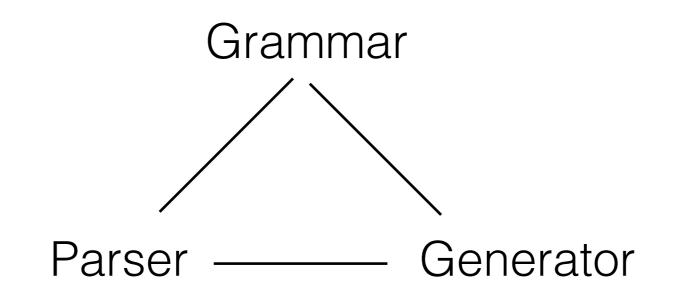
Grammar, comprehension & production LING 611 Spring 2021

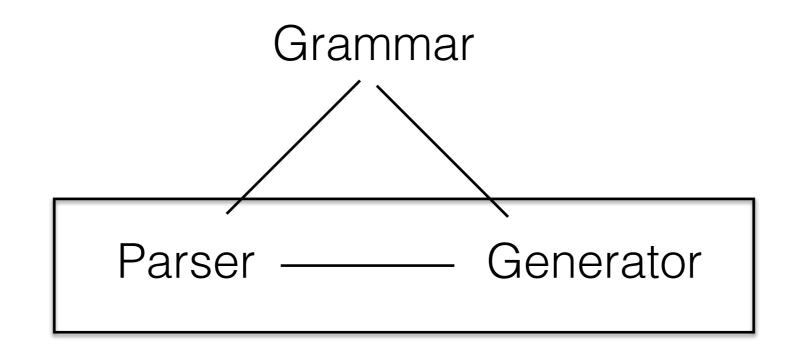
Brian Dillon Shota Momma

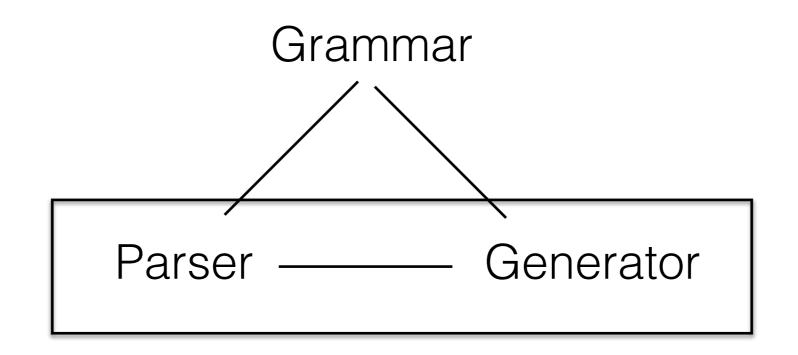
University of Massachusetts, Amherst Department of Linguistics

3/23/2022

- One system hypothesis vs. two system hypothesis
- Alignment and misalignment as key empirical phenomena for evaluating those two views.







- Neurobiological dissociation?
- Development dissociation?
- Some comprehension-/production- specific phenomena?

A case study: resumptive pronouns

Relative clause island

? Which woman did Carlos report that the newscaster who exposed the criminal threatened **her**?

Adjunct island

? Which woman did Carlos report that, when the newscaster exposed **her**, the criminal threatened the detective's case?

Wh-island

? Which woman did Carlos question how the newscaster exposed **her**?

Ackerman & Yoshida (2018) 6

Eliciting resumptive pronouns

Figure 1: Paradign	igure 1: Paradigm to Elicit Island + Resumptive Sentences		
1st Question	2 nd Question	3 rd Question (response analyzed)	
€What is This?			
-lives in Brazil	←What is this?	Con St	
-I don't know	-I don't know	←What is this?	
Target sentence: "This is a donkey that lives In California."	Target sentence: "This is a donkey that lives In Brazil."	Target sentence: "This is a donkey that I don't know where it lives."	

Eliciting resumptive pronouns

Figure 1: Paradign	n to Contro	l sentences
1st Question	2 nd Question	3 rd Question (response analyzed)
←What is This?		
-lives in Brazil	←What is this?	Con St
Doesn't know	Doesn't know	←What is this?
Target sentence: "This is a donkey that lives In California."	Target sentence: "This is a donkey that lives In Brazil."	Target sentence: "This is a donkey that I don't know where it lives."

