

1 Task-dependent and automatic tracking of hierarchical linguistic structure

2 Sanne Ten Oever^{1,2,3}, Sara Carta^{1,4,5}, Greta Kaufeld¹, Andrea E. Martin^{1,2*}

3 ¹ Language and Computation in Neural Systems group, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The
4 Netherlands

5 ² Language and Computation in Neural Systems group, Donders Centre for Cognitive Neuroimaging, Nijmegen, The
6 Netherlands

7 ³ Department of Cognitive Neuroscience, Faculty of Psychology and Neuroscience, Maastricht University, The
8 Netherlands

9 ⁴ ADAPT Centre, School of Computer Science and Statistics, University of Dublin, Trinity College, Ireland

10 ⁵ CIMEC - Center for Mind/Brain Sciences, University of Trento, Italy

11

12 * Corresponding author: andrea.martin@mpi.nl

13 **Abstract**

14 Linguistic phrases are tracked in sentences even though there is no clear acoustic phrasal marker
15 in the physical signal. This phenomenon suggests an automatic tracking of abstract linguistic
16 structure that is endogenously generated by the brain. However, all studies investigating linguistic
17 tracking compare conditions where either relevant information at linguistic timescales is available,
18 or where this information is absent altogether (e.g., sentences versus word lists during passive
19 listening). It is therefore unclear whether tracking at these phrasal timescales is related to the
20 content of language, or rather, is a consequence of attending to the timescales that happen to match
21 behaviourally-relevant information. To investigate this question, we presented participants with
22 sentences and word lists while recording their brain activity with MEG. Participants performed
23 passive, syllable, word, and word-combination tasks corresponding to attending to rates they
24 would naturally attend to, syllable-rates, word-rates, and phrasal-rates, respectively. We replicated
25 overall findings of stronger phrasal-rate tracking measured with mutual information (MI) for
26 sentences compared to word lists across the classical language network. However, in the inferior
27 frontal gyrus (IFG) we found a task-effect suggesting stronger phrasal-rate tracking during the
28 word-combination task independent of the presence of linguistic structure, as well as stronger
29 delta-band connectivity during this task. These results suggest that extracting linguistic
30 information at phrasal-rates occurs automatically with or without the presence of an additional
31 task, but also that that IFG might be important for temporal integration across various perceptual
32 domains.

33

34 **Keywords:** sentence comprehension; mutual information; entrainment; temporal dynamics

35 **Introduction**

36 Understanding spoken language requires a multitude of processes [1-3]. Acoustic patterns have to
37 be segmented and mapped onto internally stored phonetic and syllabic representations [3-5]. These
38 phonemes have to be combined and mapped onto words which then have to be mapped to abstract
39 linguistic phrasal structures [2, 6]. Proficient speakers of a language seem to do this so naturally
40 that one might almost forget the complex parallel and hierarchical processing which occurs during
41 natural speech and language comprehension.

42 It has been shown that it is essential to track the temporal dynamics of the speech signal in
43 order to understand its meaning [7, 8]. In natural speech, syllables follow up on each other in the
44 theta range (3-8 Hz; [9-11]), while higher-level linguistic features such as words and phrases occur
45 at lower rates (0.5-3 Hz; [9, 12, 13]). Tracking of syllabic features is stronger when one
46 understands a language [14-16] and tracking of phrasal rates is more prominent when the signal
47 contains phrasal information ([12, 13, 17]; e.g., word lists versus sentences). Importantly, phrasal
48 tracking even occurs when there are no distinct acoustic modulations at the phrasal rate [12, 13,
49 17]. These results seem to suggest that tracking of relevant temporal timescales is critical for
50 speech understanding.

51 An observation one could make regarding these findings is that tracking occurs only at the
52 rates that are meaningful and thereby behaviourally relevant [12, 17]. For example, in word lists,
53 word-rate is the slowest rate that is meaningful during natural listening. Modulations at slower
54 phrasal rates might not be tracked as they do not contain behaviourally relevant information. In
55 contrast, in sentences phrasal rates contain linguistic information and therefore these slower rates
56 are also tracked. Thus, when listening to speech one automatically tries to extract the meaning,
57 which requires extracting information at the highest linguistic level [3, 5]. However, it is unsure if
58 the tracking at these slower rates is a unique feature of language processing or rather dependent on
59 the level of attention to relevant temporal timescales.

60 As understanding language requires a multitude of processing, it is difficult to figure out
61 what participants actually are doing when listening to natural speech. Moreover, designing a task
62 in an experimental setting that does justice to this multitude of processing is difficult. This is
63 probably why tasks in language studies vary vastly. Tasks include passively listening (e.g. [12],
64 asking comprehension questions (e.g. [13], rating intelligibility (e.g. [14, 16], working memory

65 tasks (e.g. [18], or even syllable counting (e.g. [17]. It is unclear whether outcomes are dependent
66 on the specifics of the task. There has so far not been a study that investigates if task instructions
67 focusing on extracting information at different temporal rates or timescales have an influence on
68 the tracking that occurs on these timescales. It is therefore not clear whether tracking phrasal
69 timescales is unique for language stimuli which contain phrasal structures, or could also occur for
70 other acoustic materials where participants are instructed to pay attention to information happening
71 at these temporal rates or timescales.

72 To answer this question, we designed an experiment in which participants were instructed
73 to pay attention to different temporal modulation rates while listening to the same stimuli. We
74 presented participants with naturally spoken sentences and word lists and asked them to either
75 passively listen, or perform a task on the temporal scales corresponding to syllables, words, or
76 phrases. We recorded MEG while participants performed these tasks and investigated tracking as
77 well as power and connectivity at three nodes that are part of the language network: the superior
78 temporal gyrus (STG), the middle temporal gyrus (MTG), and the inferior frontal gyrus (IFG). We
79 hypothesized that if tracking is purely based on behavioural relevance, it should mostly depend on
80 the task instructions, rather than the nature of the stimuli. In contrast, if there is something
81 automatic and specific about language information, tracking should depend on the level of
82 linguistic information in the acoustic signal.

83 **Methods**

84 *Participants.* In total twenty Dutch native speakers (16 females; age range: 18-59; mean age =
85 39.5) participated in the study. All were right-handed, reported normal hearing, had normal or
86 corrected-to-normal vision, and did not have any history of dyslexia or other language related
87 disorders. Participants performed a screening for their eligibility in the MEG and MRI and gave
88 written informed consent. The study was approved by the ethical Commission for human research
89 Arnhem/Nijmegen (project number CMO2014/288). Participants were reimbursed for their
90 participation. One participant was excluded from the analysis as they did not finish the full session.

91 *Materials and design.* Materials were identical to the stimuli used in Kaufeld et al., [12].
92 They consisted of naturally spoken sentences or word lists which consisted of 10 words (see Table
93 1 for examples). The sentences contained two coordinate clauses with the following structure: [Adj
94 N V N Conj Det Adj N V N]. All words were disyllabic except for the words “de” (*the*) and “en”
95 (*and*). Word lists were word-scrambled versions of the original sentences which always followed
96 the structure [V V Adj Adj Det Conj N N N N] or [N N N N Det Conj V V Adj Adj] to ensure that
97 they were grammatically incorrect. In total sixty sentences were used. All sentences were presented
98 at a comfortable sound level.

99 Participants were asked to perform four different tasks on these stimuli: a passive task, a
100 syllable task, a word task, and a word combination task. For the passive task, participants did not
101 need to perform any task other than comprehension – they only needed to press a button to go to
102 the next trial. For the syllable task, participants heard after every sentence two part-of-speech
103 sounds, each consisting of one syllable. The sound fragments were a randomly determined syllable
104 from the previously presented sentence and a random syllable from all other sentences.
105 Participants’ task was to indicate via a button press which of the two sound fragments was part of
106 the previous sentence. For the word task, two words were displayed

Table 1. Stimuli and task examples

sentence	[bange helden] [plukken bloemen] en de [bruine vogels] [halen takken] [timid heroes] [pluck flowers] and the [brown birds] [gather branches]			
word list	[helden bloemen] [vogels takken] de en [plukken halen] [bange bruine] [heroes flowers] [birds branches] and the [pluck gather] [timid brown]			
	sentence correct	incorrect	word list correct	incorrect
syllable	/ba/	/la/	/ba/	/la/

word	bloemen [flowers]	vaders [fathers]	bloemen [flowers]	vaders [fathers]
word combination	bange helden [timid heroes]	halen bloemen [gather flowers]	helden bloemen [heroes flowers]	vogels bloemen [birds flowers]

For each condition (sentence and word list) one example stimulus (top) and corresponding tasks are shown (bottom).

107 on the screen after each trial (a random word from the just presented sentence and one random
108 word from all other sentences excluding “de” and “en”), and participants needed to indicate which
109 of the two words was part of the sentence before. For the word combination task, participants were
110 presented with two word pairs on the screen. Each of the four words was part of the just presented
111 sentence, but only one of the pairs was in the correct order. Participants needed to indicate which
112 of the two pairs was presented in the sentence before. Presented options for the sentence condition
113 were always a grammatically and semantically plausible combination of words. See Table 1 for an
114 example of the tasks for each condition (sentences and word lists). The three active tasks required
115 participants to focus on the syllabic (syllable task), word (word task), or phrasal (word combination
116 task) timescales.

117 *Procedure.* At the beginning of each trial, participants were instructed to look at a fixation
118 cross presented at the middle of the screen on a grey background. Audio recordings were presented
119 after a random interval between 1.5-3 seconds; 1 second after the end of the audio, the task was
120 presented. For the word and word combination task, this was the presentation of visual stimuli.
121 For the syllable task, this entailed presenting the sound fragments one after each other (with a
122 delay of 0.5 seconds in between). For the passive task, this was the instruction to press a button to
123 continue. In total there were eight blocks (two conditions * four tasks) each lasting about 8 minutes.
124 The order of the blocks was pseudo-randomized by independently randomizing the order of the
125 tasks and the conditions. We then always presented the same task twice in a row to avoid task-
126 switching costs. As a consequence, condition was always alternated (a possible order of blocks
127 would be: passive-sentence, passive-word list, word-sentence, word-word list, syllable-sentence,
128 syllable-word list, word combination-sentence, word combination-word list). After the main
129 experiment, an auditory localizer was collected which consisted of listening to 200ms sinewave
130 and broadband sounds (centred at 0.5, 1, and 2 kHz; for the broadband at a 10% frequency band)
131 at approximately equal loudness. Each sound had a 50ms linear on and off ramp and was presented
132 for 30 times (with random inter-stimulus interval between 1 and 2 seconds).

133 At arrival, participants filled out a screening. Electrodes to monitor eye movements and
134 heart beat were placed (left mastoid was used as ground electrode) at an impedance below 15
135 kiloOhm. Participants wore metal free clothes and fitted earmolds on which two of the three head
136 localizers were placed (together with a final head localizer placed at the nasion). They then
137 performed the experiment in the MEG. MEG was recorded using a 75-channel axial gradiometer
138 CTF MEG system at a sampling rate of 1.2 kHz. After every block participants had a break, during
139 which head position was corrected [19]. After the session, the headshape was collected using
140 Polhemus digitizer (using as fiducials the nasion and the entrance of the ear canals as positioned
141 with the earmolds). For each participant, an MRI was collected with a 3 T Siemens Skyra system
142 using the MPRAGE sequence (1mm isotropic). Also for the MRI acquisition participants wore the
143 earmolds with vitamin pills to optimize the alignment.

144 *Behavioural analysis.* We performed a linear mixed model analysis with fixed factors task
145 (syllable, word, and word combination) and condition (sentence and word list) as implemented by
146 lmer in R4.1.0. The dependent variable was accuracy. First, any outliers were removed (values
147 more extreme than median \pm 2.5 IQR). Then, we investigated what the best random model was,
148 including a random intercept or a random slope for one or two of the factors. The models with
149 varying random factors were compared with each other using an ANOVA. With no significant
150 difference, the model with the lowest number of factors was included (with minimally a random
151 intercept). Finally, lsmeans was used for follow-up tests using the kenward-roger method to
152 calculate the degrees of freedom from the linear mixed model. For significant interactions, we
153 investigated the effect of condition per task. For main effects, we investigated pairwise
154 comparisons. We corrected for multiple comparisons using adjusted Bonferroni corrections. For
155 all further reported statistical analyses for the MEG data, we followed the same procedure (except
156 that there was one more level of task, i.e. the passive task). To avoid exploding the amount of
157 comparisons, we a-priori decided for any task effects in the MEG analysis to only compare the
158 individual tasks with the phrase task.

