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# Inducing Synesthesia in Non-Synesthetes: Short-Term Visual Deprivation Facilitates Auditory-Evoked Visual Percepts

Anupama Nair<sup>1</sup> and David Brang<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Psychology, University of Michigan

# Abstract

Sounds can modulate activity in visual cortex, facilitating the detection of visual targets. However, these sound-driven modulations are not thought to evoke conscious visual percepts in the general population. In individuals with synesthesia, however, multisensory interactions do lead to qualitatively different experiences such as sounds evoking flashes of light. Why, if multisensory interactions are present in all individuals, do only synesthetes experience abnormal qualia? Competing models differ in the time required for synesthetic experiences to emerge. The cross-activation model suggests synesthesia arises over months or years from the development of abnormal neural connections. Here we demonstrate that after ~5 minutes of visual deprivation, sounds can evoke synesthesia-like percepts (vivid colors and Klüver form-constants) in ~50% of non-synesthetes. These results challenge aspects of the cross-activation model and suggest that synesthesia exists as a latent feature in all individuals, manifesting when the balance of activity across the senses has been altered.

# Keywords

Multisensory; Synesthesia; Auditory-visual; Hallucinations; Phosphenes; Imagery

# 1.1 Introduction

The natural environment contains correlated information from auditory and visual streams (e.g., a speaker's voice and lip articulations are temporally and spatially aligned during speech) (Jack & Thurlow, 1973). The brain capitalizes on this redundancy to enable faster and more precise sensory processing using a variety of mechanisms. These include direct (monosynaptic) connections between auditory and visual areas (Falchier et al., 2009; Rockland & Ojima, 2003), in addition to indirect connections through thalamic, temporal, and parietal areas (for reviews see Ghazanfar & Schroeder, 2006; Stein & Stanford, 2008). The presence of these pathways affords one sensory system the ability to alter activity in another sensory system. For example, sounds modulate activity in visual areas, even in the

**Corresponding Author:** David Brang, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, 530 Church Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, djbrang@umich.edu.

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absence of visual stimuli (Campus, Sandini, Morrone, & Gori, 2017; Feng, Störmer, Martinez, McDonald, & Hillyard, 2014, 2017; Matusz, Retsa, & Murray, 2016; McDonald, Störmer, Martinez, Feng, & Hillyard, 2013; Romei, Murray, Cappe, & Thut, 2009; Störmer, Feng, Martinez, McDonald, & Hillyard, 2016). Indeed, sound-induced modulations of visual activity can increase visual cortical excitability, resulting in better detection and discrimination of visual stimuli (Driver & Spence, 2004; Feng et al., 2014; Lu et al., 2009; McDonald et al., 2013; McDonald, Teder-SaÈlejaÈrvi, & Hillyard, 2000; Spence & Driver, 1997) and requiring less magnetic energy to evoke visual phosphenes using transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) (Romei, Gross, & Thut, 2012; Romei et al., 2009; Romei, Murray, Merabet, & Thut, 2007; Spierer, Manuel, Bueti, & Murray, 2013). Although, absent any visual stimulus or external activation of visual cortex, it is generally believed that sounds are insufficient to evoke conscious visual sensations.

In individuals with sound-color synesthesia, however, sounds can evoke conscious visual experiences, starting early in life due to genetic propensities (developmental synesthesia) (Asher et al., 2009; Baron-Cohen, Burt, Smith-Laittan, Harrison, & Bolton, 1996; Brang & Ramachandran, 2011; Tilot et al., 2018). Synesthesia is defined as stimulation of one sensory modality eliciting conscious experiences in a second sensory modality (Baron-Cohen et al., 1996). Common forms of synesthesia include letters, numbers, or sounds evoking the experience of colors or basic visual experiences, such as a 400 Hz tone evoking a blue amoeboid shape. Over the past decade, researchers have sought to understand the relationship between synesthesia and non-synesthetic multisensory interactions, leading to data indicating an overlap in mechanisms between the two (e.g., Bien, ten Oever, Goebel, & Sack, 2012; Brang, Williams, & Ramachandran, 2012; Ludwig et al., 2011; Mulvenna & Walsh, 2006; Sagiv & Ward, 2006). However, evidence of a relationship between synesthesia and multisensory interactions has not universally been observed (e.g., Neufeld, Sinke, Zedler, Emrich, & Szycik, 2012; Sinke et al., 2014; Whittingham, McDonald, & Clifford, 2014).

