

# Addressing the Language Binding Problem with Dynamic Functional Connectivity during Meaningful Spoken Language Comprehension

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The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest

### *Author contribution statement*

EW and EP designed the experiment. EW collected and analyzed all data. CN processed the data and assisted with analyses. AK programmed the matlab scripts to analyze the data. BD and TV verified the analytical methods and helped develop the theoretical framework. EW wrote the manuscript with input from EP and the other authors. EP supervised the project.

### *Keywords*

speech comprehension, Dynamic Functional Connectivity, phase synchrony, PLI (phase lag index), gamma, theta

### *Abstract*

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During speech, how does the brain integrate information processed on different timescales and in separate brain areas so we can understand what is said? This is the language binding problem. Dynamic functional connectivity (brief periods of synchronization in the phase of EEG oscillations) may provide some answers. Here we investigate time and frequency characteristics of oscillatory power and phase synchrony (dynamic functional connectivity) during speech comprehension. Twenty adults listened to meaningful English sentences and nonsensical "Jabberwocky" sentences in which pseudowords replaced all content words, while EEG was recorded. Results showed greater oscillatory power and global connectivity strength (mean phase lag index) in the gamma frequency range (30-80 Hz) for English compared to Jabberwocky. Increased power and connectivity relative to baseline was also seen in the theta frequency range (4-7 Hz), but was similar for English and Jabberwocky. High-frequency gamma oscillations may reflect a mechanism by which the brain transfers and integrates linguistic information so we can extract meaning and understand what is said. Slower frequency theta oscillations may support domain-general processing of the rhythmic features of speech. Our findings suggest that constructing a meaningful representation of speech involves dynamic interactions among distributed brain regions that communicate through frequency-specific functional networks.

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This study was carried out in accordance with the recommendations of of the Research Ethics Board at the Hospital for Sick Children. The protocol was approved by the Research Ethics Board at the Hospital for Sick Children. All subjects gave written informed consent in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.

In review

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## Abstract

During speech, how does the brain integrate information processed on different timescales and in separate brain areas so we can understand what is said? This is the language binding problem. Dynamic functional connectivity (brief periods of synchronization in the phase of EEG oscillations) may provide some answers. Here we investigate time and frequency characteristics of oscillatory power and phase synchrony (dynamic functional connectivity) during speech comprehension. Twenty adults listened to meaningful English sentences and nonsensical “Jabberwocky” sentences in which pseudowords replaced all content words, while EEG was recorded. Results showed greater oscillatory power and global connectivity strength (mean phase lag index) in the gamma frequency range (30-80 Hz) for English compared to Jabberwocky. Increased power and connectivity relative to baseline was also seen in the theta frequency range (4-7 Hz), but was similar for English and Jabberwocky. High-frequency gamma oscillations may reflect a mechanism by which the brain transfers and integrates linguistic information so we can extract meaning and understand what is said. Slower frequency theta oscillations may support domain-general processing of the rhythmic features of speech. Our findings suggest that constructing a meaningful representation of speech involves dynamic interactions among distributed brain regions that communicate through frequency-specific functional networks.

*Keywords:* speech comprehension, dynamic functional connectivity, phase synchrony, PLI (phase lag index), gamma, theta

## 1 **Dynamic Functional Connectivity during Meaningful Spoken Language Comprehension:** 2 **Addressing the Language Binding Problem**

3 How is it that we can create a coherent and meaningful representation of a multi-word  
4 utterance when different features of the speech signal are processed by separate brain areas and  
5 at different timescales as the speech signal unfolds? This so-called “language binding problem”  
6 continues to be a central question in the neuroscience of language (Hagoort, 2005). Functional  
7 connectivity, mediated by the phase synchronization of neuronal oscillations, provides a window  
8 into the brain’s language networks (Giraud & Poeppel, 2015; Weiss & Mueller, 2003) and may  
9 provide a mechanism to help address the language binding problem. However, relatively few  
10 studies have investigated functional connectivity during speech perception. The goal of this  
11 study is to better understand the time and frequency characteristics of the functional networks  
12 that support meaningful spoken language processing in the brain.

13  
14 Many previous studies have used event-related potentials (ERPs) to examine the neural  
15 basis of speech comprehension. The high temporal precision of ERPs has been crucial for  
16 investigating how language processing unfolds in the brain over time. ERPs, however, measure  
17 localized brain responses and cannot reveal the dynamic interactions between brain areas that  
18 support language comprehension in real-time. With time-frequency analysis of EEG oscillations,  
19 one can measure both changes in local brain activity and long-range communication among  
20 distributed brain regions during language processing. Oscillatory power (amount of energy at a  
21 particular frequency) is thought to reflect local neuronal activity, which may be due to the  
22 number (or strength) of neurons firing at a particular frequency, as well as how synchronous their  
23 firing is (Cohen, 2014). Additionally, a correlation in the phase of oscillations at two different  
24 electrodes (i.e., coordinated fluctuations of rhythmic excitability of neural populations recorded  
25 from different electrodes) is thought to reflect long-distance synchronization, and thus  
26 interaction, among distributed brain regions even if those regions are not physically connected  
27 (Buzsáki & Wang, 2012; Fries, 2015; Siegel, Donner & Engel, 2012). The brain’s ability to  
28 change the extent to which neurons in different areas synchronize their patterns of firing is  
29 thought to be a mechanism by which it coordinates and integrates the flow of information within  
30 a network of participating structures (Bastos & Schoffelen, 2016). Dynamic functional  
31 connectivity, as measured through changes in cross-trial phase synchronization over time, has  
32 been used to investigate the brain networks supporting many aspects of sensory and cognitive  
33 processing (Fries, 2015; Rodriguez et al., 1999; Siegel, Donner & Engel, 2012; Singer, 2007). As  
34 of yet, however it has been underused to examine the brain networks supporting speech  
35 perception.

