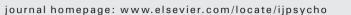
Contents lists available at ScienceDirect



Review

International Journal of Psychophysiology





Neurocognitive mechanisms of conceptual processing in healthy adults and patients with schizophrenia $\stackrel{\leftrightarrow}{\sim}$

Tatiana Sitnikova ^{a,b,c,*}, Christopher Perrone ^{b,c,d}, Donald Goff ^{a,b,c}, Gina R. Kuperberg ^{b,c,d}

^a Department of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA, USA

^b Department of Psychiatry, Massachusetts General Hospital, Charlestown, MA, USA

^c Martinos Center for Biomedical Imaging, Massachusetts General Hospital, Charlestown, MA, USA

^d Department of Psychology, Tufts University, Medford, MA, USA

ARTICLE INFO

Article history: Received 9 September 2009 Received in revised form 29 November 2009 Accepted 1 December 2009 Available online 7 December 2009

Keywords: Real-world cognition Schizophrenia Comprehension of verbal and non-verbal information Event-related potentials

ABSTRACT

This overview outlines findings of cognitive and neurocognitive studies on comprehension of verbal, pictorial, and video stimuli in healthy participants and patients with schizophrenia. We present evidence for a distinction between two complementary neurocognitive streams of conceptual analysis during comprehension. In familiar situations, adequate understanding of events may be achieved by mapping the perceived information on the associative and similarity-based connections between concepts in semantic memory — a process reflected by an N400 waveform of event-related electrophysiological potentials (ERPs). However, in less conventional contexts, a more flexible mechanism may be needed. We suggest that this alternative processing stream, reflected by a P600 ERP waveform, may use discrete, rule-like goal-related requirements of real-world actions to comprehend relationships between perceived people, objects, and actions. This neurocognitive model of comprehension is used as a basis in discussing studies in schizophrenia. These studies suggest an imbalanced engagement of the two conceptual streams in schizophrenia, whereby patients may rely on the associative and similarity-based networks in semantic memory even when it would be more adaptive to recruit mechanisms that draw upon goal-related requirements. Finally, we consider the roles that these conceptual mechanisms may play in real-life behavior, and the consequences that their dysfunction may have for disorganized behavior and inability to plan actions to achieve behavioral goals in schizophrenia.

© 2009 Elsevier B.V. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Deficits in goal-directed behavior contribute to disability in schizophrenia (Poole et al., 1999; Velligan et al., 1997). Behavioral abnormalities may include context-inappropriate commission errors — actions that appear bizarre and are out of place, which constitute part of the disorganization syndrome of schizophrenia (American Psychiatric Association, 1994; Andreasen, 1984b; Andreasen et al., 1995a,b; John et al., 2003; Liddle, 1987). Schizophrenia patients may also manifest global reduction in goal-directed behavior, which constitutes part of negative symptoms of avolition-apathy (Andreasen, 1984b; Kiang et al., 2003; van Reekum et al., 2005). In the paragraphs below, we outline neurocognitive mechanisms that may play an important role in normal

goal-directed behavior, and consider how disease-related alterations in these mechanisms may contribute to the symptoms of schizophrenia.

The ability to find means to achieve behavioral goals is critical for goal-directed behavior. Traditionally, much research has focused on how humans are able to facilitate this process by mapping goals on semantic memory templates, or schemas, of common combinations between actions and entities (Bower et al., 1979; Fischler and Bloom, 1985; Hutchison, 2003; Zacks and Tversky, 2001). For instance, serving a cake may be effortlessly planned by accessing knowledge that cutting is usually done with a knife, and that this activity usually involves steps such as placing a piece of cake on a plate, passing the plate to a guest, etc.

Even though using such associative semantic memory is effective in familiar situations, it may be counterproductive in non-routine contexts when common connections between concepts must be overridden and the available objects and actions may need to be combined in an unusual way to achieve behavioral goals. For example, at an office birthday party, if a knife is unavailable, a reasonable substitute might be a stretched piece of dental floss. Recent research suggests that adaptive goaldirected behavior may be supported by a distinct type of real-world knowledge, coding goal-related requirements of actions, which can be

 $[\]stackrel{\text{tr}}{}$ The first author would like to dedicate this work to the memory of Dr. Brendan A. Maher in recognition of his passionate mentorship in the experimental approach to studying psychopathology in schizophrenia.

^{*} Corresponding author. Athinoula A. Martinos Center for Biomedical Imaging, Massachusetts General Hospital, Building 149 (2301), 13th Street, Charlestown, MA 02129, USA.

E-mail address: tatiana@nmr.mgh.harvard.edu (T. Sitnikova).

^{0167-8760/\$ -} see front matter © 2009 Elsevier B.V. All rights reserved. doi:10.1016/j.ijpsycho.2009.12.002

applied to novel combinations between actions and entities (Sitnikova et al., 2008a). Goal-related requirements are properties that are necessary for the successful completion of an action, and exclude properties that are commonly present but are not necessary. In the above office party scenario, a 'cutting' implement must have <a sharp and sturdy enough edge>, but other properties such as <has handle> are not relevant. One can acquire an instrument with this goal-relevant element by pulling a few inches of dental floss out of a dispenser and stretching it tight between two hands. This knowledge of goal-related requirements of actions may also contribute to combining individual actions into goal-directed sequences. At each stage of a goal-directed activity, only a small subset of actions is possible given the current state of environment. For example, serving a piece of a cake is possible only after it has been cut.

In schizophrenia, abnormalities in neural activity mediating associative semantic memory have been previously linked to conceptual disorganization, which is often evident in the patients' speech (Aloia et al., 1996; Goldberg and Weinberger, 1995; Kuperberg et al., 2007a; Maher, 1983; Maher et al., 2005; Spitzer et al., 1994; Titone et al., 2000, 2002). We propose that a similar neurocognitive dysfunction may contribute to the behavioral disorganization in schizophrenia. However, a distinct neurocognitive deficit in operations necessary to construct plans for goal-directed actions may underlie the avolition-apathy symptoms (Godbout et al., 2007; Gold et al., 2008; Levy and Dubois, 2006; Rempfer et al., 2003). We suggest that schizophrenia patients may under-recruit conceptual knowledge encoding goal-related requirements of behavioral actions, particularly when planning more complex, non-routine tasks (Sitnikova et al., 2008a,b).

Growing evidence suggests similarities between neurocognitive systems mediating real-world knowledge that are recruited in execution and comprehension of behavioral actions (Humphreys and Forde, 1998; Raposo et al., 2009; Rizzolatti et al., 2001; Ruby et al., 2002; Sokolov et al., 2009; Tettamanti et al., 2005). Experimental paradigms in which participants are asked to comprehend presented stimuli are ideal for examining specific conceptual processes while controlling for confounding variables. In this overview, we discuss findings from comprehension studies both in healthy and schizophrenia participants, and consider their implications for models of goal-directed behavior and its abnormalities in schizophrenia. We also describe our own work that assayed real-world knowledge mechanisms during comprehension of goal-directed activities conveyed in video clips. This video paradigm is especially attractive for studies of psychiatric populations as it taps into naturalistic cognitive processing of real-world behaviors, while spontaneously engaging patients' attention (Levin and Simons, 2000).

Throughout this overview, we highlight experiments that aimed to characterize rapid conceptual processes of interest by recording event-related potentials (ERPs), which measure electrophysiological brain activity with the millisecond temporal resolution (Cohen et al., 1980; Williamson et al., 1978). ERPs are recorded at electrode sensors placed on participants' scalp and are time-locked to the onset of experimental trials of interest (e.g., presentation of target words, object pictures, or visual scenes). In a typical ERP study, electrophysiological data is collected in 30-50 trials per experimental condition, and is selectively averaged to obtain a single waveform for each condition. The changes in the neurophysiological activity that give rise to ERPs appear as positive-going or negative-going deflections in the recorded waveform, often referred to as ERP components. These components vary in their distribution across the scalp. Usually, differences in the polarity and/or topography of ERP components between experimental conditions or study groups are interpreted as reflecting distinctions in the underlying neuronal sources of these components (Holcomb et al., 1999; Kutas, 1993). In the studies described below, such polarity and topography information is used to distinguish between the neural mechanisms mediating different conceptual processes. In contrast, changes merely in the amplitude or timing of an ERP component are usually interpreted as indexing modulation of the same neurocognitive processes (Holcomb et al., 1999; Kutas, 1993). In the studies described below, the onset, peak latency, and duration of the amplitude changes are used to characterize the time-course of the corresponding neurocognitive processes.

2. Graded semantic representations

Semantic memory has been proposed to store information about a person's previous real-world experiences in a structured fashion (Bower et al., 1979; Brewer and Dupree, 1983; Fischler and Bloom, 1985; Hutchison, 2003; Lichtenstein and Brewer, 1980; Sitnikova et al., 2008a; Zacks et al., 2001, 2007). According to this view, semantic representations of individual concepts have connections of varying strength, depending on factors such as their feature similarity or how often they have been experienced in the same context. These graded semantic relationships are believed to be accessed and used in comprehension and behavior, particularly in familiar situations. By finding correspondence between a perceived stimulus and the semantic memory network that represents a given real-world situation - i.e., by mapping the stimulus on the corresponding memory network - a comprehender can anticipate and prepare for the stimuli that would likely come next. Similarly by accessing a semantic memory network corresponding to an individual's goal, this goal may be achieved by following a usual plan of actions.

2.1. Cognitive studies in healthy participants

An ability to map perceived stimuli on the graded semantic memory networks may account for the finding that comprehension is facilitated for concepts preceded by related context. The time to comprehend a target word (e.g., "restaurant") is often the longest when it is preceded by an unrelated prime word (e.g., "bed"); it is intermediate when the target word is preceded by a moderately related prime (e.g., "ham"); and it is the shortest when the target is preceded by a strongly related prime (e.g., "wine"; for a review see Hutchison, 2003). Similar semantic priming has been found for picture targets following either word or picture primes (Bajo, 1988; Carr et al., 1982; McCauley et al., 1980; McEvoy, 1988; Sperber et al., 1979; Theios and Amrhein, 1989). Semantic priming is observed even when asynchronies between the prime and target onsets are very short (less than 300 ms), suggesting that the facilitation may occur, at least in part, due to automatic access to graded semantic representations (Hutchison, 2003).

A series of recall paradigms suggested that common relationships within visual scenes may be stored in semantic memory (Intraub et al., 1992, 1996; Intraub and Bodamer, 1993; Intraub and Richardson, 1989). Viewers were found to incorporate into their recollections of visual scenes expectations of what must have been present but was not actually perceived. More specifically, drawings of previously viewed visual scenes often incorporated added elements (e.g., a tree branch over a yard fence that was not present in the original picture). On recognition tests, originally seen visual scenes were often reported as their close-up views, and wide-angle foils were frequently reported as old pictures. This boundary extension effect occurred even when pictures were presented for only 250 ms at a rate of three stimuli per second, suggesting that common scene representations may be activated automatically (Intraub et al., 1996).

There is also evidence that common relationships between actions and entities may be represented in semantic memory. In a set of sentence processing studies, verbs were found to be recognized faster following the context describing typical participants or locations of their actions (McRae et al., 2001, 2005b). Similarly, comprehenders processed nouns faster and preferentially looked at real-world objects when the target entity was customarily involved into an action conveyed by a preceding verb (Ferretti et al., 2001; Kamide et al., 2004; McRae et al., 2005a). Conceptual processing was especially facilitated when the context constrained a specific role that the entity usually plays in the action. For example, in sentences such as "She was arrested by a cop/ crook", expected words such as "cop" were processed faster than unexpected words such as "crook", even though both types of target words were semantically associated with the described action (e.g., "arresting"). Interestingly, verbs may access typical spatial properties of their corresponding actions (Richardson et al., 2003). When listening to verbs that commonly refer to vertical actions (e.g., "smash") or horizontal actions (e.g., "point"), participants were slower to detect visually presented stimuli of the corresponding relative to different spatial orientation (e.g., processing a vertical action "smash" interfered with discriminating targets on the top and bottom of the screen, but not on the left or right).

