Considering the Junction Model of Lexical Processing

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Abstract

A basic premise of research on word reading is that the reading system is composed of multiple processing pathways. It is widely accepted that one of these pathways is lexical in nature, and a second, complementary one is sublexical in nature. I will propose a junction model of word reading in which there are lexical and sublexical modes of processing, rather than pathways of processing. The junction model was motivated by some basic considerations of the relationship between spoken and written language processing, and by observations of naming errors under severe time pressure in the tempo-naming task. The model's architecture was based on two main principles. First, lexical knowledge is acquired and represented as junctions of perception and action. These junctions serve the dual-purpose of integrating over perceptual inputs that relate to individual words, as well as generating sequences of motor outputs that relate to words. Second, lexical processing can be cast as a balancing act of competitive and cooperative interactions among words. I present a conceptually simple pilot model in which the strengths of localist and distributed representation are leveraged to represent and process over 40,000 words of English. The simulations faired well against the naming and lexical decision times for over 30,000 words in the Elexicon database (Balota et al., 2002), but many challenges remain on the road toward a more complete implementation. Those challenges are among the discussion points that close the chapter.

The work presented in this chapter arose from two questions that may at first appear unrelated: should we accept the premise that skilled word reading is supported by lexical and sublexical pathways of processing, and how can we model the learning of orthographic and phonological representations for multisyllabic words? The field as a whole has answered "yes" to the first question, but is mostly silent with regard to the second. In this chapter, I argue that we should not take for granted the existence of lexical and sublexical pathways. There may instead be lexical and sublexical <u>modes</u> of processing in a single, integrated system. My collaborators and I have pursed this idea by exploring single-route theories of lexical processing in which orthographic, phonological, and semantic codes are all mediated by one level of representation. In our pursuit we were forced to confront the long-standing problem of modeling multisyllabic words. This chapter is an account of our efforts that have recently culminated in the junction model of lexical processing.

The story begins with yet another question: how does speech fit into theories of word reading? It is only common sense that written language processes are built upon spoken language processes. Spoken language takes precedence in all senses of the word. It is during speech acquisition that the phonological, morphological, and semantic structures of words are learned. These structures are learned as a bridge between speech signals (acoustic, optical, and articulatory) and the rest of the language system. When orthographic structures are introduced, they must be learned in a way that fits with the bridge already in place.

So how are orthographic inputs mapped onto spoken language processes in current theories of word reading? An answer can be found in diagrams of the two major current frameworks, shown in Figure 1. In the dual-route cascaded model (Coltheart, Curtis, Atkins, & Haller, 1993; Coltheart, Rastle, Perry, Langdon, & Ziegler, 2001), orthographic inputs connect with the spoken language system via two routes of processing, one lexical and the other sublexical. The sublexical processes break down the orthographic forms of words into sequences of graphemes, and a rule is used to essentially map each grapheme onto a corresponding phoneme. Phonemes would be learned during spoken language acquisition, and are therefore part of the spoken language system. Lexical processes associate each orthographic word form as a whole with semantic and

phonological representations that would also be learned during spoken language acquisition.
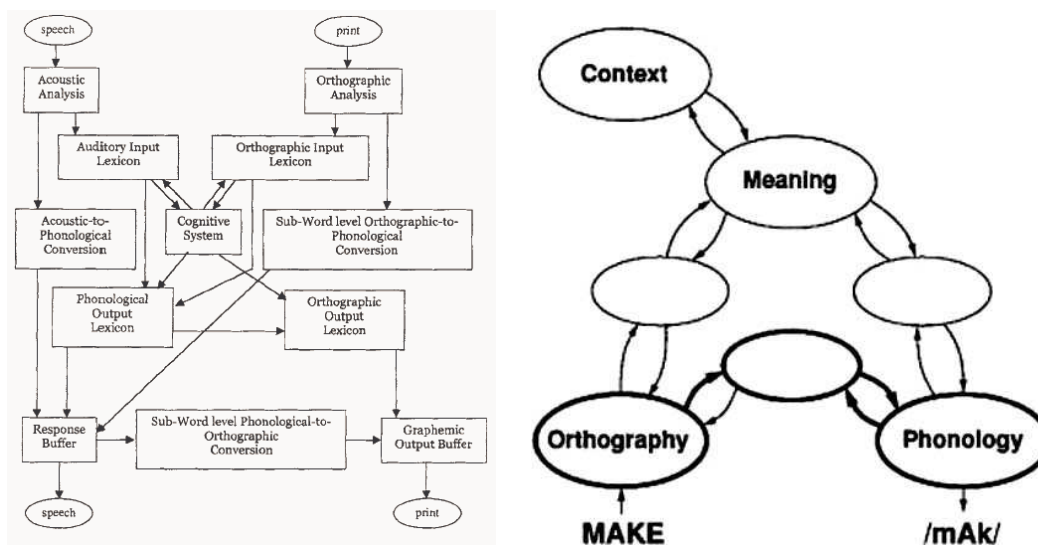

Figure 1. Two diagrams of the lexical processing system. The one on the left is taken from Patterson and Shewell (1987), and the one on the right is taken from Seidenberg and McClelland (1989). Lexical and sublexical pathways of processing can be found in both diagrams.

The answer is similar for the triangle framework of lexical processing (Plaut, McClelland, Seidenberg, & Patterson, 1996; Seidenberg & McClelland, 1989). Orthographic inputs are mapped onto phonological and semantic representations via two corresponding sets of hidden units. The orthography-phonology mapping is sublexical in nature because in most languages there tend to be systematic relations between orthographic and phonological units that are smaller than the word. The orthography-semantics mapping is lexical in nature because the relation between orthographic units and meaning is mostly unsystematic at the level of the morpheme (i.e., in English the letter 'd' bears no relation to the meaning of DOG).

Why is it hypothesized in these frameworks that orthographic inputs connect with the spoken language system via two separate routes, one lexical and the other sublexical? One reason is historical: researchers at one time believed that the functions performed by skilled readers required these two routes. On the one hand, skilled readers can pronounce words like PINT and HAVE even though they do not conform to the systematic relations between orthography and phonology. This ability suggests that

a lexical route is necessary to store the pronunciations of such irregular words individually. On the other hand, skilled readers can give plausible pronunciations for nonwords like PILT and HOVE. This ability suggests that a sublexical route is necessary to assemble novel pronunciations from grapheme-phoneme correspondences or the like.

As it turns out, the ability to read aloud both irregular words and nonwords does not necessarily require a lexical and sublexical route. Glushko (1979) explained how lexical representations might be used to generate nonword pronunciations via a process of analogy. For instance the pronunciation of PILT might be computed as a blend of words like SILT and PILL. Such an analogy model would be able to generate pronunciations for both irregular words and nonwords via a single route of processing. Seidenberg and McClelland (1989) then showed how a single level of distributed representation in a connectionist model can be used to generate pronunciations for both kinds of items.

