


RESEARCH ARTICLE

Exploring neural tracking of acoustic and linguistic speech representations in individuals with post-stroke aphasia

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Abstract

Aphasia is a communication disorder that affects processing of language at different levels (e.g., acoustic, phonological, semantic). Recording brain activity via Electroencephalography while people listen to a continuous story allows to analyze brain responses to acoustic and linguistic properties of speech. When the neural activity aligns with these speech properties, it is referred to as neural tracking. Even though measuring neural tracking of speech may present an interesting approach to studying aphasia in an ecologically valid way, it has not yet been investigated in individuals with stroke-induced aphasia. Here, we explored processing of acoustic and linguistic speech representations in individuals with aphasia in the chronic phase after stroke and age-matched healthy controls. We found decreased neural tracking of acoustic speech representations (envelope and envelope onsets) in individuals with aphasia. In addition, word surprisal displayed decreased amplitudes in individuals with aphasia around 195 ms over frontal electrodes, although this effect was not corrected for multiple comparisons. These results show that there is potential to capture language processing impairments in individuals with aphasia by measuring neural tracking of continuous speech. However, more research is needed to validate these results. Nonetheless, this exploratory study shows that neural tracking of naturalistic, continuous speech presents a powerful approach to studying aphasia.

KEYWORDS

aphasia, EEG, neural tracking, speech processing, stroke

Practitioner Points

- Individuals with aphasia display decreased encoding of acoustic speech properties (envelope and its onsets) in comparison to healthy controls.
- Neural responses to word surprisal reveal decreased amplitudes in individuals with aphasia around 195 ms processing time (not corrected for multiple comparisons).
- Neural tracking of natural speech can be used to study speech processing impairments in aphasia.

1 | INTRODUCTION

About one third of strokes result in aphasia, a language disorder that can impact auditory comprehension, oral production, writing, and/or reading (Engelter et al., 2006; National Aphasia Association, 2022; Pasley & Knight, 2013). Aphasia can impact communication to different degrees, ranging from subtle to severe impairments, and from recovery within hours after stroke to permanent language impairments. The severity and persistence depend on factors such as lesion location and size, brain plasticity, therapy, intrinsic motivation, and social support (Cordella et al., 2022; Pasley & Knight, 2013; Schevenels et al., 2020, 2022). In order to be effective, speech therapy should be given with high intensity and the content should be tailored to the specific problems of each individual with aphasia (IWA; Brady, 2022; Engelter et al., 2006; Rohde et al., 2018; Schevenels et al., 2020). Individually tailored therapy requires a precise diagnosis of language impairments.

Although diagnostic tests originally focused on the classic aphasia typology (i.e., assessing performance on fluency, comprehension, and repetition tasks), neuroimaging studies have suggested that focusing on the different language processing components (i.e., acoustic, phonological, semantic, syntactic) is more in line with the neural networks of language processing (e.g., the dual-stream model by Hickok & Poeppel, 2007; Pasley & Knight, 2013; Rohde et al., 2018; Tremblay & Dick, 2016; Wilson et al., 2023). Fridriksson et al. (2018) suggest that lesions in the dorsal stream (i.e., sensori-motor integration) may impair phonological processing, whereas damage to the ventral stream (i.e., acoustic-semantic integration) may impair semantic processing. Hence, a neuroimaging approach focused on the linguistic aspects may yield more precise diagnostic insights and a more effective therapeutic approach (Pasley & Knight, 2013; Tremblay & Dick, 2016). Moreover, behavioral testing after stroke is difficult because in 80% of cases, IWA 1 year poststroke have comorbid cognitive problems, such as memory, executive functions and/or attention problems, which can bias the results or even impede behavioral testing (El Hachoui et al., 2014; Fonseca et al., 2018). Further, behavioral tests consist of artificial tasks that do not always correspond to communication abilities in daily life. Thus, to provide targeted intervention and improve recovery outcomes, an aphasia diagnosis that provides precise insights, that is less dependent on cognitive performance and that is more ecologically valid is needed.

Electroencephalography (EEG) provides ways to study the brain's responses to speech with reduced active participation of the patient. By averaging the EEG signal in response to a large number of repetitive sound or speech stimuli, peaks in specific time ranges have been consistently identified in neurotypicals, that is, event-related potentials (ERPs), offering a window into the spatiotemporal patterns of the neural response to speech. This way, ERPs related to acoustic (e.g., P1–N1–P2 complex; Harris, 2020; Martin et al., 2008) and linguistic (e.g., N400; Hillyard & Kutas, 1984; Kutas & Federmeier, 2011; Nieuwland et al., 2020) aspects of speech have been identified. In IWA, altered ERPs have been found across language processing levels and across a variety of experimental stimuli and tasks (Aerts

et al., 2015; Becker & Reinvang, 2007; Chang et al., 2016; Ilvonen et al., 2001, 2004; Kawohl et al., 2010; Khachatryan et al., 2017; Kiehl et al., 2012; Lice & Palmović, 2017; Ofek et al., 2013; Pettigrew et al., 2005; Pulvermüller et al., 2004; Råling et al., 2016; Robson et al., 2017; Sheppard et al., 2017). Most of these studies have reported decreased amplitudes and increased latencies in IWA as compared with healthy controls, with the exception of the P2 in Aerts et al. (2015) and Ilvonen et al. (2001), which observed opposite patterns. Some of these studies have found ERP amplitudes or latencies to be correlated with language performance (Khachatryan et al., 2017; Pettigrew et al., 2005; Robson et al., 2017).

The potential of ERPs to serve as evaluatory measure of intervention effects has recently been reviewed by Cocquyt et al. (2020), who concluded that there is potential for ERPs to assess levels of aphasia symptoms, after development of normative data. However, to date ERPs are not commonly used in the clinic. This is likely due to small sample sizes and the heterogeneity of aphasia symptoms within the studied samples (Silkes & Anjum, 2021), which complicates the development of validated norms for ERPs. While ERPs are useful to understand the functional meaning of different peaks in the spatiotemporal patterns of the neural response, their application in aphasia diagnostics poses further challenges, for example, long administration time due to different paradigms at distinct speech processing levels and the need for a large number of repetitive stimuli to average across (Kandylaki & Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, 2019). Moreover, listening to repetitive and artificially created stimuli is not representative of everyday language situations that IWA struggle with mostly (Le et al., 2018). More naturalistic speech stimuli, such as a narrative, would present a more ecologically valid stimulus to analyze the brain's response to speech (Ding & Simon, 2012; Gillis et al., 2022; Hamilton & Huth, 2018; Kandylaki & Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, 2019; Lalor & Foxe, 2010).

From the narrative, different characteristics or representations of speech can be derived and their relation to the EEG signal can be measured. When the neural signals align with the speech properties, it is referred to as neural tracking. By examining the data in this way, spatial and temporal neural response properties in response to multiple speech representation levels (e.g., acoustic, phonological, semantic, syntactic) can be analyzed from the same data (Brodbeck et al., 2018; Di Liberto et al., 2015; Gillis et al., 2021, 2022; Mesik et al., 2021). Moreover, a measure of the strength with which the different speech representations are encoded in the EEG signal can be computed. Research has shown that even relatively short EEG recordings (i.e., 10–20 min) can provide valid results with this approach (Di Liberto & Lalor, 2017). Furthermore, limited active participation is required from the participant during such a paradigm, which is especially advantageous for testing IWA. These characteristics make neural tracking an ideal tool to study aphasia.

Examining neural tracking, the most frequently studied speech representation to date is the speech envelope, consisting of the slow amplitude modulations of speech over time (Aiken & Picton, 2008). The envelope presents an essential cue for speech intelligibility (Aiken & Picton, 2008; Shannon et al., 1995). Whereas envelope

tracking has not yet been investigated in individuals with stroke-induced aphasia, Dial et al. (2021) have explored it in individuals with primary progressive aphasia (PPA). Individuals with the logopenic variant of this neurodegenerative disease displayed increased envelope tracking compared with healthy controls in the theta band (Dial et al., 2021). On the other hand, envelope tracking in other disorders, such as developmental dyslexia, have shown decreased envelope tracking compared with controls in the 1–8 Hz range, though the results were largely driven by the delta band (Di Liberto et al., 2018). These studies show that neural tracking of continuous speech presents a promising new avenue to study language disorders.

