Ling 566
Dec 1, 2016
Long Distance Dependencies
Overview

• Some examples of the phenomenon
• What is new and different about it
• Brief sketch of the TG approach
• Broad outlines of our approach
• Details of our approach
• Subject extraction
• Coordinate Structure Constraint
• Reading questions
Examples

• *wh*-questions:
  - *What did you find?*
  - *Tell me who you talked to*

• relative clauses:
  - *the item that I found*
  - *the guy who(m) I talked to*

• topicalization:
  - *The manual, I can’t find Chris, you should talk to.*

• *easy*-adjectives:
  - *My house is easy to find. Pat is hard to talk to.*
What these have in common

• There is a ‘gap’: nothing following *find* and *to*, even though both normally require objects.

• Something that fills the role of the element missing from the gap occurs at the beginning of the clause.

• We use topicalization and *easy*-adjectives to illustrate:

  *The manual*, *I can’t find_____*,

  *Chris is easy to talk to to_____*
Gaps and their fillers can be far apart:

• *The solution to this problem*, Pat said that someone claimed you thought I would never find____.

• *Chris is easy to consider it impossible for anyone but a genius to try to talk to_____*.

☞ That’s why we call them “long distance dependencies”
Fillers often have syntactic properties associated with their gaps

\[ \text{Him, I haven’t met } \_\_. \]

*\[ \text{He, I haven’t met } \_\_. \]

\[ \text{The scissors, Pat told us } \_\_\_\_\_ \text{ were missing.} \]

*\[ \text{The scissors, Pat told us } \_\_\_\_\_ \text{ was missing.} \]

\[ \text{On Pat, you can rely } \_\_. \]

*\[ \text{To Pat, you can rely } \_\_. \]
LDDs in TG

• These were long thought to constitute the strongest evidence for transformations.

• They were handled in TG by moving the filler from the gap position.

• Case, agreement, preposition selection could apply before movement.
A big debate about LDDs in TG

• Does long-distance movement take place in one fell swoop or in lots of little steps?

Swooping

Looping
Looping is now generally accepted in TG

• Various languages show morphological marking on the verbs or complementizers of clauses between the filler and the gap.
• Psycholinguistic evidence indicates increased processing load in the region between filler and gap.
• This opens the door to non-transformational analyses, in which the filler-gap dependency is mediated by local information passing.
Very Rough Sketch of Our Approach

- A feature GAP records information about a missing constituent.
- The GAP value is passed up the tree by a new principle.
- A new grammar rule expands S as a filler followed by another S whose GAP value matches the filler.
- Caveat: Making the details of this general idea work involves several complications.
The Feature GAP

• Like valence features and ARG-ST, GAP’s value is a list of feature structures (often empty).

• Subject gaps are introduced by a lexical rule.

• Non-subject gaps are introduced by revising the Argument Realization Principle.
The Revised ARP

- \( \ominus \) is a kind of list subtraction, but:
  - it’s not always defined, and
  - when defined, it’s not always unique

- The ARP now says the non-SPR arguments are distributed between COMPS and GAP.
A Word with a Non-Empty GAP Value

\[
\langle \text{hand} , \text{word} \rangle
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SYN} & : \text{head} \\
\text{VAL} & : \text{form} \text{ fin} \\
\text{COMPS} & : \langle \text{3PP[to]} \rangle \\
\text{GAP} & : \langle \text{2NP[acc]} \rangle \\
\text{ARG-ST} & : \langle \text{1NP} , \text{2} , \text{3} \rangle
\end{align*}
\]
How We Want GAP to Propagate

```
S
   ⟩
GAP
NP
   ⟩
GAP
Kim
   ⟩
NP
we
   ⟩
V
know
   ⟩
GAP
S
   ⟩
GAP
NP
   ⟩
GAP
Dana
   ⟩
NP
hates
   ⟩
GAP
```
What We Want the GAP Propagation Mechanism to Do

• Pass any GAP values from daughters up to their mothers,
• except when the filler is found.
• For topicalization, we can write the exception into the grammar rule, but
• For *easy*-adjectives, the NP that corresponds to the gap is the subject, which is introduced by the Head-Specifier Rule.
• Since specifiers are not generally gap fillers, we can’t write the gap-filling into the HSR.
Our Solution to this Problem

