

42 Speech perception is fundamentally important for human communication. While speech signals
43 are often embedded in complex sound mixtures that can interfere with speech perception via
44 energetic and informational masking, the auditory system is remarkably adept at utilizing
45 attentional mechanisms to suppress distractor information and enhance representations of the
46 target speech (e.g., Ding and Simon, 2012a; Mesgarani and Chang, 2012; O’Sullivan et al.,
47 2019). However, the robustness of speech perception, particularly in the presence of noise, is
48 vulnerable to deterioration through both noise-induced and age-related hearing loss (Dubno et
49 al., 1984; Helfer and Wilber, 1990; Fogerty et al., 2015, 2020) as well as age-related cognitive
50 decline (van Rooij and Plomp, 1990; Akeroyd, 2008; Dryden et al., 2017). Additionally, a small
51 but significant portion of the population experiences speech-in-noise (SIN) perception
52 difficulties, without exhibiting clinical hearing loss (Saunders, 1989; Zhao and Stephens, 2007;
53 Tremblay et al., 2015). Together, these SIN perception difficulties can lead to significant
54 impairment in quality of life (Dalton et al., 2003; Chia et al., 2007), and in older adults they may
55 result in increased social isolation (Chia et al., 2007; Mick et al., 2014; Pronk et al., 2014),
56 potentially exacerbating loss of cognitive function (Loughrey et al., 2018; Ray et al., 2018).

57 Although subjective SIN perception difficulties are relatively common in older
58 individuals, objective tests for quantifying these deficits, such as identification of words or
59 sentences in noise (e.g., QuickSin; Killion et al., 2004), often do not strongly correlate with the
60 degree of subjective deficit (Phatak et al., 2018), particularly in cases with little-to-no clinical
61 hearing loss. Smith and colleagues (2019) recently reported that only 8% of their sample of 194
62 listeners exhibited deficits in objective SIN tasks, while 42% of listeners indicated experiencing
63 subjective SIN perception difficulties. A likely reason for this mismatch is that objective speech
64 perception tests do not accurately reflect real world scenarios where SIN difficulties arise. For
65 example, while existing tests generally require identification of isolated words or sentences
66 embedded in noise (e.g., speech-shaped noise or a competing talker), real world speech
67 perception often requires real-time comprehension of multi-sentence expressions, embedded
68 in a reverberant environment, in the presence of multiple competing speakers at different
69 spatial positions. In these scenarios, listeners who need to expend additional time and cognitive
70 resources to identify the meaning of the incoming speech may “fall behind” in comprehension
71 of later parts of the utterance. Moreover, even if the listener can correctly piece together the
72 meaning of the utterance, their subjective confidence may be diminished, potentially “blurring”
73 the predictive processes thought to facilitate perception of upcoming speech (Pickering and
74 Gambi, 2018). As such, behavioral measures that more accurately reflect subjective SIN
75 perception difficulties may require utilization of more realistic, narrative stimuli, and focus on
76 quantifying comprehension, as opposed to simple word or sentence identification (e.g., Xia et
77 al., 2017).

78 While development of behavioral paradigms focusing on characterizing SIN perception
79 difficulties is an important goal, a complementary and potentially more sensitive approach to
80 quantifying these deficits may be provided by neural measures of continuous-speech tracking.
81 In recent years, non-invasive methodologies for measurement of neural representations of
82 continuous speech in humans have become increasingly popular (Lalor and Foxe, 2010; Crosse

83 et al., 2016), particularly in application to young normal-hearing (YNH) populations. One
84 important result of this work has been the demonstration of profound attentional modulation
85 of speech whereby temporal dynamics of neural responses to attended and ignored speech
86 differ considerably, both in representation of lower-level features such as the speech envelope
87 (Ding and Simon, 2012; Power et al., 2012; Kong et al., 2014; Fiedler et al., 2019), and higher-
88 level features related to lexical and semantic content of speech (Brodbeck et al., 2018;
89 Broderick et al., 2018). Indeed, while lower-level features produce robust responses even when
90 speech is ignored, features related to linguistic representations only show robust responses for
91 attended speech, suggesting that they are tightly linked with speech comprehension.
92 Responses to higher-level features may therefore be particularly sensitive to SIN perception
93 difficulties, which are likely associated with impaired comprehension performance. In fact, SIN
94 perception difficulties could potentially manifest themselves not only in terms of poorer
95 tracking of higher-level features in attended speech, but also in increased tracking of features in
96 ignored speech, when facing difficulties with suppression of distractor information.

97 Changes in neural processing of continuous speech in aging populations, compared to
98 young adults, are relatively poorly understood. Several studies have utilized magneto- and
99 electroencephalography (M/EEG) to address this question. Studies comparing envelope-related
100 cortical responses have revealed a pattern of amplified envelope representations in older
101 populations (Presacco et al., 2016; Decruy et al., 2019; Zan et al., 2020), potentially reflecting
102 changes in the utilization of cognitive resources during speech comprehension. More recently,
103 Broderick et al. (2020) compared higher-level representations of speech in younger and older
104 populations. They estimated EEG responses to 5-gram surprisal, reflecting the predictability of
105 words given the preceding sequence of four words, as well as semantic dissimilarity, reflecting
106 the contribution of each word to the semantic content of a sentence. While younger listeners
107 showed strong responses to both of these features, older adults exhibited a delayed surprisal
108 response and a near-absent response to semantic dissimilarity. These findings demonstrate
109 that representations of higher-level features of speech may indeed reveal robust effects of age.
110 However, because Broderick et al. (2020) did not report behavioral measures related to speech
111 comprehension, nor measures of subjective speech perception difficulties among their
112 participants, it is unclear whether these metrics would correlate with the reported EEG-based
113 findings. Moreover, participants in that study were presented with clear speech without any
114 distractors (e.g., competing speakers), making it unclear how speech representations differ in
115 complex listening scenarios where speech perception difficulties are most commonly reported.

116 The goal of this study was to compare higher-level neural representations of two-talker
117 speech mixtures between younger and older adults, and to explore how these measures relate
118 to comprehension performance and self-reported SIN perception difficulties. In particular, we
119 examined representations related to word dissimilarity relative to short-term preceding
120 context, lexical surprisal based on multi-sentence context, and word-level audibility. We chose
121 to pursue this paradigm for several reasons. First, a multi-talker paradigm was chosen because
122 subjective SIN perception difficulties commonly arise in aging listeners in the context of
123 competing speech. If age-related changes in neural representations are confirmed, then these

124 neural signatures could potentially be further explored as a candidate objective correlate for
125 subjective SIN difficulties. Second, we chose to characterize responses to word-level features
126 linked to meaning and lexical predictability because existing evidence indicates that responses
127 to higher-level features are tightly linked to speech comprehension (Broderick et al., 2018). As
128 such, we anticipated that responses to these features are more likely to exhibit differences as a
129 function of age and SIN perception difficulties. Although neural representations reflecting the
130 end-goal of speech perception may allow for only limited inference about the underlying causes
131 of SIN perception difficulties, which can range from peripheral changes in acoustic
132 representations to more central changes in cognitive processes, these representations may
133 offer increased sensitivity due to capturing the combined effects of the various etiologies
134 underlying the deficit.

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136 **2. Materials and Methods**

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138 **2.1 Participants**

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140 In total, 45 adult volunteers completed the experiment, and data from 41 participants were
141 used due to a methodological change implemented early in data collection. The participant
142 pool was divided into two groups, younger adults (YA) and older adults (OA), with participants
143 who were 18-39 years included in the former, and participants who were 40-70 years included
144 in the latter. The YA group consisted of 20 participants (6 male, 14 female; mean \pm s.d. age:
145 29.40 ± 6.40 years), while the OA group included 21 participants (9 male, 12 female; mean \pm
146 s.d. age: 53.48 ± 8.68 years). Participants were recruited via email advertisement from a pool of
147 students, staff, and alumni of the University of Minnesota. All participants provided informed
148 written consent and received either course credit or monetary compensation for their
149 participation. The procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board of the
150 University of Minnesota.

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152 **2.2 Audiometry**

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154 An air-conduction audiogram was measured in each ear for each participant prior to beginning
155 the EEG procedures. Detection thresholds were measured at octave frequencies in the 250 –
156 8000 Hz range, and frequencies for which thresholds exceeded 20 dB HL were deemed to be
157 affected by hearing loss (HL). This procedure resulted in the detection of 2 participants in the
158 YA group, and 16 participants in the OA group as having mild-to-moderate high-frequency HL.
159 The skewed distribution of HL towards the older population was expected, as peripheral
160 frequency sensitivity naturally diminishes with age (see reviews by Huang and Tang, 2010;
161 Yamasoba et al., 2013).

162

163 For participants with any hearing loss, all experimental audio materials were amplified in the
164 frequency regions of hearing loss, as described in section 2.4 below. Under these conditions, we
165 observed no association between task performance and high-frequency hearing loss.

166

167 **2.3 Modified SSQ questionnaire**

168

169 Prior to the EEG procedures, all participants completed a modified version of a subset of
170 Speech, Spatial and Qualities of Hearing Scale (SSQ_m). The original version of SSQ (Gatehouse
171 and Noble, 2004) was designed to measure subjective hearing challenges faced by listeners in
172 various situations of daily life. In our version, we specifically probed participants about
173 difficulties with and frustrations related to hearing speech in noisy situations, such as cafes and
174 social gatherings. Each of the 14 items was presented on a computer screen along with four
175 graded choices of frequency, difficulty, or discomfort related to the presented listening
176 scenarios. E.g.,

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178 Item 1:

179 I find it difficult to talk with staff in places such as shops, cafes, or banks, due to struggling to
180 hear what they are saying.

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182 Item 10:

183 In group conversations I worry about mishearing people and responding based on incorrect
184 information.

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186 Response choices:

187 1) Not at all

188 2) Rarely

189 3) Often

190 4) Very often

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193 **2.4 Stimuli**

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195 Stimuli were four public domain short story audiobooks (*Summer Snow Storm* by Adam Chase;
196 *Mr. Tilly's Seance* by Edward F. Benson; *A Pail of Air* by Fritz Leiber; *Home Is Where You Left It*
197 by Adam Chase; source: LibriVox.org), spoken by two male speakers (two stories per speaker).
198 Each story was about 25 min in duration and was pre-processed to truncate any silences
199 between words that exceeded a 500-ms interval to 500 ms. On a block-by-block basis (see
200 section 2.5 below), each audiobook was root-mean-square (RMS) normalized and scaled to 65
201 dB SPL. Stimuli were presented to participants using ER1 Insert Earphones (Etymotic Research,
202 Elk Grove Village, IL), shielded with copper foil to prevent electrical artifacts in the EEG data.

203

204 In order to minimize the odds of finding age-related differences in neural responses that could
205 be attributed to reduced audibility in participants with hearing loss, all audio materials were
206 custom-filtered for each participant with HL using a FIR filter implemented in MATLAB
207 (Mathworks, Natick, MA) via the *designfilt* and *filter* functions. The filter was designed to apply
208 half gain, amplifying all frequency bands by half the amount of the hearing loss:

$$\begin{aligned} 209 & \\ 210 & A(f) = 0.5 \times (T(f) - 20) \quad \text{when } T(f) > 20 \text{ dB HL,} \\ 211 & A(f) = 0 \quad \text{otherwise,} \end{aligned}$$

212
213 where $T(f)$ is the detection threshold in dB HL at frequency f . Note that half gain amplification is
214 a commonly used strategy to mitigate reduced audibility due to hearing loss, while preventing
215 discomfort from loudness recruitment, whereby loudness growth for frequencies affected by
216 cochlear hearing loss is steeper than that observed in normal hearing (Fowler, 1936; Steinberg
217 and Gardner, 1937).

218 219 **2.5 Experimental procedures**

220
221 The experimental setup was implemented using the Psychophysics Toolbox (Brainard, 1997;
222 Pelli, 1997; Kleiner et al., 2007) in MATLAB. Two experimental runs were completed by each
223 study participant. In each run, a pair of audiobooks read by different male speakers (Fig. 1A)
224 was presented diotically (the mixture of the two audiobooks in each ear) to the participant. One
225 of the stories served as the *attended* story, while the other was the *ignored* story, with these
226 designations being counter-balanced across participants. A run was broken up into 24-27 blocks
227 (variation was due to small differences in durations of audiobooks used in each of the two
228 runs). Each block contained a roughly 1-minute segment of audio, followed by a series of
229 questions, detailed below. Block duration was allowed to exceed 1 minute in order to ensure
230 that each block concluded at the end of a sentence in the attended story. The attended story
231 remained the same throughout the run. To cue the participants to follow the correct story, the
232 audio of the attended story started 1 sec prior to the onset of the ignored story. This was
233 further aided by making this initial 1-sec portion of the attended story in each block (except
234 block #1) correspond to the final 1-sec of the attended story from the previous block. These
235 repeated segments with the attended story alone were excluded from statistical analyses.
236 Throughout each block, participants were instructed to stay as still as possible, and to keep
237 their gaze on a central fixation marker presented on a computer display in front of the
238 participant. The purpose of this was to minimize EEG artifacts caused by muscle activity.

