

# Neural representations of concrete concepts enable identification of individuals during naturalistic story listening

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## 1 Abstract

2 Different people listening to the same story may converge upon a largely shared interpretation  
3 while still developing idiosyncratic experiences atop that shared foundation. What semantic  
4 properties support this individualized experience of natural language? Here, we investigate how  
5 the “concreteness” of word meanings — i.e., the extent to which a concept is derived from  
6 sensory experience — relates to variability in the neural representations of language. Leveraging  
7 a large dataset of participants who each listened to four auditory stories while undergoing  
8 functional MRI, we demonstrate that an individual’s neural representations of concrete concepts  
9 are reliable across stories and unique to the individual. In contrast, we find that neural  
10 representations of abstract concepts are variable both within individuals and across the  
11 population. Using natural language processing tools, we show that concrete words exhibit similar  
12 neural signatures despite spanning larger distances within a high-dimensional semantic space,  
13 which potentially reflects an underlying signature of sensory experience — namely, imageability  
14 — shared by concrete words but absent from abstract words. Our findings situate the concrete-  
15 abstract semantic axis as a core dimension that supports reliable yet individualized  
16 representations of natural language.

17

## 18 Introduction

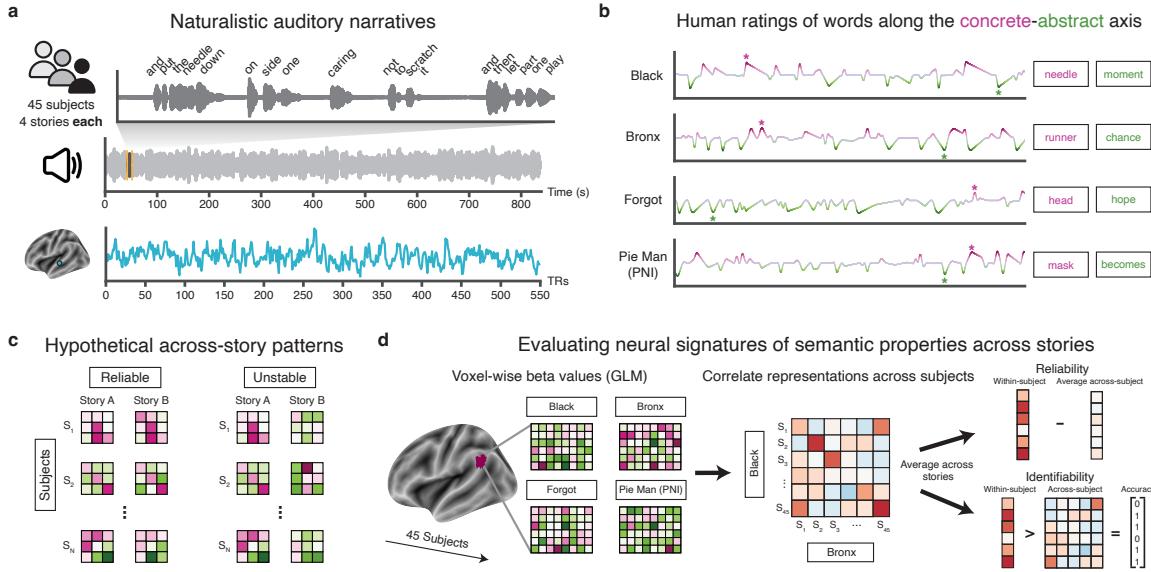
19 The success of language as a means of communication relies on a shared understanding of the  
20 meanings of words as links to mental concepts<sup>1–3</sup>. While there is generally strong convergence in  
21 how people understand and represent language<sup>4,5</sup>, the conceptual associations evoked by a given  
22 word can also be highly individualized and informed by experience<sup>6,7</sup>. What semantic properties  
23 scaffold common conceptual knowledge while also providing the foundation for idiosyncratic  
24 representations?

25

26 A large body of empirical and theoretical work has suggested that human knowledge is organized  
27 along an axis that moves from concrete, sensory-based representations to abstract, language-  
28 derived representations<sup>8–11</sup>. These theories propose that concrete concepts benefit from being  
29 represented across both sensory and linguistic domains and, as a result, exhibit more stable  
30 representations than abstract concepts. Recent findings from human neuroimaging support  
31 these theories, demonstrating close topographical and functional correspondence between  
32 representations of sensory and linguistic information<sup>12–14</sup>. Furthermore, neural representations  
33 of concrete concepts are less variable across subjects than representations of abstract  
34 concepts<sup>15–17</sup>. In turn, the stability of concrete concept representations is suggested to benefit  
35 behavior: concrete words are processed faster<sup>16,18–20</sup>, are more imageable<sup>21,22</sup>, and are more  
36 easily recalled than abstract words<sup>23–27</sup>. While these studies suggest population-level  
37 commonalities in how people process and represent the concrete-abstract axis, the extent to  
38 which these representations are colored by individual experience remains unclear.

39

40 More recently, language researchers have demonstrated differences in how individuals organize  
41 and represent word meanings<sup>17</sup>, finding that concrete words demonstrate greater similarity  
42 across subjects than abstract words, in both conceptual organization (as measured behaviorally  
43 with a semantic distance task) and neural representation. This result further suggests that  
44 representations become more consistent across subjects as words become more concrete and  
45 more variable as words become more abstract. However, the low similarity of abstract word  
46 representations across subjects could stem from multiple causes (Figure 1C). On one hand,  
47 representations of abstract words might be highly individualized—in other words, unique and  
48 colored by an individual’s experiences. Such individual-specific representations would be  
49 evidenced by high within-subject similarity across repeated exposures to the same word or  
50 concept, despite low across-subject similarity. Another possibility is that low similarity results  
51 from unstable representations of abstract words. In this case, representations would show low  
52 similarity both within and across subjects that could result from high variability in the meaning  
53 of abstract words across contexts. Yet, without evaluating the reliability of representations *within*  
54 subjects, the low similarity of abstract word representations *across* subjects is difficult to  
55 interpret.



**Figure 1. Experimental methods.** (a) 45 subjects listened to four auditory stories during fMRI scanning (Nastase et al., 2021). (b) Human ratings were used to assign a value of concreteness (i.e., position along the concrete-abstract axis) for as many words as possible within each story. This process was repeated with other semantic properties including frequency, valence, and arousal. (c) Any apparent variation across subjects in neural representations of linguistic properties could stem from two possible underlying patterns: neural representations could be reliably idiosyncratic within subjects, evidenced by high similarity of representations within the same subject across distinct experiences (here, stories), or these representations could be unstable both within and across subjects, evidenced by variability within the same subject across stories. (d) For each story, voxel-wise beta values were estimated for each linguistic property within a generalized linear model. Then, within each of 200 parcels (Schaefer parcellation), beta values were correlated between all subjects for each pair of stories, and story similarity matrices were averaged across all pairs of stories. From these average similarity matrices, we estimate two indices of within-subject stability of neural representations: 1) reliability, defined as the difference between within-subject and average across-subject similarity, and 2) identifiability, defined as the fingerprinting accuracy of discriminating one subject from all other subjects based on their neural representations.

