

Cognitive neuroscience, metaphor and pictures: part 2

TURNER, James <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8360-1420>> and RALLEY, Richard

Available from Sheffield Hallam University Research Archive (SHURA) at:

<http://shura.shu.ac.uk/26205/>

This document is the author deposited version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

Published version

TURNER, James and RALLEY, Richard (2019). Cognitive neuroscience, metaphor and pictures: part 2. *Mental Health Nursing*.

Copyright and re-use policy

See <http://shura.shu.ac.uk/information.html>

Mental Health Nursing



NEWS: CQC REVIEW SHOWS 'PERFECT STORM' IN MENTAL HEALTH



2019

PLUS
INSIDE THE MIND OF
ANDREA SUTCLIFFE CBE

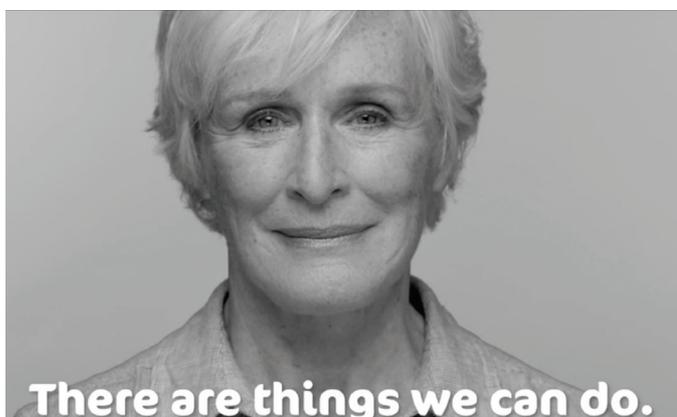


STUDENT FEATURE
DO WE KNOW HOW TO
SUPPORT EACH OTHER?

NEWS: NATIONAL CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO SUPPORT MENTAL HEALTH



CONTENTS


04

NEWS

- New NHS Mental Health Act detention numbers rise
- Research shows anorexia rates are increasing among preteen children
- School experience has lasting impact on mental health
- Community staff lack smoking cessation training and skills

06

PUBLIC HEALTH CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO SUPPORT MENTAL HEALTH

National organisations have joined forces to create a new initiative to improve mental health

08

'PERFECT STORM' DESCRIBED IN CQC SUMMARY REPORT

The annual review by the independent regulator of health services highlights system problems in mental health care

10

UNITE/MHNA UPDATE

A round-up of activity by lead professional officer Dave Munday

11

'UNDECIDED'

The fourth instalment in the 'Let's talk about suicide' series of comic strips written by mental health nursing students at the University of Dundee. The art for this strip is by Damon Herd. The comic is published by Ink Pot Studio, the University of Dundee and is reproduced with kind permission. All rights reserved

16

COGNITIVE NEUROSCIENCE, METAPHOR AND PICTURES: PART 2

James Turner and Richard Ralley provide a sense of the value of a 'cognitive' perspective to therapists

20

INSIDE THE MIND OF... ANDREA SUTCLIFFE CBE

Mental Health Nursing meets the chief executive and registrar of the Nursing and Midwifery Council

22

STUDENT FOCUS: DO WE KNOW HOW TO SUPPORT EACH OTHER?

Students Zoe Carciente and Millie Page outline the importance of mutual support

23

RESOURCE REVIEWS



Cognitive neuroscience, metaphor and pictures: part 2

James B Turner Principal lecturer, Sheffield Hallam University

Richard Ralley Senior lecturer, University of East London

Correspondence: james.turner@shu.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper provides a sense of the value of a 'cognitive' perspective to therapists when thinking about minds and situations that they encounter. As well as helping to establish knowledge, the science also offers a framework for critical assessment. The paper also aims to prepare the ground for future progress in our understanding of the value of metaphor or picture-based communications. This is part 2 of 2.

Key words

Cognitive neuroscience, metaphors, pictures, images, brain

The first part of this paper appeared in the previous edition of Mental Health Nursing (October/November 2019 issue).

Structures in the brain

The brain is divided into two asymmetrical halves or hemispheres. Each hemisphere develops in a rather specialised way, carrying out specific functions.

McGilchrist (2010) notes that the brain, like the universe, has no profound symmetry and is in fact profoundly asymmetrical. Generally both sides of the brain share similarities, with the exception of the hippocampus being in the left hemisphere and the amygdala being in the right hemisphere.

