A vectorial code for semantics in human hippocampus

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Data availability
The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding authors upon reasonable request.

28 **ABSTRACT**
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As we listen to speech, our brains actively compute the meaning of individual
words. Inspired by the success of large language models (LLMs), we hypothesized that
the brain employs vectorial coding principles, such that meaning is reflected in
distributed activity of single neurons. We recorded responses of hundreds of neurons in
the human hippocampus, which has a well-established role in semantic coding, while
participants listened to narrative speech. We find encoding of contextual word meaning
in the simultaneous activity of neurons whose individual selectivities span multiple
unrelated semantic categories. Like embedding vectors in semantic models, distance
between neural population responses correlates with semantic distance; however, this
effect was only observed in contextual embedding models (like BERT) and was reversed
in non-contextual embedding models (like Word2Vec), suggesting that the semantic
distance effect depends critically on contextualization. Moreover, for the subset of highly
semantically similar words, even contextual embedders showed an inverse correlation
between semantic and neural distances; we attribute this pattern to the noise-mitigating
benefits of contrastive coding. Finally, in further support for the critical role of context,
we find that range of neural responses covaries with lexical polysemy. Ultimately, these
results support the hypothesis that semantic coding in the hippocampus follows vectorial
principles.

INTRODUCTION

As we listen to speech, we typically identify the meanings (semantics) of the words we hear. The principles by which neurons encode meaning remain poorly understood. One hypothesis is that semantic coding is fundamentally vectorial, so that word meanings are encoded in patterns of activation across a large number of distinct units (Frisby et al., 2023; Goldstein et al., 2022, 2024; Landauer & Dumais, 1997; Mitchell & Lapata, 2008; Piantadosi et al., 2024; Pulvermüller, 1999; Rogers & Mcclelland, 2004). Interest in vectorial encoding has grown in recent years because it is a core element of large language models (LLMs), which have shown great promise in a variety of applications (Devlin et al., 2018; Joulin et al., 2016; Mikolov, Chen, et al., 2013; Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014; Radford et al., 2019; Vaswani et al., 2017). Inspired by the observation that such models can adroitly manipulate semantic information, we hypothesized that semantics in the human brain is also vectorial (Linzen & Baroni, 2025; Manning et al., 2020; Pavlick, 2025).

Typically, word vectors are composed of embedding values as units, but these units could be firing rates from neurons in the brain (Jamali et al., 2024). In a standard vectorial code, units do not have an identifiable semantic meaning; instead, they tend to have broad and complex response fields that encompass many apparently unrelated concepts (Frisby et al., 2023; Landauer & Dumais, 1997; McClelland & Rogers, 2003; Mitchell & Lapata, 2008; Pulvermüller, 1999b, 1999a; Rogers & McClelland, 2004). Likewise, a given word's meaning reflects the concurrent activation of a variety of units that are also selective for other words. In contrast, a good deal of evidence from the hippocampus supports the hypothesis that neurons are selective to single discrete concepts (Bausch et al., 2021,Quian Quiroga, 2023; Quian Quiroga et al., 2005 and 2009; Rey et al., 2025), consistent with ideas that hippocampus has highly sparse codes and narrow selectivities (Kolibius et al., 2023; O'Keefe & Dostrovsky, 1971; Poli et al., 2017; Zeng et al., 2019). In a similar vein, a recent study examining neuronal activity in posterior middle frontal gyrus found, likewise, that neurons there are selective for a single semantic category, such as words relating to actions (Jamali et al., 2024).

Nonetheless, we were interested in exploring the vectorial hypothesis because it can provide ready solutions to many important problems in cognitive science, such as similarity judgments, analogies, generalization, hierarchical reasoning, pattern completion, and efficient learning (Chen et al., 2017; Kommers et al., 2015; Mejri et al., 2024; Tversky, 1977; Piantadosi et al., 2024). For example, if embeddings recapitulate semantics, then similarity judgments can be as simple as calculating the neural embedding distance between two words (Devlin et al., 2018; Erk, 2012; Grand et al., 2022; Joulin et al., 2016; Pennington et al., 2014; Radford et al., 2019; Tversky, 1977; Vaswani et al., 2017). Indeed, it is the close association between embedding and semantic distance that endows vectorial codes with many of their most useful properties (Frisby et al., 2023; Mitchell & Lapata, 2008; Rogers & Mcclelland, 2004; Senel et al., 2017). One

difficulty in assessing the vectorial hypothesis is that contextual embedding models are
relatively new (since 2017, Devlin et al., 2018; Peters et al., 2018; Radford et al., 2019;
Vaswani et al., 2017) and neuroscience research has only recently begun relating neural
and contextual word embeddings, albeit not at the single unit level (Deniz et al.,
2023,Goldstein et al., 2022, 2023, 2024; Hong et al., 2024; Hosseini et al., 2024; Kumar
et al., 2024; LeBel et al., 2021; Tang et al., 2023; Tuckute et al., 2024; Zada et al., 2024).
Indeed, word meanings in normal language are highly contextually dependent. For
example, the word "sharp" may mean something entirely different in the phrases "sharp
knife" and "sharp mind". Contextual semantic embedders capture these nuances of
language.
We were especially interested in the hippocampus because of its well-established
role in semantic and conceptual coding (Blank et al., 2016; Davachi, 2006; Dijksterhuis
et al., 2024; Fletcher et al., 1997; Quian Quiroga et al., 2005 and 2009; Rey et al., 2025;
Squire & Zola-Morgan, 1991; Tulving, 2002). We recorded responses of neurons in the
hippocampus of epilepsy patients undergoing intracranial monitoring for seizure activity
while patients listened to continuous, narrative speech. We compared linguistic
embeddings from both contextual and non-contextual embedding models to neural
embedding vectors and neural responses to words and polysemy (Hartmann & James,
1998). We found that individual neurons have complex, multi-word tunings, and that
lexical concepts are encoded by large and heteromorphic populations of hippocampal
neurons. Moreover, we find that semantic embedding distance correlates with neural
embedding distance, but only for models that involve a high degree of contextual
embedding. Indeed, neural embedding variance correlated with polysemy, changing
activity with different instances of the same word. Finally, we find evidence for a strong
contrastive code for highly similar words. Together, these results endorse the hypothesis
that semantic encoding in human hippocampus is fundamentally vectorial.

| 114 | **RESULTS** |
| 115 | **Neural encoding of meaning** |

Ten native English-speaking patients undergoing neural monitoring for epilepsy
listened to 47 minutes of English speech (six monologues taken from the Moth podcast,
Methods, Figure 1A and B). This stimulus set consisted of 7,346 words, of which 1,351
were unique. We collected responses of isolated single neurons in hippocampus (HPC,
n=356 neurons) from 10 patients. Overall, neurons showed a clear response to the onset
of individual words with a characteristic ramping to a peak, followed by a gradual decline
in firing, although there was a great deal of diversity across neurons (**Figure 1C, D, and
E**). We computed firing rate during an epoch starting 80 ms after the onset of each word
(to account for the approximate response latency) and lasting the duration of the word
(see **Methods**). Rates were normalized by word duration. All analyses were repeated with
a variety of response epochs which yielded similar results (data not shown).

