

An example of complex
language

Canonicity

Canonicity across
languages

Canonicity and movement

Exercise

Movement / canonicity
and processing difficulty

Position of embedding

Representational complexity

Animacy

Discourse I - properties of
NPs

Putting animacy and
discourse together

Discourse II - structure of
preceding utterances

Sentence Processing II

Nick Riches

Newcastle University

April 30, 2019

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(1) No head injury is too trivial to ignore

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- (1) No head injury is too trivial to ignore
- (2) INTERPRETATION 1: **No** head injury should be ignored no matter how trivial
- (3) INTERPRETATION 2: **All** head injuries should be ignored no matter how trivial

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- (4) No donut is too fattening to eat
- (5) INTERPRETATION 1: **No** donut should be eaten no matter how fattening
- (6) INTERPRETATION 2: **All** donuts should be eaten no matter how fattening

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So “No head injury is too trivial to ignore” actually means
“All head injuries should be ignored no matter how trivial”.

Lexical semantics + world knowledge \Rightarrow Wrong
interpretation.

“Goodenough” theory of language comprehension (Fernanda
Ferrara)

We process language in a relatively shallow way, doing just
enough processing to extract a contextually-relevant
meaning, but no more.

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(7) The cat chased the mouse

(8) The mouse was chased by the cat

Which is more complex and why?

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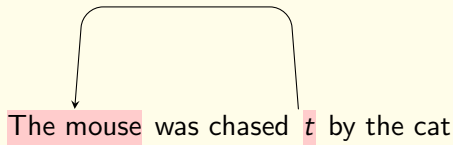
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(9)



The mouse was chased *t* by the cat

A diagram illustrating a syntactic movement operation. A curved arrow originates from the trace 't' (highlighted in a pink box) and points back to the noun phrase 'The mouse' (also highlighted in a pink box). This represents the movement of the object from its base position to the subject position.

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Difficulty with passives

1. Semantically non-canonical word order: the patient comes before the agent
2. They are derived via syntactic movement (movement of NP **the mouse** from after the verb **chased**)

'Canonical' = 'typical' / 'standard'

We can refer to **syntactic** and **semantic** canonicity.

In **syntactically canonical** sentences, the subject comes before the object.

(10) The teenager SUBJ likes parties OBJ

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In **semantically canonical** sentences, there is an **alignment** between the Subject and the Agent argument (and Object and Patient)

(11) The man AG ate the donut PAT

(12) The dog AG chased the cat PAT

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In some cases the subject may not be an Agent, but it will definitely have more agency than the object

(13) The boy AG/ EXP smelt the rose TH

So Subject maps to the most agentive argument, while Object maps onto the least agentive argument.

Examples of non-canonical sentences

(14)  The mouse was chased *t* by the cat

Syntactically canonical - subject comes before verb

Semantically non-canonical - subject maps to least agentive argument

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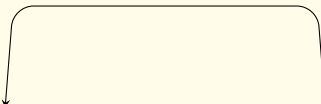
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(15)

There 's the mouse that the cat chased t

A curved arrow originates from the letter 't' at the end of the sentence and points back to the words 'the mouse', illustrating the movement of the object to the subject position.

Syntactically non-canonical - Object comes before Subject

Semantically canonical - Subject maps to Agent argument

For three place predicates, which is the canonical word order?

1. John gave her _{O_i} a book _{O_d} (DITRANSITIVE)
2. John gave a book _{O_d} to her _{O_i} (PREPOSITIONAL DATIVE)

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For three place predicates, which is the canonical word order?

1. John gave her _{O_i} a book _{O_d} (DITRANSITIVE)
2. John gave a book _{O_d} to her _{O_i} (PREPOSITIONAL DATIVE)
3. John read a book _{O_d} [in the park]
4. John wore a blue blazer _{O_d} [for the party]

Prepositional dative assumed to be canonical as its basic structure (V + O_d + Prepositional Phrase) is far more frequent

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1. English is SVO (40%)
2. Japanese is SOV (35%)
3. Classical Arabic is VSO (15%)
4. Fijian is VOS (10%)
5. Xavante is OSV (<1%)
6. Hixkarayana is OVS (<1%)

Strong tendency for $S > O$ (75% of world's languages) and weaker tendency for $V > O$ (65%)

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Some languages allow words to come in almost any order, e.g. Latin & Finnish.

However, even these have a preferred word order, e.g. it has been argued that the basic Latin word order is OSV.

