

# Decoding and disrupting left midfusiform gyrus activity during word reading

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The nature of the visual representation for words has been fiercely debated for over 150 y. We used direct brain stimulation, pre- and postsurgical behavioral measures, and intracranial electroencephalography to provide support for, and elaborate upon, the visual word form hypothesis. This hypothesis states that activity in the left midfusiform gyrus (lmFG) reflects visually organized information about words and word parts. In patients with electrodes placed directly in their lmFG, we found that disrupting lmFG activity through stimulation, and later surgical resection in one of the patients, led to impaired perception of whole words and letters. Furthermore, using machine-learning methods to analyze the electrophysiological data from these electrodes, we found that information contained in early lmFG activity was consistent with an orthographic similarity space. Finally, the lmFG contributed to at least two distinguishable stages of word processing, an early stage that reflects gist-level visual representation sensitive to orthographic statistics, and a later stage that reflects more precise representation sufficient for the individuation of orthographic word forms. These results provide strong support for the visual word form hypothesis and demonstrate that across time the lmFG is involved in multiple stages of orthographic representation.

fusiform gyrus | word reading | temporal dynamics | intracranial EEG | electrical stimulation

A central debate in understanding how we read, documented at least as far back as Charcot, Dejerine, and Wernicke, has revolved around whether visual representations of words can be found in the brain. Specifically, Charcot and Dejerine posited the existence of a center for the visual memory of words (1), whereas Wernicke firmly rejected that notion, proposing that reading only necessitates representations of visual letters that feed forward into the language system (2). Similarly, the modern debate revolves around whether there is a visual word form system that becomes specialized for the representation of orthographic knowledge (e.g., the visual forms of letter combinations, morphemes, and whole words) (1, 3, 4). One side of the debate is characterized by the view that the brain possesses a visual word form area that is “a major, reproducible site of orthographic knowledge” (5), whereas the other side disavows any need for reading-specific visual specialization, arguing instead for neurons that are “general purpose analyzers of visual forms” (6).

The visual word form hypothesis has attracted great scrutiny because the historical novelty of reading makes it highly unlikely that evolution has created a brain system specialized for reading; this places the analysis of visual word forms in stark contrast to other processes that are thought to have specialized neural systems, such as social, verbal language, or emotional processes, which can be seen in our evolutionary ancestors. Thus, testing the word form hypothesis is critical not only for understanding the neural basis of reading, but also for understanding how the

brain organizes information that must be learned through extensive experience and for which we have no evolutionary bias.

Advances in neuroimaging and lesion mapping have focused the modern debate surrounding the visual word form hypothesis on the left midfusiform gyrus (lmFG). This focus reflects widespread agreement that the lmFG region plays a critical role in reading. Supporting evidence includes demonstrations that literacy shapes the functional specialization of the lmFG in children and adults (7–10); the lmFG is affected by orthographic training in adults (11, 12); and damage to the lmFG impairs visual word identification in literate adults (13, 14). However, debate remains about whether the lmFG constitutes a visual word form area (3, 5, 15–18) or not (6, 19, 20); that is, does it support the representation of orthographic knowledge about graphemes, their combinatorial statistics, orthographic similarities between words, and word identity (21), or does it have receptive properties tuned for general purpose visual analysis, with lexical knowledge emerging from the spoken language network (6)?

To test the limits of the modern visual word form hypothesis, we present results from four neurosurgical patients (P1–P4) with electrodes implanted in their lmFG. We acquired pre- and postsurgery neuropsychological data in P1, performed direct cortical stimulation in P1 and P2, and recorded intracranial electroencephalography (iEEG) in all four participants to examine a number of indicators that have been proposed as tests for the visual word form hypothesis by both supporters and opponents of this hypothesis (5, 6). Pattern classification methods

## Significance

A central issue in the neurobiology of reading is a debate regarding the visual representation of words, particularly in the left midfusiform gyrus (lmFG). Direct neural recordings, electrical brain stimulation, and pre-/postsurgical neuropsychological testing provided strong evidence that the lmFG supports an orthographically specific “visual word form” system that becomes specialized for the representation of orthographic knowledge. Machine learning elucidated the dynamic role lmFG plays with an early processing stage organized by orthographic similarity and a later stage supporting individuation of single words. The results suggest that there is a dynamic shift from gist-level to individuated orthographic representation in the lmFG in service of visual word recognition.

