

26. The Neural Basis of Word Production

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Abstract

Traditionally, psycholinguistic models and models of speech motor control have approached the word production process from different angles and have remained, to a large extent, separate from one another. Ultimately, however, the process entails the entire pathway from semantic processing to articulation: producing a word from meaning requires activating a concept, retrieving the word, selecting its segments, ordering those segments into the right sequence, and finally articulating them with the correct timing. This chapter reviews the neural basis of word production from the complementary perspectives of the psycholinguistic literature and the speech motor control literature.

Keywords: word production, speech motor control, neural basis, lexical retrieval, segmental encoding, semantic processing, articulation.

26.1 General approaches to studying the neural basis of language processing

Two general approaches exist to uncovering the neural basis of language processing. The *empirical approach* entails the manipulation of language processing demands in two (or more) conditions, and the identification of brain regions preferentially involved in the condition(s) with more prominent linguistic demands. While useful for getting a general sense of the network involved in

language processing, the absence of a theoretical framework limits the interpretations that can be assigned to regions in this network. The *theoretical approach*, on the other hand, starts with a theoretical model, the components or parameters of which are the target of the neural investigation. This approach thus allows for a more meaningful interpretation of the findings, but the caveat is that such interpretation is dependent on the specific model. Models of language production vary considerably in their scope and assumptions. For example, Hickok (2012) assumes that “speech production is fundamentally a motor control problem.” (p. 137), while psycholinguistic models see the main challenge of production as mapping meaning to sound, which includes a great deal more than motor control of speech (e.g., Dell, 1986; Levelt, Roelofs, & Meyer, 1999). Even when the scope is agreed upon, models still vary substantially in the number and nature of the layers of representations they propose and the dynamics of information flow between these layers (see Chapter 28).

In this chapter, I adopt a theoretical approach inspired by the psycholinguistic tradition. Language production encompasses several tasks including reading, writing, and typing. But given the limited space, I will focus on a hallmark production task; namely, oral production of a word from meaning. Often tested experimentally using picture naming, this task requires activating semantic knowledge, selecting the correct word, mapping it onto a sequence of sounds, and finally articulating it. A neural account of such a process must therefore cover the neural basis of semantic, phonological, and articulatory-motor processing, at a minimum. Instead of adopting a specific psycholinguistic model, however, I will use a schematic model of word production, the components of which have been derived from various models and empirical findings, and will opt for the minimum number of layers necessary for mapping meaning to sounds.

26.2 What representations are involved in word production?

Most empirical studies of the neural basis of word production have adopted the representations assumed by symbolic models of production (e.g., Kemmerer, 2018). This approach removes the burden of defining the nature of representations from neural investigations, but it must be noted that, unlike symbolic models, neural processing is continuous. It is thus reasonable to ask whether the distinct representations assumed by symbolic models really do have distinct neural representations. In my view, this is the biggest challenge in uncovering the neural basis of word production. I will thus dedicate some space to unpacking this problem. The readers only interested in the discussion of the neural evidence may skip this section.

Figure 1 shows a schematic model of word production. Processing begins with a “message”, i.e., semantic knowledge, and ends with “sound”, i.e., the acoustic product of the articulatory system. Because the relationship between semantics and sounds is not systematic (e.g., not all male entities correspond to words that have the sound /m/), it is safe to assume that phonology does not simply spring from semantics, and that the two have distinct representations that must be clearly separated at the neural level. Since relevant phonological representations must be activated from semantics, we can further assume that there must be *at least* one intermediate layer of representation which mediates this mapping. We often think of this layer of representation as “words”. Symbolic models, however, assume multiple intermediate layers and do not always agree on the nature of the representations in these layers. For example, Levelt et al. (1999) assume that semantic features must first converge on localist representations called “lexical concepts”. Such representations are then mapped onto a different kind of representations called “lemmas”, i.e., representations that link lexical concepts to syntactic information. Moreover, it is assumed that lemmas have different representations from morphemes (smallest units that convey meaning; e.g., “swim” and “er” in “swimmer”). Other symbolic models pose additional representations for word-like units, such as

lexemes (domain-specific representations that have access to segments such as phonemes in spoken and graphemes in written production), etc.

Should we look for the neural correlates of lexical concepts separately from lemmas, lexemes, and morphemes? Given the continuity of neural processing, I do not believe such separation to be either well-motivated or fruitful at the neural level. Empirical attempts in this vein have not uncovered clearly separate regions either, especially for higher levels of language processing such as lexical semantic processing. Such distinctions are clearer at the lower levels of production, such as representations of learned sequences (chunked into common syllables or consonant clusters) vs. representations of novel sequences (as individual segments). But even in those cases, as I will discuss in later sections, these two types of sequences are contained in the same neural regions. What is different are the neural pathways that map the abstract representations of these sequences onto motor commands.

Therefore, for the purpose of a neural investigation, I will commit to one independent layer of representation between semantic features and phonemes, and call it simply “words” (Foygel & Dell, 2000), emphasizing that this choice does not invalidate the utility of linguistic representations such as morphemes for purposes other than neural investigations. I will also define a final layer of motor output in the schematic model which I will unpack when discussing the neural correlates of motor production.

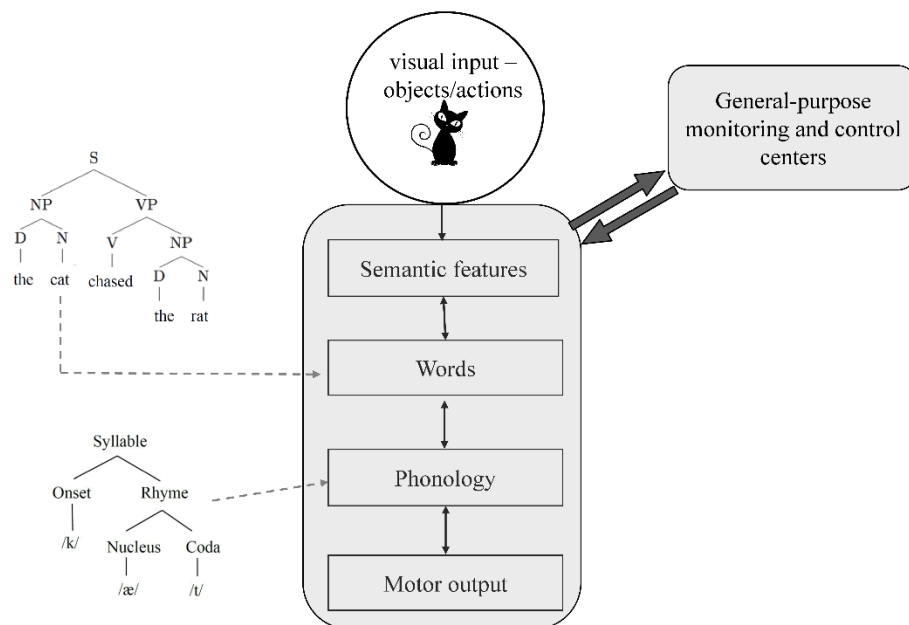


Figure 1. Schematic of a word production model. *D*, determiner; *N*, noun; *P*, phrase; *S*, sentence; *V*, verb.

Also important for modeling language production is the concept of separation of *content* and *frame* (Chomsky 1975; Garrett 1975; Lashley 1951). The idea is that once a conceptual message has been constructed, two general kinds of frame must be built for the insertion of linguistic content. The *syntactic frame* is built under the guidance of the semantic message and syntactic rules, and identifies the phrasal structure—with syntactically labeled slots—for the insertion of lexical items. The *segmental frame* is built under the guidance of language-specific phonotactic rules, and contains information about the order, syllabic structure, and perhaps other aspects of segmental encoding, such as the stress pattern. This view has been embraced by both connectionist (e.g., Dell 1988; MacKay 1987; Stemberger 1985) and symbolic models of segmental encoding (e.g., Meyer 1990; Shattuck-Hufnagel 1979), although alternatives such as parallel distributed processing approaches to content-frame separations have also been proposed (Dell, Juliano, & Govindjee

1993). Since the focus of this chapter is on single word production, I will refrain from discussing the syntactic frames, which are primarily relevant to phrase- and sentence-level production, although I adopt the view that such frames exist and interact with representations at a level higher than phonology (Figure 1). However, as will be seen in the section on “articulatory-phonetic encoding and motor production”, the content-frame separation is immediately relevant to the discussion of the neural correlates of motor speech processing.

