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Taking stock of value in the orbitofrontal cortex

Eric B. Knudsen¹, Joni D. Wallis²

¹Helen Wills Neuroscience Institute, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, California, USA.

²Department of Psychology and Helen Wills Neuroscience Institute, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, California, USA.

Abstract

People with damage to the orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) have specific problems making decisions, whereas their other cognitive functions are spared. Neurophysiological studies have shown that OFC neurons fire in proportion to the value of anticipated outcomes. Thus, a central role of the OFC is to guide optimal decision-making by signalling values associated with different choices. Until recently, this view of OFC function dominated the field. New data, however, suggest that the OFC may have a much broader role in cognition by representing cognitive maps that can be used to guide behaviour and that value is just one of many variables that are important for behavioural control. In this Review, we critically evaluate these two alternative accounts of OFC function and examine how they might be reconciled.

In the 1990s, Damasio brought attention to the fascinating deficits exhibited by people with damage to the orbitofrontal cortex (OFC)¹. These individuals would make terrible choices and their everyday lives lurched from one catastrophic decision to another, yet they would perform normally on standard laboratory tests of cognition². Damasio developed new tests based on real-world decision-making³. Participants were given play money and had to make choices across a series of gambles based on reward history. People with OFC damage performed poorly, quickly losing all their money as they failed to learn from the outcomes associated with each gamble. These impairments had gone unnoticed for years, simply because no one thought to assess individuals' decision-making in a neuropsychological exam. Inspired by Damasio's findings, many labs started to record OFC neurons in non-human primates during decision-making tasks. In a seminal study, Padoa-Schioppa and Assad presented monkeys with choices between different amounts of various juices⁴. OFC neurons encoded the amount of juice, weighted by how much the monkey liked it, consistent with how valuable the option was to the animal. This made a neat and compelling story: individuals with OFC damage made poor decisions because they were missing the neurons that would signal the value of each option.

wallis@berkeley.edu .

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The authors contributed equally to all aspects of the article.

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The authors declare no competing interests.

Until recently, this value hypothesis remained the dominant view of OFC function. However, a major gap in this theory is how the values of options are learned in the first place. Studies that have examined such learning have come to a radically different view of OFC function, arguing that the OFC is responsible for representing a ‘cognitive map’. This term was first introduced by Tolman⁵, who studied rats learning to navigate mazes. Tolman observed that animals were not just learning simple responses but rather were constantly constructing a mental map of the maze, which he referred to as a ‘cognitive map’. More recently, the concept of a cognitive map has been expanded to describe any network of associations that specifies the relationships that underpin a task⁶. The neuronal instantiation of the cognitive map was originally ascribed to the hippocampus⁷, but recent neuroimaging studies have found that the OFC is the only cortical region to be activated when participants use cognitive maps⁸, suggesting that it may play an important role.

Thus, the OFC field currently finds itself at a crossroads in which two competing hypotheses — the value hypothesis and the cognitive map hypothesis — potentially provide explanations of OFC function. This Review critically evaluates each of these hypotheses and examines how they might be related. In addition, the cognitive map hypothesis raises an additional question: how do the OFC and hippocampus interact in terms of implementing the cognitive map?

The value hypothesis

There are several features of OFC neurons — observed through recordings of such neurons in non-human primates — on which nearly everyone agrees. First, OFC neurons respond to a large range of ways by which the desirability of an option varies. For example, OFC neurons encode the probability of receiving a reward⁹, the amount of effort needed to earn a reward¹⁰, the delay until reward delivery^{10,11}, the amount of secondary reinforcer¹², and whether an outcome is anticipated to be appetitive or aversive¹³⁻¹⁵. Thus, to at least some extent, the OFC value signal is abstract. Second, more neurons encode the value of the option that will be chosen than the option that will not be chosen^{4,9,16}. This suggests that the OFC is involved in selecting which option will be chosen. Third, there is a relative lack of motor signals in the OFC, at least compared with other frontal areas^{4,9}. This is consistent with its anatomy: it has stronger connections to areas involved in autonomic control than to those involved in musculoskeletal control¹⁷⁻¹⁹. Thus, OFC decisions take place in what has been dubbed a ‘goods space’, facilitating decisions independently of the actions necessary to obtain the outcome²⁰.

In addition to neurophysiology, there is a good deal of convergent evidence to support the role of the OFC in decision-making. Neuroimaging studies in humans have observed OFC activation in various decision-making tasks, including choices between different food items²¹⁻²³, erotica^{24,25} and monetary gambles²⁶. Individuals with OFC damage show decision-making deficits across a broad range of domains, including choosing between colours²⁷, apartments²⁸ and political candidates²⁹. Perhaps the gold standard for assessing such deficits involves presenting participants with choices in which the outcomes vary along more than one dimension (for example, the type and amount of juice), thereby requiring participants to integrate across these dimensions to calculate the value of the option.

Impairments on such tasks occur following OFC damage in humans³⁰, during electrical microstimulation of the OFC in monkeys³¹ and during optogenetic inactivation of the OFC in rodents³².

The precise mechanisms by which OFC value responses are translated into a decision are less clear. Computational models have been proposed in which distinct populations of neurons are responsible for representing the value of the options on offer and then gradually encode the value of the chosen option^{33,34}. Downstream areas, such as the lateral prefrontal cortex (PFC), are then thought to be responsible for translating the decision into an action³⁵⁻³⁷. Empirical data show that option values and the ultimately chosen value are encoded by distinct populations of OFC neurons³⁸. However, there is little evidence that encoding of option values precedes encoding of the chosen value, with both signals arising at approximately the same time³⁸.

An alternative possibility for how OFC activity is used to make decisions has been raised by a recent study that focused on the dynamics of ensembles of OFC neurons (FIG. 1). Multiple OFC neurons were recorded simultaneously while monkeys were presented with offers of specific values³⁹. A decoding algorithm was then trained to classify patterns of OFC activity according to the value being represented. Rather than discrete populations encoding different properties of the choice, OFC neurons seemed to vacillate between representing the value of each option in turn. In addition, more-valuable options were represented more frequently and for longer than less-valuable options, with the result that the higher value of the chosen option dominated neuronal encoding when averaged across trials. Thus, the apparent prevalence of neurons encoding the chosen option was an artefact of averaging neuronal activity across trials rather than a real feature of OFC neurons. Nevertheless, the vacillation did affect the decision: more vacillation produced longer choice reaction times and choices that were more likely to be suboptimal. A downstream area involved in motor planning could in principle use OFC vacillation dynamics to select the more valuable option by integrating the vacillation.