239 Following each block, participants were presented on a display with a series of Yes/No
240 questions about the audio from that block, including:

- 241
242 1) Four comprehension questions about the contents of the attended story
243 2) Confidence ratings for each of the comprehension questions
244 3) Intelligibility judgment about the attended speaker

245 4) Subjective attentiveness rating

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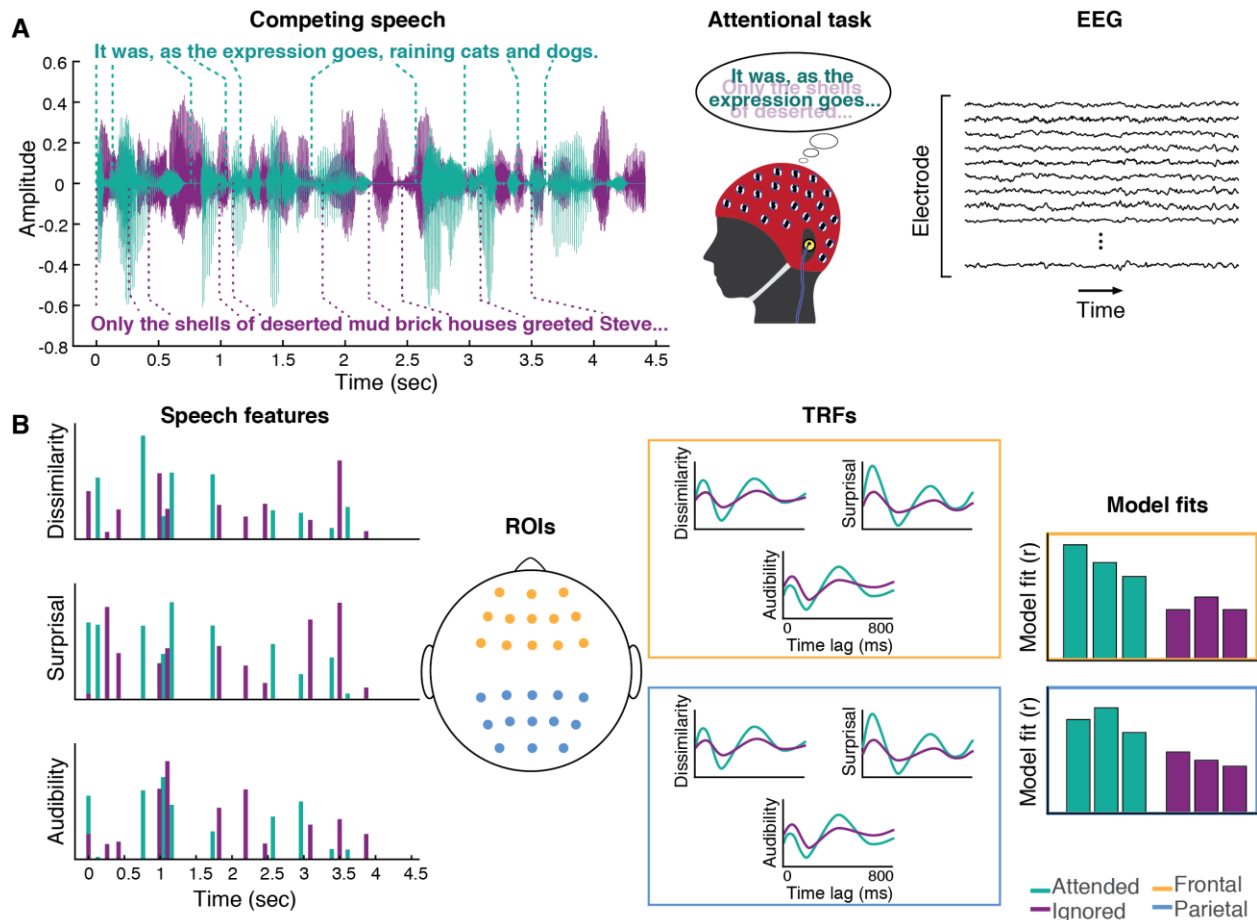
247 As each behavioral question had binary answer choices (e.g., for attentiveness,
248 participants answered “Were you able to stay focused on the target story?” Yes/No), the main
249 purpose of these questions was to gather information about participants’ comprehension and
250 subjective experience throughout the run, and to make sure that they were attending to the
251 correct story.

252 Participants were given 10 seconds to answer each question using a key press. If 10
253 seconds elapsed without a response, the question was marked as no-response. After answering
254 each block’s questions, participants were allowed to request a short break to ensure that they
255 remained comfortable throughout the experiment. These breaks were limited to up to two
256 minutes, during which participants remained seated. The next block started as soon as the
257 break was terminated by the participant with a key press, or two minutes elapsed.

258 Furthermore, between the two experimental runs, participants were offered an extended break
259 inside the booth. The EEG cap and the insert phones were not removed during the breaks.

260 The second experimental run was procedurally identical to the first one, except a
261 different pair of stories was presented, neither of which was used in the first run. Additionally,
262 the attended and ignored speakers were switched, so that the speaker that narrated the
263 ignored story in the first run was attended in the second run, while the attended speaker from
264 the first run became the ignored speaker in the second run. Participants were explicitly
265 informed of this switch, and the purpose of this was to balance any possible speaker effects on
266 each participant’s EEG data.

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Figure 1. Experimental procedures. (A) Participants listened to a mixture of two speakers, while attending to one of them. Meanwhile, 64-channel EEG was recorded from their scalp. (B) Three word-level features (dissimilarity, surprisal, and audibility) were extracted from the speech for both the attended and ignored stories, and used to generate regressors containing impulses that were time-aligned to the word onsets scaled by the amplitude of each feature. These features were regressed against the EEG signals recorded during the experiment, resulting in TRF and model fit contributions for each of the features. These TRFs and goodness-of-fit values were averaged across groups of frontal (yellow) and parietal (blue) electrodes for use in group-level analyses.

2.6 EEG procedures

While engaging in the experimental task described above, each participant's EEG activity was sampled at 4096 Hz from their scalp using a Biosemi ActiveTwo system (BioSemi B.V., Amsterdam, The Netherlands), with 64 channels positioned according to the international 10-20 system (Klem et al., 1999). Additional external electrodes were placed on the left and right mastoids, and above and below the right eye (vertical electro-oculogram, VEOG). Prior to the beginning of the recording, and between the two runs, the experimenter visually inspected

287 signals in all electrodes, and for any electrodes with DC offsets exceeding ± 20 mV, the contact
288 between the electrode and scalp was readjusted until the offset fell below ± 20 mV.

289

290 **2.7 EEG preprocessing**

291 All pre-processing analyses were implemented via the EEGLAB toolbox (Delorme and Makeig,
292 2004) for MATLAB, unless otherwise stated. To reduce computational load, the raw EEG data
293 were initially downsampled to 256 Hz, and band-pass filtered between 1 and 80 Hz using a
294 Hamming windowed sinc FIR filter implemented in the *pop_eegfiltnew* function of EEGLAB.
295 Subsequently, data were pre-processed using the PREP pipeline (Bigdely-Shamlo et al., 2015).
296 These steps included line noise removal, detection of disproportionately noisy channels via an
297 iterative robust referencing procedure, interpolation of noisy channels, and referencing the
298 data using the final “clean” estimate of the global mean activation. The benefit of this
299 procedure is that it minimizes the risk of signal contamination from electrodes with abnormal
300 signals (e.g., due to faulty hardware) during the referencing stage.

301 Next, activations from all experimental blocks were epoched and independent
302 component analysis (ICA; Jutten and Herault, 1991; Comon, 1994) was applied to the data using
303 the infomax ICA algorithm (Bell and Sejnowski, 1995) implementation in EEGLAB. This
304 procedure decomposes the EEG signal into statistically independent sources of activation, some
305 of which reflect sensory and cognitive processes, while others capture muscle-related signal
306 contributions and other sources of noise. We removed all components that matched eye-blink
307 related activity in component topography, amplitude, and temporal characteristics, as well as
308 other high-amplitude artifacts that reflected muscle activity. This, on average, led to the
309 removal of 2.52 (SD: 0.97) components.

310 The cleaned EEG signals were then band-pass filtered between 1 and 8 Hz with a
311 Chebyshev type 2 filter designed using MATLAB's *designfilt* function (optimized to achieve 80
312 dB attenuation below 0.5 Hz and above 9 Hz, with pass-band ripple of 1 dB), and applied to the
313 data using the *filtfilt* function. Afterwards, the data were z-scored in order to control for inter-
314 subject variability in the overall signal amplitude due to nuisance factors such as skull thickness
315 or scalp conductivity, as well as to improve efficiency in the cross-validated regression and ridge
316 parameter search for deriving the temporal response function (TRF), described below (section
317 2.9.1). Finally, because run duration varied slightly due to unequal lengths of the two pairs of
318 audiobooks (i.e. 24-27 minutes), in order to equalize contributions from each run to the overall
319 analysis results, only blocks 2-23 from each run were used in the remaining analyses. The first
320 block was excluded in order to minimize effects of initial errors in attending to the target story,
321 which happened to a very small number of participants (less than 5), but was quickly corrected
322 after initial comprehension questions were presented.

323

324 **2.8 Word timing estimation**

325 Word onset timings for all words within each story were estimated using the Montreal Forced
326 Aligner (McAuliffe et al., 2017). Prior to running the aligner, the audiobook text was
327 preprocessed to remove punctuation, typographic errors and abbreviations, and both the text

328 and audio were divided into roughly 30-sec segments. This segmented alignment approach was
329 used in order to prevent accumulation of alignment errors for later portions of the audio. All
330 alignments were subsequently manually inspected for timing errors, and when noticeable
331 alignment errors were detected, the aligner was re-run on further-shortened (15 sec) segments
332 of the affected audio. While forced alignment routinely results in some degree of timing errors,
333 these are typically small, with a median of about 15 ms for the aligner used here. As such, only
334 a small degree of temporal smearing of estimated neural responses should occur due to these
335 errors.

336

337 **2.9 Data analysis**

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339 **2.9.1 TRF analyses**

340 Time courses of cortical responses to different speech features, known as the TRFs, were
341 extracted from preprocessed EEG activity using cross-validated regularized linear regression,
342 implemented via the mTRF toolbox (Crosse et al., 2016). Briefly, deconvolution of a TRF for a
343 given feature from the EEG signal is accomplished by first constructing a regressor containing a
344 time series, sampled at a rate matching the EEG signal, of that feature's amplitudes. By
345 including multiple time-lagged copies of the regressor for each feature, the effect of a given
346 feature on the neural activity at different latencies relative to the word onset can be estimated,
347 resulting in a time course of neural response. Regressors for all features are combined into a
348 full design matrix, and this matrix is then regressed against the EEG signal to yield the impulse
349 responses (i.e., TRFs) for each of the included features at each electrode site.

350 In practice, this procedure was implemented through 11-fold cross-validation, with each
351 fold involving three steps. First, the data and regressors were split into a training set, composed
352 of 40 blocks of the data (~40 minutes), and a testing set, containing the remaining 4 blocks of
353 the data (~4 minutes). Next, the training set was used to determine the ridge parameter, λ , by
354 iteratively fitting the cortical-response model using a range of ridge parameters. The TRF
355 estimates were obtained for the λ parameter that produced the best model fit to the training
356 data, as determined by the highest Pearson's correlation coefficient between the predicted and
357 actual EEG signal. The TRF estimates were then used to assess the model fit for the test data.
358 This was done by convolving the estimated TRFs with the corresponding word-feature
359 regressors for the test data set, and computing the Pearson's correlation between the
360 predicted and actual test data. Following cross-validation, average TRFs for each feature and an
361 average model goodness-of-fit were computed from results of all cross-validation folds for use
362 in group-level analyses.

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364 **2.9.1.1 Regression features**

365 Word features used in the regression analyses included semantic dissimilarity, surprisal, and
366 word audibility (Fig. 1B).

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368 **2.9.1.1.1 Semantic dissimilarity**

369 Semantic dissimilarity, reflecting approximately the degree to which each word adds new
370 information to a sentence, was computed as described in Broderick et al., (2018). Briefly, we
371 used Google’s pre-trained *word2vec* neural network (Mikolov et al., 2013a, 2013b),
372 implemented using the Gensim library (Rehurek and Sojka, 2010) for Python, to compute a 300-
373 dimensional vector representation (otherwise known as an embedding) of each word within
374 our stimuli. An important property of these vector representations is that in the 300-
375 dimensional vector space, vectors of words with similar meanings point in similar directions.
376 Computing correlation between vectors representing any two words approximates their
377 semantic similarity. Because EEG response to incongruent words has been shown to elicit a
378 strong N400 component (Kutas and Hillyard, 1980), for regression purposes these similarity
379 values were subtracted from 1 to convert them to dissimilarity.

380 To construct semantic dissimilarity regressors, we computed the dissimilarity between
381 each word’s vector, and the average of vectors for all preceding words in a given sentence. In
382 the case of the first word in a sentence, we computed dissimilarity from the average vector for
383 words in the previous sentence. These dissimilarity values were then used to construct the
384 regressor consisting of unit-length impulses aligned to word onsets that were scaled by each
385 word’s dissimilarity value and zeros between these impulses. Although neural responses to
386 semantic content of words may not be strictly time-locked to word onsets, potentially leading
387 to some degree of temporal smearing in the estimated TRFs, word onset timings have been
388 successfully used as timestamps for characterizing higher-order lexical and semantic processes
389 (e.g., Broderick et al., 2018; Weissbart et al., 2019).

390

391 **2.9.1.1.2 Lexical surprisal**

392 Surprisal regressors were constructed in an identical way to dissimilarity, except the feature
393 values were computed using OpenAI’s GPT-2 (Radford et al., 2019; 12-layer, 117M parameter
394 version) artificial neural network (ANN), similar to the approach demonstrated by Heilbron et
395 al. (2019). These procedures were implemented in Python using the Transformers library (Wolf
396 et al., 2020) for PyTorch (Paszke et al., 2019). GPT-2 is a transformer-based (Vaswani et al.,
397 2017) ANN that, using a “self-attention” mechanism, is capable of effectively using hundreds of
398 words worth of preceding context in order to generate seemingly realistic sequences of text. As
399 a result, it can be used as a proxy for computing the predictability of words within a sequence.
400 Surprisal is calculated based on a much longer time scale (a large number of words in the
401 preceding context) than semantic dissimilarity. Specifically, by providing GPT-2 with a segment
402 of text and then generating the distribution over the next word, it is possible to assess the
403 relative probability of the actual next word within GPT-2’s distribution of possibilities.
404 Generation of all probabilities involves iteratively adding words into the context, and computing
405 the probability of each successive word. In practice, GPT-2 utilizes a tokenized representation of
406 text, whereby GPT-2’s vocabulary corresponds to a combination of whole words (particularly in
407 the case of shorter words) and word fragments.