To summarize, my schematic model (Figure 1) consists of semantic features (i.e., all pieces of information, including sensory-motor representations, that make up a concept), words (conjunctions of semantic features, also linked to syntactic information), phonology (abstract representations of sounds), and motor output, which itself comprises multiple parts. These representations interact closely with different types of frames at different levels (e.g., syntactic frames at the word level, syllabic frames at the phonological layer, etc.). This entire system is constantly monitored and regulated by monitoring and control mechanisms. The next four sections discuss the neural correlates of this schematic model.

Studies of the neural correlates of language processing have employed various methodologies, including neuroimaging methods (e.g., PET, fMRI, tractography methods, etc.), lesion studies, brain stimulation (e.g., transcranial magnetic stimulation, or TMS, and transcranial indirect current stimulation, or tDCS), and electrophysiological recordings. We have recently written a comprehensive review of the electrophysiological studies of word production (Nozari & Pinet, under review). In light of the inferior spatial resolution of the most common method in this group (EEG), and the general problems we have laid out in that review regarding the interpretations assigned to the findings from this literature, I will not include the EEG data in the current chapter.

Instead, I will use a combination of neuroimaging, lesion-based, and brain stimulation studies to discuss converging findings on the neural basis of word production.

26.3 Neural correlates of lexical semantic processing

Many attempts at word production start with conceptualization, i.e., activation of semantics. Several chapters in the book (e.g., Jackendoff, this volume; Stojnic & Lepore; this volume, and Landau, this volume) are dedicated to the nature of semantic representations, so I will refrain from a long discussion here, but will point out two opposing views that have been taken in computational models of word production. Some models assume distributed semantic representations, or “semantic features” (e.g., Caramazza 1997; Foygel and Dell 2000). Others have insisted on non-decompositional semantics (Levelt et al., 1999; Roelofs, 1992), based on two arguments: a) that speakers do not name superordinates of the target (e.g., “animal” instead of “horse”; *the hyperonym problem*; Levelt 1989), and b) that words with more complex feature sets are not harder to access than those with simple feature sets (*the complexity problem*; Levelt, Schreuder, & Hoenkamp 1978). The evidence against the first argument comes from individuals with aphasia, who, not uncommonly, produce superordinates instead of target names. The second argument also need not be true, since under a distributed view activation of a subset of features is sufficient to activate the concept. In fact, activation of concepts through the activation of various subsets of their features is critical in light of the evidence supporting the flexible context-dependent view of concepts (see Yee & Thompson-Schill, 2016 for a review). This position also naturally accommodates embodied views on concept processing (e.g., Barsalou, 1999). I will, therefore, adopt the distributed view.

According to the distributed view of semantics (e.g., classic models such as Meynert and Wernicke’s, Eggert 1977; embodied theories, e.g., Martin 2016; and newer theories such as the

hub-and-spokes model of semantic representation, e.g., Lambon Ralph et al. 2017; Patterson, Nestor, & Rogers 2007), concepts are constructed of various pieces of information learned by experience and encoded in modality-specific cortices (Fischer & Zwaan, 2008; Kiefer & Pulvermüller, 2012; Meteyard, Cuadrado, Bahrami, & Vigliocco, 2012). Some theories posit that such features converge onto unifying hubs (called amodal, cross-modal, heteromodal, transmodal, or supramodal representations by various research groups) that are assumed to be housed bilaterally in the anterior temporal lobes (ATLs; see Lambon Ralph et al. 2017 for a review). The claim that ATL is the main semantic hub has been argued primarily on the basis of semantic dementia, a neurodegenerative condition causing atrophy of bilateral anterior ventral and polar temporal regions, which causes consistent and pervasive semantic impairment in all modalities and almost all types of concepts, except the knowledge of simple numbers (e.g., Bozeat et al. 2000; see also semantic variant of primary progressive aphasia, e.g., Gorno-Tempini et al. 2004; but see Simmons & Martin, 2009 for a different perspective). More recently, additional hubs have been proposed in temporal and parietal regions that are characteristically distant from primary sensory and motor cortices, but have rich connections to the modal association cortices (e.g., Binder 2016; Binder et al. 2009).

There are good arguments for why hubs, i.e., high-level conjunctive representations that summarize a number of semantic features into a concept, would be useful for abstract, yet flexible and context-sensitive, representation of pure semantic knowledge (Binder, 2016). But since the focus of this chapter is mapping semantic features onto sounds, such conjunctive representations are naturally necessary as the mediating layer, for the reasons discussed in the previous section. Some attempts have been made to separate these representations into lexical concept nodes and lemmas. For example, Kemmerer (2018) identifies the locus of the interference in cyclic blocked

naming paradigms (where participants are progressively slowed down by naming a small set of semantically related pictures) as “lexical concepts”, but views pure anomia as a condition targeting “lemmas”. I do not know of any empirical evidence that clearly suggests that, as far as the “word” layer goes, these two cases involve different representations. Similarly, simulations of semantic errors using the lesioned version of the Foygel and Dell (2000) model have been ascribed to lemmas (in contrast to lexical concepts; Kemmerer, 2018), but in this, and most other versions of the 2-step interactive model by Dell and his colleagues, a single “word” layer serves both to combine semantic features and link them to syntactic information, without differentiating between lexical concepts and lemmas.

In short, the conjunctive representation of semantic knowledge (not to be confused with the distributed representation of semantic knowledge) and the representations that must mediate the mapping of meaning to sound (generally labeled as “words”) are similar enough, and, as suggested by the evidence below, spatially close enough, to be discussed in one place, although a hierarchy of such representations is not impossible. I will thus discuss them in one place. Note that this is not the same as assuming semantic knowledge and words are the same. They are not, as shown in Figure 1, and they can be damaged separately. Rather, the issue is whether post-semantic representations that unify various semantic features into a lexical concept are distinct enough from lemmas to be considered two separate sets of representations or not. I adopt the position that the latter distinction is not critical for a neural investigation. A similar approach was adopted by Binder et al. (2009). In one of the largest and most meticulously controlled meta-analyses of neuroimaging data in semantic processing, the authors analyzed data from 120 studies targeting semantic access from (spoken or written) words, and identified 1145 foci of activation representing a distributed lexical semantic network. The thresholded activation likelihood estimate (ALE) map lateralized

the effect largely to the left hemisphere (with some extensions to the right in angular gyrus and posterior cingulate cortex), and identified seven key regions in temporal, parietal, frontal, and paralimbic areas (Figure 2). I will briefly review the hypothesized roles of these main areas in light of the empirical evidence.

26.3.1 Temporal regions. A main region implicated in the study of Binder et al. (2009) was the lateral part of temporal lobe, including the entire length of the middle temporal gyrus (MTG) and posterior parts of the inferior temporal gyrus (ITG; Figure 1, region 1). MTG (and less frequently posterior ITG) activation has been reliably reported during picture naming (de Zubicaray, Miozzo, Johnson, Schiller, & McMahon, 2012; Maess, Friederici, Damian, Meyer, & Levelt, 2002; Moore & Price, 1999; Murtha, Chertkow, Beauregard, & Evans, 1999). Moreover, activation of this region is sensitive to the co-activation of words that are semantically similar during picture naming (e.g., de Zubicaray, Wilson, McMahon, & Muthiah, 2001; see Nozari & Pinet, under review for a review). Left mid-MTG is also implicated in the meta-analysis of Indefrey and Levelt (2004), in which the authors contrasted regions activated during picture naming and associative word generation (both of which require lexical retrieval) with those activated by tasks like reading words and pseudowords (which they argued have the activation of phonological code as the first processing step).

In the same vein, along with ATL, damage to MTG has been shown to correlate with semantic errors (e.g., saying “dog” instead of “cat”) in picture naming tasks (Henseler, Regenbrecht, & Obrig, 2014; Mirman et al., 2015; Schwartz et al., 2011, 2009; Walker et al., 2011). Importantly, MTG is also consistently implicated in tasks requiring word comprehension, and although selective damage to MTG is rare, it is often associated with language comprehension and semantic deficits (Dronkers, Wilkins, Van Valin, Redfern, & Jaeger, 2004; Hillis & Caramazza, 1991;

Kertesz, Lau, & Polk, 1993). Large lesions to MTG and ITG (sometimes along with the fusiform and angular gyri) lead to transcortical sensory aphasia, a syndrome with impaired speech comprehension despite intact phonological production abilities, such as auditory repetition of words and sentences (Alexander, Hiltbrunner, & Fischer, 1989; Andrew Kertesz, Sheppard, & MacKenzie, 1982; Rapcsak and Rubens 1994). The convergence of lexical semantic deficits in both comprehension and production after damage to anterior and lateral aspects of the temporal lobe implies that these regions most likely store conjunctive representations that are shared between production and comprehension (Ben Shalom & Poeppel, 2008; Friederici, 2002).