One challenge to the value hypothesis has been in defining when OFC value signals are required to make a decision. Some of the earliest studies showed that monkeys with OFC damage were not impaired at learning to choose between novel stimulus–outcome associations⁴⁰, although they were impaired when the task contingencies changed. Monkeys with OFC damage also have intact food preferences⁴¹⁻⁴⁴ but do not update these preferences when their motivational state changes^{41,43}. A neuroimaging study in humans used the phenomenon of repetition suppression⁴⁵ to show that the OFC is preferentially involved when participants consider novel as opposed to familiar choices²².

Explanations for which tasks will require the OFC have typically focused on how values are learned^{46,47}. Reinforcement learning is a computational framework that was developed in psychology and artificial intelligence to formalize how agents learn to select actions to acquire reward and avoid punishment⁴⁸. Importantly, there are two main reinforcement learning methods⁴⁹⁻⁵¹. Model-free reinforcement learning is associated with habits and skills, and relies on trial-and-error learning, storing, or caching the values of past actions and inflexibly repeating actions that have led to higher values. Model-based reinforcement

learning is associated with goal-directed actions and involves the generation of predictions through a computationally expensive process that depends on an internal model of the environment. Importantly, such a model allows rapid updating of choices by a process of inference. For example, consider two distinct sequences of responses that lead to either a food reward or a liquid reward. If one's motivational state changed from hungry to thirsty, a model-free system would have to experience the devalued food reward and gradually reduce the value of those responses relative to that of the responses leading to liquid. By contrast, a model-based system could immediately infer which sequence of responses would lead to liquid.

Damage to the OFC typically produces deficits on tasks that require model-based inference but not on tasks that rely on model-free cached values^{52,53}. The lack of such inference helps to explain why animals with OFC damage have difficulty updating their behaviour in response to changes in motivational state^{41,43}. This framework does not necessarily contradict the notion that OFC is important for economic decisions. Indeed, such decisions are thought to be deliberative rather than automatic^{47,54}, and consequently more consistent with a model-based system.

Another puzzle is why so much cortical real estate is devoted to representing a single scalar quantity. One argument is that value signals must be constructed from decision primitives, such as reward magnitude or reward probability²⁰, analogous to the way that the visual system constructs a scene from visual primitives such as orientation and colour. Indeed, although there are many OFC neurons that encode abstract values that involve the integration of multiple decision primitives, there are just as many OFC neurons that respond to single decision dimensions^{9,55}. It is also important to differentiate between the information that an area stores in its pattern of synaptic weights, and what the area represents in its current pattern of activity. For example, we have argued that OFC vacillation may arise from competing representations of option values, with options that predict higher values having a representational advantage⁵⁶. In this conceptualization, previously experienced stimulus–outcome associations are stored in a distributed network in the OFC, with the strength of the synaptic connections proportional to the value of the outcome. When the animal faces a choice, these stimulus–outcome associations are simultaneously activated and compete for representation, resulting in vacillation. This conceptualization is consistent with both neuroimaging⁵⁷ and neuropsychological results⁵⁸, suggesting that the OFC may contain a representation of reward that is richer than simply the value of a reward.

The cognitive map hypothesis

Over the past decade, a radically different view of OFC function has developed. In part, this has been driven by increasing interest in how agents, both biological and artificial, learn⁵⁹. In the 1970s, researchers discovered that hippocampal neurons in rats encoded the animal's location in space, consistent with Tolman's idea that animals formed maps of their environment^{60,61}. However, damage to the hippocampus in humans does not simply produce problems with spatial navigation but rather produces much more profound deficits, preventing the formation of new episodic memories^{62,63}. One way to reconcile the findings

in rodents and humans was to argue that the cognitive map was not just a spatial map. The same map could be used to specify how the different elements of a memory might be combined into a single episode, or it could specify how different spatial landmarks are combined to form a map of the environment^{6,64-66}.

One problem with this expanded role for the cognitive map is that it can be difficult to specify a priori what information the map should and should not contain⁶. There is a good deal of theoretical work that is currently focused on putting the cognitive map on a more formal footing. One approach has been to explore how animals can use Bayesian inference to infer how the world is structured^{67,68}. Animals attempt to infer whether some evidence is consistent with an existing state of the world or implies the existence of a new state. Once states have been identified, the animal must then learn how they are related to one another. Here, formal models derived from graph theory have proved useful (FIG. 2a). Animals learn a graph (akin to a network) where each vertex (node in the graph) is a state of the world and the edges (the connections between vertices) specify the transition probabilities from one state of the world to another. The state-transition graph can be integrated with the reward location to calculate the value of individual states, which can then be used to guide optimal choice behaviour. From this point forward, we use 'state-transition graph' to refer to this network of states and 'cognitive map' to refer to the broader concept, which includes the integration of reward with the state-transition graph to determine optimal behaviour.

FIGURE 2b illustrates a graph that specifies the states that might describe a restaurant experience. Each arrow has a probability associated with it. For example, if we had to seat ourselves, we might expect a higher likelihood that we would have to order from an app rather than from a server. One advantage of learning these abstract transition structures is that the same graph can be applied to many different sensory problems⁶⁹. Although restaurants look very different from one another, the way to navigate the restaurant experience can be distilled to the same graph. Note also that specific states are not necessarily defined by their sensory properties but by the temporal context or narrative in which they occur. At several points in the restaurant experience, you can be sat at an empty table but the appropriate response is to either ask the server for a menu or the bill depending on where you are in the sequence of states.

A second advantage of learning such state-transition graphs is that knowledge of the causal structure of the world is kept separate from value. This allows rapid changes in action selection when values change. Suppose that, over our dinner conversation, our dining companion inspires us with their healthy lifestyle. Our most valuable option shifts from choosing the high-calorie dessert to instead skipping dessert and getting the bill. We do not need to learn through trial-and-error which is the more valuable option but rather can use the state-transition graph to determine the appropriate response for obtaining the new, more valuable goal.