159 *MEG pre-processing.* First source models from the MRI were made using a surface-based
160 approach in which grid points were defined on the cortical sheet using the automatic segmentation
161 of freesurfer6.0 [20] in combination with pre-processing tools from the HCP workbench1.3.2 [21]
162 to down-sample the mesh to 4k vertices per hemisphere. The MRI was co-registered to the MEG

163 using the previously defined fiducials as well as an automatic alignment of the MRI to the
164 Polhemus headshape using the Fieldtrip20211102 software [22].

165 Pre-processing involved epoching the data between -3 and +7.9 seconds (+3 relative to the
166 longest sentence of 4.9 sec) around sentence onset. We applied a dftfilter at 50, 100 and 150 Hz to
167 remove line noise, a Butterworth bandpass filter between 0.6 and 100 Hz, and performed baseline
168 correction (-0.2-0 sec baseline). Trials with excessive movements or squid jumps were removed
169 via visual inspection (20.1 ± 18.5 trials removed; mean \pm standard deviation). Then data was
170 resampled to 300 Hz and we performed ICA decomposition to correct for eye blinks/movement
171 and heart beat artefacts (4.7 ± 0.99 components removed; mean \pm standard deviation). Trials with
172 remaining artefacts were removed by visual inspection (11.3 ± 12.4 trials removed; mean \pm standard
173 deviation). Then we applied a lcmv filter to transform the data to have single-trial source space
174 representations. A common filter across all trials was calculated using a fixed orientation and a
175 lambda of 5%. We only extracted time courses for our regions of interest (superior temporal gyrus
176 [1,29,32,33], medial temporal gyrus [6,8,14], and inferior frontal cortex [17,18,19]; numbers
177 correspond to label-coding from the aparc parcellations implemented in Freesurfer). These time
178 courses were baseline corrected (-0.2 to 0 seconds). To reduce computational load and to ensure
179 that we used relevant data within the ROI, we extracted the top 20 PCA components per ROI for
180 all following analyses based on a PCA using the time window of interest (0.5-3.7 seconds; 0.5 to
181 ensure that all initial evoked responses were not included and 3.7 as it corresponds to the shortest
182 trials).

183 *Mutual information analysis.* First, we extracted the speech envelopes by following
184 previous procedures [12, 13, 23]. The acoustic waveforms (third-order Butterworth filter) were
185 filtered in eight frequency bands (100-8000 Hz) equidistant on the cochlear frequency map [24].
186 The absolute of the Hilbert transform was computed, we low-passed the data at 100 Hz (third order
187 Butterworth) and then down-sampled to 300 Hz (matching the MEG sampling rate). Then, we
188 averaged across all bands.

189 Mutual information (MI) was calculated between the filtered speech envelopes and the
190 filtered MEG data at three different frequency bands corresponding to information content at
191 different linguistic hierarchical levels: phrase (0.8-1.1 Hz), word (1.9-2.8 Hz), and syllable (3.5-
192 5.0 Hz). Our main analysis focusses on the phrasal band, as that is where our previous study found

193 the strongest effects [12], but for completeness we also report on the other bands. Mutual
194 information was estimated after the evoked response (0.5 sec) until the end of the stimulus at five
195 different delays (60, 80, 100, 120, and 140 ms) and averaged across delays between the phase
196 estimations of the envelopes and MEG data. A single MI value was generated per condition per
197 ROI by concatenating all trials before calculating the MI (MEG and speech). Statistical analysis
198 was performed per ROI per frequency band.

199 *Power analysis.* Power analysis was performed to compare the MI results with absolute
200 power changes, as any MI differences could be a consequence of signal-to-noise differences in the
201 original data (which would be reflected in power effects). We first extracted the time-frequency
202 representation for all conditions and ROIs separately. To do so, we performed a wavelet analysis
203 with a width of 4, with a frequency of interest between 1 and 30 (step size of 1) and time of interest
204 between -0.2 and 3.7 sec (step size of 0.05 sec). We extracted the logarithm of the power and
205 baseline corrected the data in the frequency domain using a -0.3 and -0.1 sec window. For four
206 different frequency bands (delta: 0.5-3.0 Hz; theta: 3.0-8.0 Hz; alpha: 8.0-15.0 Hz; beta: 15.0-25.0
207 Hz) we extracted the mean power in the 0.5-3.7 sec time window per task, condition and ROI.
208 Again, our main analysis focusses on the delta band as that is where the main previous results were
209 found [12], but we also report on the other bands for completeness. For each ROI we performed
210 the statistical analysis on power as described in the behavioural analysis.

211 *Connectivity analysis.* For the coherence analysis we repeated all pre-processing as in the
212 power analysis, but separately for the left and right hemisphere (as we did not expect connections
213 for PCA across hemispheres), after which we averaged the connectivity measure (using the Fourier
214 spectrum and not the power spectrum). We used the debiased weighted phase lag index (WPLI)
215 for our connectivity measure, which ensures that no zero-lag phase differences are included in the
216 estimation (avoiding effects due to volume conduction). All connections between the three ROIs
217 were investigated for the mean WPLI for the four different frequency bands in the 0.5-3.7 sec time
218 window. Also in this case, the same statistical analysis was applied.

219 *Power control analysis.* The reliability of phase estimations is influenced by the signal-to-
220 noise ratio of the signal [25]. As a consequence, trials with generally high power have more reliable
221 phase estimations compared to low power trials. This could influence any measure relying on this
222 phase estimation, such as MI and connectivity [26, 27]. It is therefore possible that power

223 differences between conditions lead to differences between connectivity or MI. To ensure that our
224 reported effects are not due to signal-to-noise effects, we controlled any significant power
225 difference between conditions for the connectivity and MI analysis. To do this, we iteratively
226 removed the highest and lowest power trials between the mean highest and mean lowest of the two
227 relevant conditions (either collapsing trials across tasks/conditions or using individual conditions).
228 We repeated this until the original condition with the highest power had lower power than the other
229 condition. Then we repeated the analysis and statistics, investigating if the effect of interest was
230 still significant. The control analysis is reported along the main MI and connectivity sections.

231

232 Results

233 *Behaviour.* Overall task performance
234 was above chance and participants
235 complied with task instructions (Figure
236 1). We found a significant interaction
237 between condition and task ($F(2, 72.0) =$
238 11.51, $p < 0.001$) as well as a main effect
239 of task ($F(2, 19.7) = 44.19$, $p < 0.001$) and
240 condition ($F(2, 72.0) = 29.0$, $p < 0.001$).
241 We found that only for the word-
242 combination (phrasal-level) task, the
243 sentence condition had a significantly
244 higher accuracy than the word list
245 condition ($t(54.0) = 6.97$, $p < 0.001$). For
246 the other two tasks, no significant
247 condition effect was found (syllable:
248 $t(54.0) = 0.62$, $p = 1.000$; word list:
249 $t(54.0) = 1.74$, $p = 0.176$). Investigating the main effect of task indicated a difference between all
250 tasks (phrase-syllable: $t(18.0) = 3.71$, $p = 0.003$; phrase-word: $t(22.4) = -6.34$, $p < 0.001$; syllable-
251 word: $t(19.2) = -8.67$, $p < 0.001$).

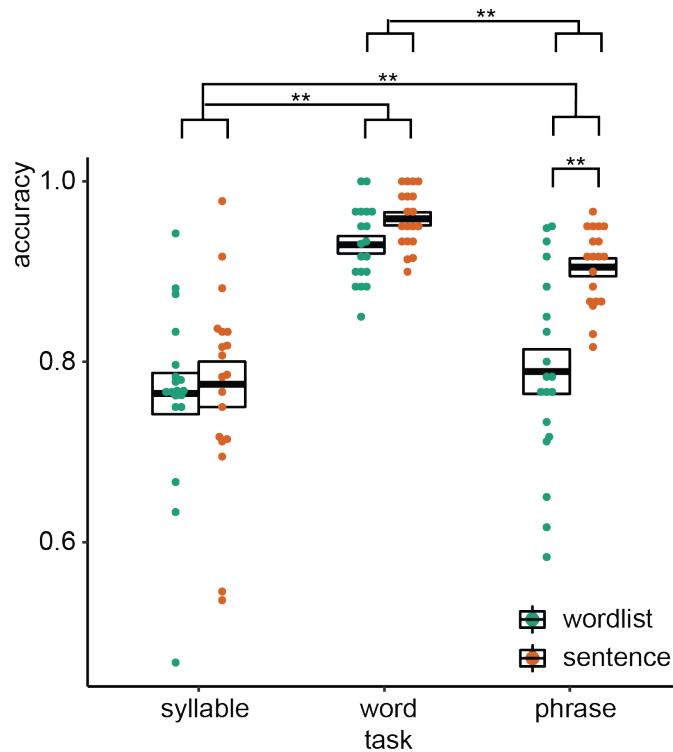


Figure 1. Behavioral results. Accuracy for the three different tasks. Double asterisks indicate significance at the 0.01 level.

252 *Mutual information.* The overall time-frequency response in the three different regions of
253 interest using the top-20 PCA components was as expected, with an initial evoked response
254 followed by a more sustained response to the ongoing speech (Figure 2). From these regions-of-
255 interest, we extracted mutual information in three different frequency bands (phrasal, word, and
256 syllable). Here, we focus on the phrasal band as this is the band that differentiates word lists from
257 sentences and showed the strongest modulation for this contrast in our previous study [12]. Mutual
258 Information results for all other bands are reported in the supplementary materials.

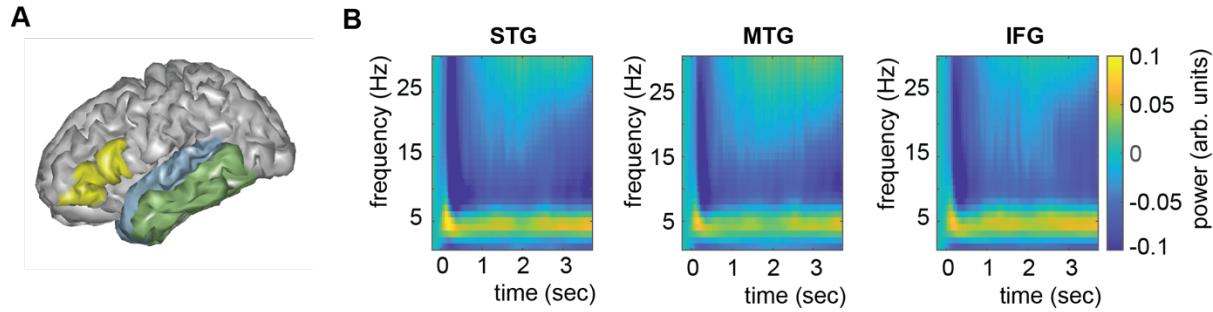


Figure 2. Anatomical regions of interests (ROIs). A) ROIs displayed one exemplar participant surface. B) Time-frequency response at each ROI. STG = superior temporal gyrus. MTG = medial temporal gyrus. IFG = inferior frontal gyrus.