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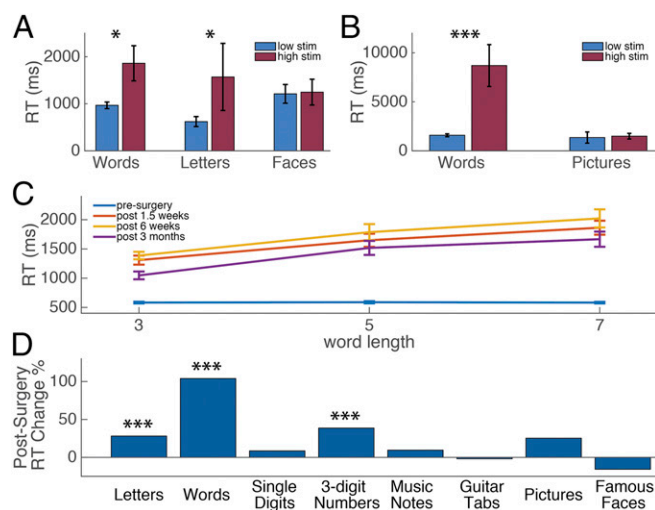
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**Fig. 3.** The effect of stimulation on naming times in ImFG and pre- and postsurgery neuropsychological naming task performance. (A) The average naming reaction time for words, letters, and faces under low stimulation (1–5 mA) and high stimulation (6–10 mA) to ImFG electrodes in P1. Error bars correspond to SE,  $*P < 0.05$ . (B) The average naming reaction time for words and pictures under low stimulation (1–5 mA) and high stimulation (6–10 mA) to ImFG electrodes in P2. Error bars correspond to SE,  $***P < 0.001$ . (C) Word length effect pre- and postsurgery in P1. (D) Average percent change in reaction time in the mixed naming task pre- vs. postsurgery in P1,  $***P < 0.001$ .

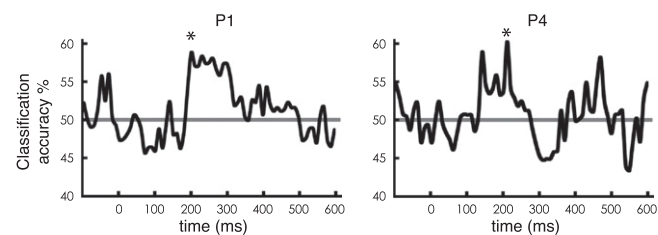
**Disrupting ImFG Activity Impairs Both Lexical and Sublexical Orthographic Processing.** One indicator of whether the ImFG functions as a specialized visual word form system is whether disrupting its activity using electrical stimulation impairs the normal perception of both printed words and sublexical orthographic components (26, 27), but not other kinds of visual stimuli. As part of presurgical language mapping, P1 and P2 underwent an electrical stimulation session where they named two kinds of orthographic stimuli [words (P1 and P2) and letters (P1)], as well nonorthographic objects [faces (P1) and pictures (P2)]. We hypothesized that high stimulation (6–10 mA) to the ImFG electrodes would cause greater disruption to reading orthographic stimuli than low stimulation (1–5 mA) due to the observed category specificity of the iEEG response, but no disruption would be seen for stimulation during object (face or picture) naming. Indeed, P1 and P2 were significantly slower at reading words at high stimulation than low stimulation [Fig. 3A and B; P1: mean  $RT_{low\ stim} = 967$  ms, mean  $RT_{high\ stim} = 1,860$  ms,  $t(18) = 2.42$ , Cohen's  $d = 1.14$ ,  $P = 0.026$ ; P2: mean  $RT_{low\ stim} = 1,586$  ms, mean  $RT_{high\ stim} = 8,700$  ms,  $t(7) = 11.28$ , Cohen's  $d = 5.15$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ]. P1 also misidentified 5% of words (naming “number” as “nature”) under high stimulation on the ImFG electrodes. P2 did not misidentify any words, but was generally unable to name words until the stimulation had ceased. Her self-report suggested an orthographic disruption rather than speech arrest. Specifically, for the word “illegal,” she reported thinking two different words at the same time, and trying to combine them. For the word “message,” she reported thinking that there was an “N” in the word (Movie S1). P1 was also asked to name single letters during stimulation in ImFG electrodes. With limited letter trials during stimulation (two low stimulation and five high stimulation), there was no significant difference in reaction time in letter naming between high and low stimulation. However, P1 responded incorrectly to two letter stimuli, initially responding “A” for “X,” and responding “F” and then “H” to the visual stimulus “C,” both of which he had previously named accurately during the stimulation session (Movie S2). Importantly, naming times for nonorthographic stimuli were not significantly affected by stimulation in ImFG electrodes [P1, faces: mean

