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2 **Differences between human auditory event-related potentials (AERP) measured at 2 and 4**  
3 **months after birth**

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**1 Abstract**

2 Infant auditory event-related potentials (AERP) show a series of marked changes during the first  
3 year of life. These AERP changes indicate important advances in early development. The current  
4 study examined AERP differences between 2- and 4-month-old infants. An auditory oddball  
5 paradigm was delivered to infants with a frequent repetitive tone and three rare auditory events.  
6 The three rare events included a shorter than the regular inter-stimulus interval (ISI-deviant),  
7 white noise segments, and environmental sounds. The results suggest that the N250 infantile  
8 AERP component emerges during this period in response to white noise but not to environmental  
9 sounds, possibly indicating a developmental step towards separating acoustic deviance from  
10 contextual novelty. The scalp distribution of the AERP response to both the white noise and the  
11 environmental sounds shifted towards frontal areas and AERP peak latencies were overall lower  
12 in infants at 4 compared to at 2 months of age. These observations indicate improvements in the  
13 speed of sound processing and maturation of the frontal attentional network in infants during this  
14 period.

15

16 **Keywords:** auditory event-related potential; infancy; auditory attention; cognitive development;  
17 oddball paradigm

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## 1. Introduction

1 Infant auditory event-related potentials (AERPs) are often used to index the early  
2 development of information processing (for reviews, see Csibra et al., 2008; Kushnerenko et al.,  
3 2013; Leppänen et al., 2004). AERPs are based on non-invasive recording of brain activity and  
4 they are elicited even in the absence of conscious attention making them a useful tool for infant  
5 research. Because they do not require behavioral responses, AERPs elicited by identical  
6 stimulation can be compared across age groups irrespective of the rapidly changing behavioral  
7 capabilities of young infants. The functionality of processing rapidly presented sound sequences,  
8 sound discrimination, and categorization are important prerequisites of auditory perception  
9 including speech and language acquisition (e.g., Benasich et al., 2002; Leppänen et al., 2002).

11 The morphology of AERP responses undergoes large changes with learning and  
12 maturation of the infantile nervous system during the first year of life (Fellman and Huotilainen,  
13 2006; Kushnerenko et al., 2002a; Kushnerenko et al., 2002b; Leppänen et al., 2004; Morr et al.,  
14 2002). The infant brain undergoes profound structural and functional maturation, such as  
15 synaptogenesis (Huttenlocher, 1984) and increases in myelination in the temporal lobe (Deoni et  
16 al., 2011). These, as well as the effects of early learning are reflected in morphological and  
17 functional changes in the infantile AERP responses. Mapping typical and atypical developmental  
18 trajectories of information processing requires the characterization of AERP changes occurring  
19 within relatively short periods of time. In our review of developmental AERP changes during the  
20 first year of life (Kushnerenko et al., 2013), we noticed a dip in the number of electrophysiological  
21 studies targeting auditory processes during the first few months of infancy. Whereas much effort  
22 has been invested into characterizing AERPs at birth and at ca. 6 month, little is known about the  
23 typical AERP development between these two time points. He et al. (2009) suggested that the

1 ability to detect pitch change similarly to adults probably emerges between 2 and 4 months of  
2 age. Moreover, previously Gomes et al. (2000) have shown that between 2 and 4 months of age,  
3 infants orient more to novel visual stimuli. However, it is yet unknown whether or not this also  
4 applies to the auditory modality. Thus, this short time period seems to be critical in the  
5 development of sound processing. The current study has been aimed at characterizing the  
6 development of AERPs during this period.

7         The auditory oddball paradigm allows assessing AERPs for both frequent repetitive and  
8 rare deviant sounds. Although by tradition, many previous studies focused on the differential  
9 response to rare and frequent sounds [the mismatch response (MMR); Alho et al., 1990;  
10 Dehaene-Lambertz and Gliga, 2004; Morr et al., 2002], it can be misleading in a developmental  
11 comparison, because this approach assumes that the developmental AERP changes for the  
12 frequent and infrequent sound *per se* (often of quite different acoustic makeup) have been  
13 identical, and thus the development of the difference response can be separately assessed. It is  
14 possible that a part of the previously observed dramatic developmental MMR changes during the  
15 first year of life (see Kushnerenko et al., 2002b; Leppänen et al., 2004; Morr et al., 2002) could  
16 have originated from separate developmental alterations of the AERPs elicited by the frequent  
17 and infrequent sounds employed. Because we aimed to assess AERP differences between two  
18 age groups for acoustically widely different sounds (white noise segments and environmental  
19 sounds), the frequent standard and some of the rare deviant sounds were qualitatively different.  
20 Therefore, we took the approach of separately assessing the responses to these sounds, testing the  
21 elicitation of MMR only when the standard and the deviant were identical sounds.

