

# **Sensitivity to Morphological Composition: Evidence from Grammatical and Lexical Identification Tasks**

Laura E. Gwilliams<sup>1,2,\*</sup>, Philip J. Monahan<sup>1,3,4</sup> & Arthur G. Samuel<sup>1,5,6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Basque Center on Cognition, Brain and Language (BCBL), Donostia-San  
Sebastián, Spain

<sup>2</sup>New York University Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

<sup>3</sup>Centre for French and Linguistics, University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada

<sup>4</sup>Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto

<sup>5</sup>Department of Psychology, Stony Brook University, USA

<sup>6</sup>IKERBASQUE Basque Foundation for Science, Bilbao, Spain

\*Corresponding Author:

Laura Gwilliams  
<laura.gwilliams@nyu.edu>

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## Abstract

Access to morphological structure during lexical processing has been established across a number of languages; however, it remains unclear which constituents are held as mental representations in the lexicon. The present study examined the auditory recognition of different noun-types across two experiments. The critical manipulation was morphological complexity and the presence of a verbal derivation or nominalizing suffix form. Results showed that Nominalizations such as *explosion* were harder to classify as a noun, but easier to classify as a word, when compared to monomorphemic words with a similar “action-like” semantics, such as *avalanche*. These findings support the claim that listeners decompose morphologically complex words into their constituent units during processing. More specifically, the results suggest that we hold representations of base morphemes in the lexicon.

Keywords: morphological processing; spoken word recognition; decomposition; derivational morphology

## 1. Introduction

### *1.1 Processing Polymorphemic Words*

The processing of morphologically complex words (e.g., stem “*argue*” + suffix “*ment*”) has played a central role in our current understanding of the mental lexicon. A number of theories have been proposed to explain the mental representation of complex words, differing in the degree of decomposition assumed during lexical storage and retrieval. These accounts span a continuum between two primary models of morphological processing: the word-whole or “continuous” approach (Butterworth, 1983; Janssen, Bi and Caramazza, 2008; Norris and McQueen, 2008) and the decomposition “parsing” approach (Cutler and Norris, 1988; Marslen-Wilson, Tyler, Waksler and Older, 1994; Pinker and Ullman, 2002).

In the visual domain, there is considerable evidence consistent with a decompositional theory of word recognition, wherein morphologically complex words are segmented into their constituent morphemes prior to retrieval. Supporting evidence has been gathered from both behavioral and neuroimaging studies (Fiorentino and Poeppel, 2007; Rastle, Davis and New, 2004; Stockall and Marantz, 2006; although also see Norris and McQueen (2008) for a contrary perspective).

The role of morphology in auditory word recognition, however, has been much less explored, with contention remaining regarding the importance of

morphological structure to parsing the speech signal. Continuous models, such as Shortlist B (Norris and McQueen, 2008) and the Cohort model (Marslen-Wilson and Welsh, 1978), assume that internal word structure is irrelevant, and that onset-aligned *word-whole* competitors are eliminated with each incoming phoneme. Consequently, the target is recognized at the position within the word at which it is unique from all onset-aligned words: the Uniqueness Point. This approach allows for a model that does not require a large number of exception rules (e.g., to avoid false decomposition of *corner*); however, the approach entails substantial redundancy, because strict left-to-right parsing requires independent representations despite semantic transparency among morphologically related forms (e.g., ‘covered’, ‘uncover’ and ‘discover’ (see Wurm, 1997)).

To test the continuous Shortlist B model, Balling and Baayen (2012) assessed the influence of different uniqueness point measures on auditory word recognition. They compared a measure that identifies a target word once the sensory input is inconsistent with all onset-aligned words, including morphological continuations (Complex Uniqueness Point, CUP), to a measure that does not take morphologically related words into consideration (UP). For example, in a word such as “acceptable”, the UP occurs at /t/, and the CUP occurs at the following vowel. The location of both UP and CUP were significant determiners of response latency in lexical-decision, suggesting that both morphological and word-whole competitors are relevant to auditory word recognition.