At a more global level, representations of individual events in semantic memory appear to be linked to the events that usually precede or follow the target event. When presented with common sequences of real-life events (e.g., eating in a restaurant), which were described in text passages or depicted in video clips, participants were quite inaccurate in distinguishing between the actions that were presented and lures that were plausible elements of the described activities (Bower et al., 1979; Brewer and Dupree, 1983; Lichtenstein and Brewer, 1980). Furthermore, common event sequences that were verbally described or viewed in an atypical, scrambled order tended to be falsely remembered in a typical order (Bower et al., 1979; Brewer and Dupree, 1983; Lichtenstein and Brewer, 1980). Finally, common, consecutive events were processed faster when they appeared in a chronological order than in the reverse order. For example, combinations such as "The boy bites off a juicy apple - chew" were processed faster than combinations such as "The stomach digests the food swallow" (van der Meer et al., 2002).

2.2. Neurocognitive studies using ERPs in healthy participants

The excellent temporal resolution of the ERP technique has been used to gain insights into the time-course of the semantic relatedness effects on comprehension. Electrophysiological recordings have identified a negative-going waveform, peaking at approximately 400 ms after stimulus presentation (Barrett and Rugg, 1990; Kutas and Hillyard, 1980a,b), which may reflect mapping of perceptual input on graded semantic memory networks (Sitnikova et al., 2006, 2008a). The magnitude of this waveform, labeled the N400, was found to be inversely correlated with the strength of the prime-target relationship in word or picture pairs as well as with the predictability of target words or pictures within the preceding sentence context (Federmeier and Kutas, 2001; Ganis et al., 1996; Grose-Fifer and Deacon, 2004; Holcomb, 1988, 1993; Kutas and Hillyard, 1980b, 1984, 1989; McPherson and Holcomb, 1999). These results suggested that the difficulty of mapping the stimulus on graded semantic representations is indexed by the N400: the closer the meaning of the eliciting item to the specific semantic memory field activated by the preceding context, the less demanding this mapping process, and the smaller the amplitude of the N400.

The N400 has been found to be sensitive to relationships within visual scenes and between real-world events. An N400 attenuation was reported to individual objects presented in congruous relative to incongruous visual scenes (Ganis and Kutas, 2003). For example, a soccer ball presented as a part of a congruous scene depicting a soccer match evoked a smaller N400 than a toilet paper roll presented in place of the soccer ball in the same visual scene. Furthermore, the N400 was modulated by the global story context provided by successively presented groups of sentences or visual scenes (van Berkum et al., 1999, 2003, 2005; West and Holcomb, 2002). For example, following a series of pictures showing a girl run a race and then fall down, a congruous final scene showing the girl watch her competitors cross the

finish line elicited an attenuated N400 relative to the incongruous final scene showing a girl carrying a pot (West and Holcomb, 2002).

Even though similar in the time-course and sensitivity to experimental variables, the N400 effects evoked to words and pictures have been reported to differ in their distribution across the surface of the scalp, suggesting distinct underlying neuronal sources. Whereas the N400 evoked by verbal stimuli is characterized by a parietaloccipital scalp topography (Friederici et al., 1993; Hagoort and Brown, 2000; Holcomb et al., 1999; Kutas and Van Petten, 1994; van Berkum et al., 1999), the negativities elicited by pictures are typically distributed over more anterior electrode sites (Barrett and Rugg, 1990; Hamm et al., 2002; Holcomb and McPherson, 1994; McPherson and Holcomb, 1999; West and Holcomb, 2002). Thus, the N400 component may be comprised of at least two separable negativities, each reflecting access to similar but non-identical graded semantic networks (Holcomb et al., 1999; Holcomb and McPherson, 1994; Kellenbach et al., 2002; McPherson and Holcomb, 1999; Sitnikova et al., 2003, 2006; West and Holcomb, 2002). These findings are consistent with the multiple-code theory of semantic memory that postulates several forms of conceptual knowledge (e.g., visual, auditory, abstract, etc.) stored within distinct brain regions (Paivio, 1971, 1986, 1991; Shallice, 1988, 1993).

2.3. Cognitive and neurocognitive studies in schizophrenia

A loosening of thought whereby consecutive ideas, even though seemingly related to each other, fail to follow a coherent progression is considered a core symptom of schizophrenia (American Psychiatric Association, 1994; Andreasen et al., 1994, 1995a; Maher, 1983). In the clinical setting, this so-called positive thought disorder has been traditionally diagnosed based on patients' speech. More recently, computerized analysis methods have also characterized speech of schizophrenia patients as incoherent across the levels of individual sentences and broader discourse (Elvevag et al., 2007; Maher et al., 2005). Studies that used comprehension paradigms have led to important insights into the underlying mechanisms of such language disturbances.

One influential theory of positive thought disorder in schizophrenia posits that it arises from a hyperactivity within semantic memory networks. Support for this hypothesis comes from several studies that examined semantic priming in word pairs in schizophrenia (Kwapil et al., 1990; Manschreck et al., 1988; Moritz et al., 2001, 2003; Spitzer et al., 1993a,b, 1994). Especially in schizophrenia patients with positive thought disorder, under automatic processing conditions (e.g., short prime-target onset asynchronies), reaction time attenuation for the targets following semantically related primes was exaggerated, and robust priming was even observed between words that were indirectly related (e.g., 'lemon' is related to 'sour', and hence indirectly related to 'sweet'). This result has been confirmed in a meta-analysis of 36 studies that documented augmented reaction time priming in schizophrenia patients with thought disorder relative to healthy controls (Pomarol-Clotet et al., 2008). The inverse relationship between the priming effect size in these patients and the inter-stimulus asynchrony was also confirmed. The main criticism of the semantic hyperactivity hypothesis of the positive thought disorder has been that the increased semantic priming may be an artifact of general slowing down of responses to both related and unrelated targets in schizophrenia patients (e.g., discussed in Barch et al., 1996). However, this explanation is unlikely given that the ERP recordings in schizophrenia have also reported an abnormally enhanced N400 attenuation to directly and indirectly related targets, particularly in patients with positive thought disorder, in the absence of general N400 size abnormalities (Kreher et al., 2008; Mathalon et al., 2002).

Words that have multiple unrelated meanings, called homographs, have been used to demonstrate how excessive activity within the semantic memory may disrupt sentence processing in schizophrenia. To comprehend a sentence that biases an infrequently used (subordinate) meaning of a homograph (e.g., "The skyscraper had ninety stories"), the homograph's frequently used (dominant) meaning (e.g., 'tale' meaning of 'story') needs to be inhibited. Patients with schizophrenia were found to have deficits in inhibiting the context-inappropriate dominant meanings of homographs. When the context moderately biased a subordinate meanings of a sentence-final homograph, recognition of target words associated with the homograph's dominant meaning, which were presented after each sentence, was excessively primed in schizophrenia patients (Titone et al., 2000). Similarly, the N400 in schizophrenia patients was abnormally attenuated to target words that were incongruous with the global preceding sentence context but were semantically related to a dominant meaning of a homograph embedded within the context (e.g., the target word 'author' in a sentence "The skyscraper had ninety stories because the author won an award for it." - Sitnikova et al., 2002). One interpretation of these findings is that hyper-activation of the dominant word meanings in schizophrenia led to difficulties in inhibiting these representations, even when they were contextirrelevant.

Unlike the automatic spread of activation within semantic memory networks, strategic effects on contextual integration may be reduced in schizophrenia (Titone et al., 2002). When prime-target asynchronies in word pairs were long, facilitation in recognition of semantically related compared to unrelated targets was abnormally decreased in schizophrenia patients (Barch et al., 1996; Vinogradov et al., 1992). Similarly, several ERP studies have reported reductions in modulation of the N400 by context in schizophrenia (Adams et al., 1993; Condray et al., 1999, 2003; Ditman and Kuperberg, 2007; Grillon et al., 1991; Kiang et al., 2007, 2008; Kostova et al., 2003, 2005; Ohta et al., 1999; Salisbury et al., 2000, 2002). One possibility is that strategic activation of semantic memory networks may be generally more effortful in schizophrenia patients. In several sentence comprehension studies with long contexttarget asynchronies, the amplitude of the N400 to target words was abnormally increased in schizophrenia, independent of the congruence of the preceding context (Iakimova et al., 2005; Nestor et al., 1997; Niznikiewicz et al., 1997). Moreover, this enhancement, especially for context-appropriate targets, and the reduced N400 priming effect were associated with thought disorder and more generally, with psychotic symptoms (Andrews et al., 1993; Condray et al., 2008; Kiang et al., 2007, 2008).

Overall, studies that have examined graded semantic memory representations in schizophrenia suggest lack of balance between an appropriate use of these representations, controlling their automatic activation, and supplying alternative strategies to meet the demands of a specific cognitive task. The challenge of delineating the precise conditions under which this lack of balance leads to deficits in comprehension and/or speech has yet to be met. Importantly, a number of behavioral and electrophysiological studies reported that some markers of the semantic memory processes were relatively intact in schizophrenia (Andrews et al., 1993; Barch et al., 1996; Iakimova et al., 2005; Kiang et al., 2007; Kuperberg et al., 2006c; Nestor et al., 1997; Niznikiewicz et al., 1997; Olichney et al., 1997; Ruchsow et al., 2003; Sitnikova et al., 2002; Vinogradov et al., 1992). Another outstanding question, which we have started to address in our research described below, is whether abnormalities in activation of graded semantic memory networks may contribute not only to the thought disorder but also to the behavioral disorganization in schizophrenia.

3. Goal-related requirements of real-world actions

Even though graded semantic memory networks may facilitate comprehension and behavior in familiar circumstances, this form of knowledge representation may be too rigid to account for humans' remarkable ability to adaptively plan and interpret actions in less conventional contexts. Thus, the concept of a cutting implement, such as a knife, may be represented in graded semantic networks together with several of its common properties including <has handle>. This representation would have a limited value for planning a cutting action if the only implement available was dental floss that does not have properties such as <has handle>. This representation may also be insufficient to comprehend such unconventional combinations between actions and objects.

We have previously suggested that the ability to flexibly plan and comprehend actions, especially in non-routine situations, may depend on conceptual knowledge that selectively encodes information of what is required to achieve a specific goal (Sitnikova, 2003; Sitnikova et al., 2008a,b). A set of criteria including the semantic properties of entities and the spatiotemporal relationships between them can uniquely constrain specific actions. For example, a cutting action requires that an agent who is doing the cutting be able to execute this action (e.g., <have ability for volitional actions>), an instrument that is used to cut have the necessary physical properties (e.g., <have a sturdy sharp edge>), and the entity that is being cut be cuttable (e.g., <unsturdy>). In addition, there are minimal spatiotemporal requirements for the cutting action (e.g., <the involved entities must come in physical contact>). In comprehension of visual events, the correspondence between the perceptual input and the requirements of a given real-world action would allow viewers to identify the action and to assign roles to the involved entities. In planning one's own behavior, accessing this knowledge may be used for flexible selection of the means to achieve a given goal.

Employing these discrete, rule-like semantic representations of goal-related requirements is fundamentally different from accessing graded connections between concepts in semantic memory. This analysis takes into account only a subset of the semantic properties of a given behavior — those that are necessary to achieve its goal. As a result, rather than providing a map of what can be commonly expected in a given context, this analysis offers great flexibility in coping with novel situations. It can be applied to combinations of entities and actions that have not been encountered previously. Thus, the goal-related requirements of the cutting action can be applied to determine that objects such as tightly stretched dental floss, which has a relatively sharp sturdy edge, can be used to cut objects such as a cake or a lasagna, which are unsturdy.

3.1. Cognitive studies in healthy participants

Violations of goal-related requirements of actions are rapidly detected during language comprehension, but this processing may be distinct in its temporal course from mapping of the perceived information on graded semantic representations (Caplan et al., 1994; Marslen-Wilson et al., 1988; McElree and Griffith, 1995, 1998). For example, Marslen-Wilson et al. (1988) found that, when monitoring for target words in sentences containing different types of violations, participants were slower to recognize words that violated goal-related requirements of actions (when a noun argument of a verb was incompatible with the verb's action) than to recognize nonviolated words. In their experiment, subjects took longer to respond to target words such as "guitar" in a sentence "The crowd was waiting eagerly. John drank the guitar..." relative to the target words in control sentences such as "The crowd was waiting eagerly. John grabbed the guitar...". Importantly, the time to recognize the target words in sentences with violations of goal-related action requirements was also longer than to recognize target words that were merely unexpected in the preceding context such as in "The crowd was waiting eagerly. John buried the guitar ... ". Thus, difficulties in processing goal-related action requirements and mapping the target words on graded semantic representations influenced word recognition on different time scales.