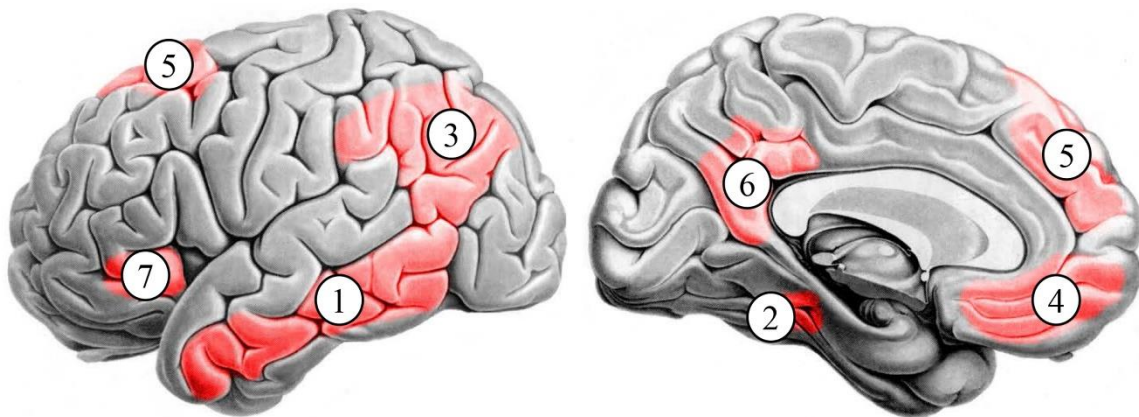


Figure 2. Regions involved in semantic-lexical processing. 1) Lateral temporal lobe, including the entire length of the middle temporal gyrus (MTG) and posterior portions of the inferior temporal gyrus (ITG); 2) a ventromedial region of the temporal lobe centered on mid-fusiform gyrus and adjacent parahippocampus; 3) angular gyrus (AG) and adjacent supramarginal gyrus (SMG); 4) ventromedial and orbital prefrontal cortex; 5) dorsomedial prefrontal cortex in the superior frontal gyrus and adjacent middle frontal gyrus; 6) posterior cingulate gyrus and adjacent ventral precuneus; 7) inferior frontal gyrus (IFG), especially the pars orbitalis. Reproduced with Permission from Binder et al. (2009).

The role of the more posterior parts of MTG (pMTG) is less clear. Some have linked this region to anomia (Antonucci, Beeson, & Rapcsak, 2004; Baldo, Arévalo, Patterson, & Dronkers, 2013;

Raymer et al., 1997), although failure to find a word even in the presence of good semantic comprehension may have different etiologies, including a failure to activate the right word from the concept, failure of inhibiting competing words (e.g., Cloutman et al., 2009; Nozari, 2019), or failure of activating representations further downstream. Thus without a finer-grained analysis of error types and other accompanying deficits, association with anomia is not particularly telling about the function of a neural region. Others have proposed that the most posterior parts of the left middle and inferior lateral temporal cortex, i.e., the temporal-occipital junction, show the greatest concentration of activation foci for processing the meaning of artifacts (as opposed to living things) in neuroimaging studies (see Binder et al. 2009, for a review of these studies). Together with the vicinity of this region to the visual motion processing and parietal praxis-coding regions, this finding has been taken to imply the region's specialization for processing the visual attributes of actions and tools (A. Martin, Ungerleider, & Haxby, 2000). In line with this claim, Hanna Damasio and her colleagues found lesions to this region to cause a particular difficulty in naming common manipulable objects such as a fork (as opposed to proper nouns and nouns of common animals; H. Damasio, Grabowski, Tranel, Hichwa, & A. Damasio, 1996). This position follows the view that semantic knowledge is systematically organized in the temporal lobe, which is agreed upon by most researchers, although substantial disagreement exists about the nature of this organization (Binder et al., 2009; H. Damasio et al., 1996; Lambon Ralph et al., 2017; A. Martin, 2016). A third account has been proposed for the role of pMTG as a region involved in implementing cognitive control over semantic retrieval (e.g., Lambon Ralph et al., 2017). For example, several studies from the same research group have shown that applying inhibitory TMS to this region disrupts semantic processing most strongly in conditions with high cognitive control demand, such as matching words with low vs. high semantic association (salt-grain vs. salt-pepper; Lambon Ralph

et al., 2017; Whitney, Kirk, O'Sullivan, Lambon Ralph, & Jefferies, 2011a, 2011b). Not far from this interpretation, Binder (2017) interprets the more prominent involvement of this region in processing complex sentences vs. simple words as evidence of a work space for integrating the meaning of multiple words while their phonological forms are held active in phonological working memory, a task for which the pMTG is well suited based on its rich connectivity to the angular gyrus, anterior and inferior temporal lobe, and inferior and superior frontal gyri.

In contrast, the superior temporal gyrus (STG) does not seem to be reliably implicated in studies involving semantic processing (Binder et al. 2009; see also e.g., Price 2000). It has sometimes been implicated during overt word production (de Zubicaray et al., 2001; Hocking, McMahon, & de Zubicaray, 2008), but this probably reflects a role in the auditory processing of self-produced speech, in line with the region's confirmed role in auditory processing (see Chapter 3). I will return to this when discussing speech monitoring. Binder et al.'s (2009) meta-analysis also identified a focal region in the ventral part of the temporal cortex in fusiform and parahippocampal gyri (Figure 1, region 2). These regions are not often reported in studies of language processing, with the exception of reading and writing (e.g., Devlin, Jamison, Gonnerman, & Matthews, 2006). The close proximity of the mid fusiform gyrus to the object perception areas has led to proposals that this region is involved in retrieving knowledge of the visual attributes of objects (Chao & Martin, 1999; Kan, Barsalou, Solomon, Minor, & Thompson-Schill, 2003; Thompson-Schill, Aguirre, Desposito, & Farah, 1999; Vandenberghe, Peeters, Fannes, & Vandenberghe, 2006). The parahippocampal component has been suggested to link episodic memory to long-term memory by linking hippocampus to lateral cortex (Levy, Bayley, & Squire, 2004).

26.3.2 Parietal regions. The angular gyrus (AG) and a part of the supramarginal gyrus (SMG) just anterior to it were parts of the inferior parietal lobule implicated in the meta-analysis of Binder et

al. (2009; Figure 2, region 3). Although receiving little input from primary sensory areas, AG is richly connected to other association regions (Cavada & Goldman-Rakic, 1989a, 1989b; Hyvärinen, 1982; Seltzer & Pandya, 1994). Due to this connectivity, it has been implicated as one of the best candidates for high-level integration and potentially another semantic hub in addition to the ATL (Binder & Desai, 2011; Patterson et al., 2007). In keeping with this notion, damage to AG leads to a host of deficits that reflect problems in integration of complex knowledge such as alexia and agraphia (Dejerine, 1892), anomia (Benson 1979), and acalculia (Cipolotti, Butterworth, & Denes, 1991), among others.

In neuroimaging studies of sentence comprehension, AG's activation has been shown in late stages when all the bits of information are to be integrated into a coherent sentence (Humphries, Binder, Medler, & Liebenthal, 2007), in connected discourse vs. unrelated sentences (Fletcher et al., 1995; Homae, Hashimoto, Nakajima, Miyashita, & Sakai, 2002; Xu, Kemeny, Park, Frattali, & Braun, 2005), in response to semantically anomalous words (Friederici, Rüschemeyer, Hahne, & Fiebach, 2003; Ni et al., 2000), and in the processing of thematic relationships, such as the comparison of "lake house" to its reversed construct "house lake" (right-lateralized effect; (Graves, Binder, Desai, Conant, & Seidenberg, 2010). Further attempts to pinpoint the exact function of AG in linguistic operations have shown AG's sensitivity to event-denoting verbs (Boylan, Trueswell, & Thompson-Schill, 2015), and relational compounds, e.g., "wood stove" (Boylan, Trueswell, & Thompson-Schill, 2017). Moreover, AG has been implicated in metaphor processing (Bambini, Gentili, Ricciardi, Bertinetto, & Pietrini, 2011), and in the production of creative metaphoric language (e.g., "The lamp is a supernova") vs. literal expressions ("The lamp is bright" (Benedek et al., 2014). In studies by Lambon Ralph, Jefferies, and their colleagues, dorsal AG, along with PMTG, has been implicated in semantic tasks demanding executive control, with patterns very

similar to the left ventral prefrontal cortex discussed below (see Lambon Ralph et al. 2017 for a review).

