



# A case for the involvement of phonological loop in sentence comprehension

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## ABSTRACT

The specific role of the phonological loop in sentence comprehension is still a matter of debate.

We tested the behavioural consequences of activity disruption in left BA40 and BA44, key regions of the phonological loop, on language comprehension using 1 Hz rTMS. Comprehension was assessed by means of two tasks: a sentence-to-picture matching task, with sentences varying in length and syntactic complexity (Experiment 1), and a sentence verification task (Experiment 2). rTMS over left BA40 significantly reduced accuracy for syntactically complex sentences and long, but syntactically simpler sentences, while rTMS over left BA44 significantly reduced accuracy only for syntactically complex sentences. rTMS applied over left BA40 also impaired performance on sentences in which word order was crucial.

We suggest that the neural correlates of the phonological loop, left BA40 and BA44, are both involved in the comprehension of syntactically complex sentences, while only left BA40, corresponding to the short-term store, is recruited for the comprehension of long but syntactically simple sentences. Therefore, in contrast with the dominant view, we showed that sentence comprehension is a function of the phonological loop.

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## 1. Introduction

A defining property of natural languages is the widespread occurrence of long distance dependencies, namely links of various types between non-adjacent linguistic items, such as the link between the subject “the dog” and the predicate “is chasing the cat” in the sentence “The dog [that the boy is watching] is chasing the cat”. Processing of long distance dependencies requires syntactic computation within a pool of memory resources. In principle, these resources may rely on working memory (Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Baddeley, 2000), e.g. the central executive and/or the phonological loop (PL), which is used in non-syntactic tasks, like remembering lists of digits or words. Alternatively, memory resources involved in language comprehension may be a specialized subset. The choice between these two positions is still an open issue.

The latter position is held by supporters of the very influential Separate Sentence Interpretation Resource (SSIR) theory (cf. Caplan & Waters, 1999 for a presentation of this theory and Fedorenko,

Gibson, & Rhode, 2005 for a criticism). The SSIR theory suggests that a separate subsystem is responsible for the syntactic and semantic operations performed online when a sentence is interpreted. If this hypothesis is correct, the central executive and/or the PL may have a role (if any) only in a post-interpretative stage.

Support for this theory comes mainly from negative results, showing that the impairment of the PL would not necessarily result in a shortfall in sentence comprehension. Indeed, patients with a selective impairment of the PL do not show any major deficit in language comprehension (Howard & Butterworth, 1989; Waters & Caplan, 1996). However, when syntactically more complex sentences are considered, several behavioural (Waters, Caplan, & Hildebrandt, 1987; Waters, Caplan, & Yampolsky, 2007) and neuropsychological data (Caramazza, Basil, Koller, & Berndt, 1981; Friedrich, Glenn, & Martin, 1984; Papagno, Cecchetto, Reis, & Bello, 2007) strongly suggest that the PL is involved. Nevertheless, the co-occurrence of language comprehension deficits and impaired PL does not allow concluding for a causal relation. It is possible that the neural correlates of both functions are adjacent and therefore both regions can be damaged by the same lesion.

Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation (TMS) has been increasingly used in language research (Devlin & Wackin, 2007): this technique, by means of a magnetic field and its associated electrical field, can be used to non-invasively stimulate a specific cortical site and interfere with information processing. TMS can be particularly useful

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# The Role Of The Phonological Loop In Sentence Comprehension

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