If all individuals possess the ability for one sensory system to modulate activity in another, why do only a minority of individuals experience synesthesia? The cross-activation model reconciles this discrepancy by arguing that synesthesia arises from anatomical pathways that are either weak or absent in non-synesthetes, providing a direct link through which one sensory modality can stimulate another modality (Hubbard, Arman, Ramachandran, & Boynton, 2005; Hubbard, Brang, & Ramachandran, 2011; Ramachandran & Hubbard, 2001a, 2001b, 2003). In support of this model, adult synesthetes show an excess of white matter connectivity (relative to non-synesthetes) between areas responsible for their synesthetic experiences (e.g., number and color regions in the fusiform gyrus in grapheme-color synesthesia) (Rouw & Scholte, 2007). This model indicates that synesthesia should require substantial time to develop, arising from either reduced neural pruning in childhood (Maurer, 1993) or the growth of new connections through neural plasticity (e.g., neural rewiring following blindness) (Armel & Ramachandran, 1999).

Conversely, the disinhibited-feedback model proposes that everyone possesses the potential to experience synesthesia, manifesting only when the balance of activity across the senses has been altered (Grossenbacher & Lovelace, 2001). According to this view, the anatomical

structure of the brains of synesthetes and non-synesthetes is generally similar, but there are differences in how effectively one sense can evoke activity in a second modality, potentially due to weaker inhibition of feedback projections that connect the sensory systems (Grossenbacher & Lovelace, 2001). For example, instead of abnormal connections enabling sounds to evoke conscious visual experiences in synesthetes (as in the cross-activation model), this model argues that these connections are present in all individuals and that synesthetes have less inhibition restricting how strongly sounds modulate visual activity. This model is supported by evidence from drug-induced synesthesia, wherein synestheticlike experiences occur almost immediately after drug-ingestion, in too short a time period for new neural pathways to be generated (Brang & Ramachandran, 2008; Brogaard, 2013; Sinke et al., 2012). However, several limitations have led researchers to question whether drug-induced synesthesias are the same as developmental forms (Luke & Terhune, 2013; Sinke et al., 2012; Terhune et al., 2016). Specifically, there are self-selection biases in who chooses to take hallucinogenics, questions about the reliability of self-reports during druguse, as well as the inability to rigorously verify and parameterize synesthesia induced by drugs due to ethical concerns. Additional evidence for the disinhibition model comes from training studies wherein non-synesthetic participants are consciously trained to acquire synesthesia-like experiences (Bor, Rothen, Schwartzman, Clayton, & Seth, 2014; Brang, Kanai, Ramachandran, & Coulson, 2011; Kusnir & Thut, 2012; Meier & Rothen, 2009).

The critical test in discriminating between these models is how long it takes for synesthesia to be induced: the cross-activation model requires changes in anatomical connections that take months or years to develop, whereas the disinhibited-feedback model requires changes in cortical inhibitory processes that can occur in a matter of minutes. As preliminary support for this latter view, we have anecdotal reports from non-synesthetic individuals (including one of the authors, DB) that they experience transient synesthesia while in sensory deprived environments, but not during daily life as developmental synesthetes do. Specifically, these non-synesthetic individuals report frequently experiencing auditory-visual percepts elicited by unexpected sounds while in dark environments, typically occurring just before sleep; case studies from individuals with synesthesia and non-synesthetic patients with optic tumors have similarly reported these percepts (Page, Bolger, & Sanders, 1982; Steen, 2017). If the experience of synesthesia under mild sensory deprivation is verified experimentally, it would provide strong evidence that synesthesia can be quickly and transiently induced in nonsynesthetes without the use of chemical agents, hypnosis or training, consistent with the disinhibited-feedback model of synesthesia and arguments that synesthesia exists as a latent feature present in the general population.

# 2.1 Experiment 1

We first examined whether it is possible to evoke auditory-visual synesthesia in nonsynesthetes undergoing short-term sensory deprivation and parameterized the features that maximize the strength of these experiences (Klüver, 1966). Participants were seated upright in a dark environment with their eyes closed for approximately 30 minutes throughout the duration of the task. After the first 5 minutes of dark-adaptation, participants completed an auditorily-presented visual-imagery task (see Methods) while also being presented with unpredictable sounds from two spatial locations at random, infrequent intervals (once every

~39 seconds). Participants were instructed that during the task they might experience visual sensations, such as "flashes of light or complex images", even though their eyes are closed, and to respond via button press if they experienced such percepts. In contrast to sensory deprivation studies that require the absence of auditory and visual stimulation (Ziskind & Augsburg, 1962; Ziskind, Jones, Filante, & Goldberg, 1960), here, we expected visual experiences to be evoked by the tones.