The distinction between goal-related requirements of actions and graded semantic representations was more carefully examined in a series of elegant experiments by Glenberg and Robertson (2000) and Kaschak and Glenberg (2000). In these studies, participants were asked to make judgments after reading short text passages (e.g., a story about a girl who wanted to prove that she could hit well in baseball; she borrowed a crutch from a person recovering from a twisted ankle and used the crutch to hit an apple). After reading each scenario, participants might be asked to verify the truth value of a probe statement that was either: [1] highly relevant for the goal of the central action described in the passage (e.g., "the crutch is sturdy" the crutch sturdiness was necessary for it to be used as a baseball bat), [2] was relatively unimportant for the central action (e.g., "the crutch is long"), or [3] was irrelevant for the central action but described a scenario that is frequently associated with the critical object (e.g., "the crutch can help with injuries"). Even though the first two probe types were similar in their degree of semantic relatedness to the contextual passages, participants were faster to verify the probes that were highly relevant for the goal of the described central action (sturdy) than the less relevant probes (long). Critically, the highly relevant probes (sturdy) were responded to even faster than the frequent associate probes (injuries). This and other similar results demonstrated that comprehenders not simply accessed common roles played by the target object in real life, but rather used the knowledge of goal-related action requirements to integrate the target items with the passage context.

Recent studies provided evidence for rapid integration between properties of visually-inspected real objects and goal-related requirements of actions conveyed in sentences. Chambers et al. (2004) tracked the eye-movements of participants who listened to spoken instructions about visual displays of real objects. On a given trial, participants were presented with a set of items such as: an empty bowl, some flour on a cutting board, and two eggs. One of the eggs was in a bowl and another in a different container. While viewing the object display, participants heard an instruction such as: "Pour the egg in the bowl over the flour". The critical manipulation involved semantic properties of the viewed target objects (eggs). In the control condition, the display provided no information that would help to disambiguate the target noun ("egg") in the verbal instruction: both of the eggs were liquid. In contrast, in a second condition the target noun was disambiguated: only the egg in the bowl was liquid and therefore could be poured. This study found that participants used such action affordances, perceived in the visual displays, to interpret relationships between constituents in the verbal instructions. In the visually disambiguated but not in the control condition, the prepositional phrase "in the bowl" was misinterpreted as a location where the egg had to be poured, as was evident by participants' anticipatory eye-movements toward the empty bowl in the visual display. Similar results were also obtained when the critical variable was the size of objects in visual displays (Chambers et al., 2002). Thus, comprehenders were able to rapidly evaluate whether properties of the real objects meet the goal-related requirements of the linguistically described action.

3.2. Neurocognitive studies using ERPs in healthy participants

Several ERP investigations of language comprehension have examined temporal differences in processing between incompatible verb-argument combinations and merely unexpected target words in sentences (Hoeks et al., 2004; Kim and Osterhout, 2005; Kuperberg et al., 2003, for review see Kuperberg, 2007). In one of these studies, Kuperberg et al. (2003) asked participants to read three types of sentences such as the ones below, while ERPs were recorded to the target verbs (underlined):

- [1] At a basketball game the players would throw ...
- [2] At a basketball game the players would sew ...
- [3] At a basketball game the ball would throw ...

In sentences like [3], the target verb "throw" was semantically associated with the preceding context (throwing is related to the basketball game context), but its preceding noun argument "the ball" violated the goal-related requirements of the action conveyed by this verb (balls do not have semantic properties necessary to execute the throwing action). In contrast, in sentences like [2], the goal-related requirements of the action conveyed by the target verb "sew" were not violated by the preceding noun argument "the players" (players can sew). In this case, comprehension difficulties arose at the level of relating these sentences to what commonly happens in the real world (sewing is unlikely at a basketball game). The results are shown in Fig. 1. Confirming prior research, verbs that were merely unexpected in their preceding context evoked an increased N400 effect relative to the predictable verbs (see Fig. 1A). However, a different pattern of the brain electrophysiological response was evoked by the verb-argument violations. Relative to predictable verbs, these violations evoked a P600 - a later, positive-going ERP wave that started at approximately 500 ms after target verb onset and peaked between 600 and 700 ms over the parietal scalp region (see Fig. 1B).

The P600 evoked by verb-argument violations might reflect attempts to make sense of the sentences by considering whether the noun argument matches goal-related requirements for some other role in the action of the target verb (e.g., the ball cannot throw but it can be thrown). In other words, participants might have ignored the syntax of the sentences, and attempted to use the goal-related requirements of actions conveyed by verbs to comprehend the statements. Nonetheless, there were some interesting similarities in the time-course and scalp topography between this effect to verbargument violations and the P600 effect previously evoked by difficulties in the syntactic analysis of sentences. In prior studies, a P600 was elicited to syntactic ambiguities in sentences such as "The lawyer charged the defendant was lying." - this sentence would often be initially misinterpreted as "The lawyer laid blame on the defendant", and eventually would need to be re-interpreted as "The lawyer who charged the defendant was lying" (Osterhout et al., 1994). A P600 was also evoked to frank syntactic errors such as in the sentence "The elected officials hopes to succeed" (Osterhout et al., 1997). In sentences like [3] above, the semantic association between the target verb and the context might have suggested a likely

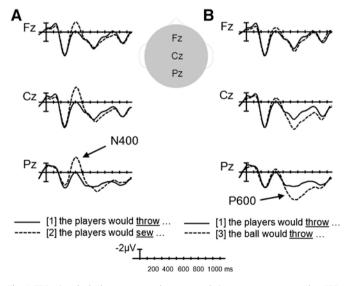


Fig. 1. ERPs time-locked to unexpected target words in sentences, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable target words (A), and ERPs time-locked to verb-argument violations, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable target words (B). Note: negative voltages are plotted upward. Shown are waveforms at frontal, central, and parietal electrode sites whose relative locations on the scalp are indicated on the head diagram.

Adapted from Kuperberg et al. (2003).

interpretation (e.g., "At a basketball game the ball would <u>be thrown</u>") and therefore, the verb-argument violations might have been perceived as syntactic anomalies (Kim and Osterhout, 2005).

These alternative explanations were evaluated by comparing ERPs between three different types of verb-argument violations (see Kuperberg et al., 2006a, 2007b). In two of the violation types, the target verb was semantically associated with the context. The difference between these conditions was in the difficulty of integration based on goal-related action requirements. In sentences such as [3] above, the noun argument "ball" of the target verb "throw" had semantic properties required for the role of an undergoer of the conveyed action (the ball can be thrown). In the second condition, such as [4] below, the noun argument "gym" did not have the semantic properties required to be an undergoer of the target action "throw" (it is not possible that "the gym would be thrown"). Finally, in the third type of violations, such as [5] below, the noun argument "gym" of the target verb "sew" did not have the semantic properties required to be an undergoer of the action, and the target verb was not semantically related to the context (it is not possible that "the gym would be sewn" and sewing is not related to playing basketball in a gym).

- [4] At a basketball game the gym would throw ...
- [5] At a basketball game the gym would sew ...

If participants were attempting to integrate the noun arguments with the verbs based on goal-related action requirements, the P600 was expected to reflect the difficulty of this integration that increased from condition [3] to conditions [4] and [5]. Alternatively, if semantic association between the target verb and the context was the critical factor in evoking the P600, then the magnitude of this ERP was expected to be reduced in condition [5] relative to conditions [3] and [4]. The results are shown in Fig. 2. Relative to the predictable verbs, all three violation conditions evoked a P600 effect that increased in amplitude as the integration between the verb and its noun argument based on goal-related action requirements became more effortful. Thus, the P600 is likely to reflect a mental effort engaged by the attempts to combine actions and entities based on goal-related requirements of actions.

Taken together, these findings suggest that during sentence comprehension, the process of evaluating entities conveyed by nouns against goal-related requirements of actions conveyed by verbs is reflected by the P600 – an ERP component that is different from the N400 not only in its timing but also in its polarity and scalp topography. These ERP data demonstrate that, during comprehension,

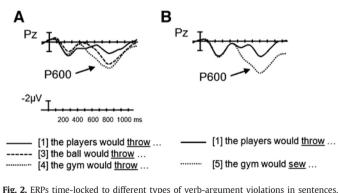


Fig. 2. ERPs time-locked to different types of verb-argument violations in sentences, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable target words. Violated target verbs were semantically related to the preceding sentence context, and were preceded by noun arguments that were either compatible (the ball would throw) or incompatible (the gym would throw) with the role of an undergoer of the action conveyed by the verb (A), or were not semantically related to the preceding sentence context and were incompatible with the role of an undergoer of the action conveyed by the verb (B). Shown are ERPs at a parietal electrode site. Adapted from Kuperberg et al. (2006a.b).

there are not only temporal but also neuroanatomical distinctions between the mapping of the perceptual input on graded semantic representations and evaluating the input against the goal-related action requirements.

3.3. Cognitive and neurocognitive studies in schizophrenia

Recent research from our laboratory has compared processing of incompatible verb-argument combinations between healthy controls and patients with schizophrenia (Kuperberg et al., 2006b,c). When asked to judge acceptability of sentences, healthy control participants were considerably more accurate in judging incompatible combinations between verbs and their arguments (conditions [3] and [4] above) than when making judgments about predictable sentences (condition [1] above), expectancy violations (condition [2] above), or sentences with syntactic errors. However, this selective improvement in the response accuracy for verb-argument violations was not observed among schizophrenia patients. Furthermore, abnormalities were detected in an ERP study using the same sentences, and are shown in Fig. 3 (Kuperberg et al., 2006c). The P600 effect to verbs violating goal-related action requirements ([3] and [4] above) relative to predictable control verbs ([1] above) was found to be attenuated in patients relative to healthy controls. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that schizophrenia patients have deficits in using goal-related requirements to flexibly integrate objects and actions during language comprehension.

This result is potentially very important because ability to combine actions and entities based on goal-related action requirements may lie at the core of flexible planning of goal-directed behavior (Sitnikova et al., 2008a,b). In schizophrenia, negative symptoms of avolition-apathy including deficits in goal-directed behavior are often treatment-refractory, and lead to real-world disability (Andreasen, 1984b; Kiang et al., 2003; van Reekum et al., 2005). A subset of avolition-apathy symptoms have been linked to abnormalities in cognitive operations necessary to construct the plan of actions (Godbout et al., 2003; Levy and Dubois, 2006; Rempfer et al., 2003).

Nonetheless, language function may be impaired at many levels in schizophrenia (Condray et al., 2002). Indeed, the P600 evoked by syntactic errors in sentences was reported to be attenuated in schizophrenia (Kuperberg et al., 2006c; Ruchsow et al., 2003). Therefore, using linguistic descriptions of real-world actions may not be optimal for isolating the cognitive operations that support adaptive goal-directed behavior. To address this challenge, we designed an experimental paradigm employing short, silent video clips conveying real-world activities. Video stimuli have multiple advantages: they can eliminate the effects of certain non-semantic deficits (e.g., in syntactic analysis), they can engage patients' attention while preserving naturalistic conceptual processing (Levin and Simons, 2000), and they can present events in a short time frame avoiding confounding influences from impaired context maintenance (see Barch et al., 2001, 2003; Cohen et al., 1999; Cohen and Servan-Schreiber, 1992; Condray et al., 1996; Holmes et al., 2005; Salisbury

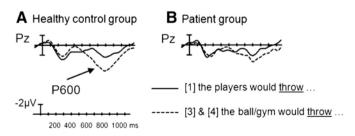


Fig. 3. ERPs time-locked to verb-argument violations in sentences, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable target words, in healthy control participants (A), and in patients with schizophrenia (B). Shown are ERPs at a parietal electrode site. Adapted from Kuperberg et al. (2006c).

et al., 2002 for previous reports of impaired context maintenance in schizophrenia).

