

1 Imagined speech can be decoded from low- and cross-frequency 2 features in perceptual space.

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17 Summary

18 Reconstructing intended speech from neural activity using brain-computer interfaces (BCIs) holds great
19 promises for people with severe speech production deficits. While decoding *overt* speech has progressed,
20 decoding *imagined* speech have met limited success, mainly because the associated neural signals are weak
21 and variable hence difficult to decode by learning algorithms. Using three electrocorticography datasets
22 totalizing 1444 electrodes from 13 patients who performed overt and imagined speech production tasks, and
23 based on recent theories of speech neural processing, we extracted consistent and specific neural features
24 usable for future BCIs, and assessed their performance to discriminate speech items in articulatory, phonetic,
25 vocalic, and semantic representation spaces. While high-frequency activity provided the best signal for overt
26 speech, both low- and higher-frequency power and local cross-frequency contributed to successful imagined
27 speech decoding, in particular in phonetic and vocalic, i.e. perceptual, spaces. These findings demonstrate that
28 low-frequency power and cross-frequency dynamics contain key information for imagined speech decoding,
29 and that exploring perceptual spaces offers a promising avenue for future imagined speech BCIs.
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31 **Introduction**

32 Cerebral lesions and motor neuron disease can lead to speech production deficits, or even to a complete
33 inability to speak. For the most severely affected patients, decoding speech intentions directly from neural
34 activity with a BCI is a promising hope. The goal is to teach learning algorithms to classify and-decode neural
35 signals from imagined speech, e.g. syllables, words, and to provide feedback to the patient so that the algorithm
36 and the patient adapt to each other. This strategy parallels what is being done in the motor domain to help
37 paralyzed people control e.g. a robotic arm (Hochberg et al., 2012). One approach to decode imagined speech
38 is to train algorithms on articulatory motor commands produced by the brain during overt or silently
39 articulated speech, hoping that the learned features could ultimately be transferred to patients who are unable
40 to speak (Anumanchipalli et al., 2019; Livezey et al., 2019; Makin et al., 2020). Although potentially interesting,
41 this hypothesis is limited in scope as it would only work for those cases where language and motor commands
42 are preserved, such as in motor neuron disease, i.e. in a minority of the patients with severe speech production
43 deficits (Guenther et al., 2009; Wilson et al., 2020). If, as in most cases of post-stroke aphasia, the cortical
44 language network is injured, other decoding strategies must be envisaged, for instance using neural signals
45 from the remaining intact brain regions that encode speech, e.g. regions involved in perceptual or lexical speech
46 representations. Exploring these alternative hypotheses require to work directly from imagined speech neural
47 signals, even though they are notably difficult to decode, because of their high spatial and temporal variability,
48 their low signal-to-noise ratio, and the lack of behavioral outputs. To advance imagined speech decoding, two
49 key points must be clarified: (i) what brain region(s) and associated representation spaces offer the best
50 decoding potential, and (ii) what neural features (e.g. signal frequency, cross-frequency or -regional
51 interactions) are most informative within those spaces.

52 Until now, imagined speech decoding with non-invasive techniques, i.e. surface EEG/MEG, has only led to poor
53 results (Bocquelet et al., 2016). The most promising approach is based on electrocorticographic (ECoG) signals,
54 which, so far, are only recorded in patients with refractory epilepsy undergoing presurgical evaluation. During
55 the experiment, patients are typically asked to speak aloud or imagine speaking or hearing, and ECoG signals
56 are recorded simultaneously. In the *overt* condition, the recorded speech acoustics is used to inform the
57 learning algorithms about the timing of speech production in the brain. The main state-of-the-art feature used
58 for overt speech decoding is the broadband high-frequency activity (BHA) (Leszczyński et al., 2020; Rich and
59 Wallis, 2017). When sampled from the premotor and motor articulatory cortex (Chartier et al., 2018; Ray and
60 Maunsell, 2011; Steinschneider et al., 2008), this feature permits reasonable decoding performance. However,
61 even though patients have an intact language and speech production system (Martin et al., 2016, 2014), this

62 feature is less efficient when speech is imagined. Alternative features or feature combinations are hence needed
63 to advance from decoding overt speech to the more clinically relevant step of decoding imagined speech.

64 The feature space being potentially unlimited, it is essential for future treatment of aphasia to reduce the
65 amount of exploited features to the most promising ones, as for prophylactic reasons intracortical sampling
66 will have to remain as restricted as possible. Existing speech and language theories, in particular, theories of
67 imagined speech production, can help us target the best speech representation level(s) and associated brain
68 regions. While the motor hypothesis posits that imagined speech is essentially an attenuated version of overt
69 speech with a well specified articulatory plan (much like imagined and actual finger movements share similar
70 spatial organization of neural activity), the abstraction hypothesis proposes that it arises from higher-level
71 linguistic representations that can be evoked without an explicit plan (Cooney et al., 2018; Indefrey and Levelt,
72 2004; Mackay et al., 1992; Miller et al., 2010; Oppenheim and Dell, 2010; Wheeldon and Levelt, 1995). Between
73 these two accounts, the flexible abstraction theory assumes that the main representation level of imagined
74 speech is phonemic, even though subjects can retain control on the contribution of sensory and motor
75 components (Oppenheim and Dell, 2010; Pickering and Garrod, 2013; Scott et al., 2013; Tian, 2010). In this
76 case, neural activity is shaped by the way each individual imagines speech (Perrone-Bertolotti et al., 2014). An
77 important argument for the flexible abstraction hypothesis is that silently articulated speech exhibits the
78 phonemic similarity effect, whereas imagined speech without explicit mouthing does not (Oppenheim and Dell,
79 2010). Altogether these theories suggest that semantic and perceptual spaces deserve as much attention as the
80 articulatory dimension in imagined speech decoding.

81 Other current theories of speech processing (Giraud and Poeppel, 2012) may provide important
82 complementary information to identify the best neural features to exploit within those spaces. These theories
83 suggest that that other frequency features than BHA are critical to speech neural processing and encoding
84 (Giraud and Poeppel, 2012). Slower frequencies, in particular the low-gamma and theta bands could underpin
85 phoneme- and syllable-scale processes that are essential for both speech perception and production, such as
86 the concatenation of segment-level information (phoneme-scale) within syllable timeframes. This hierarchical
87 embedding could be operated by nested theta/low-gamma and theta/BHA phase-amplitude cross-frequency
88 coupling (CFC) both in speech perception and production (Giraud, 2020; Giraud and Poeppel, 2012; Gross et al.,
89 2013; Hovsepyan et al., 2020; Marchesotti et al., 2020). The low-beta range could also contribute to speech
90 encoding as it is implicated in top-down control during language tasks (Lewis and Bastiaansen, 2015; Pefkou et
91 al., 2017). In coordination with other rhythms, such as the low-gamma band, it participates in the coordination
92 of bottom-up and top-down information flows (Bastos et al., 2020; Fontolan et al., 2014; Rimmele et al., 2018).

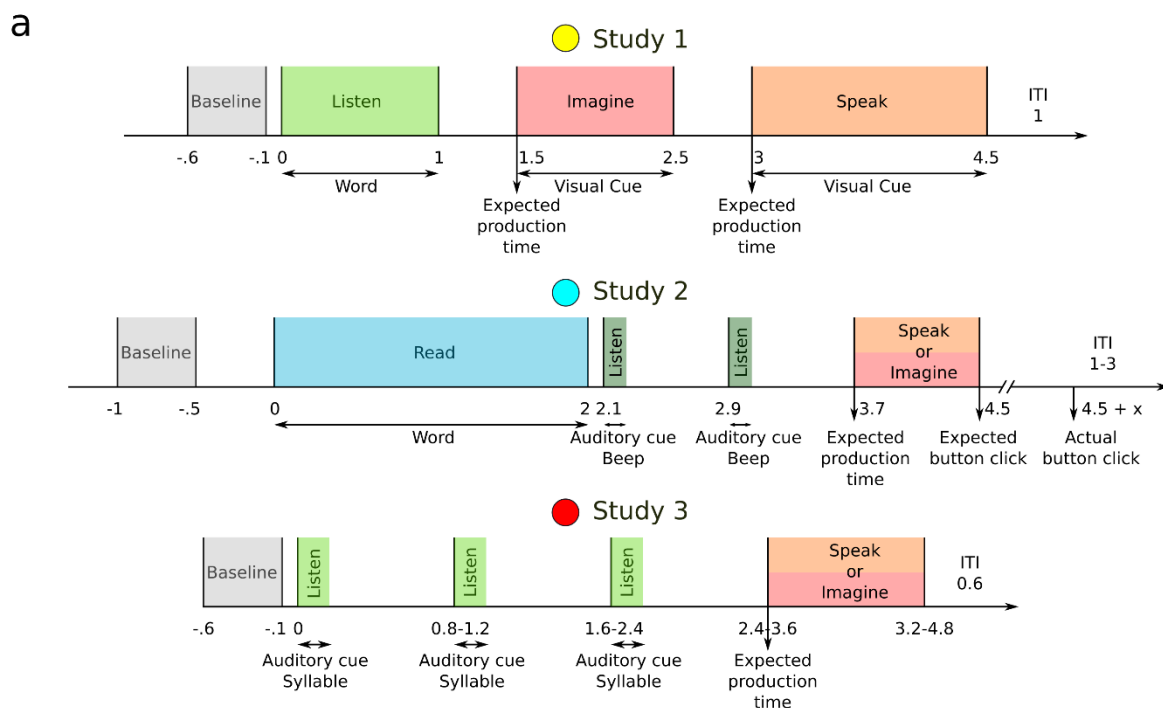
93 These frequency specific neural signals could be of particular importance for intended speech decoding, as focal
94 articulatory signals indexed by BHA are expected to be weaker during imagined speech.