259 For the phrasal timescale in STG, we found significantly higher MI in the sentence
 260 compared to the word list condition ($F(3,126) = 67.39, p < 0.001$; Figure 3). No other effects were
 261 significant ($p > 0.1$). This finding paralleled the effect found in Kaufeld et al., [12]. For the MTG,
 262 we saw a different picture: Besides the main effect of condition ($F(3,126) = 50.24, p < 0.001$), an
 263 interaction between task and condition was found ($F(3,126) = 2.948, p = 0.035$). We next
 264 investigated the effect of condition per task and found for all tasks except the passive task a
 265 significant effect of condition, with stronger MI for the sentence condition (passive: $t(126) = 1.07$,
 266 $p = 0.865$; syllable: $t(126) = 4.06, p = 0.003$; word: $t(126) = 5.033, p < 0.001$; phrase: $t(126) =$
 267 $4.015, p = 0.003$). For the IFG, we found a main effect of condition ($F(3,108) = 21.89, p < 0.001$)
 268 as well as a main effect of task ($F(3,108) = 2.74, p = 0.047$). The interaction was not significant

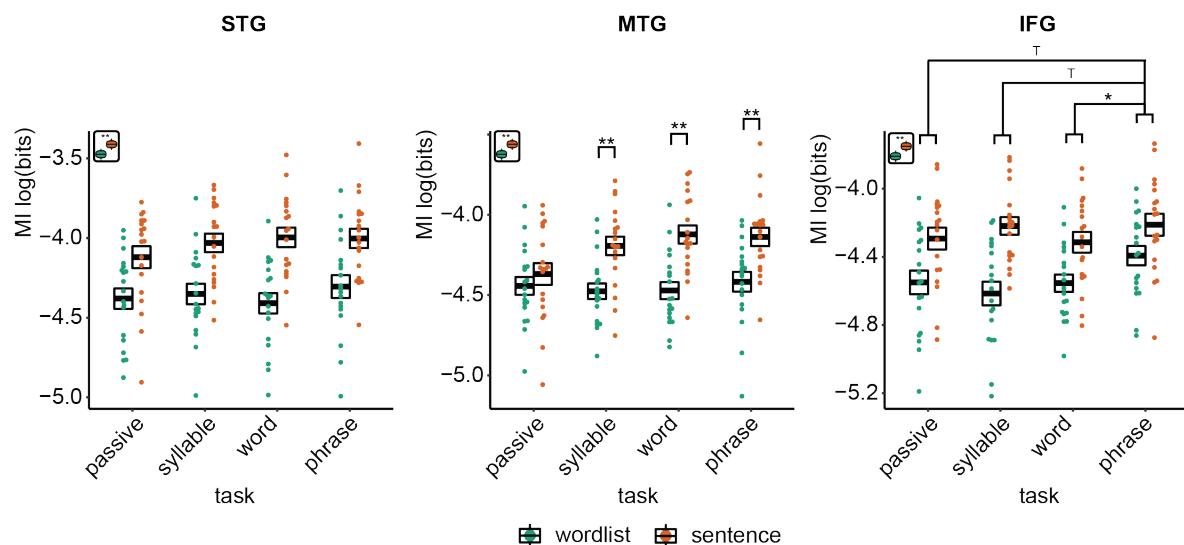


Figure 3. Mutual information (MI) analysis at the phrasal band (0.8-1.1 Hz) for the three different ROIs. Single and double asterisks indicate significance at the 0.05 and 0.01 level. T indicates trend level significance ($p < 0.1$). Inset at the top left of the graph indicate whether a main effect of condition was present (with higher MI for sentences versus wordlists).

269 (F(3,108) = 1.49, p = 0.220). Comparing the phrasal task with the other tasks indicated higher MI
270 for the phrasal compared to the word task ($t(111) = 2.50$, p = 0.028). We also found a trend for the
271 comparison between the phrasal and the syllable task ($t(111) = 2.17$, p = 0.064), as well as the
272 phrasal and the passive task ($t(111) = 2.25$, p = 0.052).

273 For the word and syllable frequency bands no interactions were found (all $p > 0.1$;
274 Supplementary Figure 1 and 2). For all six models there was a significant effect of condition, with
275 stronger MI for word lists compared to sentences (all $p < 0.001$). The main effect of task was not
276 significant in any of the models ($p > 0.1$; for the MTG syllable level there was a trend: $F(3,126) =$
277 2.40 , p = 0.071).

278 When running the power control analysis, we did not find that significant effects in power
279 differences (see next section; mostly due to main effects of condition) influenced our tracking
280 results for any of the bands investigated.

281 *Power.* We repeated the linear mixed modelling using power instead of MI to investigate
282 if power changes paralleled the MI effects. For the delta band, we found for the STG a main effect
283 of condition ($F(1,18) = 6.11$, p = 0.024) and task ($F(3,108) = 3.069$, p = 0.031). For the interaction
284 we found a trend ($F(3,108) = 2.620$, p = 0.054). Overall sentences had stronger delta power than
285 word lists. We found lower power for the phrase compared to the passive task ($t(111) = 2.31$, p =
286 0.045) and lower power for the phrase compared to the syllable task ($t(111) = 2.43$, p = 0.034).
287 There was no significant difference between the phrase and word task ($t(111) = 0.642$, p = 1.00).

288 The MTG delta power effect overall paralleled the STG effects with a significant condition
289 ($F(1,124.94) = 12.339$, p < 0.001) and task effect ($F(3,124.94) = 4.326$, p = 0.006). The interaction
290 was trend significant ($F(3,124.94) = 2.58$, p = 0.056). Pairwise comparisons of the task effect
291 showed significantly stronger power for the phrase compared to the passive task ($t(128) = 2.98$, p
292 = 0.007) and lower power for the phrase compared to the syllable task ($t(128) = 3.10$, p = 0.024).
293 The passive-word comparison was not significant ($t(128) = 2.577$, p = 0.109). Finally, for the IFG

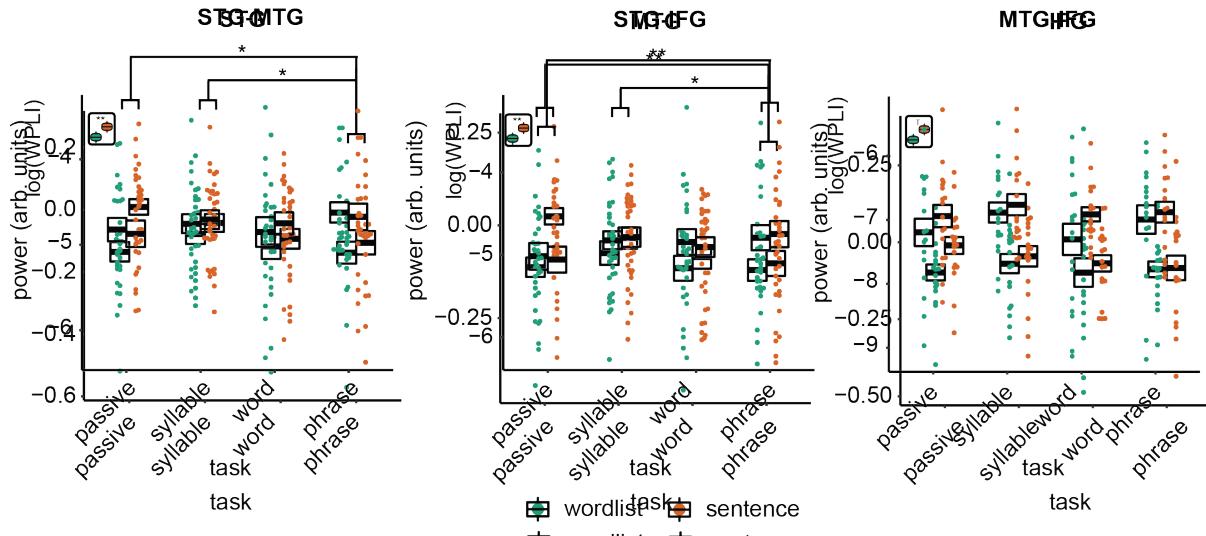


Figure 6. WPLI effects for the different ROIs. Single and double asterisks indicate significance at the 0.05 and 0.01 level after correcting for power differences between the two conditions (we plot the original data, not corrected for power. If indicates trend significance ($p < 0.1$). Brackets at the left top of the graph indicate whether a main effect of condition was present (with higher activity for sentences versus wordlists).

294 we only found a trend effect for condition ($F(1,123.27) = 4.15, p = 0.057$), with stronger delta
295 power in the sentence condition.

296 The results for all other bands can be found in the supplementary materials (Supplementary
297 figure 3-5). In summary, no interaction effects were found for any of the models (all $p > 0.1$). In
298 all bands, power was generally higher for sentences than for word lists. Any task effect generally
299 showed stronger power for the lower hierarchical level (e.g. generally higher power for passive
300 versus phrasal tasks).

301 *Connectivity.* Overall connectivity patterns showed the strongest connectivity in the delta
302 and alpha frequency band (Figure 5). In the delta band, we found a main effect of task for the STG-
303 IFG connectivity ($F(3, 122.06) = 4.1078, p = 0.008$). Follow-up analysis showed a significant

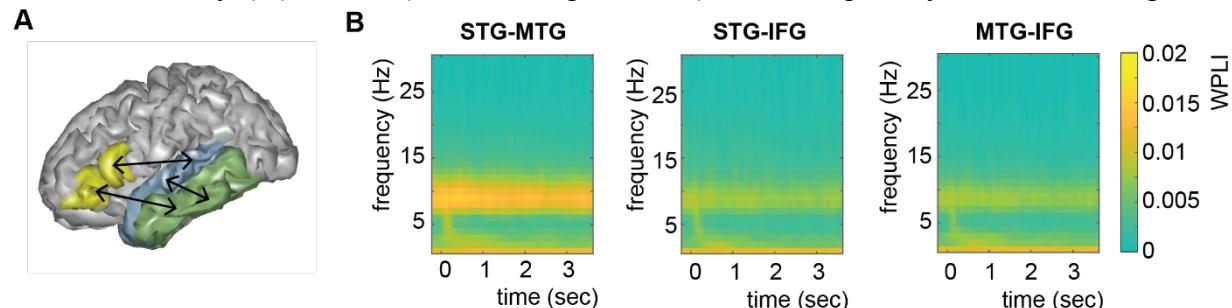


Figure 5. Connectivity pattern between anatomical regions of interests (ROIs). A) ROI connections displayed one exemplar participant surface. B) Time-frequency weighted phase-lagged index (WPLI) response at each ROI.

304 difference between the phrasal and passive task ($t(125) = 3.254$, $p = 0.003$). The other comparisons
305 with the phrasal task were not significant. The effect of task remained significant even when
306 correcting for power differences between the passive and phrasal task ($F(1, 53.02) = 12.39$, $p <$
307 0.001 ; note the change in degrees of freedom as only the passive and phrasal task were included
308 in this mixed model as any power correction is done on pairs). Initially, we also found main effects
309 of condition for the delta and beta band for the MTG-IFG connectivity (stronger connectivity for
310 the sentence compared to the word list condition), however after controlling for power, these
311 effects did not remain significant.

312 **Discussion**

313 In the current study, we investigated the effects of ‘additional’ tasks on the neural tracking of
314 sentences and word lists at temporal modulations that matched phrasal rates. Different nodes of
315 the language network showed different tracking patterns. In STG, we found stronger tracking of
316 phrase-timed dynamics in sentences compared to word lists, independent of task. However, in
317 MTG we found this sentence-improved tracking only for active tasks. In IFG we also found an
318 overall increase of tracking for sentences compared to word lists. Additionally, stronger phrasal
319 tracking was found for the phrasal-level word-combination task compared to the other tasks
320 (independent of stimulus type; note that for the syllable and passive comparison we found a trend),
321 which was paralleled with increased IFG-STG connectivity in the delta band for the word
322 combination task. This suggests that tracking at phrasal time-scales depends both on the linguistic
323 information present in the signal, and on the specific task that is performed.

324 The findings reported in this study are in line with previous results, with overall stronger
325 tracking of low frequency information in the sentences compared to the word list condition [12].
326 Crucially, for the stimuli used in our study it has been shown that the condition effects are not due
327 to acoustic differences in the stimuli and also do not occur for reversed speech [12]. It is therefore
328 most likely that our results reflect an automatic extraction of relevant phrase-level information in
329 sentences, indicating the automatic processing of participants as they understand the meaning of
330 the speech they hear using structural sentence information [2, 17, 28]. Overall, it did not seem that
331 making participants pay attention to the temporal dynamics at the same hierarchical level through
332 an additional task – instructing them to remember word combinations at the phrasal rate during
333 word list presentation – could counter this main effect of condition.

334 Even though there was an overall main effect of condition, task did influence neural
335 responses. Interestingly, the task effects differed for the three regions of interest. In the STG, we
336 found no task effects, while in the MTG we found an interaction between task and condition. In
337 the MTG increased phrasal-level tracking for sentences only occurred when participants were
338 specifically instructed to perform an active task on the materials. It therefore seems that in MTG
339 all levels of linguistic information are used to do an active language operation on the stimuli. This
340 is in line with previous theoretical and empirical research suggesting a strong top-down
341 modulatory response of speech processing in which predictions flow from the highest hierarchical

342 levels (e.g. syntax) down to lower levels (e.g. phonemes) to aid language understanding [5, 29,
343 30]. As in the word list condition no linguistic information is present at the phrasal-rate, this
344 information cannot be used to provide useful feedback for processing lower-level linguistic
345 information. Instead, it could have been expected that the same type of increased tracking should
346 have happened at the word-rate rather than the phrasal-rate for word lists (i.e., stronger word-rate
347 tracking for word lists for the active tasks versus passive task). This effect was not found; this
348 could either be attributed to different computational operations occurring at different hierarchical
349 levels or to signal-to-noise/signal detection issues.

