# Looking for the Phonological Mapping Negativity (in all the wrong places)

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June  $24\ 2021$ 

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

Section 1

Four years ago...

Can event-related potential data inform information flow order in speech perception?

Can event-related potential data inform information flow order in speech perception? i.e. what the extent of top-down mediation is during speech perception.

Event-related potentials (ERP) are measured brain responses that are direct result of a **sensory**, **cognitive** or motor event (Luck 2005)

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Event-related potential components are measured with electroencephalography (EEG) equipment.

Top-down vs bottom-up in speech perception:

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• Interactive models of speech perception e.g. **TRACE** (McClelland & Elman 1986)

Top-down vs bottom-up in speech perception:

- $\bullet$  Interactive models of speech perception e.g.  $\mathbf{TRACE}$  (McClelland & Elman 1986)
- Feed-forward / modular models of speech perception e.g. **Cohort** (Marslen-Wilson 1984)

• Elman, J. L., & McClelland, J. L. (1988). Cognitive penetration of the mechanisms of perception: Compensation for coarticulation of lexically restored phonemes. Journal of Memory and Language, 27(2), 143-165.

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- McQueen, et al. (2009). No lexical-prelexical feedback during speech perception or: Is it time to stop playing those Christmas tapes?. Journal of Memory and Language, 61(1), 1-18.

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

# Elman & McClelland (1988)

Compensation for coarticulation: (Mann & Repp 1981)

Introduction

Compensation for coarticulation: (Mann & Repp 1981)

 $\bullet$  /t-k/ perceived more often as /k/ following /s/

Methods

Ganong effect (Ganong 1980)

Introduction

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 Ambiguous phonemes are solved more often with the choice that makes a word vs. a non-word

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• /t-k/ perceived more often as /t/ following /ʃ/

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- e.g. Christma/s-ʃ/ more often solved as Christma/s/.

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- Ambiguous phonemes are solved more often with the choice that makes a word vs. a non-word
- e.g. Christma/s-ʃ/ more often solved as Christma/s/.
- Effect stronger at phoneme boundary.

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

# Elman & McClelland (1988)

Christma/s- $\int/$ /t-k/capes

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

# Elman & McClelland (1988)

Christma/s- $\int/$ /t-k/capes

Cool, huh?

Can event-related potential data inform information flow order in speech perception?

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ERP (and EEG) offer unparalleled temporal resolution,

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• Mismatch Negativity (**MMN**)

f \* Originally named Phonological Mismatch Negativity

Introduction

- Mismatch Negativity (MMN)
- Phonological Mapping\* Negativity (**PMN**)

Methods

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Introduction

- Mismatch Negativity (MMN)
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Methods

N400

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Introduction

- Mismatch Negativity (MMN)
- Phonological Mapping\* Negativity (**PMN**)

Methods

- N400
- P600
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### MMN

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The mismatch negativity (MMN) is a cross-sensorial ERP component often observed in frontocentral regions of the scalp between 150 and 250 ms post stimulus onset

The mismatch negativity reflects the perception of a deviant stimulus in a sequence of standard stimuli (e.g. Garrido et al., 2009)

In the auditory domain, a deviant stimulus can be identified by differences in pitch, duration, stress and frequency range (Erlbeck et al., 2014)

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

#### MMN

However, the MMN was also found to be sensitive to phonological mapping (Pulvermuller 2001)

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Introduction

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 $\bullet\,$  MMN to the presentation of mismatching Finnish words

Introduction

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- $\bullet\,$  MMN to the presentation of mismatching Finnish words
- No MMN in control group

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nurse

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nurse doctor

Experiment 1

Experiment 2

General Discussion 00000000

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Experiment 1

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Experiment 2

General Discussion 00000000

N400

and other meaningful stimuli.

nurse doctor | pizza

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

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nurse doctor | pizza pineapple

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• Other paradigms include cloze-probability mismatch (e.g. Connolly and Phillips 1994)

The Phonological Mapping (or Mismatch) Negativity,  $\mathbf{PMN}$  is an event-related potential component hypothesized to index phonological mismatch and mapping

The Phonological Mapping (or Mismatch) Negativity, **PMN** is an event-related potential component hypothesized to index phonological mismatch and mapping (e.g. Connolly and Phillips 1994; Connolly et al. 2001)

General Discussion

## Phonological Mapping Negativity

However, while some studies (e.g. Connolly and Phillips 1994) have linked the PMN to phonological mapping during the lexical selection stage of speech perception..