A subset of patients (n=4) also listened to monologues containing nonsense words
(Keuleers & Brysbaert, 2010, *jabberwocky stimuli*, 1,890 words, see **Methods**) following
the podcast episodes. The nonsense narratives included words modified from real ones to
create meaningless, novel terms, such as "toom" or "skook." These nonword stimuli
preserved syntactic structure by retaining function words and morphemes but lacked
coherent semantics. We found that 57% of neurons (75/125) exhibited a significant
change in firing rate to non-word stimuli, with most cells showing markedly reduced
activity for nonwords relative to words (**Figure 1D**). Additionally, hippocampal neural
population activity strongly distinguishes words from nonwords, achieving an average
decoding accuracy of 75% (chance is 50%; see **Methods**).

Next, we sought to better understand the relationship between neural activity and
semantics, particularly how language unfolds over time as words are heard in sequence.
To do this, we predicted each neuron's spike count for a given word from its
dimensionality-reduced Word2Vec embedding (Mikolov, et al., 2013, **Figure 1F**).
Word2Vec represents each word as a fixed (i.e., non-contextual) 300-dimensional vector,
meaning, for example, the embedding for "camp" remains the same whether it is used as
a noun or a verb. The Poisson linear model fit the responses of 354 neurons, showing a
significant positive correlation between actual and predicted firing rates (**99%, Figure
1F;** see **Methods**). We found comparable results with contextual embeddings (e.g.,
BERT embeddings fit 355 neurons, not shown; Devlin et al., 2018).

Next, we used the same linear model to predict neural activity from up to ten
words in the past and future. We found that neural activity could be better predicted from
past words than future words. Neural responses to the current word could be predicted
from embeddings up to six words in the past and up to three words in the future (actual
model correlations were always significantly greater than shuffled, see **Methods**).
However, prediction accuracy showed a characteristic decay in decodability as a function
of distance forwards and backwards in time (**Figure 1G**). Thus, it appears that

hippocampal neurons keep track of recently heard words and also show some evidence of
predicting upcoming words, just as other brain regions have been shown to do (Goldstein
et al., 2024; Goldstein, Wang, et al., 2023; Jamali et al., 2024; Tang et al., 2023; Zada et
al., 2023).
We next identified the broad semantic categories that exist in our dataset.
Word2Vec embedding distances recapitulate semantic distance, such that the embedding
vectors for synonyms like 'dad' and 'father' have a smaller semantic distance (cosine
distance) than unrelated words like 'dad' and 'emergency' (Joulin et al., 2016; Mikolov,
Chen, et al., 2013; Mikolov, Sutskever, et al., 2013). We leveraged this fact to build
semantic categories (**Figure 1H**; Huth et al., 2016; Jamali et al., 2024). Silhouette
criterion analysis (**Figure1I**; Rousseeuw, 1987) and k-means clustering of the word
embeddings (see **Methods**) revealed 11 putative semantic categories in the story data,
listed in increasing word frequency, with examples in brackets: (1) body parts [hand,
lungs, scar], (2) places- [hospital, office, cabin], (3) emotional [cheer, disgust, feelings],
(4) mental- [know, answer, imagine], (5) social [friends, queen, dad] (6) objects [book,
flowers, pigeon], (7) visual [beautiful, green, sizzling], (8) numerical [another, eleven,
moment], (9) actions [shimmied, writing, elected], (10) identity [she, y'all, their], and
(11) function words [the, about, onto] (**Figure 1J**).

Figure 1. Hippocampal neurons track spoken words during language comprehension. | A, Electrode recording location of hippocampal neurons from ten patients. **B,** Continuous spiking activity from five example hippocampal neurons from patient 6 during words heard during the experiment, as shown in the spectrogram. **C,** Peri-stimulus time histograms and raster plots demonstrating responses to word onsets from four distinct hippocampal neurons in patient 6 (bottom row) and 7 (top row). Dashed lines

represent word onset. Plots display mean firing rate ±SEM shaded. **D,** Left - Peri-stimulus
time histogram during words and jabberwocky (nonsense) non-words. Right - 71/125
neurons from four patients that exhibit significantly different firing rates between real and
non-words. $P = 5.6 \times 10^{-5}$, Wilcocxon signed-rank test. Red line represents the mean firing
rate from words and non-words (14.78 and 13.98). **E**, The firing rate of one neuron
occurring across the duration of all words from the six stories during language
comprehension. **F**, Left - regression equation used to fit an individual neuron's spike count
from word embeddings (word2vec). PC stands for principal components of the
embeddings and *f* is a neuron's spike count for each word. Right – Correlation coefficients
between the actual and model-predicted firing rates for significant neurons that were fitted
by the model; $P < 0.05$, Spearman correlation. **G**, Left - boxplot of Spearman correlation
coefficients between actual and model-predicted firing rates from the current word
embeddings (index 0) and those of past and future words. Boxes reflect the interquartile
range with median; navy curve is fit to the median of each box; red crosses are outliers.
Index 0 box is clipped to improve visualization at other indices. Right - correlation
coefficients as shown on the left across all neurons and word indexes (time). Dashed lines
are the means of each distribution. Actual model performance is significantly greater than
shuffled (one sided Wilcoxon signed-rank test, $P < 0.001$). **H**, Similarity matrix of median
pairwise cosine distances between word embeddings within and between semantic
categories that arise from all words. **I**, Silhouette score used to determine the number of
semantic categories for K-means clustering of words. **J,** All words plotted in their
dimensionality reduced embedding space and colored according to their semantic
category.
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203   **A dense and distributed coding of semantics**
204   One possible way to represent meaning in the brain is through neurons that
selectively respond to single words, or to single categories of semantically related words,
such as those associated with family, sports, or nature. However, this regime could be
biologically inefficient, as it would require many neurons - enough needed for all the
concepts learned across one's life. Alternatively, the same neuron could encode different
concepts not simultaneously but at different moments based on context or cognitive
demands. Recently, many studies have demonstrated clear and robust evidence for mixed
selectivity coding principles in a range of contexts (Blanchard et al., 2018; Fusi et al.,
2016; Johnston et al., 2020, 2024). Therefore, we hypothesized that word coding would
be distributed and dense - meaning a single neuron should encode many, semantically
unrelated words and one word should be encoded by many different neurons.
215   To quantify individual neuron encoding of words, we performed a Receiver
Operating Characteristic (ROC) analysis (**Figure 2A-B**), a standard approach that has
previously been used to characterize neural responses during behavior (Britten et al.,
1992; Li et al., 2017). For statistical reasons (**Methods**), we used only words that
occurred at least four times in the data (n = 283 words), and compared firing rates evoked

