

1   **Title:** The extended language network: Language-responsive brain  
2   areas whose contributions to language remain to be discovered

3   **Abbreviated title:** The extended language network

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## 36 Abstract

37 Although language neuroscience has largely focused on ‘core’ left frontal and temporal brain  
38 areas and their right-hemisphere homotopes, numerous other areas—cortical and subcortical—  
39 have been implicated in linguistic processing. However, these areas’ contributions to language  
40 remain unclear given that the evidence for their recruitment comes from diverse paradigms,  
41 many of which conflate language processing with perceptual, motor, or task-related cognitive  
42 processes. Using fMRI data from 772 participants performing an extensively-validated  
43 language ‘localizer’ paradigm that isolates language processing from other processes, we a)  
44 delineate a comprehensive set of areas that respond reliably to language across written and  
45 auditory modalities, and b) evaluate these areas’ selectivity for language relative to a  
46 demanding non-linguistic task. In line with prior claims, many areas outside the core fronto-  
47 temporal network respond during language processing, and most of them show selectivity for  
48 language relative to general task demands. These language-selective areas of the extended  
49 language network include areas around the temporal poles, in the medial frontal cortex, in the  
50 hippocampus, and in the cerebellum, among others. Although distributed across many parts of  
51 the brain, the extended language-selective network still only comprises ~3.5% of the grey  
52 matter volume and is about the size of a large strawberry, challenging the view that the entire  
53 brain processes language. These newly identified language-selective areas can now be  
54 systematically characterized to decipher their contributions to language processing, including  
55 testing whether these contributions differ from those of the core language areas.  
56

## 57 Significance statement

58 Language processing consistently recruits a left-lateralized fronto-temporal brain network, but  
59 language tasks often additionally engage areas outside this core system. In an fMRI dataset of  
60 772 participants performing a validated language localizer task, we identified 17 brain areas  
61 outside the core fronto-temporal network that respond to both auditory and written language.  
62 Most of these areas show selectivity for language, including regions in the temporal poles,  
63 medial frontal cortex, hippocampus, and cerebellum. Despite its large number of components,  
64 this extended language network still only takes up ~3.5% of the grey matter volume,  
65 challenging the view that the entire brain processes language. These findings lay the foundation  
66 for systematically characterizing these newly identified non-canonical language-selective  
67 areas.  
68

## 69 Introduction

70 Language processing engages a left-lateralized fronto-temporal brain network—the "language  
71 network"—which selectively supports comprehension and production across modalities,  
72 including computations related to word recognition and combinatorial syntactic and semantic  
73 processing (Vigneau et al., 2006; Turker et al., 2023; Fedorenko et al., 2024). These areas have  
74 been consistently identified across diverse neuroimaging approaches (PET, fMRI, MEG, and  
75 intracranial recordings) and paradigms and also implicated in studies of patients with aphasia  
76 (see **Table OSF1** for selected reviews, meta-analyses, and empirical papers). In addition to this  
77 'core' network and its right-hemispheric homotopic regions (Lindell, 2006; Ferstl et al., 2008;  
78 Mahowald & Fedorenko, 2016; Martin et al., 2022), several other brain areas have been  
79 implicated in aspects of language. In the cortex, these include medial frontal areas (Ardila,  
80 2020; Bohsali & Crosson, 2016; Hertrich et al., 2016), medial and lateral parietal areas (Hasson  
81 et al., 2007; Peschke et al., 2012; Papagno et al., 2017), temporal poles (Ferstl et al., 2008;  
82 Holland & Lambon Ralph, 2010; Lambon Ralph et al., 2017), ventral temporal areas (Krauss  
83 et al., 1996; Bédos Ulvin et al., 2017; Snyder et al., 2023), and even occipital areas in the blind  
84 (Bedny et al., 2011; Reich et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2017) but also sighted populations (Dikker  
85 et al., 2009, 2010; Seydell-Greenwald et al., 2023). Subcortically, language-implicated areas  
86 include the hippocampus (Covington & Duff, 2016; Dijksterhuis et al., 2024; reviews: Duff &  
87 Brown-Schmidt, 2012, 2017; Piai et al., 2016), the thalamus (Wahl et al., 2008; review:  
88 Klostermann & Ehlen, 2013), and basal ganglia structures, including the caudate, the pallidum,  
89 and the putamen (Booth et al., 2007; Crosson et al., 2003; Kotz, 2009; Oberhuber et al., 2013;  
90 Thibault et al., 2021, 2025). Finally, parts of the cerebellum have long been implicated in  
91 speech and language processing (reviews: Murdoch, 2010; Mariën et al., 2014; LeBel &  
92 D'Mello, 2023).

93 However, the precise contributions of these additional, non-canonical brain areas to language  
94 remain unclear. Much of the evidence comes from studies relying on single experimental  
95 paradigms, which often fail to isolate language processing from perceptual, motor, or general  
96 task demands (for discussion, see Fedorenko et al., 2024). Further, the group-averaging  
97 approach—adopted by the majority of past neuroimaging studies—complicates across-study  
98 comparisons. In this approach, individual maps are averaged voxel-wise, and group-level  
99 activation peaks are reported in a standardized coordinate system (e.g., MNI; Mazziotta et al.,  
100 2001). However, inter-individual anatomical variability leads to differences in structural and  
101 functional topographies (Frost & Goebel, 2012; Tahmasebi et al., 2012; Fedorenko, 2021;  
102 Michon et al., 2022), which may shift the group peaks across studies even for the same  
103 paradigm. Besides, any macro-anatomical structure encompasses multiple functionally distinct  
104 areas, making it difficult to unambiguously determine whether nearby peaks reported in  
105 different studies correspond to the same functional area (earlier discussions: Brett et al., 2002;  
106 Saxe et al., 2006).

107 One approach that circumvents these challenges is functional localization (Saxe et al., 2006;  
108 Kanwisher, 2010; Fedorenko et al., 2010). Instead of averaging brains together, this approach  
109 identifies functional areas within individuals using 'localizer' tasks—robust contrasts that

110 target a particular perceptual or cognitive process. This approach ensures that functionally  
111 equivalent area(s) are referred to across individuals and studies, supporting the systematic  
112 characterization of each area's responses across paradigms, as needed to understand its  
113 computations. At the same time, identifying these areas and testing their properties in each  
114 brain individually—effectively, working in each individual's functional native space  
115 (regardless of the anatomical, stereotactic space the data are registered to)—allows to preserve  
116 high functional resolution (Nieto-Castañón & Fedorenko, 2012): i.e., the ability to differentiate  
117 the relevant areas from nearby, functionally distinct areas.

118 Here, we use an established language localizer and a large fMRI dataset to search for language-  
119 selective areas outside the core language network. In line with past claims, we find several such  
120 areas, and many of them show selectivity for language relative to a demanding non-linguistic  
121 cognitive task, which makes them exciting targets for future investigations.

## 122 Methods

### 123 Overview

124 We leverage a dataset of 772 participants each of whom performed an extensively validated  
125 reading-based language localizer (Fedorenko et al., 2010) and one or two additional tasks  
126 (**Figure 1A**). In particular, 489 of the 772 participants performed a demanding spatial working  
127 memory task, which allowed us to begin evaluating the selectivity of the non-canonical  
128 language-responsive areas. 86 of these 489 participants additionally performed an auditory  
129 version of the language localizer (Malik-Moraleda, Ayyash et al., 2022), which allowed us to  
130 evaluate whether the observed language responses are robust to modality (reading vs.  
131 listening). If a brain region, akin to the core frontal and temporal language areas, responds to  
132 both written and auditory linguistic inputs (Fedorenko et al., 2010; Vagharchakian et al., 2012;  
133 M. Regev et al., 2013; Deniz et al., 2019), its computations plausibly have to do with the  
134 content of the linguistic signals rather than their surface (visual or auditory) properties.

135 In the critical analysis, we define regions of interest functionally within individual participants.  
136 To constrain the selection of these individual-level functional regions of interest (fROIs), we  
137 use functional parcels derived from a group-level representation of the language localizer  
138 activity (Fedorenko et al., 2010). Because the fMRI signal is weaker in subcortical areas, which  
139 are further away from the receiver coil, and to ensure that we don't miss any language-  
140 responsive areas, we complement these parcels with subcortical anatomical parcels, which we  
141 use in the same way (to constrain individual-level fROIs). Finally, because standard cortical  
142 atlases are commonly used for ROI definition, we comprehensively examine language  
143 responsiveness and selectivity in three such atlases, in order to specify the relevant subsets of  
144 areas within which reliable and selective responses to language can be observed, and to further  
145 highlight the importance of functional localization within individuals (instead of using group-  
146 level anatomical masks).

## 147 Participants

148 The structure of the dataset is shown in **Figure 1A**. We used three tasks (**Figure 1B**): a standard  
149 reading-based language localizer (Fedorenko et al., 2010), an auditory language localizer based  
150 on excerpts from *Alice in Wonderland* (Malik-Moraleda, Ayyash et al., 2022), and a spatial  
151 working memory task (Fedorenko et al., 2013; Assem et al., 2020).

152 772 neurotypical adults (age: mean=27, range=18-81; 438 females) each completed the  
153 standard reading-based language localizer (Fedorenko et al., 2010). A subset of 706 participants  
154 (age: mean=27, range=18-81; 404 females; *subset A*), all native speakers of English, were  
155 included in the GSS analysis, to create a set of extended language parcels (Group-level parcels  
156 used to constrain the definition of individual fROIs). 489 of the 772 participants (age:  
157 mean=29, range=17-80; 225 females; *subset B*) performed a spatial working memory task  
158 (Fedorenko et al., 2013; Assem et al., 2020), and 86 of these 489 participants (age: mean=28,  
159 range=19-45; 44 females; *subset C*) additionally performed an auditory language localizer task.  
160 This subset consisted of 20 native English speakers and 66 native speakers of diverse languages  
161 (all proficient in English), who performed the auditory localizer in their native language (data  
162 partially reported in (Malik-Moraleda, Ayyash et al., 2022). All participants gave written  
163 informed consent, in accordance with the requirements of MIT's Committee on the Use of  
164 Humans as Experimental Subjects (COUHES) and were paid for their participation.