95 In this study, we set out to delineate the range of representation level(s) and neural features that could
96 potentially be usable in imagined speech decoding BCIs. Rather than adopting a purely neuroengineering
97 perspective involving large datasets and automatized feature selection procedures, we used a hypothesis-
98 driven approach assuming a role of low-frequency neural oscillations and their cross-frequency coupling in
99 speech processing, within both perceptual and motor representation spaces.

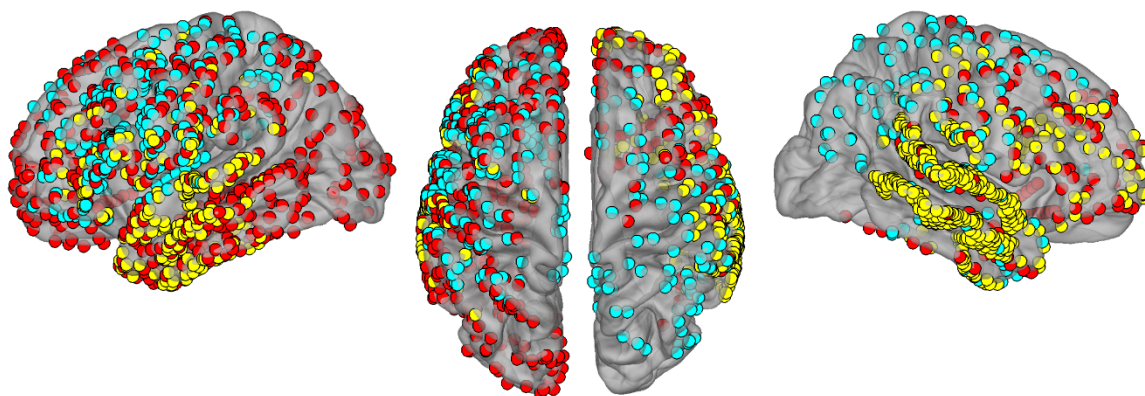
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101 **Results**

102 Imagined speech experiments were carried out in three groups of participants implanted with ECoG electrodes
103 (4, 4, and 5 participants with 509, 349, and 586 ECoG electrodes for studies 1, 2, and 3 respectively, Fig. 1). Each
104 group performed a distinct task, but all studies involved repeating out loud (overt speech) and imagining saying
105 or hearing (imagined speech) words or syllables, depending on the study (see Methods).



b



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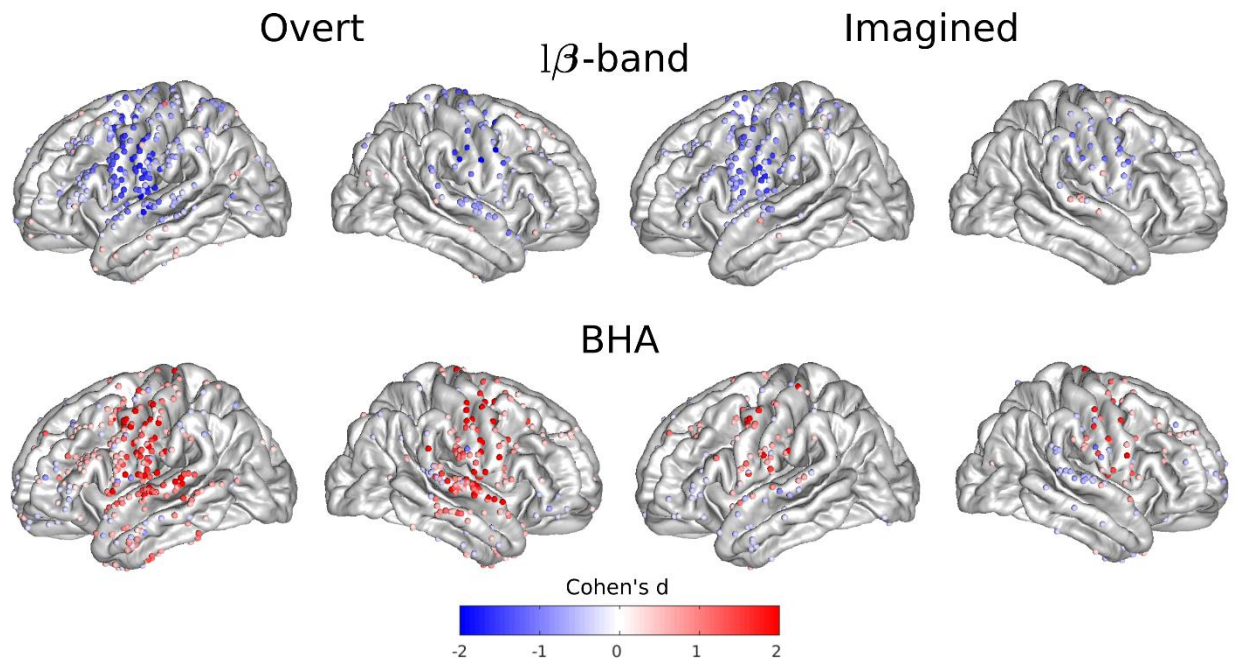
107 **Figure 1: Experimental studies and electrode coverage** (a) Study 1 (top row): After a baseline (0.5 s, grey),
 108 participants listened to one of six individual words (1 s, light green). A visual cue then appeared,
 109 during which participants were asked to imagine hearing again the same word (1 s, red). Then, a second visual
 110 cue appeared, during which participants were asked to repeat the same word (1.5 s, orange). Study 2 (middle
 111 row): After a baseline (0.5 s, gray), participants read one of twelve words (2 s, blue). Participants were then
 112 asked to imagine saying (red) or to say out loud (orange) this word following the rhythm triggered by two
 113 rhythmic auditory cues (dark green). Finally, they would click a button, still following the rhythm, to conclude
 114 the trial. Study 3 (bottom row): After a baseline (0.5 s, gray), participants listened to three rhythmic auditory
 115 repetitions of the same syllable (light green) with different rhythms speeds, after which they were asked to
 116 imagine saying (red) or to say out loud this syllable (orange). (b) ECoG electrode coverage across all
 117 participants. Different colors correspond to the three studies.

118

119 **Speech item discrimination from power spectrum and phase-amplitude cross-**
120 **frequency coupling**

121 We first quantified power spectrum changes during overt or imagined speech compared to baseline for four
122 frequency bands: theta (θ , 4-8 Hz), low-beta ($l\beta$, 12-18 Hz), low-gamma ($l\gamma$, 25-35 Hz), and BHA (80-150 Hz).
123 Overall, spatial patterns of power spectrum changes for overt and imagined speech were comparable, but not
124 identical. Furthermore, power changes for imagined speech were less pronounced than those for overt speech,
125 with fewer cortical sites showing significant changes. We found power increases in the BHA for both overt and
126 imagined speech in the sensory and motor regions (Fig. 2), and power decrease in the beta band over the same
127 regions. A smaller power decrease was also found over the same regions for theta and low-gamma band (Supp.
128 Fig. 1). The most striking difference between overt and imagined spatial patterns was that BHA in superior
129 temporal cortex increased during overt speech whereas it decreased during imagined speech, a finding that
130 presumably reflects the absence of auditory feedback in the imagined situation. The differences in power
131 spectrum changes between overt and imagined speech were sufficient to accurately classify which task the
132 participants were engaged in (Supp. Fig. 2).

