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Sommario/riassunto	Autolexical Grammar (AG) explains both the coherent systematicity and the pervasive idiosyncrasies present in natural language through a unified, multimodular approach moderated by lexical constraints. This chapter presents recent research in cognitive neuroscience that bears on the representational strengths of AG. While AG does not strive to be a psycholinguistic model of cognitive processing in real time, the ability of AG to represent mismatch and resolution as formal constraints, and the emphasis that AG places on the lexicon as the moderating factor in constraint satisfaction, provides descriptive mechanisms that can further illuminate cognitive approaches to language processing.