## 165 Tasks

### 166 Reading-based language localizer task

167 Participants passively read English sentences and lists of pronounceable nonwords, which  
168 appeared on the screen one word/nonword at a time (**Figure 1B, top**). Each trial started with a  
169 100ms fixation, followed by a 12-element-long sequence of words/nonwords presented at the  
170 rate of 450ms. At the end of each trial, a drawing of a hand appeared for 400ms, and participants  
171 had to press a button every time they saw this drawing. The button press task was included to  
172 help the participants stay alert and focused during the task. Each trial ended with a blank screen  
173 presented for 100ms. The task followed a blocked design. The total duration of each trial was  
174 6 seconds, and 3 trials were included in each block. Each run included sixteen 18-second-long  
175 blocks (8 per condition). Additionally, five fixation blocks of 14 seconds were included in each  
176 run, for a total run duration of 358 seconds. Each participant completed two runs. The *Sentences*  
177 > *Nonwords* contrast targets brain areas that support language processing (including mental  
178 operations related to lexical retrieval, syntactic structure building, and semantic composition),  
179 while excluding perceptual processing (see **Figure OSF1**—available at <https://osf.io/7594t/>—  
180 for evidence that this contrast includes areas sensitive to sub-lexical/phonological processing;  
181 also: Bozic et al., 2015; Regev et al., 2022).

182 It is important to note that although this particular version of the language localizer uses written  
183 stimuli, the core frontal and temporal areas activated by the written *Sentences>Nonwords*  
184 contrast overlap almost perfectly with areas identified with auditory contrasts between  
185 language processing and a perceptually similar condition, such as backwards speech (e.g.,  
186 Fedorenko et al., 2010; Scott et al., 2017; Malik-Moraleda, Ayyash et al., 2022). Moreover, the

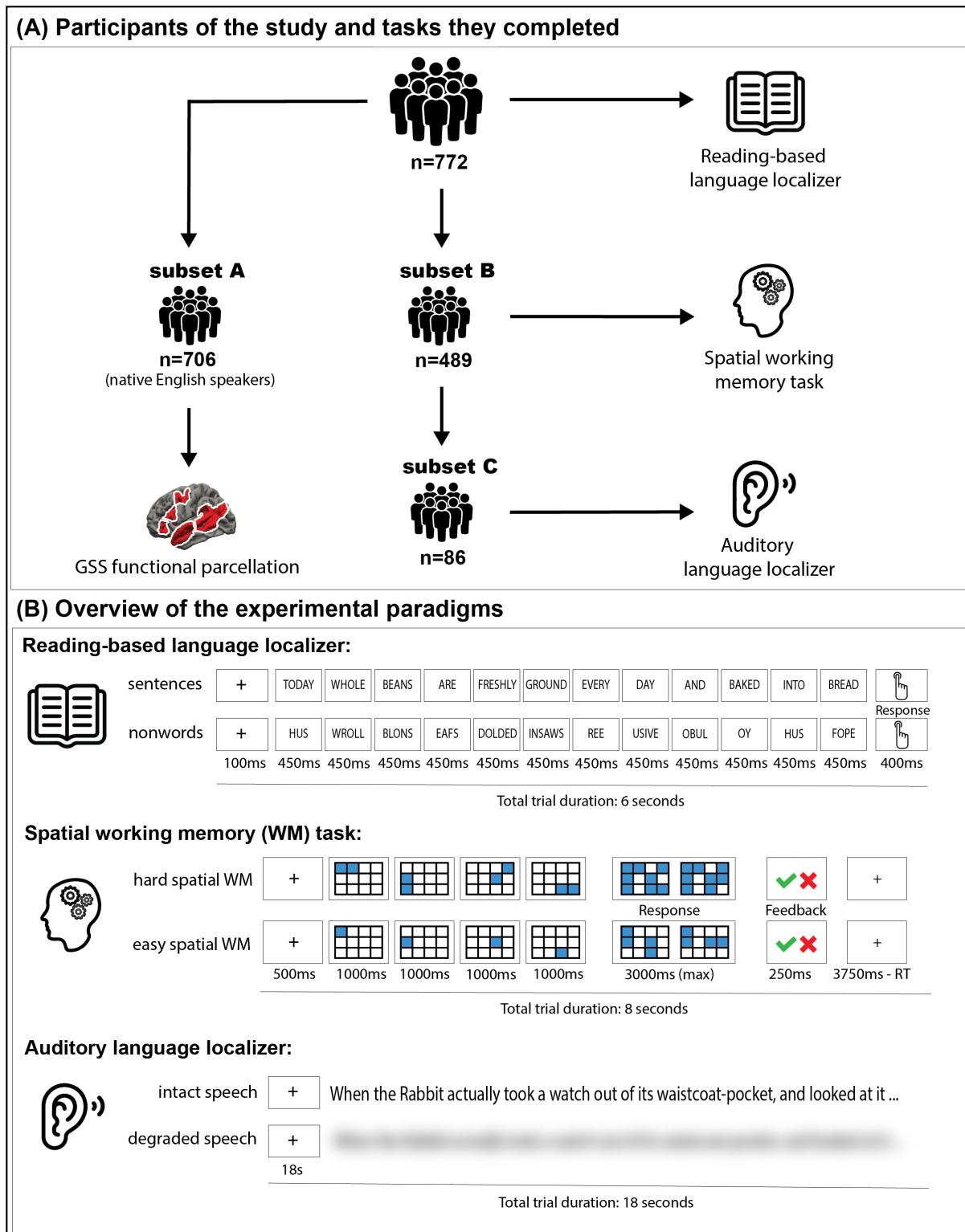
187 network of areas that emerges for the *Sentences>Nonwords* contrast (and similar contrasts)  
188 closely matches one of the intrinsic brain networks recoverable from patterns of functional  
189 connectivity, as measured during naturalistic conditions such as resting state (e.g., Braga et al.,  
190 2020; Du et al., 2024; Rajimehr et al., 2024) or even during task paradigms (e.g., Du et al.,  
191 2025; Shain & Fedorenko, 2025).

## 192 Auditory language localizer task

193 Participants passively listened to intact and acoustically degraded passages from *Alice in*  
194 *Wonderland* (Carroll, 1865; **Figure 1B, middle**). The degraded condition was created based on  
195 the original passages but sounded like poor radio reception, with preserved prosody but without  
196 decipherable words or phonemes (see Malik-Moraleda, Ayyash, et al., 2022 for details of  
197 stimulus creation). Each trial consisted of an 18-second recording. Each run included 12 18-  
198 second-long trials (4 per condition; in addition to the intact and degraded conditions, the  
199 experiment included a third condition not included in any analyses here—recordings in an  
200 unfamiliar foreign language). Additionally, three fixation blocks of 12 seconds were included  
201 in each run, for a total run duration of 252 seconds. Each participant completed three runs.  
202 Similar to the reading-based localizer, the *Intact > Degraded* contrast targets brain areas that  
203 support language processing.

## 204 A demanding non-linguistic (spatial working memory) task

205 Participants performed a spatial working memory task consisting of easier and harder trials  
206 (e.g., Fedorenko et al., 2013; Assem et al., 2020). Each trial started with a 500 ms fixation.  
207 Then, a 3 x 4 grid appeared in the center of the screen, and a series of locations were flashed  
208 in blue at the rate of 1 second per flash (**Figure 1B, bottom**). In the easy condition, one location  
209 flashed at a time (four locations in total); in the hard condition, two locations flashed at a time  
210 (eight in total). Participants were instructed to keep track of the locations. Each trial ended with  
211 a two-choice forced choice task: two grids with different sets of locations were shown side by  
212 side, and participants had to choose the grid that shows the locations just presented. They were  
213 told whether they chose correctly (green checkmark) or not (red cross). The task followed a  
214 blocked design. The total duration of each trial was 8 seconds, and 4 trials were included in  
215 each block. Each run included ten 32-second-long blocks (5 per condition). Additionally, six  
216 fixation blocks of 16 seconds were included in each run, for a total run duration of 448 seconds.  
217 Each participant completed 2 runs. The *Hard > Easy* contrast targets brain areas that support  
218 demanding cognitive tasks, including mental operations associated with working memory,  
219 attention, and cognitive control.



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**Figure 1. Overview of the dataset and paradigms.** A) The structure of the dataset. A total of n=772 participants were included. All 772 completed the reading-based language localizer. A subset of n=706 (*subset A*) were native speakers of English and were used in the GSS analysis for creating the extended set of parcels. A subset of n=489 participants (*subset B*) completed the spatial working memory task, and a subset of n=86 participants (*subset C*) completed the auditory language localizer. B) The paradigms. For each task, a sample trial in each condition is shown (see [Tasks](#) for a detailed description).

## 227 fMRI data acquisition

228 Structural and functional data collected in the Athinoula A. Martinos Imaging Center at the  
229 McGovern Institute for Brain Research at MIT. Structural and functional data were acquired  
230 using a Siemens Trio 3 Tesla scanner before or after a Prisma upgrade (n=508 and n=264,  
231 respectively) and a 32-channel head coil. High-resolution, whole-brain anatomical images were  
232 acquired using two different T1-weighted MPRAGE sequence (**Sequence 1**: n=508, 176  
233 sagittal slices; voxel size 1 x 1 x 1 mm<sup>3</sup>; TR = 2530 ms, TE = 3.48 ms, flip angle = 9°; **Sequence**  
234 **2**: n=264, 208 sagittal slices; voxel size 0.9 x 0.9 x 0.9 mm<sup>3</sup>; TR = 1800 ms, TE = 2.40 ms, flip  
235 angle = 9°). Functional T2\*-weighted images were acquired using three different whole-brain  
236 echo-planar (EPI) pulse sequences with phase encoding direction A >> P (**Sequence 1**,  
237 **Siemens Trio**: n = 508, 31 near-axial slices, 2.1 × 2.1 × 4 mm voxels; TR = 2,000 ms; TE =  
238 30 ms; flip angle = 90°; matrix size 96 x 96 mm; MB acceleration factor 0; **Sequence 2**,  
239 **Siemens Prisma**: n = 73, 52 near-axial slices, 2 × 2 × 2 mm isotropic voxels; TR = 2,000 ms;  
240 TE = 30 ms; flip angle = 90°; matrix size 104 x 104 mm; MB acceleration factor 2; **Sequence**  
241 **3**, **Siemens Prisma**: n = 191, 72 near-axial slices, 2 × 2 × 2 mm isotropic voxels; TR = 2,000  
242 ms; TE = 30 ms; flip angle = 90°; matrix size 104 x 104 mm; MB acceleration factor 3). The  
243 first 10 s of each run were excluded to allow for steady state magnetization.

