GPT-2's activations predict the degree of semantic comprehension in the human brain

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Language transformers, like GPT-2, have demonstrated remarkable abilities to process text, and now constitute the backbone of 2 deep translation, summarization and dialogue algorithms. However, 3 whether these models encode information that relates to human comprehension remains controversial. Here, we show that the represen-5 tations of GPT-2 not only map onto the brain responses to spoken 6 stories, but also predict the extent to which subjects understand narratives. To this end, we analyze 101 subjects recorded with func-8 tional Magnetic Resonance Imaging while listening to 70 min of short stories. We then fit a linear model to predict brain activity from 10 GPT-2's activations, and correlate this mapping with subjects' com-11 prehension scores as assessed for each story. The results show that 12 GPT-2's brain predictions significantly correlate with semantic com-13 prehension. These effects are bilaterally distributed in the language 14 network and peak with a correlation of R=0.50 in the angular gyrus. 15 Overall, this study paves the way to model narrative comprehension 16 17 in the brain through the lens of modern language algorithms.

Neuroscience of language | Deep Neural Networks

n less than two years, language transformers like GPT-2
have revolutionized the field of natural language processing
(NLP). These deep learning architectures are typically trained
on very large corpora to complete partially-masked texts, and
provide a one-fit-all solution to translation, summarization,
and question-answering tasks and algorithms (1).

Critically, their hidden representations have been shown to
- at least partially – correspond to those of the brain: singlesample fMRI (2-4), MEG (2, 4), and intracranial responses to
spoken and written texts (3, 5) can be significantly predicted
from a linear combination of the hidden vectors generated
by these deep networks. Furthermore, the quality of these
predictions directly depends on the models' ability to complete
text (3, 4).

In spite of these achievements, strong doubts subsist on 15 whether language transformers actually encode meaningful 16 constructs (6). When asked to complete "I had \$20 and gave 17 \$10 away. Now, I thus have \$", GPT-2 predicts "20"*. Simi-18 lar trivial errors can be observed for geographical locations, 19 temporal ordering, pronoun attribution and causal reasoning. 20 These results have thus led some to argue that such "system 21 has no idea what it is talking about" (7). Thus, how the rep-22 resentations of GPT-2 relate to a human-like understanding 23 remains largely unknown. 24

Here, we propose to evaluate how the similarity between the brain and GPT-2 vary with semantic comprehension. Specifically, we first compare GPT-2's activations to the functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging of 101 subjects listening to 70 min of seven short stories, and we quantify this similarity with a "brain score" (\mathcal{M}) (8, 9). Second, we evaluate how GPT-2's activations linearly map onto fMRI responses to spoken nar-34 To assess whether GPT-2 generates similar represenratives. 35 tations to those of the brain, we first evaluate, for each voxel, 36 subject and narrative independently, whether the fMRI re-37 sponses can be predicted from a linear combination of GPT-2's 38 activations (Figure 1A). We summarize the precision of this 39 mapping with a brain score \mathcal{M} : i.e. the correlation between 40 the true fMRI responses and the fMRI responses linearly pre-41 dicted, with cross-validation, from GPT-2's responses to the 42 same narratives (cf. Methods). To mitigate fMRI spatial 43 resolution and the necessity to correct each observation by 44 the number of statistical comparisons, we here report either 1) 45 the average brain scores across voxels or 2) the average score 46 within each region of interest (n = 314, following an automatic)47 subdivision of Destrieux atlas (10), cf. SI.1). Consistent with 48 previous findings (2, 4, 11, 12), these brain scores are signif-49 icant over a distributed and bilateral cortical network, and 50 peak in middle- and superior-temporal gyri and sulci, as well 51 as in the supra-marginal and the infero-frontal cortex (2, 4, 11)52 (Figure 1B). 53

By extracting GPT-2 activations from multiple layers (from layer one to layer twelve), we confirm that middle layers best map onto the brain (Figure 1C), as seen in previous studies (2, 4, 11). For clarity, the following analyses focus on the activations extracted from the *eighth* layer, i.e. GPT-2's most "brain-like" layer (Figure 1B).

