## **Contents**

List of figures

	List of figures	page xv
	List of tables	xvii
	Preface and acknowledgements	xix
	Note on the text	xxi
Part I	Foundational concepts and issues	
	1 Introduction and overview	3
	Introduction	3
	Co-evolution of language and the brain	5
	An alternative view of co-evolution	7
	Language areas in the brain	10
	Aphasia as evidence of the brain's representation of language	11
	The language faculty (localization and modularity)	12
	2 Aspects of linguistic competence	15
	Introduction	15
	Forms and meanings	17
	Minimal design features of a language	21
	Phonology and syntax as aspects of form	23
	Phonology: the sound patterns of spoken language	24
	Prosody: the phonology of supra-segmental features	26
	Semantics: the representation of meaning	30
	Assertion/presupposition and clause structure	31
	Specificity, reference and deixis	32
	Thematic roles and case	34
	Time reference: tense, aspect and modality	35
	Concluding remarks	36
	3 The neuroanatomy of language	40
	Introduction	40
	An orientation to the structures of the cerebral cortex	42
	Discovery of the language areas	48
	The classical account: the Broca-Wernicke-Lichtheim (BWL)	
	model	50
	Non-localizationist views	55
	Site of lesion studies	56
	The neuropsychological perspective	57
	Neural imaging	59

Part

	Metabolic functional imaging	60
	Encephalographic functional imaging	60
	Magnetoencephalography	62
	Combined imaging methods	63
	The subtraction method	63
	Summary: functional neural imaging	64
	Postscript: linguistic structures and the neuroanatomy of	
	language	64
4	On modularity and method	66
	Introduction	66
	Chomskian modularity	68
	Fodorian modularity	69
	Summary: Fodor's concept of modularity	72
	Modularity uncoupled: Max's chocolate factory	73
	Modularity and real-time processing	76
	Real-time processing	77
	The connectionist challenge	79
	Connectionist architectures	80
	Connectionist models and neural networks	82
	Symbolic algorithms versus statistical processors	82
	Hybrid models	83
	Summarizing	84
	Modularity of linguistic competence	85
	Fodor's modularity of processing	88
	Coltheart's functional modularity	89
11 .	Speech perception and auditory processing	
5	The problem of speech recognition	93
	Introduction	93
	Three aspects of word recognition	93
	Speech signals, spectrograms and speech recognition	94
	A simple model of speech recognition: phoneme	
	to sound matching	95
	An alternative model: word to sound pattern-matching	96
	Why speech recognition is difficult	96
	The segmentation problem	96
	The variability problem	97
	The rate of information transmission in speech perception	100
	Lexical retrieval in speech perception	101
	Phonological parsing prior to lexical access	102
	Phonetic forms and phonological representations	105
	Under-specified (abstract) versus fully specified	
	(concrete) forms	108
	Discrete (categorical) versus graded (continuous)	
	properties	108
	Hierarchical organization versus entrainment	109
	Summary	110

		Contents
_		
6	Speech perception: paradigms and findings	112
	Introduction	112
	The speech mode hypothesis	113
	Strong and weak versions of the speech mode hypothesis	114
	Dichotic listening	115
	Categorical perception	117
	Coarticulation effects and category boundary shifts	122
	Duplex perception	123
	Sine wave speech	125
	Conclusions: is speech perception special?	126
	Linguistic experience and phonological parsing	127
	Tuning the auditory system: perceptual magnet effects	128
	Prosodic bootstrapping	129
	Phonetic and phonological levels of processing in speech	
	recognition	132
	Conclusions from the gating experiments	137
7	The speech recognition lexicon	140
′		
	Introduction Search models of lexical retrieval	140
	The TRACE model	142
	Architecture of TRACE	144
		144
	Lexical effects in TRACE	146
	Empirical tests of the TRACE model	147
	Modelling coarticulation effects and other	1.40
	sequential dependencies	149
	Modelling variability: a challenge for connectionist models?	152
	Auditory-phonetic and phonological levels of representation	154
8	Disorders of auditory processing	155
	Introduction	155
	Flow-on effects of temporal sequencing deficit	157
	Levels and types of auditory processing disorder	158
	Clinical classification of auditory processing disorders	159
	Disturbances of auditory-acoustic processing	160
	Cortical deafness	161
	Auditory agnosia	161
	Auditory-acoustic processing deficits and aphasia	163
	Effects of brain damage on phonetic feature extraction	164
	Pure word deafness	164
	Studies of prevalence of word-sound deafness	165
	The nature of word-sound deafness	165
	The neural basis for speech agnosia or pure word	-
	deafness	168
	Mirror neurons and the speech-motor loop	171
	Disturbances in accessing the recognition lexicon	173
	Summary	175

