

1     **Differentiation of speech-induced artifacts from physiological high**  
2                                    **gamma activity in intracranial recordings**

3     Alan Bush<sup>1,2</sup>, Anna Chrabaszcz<sup>3</sup>, Victoria Peterson<sup>1,2</sup>, Varun Saravanan<sup>1,4</sup>, Christina Dastolfo-  
4     Hromack<sup>5</sup>, Witold J. Lipski<sup>6</sup> and R. Mark Richardson<sup>1,2</sup>

5     1. Brain Modulation Lab, Department of Neurosurgery, Massachusetts General Hospital,  
6             Boston, MA, 02114, USA.

7     2. Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA, 02115, USA.

8     3. Department of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, 15260, USA.

9     4. Department of Brain and Cognitive Sciences, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston,  
10            MA, 02139, USA.

11    5. University of Pittsburgh, Department of Communication Science and Disorders, Pittsburgh,  
12            PA, 15260, USA.

13    6. University of Pittsburgh, Department of Neurological Surgery, Pittsburgh, PA, 15260, USA.

14    Key words: Intracranial recordings, Deep Brain Stimulation, Electrocorticography, Local Field  
15    Potentials, Intraoperative research, Speech, High gamma, Artifact

16    Corresponding author: Alan Bush ([alan.bush@mgh.harvard.edu](mailto:alan.bush@mgh.harvard.edu))

## 17 Abstract

18 There is great interest in identifying the neurophysiological underpinnings of speech production.  
19 Deep brain stimulation (DBS) surgery is unique in that it allows intracranial recordings from both  
20 cortical and subcortical regions in patients who are awake and speaking. The quality of these  
21 recordings, however, may be affected to various degrees by mechanical forces resulting from  
22 speech itself. Here we describe the presence of speech-induced artifacts in local-field potential  
23 (LFP) recordings obtained from mapping electrodes, DBS leads, and cortical electrodes. In  
24 addition to expected physiological increases in high gamma (60-200 Hz) activity during speech  
25 production, time-frequency analysis in many channels revealed a narrowband gamma  
26 component that exhibited a pattern similar to that observed in the speech audio spectrogram.  
27 This component was present to different degrees in multiple types of neural recordings. We  
28 show that this component tracks the fundamental frequency of the participant's voice, correlates  
29 with the power spectrum of speech and has coherence with the produced speech audio. A  
30 vibration sensor attached to the stereotactic frame recorded speech-induced vibrations with the  
31 same pattern observed in the LFPs. No corresponding component was identified in any neural  
32 channel during the listening epoch of a syllable repetition task. These observations demonstrate  
33 how speech-induced vibrations can create artifacts in the primary frequency band of interest.  
34 Identifying and accounting for these artifacts is crucial for establishing the validity and  
35 reproducibility of speech-related data obtained from intracranial recordings during DBS surgery.

## 36 Introduction

37 Invasive brain recordings performed in awake patients undergoing clinically indicated  
38 neurosurgeries provide a unique opportunity to study speech production with better spatial and  
39 temporal precision than noninvasive neuroimaging methods. One of the advantages of  
40 intracranial recordings is a much higher signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) and larger measurable  
41 frequency range. This allows examination of frequency bands above 70 Hz that are typically  
42 unattainable with noninvasive methods due to volume conduction effects and a sharp  
43 attenuation in power at higher frequencies when passing the skull (Mukamel and Fried, 2012).  
44 Many assume that a higher SNR in the intracranial recordings makes them less susceptible to  
45 artifacts frequently observed in noninvasive recordings, such as electro-myographic artifacts  
46 due to eye, jaw, lip and tongue movement (Flinker et al., 2018; Lachaux et al., 2003; Llorens et  
47 al., 2011). Comprehensive quantitative examination of the quality of the signal and identification  
48 of potential sources of artifacts in intracranial recordings, however, have received very little  
49 attention. Several types of artifacts found in scalp EEG have been described in intracranial  
50 recordings, such as eye movement artifacts in fronto-anterior regions (Ball et al., 2009), and  
51 facial and mouth movement artifacts in electrodes close to temporal muscles (Otsubo et al.,  
52 2008). This suggests that movement artifacts can contaminate intracranial LFP recordings  
53 acquired to study of the neural control of speech production.

54 Neural activity in the high gamma frequency band (60-200 Hz) tracks specific features of  
55 speech perception and production. For example, increased power in the high gamma frequency  
56 range has been observed in the superior temporal gyrus in response to auditory stimuli (Crone  
57 et al., 2001; Hamilton et al., 2018; Mesgarani et al., 2014), and in Broca's and motor cortices  
58 during speech production (Edwards et al., 2010; Flinker et al., 2015; Mugler et al., 2018). High  
59 gamma activity recorded from the Rolandic cortex (pre and postcentral gyri) has been shown to  
60 track articulatory and/or acoustic features of speech sounds (Bouchard et al., 2013; Cheung et

61 al., 2016; Chrabaszcz et al., 2019; Conant et al., 2018). Some recent advances have even  
62 made it possible to reconstruct speech from the brain's activity in the high gamma band  
63 (Anumanchipalli et al., 2019; Martin et al., 2019), pointing at its potential utility for brain-  
64 computer interfaces (BCI) to develop speech prostheses. Contamination of the neural signal  
65 with audio acoustics therefore is a potential barrier to decoding the true electrophysiological  
66 correlates of speech production.

67         Given the impact that speech dysfunction can have in patients with movement disorders,  
68 and the fact that the role of subcortical regions in speech production are not well understood, we  
69 recently developed a strategy to simultaneously record from the cortex and the subcortical  
70 implantation target during DBS surgery. With the patient's consent, it is possible to temporally  
71 place an electrocorticography (ECoG) electrode strip on the surface of the brain, a technique  
72 that has been used safely in over 500 patients (Panov et al., 2017; Sisterson et al., 2021). Here,  
73 we report the systematic identification and quantification of speech-induced artifacts in several  
74 types of intracranial electrophysiological recordings obtained using a speech production task  
75 performed during DBS implantation surgery. We show that this artifact is caused by mechanical  
76 vibrations induced by the produced speech, and that it can also be found in a 'blank' headstage  
77 pin not connected to any electrode. The results presented in this study encourage careful  
78 assessment of possible audio-induced artifacts in intracranial recordings obtained during  
79 speech production research. Additionally, we provide suggestions for data collection and  
80 analysis that may reduce the potential for false discoveries.

## 81 **Materials and Methods**

### 82 **Participants**

83 Participants were English-speaking patients with Parkinson's disease (21M/8F, age:  $65.6 \pm 7.1$   
84 years, duration of disease:  $6.1 \pm 4.1$  years) undergoing awake stereotactic neurosurgery for

85 implantation of DBS electrodes in the subthalamic nucleus (STN). Dopaminergic medication  
86 was withdrawn the night before surgery. All procedures were approved by the University of  
87 Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board (IRB Protocol #PRO13110420) and all patients provided  
88 informed consent to participate in the study.

## 89 **Behavioral task**

90 Participants performed a syllable repetition task intraoperatively. Subjects heard consonant-  
91 vowel (CV) syllable triplets through earphones (Etymotic ER-4 with ER38-14F Foam Eartips)  
92 and were instructed to repeat them. Triplets were presented at either low (~50dB SPL) or high  
93 (~70dB SPL) volume using BCI2000 (Schalk et al., 2004) presentation software. The absolute  
94 intensity was adjusted to each participant's comfort level, keeping the difference between low  
95 and high-volume stimuli fixed at 25dB SPL. Participants were instructed to repeat the low-  
96 volume syllable triplets at normal conversation level and the high-volume triplets at increased  
97 volume, "as if speaking to someone across the room". The syllables were composed of a  
98 combination of either of the 4 English consonants (/v/, /t/, /s/, /g/) and either of the 3 cardinal  
99 vowels (/i/, /a/, /u/), resulting in 12 unique CV syllables. A total of 600 triplets were constructed  
100 which were divided among 5 presentation lists, with each session composed of 120 triplets. No  
101 syllable was repeated within a triplet. Syllable position and phoneme occurrence within a triplet  
102 and intensity level (low or high) within each session were balanced. The produced audio was  
103 recorded with an PRM1 Microphone (PreSonus Audio Electronics Inc., Baton Rouge, LA, USA)  
104 at 96 kHz using a Zoom-H6 portable audio recorder (Zoom Corp., Hauppauge, NY, USA). The  
105 average number of trials per session was 106 (range: 14-120). The duration of the utterances  
106 was of  $1.3 \pm 0.3$  s (mean  $\pm$  standard deviation pooled across subjects), with a median within-  
107 subject standard deviation of 0.14 s.