While envelope tracking is mostly considered an acoustic process in the literature, it has been found to be affected by speech intelligibility and higher-level speech-specific processes (Broderick et al., 2019; Peelle et al., 2013; Prinsloo & Lalor, 2022; Vanthornhout et al., 2018). This is not surprising given that the speech envelope also encompasses important cues for segmentation (i.e., rise and fall times to identify acoustic edges) of the continuous speech signal into discrete units (i.e., phonemes, syllables, words, phrases; Aiken & Picton, 2008). Moreover, the syllable stress is also comprised in the envelope, which gives the listener an indication of the prosody and thus even conveys linguistic information. Given this entanglement of acoustic and linguistic cues, the speech envelope alone may not be ideal to find specific neurophysiological correlates of acoustic, phonological, and lexical semantic processing in aphasia.

Recently, neural tracking of higher-level linguistic speech representations has been investigated, that is, speech representations containing information about phonemes and words that take into account linguistic context (Brodbeck et al., 2018; Broderick et al., 2018; Gillis et al., 2021; Weissbart et al., 2019). This way, it has been observed that older adults, in comparison to younger adults, have an altered neural response to linguistic processes (Broderick et al., 2021; Gillis et al., 2023; Mesik et al., 2021). To date, higher-level linguistic speech representations have not been investigated in IWA via neural tracking, although higher-level speech processing impairments at the phonological and semantic level are reported most frequently in IWA (in contrast to acoustic processing impairments).

In the present study, we investigated neural tracking of acoustic and linguistic speech representations in individuals with poststroke aphasia and healthy, age-matched controls. To this end, EEG data were acquired while participants listened to a continuous story, of which eight speech representations were derived. The envelope and envelope onsets were considered to be acoustic representations of speech. The phoneme and word onsets were considered representations of speech segmentation, that is, at the interface between acoustic and linguistic information. Finally, phoneme surprisal and phoneme entropy were considered to be linguistic representations at the phoneme level, while word surprisal and word frequency were regarded as linguistic representations at the word level, that is, related to lexical meaning. For the linguistic speech representations, we controlled the variance explained by acoustic cues and vice-versa, as we aimed to disentangle different levels of speech processing. Ultimately, disentangling mechanisms at different levels of speech processing is

necessary to investigate whether neural tracking will be useful as a diagnostic tool for aphasia that provides information about different speech processing aspects. Here, our aim as a first step toward this goal was to explore group differences between IWA and healthy controls based on neural tracking of the different speech representations. Specifically, we studied group differences regarding the strength of neural tracking, that is, *how well* the brain tracks specific aspects of speech, and regarding *how* the spatiotemporal pattern of the neural response operates during continuous speech perception. Based on the aforementioned ERP and neural tracking studies, we expected to observe group differences in speech representations at both acoustic and linguistic levels.

2 | MATERIALS AND METHODS

2.1 | Participants

We tested 41 IWA in the chronic phase after stroke (≥ 6 months) and 24 healthy controls that were age-matched at group-level. Two IWA had to be excluded post hoc—one because no lesion could be found in the left hemisphere and one because we did not have access to any lesion information—resulting in a sample size of 39 IWA. IWA were recruited in two ways. Between October 2018 and April 2022 (with a corona virus disease (COVID)-19-related break between March and June 2020), patients were recruited via daily screening at the stroke unit of the university hospital Leuven (score \leq cutoff threshold on the Language Screening Test [LAST] Flamand-Roze et al., 2011) or via advertising the study in speech-language pathologists' practices and rehabilitation center (patients with a formal aphasia diagnosis; see Figure S1, for a detailed flowchart). Healthy age-matched controls were recruited via flyers positioned in recreational community centers for elderly. The target age of healthy controls was gradually adapted based on the mean age of IWA included in the study (Figure S2). The participants in this study are partly overlapping with participants in Kries et al. (2023).

For data collection, we only included IWA that had no formal diagnosis of a psychiatric or neurodegenerative disorder and that had a left-hemispheric or bilateral lesion. All aphasia participants were tested in the chronic phase after stroke (time since stroke onset in months median [range]: 16.1 [6–126.1]). The aphasia sample was checked for language impairments at the moment of data collection using two standardized diagnostic aphasia tests, that is, the diagnostic test ScreeLing Visch-Brink et al. (2010) and the Dutch picture-naming test (Nederlandse Benoemtest [NBT]; Van Ewijk et al., 2020, using the same procedure as reported in Kries et al., 2023). The ScreeLing was administered on a tablet using the Gorilla Experiment Builder (<http://www.gorilla.sc>; Anwyl-Irvine et al., 2020). The average score by group is reported in Table 1. We included individuals that scored either (1) below the cut-off threshold (ScreeLing threshold: 68/72 points; NBT threshold: 255/276 points) on at least one of these two tests at the moment of data collection ($n = 27$; Table S1 and Figure S3), or (2) had a documented language impairment in the acute phase

TABLE 1 Demographics, language-diagnostic information, and covariates by group.

	Control	Aphasia	Group difference
Demographics			
Age in years, mean (SD) ^a	71.5 (7)	69.5 (12.4)	n.s.
Sex, n(%)			
Female	8 (33.3%)	13 (33.3%)	n.s.
Male	16 (66.7%)	26 (66.7%)	
Education, n (%)			
Primary education	0 (0%)	3 (7.7%)n.s.	n.s.
Secondary education	5 (20.8%)	15 (38.4%)	
Tertiary education/college	8 (33.3%)	10 (25.6%)	
Master's degree	9 (37.5%)	11 (28.2%)	
PhD	2 (8.3%)	0 (0%)	
Handedness, n (%)			
Right	22 (91.6%)	35 (89.7%)	n.s.
Left	1 (4.2%)	2 (5.1%)	
Ambidextrous	1 (4.2%)	2 (5.1%)	
Multilingual, n (%)			
Yes	22 (91.7%)	33 (84.6%)	n.s.
No	2 (8.3%)	6 (15.3%)	
Language diagnostic tests			
ScreeLing (max = 72), mean (SD)	69.9 (2.5)	61.5 (9.4)	***
Picture naming (max = 276), mean (SD)	271.3 (4.1)	224.7 (58.1)	***
Covariates			
Hearing (Fletcher index in dB hearing loss [HL]), mean (SD)	24.5 (12)	28.4 (14.1)	n.s.
Cognition (OCS composite score in %), mean (SD)	94.2 (4.7)	80.4 (16.6)	**
Alertness (Likert scale), median (range)	4.75 (3.5–5)	3.5 (2–5)	**
Fatigue (Likert scale), median (range)	1.5 (1–4.5)	3.5 (1–4.5)	**

Note: n.s., not significantly different; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

^aAge is also used as a covariate.

($n = 12$). Note that 10 out of the latter 12 IWA still followed speech-language therapy at the time of data collection (Table S1).

All participants were Dutch native speakers from Flanders, Belgium. Informed consent was obtained from all participants for the recruitment via screening and for the data collection in the chronic phase. The study received ethical approval by the medical ethical committee of KU Leuven and UZ Leuven (S60007) and is in accordance with the declaration of Helsinki.

In Table 1, we summarized demographic information by group (details can be found in Table S1). Age, sex, education, handedness and multilinguality did not differ between groups (age: $W = 464$, $p = .96$; sex: $\chi^2 = 0$, $df = 1$, $p = 1$; education: $\chi^2 = 7.26$, $df = 4$, $p = .1$; handedness: $\chi^2 = 0.063$, $df = 2$, $p = .98$; multilingual: $\chi^2 = 0.182$, $df = 1$, $p = .66$). Details about the stroke in IWA, that is, time since stroke onset, stroke type, occluded blood vessel, lesion location and speech-language therapy, can be found in Table S1. To visualize the damaged brain tissue of IWA, a lesion

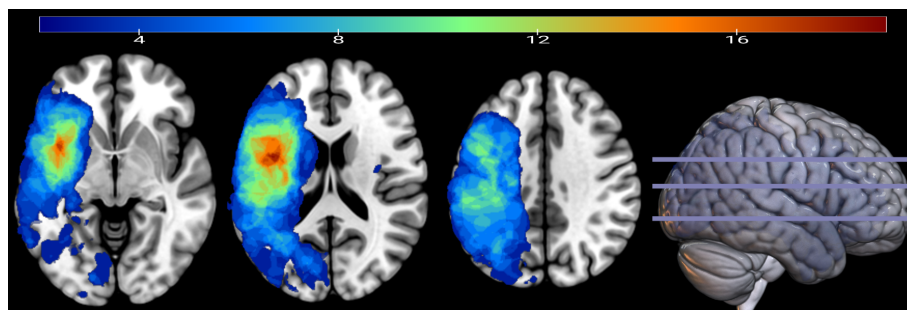
overlap image was created (Figure 1). More information on the lesion delineation process can be found in Section S1.1.4. Demographic information was acquired via a self-reported questionnaire. Handedness was assessed via the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971).