Decomposition models propose that auditory processing involves recognition of constituent morphemes rather than whole words, with individual morphemes

represented lexically. Although there is evidence to support sensitivity to morphological structure during processing, it is unclear which morphemes are represented in the lexicon. Cross-modal priming studies have found evidence to support stem access during comprehension (Marslen-Wilson, Tyler, Waksler and Older, 1994), although only in the presence of a sufficient semantic relationship between the whole word and the root (e.g., “government” and “govern”). More recent investigations (Kielar and Joanisse, 2011) found that both form and meaning co-determine the degree of observed morphological priming.

Evidence for suffix decomposition is also unclear. In an auditory priming study, Emmorey (1989) found no affix-priming for inflectional (*joking/typing*) or derivational (*tightly/cheaply*) pairs, suggesting that suffixes do not have lexical representations that can be primed during lexical access. In a cross-modal task, however, Marslen-Wilson, Ford, Older and Xiaolin (1996) report evidence for derivational affix priming for words such as *darkness* and *toughness*. These results support isolable and independent processing structures in the mental lexicon for affixes. The contradictory results suggest that priming tests for affixes may be subject to uncontrolled factors, making it difficult to draw reliable conclusions.

## *1.2 The Current Approach*

We present the results of two experiments that used the same critical items. The experiments were run in Spanish with native Spanish speakers (from northern Spain) as participants. Our main comparison was between two types of “action”

nouns: Regularly derived nominalizations which could be decomposed into [verb stem] + [nominal suffix] (e.g., *dona[r]* + *-ción* “donation”) and monomorphemic “Event Nouns” that could not be decomposed (e.g., *avalancha* “avalanche”). The two types of items were selected to have similar verb-like semantics but with only the first type potentially having a verbal stem in the lexicon.

Psycholinguists have used a wide range of tasks to explore different aspects of lexical access. For example, naming/shadowing has been used to tap early encoding, and semantic categorization (e.g., does a word refer to an animate versus an inanimate object) has been employed in studies focusing on access to meaning. Given our interest in morphosyntactic processing, in one experiment, listeners classified spoken words as either a “noun” or a “verb” (i.e., grammatical-decision task); in the other, listeners classified items as either real Spanish words or not (i.e., auditory lexical-decision task). If stems are accessed during spoken word recognition, the decomposable nominalizations should be more difficult to identify as a noun than the monomorphemic event nouns due to the mismatch between verb stem and the “noun” final response. In contrast, during lexical-decision the nominalizations should be easier to identify, as access to the stem would bolster the “word” response. Decomposition (i.e., access to the stem) should therefore produce an interaction between the two conditions of interest and the two experimental tasks.

We also included a condition to test the representation of affix units. Because derivational morphology provides direct information regarding word-class, if an affix is identified during word recognition, it allows faster identification of the

word's grammatical category. To test this, we compare monomorphemic nouns (e.g., *medicina* “medicine”) to nouns containing a “pseudo” derived suffix and a false stem, [false stem] + [nominal suffix] (e.g., *excursión* “excursion”). These pseudo-suffixed nouns provide a legitimate nominal suffix, but they cannot be decomposed in the same way as “explosion” due to the absence of a legitimate stem (e.g., there is no base verb “excur”, or anything similar, for “excursion”). Such items test whether there is sensitivity to the word-final morphological unit, and whether the item is decomposed despite the absence of a free base morpheme. If affix decomposition occurs in the pseudo-suffixed words, they should produce faster responses in the grammatical-decision task in comparison to monomorphemic “prototypical” nouns.

## **2. Experiment 1**

### **2.1 Methods**

#### *2.1.1 Participants*

Twenty-five native Spanish participants with normal hearing volunteered and were compensated for their time (12 female, mean age = 22.4, *SD* = 3.74).

Participants were either students of, or employed by, the University of the Basque Country. All participants provided written informed consent.

#### *2.1.2 Materials*

Thirty-nine critical items were selected from the Spanish Es-Pal database (Duchon et al., 2013) to form three subsets of nouns. Critical stimulus items and their glosses are presented in Appendix 1. These consisted of: 13 “event nouns”, selected to have an event/action semantic representation but no verbal derivation; 13 deverbal nominalizations selected to have a clear verbal derivation and nominalizing suffix; and 13 “pseudo-suffixes” selected to have a word-final “nominal” form, identical to a nominalizing suffix, but without the corresponding verbal derivation. Item selection was based on the judgments of ten native Spanish speakers. In addition to the 39 critical items, 26 “prototypical nouns” were selected. These were monomorphemic nouns that referred to objects rather than events.

