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Foreign Accent Syndrome As a Psychogenic Disorder: A Review

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In the majority of cases published between 1907 and 2014, FAS is due to a neurogenic etiology. Only a few reports about FAS with an assumed psychogenic origin have been published. The present article discusses the findings of a careful database search on psychogenic FAS. This review may be particularly relevant as it is the first to analyze the salient features of psychogenic FAS cases to date. This article hopes to pave the way for the view that psychogenic FAS is a cognate of neurogenic FAS. It is felt that this variant of FAS may have been underreported, as most of the psychogenic cases have been published after the turn of the century. This review may improve the diagnosis of the syndrome in clinical practice and highlights the importance of recognizing psychogenic FAS as an independent taxonomic entity.

Keywords: foreign accent syndrome, psychogenic, non-organic FAS, speech disorder, review

INTRODUCTION

It has now been over a century that researchers have reported on a motor speech disorder most frequently referred to as "Foreign Accent Syndrome" (FAS). The first patient with FAS was anecdotally described by Marie (1907). The term "FAS" was later coined by Whitaker (1982) who also proposed a set of diagnostic criteria: (1) "the accent is considered by the patient, by acquaintances and by the investigator, to sound foreign"; (2) "it is unlike the patient's native dialect before cerebral insult," (3) "it is clearly related to central nervous system damage (as opposed to an hysteric reaction, if such exist)"; (4) "(t)here is no evidence in the patient's background of being a speaker of a foreign language (i.e., this is not like cases of polyglot aphasia)" (Whitaker, 1982, pp. 196 and 198). These criteria only apply to one of the three FAS subtypes in the taxonomic classification recently developed by Verhoeven and Mariën (2010), who distinguished between a neurogenic (including a developmental subtype), a psychogenic and a mixed variant of FAS.

Psychogenic FAS is defined by Verhoeven and Mariën (2010) as "the variant in which the foreign accent of the patient is grounded in underlying psychological issues" (p. 601). It is also referred to as "non-organic," "functional," or "psychosomatic" FAS. Aronson and Bless (1990) have expressed a clear preference for the term "psychogenic" because this term has "the advantage of stating positively, based on an exploration of its causes, that the [...] disorder is a manifestation of psychological disequilibrium such as anxiety, depression, personality disorder, or conversion reaction [...]" (p. 121). In general, this "sub-category" contains all the cases of FAS in which an organic substrate cannot be identified after careful clinical neurological, neuroradiological, and/or

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Keulen S, Verhoeven J, De Witte E, De Page L, Bastiaanse R and Mariën P (2016) Foreign Accent Syndrome As a Psychogenic Disorder: A Review. Front. Hum. Neurosci. 10:168. doi: 10.3389/fnhum.2016.00168 neurophysiological examination, and for which a clear
psychological factor is identified (e.g., Verhoeven et al.,
2005) as well as the cases for which it is hypothesized that a
disclosed organic deficiency cannot be held responsible for the
FAS (e.g., Gurd et al., 2001; Van Borsel et al., 2005). The latter is
not uncommon.

According to Baumgartner (1999) several researchers in 121 speech and language pathology have published cases in which 122 a clear neurological impairment was identified, but the speech 123 or voice disorder was convincingly argued to be of psychogenic 124 origin (Tippett and Siebens, 1991; Baumgartner and Duffy, 125 1997). Baumgartner (1999) emphasizes the importance of 126 carefully considering the patient's medical history, meticulously 127 interpreting the symptoms, and evaluating the coherence 128 between different observations. If medical history, onset 129 of symptoms, symptom characteristics and their evolution, 130 neurological examinations, neuroimaging, and cognitive work-131 up do not unambiguously point toward a neurological disorder, 132 an alternative interpretation should be considered. 133

This article presents a detailed review of FAS cases with an assumed psychogenic etiology published between 1907 and July 2014. The focus of the investigation is on the associated psychopathologies, the onset and remission of the accent, the type of accent, the segmental, and suprasegmental characteristics contributing to the perception of the patient's accent as "foreign," as well as the comorbid speech- and/or language symptoms.

The goal of this review is to analyze the main features of
psychogenic FAS in order to shed more light on this taxonomic
variant and facilitate the diagnosis in clinical practice.

METHODS

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163 164 The available literature on (psychogenic) FAS was identified by means of regular searches in online electronic databases (*Web of Knowledge, ScienceDirect, PubMed, Medline, PsycINFO*), using the following keywords in Boolean search: "foreign accent syndrome," "FAS," "psychogenic AND FAS," "psychogenic AND foreign accent syndrome." The reference sections of all relevant articles were scanned to identify additional references. All the articles between 1907 and July 2014 were included. Only original case descriptions were retained for this review, as some of the data were re-used by the same or other authors in later publications. Inclusion criteria for psychogenic FAS were: (1) the onset of a foreign accent, (2) the presence of, or indication(s) for psychological/psychiatric symptoms, (3) the absence of neurological damage that could explain the speech and/or language symptomatology

RESULTS

¹⁶⁵ Demographic Characteristics and ¹⁶⁷ Associated Psychopathologies

The initial database search resulted in a corpus of 129 articles
 reporting instances of FAS (regardless of the etiology). However,
 at least 24 cases were published twice or more. Only original case
 reports were included for the counts in this section. Fifteen of

the 105 (original) FAS cases published between 1907 and July 172 2014 matched the inclusion criteria of psychogenic FAS (see 173 Table 1). The putative psychogenic FAS cases represent 14% of 174 all published FAS cases (n = 15/105). Two case reports [case 175 3, 8] were reported twice¹. Sixty-seven percent of the included 176 patients are women (n = 10/15), and 33% are men (n = 5/15). 177 The mean age of patients with assumed psychogenic FAS is 178 48 years and 1 month (range: 30-74 years, SD: 12 years and 179 9 months). Men had a mean age of 56 years and 2 months 180 (range 30-74 years, SD: 17 years 8 months) and women 44 181 vears and 1 month (range 32-54 years, SD: 7 years 11 months). 182 Patient's occupation was only mentioned in a few case reports 183 (n = 5/15) [cases 3, 5, 8, 10, 12]. Education levels were never 184 stated. Five patients are described as right-handed [cases 2, 5, 185 8, 11, 12]. However, handedness was only formally assessed in 186 one case (case 5: right-handed; Edinburgh Handedness Test; 187 Oldfield, 1971). For the remaining cases [1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 13–15], 188 handedness was not indicated. Two patients were self-proclaimed 189 monolinguals [cases 8, 9], whereas two were definitely polyglots 190 [case 5: Dutch-French-English, case 10: English-Spanish]. In case 191 5, FAS affected both Dutch and English, but French was perfect 192 on all linguistic levels (suprasegmental, segmental, morphology, 193 syntax). In case 10, however, it was not mentioned to what extent 194 the patient's proficiency of Spanish was affected. As far as the 195 psychological disorder is concerned, 33% of the cases presented 196 with conversion disorder (n = 5/15; cases 5, 9–12), 13% with 197 schizophrenia (n = 2/15) [cases 3, 6], 13% with bipolar disorder 198 (n = 2/15) [cases 7, 8], 13% with obsessive-compulsive disorder 199 (OCD) (n = 2/15) [cases 14, 15], 7% with post-traumatic neurosis 200 (n = 1/15) [case 1], and 7% with mania (n = 1/15) [case 13]. In 201 13% of the cases, no clear psychological disorder was associated 202 with the FAS (n = 2/15) [cases 2, 4] (see Table 1). However, 203 for these cases neurological and neurophysiological examinations 204 as well as neuroimaging were regarded incompatible with a 205 neurogenic etiology, and it was concluded that the FAS had to 206 be non-organic in nature. 207

Phonetic Characteristics

Neurogenic FAS has been associated with a very diverse set 210 of segmental and suprasegmental pronunciation characteristics, 211 often with great inter-patient variability. While some studies 212 primarily investigated the phonetic and acoustic characteristics 213 of FAS, others focused on the pathophysiological substrate of 214 the syndrome (see also Ingram et al., 1992; Kanjee et al., 2010). 215 This dissociation equally applies to psychogenic FAS: some 216 researchers have focused on the identification of the associated 217 psychopathology and the link between the psychological disorder 218 and FAS (e.g., Reeves and Norton, 2001; Reeves et al., 2007), 219 whereas others described the segmental and suprasegmental 220 transformations in speech (Verhoeven et al., 2005; Haley et al., 221 2010). The speech characteristics are listed in Table 2. 222