## 244 fMRI data preprocessing

245 fMRI data were analyzed using SPM12 (release 7487), CONN EvLab module (release 19b),  
246 and other custom MATLAB scripts. Each participant's functional and structural data were  
247 converted from DICOM to NIFTI format. All functional scans were coregistered and resampled  
248 using 4<sup>th</sup> degree B-spline interpolation to the first scan of the first session (Friston et al., 1995).  
249 Potential outlier scans were identified from the resulting subject-motion estimates as well as  
250 from BOLD signal indicators using default thresholds in CONN preprocessing pipeline (5  
251 standard deviations above the mean in global BOLD signal change, or framewise displacement  
252 values above 0.9 mm; Nieto-Castañón, 2020). Functional and structural data were  
253 independently normalized into a common space (the Montreal Neurological Institute [MNI]  
254 template; IXI549Space) using SPM12 unified segmentation and normalization procedure  
255 (Ashburner & Friston, 2005) with a reference functional image computed as the mean  
256 functional data after realignment across all timepoints omitting outlier scans. The output data  
257 were resampled to a common bounding box between MNI-space coordinates (-90, -126, -72)  
258 and (90, 90, 108), using 2mm isotropic voxels and 4<sup>th</sup> degree B-spline interpolation for the  
259 functional data, and 1mm isotropic voxels and trilinear interpolation for the structural data.  
260 Last, the functional data were smoothed spatially using spatial convolution with a 4 mm  
261 FWHM Gaussian kernel (following a reviewer's request, we additionally provide unsmoothed  
262 activation maps on OSF (<https://osf.io/7594t/>); see also **Figure OSF2** for evidence that  
263 individual-level activation maps are highly similar regardless of the preprocessing approach:  
264 with vs. without normalization to the common space, and between our volumetric SPM-based  
265 pipeline and a surface-based Freesurfer pipeline).

## 266 fMRI data first-level modeling

267 Responses in individual voxels were estimated using a General Linear Model (GLM) in which  
268 each experimental condition was modeled with a boxcar function convolved with the canonical  
269 hemodynamic response function (HRF) (fixation was modeled implicitly). Temporal  
270 autocorrelations in the BOLD signal timeseries were accounted for by a combination of high-  
271 pass filtering with a 128 seconds cutoff, and whitening using an AR(0.2) model (first-order  
272 autoregressive model linearized around the coefficient  $a=0.2$ ) to approximate the observed  
273 covariance of the functional data in the context of Restricted Maximum Likelihood estimation  
274 (ReML). In addition to experimental condition effects, the GLM design included first-order  
275 temporal derivatives for each condition (included to model variability in the HRF delays), as  
276 well as nuisance regressors to control for the effect of slow linear drifts, subject-specific motion  
277 parameters (6 parameters), and potential outlier scans (identified during preprocessing as  
278 described above) on the BOLD signal.

## 279 Group-level parcels used to constrain the definition of individual 280 fROIs

281 The group-level functional parcels were created using the group-constrained subject-specific  
282 approach (GSS; Fedorenko et al., 2010) as implemented in the spm\_ss toolbox (available for  
283 download from: <https://www.evlab.mit.edu/resources>). This approach helps determine which  
284 parts of the activation landscape are consistent across participants and establish  
285 correspondences across individuals. To do so, thresholded binarized individual maps for a  
286 particular contrast of interest are overlaid in a common brain space to create a probabilistic  
287 activation overlap map (or ‘atlas’). Subsequently, this map is divided into parcels using a  
288 watershed image parcellation algorithm (see Julian et al., 2012 for the application of this  
289 approach to the ventral visual areas).

290 Here, we used a set of 706 individual maps (the subset of the native English speakers; **Figure**  
291 **1A**) and selected the 20% most language-responsive voxels across the brain in each individual.  
292 This relatively liberal individual-level threshold increases the likelihood of capturing all  
293 language-responsive areas, including those with weaker and less spatially consistent responses.  
294 It is worth noting that the average  $t$ -value across participants for these voxels was still quite  
295 high: 2.02 (SD=0.6), with the average minimum  $t$ -value of 0.92, and the average maximum  $t$ -  
296 value of 14.17). In the resulting overlap map, the value of each voxel, divided by the total  
297 number of participants, represents the proportion of participants for whom that voxel belongs  
298 to the top 20% of most language-responsive voxels (the highest value in this map is ~0.78, in  
299 line with Lipkin et al., 2022). The overlap map was thresholded to remove voxels with values  
300 below 0.1 (i.e., voxels present in fewer than 10%, or 71 of the 706 participants) and smoothed  
301 with a 6 mm full-width half-maximum Gaussian kernel, to avoid over-parcellation. Finally, an  
302 image parcellation (watershed) algorithm was run to identify the main “hills” in the activation  
303 landscape (Meyer, 1991).

304 In our dataset, this algorithm identified 27 parcels (of size 150 voxels or larger): 11 in the left  
305 hemisphere, 8 in the right hemisphere, 3 midline bilateral parcels, and 5 parcels in the

306 cerebellum (**Figures 2 and 3** and **Table 1**; see **Figure OSF3** for evidence that the probabilistic  
307 overlap map and the parcels are similar if the individual maps are thresholded more  
308 conservatively—at top 10% of most language-responsive voxels instead of top 20%). Six  
309 additional parcels (smaller than 150 voxels in size) were excluded from the main analysis, but  
310 we report their profiles for completeness in **Supp. Materials 1**.

311 Because the BOLD signal is weaker in brain areas that are further away from the receiver coil,  
312 we complemented our functional parcels with a set of 7 bilateral subcortical parcels from the  
313 Harvard-Oxford Subcortical atlas (Desikan et al., 2006), to the exclusion of the brain stem,  
314 ventricles, and white matter.

### 315 Estimation of response to the three tasks in the individual language 316 fROIs

317 Within each parcel, we defined a subject-specific functional ROI (fROI) by selecting the 10%  
318 of voxels showing the strongest response to the language localizer contrast (*Sentences > Nonwords*) (see **Figures 2 and 3** for sample fROIs; see **Figure OSF4** for evidence that the  
319 results are near-identical if the fROIs are defined as voxels that pass a fixed whole-brain  
320 significance threshold of  $p < .001$ ). Subsequently, we estimated the responses in these fROIs to  
321 the conditions of the auditory language localizer (*Intact speech* and *Degraded speech*) and the  
322 spatial working memory task (*Hard spatial WM* and *Easy spatial WM*). To estimate the  
323 responses to the *Sentences* and *Nonwords* conditions, we relied on an across-runs cross-  
324 validation procedure, which ensures that different subsets of the data are used for fROI  
325 definition and response estimation (e.g., Kriegeskorte et al., 2010).

### 327 Statistical analyses

328 The data were analyzed using linear mixed-effect models as implemented in the lmerTest  
329 package in R (Kuznetsova et al., 2017). We ran a separate analysis for each fROI comparing  
330 the critical and baseline conditions in each task: the reading-based language localizer, the  
331 auditory language localizer, and the spatial working memory task using the following formula:

$$332 \text{EffectSize} \sim 1 + \text{Condition} * \text{Task} + (1 | \text{Participant})$$

333 The categorical predictor of *Condition* was deviation-coded using the treatment contrast which  
334 specified the control condition of each task as the baseline (the reading-based language  
335 localizer: *Sentences* = 1, *Nonwords* = 0; the auditory language localizer: *Intact speech* = 1,  
336 *Degraded speech* = 0; the spatial WM task: *Hard WM* = 1, *Easy WM* = 0). The categorical  
337 predictor of *Task* was deviation-coded using the treatment contrast and specifying the reading  
338 language localizer as the baseline.

339 Subsequently, we ran three post-hoc pairwise comparisons to test (i) differences between the  
340 critical and control conditions for each task (i.e., *Sentences > Nonwords*, *Intact speech > Degraded speech*, and *Hard WM > Easy WM*); (ii) whether in each task the responses to the  
341 critical and control conditions significantly differed from 0 (e.g., *Sentences > 0* and *Nonwords > 0* in the reading language task); and (iii) whether the responses to the critical condition  
342 significantly differed between a) each of the two language conditions (i.e., *Sentences > Intact*

345 speech) and b) the non-linguistic Hard WM condition (i.e., *Sentences > Hard WM*, and *Intact*  
346 *speech > Hard WM*). We do not apply a correction for multiple comparisons (regions) here  
347 because we are asking an independent question for each region (rather than asking whether the  
348 effect holds in *any* of the regions). Besides, the approach already has internal replicability  
349 “checks” built into it, including an across-runs cross-validation procedure for the reading-based  
350 contrast and generalization to the auditory language contrast. That said, most of the critical  
351 effects would survive a correction for the number of regions given the size of our sample (all  
352 GSS and subcortical regions and majority of regions evaluated within standard atlases).

353 It is important to note that although different subsets of participants completed the three tasks  
354 (all n=772 completed the reading-based language localizer; n=489 of the 772 additionally  
355 completed the spatial WM task; and n=86 of the 489 additionally completed the auditory  
356 language localizer; **Figure 1A**), linear mixed-effects models are well-suited to handle such  
357 data imbalances (Little & Rubin, 2019). In particular, this approach efficiently estimates the  
358 effects of interest while controlling for data sparsity (assuming greater uncertainty where data  
359 are sparse by implementing partial pooling strategy, which “shrinks” the intercepts of  
360 participants with less data points towards the population mean more than those of participants  
361 who completed all tasks) and is robust under the assumption that the missing data are missing  
362 at random, as is reasonable here. In addition, this approach has the advantage of using all  
363 available data compared to analyzing each task separately (Snijders & Bosker, 2011; Brown,  
364 2021). Nevertheless, to establish the statistical robustness of our results, we additionally  
365 report the results for the subset of the n=86 participants who completed all three tasks and  
366 thus where the effects could be estimated with a full within-participant design (**Figure**  
367 **OSF5**).

