

1 **Semantic representations during language comprehension are affected by context**

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10 **Abstract**

11 The meaning of words in natural language depends crucially on context. However, most
12 neuroimaging studies of word meaning use isolated words and isolated sentences with little context.
13 Because the brain may process natural language differently from how it processes simplified stimuli,
14 there is a pressing need to determine whether prior results on word meaning generalize to natural
15 language. fMRI was used to record human brain activity while four subjects (two female) read words
16 in four conditions that vary in context: narratives, isolated sentences, blocks of semantically similar
17 words, and isolated words. We then compared the signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) of evoked brain
18 responses, and we used a voxelwise encoding modeling approach to compare the representation of
19 semantic information across the four conditions. We find four consistent effects of varying context.
20 First, stimuli with more context evoke brain responses with higher SNR across bilateral visual,
21 temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortices compared to stimuli with little context. Second, increasing
22 context increases the representation of semantic information across bilateral temporal, parietal, and
23 prefrontal cortices at the group level. In individual subjects, only natural language stimuli consistently
24 evoke widespread representation of semantic information. Third, context affects voxel semantic
25 tuning. Finally, models estimated using stimuli with little context do not generalize well to natural
26 language. These results show that context has large effects on the quality of neuroimaging data and
27 on the representation of meaning in the brain. Thus, neuroimaging studies that use stimuli with little
28 context may not generalize well to the natural regime.

29 **Significance Statement**

30 Context is an important part of understanding the meaning of natural language, but most
31 neuroimaging studies of meaning use isolated words and isolated sentences with little context. Here
32 we examined whether the results of neuroimaging studies that use out-of-context stimuli generalize to
33 natural language. We find that increasing context improves the quality of neuroimaging data and
34 changes where and how semantic information is represented in the brain. These results suggest that
35 findings from studies using out-of-context stimuli may not generalize to natural language used in daily
36 life.

37 **Introduction**

38 Language is our main means of communication and an integral part of daily life. Natural language
39 comprehension requires extracting meaning from words that are embedded in context. However,
40 most neuroimaging studies of word meaning use simplified stimuli consisting of isolated words or
41 sentences (Price 2012). Natural language differs from isolated words and sentences in several ways.
42 Natural language contains phonological and orthographic patterns, lexical semantics, syntactic
43 structure, and compositional- and discourse-level semantics embedded in social context (Hagoort
44 2019). In contrast, isolated words and sentences only contain a few of these components (e.g., lexical
45 meaning, local syntactic structure). (For concision, this paper will refer to all differences between
46 natural language and isolated words/sentences as differences in “context.”)

47

48 Neuroimaging studies that use isolated words and sentences implicitly assume that their results will
49 generalize to natural language. However, because the brain is a highly nonlinear dynamical system
50 (Wu, David, and Gallant 2006; Breakspear 2017), the representation of semantic information may
51 change depending on context (Poeppel et al. 2012; Hagoort 2019; Hamilton and Huth 2020). Indeed,
52 contextual effects have been demonstrated clearly in other domains. For example, many neurons in
53 the visual system respond differently to simplified stimuli compared to naturalistic stimuli (Simoncelli
54 and Olshausen 2001; Ringach, Hawken, and Shapley 2002; David, Vinje, and Gallant 2004; Touryan,
55 Felsen, and Dan 2005). However, few studies have examined whether insights about semantic
56 representation from studies using simplified stimuli will generalize to natural language.

57

58 Results from past studies suggest that context has a large effect on semantic representation. Several
59 natural language studies from our lab reported that semantic information is represented in a large,
60 distributed network of brain regions including bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortices, and
61 that semantic information is represented independently of the presentation modality (Huth et al. 2016;
62 Deniz et al. 2019). In contrast, studies that used isolated words or sentences as stimuli independently

63 identified only a few brain regions that represent semantic information. These studies have separately
64 identified angular gyrus, left inferior frontal gyrus (IFG), left ventromedial prefrontal cortex (vmPFC),
65 left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (dmPFC), anterior temporal lobe, lateral-, ventral-, and
66 inferotemporal cortex, posterior cingulate gyrus, and posterior parietal cortex (for reviews see (Jeffrey
67 R. Binder et al. 2009; Price 2010, 2012).

68

69 One way that context might affect neuroimaging results is by affecting the signal-to-noise ratio (SNR)
70 of evoked brain responses (i.e., affecting the metabolic activity of the brain such that the repeatability
71 of the recorded blood-oxygen-level-dependent (BOLD) response is affected). Although no language
72 studies have explicitly looked at evoked BOLD SNR, several converging lines of evidence suggest
73 that context does affect evoked SNR in language studies. (Lerner et al. 2011) examined how
74 language context affects cross-subject correlations in brain responses, and they reported that as the
75 amount of context increased, the number of voxels that were correlated across subjects also
76 increased. These voxels were located in high-level brain regions including TPJ, precuneus, and
77 mPFC. In contrast, voxel responses in sensory regions and the superior temporal sulcus (STS) were
78 reliably correlated when stimuli with little context stimuli was presented to the subjects (also see
79 (Hasson, Chen, and Honey 2015)). In addition, several contrast-based fMRI language studies
80 reported that increasing context evoked larger and more widespread patterns of brain activity in
81 posterior STS, TPJ, and mPFC (Mazoyer et al. 1993; Xu et al. 2005; Jobard et al. 2007). Finally, most
82 subjects are more attentive when reading natural stories than when reading isolated words, and
83 attention affects BOLD SNR (Bressler and Silver 2010).

84

85 Another more interesting way that context might affect neuroimaging results is by directly changing
86 semantic representations in the brain (i.e., changing which voxels represent semantic information
87 and/or the semantic tuning of those voxels). Context can change the way that subjects attend to
88 semantic information, and semantic representations in many brain areas shift toward attended

89 semantic categories (Çukur et al. 2013; Sprague, Saproo, and Serences 2015; Nastase et al. 2017).
90 Context also changes the statistical structure of language stimuli, and these statistical changes can
91 affect cognitive processes and representations in a variety of ways (Wu, David, and Gallant 2006;
92 Dahmen et al. 2010; Breakspear 2017).

93

94 To test the hypotheses that context affects evoked SNR and semantic representations, we used fMRI
95 and a voxelwise encoding model approach to directly compare four stimulus conditions that vary in
96 context: Narratives, Sentences, Semantic Blocks, and Single Words (Figure 1). The Narratives
97 condition consisted of four narrative stories used in our previous studies (Huth et al. 2016; Deniz et al.
98 2019; Popham et al. 2021). The other three conditions used sentences, blocks of semantically similar
99 words, and individual words sampled from the narratives.

100

101 **Materials and Methods**

102 Experimental Design and Statistical Analysis

103 Subjects. Functional data were collected from two males and two females: S1 (male, age 31), S2
104 (male, age 24), S3 (female, age 24), S4 (female, age 23). All subjects were healthy and had normal
105 hearing, and normal or corrected-to-normal vision. All subjects were right handed according to the
106 Edinburgh handedness inventory (Oldfield, 1971). Laterality scores were +70 (decile R.3) for S1, +95
107 (decile R.9) for S2, +90 (decile R.7) for S3, +80 (decile R.5) for S4.

108

109 MRI data collection. MRI data were collected on a 3T Siemens TIM Trio scanner with a 32-channel
110 Siemens volume coil, located at the UC Berkeley Brain Imaging Center. Functional scans were
111 collected using gradient echo EPI with repetition time (TR) = 2.0045s, echo time (TE) = 31ms, flip
112 angle = 70 degrees, voxel size = 2.24 x 2.24 x 4.1 mm (slice thickness = 3.5 mm with 18% slice gap),
113 matrix size = 100 x 100, and field of view = 224 x 224 mm. Thirty axial slices were prescribed to cover
114 the entire cortex and were scanned in interleaved order. A custom-modified bipolar water excitation

115 radiofrequency (RF) pulse was used to avoid signal from fat. Anatomical data were collected using a
116 T1-weighted multi-echo MP-RAGE sequence on the same 3T scanner. Approximately 3.5 hours
117 (214.85 minutes) of fMRI data was collected for each subject.

118

119 fMRI data pre-processing. The FMRIB Linear Image Registration Tool (FLIRT) from FSL 5.0 (M.
120 Jenkinson and Smith 2001; Mark Jenkinson et al. 2002) was used to motion-correct each functional
121 run. A high-quality template volume was then created for each run by averaging all volumes in the run
122 across time. FLIRT was used to automatically align the template volume for each run to an overall
123 template, which was chosen to be the temporal average of the first functional run for each subject.
124 These automatic alignments were manually checked and adjusted as necessary to improve accuracy.
125 The cross-run transformation matrix was then concatenated to the motion-correction transformation
126 matrices obtained using MCFLIRT, and the concatenated transformation was used to resample the
127 original data directly into the overall template space.

128

129 A 3rd order Savitsky-Golay filter with a 121-TR window was used to identify low-frequency voxel
130 response drift. This drift was subtracted from the signal before further processing. Responses for
131 each run were z-scored separately before voxelwise modeling. In addition, 10 TRs were discarded
132 from the beginning and the end (20 TRs total) of each run.

133

134 Cortical surface reconstruction and visualization. Freesurfer (Dale, Fischl, and Sereno 1999) was
135 used to generate cortical surface meshes from the T1-weighted anatomical scans. Before surface
136 reconstruction, Blender and pycortex (<http://pycortex.org>; (Gao et al. 2015)) were used to carefully
137 hand-check and correct anatomical surface segmentations. To aid in cortical flattening, Blender and
138 pycortex were used to remove the surface crossing the corpus callosum and relaxation cuts were
139 made into the surface of each hemisphere. The calcarine sulcus cut was made at the horizontal
140 meridian in V1 as identified from retinotopic mapping data.

141

142 Pycortex (Gao et al. 2015) was used to align functional images to the cortical surface. The line-
143 nearest scheme in pycortex was used to project functional data onto the surface for visualization and
144 subsequent analysis. The line-nearest scheme samples the functional data at 64 evenly-spaced
145 intervals between the inner (white matter) and outer (pial) surfaces of the cortex and averages the
146 samples. Samples are taken using nearest-neighbor interpolation, in which each sample is given the
147 value of its enclosing voxel.

148

149 Stimuli. Stimuli for all four conditions were generated from ten spoken stories from The Moth Radio
150 Hour (used previously in (Huth et al. 2016)). In each story, a speaker tells an autobiographical story in
151 front of a live audience. The ten selected stories are 10-15 min long, cover a wide range of topics,
152 and are highly engaging. Transcriptions of these stories were used to generate the stimuli.

153

154 Story transcription. Each story was manually transcribed by one listener, and this transcription was
155 checked by a second listener. Certain sounds (e.g., laughter, lip-smacking, and breathing) were also
156 transcribed in order to improve the accuracy of the automated alignment. The audio of each story was
157 downsampled to 11.5 kHz and the Penn Phonetics Lab Forced Aligner (P2FA; (Yuan and Liberman
158 2008)) was used to automatically align the audio to the transcript. P2FA uses a phonetic hidden
159 Markov model to find the temporal onset and offset of each word and phoneme. The Carnegie Mellon
160 University pronouncing dictionary was used to guess the pronunciation of each word. The Arpabet
161 phonetic notation was used when necessary to manually add words and word fragments that
162 appeared in the transcript but not in the pronouncing dictionary.

163

164 After automatic alignment was complete, Praat (Boersman and Weenink 2014) was used to manually
165 check and correct each aligned transcript. The corrected, aligned transcript was then spot-checked
166 for accuracy by a different listener. Finally, Praat's TextGrid object was used to convert the aligned

167 transcripts into word representations. The word representation of each story is a list of pairs (W, t),
168 where W is a word and t is the time in seconds.

169

170 Stimulus Conditions. To evaluate the effect of context on evoked SNR and semantic representation in
171 the brain, four stimulus conditions with different amounts of context were created. These four
172 conditions were Narratives, Sentences, Semantic Blocks, and Single Words.

173

174 The Narratives condition consisted of four narratives from The Moth Radio Hour ("undertheinfluence",
175 "souls", "life", "wheretheressmoke"). These four narratives were chosen from the ten narratives used
176 in (Huth et al. 2016). Each narrative was presented in a separate ~10-minute scanning run. One
177 narrative ("wheretheressmoke") was used as the model validation stimulus, and it was presented
178 twice for each subject.

179

180 The Sentences condition consisted of sentences randomly sampled from the ten narratives used in
181 (Huth et al. 2016). Sentence boundaries were marked manually, resulting in 1450 sentences with a
182 median sentence length of 13 words (min=5 words, max=40 words). Sentences were presented in
183 four unique ~10-minute scanning runs. One run was used as the model validation stimulus, and it
184 was presented twice for each subject.

185

186 The Semantic Blocks condition consisted of blocks of semantically clustered words from the ten
187 narratives used in (Huth et al. 2016). The motivation for this condition was to mimic the timescale on
188 which semantic topics change in natural language without including grammatical and syntactic
189 components. The semantic word clusters were designed to elicit maximally different voxel responses.
190 To create the clusters, each word was first transformed into its semantic model representation (see
191 Voxelwise model fitting below). The semantic model representation for each word was then projected
192 onto the first ten principal components of the semantic model weights estimated in (Huth et al. 2016).

193 Finally, the projections were clustered with k-means clustering (k=12) to create 12 word clusters.
194 During each scanning run, subjects saw 12 different blocks of 114 words each. The words in each
195 block were sampled from one of the word clusters, and eight different word clusters were sampled in
196 each run. The frequency with which each cluster was sampled was matched to the frequency with
197 which words from that cluster appeared in the ten narratives. Blocks were presented in four unique
198 ~10-minute long runs. One run was used as the model validation stimulus, and it was presented twice
199 for each subject.

200

201 The Single Words condition consisted of words randomly sampled without replacement from the ten
202 narratives used in (Huth et al. 2016). There were 21743 appearances of 2868 unique words across
203 the narratives, and each appearance was sampled uniformly. Words were presented in four unique
204 10-minute scanning runs. One run was used as the model validation stimulus, and it was presented
205 twice for each subject.

206

207 For the Sentences, Semantic Blocks, and Single Words conditions, text descriptions of auditory
208 sounds (e.g., laughter and applause) in the ten narratives were removed. In addition, obvious
209 transcription errors were removed from the list of narrative words for the Semantic Blocks and Single
210 Words conditions. Words that did not make sense by themselves (e.g., “tai”, “chi”) were also
211 removed. There were five such words: “tai”, “chi”, “deja”, “vu”, and “sub.”

212

213 Stimulus presentation. In all conditions, words were presented individually at the center of the screen
214 using Rapid Serial Visual Presentation (RSVP) (Forster 1970; Buchweitz et al. 2009). Words in the
215 Narratives and Sentences conditions were presented with the same timing and duration as in the
216 original spoken stories. Words in the Semantic Blocks and Single Words conditions were presented
217 for a baseline of 400 ms with an additional 10 ms for every character. For example, the word “apple”
218 would be presented for $400 \text{ ms} + 10 \text{ ms/character} * (5 \text{ characters}) = 450 \text{ ms}$. The word presentation

219 timing was determined after extensive pilot testing before the experiment was run. The resulting
220 parameters provided a good balance between readability and keeping subject engagement.
221
222 For subjects S1, S2, and S4, the four conditions were presented in 15 runs over two scanning
223 sessions. Each condition was presented in a separate run, and the runs were interleaved in each
224 session. In the first session, the conditions were presented in the order: Single Words, Semantic
225 Blocks (validation stimulus), Sentences, Single Words (validation stimulus), Semantic Blocks,
226 Sentences (validation stimulus), Semantic Blocks, Sentences. In the second session, the conditions
227 were presented in the order: Sentences, Single Words (validation stimulus), Semantic Blocks, Single
228 Words, Semantic Blocks (validation stimulus), Single Words, Sentences (validation stimulus).
229 Conditions were presented in the same order for subjects S1, S2, and S4. For subject S3, the four
230 conditions were presented in four scanning sessions. Each condition was presented in a separate
231 scanning session, and each session contained 8 runs (including two repetitions of the validation
232 stimulus). The stimuli used for this paper was a subset of the total stimuli presented in the four
233 sessions. Although the stimuli were presented differently for subject S3, the results for subject S3 are
234 consistent with the other three subjects.

235
236 The pygame library in Python was used to display black text on a gray background at 34 horizontal
237 and 27 vertical degrees of visual angle. Letters were presented at average 6 (min=1, max=16)
238 horizontal and 3 vertical degrees of visual angle. A white fixation cross was present at the center of
239 the display. Subjects were asked to fixate while reading the text. Eye movements were monitored at
240 60 Hz throughout the scanning sessions using a custom-built camera system equipped with an
241 infrared source (Avotec) and the ViewPoint EyeTracker software suite (Arrington Research). The eye
242 tracker was calibrated before each session of data acquisition.

243
244 Explainable variance (EV). To measure the functional SNR of each stimulus condition, we computed

245 the explainable variance (EV). EV was computed as the amount of variance in the response of a
246 voxel that can be explained by the mean response of the voxel across multiple repetitions of the
247 same stimulus. Formally, if the responses of a voxel to a repeated stimulus is expressed as a matrix
248 Y with dimensions (# of TRs in each repetition, # of stimulus repetitions), then EV is given by

$$249 \quad EV = EV' - [(1 - EV') / \# \text{ of stimulus repetitions} - 1],$$

$$250 \quad \text{where } EV' = 1 - [\text{variance}(Y - \text{mean}(Y, \text{axis}=1)) / \text{variance}(Y)].$$

251 Note that this is the same as the coefficient of determination (R^2) where the model prediction is the
252 mean response across stimulus repetitions. For each condition, EV was computed from the two
253 repeated validation runs.

254

255 Voxelwise model fitting and validation. To identify voxels that represent semantic information, a
256 linearized encoding model (Nishimoto et al. 2011; Huth et al. 2012, 2016) was fit to every cortical
257 voxel in each subject's brain. The linearized encoding model consisted of one feature space designed
258 to represent semantic information in the stimuli (the semantic feature space), and four feature spaces
259 designed to represent low-level linguistic information in the stimuli. In the semantic feature space, the
260 semantic content of each word was represented by the word's co-occurrence statistics with the 985
261 words in Wikipedia's List of 1000 basic words (Huth et al., 2016). Thus, each word was represented
262 by a 985-long vector in the semantic feature space. The co-occurrence statistics were computed over
263 a large text corpus that included the ten narrative stories used in Huth et al. (2016), several books
264 from Project Gutenberg, a wide variety of Wikipedia pages, and a broad selection of reddit.com user
265 comments (Huth et al. 2016). The four low-level feature spaces were word rate (1 parameter),
266 number of letters (1 parameter), letters (26 parameters), and word length variation per TR (1
267 parameter). Together, the five feature spaces had 1014 features.

268

269 The features passed through three additional preprocessing steps before being fit to BOLD
270 responses. First, to account for the hemodynamic response, a separate finite impulse response (FIR)

271 filter with four delays was fit for each of the 1014 features, resulting in 4056 final features. This was
272 accomplished by concatenating copies of the features delayed by 1, 2, 3, and 4 TRs (approximately
273 2, 4, 6, and 8 seconds). Taking the dot product of this concatenated feature space with a set of linear
274 weights is functionally equivalent to convolving the undelayed features with a linear temporal kernel
275 that has non-zero entries for 1-, 2-, 3-, and 4-time point delays. Second, 10 TRs were discarded from
276 the beginning and the end (20 TRs total) of each run. Third, each feature was z-scored separately
277 within each run. This was done so that the features would be on the same scale as the BOLD
278 responses, which were also z-scored within each run.

279

280 A single joint model consisting of the 4056 features were fit to BOLD responses using banded ridge
281 regression (Nunez-Elizalde, Huth, and Gallant 2019) and the himalaya Python package ((Dupré la
282 Tour et al. 2022), see Code Accessibility). A separate model was fit for every voxel in every subject
283 and condition. For every model, a regularization parameter was estimated for each of the five feature
284 spaces using a random search. In the random search, 1000 normalized hyperparameter candidates
285 were sampled from a Dirichlet distribution and scaled by 30 log-spaced values ranging from 10^{-5} to
286 10^{20} . The best normalized hyperparameter candidate and scaling were selected for each feature
287 space for each voxel. Finally, models were fit again on the BOLD responses with the selected
288 hyperparameters.