This distinction between trial-and-error learning and knowledge of state transitions has previously been described with respect to model-free and model-based reinforcement learning⁴⁹. Model-free reinforcement does not have access to the state-transition graph and instead uses trial-and-error learning to estimate a single value, for each state, that reflects

the total reward that an agent can expect to earn in the future from that state, with rewards temporally closer to the agent weighted more highly than distant rewards. By contrast, model-based reinforcement learning iteratively searches through the state-transition graph to determine the path with the highest value, given the goal state. Model-free reinforcement learning is computationally simple but inflexible, whereas model-based reinforcement learning is flexible but computationally expensive — although this simple dichotomy has been criticized recently⁵¹.

The successor representation is particularly relevant to the blurring of the lines between model-free and model-based learning algorithms⁷⁰⁻⁷³. Agents that incorporate the successor representation will derive advantages of both model-free and model-based learning. Parameters are cached during trial-and-error learning reducing computational complexity (as in model-free learning) but, rather than caching the value of states, the successor representation caches the likelihood of transitions between states, thereby incorporating a map-like structure (as in model-based learning). The separation between the learning of state transitions and rewards allows the agent to respond rapidly to changes in the value function (like model-based learning), although the agent can only learn changes in the state-transition graph slowly through trial-and-error (like model-free learning).

How do these ideas relate to the kinds of tasks that are dependent on the OFC? Consider a classic test of OFC function: stimulus-outcome reversal. In this task, a participant learns that one stimulus is associated with reward, whereas another stimulus is not. Once the participant has learned these associations, the experimenter reverses the contingencies. In a nice example of cross-species homology, rodents⁷⁴, monkeys^{40,75} and humans⁷⁶ with OFC damage have no problem with the initial learning, but show severe impairments when the contingencies reverse, continuing to perseverate by choosing the previously rewarded outcome. The explanation for this deceptively simple deficit has undergone several revisions. Initial explanations were influenced by behaviourist theory. The learning process underlying the initial learning was assumed to be the same as the learning process following the reversal. As such, animals without OFC damage were proposed to learn the initial contingencies by trial-and-error, repeating rewarded choices and avoiding unrewarded choices, similar to a model-free learner. Following a reversal, the same process was suggested to allow them to learn the changed contingencies. To explain the critical paradox as to why the initial learning was intact but reversal learning was impaired in animals with OFC damage, vague concepts were invoked that did little more than describe the observed behaviour. For example, animals were argued to have a lack of ‘inhibitory control’ that prevented them from inhibiting the response to the previously rewarded option⁴⁰ or they were argued to lack the ‘behavioural flexibility’ that would allow them to change their choices⁷⁷.

Recent formulations of reversal learning have instead invoked the concept of a state-transition graph (FIG. 3). Importantly, in this formulation, reversal is not simply the unlearning of the original association and the learning of the new contingency. Instead, the participant learns that there are two states of the world, one in which stimulus A is rewarded and B is not, and one in which stimulus B is rewarded and A is not⁷⁸. The OFC is argued to be crucial for this representation of the task⁷⁸. This would explain why participants with

OFC damage are unimpaired on the original learning problem, which can be solved via simple associative learning, and why they are impaired on later reversals once the map of the task has been constructed and would speed learning in control participants⁴⁰. However, recent neuropsychological studies in monkeys have suggested that the OFC might not be as crucial for reversal learning as originally thought^{79,80}. It is possible that there are multiple factors that may contribute to whether the reversal task is learned through a cognitive map or through simpler strategies and, therefore, whether it requires the OFC. These include the length of training, whether there are concurrent discriminations and whether reward is delivered probabilistically⁸¹.

To test the cognitive map hypothesis more directly, Schuck et al. devised a complex task that involved multiple contingencies to derive the correct answer⁸. Participants were presented with a picture of a house and a face, and they had to judge the age of one of the categories. When the age changed (for example, a young face followed by an old face) the participants had to switch to judging the other category. The task could be represented as a state-transition graph in which each unique combination of past and present category and perceptual configuration was defined as a task state (circles), with transitions between each state governed by the structure of the task (FIG. 4a). Importantly, the experimental conditions were balanced so that each state was equally likely to be correct at some point, ensuring that no one state was consistently more valuable than another. The authors trained a decoder to classify blood oxygen level-dependent (BOLD) activity based on which of the 16 task states the participant was currently in. Only a region in the ventromedial PFC (vmPFC), a region directly medial to the OFC, represented all the relevant task contingencies that would be necessary to specify a cognitive map (FIG. 4b), and the degree to which this information could be decoded from the vmPFC predicted participants' performance (FIG. 4c). We note that it is difficult to interpret negative neuroimaging results from the OFC since there is often a loss of signal due to susceptibility artefacts^{82,83}; therefore, even though a signal was observed in the vmPFC, the study does not rule out a role for the OFC. Indeed, the authors concluded that a principal function of the OFC was to encode the cognitive map.

The encoding of a cognitive map seems to bear little relationship to value coding in the OFC described above. However, the preponderance of observations of value coding in the OFC described in the literature may be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Guided by the work in people with OFC damage, experimenters have tended to focus on very simple decision-making tasks in which the only parameters that were varied were related to value^{20,84}. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that value was the only parameter encoded by OFC neurons^{4,9,38}. In fact, when experimenters have used more-complex tasks, OFC encoding has proven equally complex, yet these findings have often been ignored because they did not fit the dominant theoretical view of OFC function. For example, we showed that prefrontal neurons encoded abstract rules and that such activity was equally prevalent in the OFC as in other prefrontal areas⁸⁵. In formal terms, rules specify the state-transition graph, consistent with the notion that the OFC encodes not just value, but rather the entire cognitive map. Similarly, OFC neurons encoded rules in the Wisconsin card sorting test⁸⁶, stay-shift strategies on a visuomotor conditional task⁸⁷, matches and mismatches during an olfactory-recognition task⁸⁸, and different blocks on an olfactory-choice task⁸⁹.

