

# Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized in SpringerLink

Book Title	Language Production, Cognition, and the Lexicon	
Series Title	6636	
Chapter Title	Recursion and Ambiguity: A Linguistic and Computational Perspective	
Copyright Year	2014	
Copyright HolderName	Springer International Publishing Switzerland	
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# Recursion and Ambiguity: A Linguistic and Computational Perspective

Rodolfo Delmonte

**Abstract** In this chapter I will be concerned with what characterizes human language and the parser that computes it in real communicative situations. I will start by discussing and dismissing Hauser et al. (2002) (HC&F) disputed claim that the “only uniquely human component of the faculty of language” be “recursion”. I will substantiate my rejection of HC&F’s claims, with the fact that recursion only appears in mature and literate language—an opinion also shared by some papers in a book on recursion by Harry van der Hulst (2010). I will then present in detail Chomsky’s proposal—now part of the Minimalist Theory (MT)—of the architecture of the human parser as being based on Phases. I will accept this part of the theory and compare it with the computational architecture contained in a system for deep text understanding called Getaruns (Delmonte 2007, 2009). I will then argue in favour of what I regard the peculiar component of human language faculty that is “the ability to associate meaning to deficient propositions and generic linguistic expressions, which are highly ambiguous in their structure”. And this is also due to the presence of recursion (but not only). I will then speak in favour of a parser that takes “context” into account and strives for a “complete” syntactic representation. As to the problem of ambiguity, I will introduce the use of a computational device, a lookahead mechanism, which is presented in association with the need to specify UG parameters characterizing a given language. I will discuss the use of psychologically viable Parsing Strategies implemented in the parser to overcome ambiguity and prevent Garden Path, whenever possible. This will be highlighted by reference to peculiar features associated to different languages, Italian and English. Eventually, I will present a theory that encompasses all my previous proposals and is called LSLT.

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## 1 Introduction

Recursion has received a lot of attention lately, after HC&F's (2002) article which claims that recursion is the "only uniquely human component of the faculty of language", and the book edited by Harry van der Hulst (2010) which collects papers focusing on the same issue from a variety of different perspectives. The book is a mixture of different theories, levels of analysis, perspectives and points of view, none of which addresses the issue in the same manner as will be done here.

I will develop the notion of recursion from a distinct point of view which encompasses both properties of the language faculty and of the parser, this one simulated by a real parser, the central component of the system called GETA-RUNS. My point of view is partly hinted at in A. Verhagen's chapter, where he points to two important notions: long distance dependencies, and center-embedding, which is phrased as "the specification of certain phrases which requires the application of a rule to its own output". It is just these two elements of a computational architecture of the human/computational parser that make recursion a highly specialized and complex phenomenon. Looked at from inside the parser it is possible to distinguish two basic types of recursion as Pinker and Jackendoff put it, tail recursion and true recursion (2005, p. 211). Tail recursion can be mimicked by iteration, it is said, but as will be shown below, it requires coping and solving ambiguities and the attachment problem. True recursion on the contrary coincides with clausal recursion and the problem of long-distance dependencies. This latter case requires a computational device with a stack and pointers: but it is much more than that. Sentences are the only structure in a parser that cannot be fed on the output of previous computation. Sentences are semantically closed structures: in our case, extraposition variables for long distance dependencies may be passed on to the next structure in the case of complement clauses, or they may be passed inside a clause in the case of relative clauses. But the essence is that semantically speaking, finite clauses are totally independent of previous computation.

I will use the term "recursion" to refer to a syntactic property of sentence-level constructions focussing only to two types of syntactic constructions: sentential complements and relative clauses. Neither adverbial nor subordinate clauses will be taken into account, because in fact they do not constitute real embedded recursive structures. Adverbial clauses like temporal, concessive, causal and other similar subordinate sentence structures prevent the existence of long distance dependencies between a preceding and a following phrase or sentence. Besides,

69 only sentential level recursion is able to generate semantically plausible—but the  
70 higher limit of clause embedding in real performance cases is language dependent  
71 and is however equal or below 3 (see Karlsson, 63)—infinite grammatical con-  
72 structions: in this sense it is only sentence structure that is strictly speaking linked  
73 to recursion as a unique element of human language faculty. For instance in

74 • John said that it will rain yesterday

75 the adverbial can be bound to the main higher clause. But if we add an adverbial  
76 clause then the dependency is no longer possible,

77 • \*John wanted to come because it will rain yesterday

78 As Verhagen comments in his chapter, recursion is relevant for grammar only  
79 for some rather specific phenomena, and it may as well be a product of cultural  
80 evolution which involves literacy, rather than be an intrinsic part of genetic  
81 evolution as Hauser and Chomsky maintain. We assume it may only come about as  
82 a consequence of linguistic maturation and triggered by the need to satisfy com-  
83 municative goals in highly articulated conversational exchanges—more on this  
84 below.

85 From a linguistic point of view, neither constructions can be regarded a product  
86 of lexical selection: relative clauses are totally independent being adjuncts in  
87 nature. As to sentential complements, they are selected as such by certain com-  
88 munication verbs, but semantically speaking they are “closed” complements in the  
89 sense that they do not share any internal element with a higher governor or  
90 controller seen that a sentence or a tensed clause is a semantically independent  
91 propositional structure. In this sense, they are syntactic structure which may be  
92 motivated by semantic and pragmatic triggers: by the need to identify and describe  
93 referents and to report other people’s utterances, or as commented again in  
94 Verhagen (ibid.:102), “perspective-taking a cognitive capacity—putting oneself in  
95 someone else’s shoes, thus ascribing to them one’s own cognitive capacities,  
96 including perspective taking—that implies recursivity”. Further on, Verhagen  
97 (ibid.:103) links maturational factors with the increase of writing abilities as the  
98 main trigger of clause embedding, and frequency criteria that make “type-fre-  
99 quency of complement taking predicates to increase in people’s linguistic  
100 experience”.

101 Besides, we believe that the most distinctive ability humans show in their use of  
102 natural language for communication purposes, is syntactic and semantic disam-  
103 biguation. This ability is usually ascribed to the existence of a “context” (see  
104 Kuhn 2013), a general term that encompasses, amongst other things, elliptical/  
105 unexpressed and/or implicit/entailed/implicated linguistic material, presumed  
106 intentions and aims of the interlocutor/s, and encyclopaedic knowledge of the  
107 world. In the best current systems for natural language, the linguistic components  
108 are kept separate from the knowledge representation, and work which could  
109 otherwise be done directly by the linguistic analysis is duplicated by the inferential  
110 mechanism. The linguistic representation is usually mapped onto a logical rep-  
111 resentation which is in turn fed onto the knowledge representation of the domain in

112 order to understand and validate a given utterance or query. Thus the domain  
113 world model or ontology must be priorly built, usually in view of a given task the  
114 system is set out to perform. This modeling is domain and task limited and gen-  
115 erality can only be achieved from coherent lexical representations. We assume that  
116 access to knowledge should be filtered out by the analysis of surface linguistic  
117 forms and their abstract representations of the utterances making up the text.  
118 However, we have to admit that world knowledge can be an integral part of the  
119 parsing process only in specific domains. No system is yet able to account for all  
120 the unexpressed linguistic material that is nonetheless essential for the complete  
121 semantic representation of a text or dialogue. We will discuss some of these  
122 unexpressed linguistic materials. The appropriate definition of the Context to be  
123 used here is the one related to the existence of a rich lexical representation.  
124 Consider now some ambiguous examples taken from P. Bosch (246), which cover  
125 some types of ambiguity:

- 126 1. Five companies sold two hundred installations
- 127 2. Fred saw the woman with the binoculars
- 128 3. Visiting relatives can be boring
- 129 4. Pete went to the bank this morning
- 130 5. This paper is ten pages long
- 131 6. Faulkner is hard to understand
- 132 7. a. The school made a major donation
- 133 b. The school has a flat roof
- 134 c. He enjoys school very much
- 135 d. School is one of the pillars of our civilization

139 Ambiguity problems to be tackled are not all the same, as can be noticed. In 1.  
140 we have a problem of quantifier scope, which we think is only solvable by  
141 allowing a Quantifier Raising (hence QR) module produce two different repre-  
142 sentations for the same f-structure and then letting the semantic/pragmatic com-  
143 ponent do the rest. In our system, QR would compute as a preferential reading the  
144 one in which the subject NP takes scope over the object NP when both are  
145 numerals. In case the ambiguity had to be solved in favour of the second reading a  
146 distributive floating quantifier (each) should have been added. In 2 and 3 the parser  
147 would have come out with the most likely interpretation of the sentence and that  
148 might very well happen to be the wrong one: however the feeling one gets when  
149 discussing such sentences, is that they are very unlikely to be found in real texts—  
150 or at least this is what we assume. If we consider in more detail example 2, we  
151 could come up with common sense knowledge that prevents “binoculars” to be  
152 computed as an adequate adjunct of the head “woman”. To be sure, this is what at  
153 present our system does, and assigns it rather as a predicative (Instrumental)  
154 complement of the verb SEE. However, there might be special scenarios in which  
155 women walk around carrying binoculars around their neck: this does not happen in



156 Venice(Italy), where everything can be comfortably looked at without binoculars,  
157 but could happen in the Grand Canyon where distances require it.