289

290 To validate the models, estimated feature weights were used to predict responses to a separate,
291 held-out validation dataset. Validation stimuli for the Narratives condition consisted of two repeated
292 presentations of the narrative “wheretheressmoke” (Huth et al. 2016). Validation stimuli for the
293 Sentences, Semantic Blocks, and Single Words conditions consisted of two repeated presentations of
294 one run for each condition. Prediction accuracy was then computed by estimating the contribution of
295 each feature space to the total prediction accuracy of the joint voxelwise model using the
296 “correlation_score_split” function in the himalaya Python package (see also (St-Yves and Naselaris

297 2018), “Feature map contribution to the prediction accuracy”). This function computes the correlation
298 between the predicted BOLD response from one feature space and the average BOLD response
299 across the two validation runs, while accounting for the magnitude of the predictions from each
300 feature space with respect to the other feature spaces in the joint model. The contribution from the
301 semantic feature space is shown as semantic model prediction accuracy in Figures 4 and 5.

302

303 Statistical significance for each condition was computed with permutation testing. A null distribution
304 was generated by permuting 10-TR blocks of the average validation BOLD response 5000 times and
305 computing the prediction accuracy for each permutation (10 TRs were blocked to account for
306 temporal autocorrelations in the BOLD signal). Resulting p values were corrected for multiple
307 comparisons within each subject using the false discovery rate (FDR) procedure (Benjamini and
308 Hochberg 1995).

309

310 Tuning shifts. To determine how semantic tuning changes between the Sentences and Narratives
311 conditions, we looked at the difference between the estimated semantic model weights in the two
312 conditions. First, temporal information was removed from the semantic model weights by averaging
313 across the four delays for each semantic feature. Semantic model weights were then normalized by
314 their L2-norm for each voxel, subject, and condition separately. This was done to ensure that the
315 semantic model weights in both conditions are on the same numerical scale. Finally, the normalized
316 semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition were subtracted from the normalized
317 semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives condition.

318

319 To interpret the resulting difference vectors, we used principal components analysis (PCA) to recover
320 a low-dimensional subspace. The difference vector for each voxel in each subject was scaled by the
321 voxel’s minimum semantic model prediction accuracy between the Sentences and Narratives
322 conditions. This was done to avoid including noise from voxels that were poorly predicted in either

323 condition. We then applied PCA to the scaled difference vectors, yielding 985 PCs per subject. Partial
324 scree plots showing the proportion of variance explained by the PCs in each subject are shown in
325 Extended Data Figure 8-1. We projected each subject's difference vectors onto the first three PCs for
326 interpretation and visualization.

327

328 Cross-condition voxelwise model fitting. Estimated semantic model weights from the Single Words,
329 Semantic Blocks and Sentences conditions were used to predict voxel responses in the Narratives
330 condition. Prediction accuracy was computed as Pearson's correlation coefficient between the
331 predicted BOLD response using semantic model weights from the Single Words, Semantic Blocks, or
332 Sentences condition and the average BOLD response across the two validation runs in the Narratives
333 condition. In addition, estimated semantic model weights from the Single Words and Semantic Blocks
334 conditions were used to predict voxel responses in the Sentences condition. Prediction accuracy was
335 computed as Pearson's correlation coefficient between the predicted BOLD response using semantic
336 model weights from the Single Words or Semantic Blocks condition and the average BOLD response
337 across the two validation runs in the Sentences condition.

338

339 All model fitting and analysis was performed using custom software written in Python, making heavy
340 use of NumPy (Harris et al. 2020) and SciPy (Virtanen et al. 2020). Analysis and visualizations were
341 developed using iPython (Perez and Granger 2007), the interactive programming and visualization
342 environment jupyter notebook (Kluyver et al. 2016), Pycortex (Gao et al. 2015), and Matplotlib
343 (Hunter 2007).

344

345 Code Accessibility. The himalaya package is publicly available on GitHub
346 (<https://github.com/gallantlab/himalaya>).

347

348 **Results**

349 The goal of this study was to understand whether context affects evoked SNR and whether it affects
350 semantic representations in the brain. Previous studies suggest that both evoked SNR and semantic
351 representations will differ across the four experimental conditions (Single Words, Semantic Blocks,
352 Sentences, and Narratives). Here, we analyzed evoked SNR and semantic representations for each
353 of the four conditions in individual subjects.

354

355 To estimate evoked SNR, we computed the reliability of voxel responses across repetitions of the
356 same stimulus. Several different sources of noise can influence the variability of voxel responses
357 across stimulus repetitions: magnetic inhomogeneity, voxel response variability, and variability in
358 subject attention or vigilance. Because these sources are independent across stimulus repetitions,
359 pooling voxel responses across repetitions averages out the noise and provides a good estimate of
360 the evoked SNR. In this study, we used explainable variance (EV) as a measure of reliability and
361 computed the EV for two repetitions of one run in each condition to estimate evoked SNR (see
362 Methods).

363

364 Figure 3 shows EV for the four conditions in one typical subject (S1) (see Extended Data Figure 3-1
365 for voxels with significant EV; see Extended Data Figure 3-2 for unthresholded EV for subjects 2-4).
366 In the Single Words condition, appreciable EV is only found in a few scattered voxels located in
367 bilateral primary visual cortex, STS, and inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) (Figure 3a). The number of voxels
368 with significant EV ($p < 0.05$, FDR-corrected) in the Single Words condition is 256, 1198, 0, and 0 for
369 subjects 1-4, respectively. A similar pattern is seen in the Semantic Blocks condition, where
370 appreciable EV is only found in a few scattered voxels located in bilateral primary visual cortex, STS,
371 and IFG (Figure 3b). The number of voxels with significant EV ($p < 0.05$, FDR-corrected) in the
372 Semantic Blocks condition is 324, 1613, 1201, and 0 for subjects 1-4, respectively. In contrast, both

373 the Sentences and Narratives conditions produce high EV in many voxels located in bilateral visual,
374 parietal, temporal, and prefrontal cortices (Figures 3c and 3d). The number of voxels with significant
375 EV ($p < 0.05$, FDR-corrected) in the Sentences condition is 4225, 11697, 2359, and 7251 for subjects
376 1-4, respectively. The number of voxels with significant EV ($p < 0.05$, FDR-corrected) in the Narratives
377 condition is 7622, 8062, 7059, and 2931 for subjects 1-4, respectively. Together, these results show
378 that increasing context increases evoked SNR in bilateral visual, temporal, parietal, and prefrontal
379 cortices.

380

381 To quantify semantic representation, we used a voxelwise encoding model (VM) procedure and a
382 semantic feature space to identify voxels that represent semantic information in each condition
383 (Figure 2). We first extracted semantic features and four types of low-level linguistic features from the
384 stimulus words in each condition separately (see Methods). We then used banded ridge regression
385 (Nunez-Elizalde, Huth, and Gallant 2019) to fit a joint encoding model for each voxel, subject, and
386 condition. Finally, we split the joint model prediction accuracy across the five feature spaces to
387 estimate the prediction accuracy for each feature space. Here we refer to voxels that had a significant
388 semantic model prediction accuracy (see Methods) as “semantically selective voxels.”

389

390 Figure 4 shows semantic model prediction accuracy for semantically selective voxels for the four
391 conditions in one typical subject (S1) (see Extended Data Figure 4-1 for additional subjects; see
392 Extended Data Figure 4-2 for unthresholded semantic model prediction accuracy for all subjects). In
393 the Single Words condition, no voxels are semantically selective in any of the four subjects (Figure 4a
394 and Extended Data Figure 4-3, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). In the Semantic Blocks condition, scattered
395 voxels along the left STS and left IFG are semantically selective (Figure 4b, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected).
396 The number of semantically selective voxels ($p < 0.05$, FDR corrected) in the Semantic Blocks
397 condition is 708, 0, 0, and 0 for subjects 1-4, respectively (Extended Data Figure 4-3). In the
398 Sentences condition, voxels in the left angular gyrus, left STG, bilateral STS, bilateral ventral

399 precuneus, bilateral ventral premotor speech area (sPMv), bilateral superior frontal sulcus (SFS), and
400 left superior frontal gyrus (SFG) are semantically selective (Figure 4c, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). The
401 number of semantically selective voxels ($p < 0.05$, FDR-corrected) in the Sentences condition is 1566,
402 2581, 0, and 0 for subjects 1-4, respectively (Extended Data Figure 4-3). Finally, in the Narratives
403 condition, voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, bilateral STG, bilateral temporal parietal
404 junction (TPJ), bilateral sPMv, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFS, bilateral SFG, bilateral IFG,
405 left inferior parietal lobule (IPL), and left posterior cingulate gyrus are semantically selective (Figure
406 4d, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). The number of semantically selective voxels ($p < 0.05$, FDR-corrected) in
407 the Narratives condition is 4745, 7355, 7786, and 1757 for subjects 1-4, respectively (Extended Data
408 Figure 4-3). Together, these results suggest that increasing context increases the representation of
409 semantic information in bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortices. These results also suggest
410 that this effect is highly variable in individual subjects for non-natural language stimuli (Semantic
411 Blocks, Sentences) but not for natural language stimuli (Narratives).

412

413 The results presented in Figure 4 were obtained in each subject's native brain space. To determine
414 how the representation of semantic information varies across subjects for the four conditions, we
415 transformed the semantic encoding model results obtained for each subject into the standard MNI
416 brain space (Deniz et al. 2019). Figure 5 shows the mean unthresholded model prediction accuracy
417 across subjects (Figure 5a-d) and the number of subjects for which each voxel is semantically
418 selective (Figure 5e-h) for each condition. In the Single Words condition, no voxels are semantically
419 selective in any of the four subjects (Figure 5a and 5e, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). In the Semantic
420 Blocks condition, scattered voxels in left STS are semantically selective in two out of four subjects
421 (Figure 5b and 5f, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). In the Sentences condition, voxels in the bilateral STS,
422 left STG, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral SFS, and bilateral premotor
423 cortex are semantically selective in two out of four subjects (Figure 5c and 5g, $p < 0.05$, FDR
424 corrected). Finally, in the Narratives condition, voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, right

425 STG, right anterior temporal lobe, bilateral SFS and SFG, left IFG, left IPL, bilateral ventral
426 precuneus, and bilateral posterior cingulate gyrus are semantically selective in all subjects (Figure 5d
427 and 5h, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected), and voxels in left STG and right IFG are semantically selective in
428 three out of four subjects (Figure 5d and 5h, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). These results are consistent
429 with those in Figure 4, and they suggest that increasing stimulus context increases the representation
430 of semantic information across the cortical surface at the group level. In addition, this effect is
431 inconsistent across individual subjects for non-natural stimuli (Semantic Blocks, Sentences) but not
432 natural stimuli (Narratives).

433

434 Because the Narratives condition contains more contextual information than the other three
435 conditions, we hypothesized that we would find more semantically selective voxels in the Narratives
436 condition than in the other three conditions. To test this, we calculated the difference in the number of
437 semantically selective voxels between the Narratives condition and each of the other three conditions.
438 The difference between the Narratives and Single Words conditions is 4745, 7355, 7786, and 1757
439 voxels for subjects 1-4, respectively ($p < 0.05$ for all subjects). The difference between the Narratives
440 and Semantic Blocks conditions is 4037, 7355, 7786, and 1757 voxels for subjects 1-4, respectively
441 ($p < 0.05$ for all subjects). Finally, the difference between the Narratives and Sentences conditions is
442 3179, 4774, 7786, and 1757 voxels for subjects 1-4, respectively ($p < 0.05$ for all subjects). The
443 difference between the Narratives and Single Words conditions partly reflects the fact that most
444 voxels have low evoked SNR in the Single Words condition and high evoked SNR in the Narratives
445 condition (Figure 3). Because it is impossible to model noise, differences in evoked SNR across
446 conditions directly affect the number of voxels that achieve a significant model fit. The difference
447 between the Narratives and Semantic Blocks conditions also partly reflects differences in evoked
448 SNR -- for most voxels, evoked SNR is low in the Semantic Blocks condition and high for the
449 Narratives condition (Figure 3). In contrast, the evoked SNR is high for many voxels in both the
450 Narratives and the Sentences conditions (Figure 3), so the difference in the number of semantically

451 selective voxels is unlikely to be due to differences in evoked SNR. Instead, this result suggests that
452 semantic information is represented more widely across the cortical surface in the Narratives
453 condition than in the Sentences condition.

454
455 To determine which semantic concepts are represented in voxels that are semantically selective in
456 the Narratives condition but not in the Sentences condition, we looked at the semantic tuning of such
457 voxels. The semantic tuning of each voxel is given by its 985-dimensional vector of estimated
458 semantic model weights, one weight for each of the 985 semantic model features (see Methods).
459 Since the semantic model has 985 features, it is difficult and impractical to interpret the semantic
460 tuning of a voxel by looking at each individual semantic feature directly. Instead, we projected each
461 voxel's estimated semantic model weights into a low-dimensional subspace of the semantic model,
462 and interpreted semantic tuning based on how the semantic weights projected into this subspace.
463 This low-dimensional subspace was created by applying principal component analysis (PCA) to the
464 aggregated estimated semantic model weights of seven subjects in Huth et al. 2016. Applying PCA to
465 the aggregated semantic model weights returns principal components (PCs) that are ordered by how
466 much variance they explain in the aggregated semantic model weights. The low-dimensional
467 subspace was defined as the first three PCs of the aggregated semantic model weights.

468
469 To visualize semantic tuning, we projected the estimated Narratives semantic model weights for each
470 voxel onto the three PCs, and then we colored each voxel with an RGB color scheme. For each
471 voxel, the red value indicates the projection onto the first PC, the green value indicates the projection
472 onto the second PC, and the blue value indicates the projection onto the third PC. Figure 6 shows the
473 estimated Narratives semantic model weights projected onto the three PCs for two subjects (S1 and
474 S2, this analysis was not performed for S3 and S4 because they did not have any semantically
475 selective voxels in the Sentences condition). In both subjects, most voxels that are semantically
476 selective in the Narratives condition but not in the Sentences condition have either a high red value or
477 a high green value. A high red value corresponds to tuning for concepts related to humans and social

478 relationships, and a high green value corresponds to tuning for concepts related to materials and
479 measurements. Thus, voxels that are semantically selective in the Narratives condition but not in the
480 Sentences condition are tuned to these two semantic categories.

481

482 Differences in semantic representation between the Sentences and Narratives conditions could be
483 limited to a difference in the number of voxels recruited to represent semantic information in each
484 condition. However, we hypothesized that differences in contextual information between the two
485 conditions could also lead to differences in semantic tuning in the voxels that are semantically
486 selective in both conditions. To test this hypothesis, the semantic model weights estimated in the
487 Sentences condition were correlated with the semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives
488 condition for voxels that are semantically selective in both conditions. Figure 7 shows Pearson's
489 correlation coefficient between the semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition and
490 the semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives condition mapped onto the cortical surface of
491 two subjects (S1 and S2). In both subjects, semantic model weights for the Sentences and Narratives
492 conditions are on average moderately correlated (S1 correlation min=-0.319, max=0.817,
493 mean=0.344; S2 correlation min=-0.271, max=0.725, mean=0.316). This result shows that semantic
494 tuning changes in semantically selective voxels between the Sentences and Narratives conditions.

495

496 To determine how semantic tuning changes between the Sentences and Narratives conditions, we
497 looked at how estimated semantic model weights differ between the two conditions. For every voxel
498 that is semantically selective in both conditions, we subtracted its semantic model weights estimated
499 in the Sentences condition from its semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives condition (see
500 Methods). The resulting semantic difference vector describes the semantic concept that changes
501 between the voxel's semantic tuning in the Sentences and Narratives conditions. The difference
502 vector resides in the same 985-dimensional semantic space as the semantic model weights, so we
503 projected the difference vector into a low-dimensional semantic subspace to interpret its semantic

504 tuning. This subspace was created by applying PCA to the difference vectors for each subject
505 separately. The first five PCs explained 47.1% of the variance in subject S1 and 48.2% of the
506 variance in subject S2 (see Extended Data Figure 8-1 for partial scree plots), indicating that the
507 semantic tuning shifts can be described by a relatively low number of dimensions. Figure 8 shows the
508 projection of the difference vectors onto the first three PCs for one subject (S1; see Extended Data
509 Figure 8-2 for subject S2). Each voxel is colored according to how positively (red) or negatively (blue)
510 its difference vector projects onto each of the three PCs. For the first PC, voxels in bilateral STS and
511 bilateral SFG have a strong positive projection while voxels in bilateral angular gyrus have a strong
512 negative projection in both subjects. For the second PC, voxels in bilateral angular gyrus and superior
513 STS have a strong positive projection in both subjects. No voxels have a strong negative projection in
514 either subject. For the third PC, voxels in right STS have a strong positive projection in both subjects.
515 No voxels have a strong negative projection in either subject. These results suggest that semantic
516 tuning shifts between the Sentences and Narratives conditions are spatially organized across cortex.
517
518 To interpret the PCs of the semantic difference vectors, we looked at the words in the semantic model
519 that were correlated with each PC (see Extended Data Figure 8-3 for the ten most correlated and
520 least correlated words for each PC for each subject). For subject S1, the first PC is high on words
521 related to interviewing and interrogation and low on words related to building and investing. The
522 second PC is high on words related to packages and deliveries and low on words related to athletics.
523 The third PC is high on words related to measurement and low on words related to family. For subject
524 S2, the first PC is high on words related to visualization and low on words related to time and
525 numbers. The second PC is high on words related to travel and deliveries and low on words related to
526 body parts and actions. The third PC is high on function words and words related to numbers and low
527 on informal words and interjections. The first three PCs for subject S1 are only moderately correlated
528 to the first three PCs for subject S2: the correlation for the first PC is 0.3144, the correlation for the
529 second PC is 0.5996, and the correlation for the third PC is 0.2351. This suggests that semantic

530 tuning shifts between the Sentences and Narratives conditions are subject-dependent. However,
531 additional analysis using a larger subject pool is needed to determine the individual differences in
532 semantic tuning.

533

534 So far we have shown that semantic information is represented more widely across the cortical
535 surface in the Narratives condition compared to the Single Words, Semantic Blocks or Sentences
536 conditions (Figures 4, 5, 6). Next, we wanted to assess whether semantic model weights estimated
537 using stimuli with little context can generalize to natural stimuli. Due to the low evoked SNR and low
538 semantic model predictions in the Single Words and Semantic Blocks conditions (Figure 3) (Extended
539 Data Figure 4-2), we hypothesized that the semantic model weights estimated in these conditions
540 would generalize more poorly to the Narratives condition than the Sentences condition. To examine
541 this, we used the semantic model weights estimated in the conditions with less context than
542 Narratives (Single Words, Semantic Blocks, or Sentences) to predict brain activity in the Narratives
543 condition. We then compared these cross-condition predictions to within-condition predictions
544 (Narratives predicting Narratives condition). Figure 9 shows the results of this analysis in subject S1
545 (see Extended Data Figure 9-2 and Figure 9-3 for subject S2). Visual inspection of Figure 9 shows
546 that when semantic model weights estimated in the Single Words condition are used to predict the
547 Narratives condition only scattered voxels across the cerebral cortex are predicted (Figure 9a, blue
548 voxels) but no voxel is predicted in the bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal regions involved in
549 within-condition predictions using Narratives (Figure 9a, red voxels). When semantic model weights
550 estimated in the Semantic Blocks condition are used to predict the Narratives condition only scattered
551 voxels across the cerebral cortex are predicted (Figure 9b, blue voxels). A few voxels in left STS are
552 well predicted in cross-condition predictions (Semantic Blocks predicting Narratives) and in within-
553 condition predictions using Narratives (Figure 9b, white voxels). Most of the remaining voxels within
554 the bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal regions are only well predicted in within-condition
555 predictions using Narratives (Figure 9b, red voxels). In contrast, when semantic model weights

556 estimated in the Sentences condition are used to predict the Narratives condition voxels in bilateral
557 angular gyrus, bilateral STS, bilateral TPJ, bilateral sPMv, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFG,
558 bilateral IFG, and left SFS are well predicted in cross-condition predictions (Figure 9c white voxels;
559 See Extended Data Figure 9-1 for significance, $p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). These voxels are also well
560 predicted in within-condition predictions using Narratives (Figure 9c, white voxels). In addition, there
561 are voxels within the bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal regions that are only well predicted in
562 within-condition predictions using Narratives. These voxels are located in left IPL, right SFS, bilateral
563 STG, right anterior temporal lobe, and bilateral posterior cingulate gyrus (Figure 9c, red voxels).
564 Scattered voxels located in bilateral precuneus, right IFG, and portions of SFS are not well predicted
565 in within-condition predictions using Narratives but are well predicted in cross-condition predictions
566 (Sentences predicting Narratives) (Figure 9c, blue voxels). These results show that stimuli with little
567 context (Single Words or Semantic Blocks) do not generalize well to stimuli that has more context
568 than isolated single words (Sentences or Narratives). In addition, estimated model weights using
569 Sentences generalize well in some voxels within the temporal, parietal, and prefrontal regions.
570 However, remaining voxels in these regions are only well predicted by a semantic model that is
571 trained on natural stories stimuli (Narratives) than single isolated sentences (Sentences).