22         Large spectral changes (such as white noise and novel sounds appearing within a  
23 sequence of a repeating complex tone) have been found to reduce inter-individual variability and

1 to improve the replicability of AERP responses in infants (Kushnerenko et al., 2002b;  
2 Kushnerenko et al., 2007), and might therefore provide a reasonably reliable assessment of  
3 typical AERP development. However, to date, only a few studies focused on the maturation of  
4 the processing of rare white noise and novel sounds. In newborn infants, Kushnerenko and  
5 colleagues (2007) obtained similar responses for these two types of sounds in the context of a  
6 frequent tone stimulus. Háden and colleagues (2013) showed in neonates that whereas the  
7 morphology of the AERPs elicited by environmental sounds depended on the context  
8 (environmental sounds presented alone vs. amongst repeating complex tones), only the  
9 amplitude of the AERPs elicited by white noise segments was affected by the same  
10 manipulation. Otte and colleagues (2013) then obtained different AERP responses to white noise  
11 and novel sounds presented in the context of a repeating complex tone at 2 months of age. Using  
12 the same stimulus paradigm in the current study as Otte and colleagues (2013), we will look for  
13 further developmental steps in separating acoustic deviance from contextual novelty.

14         The present study explores the maturation of AERPs elicited in the context of the  
15 auditory oddball paradigm, comparing infants of 2 and 4 months of age. We expected that the  
16 separation of contextual novelty and acoustic deviance widens from 2 to 4 month of age and thus  
17 the difference between the AERPs elicited by white noise and environmental sounds to become  
18 larger during this period. Using Otte and colleagues' (2013) stimulus paradigm also allowed an  
19 investigation of the processing violations of a temporal regularity by recording responses to  
20 infrequent shortenings of the otherwise constant inter-stimulus interval (ISI). Auditory temporal  
21 features carry important information relevant to speech perception, such as stress and prosody.  
22 Recent evidence suggests that impairments in temporal processing skills are associated with  
23 developmental dyslexia (e.g., Flaughnacco et al., 2014). Thus, mapping the typical development

1 of AERPs elicited by violating a temporal regularity may be useful as an early indicator of  
2 development in language acquisition.

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## 2. Methods

5 The study was approved by the „Central Committee on Research involving Subjects“ and  
6 was conducted in full compliance with the Helsinki declaration. All mothers and fathers signed  
7 an informed consent form after the goals and procedures of the study had been explained to  
8 them. The experiment was conducted within the framework of a prospective study assessing the  
9 long-term effects of prenatal exposure to maternal anxiety, i.e. the Prenatal Early Life Stress  
10 (PELS)-study. Here we focus on comparing AERPs between the full 2- and 4-month-old groups  
11 of awake infants. Data obtained at 2 months of age have been previously reported by Otte et al.  
12 (2013), who compared the ERP responses between sleeping and awake infants.

13

### 14 *2.1. Participants*

15 Participants from a typical (i.e., non-clinical) population had been recruited from a  
16 general hospital and four midwives' practices: 178 women had been recruited before their 15th  
17 week of pregnancy and 12 women between the 15th and the 22nd week of their pregnancy. The  
18 women were followed up during their pregnancies and were invited for postnatal observations  
19 either 2 or 4 months after the birth of their baby. From the 91 2-month-olds and the 43 4-month-  
20 olds who participated in the ERP measurements, we included a total of 36 2-month-olds (19  
21 girls) and 26 4-month-olds (12 girls) in the current study. These 2-month-olds had a mean age of  
22 9.59 weeks (SD = .87), a mean birth weight of 3470 g (SD = 508) and a mean gestational age of

1 39.78 weeks (SD = 1.36). The 4-month-olds had a mean age of 17.96 weeks (SD = 3.48), a mean  
2 birth weight of 3443 g (SD = 354) and a mean gestational age of 39.73 (SD = 1.19).

3 The data obtained from infants who fell asleep during the experiment (40 2-month-olds  
4 and 9 4-month-olds) were excluded from the analysis because previous results suggested that the  
5 infants' state of alertness affects the AERP responses (e.g. Friederici, Friedrich, & Weber, 2002;  
6 Otte, et al., 2013) and we did not have sufficient number of sleeping 4-month olds to assess the  
7 state of alertness effects. In addition, from the 2-month-old group, nine infants were excluded  
8 because of too few (< 40) acceptable EEG epochs (due to excessive movements/artefacts), two  
9 because of excessive crying, and another four due to technical problems. From the 4-month-old  
10 group, four infants were excluded because of too few acceptable EEG epochs, three due to  
11 excessive crying, and one because the infant had been born prematurely. There were no  
12 significant differences among the excluded and included infants in gestational age or birth  
13 weight. All infants were healthy and had passed an otoacoustic emission-based screening test for  
14 hearing impairments, performed by a nurse from the infant health care clinic between the 4<sup>th</sup> and  
15 the 7<sup>th</sup> day after birth.