$RT_{low\ stim} = 1,211$  ms, mean  $RT_{high\ stim} = 1,246$  ms,  $t(12) = 0.11$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.05$ ,  $P = 0.92$ ; P2, pictures: mean  $RT_{low\ stim} = 1,350$  ms, mean  $RT_{high\ stim} = 1,490$  ms,  $t(10) = 0.18$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.13$ ,  $P = 0.86$ ]. (Naming times for pictures did not differ between low- and high-stimulation picture trials in P2 despite evidence of afterdischarges—abnormal activity that continues after stimulation is turned off—on three of four high-stimulation trials. No afterdischarges were seen during word naming.)

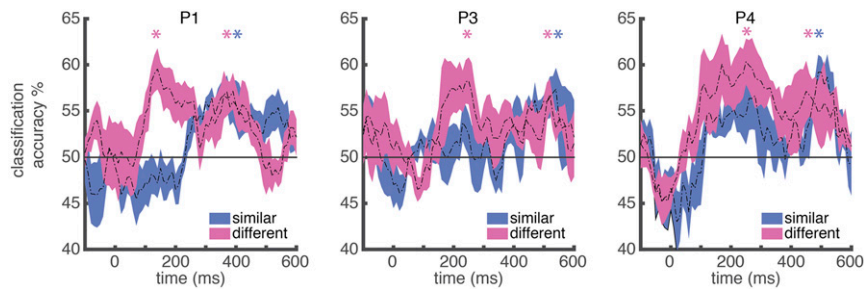
These results are consistent with previous reports of selective impairments due to stimulation in the ImFG for reading orthographic stimuli (29). Notably, the category-specific perceptual alteration seen in P1 and P2 reveals visual feature distortions that are similar to those reported for faces when stimulating right mFG (30). These stimulation results indicate that disruption of ImFG function impairs both the skilled identification of visual words and sublexical components of word forms (i.e., letters), supportive of the visual word form hypothesis.

**Electrophysiological Evidence for a Visual Word Form Representation in the ImFG.** We next used techniques from machine learning in iEEG data from P1 and P4 to assess the sensitivity of ImFG to sublexical, orthographic statistics (bigram frequency) that has been hypothesized as an indicator for a visual word form system (16, 21). To examine the dynamics of orthographic statistic sensitivity, we used a multivariate temporal pattern analysis (MTPA) classification procedure to test how the ImFG represents aspects of orthographic knowledge critical to the word form hypothesis at different stages of the time course.

To measure sublexical sensitivity as a test of the word form hypothesis, P1 and P4 performed a covert naming task with high- and low-bigram frequency words, controlled for lexical frequency. The MTPA classifier was sensitive to differences between high- and low-bigram frequency during a relatively early time window in both participants (Fig. 4; P1: peak accuracy = 58.6%,  $P < 0.05$  at 200–330 ms after stimulus onset; P4: peak accuracy = 60.2%,  $P < 0.05$  at 210–310 ms after stimulus onset; all classification analyses were tested using permutation tests to correct for multiple comparisons). This finding is consistent with early discrimination in the basal temporal cortex between words and pseudowords in Kanji, which differ in the likelihood and order of cooccurrence of two characters within a word (31). It has been noted that testing the visual word form hypothesis requires examining the representation in ImFG that results primarily from feedforward input from earlier parts of the ventral visual processing stream (5). Thus, the result that sublexical aspects of orthographic information begin at a