108 **Neural recordings**

109 As part of the standard clinical DBS implantation procedure, functional mapping of the STN was  
110 performed with microelectrode recordings (MER), acquired with the Neuro-Omega recording  
111 system (Alpha-Omega Engineering, Nof HaGalil, Israel) using parylene-insulated tungsten  
112 microelectrodes (25  $\mu\text{m}$  in diameter, 100  $\mu\text{m}$  in length). LFPs were recorded from stainless steel  
113 macroelectrode rings (0.55 mm in diameter, 1.4 mm in length) located 3 mm above the tip of the  
114 microelectrode. The microelectrodes were oriented on the microtargeting drive system using  
115 three trajectories of a standard cross-shaped Ben-Gun array with 2 mm center-to-center  
116 spacing (Central, Posterior, Medial). The MER and LFP signals were recorded at a sampling  
117 rate of 44 kHz. The neural signal was referenced to the metal screw holding one of the guide  
118 cannulas used to carry the microelectrodes. Prior to initiating MER mapping, one or two  
119 subdural electrocorticography (ECoG) strips with 54 or 63 contacts each (platinum 1 mm disc  
120 contacts arranged in a 3x18 or 3x21 layout, with 3 mm center to center spacing, PMT Cortac  
121 Strips models 2110-54-001 and 2011-63-002) were placed through the standard burr hole.  
122 ECoG strips were targeted to the left superior temporal gyrus (covering the ventral sensorimotor  
123 cortex) and left inferior frontal gyrus. Signals from ECoG electrodes and DBS leads were  
124 acquired at 30 kHz with a Grapevine Neural Interface Processor equipped with Micro2 Front  
125 Ends (Ripple LLC, Salt Lake City, UT, USA). Recordings were referenced to a sterile stainless-  
126 steel subdermal needle electrode placed in the scalp, approximately at the location of Cz in a  
127 standard EEG montage.

128 Two or three sessions of the syllable repetition task were performed by each subject  
129 when the microelectrode was positioned at different depths within the STN. The clinical setup  
130 evolved during the collection of this dataset between subjects 22 and 23, transitioning from a  
131 traditional stereotactic frame to the use of robotic stereotactic assistance (Faraji et al., 2020).

132 This change resulted in modification of the stereotactic frame's mechanical coupling to the  
133 electrode micro-drive.

134 After the functional mapping phase patients were implanted with one of the DBS leads  
135 models shown in Table 1:

- 136 ● Medtronic 3389: Platinum/Iridium, 4 cylindrical macroelectrodes, contact length 1.5 mm,  
137 1.27 mm in diameter, 0.5 mm axial electrode spacing (Medtronic, Minneapolis, MN,  
138 USA).
- 139 ● St. Jude 6172 short: Platinum/Iridium, directional lead with two central rings split in three  
140 contacts, 8 contacts total, length 1.5 mm, axial spacing 0.5 mm, lead diameter 1.27 mm,  
141 outer tubing material polycarbonate urethane (Abbott Neuromodulation, Austin, TX,  
142 USA).
- 143 ● Boston Scientific DB-2202-45: Platinum/Iridium, directional lead with two central rings  
144 split in three contacts, 8 contacts total, length 1.5 mm, axial spacing 0.5 mm, lead  
145 diameter 1.3 mm, outer tubing material polyurethane (Boston Scientific Neuromodulation  
146 Corp, Valencia, CA, USA).

147 After the leads were successfully implanted, a final session of the speech task was performed  
148 by some participants, providing LFP data from DBS leads. A summary of recording types and  
149 the corresponding acquisition specifications is provided in Table 1. A schematic illustration of  
150 the intraoperative intracranial recording setup is shown in Figure 1.

### 151 **Vibration sensor**

152 A shielded piezoelectric vibration sensor (model SDT1-028K, TE Connectivity Company) was  
153 fixed to the stereotactic frame using a sticky pad for the duration of one experiment. This sensor  
154 was selected for its flat transfer function at frequencies above 30 Hz. The signal from the sensor  
155 was captured without amplification as an analog input to the Grapevine system

| <b>Data type</b>        | <b>Acquisition system</b> | <b>Model/Manufacturer</b>   | <b>Sampling rate</b> | <b>Number of recordings</b> |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>DBS Lead</b>         | Grapevine                 | Medtronic 3389; St. Jude 6172 short; Boston Scientific DB-2202-45 | 30 kHz               | 4 or 8                      |
| <b>Micro</b>            | Neuro-Omega               | Alpha Omega   | 44 kHz               | 3                           |
| <b>Macro</b>            | Neuro-Omega               | Alpha Omega   | 44 kHz               | 3                           |
| <b>ECoG</b>             | Grapevine                 | PMT 2110-54-001; PMT 2011-63-002                                  | 30 kHz               | 54 to 126                   |
| <b>Presented audio</b>  | Grapevine                 | BCI2000   | 30 kHz               | 1                           |
| <b>Produced audio</b>   | Grapevine                 | PRM1 PreSonus Microphone; Zoom-H6 audio recorder                  | 96 kHz               | 1                           |
| <b>Vibration sensor</b> | Grapevine                 | SDT1-028K, TE Connectivity Company                                | 1 kHz                | 1                           |

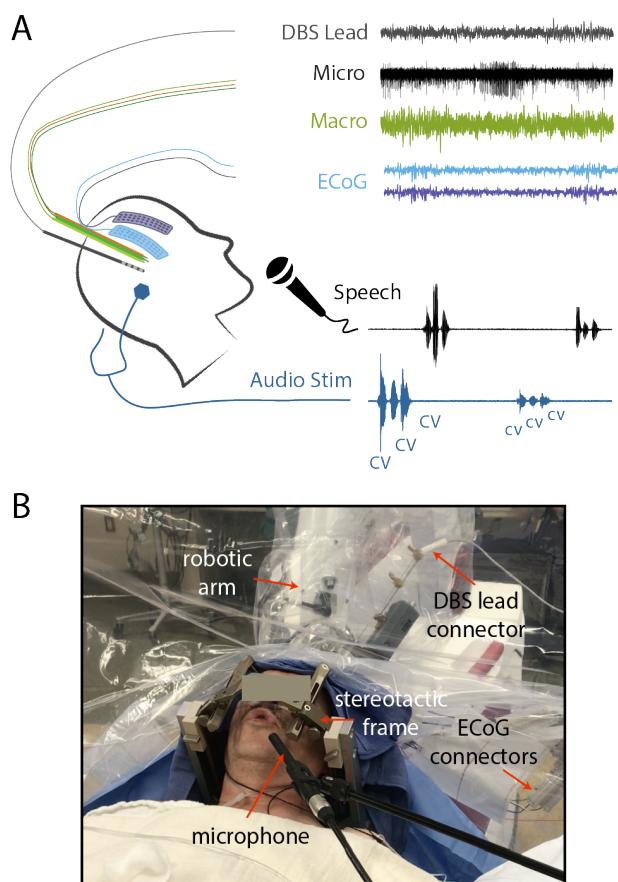
156 **Table 1.** Acquisition system specifications for neural and physiological signals.

## 157 **Electrode localization**

158 DBS electrodes were localized using the Lead-DBS localization pipeline (Horn and Kühn, 2015).  
159 Briefly, a preoperative anatomical T1-weighted MRI scan was co-registered with a postoperative  
160 CT scan. The position of individual contacts was manually identified based on the electrode  
161 artifact present in the CT image and constrained by the geometry of the implanted DBS lead.  
162 This process rendered the coordinates for the leads in each subject's native space. Based on  
163 the position of the lead and the known depth and tract along which the lead was implanted in  
164 each hemisphere, the positions of the micro and macro recordings from the functional mapping  
165 were calculated using custom Matlab scripts ([github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/Lead\\_MER](https://github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/Lead_MER)).  
166 The position of the ECoG strips was calculated from an intraoperative fluoroscopy image as  
167 described in (Randazzo et al., 2016). Briefly, the cortical surface was reconstructed from the  
168 preoperative MRI using the FreeSurfer image analysis suite



169 (<http://surfer.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/>). A model of the skull and the stereotactic frame was  
170 reconstructed from the intraoperative CT scan using OsiriX neuroimaging viewing tool  
171 (<https://www.osirix-viewer.com/>). The position of the frame's tips on the skull and the implanted  
172 DBS leads were used as fiducial markers. The models of the pial surface, skull and fiducial  
173 markers were co-registered, manually rotated and scaled to align with the projection observed in  
174 the fluoroscopy image. Once aligned, the position of the electrodes in the ECoG strip was  
175 manually marked on the fluoroscopy image and the projection of those positions to the convex  
176 hull of the cortical surface was defined as the electrodes' locations in the native brain space.  
177 The coordinates were then regularized based on the known layout of the contacts in the ECoG  
178 strip ([github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/ECoG\\_localization](https://github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/ECoG_localization)). All coordinates were then  
179 transformed to the ICBM MNI152 Non-Linear Asymmetric 2009b space (Fonov et al., 2011)  
180 using the Symmetric Diffeomorphism algorithm implemented in the Advanced Normalization  
181 Tools (Avants et al., 2008). Anatomical labels were assigned to each electrode based on the  
182 HCP-MMP1 atlas (Glasser et al., 2016) for cortical electrodes, and the Morel (Niemann et al.,  
183 2000) and DISTAL (Ewert et al., 2018) atlases for subcortical electrodes.



184

185 **Figure 1: Intraoperative intracranial recording setup and speech task.**

186 **A.** Schematic representation of intracranial electrodes and syllable triplet repetition task. During  
187 the mapping phase of the DBS implantation surgery ECoG strips were temporarily placed  
188 through the burr hole, allowing simultaneous recording of cortical and subcortical LFPs and  
189 MER from the STN. Participants were instructed to repeat aloud CV syllable triples at a volume  
190 matching the auditory stimuli. **B.** Photograph of a participant performing the speech task.