56

57 Here, we aimed to understand how the concrete-abstract axis provides a foundation for  
58 individual differences in the neural representation of language. We investigated this question  
59 within a large dataset of subjects who listened to four naturalistic auditory stories during  
60 functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scanning. Unlike many previous investigations that  
61 used isolated single-word or otherwise simplified paradigms<sup>15–17,28–32</sup>, these data allowed us to  
62 characterize neural representations of concrete and abstract words as they occur in  
63 contextualized speech, as language is used in everyday life<sup>33</sup>. We tested not only the extent to

64 which neural representations of concrete and abstract words are consistent across a group of  
65 subjects, but also the degree to which these representations are reliable within and unique to a  
66 given subject across stories. Then, by leveraging tools from natural language processing, we  
67 examined how the organization of words within a high-dimensional semantic space promotes  
68 differential reliability of neural representations of concrete and abstract words.

## 69 Methods

### 70 Participants

71

72 We used data from 45 subjects (N=33 female; mean age 23.3 +/- 7.4 years) from the publicly  
73 available *Narratives* dataset<sup>34</sup> who listened to four auditory stories (“Running from the Bronx”,  
74 8:56 min; “Pie Man (PNI)”, 6:40 min; “I Knew You Were Black”, 13:20 min; “The Man Who Forgot  
75 Ray Bradbury”, 13:57 min) during fMRI scans at the Princeton Neuroscience Institute (Figure 1A).  
76 All stories were collected within the same testing session and each story was collected within a  
77 separate run. Across participants, the order of stories was pseudo-randomized such that “Bronx”  
78 and “Pie Man (PNI)” were always presented in the first half of the session while “Black” and  
79 “Forgot” were presented in the second half of the session. The order of the stories presented  
80 within each half of the session was then randomized, resulting in four possible presentation  
81 orders across participants. All participants completed written informed consent, were screened  
82 for MRI safety and reported fluency in English, having normal hearing, and no history of  
83 neurological disorders. The study was approved by the Princeton University Institutional Review  
84 Board.

85

86 **MRI data acquisition and preprocessing**

87

88 Functional and anatomical images were collected on a 3T Siemens Magnetom Prisma with a 64-  
89 channel head coil. Whole-brain images were acquired (48 slices per volume, 2.5mm isotropic  
90 resolution) in an interleaved fashion using a gradient-echo EPI (repetition time (TR) = 1.5s, echo  
91 time (TE) = 31ms, flip angle (FA) = 67°) with a multiband acceleration factor of 3 and no in-plane  
92 acceleration. A total of 1717 volumes were collected for each participant across four separate  
93 scan runs, where a single story was presented within each run.

94

95 We used preprocessed data provided by Nastase et al., 2021. In brief, data were preprocessed  
96 using fMRIPrep<sup>35</sup> including co-registration, slice-time correction, and non-linear alignment to the  
97 MNI152 template brain. Time-series were detrended with regressors for motion, white matter,  
98 cerebrospinal fluid and smoothed with a 6mm FWHM gaussian kernel. For more information  
99 about data acquisition and preprocessing, please refer to Nastase et al., 2021.

100

101 As an additional preprocessing step, we performed functional alignment on these data using a  
102 shared response model<sup>36</sup> as implemented in *BrainIAK*<sup>37</sup>. Previous work has demonstrated better  
103 functional alignment by fitting a SRM within each parcel<sup>38</sup>. Accordingly, we restricted our  
104 analyses to the neocortex and used the 200-parcel, 17-network Schaefer parcellation<sup>39</sup> and  
105 removed any parcel without at least 75% coverage across all participants and stories (total  
106 parcels removed: 9/200, or 4.5%). Within each remaining parcel, we then fit a model to capture  
107 reliable responses to all stories across participants in a lower dimensional feature space (number

108 of features = 50). We then inverted the parcel-wise models to reconstruct the individual voxel-  
109 wise time courses for each participant and each story<sup>40</sup>. This procedure served as an additional  
110 denoising step to improve the consistency of stimulus-driven spatiotemporal patterns across  
111 participants. All analyses were conducted in volume space and projected to surface space for  
112 visualization purposes only.

113

#### 114 **Stimulus preprocessing**

115

116 Each story was originally transcribed and aligned to the audio file using the Gentle forced-  
117 alignment algorithm by the authors of Nastase et al., 2021. We applied additional preprocessing  
118 to the transcripts using the Natural Language Toolkit<sup>41</sup>. First, we obtained parts-of-speech and  
119 word lemmas — the base form of a word (e.g., “go” is the lemma for “going”, “gone” and “went”)  
120 — for each word, and excluded stop-words (uninformative, common words) such as “the”, “a”,  
121 and “is”.

122

123 To address our hypotheses, we leveraged an existing corpus of human ratings of word  
124 concreteness<sup>42</sup>. In this study, online participants rated a total of 40,000 English word lemmas on  
125 a 5-point Likert scale from abstract (lower) to concrete (higher). Each word was rated by at least  
126 25 participants. Participants were instructed to consider a word as more concrete if it refers to  
127 something that exists in reality and can be experienced directly through senses or actions, and,  
128 in contrast, to consider a word as more abstract if its meaning is dependent on language and  
129 cannot be experienced directly through senses or actions. Henceforth, we use “concrete-abstract

130 axis” to refer to this general semantic dimension, and “concreteness” as a word’s specific position

131 on this axis.

132

133 For each word in each story, we assigned a value of concreteness using the average human rating

134 for that word’s lemma if it was present in the concreteness corpus (Figure 1B). In addition to our

135 critical predictor (concreteness), we included three other semantic properties as controls:

136 frequency<sup>43,44</sup>, a measure of how often a word occurs in language, and two affective properties,

137 valence and arousal<sup>45</sup>. Word frequency was derived objectively by calculating the number of

138 occurrences of a word per million words (51 million total words), while valence and arousal were

139 derived from human ratings analogous to the concreteness ratings described above. Previous

140 research investigating word frequency effects have demonstrated that less frequent words drive

141 stronger neural responses within the language network<sup>46,47</sup>. A separate set of studies

142 investigating affect have demonstrated that valence and arousal contribute to representations

143 of language within areas related to emotion processing and memory<sup>48,49</sup>. While the selected

144 control semantic properties are not a definitive list, including them as “competition” allows us to

145 make inferences that are more specific to the concrete-abstract axis. Our analysis was then

146 constrained to the set of words with a value for any of the four properties (i.e., the union),

147 resulting in 93% of content words sampled on average across stories.