36  
37 Here we explore the time and frequency characteristics of both oscillatory power and  
38 phase synchrony (dynamic functional connectivity) during meaningful spoken sentence  
39 processing. Specifically, we ask whether there is a difference in the overall phase  
40 synchronization of EEG oscillations when healthy native English speaking adults listen to  
41 meaningful English sentences compared to nonsensical “Jabberwocky” sentences, which lack  
42 semantic content. In Jabberwocky sentences, English open class words (nouns, verbs, adjectives,  
43 adverbs) are replaced with pseudowords that, while obeying English phonotactic rules, are void  
44 of meaning (Carroll, 1883; Yamada & Neville, 2007). Without meaningful lexical-semantic  
45 content, both the memory retrieval and the binding stages of language comprehension that unify  
46 semantic with syntactic, and phonological information are disrupted (Hagoort, 2005).

1 Jabberwocky uses English closed-class words (e.g., articles, prepositions) however, which is  
2 thought to allow English listeners to create a rudimentary structural representation of the  
3 sentence and engage in syntactic processing, even in the absence of meaningful semantic  
4 information (although see Hahne & Jescheniak, 2001 and Yamanda & Neville, 2007 for  
5 alternative views as to whether syntactic processing recruits identical neurocognitive processes  
6 without semantic information). Comparing English to Jabberwocky thus allows us to investigate  
7 the brain processes specific to meaningful speech comprehension and integration, while  
8 controlling for other levels of language processing (e.g., phonology, syntax) and overall  
9 participant arousal. We predict that semantic integration will be reduced or absent while listening  
10 to Jabberwocky compared to English sentences and this will be indexed by a reduction in overall  
11 oscillatory phase synchrony.

12  
13 Phase synchronization of EEG oscillations can occur at different frequencies. These  
14 frequencies reflect the rate at which neurons alternative between a state in which they are more  
15 or less excitable, likely to fire and efficient at processing incoming information (Schroeder et al.,  
16 2008). The results of previous studies suggest that oscillations in the gamma (30-80 Hz) and  
17 theta frequency range (4-7 Hz) may be important in speech processing. For example, in terms of  
18 local power changes, greater power was seen in the middle gamma frequency range (defined as  
19 55-75 Hz) when participants listened to their native language compared to a foreign language or  
20 speech played backwards, whereas listening to both languages resulted in a power increase in the  
21 theta frequency range (4-7 Hz; Peña & Melloni, 2012). Increased phase synchronization in the  
22 theta frequency range was also reported when participants listened to normal speech compared to  
23 speech that was degraded to the point where it was unintelligible (Luo & Poeppel, 2007).  
24 Moreover, Molinario, Barraza and Carreiras (2013) reported increased phase synchronization in  
25 both theta and gamma frequency bands when participants read words presented in highly  
26 constraining lexical/semantic contexts that pre-activated the expected words' lexical/semantic  
27 representations compared to words in less constraining contexts that did not benefit from such  
28 anticipatory semantic preparation. By investigating both local and long-range oscillatory  
29 responses (power and phase synchrony, respectively), the present study extends these findings to  
30 better elucidate the brain networks supporting the comprehension and integration of meaning in  
31 speech. Based on previous findings, we expected to see increased oscillatory power and phase  
32 synchrony (functional connectivity) in gamma and theta frequency ranges when participants  
33 listened to English compared to Jabberwocky speech.

## 34 **Methods**

### 35 **Participants**

36 Twenty right-handed, university-educated native English speakers (21-36 years; 11  
37 females) participated. All reported normal vision, hearing and neurological health and provided  
38 informed consent. This study was approved by the Research Ethics Board at the Hospital for  
39 Sick Children.

### 41 **Materials and Procedure**

42 EEG was recorded in a quiet room while participants listened to naturally spoken  
43 sentences via headphones set to a comfortable level. Here, two sentence conditions were  
44 analysed: regular English sentences (e.g., "They jump off their beds and onto the floor") and  
45 nonsensical Jabberwocky sentences in which pseudowords replaced all open-class (content)

1 words (e.g., “Klee sma nim falc chure in her molall”). Pseudo-words were created by substituting  
2 phonemes of words from correct English sentences with a different phoneme (vowels were  
3 replaced by another vowel, consonants by another consonant with the same manner of  
4 articulation as long as this yielded permissible English consonant clusters). The initial phonemes  
5 of open-class words were retained, as were all closed-class words. Sentences were 5-15 words in  
6 length and are described in further detail in Yamada & Neville (2007). In total, participants heard  
7 50 of each sentence type, which were pseudo-randomly presented with other English sentences  
8 that were correct or contained semantic, morphosyntactic or phase structure violations. All  
9 sentences were embedded in ongoing narratives and accompanied by 5 engaging cartoons. The  
10 results of this study are intended to inform future investigation with children, for whom engaging  
11 experimental paradigms are especially important. The adult participants discussed here reported  
12 enjoying the cartoons, and that they did not deter from their comprehension of the individual  
13 sentences. No response was required.

### 14 15 **EEG Recording and Processing**

16 Continuous EEG data were recorded from 64 cap-mounted electrodes (1000 Hz  
17 sampling, 0.01-200 Hz filter, referenced to an electrode between Cz and CPz for acquisition,  
18 impedance <10 k $\Omega$ ) using a NeuroScan v4.5 Synamps2 amplifier (Compumedics, El Paso, TX).  
19 Vertical and horizontal eye movements were monitored.

20  
21 Data processing was done using the Fieldtrip toolbox in Matlab (Oostenveld, Fries,  
22 Maris, & Schoffelen, 2011). Data were low-pass filtered at 100 Hz, re-referenced to the average  
23 of all EEG channels, epoched into individual trials relative to sentence onsets, de-trended to  
24 remove slow-shifts and then downsampled to 500 Hz. Artifact rejection included rejection of  
25 trials with absolute amplitude greater than 200  $\mu$ V, as well as independent component analysis  
26 (ICA; Jung et al., 2000) to remove eye movements and heart artifacts. . This resulted in the  
27 removal of relatively few trials (mean 3.5 trials across participants and sentence conditions), with  
28 no difference between conditions ( $p > .10$ ).

