Thalamic encoding of lexical status is lateralized during reading aloud

Dengyu Wang^{1,2}, Witold J. Lipski^{1*}, Alan Bush^{3,7}, Anna Chrabaszcz⁴, Christina Dastolfo-Hromack⁵, Michael W. Dickey⁵, Julie A. Fiez^{4,6} & R. Mark Richardson^{3,7,8*}

- Department of Neurological Surgery, University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, Pittsburgh, PA, 15213, USA
- 2. School of Medicine, Tsinghua University, Beijing, 100084, China
- 3. Brain Modulation Lab, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, MA, 02114, USA
- 4. Department of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, 15213, USA
- Department of Communication Science and Disorders, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, 15213, USA
- 6. University of Pittsburgh Brain Institute, Pittsburgh, PA, 15213, USA
- 7. Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA, 02115, USA

*For correspondence: lipskiw@upmc.edu

mark.richardson @mgh.harvard.edu

Abstract

To explore whether the thalamus participates in lexical status encoding, local field potentials were recorded in patients undergoing deep brain stimulation lead implantation while they read aloud single-syllable words and nonwords. Bilateral decreases in thalamic beta (12-30Hz) activity were preferentially locked to stimulus presentation, and these decreases were greater when nonwords were read. Increased broadband gamma (70-150Hz) activity also was locked preferentially to speech onset bilaterally, but greater nonword-related increases in this activity were observed only on the left, demonstrating lateralization of thalamic gamma selectivity for lexical status. In addition, this lexical status effect was strongest in more anterior thalamic locations, regions which are more likely to receive pallidal than cerebellar afferents. These results provide evidence from intracranial thalamic recordings for the lateralization and topography of subcortical lexical status processing.

1 Introduction

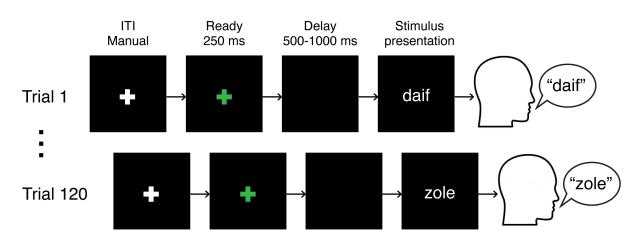
2 Reading words aloud depends on our ability to transform information about letter combinations 3 into plans for producing speech sounds. Determining whether a group of letters represents a 4 word is one important component of this process. While word reading can be supported by 5 processes that permit mapping entire word forms to lexical representations, nonword reading 6 depends upon sublexical processes that map spelling and sound (Coltheart et al., 2001). 7 Functional neuroimaging has allowed for increasingly detailed study of the cortical regions that 8 participate in these phonological processes, for instance demonstrating that a region of the 9 inferior frontal gyrus (Brodmann's areas 44 and 45) is significantly more active for nonword 10 reading than for word reading (Fiez et al., 1999; Hagoort et al., 1999; Heim et al., 2005; 11 Herbster et al., 1997). The role of subcortical regions in spoken word production remains 12 elusive, however, due to the low resolution of neuroimaging techniques for measuring 13 subcortical activity. Resolving this knowledge gap is important, given that cortical activity is 14 modulated by thalamic outflow through basal ganglia-thalamo-cortical and cerebello-thalamo-15 cortical circuits (Behrens et al., 2003; Bosch-Bouju et al., 2013; Hwang et al., 2017; Zhang et 16 al., 2010). Despite the cortico-centric focus of most experimental work and accompanying 17 models, there is increasing recognition of the role of subcortical processes in language 18 production (Llano, 2015).

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20 Neurosurgical procedures involving invasive recording and stimulation in epilepsy patients 21 undergoing electrode implantation for seizure mapping traditionally have provided the only direct 22 means to test hypotheses related to cortical function during reading (Juphard et al., 2011). 23 Epilepsy surgery, however, rarely provides access to the thalamus and basal ganglia. 24 Movement disorders surgery, on the other hand, routinely provides direct access to the 25 thalamus and basal ganglia in awake patients. Regionalization of language function within the 26 left thalamus was established in surgery for movement disorders in the 1970s, in seminal 27 studies by Ojemann and colleagues that employed electrical stimulation principles borrowed 28 from traditional cortical language mapping protocols (Johnson & Ojemann, 2000). More 29 recently, event-related potential recordings in patients undergoing deep brain stimulation (DBS) 30 have suggested that thalamic structures are engaged in the analysis of syntactic, semantic and 31 lexical information during acoustically presented language tasks (Tiedt et al., 2017; Wahl et al., 32 2008). 33

- 34 We recently developed a protocol to study subcortical activity during single-syllable
- 35 word/nonword reading, in patients undergoing DBS lead implantation (Chrabaszcz et al., 2019;
- Lipski et al., 2018). Here, we explore whether the thalamus participates in the encoding of
- 37 lexical status, by recording local field potentials (LFP) in patients undergoing DBS lead
- implantation for essential tremor targeting the ventral intermediate nucleus of the thalamus
- 39 (Vim, which corresponds to the ventral portion of the ventral lateral posterior nucleus (VLp)
- 40 (Macchi & Jones, 1997)). Subjects performed a reading aloud task where they were asked to
- 41 read aloud single-syllable words or nonwords that appeared on a computer screen (Figure 1).
- 42 We assessed thalamic participation in lexical status encoding by comparing task-related neural
- 43 responses when participants spoke nonwords vs. words.





45

- 46 **Figure 1: Schematic of experiment.** ITI: inter-trial interval.
- 47

48 **Results**

49 Eleven subjects read aloud single-syllable words alternating with nonwords, intraoperatively during implantation of DBS leads targeting the Vim nucleus of the thalamus. LFP recordings in 50 51 four subjects were obtained unilaterally (3 left, 1 right) during microelectrode mapping, where 52 each of these subjects performed up to four sessions of 120 trials. Recordings from seven 53 subjects were obtained from DBS lead contacts, where each of these subjects performed two 54 sessions: in the first session unilateral recordings were made from the left thalamus, and in the 55 second session bilateral recordings were preformed simultaneously. A total of 117 recordings 56 (data recorded in one location in one session) from 89 recording sites pooled across subjects 57 were collected. Recording locations were determined in MNI (Montreal Neurological Institute) 58 space (Figure 2) and comprised locations within or bordering (within 1mm) the ventral anterior 59 nucleus (VA) and the ventral lateral anterior nucleus (VLa) (38/89), or the VLp (51/89).

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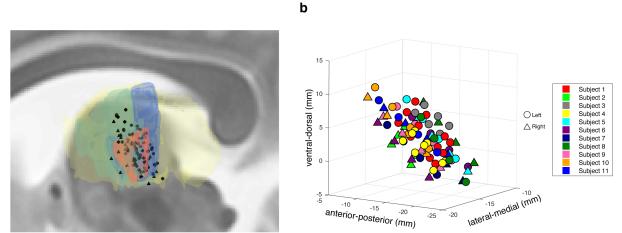
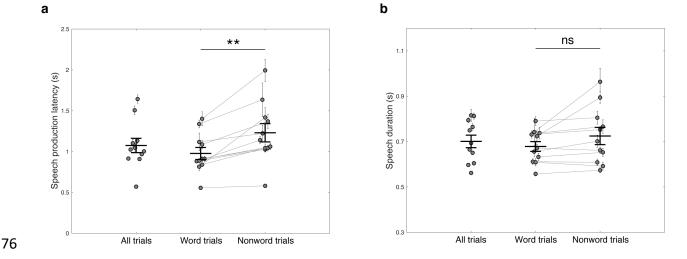




Figure 2: Localization and MNI-transformation of recording sites. a Sagittal view of the recording locations of all the subjects relative to the thalamus (yellow), VA and VLa (green), VLp (blue), and Vim (orange), superimposed on a T2-weighted image. b A plot of all the recording sites in MNI space with their MNI-defined coordinates. Recording contacts of different subjects are color-coded. In both **a** and **b**, right hemisphere recording locations are flipped to the left hemisphere: left side contacts are marked with circles, and right side contacts are marked with triangles.