158 As to 4. we are in presence of a case of ambiguous lexical semantics, and  
159 represents a typical case of Word Sense Disambiguation. We should note here that  
160 since the semantic role associated to the PP “to the bank” would always be  
161 Locative, disregarding its semantic features, the actual meaning or sense associ-  
162 ated to the noun “bank” could be easily accommodated by the semantic/pragmatic  
163 component, and this would in no way affect syntactic analysis. It is also important  
164 to note that the system may have to look for the most adequate referent to the  
165 singular definite NP, in the “Discourse Model”—a semantic/pragmatic module of  
166 Getaruns (See Delmonte 2007). The same applies to example 5 and 6, provided  
167 that a “Discourse Model” is available in the system where previous referents with  
168 additional information may be searched for.

169 Coming now to the last set of examples, where the “school” is assigned dif-  
170 ferent meanings according to context. Here, we may easily assume that the system  
171 of linguistic description—WordNet in this case—should cover the whole of them.  
172 In a. the school is the SUBJect of the predicate MAKE and this requires an Agent  
173 which may be a Social\_Institution, but not an object, i.e. a building, as is required  
174 by the meaning of the b. example. In this case, the meaning is not conveyed by the  
175 verb BE which has non-thematic arguments, but by contents of the predicate NP  
176 “the flat roof”: this would be classified as [object, part\_of], thus implying that the  
177 predication requires also an Object as its controller. In c. we have a psych verb  
178 “enjoy” which has an EXPERIENCER as SUBJect NP and a CAUSER\_EMOT as  
179 OBJect NP, in our lexicon—but see also VerbNet and PropNet. The school in this  
180 case will be assigned a semantic value by the semantic roles associated to verb  
181 predicate, as happened with the a. example. The same applies to the c. example. In  
182 other words, it is the linguistic description which enables the semantic interpreter  
183 do its job properly by means of the conjoined information made available by  
184 semantic roles and semantic features.

185 The chapter is organized as follows: the second section below presents the  
186 parsers and argues for its being compliant with Phases as proposed by Chomsky; in  
187 Sect. 3. we present the parser; in Sect. 4. we discuss the psycholinguistic and  
188 cognitively founded parsing strategies; in 5 an evaluation and a conclusion.

## 189 2 The Parser and Phases

190 In the last 10 years or so Chomsky has been referring to the human parser as a  
191 gauge of the way in which syntactic processes are carried out in the mind of the  
192 language user. The parser has also been referred to as a metaphor of grammatical  
193 processes underlying sentence comprehension as is being purported within the  
194 current Minimalist Theory (hence MT). This interest for performance related  
195 notions can be regarded as an attempt on Chomsky’s side to support/endow MT  
196 with a psychological and computational basis, thus making MT a unified theory for



197 language. However, a parser based on any linguistic theory that aims to realize  
198 such a goal, should account also for the determining factor in sentence compre-  
199 hension, that is ambiguity. This in turn is the cause of Garden Path on the one side,  
200 and on the other it motivates the existence of parsing preferences in the human  
201 processor. So, in the last resort, a theory that aims at the explanation of perfor-  
202 mance facts should satisfy three different types of requirements: psycholinguistic  
203 plausibility, computational efficiency in implementation, coverage of grammatical  
204 principles and constraints. This is also what a parser should satisfy, but see below.

205 It is plausible to say that for the first time performance facts can be brought to  
206 bear on theoretical assumptions based on competence. In fact this is also what  
207 HCF02 seem to be aiming at.<sup>1</sup> In particular, the notion of Phases will be used in  
208 this chapter to test its validity in coping with the effects of ambiguity and Garden-  
209 Path related examples. We will try to show that the way in which Phases have been  
210 formulated is plausible, even though their final status and their theoretical status  
211 are still under debate (see Svenonius 2001, 2004; Legate 2002, 2003; Epstein  
212 2004). But it is both too strong and too weak. Rather than Phases, we will be  
213 referring to a related and/or derivable notion, that of Argument and Adjunct as the  
214 semantically complete object of any step the parser should pursue in its process of  
215 analysis. Sentence level parsing requires in turn a first clause-level preliminary  
216 structure (something close to pseudo-syntax, as Townsend and Bever (2001)  
217 (hence T&B) call it), which is then submitted to proper interpretation—and possi-  
218 ble LF computation, before interacting with higher than clause level for complex  
219 sentences, which can eventually license the parser output for PF.

220 To reduce computational complexity Chomsky (1998/2000) introduced the idea  
221 of Phases—units of syntactic computation—within MT. The general idea is that of  
222 limiting the burden of syntactic operations in order to ease workload or what must  
223 be retained in active memory. This seems a counterargument to the fact that  
224 human language (actually FLN) exhibits an intrinsic defining property that makes  
225 computation hard, that of recursion (HCF02). So it would seem that Chomsky's  
226 concern in proposing Phases is double-fold: on the one side it is motivated by  
227 performance related issues, on the other hand it is coupled to theory internal  
228 motivations. In fact, we will only tackle performance questions and not questions  
229 affecting the Minimalist Program. We would like to prove Phases to be a theory-  
230 independent principle governing the functioning of the human parser which we  
231 will investigate from a psycholinguistic and a computational point of view. The  
232 human parser is so efficient that it must obey some principle-based criterion in  
233 coping with recursion: Phases are Chomsky's solution.

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<sup>1</sup> “Recent work on FLN suggests the possibility that at least the narrow-syntactic component satisfies conditions of highly efficient computation to an extent previously unsuspected.... [T]he generative processes of the language system may provide a near-optimal solution that satisfies the interface conditions to FLB. Many of the details of language that are the traditional focus of linguistic study ... may represent by-products of this solution, generated automatically by neural/computational constraints and the structure of FLB—components that lie outside of FLN.” (Note that FLN stands for Faculty of Language Narrow, and FNB stands for Faculty of Language Broad).



234 Constituency-based parsing models are lately starting to be supplanted by word-  
235 level parsing models in the vein of Dependency-Based parsing (see Kuhn 2013).  
236 These parsers are organized in such a way as to limit the scope of syntactic  
237 operations to adjacent head-dependent word pairs. Recursion is thus eliminated  
238 from the grammar and computational efficiency is usually guaranteed. The same  
239 applies to bottom-up cascaded ATN-like parsers, which decompose the task of  
240 syntactic structure building into a sequence of intermediate steps, with the goal of  
241 avoiding recursion as much as possible. However, both coverage, precision and  
242 recall don't speak in favor of such parsers which working bottom-up adopt parsing  
243 policies which are not strictly left-to-right. In this respect, we believe that a parser  
244 should embody a psycholinguistically viable model, i.e. it should work strictly left-  
245 to-right and be subject to Garden Path effects. We also believe that by eliminating  
246 constituents from the parsing process, and introducing the notion of Head-  
247 Dependent relations, grammaticality principles may become harder to obey.  
248 Parsers today are required to produce a semantically interpretable output for any  
249 text: in order to achieve such a goal, Grammatical Relations need to be assigned to  
250 words in some kind of hierarchical (constituent-based) representation, before some  
251 Logical Form can be built. Word-based head-dependent parsers are not good  
252 candidates for the generation of such an output. In fact, no implicit categories are  
253 usually computed by such parsers, hampering in this way any semantic mapping  
254 from taking place (See Delmonte 2013a, b).

