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Quantity and Relationality:
MEG Investigations of Semantic Processing in
the left Inferior Parietal Lobule

collaborative work with Liina Pylkkänen (NYU)

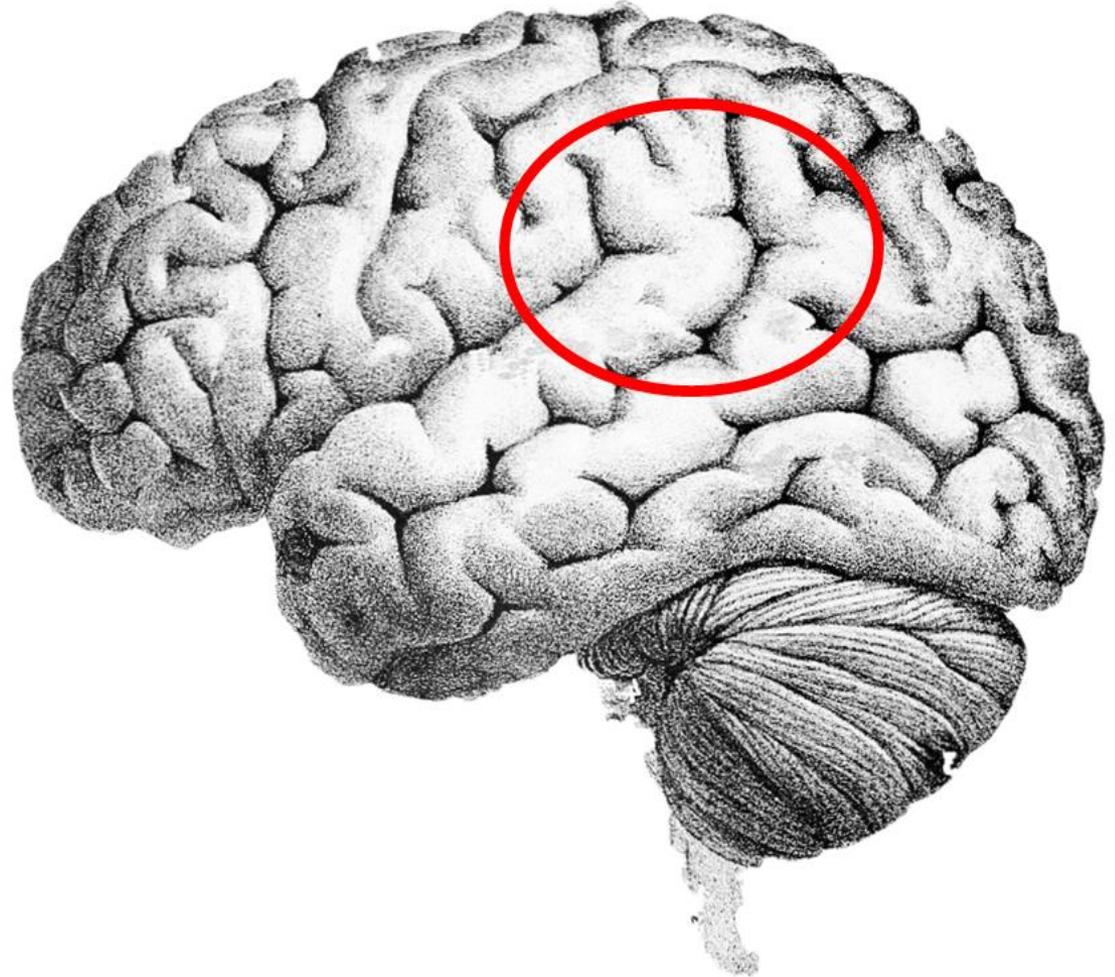
How does the brain process meaning?

Left Inferior Parietal Lobule

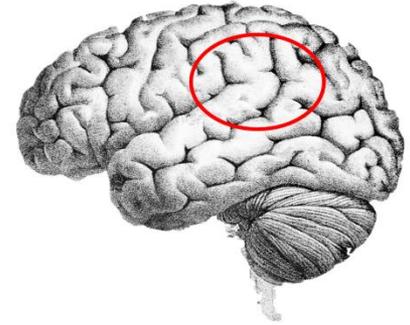
(Supramarginal & Angular Gyri)

Angular Gyrus has received a lot of attention recently as a "semantic hub" (Binder & Desai 2011)

- ▶ **Most often activated region for semantic tasks!**
- ▶ **What functions might underlie activity in this brain region?**



Literature Background - AG



“Relationships”

1. Noun + Noun: (Lewis et al. 2015, de Zubicaray et al. 2013)
2. NN Compounds: Boylan et al (2014), Graves et al (2010), Estes (2003)
3. Isolated Noun: Bar et al (2007), Aminoff et al (2006), Bar (2004), Bar & Aminoff (2003)

Both

Verbal Argument Structure

1. Verbs in isolation varying number of arguments: Meltzer-Asscher et al. (2013), Thompson et al. (2010), Thompson et al. (2007)
2. Verbs>Nouns: Bedny et al (2014)
3. Verbs v. Nouns in context: Boylan et al (2015)

“Events”

1. Integration of event information (Binder & Desai 2011, Binder et al 2009, Lau et al 2008)
2. Naming Actions (Damasio et al 2000)
3. Linguistically v. non-linguistically encoded events in movies and scenes : Sitnikova et al (2008a, 2008b)
4. Episodic Memory (Andreasen et al 1995)

Summary

To the extent that research has been done on neural correlates of **argument structure**, it has mostly grown out of work on **the neural correlates of verbs**.

Predicates are often eventive and often packaged as verbs.