Critical stimulus properties are presented in Table 1. Length and UP are measured in number of phonemes. UP is the position of the first phoneme in the word where it becomes unique from all other onset-aligned words (Marslen-Wilson, 1984). Phonological neighborhood density (ND) is measured as the number of words that can be formed by substituting, adding or deleting one phoneme. Imageability is also reported, as it affects reaction times for nouns (Kacinik and Chiarello, 2002).

(Table 1 about here)

For the word-class judgment, we included 104 verbs (52 infinitive verbs and 52 inflected verbs). The verbal inflection was a conjugation indicating either person or tense agreement. Sets of stimuli were created by matching for length in terms of phoneme number (LP), log frequency (log.), log frequency of the base “stem”



(base log.) and UP of the nominalizations. Thirteen sets were created using this structure (see Appendix 2 for all critical stimuli).

All stimuli were recorded by a female native speaker of Spanish in a sound-treated room at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. Each item was read in isolation with sentence-internal intonation, and amplitude was equalized to 70 dB SPL using Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2014).

### *2.1.3 Procedure*

Before the experiment, noun and verb definitions and examples were provided to ensure that participants had a full understanding of the task. Participants were invited to ask clarification questions.

The word *Verbo* (“verb”) was always presented on the left side of the visual display and *Sustantivo* (“noun”) on the right. Stimuli were presented over Beyerdynamic DT-770 headphones at a comfortable listening level. Participants categorized each word as a verb or noun by pressing the left or right key on a response board using their index fingers. They were instructed to respond as quickly and as accurately as possible. The inter-trial interval was 750 ms and began upon the response to the prior stimulus. The next item was presented regardless of accuracy on the previous trial. If no response was made after 2500 ms, the next trial would begin. No feedback was provided.

Three pseudo-randomized presentation lists were composed, each combining the 65 nouns and 104 verbs. Critical items did not appear until the 11<sup>th</sup> word to allow for task habituation.

Participants listened to all three lists, with a short break in-between.

Presentation was counter-balanced so that each list was presented equally as the first, second and third pass. The experiment lasted approximately 30 minutes.

## 2.2 Results and discussion

Figure 1 displays the mean reaction times and percentages of errors for the four experimental conditions. Reaction times were measured from word onset. Trials with response times that deviated 2.5 standard deviations from the by-subject or by-item means were removed from the analysis (2.6% of the responses). No participants or items were eliminated from the final analyses. It should be noted that despite the novelty of the task, participants performed with relatively high accuracy.

(Figure 1 about here)

**Figure 1.** Grammatical decision error rates and reaction times. Error bars represent standard error from the mean.

Our primary question is whether “action nouns” are treated differently depending upon morphological composition: Are there differences between the monomorphemic event nouns (e.g., *avalancha*) and the nominalizations (e.g., *donación*)? To address this question, reaction times and error rates were

analyzed using linear mixed-effects models in the *lme4* package (Bates, Maechler & Bolker, 2012) in *R* (R Core Team, 2012) using a mixed logit model (Jaeger, 2008). Each model included a by-item intercept, a by-subject intercept, and fixed effects for all potentially relevant predictors: Condition, Imageability, Uniqueness Point, Phonological Neighborhood Density, Length and Stimuli List.

### *2.2.1 Mixed-Model Analysis*

As shown in Figure 1, performance patterned in the same way for accuracy and response times. Estimates of the linear model for accuracy and reaction time are provided in Table 2. The analysis revealed a significant effect of Condition for accuracy ( $\chi^2 = 17.9, p < .001$ ), indicating that word “type” was a strong predictor of processing behavior. For reaction times, Condition did not reach significance ( $\chi^2 = 5.9, p = .12$ ) but as noted, patterned in the same way as the error data. The results shown in Figure 1 and the estimates of the model reflect poor performance on the Nominalizations and good performance on the Event Nouns.