**Fig. 4.** Dynamics of sensitivity to sublexical orthographic statistics (bigram frequency) in the ImFG. Classification accuracy time course for comparison between low-bigram frequency real words (low BG) vs. high-bigram frequency real words (high BG) in ImFG electrodes for P1 and P4, respectively, plotted against the beginning of the 100-ms sliding window. The classifier uses time-windowed single-trial potential signal from the electrodes from each subject (window length = 100 ms) with each time point in the window from each electrode as multivariate input features (see *Methods* for details). The asterisk (\*) corresponds to the peak of the windows in which  $P < 0.05$  corrected for multiple comparisons. The  $P = 0.05$  significance threshold corresponds to accuracy = 58.2% (P1) and 59.3% (P4). The horizontal gray line at 50% indicates chance level.



**Fig. 5.** Dynamics of word individuation selectivity in the ImFG. Dynamics of averaged pairwise word individuation accuracy for different conditions in ImFG electrodes for P1, P3, and P4, respectively, plotted against the beginning of the 100-ms sliding window. The classifier uses time-windowed single-trial potential signal from the electrodes from each subject (window length = 100 ms) with each time point in the window from each electrode as multivariate input features (see *Methods* for details). The time course of the accuracy is averaged across all word pairs of the corresponding conditions. The colored areas indicate SEs. Similar pair: a pair of words that have the same length and are only different in one letter, e.g., lint and hint. Different pair: a pair of words that have the same length and are different in all letters, e.g., lint and dome. Horizontal gray line indicates chance level (accuracy = 50%). Colored asterisk (\*) corresponds to the peak of the windows in which  $P < 0.05$  corrected for multiple comparisons. The  $P = 0.05$  significance threshold corresponds to accuracy = 56.5% (P1), 56.0% (P3), and 57.1% (P4).

relatively early time point in processing is supportive of the word form hypothesis (5, 6, 16, 21, 32).

**Temporal Dynamics of Word Individuation in ImFG.** To further elucidate the dynamic nature of orthographic representation, we next looked at the sensitivity of ImFG to different aspects of individual words in P1, P3, and P4. Using words that varied in their degree of visual similarity (e.g., words that differed by one letter vs. all letters), we determined at what similarity level an MTPA classifier could discriminate between any two items. We found that at an early time window after stimulus onset, an MTPA classifier could significantly discriminate between words that did not share any letters (e.g., lint vs. dome; P1: peak classification accuracy = 59.6%,  $P < 0.05$  from 120 to 250 ms; P3: peak classification accuracy = 58.3%,  $P < 0.05$  from 180 to 360 ms; P4: peak classification accuracy = 60.3%,  $P < 0.05$  from 100 to 430 ms, all  $P$  values were corrected for multiple time comparisons; Fig. 5), but could not discriminate between words that only differed by one letter (e.g., lint vs. hint; P1: peak classification accuracy = 52.7%,  $P > 0.1$ ; P3: peak classification accuracy = 53.7%,  $P > 0.1$ ; P4: peak classification accuracy = 56.6%,  $P > 0.05$ ; Fig. 5). This result demonstrates an organization governed by an orthographic similarity space at the sublexical level, a finding consistent with our observation of bigram frequency effects in a relatively early time window. However, within a later time window, an MTPA classifier could discriminate between any two words (Fig. 5); notably, this includes word pairs with only one letter difference (P1: peak classification accuracy = 57.1%,  $P < 0.05$  from 360 to 470 ms; P3: peak classification accuracy = 57.3%,  $P < 0.05$  from 470 to 640 ms; P4: peak classification accuracy = 59.2%,  $P < 0.05$  from 490 to 620 ms).