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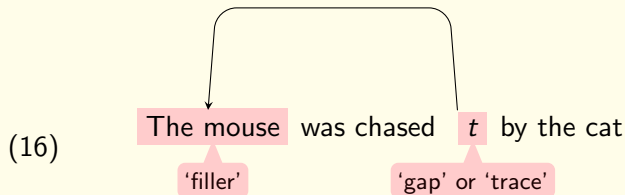
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Syntactically non-canonical sentences are assumed by many linguists to result from a movement process:



Are the following sentences syntactically canonical? For non-canonical sentences specify the filler and the gap?

1. It was **the boy** that **the girl** pushed
2. **The boy** apparently pushed **the girl** into the puddle
3. **The boy** that **the girl** pushed was upset
4. **The boy** was pushed by **the girl**
5. **The boy** that pushed **the girl** was naughty
6. It was **the boy** that pushed **the girl**

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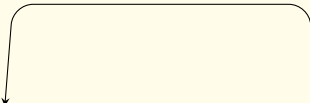
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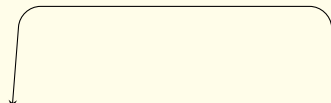
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(1) It was **the boy** that the girl pushed *t*



(2) **The boy** apparently pushed **the girl** into the puddle

(3) **The boy** that **the girl** pushed *t* was upset



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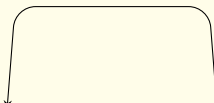
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(4)  The boy was pushed *t* by the girl

(5) **The boy** that pushed **the girl** was naughty

(6) It was **the boy** that pushed **the girl**

Difficulty affected by movement.

Difficulty is greater when movement is longer.

Effect of difficulty is even greater in language-impaired individuals.

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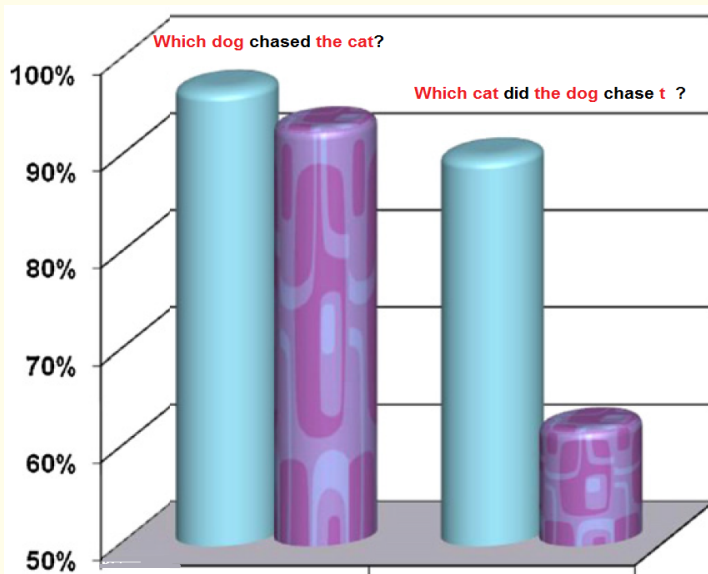
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Friedmann & Novogrodsky, 2010



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(17) **The boy** [_ that pushed **the girl**] was naughty

(18) **The boy** pushed **the girl** [_ that was naughty]

Position of embedding

Multiple centre-embedding is a nightmare!

(19) **The girl** [that **the boy** [that **the teacher** scolded _] pushed _] _ hurt her knee

(20) There's **the boy** [that the teacher scolded _] [_ that pushed **the girl**] [that _ fell and hurt her knee].

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How can a sentence be grammatically well-formed but almost impossible to understand?

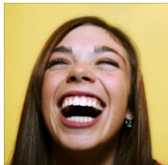
Miller & Chomsky (1963) - separation between grammatical mechanisms and processing mechanisms.

LEMMA

Transitive Vb

Laugh + **at** + PERSON / THING

Laugh + **about** + THING



Opposite of "cry"

LEXEME

/la:f/ laugh

Representational complexity

1. Mary **fixed** the bike
2. Ali **donated** a book to the library
3. Ali **donated** a book
4. Angie **gave** Peter a book
5. Angie **gave** a book to Peter
6. Angie **gave** a book
7. Janet **said** her prayers
8. Janet **said** that she was sorry
9. Erica **asked** a question
10. Erica **asked** about the interview
11. Erica **asked** Mary a question
12. Erica **asked** whether Mary was tired
13. Erica **asked** Mary to be quiet