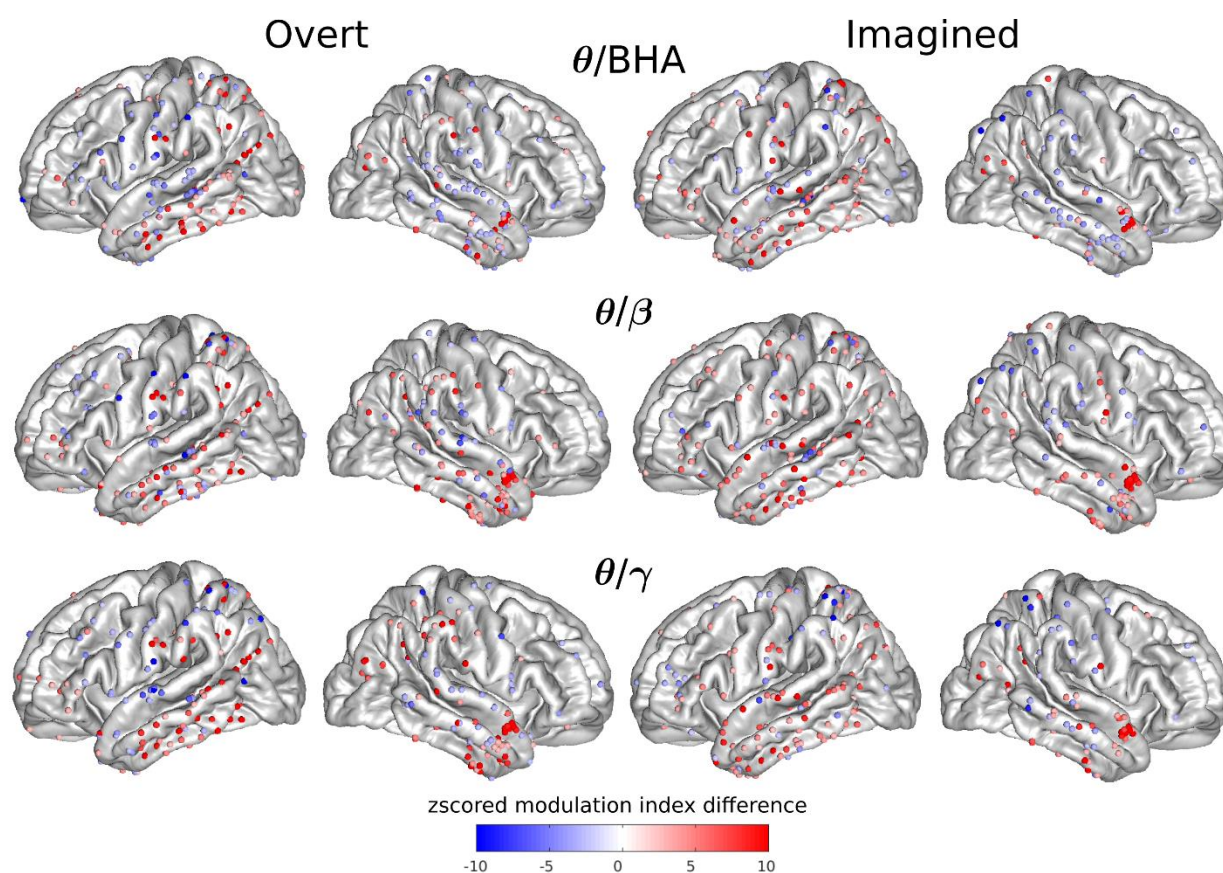
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135 **Figure 2: Spatial organization of power spectrum deviations from baseline elicited by overt and**
136 **imagined speech.** Effect sizes (Cohen's d) for significant cortical sites across all participants and studies during
137 overt and imagined speech compared to baseline (t-tests, FDR-corrected, target threshold $\alpha = 0.05$).

138 We then quantified phase-amplitude CFC for each cortical site for overt and imagined speech, using the
139 difference in modulation index between speech and baseline periods, for theta, low-beta, and low-gamma
140 modulating (lower) frequency bands, and beta (β : 12-25 Hz), gamma (γ : 25-50 Hz), and BHA modulated
141 (higher) frequency bands. This difference was expressed as a z-score relative to its distribution under the null
142 hypothesis, generated with surrogate data using permutation testing. The spatial pattern of cortical sites
143 displaying significant CFC was more widespread than that of power changes. Notably, strong phase amplitude
144 CFC was found in the left inferior and right anterior temporal lobe between theta phase and other band
145 amplitudes, both for overt and imagined speech (Fig. 3, see Supp. Fig. 3 for other bands).
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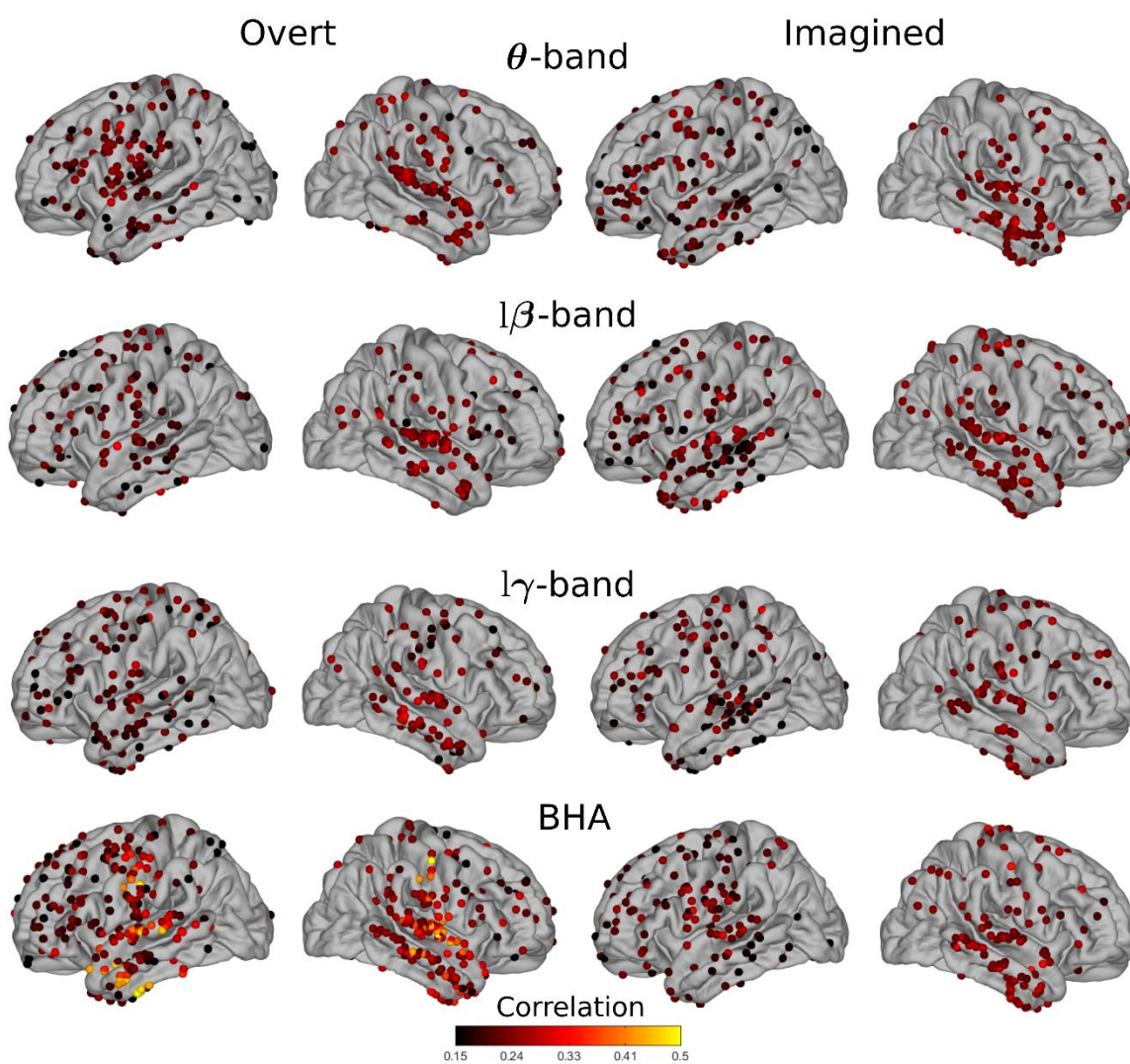


147
148 **Figure 3: Cross-frequency coupling between the phase of one frequency band and the amplitude of**
149 **another frequency band for each electrode.** Z-scored modulation index difference for significant electrodes
150 across all participants and studies during overt and imagined speech with respect to baseline (permutation
151 tests, FDR-corrected, target threshold $\alpha = 0.05$).

152 Next, we asked if power spectrum and phase-amplitude CFC changes (hereafter called features) contained
153 information that could be used to discriminate between individual speech words (or syllables in the case of
154 study 3, that we hereafter call speech items). We systematically quantified the correlation between the power

155 spectrum features for all pairs of speech items and their corresponding labels for each cortical site, and
156 averaged the resulting correlation across item pairs. As expected, the BHA showed high correlation values for
157 overt speech, primarily within the sensory-motor and superior temporal cortices of both hemispheres, as well
158 as in the anterior left temporal lobe (Fig. 4). The theta band also showed significant correlations for overt
159 speech in sensory-motor and superior temporal cortex. For imagined speech, however, correlations were more
160 diffuse, in particular for the BHA, with correlation values observed in the left ventral sensory-motor cortex and
161 bilateral superior temporal cortex were lower than for overt speech. Correlations were also observed in the
162 low-beta band in the left superior temporal and the right temporal lobe of the theta and low-beta bands. The
163 same analysis was repeated using phase-amplitude CFC as the discriminant feature (Supp. Fig. 4), showing
164 modest values of correlation in imagined speech.

