

Morphology as processed by the human brain

Kristýna Tomšů

tomsu@ufal.mff.cuni.cz



19. 5. 2014
ÚFAL week of Doctoral Students

Morphology

- the study of how words are formed in a language

Morphology

- the study of how words are formed in a language

jazykovědeckými

Morphology

- the study of how words are formed in a language

jazykovědeckými



Morphology

- the study of how words are formed in a language

jazykovědeckými

jazyk → jazykověda → jazykovědec →
jazykovědecký → jazykovědeckými



Morphology

- the study of how words are formed in a language

jazykovědeckými

jazyk → jazykověda → jazykovědec →
jazykovědecký → jazykovědeckými





Complex words in the brain

Complex words in the brain

**Stored as whole
(fully listing approach)**

Complex words in the brain

**Stored as whole
(fully listing approach)**

- fast

Complex words in the brain

**Stored as whole
(fully listing approach)**

- fast
but not economical

Complex words in the brain

**Stored as whole
(fully listing approach)**

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee,
1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee,
1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

effects of:

- constituent frequency (Ford, Davis,
Marslen-Wilson 2009, Lopez-Villasenor, 2012,
Raveh, 2002, in Kazanina, 2008)

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee, 1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

effects of:

- **constituent frequency** (Ford, Davis, Marslen-Wilson 2009, Lopez-Villasenor, 2012, Raveh, 2002, in Kazanina, 2008)
- **morphological priming** (Morris, 2007; Kazanina, 2008, Feldman, 2009; Smolka, 2007)

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee, 1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

Decomposed (fully parsing approach)

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee,
1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

Decomposed (fully parsing approach)

- economical

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee, 1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

Decomposed (fully parsing approach)

- economical
but slower

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee, 1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

Decomposed (fully parsing approach)

- economical
but slower
- ? pseudo-complex words ?

(Stockall & Marantz, 2006; Taft, 2004; in Kazanina, 2008)

Complex words in the brain

Stored as whole (fully listing approach)

- fast
but not economical
- ? novel words?

(Butterworth, 1983, Bybee, 1995; in Kazanina, 2008)

Decomposed (fully parsing approach)

- economical
but slower
- ? pseudo-complex words ?

(Stockall & Marantz, 2006; Taft, 2004; in Kazanina, 2008)

Combination (dual-route approach)

Complex words in the brain

**Combination
(dual-route approach)**

Complex words in the brain

Combination (dual-route approach)

- parallel or serial

Complex words in the brain

Combination (dual-route approach)

- parallel or serial
- ? border between storage and decomposition ?
 - (Baayen, Dijkstra, & Schreuder, 1997; Frauenfelder & Schreuder, 1992; Schreuder & Baayen, 1995, in Kazanina, 2008)

Complex words in the brain

Combination (dual-route approach)

- parallel or serial
- ? border between storage and decomposition ?
 - (Baayen, Dijkstra, & Schreuder, 1997; Frauenfelder & Schreuder, 1992; Schreuder & Baayen, 1995, in Kazanina, 2008)

No representation of morphology (distributed connectionist approach)

- no decomposition
- interplay of meaning and form
 - (e.g., Gonnerman, Seidenberg, & Andersen, 2007)



Experimental methods

Experimental methods

- lexical decision

Experimental methods

- lexical decision

depart

Experimental methods

- lexical decision

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming

departure

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming

depart

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming
 - controlling for phonological, semantical and morphological relationship

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming
 - controlling for phonological, semantical and morphological relationship

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming
 - controlling for phonological, semantical and morphological relationship
- reaction times (RTs) (e.g., Crepaldi, Rastle, Coltheart, 2010; Rastle, Davis, New, 2004)

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming
 - controlling for phonological, semantical and morphological relationship
- reaction times (RTs) (e.g., Crepaldi, Rastle, Coltheart, 2010; Rastle, Davis, New, 2004)
- event related potentials (ERPs) (e.g., Leminen, Leminen, Kujala, & Shtyrov, 2013, Leminen & Clahsen, 2014)

Experimental methods

- lexical decision
- priming
 - controlling for phonological, semantical and morphological relationship
- reaction times (RTs) (e.g., Crepaldi, Rastle, Coltheart, 2010; Rastle, Davis, New, 2004)
- event related potentials (ERPs) (e.g., Leminen, Leminen, Kujala, & Shtyrov, 2013, Leminen & Clahsen, 2014)
- functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) (e.g., Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2003, Meinzer, Lahiri, Fleisch, Hannemann, & Eulitz,