408 As a result, the probability of the i -th word w_i was computed as a product of conditional
409 probabilities of the constituent word tokens t , with each token’s probability being computed

410 with the model's knowledge of the preceding tokens (i.e. preceding text plus current word's
411 tokens whose probabilities were already estimated):

412

$$413 \quad p(w_i) = \prod_{j=1}^n p(t_{k+j} \mid t_{k+j-512}, \dots, t_{k+j-1}),$$

414

415 where j indexes the n tokens of word w_i , k is the absolute index of the last token in the
416 preceding word (relative to text beginning), and 512 is the maximum number of tokens utilized
417 for prediction. For token indices less than 512 (i.e., early portions of the text), all of the
418 available context was used. Furthermore, in cases where one or more tokens from the word at
419 the far boundary of the context window did not fit into the 512 token limit, that word's tokens
420 were excluded from being used for prediction. Note that although GPT-2 is capable of utilizing
421 up to 1024 tokens for prediction, we utilized a context length of 512 tokens due to limited
422 computational resources. Across the 4 stories, when full predictive context was utilized for
423 prediction, it contained on average 393.3 [s.d. = 31.1] words.

424 Because brain mechanisms underlying lexical prediction respond more to unexpected
425 than to expected words (Kutas and Hillyard, 1984), surprisal was computed by taking the
426 negative log of the conditional probabilities of each word, leading to less expected words
427 receiving higher surprisal values:

428

$$429 \quad S(w_i) = -\log(p(w_i))$$

430

431 **2.9.1.1.3 Audibility**

432 Word audibility regressors were constructed separately for the attended and ignored stories to
433 capture the degree of masking of each word in one story by the speaker of the other story. In
434 contrast to dissimilarity and surprisal, this value reflects the information at the shortest, word-
435 by-word time scale, with higher signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) values reflecting greater peripheral
436 fidelity of target speech, leading to lower uncertainty in speech identification on the basis of
437 the bottom-up signal. For each word w_i in a given story, its audibility was defined in dB SNR
438 units:

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$$440 \quad Aud(w_i) = 20 \log \frac{RMS(y(w_i))}{RMS(z(w_i))},$$

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442 where $y(w_i)$ is the acoustic waveform of a word w_i spoken by one speaker, and $z(w_i)$ is the
443 acoustic waveform of the other speaker at the same time. Because neural responses have
444 limited dynamic range while the audibility measure ranged from $-\infty$ to ∞ , the audibility values
445 were rescaled to range from 0 to 1. In order to do this, audibility values were first clipped above
446 10 dB and below -10 dB, and then scaled to the 0-1 range by:

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$$448 \quad Aud_{scaled} = \frac{Aud + 10}{20}$$

449

450 Finally, because the distributions of regressor values had distinct means for different
451 features, we normalized each feature's non-zero regressor values to have an RMS of 1. Bringing
452 different features into similar amplitude ranges was done in order to make the amplitudes of
453 corresponding TRFs more similar to each other, thus improving regularization performance.

454 It is notable that although neither dissimilarity, nor surprisal correlated with audibility (r
455 = 0.03 and -0.02, respectively), there was a modest correlation between dissimilarity and
456 surprisal ($r = 0.22$), suggesting that both features captured some aspects of speech
457 predictability. Nevertheless, the fact that the correlation was relatively low suggests that much
458 of the variance in each of the two features captured distinct aspects of the linguistic content in
459 the speech stimuli.

460

461 **2.9.2 Feature-specific model performance**

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463 After fitting the full three-feature model as described above, we computed the unique
464 contribution of each feature to the overall model fit using procedures described in Broderick et
465 al. (2020). Briefly, on each cross-validation fold, we estimated each feature's contribution to the
466 overall fit by comparing the goodness-of-fit for the full model to a null model, in which that
467 feature's contribution was eliminated. This was done by permuting regressor values of that
468 feature, while maintaining their original timing. For all other features, the original regressors
469 were used. Null model fits were computed by convolving the estimated TRFs with these
470 regressors and correlating the predicted EEG waveform with the test data. This procedure was
471 repeated 10 times to estimate the average null-model performance. Each feature's model
472 contribution was then computed as the difference between the goodness-of-fit metrics for the
473 full model and its null model.

474

475 **2.9.3 Regions of interest**

476

477 To strengthen our statistical analyses in light of inter-subject variability due to nuisance
478 variables such as head shape and electrode cap placement, all analyses were performed on two
479 regions of interest (ROI) derived by averaging model goodness-of-fit and TRFs from subsets of
480 frontal and parietal electrodes (Fig. 1B). The parietal ROI was chosen because of prior evidence
481 that responses to higher-level features such as dissimilarity or surprisal tend to peak over
482 parietal sites near electrode Pz (e.g., Broderick et al., 2018; Weissbart et al., 2019). The frontal
483 ROI was included because we hypothesized that recruitment of frontal regions may aid
484 prediction and disambiguation of the speech signals, particularly in challenging listening
485 scenarios such as in the presence of a competing speaker.

486

487

488 **2.9.4 Statistical analysis**

489

490 Group-level statistical analyses were applied to pooled outputs of single subject TRF analyses.
491 Prior to performing statistical tests, outliers were detected using a two-stage approach, applied
492 separately to samples from each age group to minimize the influence of true between-group
493 differences on this procedure. First, full model goodness-of-fit values that were more than 1.5
494 inter-quartile ranges (IQR) below the goodness-of-fit corresponding to the lower quartile, or 1.5
495 IQR above the value corresponding to the upper quartile were detected as outliers. No
496 participant met this criterion. Second, for each feature's TRF for the attended stories (which
497 were generally more robust compared to the ignored stories), we used the same 1.5 IQR
498 criterion to detect outliers at each time point of the TRF. Subsequently, we computed the
499 proportion of outlier time points for each subject. We set the outlier-proportion criterion to
500 0.15, so that participants with more than 15% of outlier time points were detected as outliers.
501 This led to the exclusion of 2 participants (1 YA, and 1 OA), leaving a total of 39 participants (19
502 YA and 20 OA, including 17 with HL) in the analysis.

503 A mixed-design ANOVA with a between-subjects factor of age group (YA vs. OA), and
504 within-subject factors of ROI (frontal vs. posterior), model feature (dissimilarity, surprisal, and
505 audibility), and attention (attended vs. ignored story) was used to assess how these factors
506 related to the feature-specific contributions to the model fit. Post-hoc tests were conducted
507 using two-tailed t-tests or the analogous non-parametric test, depending on the outcome of an
508 Anderson-Darling test of normality on the data.

509 Comparisons of TRFs for the attended and ignored stories were performed for each time
510 point of the TRFs using two-tailed, paired-samples t-tests. Because this involved hundreds of
511 statistical comparisons, we applied the *false discovery rate* (FDR; Benjamini and Hochberg,
512 1995) correction to control for the proportion of false positives among all significant
513 discoveries. Similarly, between-group comparisons (i.e., younger vs. older adults) were
514 performed on TRF time courses, with two-sample t-tests applied separately to the attended and
515 ignored TRFs and corrected using the FDR method.

516 Finally, exploratory correlation analyses were performed on different combinations of
517 neural (e.g., full model goodness-of-fit, feature-wise model contributions, TRF amplitudes) and
518 behavioral metrics (e.g., comprehension, confidence, and SSQ_m scores). In these analyses we
519 corrected each set of correlations using the Bonferroni correction. Importantly, we used less
520 stringent multiple comparisons correction (i.e., not correcting by the total number of
521 comparisons across all combinations of correlated variables), because of the large number of
522 comparisons performed.

523

524 **3. Results**

525

526 **3.1 Behavioral measures of speech understanding**

527

528 Following each 1-minute block of listening to a two-talker speech mixture, participants
529 responded to four true/false questions about the content of the attended story and indicated
530 their confidence about their response. The average performance on this comprehension task

531 was 83.2% (SD: 6.8%, 65.9 - 94.2% range), significantly above the 50% chance level [$t(38) =$
532 $30.48, p < 0.001$], indicating that participants were successfully able to attend to the target
533 speaker and comprehend the content of the story. We found a significant effect of age on
534 performance [$t(37) = -3.04, p = 0.004$], with older participants performing better than younger
535 participants (YA: mean \pm s.d. = $80.1 \pm 7.5\%$, OA: $86.1\% \pm 4.6\%$). A correlation analysis with age
536 used as a continuous variable showed the same association with the proportion of correct
537 responses ($r = 0.33, p = 0.043$). Confidence measures showed the same general pattern of
538 results as the comprehension scores and the two measures were positively correlated [$r = 0.69,$
539 $p < 0.001$], indicating that participants had good awareness of their performance.

540 Because hearing loss was more common among the older participants, and we
541 compensated for it by amplifying the audio in frequency ranges of elevated thresholds (see
542 Methods), we assessed whether this amplification could account for the difference in
543 performance. As expected, in the portion of participants who received amplification ($n = 17$),
544 there was no relationship between average high-frequency audiogram (2-8 kHz range), and
545 comprehension-performance ($r = 0.06, p = 0.81$) or confidence ($r = 0.2, p = 0.44$) measures. The
546 same pattern was observed when using the average of the entire 0.25-8 kHz range of
547 audiometry. As such, there was no evidence that amplification had an impact on performance,
548 or that it could account for between-group differences in performance.

549 Prior to the experimental session, each participant filled out a modified subset of the
550 SSQ (SSQ_m) questionnaire to assess their subjective difficulties with speech-in-noise perception.
551 We found no difference in these measures between younger and older participants ($z = -0.42, p$
552 $= 0.67$, Mann-Whitney U-test), and no correlation between SSQ_m score and the proportion of
553 correct responses from the behavioral task ($r = -0.17, p = 0.29$), or between SSQ_m and high-
554 frequency hearing loss ($r = 0.03, p = 0.91$).

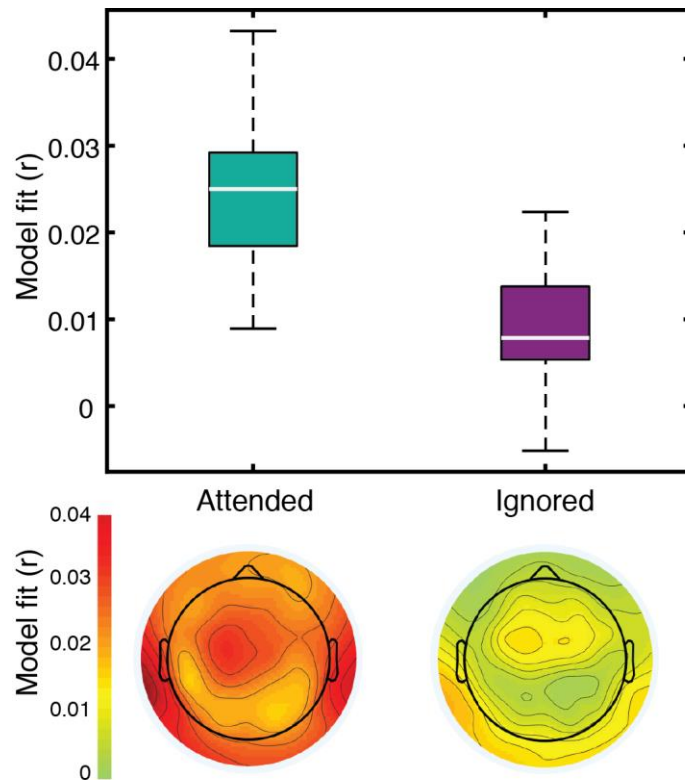
555

556 **3.2 Cortical measures of speech-mixture processing**

557

558 In order to characterize cortical responses to semantic content of speech, we applied
559 computational models to EEG responses measured while participants listened to a mixture of
560 two distinct narrative stories, while attending to one of them. The features included in the
561 model were word audibility reflecting word-by-word fidelity of the incoming acoustic signal,
562 semantic dissimilarity reflecting short-term (sentence timescale) dissimilarities between the
563 word2vec vector characterizing each word and its immediately preceding context, and word
564 surprisal reflecting long-term predictability of each word given the preceding multi-sentence
565 context.