(Table 2 about here)

### *2.2.2 Noun Composition*

To assess whether decomposable nouns were processed differently from items that could not be decomposed, we conducted post-hoc comparison tests using generalized hypothesis testing with the Tukey-adjustment procedure for multiple comparisons in the *multcomp R* package (Hothorn, Bretz & Westfall,

2008). This allowed us to compare conditions while taking both by-subject and by-item variability into account. Event Nouns were identified significantly more accurately than Nominalizations ( $z = -4.32, p < .001$ ), and Event Nouns were responded to faster than Nominalizations, although this comparison did not reach significance ( $z = -2.14, p = .14$ ). Nominalizations were also identified less accurately than Prototypical Nouns ( $z = -3.37, p < .01$ ), with no reaction time difference ( $z = 0.24, p = .99$ ). Taken together, these results suggest that the decomposable words were significantly more difficult to identify as nouns than the monomorphemic words.

### *2.2.3 Pseudo-Suffix*

The second question addressed by this experiment is the importance of a suffix to auditory word recognition. To explore this, we compared responses to the Pseudo-Suffix and Prototypical Nouns. Post-hoc tests did not reveal any significant differences (accuracy:  $z = -1.01, p = .74$ ; RT:  $z = 0.59, p = .93$ ).

### *2.3 Experiment 1 Conclusions*

Overall, the results from the first experiment indicate that morphological composition is an important determiner of lexical processing. The grammatical-decision task was designed to be sensitive to any disagreement within the nominalizations between the decomposed stem (verbal) and the required word-whole response (noun). The clear results for accuracy and reaction times provide evidence for the decomposition of the decomposable items: Responses

were numerically slower and significantly less accurate than responses to the monomorphemic words.

Our interpretation focuses on the conflict between the required nominal response and the hypothesized activated verbal root for the decomposable test items. It is also possible, however, that the difficulty lies in decomposition itself; perhaps decomposition requires additional time and increases errors. To decide between these two possibilities, Experiment 2 uses the same items in a lexical-decision task. In lexical-decision, the response to any activated verbal root is the same as the word-whole “final response” because both are “word” units. Thus, there is no conflict for the nominalizations. If the results of Experiment 1 were due to such a conflict, the impairment relative to the matched monomorphemic words should not occur in Experiment 2. If, however, the cost is due to decomposition per se, we should see the same pattern in the lexical-decision task as we did for the noun-verb judgments: Nominalizations should yield slower and less accurate responses than Event Nouns.

### **3. Experiment 2**

#### **3.1 Method**

##### *3.1.1 Participants*

Twenty-five volunteers (18 women; mean age = 23.8,  $SD = 4.9$ ) participated in the experiment. All were native Spanish speakers recruited from the same

population as Experiment 1. All participants provided written informed consent and were compensated for their time.

### 3.1.2 Materials

The stimuli used in Experiment 1 were used in Experiment 2. As the task was now auditory lexical-decision, we also included a set of non-words. Each word was used to construct a non-word by changing one to three phonemes and maintaining the overall syllabic structure. For example, “*purtir*” was a non-word formed from the word “*portar*” (to carry), and “*anobéis*” was formed from the word “*amabais*” (loved). This procedure yielded 169 word/non-word pairs. Twenty-six of these pairs also included a nominal suffix. For example, the pseudo-suffixed non-word “*vatición*” was formed from the pseudo-suffixed word “*vocación*” (vocation). This was done both in order to assess the significance of the nominal suffix in the absence of a valid stem, and to make sure that listeners could not simply use the presence of such a suffix to respond “word” for the nominalization and pseudo-suffix items.

### 3.1.3 Procedure

Participants received standard lexical-decision instructions in writing and were invited to ask clarification questions. The phrase *Palabra inventada* “invented word” was always displayed on the left side of the display, and *Palabra real* “real word” was always displayed on the right. The rest of the procedure was as in Experiment 1.