Introduction

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Others (e.g. Newman et al.) report that the PMN is a marker of acoustic and pre-lexical information.

Introduction

Introduction

Event-Related Potential Components Reflect Phonological and Semantic Processing of the Terminal Word of Spoken Sentences:

• The piano is out of

Introduction

Event-Related Potential Components Reflect Phonological and Semantic Processing of the Terminal Word of Spoken Sentences:

• The piano is out of tune

Introduction

Event-Related Potential Components Reflect Phonological and Semantic Processing of the Terminal Word of Spoken Sentences:

• The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)

Introduction

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of

Introduction

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of tuna

Introduction

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of tuna (N400)

Methods

## Connolly and Phillips (1994)

Introduction

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of tuna (N400)
- The piano is out of

Introduction

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of tuna (N400)
- The piano is out of pizza

Introduction

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of tuna (N400)
- The piano is out of pizza (N400 and PMN)

Event-Related Potential Components Reflect Phonological and Semantic Processing of the Terminal Word of Spoken Sentences:

- The piano is out of tune (no mismatch)
- The piano is out of tuna (N400)
- The piano is out of pizza (N400 and PMN)
- ...

Introduction

Phoneme deletion task to study the PMN:

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

Newman et al. (2003)

Phoneme deletion task to study the PMN:

Delete /k/ from the word "clap"

Introduction

Phoneme deletion task to study the PMN:

Delete /k/ from the word "clap"

lap

Introduction

Phoneme deletion task to study the PMN:

Delete /k/ from the word "clap"

- lap
- aap

Phoneme deletion task to study the PMN:

Delete /k/ from the word "clap"

lap

Introduction

- aap
- dog

Lewendon et. al (2020) suggest that the possibility exists that the PMN is an extension of either the Mismatch Negativity (MMN) or N400 components

Introduction

Lewendon et. al (2020) also report that the majority of the literature on the PMN is characterized by contradictory findings and methodological limitations, e.g.

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- Mixed topographical locations:
  - Some studies report discovering the PMN in frontal and central sites, others in parietal / mid-line / evenly spread across the scalp.

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- Methodological limitations:

### Phonological Mapping Negativity

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- Mixed topographical locations:
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- Methodological limitations:
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  - Few participants (usually < 10)
  - Few trials (usually < 40)

Introduction

### Phonological Mapping Negativity

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- Contrasting theories of the PMN
- Mixed topographical locations:
  - Some studies report discovering the PMN in frontal and central sites, others in parietal / mid-line / evenly spread across the scalp.
- Methodological limitations:
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  - Few trials (usually < 40)
  - Confounding variables

• Is the PMN in response to acoustic, phonetic, phonological, lexical mapping and mismatch, none or a combination of all?

- Is the PMN in response to acoustic, phonetic, phonological, lexical mapping and mismatch, none or a combination of all?
- Is any other ERP component found in response to acoustic, phonetic and phonological mismatch in place of / together with the PMN?

Why the PMN..

Why the PMN.. and why now?

Why the PMN.. and why now?

• The PMN (placed in between phonetic and lexical processing) might play a key role in future investigations into architectures of grammar and speech perception

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Introduction

### Why the PMN.. and why now?

- The PMN (placed in between phonetic and lexical processing) might play a key role in future investigations into architectures of grammar and speech perception
- Clinical studies have recently used the PMN as a marker of phonological processing abilities in patient populations (Robson et al. 2017). However, it is not clear what processes the PMN really indexes.

Section 2

Methods

### Experimental design

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Three neuro-imaging experiments designed to introduce new contexts in which to probe the elicitation of the PMN component.

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Three neuro-imaging experiments designed to introduce new contexts in which to probe the elicitation of the PMN component.

Experiments  ${\bf 1}$ ,  ${\bf 2}$  (and  ${\bf 3}$ ) were designed to simultaneously work independently while also being fully comparable.

