

Language in Motion:

the 21<sup>st</sup> century standard model of  
cognition and its implications for  
experimental pragmatics

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Harvard University

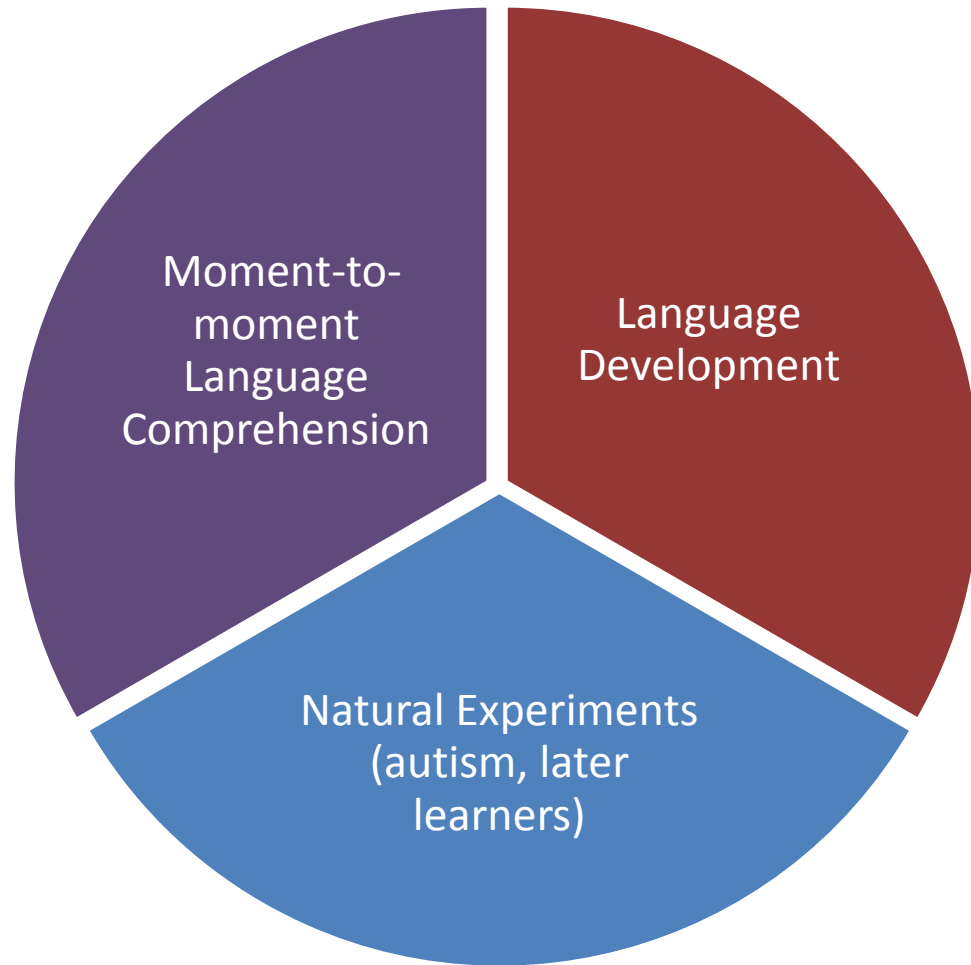
XPRAG.de 2014

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There are two reasons for this. First, it is very easy to say something stupid or confusing when writing in bullet points. Second, I would like to make sure that you have the correct citation for any of the research that I describe, since much of it is currently under review or in preparation.

# Who is this person?



Psycholinguist cross-fostered with linguists and developmentalists

# If you have a moment

What do you want to learn:

- About development?
  - Language dev
  - Pragmatic dev
  - Dev methods
- About disorders?
  - Which ones?
  - What we know or how to study?
- What did I skip over/miss today

# Outline

- 21<sup>st</sup> century standard model
  - Whirlwind tour of adult language comprehension
- Implications for Experimental Pragmatics
- Nitty-gritty advice on experimental logic and design

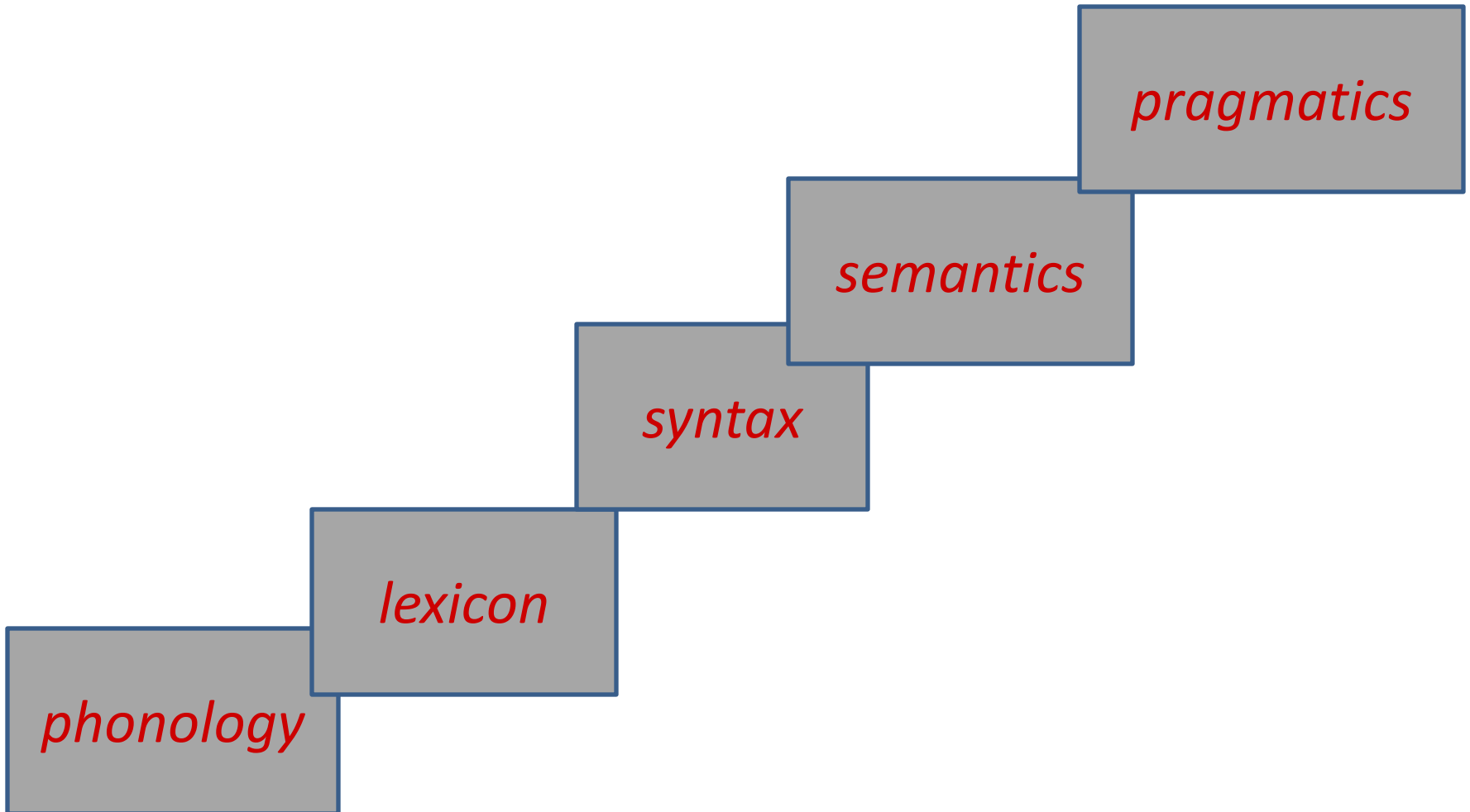
# The framework

The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model  
(psycholinguistic version)

# 21<sup>st</sup> century standard model of cognitive processing

1. Processing builds a series of **linked representations**
2. Interpretation is **incremental**
  - Cascaded processing
3. Processes at each level are **interactive**
  - influenced by multiple other levels
4. Incremental, interaction generates **predictions**
5. No walls around language
  - Incremental interaction between linguistic and nonlinguistic processes

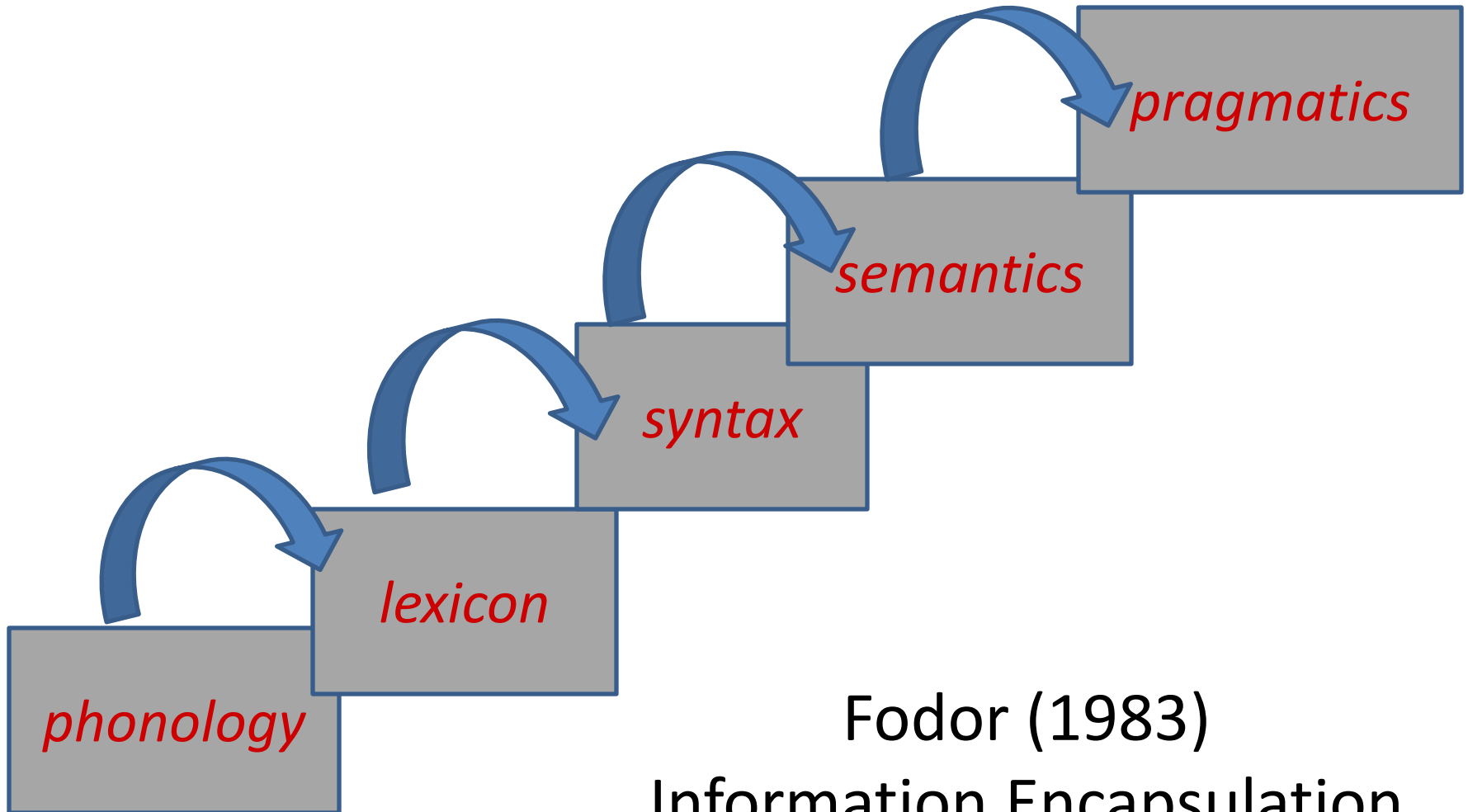
# 1. Comprehension is a series of processes





# Modularity

Processes sequential & independent

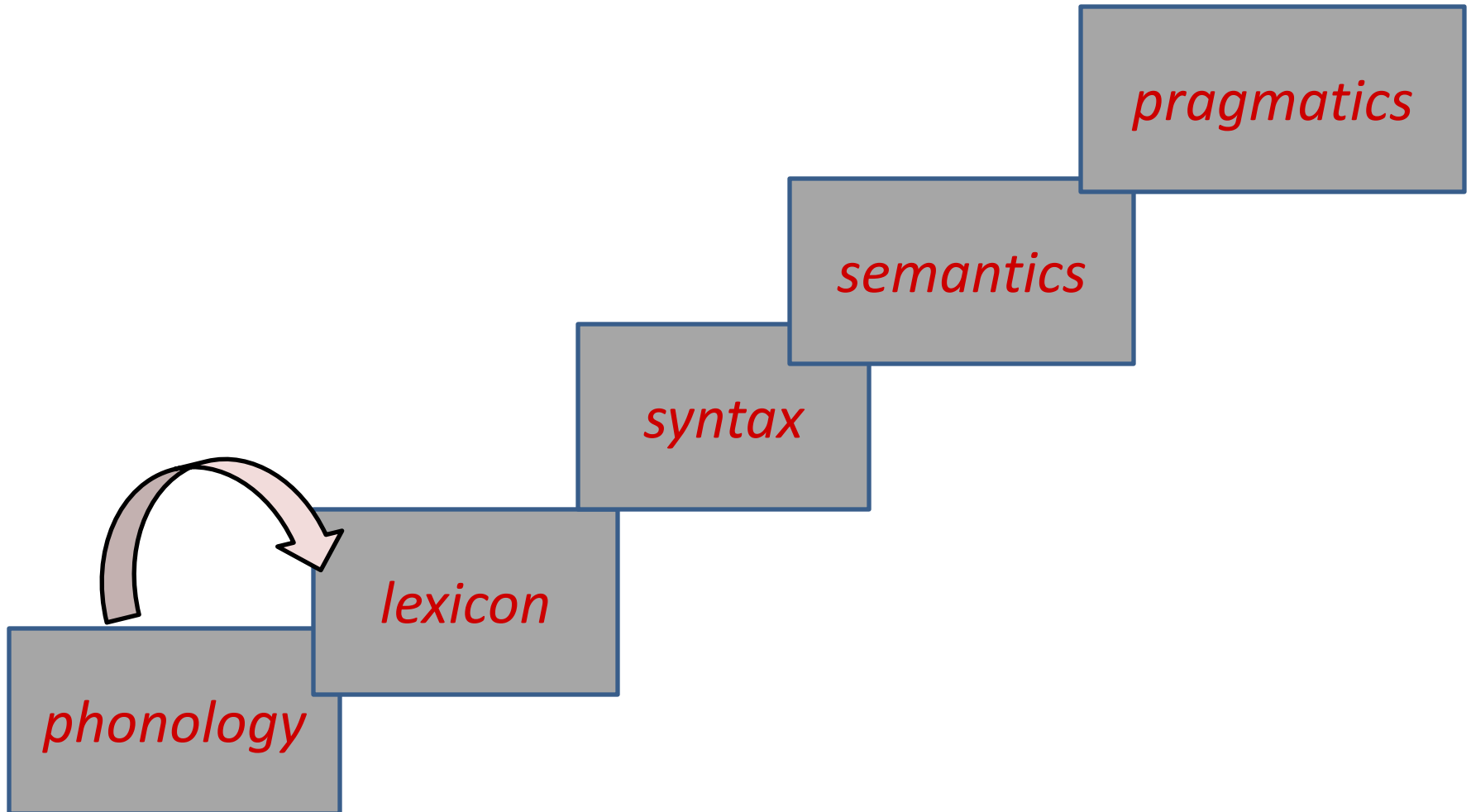


Fodor (1983)

Information Encapsulation

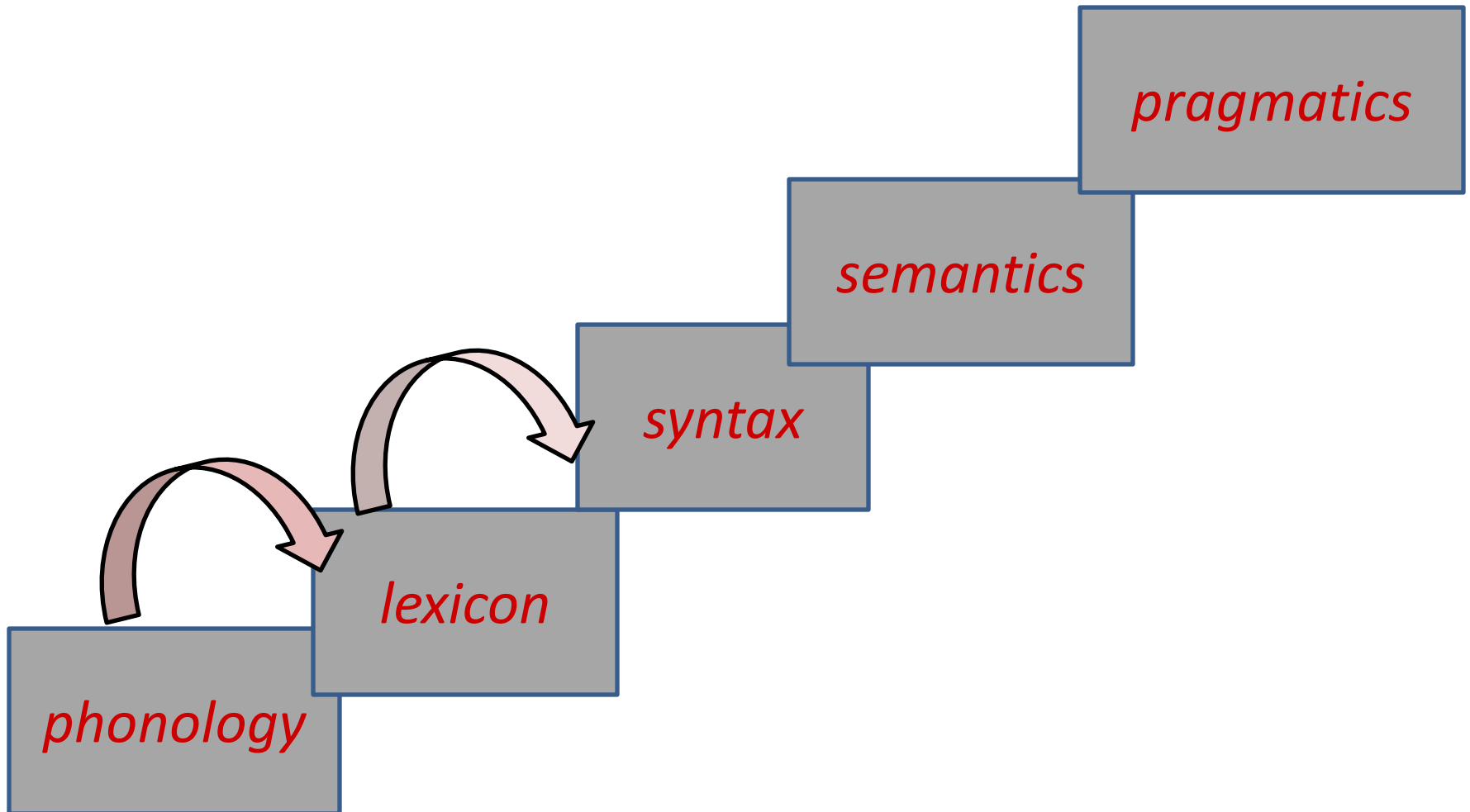
# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

## 2. Cascaded Processing



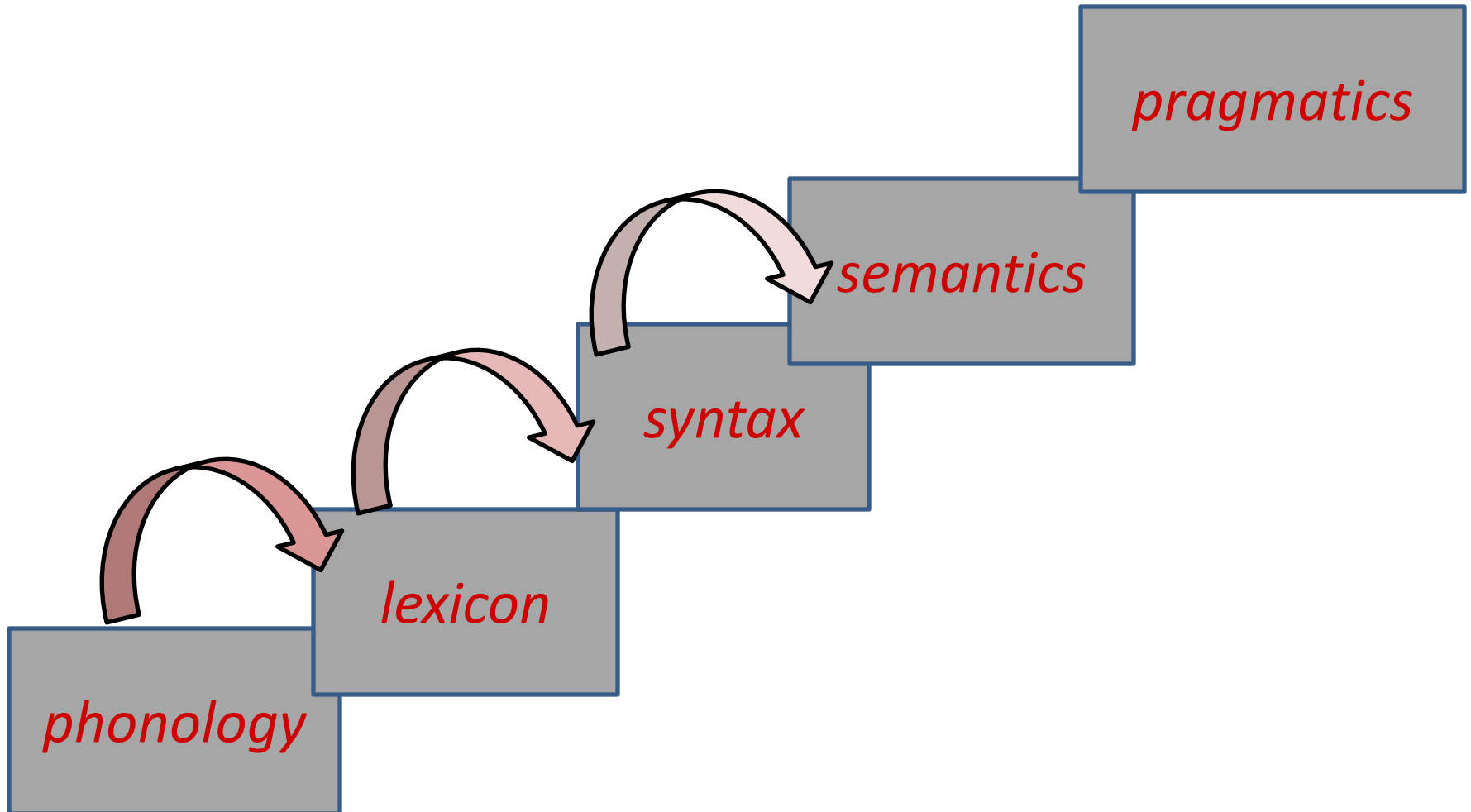
# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

## 2. Cascaded Processing



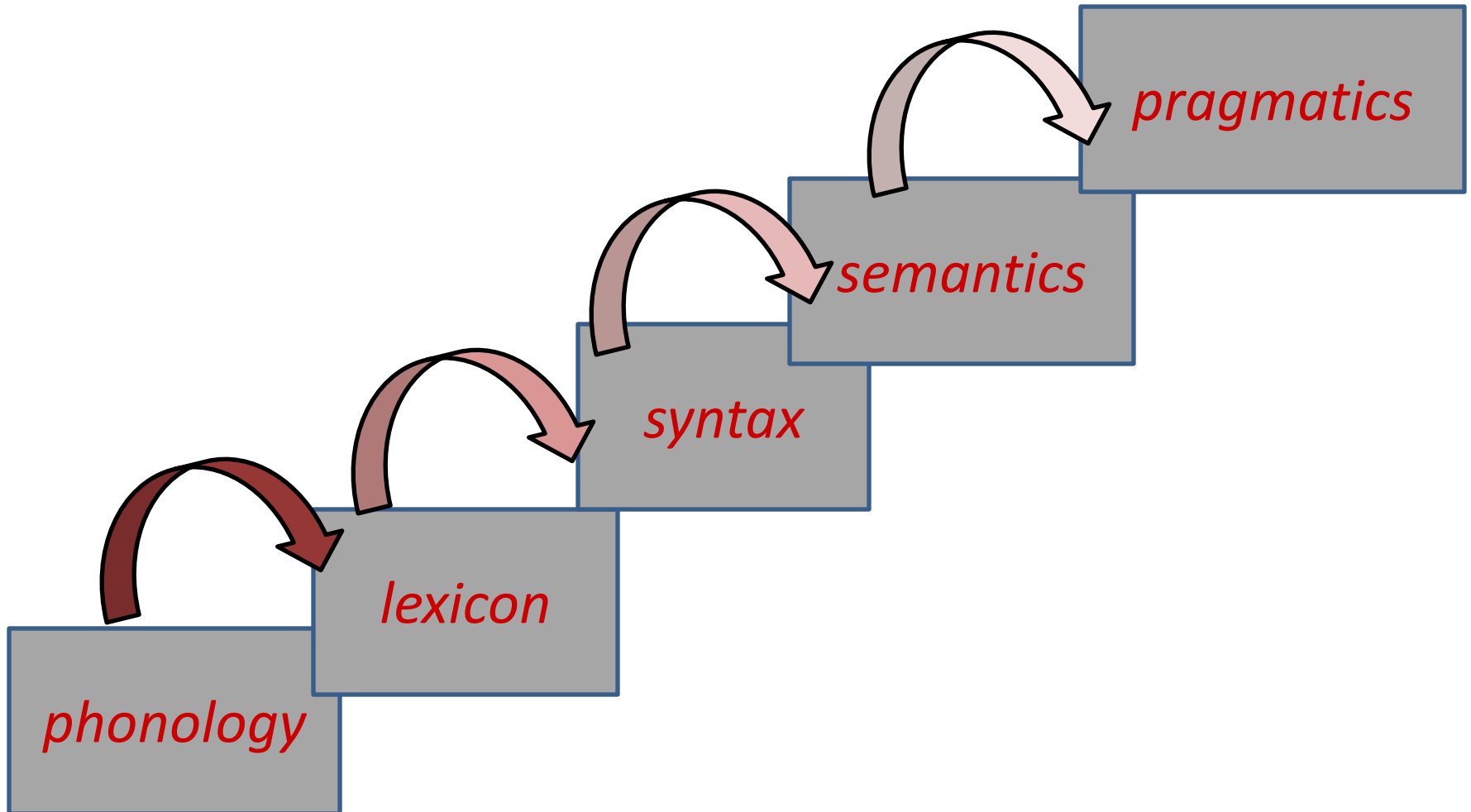
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## 2. Cascaded Processing