191 **Phonetic coding**

192 Phonetic coding of each participant's produced speech was performed by a trained team of  
193 speech pathology students. Using a custom Matlab GUI ([github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/SpeechCodingApp](https://github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/SpeechCodingApp)), onset and offset times, IPA transcription, accuracy and disorder  
194 characteristics of each produced phoneme were coded. Speech onsets were marked based on  
195 acoustic evidence of key speech features. Voice segments, such as vowels, were marked at  
196 the first visible glottal pulse, indicating the onset of vocal fold vibration. Unvoiced phonemes  
197 were marked based on the characteristic noise features for that phoneme. For example, the

198

199 rapid increase of high frequency energy denoted the onset of plosive consonants. A broadband  
200 spectrogram was utilized to maximize visualization of key speech features. All coders completed  
201 a course in speech science to ensure knowledge of important speech features and were trained  
202 in coding procedures by a speech language pathologist.

### 203 **Electrophysiological data preprocessing**

204 Data processing was performed using custom code based on the FieldTrip (Oostenveld et al.,  
205 2011) toolbox implemented in Matlab, available at ([github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/bml](https://github.com/Brain-Modulation-Lab/bml)).  
206 Recordings from the Grapevine, Neuro-Omega and Zoom-H6 systems were temporally aligned  
207 based on the stimulus and produced audio channels using a linear time-warping algorithm.  
208 Continuous alignment throughout the entire recording session was achieved with sub-  
209 millisecond precision. Data was low-pass filtered at 250 Hz using a 4<sup>th</sup> order non-causal  
210 Butterworth filter, down-sampled to 1 kHz and stored as continuous recordings in FieldTrip  
211 datatype-raw objects in mat containers. This frequency range is well-suited for analyses in the  
212 canonical frequency bands normally used to explore cognitive functions. All annotations,  
213 including descriptions of each session (duration, type of subcortical recording, depth of the MER  
214 recordings), details of the electrodes (active time intervals, channel names, coordinates in  
215 native and MNI space, anatomical labels), phonetic coding at the phoneme, syllable and triplet  
216 level, and times of stimulus presentation were stored in annotation tables.

217 An automatic data cleaning procedure was used to remove segments of data with  
218 conspicuous high-power artifacts. First, a 1 Hz high-pass 5<sup>th</sup> order non-causal Butterworth filter  
219 was applied to remove low frequency movement related artifacts. The power at frequencies in  
220 different canonical bands (3 Hz for  $\delta$ , 6 Hz for  $\theta$ , 10 Hz for  $\alpha$ , 21 Hz for  $\beta$ , 45 Hz for  $\gamma_L$  and 160  
221 Hz for  $\gamma_H$ ) was estimated by convolution with a Morlet wavelet with a width parameter of 9. For  
222 each frequency, the maximum power in 1-s time bins was calculated, log-transformed and the  
223 mean ( $\bar{x}$ ) and standard deviations ( $\sigma$ ) of the distribution were estimated using methods robust to

224 outliers. A time bin was defined as artifactual if its maximal log-transformed power in any band  
225 exceeded  $\bar{x} + 3\sigma$  for that band. Note that this resulted in thresholds at least 10-fold higher than  
226 the mean power. Channels were entirely discarded if more than 50% of the time-bins were  
227 classified as containing artifacts. Blocks of channels sharing a head-stage connector were  
228 entirely discarded if more than 50% of those channels were defined as artifactual.

229 For each trial, 3 different behavioral epochs were defined: stimulus presentation or  
230 listening epoch - the 1.5-s long window during which syllable triplets were presented auditorily;  
231 speech production epoch - the variable time during which subjects repeated the syllable triplet;  
232 baseline epoch - a 500-ms time window centered between speech offset of one trial and  
233 stimulus onset of the following.

## 234 **Electrophysiology data analysis**

235 **Time-frequency plots.** Time-frequency analyses for neural and audio data were performed  
236 using the Short Time Fourier Transform (STFT) method with a 100 ms Hanning window and a  
237 frequency step of 2 Hz, based on multiplication in the frequency domain as implemented by  
238 FieldTrip. Trials were aligned to speech onset and Z-scored relative to a 500-ms baseline  
239 epochs included in every trial. Frequencies up to 250 Hz were used for this analysis as that  
240 covers the canonical frequency bands normally used to explore cognitive functions.

241 **Spectrogram correlation analysis.** To index the degree of similarity between the audio  
242 spectrogram and the time-frequency spectrogram of a neural channel calculated by the STFT  
243 method, a correlation between these two matrices was calculated. This correlation was  
244 computed as the normalized sum of the element-by-element products of the two matrices.

$$245 \quad r = \frac{\sum_m \sum_n (A_{m,n} - \bar{A})(B_{m,n} - \bar{B})}{\sqrt{\sum_m \sum_n (A_{m,n} - \bar{A})^2 \times \sum_m \sum_n (B_{m,n} - \bar{B})^2}} \quad (\text{Equation 1})$$

246 where A represents the audio spectrogram and B the time-frequency spectrogram of data at a  
247 given neural channel.

248 **Coherence analysis.** Phase relationship between the audio signal and the neural signal at a  
249 given channel was quantified using a metric of inter-trial phase consistency (ITPC) (Cohen,  
250 2014). First, the audio and the neural signals were band-pass filtered between 70 and 240 Hz  
251 using a 5<sup>th</sup> order non-causal Butterworth filter. This frequency range contains the fundamental  
252 frequency of the voice in humans and the narrowband component studied in this work. A notch  
253 filter was applied to remove line noise and its harmonics. For each individual epoch of interest  
254 (noted by the index  $e$ ), and neural channel ( $X$ ) a complex value  $\varphi_e$  was calculated following

$$255 \quad \varphi_e = \frac{1}{|X_e| |A_e|} \sum_k S_{e,k} A_{e,k} \quad (\text{Equation 2})$$

256 where  $S_e = X_e + iH(X_e)$  is the analytic signal,  $H(X_e)$  is the Hilbert transform of the neural data  
257 for the epoch  $e$ , and  $A_e$  is the audio signal for that epoch. The sum is taken for every sample  $k$   
258 within the epoch.  $|X_e|$  and  $|A_e|$  are the Euclidean norms of the neural and audio signals for  
259 epoch  $e$ . The absolute value and phase of  $\varphi_e$  represents the degree of correlation and phase  
260 relationship between the neural and the audio channels for epoch  $e$ . If there is inter-trial phase  
261 consistency, the mean value of  $\varphi$  across trials (noted as  $\langle\varphi\rangle$ ) will be significantly different from 0.  
262 To quantify this, the ITPC index was defined as

$$263 \quad ITPC = \frac{|\langle\varphi\rangle|}{StdErr(\varphi)} \quad (\text{Equation 3})$$

264 where the standard error of  $\varphi$  is defined as  $StdErr(\varphi) = \sqrt{\sum_e |\varphi_e - \langle\varphi\rangle|^2 / N}$ , and the sum is  
265 taken over the  $N$  epochs considered for the neural channel of interest. Note that this metric was  
266 calculated independently for the speech production, listening and baseline epochs.

267 **Significance threshold for coherence index.** To define a threshold of significance for the  
268 coherence index, a Monte Carlo simulation was performed to obtain the distribution of

269 coherence index under the null hypothesis of no consistent phase relationship between the  
270 neural and the audio channels. To this end, a random time jitter uniformly distributed between -  
271 100 and 100 ms was applied to the neural data before calculating each  $\varphi_e$  value. 22000  
272 independent randomizations were calculated using data from all electrodes in the dataset. This  
273 analysis resulted in a significant threshold for the coherence index of 3.08 that corresponds to  
274 the 99.99 percentile of the distribution. Thus, a coherence index greater than 3.08 suggests  
275 significant correlation of inter-trial phase consistency between the audio and the neural signal.

276 **Objective assessment of acoustic contamination.** A recent study by Roussel et al. 2020,  
277 comparing intracranial recordings collected from human subjects during speech perception and  
278 production at five different research institutions found that spectrotemporal features of the  
279 recorded neural signal are highly correlated with those of the sound produced by the  
280 participants or played to participants through a loudspeaker. The method proposed by Roussel  
281 et al. for quantifying the extent of acoustic contamination in an electrophysiological recording  
282 was applied to the data using the open source toolbox developed by the authors (Roussel et al.,  
283 2020) (<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3929296>). Briefly, the method correlates the power of the  
284 neural data and audio across different frequency bins, thus creating a correlation matrix for  
285 every combination of frequencies of the two channels. Significantly higher correlation  
286 coefficients at matching frequencies of the two channels (i.e. on the diagonal of the matrix),  
287 compared to non-matching frequencies, is considered to be evidence of acoustic contamination.  
288 A permutation test is used to determine the significance threshold. The method was applied to  
289 data from individual electrodes, and the False Discovery Rate was adjusted according to  
290 (Benjamini and Hochberg, 1994).