These demonstrations are valuable in delineating the space of viable theories, but most researchers still believe that orthographic inputs are connected to the spoken language system via two routes. The main reason is evidence for the dissociation of lexical and sublexical processes. This evidence has most notably come from surface versus phonological dyslexia in their acquired forms. Surface dyslexia is characterized by poor reading of irregular words with relatively intact reading of nonwords (Behrmann & Bub, 1992). Phonological dyslexia is characterized as the opposite, thereby forming a double dissociation (Funnell, 1983). Double dissociations are usually interpreted as evidence for separable processes and this one is no exception. How could surface and phonological dyslexia occur without a lexical route and a sublexical route? Similar arguments have been made on the basis of evidence for strategic control of the two routes (Monsell, Patterson, Graham, Hughes, & et al., 1992; Zevin & Balota, 2000).

Considering a single-route architecture

The idea of lexical and sublexical routes appears to have good empirical support. But let us again consider the interface of orthography with the spoken language system. Does it make good sense for orthography to interface along these two routes? The core

competency of spoken language is to map between sound and meaning. We can probably all agree that processes and representations are learned during spoken language acquisition to support this mapping. Reading requires a mapping to sound and meaning. What if orthography interfaced with the representations that mediate sound and meaning (see Figure 2), rather than with sound and meaning themselves?

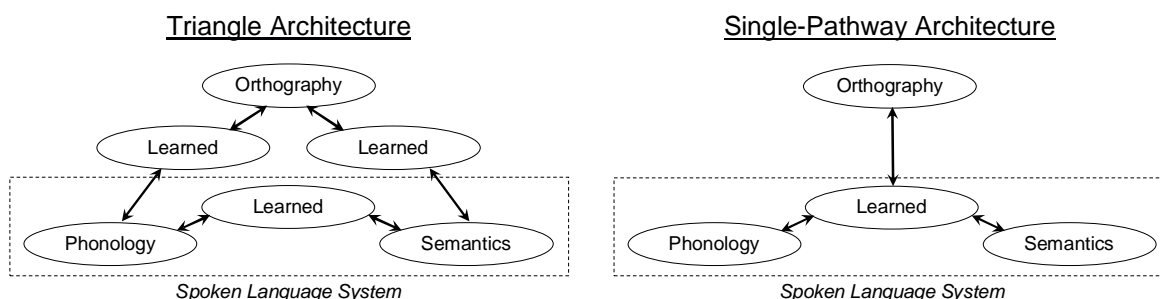Triangle Architecture   Single-Pathway Architecture

Figure 2. Comparison of the triangle and single-pathway architectures

    This idea has a certain efficiency to it. To start with, only one route of processing would be needed between orthography and the spoken language system. The loss of a route seems more efficient in principle, but there is a more specific advantage in this case. Orthographic inputs would be interfaced with what may be construed as morphological representations, because morphology is at the intersection of phonology and semantics (Plaut & Gonnerman, 2000). If so, morphological structure would not need to be duplicated across two routes, as it is with lexical and sublexical routes. Having two routes leads to the duplication of morphology because the relation between semantics and phonology is structured similarly to that between semantics and orthography.

    So far so good, but there is an obvious question. What about the evidence for a dissociation between lexical and sublexical processes? Does this evidence already rule out a single-route architecture? Not necessarily. For one thing, Patterson and her colleagues have proposed that surface and phonological dyslexia may be explained by damage to semantic and phonological representations, respectively (Patterson & Hodges, 1992; Patterson & Marcel, 1992). The logic of this idea can be seen in the fact that one terminal of the lexical route is semantics, and one terminal of the sublexical

route is phonology. The idea has been criticized on the grounds that surface and phonological dyslexias do not always coincide with semantic and phonological impairments (Coltheart, 1996), but there have been counterarguments (Patterson & Lambon Ralph, 1999). It is fair to say that the debate is undecided, which means that the single-route verdict remains open.

The single-route architecture gains even more credibility when we consider a second way to account for the lexical/sublexical dissociation. Kello and his colleagues (Kello, 2003; Kello, Sibley, & Plaut, in press; Sibley & Kello, 2004) recently showed how lexical and sublexical processing can be two modes of a single processing route. A control parameter termed input gain was manipulated in a series of demonstration models with only one route of processing. The single route was mediated by either localist or distributed representations. Input gain had the effect of scaling the net inputs to processing units. For both kinds of representation, low and high levels of input gain shifted the models between regularity-based and item-based modes of processing, respectively.

These modes resulted in a clear double dissociation as shown in Figure 3. The models were given a mapping task for a corpus of items that mostly but not entirely conformed to a simple rule (the identity mapping). Mapping accuracy is plotted as a function of input gain for regular trained items (those conforming to the identity mapping), irregular trained items (those not conforming), and untrained items. The pattern of results was the same for both localist and distributed models. At low input gain, performance was near perfect for regular and novel items, but nearly all irregular items were "regularized", that is, incorrectly given the identity mapping. This performance profile is analogous to the defining characteristics of surface dyslexia. At high input gain, performance was highly accurate for all trained items, but poor for novel items. This profile is analogous to the defining characteristics of phonological dyslexia.

Input gain caused a double dissociation for both localist and distributed representations because it affected the scope of knowledge that was brought to bear on the mapping task. At low input gain, each input pattern was mapped according to a wide range of trained items with similar patterns. Irregularities were essentially averaged out of the mapping. At high input gain, each input pattern was mapped

according to a much smaller range of similar items, which hinders the generalization that relies on the regularities spanning across multiple items.
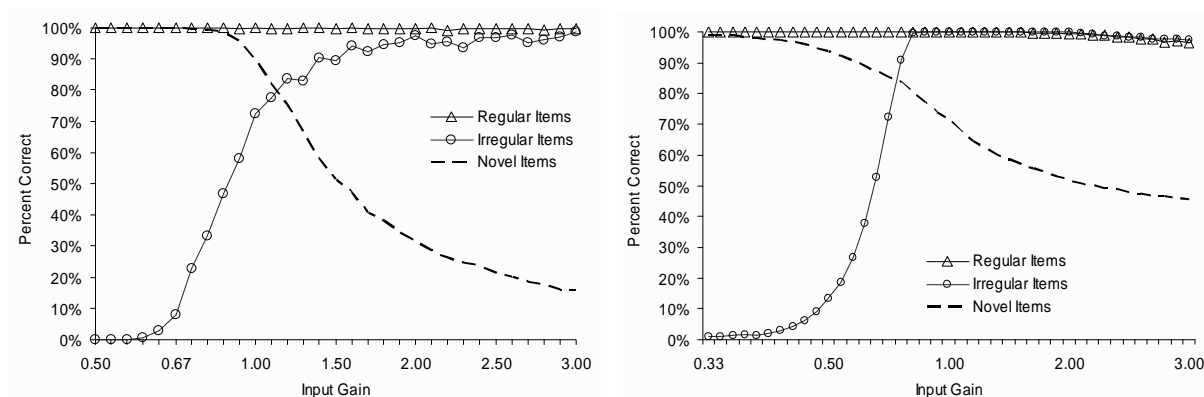

Figure 3. Performance of localist (left) and distributed (right) models as a function of item type and input gain. Taken from Kello et al. (in press).

