



Bridging Minimalist Syntax and Sentence Processing via Transparent Computational Models

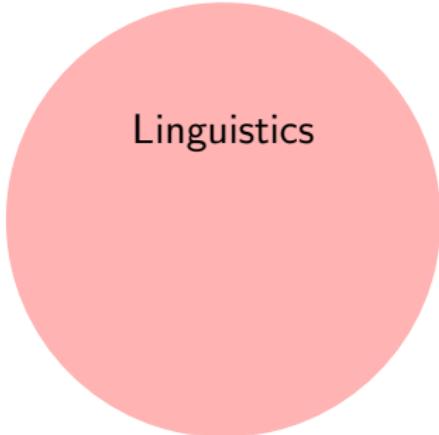
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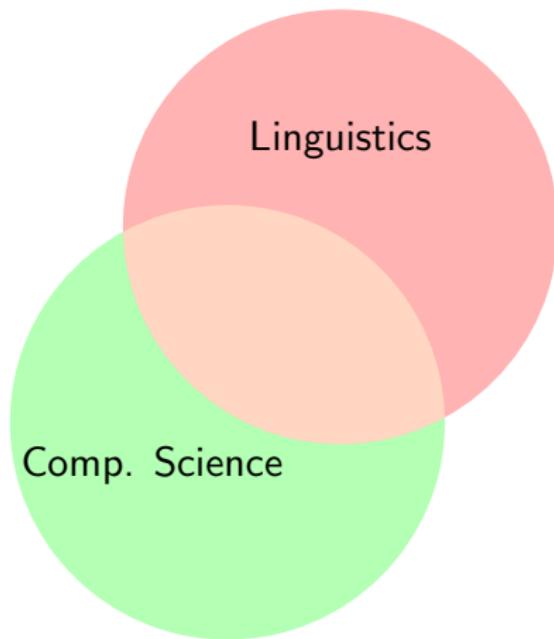
Get the slides!

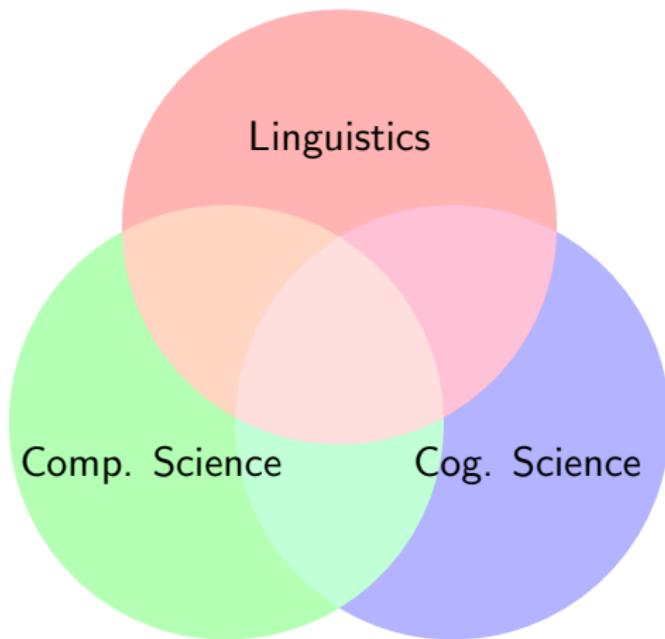


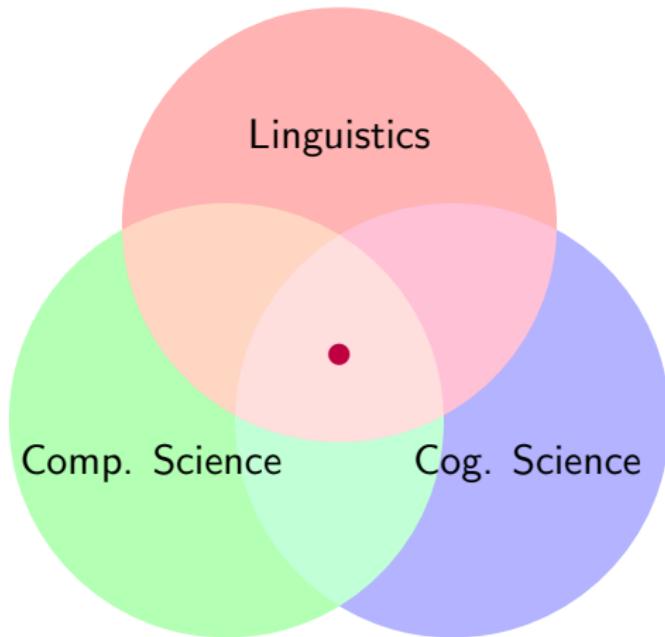
ILST Seminar
Sept. 24, 2020



Linguistics







Let's Start with Data!

Asymmetries in Italian Relative Clauses

Italian speakers conform to the general cross-linguistic preference for SRC over ORC (Adani et al. 2010; Arosio et al. 2018)

- (1) Il cavallo che ha inseguito i leoni
The horse that has chased the lions
“The horse that chased the lions” **SRC**
- (2) Il cavallo che i leoni hanno inseguito
The horse that the lions have chased
“The horse that the lions chased” **ORC**

SRC > ORC

Postverbal Subjects and Ambiguity

Italian allows for postverbal subjects, making some sentences ambiguous (De Vincenzi 1991):

- (3) Il cavallo che ha inseguito il leone
The horse that has chased the lion
- a. "The horse that chased the lion" **SRC**
 - b. "The horse that the lion chased" **ORCp**

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The horse that has chased the lion
- a. "The horse that chased the lion" SRC
 - b. "The horse that **the lion** chased" ORCp

SRC > ORCp

Agreement can disambiguate:

- (4) Il cavallo che hanno inseguito i leoni
The horse that have chased the lions
"The horse that the lions chased" ORCp

Asymmetries in Italian Relative Clauses

- (1) Il cavallo che ha inseguito i leoni
The horse that has chased the lions
“The horse that chased the lions” **SRC**
- (2) Il cavallo che i leoni hanno inseguito
The horse that the lions have chased
“The horse that the lions chased” **ORC**
- (4) Il cavallo che hanno inseguito i leoni
The horse that have chased the lions
“The horse that the lions chased” **ORCp**

Processing Asymmetry (De Vincenzi 1991, Arosio et al. 2018, a.o.)

SRC > ORC > ORCp

Forward to the Past

The relation between grammatical operations and cognitive processes?

A realistic grammar should [...] contribute to the explanation of linguistic behavior and to our larger understanding of the human faculty of language.

(Bresnan 1978: pg. 58)

Forward to the Past [cont.]

Derivational Theory of Complexity (Miller and Chomsky, 1963)

- ▶ Processing complexity \sim length of a derivation
(Fodor & Garrett 1967; Berwick & Weinberg 1983)
 - ▶ Essentially: there is a **cost** to mental computations.
-
- ▶ What is the right notion of syntactic derivation?
 - ▶ What is costly? And why?

Forward to the Past [cont.]

Derivational Theory of Complexity (Miller and Chomsky, 1963)

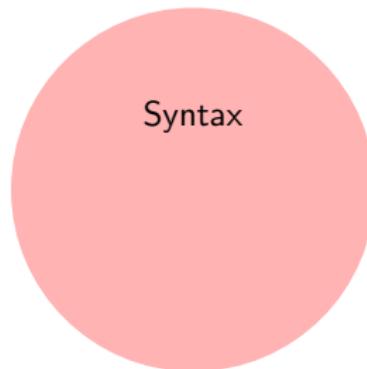
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One Big Question

(How much) does grammatical structure matter
in sentence processing?

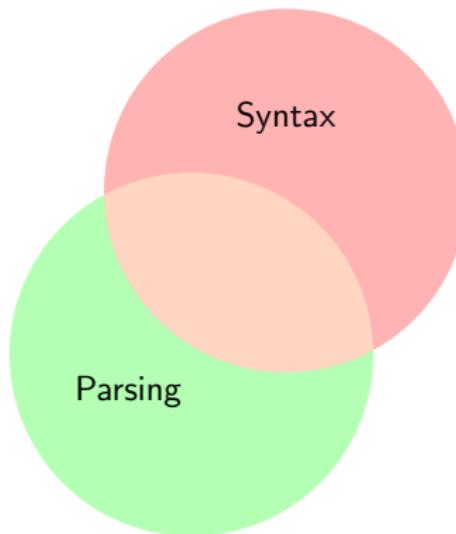
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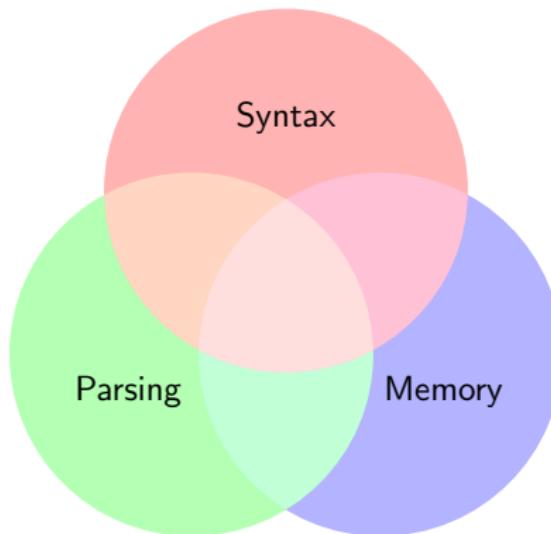
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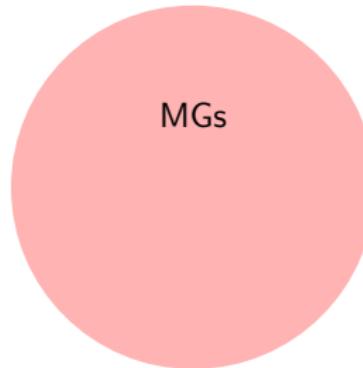


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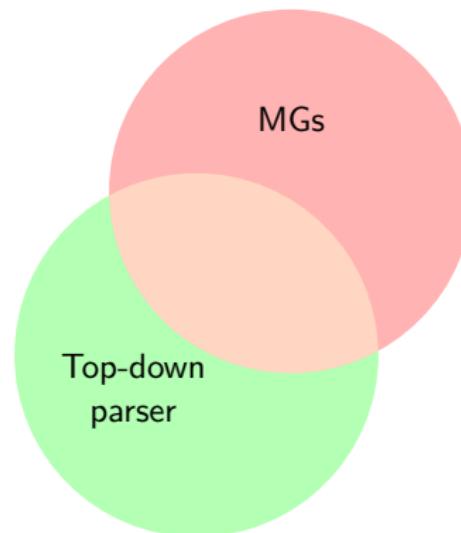


A Formal Model of Sentence Processing



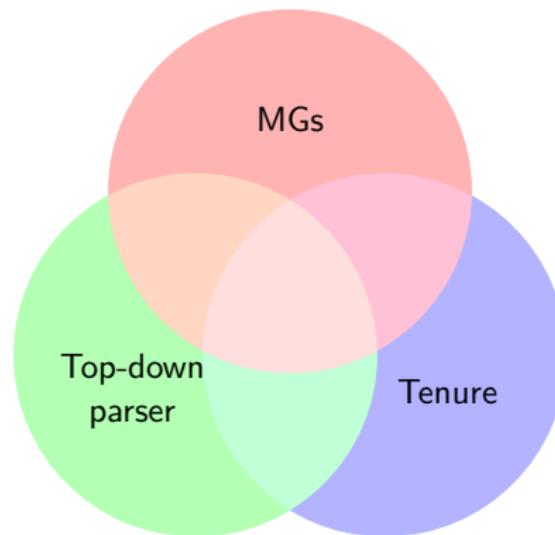
- 1 An explicit syntactic theory → Minimalist grammars (MGs)

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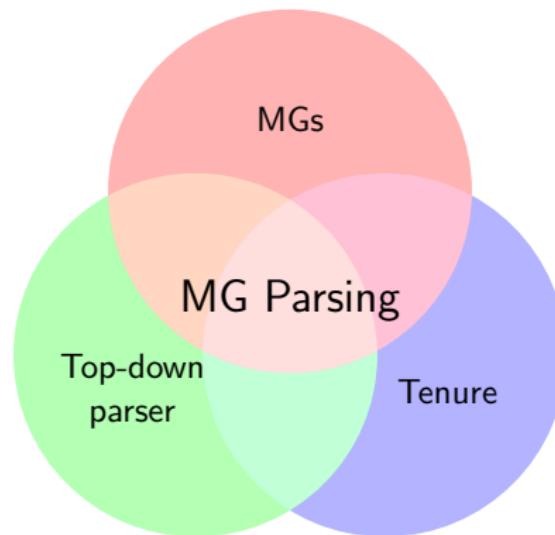
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- 2 A theory of how structures are built → top-down parser

A Formal Model of Sentence Processing



- 1 An explicit syntactic theory → Minimalist grammars (MGs)
- 2 A theory of how structures are built → top-down parser
- 3 A psychologically grounded linking theory → tenure

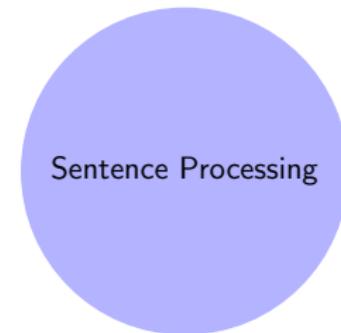
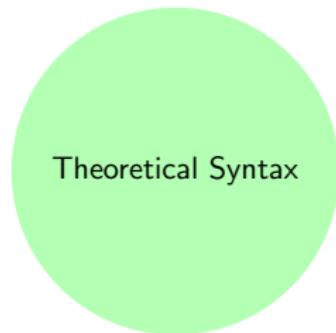
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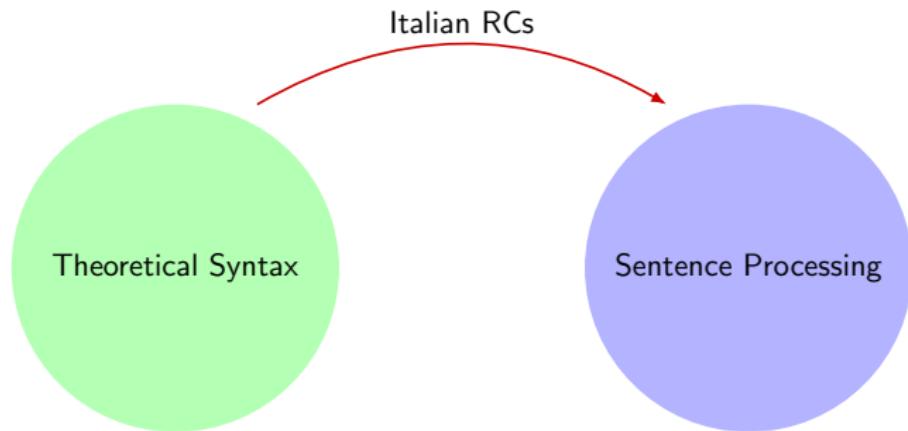
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If you want to understand it, you can understand it!