# 2.2 Methods

#### 2.2.1 Participants

Data were collected from 21 fluent English-speaking undergraduate students at the University of Michigan (M= 18.76 years, SD = 2.2; 13 females; 20 right-handed). Data from eight additional participants were excluded for either failing to follow task instructions (N= 3) (i.e., they indicated seeing visual percepts during the task but contradicted this claim during the debriefing interview), missing data (N= 2), or for potentially being synesthetes as assessed during debriefing (N= 3). Power analysis based on a piloting study (Wilcoxon signed-rank, effect size = 0.7, power = .80, alpha = .05) indicated a minimum sample size of 19 participants, and additional subjects were recruited to ensure that we would reach this target number after the exclusion of subjects. No individual subject participated in more than one experiment. Participants in this and subsequent experiments were unaware of the hypotheses of the study as confirmed through debriefing. Furthermore, they gave informed consent prior to the experiment and were given course credit for their participation.

#### 2.2.2 Design and Procedure

After undergoing five minutes of dark adaptation, participants completed a visual imagery task described by Thompson, Kosslyn, Hoffman, & Van der Kooij (2008). In this task, participants verified whether imagined letters (the uppercase letters A-Z, imagined in Arial font) possessed specific cued features with simple yes or no responses: e.g., does the letter A have any curves (no), any enclosed areas (yes, where a triangle is formed at the top of the letter), any diagonal lines (yes), and is it symmetrical along any axis (yes)?

**2.2.2.1 Initial Training Period**—Prior to the start of the main experiment, participants completed a brief training session lasting ~10 minutes. To reduce practice effects for the letter stimuli, the training session used abstract characters (see Thompson et al., 2008) to acclimate participants to the general procedure. Participants were presented with 14 of these characters on a printed page and were instructed to mark on the page which of the four properties were present in the character. Incorrect responses were highlighted to participants for discussion. In order to help solidify participants' ability to accurately identify these four stimulus properties, participants were next presented with the visual image of individual abstract characters and properties via a computer and instructed to verify whether a single property was present. All 14 abstract stimuli were randomly presented with any 1 of the 4 properties (for a total of 14 trials). Participants received feedback on their performance after each trial. Of note, the abstract stimuli were only used during training to acclimate participants to the task, whereas the main experiment used the letters A-Z presented via speakers. The imagery task served to ensure participants remained alert throughout the

experiment and to limit the possibility that visual percepts would be experienced due to sensory deprivation alone, as these are more likely during states of reduced awareness (Ziskind & Augsburg, 1962; Ziskind et al., 1960). Letters were chosen as primary imagery stimuli in the main experiment to avoid memories of the correct answer thereby limiting visual imagery during the main task and to maintain consistency in imagined stimuli across participants.

**2.2.2.2 Main Experiment**—Following the initial training phase, participants were instructed that they would complete a visual imagery task in a dark environment, in which they would verify whether auditorily presented letters did or did not have one of the stimulus properties presented in the training phase. As in Thompson, Kosslyn, Hoffman, & Van der Kooij (Thompson, Kosslyn, Hoffman, & Van Der Kooij, 2008), participants were first shown a sheet containing uppercase, black letters A-Z in Arial Bold font, and were instructed that imagined letters during the task should match this set.

Stimuli were presented using PsychToolbox-3 in MATLAB. To create a visually deprived environment, all light sources were blocked throughout the main experimental phase. Audio speakers were located 45 degrees to the left and right of participants' midline (distance of 34 inches from participants). All stimuli were presented through the auditory modality. The task stimuli included recordings of each of the four probes ("curve", "close", "diag", "sym") and 26 letters (A-Z).