by each word to all others (see **Methods**). Every single one of these 283 words was
encoded by at least 3 neurons (**Figure 2C-E**). The words with the least encoding (i.e.,
most sparsely coded) were 'was' and 'and', encoded by exactly 3 neurons; the most
dense word, 'hit", was encoded by 67 neurons (0.8 and 18.8% of our sample,
respectively, **Figure 2D-E**). On average, a single word is encoded by 37 neurons (10.4%,
Figure 2D). Likewise, most neurons encoded many words. Only 6 out of 356 neurons did
not encode any words, and the median number of words encoded by a neuron was 6
words (**Figure 2F**).
Are the words a neuron encodes semantically similar or different? Surprisingly,
the same neuron does not reliably encode semantically similar words. For example,
within the social category (category 5), we examined encoding of words related to the
concept of family (mom, dad, father, brother, and son), and found minimal overlap
between neurons that encode each family-related word (**Figure 2G**). Indeed, of the 28
neurons encoding "father" and 19 encoding "dad," only 7 encode both words (**Figure
2G**). Notably, the distinct words that a cell encoded spanned semantic categories and
phonology. For example, neuron 167 encodes the words: 'lot', 'remember', 'even',
'they', 'those, and 'make'; neuron 252 encodes the words: 'she', 'last', 'out', 'school',
and 'team'. Each of those neurons encode words that span 5 unique semantic categories.
Overall, a given neuron's response field spanned 4 of our 11 semantic categories (**Figure
2I**). (And, recall that these proportions refer to all sampled neurons, not just a preselected
subset of selective neurons).
We also wondered whether more specific concepts, like proper nouns, were
encoded in this dense and distributed manner. Only three proper nouns appeared
frequently enough in our data to perform statistics: 'Mark,' 'God,' and 'Michelle'. These
three are also densely encoded in the population, with 'God' showing the highest density
at 60 neurons (**Figure 2H**). 89 neurons (25%) encoded these 3 proper nouns, with
minimal neuronal overlap between them (14 neurons encoded all 3 names). Across
semantic categories, fewer neurons encoded identity (pronouns) and function words,
while more critical and less frequent categories, such as body parts and emotion words,
were more densely encoded (**Figure 2J**). We found that such densely coded words had
significantly higher classification performance (area under the curve) compared to
sparsely coded words, suggesting neurons exhibit more distinct firing rates patterns for
these less frequent words that are critical for understanding (**Figure 2K**).

Figure 2. Hippocampal neurons represent words with a dense and distributed code. **A**, Example firing rates from one neuron during all occurrences of the word, "go" and a random subset of other words. **B**, Receiver operator characteristic curve for the same neuronal activity and words in a. **C**, For each word (line), the standardized area under the curve (AUC) from each neuron that significantly classified that word from all others (see Methods). **D**, Histogram of the number of neurons encoding each word. Every word was encoded by at least 3 neurons. **E**, The same as in d but all 283 word text plotted based on the number of neurons that encode them, with added jitter for readability. **F**, Histogram of the number of words encoded by each neuron. **G,** Assessment of overlap between neurons encoding words related to the concept, family. Numbers in the matrix and circles represent the number of coding neurons. **H,** Left - Number of neurons encoding proper nouns from ROC analysis. Right - AUC values for proper noun encoding. **I,** Number of

266 semantic categories from the words that each neuron encodes. Dashed line represents
267 the median. **J,** Average number of neurons encoding words from each semantic category.
268 **K,** Probability density plots of AUC values from sparse words (n = 1,517 AUC values from
269 words with < 28 cells encoding them) and dense words (n = 1,632 AUC values from words
270 with more than 55 cells encoding them). P = 1.643x10^{-9}, Wilcoxon rank sum test.
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Hippocampal semantic coding is vectorial
One convenient feature of semantic embeddings derived from large language
models is that embedding distances correlate with semantic distances (Devlin et al., 2018;
Mikolov, et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014; Radford et al., 2019; Vaswani et al., 2017)
(**Figure 3A**). Thus, synonymous terms like "mom" and "mother" will be located close to
each other in embedding space, while unrelated terms like "mom" and "tarmac" will be
located far apart. Here, we will follow the standard convention of using angular (cosine)
distance between embedding vectors (Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014;
Radford et al., 2019). We performed an analogous analysis on the responses of a
population of neurons to ask whether *neural embedding distances* are correlated with
semantic embedding distances (**Figure 3B**). Overall, we find that contextual embedding
distance between randomly selected word pairs is correlated with their neural embedding
distances (**Figure 3C-E**). Consider, for example, the contextual embedder BERT (Devlin
et al., 2018)(r = 0.0650, p<0.0001, **Figure 3D**). Note that while the size of this
correlation is low, this is expected given the extremely high variance of single neuron
firing rates and the fact that each datapoint reflects a single occurrence of a given word.
Indeed, this problem of high noise could cause confusion for words with the most
similar embeddings. Such word pairs include "but and so", "we and we're", and "he and
him" (although the embeddings also include local context not given here, **Figure 3F**).
While the brain needs to recognize their similarity, it also needs to maintain their
semantic separation as well. For example, we would not want to mix up holiday gifts for
our two parents because their semantic embeddings are nearly identical. Thus, we
hypothesized that, at the finest scale, neuronal embeddings would have an additional
feature of contrastive coding (sometimes called repulsive coding; Bromley et al., 1994;
Chanales et al., 2017; Prince et al., 2025; Radford et al., 2021; Tian et al., 2020), which
would allow for separation between similar, but still distinct, words. We find precisely
this: pairs of closely related words (regardless of semantic category) tend to show a
negative correlation between semantic and neural distance (**Figure 3F-G**). In other
words, the relation between semantic and neural embedding is scale-dependent: negative
for the finest scale and positive for all others (**Figure 3G**). Specifically, the negative
pattern is observed when considering the word pairs whose semantic distances span the
range of r = 0.15 to r = 0.35 (these comprise 2.16% of the words in our sample, **Figure
3F-G**). (Note that words with a range of r < 0.15 comprise less than one tenth of one
percent of pairs, and data in this range are too noisy to meaningfully interpret). These