- ▶ But, as linguists, we know there are **nominal** predicates that are **non-eventive** (Löbner 1989, Löbner 1991, Barker 1995, Barker 2016)

Non-Eventive Relational Predicates

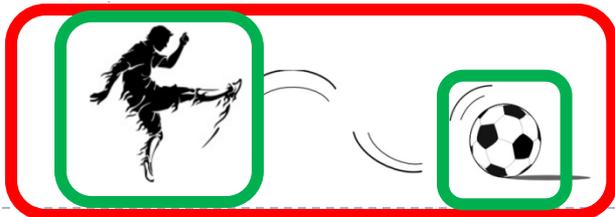
adapted from Barker & Dowty 1993, Barker 1995

“relational nouns”

- ▶ Kinship terms
- ▶ Intrinsic aspects

kinship terms denote static relationships between individuals

- ▶ **MOTHER** names a static relationship between **kin**

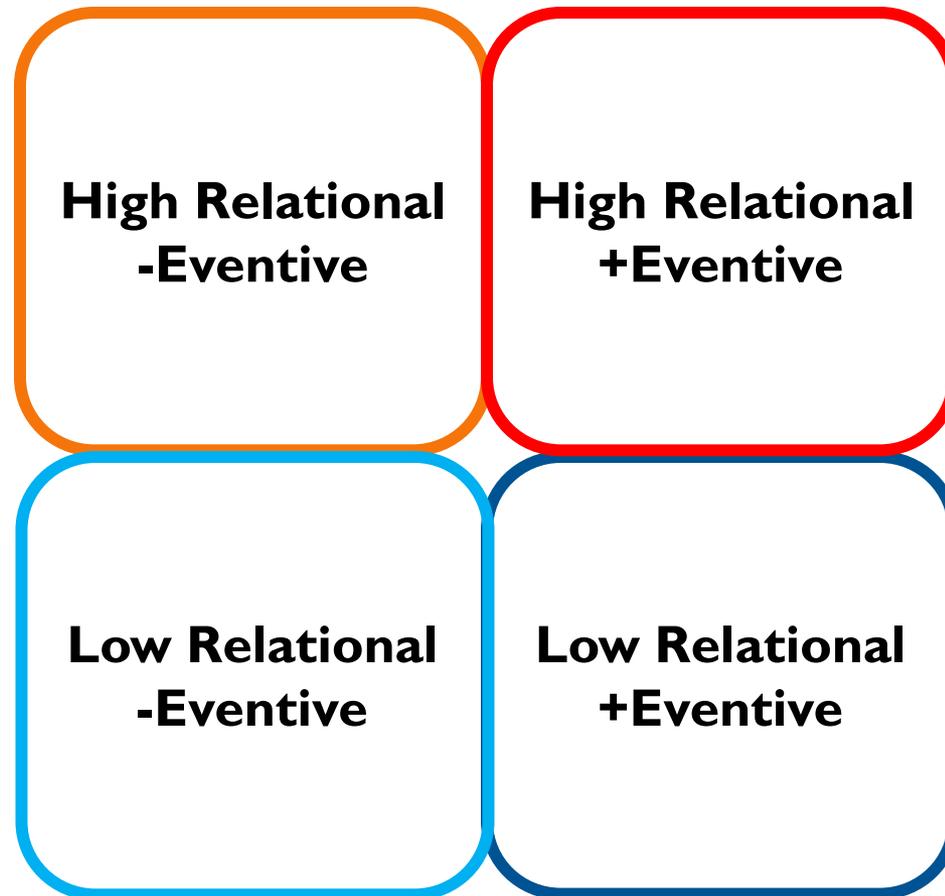


Experiment 1

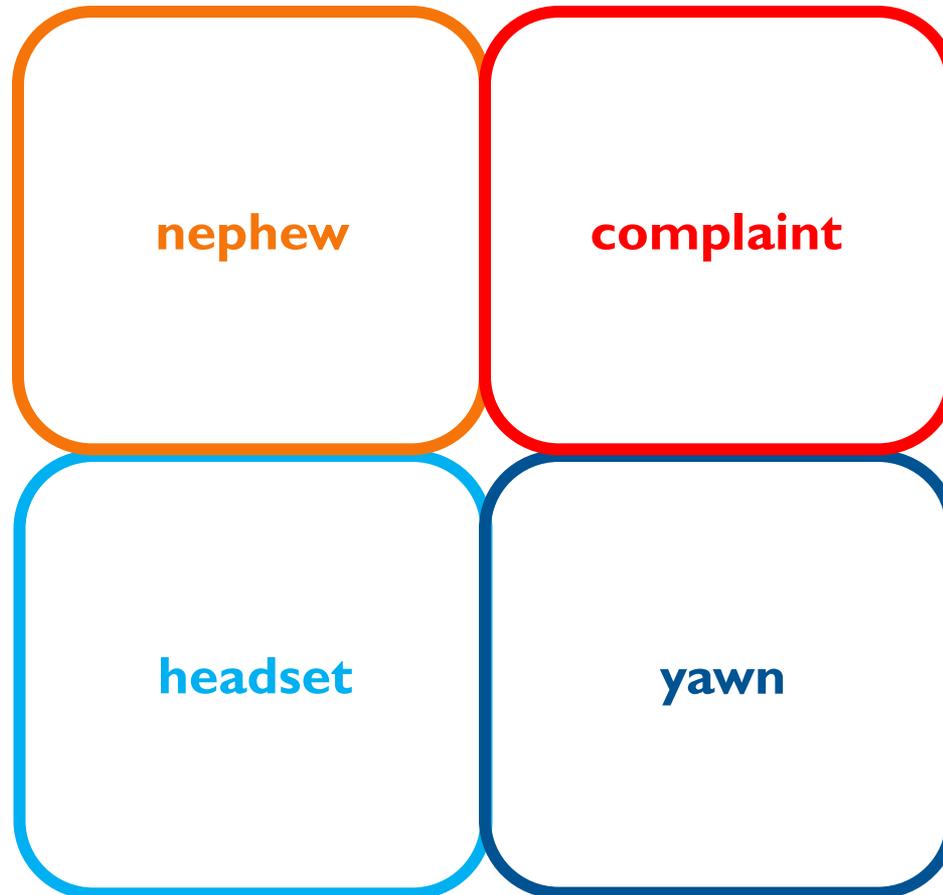
Williams, Reddigari, Pylkkanen (2017)

Early sensitivity of left perisylvian cortex to relationality in nouns and verbs

Our experimental design:



Relationality v. Eventivity

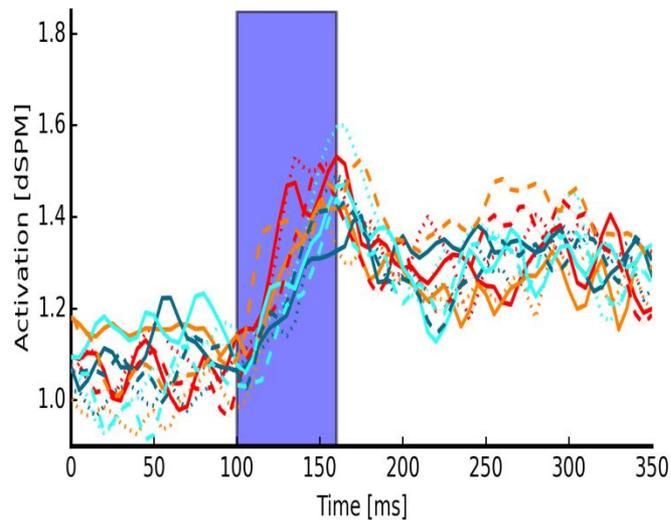


We presented words
in 3 contexts:

- Isolation
- Modification
- Possession

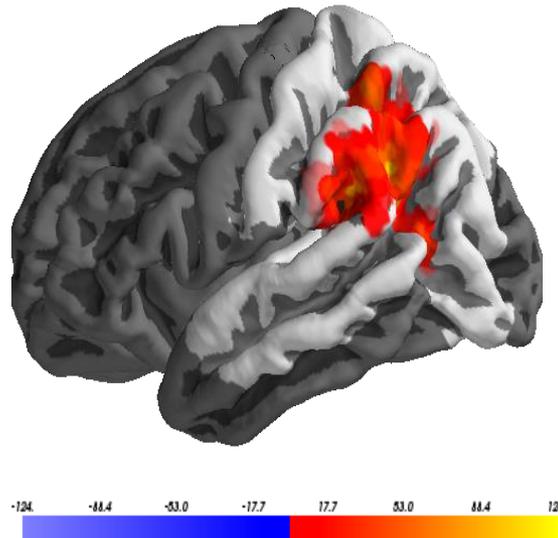
Results – Reading Results

1: Waveforms



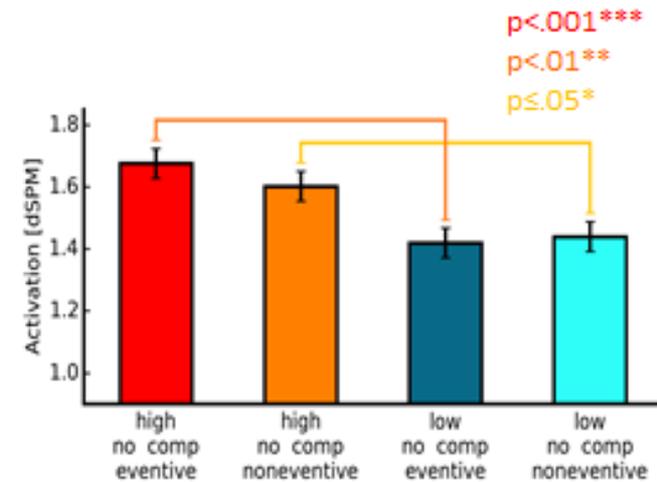
- ▶ dark bar: cluster duration
- ▶ dSPM: “dynamic statistical parametric mapping” unit
 - ▶ Output of parametric tests

2: Brains



- ▶ light grey: search area
- ▶ dark grey: unsearched
- ▶ colored portion: brain activation
- ▶ color bar: test statistic

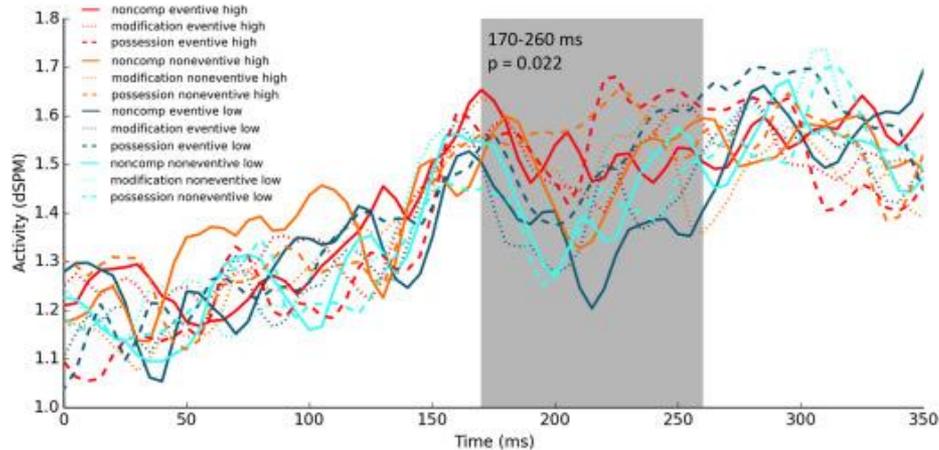
3: Bargraphs



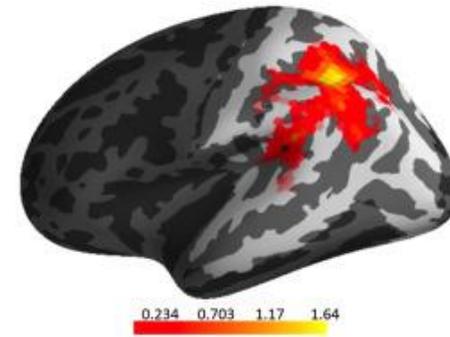
- ▶ Bar colors: indicate design
- ▶ Significance: colored lines indicate significance
- ▶ Pairwise t-tests: Uncorrected