572
573

574 **Discussion**

575 The aim of this study was to determine whether and how context affects semantic representations in
576 the human brain. Our results show that both evoked SNR and semantic representations are affected
577 by the amount of context in the stimulus. First, stimuli with relatively more context (Narratives,
578 Sentences) evoke brain responses with higher SNR compared to stimuli with relatively less context
579 (Semantic Blocks, Single Words) (Figure 3). Second, increasing the amount of context increases the
580 representation of semantic information across the cortical surface at the group level (Figures 4, 5).
581 However, in individual subjects, only the Narratives condition consistently increased the
582 representation of semantic information compared to the Single Words condition (Figures 4, 5). Third,

583 increasing the amount of context changes the semantic tuning of semantically selective voxels across
584 the cortical surface (Figures 6, 7, 8). These results strongly imply that neuroimaging studies that use
585 isolated words or sentences do not fully map the functional brain representations that underlie natural
586 language comprehension (Figure 9). By using the voxelwise encoding modeling approach with a
587 specific semantic feature space, we demonstrate for the first time where semantic information is
588 represented when different levels of contextual information are present in the stimuli. Thus, our
589 results are much more specific to semantic representations than results in past studies.

590

591 Our observations that increasing context increases both the evoked SNR and the cortical
592 representation of semantic information at the group level are fully consistent with results from
593 previous neuroimaging studies. Several previous studies found that stimuli with more context evoke
594 larger, more widespread patterns of brain activity (Mazoyer et al. 1993; Xu et al. 2005; Jobard et al.
595 2007), that brain activity evoked for individual words is modulated by context (Just, Wang, and
596 Cherkassky 2017), and that brain activity evoked by stimuli with more context are more reliable than
597 those evoked by stimuli with less context (Lerner et al. 2011). Furthermore, previous studies that
598 used narrative stimuli (Wehbe et al. 2014; Huth et al. 2016; Pereira et al. 2018; Deniz et al. 2019; Hsu
599 et al. 2019; Popham et al. 2021) identified many more voxels involved in semantic processing than
600 studies that used isolated words or sentences (for reviews see (Jeffrey R. Binder et al. 2009; Price
601 2010, 2012).

602

603 Our results are also consistent with prior studies that have shown a broadly distributed semantic
604 network that represents the meaning of language (Huth et al. 2016; Jeffrey R. Binder et al. 2009;
605 Popham et al. 2021). One of the interesting aspects of the semantic network is that each semantic
606 concept appears to be represented in multiple distinct brain areas. One potential hypothesis is that
607 these repeated patterns actually represent different aspects of each of the semantic concepts, but
608 they appear to be the same because of current limitations in our ability to measure and model brain

609 activity. If this is true, then one might expect that selectivity in this network would increase as a
610 subject focuses on a concept for a longer period of time, or as increasing semantic context is
611 provided.

612

613 However, there are several important differences between the results we reported here and those
614 reported in previous neuroimaging studies. First, past studies that used isolated sentences found left
615 IFG involved in semantic processing (Constable et al. 2004; Rodd, Davis, and Johnsrude 2005;
616 Humphries et al. 2007). We found few semantically selective voxels scattered in left IFG in two out of
617 four subjects in the Sentences condition (Figures 4 and 5). Second, past studies that used isolated
618 words found bilateral STS, bilateral lateral sulcus, left IFG, left MTG, and left ITG involved in lexical
619 processing (Mazoyer et al. 1993; Booth et al. 2002; Xu et al. 2005; Jobard et al. 2007; Lerner et al.
620 2011). In contrast, we did not find any semantically selective voxels in the Single Words condition
621 (Figures 4 and 5). Finally, one previous study looked at brain activity evoked by a stimulus
622 conceptually similar to Semantic Blocks (Mollica et al. 2020). In the study, Mollica et al. (2020) used
623 sentences that were scrambled such that nearby words could be combined into meaningful phrases.
624 They found that the brain activity evoked by scrambled sentences was similar to the brain activity
625 evoked by unscrambled sentences in left IFG, left middle frontal gyrus, left temporal lobe, and left
626 angular gyrus. In contrast, we found voxels that were semantically selective in both the Semantic
627 Blocks and Sentences conditions in left STS (Figures 4 and 5). We only found a few scattered voxels
628 in IFG that were semantically selective in both of these conditions, and this result was not consistent
629 across subjects (Figures 4-2 and 5). However, we also found that voxels in IFG were well predicted
630 when the semantic model estimated in the Sentences condition was used to predict data in the
631 Narratives condition (Figure 9 and Extended Data Figure 9-1). These two results suggest that IFG
632 was involved in semantic processing when subjects read sentences (e.g. Sentences and Narratives
633 conditions) and not when subjects read words that were semantically in context but were shown in no
634 particular word order to the subjects (e.g. in the Semantic Blocks condition).

635

636 The inconsistencies between this study and past studies most likely stem from five major
637 methodological differences between this study and those earlier studies. First, we avoided smoothing
638 our data before performing analyses. We performed our analyses for each subject in their native brain
639 space, and we did not perform any spatial smoothing across voxels. In contrast, most previous
640 studies performed normalization procedures to transform their data into a standard brain space and
641 applied a spatial smoothing operation across voxels (Lindquist 2008; Carp 2012). Spatial smoothing
642 and normalization procedures can incorrectly assign signal to voxels and average away meaningful
643 signal and individual variability in language processing (Steinmetz and Seitz 1991; Fedorenko and
644 Kanwisher 2009; Fedorenko, Duncan, and Kanwisher 2012; Huth et al. 2016; Deniz et al. 2019).
645 Thus, brain regions identified by past studies may be more relevant at the group level than in
646 individual subjects. These smoothing procedures likely contribute to the inconsistencies observed
647 between past studies and this study.

648

649 Second, we used an explicit computational model to identify semantically selective voxels. In
650 contrast, most previous studies identified semantic brain regions by contrasting different experimental
651 conditions (Jeffrey R. Binder et al. 2008, 2009; Price 2012). Although past studies designed their
652 experimental conditions to isolate brain activity involved in semantic processing (Jeffrey R. Binder et
653 al. 2008, 2009), there could be unexpected differences unrelated to semantic processing between the
654 conditions. For example, experiments that contrast a semantic task with a phonological task (Jeffrey
655 R. Binder et al. 2008, 2009) may have task difficulty as a confound. As a result, it is possible that
656 some semantic brain areas identified by past studies are actually involved in processing the
657 unexpected differences rather than semantics. We would likely not have identified such brain areas in
658 this study, since our semantic model only contains information about semantics.

659

660 Third, we evaluated semantic model prediction accuracy on a separate, held-out validation dataset. In

661 contrast, most previous studies drew inferences from analyses performed on only one dataset without
662 a validation dataset (Jeffrey R. Binder et al. 2009). Performing analyses on only one dataset can lead
663 to inflated results that are overfit to the dataset (Soch, Haynes, and Allefeld 2016). Thus, some
664 semantic brain areas identified by past studies may only be relevant for the specific stimuli,
665 experimental design, or data used in those studies. Such study-specific brain areas would not
666 generalize to other studies, such as this study.

667

668 Fourth, we collected a relatively large amount of fMRI data per subject from four subjects. In contrast,
669 most previous studies collected a small amount of fMRI data per subject from many (15-30) subjects.
670 Because fMRI data is noisy, most previous studies either averaged their data across subjects and/or
671 smoothed their data to observe the effects of interest. However, as discussed earlier, smoothing and
672 averaging fMRI data can lead to incomplete conclusions about language processing in the brain
673 (Steinmetz and Seitz, 1991; Fedorenko and Kanwisher, 2009; Fedorenko et al., 2012; Huth et al.,
674 2016; Deniz et al., 2019). In this study, we avoided averaging across subjects and smoothing
675 procedures by collecting a relatively large amount of data per subject. Moreover, each subject
676 provided a complete replication of all analyses because each subject had their own model fitting and
677 validation data. Thus, even though there are fewer subjects in this study than in previous studies, it is
678 likely that our findings will generalize to new subjects.

679

680 Finally, subjects in our study passively read the stimulus words, which allowed us to directly compare
681 the Narratives condition with the other three conditions. In contrast, many past studies of semantic
682 processing used active tasks involving lexical decisions (J. R. Binder et al. 2003), matching
683 (Vandenberghe et al. 1996), or monitoring (Démonet et al. 1992). Active tasks are thought to increase
684 subject engagement, which can increase evoked BOLD SNR. Thus, if we had used an active task,
685 the effect of context on evoked SNR might have been even larger than the differences that we report
686 here. In addition, different active tasks can affect semantic processing differently in the brain (Toneva

687 et al. 2020). Therefore, task effects likely contributed to the inconsistencies observed between past
688 studies and this study.

689

690 To our knowledge, no previous language neuroimaging studies have looked at whether stimulus
691 context affects semantic tuning. One interesting aspect of our results is that the semantic tuning shifts
692 are different for subjects S1 and S2. One potential explanation for the discrepancy across subjects
693 could be noise. Another possible explanation is that since both subjects saw the same stimuli in the
694 Sentences and Narratives conditions, the difference in tuning shifts could be due to individual
695 differences in attention rather than differences in the stimuli. In the absence of narrative structure
696 subjects likely attend to different parts in a sentence, whereas when there is narrative structure
697 subjects likely attend to similar semantic categories lead by the general narrative arc. This
698 explanation is consistent with a previous study from our lab showing that many voxels across cortex
699 shift their tuning towards attended semantic categories (Çukur et al. 2013). However, further research
700 needs to be conducted about context-dependent semantic tuning shifts during language
701 comprehension.

702

703 Many language neuroimaging studies use isolated sentences to localize the language network (e.g.,
704 (Fedorenko et al. 2010; Scott, Gallée, and Fedorenko 2017; Wilson et al. 2017)). These localizers
705 contrast isolated sentences with non-words (i.e., sentences > non-words) to identify regions of
706 interest (ROIs) in the brain involved in language processing. The identified ROIs often include left
707 IFG, left middle frontal gyrus, left temporal lobe, left angular gyrus, and right temporal lobe.
708 Consistent with these localizers, many voxels in the listed ROIs have high EV in the Sentences
709 condition. In fact, the raw EV value in the Sentences condition is higher than the raw EV value in the
710 Narratives condition in many voxels, suggesting that the Sentences condition engages the language
711 network more than the Narratives condition. More predictable stimuli could lead to less activation the
712 second time the subject reads the stimuli that would lead to lower EV. In addition, we find fewer

713 semantically selective voxels in the Sentences condition than in the Narratives condition in all
714 subjects (Figure 4 and Figure 5). Instead, we find that out of the five feature spaces we used in this
715 study, the “number of letters” feature space has the highest prediction accuracy in the Sentences
716 condition in all subjects. This suggests that a substantial portion of brain activations evoked by
717 isolated sentences reflects the effect of low level features. However, the variance in the Sentences
718 condition could also be explained by a different feature space that we did not include in our analyses
719 for this paper.

720

721 Our study used a semantic model to determine whether and how semantic representations change
722 across the four conditions. Although our semantic model is able to capture the semantic properties of
723 individual words, it nonetheless has some limitations. First, because this model likely captures some
724 narrative information that is correlated with word-level semantic information, some of the brain activity
725 predicted by our semantic model may therefore reflect higher-level linguistic or domain-general
726 representations (Fedorenko, Duncan, and Kanwisher 2012; Blank and Fedorenko 2017). Second, our
727 semantic model has one static embedding for each word, and it does not differentiate between
728 different word senses or different contexts in which a word may appear. Therefore, our semantic
729 model may not predict voxel activity as well as other models that integrate contextual semantic
730 information differently (Toneva and Wehbe 2019; Jain and Huth 2018; Heilbron et al. 2022; Schmitt et
731 al. 2021; Goldstein et al. 2022; Schrimpf et al. 2021), specifically in the Sentences and Narratives
732 conditions. The voxelwise modeling framework provides a straightforward method for evaluating
733 alternative semantic models directly by construction of appropriate feature spaces. Therefore, a
734 valuable direction for future research would be to examine other semantic models, and to include
735 language models that explicitly account for factors such as contextual information, narrative structure,
736 metaphor, and humor.

737

738 In conclusion, our results show that increasing the amount of stimulus context increases the SNR of

739 evoked brain responses, increases the representation of semantic information in the brain, and
740 affects the semantic tuning of semantically selective voxels. These results imply that neuroimaging
741 studies that use isolated words or sentences to study semantic processing or to localize the language
742 network (Fedorenko et al. 2010) may provide a misleading picture of semantic language
743 comprehension in daily life. Although natural language stimuli are much more complex than isolated
744 words and sentences, the development and validation of the voxelwise encoding model framework for
745 language processing (Huth et al. 2016; de Heer et al. 2017; Deniz et al. 2019; Popham et al. 2021)
746 has made it possible to rigorously test hypotheses about semantic processing with natural language
747 stimuli. To ensure that the results of neuroimaging study generalize to natural language processing,
748 we suggest that future studies of semantic processing should use more naturalistic stimuli.

749

750

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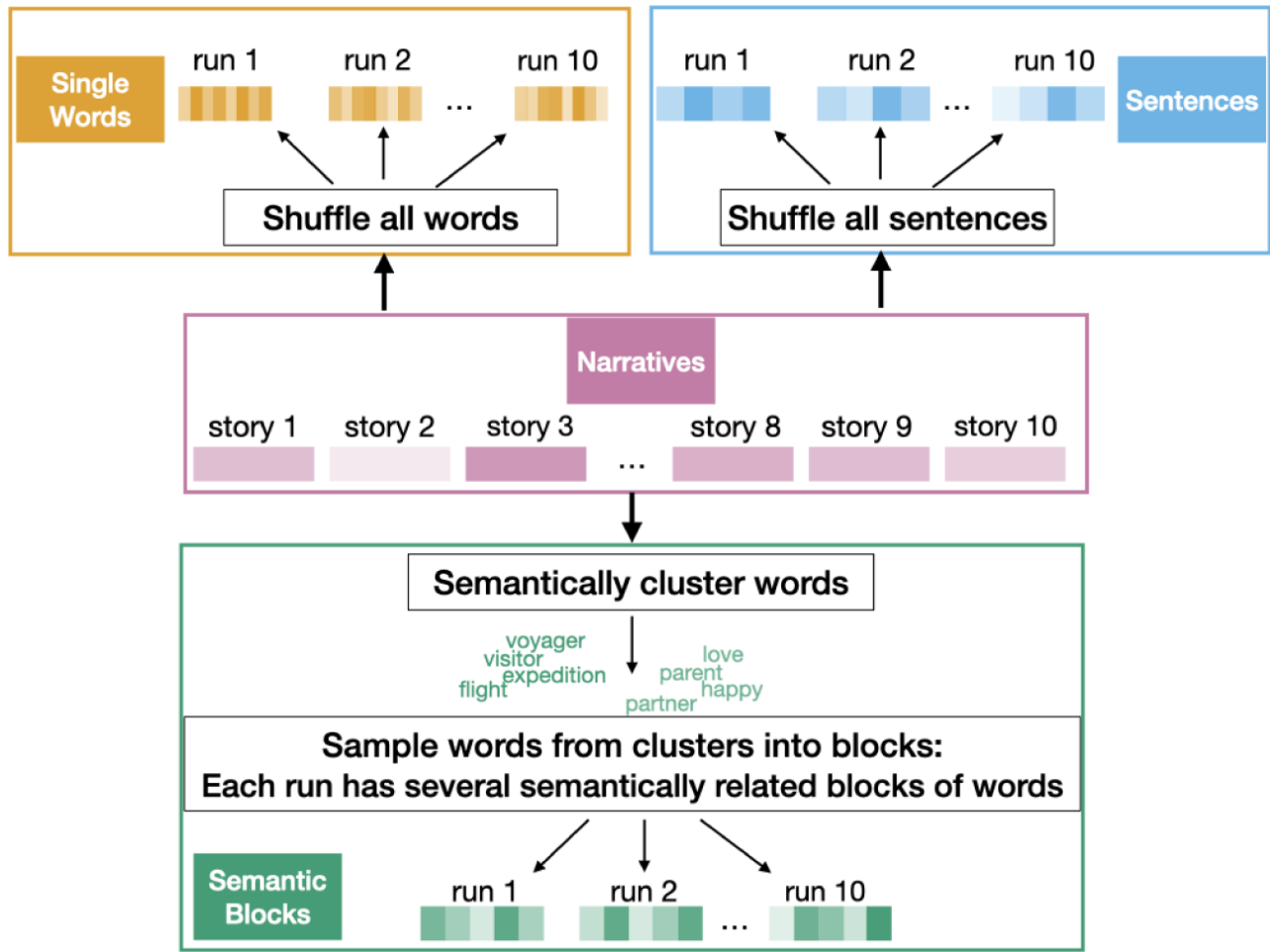
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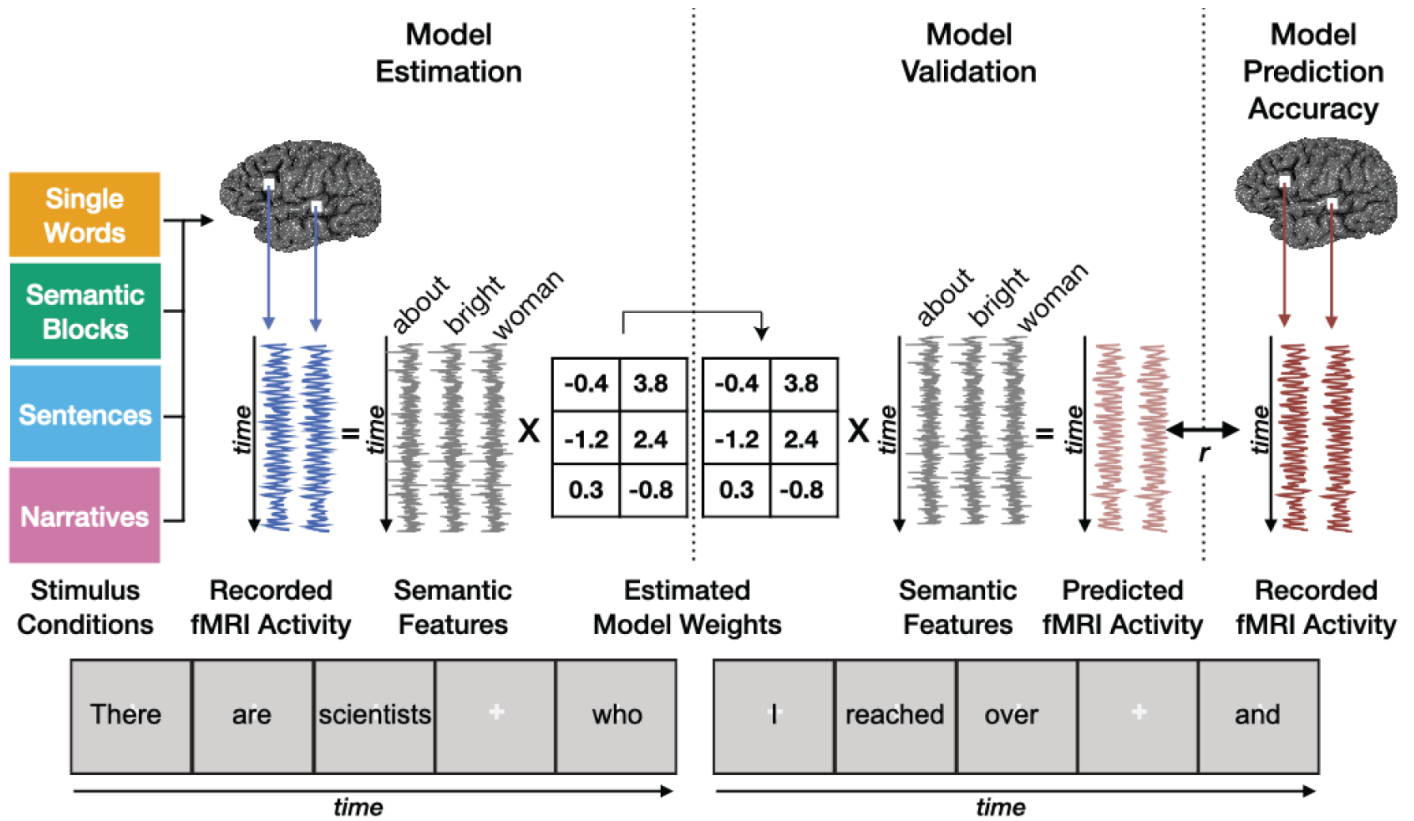
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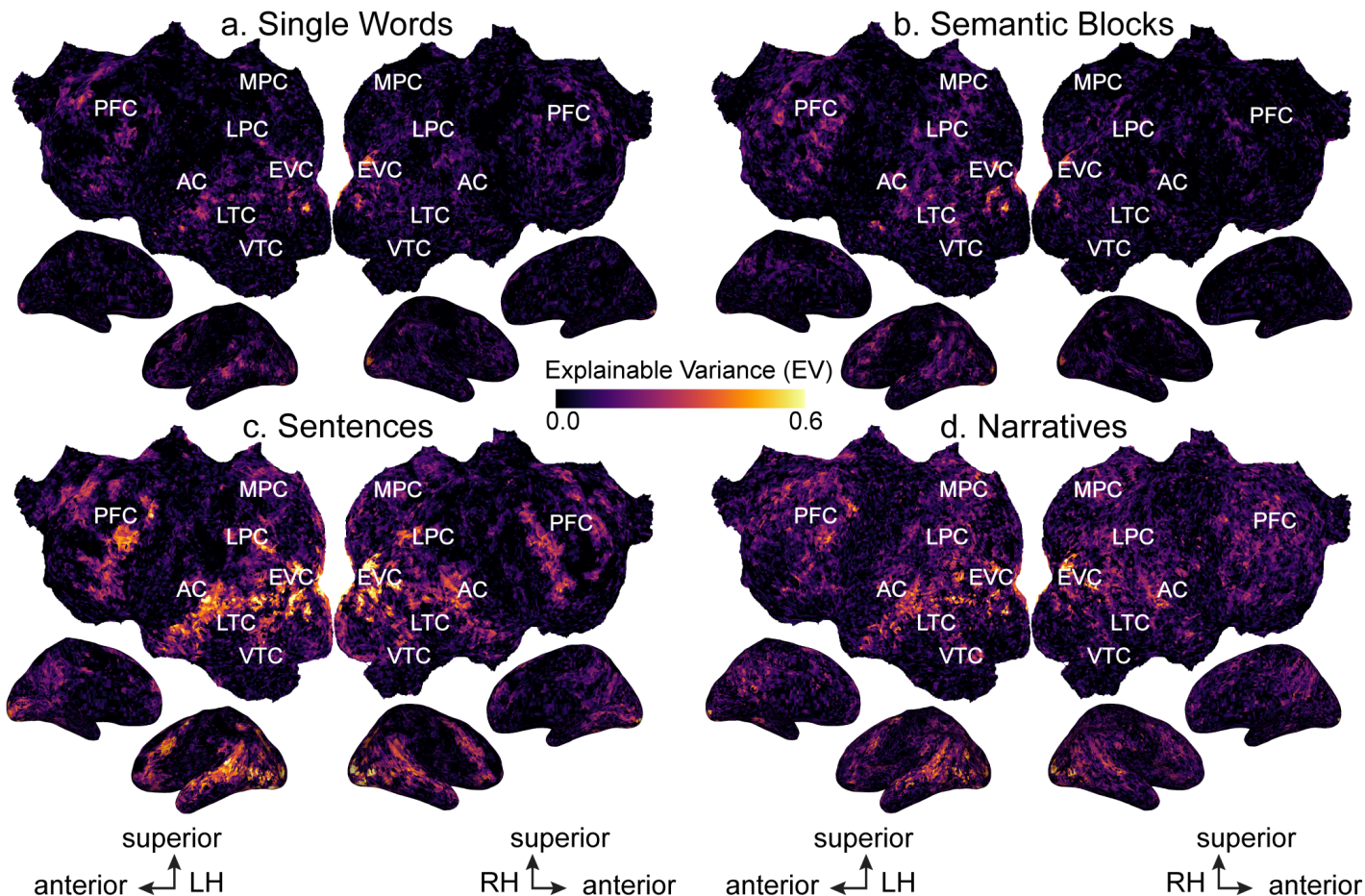
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961 **Figure 1: Stimulus conditions.** The experiment contained four stimulus conditions that were based
962 on the ten narratives used in Huth et al. (2016). The Single Words condition consisted of words
963 sampled randomly from the ten narratives. The Semantic Blocks condition consisted of blocks of
964 words sampled from clusters of semantically similar words from the ten narratives. There were 12
965 distinct clusters of semantically similar words, and blocks of words were created by randomly
966 sampling 114 words from one word cluster for each block. The Sentences condition consisted of
967 sentences sampled randomly from the ten narratives. Finally, the Narratives condition consisted of
968 the ten original narratives.