## Part III Lexical semantics

Introduction

9	Morphology and the mental lexicon	179
	Introduction	179
	Morphological decomposition in the mental lexicon	181
	Psycholinguistic studies of word structure	184
	Semantic and morphological relatedness	186
	Priming effects of prefixes and suffixes	187
	Conclusions from the Marslen-Wilson et al. study	188
	Cross-linguistic generalizations on morphological processing	189
	Neuroimaging studies of normal and aphasic morphological	
	processes	190
	PET and MEG studies of morphological processing	190
	Summary	196
10	Lexical semantics	199
	Introduction	199
	Semantic networks	201
	Testing Quillian's model	204
	Evaluation of TLC	205
	From word to sentence meanings	205
	Conceptual dependency theory	207
	Evaluation of symbolic models of lexical semantics	209
	Investigating semantic structures	210
	The role of context in word-sense disambiguation	211
	Semantic priming and the activation/retrieval of word meaning	211
	Results: associative and semantic priming and the effect of	
	prime type	214
	Brain imaging studies of lexical semantic activation	215
	Summary	219
11	Lexical semantic disorders in aphasia	221
	Introduction	221
	Early work	223
	Competence or performance deficit in lexical semantic disorder?	225
	Behavioural on-line measures of lexical access and organization	
	in aphasia	226
	On-line lexical processing in Wernicke's aphasia	227
	On-line lexical processing in Broca's aphasia	228
	Lexical integration in aphasia	230
	Category-specific semantic impairment	232
	A case study of domain-specific semantic impairment	235
	Explaining patterns of category-specific semantic impairment	237
	Summary	238
Part IV	Sentence comprehension	
12	Sentence comprehension and syntactic parsing	243

243

		Contents	
	Syntactic processing and sentence comprehension	244	
	The grammar and the parser	245	
	Competing models of sentence processing	249	
	Asyntactic sentence comprehension: the case of agrammatism	250	
	Thematic role assignment and sentence comprehension	250	
	Reversible passive constructions	251	
	Canonical word order and thematic relations in complex	231	
	sentences	253	
	Strategies for processing complex sentences	254	
	Summary: grammatical heuristics and agrammatism	255	
	Ambiguity resolution and syntactic parsing strategies	256	
		250 257	
	Lexical and syntactic ambiguity	258	
	Why ambiguity is important for theories of language processing		
	Minimal attachment	259	
	Testing minimal attachment	261	
	Local ambiguities and garden path sentences	261	
	Summary	264	
13	On-line processing, working memory and modularity	266	
	Introduction	266	
	Working memory, parsing and syntactic complexity	266	
	Individual differences in working memory capacity and sentence		
	processing	269	
	Modularity and VWMC	270	
	Sequential or parallel processing as a capacity effect	273	
	Syntactic complexity	275	
	Gibson's model of parsing complexity	276	
	Properties of Gibson's parser	278	
	Summary and recapitulation	279	
	Syntactic trace reactivation	280	
	Load/capacity effects and the cross-modal lexical priming		
	paradigm	284	
	Recapitulation and summary: trace reactivation and the CMLP	20.	
	paradigm	285	
	Neural imaging techniques and on-line sentence processing	286	
	Phrase structure and argument structure violations and ERPs	288	
	Jabberwocky sentence processing and ERPs	290	
	Deep and surface anaphora	291	
	General summary and conclusions	294	
	General summary and conclusions	27,	
14	Agrammatism revisited	297	
	Introduction	297	
	Agrammatism revisited	299	
	Off-line methods of language comprehension assessment	300	
	A case for syntactic deficit in Broca's aphasia	301	
	A case against syntactic deficit in Broca's aphasia	304	
	Three theories of agrammatism	309	
	Weighing the evidence	312	
	Grammaticality judgement and sentence comprehension	312	