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GPT-2's brain predictions correlate with semantic comprehension. 60 Does the linear mapping between GPT-2 and the brain reflect 61 a fortunate correspondence (4)? Or, on the contrary, does 62 it reflect similar representations of high-level semantics? To 63 address this issue, we correlate these brain scores to the level of 64 comprehension of the subjects, assessed for each subject-story 65 pair. On average across all voxels, this correlation reaches 66 $\mathcal{R} = 0.50 \ (p < 10^{-15})$, Figure 1D, as assessed across subject-67 story pairs with the Pearson's test provided by SciPy). This 68 correlation is significant across a wide variety of the bilateral 69 temporal, parietal and prefrontal cortices typically linked to 70 language processing (Figure 1E). Together, these results sug-71 gest that the shared representations between GPT-2 and the 72 brain reliably vary with semantic comprehension. 73

Low-level processing only partially accounts for the correlation between comprehension and GPT-2's mapping Low-level speech 75 representations typically vary with attention (13, 14), and 76 could thus, in turn, influence down-stream comprehension 77 processes. Consequently, one can legitimately wonder whether 78

the brain scores systematically vary with semantic comprehension, as individually assessed by a questionnaire at the end of each story. 31

^{*}as assessed using Huggingface interface (https://github.com/huggingface/transformers) and GPT-2 pretrained model with temperature=0.

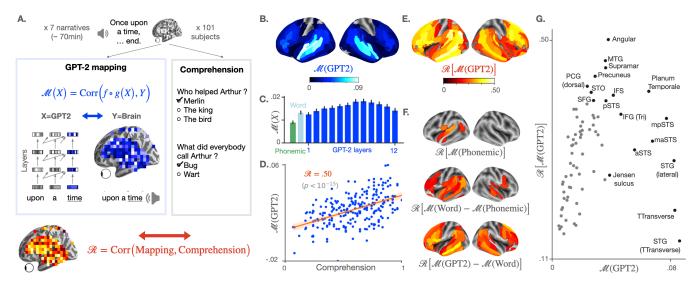


Fig. 1. A. 101 subjects listen to narratives (70 min of unique audio stimulus in total) while their brain signal is recorded using functional MRI. At the end of each story, a questionnaire is submitted to each subject to assess their understanding, and the answers are summarized into a comprehension score specific to each (narrative, subject) pair (grev box). In parallel (blue box on the left), we measure the mapping between the subject's brain activations and the activations of GPT-2, a deep network trained to predict a word given its past context, both elicited by the same narrative. To this end, a linear spatio-temporal model ($f \circ g$) is fitted to predict the brain activity of one voxel Y, given GPT-2 activations X as input. The degree of mapping, called "brain score" is defined for each voxel as the Pearson correlation between predicted and actual brain activity on held-out data (blue equation, cf. Methods). Finally, we test the correlation between the comprehension scores of the subjects and their corresponding brain scores using Pearson's correlation (red equation). A positive correlation means that the representations shared across the brain and GPT-2 are key for the subjects to understand a narrative. B. Brain scores (fMRI predictability) of the activations of the eighth laver of GPT-2. Scores are averaged across subjects, narratives, and voxels within brain regions (142 regions in each hemisphere, following a subdivision of Destrieux Atlas (10), cf. SI.1). Only significant regions are displayed, as assessed with a two-sided Wilcoxon test across (subject, narrative) pairs, testing whether the brain score is significantly different from zero (threshold: .05). C. Brain scores, averaged across fMRI voxels, for different activation spaces: phonological features (word rate, phoneme rate, phonemes, tone and stress, in green), the non-contextualized word embedding of GPT-2 ("Word", light blue) and the activations of the contextualized layers of GPT-2 (from layer one to layer twelve, in blue). The error bars refer to the standard error of the mean across (subject, narrative) pairs (n=237). D. Comprehension and GPT-2 brain scores, averaged across voxels, for each (subject, narrative) pair. In red. Pearson's correlation between the two (denoted R), the corresponding regression line and the 95% confidence interval of the regression coefficient. E. Correlations (R) between comprehension and brain scores over regions of interest. Brain scores are first averaged across voxels within brain regions (similar to B.), then correlated to the subjects' comprehension scores. Only significant correlations are displayed (threshold: .05). F. Correlation scores (R) between comprehension and the subjects' brain mapping with phonological features (M(Phonemic) (i), the share of the word-embedding mapping that is not accounted by phonological features $\mathcal{M}(Word) - \mathcal{M}(Phonemic)$ (ii) and the share of the GPT-2 eighth layer's mapping not accounted by the word-embedding $\mathcal{M}(GPT2) - \mathcal{M}(Word)$ (iii). G. Relationship between the average GPT-2-to-brain mapping (eighth layer) per region of interest (similar to B.), and the corresponding correlation with comprehension (R, similar to D). Only regions of the left hemisphere, significant in both B. and E. are displayed. In black, the top ten regions in terms of brain and correlation scores (cf. SI.1 for the acronyms). Significance in D, E and F is assessed with Pearson's p-value provided by SciPy[†]. In B, E and F, p-values are corrected for multiple comparison using a False Discovery Rate (Benjamin/Hochberg) over the 2 × 142 regions of interest.