Input gain demonstrates a mechanism by which lexical (item-based) and sublexical (regularity-based) processing may be two modes of operation in a single-route model of lexical processing. Surface and phonological dyslexia could therefore result from trauma or developmental abnormalities that restrict the flexibility of processing to a single mode. While there are well-established neural correlates to input gain (Fellous & Linster, 1998), there is currently no data to determine whether such correlates may play a role in surface or phonological dyslexia.

A hint of evidence in tempo-naming

At this point in the argument we can say that there are principled reasons for believing that there is a single pathway of processing between orthography and the representations that mediate semantics and phonology. We can also say that a single route is at least viable in the face of dissociations between lexical and sublexical processes. But is there any evidence in favor of such a route? In fact the idea was pursued in the first place because of observed naming errors that were readily accommodated by a single-route architecture, but not by dual-route architectures.

The naming errors came from the tempo-naming task that was introduced by Kello and Plaut (Kello, 2004; Kello & Plaut, 2000). In this task, an audiovisual metronome is

used to control the amount of time between the onset of a letter string and the initiation of a naming response. The metronome is played for a set number of beats on each trial, and a letter string is displayed on the final beat. Participants are instructed to name the letter string such that their response is timed with what would be the next beat of the metronome. Feedback is given at the end of each trial to indicate whether the response was initiated early or late relative to the metronome. Fast tempos can be used to induce a speed/accuracy tradeoff because they reduce the amount of time between stimulus onset and the cue to respond.

Numerous experiments have shown that fast tempos lead to four basic categories of errors: articulatory (e.g., slurs and mis-starts), regularizations (e.g., PINT pronounced to rhyme with MINT), lexicalizations (e.g., BOARD pronounced as a similar word like BROAD), and nonword errors (e.g., STINT pronounced as a similar nonword like STIT). The question is, which kinds of errors should become more prevalent under time pressure, given a separation of lexical and sublexical pathways?

To answer this question, Kello and Plaut (2000) ran simulations of the tempo-naming task with the triangle and DRC models of lexical processing. They found that both models generated a comparable increase in both regularization and lexicalization errors under time pressure. The time pressure caused by faster tempos was simulated by sampling the models' outputs at earlier points in the time course of processing relative to stimulus onset. In another simulation, Kello and Plaut (2003) found the same result for the triangle model when time pressure was simulated by increasing the rate of processing.

The tempo-naming experiments have yielded a different result. As tempos increase, the rate of regularization errors has been shown to remain constant while the rates of other types of errors, including lexicalization errors, increase. The lack of an increase in regularization errors means that time pressure in the tempo-naming task does not lead to a misapplication of sublexical spelling-sound correspondences. But this is precisely what happened when time pressure was implemented in the triangle and DRC models. So the question now becomes, how can time pressure be implemented in a model of lexical processing such that it does not lead to a misapplication of spelling-sound correspondences?

One possible answer can be found by delving into the reason why time pressure led to an increase in regularization errors in the triangle model. As mentioned earlier, the mapping between orthography and phonology is much more systematic (due to spelling-sound correspondences) than the mapping between semantics and either orthography or phonology, at least in English. Distributed representations are more adept at processing systematic mappings compared with arbitrary mappings. This is because by default similar inputs generate similar distributed representations, and similar distributed representations generate similar outputs. As a result of this adeptness, the relatively direct mapping between orthography and phonology is computed more quickly in the triangle model, compared with the same mapping that is mediated by semantics (Van Orden, Bosman, Goldinger, & Farrar, 1997). The consequence is that spelling-sound correspondences represented in the direct mapping lead to increases in regularization errors when time pressure is simulated.

One way to avoid the increases in regularization errors is to simply remove the direct mapping from orthography to phonology. The single-route architecture does this by essentially combining the route from orthography to phonology with the route from orthography to semantics. Kello and Plaut (2003) reported a simulation of the single-route architecture to show that it could in fact provide a closer account of the observed errors in tempo-naming compared with the triangle model. They also showed that the single-route architecture can account for the hallmark effects of printed frequency and spelling-sound regularity in word reading.

Large-scale modeling and the problem of multisyllabic words

We have now laid out the logical, empirical, and computational arguments in favor of a single-route architecture. These arguments may not sway a proponent of dual-route architectures, but they should at least provide justification for further pursuit. The model presented by Kello and Plaut (2003) was a good start, but it was small (a corpus of 470 words) in comparison to the DRC and triangle models that have been reported. The precedent set by these models calls for a large-scale simulation of the single-route architecture. The term "large-scale" currently refers to models that contain roughly between 3000 and 8000 words.

But if we fully embrace the notion that large-scale simulations provide strong tests of theories of lexical processing, then we must go beyond the extant models because they are restricted to processing monosyllabic words. One might at first think that the inclusion of multisyllabic words is only a matter of scaling up the current models, but in fact we are forced to confront a fundamental issue that was heretofore marginalized: how does one represent variable-length sequences of letters or sounds? Moreover how are such representations learned? The problem here can be brought to the surface with the following two questions. For the words SIGN, CONSIGN, SIGNING, and ASSIGNMENT, how do readers learn to represent the subset of letters S-I-G-N in a way that connects with the overlap in meaning among these words? To complement, for the words INGRID and RIDING, how do readers learn to represent the letters I-N-G in a way that keeps the meanings of these words distinct?

The extant models do not provide adequate answers because letters and sounds are represented in conjunction with their positions (not to mention the problem of representing semantics). For instance the letters I-N-G might have one representation when they appear at the beginning of a word, and a second orthogonal representation when they appear at the end. This conjunctive scheme would explain how different words are kept distinct, but it would not explain how words with similar meanings can be connected by having letter clusters in common. One could instead represent I-N-G independent of its position (as in Wickelfeatures Seidenberg & McClelland, 1989) but then it becomes difficult to represent when I-N-G is and is not used as the suffix of a verb. These questions illustrate how the representation of multisyllabic words poses a binding problem (Rosenblatt, 1961; von der Malsburg, 1981) in which letters or sounds must be bound to their positions in a word. Information must be learned and represented about letters and sounds with respect to their positions, as well as independent of them.

