

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	page xv
<i>List of tables</i>	xvii
<i>Preface and acknowledgements</i>	xix
<i>Note on the text</i>	xxi

## Part I Foundational concepts and issues

<b>1 Introduction and overview</b>	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
<b>2 Aspects of linguistic competence</b>	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
<b>3 The neuroanatomy of language</b>	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

x	<b>Contents</b>	
	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
	<b>4 On modularity and method</b>	<b>66</b>
	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
	<b>Part II Speech perception and auditory processing</b>	
	<b>5 The problem of speech recognition</b>	<b>93</b>
	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	xi
<b>6 Speech perception: paradigms and findings</b>	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	
<b>7 The speech recognition lexicon</b>	140	
Introduction	140	
Search models of lexical retrieval	142	
The TRACE model	144	
Architecture of TRACE	144	
Lexical effects in TRACE	146	
Empirical tests of the TRACE model	147	
Modelling coarticulation effects and other sequential dependencies	149	
Modelling variability: a challenge for connectionist models?	152	
Auditory-phonetic and phonological levels of representation	154	
<b>8 Disorders of auditory processing</b>	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**

<b>9 Morphology and the mental lexicon</b>	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 <i>et al.</i> 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
<b>10 Lexical semantics</b>	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
<b>11 Lexical semantic disorders in aphasia</b>	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**

<b>12 Sentence comprehension and syntactic parsing</b>	243
Introduction	243

	Contents	xiii
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 sentences	253	
Strategies for processing complex sentences	254	
Summary: grammatical heuristics and agrammatism	255	
Ambiguity resolution and syntactic parsing strategies	256	
Lexical and syntactic ambiguity	257	
Why ambiguity is important for theories of language processing	258	
Minimal attachment	259	
Testing minimal attachment	261	
Local ambiguities and garden path sentences	261	
Summary	264	
<b>13 On-line processing, working memory and modularity</b>	<b>266</b>	
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 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	
<b>14 Agrammatism revisited</b>	<b>297</b>	
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	

xiv	<b>Contents</b>	
	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
	<b>Part V Discourse: language comprehension in context</b>	
	<b>15 Discourse processing</b>	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
	<b>16 Breakdown of discourse</b>	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
	<b>17 Conclusion and prospectus</b>	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
	<i>Glossary</i>	380
	<i>References</i>	387
	<i>Index</i>	414