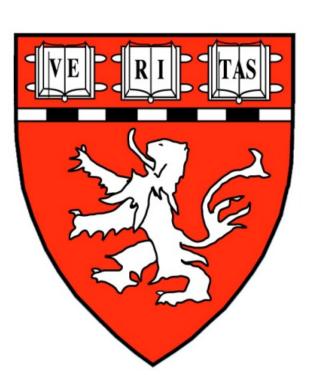


A Probabilistic Framework for Understanding the Neurobiology of Language Comprehension





Gina Kuperberg^{1,2}

¹ Department of Psychology, Tufts University; ² Athinoula A. Martinos Center for Biomedical Imaging, Massachusetts General Hospital

Introduction

The Challenge of Language Comprehension

- We must decode a sequence of letters or sounds that unfold rapidly in real time...
- ...in a noisy environment
- ...in the face of ambiguity at all levels of the language code.

To overcome this challenge, we draw upon stored linguistic and real-world knowledge, which we can mobilize very quickly as language unfolds in real time.

Do we use this stored information to *predict* upcoming information prior to bottom-up input?

Well, what do you mean by prediction?

Are you assuming

- an all-or-nothing phenomenon (we either predict or we don't)?
- that prediction = lexical prediction (we predict either a specific lexical item, or group of lexical items)?

What I mean by prediction

- Occurs at multiple levels of representation: semantic features (1), coarse semantic features (2), syntax (3), phonology (4), orthography (5)
- Graded (6)
- Probabilistic (7)

Two Questions

1. Can the *level of representation* at which we predict determine what neurocognitive mechanisms we engage to integrate an incoming word into its context?

In a probabilistic Bayesian framework of neurocognition, integration = prediction error = difference between what we predict and what we get.

<u>Predictions of specific event(s):</u> predictions of mapping(s) between wordform (phonology, orthography), semantic features and syntactic properties of a specific incoming word.

So if incoming word matches on syntax but mismatches semantic features and/or wordform, then integration is at the semantic-wordform interface.

<u>Predictions of event structure(s):</u> predictions of mapping(s) between coarse semantic features (e.g. animacy) and syntactic properties of an incoming word.

So if incoming word mismatches on coarse semantic features and/or syntax, then integration is at the semantic-syntactic interface.

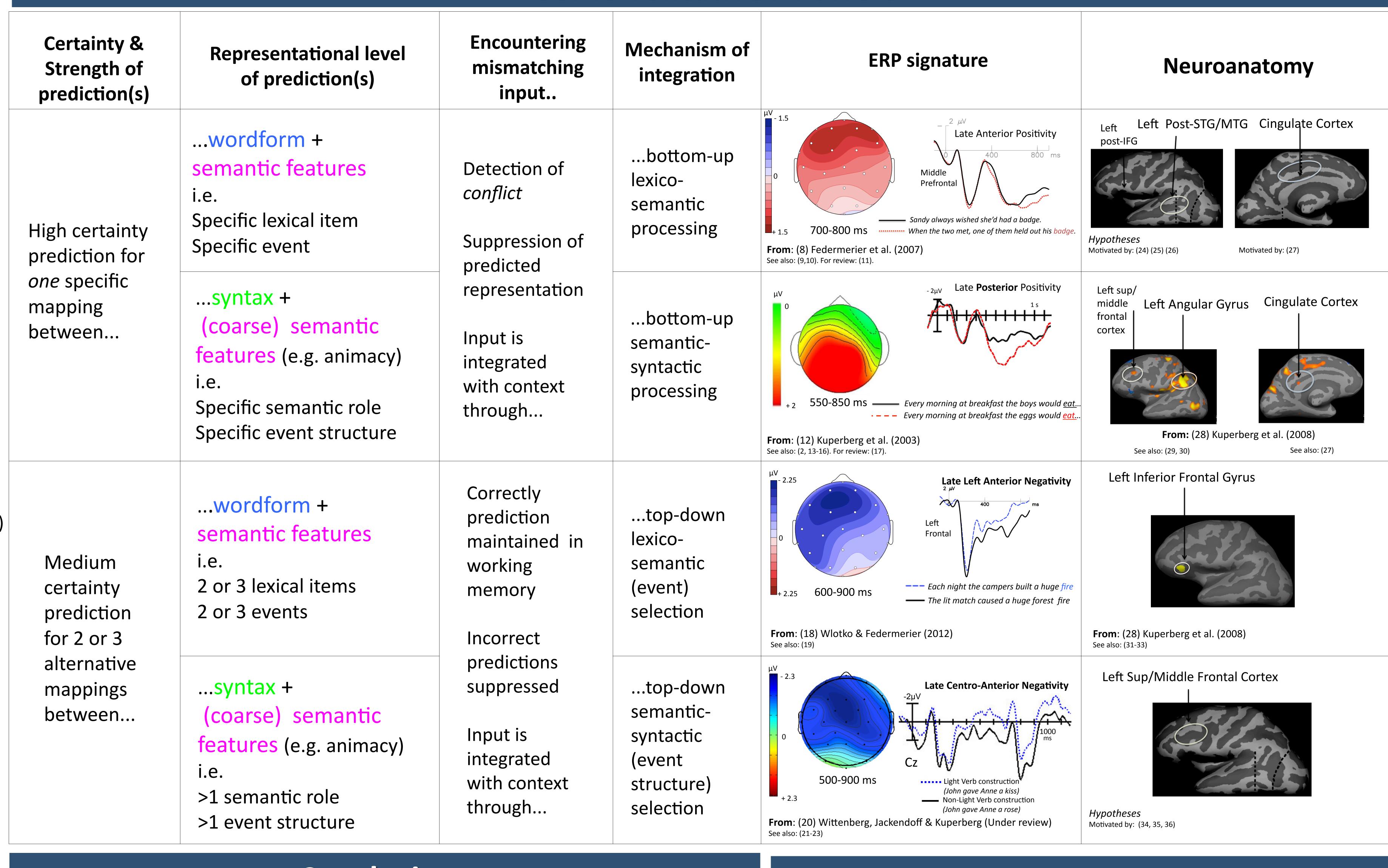
2. Can the *strength/certainty* of our predictions determine what neurocognitive mechanisms we engage to integrate an incoming word into its context?