Prior to the start of the experiment, participants were instructed to maintain a steady posture and to keep their eyes closed throughout the experiment. On each trial, participants were auditorily presented with a property followed by a letter (e.g., "diag F") and instructed to indicate, via a button press (Cedrus Response Box model RB-834), whether the property was present for that letter. All four properties were presented with each of the 26 letters in random order, for a total of 104 trials. 5.5 seconds elapsed between each response and the initiation of the subsequent trial. On 25% of trials, a beep (10 kHz sine wave, 10 ms in duration) was presented 250–750 ms (random uniform distribution) after the presentation of the property-letter pairs from either the left or right speaker (50% of trials each); stimulus volume was not measured in Experiment 1. Participants were informed that beeps may occur randomly throughout the study but could be ignored since they were not task-relevant. The experimenter remained present in the room for the first four trials to ensure participants understood the task instructions; these trials were removed from all analyses. Following these initial trials, participants experienced a 5-minute long dark-adaptation period before the continuation of the task, lasting approximately 30 minutes in total.

Participants were instructed that being in a dark environment causes some individuals to experience visual sensations, such as "flashes of light or complex images", even though their eyes are closed; no additional descriptions or examples of visual sensations were given. If at any point a subject experienced a visual sensation, they were instructed to press a designated key on the response box; when no visual sensation was perceived, no additional response was required. Following the main experiment, participants completed a debriefing form relating to visual percepts experienced during the experiment, as well as the Vividness of Visual Imagery Questionnaire (VVIQ) (Marks, 1973) to assess their imagery levels.

However, VVIQ responses were not analyzed, and the measure was omitted from Experiments 2 and 3.

#### 2.2.3 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using SPSS 23. The main effect of interest was the frequency of reported visual sensations on trials with versus without beeps. Responses denoting the experience of a visual sensation showed non-normality according to Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests, necessitating the use of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests across all comparisons. We additionally conducted parametric statistics on these data, which revealed the same pattern of results. To remove background noise from drawn images on debriefing forms, the images displayed in Figure 1E were vectorized.

# 2.3 Results

Imagery task accuracy was near ceiling (M=.918, SD=.046), confirming that participants remained alert. Throughout the session, 24% of participants reported visual percepts via a button press, and the presence of auditory-driven visual percepts was confirmed during debriefing (one subject reported auditory-driven visual percepts during the debriefing even though they failed to respond during the task). To examine the role of sounds in evoking visual percepts, we examined the frequency of visual responses during trials with beeps versus trials without beeps. Participants demonstrated a significantly higher frequency of visual percepts on beep trials (Z=1.992, p=.046, r=.307; Fig 1A), consistent with our suggestion that startling tones presented in the context of mild visual deprivation can lead to auditory-visual percepts.

We additionally examined whether the frequency of these experiences varied throughout the experiment to clarify additional elements of this phenomenon. If the system needs time to adapt to the visual deprivation for these experiences to arise, we would predict a higher frequency of synesthetic experiences in the latter half of the experiment. Alternatively, if these experiences arise not through chronic visual deprivation, but instead through any transient reduction in visual competition (e.g., these multisensory processes are always present but normally have little influence when the eyes are open), then we should see an even distribution of synesthetic experiences throughout the experiment. Subjective reports from individuals who experience these percepts in natural settings indicate that they may occur within minutes of eye closure, suggestive of this latter viewpoint. Consistent with these reports, we found no differences in the frequency of these percepts between the first and second half of the experiment (Z = 0.085, p = .932, r = .013).

# 3.1 Experiment 2

As research on auditory-visual interactions indicates that multisensory receptive fields are spatially co-registered (Romei et al., 2009; Störmer et al., 2016), Experiment 2 examined whether lateralized sounds evoke spatially coincident visual percepts (e.g., a right lateralized sound evoking a hallucination in the right visual field). We matched the general design to Experiment 1, with two differences. First, on trials in which participants experienced a hallucination, they indicated the spatial position of the experience via a button press.

Second, we included both loud (70dB) and 50% quieter (60dB) sounds to evaluate the role of stimulus intensity on hallucination frequency.

# 3.2 Methods

#### 3.2.1 Participants

Data were collected from 31 fluent English-speaking undergraduate students at the University of Michigan (M = 18.58 years, SD = .72; 11 females; 28 right-handed), none of whom participated in Experiment 1. Data from eight additional participants were excluded for failing to follow task instructions (N = 5) or for potentially being synesthetes (N = 3). Power analysis based on the average effect sizes of a piloting study and Experiment 1 (Wilcoxon signed-rank, effect size = 0.57, power = .80, alpha = .05) indicated a minimum sample size of 28 participants, and additional subjects were recruited to ensure that we would reach this target number after the exclusion of subjects. Participants gave informed consent prior to the experiment and were given course credit for their participation.