### 29 30 **EEG Analysis**

31 Trial-by-trial data were transformed by z-scores, filtered into canonical frequency bands  
32 (theta 4-7 Hz, alpha 8-14 Hz, beta 14-24 Hz and gamma 30-80 Hz; single pass FIR filter created  
33 using a hamming window). Phase estimates were obtained using the Hilbert transform from  $\pm 3$   
34 seconds around sentence onsets. Functional connectivity was measured using Phase Lag Index  
35 calculated across trials (PLI; Stam et al., 2007) and was programmed in Matlab (Mathworks,  
36 Inc). PLI measures the cross-trial phase synchrony between oscillations at two electrodes with a  
37 temporal lag, thereby avoiding spurious effects of volume conduction (i.e., activity from one  
38 underlying neural generator is recorded at two electrodes and mistaken for synchrony; Cohen,  
39 2014). By attenuating zero-phase correlations, the PLI is more conservative than other measures  
40 of phase synchrony (e.g., coherence, phase locking values) and is therefore preferred for EEG.  
41 This resulted in electrode x electrode connectivity matrices for each time point, frequency band,  
42 and sentence condition. A time series of global connectivity was computed by averaging PLI  
43 values (strength) across electrodes (Doesburg, Tingling, MacDonald & Pang, 2016; Mennella,  
44 Leung, Taylor & Dunkley, 2017).

45



1 Differences in connectivity while listening to English and Jabberwocky were evaluated in  
 2 three steps. First, a paired two-tailed t-test compared global connectivity values for English and  
 3 Jabberwocky at each time point. This was done for each frequency band separately. Then, to  
 4 control for multiple comparisons and set an objective statistical threshold for determining how  
 5 many consecutive time points must show a significant condition difference ( $p < .05$ ) to be  
 6 considered meaningful, a cluster-based permutation test (1000 permutations shuffled across  
 7 conditions,  $ps < .05$ ) were run for each frequency band between -0.5 and 2.5s (Cohen, 2014).  
 8 This gave a distribution of cluster lengths (i.e., stretches of time points for which a difference  
 9 between English and Jabberwocky could occur by chance), as expected under the null  
 10 hypothesis. The 97.5<sup>th</sup> percentile of this distribution was set as the threshold value against which  
 11 we compared true condition differences in connectivity. Contiguous stretches of significant  
 12 differences that were longer than the threshold were considered to be time windows when global  
 13 connectivity was significantly different for English and Jabberwocky. This conservative  
 14 approach reveals robust differences prolonged in time which span canonical frequency ranges.  
 15 Finally, to explore which electrode-electrode connections contributed most to the global  
 16 connectivity effect, the connectivity strength of each electrode pair was averaged within the time  
 17 window, a difference between conditions was calculated, and the top 1% and 5% of electrode  
 18 pairs were plotted on a topographical map. Thus, for each frequency band, “global connectivity”  
 19 shows *when* and at which *frequency* there is a prolonged difference in connectivity (phase  
 20 synchrony) between correct and violation sentences and “electrode-electrode connectivity”  
 21 shows *where* (between which electrodes) this difference is the strongest.  
 22

23 Oscillatory power was computed using Morlet wavelets (5 cycle width, 3 SD Gaussian  
 24 time window function) on single trials between 1-80 Hz in 1 Hz and 50 ms steps,  $\pm 3$  seconds  
 25 surrounding critical word onsets using Fieldtrip software (Oostenveld, Fries, Maris &  
 26 Schoffelen, 2011). English and Jabberwocky trial data were averaged separately, and expressed  
 27 as an increase or decrease relative to the decibel power within a -500 to -200 ms baseline  
 28 (Cohen, 2014). Statistical analyses were performed using cluster based permutation tests to  
 29 control for multiple comparisons (Maris & Oostenveld, 2007). English and Jabberwocky data  
 30 were each averaged over frequencies and into the canonical bands (theta, alpha, beta and gamma)  
 31 and were compared using two-tailed paired t-tests conducted at each electrode and time point  
 32 between 0-2.5 s. Comparisons that exceeded a significance level of .05 were grouped into  
 33 clusters, their t-statistics were summed and compared to a null distribution (created by 1000  
 34 random data partitions). Any cluster-level test statistic that fell into the highest or lowest 2.5<sup>th</sup>  
 35 percentile was considered significant.  
 36

## 37 Results

### 38 Functional Connectivity

39 Figure 1 shows the time series of global connectivity (mean PLI values) for each  
 40 frequency band from the onset of both English and Jabberwocky sentences. The plots show two  
 41 striking effects. First, there was a significant difference ( $p_{\text{corr}} < 0.05$ ) between conditions in the  
 42 gamma frequency range (30-80 Hz). In gamma, significantly greater connectivity was seen for  
 43 English over Jabberwocky 2.25 to 2.44 s after sentence onset. This effect was driven mostly by  
 44 connections among left posterior and vertex regions. The second notable effect was a large  
 45 increase in global connectivity in theta (4-7 Hz) around 0.5-1s after both English and  
 46 Jabberwocky sentence onsets (note difference in scale for theta compared to other frequency

bands), with no significant differences between conditions. For both English and Jabberwocky sentences, comparisons of active window (500 ms to 1 s) versus baseline (-1 s to -500 ms), revealed significant increases in theta connectivity for both sentence types ( $p_{\text{corr}} < 0.05$ ).