Results – Left Hemisphere

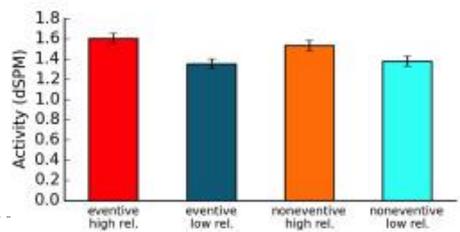
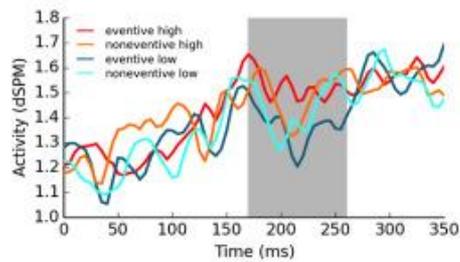
A) Average brain activity in cluster sources



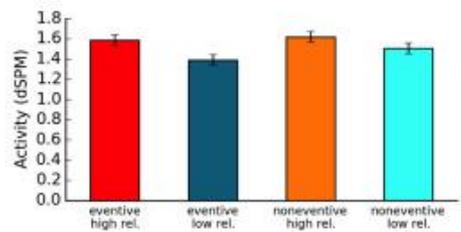
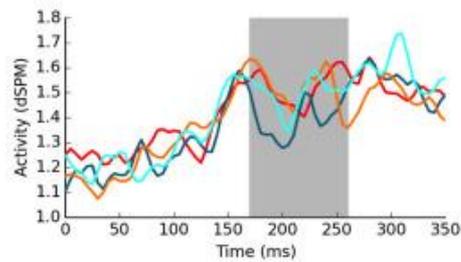
B) Mean F-values over cluster duration



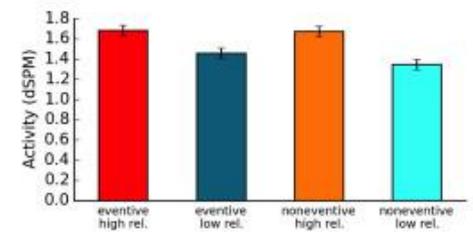
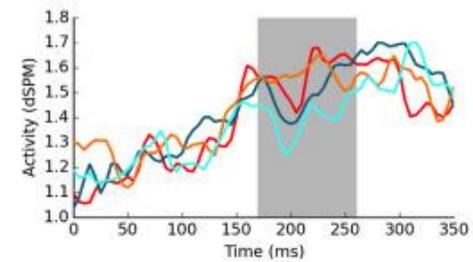
C) No Composition



D) Modification



E) Possession



Take home from Experiment 1:

Left IPL is sensitive to **relationality** of a word,
not its **eventivity**,
not its **context**.



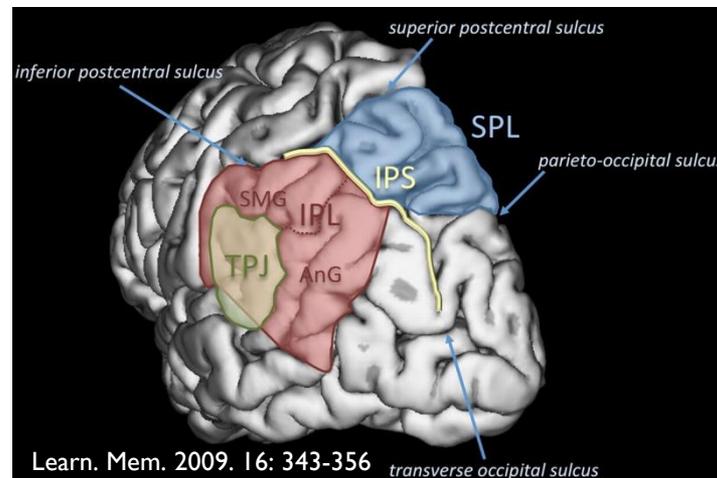
What function underlies
left IPL activity?

Although the left IPL is sensitive to argument structure manipulations, it is not **selectively** sensitive to only argument structure

Left IPL has also been implicated in **Quantity Processing**

“The human intraparietal sulcus is systematically activated in all number tasks and could host a **central amodal representation of quantity**.” (Dehaene et al 2004a)

- ▶ IAG does language-related, verbal mathematical calculation (Dehaene et al 2003)
 - ▶ “Mental Number Line” (Göbel et al 2001): greater or lesser than # task, rTMS
 - ▶ Arithmetic Fact-Retrieval (Grabner et al 2009): self-report, fMRI
 - ▶ Easier > Difficult arithmetic problems (Stanescu-Cosson et al., 2000)
 - ▶ Magnitude Estimation (Dehaene et al 2004b): auditory or visual objects
 - ▶ Trained multiplication (Delazer et al 2003): IPS → IAG through training
 - ▶ Linking two-sentence discourses to plural rather than singular subjects (Boiteau et al 2014)
 - ▶ Number, case agreement violations (Carreiras et al., 2010)



Number Cognition (Domahs et al 2012)