Despite their restriction to monosyllabic words, it is important to recognize the progress that has been made with the extant models. There were and still are many theoretical questions for which the problem of multisyllabic words can be put off until a later date. It also must be noted that there has been very little data on multisyllabic words to test the models against. However, the recent development of the Elexicon

database has drastically changed the size of the playing field (Balota et al., 2002). The database currently contains lexical decision and word naming data for over 30,000 words of English, and most of these words are multisyllabic. These data constitute a vast source of evidence for testing models of lexical processing, but they cannot fully be put to use until the problem of multisyllabic words is addressed.

Learning representations of multisyllabic word forms

The model to be presented is a first-pass effort to test a single-route architecture against the Elexicon database. In this model, the problem of multisyllabic words was solved by drawing upon earlier modeling work by Plaut and Kello (1999). They introduced a theory of phonological development in which the phonological representations of words are learned in the service of speech comprehension, production, and imitation. The theory was supported by a connectionist model in which phonological representations were learned in the service of mediating the acoustic and articulatory forms of spoken words. The mediation of these forms was carried out through three language tasks: 1) the integration of variable-length acoustic sequences into fixed-width representations, and the use of those fixed-width representations to 2) activate semantic knowledge and 3) generate variable-length sequences of articulatory outputs.

The solution to multisyllabic words lies in this model's ability to learn fixed-width representations of variable-length sequences. Mono- and multisyllabic word forms vary widely in their numbers of letters and sounds. By converting such variable-length sequences into fixed-width representations, a model can leverage the benefits of distributed representation and processing. Such representations would provide a common basis for relating word forms of different lengths, and for generalizing to novel word forms of varying lengths. Information about letters and sounds would be learned both within and across their positions in orthographic and phonological word forms.

In more recent work, Kello and his colleagues (2004) showed how the modeling techniques used by Plaut and Kello (1999) can be generalized to learn fixed-width representations of variable-lengths sequences. The basic innovation was to extend the simple recurrent network architecture (SRN; Elman, 1990; Jordan, 1986) to learn fixed-

width representations in the dual service of both encoding and decoding variable-length sequences. SRNs have been used most often in models of language processing to learn the transitional probabilities of sequences by training them to predict each subsequent element from previous elements. While transitional probabilities can be used naturally as assays of grammatical learning (Christiansen, Allen, & Seidenberg, 1998; Cleeremans, Servan-Schreiber, & McClelland, 1989), they do not translate directly into a method for learning fixed-width representations. The problem is that the task of learning transitional probabilities requires the network to hold <u>only</u> enough information about a sequence in order to predict its next element. Thus there is no pressure to encode or decode an entire sequence.

   The <u>sequencer architecture</u> creates the needed pressure by connecting an input SRN to an output SRN (see Figure 4; Kello et al., 2004). The input SRN is trained to generate a fixed-width representation of a given sequence, and the output SRN is trained to regenerate that sequence from the fixed-width representation. At the beginning of training, representations generated by the input SRN are mostly arbitrary, and the output SRN is pressured to reproduce the input sequences from these arbitrary representations. As learning progresses, weight changes in the input SRN adapt the fixed-width representations to error signals that come from the output SRN. At the same time, weight changes in the output SRN adapt to the fixed-width representations that are generated by the input SRN.
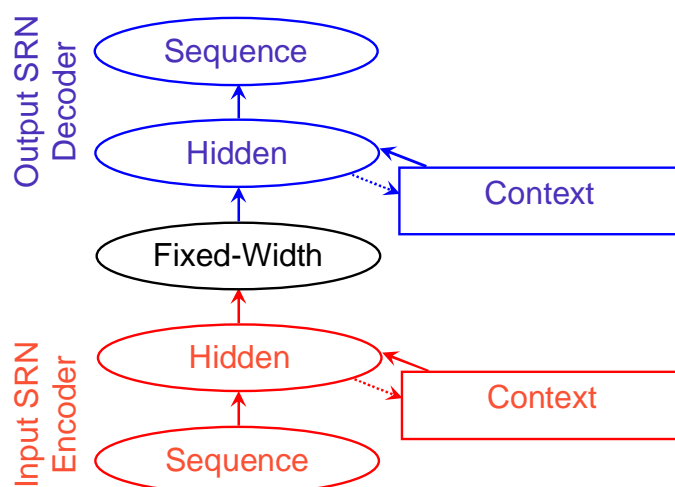
Figure 4. The autosequencer architecture. Inputs are presented sequentially to the input SRN, culminating in a fixed-width representation. The fixed-width representation is then used by the output SRN as a plan to regenerate the input sequence as an output sequence.

Simulations with small, artificial sets of sequences have shown that the sequencer is capable of learning to encode and decode variable-length sequences (Kello et al., 2004). Learning also generalized very well to novel sequences. Analyses showed that elements of a sequence were represented semi-independent of their positions, and that the sequencer learned dependencies that were built into the training corpuses. Dependencies among sequence elements are important because they define the hierarchical structure of word forms. For instance letter clusters are defined by co-occurrences which are a kind of dependency, and they signify linguistic units such as graphemes, word bodies, and morphemes.

Space limitations prohibit a more detailed discussion of the sequencer, but the brief overview given here is meant only to motivate the sequencer's use in the model of lexical processing that is presented after considering one final piece of the puzzle: semantic representations.

Semantic junctions?

The sequencer architecture is a computational means of exploring the basic hypothesis that representations are formed at the junctions of perception and action. It is easy to see how the phonological and orthographic representations of words might lie at such junctions: language tasks require one to integrate over the sequences of sounds and letters that comprise perceived words, and generate the sequences of articulations and hand movements (typed or written) that produce words. It is an added benefit that the problem of multisyllabic words is solved by the sequencer's ability to integrate and generate over variable-length sequences.

But what about the semantic representations of words? Can they also be learned as junctions of perception and action? Consider how the semantic aspects of a word like BALL are grounded in our bodily experiences with balls. It is plausible to hypothesize that at some level of abstraction, our perceptual representations of balls have structure that is systematically related to our action representations of balls. For

instance the roundness of a ball captures something about how balls are perceived, as well as how they are acted upon (bounced, thrown, etc.). A junction representation of semantics would cover the common ground between perception and action that exists for any given concept denoted by a word. The idea that the semantics of words is grounded in perception/action junctions has much in common with Gibson's affordances (Gibson, 1979). If one goes on to say that even abstract concepts are grounded in bodily experience, then the idea also has much in common with Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and the recent movement towards embodied cognition (Wilson, 2002).

As appealing as the idea may sound, there are many questions that remain to be answered. What would the sequences of perceptual inputs and action outputs consist of? How would one handle polysemy and the contextual flexibility of meaning? Could this embodied idea cover even the most abstract aspects of semantics? And so on. In the upcoming model, these questions are set aside by using semantic representations built from co-occurrence statistics as proxies for junction representations.