970 **Figure 2: Voxelwise Modeling.** Four subjects read words from the four stimulus conditions while
 971 BOLD responses were recorded. Each stimulus word was projected into a 985-dimensional word
 972 embedding space that was independently constructed using word co-occurrence statistics from a
 973 large corpus (Semantic Features). A finite impulse response (FIR) regularized regression model was
 974 estimated separately for each voxel in every subject and condition using banded ridge regression
 975 (Nunez-Elizalde et al. 2019). The estimated model weights were then used to predict BOLD
 976 responses to a separate, held-out validation stimulus. Model prediction accuracy was quantified as
 977 the correlation (r) between the predicted and recorded BOLD responses to the validation stimulus.



979 **Figure 3. Explainable variance (EV) for the four conditions across the cortical surface.** EV for
 980 the four conditions is shown for one subject (S1) on the subject's flattened cortical surface. EV was
 981 computed as an estimate of the evoked signal-to-noise ratio (SNR). Here EV is given by the color
 982 scale shown in the middle, and voxels that have high EV (i.e., high evoked SNR) appear yellow. (LH:
 983 Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral
 984 temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal
 985 cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) The format is the same in all panels. **a.** EV was computed for the
 986 Single Words condition and is shown on the flattened cortical surface of subject S1. Scattered voxels
 987 in bilateral primary visual cortex, superior temporal sulcus (STS), and inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) have
 988 high EV. **b.** EV was computed for the Semantic Blocks condition. Similar to the Single Words
 989 condition, scattered voxels in bilateral primary visual cortex, STS, and IFG have high EV. **c.** EV was
 990 computed for the Sentences condition. Many voxels in bilateral visual, parietal, temporal, and
 991 prefrontal cortices have high EV. **d.** EV was computed for the Narratives condition. Similar to the
 992 Sentences condition, voxels in bilateral visual, parietal, temporal, and prefrontal cortices have high
 993 EV. Together, these results show that increasing context increases evoked SNR in bilateral visual,
 994 temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortices. (See Extended Data Figure 3-1 for significant EV voxels for
 995 subject S1 and Extended Data Figure 3-2 for EV for all subjects.)

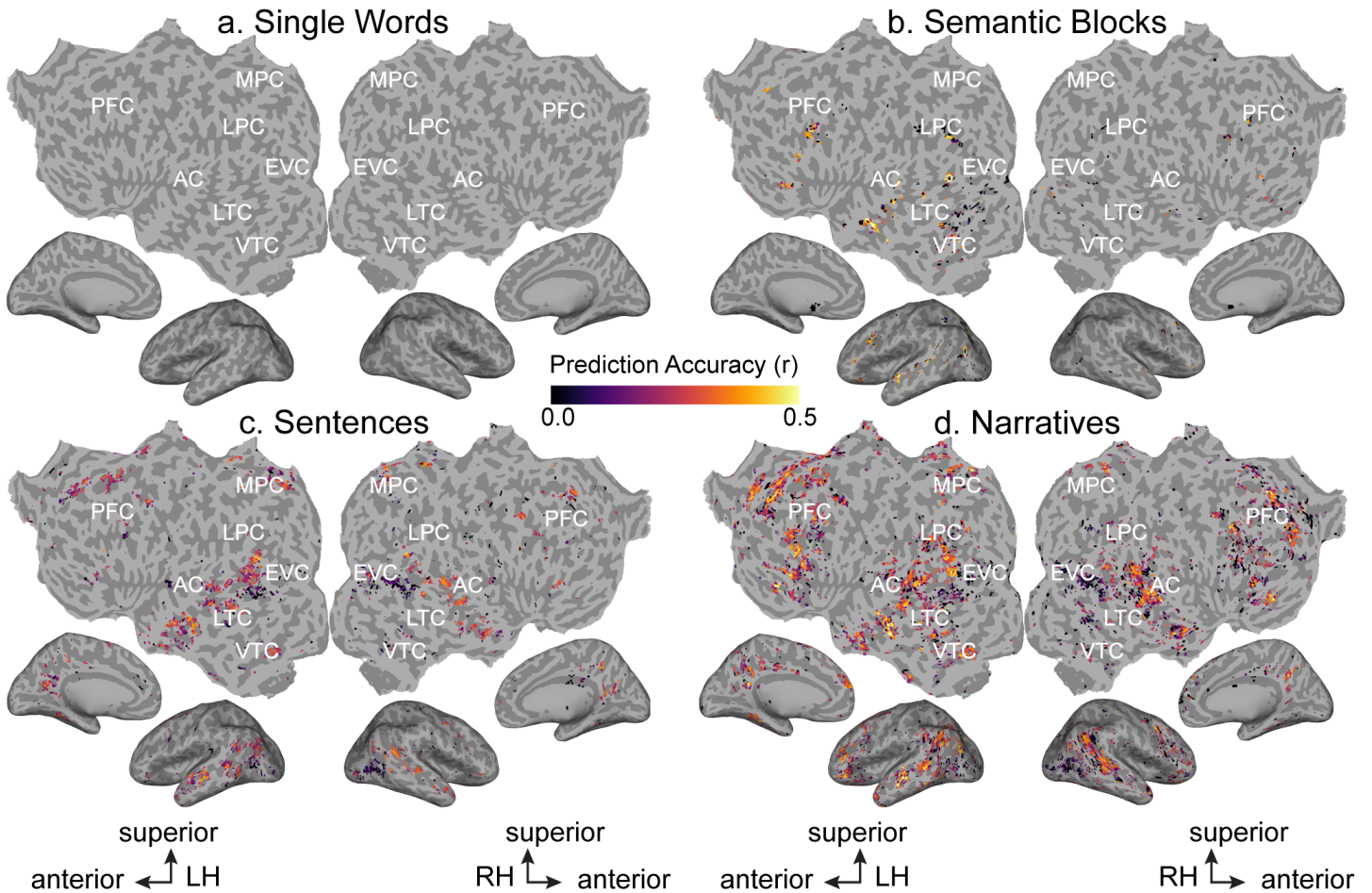
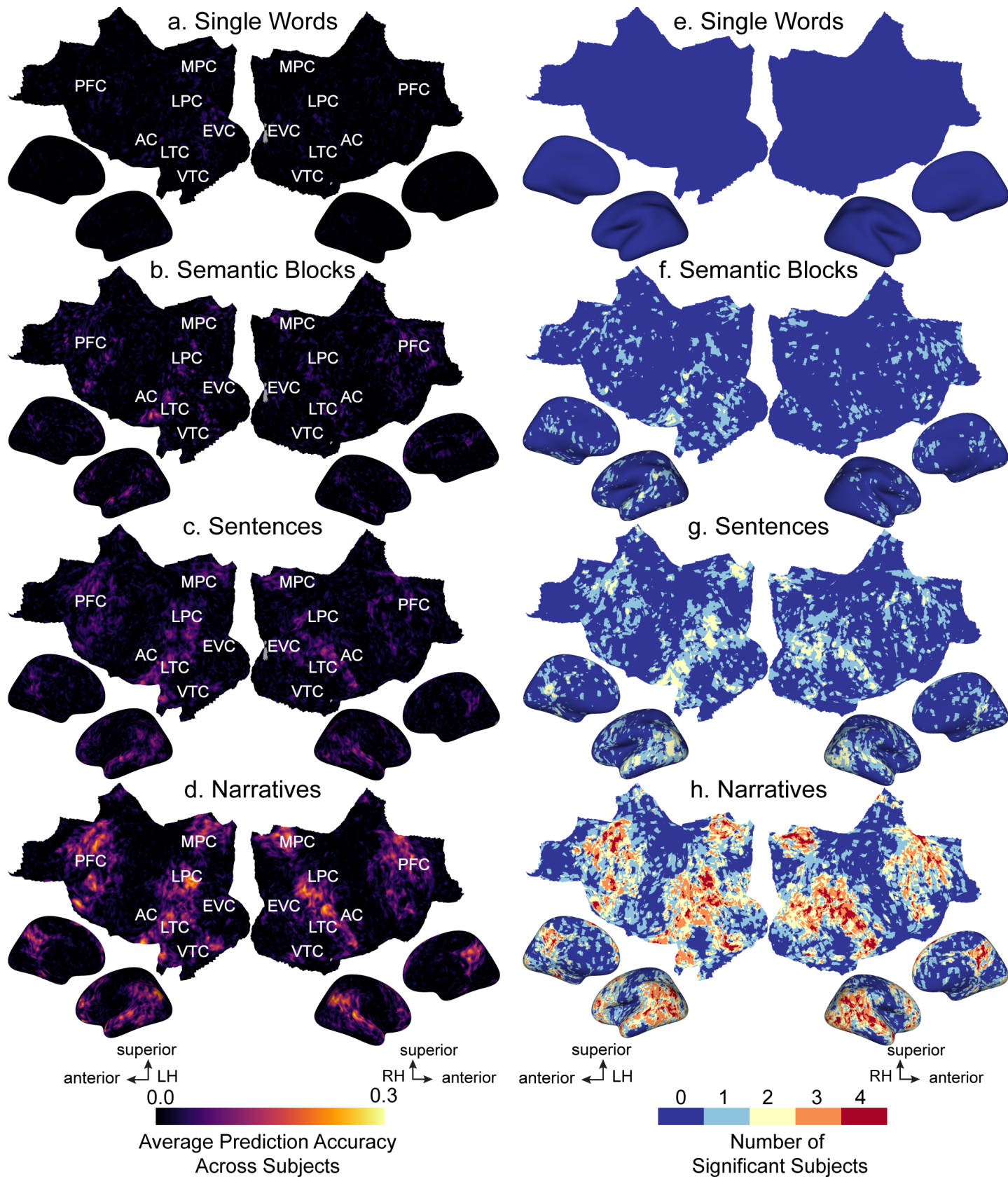


Figure 4. Semantic model prediction accuracy for the four conditions across the cortical surface. Semantic model prediction accuracy in the four conditions is shown on the flattened cortical surface of one subject (S1; see Extended Data Figure 4-1 and 4-2 for all subjects). Voxelwise modeling was first used to estimate semantic model weights in the four conditions. Semantic model prediction accuracy was then computed as the correlation (r) between the subject's recorded BOLD activity to the held-out validation stimulus and the BOLD activity predicted by the semantic model. In each panel, only voxels with significant semantic model prediction accuracy ($p < 0.05$, FDR corrected) are shown. Prediction accuracy is given by the color scale in the middle, and voxels that have a high prediction accuracy appear yellow. Voxels for which the semantic model prediction accuracy is not statistically significant are shown in gray. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) **a.** Semantic model prediction accuracy was computed for the Single Words condition. No voxels are significantly predicted in the Single Words condition (see Extended Data Figure 4-3 for the number of semantically selective voxels for the four conditions for all subjects). **b.** Semantic model prediction accuracy was computed for the Semantic Blocks condition. The format is the same as panel **a.** Voxels in left STS and IFG are significantly predicted. **c.** Semantic model prediction accuracy was computed for the Sentences condition. The format is the same as panel **a.** Voxels in left angular gyrus, left STG, bilateral STS, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral ventral premotor speech area (sPMv), bilateral superior frontal sulcus (SFS), and left superior frontal gyrus (SFG) are significantly predicted. **d.** Semantic model prediction accuracy was computed for the Narratives condition. The format is the same as panel **a.** Voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, bilateral STG, bilateral temporal

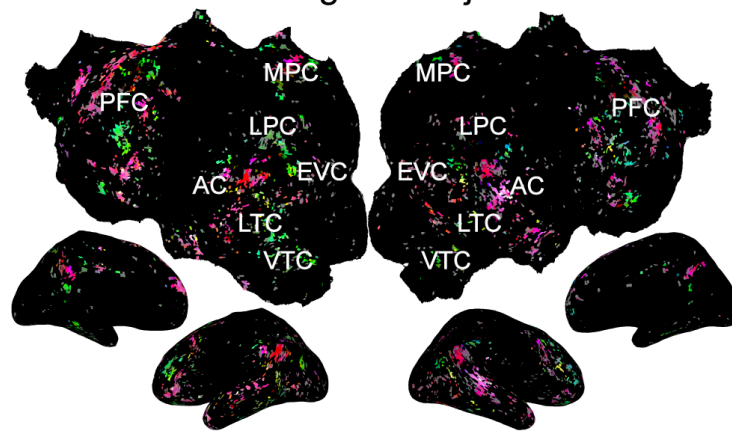
1019 parietal junction (TPJ), bilateral sPMv, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFS, bilateral SFG,
1020 bilateral IFG, left inferior parietal lobule (IPL), and left posterior cingulate gyrus are significantly
1021 predicted. Together, these results suggest that increasing context increases the representation of
1022 semantic information in bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortices.