All the speech characteristics in **Table 2** have been reported 223 for patients with neurogenic FAS as well. It seems that in patients 224

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¹The case reported by Reeves and Norton (2001) was reported again in Reeves et al. (2007; case 3) and the case reported by Poulin et al. (2007) is identical to the case reported by Roy et al. (2012, case 1). However, all the available information was used for further analyses. 228

	Case	Age/Gender/ Handedness	Medical history	Neurological, biological, physical and/or radiological examination(s)	Psychological/ psychiatric affectation	Accent	Comorbid speech and language disorders/ symptoms
1	Critchley, 1962 (Case 1) = Critchley, 1970 (Case 1)	49/F/NI	/	/	Post-traumatic neurosis after head injury	English-) Welsh	/
2	Gurd et al., 2001	47/F/R	/	Nov. 1999: normal Doppler, normal MRI, CT: small high signal lesion in cerebellar vermis; Dec. 1999: tone, power, coordination, and reflexes in arms and legs were normal, gait disorder; MRI: several small foci of T2 hyperintensities in peripheral white matter of both frontal lobes, left inf. frontal corona radiata and left thalamus, EEG: sharp and slow waves, but no history of epilepsy; presence of oligoclonal bands in CSF	MS (?)	English (North Yorkshire) → French	/
3	Reeves and Norton, 2001 = case 3 Reeves et al., 2007	65/M/NI	Psychotic exacerbations since thirties, schizophrenia at forty, Parkinson's disease with tremor in bilateral upper extremities, hypertension	MRI scan (with contrast): normal, Blood and histological exam: normal	(Positive) schizophrenia	American English → British English	/
4	Van Borsel et al., 2005	32/F/NI	Permanent right-sided neurosensory hearing loss with sloping configuration (as of the age of 6); age 23: head trauma and whiplash injury → chronic headache; age 32: minor head trauma→ hoarseness → ENT exam was normal; onset of speech problems shortly of visit to ORL; on-going psychiatric history: depression (suicidal ideation); family problems.	No motor or sensory abnormalities; coordination, gait and posture: normal; CT: normal	Psychological impact, family problems + suicidal ideation	Dutch → "awkward" accent	Mute (initially), agrammatism
5	Verhoeven et al., 2005 = Verhoeven et al., 2013, case 3	51/F/R formal test, polyglot	Disrupted speech and gait problems since 1995; wheelchair-bound; no history of developmental or psychiatric disorders	Two months after "near-accident" (1995): CT: normal; EEG: normal Repeat investigation in 2003: Gait: unsteady, wide-based, coordination, muscle tone and tendon reflexes: normal; CT and (struct.); MRI: normal; EEG; normal; laboratory studies, lumbar punction: normal	Psychotrauma → conversion disorder 1995: conversion disorder (MMPI) 2003: DIS-Q & MMPI: near normal	Dutch (The Netherlands) → French	Paragrammatism?
6	Reeves et al., 2007, Case 1	30/M/NI	10-year history of schizophrenia,	Laboratory work-up, physical examination: normal; MRI scan: normal; EEG: normal; Blood exam: normal; SPECT: normal	Positive schizophrenia	Southern American English accent → Jamaican accent	/
7	Reeves et al., 2007 , Case 2	53/F/NI	30-year history of bipolar disorder	Laboratory work-up, physical examination: all normal; MRI scan: normal; EEG: normal; Blood exam: normal; SPECT: normal	Psychosis (bipolar disorder)	American English → "European"	/
							(Continuec

	Case	Age/Gender/ Handedness	Medical history	Neurological, biological, physical and/or radiological examination(s)	Psychological/ psychiatric affectation	Accent	Comorbid speech and language disorders/ symptoms
8	Poulin et al., 2007 = Roy et al., 2012	74/M/R	Epilepsy between 6 and 14 years; Bipolar disease as of 1982, multiple exacerbations; FAS first mentioned in 2003; Delirium due to lithium intoxication 6 months before FAS started; Tremor; Neurosensory hypoacusia	Neurological examination: Coordination and gait: decomposition of the half-turn, slight incoordination of left arm, micrographia; Primitive reflexes: palmomental and snout reflexes present; Radiological examination: MRI (Dec. 2005): normal, though slight atrophy in left sylvian fissure; 18-FDG PET scan: diffuse hypometabolism in frontal, parietal and temporal lobes and focal deficit concerning esp. the left sylvian sulcus	Bipolar disorder; recurrent psychotic episodes with manic exacerbations	Québec French -> Acadian French/ French of France/ English	Mild agrammatism (as of 2002/2003), surface agraphia, Spanish and German sounding words come to mind: not able to suppress
9	Tsuruga et al., 2008	44/F/NI	End-thirties: nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, tinnitus, tired eyes, irritations: diagnosed with autonomic imbalance; Few years later: respiratory paroxysm, experienced aphonia (few hours) (hospitalized several), after violent familial experience: aphonia (2 days), loss of appetite, Later: FAS	Laboratory work-up: liver and thyroid: mild, though undefined abnormalities; MRI, SPECT, and EEG: normal	Conversion Disorder	Japanese → Chinese	/
10	Haley et al., 2010	36/F/NI polyglot: late bilingual (Spanish)	Admission: gait: unsteady; posture: left-sided weakness, sensory: visual blurring, altered hearing left ear, slurred speech, weakness of left side of the face, subtle weakness of left arm and leg. 10 days after symptom onset: speech impairment, trouble swallowing and abnormal sensations in the left face, arm, and leg. 5 days later (stroke specialist): symptoms worsened, FAS was established	MRI: normal Echocardiogram: moderate mitral regurgitation (also 2 years prior), Blood analysis: normal. Impression of Bell's palsy, with additional conversion disorder symptoms. Follow-up: MRI (10 days later): no abnormalities, MR angiogram: no abnormality of the brain vasculature, CSF: no MS. Over subsequent months: several relapses, discontinuous periods with less accented speech, another brain MRI and cervical MRI during relapse: normal	Conversion disorder	English → French, Spanish, Jamaican, Caribbean, African	/
11	Cottingham and Boone, 2010	36/F/R	Several hospitalizations for symptoms not explicable by neurological cause (e.g., sudden hoarseness of voice)	Motor vehicle accident, CT: (head): normal. Headaches 3 days after accident, facial numbness, weakness in right arm, speech difficulties: 10 days after accident. Later: deafness to left ear. Approx. 10 days post-onset: EEG, Brain MRA, MRI: normal, neurological examination: normal, but: speech apraxia + left-sided give-way weakness (non-neurological sign), dysarthria	Minor TBI/Conversion Disorder (?)	English → Eastern European accent (3 years after accident)	Initially dysarthric- or speech apraxic-like symptoms, telegraphic speech
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	Case	Age/Gender/ Handedness	Medical history	Neurological, biological, physical and/or radiological examination(s)	Psychological/ psychiatric affectation	Accent	Comorbid speech and language disorders/ symptoms
12	Jones et al., 2011	39/F/R	Unremarkable	One month after symptom onset: sensory loss, effort-dependent inconsistencies in strength when testing extremities, gait: disturbed, fluctuations, uneconomic postures, dramatic give way weakness; positive "chair test"; speech: disrupted articulation and prosody; CT, MRI (brain + cervical), EEG: normal	Conversion Disorder	American English → Jamaican accent	Initially mute
13	Lewis et al., 2012	54/F/NI	Unremarkable	CT (brain): normal	Mania	American English → Caribbean English	/
14	Polak et al., 2013, case 1	47/M/NI	Refractory OCD for over 25 years	March 2006: 2 DBS electrodes → treatment; Pre-operative MRI and post-operative CT: no lesions	Refractory OCD (for >25 years)	Standard Dutch → Pronounced regional Dutch accent	/
15	Polak et al., 2013, case 2	65/M/NI	Refractory OCD for over 50 years	/	Refractory OCD	Regional Dutch variant → more sophisticated/ formal Dutch	/

Relevant information (from left to right) includes the age, gender and handedness of the patients, their medical history, the neurological and neuroradiological exams, the psychological or psychiatric affectation, the accent, and the comorbid speech and language disorders.

considered as psychogenic, vowels are more often affected than 487 488 consonants and this also seems to hold for neurogenic patients (Ingram et al., 1992; Miller et al., 2006; Katz et al., 2008; Van 489 der Scheer et al., 2014). Moreover, the nature of the changes 490 is different for vowels and consonants: consonants are mainly 491 affected by substitutions, omissions and additions, whereas 492 errors against vowels mostly consist of substitution errors, vowel 493 lengthening, and additions. 494

Accents Associated with Psychogenic FAS

Table 3 shows the variety of accents associated with psychogenicFAS.