In addition, the state-transition graph is an important component of model-based learning, which, as discussed above, also seems to depend on OFC. The cognitive map might also be used to infer hypothetical outcomes. For example, consider a rock–paper–scissors game in which your opponent consistently chooses paper. A model-free learning system would have to iteratively select each outcome in turn to determine which outcome wins against paper. However, if we understand the state-transition graph of the game, we can choose the optimal scissors response immediately. Indeed, in monkeys trained on this game, OFC neurons encode not just the actual outcome of the animal's choice but also the hypothetical outcomes that would have resulted from making different choices⁹⁰, indicating that the OFC can use the state-transition graph to generate value predictions that have not actually been experienced.

Hypothetical outcomes are a key component of counterfactual emotions such as guilt, regret and relief. To generate such emotions, an animal must be able to infer what would have happened had they made a different choice. Counterfactual emotions can have a powerful sway on our decisions. For example, humans often deviate from rational decision theory because they try to minimize the likelihood of experiencing regret⁹¹. There is evidence that these counterfactual emotions depend on the OFC. For example, people with OFC lesions do not experience regret⁹². Rats that have rejected an average reward, only to be presented with a worse reward, will look back to the location of the rejected reward while their OFC neurons encode the value of the rejected reward⁹³.

In sum, the cognitive map hypothesis has the potential to explain a greater array of experimental findings from the OFC than can the value hypothesis. However, recall that the cognitive map has historically been associated with the hippocampus — which raises the question of what, if anything, is the OFC doing differently from the hippocampus?

The role of the hippocampus

The neural representation of the cognitive map was first associated with the hippocampus with the discovery of hippocampal place neurons⁶⁰, and the concept was later expanded to include abstract relational structures, in part to explain the role of the hippocampus in episodic memory in humans^{64–66}. As described above, such abstract relationships are an important component of the state-transition graph because they enable the same graph to be used for very different sensory situations^{6,69}. However, until recently, the empirical evidence for such relational encoding was rather weak. Many studies demonstrated that hippocampal neurons encoded non-spatial information^{65,88,94} but they did not show the representational structure that would be necessary to demonstrate the existence of a map. A more recent study did examine the parametric coding of non-spatial information using a task that required rodents to navigate an auditory space⁹⁵. However, in this case, the parametric representation was still that of a sensory stimulus rather than of an abstract cognitive parameter. Neuroimaging results have also provided evidence for relational coding. For example, when people are required to categorize stimuli that vary along two abstract dimensions, the hippocampus responds in a way that reflects the distance between the stimuli in this abstract two-dimensional space^{96,97}. However, these results lack the resolution to determine what this coding looks like at the single-neuron level.

Value is one variable that is potentially useful for testing relational coding. It is an abstract, cognitive variable, yet it is also salient to animals. We developed a behavioural task that required monkeys to track the changing reward values associated with three pictures. We then recorded from the hippocampus during the performance of this task⁹⁸. Hippocampal neurons encoded ‘value place fields’ that essentially specified the relationship between the values of the three reward-predictive pictures (FIG. 5a,b). Like space, value is relational^{99,100}: we determine the value of an outcome relative to other outcomes. For example, we can experience a reward as negative if another choice would have led to an even larger reward⁹². Several researchers have noted that the tuning of hippocampal neurons seems to be optimized for encoding relationships^{65,69,101}. Thus, it can be used to construct a spatial map of the location of objects relative to one another, or it can be used to construct a value map of the value of pictures relative to one another.

However, note that, in our experiment, we were using value to explore the relational code and, as such, we could not unconfound the state-transition graph from value, a point that we return to below. In fact, there is accumulating evidence that the hippocampus could also make an important contribution to value-based decision-making. Humans with hippocampal damage are impaired at making reward-based decisions¹⁰². In rats trained to run around a track on which reward was only delivered every four laps, different pools of hippocampal neurons would fire on each lap, potentially providing a mechanism to track the individual episodes that lead to reward¹⁰³. Hippocampal replay events, in which place neurons fire in an ordered sequence, predict the distance to a reward location during both hippocampal theta oscillations¹⁰⁴ and during sharp-wave ripples¹⁰⁵.

Thus, we have two brain regions that strongly connect with one another^{17,106} and seem to share many of the same functions. In addition, there is now considerable evidence that the two areas functionally interact with one another during the performance of many behavioural tasks. For example, we observed increased coherence in the theta oscillation between the OFC and the hippocampus when animals were adapting their choice behaviour in response to changing reward contingencies¹⁰⁷. In addition, when human participants perform a complex, sequential decision-making task⁸, hippocampal BOLD responses are consistent with the sequential replay of participants’ experience with the task and this, in turn, leads to an improved representation of the task in the OFC and better performance¹⁰⁸.

Causal manipulations have also revealed the importance of hippocampal input to the OFC. A prominent theta oscillation occurs in the OFC when animals learn the significance of reward-predictive cues¹⁰⁹. To demonstrate the importance of this oscillation, we used closed-loop microstimulation¹⁰⁷. We recorded the theta oscillation in real-time in monkeys and used it to control the application of microstimulation to the OFC. Stimulation applied at the peak of theta severely disrupted the oscillation as well as the ability of the animal to learn new reward contingencies. Because the theta oscillation probably has a hippocampal origin¹¹⁰, we also applied closed-loop theta microstimulation to the hippocampus and similarly severely disrupted reward-based learning. Results in rodents have also demonstrated the importance of OFC–hippocampal interaction in learning. Optogenetic inactivation of the hippocampus impairs the OFC representation of the block structure of an olfactory-choice task¹¹¹.

However, despite the similarities in OFC and hippocampal functions, it is also clear that neuronal coding in the hippocampus is very different from that in the OFC. This is most apparent when comparing neuronal responses from the two areas during the performance of identical behavioural tasks. For example, we directly compared OFC and hippocampal neuronal responses on the reward-learning task described above¹⁰⁷. OFC neurons typically encode the value of the chosen option in a linear way (FIG. 5c). Consequently, they are active at most points along the circular trajectory through value space, rather than at specific locations like hippocampal neurons. This results in a sparser representation of value among hippocampal neurons than among OFC neurons that can be quantified using information theory (FIG. 5d).