## 368 Comparison with Standard Cortical Atlases

369 To facilitate comparisons with other studies, where standard anatomical atlases are often used,  
370 we evaluated language responses in three cortical atlases: 1) the Desikan-Killiany-Tourville  
371 atlas (Klein & Tourville, 2012), 2) the Harvard-Oxford Cortical atlas (Desikan et al., 2006),  
372 and 3) the multi-modal Glasser atlas (Glasser et al., 2016) (see **Supp. Materials 3** for  
373 information on the overlap between the functional and anatomical cortical parcels). The aim of  
374 these analyses is to evaluate the usefulness of standard atlases as group-constraints for subject-  
375 specific fROIs and not making any claims about the relationship of the functional language  
376 areas and macroanatomical landmarks.

377 To create a volume-based DKT parcellation, we ran the cortical reconstruction (using the recon-  
378 all Freesurfer standard pipeline) on the MNI template (IXI549Space), which was used in this  
379 study to normalize each participant’s data. The resulting parcels (the aparc.DKTatlas+aseg.mgz  
380 file) were converted to the NIFTI format and smoothed with a 2 mm FWHM Gaussian kernel.  
381 The smoothing step is necessary to slightly increase the spatial extent of the parcels (because  
382 they are aligned to the cortical surface, they are relatively thin) as well as accommodate  
383 potential small differences between the surface space and the volumetric space. The Harvard-  
384 Oxford atlas is volume-based, so no transformation was needed. Finally, for the Glasser atlas,  
385 the MNI-based volumetric version was downloaded from

386 [https://figshare.com/articles/dataset/HCP-MMP1\\_0\\_projected\\_on\\_MNI2009a\\_GM\\_volumetric\\_in\\_NIfTI\\_format/3501911](https://figshare.com/articles/dataset/HCP-MMP1_0_projected_on_MNI2009a_GM_volumetric_in_NIfTI_format/3501911) and resliced  
387 to the 2mm IXI549Space in SPM.  
388

389 For each atlas, we performed two analyses: an analysis where the whole parcel is used as the  
390 ROI (an identical set of voxels is used across participants), and an analysis where within each  
391 parcel, we define a subject-specific fROI, as we did in the main analysis (by selecting the 10%  
392 of voxels showing the strongest response to the language localizer contrast). Statistical analyses  
393 were performed on the responses extracted from these two kinds of ROIs (anatomical group-  
394 level ROIs and individual fROIs) using the same approach of linear mixed-effects models, as  
395 described above.

### 396 **Code accessibility**

397 All data, including 3D brain contrast maps (both smoothed and unsmoothed), parcels, and data  
398 produced by the functional localization analysis toolbox (spm\_ss), as well as the code  
399 necessary to replicate all analyses and plots presented in this paper are available at:  
400 <https://osf.io/7594t/>.

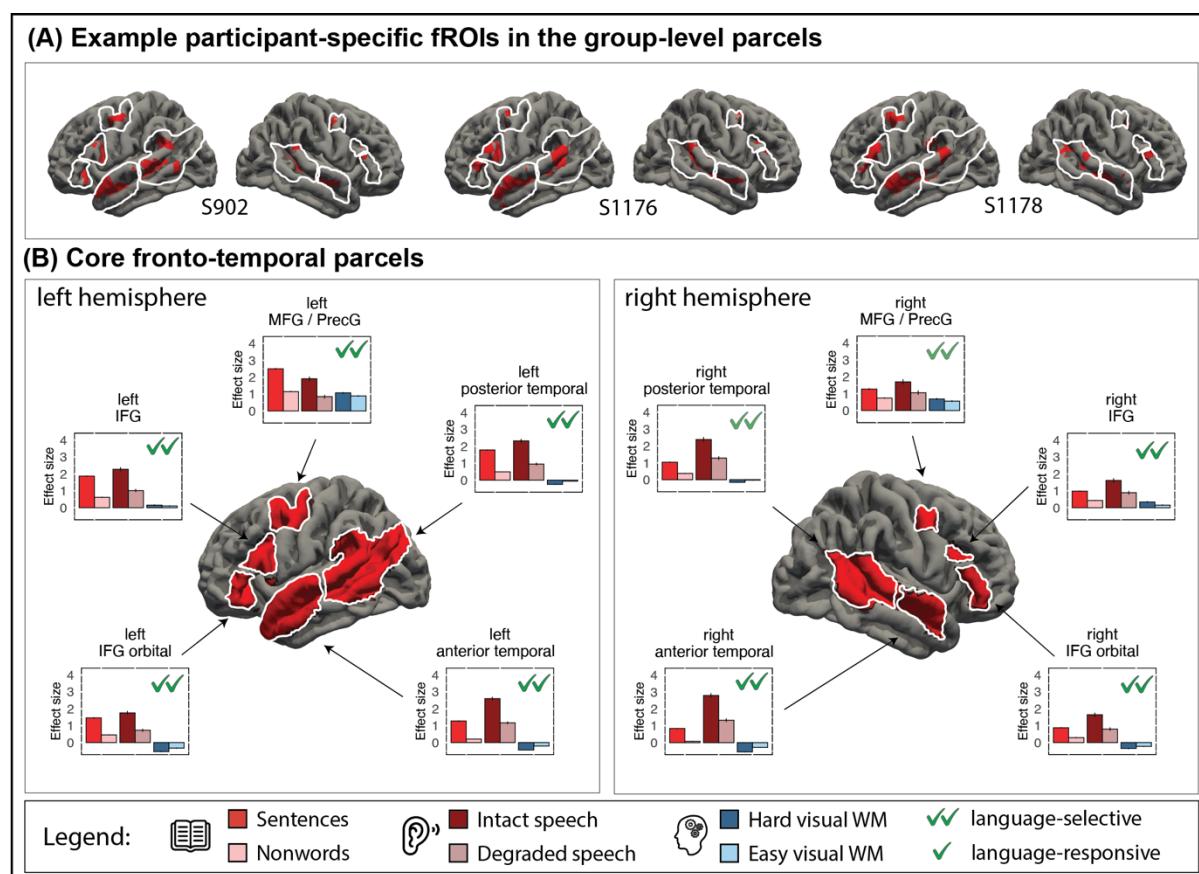
## 401 **Results**

402 We considered a region to contain a **fROI responsive to language** if the following conditions  
403 were met: 1) the response to both of the language contrasts (*Sentences > Nonwords* and *Intact*  
404 > *Degraded speech*) is positive and significant ( $p < .05$ ), and 2) the response to both of the  
405 critical conditions (i.e., *Sentences* for the reading language localizer and *Intact speech* for the  
406 auditory language localizer) falls significantly above the fixation baseline. We further  
407 considered a region to contain a **fROI selective for language** if, in addition to the  
408 abovementioned conditions, the critical language conditions (*Sentences* or *Intact speech*)  
409 elicited a reliably greater response than the critical condition for the non-linguistic task (i.e.,  
410 *Hard WM*). Note that here, we only evaluate selectivity for language relative to one task: a non-  
411 linguistic working memory task. This approach allows us to determine whether a brain region  
412 responds to any cognitive task, or whether the response reflects processing required for reading  
413 and listening to language but not when performing the working memory task. This limited  
414 definition of selectivity already rules out some of the language-responsive regions as  
415 supporting computations that are not specific to language (see Results), but it is of course  
416 possible that some of the regions found here to be selective will later be found to not be  
417 selective relative to other non-linguistic tasks (such as processing music; or processing  
418 communicative signals; or processing non-linguistic meanings).

### 419 **The extended set of language-selective regions**

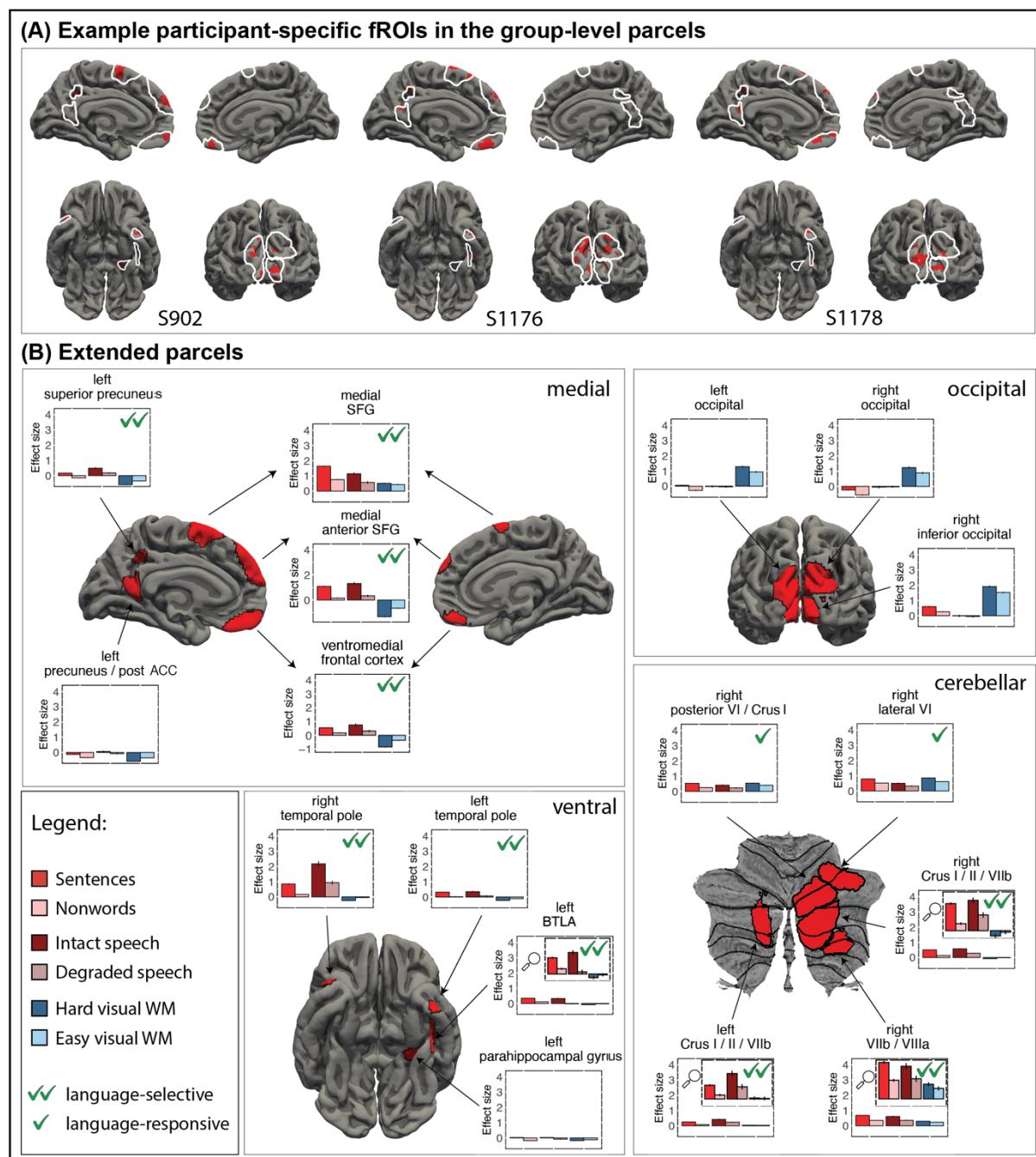
420 Twenty-two of the 27 parcels identified by the whole-brain GSS analysis (Methods) contained  
421 fROIs that responded to language across modalities, with the exception of the three parcels in  
422 the occipital cortex, the parcel in the left precuneus / posterior ACC, and the parcel in the left  
423 parahippocampal gyrus (the fROIs in these parcels either did not show a significant response  
424 to one of the language contrasts or responded at or below baseline to one or both of the critical