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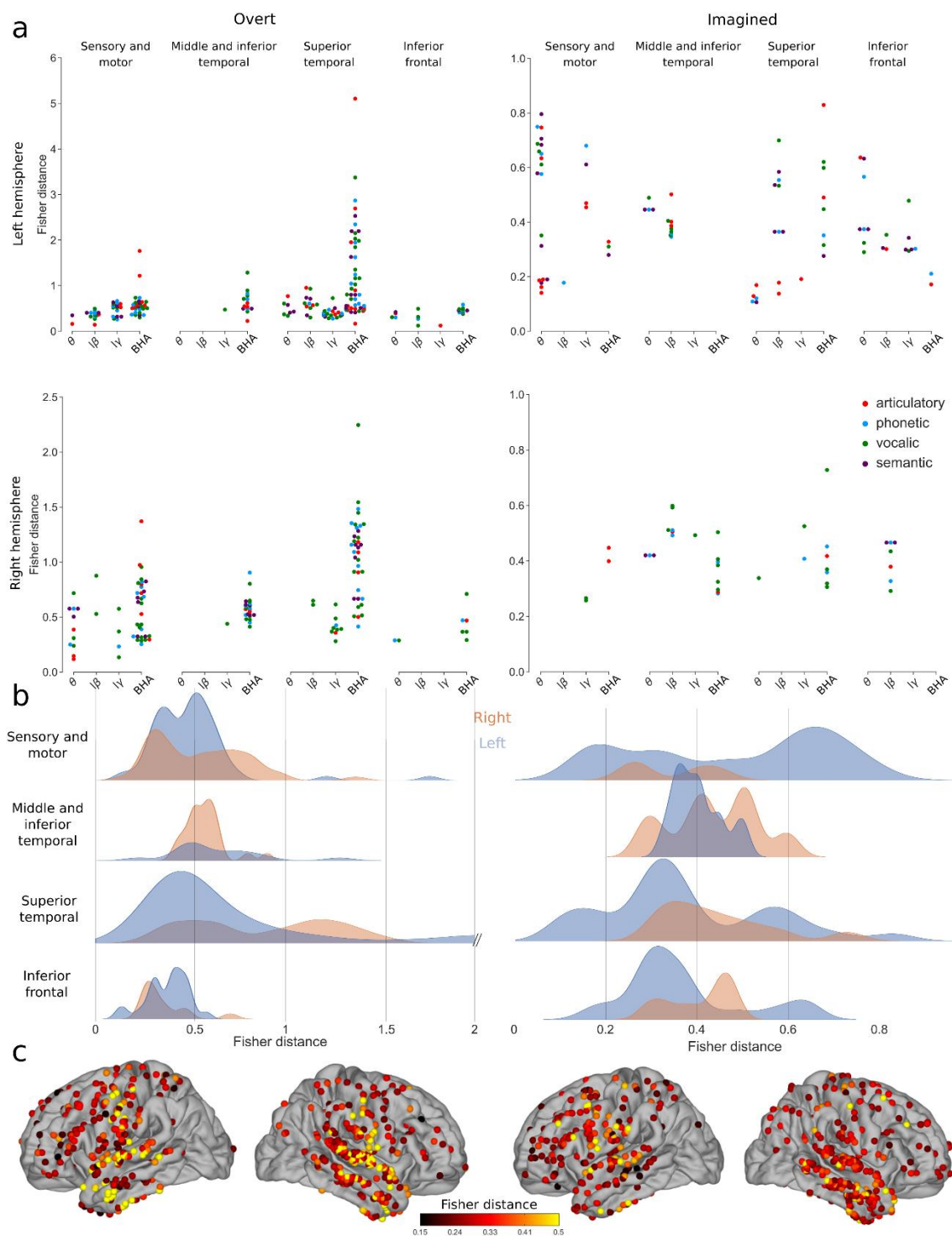
167 **Figure 4: Average correlations between individual speech words and their neural representations.**
168 Pairwise correlations between words and power spectrum features averaged across all word pairs for overt
169 and imagined speech for significant electrodes (permutation tests, $p < 0.05$, not corrected for multiple
170 comparison).

171 **Different articulatory, phonetic and vocalic organization between overt and imagined** 172 **speech**

173 Based on these initial results, we concluded that the dynamics and neural organization differed for overt and
174 imagined speech production. We therefore asked whether the various spatio-temporal organizations of neural
175 activity during overt speech, i.e. the articulatory organization in ventral sensory-motor cortex (Bouchard et al.,
176 2013; Chartier et al., 2018), the phonetic organization in superior temporal cortex (Mesgarani et al., 2014), the
177 vocalic organization in sensory-motor and superior temporal cortex, and the semantic-syntactic organization
178 in the ventral temporal lobe were conserved during imagined speech. For this, we quantified how well we could
179 discriminate the classes of each speech representation system (i.e. labial, coronal, and dorsal for articulatory
180 representation; fricative, nasal, plosive, and approximant for phonetic representation; low back, low front, high
181 back, high front, and central for vocalic representation; and concrete verb, abstract verb, concrete word, and
182 abstract noun for semantic-syntactic representation [simply called semantic representation hereafter]; see
183 Methods). For each anatomical region of interest (sensory and motor, middle and inferior temporal, superior
184 temporal, and inferior frontal cortices), we built a high-dimensional feature space for which each axis
185 corresponds to one electrode feature. The dimensionality of this feature space was first reduced with PCA. The
186 Fisher distance (which quantifies features separation) was then computed between each pair of speech items
187 across principal components. As all items were made of one or a sequence of phonemes, and thus belonged to
188 at least one group for each representation, the resulting distance could be attributed to the group(s) that were
189 represented in only one of the two words, i.e. to the discriminant one. For instance, the feature distance between
190 the articulatory representations of "python" ([pɑɪθən], which includes only labial and coronal phonemes) and
191 "cowboys" ([kɑʊbɔɪz], which includes only dorsal, labial, and coronal phonemes), was assigned to the dorsal
192 group, as it is the only discriminant one.

193 For overt speech, as expected, high Fisher distance values were found using power of the BHA in sensory-
194 motor cortex and in the temporal lobe (Fig. 5, see Supp. Fig. 5 for each group separately). During imagined
195 speech, however, the BHA was associated with much lower Fisher distances. In fact, lower frequency bands
196 (theta, low-beta, low-gamma) displayed similar or even higher values in left and right hemispheres for phonetic,
197 vocalic, and semantic representations.

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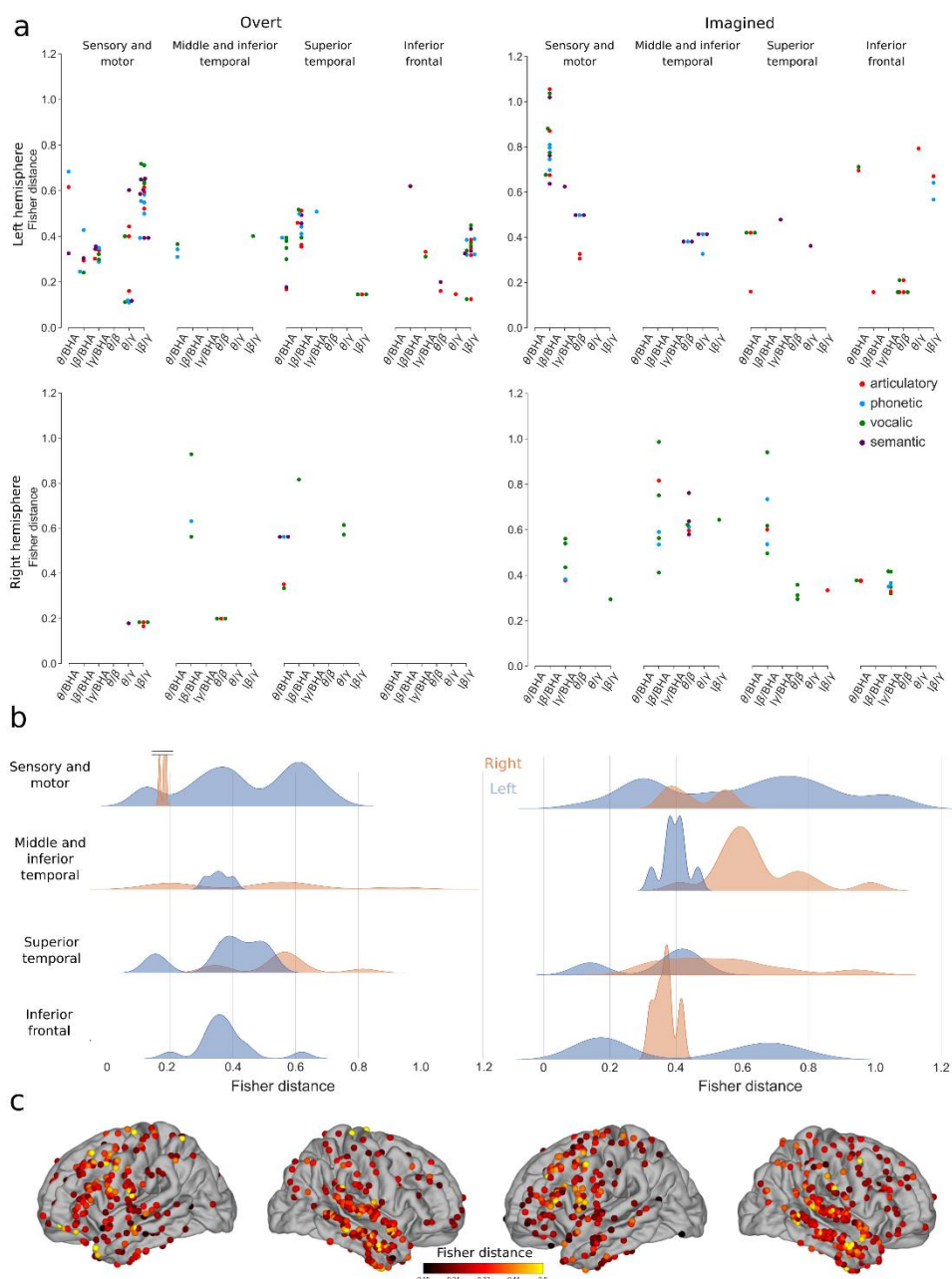