The brain has been described as having three layers that communicate in a left-right and back-to-front manner (and visa versa).

The oldest layer is the brain stem,

which connects to the spinal cord, with the medulla oblongata regulating body functions (such as total peripheral resistance/blood pressure) and automatic and reflex actions (Voke, 1986).

This has been described as our 'reptilian brain' (Carter, 2003), and is connected closely with the cerebellum, our little or ancient brain, which has been superseded in modern humans by the cerebral cortex.

The second layer, the mid-brain, holds the parts that deal with emotion, such as the thalamus, hypothalamus, amygdala, and hippocampus – sometimes called the 'limbic system' or our paleomammalian brain (Carter, 2003). The mid-brain is densely connected to the orbitofrontal cortex (Wilkinson, 2006).

Emotions are the underlying mechanisms that create body states and actions. There is no action without a chemical synapse, and in order to prepare a body for specific action it is argued that there needs to be an emotion (Carter, 2003).

LeDoux (2002) notes the components necessary here are an emotion system, a memory system and a feedback system from the body. Feelings are both stimulated by the mind and messages sent to the body and stimulated by the body and messages sent to the mind, with a sense of these being constantly monitored for internal and external stimuli (Carter, 2003).

Consciousness is suggested to be located in the the third layer, the cerebrum, cerebral cortex, neocortex or neomammalian brain (Carter, 2003).

The third layer enfolds the other parts of the brain with its densely folded thin outer layer and holds an estimated 12-15 billion neurones in its folds (Voke, 1986).

The cerebrum is divided into four lobes: the occipital lobe deals with visual processing; the temporal lobe deals with some aspects of memory, sound and speech comprehension (usually left hemisphere); the parietal lobe movement and sensation but mainly as the termination of nerves that have coded information for heat, pain, cold, touch and pressure and limb position; and the frontal lobes have responsibility for executive decision making (Voke, 1986; Wilkinson, 2006).

This sophisticated part of the brain is considered the humans' 'separateness' from other mammals. Associated areas include memory, intelligence, imagination and creative thought (Voke, 1986) and are not localised but involved in back-to-front and side-to-side interconnectedness (McGilchrist, 2010).

The right hemisphere

The right hemisphere is more mature at birth, and grows quickest. It contains the amygdala, so processes the earliest experiences of the primary caregiver (especially in relation to the face and emotions).

The amygdala is on line at birth, involves the nature of good and bad, safety/danger and the startle reflex, and is sensitised to trauma (Carroll, 2005).

The amygdala is pivotal in processing threat and paralinguistic (e.g. facial) emotional stimuli (Beutal et al, 2003).

At three months the anterior cingulate is preparing the infant for socialisation, social contact and motivation to communicate. A suggested main need is responsive contact and acceptance (Wilkinson, 2005; Carroll, 2005). At this stage psychological proximity binds the infant's interpersonal relationships (Bowlby, 1969).

The corticolimbic and orbitofrontal regions of the brain are also associated with the regulation of emotion (Cappas et al, 2005).

If there are problems with the responses of others at this crucial stage, and as the brain is developing these 'circuits', the infant is necessarily vulnerable to environmental experiences, both positive and negative.

At 10 months of age the prefrontal cortex matures, enabling the baby to experience a more mature kind of relating, leading to self-regulation, to deal with experiences and shame.

Procedural or implicit memory is held here and encompasses automatic performance, disposition and non-verbal habits (Fuchs, 2004).

Furthermore, the right hemisphere stores emotions, appraises thoughts and ideas and is reflective, is dominant for awareness of the physical and emotional self, and has a key role in recognising and distinguishing the self from others (Wilkinson, 2006).

The left hemisphere

The left hemisphere matures later. By the age of 2-3, a child has increased linguistic and analytic ability, functions that are left hemisphere. It enables experience of agency, relating and of separateness. The left hemisphere also holds the hippocampus, which enables explicit or declarative memory.

Fuchs (2004) notes that the hippocampus is involved in a lifelong remapping of cortical networks according to the individual experiences.

The left hemisphere holds explicit or declarative memory, recording single experiences (ibid). Long-term memory processes are involved in the medial temporal lobe and prefrontal cortex.