### Oscillatory Power

Figure 2 shows average power within theta, alpha and gamma frequency bands over time for English and Jabberwocky sentences, as well as results of the permutation test that revealed clusters of significant condition differences. These plots show three notable effects: greater gamma band power and less alpha band power for English compared to Jabberwocky sentences, and increased theta band power around sentence onset that was similar for both conditions. These effects were confirmed by permutation tests run for each frequency band over 0 - 2.5 s. For the gamma frequency band, this revealed a significant positive cluster 1.25 - 1.55 s after sentence onset (max sum = 145.50,  $p < .05$ ) that was most prominent at frontal and midline electrodes. For the alpha frequency band, this test revealed a marginally significant negative cluster 2 - 2.5 s after sentence onset (max sum = - 288.07,  $p < .08$ ). Follow-up analyses conducted over a narrower 2-3 s time window revealed significantly less alpha band power for English between 2 - 2.65 s (max sum = - 291.57,  $p < .03$ ; Figure 2). This negative cluster was most prominent at midline central electrodes. No significant differences between English and Jabberwocky were found for theta or beta frequency ranges ( $p > .10$ ). However, as can be seen in Figure 2 both English and Jabberwocky showed an increase in theta band power around sentence onsets. For both English and Jabberwocky sentences, comparisons of active window (0 to 500 ms) versus baseline (-1 s to -500 ms), revealed significant increases in theta power for both sentence types (English:  $p < 0.05$ ; Jabberwocky:  $p < 0.001$ ).

### Discussion

The main finding from this study was greater functional connectivity (phase synchrony) and oscillatory power in the gamma frequency range (30-80 Hz) when participants listened to meaningful English sentences compared to nonsensical Jabberwocky sentences. An increase in theta power and phase synchrony was also observed, but was similar for both English and Jabberwocky. These findings correspond to the power results of Peña and Melloni (2012), who also found greater gamma band power when participants listened to their native language compared to a foreign language with a similar time signature as found here (around 1 second after sentence onset). Additionally, these authors report increased theta band power directly following sentence onset for both native and foreign languages, similar to our findings for English and Jabberwocky. Our results extend these findings to global functional connectivity (phase synchrony) as well, to show that not only does the processing of meaningful speech modulate local neuronal activity, but it also changes the coordination of frequency-specific activity from distributed neuronal populations. Together, these findings suggest that oscillations in the gamma frequency range in particular may reflect a neuronal mechanism for integrating meaning during speech processing and a functional network underlying language comprehension.

More broadly, our results add to the growing literature showing a relationship between synchronous oscillations in the gamma frequency range and a variety of sensory and cognitive integrative functions, including perceptual grouping, maintaining information in short term

1 memory and multi-sensory integration (Singer, 2007). Brief periods of synchronization in the  
2 gamma frequency range appear to act as an integrative mechanism that brings together the  
3 activity of widely distributed neuronal assemblies into a coherent network to support cognitive  
4 and perceptual processing (Rodriguez et al., 1999). Termed the “binding by synchrony”  
5 hypothesis, the idea is that two brain regions that consistently oscillate in synchrony are  
6 communicating with each other within a network, even if those areas are not physically  
7 connected (Fries, 2015; Siegel, Donner, Engel, 2012). High frequency oscillations in the gamma  
8 range (30-80 Hz and faster) appear to be most tightly linked with such network communication  
9 because a cycle of gamma corresponds to the time course of excitatory post-synaptic events  
10 (Jenson & Mazaheri, 2010). Our findings of greater gamma band phase synchronization  
11 (functional connectivity) and power for meaningful English sentences compared to nonsensical  
12 Jabberwocky speech extend this hypothesis to the retrieval and integration of meaning in speech.  
13

14 Interestingly, the timing and distribution of local power and global phase synchrony  
15 effects in the gamma frequency band were different: whereas power effects were seen 1.25-1.55  
16 s after sentence onset over prominently frontal electrodes, phase synchrony effects occurred  
17 later, between 2.25-2.44s, and were largely due to interactions among left posterior and vertex  
18 regions. One might have predicted that frequency-specific network communication would occur  
19 at the same time or even precede local power effects in the corresponding frequency bands.  
20 However, the findings of the current study, as well as others, suggest no simple relation exists  
21 between local power and long-range phase synchronization effects (Donner & Siegel, 2011;  
22 Mussall et al., 2012). For example, Hipp, Engel and Siegel (2011) report a dissociation between  
23 local power and phase synchrony in terms of timing, presence, and distribution of frequency-  
24 specific effects during an audiovisual perception task, and only phase synchronization predicted  
25 participants’ perceptions during the task. It may be that distant cortical sites synchronize their  
26 activity in a frequency-specific way, without necessarily corresponding to changes in local  
27 neuronal activity, and vice versa. In the present study, it could also be that a local increase in the  
28 number of neurons firing synchronously at the gamma frequency band for English (manifested  
29 by increased power) later contributed to greater global phase synchronization. In any case, it  
30 highlights the need for future work, examining event-related changes to both oscillatory power  
31 and phase synchrony, to better understand this relation.  
32

33 Additionally, at the same time and with a similar topographical distribution as the increased  
34 gamma phase synchronization, we observed reduced oscillatory power in the alpha frequency  
35 range (8-13 Hz) for English sentences. Alpha oscillations have been linked to attention and  
36 executive functioning and are thought to support both the inhibition of task-irrelevant and  
37 activation of task-relevant processing (Palva & Palva, 2011). Our finding of a possible  
38 relationship between alpha and gamma band activity fit with the gating by inhibition hypothesis,  
39 in which pulses of alpha activity are thought to regulate cognitive and sensory processing  
40 through their inverse relationship with gamma oscillations (Jensen & Mazaheri, 2010). By this  
41 account, increased alpha activity temporarily inhibits (gates) gamma oscillations in task-  
42 irrelevant cortical areas, whereas decreased alpha activity allows excitatory neurons oscillating in  
43 the gamma frequency range to synchronize their firing patterns across distributed brain areas.  
44 Indeed, synchronous gamma activity from higher-order (cognitive) to lower-order (sensory)  
45 cortical areas has been suggested as a possible mechanism of top-down attention control,  
46 whereby the processing of “meaningful” stimuli is facilitated (Baluch & Itti, 2011). The reduced