350 It is interesting that MTG, but not STG, showed an interaction effect. Both MTG and STG
351 are strong hubs for language processing and have been involved in many studies which contrasted
352 pseudo-words and words [31-33]. It is likely that STG does the lower-level processing of the two
353 regions, as it is earlier in the cortical hierarchy, thereby being more involved in initial segmentation
354 and initial phonetic abstraction rather than a lexical interface [31]. This could also explain why
355 STG does not show task specific tracking effects; STG could be earlier in a workload bottleneck,
356 receiving feedback independent of task, while MTG-feedback is recruited only when active
357 linguistic operations are required. Alternatively, it is possible that either small differences in the
358 acoustics are detected by STG (even though this effect was not previously found with the same
359 stimuli [12]), or that our blocked designed put participants in a sentence or word list “mode” which
360 could have influenced the state of these early hierarchical regions.

361 The IFG was the only region that showed an increase in phrasal-rate tracking specifically
362 for the word-combination task. Note, however, that this was a weak effect, as the comparison
363 between the phrase task and the syllable and passive task only reached a trend towards significance.
364 Nonetheless, this effect is interesting for understanding the role of IFG in language. Traditionally,
365 IFG has been viewed as a hub for articulatory processing [31], but its role during speech
366 comprehension, specifically in syntactic processing, has also been acknowledged [1, 29, 34-36].
367 Integrating information across time and relative timing is essential for syntactic processing [2, 35,
368 37], and IFG feedback has been shown to occur in temporal dynamics at lower (delta) rates during
369 sentence processing [38, 39]. However, it has also been shown that syntactic-independent verbal
370 working memory chunking tasks recruit the IFG [35, 40-42]. This is in line with our findings that
371 show that IFG is involved when we need to integrate across temporal domains either in a language-

372 specific domain (sentences versus word lists) or for language-unspecific tasks (word combination
373 versus other tasks). We also show increased delta-connectivity with STG for the only temporal-
374 integration tasks in our study (i.e., the word combination task), independent of the linguistic
375 features in the signal. Our results therefore support a role of the IFG as a combinatorial hub
376 integrating information across time [43-45].

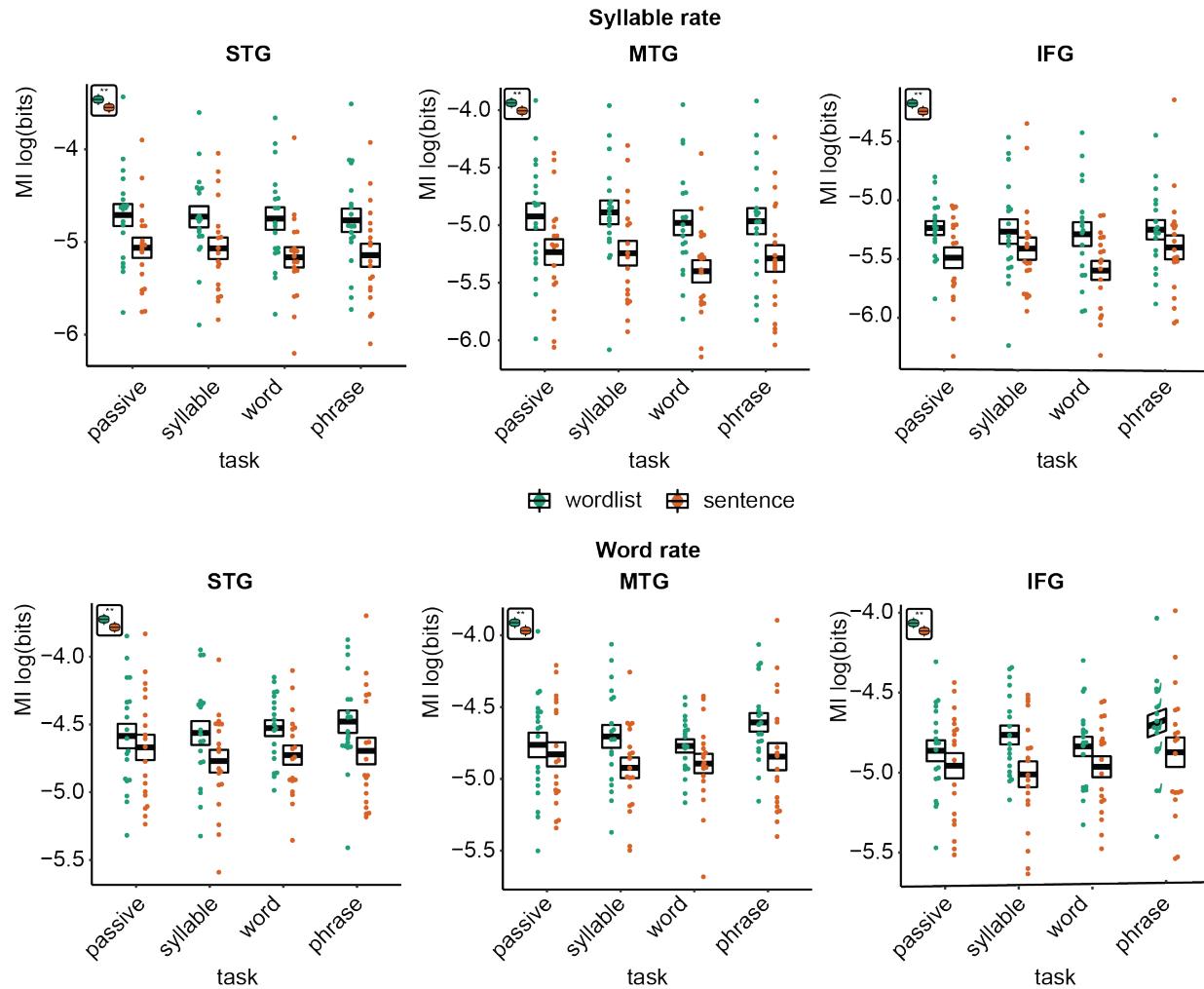
377 In the current study we investigated power as a neural readout during language
378 comprehension from speech. This was both to ensure that any tracking effects we found were not
379 due to overall signal-to-noise (SNR) differences, as well as to investigate task-and-condition
380 dependent computations. SNR is better for conditions with higher power, which therefore leads to
381 more reliable phase estimations, critical for computing MI as well as connectivity [25]. We will
382 therefore discuss the power differences as well as their consequences for the interpretation of the
383 MI and connectivity results. Generally, it seemed that there was stronger power in the sentence
384 compared to the word list condition in the delta band. However, the pattern was very different than
385 the MI pattern. For the power, the word list-sentence difference was the biggest in the passive
386 condition. In contrast, for the MI there was either no task difference (in STG) or even a stronger
387 effect for the active tasks (MTG; note that the power interaction was trend significant STG and
388 MTG). We therefore think it unlikely that our MI effects were purely driven by SNR differences,
389 and our power control analysis is consistent with this interpretation. Instead, power seems to reflect
390 a different computation than the tracking, where more complex tasks generally lead to lower power
391 across almost all tested frequency bands. As most of our frequency bands are on the low side of
392 the spectrum (up to beta), it is expected that more complex tasks reduce the low-frequency power
393 [46, 47]. It is interesting to observe that this did not reduce the connectivity for the delta band
394 between IFG and STG, but rather increased it. It has been suggested that low power can potentially
395 increase the available computational space, as it increases the entropy in the signal [48, 49].
396 Finally, in the power comparisons for the theta, alpha, and beta band we found stronger power for
397 the sentence compared to the word list condition, which could reflect that listening to a natural
398 sentence is generally less effortful than listening to a word list.

399 In the current manuscript we describe tracking of ongoing temporal dynamics. However,
400 the neural origin of this tracking is unknown. While we can be sure that modulations in the phrasal-
401 rate follow changes in the phrasal-rate of the acoustic input, it is unclear what the mechanism

402 behind this modulation is. It is possible that there is stronger alignment of neural oscillations with
403 the acoustic input at the phrasal rate [50, 51]. However, it could as well be that there is a phrasal
404 time-scale or slower operation happening while processing the incoming input (which de facto is
405 at the same time-scale as the phrasal structure occurring in the input). This operation, in response
406 to stimulus input, could just as well induce the patterns we observe [52, 53]. Finally, it is possible
407 that there are specific responses as a consequence of the syntactic structure, task, or statistical
408 regularities occurring as specific events at phrasal time-scales [51, 54, 55].

409 It is difficult to decide on the most natural task in an experimental setting, that best reflects
410 how we use language in a natural setting. This is probably why such a vast number of different
411 tasks have been used in the literature. Our study (and many before us) indicates that during passive
412 listening, we naturally attend to all levels of linguistic hierarchy. This is consistent with the widely
413 accepted notion that the meaning of a natural sentence requires understanding the compositionality
414 of words in a grammatical structure. For most research questions in language, it therefore is
415 understandable to use a task that mimics this automatic natural understanding of a sentence. Here,
416 we show that automatic understanding of linguistic information, and all the processing that this
417 entails, cannot be countered to substantially change the consequences for neural readout, even
418 when explicitly instructing participants to pay attention to particular time-scales.