148

149 **fMRI Analysis**

150

151 **Modeling representations of semantic properties**

152

153 For each story and participant, we used a general linear model (GLM) to estimate BOLD responses  
154 for each semantic property (concreteness, frequency, valence, arousal), plus a low-level auditory  
155 feature regressor (loudness: the root mean square of the auditory waveform). We collectively  
156 refer to these semantic and auditory properties as “linguistic properties”. Specifically, to  
157 construct a continuous, amplitude-modulated regressor, each linguistic property was assigned a  
158 value at each timepoint of the story timeseries based on the word(s) spoken at that timepoint.  
159 We then modeled these linguistic properties using AFNI<sup>50</sup>. The model yields a map of beta values  
160 that correspond to responses to each property, where higher and lower values indicate higher  
161 and lower values of a given linguistic property (e.g., higher = more concrete, lower = more  
162 abstract). As all linguistic properties were included in the same model, the resulting beta values  
163 represent the BOLD response to a given property while controlling for all other properties.

164

165 Using the outputs from these models, we first examined group-level univariate responses to each  
166 linguistic property using a linear-mixed effects model. At each voxel, the model predicts BOLD  
167 activity from the fixed effects of each linguistic property plus the random effects of subject and  
168 story. The model therefore yields a map of beta values that describes consistent neural responses  
169 to each linguistic property across stories and subjects. All voxel-wise results are shown following  
170 correction for multiple comparisons (FDR  $q < 0.05$ ; Figure 2).

171

172 **Evaluating the reliability of representations of semantic properties**

173

174 Next, to understand whether semantic properties elicit reliable representations during story  
175 listening (Figure 1C), we examined the within- and across-subject multivariate pattern similarity  
176 of evoked responses for each property across stories. We divided the cortex into 200 parcels  
177 using the Schaefer parcellation<sup>39</sup>. Then, within each parcel, we correlated the voxel-wise beta  
178 values across all pairs of participants for all unique pairs of stories (six total pairs) before  
179 averaging across all story-pair matrices to obtain a subject-pairwise similarity matrix. We  
180 repeated this process for each property to understand the similarity of neural representations  
181 across stories both within- and across-subjects. See Figure 1D for a schematic of this analysis.

182

183 We evaluated two multivariate signatures of these neural representations (Figure 1D). Our first  
184 method — reliability — evaluates the similarity of a subject's representations to themselves  
185 across stories compared to the similarity of their representations to others. Specifically, reliability  
186 is calculated as the difference between the similarity of a subject to themselves (within-subject  
187 similarity) and the average pairwise similarity of a subject to all other subjects (across-subject  
188 similarity).

189

190 Our second method — identifiability — measures how unique representations are to each  
191 subject. A subject is said to be identifiable based on their representations when, across stories,  
192 within-subject similarity is higher than similarity to all other participants of the group. For each  
193 parcel, we calculate identifiability as fingerprinting accuracy: the average number of participants  
194 identifiable based on their neural representations<sup>51</sup>.

195

196 For reliability analyses, statistical significance was evaluated via permutation testing (null =  
197 10,000 permutations). For identifiability analyses, statistical significance was evaluated against  
198 chance (2.22%, or 1/45, where 45 is the total number of subjects). Resulting  $p$ -values for each  
199 signature were corrected for multiple-comparisons across 200 parcels using the Benjamini-  
200 Hochberg method ( $q < 0.05$ ). To evaluate reliability and identifiability at a whole-brain level, for  
201 each signature, we used a linear-mixed effects model to predict reliability/identifiability from the  
202 fixed-effect of linguistic property while controlling for the random effect of parcel in both models  
203 and a random effect of subject within the reliability model. Then, to test for significant differences  
204 between linguistic properties, we conducted pairwise statistical tests between model fits to each  
205 property. We also conducted one-sample tests for both the within- and across-subject reliability  
206 for each linguistic property. All tests were two-tailed, tested at alpha  $p < 0.05$ , and corrected for  
207 multiple-comparisons using FDR correction.

208

209 **Disentangling the reliability of concrete and abstract word representations**  
210

211 We next aimed to understand whether concrete and abstract words differentially drive reliability  
212 of neural representations of the concrete-abstract axis. To this end, within each story, we limited  
213 our analysis to nouns (as verbs were more prevalent at the abstract end) and dichotomized the  
214 concrete-abstract axis by selecting the top 30% of concrete and top 30% of abstract words (Figure  
215 4A). Specifically, we asked if and where concrete word representations are more reliable than  
216 abstract word representations or vice versa.

217

218 We used a GLM to estimate separate BOLD response patterns for concrete and abstract words  
219 (using regressors defined based on the top 30% of each end). Within this model, we specified  
220 concrete and abstract words as event regressors, discarding the amplitude component and  
221 treating all words of a given property as contributing equally to the model of BOLD response. We  
222 also included two amplitude-modulated regressors, word frequency and loudness, to control for  
223 differences in low-level semantic and auditory features. We then repeated our analysis of  
224 reliability (described above) on the beta maps of concrete and abstract words.

225

226 For each parcel, we contrasted concrete and abstract word reliability within each subject by  
227 applying Fisher's z-transformation and taking the difference between the reliability scores  
228 (concrete minus abstract), limiting our analysis to parcels that showed significant reliability for  
229 either concrete or abstract words. Then, within each parcel, we conducted paired t-tests to  
230 identify parcels that significantly differed in their reliability of concrete and abstract word  
231 representations. All tests were two-tailed, tested at alpha  $p < 0.05$ , and corrected for multiple-  
232 comparisons using FDR correction.

233

234 **Evaluating the stability of concrete and abstract word representations**  
235

236 In light of the finding that representations of concrete words are more reliable than those of  
237 abstract words (cf. Fig. 4), we asked whether this higher reliability is driven by more stable  
238 semantic relationships between words at the concrete end of the spectrum. To define semantic  
239 relationships between words, we used a natural language processing model (GloVe)<sup>52</sup> to embed  
240 each word in both the top 30% concrete and top 30% abstract word sets, aggregated across

241 stories, within a high-dimensional semantic space (Figure 5A). We then applied spectral  
242 clustering<sup>53</sup> over the concrete and abstract word embeddings to obtain concept clusters for each  
243 end of the spectrum (k=3 each for the concrete and abstract ends, so six total) composed of  
244 semantically similar words. While we selected k=3 clusters to balance the number of words in  
245 each cluster, similar results were obtained at both k=2 and k=4 clusters. These clusters grouped  
246 concrete and abstract words into sets of related concepts — such as a food-related concrete  
247 cluster containing the words “bread” and “cheese” — that were visually distinct when projected  
248 into a 2-dimensional space using UMAP<sup>54</sup>. Importantly, words within each concept cluster could  
249 come from within the same story or from different stories.

