

Think Globally, Connect Locally

Localist Connectionist Approaches to Human Cognition

by Jonathan Grainger and Arthur M. Jacobs (Eds.)

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Review by Dominic W. Massaro and Michael J. Wenger

Early in the 20th century, Tashley (1929) offered the notions of *equi-potentiality* and *mass-action* to describe the general principles by which the nervous system coded for psychological experience (see also, Rubin, 1965). The first of these constructs referred to the idea that learning and performance could not be localized to particular structural states or changes in the cerebral cortex. The second referred to the idea that a wide range of cortical areas that are pertinent to particular behaviors contribute to performance. In their time, these ideas were somewhat controversial, existing in the cortex, of concern for the localization of brain function, and offering the alternative view that psychological states were instead the result of *extramural*, dynamic, cooperative systems across a variety of cortical locations. In the 1980s, the "rediscovery" of distributed neural computation (e.g., Anderson, 1988; Anderson & Rosenfeld, 1990) offered an alternative to flowchart models that localized perceptual and cognitive structures and processes to boxes and arrows.

Since that time, connectionist or neural modeling has made significant advances, in both theory and application (e.g., Bishop, 1995; Goldstone, 1995; Grossberg, 1978, 1991). However, the complexity and opacity of many of the resulting models (among other problems) have caused some to wonder whether they have truly allowed for any significant increase in the level of understanding of the phenomena being modeled (referred to as the "Dennini paradox," Lewandowsky, 1990; Massaro, 1985; McClelland, 1992; also being pertinent). Where the flowchart models allowed for apparently intuitive "big picture" views of the psychological problem, the neural models' wide range of functional and functional possibilities (i.e., their multiple levels of specification) seemed to close in on a gulf of results, though it is possible that this was due as much to a lack of use of the tools available to understand neural models at a

general level (e.g., Bishop, 1995; Goldstone, 1995) as to anything inherent to the models themselves.

As an alternative, rather than attempt to construct models that can address the entire psychological phenomenon, perhaps one can be achieved by starting with assumptions about structures and processes (such as those that were assumed in the flowchart models), then using the techniques of neural computation to specify models that apply those assumptions in a formal and possibly more constrained way. These founding assumptions are the "localist" representations referred to in the title of this volume, with an influential proposal by Rumelhart and McClelland (1987) providing a grounding exemplar for much of the work that has come since. The contributions to this volume (which span the range of contemporary cognitive psychology) illustrate how this general approach can be applied.

The editors have done a commendable job of laying out a general approach to psychological theory building and testing. Importantly, they have also done much to show how connectionist modeling can be linked to internalization processes, by approaches to psychological science. They describe general principles of theory construction (referred to as system and design principles) that allow for some of the type of cross-model comparisons that have generally only been allowed for in psychological metatheories, such as signal detection theory (e.g., Egan, 1975; Green & Swets, 1966; Macmillan & Creelman, 1991; Swets, 1969). Its multidimensional

ACADEMIC PRESS INC. Laboratory of Cognitive Psychology, University of Bordeaux, Aix-en-Provence, France

ARTHUR M. JACOBS, Department of Psychology, University of Edinburg, Edinburgh, Scotland

DOMINIC W. MASSARO and MICHAEL J. WENGER, Department of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, California 95064, U.S.A. e-mail: dominic@sover.com; mewinger@sover.com

generalization (e.g., Ashby & Townsend, 1986; Kadlec & Hicks, 1992; Kadlec & Townsend, 1992; Thornton, 1996; Wickens & Olyorkin, 1996) into stochastic systems theory (e.g., Schweickert, Fischer, & Goldstein, 1992; Schweickert & Townsend, 1999; Schweickert & Wang, 1993; Townsend, 1992; Townsend & Nozawa, 1996; Townsend & Schweickert, 1992), formal models of utility and decision making (e.g., see the contributions in Marley, 1997) and refinements and extensions of functional measurement (e.g., Anderson, 1984; Massaro, 1996). The volume is a whole also suggests how the assumption of meaningful, interpretable structures, when given computational instantiation, may retain the type of biological plausibility that has long been argued as a strength of neural computation (e.g., Smolka, 1998).