Hardware:

General Discussion

## Equipment & Processing

Hardware:

 $\, \bullet \,$  64 active pin-type  ${\bf BioSemi}$  electrodes for the scalp

#### Hardware:

- ullet 64 active pin-type **BioSemi** electrodes for the scalp
- $\, \bullet \,$  6 (EX1 to EX6) face electrodes

Experiment 1 0000000000000

Experiment 2 00000000000

# Equipment & Processing

#### Hardware:

- $\, \bullet \,$  64 active pin-type  ${\bf BioSemi}$  electrodes for the scalp
- 6 (EX1 to EX6) face electrodes
- BioSemi hardware (e.g. receiver)

Software:

• Praat (w/ Vocal Toolkit)

- Praat (w/ Vocal Toolkit)
- BioSemi Actiview

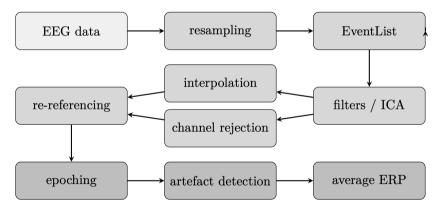
- Praat (w/ Vocal Toolkit)
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- Neurobehavioral Systems' Presentation

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- $\bullet~$  EEGLAB (Delorme & Makeig 2004)

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- MATLAB (2018b; 2019a; 2019b)
- $\bullet~$  EEGLAB (Delorme & Makeig 2004)
- ERPLAB (Lopez-Calderon & Luck, 2014)

- Praat (w/ Vocal Toolkit)
- BioSemi Actiview
- Neurobehavioral Systems' **Presentation**
- MATLAB (2018b; 2019a; 2019b)
- EEGLAB (Delorme & Makeig 2004)
- ERPLAB (Lopez-Calderon & Luck, 2014)
- R (4.1) (R Core Team 2021)



Experiment 1 0000000000000

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

# Equipment & Processing

EEG pre-processing:

• Offline average reference

Experiment 1 000000000000

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

## Equipment & Processing

- Offline average reference
- 512 Hz sampling frequency

- Offline average reference
- 512 Hz sampling frequency
- $\bullet~0.01$  40 Hz band-pass filter

- Offline average reference
- 512 Hz sampling frequency
- $\, \bullet \,$  0.01 40 Hz band-pass filter
- 50 Hz notch filter for AC hum

Statistical analyses:

### Statistical analyses:

• Exploratory channel-level multivariate testing with package ERP (Causeur et al. 2020) and the Adaptive Factor Adjustment (AFA) procedure (Sheu et al. 2016)

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- Exploratory channel-level multivariate testing with package ERP (Causeur et al. 2020) and the Adaptive Factor Adjustment (AFA) procedure (Sheu et al. 2016)
- Mean amplitude modelling with mixed-effect models & package 1me4 (Bates et al. 2015)

# Equipment

Data visualisation:

## Equipment

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 $\bullet$  Grand-Average / difference ERP plots with <code>ggplot2</code> (Wickham 2016)

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#### Data visualisation:

- $\bullet$  Grand-Average / difference ERP plots with <code>ggplot2</code> (Wickham 2016)
- Cubic spline interpolation scalp maps with package akima (Akima and Gebhardt 2020)

## Reproducibility





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Data, code and model summaries are available on GitHub at the repository mcanzi/phd\_codedata

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Data, code and model summaries are available on GitHub at the repository mcanzi/phd\_codedata

PhD thesis has been submitted and  $\underline{\text{will}}$  be available through open access following thesis defense (in August) and corrections.

Section 3

Experiment 1

• Participants were trained to learn three pairs of tri-syllabic nonce words, presented auditorily, in a computerized training phase (e.g. pitabu dipida)

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  - Transitional probabilities within the two items of each nonce-word pair was 1.0

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- During EEG data collection, stimuli were played to participants during a passive listening task, however..

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  - Transitional probabilities within the two items of each nonce-word pair was 1.0
- Participants were tested on their knowledge of the experimental stimuli in a computerized task
- During EEG data collection, stimuli were played to participants during a passive listening task, however..
  - $\bullet\,$  In 33% of total trials (400 total trials), the first syllable of the second nonce-word of each pair would be manipulated to break expectations

Before training, EEG data was recorded with subjects listening passively to the presentation of matching and mismatching nonce-word pairs. This was done in order to estabilish a baseline.

pitabu

pitabu dipida

pitabu dipida pitabu

pitabu dipida pitabu **ba**pida Methods 00000000



Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

#### Stimuli

pitabu dipida pitabu **ba**pida pitabu

pitabu dipida pitabu **ba**pida pitabu **bu**pida

pitabu dipida pitabu **ba**pida pitabu **bu**pida

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- $\bullet$  Vowel, syllable and word length were controlled (each syllable was 200 ms long)

- Stimuli were synthesized using Mac OS Text-to-Speech
- Stimuli concept from Astheimer and Sanders (2011), who controlled for transitional probabilities, resemblance to real words, etc.
- $\bullet$  Vowel, syllable and word length were controlled (each syllable was 200 ms long)
- Speaker and pitch contours were the same for all stimuli.