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200 **Figure 5: Discriminability between different representations using power spectrum for overt and**
 201 **imagined speech.** (a) Significant Fisher distance between articulatory, phonetic, vocalic and semantic
 202 representations in different brain regions and frequency bands (permutation tests, FDR-corrected, target
 203 threshold $\alpha = 0.05$). Note the different scales between overt and imagined speech. (b) Distributions of
 204 significant Fisher distance for each brain region across all representations and frequency bands (permutation
 205 tests, FDR-corrected, target threshold $\alpha = 0.05$). (c) Maximum significant Fisher distance for each electrode
 206 across all representations and frequency bands. When several significant Fisher distances exist for the same

207 electrode, the maximum value is shown. Only significant electrodes are shown (permutation test, $p < 0.05$, no
 208 FDR correction).

209 Unlike for power spectrum, the Fisher distances for phase-amplitude CFC were in the same range for overt
 210 and imagined speech. In the overt speech condition, the highest values were observed for low-beta/gamma
 211 phase-amplitude CFC in left sensory-motor and inferior frontal cortex, as well as low-beta/BHA in the left
 212 superior temporal lobe (Fig. 6, see Supp. Fig. 6 for each group separately). During imagined speech, high Fisher
 213 distances were obtained mainly for low-beta/BHA phase-amplitude CFC in left sensory-motor cortex and right
 214 temporal lobe, and for low-beta/gamma CFC in left inferior frontal cortex.



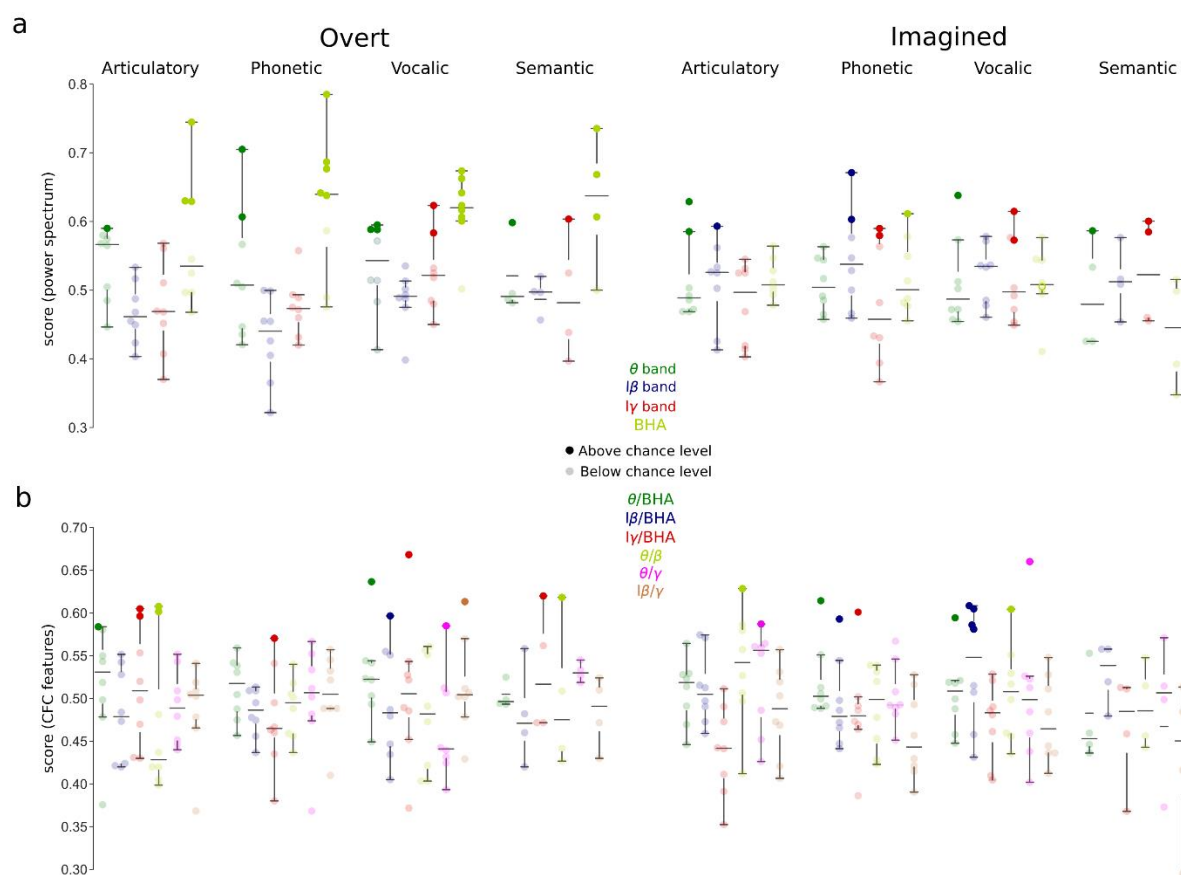
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216 Figure 6: **Discriminability between different representations using phase-amplitude CFC changes for**
 217 **overt and imagined speech.** (a) Significant Fisher distance between articulatory, phonetic, vocalic, and
 218 semantic representations in different brain regions and frequency bands (permutation tests, FDR-corrected,
 219 target threshold $\alpha = 0.05$). (b) Distributions of significant Fisher distance for each brain region across all
 220 representations and frequency bands (permutation tests, FDR-corrected, target threshold $\alpha = 0.05$). (c)
 221 Maximum significant Fisher distance for each electrode across all representations and frequency bands. When
 222 several significant Fisher distances exist for the same electrode, the maximum value is shown. Only significant
 223 electrodes are shown (permutation test, $p < 0.05$, no FDR correction).

224 Decoding imagined speech

225 Finally, we compared the performance of power spectrum and phase-amplitude CFC for decoding overt and
 226 imagined speech (Fig. 7). To simplify the decoding problem and to retain enough trials in each class, we grouped
 227 the speech items together to reduce the problem to a binary classification (study 3 was excluded, as it contained
 228 only three syllables). New classes were selected by hierarchical clustering of distances between words
 229 according to the articulatory, phonetic, and vocalic representations described above (see Methods). Semantic
 230 classification was only performed for study 2 by comparing abstract and concrete words.

231



232

233 Figure 7: **Decoding overt (left) and imagined (right) speech.** Opaque (transparent) circles indicate above
234 (below) chance level performance for each participant respectively. For articulatory, phonetic and vocalic
235 decoding, N=8 (studies 1 and 2). For semantic decoding, N=4 (only study 2 had speech items that could be
236 divided into two semantic classes). Boxplot shows the median and interquartile range. Significant levels were
237 obtained for each subject based on the number of trials performed (see Methods) **(a)** Decoding performance
238 using power spectrum features. **(b)** Decoding performance using phase-amplitude CFC features.