#### 3.2.2 Design and Procedure

The materials, stimuli, setup, and procedure in Experiment 2 were matched to those of Experiment 1, with two important differences. First, beeps were presented at two intensity levels: 60 dB ("soft" beeps) and 70 dB ("loud" beeps) estimated from the position of participants' ears. To equate the number of loud and soft beep trials with left and right speaker presentations, the number of beep trials was increased to 28 out of 104 trials (7 trials in each condition), from 26 out of 104 trials in Experiment 1. The second important difference from Experiment 1 was the instruction for participants to report the spatial position of any visual experience, such that they would press a designated left key for a left lateralized sensation, a designated right key for a right lateralized sensation, and both keys for any nonlateralized sensation.

#### 3.2.3 Data Analysis

Responses denoting the experience of a visual sensation showed non-normality according to Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests, necessitating the use of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests across all comparisons. We additionally conducted parametric statistics on these data, which revealed the same pattern of results. To remove background noise from drawn images on debriefing forms, the images displayed in Figure 1E were vectorized.

# 3.3 Results

As in Experiment 1, imagery task accuracy was near ceiling (M= .926, SD= .030), confirming that participants remained alert. Throughout the session, 68% of participants reported visual percepts via button presses and the presence of auditory-driven visual percepts was confirmed during debriefing. Examining the role of sounds in evoking visual percepts replicated our main finding from Experiment 1: there were significantly more visual percepts reported on beep trials than on non-beep trials (Z= 3.945, p < 0.001, r= . 501; Fig 1B). Furthermore, consistent with our prediction of auditory-visual spatial congruity effects, visual percepts were reported at the location of the sound significantly

more often than at the location in the opposite spatial field (Z = 3.790, p < .001, r = .481) or at non-lateralized locations (Z = 3.823, p < .001, r = .486) (Fig 1C). Consistent with a model in which greater sound intensity elicits stronger modulation of visual responses, we found that sound volume significantly increased the frequency of auditory-evoked visual percepts (Z = 2.960, p = .003, r = .376; Fig 1D). Finally, as in Experiment 1, we found no differences in the frequency of these percepts between the first and second half of the experiment (Z =0.070, p = .944, r = .009).

# 4.1 Experiment 3

Experiment 2 demonstrated that the frequency of these synesthetic experiences is modulated by the intensity of the sounds, and that the visual percepts tend to be localized to the spatial position of the sound. A remaining question was whether the use of a visual imagery task was facilitating the induction of these auditory-driven visual percepts. Indeed, research indicates that visual imagery is sufficient to activate visual cortex leading to increased visual cortical excitability (Sparing et al., 2002), potentially lowering the threshold to evoke synesthetic experiences. Experiment 3 served to examine the role of visual imagery in the generation of these auditory-driven visual percepts. The general design was matched to Experiment 2, with two main differences. (1) All sounds were presented at 70 dB, as those sounds were the most effective at evoking visual sensations in Experiment 2. (2) Half of the sounds were presented before the onset of the word cue (before the imagery task) and half after the offset of the word cue (during the imagery task), as in the other experiments.

# 4.2 Methods

#### 4.2.1 Participants

Data were collected from 25 fluent English-speaking undergraduate students at the University of Michigan (M = 18.68 years, SD = .69; 12 females; 23 right-handed), none of who participated in Experiments 1 or 2. Data from five additional participants were excluded for failing to follow task instructions (N = 3) or for potentially being synesthetes (N = 2). Power analysis based on the average effect sizes of a piloting study and Experiments 1 and 2 (Wilcoxon signed-rank test, effect size = 0.63, power = .80, alpha = .05) indicated a minimum sample size of 23 participants, and additional subjects were recruited to ensure that we would reach this target number after the exclusion of subjects. Participants gave informed consent prior to the experiment and were given course credit for their participation.

#### 4.2.2 Design and Procedure

The materials, stimuli, setup, and procedure in Experiment 3 were matched to those of Experiment 2, except where noted. First, we included only the higher of the two intensity levels used in Experiment 2 (70dB), as estimated from the position of participants' ears. Second, we used headphones rather than free-field speakers. This allowed us to investigate whether the effects could be observed across differing experimental setups. Third, beep trials were presented either 250–750 ms (random uniform distribution) before or 250–750 ms (random uniform distribution) after the presentation of the property-letter pairs from either the left or the right headphone (50% of trials each). Specifically, the task-irrelevant sounds

presented before the onset of the word-cues would occur before subjects started imagining the shape of the letters to complete the property verification task.