250

251 In addition to visualizing the qualitative organization of concept clusters, we also formally tested  
252 the semantic similarity of words in the same or in different clusters, within and between ends of  
253 the concrete-abstract spectrum. Importantly, because the clustering itself was done on semantic  
254 distances, we expect that distances will be lower between words in the same versus different  
255 clusters, but this analysis also lets us quantify if and how semantic spread *across* clusters is  
256 greater at one end of the concrete-abstract axis than the other. Specifically, we calculated the  
257 cosine similarity between all pairs of words embedded within the semantic space. We then  
258 grouped these pairwise similarity values into the following categories: a) pairs of words within  
259 the same cluster, b) pairs of words in different clusters at the same end of the concrete-abstract  
260 axis (i.e., either concrete or abstract), and c) pairs of words at different ends of the concrete-  
261 abstract axis, which were (by definition) in different clusters. To compare these groups of  
262 similarity values, we used a linear-mixed effects model to evaluate how end of the property

263 spectrum (concrete vs. abstract), cluster membership (within vs. between), and the interaction  
264 between these two features relate to the semantic similarity of cluster words while controlling  
265 for the random effect of word. To help interpret any resulting differences, we also conducted  
266 follow-up pairwise statistical tests. All tests were two-tailed, tested at alpha  $p < 0.05$ , and  
267 corrected for multiple-comparisons using FDR correction.

268

269 Next, we used a GLM to estimate BOLD responses to words within each concept cluster and  
270 evaluated the similarity of neural concept-cluster representations across stories. Similar to our  
271 analysis of semantic space, we calculated a) the similarity of neural representations of the same  
272 cluster across stories, b) the similarity of neural representations of different clusters at the same  
273 end of the spectrum (e.g., concrete clusters to other concrete clusters), and c) the similarity of  
274 neural representations between concrete clusters and abstract clusters. Crucially, all analyses of  
275 cluster similarity, both within- and across-subjects, are calculated as the similarity of clusters  
276 *across stories*; this allowed us to evaluate the stability and uniqueness of concept-cluster  
277 representations across distinct presentations and contexts.

278

279 Using two separate linear-mixed effects models, we examined how end of the property spectrum  
280 (concrete vs. abstract), cluster membership (within vs. between), and specific cluster relationship  
281 (e.g., within-concrete, between-concrete, etc.) differentially contribute to whole-brain similarity  
282 of neural representations while controlling for random effects of subject and parcel. Our first  
283 model predicts similarity from the fixed-effects of end of the property spectrum and cluster  
284 membership, and evaluates their main effects as well as their interaction. Then, in a separate

285 model, we predict similarity from the fixed-effect of specific cluster relationship, specifying each  
286 cluster relationship as a separate level of the fixed effect. Using this second model, we tested for  
287 significant differences between cluster relationships by conducting pairwise statistical tests. All  
288 tests were two-tailed, tested at alpha  $p < 0.05$ , and corrected for multiple-comparisons using FDR  
289 correction.

## 290 Results

291 We aimed to understand how neural representations of the concrete-abstract axis vary within  
292 individuals and across the population during naturalistic story listening. Using a large dataset of  
293 subjects (N=45) that listened to four stories each, we replicated previous findings that neural  
294 responses to the concrete-abstract axis show group-level consistency. Complementing this  
295 consistency, we also found idiosyncratic representations that were unique to individuals and  
296 stable across stories, allowing us to identify subjects with a high degree of accuracy. Furthermore,  
297 by placing words within a high-dimensional semantic space, we demonstrated that neural  
298 representations of concrete words are particularly stable and stereotyped, and that this  
299 consistency primarily drives the reliability of the concrete-abstract axis, while representations of  
300 abstract words are more variable both within and across subjects.

301

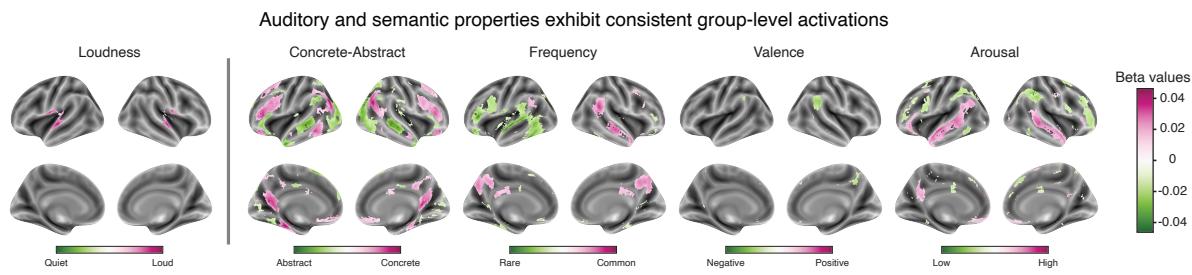
### 302 **Consistent group-level representations of the concrete-abstract axis** 303

304 We first sought to replicate prior work that demonstrates group-level consistency of univariate  
305 activity to concrete and abstract words. For each subject and story, we modeled brain activity as  
306 a function of the time-varying concreteness level of its content (as given by word-level norms

307 provided by a separate set of human raters). Our model also included time-varying regressors for  
308 other semantic properties — namely, frequency, valence, and arousal — plus loudness, a low-  
309 level auditory control.

310

311 All linguistic properties demonstrated neural responses consistent across both subjects and  
312 stories (Figure 2;  $q < 0.05$ ). For example, loudness evoked responses in bilateral primary auditory  
313 cortex. Critically, the concrete-abstract axis evoked neural responses across a wide swath of  
314 cortex: more concrete words drove higher responses in regions including bilateral angular gyrus,  
315 bilateral parahippocampal cortex, and bilateral inferior frontal gyrus, while more abstract words  
316 drove responses in regions such as bilateral superior temporal gyrus and bilateral anterior  
317 temporal lobe. These results align with previous research that has reported similar cortical  
318 regions engaged in processing concrete and abstract concepts<sup>55,56</sup>. Importantly, all semantic  
319 properties exhibit responses that replicate prior research on word property representation:  
320 frequency modulation in the left inferior frontal gyrus<sup>47</sup>, valence representations in the right  
321 temporoparietal junction<sup>57</sup>, and arousal representations in posterior cingulate<sup>58</sup> and  
322 ventromedial prefrontal cortex<sup>49</sup>.



**Figure 2. Group-level univariate activation to auditory and semantic properties of language.** Across stories and subjects, multiple regions exhibited significant activation to the intensity of sound and word-level semantic properties including concreteness, prevalence, valence, and arousal. Results shown are from a single linear mixed-effects model containing fixed effects for all linguistic properties plus random effects for story and subject. Results are displayed at a voxel-wise false-discovery rate (FDR) threshold of  $q < 0.05$ .