the correlation between comprehension and GPT-2's brain 79 mapping is simply driven by variations in low-level auditory 80 processing. To address this issue, we evaluate the predictabil-81 ity of fMRI given low-level phonological features: the word 82 rate, phoneme rate, phonemes, stress and tone of the narrative 83 (cf. Methods). The corresponding brain scores correlate with 84 the subjects' understanding $(\mathcal{R} = 0.17, p < 10^{-2})$ but less so 85 than the brain scores of GPT-2 ($\Delta \mathcal{R} = 0.32$). These low-level 86 correlations with comprehension peak in the left superior tem-87 poral cortex (Figure 1F). Overall, this result suggests that the 88 link between comprehension and GPT-2's brain mapping may 89 be partially explained by – but not reduced to – the variations 90 of low-level auditory processing. 91

⁹² The reliability of high-level representations best predict comprehen-

93 **sion** Is the correlation between comprehension and GPT-2's mapping driven by a *lexical* process and/or by an ability to 94 meaningfully *combine* words? To tackle this issue, we compare 95 the correlations obtained from GPT-2's word embedding (i.e. 96 layer 0) to those obtained from GPT-2's eighth layer, i.e. a 97 contextual embedding. On average across voxels, the corre-98 lation with comprehension is 0.12 lower with GPT-2's word 99 embedding than with its contextual embedding. An analogous 100 analysis, comparing word embedding to phonological features 101

is displayed in 1F. Strictly lexical effects (word-embedding 102 versus phonological) peak in the superior-temporal lobe and 103 in pars triangularis. By contrast, higher-level effects (GPT-2 104 eighth layer versus word-embedding) peak in the superior-105 frontal, posterior superior-temporal gyrus, in the precuneus 106 and in both the triangular and opercular parts of the inferior 107 frontal gyrus - a network typically associated with high-level 108 language comprehension (4, 15-19). 109

Comprehension effects are mainly driven by individuals' variability 110 The variability in comprehension scores could result from 111 exogeneous factors (e.g. some stories may be harder to com-112 prehend than others for GPT-2) and/or from endogeneous 113 factors (e.g. some subjects may better understand specific 114 texts because of their prior knowledge). To address this issue, 115 we fit a linear mixed model to predict comprehension scores 116 given brain scores, specifying the narrative as a random effect 117 (cf. SI.1). The fixed effect of brain score (shared across nar-118 ratives) is highly significant: $\beta = 0.04, p < 10^{-29}, cf. SI.1$. 119 However, the random effect (slope specific to each single nar-120 rative) is not ($\beta < 10^{-2}$, p > 0.11). We also replicate the 121 main analysis (Figure 1D) within each single narrative: the 122 correlation with comprehension reaches 0.76 for the 'sherlock' 123 story and is above 0.40 for every story (cf. SI.1). Overall, 124 these analyses confirm that the link between GPT-2 and semantic comprehension is mainly driven by subjects' individual differences in their ability to make sense of the narratives.

128 **Discussion** Our analyses reveal a positive correlation between

semantic comprehension and the degree to which GPT-2 mapsonto brain responses to spoken narratives.

These results strengthen and complete prior work on the 131 brain bases of semantic comprehension. In particular, previous 132 studies have used inter-subject brain correlation to reveal the 133 brain regions associated with understanding (17). For exam-134 ple, Lerner et al. recorded subjects' fMRI while they listened 135 to normal texts or texts scrambled at the word, sentence or 136 paragraph level, in order to parametrically manipulate their 137 level of comprehension (15). The corresponding fMRI signals 138 correlated across subjects in the primary and secondary audi-139 tory areas even when the input was scrambled below the lexical 140 level. By contrast, fMRI signals also became correlated in the 141 bilateral infero-frontal and temporo-parietal cortex when the 142 scrambling was either not performed, or performed at the level 143 of sentences and paragraphs. Our results are consistent with 144 this hierarchical organization, and thus make an important 145 step towards the development of a cerebral model of narrative 146 comprehension. 147