Production of resumptive pronouns

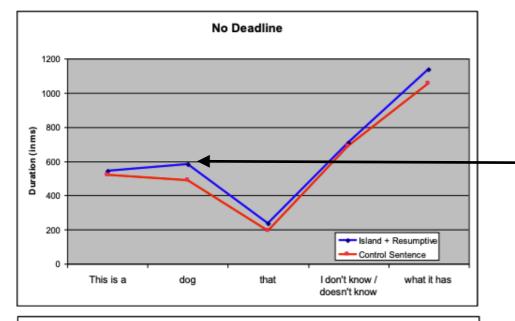
In the island + resumptive condition that was designed to elicit island + resumptive sentences, about 67% of all utterances were of the desired type. This finding is actually quite striking considering that the form is not very acceptable (more on this point later). In the deadline experiment, the percentage of sentences of this type dropped to 56%. Surprisingly, then, people are less likely to produce this marginal structure when they are under time pressure, a finding which goes against the general belief that the island + resumptive structure is produced when people do not plan properly and so essentially paint themselves into a syntactic corner (Creswell, 2002)

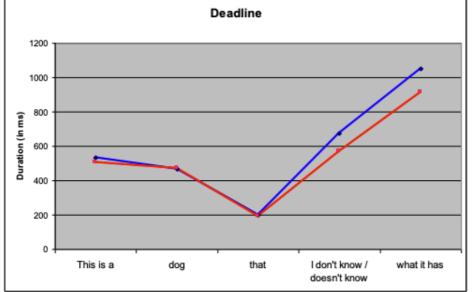
Figure 1: Paradigr	n to Elicit Island + Re	esumptive Sentences
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←What is This?		
-lives in Brazil	←What is this?	AN A
-I don't know	-I don't know	←What is this?
Target sentence: "This is a donkey that lives In California."	Target sentence: "This is a donkey that lives In Brazil."	Target sentence: "This is a donkey that I don't know where it lives."

Production time-course

a. [This is a] [donkey] [that] [I don't know] [where it lives].

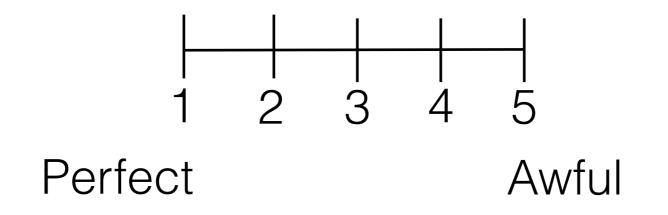
b. [This is a] [donkey] [that] [doesn't know] [where it lives].

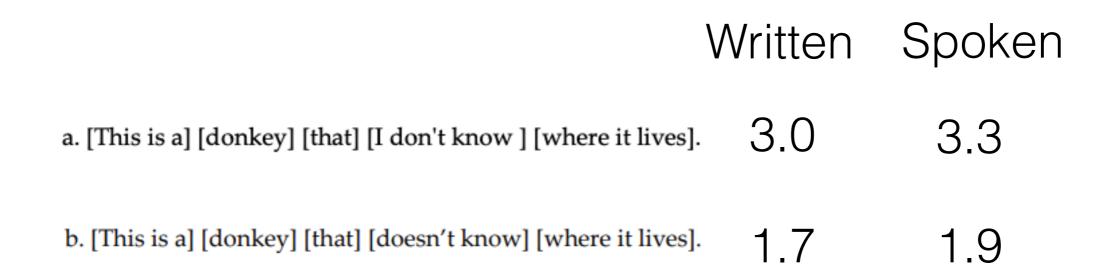




Speakers seem to be planning the island +resumptive structure already at the relative clause head?

Acceptability

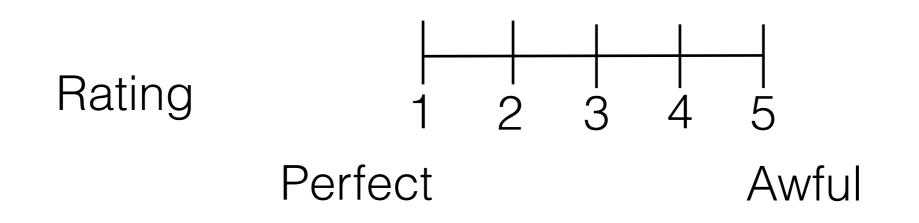




- Poll: which sentences do you like better?
 - Which woman did Carlos report that the newscaster who exposed threatened the detective's case?
 - Which woman did Carlos report that the newscaster who exposed her threatened the detective's case?

Task-difference?

Rating vs. forced choice



Forced choice

(2) a. Island

Which woman did Carlos report that $[_{island}$ the newscaster who exposed her/Ø] threatened the detective's case?

b. Nonisland

Which woman did Carlos report that [$_{island}$ the newscaster who exposed the criminal] threatened **her**/Ø?