Cappas et al (2005: 376) describe memory's action as 'an event takes place or information is learned, the hippocampus begins processing that information then becomes dependent on this structure until it becomes old knowledge, at which point it is organised in the neo cortex'.

For example the:

- Dorsolateral prefrontal cortex – considers thought and feelings, 'working memory', and assembles current and past experiences for working in the immediate moment.
- Anterior cingulate and hippocampus – tag time and place to memory and assist in storage and retrieval, thus having a role in the developing the social self.

The control centre

The prefrontal cortex is sometimes described as 'the thinking cap'. It acts as the emotional executive of the right brain as it has strong neural connections into the emotional systems located there.

The cortex is organising from 10-18 months of age in two phases: first, acting as an interface between cortex and sub cortex between the other (especially eye contact) and internal bodily senses, and second, enabling the individual to recover from disruptions of state to integrate a sense of self across states, allowing for continuity of experience (Carroll, 2005).

Communication systems and information systems

Communication within the brain is not one-dimensional, rather it is a matrix of left-right and front-back inter-relationships.

Pathways include the 'dense network' of the thalamocortical system multi-meshed connections; 'long loop systems' that link the cortex to and from a set of appendages, the cerebellum, the basal ganglia (including the amygdala) and the hippocampus; fan-like systems that form pathways for the hormonal system; and major interhemisphere link routes like the corpus callosum enabling continuous exchange of information (Wilkinson, 2010).

“Therapy must not only help develop insight but also restructure neural networks”

McGilchrist (2009) comments on this and the developments in neuroscience in general, that fMRI scans, while seeking to understand behaviour, thinking and emotion, set a 'bar' whereby activity is studied above it and therefore 'activity' is found to be localised to certain regions of the mind.

However, if one set the bar lower, one would find activity generally spread across the mind with 'hot spots' in certain regions.

Metaphors and the mind

It is important to note that the brain is acting always as a scaffold with respect to its components. Carroll (2005) notes that mental functions are necessarily correlated with interruptions, displacements and distortions in the organising processes of the body.

In order for change to happen and produce lasting effects, therapy must therefore not only help develop insight but also 'should arrive at restructuring neural networks, particularly in the sub cortical limbic system in order to alter motivation' (Fuchs, 2004: 480).

Furthermore, as memories can be modified when stored and retrieved, it is 'possible to shape the manner which painful experiences are remembered and integrated' (Cappas et al, 2005: 377).

Cappas (2005) goes on to discuss narrative therapy, whereby a dialogue is a thread that weaves events together, with the intention to revise these narratives through the process of therapy so the story is reconstructed to a more adaptive account.

Metaphors form part of our dialogue and it has been suggested that the way they work in the mind is on the divergence between the left (rational) and the right (creative) brain

(McGilchrist, 2009).

It is proposed they have a long-lasting effect, a mnemonic property, lasting longer than literal phrases (Ryena, 1996) and can be a conduit to material that has been buried (Bayne and Thompson, 2000).

Goncalves and Craine (1990) suggest that at the unconscious levels, knowledge is represented in analogical and metaphorical ways. The use of metaphors is suggested as a therapeutic tool to access and change tacit/unconscious levels of cognitive representation.

Some clients, and indeed some therapists, lean towards one or the other. What appears important is to recognise is that a person has the ability to comprehend both the metaphorical and the literal, incorporate imagination, and synthesise all of this, leading to growth and positive mental health (Welch, 1984).

Furthermore, if the metaphoric mind is acknowledged and worked with, there is less distinction between rational and metaphoric minds; there is only mind (Samples, 1976; Welch, 1984).

Pally (2000) observes that metaphors contain 'sensory, imaginistic, emotional; and verbal elements' and as such can activate multiple brain centres.

Metaphors can emerge to capture and convey our earliest experiences (Wilkinson, 2006; 2010). Only the right hemisphere mediates the capacity to understand metaphor (Mitchell and Crow, 2005; McGilchrist, 2009).

As our right brain is the earliest developing hemisphere, it follows that metaphors are stored and worked with in that hemisphere when processing metaphor, particularly when novelty, creativity and imagery are involved (McGilchrist, 2009; Wilkinson, 2010).

This logic is supported by the notion that a right hemisphere processing of metaphor activates particularly when novelty, creativity and imagery are involved and can involve specialisation of emotionally charged words (Ortigue et al, 2004).