Two presentation lists were created, combining all 169 word/non-word pairs. Each list had the same order of “item type” with words pseudo-randomized within-condition across the two lists. As in Experiment 1, critical words did not appear until the 11<sup>th</sup> item. All participants received both lists of stimuli, with a short break between the two blocks. Presentation order was counter-balanced so that each list was presented equally often as the first or second pass. There were two passes, rather than the three used in Experiment 1, because of the larger number of items that resulted from including non-words.

### **3.2 Results and discussion**

Trials that were 2.5 standard deviations from the by-subject and by-item means were removed from the analysis (2.1% of the responses). Overall average performance level was therefore comparable for the two tasks. Only correct responses were included in the analysis of RT. Mean response times and error rates are displayed in Figure 2.

(Figure 2 about here)

**Figure 2.** Lexical decision error rates and reaction times. Error bars represent standard error from the mean.

#### *3.2.1 Mixed-Model Analysis*

Reaction times for all conditions patterned in the same way as the errors. The models summarized in Table 3 were reached by performing the same mixed model analysis as Experiment 1. We found a significant effect of Condition for both measures (accuracy:  $\chi^2 = 15.23, p < .01$ ; RT:  $\chi^2 = 10.07, p = .02$ ).

(Table 3 about here)

### *3.2.2 Morphological Composition*

Our central comparison is between monomorphemic Event Nouns and Nominalizations chosen to match the Event Nouns on both surface properties and semantic properties. In the current experiment, stem decomposition would aid the identification of Nominalizations because the verbal stem is consistent with the required “word” response; the opposite pattern to what we saw with grammatical category judgments. This reversal is indeed what we find:

Nominalizations were identified significantly more accurately than Event Nouns ( $z = 3.38, p < .01$ ); their RT advantage did not reach significance ( $z = -1.91, p = .22$ ). Nominalizations were also identified more easily than Prototypical Nouns (accuracy:  $z = 3.73, p < .001$ ; RT:  $z = -3.1, p < .01$ ). This reversal across experiments provides strong support for the decomposition interpretation.

### *3.2.3 Nominal Suffix*

The results also provide a test of the importance given to the presence of a derivational suffix. Two comparisons are relevant to this question. First, for the



real word stimuli, Pseudo-Suffix and Prototypical Nouns differed in the presence versus absence of such a suffix. Pseudo-Suffixed items were identified marginally more accurately than Prototypical nouns ( $z = 2.34, p = .09$ ), although not significantly faster ( $z = -1.71, p = .31$ ).

Second, we can compare non-words containing a nominal suffix (e.g., *nasición*) to those without such suffixes (e.g., *mevorir*). The suffixed non-words were more difficult to dismiss as real words, as indexed by significantly higher error rates ( $z = -10.62, p < .001$ ) and slower reaction times ( $z = 2.06, p < .05$ ). This suggests that listeners were sensitive to the suffix unit, even in the absence of a valid word stem, when asked to judge whether an item was a real word or not.

#### **4. Combined Data Analysis**

In the Introduction we noted that if the stem is being decomposed during processing, we expect Nominalizations to be more difficult to identify as a noun, but easier to identify as a word. To test this prediction we conducted a mixed-model analysis across the two experiments. We followed the same methods as the main experiment results, testing the additional factor of “Task” and its interaction with “Condition” in the fixed effects. Only the two main conditions of interest were included in the Condition factor. Results are displayed in Figure 3.

(Figure 3 about here)

**Figure 3.** Interaction between task and condition for accuracy and response latencies.

Analysis revealed a significant main effect of Experiment (accuracy:  $\chi^2 = 8.04$   $p = .005$ ; RT:  $\chi^2 = 13.86$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and a highly significant interaction between Condition and Task (accuracy:  $\chi^2 = 41.7$   $p < .001$ ; RT:  $\chi^2 = 23.73$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This interaction suggests that access to the stem is indexed by poor performance in grammatical-decision and good performance in lexical-decision, consistent with the predictions of decomposition theories of lexical processing.

## 5. General Discussion

The current study addressed the question of whether morphological composition is an important factor in auditory lexical processing. The primary comparison of interest was between classifications of monomorphemic Event Nouns (e.g., *avalancha* “avalanche”), and polymorphemic Nominalizations, which are composed of a verb stem and nominal suffix (e.g., *donación* “donation”). We also tested Pseudo-Suffixed nouns containing a nominal suffix but no corresponding verb stem (e.g., *excursión* “excursion”). These three conditions provide insight into the representation of stem and affix units during spoken word recognition.