(4) Which woman did Carlos report that the newscaster who _____ threatened the detective's case? exposed _____ exposed her

Forced choice results

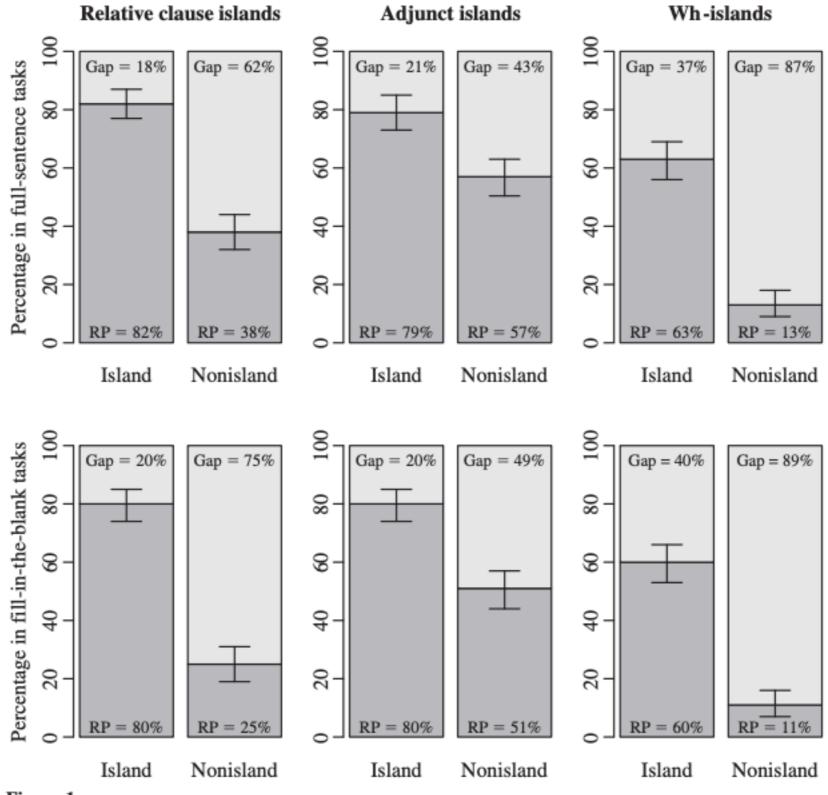


Figure 1

Proportion of resumptive pronoun (RP)/gap selections for each island and task type

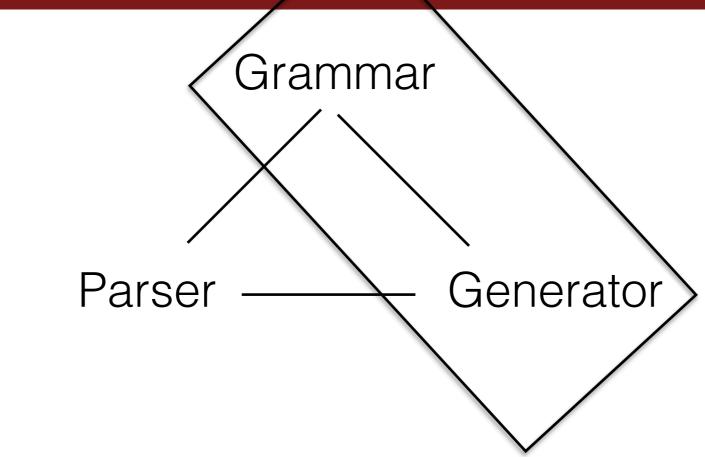
Views on resumptive pronouns

Resumptive pronouns are "intrusive" and not grammatically licit? -> Potential misalignment between grammar and parser?

Resumptive pronouns are production-based strategies? -> Potential misalignment between parser and generator?

But, when resumptive pronouns affect both comprehension and production, so maybe there's no serious misalignment?

The difference may reduce to tasks, not mechanisms?