• For *easy*-adjectives, we treat the adjective formally as the filler, marking its SPR value as coindexed with its GAP value.
• We use a feature STOP-GAP to trigger the emptying of the GAP list.
  • STOP-GAP stops gap propagation
  • *easy*-adjectives mark STOP-GAP lexically
  • a new grammar rule, the Head-Filler Rule mentions STOP-GAP
The GAP Principle

A local subtree $\Phi$ satisfies the GAP Principle with respect to a headed rule $\rho$ if and only if $\Phi$ satisfies:

\[
\left[ \text{GAP} \left( A_1 \oplus \ldots \oplus A_n \right) \right. \ominus \left. A_0 \right]
\]

\[
\left[ \text{GAP} \ A_1 \right] \ldots \ H \left[ \text{STOP-GAP} \ A_0 \right] \ldots \left[ \text{GAP} \ A_n \right]
\]
How does STOP-GAP work?

• STOP-GAP is empty almost everywhere
• When a gap is filled, STOP-GAP is nonempty, and its value is the same as the gap being filled.
• This blocks propagation of that GAP value, so gaps are only filled once.
• The nonempty STOP-GAP values come from two sources:
  • a stipulation in the Head-Filler Rule
  • lexical entries for easy-adjectives
• No principle propagates STOP-GAP
The Head-Filler Rule

[phrase] → [\[GAP \langle \rangle\] H

- This only covers gap filling in finite Ss
- The filler has to be identical to the GAP value
- The STOP-GAP value is also identical
- The GAP Principle ensures that the mother’s GAP value is the empty list
Gap Filling with *easy*-Adjectives

Because STOP-GAP and GAP have the same value, that value will be subtracted from the mother’s GAP value.

The first argument is coindexed with the GAP value, accounting for the interpretation of the subject as the filler.
A Tree for *easy to talk to*
STOP-GAP Housekeeping

- Lexical entries with nonempty STOP-GAP values (like *easy*) are rare, so STOP-GAP is by default empty in the lexicon.
- Head-Specifier and Head-Modifier rules need to say [STOP-GAP < >]
- Lexical rules preserve STOP-GAP values.
GAP Housekeeping

- The initial symbol must say [GAP < >]. Why?
  - To block *Pat found* and *Chris talked to* as stand-alone sentences.
- The Imperative Rule must propagate GAP values. Why?
  - It’s not a headed rule, so the effect of the GAP Principle must be replicated
  - Imperatives can have gaps: *This book, put on the top shelf!*
Sentences with Multiple Gaps

• Famous examples:

\textit{This violin, sonatas are easy to play\_\_\_ on\_\_.}
*\textit{Sonatas, this violin is easy to play\_\_\_ on\_\_.}

• Our analysis gets this:
  • The subject of \textit{easy} is coindexed with the \textbf{first} element of the GAP list.
  • The Head-Filler rule only allows one GAP remaining.

• There are languages that allow multiple gaps more generally.
Where We Are

• filler-gap structures:
  * The solution to this problem, nobody understood____
  * That problem is easy to understand____

• The feature GAP encodes information about missing constituents

• Modified ARP allows arguments that should be on the COMPS list to show up in the GAP list

• GAP values are passed up the tree by the GAP Principle
Where We Are (continued)

• The feature STOP-GAP signals where GAP passing should stop

• The Head-Filler Rule matches a filler to a GAP and (via STOP-GAP) empties GAP

• Lexical entries for *easy*-adjectives require a gap in the complement, coindex the subject with the gap, and (via STOP-GAP) empty GAP on the mother
On to New Material….

• Sentences with subject gaps
• Gaps in coordinate constructions
Subject Gaps

• The ARP revision only allowed missing complements.
• But gaps occur in subject position, too:
  \textit{This problem, everyone thought ___ was too easy.}
• We handle these via a lexical rule that, in effect, moves the contents of the SPR list into the GAP list
The Subject Extraction Lexical Rule

\[ pi\text{-}rule \]

INPUT \[ \langle X , \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{bmatrix} \rangle \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \\
\text{VAL} \\
\text{ARG-ST}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{verb} \\
\text{FORM fin} \\
\text{SPR} \langle Z \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\]

OUTPUT \[ \langle Y , \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \end{bmatrix} \rangle \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{VAL} \\
\text{GAP}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SPR} \langle \_ \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{ARG-ST}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
\_ \langle 1 \rangle, \ldots
\end{bmatrix}
\]

• NB: This says nothing about the phonology, because the default for \textit{pi-rules} is to leave the phonology unchanged.
A Lexical Sequence This Licenses