In 9 out of 15 cases (60%) the accent changed between
geographical variants of the same language [cases 1, 3, 6, 7, 11–
15]. In 9 cases (60%) the mother tongue was a variant of English
(either American or British, or a regional variant) [cases 1–3,
6, 7, 10–13]. In four cases, other variables, such as pathological
language mixing [case 5] and code switching [cases 3, 14, 15],
might have created the impression of FAS.

507 Onset and Remission of the Accent

An acute onset of FAS occurred in 7 cases [cases 3, 6–8, 13– 15]. In these cases, FAS was associated with mania [case 13], bipolar disorder [cases 7, 8], and obsessive-compulsive disorder [cases 14, 15]. In the patients with schizophrenia [3, 6] the accent change co-occurred simultaneously with a psychosis. The patients who did not suffer psychiatric symptoms, related the

onset of their FAS to a motor vehicle accident [cases 1, 11], a 544 "near-accident" [case 5], possibility of MS [case 2], a whiplash 545 trauma 9 years prior to consultation for FAS or after consultation 546 of an otolaryngologist for a change of voice quality after a minor 547 head trauma [case 4], admission to hospital for the sudden onset 548 of sensory and gait symptoms [cases 9, 10, 12]. In 47% of the FAS 549 cases considered psychogenic, the onset of the accent was delayed 550 in comparison to the occurrence of the adverse life event that was 551 held responsible for the FAS by the patients themselves [cases 2, 552 4, 5, 9–12]. In 5 of these cases, the patients were diagnosed with a 553 conversion disorder [cases 5, 9-12]. 554

In 27% of the cases (n = 4/15) [cases 3, 6, 7, 13], the accent 555 resolved simultaneously with the associated psychiatric disorder. 556 In two cases (13%) [cases 4, 10] FAS resolved spontaneously. In 557 all other patients [1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15], FAS remained 558 present throughout follow-up. In case 5, scores on the Minnesota 559 Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI; Butcher et al., 1989) 560 and Dissociation Questionnaire-Revised (DISQ-R; Vanderlinden 561 et al., 2009) were near the accepted mean, but the accent 562 persisted. 563

Only three patients received speech-language therapy to reduce FAS [cases 4, 10, 12]. Van Borsel et al. (2005) 565 applied auditory masking and delayed auditory feedback (see also comments of Moreno-Torres et al., 2013). However, 567 these interventions did not resolve FAS. Case 10 received a symptomatic intervention for psychogenic voice and speech disorders (Duffy, 2005). However, progression did not transfer 570

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571	TABLE 2 Overview of the segmental and suprasegmental changes in the
572	speech of assumed psychogenic FAS.

		Percentage (%) of psychogenic patients for whom speech characteristics were noted
CONSONANTS		
Substitution (manner/place/aspect)	3, 4*, 5*, 8*, 9, 10*, 11, 12*, 13*	64
Omission	2, 4*, 6, 7, 9, 10*, 11, 13*	57
Addition	2, 4*, 5*	21
Cluster reduction	4*, 13	14
Increased friction	2	7
Lengthening	2	7
VOWELS		
Substitution	3, 4*, 5*, 12*, 13*	36
Lengthening	2, 3, 8*, 10*, 12*	36
Addition	5*, 11, 12*, 13*	29
Fronting	5*, 8*, 13*	21
Monophthongization of diphthongs	2, 10*, 12*	21
Reduced contrast	10*, 13*	14
Lenition	9, 10*	14
Backing	8*, 10*	14
Omission	12*	7
Shortening	9	7
Increased tenseness	10*	7
Suprasegmental	Case numbers	Percentage (%) of psychogenic patients for whom speech characteristics were noted
Abnormal intonation	3, 6, 7, 8*, 9, 10*, 11, 12*, 13*	64
Slow speech rate	5*, 8*, 10*, 11, 12*	36
Incorrect word stress	2, 4*, 5*, 10*, 11	36
Syllable-timed speech	2, 4*, 8*, 10*, 13*	36
Variable pitch	2, 10*, 12*	21
Hypernasality	10*, 11, 12*	21
Slow articulation rate (excluding pauses)	8*, 12*	14
Terminal pitch rise (errors)	7, 13*	14
Larger than normal F0 excursions	8*, 10*	14
Excessive pausing	5*, 13*	14
Fast speech rate	13*	7
Terminal pitch fall	8*	7

 621 Cases marked by an asterisk are cases for which formal phonetic and acoustic analyses were carried out. For the remaining cases, the characteristics were noted based on perceptual (impressionistic) phonetic analysis.

to conversational speech and the accent suddenly resolved after
 having quit outpatient therapy for several weeks. Case 12 agreed
 to behavioral speech therapy as well (targeting the production of

TABLE 3 | Overview of the different accents associated with FAS.

Case	Pre-FAS accent	Newly developed accent
Case 1	British English	Welsh
Case 2	British English (North Yorkshire)	French
Case 3	American English	British English
Case 4	Dutch (Belgium)	"An awkward accent"
Case 5	Dutch (The Netherlands)	French
Case 6	Southern American English	Jamaican English
Case 7	American English	"European"
Case 8	Montréal French	Acadian French, French of France, or English
Case 9	Japanese	Chinese
Case 10	American English	Eastern European
Case 11	English	French/Spanish/Jamaican/Caribbean/African
Case 12	American English	Jamaican English
Case 13	American English	Caribbean English
Case 14	Standard Dutch (The Netherlands)	Regional variant of Dutch (The Netherlands)
Case 15	Regional Dutch (The Netherlands)	Standard Dutch (The Netherlands)

individual speech segments), but she quit after one session for reasons that were not disclosed.

For patients whose accent change *resolved* during follow-up [cases 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13], the period between accent onset and remission was about 63 days on average, i.e., 9 weeks (range: 6 days-6 months, SD: 71 days). The patient described by Reeves and Norton (2001) [case 3], was re-admitted to hospital three times and this was taken into account for the calculation of the duration. In 60% of the cases [cases 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15] the accent did *not* resolve. In these patients, investigation of the period between accent onset and last follow-up revealed that the accent persisted for 45 months on average² (range: 15 months–8 years; SD: 28 months and 2 days).

Psychodiagnostic and Neuropsychological Testing

Formal psychodiagnostic testing was carried out in three patients 668 (see Table 4). In case 5, the results obtained on the MMPI-669 2 in 1995 showed a conversion V-pattern. The conversion 670 V-form designates a markedly low score on the depression 671 scale (scale D): the conversion suppresses depression, which 672 explains lower scores on scale D. On the other hand, it is 673 associated with increased physical sensations, thereby increasing 674 scores on the hypochondriasis scale and hysteria scale (Leavitt, 675 1985). The second patient's profile elicited an elevated degree of 676 defensiveness (K: 70) and hysteria (Hys: 61). The restructured 677 clinical scales revealed marginally elevated scores for depression 678 (RC2: 66) and somatic complaints (RC1: 57). The elevated 679 scores on the hysteria scale in conjunction with the somatic 680 complaints (although only marginally elevated) are additional 681 arguments to suspect conversion disorder, though the typical 682

²The exact duration is unknown. The calculated figure is entirely dependent upon the duration of the follow-up for reported case studies. 684

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Psychodiagnostics			
Test	Case number(s)		
MMPI-2 (Butcher et al., 1989)	5, 11, 12		
DISQ-R (Vanderlinden et al., 2009)	5		
BDI-2 (Beck et al., 1996)	12		
NEO-PI-R (Costa and McCrae, 1985)	12		
SCL 90-R (Derogatis, 1983)	12		
STAI (Spielberger et al., 1970)	12		

MMPI-2, Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-II; DISQ-R, Dissociation
 Questionnaire Revised; BDI-2, Beck Depression Inventory-2; NEO-PI-R, Neuroticism
 Extroversion Openness Personality Inventory, Revised; SCL-R, Symptoms
 Checklist-90-items, Revised; STAI, State Trait Anxiety Inventory.

