Puzzles of Agreement: Syntactic, Semantic, and Psycholinguistic perspectives
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Modelling agreement attraction effects in vector space

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Agreement dependencies are subject to interference from distractors (e.g., Bock and Miller, 1991; Wagers et al., 2009):

(1) The **key** to the **cabinets** is/*are on the table.

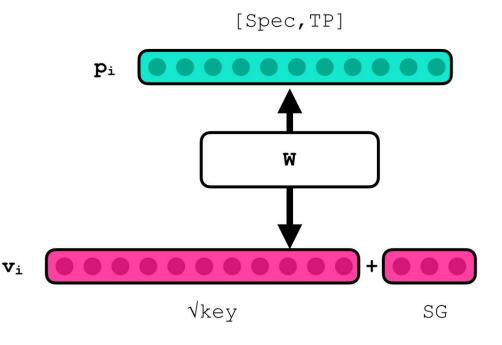
Not all nouns are equally distracting (Franck et al., 2002; Bock and Cutting, 1992):

(2) The **helicopter** for the **flight** over the **canyon** is rusty.

Both syntactic and semantic similarity play a role – we focus here on syntax.

Keshev et al. (accepted): agreement attraction effects are due to the way sentences are encoded in working memory

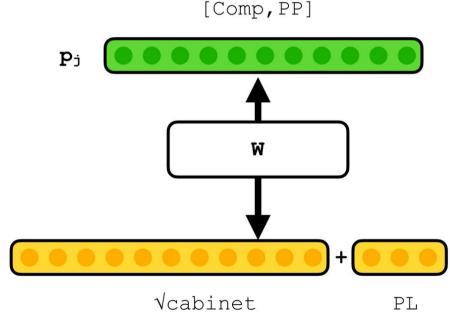
- Lexical items are bound to syntactic positions
- Items and positions are each represented as vectors



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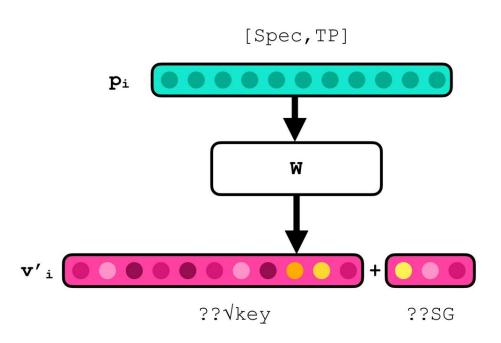
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- Lexical items are bound to syntactic positions
- Items and positions are each represented as vectors



Agreement: speakers need to retrieve item bound to subject position

- Retrieval is prone to errors
- Gradient similarity between syntactic positions
- Higher similarity leads to higher rates of erroneous retrieval



Our goal for today: build a vector-symbolic representation of syntax such that...

- Each syntactic position is assigned a position vector
- Higher (cosine) similarity between target and distractor corresponds to higher rates of interference

Step 1: Assign a constituency parse

- Berkeley Neural Parser
- Binary branching is enforced

Step 2: Assign each node a base vector depending on category

- ➤ E.g., same base vector for all N/NP nodes
- Different base vectors are orthogonal to each other

Step 3: Assign each node a position vector

- Weighted sum of 1. the node's base vector and 2. the position vector of the node's mother
- > Free parameter α
- Update rule from the Temporal Context Model of memory (Howard and Kahana, 2002)

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position vector (X) =
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 $\alpha \times \text{base vector}(X) + (1 - \alpha) \times \text{position vector}(X)$'s mother)

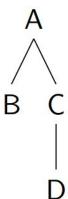
Example:

position vec (A) = base vec (A)

position vec (B) =
$$\alpha$$
 × base vec (B) + (1 - α) × position vec (A)

position vec (C) = α × base vec (C) + (1 - α) × position vec (A)

position vec (D) = α × base vec (D) + (1 - α) × position vec (C)



... but the position vector of C contains the position vector of A!

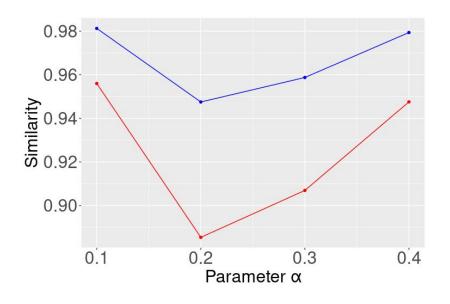
Upshot:

- Position vector encodes category information of current node and all dominating nodes.
- More distant nodes make up smaller part of representation.

Let's apply this metric to model agreement attraction! Remember: higher cosine similarity → higher likelihood of interference

Results (I)

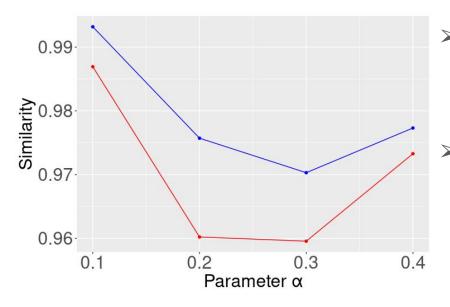
(3) The **helicopter** for the **flight** over the **canyon** is rusty.



- Empirical observation: interference from 'flight' > interference from 'canyon'
- Model prediction: similarity of 'flight' > similarity of 'canyon'

Results (II)

- (4a) The **editor** of the **book** was tired.
- (4b) The **editor** who rejected the **book** was tired.

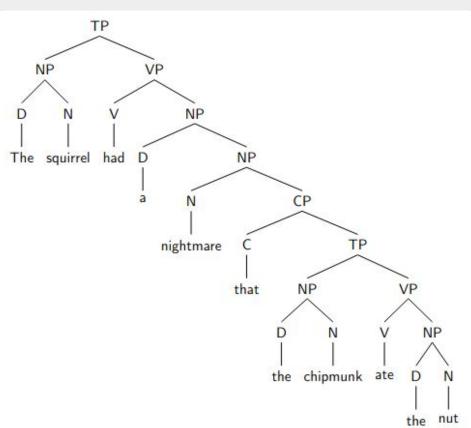


- Empirical observation: interference from P complement (4a) > interference from RC object (4b)
- Model prediction: similarity of P complement (4a) > similarity of RC object (4b)

Results (III)

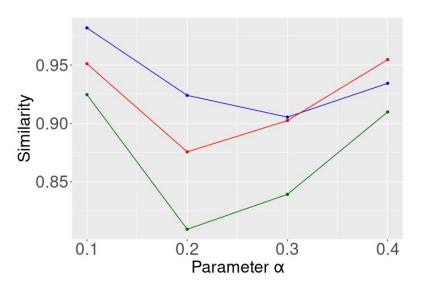
(5) The **squirrel** had a **nightmare** that the **chipmunk** ate the **nut**.

- 'Nightmare' is structurally closer but 'chipmunk' is also inside a subject
- Which one is more similar to target?



Results (III)

(5) The **squirrel** had a **nightmare** that the **chipmunk** ate the **nut**.



Model prediction: for low α, similarity of 'nightmare' > similarity of 'chipmunk'; for high α, the opposite

position vector (X) = α × base vector (X) + (1 – α) × position vector (X's mother)

Discussion

Experimentally...

- Effects observed so far are captured
- Many concrete and testable predictions

Computationally...

Different potential modifications of the model (e.g., dependency parse, non-orthogonal base vectors, probabilistic base vector assignment...)

Theoretically...

- Support for the view that agreement attraction is due to the way that sentences are encoded in working memory
- Grammatical positions are encoded relationally (no 'subject feature')

Thank you!

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