2.2 | Behavioral measures that serve as covariates

2.2.1 | Hearing

Hearing thresholds were assessed via pure tone audiometry (PTA) at frequencies ranging from 0.25 to 4 kHz. In case the hearing thresholds below 4 kHz were >25 dB hearing loss (HL), this information was used to increase the amplitude of stimulus presentation during the EEG measurement. The PTA thresholds at 0.25, 0.5, and 1 kHz were averaged and then divided in half to come to the amount of dB that was

FIGURE 1 Lesion overlap image of the aphasia sample. The maximum overlap corresponds to 19 out of the total sample of 39 individuals with aphasia. Axial slices are shown in neurological orientation.



added to the stimulus presentation amplitude of 60 dB SPL during the EEG paradigm. This calculation was done for each ear separately. After a short example stimulus, participants were asked whether the loudness was comfortable and if necessary the presentation volume was adjusted. The degree of volume adjustment did not differ between groups ($W = 170$, $p = .8$). Furthermore, hearing thresholds were used as covariates in statistical models (Section 2.4). For this purpose, the Fletcher index (average of hearing thresholds at 0.5, 1, and 2 kHz) was calculated per ear and subsequently averaged across both ears. The Fletcher index did not differ between IWA and healthy controls ($W = 541.5$, $p = .29$, confidence interval: $[-2.49\ 10]$; Table 1).

2.2.2 | Cognition

The Oxford Cognitive Screen-NL was administered to assess cognitive functioning (Huygheleir et al., 2019). This test was designed to be language-independent, such that cognitive functioning can be disentangled from language functioning, which is especially important for IWA. Due to limited time in the testing protocol, we chose to only assess 4/10 subscales, that is, attention and hemispatial neglect, reading, executive functioning, and memory. Hemispatial neglect was used as a means to potentially exclude participants in case they had too severe hemineglect, which could bias outcomes at most of the administered tests. However, the highest hemineglect score was still at a very mild level and thus we decided to not exclude any participants based on hemispatial neglect.

The task to assess attention consisted of crossing out target shapes among distractor shapes. The task to assess executive functions consisted of connecting circles and triangles in alternation in descending order of size. The memory task consisted of free recall and recognition of words (from the sentence read for the reading task) and shapes. These three tasks were used to calculate a composite score of cognitive functioning. This score was calculated by transforming the raw scores of each test into percentages and then averaging across the three outcomes. The composite score was used to regress out differences in cognitive functioning to explore neural tracking differences between groups. The cognition composite score was significantly lower in IWA than in healthy controls ($W = 209.5$, $p < .001$).

2.2.3 | Alertness and fatigue

Given that the experimental protocol (behavioral and EEG testing) was relatively long, especially considering that IWA often have cognitive impairments (e.g., attention), we decided to monitor the alertness and tiredness or fatigue at three time points throughout the experimental protocol (referred to as $t1$, $t2$, and $t3$). In Figure S4E, the experimental protocol with reference to the timing of the alertness and fatigue questions is visualized. $t1$ was administered right at the start of the testing session, $t2$ after the EEG measurement and $t3$ at the end of the experimental protocol. Participants had to indicate on a Likert scale of 1 to 5 how alert and how tired they were at that moment. The questions were presented visually and auditory at the same time, as visualized in Figure S4A,B. In Section S4, we describe the results of the interaction analysis between group and time points (Figure S4C,D and Section S1.1.5). Given that neural tracking has been shown to be influenced by attention (Lesenfants & Francart, 2020), we used the average ratings of $t1$ and $t2$ of the alertness and fatigue scale respectively as covariates in the analysis concerning group differences in neural tracking of speech. The average of $t1$ and $t2$ scores was specifically used because the EEG measurement took place in between these moments. A group difference was found for alertness ($W = 243$, $p = .002$) and for fatigue ($W = 209$, $p = .001$). IWA were on average less alert and more tired than healthy controls at $t1$ and $t2$ combined.

2.3 | EEG-based measures

2.3.1 | Experimental paradigm

The EEG measurements took place in a soundproof room with Faraday cage. We recorded 64-channel EEG (ActiveTwo, BioSemi, Amsterdam, NL) at a sampling frequency of 8192 Hz. Participants were instructed to listen to a 24 min long story while EEG data were recorded. They were seated 1 m away from a screen and were asked to look at a fixation cross while listening in order to minimize eye movement artifacts in the EEG signal (Figure 2a). The story *De wilde zwanen* (The Wild Swans), written by Hans Christian Andersen and narrated by a female Flemish-native speaker, was cut into five parts of on average 4.84 min (standard deviation [SD]: 9.58 s) each. The

(a) EEG experiment set-up



(b) Speech representations extracted from stimulus story

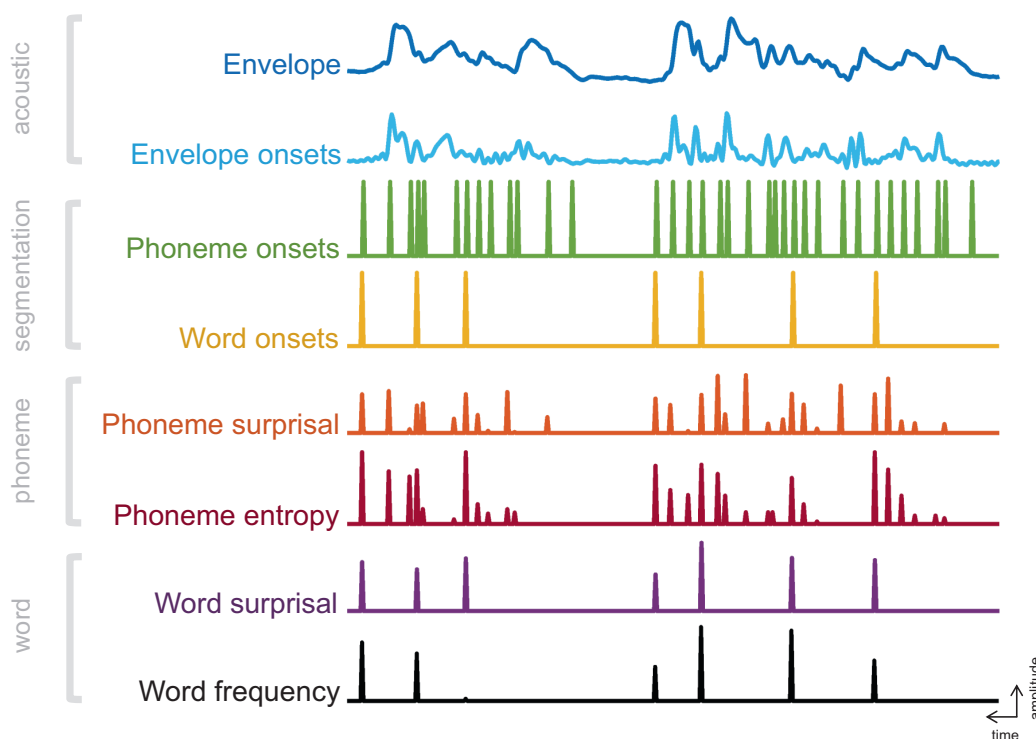


FIGURE 2 Electroencephalography (EEG) experiment set-up and extraction of speech representations from the stimulus story.

(a) Participants listened to a story in Dutch (Flemish dialect) while EEG data were recorded. They were asked to look at a fixation cross while listening. The first two phrases of the story are visualized as written text (with an English translation) and audio signal. (b) From the audio signal as depicted in (a), eight speech representations were extracted that reflect acoustic and linguistic properties of the story.

silences in the story were reduced to 200 ms duration and the sample rate was set to 48 kHz. The software APEX (Francart et al., 2008) was used to calibrate and present stimuli. The story was presented bilaterally via shielded ER-3A insert earphones (Etymotic Research) at an amplitude of 60 dB SPL (A weighted), except if hearing thresholds were above 25 dB HL at the PTA, in which case the presentation volume was augmented (see Section 2.2.1).

After each story part, participants answered a yes/no question and a multiple choice question about the content of the preceding story part. As these questions were not validated, we did not assess them. They were solely introduced in the protocol to make participants follow the content of the story attentively. Nonetheless, five participants (four IWA, one control) fell asleep during parts of the EEG measurement. Given that an awake state is necessary to follow the contents of a story (such as reflected in linguistic speech

representations; Makov et al., 2017), we decided to exclude these story parts from the analysis. For one other control participant, a part of the data was not saved correctly and could thus also not be used for analysis. This means that for six participants, <24 min of data were used for analysis (19.36 min of data for one control and one aphasia participant, 14.52 min for one control and two aphasia participants, 9.68 min for one aphasia participant).