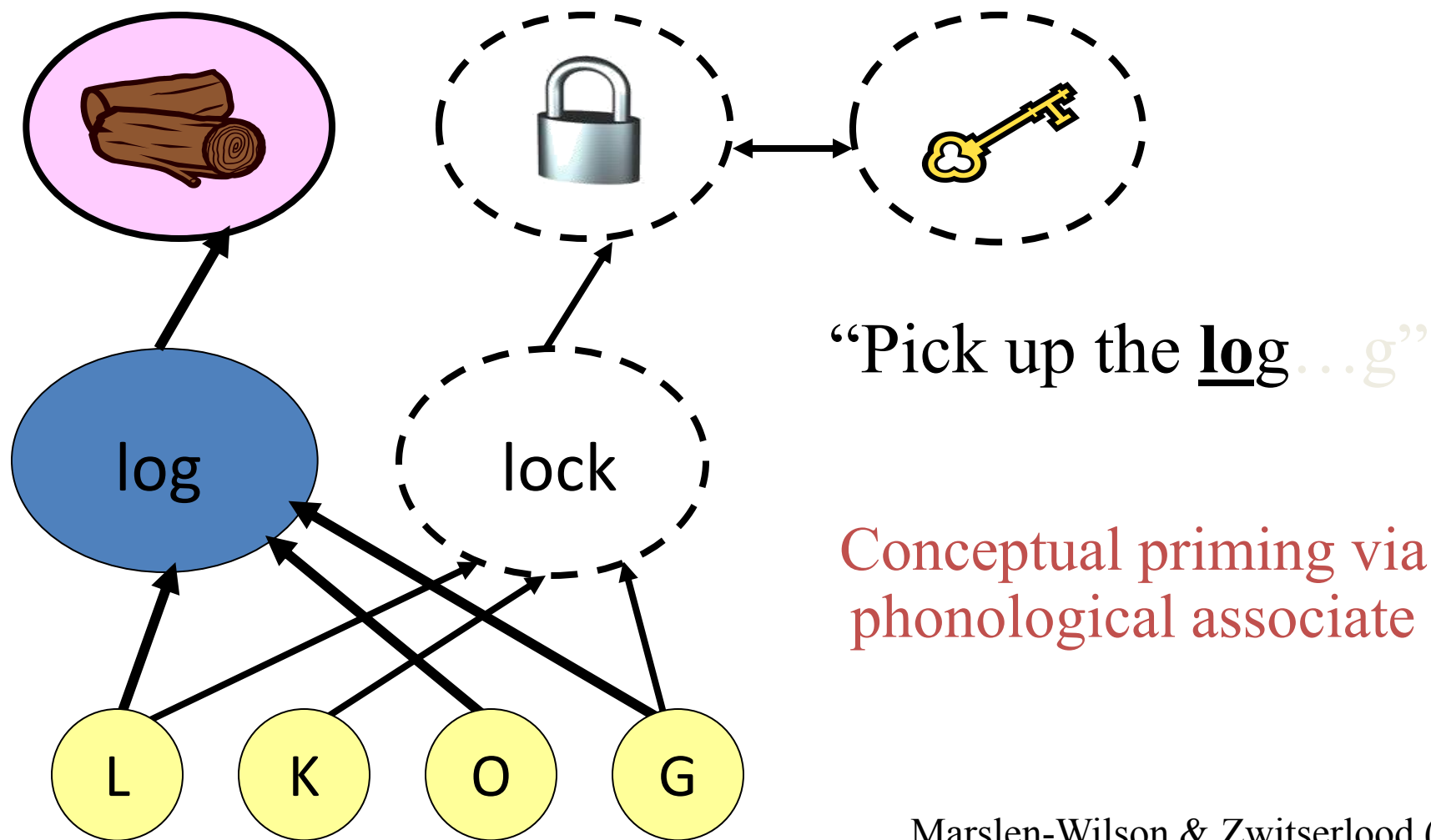


# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

## 2. Cascaded Processing



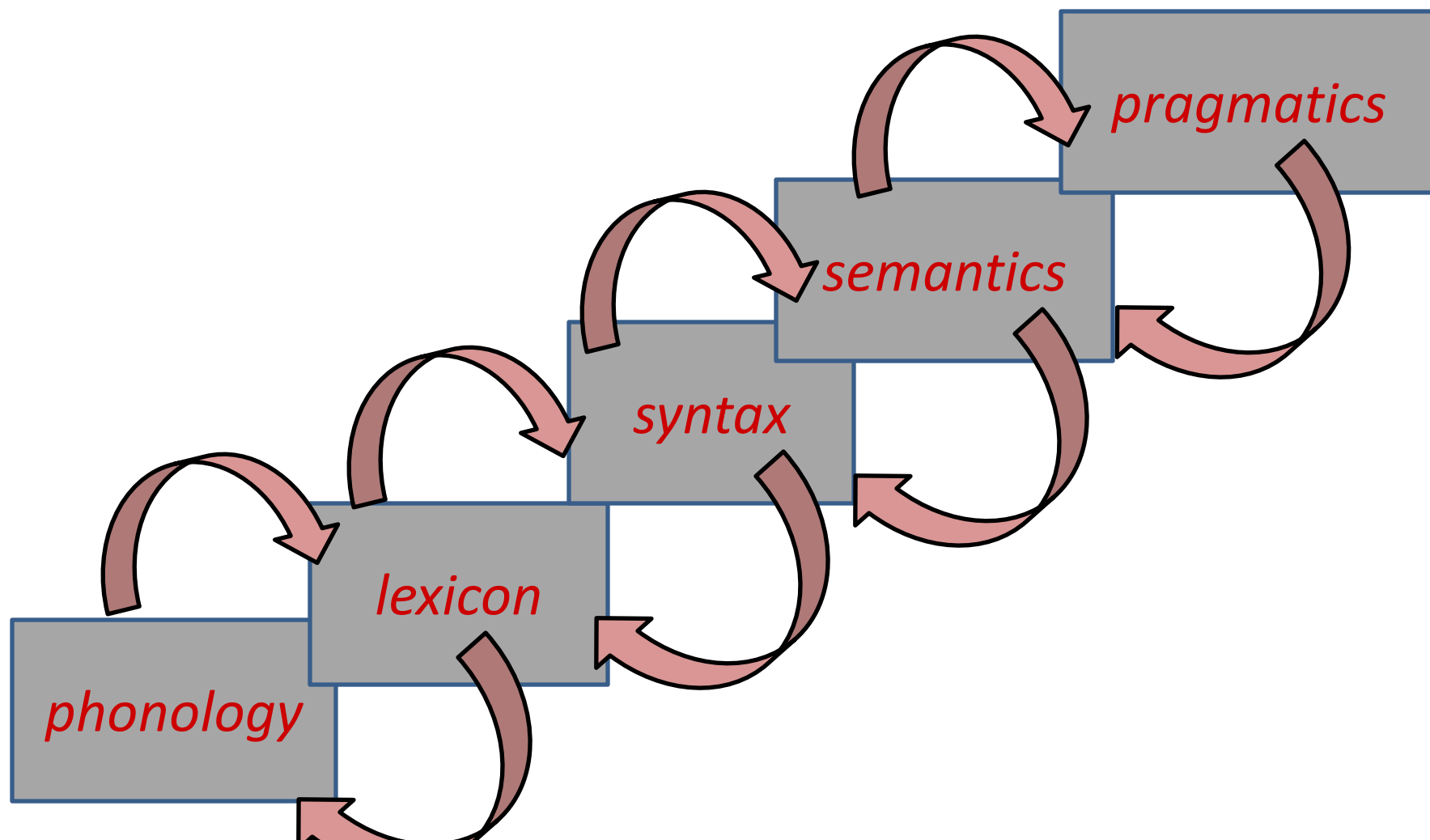
# Example: Phonosemantic priming



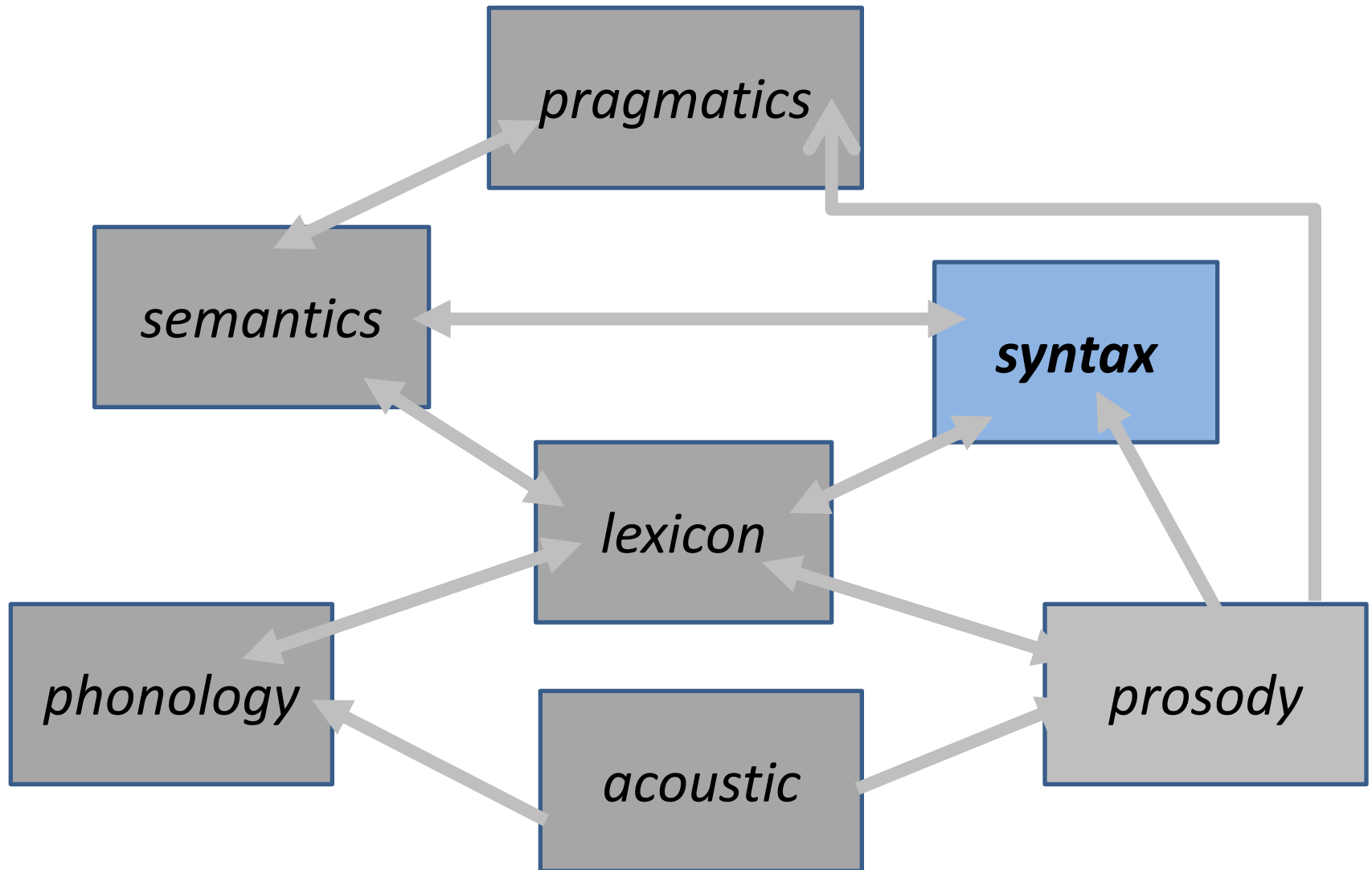
Marslen-Wilson & Zwitserlood (1989)  
Yee & Sedivy (2006)

# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

## 3. Interactive Processing

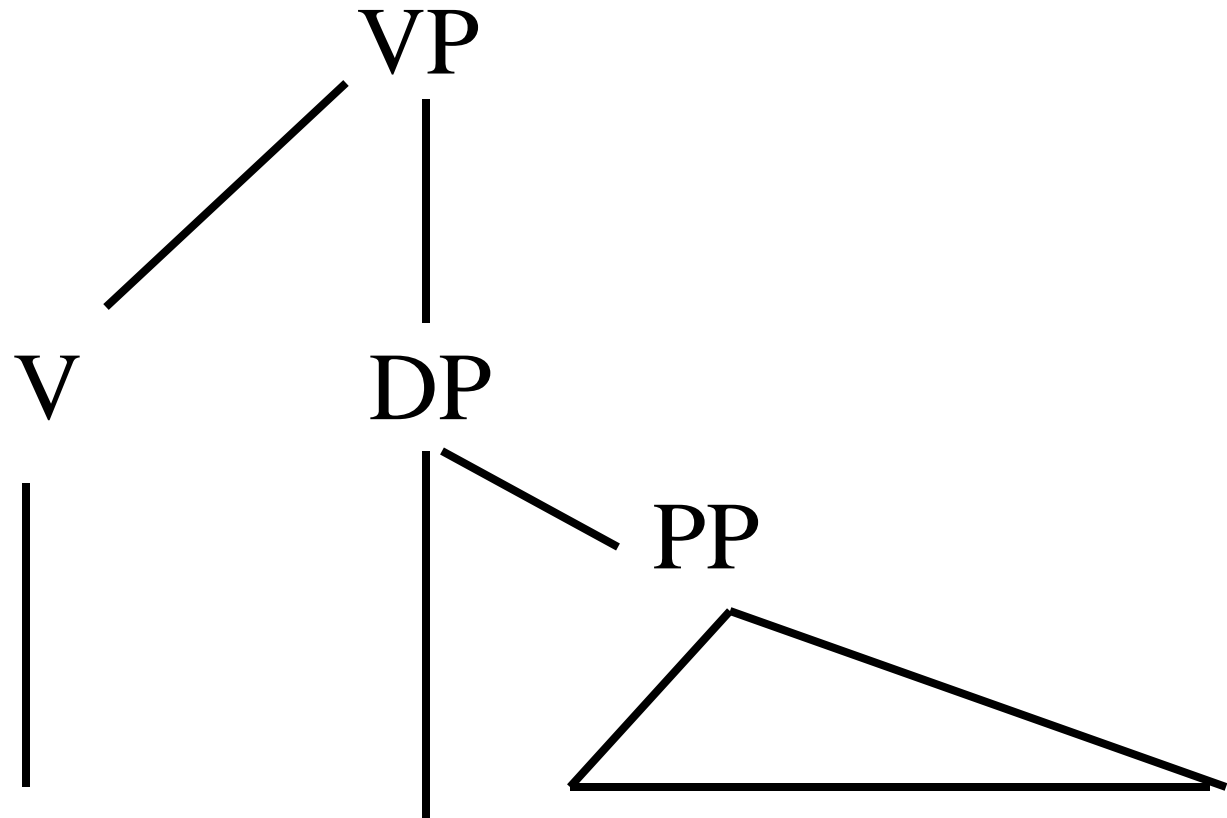


# Example: many cues for syntactic parsing



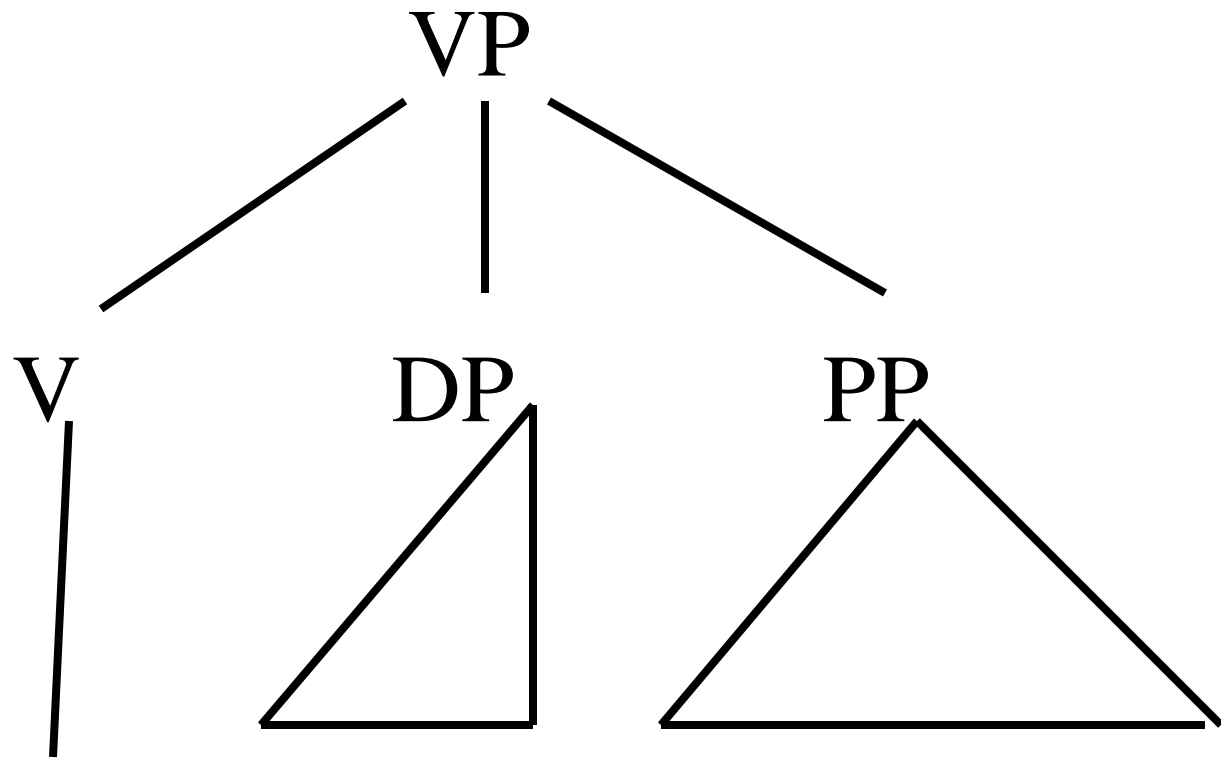


# NP-attachment (modifier)



Alice attacked the paper with the flawed data

# VP-attachment (instrument)

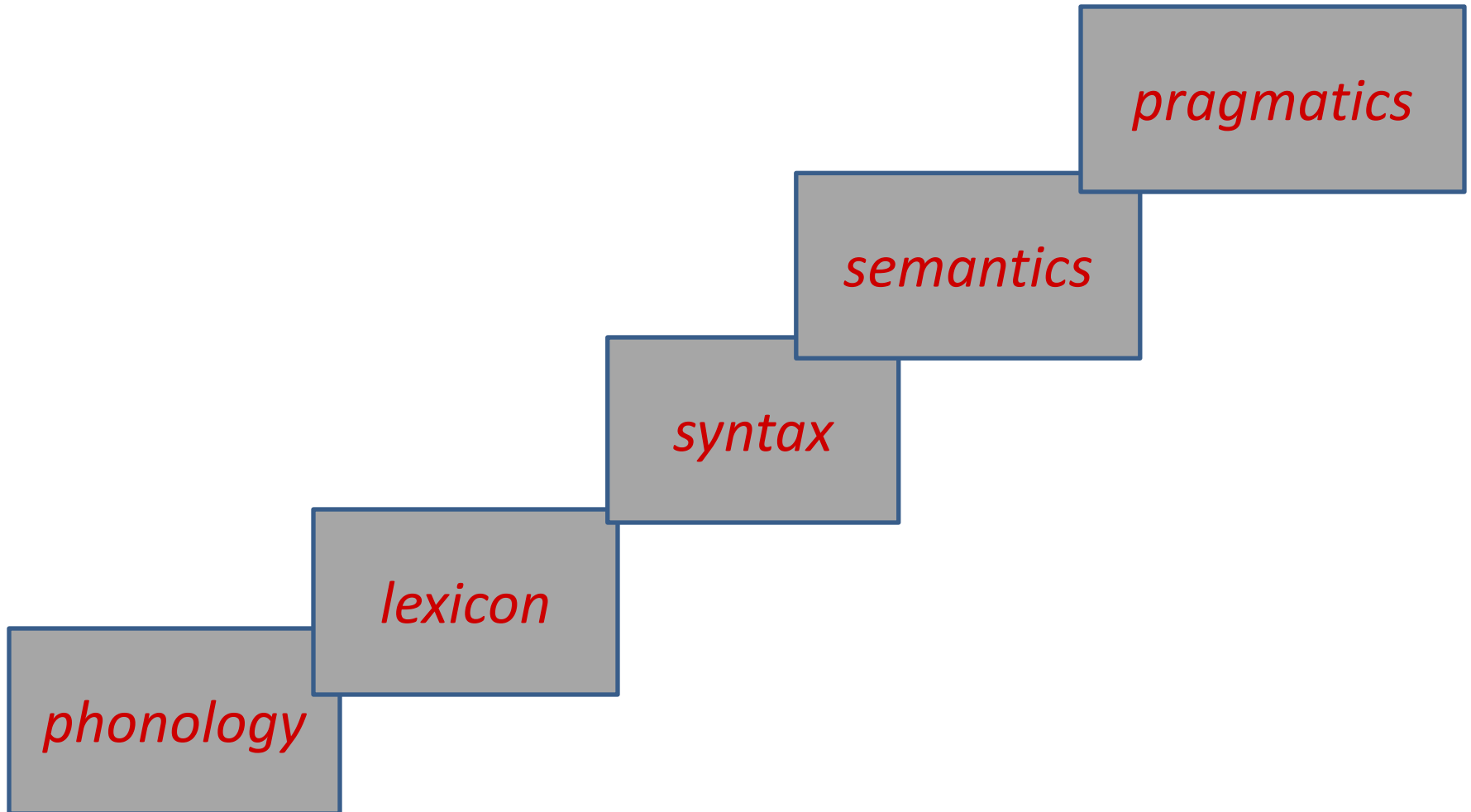


Alice attacked the paper with the flawed data

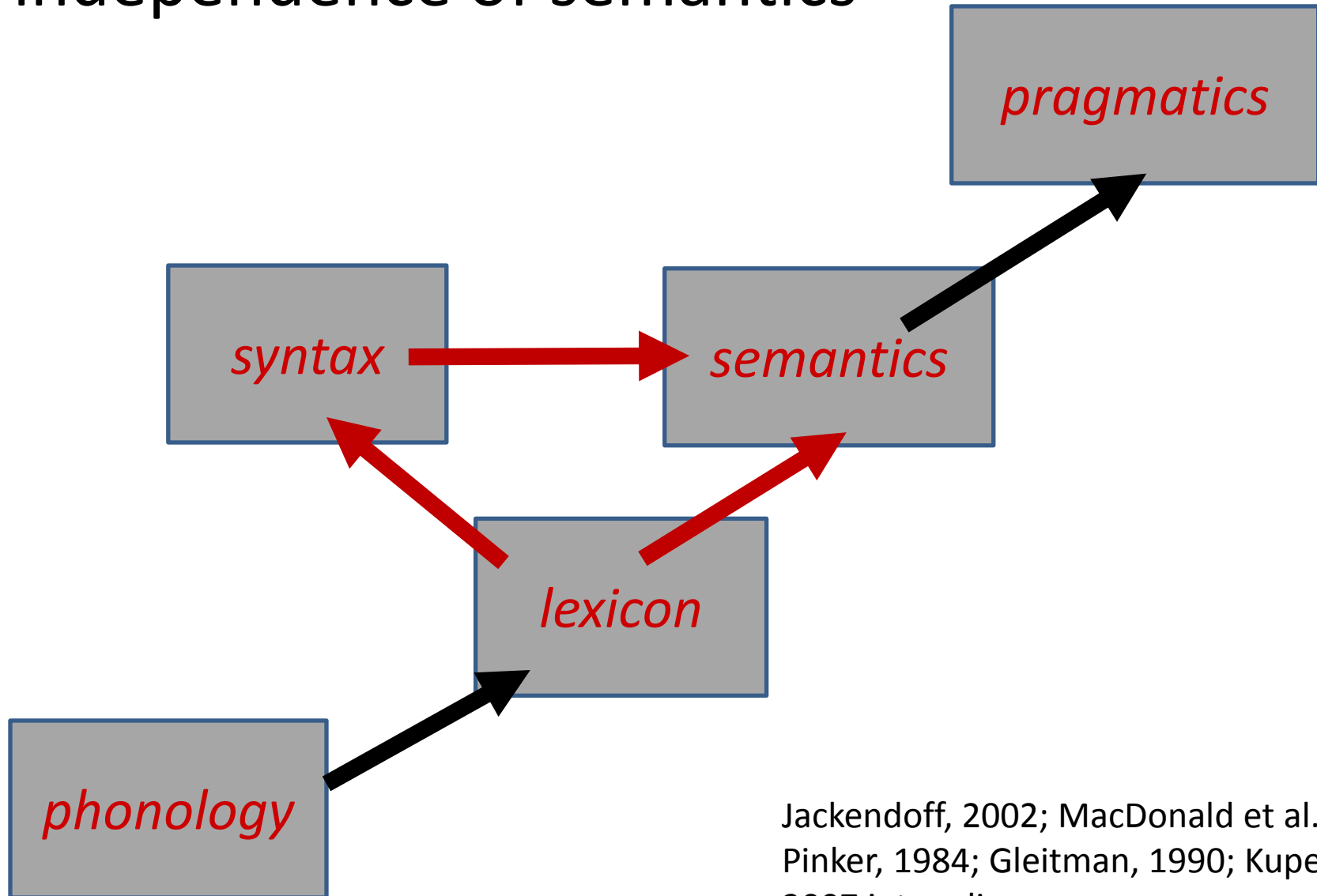
- During parsing adults rapidly integrate information from
  - Lexicon
    - Tickle the pig with the....
    - Choose the pig with the....
  - Prosody
    - You can tickle...the pig with the fan
    - You can tickle the pig...with the fan
  - Pragmatics
    - Are there two pigs? Does the speaker know this?
  - World knowledge
    - Tickle the pig with the feather
    - Tickle the pig with the hat

Altmann & Steedman, 1988; Taraban & McClelland , 1988; Trueswell, Tanenhaus & Kello, 1993; Tanenhaus, Spivey-Knowlton, Eberhard et al. 1995; Pynte & Prieur 1996; Schafer 1997; Garnsey, Pearlmutter, Myers & Lotocky, 1997; Snedeker & Trueswell, 2003

Interactive Processing: allows you to consider other arrangements



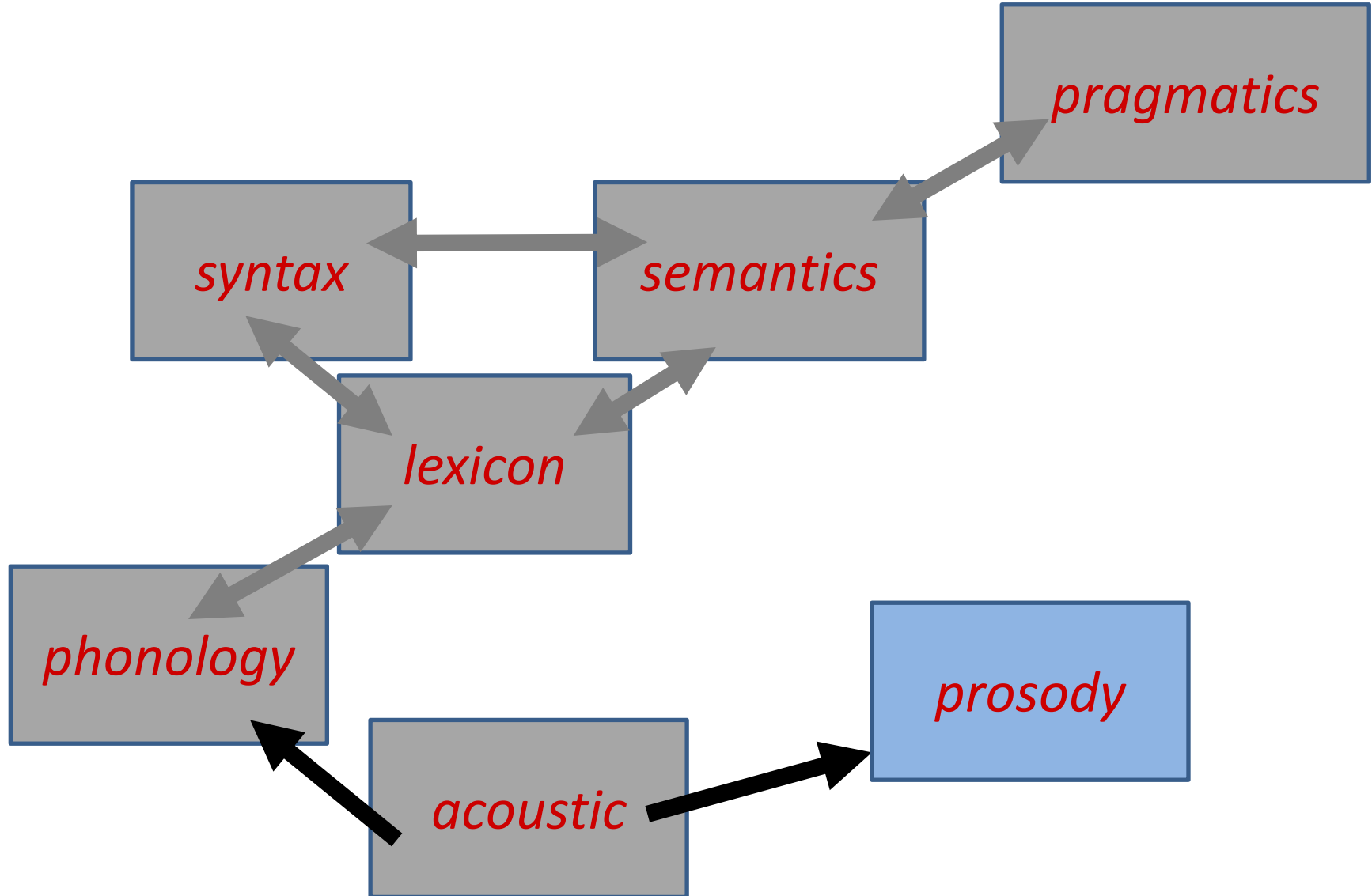
# Interactive Processing: allows partial independence of semantics