69 Behavioral performance

- 70 Across all subjects, the mean speech production latency (interval between stimulus presentation
- and onset of speech) was 1.07 ± 0.29 s, and the mean duration of speech was 0.70 ± 0.09 s.
- 72 Nonword production latency (1.23 ±0.37s) was significantly longer than word production latency
- 73 (0.98 ±0.24s) across subjects (two-tailed paired t-test, t(10)=4.47, *P*=0.0012; Figure 3a).
- 74 Nonword production duration across subjects (0.68 ±0.07s) was not significantly different from
- vord production duration (0.72 ±0.13s; two-tailed paired t-test, t(10)=1.99, *P*=0.074; Figure 3b).



77 Figure 3: Behavioral outcomes. a Mean and SEM of speech production latency for each

subject across all trials (first column), word trials (second column), or nonword trials (third

column), superimposed with the mean and SEM of speech production latency across subjects.

80 **b** Mean and SEM of speech duration for each subject across all trials (first column), word trials

81 (second column), or nonword trials (third column), superimposed with the mean and SEM of

- speech duration across subjects. Two-tailed paired t-test, ***P*<0.01, ns: not significant.
- 83

84 Thalamic neural activity is modulated during reading aloud

- 85 Thalamic LFP activity exhibited significant time-frequency modulation during the reading aloud
- task (Figure 4). Compared to baseline (a period of 1000ms preceding stimulus presentation),
- 87 there was a significant decrease in spectral power in the beta frequency band (12-30Hz) that
- 88 occurred at stimulus presentation and lasted until the end of speech (-1.08-0.62s relative to
- speech onset, two-tailed Wilcoxon signed-rank test, n=117, P<0.05, Bonferroni corrected). In
- 90 contrast, a significant increase in broadband gamma (70-150Hz) activity occurred shortly before
- 91 the onset of speech and persisted throughout the utterance (-0.15-0.59s relative to speech
- 92 onset, two-tailed Wilcoxon signed-rank test, n=117, P<0.05, Bonferroni corrected). Average z-
- 93 scored task-related beta and broadband gamma response amplitudes of each trial were then
- 94 calculated over the respective significant time windows for all the recordings. As a result, 66/117
- 95 (56%) of the recordings showed significant beta activity decreases during the task compared to
- 96 baseline (one-tailed one-sample t-test, *P*<0.05, Bonferroni corrected), and significant task-
- 97 related broadband gamma activity increases were observed in 91/117 (78%) of the recordings
- 98 (one-tailed one-sample t-test, *P*<0.05, Bonferroni corrected).
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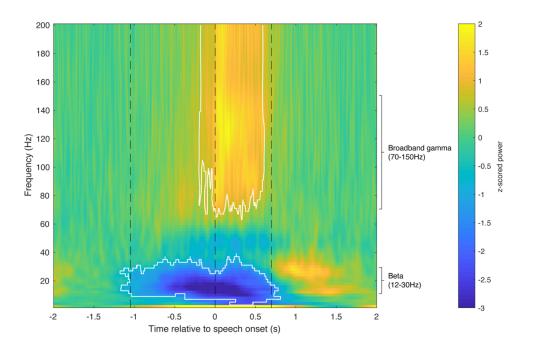
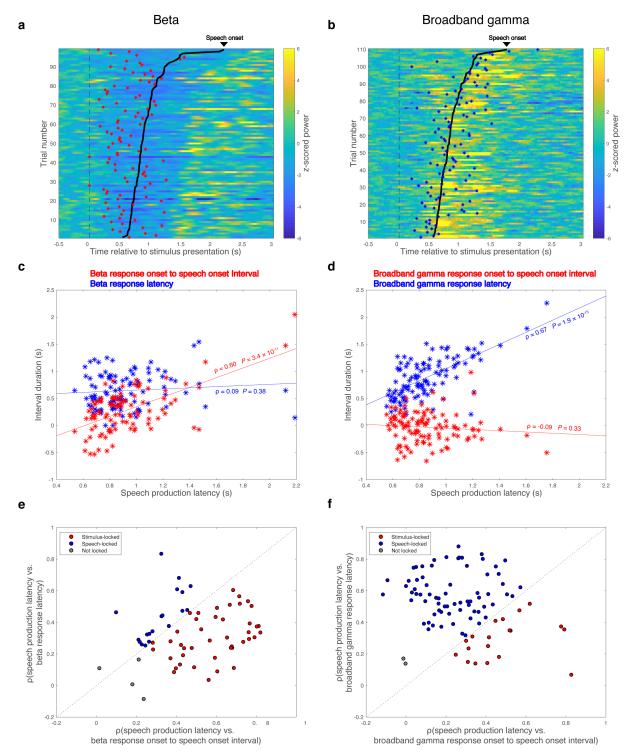


Figure 4: Thalamic neural activity shows task-related modulations. A spectrogram of thalamic neural activity during the reading aloud task, averaged across all trials and all recordings. Trials are aligned to speech onset. Significant changes compared to baseline are marked in white contours (-1.08-0.62s for beta activity, and -0.15-0.59s for broadband gamma activity; Wilcoxon signed-rank test, n=117, *P*<0.05, Bonferroni corrected). Average time points of stimulus presentation, speech onset and offset are marked with black dashed lines.

107

108 Beta and broadband gamma responses differ in timing properties

- 109 The average interval between stimulus presentation and onset of a significant change from
- baseline in the spectral power of a particular frequency band, i.e. the mean band response
- 111 latency, was shorter for significant beta decrease responses than for significant broadband
- gamma increase responses (0.79 ±0.18s vs. 0.99 ±0.18s, two-tailed two-sample t-test, t(155)=-
- 113 6.97, $P < 10^{-5}$). The mean band response onset to speech onset interval was also greater for
- significant beta decrease responses than for significant broadband gamma increase responses
- 115 (0.31 ±0.15s vs. 0.13 ±0.14s, two-tailed two-sample t-test, t(155)=7.67, P<10⁻⁵). To characterize
- the temporal properties of these responses, we examined their trial-to-trial relationships to
- stimulus presentation versus speech onset (Figure 5a-d). Of the 66 recordings that showed
- significant task-related beta power decreases, 43 (65.2%) had beta responses time-locked to
- stimulus presentation, whereas only 19 (28.8%) had beta responses time-locked to speech
- 120 onset (Figure 5e). In contrast, the majority (70/91, 77.0%) of significant broadband gamma
- power increases were time-locked to speech onset, with a minority (19/91, 21.0%) time-locked
- to stimulus presentation (Figure 5f). These relationships were dissociated (χ^2 test, α =0.05;
- 123 Supplementary Table 1), with beta decreases more likely to be stimulus-locked ($\chi^2(1)=31.4$,
- 124 $P < 10^{-5}$) and broadband gamma increases more likely to be speech onset-locked ($\chi^2(1)=36.1$,
- 125 *P*<10⁻⁵). These temporal correlations did not differ between recording sides (χ^2 test, α =0.05;
- 126 Supplementary Table 2).