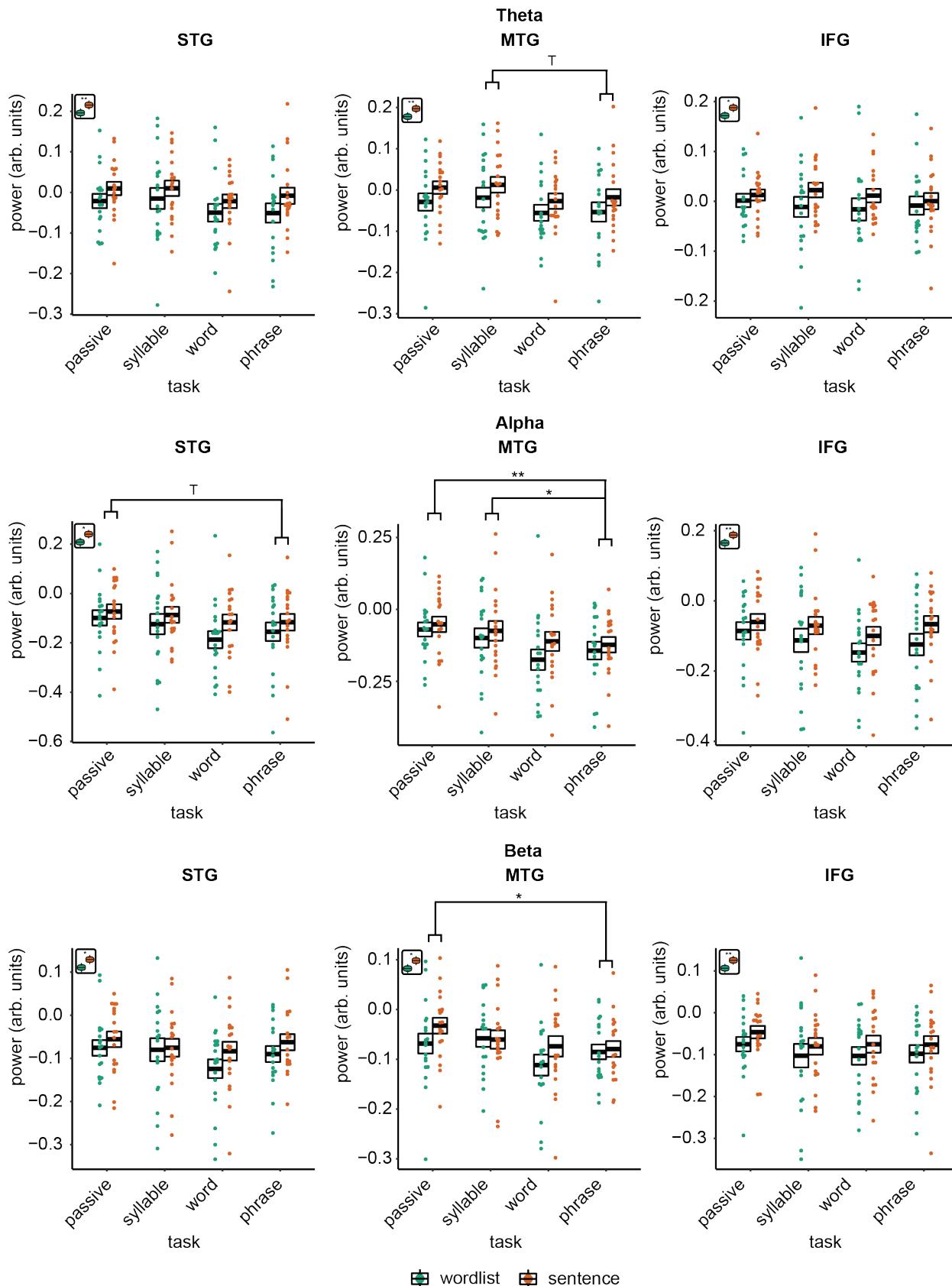
419 **Supplementary figures**



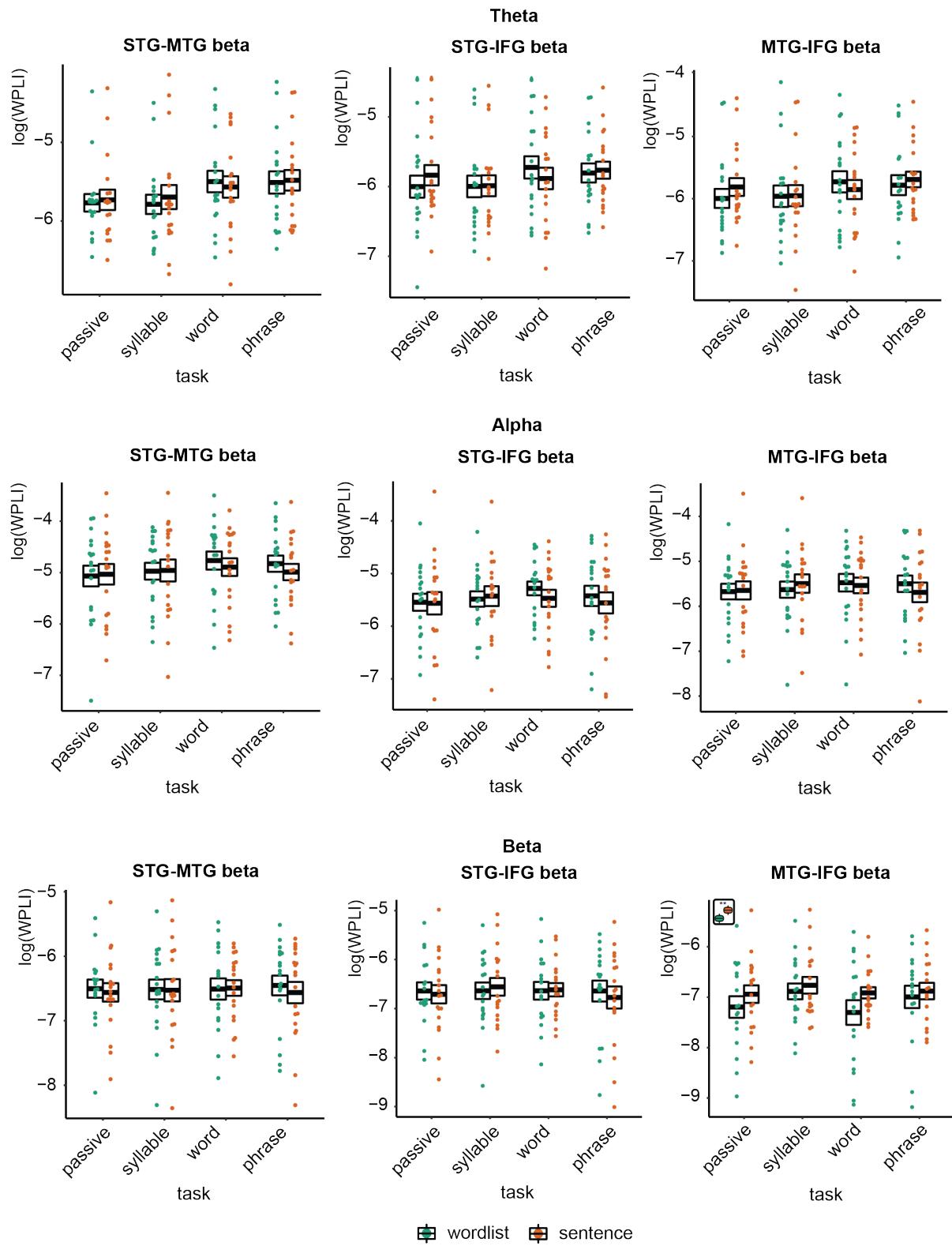
Supplementary Figure 1. Mutual information (MI) analysis at the syllable (3.5-5.0 Hz) and word rate (1.9-2.8 Hz) for the three different ROIs. Double asterisks indicate significance at the 0.01 level. Inset at the top left of the graph indicate whether a main effect of condition was present (with higher MI for wordlists versus sentences).

420

421



Supplementary figure 2. Power effects for the different ROIs and different bands. Single and double asterisks indicate significance at the 0.05 and 0.01 level. T indicates trend significance ($p < 0.1$) Inset at the top left of the graph indicate whether a main effect of condition was present (with higher activity for sentences versus wordlists).



424 **Acknowledgments**

425 AEM was supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO; grant
426 016.Vidi.188.029), and a Max Planck Research Group and a Lise Meitner Research Group “Language and
427 Computation in Neural Systems” from the Max Planck Society.

428

429 **References**

- 430 1. Friederici AD. The brain basis of language processing: from structure to function. *Physiol Rev.* 2011;91(4):1357-92.
- 432 2. Martin AE. A compositional neural architecture for language. *J Cogn Neurosci.* 2020;1-20.
- 433 3. Halle M, Stevens K. Speech recognition: A model and a program for research. *IRE transactions on information theory.* 1962;8(2):155-9.
- 435 4. Marslen-Wilson WD, Welsh A. Processing interactions and lexical access during word recognition in continuous speech. *Cognitive psychology.* 1978;10(1):29-63.
- 437 5. Martin AE. Language processing as cue integration: Grounding the psychology of language in perception and neurophysiology. *Frontiers in psychology.* 2016;7:120.
- 439 6. Pinker S, Jackendoff R. The faculty of language: what's special about it? *Cognition.* 2005;95(2):201-36.
- 441 7. Giraud AL, Poeppel D. Cortical oscillations and speech processing: emerging computational principles and operations. *Nat Neurosci.* 2012;15(4):511-7.
- 443 8. Peelle JE, Davis MH. Neural oscillations carry speech rhythm through to comprehension. *Frontiers in Psychology.* 2012;3.
- 445 9. Rosen S. Temporal information in speech: acoustic, auditory and linguistic aspects. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London Series B: Biological Sciences.* 1992;336(1278):367-73.
- 447 10. Ding N, Patel AD, Chen L, Butler H, Luo C, Poeppel D. Temporal modulations in speech and music. *Neurosci Biobehav Rev.* 2017;81:181-7.
- 449 11. Pellegrino F, Coupé C, Marsico E. A cross-language perspective on speech information rate. *Language.* 2011;539-58.
- 451 12. Kaufeld G, Bosker HR, Ten Oever S, Alday PM, Meyer AS, Martin AE. Linguistic structure and meaning organize neural oscillations into a content-specific hierarchy. *J Neurosci.* 2020;40(49):9467-75.
- 453 13. Keitel A, Gross J, Kayser C. Perceptually relevant speech tracking in auditory and motor cortex reflects distinct linguistic features. *PLoS Biol.* 2018;16(3):e2004473.
- 455 14. Luo H, Poeppel D. Phase patterns of neuronal responses reliably discriminate speech in human auditory cortex. *Neuron.* 2007;54(6):1001-10.
- 457 15. Zoefel B, Archer-Boyd A, Davis MH. Phase entrainment of brain oscillations causally modulates neural responses to intelligible speech. *Curr Biol.* 2018;28(3):401-8. e5.
- 459 16. Doelling KB, Arnal LH, Ghitza O, Poeppel D. Acoustic landmarks drive delta-theta oscillations to enable speech comprehension by facilitating perceptual parsing. *NeuroImage.* 2014;85:761-8.
- 461 17. Ding N, Melloni L, Zhang H, Tian X, Poeppel D. Cortical tracking of hierarchical linguistic structures in connected speech. *Nat Neurosci.* 2016;19(1):158-64.
- 463 18. Kayser SJ, Ince RA, Gross J, Kayser C. Irregular speech rate dissociates auditory cortical entrainment, evoked responses, and frontal alpha. *J Neurosci.* 2015;35(44):14691-701.
- 465 19. Stolk A, Todorovic A, Schoffelen J-M, Oostenveld R. Online and offline tools for head movement compensation in MEG. *NeuroImage.* 2013;68:39-48.
- 467 20. Fischl B. FreeSurfer. *NeuroImage.* 2012;62(2):774-81.
- 468 21. Glasser MF, Sotiroopoulos SN, Wilson JA, Coalson TS, Fischl B, Andersson JL, et al. The minimal preprocessing pipelines for the Human Connectome Project. *NeuroImage.* 2013;80:105-24.

470 22. Oostenveld R, Fries P, Maris E, Schoffelen J-M. FieldTrip: open source software for advanced
471 analysis of MEG, EEG, and invasive electrophysiological data. Computational intelligence and
472 neuroscience. 2011;2011:1.

473 23. Gross J, Hoogenboom N, Thut G, Schyns P, Panzeri S, Belin P, et al. Speech rhythms and
474 multiplexed oscillatory sensory coding in the human brain. PLoS Biol. 2013;11(12):e1001752.

475 24. Smith ZM, Delgutte B, Oxenham AJ. Chimaeric sounds reveal dichotomies in auditory perception.
476 Nature. 2002;416(6876):87-90.

477 25. Zar JH. Biostatistical Analysis. 4 ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall; 1998.

478 26. Bastos AM, Schoffelen J-M. A tutorial review of functional connectivity analysis methods and their
479 interpretational pitfalls. Frontiers in systems neuroscience. 2016;9:175.

480 27. Ince RA, Giordano BL, Kayser C, Rousselet GA, Gross J, Schyns PG. A statistical framework for
481 neuroimaging data analysis based on mutual information estimated via a gaussian copula. Hum Brain
482 Mapp. 2017;38(3):1541-73.

483 28. Yahav PH-s, Golumbic EZ. Linguistic processing of task-irrelevant speech at a Cocktail Party. Elife.
484 2021;10:e65096.

485 29. Hagoort P. The core and beyond in the language-ready brain. Neurosci Biobehav Rev.
486 2017;81:194-204.

487 30. Federmeier KD. Thinking ahead: The role and roots of prediction in language comprehension.
488 Psychophysiology. 2007;44(4):491-505.

489 31. Hickok G, Poeppel D. The cortical organization of speech processing. Nature Reviews
490 Neuroscience. 2007;8(5):393-402.

491 32. Dronkers NF. The neural architecture of the language comprehension network: converging
492 evidence from lesion and connectivity analyses. Frontiers in systems neuroscience. 2011;5:1.

493 33. Vouloumanos A, Kiehl KA, Werker JF, Liddle PF. Detection of sounds in the auditory stream: event-
494 related fMRI evidence for differential activation to speech and nonspeech. J Cognit Neurosci.
495 2001;13(7):994-1005.

496 34. Nelson MJ, El Karoui I, Giber K, Yang X, Cohen L, Koopman H, et al. Neurophysiological dynamics
497 of phrase-structure building during sentence processing. Proc Natl Acad Sci. 2017;114(18):E3669-E78.

498 35. Dehaene S, Meyniel F, Wacongne C, Wang L, Pallier C. The neural representation of sequences:
499 from transition probabilities to algebraic patterns and linguistic trees. Neuron. 2015;88(1):2-19.

500 36. Zaccarella E, Meyer L, Makuuchi M, Friederici AD. Building by syntax: the neural basis of minimal
501 linguistic structures. Cereb Cortex. 2017;27(1):411-21.

502 37. Martin AE, Doumas LA. Predicate learning in neural systems: using oscillations to discover latent
503 structure. Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences. 2019;29:77-83.

504 38. Park H, Ince RA, Schyns PG, Thut G, Gross J. Frontal top-down signals increase coupling of auditory
505 low-frequency oscillations to continuous speech in human listeners. Curr Biol. 2015;25(12):1649-53.