566

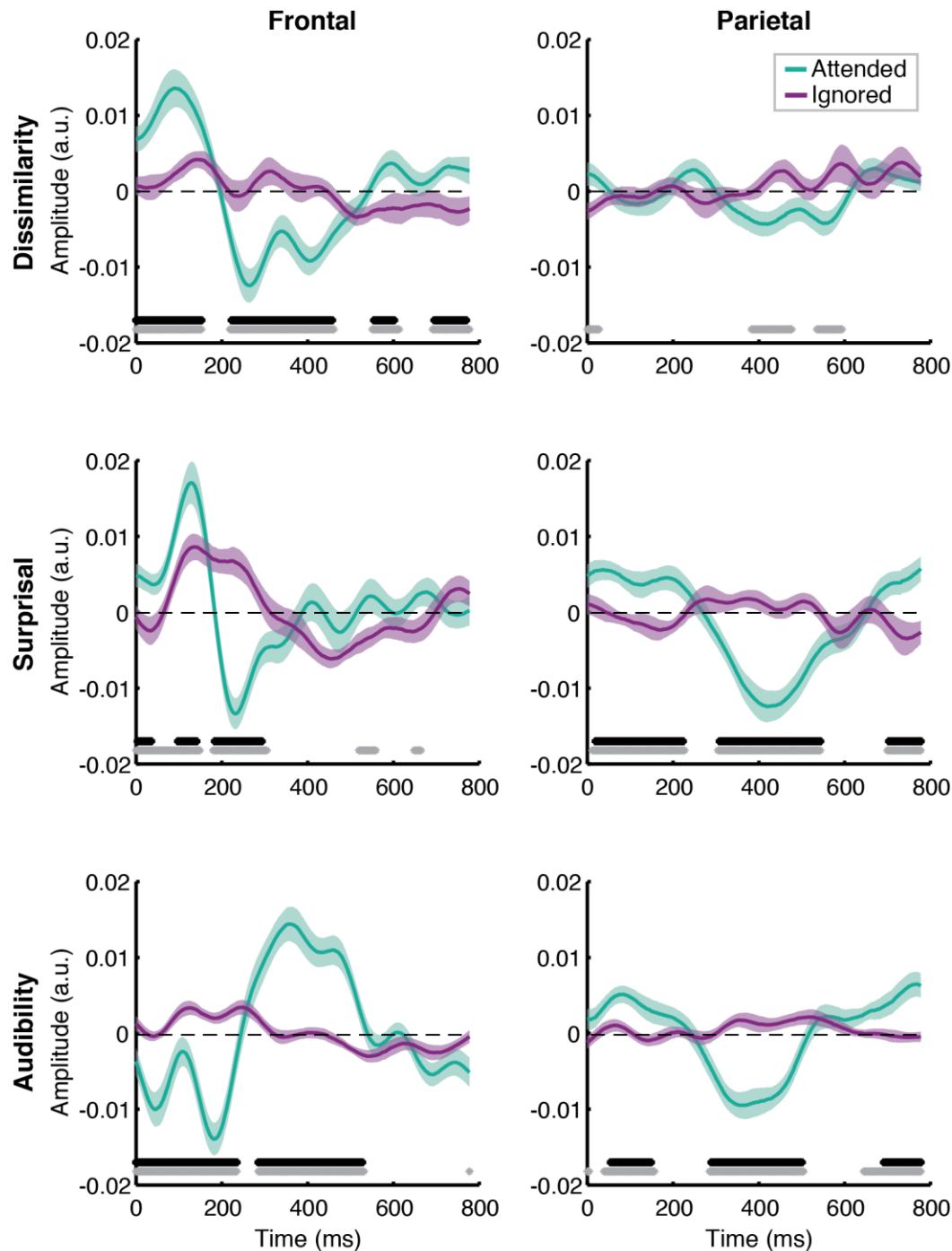


567
568 Figure 2. The three-feature model explained a significant amount of variance in responses to
569 both attended and ignored speech. Box plots (top) represent distributions of goodness-of-fit
570 values averaged over electrodes across all participants. The topographic plots (bottom) depict
571 the distribution of goodness-of-fit values for attended and ignored speech across the scalp.
572

573 Linear regression of these features against the EEG signal produced responses that
574 explained a significant amount of variance in the data pooled across participant groups and
575 electrodes, as reflected by a significant positive correlation between the full-model EEG
576 prediction and held-out data for both attended [$t(38) = 20.87, p < 0.001$] and ignored [$t(38) =$
577 $8.75, p < 0.001$] speech, with a significantly stronger fit for the former ($t(38) = 10.60, p < 0.001$;
578 Fig. 2). The same pattern of results was observed when examining model fits in frontal and
579 parietal ROIs. Figure 3 depicts the average attended (green) and ignored (purple) TRFs in the
580 two ROIs for each of the features included in the model. We observed robust responses to the
581 attended story for each of the features included in the model, with prominent early (~ 100 ms)
582 and late (~ 400 ms) peaks in neural activity. In contrast, the ignored story elicited comparatively
583 flatter responses, with predominantly early peaks in neural activity. Indeed, most features
584 showed extensive periods in the early and late portions of the TRFs where attended and
585 ignored responses differed significantly, as depicted by black horizontal bars at the bottom of
586 each TRF plot (indicating FDR-corrected significant time points).

587

Aging Effects on Speech Tracking

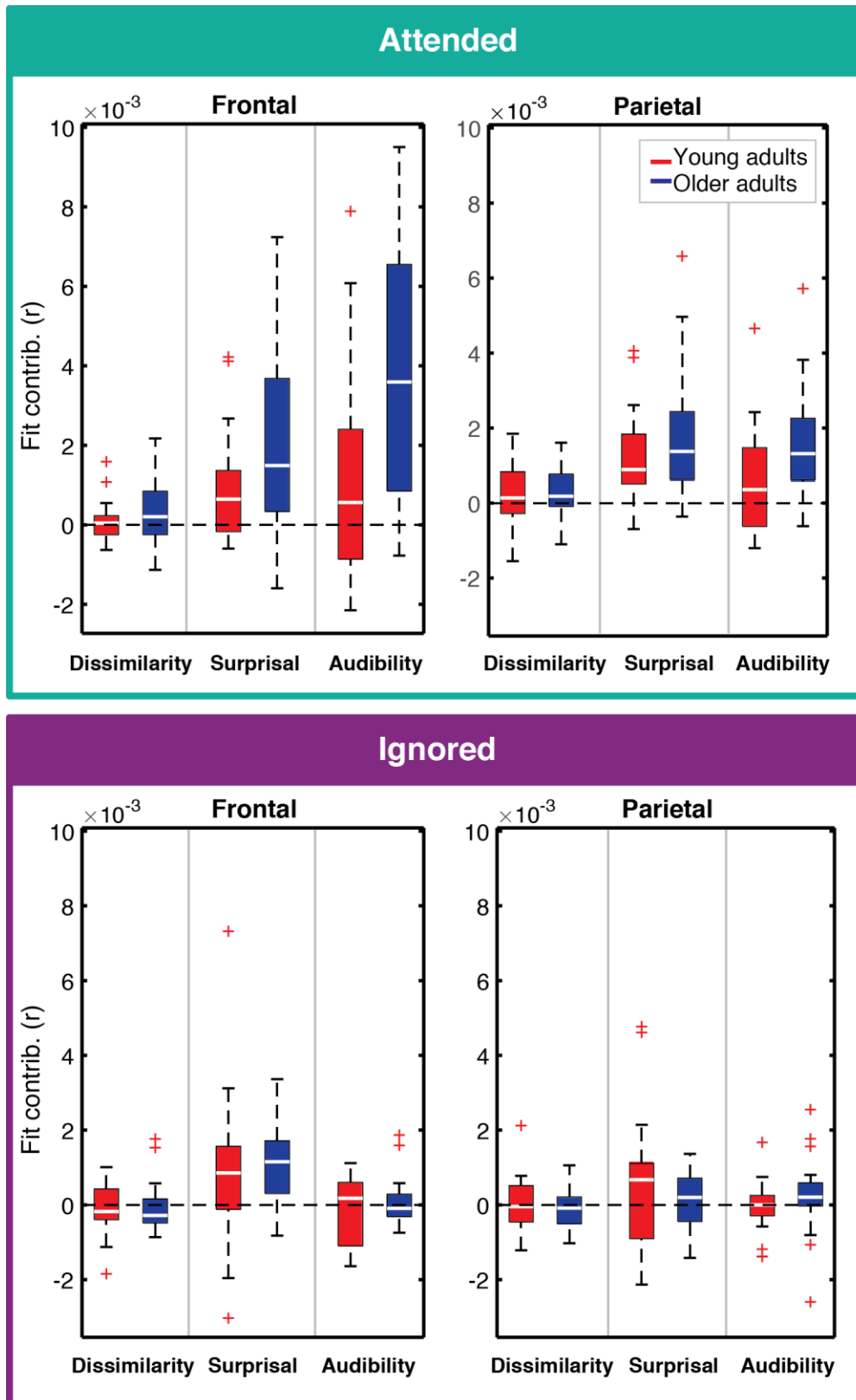


588

589 Figure 3. Attentional modulation of feature-specific responses. Each plot depicts the
590 comparison of TRFs averaged across all participants for attended (green) and ignored (purple)
591 speech for each of the features (panel rows) and ROIs (panel columns). The upper and lower
592 bound of each curve represents ± 1 standard error (SE) of the mean. Black and gray horizontal
593 bars at the bottom of the plots indicate time intervals over which attended and ignored TRFs
594 differed significantly at the FDR-corrected and uncorrected level, respectively, with $\alpha = 0.05$.

595

596 Contributions of each feature to the overall model fit for both age groups are plotted in
597 Fig. 4. Model fit contribution values represent the difference in goodness-of-fit for the held-out
598 EEG data between the full model and null models in which a given feature's regressor was
599 selectively disrupted by shuffling its feature amplitudes (see section 2.9.2). Thus, for a
600 particular feature, a model fit contribution exceeding 0 represents the scenario where the EEG
601 responses scaled, to some degree, with that feature's regressor values. To compare how these
602 model contributions differed in the two age groups, we performed a mixed-design ANOVA with
603 within-subject factors of ROI, model feature, and attention, and a between-subjects factor of
604 age group (Table 1). As expected, we found a main effect of attention [$F(1,37) = 34.28$, $p <$
605 0.001 , $\eta_p^2 = 0.48$] reflecting generally stronger tracking of high-level features within the
606 attended than ignored speech stream. We also found main effects of ROI [$F(1,37) = 8.89$, $p =$
607 0.005 , $\eta_p^2 = 0.19$], feature [$F(2,74) = 18.48$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.33$], and age group [$F(1,37) = 7.92$,
608 $p = 0.008$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.18$].
609



610

611 Figure 4. Feature-specific contributions to the model fit for attended (top) and ignored

612 (bottom) responses. Each panel depicts the box plot of model fit contributions for each of the

613 three features in the younger (red) and older (blue) adult groups. Left and right panels
614 represent results for frontal and parietal ROIs, respectively. Note that some points are depicted
615 with red + signs as outliers in order to better depict where the bulk of the points lie within the
616 fit contribution distributions. However, all data points were utilized in statistical analyses
617 described in the text.

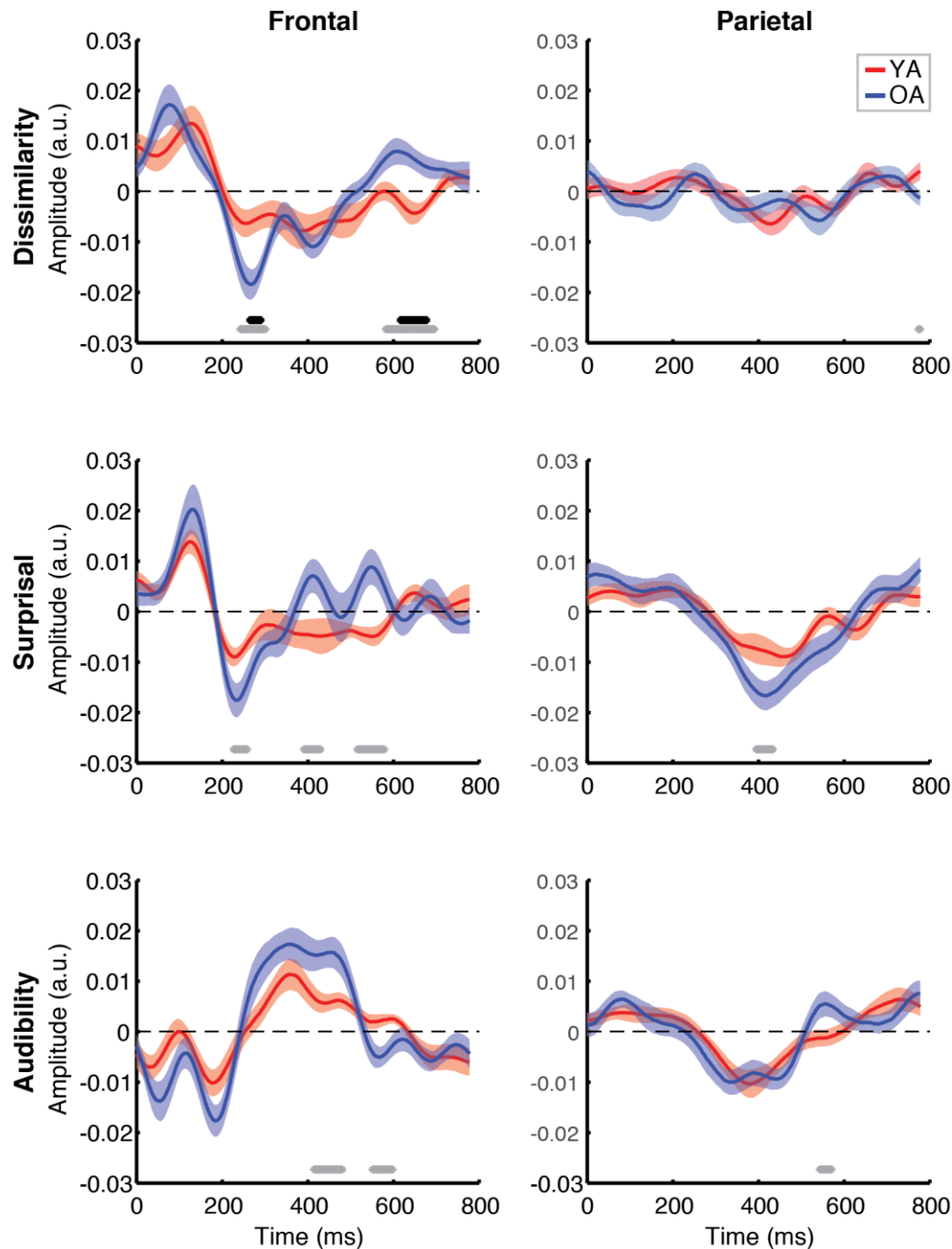
618

619 In addition to these main effects, we detected a number of significant interactions.
620 There was a significant interaction between attention and age group [$F(1,37) = 7.64, p = 0.009,$
621 $\eta_p^2 = 0.17$], reflecting an overall greater difference between attended and ignored fits in older
622 than younger participants [$t(37) = -2.76, p = 0.009$]. A significant interaction between ROI and
623 age group [$F(1,37) = 7.24, p = 0.011, \eta_p^2 = 0.164$] was associated with significantly stronger
624 contributions to model fits across features at the frontal compared to the parietal ROI in older
625 adults ($p = 0.007$; Mann-Whitney U-test). Third, we found a significant interaction between
626 feature and age group [$F(2,74) = 4.09, p = 0.021, \eta_p^2 = 0.10$], and a post hoc analysis revealed
627 this was due to greater difference in contributions to model fit between word audibility and
628 dissimilarity in older than younger participants [$t(37) = -3.01, p < 0.005$; Bonferroni corrected
629 with $\alpha = 0.017$].