700 V-pattern was not found. Although exact scores were not 701 provided, a conversion-V profile was also found on the MMPI-702 2 for case 12 (code type 1-3/3-1 is generally associated with 703 conversion disorder). Scores on the neuroticism scale of the 704 NEO-PI-R were low, which indicates stable personality and 705 emotions, calmness, but also a decreased reactiveness to everyday 706 situations (Nelson, 2014). The patient scored in the average 707 range for the extraversion, agreeableness and conscientiousness 708 scales. No mention was made of scores for openness to 709 experience. The SCL-90-R is a "90-item self-report symptom 710 inventory" (Derogatis and Savitz, 1999) in which the patient 711 rates the severity of a series of psychiatric symptoms. These 712 are grouped around nine dimensions: somatization, obsessive-713 compulsiveness, interpersonal sensitivity, depression, anxiety, 714 hostility, phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism 715 (Domino and Domino, 2006). Only one clinical score was 716 mentioned, i.e., for the somatization scale (T = 65). This agrees 717 well with the profile elicited on the MMPI-2. The STAI is a self-718 report scale for anxiety consisting of two 20-item scales. The 719 patient indicates (1) how he/she feels now (state) and (2) how 720 he/she feels generally (trait) (Lam et al., 2005). Scores on the STAI 721 were subclinical. Finally, the BDI-2 is a self-report inventory, 722 which consists of a series of statements concerning complaints. 723 The patient notes how he/she feels about the statements taking 724 into account his/her psychological status over the last week. 725 Scores on the BDI-2 were equally sub-clinical. 726

Only in a small number of case studies formal neuropsychological investigations were carried out. General cognition, memory, attention, executive functioning, and language was assessed in 4 cases [cases 5, 8, 11, 12]³ (see **Table 5**).

In case 9, only intelligence was investigated. In cases 3, 4, 6, 7, and 10 only language testing was performed. Neuropsychological examination consisted of a variety of tests (**Table 5**).

Cognitive performance was "within normal limits" (p. 715, Gurd et al., 2001) for case 2 and average to above average on all tasks in case 5. In case 8, memory and attention were normal, but the patient gave evidence of difficulties with short-term 742

TABLE 5 | Overview of the patients subjected to neuropsychological tests.

Test	Case number(s)
GENERAL COGNITIVE SCREENING TESTS	
MMSE (Folstein et al., 1975),	5
CLQT (Helm-Estabrooks, 2001)	10
WRAT (Wilkerson, 1993)	11*, 12
INTELLIGENCE	
WAIS (Wechsler, 1981, 1997a)	5, 9, 11, 12
MEMORY	
WMS (Wechsler, 1991, 1997b)	5, 12
Brown Peterson Task (Brown, 1958)	8
CVLT (+learning) (Delis et al., 2000)	12
RAVLT (+learning) (Rey, 1941)	11
BVMT-R (Benedict, 1997)	12
ATTENTION, SET-SHIFTING	
Stroop task (Stroop, 1935)	5, 8, 11, 12
Ruff figural fluency (Ruff, 1988)	12
TMT (Reitan, 1958, 1992)	5, 8, 11, 12
VISUO-SPATIAL ABILITIES	
Rey complex figure (Rey, 1941)	5, 11
Judgment of line orientation (Benton et al., 1983)	5
MOTOR FUNCTIONING	
Finger tapping test (Arnold et al., 2005)	11, 12
Grooved pegboard (Kløve, 1963; Lafayette Instrument, 2002)	12
SYMPTOM VALIDITY TESTS	
Green word memory test (Green, 2005)	12
DEMENTIA SCALES	
HDS (Cole et al., 1983)	5
ADAS (Rosen et al., 1984)	5
LANGUAGE	
BNT (Kaplan et al., 2001)	3, 6, 7, 10–12
PPTT (Howard and Patterson, 1992)	8
Token Test (De Renzi and Vignolo, 1962)	4, 8, 12
BDAE (Goodglass et al., 2001).	2*, 3, 5, 10
AAT (Graetz et al., 1992: Dutch version)	4*, 5
MAE (Benton et al., 2001)	10*, 11*, 12*
SAN-TEST (Deelman et al., 1981)	4*
DO-80 (Deloche and Hannequin, 1997)	8
Picture naming via an experimental test	2
PENO (Joanette et al., 1990).	8*
Phonemic fluency (FAS) (Norms: Tombaugh et al., 1999, case 11; Benton et al., 2001: case 12; case 5: unpublished norms)	5, 11
semantic fluency (animals, transport, vegetables, clothes: unpublished norms)	5
Word/sentence reading via an experimental test	2
	2

 Wechsler Memory Scale; TMT, Trail Making Test; WRAT, Wide Range Achievement Test;
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 VVLT, California Verbal Learning Test; RAVLT, Rey Auditory Verbal Learning Test; CLQT,
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 Cognitive Linguistic Quick Test; BVMT-R, Brief Visuospatial Memory Test-Revised; HDS,
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 Hierarchic Dementia Scale (HDS); ADAS, Alzheimer's Disease Assessment Scale; BNT,
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 Boston Naming Test (BNT); PPTT, Pyramid and Palm Tree Test; MAE, Multilingual Aphasia
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 (Continued)
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 ⁷³⁸ ³Gurd et al. (2001) (case 2) report that "Neuropsychological examination showed verbal and performance IQs, short- and long-term memory, naming, reading and spelling skills which were within normal limits" (p. 715). However, for IQ measures and evaluation of amnestic functions, it is not clear which tests were presented.

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TABLE 5 | Continued 799

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Examination; BDAE, Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination; AAT, Akense Afasie Test 801 (Dutch version); SAN-test, Stichting Afasie Nederland; DO-80, Test de Dénomination Orale 802

d'Images; PENO, Protocole d'Evaluation Neuropsychologique Optimal. 803

- 2*: possibly only two subtasks of the BDAE were administered: the non-verbal and the 804 verbal agility test.
- 4*: only written language via AAT: sentence comprehension and word retrieval (animals) 805 SAN-Test. 806
- 8*: letter and category fluency 807
- 10*: auditory word and sentence comprehension, sentence repetition, and oral and written 808 spelling MAE
- 11*: word reading and spelling tests of the WRAT: sentence repetition task, as well as the 809 aural and reading comprehension task MAE.
- 810 12*: repetition skills, auditory comprehension, token task, and reading comprehension 811 MAF
- memory (Brown Peterson Task: mean of interference scores: 813 42%; norm: 97.22%, SD: 4.46), as well as with attention control 814 and executive functions (Stroop test: Stroop effect: 249", norm: 815 142.4", range: 88-204"; TMT-A: 61", norm: 41.3", SD: 15" and 816 TMT-B: 253", norm: 111.4", SD: 72.2"). In case 9, results on the 817 WAIS-R were within the normal range (VIQ = 96, PIQ = 107, 818 and FSIO = 101). Case 11 presented poor executive functions 819 (Stroop test, Interference <1 pc., and TMT-B: 83", mean: 56.0, 820 SD: 21.2), problems with attention and poor processing speed 821 (TMT-A: 43", mean: 23.8, SD: 6.9, Stroop test A: 101", <1 pc.). 822 Case 12 demonstrated impaired intelligence, memory, attention, 823 executive functions and fine-motor skills: WAIS-III (FSIQ = 824 65, VIQ = 76, PIQ = 60); Trail Making Test (146"), Grooved 825 Pegboard (dominant hand: 149", mean = 85", range: 48"-826 121", non-dominant hand: 130", mean = 101"; range: 47–152"), 827 and Green Word Memory Test (Green Word Memory Test: 828 immediate = 87.5, delayed = 77.5, consistency = 70.0). 829

Most patients in whom language was assessed, obtained 830 average to above average results [cases 3-7, 10]. Case 2, however, 831 had impaired oral agility as demonstrated by the BDAE (non-832 verbal agility: 4/12 and verbal agility: 7/12). Case 8 presented with 833 (severely) depressed scores on phonemic and semantic category 834 fluency (letter fluency: 5, mean: 45.46, SD: 16.4; category fluency: 835 14, mean: 47.85, SD: 9.8). Case 11 obtained depressed scores 836 on most tasks evaluating speech and language (WRAT; reading: 837 43, pc. 6; spelling: 43, pc. 37); MAE sentence repetition (A: 2, 838 <pc. 1 and B: 3, <pc. 1), verbal fluency (FAS): 19, pc. 2. Case</pre> 839 12, also demonstrated low average to impaired scores on most 840 of the administered tasks: the BNT score was considered low 841 average (41/60). On the MAE the following scores were obtained: 842 repetition: 5 (impaired); auditory comprehension: 15 (borderline 843 impaired), token test (as part of MAE): 40 (low average), and 844 reading comprehension: 16 (borderline). 845