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## 17 *2.2. Stimuli and procedure*

18 The infants were presented with an auditory oddball sequence composed of four types of  
19 sound events: A complex tone of 500 Hz base frequency presented with .7 probability  
20 following an ISI (offset-to-onset interval) of 300 ms (the “standard” tone); the same tone  
21 following an ISI of 100 ms (.1 probability; the “ISI-deviant”); a white noise segment (.1  
22 probability; 300 ms ISI); and various environmental sounds (.1 probability; 300 ms ISI; “novel  
23 sounds”). Standard and ISI-deviant tones were constructed from the 3 lowest partials, with the

1 intensity of the second and third partials set 6 and 12 dB lower, respectively, than that of the base  
2 harmonic. The novel sounds were 150 unique environmental sounds (e.g., door slamming, dog  
3 barking, etc.) and they were presented only once during the experiment to maintain their novelty  
4 throughout. The short ISI was chosen because larger MMR amplitudes were reported with faster  
5 rather than slower presentation rates for 2-month and 4-month-old infants (He, Hotson, &  
6 Trainor, 2009). The common stimulus duration was 200 ms including 10 ms rise and 10 ms fall  
7 times, resulting in an onset-to-onset interval of 500 ms preceding the standard tones, white noise  
8 and novel sounds, and 300 ms preceding the ISI-deviant tones; the common intensity was 75 dB  
9 (SPL). Sequences consisted of 1500 stimuli presented in a pseudorandom order with the  
10 restriction that novel/white noise stimuli were always preceded by two or more standard tones or  
11 a combination of a standard tone and an ISI-deviant. Further, consecutive ISI-deviants were  
12 always separated from each other by at least two standards or by a standard tone combined with  
13 either a white noise or a novel sound. The sequences were divided into 5 blocks of 300 stimuli,  
14 each, which were presented to the infants in a counterbalanced order. The duration of each  
15 stimulus block was approximately 2.5 minutes resulting in a total of 12.5 minutes for the whole  
16 recording.

17         The experiment took place in a dimly lit and sound-attenuated room at the  
18 Developmental Psychology Laboratory of the university. The complete procedure including  
19 electrode placement and removal, EEG recording, and necessary breaks lasted for approximately  
20 60 minutes. During the EEG recording, infants sat or lay on their parent's lap between two  
21 loudspeakers placed at a distance of 80 cm from each side of the infant's head. The whole  
22 experimental procedure was recorded with two cameras: One placed behind and the other in



1 front of the infant and the parent. The camera recordings were used to determine whether the  
2 baby was crying or moving.

3

### 4 *2.3. ERP measurement and data processing*

5 EEG was recorded with Biosemi Active Two amplifiers ([www.biosemi.com](http://www.biosemi.com)) with a  
6 sampling rate of 512 Hz and filtered by a 5<sup>th</sup> order sinc filter with the -3 dB point at 1/5th of the  
7 sample rate (~102 Hz). Sixty-four Ag/AgCl electrodes were placed on the infant's scalp  
8 according to the International 10-20 system. Two reference electrodes were placed on the left  
9 and right mastoids; these were later mathematically combined to produce an average mastoids  
10 reference derivation (Luck, 2005).

11 Data were analysed using Brain Vision Analyzer 2.0.2 using the ActiView software  
12 (Brain Products GmbH). The signals were filtered (phase shift-free Butterworth filters) off-line  
13 with a bandpass of 1.0 – 30 Hz (slope 24 dB). These filter settings were chosen to make the  
14 results comparable with the study by Otte et al. (2013) and to add compatible evidence to the  
15 maturational database created by previous studies (e.g., Brannon et al., 2004; He et al., 2007;  
16 Kushnerenko et al., 2007).

17 Subsequently the data were segmented into epochs of 600 ms duration including a 100 ms  
18 pre-stimulus period. Epochs with a voltage change exceeding 150  $\mu$ V within a sliding window of  
19 200 ms duration as well as those including changes that exceeded the rate of 100  $\mu$ V/ms at any  
20 electrode were rejected from further analysis. On average, the number of remaining trials  
21 included for analysis for the four stimulus types were as follows: standard: 600 (2-month-olds)  
22 vs. 601 (4-month-olds); ISI-deviant: 86 (2-month-olds) vs. 87 (4-month-olds); white noise: 85  
23 (2-month-olds) vs. 86 (4-month-olds); novel sounds: 86 (2-month-olds) vs. 88 (4-month-olds).