630 Several interactions did not involve age group, including a significant interaction
631 between attention and feature [$F(1.8,66.63) = 8.55, p = 0.001, \eta_p^2 = 0.19$], a trend towards an
632 interaction between feature and ROI [$F(1.68, 62.18) = 3.2, p = 0.056, \eta_p^2 = 0.08$], and a three-
633 way interaction between attention, feature, and ROI, [$F(2,74) = 13.05, p < 0.001, \eta_p^2 = 0.21$].
634 Because the latter interaction was a combination of factors from the former two, we only
635 pursued post hoc analyses for the three-way interaction. These indicated that in the frontal
636 ROI, the contribution of audibility to the model fit was greater for the attended than the
637 ignored story, and that this differential was greater than that for both dissimilarity and surprisal
638 [$t(38) = -3.38, p = 0.002$, and $t(38) = -3.61, p < 0.001$, respectively; Bonferroni corrected with $\alpha =$
639 0.017]. Comparison of dissimilarity and surprisal showed no difference [$t(38) = 1.38, p = 0.18$].

640 Although the goodness-of-fit analyses above indicate that there are significant
641 differences in processing of attended and ignored speech between younger and older
642 participants, they do not provide insight into the timing and amplitude of the underlying neural
643 responses. To explore if our data contain evidence of age-related differences in neural
644 responses, we statistically compared TRF amplitudes between the two age groups at each time
645 point in the 0 to 800 ms range. Because these analyses involved hundreds of point-by-point
646 comparisons between groups, we corrected for false discovery rate (FDR), and focused on
647 comparisons at the level of individual features, rather than utilizing more complex interaction
648 metrics. As such, these analyses were relatively rudimentary, and should be considered as
649 exploratory in their nature.

Aging Effects on Speech Tracking



650

651 Figure 5. Between-group comparison of TRFs for attended speech. Each plot depicts a
652 comparison of TRFs between younger (red curves) and older (blue curves) participants, for
653 different features (panel rows) and ROIs (panel columns). Black and gray horizontal bars at the
654 bottom of the plots indicate time points at which the two age groups differed significantly at
655 the FDR-corrected and uncorrected level, respectively, with $\alpha = 0.05$.

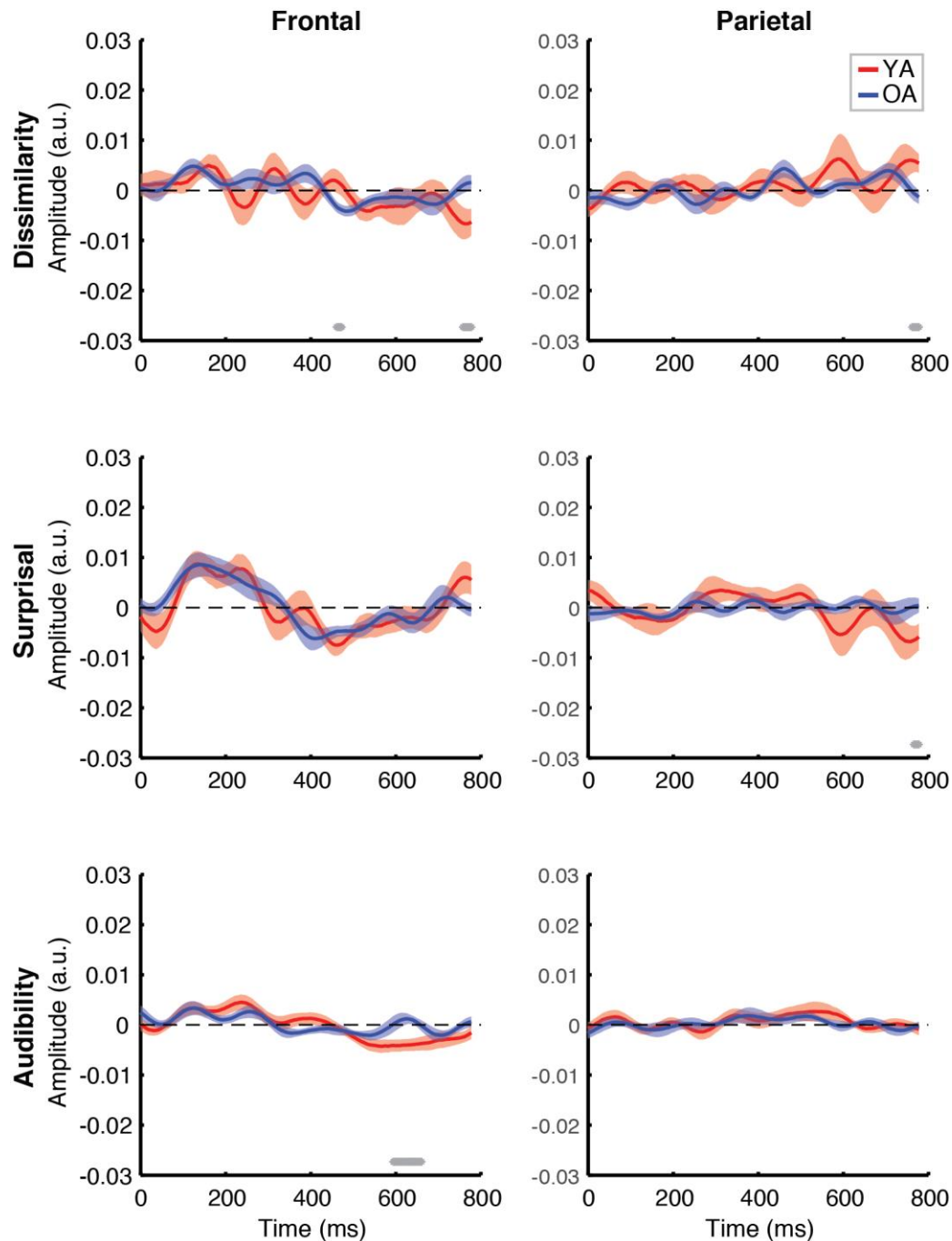
656

657 Figure 5 depicts the differences in responses to the attended speech between younger
658 (red lines) and older (blue lines) participants, separately for each feature (plot rows) and ROI

659 (plot columns). Two-tailed statistical outcomes at the $p < 0.05$ level are depicted at the bottom
660 of each plot in both uncorrected (gray horizontal bars) and FDR-corrected (black horizontal
661 bars) forms. At the FDR-corrected level, we only found two clusters of significant time points in
662 the frontal TRFs for dissimilarity, with older participants showing a significantly more negative
663 response between approximately 260-300 ms, and a significantly more positive response in the
664 620-675 ms time range. While surprisal and audibility showed no robust differences at the FDR-
665 corrected level, several clusters of time points were suggestive of group differences at the level
666 of uncorrected statistics. For surprisal, we found that older adults had a greater negative
667 deflection in the 225-260 ms time range and a pair of positive deflections around 390-430 and
668 515-580 ms that were absent in the TRF of the young adults at the frontal ROI. We also found a
669 single cluster of time points with greater negative deflection for older than younger adults
670 between 395-435 ms in the parietal ROI. For word audibility, we found a prolonged elevated
671 response with portions between 415-480 ms exhibiting larger positive deflection in older than
672 younger participants, at the frontal ROI. Older adults also showed a greater negative deflection
673 in the word-audibility TRF frontally, and a greater positive deflection parietally around 550-600
674 ms.

675 Between-group comparison of TRFs for ignored speech are shown in Figure 6. Unlike
676 responses to attended speech, most features, with the exception of frontal TRFs for surprisal,
677 show largely flat response patterns that do not differ between groups. Several time points
678 showed a difference in uncorrected statistics for each of the features, the most notable of
679 which was a more negative response of younger adults to audibility between 590-660 ms in the
680 frontal ROI. However, given the low amplitude of the TRFs, and long latencies of most of the
681 potential differences, we believe these are likely to simply reflect false discoveries due to
682 hundreds of comparisons. Indeed, fewer than 5% of comparisons for ignored speech were
683 significant at the uncorrected level.

Aging Effects on Speech Tracking



684

685 Figure 6. Between-group comparison of TRFs for ignored speech. Subplot arrangement and
686 statistical comparisons are as in Fig. 5.

687

688 To complement these exploratory point-by-point analyses, we also conducted between-
689 groups analyses specifically targeted at comparing responses in the time range of the N400
690 response. To this end, we compared each feature's average TRF amplitudes in the 300-500 ms
691 range. Because previous work found little to no evidence of N400 for ignored speech, these
692 comparisons were only done for attended speech. Although we found both a significantly more

693 negative parietal N400 for the older group to surprisal [$t(37) = 2.03$, $p = 0.05$], and a significantly
694 elevated frontal response in the older group for audibility [$t(37) = -2.72$, $p = 0.01$], neither of
695 these results remained significant with Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = 0.008$, given the total
696 number of 6 comparisons).

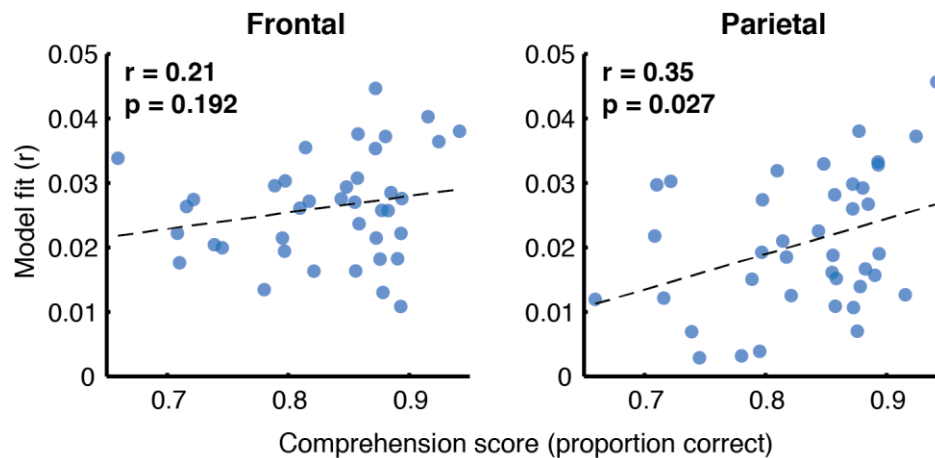
697
698

699 3.3 Neuro-behavioral correlations

700

701 We next sought to examine how our electrophysiological measures related to behavioral
702 responses during the experiment, and the SSQ_m scores obtained prior to this experiment. To
703 this end, we conducted a number of exploratory analyses, including correlations between
704 behavioral measures and the overall model goodness-of-fit, feature-specific model
705 contributions, and the average TRF amplitudes in the 300-500 ms time range. Given the number
706 of these analyses, and our limited sample size, we focused our analyses on full participant
707 samples, rather than age group comparisons. Because of the less stringent multiple
708 comparisons correction procedure (only correcting by the number of statistical tests within
709 each analysis), significant effects in this section should be interpreted as trends rather than true
710 statistical effects.