## 255 *2.1 Phases and Semantic Mapping*

256 Quoting from Chomsky,

257 A phase is a unit of syntactic computation that can be sent to the Spell-Out. Syntactic  
258 computation proceeds in stages: a chunk of structure (a vP or a CP) is created and then  
259 everything but its edge can be sent off to the interfaces.

260 Phases are semantically complete constituents or “complete propositions”,  
261 which could be independently given a Logical Form and a Phonetic Form. Carnie  
262 and Bars (2006) propose to relativize the definition of phase to that of Argument  
263 which we subscribe fully here below: in their words,

264 “Each phase consists of an argument, the predicative element that introduces the  
265 argument (V or vP) and a functional category that represents a temporal operator  
266 which locates the predicate in time or space (Asp, T, etc.). Phases consist of:

- 267 (a) a predicative element (v or V)
- 268 (b) a single argument
- 269 (c) a temporal operator that locates the predicate and argument in time and space  
270 (Asp or T)”

271 To this definition we will add the need to regard arguments as semantically  
272 complete constituents with their adjuncts and modifiers, something which is asserted  
273 by Epstein (2004) and introduced in Chomsky 2004b, when they assume that the



274 specification of a phase has “full argument structure”. In addition this could be  
275 derived where they assume that a partial LF could be produced. It goes without  
276 saying that in order to produce a partial or complete LF from syntactic chunks, they  
277 need to be semantically interpretable: this includes semantic role assignment, being  
278 exempt from quantificational related problems like the presence of unbound vari-  
279 ables. The LF we are referring to is a flat version with unscoped quantifiers.

280 In line with Pinker and Jackendoff’s paper (hence P&J 2005) produced as an  
281 answer to HCF02, we assume that lexical information is the most important static  
282 knowledge source in the processing of natural language. However, we also assume  
283 that all semantic information should be made to bear on the processing and this is  
284 only partially coincident with lexical information as stored in lexical forms. In  
285 particular, subcategorization, semantic roles and all other semantic compatibility  
286 evaluative mechanisms should be active while parsing each word of the input  
287 string. In addition, Discourse Model and External Knowledge of the World should  
288 be tapped when needed to do coreference and anaphora resolution. Antecedents in  
289 turn would be chosen on the basis of grammatical information like Grammatical  
290 Relations and Semantic Roles, and not independently of it.

291 In that perspective, we believe that a sound parsing strategy should opt for a parser  
292 that strives for an even higher than constituent semantically closer level: i.e. argu-  
293 ments and adjuncts, where mixed/hybrid strategies (bottom-up and top-down) are  
294 activated by the use of a strongly language-dependent lookahead mechanism. We  
295 would like to speak in favour of such an approach in which locality is sacrificed for a  
296 mixed or hybrid model, partially bottom-up, which uses both grammatical function  
297 driven information and lexical information from subcategorization frames to direct  
298 the choices of the argument vs adjunct building parsing process.

299 On the one side we endorse a position purported by linguistic theories like MT  
300 which require LF licensing of constituency at some level—and clause level Phases  
301 are here assumed as the only possible counterpart to LF; on the other side, we speak  
302 against MT as in a sense—at least some MT linguist would accept it—Dependency  
303 Parsing implements it because it assumes that parsing cannot just be bottom-up word  
304 level parsing, but some top-down guidance is needed. Furthermore, neither MT nor  
305 Dependency Parsing would accommodate a strictly semantic and lexicalist notion  
306 like “Argument-Adjunct” parsing together with a performance related notion like  
307 ambiguity and the accompanying effect of Garden Path, which is familiar in psy-  
308 cholinguistic literature. In addition, language dependent rules would suit best an  
309 MT-like approach with parameters driven options or any other linguistic theory  
310 which allows rule of Core Grammar to be set apart from rules of the Periphery.

### 311 **3 GETARUNS: An A-As Hybrid Parser**

312 As commented above, to be Phase-compliant a parser needs to build up each  
313 constituent as a fully interpreted chunk with all its internal arguments and adjuncts  
314 if any. In this process, we know that there are two boundaries which need to be



315 taken into account: the CP level and the Ibar level, where the finite verb is parsed.  
316 From a computational perspective we might paraphrase the concomitant contri-  
317 bution of the two Phases as follows:

318 v. parse all that comes before the finite verb and then reset your internal indices.

319 Our parser is not a dependency parser in that it imposes constituent-based  
320 global restrictions on the way in which words can be parsed: only legal consti-  
321 tuents are licensed by the parser.

322 We defined our parser “mildly bottom-up” because the structure building  
323 process cycles on a call that collects constituents until it decides that what it has  
324 parsed might be analysed as Argument or Adjunct. To do that it uses Grammatical  
325 Function calls that tell the parser where it is positioned within the current parse.  
326 We use Grammatical Function because in LFG theory they are regarded as lin-  
327 guistic primitives. This proceeds until finite verb is reached and the parse is  
328 continued with the additional help of Verb Guidance by subcategorization infor-  
329 mation. The recursive procedure has access to calls collecting constituents that  
330 identify preverbal Arguments and Adjuncts including the Subject if any. When the  
331 finite verb is found the parser is hampered from accessing the same preverbal  
332 portion of the algorithm and switches to the second half of it where Object NPs,  
333 Clauses and other complements and adjuncts may be parsed. Punctuation marks  
334 are also collected during the process and are used to organize the list of arguments  
335 and adjuncts into tentative clauses.

336 When the parser reaches the Verbal Phrase the syntactic category associated to  
337 the main verb—transitive, unergative, unaccusative, impersonal, atmospheric,  
338 raising, psych, copulative—and the lexical form of the predicate, are both used as  
339 topdown guidelines for the surface realization of its arguments. Italian is a lan-  
340 guage which allows for empty or morphologically unexpressed Subjects, so that no  
341 restriction may be projected from the lexicon onto c-structure: in case it is empty, a  
342 little pro is built in subject position, and features are left as empty variables until  
343 the tensed verb is processed.

344 The clause builder looks for two elements in the input list: the presence of the  
345 verb-complex and punctuation marks, starting from the idea that clauses must  
346 contain a finite verb complex. Dangling constituents will be adjoined to their left  
347 adjacent clause, by the clause interpreter after failure while trying to interpret each  
348 clause separately. The clause-level interpretation procedure interprets clauses on  
349 the basis of lexical properties of the governing verb: verbless clauses are not dealt  
350 with by the bottom-up parser, they are passed down—after failure—to the top-  
351 down parser which can license such structures.

352 The final processor takes as input fully interpreted clauses which may be  
353 coordinate, subordinate, main clauses. These are adjoined together according to  
354 their respective position. Care is taken to account for Reported Speech complex  
355 sentences which require the Parenthetical Clause to become Main governing  
356 clause.

357 We opted to deal with Questions and Imperatives with the top-down parser  
358 rather than with the bottom-up one. Also sentences with Reported Direct speech  
359 are treated in that way due to the presence of inverted commas that must be

360 interpreted accordingly. Non-clausal Subject sentences and extraposed That-clause  
361 fronted sentences are also computed top-down. The advantage of using fully top-  
362 down processing is that the clause-building stage is completely done away with.  
363 The parser posits the clause type as a starting point, so that constituents are  
364 searched for and collected at the same level in which the parsing has started.  
365 However, this is only conceivable in such non-canonical structures as the ones  
366 listed here above.