22 Participants (F = 13) took part to the experiment.

 $\, \bullet \,$  22 right-handed adults

- ullet 22 right-handed adults
- 22 BrE speakers

Experiment 2 General Discussion

## **Participants**

- 22 right-handed adults
- 22 BrE speakers
- $\bullet$  Age (M = 20, 18-25)

- 22 right-handed adults
- 22 BrE speakers
- Age (M = 20, 18-25)
- Normal or corrected to normal vision and hearing

- 22 Participants (F = 13) took part to the experiment.
  - 22 right-handed adults
  - 22 BrE speakers
  - Age (M = 20, 18-25)
  - Normal or corrected to normal vision and hearing
  - No reported use of psychoactive medications

No effects of interest were found

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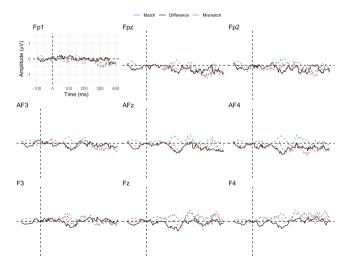
Few trials

No effects of interest were found

- Few trials
- Low SNR.

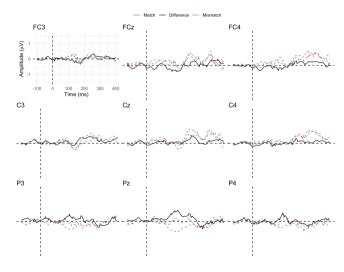
### Results

#### Results



### Results

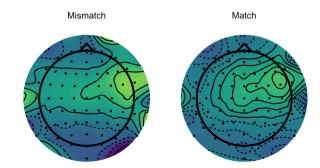
### Results



Cubic-spline interpolation scalp maps. Mean amplitude betwee en  $280\ \mathrm{and}\ 320\ \mathrm{ms}$  post-stimulus onset.

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 $\bullet$  No main effect of Condition  $[F(_{1,1797})=0.01,\,p=.89)]$ 

We fitted a LMEM to mean amplitude measured between 280 and 320 ms PSO. Condition, Region and Hemisphere were fitted as main effects as well as three-way interaction. Varying intercepts allowed for Subject

- No main effect of Condition  $[F(_{1,1797}) = 0.01, p = .89)]$
- No interaction of Condition & Region  $[F(_{10,1797}) = 1.39, p = .17)]$

### Results: Other effects

• Small negative effect between 150-200 ms for mismatch condition (frontocentral) (MMN?)

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- $\bullet$  Small negative effect between 150-200 ms for mismatch condition (frontocentral) (MMN?)
- $\bullet$  Bigger positive effect between 500-700 ms for mismatch condition (centroparietal) (**P600?**)

### Results: Other effects

- Small negative effect between 150-200 ms for mismatch condition (frontocentral) (MMN?)
- Bigger positive effect between 500-700 ms for mismatch condition (centroparietal) (**P600?**)
- In case of a significant interaction between Condition and Region, pairwise contrasts were carried out with package
  emmeans (Lenth et al. 2018)

No instance of PMN (in any of its expected forms) was found

Experiment 1 00000000000

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 00000000

### Discussion

### Possible explanations:

• PMN is more "higher-level" than previously theorized

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- $\bullet$  Methodological limitations of Exp. 1

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- $\bullet$  Methodological limitations of Exp. 1
  - $\bullet\,$  Passive listening

- PMN is more "higher-level" than previously theorized
- Methodological limitations of Exp. 1
  - Passive listening
  - Possible P3a contamination?