SMG is often implicated in tasks that tap into the knowledge for actions, and lesions to this region and pMTG lead to ideomotor apraxia (Buxbaum, Kyle, & Menon, 2005; Haaland, Harrington, & Knight, 2000; Jax, Buxbaum, & Moll, 2006; Tranel, Kemmerer, Adolphs, H. Damasio, & A. Damasio, 2003). Consistent with this region's role in the praxis features of object knowledge (e.g., Buxbaum, Kyle, Tang, & Detre, 2006), repetitive TMS to left SMG in a picture naming task selectively impairs the naming of manipulable artifacts (Pobric, Jefferies, & Lambon Ralph, 2010). SMG has a more extensive role in phonological encoding which will be discussed in a later section.

26.3.3 Frontal regions: The meta-analysis of Binder et al. (2009) identified three regions in the medial prefrontal cortex. The first is ventromedial prefrontal cortex (Figure 1, region 4), which has ties to emotion and reward processing, and is likely to be involved in processing the emotional aspects of concepts and words (A. Damasio 1994; Kuchinke et al., 2005; Phillips, Drevets, Rauch, & Lane, 2003). The second is the dorsomedial prefrontal cortex (Figure 1, region 5) anterior to the supplementary motor area (SMA). Because these two regions share a common blood supply isolated damage to them is rare, making functional separation difficult. Damage to this general region leads to transcortical motor aphasia, which is characterized by reduced speech output unless speech is constrained enough (e.g., counting 1-10). This profile has led to the proposal that this region is involved in self-guided retrieval of semantic information, especially to serve a communicative goal. The third region is posterior cingulate cortex (Figure 1, region 6), for which many functions have been proposed, the most likely of which is acting as the interface between semantic retrieval and formation of episodic memories in hippocampal areas (Binder et al., 2009).

On the lateral surface of the frontal cortex, Binder et al.'s (2009) meta-analysis revealed left inferior frontal gyrus (LIFG) as an important locus of lexical semantic processing (Figure 2, region 7). The functions attributed to this region (sometimes referred to as the ventrolateral prefrontal cortex) are numerous and encompass a variety of semantic, phonological, and syntactic operations (see Novick, Trueswell, & Thompson-Schill, 2005, and Nozari & Thompson-Schill, 2016 for reviews). Importantly, LIFG is one of the regions most associated with task difficulty. Along with other regions such as the anterior cingulate cortex (ACC), it is often activated when selection demands are high. This could be because the correct response is weaker than a prepotent but incorrect response (e.g., naming the ink color “blue” while ignoring the written word “red” in incongruent Stroop trials), because several responses are all equally probable (e.g., generating a verb for a noun that is not strongly associated with a verb, e.g., “cat”: Play? Purr? Meow?; Thompson-Schill, D’Esposito, Aguirre, & Farah, 1997; Thompson-Schill et al., 1998). In keeping with this, picture naming under circumstances of increased competition between lexical semantic alternatives consistently activates this region (Kan & Thompson-Schill, 2004; Schnur et al., 2009). TMS studies suggest that this region’s function, which has often been called “conflict resolution”, is more prominent for lexical-semantic decisions in the anterior part of LIFG. Some have argued for additional regions with a similar function in temporoparietal regions (pMTG and dorsal angular gyrus; Davey et al., 2015; Hoffman, Jefferies, & Ralph, 2010; Whitney et al., 2011a, 2011b; see Noonan, Jefferies, Visser, & Lambon Ralph, 2013, for a review). Posterior LIFG, on the other hand, has often been implicated in tasks that require manipulation of phonological information, such as syllabification and sequencing (Devlin, Matthews, & Rushworth, 2003; Gough, Nobre, & Devlin, 2005; see also Clos, Amunts, Laird, Fox, & Eickhoff, 2013, for a meta-analytic connectivity-based parcellation of LIFG). More fine-grained functional organizations on multiple

axes have also been proposed for the lateral frontal cortex (e.g., Bahlmann, Blumenfeld, & D'Esposito, 2015).

Another account of the role of LIFG is that of strengthening associations (R. Martin & Cheng, 2006; Wagner, Paré-Blagoev, Clark, & Poldrack, 2001). In keeping with this view, a TMS study over this region resulted in the disruption of performance when participants had to match items with weak associations (e.g., salt/grain), but performance was unaffected for items with strong associations (e.g., salt/pepper; Whitney et al., 2011a). In a recent eye-tracking study, we showed that a group of individuals with anterior lesions including LIFG were more impaired in using both semantic and phonological cues in locating a referent during sentence comprehension, compared to individuals with posterior lesions (Nozari, Mirman, & Thompson-Schill, 2016). We have discussed the results within the framework of a drift diffusion model, in which LIFG's role has been proposed as boosting the rate of evidence accumulation for establishing an association. In the context of selection among activated alternatives, this function is equivalent to conflict resolution.

Connectivity measures also support the idea of LIFG implementing control over semantic selection. For example, damage to the uncinated fasciculus, which connects the pars orbitalis of LIFG to ATL, has been shown to be correlated with semantic control deficits (Harvey, Wei, Ellmore, Hamilton, & Schnur, 2013). Harvey and Schnur (2015) also found that damage to the inferior fronto-occipital fasciculus, which connects LIFG with the posterior temporal lobe was related to semantic interference during picture naming.

To summarize, the lexical semantic network can be roughly divided into two parts: regions that store long-term knowledge, and those that are involved in initiating and controlling the retrieval of that knowledge. By most accounts, temporal regions have the former function, with potential subregions for different types of knowledge and varying degrees of integration (Binder, 2017). In

contrast, superior and medial frontal structures appear to have a role in motivation and task initiation, and LIFG seems to be involved in strengthening of associations and helping with selection among competing alternatives. The role of inferior parietal regions is less agreed upon, but the evidence points to an integrative function.

26.4 Phonological encoding

The term “phonological code” has sometimes been used to refer exclusively to long-term phonological representations of known words, specifically excluding pronounceable nonword strings like BILF (e.g., Indefrey & Levelt, 2004). Others, however, have included such strings when discussing neural correlates of phonological encoding (e.g., Acheson, Hamidi, Binder, & Postle, 2010; Yue, Martin, Hamilton, & Rose, 2019). Since similar neural regions have been implicated in processing of both words and pronounceable nonwords, I will not emphasize this distinction, and instead define a phonological code as a representation containing an ordered sequence of phonemes to be translated into articulatory gestures, without the representation itself being rich in phonetic details (Oppenheim & Dell, 2008). In the case of real words, such representations naturally link the word representations to sounds.

Binder (2015) summarizes the findings of 14 neuroimaging studies that tap into phonological processing with controls for semantic, articulatory, and auditory processing. Manipulations include comparison of pseudoword vs. word reading, naming pictures with high- vs. low-frequency names, lexical decision with phonologically related and unrelated primes, a variety of rhyme matching tasks with words and pseudowords, and silent rehearsal of words, pseudowords, or pseudosentences (Binder, 2015; Appendix e-1). Figure 3A shows the activation loci from these studies. Figure 3B shows the result of a lesion-symptom mapping study in 40 individuals with left hemisphere stroke. The map indicates the correlation between lesioned voxels and scores in a silent

visual rhyme judgment task (snow/blow/plow; Pillay, Stengel, Humphries, Book, & Binder, 2014). Finally, Figure 3C shows sites where direct cortical stimulation in patients undergoing brain surgery elicited phonological errors during reading without impairing comprehension (Anderson et al., 1999; Roux et al., 2012). Examination of these three figures shows a striking convergence of the results of neuroimaging, lesion, and stimulation studies of phonological processing in pSTG and SMG, with pMTG also implicated in the neuroimaging and stimulation studies but not in the lesion study, suggesting that it may support phonological encoding but not be necessary for it.