language conditions). Of the 22 language-responsive regions, 20 (including 5 core LH regions and their RH homotopic regions) showed selective responses to language with little or no response to the demanding non-linguistic task; both of the exceptions were located in the cerebellum (**Figures 2 and 3, Table 1**; see **SI Table S1** for the details of the statistical tests; for completeness, see **Supp. Materials 1** for the profiles of the regions excluded due to small parcel size). Note that in addition to these language-selective areas, most of these parcels contain areas that respond strongly to the non-linguistic task and not to the language tasks (**Supp. Materials 2**), in line with past evidence that distinct functional areas often lie near each other within the same anatomical structure (e.g., Fedorenko et al., 2012; Braga et al., 2020; Du et al., 2024)—a finding that reinforces the importance of functionally defining the relevant region within each individual.



**Figure 2. Language-responsive regions in the core language network and their functional profiles.** A) Example participant-specific fROIs created using top 10% of most active voxels (shown in red) within the group-level parcels (white outlines) for the core language regions. B) The five core left-hemisphere parcels (left sub-panel) and their right-hemisphere homotopes (right sub-panel). The figure shows the surface projections of the parcels (all the analyses were performed in the volume space, as described in Methods; the surface projections were created using FreeSurfer). For each region (defined based on individual activation maps, as described in Methods and illustrated in panel A), we show responses to the reading-based and auditory language localizers (red bars; darker bars correspond to the critical conditions) and the non-linguistic spatial working memory task (blue bars; the darker bar corresponds to the harder condition). For the reading-based localizer, the responses were estimated using independent runs of the data. Parcels that contain language-responsive fROIs have a green checkmark in the upper right-hand corner; the ones where the fROIs are additionally language-selective have two green checkmarks (all fROIs in this set are language-selective). In all plots, the bars correspond to the mean of raw data and whiskers represent SEM of raw means.

450 In addition to the core left lateral frontal and lateral temporal regions and their homotopic  
 451 regions—which replicate prior findings (Mahowald & Fedorenko, 2016; see Fedorenko et al.,  
 452 2024 for a review) and which we report here for completeness—the extended language-  
 453 selective network (**Figure 3**) included regions in the bilateral temporal pole, in the left ‘basal  
 454 temporal language area’ (BTLA; Lüders et al., 1986; Li et al., 2024; Salvo et al., 2025 for  
 455 concordant evidence using a similar functional localization approach to the one used here), in  
 456 the left precuneus, in three regions in the medial frontal cortex (spanning different sections of  
 457 the SFG and the frontal pole), and in three cerebellar regions (left Crus II / VIIb, right Crus I /  
 458 II / VIIb, and right VIIb / VIIIa; see Casto et al., 2025a for concordant evidence).

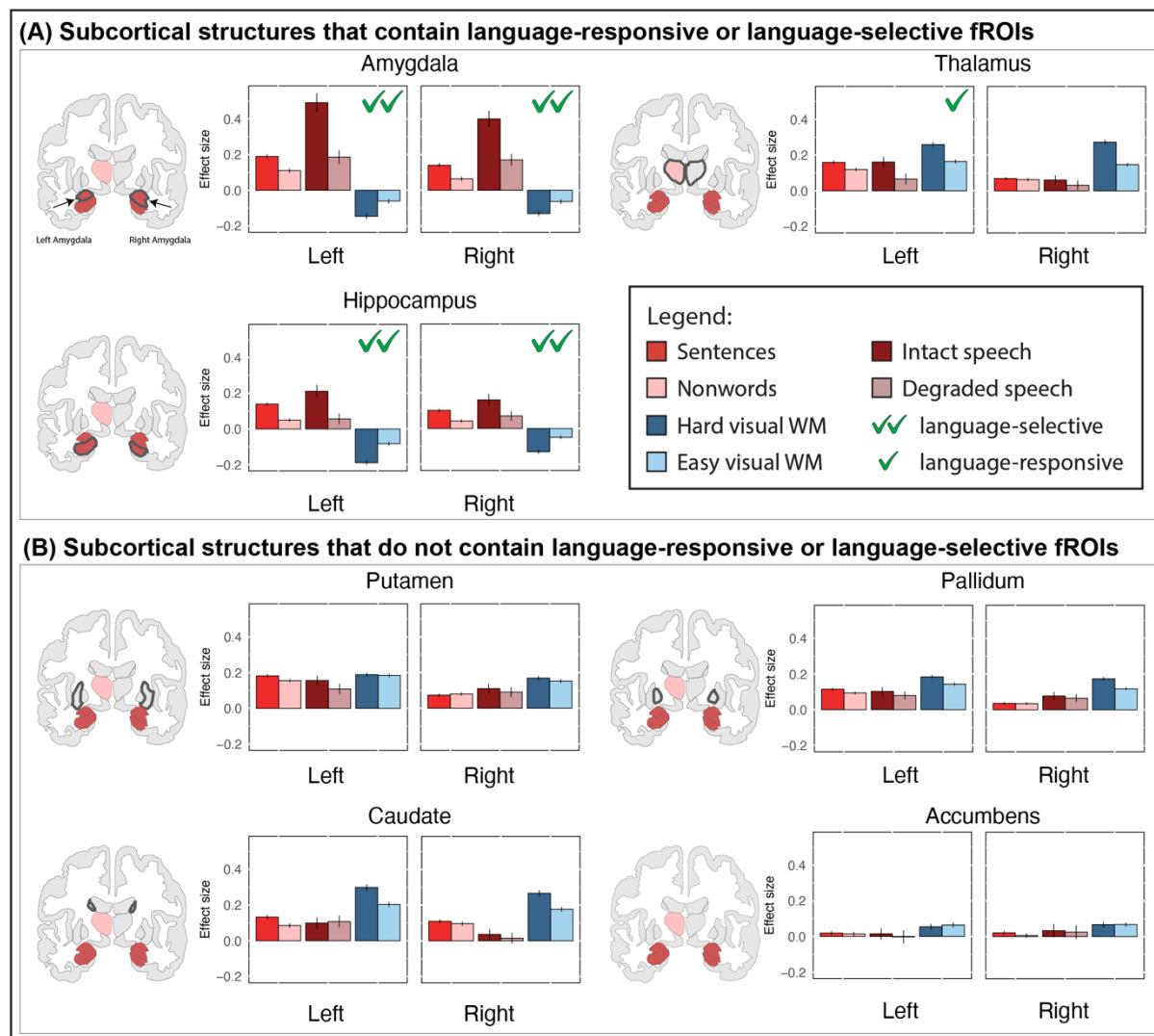


459  
 460 **Figure 3. Language-responsive regions in the extended language network and their functional profiles.** A)  
 461 Example participant-specific fROIs created using top 10% of most active voxels (shown in red) within the group-  
 462 level parcels (white outlines) for the non-canonical language regions. Note that due to image orientation in some

463 cases, the fROIs are not visible in the surface projection (statistical maps for all subjects are available on OSF:  
464 <https://osf.io/7594t/>). B) The extended set of parcels (as identified by the GSS procedure; Methods). Separate sub-  
465 panels show the medial, occipital, ventral, and cerebellar parcels. The figure shows the surface projections of the  
466 cortical and cerebellar parcels (all the analyses were performed in the volume space, as described in Methods; the  
467 surface projections were created using FreeSurfer for the cortical and SUIT for the cerebellar parcels and are only  
468 used for visualization). For each region (defined based on individual activation maps, as described in Methods  
469 and illustrated in panel A), we show responses to the reading-based and auditory language localizers (red bars;  
470 darker bars correspond to the critical conditions) and the non-linguistic spatial working memory task (blue bars;  
471 the darker bar corresponds to the harder condition). For the reading-based localizer, the responses were estimated  
472 using independent runs of the data. Parcels that contain language-responsive fROIs have a green checkmark in  
473 the upper right-hand corner (n=12 of the 17 fROIs satisfy this criterion); the ones where the fROIs are additionally  
474 language-selective have two green checkmarks (n=10 fROIs). We used the same range of values for the y-axis  
475 across all regions to highlight differences in response magnitudes, but for the language-selective regions with low  
476 responses, we include insets, marked with a magnifying glass, where we restrict the y-axis to make the profiles  
477 easier to see.