239

240 For overt speech, good performance could be obtained in 18 participant-representation pairs using power
241 of the BHA, and overall, this frequency band worked better than the others. In imagined speech, however,
242 decoding based on power of the BHA was not better than with other bands. In 13 several participant-
243 representation pairs, classification was as good using e.g., theta or beta power. We also observed that decoding
244 worked better for phonetic and vocalic (i.e. perceptual) representations than for the articulatory one, which
245 supports the flexible abstraction hypothesis of imagined speech. Importantly, the decoding performance for
246 overt speech increased significantly when the trials were realigned using the participant's voice, suggesting
247 that imagined performance would improve as well if a consistent way of realigning trials could be found
248 (Supplementary note and Supp. Fig. 7).

249 When using phase-amplitude CFC as a feature, decoding did not perform better for overt (14 participant-
250 representation pairs above chance level) than imagined speech (12 participant-representation pairs above
251 chance level). Participants above chance level were not the same for the different frequency bands and
252 representations. No specific frequency band stood out for overt speech, although the articulatory and vocalic
253 representation worked better. For imagined speech, the low-beta/BHA seems to perform better than other
254 phase-amplitude CFC for imagined speech, confirming the results found in Fig. 6, particularly for the perceptual
255 representations.

256 **Discussion**

257 In this study, we examined the neural processes underlying the production of overt and imagined speech, in
258 order to identify features that could be used for decoding imagined speech. In particular, we assessed whether
259 these features are similar or different from those that work best for overt speech. To do so we explored not only
260 the articulatory dimension; but also the perceptual (phonetic and vocalic) and semantic representation spaces.
261 We found that overt and imagined speech differ in some crucial aspects of their oscillatory dynamics and
262 functional neuroanatomy. First, while the articulatory representation was well encoded in overt speech, other
263 representations, especially the perceptual one, better reflected imagined speech. Overt and imagined speech

264 both engaged a large part of the left hemispheric language network, with a more prominent involvement of the
265 superior temporal gyrus for overt speech (presumably because of auditory feedback processes). Second, while
266 BHA showed the best performance for overt speech decoding, it conveyed little word- or syllable-specific
267 information during imagined speech. Conversely, neural activity at lower frequencies could be used to decode
268 imagined speech with equivalent or even higher performance than overt speech.

269 These results suggest that it might prove difficult to successfully transfer the decoding process of brain-
270 computer interfaces trained with overt or even silently articulation speech to imagined speech. BHA
271 representations are poorly specified in primary sensory and motor regions during imagined speech, in accord
272 with the flexible abstraction hypothesis of imagined speech. We also found that the beta-band featured
273 prominently in the neural encoding of imagined speech, both in terms of power and CFC (low-beta/gamma and
274 low-beta/BHA). This finding aligns well with the notion that the beta band plays an important role in
275 endogenous processes, notably in relation with top-down control, in particular in the context of language (Arnal
276 and Giraud, 2012; Bowers et al., 2019; Fontolan et al., 2014; Pefkou et al., 2017). Although repeating a heard or
277 written word engages automatic, almost reflex, neural routines, imagined speech is a more voluntary action
278 requiring enhanced endogenous control from action planning frontal regions (Buschman et al., 2012; Li et al.,
279 2020; Morillon et al., 2019). These results must however be taken with caution as spurious CFC can result from
280 non-linearity, non-stationarity, and power changes across conditions in the signal (Aru et al., 2015; Hyafil,
281 2015). Even though we carefully selected spectral peaks for the modulating signal to ensure a well-defined
282 phase, and specific bandwidths for the modulated signal, we cannot exclude that significant CFC coupling could
283 theoretically reflect other, non-CFC, changes from baseline to signal. Yet, at the empirical level, that significant
284 and specific decoding performance could be obtained with these features suggests that these frequency
285 features distinguish between speech items, hence contain specific information.

286 Decoding performance for overt speech increased significantly when trials were aligned on recorded speech
287 onsets (Supp. Fig. 7), which are obviously absent for imagined speech. Previous attempts to align imagined
288 speech directly based on neural data (Martin et al., 2014) met limited success due to the large variability of
289 neural signals across trials and the low signal-to-noise ratio. Although decoding performance would
290 presumably increase if imagined speech onsets and offsets could be detected, we show here that imagined
291 speech decoding is possible using features, such as phase-amplitude CFC, that do not require precise alignment
292 of single-trial data. The absence of behavioral output during imagined speech might even be an advantage, as it
293 definitely prevents the contamination of neural signal recordings by the participant's voice, a serious problem
294 that was recently discovered. Because the fundamental frequency of the human voice overlaps with the neural

295 BHA, an acousto-electric effect might have artificially inflated the performance in previous overt speech
296 decoding studies (Roussel et al., 2020). To enable a fair comparison of overt and imagined speech in our study,
297 we took care of checking that the three current datasets were free of acoustic contamination. A further technical
298 advantage of silent speech is the absence of movement artefacts. In the three presented studies, the task
299 instructions explicitly stated that participants should not articulate. Using audio/video monitoring, we could
300 confirm that participants did not silently mouth or whisper words, even though it was impossible under our
301 recording conditions to rule out some degree of silent mouthing.

302 Overall, the current results demonstrate the possibility of obtaining reasonably good decoding performance
303 (>60%) directly from neural activity using electrodes chronically implanted over the cortical surface, and allow
304 us to formulate a number of concrete proposals for the design of future speech BCIs. Using data from three
305 distinct experiments, with similar but not identical task instructions, we could probe the representations of
306 imagined speech at various linguistic levels, namely articulatory, phonological, vocalic and semantic. Despite
307 the typical weakness of imagined speech signals, we reached good decoding performance using lower
308 frequencies and the phonetic representation level. While this is good news for future BCIs, the word level, which
309 was mostly used in this study, is presumably not the optimal currency for an efficient imagined speech decoding
310 strategy based on phonetic representations. A realistic BCI will have to offer decoding based on representation
311 space that can accommodate the size of the average human language repertoire. Likewise, while we showed
312 potential separation in the feature space of syllables, a phoneme decoding strategy would suffer from the
313 combinatorial explosion issue. Using a restricted set of morphemes from which patients could combine to
314 convey the basic needs, could be an interesting first approach. Such a strategy would presumably benefit from
315 the syllable feature space separation shown here. In the future, introducing even more complex, sentence-level
316 stimuli, rather than single words or syllables, could further permit to exploit additional representation levels
317 for imagined speech decoding, such as inference, long-term memory, prosody, semantic mapping, etc. (Gehrig
318 et al., 2019; Huth et al., 2012; Pereira et al., 2018), bringing us closer to ecological and generalizable conditions
319 (Krakauer et al., 2017; Yarkoni, 2019). Each presented stimulus triggers neural activity that might be influenced
320 by word length, frequency, emotional valence, in addition to syntactic and semantic content (Cooney et al.,
321 2018; Pulvermüller, 1999). The richness of these contextual cues could turn out to be an advantage, as it could
322 maximize the separability of speech items, leading to easier decoding, regardless of the representation. In future
323 imagined speech decoding BCIs, specific task instructions will also have to be used to standardize as much as
324 possible imagined speech production. Notably, instructing a participant to “imagine hearing” is expected to
325 induce less residual motion than “imagine speaking”, and to maximally exploit the perceptual representations.

326 Importantly, our results indicate a large variability in the best decoding features across participants and tasks
327 for imagined speech, suggesting that decoding strategies, i.e. a specific set of spatial and frequency features
328 (anatomical regions, frequency bands, and specific tasks) will have to be adjusted individually in order to build
329 efficient imagined speech BCI systems. In that respect, low frequencies might be more powerful features to
330 decode from spatio-temporally variable signals than BHA, since they tend to be both spatially coherent over
331 larger areas of the cortex, and temporally less constrained. By indexing a more integrated neural activity, they
332 might distinguish better the different imagined speech items. This has practical consequences for the design
333 and placement of future intracranial electrodes. Imagined speech decoding will benefit from a new generation
334 of high-density electrodes that will maximize the amount and quality of the contacts with the cortex. Active
335 multiplexing and graphene-based neural interfaces are two areas of active research in the field (Garcia-
336 Cortadella et al., 2020). With such electrodes and related electronics, on-line signal analysis will be easier, for a
337 more convenient use with BCIs. Off-line analyses such as those we present here are a necessary step to guide
338 us once we will be able to use the novel generation of electrodes in humans and on-line systems. Unlike the
339 robotic arms that are currently being developed for motor restoration, which are optimally controlled by dense
340 sampling of a spatially restricted cortical area (Hochberg et al., 2012), a language BCI system for severe aphasia
341 will require broader coverage of the cortical surface, including the frontal and the temporal lobes, to not only
342 cope with the high physiological intersubject variability of inner speech production, but also with the variable
343 structural damage (cortical, subcortical) that patients may have suffered from. In post-stroke Broca-type
344 aphasia, the efforts to overcome the overt speech planning deficit during imagined speech are expected to
345 implicate a large range of regions of the language network, which will all have to be sampled.