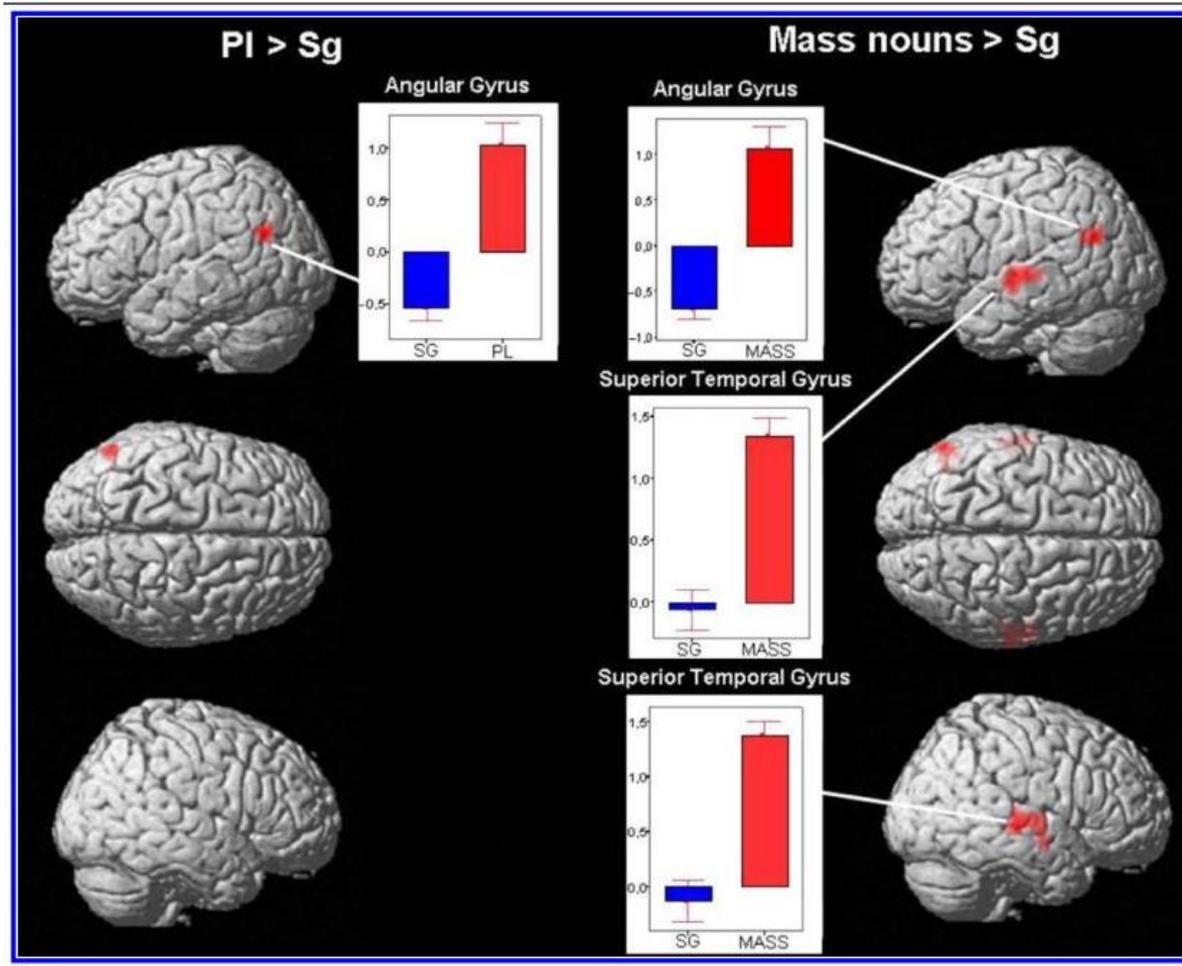


Figure 1. Cortical activations for the contrasts plural > singular (Pl > Sg) and mass > singular (Mass nouns > Sg; FDR-corrected, $k = 5$ voxels). The bar charts indicate beta values for singular nouns (blue) and plural nouns (red) referring to the marked cortical region.

Count Singular	Count Plural	Mass
palm <i>Palme</i>	palms <i>Palmen</i>	water <i>Wasser</i>

Plurals: umlaut, suffix, or by agreement in determiner or verb

Singulars: unmarked, or agreement

Masses: substances (e.g. *Wasser*, water) or abstracts (e.g. *Armut*, poverty)

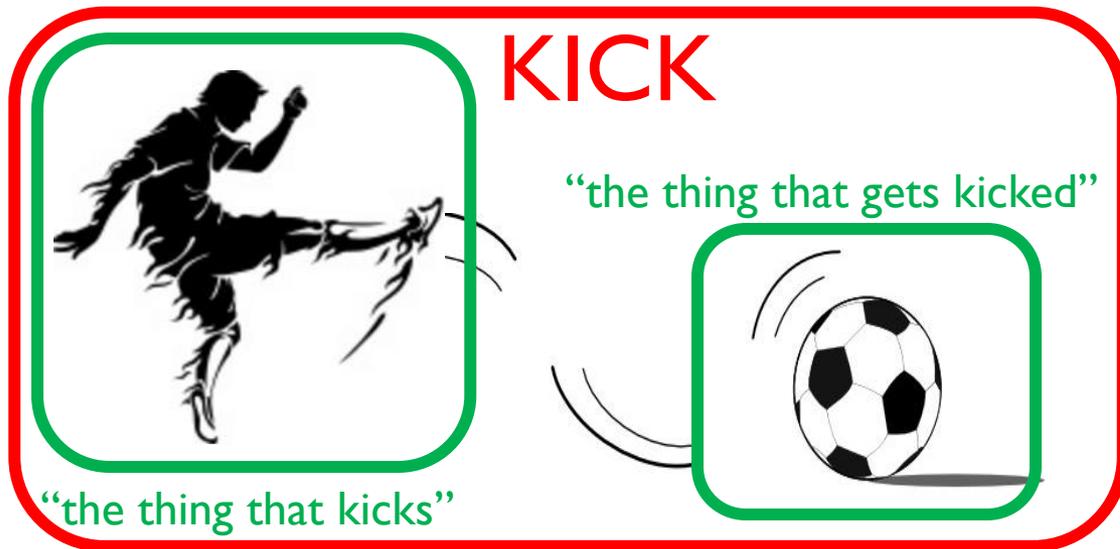
MRI, event recall task, auditory presentation, fluent speech, German

If one function underlies left IPL Activity, it must be broad enough to subsume both **quantity** and **argument structure** effects

Idea

Perhaps **argument structure** effects can be subsumed under **quantity** effects

- ▶ If **predicates** activate their **arguments**, multivalent predicates activate more arguments than monovalent ones



Proposed Design

- ▶ 2 x 2 Basic Design
- ▶ Relational nouns activate left IPL more than non-relational ones
- ▶ Plurals activate IAG more than singulars (Domahs et al 2012)