Putting it all together: A large-scale pilot of the junction model

We now have the motivation and means of implementing a large-scale, single-route model of lexical processing. A pilot model is presented here as a proof-of-concept. The model was built from a corpus of 45,273 words of English, and tested against response times for over 30,000 of those words. The simulated response times were compared against response times in the Elexicon database (Balota et al., 2002). The proportions of explained variance are benchmarked against regression models with word frequency, length, and articulatory factors as the predictors. Results from the pilot model are also benchmarked against results from the PMSP simulations (Plaut et al., 1996) and the dual-route cascaded (DRC) model of word recognition (Coltheart et al., 2001). The chapter closes with a discussion of how the pilot model can be improved and extended to more fully address the range of phenomena relevant to lexical processing.

Model Architecture. The basic architecture, shown in Figure 5, is essentially the same as the single-route architecture that was first shown in Figure 2. The orthographic, phonological, and semantic representations were first constructed

separate from each other, and then bound by a set of mediating representations. The pilot model was constructed piecemeal in order to simplify matters. The theory actually calls for spoken language acquisition to be simulated as the learning and binding of phonological and semantic representations. Then the learning of orthographic representations would be gradually integrated with the spoken language system. For the sake of simplicity, this developmental side to the model was not implemented here, but is planned for future simulations.
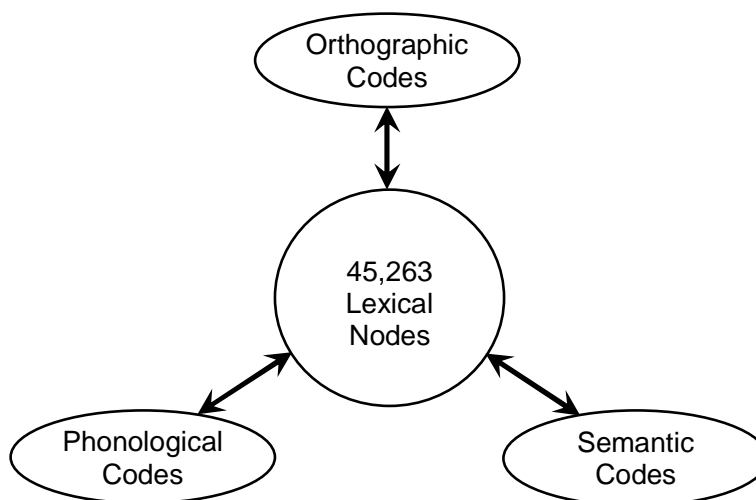

Figure 5. Basic architecture of the large-scale junction model.

Orthographic and phonological representations. One orthographic and one phonological representation was generated for each of the 45,263 words. These representations were learned using two pairs of sequencer models. The orthography pair learned to encode and decode sequences of capital letters that comprised English words. The phonology pair learned to encode and decode sequences of phonemes. Each letter was coded by a pattern of ten binary features such as "has a left vertical line", and "has a curve". Each phoneme was coded by ten phonetic features such as frication and voicing, plus two additional features to code for lexical stress on vowels.

The pairs were used to create two hierarchical models of two stages each. Two stage-one sequencers learned to encode and decode sequences of letters or phonemes into vowel groups that roughly corresponded to syllables. Two stage-two

sequencers learned to encode and decode sequences of vowel groups into words, using 400 hidden units for the fixed-width representations. This two-stage method was used to make explicit the syllabic structure of English words, and to reduce the number of elements that any one sequencer model was required to encode. The two-stage method was a simplification that helped make progress towards the larger effort of building a large-scale model of lexical processing. In more recent sequencer work, the orthographic and phonological representations of words were learned in a single stage, directly from the letters or phonemes (Kello, Sibley, Plaut, & Elman, in preparation).

Each pair of sequencers was trained to encode 45,263 words of English. The corpus was the intersection of the CMU pronunciation dictionary, the COALS database of word co-occurrences (Rohde, Gonnerman, & Plaut, in preparation), and the Microsoft spelling dictionary. The weights were learned via an extension of the back-propagation algorithm that was tailored to the sequencer architecture (for details see Kello et al., 2004). The stage-one sequencers were first trained to criterion, and then the learned vowel group representations served as the inputs and outputs of the stage-two sequencers. The fixed-width representations at both stages were pressured to be binary as learning progressed, and then forced to be binary at the end of learning. Binary representations were useful when the full model was put together (see below).

At the end of training, the autosequencers were able to correctly encode and decode over 99% of the trained words. Two 400-bit codes were learned for each word, one orthographic code and one phonological code. The similarity structure of these codes is crudely illustrated in Figure 6. Six example words are listed along with their closest neighbors, three for orthography and three for phonology. Neighbors are listed in order of similarity as measured by the number of bits in common with each example word. The neighbors illustrate how similarity of the orthographic and phonological codes was driven by the overlap in letters or phonemes, semi-independent of their position.

	Orthography			Phonology		
	Deterministic	**Jumping**	**Lice**	**Board**	**Hat**	**Institutionalization**
Most Similar	determination	jumped	lace	bored	sat	institutionalizes
	determinate	jumpers	vice	born	haut	institutionalizing
	determining,	jumper	malice	borne	hath	institutionalize
	determinative	bumping	device	bourn	seat	internationalization
	determinations,	jumpy	nice	brought	set	institutionalized
	determinable	ramping	sluice	bard	height	institutionally
	determinedly	slumping	police,	barred	head	constitutionality
	determinism,	lumping	face	bared	heat	institutional
	determines	tamping	dice	gored	half	counterrevolutionary
	determined	thumping	rice,	gourd	shad	internationalism
	determinants	pumping,	mice	mort	sec	unconstitutionally
	determine	camping	slice	barn	heath	internationalized
	paternalistic	stumping,	licorice	guard	haute	antidiscrimination
	determinist	scrimping,	loci	marred	site	extraterritoriality
	determinant	jumbo	solace,	morgue	sight	industrialization
	mechanistic	dumping	pace,	bread	shit	denationalization
	hedonistic	stomping	mace	bred	sheet	constitutional
Less Similar	pessimistic,	lamping	vide	chord	had	constitutionally
	opportunistic			cord	cite	interdisciplinary
						recapitalization

Figure 6. A simple illustration of the similarity structure in the learned junction representations for orthography (left three columns) and phonology (right three columns). For each of six target words, the orthographic or phonological neighbors are listed from most similar to less similar.

Unlike trained words, the two-stage models were poor at encoding and decoding nonwords. When tested on a corpus of over 20,000 legal nonwords, performance was less than 30% correct for both orthography and phonology. The lack of nonword encoding meant that these sequencers could not be used to test nonword processing in the junction model. But more recently, orthographic and phonological sequencers have been trained that correctly generalized to over 85% of over 60,000 legal nonwords (Kello et al., in preparation). The success of the more recent sequencers shows that the lack of nonword processing in the pilot model was only an implementational shortcoming, not a theoretical one.

