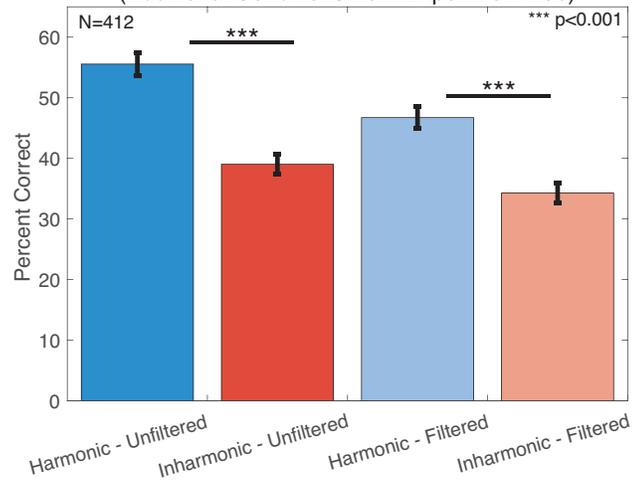
Supplementary Figure 8: Comparison of results for musicians and non-musicians, for experiments 10a, 10b, and 11.

- (A) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 10a – Celebrity Voice Identification with pitch shifts. Error bars denote standard deviations calculated via bootstrap. Here and in other panels, conventions are as in figures in main text. (Compare to Figure 8b).
- (B) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 10b – Celebrity Voice Identification with Harmonic, Inharmonic and Whispered speech. Error bars standard deviations, calculated via bootstrap. (Compare to Figure 8c).
- (C) Musician vs. Non-Musician results for Experiment 11 – Novel Voice Discrimination. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. (Compare to Figure 8e).

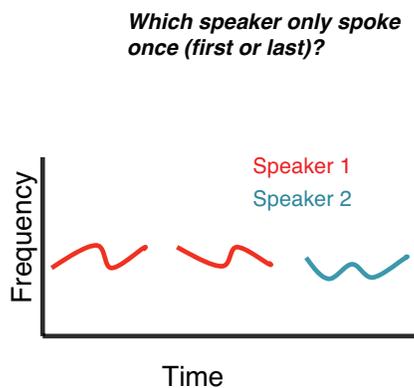
a



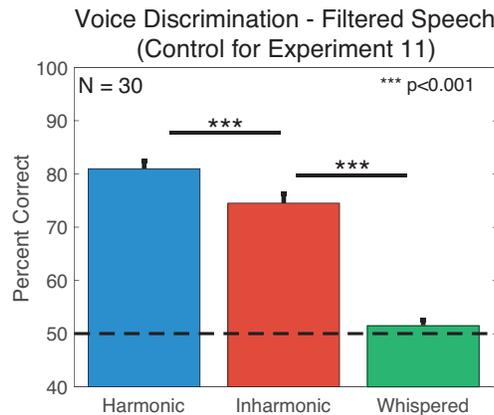
b Celebrity Voice Recognition - Unfiltered vs. Filtered Speech (Additional Conditions from Experiment 10b)



c



d



Supplementary Figure 9: Tasks and results for celebrity voice recognition and novel voice discrimination with the F0 filtered out

- (A) Famous Speaker Recognition Task. Participants on Mechanical Turk heard excerpts of resynthesized speech from celebrities, and were asked to identify each speaker by typing their guesses into a text field (same paradigm as Experiments 10a and 10b).
- (B) Results from Experiment 10b, with additional control conditions (in which a filter was applied to the stimuli) not shown in main figure. Graph replots results from two of the conditions shown in Figure 8c alongside two additional conditions omitted from main figure for the sake of brevity. In these additional conditions the speech was filtered to eliminate the F0 component, with masking noise added to mask distortion products at the F0. Filtering the speech reduced overall performance, but the effect of inharmonicity was similar. Error bars denote standard deviations, calculated via bootstrap.
- (C) Novel Voice Discrimination task (same task as Experiment 11). Participants heard three one-second speech utterances, the first or last of which was spoken by a different speaker than the other two. Participants judged which speaker (first or last) only spoke once.

(D) Results from replication of Experiment 11 with a filter applied to speech excerpts to remove the F0 component. Masking noise was also added to mask distortion products at the F0. Error bars denote standard error of the mean. (Compare to Figure 8e).