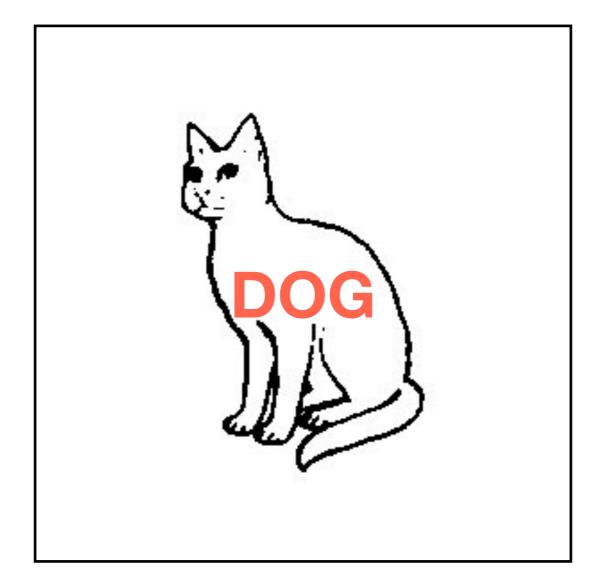
- Speech error?
- Do fined-grained representational features of structures really affect production?

A case study: timing of verb planning

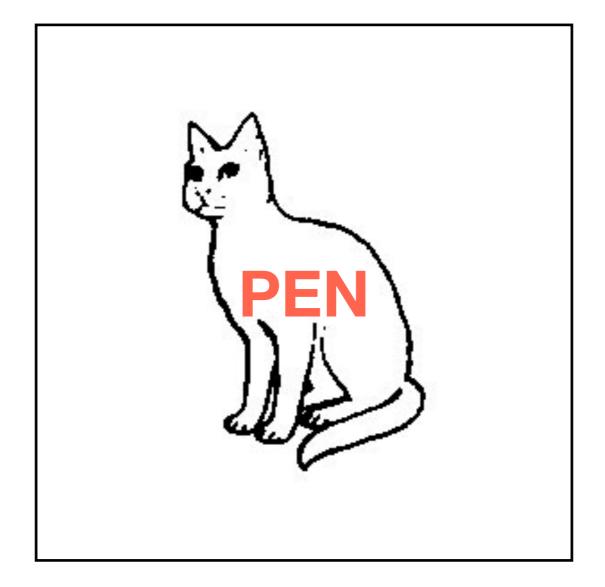
When do speakers plan verbs in various types of sentences?

But how do we study the timing of verb planning?