4. Neurocognitive studies using video clips

In our laboratory, we have recently employed ERPs to determine whether analyses based on graded semantic representations and goal-related action requirements are neurophysiologically dissociable during visual real-world comprehension (Sitnikova, 2003; Sitnikova et al., 2003, 2008a). Based on the research in language comprehension, we expected that mapping of visual events on graded semantic representations would evoke an N400, while evaluating the events against goal-related action requirements would elicit a P600.

To explore this hypothesis, we produced silent, color video clips depicting real-world events. All video clips were about 10 s long, and were structured in a similar way: a common real-world activity was depicted in a lead-up context and was followed by a predictable or incongruous final scene. ERP recordings were time-locked to the onset of the final scenes. We used several variations of this video paradigm. In one version, we aimed to modulate the difficulty of mapping the final event on graded semantic representations, and in other versions, we aimed to modulate the effort needed for the analysis based on goal-related action requirements.

The final scene in all predictable video clips introduced a target object that was not seen in the lead-up context. For example, in one clip, the lead-up context depicted a man place a pair of pants on an ironing board; in the final scene, the man used an electric iron (the target object) to press wrinkles out of the pants (see Fig. 4: [1]). As described below, the incongruous versions of the scenarios differed depending on whether we aimed to examine the processing based on graded semantic representations or goal-related action requirements.

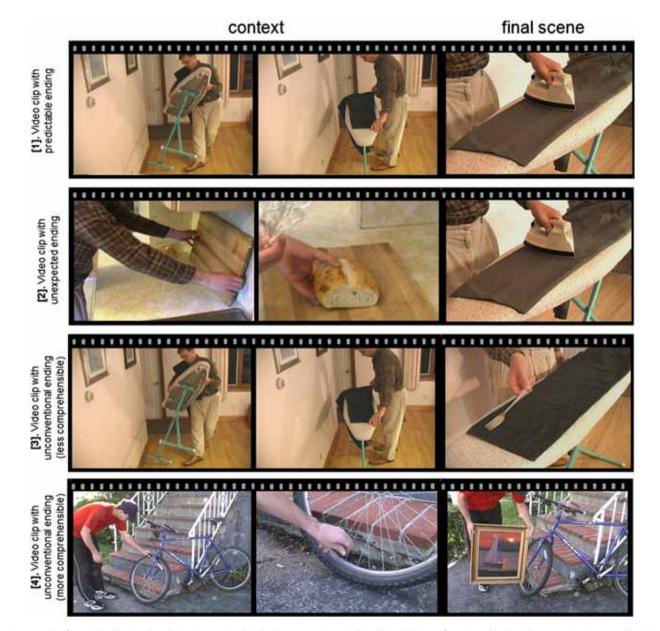


Fig. 4. Frames taken from video clips (produced using Canon-GL1 digital video camcorder and Adobe digital-editing software) used in the video comprehension paradigm. For each video scenario, shown are two frames illustrating real-world events depicted as a context, followed by a single frame illustrating the predictable final scene [1], the unexpected final scene [2], and the less comprehensible [3] or more comprehensible [4] final scenes that were both unexpected and showed unconventional object-action combinations. The corresponding video clips may be viewed at http://www.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/~tatiana/IJP. Adapted from Sitnikova et al. (2008a).

4.1. Mapping visual events on graded semantic representations and the N400 in healthy participants

Our initial goal was to extend previous findings of the N400 contextual priming evoked to static pictures, which were described above (see Section 2.1), to the video stimuli. Therefore, our first experiment manipulated the predictability of the final scenes in the preceding video context (Sitnikova et al., 2008a). The unexpected video endings were created by replacing the original context shot in each video clip with a context shot from another semantically unrelated scenario. For example, a context shot might show a man place a loaf of bread on a cutting board; in the unexpected final scene, the man used an electric iron to press wrinkles out of a pair of pants (see Fig. 4: [2]). We predicted that the N400 would be attenuated to the predictable relative to unexpected final scenes, because mapping of the context-appropriate scenes on the semantic representation of the preceding contextual events would be less effortful.

Our results are shown in Fig. 5. The final scenes in video depictions of real-world events evoked a robust N400 that was attenuated by the congruency of the preceding video context. The onset of this effect at approximately 200 ms after target scene presentation was comparable to the onset time of the N400 previously observed to words and static pictures, suggesting that mapping on graded semantic representations is initiated within a similar time frame across these types of stimuli (cf. Fig. 1, also see Ganis et al., 1996; Kutas and Hillyard, 1980b; West and Holcomb, 2002). The overall time-course of the N400 effect to videos was prolonged, which might be accounted for by the extended presentation of video scenes, which unfolded over several hundreds of milliseconds. In line with this explanation, similar prolonged N400s have been observed during comprehension of spoken words, which also unfold phoneme by phoneme over time (Holcomb and Neville, 1991a,b). Just as in the previous studies that used static pictures (McPherson and Holcomb, 1999; West and Holcomb, 2002), the N400 effect to dynamic visual events presented in video clips was evident predominantly over more anterior electrode sites (see Fz electrode site in Fig. 5). This scalp topography was distinct from that of the N400 effect to words (cf. Fig. 1, also see Friederici et al., 1993; Hagoort and Brown, 2000; Holcomb et al., 1999; Kutas and Van Petten, 1994; van Berkum et al., 1999). Thus, our study provided further support for the multiple-code theory of semantic memory: comprehending the visual world and language might preferentially access graded semantic representations supported by

Fz Cz Cz Cz Fz Cz Pz (1) predictable video clip endings Pz (2) unexpected video clip endings -2µV 200 400 600 800 1000 ms

Fig. 5. ERPs time-locked to unexpected final scenes in video scenarios, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable final scenes. Shown are waveforms at frontal, central, and parietal electrode sites whose relative locations on the scalp are indicated on the head diagram.

Adapted from Sitnikova et al. (2008a).

distinct neurocognitive systems (Paivio, 1971, 1986, 1991; Shallice, 1988, 1993).

4.2. Evaluating visual events against goal-related action requirements and the P600 in healthy participants

The main objective of our research with videos was to examine object-action integration based on goal-related requirements of realworld actions. In our second study, incongruous scenario endings depicted unconventional object-action combinations: they introduced a single context-inappropriate object into the activity conveyed in the video clip (Sitnikova, 2003; Sitnikova et al., 2003, 2008a). For example, after a man placed a pair of pants on an ironing board, in the final scene, he moved a dinner fork (the target object) across the pants (Fig. 4: [3]). These scenes were not only unexpected in their context but also violated the goal-related requirements of the action constrained by the preceding context (e.g., the dinner fork does not have a flat hot surface necessary for pressing wrinkles out of pants). We predicted that these target scenes would evoke not only an N400, but also a large P600 similar to the one evoked by verb-argument violations in language.

Our results are shown in Fig. 6. The magnitude of the N400 was reduced to predictable video endings relative to unconventional scenes (see Fz electrode site), indicating that participants attempted to map the perceived events on graded semantic representations, but this process was less effortful in the predictable condition. In addition, over more posterior scalp regions, the unconventional object-action combinations evoked an enhanced P600 (see Pz electrode site). Again, these ERP differences to video materials had a prolonged time-course, possibly, due to extended presentation of the video scenes. However, the onset latency and overall temporal pattern of these effects were similar to the language studies: the N400 started at approximately 250 ms, whereas the P600 was delayed until approximately 500 ms after target scene presentation. Interestingly, the P600 effect evoked in video clips resembled in its scalp topography the linguistic P600 evoked to incompatible combinations between the verbs and their noun arguments in sentences – both these effects had broad posterior distributions peaking over the parietal sites (cf. the P600 to words in Fig. 1). These results suggest that similar neural mechanisms may be recruited by the analysis of goal-related action requirements during comprehension of both real-world events and their verbal descriptions.

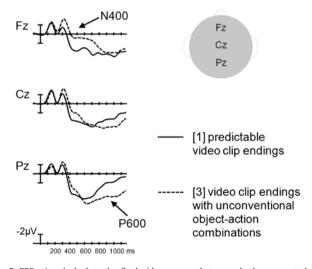


Fig. 6. ERPs time-locked to the final video scenes that were both unexpected and showed unconventional object-action combinations, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable final scenes. Shown are waveforms at frontal, central, and parietal electrode sites whose relative locations on the scalp are indicated on the head diagram. Adapted from Sitnikova et al. (2008a).

In order to directly test our hypothesis that the video P600 reflected attempts to integrate between the perceived objects and actions based on goal-related action requirements we manipulated the difficulty of this integration process. We compared ERPs between the final scenes that were more comprehensible and less comprehensible based on goalrelated action requirements. In the more comprehensible scenes, the properties of engaged entities and their spatiotemporal relationships matched the goal-related requirements of a real-world action. For example, in one scenario a man squeezed the tire of his bicycle, which appeared soft, and then unscrewed the valve cap on the tire; in the final scene, he twirled a corner of a framed painting against the opening of the bike tire valve (see Fig. 4: [4] the pointy and sturdy corner of the frame fulfills goal-related requirements for the goal to scrape off mud that might have been stuck to the opening in the tire valve). In the less comprehensible scenes, the goals were harder to understand (e.g., see Fig. 4: [3] the dinner fork does not fulfill goal-related requirements for any conceivable goal-directed action). Our results are shown in Fig. 7. The P600 effect to the less comprehensible unconventional video scenes was larger than the P600 effect to the more comprehensible unconventional video scenes. Taken together with our previous finding that the linguistic P600 was modulated by a similar manipulation (see Section 3.2 above), this result provided further evidence that a neurocognitive process integrating entities and actions based on goalrelated requirements may be reflected by the P600.

It is important that the P600 effect in video clips was selectively evoked to violations of goal-related action requirements, rather than any type of task-relevant semantic anomaly (this effect was not evoked to anomalies described in Section 4.1). This result suggested a clear distinction of the video P600 from another positive-going waveform, the P300, which is generally evoked by 'oddball' stimuli and is thought to index domain-general strategic processes (Donchin and Coles, 1988). To further support this conclusion, we demonstrated that the P600 effect evoked to video violations of goal-related action requirements was not modulated by the behavioral task performed by participants (e.g., passive viewing vs. classifying the videos into congruous/incongruous — Sitnikova, 2003; Sitnikova et al., 2003). This lack of the P600 modulation by the behavioral task was inconsistent with the pattern of modulation expected for the P300 (Picton, 1992; Polich, 1986).

All in all, our research with video stimuli supported the hypothesis that, just as language comprehension, the ability to understand the visual real world might be mediated by two complementary semantic integration mechanisms. The first mechanism, reflected by the N400, maps incoming information onto graded connections between concepts in semantic memory. The second mechanism, reflected by the P600, evaluates the incoming information against the discrete goal-related requirements of real-world actions. There may be a tradeoff between these mechanisms in their utility for integrating the people, objects, and actions during event comprehension, in which the first mechanism is better suited for familiar situations, and the second mechanism is better suited for novel situations.

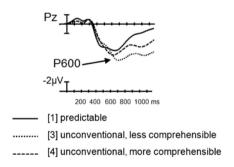


Fig. 7. ERPs time-locked to the less comprehensible or more comprehensible final video scenes that were unexpected and showed unconventional object-action combinations, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable final scenes. Shown are ERPs at a parietal electrode site.

4.3. A neurocognitive study using video clips in schizophrenia

Is the balance between utilization of graded semantic memory networks and goal-related action requirements disrupted during realworld comprehension in schizophrenia? What consequences may abnormalities in the function of these two complementary processes have for the real-life behavior in schizophrenia? Our next study addressed these questions by recording ERPs while patients with schizophrenia and healthy controls viewed videos that ended either with predictable final scenes (Fig. 4: [1]) or scenes showing unconventional object–action combinations (Fig. 4: [3] and [4]), and by examining the relationships of the evoked N400 and P600 to schizophrenia symptoms (Sitnikova et al., 2009).