Supplementary Table 1: Mandarin Word List

bùfá	bùfǎ
cáo	cǎo
chǎn	chàn
chāyì	chàyì
chuánbō	chuánbó
cuō	cuò
dádào	dàdào
dǎsǎo	dàsǎo
dàytī	dàytì
diān	diǎn
díshì	dìshì
dǐzhì	dìzhì
duó	duò
fúqi	fúqì
fùshǔ	fùshù
gǎibiān	gǎibiàn
gān	gàn
gāochāo	gāocháo
gūli	gǔli
guójí	guójì
huóli	huǒli
jiānchá	jiǎnchá
jiāotán	jiāotàn
jídù	jìdù
jiējiàn	jièjiàn
jiēshōu	jiēshòu
jīli	jìli
jízǎo	jízào
kū	kǔ
nánkān	nánkàn
pāizi	páizi
piān	piàn

pō	pò
qiē	qiě
qīngchú	qīngchū
qīngtīng	qīngtíng
shànzì	shànzi
shēngchǎn	shèngchǎn
tāng	tǎng
tiāndì	tiándì
tiáojié	tiáojiě
tiáolǐ	tiáolì
tóuzī	tóuzi
tuō	tuó
wō	wò
wǔlǐ	wǔlì
wúshù	wǔshù
wúyí	wúyì
xiézuò	xiězuò
yīwù	yìwù
yōuzhì	yòuzhì
yǔqí	yǔqì
zhā	zhà
zhǎnxiàn	zhànxiàn
zháojí	zhàojí
zhèngdāng	zhèngdǎng
zhīzhū	zhīzhù
zhōngdiǎn	zhòngdiǎn
zhōngduān	zhōngduàn
zuǒ	zuò
zuòwéi	zuòwèi

Supplementary Table 2: Famous Melodies

1. Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star
2. Ode to Joy (4th movement from Beethoven's 9th Symphony, also called 'Joyful Joyful We Adore Thee')
3. Happy Birthday to You
4. Mary Had A Little Lamb
5. Hey Jude
6. Theme from 1st movement, Beethoven's 5th Symphony
7. When the Saints Go Marching In
8. Somewhere Over the Rainbow
9. God Save the Queen (My Country Tis of Thee)
10. The Star-Spangled Banner
11. Amazing Grace
12. Frere Jacques (Brother John)
13. Hedwig's Theme from Harry Potter
14. Star Wars main theme
15. Indiana Jones Theme
16. Here Comes the Bride
17. James Bond Theme
18. Old MacDonald Had a Farm
19. The Itsy Bitsy Spider (also accepted 'Little Bunny Foo Foo' and 'Alouette')
20. Yankee Doodle Went to Town
21. Bingo (Bingo was His Name-O)
22. Jingle Bells
23. The Wheels On The Bus
24. The Muffin Man

Supplementary Table 3: Celebrity Voices

- 1) Alan Rickman
- 2) Alex Trebek
- 3) Arnold Schwarzenegger
- 4) Barack Obama
- 5) Betty White
- 6) Beyonce Knowles Carter
- 7) Bill Clinton
- 8) Bill Cosby
- 9) Bill O'Reilly
- 10) Brian Williams
- 11) Cameron Diaz
- 12) Conan O'Brien
- 13) Dolly Parton
- 14) Donald Trump
- 15) Eddie Murphy
- 16) Ellen Degeneres
- 17) Emma Watson
- 18) Fran Drescher
- 19) George H.W. Bush
- 20) George W. Bush
- 21) Gilbert Gottfried
- 22) Gordon Ramsay
- 23) Hillary Clinton
- 24) James Earl Jones
- 25) Jason Alexander
- 26) Jennifer Aniston
- 27) John Stewart
- 28) Julia Louis-Dreyfus
- 29) Kayley Cuoco
- 30) Kelly Ripa
- 31) Kim Kardashian
- 32) Matt Damon
- 33) Morgan Freeman
- 34) Newt Gingrich
- 35) Oprah Winfrey
- 36) Robin Williams
- 37) Jerry Seinfeld
- 38) Shia LaBeouf
- 39) Sofia Vergara
- 40) Stephen Colbert