### 5.1 Sensitivity to the Stem of Morphologically Complex Items

Our main finding was that morphologically complex words with a verb stem were the most difficult to identify in the grammatical-decision task, but the easiest to identify in lexical-decision, when compared to semantically-matched

monomorphemic items. In grammatical-decision, the increased difficulty for Nominalizations may be due to an early bias to respond “verb”, owed to the word class of the stem, which must then be inhibited once the incoming speech signal is no longer consistent with this response. Previous studies have suggested that inhibiting a favored response requires additional cognitive effort and can result in reduced accuracy and increased processing time (Green, 1997). The particularly high error rates for Nominalizations in Experiment 1 suggest that this inhibition was not always successful and sometimes led to incorrect classification.

A related interpretation is based on the notion of morphological prediction (Ettinger, Linzen and Marantz, 2014; Gagnepain, Henson and Davis, 2012). Listeners are assumed to be sensitive to possible continuations of morphologically complex words after the realization of the stem and to use this probability distribution to aid processing of following units. For example, when identifying the grammatical class of a nominalization, such as *argument*, once an individual has heard the stem *argue*, it is much more likely that the following morpheme will be a verbal unit rather than a nominal unit. There is higher prediction for the verbal continuations *-ing*, *-ed*, *-es* rather than the less frequent nominal continuation *-ment*. Situations in which the predicted morphological unit is not the same as the outcome are associated with slower responses and increased errors (Balling and Baayen, 2012). Due to the less likely occurrence of the nominal suffix, greater cognitive effort is needed to switch from the predicted to the non-predicted outcome.

In Experiment 2's lexical-decision task, all morphologically valid units support the "word" response. This means that no inhibition is applied to the base morpheme, and all morphologically valid continuations of the root support the same response. Indeed, earlier access to a valid lexical representation provides an advantage relative to the monomorphemic words whose representations cannot be accessed until the full word has been received.

Our findings converge with previous evidence to suggest that we activate the stem during processing of morphologically complex forms. Significant stem-priming of semantically transparent prime-target pairs (*driver* – *drive*) has been established in both visual masked priming (Rastle et al., 2000; Rastle et al., 2004; Silva and Clahsen, 2008) and cross-modal priming (Kieler and Joanasse, 2010; Marslen-Wilson et al., 1994). This suggests that listeners are sensitive to the morphological structure of complex items, and that the observed priming effect is due to the activation of the corresponding stem during lexical retrieval, and not simply a consequence of semantic overlap.

## *5.2 Sensitivity to Word-Final Grammatical Cues*

In addition to probing the status of the stem in morphologically complex words, we also investigated whether listeners were sensitive to a word-final suffix. For this issue, the main comparison was between Pseudo-Suffixed words (e.g., *excursión*) and Prototypical Nouns (e.g., *medicina*). We observed an interesting difference as a function of the task that the listeners were given: The presence of

an identifiable suffix did not have a significant impact on grammatical-decisions but did produce significant differences in lexical-decisions.

In Experiment 2, the Pseudo-Suffixes were identified as words more accurately and more quickly than the Prototypical Nouns, suggesting easier identification of the words with such pseudo-suffixes. The non-words containing these pseudo-suffixes were more difficult to dismiss as valid words, compared to non-words without these suffixes, again suggesting sensitivity to this unit.

Findings for printed words are consistent with the results of Experiment 2. A visual priming experiment conducted by Rastle et al., (2004) found evidence for decomposition of words with an identifiable suffix, even in the absence of a semantic relationship between the stem and word-whole unit (e.g., department-DEPART). No priming effect was found when there was no identifiable suffix (e.g., demonstrate-DEMON), despite the stem overlapping in form to the same extent. Lehtonen, Monahan and Poeppel (2011) conducted a similar study employing the same materials and found consistent behavioral and MEG results in a masked-priming experiment. Similar results were also found in a cross-modal priming study of regular derivations in pseudo-words, with significant priming effects for items with an interpretable stem + suffix combination (e.g., “*rapid + ifier*”) (Meunier and Longtin, 2007). Collectively, the results suggest that in lexical-decision, individuals are sensitive to the information contained within the suffix.