478 It is important to note that even with these additional regions, language-selective cortex takes  
479 up a relatively small amount of total brain volume. Although the parcels are, by design, large  
480 (to capture inter-individual variability in the precise locations of functional areas), the  
481 individual fROIs constitute only 10% of each parcel (Methods), for a total average volume of  
482  $25.1 \text{ cm}^3$  across the 20 language-selective regions (10 core and 10 non-canonical). The volume  
483 is similar if instead of the top 10% of voxels, in each parcel we select voxels that show a  
484 significant ( $p < .001$ ) *Sentences > Nonwords* effect:  $22.1 \text{ cm}^3$  on average ( $SD = 12.8 \text{ cm}^3$ ), which  
485 is similar in size to a large strawberry, and takes up only  $\sim 3.5\%$  of the grey matter volume (we  
486 calculate the grey matter volume for each participant separately based on the grey matter mask  
487 produced by the SPM segmentation during preprocessing, normalized to a common, MNI  
488 space; average total volume =  $1,539 \text{ cm}^3$ ,  $SD = 74 \text{ cm}^3$ ,  $min = 1,173 \text{ cm}^3$ ,  $max = 1,745 \text{ cm}^3$ ). An  
489 average of  $15.2 \text{ cm}^3$  ( $SD = 8.2 \text{ cm}^3$ ) is taken up by the five core left-hemisphere fROIs (defined  
490 within the following parcels: AntTemp, PostTemp, IFGorb, IFG, and MFG), and  $3.6 \text{ cm}^3$   
491 ( $SD = 3.7 \text{ cm}^3$ )—by their right-hemisphere homotopes.

492 In addition to the cortical language areas, 4 of the 14 parcels that we examined in the Harvard-  
493 Oxford Subcortical atlas contained language-selective fROIs: bilateral hippocampi and  
494 bilateral amygdalae (**Figure 4, Table 1**). One additional parcel (the left thalamus) contained a  
495 language-responsive, but non-selective fROI (see **SI Table S1** for the details of the statistical  
496 tests).



497

498 **Figure 4. Language responsive regions within the parcels in the Harvard-Oxford Subcortical atlas.** For each  
499 region (defined based on individual activation maps; Methods), we show responses to the reading-based and  
500 auditory language localizers (red bars; darker bars correspond to the critical conditions) and the non-linguistic  
501 spatial working memory task (blue bars; the darker bar corresponds to the harder condition). For the reading-  
502 based localizer, the responses were estimated using independent runs of the data. A) Parcels that contain language-  
503 responsive fROIs have a green checkmark; the ones where the fROIs are additionally language-selective have two  
504 green checkmarks. B) The parcels that do not contain language-responsive fROIs.

505 The full set of 27 cortical parcels, in both the MNI and the fsaverage spaces, is available on  
506 OSF (<https://osf.io/7594t/>; note that the fsaverage version was created by converting the  
507 volumetric set to the fsaverage space, not based on statistical maps generated in a surface  
508 space). Additionally, for the 20 parcels containing language-selective fROIs, we created a left-  
509 right symmetrical version, where the left-hemisphere cortical parcels were mirrored onto the  
510 right hemisphere (the medial parcels were first split along the brain midline ( $x = 45$ )), and the  
511 right-hemisphere cerebellar parcels were mirrored onto the left hemisphere. This symmetrical  
512 set (also available on OSF at <https://osf.io/7594t/> and at <https://evlab.mit.edu/parcels>) may be  
513 useful for defining the language fROIs in atypically lateralized (right-lateralized or bilateral)  
514 participants, or for directly comparing the profiles of the left- and right-hemisphere language  
515 regions. We also provide a left-right symmetrical version that uses—for the core areas—the

516 parcels derived from a smaller set of participants and used in much past work (e.g., Diachek,  
 517 Blank, Siegelman et al., 2020; Ivanova et al., 2020; Shain et al., 2020; Schrimpf et al., 2021;  
 518 Malik-Moraleda, Ayyash, et al., 2022).

519 **Table 1. Language regions.** The 27 parcels that emerged in the whole-brain GSS analysis ([Methods](#)) and the 14  
 520 subcortical parcels from Harvard-Oxford Subcortical atlas (Desikan et al., 2006). The parcel sizes are reported in  
 521 cm<sup>3</sup> and the number of voxels (2x2x2 mm resolution); individual fROIs are 10% of the parcel size ([Methods](#)).  
 522 The remaining two columns mark the parcels that contain language-responsive and language-selective fROIs (see  
 523 [Results](#) for definitions).

Hemisphere	Name	Size (cm <sup>3</sup> )	Size (n voxels)	Language-responsive	Language-selective
Core frontal and temporal parcels in the left and right hemispheres identified using GSS parcellation (included for completeness, as evidence of replicating past work)					
left	IFG orbital	12,40	1550	✓	✓
left	IFG	16,71	2089	✓	✓
left	MFG / PrecG	18,79	2349	✓	✓
left	anterior temporal	32,52	4065	✓	✓
left	posterior temporal	52,99	6624	✓	✓
right	IFG orbital	7,13	891	✓	✓
right	IFG	5,89	736	✓	✓
right	MFG / PrecG	5,90	737	✓	✓
right	anterior temporal	12,30	1538	✓	✓
right	posterior temporal	25,01	3126	✓	✓
Extended parcels identified using GSS parcellation					
left	temporal pole	1,64	205	✓	✓
left	BTLA	1,37	171	✓	✓
left	parahippocampal gyrus	1,27	159		
left	superior precuneus	2,42	302	✓	✓
left	precuneus / post ACC	4,30	538		
left	occipital	21,83	2729		
right	temporal pole	6,30	788	✓	✓
right	occipital	7,50	937		
right	inferior occipital	13,29	1661		
bilateral	ventromedial frontal cortex	6,01	751	✓	✓
bilateral	medial anterior SFG	13,96	1745	✓	✓
bilateral	medial SFG	13,85	1731	✓	✓
left	Crus I / II / VIIb	3,00	375	✓	✓
right	Crus I / II / VIIb	9,20	1150	✓	✓
right	VIIb / VIIIa	3,60	450	✓	✓
right	posterior VI / Crus I	3,92	490	✓	
right	lateral VI	3,05	381	✓	

Subcortical regions from Harvard-Oxford Subcortical Atlas						
left	accumbens	0,72	90			
left	amygdala	2,46	308	✓	✓	
left	caudate	3,94	493			
left	hippocampus	5,51	689	✓	✓	
left	pallidum	2,17	271			
left	putamen	6,44	805			
left	thalamus	10,47	1309	✓		
right	accumbens	0,68	85			
right	amygdala	2,90	363	✓	✓	
right	caudate	4,14	517			
right	hippocampus	5,69	711	✓	✓	
right	pallidum	2,14	267			
right	putamen	6,39	799			
right	thalamus	10,18	1272			

524

525 **Language responses in three standard brain atlases**

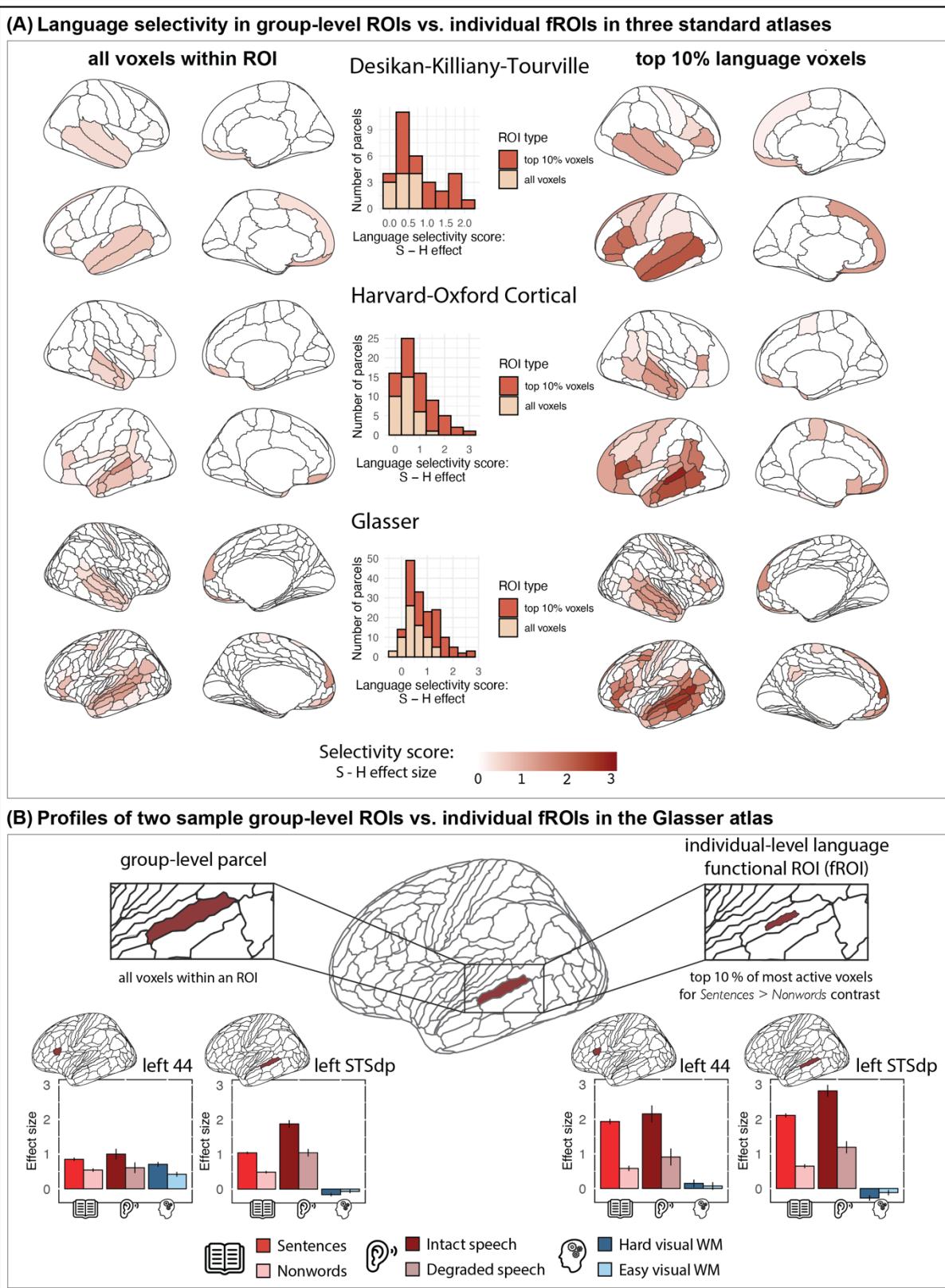
526 To facilitate comparisons with other work, we comprehensively evaluated language responses  
527 in three cortical atlases that vary in the granularity of their parcellation. These analyses serve  
528 two goals. First, they help identify anatomical areas within which reliable and selective  
529 responses to language can be observed within individuals. And second, they highlight the  
530 critical importance of individual-level functional localization.