291 **Testing the spatial distribution of coherence over the brain.** We used hierarchical  
292 bootstrapping (Saravanan et al., 2020) to test whether any particular brain region displayed an

293 average coherence that was significantly different from the rest of the brain. Specifically, we  
294 built a null distribution of average coherence across the brain by calculating the mean  
295 coherence across the brain accounting for subjects as one hierarchical level but ignoring brain  
296 regions within subjects. We then calculated the average coherence for the 15 brain regions (as  
297 parcellated by the MMP1 atlas) that had coverage in 10 or more subjects, with 3 or more  
298 electrodes per subject. Each distribution was again built using subjects as the hierarchical level  
299 and electrodes were restricted to those within that particular brain region. Bootstrapping was  
300 performed weighing each subject by the number of electrodes present in that region. The  
301 distributions were then all compared to the null and the significance threshold was adjusted  
302 using an FDR correction for 15 comparisons. Resampling number ( $N_{\text{bootstrap}}$ ) was set to 10,000  
303 for all bootstrap samples.

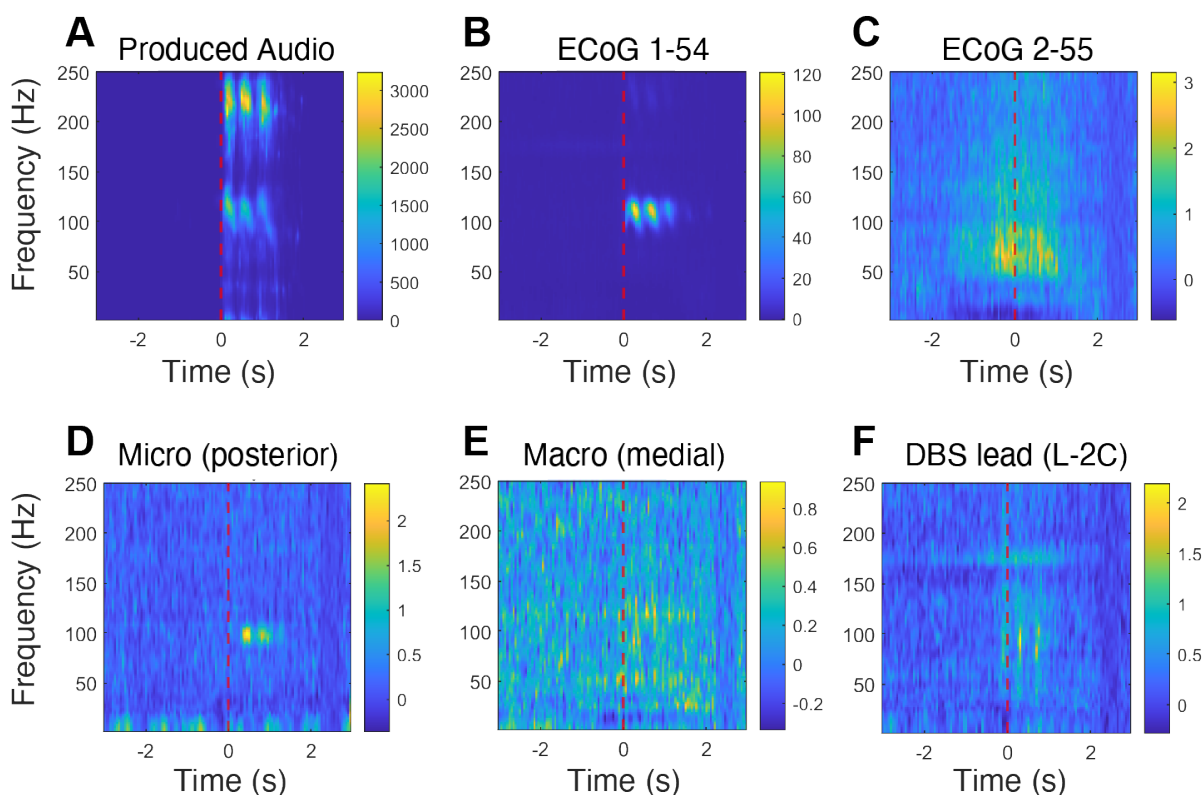
## 304 Results

### 305 **Narrowband high gamma component in neural recordings during speech production**

306 We averaged spectrograms time-locked to the speech onset across trials for each audio and  
307 neural channel. Representative examples of the averaged spectrograms for each recording type  
308 are provided in Figure 2. Figure 2A shows the spectrogram for the produced audio, in which the  
309 fundamental frequency (F0) of the participant's voice (at around 120 Hz) and its first harmonic  
310 (at around 240 Hz) can be easily discerned as an increase in power at the corresponding  
311 frequencies. The 3 peaks of power in the spectrogram at different times correspond to the three  
312 produced syllables. A similar narrowband component occurring around the frequencies of the  
313 participants' F0 also appeared in some electrodes during the speech production epoch. For  
314 example, this narrowband component can be readily observed in the time-frequency plot for one  
315 ECoG electrode shown in Figure 2B, but not for another ECoG electrode from the same subject  
316 shown in Figure 2C. Thus, while both electrodes show an increase in speech-related gamma



317 activity, the increase in gamma activity in the electrode in Figure 2B is remarkably similar to the  
318 narrowband component in the audio spectrogram (Figure 2A), overlapping with it in frequency,  
319 time, and overall shape. Similar narrowband components in the high gamma frequency range  
320 were also identified in some of the LFP recordings extracted from the micro electrodes (Figure  
321 2D), macro electrodes (Figure 2E) and from the DBS leads (Figure 2F). Thus, this narrowband  
322 speech-related component can be observed in different electrophysiological recordings  
323 collected simultaneously with different acquisition devices.



324

325 **Figure 2: A speech-related narrowband component in the high gamma frequency range**  
326 **was observed across different types of neural recordings.**

327 Time-frequency plots for the audio and different neural channels from subject DBS3014. The  
328 red vertical dashed line represents speech onset time, which was used to time-lock the data  
329 across trials. **A.** Average spectrogram of the produced speech audio, z-scored to baseline. **B.**  
330 ECoG contact 1-54, showing a prominent narrowband high gamma component during the  
331 speech production epoch. **C.** ECoG contact 2-55, showing a broadband activation during  
332 speech production (note that this activity begins before speech onset). **D.** Spectrogram for LFP  
333 signal extracted from the posterior micro electrode targeting the left STN. **E.** Spectrogram for

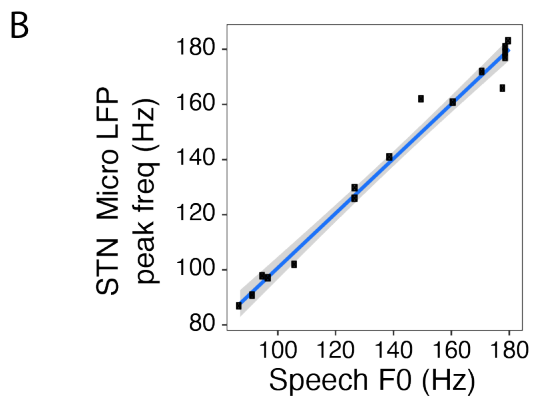
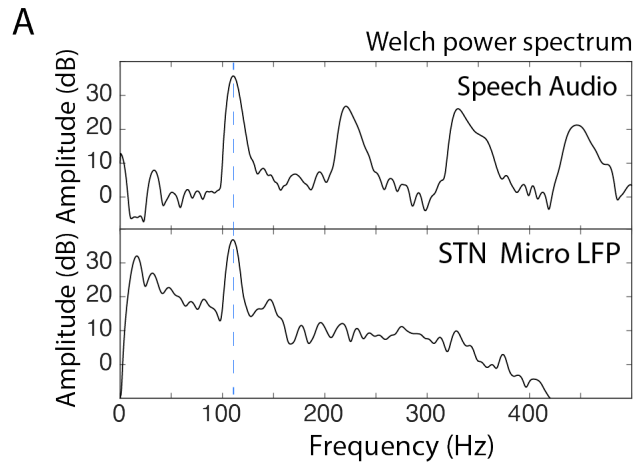


334 LFP signal from the medial macro ring targeting the left STN. **F. Spectrogram for the left DBS**  
335 **lead contact.**

336 **The narrowband high gamma component correlates with the fundamental frequency of**  
337 **the voice**

338 Because of the striking similarity between the neural data and speech spectrogram, we set out  
339 to quantify the identified narrowband high gamma component and its relationship with the  
340 produced audio further, using different analytical approaches. First, we asked whether the  
341 observed overlap in the frequency range between the narrowband component and the produced  
342 speech audio was consistent across participants. To this end, we calculated the Welch power  
343 spectrum of the audio and neural data during the speech production epochs (Figure 3A),  
344 identified at which frequencies peak power within the F0 range (70-240 Hz) occurs in both types  
345 of spectra, and correlated the obtained frequency values. For each subject, we used data from  
346 single trials of the LFP signal extracted from one of the micro channels of the subcortical  
347 mapping electrodes, selected for having a prominent narrowband high gamma component.

348 As can be seen in Figure 3B, there is a strong correlation (Spearman's  $\rho=0.98$ , p-value  
349  $< 10^{-6}$ , intercept =  $1.4\pm 5.1$  Hz, slope =  $0.99\pm 0.4$ ) between the fundamental frequency of the  
350 voice and the peak frequency of the narrowband component across participants. Furthermore,  
351 the relation not only is linear, but also has a slope not significantly different from 1, meaning that  
352 the frequency of peak high gamma power in the neural data corresponds to the fundamental  
353 frequency of the voice.