2.3.2 | EEG signal processing

The EEG signal processing was performed in MATLAB (version 9.1.0.441655 [R2016b]). The EEG data of the five story parts (i.e., epochs) were concatenated. Eye movement artifact removal was implemented using a multichannel Wiener filter (Somers et al., 2018).

The EEG signal was referenced to the common average. For high-pass filtering, a least squares filter was applied with a filter order of 2000, with a passband frequency of 0.5 Hz and a stopband frequency of 0.45 Hz. For low-pass filtering, a least squares filter with a filter order of 2000 was applied with a passband frequency of 25 Hz and a stopband frequency of 27.5 Hz. The EEG data were downsampled to 128 Hz and subsequently normalized by subtracting the mean and dividing by the SD per epoch.

2.3.3 | Neural tracking

To investigate neural tracking, we used a forward modeling approach (i.e., encoding model), meaning that speech representations were used to predict the EEG signal (Di Liberto et al., 2015; Holdgraf et al., 2017; Mesgarani et al., 2014). Here, we were interested in both acoustic and linguistic speech representations. We relied on eight representations, which were extracted from the stimulus story (Figure 2b). We considered the envelope and envelope onsets as acoustic speech representations. Phoneme and word onsets represented phoneme- and word-level segmentation of speech. Phoneme surprisal and phoneme entropy were considered as linguistic representations at the phoneme level, word surprisal and word frequency at the word level.

Envelope

The envelope was extracted by using a gammatone filter bank of 28 channels with center frequencies between 50 and 5000 Hz. We applied a power law on the absolute values and averaged across the 28 envelopes (same parameters as in Vanthornhout et al., 2018). These steps were applied because they model the auditory system's structure (Biesmans et al., 2017).

Envelope onsets

The envelope onsets were calculated as the half-wave rectification of the first derivative of the envelope.

Phoneme and word onsets

Phoneme and word onsets were coded as dummy variables with a pulse at the beginning of each phoneme, respectively of each word. In order to get there, an aligner (Duchateau et al., 2009) was used to create alignment files containing the timing of each phoneme, respectively each word for the audio files of the stimulus story.

Phoneme surprisal

Phoneme surprisal was computed as the negative logarithm of the phoneme probability in the activated cohort. The activated cohort refers to words activated by initial phonemes, for example, after hearing the sound /pl/, the activated cohort consists of words such as play, plus, and plural. Phoneme surprisal is thus a representation of how surprising a phoneme is given the activated cohort. The first phoneme of each word included all words in the active cohort. Phoneme surprisal was calculated based on the SUBTLEX-NL database (Keuleers et al., 2010) and a custom pronunciation dictionary.

Phoneme entropy

Phoneme entropy is a measure of the degree of competition between the words congruent with the current phonemic input. For instance, after hearing the sounds /pl/, many possible words are present in the activated cohort ($n = 999$), mirrored in a high degree of competition. Yet, after the next phonemes, the number of possible words decreases (e.g., for /plu/, $n = 162$ and for /plur/, $n = 19$), and thus the activated cohort decreases, reflected in a lower degree of competition. The degree of competition was computed as the Shannon entropy of the words in the activated cohort. Again, the first phoneme of each word included all words in the active cohort. Phoneme entropy was also calculated based on the SUBTLEX-NL database (Keuleers et al., 2010) and a custom pronunciation dictionary.

Word surprisal

Word surprisal was calculated as the negative logarithm of the conditional probability of a given word based on the four previous words. Word surprisal thus represents how surprising a word is, taking into account the four previous words. Word surprisal was calculated using the 5-g model by Verwimp et al. (2019).

Word frequency

Word frequency was calculated as the negative logarithm of the unigram probability and represents how frequently words are used. Given that we used the negative logarithm, words with a higher frequency are reflected in lower scores. Word frequency was also calculated using the 5-g model by Verwimp et al. (2019).

Isolating speech processing levels

An issue when analyzing acoustic and linguistic speech representations is their collinearity, for example, some top-down linguistic cues at the phoneme and word level are also represented in the speech envelope, such as word boundaries and syllable stress, which contain semantic cues. Vice versa, some bottom-up acoustic information is also present in linguistic phoneme and word level representations (Gillis et al., 2022), for example, due to amplitude rises and falls defining the boundaries between (pre-)lexical units. Neural signals related to acoustic processing can thus also be captured by neural tracking of linguistic speech representations and vice versa.

In this study, we were interested in disentangling—as far as possible—different speech processing mechanisms. This is important should encoding/decoding modeling be used for diagnosing different language profiles of aphasia in the future, for example, disentangle individuals that have more problems with acoustic, phonological or semantic processing. Therefore, we regressed out the variance explained by the speech representations that we were not interested in. Specifically, we first applied an ordinary least squares regression analysis without regularization, using the EEG signal as dependent variable and speech representations as predictors that share variance with the representations of interest (Table 2). All the data were used for training and testing, such that all activity related to the collinear speech representations was regressed out. As a second step, we then

TABLE 2 Constellation of speech representations in the four encoding models.

Regressing out representations not of interest	Boosting on residuals (representations of interest)	Encoding model/referred to as
Phoneme onsets Word onsets Phoneme surprisal Phoneme entropy Word surprisal Word frequency	Envelope Envelope onsets	Acoustic
Envelope Envelope onsets Phoneme surprisal Phoneme entropy Word surprisal Word frequency	Phoneme Onsets	Phoneme-level segmentation
Envelope Envelope onsets Phoneme surprisal Phoneme entropy Word surprisal Word frequency	Word onsets	Word-level segmentation
Envelope Envelope onsets Phoneme onsets Word onsets ^a	Phoneme surprisal Phoneme entropy	Phoneme-level linguistic
Envelope Envelope onsets Phoneme onsets Word onsets ^a	Word surprisal Word frequency	Word-level linguistic

^aWe decided against regressing out phoneme-level linguistic representations for the word level model and vice-versa, because we expected that more data would be needed to get meaningful results from such an analysis.

used the residual EEG signal of that regression as input for the encoding model in order to model the relationship with the speech representations of interest. The constellation of speech representations used as predictors in the encoding models is illustrated in Table 2.

Computation of temporal response function and prediction accuracy

For the encoding analysis of the speech representation of interest, we applied the boosting procedure (David et al., 2007). We made use of the Eelbrain toolbox for this step (<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6992921>; Brodbeck et al., 2021). The data were split into a held-out test set of roughly 2 min of the data and a training set containing the rest of the data. The training set was used to perform regression analyses on the residual EEG signal with the speech representation as predictor, for a number of time-shifted versions, resulting in the temporal response function (TRF). The number of time-shifted versions was defined by the chosen integration window length, that is, -0.1078 to 0.6109 s, and the sampling frequency ($[\text{ending time lag} - \text{starting time lag}] / [1 / \text{sampling frequency}]$), which resulted in 92 time shifts. The TRF thus provides information about *how* the neural response pattern operates across processing time. This information

and the speech representation were then used to predict EEG signals for the test set of the data. The predicted EEG signal was correlated with the originally recorded EEG signal, providing a measure of *how well* the speech representation is encoded in the brain for each electrode, hereafter referred to as prediction accuracy. The higher the prediction accuracy is, the stronger the speech representation is encoded in the EEG signal. This procedure was repeated for different partitions of the data into training and test sets, such that each part of the data was once used as test set, resulting in 12 folds (i.e., k-fold cross-validation). For the TRF, the 12 folds were averaged across to get robust outcome measures. To arrive at the final prediction accuracy, the folds of the predicted EEG signal were concatenated and subsequently correlated with the originally recorded EEG signal.

2.3.4 | Determination of the TRF peak latency ranges

To determine in which time windows to perform cluster-based permutation tests, we used the built-in MATLAB function *findpeaks* (MATLAB, 2016) to identify peaks in the TRF. Peak latencies were extracted per speech representation and per participant. An arbitrary range of 150 ms was defined around the average latency of the control group per identified peak (Table 3). The average latency per peak of the aphasia group was very similar to the control group (the largest difference among all peaks was 18 ms), such that the selected ranges were valid to find differences between the aphasia and control group. For time ranges that started before 0, the lower bound was set to 0. The 150 ms ranges, as indicated in Table 3 and visualized in Figure S5, were used as time windows to perform cluster-based permutation tests on the TRF (Section 2.4 for details). As 26 peaks were found across speech representations, we conducted 26 cluster-based permutation tests.