1 alpha power that we observed for English compared to Jabberwocky around the same time and in  
2 similar posterior/vertex regions as the enhanced gamma band long-range phase synchrony, may  
3 suggest that these processes might somehow be mechanistically linked during speech processing.  
4 Future studies using cross-frequency coupling of alpha power with gamma phase synchrony  
5 could address this further.  
6

7 In contrast to our findings in the gamma and alpha frequency ranges, we did not find  
8 differences between English and Jabberwocky in the theta frequency range. Initially we were  
9 surprised by this, as a number of previous studies have reported increased theta band power  
10 when participants read sentence-embedded semantic violations compared to semantically  
11 unambiguous, correct words (Bastiaansen & Hagoort, 2015; Davidson & Indefrey, 2007;  
12 Hagoort, Hald, Bastiaansen & Pettersson, 2004; Hald, Bastiaansen & Hagoort, 2006; Wang, Zhu  
13 & Bastiaansen, 2012; Willems, Oostenveld & Hagoort, 2008), which has been taken to suggest  
14 that theta band oscillations may be involved in lexical-semantic retrieval and integration. By this  
15 account, one might have predicted that in the current study, Jabberwocky might have also  
16 modulated theta band power and/or phase synchrony if the brain interpreted Jabberwocky as a  
17 series of lexical-semantic violations (pseudowords). That we found no difference in theta band  
18 power for English and Jabberwocky however, suggests this was not the case. Moreover, previous  
19 studies have also reported increased theta power for sentence-embedded morphosyntactic  
20 violations relative to correct sentences (Bastiaansen, van Berkum & Hagoort, 2002; Perez,  
21 Molinaro, Mancini, Barraza & Carreiras, 2012; Roehm, Schlesewsky, Bornkessel, Frisch &  
22 Haider, 2004). This suggests that oscillations in the theta band may not be specific to processing  
23 semantic information *per se*, rather may reflect a more general neuro-cognitive mechanism for  
24 communicating a variety of information.  
25

26 Our combined pattern of power and phase synchrony results in the theta and gamma  
27 frequency bands, however, both fits with and adds support to a number of recent proposals about  
28 the role of neural oscillations at these frequencies in speech perception more generally (Ghitaz,  
29 2011; Giraud & Poeppel, 2012; Peelle & Davis, 2012; Meyer, 2017). According to these  
30 theories, as the incoming speech signal becomes encoded in the auditory cortex, the phase of  
31 ongoing oscillations in the theta band resets to become aligned with the amplitude envelope of  
32 speech, whose rhythm is that of syllables, also around 4-7 Hz. This realignment is thought to  
33 enhance speech perception because the quasi-rhythmic features of syllable units in the input now  
34 arrive at a time when populations of relevant neurons are at the most excitable periods in their  
35 cycle (Peelle & Davis, 2012). Support for this theory comes from the finding of greater theta  
36 band phase synchronization for normal speech compared to speech whose acoustic envelope had  
37 been degraded to the point that the speech was no longer intelligible (Luo & Poeppel, 2007).  
38 Moreover, the fact that this phase synchronization occurs in the theta band (and is not a  
39 broadband response) underscores how it is the rhythm of speech *per se* that drives this  
40 realignment, rather than a general phase reset of ongoing oscillatory activity due to any stimulus  
41 onset (Mormann et al., 2005). What has still been unclear, however, is just how the brain's phase  
42 locking of theta band oscillations to speech input might allow it to uncover meaning, in addition  
43 to lower-level acoustic information (Meyer, 2017; Peelle & Davis, 2012). In other words, does  
44 the brain's ability to phase lock to acoustic cues in speech depend on the speech being  
45 intelligible?  
46

1 Our findings (of increased theta power and phase synchrony relative to baseline for both  
2 English and Jabberwocky) suggests a more fundamental and general role for theta oscillations in  
3 speech perception. More specifically, theta's acoustic envelope tracking may be not depend  
4 directly on speech intelligibility, rather meaning may be derived indirectly from theta  
5 oscillations, through its nested relationship with oscillations at other frequencies. Indeed slow-  
6 frequency theta oscillations have been shown to entrain high-frequency gamma oscillations,  
7 which, due to their faster cycling rate, is thought to provide a more fine grained temporal  
8 integration window that is better suited for analysing sub-syllabic features in speech, such as  
9 phonemes and their combinations (Ghitaz, 2011; Giraud & Poeppel, 2012; Poeppel, 2003). Our  
10 results provide support for this proposal. Here we found increased theta band power and phase  
11 synchrony relative to baseline for both meaningful English and meaningless Jabberwocky  
12 followed by greater gamma band power and phase synchrony for meaningful English only. The  
13 overall acoustic envelope of the English and Jabberwocky sentences was in fact similar,  
14 suggesting that intelligibility may not be a prerequisite for theta phase locking to occur. What  
15 differentiated English and Jabberwocky, was that Jabberwocky open-class content "words" were  
16 comprised of unfamiliar (although legal) combinations of phonemes that did not map onto a  
17 meaningful semantic representation. In other words, modulation of theta oscillations may reflect  
18 a domain-general tracking of the rhythm of the sentences' syllabic structure that is similar  
19 regardless of whether the listener can uncover meaning from the speech signal. The brain may be  
20 predisposed to parse the approximately 4-7 Hz rhythm of speech (regardless of its semantic  
21 content), with oscillations tuned to the same frequency. Theta's tracking of the acoustic envelope  
22 of speech may then provide a scaffold on which other temporal features of speech can be  
23 organized and, in the case of speech, meaning can be derived (Pelle & Davis, 2012). The timing  
24 of our effects – modulations of theta power then phase synchrony (relative to baseline), followed  
25 by increased gamma power then phase synchrony for English only, fits with this, as well as the  
26 hypothesis that theta requires a few cycles to entrain gamma oscillations. It appears that the  
27 brain differentiated meaningful English from meaningless Jabberwocky at the fine-grained  
28 phonetic level (and its mapping to semantic content), and this may be observable via  
29 modulations to its corresponding gamma rhythm. Theta rhythm, in contrast may be how the brain  
30 communicates auditory information in general.