xiii

_			
_	ากา	-	1

xiv

	Trace reactivation and on-line measures of sentence processing	317
	Slow retrieval or under-activation of lexical items	319
	Self-paced listening and transient processing load	320
	ERP imaging of on-line sentence processing in aphasia	323
	Summary and conclusion	324
Part V D	Discourse: language comprehension in context	
15	Discourse processing	331
	Introduction	331
	Discourse modelling	332
	Discourse construction: an example	333
	Reference management and pragmatic knowledge	335
	Relevance	336
	Strong and weak implicature and relevance	337
	Refining a model of discourse	338
	Under-specification	339
	Sentence-level discourse devices	339
	Studies of discourse anaphora resolution	341
	On-line studies of discourse anaphora	343
	Summary	345
16	Breakdown of discourse	346
	Introduction	346
	Language and psychosis	349
	Characteristics of thought disordered speech	350
	A study of thought disordered speech	351
	Cognitive impairment and thought disordered language	354
	Summarizing the evidence on executive dysfunction in thought	
	disorder	359
	Neurological models of thought disorder	361
	The dopamine hypothesis	362
	The cingulate modulation hypothesis	363
	Conclusion	366
17	Conclusion and prospectus	367
	Introduction	367
	Connectionist models of language processing: a case study	367
	Embodied cognition as a perspective on language processing	374
	Concrete or abstract perceptual representations of speech sounds	377
	Lexical retrieval mechanisms	378
	Discourse structure and embodiment	378
G	lossary	380
	eferences	387
	adex	414
17	AT ** T	

## **Figures**

1.1	The cerebral cortex: the language areas and major	
	anatomical landmarks	page 11
1.2	Phrenology diagram: frontispiece to Spurzheim's	
	Outlines of phrenology, 1827	13
2.1	Components of the linguistic model	37
3.1	Lobes of cerebral cortex	43
3.2	Somatosensory cortex	44
3.3	Flat projections of human and macaque cerebral cortex	47
3.4	The Wernicke-Lichtheim model	52
3.5	Disturbances in phoneme perception	57
3.6	The single word processing model	59
4.1	Neural network for printed word recognition	81
5.1	Spectrogram: sheep like soft grass	94
5.2	Speaking style and alternative pronunciations of <i>I'm</i>	
	going to leave	99
5.3	Spectrogram: I should have thought spectrograms were	
	unreadable	99
5.4	Transcription accuracy of the nonce phrases	104
5.5	Levels of prosodic structure	109
6.1	Stop consonant $+$ vowel syllables produced by the	
	pattern playback synthesizer	116
6.2	Discrimination and identification functions for /b-d-g/	
	for three listeners	119
6.3	Morphing visual images to create a 'Clinton-Kennedy'	
	continuum	121
6.4	Duplex stimulus construction	124
6.5	Prototype (P) and non-prototype (NP) [i] vowels and	
	perceptual magnet effects	128
6.6	The gating paradigm	133
6.7	Gating experiment: Bengali listeners' response to	
	nasalized vowels	136
7.1	How coarticulation effects are simulated in TRACE	146
7.2	Simple recurrent network (SRN)	150
8.1	Hickok and Poeppel's dorsal and ventral stream model	170