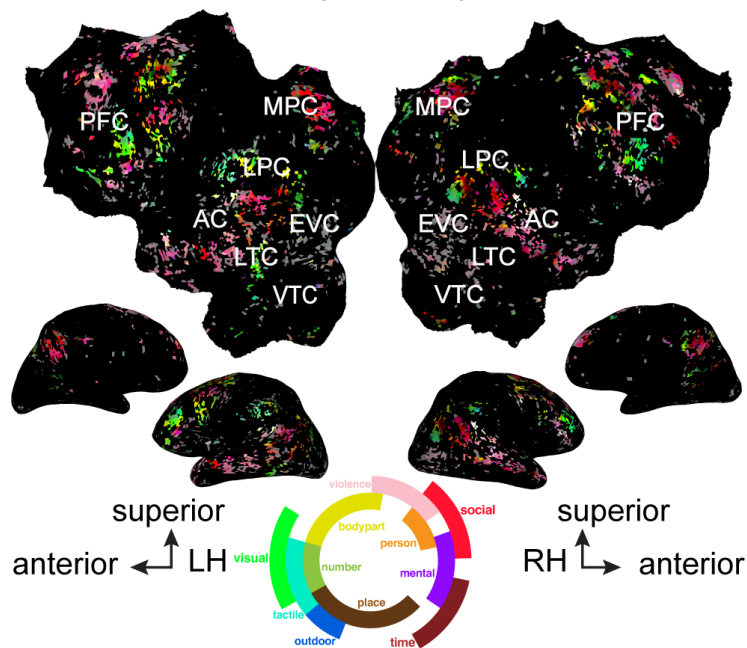
1024 **Figure 5. Semantic model prediction accuracy across all subjects for the four conditions in**
 1025 **standard brain space.** Semantic model prediction accuracy was first computed for each subject and
 1026 for each condition as described in **Figure 4**. These individualized predictions were then projected into
 1027 the standard MNI brain space. **a.-d.** Average prediction accuracy across the four subjects is

1028 computed for each MNI voxel and shown for each condition on the cortical surface of the MNI brain.
1029 Average prediction accuracy is given by the color scale, and voxels with higher prediction accuracy
1030 appear brighter. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual
1031 cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC:
1032 medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) **a.** In the Single Words condition, average prediction
1033 accuracy is low across the cortical surface. **b.** In the Semantic Blocks condition, average prediction
1034 accuracy is high in voxels in left anterior STS. **c.** In the Sentences condition, average prediction
1035 accuracy is high in bilateral STS, STG, anterior temporal lobe, angular gyrus, ventral precuneus,
1036 SFS, and SFG. **d.** In the Narratives condition, average prediction accuracy is very high in bilateral
1037 STS, STG, MTG, anterior temporal lobe, angular gyrus, IPL, ventral precuneus, posterior cingulate
1038 gyrus, Broca's area, IFG, SFS, SFG, and left posterior inferior temporal sulcus. **e.-h.** For each
1039 condition, statistical significance of prediction accuracies was determined in each subject's native
1040 brain space and then projected into the MNI brain space. The number of subjects with significant
1041 prediction accuracy is shown for each voxel on the cortical surface of the MNI brain. The number of
1042 significant subjects is given by the color scale shown at bottom. Dark red voxels are significantly
1043 predicted in all subjects, and dark blue voxels are not significantly predicted in any subjects. **e.** In the
1044 Single Words condition, no voxels are semantically selective for any subjects. **f.** In the Semantic
1045 Blocks condition, scattered voxels in left STS are semantically selective in two out of four subjects. **g.**
1046 In the Sentences condition, voxels in the bilateral STS, STG, angular gyrus, ventral precuneus, and
1047 SFS are semantically selective in two out of four subjects. **h.** In the Narratives condition, voxels in
1048 bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, anterior temporal lobe, SFS, SFG, IFG, ventral precuneus,
1049 posterior cingulate gyrus, and right STG are semantically selective in all four subjects. The results
1050 shown here are consistent with those in **Figure 4**, and they suggest that increasing context increases
1051 the representation of semantic information across the cortical surface at the group level but not for
1052 individual subjects.

a. Semantic tuning for subject S1

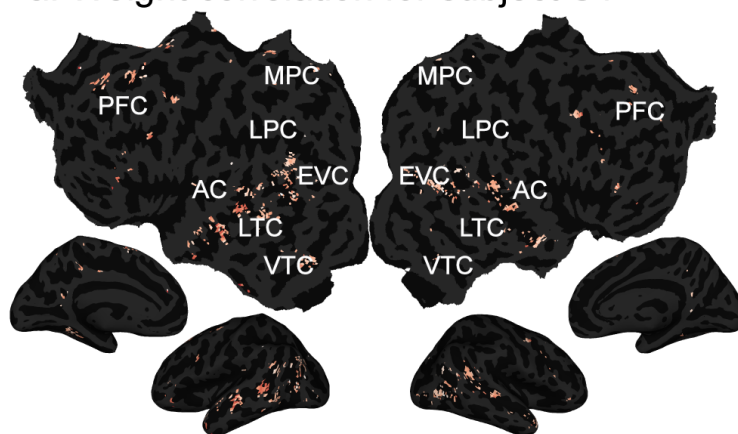


b. Semantic tuning for subject S2

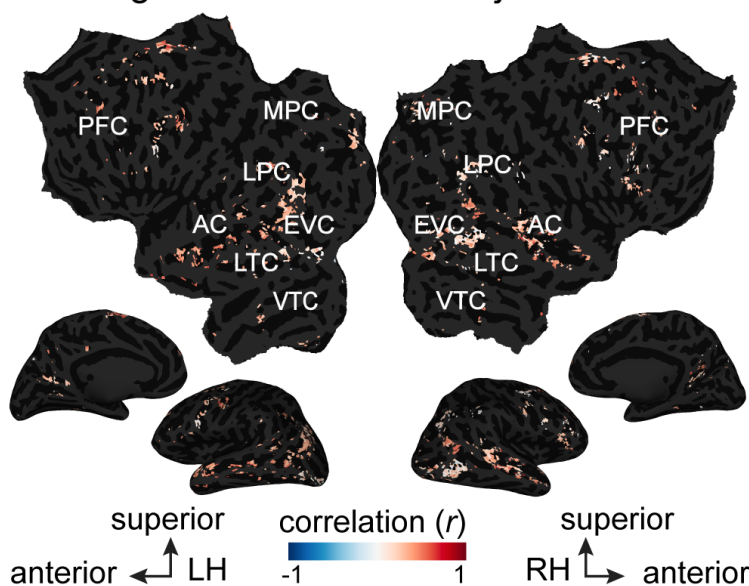


1054 **Figure 6. Semantic tuning of voxels that are semantically selective in the Narratives condition**
1055 **but not the Sentences condition.** Semantic tuning is shown on the flattened cortical surface of two
1056 subjects (S1 and S2) for voxels that are semantically selective in the Narratives condition but not in
1057 the Sentences condition. These voxels are in the bilateral superior temporal sulcus, middle temporal
1058 gyrus, precuneus, inferior frontal gyrus, and ventrolateral and dorsolateral prefrontal cortex. Semantic
1059 model weights estimated in the Narratives condition were projected into a low-dimensional subspace
1060 created by performing principal components analysis (PCA) on semantic model weights estimated in
1061 Huth et al. 2016. Each voxel is colored according to the projection of its Narratives semantic model
1062 weights onto the first (red), second (green), and third (blue) PCs. The color wheel legend shows the
1063 semantic concepts associated with different colors. Most voxels in both subjects have a high red
1064 value or a high green value. A high red value corresponds to tuning for concepts related to humans
1065 and social relationships, and a high green value corresponds to tuning for concepts related to
1066 materials and measurements. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex,
1067 EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral
1068 parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex)

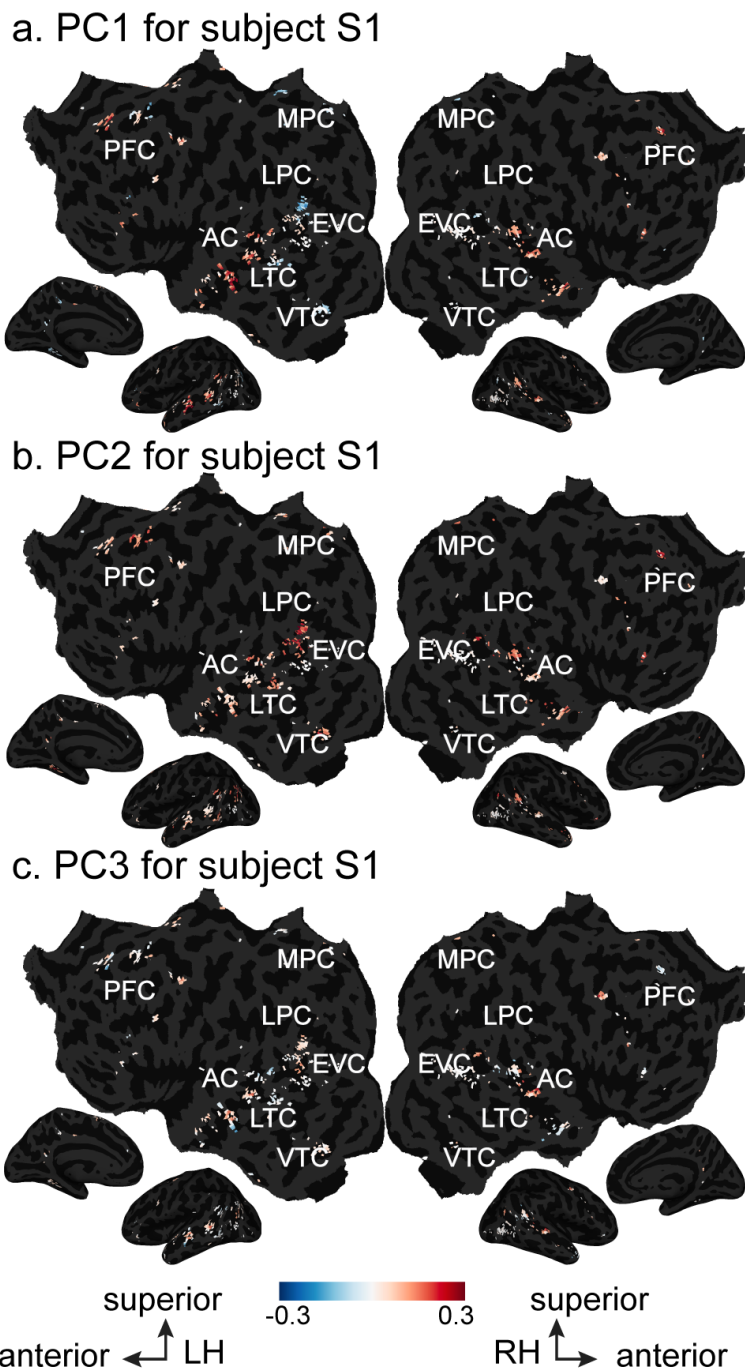
a. Weight correlation for subject S1



b. Weight correlation for subject S2



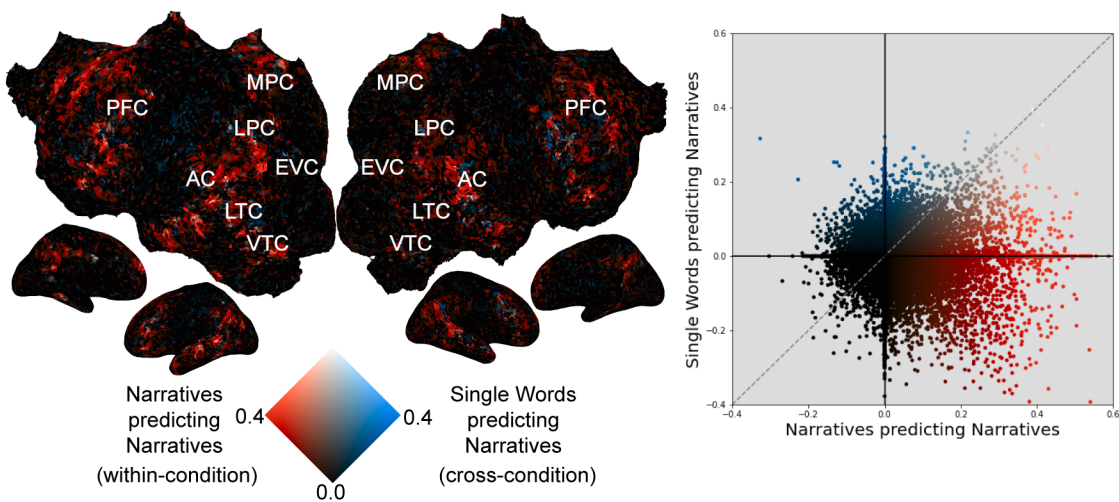
1070 **Figure 7. Correlation of semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences and Narratives**
1071 **conditions.** Pearson's correlation coefficient between semantic model weights estimated in the
1072 Sentences condition and semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives conditions is plotted on
1073 the flattened cortical surface of two subjects (S1 and S2). Only voxels that are semantically selective
1074 in both conditions are shown. These include voxels in the superior temporal sulcus and prefrontal
1075 cortex in both hemispheres and in both subjects. These voxels are on average moderately correlated
1076 between these two conditions (S1 correlation min=-0.319, max=0.817, mean=0.344; S2 correlation
1077 min=-0.271, max=0.725, mean=0.316), indicating that the semantic model weights estimated in the
1078 Sentences and Narratives conditions point in different directions in the semantic space. This shows
1079 that semantic tuning changes between the Sentences and Narratives conditions. (LH: Left
1080 Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral
1081 temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal
1082 cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex)



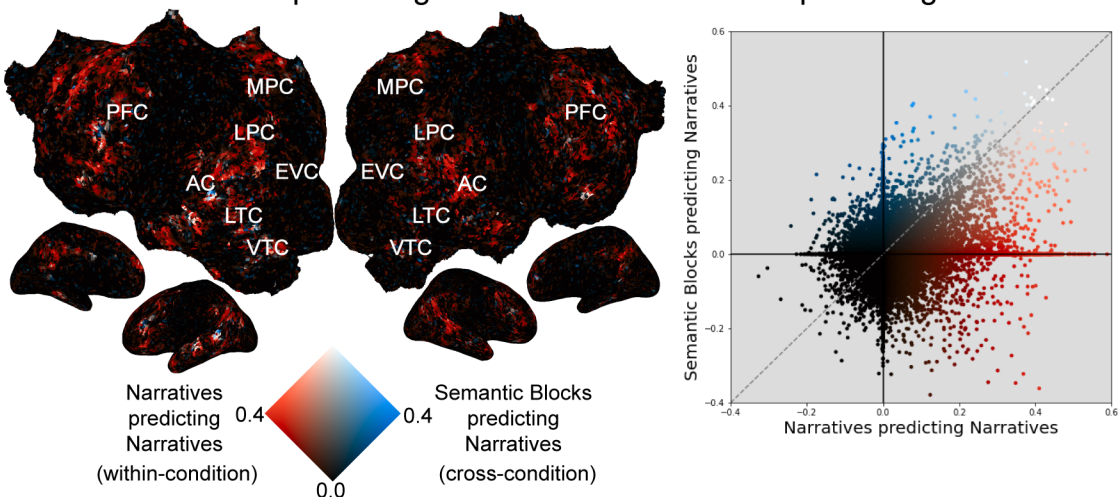
1084 **Figure 8. Semantic tuning shifts between the Sentences and Narratives conditions.** Semantic
1085 model weights estimated in the Sentences condition were subtracted from semantic model weights
1086 estimated in the Narratives condition. PCA was then applied to the resulting difference vectors for
1087 each subject separately. The projection of the difference vectors onto the first three PCs is shown on
1088 the flattened cortical surface of one subject (S1; see Extended Data Figure 8-2 for subject S2; see
1089 Extended Data Figure 8-1 for the amount of variance explained by each of the first five PCs for each
1090 subject). Only voxels that are semantically selective in both conditions are shown. Projection strength
1091 is given by the color scales, and the ends of the color scales are labeled with the corresponding
1092 semantic concepts for each PC. Voxels that project onto one end of a PC appear red, while voxels
1093 that project onto the opposite end of the same PC appear blue. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right
1094 Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral
1095 temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) **a.**

1096 The first PC for subject S1 is shown. Voxels in bilateral STS and bilateral SFG are red while voxels in
1097 bilateral angular gyrus are blue in both subjects. **b.** The second PC for subject S1 is shown. Voxels in
1098 bilateral angular gyrus and superior STS are red while no voxels are blue in both subjects. **c.** The
1099 third PC for subject S1 is shown. Voxels in right STS are red while no voxels are blue in both
1100 subjects. The ten most and least correlated words for each PC are shown in Extended Data Figure 8-
1101 3. These results show that semantic tuning shifts between the Sentences and Narratives conditions
1102 are spatially organized across cortex.

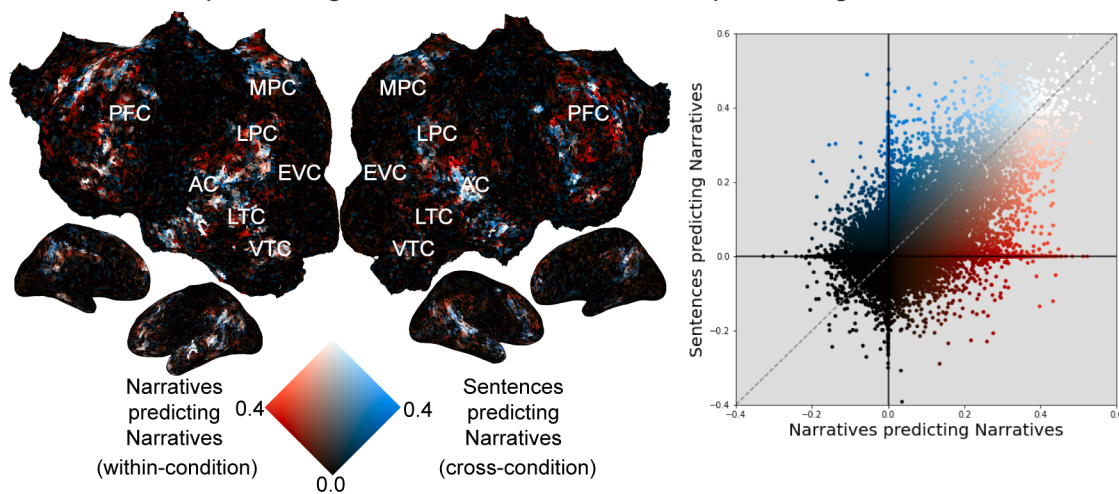
a. Single Words predicting Narratives vs. Narratives predicting Narratives



b. Semantic Blocks predicting Narratives vs. Narratives predicting Narratives



c. Sentences predicting Narratives vs. Narratives predicting Narratives



1104 **Figure 9. Generalization of semantic model weights estimated in the Single Words, Semantic**
1105 **Blocks, and Sentences conditions to the Narratives condition for subject S1. a.** Semantic model
1106 weights estimated in the Single Words condition were used to predict BOLD responses to the held-
1107 out validation stimulus in the Narratives condition. (left) The resulting cross-condition semantic model
1108 prediction accuracies are shown with the within-condition Narratives semantic model prediction
1109 accuracies on the flattened cortical surface of subject S1 with a 2D colormap (see Extended Data

1110 Figure 9-2 for subject S2). (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC:
1111 early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal
1112 cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) The axes of the colormap correspond to
1113 the cross-condition (blue) and within-condition (red) prediction accuracies. Voxels where the within-
1114 condition prediction accuracy is high and the cross-condition prediction accuracy is low appear red.
1115 Voxels where the within-condition prediction accuracy is low and the cross-condition prediction
1116 accuracy is high appear blue. Voxels where both the within-condition prediction accuracy and the
1117 cross-condition prediction accuracy are high appear white. Finally, voxels where both the within-
1118 condition prediction accuracy and the cross-condition prediction accuracy are low appear black. In
1119 this comparison, many voxels throughout bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortex are red. In
1120 addition, there are a few blue and white voxels scattered across the cortical surface. (right) Cross-
1121 condition semantic model prediction accuracy (y-axis) is plotted against within-condition Narratives
1122 semantic model prediction accuracy (x-axis) for each cortical voxel. In most voxels, the cross-
1123 condition prediction accuracy is worse than the Narratives prediction accuracy. **b.** Semantic model
1124 weights estimated in the Semantic Blocks condition were used to predict BOLD responses to the
1125 held-out validation stimulus in the Narratives condition. The format is the same as panel a. Many
1126 voxels across bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortex are red. Voxels located in the left
1127 superior temporal sulcus (STS) are white, and a few voxels scattered across the cortical surface are
1128 blue. In most voxels, the cross-condition prediction accuracy is worse than the Narratives prediction
1129 accuracy. **c.** Semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition were used to predict
1130 BOLD responses to the held-out validation stimulus in the Narratives condition. The format is the
1131 same as panel a. Voxels located in left IPL, right SFS, bilateral STG and bilateral posterior cingulate
1132 gyrus are red. Voxels located in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, portions of TPJ, in bilateral
1133 sPMv, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFG, bilateral IFG, and left SFS are white. These cross-
1134 condition prediction accuracy in these white voxels also reach statistical significance. This suggests
1135 that semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition generalize to the Narratives
1136 condition in these voxels (see Extended Data Figure 9-1 for S1 and Extended Data Figure 9-3 for
1137 S2). Scattered voxels located in bilateral precuneus, right IFG, and portions of SFS are blue. In many
1138 voxels, the cross-condition prediction accuracy is worse than the Narratives prediction accuracy.
1139 Together, these results show semantic model weights estimated in conditions with less context do not
1140 generalize well to natural stories.