Semantic Representations. One semantic representation was generated for each of the 45,273 words. Each representation was a 400-bit pattern derived from the COALS method of compiling co-occurrence statistics for words in texts (Rohde et al., in preparation). The method is similar to latent semantic analysis (Landauer & Dumais, 1997), and the statistics were culled from numerous and various text sources on the internet. As noted earlier, the statistical extraction of co-occurrence statistics was a proxy for what would ideally be implemented as semantic junctions.

Mediating lexical nodes. This part of the pilot model may lead to some confusion and controversy without careful explanation. The defining aspect of the single-route architecture is that orthographic, phonological, and semantic codes are mediated by a single level of representation. In precursors to the junction model (Kello, 2003; Kello & Plaut, 2003), this mediating level of representation was learned by back-propagating error that was incurred in mapping among the three types of codes.

Back-propagation is a versatile learning algorithm, but it has certain biases and limitations. One of its biases is that systematic mappings are learned more easily (fewer training epochs and/or hidden units) than unsystematic mappings. This bias works in favor of learning the mapping between orthography and phonology, but not between semantics and either orthography or phonology. All of these mappings must be supported by the mediating level of representation. In the precursor models, the bias was overcome by using a sufficient number of hidden units, and training for a sufficient number of epochs. But the corpus of words that was learned in those models was relatively small at 470 words. Using back-propagation to learn the mediating representations for over 45,000 words would take a prohibitive amount of time and computing power.

The alternative used in the current pilot model was to create lexical nodes and assign each one to represent one word in the corpus. Lexical nodes have no inherent bias in computing systematic versus unsystematic mappings. Because they can be pre-specified, no training is required in order to use them. Theoretically speaking, the use of lexical nodes in the pilot model makes it clear that the mediating level of representation in the single-route architecture is a lexicon of sorts. This point is true regardless of whether the mediating level is comprised of lexical nodes or more distributed representations.

But in using lexical nodes do we forfeit the benefits of learning and generalization that are conferred by distributed representations? The short answer is no. The lexical nodes used in the pilot model were "hand-wired" for the sake of simplicity, but there are established algorithms that can be used to learn localist codes, such as the one developed by Grossberg in adaptive resonance theory (Grossberg, 1980). It is very reasonable to think that one of these algorithms could be applied towards learning the

mediating representations in a single-route architecture. As for generalization, Kello et al. (in press) showed how localist and distributed levels of representation can be quite similar in how they process novel input patterns. The basic insight is that the activation of localist nodes can be <u>graded</u> as a function of similarity between a given input pattern and the pattern that is stored at each node. In this case, a novel input pattern will activate a lexical node to the extent it is similar to the pattern stored at that node. Patterns are stored as weight vectors on the incoming connections to nodes.

In summary, lexical nodes were used to compute the systematic and unsystematic mappings among phonological, orthographic, and semantic codes. These nodes were pre-specified as a matter of simplicity, and both known and novel inputs were processed as patterns of activation across the lexical nodes.

<u>Connectivity and processing</u>. Each localist node was bi-directionally connected to each of 1200 sigmoidal processing units, one unit per bit of orthography (400), phonology (400), and semantics (400). The activation of each localist node was computed by the normalized exponential function,

$$o_j = \frac{e^{\beta I_j + \gamma L_j}}{\sum_k e^{\beta I_k + \gamma L_k}}. \tag{1}$$

This function caused the nodes to compete for activation, with o_j being an exponential function of support for word j. Support was summed from two sources, with the strength of each one scaled by the free parameters β and γ. One source was activation of the distributed units, and the other was activation of the neighboring words. Support from distributed units was given by

$$I_j = \sum_i w_{ji} a_i, \tag{2}$$

where w_{ji} was the connection weight from distributed unit i to localist node j, and a_i was the activation of distributed unit i. Each w_{ij} was set equal to +1 or −1 in accordance with the sign of bit i in the pattern for word j. This type of connectivity meant that support increased as the correlation increased between the pattern of activation over the distributed units, and the incoming weight vector.

Support from neighboring words was given by a novel, Hebbian-like input,

$$L_j = o_j \sum_n o_n , \tag{3}$$

where the o_n were activations of all the neighbors of word j. Neighbors of word j were all other words that shared at least 280 out of 400 bits in their the orthographic, phonological, or semantic patterns. This neighborhood support was "self-scaled" (i.e., scaled by o_j) to ensure that support was maximal when activations were evenly distributed in a neighborhood, and minimal when either o_j or the sum of neighbor activations went to zero. Neighborhood support provided cooperative interactions among words, and the balance of cooperation and competition was controlled by the ratio of β to γ.

The activation of each distributed unit was computed as a sigmoid bounded by (–1,+1),

$$a_i = \tanh(\alpha I_i + \tau E_i). \tag{4}$$

There were two sources of net input into the distributed units, scaled by the free parameters α and τ. One source came from activations of the localist nodes,

$$I_i = \sum_j w_{ij} o_j , \tag{5}$$

where w_{ij} was the connection weight from localist unit j to distributed unit i, and o_j was the activation of localist node j. Each w_{ij} was set equal to $+f_{ij}$ or $-f_{ij}$, where f_{ij} was the log frequency of occurrence of word j in the COALS database, and its sign was set in accordance with the sign of bit i in the pattern for word j. Given that the o_j were normalized to one, each I_i was an average of the w_{ij}, weighted by the o_j.

The other source of input into the distributed units, E_i, was external to the model. It came from environmental inputs such letters seen or sounds heard. In the current simulations, the only external input was orthographic, in order to simulate the standard tasks of word naming or lexical decision. The E_i were set to -1 or $+1$ in accordance with the orthographic bit pattern of a given input word. The influence of internal and external inputs to the distributed units was balanced by the α and τ free parameters, respectively.

Unit and node activations were computed in discrete time. The distributed units were used to index the model's response to an orthographic input. The model's readiness to respond was measured by the degree to which unit activations were near

their asymptotes. This response measure was implemented by the response probability function

$$p(t) = E[(a_j^t)^2],$$ (6)

where the probability of a response at time step *t* was equal to the mean square activation value across all phonological units. The phonological units constituted a generic response measure that could be used to simulate both naming response times and lexical decision response times. These tasks differ in important ways, but this simplified response measure was adequate for the pilot model.