Influences on complex word processing

Influences on complex word processing

- **transparency** (e.g., Morris et al., 2007, Feldmann et al., 2009)
 - phonological / orthographical
 - semantical
 - morphological

Influences on complex word processing

- **transparency** (e.g., Morris et al., 2007, Feldmann et al., 2009)
 - **phonological / orthographical**
 - **semantical**
 - **morphological**
- **frequency of constituents** (e.g., Ford, Davis, Marslen-Wilson 2009, Lopez-Villasenor, 2012, Raveh, 2002, in Kazanina, 2008)

Influences on complex word processing

- **transparency** (e.g., Morris et al., 2007, Feldmann et al., 2009)
 - **phonological / orthographical**
 - **semantical**
 - **morphological**
- **frequency of constituents** (e.g., Ford, Davis, Marslen-Wilson 2009, Lopez-Villasenor, 2012, Raveh, 2002, in Kazanina, 2008)
- **functional type of affix** (e.g., Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2003; Leminen et al, 2013)
 - **inflection x derivation**
 - **some studies: inflections prime as much as the lemma itself**

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- differences found

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- differences found
 - prototypical derivations and inflections used
- (Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2013, Feldman 2004)

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- differences found
 - prototypical derivations and inflections used
(Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2013, Feldman 2004)
- the border between inflection/derivation across languages

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- differences found
 - prototypical derivations and inflections used
(Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2013, Feldman 2004)
- the border between inflection/derivation across languages
 - gender inflection
(Álvarez, Urrutia, Domínguez, & Sánchez-Casas, 2011)

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- differences found
 - prototypical derivations and inflections used
(Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2013, Feldman 2004)
- the border between inflection/derivation across languages
 - gender inflection
(Álvarez, Urrutia, Domínguez, & Sánchez-Casas, 2011)
- clear-cut or graded effects?

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- differences found
 - prototypical derivations and inflections used
(Bozic & Marslen-Wilson, 2013, Feldman 2004)
- the border between inflection/derivation across languages
 - gender inflection
(Álvarez, Urrutia, Domínguez, & Sánchez-Casas, 2011)
- clear-cut or graded effects?
 - tested for derivations only
(Gonnerman et al, 2007)

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire
pekařem – pekař semantically close inflection

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire

pekařem – pekař

semantically close inflection

pekařův – pekař

semantically close derivation

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire

pekařem – pekař

semantically close inflection

pekařův – pekař

semantically close derivation

pekařům – pekař

semantically distant inflection

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire

pekařem – pekař

semantically close inflection

pekařův – pekař

semantically close derivation

pekařům – pekař

semantically distant inflection

pekařka – pekař

semantically distant derivation

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire
 - pekařem – pekař semantically close inflection
 - pekařův – pekař semantically close derivation
 - pekařům – pekař semantically distant inflection
 - pekařka – pekař semantically distant derivation
- how reflected in RTs?

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire
 - pekařem – pekař semantically close inflection
 - pekařův – pekař semantically close derivation
 - pekařům – pekař semantically distant inflection
 - pekařka – pekař semantically distant derivation
- how reflected in RTs?
- assumption: graded effects based on transparency, not the type of affix

Topics of interest

- influences on decomposition

Inflections vs. derivations OR transparent vs. opaque?

- conditions based on a pre-test questionnaire
 - pekařem – pekař semantically close inflection
 - pekařův – pekař semantically close derivation
 - pekařům – pekař semantically distant inflection
 - pekařka – pekař semantically distant derivation
- how reflected in RTs?
- assumption: graded effects based on transparency, not the type of affix
- further study: sentence stimuli