323

324 **Representations of the concrete-abstract axis are individually reliable**

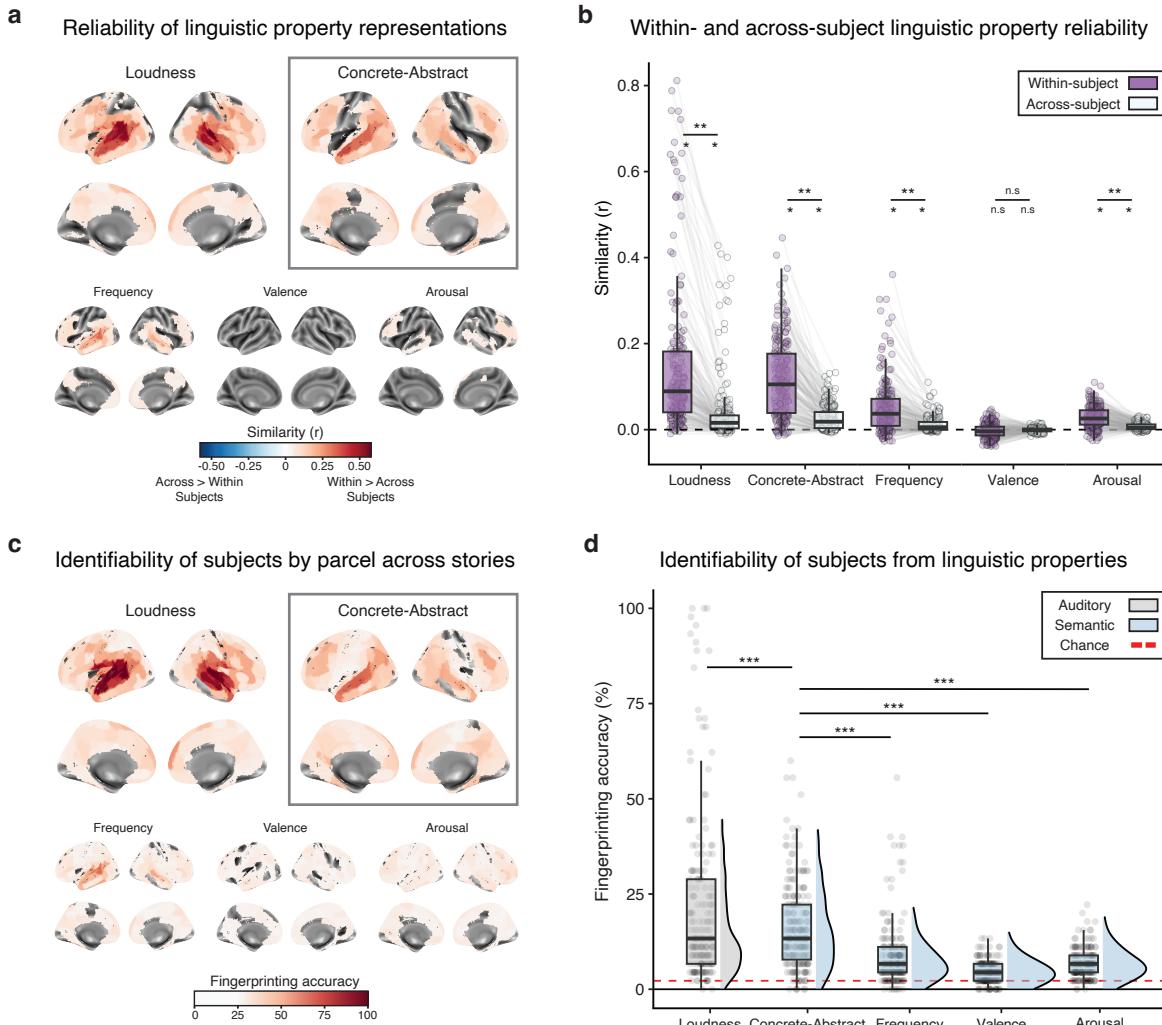
325

326 Having shown that the concrete-abstract axis evokes consistent univariate activity at the group  
327 level, we next investigated the individual reliability of multivariate representations of this axis as  
328 well as other linguistic properties. We found that representations of all properties, excluding  
329 valence, exhibited within-subject reliability across stories in at least some brain regions (Figure  
330 3A;  $n = 10,000$  permutations,  $p < 0.001$ ). Importantly, while loudness showed the highest average  
331 reliability across parcels ( $r = 0.11$ ) compared to the concrete-abstract axis ( $r = 0.09$ ;  $\beta = 0.06$ ,  
332  $t(42967) = 44.75$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), the concrete-abstract axis showed the second highest average  
333 reliability and was significantly more reliable than all other semantic (i.e., non-primary-sensory)  
334 properties (frequency:  $r = 0.04$ ,  $\beta = 0.01$ ,  $t(42967) = 8.71$ ; valence:  $r = -0.002$ ,  $\beta = 0.05$ ,  $t(42967) =$   
335  $41.83$ ; arousal:  $r = 0.02$ ,  $\beta = 0.03$ ,  $t(42967) = 23.74$ ; all  $p < 0.001$ ).

336

337 We next disentangled the separate contributions of within- and across-subject similarity in  
338 driving reliability of individual representations. In theory, high individual reliability of

339 representations across stories could result from 1) highly *similar* representations within subjects,  
 340 2) highly *dissimilar* representations across subjects, or 3) a combination of the two. Accordingly,  
 341 for each linguistic property, we computed and compared within- and across-subject similarity of  
 342 representations. Across all properties with significant reliability (all linguistic properties excluding



**Figure 3. Within- and across-subject reliability of neural representations of linguistic properties.** We compared representations of linguistic properties across four naturalistic stories both within and across subjects. **(a)** Across stories, all linguistic properties (excluding valence) exhibited high within-subject reliability across a wide-swath of cortex ( $p < 0.05$ , null = 10,000 permutations, corrected for multiple comparisons using FDR correction). **(b)** While a simple auditory property, loudness, exhibited the highest reliability, representations of the concrete-abstract axis were more reliable than other semantic properties (frequency, valence, arousal). Across all linguistic properties, within-subject reliability was consistently higher than across-subject reliability. **(c)** Representations of linguistic properties enabled accurate identification of subjects across a wide swath of cortex. All plots are threshold at chance (2.22%). **(d)** Out of tested semantic properties, subjects were most identifiable from their representations of the concrete-abstract axis. Each dot indicates the reliability within a parcel of the Schaefer parcellation (200 total). \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; n.s.  $p > 0.05$ .

343 valence), subjects were significantly similar to themselves (Figure 3B; one-sample t-tests, all  $p <$   
344 0.001) and significantly more similar to themselves than to other subjects (paired t-tests, all  $p <$   
345 0.001). Interestingly, by correlating within- and across-subject similarity values across parcels, we  
346 found that, at a whole-brain level, linguistic properties that demonstrated higher within-subject  
347 similarity also showed higher across-subject similarity (loudness ( $r = 0.874$ ), concrete-abstract ( $r$   
348 = 0.784), frequency ( $r = 0.797$ ), valence ( $r = 0.428$ ), arousal ( $r = 0.599$ ); all  $p < 0.001$ ). This finding  
349 recapitulates a seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of individual differences research previously  
350 shown in functional connectivity fingerprinting: brain states that make individuals more similar  
351 to themselves also make them more similar to others<sup>59</sup>.