The probability of a response over time is illustrated in Figure 7 for three example word inputs. The probability response function given by equation (6) allowed for these response distributions to be calculated after only a single presentation of each word to the model. The graphs show that response distributions for individual items are positively skewed, and that items with faster response times also have less variation in their response times. These distributional characteristics were a natural consequence of the model architecture, and they are consistent with the distributional characteristics of real response times to words.
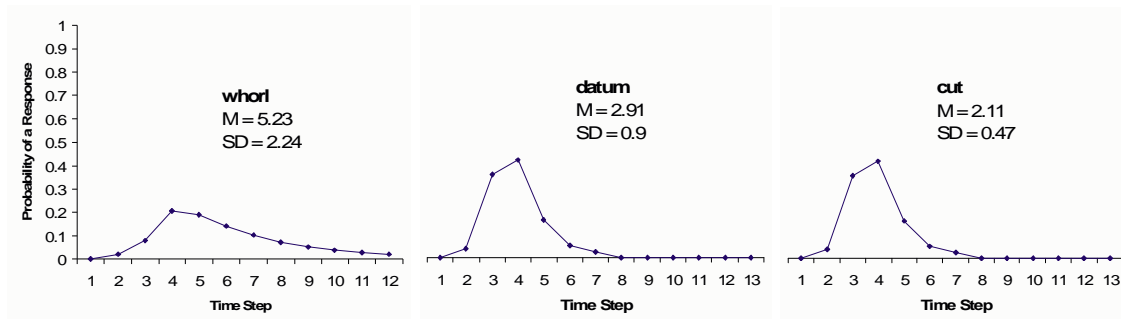

Figure 7. Probability density functions of the model response times for three individual words, with means and standard deviations shown.

Tests against the Elexicon database

The model's free parameters were fit against the mean naming response times for 30,894 words that were collected as part of the Elexicon database (Balota et al., 2002). This set comprised the full intersection of the model's lexicon with the data available in the Elexicon database at the time of simulation. Model performance was mostly the

same for a wide range of parameter values, indicating that model fit was not crucially dependent on any particular set of values.

It is well-known that the articulatory characteristics of a naming response have a large effect on naming response times (Kessler, Treiman, & Mullennix, 2002; Rastle & Davis, 2002). It is also well-known that the length of a word has large effects on naming response times and lexical decision response times (Balota, Cortese, Sergent-Marshall, Spieler, & Yap, 2004). The current model cannot be held accountable for these effects because it does not have a mouth or eyes. Therefore, the effect of articulatory characteristics of the initial phoneme was partialed out of the Elexicon mean naming response times, and the effect of length was partialed out of the Elexicon mean naming and lexical decision response times. The following analyses were conducted on the resulting response time residuals.

The histogram of normalized model response times is graphed in Figure 6, along with the normalized response time residuals for word naming and lexical decision data from the Elexicon database. The graph shows a close fit between the simulated and empirical distributions, particularly with respect to positive skew. It is important to note that there were no parameters to directly control the shape of the model response time distribution. Moreover, the parameter values were not adjusted with respect to the response time distribution; they were instead adjusted to maximize the variance in naming response times explained by the model (see next). Thus, the fit seen in Figure 8 is in large part due to the theoretical principles built into the model representations and architecture.
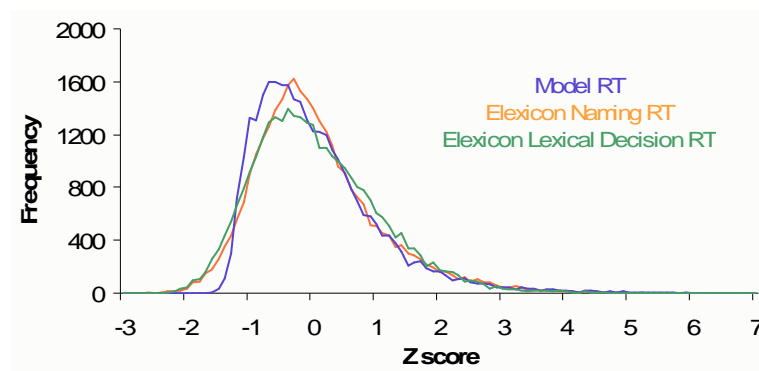

Figure 8. Normalized histograms of mean response times for the model, and for mean response time residuals from the naming data and lexical decision data in the Elexicon database.

In Figure 9, the model response times are compared against the Elexicon response times for naming. The model accounted for 18.4% of the variance in naming residuals, and the parameter values were adjusted to maximize this percentage. By comparison, log frequency accounted for 16.6% of the variance when it was regressed against the response time residuals. To determine why the model accounted for this additional variance, log frequency was partialed out of both the model response times and the response time residuals: the model still accounted for 2.6% of the remaining variance. This 2.6% was solely attributable to the competitive and cooperative interactions among words.
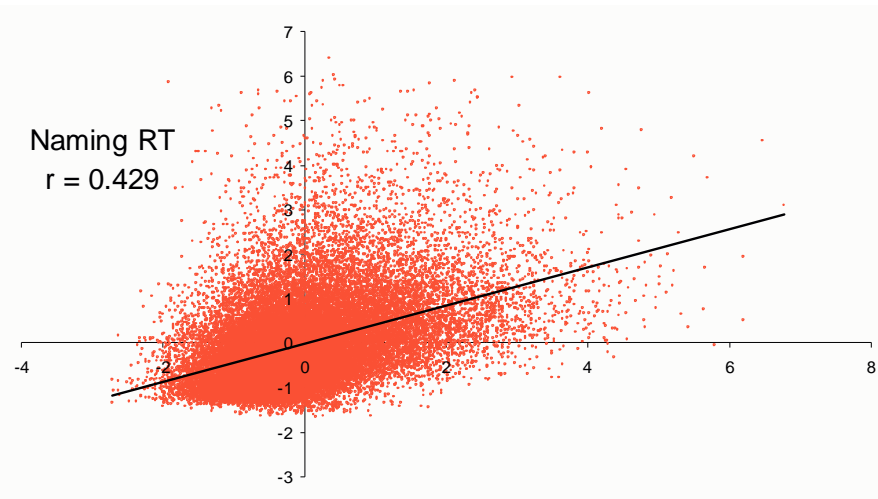

Figure 9. Model mean response times plotted against the naming response time residuals from the Elexicon database, in normalized coordinates.