346 We are just beginning to use machine learning and BCI systems for language restoration, and significant
347 progress can be expected in the coming years, which will lead to unprecedented questions. Among them, the
348 issue of which part exactly of the imagined speech should we let machines decode should trigger careful ethical
349 reflections, which we must conduct ahead of time to prevent abuses and legal loopholes (Rainey et al., 2020).
350 This and other debates, for instance regarding the privacy of neural data, necessitate a multidisciplinary
351 approach that goes beyond the purely technical neuroengineering problem, and pose a challenge that calls for
352 a common effort that we hope scientists will tackle as a community.

353

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359 **Author contributions**

360 S.M., X.T., L.A., P.M., and A.G. designed the experiments. A.C., X.T., and L.A. collected the data. T.P. and J.D.
361 performed the analysis. T.P., L.A., P.M and A.G. drafted the manuscript. All corrected and approved the
362 manuscript.

363 **Declaration of Interests**

364 The authors declare no competing financial interests.
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368 **Methods**

369 **Participants**

370 Electrocorticographic (ECoG) recordings were obtained in 3 distinct studies from 13 patients (study 1: 4
371 participants, 4 women, mean age 25.6 years, range 19-33; study 2: 4 participants, 3 women, mean age 30.5
372 years, range 20-49; study 3: 5 participants, 3 women, mean age 32.6 years, range 23-42) with refractory
373 epilepsy using subdural electrode arrays implanted as part of the standard presurgical evaluation process
374 (Supp. Table 1). Electrode array locations were thus based solely on the requirements of the clinical evaluation.
375 Participants were recruited from three medical centers: Albany Medical Center (NY, USA), Geneva University
376 Hospitals (Switzerland), and NYU Langone Medical Center (NY, USA). All participants gave informed consent,
377 and the experiments reported here were approved by the respective ethical committees (Albany Medical
378 College Institutional Review Board (Martin et al., 2016), Commission Cantonale d’Ethique de la Recherche,
379 project number 2016-01856, and the Institutional Review Board at the New York University Langone Medical
380 Center).

381 **Studies and data acquisition**

382 Three distinct experiments were performed, one in each study center.

383 **Study 1: free word repetition**

384 The first study was a word repetition paradigm (Fig. 1a). This data appeared first in (Martin et al., 2016). The
385 participant first heard one of six words presented through a loudspeaker (average length: 800 ms \pm 20). A first
386 cross was then displayed on the screen (1500 ms after trial onset) for 1000 ms, indicating that the participant
387 had to imagine hearing the word. Finally, a second cross was displayed on the screen (3000 ms after trial onset)
388 for a duration of 1500 ms, indicating that the participant had to repeat out loud the word. The six words
389 ('spoon', 'cowboys', 'battlefield', 'swimming', 'python', 'telephone') were chosen to maximize the variability of
390 acoustic representations, semantic categories, and number of syllables, while minimizing the variability of
391 acoustic duration. Participants performed from 18 to 24 trials for each word.

392 Implanted ECoG grids (Ad-Tech Medical Corp., Racine, WI; PMT Corporation, Chanhassen, MN) were
393 platinum-iridium electrodes (4 mm in diameter, 2.3 mm exposed) embedded in silicon. Inter-electrode distance
394 was 4 or 10 mm. ECoG signals were recorded using seven 16-channel g.USBamp biosignal acquisition devices
395 (g.tex, Graz, Austria) with a sampling rate of 9600 Hz. Reference and ground were chosen by selecting ECoG
396 contacts away from epileptic foci and regions of interest. Data acquisition and synchronization with task stimuli

397 were performed with the BCI2000 software (Schalk et al., 2004). The participant's voice was also acquired
398 through a dynamic microphone (Samson R21s) that was rated for voice recordings (bandwidth 80-12000 Hz,
399 sensitivity 2.24 mV/Pa) placed 10 cm away from the patient's face. A dedicated 16-channel g.USBamp amplifier
400 was used to acquire and digitize the microphone signal to guarantee synchronization with ECoG data. Finally,
401 the participants' compliance with the imagined task was verified with an eye-tracker (Tobii T60, Tobii Sweden).

402 **Study 2: rhythmic word repetition**

403 The second study was also a word repetition paradigm (Fig. 1b). The participant first read one of twelve words
404 presented on a laptop screen for 2000 ms. Two successive auditory cues were then presented through a
405 loudspeaker (2100 ms and 2900 ms after the beginning of the trial). The participant then had to repeat out loud
406 or imagine saying the word following the rhythm given by the two auditory cues (i.e. participant output was
407 expected to start at around 3700 ms). Finally, following the same rhythm, the participant would press a key on
408 the laptop's keyboard (expected at around 4500 ms). Participants were repeating French words
409 (for three participants; 'pousser', 'manger', 'courir', 'pallier', 'penser', 'élire', 'enfant', 'lumière', 'girafe',
410 'état', 'mensonge', 'bonheur') or similar German words (for one participant; 'schieben', 'essen', 'laufen', 'leben',
411 'denken', 'wählen', 'Kind', 'Licht', 'Giraffe', 'Staat', 'Treue', 'Komfort'). Words were chosen to belong to four
412 different semantic categories (concrete verbs, abstract verbs, concrete nouns, abstract nouns). Participants
413 performed from 7 to 15 trials for each word.

414 ECoG signals were acquired by subdural electrode grids and strips (Ad-Tech Medical Corp; inter-electrode
415 distance: 4 or 10 mm), amplified and digitized at 2048 Hz and stored for offline analysis (Brain Quick LTM,
416 Micromed, S.p.A., Mogliano Veneto, Italy).

417 **Study 3: rhythmic syllabic repetition**

418 The third study was a syllable repetition paradigm (Fig. 1c). A syllable was presented rhythmically three
419 successive times on a loudspeaker. The time interval between repetitions was selected randomly for each trial
420 from one of three possibilities (800 ms, 1000 ms, 1200 ms). Following the same rhythm given by these syllables,
421 the participant then had to repeat out loud or imagine saying the syllable. Participants were repeating one of
422 three syllables ('ba', 'da', 'ga') in each trial. These syllables were chosen as they minimally differ acoustically (by
423 a few dozens of ms of voice onset time, VOT) but rely on very different movements at the articulatory levels.
424 This aims at optimizing the differences observed at the production level while limiting potential contamination
425 by exogenous acoustic cues. Participants performed from 16 to 55 trials for each syllable.

426 All behavioral recordings were done via on a computer on the service tray of a hospital bed using
427 Presentation Software (NeuroBehavioral Systems). Audio recordings were obtained using a microphone
428 connected to the computer and were synchronized to the onset of the last auditory cue.
429 Electroencephalographic (ECoG) activity was recorded from intracranially implanted subdural electrodes
430 (AdTech Medical Instrument Corp.) in patients undergoing monitoring as part of treatment for
431 pharmacologically resistant epilepsy. Electrode placement was clinically selected to localized seizure activity
432 and eloquent tissue during stimulation mapping. Recordings included grid, depth and strip electrode arrays.
433 Each electrode had a diameter of 4 mm (2.3 mm exposure), and the space between electrodes was 6 mm (10
434 mm center to center). Neural signals were recorded on a 128-channel Nicolet One EEG system with a sampling
435 rate of 512 Hz.

436 **Anatomical localization of ECoG electrodes**

437 ECoG electrodes were localized using the iELVis toolbox (<http://github.com/iELVis/iELVis>)(Groppe et al.,
438 2017). Briefly, each patient's pre-implant high-resolution structural MRI scan was automatically segmented
439 and parcellated using Freesurfer (<http://surfer.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/>)(Fischl, 2012). A post-implantation
440 high-resolution CT or MRI scan was coregistered with the pre-implant MRI scan. Electrode artifacts were
441 identified visually on the postimplant scan. Electrode coordinates were corrected for the brain shift caused by
442 the implantation procedure by projecting them back to the pre-implant leptomeningeal surface. Electrode
443 coordinates from individual participants were brought onto a common template for plotting.

444 **Signal processing**

445 Time series were visually inspected, and contacts or trials containing epileptic activity and excessive noise were
446 removed. Trials with overt speech were checked for acoustic contamination by correlating the recorded audio
447 signal and the neural data (Roussel et al., 2020). All times series were then corrected for DC shifts by using a
448 high-pass filter with a cutoff frequency of 0.5 Hz (zero-phase Butterworth filter of order 6, zeropole-gain
449 design). Electromagnetic noise was removed using notch filters (forward-backward Butterworth filter of order
450 6, zero-pole-gain design, cutoff frequencies: 58-62 Hz, 118-122 Hz, and 178-182 Hz for studies 1 and 3; 48-52
451 Hz, 98-102 Hz, 148-152 Hz, and 198-202 Hz for task 2. Finally, times series were re-referenced to a common
452 average, and downsampled to a new sampling rate of 400 Hz, 400 Hz, and 512 Hz for studies 1, 2, and 3
453 respectively using a finite impulse response antialiasing low-pass filter. Periods of interest for imagined and
454 overt speech were chosen either during the period with visual cue (study 1), or 250 ms before to 250 ms after
455 the expected production time (studies 2 and 3).