The reader may have noticed that the general region implicated by these studies is often referred to as Wernicke's area. It is important to note that damage to this region does not cause Wernicke's aphasia, but a different syndrome, called conduction aphasia, which unlike Wernicke's aphasia does not impact comprehension. Instead, phonological production abilities are clearly impaired (Axer, A. Keyserlingk, Berks, & D. Keyserlingk, 2001; H. Damasio & A. Damasio, 1980; Fridriksson et al., 2010; see Buchsbaum et al., 2011, for a review). Similar symptoms can be evoked in neurotypical speakers by cortical stimulation of the same region (Anderson et al., 1999; Corina et al., 2010; Hamberger et al., 2016; Quigg & Fountain, 1999). Moreover, cortical degeneration of this region leads to the logopenic variant of primary progressive aphasia, the hallmark of which is phonological paraphasias and impaired verbal short-term memory, anomia, and various degrees of impaired comprehension of sentences (but not single words; Croot Karen, Ballard Kirrie, Leyton Cristian E., & Hodges John R., 2012; Leyton, Ballard, Piguet, & Hodges, 2014; Rohrer et al., 2010; see Henry & Gorno-Tempini, 2010, for a review).

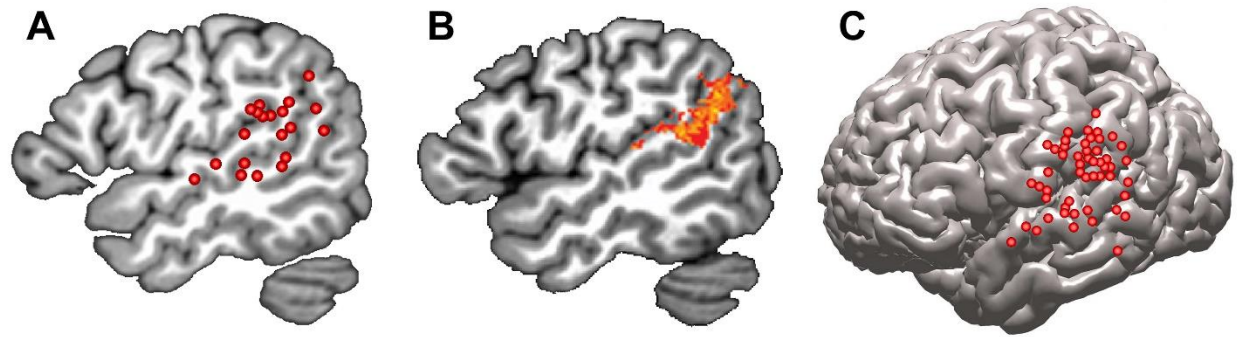


Figure 3. Neural correlates of phonological encoding. A) A summary of 14 functional neuroimaging studies examining phonological encoding. B) Lesion sites in 40 left-hemisphere stroke survivors with selective phonological impairment. C) Locations where cortical stimulation in 14 patients led to phonological errors during reading. See text for descriptions and references. Reproduced with permission From Binder (2015).

There is now wide agreement that pSTG stores phonological representations. However, researchers disagree on whether the same representations are activated during phonological working memory tasks (Acheson et al., 2010), or whether a different part of cortex acts as a “phonological buffer” (Baddeley & Hitch, 1974), i.e., a region that temporarily keeps phonological representations activated while a task is being performed. In support of the latter view, lesion overlap studies have localized phonological short-term memory to the left SMG (e.g., Paulesu et al., 2017). Also, a recent fMRI study using multivariate pattern analysis showed that stimuli could be decoded from SMG, but not STG, during the delay period in a memory task. Furthermore, a functional connectivity analysis in the same study demonstrated that the connection between the left temporal and parietal regions became stronger as memory load increased, suggesting a greater collaboration between the storage and buffer regions in temporal and parietal cortices, respectively (Yue et al., 2019). I must note that the inferior frontal cortex has also been named as a potential region involved in phonological working memory. I will return to the role of this region and its relevance to speech production in the next section.

One neural region deserves a special mention in this section. Known as area Spt (Sylvian parietal temporal) in the dual-stream models of Hickok and Poeppel (2007), this region has been identified as carrying out the sensory-motor translation of speech. Others, however, disagree with this claim, and propose that the auditory-motor interface involves a much larger portion of the pSTG (Niziolek & Guenther, 2013; Tourville, Reilly, & Guenther, 2008). This debate is difficult to settle, because area Spt is often defined functionally, as a region that exhibits both auditory and motor response properties, albeit within an anatomically constrained area. It is known to have considerable variability across individuals (despite its relative stability within individuals), making it very difficult to localize it in standardized space. Nevertheless, the findings of Guenther and colleagues, especially the bilateral nature of translational regions, may be important in expanding the anatomical constraints for the functional search for this region.

To summarize, the regions most reliably implicated in the storage and active maintenance of phonological codes are pSTG and SMG, with the former's role as a store for phonological representations, and the latter's role as phonological buffer. Lesions to these areas often lead to phonological paraphasias and sometimes difficulty in understanding long sentences (which hinges on keeping phonological codes active until they could be mapped onto semantic representations). In contrast, impaired comprehension of words and short phrases often observed after damage to MTG and the angular gyrus, which were strongly implicated in lexical semantic processing, is prominently absent (H. Damasio, Tranel, Grabowski, Adolphs, & A. Damasio, 2004; Dronkers et al., 2004; Kertesz et al., 1993; Kertesz et al., 1982; Thothathiri, Kimberg, & Schwartz, 2011). This double dissociation between semantic and phonological impairment is showcased in transcortical sensory vs. conduction aphasia.

26.5 Articulatory-phonetic encoding and motor production

Neural correlates of vocalization are better understood than the more abstract parts of language production, due to more extensive opportunities for single-unit recording and focal lesioning in nonhuman primates. These comprise both cortical and subcortical structures. Psycholinguistic models of word production are often sparse in details regarding motor speech processes. Therefore, for this part of the review, I adopt the framework of a computationally sophisticated and neurally explicit model of motor speech control, DIVA (directions into velocities of articulators; Guenther, 1994, 1995; Tourville & Guenther, 2011), and its more recent version GODIVA (gradient order DIVA; Bohland, Bullock, & Guenther, 2010). I will first review the relevant regions in the cerebral cortex, followed by the subcortical structures.

Cerebral cortex. Figure 4 shows the cortical activity on the inflated cortical surface for 116 participants reading mono- and bi-syllabic utterances aloud, along with results of two meta-analyses of similar data (Brown, Ingham, Ingham, Laird, & Fox, 2005; Turkeltaub, Eden, Jones, & Zeffiro, 2002) superimposed as dark dots. The first striking finding is that, unlike the higher cortical functions related to language production reviewed in previous sections, which are largely left-lateralized, articulatory processes (many of them shared between linguistic and non-linguistic vocalization) are largely bilateral. The relevant cortical areas include both medial and lateral surfaces of the frontal and prefrontal cortex, a large portion of the superior temporal gyrus, and parts of the parietal cortex including the postcentral gyrus, and to a lesser extent the superior parietal lobule. I will present a brief overview of the function of these regions in this and the next section. For a more extensive review of these regions and the neural pathways involved in speech motor control, I refer the reader to Guenther (2016).

Not surprisingly, some of the most important cortical regions for speech articulation are motor areas, including the primary motor and premotor cortices in the precentral gyrus, supplementary

and pre-supplementary motor areas (SMA and preSMA), and motor cingulate cortex. Meta-analyses of somatotopic studies of speech articulators suggest the following dorsoventral ordering in the precentral gyrus: larynx, lips, jaws, tongue, and throat, although this ordering is rough, with multiple representations for each articulator and substantial overlap between the regions for different articulators (Takai, Brown, & Liotti, 2010; see also ECoG studies for additional evidence; Bouchard, Mesgarani, Johnson, & Chang, 2013; Farrell, Burbank, Lettich, & Ojemann, 2007). Unilateral damage to the precentral gyrus usually causes only minor disruptions in face and mouth movements, likely due to the largely bilateral connections in this region (Penfield & Roberts 1959). Bilateral damage to the precentral gyrus in humans is rare, and if found is often accompanied by extensive lesions beyond this area, which makes a neuropsychological interpretation of this region's function difficult. Supplementary motor areas are also often activated during the production of even simple syllables. Unilateral damage to these areas is followed by near-total recovery of speech within months (Laplaine, Talairach, Meininger, Bancaud, & Orgogozo, 1977). The hallmark of damage to these areas is transient mutism which is often specific to self-initiated speech, while constrained or automatic speech (e.g., repeating words, reciting a learned sequence such as counting 1-10) could remain intact. This is part of a syndrome called transcortical motor aphasia (alluded to earlier when discussing the simultaneous damage of SMA and the adjacent dorsomedial prefrontal cortex), which may also entail problems such as involuntary vocalization, and anomalies in the rate, prosody, and fluency of speech may also be present (Freedman, Alexander, & Naeser, 1984).