128 Figure 5: Beta decrease response is locked to stimulus presentation while broadband

129 gamma increase response is locked to speech onset. a, b Raster plots for beta band

- 130 responses (**a**) and broadband gamma responses (**b**) across trials of two representative
- 131 recordings. Trials are aligned to stimulus presentation (indicated with black dashed lines) and
- 132 sorted by speech production latency. Speech onsets are denoted with bold black lines. Onsets
- 133 of significant beta activity decreases are marked with red asterisks in **a** and onsets of significant

broadband gamma activity increases are marked with blue asterisks in **b**. **c**, **d** Band response

- 135 onset to speech onset interval (red asterisks) and band response latency (blue asterisks) are
- 136 correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with speech production latency respectively, for the
- two representative recordings. **e**, **f** The same correlation analysis is performed for all the
- recordings with significant beta decrease responses and all the recordings with significant
- broadband gamma increase responses, and the results are summarized in \mathbf{e} and \mathbf{f} , respectively.
- 140 Recordings locked to stimulus presentation are shown in red, recordings locked to speech onset 141 are shown in blue, and recordings not locked to either stimulus presentation or speech onset
- are shown in blue, and recordings not locked to either stimulus presentation or speech onsetare shown in gray.
- 143

144 Thalamic beta activity is selective to lexical status

- 145 To investigate the involvement and lateralization of the thalamus in lexical processing, only
- 146 recordings that were from subjects with bilateral lead recordings (n=7) and that showed
- significant task-related modulation were included for lexicality-related analyses. As a result, 55
- recordings (21 unilateral session left-side recordings, 34 from bilateral session left-side (20) and
- 149 right-side (14) recordings) were included for beta lexical selectivity analysis. Nonword
- 150 production was associated with a greater suppression of beta power compared with reading
- 151 words. These differential beta responses were observed in both hemispheres (Figure 6a, c). In
- the left thalamus, significant word vs. nonword beta amplitude differences occurred between
- 153 0.8s and 1.8s after stimulus presentation (two-tailed paired t-test, n=41, *P*<0.05, Bonferroni
- 154 corrected). Similarly, significant beta amplitude differences occurred in the right thalamus at 0.2-
- 155 1.7s relative to stimulus presentation (two-tailed paired t-test, n=14, *P*<0.05, Bonferroni
- 156 corrected).
- 157

158 To quantify the lexical selectivity of thalamic beta activity, a lexical selectivity index was

- determined for each of these recordings. We utilized the time window of significant task-related
- 160 beta activity decrease (-1.08-0.62s relative to speech onset (see Figure 4)) to calculate a mean
- 161 task-related beta response power value for each trial, and then the values were compared
- between nonword trials vs. word trials in each recording by performing a two-sample t-test. The
- resulting t-statistic was the beta lexical selectivity index for this recording: a beta lexical
- 164 selectivity index less than zero indicated stronger beta activity decrease (thus having more
- 165 negative z-scored power) during nonword trials than during word trials, and vice versa. The
- 166 mean beta lexical selectivity indexes for unilateral session left-side recordings (-0.49 ±0.76),
- bilateral session left-side (-0.52 ±0.82) and right-side (-0.82 ±0.89) recordings were all
- significantly less than zero (two-tailed one-sample t-test, t(20)=-2.97, *P*=0.0075; t(19)=-2.83,
- 169 P=0.011; t(13)=-3.48, P=0.0041; Figure 6e), suggesting that the magnitude of the beta

decrease was significantly nonword-selective in each case. There were no significant

- 171 differences in beta lexical selectivity between recordings in the left and right thalamus, or
- 172 between recordings from the unilateral and bilateral sessions on the left side (two-tailed two-
- sample t-test, unilateral session left-side recordings vs. bilateral session right-side recordings:
- 174 t(33)=1.18, *P*=0.25; bilateral session left-side recordings vs. bilateral session right-side
- 175 recordings: t(32)=1.05, P=0.30; unilateral session left-side recordings vs. bilateral session left-

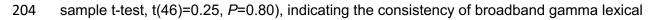
176 side recordings: t(39)=0.093, *P*=0.93).

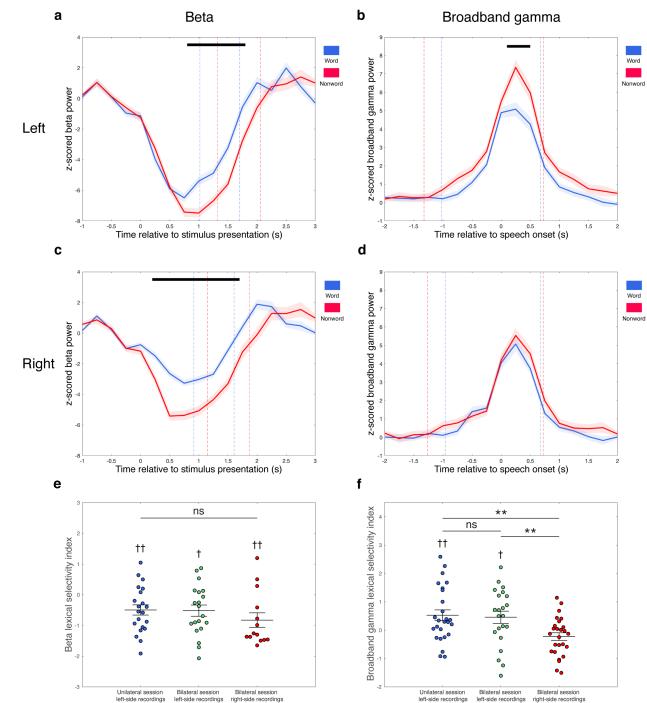
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178 Lexical selectivity of thalamic broadband gamma activity is lateralized

179 74 recordings (26 unilateral session left-side recordings, 22 bilateral session left-side 180 recordings, and 26 bilateral session right-side recordings) were included for broadband gamma 181 lexical selectivity analysis. Significantly greater broadband gamma activity increases during 182 nonword production were observed in the left thalamus, starting 0.1s after speech onset and 183 persisting throughout the following 0.4s (two-tailed paired t-test, n=48, P<0.05, Bonferroni 184 corrected; Figure 6b). In the right thalamus, however, the broadband gamma response curves 185 observed during nonword and word reading were similar, without a significant difference in 186 response amplitudes (two-tailed paired t-test, n=26, α =0.05, Bonferroni corrected; Figure 6d). 187

188 We next calculated broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes, using the significant time 189 window of -0.15-0.59s relative to speech onset (see Figure 4). A broadband gamma lexical 190 selectivity index greater than zero indicated stronger broadband gamma activity increase during 191 nonword trials than during word trials, and vice versa. The mean broadband gamma lexical 192 selectivity indexes of both unilateral session left-side recordings (0.53 ±0.96) and bilateral 193 session left-side recordings (0.46 ± 1.00) were significantly greater than zero (two-tailed one-194 sample t-test, t(25)=2.80, P=0.0097; t(21)=2.14, P=0.044), indicating significant correlation of 195 the magnitude of the gamma response to lexical status (Figure 6f). In contrast, broadband 196 gamma responses in right side recordings did not show significant lexical selectivity (-0.22 197 ± 0.68 , two-tailed one-sample t-test, t(25)=-1.67, P=0.11). The differences in broadband gamma 198 lexical selectivity between the left and right thalamus were demonstrated with two-tailed two-199 sample t-test (unilateral session left-side recordings vs. bilateral session right-side recordings: 200 t(50)=3.25, P=0.0021; bilateral session left-side recordings vs. bilateral session right-side 201 recordings: t(46)=2.79, P=0.0077), further suggesting that selectivity of thalamic broadband 202 gamma activity to lexical status is lateralized to the left. Recordings in the unilateral and bilateral 203 sessions on the left side did not differ in broadband gamma lexical selectivity (two-tailed two-





205 selectivity between task sessions.



207 Figure 6: Differential band responses during word vs. nonword reading aloud in the left

208 and right thalamus. a-d Comparisons of average band response amplitudes during word (blue)

vs. nonword (red) reading aloud for beta band (**a**, **c**) and broadband gamma (**b**, **d**), in the left (**a**,

- b) and right thalamus (**c**, **d**). Band responses are averaged across trials of respective trial types
- and across recordings that showed significant task-related band responses in each side, aligned

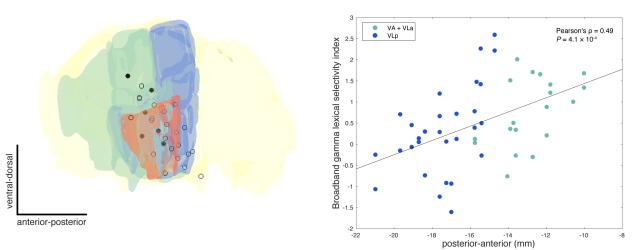
to stimulus presentation for beta band (**a**, **c**) and speech onset for broadband gamma (**b**, **d**). 212 213 Average time points of speech onset and end of speech are marked with dashed lines in a and 214 c, and average time points of stimulus presentation and end of speech are marked with dashed 215 lines in **b** and **d**, for word trials (blue) and nonword trials (red) respectively. Black bars indicate 216 significant differences of response amplitudes between word and nonword trials (two-tailed 217 paired t-test, P<0.05, Bonferroni corrected). Standard errors are shaded in light colors. e Dot 218 plot of beta lexical selectivity indexes of lead recordings that showed significant task-related 219 beta decrease responses, grouped by recording sides and recording sessions (unilateral 220 session left-side recordings in the first column, bilateral session left-side recordings in the 221 second column, and bilateral session right-side recordings in the third column). Mean and SEM 222 of beta lexical selectivity index across recordings of each group is superimposed on each 223 column, respectively. f Dot plot of broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes of lead 224 recordings that had significant task-related broadband gamma increase responses, grouped by 225 recording sides and recording sessions (unilateral session left-side recordings in the first 226 column. bilateral session left-side recordings in the second column, and bilateral session right-227 side recordings in the third column). Mean and SEM of broadband gamma lexical selectivity 228 index across recordings of each group is superimposed on each column, respectively. Two-229 tailed one-sample t-test, †P<0.05, ††P<0.01; two-tailed two-sample t-test, **P<0.01, ns: not 230 significant.