Along similar lines, McKenzie et al. trained rats on a task in which different environmental contexts predicted which rewards would be paired with which objects. Although all the information that was relevant to performing the task was present in both the OFC and hippocampus, context dominated neural encoding in the hippocampus¹¹², whereas value dominated neural encoding in the OFC¹¹³. Similar results have been obtained using other tasks. For example, in rodent studies of model-based learning of olfactory discriminations, although all the information relevant to performing the task is represented in the OFC, value explains by far the most variance in OFC neuronal firing¹¹⁴. Thus, an important outstanding issue is what exactly the specific contributions of the two brain areas are; we discuss this next.

Reconciling the hypotheses

At this point, we return to considering the state of the value hypothesis and the cognitive map hypothesis. One could be forgiven for assuming everything is settled. Researchers were like the fabled blind men, each feeling a different part of an elephant and coming to a different conclusion as to what it was. Hippocampal researchers typically used the rodent model system, in part because the hippocampus is easier to access in the rodent than in the primate. Rodents were tested in arenas and mazes and, therefore, space dominated the neural representation. By contrast, researchers studying the OFC often used monkeys, who sat, like gamblers in a casino, in a single position playing hundreds of trials to win rewards. Little wonder that, in this case, value dominated the neural representation. By taking a broader view of both areas, we can see that they are both responsible for implementing the cognitive map^{115,116}. However, one problem with such a neat reconciliation is that the pendulum may have swung too far, with the OFC now being ascribed too broad a role.

An important consideration for any theory is whether it has predictive validity. A prediction of the cognitive map hypothesis is that any sufficiently complex task should benefit from a cognitive map and therefore require the OFC; however, this is not always the case. For example, consider a task designed by Baxter et al.¹¹⁷. Monkeys learned to apply one of two choice-response strategies to two sets of stimuli. Pictures in one set of stimuli (persistent) had to be chosen four times in a row to earn a reward, whereas choices for pictures in the second set (sporadic) were rewarded only after a persistent reward had been earned and were not rewarded again until another persistent reward had been earned. The task is conceptually like the Schuck et al.⁸ task shown in FIG. 4a, in that different stimuli instructed different

responses but were equally likely to be correct depending on the experimental condition. Despite this similarity, animals with OFC lesions who had learned the task prior to the lesion could perform it without impairments. This is difficult to reconcile with the idea that the OFC is representing a cognitive map to facilitate performance of the task.

A more promising direction has been to focus on a potential division of labour between the OFC and hippocampus¹¹⁶. One possibility is that the hippocampus represents the state-transition graph, whereas the OFC uses knowledge of the reward's location to calculate the value of the vertices in the graph, thereby helping to guide the optimal choice at each decision point. A recent study by Basu et al. showed that single-neuron responses in the OFC were consistent with this function¹¹⁸. Rats were trained to forage between two locations on a linear track. OFC neurons were tuned to the location of the reward, and their firing rates gradually increased as the animal approached the rewarded location. The linear track can be described via a linear state-transition graph, and the OFC neuronal responses are consistent with encoding the value of those states. Furthermore, optogenetic inactivation of these neurons impaired the performance of the task.

Another task that is relevant to testing the 'division of labour' hypothesis is sensory preconditioning. Participants learn that certain states of the world co-occur and then use this knowledge to infer predictions about the value of potential outcomes. For example, if I learn that cue A and cue B occur together, and then I learn that A predicts reward, I might rightly infer that B will also predict reward. There is a growing body of work to support the notion that this type of learning is dependent on OFC–hippocampal interactions. For example, in rodents, OFC neurons encode cue associations as well as inferred outcomes¹¹⁹, and pharmacological inactivation of the OFC specifically impairs learning that is based on the inferred outcomes¹²⁰. Neuroimaging results in humans have shown that the BOLD response to paired cues (that is, to A and to B) becomes more similar in both the hippocampus and the OFC as the network of associations is learned¹²¹. Furthermore, the OFC represented the inferred outcome when cue B was presented, and this was accompanied by an increase in connectivity between the OFC and the hippocampus. Causal studies have also favoured the interpretation that the OFC uses the cognitive map to generate reward predictions. For example, transcranial magnetic stimulation of the OFC in humans specifically impairs the ability to infer outcomes from cue associations in the sensory preconditioning task¹²².

Returning to the Baxter et al. task described above¹¹⁷ with the idea that the OFC does not represent the cognitive map per se but instead computes the value at different vertices in the map, it becomes clearer why the complex task may not require the OFC. The task can be specified as a state-transition graph, but the value of each vertex remains fixed throughout the performance of the task and, therefore, the OFC is not needed to update the values. Other lesion results support this conclusion. Selective lesions of the PFC in macaques performing a version of the Wisconsin card sorting test demonstrate a double dissociation. Damage to the dorsolateral PFC leads to a problem in holding the state-transition graph in working memory, whereas damage to the OFC induces problems with rapidly updating the value of the graph nodes based on reward outcomes¹²³.

We note that we have remained agnostic to the precise nature of the interaction between the OFC and the hippocampus. Given the role of the hippocampus in forming new memories¹²⁴⁻¹²⁶, we might predict that it would be important for learning the state-transition graph, which would then be used by the OFC to determine the value of the graph vertices. However, it is also possible that information from the OFC could be used to modify the state-transition graph in response to violated reward expectations. For example, neuroimaging has shown that OFC learning signals predict changes in the strength of the hippocampal representation of state-transition probabilities¹²⁷.

Given the proposed distinction between the OFC and the hippocampus proposed above, it is worth returning to how well it aligns with the value hypothesis and the cognitive map hypothesis. With respect to the value hypothesis, the value framework clearly only captures a portion of OFC function. However, many of the problems that are tackled by the value hypothesis are also relevant to the cognitive map hypothesis. For example, it remains unclear how an animal assigns a value to a specific outcome, and this value is an important component of calculating the value of the states in the state-transition graph. Likewise, the cognitive map requires animals to choose the optimal motor response based on the value of the different resultant states; the neural implementation of this process also remains unclear.