367 If the parser does not detect any of the previous structures, control is passed to  
368 the bottom-up/top-down parser, where the recursive call simulates the subdivision  
369 of structural levels in a grammar. All sentential fronted constituents are taken at  
370 the CP level and the IP (now TP) level is where the SUBJect NP must be com-  
371 puted. Otherwise SUBJect NP will be either in postverbal position with Locative  
372 Inversion structures, or the parser might be trying a subjectless coordinate clause.  
373 Then again a number of ADJuncts may be present between SUBJect and verb,  
374 such as adverbials and parentheticals. When this level is left, the parser is  
375 expecting a verb in the input string. This can be a finite verb complex with a  
376 number of internal constituents: but the first item must be definitely a tensed verb.  
377 After the (complex) verb has been successfully built, the parser looks for com-  
378 plements: the search is restricted by lexical information. If a copulative verb has  
379 been taken, the constituent built will be labelled accordingly as XCOMP where X  
380 may be one of the lexical heads, P,N,A,Adv.

381 The clause-level parser simulates the sentence typology where we may have as  
382 SUBJect a verbal clause, an Inverted postverbal NPs, a fronted that-clauses, and  
383 also fully inverted OBJect NPs in preverbal position. We do that because we  
384 purport the view that the implementation of sound parsing algorithm must go hand  
385 in hand with sound grammar construction. Extragrammaticalities can be better  
386 coped with within a solid linguistic framework rather than without it.

387 The parser has a manually-built grammar and is written in Prolog, a pro-  
388 gramming language that provides for backtracking freely and has a variable  
389 passing mechanism useful to cope with a number of well-known grammatical  
390 problems like agreement (local and non-local) as well as Long-Distance Depen-  
391 dencies. The parser is a rule-based deterministic parser in the sense that it uses a  
392 lookahead and a Well-Formed Substring Table to reduce backtracking. It also  
393 implements Finite State Automata in the task of tag disambiguation, and produces  
394 multiwords whenever lexical information allows it. Recovery procedures are also  
395 used to cope with elliptical structures and uncommon orthographic and punctua-  
396 tion patterns. In particular, the parser is written in Prolog Horn-clauses and uses  
397 Extraposition variables to compute Long-Distance Dependencies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> We use XGs (extraposition grammars) introduced by Pereira (1981, 1983). Prolog provides naturally for backtracking when allowed, i.e. no cut is present to prevent it. Furthermore, the instantiation of variables is a simple way for implementing the mechanism for feature percolation and/or for the creation of chains by means of index inheritance between a controller and a controllee, and in more complex cases, for instance in case of constituent ellipsis or deletion. Apart from that, the grammar implemented is a surface grammar of the chosen languages.



Being a DCG, the parser is strictly a top-down, depth-first, one-stage parser with backtracking. Differently from most principle-based parsers presented in Berwick et al. (1991), which are two-stage parsers, our parser computes its representations in one pass. This makes it psychologically more realistic. The final output of the parsing process is an f-structure which serves as input to the binding module and logical form: in other words, it constitutes the input to the semantic component to compute logical relations. In turn the binding module may add information as to pronominal elements present in the structure by assigning a controller/binder in case it is available, or else the pronominal expression will be available for discourse level anaphora resolution.

Grammatical functions are used to build f-structures and the processing of pronominals. They are crucial in defining lexical control: as in Bresnan (1982, 2001), all predicative or open functions are assigned a controller, lexically or structurally. Lexical control is directly encoded in each predicate-argument structure, and it will bind the empty subject of all predicative open functions built in all predicative structures (or small clauses) to the appropriate syntactic controller (or binder).

The parser is made up of separate modules:

1. The Grammar, based on DCGs, incorporates Extraposition to process Long Distance Dependencies, which works on annotated c-structures: these constitute the output to the Interpretation Module;
2. The Interpretation Module checks whether f-structures may be associated to the input partially annotated c-structure by computing Functional Uniqueness, Coherence and Completeness. Semantic roles are associated to the input grammatical function labels at this level, after semantic selectional restrictions are checked for membership;
3. The Mapping scheme, to translate trees into graphs, i.e. to map c-structures onto f-structures. The parser builds annotated c-structure, where the words of the input sentence are assigned syntactic constituency and functional annotations. This is then mapped onto f-structure, i.e. constituent information is dropped and DAGs are built in order to produce f-structure configuration.

### 3.1 Parsing Ambiguities Coping with Recursion

The lexicon as the source of syntactic variation is widely accepted in various theoretical frameworks. We assume that be it shallow or deep, parsing needs to be internally parameterized in order to account for ambiguities generated both at structural and at semantic level.

As said above, a parser that achieves psychological reality should closely mimic phenomena such as Garden Path effects, or an increase in computational time in presence of semantically versus syntactically biased ambiguous structures. We also assume that a failure should ensue from strong Garden Path effects and that



438 this should be justified at a psycholinguistic interpretation level. In other words,  
439 looking at parsing from a performance-based perspective, the parser should  
440 anticipate ambiguities that may cause unwanted Garden-Paths and Crashes, in  
441 order to refrain from unwanted failures in order to mimic human processing. But  
442 how should a “sound” parser be told which ambiguous structures are expected in  
443 which language?

444 In general terms, ambiguity is generated by homophonous words in under-  
445 standing activities and by homographs in reading activities. In both cases Garden  
446 Paths or Crashes may only result in a given language in presence of additional  
447 conditions which are strictly dependent on the structure of the lexicon and the  
448 grammar. But some UG related parameters, like the “OMISSIBILITY OF THE  
449 COMPLEMENTIZER” in English may cause the parser to crash or freeze.  
450 Generally speaking, all types of ambiguity affecting parsing at a clause level will  
451 cause the parser to go into a Garden Path. Developing this line of thought, we  
452 assume that from a psycholinguistic point of view, parsing requires setting up a  
453 number of disambiguating strategies, like for instance telling arguments apart from  
454 adjuncts and reducing the effects of backtracking. And this is how it has been  
455 implemented.

456 Whenever a given predicate has expectancies for a given argument to be  
457 realized either optionally or obligatorily, this information will be passed below to  
458 the recursive portion of the parsing process: this operation allows us to implement  
459 parsing strategies like Minimal Attachment, Functional Preference and other ones  
460 (See Delmonte 2009).

461 The DCG grammar allows the specification of linguistic rules in a highly  
462 declarative mode: it works topdown and by making a heavy use of linguistic  
463 knowledge may achieve an almost complete deterministic policy. Parameterized  
464 rules are scattered throughout the grammar so that they can be made operative as  
465 soon as a given rule is entered by the parser. In particular, a rule may belong either  
466 to a set of languages, e.g. Romance or Germanic,<sup>3</sup> or to a subset thereof, like  
467 English or Italian, thus becoming a peripheral rule. Rules are activated at startup  
468 and whenever a switch is being operated by the user, by means of logical flags  
469 appropriately inserted in the right hand side of the rule. No flags are required for  
470 rules belonging to the common core grammar.

471 Some such rules include the following ones: for languages like Italian and  
472 Spanish, a Subject NP may be an empty category, either a referential little pro or  
473 an expletive pronoun; Subject NPs may be freely inverted in postverbal position,  
474 i.e. preverbal NP is an empty category in these cases. For languages like Italian  
475 and French, PP or adverbial adjuncts may intervene between Verb and Object NP;  
476 adjectival modifiers may be taken to the right of their head Noun. For languages  
477 like English and German, tense and mood may be computed in CP internal

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<sup>3</sup> As to multilinguality, the basic tenet of the parser is based on a UG-like perspective, i.e. the fact that all languages share a common core grammar and may vary at the periphery: internal differences are predicted by parameters.

478 position, when taking the auxiliary or the modal verb. English allows an empty  
479 Complementizer for finite complement and relative clauses, and negation requires  
480 do-support. Italian only allows it for a highly genre marked (literary style)  
481 untensed auxiliary in Comp position.

482 Syntactic and semantic information are accessed and used as soon as possible:  
483 in particular, both categorial and subcategorization information attached to pred-  
484 icates in the lexicon is extracted as soon as the main predicate is processed, be it  
485 adjective, noun or verb, and is used to subsequently restrict the number of possible  
486 structures to be built. Adjuncts are computed by semantic compatibility tests on  
487 the basis of selectional restrictions of main predicates and adjuncts heads.