The relationship between GPT-2's representations and hu-148 man comprehension remains to be qualified. First, although 149 highly significant, our brain scores are relatively low (2, 9, 17). 150 This phenomenon likely results from a mixture of different 151 elements: i) we ran our analyses across all voxels to avoid 152 selection biases, which automatically reduces the average ef-153 fect sizes and ii) we report the results without correcting for 154 a noise ceiling (cf. SI.1), as our pilot analyses suggest that 155 such noise-ceiling can greatly vary depending on how it is 156 implemented (i.e. fit from mean across subjects, from all or on 157 voxels etc). Second, the correlation between semantic compre-158 hension and GPT-2's mapping is robust $(p < 10^{-15})$ but far 159 from perfect (R = 0.50). Such correlation thus indicates that 160 the modeling of brain responses with GPT-2 does not fully 161 account for the variation in comprehension. While this result 162 is expected (7), our study provides a promising framework to 163 evaluate the extent to which deep language models represent 164 and understand texts like we do. 165

Finally, our results suggest that the neural bases of com-166 prehension relate to the *high-level* representations of deep 167 language models. While the mapping of phonological fea-168 tures and word embeddings do correlate with comprehension, 169 GPT-2's contextual embeddings provides brain maps that 170 more reliably predict comprehension (Figure 1F). The supe-171 riority of contextual-embedding in predicting comprehension 172 suggests that i) GPT-2 encodes features supporting compre-173 hension and ii) our finding are not solely driven by low- or 174 mid-level processing (13, 14). These elements remain solely 175 based on correlations, however. The factors that causally influ-176 ence comprehension, ranging from prior knowledge, attention 177 and language complexity should be explicitly manipulated in 178 future work. 179

Overall, the present study strengthens and clarifies the similarity between the brain and deep language models, repeatedly observed in the past three years (2–4, 11, 20). Together, these findings reinforce the relevance of deep language models in unraveling the neural bases of narrative comprehension.

Materials and Methods

Our analyses rely on the "Narratives" dataset (21), composed of the brain signals, recorded using fMRI, of 345 subjects listening to 27 narratives.

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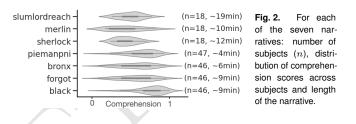
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Narratives and comprehension score Among the 27 stories of the 190 dataset, we selected the seven stories for which subjects were asked 191 to answer a comprehension questionnaire at the end, and for which 192 the answers varied across subjects (more than ten different com-193 prehension scores across subjects), resulting in 70 minutes of audio 194 stimuli in total, from four to 19 minutes per story (Figure 2). Ques-195 tionnaires were either multiple-choice, fill-in-the blank, or open 196 questions (answered with free text) rated by humans (21). Here, 197 we used the comprehension score computed in the original dataset 198 which was either a proportion of correct answers or the sum of the 199 human ratings, scaled between 0 and 1 (21). It summarizes the 200 comprehension of one subject for one narrative (specific to each 201 (narrative, subject) pair). 202



Brain activationsThe brain activations of the 101 subject who
listened to the selected narratives were recorded using fMRI, as de-
scribed in (21). As suggested in the original paper, pairs of (subject,
narrative) were excluded because of noisy recordings, resulting in
237 pairs in total.203
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GPT-2 (1) is a high-performing neural language GPT-2 activations 208 model trained to predict a word given its previous context (it does 209 not have access to succeeding words), given millions of examples 210 (e.g Wikipedia texts). It consists of multiple Transformer modules 211 (twelve, each of them called "layer") stacked on a non-contextual 212 word embedding (a look-up table that outputs a single vector per 213 vocabulary word) (1). Each layer l can be seen as a nonlinear 214 system that takes a sequence of w words as input, and outputs 215 a contextual vector of dimension (w, d), called the "activations" 216 of layer l (d = 768). Intermediate layers were shown to better 217 encode syntactic and semantic information than input and output 218 layers (22), and to better map onto brain activity (2, 4). Here, we 219 show that the *eighth* layer of GPT-2 best predicts brain activity 220 1C. We thus select the eighth layer of GPT-2 for our analyses. 221 Our conclusions remain unchanged with other intermediate-to-deep 222 layers of GPT-2 (from 6^{th} to 12^{th} layers). 223