highly similar pairs include many pairs of identical words; however, this negative
correlation in semantically close pairs is driven entirely by word pairs consisting of
different words (near-synonyms like "sort/kind" and "are/were"), rather than identical
word pairs (such as "and/and" or "the/the"). Specifically, in the range of 0.15-0.35, we
found r = -0.151 (p < 0.0001) for different word pairs (**Figure 3F**) and r = +0.032 (p =
0.45) for identical pairs (**Figure 3H**).
313   Notably, this coding regime was not unique to BERT embeddings. The same
contrastive coding for semantically similar word pairs and pattern separation for
semantically different words is also observed in GPT-2 layer 36 embeddings (notice the
similarity between **Figure 3G and 3I**; Radford et al., 2019). Interestingly, we found a
negative correlation between semantic and neural distance for early GPT-2 layers (1-13)
and for Word2Vec embeddings (**Figure 3J-K**). We think this is due to the early layers of
GPT-2 being less contextual than the late layers, and thus more similar to static, non-
contextual embeddings from models like Word2Vec. Therefore, the neural coding of
semantics is both vectorial and highly contextual.
322   Additionally, the distance between neural embeddings of words within a semantic
category is a function of increasing word frequency (**Figure 3L, blue**; this is the case for
inter-category distances as well). Meaning, low-frequency body part words like "hand"
and "finger" are closer in both neural space and the semantic space of contextual
embeddings, while high-frequency identity words like "everyone" and "they" show
greater distance, as seen in **Figure 3L** (red, pink, and blue). In other words, like the
cluster of stars near the center of the Milky Way, frequent words are more centrally
positioned in the high-dimensional embedding space, a pattern that is replicated in the
hippocampal coding. Indeed, applying context to semantic embeddings causes a
reduction in semantic distance for low-frequency words and increases it for high-
frequency words, compared to static embeddings like Word2Vec (**Figure 3L, gray**). This
shift, influenced by context, aligns with the pattern of category and frequency-dependent
neural distance, explaining why Word2Vec embedding distances are negatively
correlated with neural data, whereas contextual models show a positive correlation, more
accurately reflecting the vectorial and contextual encoding of semantics in the
hippocampus.

Figure 3. Neural distance recapitulates semantic distance. | A, We define semantic
distance as the angular distance in a high dimensional space between two semantic
vectors (embedding values for each word). **B,** We define neural distance in the analogous
manner, where each word's neural embedding is the vector of firing rates from all neurons
for that word. **C,** Semantic BERT embedding and neural embedding distance correlations
among all word-pairs within each of the eleven semantic categories. While most are
positive, some categories have negative correlations, likely due to contrastive coding. **D,**
Scatter plot illustrating the correlation between neural and semantic embedding distances
between all 26,978,185 word pairs. Pink line: regression line. Each dot represents one
randomly selected word pair; magenta text indicates example pairs. **E,** Histogram of neural
embedding distances; this plot is the marginal of D across the x-axis. **F,** Expanded view
of the data from D in the neural range of 0.15-0.25; this range represents 2.16% of the
data. In this range, the correlation between neural and semantic distances is negative. **G,**
Histogram of BERT semantic embedding distances; this plot is the marginal of D across
the y-axis. Below it is shown the semantic/neural correlation coefficient for the sub-range
of BERT values centered on the x-axis point. While this line is generally positive in value,
at especially short distances (low x-values), it turns negative. That negative correlation
may reflect contrastive coding. **H,** Same data as in G, but limited to pairs in which the
same word is compared in two locations. Because BERT is a contextual embedder, these
will not have precisely the same value. **I.** Same data as in G, but using GPT-2 layer 36
rather than BERT. Same effects are observed, indicating that effects are not due to BERT.
J, Correlation between semantic and neural distance across all layers of GPT-2. Early
layers that are non-contextual embeddings have negative correlations with neural data,
while higher, contextual layers are positive. Red indicates a layer with nonsignificant
correlation. **K**, The same as in D but with Word2Vec semantic embeddings. These
embeddings are static and non-contextual (similar to early layers in GPT-2), and
negatively correlate with neural distance. **L,** Within-category neural distance and semantic
distances from different language models. The arrow reflects how context changes
semantic embeddings, improving their association to neural patterns of semantic coding.
Word2vec r = -0.22, BERT r = 0.62*, GPT-2 r = 0.72*, Neural r = 0.83*; Pearson
correlation coefficient, *P < 0.05, regression lines plotted.
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Semantic coding is high dimensional and contextual
Next, we examined neural population coding and dimensionality of semantics.
Using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of each neuron's firing rate for every word
(7,346 words x 356 neurons), we reduced the dimensionality of our neurons' responses to
components. Only 35% of variance is explained in the first 10 components, telling us that
this code is relatively high dimensional (95% of variance explained in first 190
components, **Figure 4A**; Jazayeri & Ostojic, 2021; Manley et al., 2024**).** The fact that
many dimensions are needed to explain most of the variance is consistent with the
hypothesis that meaning is distributed across many neurons. Neural interactions
underlying meaning may be nonlinear and cannot be fully captured by a low-dimensional