#### 4.2.3 Data Analysis

Responses denoting the experience of a visual sensation showed non-normality according to Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests, necessitating the use of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests across all comparisons. We additionally conducted parametric statistics on these data, which revealed the same pattern of results. To remove background noise from drawn images on debriefing forms, the images displayed in Figure 2D were vectorized.

# 4.3 Results

As in Experiments 1 and 2, imagery task accuracy was near ceiling (M= .926, SD= .029), confirming that participants remained alert. Throughout the session, 72% of participants reported visual percepts via button presses and the presence of auditory-driven visual percepts was confirmed during debriefing. Examining the role of sounds in evoking visual percepts replicated the findings of Experiments 1 and 2, with significantly more visual percepts reported on beep trials than non-beep trials (Z= 2.591, p = 0.010, r= .367; Fig 2A). Additionally, the location of synesthetic percepts occurred more often at the location of the sound than either the opposite spatial field (Z= 3.063, p= .002, r= .433) or in non-lateralized locations (Z= 2.738, p= .006, r= .387) (Fig 2B). Finally, consistent with a model in which visual imagery enables stronger modulation of visual responses, we found that sounds presented during the visual imagery phase of a trial (immediately after the offset of word cues) evoked a greater number of auditory-evoked visual percepts than sounds presented before the imagery phase (Z= 2.099, p= .036, r= .300; Fig 2C). As in Experiments 1 and 2, we found no differences in the frequency of these synesthetic percepts between the first and second half of the experiment (Z= 0.619, p= .536, r= .088).

Across all three experiments, participants completed a debriefing questionnaire to obtain subjective reports of visual experiences that occurred during the 30-minute task-period. In line with the behavioral responses, 44/77 participants (57.1%) reported auditory-driven visual percepts (Figures 1E and 2D), with the frequency of experiences ranging from 1 to 28 synesthetic percepts.

# 5.1 Discussion

These findings reveal a fundamental relationship between visual deprivation and the ability to induce synesthetic percepts in non-synesthetic individuals. Across three experiments, we reliably evoked auditory-visual percepts in 57.1% of non-synesthetic individuals using a simple paradigm that requires as little as five minutes of visual deprivation. Examining the features that modulated these experiences, we identified higher prevalence in response to louder sounds (compared to softer sounds) and to sounds occurring during high visual imagery periods. Furthermore, visual sensations were largely spatially co-registered with the location of the sound, which is consistent with research on more common multisensory interactions (McDonald et al., 2013; Stein & Stanford, 2008; Störmer et al., 2016).

Descriptions and drawings (Figures 1E and 2D) were indicative of Klüver form-constants (Klüver, 1966), including colorful small circles, amorphous blobs, scintillation, extrusion, and movement, consistent with prior studies on visual experiences induced using drugs (Sinke et al., 2012) or TMS (Romei et al., 2009). Indeed, visual deprivation as demonstrated here may enhance visual-cortical excitability in a manner similar to TMS (Romei et al., 2009), allowing auditory-driven visual percepts to breach conscious awareness. A previous case-report in a developmental synesthete likened these experiences to hypnagogic hallucinations, which occur during the transition from wakefulness to sleep (Steen, 2017). However, as demonstrated by our imagery paradigm, participants remained alert throughout the session. We suggest instead that simply removing externally driven visual information is sufficient to allow sounds to periodically evoke visual qualia, potentially through phase-resetting of intrinsic neural oscillations (Feng et al., 2017; Romei et al., 2009; Störmer et al., 2016). Future research will need to examine these processes using EEG to confirm this speculation.