231

232 Left side broadband gamma lexical selectivity is topographically organized

- 233 We observed that the recording sites in the left thalamus that were significantly nonword-
- 234 selective in terms of broadband gamma response activity (broadband gamma lexical selectivity
- index>1.645 based on normal approximation of t-distribution) appeared to comprise more
- anterior locations in MNI space (Figure 7a). Pearson's correlation tests demonstrated that the
- 237 broadband gamma lexical selectivity index significantly correlated with recording location along
- the anterior-posterior axis (MNI-defined y coordinate; n=48, ρ=0.49, *P*=0.00041; Figure 7b) and
- the ventral-dorsal axis (MNI-defined z coordinate; n=48, ρ =0.30, *P*=0.041; Supplementary
- Figure 1a), but not the lateral-medial axis (MNI-defined x coordinate; n=48, ρ =-0.14, *P*=0.34;
- 241 Supplementary Figure 1b) within the left thalamus. To avoid multicollinearity and to test out
- 242 possible interactions between variables, a stepwise linear regression model was applied, which
- 243 determined that the anterior-posterior location of the recording was the only significant predictor
- 244 (estimated coefficient=0.17, SE=0.044, *P*=0.00041), while neither the ventral-dorsal location
- 245 (*P*=0.72) nor the interaction between ventral-dorsal location and anterior-posterior location
- 246 (*P*=0.14) explained the result. In order to control for subject differences and session differences,
- 247 we further fitted linear mixed effects models to the data, entering subject and session as random
- 248 effects. The results indicate that even after accounting for subject and session variability, the
- 249 broadband gamma lexical selectivity index in the left thalamus had a significant gradient along

- the anterior-posterior axis, with greater broadband gamma lexical selectivity index more likely to
- be observed anteriorly (estimated coefficient=0.17, SE=0.043, *P*=0.00032). Based on the linear
- 252 mixed effects modeling results, neither ventral-dorsal location (estimated coefficient=0.061,
- 253 SE=0.035, P=0.087) nor lateral-medial location (estimated coefficient=-0.11, SE=0.093, P=0.24)
- 254 of the recording had significant effect on broadband gamma lexical selectivity in the left
- thalamus. Taken together, these results suggest that broadband gamma lexical selectivity is
- dependent on the anterior-posterior location of the recording in the left ventral lateral thalamus,
- 257 with greater nonword selectivity more likely to occur anteriorly.
 - а



b

258

259 Figure 7: Broadband gamma lexical selectivity depends on anterior-posterior location of 260 the recording in the left thalamus. a Left side lead recording sites are plotted together with 261 anatomical structures (thalamus in vellow, VA and VLa in green, VLp in blue, and Vim in 262 orange), viewed from a lateral direction. Recording sites where significantly nonword-selective 263 recordings in terms of broadband gamma response amplitudes (broadband gamma lexical 264 selectivity index>1.645 based on normal approximation of t-distribution) were observed in either 265 session are filled with black, and remaining recording sites are shown in open circles. b 266 Broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes of left side lead recordings that showed significant 267 task-related broadband gamma responses are correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with 268 recording locations along the anterior-posterior axis (y coordinates in MNI space). Recordings 269 inside VA or VLa are green-colored and recordings inside VLp are blue-colored.

- 270
- No significant correlation (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) between broadband gamma lexical
- selectivity index and recording location was observed for right side recordings (Supplementary
- Figure 2 and 3), or for beta lexical selectivity on either side (Supplementary Figure 4 and 5), by
- any statistical modeling. These results suggest that the topography of lexical selectivity is
- 275 unique to broadband gamma responses in the left thalamus.
- 276

277 Discussion

278 Subcortical contributions to language production have been hypothesized largely from 279 correlations of focal brain damage with aphasic syndromes and from language studies using 280 functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) or scalp electroencephalography (EEG) (Hebb & 281 Ojemann, 2013). Our results are the first to demonstrate thalamic neural activity during reading 282 aloud. We discovered that the encoding of lexical status is differentially represented in thalamic 283 neural activity. Whereas greater beta activity decrease occurred during nonword trials as 284 compared to word trials in both hemispheres, greater gamma increases in the left but not right 285 thalamus were associated with the spoken production of nonwords as compared to words. 286 Importantly, the level of broadband gamma lexical selectivity was greater in more anterior 287 thalamic recording locations, regions more likely to receive basal ganglia than cerebellar 288 afferents (Alexander et al., 1986).

289

290 We first observed that thalamic beta activity showed a task-related decrease, locked to stimulus 291 presentation, consistent with the expected beta desynchronization that accompanies motor 292 action. Beta oscillations are proposed to signal the maintenance of current sensorimotor and 293 cognitive states (Engel & Fries, 2010), and event-related beta activity decreases during the 294 preparation and the execution of voluntary movements have been observed across relevant 295 brain regions, including the thalamus (Klostermann et al., 2007; Kühn et al., 2004; Paradiso, 296 2004; Tzagarakis et al., 2010). Beta activity was reduced across the entirety of each task event, 297 which requires a series of underlying neural dynamics (processing the visual stimulus, retrieval 298 of lexical information, encoding of the phonological information, and execution of articulatory 299 movement), suggesting a state change that facilitated the process of speech production. 300 Significant increases in broadband gamma activity began before but were predominantly locked 301 to speech onset. Given that broadband gamma activity is thought to index synchronized local 302 neuronal firing (Ray et al., 2008; Ray & Maunsell, 2011) and is associated with the functional 303 activation of relevant brain regions during a wide range of sensorimotor and cognitive tasks, 304 including speech and language processing (Bouchard et al., 2013; Chrabaszcz et al., 2019; 305 Crone et al., 2006; Juphard et al., 2011; Uhlhaas et al., 2011), our data suggest that the ventral 306 lateral thalamus tracks speech production.

307

Studies of the brain networks involved in lexical processing during reading primarily have been
confined to cortical regions (Dietz et al., 2005; Fiez et al., 1999; Hagoort et al., 1999; Heim et
al., 2005; Herbster et al., 1997; Juphard et al., 2011; Mechelli et al., 2003; Xu, 2001). In this

311 study, we utilized the balanced design of words and nonwords in the stimulus sets and 312 simultaneous bilateral recordings in the seven participants to determine whether lexical 313 processing is differentially represented in the thalamus during reading aloud. Thalamic 314 broadband gamma oscillations showed significantly stronger activation during nonword reading 315 aloud than during word reading aloud, which evolved around speech onset and was present 316 throughout the entire utterance. Notably, this broadband gamma lexical selectivity was found 317 only in recordings from the left side. According to classic speech production models (Levelt et 318 al., 1999), the time course of the observed broadband gamma activity difference between word 319 and nonword trials corresponded to the articulatory stage of reading aloud. It is unlikely that this 320 lexicality effect was motoric, considering that the motor complexity was balanced between word 321 and nonword stimuli, and that this differential broadband gamma modulation was not 322 equivalently observed in the right hemisphere. In fact, the dual-route theory of reading aloud has 323 suggested that words and nonwords are read aloud differently: while real words can be read 324 aloud via either grapheme-to-phoneme conversions or direct word-to-sound mapping, nonwords 325 can only be read aloud via grapheme-to-phoneme conversions (Coltheart et al., 2001). It is 326 possible that phonological encoding was still ongoing during nonword production, after a failed 327 internal lexicon lookup procedure. Indeed, stronger gamma (50-150Hz) responses for pseudo-328 words than for words have been reported in Broca's area (Brodmann's areas 44 and 45) during 329 silent word reading, where the length of this differential response increased with the length of 330 the stimuli (Juphard et al., 2011). In addition, it is possible that reading aloud nonwords created 331 a learning or error correction demand (Hickok, 2014). We propose that the lexicality effect on 332 thalamic broadband gamma activity during reading may reflect left thalamic participation in 333 phonological encoding, learning, and feedback monitoring during speech and language 334 processing. Although previous studies have supported a lateralized thalamic role in language 335 (Johnson & Ojemann, 2000), our results from simultaneous bilateral direct recordings in the 336 thalamus are the first to provide direct supporting evidence.