In Figure 10, the model response times are plotted against the Elexicon response time residuals for lexical decision, in normalized coordinates. The model accounted for 24.7% of the variance in response time residuals, even though the parameter values were not adjusted with respect to these residuals. Log frequency accounted for about the same amount of variance (24.8%). When frequency was removed from the model and from the residuals, the model still accounted for 2.4% of the remaining variance. As with naming response times, this 2.4% was solely attributable to the competitive and cooperative interactions among words.
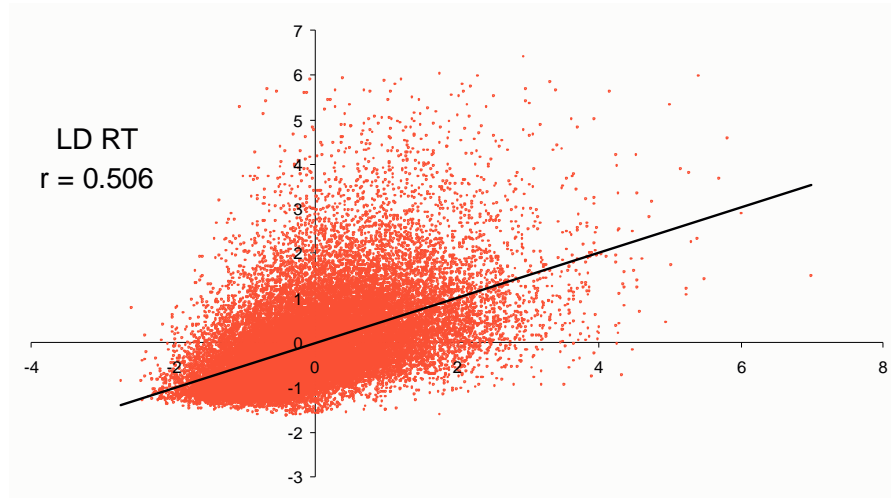
Figure 10. Model mean response times plotted against the lexical decision response time residuals from the Elexicon database, in normalized coordinates.

In addition to mean response times for each item, the Elexicon database provides the standard deviations of response times. As shown in Figure 5, the model naturally predicts both the means and standard deviations of item response times. The model's predictions were tested against the database. The model accounted for 7.8% of the item variance in standard deviations for naming, and 5.2% for lexical decision. By comparison, log frequency accounted for 8.2% and 5.9%, respectively. The slightly higher percentages for log frequency mean that the model's ability to account for item standard deviations was primarily due to the way that word frequency had its effect on processing.

Comparisons with PMSP and DRC models

The large-scale junction model was also compared against the two currently dominant models of lexical processing, the triangle (Plaut et al., 1996) and DRC (Coltheart et al., 2001) models of lexical processing. The PMSP and DRC response times were subjected to the same analyses as the junction model response times, and comparisons are shown in Table 1. The junction model clearly outperformed the other two models. The DRC comparison is fair because both models are engineered, and the DRC model has 31 free parameters, which is 26 more than the junction model. The

PMSP comparison is less fair because the mappings between orthography, phonology, and semantics were learned in the PMSP model, but not in the junction model.

	DRC comparison N = 5190			PMSP comparisons N = 2808				
	Junction	DRC		Junction	Sim 1	Sim 2	Sim 3	Sim 4
R^2	**12.2%**	5.1%		**14.7%**	5.2%	4.1%	2.1%	11.9%

Table 1. Proportions of variance in naming response times accounted for by the junction model, compared with the DRC and PMSP models

It should be remembered that performance of the junction model is largely due to the transparent way in which word frequency is implemented. This transparency comes from the model's simplicity. The long-term aim is to retain this core simplicity as learning and other extensions are incorporated into the model.

General discussion

It is time to revisit the questions that started off the chapter. First, should we accept the premise that skilled word reading is supported by lexical and sublexical pathways of processing? As it stands the junction model is computational evidence that we should not accept this premise, at least not without more distinguishing evidence. It is understandable that the evidence may not yet exist, if only because researchers did not have a viable single-route alternative to test. The pilot model presented here represents a significant step towards such an alternative.

Second, how can we model the learning of orthographic and phonological representations for multisyllabic words? The sequencer architecture provides a way, and in doing so, it opens the door to very large-scale models of lexical processing that simulate performance for both mono- and multisyllabic items. The perennial need for such models was heightened when Spieler and Balota (1997) made the well-taken point that item-level performance is an important source of evidence for theories of lexical processing. The authors showed that the PMSP and DRC models accounted for little variance in performance measures for monosyllabic items, not to mention the fact that

they do not simulate performance on multisyllabic items. Balota and his colleagues then upped the ante by providing performance measures for over 30,000 words in the Elexicon database.

The pilot model presented here represents a significant step towards a very large-scale model of lexical processing. The results were encouraging, but challenges always remain. Most immediately, the new sequencer models need to be integrated into the junction model so that both word and nonword data can be addressed. Also it would be informative if the similarity structure of sequencer representations could be examined in more detail, and tested empirically. The list of word similarities shown in Figure 6 has face validity, but this list is a crude means of viewing the similarity structure, and it is not clear how well the judgments or performance of language users would match up.

If further examination of the sequencer architecture ends up proving its usefulness, the next step will be to conduct more in-depth tests and analyses of the junction model. For instance there are a number hallmark findings from word naming and lexical decision experiments that the model would need to be tested against. It would also be important to extend the model to address findings from various kinds of priming and blocking experiments. Ultimately the model would need to be extended even further to address the data on impairments and lexical acquisition.

These tasks are daunting but doable. The pilot model has already shown that lexical decision and word naming data can be simulated, at least in principle. Previous work on simulation of priming in connectionist models, both weight-based and activation-based [ref], could be incorporated into the junction model. With regard to impairments, performance errors may be generated from noise or damage to units or connections, as in all connectionist models. They may also come from aberrant settings chosen on the basis of specific hypotheses about control parameters of the lexical system. For instance competition among the localist nodes could be increased by increasing the β parameter, which is equivalent to the input gain parameter in the localist simulations reported by Kello et al. (in press). Those simulations effectively proved that high levels of input gain will cause the large-scale model to exhibit a selective impairment in nonword reading, akin to phonological dyslexia. Low levels of input gain should cause a selective impairment in exception word reading.

With regard to acquisition, the localist nodes would need to be formed, and their weight vectors learned, in coordination with the learning of junction representations. This coordination could be implemented by running two learning algorithms that interact with each other. For instance, back-propagation in the autosequencer could be used to learn junction representations, and the developing junctions could be fed as inputs to a localist learning algorithm (Grossberg, 1980). In turn, the localist nodes could bias the mapping that is learned by the autosequencer. All of these ideas are specific enough to be implemented and tested against empirical data.

Of principles, constructs, and models

All computational models of language and cognition may be approached from multiple points of view. Broadly speaking, the principle of junctions is way of thinking about cognitive representations that emerge from the demands of perception and action. The principle of junctions is made more tangible by theoretical constructs such as distributed coding and pattern formation in the confluence of competitive and cooperative interactions. These constructs come from the connectionist and complex systems frameworks, which carry with them formalisms for computational modeling.

Computational models provide tests of the constructs and principles, but they also serve as a wellspring for new ideas. For instance it was the computational work with input gain that led to the idea that junction representations could be mediated by localist nodes, and still provide a basis for explaining nonword generalization and acquired dyslexias. And it was work on the sequencer architecture that allowed us to make some headway on the problem of multisyllabic words. The interplay of principles, constructs and models is likely to continue to drive progress on the junction model.

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