Jackendoff, 2002; MacDonald et al., 1994;  
Pinker, 1984; Gleitman, 1990; Kuperberg,  
2007 inter alia

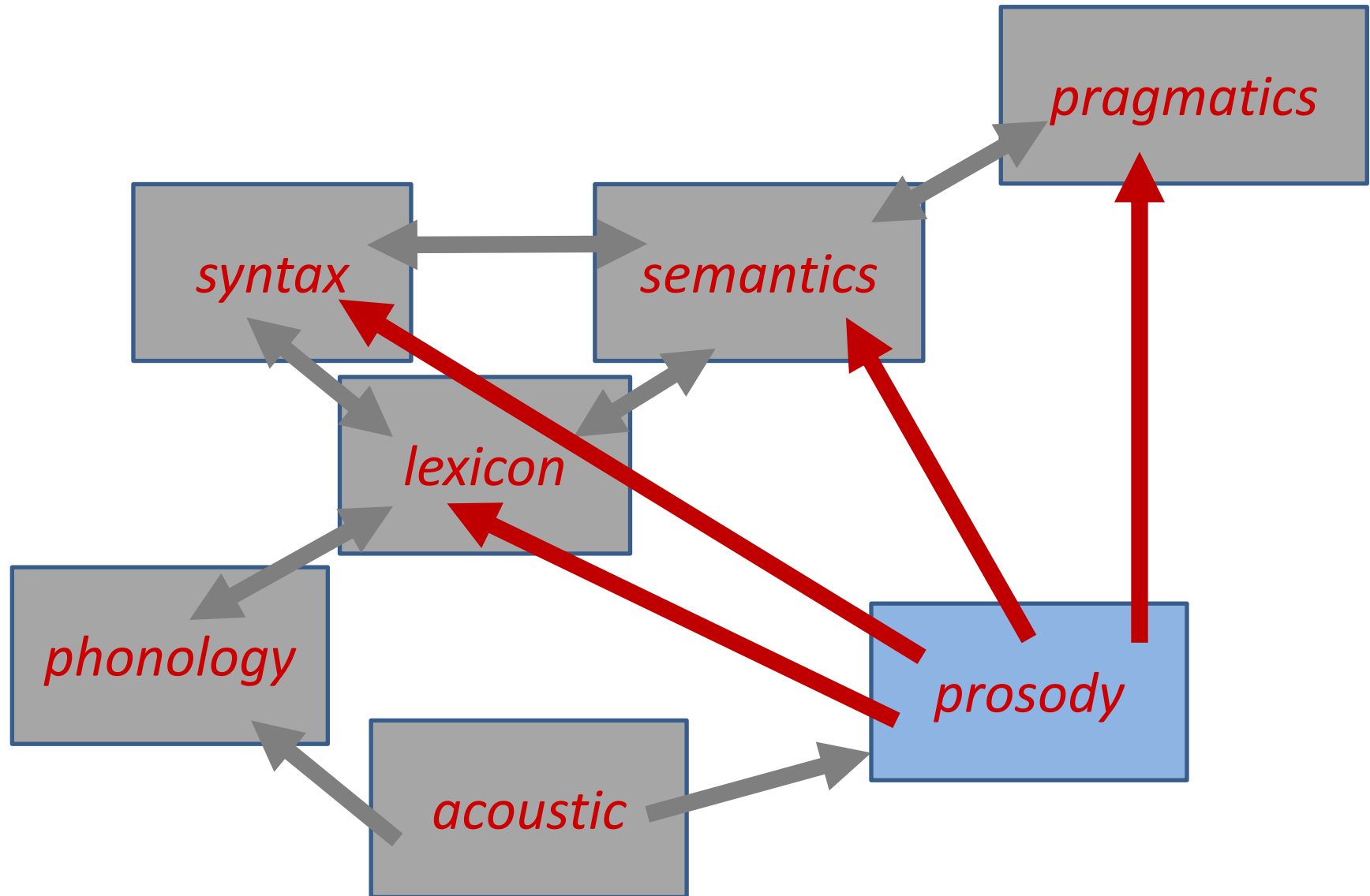
# Interactive Processing:

## Clarifies the role of prosodic structure

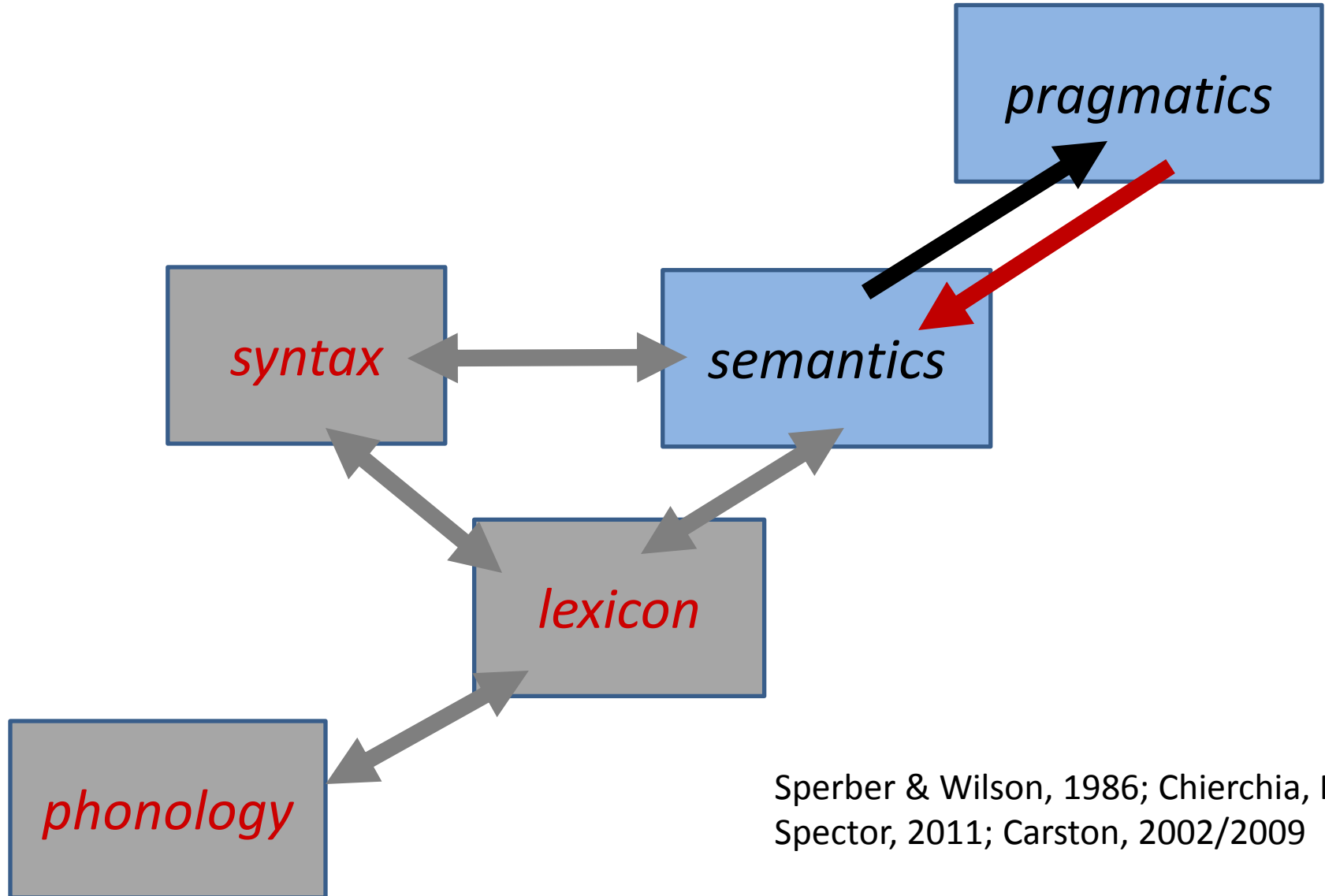


# Interactive Processing:

## Clarifies the role of prosodic structure



# Interactive Processing: allows for pragmatic input to enrich semantic structures

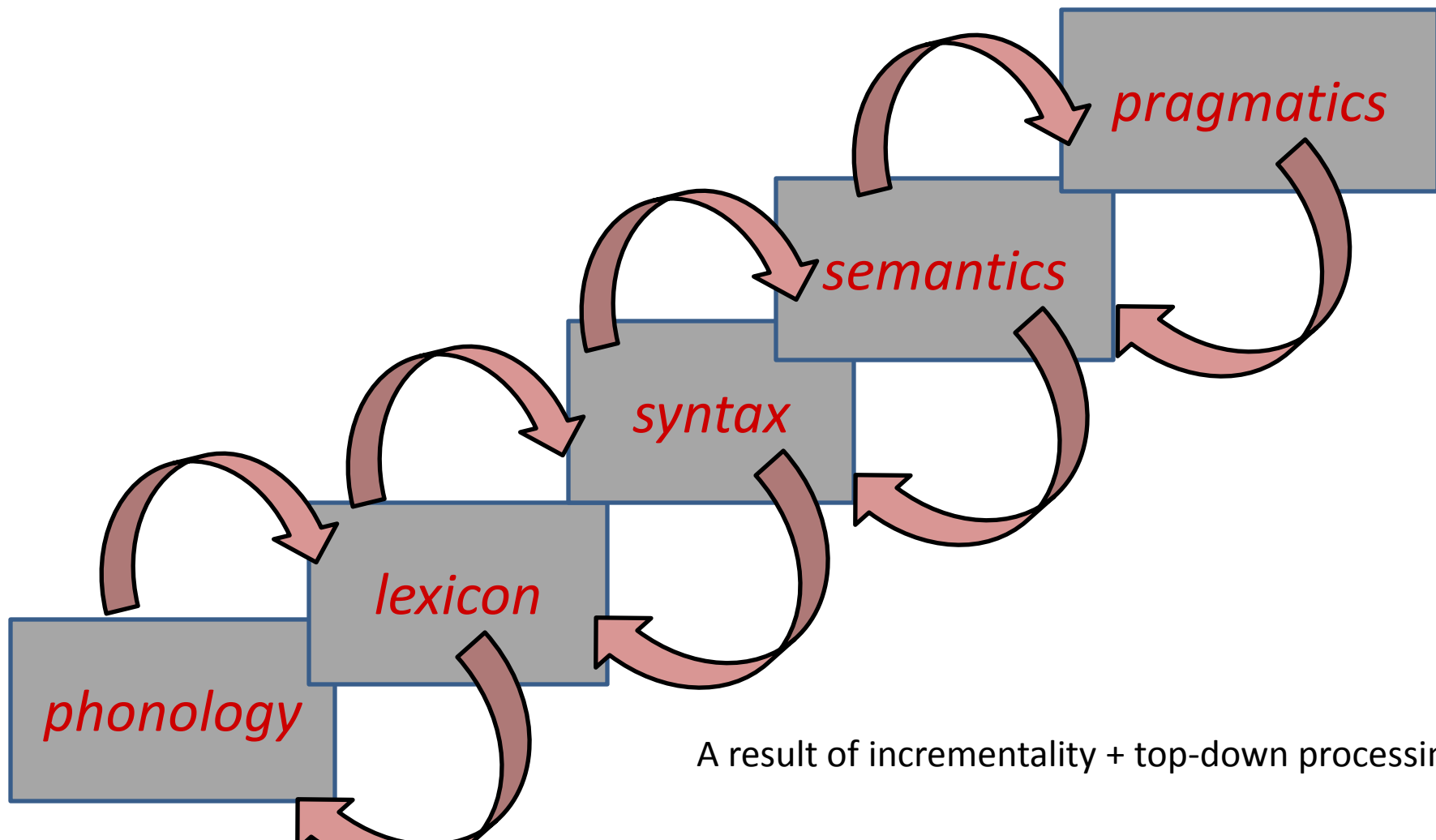


Sperber & Wilson, 1986; Chierchia, Fox & Spector, 2011; Carston, 2002/2009



# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

## 4. Predictive processing



## 4. Predictive Processing

- Prediction: anticipating words or referents that have not yet been spoken
- Incremental, interaction generates inferences about upcoming material

Altmann & Kamide (1999)

- The boy will move the cake
- The boy will eat the cake

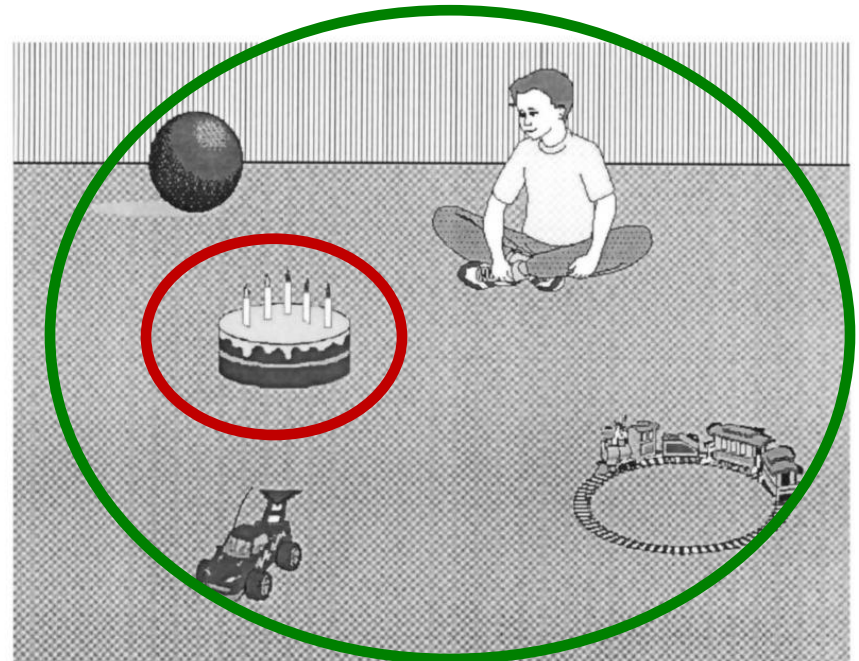


Fig. 1. Example scene used in Experiments 1 and 2 (Sections 2 and 3). Participants heard 'The boy will move the cake' or 'The boy will eat the cake' whilst viewing this scene.

# Thematic prediction

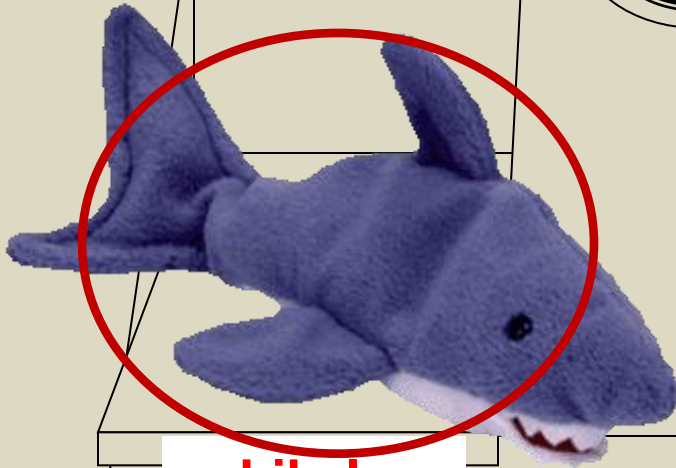
- Adults use morphosyntactic cues to determine thematic role of one noun, and predict the upcoming noun
  - Active/passive in English
  - Case marking in Japanese & German (Kamide, Altmann, Haywood, 2003; Kamide, Scheepers & Altmann, 2003)
- 4-5 year old children do too
  - Active/passive constructions in Mandarin (Huang, Zheng, Meng & Snedeker, 2013)
  - Case marking in Turkish (Ozge, Kuntay & Snedeker, in prep)

**Expressed  
noun**



The seal-ACC quickly  
that -LOC shark-NOM  
will eat

Camera



**Likely  
agent**



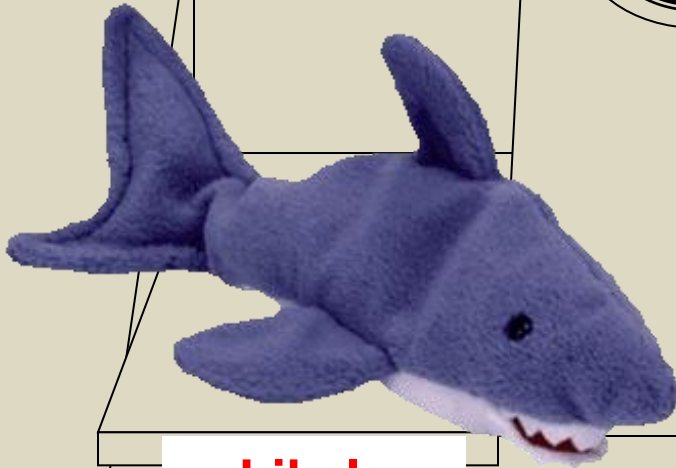
**Likely  
theme**

**Expressed  
noun**



The seal-NOM quickly  
that -LOC fish-ACC will  
eat

Camera



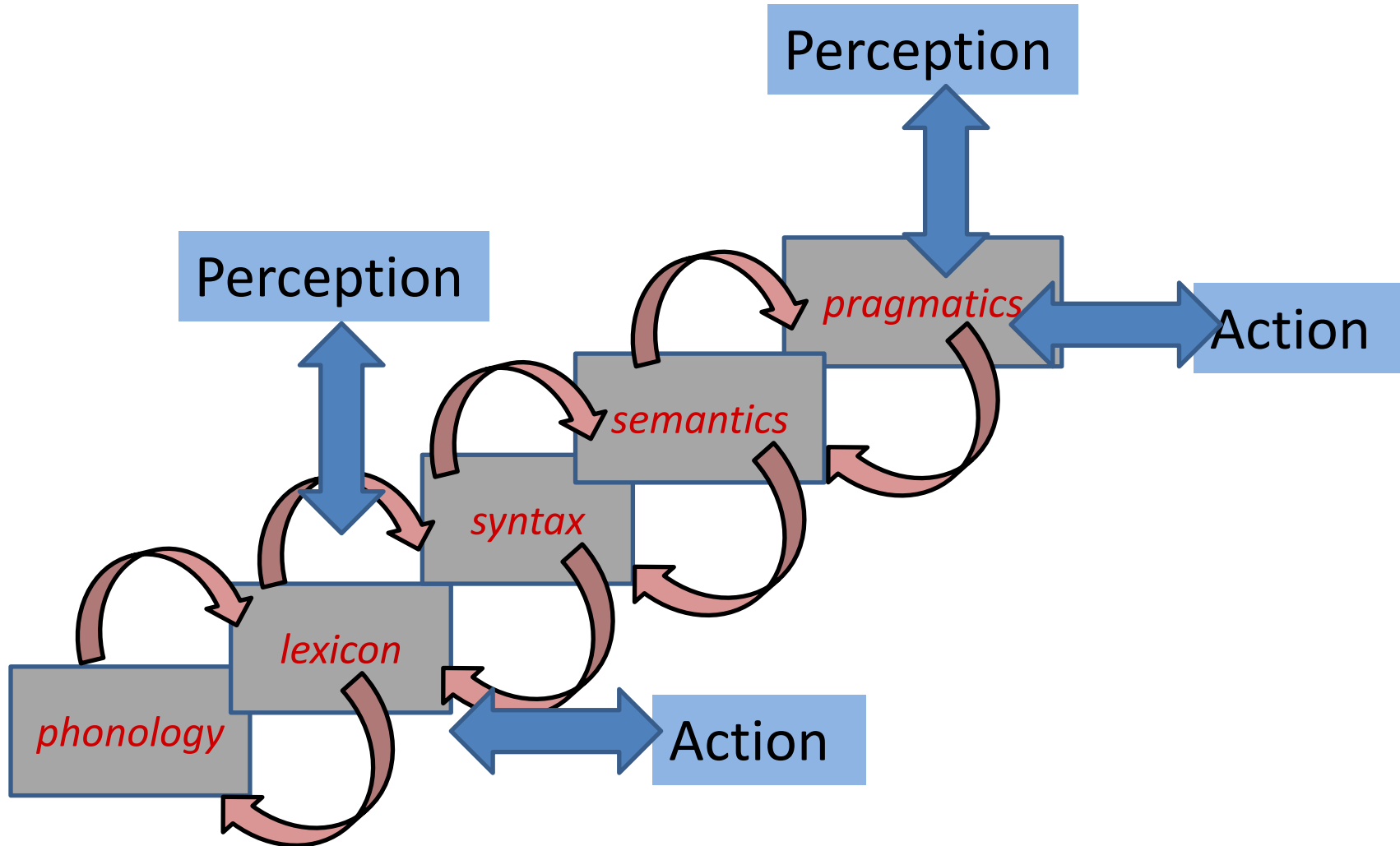
**Likely  
agent**



**Likely  
theme**

# 21<sup>st</sup> century standard model

## 5. No walls around language



Incremental, interactive processing crosses domains

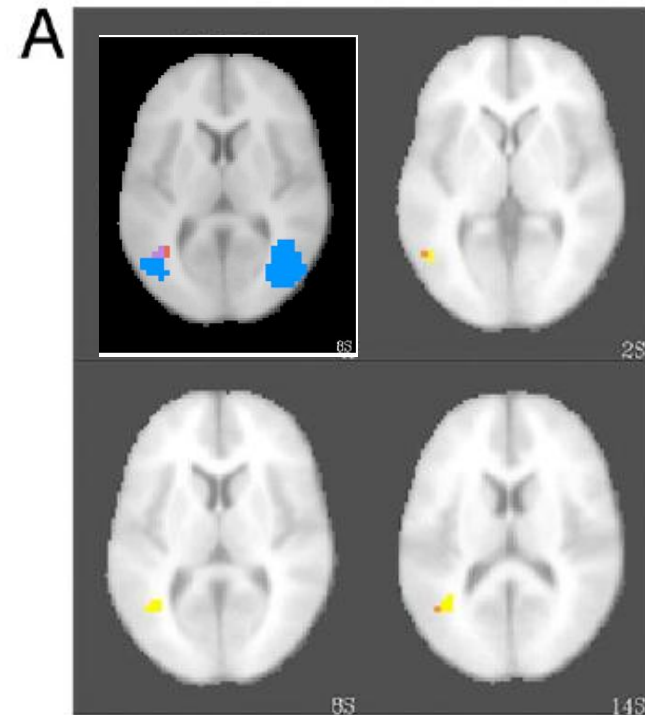
# Crosstalk with other cognitive domains

- From language to action
  - Eye movements are actions
  - Language processing at many levels incrementally informs action planning (see above!)
  - One explanation for Action Compatibility Effects (embodied cognition)
- From language to vision
- From vision to language

# Incremental visual activation from words

(Pirog Reville, Aslin, Tanenhaus & Bavalier, 2008)

- Ss learn novel motion and state change verbs
- Verbs have phonological cohort members from the same class or from a different class
  - gapito = turn white (state change)
  - gapitu = oscilate vertically (motion)
- fMRI:
  - Find area MT (motion detection) using localizer (blue)
  - Find area that responds to motion verbs (red)
  - In that area: compare non-motion words that have motion cohort member vs. those that do not (orange)
- Hearing a word that overlaps with a motion word activates visual representations of motion





# Crosstalk with other cognitive domains

- From language to action
  - Eye movements are actions
  - Language processing at many levels incrementally informs action planning (see above!)
  - One explanation for Action Compatibility Effects (embodied cognition)
- From language to vision
- From vision to language

During object naming, perception must (directly or indirectly) activate linguistic representations.

But does this happen when we are not speaking?