337

A topography for broadband gamma lexical selectivity was observed in the left thalamus. The lexical selectivity of the broadband gamma response was significantly correlated with the anterior-posterior location of recording sites in the left thalamus, with a higher lexical selectivity more likely to appear anteriorly. In contrast, a gradient for broadband gamma lexical selectivity was not observed in the right thalamus. This finding further supports a unique language role lateralized to the left thalamus, and suggests functional heterogeneity in the left ventral lateral thalamus during speech and language processing. The anterior portion (VA and VLa) receives

345 input primarily from the internal globus pallidus and substantia nigra pars reticulata, and has 346 strong connections with frontal cortex, including Broca's area (Alexander et al., 1986; Behrens 347 et al., 2003; Bosch-Bouju et al., 2013; Hintzen et al., 2018; Hwang et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 348 2010). Broca's area has consistently been associated with lexico-phonological processing (Dietz 349 et al., 2005; Fiez et al., 1999; Hagoort et al., 1999; Heim et al., 2005; Herbster et al., 1997; 350 Juphard et al., 2011; Mechelli et al., 2003; Xu, 2001). Thus, this thalamic region may participate 351 in differential lexical processing during nonword vs. word reading aloud in concert with Broca's 352 area. In contrast, the posterior region (VLp), which receives cerebellar projections and 353 preferentially sends output to primary motor cortex (Behrens et al., 2003; Bosch-Bouju et al., 354 2013; Hintzen et al., 2018; Hwang et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 2010), might be more related to 355 motor control of a selected motor plan. This idea is supported by previous stimulation studies 356 that have reported location-dependent effects of thalamic stimulation on speech and language: 357 stimulation of VLa could cause acceleration of language processes, while stimulation of VLp 358 often affected motor aspects of speech, such as perseveration and stuttering speech (Hebb & 359 Ojemann, 2013). We note that VA has been proposed to participate in selection of a language 360 unit during speech production, via basal ganglia-thalamo-cortical loop interactions (Crosson, 361 2013); it also is included in the "planning loop" in the GODIVA model of speech production 362 (Bohland et al., 2010).

363

364 In contrast, although significantly stronger nonword-related than word-related beta activity 365 decreases accompanied the reading aloud task bilaterally, neither lateralization nor topography 366 was observed for thalamic beta lexical selectivity. Therefore, beta activity decreases likely 367 represent nonspecific changes of cognitive and sensorimotor states that prepare the entire 368 thalamo-cortical network for a behavioral change. Note that in the current work we did not try to 369 compare task-related band response strength between different recording locations and 370 different recording sides among subjects and sessions, because of a number of uncontrollable 371 factors that affect the band oscillatory power (e.g. recording impedances and baseline neural 372 activity are variable across subjects, sessions, and recording sides). In contrast, the lexical 373 selectivity index, which was calculated by comparing word-related and nonword-related band 374 response strength within each recording, is mostly independent of those factors and thus 375 comparable at the group level. This idea is supported by the fact that lexical selectivity indexes 376 in both beta and broadband gamma bands remained consistent across sessions. 377

- 378 In summary, our results are the first demonstration of time-frequency modulations of thalamic
- neural activity during reading aloud. These data suggest that lateralized and topographically
- 380 organized thalamic pathways participate in speech production differently, based on whether a
- 381 word or nonword is being read.
- 382

383 Materials and methods

384 Subjects

- 385 Eleven human subjects (3 females, 68.4 ±8.0 years) with essential tremor undergoing awake
- 386 DBS implantation surgery targeting the Vim nucleus of the thalamus were studied. All
- 387 participants were right-handed native English speakers. None had significant cognitive
- 388 impairment based on a detailed neuropsychological evaluation performed during clinical
- evaluation for DBS surgery. All but one underwent bilateral (left side first) DBS lead implantation
- 390 (one subject had one lead implanted in the left hemisphere previously and underwent right side
- 391 lead implantation in the current study). Full demographic description of subjects is provided in
- 392 Table 1. All protocols were approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of
- 393 Pittsburgh (IRB Protocol #PRO13110420), and all participants gave written informed consent.

394	Table 1: Subject characteristics.
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Subject	Age	Gender	Handedness	MMSE	LFP recording side	LFP recording type	Number of recordings	Mean number of trials per session	Trials rejected, %
1	61	Male	Right	NR	Left	Mapping electrodes	12	111	7
2	70	Female	Right	30/30	Right	Mapping electrodes	6	107	11
3	66	Male	Right	NR	Left	Mapping electrodes	6	116	3
4	75	Male	Right	26/30	Left	Mapping electrodes	9	112	5
5	64	Male	Right	30/30	Both	DBS leads	12	104	13
6	53	Male	Right	NR	Both	DBS leads	12	113	5
7	67	Male	Right	26/30	Both	DBS leads	12	111	7
8	71	Male	Right	26/30	Both	DBS leads	12	108	9
9	84	Female	Right	30/30	Both	DBS leads	12	118	2
10	73	Female	Right	30/30	Both	DBS leads	12	109	9
11	68	Male	Right	28/30	Both	DBS leads	12	114	5

395 MMSE: Mini-Mental State Examination; NR: not recorded.

396

397 Stimuli and experimental paradigm

398 Subjects performed a reading aloud task either in the course of subcortical mapping procedure 399 during the surgery (4/11 subjects with mapping electrode recordings) or after the placement of 400 DBS lead in each side (7/11 subjects with lead electrode recordings). For the 4 subjects with 401 mapping electrode recordings, each subject performed up to 4 task sessions, while the 7 402 subjects with lead electrode recordings each performed 2 task sessions (the first session 403 occurred after left lead was implanted, and the second session took place after bilateral 404 implantation was completed). Each session included 120 trials. The stimuli were consonant-405 vowel-consonant (CVC) words and nonwords that were presented on a computer screen. Four 406 lists of 120 stimuli (Supplementary Table 3) were constructed based on a previous work (Moore 407 et al., 2017). The first 60 stimuli of each list alternated between unique words and nonwords, 408 and those words and nonwords were balanced along a number of psycholinguistic features, 409 including phoneme probability, phonological neighborhood density, bigram frequency, and

- 410 biphone probability (see Supplementary Table 4 for the results of statistical comparisons (two-
- 411 tailed two-sample t-test, n=60, α =0.05) between the two conditions in terms of these
- 412 psycholinguistic parameters, which were calculated using the English Lexicon Project database
- 413 (Balota et al., 2007)). The nonwords were duplicated twice to construct the last 60 stimuli of
- each list. One of the four stimulus lists was presented to the subjects during each task session.
- 415 For lexicality-related analyses, only the first 60 trials of each session were used.
- 416
- The experimental paradigm was programmed using MATLAB (MathWorks, Natick, MA) and
- 418 Psychophysics Toolbox extensions (Brainard, 1997). A schematic of the experiment is shown in
- 419 Figure 1. Before each trial, a white fixation cross was presented on the screen. Each trial was
- 420 initiated manually by the experimenter, with the appearance of a green fixation cross on the
- 421 screen. The green fixation cross lasted 250ms, and was followed by a variable time delay (500-
- 422 1000ms) during which the screen remained black. Then the CVC syllable stimulus was
- 423 presented in white on the screen, and subjects were instructed to read it aloud. The text
- remained on the screen until the subjects finished speaking. A white fixation cross was
- 425 presented on the screen during the inter-trial interval (ITI).
- 426