1 Infants with less than 40 trials for any of the four stimulus categories were rejected from further  
2 analysis (see the *Participants* section above). Next, ERPs for each infant were averaged  
3 separately for the four different stimulus types and baseline-corrected to the average voltage in  
4 the 100 ms pre-stimulus period.

5         The time windows for peak detection were selected on the basis of visual inspection of  
6 the group-average ERPs from the electrodes F3, Fz, F4, C3, Cz, C4, P3, Pz, and P4, separately  
7 for the standard and the three oddball stimuli. The following time windows were used for peak  
8 latency measurements in individual infants: for the standard (see Figure 1), a time window of  
9 180-250 ms was set for the positive peak corresponding to P2; for the ISI-deviant (see Figure 2)  
10 a time window of 175-275 ms was set for the negative and another of 350-500 ms for the  
11 positive peak corresponding to the N250 and P350, respectively; for the white noise sound (see  
12 Figure 3), a window was set at 100-200 ms for the first positive peak corresponding to the early  
13 part of the bifurcated infantile P2 (P150), another one at 175-275 ms for the negative-going peak  
14 corresponding to the N250, and a third one at 300-450 ms for the second positive peak (P350);  
15 for the novel sound (see Figure 4), a time window of 250-450 ms was set for the positive peak  
16 corresponding to the infant P3a waveform. Peaks were termed in accordance with the  
17 nomenclature set up by Kushnerenko et al. (2002a,b; 2007). Note that the time windows of the  
18 white-noise P350 and novelty P3a extend over the onset of a possible following ISI-deviant tone.  
19 However, because the average amplitude of the ISI-deviant response in the overlap period is low  
20 (below 1  $\mu$ V) and the overlap occurs only for ca. 10% of the white-noise and novel sounds, the  
21 bias caused by the overlap is below 3% of the measured amplitudes and it is approximately equal  
22 between the two age groups. Peaks were detected automatically as the highest/lowest point  
23 within the respective time windows. Average amplitudes were measured as the mean voltage in

1 60 ms long intervals centred on the peaks of the group-averaged response, separately for the two  
2 age groups.

3 In addition, for illustration purposes, topographical maps were created for the  
4 components showing significant ERP scalp distribution differences between 2- and 4-month-olds  
5 for the white noise and novel sounds. From the 64 electrodes, P9, P10, O1, Oz, O2, and Iz had to  
6 be excluded, because almost all infants showed a large number of artefacts on these electrodes  
7 (this was probably caused by the round shape of the EEG cap not matching well with the infants'  
8 typical shape at the back of the head). When necessary, the signals recorded from the included  
9 electrodes were interpolated by spherical spline interpolation (order = 4, degree = 10, and  
10  $\lambda = 1E-05$ ; Perrin et al., 1989).

#### 11 *2.4. Statistical analysis*

12 For comparing the two age groups on peak latency and amplitude measures at the nine  
13 electrode sites, mixed model repeated-measures ANOVAs with „Anterior vs. Posterior“ (frontal,  
14 central, parietal) x „Laterality“ (left, medial, right) as within-subjects factors, and „Age-Group“ (2  
15 months and 4 months) as a between-subject factor were carried out for each stimulus type  
16 (standard, ISI-deviant, noise, and novel sound) and component. All analyses were controlled for  
17 gestational age at birth (GA) and birth weight (BW) of the infants by including these variables  
18 into the analysis as covariates. These covariates were included because previous studies,  
19 especially those of prematurely born infants, showed effects of gestational age at birth and birth  
20 weight on auditory ERPs (e.g., Hövel et al., 2014) and brain development (Ment and Vohr,  
21 2008). Only effects including the Age-Group factor are interpreted. For the significant Age-  
22 Group  $\times$  Anterior vs. Posterior interactions post-hoc tests were conducted by separate ANOVAs  
23 of Age-Group for the frontal (F3, Fz, F4), central (C3, Cz, C4), and parietal arrays of electrodes

1 (P3, Pz, P4). For the significant Age-Group by Laterality interactions, ANOVAs of Age-Group  
2 were separately conducted for the left (F3, C3, P3), middle (Fz, Cz, Pz), and right array of  
3 electrodes (F4, C4, P4). GA and BW were always corrected for in post-hoc tests, too.

4 For assessing whether the brain of 2-month and 4-month-old infants distinguished the  
5 ISI-deviant from the standard stimulus, we subtracted the response to the standard from that of  
6 the ISI-deviant and then compared the difference against zero by repeated-measure ANOVAs  
7 with „electrodes“ (all nine electrodes) as a within-subject factor, separately for each age group  
8 and peak.