Implicit Naming: the activation of linguistic representations in a non-communicative task

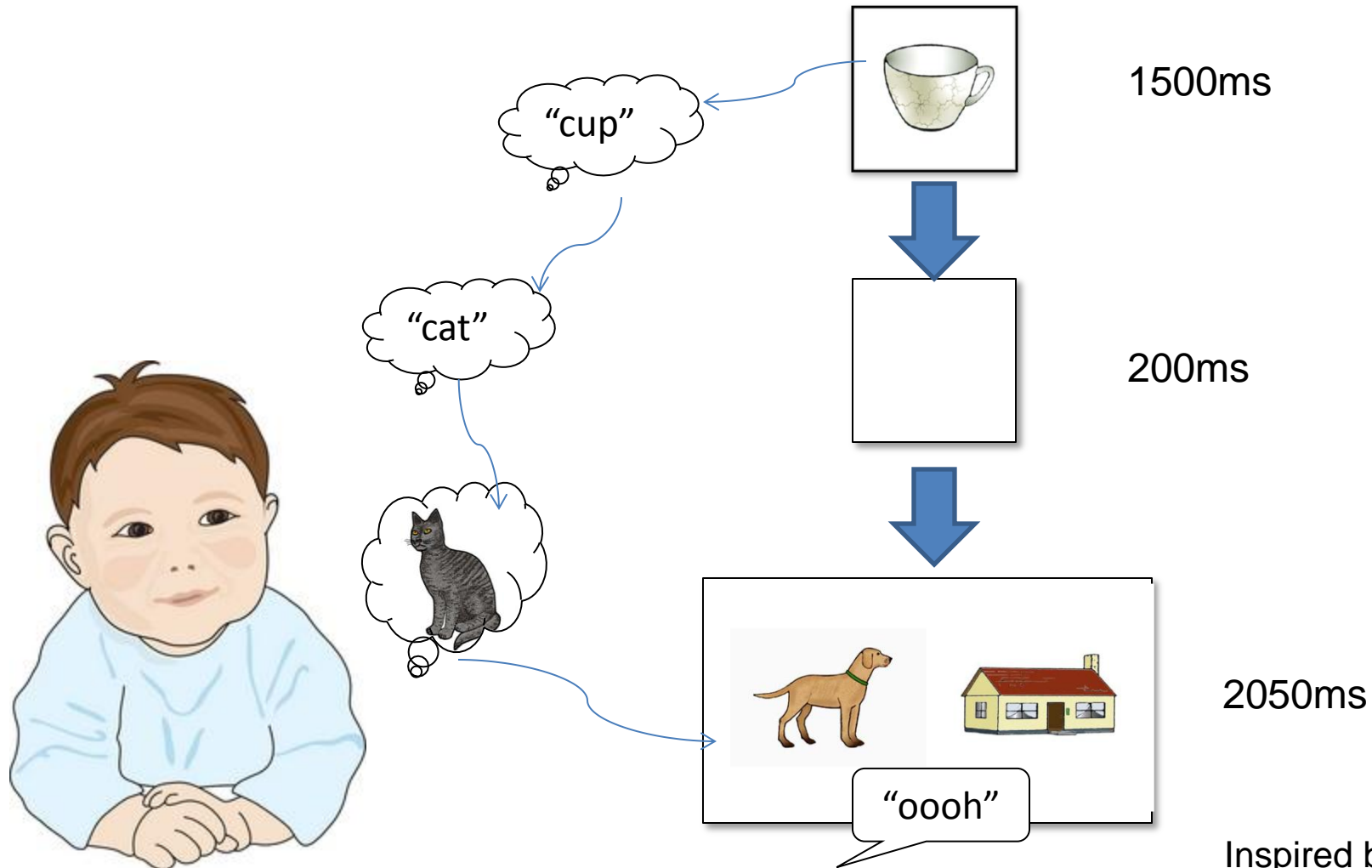
Evidence:

- Phonosemantic activation in infants



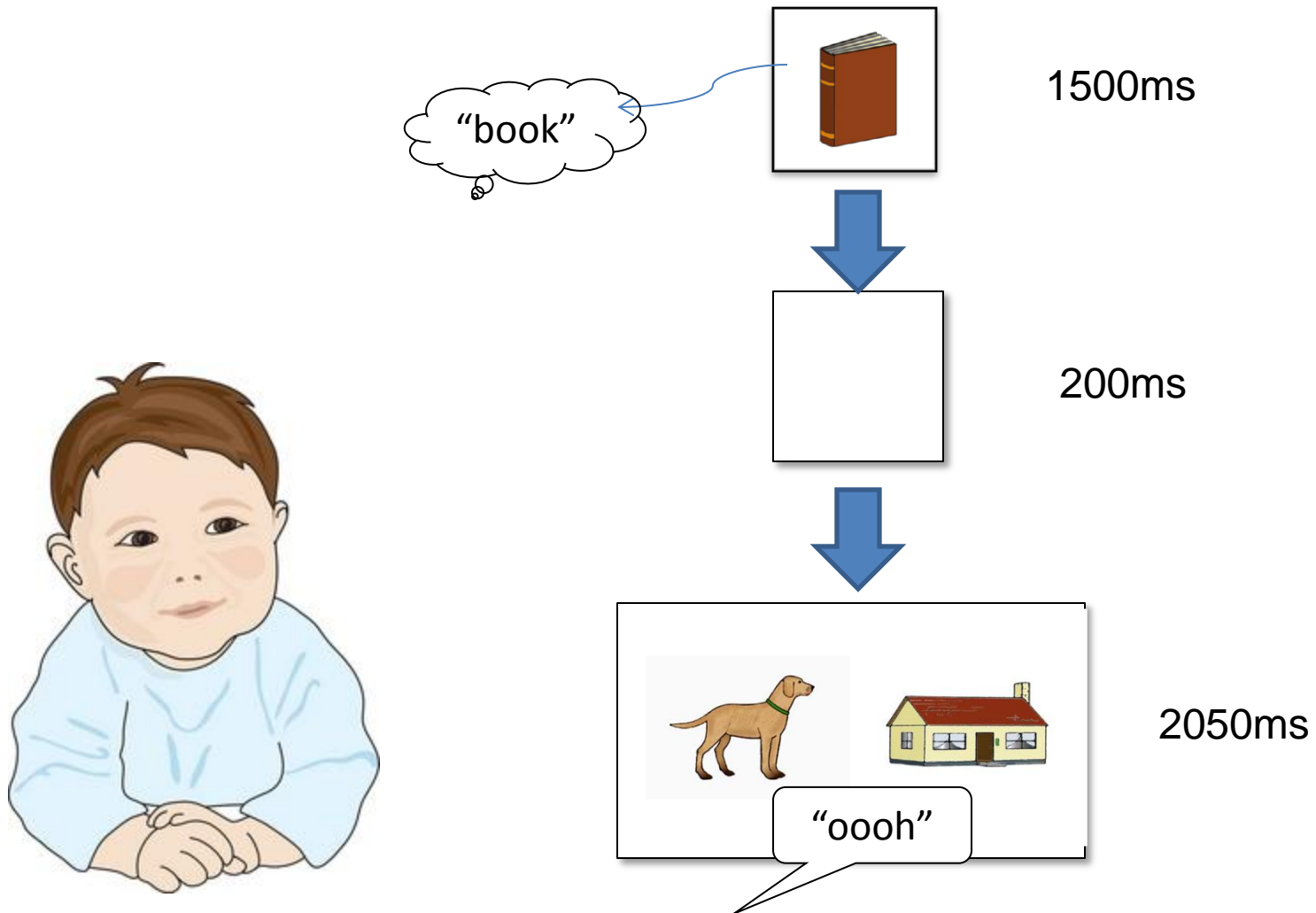
Manizeh Khan

# Phonosemantic activation.... without speech

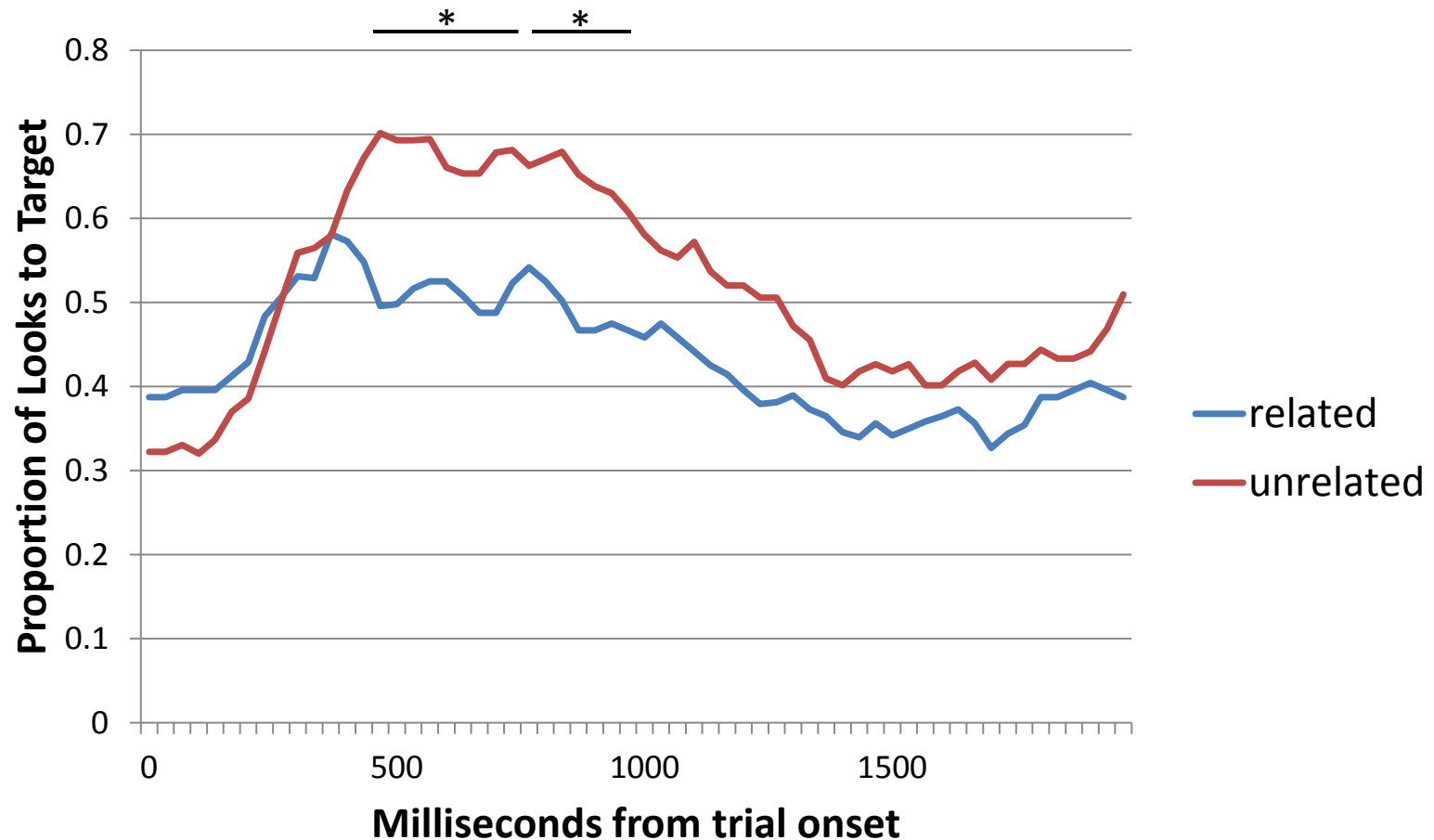


Inspired by  
Mani, Durrant & Floccia (2012)

# Unrelated Trials



# Implicit naming leads to phonosemantic activation in 24 month olds

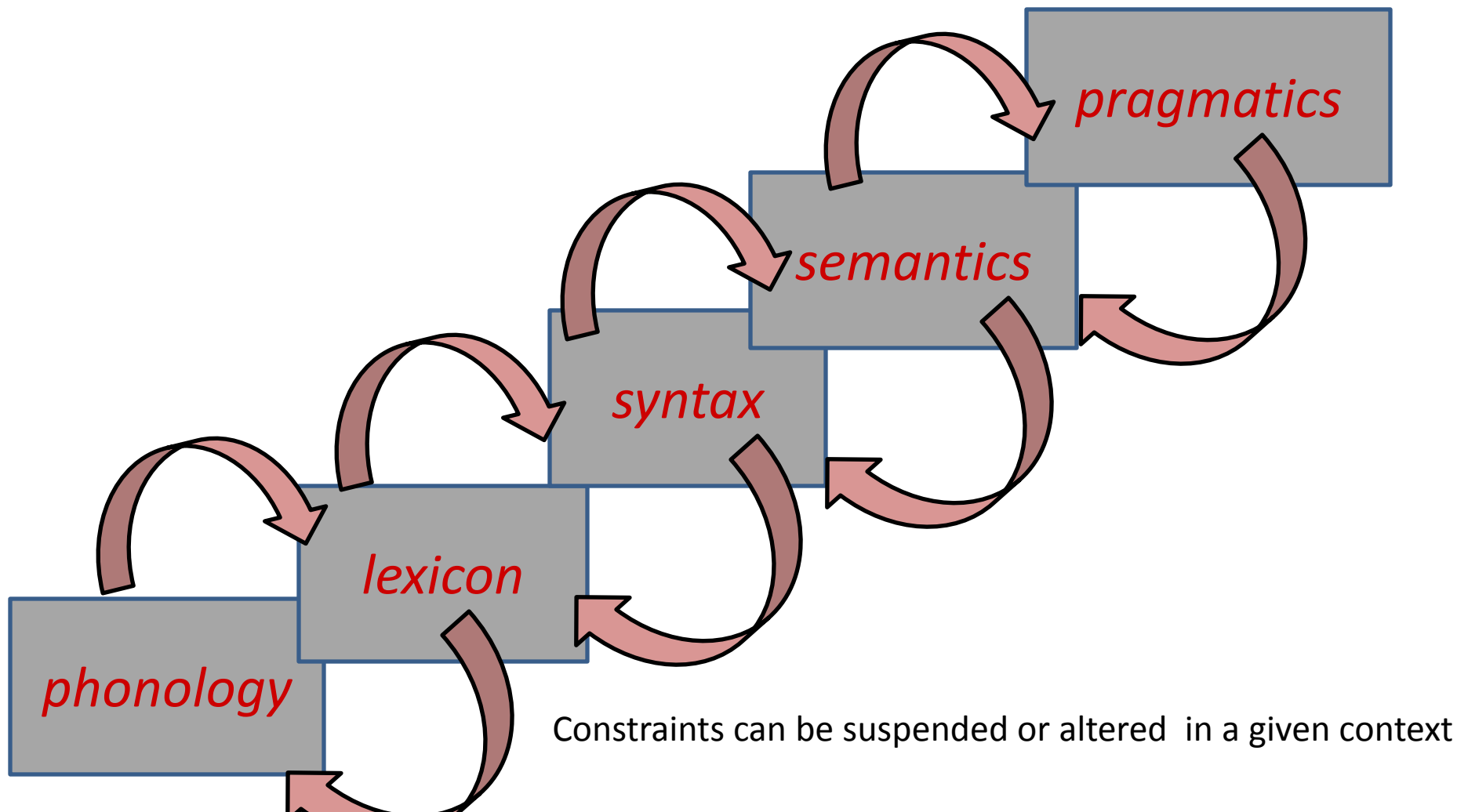


# In adults, verbal encoding is task dependent

- *Lexical activation* present in nonlinguistic tasks?
  - Homophonous competitors are fixated in visual search (Meyer et al., 2007) and free viewing (Khan, Fitts & Snedeker, in prep)
- *Phonological activation* absent in purely nonlinguistic tasks
  - Visual search (Telling, 2009; Zelinsky & Murphy, 2000) and free viewing (Khan et al., in prep)
- But *phonological activation* present in “optionally” linguistic tasks
  - Working Memory Task (Zelinsky & Murphy, 2000)
  - Free viewing, prime unlabeled but target labeled (Mani, pc 2014)

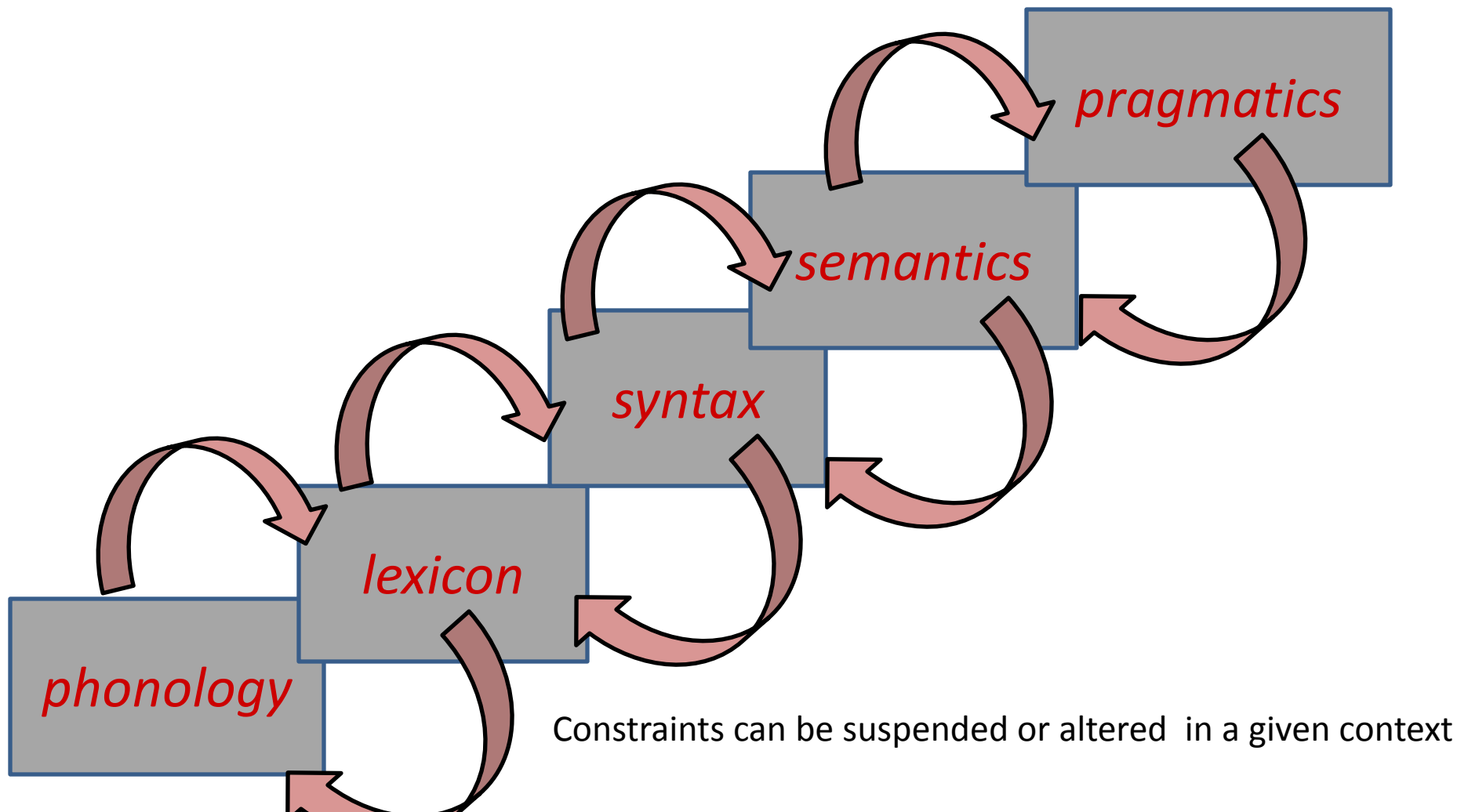
## 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

### 6. Processing is flexible/dynamic



## 21<sup>st</sup> Century Standard Model:

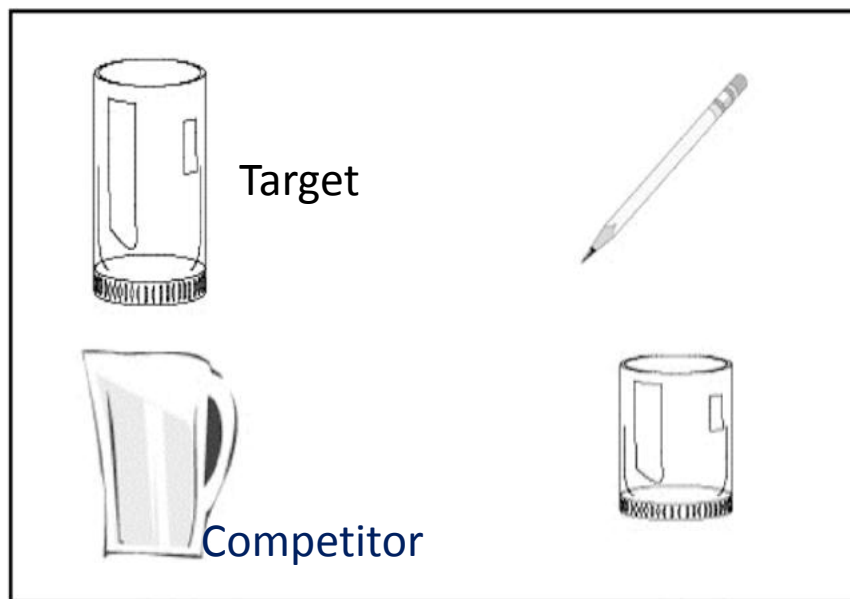
### 6. Processing is flexible/dynamic



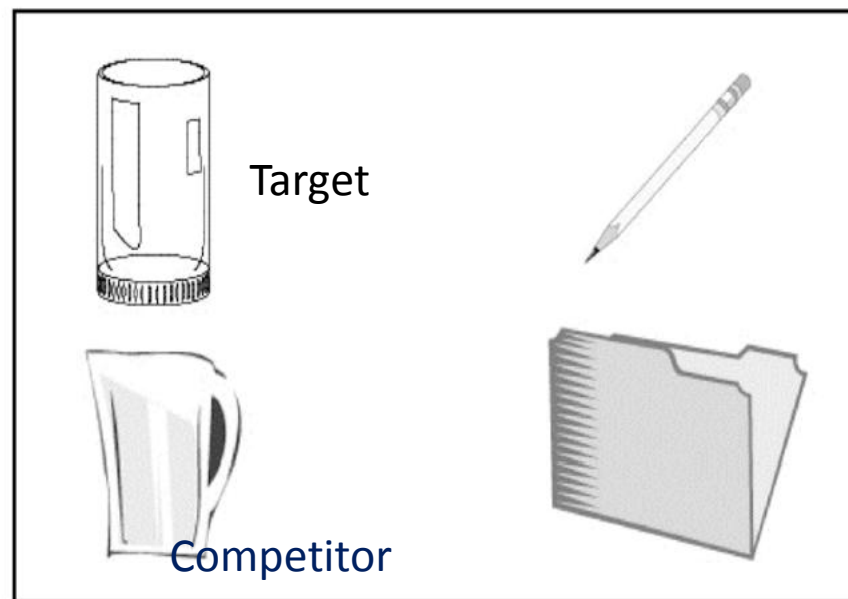


# Sedivy (1999): adjectives and informativity

“Pick up the tall glass”

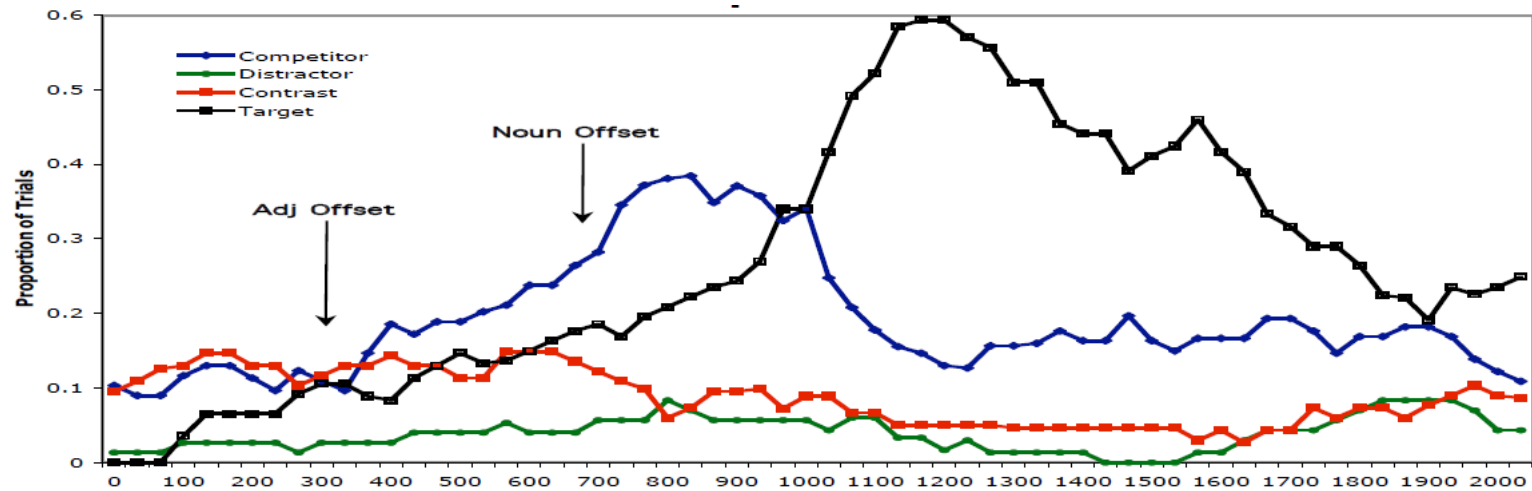


Contrast

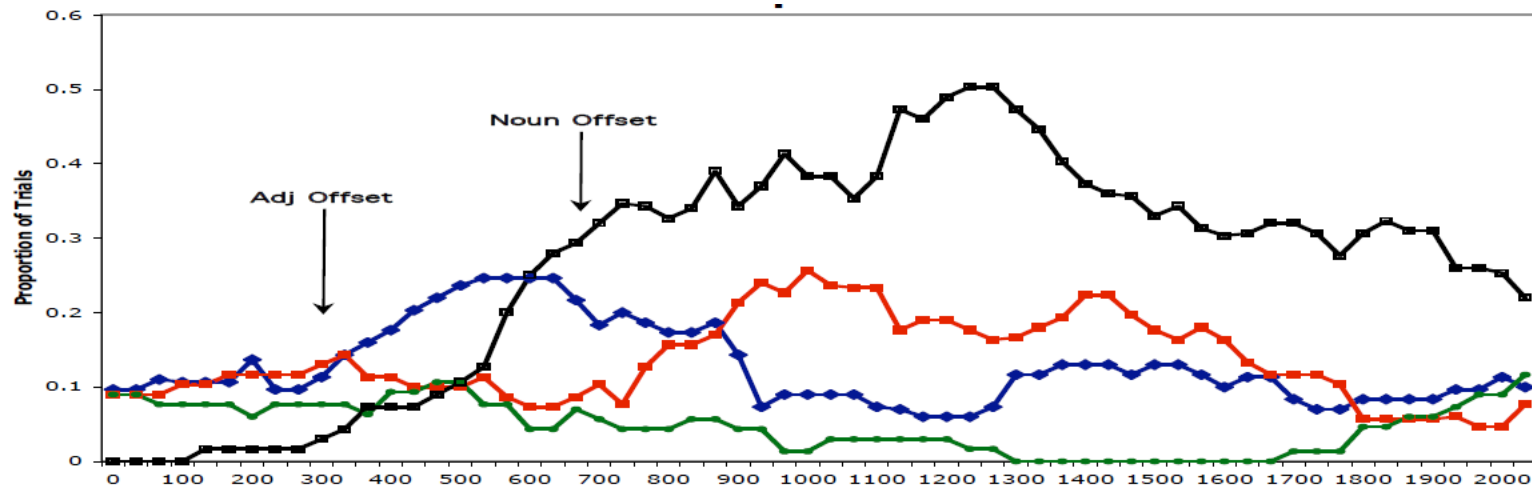


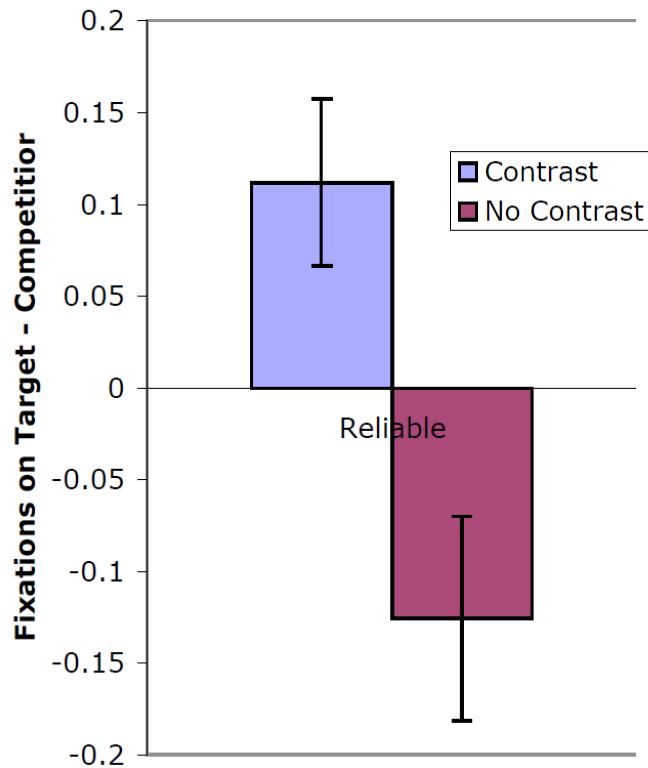
No Contrast

## No Contrast: Prolonged Interference



## Contrast: More Rapid Target Looks





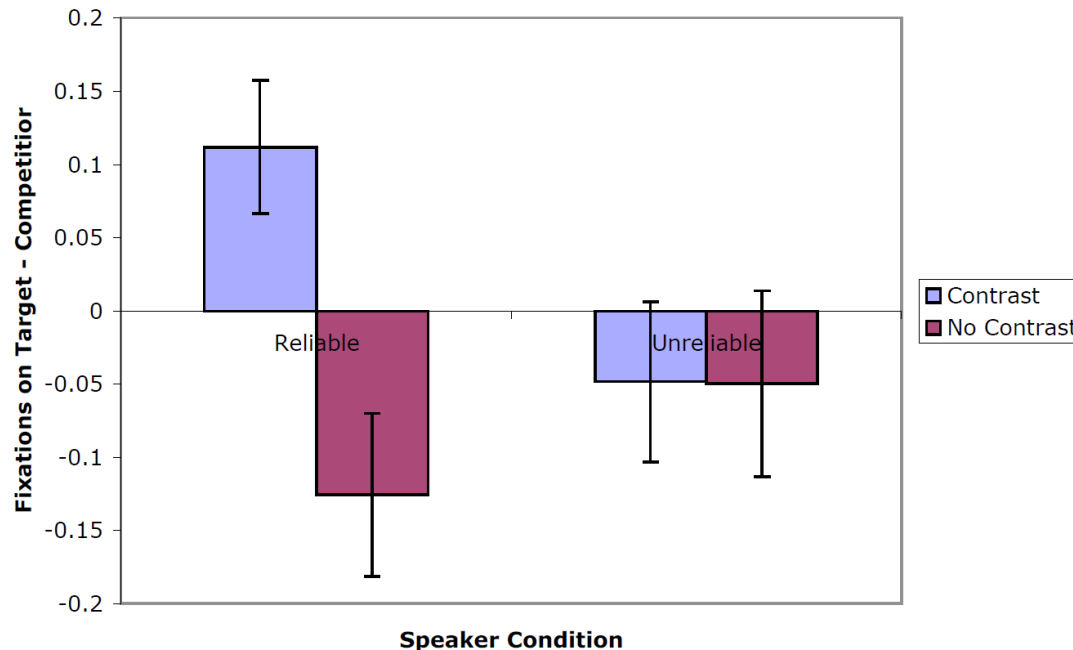
## Contrast Effect

- Similar for Material Adjectives (china)
- Present in questions
  - Is there a tall glass?
- Pattern for color adjectives reflects production patterns