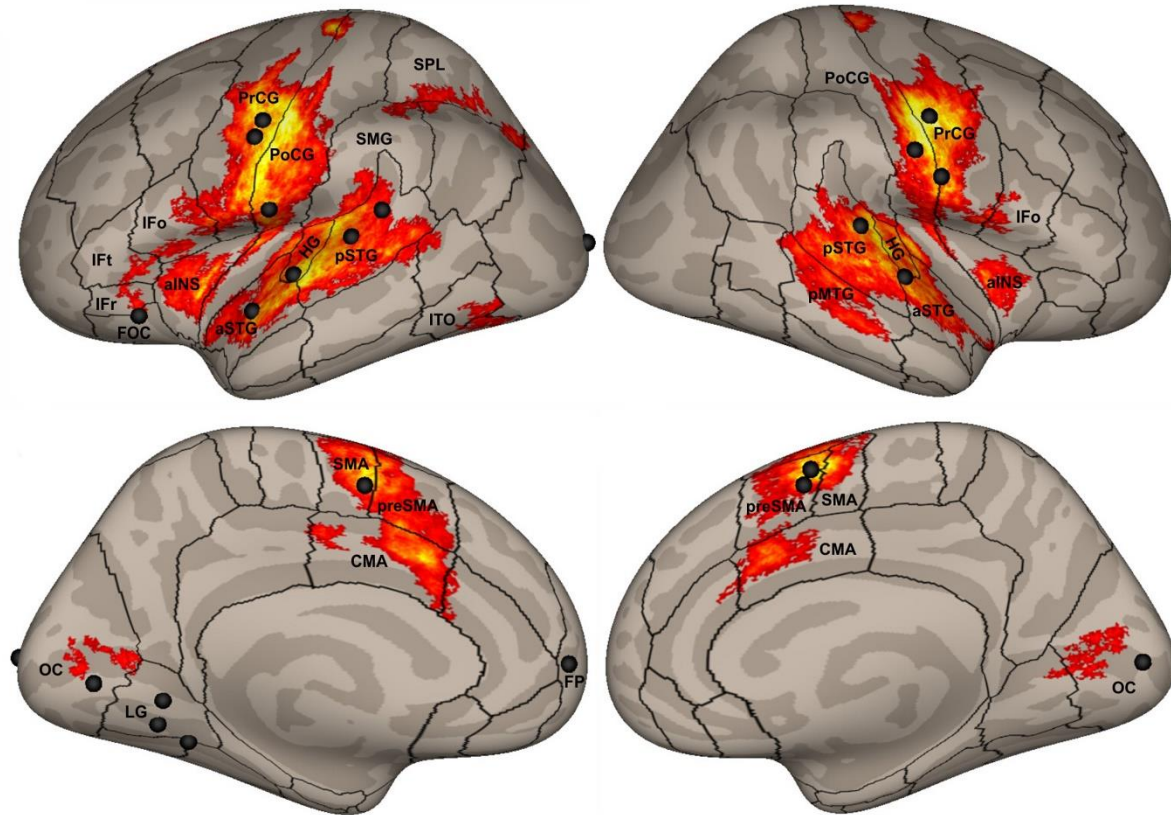


Figure 4. Hot colormap of cortical regions activated during reading aloud of mono- and bi-syllabic utterances compared to passive viewing of letters, plotted on inflated surfaces. $N = 116$. Black dots represent foci from the meta-analyses of Brown (2005) and Turkeltaub et al. (2002). Upper and lower panels show lateral and medial surfaces, respectively. Images on the left and right show left and right hemispheres, respectively. aINS, anterior insula; aSTG, anterior superior temporal gyrus; CMA, cingulate motor area; HG, Heschl's gyrus; IFO, inferior frontal gyrus pars opercularis; IFR, inferior frontal gyrus pars orbitalis; IFt, inferior frontal gyrus pars triangularis; ITO, inferior temporo-occipital junction; OC, occipital cortex; pMTG, posterior middle temporal gyrus; PoCG, postcentral gyrus; PrCG, precentral gyrus; preSMA, pre-supplementary motor area; pSTG, posterior superior temporal gyrus; SMA, supplementary motor area; SMG, supramarginal gyrus; SPL, superior parietal lobule. Reproduced with permission from Guenther (2016).

To best understand the difference between the functions of lateral and medial motor areas, recall the content-frame separation discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Generally speaking, the evidence points to a role of the lateral frontal cortex (specifically ventral premotor cortex, vPMC,

and ventral primary motor cortex, vMC, both in the precentral gyrus, and left posterior inferior frontal sulcus, pIFS) in representing the content of speech, while the medial surface of the frontal cortex (SMA and preSMA) represents frames. GODIVA proposes the content-frame separation in the context of two related loops: a planning loop, the main job of which is to temporarily store (i.e., buffer) the utterance to be produced, and a motor loop, which generates the actual motor commands for production (Fig. 5). The planning loop consists of the preSMA, which contains the abstract sequential frame, and its corresponding counterpart on the lateral surface, i.e., left pIFS, which buffers the phonological content. The motor loop comprises the SMA, which generates the abstract initiation map, and its counterpart on the lateral surface, left vPMC, which contains the speech sound map (i.e., nodes whose activation leads to the read out of the motor programs). A combination of signals from SMA and vPMC is sent to the vMC, which contains the actual motor gestures.

The representations shown in Figure 5 are for the word “blue” when it has already been learned and practiced, hence the “chunked” representations such as the consonant cluster /bl/ at the syllable level in the pIFS, and the holistic /blu/ at the level of speech sound map in the vPMC. These chunked representations do not exist earlier in development when “blue” is a novel sequence. Instead, the individual segments /b/, /l/, and /u/ must be assembled at multiple levels of the system, which puts novel sequences at a disadvantage compared to well-practiced ones. In addition, representations of well-practiced sequences take advantage of subcortical projections via the basal ganglia and cerebellum, which further facilitates quick mapping of chunked representations.