427 Electrophysiological recordings

428 For the 4/11 subjects where physiological subcortical mapping was administered. LFP 429 recordings were performed using the Neuro-Omega recording system (Alpha Omega, Nazareth, 430 Israel) and mapping electrodes that have a stainless steel macroelectrode ring (0.55mm in 431 diameter, 1.4mm in length) 3mm above the tip, while in the other 7/11 subjects LFP signal was 432 recorded from Medtronic Model 3387 DBS leads (Medtronic, Minneapolis, MN) with four 433 platinum-iridium electrodes (1.27mm in diameter, 1.5mm in length) that are spaced 1.5mm 434 apart, using Grapevine Neural Interface Processor (Ripple LLC, Salt Lake City, UT). The 435 mapping electrodes and the DBS leads targeted the Vim. For subjects with mapping electrode 436 recordings, three mapping electrodes were placed in three trajectories (anterior, central, and 437 posterior or central, posterior, and medial) of a standard cross-shaped Ben-Gun array with a 438 2mm center-to-center spacing, and made simultaneous recordings starting at 15mm above the 439 surgical target with manual advance in 0.1mm steps. The reading aloud task was carried out in 440 pauses during subcortical mapping procedure and subjects performed in up to four recording 441 sessions, with each session corresponding to a different recording depth. Mapping electrode 442 recordings were performed only during the left side implantation except for one subject who 443 underwent unilateral implantation in the right side, and thus got mapping electrode recordings

444 only in the right side. For subjects with DBS lead electrode recordings, the task was 445 administered in two recording sessions, one after the implantation of the DBS lead in the left 446 side, receiving recordings from only the left DBS lead electrodes, and the other after bilateral 447 DBS lead implantation was completed, receiving simultaneous recordings from bilateral lead 448 electrodes. The LFP signal recorded from mapping electrodes was sampled at 44kHz and 449 bandpass filtered from 0.075Hz to 10kHz, and data recorded from DBS lead electrodes were 450 collected at 30kHz. Signal collected in one recording site in one session counted as one 451 recording. Subject recording characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

452

453 Audio recordings

454 Subjects' speech signal was recorded using an omnidirectional microphone (Audio-Technica 455 model ATR3350iS Mic, frequency response 50-18,000Hz (Audio-Technica, Machida, Japan) for 456 6 subjects, and PreSonus model PRM1 Precision Flat Frequency Mic, frequency response 20-457 20,000Hz (PreSonus, Baton Rouge, LA) for 5 subjects) placed approximately 8cm away from 458 the subject's mouth and oriented at an angle of about 45°. The audio signal was collected by 459 Grapevine Neural Interface Processor at a sampling frequency of 30kHz. For subjects with 460 mapping electrode recordings, the audio signal was then synchronized with neural signal 461 recorded by the Neuro-Omega system using digital pulses delivered to both recording systems 462 via a USB data acquisition unit (model USB-1208FS, Measurement Computing, Norton, MA).

463

464 Electrode localization

465 DBS lead electrodes and mapping electrodes were localized using LEAD-DBS toolbox (Horn et 466 al., 2019; Horn & Kühn, 2015). Postoperative brain scans were coregistered to preoperative 467 brain scans using open-source Advanced Normalization Tools (ANTs). Pre- and postoperative 468 acquisitions were then normalized into MNI ICBM152 NLIN 2009b stereotactic space (Fonov et 469 al., 2011). Both coregistration and normalization results underwent manual quality check. Semi-470 automatic reconstruction of electrodes in MNI space was performed in LEAD-DBS and MNI-471 defined coordinates were determined for all the electrode contacts (Figure 2). A digitized and 472 normalized to MNI space version of the Ewert atlas (Ewert et al., 2018) was used to categorize 473 the electrode contacts. A contact was assigned to a nucleus if it was within or in the vicinity of 474 the nucleus (1mm cut-off) based on the minimum Euclidean distance between the contact and 475 the voxels of the nucleus.

476

477 Data pre-processing

478 The audio signal was segmented into trials and the speech sound was coded by communication 479 science students trained in phonetics in a custom-designed graphical user interface 480 implemented in MATLAB. The coding results were manually checked by a speech-language 481 pathologist. For each trial, (1) the onset of speech was identified, (2) the end of speech was 482 identified, and (3) the speech content was identified. Trials were considered to have correct 483 speech responses and were included in further analyses if they met all the following criteria: (1) 484 the subject's speech response could be clearly identified by the coder. (2) the subject's 485 response was a CVC syllable consisting of the targeted phonemes, and (3) the response did not 486 make nonword into a word or word into a nonword.

487

488 Electrophysiological data were pre-processed using custom code based on FieldTrip toolbox 489 (Oostenveld et al., 2011) in MATLAB. The data were resampled at 1kHz and band-pass filtered 490 from 2 to 400Hz. The data were also notch-filtered at 60Hz and its' harmonics to remove line 491 noise. Time series data from all recording sites were visually and quantitatively inspected for 492 guality control. The data were then segmented into trials, each spanning 2s before stimulus 493 presentation to 2s after the end of speech. Trials with artefacts or excessive noise were 494 identified both manually and quantitatively, and were excluded for subsequent analyses. 495 Combined with trials that did not meet the criteria for correct speech responses, an average 6.9 496 ±3.4% of trials per subject were rejected (Table 1). The remaining data were common-average 497 referenced to minimize noise. For spectral-temporal analysis, the data were decomposed using 498 Morlet wavelet transformation (width=7) over frequencies of 2Hz to 200Hz in increment steps of 499 2Hz. For band activity analyses, instantaneous analytic amplitudes of beta and broadband 500 gamma frequency bands were extracted from respective bandpass filters using Hilbert 501 transform (MATLAB function *hilbert*). The resulting signal of each trial was z-scored relative to 502 the baseline (a period of 1000ms preceding stimulus presentation).

503

504 Task-related responses

505 Time-frequency data were averaged across all trials centering on speech onset (from 2s before 506 speech onset to 2s after speech onset), z-scored to baseline, and then averaged across all 507 recordings. Nonparametric two-tailed Wilcoxon signed-rank test was performed to determine 508 significant time-frequency modulations compared to baseline (n=117, α =0.05, Bonferroni 509 corrected). Significant time windows for beta and broadband gamma determined by the 510 statistical results were used to calculate a mean beta response strength and mean broadband

511 gamma response strength for each trial in each recording. Then one-tailed one-sample t-test

512 was performed on each recording to determine recordings that had significant beta activity

513 decreases and recordings that had significant broadband gamma activity increases, respectively

- 514 (α =0.05, Bonferroni corrected).
- 515

516 Locking analysis

517 In an effort to characterize the timing properties of beta decrease response and broadband 518 gamma increase response for recordings with significant task-related changes in either band 519 activity, we examined the trial-to-trial relationships of significant band response onsets to 520 stimulus presentation versus speech onset in these recordings. First, beta or broadband gamma 521 time series data of each trial were smoothed using a moving average kernel of 200ms (MATLAB 522 function smoothdata) and z-scored to baseline, in order to minimize single-trial noise. For 523 recordings with significant beta decrease responses, a thresholding method with a critical value 524 of z=-1.645 was applied to determine the onset of beta response for each trial. Specifically, for 525 each trial, the period with band response power below the threshold that gave minimum 526 summed activity was considered as activation period and the beginning of the period was 527 determined as onset of beta response. For recordings with significant broadband gamma 528 increase responses, the onset of broadband gamma increase was determined in a similar way. 529 except that a critical value of z=1.645 was used and period of maximum summed activity above 530 the threshold was considered as activation period. For each band, a trial of one recording was 531 discarded for locking analysis if no beyond-threshold period was present throughout the trial. 532 Two intervals were calculated for each trial: (1) the interval between stimulus presentation and 533 the onset of significant band response (band response latency), and (2) the interval between the 534 onset of significant band response and the onset of speech. Then the two intervals were 535 correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with speech production latency (interval between 536 stimulus presentation and onset of speech) across trials for each recording, respectively. The 537 band response of a recording was considered to be more time-locked to stimulus presentation, 538 if (1) band response onset to speech onset interval was significantly correlated with speech 539 production latency, and (2) the correlation coefficient (Pearson's o) between band response 540 onset to speech onset interval and speech production latency was greater than the correlation 541 coefficient between band response latency and speech production latency. On the contrary, the 542 band response was considered to be more time-locked to speech onset, if (1) band response 543 latency was significantly correlated with speech production latency, and (2) the correlation 544 coefficient between band response latency and speech production latency was greater than the 545 correlation coefficient between band response onset to speech onset interval and speech