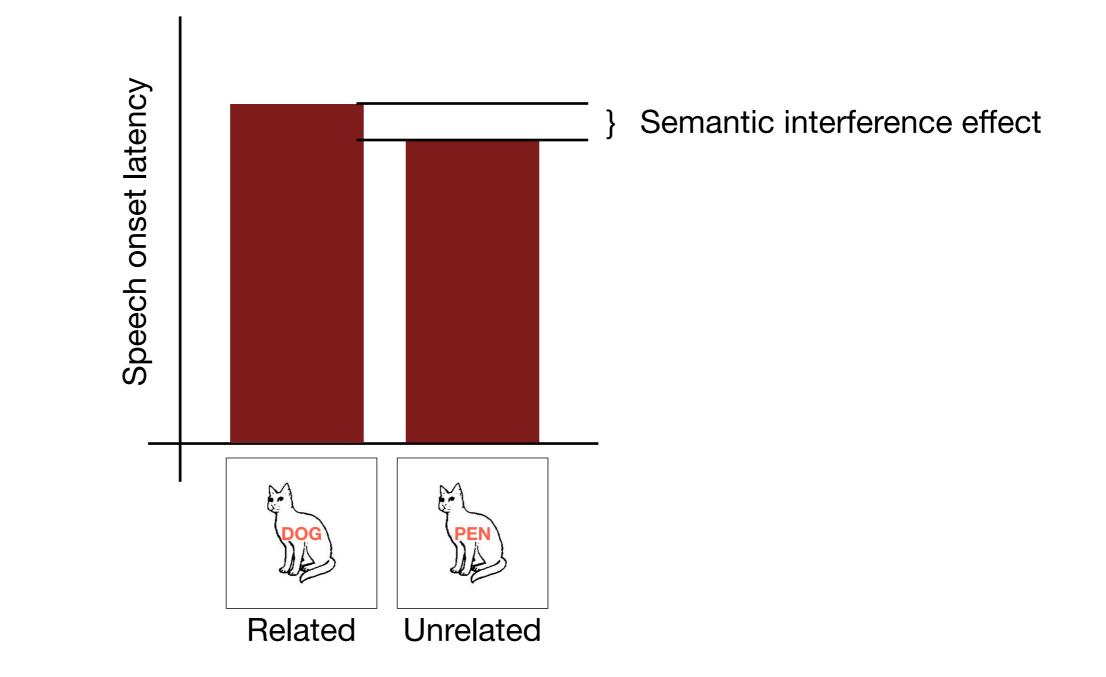
Picture Word Interference

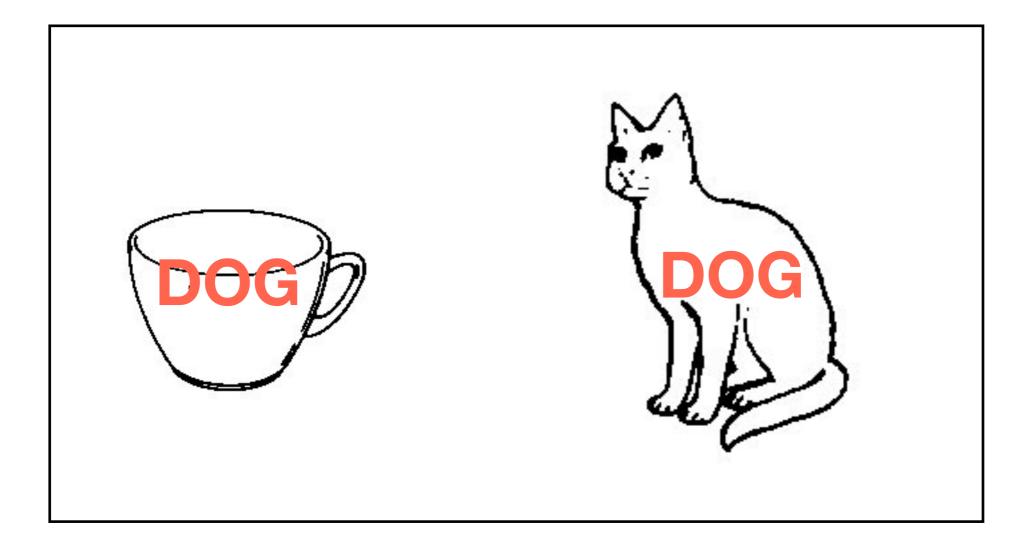


Picture Word Interference

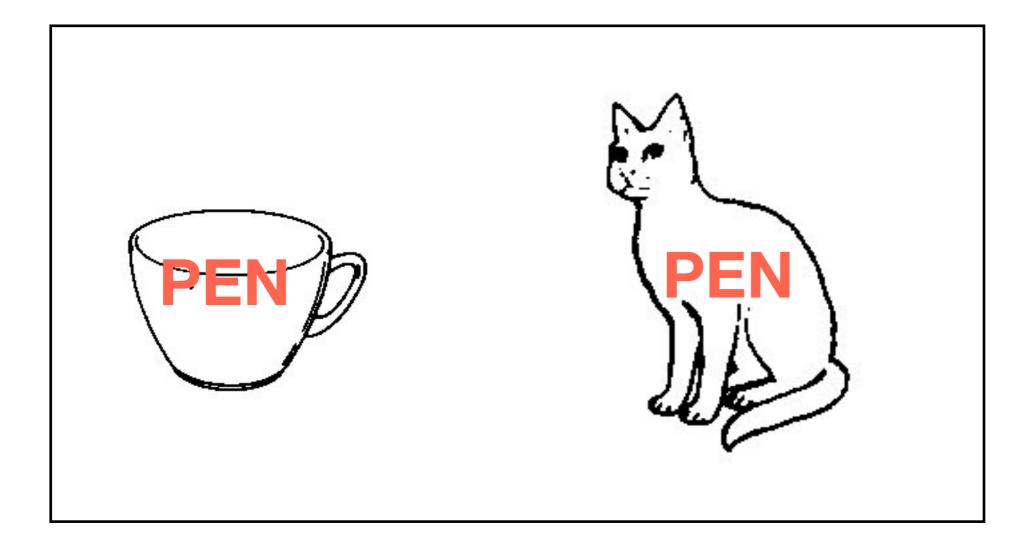