		Unmarked	-s marked
Count	Relational	mother	mothers
	Non-rel	lady	ladies

MOTHER



relational nouns: *mother, bride, king, height, enemy, assassin...*

Proposed Design 2 x 2 - Predictions

If relational nouns activate their arguments:

mother > lady

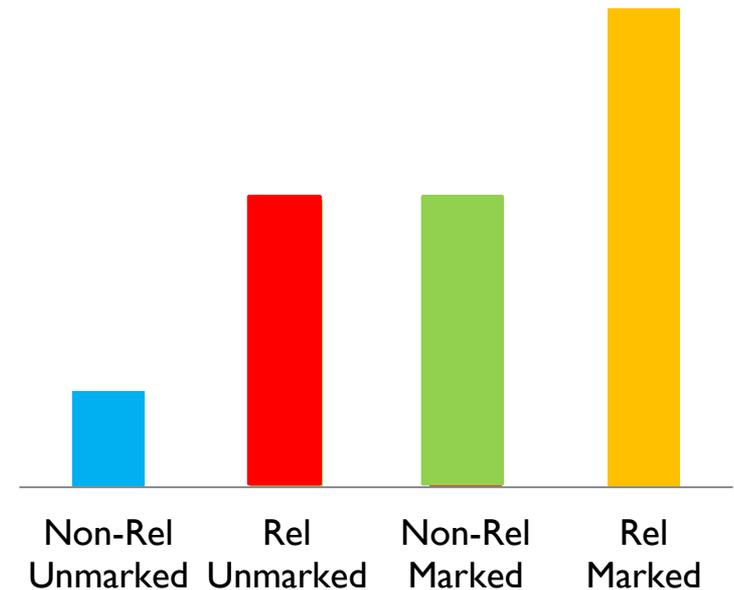
If we replicate Domahs et al. (2012):

ladies > lady and *mothers > mother*

If both hold (perhaps):

mothers > ladies, mother > lady

		Unmarked	-s marked
Count	Relational	mother	mothers
	Non-Rel	lady	ladies



Proposed Design - Baselines

Problem!

Morphological complexity varies too...



Proposed Design 2 x 2 x 2 - Baselines

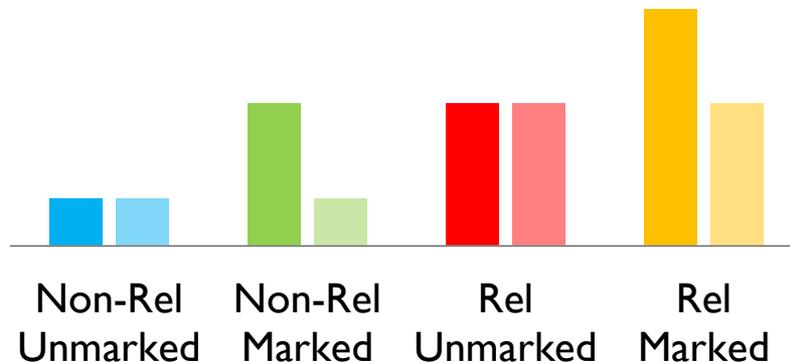
- ▶ **Solution: add a morphological control**
 - ▶ Verbs can vary in relationality and take s-marking
 - ▶ Verbal s-marking should **not** result in multiplicity
 - ▶ English is ideal in this respect because present tense marker is homophonous with plural marker

	Nouns		Verbs	
	Unmarked	-s marked	Unmarked	-s marked
Relational	mother	mothers	flog	flogs
Non-rel	lady	ladies	soar	soars

Proposed Design 2 x 2 x 2- Predictions

- ▶ Verbs and nouns both take s-marking
 - ▶ If morphological marking affects activation, we can residualize
- ▶ Verbal s-marking should not result in multiplicity
 - ▶ No difference anticipated between *flog* and *flogs*, *soar* and *soars*
- ▶ Replicate verbal relationality effect (Thompson et al 2007, etc.)
 - ▶ *flog, flogs* > *soar, soars*

	Nouns		Verbs	
	Unmarked	-s marked	Unmarked	-s marked
Relational	mother	mothers	flog	flogs
Non-rel	lady	ladies	soar	soars



Proposed Design - Baselines

Problem!

s-marked verbs can get **habitual**
interpretation

Habitual could be a multiplicity of events
taking place over multiple episodes...



Multiplicity Study Design Table

Solution: add another morphological control

- ▶ -ed is another short inflectional suffix
- ▶ We now have the opportunity to test one more contrast!
 - ▶ Some of the eventive stimuli in Exp I were **N-V ambiguous**, does that affect the results?

		Nouny		Verby		N/V-Ambiguous	
		Unmarked	-s marked	Unmarked	-s marked	Unmarked	-ed marked
Count	Relational	sister	sisters	adopt	adopts	taunt	taunted
	Non-rel	lady	ladies	erupt	erupts	bubble	bubbled

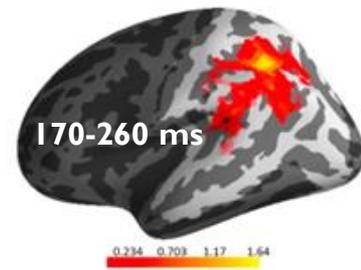
Counts = 50 per condition, total 700 stimuli.



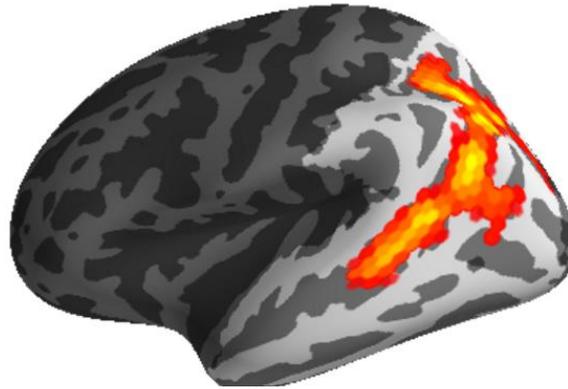
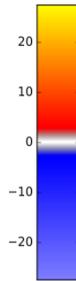
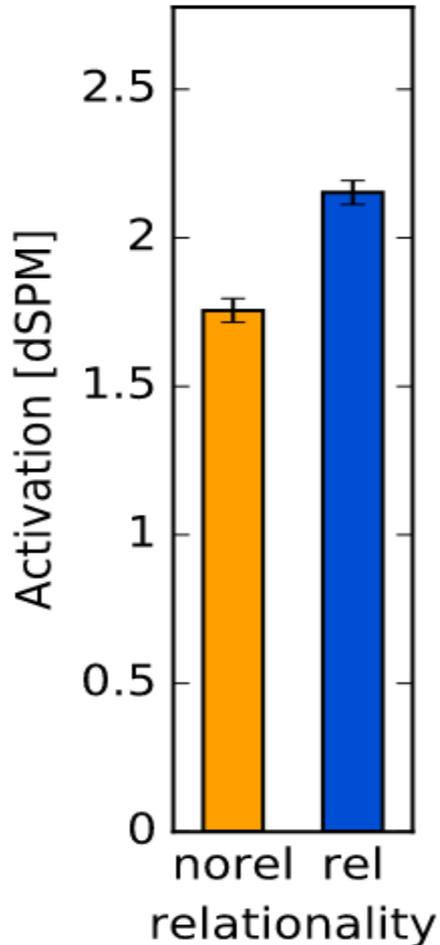
Very Preliminary Results – Just for Count Nouns