In a probabilistic Bayesian framework, prediction error is weighted by the *certainty* of our beliefs/predictions (in information theory, formalized as entropy).

So if incoming word violates a strong, high certainty prediction, this triggers a shift outside existing hypothesis space: its integration into context is through (delayed) bottom-up processing.

And if an incoming word is consistent with one of a few medium certainty predictions, it cannot be integrated until its competitor predictions are suppressed: its integration into context is through (delayed) top-down selection.

Some Tentative Answers



Conclusions

The cognitive mechanisms and the neural networks we recruit to integrate a word into its context depend not only on the representations (form, semantic, syntactic) encoded in the lexical entry of the incoming word, but also on *the representational level* of our predictions, and the *strength/certainty* of these predictions.

Therefore, the cognitive mechanisms and neural networks we recruit to integrate a word into its context will depend not only on the nature of the linguistic input (the context and the incoming word), but also on the reliability of the input and the speed with which it unfolds, the wider statistical structure of the environment, the task at hand and on individual differences in predictive processing.

References 1. Federmeier, K. D., & Kutas, M. (1999). A rose by any other name: Long-term memory structure and sentence processing. Journal of Memory and Language, 41(4), 469-495. 2. Paczynski, M., & Kuperberg, G. R. (2012). Multiple influences of semantic memory on sentence processing: Distinct effects of semantic relatedness on violations of real-world event/state knowledge and animacy selection restrictions. Journal of memory and 3. Wicha, N. Y., Moreno, E. M., & Kutas, M. (2004). Anticipating words and their gender: An event-related brain potential study of semantic integration, gender expectancy, and gender agreement in Spanish sentence reading. Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience, 4. DeLong, K. A., Urbach, T. P., & Kutas, M. (2005). Probabilistic word pre-activation during language comprehension inferred from electrical brain activity. Nature neuroscience, 8(8), 1117-1121. 5. Kim, A., & Lai, V. (2012). Rapid interactions between lexical semantic and word form analysis during word recognition in context: evidence from ERPs. Journal of cognitive neuroscience, 24(5), 1104-1112. 7. Levy, R. (2011). Probabilistic linguistic expectations, uncertain input, and implications for eye movements in reading. Studies of Psychology and Behavior, 9(1), 52—63. 8. Federmeier, K. D., Wlotko, E. W., De Ochoa-Dewald, E., & Kutas, M. (2007). Multiple effects of sentential constraint on word processing. Brain research, 1146, 75-84 10. Wlotko, E. W., Federmeier, K. D., & Kutas, M. (2012). To predict or not to predict: Age-related differences in the use of sentential context. *Psychology and aging*, 27(4), 975. 11. Van Petten, C., & Luka, B. J. (2012). Prediction during language comprehension: benefits, costs, and ERP components. *International Journal of Psychophysiology*, 83(2), 176-190. 13. Kolk, H. H., Chwilla, D. J., van Herten, M., & Oor, P. J. (2003). Structure and limited capacity in verbal working memory: A study with event-related potentials. Brain and language, 85(1), 1-36. 14. Kuperberg, G. R., Kreher, D. A., Sitnikova, T., Caplan, D. N., & Holcomb, P. J. (2007). The role of animacy and thematic relationships in processing active English sentences: Evidence from event-related potentials. Brain and Language, 100(3), 223-237 16. Paczynski, M., & Kuperberg, G. R. (2011). Electrophysiological evidence for use of the animacy hierarchy, but not thematic role assignment, during verb-argument processing. Language and cognitive processes, 26(9), 1402-1456 18. Wlotko, E. W., & Federmeier, K. D. (2012). So that's what you meant! Event-related potentials reveal multiple aspects of context use during construction of message-level meaning. Neuroimage, 62(1), 356-366. 