Turning to the cognitive map hypothesis, the ‘hard’ version of this hypothesis, that the OFC is responsible for its entire implementation, seems like too broad a role to adequately account for the experimental evidence. However, by limiting its role to calculating values of states using the state-transition graph, we can preserve the primary role of the OFC of encoding value information while also accounting for the role of the OFC in encoding state transitions. Although we argue that the hippocampus is primarily responsible for learning and modifying the state-transition graph, we also note that many researchers have argued that the hippocampus is responsible for initial learning of state-transition graphs but not for their long-term storage, which is argued to be the preserve of the cortex¹²⁴⁻¹²⁶. This raises the possibility that other cortical regions, such as the lateral PFC, may be responsible for the long-term storage of the state transition graph.

Future directions

In this final section, we outline a personal wish list of experimental directions. First, if the cognitive map hypothesis of OFC function is to challenge the value hypothesis, it is important that we establish the same breadth of experimental evidence to ensure a solid foundation on which to build this new idea. Most important is to establish causal evidence, particularly in humans. Studies of individuals with OFC damage remain largely focused on the value hypothesis. For example, it would be fascinating to know how people with OFC damage perform on the same tasks that involve cognitive maps and that drive strong OFC BOLD responses⁸.

Second, it seems reasonable that the computational principles that are currently driving theoretical work on the cognitive map will ultimately prove useful for understanding its implementation in the brain, including in the OFC. For example, it has been suggested that the entorhinal cortex may be responsible for encoding the state-transition graph, whereas the

hippocampus then combines this information with specific sensory input, thereby enabling different maps to generalize to novel experiences⁶⁹. Similarly, understanding how animals parse knowledge and infer the existence of different states of the world¹²⁸ will probably be extremely useful in interpreting behaviour and, therefore, the neural implementation of behaviour. For example, behavioural evidence suggests that bottlenecks in the state-transition graph can be used to organize knowledge, and this organization is reflected in the neural representation in frontal and temporal cortices¹²⁹ and the hippocampus¹³⁰.

Third, regarding the value hypothesis, we need to improve the ecological validity of our measurements. Real-world decisions often involve unique circumstances and information. By their nature they are ‘one-shot’. This makes them challenging to study in the laboratory, certainly with neural measurements and even behaviourally. Our measurements are noisy and frequently require multiple trials. Fortunately, modern neuroscience methods are beginning to provide us with access to the neural mechanisms that underlie one-shot cognitive processes. In particular, innovative recording probes open up the possibility of recording from thousands of OFC neurons simultaneously¹³¹, and decoding algorithms provide the methods to measure the neural representation with single-trial resolution⁵⁶. In addition, we clearly need to expand the range of tasks used to investigate OFC function, at least beyond the simple binary choice tasks that many of us study.

It is an exciting time to be researching the OFC. After a decade or so of somewhat incremental progress, the past few years have seen the emergence of dramatic new ideas regarding OFC function. Yet, despite this, it seems premature to completely abandon the value hypothesis, which can explain so many OFC findings. Instead, it seems likely that the infusion of new theoretical ideas from formal models of the cognitive map will help to better align our understanding of OFC value representations to naturalistic behaviour and ultimately explain why OFC damage is so catastrophic for everyday decision-making.

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Glossary

Secondary reinforcer

A reward or punishment whose value is learned (for example, money) through its association with a primary reinforcer whose value is innate (for example, food).

Repetition suppression

A reduction in the magnitude of the evoked blood oxygen level-dependent response when a stimulus is presented repeatedly.

Reinforcement learning

The process by which an agent learns to predict and maximize future reward.

Inference

The process of deriving logical conclusions from known premises.

Decision primitives

Parameters that are combined to calculate the value of a reward; for example, a food reward might include size, probability of occurrence and calories.

Episodic memories

Memories of personal experiences that are tied to specific times and places.

Bayesian inference

A statistical approach that uses Bayes theorem to determine how much to update one's belief given a new piece of evidence.

Graph theory

A branch of mathematics that focuses on understanding networks. A graph consists of vertices (also called nodes) that are connected by edges (also called lines).

Successor representation

A map of the environment that estimates the predictive relationships between different states of the environment.

Perseverate

To continue to repeat a previously rewarded action even when it no longer leads to reward.

Behaviourist theory

The theory that psychology can be objectively studied only through observable actions; it arose as a reaction to nineteenth-century psychology which focused on introspection.

Susceptibility artefacts

Artefacts that occur during MRI at air–tissue boundaries; they are particularly serious for brain areas close to sinuses.

Wisconsin card sorting test

A neuropsychological test in which participants sort cards according to rules such as shape or colour. Patients with frontal lobe damage have difficulty switching between rules.

Visuomotor conditional task

A task that requires subjects to follow a conditional 'if–then' rule, in which the 'if' is a visual stimulus and the 'then' is a motor response.

Rock–paper–scissors game

Two players simultaneously make one of three hand shapes: rock, paper or scissors. Rock beats scissors, scissors beat paper, and paper beats rock.

Place neurons

Hippocampal neurons that fire whenever an animal is in a specific location.

Sharp-wave ripples

Oscillations that are characteristics of electrical activity in the mammalian hippocampus: they are of large amplitude and high frequency (100–250 Hz).

Ecological validity

The degree to which a laboratory test predicts behaviour in real-world settings.