Suggests that its inference based on speaker model (pragmatic)

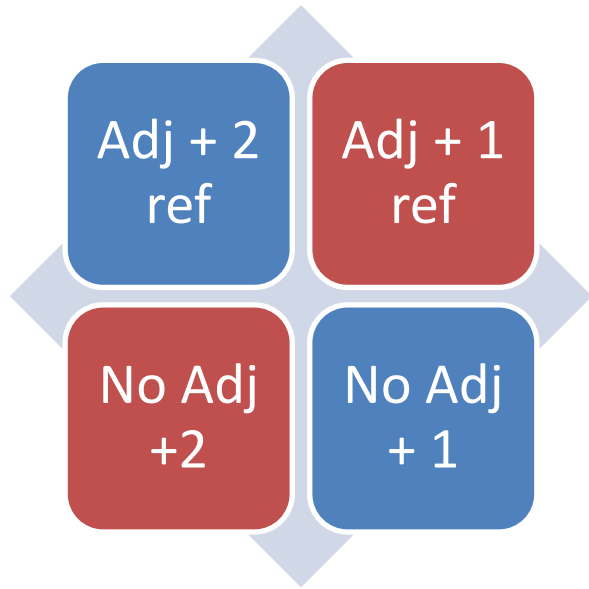
## Strange Speaker Manipulation (Grodner & Sedivy, 2011)

- **Reliable Condition:** Speaker is subject in study, initially produces optimally informative utterances
- **Unreliable Condition:** Speaker has social/language disorder, gives impossible instructions on filler trials, consistently over-informative



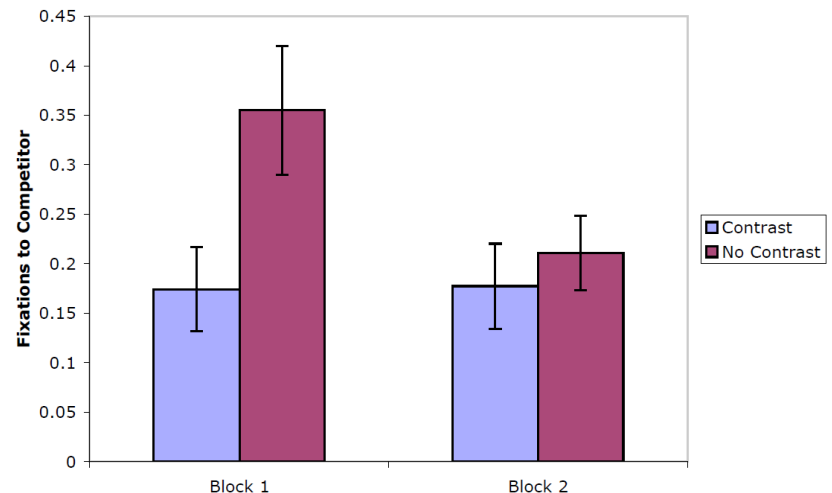
# Issue for experimental design

- Most common design: cue pitting



- Results in infelicitous utterances

- Participants adjust quickly

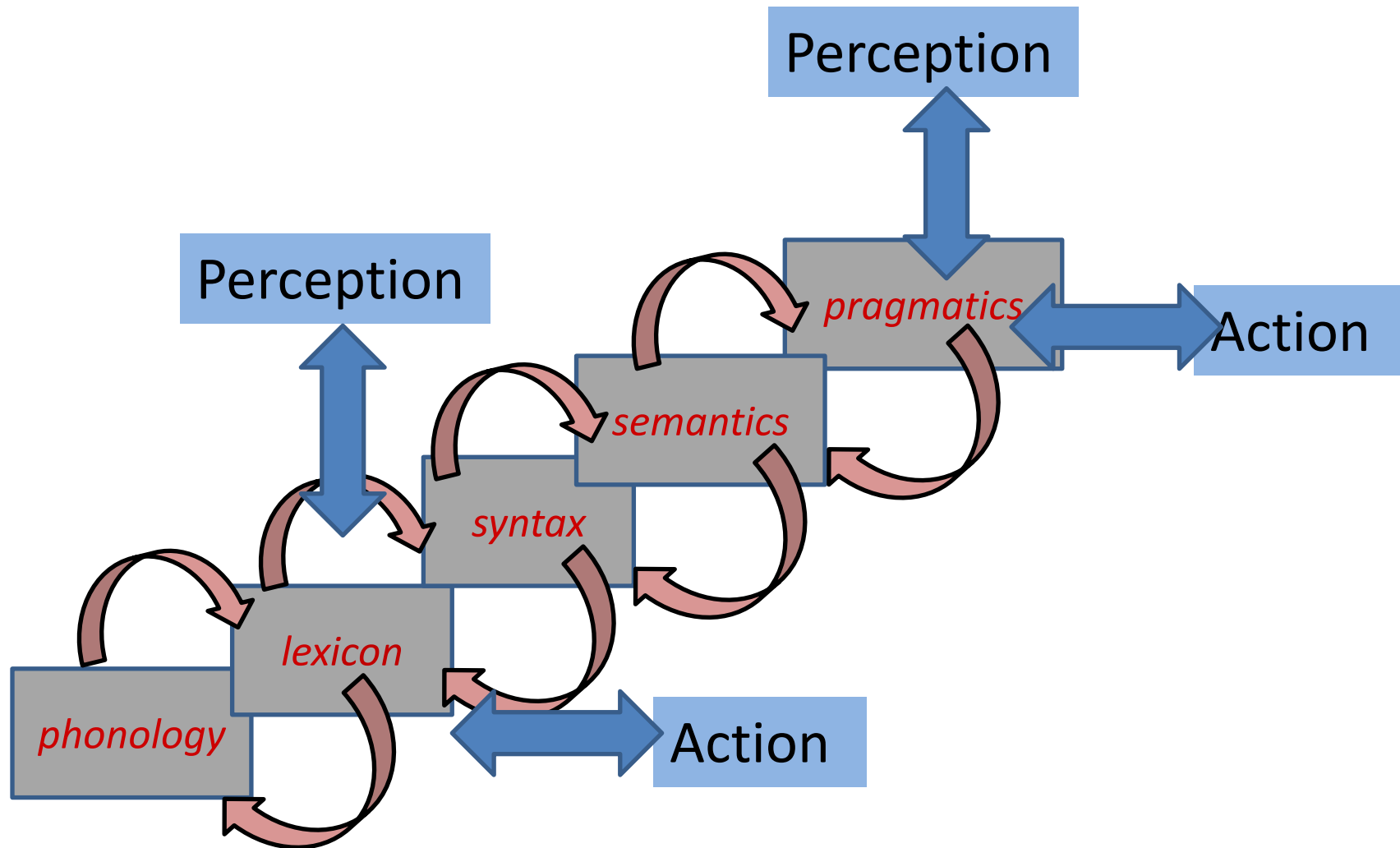


Reliable Speaker: 35 min, 20 critical trials

# Processing system is highly dynamic

- Strange speaker manipulation eliminates expectation that disfluent nouns refer to unusual objects (Arnold & Tanenhaus, 2011)
- Semantic priming depends on the proportion of primes in the stimuli (Bodner & Masson, 2003)
- Use of a given syntactic or semantic structures primes subsequent use
  - Syntax: double object vs. prepositional dative (Bock)
  - Scope ambiguity (Raffery & Pickering)

# 21<sup>st</sup> century standard model is pervasive



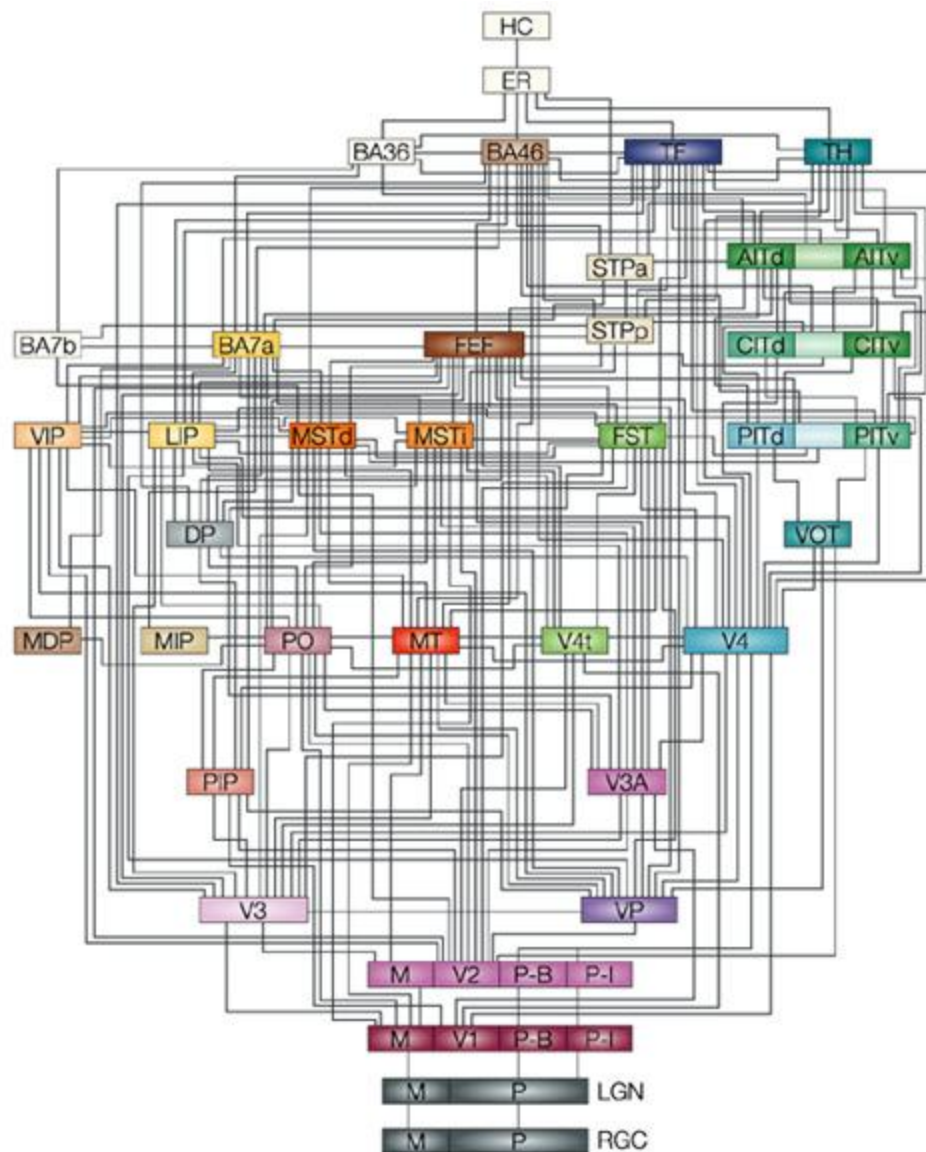
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21<sup>st</sup> century standard  
model is pervasive

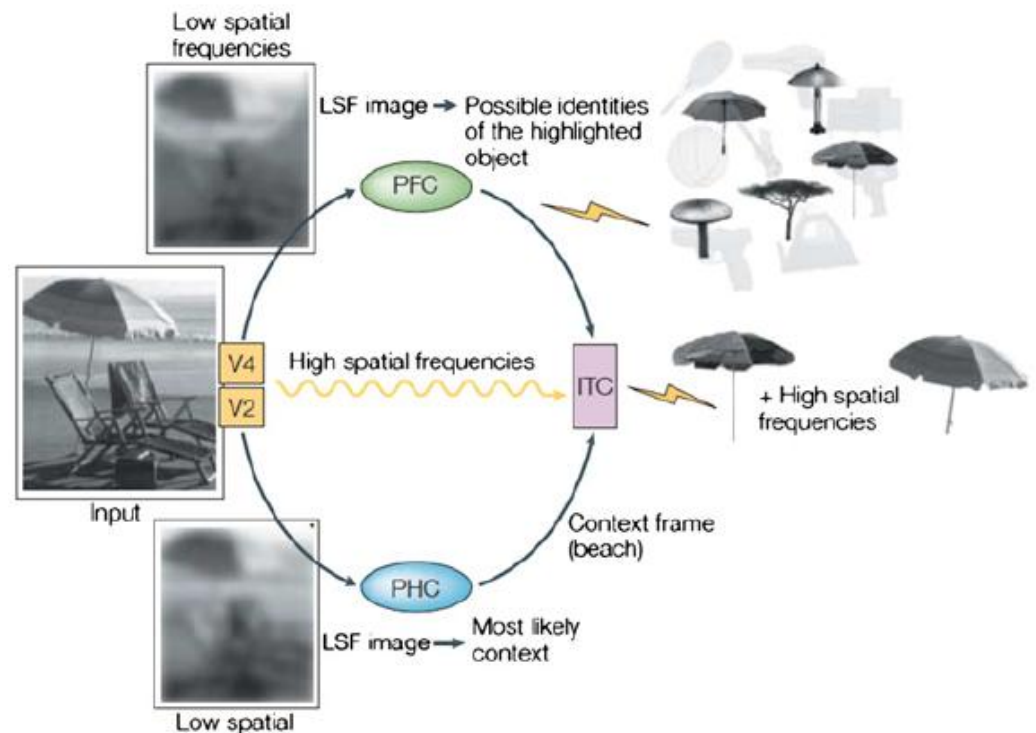
Example:  
visual areas  
in macaque



Rees, Kreiman & Koch (2002)

# 21<sup>st</sup> century standard model is pervasive

Example:  
Barr's model of  
context in visual  
perception



Cheung & Barr (2011)

# Modularity is dead but linguistics need not mourn

- Information encapsulation can only be saved by becoming vacuous
- But domain-specificity is alive and well
  - Uncontroversial forms (levels)
  - Controversial forms (distinct processes, divergent characteristics of each of level)
- Nativism does not depend on either

# Implications for Experimental Pragmatics

Lesson 1:  
Need to consider multiple time  
scales

# Four time scales in any experiment

- Time since the trigger word (ms)
  - N400, gaze shift 200-1200 after word onset....
- Time since the cue appeared (ms to min)
  - Between-subjects design: earlier in sentence
  - Within-subjects design: earlier in study
- Time in experiment (sec to days)
  - Over short time scales processing adapts
- Developmental time (years)
  - What is the history of participants experience with this information

# Four time scales in any experiment

- Time since the trigger word (ms)
  - N400, gaze shift 200-1200 after word onset....
  - Temptation to think of this as “processing time”
- Time since the cue appeared (ms to min)

Sometimes these are the same, and sometimes they are different....

# Cue is the trigger (Huang & Snedeker, 2009; 2011)

Design real time SI processing task  
simple enough for a child

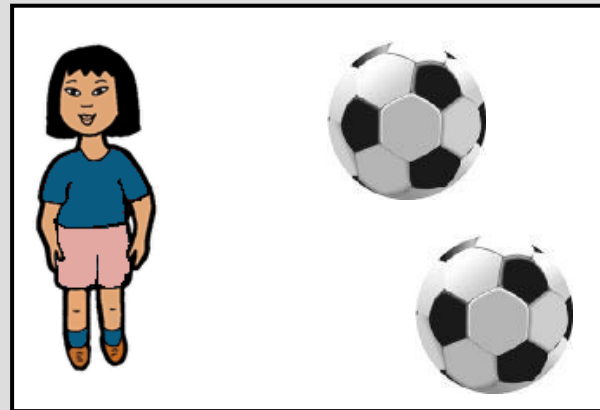
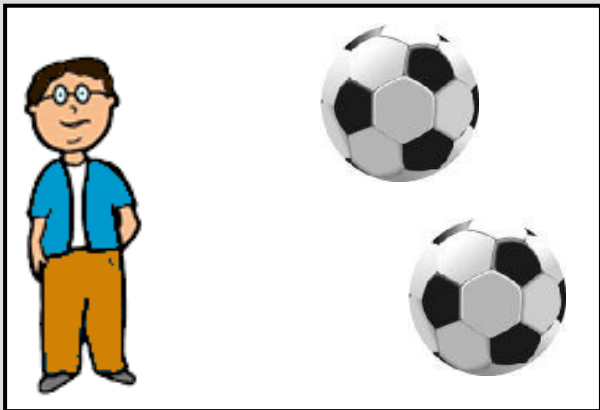
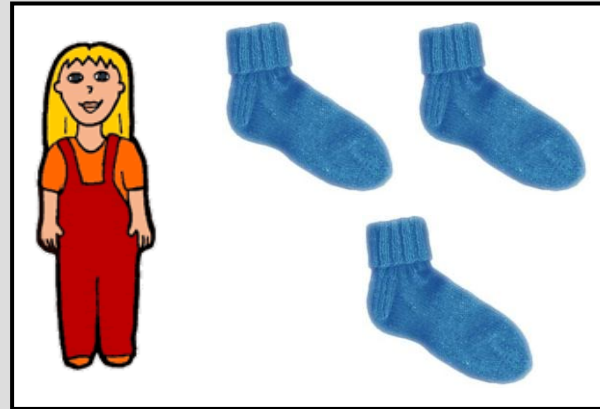
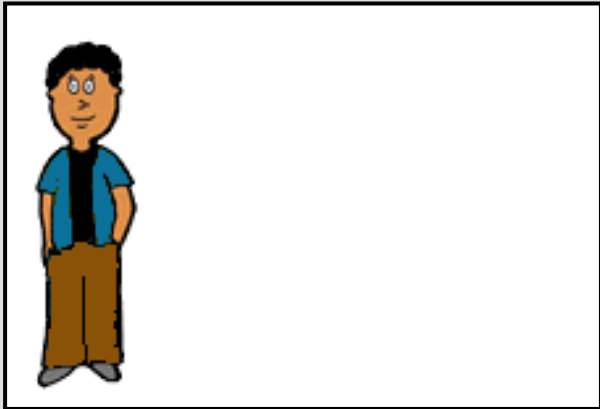
Is the lower-bounded meaning of  
“some” available before the SI?

When are SI's made?

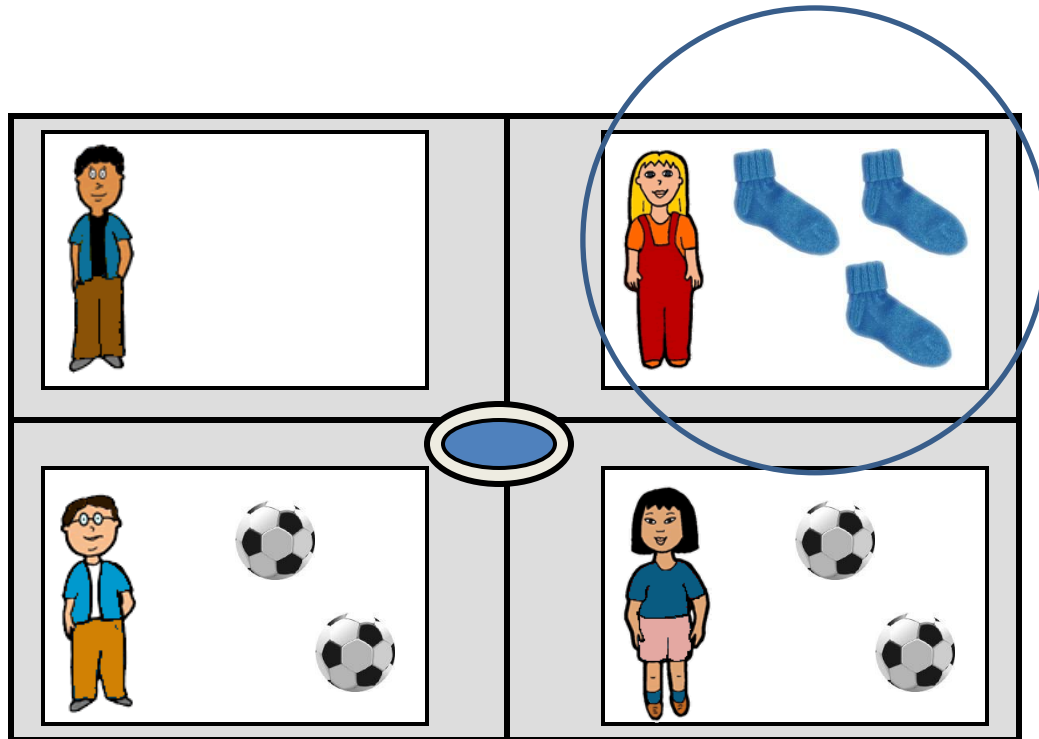


Yi Ting Huang



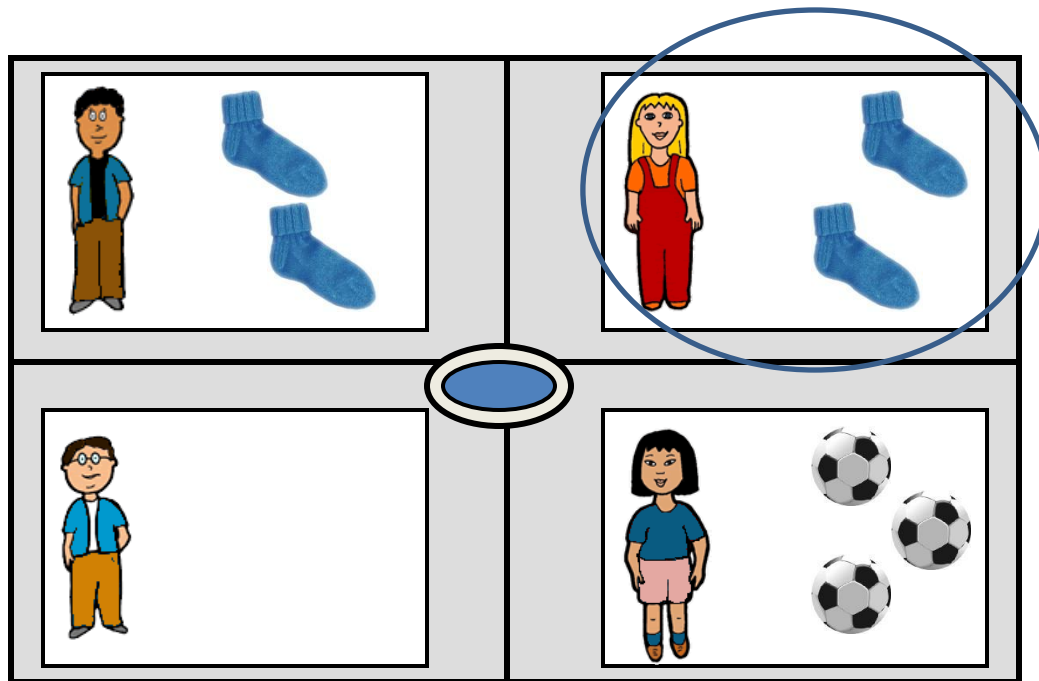


“Point to the girl that has all/three of the socks.”

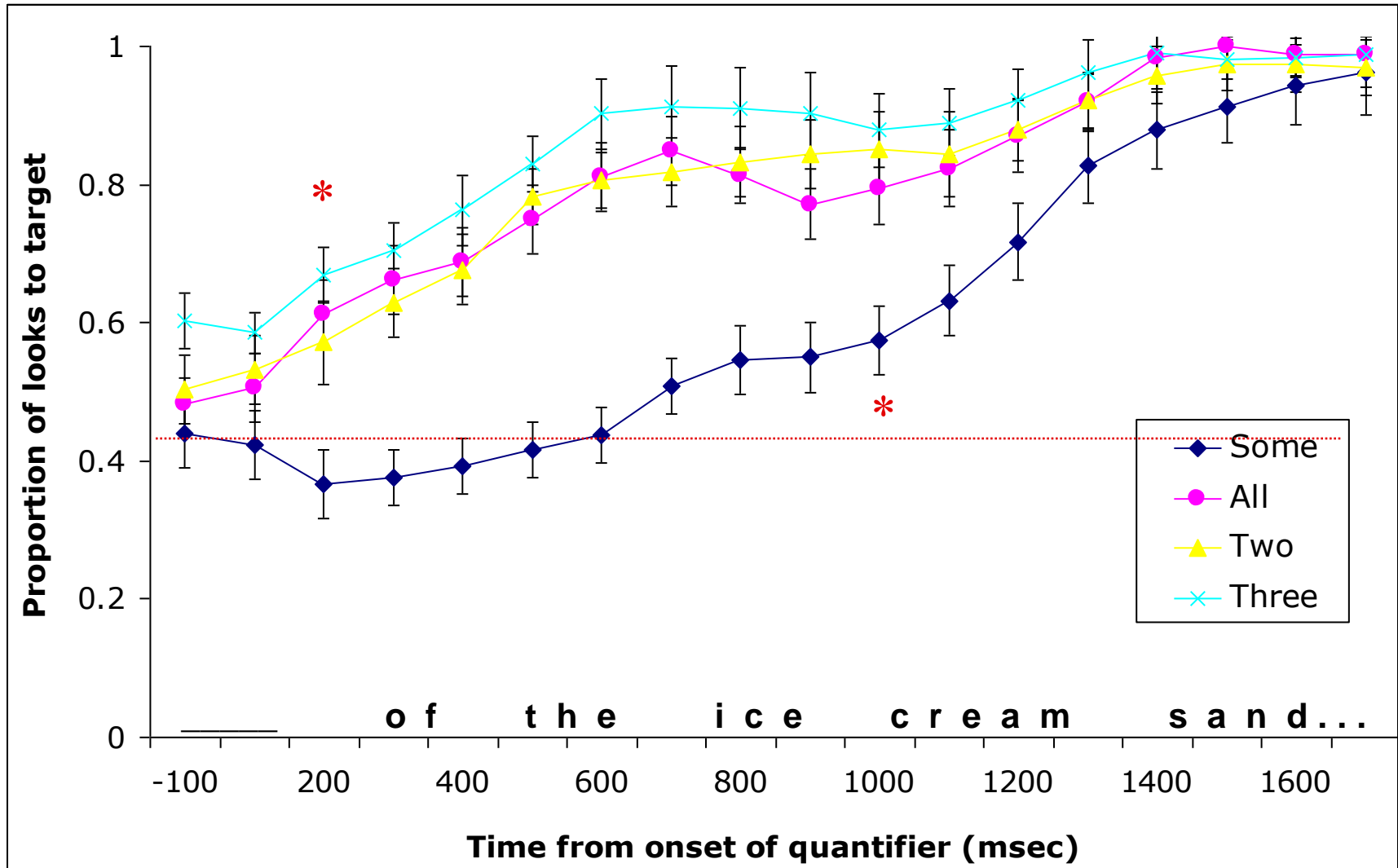


Quantifier is both  
the cue and trigger

“Point to the girl that has some/two of the socks.”



~800ms delay in looks to target



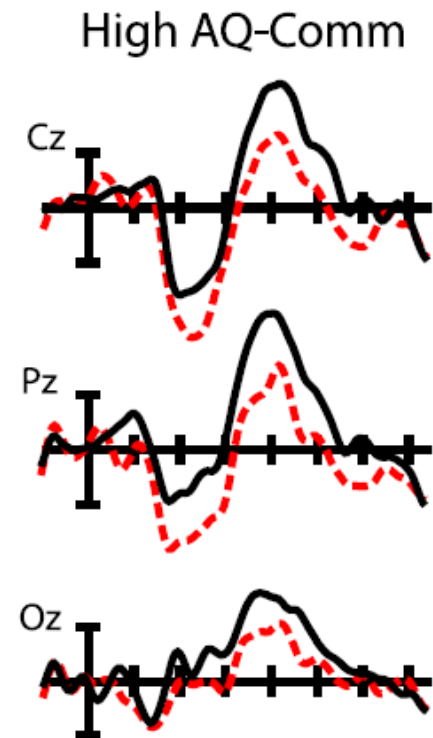
# Cue before trigger: Nieuwland et al., 2010

*Some people have lungs/pets, which require good care*

N400 greater for “lungs”

Underinformative  
Some people have **lungs**, ...