Research into hemispheric action indicates the left hemisphere superiority for most semantic processing tasks, whereby figurative meaning is activated

in the right hemisphere (Marshall and Faust, 2008).

Focus has been placed upon the processing of metaphors where retrieval may involve the 'retrieval of alternate, distantly related and even unrelated interpretations in order to process unusual or unfamiliar word associations' (Marshall and Faust, 2008: 103). The implication is that the differences between the left hemisphere and the right hemisphere enable complexity in comprehension.

Pictures and images and the mind

'A mental image is a pictorial representation, akin to a private photograph, from which one can derive information as to what it is an image of by observation' (Bennett and Hacker, 2008: 43).

People are in a daily dialogue with themselves in an attempt to create meaning through expression. One way of doing this, argue Loock et al (2003), is through the contents of their artwork.

As images and art can be an insight into a person's projections and personal perceptions, using creative expression could therefore be applied as a non-threatening problem identification experience (Loock et al, 2003).

Therapies can use imagery, referring to the capacity to imagine an object. It necessarily follows that a metaphor can generate an image, and a metaphor in a pictorial form is an image. The left hemisphere and right hemisphere mediate integration of imagery and emotion, in effect building a bridge between the 'Ikonc mode of the right and the linguistic mode of the left' (Cox and Theilgaard, 1987).

Various forms of imagery use distinct neurological pathways but in general use similar pathways to perception (Cappas et al, 2005). Again, it follows that the brain can affect emotions in processing non-verbal activity.

However, problems with imagery and location in the mind are less controlled and more difficult to interpret (Beutal et al, 2003). Wilkinson (2010: 193) notes

'the making of such pictures indicates a dawning, the ability to move from the concrete acting out of old trauma thought the transference to a more symbolic way of experiencing'.

In neural dialogue this reflects closely the views noted previously of reworking the mind's response to remembered trauma and relationships, and enabling a different response and action

McGilchrist (2009: 115) seems to tie this together in stating 'metaphoric thinking is fundamental to our understanding of the world, because it is the only way in which understanding can reach outside the system of signs to life itself. It is what links language to life', and later 'metaphor embodies thought and places it in a living context' (ibid: 118).

Although these are bold affirmations, the evidence seems to suggest significant importance in the role of right hemisphere activity in metaphor, with associated imagery being a vehicle to transport meaning across the hemispheres.

Summary

Gentner et al (2001) comment on metaphor being pervasive in language and thought, yet despite a considerable amount of research 'little is known about how metaphors are psychologically processed' (ibid: 199).

Current neuroscience and psychotherapy studies are identifying neural correlates, not only of mental disorder but also of therapeutic change (Fuchs, 2004). Hass-Cohen and Carr (2008: 50) remind us that 'sensory art therapy practices stimulate thalamic connections to and from cortical and sub cortical brain regions', and this seems to offer support for art-making in the therapeutic encounter to manage effect and stimulate neural connections.

The evidence from cognitive neuroscience seems to suggest that creative methods in psychotherapy can engage right brain activity within the therapeutic encounter.

While the evidence is developing for right and left brain activity and up-down, front-to-back activity, there is still an assumption of the left brain

being rational and the right brain being creative. Client and therapists may lean towards one or the other.

What has been explored is the nature of metaphor and art as an enabler, using structures in the right and left brain to find a way forward for individuals in mental distress, as if enabling a new way of managing emotions.

Metaphor has many positive functions and can activate multiple brain centres. Equally art and visual metaphors use distinct neurological pathways.

We hope this review helps you in your thinking about practice and may encourage you towards creative endeavours and considering incorporating metaphor, pictorial metaphor and visual representations within your therapeutic encounters. ■



www.mcpup.net

References

Aveyard H. (2010) *Doing a Literature Review in Health and Care: a practical guide*. 2nd edition. Dawsonera: London.

Bayne R, Thompson K. (2000) Counsellor response to patients metaphors: an evaluation and refinement of Strong's model. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 13(1): 37-49.

Barker P. (1996) *Psychotherapeutic Metaphors: a guide to theory and practice*. New York Brunner/Mazel.

Bennett MR, Hacker PMS. (2008) *History of Cognitive Neuroscience*. Wiley Blackwell: Chichester.