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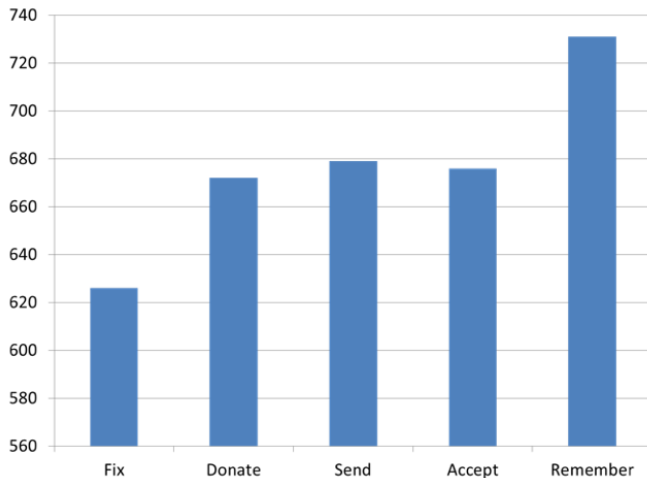
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Representational complexity

Shapiro et al. (1987) used a lexical decision task to test processing difficulty after the verb.

Results



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1. Ali remembered **the milk**
2. Ali remembered **that she had to buy the milk**
3. Ali remembered **to buy the milk**
4. Ali remembered **how to make ice milk lollies**
5. Ali remembered **his mother making him ice milk lollies**
6. Ali remembered **when his mother used to make him ice milk lollies**

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Effect of number of arguments, or subcategorisation
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Because animate entities (people, animals) have volition,
they make good agents.

Agents typically occur in subject position.

(21) **The boy** ate the sausage

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Because inanimate entities (e.g. objects) do not have volition, they do not make good agents.

Non-agents typically occur in object position.

(22) The boy ate **the sausage**

He ate the crisps

Syntax

SUBJECT

OBJECT

Semantics

Agent

Patient

Animate

Inanimate

Discourse

Old

New

Because of these correspondences, animacy cues can help children determine who did what to whom, e.g.

Which are easiest?

1. **The boy** that **the rock** squashed _ was large
2. **The car** that **the man** drove _ was fast
3. **The cow** that **the pig** chased _ was spotted

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Different argument slots also have particular discourse properties. The subject position often contains discourse-old information, e.g.

(23) I like John. **He's** a nice guy.

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(24) Have you heard about John? He won the **lottery**

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Complex structures are a lot easier to process when subjects have typical discourse properties (i.e. they are pronominal)

(25) There's **the dog** he chased _

Subject is pronominal = EASY

(26) There's **the dog the boy** chased _

Subject is a full Noun Phrase = DIFFICULT

(27) **Which dog** was **he** chasing _ ?

Subject is pronominal = EASY

(28) **Which dog** was **the boy** chasing _ ?

Subject is a full Noun Phrase = DIFFICULT

Putting animacy and discourse together

We can manipulate difficulty by combining animacy and discourse cues

(29) There's **the hammer** he dropped -

Supportive animacy and discourse cues

(30) There's **the boy** that the girl chased -

Unsupportive animacy and discourse cues

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Putting animacy and discourse together

Animacy and discourse can actually “trump” syntactic complexity, e.g.

(31) There's **the hammer** he dropped _

Noncanonical structure, but supportive animacy/discourse cues

(32) There's **the girl** that _ chased **the boy**

Canonical structure, but unsupportive animacy/discourse cues

Kidd et al. (2007) found that kids were actually better at repeating (31) than (32)

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Syntactic priming

- REPEAT “The car was hit by the lorry”
- Now describe the picture below
- REPEAT “The woman gave the flowers to the boy”
- Now describe the picture below

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We have a natural tendency to recycle the structure of preceding utterances. This is demonstrated by structural priming studies.

1. The participant hears a structure
2. The participant describes a picture which can either be produced with the preceding structure or a different structure

Participants use preceding structures at above-chance level.

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Syntactic priming is a much studied phenomenon.

Consequence of an implicit structural learning mechanism
(Peter et al. 2015).

Structural priming is widely employed in intervention
(Leonard, 2011).

However, language-impaired children may be less susceptible
to structural priming (Kidd, 2012)

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You can manipulate the complexity of sentences via the following:

1. Length of movement
2. Position of embedding (centre or final)
3. Representational properties of verbs
4. Animacy
5. Discourse properties of arguments (Noun or Pronoun)
6. Properties of preceding sentences (structural priming)

We can therefore create difficultly gradients. But how do we use these in clinics?

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Complete the following sentences

1. It's a game of two _ _ _ _ _
2. Her presentation was all over _ _ _ _ _
3. What's a nice girl like you _ _ _ _ _
4. Who'd a _ _ _ _ _ ?

How many possibilities were there? What kind of factors
influenced your completions?

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