projection. Additionally, each semantic category can be decoded from the others using
population activity (see **Methods**), but high frequency words like numbers, actions, and
function words had reduced decoding performance compared to low frequency words
(**Figure 4B**). This finding suggests, as do others above, that neural coding principles
differ markedly for high frequency and low frequency words.
Indeed, for each neuron, lifetime sparseness increased as a function of word
frequency across semantic categories, meaning that neurons respond to fewer common
words than they do rare ones (**Figure 4C, left**). Likewise, population sparseness
increased with word frequency, meaning a rare word activates more neurons than a
common word does. This is consistent with, among other explanations, an energy
efficient coding scheme, wherein words that are heard more often elicit less neural
activity (**Figure 4C, right**).
Why do common words have reduced decoding and more sparseness compared to
other, less spoken words? We think this is due, in large part, to the fact that common
words are more polysemous (**Figure 4E, top;** Zipf, 1945), meaning the same word can
have different meanings depending on the context in which it is spoken. To explore this
idea further, we computed polysemy for each word by taking the cosine distance between
BERT embedding vectors of repeated occurrences of the same word (n = 594 distinct and
repeated words, see **Methods**). Polysemy is likely driving the larger neural distance
between words occurring *within* high-frequency categories compared to low-frequency
ones (**Figure 4D and 3L**). The words within these categories have more nuanced and
flexible meanings, resulting in greater semantic (in contextual models) and neural
distance within categories (**Figure 4D and 3L**).
Polysemy also explains why high frequency categories are harder to decode from
all others - because these common words activate broad, overlapping neural patterns
rather than category-specific ones. For example, 'the' may produce similar neural
patterns to the noun that it modifies, such as 'the school', making 'the' and 'school'
harder to neurally distinguish, despite being members of two different semantic
categories (function words and places, respectively). Likewise, if a neuron is selective for
a particular meaning of a highly polysemous word, it will only fire in contexts where that
meaning is relevant, leading to a sparser response across all instances of the word. Since
polysemy increases with word frequency, this can explain the similar trend we found
across semantic categories in sparseness (**Figure 4C**). Given that neural distance
positively correlates with semantic distance in contextual models (**Figure 3**), it follows
that neural activity patterns also strongly correlate with polysemy (**Figure 4E bottom**
and 4F). In other words, the meaning of a given high-polysemy word is more
contextually driven than the meaning of a low-polysemy word, and hippocampal
encoding tracks with that contextually driven meaning.

Figure 4. Population coding of words across frequency and context. l A, The amount of variance explained for each component from PCA of neural firing rates across all words. 35% of variance is explained in the first 10 components. **B**, Decoding accuracy for each semantic category and all other categories from neural population activity, for models using actual (blue) and shuffled (gray) labeled data. Chance is 50% (dashed line). Plots display mean prediction accuracy on test observations (±SEM). P < 0.0001 for each category, Wilcoxon signed-rank test comparing actual and shuffled accuracy. **C**, Left - lifetime and population sparseness measures across semantic categories, sorted by increasing word frequency. Plots display mean sparseness over neurons (lifetime) or words (population) ±SEM. Right - schematic showing population sparseness coding regime of words based on frequency. P and r-values are from Pearson correlation. **D**, Similarity matrix of neural distance between all word pairs within and across each semantic category. Diagonal of this matrix is plotted in Figure 3L. **E**, Top - polysemy values for each unique and repeated word within each semantic category. Bottom - neural distance between different occurrences of the same word, within each semantic category. P and r-values are from Pearson correlation. **F**, Each word is plotted according to its polysemy value and neural distance (median distance between all occurrences of that word). Words are colored based on their semantic category. P and r-values are from Pearson correlation. Lines in c, e, and f are regression lines.

DISCUSSION

Here, we show that the hippocampus exhibits a dense, vectorial, and contextual

coding scheme for semantics. That is, individual words are encoded in the simultaneous

activity of multiple neurons whose selectivities span multiple unrelated semantic

categories (**Figure 2**). While a single neuron can distinguish individual words, the

semantic *relationship* between words (even multiple occurrences of the same word) is

reflected in vectors of the neural population activity (**Figure 3-4**). We find that *neural*

embedding vectors, derived from the collective responses of neural populations, closely

track word meanings as they shift across different contexts. This pattern is reflected in the

association between neural activity and embeddings derived from high layers of

contextual embedders (BERT and GPT-2), which incorporate meaning from adjacent

words and sentences. Moreover, regardless of the embedder, at short semantic distances,

this pattern is reversed. We propose that this reversal reflects a contrastive code that

allows the brain to distinguish semantically very similar words (**Figure 3**).

Our finding of dense and vectorial encoding of meaning contrasts with the idea

that there is a one-to-one correspondence between neurons and concepts (Bausch et al.,

2021, Dijksterhuis et al., 2024; Quian Quiroga et al., 2005 and 2009; Rey et al., 2025). Of

course, words are not exactly the same as concepts; our results, therefore, raise the

possibility that word coding in the hippocampus may be dense while concept coding is

sparse. Our attempt to isolate the most canonically concept-like words speech resulted in

three cases where the single concept was repeated enough times for statistical analysis

('God', 'Mark', and 'Michelle'); in these cases, we still find that those identities are

encoded by many neurons (**Figure 2H**). These results, if found to be generally true,

would suggest that concept-related words are densely coded when situated in the context

of natural speech. That situation may imbue words with meanings of adjacent ones

(Vaswani et al., 2017) (on the other hand, see Rey et al., 2025). Nonetheless, a direct

comparison of results is difficult because of the many differences between our methods

and these earlier ones.

Why are semantic embedding distances anti-correlated with neural embedding

distances for word2Vec? Our data do not provide a clear answer to this question, but, in

aggregate, they suggest the outlines of an answer. Overall, we find that contextual

embedding distances and neural embeddings both align with word frequency and

polysemy levels (which themselves are highly correlated, **Figure 3L**). Thus, the meaning

of a high-polysemy word is more influenced by context than that of a low-polysemy word

- this makes sense because high polysemy words, almost by definition, have meanings

that are highly influenced by context. We suspect that it is this context that is the primary

driver of the correlation between neural and semantic embeddings. The non-contextual

embedders lack all of this context and give words a single context-free embedding.

Absent the context, the underlying overall negative correlation is uncovered. This

underlying negative correlation does not have a ready explanation, but may reflect a

special property of the hippocampus, which is associated with contrastive coding

(Bromley et al., 1994; Chanales et al., 2017; Prince et al., 2025; Radford et al., 2021;

Tian et al., 2020). One study shows a positive correlation between single neuron and

semantic non-contextual embeddings in a region outside of the hippocampus (Jamali et

al., 2024).

If hippocampal semantic coding is vectorial, then it shares important features with

semantics in large language models (LLMs). This does not mean, however, that the brain

is simply a LLM itself - indeed, we find clear differences between hippocampus and

LLMs (for example, anti-correlations between neural and semantic embedding for non-

contextual embeddings and for very close words). However, if the brain is not just one

big LLM, LLMs more generally do offer a good comparison for thinking about neural

data, and as a source of interpretational guidance for human neuroscientific data. In other

words, LLMs may be more akin to a distant neuroscience model organism, like a fruit fly,

that may share some key principles in common with human brains.