Similar to the priming paradigms that present words with short context-target asynchronies, videos that deliver rapid and naturalistic sequences of images may automatically access graded semantic memory networks. We predicted that hyper-activation of these representations during viewing videos in schizophrenia patients would be evidenced by an abnormally enhanced N400 attenuation to predictable video endings. Furthermore, we hypothesized that the semantic hyperactivity, as indexed by the N400 priming effect, would be proportional to the severity of disorganization symptoms in patients. To assess this symptomatology we used a disorganization factor score obtained based on the Scales for the Assessment of Positive and Negative Symptoms (SAPS/SANS) and the Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale (BPRS – Andreasen, 1984a,b; Overall, 1974).

To examine patients' ability to recruit goal-related requirements when integrating between actions and objects in real-world activities, we measured the P600 enhancement to the unconventional objectaction combinations relative to predictable scenes. Inadequate recruitment of this mechanism was expected to lead to an abnormally reduced P600 effect to these goal-related action violations. Moreover, we expected that if this neurocognitive deficit contributes to a reallife dysfunction in goal-directed behavior in schizophrenia, the magnitude of the P600 effect would be negatively correlated with the severity of this symptom. To quantify patients' disability in goaldirected behavior, we used the SANS score on impersistence at work or school (Andreasen, 1984a). In addition, we aimed to examine whether schizophrenia patients would show more impairments during video comprehension when object-action integration based on goal-related action requirements was more demanding - during viewing less comprehensible unconventional scenes (see Fig. 4: [3] moving a dinner fork across pants) relative to viewing more comprehensible unconventional scenes (see Fig. 4: [4] twirling a framed picture against the opening of a bike tire valve).

The results of this study are shown in Figs. 8–10. Our N400 findings obtained during real-world comprehension extended previous reports

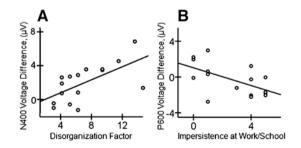


Fig. 8. Scatter plots showing relationships in patients with schizophrenia between the N400 ERP priming effect to predictable relative to unexpected/unconventional final scenes in video scenarios and the disorganization symptoms (A), and between the P600 ERP effect to unexpected/unconventional relative to predictable final scenes in video scenarios and the impersistence at work or school (B). Mean absolute value of voltage differences in each time window of interest were averaged across three electrode sites in a frontal midline region to quantify the N400 effect and in a parietal midline region to quantify the P600 effect. Adapted from Sitnikova et al. (2009).

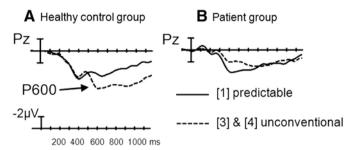


Fig. 9. ERPs time-locked to the final video scenes that were unexpected and showed unconventional object-action combinations, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable final scenes, in healthy control participants (A), and in patients with schizophrenia (B). Shown are ERPs at a parietal electrode site. Adapted from Sitnikova et al. (2009).

linking positive thought disorder in schizophrenia with abnormally enhanced reaction time and N400 modulation to verbal targets in priming paradigms (Kreher et al., 2008; Kwapil et al., 1990; Mathalon et al., 2002; Moritz et al., 2001, 2003; Spitzer et al., 1993a,b, 1994). Consistent with many of these previous reports of hyperpriming, the N400 attenuation to the predictable video endings did not significantly differ between the patient group as a whole and healthy controls, but rather was linked specifically to disorganization symptoms. This is illustrated in Fig. 8A. Within the schizophrenia group, the magnitude of the N400 priming was correlated with the severity of disorganization: the more severe the disorganization, the smaller (less negative) the N400 to predictable scenes, the larger the N400 priming effect to predictable relative to unconventional scenes. Thus, in disorganized patients, increased activity within semantic memory networks may abnormally influence conceptual processing which is critical both for language and real-world behavior. In the non-verbal domain, this hyperactivity might lead to behavioral disorganization due to intrusions of goal-inappropriate but semantically related actions or entities into ongoing behavior (Andreasen, 1984b).

Our P600 results supported the hypothesis that goal-directed behavior deficits in schizophrenia may stem from the inability to use goal-related requirements for adaptive integration between objects and actions to achieve behavioral goals. As can be seen in Fig. 9, the P600 effect to the unconventional object-action combinations relative to predictable endings was reduced in patients compared to controls. Moreover, the amplitude of the P600 effect was inversely correlated with patients' impersistence at work or school: the more impaired the goaldirected behavior, the smaller (less positive) the P600 to unconventional scenes, the smaller the P600 effect to the unconventional relative to predictable video endings. This relationship is illustrated in Fig. 8B. The processing abnormalities in schizophrenia were most evident during the viewing of the unconventional scenes that were more difficult to comprehend based on goal-related action requirements. In patients, these less comprehensible unconventional scenes evoked a dramatically reduced P600, but an abnormally increased N400 (see Fig. 10). This finding suggested that schizophrenia patients under-recruited the knowledge of goal-related requirements, and instead, they inappropriately relied on a more rigid comprehension mechanism of mapping the stimuli onto the graded semantic memory networks.

It is noteworthy that in our study, schizophrenia patients were encouraged to watch video clips naturally as they would watch a movie or a show on TV. Previous studies in schizophrenia suggested that, even though patients often fail to generate effective cognitive strategies (e.g., on episodic memory tasks), they were able to recruit appropriate neurocognitive mechanisms when such strategies are encouraged by a structured task (Bonner-Jackson et al., 2005; Ragland et al., 2005). In healthy participants, the use of goal-related action requirements during language comprehension may be influenced by the performed task. The P600 effect to verbal descriptions of incompatible action–entity combinations was larger when participants judged sentence acceptability as opposed to passively reading sentences (Kolk et al., 2003). Therefore, in the future work it will be important to examine the effects of task on the video P600 in schizophrenia. If the P600 effect increases when patients are asked to perform a task designed to facilitate the recruitment of goal-related action knowledge, this would suggest an inability to spontaneously engage the appropriate mechanism during naturalistic event comprehension. If the P600 remains strongly attenuated, this would suggest a loss of the knowledge representations of goal-related action requirements in schizophrenia.

5. Conclusions: Two semantic neurocognitive mechanisms and the real-life disability in schizophrenia

In this overview, we have outlined evidence for a distinction between two complementary neurocognitive mechanisms that may support comprehension of real-world events and their verbal descriptions. We also discussed experimental results suggesting that these mechanisms may not be engaged optimally during comprehension in schizophrenia, and that such abnormalities can be linked to specific symptoms of this disorder.

The first neurocognitive mechanism, reflected by the N400 ERP component, appears to access associative and similarity-based relationships between concepts stored in graded semantic memory networks. Elements of common real-world situations can be effort-lessly mapped on strong connections within these semantic networks, thus facilitating comprehension in familiar situations. At least under some experimental conditions, patients with schizophrenia are able to engage this mechanism both during verbal and visual-world comprehension. However, in patients with disorganization symptoms, this process might be hyperactive, and may account for the language and behavior that include semantically associated elements that, nonetheless, fail to follow a coherent goal-directed course.

The second mechanism, reflected by the P600 ERP component, appears to access a distinct type of conceptual knowledge encoding discrete goal-related requirements of real-world actions. This processing stream is suggested to be effective in novel situations, as it evaluates whether the perceptual input meets certain core requirements, disregarding less relevant information. Our ERP studies provided evidence that this form of conceptual processing may be impaired in schizophrenia, and may track with deficits in real-life goal-directed behavior. Thus, real-world disability in schizophrenia may, at least in part, arise from an impaired use of goal-related

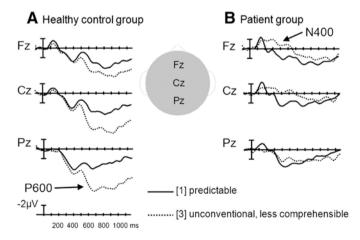


Fig. 10. ERPs time-locked to the less comprehensible final video scenes that were unexpected and showed unconventional object-action combinations, compared to ERPs time-locked to predictable final scenes, in healthy control participants (A), and in patients with schizophrenia (B). Shown are waveforms at frontal, central, and parietal electrode sites whose relative locations on the scalp are indicated on the head diagram. Adapted from Sitnikova et al. (2009).

requirements to flexibly combine objects and actions into effective behaviors.

The knowledge of goal-relevant elements of actions may be essential in combining individual actions into goal-directed sequences. The sequential order of events in goal-directed activities is generally not random but is defined by which actions are possible given the current state of environment. Comprehension studies suggested that enabling and preventing relationships between events are established by calculating how each event influences the current state of the environment in relation to requirements of the central actions in other events (Wolff, 2003). Similar mental calculations have been simulated in computational modeling of neural networks that map environmental inputs onto actions (Ballard et al., 1997; Botvinick and Plaut, 2004). In schizophrenia, an under-utilization of goalrelated action requirements may lead to an inability to structure individual actions into multi-step, goal-directed behaviors. Consistent with this possibility, a number of studies showed that schizophrenia patients are impaired in comprehending relationships between goaldirected events and ordering events in goal-directed sequences (Chan et al., 1999; Corrigan and Addis, 1995; Corrigan et al., 1992; Matsui et al., 2006). In these studies, associative knowledge of real-world activities was reported to be relatively intact: patients were able to recall frequent components of real-world activities, and distinguish between components that were and were not associated with a given activity.

Recent research in computational neuroscience suggested that the neurobiological mechanisms unique to the prefrontal cortex can support updating of maintenance contingent on the presence of a reward (Rougier et al., 2005). These mechanisms can mediate selforganization of discrete, rule-like representations coded by patterns of activity, simulated by distinct sets of units with high synaptic weights (Rougier et al., 2005), rather than by changes in synaptic weights, which have been used to simulate graded connections within semantic memory networks (Hutchison, 2003). Such a prefrontal system might support self-organization of patterns of activity coding goal-related requirements of real-world actions. Specifically, through breadth of learning experience with actions that either achieved or failed to achieve their goal (i.e., either coupled or not with a "reward" signal), this system may identify patterns of activity that were consistent across all instances of achieving specific goals (Sitnikova et al., 2008a,b). This learning mechanism would have great power to support the complexity of goal-relevant elements of diverse realworld actions, accounting both for explicit (which individuals are consciously aware of) and implicit (less conscious) knowledge of goal-related action requirements. Consistent with this possibility, a recent neuroimaging study revealed that the left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (DLPFC) was activated when healthy adults decided whether two verbally described objects fit the requirements of a given action - when they were likely to utilize explicit knowledge of goalrelated action requirements (Murray and Ranganath, 2007). Furthermore, other neuroimaging studies in healthy participants indicated that DLPFC was activated when outcome feedback was used to acquire non-verbal knowledge required to control a complex and dynamic real-world system (the sugar production task – Rostami et al., 2009); and activity selectively within the DLPFC was sensitive to expertise in retrieving previously learned functionally-relevant, hard-to-verbalize attributes of novel complex shapes (Moore et al., 2006).

Negative symptoms, such as goal-directed behavior deficits, are related to poor treatment success, posing a considerable burden to affected individuals and society at large (Poole et al., 1999; Sharma and Antonova, 2003; Velligan et al., 1997). Our findings, linking these deficits to a specific abnormality in utilizing goal-related requirements of real-world actions, give some insights into the neurocognitive mechanism that may contribute to this poor outcome. Abnormalities of the prefrontal function that are a cardinal feature of schizophrenia (Barch, 2005; Braver et al., 1999; Manoach, 2003; Sitnikova and Kuperberg, 2007; Thompson et al., 2005; Weinberger et al., 2001) may prevent the very formation of memory representations coding goal-related action requirements. As a result, improving the prefrontal function in treatment may not be sufficient but might need to be complemented by cognitive remediation covering a broad range of real-world activities so as to form the conceptual memory representations required for successful goal-directed behavior.

Acknowledgments

This work was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (MH085062 to TS and MH02034 to GRK), the National Alliance for Research in Schizophrenia and Depression (NARSAD) with the Sidney J. Baer Trust (TS and GRK), the MGH Fund for Medical Discovery grant to TS, and the Institute for Mental Illness and Neuroscience Discovery (MIND).