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Comorbid Speech and Language Disorders 847

Five cases presented additional speech and/or language deficits 848 [cases 4, 5, 8, 11, 12], apart from FAS. Case 4 (Van Borsel et al., 849 2005) and case 12 (Jones et al., 2011) went through a period of 850 pre-FAS mutism. In case 4 mutism was only documented by self-851 report. Van Borsel et al. (2005) noted that the patient's language 852 was characterized by grammatical anomalies. This was also the 853 case for the patient of Poulin et al. (2007) [case 8]. 854

Case 5 implemented French syntax in native Dutch speech. 855 Non-fluent expressive output was characterized by mistakes

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typically made by French learners of Dutch. Oral output of 856 case 11 was initially considered as dysarthria, later as "apraxia 857 of speech" (p. 1010). As mentioned, the patient obtained lower 858 scores for verbal fluency (F,A,S), but also for sentence repetition 859 (MAE A&B: pc. <1) and the reading and spelling tasks of the 860 WRAT (reading: 43, pc. 6; spelling: 43, pc. 37). It could have been 861 expected that these symptoms are related to neurological damage. 862 Indeed, apraxia of speech is caused by structural damage to the 863 anterior insula of the language dominant hemisphere (Dronkers, 864 1996). Nevertheless, contrary to expectations, repeat structural 865 imaging of the brain (CT and MRI) did not disclose any damage. 866 In addition, FAS was accompanied by "telegraphic speech" 867 (irregularly deleting prepositions, for instance). In this particular 868 case, the comorbid symptoms and the language deficits were 869 regarded as "not credible" because the extent of the deficit did not 870 correspond to neuroimaging findings. The patient was diagnosed 871 with FAS of a non-organic nature because of inconsistencies in 872 the language symptoms. 873

DISCUSSION

Demographic Data

Analysis of the available literature suggests that psychogenic 878 FAS is quite rare (n = 15/105) (14%). During the past decade 879 FAS has increasingly attracted the attention of the scientific 880 community as 93% of the psychogenic FAS cases (n = 14) 881 were published in a time span of only 12 years (2001-2013). 882 The finding that there are more women with psychogenic 883 FAS than men (67% are women, 33% are men), might be 884 partly explained by the increased predisposition of women 885 to several of the associated psychopathologies. Most mental 886 disorders are also more prevalent among women than men 887 (see also: World Health Organization, 2014). For schizophrenia, 888 prevalence figures are esteemed to be equal, irrespective of 889 gender, though symptoms occur earlier in men (Angermeyer 890 and Kühnz, 1988; Saha et al., 2005; National Institute of 891 Mental Health, 2015). On the other hand, the analysis of 892 the neurogenic population revealed a similar demographic 893 distribution: 68.6% of the authentic (neurogenic) FAS cases were 894 women (n = 59/86). Interestingly, Baker (2003) points out that 895 it should also be taken into account that women are twice 896 as likely to seek medical attention than men. It thus seems 897 that the explanation for this demographic distribution remains 898 speculative. 899

Associated Psychopathologies

Several different psychopathologies have been associated with 902 FAS. In patients with schizophrenia, all FAS episodes co-occurred 903 with a discontinuation of anti-psychotic drugs, which caused 904 exacerbations [cases 3, 6]. In the bipolar patients FAS also co-905 occurred with positive symptoms [cases 7, 8]. Reeves et al. 906 (2007) put forward the hypothesis of a direct link between the 907 manic/psychotic exacerbations and FAS in their patients via 908 a Positive And Negative Syndrome Scale (PANSS; Kay et al., 909 1987). They also suggested that FAS could have been related to 910 a temporary disruption of the inhibition of the bilateral superior 911 temporal gyri (STG) during exacerbations. The STG is inhibited 912 in healthy controls when the left dorsolateral PFC is activated

for word generation. It is hypothesized that FAS may have been caused by the intermittent suppressed neural circuitry.

Moreno-Torres et al. (2013) observed that the dopaminergic 915 system may be disrupted in FAS patients. The intake of 916 dopamine antagonists (olanzapine, risperidone) in case 3 917 and 6 could have restored the neurotransmitter balance 918 and diminish the FAS. Particularly in schizophrenic patients, 919 the so-called "dopaminergic hypothesis" (Meltzer and Stahl, 920 1976; McCutcheon and Stone, 2015) agrees well with this 921 theory. This hypothesis claims that positive symptoms in 922 schizophrenia can be reduced by the intake of dopamine 923 antagonists or dopamine D2-receptor blockers. It has also been 924 shown that modulation of the dopaminergic system influences 925 the functionality of the (pre)fronto-striato-pallidal-thalamic 926 network, which is hypothesized by Reeves and Norton (2001) to 927 be implicated in the accent change, and has been related to the 928 occurrence of psychosis (Honey et al., 2003). 929

The symptoms of case 13 might be explained along the same 930 lines, as excess dopamine transmission has been suspected to 931 incite manic symptoms (Swerdlow and Koob, 1987; Cookson, 932 2013). Nevertheless, the pathophysiology of both psychiatric 933 disorders is characterized by subtle differences. In schizophrenia, 934 abnormal activity occurs in the striatum and the prefrontal 935 cortex, whereas in mania the activity may be located more toward 936 the dorsal nigrostriatal pathways (Cookson, 2013). Nevertheless, 937 Cookson (2013) reported that antipsychotic drugs such as 938 risperidone, and olanzapine (dopamine antagonists, and more 939 specifically the ones administered to the schizophrenic FAS 940 cases: case 3 and 6) work well on manic symptoms, such 941 as pressured speech. The speech of case 13 was marked by 942 excessive pressure, increased speed, loudness and forcefulness. 943 The patient's FAS resolved simultaneously with resolution of 944 mania after pharmacological treatment. 945

In case 8, a psychiatrist related the accent change and 946 sudden Spanish and German sounding words to a psychological 947 problem at a subconscious level. Poulin et al. (2007) performed 948 a ¹⁸F-FDG-PET scan which demonstrated metabolic changes 949 in the area of the left insular and anterior temporal cortex 950 and a diffuse hypoperfusion affecting the frontal, parietal, and 951 temporal lobes bilaterally. MRI of the brain showed a slight 952 asymmetrical atrophy. All imaging was performed in euthymic 953 state. The possibility that both the language and psychological 954 disorder were consistent with the neuroradiological findings was 955 considered. However, the alterations at a linguistic level remain 956 odd, even in the light of the attested neuroradiological findings. 957 For instance, the output of the patient-contrary to what is 958 expected in cases of agrammatism-was fluent, and despite a 959 hypoperfusion affecting the insula, articulation was perceived as 960 normal in every respect. There was no sign of apraxia of speech-961 , dysarthria-, or aphasic-like symptoms. All of the investigated 962 linguistic functions were normal, except for a deficit in letter and 963 category fluency. 964

Case 14 and 15 suffered from refractory OCD and were treated
by means of deep brain stimulation (DBS). They both developed
hypomanic behavior and started experiencing accent changes
afterwards. The hypothesis of FAS due to an undetected lesion
induced by the electrode implantation was excluded, as the accent

only developed after the actual stimulation by the electrode 970 and post-operative CT confirmed the absence of any additional 971 structural brain damage. Furthermore, Polak et al. (2013) argue 972 that lesions caused by DBS are smaller than those generally 973 associated with FAS, including the peri-sylvian area, (pre-)motor 974 area, and insula of the language dominant hemisphere. However, 975 dysfunction of the previously mentioned cortico-striato-pallidal-976 thalamic loop has frequently been suspected to be the pathogenic 977 mechanism behind OCD, and the function of this circuit is 978 altered when the nucleus accumbens is targeted for DBS. 979