9 All statistical analyses were performed using SPSS 19.0 for Windows. Greenhouse-  
10 Geisser correction was applied where appropriate ( $\epsilon$  correction factors reported). All significant  
11 ( $\alpha = .05$ ) results involving the age-group factor are reported, together with the partial  $\eta^2$  effect  
12 size values.

13

14

### 3. Results

15 Table 1 shows the group-mean peak latencies and mean amplitudes measured from 60-ms  
16 long windows centered at the mean peak latency ( $\mu\text{V}$ ) averaged over all nine electrodes for all  
17 stimuli, separately for the 2- and 4-month-olds.

18

#### 19 3.1. Standard tone

20 The standard tone elicited a fronto-centrally distributed P2 in both age groups (Figure 1).  
21 Although a significant Age-Group x Anterior vs. Posterior interaction was found for the peak  
22 latency [ $F(2;120)=4.61, p<.05, \eta^2=.071, \epsilon=.764$ ], this interaction was no longer significant after  
23 controlling for gestational age at birth and birth weight. The ANOVA of the mean amplitudes

1 yielded a significant Age-Group  $\times$  Anterior vs. Posterior interaction [ $F(2;108)=5.00, p<.05,$   
2  $\eta^2=.085, \epsilon=.838$ ]. Post hoc tests showed a trend for a difference between 2- and 4-month-olds at  
3 the central electrodes, with a larger amplitude for 4-month-olds [ $F(1;54)=3.72, p=.06, \eta^2=.064$ ],  
4 but no significant difference at the frontal and parietal electrodes. Controlling for gestational age  
5 and birth weight did not change this result.

6

### 7 3.2. *ISI-deviant*

8 Figure 2 shows that in both age groups, ISI-deviants elicited a fronto-centrally distributed  
9 negative-going wave (N250) followed by a similarly distributed positive-going wave (P350).  
10 Age had a significant effect on the peak latency of the P350, with a shorter peak latency for the  
11 4- than the 2-month-olds [ $F(1;60)=8.05, p<.01, \eta^2=.118$ ]. Controlling for gestational age and  
12 birth weight did not alter this effect. Because the ISI-deviant sound is identical to the standard  
13 sound, for this rare sound we also tested whether the violation of the temporal regularity elicited  
14 a significant MMR response. The response to the ISI-deviant significantly differed from the  
15 standard-stimulus response for both age groups and latency ranges: N250 [ $F(1;35)=29.13,$   
16  $p<.001$  and  $F(1;25)=13.53, p<.01$ , in the 2- and the 4-month-old group, respectively] and P350  
17 [ $F(1;35)=-3.263, p<.01$  and  $F(1;25)=7.74, p<.01$ , respectively]. Thus, violating a temporal  
18 regularity elicited significant MMR responses in both age groups.

19

### 20 3.3. *White noise*

21 White noise sounds elicited a waveform with the following peaks: the P2 dissociated into  
22 P150 and P350 separated by the emerging N250 (Figure 3A). Figure 3A shows that in the 4-  
23 month-olds, the presence of an N250 component is more apparent than in the 2-month-olds. Thus

1 the N250 appears to become prominent between 2 and 4 month of age. This interpretation is  
 2 supported by the finding of a significant interaction between „Age Group“ and „Laterality“ for the  
 3 N250 peak amplitude [ $F(2;108)=3.25, p<.05, \eta^2=.057, \epsilon=.970$ ]. Post-hoc test indicated that the  
 4 amplitude differs between 2- and 4-month-olds mainly over the right hemisphere [ $F(1;54)=4.29,$   
 5  $p<.05, \eta^2=.074$ ], with a positive mean value for the 2-month-olds and a negative one for the 4-  
 6 month-olds [1.4 vs. -.7  $\mu$ V].

7 Figure 3A shows that the P150 and the P350 responses to white noise peaked  
 8 significantly earlier in the 4- than in the 2-month-olds: for P150 [148 vs. 168 ms, respectively;  
 9  $F(1;60)=7.39, p<.01, \eta^2=.120$ ] and for P350 [362 vs. 383 ms, respectively;  $F(1;54)=6.00, p<.05,$   
 10  $\eta^2=.100$ ]. For the P350 amplitude, a significant Age group by Anterior vs. Posterior interaction  
 11 was obtained [ $F(2;108)=5.31, p<.05, \eta^2=.089, \epsilon=.675$ ]. Post-hoc tests revealed larger amplitudes  
 12 in the 2- compared with the 4-month-olds at the parietal electrodes [ $F(1;54)=7.57, p<.01,$   
 13  $\eta^2=.123$ ], but not at the frontal or central electrodes. Figure 3B shows that in 2-month-olds, P350  
 14 peaks over parietal areas; in contrast, in 4-month-olds, this response appears to have shifted more  
 15 towards frontal areas with very low amplitudes over parietal areas.