METHODS

Human intracranial neurophysiology

All experiments were performed in the Epilepsy Monitoring Unit (EMU) at Baylor St. Luke's Hospital using standardized approaches (Xiao et al., 2024A and B).

Experimental data were recorded from 10 adult patients (6 males and 4 females) undergoing intracranial monitoring for epilepsy. The hippocampus was not a seizure focus area of any patients included in the study. Single neuron data were recorded from stereotactic (sEEG) probes, specifically AdTech Medical probes in a Behnke-Fried configuration. Each patient had an average of 3 probes terminating in the left and right hippocampus. Electrode locations are verified by co-registered pre-operative MRI and post-operative CT scans. Each probe includes 8 microwires, each with 8 contacts, specifically designed for recording single-neuron activity. Single neuron data were recorded using a 512-channel *Blackrock Microsystems Neuroport* system sampled at 30 kHz. To identify single neuron action potentials, the raw traces were spike sorted using the *WaveClus* sorting algorithm (Chaure et al., 2018)and then manually evaluated. Noise was removed and each signal was classified as multi or single unit using several criteria: consistent spike waveforms, waveform shape (slope, amplitude, trough-to-peak), and exponentially decaying ISI histogram with no ISI shorter than the refractory period (1 ms). The analyses here used all single and multiunit activity.

Electrode visualization

Electrodes were localized using the software pipeline intracranial Electrode Visualization (iELVis; Groppe et al., 2017) and plotted across patients on an average brain using Reproducible Analysis & Visualization of iEEG (RAVE; Magnotti et al., 2020). For each patient, DICOM images of the preoperative T1 anatomical MRI and the postoperative Stealth CT scans were acquired and converted to NIfTI format (Li et al., 2016). The CT was aligned to MRI space using FSL (Jenkinson et al., 2002; Jenkinson & Smith, 2001). The resulting coregistered CT was loaded into BioImage Suite (version 3.5β1; Joshi et al., 2011) and the electrode contacts were manually localized. Electrodes coordinates were converted to patient native space using iELVis MATLAB functions (Yang et al., 2012) and plotted on the Freesurfer (version 7.4.1) reconstructed brain surface (Dale et al., 1999). Microelectrode coordinates are taken from the first (deepest) macro contact on the Ad-Tech Behnke Fried depth electrodes. RAVE (Magnotti et al., 2020) was used to transform each patient's brain and electrode coordinates into MNI152 average space. The average coordinates were plotted together on a glass brain with the hippocampus segmentation and colored by patient.

Natural language stimuli

Patients with epilepsy and healthy language function listened to six episodes (5- to 13-minutes in duration) taken from *The Moth Radio Hour,* and totaling 47:25 minutes of listening time (7,346 words). The six stories were, "Life Flight", "The Tiniest Bouquet", "The One Club", "Wild Women and Dancing Queens", "My Father's Hands" and "Juggling and Jesus". In each story, a single speaker tells an autobiographical narrative in front of a live audience. The six selected stories were chosen to be both interesting and linguistically rich. Stories were played continuously through the built-in audio speakers of the patient's hospital television. The audio signal was synchronized to the neural recording system via analog input going directly from the computer playing the audio into the Neural Signal Processor at 30 kHz.

Jabberwocky stimuli
After story listening, a subset of four patients listened to 17 minutes of
Jabberwocky stories (1,890 words) to assess neural specificity for semantics (**Figure 1D**).
Jabberwocky stimuli are words that are altered from the real words in the stories used in
the experiment to become words that have no meaning, for example, "toom" or "skook".
An example sentence of jabberwocky stimuli is: Before I smow it, the foodbace toom is
at my frose woor, and a coakle of them have bapes of bour under their alk. We used the
software, *Wuggy*, to transform story transcripts into jabberwocky (Keuleers & Brysbaert,
2010). This program matched the subsyllabic segment length of each word and replaced
words with letters that match phonetic probabilities of orthographic English.
Jabberwocky preserves syntactic structure by retaining function words and morphemes,
even though it lacks coherent semantics.
552
Audio Transcription
After experiments, the audio .wav file was automatically transcribed using Python and
Assembly AI, a state-of-the-art AI model to transcribe and understand speech. The transcribed
words and corresponding timestamp output from Assembly AI was converted to a TextGrid and
then loaded into Praat, a software for speech analysis. The original .wav file was also loaded into
Praat and we manually checked the spectrograms and timestamps, correcting each word to
ensure the word onset and offset times are accurate. The TextGrid output of corrected words and
timestamps from Praat was converted to a .xls and loaded into Matlab and Python for further
analysis.
562
Clustering of semantic vectors
To identify the natural semantic categories present in our word data (**Figure 1H-J**), all
unique words were clustered into groups based on related meanings using a word embedding
approach (Joulin et al., 2016; Mikolov, et al., 2013). We used the pre-trained *fastText Word2Vec*
model in MATLAB to extract word embeddings for all words in our dataset (Joulin et al., 2016;
Mikolov et al., 2013). This pre-trained model provides 300-dimensional word embedding
vectors, trained on millions of words text, to capture semantic relationships between words. Any
surname words, such as "Harwood" or proper nouns like "Applebee's" that did not have word
embeddings was discarded from the analysis. To compute and visualize semantic clusters, we
used a t-distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding (t-SNE) algorithm on word embedding
values to reduce the dimensionality of each unique word based on their cosine distance to all
other words, thus reflecting their semantic similarity. Words with similar meanings now have
similar 2D coordinates. We then applied the K-means clustering algorithm to these 2D word
representations and visualized clustered words on a 2D word map (k = 11 clusters, determined
from the silhouette score; Rousseeuw, 1987). We then manually inspected and assigned a distinct
semantic label to each cluster and adjusted categories for accuracy. For example, words
bordering the edges of categories might get mis-grouped and were manually corrected. This
method is comparable to those used in other studies of semantics (Huth et al., 2016; Jamali et al.,
2024).
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Firing rate responses to words
We computed the duration for each word in the story and for each non-word in
Jabberwocky stimuli. The firing rate of a neuron for each word was the number of spikes

