

Rules, representations, and the English past tense

William Marslen-Wilson and Lorraine K. Tyler

The significance of the English past tense in current cognitive science is that it offers a clear contrast between a potentially rule-based system – the procedures for forming the regular past tense – and an unpredictable and idiosyncratic set of irregular forms. This contrast has become a focus for a wide-ranging debate about whether mental computation requires the use of symbols. Highly regular combinatorial phenomena, such as the regular past tense, are prime candidates for rule-based symbolic computation. Earlier research concentrated on the evidence for this during language acquisition, looking at how children learned the English regular and irregular verb systems. Over the last five years attention has shifted towards the properties of the adult system, and we review here some recent research into the neural correlates of the two types of procedure. The evidence suggests that there are divergences in the neural systems underlying the generation and perception of regular and irregular forms. Regular inflected forms seem to involve primarily combinatorial processes, while irregular forms appear to have a hybrid status, sharing their semantic properties with the regular forms but diverging in the phonological domain, where their form representations are stored as complete units. This indicates that the regular and irregular past tenses may not, after all, provide a clean contrast in the types of mental computation they implicate.

A fundamental issue in the cognitive sciences is to determine the nature of mental computation. Over the last decade the focus of this debate has been the contrast between classical views of mental computation, seen as the rule-based manipulation of strings of symbols with a syntax, as opposed to more distributed systems, operating subsymbolically and without syntax. Despite the pervasive and crucial nature of this debate, it has nonetheless been hard to find specific domains where empirical evidence could be generated that might decide between these two broad classes of views. The English past tense, perhaps surprisingly, offers one of the few cases where this seems to be true. Protagonists on both sides of the debate generally agree that the mental representation of the regular and irregular past tense of the English verb is a crucial test case. In this brief essay, we begin by explaining why this should be so, and then go on to focus on the recent emphasis, in our own work as well as in the work of others, on the neural correlates of the cognitive systems supporting the English past tense, and on the resulting claims for the neurological as well as functional dissociability of these underlying systems in the brain.

The English verb

The significance of the English verb is that its procedures for forming the past tense offer an unusually sharp contrast, within

the same cognitive domain, between a highly regular procedure and a highly irregular and idiosyncratic set of exceptions. The great majority of English verbs, numbering 10,000 or more, form their past tense by adding the regular [-d] affix to an otherwise unchanged stem. Depending on the final segment of the stem, this affix is realized as /d/, /t/ or /əd/, as in verbs like *jump/jumped*, *agree/agreed*, *invested*. This is an apparently paradigmatic example of a rule-based process, applying across the board to almost all the verbs in the language, and which functions as the default procedure for all new verb formations. The only exceptions are about 160 English verbs, many of them among the most common words in the language, which have irregular past tense forms, and which do not employ the regular affixing procedure. These are verbs like *give/gave*, *sell/sold* and *buy/bought*, where the past tense form is idiosyncratic and phonologically unpredictable.

Because of these unpredictabilities, it is unlikely that the acquisition of irregular forms involves the acquisition of rules of any sort, and it is widely agreed that they are learned and stored by some form of pattern-association process. The key theoretical issue, instead, is how to characterize the mechanisms underlying the regular past tense, and whether, in particular, the explanation of this classically

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