16 To examine whether the P350 amplitude difference between 2- and 4-month-olds was due  
 17 to the emergence of the negative N250 peak, we performed correlation analysis (Pearson  
 18 correlation) between the N250 and P350 amplitudes averaged over all electrodes and pooling the  
 19 two age groups. The analysis revealed a significant positive correlation between the amplitudes  
 20 measured from the N250 and P350 latency ranges [ $r(1;62)=.65, p<.001$ ]. This result shows that  
 21 when the N250 is not prominent (i.e., the voltage in the N250 range is positive), the P350  
 22 amplitude is large. When the N250 emerges (smaller positive or negative values) reducing or  
 23 even eliminating the positivity in its range, the P350 amplitude is reduced.

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### 3.4. Novel sounds

Novel sounds elicited a slow positive-going waveform (the P3a; Figure 4A). A significant Age-Group  $\times$  Anterior vs. Posterior interaction was found for the P3a amplitude [ $F(2;108)=12.84, p<.001, \eta^2=.192, \epsilon=.766$ ]. Post-hoc tests revealed a significant parietal difference between the two age groups with lower P3a amplitudes at 4 than at 2 month of age [ $F(1;60)=7.58, p<.01, \eta^2=.123$ ]. This pattern of results suggests that the P3a response to novel sounds has shifted towards frontal areas in 4- compared to 2-month-olds (see Figure 4B).

## 4. Discussion

The current study showed AERP differences between typically developing 2- and 4-month-olds for a repetitive complex tone and three rare sound events. We found that by 4 month of age morphological differences appeared between the responses elicited by white noise and novel sounds compared to the responses obtained at 2 months. This result supports the hypothesis that the processing of contextual novelty and wide acoustic deviance becomes increasingly separated within this period.

The findings suggest that the N250 displays marked development between 2 and 4 months after birth. As shown in Figure 4, novel sounds elicited a P3a-like prolonged positive response (cf., Kushnerenko et al., 2002a,b; 2007). In contrast, white noise sounds elicited the P150-N250-P350 response complex (Kushnerenko et al., 2013; Figure 3), which became more prominent by 4 months compared to the response pattern at 2 months: Significantly more negative N250 amplitude was found over the right hemisphere in the 4- as compared to the 2-month-olds with no corresponding difference in the preceding P150 peak. The emergence of the N250 between these two ages in response to spectrally rich, widely deviant sounds (white noise

1 segments) but not in response to unique novel sounds is consistent with the hypothesis of  
2 increased separation between processing acoustic deviance and contextual novelty (Kushnerenko  
3 et al., 2013). The fact that one should take into account, however, is that the infant brain might  
4 distinguish these two sets of sounds by differences in the spectral contents (environmental  
5 sounds have typically narrower bandwidth than white noise segments) and/or by difference in  
6 temporal structure (environmental sounds typically showed spectral changes over time, whereas  
7 the white noise segments did not). Differential processing of environmental sounds and white-  
8 noise segments (but not the emergence of the N250) has also been observed in neonates (Háden  
9 et al., 2013).

10         ISI deviants elicited significant MMR responses in both age groups, but no age-related  
11 difference was obtained between the responses to the deviant events in the MMR latency range.  
12 The peak latency of the P350 was lower in 4 months compared to 2 months old infants. Although  
13 the AERP responses look visually different, with more pronounced peaks in 4- compared to 2-  
14 month-olds, these differences did not reach statistical significance. This could be due to high  
15 between subject variability of AERP responses for this stimulus type. This suggests that the  
16 development of processing shortening of the inter-stimulus interval progresses less uniformly  
17 during this period than the processing of spectrally rich sounds.

18         The significant latency decrease found for several AERP responses from 2 to 4 month of  
19 age is in line with the previous reports (e.g., Cheour et al., 1998; Jing and Benasich, 2006) and it  
20 suggests faster processing in 4- than in 2-month-olds. Faster processing is assumed to be due to  
21 processes such as increasing myelination in the developing nervous system (see Dehaene-  
22 Lambertz et al., 2010).