488 Thus, we build and process syntactic phenomena like wh-movement before  
489 building f-structure representations, where quantifier raising and anaphoric binding  
490 for pronominals takes place. In particular, all levels of Control mechanisms which  
491 allow coindexing at different levels of parsing give us a powerful insight into the  
492 way in which the parser should be organized. In addition, we find that topdown  
493 parsing policies are better suited to implement parsing strategies that are essential  
494 in order to cope with attachment ambiguities. Also functional Control mecha-  
495 nisms—both structural and lexical—have been implemented as close as possible to  
496 the original formulation, i.e. by binding an empty operator in the subject position  
497 of a propositional like open complement/predicative function, whose predicate is  
498 constituted by the lexical head.

### 499 **3.2 Lookahead and Ambiguity**

500 Lookahead is used in a number of different ways: it may impose a wait-and-see  
501 policy on the topdown strategy or it may prevent following a certain rule path in  
502 case the stack does not support the first or even second match:

- 503 a. to prevent expanding a certain rule
- 504 b. to prevent backtracking from taking place by delaying retracting symbols from  
505 input stack until there is a high degree of confidence in the analysis of the  
506 current input string.

507 It can be used to gather positive or negative evidence about the presence of a  
508 certain symbol ahead: symbols to be tested against the input string may be more  
509 than one, and also the input word may be ambiguous among a number of symbols.  
510 Since in some cases we extend the lookahead mechanism to include two symbols  
511 and in one case even three symbols, possibilities become quite numerous. The  
512 following list of 14 preterminal symbols is used (Table 1):

513 As has been reported in the literature (see Tapanainen and Voutilainen 1994;  
514 Brants and Samuelsson 1995), English but also Italian (see Delmonte 1999) is a  
515 language with a high level of homography: readings per word are around 2 (i.e.  
516 each word can be assigned in average two different tags depending on the tagset).

**Table 1** Preterminal symbols used for lookahead

1. v = verb-auxiliary-modal-clitic-cliticized verb
2. n = noun—common, proper;
3. c = complementizer
4. s = subordinator;
5. e = conjunction
6. p = preposition-particle
7. a = adjective;
8. q = participle/gerund
9. i = interjection
10. g = negation
11. d = article-quantifier-number-intensifier-focalizer
12. r = pronoun
13. b = adverb
14. x = punctuation

517 Lookahead in our system copes with most cases of ambiguity: however, we also  
518 use disambiguating before passing the input string to the parser.

519 Consider now failure and backtracking which ensues from it. Technically  
520 speaking, by means of lookahead we prevent local failures in that we do not allow  
521 the parser to access the lexicon where the input symbol would be matched against.  
522 It is also important to say that almost all our rules satisfy the efficiency require-  
523 ment to have a preterminal in first position in their right-hand side. Cases like  
524 complementizerless sentential complements are allowed to be analysed whenever  
525 a certain switch is activated. Suppose we may now delimit failure to the general  
526 case that may be described as follows:

- 527 • a constituent has been fully built and interpreted but it is not appropriate for  
528 that level of attachment: failure would thus be caused only by semantic  
529 compatibility tests required for modifiers and adjuncts or lack of satisfaction of  
530 argument requirements for a given predicate. Technically speaking we have  
531 two main possibilities:

532 A. the constituent built is displaced on a higher level after closing the one in which  
533 it was momentarily embedded. This is the case represented by the adjunct PP “in  
534 the night” in example below:

535 (8) The thieves stole the painting in the night.

536 The PP is at first analysed while building the NP “the painting in the night”  
537 which however is rejected after the PP semantic features are matched against the  
538 features of the governing head “painting”.

539 B. the constituent built is needed on a lower level and there is no information on  
540 the attachment site. In this case a lot of input string has already been consumed  
541 before failure takes place and the parser needs to backtrack a lot before constitu-  
542 ents may be safely built and interpreted. This is the case of an NP analysed as  
543 OBJect of a higher clause but is needed as SUBJect of a following clause.





544 To give a simple example, suppose we have taken the PP “in the night” within  
545 the NP headed by the noun “painting”. At this point, the lookahead stack would be  
546 set to the position in the input string that follows the last word “night”. As a side-  
547 effect of failure in semantic compatibility evaluation within the NP, the PP “in the  
548 night” would be deposited in the backtrack WFST storage. The input string would  
549 be restored to the word “in”, and analysis would be restarted at the VP level. In  
550 case no PP rule is met, the parser would continue with the input string trying to  
551 terminate its process successfully. However, as soon as a PP constituent is tried,  
552 the storage is accessed first, and in case of non emptiness its content recovered. No  
553 structure building would take place, and semantic compatibility would take place  
554 later on at sentence level. The parser would only execute the following actions:

- 555 • match the first input word with the (preposition) head of the stored term;
- 556 • accept new input words as long as the length of the stored term allows it by  
557 matching its length with the one computed on the basis of the input words.

558 Differences in reanalysis are determined by structural requirements and by  
559 analysis load imposed on the parser by backtracking: in case a sentential adjunct  
560 has to be destroyed/broken up and reconstructed it represents a far lighter load than  
561 a subordinate/main clause. Let’s say, that whenever a clausal structure has to be  
562 destroyed/broken up a whole set of semantic decisions have to be dismantled, and  
563 structure erased.

#### 564 **4 Linguistically-Plausible Relaxation Techniques**

565 With the grammar above and the parameters we are now in a position to establish a  
566 priori positions in the parser where there could be recovery out of recursion with  
567 ungrammatical structures with the possibility to indicate which portion of the input  
568 sentence is responsible for the failure. At the same time, parsing strategies could be  
569 devised in such a way to ensure recovery from local failure. We will start by com-  
570 menting on Parsing Strategies first and their implementation in our grammar<sup>4</sup> Dif-  
571 ferently from what is asserted by global or full paths approaches (see Schubert 1984;  
572 Hobbs et al. 1992), we believe that decisions on structural ambiguity should be  
573 reached as soon as possible rather than deferred to a later level of representation. In  
574 particular, Schubert assumes “...a full paths approach in which not only complete  
575 phrases but also all incomplete phrases are fully integrated into (overlaid) parse trees  
576 dominating all of the text seen so far. Thus features and partial logical translations  
577 can be propagated and checked for consistency as early as possible, and alternatives  
578 chosen or discarded on the basis of all of the available information (ibid., 249).” And  
579 further on in the same paper, he proposes a system of numerical ‘potentials’ as a way

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<sup>4</sup> We also assume that a failure should ensue from strong Garden Path effects and that this should be justified at a psycholinguistic interpretation level (See Pritchett 1992).

580 of implementing preference trade-offs. “These potentials (or levels of activation) are  
581 assigned to nodes as a function of their syntactic/semantic/pragmatic structure and  
582 the preferred structures are those which lead to a globally high potential. Among  
583 contemporary syntactic parsing theories, the garden-path theory of sentence com-  
584 prehension proposed by (Frazier 1987a, b), Clifton and Ferreira (1989) among  
585 others, is the one that most closely represents our point of view. It works on the basis  
586 of a serial syntactic analyser, which is top-down, depth-first—i.e. it works on a single  
587 analysis hypothesis, as opposed to other theories which take all possible syntactic  
588 analysis in parallel and feed them to the semantic processor. From our perspective, it  
589 would seem that parsing strategies should be differentiated according to whether  
590 there are argument requirements or simply semantic compatibility evaluation for  
591 adjuncts. As soon as the main predicate or head is parsed, it makes available all  
592 lexical information in order to predict if possible the complement structure, or to  
593 guide the following analysis accordingly. As an additional remark, note that not all  
594 possible syntactic structure can lead to ambiguous interpretations: in other words, we  
595 need to consider only cases which are factually relevant also from the point of view  
596 of language dependent ambiguities.

597 The parser has been built to simulate the cognitive processes underlying the  
598 grammar of a language in use by a speaker, taking into account the psychological  
599 nuances related to the well-known problem of ambiguity, which is a pervading  
600 problem in real text/communicative situation, and it is regarded an inseparable  
601 benchmark of any serious parser of any language to cope with.