- Note that the ARP is satisfied
The Subject Extraction Lexical Rule

\[ pi\text{-}rule \]

INPUT \[\langle X, \ \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SYN} \\
\text{ARG-ST}
\end{array}
\rangle \]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{HEAD} \\
\text{VAL}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{VERB} \\
\text{SPR}\langle Z\rangle
\end{array}\]

OUTPUT \[\langle Y, \ \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SYN} \\
\text{ARG-ST}
\end{array}
\rangle \]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{VAL} \\
\text{GAP}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{SPR}\langle \rangle \\
\langle 1, \ldots \rangle
\end{array}\]

- RQ: Isn’t Z actually [1]? Why doesn’t the rule say so?
A Tree with a Subject Gap

\[ S \left[ \text{GAP } \right] \]

\[ \text{NP} \left[ \text{GAP } \right] \quad \text{S} \left[ \text{GAP } \langle \text{NP} \rangle \right] \]

\[ \text{Kim} \quad \text{NP} \left[ \text{GAP } \right] \quad \text{VP} \left[ \text{GAP } \langle \text{NP} \rangle \right] \]

\[ \text{we} \quad \text{V} \left[ \text{GAP } \right] \quad \text{S} \left[ \text{GAP } \langle \text{NP} \rangle \right] \]

\[ \text{know} \quad \text{V} \left[ \text{GAP } \langle \text{NP} \rangle \right] \quad \text{NP} \]

\[ \text{likes} \quad \text{Dana} \]
Island Constraints

• There are configurations that block filler-gap dependencies, sometimes called “islands”
• Trying to explain them has been a central topic of syntactic research since the mid 1960s
• We’ll look at just one, Ross’s so-called “Coordinate Structure Constraint”
• Loose statement of the constraint: a constituent outside a coordinate structure cannot be the filler for a gap inside the coordinate structure.
Coordinate Structure Constraint Examples

*This problem, nobody finished the extra credit and____
*This problem, nobody finished____ and the extra credit.
*This problem, nobody finished ___ and started the extra credit.
*This problem, nobody started the extra credit and finished____

• But notice:

This problem, everybody started____ and nobody finished ____
The Coordinate Structure Constraint

• In a coordinate structure,
  • no conjunct can be a gap (conjunct constraint), and
  • no gap can be contained in a conjunct if its filler is outside of that conjunct (element constraint)
• …..unless each conjunct has a gap that is paired with the same filler (across-the-board exception)
These observations cry out for explanation

- In our analysis, the conjunct constraint is an immediate consequence: individual conjuncts are not on the ARG-ST list of any word, so they can’t be put on the GAP list.

- The element constraint and ATB exception suggest that GAP is one of those features (along with VAL and FORM) that must agree across conjuncts.

- Note: There is no ATB exception to the conjunct constraint.

  *This problem, you can compare only____ and____.
Our Coordination Rule, so far

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & 1 \\
\text{VAL} & 0 \\
\text{IND} & s_0
\end{bmatrix}
\quad \rightarrow \quad \\
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & 1 \\
\text{VAL} & 0 \\
\text{IND} & s_1
\end{bmatrix} \ldots \begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & 1 \\
\text{VAL} & 0 \\
\text{IND} & s_{n-1}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \text{conj} \\
\text{IND} & s_0 \\
\text{RESTR} & \langle \text{ARGS} \langle s_1 \ldots s_n \rangle \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & 1 \\
\text{VAL} & 0 \\
\text{IND} & s_n
\end{bmatrix}
\]

- Recall that we have tinkered with what must agree across conjuncts at various times.
- Now we’ll add GAP to the things that conjuncts must share
Our Final Coordination Rule

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} \\
\text{VAL} \\
\text{GAP} \\
\text{IND}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} \\
\text{VAL} \\
\text{GAP} \\
\text{IND}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} \\
\text{VAL} \\
\text{GAP} \\
\text{IND}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} \\
\text{VAL} \\
\text{GAP} \\
\text{IND}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

- We’ve just added GAP to all the conjuncts and the mother.
- This makes the conjuncts all have the same gap (if any)
- Why do we need it on the mother?
Closing Remarks on LDDs

• This is a huge topic; we’ve only scratched the surface
  • There are many more kinds of LDDs, which would require additional grammar rules
  • There are also more island constraints, which also need to be explained
• Our account of the coordinate structure constraint (based on ideas of Gazdar) is a step in the right direction, but it would be nice to explain why certain features must agree across conjuncts.
Overview

• Some examples of the phenomenon
• What is new and different about it
• Brief sketch of the TG approach
• Broad outlines of our approach
• Details of our approach
• Subject extraction
• Coordinate Structure Constraint
Reading Questions

• Why are GAP/STOP-GAP in SYN but not VAL?