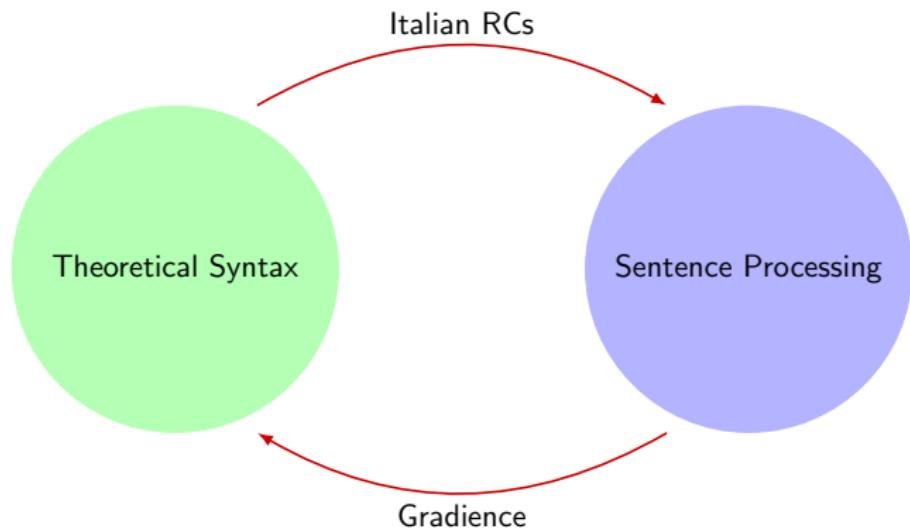
Building Bridges



Building Bridges



Building Bridges



Outline

- 1** Parsing Minimalist Grammars
- 2** Case Study: Italian Postverbal Subjects
- 3** Case Study: Gradience in Island Effects (in English)
- 4** Conclusion

Minimalist Grammars (MGs)

We need an explicit model of syntactic structures...



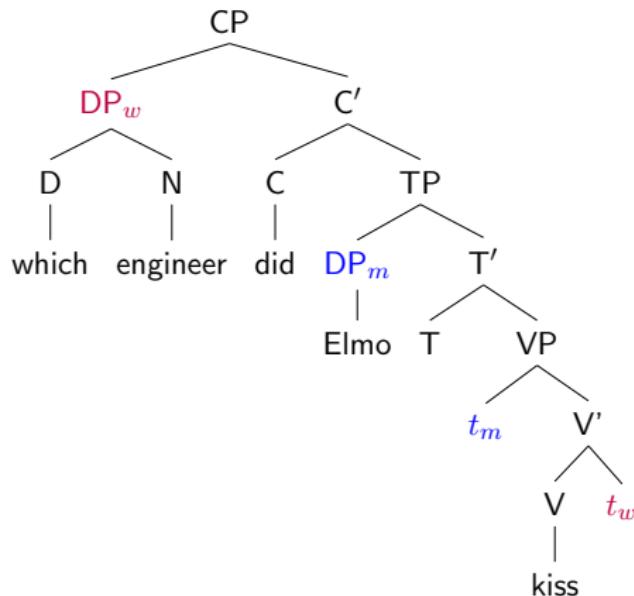
Ed Stabler

- ▶ Minimalist grammars (**MGs**): a formalization of Chomskyan syntax
(Chomsky 1995; Stabler 1997)

Technical details!

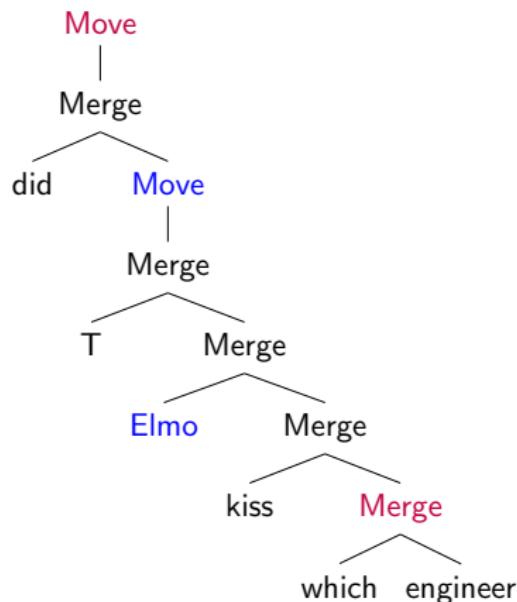
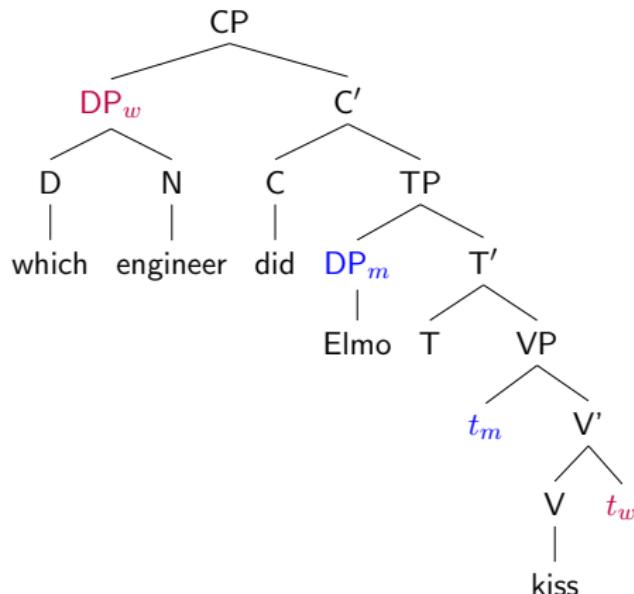
- ▶ Weakly equivalent to MCFGs
- ▶ Essentially: CFGs with a more complicated mapping from trees to strings
- ▶ REG tree language!

MG Syntax: Derivation Trees



Phrase Structure Tree

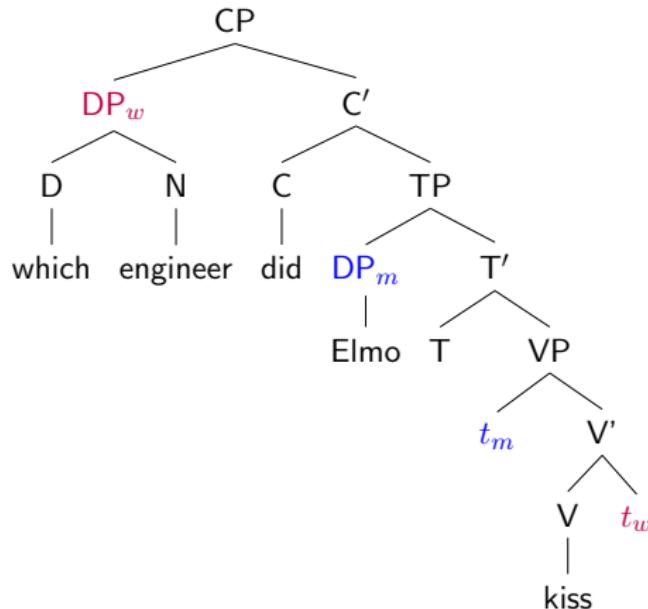
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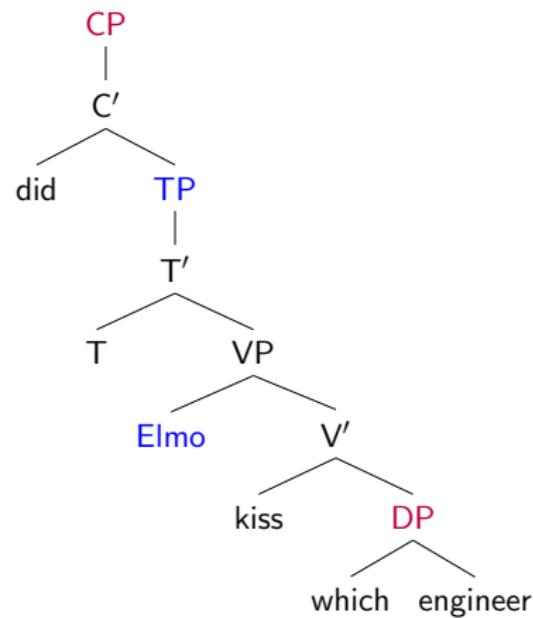
Phrase Structure Tree

Derivation Tree

MG Syntax: Derivation Trees



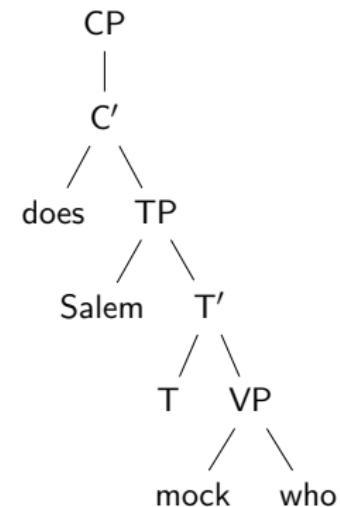
Phrase Structure Tree



Derivation Tree

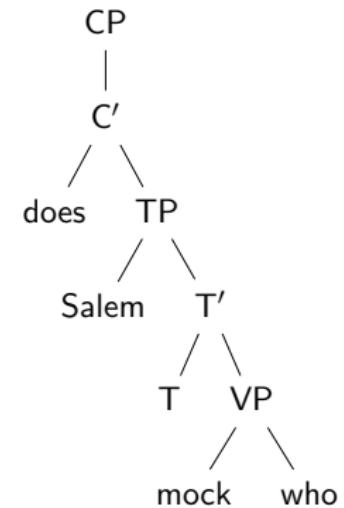
The Job of a Parser

Who does Salem mock?



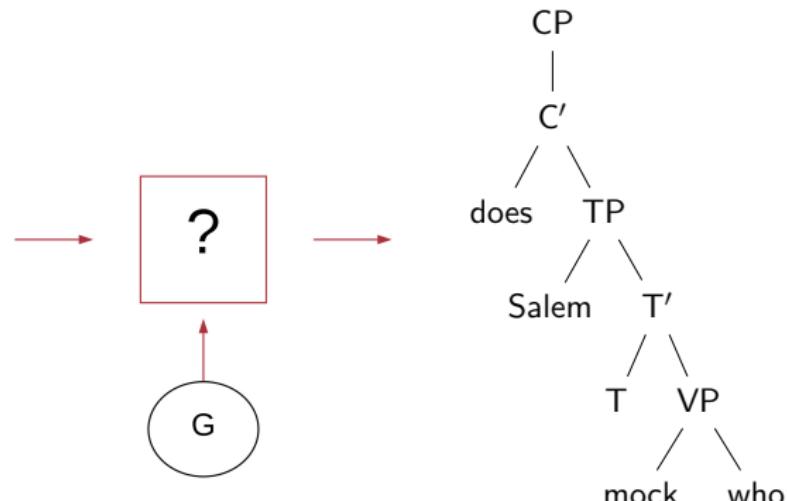
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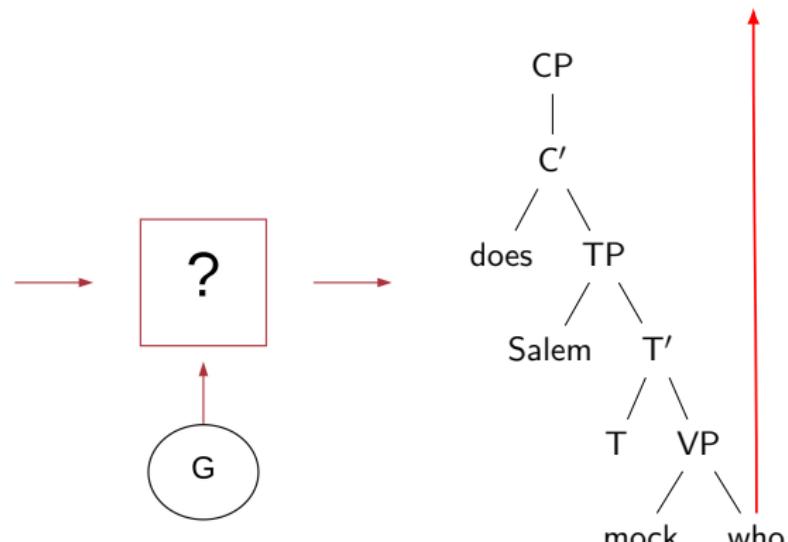
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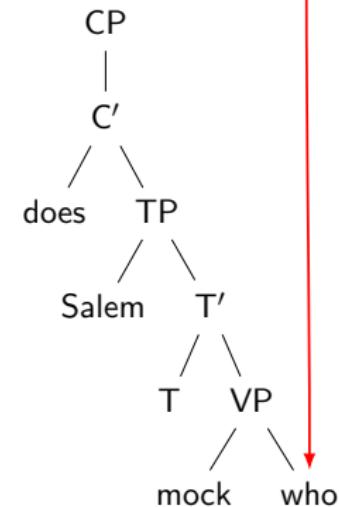
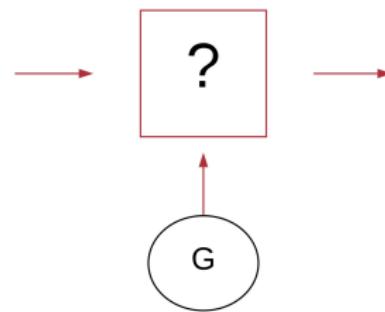
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- ▶ Bottom-up