- 546 production latency. If a band response did not meet any of the two criteria, it was considered not
- 547 locked to either stimulus presentation or speech onset. χ^2 tests were performed to differentiate
- 548 the locking properties of broadband gamma increase response and beta decrease response,
- and to test if the locking properties differed between recording sides (α =0.05).
- 550

551 Lexical selectivity analysis

552 We utilized the first 60 trials of recordings that were from the seven subjects with bilateral data 553 and that showed significant task-related modulations in beta or broadband gamma activity to 554 make comparisons between the left and right thalamus in terms of band lexical selectivity. A 555 mean z-scored band response curve averaged across trials and across recordings was 556 obtained for each frequency band, each trial type (word/nonword), in each side. Trials were 557 aligned to stimulus presentation for beta and aligned to speech onset for broadband gamma. based on their respective locking properties. Periods of significant differences between word-558 559 related responses and nonword-related responses were determined with two-tailed paired t-test 560 using a sliding window of 100ms (α =0.05, Bonferroni corrected).

561

562 To quantify the extent of band response difference between word and nonword trials, beta 563 lexical selectivity indexes and broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes were calculated for 564 respective recordings. For each recording, the mean response power values of a particular 565 frequency band over the corresponding significant time window determined before (see Task-566 related responses) were calculated for word trials and nonword trials. Two-sample t-test was 567 then performed between nonword-related power values and word-related power values, and the 568 resulting t-statistic was the lexical selectivity index of that frequency band for that recording. For 569 beta, a lexical selectivity index smaller than zero meant that the recording showed stronger beta 570 activity decrease (thus having more negative z-scored power) during nonword trials than during 571 word trials, and vice versa. For broadband gamma, a lexical selectivity index greater than zero 572 indicated that the recording showed stronger broadband gamma activity increase during 573 nonword reading aloud than during word reading aloud, and vice versa. The beta or broadband 574 gamma activity of a recording was considered significantly nonword-selective, if lexical 575 selectivity index was smaller than -1.645 for beta or greater than 1.645 for broadband gamma 576 (normal approximation of t-distribution). Two-tailed one-sample t-test was performed to test if 577 lexical selectivity indexes of a selected group of recordings were significantly different from zero 578 $(\alpha=0.05)$. Two-tailed two-sample t-test was performed to test if lexical selectivity indexes 579 significantly differed between two groups of recordings (α =0.05).

580

581 Analysis of location dependency of lexical selectivity

- 582 We further sought to examine possible dependence of band lexical selectivity on recording
- 583 location, for both beta band and broadband gamma and in both left and right recording sides.
- 584 Several regression models were applied to the data. First, simple linear regression (Pearson's
- 585 correlation, α =0.05) was performed to correlate lexical selectivity index with recording location:
- 586 anterior-posterior location (MNI-defined y coordinate), ventral-dorsal location (MNI-defined z
- 587 coordinate), and lateral-medial location (MNI-defined x coordinate), respectively. A series of
- 588 stepwise linear regression models (MATLAB function *stepwiselm*, response variable: lexical
- selectivity index, predictor variables: MNI-defined x, y, z coordinates and their interactions,
- 590 α =0.05) were then carried out to test out possible variable interactions, minimize
- 591 multicollinearity, and determine the final location dependency model of band lexical selectivity.
- 592 Finally, in order to account for possible lexical selectivity differences that might exist due to
- subject- and session-specific variations, linear mixed effects models (MATLAB function *fitglme*)
- 594 were also applied to the data, setting subject and session as random effects.
- 595

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- 601

602 Competing interests

603 The authors declare no competing interests.

604

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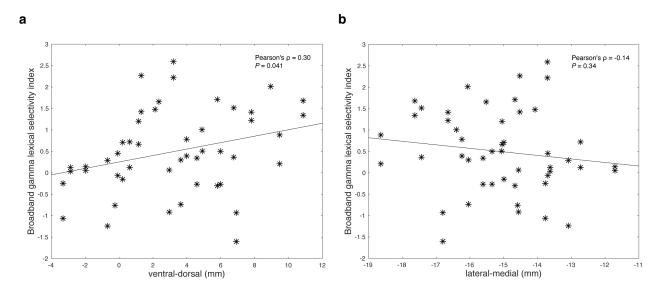
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759	Thalamic encoding of lexical status is lateralized during reading aloud
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762	Wang et al., 2020
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765	Supplementary Information

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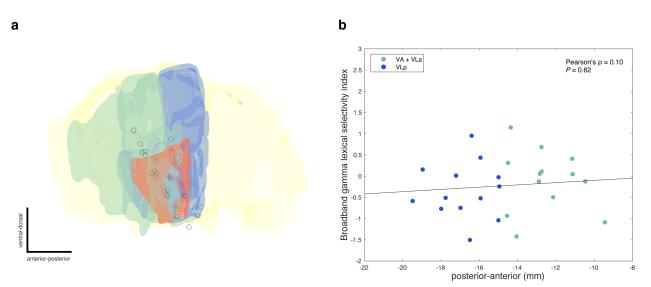


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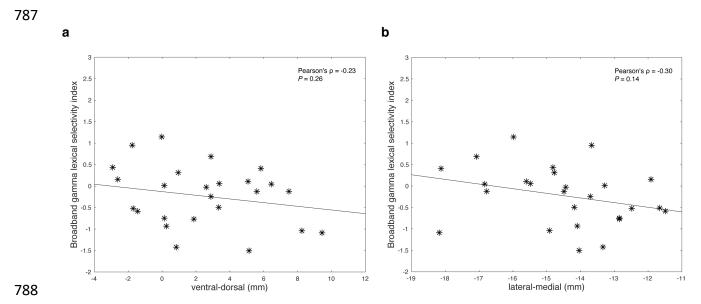
767 Supplementary Figure 1: Correlation between left thalamic broadband gamma lexical

768 selectivity and recording locations along ventral-dorsal and lateral-medial axes.

- 769 Broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes of left side lead recordings that showed significant
- task-related broadband gamma increase responses are correlated (Pearson's correlation,
- α =0.05) with ventral-dorsal locations (**a**) and lateral-medial locations (**b**) of the recordings,
- respectively.



774 Supplementary Figure 2: Broadband gamma lexical selectivity does not depend on 775 anterior-posterior location of the recording in the right thalamus, a Right side lead 776 recording sites are flipped to the left and plotted together with anatomical structures (thalamus 777 in yellow, VA and VLa in green, VLp in blue, and Vim in orange), viewed from a lateral direction. 778 Recording sites where significantly nonword-selective recordings in terms of broadband gamma 779 response amplitudes (broadband gamma lexical selectivity index>1.645 based on normal 780 approximation of t-distribution) were observed are filled with black (n=0), and remaining 781 recording sites are shown in open circles. b Broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes of 782 right side lead recordings that showed significant task-related broadband gamma increase 783 responses are correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with recording locations along the 784 anterior-posterior axis. Recordings inside VA or VLa are green-colored and recordings inside 785 VLp are blue-colored. 786



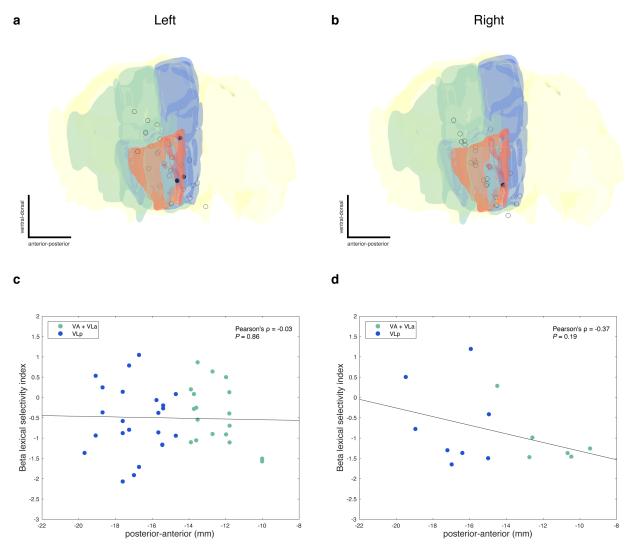
Supplementary Figure 3: Correlation between right thalamic broadband gamma lexical
 selectivity and recording locations along ventral-dorsal and lateral-medial axes.