2.4 | Statistical analysis

Statistical analyses were performed in R (R Core Team, 2017) and in the Python (Van Rossum & Drake Jr, 1995) toolbox Eelbrain (Brodbeck, 2020).

2.4.1 | Group comparison of the strength of neural tracking

For the prediction accuracy analysis, we averaged across all 64 electrodes and conducted a linear model in R in order to investigate group differences and to regress out the covariates, that is, *average prediction accuracy* \sim group + age + hearing + cognition + alertness + fatigue. We repeated this for each of the four encoding models, that is, the acoustic, phoneme onsets, word onsets, phoneme and word level model. We checked the normality assumptions using the Shapiro-Wilk test, which failed to reject H_0 for each model. The homogeneity of variances assumption was not met in any of the five models. Nonetheless, we

interpreted the linear models, given that the residuals were normally distributed. As each model was based on a different dataset, we did not control for multiple comparisons in this analysis.

As a second analysis of the prediction accuracies, we conducted a cluster-based permutation test to see if certain electrodes drive the difference between groups. To this end, we used the function *testnd.TTestIndependent* from the Eelbrain toolbox

TABLE 3 TRF peak ranges of the control group used for defining time windows for cluster-based permutation testing.

Speech representation	Average peak latency (ms)	Range (ms)
Envelope	29	0–104
	163	88–238
Envelope onsets	44	0–119
	102	27–177
	209	134–284
Phoneme onsets	61	0–136
	252	177–327
	305	230–380
Word onsets	114	39–189
	190	115–265
	308	233–383
	446	371–521
Phoneme surprisal	221	146–296
	360	285–435
	354	279–429
Phoneme entropy	243	168–318
	389	314–464
	416	341–491
Word surprisal	122	47–197
	199	124–274
	320	245–395
	428	353–503
Word frequency	122	47–197
	197	122–272
	330	255–405
	459	384–534

Abbreviation: TRF, temporal response function.

(<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6992921>). The cluster-based permutation test is a mass-univariate independent samples *t*-test that relies on bootstrapping (see Gillis et al., 2021, for more details). We defined a maximum *p*-value of .05 as threshold. We report the number of electrodes in the significant cluster, the *v*-value and the *p*-value.

2.4.2 | Group comparison of the neural response pattern

To investigate the TRF pattern differences between the control group and the aphasia group, we applied cluster-based permutation tests in the arbitrary integration window ranges identified by the peak latency extraction (Table 3). The same function and parameters were used as for the prediction accuracy. As there were multiple peaks identified for each of the eight speech representations, we corrected the *p*-value for multiple comparisons within speech representation using the false discovery rate (FDR). Given that this is an exploratory study, we report the uncorrected and corrected significance thresholds.

3 | RESULTS

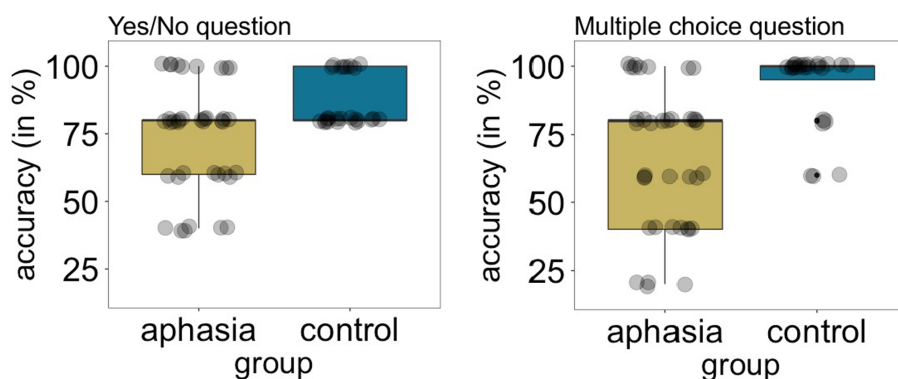
3.1 | Response accuracy to the questions asked during the EEG paradigm

Participants listened to five story parts of ca. 5 min each while EEG data were recorded. After each part, a yes/no and a multiple choice question were asked about the preceding story part. Figure 3 shows the response accuracy per group separately for the yes/no question and the multiple choice question. For both types of questions, a significant group difference was found (Yes/No question: $W = 300$, $p = .01$; Multiple choice question: $W = 180$, $p < .0001$). These questions were however not validated and therefore, this result should not be interpreted, but instead be seen as descriptive.

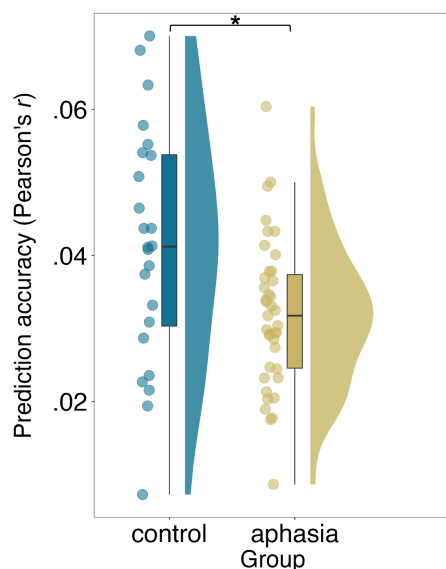
3.2 | Prediction accuracy

When averaging the prediction accuracy across all electrodes, we found a significant group difference in the acoustic model (group

FIGURE 3 Response accuracy by group for the yes/no questions and the multiple choice questions after each of the five story parts that served as stimuli during the EEG measurement. For both types of questions, a significant group difference was found.



(a) Acoustic model – electrode average



(b) Acoustic model – cluster-based permutation test

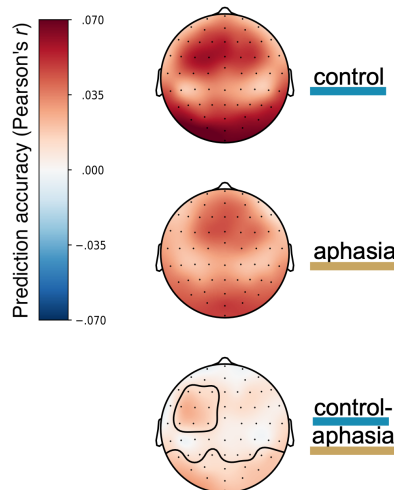


FIGURE 4 Individuals with aphasia display decreased neural tracking of acoustic speech representations—across all electrodes and in local clusters. (a) When averaging the prediction accuracies of the acoustic model across all 64 electrodes, we found a significant group difference, even when we controlled for age, hearing, cognition, alertness, and fatigue. The acoustic model consists of the speech envelope and its onsets as speech representations. (b) The cluster-based permutation test revealed two clusters that significantly differed between groups, showing lower prediction accuracies in individuals with aphasia. The lowest topoplot consists of the difference between the control group and the aphasia group and the significant clusters are contoured.

effect: $F = 7.11$, $p = .01$; Figure 4a). The healthy control group showed higher prediction accuracies in comparison to the aphasia group. The group effect was present despite controlling for the influence of age, hearing, cognition, alertness, fatigue, and lesion size in the model. None of the covariates significantly explained the prediction accuracies, except for the acoustic model. Neither the phoneme onset and word onset models nor the phoneme- and word-level linguistic models showed a significant group difference. The results of all models are reported in Table 5. Additionally, we also report the results when the covariates are not included in the model (Table 4).

In order to get an idea how the lesion size affects the link between neural tracking measures and group, we created a hypothetical, statistical scenario in which IWA would have a lesion size of 0. We did this by comparing the intercept of the linear model *average prediction accuracy ~ lesion size* including IWA only, to the intercept of the model *average prediction accuracy ~ group* including both IWA and controls. We found that the two intercepts are not significantly different for any of the speech representation models (acoustic: $p = .71$; phoneme onsets: $p = .51$; word onsets: $p = .80$; phoneme linguistic: $p = .72$; word linguistic: $p = .64$). This means that, if IWA had no lesion (a lesion size of 0), then they would not differ from healthy controls on measures of neural tracking.

The slope coefficient of the model *average prediction accuracy ~ lesion size* including IWA only was not significantly different from 0 for the prediction accuracy models acoustics, word onsets, phoneme-level linguistics and word-level linguistics (acoustic: $p = .08$; word onsets: $p = .59$; phoneme linguistic: $p = .13$; word linguistic: $p = .59$). The phoneme onset model however showed a slope coefficient of lesion size that was significantly different from 0 (phoneme onsets: estimate = -2.35×10^{-5} , $p = .01$), meaning that a larger lesion size is associated with lower neural tracking scores within the aphasia group, for the phoneme onset model. A relation between lesion size

and the phoneme onsets model was also found in a correlation analysis within the aphasia group (phoneme onsets model: Spearman's $r = -.355$, $p = .026$; Figure S6).