The quick onset and transient nature of these experiences are incompatible with the standard cross-activation model. In this view, synesthesia is proposed to develop over an extended period of time resulting from excessive anatomical connectivity between sensory modalities, through either reduced pruning during development or the growth of new connections through neural plasticity (e.g., retinal blindness leading to auditory-visual synesthesia) (Armel & Ramachandran, 1999). In contrast, the present data are more consistent with the disinhibited-feedback model, which is flexible in terms of how quickly synesthesia can onset and offset. Specifically, this latter model proposes that synesthesia emerges when the balance of activity across the senses has been altered to allow one sensory modality the ability to exert stronger modulatory effects onto another sensory modality. While the present data demonstrate that auditory-visual synesthesia (Armel & Ramachandran, 1999) can be induced without changes in anatomical connectivity, it is possible that synesthesia may emerge from several different mechanisms that enable one sensory system to exert stronger modulatory control over another sensory system. This combined view indicates that auditory-visual synesthesia emerges following a sufficient increase in the gain of the auditory-to-visual signal, in response to an increased density of anatomical connections or reduced functional inhibition of feedback pathways that connect the sensory systems. Indeed, this model would predict that louder sounds should increase the frequency of auditory-visual percepts, which was confirmed in Experiment 2. Absent any changes in the strength of the auditory signal that arrives in visual cortex, auditory-visual synesthesia would also be facilitated by changes in visual cortex alone. Specifically, removing competing visual information through sensory deprivation (Mason & Brady, 2009) or increasing visualcortical excitability (Terhune, Tai, Cowey, Popescu, & Kadosh, 2011) may increase the relative gain of typically weak auditory-visual modulation to allow sounds to more easily evoke perceptual visual qualia. This sensory-gain model suggests that while a variety of mechanisms can lead to synesthesia, what matters is the net effect of sounds on visual cortical activity.

The occurrence of the visual percepts at the spatial location of the sound is consistent with research on more general multisensory interactions. Specifically, research indicates that sounds more strongly modulate activity in spatiotopically-aligned areas of visual cortex than

in non-spatially aligned areas (McDonald et al., 2013; Romei et al., 2009; Störmer et al., 2016). Indeed, this overlap in the spatial receptive fields for auditory and visual signals even occurs at the level of individual neurons (Stein & Stanford, 2008). Furthermore, more recent research suggests that visual maps of auditory space are enhanced during auditory-spatial but not auditory-temporal tasks (Campus et al., 2017). Despite these robust effects, a small subset of auditory-driven visual percepts was described by participants as being experienced as full-field visual flashes of light, which may have been due to trials with particularly strong activation of the auditory-visual pathway.

Experiment 3 confirmed that visual imagery is a modulatory factor in the experience of auditory-visual percepts. Specifically, we found that sounds presented during the visual imagery phase of a trial (immediately after the offset of word cues) evoked a greater number of auditory-evoked visual percepts than sounds presented before the imagery phase. Several neuroimaging studies have identified areas in early visual cortex that are common to the experience of visual perception and imagery (Ganis, Thompson, & Kosslyn, 2004), thereby suggesting that visual imagery recruits the same areas that are cortical excitability involved in visual perception. Critically, research has also demonstrated that visual imagery increases (Sparing et al., 2002), suggesting that visual imagery and visual deprivation may use similar mechanisms to facilitate auditory-driven visual percepts.

Superficially, the experiences reported here share many commonalities with drug-induced synesthesias (Luke & Terhune, 2013; Terhune et al., 2016), such that they are transient in nature, evoke visual sensations consistent with Klüver form constants, and exhibit variability in the experiences over time (e.g., for a single individual, the same tone could evoke different colors on subsequent trials). An important requirement in relating research on acquired synesthesias to the developmental form is that these experiences reflect the same phenomenon that is induced though different means. While the present phenomenon meets the primary qualification of synesthesia (one sensory modality evoking conscious experiences in an additional modality), future research is needed to understand how many of the secondary dimensions common to developmental synesthesia are present in sensory deprived synesthesia, and indeed, which of these are critical to (as opposed to the result of having) the experience of synesthesia. For example, in developmental synesthesia, synesthetic associations are generally consistent (e.g., if a synesthete's A is red, it will always evoke the color red even decades later; Eagleman, Kagan, Nelson, Sagaram, & Sarma, 2007; Witthoft & Winawer, 2006; Witthoft, Winawer, & Eagleman, 2015), and consistency has been taken as a hallmark trait of developmental synesthesia. However, while synesthesia is generally consistent in young adults, mounting evidence suggests that it takes several years during development for a reliable mapping of synesthetic experiences to occur. Specifically, longitudinal tracking has shown that synesthetic associations tend to be nonfixed at age 6, with only 71% of synesthetic associations becoming consistent by age 11 (Simner & Bain, 2013; Simner, Harrold, Creed, Monro, & Foulkes, 2009). Furthermore, consistency actually declines later in life as synesthetic colors lose their saturation (Simner, Ipser, Smees, & Alvarez, 2017) and undergo shifts in the color spectrum (Meier, Rothen, & Walter, 2014). In line with these data, it is our view that inducer-concurrent consistency in all forms of synesthesia may occur as the result of having these experiences for several years as opposed to being an intrinsic feature required for the experience of synesthesia. Indeed,

while the experiences reported here do not appear to be highly consistent within the short testing session, we predict that consistency of the auditory-visual experiences would develop over time with repeated exposure. Indeed, non-synesthetes who were trained extensively on grapheme-color pairs acquired the consistent subjective experience of synesthesia as well as neurophysiological markers of the condition (Rothen, Schwartzman, Bor, & Seth, 2018).