711



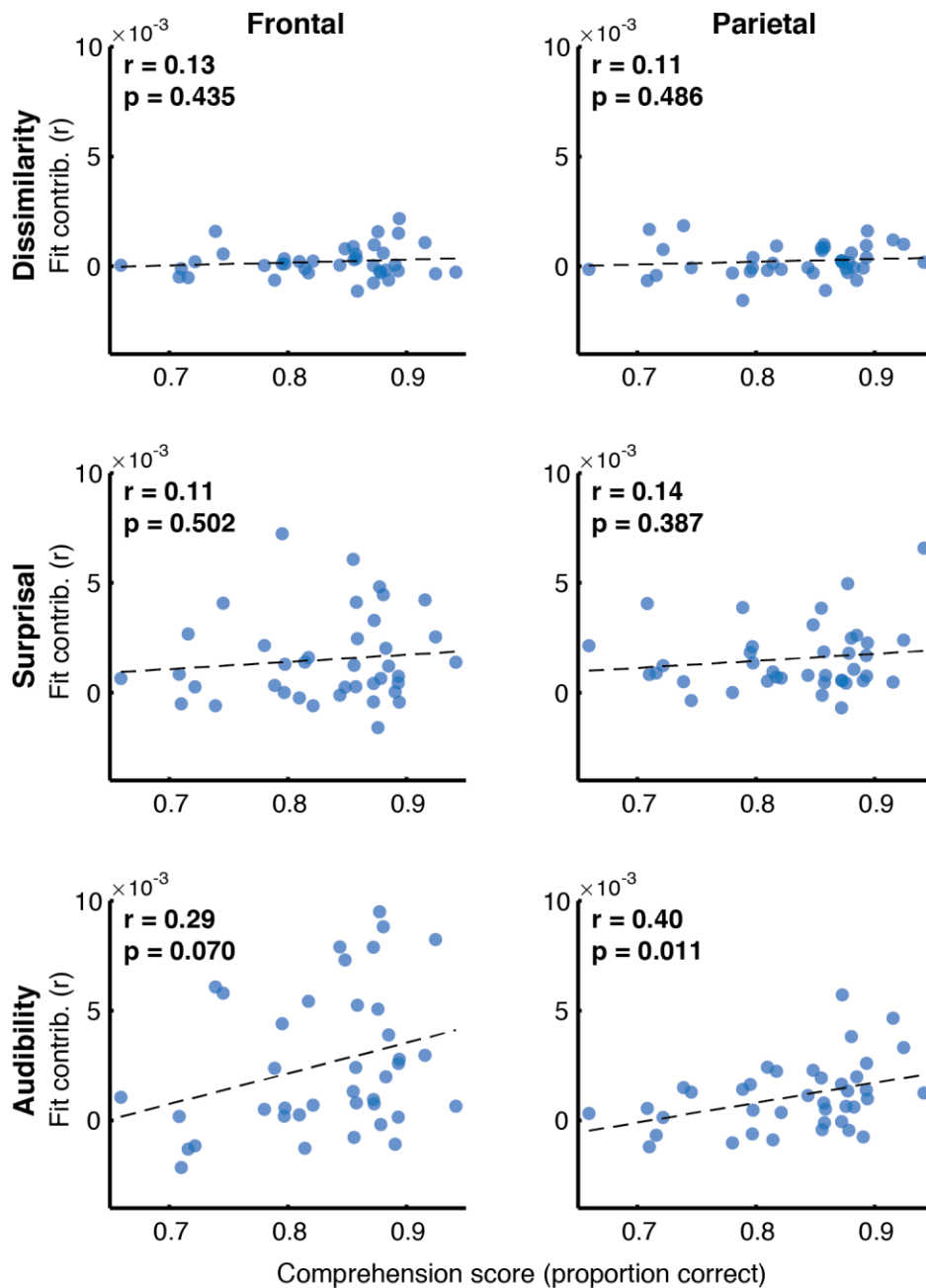
712

713 Figure 7. Scatterplots showing the relationship between the full model goodness-of-fit and the
714 proportion of correct responses on the comprehension questions. Pearson's correlation
715 coefficients and the corresponding uncorrected p-values are shown for frontal (left plot) and
716 parietal (right plot) ROIs. Symbols represent data from individual participants pooled across the
717 two age groups, YA and OA.

718

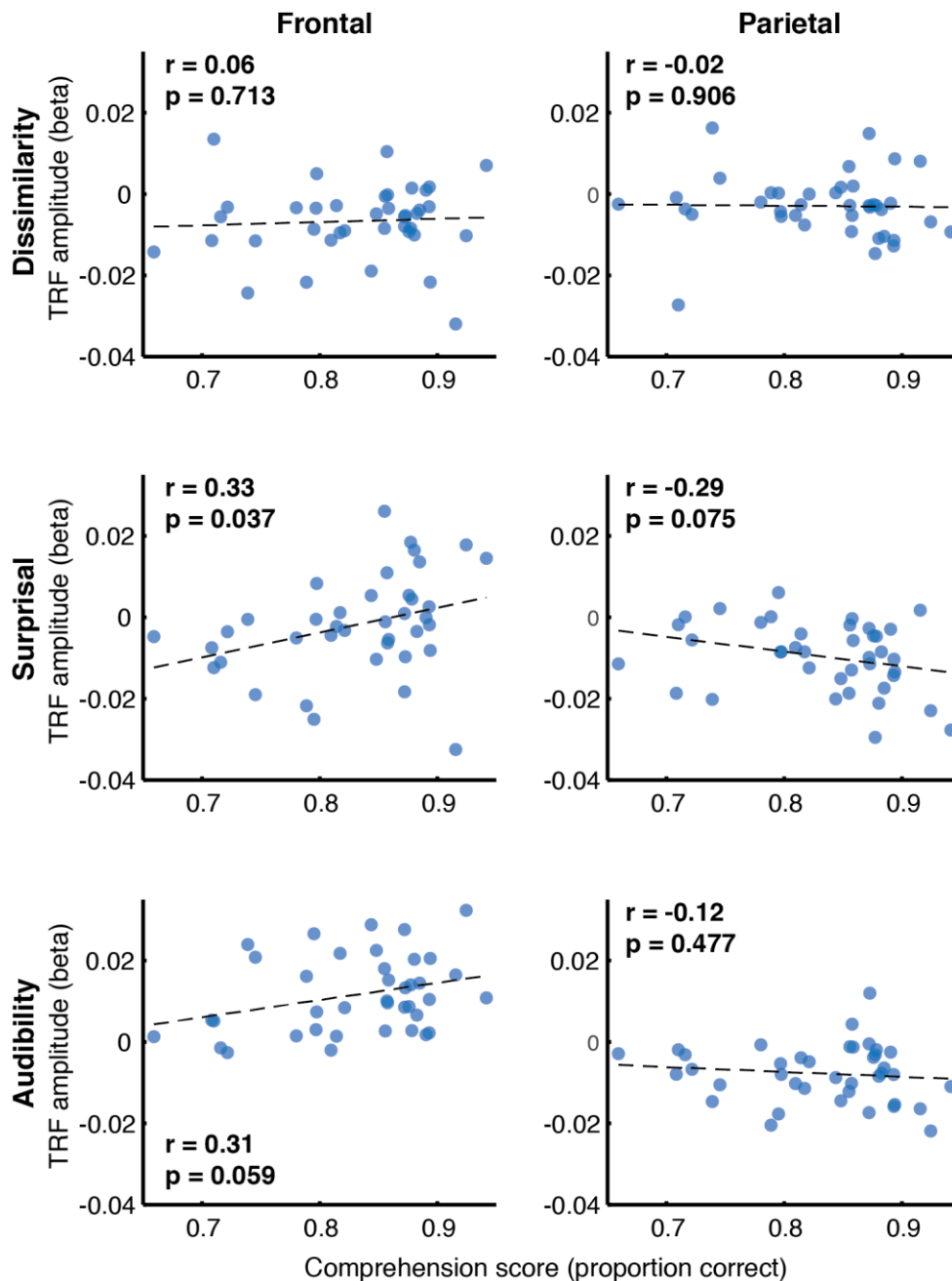
719 Figure 7 depicts the relationship between the proportion of correct responses on
720 comprehension questions during the experiment, and the overall model goodness-of-fit in the
721 frontal (left panel) and parietal (right panel) ROIs. While we observed no relationship in frontal
722 regions ($r = 0.21$, $p = 0.19$), there was a marginally significant positive association between the
723 two measures ($r = 0.35$, $p = 0.027$, Bonferroni corrected $\alpha = 0.025$) in the parietal ROI. A similar

724 pattern of results was observed when average confidence ratings for the comprehension
725 questions were used instead of the performance itself. Relationships between the proportion of
726 correct responses and feature-specific contributions to the model fit are depicted in Figure 8.
727 We observed a trend towards a positive association for word audibility in both the frontal ($r =$
728 0.29 , $p = 0.07$) and parietal ROIs ($r = 0.4$, $p = 0.011$), although neither correlation reached
729 significance after correcting for multiple comparisons ($\alpha = 0.008$). None of the other features
730 showed a significant association with comprehension scores.
731



732
733 Figure 8. Scatterplots of comprehension scores and feature-specific model contributions.
734 Different rows of panels refer to different features and different columns correspond to the

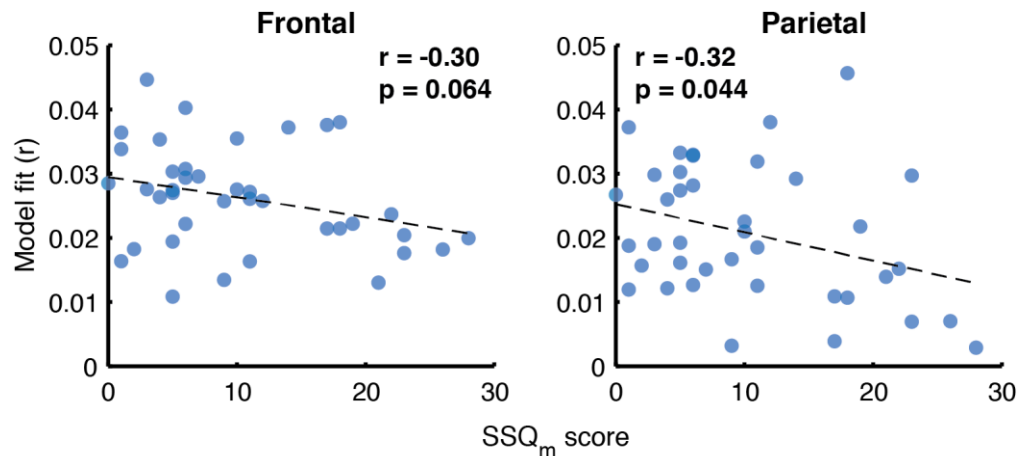
735 two ROIs. Pearson's correlations and the corresponding uncorrected p-values are shown in the
736 upper portion of each panel.
737



738
739 Figure 9. Scatterplots of comprehension scores and mean TRF amplitudes between 300-500 ms.
740 Figure layout is as in Fig. 8.

741
742 Next, we explored the possible relationship between the comprehension scores
743 (proportion correct) and the average TRF amplitude in the 300-500 ms time range, when N400
744 effects generally appear parietally. These analyses, shown in Figure 9, revealed trends towards

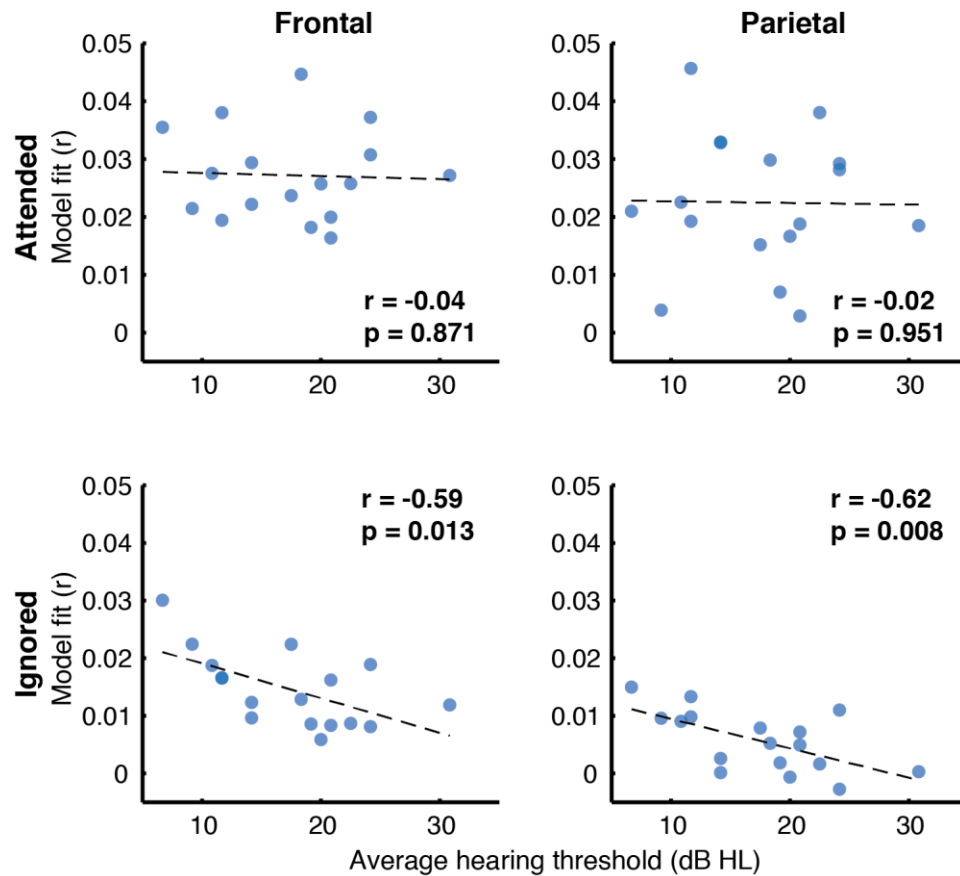
745 a positive relationship in frontal regions for surprisal ($r = 0.33$, $p = 0.037$) and audibility ($r = 0.31$,
746 $p = 0.059$), as well as a trend towards a negative relationship for surprisal in parietal ROI ($r = -$
747 0.29 , $p = 0.075$). As before, none of these associations were significant when correcting for
748 multiple comparisons. Although this analysis focused broadly on the time range of N400, two of
749 the frontal trends were associated with positive, rather than negative deflections in the TRF.
750



751
752 Figure 10. Scatterplots of SSQ_m scores and overall model goodness-of-fit for frontal (left panel)
753 and parietal (right panel) ROIs. Note that a higher score on SSQ_m questionnaire reflects a
754 greater difficulty with understanding speech in noise.
755

756 Correlation analyses examining the relationship between subjective SIN perception
757 difficulties, captured by the SSQ_m scores, and the full model goodness-of-fit metric (Fig. 10)
758 revealed trends towards a negative relationship in both the frontal ($r = -0.30$, $p = 0.064$) and
759 parietal ROIs ($r = -0.32$, $p = 0.044$). However, analyses of relationships with feature-specific TRF
760 amplitudes and model contributions revealed no feature for which these trends were apparent.