Beutal ME, Stern E, Silbersweig DA. (2003) The emerging dialogue between psychoanalysis and neuroscience: Neuroimaging perspectives. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 51(3): 773-801.

Bowers JS. (2009) On the Biological Plausibility of Grandmother Cells: Implications for Neural Network Theories in Psychology and Neuroscience. *Psychological Review American Psychological Association* 116(1): 220-51.

Bowlby J. (1969) *Attachment and Loss: Volume 1 Attachment*. Basic Books: New York.

Caddy L, Crawford F, Page AC. (2012) 'Painting a path to wellness: correlations between participating in a creative activity group and improved mental health outcome.' *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing* 19: 327-33.

Cappas NM, Andreas-Hyman R, Davidson L. (2005) What psychotherapists can begin to learn from neuroscience: seven principles of a brain based psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* 42(3): 374-83.

Carter S. (2003) The nature of feelings and emotion based learning within psychotherapy and counselling: neuroscience is putting the heart back into emotion. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counselling and Health* 6(3): 225-41.

Carroll R. (2005) Affect Regulation and the body in psychotherapy. *Body Brain and Beyond and CAT*, 4 March 2005, Conference Presentation.

Clift S, Hancox G, Staricoff R, Whitmore C. (2008) *Singing and Health: A Systematic Mapping and Review of Non-Clinical Research*. Sidney De Haan Research Centre for Arts and Health.

Cox M, Theilgaard A. (1987) *Mutative Metaphors in Psychotherapy: The Aeolian mode*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers: London.

Cronin P, Ryan F, Coughlan M. (2008) Undertaking a literature review: A step by step approach. *British Journal of Nursing*, 17(1): 38-43.

Dallos R, Vetere A. (2005) *Researching psychotherapy and counselling*. Open University Press: Milton Keynes.

Damasio AR. (2003) Looking for Spinoza: Joy, sorrow and the feeling brain. *Heinmann*: London.

Dolan RJ, Heinze HJ, Hurlmann R, Hinrichs H. (2006) Magnetoencephalography determined temporal modulation of visual and auditory sensory processing in the context of classical conditioning to faces. *Neuroimage* 32(2): 778-89.

Ekman P, Friesen WV. (1975) *Unmasking the face: A guide to recognising emotions based on facial clues*. Prentice Hall: Englewood.

Ekman P. (1992) An argument for basic emotions. *Cognition and emotion* 6(3): 169-200.

Foglia L, Wilson RA. (2013) Embodied cognition. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science* 4(3): 319-25.

Fuchs T. (2004) Neurobiology and psychotherapy: an emerging dialogue. *Current Opinion in Psychiatry* 17: 479-85.

Gentner D, Bowdle B, Wolff P, Boronat C. (2001) Metaphor is like analogy. In: Gentner D, Holyoak KJ, Kokinov BN. (Eds.). *The analogical mind: Perspectives from cognitive science*. MIT Press: Cambridge: 199-253.

Gonçalves OF, Craine MH. (1990) The use of metaphors in cognitive therapy. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy* 4(2): 135-49.

Grant MJ, Booth A. (2009) A typology of reviews: an analysis of 214 review types and associated methodologies. *Health Information and Libraries Journal* 26: 91-108.

Greenwood H. (2011) Long Term individual Art psychotherapy: Art for Arts sake: The effect of early relational trauma. *International Journal of Art Therapy* 16(1): 41-51.

Greenhalgh T, Peacock R. (2005) Effectiveness and efficiency of search methods in systematic reviews of complex evidence: audit of primary sources. *British Medical Journal* 331: 1064-5.

Hass-Cohen N, Carr R. (2008) *Art Therapy and Clinical Neuroscience*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers: London.

Hawker S, Payne S, Kerr C, Hardy M, Powell J. (2002) Appraising the evidence: Reviewing disparate data systematically. *Qualitative Health Research* 12: 1284-99.

Hermans (2003) In: Kandel ER. (1998) A new intellectual framework for psychiatry. *American Journal of Psychiatry*.

Lane RD, Nadel L. (2002) *Cognitive Neuroscience of Emotion*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Lecky J. (2011) 'The therapeutic effectiveness of creative activities on mental well-being: a systematic review of the literature.' *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing* 18: 501-9.