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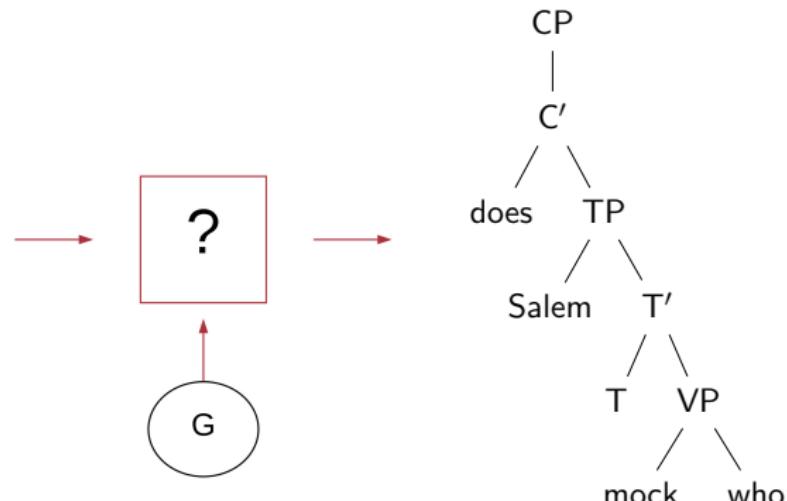
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- ▶ Bottom-up
- ▶ Top-down

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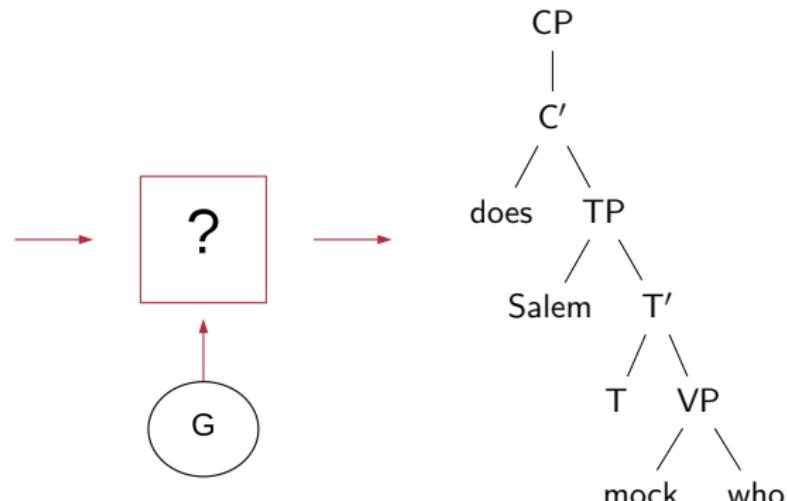
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- ▶ Bottom-up
- ▶ Top-down
 - ▶ Psychologically plausible(-ish)

The Job of a Parser

Who does Salem mock?



- ▶ Bottom-up
- ▶ Top-down
 - ▶ Psychologically plausible(-ish)
 - ▶ Insight: We can build lexicalized grammars top-down!
 - ▶ Assumption: Parser as an oracle!

Top-Down Parsing: The Intuition

Who does Salem mock?

Top-Down Parsing: The Intuition

CP

Who does Salem mock?



- ▶ Builds the structure from top to bottom
- ▶ Takes elements in and out of memory
- ▶ Complexity of the structure \approx how much memory is used!

Top-Down Parsing: The Intuition

CP
|
C'

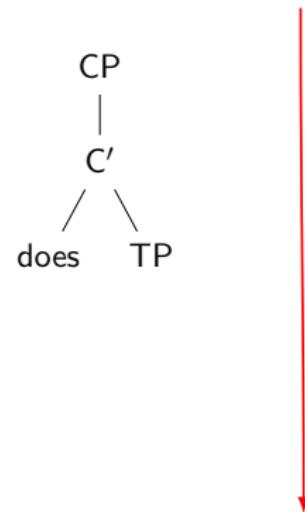


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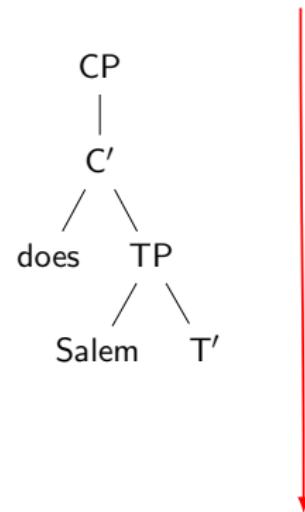
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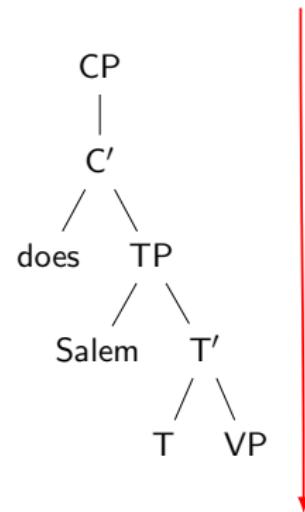
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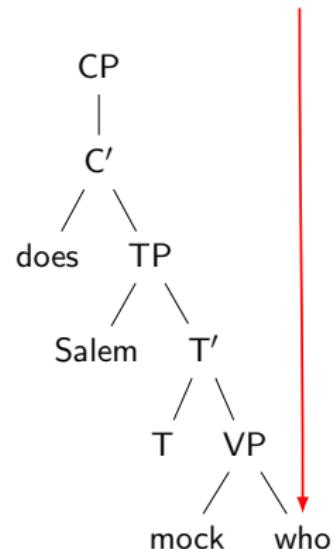
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Incremental Top-Down Parsing

Technical details!

- ▶ String-driven recursive descent parser (Stabler 2013)

- ▶ • Who • does • Salem • T • mock

- step 1 CP is conjectured
- step 2 CP expands to C'
- step 3 C' expands to does and TP
- step 4 TP expands to Salem and T'
- step 5 T' expands to T and VP
- step 6 VP expands to mock and who
- step 7 who is found
- step 8 does is found
- step 9 Salem is found
- step 10 T is found
- step 11 mock is found

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1CP

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1CP_2

|

$^2C'$

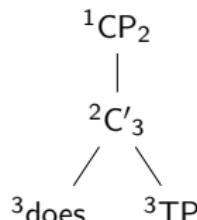
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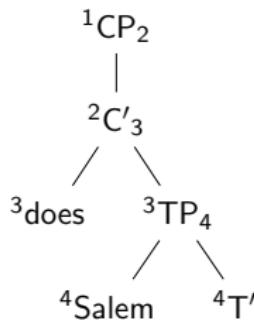
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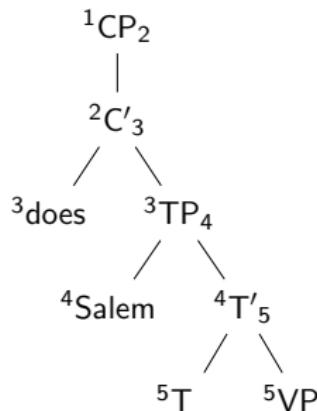
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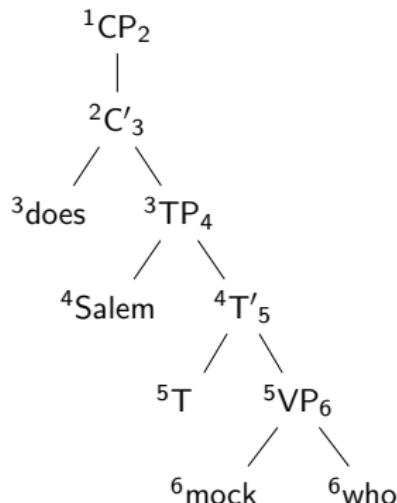
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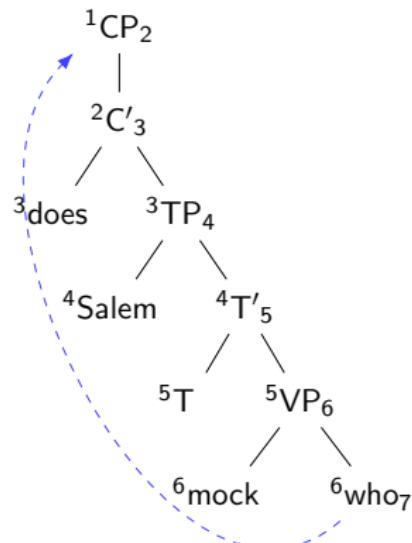
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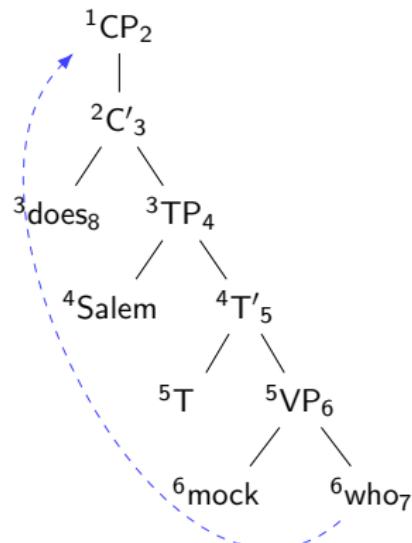
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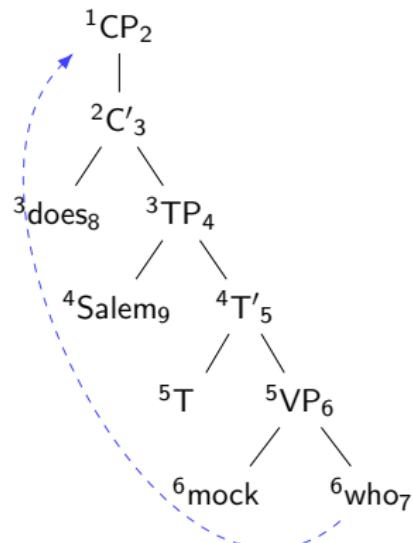
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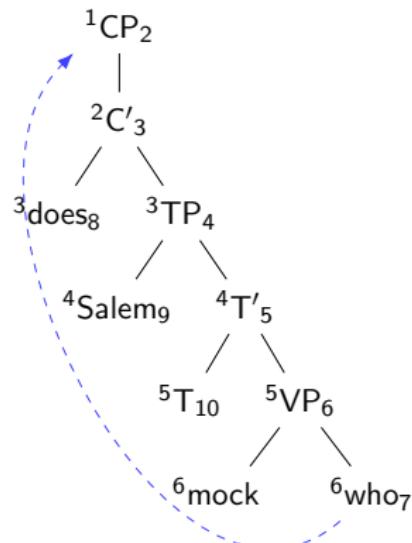
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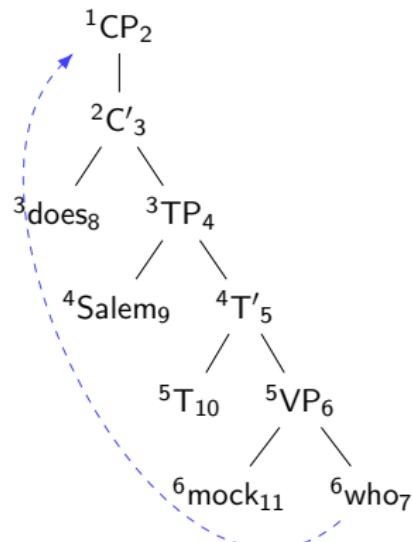
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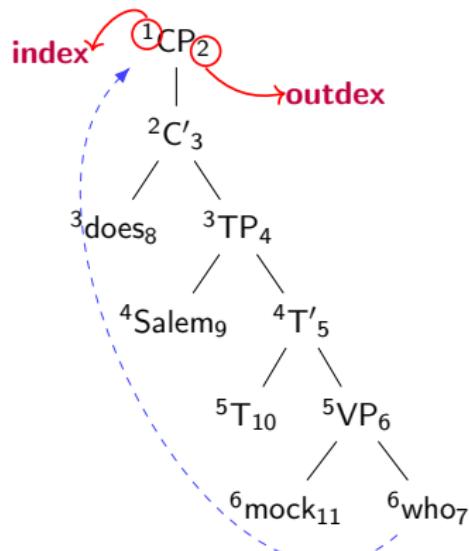
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- step 9 *Salem* is found
- step 10 *T* is found
- step 11 *mock* is found



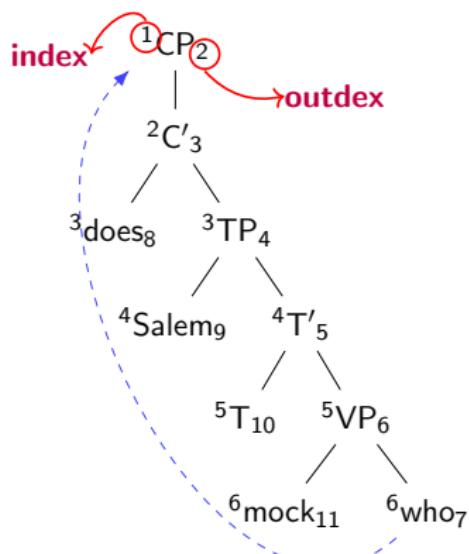
Incremental Top-Down Parsing

Technical details!