352

353 **Individuals are identifiable from their representations of the concrete-abstract axis**  
354

355 The previous analysis revealed that individuals' representations of the concrete-abstract axis are  
356 reliable, but how *unique* are these representations? High reliability does not necessarily imply  
357 uniqueness: low average across-subject similarity could be due to high *variability* in across-  
358 subject similarity. Specifically, select pairs of subjects may possess highly similar representations  
359 of the concrete-abstract axis, despite most of the group exhibiting low similarity. To test the  
360 extent to which linguistic property representations are unique to each individual, we evaluated  
361 our ability to identify subjects from their representations of each word property.

362

363 Across cortical parcels, we were able to identify subjects from representations of both sensory  
364 response (loudness) and all four semantic properties across much of the brain (Figure 3C; null =  
365 10,000 permutations, all  $p < 0.001$ ). Of note, the average identification rates across cortical

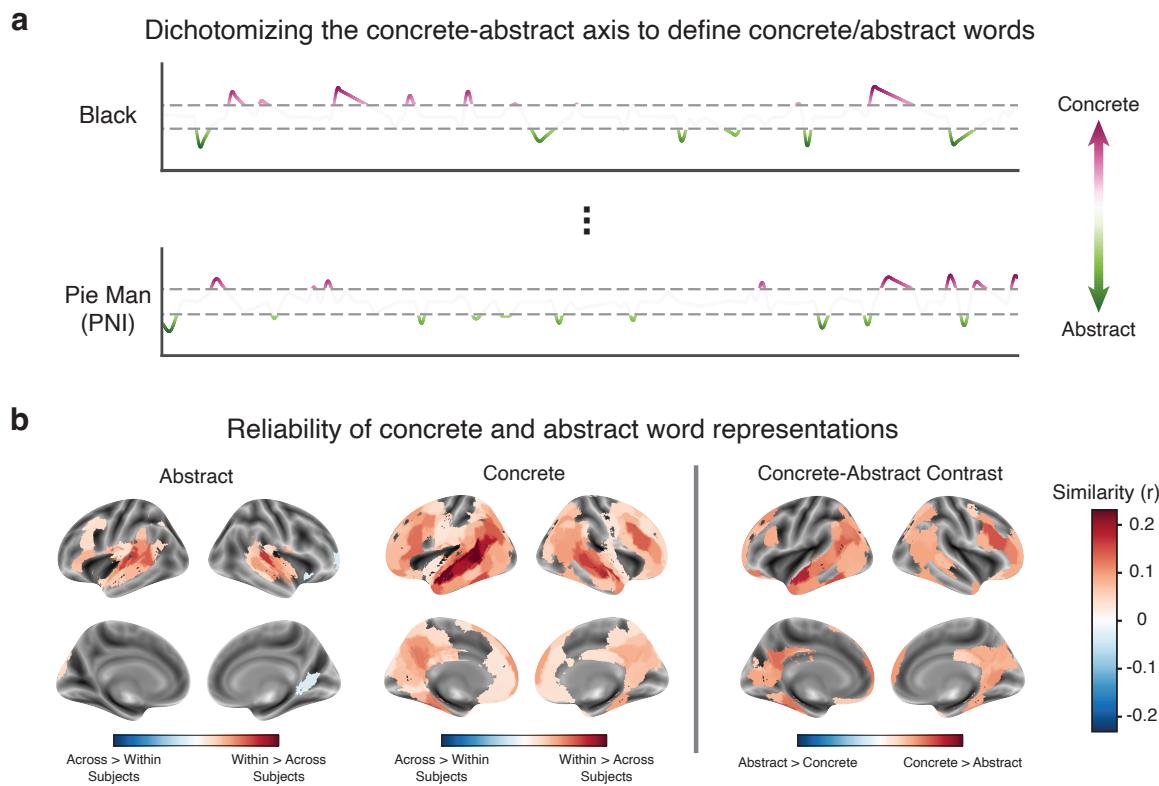
366 parcels were low in an absolute sense but still significantly above chance (chance = 2.22%; Figure  
367 3D). Overall, representations of loudness provided the best ability to identify subjects (22.1%),  
368 demonstrating significantly higher identification rates, on average, than the concrete-abstract  
369 axis (16.5%;  $\beta = 10.41$ ,  $t(948) = 14.77$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Importantly, representations of the concrete-  
370 abstract axis enabled significantly higher identification accuracy than representations of other  
371 semantic properties (frequency: 8.8%,  $\beta = 2.9$ ,  $t(948) = 4.11$ ; valence: 4.4%,  $\beta = 7.24$ ,  $t(948) =$   
372 10.27; arousal: 6.6%,  $\beta = 5.08$ ,  $t(948) = 7.2$ ; all  $ps < 0.001$ ). We then applied a winner-takes-all  
373 approach to identifiability maps to understand the cortical parcels where concrete-abstract axis  
374 representations showed the highest accuracy out of all linguistic properties. We found that the  
375 concrete-abstract axis enabled the highest identification of subjects—even higher than  
376 loudness—within regions including left anterior temporal lobe, left inferior frontal gyrus, and  
377 bilateral retrosplenial cortex (RSC). These regions dovetail with previous studies that have shown  
378 that left-lateralized language network and default mode network (DMN) are important in  
379 representing concrete and abstract concepts<sup>28,56,60–63</sup>.

380

381 **Concrete word representations are more reliable than abstract word representations**  
382

383 Thus far, we have shown that representations of the concrete-abstract axis are reliable within  
384 and unique to individual subjects across experiences. Yet it remains unclear whether both  
385 concrete and abstract words contribute equally to driving the reliability of representations. On  
386 one hand, concrete words may be more reliable than abstract words because they are less  
387 sensitive to the surrounding situational context. On the other hand, abstract words may be more  
388 idiosyncratic than concrete words, as uniquely language-based representations could depend

389 more heavily on individual experience to create meaning. While a previous study observed that  
390 representations of abstract words exhibited lower similarity across subjects than concrete words,  
391 disentangling the source of these results necessitates 1) presenting words within naturalistic  
392 contexts and 2) evaluating similarity within subjects, across experiences. To understand the  
393 differential contributions of concrete and abstract words in driving reliability, we dichotomized  
394 the continuous, concrete-abstract axis into concrete and abstract words and estimated reliability  
395 separately for each end of the spectrum.



**Figure 4. Within-subject reliability of neural representations of concrete and abstract words. (a)** We selected concrete and abstract words as the top/bottom 30% of the concrete-abstract axis and estimated neural responses to each set of words in a second GLM analysis. **(b)** While both concrete and abstract words exhibited reliable representations within subjects across stories, concrete words were more reliable than abstract words.  $p < 0.05$ , null = 10,000 permutations.