References

- Adams, J., Faux, S.F., Nestor, P.G., Shenton, M., Marcy, B., Smith, S., McCarley, R.W., 1993. ERP abnormalities during semantic processing in schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 10 (3), 247–257.
- Aloia, M.S., Gourovitch, M.L., Weinberger, D.R., Goldberg, T.E., 1996. An investigation of semantic space in patients with schizophrenia. J. Int. Neuropsychol. Soc. 2 (4), 267–273.
- American_Psychiatric_Association, 1994. Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. Author, Washington, DC.
- Andreasen, N.C., 1984a. Scale for the Assessment of Negative Symptoms (SANS). Univ. Iowa, Iowa City, IA.
- Andreasen, N.C., 1984b. Scale for the Assessment of Positive Symptoms (SAPS). Univ. Iowa, Iowa City, IA.
- Andreasen, N.C., Nopoulos, P., Schultz, S., Miller, D., Gupta, S., Swayze, V., Flaum, M., 1994. Positive and negative symptoms of schizophrenia: past, present, and future. Acta Psychiatr. Scand. Suppl. 384, 51–59.
- Andreasen, N.C., Arndt, S., Alliger, R., Miller, D., Flaum, M., 1995a. Symptoms of schizophrenia. Methods, meanings, and mechanisms. Arch. Gen. Psychiatry 52 (5), 341–351.
- Andreasen, N.C., Arndt, S., Miller, D., Flaum, M., Nopoulos, P., 1995b. Correlational studies of the Scale for the Assessment of Negative Symptoms and the Scale for the Assessment of Positive Symptoms: an overview and update. Psychopathology 28 (1), 7–17.
- Andrews, S., Shelley, A.M., Ward, P.B., Fox, A., Catts, S.V., McConaghy, N., 1993. Event-related potential indices of semantic processing in schizophrenia. Biol. Psychiatry 34 (7), 443–458.
- Bajo, M.T., 1988. Semantic facilitation with pictures and words. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 14 (4), 579–589.
- Ballard, D.H., Hayhoe, M.M., Pook, P.K., Rao, R.P., 1997. Deictic codes for the embodiment of cognition. Behav. Brain Sci. 20 (4), 723–742 discussion 743–767.
- Barch, D.M., 2005. The cognitive neuroscience of schizophrenia. Ann. Rev. Clin. Psychol. 1, 321–353. Barch, D.M., Cohen, J.D., Servan-Schreiber, D., Steingard, S., Steinhauer, S.S., van Kammen, D.P., 1996. Semantic priming in schizophrenia: an examination of spreading activation using
- word pronunciation and multiple SOAs. J. Abnorm. Psychology 105 (4), 592–601.
- Barch, D.M., Carter, C.S., Braver, T.S., Sabb, F.W., MacDonald III, A., Noll, D.C., Cohen, J.D., 2001. Selective deficits in prefrontal cortex function in medication-naive patients with schizophrenia. Arch. Gen. Psychiatry 58 (3), 280–288.
- Barch, D.M., Carter, C.S., MacDonald III, A.W., Braver, T.S., Cohen, J.D., 2003. Contextprocessing deficits in schizophrenia: diagnostic specificity, 4-week course, and relationships to clinical symptoms. J. Abnorm. Psychology 112 (1), 132–143.
- Barrett, S.E., Rugg, M.D., 1990. Event-related potentials and the semantic matching of pictures. Brain Cogn. 14 (2), 201–212.
- Bonner-Jackson, A., Haut, K., Csernansky, J.G., Barch, D.M., 2005. The influence of encoding strategy on episodic memory and cortical activity in schizophrenia. Biol. Psychiatry 58 (1), 47–55.
- Botvinick, M., Plaut, D.C., 2004. Doing without schema hierarchies: a recurrent connectionist approach to normal and impaired routine sequential action. Psychol. Rev. 111 (2), 395–429.
- Bower, G.H., Black, J.B., Turner, T.J., 1979. Scripts in memory for text. Cogn. Psychol. 11 (2), 177–220.
- Braver, T.S., Barch, D.M., Cohen, J.D., 1999. Cognition and control in schizophrenia: a computational model of dopamine and prefrontal function. Biol. Psychiatry 46 (3), 312–328.
- Brewer, W.F., Dupree, D.A., 1983. Use of plan schemata in the recall and recognition of goal-directed actions. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 9 (1), 117–129.
- Caplan, D., Hildebrandt, N., Waters, G.S., 1994. Interaction of verb selectional restrictions, noun animacy and syntactic form in sentence processing. Lang. Cogn. Processes 9 (4), 549–585.
- Carr, T.H., McCauley, C., Sperber, R.D., Parmelee, C.M., 1982. Words, pictures, and priming: on semantic activation, conscious identification, and the automaticity of information processing. J. Exp. Psychol. Hum. Percept. Perform. 8 (6), 757–777.
- Chambers, C.G., Tanenhaus, M.K., Eberhard, K.M., 2002. Circumscribing referential domains during real-time language comprehension. J. Mem. Lang. 47 (1), 30–49. Chambers, C.G., Tanenhaus, M.K., Magnuson, J.S., 2004. Actions and affordances in
- Chambers, C.G., Tanenhaus, M.K., Magnuson, J.S., 2004. Actions and affordances in syntactic ambiguity resolution. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 30 (3), 687–696.

- Chan, A.S., Chiu, H., Lam, L., Pang, A., Chow, L.Y., 1999. A breakdown of event schemas in patients with schizophrenia: an examination of their script for dining at restaurants. Psychiatry Res. 87 (2–3), 169–181.
- Cohen, J.D., Servan-Schreiber, D., 1992. Context, cortex, and dopamine: a connectionist approach to behavior and biology in schizophrenia. Psychol. Rev. 99 (1), 45–77.
- Cohen, D., Palti, Y., Cuffin, B.N., Schmid, S.J., 1980. Magnetic fields produced by steady currents in the body. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U. S. A. 77 (3), 1447–1451.
- Cohen, J.D., Barch, D.M., Carter, C., Servan-Schreiber, D., 1999. Context-processing deficits in schizophrenia: converging evidence from three theoretically motivated cognitive tasks. J. Abnorm. Psychology 108 (1), 120–133.
- Condray, R., Steinhauer, S.R., van Kammen, D.P., Kasparek, A., 1996. Working memory capacity predicts language comprehension in schizophrenic patients. Schizophr. Res. 20 (1–2), 1–13.
- Condray, R., Steinhauer, S.R., Cohen, J.D., van Kammen, D.P., Kasparek, A., 1999. Modulation of language processing in schizophrenia: effects of context and haloperidol on the event-related potential. Biol. Psychiatry 45 (10), 1336–1355.
- Condray, R., Steinhauer, S.R., van Kammen, D.P., Kasparek, A., 2002. The language system in schizophrenia: effects of capacity and linguistic structure. Schizophr. Bull. 28 (3), 475–490.
- Condray, R., Siegle, G.J., Cohen, J.D., van Kammen, D.P., Steinhauer, S.R., 2003. Automatic activation of the semantic network in schizophrenia: evidence from event-related brain potentials. Biol. Psychiatry 54 (11), 1134–1148.
- Condray, R., Yao, J.K., Steinhauer, S.R., van Kammen, D.P., Reddy, R.D., Morrow, L.A., 2008. Semantic memory in schizophrenia: association with cell membrane essential fatty acids. Schizophr. Res. 106 (1), 13–28.
- Corrigan, P.W., Addis, I.B., 1995. The effects of cognitive complexity on a social sequencing task in schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 16 (2), 137–144.
- Corrigan, P.W., Wallace, C.J., Green, M.F., 1992. Deficits in social schemata in schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 8 (2), 129–135.
- Ditman, T., Kuperberg, G.R., 2007. The time course of building discourse coherence in schizophrenia: an ERP investigation. Psychophysiology 44 (6), 991–1001.
- Donchin, E., Coles, M.G.H., 1988. Is the P300 component a manifestation of context updating? Behav. Brain Sci. 11, 355–372.
- Elvevag, B., Foltz, P.W., Weinberger, D.R., Goldberg, T.E., 2007. Quantifying incoherence in speech: an automated methodology and novel application to schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 93 (1–3), 304–316.
- Federmeier, K.D., Kutas, M., 2001. Meaning and modality: influences of context, semantic memory organization, and perceptual predictability on picture processing. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 27 (1), 202–224.
- Ferretti, T., McRae, K., Hatherell, A., 2001. Integrating verbs, situation schemas, and thematic role concepts. J. Mem. Lang. 44, 516–547.
- Fischler, I.S., Bloom, P.A., 1985. Effects of constraint and validity of sentence contexts on lexical decisions. Mem. Cogn. 13 (2), 128–139.
- Friederici, A.D., Pfeifer, E., Hahne, A., 1993. Event-related brain potentials during natural speech processing: effects of semantic, morphological and syntactic violations. Brain Res. Cogn. Brain Res. 1 (3), 183–192.
- Ganis, G., Kutas, M., 2003. An electrophysiological study of scene effects on object identification. Brain Res. Cogn. Brain Res. 16 (2), 123–144.
- Ganis, G., Kutas, M., Sereno, M.I., 1996. The search for "common sense": an electrophysiological study of the comprehension of words and pictures in reading. J. Cogn. Neurosci. 8 (2), 89–106.
- Glenberg, A.M., Robertson, D.A., 2000. Symbol grounding and meaning: a comparison of high-dimensional and embodied theories of meaning. J. Mem. Lang. 43 (3), 379–401.
 Godbout, L., Limoges, F., Allard, I., Braun, C.M., Stip, E., 2007. Neuropsychological and
- Godbout, L., Limoges, F., Allard, I., Braun, C.M., Stip, E., 2007. Neuropsychological and activity of daily living script performance in patients with positive or negative schizophrenia. Compr. Psychiatry 48 (3), 293–302.
- Gold, J.M., Waltz, J.A., Prentice, K.J., Morris, S.E., Heerey, E.A., 2008. Reward processing in schizophrenia: a deficit in the representation of value. Schizophr. Bull. 34 (5), 835–847.
- Goldberg, T.E., Weinberger, D.R., 1995. Thought disorder, working memory and attention: interrelationships and the effects of neuroleptic medications. Int. Clin. Psychopharmacol. 10 (Suppl 3), 99–104.
- Grillon, C., Ameli, R., Glazer, W.M., 1991. N400 and semantic categorization in schizophrenia. Biol. Psychiatry 29 (5), 467–480.
- Grose-Fifer, J., Deacon, D., 2004. Priming by natural category membership in the left and right cerebral hemispheres. Neuropsychologia 42 (14), 1948–1960.
- Hagoort, P., Brown, C.M., 2000. ERP effects of listening to speech: semantic ERP effects. Neuropsychologia 38 (11), 1518–1530.
- Hamm, J.P., Johnson, B.W., Kirk, I.J., 2002. Comparison of the N300 and N400 ERPs to picture stimuli in congruent and incongruent contexts. Clin. Neurophysiol. 113 (8), 1339–1350.
- Hoeks, J.C., Stowe, L.A., Doedens, G., 2004. Seeing words in context: the interaction of lexical and sentence level information during reading. Brain Res. Cogn. Brain Res. 19 (1), 59–73.
- Holcomb, P.J., 1988. Automatic and attentional processing: an event-related brain potential analysis of semantic priming. Brain Lang. 35 (1), 66–85.
- Holcomb, P.J., 1993. Semantic priming and stimulus degradation: implications for the role of the N400 in language processing. Psychophysiology 30 (1), 47–61.
- Holcomb, P.J., McPherson, W.B., 1994. Event-related brain potentials reflect semantic priming in an object decision task. Brain Cogn. 24 (2), 259–276.
- Holcomb, P.J., Neville, H.J., 1991a. The electrophysiology of spoken sentence processing. Psychobiology 19, 286–300.
- Holcomb, P.J., Neville, H.J., 1991b. Natural speech processing: an analysis using eventrelated brain potentials. Psychobiology 19 (4), 286–300.
- Holcomb, P.J., Kounios, J., Anderson, J.E., West, W.C., 1999. Dual-coding, contextavailability, and concreteness effects in sentence comprehension: an electrophysiological investigation. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 25 (3), 721–742.