Section 4

Experiment 2

• Designed to be (fairly) comparable to experiment one

- Designed to be (fairly) comparable to experiment one
  - Same stimuli as Exp 1

- Designed to be (fairly) comparable to experiment one
  - $\, \bullet \,$  Same stimuli as Exp 1
  - No lexical activation

- Designed to be (fairly) comparable to experiment one
  - $\bullet~$  Same stimuli as Exp 1
  - No lexical activation
- Includes active, behavioural tasks

- Designed to be (fairly) comparable to experiment one
  - $\bullet~$  Same stimuli as Exp 1
  - No lexical activation
- Includes active, behavioural tasks
- More streamlined

# Stimuli

Same nonce words as Experiment 1

di +

di + (500 ms pause) +

di + (500 ms pause) + pi +

di + (500 ms pause) + pi + (500 ms pause) +

di + (500 ms pause) + pi + (500 ms pause) + da

di + (500 ms pause) + pi + (500 ms pause) + da (4 s pause)

$$\rm di+(500~ms~pause)+pi+(500~ms~pause)+da$$
  $\rm (4~s~pause)$   $\rm dipida$ 

However, in 33% of total trials

 $\mathrm{di}$ 

However, in 33% of total trials

di pi

However, in 33% of total trials

di pi da

#### Procedure

However, in 33% of total trials

di pi da

 $\mathbf{ba}\mathrm{pida}$ 

20 participants (F = 12) took part to the experiment:

• 20 right-handed adults

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- $\bullet~20~\mathrm{BrE}$  speakers

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- $\bullet$  Age (M = 19, 18-24)

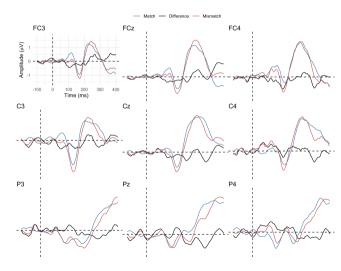
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- $\bullet$  0 took part to both Exp 1 and Exp 2

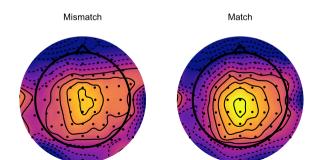
#### Results

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Cubic-spline interpolation scalp maps. Mean amplitude between 280 and 320 ms post-stimulus onset.





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- No main effect of Condition  $[F(_{1,1965.6}) = 0.0001, p = .98)]$
- $\bullet$  Significant interaction of Condition & Region  $[F(_{10,1948.2})=0.8,\,p=.001)]. However..$
- Only significant main effect on Condition between match (M = 0.51  $\mu$ V) and mismatch (M = -0.04  $\mu$ V) at parieto-occipital scalp sites.

#### Results: Other effects

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- $\bullet$  Bigger positive effect between 500-700 ms for mismatch condition (centroparietal) (**P600?**)

No instance of  $\mathbf{PMN}$  (in any of its expected forms) was found

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- $\bullet\,$  PMN is more "higher-level" than previously theorized
- $\bullet$  Methodological limitations of Exp. 1

General Discussion •0000000

# Section 5

General Discussion

Contrasting findings in PMN literature cause:

 $\bullet$  Difficulty in determining whether an observed response matches the PMN (in function and topographical distribution)

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- Easy to mistake any component in a similar range as the PMN

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- Difficulty in determining whether an observed response matches the PMN (in function and topographical distribution)
- Easy to mistake any component in a similar range as the PMN
- $\bullet\,$  Bulk of the (very limited) literature on the PMN attributed to one research group

The PMN appears to be linked to lexical processing more than to the processing of pre-lexical information (including acoustic and phonetic information).

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- Goes against later interpretations (e.g. Newman et al. 2003)
- How much of the PMN is in response to phonological information specifically?
  - Issues with uses of PMN in clinical settings

# Other findings

Earlier responses (150-200 ms) and later P600-like effects reinforce:

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# Other findings

Earlier responses (150-200 ms) and later P600-like effects reinforce:

- Mismatch stimuli were recognised as such
- Early, acoustic / phonetic mismatch
- P600 as an index of sequence violation

Could the PMN be a later instance of the MMN?

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  - Done in Exp 3. Data collection interrupted by COVID-19
- Try different paradigms that isolate phonological and lexical processing

## Methodological limitations

If we consider the non-observation of the PMN as a cause of methodological limitations:

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If we consider the non-observation of the PMN as a cause of methodological limitations:

- PMN most likely not reliable enough as a marker for clinical experiments
- Not a good candidate for experiments investigating information flow order in speech perception

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 000000 $\bullet$ 0

## PMN: All the right places

Experiment 1

Experiment 2 00000000000

General Discussion 000000●0

### PMN: All the right places

Replication

### Thank you!

Special thanks to my supervisors Dr Wendell Kimper and Dr Patrycja Strycharczuk

Universität Konstanz