Sensory deprivation synesthesia has typically been studied in patients who have chronic visual loss (due to damage to the eyes or optic pathway) lasting months or years (Armel & Ramachandran, 1999). The present studies extend the class of sensory deprivation synesthesia, demonstrating that these effects can occur within minutes of visual loss. Indeed, Jacobs and colleagues (1981) provided clinical observations of nine patients with acquired auditory-visual synesthesia resulting from lesions of the optic nerve or chiasm, and reported that synesthesia was experienced between one and three days following visual loss in the majority of the patients.

One potential concern about the present design is that participants' reports could have been biased by either expectations about what they would see while in a dark room for extended periods of time or during the debriefing after we asked whether they had any visual experiences. The systematicity of the observed data provides evidence against the bias explanation. Specifically, the frequency of these experiences varies systematically along several dimensions: louder sounds and sounds occurring during (but not before) periods of intense visual imagery evoke a greater frequency of synesthetic experiences, and visual sensations are co-localized with the spatial position of the sound. Additionally, the variability and detail of the descriptions generated by participants match extremely well with those of form-constants (Klüver, 1966), and were devoid of more complex hallucinations or descriptions of visualized letters (the stimuli used in the imagery task). Subjects reported high confidence in the qualitative strength of these experiences, with some participants believing they had seen real visual stimuli projected out into the world.

Several open questions remain about this phenomenon including the startling nature of sounds in generating these experiences, the consistency of these experiences over time, individual differences in the experience of these sensations, and the frequency of these percepts in individuals with developmental synesthesia. Indeed, during debriefing several participants reported that they experienced synesthetic percepts in response to spoken words during the experiment (the auditory properties and letters) in addition to the tones, showing the generalizability of the phenomenon. In general, these data indicate that synesthesia can be induced after only minutes of visual deprivation, too short a period for the cross-activation model to account for, and more consistent with disinhibited-feedback models. Collectively, these results demonstrate that mild visual deprivation facilitates auditory-visual percepts, indicating a higher prevalence of synesthesia-like experiences in the general population and a novel method to study both the relationship between synesthesia and normal multisensory processes and the experience of visual hallucinations in clinical populations.

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- In non-synesthetes, auditory stimuli are thought to evoke auditory qualia alone
- Brief sensory deprivation enables sounds to evoke conscious visual sensations
- Data suggest all individuals possess a latent disposition towards synesthesia



#### Figure 1.

Results from Experiments 1 and 2. (a-d) Proportion of trials with visual percepts across each of the conditions. (a-b) Participants demonstrated significantly more visual percepts in response to beep trials compared to non-beep trials, (c) auditory-driven visual percepts were significantly more likely to occur at the spatial location of the sound, and (d) auditory-driven visual percepts were significantly more likely to occur following a loud sound than following a soft sound. (e) Representative depictions of the auditory-driven visual percepts that nine participants drew during the debriefing, along with their corresponding descriptions. Depictions are consistent with Klüver form constants. 95% confidence intervals indicated by blue boxes, individual subject responses by circles, dotted-lines reflect paired data points, and median responses by horizontal dark bars. \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001



#### Figure 2.

Results from Experiment 3. (a-c) Proportion of trials with visual percepts across each of the conditions. (a) Participants demonstrated significantly more visual percepts in response to beep trials compared to non-beep trials, (b) auditory-driven visual percepts were significantly more likely to occur at the spatial location of the sound, and (c) auditory-driven visual percepts were significantly more likely to occur during visual imagery than before the visual imagery task. (d) Representative depictions of auditory-driven visual percepts drawn by six participants during the debriefing, along with their corresponding descriptions. As in Figure 1, depictions are consistent with Klüver form constants. 95% confidence intervals indicated by blue boxes, individual subject responses by circles, dotted-lines reflect paired data points, and median responses by horizontal dark bars. \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01