31  
32 Together our findings suggest that long-range phase synchronization (functional  
33 connectivity), particularly in the gamma frequency band, may play an important role during  
34 meaningful speech perception. Phase synchronization has been proposed as a mechanism to  
35 explain the visual binding problem – how information in distributed brain regions can coordinate  
36 processing and communicate information across anatomically separate cortical areas in order to  
37 perceive a unitary visual percept (Varela, Lachaus, Rodriguez & Martinerie, 2001). Analogously,  
38 during speech processing, the analysis of meaning requires not only spatial integration (as  
39 different types of linguistic information are processed by distributed brain regions) but also  
40 temporal integration as the speech signal unfolds over time (Hagoort, 2005). Dynamic functional  
41 connectivity, or brief periods of frequency-specific phase synchronization, as observed here, may  
42 provide a mechanism to help explain the language "binding" problem – how information  
43 retrieved from the mental lexicon over time can be unified with linguistic information processed  
44 by other brain areas into an overall coherent understanding of speech (Hagoort, 2005; Varela et  
45 al., 2001).

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## Conclusion

In summary, our results suggest that the process of constructing a meaningful representation of incoming speech involves dynamic interactions among distributed brain regions that communicate through frequency-specific functional networks. In particular, phase synchronization of neuronal assemblies oscillating together at the gamma frequency range may provide a vehicle for information flow throughout a network of brain areas involved in extracting meaning in speech. Oscillations in the theta and alpha frequency ranges may also change during speech perception, although these changes may support more domain-general aspects of language, such as processing the acoustic or rhythmic features of speech (theta) and in gating activation of task-relevant brain areas (alpha). In contrast, our finding of greater long-range phase synchrony and local power in the gamma frequency range while participants listened to meaningful English compared to meaningless Jabberwocky speech, suggests that high-frequency gamma oscillations may reflect a mechanism by which the brain transfers and integrates linguistic information in order for us to extract meaning and understand what is said.

One important clinical application of these findings may be for future studies to adapt our analysis of functional language networks in healthy adults to use with pediatric patients with drug-resistant epilepsy or brain tumors. For these patients, language mapping is critical for determining whether brain surgery is a viable treatment option: that is, identifying that the brain areas that are affected by disease and should be removed, are distinct from areas that support language and should be spared. However, current gold standard methods are invasive, lengthy, reveal local brain responses rather than network interactions, and require overt responses and so are difficult to use with young patients (Asano & Gotman, 2016; Wang et al., 2016). In contrast, we found that both local activity and long-range functional network connectivity were modulated while participants passively listened to speech that was embedded into engaging cartoons. This highlights the promise of applying these analyses to identify the functional language networks in pediatric patients who require surgery for epilepsy.

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7

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10

In review

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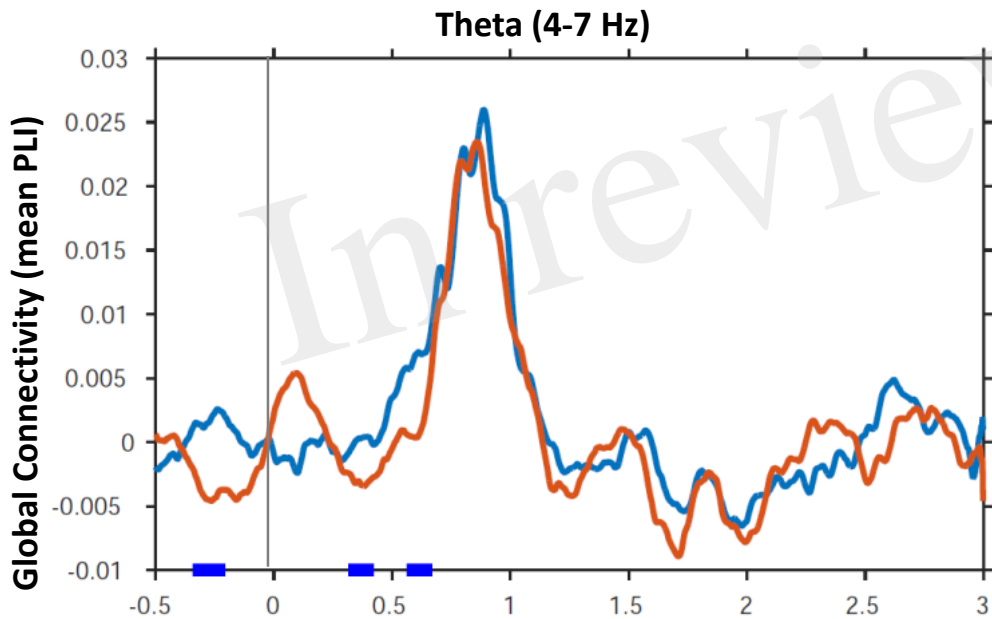
In review