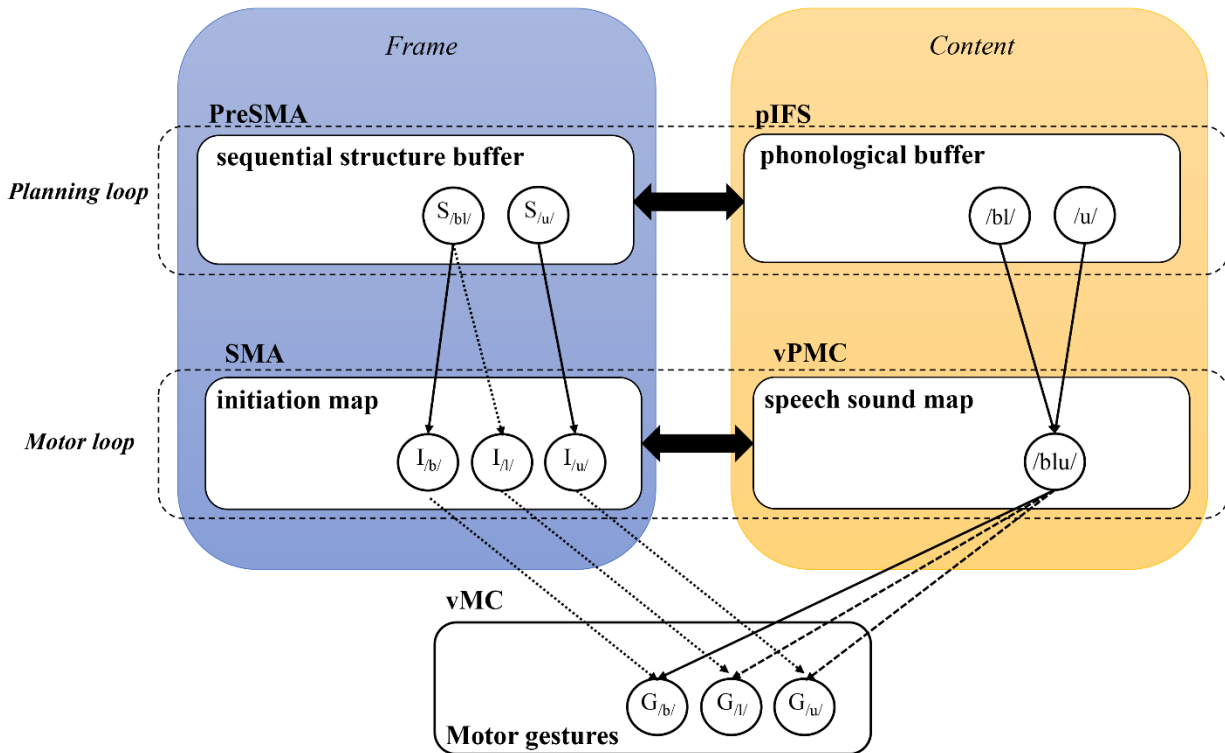


Figure 5. Schematic of the planning and motor loops in speech production. The left (blue) and right (yellow) panels show regions involved in frame and content processing, respectively. Chunked representations in each region are shown for a learned word (“blue”). For a novel syllable (not shown), representations in all boxes would consist of individual segments (e.g., three separate segments for /b/, /l/ and /u/). Solid arrows show cortico-cortical projections. Dotted arrows show connections via basal ganglia. Dashed arrows show connections via cerebellum. G, gestural node; I, initiation map; pIFS, posterior inferior frontal sulcus; preSMA, pre-supplementary motor area; S, syllabic structure node; SMA, supplementary motor area; vMC, ventral primary motor cortex; vPMC, ventral premotor cortex.

The reader may have noticed that the function attributed to the pIFS by GODIVA, i.e., phonological buffering, is similar to what I discussed in the previous section as having been attributed by some to the SMG (e.g., Yue et al., 2019). When comparing the production of complex syllable sequences (three unique syllables) with simple syllable sequences (same syllable repeated three times), Bohland and Guenther (2006) found that, in addition to vPMC and SMA, greater activation was observed in both IFS and SMG (as well as preSMA and anterior insula), regions

that have also been implicated in a large meta-analysis of over 100 neuroimaging studies of working memory (Rottschy et al., 2012). Interestingly, in that meta-analysis the only locus that had been preferentially activated in verbal over non-verbal working memory tasks was IFS, leading Guenther (2016) to conclude that this region may be involved in articulatory rehearsal (see Curtis & D'Esposito, 2003, for a different perspective). Thus while both SMG and IFS could both be parts of Baddeley and Hitch's (1974) phonological loop, SMG may act as the "phonological store", whereas IFS could implement the "articulatory process". Together, they help maintain verbal information in working memory. While such a division of labor is speculative, it aligns well with the greater proximity of SGM to the auditory representations and IFS to motor representations.

IFG is also implicated in speech production, and unlike some of the other cortical regions, its activation is left-lateralized (Ghosh, Tourville, & Guenther, 2008). As discussed in the earlier sections, anterior LIFG has been implicated in controlled semantic retrieval, while posterior LIFG has been tied to lower-level processes. The pSTG (which, as discussed in the previous section, is presumed to contain phonological representations) is connected to LIFG via the long segment of the arcuate fasciculus, and damage to this tract, or intracranial stimulation of it, results in phonemic paraphasias during word production; (Berthier, Lambon Ralph, Pujol, & Green, 2012; Duffau, Moritz-Gasser, & Mandonnet, 2014; Schwartz, Faseyitan, Kim, & Coslett, 2012). Damage to LIFG itself causes apraxia of speech, a condition that impairs motor programming of speech sequences without affecting the articulators themselves (Graff-Radford et al., 2014; Hillis et al., 2004; Richardson, Fillmore, Rorden, LaPointe, & Fridriksson, 2012). Speech apraxia was previously attributed to damage in the insula (Baldo, Wilkins, Ogar, Willock, & Dronkers, 2011; Dronkers, 1996), but as a part of the paralimbic system (a system that integrates the functions of the neocortex

with the motivational/emotional functions of the limbic system), some have suggested that the role of the insula in speech production is better aligned with motivational factors. In keeping with this interpretation, the insula seems to be involved in a large variety of non-linguistic functions with little in common in terms of cognitive processes. A motivational role has also been proposed for motor cingulate cortex, part of the ACC which also belongs to the paralimbic system. Bilateral damage to the ACC leads to akinetic mutism, a condition characterized by an absence of motivation to produce speech, although when speech is occasionally produced, it is intact in both meaning and form (Rosenbeck, 2004).

In summary, various areas in the medial and lateral frontal and prefrontal regions contribute to converting abstract phonology into the sequences of motor gestures that make up speech. In addition to these, some temporoparietal regions have been implicated during production (Figure 4), but these are less likely to be directly involved in the act of production. The activity in the STG, including primary auditory cortex located in Heschel's gyrus, as well as higher-order auditory cortical areas of anterior and posterior STG (aSTG and pSTG), is mostly due to hearing one's own voice. However, magnetoencephalography and fMRI studies have also found activation of these regions during covert speech (Okada & Hickok, 2006), which is compatible with their involvement in the prediction of the sensory consequences of actions. This function, along with the role of the postcentral gyrus in the parietal lobe, will be discussed in the section on monitoring.

Subcortical structures. Several subcortical structures have also been implicated in the motor production of speech (see Guenther 2016 for a review). Most prominent is the combination of the basal ganglia and the thalamic nuclei that are involved in linking the content-frame representations discussed above. Empirical evidence suggests a greater involvement of the caudate nucleus in the planning loop. Electrical stimulation of this nucleus or the anterior thalamic nuclei causes speech

that cannot be inhibited (see Crosson 1992 for a review). According to GODIVA, the basal ganglia in the cortico-basal motor loop, including putamen, in collaboration with the cortico-cerebellar loop, helps develop chunked representations of practiced sequences in pIFS, preSMA, and vPMC, as explained earlier in this section. In line with this proposal, overt production of novel compared to practiced syllables leads to greater activation in the pIFS, preSMA, and vPMC, as well as the anterior insula and SMG (Segawa, Tourville, Beal, & Guenther, 2015), because novel syllables have not yet formed more condensed representations (chunks) in these areas. As such, subcortical structures play a critical role in making production more efficient as a function of learning. In addition to its role in facilitating the mapping of chunked speech into gestures, the cerebellum is also involved in online monitoring of speech production using sensory information. I will discuss this briefly in the next section.

26.6 Monitoring of word production

The problem of monitoring in language production closely mirrors the problem of model scope, alluded to at the beginning of this chapter. As a model of motor speech production, GODIVA also contains detailed mechanisms for the monitoring and control of speech motor operations. But naturally such mechanisms are restricted to the scope of the model, which addresses lower-level production processes. As noted earlier, this is only one part of the puzzle of language production. Attempts have been made to extend the general framework of GODIVA to higher processes involved in language production, but such attempts either do not extend beyond the level of phonological representations (e.g., Hickok, 2012), or when they claim to extend to higher levels, fail to meet the basic requirements of such a framework at higher levels (e.g., Pickering & Garrod, 2013; see Nozari, under review, for arguments). I will start by discussing GODIVA, as it provides

the most detailed predictions regarding the neural correlates of monitoring at the motor level. I will then briefly touch upon what is still missing from the monitoring literature.

According to GODIVA, production starts by activating a speech sound map in the left vPMC, which activates a stored motor program in vMC. At the same time two more representations are activated through a forward model (i.e., a model that anticipates the perceptual consequences of an action): an auditory target and a somatosensory target. The auditory target is part of the auditory state map, which contains a talker-normalized representation related to the formant frequencies of the speech signal, and is localized to pSTG including the planum temporale. The projections from vPMC to pSTG serve the purpose of canceling out the auditory information, thus, if the incoming auditory signal falls within the auditory target region, its excitatory effects will be suppressed. Such auditory suppression of self-produced speech is well documented and contingent on intact cerebellar function (Christoffels, Formisano, & Schiller, 2007; Franken, Hagoort, & Acheson, 2015; Knolle, Schröger, Baess, & Kotz, 2011). If, on the other hand, the incoming auditory information is outside of the target region, a reduced degree of speech-induced suppression is observed (Heinks-Maldonado, Nagarajan, & Houde, 2006), which generates an error signal.