xvi

9.1	PET activation for regular, irregular and nonce	
	past-tense forms	192
9.2	MEG differences to regular and irregular verbs	196
10.1	Three planes representing the meaning of <i>Plant</i> in	
	Quillian's TLC model	202
10.2	Conceptual dependency diagram for John ate a frog	208
10.3	Augmented conceptual dependency diagram for John ate	
	a frog	209
10.4	The areas activated in the verbs–nouns contrast	218
11.1	Types and relative incidence of category-specific	
	semantic disorders	233
12.1	Partial parsing of A cat is on the couch	246
12.2	Minimalist derivation of A cat is on the couch	247
12.3	Surface structure syntax	257
12.4	Contrasting 'underlying' structures for sentence	258
13.1	Reading times for relative clauses: Ferreira and	
	Clifton (1986)	272
13.2	Interaction of verbal working memory capacity with	
	syntactic and pragmatic cues	273
13.3	Three NPs awaiting case assignment	277
13.4	ERPs to well-formed, semantically anomalous and	
	syntactically anomalous verbs	287
13.5	Differences in ERPs under ellipsis and discourse model	
	interpretive (MI) anaphora	293
14.1	Dendrograms for The baby cries	302
14.2	Dendrograms for sentences 2–3	303
15.1	Hypothetical process of construal of mini-discourse 3	337
16.1	Sample of syntactic and error coding	352
16.2	The Tower of London Test	357
16.3	Temporal lobe activation differences and relation to	
	prefrontal activation in schizophrenia	364
17.1	Hierarchical clustering of hidden-unit vectors	370
17.2	Relative clause mini-grammar	371
17.3	Elman: state space trajectories	373

## **Tables**

2.1	Distributional properties of nouns and verbs (in English)	page 18
2.2	Compositionality of form and meaning	21
2.3	Basic levels and components of linguistic representation	
	in human languages	23
2.4	Semantic components and syntactic exponents	31
2.5	Grammatical case, thematic role and grammatical	
	function	35
3.1	Typical phonological errors in Wernicke's aphasic speech	50
3.2	Complementary symptoms of Broca's and Wernicke's	
	aphasia	51
3.3	Components of the ERP response	61
4.1	Fodor's criteria for modularity	71
4.2	Production plant states of operation	75
4.3	Competing approaches to language modelling	84
5.1	Properties distinguishing phonetic and phonological	
	representations	107
6.1	Tendencies towards right-ear advantage in dichotic	
	listening	116
6.2	Results of three gating experiments: percentage of	
	responses up to vowel offset	137
8.1	Disorders of auditory processing and word recognition	160
9.1	Form-frequency relations in English past tense	183
9.2	Test conditions and morphological priming effects	185
9.3	Morphological and semantic relatedness priming effects	187
9.4	Morphological type and priming effect	187
10.1	Some meanings of <i>show</i> and (scrambled) contexts	
	of usage	200
10.2	Searching semantic space for commonalities of word	
	meaning	204
0.3	TLC's responses to word-pair meaning comparisons	205
0.4	Prime-probe relations used by Moss et al. (1995)	213
0.5	Triplet stimuli used in semantic judgement task (Tyler	
	et al., 2004)	218
1.1	Semantic feature specification	222
1.2	Semantic feature assignment	223

xviii	List of tables	
11.3	Semantic similarity scores	223
11.4	Types of semantic relation between word pairs	224
13.1	ERP effects of phrase structure and argument structure	
	violations	289
13.2	ERP effects of Jabberwocky sentences	291
14.1	Sentence types used in Zurif et al.'s (1972) study	301
14.2	Sentences from Linebarger et al. (1983)	305
14.3	Theories of receptive agrammatism	311
14.4		314
14.5	•	321
15.1	Sentence-level discourse (focusing) devices	340
15.2	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	341
16.1	Discriminant function analysis	353
16.2	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	et al., 1996)	355
16.3	Tests of executive control and semantics (Barrera	
	et al., 2005)	359