- Holmes, A.J., MacDonald III, A., Carter, C.S., Barch, D.M., Andrew Stenger, V., Cohen, J.D., 2005. Prefrontal functioning during context processing in schizophrenia and major depression: an event-related fMRI study. Schizophr. Res. 76 (2–3), 199–206.
- Humphreys, G.W., Forde, E.M.E., 1998. Disordered action schema and action disorganization syndrome. Cogn. Neuropsychol. 15, 771–811.
- Hutchison, K.A., 2003. Is semantic priming due to association strength or feature overlap? A microanalytic review. Psychon. Bull. Rev. 10 (4), 785–813.
- Iakimova, G., Passerieux, C., Laurent, J.P., Hardy-Bayle, M.C., 2005. ERPs of metaphoric, literal, and incongruous semantic processing in schizophrenia. Psychophysiology 42 (4), 380–390.
- Intraub, H., Bodamer, J.L, 1993. Boundary extension: fundamental aspect of pictorial representation or encoding artifact? J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 19 (6), 1387–1397.
- Intraub, H., Richardson, M., 1989. Wide-angle memories of close-up scenes. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 15 (2), 179–187.
- Intraub, H., Bender, R.S., Mangels, J.A., 1992. Looking at pictures but remembering scenes. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 18 (1), 180–191.
- Intraub, H., Gottesman, C.V., Willey, E.V., Zuk, I.J., 1996. Boundary extension for briefly glimpsed photographs: do common perceptual processes result in unexpected memory distortions? J. Mem. Lang. 35 (2), 118–134.
- John, J.P., Khanna, S., Thennarasu, K., Reddy, S., 2003. Exploration of dimensions of psychopathology in neuroleptic-naive patients with recent-onset schizophrenia/ schizophreniform disorder. Psychiatry Res. 121 (1), 11–20.
- Kamide, Y., Altmann, G.T.M., Haywood, S., 2004. The time-course of constraintapplication during sentence processing in visual contexts: anticipatory eyemovements in English and Japanese. In: Tanenhaus, M., Trueswell, J. (Eds.), World Situated Language Use: Psycholinguistic, Linguistic and Computational Perspectives on Bridging the Product and Action Traditions. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 229–243.
- Kaschak, M.P., Glenberg, A.M., 2000. Constructing meaning: the role of affordances and grammatical constructions in sentence comprehension. J. Mem. Lang. 43 (3), 508–529.
- Kellenbach, M.L., Wijers, A.A., Hovius, M., Mulder, J., Mulder, G., 2002. Neural differentiation of lexico-syntactic categories or semantic features? Event-related potential evidence for both. J. Cogn. Neurosci. 14 (4), 561–577.
- Kiang, M., Christensen, B.K., Remington, G., Kapur, S., 2003. Apathy in schizophrenia: clinical correlates and association with functional outcome. Schizophr. Res. 63 (1– 2), 79–88.
- Kiang, M., Kutas, M., Light, G.A., Braff, D.L., 2007. Electrophysiological insights into conceptual disorganization in schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 92 (1–3), 225–236.
- Kiang, M., Kutas, M., Light, G.A., Braff, D.L., 2008. An event-related brain potential study of direct and indirect semantic priming in schizophrenia. Am. J. Psychiatry 165 (1), 74–81.
- Kim, A., Osterhout, L., 2005. The independence of combinatory semantic processing: evidence from event-related potentials. J. Mem. Lang. 52 (2), 205–225.
- Kolk, H.H., Chwilla, D.J., van Herten, M., Oor, P.J., 2003. Structure and limited capacity in verbal working memory: a study with event-related potentials. Brain Lang. 85 (1), 1–36.
- Kostova, M., Passerieux, C., Laurent, J.P., Hardy-Bayle, M.C., 2003. An electrophysiologic study: can semantic context processes be mobilized in patients with thoughtdisordered schizophrenia? Can. J. Psychiatry 48 (9), 615–623.
- Kostova, M., Passerieux, C., Laurent, J.P., Hardy-Bayle, M.C., 2005. N400 anomalies in schizophrenia are correlated with the severity of formal thought disorder. Schizophr. Res. 78 (2–3), 285–291.
- Kreher, D.A., Holcomb, P.J., Goff, D., Kuperberg, G.R., 2008. Neural evidence for faster and further automatic spreading activation in schizophrenic thought disorder. Schizophr. Bull. 34 (3), 473–482.
- Kuperberg, G.R., 2007. Neural mechanisms of language comprehension: challenges to syntax. Brain Res. 1146, 23–49.
- Kuperberg, G.R., Sitnikova, T., Caplan, D., Holcomb, P.J., 2003. Electrophysiological distinctions in processing conceptual relationships within simple sentences. Brain Res. Cogn. Brain Res. 17 (1), 117–129.
- Kuperberg, G.R., Caplan, D., Sitnikova, T., Eddy, M., Holcomb, P.J., 2006a. Neural correlates of processing syntactic, thematic and semantic relationships in sentences. Lang. Cogn. Processes 21, 489–530.
- Kuperberg, G.R., Kreher, D.A., Goff, D., McGuire, P.K., David, A.S., 2006b. Building up linguistic context in schizophrenia: evidence from self-paced reading. Neuropsychology 20 (4), 442–452.
- Kuperberg, G.R., Sitnikova, T., Goff, D., Holcomb, P.J., 2006c. Making sense of sentences in schizophrenia: electrophysiological evidence for abnormal interactions between semantic and syntactic processing. J. Abnorm. Psychology 115 (2), 251–265.
- Kuperberg, G.R., Deckersbach, T., Holt, D.J., Goff, D., West, W.C., 2007a. Increased temporal and prefrontal activity in response to semantic associations in schizophrenia. Arch. Gen. Psychiatry 64 (2), 138–151.
- Kuperberg, G.R., Kreher, D.A., Sitnikova, T., Caplan, D.N., Holcomb, P.J., 2007b. The role of animacy and thematic relationships in processing active English sentences: evidence from event-related potentials. Brain Lang. 100 (3), 223–237.
- Kutas, M., 1993. In the company of other words: electrophysiological evidence for single-word and sentence context effects. Lang. Cogn. Processes 8 (4), 533–572.
- Kutas, M., Hillyard, S.A., 1980a. Event-related brain potentials to semantically inappropriate and surprisingly large words. Biol. Psychol. 11 (2), 99–116.
- Kutas, M., Hillyard, S.A., 1980b. Reading senseless sentences: brain potentials reflect semantic incongruity. Science 207 (4427), 203–205.
- Kutas, M., Hillyard, S.A., 1984. Brain potentials during reading reflect word expectancy and semantic association. Nature 307 (5947), 161–163.
- Kutas, M., Hillyard, S.A., 1989. An electrophysiological probe of incidental semantic association. J. Cogn. Neurosci. 1, 38–49.

- Kutas, M., Van Petten, C.K., 1994. Psycholinguistics electrified: event-related brain potential investigations. In: Gernsbacher, M.A. (Ed.), Handbook of Psycholinguistics. Academic Press, Inc, San Diego, CA, pp. 83–143.
- Kwapil, T.R., Hegley, D.C., Chapman, I.J., Chapman, J.P., 1990. Facilitation of word recognition by semantic priming in schizophrenia. J. Abnorm. Psychology 99 (3), 215–221.
- Levin, D.T., Simons, D.J., 2000. Perceiving stability in a changing world: combining shots and integrating views in motion pictures and the real world. Media Psychol. 2, 357–380.
- Levy, R., Dubois, B., 2006. Apathy and the functional anatomy of the prefrontal cortexbasal ganglia circuits. Cereb. Cortex 16 (7), 916–928.
- Lichtenstein, E.D., Brewer, W.F., 1980. Memory for goal-directed events. Cogn. Psychol. 12, 412–445.
- Liddle, P.F., 1987. The symptoms of chronic schizophrenia. A re-examination of the positive-negative dichotomy. Br. J. Psychiatry 151, 145–151.
- Maher, B.A., 1983. A tentative theory of schizophrenic utterance. Prog. Exp. Pers. Res. 12, 1–52.
- Maher, B.A., Manschreck, T.C., Linnet, J., Candela, S., 2005. Quantitative assessment of the frequency of normal associations in the utterances of schizophrenia patients and healthy controls. Schizophr. Res. 78 (2–3), 219–224.
- Manoach, D.S., 2003. Prefrontal cortex dysfunction during working memory performance in schizophrenia: reconciling discrepant findings. Schizophr. Res. 60 (2–3), 285–298.
- Manschreck, T.C., Maher, B.A., Milavetz, J.J., Ames, D., Weisstein, C.C., Schneyer, M.L., 1988. Semantic priming in thought disordered schizophrenic patients. Schizophr. Res. 1 (1), 61–66.
- Marslen-Wilson, W., Brown, C.M., Tyler, L.K., 1988. Lexical representations in spoken language comprehension. Lang. Cogn. Processes 3 (1), 1–16.
- Mathalon, D.H., Faustman, W.O., Ford, J.M., 2002. N400 and automatic semantic processing abnormalities in patients with schizophrenia. Arch. Gen. Psychiatry 59 (7), 641–648.
- Matsui, M., Sumiyoshi, T., Yuuki, H., Kato, K., Kurachi, M., 2006. Impairment of event schema in patients with schizophrenia: examination of script for shopping at supermarket. Psychiatry Res. 143 (2–3), 179–187.
- McCauley, C., Parmelee, C.M., Sperber, R.D., Carr, T.H., 1980. Early extraction of meaning from pictures and its relation to conscious identification. J. Exp. Psychol. Hum. Percept. Perform. 6 (2), 265–276.
- McElree, B., Griffith, T., 1995. Syntactic and thematic processing in sentence comprehension: evidence for a temporal dissociation. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 21 (1), 134–157.
- McElree, B., Griffith, T., 1998. Structural and lexical constraints on filling gaps during sentence comprehension: a time-course analysis. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 24 (2), 432–460.
- McEvoy, C.L., 1988. Automatic and strategic processes in picture naming. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 14 (4), 618–626.
- McPherson, W.B., Holcomb, P.J., 1999. An electrophysiological investigation of semantic priming with pictures of real objects. Psychophysiology 36 (1), 53–65.
- McRae, K., Hare, M., Ferretti, T., Elman, J.L., 2001. Activating Verbs from Typical Agents, Patients, Instruments, and Locations vis Event Schemas. Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.
- McRae, K., Hare, M., Elman, J.L., Ferretti, T., 2005a. A basis for generating expectancies for verbs from nouns. Mem. Cogn. 33 (7), 1174–1184.
- McRae, K., Hare, M., Tanenhaus, M.K., 2005b. Meaning through syntax is insufficient to explain comprehension of sentences with reduced relative clauses: comment on McKoon and Ratcliff (2003). Psychol. Rev. 112 (4), 1022–1031 discussion 1031–1029.
- Moore, C.D., Cohen, M.X., Ranganath, C., 2006. Neural mechanisms of expert skills in visual working memory. J. Neurosci. 26 (43), 11187–11196.
- Moritz, S., Mersmann, K., Kloss, M., Jacobsen, D., Wilke, U., Andresen, B., Naber, D., Pawlik, K., 2001. 'Hyper-priming' in thought-disordered schizophrenic patients. Psychol. Med. 31 (2), 221–229.
- Moritz, S., Woodward, T.S., Kuppers, D., Lausen, A., Schickel, M., 2003. Increased automatic spreading of activation in thought-disordered schizophrenic patients. Schizophr. Res. 59 (2–3), 181–186.
- Murray, LJ., Ranganath, C., 2007. The dorsolateral prefrontal cortex contributes to successful relational memory encoding. J. Neurosci. 27 (20), 5515–5522.
- Nestor, P.G., Kimble, M.O., O'Donnell, B.F., Smith, L., Niznikiewicz, M., Shenton, M.E., McCarley, R.W., 1997. Aberrant semantic activation in schizophrenia: a neurophysiological study. Am. J. Psychiatry 154 (5), 640–646.
- Niznikiewicz, M.A., O'Donnell, B.F., Nestor, P.G., Smith, L., Law, S., Karapelou, M., Shenton, M.E., McCarley, R.W., 1997. ERP assessment of visual and auditory language processing in schizophrenia. J. Abnorm. Psychology 106 (1), 85–94.
- Ohta, K., Uchiyama, M., Matsushima, E., Toru, M., 1999. An event-related potential study in schizophrenia using Japanese sentences. Schizophr. Res. 40 (2), 159–170.
- Olichney, J.M., Iragui, V.J., Kutas, M., Nowacki, R., Jeste, D.V., 1997. N400 abnormalities in late life schizophrenia and related psychoses. Biol. Psychiatry 42 (1), 13–23.
- Osterhout, L., Holcomb, P.J., Swinney, D.A., 1994. Brain potentials elicited by gardenpath sentences: evidence of the application of verb information during parsing. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 20 (4), 786–803.
- Osterhout, L., McLaughlin, J., Bersick, M., 1997. Event-related brain potentials and human language. Trends Cogn. Sci. 1, 203–209.
- Overall, J.E., 1974. The Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale in psychopharmacology research. In: Pichot, P. (Ed.), Psychological Measurements in Psychopharmacology: Modern Problems in Pharmacopsychiatry. Karger, Basel, Paris, pp. 267–301.
- Paivio, A., 1971. Imagery and Verbal Processes. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York. Paivio, A., 1986. Mental Representations: a Dual Coding Approach. Oxford University
- Press, New York. Paivio, A., 1991. Dual coding theory: retrospect and current status. Can. J. Psychol. 45, 255–287.