LeDoux J. (2000) Emotion circuits in the brain. *Annual review of Neuroscience* 23: 153-84.

LeDoux J. (2002) The synaptic self: How are brains become who we are. *Penguin: Harmondsworth*.

LeDoux J. (2003) The emotional brain, fear, and the amygdala. *Cellular and Molecular Neurobiology* 23(4-5): 727-38.

Look AC, Myburgh CPH, Poggenpoel M. (2003) Art as projective medium: An educational psychological model to address unresolved trauma in young adults. *Education* 123(4): 705-13.

Marshall N, Faust M. (2008) Right hemisphere sensitivity to novel metaphoric relations: Application of the signal detection theory. *Brain and Language* 104: 103-12.

MacLean PD. (1990) The triune brain in evolution. Role in paleocerebral functions. *Plenum*: London.

McGilchrist I. (2009) *The master and his emissary: the divided brain and the making of the western world*. Yale University Press: Yale.

McNiff J, Whitehead J. (2011) *All you need to know about action research*. 2nd Edition. Sage: London.

Mitchell RL, Crow TJ. (2005) Right hemisphere language functions and Schizophrenia: the forgotten hemisphere? *Brain* 128(5): 963-78.

Newall R, Burnard P. (2006) *Research for evidence-based practice. Vital notes for Nurses*. Blackwell: London.

Ohman A. (2009) Of snakes and faces: An evolutionary perspective

on the psychology of fear. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 50(6): 543-52.

Ortigue S, Michel CM, Murray MM, Mohr C, Carbonnel S, Landis T. (2004) Electrical neuroimaging reveals early generator modulation to emotional words. *Neuroimage* 21(4): 1242-51.

Pally R. (2000) *The Mind-Brain Relationship*. Karnac Books: New York.

Panksepp J. (1998) *Affective Neuroscience, The Foundations of Human and Animal Emotion*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Rolls ET. (1999) *The Brain and Emotion*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Rose S. (1993) *The Making of Memory*. Bantam Books: Toronto.

Ryena VE. (1996) Meaning, Memory and Interpretation of Metaphors. In: Mio J, Katz A. (Eds.). *Metaphor: Pragmatics and Applications*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Hillsdale.

Samples B. (1976) *The Metaphoric Mind: A celebration of creative consciousness*. Addison-Wesley Publishers: Reading.

Secker J, Spandler H, Hacking S, Kent L, Shenton J. (2007) Empowerment and arts participation for people with mental health needs. *Journal of Public Mental Health* 6(4): 14-23.

Schore AN. (2003) In: Hermans HJM. (2003) The construction and reconstruction of a dialogical self. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* 16: 89-130.

Sharpe C, Smith JV, Cole A. (2002) Cinematotherapy: metaphorically promoting change. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 15(93): 269-76.

Staricoff RL. (2004) *Can the Arts Have a Positive Effect on Health?* Arts Council England: London.

The Arts Council England. (2007) *The Arts, Health and Wellbeing*. Centre for Public Health: Research Directorate, John Moores University, Liverpool.

The Arts Council of England. (2007) *The arts, health and wellbeing*. Arts Council England: London.

Toomey B, Ecker B. (2009) Competing visions of the implications of neuroscience for psychotherapy. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* 22(2): 95-140.

Turner J. (2011) *CAT Metaphor and Pictures: An exploration of the views of CAT therapists into the use of metaphor and pictorial metaphor (part 1)*. *Reformulation* 36: 37-41.

Turner J. (2012) *CAT Metaphor and Pictures (part 2): An outline of the use of a pictorial metaphor in Cognitive Analytic Therapy*. *Reformulation* 37: 39-43.

Turner J. (2014) *Metaphors and Therapeutic Encounters in Mental Health Nursing*. *Mental Health Nursing* 34(3).

Voke J. (1986) *The nervous system. Parts of the brain*. *Nursing Times* 82(41): 44.

Welch M. (1984) The use of metaphor in psychotherapy. *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing* 22(11): 13-8.

Wilkinson M. (2006) *Coming into Mind: the mind-brain relationship: a Jungian clinical perspective*. Routledge: London.

Wilkinson M. (2010) *Changing minds in therapy: emotion, attachment and neurobiology*. Norton: London.

Zwaan RA. (2014) Embodiment and language comprehension: reframing the discussion. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 18(5): 229-34.