506 39. Keitel A, Gross J. Individual human brain areas can be identified from their characteristic spectral
507 activation fingerprints. PLoS Biol. 2016;14(6):e1002498.

508 40. Osaka N, Osaka M, Kondo H, Morishita M, Fukuyama H, Shibasaki H. The neural basis of executive
509 function in working memory: an fMRI study based on individual differences. NeuroImage. 2004;21(2):623-
510 31.

511 41. Fegen D, Buchsbaum BR, D'Esposito M. The effect of rehearsal rate and memory load on verbal
512 working memory. NeuroImage. 2015;105:120-31.

513 42. Koelsch S, Schulze K, Sammler D, Fritz T, Müller K, Gruber O. Functional architecture of verbal and
514 tonal working memory: an fMRI study. Hum Brain Mapp. 2009;30(3):859-73.

515 43. Gelfand JR, Bookheimer SY. Dissociating neural mechanisms of temporal sequencing and
516 processing phonemes. Neuron. 2003;38(5):831-42.

517 44. Schapiro AC, Rogers TT, Cordova NI, Turk-Browne NB, Botvinick MM. Neural representations of
518 events arise from temporal community structure. *Nat Neurosci.* 2013;16(4):486-92.

519 45. Skipper JI. The NOLB model: A model of the natural organization of language and the brain. 2015.

520 46. Jensen O, Mazaheri A. Shaping functional architecture by oscillatory alpha activity: gating by
521 inhibition. *Front Hum Neurosci.* 2010;4.

522 47. Klimesch W. EEG alpha and theta oscillations reflect cognitive and memory performance: a review
523 and analysis. *Brain Res Rev.* 1999;29(2):169-95.

524 48. Hanslmayr S, Staudigl T, Fellner M-C. Oscillatory power decreases and long-term memory: the
525 information via desynchronization hypothesis. *Front Hum Neurosci.* 2012;6:74.

526 49. Ten Oever S, Sack AT. Oscillatory phase shapes syllable perception. *Proc Natl Acad Sci.*
527 2015;112(52):15833-7.

528 50. Lakatos P, Karmos G, Mehta AD, Ulbert I, Schroeder CE. Entrainment of neuronal oscillations as a
529 mechanism of attentional selection. *science.* 2008;320(5872):110-3.

530 51. Obleser J, Kayser C. Neural entrainment and attentional selection in the listening brain. *Trends
531 Cogn Sci.* 2019;23(11):913-26.

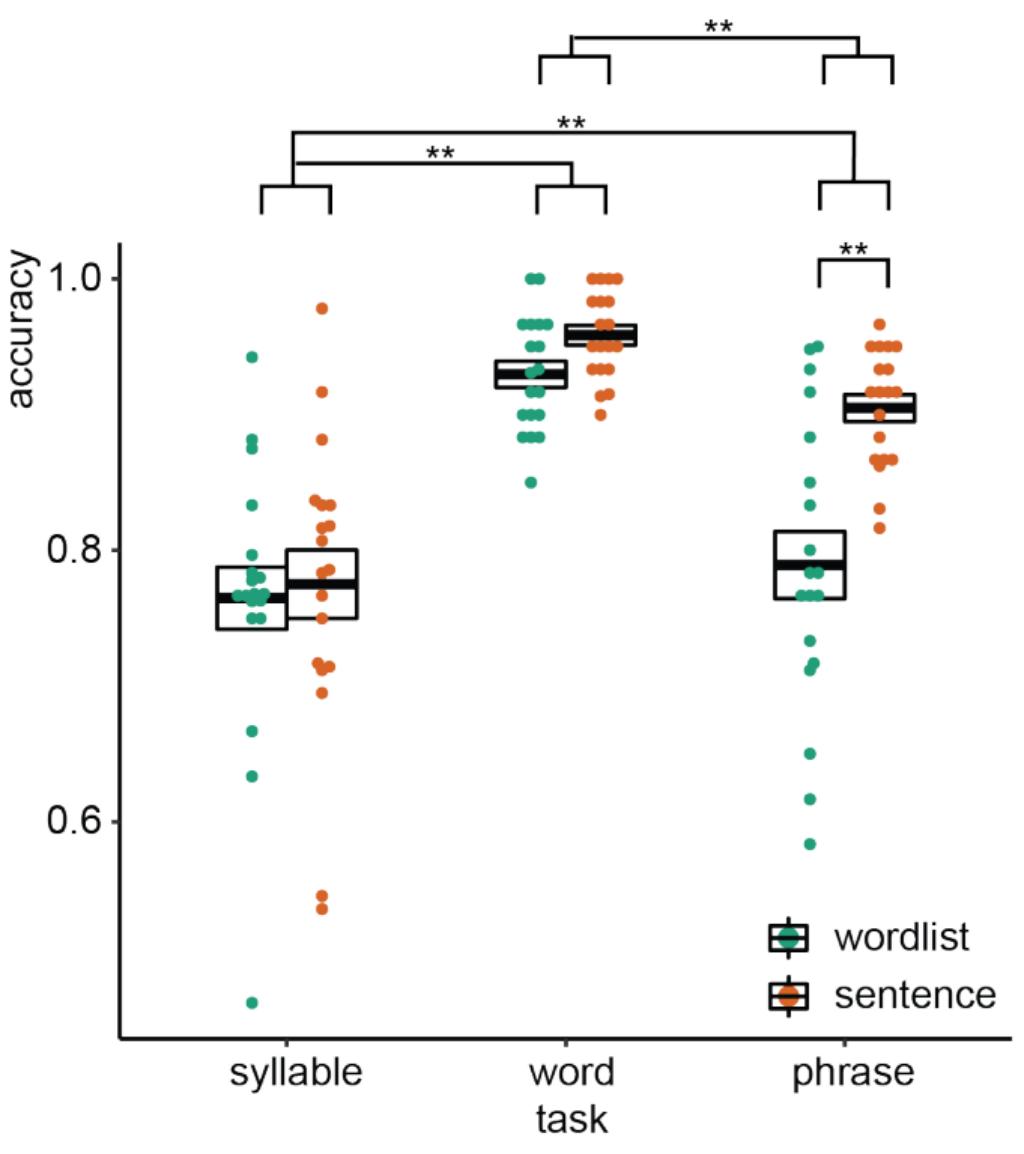
532 52. Meyer L, Sun Y, Martin AE. Synchronous, but not entrained: Exogenous and endogenous cortical
533 rhythms of speech and language processing. *Language, Cognition and Neuroscience.* 2019:1-11.

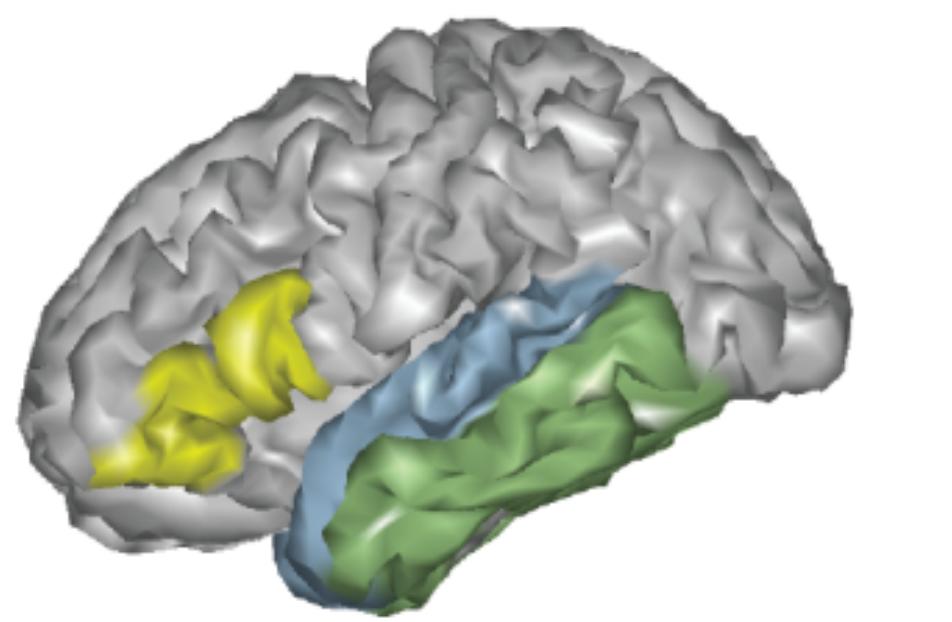
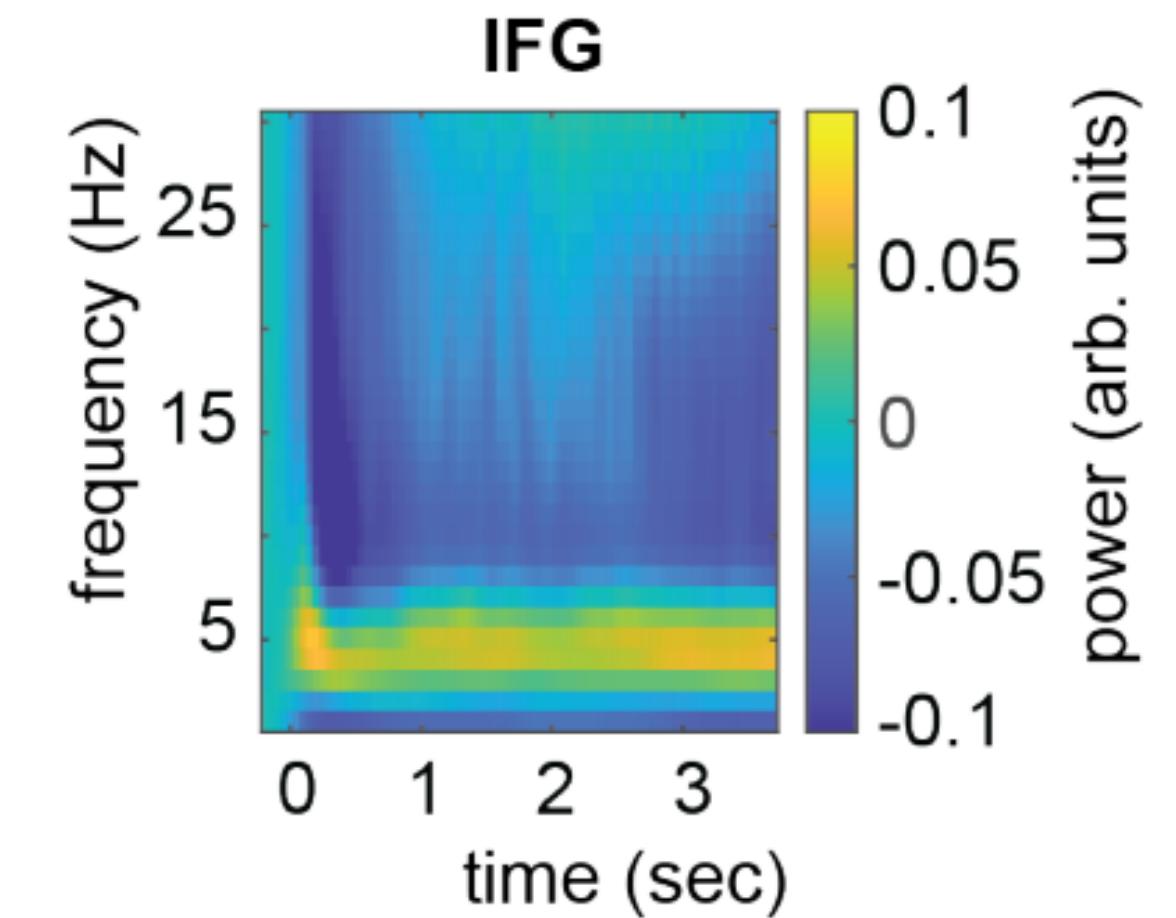
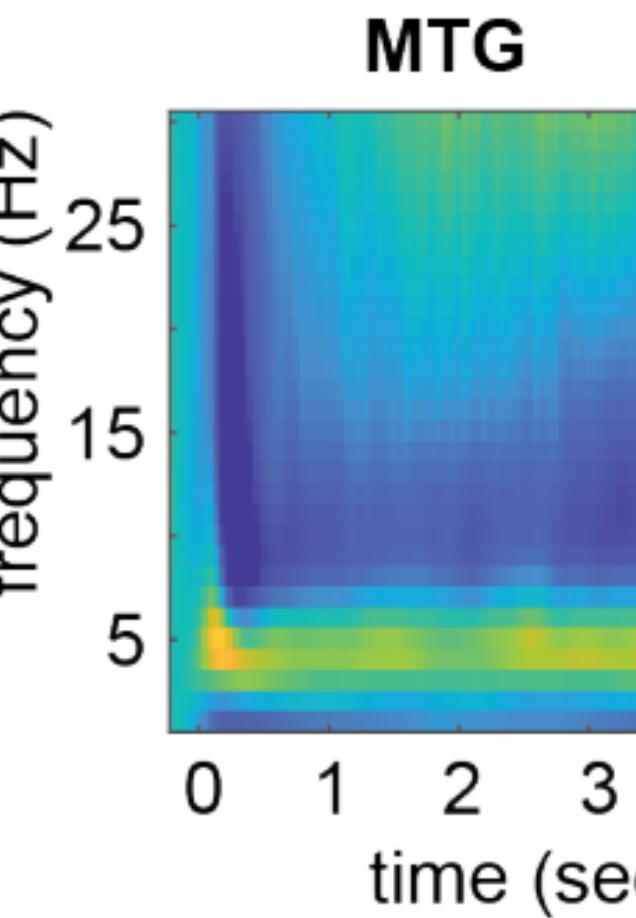
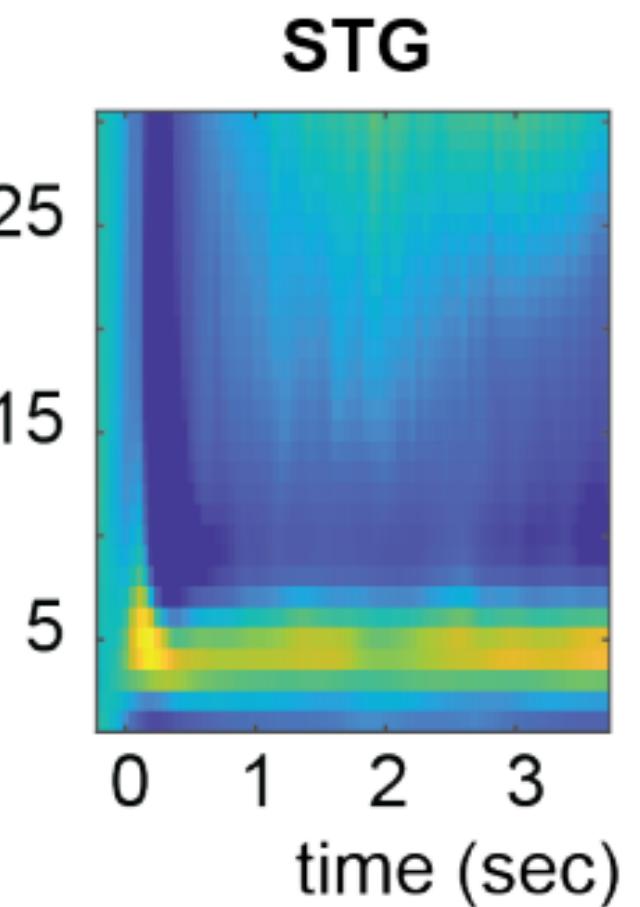
534 53. Zoefel B, Ten Oever S, Sack AT. The involvement of endogenous neural oscillations in the
535 processing of rhythmic input: More than a regular repetition of evoked neural responses. *Front Neurosci.*
536 2018;12:95.