"Hysteria," or "hysteric reaction," the term Whitaker (1982) 980 used as an exclusion criterion for FAS, is an outdated term for 981 "conversion disorder" [cases 5, 9-12]. Conversion disorder has 982 been subsumed under the concept of "hysterical neuroses" in 983 the DSM-II [American Psychiatric Association (APA), 1968]. 984 According to Aronson and Bless (2011) a conversion reaction 985 can affect any system requiring sensory or voluntary motor 986 control and hence, also voice and speech. DSM-IV-TR [American 987 Psychiatric Association (APA), 2000] criteria allow for such an 988 interpretation as well, although the concept has frequently been 989 the object of debate and is regarded insufficiently clearly defined 990 to allow for a conclusive diagnosis (e.g., Delis and Wetter, 991 2007; Stone et al., 2011). In all psychogenic FAS patients with 992 conversion disorder or those patients for whom the hypothesis of 993 a conversion disorder was raised, the shift in accent was never the 994 "first" conversion symptom to occur: all case studies report more 995 general physical discomforts that preceded the FAS. Especially 996 gait and balance disturbance [cases 5, 9, 10-12] occurred but also 997 a range of sensory problems including tinnitus [case 9], left-sided 998 weakness affecting face and arm [case 10], blurred vision [case 999 10], altered hearing [case 10], abnormal sensations in arms and 1000 legs [case 10], facial numbness [case 11], weakness in the right 1001 arm [case 11], deafness to the left ear [case 11], give-way weakness 1002 [case 12], and a right-side sensory loss [case 12]. 1003

In cases 2 and 4 an associated psychological disorder was not 1004 obvious, rather there was a range of clinical observations and 1005 findings from radiological and neurophysiological investigations, 1006 which suggested a potential psychogenic origin of FAS. Gurd 1007 et al.'s patient (2001) [2] was qualified as "psychogenic," even 1008 though CSF analyses revealed oligoclonal bands, a bio-marker 1009 of Multiple Sclerosis (MS) and EEG revealed transient spikes 1010 over the left temporal lobe. T2 hyper-intensities were found on 1011 MRI (judged clinically insignificant). It is therefore questionable 1012 whether patients suffering from MS (Gurd et al., 2001; Villaverde-1013 González et al., 2003; Bakker et al., 2004; Chanson et al., 1014 2009) really develop FAS as a consequence of their neurological 1015 disorder or due to accompanying psychological distress. Grazioli 1016 et al. (2008) note that over 50% of the MS patients suffer from 1017 depression. Case 2 obtained borderline results on the Hospital 1018 Anxiety and Depression Scale (Zigmond and Snaith, 1983). The 1019 case of Bakker et al. (2004) was noted to have very "labile 1020 emotions" (p. 271). The case of Villaverde-González et al. (2003) 1021 had a history of depression as well as an elevated irritability 1022 (p.1035). For the other patients, psychological well-being was not 1023 indicated. 1024

Van Borsel et al.'s (2005) patient [case 4] had no demonstrable lesions on CT, and displayed no symptoms apart from a change 1026

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of accent and some articulatory and grammatical difficulties. She 1027 had sustained a head trauma and whiplash 9 years earlier and had 1028 suffered from chronic headaches ever since. Her accent change 1029 had occurred after a visit to the otolaryngologist, approximately 1030 1 month after she had suffered another minor head trauma. Van 1031 Borsel et al. (2005) diagnosed the speech disorder as non-organic 1032 FAS because of a psychiatric history (depression and suicidal 1033 ideation) which was related to marital problems, a completely 1034 normal neurolinguistic assessment apart from mild grammatical 1035 anomalies, articulatory difficulties, and an accent change, the 1036 absence of a organic deficit, and a spontaneous resolution of the 1037 accent 5 months after the initial visit. 1038

Case 11 suffered a minor head trauma as well but developed 1039 FAS only 3 years later, associated with intermittent, atypical 1040 expressive language deficits, and apraxic as well as dysarthric 1041 symptoms. Initially, she also claimed that she was deaf to 1042 her left ear, but a hearing loss was formally ruled out. The 1043 patient displayed an "inconsistent" agrammatism, characterized 1044 by deletions of function words. She would use and subsequently 1045 erase the same words in a series of successive utterances. She also 1046 made other inconceivable mistakes, such as splitting numbers 1047 into digits. Given the high degree of automaticity of such 1048 numerical output, these errors are highly unlikely to occur in the 1049 absence of other language deficits. Since she passed most of the 1050 symptom validity tests, she was considered not to be feigning 1051 or malingering and was ultimately diagnosed with conversion 1052 disorder 1053

¹⁰⁵⁵ Segmental and Suprasegmental ¹⁰⁵⁷ Characteristics

1058 Patients with FAS of an assumed psychogenic etiology present with a variety of segmental and suprasegmental errors. At the 1059 segmental level, the image more or less corresponds to what is 1060 generally found in neurogenic patients, including a dissociation 1061 between vowels and consonants (e.g., Katz et al., 2008). At the 1062 suprasegmental level, slow speech rate is often seen [cases 5, 1063 8, 10-12]. Slow speech rate can be linked to slow processing 1064 speed, which may occur as a consequence of psychological 1065 and psychiatric impairment (e.g., depression, post-traumatic 1066 stress disorder, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia). Analysis of 1067 (psychogenic) FAS-related segmental and suprasegmental errors 1068 has been predominantly impressionistic, except for a few cases 1069 in which (acoustic) measurements (e.g., fundamental frequency, 1070 speech intensity, speech, and articulation rate) were also included 1071 [cases 5, 8, 10, 12, 13]. Deviant intonation [cases 3, 6-13] is a 1072 function of pitch variation. Intonation was off in most patients 1073 with a reduced speech rate [cases 8, 10-12], but also in patients 1074 who spoke at a normal or even fast pace [case 13]. In four cases 1075 [cases 3, 6, 7, 13], deviant intonation may be associated with a 1076 psychopathology. In schizophrenia [cases 3, 6], difficulties with 1077 receptive affective prosody have been described (Rossell et al., 1078 2013). However, Hoekert et al. (2007) state that dysfunctional 1079 expressive affective prosody also qualifies the speech profile. The 1080 manic patient of Lewis et al. (2012) demonstrated fast speech 1081 [FAS: 229 wpm; base line speech (BL): 173.9 wpm; average 1082 speech rate: 190 wpm based on (Yorkston et al., 1996)] and a 1083

pitch level that was considerably higher during FAS than during 1084 the baseline condition (conversational speech; FAS: 265.63 Hz, 1085 BL: 160.56 Hz; average F0 for a woman: 160-225 Hz based on 1086 Baken, 1987; Titze, 1994) (see also: Hanwella and de Silva, 2011). 1087 A higher speech rate was negatively correlated with the size 1088 of the vowel space, i.e., a higher speech rate leads to a more 1089 compressed vowel space in non-brain damaged subjects, which 1090 was exactly what Lewis et al. (2012) found in their patient. This 1091 compression could explain the reduced intelligibility of speech 1092 in comparison to the BL conversation sample (FAS: 73% vs. BL: 1093 100% intelligible): contrasts between vowels diminish and vowel 1094 duration is shortened (Chen et al., 1983; Turner et al., 1995; 1095 Weinrich and Simpson, 2014). 1096

Accent Change

1099 The overview of the different accents of the analyzed cases 1100 shows that there does not seem to be any consistency. However, 1101 some interesting observations can be made. Firstly, it is striking 1102 that in 7 out of 15 cases (47%) the accent changed from the 1103 standard language variant to a regional one, or the other way 1104 round. In 9 cases (60%) the mother tongue was some variant of 1105 English: either British English [cases 1, 2] or American English 1106 [cases 3, 6, 7, 10-13]. FAS is frequently documented in Anglo-1107 saxon media⁴, as such the syndrome is more commonly known 1108 among lay people. For some cases more than just the accent 1109 gave the listeners the impression of a very specific foreign 1110 accent: language mixing (e.g., case 6) and code switching [case 1111 3, 14, 15] were also observed. Code switching can be defined 1112 as switching between language varieties or registers within a 1113 single conversation. For case 3, this involved the use of words 1114 such as "blokes" instead of the usual American variant "friend." 1115 Case 14 occasionally⁵ used a dialectal variant of Dutch while 1116 case 15 vocabulary typical for a more formal register and used 1117 words such as "public toilet" instead of the more informal: "loo." 1118 Polak et al.'s (2013) patient's alterations could be related to 1119 DBS, as such linguistic modifications can occur after stimulation. 1120 Verhoeven et al.'s (2005) 51-year-old female patient (case 5) 1121 occasionally used French words, made literal translations from 1122 French to Dutch, and adapted syntactic structures resembling 1123 Dutch of second language learners. It has to be mentioned that 1124 this patient had been a teacher of Dutch in a French company 1125 based in Holland and this may have rendered her very conscious 1126 of mistakes generally made by French learners of Dutch. These 1127 symptoms constitute another point of difference between the 1128 neurogenic and psychogenic patient population, as the insertion 1129