Picture Word Interference

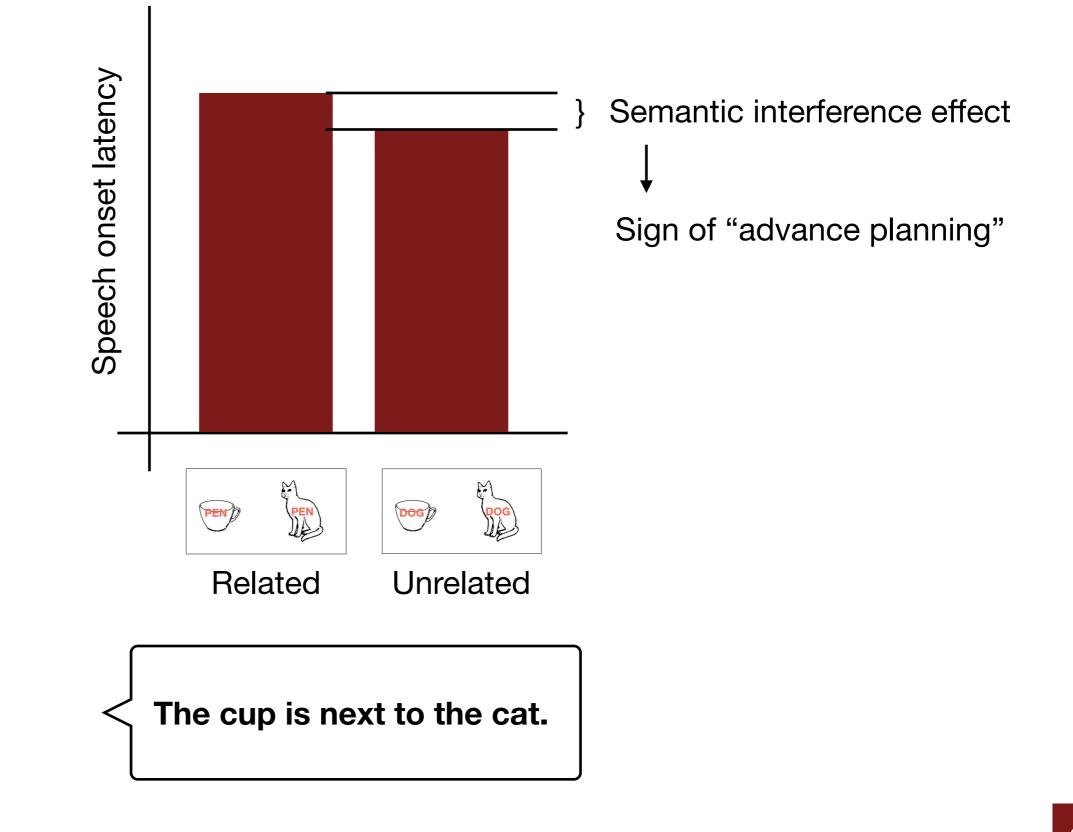




The cup is next to the cat.

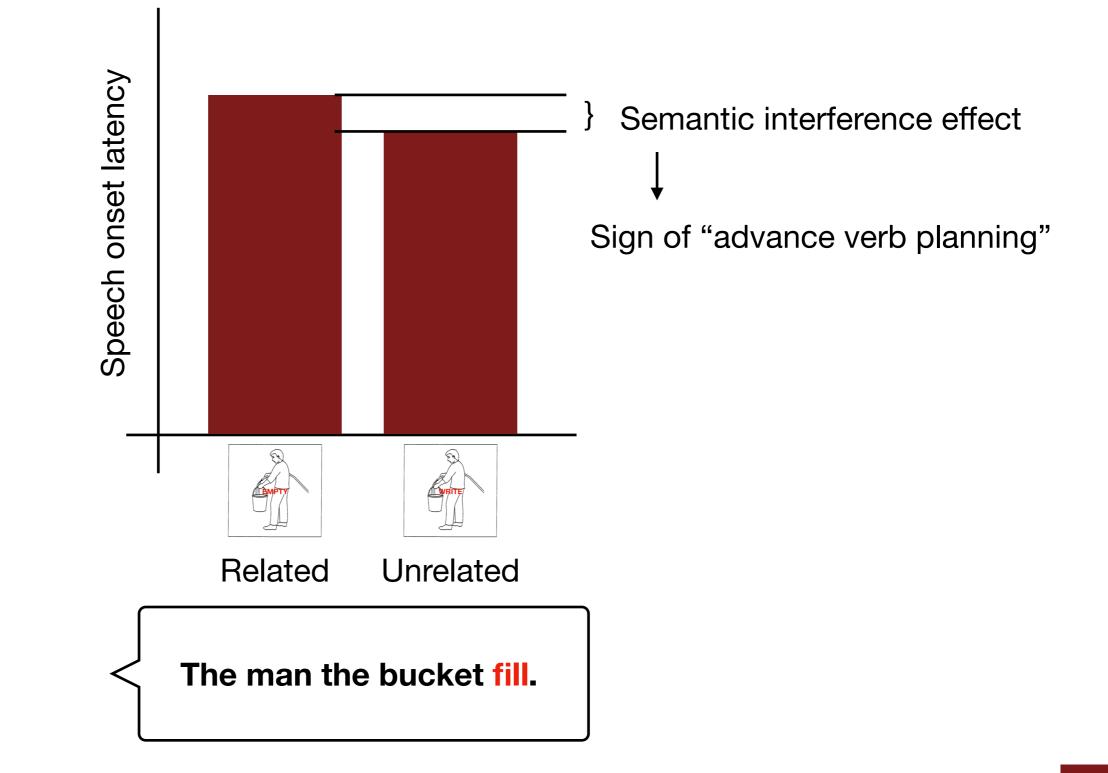


The cup is next to the cat.