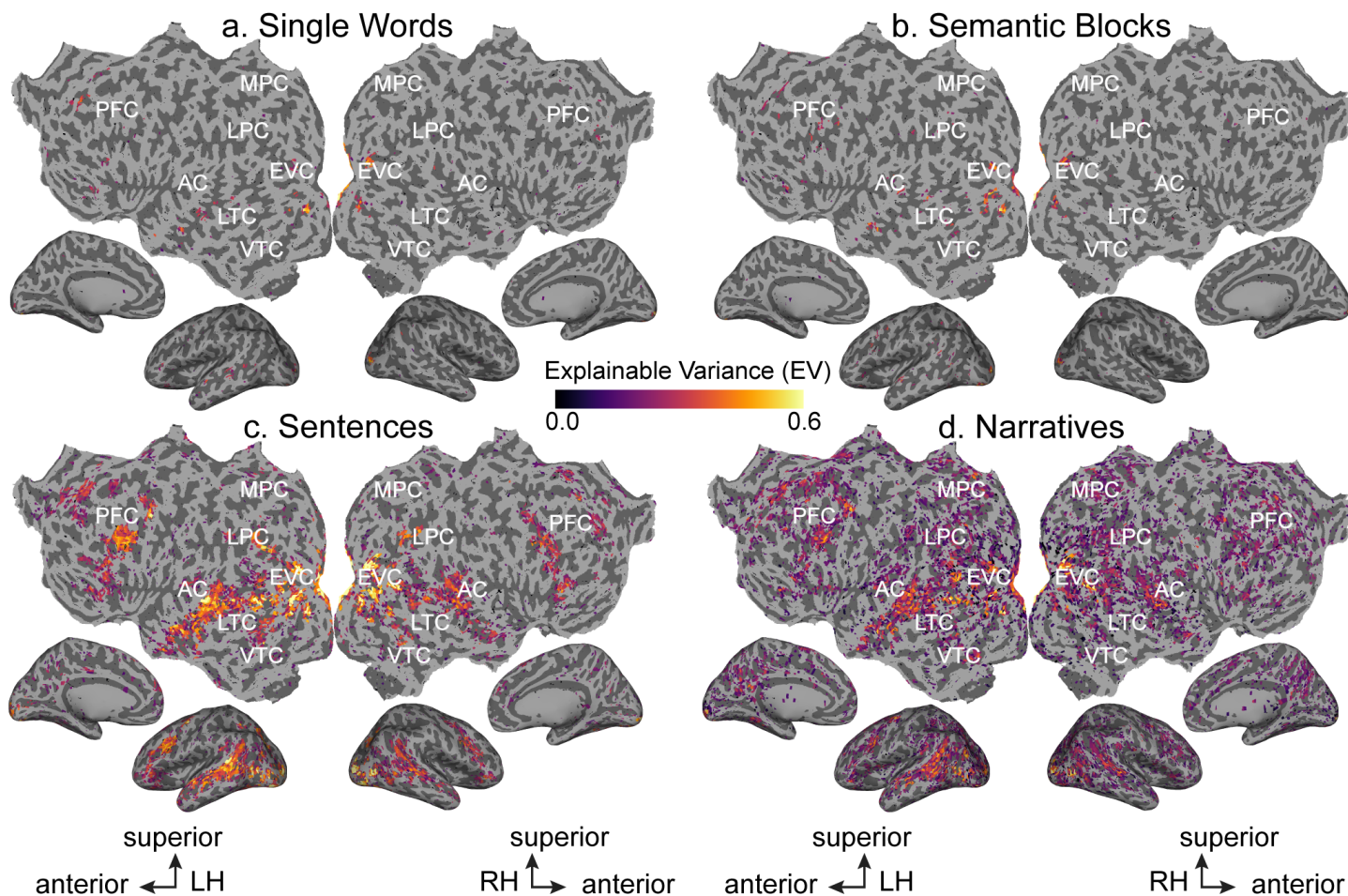
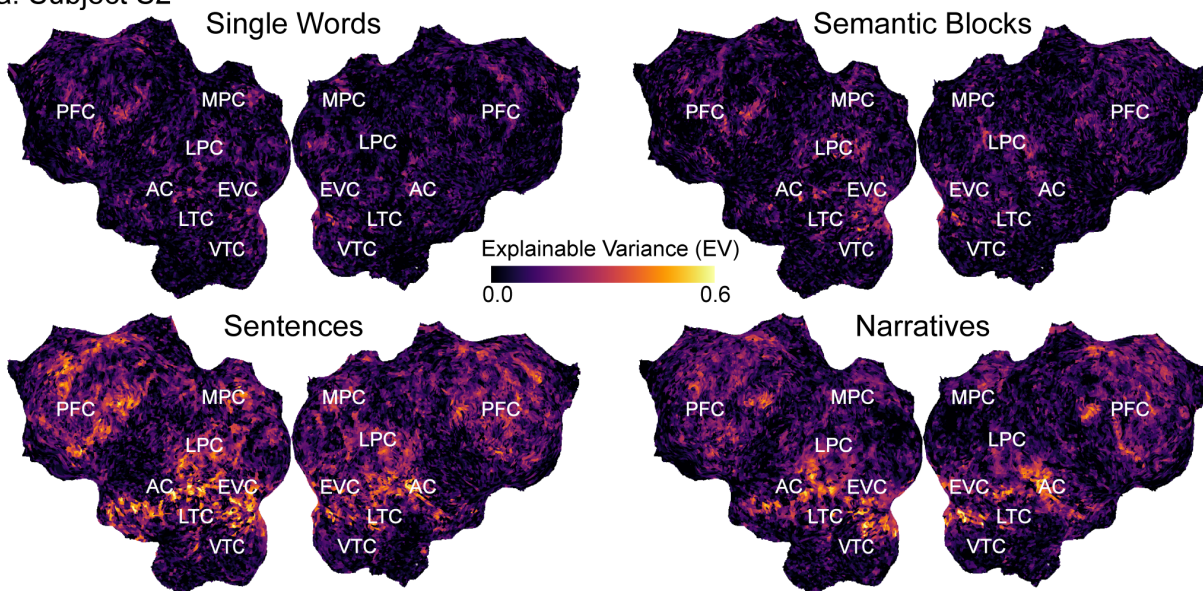


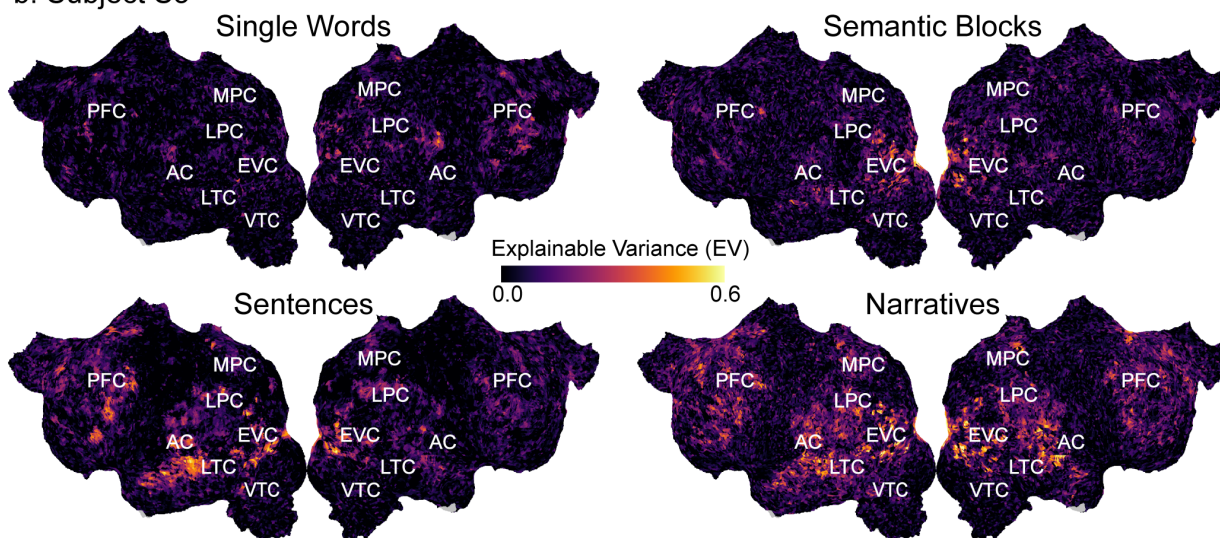
Figure 3-1. Significant explainable variance (EV) for the four conditions across the cortical surface. EV is shown for the four conditions on the flattened cortical surface of one subject (S1). EV was computed as an estimate of the evoked signal-to-noise ratio (SNR). Only voxels with significant EV ($p < 0.05$, FDR corrected) are shown. EV is given by the color scale shown in the middle, and voxels that have high EV appear yellow. Voxels with EV values that are not statistically significant are shown in gray. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) **a.** EV was computed for the Single Words condition, and significant voxels are shown on the flattened cortical surface of subject S1. Scattered voxels in bilateral primary visual cortex, left STS, and left IFG have significant EV. **b.** Same as panel **a.** but for the Semantic Blocks condition. Similar to the Single Words condition, scattered voxels in bilateral primary visual cortex, left STS, and left IFG have significant EV. **c.** Same as panel **a.** but for the Sentences condition. Many voxels in bilateral visual, parietal, temporal, and prefrontal cortices have significant EV. **d.** Same as panel **a.** but for the Narratives condition. Similar to the Sentences condition, voxels in bilateral visual, parietal, temporal, and prefrontal cortices have high EV.

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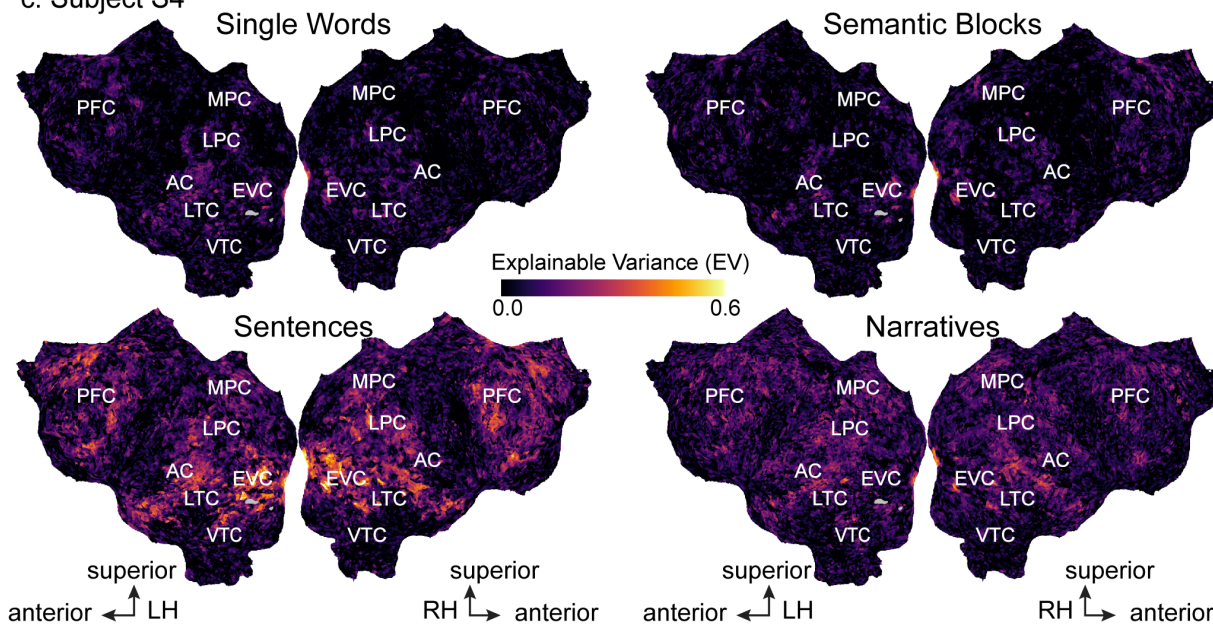
a. Subject S2



b. Subject S3



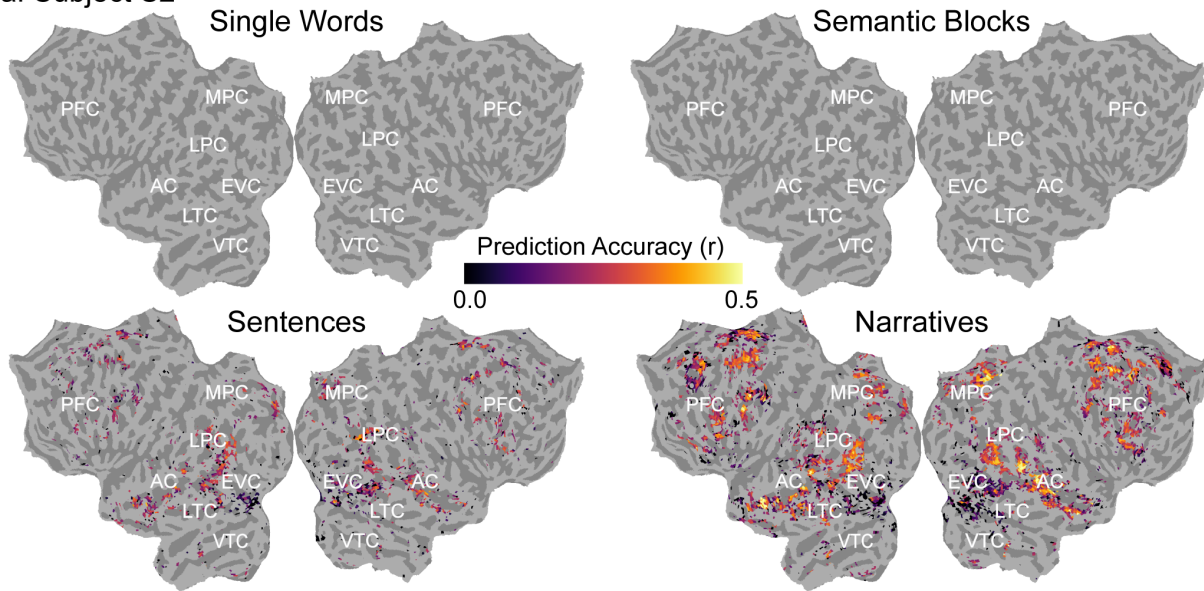
c. Subject S4



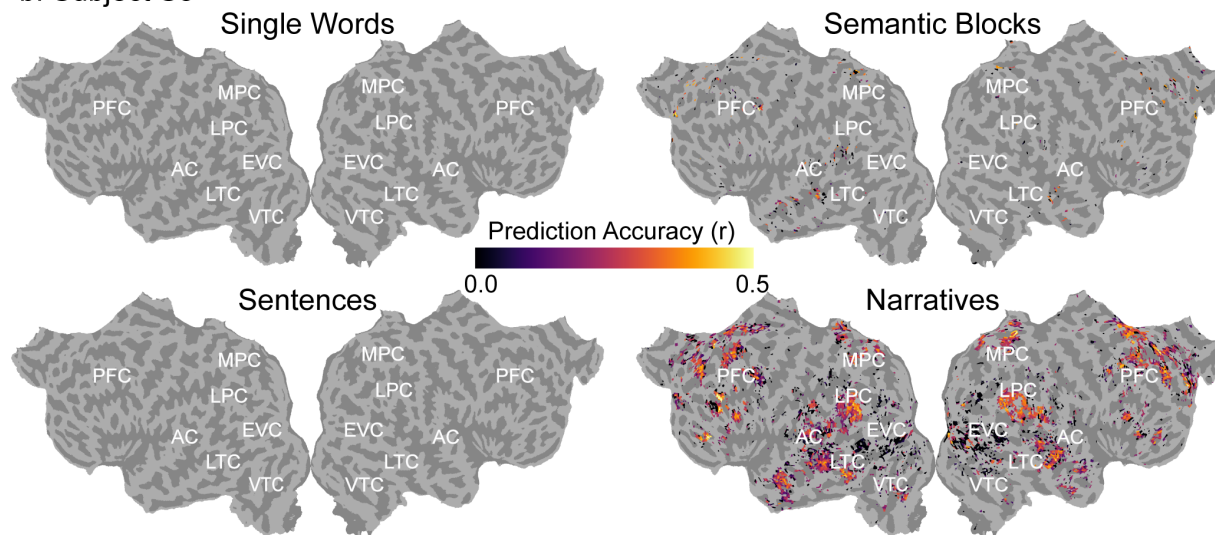
1158 **Figure 3-2. Explainable variance (EV) for the four conditions across the cortical surface for**
1159 **subjects S2, S3, and S4.** EV is shown for the four conditions on the flattened cortical surface of
1160 subjects S2, S3, and S4. The format is the same as **Figure 3**. EV was computed as an estimate of
1161 the evoked signal-to-noise ratio (SNR). EV is given by the color scale shown in the middle, and
1162 voxels that have high EV (i.e., high evoked SNR) appear yellow. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right
1163 Hemisphere) Across all subjects, EV is low across most of the cortical surface in the Single Words
1164 and Semantic Blocks conditions. In contrast, EV is high for many voxels in bilateral visual, parietal,
1165 temporal, and prefrontal cortices in the Sentences and Narratives conditions.