537 54. Ten Oever S, Martin AE. An oscillating computational model can track pseudo-rhythmic speech by
538 using linguistic predictions. *Elife.* 2021;10:e68066.

539 55. Frank SL, Yang J. Lexical representation explains cortical entrainment during speech
540 comprehension. *PLoS one.* 2018;13(5):e0197304.

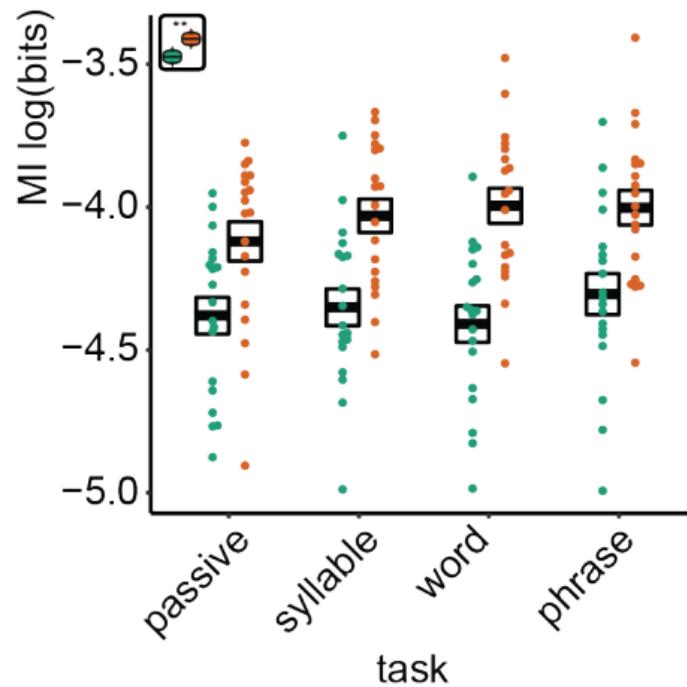
541



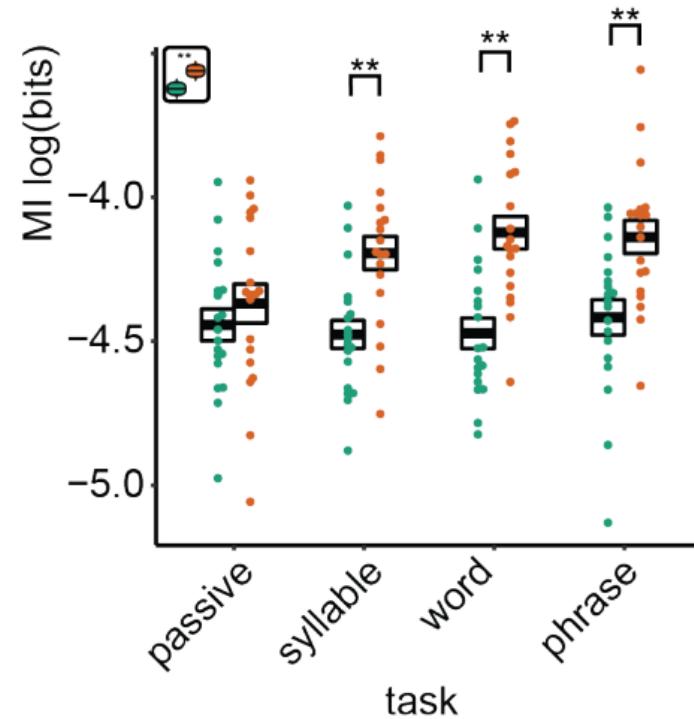
A**B**

power (arb. units)