396

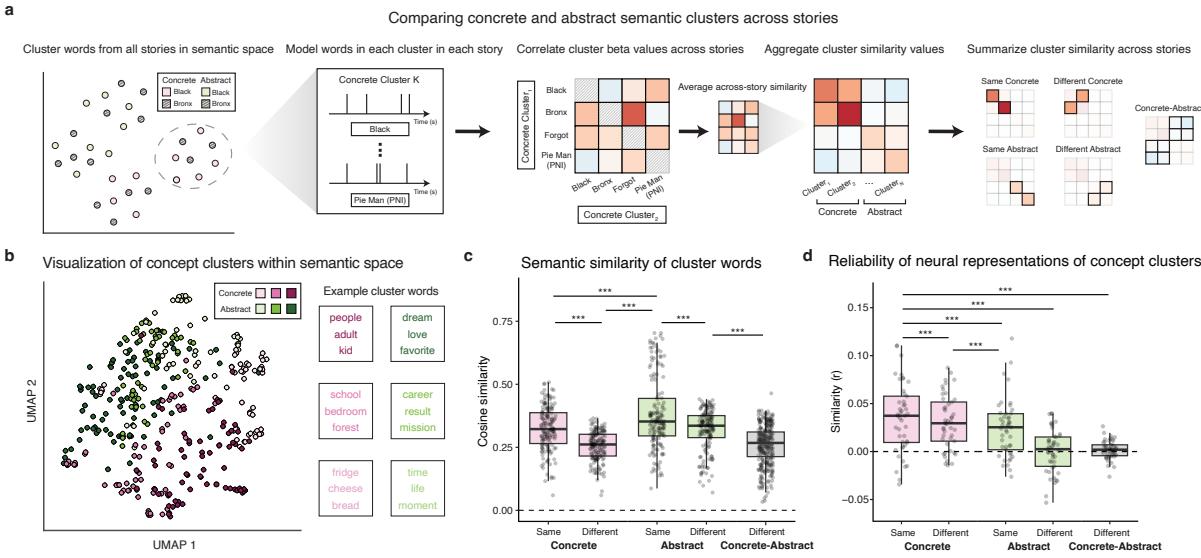
397 We observed that representations of concrete and abstract words each demonstrated significant  
398 reliability across stories in several brain regions (Figure 4B; null = 10,000 permutations, both  $p <$   
399 0.001). Contrasting the reliability maps for concrete and abstract words, we found that a large  
400 number of cortical parcels (36% or 72/200) exhibited more reliable responses to concrete words  
401 than abstract words. On the other hand, no parcels showed greater reliability of abstract word  
402 representations compared with concrete word representations. This finding suggests that  
403 concrete word representations primarily drive reliable responses of the concrete-abstract axis  
404 and extends previous, population-level findings to individual neural responses<sup>16,17,28,32,62</sup>.

405

406 **Stable clusters of concrete words drive reliability of representations across experiences**  
407

408 Why might neural representations at the concrete end of the spectrum be more reliable than  
409 representations at the abstract end? While the naturalistic nature of these stimuli means that we  
410 did not necessarily have repeated presentation of the *same* word(s) across stories, we can use  
411 natural language processing (NLP) techniques to group words into clusters of semantically related  
412 words and use the clusters to help understand why concrete representations are more reliable,  
413 even when generalizing over individual words and concepts. Numerous recent studies have  
414 demonstrated parallels in language representation between NLP models and human neural  
415 processing<sup>13,64–67</sup>. Here, we used a word-embedding NLP model (GloVe)<sup>52</sup> to understand how the  
416 semantic relationships among concrete and abstract words relate to the reliability of their neural  
417 representations. Specifically, we embedded concrete and abstract words within a high-  
418 dimensional semantic space and clustered words based on their semantic similarity. We then

419 analyzed the similarity of word clusters in semantic space and, separately, the similarity of neural  
420 responses to each word cluster across stories using linear mixed-effects models (see Methods).



**Figure 5. Stability of concrete and abstract word representations within and across subjects.** (a) We embedded and clustered the top 30% concrete and top 30% abstract words within a high-dimensional semantic space (GloVe). We then estimated voxel-wise beta values for each of six clusters (3 concrete, 3 abstract) within each subject and story. Next, within each parcel (200 total), we correlated beta values between all sets of clusters across stories and averaged the across-story similarity of clusters. (b) Visualization of word embedding clusters within a 2-dimensional projection using UMAP. (c) Within semantic space, words within abstract clusters were more similar (i.e., less distant) than words within concrete clusters. Each dot represents the average similarity of a given word to other words within a given comparison. In contrast, (d) within-subject neural representations of concrete clusters were more similar across stories than representations of abstract clusters. Each dot indicates the average similarity of a subject's concept cluster representations within a given comparison. \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; n.s.  $p > 0.05$ .

421

422 Before evaluating neural responses to concrete and abstract word clusters, we first examined the  
423 similarity of cluster words within the semantic space. Unsurprisingly, words within the same  
424 cluster were more similar to each other than to words in different clusters (Figure 5C;  $\beta = 0.03$ ,  
425  $t(610) = 14.71, p < 0.001$ ), a pattern of results consistent across both concrete and abstract words  
426 (pairwise comparisons; concrete:  $t(306) = 10.76$ ; abstract:  $t(306) = 10.03$ ; both  $ps < 0.001$ ). But  
427 we also observed a somewhat puzzling result: within semantic space, abstract words were

428 generally more similar to one another than concrete words were to one another ( $\beta = 0.03, t(610)$   
429  $= 5.87, p < 0.001$ ). This finding was particularly surprising given the results from the previous  
430 analysis (cf. Fig 4B) that showed neural representations of concrete words to be more reliable  
431 than representations of abstract words. Why might the concrete end of the spectrum, which  
432 encompasses *more* variability in (i.e., spans more of) semantic space, show *less* variability in its  
433 neural representations?

434

435 We next turned to analyze within-subject neural representations of concrete and abstract word  
436 clusters. Similar to the results in semantic space, representations of words within the same  
437 cluster were more similar across stories than representations of words in different clusters  
438 (Figure 5D;  $\beta = 0.007, t(34373) = 20.04, p < 0.001$ ), and this was true for both the concrete and  
439 abstract ends of the spectrum (concrete  $z = 4.36$ , abstract  $z = 23.99$ , both  $p < 0.001$  ). In contrast  
440 to the similarity of clusters in semantic space (Figure 5C), neural representations of concrete  
441 words exhibited greater similarity regardless of semantic distance (same or different clusters)  
442 than abstract words ( $\beta = 0.01, t(34373) = 29.45, p < 0.001$ ). Critically, there was also an interaction  
443 such that the similarity advantage for same- over different-cluster representation was smaller for  
444 concrete than for abstract words ( $\beta = -0.005, t(34373) = -13.88, p < 0.001$ ). Strikingly, neural  
445 representations of *different* concrete clusters were more similar than neural representations of  
446 the *same* abstract cluster (mean difference = 0.007,  $z = 7.12, p < 0.001$ ). Furthermore, this pattern  
447 of results persisted when analyzing similarity *across* subjects (within > across:  $\beta = 0.002, t(34373)$   
448  $= 24.11$ ; concrete > abstract:  $\beta = 0.001, t(34373) = 17.07$ ; interaction:  $\beta = -0.001, t(34373) = -$

449 13.27; all  $p < 0.001$ ), suggesting that a consistent principle drives the organization of concrete  
450 and abstract neural representations both within individuals and across the population.