354

355 **Figure 3: The frequency of peak power of the high gamma narrowband component**  
356 **correlates with the fundamental frequency of the voice across participants.**

357 **A.** Welch power spectrums for the produced speech audio (top) and the LFP signal extracted  
358 from the micro tip of the subcortical mapping electrode by low-pass filtering at 400 Hz (bottom).  
359 The vertical dashed blue line represents the frequency of peak power identified in each  
360 spectrum. **B.** Correlation of the frequency of peak power in the range of 70-200 Hz between the  
361 audio and neural data. Blue line represents the best linear fit to the data; gray ribbon represents  
362 the confidence interval of the fit.

### 363 **Spectrogram cross-correlation between audio and neural data**

364 To further characterize the distribution of this narrowband component across electrodes and  
365 recording sessions, we developed two different and complementary measures of similarity  
366 between the neural signal and the audio signal. The first metric consists of correlating the time-  
367 frequency spectrogram of a neural channel across times and frequencies with the spectrogram



### 383 **Consistent phase relationship between audio and neural data**

384 The method described above compares similarity of time-frequency resolved *power* between  
385 neural and audio data but does not take into account the phase information of the signals.  
386 Therefore, we developed a complementary metric to quantify the *phase* relationship between  
387 the neural data and the produced audio, that is, a measure of coherence or inter-trial phase  
388 consistency (ITPC) with the produced audio. This metric is based on dot products of the analytic  
389 signal of the neural channel and the produced audio, as schematized in Figure 5A. For each  
390 epoch, a complex value representing the magnitude of the correlation and the phase  
391 relationship of the neural signal with the audio is obtained (Equation 2). If the mean of these  
392 complex values is significantly different from zero, this serves as evidence of a consistent phase  
393 relationship between the neural data and the produced speech (Figure 5B). We used the  
394 absolute value of the mean of these complex values, normalized by their standard error, as an  
395 index of coherence (Equation 3). This method is computationally efficient and well suited for  
396 narrowband signals as the one we are characterizing (see details in Methods Section). We  
397 calculated a significance threshold using a Monte Carlo simulation in which we applied random  
398 time jitters before calculating the coherence index (see details in Methods Section).

399 As observed in Figure 5C, there is widespread coherence across many subjects and all  
400 electrode types during the speech production epoch. Around 50% of the analyzed electrodes  
401 show significant coherence with the audio during the speech production epoch (Table 2).  
402 Importantly, no significant coherence with the speech audio was observed during the baseline  
403 or listening epochs (Table 2). Coherence of the neural signals with the stimulus audio in all  
404 behavioral epochs, including the listening epoch, was negligible (Table 2). This suggests that  
405 only the process of producing speech sounds was contaminating the neural signal.

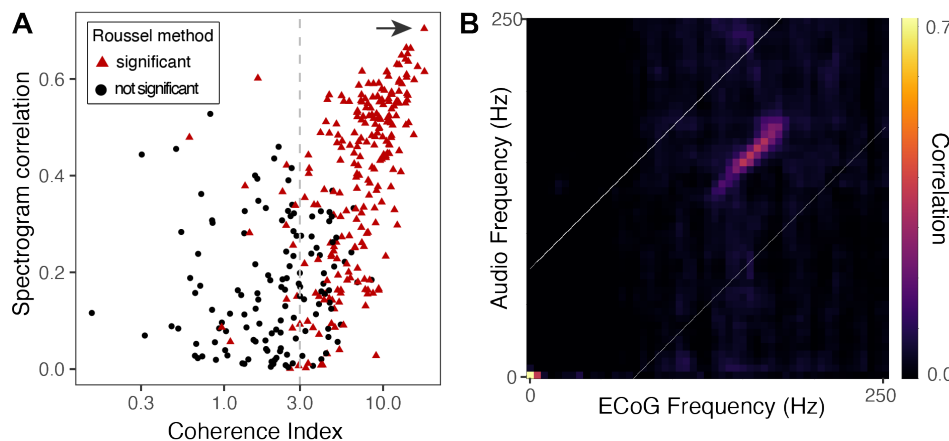
406 The distribution of the coherence indices across electrodes for each recording session  
407 can be classified as i) having no or little coherence between neural channels and the produced  
408 speech (e.g. subjects 06, 03, 21); ii) having homogenous coherence across electrodes, (e.g.



426 panel A. **C.** ITPC indices from the speech production epoch plotted for each electrode, recording  
427 session, and subject. Each row corresponds to an electrode; each column - to an individual  
428 session; panels are defined by subject and data type. Tiles in gray correspond to electrodes that  
429 were not present in the montage or which were removed after artifact rejection. White tiles  
430 represent electrodes that do not show significant coherence indices **D.** Phase consistency of the  
431 neural data with the produced audio across contacts of the ECoG strips. In each polar plot, the  
432 angle between the radial lines and the horizontal axis represents the phase relation with the  
433 produced audio of an ECoG electrode. Red asterisks mark ECoG strips with homogeneous  
434 coherence, defined as those with at least 90% of the electrodes' phases within 90° of each  
435 other.

436 **The speech acoustic component can be detected in the neural data by different**  
437 **quantification methods**

438 The spectrogram correlation index (Figure 4) and the coherence index (Figure 5) are highly  
439 correlated with each other, as can be observed in Figure 6A (Spearman's  $\rho = 0.7$ ,  $p < 1e-6$ ). In  
440 applying the method proposed by Roussel et al. (2020), the power of the neural data was  
441 correlated with the audio across different frequency bins to create a correlation matrix (Figure  
442 6B). High correlation coefficients on the diagonal of this matrix indicate acoustic contamination  
443 (see details in the Methods Section). Electrodes classified as contaminated based on this  
444 method are indicated by red triangles in Figure 6A. As can be observed, these points tend to  
445 have high spectrogram correlation index and coherence index above the significant threshold  
446 (Figure 6A). This result suggests that all three methods have similar sensitivity in identifying  
447 speech-related artifacts in our dataset.



448

449 **Figure 6: The spectrogram correlation index and the coherence index show strong**  
 450 **correlation with each other and high consistency with the Roussel et al. method's**  
 451 **outcome.**

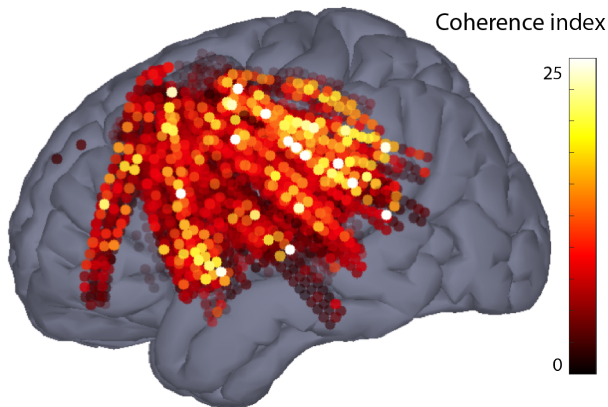
452 **A.** Relationship between the spectrogram correlation index and the coherence index for ECoG  
 453 electrodes for one representative subject (DBS3024). Red triangles indicate electrodes with  
 454 significant 'acoustic contamination' as assessed by the method developed by Roussel et al.,  
 455 2020. **B.** Detection of acoustic contamination by the Roussel method is based on the cross-  
 456 frequency correlation matrix, which indicates degrees of correlation of power across time for  
 457 different frequencies of the neural and audio data. The shown matrix corresponds to ECoG  
 458 electrode 2-31, indicated by an arrow in panel A.

| Audio           | Produced speech audio |           |        |         | Stimulus audio |           |          |          |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|---------|----------------|-----------|----------|----------|
|                 | Coherence             |           |        | Roussel | Coherence      |           |          | Roussel  |
| Method          | baseline              | listening | speech | all     | baseline       | listening | speech   | all      |
| <b>ECoG</b>     | 0.2±0.1%              | 0.2±0.1%  | 52±6%  | 54±5%   | 0.4±0.3%       | 0.2±0.1%  | 1.4±0.7% | 2.2±0.5% |
| <b>Macro</b>    | 0%                    | 0%        | 42±8%  | 25±5%   | 0%             | 0%        | 0%       | 4±2%     |
| <b>Micro</b>    | 0%                    | 0%        | 56±7%  | 96±7%   | 0%             | 0%        | 0%       | 0.6±0.8% |
| <b>DBS Lead</b> | 0%                    | 0%        | 47±10% | 59±10%  | 6±6%           | 7±6%      | 10±8%    | 12±8%    |
| <b>Blank</b>    | 10±4%                 | 12±5%     | 65±8%  | 71±6%   | 2±2%           | 15±8      | 3±2%     | 12±7%    |

459 **Table 2.** Percentage (± standard error) of electrodes showing significant similarity between  
 460 neural data and the produced speech audio or stimulus audio, as established by the coherence  
 461 method and the Roussel et al.'s method. The coherence method was run independently for the  
 462 baseline, listening and speech production epochs. The Roussel et al. 2020 method used the  
 463 entire duration of the session. Hierarchical bootstrapping was used to estimate the standard  
 464 error.