- ▶ String-driven recursive descent parser (Stabler 2013)

- ▶ Who does Salem T mock

- step 1 *CP* is conjectured
- step 2 *CP* expands to *C'*
- step 3 *C'* expands to *does* and *TP*
- step 4 *TP* expands to *Salem* and *T'*
- step 5 *T'* expands to *T* and *VP*
- step 6 *VP* expands to *mock* and *who*
- step 7 *who* is found
- step 8 *does* is found
- step 9 *Salem* is found
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Index and Outdex are our connection to memory!

Memory-Based Complexity Metrics

- ▶ **Memory usage:**
(Kobele et al. 2012; Gibson, 1998)



Greg Kobele



Sabrina Gerth

Tenure How long a node is kept in memory
Size How much information is stored in a node
⇒ Intuitively, the length of its movement dependency!

- ▶ Formalized into **complexity metrics**

MaxTenure $\max(\{\text{tenure-of}(n) | n \text{ a node of the tree}\})$

SumSize $\sum_{m \in M} \text{size}(m)$

Ranked $(\text{MaxTenure}, \text{SumSize})$



John Hale

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Processing Asymmetries All the Way Down

<MAXT,SUMS> makes correct predictions cross-linguistically!

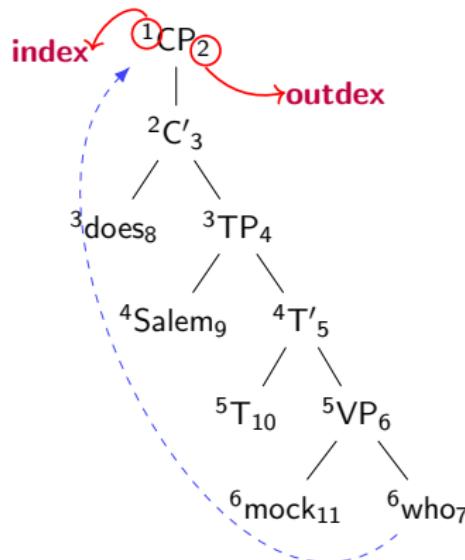
Across Many Constructions

- ▶ Right > center embedding (Kobele et al. 2012)
- ▶ Crossing > nested dependencies (Kobele et al. 2012)
- ▶ SC-RC > RC-SC (Graf & Marcinek 2014)
- ▶ SRC > ORC (Graf et al. 2017)
- ▶ Postverbal subjects in Italian (De Santo 2019)
- ▶ Persian attachment ambiguities (De Santo & Shafiei 2019)
- ▶ Gradient acceptability (De Santo 2020)

Across Languages

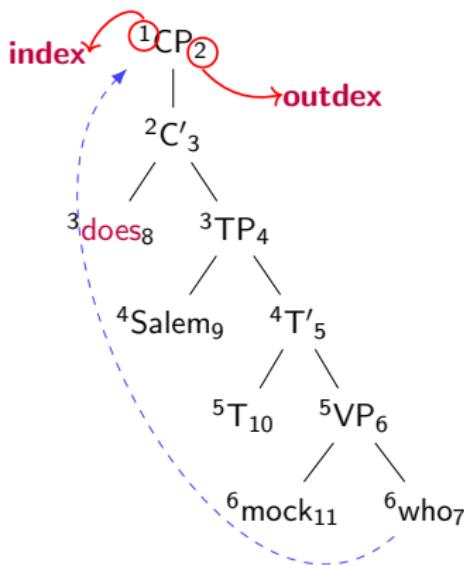
- ▶ English, German, Italian
- ▶ Korean, Japanese
- ▶ Mandarin Chinese
- ▶ Persian

Computing Metrics: An Example



Tenure how long a node is kept in memory

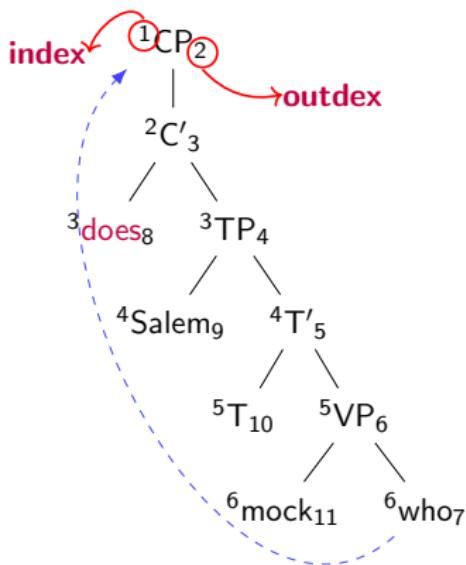
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$$\text{Tenure}(does) = 8 - 3 = 5$$

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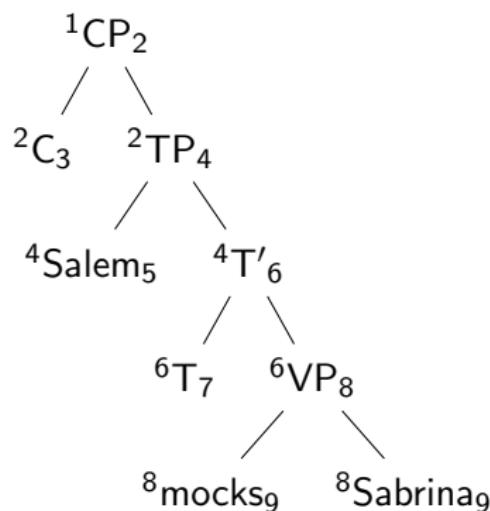
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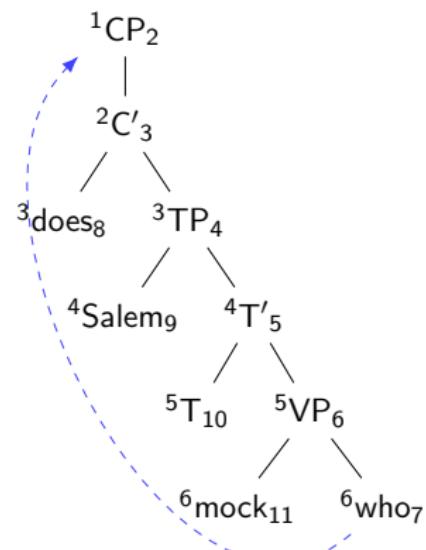
$$\text{MaxTenure} = \max\{\text{Tenure}(does), \text{Tenure}(Salem), \dots\} = 5$$

Contrasting Derivations

MaxTenure = 2



MaxTenure = 5



Summary of the Approach

General Idea

(Kobele et al. 2012; Gerth 2015; Graf et al. 2017)

- 1 Pick two competing derivations
- 2 Evaluate metrics over each
 - ▶ Lowest score means easiest!
- 3 Compare parser's prediction to experimental data

Remember!

If you want to understand it, you can understand it!

Reminder: Asymmetries in Italian Relative Clauses

- (1) Il cavallo che ha inseguito i leoni
The horse that has chased the lions
“The horse that chased the lions” **SRC**
- (2) Il cavallo che i leoni hanno inseguito
The horse that the lions have chased
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- (4) Il cavallo che hanno inseguito i leoni
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“The horse that the lions chased” **ORCp**

Processing Asymmetry (De Vincenzi 1991, Arosio et al. 2018, a.o.)

SRC > ORC > ORCp

Modeling Assumptions

Reminder:

- ▶ Parsing strategy
⇒ Top-down parser
- ▶ Complexity Metrics
⇒ MaxTenure and SumSize

Degrees of freedom: Syntactic analyses

- 1 RC constructions → (Kayne 1994)
- 2 Postverbal subjects → (Belletti & Leonini 2004)

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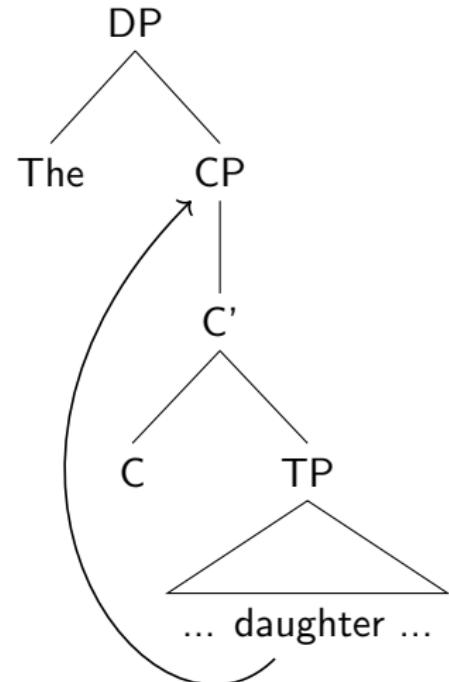
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Kayne's Promotion Analysis (Kayne 1994)

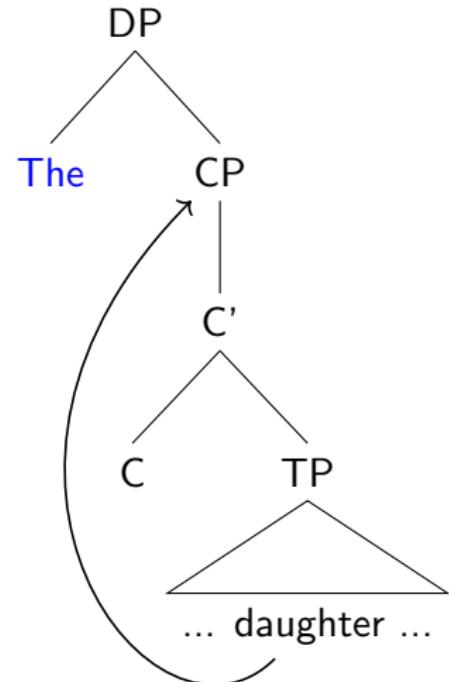
- ▶ RC is selected by an external D^0
- ▶ the RC head is a nominal constituent
- ▶ the RC head raises from its base position to [Spec, CP]



$[_{DP} \text{The} [_{CP} \text{daughter}_i [\text{that } t_i \text{ was on the balcony }]]]$

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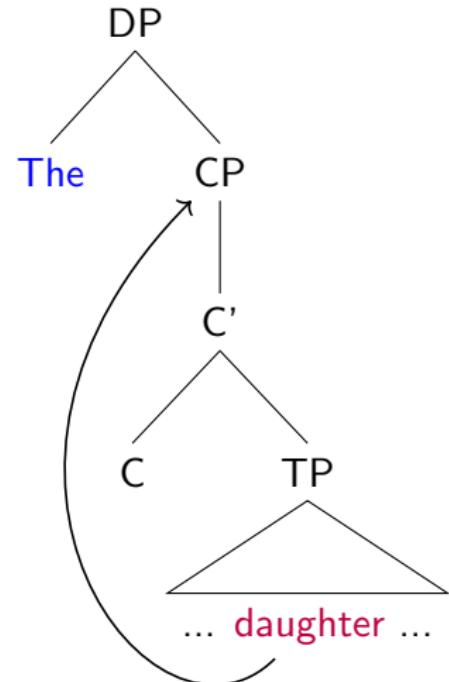
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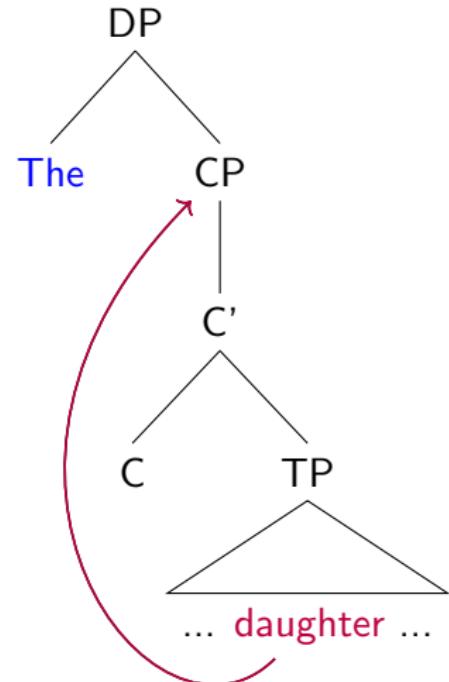
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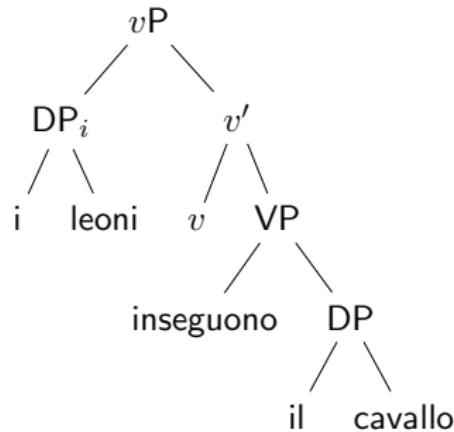
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- (5) Inseguono il cavallo i leoni
 Chase the horse the lions
 "The lions chase the horse"

- ▶ the subject DP raises to Spec, FocP
- ▶ The whole *vP* raises to Spec, TopP

Technical details!