• Why can't we just use the Valence Principle?

• Is the GAP feature-structure technically on every word, and we are just specifying it now?
Reading Questions

• How does a word know whether it should put something on COMPS or GAP? Especially since I don't think there's anything that requires something on the COMPS list to appear in a sentence, just like we can have things on the SPR list that don't actually appear.

• How do the GAP or STOP-GAP features affect the SEM values in our syntax trees?
Reading Questions

• When does a node "know" to have a non-empty STOP-GAP feature? Is it based on the grammar rules only?

• Why does GAP need a corresponding STOP-GAP? Why aren't there other STOP-* type values?

• How does the GAP Principle know which GAP to identify with STOP-GAP in multiple gap sentences?
Reading Questions

• Why is STOP-GAP defeasible in (36)?

• (36) *lexeme*: [ STOP-GAP / <> ]
Reading Questions

• Why don't the COMPS's GAP and the SPR have the same tag in this tree?

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{VAL} \ [SPR \ (2\text{NP}_i)] \\
&\text{GAP} \ (\ ) \\
\text{A} &\leftarrow \\
&\text{VAL} \ [SPR \ (2\text{NP}_i)] \\
&\text{COMPS} \ (3) \\
&\text{GAP} \ (\ ) \\
&\text{STOP-GAP} \ (1) \\
&\text{easy} \\
&\text{VP} \ [SPR \ (\text{NP})] \\
&\text{GAP} \ (1\text{NP}_i) \ \\
\end{align*}
\]
Reading Questions

\[
\left\langle \text{easy} \right\rangle,
\begin{aligned}
\text{adj-lxm} \\
\text{SYN} & \left[ \text{STOP-GAP} \left\langle \left[ \right] \right\rangle \right] \\
\text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \text{NP}_i, \left[ \text{INF} + \text{GAP} \left\langle \left[ \right] \right\rangle \right] \right\rangle
\end{aligned}
\]
Reading Questions

- Does the new ARP mean we can't have subject gaps?
- What sorts of sentences does the lexical sequence in (49) on p.443 give rise to?
A Lexical Sequence This Licenses

\[ \langle \text{likes}, \text{SYN} \rangle \]

\[
\text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle 1, 2\text{NP}[\text{acc}] \rangle
\]

\[
\text{STOP-GAP} \quad \langle \rangle
\]

\[
\text{GAP} \quad \langle 1 \rangle
\]

\[
\text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle
\]

\[
\text{HEAD} \quad \langle \rangle
\]

\[
\text{VERB} \quad \langle \rangle
\]

\[
\text{FORM} \quad \langle \text{fin} \rangle
\]

\[
\text{SPR} \quad \langle \rangle \quad \langle \rangle
\]

\[
\text{COMPS} \quad \langle 2 \rangle
\]

\[
\text{AGR} \quad \langle \text{nom} 3\text{sing} \rangle
\]

\[
\text{CASE} \quad \langle \rangle
\]
Reading Questions

• How would we get:
  • *Where did you give the baby?*
  • *Where did you give the baby?*
Reading Questions

• If given a semantic representation, does a sentence generator produce all possible gappy sentences as well as non-gappy sentences? The gaps seem more likely to appear in certain contexts, so is there a way to tell a generator that you either do or don't want those sentences?

• Are there other analyses of these long-distance dependencies other than our GAP analysis and the trace analysis that was mentioned?
Reading Questions

• Is there a particular reason that we're avoiding putting an empty element on the tree to symbolize a gap? Is it just because practically the current method works better with the rest of the grammar, or is there an additional philosophy or formalism that makes putting gap symbolizing empties undesirable?

• What does 'island' exactly represent? I'm a little confused about how our grammar predicts its existence as well.
Reading Questions

• I wonder if the gaps always have to be filled. In particular, I was thinking about Chinese (and perhaps Japanese?), where subjects are routinely omitted and LDDs may cross sentence boundaries.

• What about subject drop in Spanish?
Reading Questions

• How are other island effects handled, e.g. *Which book did you meet a child who read ___?*

• What ensures inversion in non-subject, matrix clause wh questions?

• What ensures that wh words don't show up in situ?