465 **Coherence indices for cortical recording sites are independent of anatomic location**

466 Next, we asked if there is any spatial structure of the coherence index within the cortex. To this  
467 end, we performed a hierarchical bootstrapping analysis accounting for the nested nature of the  
468 data (electrodes within anatomical regions within subjects) and found that none of the cortical  
469 regions (as defined by the Multi Modal Parcellation 1 in Glasser et al., 2016) show values of  
470 coherence significantly higher than the average distribution over the entire brain (see methods  
471 for detail). All cortical electrodes with their corresponding coherence values are plotted on a  
472 standard brain in Figure 7. Electrodes with high coherence with the produced audio do not  
473 cluster on any specific neuroanatomical region.



474

475 **Figure 7: Increased Inter-trial Phase Consistency is not specific to any cortical region.**

476 Localizations of cortical ECoG electrodes for the entire subject cohort (n = 29) plotted in MNI  
477 space (MNI152 Nonlinear Asymmetric 2009b, (Fonov et al., 2011)). The color of the points  
478 represents the average coherence between neural and produced audio data for that electrode.

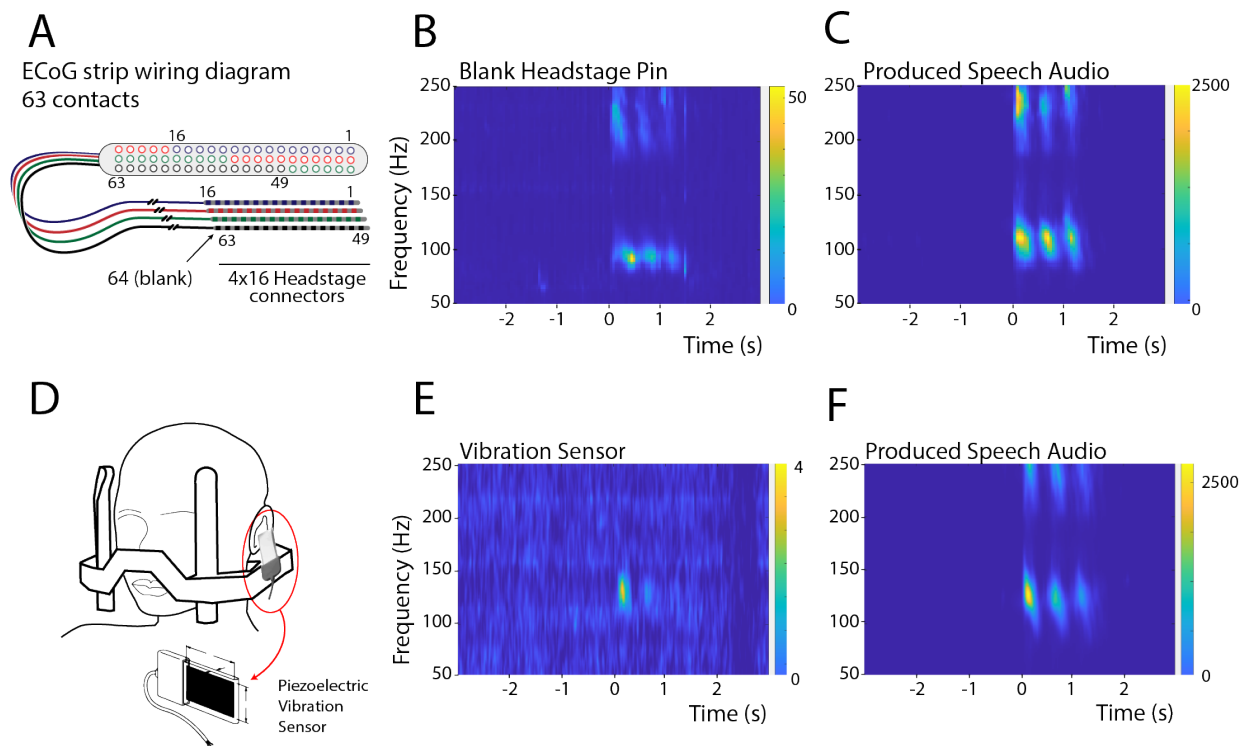
479 **Speech-related vibrations can be detected in non-neural data**

480 The experiments described above demonstrated that some neural recordings show time-  
481 frequency patterns similar to the produced audio recordings. This suggests that there is  
482 contamination of the electrophysiological neural data with the speech audio signal. If this is the  
483 case, we expect to find the same kind of contamination in "blank" electrodes not in contact with  
484 the brain. Most of the ECoG strips used in our experiments contained 63 contacts laid out in a 3  
485 x 21 arrangement (Figure 8A). These contacts were connected to the amplifier's front-end



486 through 4 cabrio-type connectors, each containing 16 pins. This resulted in the last pin of the 4<sup>th</sup>  
487 cabrio connector (#64) not connected to any electrode on the brain. Instead, the wire connected  
488 to this pin runs the length of the cable and ends within the silicon rubber matrix of the ECoG  
489 strip. We recorded the signal from this "blank" pin as it provides a control for all non-neural  
490 sources of noise affecting the neural signal. Using the same time-frequency method as before,  
491 we analyzed the recorded signal from this blank ECoG headstage pin. As can be observed in  
492 Figure 8B, a narrowband component similar to that observed in some neural recordings is also  
493 present during speech production in the recordings from the blank headstage pin. It is  
494 interesting to note that the frequency of peak power recorded from this pin is slightly lower than  
495 the fundamental frequency of the voice (Figure 8C), although the component has the same  
496 timing and overall pattern (note the power increase around the first harmonic of the F0). As  
497 shown in the bottom row of the Figure 5C, labeled 'Blank', signals from the blank headstage  
498 pins show significant coherence with the produced speech audio in the same recording  
499 sessions that showed strong coherence with the produced speech audio in other electrode  
500 types (see also Figure 4B and Table 2).

501         These results strongly suggest that the source of the observed narrowband component  
502 is not neural. Among possible sources of this component are speech-induced vibrations of the  
503 stereotactic frame, cables, connectors and/or acquisition chain. To address this question, we  
504 attached a piezoelectric vibration sensor to the stereotactic frame (Figure 8D) during data  
505 collection in one subject (subject DBS3029). The recorded signal from the piezoelectric sensor  
506 was analyzed in the same way as other types of recordings. A strong narrowband component  
507 was observed at the time corresponding to the production of the first syllable, in the same  
508 frequency range as the fundamental frequency of the voice (Fig. 8E). The attenuated power  
509 observed during the time of the production of the second and the third syllables might be due to  
510 the fact that in this particular participant speech intensity decreased across the produced  
511 syllable triplet, as seen in the audio spectrogram in Figure 8F.



512

513 **Figure 8: The narrowband component is present in non-neural recordings.**

514 **A.** A schematic of the ECoG electrode strip showing the electrode contact and connector layout.  
515 4 cables of 16 wires are used for the 63 electrodes, resulting in one headstage pin not  
516 connected to any electrode on the brain (marked as contact #64). **B.** Time-frequency plot of the  
517 signal recorded from the blank headstage pin (subject DBS3020). **C.** Spectrogram of the  
518 produced speech audio for the same subject as in B. **D.** A schematic representation of the  
519 montage of the vibration sensor on the stereotactic frame. **E.** Time-frequency plot of the signal  
520 recorded from the vibration sensor (subject DBS3029). **F.** Spectrogram of the produced speech  
521 for the same subject as in E. In panels B-C and E-F, zero marks the onset of the speech  
522 production.

## 523 Discussion

524 We identified the presence of a narrowband high gamma component in the neural signals  
525 recorded from patients undergoing DBS implantation surgery that is consistent with a  
526 mechanically induced artifact. This component is widespread across many electrode types and  
527 was the most prominent feature in many electrode recordings. It occurs almost exclusively  
528 during cued speech production epochs and it has spectral and temporal characteristics strikingly

529 similar to the produced speech audio. Indeed, a recent work shows the presence of acoustic  
530 contamination on ECoG recordings (Roussel et al., 2020). In the environment of DBS surgery,  
531 speech-induced vibrations conducted by the skull and stereotactic frame can impinge on the  
532 electrodes and/or signal acquisition chain affecting the recorded signal.

533         Several results support the interpretation that the observed narrowband high gamma  
534 component is an artifact due to speech-induced vibrations. First, the frequency of peak power of  
535 the narrowband component tracks the fundamental frequency of the voice across participants  
536 (Figure 3). Second, the narrowband high gamma component is almost exclusively present  
537 during the cued speech production epoch, but not the listening epoch (Table 2). Thirdly, the  
538 time-frequency resolved power from the neural recordings strongly correlates with the produced  
539 audio spectrogram (Figure 4). Fourth, significant inter-trial phase consistency between the  
540 produced audio and the neural data suggests similarities not only across the frequency domain,  
541 but also the temporal domain (Figure 5). Fifth, most of the recordings that we classified as  
542 contaminated in our analysis were also classified as having acoustic contamination by the  
543 recently proposed method in Roussel et al. (2020) (Figure 6 and Table 2). Sixth, there was no  
544 significant cortical localization of the ITPC index (Figure 7). Finally, the narrowband high gamma  
545 component was also detected in "blank" pins of the headstage connector not connected to any  
546 electrode (Figure 8B) and in the recording from a vibration sensor attached to the stereotactic  
547 frame (Figure 8E). Taken together, these results strongly suggest the presence of speech-  
548 induced vibration artifact.