The lack of facilitation shown for Pseudo-Suffixes in Experiment 1 is interesting, given that the derivative suffixes are strongly associated with the nominal word class and that we found evidence for listener sensitivity to this information in Experiment 2. The contrasting results suggest that the demands of each task elicit retrieval of different elements of information. It may be that grammatical-decision requires retrieval of the “function” of morphological units to aid classification, whereas lexical-decision only requires recognition of the “form” of that same unit to aid identification. The results of our Pseudo-Suffix manipulation are thus most consistent with the view that there is no immediate access to the mental representation of suffixes beyond their physical form. The function of the affix must become available at some point during processing in order to correctly understand the difference between words sharing the same stem, for example; however, our results only support immediate recognition of suffixes based upon surface properties, and do not support a functional representation of affixes in the mental lexicon.

## **6. Conclusion**

The primary aim of the present study was to determine whether nouns are processed differently depending on their morphological structure. Our findings suggest that a decomposable word like “*explosion*” is processed differently than a non-decomposable word such as “*avalanche*”, and that this is due to activation of the stem within the morphologically complex item. The results therefore support a decomposition theory of word processing. Furthermore, it appears that individuals were sensitive only to the surface form of a derivational suffix and

not the functional link to its word class. Taken together, the evidence suggests that morphologically complex words are stored and processed primarily through the base stem and that suffixes are not stored as strong representations in the lexicon.

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## Appendix 1: Noun Items

Nominalization	English Translation	Log. Freq.	Base Freq.
Argumento	argument	1.67	4.49
Duración	duration	1.62	4.11
Creencia	belief	1.34	4.10
Ganancia	gain	1.22	3.94
Herencia	heritage	1.36	3.85
Matanza	slaughter	1.22	3.80
Donación	donation	0.98	3.69
Fijación	fixation	0.99	3.45
Curación	healing	0.94	3.43
Mudanza	move	0.77	3.26
Crianza	breeding	0.72	3.13
Alzamiento	lift	0.67	3.10
Abdicación	abdication	0.43	2.75

Pseudo-suffix	English Translation	Log. Freq.	Base Freq.
Adicción	Addiction	0.78	4.49
Comunión	Communion	0.90	4.11
Excursión	Excursion	0.63	4.10
Vocación	God call	1.21	3.94
Desventura	Misfortune	0.47	3.85
Ruptura	Rupture	1.30	3.80
Lección	Lesson	1.23	3.69
Audición	Audition	0.69	3.45
Falacia	Fallacy	0.55	3.43
Noción	Notion	1.22	3.26
Vigencia	Validity	1.06	3.13
Coalición	Coalition	1.62	3.10
Sección	Section	1.83	2.75

Event Noun	English Translation	Log. Freq.
Campaña	Campaign	2.02
Accidente	Accident	1.69
Huelga	Strike	1.52
Tormenta	Storm	1.32
Terremoto	Earthquake	1.19
Trayecto	Journey	1.18
Huracán	Hurricane	1.17
Cirugía	Surgery	1.01
Travesía	Crossing	0.91
Avalancha	Avalanche	0.71
Ciclón	Cyclone	0.53
Cataclismo	Cataclysm	0.39
Escaramuza	Skirmish	0.35

Prototypical Noun	English Translation	Log. Freq.
Organismo	Organism	1.68
Facultad	Faculty	1.69
Salario	Salary	1.28
Catálogo	Catalogue	1.21
Infierno	Hell	1.37
Clínica	Clinic	1.25
Alcaldía	Major's Office	1.04
Estatura	Height	1.00
Diagrama	Diagram	0.89
Afrenta	Insult	0.70
Ensueño	Dream	0.76
Locomotora	Locomotive	0.61
Pasatiempo	Hobby	0.45
Comisaria	Presinct	1.63
Medicina	Medicine	1.67
Experto	Expert	1.23
Dictador	Dictator	1.24
Mediodía	Noon	1.29
Pantano	Swamp	1.13
Goleador	Scorer	1.02
Elefante	Elephant	0.91
Desayuno	Breakfast	0.90
Corbata	Tie	0.79
Mancebo	Assistant	0.72
Caricatura	Caricature	0.65
Portezuela	Door	0.40