Note that the error signal in the above model is in the auditory space. In order for it to be used to adjust motor movements it must be transformed into motor coordinates. As discussed earlier, Hickok and colleagues propose that this transformation is carried out by the area Spt, an area at the border between the parietal operculum and planum temporale in the left hemisphere (Buchsbaum, Hickok, & Humphries, 2001; Hickok, Buchsbaum, Humphries, & Muftuler, 2003), whereas Guenther and colleagues propose that the auditory-motor interface involves a much larger portion of the pSTG bilaterally. These areas accomplish the transformation by sending projections to right vPMC and then to vMC through both cortico-cortical projections and cortico-cerebellar

loops. Predictions of the model have been confirmed by studies in which the syllables produced by speakers undergo real-time perturbation of formant frequencies (e.g., Tourville et al. 2008; Niziolek & Guenther 2013). In addition to bilateral pSTG, these studies have implicated right IFG as part of the auditory feedback loop. Importantly, adjustments to speech have been subconscious, with participants often unaware of the artificial speech modification or any attempts at correcting it. This independence from conscious awareness is critical for a monitoring mechanism that must continuously assess and regulate production without interfering with its primary processes (Nozari, under review; Nozari, Martin, & McCloskey, 2019).

Activation of the speech sound map also activates a somatosensory target as part of the somatosensory state map in the ventral postcentral gyrus and SMG. The workings of this feedback loop are generally similar to the auditory feedback loop. Similar to the suppression of auditory feedback during the self-produced speech, tactile sensation is reduced by one's own movement, a function that is again attributed to the cerebellum (Blakemore, Frith, & Wolpert, 2001; Blakemore, Wolpert, & Frith, 1998). Thus, by the logic explained for the auditory feedback loop, a mismatch between the predicted and actual somatosensory representations leads to an error signal, which is transmitted to right vPMC for transformation to corrective movements that are then sent to bilateral vMC.

GODIVA thus elegantly explains both the developmental trajectory of learning to imitate the phonology of one's language and the subtle adjustments made to learned speech after auditory or somatosensory perturbation. Note that this mechanism requires that perceptual feedback is available, i.e., the action has been produced. This requirement is reasonable for the first stages of language learning, where production is rarely on target and must be heavily modified by overt feedback. Later in life, when motor production is mastered, speakers do not rely nearly as much

on overt feedback to detect problems in their speech. Evidence for this claim comes from many instances of covert error detection (i.e., detecting errors before they become overt), or intercepting errors early in production and applying fast repairs (Hartsuiker & Kolk, 2001; Levelt, 1983). In this vein, Hickok (2012) proposed a mechanism similar to GODIVA, in which persistent activation of perceptual representations during self-produced speech generates an error signal. But unlike GODIVA, the anticipated activation of perceptual representations does not need to be compared against the actual perceptual input. Instead, it is directly suppressed through the motor program, thus eliminating the need for overt feedback. Even if such direct suppression is possible, the model's basic mechanism still hinges on having two sets of representations (motor and perceptual) corresponding to the same utterance. While this is a reasonable assumption for representations at or below the level of phonemes, I do not know of any evidence supporting such a dichotomy at the higher levels of language production, for example at the level of lexical semantic representations. In fact, as reviewed in earlier sections, neural evidence suggests that such a duplication is unlikely to exist at those levels. This problem, which I have called *the problem of duplicate representations* (Nozari, under review), makes the extension of monitoring mechanisms that rely on sensory-motor comparisons to higher levels of language production infeasible.

Two solutions remain: either language production is only monitored at a late stage, i.e., after phonological encoding, or it is monitored at an earlier stage but with a different mechanism. The differences observed in the detection and repairs of semantic vs. phonological errors (e.g., (Nozari, Dell, & Schwartz, 2011; Schuchard, Middleton, & Schwartz, 2017); see Nozari, under review, for details) make the first possibility unlikely. This has led to proposals for alternative monitoring mechanisms at the higher levels of language production. One such mechanism is conflict-based monitoring (Botvinick, Braver, Barch, Carter, & Cohen, 2001), in which the close activation of

multiple representations (i.e., high conflict) signals the higher likelihood of an error (regardless of whether an error is actually committed or not), and leads to the greater recruitment of control resources to resolve this conflict. This mechanism is “layer-specific”, meaning that conflict is computed between different representations (e.g., lexical representations of “cat” and “dog”; Hanley, Cortis, Budd, & Nozari, 2016; Nozari et al., 2011) within the same layer. This is fundamentally different from the models discussed above, in which computations depend critically on activation at different levels for the same item (e.g., motor vs. perceptual representations of “cat”). The conflict-based account thus eliminates the problem of duplicate representations at the higher levels of the system. To this is added a domain-general component, which reads out the conflict from specific parts of the system and uses this information to regulate top-down control over the parts from which conflict has arisen.

The layer-specificity of the conflict-based account predicts the engagement of the same regions that are involved in the primary production processes in monitoring processes. Neural correlates of the domain-general part of the conflict-based monitor are under debate, but medial prefrontal cortex (especially ACC and preSMA) and lateral prefrontal cortex (especially the LIFG) have been the main candidates. Due to the methodological difficulties involved in eliciting errors from neurotypical adult speakers, very few neuroimaging studies have to date investigated the neural correlates of error detection in natural production tasks. A tongue-twister study by (Gauvin, De Baene, Brass, & Hartsuiker, 2016) implicated pre-SMA, dorsal ACC, anterior insula, and inferior frontal gyrus. Interestingly, that study failed to find a reliable contribution of the auditory or perceptual areas to error detection. But neural correlates of the conflict-based model can be assessed in another way: note that the scope of conflict-based monitoring extends beyond error detection to the online regulation of production, potentially on every production attempt (Nozari

& Hepner, 2018, 2019). The need for regulation increases with increased conflict. According to conflict-based monitoring, most errors are simply a subset of this situation. Thus one could test the predictions of the conflict-based monitor by looking at the neural correlates of word production in situations of high conflict, e.g., in the presence of a semantically related competitor. In keeping with the predictions of the conflict-based monitor, middle and posterior MTG, ACC, and LIFG are among the regions most frequently implicated in such studies (e.g., de Zubicaray, McMahon, Eastburn, & Pringle, 2006; de Zubicaray, McMahon, & Howard, 2015; de Zubicaray et al., 2001; Kan & Thompson-Schill, 2004; Schnur, Schwartz, Brecher, & Hodgson, 2006; Schnur et al., 2009).

To summarize, just like the primary production processes themselves, the monitoring processes for motor production are much better understood than those for higher-level production processes, but given the very different nature of representations in the higher and lower levels of the production system, the most likely possibility is that more than one monitoring mechanism exists for the regulation of the production system (Nozari, under review).

26.7 Summary and conclusion

Given that no model of language production to date covers the entire process of mapping concepts to articulatory gestures, I used theoretical insights from models with different scopes, in the hope of painting as complete of a picture of the neural basis of word production as possible. Despite this heterogeneity, a neural model emerged within which the flow of information roughly tracks the information flow in cognitive models. Conceptualization begins by connecting distributed semantic features in conjunctive zones in the temporal lobe. The mapping of concepts to words and phonology is represented by the flow of information from anterior to middle and finally posterior parts of the MTG and STG. The adjacent SMG helps with the buffering of phonological

information until it is time for production. Phonological codes are then mapped onto corresponding representations in the frontal cortex. This region has a complex hierarchy of planning and execution loops, and contains both abstract frames (in SMA and preSMA) and content (in the vPMC and IFS), with the final-stage articulatory gestures stored in the vMC. This architecture is very similar to that proposed by Hickok and Poeppel (2007).

This process is supplemented by several other systems whose roles are less well understood. Medial frontal structures most likely serve motivational and evaluative functions. Closely related to these is the LIFG, which seems to play a role in resolving the conflict between competing alternatives and strengthening associations. Medial temporal regions may be important for connecting episodic memory in the hippocampus to long-term memory in cortical regions, and thus play a critical role in learning. The angular gyrus plays some kind of integrative function for events with relational or complex representations, although the exact nature of this function is not well understood. And last, but not least, subcortical regions such as the basal ganglia and cerebellum seem to play a critical role in learning, both by creating more efficient representations and faster mapping, and, in the case of the cerebellum, by being involved in generating predictions about the consequences of a motor plan.

I end by highlighting the fact that we have come to understand a great deal about the neural basis of word production, but there is a long way to go. Many of the functions attributed to the regions described in this chapter are speculative, or are too imprecise for us to claim that we have really understood the role of that region. This is particularly true for subcortical structures, which are hard to evaluate by many routine techniques. Moreover, certain problems such as monitoring and control are far from solved in language production, and relevant data are currently sparse. These areas provide great avenues for future research on the neural basis of word production.

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