Readers new to the notion of "localist connectionism" may be somewhat puzzled by the distinction between this variant of connectionist modeling and the more widely known distributed representations (e.g., McClelland & Rumelhart, 1986). All of the models described in this volume have the standard accommodations of connectionist models, particularly that basic unit of theoretical currency, the node. Within the distributed framework, the node has no straightforward a priori interpretation, according to one who is (but might suggest an interpretation in terms of higher level constructs) only after the network has been trained. In contrast, within the localists, it is evident, nodes are given interpretable status at the outset: Higher level theoretical constructs exist at the outset as "hard-wired" components of the models. The editors, in their credit section, acknowledge that the distinction—distributed versus localist—as at best imprecise, still, as the editors argue, and as the various chapters illustrate, there is much that can be learned by relying on this form of formal theorizing to guide psychological research, and there are many crucial questions (specifically, in many ways of thinking) that are brought to focus.

Broad Application, Warts and All

One of the strengths of this approach is its utility in addressing problems across the range of inquiries that characterize contemporary cognitive psychology and cognitive science. The initial application is to aspects of selective attention, and the remaining chapters include discussions of basic aspects of pattern recognition, word processing, and stimulus similarity (as pertinent to categorization and decision making). Each of these applications, to varying degrees, illustrates how the general approach to model construction, validation, and testing can be instantiated in particular regions of experimental psychology. For the discerning reader, each chapter provides examples of the advantages and potential pitfalls of the general approach.

Doughton and Tipper's chapter on sex bias attention provides an initial and intuitive illustration of how it is possible to derive strong, testable predictions from a localist connectionist model. Explanation of their model leads to the strong prediction of an absence of negative priming (the finding of interference in response latency to targets previously presented as distractors at a specific point in time under specific experimental conditions). This, of course, is the ideal for any modeling approach. Theoretical explorations leading to distinct, empirically testable predictions. Yet, this initial application also illustrates how the localist approach may not be shielded from the problems that plagued the original "biological" models. For example, the assumption of grouping via visual information into meaningful object representations as a point of departure for the modeling (271), harkens to similar types of assumptions as starting points in "biological" models, such as Bruce and Young's (1986) initial model for facial processing.

In fact, this same model (Bruce & Young, 1986) provides the starting point for the model of facial recognition described in the chapter by Burton. For all of its acknowledged creativity in addressing the shortcomings of earlier approaches, Burton's model highlights the potential lack of constraints in positing localist representations. In particular, the potential question of whether stimuli possess two independent lexical stores (the word is lexically accessed, or whether there is a unitary, integrated factor in which representations from both languages are simultaneously activated). This chapter nicely illustrates how the localist strategy can allow for the detection

of synergies with other areas of cognitive psychology (e.g., information processing approaches). For example, an important conclusion from model tests is that knowledge from both languages is simultaneously activated and used in processing words from one of the languages. The point of contact here is with the more general observation (Massaro, 1996) that language processing (and multiple other aspects of cognition) reveal input from influences of multiple sources of information.

The comparison to other approaches to modeling is also well illustrated in the work by Page and Norris on unidirectional serial recall. This chapter applies the localist strategy to the question of immediate serial recall. This is a question that has been addressed in some detail and with rather pronounced success in the information processing literature, specifically in work by Hulme (1991, 1992). Page and Norris show how the localist approach can be used to provide connectionist instantiations of the same types of assumptions about memory that ground the information processing models. This type of work then shows how it might be possible to extend more traditional work in information processing psychology to computational models (see an extended discussion of such possibilities in O'Farrell, Wiggett, & Townsend, in press).

A similar link to information processing approaches can be found in the chapter by Brähne and Blömler, who discuss the manner in which object descriptions can be modeled. Their treatment of sequentialization and the specification of "control nodes" is important for the modeling of ordering in linguistic structures, harkens to the need for specification of both control structures and logical or informational structures discussed thoroughly in Atkinson and Shiffrin (1968). In addition, this chapter provides another example of how system principles can be used to examine metatheoretical questions—questions that extend across models in a general way (e.g., 209ff).

De Dreu and van Heuver develop a model for bilingual language processing that addresses, using the localist strategy, the potential question of whether bilinguals possess two independent lexical stores (the word is lexically accessed, or whether there is a unitary, integrated factor in which representations from both languages are simultaneously activated). This chapter nicely illustrates how the localist strategy can allow for the detection

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Thus, this final chapter reinforces the rather bold step taken by the editors: Not only have they offered a general approach to modeling cognitive phenomena, but they have suggested principles for the construction and evaluation. In that sense, the volume can be seen as a collective illustration of the potential and power that can be obtained with a general metatheoretical approach. Certainly it is possible to show how the editors' goals and standards are not met in many of the chapters. The same could be said for applications of any of the other metatheoretical approaches in psychology. As a cumulative record, our science advances on the shoulders of both our successes and shortcomings. The type of general theoretical approach espoused by the authors and editors allows for discussion of both of these. This is the fundamental strength and contribution of this volume. □

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