- ▶ an expletive *pro* is base generated in Spec, TP



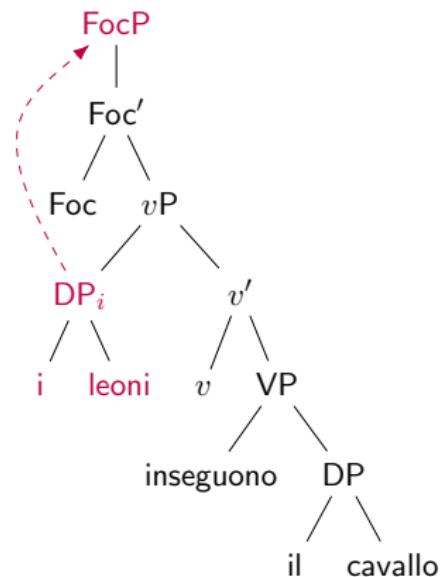
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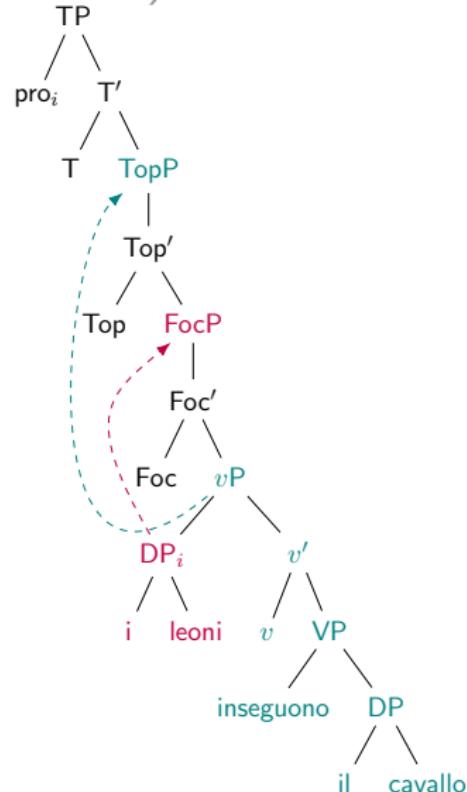
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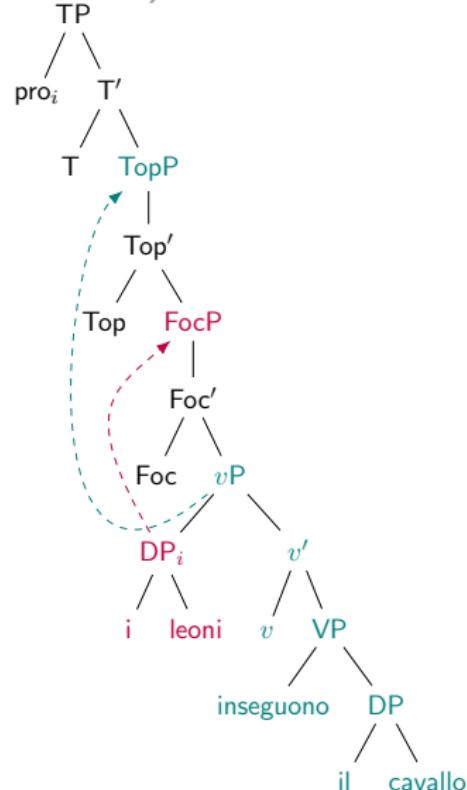
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Modeling Results

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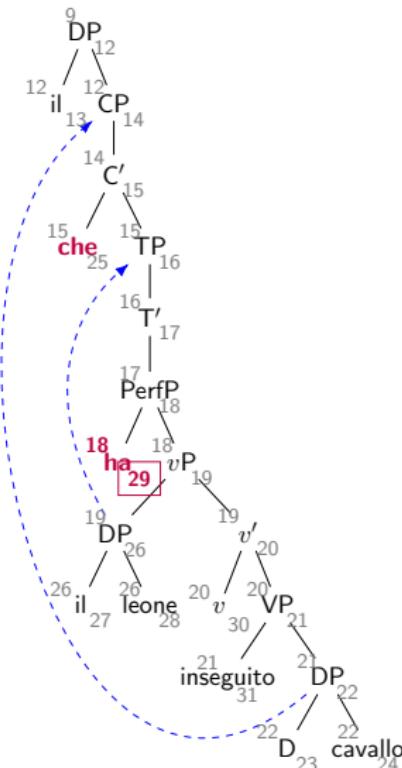
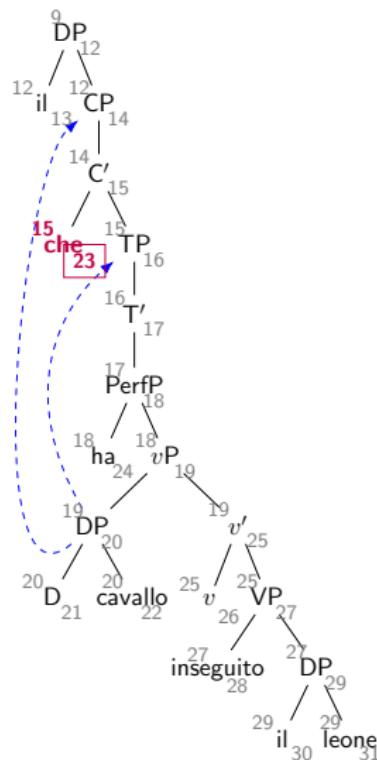
	SRC	>	ORC	>	ORCp
MaxTenure	8/che		11/ha		16/Foc
SumSize	18		24		31

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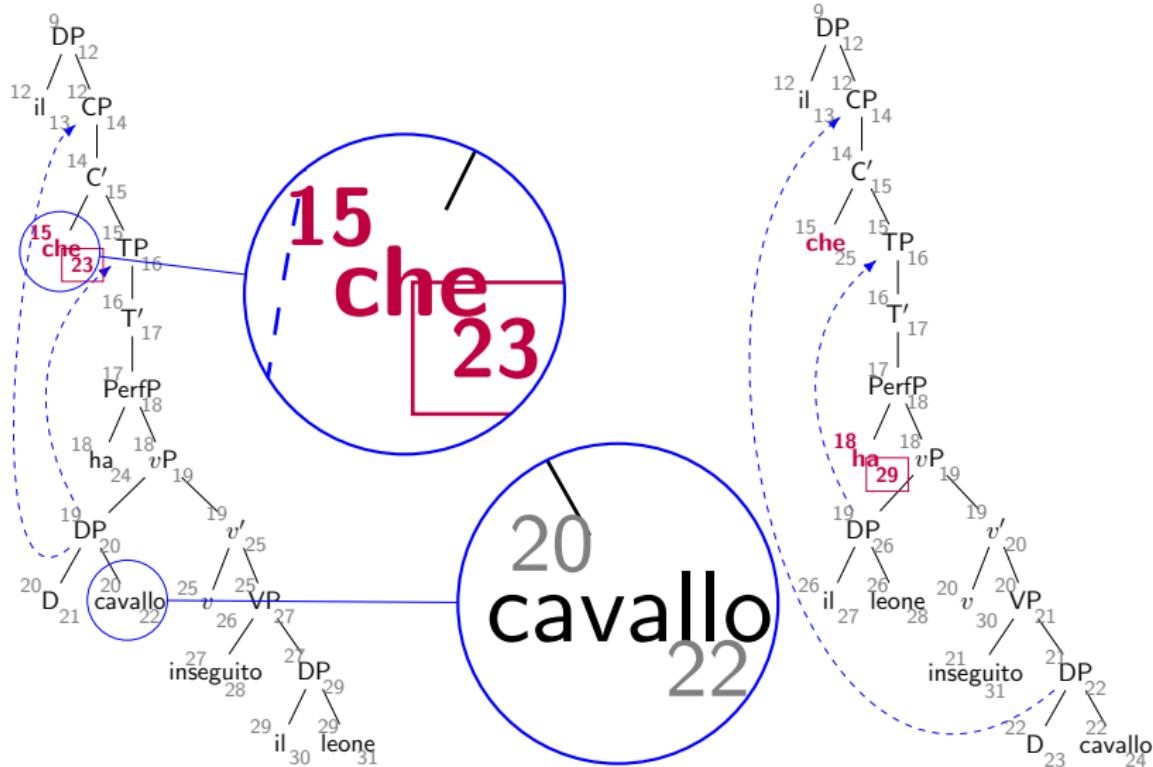
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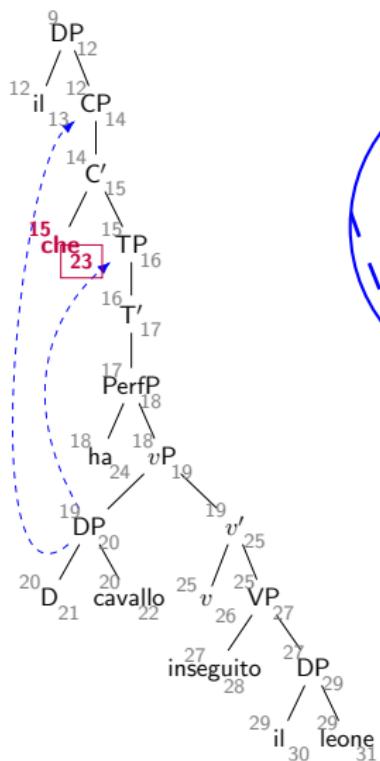
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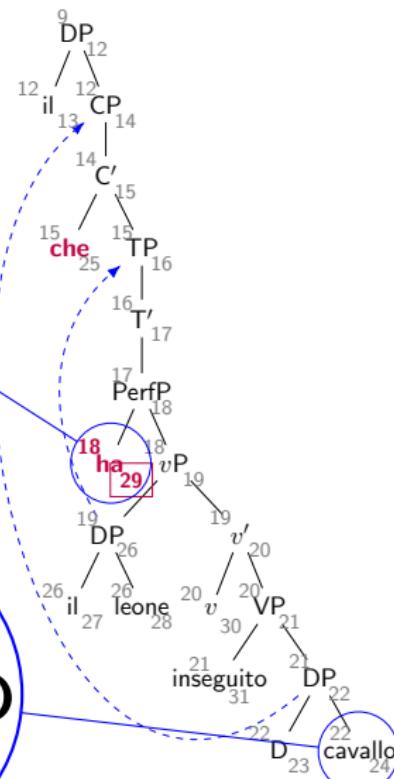


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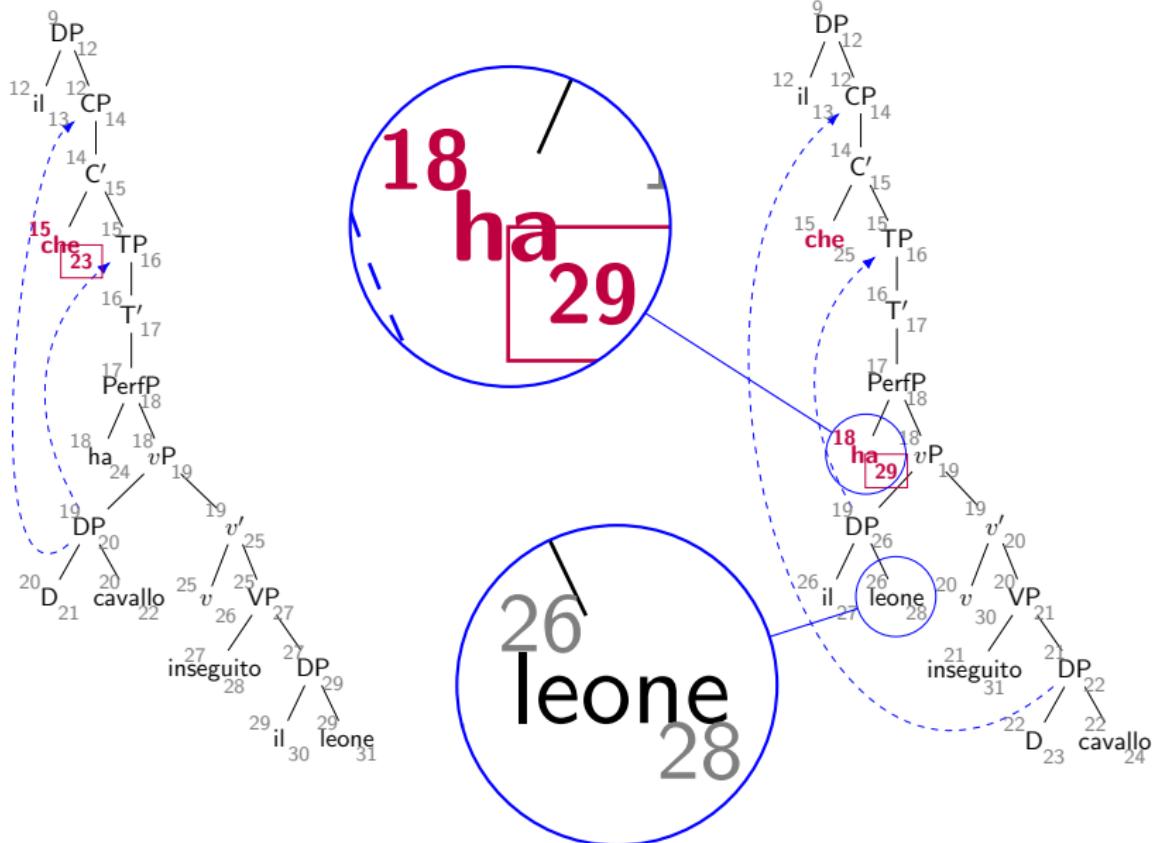