The cluster-based permutation tests revealed a group difference for the acoustic model, and additionally provided information about what cluster of electrodes is driving the difference between the control group and the aphasia group. Specifically, two clusters were found to differ between groups (Figure 4b). A frontal left-lateralized cluster (number of sensors = 9, $v = 25.012$, $p = .02$) and a posterior cluster (number of sensors = 15, $v = 44.516$, $p = .004$) both displayed decreased prediction accuracies in IWA. The phoneme onsets model revealed one cluster that differed between groups (number of sensors = 6, $v = 15.511$, $p = .03$), namely displaying decreased prediction accuracies in IWA. Neither the word onset model nor the phoneme- and word-level linguistic models showed any significant group differences.

Aphasia is a disorder with a heterogeneous phenotype, as was reflected in the large variability of the language test outcomes (see Table S1). This made us wonder whether the heterogeneity of language levels in the aphasia group may hide subtle effects in group statistics. Therefore, we decided post hoc to split up the aphasia group into a more mild and a more severe aphasia group. In Section S1.4, we repeated the group comparison analyses after splitting up the aphasia group. The criteria for splitting up the group is described in more detail in the Supplementary material S1 (also see Figures S7 and S10). When averaging the prediction accuracy across all electrodes, we found that the group difference for the acoustic model was not present for the comparison of the control and mild aphasia subgroup, but was present for the comparison of the control group and the aphasia subgroup with more severe language difficulties (Figure S8A). No group effects were observed for any of the other four models. The cluster-based permutation test of the acoustic model showed two

TABLE 4 Group comparison results on the prediction accuracy models (without covariates).

Effect	Adj. R^2	df	F	Estimate	Standard error	p
Acoustic						
Group	0.103	(1,61)	8.12	−0.00	0.002	.006
Phoneme onsets						
Group	0.032	(1,61)	3.10	−0.00	0.00	.083
Word onsets						
Group	0.005	(1,61)	1.34	−0.00	0.00	.251
Phoneme-level linguistics						
Group	0.014	(1,61)	1.94	−0.00	0.00	.168
Word-level linguistics						
Group	0.02	(1,61)	2.27	−0.00	0.00	.137

Note: df= degrees of freedom; significant effects are marked in bold.

almost identical clusters to the ones found in the analyses with two groups (Figure 4b); however, only for the comparison between the control group and the aphasia subgroup with more severe language difficulties (Figure S8B).

3.3 | Temporal response function

For the speech envelope TRF, we found two clusters that differed between the control and aphasia group around 180 ms (Figure 5 A; frontal cluster: time(ms) = [95243], number of sensors = 28, $v = 561.96$, $p = .001$; posterior cluster: time(ms) = [142243], number of sensors = 18, $v = -425.69$, $p = .005$). The two clusters are similar to the clusters from the prediction accuracy of the acoustic model (Figure 4b). After correction for multiple comparisons via FDR (for $n = 2$ comparisons due to the tested time ranges per speech representations, see Table 3), these results remained significant (frontal left: $p = .002$; posterior: $p = .01$). Looking at the neural response to phoneme onsets, we found a cluster that differed between the control group and the aphasia group over frontal electrodes around 280 ms (time [ms] = [235384], number of sensors = 11, $v = 240.58$, $p = .04$). This group effect in the neural response to phoneme onsets did not survive correction for multiple comparisons.

No group difference clusters were found for the speech representations envelope onsets, phoneme surprisal and phoneme entropy. However, for the speech representations at the word level, that is, word onsets and word surprisal, displayed clusters that differed between groups were observed (Figure 5c,d). The neural response patterns to word onsets displayed two clusters that differed between the control and aphasia group around 195 ms (frontal left-lateralized cluster: time [ms] = [134243], number of sensors = 10, $v = -220.3$, $p = .03$; posterior cluster: time [ms] = [118267], number of sensors = 14, $v = 267.25$, $p = .016$). The neural response patterns to word surprisal displayed a cluster that differed between the control and aphasia group that spread across two negative peaks, around 135 ms (difference in posterior left electrodes) and around 195 ms (difference in frontal left electrodes; time [ms] = [56204], number of

sensors = 21, $v = -227.94$, $p = .01$). None of these effects survived the correction for multiple comparisons via FDR.

Same as for the prediction accuracy, we split up the aphasia group into a mild aphasia subgroup and an aphasia subgroup with more severe language difficulties and repeated these analyses for exploratory purposes in Figure S9. For the envelope TRF, we found that the control group and aphasia subgroup with more severe language impairments, but not the control and mild aphasia subgroup, showed a significantly different neural response pattern in two similar clusters as were found in the group comparison with the full aphasia group (Figure S9). This difference in clusters occurred as well around 180 ms, same as in the comparison of the control and full aphasia group. For the envelope onsets TRF, a group difference was found around 200 ms between the control group and the more severe aphasia subgroup. Moreover, the word-level representations also showed significantly different clusters between the control group and more severe aphasia subgroup, but not between the control and mild aphasia subgroup. However, these differences in clusters were found in a later time window than the clusters found in the group comparison between the control and the full aphasia group (200 ms), namely around 360–370 ms. In all three speech representations, that is, word onsets, word surprisal and word frequency, these later clusters occurred over left-lateralized temporal electrodes (Figure S9). None of the other speech representations, that is, phoneme onsets, phoneme surprisal and phoneme entropy, showed any significantly different clusters, in neither of the two pair-wise group comparisons.

4 | DISCUSSION

In this study, we investigated whether IWA display different neural tracking of continuous speech than age-matched healthy controls at multiple processing levels (acoustic to linguistic). To this end, we collected EEG data of 39 IWA and 24 healthy controls while they listened to a continuous narrative. Speech representations were derived from the narrative and their relation to the EEG signal studied. When the neural signals align with the speech properties, this is referred to

TABLE 5 Results of the group effect and covariates on the prediction accuracy models.