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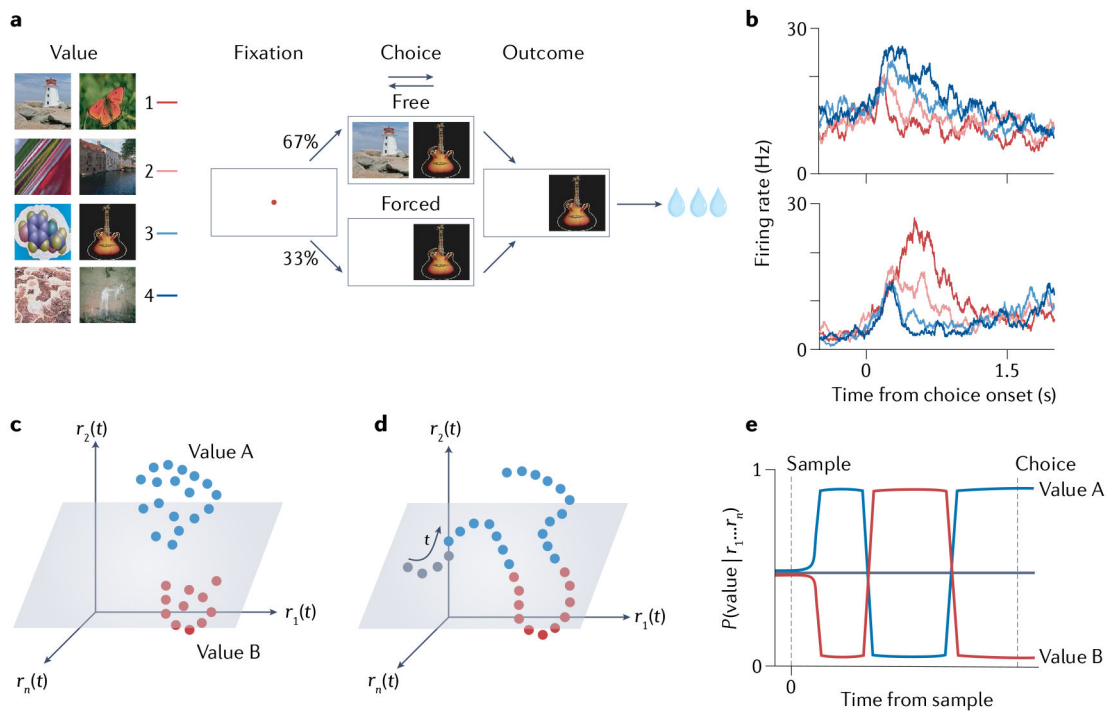


Fig. 1 | During decision-making, the OFC flip-flops between representing the value of either option.

a | Monkeys learn the value of different pictures and then perform a choice task. After fixating on a red dot, one (forced choice) or two (free choice) pictures are presented and the animal must make its selection. **b** | Individual orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) neurons typically encode the value of the chosen picture⁹. About half of the value-encoding neurons have a positive relationship between firing rate and value (top), whereas the other half have a negative relationship (bottom). **c** | A classifier was trained to recognize patterns of neural activity that are elicited by specific picture values on forced-choice trials. In the example, the neural ensemble consists of n neurons ($r_1 \dots r_n$) and the firing rate at time t is plotted. Each data point indicates a pattern of activity that was elicited on different trials, colour-coded according to the value of the outcome of the choice. A hyperplane can successfully separate the two groups of trials. **d** | The trained classifier is then used to decode activity on the free-choice trial. Each successive dot corresponds to the activity of each neuron at successive time steps, t , within a trial. When ensemble activity lies above the hyperplane, the picture's value is decoded as value A (blue dots), whereas below, it is decoded as value B (red dots). **e** | Decisions are characterized by OFC neural ensembles 'flip-flopping' between representing the value of either option in turn³⁹. Panels **a** and **b** are adapted with permission from REF.¹⁶, Springer Nature Ltd.

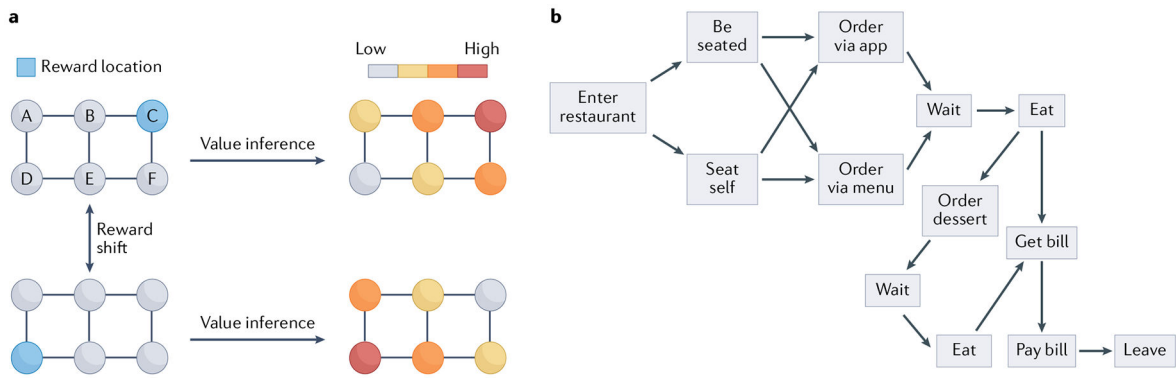


Fig. 2 | The relationship between the state-transition graph and value.

a | The state-transition graph (left) specifies the relationship between states and the transition probability; for example, state A can directly lead to B or D, but not to the other three states of C, E or F. The state-transition graph can be integrated with the reward location to calculate the value of individual states (right). **b |** A potential state-transition graph for having a meal in a restaurant. Different states are linked to other states with a specific probability of occurrence. The same graph can be used for many different restaurants, and the value of states can be rapidly updated in response to changes in goals.

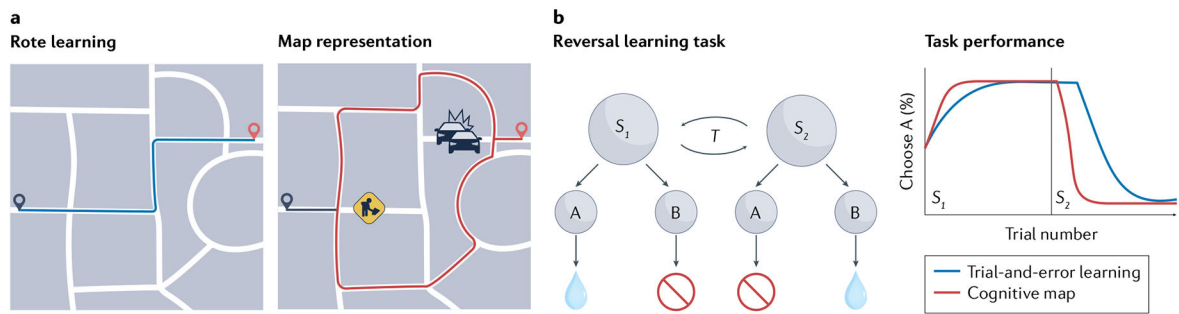


Fig. 3 | An illustrative example of the flexibility of cognitive maps.

a | Imagine you need to get across town (start: black pin, goal: red pin). This can be done simply by following a rote set of directions (for example, take the second left followed by the first right). However, this method cannot cope with unexpected events such as construction works or an accident. By contrast, a map-like representation allows on-the-fly adjustments, providing a much more flexible way to navigate. **b** | Cognitive maps can also be applied to behavioural tasks and provide the same kinds of advantages for high-level behaviour that maps provide for spatial navigation. Consider the classic reversal task with two reward-predictive cues, A and B. This task can be mapped as two distinct states (S_1 and S_2) that describe the likelihood of each cue predicting reward, with some probability of transitioning between the two states, T . Without such a map, the task could still be completed through trial-and-error learning (bottom, blue trace). However, the map enables more-flexible switching between states (bottom, red trace) because the participant can infer the outcomes associated with each cue from a single trial.