Subject to change, no controls checked yet.

Relationality Effect – Replicated!

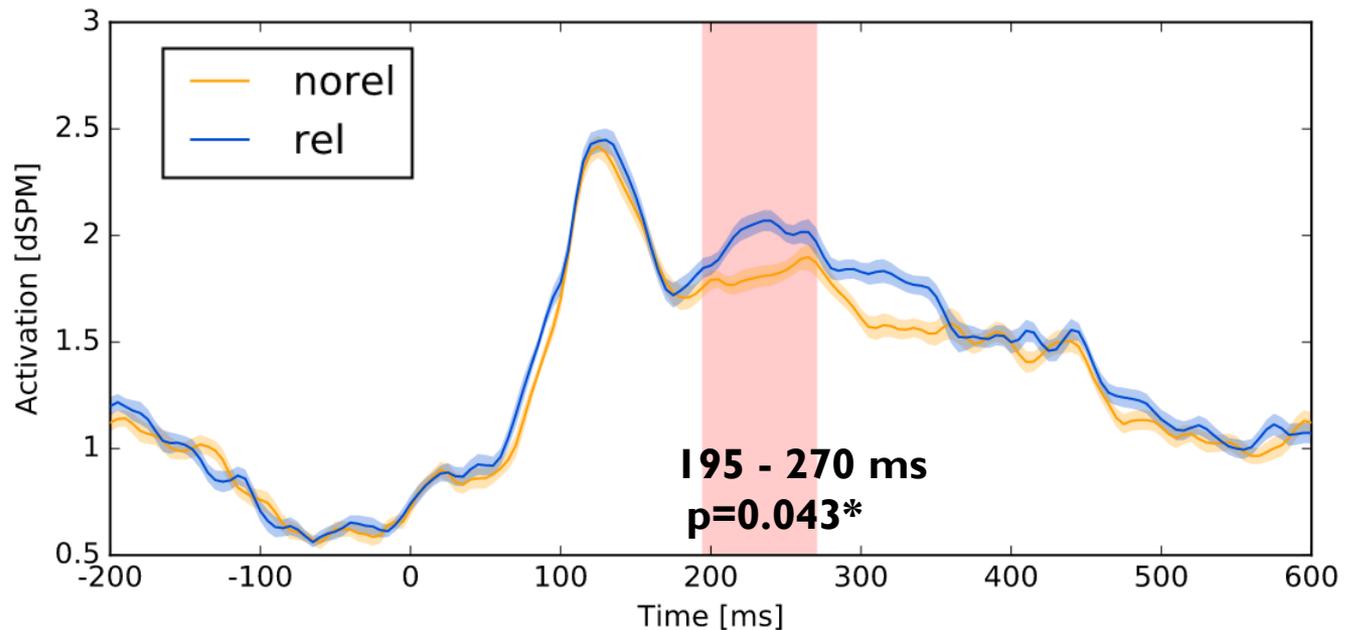


lady < sister



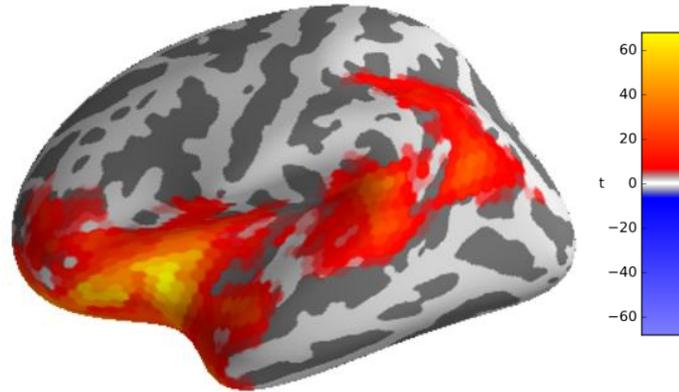
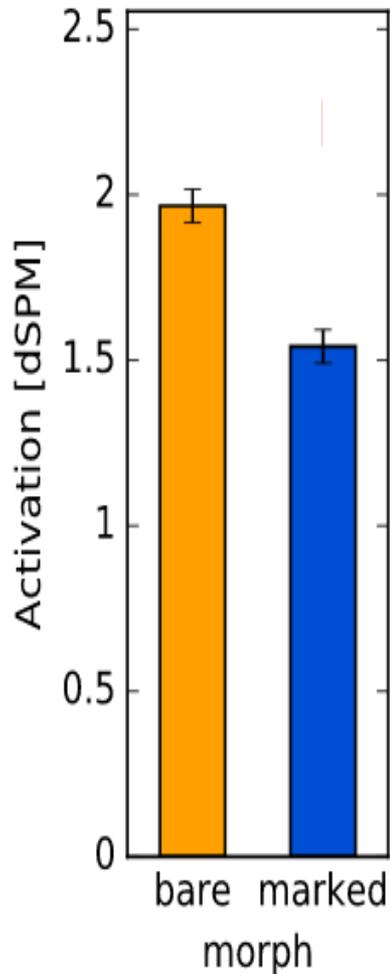
Spatio-temporal cluster test, $p=0.05$, min 10 contiguous, min 25 ms