Informative  
Some people have **pets**, ...



# Cue before trigger: Nieuwland et al., 2010

*Some people have lungs/pets, which require good care*

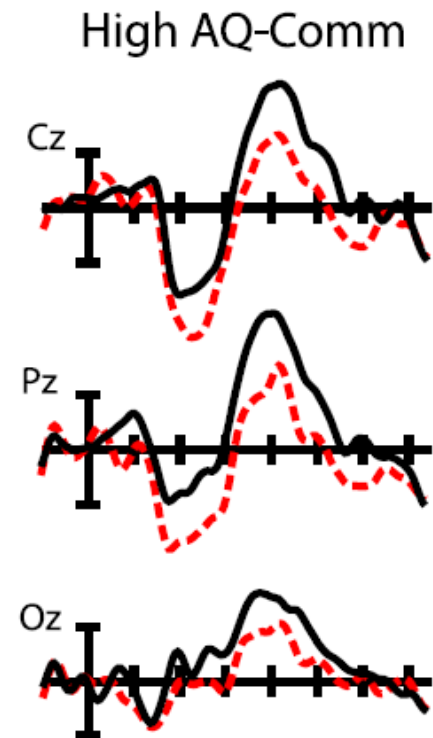
Scalar Implicature within 400 ms?

No. Cue came ~1300ms earlier

SI by 1700ms

Underinformative  
Some people have **lungs**, ...

Informative  
Some people have **pets**, ...



# Four time scales in any experiment

- Time since the trigger word (ms)
  - N400, gaze shift 200-1200 after word onset....
  - Temptation to think of this as “processing time”
- Time since the cue appeared (ms to min)
  - Well controlled between-subjects design: earlier in the sentence or paragraph
  - Within-subjects design or a confounded design (see below)

# Four time scales in any experiment

- Time since the trigger word (ms)
  - N400, gaze shift 200-1200 after word onset...
- Time since the cue appeared (ms to min)
  - Between-subjects design: earlier in sentence
- Time in experiment (sec to days)
  - Learning: subjects may learn what to attend to
  - Unlearning: design may make some cues invalid
  - Priming: low frequency structures become more accessible



# Four time scales in any experiment

- Time since the trigger word (ms)
  - N400, gaze shift 200-1200 after word onset....
- Time since the cue appeared (ms to min)
  - Between-subjects design: earlier in sentence
- Time in experiment (sec to days)
  - Learning: subjects may learn what to attend to
- Developmental time (years)
  - What is the history of participants experience with this information?
  - Begin with corpus studies

## Lesson 2:

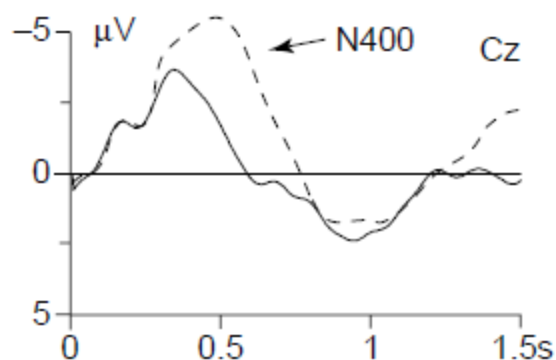
# Determining the representational locus of an effect got harder

“The component formerly known as the ELAN”



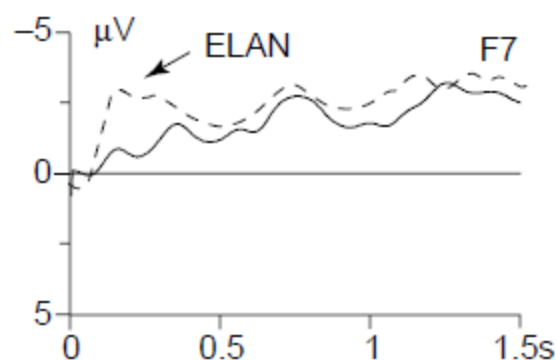
# The component formerly known as ELAN

(a)



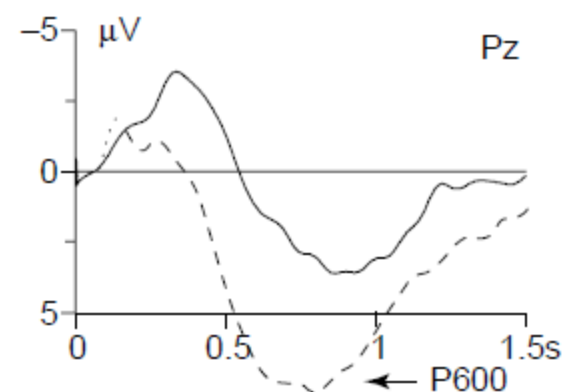
- Das Hemd wurde bebügelt.  
*The shirt was 'ironed'.*
- Das Gewitter wurde gebügelt.  
*The thunderstorm was ironed.*

(b)



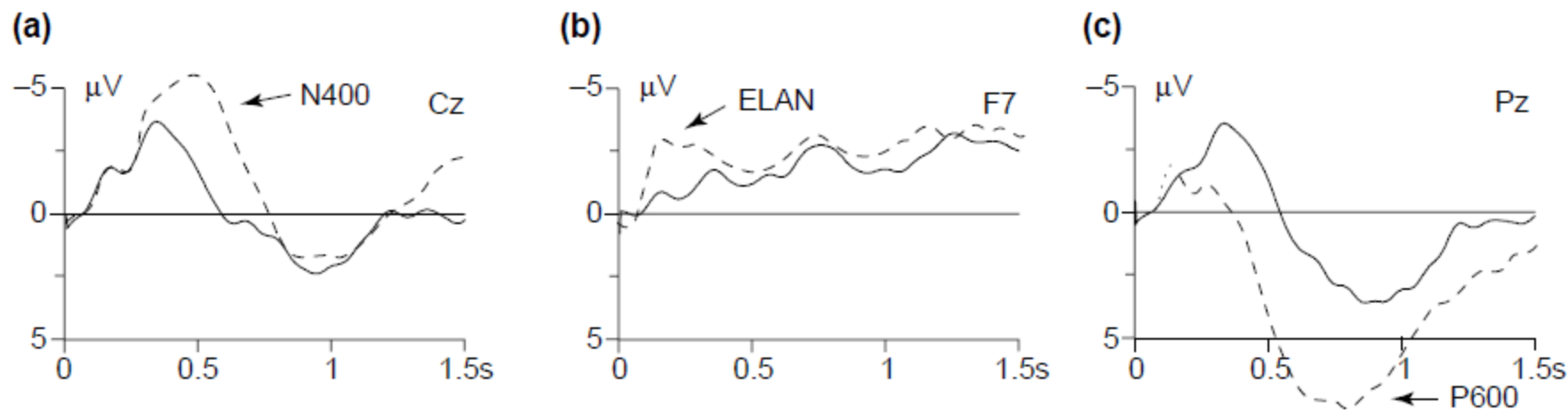
- Das Hemd wurde bebügelt.  
*The shirt was 'ironed'.*
- Die Bluse wurde am gebügelt  
*The blouse was on ironed.*

(c)



TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences

# The component formerly known as ELAN



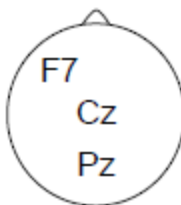
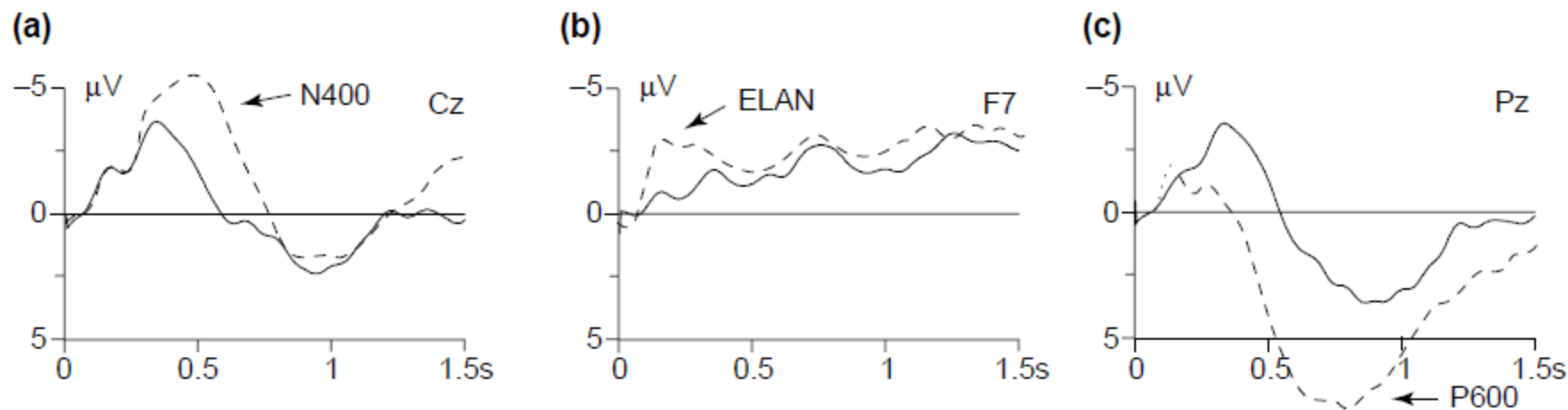
N400

The man ate the delicious apple

The man ate the delicious cart



# The component formerly known as ELAN

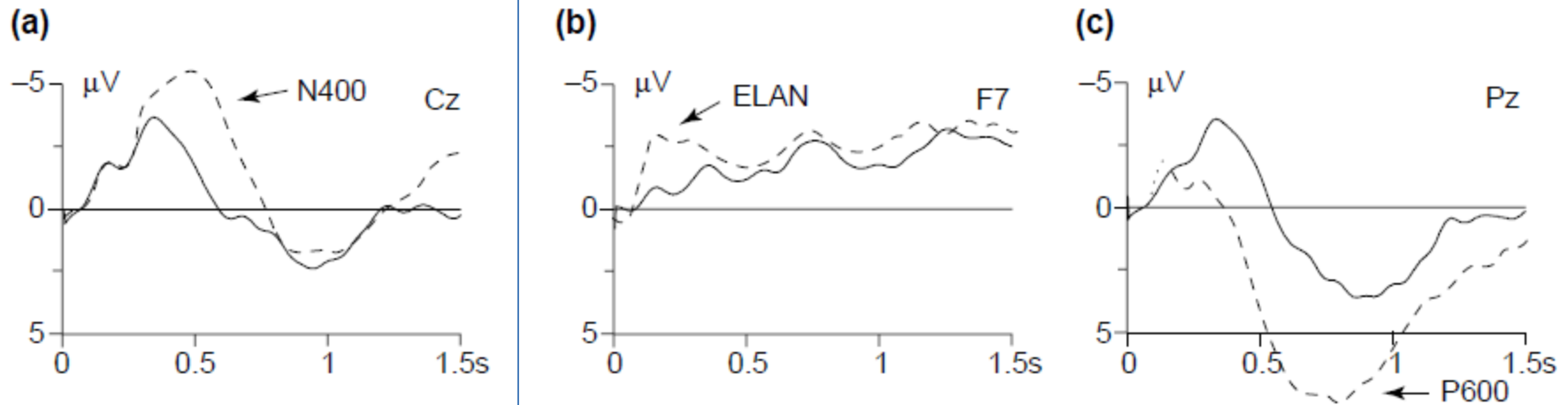


P600

The cats won't eat their food

The cats won't eating their food

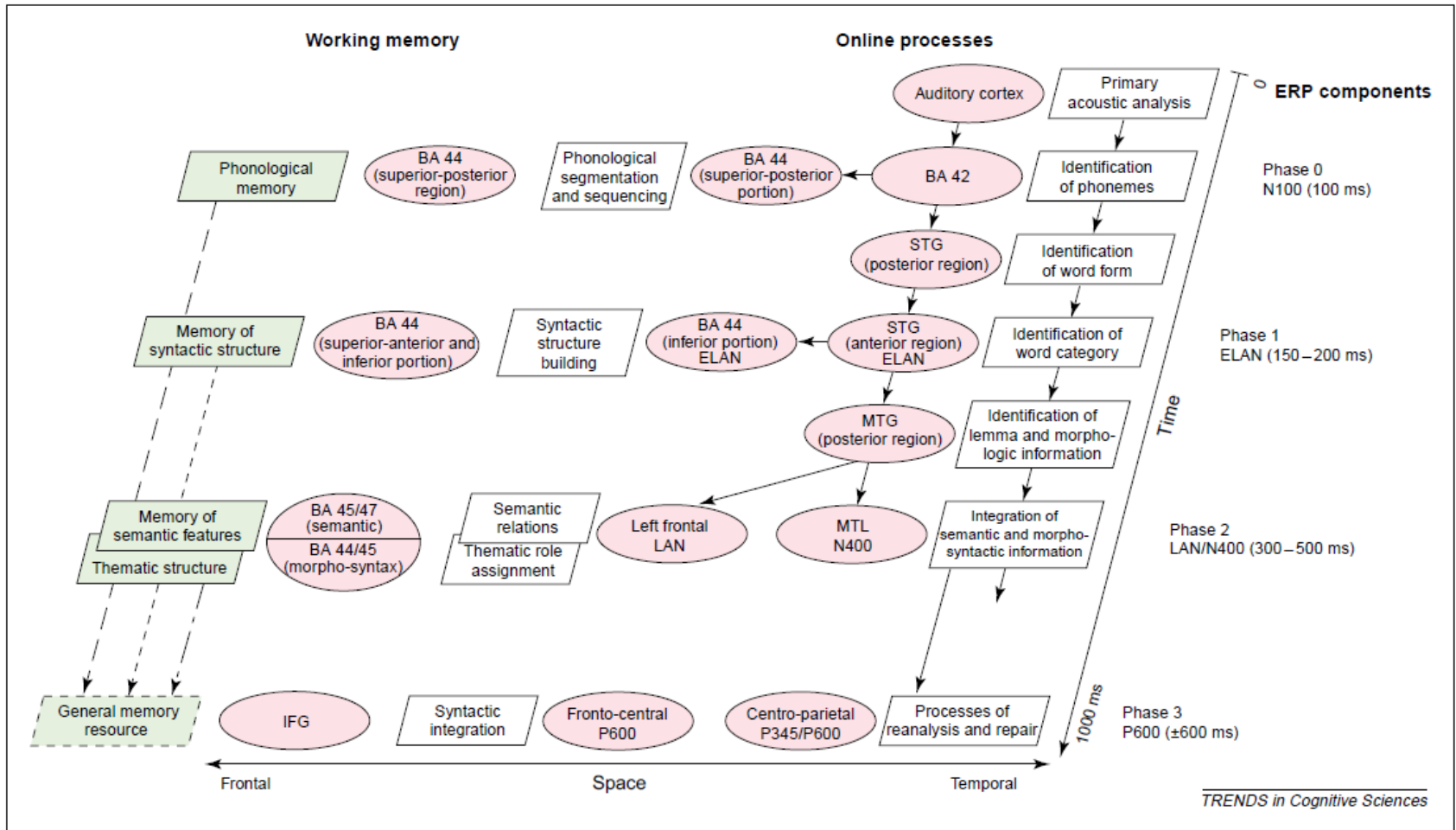
# The component formerly known as ELAN



## ELAN

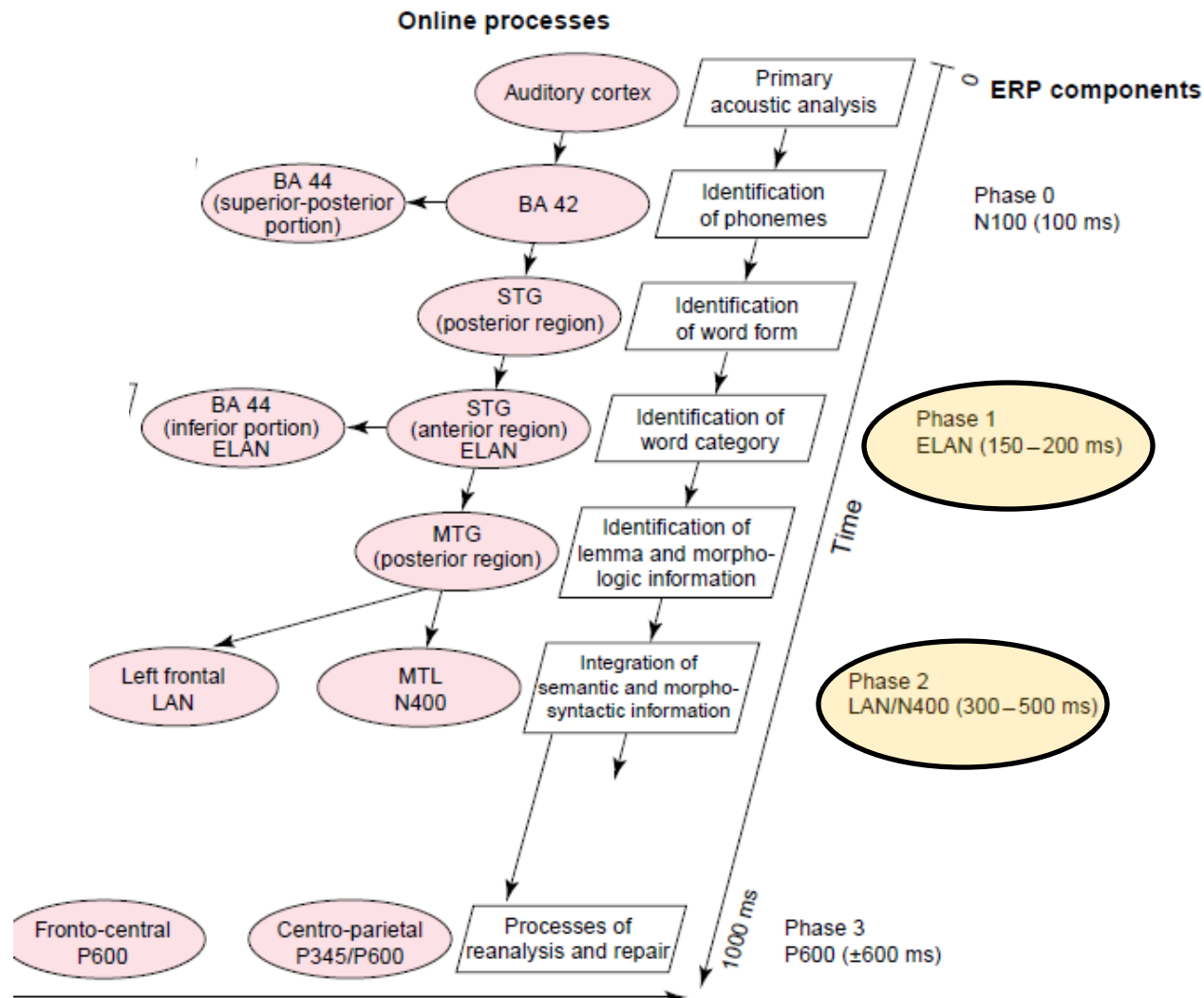
- (2) a. Das Baby wurde gefüttert  
The baby was fed
- b. \* Das Baby wurde im gefüttert  
The baby was in the fed

# The component formerly known as ELAN





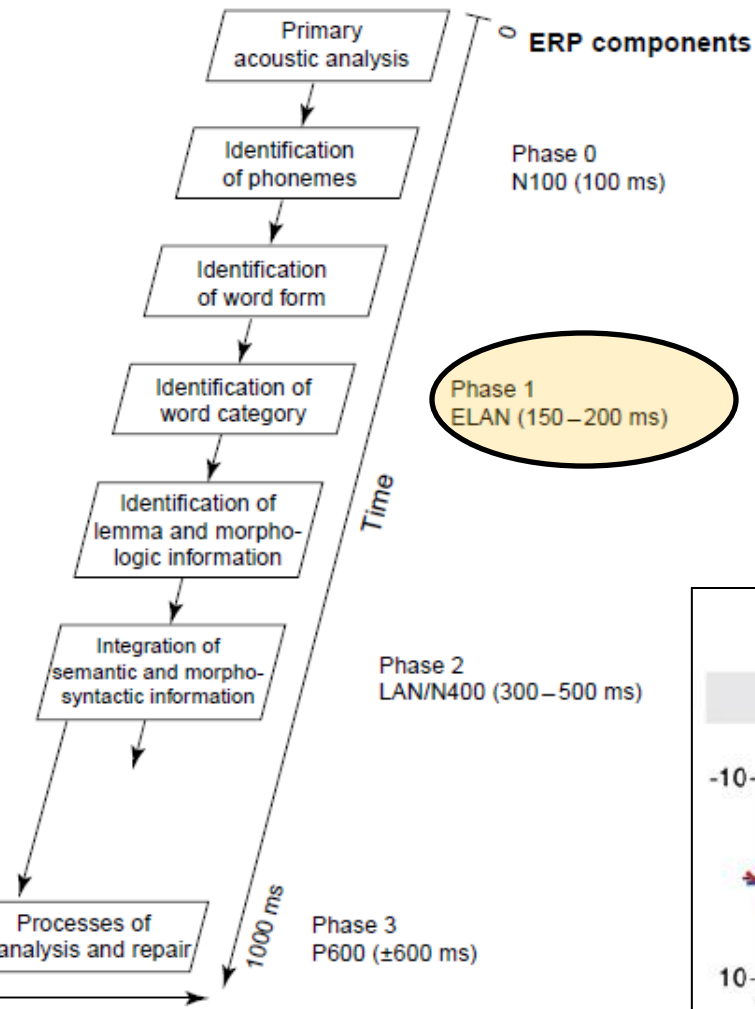
# The component formerly known as ELAN



Used to support syntax first

Hard to reconcile with evidence that N400 is linked lexical retrieval

# The component formerly known as ELAN

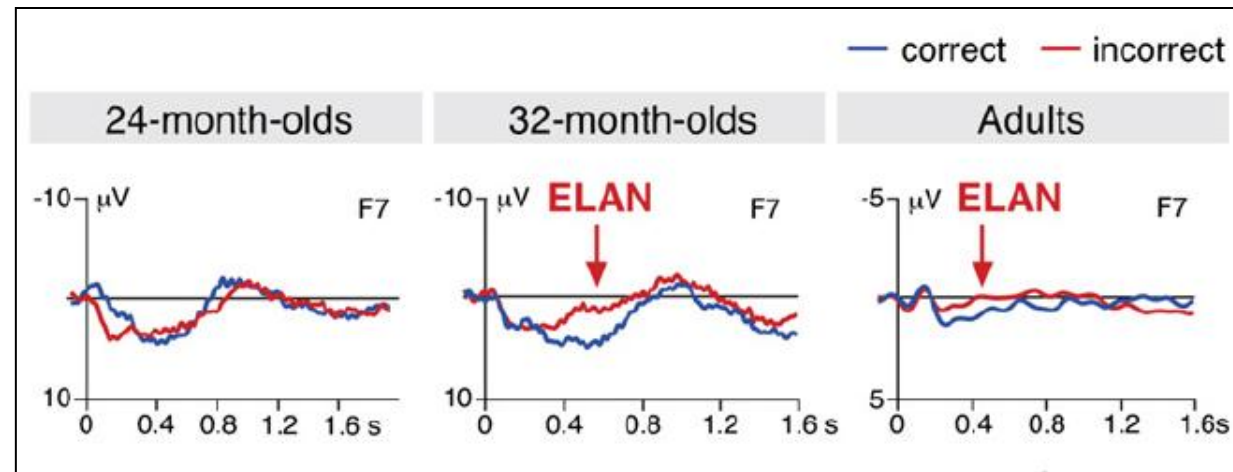


Syntax /ELAN early in processing stream

But late in development

How do children interpret sentences? How does it change?

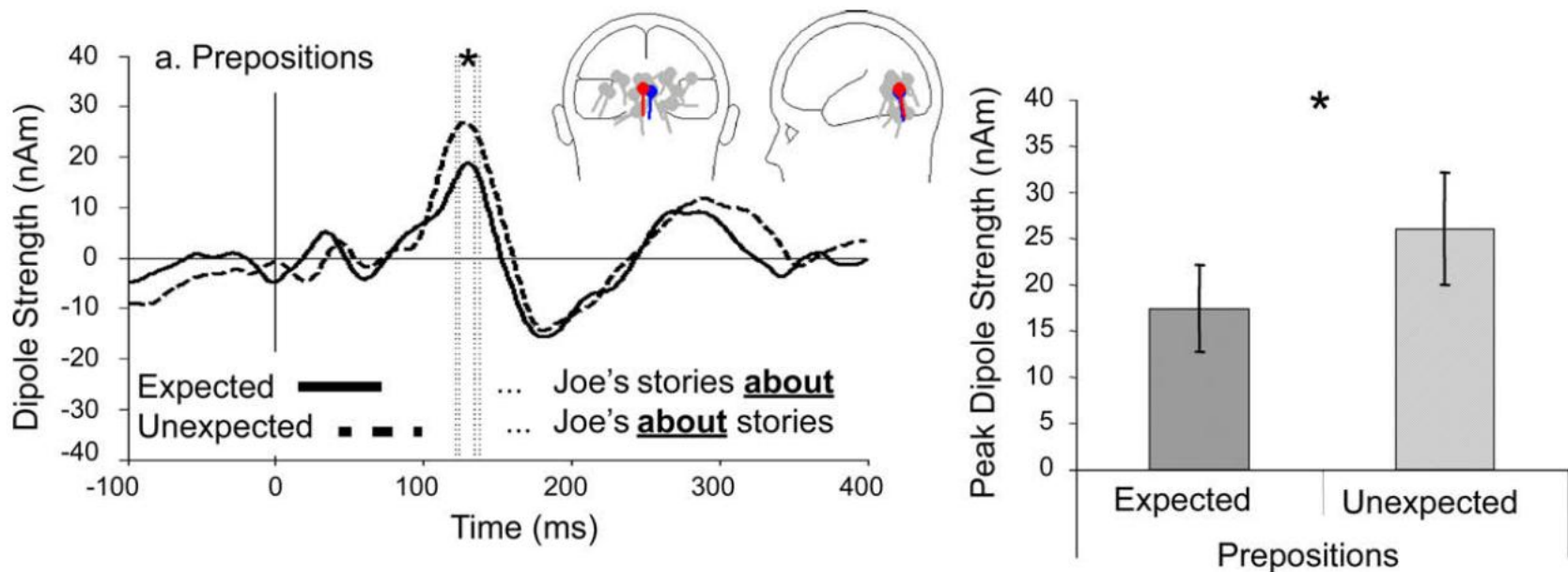
Friederici (2006)



# In reading ELAN localizes to visual cortex (Dikker, Rabagliati & Pylkkänen, 2009)

*S. Dikker et al. / Cognition 110 (2009) 293–321*

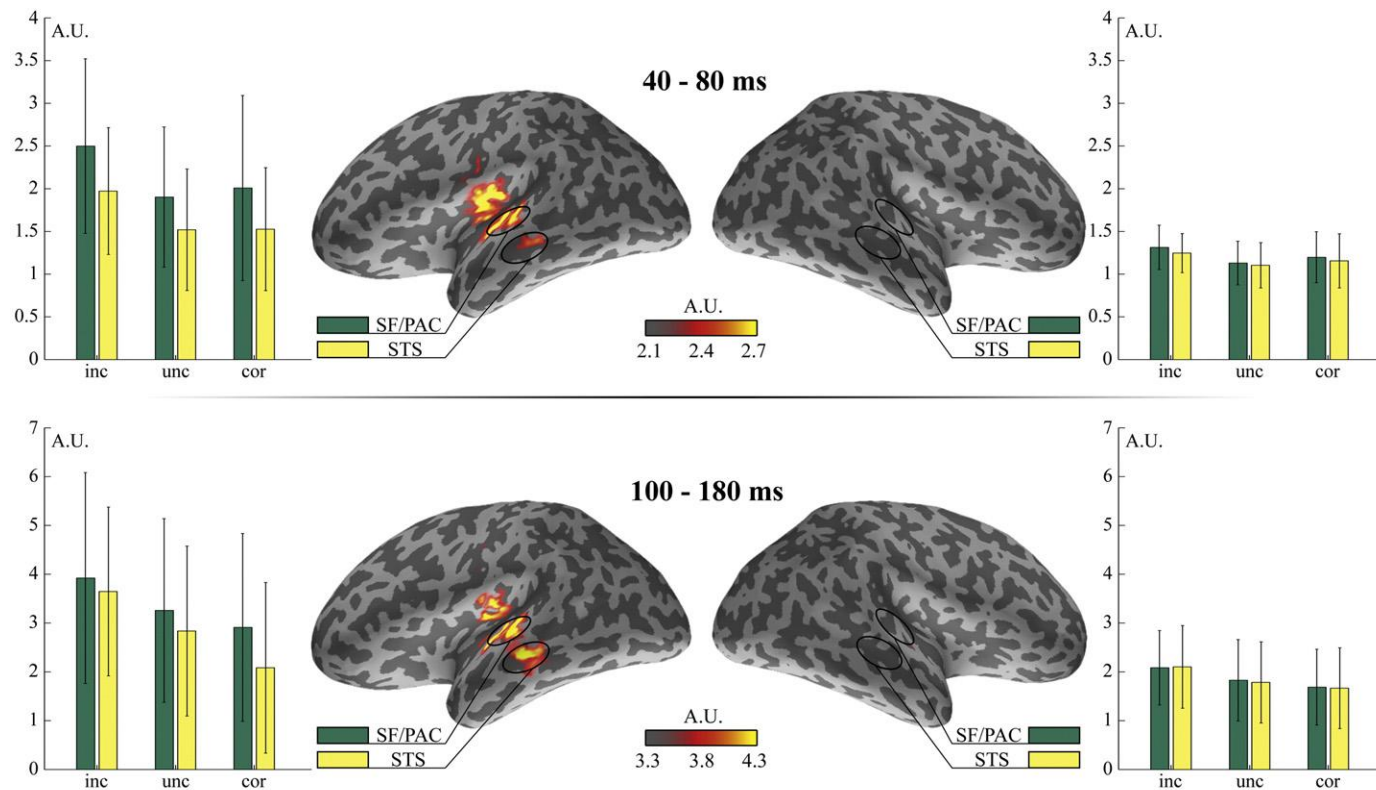
301



United with prior sensory components: M100, MMN, N100 or P200....

