



fMRI evidence for the interaction between orthography and phonology in reading Chinese compound words

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Compound words make up a major part of modern Chinese vocabulary. Behavioral studies

have demonstrated that access to lexical semantics of compound words is driven by

the interaction between orthographic and phonological information. However, little is

known about the neural underpinnings of compound word processing. In this functional

magnetic resonance imaging study, we asked participants to perform lexical decisions to

pseudohomophones, which were constructed by replacing one or both constituents of two-

character compound words with orthographically dissimilar homophonic characters. Mixed

pseudohomophones, which shared the "rst constituent with the base words, were more

difficult to reject than non-pseudohomophone non-words. This effect was accompanied by

the increased activation of bilateral inferior frontal gyrus (IFG), left inferior parietal lobule

(IPL), and left angular gyrus. The pure pseudohomophones, which shared no constituent

with their base words, were rejected as quickly as nonword controls and did not elicit any

significant neural activation. The effective connectivity of a phonological pathway from

left IPL to left IFG was enhanced for the mixed pseudohomophones but not for pure

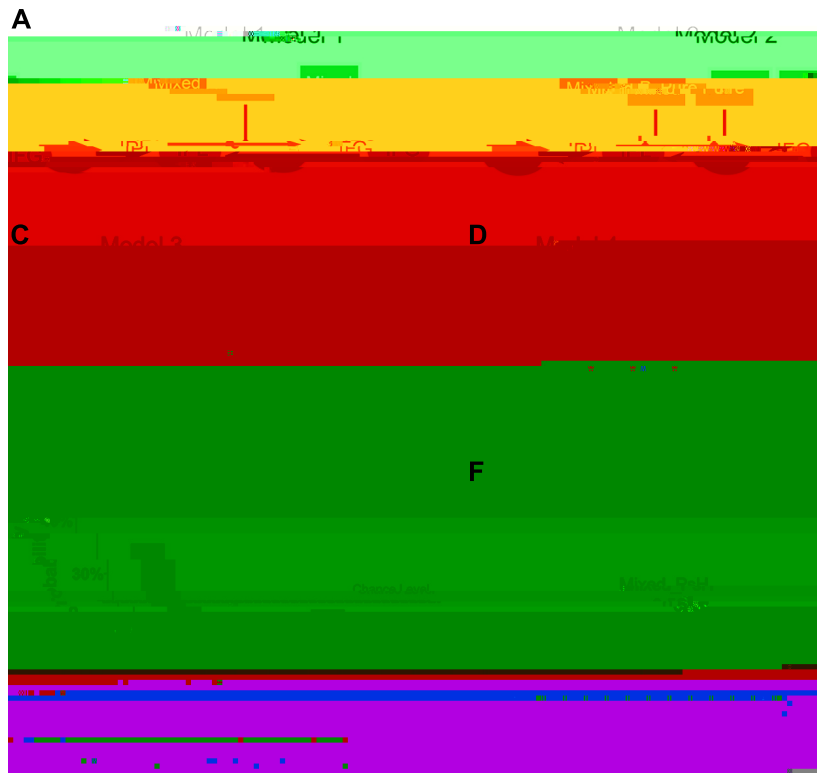
pseudohomophones. These findings demonstrated that phonology plays a role in lexical

access in reading Chinese as it does with alphabetic scripts (Frost, 1992; Coltheart et al., 1993; Plaut et al., 1996). Although it is widely accepted that phonological mediation plays a predominant role in accessing lexical semantics in reading alphabetic scripts (Frost, 1998), answers to these questions are more divergent for the Chinese logographic writing system. Unlike the alphabetic system, the basic meaningful units in the logographic system are characters, each of which corresponds to one morpheme and one syllable. However, given the limited number of syllables in the language, many morphemes or characters are homophonic, and thus the pseudohomophone effect in lexical decisions on characters may or may not share orthographic features. Thus, Marslen-Wilson (2009) demonstrated that lexical access in

reading Chinese as it does with alphabetic scripts (Frost, 1992; Coltheart et al., 1993; Plaut et al., 1996). Although it is widely accepted that phonological mediation plays a predominant role in accessing lexical semantics in reading alphabetic scripts (Frost, 1998), answers to these questions are more divergent for the Chinese logographic writing system. Unlike the alphabetic system, the basic meaningful units in the logographic system are characters, each of which corresponds to one morpheme and one syllable. However, given the limited number of syllables in the language, many morphemes or characters are homophonic, and thus the pseudohomophone effect in lexical decisions on characters may or may not share orthographic features. Thus, Marslen-Wilson (2009) demonstrated that lexical access in

Table 3 | MNI coordinates of the activation foci revealed by three contrasts.

Regions	H	BA	P _{FWE}	PsH – control			Mixed PsH – control			Interaction			
				Max z-value	Voxel	MNI coordinates x y z	Max z-value	Voxel	MNI coordinates x y z	Max z-value	Voxel	MNI coordinates x y z	
IFG	L	44	0.000	4.82	490	-46	8						



information, such as orthography, phonology, and semantics, converge and interact. Zhou et al. (1999) suggested that, in the real-time processing of a Chinese compound word, both semantic representation of the whole word and the semantic representations of its constituent morphemes are activated in parallel, and that the semantic activation of constituent morphemes can be consistent or in conflict with the activation of the whole word. It is plausible that the activation of the left angular gyrus for mixed pseudohomophones may reflect this parallel activation and integration. Further studies are needed to investigate systematically the neural basis of competition and collaboration between semantic activation of whole words and constituent morphemes.

Direct contrast between the pseudohomophone effects for the mixed and pure pseudohomophones (i.e., the interaction analysis) did not show any activation of language-related areas such as the left IPL, IFG, and angular gyrus, although the interaction was found in the ROI analysis for these regions. Instead, the whole-brain interaction analysis showed the activation of the anterior cingulate cortex and medial orbitofrontal gyrus. These regions have long been associated with conflict detection and cognitive control (van Veen et al., 2001; Milham et al., 2003; Stephan et al., 2003; Ye and Zhou, 2009). It is possible that a more effortful control process is needed when making no-go responses to mixed pseudohomophones.