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## Figure Captions

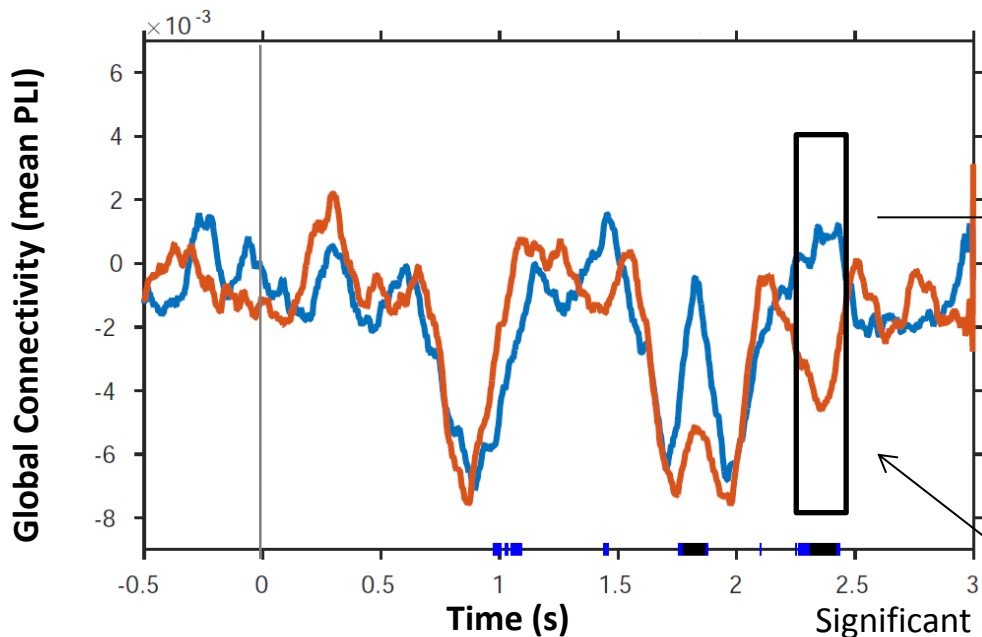
*Figure 1. Global Connectivity.* This figure shows time series of global connectivity (mean PLI values) for English (blue) and Jabberwocky (red) sentences for the theta and gamma frequency bands. Results of the running t-tests that compared mean PLI values for English versus Jabberwocky at each time point are presented along the x-axis of each figure (blue:  $p < .05$ ; black:  $p < .01$ ). Only the effect in the gamma frequency range (30-80 Hz) remained significant after controlling for multiple comparisons ( $p_{\text{corr}} < 0.05$ ). The head maps show the electrode – electrode connections that contributed most to the gamma connectivity effect in the 2.25-2.44 s time window.

*Figure 2. Oscillatory Power.* This figure shows time series of oscillatory power for theta (4-7 Hz), alpha (8-13 Hz) and gamma (30-80 Hz) frequency bands over time, averaged over all electrodes for English (blue) and Jabberwocky (red) sentences. The head maps show results of the cluster-based permutation test that revealed a significant difference between conditions for alpha and gamma frequencies only ( $x = p < .05$ ). In alpha, significantly less power was seen for English sentences between 2-2.65 s, as revealed by a negative cluster that was most prominent at posterior midline electrodes. In gamma, significantly more connectivity was seen for English sentences between 1.25-1.55 s, as revealed by a positive cluster that was most prominent at frontal electrodes. In theta, a large increase in oscillatory power was seen for both English and Jabberwocky directly after sentence onset (0 ms), with no significant condition differences ( $p > .10$ ).