## Discussion

Our findings, which indicate that orthographic representation within the ImFG qualitatively shifts over time, provide a novel advancement on the debate about the visual word form hypothesis (1, 2). Specifically, we demonstrated that ImFG meets all of the proposed criteria for a visual word form system: early activity in ImFG coded for orthographic information at the sublexical level, disrupting ImFG activity impaired both lexical and sublexical perception, and early activity reflected an orthographic similarity space (24). Early activity in ImFG is sufficient to support a gist-level representation of words that differentiates between words with different visual statistics (e.g., orthographic bigram frequency).

Notably, the results in the late time window suggest that orthographic representation in ImFG shifts from gist-level

representations to more precise representations sufficient for the individuation of visual words. In this late window, the ImFG became nearly insensitive to orthographic similarity as shown by similar classification accuracy for word pairs that differed by one letter compared with word pairs that were completely orthographically different (18). This kind of unique encoding of words is required to permit the individuation of visual words, a necessary step in word recognition (see Table 1 for summary). The time window in which this individuation signal is seen suggests that interactions with other brain regions transform the orthographic representation within the ImFG in support of word recognition. Such interactivity could function to integrate the orthographic, phonological, and semantic knowledge that together uniquely identifies a written word (23). Lack of spatiotemporal resolution to detect dynamic changes in ImFG coding of orthographic stimuli using fMRI may help to explain competing evidence for and against the visual word form hypothesis in the literature (5, 6).

The dynamic shift in the specificity of orthographic representation in the ImFG has a very similar time course as the coarse-to-fine processing shown in face-sensitive regions of the human fusiform (33). Considering that only an gist-level representation is available until ~250 ms, and that saccade planning and execution generally occur within 200–250 ms during natural reading (34), the gist-to-individuated word-processing dynamic has important implications for neurobiological theories of reading; it suggests that when visual word form knowledge first makes contact with the language system, it is in the form of gist-level information that is insufficient to distinguish between visually similar alternatives. The identification of the early gist-level representation is consistent with evidence that readers are vulnerable to making errors in word individuation during natural reading, but contextual constraints are normally sufficient to avoid misinterpretations (35).

**Table 1.** Summary of electrophysiological results in early and late time windows

Patient number	Word category sensitivity		Bigram frequency sensitivity		Word individuation	
	Early	Late	Early	Late	Early	Late
P1	++	+	++	-	-	++
P2	++	+				
P3	++	+			-	++
P4	++	+	++	-	-	++





100 ms of single-trial potentials) and was used to label the condition of the corresponding data from that time window from the testing trial. The classification accuracy was estimated by counting the correctly labeled trials. This procedure was then repeated for all time windows slid with 10-ms steps between  $-100$  and  $\sim 600$  ms relative to the presentation of the stimuli.

For the multiway categorical classifications with  $K$  categories (here,  $K = 2$  or  $3$ ), the classification accuracy was estimated through nested leave- $P$ -out cross-validation. In the first level of cross-validation, single-trial potentials were first split into training (80% of the trials) and testing set (20% of the trials) randomly. For each random split, PCA was trained based on the training set to lower the dimensionality down to  $P$ . Then, LDA was used to project the data into  $K - 1$  dimensional space. Finally, a Gaussian naïve Bayes classifier was trained based on the projected training set. The selection of the model parameter  $P$  was achieved by finding the  $P$  that gave greatest  $d'$  for Bayes classification based on an additional level of random subsampling validation with 50 repeats using only the training set. After training, true positive and false alarm rates of the target condition were calculated across all of the test trials. The  $d'$  was calculated as  $d' = Z(\text{true positive rate}) - Z(\text{false alarm rate})$ , where  $Z$  is the inverse of the Gaussian cumulative distribution function. The random split was repeated 200 times, and the classification accuracy was estimated by averaging across results from these 200 random splits.

For the pairwise classification in the word individuation task, the pairwise classification accuracy was estimated through leave-one-out cross-validation. Specifically, for each pair of words, each trial was left out in turn as the testing trial, with the remaining trials used for the training set. Finally, the overall pairwise classification accuracy was estimated through averaging across all 190 word pairs. The classification accuracy for each specifically controlled condition was estimated by averaging the corresponding word pairs.

See *SI Methods* for details regarding statistical testing of classification accuracy.

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