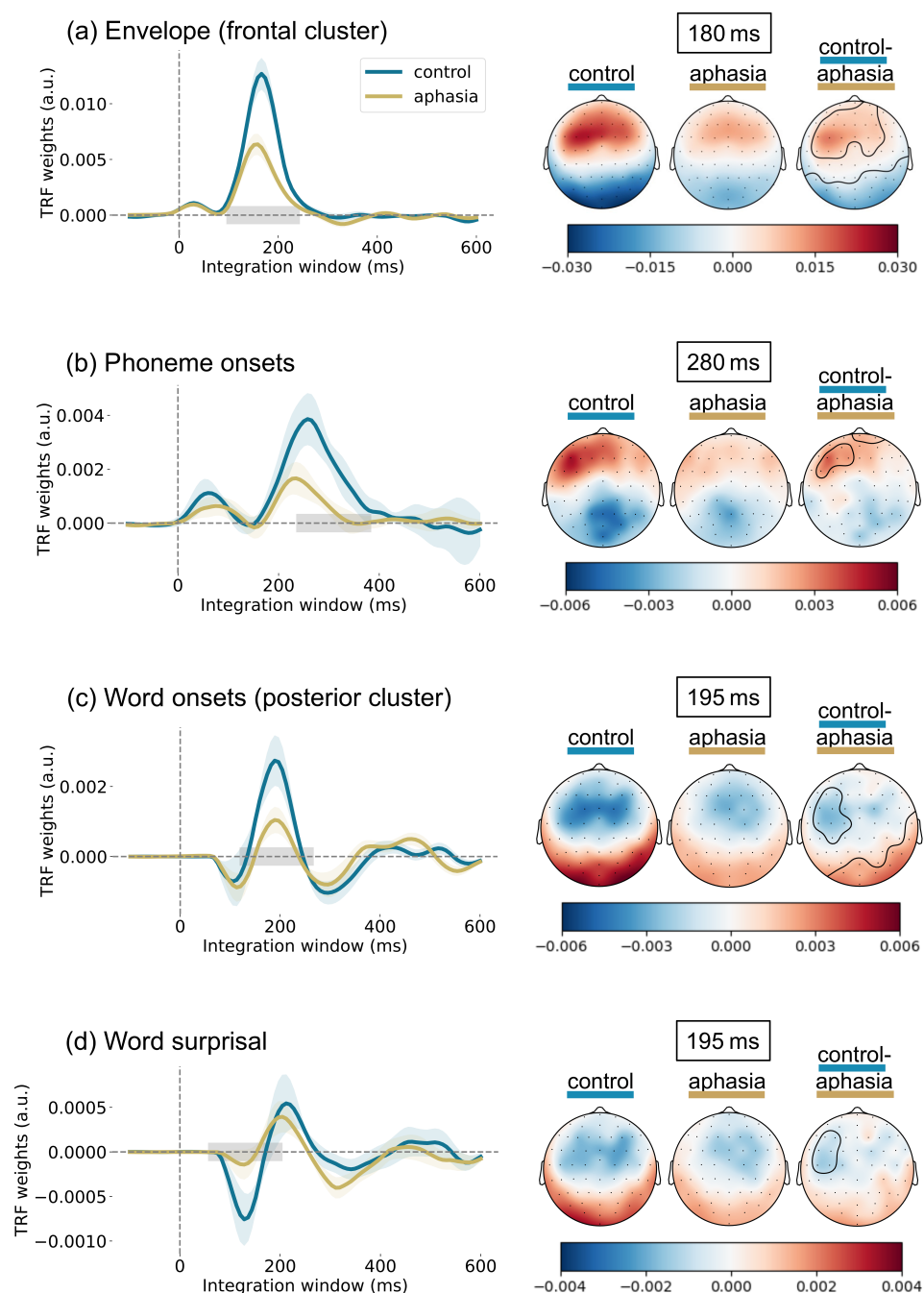
Effect	Adj. R ²	df	F	Estimate	Standard error	p
Acoustic						
Model performance	0.083	(6, 52)	1.885		0.013	.1
Group		1	7.11	−0.00	0.00	.01
Age		1	0.16	0.00	0.00	.69
Hearing		1	0.05	0.00	0.00	.82
Cognition		1	0.16	0.00	0.00	.69
Alertness		1	3.58	0.00	0.00	.06
Fatigue		1	0.25	0.00	0.00	.61
Phoneme onsets						
Model performance	0.047	(6, 52)	1.483		0.004	.2
Group		1	3.06	−0.00	0.00	.08
Age		1	0.69	−0.00	0.00	.40
Hearing		1	3.09	0.00	0.00	.08
Cognition		1	0.69	0.00	0.00	.40
Alertness		1	0.12	0.00	0.00	.73
Fatigue		1	1.25	−0.00	0.00	.26
Word onsets						
Model performance	−0.038	(6, 52)	0.638		0.004	.69
Group		1	1.58	−0.00	0.00	.21
Age		1	0.28	−0.00	0.00	.59
Hearing		1	0.94	0.00	0.00	.33
Cognition		1	0.26	−0.00	0.00	.61
Alertness		1	0.69	0.00	0.00	.41
Fatigue		1	0.08	−0.00	0.00	.77
Phoneme-level linguistics						
Model performance	0.002	(6, 52)	1.024		0.005	.42
Group		1	2.60	−0.00	0.00	.11
Age		1	0.00	−0.00	0.00	.97
Hearing		1	1.79	0.00	0.00	.18
Cognition		1	0.53	−0.00	0.00	.47
Alertness		1	0.36	0.00	0.00	.55
Fatigue		1	0.86	−0.00	0.00	.3568
Word-level linguistics						
Model performance	−0.01	(6, 52)	0.903		0.004	.49
Group		1	2.46	−0.00	0.00	.12
Age		1	0.46	0.00	0.00	.49
Hearing		1	1.40	0.00	0.00	.24
Cognition		1	0.15	−0.00	0.00	.70
Alertness		1	0.26	0.00	0.00	.61
Fatigue		1	0.69	−0.00	0.00	.40

Note: df, degrees of freedom; significant effects are marked in bold.

as neural tracking. This approach allows to explore *how* spatiotemporal neural response patterns operate during continuous speech at multiple processing levels (i.e., TRFs). Further, this method provides a measure of *how well* speech representations are encoded in the EEG data (i.e., prediction accuracy). Concerning prediction accuracies,

group differences between IWA and healthy controls were found for processing acoustic speech representations, both located in posterior and frontal clusters (Figure 4). Regarding TRFs, group differences in processing acoustic, segmentation and word-level speech representations were observed at different peaks between 135 and 280 ms,

FIGURE 5 Individuals with aphasia show reduced neural response amplitudes to acoustic and linguistic speech representations in local clusters. In each of the four panels, the control and aphasia group average temporal response functions (TRFs) are plotted. For the left-sided figures, we averaged across the electrodes in the identified clusters and the grey bar indicates the time window in which the groups significantly differed from each other. For the right-sided figures, the topoplots are shown at the indicated time point. The last topoplot on each panel displays the difference between the control group and the aphasia group, with the clusters being contoured. (a) The neural response pattern to the speech envelope revealed two clusters around 180 ms, a frontal one (visualized) and a posterior one (not visualized). (b) The neural response pattern to the phoneme onsets revealed a frontal cluster around 280 ms. (c) The neural response pattern to the word onsets revealed two clusters around 195 ms, a frontal one (not visualized) and a posterior one (visualized). (d) The neural response pattern to word surprisal revealed a cluster with two peaks, a posterior peak around 135 ms and a frontal peak around 195 ms (amplitudes of this latter peak are visualized in the topoplots). Only the effect of the envelope was robust against correction for multiple comparisons.



located in frontal, left-lateralized or posterior regions (Figure 5). However, as there were multiple TRF peaks identified per speech representation, we corrected for multiple comparisons and found that only the clusters identified in the envelope TRF were robust group differences. Nonetheless, as this is an exploratory study, we will discuss all findings here, because they can help to elicit more concrete hypotheses in future investigations.

To date, neural tracking of acoustic and linguistic speech representations has not yet been investigated in poststroke aphasia. A study in individuals with PPA, a form of dementia that surfaces as language impairment in its initial stages, has however reported increased speech envelope tracking in the theta frequency band compared with

healthy controls (Dial et al., 2021). The authors hypothesized that the increased envelope tracking is related to the underlying physiological changes in PPA, that is, a hypersynchrony between frontal and temporoparietal cortex as well as a hyperactivity in the frontal cortex (Dial et al., 2021). Given the fundamentally different etiologies of aphasia after stroke and PPA, we did not base any hypotheses on this study. Indeed, we found a rather contrasting pattern of results in this study, namely decreased acoustic neural tracking in IWA after stroke (Figure 4a,b). We controlled for the variance explained by segmentation and linguistic speech representations in the acoustic model in order to yield a purer measure of acoustic processing. The observed group difference was also present despite controlling for the variance

explained by age, hearing, cognition, alertness and fatigue. Covariates did not significantly explain any part of the variance in the acoustic model.

The envelope TRF confirms the finding of the acoustic prediction accuracy model, namely decreased amplitudes in IWA over left frontal and posterior electrodes, additionally revealing that this difference occurred around 180 ms neural processing time. These results may indicate that IWA track the slow amplitude modulations of speech, which are essential for speech understanding (Oganian & Chang, 2019; Shannon et al., 1995; Xu & Pfingst, 2008; Zeng et al., 2005), to a lesser extent than age-matched healthy controls. Due to controlling the variance explained by the segmentation and linguistic speech representations, the envelope TRF mainly contains the response to acoustic properties of speech. This would mean that IWA also show impaired processing of speech acoustics. This is in line with findings from Kries et al. (2023), who found that 76% of IWA had a low-level acoustic or phonemic processing impairment.

At the sublexical and lexical segmentation level, we did not find a significant group difference. However, the TRF analysis revealed locally decreased amplitudes in the neural response to phoneme onsets in IWA at a peak around 280 ms as well as in the neural response to word onsets at a peak around 195 ms. These findings may indicate that IWA have a decreased performance when it comes to parsing continuous speech. Humans segment continuous speech by making use of strategies such as analysis of prosodic contours (bottom-up processes), making use of knowledge about distributional processing of phonological information and about statistical regularities in word-to-object co-occurrences (top-down processes; Fló et al., 2019; Smith & Yu, 2008; Suanda et al., 2014; Thiessen & Erickson, 2013). Thus, sub-lexical and lexical segmentation of continuous speech is a product of the interplay between bottom-up and top-down processes (David et al., 2007; Gaspers et al., 2017; Shuai et al., 2014). Based on the current findings, these processes that are necessary for speech segmentation may be impaired in IWA.