18
ha
29

22
cavalllo
24



Results: SRC > ORC



Summary of Results (De Santo 2019)

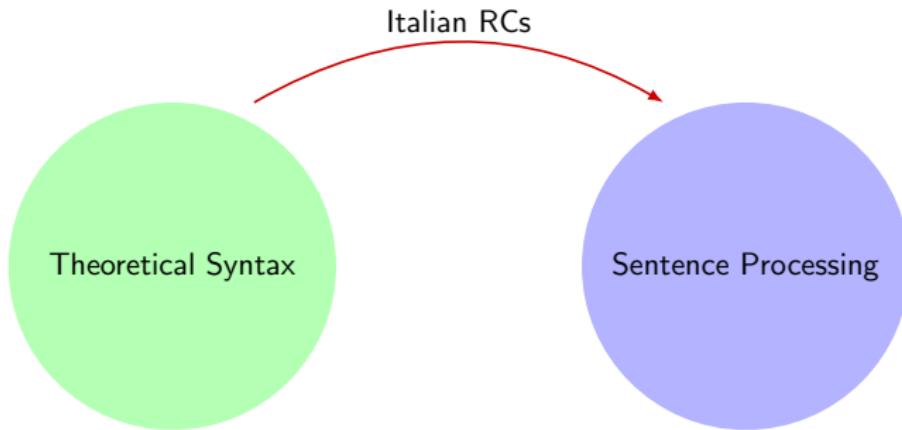
Clause Type	<MaxTenure,SumSize>
obj. SRC > ORC	✓
obj. SRC > ORCp	✓
obj. ORC > ORCp	✓
subj. SRC > ORC	✓
subj. SRC > ORCp	✓
subj. ORC > ORCp	✓
matrix SVO > VOS	✓
VS unacc > VS unerg	✓

Table: Predictions of the MG parser by contrast.

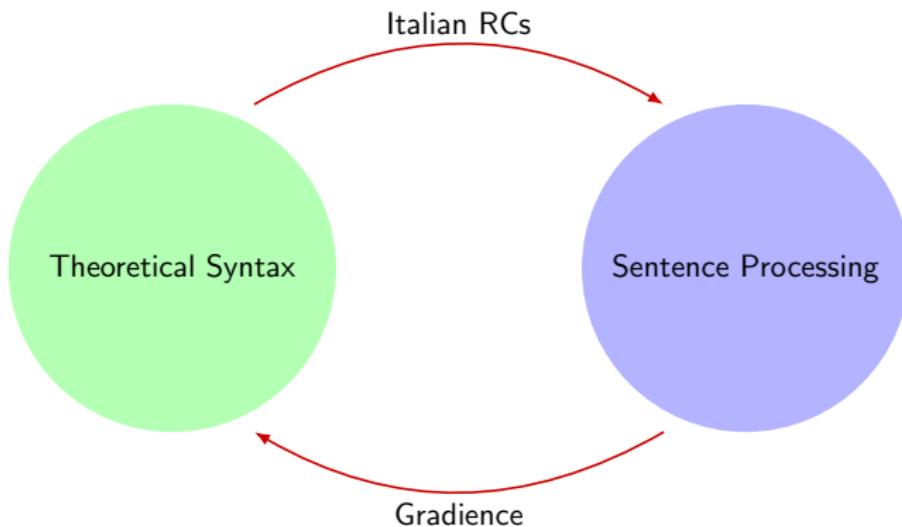
Interim Summary

- ▶ Asymmetries in Italian postverbal subject constructions
 - ▶ Derived just from **(fine-grained) structural differences!**
 - ▶ **Ongoing:** expand range of syntactic analyses;
 - ▶ **Ongoing:** cross-linguistic comparisons.
- ▶ $\langle \text{MAXT}, \text{SUMS} \rangle$ gives consistent results!
 - ▶ Right vs. center embedding, attachment ambiguities, relative clause preferences
 - ▶ English, German, Korean, Japanese, Persian, Mandarin Chinese
 - ▶ More?

Moving on



Moving on



Acceptability and Grammaticality

- 1 **What** do you think that John bought *t*?
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One way to test the adequacy of a grammar proposed for [language] L is to determine whether or not the sequences that it generates are actually grammatical, i.e., acceptable to a native speaker.

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Acceptability judgments ≈ Grammaticality judgments

Gradience in Acceptability Judgments

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Gradient Acceptability and Categorical Grammars

Acceptability judgments are not binary but *gradient*:

An adequate linguistic theory will have to recognize degrees of grammaticalness [...] there is little doubt that speakers can fairly consistently order new utterances, never previously heard, with respect to their degree of belongingness to the language.

(Chomsky 1975: 131-132)

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Models of Gradience

(At least two) theories of gradience:

- ▶ Gradience incorporated in the grammar
(Keller 2000; Featherston 2005; Lau et al. 2014)
- ▶ Gradience due to extra-grammatical factors
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The contribution of formal models?

Quantify what each approach needs to account for the data:

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Gradient Grammars (Keller 2000; Lau et al. 2014)

- ▶ OT-style constraint ranking
- ▶ Probabilistic grammars

Extra-grammatical Factors (Chomsky 1975; Schütze 1996)

- ▶ Processing effects
 - ▶ Plausibility
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 - ▶ **But:** few models for quantitative predictions!

Hypothesis

We can use the MG parser to test the relation between categorical grammar, processing difficulty, and gradience!

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Modeling Gradience with an MG Parser

The model is the same as before

- 1 A formal model of syntax → Minimalist grammars (MGs)
- 2 A theory of how structures are built → MG parser
- 3 A linking theory: higher memory cost ⇒ lower acceptability

- ▶ Sensitive to fine-grained structural differences!
- ▶ Minimal, pairwise comparisons are maximally interpretable!

A proof-of-concept:

- ▶ Variation of Island effects in English (Sprouse et al. 2012)

A Proof of Concept: Island Effects

- 1 **What** do you think that John bought *t*?
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Results in pairwise comparisons ideal for the MG parser

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Gradience in Islands: Sprouse et al. (2012)

A factorial design for islands effects:

- 1 GAP POSITION: Matrix vs. Embedded
- 2 STRUCTURE: Island vs. Non-Island
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Jon Sprouse

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FOUR ISLAND TYPES

Subject islands

- ▶ What do you think the speech about *t* interrupted the show about global warming?

Adjunct islands

- ▶ What do you laugh if John leaves *t* at the office?

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- ▶ What did you make the claim that John bought *t*?

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Modeling Results (De Santo 2020)

Island Type	Sprouse et al. (2012)	MG Parser
Subj. Island 1	Subj. — Non Isl. > Obj. — Non Isl.	✓
	Subj. — Non Isl. > Obj. — Isl.	✓
	Subj. — Non Isl. > Subj. — Isl.	✓
	Obj. — Non Isl. > Obj. — Isl.	✓
	Obj. — Non Isl. > Subj. — Isl.	✓
	Obj. — Isl. > Subj. — Isl.	✗
Subj. Island 2	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Non Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Emb. — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
Adj. Island	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Non Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Emb. — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
CNP Island	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Non Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. = Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Emb. — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓

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	Obj. — Non Isl. > Obj. — Isl.	✓
	Obj. — Non Isl. > Subj. — Isl.	✓
	Obj. — Isl. > Subj. — Isl.	✗
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	Matrix — Non Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Emb. — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
Adj. Island	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Non Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
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CNP Island	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Non Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. = Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓
	Matrix — Isl. > Matrix — Isl.	✓
	Emb. — Non Isl. > Emb. — Isl.	✓

TL;DR

Success in all
cases but one!

Subject Island: Case 1

- (5) a. **What** do you think the speech interrupted *t*? Obj — Non Island
- b. **What** do you think *t* interrupted the show? Subj — Non Island
- c. **What** do you think the speech about global warming interrupted the show about *t*? Obj — Island
- d. **What** do you think the speech about *t* interrupted the show about global warming? Subj — Island

Sprouse et al. (2012)		MG Parser	Clause Type	MaxT	SumS
Subj. — Non Isl.	> Obj. — Non Isl.	✓	Obj./Non Island	14/do	19
Subj. — Non Isl.	> Obj. — Isl.	✓	Subj./Non Island	11/do	14
Subj. — Non Isl.	> Subj. — Isl.	✓	Obj./Island	23/T2	22
Obj. — Non Isl.	> Obj. — Isl.	✓	Subj./Island	15/do	20
Obj. — Non Isl.	> Subj. — Isl.	✓			
Obj. — Isl.	> Subj. — Isl.	✗			

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Obj. — Non Isl.	> Obj. — Isl.	✓	Subj./Island	15/do	20
Obj. — Non Isl.	> Subj. — Isl.	✓			
Obj. — Isl.	> Subj. — Isl.	✗			

Subject Island: Case 2

- (6) a. **Who** *t* thinks the speech interrupted the primetime TV show?
 Matrix — Non Island
- b. **What** do you think *t* interrupted the primetime TV show?
 Emb. — Non Island
- c. **Who** *t* thinks the speech about global warming interrupted
 the primetime TV show?
 Matrix — Island
- d. **What** do you think the speech about *t* interrupted the
 primetime TV show?
 Emb. — Island

Sprouse et al. (2012)	MG Parser	Clause Type	MaxT	SumS
Matrix — Non Isl.	> Emb. — Non Isl.	✓	Matrix — Non Isl.	5/C 9
Matrix — Non Isl.	> Matrix — Isl.	✓	Emb. — Non Isl.	11/do 14
Matrix — Non Isl.	> Emb. — Isl.	✓	Matrix — Isl.	11/T _{RC} 9
Matrix — Isl.	> Emb. — Isl.	✓	Emb. — Isl.	17/T _{RC} 20
Matrix — Isl.	> Matrix — Isl.	✓		
Emb. — Non Isl.	> Emb. — Isl.	✓		

Summary

Gradience from a categorical MG grammar?

- ▶ The **first** (quantitative) model of this kind!
- ▶ Overall, a success! ⇒ **just** from structural differences!
- ▶ Outlier is expected assuming grammaticalized constraints.

The tip of the iceberg!

- ▶ Modulate range of dependencies
- ▶ Other examples of gradience
- ▶ Cognitive vs. grammatical constraints? (Ferrara-Boston 2012)
- ▶ Syntactic constraints ~ pruning the parsing space
(Stabler 2013)
- ▶ Probing industrial-level language models
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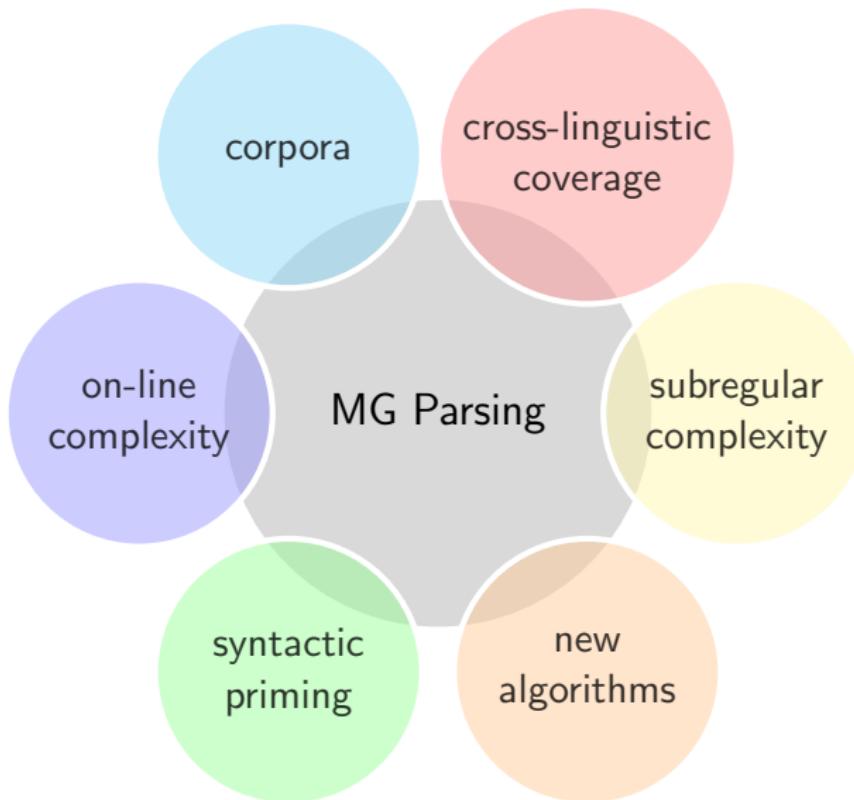
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From the Trees (back) to the Forest

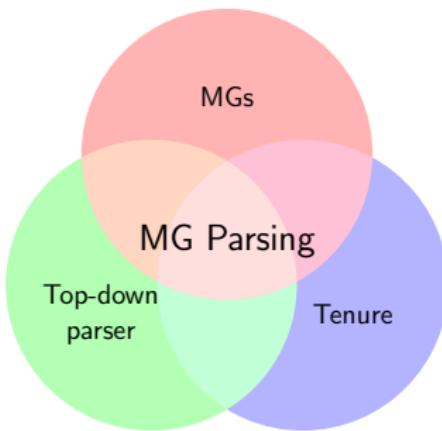


- ▶ Fully specified parsing model allows for precise predictions
- ▶ Tight connection with current generative syntax
- ▶ Successful on a variety of cross-linguistic constructions
- ▶ + insights about the structure of the grammar

Looking Ahead: A Collaborative Enterprise



From the Trees (back) to the Forest [cont.]