1166

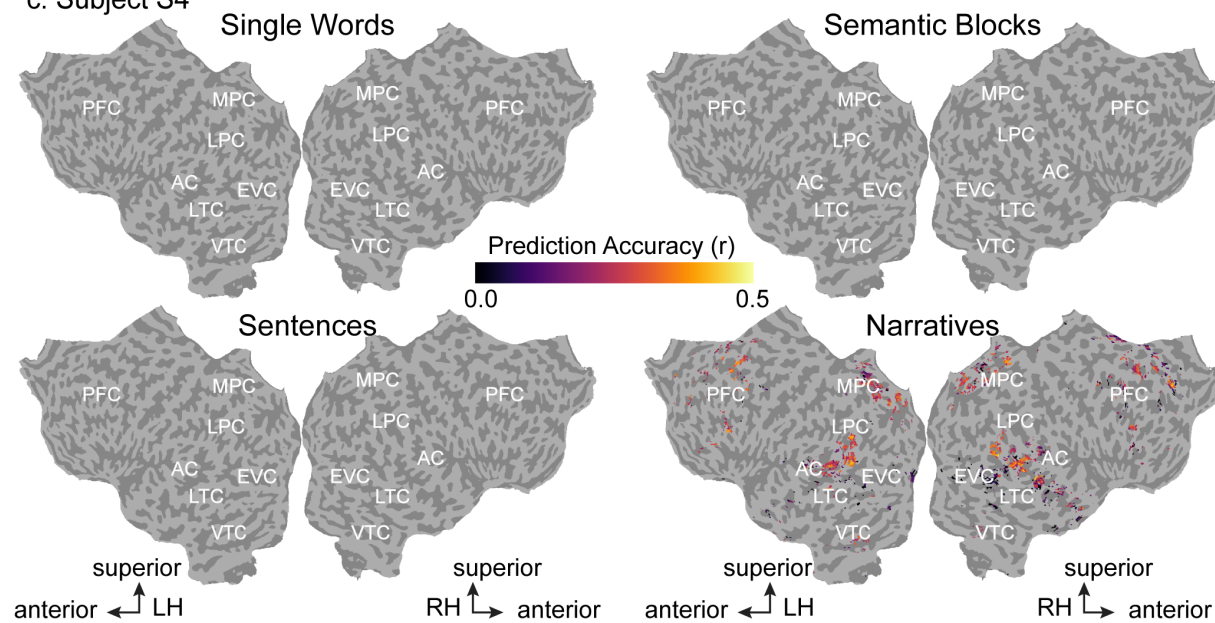
a. Subject S2



b. Subject S3

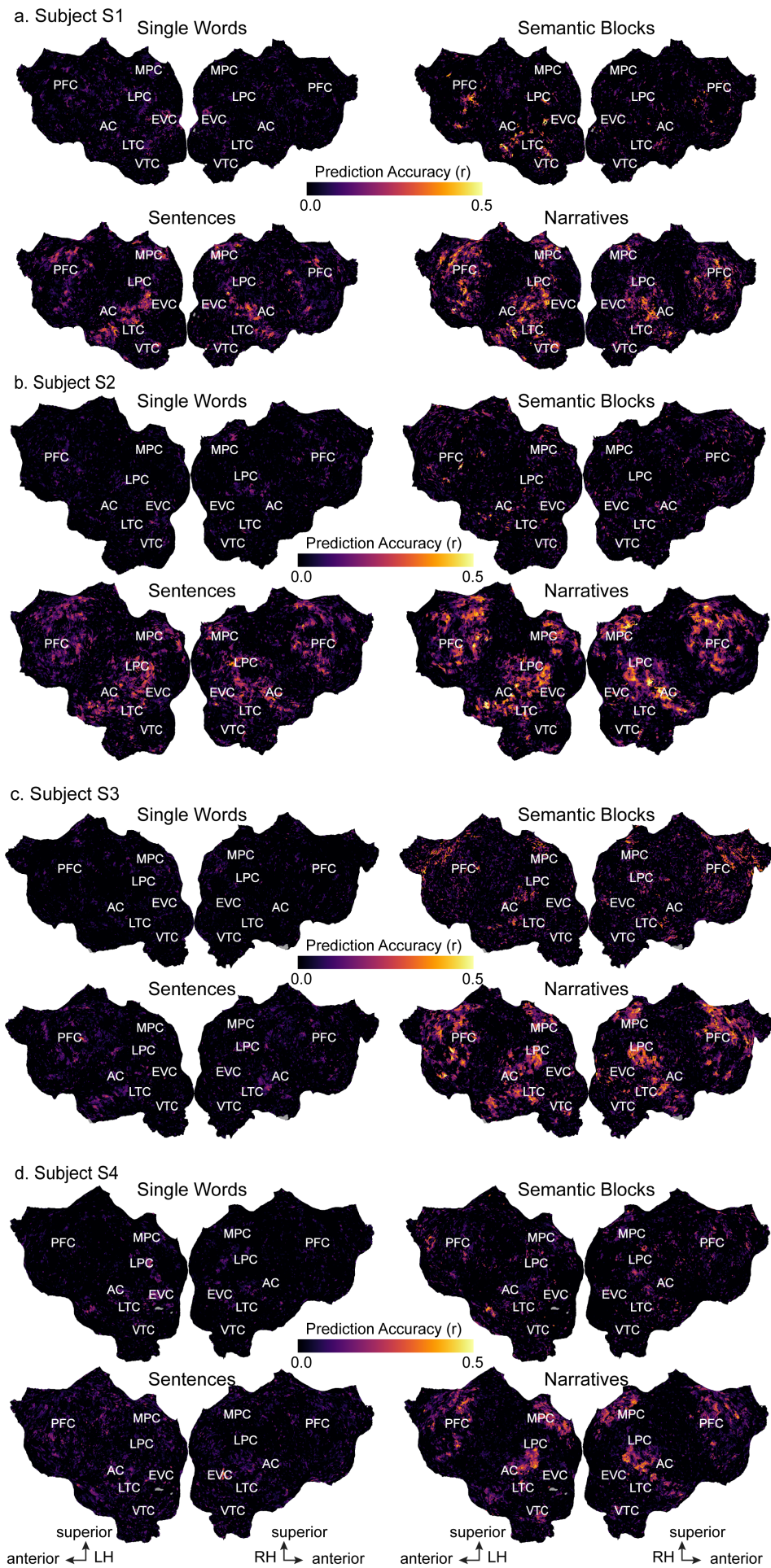


c. Subject S4



1167 **Figure 4-1. Semantic model prediction accuracy for the four conditions across the cortical**
1168 **surface for subjects S2, S3, and S4.** Semantic model prediction accuracy in the four conditions is
1169 shown on the flattened cortical surface of subjects S2, S3 and S4. The format is the same as **Figure**
1170 **4.** Voxelwise modeling was first used to estimate semantic model weights in the four conditions.
1171 Semantic model prediction accuracy was then computed as the correlation (r) between the subject's
1172 recorded BOLD activity to the held-out validation story and the BOLD activity predicted by the
1173 semantic model. In each panel, only voxels with significant semantic model prediction accuracy
1174 ($p < 0.05$, FDR corrected) are shown. Prediction accuracy is given by the color scale in the middle, and
1175 voxels that have a high prediction accuracy appear yellow. Voxels with semantic model prediction
1176 accuracies that are not statistically significant are shown in gray. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right
1177 Hemisphere) In the Single Words condition, no voxels are significantly predicted in all subjects. In the
1178 Semantic Blocks condition, scattered voxels in left STS, left angular gyrus, left sPMv, and bilateral
1179 SFS are significantly predicted in subject S3. In the Sentences condition, voxels in bilateral STS,
1180 bilateral STG, bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFS and SFG, bilateral
1181 IFG, and bilateral sPMv are significantly predicted in subject S2. In the Narratives condition, voxels in
1182 bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFS and SFG, and right STS are
1183 significantly predicted in all three subjects. In addition, bilateral STG, left STS, bilateral Broca's area
1184 and IFG, and bilateral sPMv are significantly predicted in subjects S2 and S3.

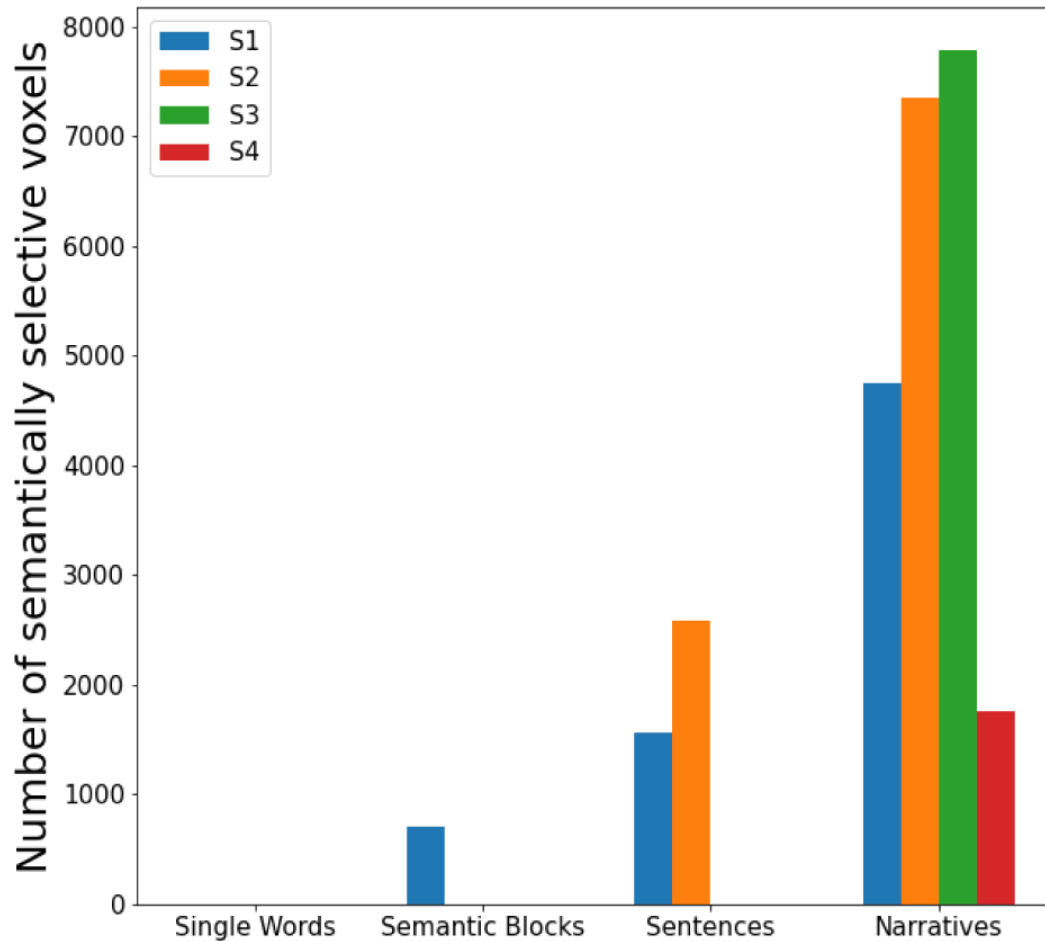
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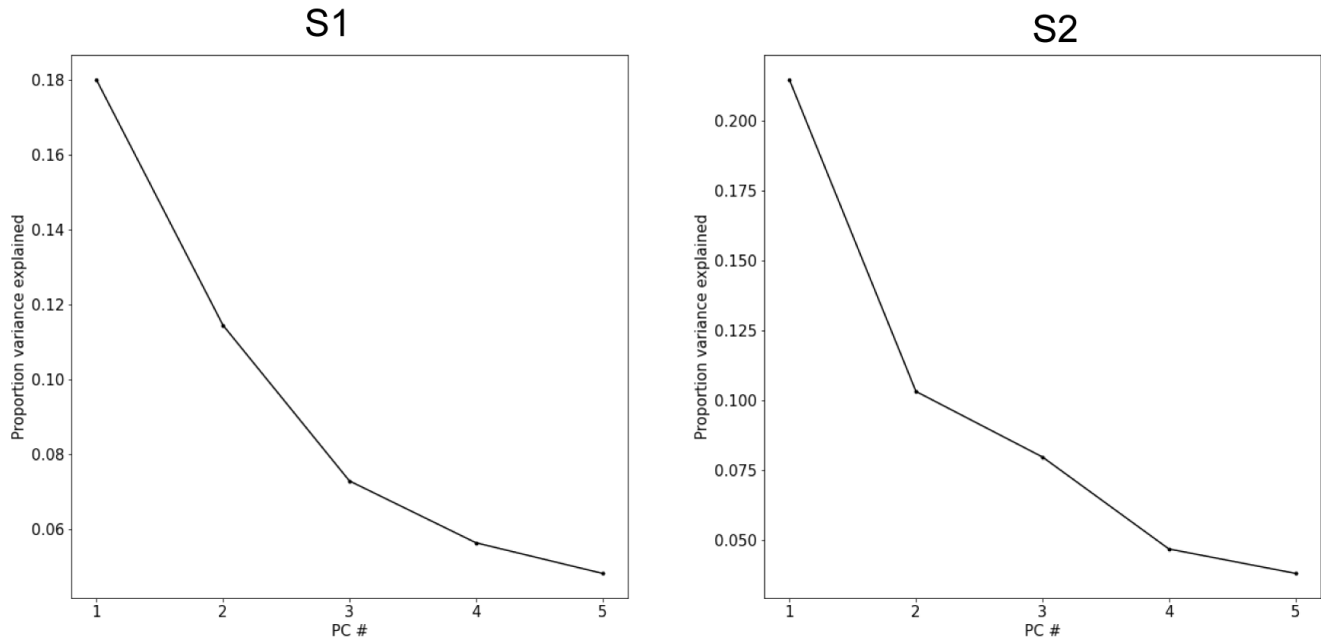
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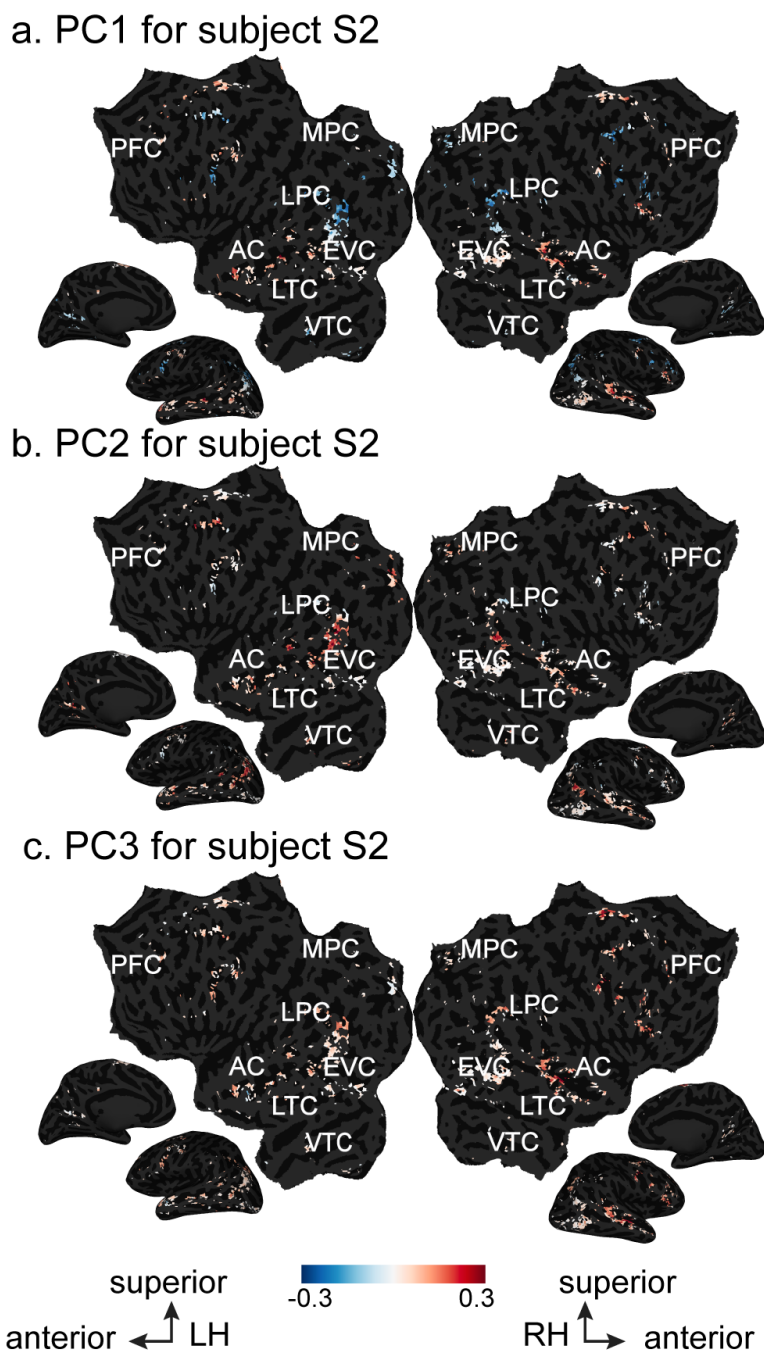
1186 **Figure 4-2. Un-thresholded semantic model prediction accuracy for the four conditions across**
1187 **the cortical surface for all subjects.** Un-thresholded semantic model prediction accuracy in the four
1188 conditions is shown for all subjects on each subject's flattened cortical surface. Voxelwise modeling
1189 was first used to estimate semantic model weights in the four conditions. Semantic model prediction
1190 accuracy was then computed as the correlation (r) between the subject's recorded BOLD activity to
1191 the held-out validation story and the BOLD activity predicted by the semantic model. Prediction
1192 accuracy is given by the color scale in the middle, and voxels that have a high prediction accuracy
1193 appear yellow. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual
1194 cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC:
1195 medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) In the Single Words condition, prediction accuracy is
1196 high in scattered voxels in primary visual cortex in subjects S1 and S4. In the Semantic Blocks
1197 condition, prediction accuracy is high in voxels in left STS and left angular gyrus in subjects S1 and
1198 S3. In addition, prediction accuracy is high in voxels in left Broca's area and IFG in subject S1, and
1199 prediction accuracy is high in voxels in bilateral SFS, SFG, and ventral precuneus in subject S3. In
1200 the Sentences condition, prediction accuracy is high in voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, STS, STG,
1201 MTG, anterior temporal lobe, IFG, sPMv, SFS, SFG, and ventral precuneus in subjects S1 and S2. In
1202 the Narratives condition, prediction accuracy is high in voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, STS, STG,
1203 MTG, anterior temporal lobe, Broca's area and IFG, sPMv, SFS, SFG, ventral precuneus, and
1204 posterior cingulate gyrus in all subjects.



1206 **Figure 4-3. Number of semantically selective voxels for the four conditions for all subjects.**
1207 The number of semantically selective voxels for each subject is plotted for the four conditions. In the
1208 Single Words condition, no voxels are semantically selective in any of the four subjects. In the
1209 Semantic Blocks condition, the number of semantically selective voxels is 708, 0, 0, and 0 for
1210 subjects 1-4, respectively. In the Sentences condition, the number of semantically selective voxels is
1211 1566, 2581, 0, and 0 for subjects 1-4, respectively. In the Narratives condition, the number of
1212 semantically selective voxels is 4745, 7355, 7786, and 1757 for subjects 1-4, respectively.



1214 **Figure 8-1. Proportion of variance explained by PCs of semantic difference vectors.** Semantic
1215 difference vectors were computed by subtracting semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences
1216 condition from semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives condition. PCA was then applied
1217 to the difference vectors for each subject separately. The amount of variance explained by each of
1218 the first five PCs is plotted for each subject. The first five PCs explain 47.1% of the variance in subject
1219 S1 and 48.2% of the variance in subject S2.



1221 **Figure 8-2. Semantic tuning shifts between the Sentences and Narratives conditions for**
1222 **subject S2.** Semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition were subtracted from
1223 semantic model weights estimated in the Narratives condition. PCA was then applied to the resulting
1224 difference vectors for each subject separately. The projection of the difference vectors onto the first
1225 three PCs is shown on the flattened cortical surface of subject S2. Only voxels that are semantically
1226 selective in both conditions are shown. Projection value is given by the color scale in the middle.
1227 Voxels that project positively onto a PC appear red, while voxels that project negatively onto a PC
1228 appear blue. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual
1229 cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC:
1230 medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) **a.** For the first PC, voxels in bilateral STS and bilateral
1231 SFG have a strong positive projection while voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral RSC, bilateral

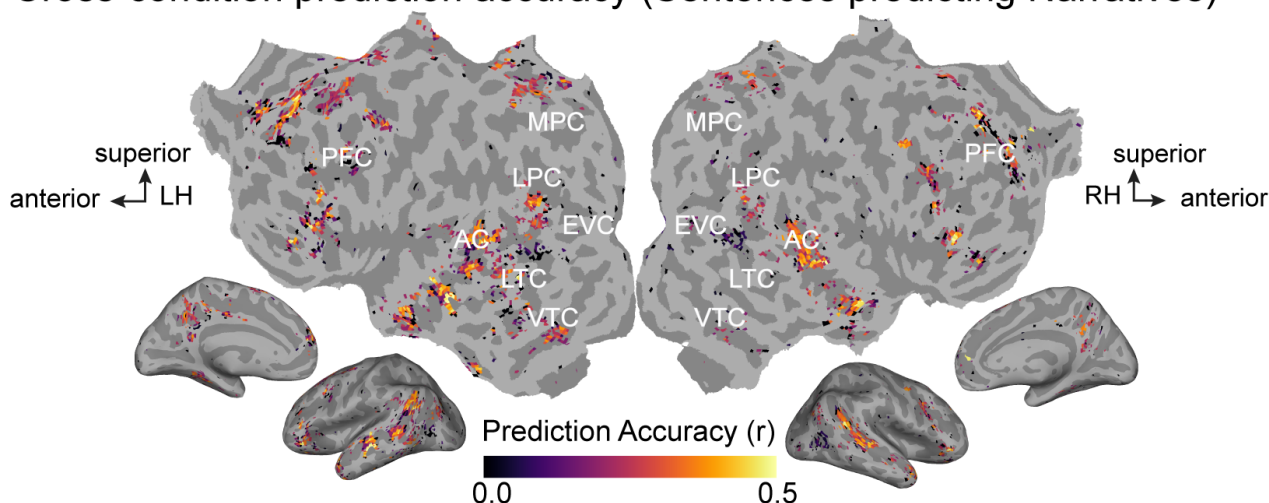
1232 IFG, and bilateral SFS have a strong negative projection. **b.** For the second PC, voxels in bilateral
1233 angular gyrus, bilateral superior STS, bilateral RSC, and bilateral SFS have a strong positive
1234 projection while no voxels have a strong negative projection. **c.** For the third PC, voxels in right STS,
1235 bilateral angular gyrus, right SFS, and right IFG have a strong positive projection while no voxels
1236 have a strong negative projection.