# During spoken language ELAN effects are generated in auditory cortex

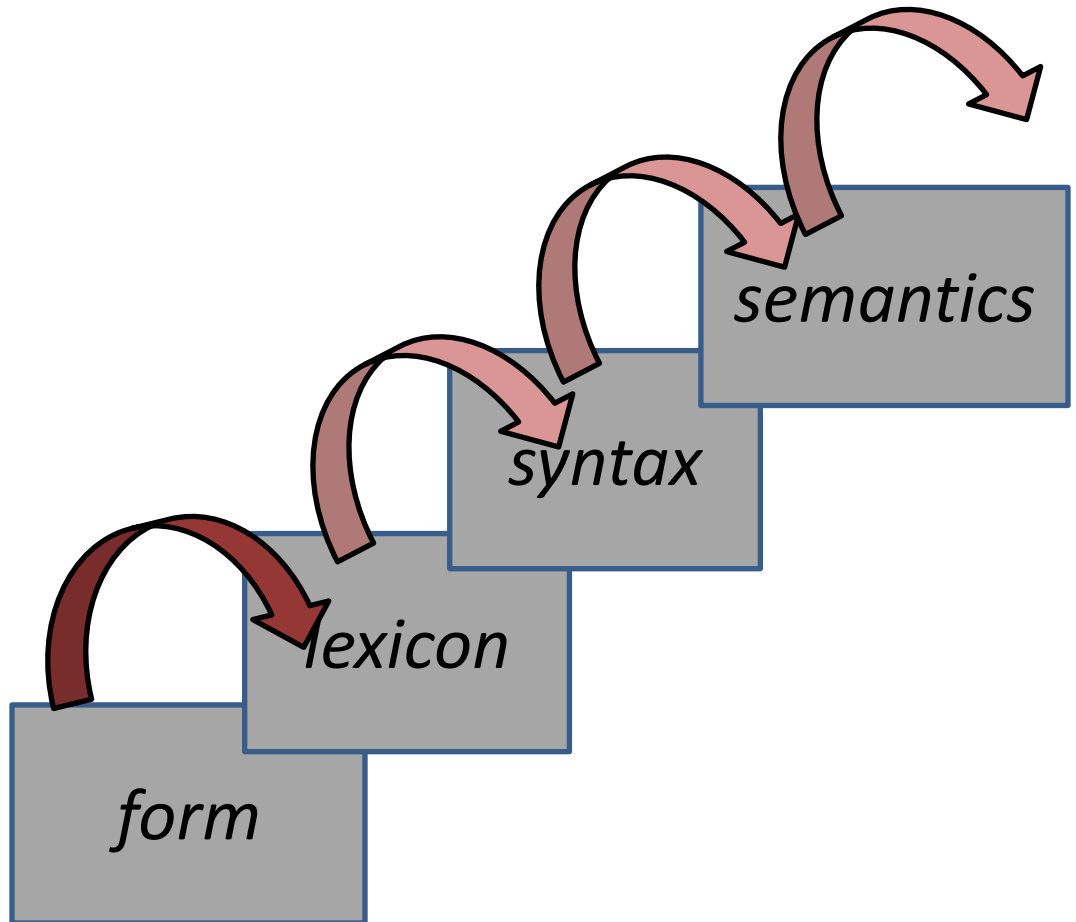
B. Herrmann et al. / NeuroImage 48 (2009)



# What is happening?

1. Prior words are processed generating syntactic structure (semantics etc)

*The  
discovery  
was*



# What is happening?

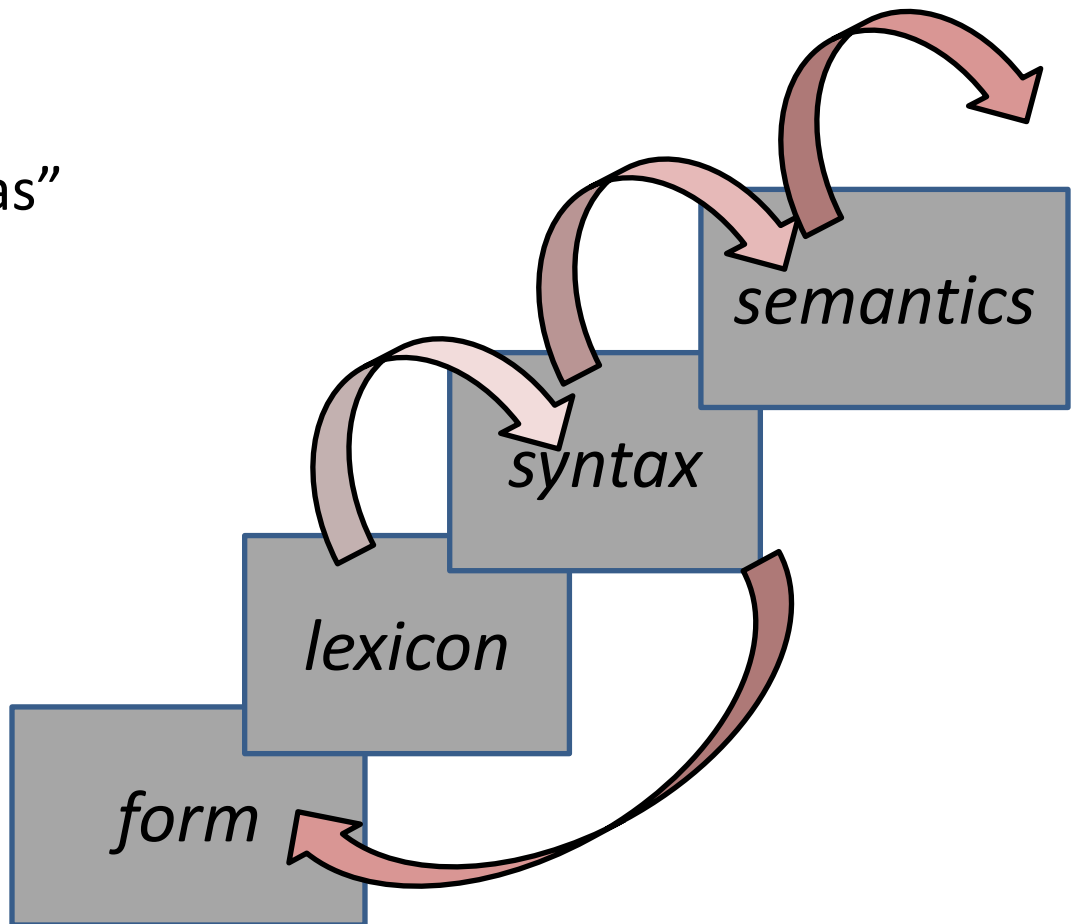
2. Syntactic constraints  
generate prediction about  
perceptual form

By 600 - 1200ms after “was”  
appears (cue word)

*The  
discovery*

*was*

-----ed

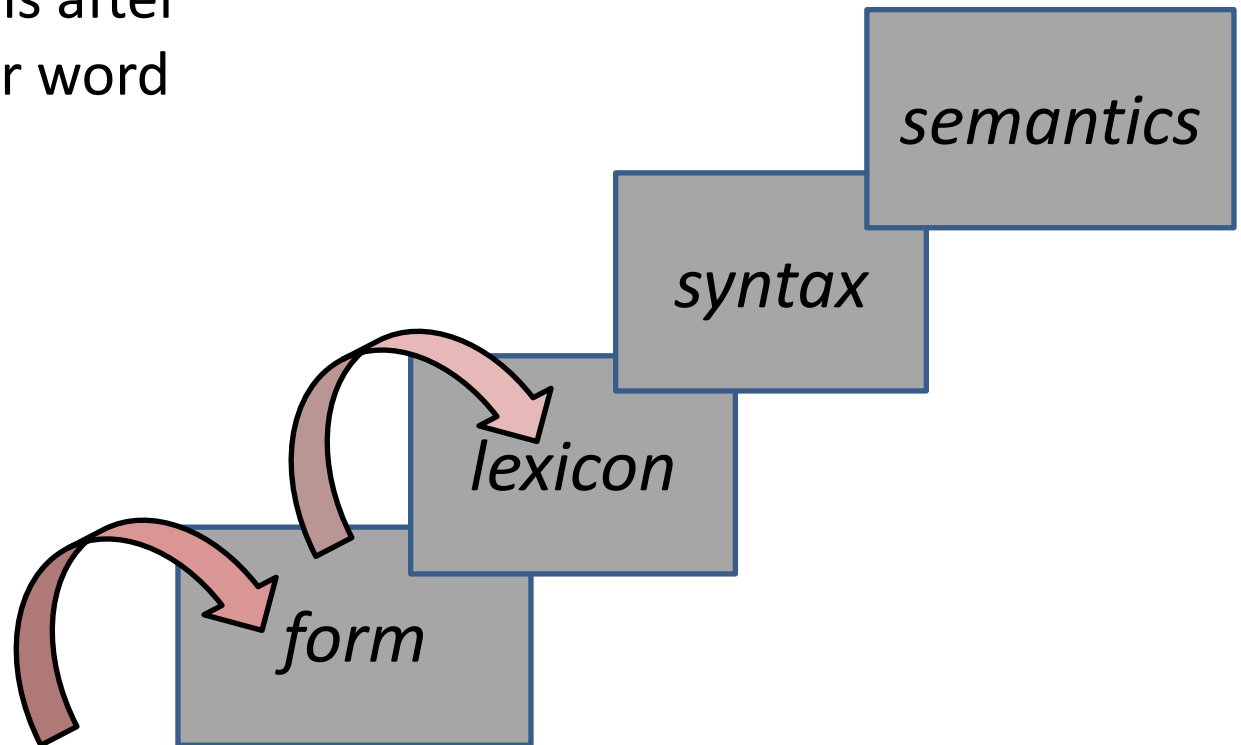


# What is happening?

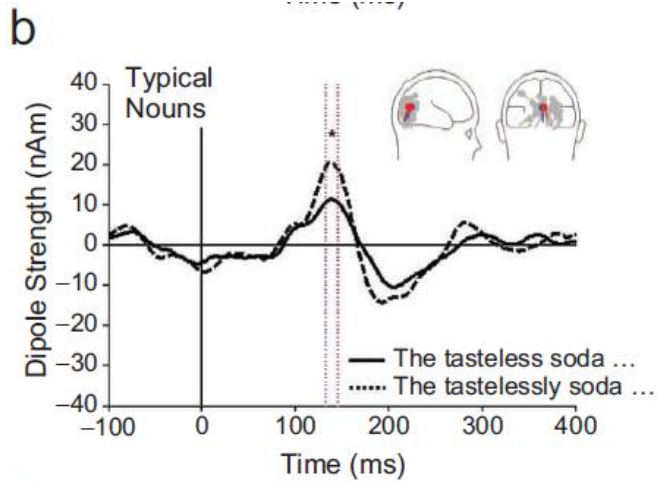
3. This prediction is confirmed (less N100) or disconfirmed (more N100)

In the first 40-150 ms after encountering trigger word

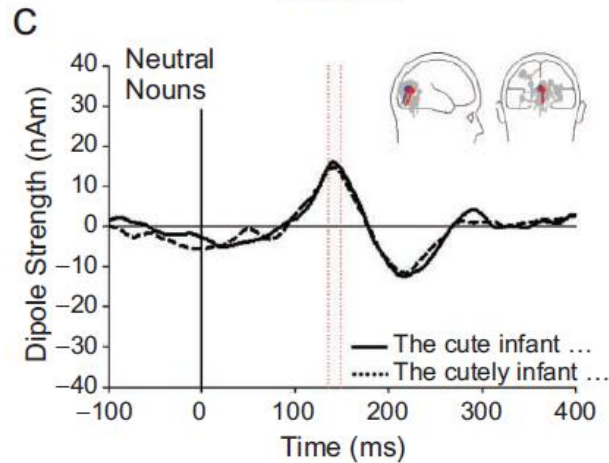
*The*  
*discovery*  
*was*  
*reported*



# Further evidence



- *Effects depend on typicality of form for class*



- *ELAN-like effects may appear in infants if prediction is made easy enough* (my interpretation of Bernal et al., 2010)



# Lesson 3:

## Pragmatic effects clearly vary in their loci

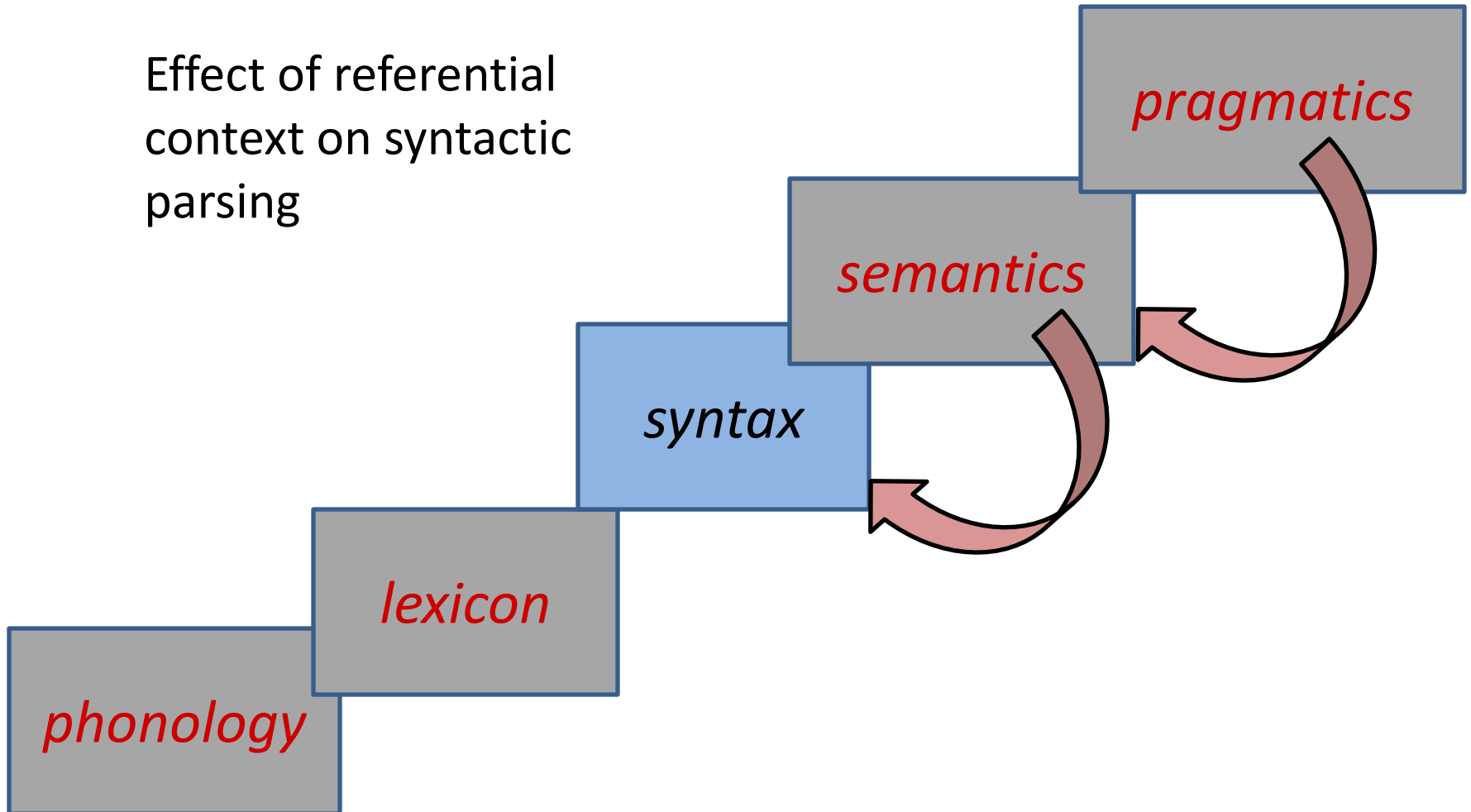
And ambiguity abounds

# 5 broad kinds of *pragmatic* effects

1. Top-down, pragmatic constraints on pre-semantic processes
  - Lexical and syntactic disambiguation
2. Top-down processes that fill-in semantic structure
  - Scalar implicature? Pronoun resolution?
3. Processing of utterance at a higher linguistic level
  - Pragmatic level? Discourse model?
4. Inferential chains within some conceptual level of representation
  - Irony? Relevance Implicatures? Disjunctive Syllogism?
5. Processing in other cognitive domains triggered by language
  - Affiliation, mirroring, emotional reactions, ACE.....

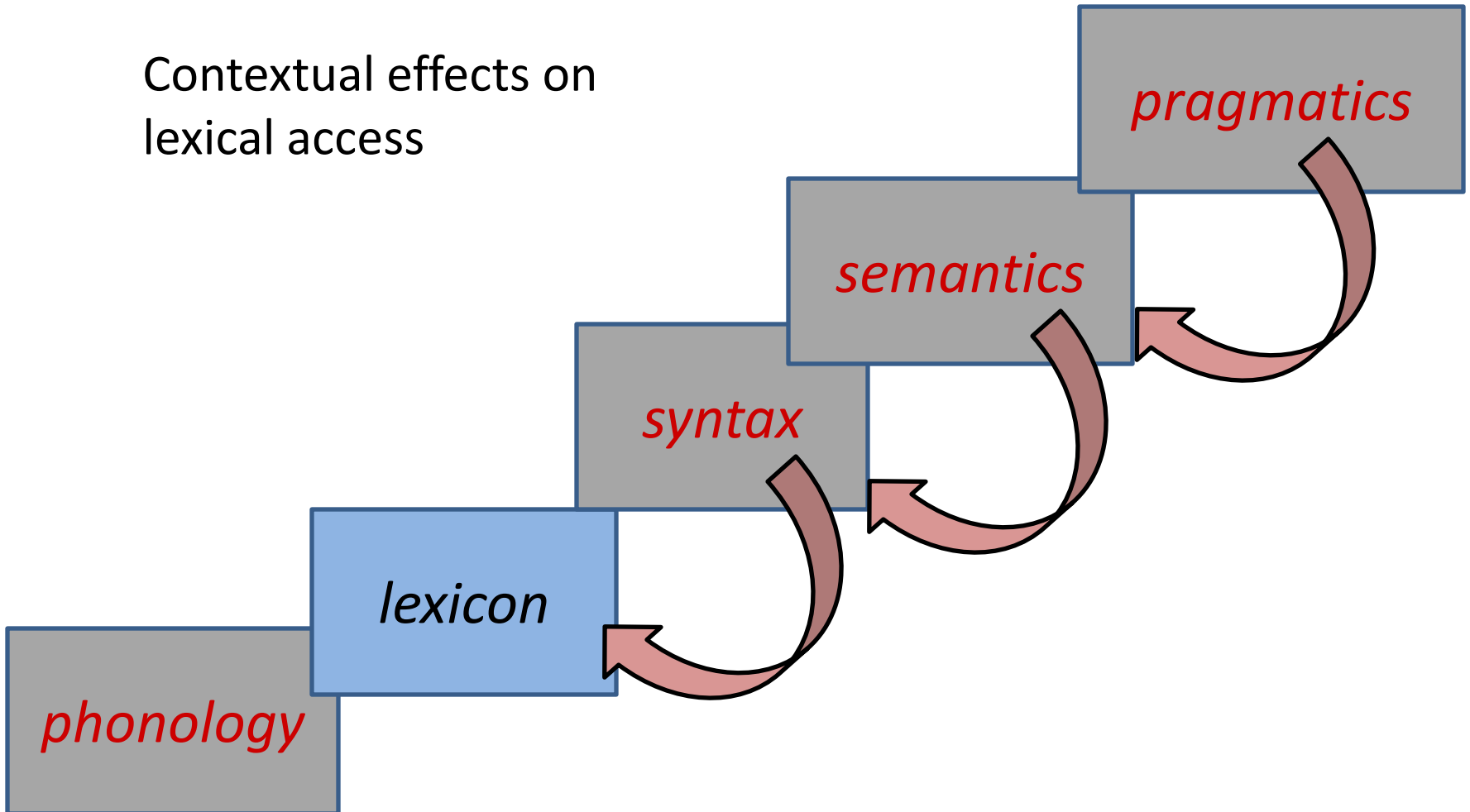
# Kind 1: Top-down constraints on lower level processes

Effect of referential context on syntactic parsing



# Kind 1: Top-down constraints on lower level processes

Contextual effects on  
lexical access

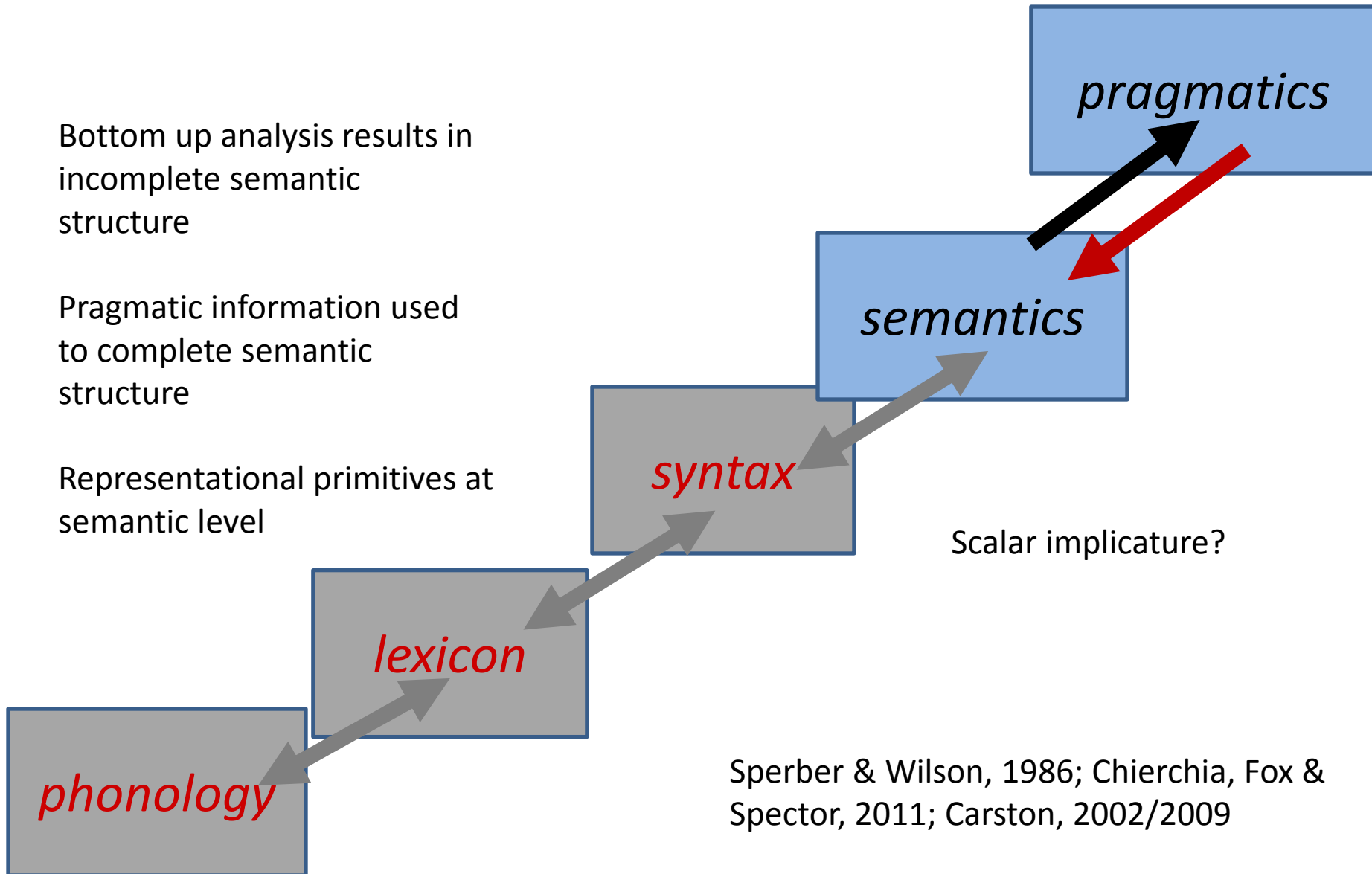


# Kind 2: Top-down pragmatic input fills-in semantic structures

Bottom up analysis results in incomplete semantic structure

Pragmatic information used to complete semantic structure

Representational primitives at semantic level



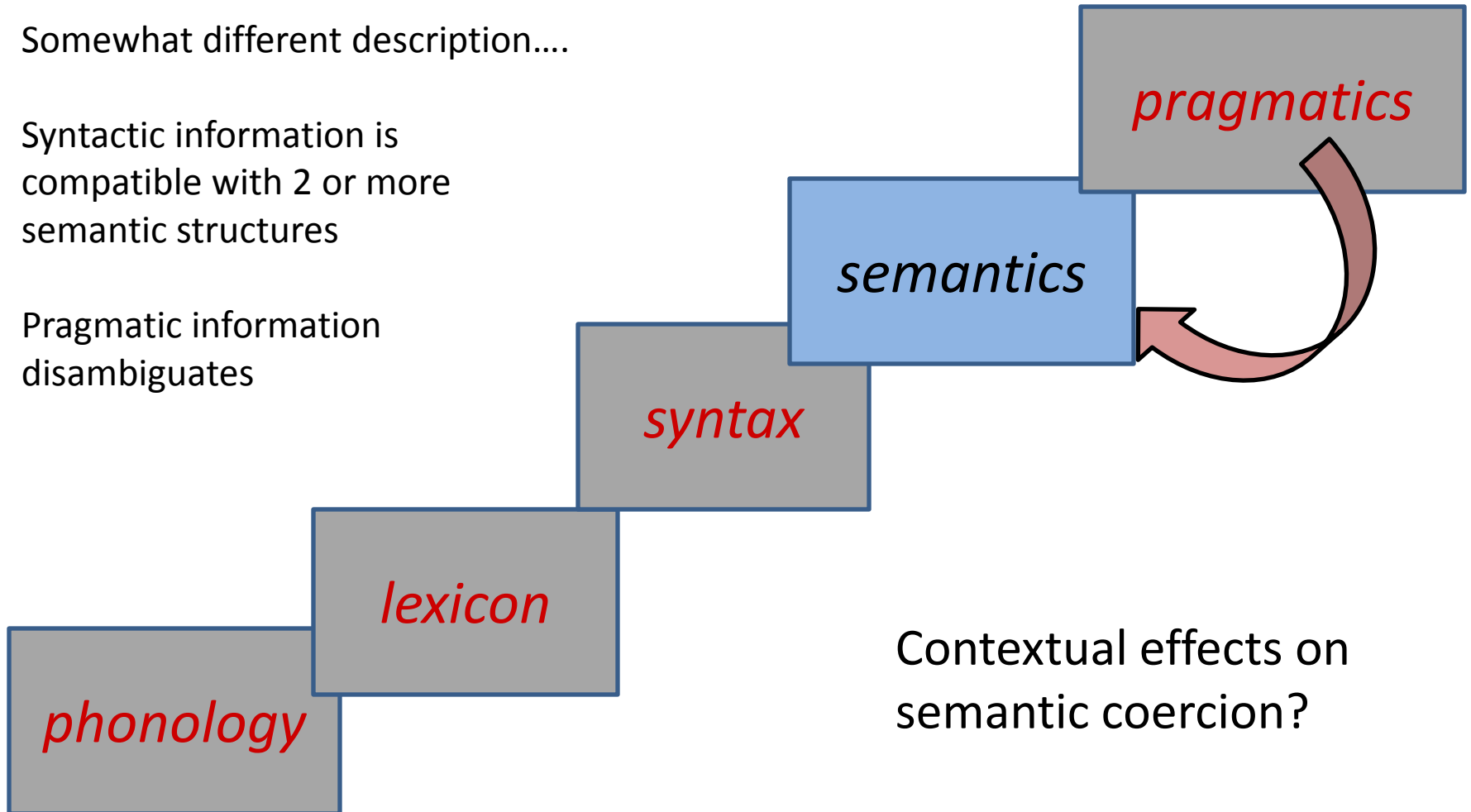
Sperber & Wilson, 1986; Chierchia, Fox & Spector, 2011; Carston, 2002/2009

# Kind 2: Top-down pragmatic input disambiguates semantic structures

Somewhat different description....