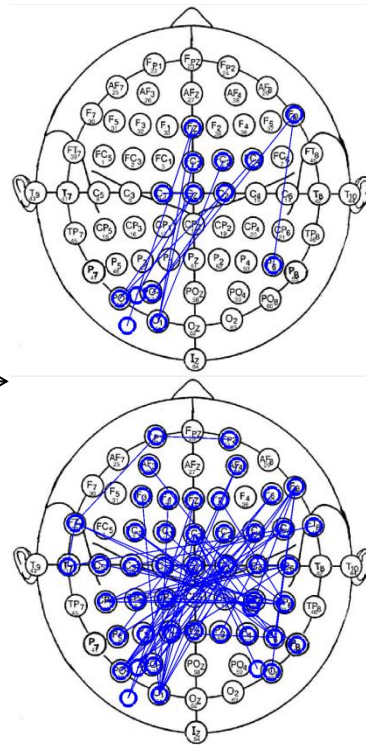


— English  
— Jabberwocky

### Gamma (30-80 Hz)



**Top 1 % and 5% of Connections  
(Gamma: 2.25-2.44 s)  
English > Jabberwocky**



Significant after controlling for multiple comparisons

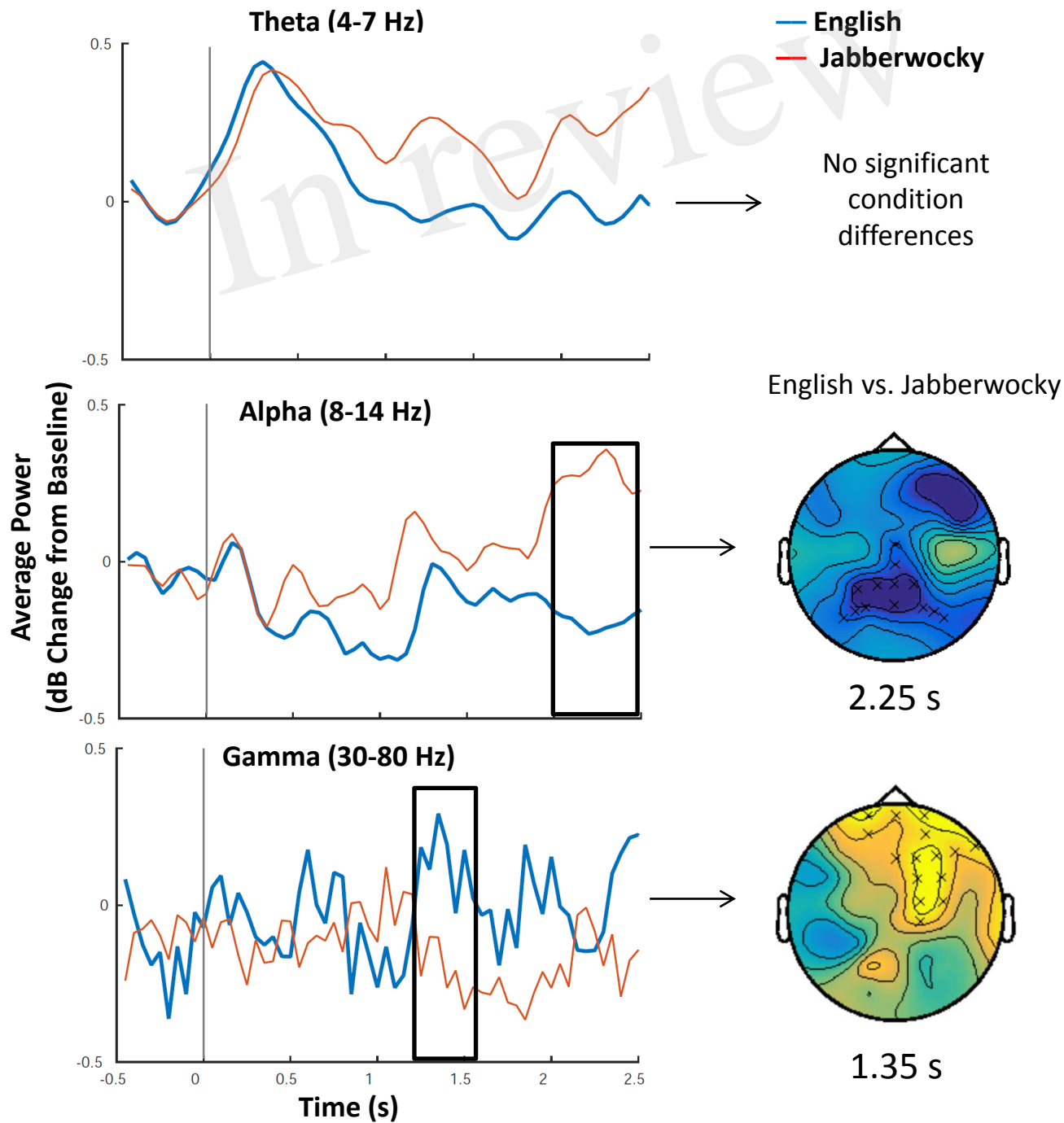


Figure 1.TIF

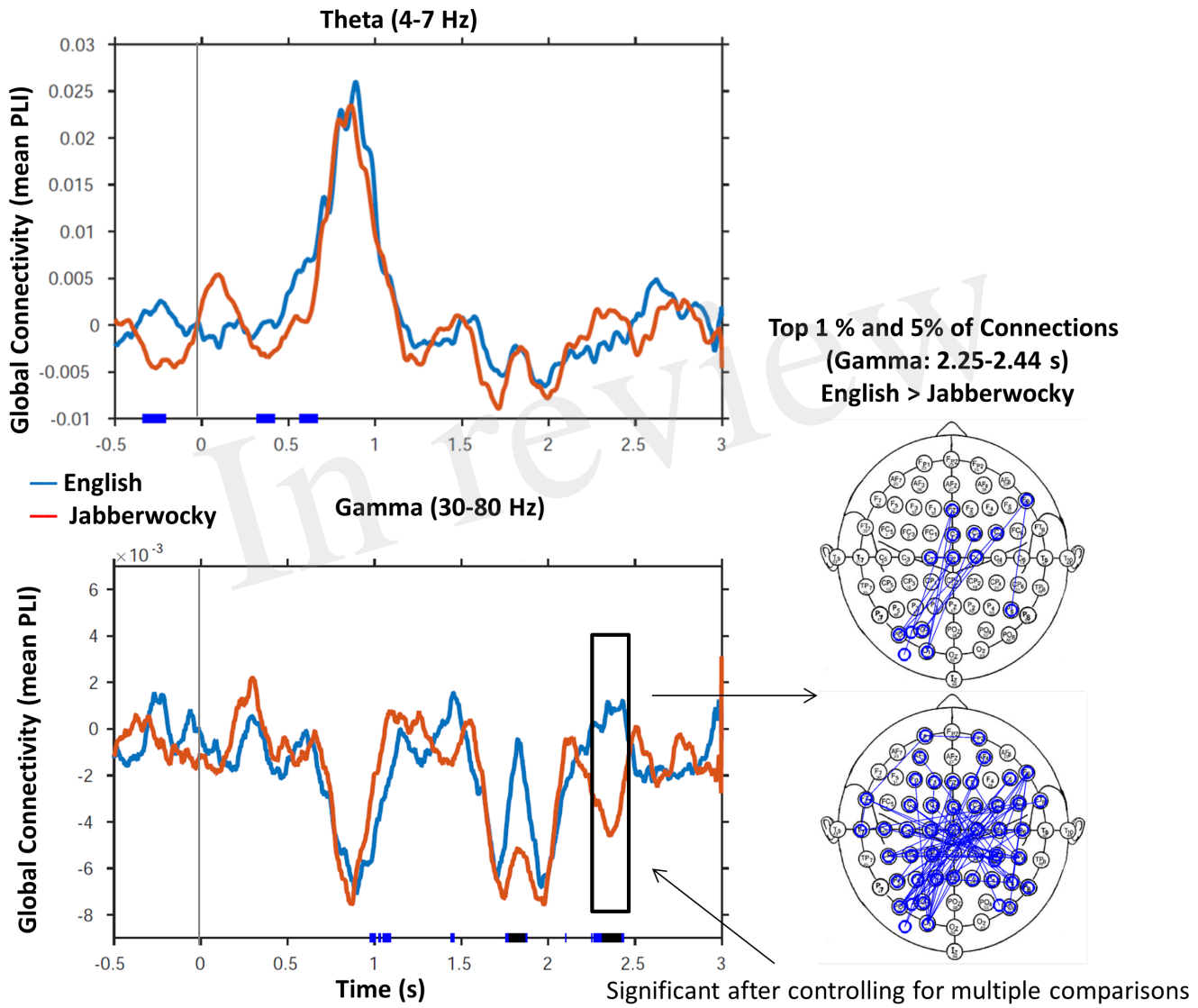


Figure 2.TIF