531 When using the functional localization approach (i.e., selecting—for each individual  
532 separately—the top 10% of most active voxels based on their language localizer map), a  
533 number of areas emerge as containing language-selective fROIs (**Figure 5**; see **Table OSF2**  
534 for details of statistical tests in all regions in the three atlases). In the DKT atlas, 20 of the 72  
535 parcels contain language-selective fROIs: 13 in the left hemisphere and 7 in the right  
536 hemisphere. In the Harvard-Oxford Cortical atlas, 42 of the 96 parcels contain language-  
537 selective fROIs: 26 in the left hemisphere and 16 in the right hemisphere. Finally, in the Glasser  
538 multimodal atlas, 95 of the 380 parcels contain language-selective fROIs: 64 in the left  
539 hemisphere and 31 in the right hemisphere (see **Table 2** for the full list of language-responsive  
540 and language-selective regions). Across all three atlases, the general topography of the parcels  
541 containing language-selective fROIs resembles the topography of the functional parcels from  
542 the GSS (see **Supp. Materials 3, Figure SI 5A** for information on the overlap between  
543 standard atlas parcels and functional language parcels), spanning bilateral frontal and temporal  
544 areas, as well as pre-central frontal and inferior parietal areas in the left hemisphere. However,  
545 in the most granular, Glasser atlas, 9 of the parcels containing language-selective fROIs showed  
546 no or minimal spatial overlap with any of the GSS parcels (see **Supp. Materials 1** for the  
547 functional profiles of these regions).

548 In stark contrast, when using the whole parcels as ROIs (all voxels within a ROI), with no  
549 subject-specific functional masking, much fewer areas emerge as language-selective, and in  
550 the ones that do, the degree of selectivity is substantially lower compared to the corresponding  
551 fROIs (see the histograms in **Figure 5B** for a quantitative comparison). For example, in the  
552 DKT atlas, which is the least granular (with ROIs corresponding to entire gyri in many cases),  
553 only 11 regions satisfy the selectivity criterion when the entire regions are used as ROIs (cf. 20  
554 regions when using individual-level fROIs). The selectivity of these regions (the difference  
555 between the response to *Sentences* vs. to the *Hard spatial WM* condition) is low (2-3 times  
556 lower than when using fROIs). Further, some regions, especially in the frontal cortex, show  
557 mixed selectivity (responses to both the language contrasts and the spatial WM contrast), when  
558 in reality, the overlap between the voxels responding to these two tasks is minimal within any  
559 given individual (**Figure 5B**).

560 The picture is similar for the other two atlases: fewer regions emerge as language-selective,  
561 and in the ones that do, selectivity is severely underestimated. For example, the Harvard-  
562 Oxford atlas, which has an intermediate level of granularity, in the two most selective group-  
563 level ROIs, the difference between the *Sentences* condition and the *Hard spatial WM* condition  
564 is 1.39 (left posterior superior temporal gyrus) and 1.03 (left anterior superior temporal gyrus);  
565 the corresponding effect sizes in the individual fROIs within these regions are 2.80 and 1.97.  
566 Similarly, even in the most granular atlas (Glasser et al., 2016), the selectivity of the individual  
567 fROIs is substantially higher (average across all selective fROIs: 1.02, SD = 0.65, range 0.05-  
568 2.67; compared to the average of the group-level ROIs (average: 0.50, SD = 0.39, range = -  
569 0.37 – 1.33; **Figure 5A**).

570 These differences in selectivity can be straightforwardly explained by i) inter-individual  
571 variability in the precise locations of language fROIs within the larger, anatomical regions (see  
572 **Figure SI 5B** for examples), and ii) the presence of domain-general areas that respond robustly  
573 to demanding cognitive tasks in the vicinity of the language areas (**Supp. Materials 2**). In  
574 particular, a set of voxels that is the same across participants in a common template space is  
575 bound to include—for any given individual—some non-localizer-responsive voxels, leading to  
576 a lower response to the *Sentences* condition, and it may further include voxels that belong to  
577 the nearby Multiple Demand network (Fedorenko & Blank, 2020), leading to a higher response  
578 to the working memory task conditions (see e.g., Nieto-Castañón & Fedorenko, 2012 for  
579 discussion).



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**Figure 5. Consequences of using entire group-level anatomical ROIs vs. individually-defined functional ROIs for evaluating language selectivity.** A) Across three standard cortical parcellations (rows; top: DKT: Klein & Tourville, 2012; middle: HOC: Desikan et al., 2006; bottom: Glasser: Glasser et al., 2016), we show the selectivity scores (difference between the response to the *Sentences* condition and the *Hard spatial WM* condition) for all regions. Higher selectivity scores are shown with darker red hues (see bottom of the panel for the legend). In the left column, the selectivity scores are based on using group-level anatomical ROIs (all voxels in a parcel

587 are used); in the right column, the selectivity scores are based on using individually-defined functional ROIs (top  
588 10% of voxels are selected based on individual activation maps; the responses to the Sentence condition are  
589 estimated in a left-out run of the data; Methods). For each atlas and each ROI definition (group-level vs.  
590 individual-level), four views of the brain are shown: right lateral and medial and left lateral and medial. (For a  
591 figure showing, for each atlas, effect sizes for the three individual contrasts—*Sentences>Nonwords*,  
592 *Intact>Degraded speech*, and *Hard>Easy spatial WM*—see **SI Figure S3.2**). In the middle column, we show—  
593 for each atlas—a quantitative comparison of the distributions of selectivity scores from the group ROIs vs.  
594 individual fROIs. B) For two sample parcels in the Glasser atlas (Glasser et al., 2016)—left 44 and left STSdp  
595 (selected based on high overlap with the probabilistic atlas of the language network; Lipkin et al., 2022)—we  
596 show the response profiles for the group-level anatomical ROIs (left) and individual-level fROIs (right).

## 597 Discussion

598 Many brain areas outside the left fronto-temporal network have been previously implicated in  
599 language processing (**Table OSF1**). Here, we performed a systematic search for language-  
600 responsive areas across the brain. To do so, we a) used a paradigm that isolates language  
601 processing from perceptual, motor, and task-related cognitive demands (Fedorenko et al.,  
602 2010), b) included a large number of participants (n=772), c) examined language responses  
603 across modalities, and d) evaluated language selectivity relative to a demanding cognitive task.  
604 In addition to the core left hemisphere areas and their homotopes, we identified 17 areas (7  
605 cortical and 10 subcortical, including 5 cerebellar) that respond to auditory and written  
606 language, with 14 of these areas showing selectivity for language relative to a demanding non-  
607 linguistic task.

### 608 The contributions of non-canonical language areas to language and cognition.

609 Establishing that a brain area responds to language across modalities and not during a non-  
610 linguistic task ensures that its activity is not driven by perceptual or general cognitive demands.  
611 Still, the precise contributions of these language-responsive and language-selective areas  
612 remain to be discovered. Past studies may hold some clues, but relating our results to prior  
613 work is challenging: we cannot be certain that the areas we found here correspond to those  
614 identified in prior work, because macroanatomy is a poor guide to function in the association  
615 cortex (Frost & Goebel, 2012; Tahmasebi et al., 2012; see also **SI Figure 3.1B**). Adopting the  
616 functional localization approach has led to several robust and replicable findings about the core  
617 language network, including its selectivity for language and its role in linguistic computations  
618 (see Fedorenko et al., 2024 for a review). The new language areas we identified here constitute  
619 new targets for similar systematic investigations, which should i) evaluate the selectivity of  
620 these areas relative to other functions argued to share machinery with language, ii) probe  
621 sensitivity of these areas to linguistic demands associated with lexical and combinatorial  
622 processing (including both in controlled and naturalistic paradigms), and iii) directly compare  
623 these areas' contributions to those of the core language areas.

624 The language-responsive areas that we found to be non-selective may also meaningfully  
625 contribute to language processing. We have here identified three such areas: two in the right  
626 cerebellum (Casto et al., 2025a) and one in the left thalamus. Higher spatial resolution  
627 approaches may eventually reveal that distinct neural sub-populations create the appearance of

628 mixed selectivity. However, if the mixed selectivity turns out to be real, it may suggest that  
629 these regions play an integratory role, perhaps combining inputs from the core language areas  
630 and other areas. Indeed, both the cerebellum and the thalamus have been hypothesized to serve  
631 as information integrators (Barbas et al., 2013; Theofanopoulou & Boeckx, 2016; Wolpert et  
632 al., 1998).

633 **Activation during a “language task” may not always reflect linguistic processing.**

634 Some past studies have reported neural activity during language tasks in brain areas that do not  
635 show language-responsiveness in our study. However, activation during a language task may  
636 not always reflect linguistic processing. Because many language paradigms tax both linguistic  
637 and task-related cognitive demands, a response in such paradigms could reflect general  
638 cognitive demands (e.g., attention). For example, Thibault et al., (2021, 2025) have argued for  
639 overlap between syntactic processing and tool use in the basal ganglia. However, both the  
640 syntactic and tool-use tasks require cognitive processes beyond syntactic and tool-use-related  
641 computations. We show that the language paradigms that are not confounded with task  
642 demands do not reliably engage any basal ganglia structures (**Figure 4B**), which suggests that  
643 the syntactic complexity manipulation in Thibault et al.’s studies is engaging these areas due  
644 to the task demands and not by virtue of language-specific syntactic computations (see **Supp.**  
645 **Materials 2** for evidence that basal ganglia areas respond strongly to task demands).