791 Broadband gamma lexical selectivity indexes of right side lead recordings that showed

significant task-related broadband gamma increase responses are correlated (Pearson's

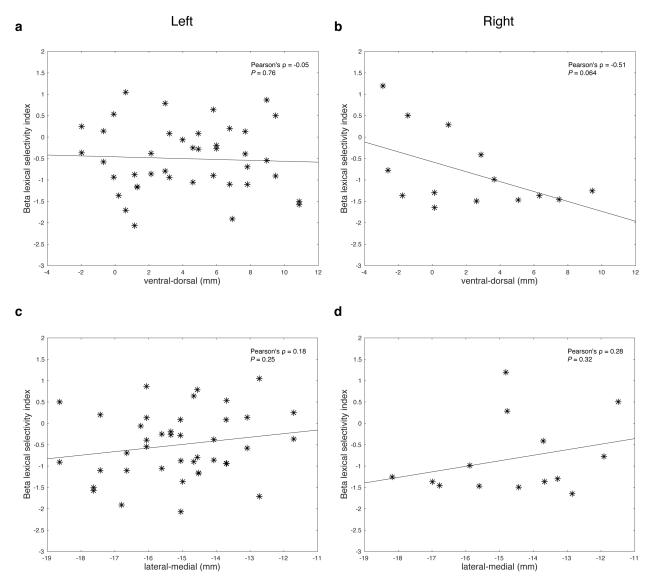
correlation, α =0.05) with ventral-dorsal locations (**a**) and lateral-medial locations (**b**) of the

recordings, respectively.



796 Supplementary Figure 4: Beta lexical selectivity does not depend on anterior-posterior 797 location of the recording in either side. a Left side lead recording sites are plotted together 798 with anatomical structures (thalamus in yellow, VA and VLa in green, VLp in blue, and Vim in 799 orange), viewed from a lateral direction. Recording sites where significantly nonword-selective 800 recordings in terms of beta response amplitudes (beta lexical selectivity index<-1.645 based on 801 normal approximation of t-distribution) were observed in either session are filled with black, and 802 remaining recording sites are shown in open circles. b Right side lead recording sites are flipped 803 to the left and plotted in the same way. c Beta lexical selectivity indexes of left side lead 804 recordings that showed significant task-related beta decrease responses are correlated 805 (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with recording locations along the anterior-posterior axis, **d** Beta 806 lexical selectivity indexes of right side lead recordings that showed significant task-related beta decrease responses are correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with recording locations 807 808 along the anterior-posterior axis. In c and d, recordings inside VA or VLa are green-colored and 809 recordings inside VLp are blue-colored.

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811 Supplementary Figure 5: Correlation between thalamic beta lexical selectivity and

812 recording locations along ventral-dorsal and lateral-medial axes. a, c Beta lexical

813 selectivity indexes of left side lead recordings that showed significant task-related beta decrease

responses are correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with ventral-dorsal locations (**a**) and

815 lateral-medial locations (**c**) of the recordings, respectively. **b**, **d** Beta lexical selectivity indexes of

right side lead recordings that showed significant task-related beta decrease responses are

s17 correlated (Pearson's correlation, α =0.05) with ventral-dorsal locations (**b**) and lateral-medial

818 locations (d) of the recordings, respectively.

819 Supplementary Table 1: Broadband gamma increase response and beta decrease

820 response differ in locking properties.

Beenenee ture	Number of	Stimulus-	Speech-	Not locked
Response type	recordings	locked (%)	locked (%)	(%)
Broadband gamma increase response	91	19 (21)	70 (77)	2 (2)
Beta decrease response	66	43 (65)	19 (29)	4 (6)
X ²	-	31.4	36.1	1.55
Р	-	< 10 ⁻⁵	< 10 ⁻⁵	0.21

821

822 Supplementary Table 2: Locking properties of broadband gamma increase response and

823 beta decrease response do not differ between recording sides.

Posponao tuno	Number of	Stimulus-	Speech-	Not locked
Response type	recordings	locked (%)	locked (%)	(%)
Broadband gamma increase response				
Left	59	10 (17)	47 (80)	2 (3)
Right	32	9 (28)	23 (72)	0 (0)
X ²	2.49			
P	0.29			
Beta decrease response				
Left	49	31 (63)	14 (29)	4 (8)
Right	17	12 (71)	5 (29)	0 (0)
X ²	1.50	•		1
P	0.47			

Stimulus list 1		Stimulu	us list 2	Stimulu	us list 3	Stimulu	Stimulus list 4	
First 60	Last 60	First 60	Last 60	First 60	Last 60	First 60	Last 60	
daif	daif	dight	dight	deave	deave	dipe	dipe	
van	dutt	void	dute	vowed	doif	vote	doan	
dutt	foat	dute	fape	doif	feam	doan	fode	
vied	fute	vet	foon	vat	feeve	vain	fett	
foat	meef	fape	mide	feam	vune	fode	meave	
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meef	paim	mide	noop	vune	noove	meave	peff	
putt	pote	pain	pime	poof	pode	pine	poom	
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pout	toff	peeve	taff	pave	teep	phone	tife	
neave	vapp	veem	toove	mupe	tem	neam	vadd	
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moon	laz	mood	zool	moat	soith	neat	leeth	
paim	saith	noop	loath	noove	luth	peff	sish	
mauve	lesh	mean	luss	main	losh	mode	luthe	
pote	rel	pime	rall	pode	rith	poom	ral	
knife	reez	knot	SUZZ	knight	ruzz	might	riz	
teeve	shuss	peaf	saze	poun	sar	taid	soush	
fought	shule	fight	seash	foot	shoss	knit	shar	
toff	sosh	taff	shez	teep	shiz	tife	shoth	
five	sithe	feed	shile	foam	sile	food	thaze	
vapp	thace	toove	thar	tem	thale	vadd	theal	
fade	thauz	fame	thil	fain	thall	fate	sule	
vife	thole	vade	thure	vight	thice	vate	sazz	
deep	thoss	dine	thush	doubt	thel	dive	thosh	
vean	zal	vome	zel	ved	zoice	veet	zoil	
dawn	zole	date	soth	dime	zus	dean	zil	
laz	daif	zool	dight	soith	deave	leeth	dipe	

825 Supplementary Table 3: Stimulus lists.

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zole zal soth zel zus zoice zil zoil	zal	thole	zel	thure	zoice	thice	zoil	sazz
	laze	thoss	lies	thush	lows	thel	rule	thosh
laws zole leash soth lice zus rice zil	zole	zal	soth	zel	zus	zoice	zil	zoil
	laws	zole	leash	soth	lice	zus	rice	zil

828 Supplementary Table 4: *P* values of statistical tests comparing psycholinguistic

829 parameters between word and nonword stimuli.

	Stimulus list 1	Stimulus list 2	Stimulus list 3	Stimulus list 4
Weighted phonological neighborhood density	0.23	0.43	0.88	0.86
Summed bigram frequency	0.97	0.51	0.39	0.32
Summed phoneme probability	0.47	0.33	0.37	0.51
Summed biphone probability	0.65	0.65	0.65	0.90

830 Two-tailed two-sample t-test, n=60, α =0.05.