In practice, the narratives' transcripts were formatted (replacing 224 special punctuation marks such as "-" and duplicated marks "?." by 225 dots), tokenized using GPT-2 tokenizer and input to the GPT-2 226 pretrained model provided by Huggingface[‡]. The representation of 227 each token is computed separately using a context window a 1024. 228 For instance, to compute the representation of the third token of 229 the story, we input GPT-2 with the third, second and first token, 230 and then extract the activations corresponding to the third token. 231 To compute the representation of a token w_k at the end of the 232 story, GPT-2 is input with this token combined with the 1,023 233 preceding tokens. Then, we extract the activations corresponding 234 to w_k . The procedure results in a vector of activations of size (w, d)235 with w the number of tokens in the story and d the dimensionality 236 of the model. There are fewer fMRI scans than words. Thus, 237 the activation vectors between successive fMRI measurements are 238 summed to obtain one vector of size d per measurement. To match 239 the fMRI measurements and the GPT-2 vectors over time, we used 240 the speech-to-text correspondences provided in the fMRI dataset 241 (21).242

[‡]https://github.com/huggingface/transformers

Linear mapping between GPT-2 and the brain For each (subject. 243 244 narrative) pair, we measure the mapping between i) the fMRI activations elicited by the narrative and ii) the activations of GPT-2 245 246 (laver nine) elicited by the same narrative. To this end, a linear 247 spatiotemporal model is fitted on a train set to predict the fMRI scans given the GPT-2 activations as input. Then, the mapping is 248 249 evaluated by computing the Pearson correlation between predicted and actual fMRI scans on a held out set I: 250

$$\mathcal{M}^{(s,w)}: I \mapsto \mathcal{L}\left(f \circ g(X^{(w)})_{i \in I}, (Y_i^{(s,w)})_{i \in I}\right)$$
[1]

With $f \circ g$ the fitted estimator (g: temporal and f: spatial 252 mappings), \mathcal{L} Pearson's correlation, $X^{(w)}$ the activations of GPT-2 253 and $Y^{(s,w)}$ the fMRI scans of subjects s, both elicited by the 254 narrative w. 255

In practice, f is a ℓ_2 -penalized linear regression. We follow scikit-256 257 learn implementation[§] with ten possible regularization parameters log-spaced between 10^{-1} and 10^8 , one optimal parameter per voxel 258 259 and leave-one-out cross-validation. g is a finite impulse response (FIR) model with 5 delays, where each delay sums the activations 260 of GPT-2 input with the words presented between two TRs. For 261 262 each (subject, narrative) pair, we split the corresponding fMRI time series into five contiguous chunks using scikit-learn cross-validation. 263 The procedure is repeated across the five train (80%) of the fMRI 264 scans) and disjoint test folds (20% of the fMRI scans). Pearson 265 correlations are averaged across folds to obtain a single score per 266 267 (subject, narrative) pair. This score, denoted $\mathcal{M}(X)$ in Figure 1A, measures the mapping between the activations space X and the 268 brain of one subject, elicited by one narrative. 269

Phonological features To account for low-level speech processing, 270 we computed the alignment (Eq. (1)) between the fMRI brain record-271 ings Y and phonological features X: the word rate (of dimension 272 273 d = 1, the number of words per fMRI scan), the phoneme rate (d = 1, the number of phonemes per fMRI scan) and the concate-274 275 nation of phonemes, stresses and tones of the words in the stimuli (categorical feature, d = 117). The latter features are provided in 276 the original Narratives database (21), and computed using Gentle 277 278 forced-alignment algorithm.

Significance Significance was either assessed by using either (i) a 279 second-level Wilcoxon test (two-sided) across subject-narrative pairs, 280 testing whether the mapping (one value per pair) was significantly 281 different from zero (Figure 1B), or (ii) by using the first-level Pearson 282 p-value provided by SciPy (Figure 1D-G). In Figure 1B, E, F, p-283 values were corrected for multiple comparison $(2 \times 142 \text{ ROIs})$ using 284 False Discovery Rate (Benjamin/Hochberg)** 285

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[§]https://scikit-learn.org/

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^{**} https://mne.tools

363 Supporting Information (SI)

Brain parcellation. In Figure 1B, E, and F, we used a subdivision of the parcellation from Destrieux Atlas (10). Regions with more than 400 vertices were split into smaller regions (so that each regions contains less than 400 vertices). The original parcellation consists of 75 regions per hemisphere. Our custom parcellation consists in 142 regions per hemisphere.