- test spatial region same as experiment I
- Test temporal extent chosen based on experiment I (150-300ms)



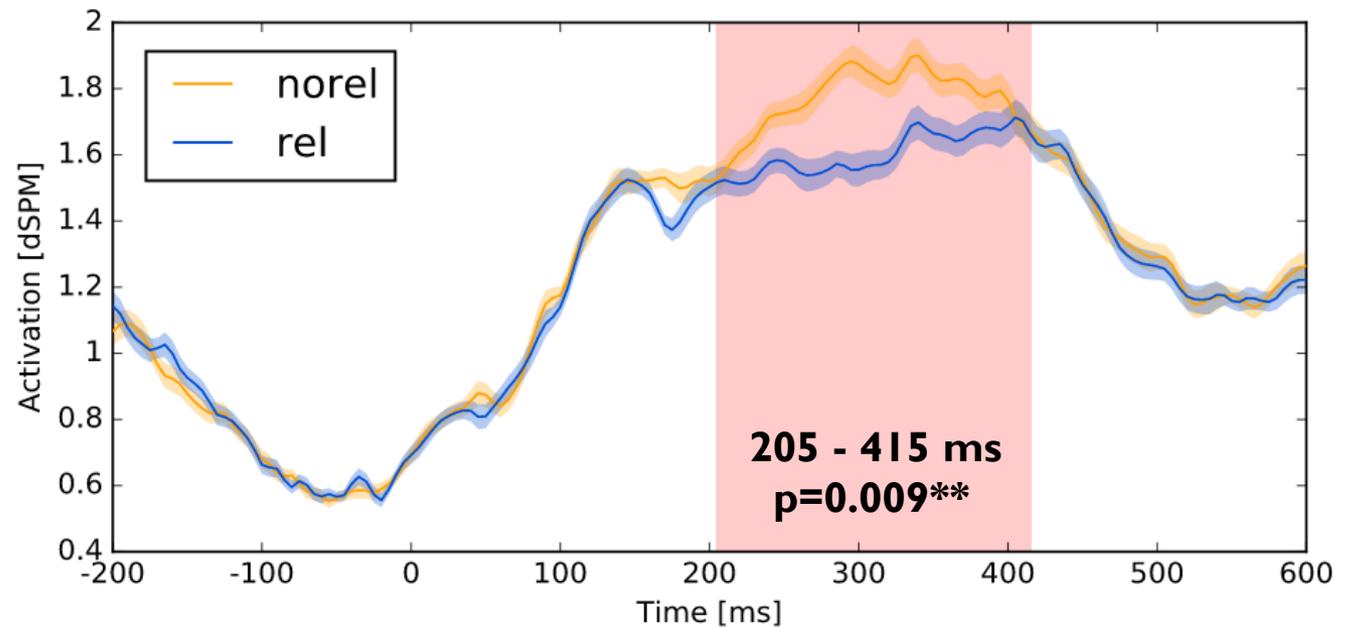
Plurality Effect?

lady, sister < ladies, sisters



Spatio-temporal cluster test,
 $p=0.05$, min 10 contiguous,
min 25 ms

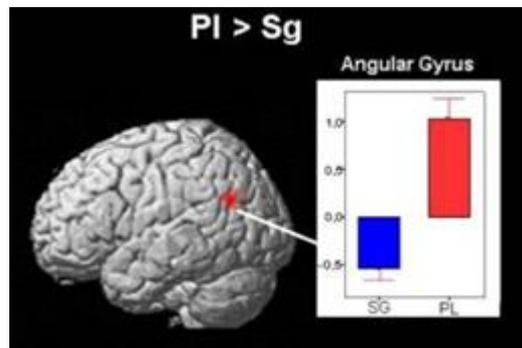
- region: left hemi.
- time :100-500ms



Discussion

Domahs et al. 2014

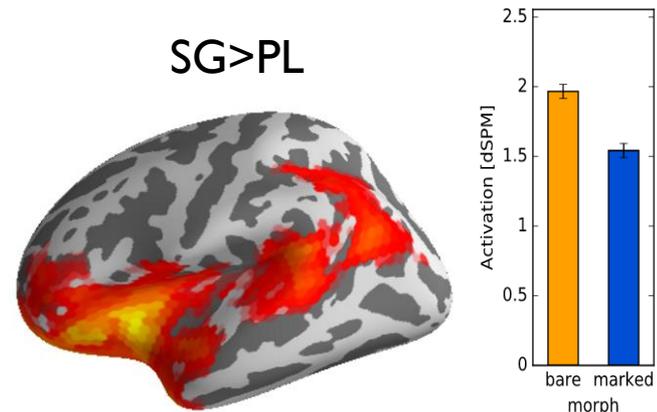
- ▶ **More** activation for plurals than singulars
- ▶ Task was *naturalistic listening*, German, fMRI



This study

Replication: AG region is activated for quantity

- ▶ **Less** activation for plurals than bare forms
- ▶ Task was *single word reading*, English, MEG



Discussion & Conclusion

L IPL cares
about **quantity**

Directionality
of the effect is
not replicated

Discussion & Conclusion

In DP Context: Domahs et al. 2012

Singulars:

- ▶ **Atomic** individuals

Plurals:

- ▶ **Sum** individuals

In Isolation: this study

Singulars: perhaps interpreted as:

- ▶ Atomic individuals
- ▶ properties with only atoms in their extensions

Plurals: plural marked nouns could be taken to be:

- ▶ Sum individuals
- ▶ Kinds
- ▶ properties with just sums in their extension OR with sums and atoms in their extensions

Acknowledgments

- ▶ Collaborative work with Liina Pylkkänen
- ▶ Special thanks to: NYU NELLAB, Samir Reddigari, Alec Marantz, Chris Barker, Becky Laturus, Yohei Oseki

This research was supported by the National Science Foundation grant BCS-1221723 (L. Pylkkänen) and grant G1001 from the NYUAD Institute, New York University Abu Dhabi (L. Pylkkänen).