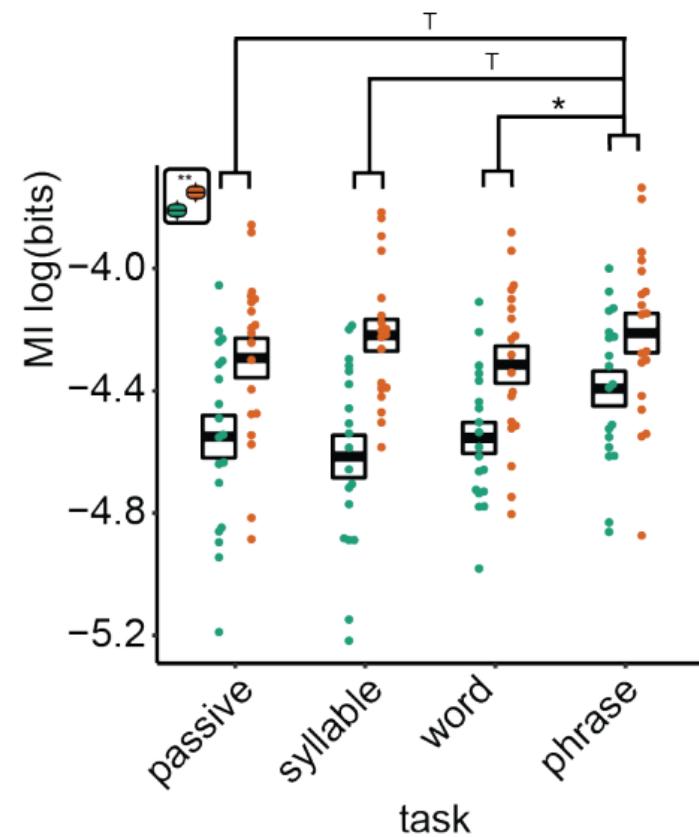
STG



MTG

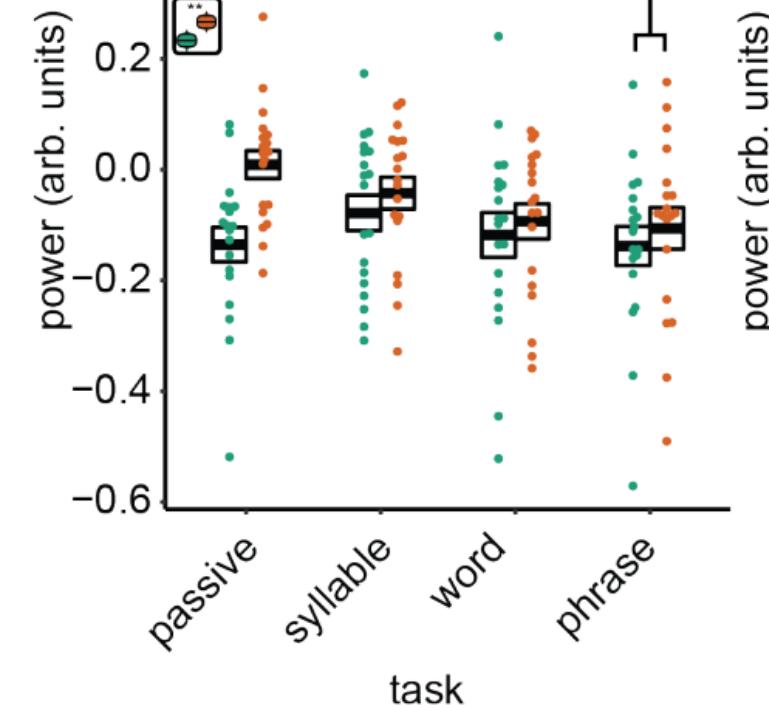


IFG

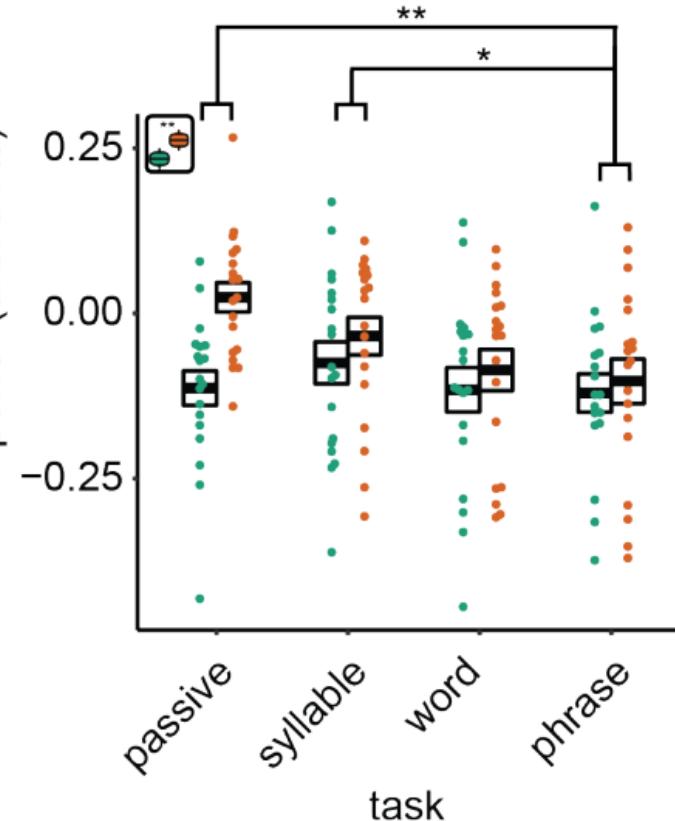


wordlist sentence

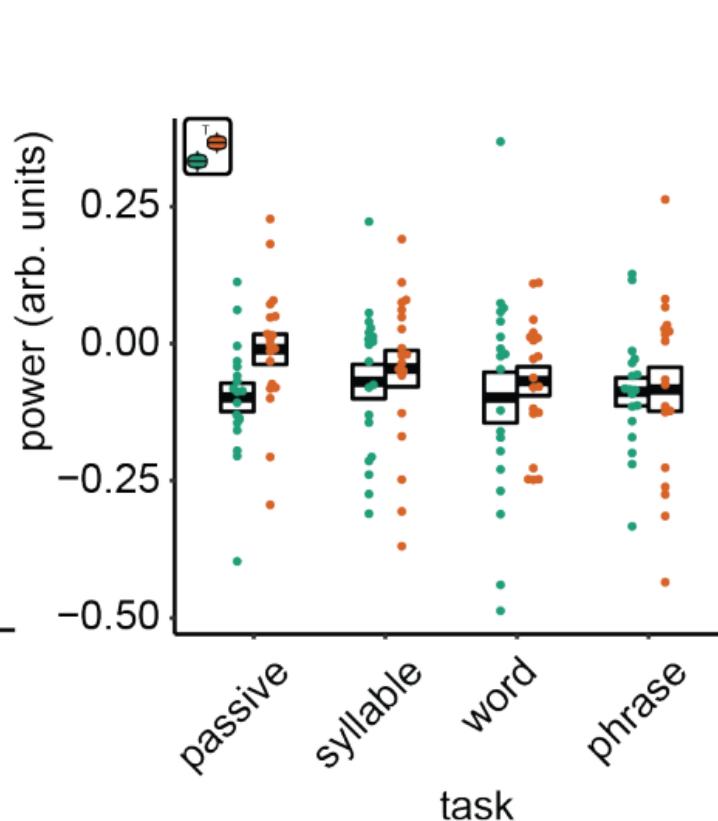
STG

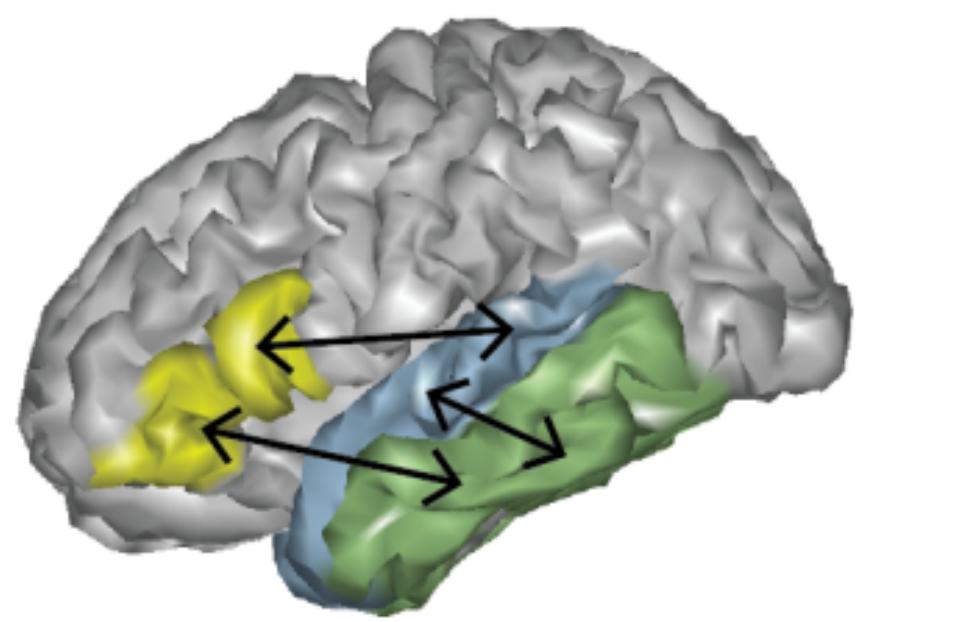
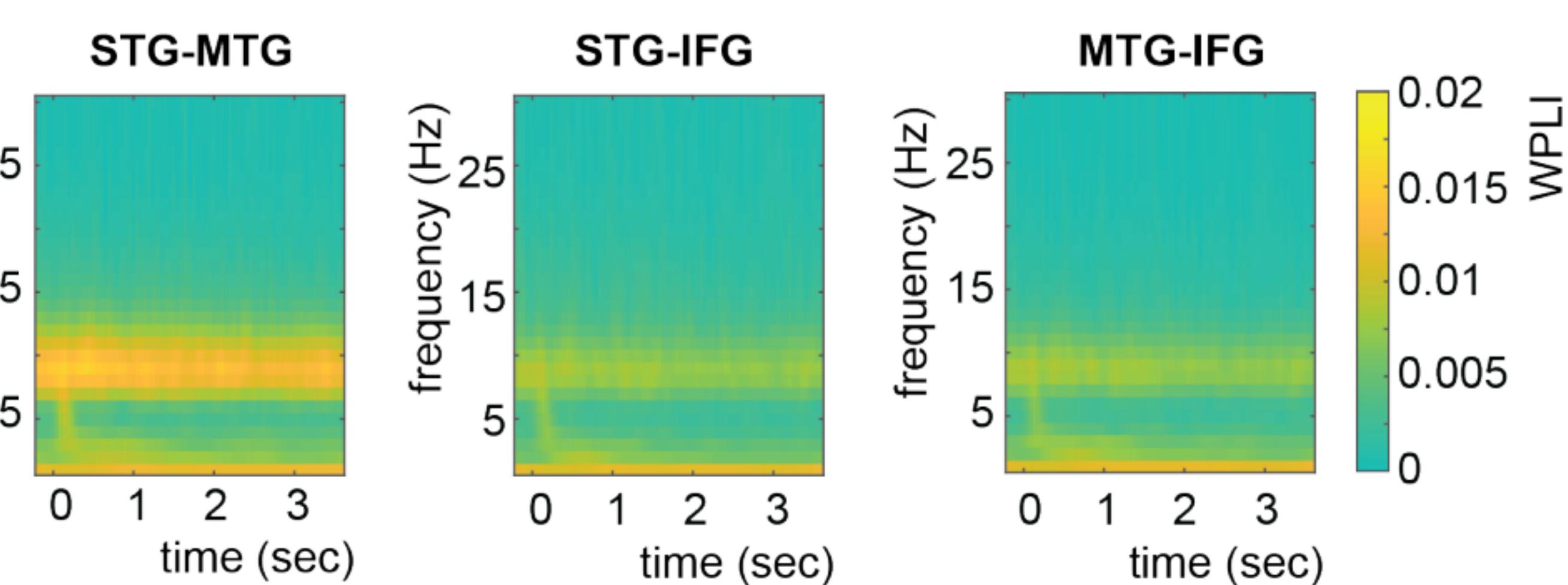


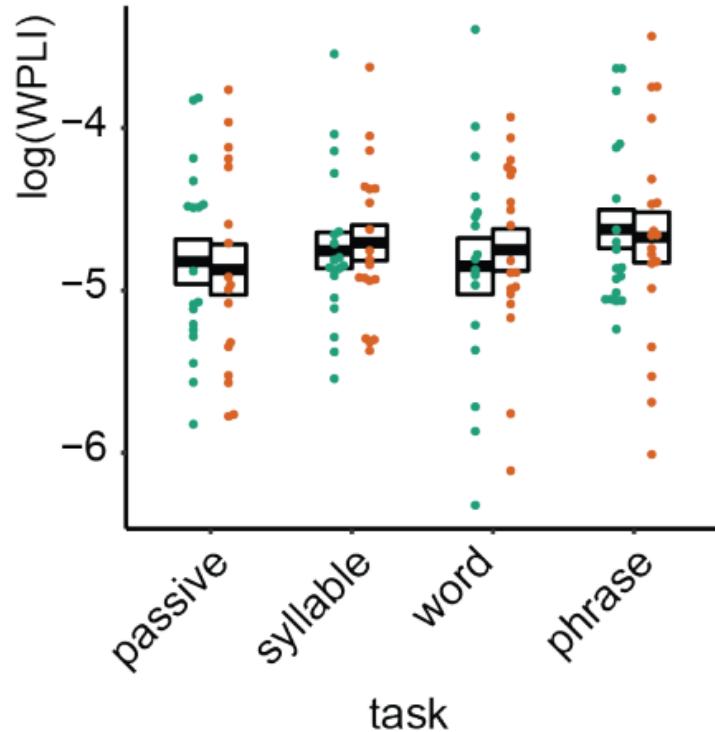
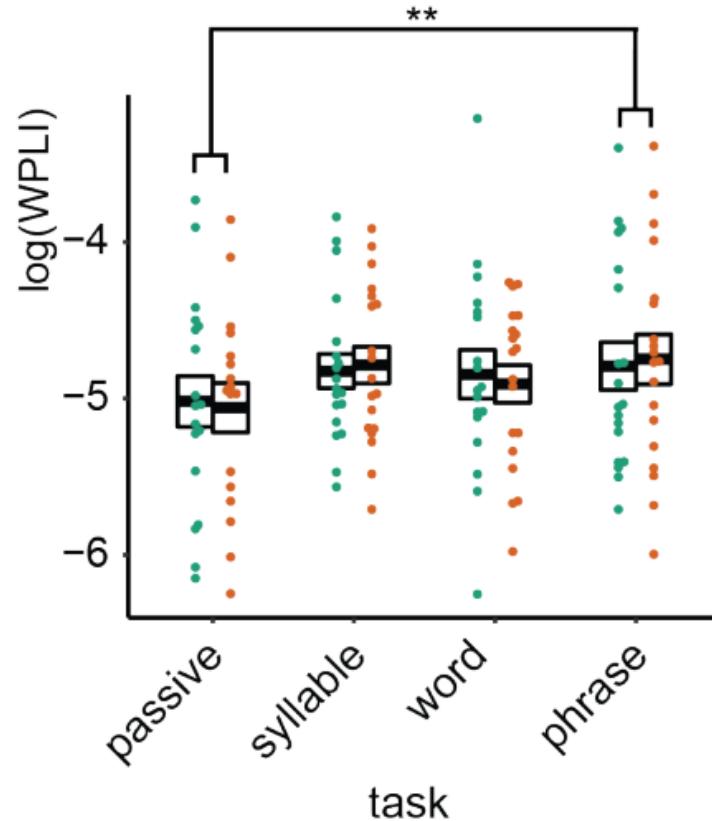
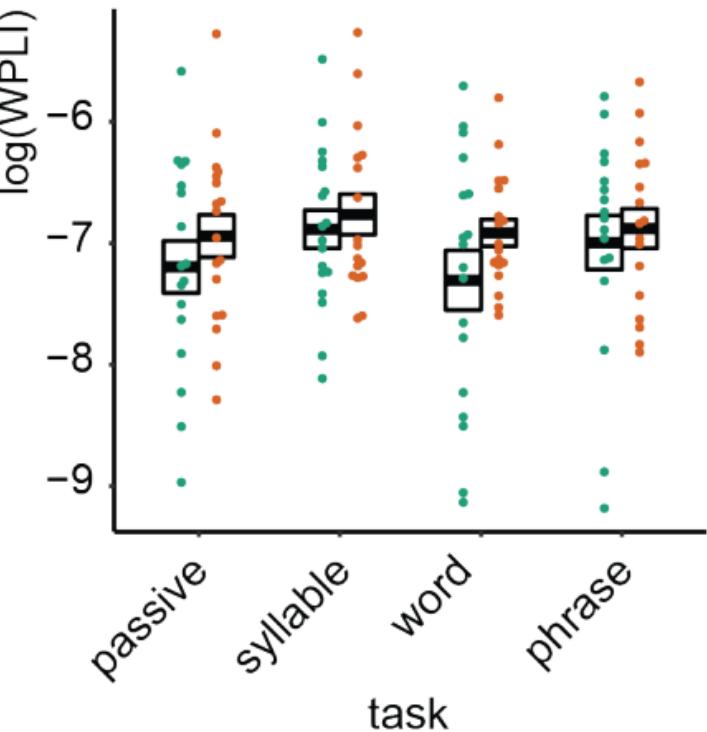
MTG



IFG



A**B**

STG-MTG**STG-IFG****MTG-IFG**

■ wordlist □ sentence