761 Finally, because a portion of the participants had mild hearing loss at high frequencies
762 (which was compensated for by amplifying speech in the corresponding frequency ranges; see
763 Methods), we examined if and how high-frequency (2-8 kHz) hearing thresholds related to the
764 overall model fits (Fig. 11). Although we found no relationship between the average hearing
765 thresholds over the 2-8 kHz range and model goodness-of-fit for attended speech (Frontal ROI:
766 $r = -0.04$, $p = 0.87$; Parietal ROI: $r = -0.02$, $p = 0.95$), there was a significant negative correlation
767 for ignored speech both frontally ($r = -0.59$, $p = 0.013$) and parietally ($r = -0.62$, $p = 0.008$). At
768 the level of feature-specific contributions to the model fit, there was no indication that this
769 negative correlation was driven by any particular feature, as most features showed low, non-
770 significant negative correlations.
771



772

773

Figure 11. Scatterplots of average high-frequency hearing thresholds (2-8 kHz) and overall model goodness-of-fit as a function of attention (panel rows) and ROI (panel columns).

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4. Discussion

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In the present study, we measured EEG responses to continuous two-talker speech mixtures in younger (< 40 y.o.) and older (> 40 y.o.) participants. Participants' cortical responses in the 1-8 Hz range were predicted by modeling TRFs for three speech features, short-timescale semantic dissimilarity, long-timescale lexical surprisal, and word-level audibility. We also collected behavioral measures, including participants' subjective ratings of their difficulties with

793 SIN understanding (modified SSQ), and comprehension scores for attended speech during the
794 experiment and the associated confidence ratings.

795 Our three-feature model was able to explain significant variance in the EEG data,
796 especially in responses to attended speech, where each of the features contributed to the
797 neural responses (Fig. 4). The evidence for this was particularly strong for surprisal and
798 audibility, suggesting that these model features captured stimulus characteristics that were
799 actively tracked by our participants' auditory systems. Moreover, we found that participants'
800 performance on the comprehension task (Fig. 7), as well as the associated confidence ratings,
801 showed a trend towards a positive correlation with the goodness of the overall model fit for the
802 attended speech, suggesting that successfully tracking these features is related to speech
803 comprehension. Although our data does not support a strong association between
804 performance and model contributions, or TRF magnitudes, for any one of the model features,
805 we did find trends towards an association between word audibility and performance in both
806 ROIs (for both model fit contributions, and TRF magnitudes), and in the frontal region between
807 the surprisal TRF magnitude and performance. Speculatively, these trends suggest that
808 improved comprehension may be related to at least two cognitive processes. First, the
809 association with audibility suggests that improved performance may stem from more effective
810 weighing of word-level information by word reliability, as reflected by the word SNR. Second,
811 the association with surprisal suggests that high performance may be related to increased
812 sensitivity to lexical and/or semantic associations between different segments of speech.

813 Consistent with previous work on neural representations of two-talker speech (Ding and
814 Simon, 2012; Mesgarani and Chang, 2012; Broderick et al., 2018; O'Sullivan et al., 2019) we
815 found robust differences between responses to attended and ignored speech both in the
816 goodness of model fits and the TRFs. In general, model fits were better for attended than
817 ignored speech (Fig. 4) and the associated TRFs for attended speech showed complex, multi-
818 peaked morphologies, whereas the responses to ignored speech were flatter and contained
819 fewer prominent peaks (Fig. 3). Thus, our results indicate that responses to a speech mixture
820 preferentially reflect attended speech, while representations of distractor speech are largely
821 suppressed.

822 Comparisons of EEG responses between age groups revealed a complex pattern of age-
823 related differences, captured particularly by model fit measures. Specifically, we found that
824 older participants exhibited on average greater differences in feature-specific model-fit
825 contributions between attended and ignored speech. This age effect was driven primarily by
826 better fits for attended speech in the frontal ROI (see Fig. 4). Although to a weaker degree,
827 these differences were mirrored in attended TRFs, in that older adults showed generally
828 stronger TRF deflections from 0 compared to younger participants (Fig. 5). In most cases,
829 however, these TRF differences did not reach statistical significance when controlling for false
830 discovery rate, possibly due to nuisance factors such as inter-subject variability in cortical
831 geometry, and/or inadequate sample size.

832 With respect to the modelled features, we found that surprisal and audibility both
833 showed stronger frontal contributions in older adults, whereas parietal contributions were

834 relatively similar between the two groups. We speculate that the stronger fits in the frontal
835 region in older adults may be indicative of heightened reliance in this group on both lexical
836 prediction, as reflected by increased accuracy of surprisal fits, and on words with better
837 audibility. Higher word SNRs may have been more important for disambiguation of the masked
838 portions of speech for older compared to younger adults. Although audibility itself reflects a
839 relatively low-level aspect of our stimuli, its frontal TRF profile showed a prolonged positive
840 deflection in the 250-550 ms latency range. Such a long latency is consistent with the
841 possibility that this audibility-related response may reflect engagement of higher-level
842 processes, such as retrospective disambiguation, or prospective prediction.

843 It is notable that participants in the older group exhibited significantly better
844 performance on the comprehension task than younger adults, despite having greater
845 prevalence of hearing loss (15 out of 17 participants with HL were in the older group and the
846 degree of HL was not significantly correlated with performance). This difference in performance
847 difference complicates the interpretation of age-related differences in neural responses. It may
848 be the case that older adults in our participant sample were either more engaged, or exerted
849 greater effort in the task, which in turn led to stronger speech tracking in their EEG data, as well
850 as better performance. This is plausible, since more participants in the older group (12/20 older
851 vs 8/19 younger participants) indicated having a subjective sense of experiencing greater
852 difficulty with SIN understanding compared to their peers. The sense of greater difficulty may
853 have motivated at least some of the older participants to exert greater effort to perform well.
854 However, while the average performance of participants with self-reported SIN difficulties was
855 slightly better than that in participants who did not report such difficulties, these differences
856 were not significant. Despite this, the possibility that differences between the two age groups in
857 effort, attentiveness, or another factor may underlie the neural differences discussed above,
858 deserves further attention in future work.

859

860 **4.1 Relationship to existing work on age-effects on electrophysiological measures of speech** 861 **processing**

862

863 Several studies have examined effects of age (Presacco et al., 2016; Decruy et al., 2019; Zan et
864 al., 2020) and hearing loss (Millman et al., 2017; Decruy et al., 2020) on continuous speech
865 processing in the context of envelope tracking. Generally, these studies have demonstrated
866 that older adults and those with hearing loss exhibit exaggerated cortical tracking of speech
867 envelope both in quiet and in the presence of a competing speaker, as reflected by higher
868 envelope reconstruction accuracies from delta-band EEG or MEG responses in these
869 populations. Our analyses show a similar pattern of amplified feature tracking in the aging
870 population, albeit for word-level features. Responses to the audibility feature, in particular, may
871 reflect similar underlying processes as those involved in envelope processing. However,
872 audibility in our study was defined as the word-by-word ratio between the acoustic energy in
873 the two speech waveforms, rather than the absolute amplitude of each speech signal, making
874 direct comparisons of the two measures difficult. Distinct from envelope TRFs, the audibility

875 TRF in our study contained prolonged deflections from 0 in the 300-500 ms latency range,
876 suggesting that our measure may tap into additional higher-level processes. Although lexical
877 surprisal is seemingly unrelated to speech envelope, it is possible that predictive processes may
878 interact with lower-level stimulus encoding via feedback processes, as has been demonstrated
879 for dissimilarity (Broderick et al., 2019).

880 While measures of envelope tracking have provided important insights into speech
881 processing, they are largely uninformative about the nature of higher-level processes involved
882 in speech perception. In recent years, an increasing number of studies have investigated the
883 relationship of electrophysiologically-measured cortical responses to both intermediate speech
884 representations such as those evoked by different phoneme categories (Di Liberto, 2015;
885 Lesenfants, 2020; Teoh & Lalor, 2020; but cf. Daube et al. 2019) or phonotactics (Di Liberto,
886 2019), and word-level representations related to lexical (e.g., Brodbeck et al., 2018), as well as
887 syntactic and semantic (Broderick et al., 2018; Weissbart et al., 2019; Heilbron et al., 2019;
888 Donhauser & Baillet, 2020) processing. Nevertheless, relatively little is known about how these
889 representations change as a function of age, particularly in challenging listening conditions.
890 Recently, Broderick et al. (2020) compared representations of semantic dissimilarity and 5-gram
891 lexical surprisal derived from responses to clean speech in younger and older adults. They
892 showed that although younger adults exhibited robust responses to each feature, older adults
893 only showed strong responses to lexical surprisal (albeit with a delayed peak response), with a
894 nearly absent response to semantic dissimilarity. These results were interpreted as potentially
895 reflecting lesser reliance of older adults on semantic predictive process, thought to be captured
896 by the dissimilarity feature, due to age-related cognitive decline. Consistent with this, older
897 participants with greater semantic verbal fluency, a measure related to the ability to engage in
898 semantic prediction, showed greater contribution of semantic dissimilarity to the model of
899 cortical responses to speech.

900 Because our experimental design involved listening to a more challenging, two-speaker
901 mixture, direct comparisons of our results with those of Broderick et al. (2020) are not possible.
902 Nevertheless, there are marked differences between the patterns of results observed in their
903 study compared to ours. In particular, we observed stronger tracking of both lexical surprisal
904 and word audibility in older than younger adults, and generally weak but otherwise similar
905 tracking of dissimilarity in the two groups. Notably, this was observed predominantly at the
906 frontal ROI, with the posterior ROI showing a smaller difference (albeit in the same direction as
907 the frontal results). In contrast, Broderick et al. focused their analyses on posterior electrode
908 sites, making it unclear how tracking of their features behaved at more frontal sites that are
909 involved in tasks relying on working memory (e.g., Gevins et al., 1997; Onton et al., 2005).

910 In Broderick et al. (2020), the greatest age-related differences were shown for semantic
911 dissimilarity, whereas our goodness-of-fit results showed relatively weak contributions from
912 this feature (compared to surprisal and word audibility) that did not differ significantly between
913 the younger and older age groups. However, we did observe greater frontal TRF deflections in
914 the older group for dissimilarity, with significant group differences around 250 and 600 ms,
915 suggesting an increased gain for this feature in the older population. This underscores the

916 importance of analyzing both model fits and the corresponding TRFs, as morphological
917 differences in the latter may be possible even in the absence of differences in the model
918 goodness-of-fit. The most notable difference in our results with respect to dissimilarity is that
919 we did not observe posterior N400 response in either group, in contrast to the significant
920 parietal N400 in the TRF for dissimilarity in older but not younger adults reported by Broderick
921 et al. Although this discrepancy is puzzling given the use of nearly identical methods for
922 computing dissimilarity, it raises the possibility that the utility of dissimilarity may be limited if
923 other features, which better capture neural responses that would otherwise be attributed to
924 dissimilarity, are included in the model.

925 Another important difference between the two studies pertains to the role of surprisal
926 in the models fitted to the data. Specifically, unlike the relatively simple 5-gram surprisal used
927 by Broderick et al., which was intended to capture responses related to the knowledge of word
928 co-occurrence within 5-word neighborhoods, the surprisal features utilized in our study were
929 computed using an advanced natural language model (GPT-2; Radford et al., 2019) that uses
930 preceding context of up to several hundred words (i.e., dozens of sentences) in order to
931 estimate each upcoming word. As such, surprisal in our study likely captured responses related
932 to higher-level lexical and/or syntactic predictions. Thus, although responses to these two
933 surprisal measures cannot be directly compared, the stronger tracking of surprisal by older
934 adults in our study is consistent with increased reliance on predictive processes in this
935 population. This is in agreement with behavioral results demonstrating greater reliance on
936 semantic context in populations with compromised representations of speech, such as those
937 with hearing loss (Benichov et al., 2012; Lash et al., 2013) and cochlear implants (Amichetti et
938 al., 2018; Dingemanse and Goedegebure, 2019; O'Neill et al., 2019).

939 Importantly, the seemingly conflicting pattern of results between these studies could in
940 fact reflect two distinct contributors to speech perception difficulties in older adults, namely
941 decreases in the fidelity of lower level representations, and cognitive decline. Prevalence of
942 mild high-frequency hearing loss in our sample of older adults was quite high, making it likely
943 that decreased fidelity of peripheral representations had an effect on our results. While
944 Broderick et al. did not report audiogram measures for their sample of older adults, the mean
945 age was considerably greater in their study (mean \pm s.d. = 63.9 \pm 6.7 years vs 53.5 \pm 8.7 years in
946 this study), making it likely that similar or greater hearing difficulties may have impacted their
947 participants. However, because of the age difference in the two samples, the effects of
948 cognitive decline may have contributed more significantly to the results of Broderick et al., and
949 may potentially explain why measures related to predictive processes showed opposite effects
950 in the two studies. This exemplifies the complex combination of etiologies that may underlie
951 speech perception difficulties, and the distinct ways in which they may affect speech
952 processing. Future work should attempt to quantify these factors and use multivariate analyses
953 to better characterize if and how they may relate to different neural measures of speech
954 processing.

955
956 **4.2 Higher-level speech feature tracking as an index of speech in noise perception difficulties**

957

958 A key reason for our choice to study responses to lexical and semantic features is their
959 potentially greater sensitivity to SIN perception difficulties, compared to responses driven by
960 lower-level features such as the speech envelope. Specifically, because dissimilarity and
961 surprisal (but not audibility) depend on preceding lexical and semantic context, in order for
962 language processing mechanisms to accurately track them, each word within the sequence
963 needs to be recognized and integrated with the preceding context. Lower-level SIN processing
964 impairments may thus disproportionately impact tracking of these features. This is because
965 missing a given word may potentially distort neural computations of surprisal and lexical
966 predictions for a large number of subsequent words. This distortion could result in a mismatch
967 between the objectively computed sequences of these features (used in the model) and their
968 internal estimates.