Within the program of research proposed here, joint work by linguists, computer scientists, and psychologists could lead to a deeper scientific understanding of the role of language in cognition.

(Bresnan 1978: pg. 59)

Thank you!

Selected References I

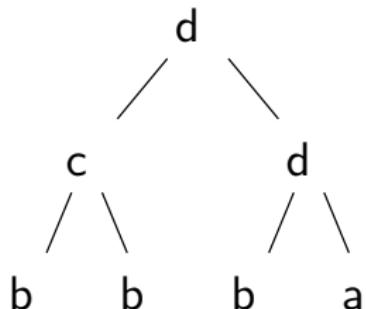
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- 2** De Santo, A. (2019). Testing a Minimalist grammar parser on Italian relative clause asymmetries. In *Proceedings of CMCL 2019*, June 6 2019, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- 3** De Santo, A. (2020). MG Parsing as a Model of Gradient Acceptability in Syntactic Islands. (To appear) In *Proceedings of SCiL 2020*, Jan 2-5, New Orleans.
- 4** De Santo, A. and Shafiei, N. (2019). On the structure of relative clauses in Persian: Evidence from computational modeling and processing effects. *Talk at the NACIL2*, April 19-21 2019, University of Arizona.
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Appendix

Top-down Parsing + Grammaticalized Constraints?

Graf & De Santo (2019)

Sensing Tree Automata (Martens 2006) as a subregular bound
on the complexity of syntactic dependencies.

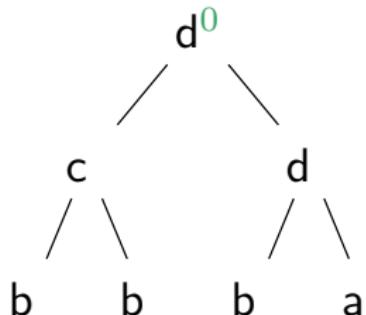


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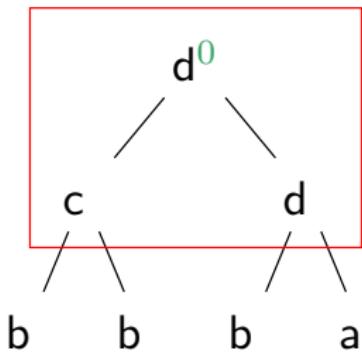


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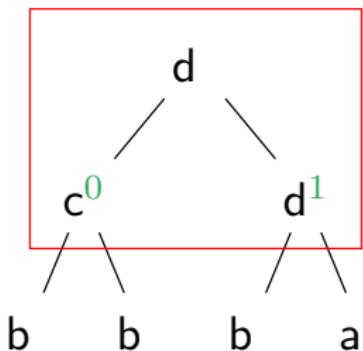


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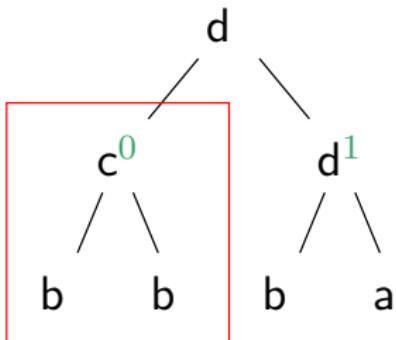


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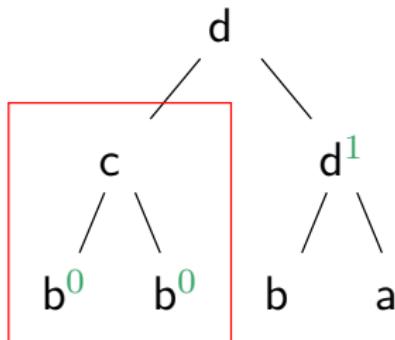


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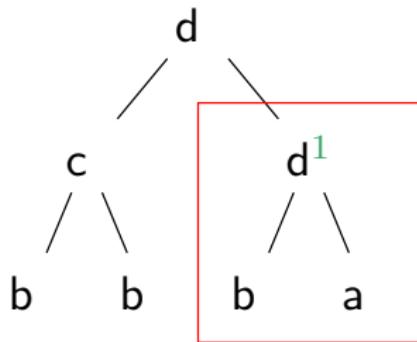


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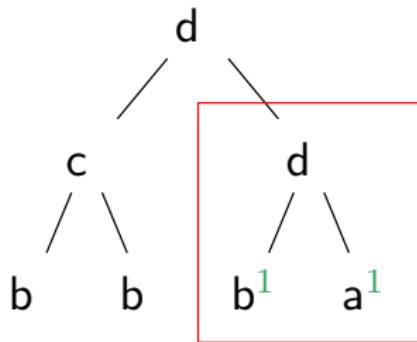


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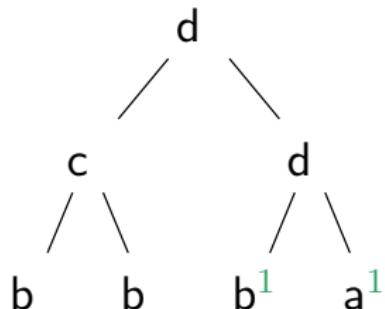


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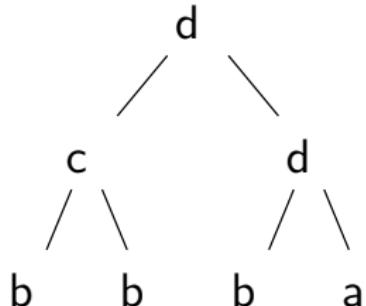


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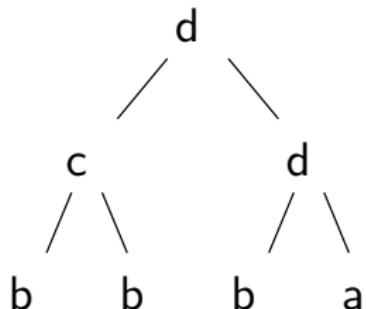
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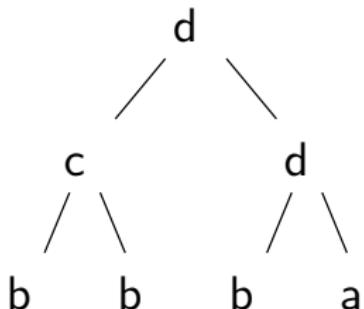
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- ▶ Some island constraints arise naturally from this perspective (e.g., Adjunct Island Constraint, SpIC, ATB movement)
- ▶ Constraints improve parsing performance by **exponentially reducing** the search space (Stabler 2013)
- ▶ Can be pre-compiled in the MG parse schema as a deterministic **top-down filter** (De Santo & Graf, in prep.)

Why MGs?

1 Vast analytical coverage

- ▶ MGs handle virtually all analyses in the generative literature

2 Centrality of derivation trees

- ▶ MGs can be viewed as CFGs with a more complicated mapping from trees to strings

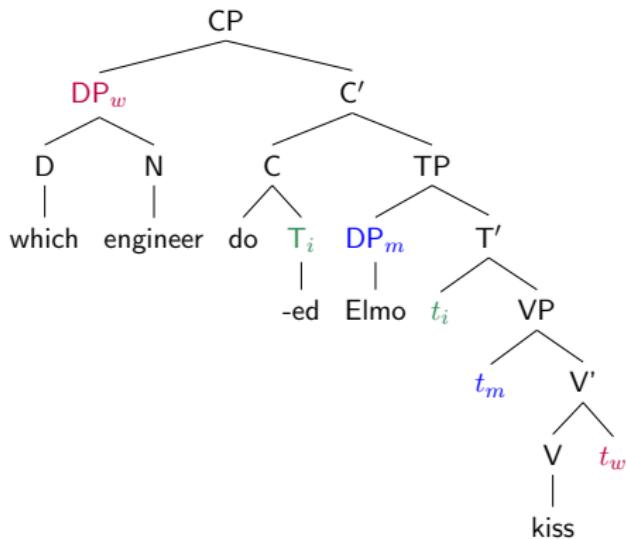
3 Simple parsing algorithms

- ▶ Variant of a recursive descent parser for CFGs
⇒ cf. TAG (Rambow & Joshi, 1995; Demberg, 2008)

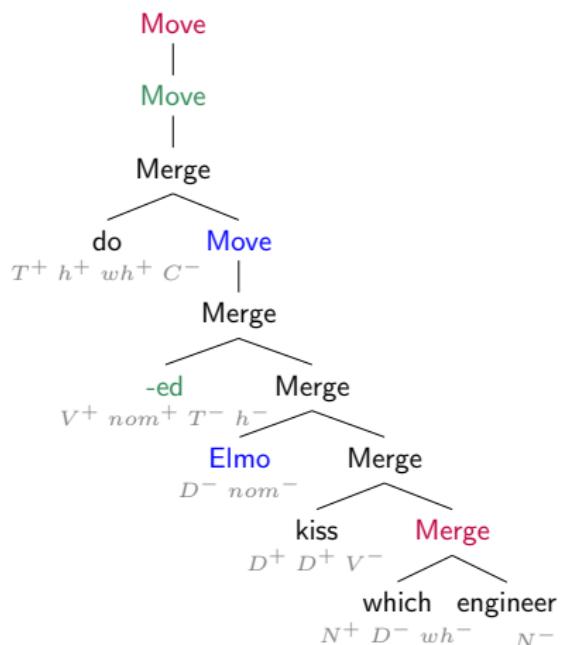
Some Important Properties of MGs

- ▶ MGs are weakly equivalent to MCFGs and thus mildly context-sensitive. (Harkema 2001, Michaelis 2001)
- ▶ But we can decompose them into two finite-state components: (Michaelis et al. 2001, Kobele et al. 2007, Monnich 2006)
 - ▶ a regular language of well-formed derivation trees
 - ▶ an MSO-definable mapping from derivations to phrase structure trees
- ▶ **Remember:** Every regular tree language can be re-encoded as a CFG (with more fine-grained non-terminal labels). (Thatcher 1967)

Fully Specified Derivation Trees



Phrase Structure Tree



Derivation Tree

Technical Fertility of MGs

MGs can accommodate the full syntactic toolbox:

- ▶ sideways movement (Stabler, 2006; Graf 2013)
- ▶ affix hopping (Graf 2012; Graf 2013)
- ▶ clustering movement (Gartner & Michaelis 2010)
- ▶ tucking in (Graf 2013)
- ▶ ATB movement (Kobele 2008)
- ▶ copy movement (Kobele 2006)
- ▶ extraposition (Hunter & Frank 2014)
- ▶ Late Merge (Kobele 2010; Graf 2014)
- ▶ Agree (Kobele 2011; Graf 2011)
- ▶ adjunction (Fowlie 2013; Hunter 2015)
- ▶ TAG-style adjunction (Graf 2012)

Why These Metrics?

- ▶ These complexity metrics are all related to **storage cost**
(cf. Gibson, 1998)
- ▶ We could implement alternative ones
(cf. Ferrara-Boston, 2012)
 - ▶ number of bounding nodes / phases
 - ▶ surprisal
 - ▶ feature intervention
 - ▶ status of discourse referents
 - ▶ integration, retrieval, ...
- ▶ We want to keep the model **simple** (but not **trivial**):
 - ▶ Tenure and Size only refer to the geometry of the derivation
 - ▶ they are sensitive the specifics of tree-traversal
(cf. node-count; Hale, 2001)

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Italian Subjects: Probing the Results

Clause Type	MaxT	SumS
obj. SRC	8/ <i>che</i>	18
obj. ORC	11/ <i>ha</i>	24
obj. ORCp	16/ <i>Foc</i>	31
subj. SRC	21/ <i>v'</i>	37
subj. ORC	21/ <i>v'</i>	44
subj. ORCp	28/ <i>v'</i>	56
matrix SVO	3/ <i>ha/v'</i>	7
matrix VOS	7/ <i>Top/Foc</i>	11
VS unacc	2/ <i>vP</i>	3
VS unerg	7/ <i>Top/Foc</i>	11

Table: Summary of MAXT (*value/node*) and SUMS by construction.
 Obj. and subj. indicate the landing site of the RC head in the matrix clause.

Postverbal Asymmetries: Possible Accounts?

SRC > ORC

- ▶ DLT, active-filler strategy, Competition model, ...

ORC > ORC_p

- ▶ more problematic (e.g., for DLT)
- ▶ can be explained by
 - 1 economy of gap prediction + structural re-analysis;
 - 2 intervention effects + featural Relativized Minimality

Can we give a purely structural account?