549         Although we cannot rule out the presence of physiological neural activity with the exact  
550 same spectral and timing characteristics as the observed narrowband high gamma component,  
551 we favor the interpretation that the narrowband component identified in this work is mainly, if not  
552 completely, due to the vibration artifact. It is worth mentioning that broadband gamma activity  
553 can be detected in many electrodes (see example in Figure 2C), including some that also show  
554 the vibration artifact.

555           These results are in line with a recent report by Roussel et al. (2020), in which the  
556 authors show evidence for acoustic contamination of ECoG recordings. The authors analyze  
557 multiple-center datasets collected in epilepsy patients in an extra-operative setting, finding that  
558 both produced, and stimulus audio can affect ECoG recordings. Our work extends these  
559 findings, showing that the same kind of contamination can occur not only in the ECoG  
560 recordings, but can also affect other types of invasive neural recordings, such as those collected  
561 in the context of DBS implantation surgery. In addition, there are two key differences to note  
562 between our results and those of Roussel et al. First, we only observe contamination when the  
563 patient is speaking, but not during auditory stimulus presentation. This difference may be due to  
564 the use of headphones in our recording setup as opposed to the loudspeaker in the work by  
565 Roussel et al., who found that acoustically isolating the speaker reduced contamination of the  
566 neural signal. Second, in our recordings the affected signals are those corresponding to the F0  
567 and to a lesser extent its harmonics. This could be explained by the fact that the stereotactic  
568 frame imposes some additional mechanical constraints, thus changing the way the vibration  
569 propagates.

570           Despite the fact that intracranial recordings in general are less prone to artifacts than  
571 extracranial recordings, it is recognized that the patient's speech induces vibrations that affect  
572 MER. For example, a patent for a new micro-electrode design from AlphaOmega mentions that  
573 *"various mechanical noise and vibration, such as motor vibration, motion of the electrode within*  
574 *the tissue or voice of the subject, are detected by the electrode that acts essentially as*  
575 *microphone and is erroneously combined with the neural signal that is being recorded"* (Alpha  
576 Omega Technologies, 2020). Therefore, a common practice has been to analyze the recordings  
577 only when the patient is not speaking. The introduction of "microphonic free" microelectrodes  
578 with improved shielding that reduces the effects of vibrations on the recordings, allows acquiring  
579 single unit activity while the patient is speaking (Alpha Omega Technologies, 2020). Besides the  
580 clear clinical advantage, this has opened the possibility of studying single unit activity of DBS

581 target structures during speech production. Although the quantifications of single-unit firing can  
582 be reliably performed with these electrodes (Lipski et al., 2017, 2018), in light of our results it is  
583 clear that mechanical vibrations affect other intracortical recordings including those obtained  
584 with macro contacts on the shaft of the micro electrodes, recordings from ECoG strips and  
585 recordings from the clinically implanted DBS leads.

586 Interestingly, neural signals with similar characteristics to the narrowband high gamma  
587 component described in this work have been reported in the literature. The Frequency Following  
588 Response (FFR) in the auditory brainstem is a potential with spectrotemporal features  
589 resembling the stimulus audio that reflects sustained neural ensemble activity phase-locked to  
590 periodic acoustic stimuli (Bidelman, 2018; Marsh and Worden, 1968; Marsh et al., 1970; Rose et  
591 al., 1966). This brainstem response to auditory stimuli can be recorded from scalp electrodes by  
592 averaging over hundreds of trials, a technique that has become a powerful diagnostic tool in  
593 audiology and neurology known as the Auditory Brainstem Response (Hall, 1992; Jewett et al.,  
594 1970). In recent years several works based on scalp EEG, sEEG and MEG have reported  
595 cortical FFRs (Behroozmand et al., 2016; Bidelman, 2018; Coffey et al., 2016).

596 In our data, there are two features that argue against the narrowband component being  
597 a true FFR. First, it only occurs during speech production and not during auditory stimulus  
598 presentation. Second, the narrowband artifact is not localized to the auditory cortex, or to any  
599 other cortical region (Figure 7). In light of the results presented in this work and similar results  
600 recently published by Roussel et al, it is clear that caution should be taken when interpreting  
601 cortical FFR, due to the fact that this signal is exactly what would be expected if there was an  
602 artifact (e.g., vibration at electrodes or connectors, electromagnetic induction by speakers,  
603 electrical crosstalk in the amplifier or connectors).

604 Other reported sources of artifacts affecting intracranial recordings, including artifacts  
605 due to eye blinking (Ball et al., 2009) and other facial muscle contraction (Otsubo et al., 2008),  
606 have spectral characteristics distinct from the narrowband component described in this work;

607 they show broadband spectrums that do not match that of the produced audio and are not  
608 expected to track the fundamental frequency of the voice or correlate with the power of the  
609 speech audio across time.

610         Acknowledging the existence of this speech-induced vibration artifact is an important first  
611 step to avoid overinterpreting spurious features of the data. Many important questions related to  
612 high-level cognitive processes, including the neural control of speech production, can only be  
613 answered by acquiring recordings that are likely to be affected by the described artifact, but  
614 several steps can be taken to identify it. First, methods that correlate the audio signal with the  
615 neural data can be used to detect the presence of acoustic contaminations. Second, recording  
616 from open headstage pins provides a control for non-neural sources affecting the signal. Third,  
617 vibration sensors can detect mechanical vibrations along the recording system that might affect  
618 the signal. Furthermore, invasive recordings for BCI applications are likely to be affected by  
619 speech-induced vibrations, compromising the decoding performance. Therefore, it is necessary  
620 to develop source separation methods to remove speech-related artifacts from the neural data  
621 in order to reliably quantify underlying neural activity.

622         Identifying and mitigating artifacts in intracranial recordings from awake patients is  
623 fundamental to achieving reliable and reproducible results in the field of human systems  
624 neuroscience. This, in turn, will lead to an improved understanding of the neural physiology and  
625 pathophysiology of uniquely human cognitive abilities.

## 626 Acknowledgments

627 We would like to thank all participants of this study for their time and effort. We would also like  
628 to thank Robert S. Turner for suggestions on data analysis. This work was funded by the  
629 National Institute of Health (BRAIN Initiative), through grants U01NS098969, U01NS117836  
630 and R01NS110424 to R.M.R.

## 631 Author Contributions

632 W.J.L. and R.M.R. designed the experiment and performed the recordings. A.B., A.C., C.D.-H.  
633 and W.J.L. reconstructed the electrode localizations and preprocessed the electrophysiological  
634 data. A.C. and C.D.-H. overviewed the phonetic coding. A.B., A.C., V.P., V.S., C.D.-H. analyzed  
635 data. A.B. and A.C. wrote the manuscript. All authors discussed the results and implications and  
636 commented on the manuscript at all stages. The authors declare no competing financial  
637 interests.

## 638 References

- 639 Alpha Omega Technologies. (2020). Reduced Larsen Effect Electrode.
- 640 Anumanchipalli, G.K., Chartier, J., and Chang, E.F. (2019). Speech synthesis from neural  
641 decoding of spoken sentences. *Nature* 568, 493–498.
- 642 Avants, B.B., Epstein, C.L., Grossman, M., and Gee, J.C. (2008). Symmetric diffeomorphic  
643 image registration with cross-correlation: Evaluating automated labeling of elderly and  
644 neurodegenerative brain. *Med Image Anal* 12, 26–41.
- 645 Ball, T., Kern, M., Mutschler, I., Aertsen, A., and Schulze-Bonhage, A. (2009). Signal quality of  
646 simultaneously recorded invasive and non-invasive EEG. *Neuroimage* 46, 708–716.
- 647 Behroozmand, R., Oya, H., Nourski, K.V., Kawasaki, H., Larson, C.R., Brugge, J.F., Howard,  
648 M.A., and Greenlee, J.D.W. (2016). Neural correlates of vocal production and motor  
649 control in human Heschl's gyrus. *J Neurosci* 36, 2302–2315.