969 Dissimilarity, in particular, depends on local word context (limited to one sentence, in
970 our model). Misperception of individual words may thus greatly distort the internal estimates
971 of the semantic relationships between words within this short-term context, leading to poor
972 correspondence with the objectively computed dissimilarity values. Spectrally degraded speech
973 has previously been shown to elicit weaker N400 responses, and a reduced difference in N400
974 between sentences with high and low cloze probabilities (Aydelott et al., 2006; Obleser and
975 Kotz, 2011; Carey et al., 2014). Similarly, our results showed weak model contributions of
976 dissimilarity with N400 responses essentially absent in the posterior ROI, consistent with the
977 possibility that challenging listening scenarios may indeed disrupt representations related to
978 relationships between words in a local context. Notably, however, we did not observe a reliable
979 association between individual differences in the tracking of this feature, or the magnitude of
980 N400, and performance on the comprehension task, the associated confidence measures, or
981 the SSQ_m . As such, the magnitude of dissimilarity tracking, or the associated TRFs, may not
982 actually reflect the degree of SIN perception difficulties, as we hypothesized it would. Thus, it is
983 possible that weak tracking of dissimilarity in our study may reflect that dissimilarity, as
984 computed here, is a relatively unimportant feature for characterizing cortical speech
985 processing. Note that although our results appear to be at odds with Broderick et al. (2018),
986 who demonstrated robust dissimilarity-related N400 responses for both clean and two-talker
987 speech, that study used dissimilarity as the sole feature. It is, therefore, possible that their
988 estimated TRFs may have captured contributions from other features time-locked to word
989 onsets (e.g., ones related to lexical and syntactic processing). Indeed, in a recent reanalysis of
990 cocktail party data from Broderick et al. (2018), Dijkstra et al. (2020) showed that replacing
991 dissimilarity values in a regressor with unit-amplitude impulses leads to estimation of
992 essentially identical TRFs to those obtained with the impulses scaled by dissimilarity features.
993 This insensitivity to impulse scaling calls into question the extent to which said TRFs reflect
994 dissimilarity-related processing. Comparisons of single-feature TRFs derived from our data using
995 word onset and dissimilarity regressors (analyses not shown here) mirrored these observations,
996 suggesting that the utility of dissimilarity in explaining EEG responses to continuous speech may
997 be limited.

998 In contrast to dissimilarity, our observation of robust model contributions and posterior
999 N400 responses for surprisal suggests that this feature may be relatively robust to challenging
1000 listening scenarios. This may be the case because surprisal, as defined in the present study,
1001 reflects predictability of each word given a multi-sentence preceding context (vs. single-
1002 sentence context for dissimilarity), potentially making misperception of individual words have
1003 relatively low impact on lexical predictions. In other words, failure to recognize individual words
1004 may have a relatively small impact on the internal predictions, as these may be highly
1005 constrained in natural speech by the successfully identified words within the longer-term
1006 context. Admittedly, the apparent robustness of surprisal to adverse listening conditions may
1007 be specific to longer narratives where long-term semantic dependencies exist, such as
1008 audiobooks used in our study. In contrast to dissimilarity, we did observe weak trends
1009 suggesting an association between the amplitude of the surprisal TRF in the N400 latency
1010 range, and the performance on the comprehension questions. As such, it is possible that
1011 surprisal responses may indeed reflect the extent of SIN perception difficulties. However,
1012 because these trends were not statistically robust to multiple-comparisons correction, and
1013 because similar trends were not observed for SSQ_m, it remains unclear if this neuro-behavioral
1014 association is reliable. A replication study with a larger sample size, improved EEG denoising
1015 algorithms, and/or more sensitive behavioral measures may be needed to further explore this
1016 link.

1017 It is notable that the correlations between SSQ_m or task performance and feature-
1018 specific model contributions were overall relatively weak in this study. Although this implies
1019 that none of the features utilized in our study can on their own predict the degree of SIN
1020 perception difficulties, it is possible that such deficits may be better characterized in terms of a
1021 multi-dimensional pattern of feature-specific neural responses. In other words, it may be the
1022 case that in order to predict the extent of SIN perception difficulties, a combination of neural
1023 measures across multiple lower- and higher-level speech features needs to be taken into
1024 account. Along these lines, Lesenfants et al. (2019) showed that speech reception thresholds
1025 can be predicted from EEG responses to speech more accurately using a model that contains
1026 both spectrogram and phonetic features, compared to models containing only one of the
1027 features. Furthermore, because SIN perception difficulties can have different underlying
1028 etiologies, with different relative contributions from peripheral damage and cognitive factors, it
1029 may be the case that distinct patterns of feature-specific responses characterize different
1030 underlying causes of SIN deficits.

1031

1032 **4.3 Behavioral correlates of self-reported SIN difficulties**

1033

1034 Our data revealed a trend towards a negative association between SSQ_m and the overall model
1035 goodness-of-fit for attended speech. This is not surprising, as higher SSQ_m scores reflect greater
1036 subjective difficulty with SIN perception, which would be expected to be related to poorer
1037 tracking of attended speech in the presence of competing speech. However, we found no
1038 correlation between SSQ_m and performance on the comprehension task ($r = -0.17$, $p = 0.29$),

1039 suggesting that even participants with potentially more deteriorated representations of
1040 attended speech had sufficient fidelity of speech representations to achieve high task
1041 performance. The lack of a relationship between subjective SIN perception difficulties and
1042 performance is unintuitive, but mirrors similar results showing only a weak relationship
1043 between subjective and objective measures of SIN difficulties (Phatak et al., 2018; Smith et al.,
1044 2019).

1045 While statistical associations between subjective and objective measures of speech
1046 perception have generally been poor in past work, it is possible that these outcomes are a
1047 result of insufficiently sensitive methods for measuring speech perception. Specifically, typically
1048 used methods for objectively measuring speech perception involve presentations of isolated
1049 sentences, and having participants repeat them back, usually without time constraints (i.e.,
1050 allowing participants to deliberate and piece together their percept). While these measures are
1051 simple and effective in measuring speech perception deficits in populations with moderate and
1052 severe hearing loss (e.g., Phatak et al., 2018), the external validity of these measures may be
1053 limited at best, as they do not reflect real-world listening scenarios. Specifically, real-world
1054 spoken communication generally requires real-time comprehension of complex, multi-sentence
1055 expressions embedded in noisy and reverberant backgrounds, in order to allow for continuous
1056 flow of interaction. Unlike the commonly used speech understanding tasks, these realistic
1057 scenarios allow little time for deliberation about individual words, as new information is
1058 continuous, creating the possibility of falling behind if speech processing is impaired or slowed.
1059 Indeed, Xia et al. (2017) demonstrated marked differences in performance between tasks
1060 involving simple word identification and answering comprehension questions about the
1061 content of narrative stories, with the latter showing a weaker benefit from hearing aids. This
1062 highlights the possibility that traditional speech recognition tasks may indeed be missing
1063 important, behaviorally relevant aspects of speech perception.

1064 In the present study, a continuous multi-talker design with a behavioral task focused on
1065 assessing comprehension was selected in an attempt to mimic some aspects of real-world
1066 speech perception scenarios. Nevertheless, there were important differences that may have
1067 contributed to our failure to detect a relationship between subjective SIN perception difficulty
1068 (reflected in SSQ_m) and behavioral performance. First, although we utilized co-located target
1069 and distractor speakers, which are generally more challenging to parse out than spatially-
1070 separated speakers (Marrone et al., 2008; Kidd et al., 2010), their fixed location, predictable
1071 temporal characteristics (e.g., lack of sudden offsets and onsets in speaking), and relatively
1072 monotone speaking styles likely facilitated participants' ability to suppress unwanted
1073 processing of the ignored speaker. In contrast, realistic conversational settings such as
1074 restaurants or bars generally contain distractor signals that vary less predictably in location,
1075 intensity, emotional content, and other characteristics, likely contributing to greater distraction
1076 and informational masking. It is possible that suppression of these types of distractor
1077 information becomes impaired with age due to deterioration of attentional and other cognitive
1078 resources. Second, although we attempted to quantify comprehension, as opposed to mere
1079 word identification, of the content spoken by the target speaker via multiple-choice questions,

1080 it is possible that the implementation of this task lacked sensitivity to detect speech
1081 comprehension deficits. Specifically, the fact that the target story spanned many minutes may
1082 have allowed the participants to utilize much longer semantic context to aid the interpretation
1083 of incoming information, compared to real-world interactions where topics often change more
1084 rapidly. This was compounded by the fact that, for practical purposes, the questions were
1085 framed in a Yes/No format, only requiring participants to identify the more likely of the two
1086 options, rather than to demonstrate their own understanding of the story. While the main
1087 purpose of the comprehension questions was to verify that participants followed the task
1088 instructions, future work should take steps towards optimizing behavioral measures of
1089 comprehension. For example, questions carefully calibrated to require roughly constant reading
1090 time could be used to measure reaction times in addition to mere percent correct measures,
1091 possibly revealing significant response delays in people with self-reported SIN difficulties.

1092

1093 **4.4 Limitations**

1094

1095 Although our work provides evidence of age-related differences in cortical tracking of word-
1096 level features, a notable limitation of our method is that it does not establish the source of this
1097 difference. Specifically, it is unclear from our data if the distinct patterns of feature-tracking
1098 were a result of higher-order linguistic mechanisms receiving inputs with differing fidelities
1099 from lower-level processes, or they reflected age-related changes in the higher-order
1100 mechanisms themselves, or some combination of the two. Furthermore, differential
1101 engagement in cognitive resources (e.g., due to differential effort) may also have contributed to
1102 the observed differences, even in the absence of actual changes in the underlying mechanisms.
1103 Thus, an important goal for future work is to characterize speech representations more
1104 thoroughly at multiple levels of the processing hierarchy in order to elucidate the mechanisms
1105 implicated in the differences in speech processing. Furthermore, the measurement of speech
1106 representations at multiple stages of the language processing hierarchy may be critical for
1107 explaining individual differences in speech perception performance, and subjective measures
1108 such as the SSQ_m.

1109 The use of artificial neural networks (ANNs) to extract abstract features related to lexical
1110 and semantic content of speech has become increasingly common in studies of language
1111 processing (Huth et al., 2016; Broderick et al., 2018; Weissbart et al., 2019; Donhauser and
1112 Baillet, 2020). While powerful in characterizing brain responses to speech, an important
1113 limitation in the use of these features is that it can be difficult to interpret what aspects of
1114 language they actually capture. Specifically, ANNs are usually trained on a task such as text
1115 prediction on the basis of preceding context, and as such, ANNs may utilize any number of
1116 statistical regularities in the training corpus in order to optimize their performance. Thus,
1117 depending on the ANN architecture, aspects of language including the syntactic structure,
1118 lexical frequency, semantic relationships, and others may all contribute to the performance of
1119 ANNs. Without knowing the language aspects learned by ANNs, it is difficult, and may be even
1120 impossible, to parse out the relative contributions of the different variables. Consequently,

1121 when cortical responses are found to track these features, as is the case in the present study, it
1122 may remain unclear what linguistic processes underlie this tracking. Thus, improving the
1123 interpretability of neural analyses that utilize complex natural language models remains an
1124 important challenge for future work.

1125

1126 **5 Conclusions**

1127

1128 The present study extends upon the existing body of work demonstrating the plausibility of
1129 measuring cortical tracking of high-level features related to speech meaning and predictability.
1130 The results show evidence of age-related amplification in tracking of these features in
1131 competing speech streams. Moreover, our exploratory analyses showed trends of correlations
1132 between these measures and behavioral measures including comprehension performance and
1133 subjective SIN perception difficulty scores, indicating their potential behavioral relevance.
1134 Taken together, our work demonstrates the utility of modeling cortical responses to multi-
1135 talker speech using complex, word-level features and the potential for their use to study
1136 changes in speech processing due to aging and hearing loss.

1137

1138 **Data availability**

1139

1140 Data is not available publicly, as data sharing was not a part of the informed consent. Requests
1141 to access the dataset should be directed to JM (mesik002@umn.edu).

1142

1143 **Ethics statement**

1144

1145 The Institutional Review Board of the University of Minnesota approved the procedures in this
1146 study. All participants provided written informed consent to participate.

1147

1148 **Author contributions**

1149

1150 JM and MW designed the experiment, analyzed the data, and wrote the manuscript. JM and
1151 LAR implemented experimental procedures and collected the data. All authors commented on
1152 the manuscript and approved the submitted version.

1153

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1165

1166 **Conflict of Interest Statement**

1167

1168 The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

1169

1170 **References**

1171

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1412 **Tables**

1413

1414 Table 1. Mixed-factors ANOVA results. Significant F-statistic values are bold, with levels of
 1415 significance: * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

1416

	df	F	η_p^2
Attention	1, 37	34.3***	0.48
Feature	2, 74	18.5***	0.33
ROI	1, 37	8.9**	0.19

Aging Effects on Speech Tracking

Age	1, 37	7.92**	0.18
Attention × Age	1, 37	7.6**	0.17
Feature × Age	2, 74	4.1*	0.10
ROI × Age	1, 37	7.2*	0.16
Attention × Feature	1.8, 66.6	8.5**	0.19
Attention × ROI	1, 37	2	0.05
Feature × ROI	1.7, 62.2	3.2	0.08
Attention × Feature × Age	2, 74	2	0.05
Attention × ROI × Age	1, 37	1.6	0.04
Feature × ROI × Age	2, 74	0.7	0.02
Attention × Feature × ROI	2, 74	9.7***	0.21
Attention × Feature × ROI × Age	2, 74	2.4	0.06

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