occurring during the word, beginning with an 80 ms delay (and adding a further 80 ms delay
afterwards) to account for the approximate delay of information to hippocampus. This value was
divided by word duration and then multiplied by 1000 to compute spikes per second.
589
Regressing spike counts on word embeddings
We regressed the activity of each neuron onto five principal components derived from
Word2Vec or BERT semantic embedding vectors (**Figure 1F-G**). We first used Principal
Component Analysis (`pca`, Matlab 2023b) to reduce the dimensionality of word embeddings,
selecting the first five principal components (PCs) to represent each word. We chose five PCs
based on cross-validation to minimize model deviance (error), effectively balancing under- and
over-fitting. These five PCs collectively explained approximately 30% of the variance in the
original embedding data. Each of the five embedding-derived PCs served as predictors in a
Poisson generalized linear model with a log-link function (`fitglm`, Matlab 2023b). Since spike
counts for each word follow a Poisson distribution, we modeled the spike count of neuron *n* for
word *w* using a Poisson regression with a log-duration offset, represented mathematically as:

$$log\left(\lambda_{w,n}\right) = log(duration_w) + \beta_0 + \beta_1 V_{w1} + \beta_2 V_{w2} + \beta_3 V_{w3} + \beta_4 V_{w4} + \beta_5 V_{w5}$$
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Where $\lambda_{w,n}$, the expected spike count for word (*w*) and neuron n (*n*), is modeled by the linear
regression coefficients (β), one for each of the five principal components of that word (V_w), plus
the y-intercept (β_0) and the duration offset, log(duration$_w$). The duration offset adjusts for the
varying lengths of words, ensuring that the model predicts a spike rate (spikes per unit time)
rather than just an absolute spike count. We used 10-fold cross validation to train and test the
model on held-out data, over 200 iterations. A neuron was fit by the model if the Spearman
correlation between predicted and actual firing rates (concatenated across all folds) was
significant ($p < 0.05$). The deviance measures the goodness-of-fit of the Poisson model by
quantifying the difference between the observed data and the model's predictions, with lower
values reflecting a better fit. Model performance was also evaluated by comparing whether the
deviance of the real model was significantly smaller than the deviance of a model fit on shuffled
spike counts for that neuron ($p < 0.05$, one-sided Wilcoxon signed-rank test). All neurons had
significantly lower deviance in their actual model compared to the shuffled.
We used the same Poisson linear model to predict neural activity from past and future
word embeddings. Here, a separate model was fit for each word index, by which we shifted the
words relative to the spike counts, such that the spike count of a neuron for word X corresponded
to an embedding of a different word that was in the future or past, based on the index. To
determine whether neural activity was predicted by each word index, the distribution of actual
model performance (y-yhat spearman correlation) from every neuron was compared to that of a
shuffled model (chance distribution) - a model trained on shuffled firing rates of that neuron. For
each word index, these distributions were compared using the one-sided Wilcoxon signed-rank
test ($P < 0.05$). Model performance was significantly greater than chance for up to six words in
the past and three words in the future.
626
Single neuron encoding of words
Semantic encoding of each neuron was quantified using a ROC (receiver operating
characteristic) analysis, a standard approach that has previously been used to characterize neural
responses during behavior (Britten et al., 1992; Li et al., 2017). Here, the firing rate of each

neuron is the classifier that is evaluated on its ability to distinguish instances of a word from all
other words. For statistical reasons, since we need to compare two distributions, we performed
the analysis on every neuron for every word that occurred at least 4 times (283 words, on average
each word occurred 20 times, the most was 407).

Upon application of a binary threshold to firing rates and comparison with a binary event
vector denoting word label (1 for the current word, 0 for other words), word detection based on
neural activity can be measured using the true positive rate (TPR) and the false positive rate
(FPR). Plotting the TPR against the FPR over a range of binary thresholds, spanning the
minimum and maximum values of the neural signal, yields an ROC curve that describes how
well the neural signal detects that word at each threshold. With the `perfcurve` function in
Matlab 2023b, we used the area under the ROC curve (AUC) as a metric for how strongly
neurons are modulated by each word (**Figure 2A-C**). The number of word occurrences in the
'Current word' class were balanced with the number of words in "Other" class by subsampling
words from the "Other" class over 100 iterations of the analysis. For each neuron, AUC was
computed, then averaged and compared to a null distribution across iterations. For each neuron,
the observed AUC was compared to a null distribution of 1,000 AUC values generated from
constructing ROC curves over randomly permuted neural signals (that is, firing rate permuted
across words, thus destroying the relationship between neural responses and word labels). The p-
value is calculated as the proportion of permuted AUC values that are greater than or equal to the
observed AUC and a neuron was considered significantly responsive if $P < 0.05$. To better
visualize encoding magnitude, we standardized each AUC value by subtracting chance (0.5)
from every value, resulting in values between 0 and 0.5.

Contextual embeddings

In an excel file of our transcribed words, each row corresponded to an individual token,
including punctuation and sentence terminators such as ".", "?", and "!". We reconstructed
sentences by iterating through the file and appending words until encountering a recognized
sentence delimiter. This process yielded multi-word segments that more accurately captured
natural linguistic boundaries. Any remaining words following the last delimiter were grouped
into a final sentence. Notably, punctuation tokens were preserved to maintain contextual fidelity
but were tracked carefully to avoid introducing sub-word alignment errors during tokenization.

To extract GPT-2 embeddings, we employed the "gpt2-large" model (Radford et al.,
2019) from the Hugging Face Transformers library (Wolf et al., 2020). This version of GPT-2
features a total of 37 layers (1 initial embedding layer plus 36 transformer layers), each
producing 1280-dimensional hidden states, with a maximum context length of 1024 tokens. We
extracted hidden states from all 37 layers using a progressive context approach designed to
incorporate the autoregressive nature of GPT-2. Specifically, for each sentence, we began with
an empty context and added words sequentially. After adding each new word, we tokenized the
updated text string via GPT-2's Byte Pair Encoding (BPE) tokenizer, ran the token sequence
through the model in a no-grad (inference-only) mode, and retrieved the hidden states. We then
identified the newly appended word's sub-word tokens and averaged their corresponding vectors
to obtain a single word-level embedding. Because GPT-2 often splits words into multiple sub-
word fragments (otherwise known as "tokens", e.g., "computa" + "tion"), averaging those
fragments preserves consistency with the transcript's original word boundaries. The GPT-2
outputs resulted in 1280-dimensional embeddings for each layer.