Verb planning before the articulation of...

- The **object** in active transitive sentences (in Japanese)
- The **subject of passive** sentences (but not actives)
- The subject of unaccusative sentences (but not unergative sentences)

Descriptive generalization:

 Verbs are planned selectively before the articulation of "patient/theme"-like constituent?

THE PROBLEM OF FREE-

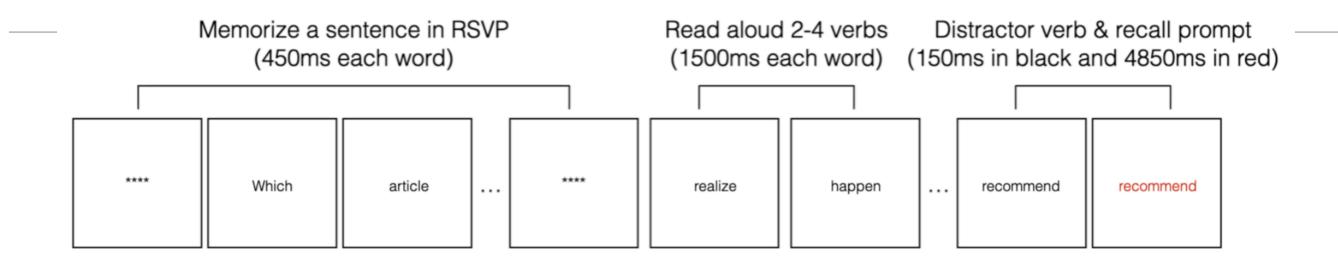
WILL



Sentence-Word interference task

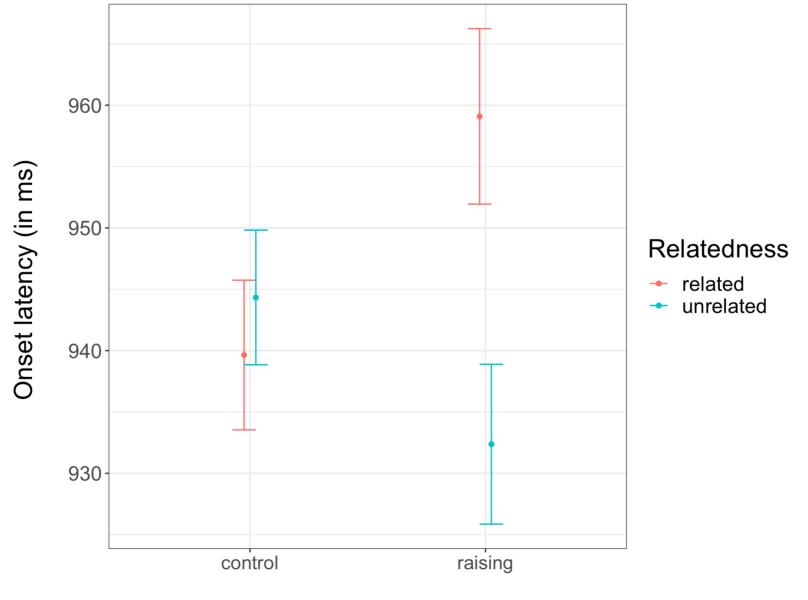
progress	

Regeneration hypothesis (Potter & Lombardi, 1990): When people recall a sentence, they are *regenerating* the sentence from conceptual memory + activated set of words.