451  
452 Considered together, neural representations of distinct concrete concepts were more similar  
453 than those of distinct abstract concepts, despite concrete words spanning greater distances  
454 within semantic space than abstract words. These divergent results between the NLP model and  
455 neural data suggest that concrete words share additional properties beyond purely linguistic  
456 representations, such as imageability, that could stem from integrating visual information into  
457 the neural representations.

## 458 Discussion

459 Word meanings vary both across people and contexts, often informed by both conceptual  
460 associations specific to the individual and different situations in which the word is used. What  
461 semantic properties enable convergent conceptual knowledge while simultaneously supporting  
462 unique, individual experience? Here, we found that the concrete-abstract axis provides a basis  
463 for both population stability and individual variability in representation of natural language.

464  
465 Our results provide further evidence for the importance of the concrete-abstract axis in semantic  
466 representations of language. Numerous studies have demonstrated that, while both concrete  
467 and abstract words evoke responses within the language network<sup>28,30,68,69</sup>, responses to concrete  
468 words are generally stronger and longer-lasting than responses to abstract words<sup>16,31,32,70</sup>. Prior  
469 work has also shown that concrete words engage areas beyond the language network, such as

470 the default mode network (DMN), more than abstract words<sup>28,56,60,61,63</sup>. In our study, we found  
471 reliable representations of the concrete-abstract axis within both the language network and  
472 DMN that were unique to individual subjects across diverse, naturalistic stories. While an  
473 auditory property — loudness — exhibited the most reliable representations across stories, it is  
474 likely that this property contained additional language-related information beyond pure audition  
475 due to the presence of few other semantic properties. Critically, representations of the concrete-  
476 abstract axis were more reliable than representations of other semantic axes (i.e., frequency,  
477 valence, arousal), driven primarily by the reliability of concrete word representations (as opposed  
478 to abstract word representations). Together, our results suggest that the reliability of concrete  
479 word representations may be due to engagement of areas beyond the language network,  
480 including DMN, that engage more imagery-related processes than abstract words and other  
481 semantic properties.

482

483 Traditionally, neural representations of language have been probed by presenting participants  
484 with single words, sentences, and short paragraphs<sup>71,72</sup>. These studies have revealed neural  
485 territory specific to language<sup>5,73</sup> that closely interacts with other networks involved in cognitive  
486 control and theory of mind<sup>4,74,75</sup>. In contrast to these carefully controlled experiments, everyday  
487 language is dynamic and contextualized – the meanings of words and sentences are informed by  
488 larger narrative structure<sup>33,76</sup>. It is therefore crucial to evaluate the degree to which findings of  
489 carefully-controlled studies extend to naturalistic language perception<sup>77</sup>. Within the present  
490 study, participants were presented with naturalistic auditory narratives representative of how

491 language is used in day-to-day life. Importantly, we found that representations of abstract words  
492 were more variable both within and across subjects than representations of concrete words.

493  
494 The finding of higher across-subject variability for abstract words aligns with another recent study  
495 that used a single-word paradigm<sup>17</sup>; the authors of that study interpreted this heightened  
496 variability as reflecting individual differences in meaning of abstract words in particular.  
497 However, the appeal to individual differences implies a stability of representations *within* the  
498 same subject over time, which was not tested. Our study differs from this previous work in two  
499 ways: first, we examined word and concept representations within subjects across repeated  
500 presentations, and second, we captured these neural representations during a naturalistic  
501 listening task that presented words in context. We found that compared to representations of  
502 concrete words, representations of abstract words and concepts were not only more variable  
503 across subjects, but also within the same individual across distinct experiences. This suggests that  
504 variability in abstract words stems less from individual differences in meaning and more from a  
505 general instability of their representations, perhaps because their meanings are more context-  
506 dependent.

507  
508 Recent developments in natural language processing (NLP) models have provided researchers  
509 with tools to better investigate how the human brain organizes and processes natural  
510 language<sup>13,64–67</sup>. These computational models not only capture semantic relationships between  
511 words, but also contain rich knowledge regarding how words relate within various contexts<sup>78</sup>.  
512 Importantly, the contextual relationships between concrete words — that a fish and a whale may

513 be semantically similar in terms of “wetness” but different in terms of “size” — closely  
514 correspond to human judgements of the same categories<sup>79</sup>. Yet, within our study, we found that  
515 clusters of concrete words were less similar than clusters of abstract words within an NLP model  
516 but *more* similar in the human brain. This dissociation suggests that neural representations of the  
517 concrete-abstract axis contain additional information beyond pure linguistic representation.  
518 Given the close relationship between concreteness and imageability<sup>21,22</sup>, concrete words may  
519 carry a signature of imageability that results from being jointly represented across visual and  
520 linguistic domains, thereby boosting the stability of their neural representations both within and  
521 across subjects.

522

523 Though our work aligns with and extends past work on the concrete-abstract access, we highlight  
524 the following limitations. First, it is possible that neural representations of other semantic axes  
525 are also idiosyncratic. In the current study, we specifically leveraged human ratings of words  
526 along semantic axes, but these behavioral ratings were collected by presenting participants with  
527 individual words out of context. Similarly, we leveraged an NLP model that does not incorporate  
528 contextual information into the word-level representations. Other semantic axes, such as valence  
529 and arousal, may be more context-dependent and require ratings specific to a given story or  
530 individual to understand the idiosyncrasies in neural representations. Second, due to the  
531 diversity of content across the auditory narratives, we were limited in our ability to compare  
532 representations of the *same* words across stories. We addressed this by comparing the neural  
533 representations of clusters of similar words across stories, extending prior work on single words  
534 to the organization of broader concepts in semantic space. Future work could select stories that

535 contain the same words but vary in narrative content to understand the stability of both specific  
536 words and semantic organization more generally across experiences.

537

538 In sum, our work establishes the concrete-abstract axis as a critical dimension for promoting both  
539 shared and individualized representations of language. In particular, these findings disentangle  
540 the sources of individual variability of concrete and abstract concept representations. Our results  
541 underscore the importance of considering within-subject variability in the context of the broader  
542 population to differentiate underlying drivers of idiosyncratic processing of natural language.

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