In Figure 1G, we use the original parcellation for simplicity, and the following acronyms:

Acronym	Definition
STG / STS	Superior temporal gyrus / sulcus
aSTS	Anterior STS
maSTS	Mid-anterior STS
mpSTS	Mid-posterior STS
pSTS	Posterior STS
Angular / Supramar	Angular / Supramarginal inferior parietal gyrus
MTG / MTS	Medial temporal gyrus / sulcus
SFG / SFS	Superior frontal gyrus / sulcus
IFG / IFS	Inferior frontal gyrus / sulcus
Tri / Op	Pars triangularis / opercularis (IFG)
TTransverse	Temporal transverse sulcus
PCG	Posterior cingulate gyrus
STO	Temporo-occipital lateral sulcus

Mixed-effect model. Not all subjects listened to the same sto-372 ries. To check that the \mathcal{R} scores (correlation between compre-373 hension and brain mapping) were not driven by the narratives 374 and questionnaires' variability, a linear mixed-effect model was 375 fit to predict the comprehension of a subject given its brain 376 mapping scores, specifying the narrative as a random effect. 377 More precisely, if $w_i \in \mathbb{R}$ corresponds to the mapping scores 378 of the i^{th} subject that listened to the story w, and $C_{w_i} \in \mathbb{R}$ 379 refers to the comprehension scores, we estimate the fixed effect 380 parameters $\beta \in \mathbb{R}$ and $\tilde{\eta} \in \mathbb{R}$ (shared across narratives), and 381 the random effect parameter $\beta_w \in \mathbb{R}$ and $\eta_w \in \mathbb{R}$ (specific to 382 the narrative w) such that: 383

$$C_{w_i} = (\beta + \beta_w) \times_{w_i} + (\tilde{\eta} + \eta_w) + \epsilon_w$$

with ϵ_{w_i} a vector of i.i.d normal errors with mean 0 and variance σ^2 . In practice, we use the statsmodels^{††} implementation of linear mixed-effect models. Significance of the coefficients were assessed with a t-test, as implemented in statsmodels.

Replication across single narratives. To further support that the \mathcal{R} were not driven by the narratives' variability, we replicate the analysis of Figure 1D within single narratives. In Figure 3, we show that correlation scores between brain scores and comprehension scores are positive for each of the seven narratives.

Noise Ceiling Estimates. fMRI recordings are inherently noisy.
Thus, we estimate an upper bound of the best brain score that
tcan be obtained given the level of noise in the Narrative dataset.
To this end, for each (subject, narrative) pair, we linearly
map the fMRI recordings, not with the GPT-2 activations,
but with the average fMRI recordings of the other subjects
who listened to that narrative. More precisely, we use the

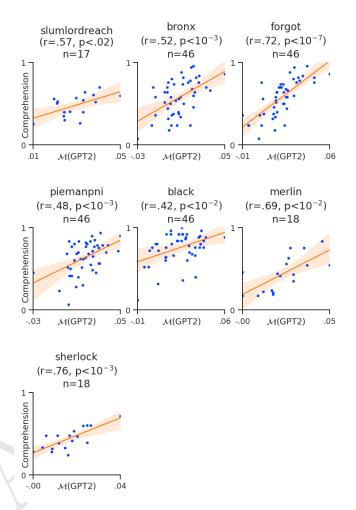


Fig. 3. Replication within single narratives. Same as Figure 1D for each single narrative.

exact same setting as in Eq. (1), but we predict $Y^{(s)}$, not 402 from q(X) (GPT-2's features after temporal alignment, of size 403 $n_{\rm times} \times n_{\rm dim}$), but from the mean of the other subject's brains 404 $\overline{Y} = \frac{1}{|S|} \sum_{s' \neq s} Y^{(s')}$ (of size $n_{\text{times}} \times n_{\text{voxels}}$). This score is 405 called the noise ceiling for the (subject, narrative) pair. The 406 noise ceilings for each brain region are displayed in Figure 4, 407 and correspond to upper bounds of the brain scores displayed 408 in Figure 1B. 409

^{††}https://www.statsmodels.org/

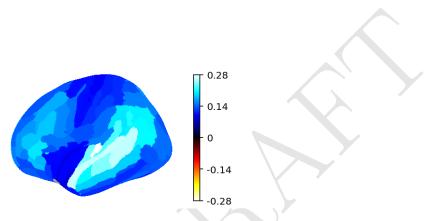


Fig. 4. Noise ceiling estimates. Noise ceilings averaged across subjects, narratives and voxels within each region of interest. They are upper bounds of the brain scores in Figure 1B.