456 **Power spectrum**

457 Time series were transformed to the spectral domain using an analytic Morlet wavelet transform. Power
458 spectrum was then obtained by taking for each frequency band the average (over frequencies and time epochs
459 of interest) of the absolute value of the complex spectral time series. We did not normalize each band
460 independently before averaging, as normalizing caused very limited changes in the resulting powers of each
461 band compared to when no normalization was applied. The four frequency bands of interest were the theta
462 band (θ , 4-8 Hz), the low beta band ($l\beta$, 12-18 Hz), the low-gamma band ($l\gamma$, 25-35 Hz), and the broadband high-
463 frequency activity (BHA, 80-150 Hz). Cohen's effect size $d = \bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2/s$ was assessed by computing the
464 difference between the mean of the distribution of power spectrum for all trials during overt or imagined
465 speech and the mean of the distribution of power spectrum during baseline for all corresponding trials, divided
466 by the pooled standard deviation $s = \sqrt{(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2}/(n_1 + n_2 - 2)$, with n_i and s_i respectively the
467 number of samples and the variance in distributions $i \in \{1,2\}$. Significance was assessed by rejecting the null-
468 hypothesis of equality of the mean of both distributions with a two-tailed, two-sample t-test, corrected for
469 multiple comparisons using the Benjamini-Hochberg false discovery rate (FDR) procedure (target $\alpha = 0.05$)
470 (Benjamini and Hochberg, 1995).

471 **Phase-amplitude cross-frequency coupling**

472 Phase-amplitude cross-frequency coupling (CFC) was assessed between the phase of one band and the
473 amplitude of another, higher-frequency band (Tort et al., 2010). To ensure that the phase of the modulating
474 (lower) band was well defined (Aru et al., 2015), we first identified peaks in the log power spectrum for each
475 electrode. Then, for each modulating frequency band of interest (theta band: θ , 4-8 Hz, low-beta band: $l\beta$, 12-
476 18 Hz, and low-gamma band: $l\gamma$, 25-35 Hz), the peak with maximal amplitude, if existing, was selected. The
477 modulating band was then obtained by filtering original data for each modulating frequency band with a band-
478 pass filter centered around each peak frequency with a bandwidth equal to half the size of the band of interest
479 (i.e. 2 Hz, 3 Hz, and 5 Hz for a peak in the theta, low-beta, or low-gamma band respectively). To ensure that the
480 modulated (higher) band was large enough to contain the side peaks produced by the modulating band, we
481 increased the bandwidth when necessary for the modulated frequency of interest (beta band: β , 12-25 Hz,
482 gamma band: γ , 25-50 Hz, broadband high-gamma activity: BHA, 80-150 Hz) (Aru et al., 2015). Despite those
483 precautions, we expect that the theta/beta and low-beta/gamma phase-amplitude CFCs are not fully
484 represented due to the limited bandwidth we can afford for the modulated frequency. The band-pass filter was
485 a zero-phase Butterworth filter of order 6 with zero-pole-gain design. The phase and amplitude were then
486 obtained using the Hilbert transform of the centered filtered signals.

487 Then, for each time epoch of interest, the histogram (18 bins) of amplitudes as a function of phases was
488 computed and averaged across trials. Modulation index (MI) values were then calculated from the Kullback-
489 Leibler divergence (KL) between the averaged histogram of the signal and the uniform distribution as $MI =$
490 $KL/\log(\#bins)$ (Tort et al., 2010). Z-scores for MI were computed by comparing the observed difference
491 between MI values of overt/imagined time epochs and baseline x_d with the surrogate distribution of differences
492 between MI values of overt/imagined time epochs and baseline x_{ds} as $(z = x_d - x_{ds}^-)/s_{sd}$ with s_{sd} the standard
493 deviation of the surrogate distribution. Surrogates were obtained by randomly shuffling 200 times the
494 overt/imagined time epochs and baseline distribution.
495 One-tailed p-values corresponding to the z-scores were obtained from the cumulative normal distribution (one-
496 tailed since the observed MI can only be greater than the surrogate one, not smaller), FDR-corrected for
497 multiple comparisons (target $\alpha = 0.05$) [54].

498 **Pairwise correlation of features with words**

499 Pairwise correlation was quantified by computing for each speech items the Pearson correlation between
500 power spectrum or phase-amplitude CFC features and the labels. Labels were set to 1 and -1 for the first and
501 second word or syllable respectively of the pairwise comparison. The average pairwise correlation was then
502 obtained for each electrode by averaging pairwise correlations across all pairs of speech items. Statistical
503 significance was assessed by random permutations: for each pair of speech items, labels were randomly
504 permuted, and the procedure was repeated 1000 times. A null distribution was then obtained by averaging
505 across all speech item pairs. Significant values are those for which the p value is less than 0.05, without
506 correction for the number of electrodes.

507 **Articulatory, phonetic, vocalic, and semantic representations**

508 Words were decomposed according to their phonetic content by finding articulatory, phonetic, vocalic and
509 semantic groups for each phoneme contained in a word (Supplementary Table 2, 3, and 4). Each word was thus
510 represented by a set of different groups for each representation. For instance, the word 'python' [paɪθən] was
511 represented as labial ([p]) and coronal ([θ], [n]) for articulatory representation, plosive ([p]), fricative ([θ]), and
512 nasal ([n]) for phonetic representation, and low-front ([a]), high-front ([ɪ]), and central for the vocalic
513 representation ([ə]). Semantic representation was only relevant for the third study, and is therefore not defined
514 for this example. Discriminability (feature distance) between two words was then assigned to only the groups
515 that were present in one of the two words for each representation. For instance, when comparing python
516 ([paɪθən], that includes only labial and coronal phonemes) and cowboys ([kaʊbɔɪz], that includes only dorsal,

517 labial, and coronal phonemes) in the articulatory representation, the feature distance was assigned to the dorsal
518 group only, as it is the only group that discriminate both words for this representation. Discriminability to
519 compare two words i
520 i and j was computed using the Fisher distance between their power-spectrum or cross-frequency coupling
521 feature distributions. Fisher distance was defined as:

$$522 \quad \max_{j \in [1..n_j]} = \frac{(\mu_i - \mu_j)^2}{(\sigma_i^2 + \sigma_j^2)}$$

523 with μ_i and σ_i the mean and standard deviation of the features distribution respectively, n_j the dimensionality
524 of features. Correlation could have been used as well as another metric of discriminability. The resulting values
525 were then averaged across instances for each patient and each group. Statistical significance was assessed by
526 random permutations: for each pair of speech items, labels were randomly permuted, and the procedure was
527 repeated 1000 times. A null distribution was then obtained by averaging across each instance for each patient
528 and each group. Significant values values were found after FDR-correction for multiple comparisons (target α
529 = 0.05).

530 **Decoding**

531 For articulatory, phonetic, and vocalic decoding, word labels were grouped together in two new classes by
532 computing the distance between labels according to each specific representation. Distance between two words
533 was incremented by one for each phoneme's group that was only in one of the two words. Hierarchical
534 clustering was then performed on the resulting distance matrix between all pairs of words (linkage criterion
535 that uses the maximum distances between all observations of the two sets of observations). The new classes
536 were selected by taking groups of words that were close-by in the dendrogram, while minimizing the class
537 imbalance. For semantic decoding, words labels were grouped into two classes, following the initial
538 experimental design. The 'abstract' class contains the words: 'pousser', 'manger', 'courir', 'enfant', 'lumière',
539 'girafe'. The 'concrete' class contains the words: 'pallier', 'penser', 'élire', 'état', 'mensonge', 'bonheur'.

540 For each binary classification problem resulting of this clustering procedure, we trained a classifier. We used
541 a 10-fold cross-validation approach, i.e. data was divided in 10 blocks, with 90% of the blocks being used for
542 training, and the remaining block being used for testing. This procedure was repeated 10 times by shifting every
543 time the block used for testing. We used a support vector machine algorithm with a linear kernel for
544 classification. Feature selection was done using recursive feature elimination, (starting with the full set of
545 features and removing sequentially features that do not contribute to the classifier performance). Feature

546 selection was done using nested 5-fold cross-validation within the training set. Score was evaluated using
547 balanced accuracy to account for class imbalance that could occur when there were more samples in one of the
548 two classes.

549 Thresholds for significant classification performance were obtained independently for each subject from an
550 inverse binomial distribution, which accounts for the possibility of obtaining by chance accuracies higher than
551 50% in a binary classification problem because of a low number of trials (Combrisson and Jerbi, 2015).

552 **Code and data availability**

553 Code was written in MATLAB and Python, and is available at (#URL will be made available upon publication).

554 Ethical and privacy imperatives prevent us from posting patient-related data to public repositories. Requests
555 for data should be directed to Dr. Mégevand.

556

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