1           We also found topographical differences between some of the ERPs elicited in the two  
2 age groups. Firstly, we found a difference in the scalp topography between 2- and 4-month-olds  
3 for the standard tones with a larger ERP response over central electrode sites for 4- compared to  
4 2-month-olds. For the novel and the white noise sound, a difference in scalp topography was  
5 found for the P350/P3a with larger positive voltage on parietal electrode sites for 2- compared to  
6 4-month-olds. The topographical maps of these components (Figures 5 and 6) seem to indicate a  
7 developmental shift from 2 to 4 months of age towards frontal areas with a corresponding  
8 decrease of the positive voltage over parietal areas. The latter result is compatible with those of  
9 Kushnerenko et al. (2002a) demonstrating a developmental decrease of the P350 from 3 to 6  
10 months of age (for a review, see Kushnerenko et al., 2013). These authors suggested that the  
11 decrease of the P350 was due to its overlap with the growing N250 component. Our post-hoc  
12 correlation analysis confirmed this suggestion: Higher (more negative) N250 amplitudes  
13 coincided with lower (less positive) P350 amplitudes. The interpretation of the assumed adult  
14 equivalents of these components (e.g., Escera et al., 2000) suggests that the mature version of  
15 these responses index the involvement of the frontal attention network.

16           Controlling for gestational age at birth and birth weight resulted in the elimination of a  
17 few of the initially statistically significant effects, suggesting that some differences in the  
18 variance of the AERPs of these two age groups are partly explained by the level of the infants’  
19 maturity at birth. While controlling for these covariates is often done in ERP-studies on  
20 prematurely born infants (Fellman et al., 2004; Hövel et al., 2014), many ERP-studies on infants  
21 born to term do not control for them. Our results, obtained in full-term infants, indicate that even  
22 in typically developing infants one should add these covariates to the statistical analyses when  
23 comparing between two groups of infants (such as between two age groups).

## 5. Conclusion

1  
2 We found significant differences in AERPs within the short time period between 2 and 4 month  
3 after birth. This finding suggests that during this period, substantial maturation and learning  
4 takes place in the infant auditory information processing system. Data are consistent with the  
5 notion of early developmental improvements of infantile abilities in specifying their responses to  
6 novel auditory events, representing the temporal structure of sound sequences, and increasing the  
7 speed of sound processing. The emergence of the N250 AERP component was the most  
8 prominent AERP difference between the two tested age groups. This AERP development helps  
9 in understanding the developmental trajectory of auditory information processing in early  
10 infancy.

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12

13

1 **List of abbreviations**

2 ERP Event-related potential

3 AERP Auditory event-related potential

4 ISI inter-stimulus-interval

5 MMR mismatch response

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1 Figure 1: Group-average ERP responses elicited by the standard tones in the 2- (solid line) and 4-  
2 month-old infants (dashed line) over frontal, central and parietal electrodes. The grey box at Cz  
3 indicates the time window within which the “P2” amplitudes were measured.

4

5 Figure 2: Group-average ERP responses elicited by the ISI-deviant in the 2- (solid line) and 4-  
6 month-old infants (dashed line) over frontal, central and parietal electrodes. The grey boxes at Cz  
7 indicate the time windows within which the “N250/MMR” and “P350” amplitudes were  
8 measured.

9

10 Figure 3: **(A)** Group-average ERP responses elicited by the Noise sounds in the 2- (solid line)  
11 and 4-month-old infants (dashed line) over frontal, central and parietal electrodes. The grey  
12 boxes at Cz indicate the time windows within which the “P2”, “N250”, and “P350” amplitudes  
13 were measured. And **(B)** topographical maps for the P350 amplitude elicited by white noise  
14 segments in 2- (left) and 4-month-old infants (right), measured over 300-450 ms time period.  
15 The common color scale is below the left panel.

16

17 Figure 4: **(A)** Group-average ERP responses in elicited by the Novel sounds in the 2- (solid line)  
18 and 4-month-old infants (dashed line) over frontal, central and parietal electrodes. The grey box  
19 at Cz indicates the time window within which the “P3a” amplitudes were measured. And **(B)**  
20 topographical maps for the P3a amplitude elicited by novel sounds in 2- (left) and 4-month-old  
21 infants (right), measured over 250-450 ms time period The common color scale is below the left  
22 panel.