646 Similarly, Seydell-Greenwald et al. (2023) report responses to auditory language tasks in the  
647 primary visual cortex (V1). However, their contrasts are confounded with attentional demands:  
648 one compares listening to sentences and answering questions about them vs. listening to  
649 reversed speech and responding to a beep (see Ozernov-Palchik, O’Brien et al., 2025 for a  
650 discussion of attention/difficulty confounds in this paradigm), and the other involves listening  
651 to words and pressing a button in response to catch trials, thus requiring attention to the task  
652 beyond the lexical processing demands. Attentional modulation of V1 is well-established  
653 (Somers et al., 1999), so responses during language tasks that require attention plausibly reflect  
654 attention-related engagement. In our study, the response in occipital areas to the reading-based  
655 contrast does not generalize to the auditory modality, which rules out the possibility that V1 of  
656 sighted individuals implements linguistic computations (cf. evidence of V1 supporting  
657 language processing in blind individuals; Bedny et al., 2011; Lane et al., 2015; Pant et al., 2020;  
658 Czarnecka et al., 2025).

659 To argue that a brain area supports linguistic computations, one needs to ensure that the  
660 language task is not confounded by difficulty or attentional demands. Previous work has  
661 established that the core language areas are relatively insensitive to task demands, showing  
662 similarly strong responses during passive comprehension and paradigms that include tasks  
663 (Fedorenko et al., 2010; Diachek, Blank, Siegelman et al., 2020; Gao et al., 2025). Here, we  
664 extend these findings to several non-canonical language areas but also question some past  
665 findings of “language” responses that have alternative explanations.

666 **A small and well-defined subset of the brain implements language processing.**

667 Despite ample evidence for functional specialization in humans (e.g., Kanwisher, 2010) and  
668 non-human animals (e.g., Tsao et al., 2006), some continue to argue against the idea of stable  
669 structure in the brain, emphasizing the distributed, dynamic, and interactive nature of cognitive  
670 processes (e.g., Pessoa, 2022; Forkel & Hagoort, 2024; Drijvers et al., 2025). Deep engagement  
671 with this debate is beyond the scope of this article, but two points are worth clarifying. First,  
672 the fact that many areas—sometimes in distant parts of the brain—are engaged by language  
673 comprehension does not imply that the “entire brain” supports this function. Although the  
674 extended language network spans almost every major component of the brain, within each  
675 component, language regions occupy a small fraction of brain tissue. The entire language  
676 network constitutes <3.5% of the grey matter volume in individual brains ([Results](#)) and is about  
677 the size of a large strawberry. Second, linguistic inputs can unquestionably engage many brain  
678 regions beyond those that specifically support language processing: vivid descriptions of faces  
679 or scenes can engage category-selective visual areas, a story about a misunderstanding can  
680 engage the Theory of Mind network, and a horror story can engage the amygdala (see Casto,  
681 et al., 2025b for discussion). However, all these brain regions can also be engaged by non-  
682 linguistic inputs. The ability of a brain region to be engaged by language does not make it a  
683 “language region” any more than its ability to be engaged by visual inputs makes it a “visual  
684 region”. Furthermore, the fact that the language network needs to interact with other brain areas  
685 does not undermine its functional distinctness from those areas and its special role in language  
686 processing. As long as different components within the language network are more strongly  
687 connected to one another than to other networks—for which ample evidence exists (Blank et  
688 al., 2014; Braga et al., 2020; Du et al., 2024, 2025; Shain & Fedorenko, 2025)—those networks  
689 can be treated as meaningfully distinct objects of study (Simon, 1962).

690 **Parcels derived from functional data have advantages over anatomical parcels for**  
691 **constraining individual fROIs.**

692 For completeness and ease of comparison with past studies, we explored the possibility of using  
693 standard anatomical atlases to constrain individual fROIs (rather than the parcels derived from  
694 a group-level representation of brain activity; Fedorenko et al., 2010; Julian et al., 2012).  
695 Examining individual activation maps (or maps derived from voxel-level clustering of  
696 functional connectivity data: e.g., Braga et al., 2020; Du et al., 2024, 2025; Shain & Fedorenko,  
697 2025) against standardized brain parcellations reveals two issues. First, individual topographies  
698 often do not align with the boundaries of the atlas areas: a contiguous functional region may  
699 get broken up by a boundary, or—for finer-grained atlases—may get assigned to different atlas  
700 areas across individuals because of inter-individual topographic variability (see **Figure SI**  
701 **S3.1B** for examples). For studies focusing on a particular functional network, we therefore  
702 recommend functional parcels over anatomical/multimodal atlases. Critically, however,  
703 whichever approach is chosen, the regions of analysis should be defined functionally within  
704 individuals (using localizers or functional-connectivity-based parcellations; Braga et al., 2020;  
705 Du et al., 2024, 2025; Shain & Fedorenko, 2025) to avoid conflating nearby networks at the  
706 group level (**Figure 4**; see **Supp. Materials 2** for evidence that most language parcels include  
707 regions of the Multiple Demand network). And second, using large, anatomical ROIs creates  
708 an illusion that language processing engages large chunks of the cortex, while in reality these

709 extensive regions contain (sometimes multiple) small language-responsive regions (see  
710 **Figures 2A and 3A** for illustration of the size of participant-specific fROIs relative to the  
711 group-level parcels and **Figure 5** and **SI 3.1A** for comparison of the extent of language  
712 responsive areas in coarser- vs. finer-grained parcellations).

713 In conclusion, we have comprehensively searched for language-selective areas across the brain  
714 and identified several new components of the extended language network. This work lays the  
715 groundwork for future investigations of these new components, including their functional  
716 similarities to and differences from the core language areas.

717 **Table 2. List of parcels that contain language-responsive and language-selective fROIs in the three standard**  
 718 **cortical atlases: the DKT, Harvard-Oxford Cortical, and Glasser atlases.** In the Glasser atlas, parcels marked  
 719 with a degree sign (°) lie at the intersection of two anatomical lobes and parcels marked with a cross lie at the  
 720 intersection of three anatomical lobes and are thus listed in more than one lobe.

#### Parcels in the DKT atlas that contain language-selective\* fROIs

Lobe	Left hemisphere	Right hemisphere
Frontal	Caudal Middle Frontal, Medial Orbitofrontal, Pars Opercularis, Pars Orbitalis, Pars Triangularis, Precentral, Superior Frontal, Lateral Orbitofrontal	Medial Orbitofrontal, Pars Opercularis, Pars Triangularis, Precentral, Superior Frontal
Parietal	Supramarginal, Postcentral	
Temporal	Inferior Temporal, Middle Temporal, Superior Temporal	Middle Temporal, Superior Temporal

#### Parcels in the Harvard-Oxford Cortical atlas that contain language-selective fROIs

Lobe	Left hemisphere	Right hemisphere
Frontal	Frontal Pole, Sup. Frontal Gyrus, Mid. Frontal Gyrus, Inf. Frontal Gyrus Pars Triangularis, Inf. Frontal Gyrus Pars Opercularis, Precentral Gyrus, Frontal Medial Cortex, Juxtapositional Lobule Cortex, Frontal Orbital Cortex, Frontal Operculum Cortex	Inf. Frontal Gyrus Pars Triangularis, Inf. Frontal Gyrus Pars Opercularis, Frontal Medial Cortex, Frontal Orbital Cortex, Juxtapositional Lobule Cortex
Parietal	Supramarginal Gyrus Post., Angular Gyrus, Central Opercular Cortex, Parietal Operculum Cortex	Supramarginal Gyrus Post., Angular Gyrus
Temporal	Temporal Pole, Sup. Temporal Gyrus Ant., Sup. Temporal Gyrus Post., Mid. Temporal Gyrus Ant., Mid. Temporal Gyrus Post., Mid. Temporal Gyrus Temporooccipital, Inf. Temporal Gyrus Ant., Inf. Temporal Gyrus Post., Temporal Fusiform Cortex Ant., Temporal Fusiform Cortex Post., Planum Polare, Planum Temporale	Temporal Pole, Sup. Temporal Gyrus Ant., Sup. Temporal Gyrus Post., Mid. Temporal Gyrus Ant., Mid. Temporal Gyrus Post., Mid. Temporal Gyrus Temporooccipital, Inf. Temporal Gyrus Ant., Planum Temporale, Temporal Fusiform Cortex Ant.

#### Additional parcels that contain language-responsive (but not language-selective) fROIs

Frontal		Precentral Gyrus
Parietal	Supramarginal Gyrus Ant.	
Temporal	Inf. Temporal Gyrus Temporooccipital	
Occipital	Lat. Occipital Cortex Inf.	

#### Parcels in the Glasser atlas that contain language-selective fROIs

Lobe	Left hemisphere	Right hemisphere
Frontal	FEF, PEF, 4, 55B, SFL, 8BM, 10R, 47M, 9M, 9P, 44, 45, 47L, 6R, 8AV,	55B, SFL, 47M, 9M, 8BL, 44, 45, IFJA, IFSP, IFSA, 10V, OFC

	8BL, IFJA, IFSP, IFSA, 9A, 10V, 10d, 47S, FOP5, S32°, FOP4°, OP4°, OP2-3†, FOP1	
Parietal	3b, PFCM, PF, OP4°, 31PD°, PGI†, PSL°, OP2-3†	3B
Occipital	PGI†, PHT°, TPOJ3	PHT°, TOPJ3
Temporal	FOP4°, PEEC°, PGI†, PSL°, STV, RI, TA2, STGA, PBELT, A5, STSDA, STSDP, STSVP, TGD, TE1A, TE1P, TF, TE2P, TPOJ1, TPOJ2, TGV, A4, STSVA, TE1M, PI, PIR°, PHT°, OP2-3†	STV, TA2, STGA, A5, STSDA, STSDP, STSVP, TGD, TE1A, TE1P, TPOJ1, TPOJ2, TGV, A4, STSVA, TE1M, PHT°
Limbic **	S32°, 31PV, PEEC°, 31PD°, PIR°H, pOFC	
<b>Additional parcels that contain language-responsive (but not language-selective) fROIs</b>		
Frontal	SCEF, 6D, 6V, IFJP, P9-46V, I6-8, 8C	6r, 6V, FEF, IFJP, PEF, SCEF
Parietal	1	1
Temporal	PHA3	TF
Occipital	MST, FST	

721 \* All DKT language-responsive regions are also language-selective.

722 \*\* Lobe segmentation in the Glasser parcellation follows PALS\_B12 atlas (Van Essen, 2005;

723 [https://surfer.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/fswiki/PALS\\_B12](https://surfer.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/fswiki/PALS_B12)) template (using FreeSurfer);

724 ° denotes regions straddling two lobes;

725 † denotes regions straddling three lobes.

726

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