⁴Madlen, Davies, "The woman with Foreign Accent Syndrome: Mother goes 1130 to bed with broad Staffordshire accent and wakes up sounding POLISH," 1131 MailOnline, October 2nd 2014, accessed on March 23rd, 2015, http:// 1132 www.dailymail.co.uk/health/article-2778297/The-woman-Foreign-Accent-Syndro 1133 me-Mother-goes-bed-broad-Staffordshire-accent-wakes-sounding-POLISH.html 1134 "Embarrasing bodies, Conditions: Foreign Accent Syndrome," channel4embarrassingillnesses.com, accessed on February 2nd, 2015; http:// 1135 www.channel4embarrassingillnesses.com/conditions/foreign-accent-syndrome/ 1136 Thomas, Emily, 'Sarah Colwill Speaks Out About Foreign Accent Syndrome In 1137 BBC Documentary "The Woman Who Woke Up Chinese", Huffingtonpost.com, 1138 April 4th, 2013; accessed on 23rd March, 2015; http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ 1139 2013/09/04/sarah-colwill- n 3869077.html ⁵no examples were provided. 1140

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of foreign words or regional expressions was previously only 1141 noted in a case of Ryalls and Whiteside (2006: insertion of British 1142 equivalents of American expressions) and a case of Laures-Gore 1143 et al. (2006, case 2: insertion of Spanish words in English speech). 1144 Both case reports, however, represent instances of mixed FAS 1145 (see also Verhoeven and Mariën, 2010). "Pure" neurogenic FAS 1146 patients who demonstrated such lexical excursions have not been 1147 identified. 1148

Psychodiagnostic and Neuropsychological Testing

Only three patients were tested with formal psychodiagnostic 1152 test batteries. Only in two patients [case 5, 12] the pattern was 1153 significant for a conversion disorder. In case 11, somatization and 1154 hysteria were (slightly) elevated and a diagnosis of conversion 1155 disorder was agreed upon based on the inexplicable symptom 1156 course and the presence of symptoms which could not be 1157 explained on the basis of neurological impairment (apart from 1158 the FAS, sensory and motor problems equally occurred: see 1159 also Section Associated Psychopathologies). For case 9, who 1160 underwent a psychodiagnostic interview, family conflict was 1161 regarded to have had such a profound effect on the patient's 1162 mental state, that the symptoms could be related to psychological 1163 problems and a childhood trauma. 1164

Only for case 11, additional symptom validity tests were 1165 administered. Incorporation of these tests in psychodiagnostic 1166 testing is always recommended, not only when secondary 1167 gains are at stake [case 11], but also when the impact of 1168 traumatic experiences or psychological discomforts are (possibly) 1169 downplayed (Cima et al., 2003; Bush et al., 2005). In these cases, it 1170 is important to interpret neurocognitive test results with caution, 1171 as these too can be consciously manipulated (see also: "cogniform 1172 condition/disorder": a recently developed concept within the 1173 somatoform disorders; described by Delis and Wetter, 2007). 1174

With respect to neuropsychological testing, results were 1175 diverse for scores on tasks evaluating memory, intelligence, 1176 executive functions and attention. Three out of the five patients 1177 diagnosed with conversion disorder had poor memory and/or 1178 attention and executive functions [cases 8, 11, 12] and in one 1179 instance, deficits in fine motor skills were also observed [case 1180 12]. Deficits in learning and memory, but also in executive 1181 function, attention, processing skills and word finding have 1182 been associated with somatoform disorders (Niemi et al., 2002; 1183 Trivedi, 2006; Demir et al., 2013). Especially, attention and 1184 executive functions are often impaired in this patient group. 1185 One of the hypotheses that have been raised to explain cognitive 1186 impairment in this group is that these deficits relate to frontal 1187 brain dysfunction. However, Wall et al. (2013) point out that 1188 the studies claiming an association between cognitive deficits 1189 and conversion disorder did not include symptom validity tests 1190 in their test protocol for patient selection and therefore no 1191 generalizations can be made. Still, the authors argue that the 1192 incidence of neurologically inexplicable cognitive deficits in 1193 patients with conversion disorder is quite high. It remains unclear 1194 whether there is a fixed set of neurocognitive deficits specific 1195 to this population, or, as others argue, whether the deficits are 1196 related to the associated psychiatric distress (Lamberty, 2008). 1197

Remission of the FAS

In the neurogenic population a late onset of FAS has only 1199 been noted when the FAS was "masked" by other speech or 1200 language disorders (mutism, Broca aphasia, apraxia of speech, 1201 or dysarthria). Apart from a pre-FAS muteness [cases 4, 12] 1202 and apraxic/dysarthric-like symptoms in one case [case 11], 1203 FAS was never "masked" by preceding speech/language deficits 1204 in current group. Hence, a delayed onset might be indicative 1205 of a psychogenic origin. For 27% of the investigated patients 1206 (n = 4/15), FAS resolved simultaneously with the remission of 1207 the related psychopathology [cases 3, 6, 7, 13]. In those cases, 1208 FAS developed after psychosis or after a (hypo)manic attack 1209 and was associated with a sudden withdrawal of neuroleptic 1210 drugs, or an unbalanced drug intake. In two cases (13%), FAS 1211 resolved spontaneously [cases 4, 10]. Only three patients received 1212 speech-language therapy in order to reduce the FAS [cases 4, 1213 10, 12], and case 11 received speech-language therapy before 1214 the accent appeared. Case 10 received the symptomatic speech 1215 therapy as proposed by Duffy (2005). According to the authors, 1216 the patient occasionally managed to accurately realize the target 1217 items, though she herself did not embrace her progress. Delayed 1218 auditory feedback and auditory masking did not improve the 1219 speech deficits in the patient reported by Van Borsel et al. (2005), 1220 although this approach has been advocated by other researchers 1221 as well (González-Álvarez et al., 2003; Moreno-Torres et al., 1222 2013). Butcher et al. (2007) point out that there is a lack 1223 of evidence-based treatment strategies for psychogenic speech 1224 and language disorders, and that this is directly related to the 1225 uncertainty and lack of confidence on the part of the speech 1226 therapist to diagnose a disorder of psychogenic origin. To the best 1227 of our knowledge, no large-scale study has ever been carried out 1228 to evaluate the effectiveness of a treatment for psychogenic speech 1229 disorders. 1230

Comorbid Speech and Language Deficits

Table 1 shows that two patients [cases 4, 12] were mute before the 1233 onset of FAS. Psychogenic mutism is well-recognized [Salfield, 1234 1950; DSM-V: American Psychiatric Association (APA), 2013]. 1235 For case 4, the mutism can be related to the impact of 1236 psychological issues (depression, suicidal ideation) as well as to 1237 severe anxiety problems (permanent fear that the patient's son 1238 might develop Huntington disease). Case 12 was diagnosed with 1239 a conversion disorder. Mutism has previously been diagnosed in 1240 patients with conversion disorder and, in those specific cases, it 1241 is also referred to as "conversion mutism" (Rothbaum and Foa, 1242 1991; Aggarwal et al., 2010). 1243