19. Wlotko, E. W., & Federmeier, K. D. (2012). Age-related changes in the impact of contextual strength on multiple aspects of sentence comprehension. *Psychophysiology*, 49(6), 770-785. 20. Wittenberg, E., Jackendoff, R. & Kuperberg, G. R. (Under review). The difference between "giving a rose" and "giving a kiss": A sustained anterior negativity to the light verb construction. 21. Paczynski, M., Jackendoff, R. & Kuperberg, G. R. (Under review). When events change their nature. 22. Bott, O. (2010). *The processing of events* (Vol. 162). John Benjamins Publishing. 23. Baggio, G., van Lambalgen, M., & Hagoort, P. (2008). Computing and recomputing discourse models: An ERP study. Journal of Memory and Language, 59(1), 36-53 24. Martin, A. (2007). The representation of object concepts in the brain. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 58, 25-45. 25. Hickok, G., & Poeppel, D. (2007). The cortical organization of speech processing. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 8(5), 393-402. 26. Binder, J. R., Desai, R. H., Graves, W. W., & Conant, L. L. (2009). Where is the semantic system? A critical review and meta-analysis of 120 functional neuroimaging studies. Cerebral Cortex, 19(12), 2767-2796. 27. Botvinick, M. M., Cohen, J. D., & Carter, C. S. (2004). Conflict monitoring and anterior cingulate cortex: an update. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, 8(12), 539-546. 28. Kuperberg, G. R., Sitnikova, T., & Lakshmanan, B. M. (2008). Neuroanatomical distinctions within the semantic system during sentence comprehension: evidence from functional magnetic resonance imaging. Neuroimage, 40(1), 367-388. 29. Kuperberg, G. R., Holcomb, P. J., Sitnikova, T., Greve, D., Dale, A. M., & Caplan, D. (2003). Distinct patterns of neural modulation during the processing of conceptual and syntactic anomalies. Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience, 15(2), 272-293. 30. Binder, J. R., Desai, R. H., Graves, W. W., & Conant, L. L. (2009). Where is the semantic system? A critical review and meta-analysis of 120 functional neuroimaging studies. Cerebral Cortex, 19(12), 2767-2796. 31. Connolly, A. C., Gleitman, L. R., & Thompson-Schill, S. L. (2007). Effect of congenital blindness on the semantic representation of some everyday concepts. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 104(20), 8241-8246 32. Novick, J. M., Trueswell, J. C., & Thompson-Schill, S. L. (2005). Cognitive control and parsing: Reexamining the role of Broca's area in sentence comprehension. Cognitive, Affective, & Behavioral Neuroscience, 5(3), 263-281. 33. Hagoort, P. (2008). The fractionation of spoken language understanding by measuring electrical and magnetic brain signals. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences, 363(1493), 1055-1069. 34. Kuperberg, G. R., Lakshmanan, B. M., Caplan, D. N., & Holcomb, P. J. (2006). Making sense of discourse: An fMRI study of causal inferencing across sentences. Neuroimage, 33(1), 343-361. 35. Mashal, N., Faust, M., Hendler, T., & Jung-Beeman, M. (2009). An fMRI study of processing novel metaphoric sentences. Laterality, 14(1), 30-54.

This work was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (R01MH071635 to GK) and NARSAD (with the Sidney Baer Trust).

36. Wood, J. N., & Grafman, J. (2003). Human prefrontal cortex: processing and representational perspectives. Nature Reviews Neuroscience, 4(2), 139-147.