EEG experiments that examined ERPs have found the N400 to be related to semantic activation and integration into the sentence context (Kuperberg & Jaeger, 2016). N400 studies in IWA reported that IWA in comparison to healthy controls have increased latencies of the N400 (Chang et al., 2016; Kawohl et al., 2010; Khachatryan et al., 2017; Lice & Palmović, 2017; Sheppard et al., 2017) and attenuated amplitudes (Kielar et al., 2012; Lice & Palmović, 2017; Råling et al., 2016; Robson et al., 2017; Sheppard et al., 2017). Given the similarity between the N400 effects and the neural response pattern to word surprisal (Lopopolo & Rabovsky, 2022; Michaelov & Bergen, 2020), we hypothesized to see differences at the linguistic word level (i.e., word surprisal and word frequency) at a time window between 350 and 450 ms. However, we did not find a group difference in the time window of the N400 in the word surprisal and word frequency TRFs. This may be due to the fact that older adults generally seem to have reduced neural tracking of linguistic speech representations (Gillis et al., 2023). All participants in this study, healthy age-matched controls as well as IWA, were on average 70 years old. Older adults may use different strategies to process lexical meaning

than those captured by word surprisal and word frequency (Federmeier et al., 2002; Gillis et al., 2023; Spreng & Turner, 2019; Wlotko et al., 2010). More research is needed to determine an ideal set of speech representations to capture semantic processing in healthy older adults, which can subsequently be translated to aphasia research. Another option that may explain why no group difference was found in the target time window of word-level contextual speech properties (i.e., 350–450 ms) is that the heterogeneity within the aphasia group may have masked potential effects. Our exploratory, supplementary analysis with two aphasia subgroups—one with milder or compensated language impairments and one with more severe language impairments—displayed significant differences between the control group and the more severe aphasia group in word surprisal and word frequency TRFs at 360–370 ms, thus falling within the N400 time window.

Surprisingly, we found that IWA have decreased amplitudes in the word surprisal TRF around 200 ms. This peak is in line results from Gillis et al. (2023), where it was present in older, but not younger adults. This peak may be related to lexical segmentation, since the word onsets TRF also showed a group difference at the same latency and over similar electrodes. While we regressed out the influence of word onsets to analyze the response to word surprisal and word frequency and vice-versa, the pulses in the word surprisal and word frequency speech representations were set at the beginning of the word and thus inherently also relate to a certain extent to lexical segmentation.

The IWA that participated in this study all had a left-hemispheric or bilateral lesion caused by stroke and the data were collected in the chronic phase after stroke (i.e., ≥ 6 months), the median time that had passed since stroke onset being 16 months. Stroke can cause changes in cerebral blood flow (Brumm et al., 2010; Rabiller et al., 2015) and can create cavities filled with cerebrospinal fluid at the lesion site (Piastra et al., 2022; Zbesko et al., 2018). Especially the latter mechanism prevails also into the chronic phase after stroke (Piastra et al., 2022; Salinet et al., 2014; Zbesko et al., 2018). Both aspects can impact the conductivity of the neurophysiological activity that is picked up by the EEG, which can lead to asymmetries in topography or changes in specific frequency bands (Cassidy et al., 2020; Cohen et al., 2015; Park et al., 2016; Vorwerk et al., 2014). Therefore, in the following paragraph, we will discuss whether the decreased neural tracking effects that we observed in IWA may be related to these underlying anatomical changes that occur after stroke and influence the EEG signal or whether they are indeed a trace of decreased processing of speech.

Many of the clusters that differed between healthy controls and IWA occurred over left-sided electrodes (Figures 4 and 5). This region coincides with the region that is impacted by left-hemispheric lesions in the area supplied by the middle cerebral artery, which is the lesion location for 79% of IWA in this study (Figure 1 and Table S1). Thus, the lesion and hence, the altered conductivity, may influence the EEG signal over these electrodes. While the EEG analysis method that we used here is not a direct measure of the raw EEG signal—as is the case for ERPs—the altered conductivity may still affect measures of neural

tracking over lesion sites. The prediction accuracies are computed as the correlation between the recorded EEG signal and the EEG signal predicted via modeling of the TRF and the speech representation. This correlation does not take into account the absolute amplitude of the signals it compares. However, since the signal-to-noise ratio of the EEG signal recorded over the lesion site is most likely lower than for other electrodes, the prediction it makes will be more noisy too, resulting in a lower prediction accuracy. TRF amplitudes are additionally more directly influenced by the recorded EEG amplitude. Thus, theoretically neural tracking of speech properties can be impacted by the lesion-induced changes in conductivity of the neurophysiological activity. We tested whether we would find a group difference when the lesion size is regressed out for the aphasia group (Section 3.2). We found that if IWA had no lesion, then they would not differ from controls. We also found for the phoneme onsets model that the larger the lesion size is, the lower the neural tracking scores within the aphasia group are. Together with the main results, this indicates that the altered conductivity over the stroke lesion site, and in part probably also a difference in processing slow amplitude modulations of speech may jointly explain the lower neural tracking in the aphasia group. It should however be noted that this study was not designed to determine what factors cause the group difference in neural tracking.

Some of the clusters in which the neural response amplitude significantly differs between groups (Figures 4b and 5) occurred over posterior electrodes. We can only speculate about these posterior clusters. As shown in Section S1.5, IWA with a posterior lesion do not explain the occurrence of the posterior clusters (Figure S11). One possibility is that the large lesion overlap of IWA in the left inferior frontal gyrus (Figure 1), mixed with lower speech processing-related activity in those areas, led to lower measures of neural tracking over those electrodes. This resulted in a slight asymmetry with higher amplitudes over anterior right-sided electrodes. The control group on the other hand showed a slight asymmetry with higher amplitudes over anterior left-sided electrodes. These asymmetries in both groups slightly change the dipole orientation in opposite directions. When the aphasia group topography is subtracted from the control group topography, it consequently results in larger differences over anterior left-sided electrodes and over posterior right-sided electrodes.

5 | CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE OUTLOOK

In sum, our results show that measurements of neural tracking to specific speech properties may be a promising avenue for future diagnostic and therapeutic applications. Especially the decrease in IWA in processing of acoustic cues, such as the amplitude fluctuations and the onsets of phonemes and words, seems to be a robust effect. Future studies may confirm the potential role of neural tracking of acoustic and linguistic speech representations to provide profiles of language processing difficulties in IWA (i.e., acoustic, phonological, semantic). However, confounding factors, such as effects of the

stroke lesion on the EEG signal need to be taken into account in future investigations of neural tracking of speech in aphasia. An interesting approach to address this issue could be the recruitment of a control group consisting of individuals with a stroke without aphasia.

Once neural tracking in aphasia is better understood, the application potential of this method could be manifold. A study that is currently in preparation found that IWA can be distinguished from healthy controls with 83% accuracy based on neural envelope tracking with mutual information of only 5–7 min of EEG data (De Clercq et al., 2023). Looking a step further into the future, an aphasia diagnosis based on processing levels of different speech representations could complement behavioral diagnosis and inform speech-language pathologists further which functions should be trained in therapy. Test-retest practice effects (i.e., improved performance on repeated tests due to remembering items or training test-specific skills) could be avoided during therapy follow-up. Moreover, the method could be useful in the acute phase after stroke, when behavioral diagnostic tests are too exhausting for patients. This would still have to be tested in a clinically more compatible experimental setting in the future, but work by De Clercq et al. (2023) shows that only few minutes of recording time would be needed to get reliable data. Additionally, articulatory speech representations (e.g., mouth aperture, tongue protrusion; Mitra et al., 2010) could be investigated to analyze effects of production impairments in aphasia during listening. Further, studying neural processing during speech production, using the same analytical framework, also offers a possibility to study fluency impairments in IWA. Due to the feasibility of EEG in the clinical context, the efficiency of the paradigm and the versatility of applications, examining neural tracking of naturalistic, continuous speech provides a powerful approach to studying aphasia.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Conceptualization: MV, JK, and TF. *Investigation:* JK, PDC, and MV. *Project administration:* JK. *Data curation:* JK. *Resources:* MV, TF, and RL. *Methodology:* JK, MV, JV, MG, PDC, and TF. *Formal analysis:* JK, MG, JV, and PDC. *Visualization:* JK, PDC, and MG. *Writing—original draft preparation:* JK. *Writing—review and editing:* JK, PDC, MG, JV, RL, TF, and MV. *Supervision:* MV, TF, and RL. *Funding acquisition:* MV and JK.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

No conflict of interest, financial, or otherwise, are declared by the authors.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

All data generated or analyzed for this study are available on Open Science Framework (OSF) under the following link: <https://osf.io/6t2ja/https://osf.io/6t2ja/>. The data that supports the findings of this study are available in the supplementary material of this article.

PATIENT CONSENT STATEMENT

Informed consent was obtained from all participants for the recruitment via screening and for the data collection in the chronic phase.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

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