- 650 Benjamini, Y., and Hochberg, Y. (1994). Controlling the false discovery rate: a practical and  
651 powerful approach to multiple testing. *Journal of the Royal statistical society: series B*  
652 (Methodological), *57(1)*, 289-300.
- 653 Bidelman, G.M. (2018). Subcortical sources dominate the neuroelectric auditory frequency-  
654 following response to speech. *Neuroimage* *175*, 56–69.
- 655 Bouchard, K.E., Mesgarani, N., Johnson, K., and Chang, E.F. (2013). Functional organization of  
656 human sensorimotor cortex for speech articulation. *Nature* *495*, 327--332.
- 657 Cheung, C., Hamiton, L.S., Johnson, K., and Chang, E.F. (2016). The auditory representation of  
658 speech sounds in human motor cortex. *Elife* *5*, e12577.
- 659 Chrabaszcz, A., Neumann, W.-J., Stretcu, O., Lipski, W.J., Bush, A., Dastolfo-Hromack, C.A.,  
660 Wang, D., Crammond, D.J., Shaiman, S., Dickey, M.W., et al. (2019). Subthalamic  
661 nucleus and sensorimotor cortex activity during speech production. *J Neurosci* *39*, 2698--  
662 2708.
- 663 Coffey, E.B.J., Herholz, S.C., Chepesiuk, A.M.P., Baillet, S., and Zatorre, R.J. (2016). Cortical  
664 contributions to the auditory frequency-following response revealed by MEG. *Nat*  
665 *Commun* *7*, 11070.
- 666 Cohen, M.X. (2014). *Analyzing Neural Time Series Data*. MIT Press.
- 667 Conant, D.F., Bouchard, K.E., Leonard, M.K., and Chang, E.F. (2018). Human Sensorimotor  
668 Cortex Control of Directly Measured Vocal Tract Movements during Vowel Production. *J*  
669 *Neurosci* *38*, 2955–2966.
- 670 Crone, N.E., Hao, L., Hart, J., Boatman, D., Lesser, R.P., Irizarry, R., and Gordon, B. (2001).  
671 Electrocorticographic gamma activity during word production in spoken and sign  
672 language. *Neurology* *57*, 2045--2053.
- 673 Edwards, E., Nagarajan, S.S., Dalal, S.S., Canolty, R.T., Kirsch, H.E., Barbaro, N.M., and  
674 Knight, R.T. (2010). Spatiotemporal imaging of cortical activation during verb generation  
675 and picture naming. *Neuroimage* *50*, 291–301.
- 676 Ewert, S., Plettig, P., Li, N., Chakravarty, M.M., Collins, D.L., Herrington, T.M., Kühn, A.A., and  
677 Horn, A. (2018). Toward defining deep brain stimulation targets in MNI space: A  
678 subcortical atlas based on multimodal MRI, histology and structural connectivity.  
679 *Neuroimage* *170*, 271–282.
- 680 Faraji, A.H., Kokkinos, V., Sweat, J.C., Crammond, D.J., and Richardson, R.M. (2020). Robotic-



- 681 Assisted Stereotaxy for Deep Brain Stimulation Lead Implantation in Awake Patients.  
682 *Oper Neurosurg* 19, 444–452.
- 683 Flinker, A., Korzeniewska, A., Shestyuk, A.Y., Franaszczuk, P.J., Dronkers, N.F., Knight, R.T.,  
684 and Crone, N.E. (2015). Redefining the role of Broca’s area in speech. *Proc National Acad*  
685 *Sci* 112, 2871–2875.
- 686 Flinker, A., Piai, V., and Knight, R.T. (2018). Intracranial electrophysiology in language  
687 research, in *The Oxford handbook of psycholinguistics* (2dn ed.). 992–1010.
- 688 Fonov, V., Evans, A.C., Botteron, K., Almli, C.R., McKinstry, R.C., Collins, D.L., and Group, the  
689 B.D.C. (2011). Unbiased Unbiased average age-appropriate atlases for pediatric studies.  
690 *Neuroimage*, 54(1), 313-327.
- 691 Glasser, M.F., Coalson, T.S., Robinson, E.C., Hacker, C.D., Harwell, J., Yacoub, E., Ugurbil, K.,  
692 Andersson, J., Beckmann, C.F., Jenkinson, M., et al. (2016). A multi-modal parcellation of  
693 human cerebral cortex. *Nature* 536, 171–178.
- 694 Hall, J.W. (1992). *Handbook of auditory evoked responses*. Allyn & Bacon.
- 695 Hamilton, L.S., Edwards, E., and Chang, E.F. (2018). A Spatial Map of Onset and Sustained  
696 Responses to Speech in the Human Superior Temporal Gyrus. *Curr Biol* 28, 1860-  
697 1871.e4.
- 698 Horn, A., and Kühn, A.A. (2015). Lead-DBS: A toolbox for deep brain stimulation electrode  
699 localizations and visualizations. *Neuroimage* 107, 127--135.
- 700 Jewett, D.L., Romano, M.N., and Williston, J.S. (1970). Human auditory evoked potentials:  
701 possible brain stem components detected on the scalp. *Science*, 167(3924), 1517-1518.
- 702 Lachaux, J.P., Rudrauf, D., and Kahane, P. (2003). Intracranial EEG and human brain mapping.  
703 *J Physiology-Paris* 97, 613–628.
- 704 Lipski, W.J., Wozny, T.A., Alhourani, A., Kondylis, E.D., Turner, R.S., Crammond, D.J., and  
705 Richardson, R.M. (2017). Dynamics of human subthalamic neuron phase-locking to motor  
706 and sensory cortical oscillations during movement. *J Neurophysiol* 118, 1472--1487.
- 707 Lipski, W.J., Alhourani, A., Pirnia, T., Jones, P.W., Dastolfo-Hromack, C., Helou, L.B.,  
708 Crammond, D.J., Shaiman, S., Dickey, M.W., Holt, L.L., et al. (2018). Subthalamic nucleus  
709 neurons differentially encode early and late aspects of speech production. *J Neurosci* 38,  
710 5620–5631.

- 711 Llorens, A., Trébuchon, A., Liégeois-Chauvel, C., and Alario, F.-X. (2011). Intra-Cranial  
712 Recordings of Brain Activity During Language Production. *Front Psychol* 2, 375.
- 713 Marsh, J.T., and Worden, F.G. (1968). Sound evoked frequency-following responses in the  
714 central auditory pathway. *Laryngoscope* 78, 1149–1163.
- 715 Marsh, J.T., Worden, F.G., and Smith, J.C. (1970). Auditory Frequency-Following Response:  
716 Neural or Artifact? *Science* 169, 1222–1223.
- 717 Martin, S., Millán, J. del R., Knight, R.T., and Pasley, B.N. (2019). The use of intracranial  
718 recordings to decode human language: Challenges and opportunities. *Brain Lang* 193,  
719 73–83.
- 720 Mesgarani, N., Cheung, C., Johnson, K., and Chang, E.F. (2014). Phonetic Feature Encoding in  
721 Human Superior Temporal Gyrus. *Science* 343, 1006–1010.
- 722 Mugler, E.M., Tate, M.C., Livescu, K., Templer, J.W., Goldrick, M.A., and Slutzky, M.W. (2018).  
723 Differential representation of articulatory gestures and phonemes in precentral and inferior  
724 frontal gyri. *J Neurosci* 38, 9803–9813.
- 725 Mukamel, R., and Fried, I. (2012). Human Intracranial Recordings and Cognitive Neuroscience.  
726 *Annu Rev Psychol* 63, 511–537.
- 727 Niemann, K., Mennicken, V.R., Jeanmonod, D., and Morel, A. (2000). The Morel Stereotactic  
728 Atlas of the Human Thalamus: Atlas-to-MR Registration of Internally Consistent Canonical  
729 Model. *Neuroimage* 12, 601–616.
- 730 Oostenveld, R., Fries, P., Maris, E., and Schoffelen, J.-M. (2011). FieldTrip: Open Source  
731 Software for Advanced Analysis of MEG, EEG, and Invasive Electrophysiological Data.  
732 *Comput Intel Neurosc* 2011, 156869.
- 733 Otsubo, H., Ochi, A., Imai, K., Akiyama, T., Fujimoto, A., Go, C., Dirks, P., and Donner, E.J.  
734 (2008). High-frequency oscillations of ictal muscle activity and epileptogenic discharges on  
735 intracranial EEG in a temporal lobe epilepsy patient. *Clin Neurophysiol* 119, 862–868.
- 736 Panov, F., Levin, E., Hemptinne, C. de, Swann, N.C., Qasim, S., Miocinovic, S., Ostrem, J.L.,  
737 and Starr, P.A. (2017). Intraoperative electrocorticography for physiological research in  
738 movement disorders: principles and experience in 200 cases. *J Neurosurg* 126, 122–131.
- 739 Randazzo, M.J., Kondylis, E.D., Alhourani, A., Wozny, T.A., Lipski, W.J., Crammond, D.J., and  
740 Richardson, R.M. (2016). Three-dimensional localization of cortical electrodes in deep

- 741 brain stimulation surgery from intraoperative fluoroscopy. *Neuroimage* 125, 515–521.
- 742 Rose, J.R., Brugge, J.F., Anderson, D.J., and Hind, J.E. (1966). Phase-locked response to low-  
743 frequency tones in single auditory nerve fibers of the squirrel monkey. *Journal of*  
744 *neurophysiology* 30.4: 769-793.
- 745 Roussel, P., Godais, G.L., Bocquelet, F., Palma, M., Hongjie, J., Zhang, S., Giraud, A.-L.,  
746 Mgevand, P., Miller, K., Gehrig, J., et al. (2020). Observation and assessment of acoustic  
747 contamination of electrophysiological brain signals during speech production and sound  
748 perception. *J Neural Eng* 17, 056028.
- 749 Saravanan, V., Berman, G.J., and Sober, S.J. (2020). Application of the hierarchical bootstrap  
750 to multi-level data in neuroscience. *Arxiv*.
- 751 Schalk, G., McFarland, D.J., Hinterberger, T., Birbaumer, N., and Wolpaw, J.R. (2004).  
752 BCI2000: a general-purpose brain-computer interface (BCI) system. *Ieee T Bio-Med Eng*  
753 51, 1034–1043.
- 754 Sisterson, N.D., Carlson, A.A., Rutishauser, U., Mamelak, A.N., Flagg, M., Pouratian, N.,  
755 Salimpour, Y., Anderson, W.S., and Richardson, R.M. (2021). Electrocorticography during  
756 deep brain stimulation surgery: safety experience from 4 centers within the national  
757 institute of neurological disorders and stroke research opportunities in human consortium.  
758 *neurosurgery*.