antidisestablishmentarianism



References

- Álvarez, C. J., Urrutia, M., Domínguez, A., & Sánchez-Casas, R. (2011). Processing inflectional and derivational morphology: Electrophysiological evidence from Spanish. *Neuroscience letters*, 490(1), 6-10.
- Amenta, S., & Crepaldi, D. (2012). Morphological processing as we know it: an analytical review of morphological effects in visual word identification. *Frontiers in psychology*, 3.
- Božić, M., & Marslen-Wilson, W. D. (2013). Neurocognitive mechanisms for processing inflectional and derivational complexity in English. *Psihologija*, 46(4), 439-454.
- Crepaldi, D., Rastle, K., Coltheart, M., & Nickels, L. (2010). 'Fell' primes 'fall', but does 'bell' prime 'ball'? Masked priming with irregularly-inflected primes. *Journal of memory and language*, 63(1), 83-99.
- Andoni Dunabeitia, J., Perea, M., & Carreiras, M. (2008). Does darkness lead to happiness? Masked suffix priming effects. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 23(7-8), 1002-1020.
- Feldman, L. B., O'Connor, P. A., & Moscoso del Prado Martín, F. (2009). Early morphological processing is morphosemantic and not simply morpho-orthographic: A violation of form-then-meaning accounts of word recognition. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 16, 684-691.
- Ford, M. A., Davis, M. H., & Marslen-Wilson, W. D. (2010). Derivational morphology and base morpheme frequency. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 63(1), 117-130.
- Giraudo, H. (2003). On the role of derivational affixes in recognizing complex words: Evidence from masked priming Héléne Giraudo and Jonathan Grainger. *Morphological structure in language processing*, 151, 209.
- Gonnerman, L. M., Seidenberg, M. S., & Andersen, E. S. (2007). Graded semantic and phonological similarity effects in priming: Evidence for a distributed connectionist approach to morphology. *Journal of experimental psychology: General*, 136(2), 323.
- Kazanina, N., Dukova-Zheleva, G., Geber, D., Kharlamov, V., & Tonciulescu, K. (2008). Decomposition into multiple morphemes during lexical access: A masked priming study of Russian nouns. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 23(6), 800-823.
- Leminen, A., & Clahsen, H. (2014). Brain potentials to inflected adjectives: Beyond storage and decomposition. *Brain research*, 1543, 223-234.
- Leminen, A., Leminen, M., Kujala, T., & Shtyrov, Y. (2013). Neural dynamics of inflectional and derivational morphology processing in the human brain. *Cortex*, 49(10), 2758-2771.
- López-Villaseñor, M. L. (2012). The effects of base frequency and affix productivity in Spanish. *The Spanish journal of psychology*, 15(02), 505-512.
- Lück, M., Hahne, A., & Clahsen, H. (2006). Brain potentials to morphologically complex words during listening. *Brain research*, 1077(1), 144-152.
- Meinzer, M., Lahiri, A., Fleisch, T., Hannemann, R., & Eulitz, C. (2009). Opaque for the reader but transparent for the brain: neural signatures of morphological complexity. *Neuropsychologia*, 47(8), 1964-1971.
- Morris, J., Porter, J. H., Grainger, J., & Holcomb, P. J. (2011). Effects of lexical status and morphological complexity in masked priming: an ERP study. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 26(4-6), 558-599.
- Penke, M., Janssen, U., & Eisenbeiss, S. (2004). Psycholinguistic evidence for the underspecification of morphosyntactic features. *Brain and language*, 90(1), 423-433.
- Rastle, K., Davis, M. H., & New, B. (2004). The broth in my brother's brothel: Morpho-orthographic segmentation in visual word recognition. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 11(6), 1090-1098.
- Smolík, F. (2010). Inflectional Suffix Priming in Czech Verbs and Nouns. In S. Ohlsson & R. Catrambone (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society* (pp. 1667-1672). Austin, TX: Cognitive Science Society
- Smolka, E., Zwitserlood, P., & Rösler, F. (2007). Stem access in regular and irregular inflection: Evidence from German participles. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 57(3), 325-347.
- Szlachta, Z., Bozic, M., Jelowicka, A., & Marslen-Wilson, W. D. (2012). Neurocognitive dimensions of lexical complexity in Polish. *Brain and language*, 121(3), 219-225.

Topics of interest

- representations of affixes / grammatical categories

Affix priming

- derivational suffixes (e.g., Dunabeitia, Perea, & Carreiras, 2008)
- inflectional suffixes??

Smolík, 2010

vrba – žena

pána – žena

duše – žena

Set of grammatical features

- feature representation of grammatical categories (Leminen, & Clahsen, 2014)
- conditions with varying degree/kind of violation
- violations of syntactic vs. morphological structure

Dali ženám květiny.

Dali ženům květiny.

Dali ženách květiny.

Topics of interest

- words with several morphemes

Effects of complexity

- calculation of meaning should be slower than for monomorphemic controls
- processing load as a function of complexity? (Meinzer et al., 2009)
- processing of highly complex words vs. less complex ones
hračkářský – studentský

Problems in morphology research

- words studied mostly in isolation
 - but: Lueck, Hahne, & Clahsen, 2006; Penke, 2004
- generalising over experiments
 - **interactions?** (Amenta, 2012)
- varying definitions of influencing factors
- most studies on English/German
 - but: Polish (Szlachta, Bozic, Jelowicka, & Marslen-Wilson, 2012), Finnish (Leminen et al., 2013)