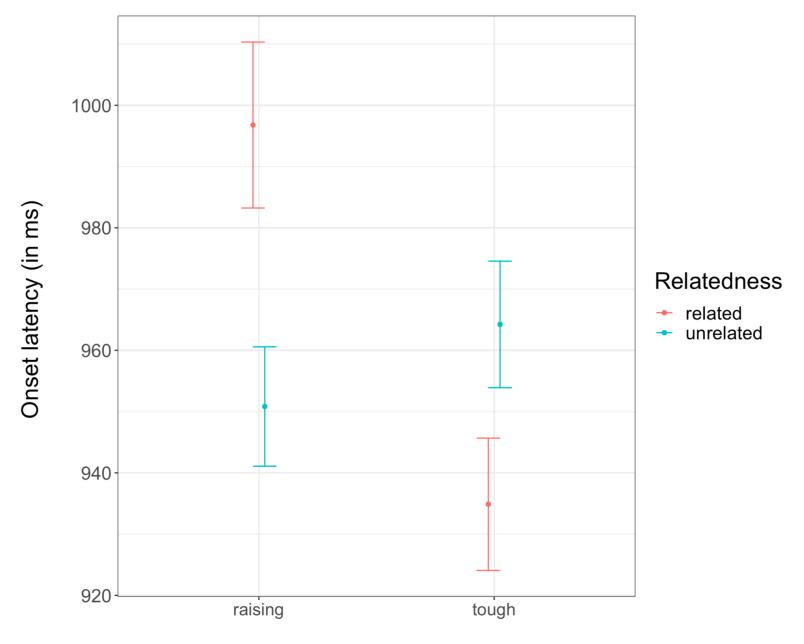
Control vs. raising

Control: The baby wanted <u>PRO</u> to be held t. Related: Raising: The baby appeared <u>t</u> to be held t. Carry



Raising vs. tough

Raising: The baby appeared <u>t</u> to be held t. Tough: The baby was pleasant <u>Op</u> to hold t.



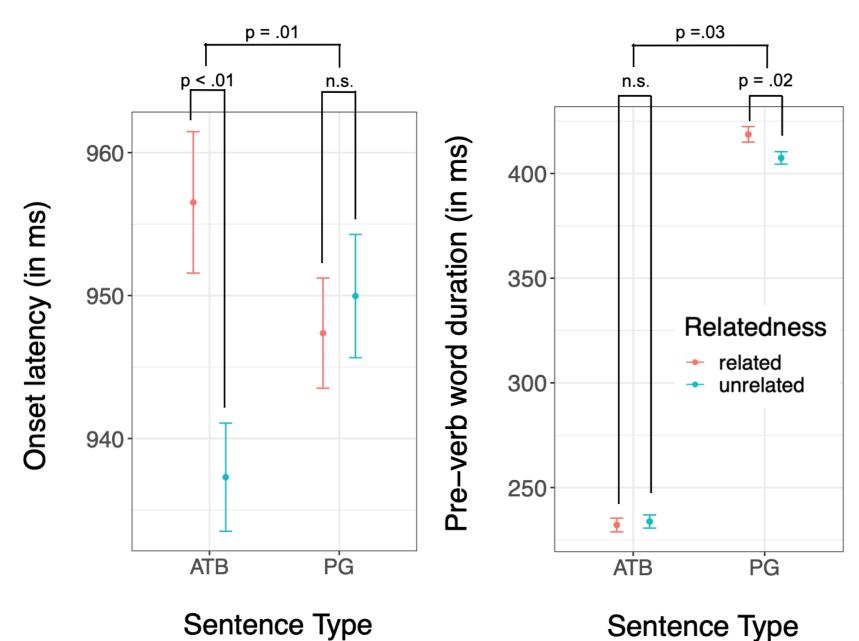
Verb Type

Related:

Carry

ATB vs. PG

ATB: Which book did you read <u>t</u> and criticize <u>t</u>? Related: recommend PG: Which book did you read before <u>Op</u> criticizing t?



N = 160



Masaya Yoshida (Northwestern U)

Generalization

- Verb planning before the articulation of...
 - The **object** in active transitive sentences (in Japanese)
 - The subject of passive sentences (but not actives)
 - The subject of unaccusative sentences (but not unergative sentences)
 - The matrix subject of raising sentences with embedded passives (but not of control or tough sentences).
 - The object of the second verb in ATB (but not PG)

Generalization:

Verbs are planned selectively before the articulation of "patient/ theme"?

Verbs are planned selectively before the articulation of verbs' syntactic complements (internal arguments).

Generalization

- Verb planning before the articulation of...
 - The **object** in active transitive sentences (in Japanese)
 - The subject of passive sentences (but not actives)
 - The subject of unaccusative sentences (but not unergative sentences)
 - The matrix subject of raising sentences with embedded passives (but not of control or tough sentences).
 - The object of the second verb in ATB (but not PG)

Representational theories constructed based on acceptability judgement are extremely useful in making predictions about when speakers plan verbs.

Grammar, Parser & Generator relations