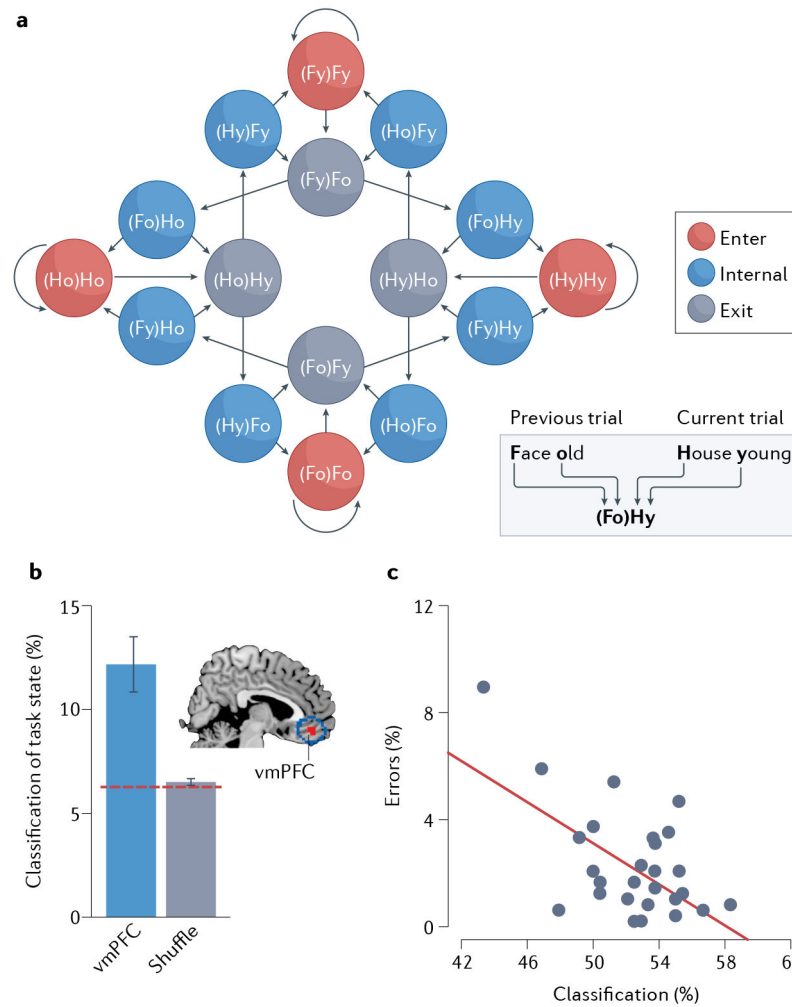


Fig. 4 | Responses in human vmPFC reflect encoding of state information.

a | Map of the task. Participants saw houses and faces and had to judge the age of one of the categories. When the age changed, they had to switch to judging the other category. Each combination of task contingencies is defined as a state (circles), with transitions between each state governed by the structure of the task. **b** | The researchers trained an algorithm to decode which of the 16 states was currently in effect. The only region in which this information could be decoded above chance was the ventromedial prefrontal cortex (vmPFC). **c** | The degree to which state information could be extracted from vmPFC blood oxygen level-dependent signals (x-axis) predicted the number of incorrect decisions participants made (y-axis). Figure adapted with permission from REF.⁸, Elsevier.

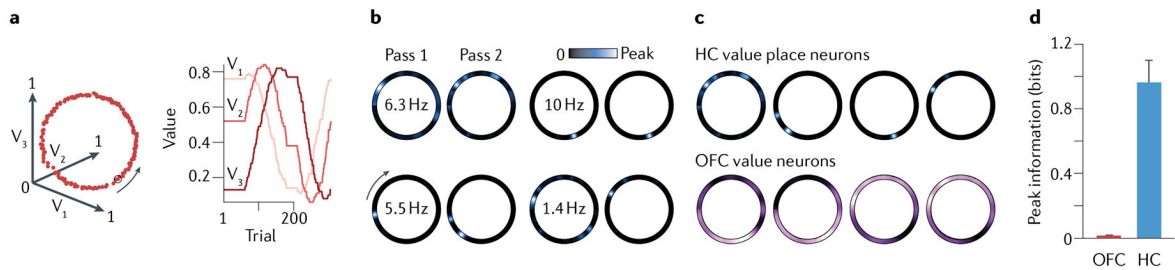


Fig. 5 | Value place neurons in the primate hippocampus.

Monkeys were trained to choose between pairs of presented pictures⁹⁸. There were three pictures in total and each was associated with a probability of receiving juice that gradually changed overtime, requiring the animal to track the changing contingencies. **a** | A value space can be constructed in which each axis is the value of one of the pictures, such that a point in this space defines the value of the pictures relative to one another. The changing reward contingencies result in a circular trajectory through this value space. On the right, the same picture values are plotted independently. **b** | Four examples of firing patterns of hippocampal (HC) neurons, showing how the firing rate varied across two successive completions of the circular trajectory. Peak firing rate values are shown for each neuron. Neurons encoded specific locations in value space. **c** | Top: Activity of four example HC value place neurons plotted following conventions in part **b**. Bottom: Four example orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) neurons, plotted in the same manner. **d** | Average peak spatial information encoded by OFC value neurons (left, purple) and HC value place neurons (right) on the circular trajectory. Figure adapted with permission from REF.⁹⁸, Elsevier.