602 We implemented in our parser a number of strategies that embody current  
603 intuitions on the way in which sentence comprehension mechanisms work at a  
604 psychological level. The parsing strategies are the following: Minimal Attach-  
605 ment/Late Closure (MA), Argument Preference (AP), Thematic Evaluation (TE),  
606 Referential Individuation (RI), Cross Compatibility Check (CCC). From the way  
607 in which we experimented them in our implementation it appears that they are  
608 strongly interwoven. In particular, MA is dependent upon AP to satisfy subcate-  
609 gorization requirements; with semantically biased sentences, MA and AP, and  
610 finally TE should apply in hierarchical order to license the phrase as argument or  
611 adjunct. RI seems to be required and activated every time a singular definite NP is  
612 computed. However, RI is a strategy that can only become operative whenever a  
613 full parse of possible modifiers is available and not before. In addition, subcate-  
614 gorization and thematic requirements have priority over referential identification  
615 of a given NP: a violation of the former is much stronger than the latter. Generally  
616 speaking, redundancies in referential properties might simply be accommodated  
617 by the speaker: but lack of consistency, uniqueness and completeness leads to  
618 ungrammaticality.

619 As discussed above, we follow a mixed topdown depth-first strategy which we  
620 believe better accounts for the way in which human psychological processes work.  
621 In order to prevent failures and control backtracking, depth-first analysis should be  
622 organized as much as possible deterministically. Nondeterminism can be very time  
623 consuming and it should be reduced or at least controlled according to the parsing  
624 strategy selected.

625 As Altmann (1989)<sup>5</sup> comments in his introduction (ibid.86), and we also  
626 believe, it is an empirical question whether the constraints assumed by the the-  
627 matic processor (single initial syntactic analysis, semantic evaluation only within  
628 the domain of this analysis) are constraints actually observed by the parser, or  
629 whether a less-constrained mechanism that makes appeal to context and meaning  
630 at the earliest stages of sentence comprehension is a more adequate description of  
631 the true state of affairs. It is our opinion that all lower level constraints should work  
632 concurrently with higher level ones: in other words, all strategies are nested one  
633 inside another, where MA occupies the most deeply nested level. The higher level  
634 strategy has control over the lower level one in case some failure is needed.  
635 Suppose we have the following examples which can be disambiguated only at the  
636 level of pronominal binding.

- 637 i. The doctor called in the son of the pretty nurse who hurt herself.  
638 ii. The doctor called in the son of the pretty nurse who hurt himself.

639 Pronominal binding is a level of computation that takes place after f-structure  
640 has been completely checked and built in LFG—the same applies in GB frame-  
641 work, where S-structure gives way to L-structure and this is where binding takes  
642 place. In this case however, it would be impossible to address the appropriate level  
643 of representation after destroying all previous structures with backtracking. In this  
644 case, backtracking by itself would be inefficient and would not assure termina-  
645 tion—simply because the same structure could be constructed at sentence level.  
646 We assume, instead, that a specific mechanism should be activated before f-  
647 structure is licensed in order to check the presence of a reflexive pronoun, i.e. an  
648 anaphoric pronoun or short anaphora, that needs the SUBJECT to be an appropriate  
649 antecedent, agreeing in all features with the anaphora itself (See Delmonte 2002).

650 The following two examples are also computed without any special provision  
651 for the ambiguous structural position of the final temporal adverbial, simply by  
652 matching semantic information coming from verb tense and temporal configura-  
653 tion associated to the adverbial in its lexical entries in terms of a precedence  
654 relation between *td* (discourse time), and *tr* (reference time). Thus, in the case of  
655 “tomorrow” the parser will have  $td < tr$  and the opposite will apply to “yester-  
656 day”. In turn, this configuration is matched against tense, “past” or “future” and a  
657 failure will result locally, if needed.

- 658 iii. Mary will say that it rained yesterday.  
659 iv. Mary said that it will rain yesterday.

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<sup>5</sup> Altmann offers a functional argument against a system in which choices are initially made by a syntactic processor, and later corrected by appeal to meaning and context. He says that if referential or discourse information is available, only a strange processor would make decisions without appealing to it. However, syntactic information is always available and always informative.

## 4.1 Graceful Recovery Actions from Failures

As discussed above, recovery from garden-path requires a trial and error procedure, i.e. the parser at first has to fail in order to simulate the garden-path effect and then the recovery will take place at certain conditions. Now consider the well-known case of Reduced Relatives<sup>6</sup>(9) The horse raced past the barn fell, is one such case. The English speaker will attempt treating the verb “raced” as main tensed verb, but on discovery of sentence final verb “fell” which can only be interpreted as tensed past tense the whole sentential level analysis crashes and a Garden Path ensues causing a complete restart of the mental parser. which have always been treated as a tough case (but see Stevenson and Merlo 1997). From an empirical point of view we should at first distinguish cases of subject attachment reduced relatives from all other cases, because it is only with subject level attachment that a garden-path will actually ensue. In fact, this is easily controllable in our parser, given the fact that NPs are computed by means of functional calls. In this way the information as to where the NP is situated in the current sentence analysis is simply a variable that is filled with one of the following labels: subj, obj, obj2, obl, adj, ncomp, where the last label stands for predicative open complements.

From a purely empirical point of view, we searched the WSJ corpus in order to detect cases of subject attachment vs all other cases for reduced relatives and we came up with the following figures: SUBJECT-ATTACHEMENT 530; OTHERS 2982; Total 3512. If we subtract present participle cases of reduced relatives which do not constitute ambiguous words the total number is lowered down to 340. Subject-attachment thus constitute the 9.68 % of all cases, a certainly negligible percentage. In addition, 214 of all subject-attachment are passive participles and lend themselves to easy computation being followed by the preposition “by”. So there will reasonably be only 116 possible candidates for ambiguous reduced relatives. The final percentage comes down 3.3 % which is very low in general, and in particular when computed over the whole 1 million occurrences, it comes down to a non classifiable 0.0116 %. The same results can be obtained from an investigation of the Susanne Corpus, where we found 38 overall cases of reduced relatives with ambiguous past participles, 0.031 % which is comparable to the 0.035 % of the WSJ (Table 2).

If we look into matter closely, then we come up with another fairly sensible and easily intuitive notion for reduced relatives disambiguation: and it is the fact that whenever the governing Noun is not an agentive, nor a proto-agent in any sense of the definition (see Stevenson and Merlo), no ambiguity may arise simply because non agentive nominal governors may end up with an ambiguous interpretation only in case the verb is used as ergative. However, not all transitive verbs can be

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<sup>6</sup> The typical example quoted in psycholinguistic literature is the reduced relative case, reported here below, determined by the lexical ambiguity of English verbs being at the same time interpretable as Past Participle—Past Tense and shown below in the Reduced Relative Clause well-known example,

**Table 2** List of 27 verb-types used in WSJ in subject-attached reduced relatives

Accused	Afforded	Based	Boosted
Bought	Canceled	Caught	Caused
Completed	Contacted	Derived	Designed
Filed	Honed	Involved	Led
Listed	Made	Managed	Owned
Paid	Purchased	Related	Represented
Requested	Sold	Unsettled	

**Table 3** List of 36 verb-types used in SUSANNE in subject-attached reduced relatives

Altered	Become	Bent	Burned
Charged	Clouded	Compared	Cooled
Cut	Deserted	Distilled	Dominated
Estimated	Fed	Figured	Filmed
Focused	Frozen	Internalized	Intertwined
Known	Left	Made	Opened
Posted	Proposed	Puckered	Put
Removed	Reported	Seen	Shown
Shut	Soiled	Studied	Torn

698 made ergatives and in particular none of the verbs used in WSJ in subject-  
 699 attachment for reduced relatives can be ergativized apart from “sell”. We report  
 700 here above verb-types, i.e. verb wordforms taken only once. As can be easily seen  
 701 none of the verbs are unergative nor unaccusatives (Table 3).

702 If we look at the list of verb-types used in Susanne Corpus we come up with a  
 703 slightly different and much richer picture. The number of ergativizable verbs  
 704 increases and also the number of verb types which is strangely enough much  
 705 higher than the one present in WSJ. We also added verbs that can be intransi-  
 706 tivated, thus contributing some additional ambiguity. In some cases, the past  
 707 participle is non ambiguous, though, see “frozen, seen, shown and torn”. In some  
 708 other cases, the verb has different meanings with different subcategorization  
 709 frames: this is case of “left”.