We conducted a parallel extraction procedure with the "bert-base-cased" model (Devlin et
al., 2018), also accessed via the Hugging Face Transformers library (Wolf et al., 2020). In
contrast to GPT-2, whose progressive context reflects its decoder-only design, BERT uses a
masked language modeling objective and an encoder-only architecture. We therefore segmented
the data into complete utterances - often spanning multiple sentences - and tokenized them up to
BERT's 512-token limit. To ensure that these representations aligned with the transcript words,
we again averaged sub-word embeddings whenever a single word was split by the tokenizer.
However, in this instance, we extracted only the last layer of hidden states from BERT, yielding
one 768-dimensional vector per token, which was then aggregated to the word level. All code
was implemented in Python using PyTorch (Paszke et al., 2019) as the underlying deep learning
framework, and final embeddings were saved in Excel spreadsheets for subsequent analyses.

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Embedding distance
The semantic embedding vector for each word was its full vector of embedding values
extracted from either Word2Vec (300 in length), BERT (768 in length), or GPT-2 (1280 in
length) language models. For each word, it's neural embedding vector was every neuron's firing
rate response for that word (356 in length). Neurons were combined across all 10 patients,
making a pseudo population totaling 356 neurons. We used the function `pdist`, Matlab 2023b,
to compute cosine distance between semantic embedding vectors of all 26,978,185 word pairs,
known as semantic distance. We repeated the procedure, computing cosine distance between
neural embedding vectors for all word pairs, termed neural cosine distance. "All word pairs"
included pairs of the same word except in Word2Vec analysis, since cosine distance between
two instances of the same word will always be 0 (since embedding values are the same). This
procedure was followed for word pairs within and between each semantic category to create the
semantic distance similarity matrix in **Figure 1H**, for the neural and semantic distances within
each category in **Figure 3L**, and for the neural distance similarity matrix in **Figure 4D**. For
Figure 3C, we computed the semantic distance from BERT embeddings for all word pairs
within each semantic category, then computed neural distance for all word pairs within each
semantic category and correlated (Pearson) these two distance vectors to compute the values
shown on the y-axis. Similarly, we correlated semantic distance and neural distance from all
word pairs (unless otherwise specified in the caption) to compute the correlation coefficients in
Figure 3G-J. In **Figure 4E-F**, neural cosine distance was always computed between word pairs
of multiple instances (minimum 2) of the same word. We took the median of these distances to
extract one distance value per word.

$$\text{Cosine distance } (w_1, w_2) = 1 - \frac{W1 * W2}{||W1|| \ ||W2||}$$

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715   Cosine distance between neural or semantic embeddings of word 1 and word 2 is the 1 minus the
716   dot product of embedding vectors for each word, divided by the magnitudes (norms) of each word
717   vector.

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Support Vector Machine Decoder

We used a SVM decoder (Bishop, 2006) with a nonlinear radial-based function kernel to
determine whether firing rates during words carry information about semantics by distinguishing
each category from all others (**Figure 4B**). We also repeated this analysis with a linear kernel,
and we found equivalent results to Figure 4B except performance was much lower, only 2-5%
above chance level (results not shown). For each semantic category, we used the firing rate
responses from every neuron (n = 356) for each word in the category (class 1) and all rates for all
other words (class 2) to predict the class for each word from these neural data. The number of
words in each class were always balanced – across comparisons and across semantic categories
through random subsampling of words from the larger class. Random selections of class
observations were repeated for 100 iterations, giving us the average classification accuracy over
1,000 test splits of the data for each session. To train and test the model, we used a tenfold cross-
validation. In brief, the data were split into ten subsets, and in each iteration the training
consisted of a different 90% subset of the data; the testing was done with the remaining 10% of
the data. We used the default hyperparameters as defined in `fitcsvm`, MATLAB 2023b, with
hyperparameter $C = 1$ and z-scored normalization of firing rates. Decoder performance was
calculated as the percentage of correctly classified test trials. We compared model performance
for predicting train and test data to check for overfitting. In each iteration, we trained a separate
decoder with randomly shuffled class labels. The performance of the shuffled decoder was used
as a null hypothesis for the statistical test of decoder performance.

Decoding jabberwocky stimuli. We used the same methods described above on a linear
SVM model (default hyperparameters) to decode whether a word was a real word from podcast
stories or a non-word from the jabberwocky stimuli from neural population activity. We
excluded the function words from jabberwocky stimuli in this analysis since those words are real
words but used in a nonsensical context.

Sparseness

The firing rate of each neuron during the word duration (see Methods, *Firing rate*
responses to words) was used to compute sparseness values. We applied the method used by
Vinje and Gallant (Vinje & Gallant, 2000) which is a slight modification of the method first
proposed by Treves and Rolls (Rolls & Tovee, 1995).

Lifetime sparseness. For a given neuron, for each semantic category, its lifetime sparseness was
computed using:

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$$s = \frac{1 - \frac{1}{N}\frac{(\Sigma_i r_i)^2}{\Sigma_i r_i^2}}{1 - \frac{1}{N}} \quad ,$$

where N is the number of words in the semantic category and r_i is the response of the neuron to
the ith stimulus. The sparseness value ranges from 0 (when the neuron is least sparse and
responds equally to all the words in the category) to 1 (when the neuron is maximally sparse and
responds only to 1 word). Lifetime sparseness was averaged across all neurons in each category
and plotted in **Figure 4C -** left.

Population sparseness. For a given word in each semantic category, its population sparseness
was computed using:

$$s = \frac{1 - \frac{1}{M}\frac{\left(\Sigma_j r_j\right)^2}{\Sigma_j r_j^2}}{1 - \frac{1}{M}} \quad ,$$

where M is the number of neurons and r_j is the response of the jth neuron to the word. This sparseness value also ranges from 0 (when the word is least sparse and elicits equal responses from all the neurons) to 1 (when the word is maximally sparse and elicits response from only 1 neuron). For each semantic category, population sparseness was averaged across words in that category and plotted in **Figure 4D** - right. Lifetime and population sparseness results in **Figure 4D** are consistent even when balancing the number of words across semantic categories by subsampling the larger category (data not shown).

Polysemy

To compute polysemy for each word, we computed cosine distance between each BERT embedding vector of all occurrences of a given word (at least 2 occurrences, 594 words total). We took the median of this distribution to obtain one polysemy value per word (**Figure 4E-F**). The distribution of polysemy values for all words in each semantic category is plotted in Figure 4E – top. We repeated the polysemy analysis using neural embeddings instead of BERT embeddings to compute the neural cosine distance values in Figure 4E – bottom and Figure 4F. We also computed polysemy for each word as the total number of synsets (i.e., distinct senses) associated with each word in WordNet (Fellbaum, 1998). These polysemy values yielded the same results shown in Figure 4E-F (results not shown).

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