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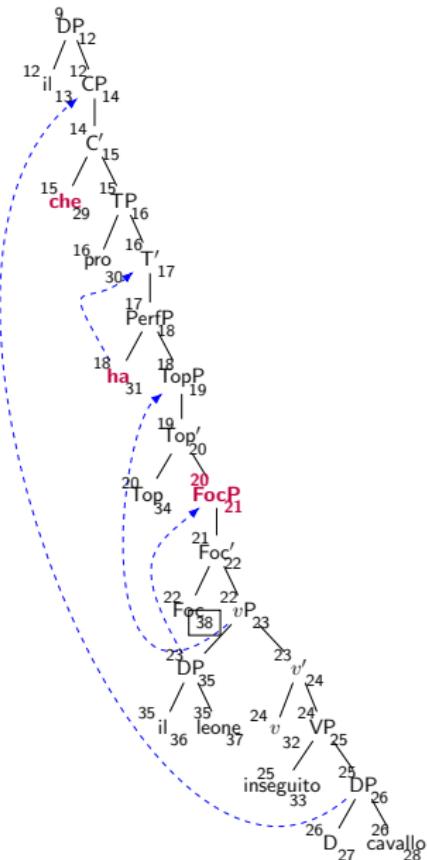
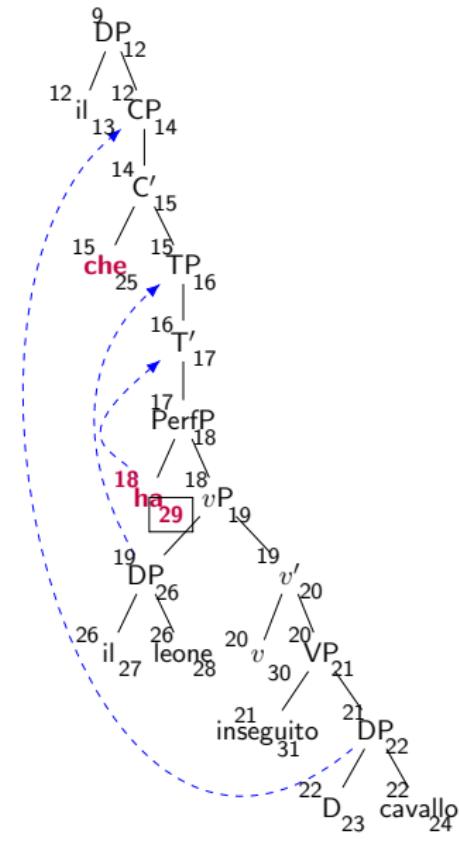
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Can we give a purely structural account?

Results: ORC > ORCp



Additional Constructions

► Ambiguity in Matrix Clauses

- (7) Ha chiamato Gio

Has called Giovanni

a. “He/she/it called Gio”

SVO

b. “Gio called”

VS

► Unaccusatives vs. Unergatives

- (8) È arrivato Gio

Is arrived Gio

“Gio arrived”

Unaccusative

- (9) Ha corso Gio

Has ran Gio

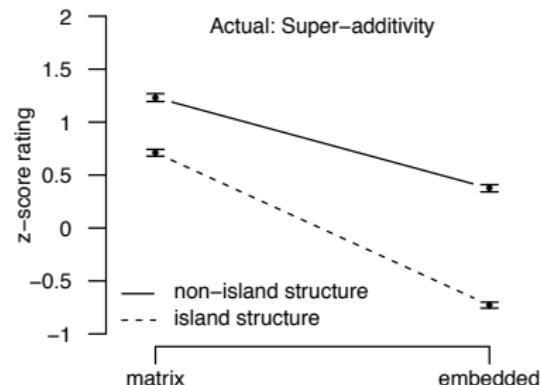
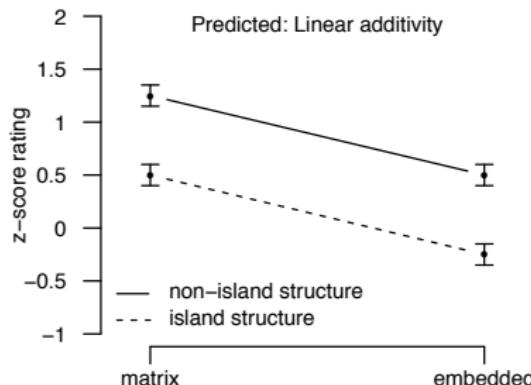
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Unergative

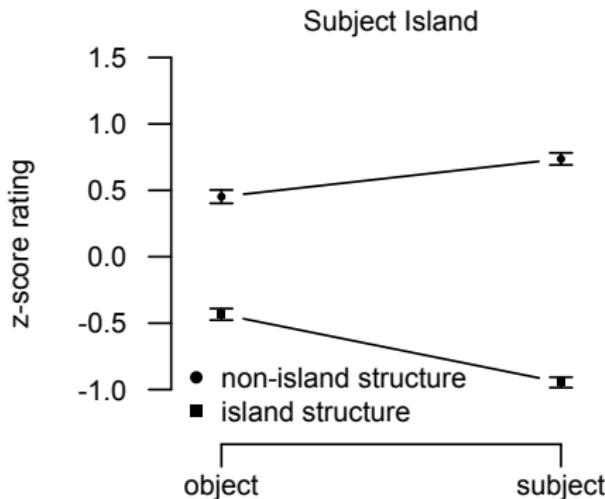
Gradience in Islands

A factorial design for islands effect:

► GAP POSITION × STRUCTURE



Deriving Pairwise Comparisons



- ▶ Subj — Non Island > Obj — Non Island
- ▶ Subj — Non Island > Obj — Island
- ▶ Subj — Non Island > Subj — Island
- ▶ etc.

A Caveat on Island Effects

The Goal

Can **gradience** in acceptability judgments arise from a categorical grammar due to processing factors?

- ▶ Sprouse et al.'s (2012) design is ideal for the MG model.

But I am not interested in island effects per se:

- ▶ Islands: grammatical or processing effects?
(Hofmeister et al., 2012a; Sprouse et al., 2012a,b)
 - ▶ hence, not modeling super-additivity
 - ▶ spoilers: maybe we get some insights?
- ▶ Islands: syntax or semantics?
(Truswell, 2011; Kush et al., 2013; Matchin et al., 2015)

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Subject Islands

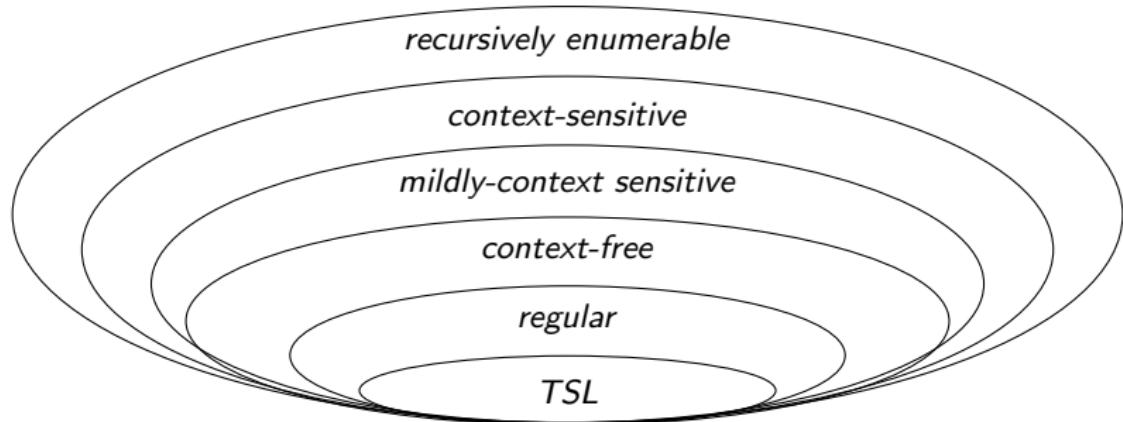
Case 1:

- (10) a. **What** do you think the speech interrupted *t*? Obj — Non Island
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- c. **What** do you think the speech about global warming
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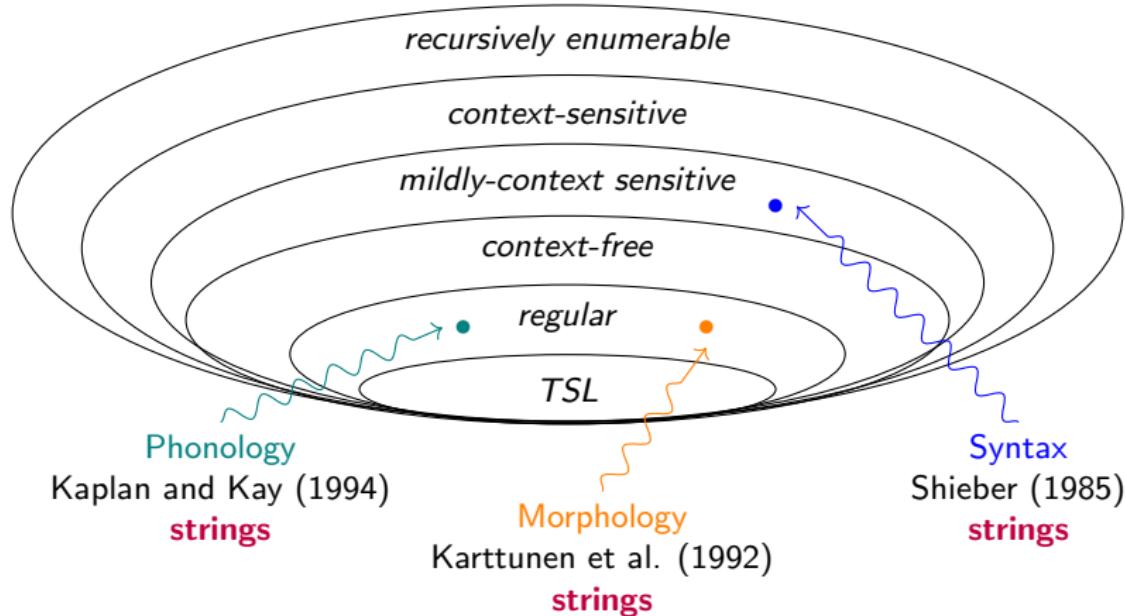
Case 2:

- (11) a. **Who** *t* thinks the speech interrupted the primetime TV show?
Matrix — Non Island
- b. **What** do you think *t* interrupted the primetime TV show?
Emb. — Non Island
- c. **Who** *t* thinks the speech about global warming interrupted
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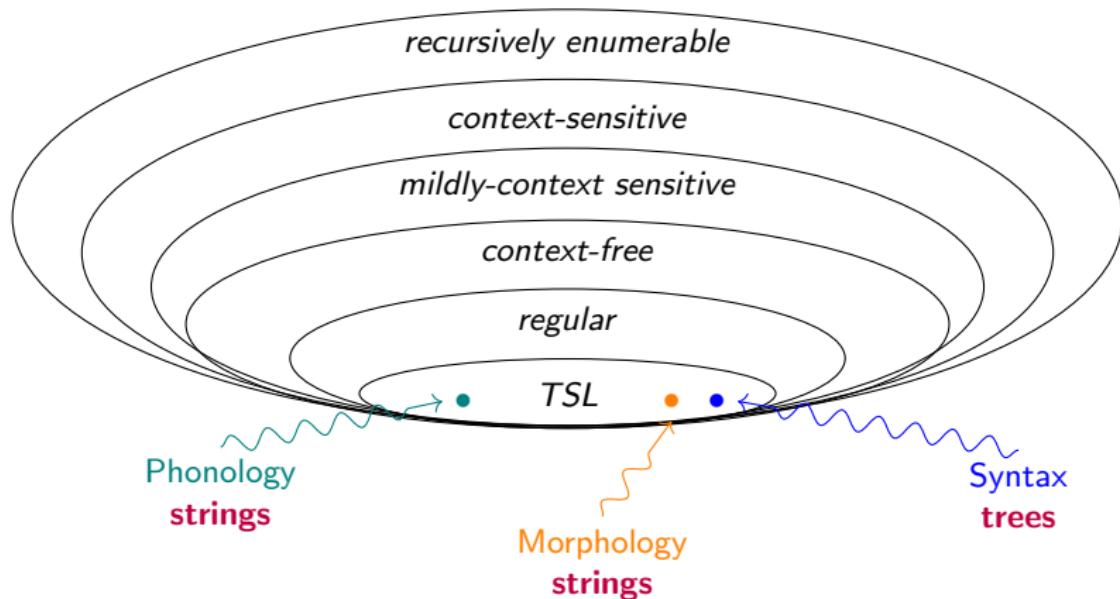
Subregular Complexity



Subregular Complexity



Subregular Complexity



Cognitive Parallelism

Strong Cognitive Parallelism Hypothesis

Phonology, (morphology), and syntax have the **same subregular complexity** over their respective **structural representations**.

We gain a unified perspective on:

- ▶ typology
- ▶ learnability
- ▶ cognition

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We gain a unified perspective on:

- ▶ typology
 - ✗ Intervocalic Voicing iff applied **an even times** in the string
 - ✗ Have a CP iff it dominates ≥ 3 TPs
- ▶ learnability
- ▶ cognition

Cognitive Parallelism

Strong Cognitive Parallelism Hypothesis

Phonology, (morphology), and syntax have the **same subregular complexity** over their respective **structural representations**.

We gain a unified perspective on:

- ▶ typology
 - ✗ Intervocalic Voicing iff applied **an even times** in the string
 - ✗ Have a CP iff it dominates ≥ 3 TPs
- ▶ learnability
 - Learnable from positive examples of strings/trees.
- ▶ cognition

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 - Finite, flat memory