23

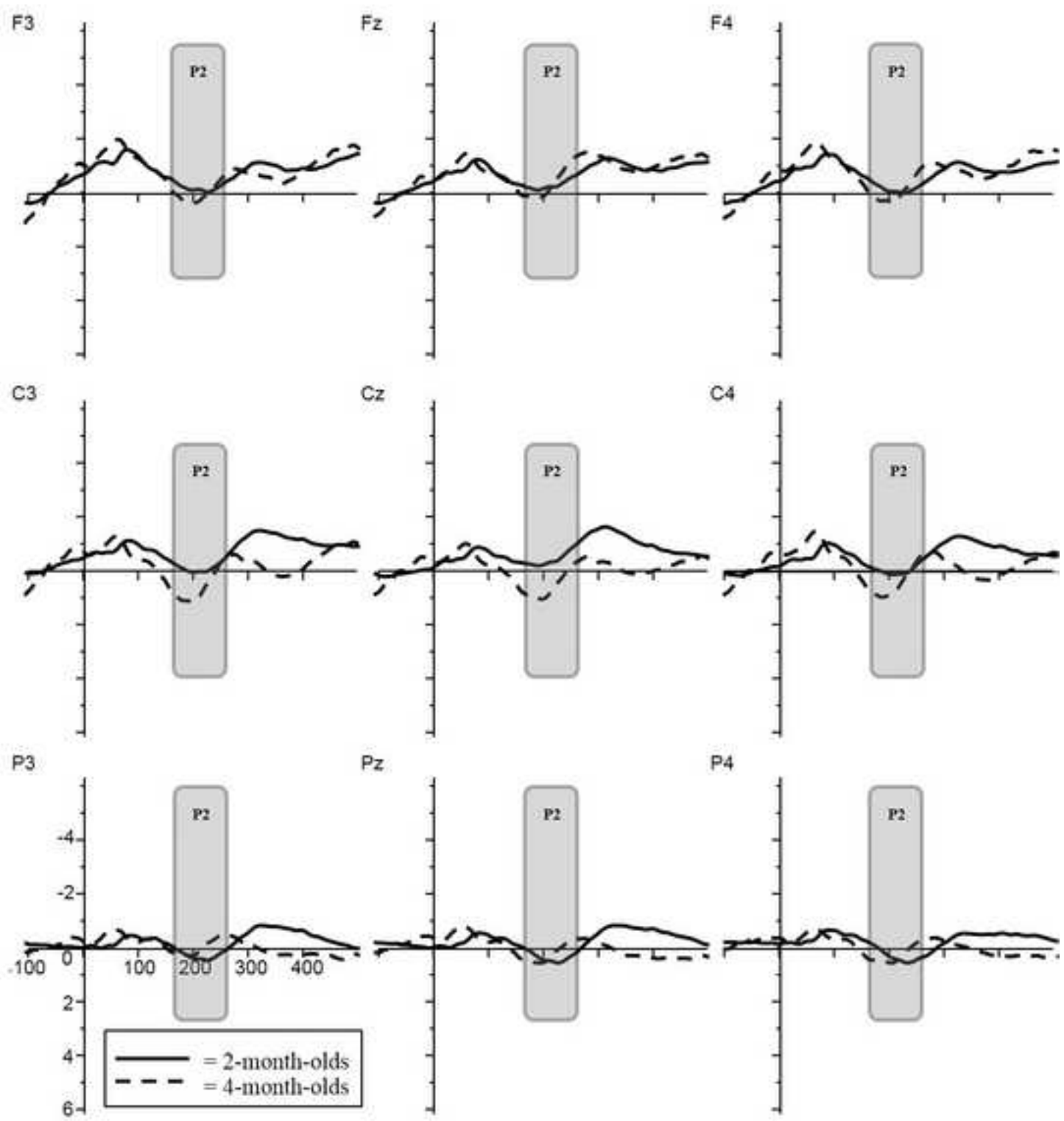
1 Table 1: Group-average peak latencies (ms) and mean amplitudes measured from 60-ms long  
 2 windows centered on the mean peak latency ( $\mu\text{V}$ ) averaged over the nine analyzed electrodes,  
 3 separately for the 4 stimulus types, the ERP peaks (rows) and for the 2- and 4-month-old infants  
 4 (columns).

<i>Stimulus type and ERP peak</i>	<b><i>Peak latency (SD)</i></b>		<b><i>Mean amplitude (SD)</i></b>	
	<i>2-month-olds (N=36)</i>	<i>4-month-olds (N=26)</i>	<i>2-month-olds (N=36)</i>	<i>4-month-olds (N=26)</i>
<i>Standard tone</i>				
P2	214 (3)	206 (4)	.2 (.3)	.5 (.3)
<i>ISI-deviant</i>				
N250	216 (7)	210 (8)	-2.1 (.4)	-2.2 (.5)
P350	435 (6)	411 (7)	.7 (.5)	1.6 (.6)
<i>White noise</i>				
P150	167 (4)	148 (5)	2.5 (.5)	2.2 (.6)
N250	221 (4)	224 (5)	1.2(.6)	-.4 (.7)
P350	383 (5)	365 (6)	4.3 (.6)	3.5 (.7)
<i>Novel</i>				
P3a	308 (7)	325 (8)	5.2 (.6)	5.1 (.7)

5

Figure(s)

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