710 In any case, the parser will proceed by activating any possible disambiguation  
 711 procedure, then it will consider the inherent semantic features associated to the  
 712 prospective subject: in order to be consistent with a semantic classification as  
 713 proto-agent, one of the following semantic classes will have to be present: “ani-  
 714 mate, human, institution, (natural) event, social\_role, collective entity”.

715 In the affirmative case, and after having checked for the subject position/  
 716 functional assignment, the analysis will proceed at NP internal adjunct modifier  
 717 position. If this is successful, the adjunct participial clause will be interpreted  
 718 locally. Then the parser will continue its traversal of the grammar at *i\_double\_bar*  
 719 position, searching for the finite verb.



In case no finite verb is available, there will be an ensuing failure which will recovered gracefully by a recovery call for the same main constituent expected by the grammar in that position. Two actions will take place:

1. the current input word will have to be a nonfinite verb;
2. the already parser portion of the input sentence must contain a possibly ambiguous finite verb;
3. this token word should correspond to the predicate lemma heading the modifier adjunct clause computed inside the NP which is scanned to search for the appropriate structural portion.

The first two actions are carried out on the lookahead stack, while the third action is carried out on the NP structure already parsed and fully interpreted by the parser.

## 5 LSLT: A Comprehensive Theory

To motivate our criticism and our approach we now introduce the foundations of our theory LSLT—Lexical Semantic Language Theory. LSLT encompasses a *psycholinguistic theory* of the way the language faculty works, a *grammatical theory* of the way in which sentences get analysed and generated—for this we will be using Lexical-Functional Grammar, a *semantic theory* of the way in which meaning gets encoded and expressed in utterances—for this we will be using Situation Semantics, and a *parsing theory* of the way in which components of the theory interact in a common architecture to produce the needed language representation to be eventually spoken aloud or interpreted by the *phonetic/acoustic language interface*.

As a start, we assume that the main task the child is faced with is creating an internal mental LEXICON, where we further assume (with Pinker and Jackendoff 2005) each word should contain two types of information: Grammatical—to feed the Grammatical component of the language faculty—and Semantic—to allow for meaning to be associated to each lexical entry. This activity is guided by two criteria: the Semantic and the Communicative Criteria.

### *Semantic Criterion*

The goal of the language faculty is that of creating meaning relations between words and (mental) reality, that is events, entities and their attributes

### *Communicative Criterion*

The goal of the language faculty is that of allowing communication between humans to take place

We start by addressing the *psycholinguistic theory* in which the basic goal is the creation of meaning relations between linguistic objects—words—and bits of reality—situations for short. To do that we set forth the strong claim that in order to have Analysis and Generation become two facets of the same coin, Semantics needs to be called in and Lexical information be specified in such a way to have



760 the Parser/Generation work properly. However, language generation implies the  
761 existence of a planning phase which may be driven by communicative needs. On  
762 the contrary, language understanding is substantially conditioned by what is  
763 usually referred to by “Shared Knowledge” between two or more interlocutors.  
764 Syntax only represents a subcomponent of the Grammatical theory and as such has  
765 no relevance in the definition of the primitives of the LSLT.

766 We will take the stance that the existence of a backbone of rewriting rules with  
767 reference to recursion is inherently innate (see Hauser and Chomsky 2002).  
768 However, at the same time we agree with Tomasello and others supporting a  
769 “usage-based theory of language acquisition”, that the major part of linguistic  
770 competence “... involves the mastery of all kinds of routine formulas, fixed and  
771 semi-fixed expressions, idioms, and frozen collocations. Indeed one of the dis-  
772 tinguishing characteristics of native speakers of a language is their control of these  
773 semi-fixed expressions as fluent units with somewhat unpredictable mean-  
774 ings”(Tomasello 2006, p. 259). The two hypothesis about language acquisition are  
775 not in contrast and coalesce in the need to have a Grammatical Maturation or  
776 Development Phase, where children start (over)generalising linguistic knowledge  
777 to new combinations. In this case, we can say that both the *Communicative Cri-*  
778 *terion* together with the *Semantic Criterion* converge on the need to express more  
779 and more complex concepts from simple holophrases to event related fully  
780 accomplished predicate-argument structures: these alone contain both functions of  
781 predicating and referring.<sup>7</sup>

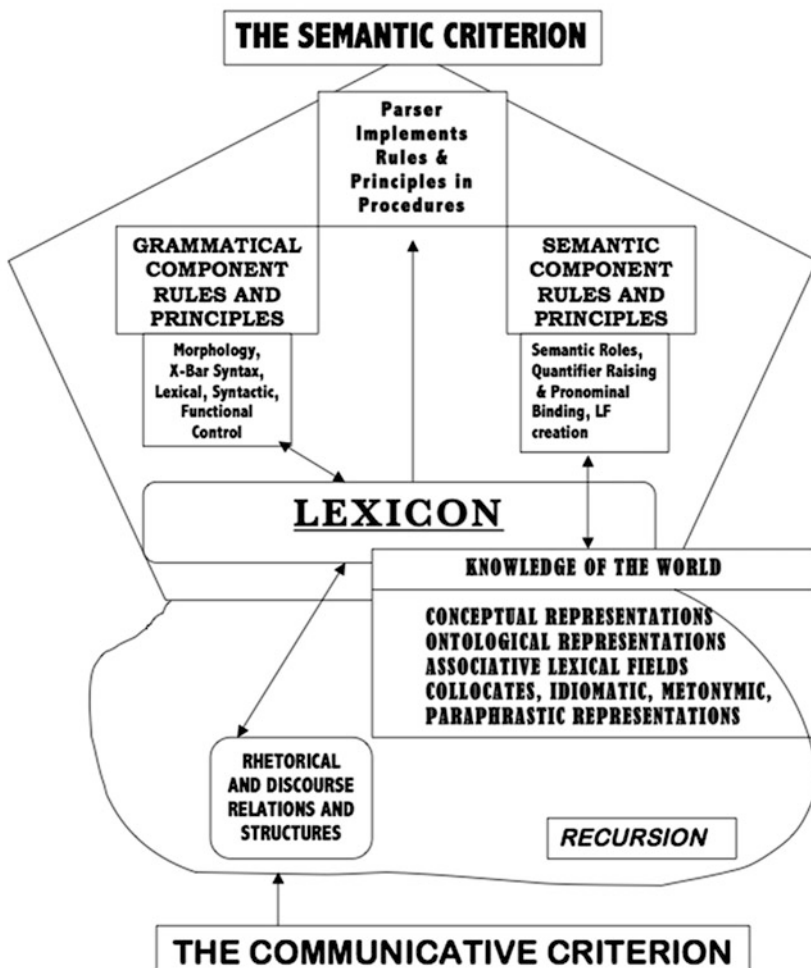
782 This leads us to the second important goal of a psycholinguistic theory, that is  
783 motivating the necessity the child has to communicate with the external world. All  
784 complex constructions will appear only in a later phase of linguistic development  
785 and, in particular, they include sentential complement and relative clause con-  
786 structions. As to the role of recursion in language acquisition, we believe it will only  
787 take place when the child is aware of the existence of a point of view external from  
788 his own. As said above, high level recursion in utterances is represented basically by  
789 two types of structures: sentential complements which have a *reportive* semantic  
790 content, and relative clauses which have a *supportive* semantic content.

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<sup>7</sup> “.. from the beginning children are attempting to learn not isolated words, but rather communicatively effective speech act forms corresponding to whole adult constructions...” Tomasello (2006, p. 261). And further on, “... The language learning child is thus faced with a prodigious task: acquiring simultaneously many dozens and dozens (perhaps hundreds) of constructions based on input in which all of the many different construction types are semirandomly strewn. On the other hand, the task is made a bit easier by the fact that many of, indeed the majority of, the utterances children hear are grounded in highly repetitive item-based frames that they experience dozens, in some cases hundreds, of times every day. Indeed, many of the more complex utterances children hear have as a major constituent some well-practiced item-based frame. This means that the more linguistically creative utterances that children hear every day constitute only a small minority of their linguistic experience, and even these quite often rest on the foundation of many highly frequent and relatively simple item-based utterance frames.” (ibid., 262).