Subject	PC	Top 10 most correlated words	Top 10 least correlated words
S1	1	'appointment', 'interview', 'accused', 'detective', 'interviews', 'inspector.', 'spoke', 'officer', 'secretary', 'detention'	'propel', 'build', 'upwards', 'diversify', 'allows', 'high', 'float', 'enables', 'market', 'speeds'
	2	'contents', 'package', 'processed', 'packages', 'discovery', 'boxes', 'delivery', 'delivered', 'deliver', 'discover'	'athletic', 'athletics', 'volleyball', 'soccer', 'scoring', 'tournaments', 'professional', 'players', 'football', 'team'
	3	'meters', 'diameter', 'density', 'mm', 'surface', 'larger', 'boundary', 'ranges', 'large', 'thermal'	'wished', 'wanted', 'fellow', 'wife', 'father', 'sister', 'husband', 'mother', 'asked', 'loved'
S2	1	'imagery', 'presence', 'refer', 'portrayed', 'depicted', 'resembles', 'resemblance', 'closely', 'voiced', 'fictional'	'month', 'week', 'hours', 'weeks', 'year', 'months', 'hour', 'dollars', 'cents', 'semester'
	2	'destination', 'taxi', 'travel', 'mail', 'rental', 'via', 'delivery', 'visit', 'cancel', 'deliver'	'with', 'face', 'against', 'as', 'hands', 'chin', 'hitter', 'his', 'he', 'fingers'
	3	'which', 'by', 'has', 'number', 'according', 'may', 'several', 'citation', 'were', 's'	'everytime', 'goddamn', 'yea', 'cuz', 'wanna', 'sucks', 'freaking', 'sucked', 'awesome', 'idk'

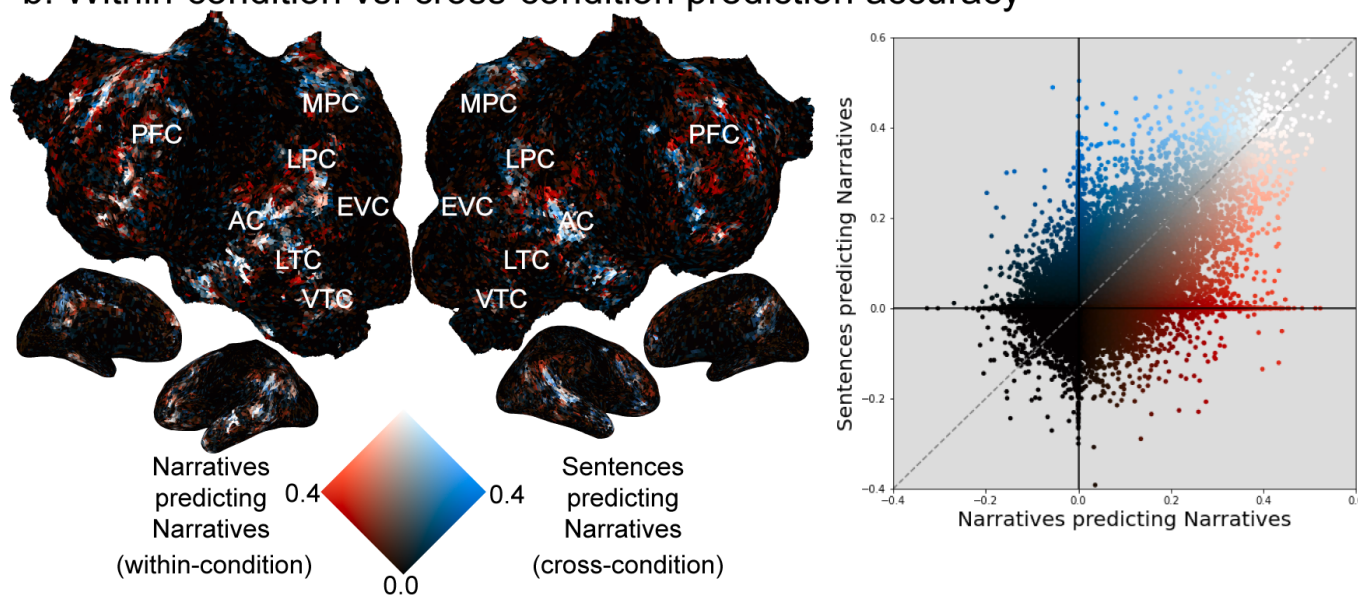
L237
L238
L239
L240

Figure 8-3. Most and least correlated words for each PC. The first three PCs of the difference vectors were correlated with words in the semantic model. The ten most correlated words and the ten least correlated words are shown for each PC for each subject.

a. Cross-condition prediction accuracy (Sentences predicting Narratives)

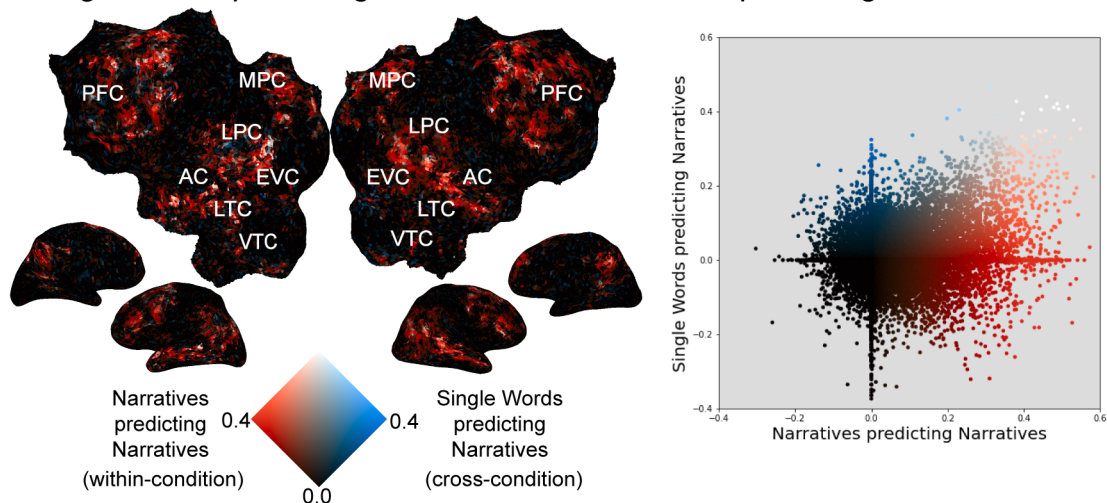


b. Within-condition vs. cross-condition prediction accuracy

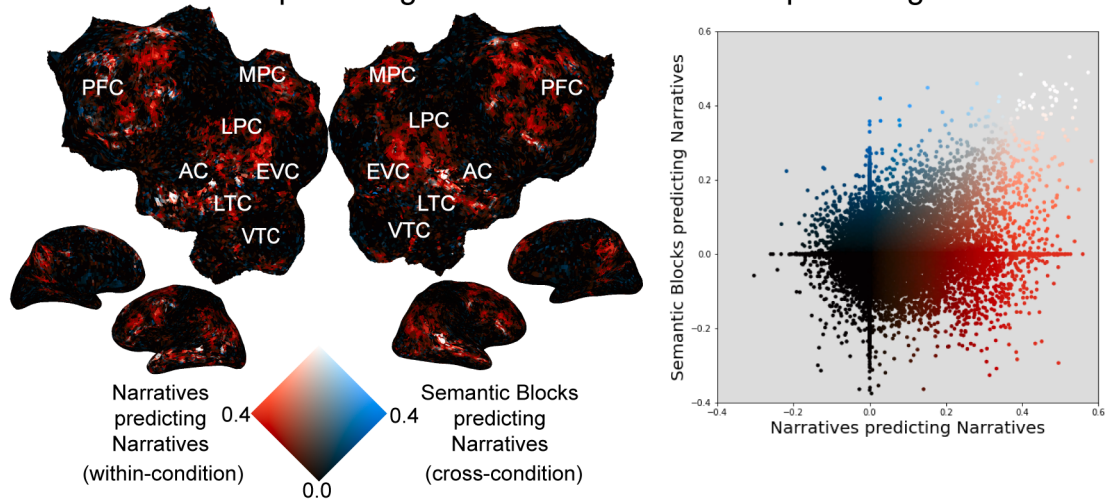


1242 **Figure 9-1. Cross-condition semantic model prediction accuracy for the Sentences and**
 1243 **Narratives conditions.** a. Semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition were used
 1244 to predict BOLD responses to the held-out validation stimulus in the Narratives condition. The
 1245 resulting cross-condition semantic model prediction accuracy is shown on the flattened cortical
 1246 surface of one subject (S1; see Extended Data Figure 9-2 for S2). Only voxels with significant
 1247 prediction accuracy ($p < 0.05$, FDR corrected) are shown. Prediction accuracy is given by the color
 1248 scale in the middle, and voxels that have a high prediction accuracy appear yellow. Voxels for which
 1249 the cross-condition semantic model prediction accuracy is not statistically significant are shown in
 1250 gray. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex,
 1251 LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial
 1252 parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) Voxels in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, portions of
 1253 TPJ, bilateral sPMv, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral SFG, bilateral IFG, and left SFS are
 1254 significantly predicted. Semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition generalize to
 1255 the Narratives condition in these voxels. b. Same panel as in Figure 9c depicted here for a direct
 1256 comparison.

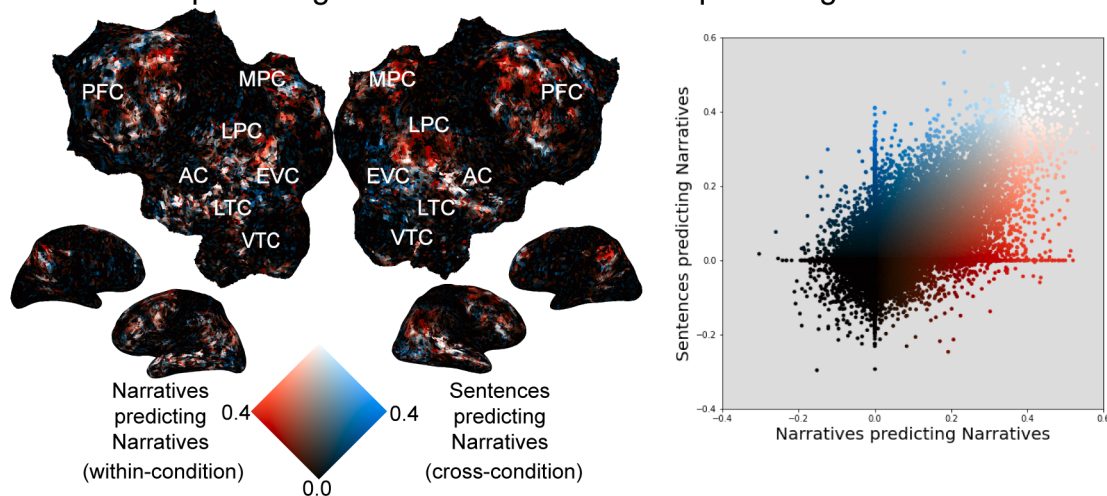
a. Single Words predicting Narratives vs. Narratives predicting Narratives



b. Semantic Blocks predicting Narratives vs. Narratives predicting Narratives



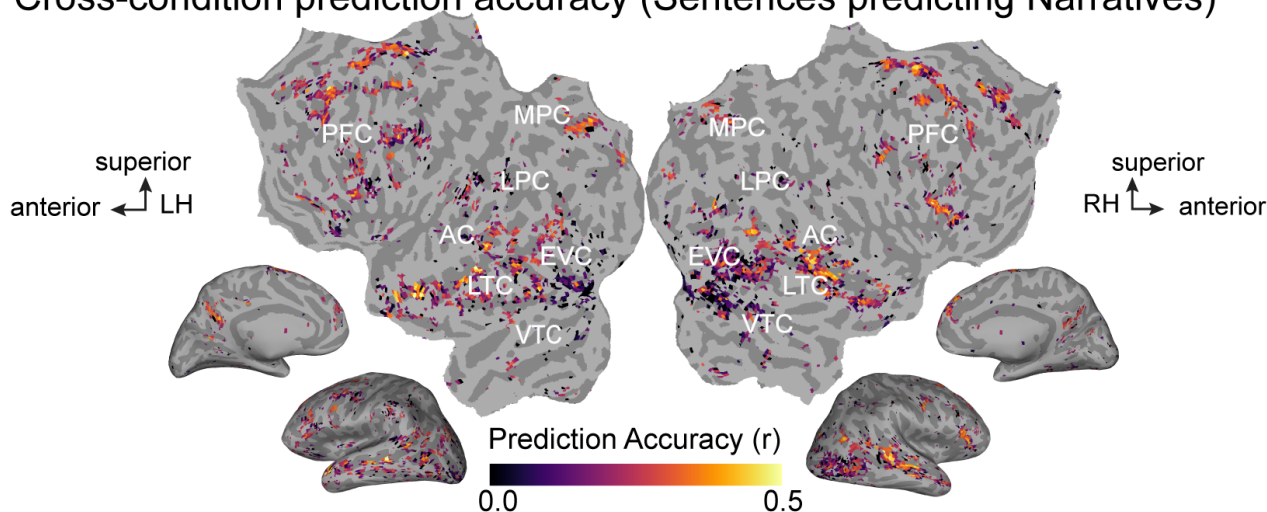
c. Sentences predicting Narratives vs. Narratives predicting Narratives



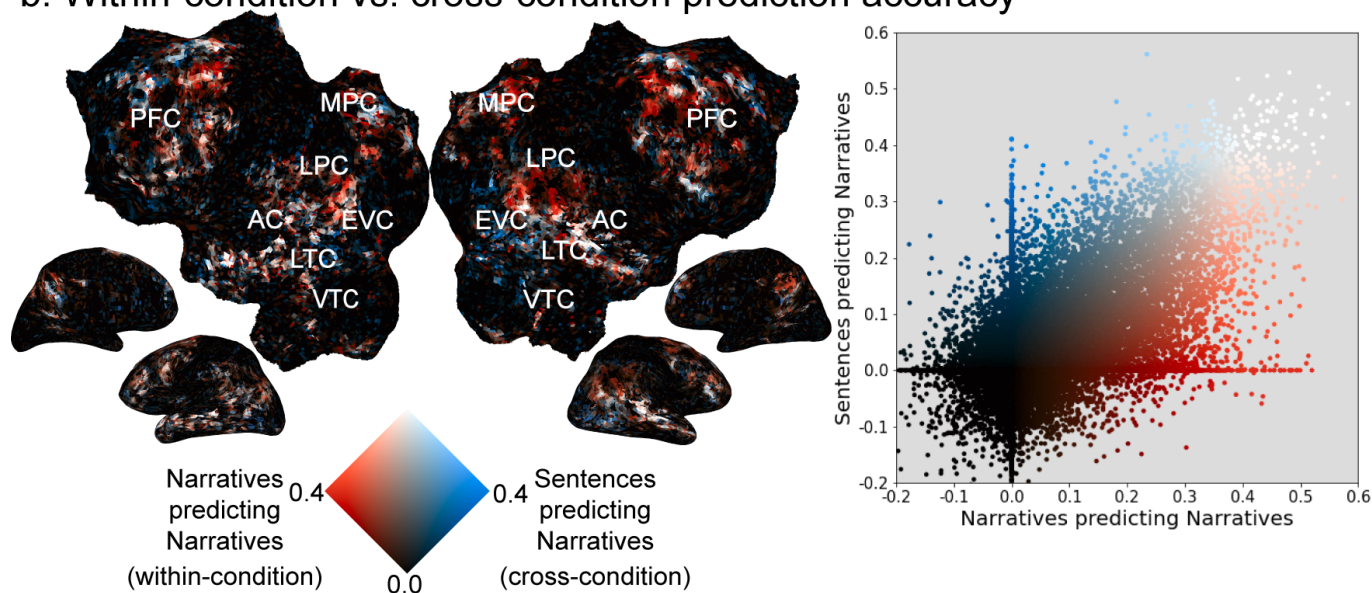
1258 **Figure 9-2. Generalization of semantic model weights estimated in the Single Words, Semantic**
1259 **Blocks, and Sentences conditions to the Narratives condition for subject S2. a.** Semantic model
1260 weights estimated in the Single Words condition were used to predict BOLD responses to the held-
1261 out validation stimulus in the Narratives condition. (left) The resulting cross-condition semantic model
1262 prediction accuracies are shown with the within-condition Narratives semantic model prediction
1263 accuracies on the flattened cortical surface of subject S2 with a 2D colormap. (LH: Left Hemisphere,
1264 RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex,

1265 VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC: lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC:
1266 prefrontal cortex) The axes of the colormap correspond to the cross-condition (blue) and within-
1267 condition (red) prediction accuracies. Voxels where the within-condition prediction accuracy is high
1268 and the cross-condition prediction accuracy is low appear red. Voxels where the within-condition
1269 prediction accuracy is low and the cross-condition prediction accuracy is high appear blue. Voxels
1270 where both the within-condition prediction accuracy and the cross-condition prediction accuracy are
1271 high appear white. Finally, voxels where both the within-condition prediction accuracy and the cross-
1272 condition prediction accuracy are low appear black. In this comparison, many voxels throughout
1273 bilateral temporal, parietal, and prefrontal cortex are red. In addition, there are a few blue and white
1274 voxels scattered across the cortical surface. (right) Cross-condition semantic model prediction
1275 accuracy (y-axis) is plotted against within-condition Narratives semantic model prediction accuracy (x-
1276 axis) for each cortical voxel. In most voxels, the cross-condition prediction accuracy is worse than the
1277 Narratives prediction accuracy. **b.** Semantic model weights estimated in the Semantic Blocks
1278 condition were used to predict BOLD responses to the held-out validation stimulus in the Narratives
1279 condition. The format is the same as panel a. Many voxels across bilateral temporal, parietal, and
1280 prefrontal cortex are red. A few voxels located in the left superior temporal sulcus (STS) are white,
1281 and a few voxels scattered across the cortical surface are blue. In most voxels, the cross-condition
1282 prediction accuracy is worse than the Narratives prediction accuracy. **c.** Semantic model weights
1283 estimated in the Sentences condition were used to predict BOLD responses to the held-out validation
1284 stimulus in the Narratives condition. The format is the same as panel a. Voxels located in left IPL,
1285 right SFS and bilateral STG are red. Voxels located in bilateral angular gyrus, bilateral STS, portions
1286 of TPJ, in bilateral sPMv, bilateral SFG, bilateral IFG, and left SFS are white. These cross-condition
1287 prediction accuracy in these white voxels also reach statistical significance. This suggests that
1288 semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences condition generalize to the Narratives condition
1289 in these voxels (See Extended Data Figure 9-3). Scattered voxels located in bilateral precuneus, right
1290 IFG, and portions of SFS are blue. In many voxels, the cross-condition prediction accuracy is worse
1291 than the Narratives prediction accuracy. Together, these results show semantic model weights
1292 estimated in conditions with less context do not generalize well to natural stories.

a. Cross-condition prediction accuracy (Sentences predicting Narratives)



b. Within-condition vs. cross-condition prediction accuracy



1294 **Figure 9-3. Prediction accuracy of semantic model weights estimated in the Sentences**
 1295 **condition predicting data in the Narratives condition for subject S2. a.** Semantic model weights
 1296 estimated in the Sentences condition were used to predict BOLD responses for the held-out
 1297 validation stimulus in the Narratives condition (cross-condition predictions). The resulting cross-
 1298 condition semantic model prediction accuracy is shown on the flattened cortical surface of subject S2.
 1299 Only voxels with significant prediction accuracy are shown ($p < 0.05$, FDR corrected). Prediction
 1300 accuracy is given by the color scale in the middle, and voxels that have a high prediction accuracy
 1301 appear yellow. Voxels for which the cross-condition semantic model prediction accuracy is not
 1302 statistically significant are shown in gray. (LH: Left Hemisphere, RH: Right Hemisphere, AC: auditory
 1303 cortex, EVC: early visual cortex, LTC: lateral temporal cortex, VTC: ventral temporal cortex, LPC:
 1304 lateral parietal cortex, MPC: medial parietal cortex, PFC: prefrontal cortex) Some voxels in bilateral
 1305 angular gyrus, bilateral STS, portions of TPJ, in bilateral sPMv, bilateral ventral precuneus, bilateral
 1306 SFG, bilateral IFG, and left SFS are significantly predicted when estimated semantic model weights in
 1307 the Sentences condition are used to predict brain responses in the Narratives condition ($p < 0.05$, FDR
 1308 corrected). Sentences condition generalize well to Narratives condition in these voxels. **b.** Same
 1309 panel as in Extended Data Figure 9-2c depicted here for a direct comparison.