Syntactic information is compatible with 2 or more semantic structures

Pragmatic information disambiguates

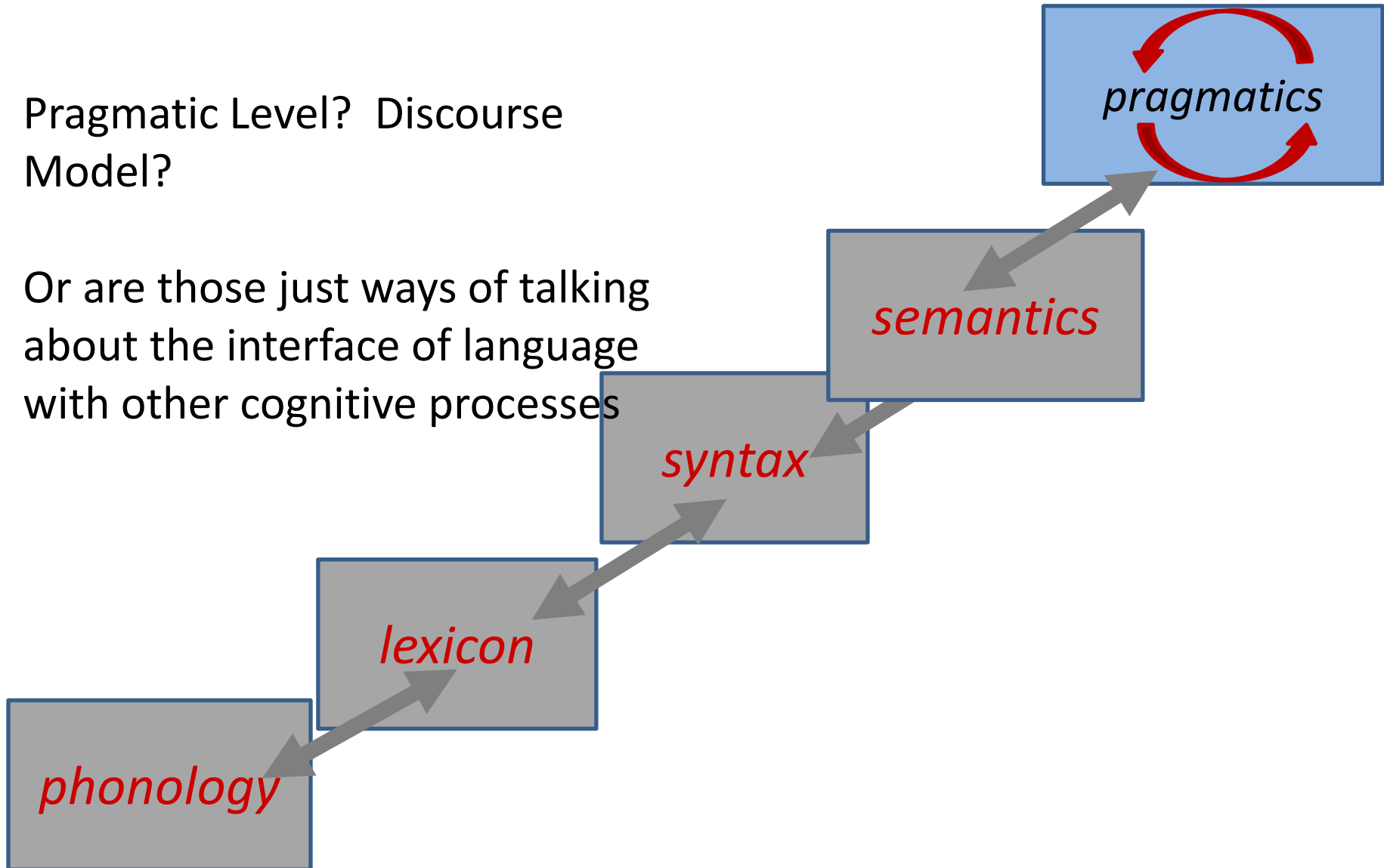


Contextual effects on semantic coercion?

# Kind 3: Processing of utterance at higher linguistic level

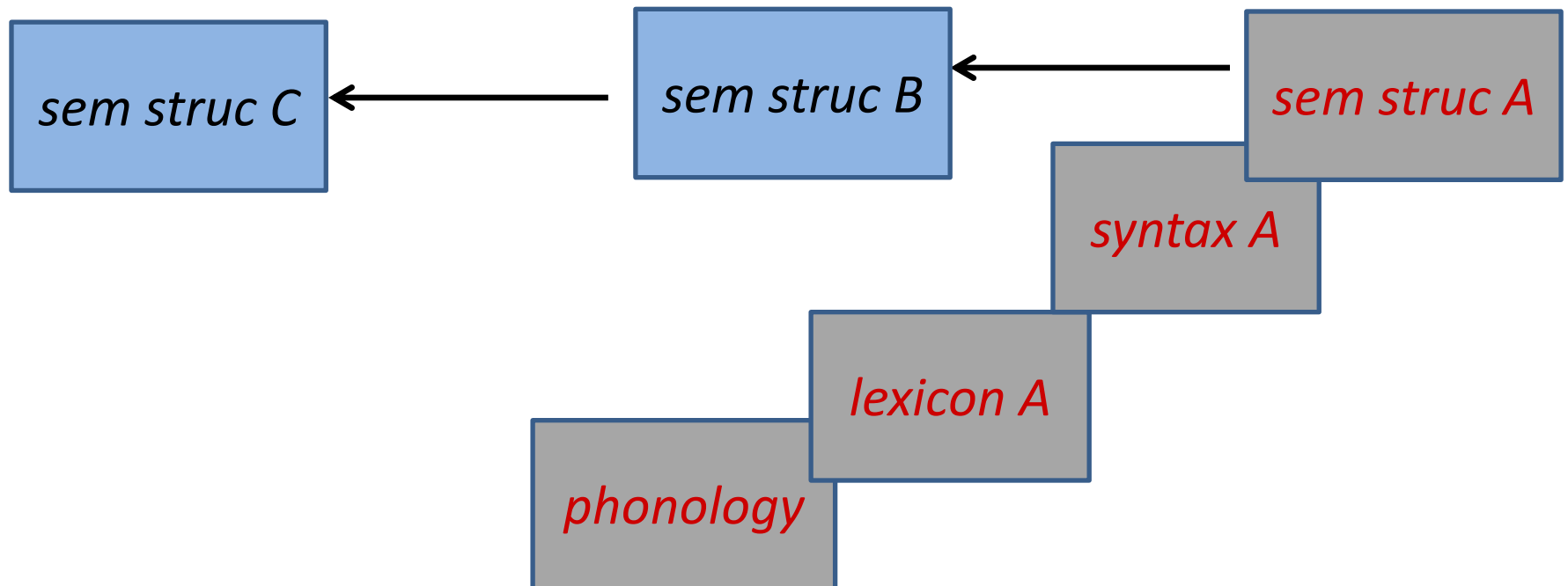
Pragmatic Level? Discourse Model?

Or are those just ways of talking about the interface of language with other cognitive processes



## Kind 4: Chains of inferences

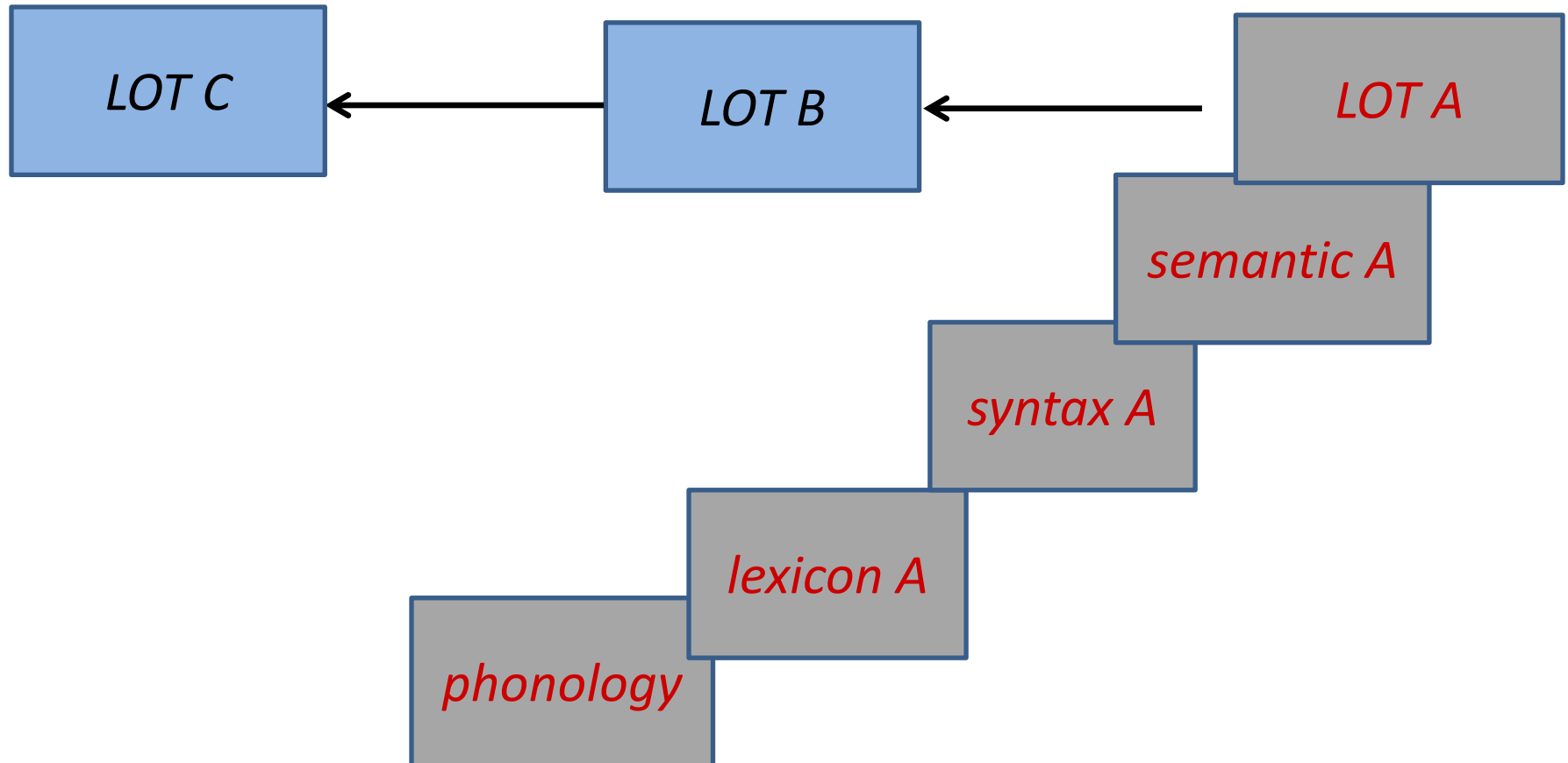
Language as Thought Version





## Kind 4: Chains of inferences

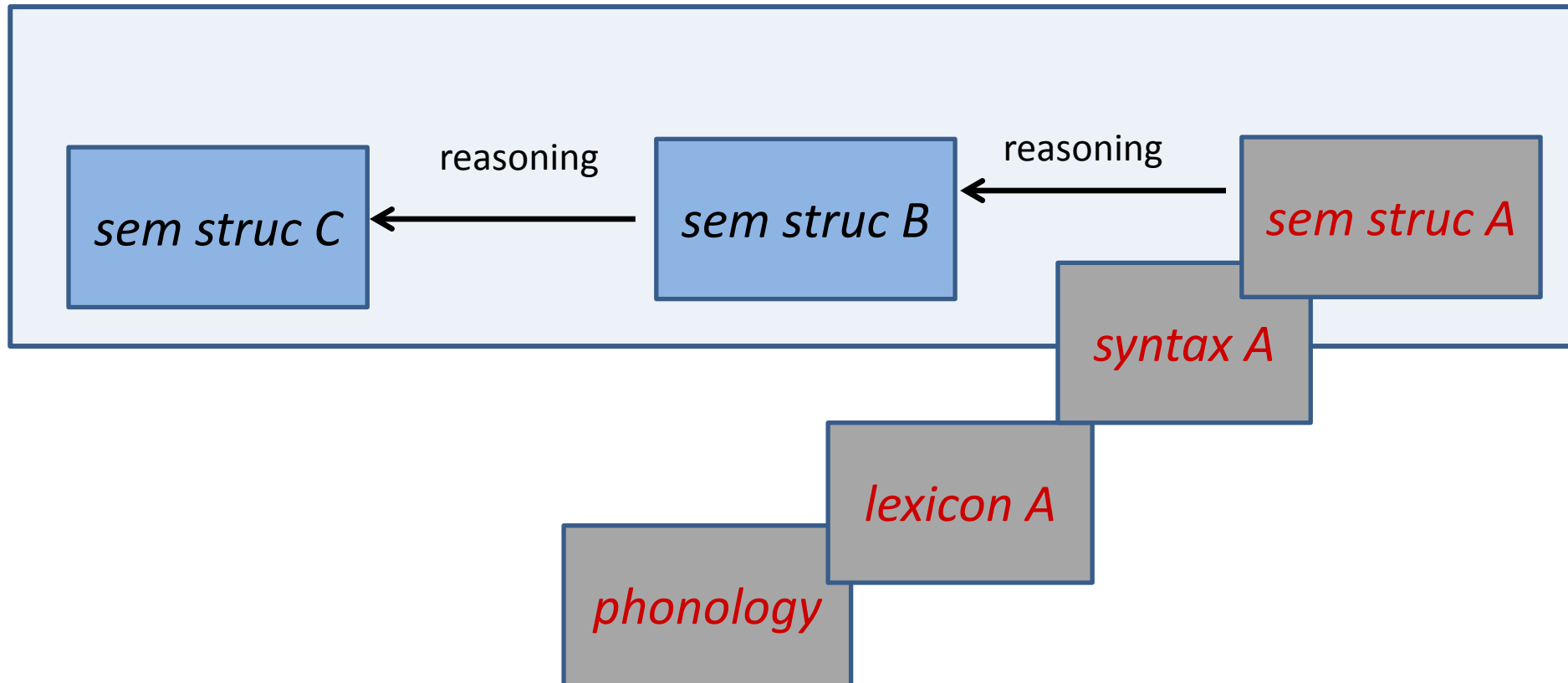
Language of Thought Version



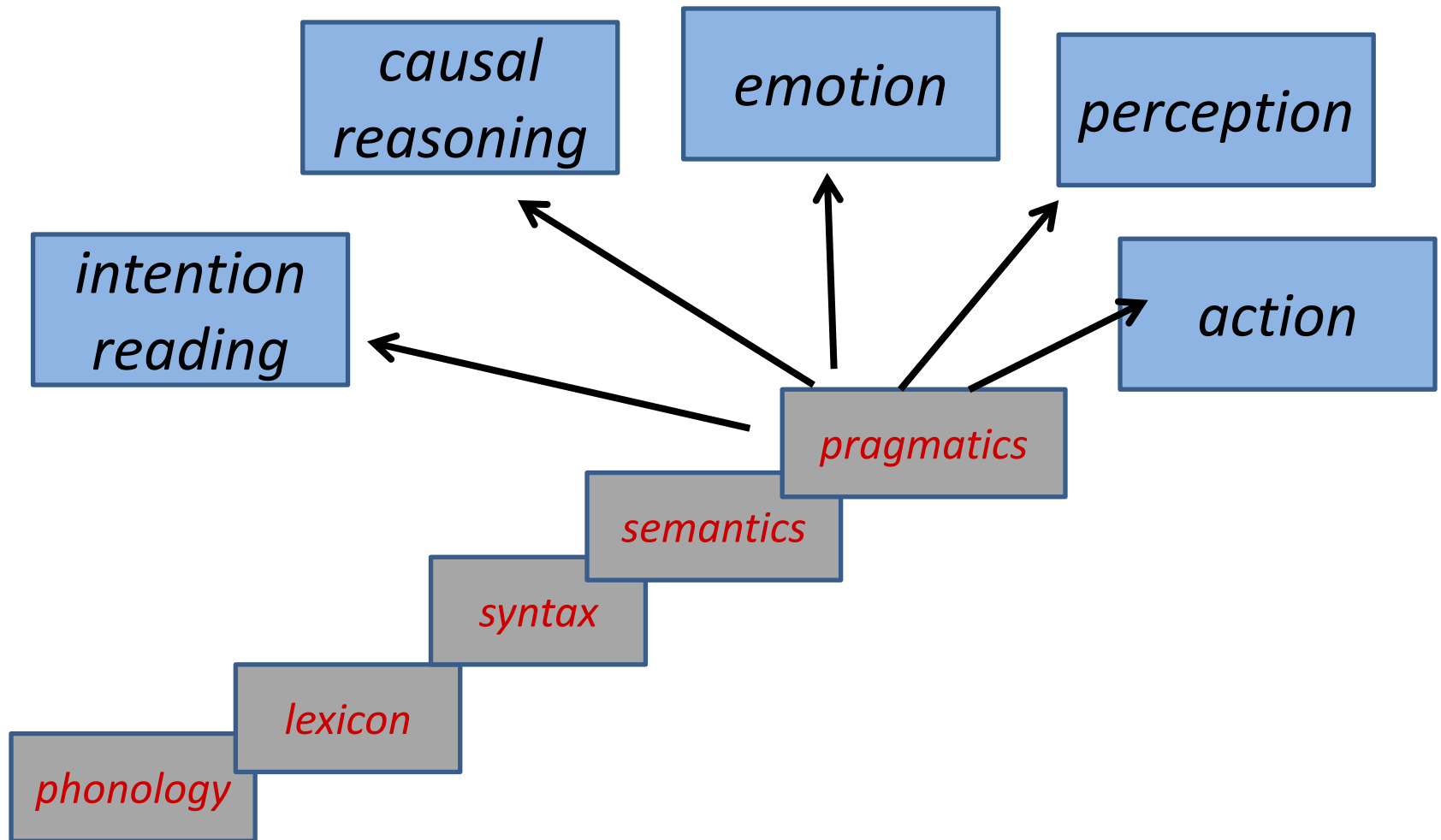
# Kind 4: Chains of inferences

## Language as Thought Version

Same representational vocabulary



## Kind 5: Processing in other domains triggered by language



# 5 broad kinds of *pragmatic* effects

1. Top-down, pragmatic constraints on pre-semantic processes
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5. Processing in other cognitive domains triggered by language
  - Affiliation, mirroring, emotional reactions, ACE.....

# Lesson 4:

## Interaction unfolds over time

Morals from slips of the tongue

Does incremental activation mean that everything happens instantly?

No, this is computation not magic

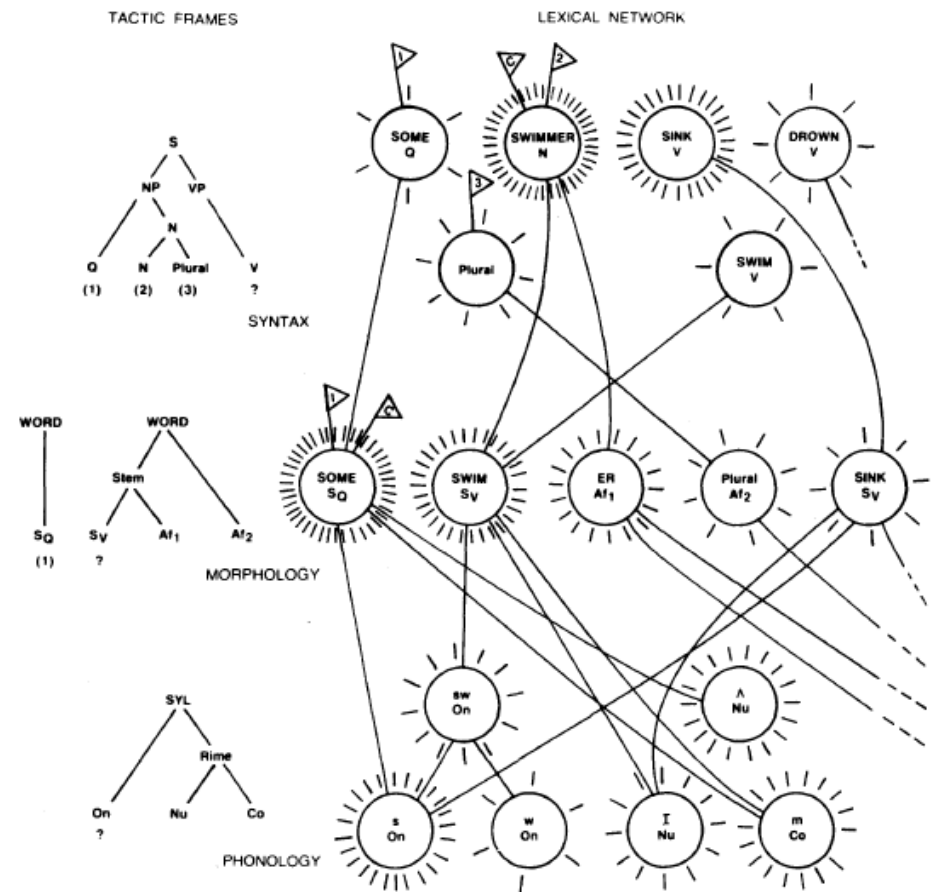
It still involves transformations of information over time.

7-10 ms to travel over one synapse (who knows how many synapses are involved)

# Interaction unfolds over time

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GARY S. DELL



Sound exchange errors are more common if the error will form a word

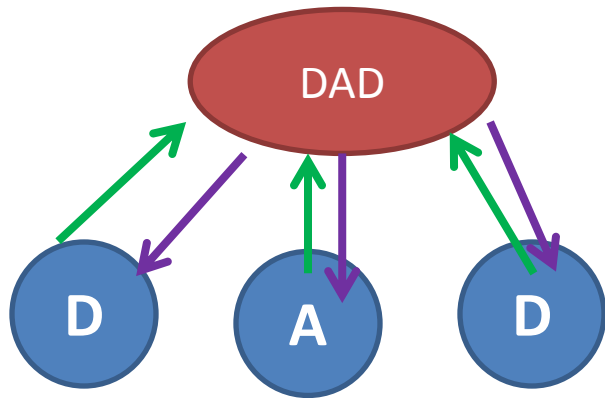
Why?

Baars & Motley (1974) slip paradigm

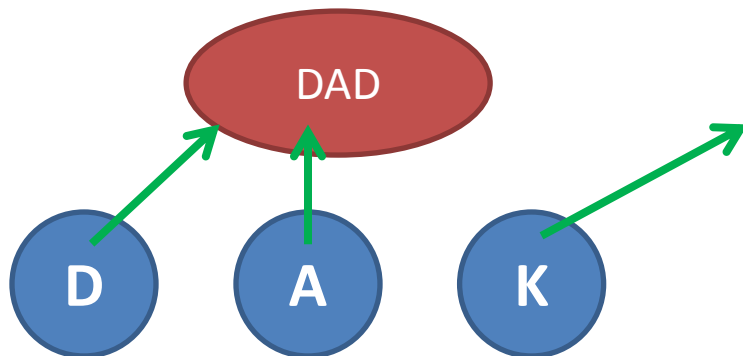
	Target	Error
Word Condition	Bad Dean	Dad Bean
Nonword Condition	Back Deal	Dack Beal

# Interaction unfolds over time

Dell (1986) Errors in phonological encoding



Feedback loops  
influence  
phonological selection

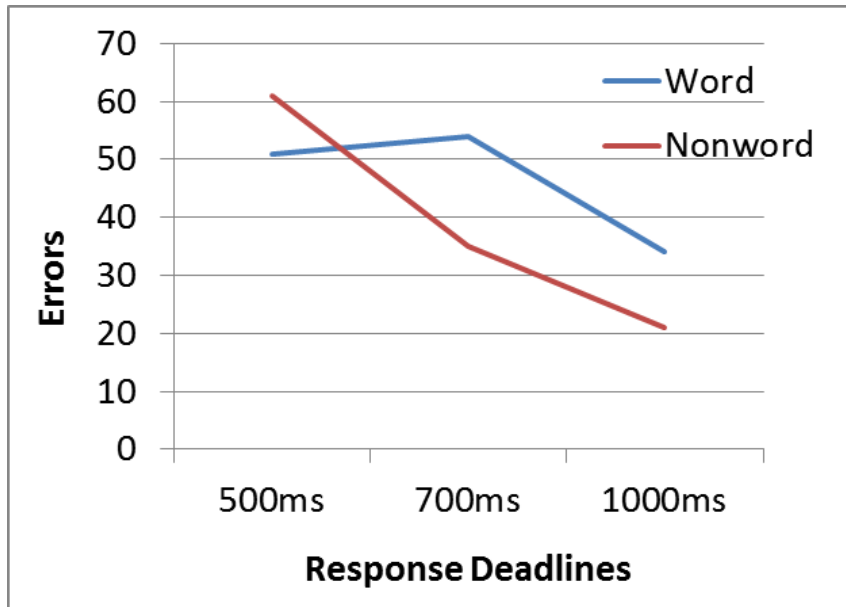


	Target	Error
Word Condition	Bad Dean	Dad Bean
Nonword Condition	Back Deal	Dack Beal



# Interaction unfolds over time

## Dell (1986) Errors in phonological encoding



Bias for words in phonological errors emerge with more processing time

	Target	Error
Word Condition	Bad Dean	Dad Bean
Nonword Condition	Back Deal	Dack Beal

# Collaborators, conversation and other debts

Yi Ting Huang



Noemi Hahn



Manizeh Khan



Josh Hartshorne



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Carissa Shafto  
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Margarita Zeitlin



John Trueswell

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Gennaro Chierchia



Daniele Panizza