- Picton, T.W., 1992. The P300 wave of the human event-related potential. J. Clin. Neurophysiol. 9 (4), 456–479.
- Polich, J., 1986. Attention, probability, and task demands as determinants of P300 latency from auditory stimuli. Electroencephalogr. Clin. Neurophysiol. 63 (3), 251–259.
 Pomarol-Clotet, E., Oh, T.M., Laws, K.R., McKenna, P.J., 2008. Semantic priming in
- schizophrenia: systematic review and meta-analysis. Br. J. Psychiatry 192 (2), 92–97. Poole, J.H., Ober, B.A., Shenaut, G.K., Vinogradov, S., 1999. Independent frontal-system
- deficits in schizophrenia: cognitive, clinical, and adaptive implications. Psychiatry Res. 85 (2), 161–176.
- Ragland, J.D., Gur, R.C., Valdez, J.N., Loughead, J., Elliott, M., Kohler, C., Kanes, S., Siegel, S. J., Moelter, S.T., Gur, R.E., 2005. Levels-of-processing effect on frontotemporal function in schizophrenia during word encoding and recognition. Am. J. Psychiatry 162 (10), 1840–1848.
- Raposo, A., Moss, H.E., Stamatakis, E.A., Tyler, L.K., 2009. Modulation of motor and premotor cortices by actions, action words and action sentences. Neuropsychologia 47 (2), 388–396.
- Rempfer, M.V., Hamera, E.K., Brown, C.E., Cromwell, R.L., 2003. The relations between cognition and the independent living skill of shopping in people with schizophrenia. Psychiatry Res. 117 (2), 103–112.
- Richardson, D.C., Spivey, M.J., Barsalou, L.W., McRae, K., 2003. Spatial representations activated during real-time comprehension of verbs. Cogn. Sci. 27 (5), 767–780.
- Rizzolatti, G., Fogassi, L., Gallese, V., 2001. Neurophysiological mechanisms underlying the understanding and imitation of action. Nat. Rev. Neurosci. 2 (9), 661–670. Rostami, M., Hosseini, S.M., Takahashi, M., Sugiura, M., Kawashima, R., 2009. Neural
- bases of goal-directed implicit learning. NeuroImage 48 (1), 303–310.
- Rougier, N.P., Noelle, D.C., Braver, T.S., Cohen, J.D., O'Reilly, R.C., 2005. Prefrontal cortex and flexible cognitive control: rules without symbols. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U. S. A. 102 (20), 7338–7343.
- Ruby, P., Sirigu, A., Decety, J., 2002. Distinct areas in parietal cortex involved in longterm and short-term action planning: a PET investigation. Cortex 38 (3), 321–339.
- Ruchsow, M., Trippel, N., Groen, G., Spitzer, M., Kiefer, M., 2003. Semantic and syntactic processes during sentence comprehension in patients with schizophrenia: evidence from event-related potentials. Schizophr. Res. 64 (2–3), 147–156.
- Salisbury, D.F., O'Donnell, B.F., McCarley, R.W., Nestor, P.G., Shenton, M.E., 2000. Eventrelated potentials elicited during a context-free homograph task in normal versus schizophrenic subjects. Psychophysiology 37 (4), 456–463.
- Salisbury, D.F., Shenton, M.E., Nestor, P.G., McCarley, R.W., 2002. Semantic bias, homograph comprehension, and event-related potentials in schizophrenia. Clin. Neurophysiol. 113 (3), 383–395.
- Shallice, T., 1988. Specialisation within the semantic system. Cogn. Neuropsychol. 5 (1), 133–142.
- Shallice, T., 1993. Multiple semantics: whose confusions? Cogn. Neuropsychol. 10 (3), 251–261.
- Sharma, T., Antonova, L., 2003. Cognitive function in schizophrenia. Deficits, functional consequences, and future treatment. Psychiatr. Clin. North Am. 26 (1), 25–40.
- Sitnikova, T., 2003. Comprehension of Videos of Real-World Events: Electrophysiological Evidence. Tufts University, Department of Psychology Medford, MA.
- Sitnikova, T., Kuperberg, G.R., 2007. Time-course and neuroanatomy of abnormal realworld comprehension in schizophrenia. International Congress on Schizophrenia Research 2007.
- Sitnikova, T., Salisbury, D.F., Kuperberg, G., Holcomb, P.I., 2002. Electrophysiological insights into language processing in schizophrenia. Psychophysiology 39 (6), 851–860.
- Sitnikova, T., Kuperberg, G., Holcomb, P.J., 2003. Semantic integration in videos of real-world events: an electrophysiological investigation. Psychophysiology 40 (1), 160–164.
- Sitnikova, T., West, W.C., Kuperberg, G.R., Holcomb, P.J., 2006. The neural organization of semantic memory: electrophysiological activity suggests feature-based segregation. Biol. Psychol. 71 (3), 326–340.
- Sitnikova, T., Holcomb, P.J., Kiyonaga, K.A., Kuperberg, G.R., 2008a. Two neurocognitive mechanisms of semantic integration during the comprehension of visual realworld events. J. Cogn. Neurosci. 20 (11), 2037–2057.
- Sitnikova, T., Holcomb, P.J., Kuperberg, G.R., 2008b. Neurocognitive mechanisms of human comprehension. In: Shipley, T.F., Zacks, J.M. (Eds.), Understanding Events: From Perception to Action. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- Sitnikova, T., Goff, D., Kuperberg, G.R., 2009. Neurocognitive abnormalities during comprehension of real-world goal-directed behaviors in schizophrenia. J. Abnorm. Psychology 118 (2), 256–277.
- Sokolov, A.A., Gharabaghi, A., Tatagiba, M.S., Pavlova, M., 2009. Cerebellar engagement in an action observation network. Cereb. Cortex (Electronic publication ahead of print).
- Sperber, R.D., McCauley, C., Ragain, R.D., Weil, C.M., 1979. Semantic priming effects on picture and word processing. Mem. Cogn. 7 (5), 339–345.
- Spitzer, M., Braun, U., Hermle, L., Maier, S., 1993a. Associative semantic network dysfunction in thought-disordered schizophrenic patients: direct evidence from indirect semantic priming. Biol. Psychiatry 34 (12), 864–877.
- Spitzer, M., Braun, U., Maier, S., Hermle, L., Maher, B.A., 1993b. Indirect semantic priming in schizophrenic patients. Schizophr. Res. 11 (1), 71–80.
- Spitzer, M., Weisker, I., Winter, M., Maier, S., Hermle, L., Maher, B.A., 1994. Semantic and phonological priming in schizophrenia. J. Abnorm. Psychology 103 (3), 485–494. Tettamanti, M., Buccino, G., Saccuman, M.C., Gallese, V., Danna, M., Scifo, P., Fazio, F.,
- Tettamanti, M., Buccino, G., Saccuman, M.C., Gallese, V., Danna, M., Scifo, P., Fazio, F., Rizzolatti, G., Cappa, S.F., Perani, D., 2005. Listening to action-related sentences activates fronto-parietal motor circuits. J. Cogn. Neurosci. 17 (2), 273–281.
- Theios, J., Amrhein, P.C., 1989. Theoretical analysis of the cognitive processing of lexical and pictorial stimuli: reading, naming, and visual and conceptual comparisons. Psychol. Rev. 96 (1), 5–24.
- Thompson, J.L., Watson, J.R., Steinhauer, S.R., Goldstein, G., Pogue-Geile, M.F., 2005. Indicators of genetic liability to schizophrenia: a sibling study of neuropsychological performance. Schizophr. Bull. 31 (1), 85–96.

- Titone, D., Levy, D.L., Holzman, P.S., 2000. Contextual insensitivity in schizophrenic language processing: evidence from lexical ambiguity. J. Abnorm. Psychology 109 (4), 761–767.
- Titone, D., Holzman, P.S., Levy, D.L., 2002. Idiom processing in schizophrenia: literal implausibility saves the day for idiom priming. J. Abnorm. Psychology 111 (2), 313–320.
- van Berkum, J.J., Hagoort, P., Brown, C.M., 1999. Semantic integration in sentences and discourse: evidence from the N400. J. Cogn. Neurosci. 11 (6), 657–671.
 van Berkum, J.J., Zwitserlood, P., Hagoort, P., Brown, C.M., 2003. When and how do
- van Berkum, J.J., Zwitserlood, P., Hagoort, P., Brown, C.M., 2003. When and how do listeners relate a sentence to the wider discourse? Evidence from the N400 effect. Brain Res. Cogn. Brain Res. 17 (3), 701–718.
- van Berkum, J.J., Brown, C.M., Zwitserlood, P., Kooijman, V., Hagoort, P., 2005. Anticipating upcoming words in discourse: evidence from ERPs and reading times. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 31 (3), 443–467.
- van der Meer, E., Beyer, R., Heinze, B., Badel, I., 2002. Temporal order relations in language comprehension. J. Exp. Psychol. Learn. Mem. Cogn. 28 (4), 770–779.
- van Reekum, R., Stuss, D.T., Ostrander, L., 2005. Apathy: why care? J. Neuropsychiatr. Clin. Neurosci. 17 (1), 7–19.
- Velligan, D.I., Mahurin, R.K., Diamond, P.L., Hazleton, B.C., Eckert, S.L., Miller, A.L., 1997. The functional significance of symptomatology and cognitive function in schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 25 (1), 21–31.

- Vinogradov, S., Ober, B.A., Shenaut, G.K., 1992. Semantic priming of word pronunciation and lexical decision in schizophrenia. Schizophr. Res. 8 (2), 171–181.
- Weinberger, D.R., Egan, M.F., Bertolino, A., Callicott, J.H., Mattay, V.S., Lipska, B.K., Berman, K.F., Goldberg, T.E., 2001. Prefrontal neurons and the genetics of schizophrenia. Biol. Psychiatry 50 (11), 825–844.
- West, W.C., Holcomb, P.J., 2002. Event-related potentials during discourse-level semantic integration of complex pictures. Brain Res. Cogn. Brain Res. 13 (3), 363–375.
- Williamson, S.J., Kaufman, L., Brenner, D., 1978. Latency of the neuromagnetic response of the human visual cortex. Vision Res. 18 (1), 107–110.
- Wolff, P., 2003. Direct causation in the linguistic coding and individuation of causal events. Cognition 88 (1), 1–48.
- Zacks, J.M., Tversky, B., 2001. Event structure in perception and conception. Psychol. Bull. 127 (1), 3–21.
- Zacks, J.M., Tversky, B., Iyer, G., 2001. Perceiving, remembering, and communicating structure in events. J. Exp. Psychol. Gen. 130 (1), 29–58.
- Zacks, J.M., Speer, N.K., Swallow, K.M., Braver, T.S., Reynolds, J.R., 2007. Event perception: a mind-brain perspective. Psychol. Bull. 133 (2), 273–293.