In three cases, language was also characterized by agrammatic 1244 output [4, 8, 11]. McKenna and Oh (2005) note that Karl 1245 Kleist as early as 1914, used both the terms agrammatism 1246 (non-fluent, as in Broca-like speech; mostly seen in catatonic 1247 patients) and paragrammatism (fluent, more as in Wernicke-like 1248 speech; mostly seen in paranoid patients) in a psychiatric context. 1249 In 1976, Norman Geschwind described the case of a patient 1250 with a "hysterical pseudo-agrammatism" (Geschwind, 1976). The 1251 patient had been locked up in prison for passing bad checks, 1252 after which he suddenly developed a strange speech disorder and 1253 was admitted to a mental institution. What struck Geschwind 1254

was that the patient produced agrammatic speech at a normal 1255 rate in combination with stuttering behavior, a combination of 1256 symptoms, which according to Geschwind was "unique" (p. 81) 1257 and very unlike what is seen in agrammatic aphasic patients. In 1258 1983, Levy and Jankovic published an experiment, in which they 1259 induced a (placebo) conversion reaction in a female patient in 1260 her mid-twenties. The researchers set up a double-dissociation 1261 experiment: first, the patient received a saline injection, but she 1262 was told it contained phenytoin. Later, she received the phenytoin 1263 injection, but this time she was told it contained "a neutral 1264 substance." The patient's neurological symptoms worsened after 1265 each explicitly mentioned "raise" in phenytoin, as did her 1266 scores on the various neurolinguistic exams (among others: 1267 the BDAE; Goodglass and Kaplan, 1972). Her speech became 1268 slower, (moderately) slurred and hypophonic. She made several 1269 literal paraphasias, used a telegrammatic style in repetitions 1270 and spontaneous speech, and employed overgeneralizations 1271 in picture naming. After the medicine was told to "have 1272 worn off" completely, neurolinguistic testing demonstrated only 1273 one (!) naming error. De Letter et al. (2012) reported three 1274 cases with (non-fluent) agrammatism, overgeneralizations, and 1275 paraphasias which could not be attributed to an underlying 1276 organic cerebral pathology. All three patients presented with 1277 psychiatric conditions: case 1 suffered from bipolar disorder, 1278 case 2 had a "manipulative personality" (p. 877), and case 3 1279 had quite an extensive psychiatric history marked by mood 1280 swings, depression, and aggressiveness. All patients produced 1281 non-fluent speech, characterized by excessively long pauses. 1282 Furthermore, the patients demonstrated hypophonia, persevered 1283 in their errors, and spoke with a reduced speech rate. As was 1284 the case for the patient of Levy and Jankovic (1983) the patients 1285 never produced frustrated reactions and never attempted self-1286 correction. For De Letter et al. (2012) the fluctuating language 1287 problems and neurological symptoms were the primary reasons 1288 for considering the speech/language problems of their patients 1289 as psychogenic, although they demonstrated organic anomalies. 1290 They argue that "the presence of a language disorder in patients 1291 with organic cerebral disease cannot demonstrate causation (e.g., 1292 Whitlock, 1967)" (p. 876). 1293

Van Borsel et al. (2005) explicitly argues that "grammatical 1294 anomalies [...] did not conform to the pattern of agrammatism 1295 typical of Broca's aphasia or paragrammatism as seen in 1296 Wernicke's aphasia" (p. 424). In case 8, the agrammatism was 1297 equally noted in a context of otherwise well-articulated, fluent 1298 speech. However, apart from verbal fluency deficits (category and 1299 letter fluency) in case 8, there were no other notable deficits 1300 that characterized the neurolinguistic profile of most of these 1301 agrammatic patients. For case 11, it was mentioned that the 1302 patient had an agrammatism that was typologically different from 1303 Broca-aphasia (Kean, 1977, 1985): e.g., the patient was fluent 1304 and speech was not consistently agrammatic as she was able 1305 to rephrase sentences, and use initially omitted prepositions or 1306 verbs. 1307

The case described by Cottingham and Boone (2010) [case 11] also presented with dysarthria-like symptoms and a suspected apraxia of speech, for which no structural lesions were seen on CT or MRI. Hence, the speech and language symptoms of their patient were considered as "non-credible." There are other 1312 reports of patients demonstrating similar incredible language 1313 symptoms. Recently, a report of De Witte and Mariën (2015) 1314 observed inexplicable post-operative language symptoms and 1315 considered them as psychogenic in a 28-year-old male patient, 1316 who had undergone awake surgery for the removal of a tumor 1317 in the left anterior inferior temporal gyrus. Post-operatively, the 1318 patient was able to repeat, read, write, name high and middle 1319 frequency words but auditory comprehension and naming of 1320 low frequency words were severely impaired and he displayed 1321 inconsistent comprehension deficits. It was noted that results 1322 on the CES-D (Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression; 1323 Eaton et al., 2004) and STAI (Spielberger et al., 1983) were 1324 higher than the cut-off, indicating a higher risk for depression or 1325 anxiety disorder. De Witte and Mariën (2015) hypothesize that 1326 the symptoms of their patient were non-organic because of the 1327 patient's sensitivity to stress and depression, the atypical (course 1328 of the) symptoms, and the fact that, despite the comprehension 1329 deficits, the patient had very good insight in the disorder 1330 as his aunt suffered from vascular aphasia. If the symptoms 1331 themselves, or the course of the symptoms, cannot be explained 1332 by attested neurological deficits, the possibility of a psychogenic 1333 etiology should at least be considered (see also: Baumgartner, 1334 1999). 1335

The case reported by Verhoeven et al. (2005) [case 5], 1336 presented with a form of "pseudo-paragrammatism." This 1337 patient's speech was characterized by mistakes typically made 1338 by French learners of Dutch. The patient did not speak in a 1339 telegram style speech, nor did she omit function words. She 1340 did, however, change the syntax in such a way that it no 1341 longer corresponded to what could be expected in her native 1342 language. She used French grammar in Dutch discourse, but 1343 not when speaking English. Paragrammatic speech is generally 1344 fluent, and marked by complex sentences which contain function 1345 words, verbs (also finite ones), nouns, in short: all elements 1346 required for the construction of a well-formed sentence are 1347 present, but the speakers do not apply the grammatical rules as 1348 expected. 1349

SHORTCOMINGS AND LIMITATIONS

The results of this review should be interpreted with caution. ¹ The scarcity of comparable measures characterizing the case ¹ reports compelled us to limit the quantitative analysis of ¹ FAS. With a view to future diagnostics, it is hoped that ¹ linguistic manifestations, medical findings, medical history, and ¹ psychiatric symptoms are documented in great detail, in order ¹ to enable a reliable FAS diagnosis and suitable therapeutic ¹ interventions. ¹

CONCLUSION

This paper explored psychogenic FAS as a subtype of FAS.1364The following conclusions can be drawn: firstly, psychogenic1365FAS is related to the presence of a psychiatric or psychological1366disturbance in the absence of demonstrable neurological damage1367or an organic condition that might explain the accent. Secondly,1368

psychogenic FAS occurs more in women than men, in an 1369 age range which is likely to be prone to depression and 1370 mental problems (25-49 years). Thirdly, psychogenic FAS is 1371 characterized by both suprasegmental and segmental changes. 1372 A deviant intonation (variable pitch) and a slow speech and 1373 articulation rate are the most typical prosodic features. At a 1374 segmental level, vowels are more affected than consonants. 1375 Future research should report on segmental and suprasegmental 1376 changes in as much detail as possible, in order to aid diagnosis 1377 based on semiological distinctions between neurogenic and 1378 psychogenic FAS. Fourthly, the remission of FAS seems to be 1379 related to resolution of comorbid positive psychiatric symptoms. 1380 Fifthly, psychodiagnostic testing-including symptom validity 1381 tests-is highly recommended with a view to suspected 1382 psychogenic FAS; not only in view of adequate therapy, but 1383 also for the interpretation of cognitive deficits, which may be 1384 aggravated as well. Sixthly, patients with psychogenic FAS often 1385 demonstrate linguistic features in speech and language that 1386 are not consistent with neurogenic speech/language disorders, 1387 e.g., in psychogenic cases, FAS can co-occur with a form of 1388 isolated "pseudo-" agrammatism in unaffected fluent speech 1389 (different from agrammatism seen in non-fluent aphasic 1390 patients) and paragrammatism. Pre-FAS mutism has also been 1391 attested. Furthermore, language often shows code switching 1392 and language mixing which rarely occurs in polyglot aphasic 1393 patients. 1394 1395

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Future research should work toward validation of a set 1426 of criteria for psychogenic FAS via an extensive comparison 1427 with the neurogenic cognate. Moreover, in view of an efficient 1428 therapeutic guidance and clinical diagnosis, future research 1429 should focus on the treatment of non-organic speech and 1430 language disorders in large populations. We believe that 1431 a combination therapy focusing on the cognitive-behavioral 1432 problems on the one hand, and the speech and language deficits 1433 on the other, may be beneficial in this population. The intricate 1434 symptomatology often gives proof of overlapping cognitive, 1435 psychological and speech problems, and the FAS is interpreted as 1436 an (indirect or direct) emanation of the underlying psychological 1437 disturbances. 1438

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Conception and design: SK, PM, EDW, JV; acquisition of data: SK, PM, EDW, JV; analysis and interpretation of data: SK, PM; 1443 drafting the manuscript: SK and PM; critical manuscript revision: 1444 all authors; and final manuscript approval: SK and PM on behalf 1445 of all authors.

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be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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