## Appendix 2: Verb Items

Decomposable Verb	ENG.	Base Freq.	Decomposable Verb	ENG.	Base Freq.
acud[irían	to come	4.43	Cesa[remos	to stop	4.10
roga[bais	to pray	4.09	Medi[rías	to measure	4.23
reg[iría	to govern	3.99	Ama[bais	to love	4.43
suma[rías	to add	4.19	Obra[steis	to do	3.75
así[amos	to grasp	3.80	Fia[rían	be reliable	4.03
besa[réis	to kiss	3.82	Guia[bais	to lead	3.75
borra[rían	to delete	3.70	Bati[rías	to sweep	3.74
chupa[steis	to suck	3.42	Odia[rías	to hate	3.70
nada[réis	to swim	3.60	Roza[bais	to touch	3.54
mece[rías	to rock	3.13	Urdi[rían	to weave	2.87
liga[bais	to bind	3.16	Tose[réis	to cough	2.93
reñi[ríamos	to scold	3.09	Serra[ríamos	to saw	3.04
incuba[rían	to incubate	2.75	Delira[rían	talk nonsense	2.71
Llena[rías	to fill	4.17	Dura[rían	to last	4.23
Viaja[ban	to travel	4.47	Agita[mos	to shake	3.74
Situa[rían	to put	4.41	Juzga[rías	to judge	4.33

Temí[amos	to fear	4.37	Calla[rían	to shut up	3.87
Acentua[ron	to emphasise	3.51	Reanuda[mos	to resume	3.82
Rei[rán	to laugh	4.34	Hiri[eron	to hurt	3.83
Osa[rías	to venture	3.34	Rae[ráis	scrape off	3.14
Ole[rían	to smell	3.57	Ara[rías	to plow	3.66
Jura[ste	to swear to	3.72	Honra[ste	to honor	3.50
Loa[rías	to praise	2.99	Hui[rías	to run away	4.33
Apea[bais	to take down	3.04	Rugi[réis	to roar	3.13
Cifra[bais	to code	3.12	Aloja[rías	to host	3.47
Asa[réis	to roast	3.12	Pia[rías	to chatter	2.90

Infinitive Verb	Eng.	Freq.	Infinitive Verb	Eng.	Freq.
aparecen	appear	1.70	mejorar	improve	1.92
continuar	continue	1.71	reconocer	recognise	1.70
dirige	lead	1.55	merece	deserve	1.49
construyó	construct	1.37	preocupa	worry	1.37
advierte	warn	1.21	mantenía	maintain	1.21
sostener	support	1.18	imaginar	imagine	1.23
cortar	cut	1.18	refiero	refer	1.22
acabaron	end	0.98	recupero	recouperate	1.02
difundir	broadcast	0.94	expulsar	eject	0.85
convivir	coexist	0.68	presumir	show off	0.62
aludir	mention	0.49	jugarán	play	0.51
amontonaba	pile up	0.35	recomponer	repair	0.39
desactivar	deactivate	0.40	subestimar	underestimate	0.38
cumplir	carry out	1.86	esperar	wait	1.84
establece	establish	1.74	responder	respond	1.68
llevaron	wear	1.48	sucedió	happen	1.53
discutir	discuss	1.28	subrayar	emphasise	1.30
componen	compose	1.22	competir	compete	1.22
mostraba	show	1.19	distingue	distinguish	1.15
llamaban	call	1.17	suponen	suppose	1.15
conlleve	carry	1.01	valorar	appreciate	1.05
lanzando	throw	0.90	proponía	propose	0.93
derrotaron	defeat	0.66	pretendemos	pretend	0.74
flotar	float	0.45	portar	wear	0.48
compaginar	combine	0.31	sobreviene	happen	0.33
replantear	think over	0.32	tratando	treat	0.32