## LSLT – Lexical Semantic Language Theory



Reportive contents are governed by *communication* predicates, which have the semantic content of introducing two propositions related to two separate situations in spatiotemporal terms. Supportive contents are determined by the need to bring in at the interpretation level a situation which helps better individuate the entity represented by the governing nominal predicate. These two constructions only appear at a later phase of linguistic development, as indicated also in Tomasello (2006, p. 276). And now some details on how LSLT implements its principles.

The *Grammatical Theory* (hence GT) defines the way in which lexical entries need to be organized. However, the Lexicon is informed both by the Grammatical



802 and the Semantic Theory which alone can provide the link to the Ontology or  
803 Knowledge of the World Repository. At the analysis/comprehension level, we  
804 assume as in LFG, the existence of lexical forms where lexical knowledge is  
805 encoded, which is composed of grammatical information—categorical, morpho-  
806 logical, syntactic, and selectional restrictions. These are then mapped onto  
807 semantic forms, where semantic roles are encoded and aspectual lexical classes are  
808 associated. In Analysis, c-structures are mapped onto f-structures and eventually  
809 turned into s-structures. Rules associating lexical representations with c-structures  
810 are part of the GT. The mapping is effortless being just a bijective process, and is  
811 done by means of FSA—finite state automata. C-structure building is done in two  
812 phases. After grammatical categories are associated to inflected wordforms, a  
813 disambiguation phase takes place on the basis of local and available lexical  
814 information. The disambiguated tagged words are organized into local X-bar based  
815 head-dependent structures, which are then further developed into a complete  
816 clause-level hierarchically based structure, though a cascaded series of FSA which  
817 make use of recursion only when there are lexical constraints—both grammatical,  
818 semantic and pragmatic—requiring it. C-structure is mapped onto f-structure by  
819 interpretation processes based on rules defined in the grammar and translated into  
820 parsing procedures. This would be a simplistic view of the parsing process, backed  
821 by constructional criteria in which syntactic/semantic constructions are readily  
822 available in the lexicon and only need to be positioned in adjacency and then glued  
823 together, as maintained by Tomasello and other constructionalists. The question is  
824 that whenever a new sentence is started there is no way to know in advance what  
825 will be the continuation at the analysis level and telling dependencies between  
826 adjacent constituents is not an easy task, as has been shown above.

827 It is a fact that Grammatical relations are only limited to what are usually  
828 referred to as Predicate-Argument relations, which may only encompass obligatory  
829 and optional arguments of a predicate. The Semantic Theory will add a number of  
830 important items of interpretation to the Grammatical representation, working at  
831 propositional level: negation, quantification, modality and pronominal binding.  
832 These items will appear in the semantic representation associated to each clause  
833 and are activated by means of parsing procedures specialized for those two tasks.  
834 Semantic Theory also has the task of taking care of non-grammatical objects  
835 usually defined with the two terms, Modifiers and Adjuncts. In order to properly  
836 interpret meaning relations for these two optional component of sentential lin-  
837 guistic content, the Semantic theory may access Knowledge of the World as  
838 represented by a number of specialized lexical resources, like Ontology, for  
839 inferential relations; Associative Lexical Fields for Semantic Similarity relations;  
840 Collocates for most frequent modifier and adjunct relations; Idiomatic and Met-  
841 onymic relations as well as Paraphrases for best stylistic purposes.

842 In Generation, a plan is created and predicates are inserted in predicate-argu-  
843 ment structures (hence PAS) with attributes—i.e. modifiers and adjuncts. Syntax  
844 plays only a secondary role in that PAS are hooked to stylistic, rhetorical rules  
845 which are in turn genre and domain related. They are also highly idiosyncratic,



846 strongly depending on each individual social background. Surface forms will be  
847 produced according to rhetorical and discourse rules, by instantiating features  
848 activated by semantic information.

### 849 *5.1 LSLT and Contextual Reasoning*

850 There are two main additional tenets of the theory: one is that it is possible to  
851 reduce access to domain world knowledge by means of contextual reasoning, i.e.  
852 reasoning triggered independently by contextual or linguistic features of the text  
853 under analysis. In other words, we adopt what could be termed the Shallow Pro-  
854 cessing Hypothesis: access to world knowledge is reduced and substituted  
855 whenever links are missing through inferences on the basis of specifically encoded  
856 lexical and grammatical knowledge, and are worked out in a fully general manner.  
857 In exploring this possibility we make one fundamental assumption and it is that the  
858 psychological processes needed for language analysis and understanding are  
859 controlled by a processing device which is completely separated from that of  
860 language generation with which it shares a common lexicon though.

861 In our approach there is no language model for probabilistic processing even  
862 though we use statistical processing for strongly sequential tasks like tag disam-  
863 biguation. Our algorithms are based on symbolic rules and we also use FSA to help  
864 tag disambiguation and parsing. The reason for this is twofold: an objective one,  
865 machine learning for statistical language models need linguistic resources which in  
866 turn are both very time-consuming to produce and highly error-prone activities. On  
867 a more general level, one needs consider that highly sophisticated linguistic  
868 resources are always language and genre dependent, besides the need to comply  
869 with requirements of statistical representativeness. No such limitations can be  
870 deemed for symbolic algorithms which on the contrary are more general and easily  
871 portable from one language to another. Differences in genre can also be  
872 easily accounted for by scaling the rules adequately.

873 It is sensible to assume that when understanding a text a human reader or  
874 listener does make use of his encyclopaedia parsimoniously. Contextual reasoning  
875 is the only way in which a system for Natural Language Understanding should tap  
876 external knowledge of the domain. In other words, a system should be allowed to  
877 perform an inference on the basis of domain world knowledge when needed and  
878 only then. In this way, the system could simulate the actual human behaviour in  
879 that access to extralinguistic knowledge is triggered by contextual factors inde-  
880 pendently present in the text and detected by the system itself. This would be  
881 required only for implicit linguistic relations as can happen with bridging  
882 descriptions, to cope with anaphora resolution phenomena, for instance. In other  
883 words, we believe that there are principled ways by which linguistic processes  
884 interact with knowledge representation or the ontology—or to put it more simply,  
885 how syntax interacts with pragmatics.

886 In fact, no solution for such an interaction has yet been found, nor even tackled  
887 by current deep systems (See papers in Bos and Delmonte 2008). In these systems,  
888 linguistic components are kept separate from knowledge representation, and work  
889 which could otherwise be done directly by the linguistic analysis is duplicated by  
890 inferential mechanism. The output of linguistic analysis is usually mapped onto a  
891 logical representation which is in turn fed onto the knowledge representation of the  
892 domain in order to understand and validate a given utterance or query. Thus the  
893 domain world model or ontology must be priorily built, usually in view of a given  
894 task the system is set out to perform. This modeling is domain and task limited and  
895 generality can only be achieved from coherent lexical representations. In some of  
896 these systems, the main issue is how to make the two realms interact as soon as  
897 possible in order to take advantage of the inferential mechanism to reduce  
898 ambiguities present in the text or to allow for reasoning on linguistic data, which  
899 otherwise couldn't be understandable. We assume that an integration between  
900 linguistic information and knowledge of the world can be carried out at all levels  
901 of linguistic description and that contextual reasoning can be thus performed on  
902 the fly rather than sequentially. This implies that access to knowledge must be  
903 filtered out by the analysis of the linguistic content of surface linguistic forms and  
904 their abstract representations of the utterances making up the text. Thus the two  
905 important elements characterizing human language faculty, that is "ambiguity"  
906 and "recursion", find a fully justified role in the theory and are also entirely  
907 justified by it.

## 908 6 An Evaluation and a Conclusion

909 The system and the parser have gone through an extended number of evaluations:  
910 starting from the latest one, where they been used to produce the output for the  
911 Events Workshop (2013); then, Sentiment, Factuality and Subjectivity analysis,  
912 (Delmonte and Pallotta 2011); Relational Models of Semantics, (Tonelli and  
913 Delmonte 2011); Automatic Identification of Null Instantiations, at SEMEVAL  
914 (Delmonte and Tonelli 2010); Semantic Processing for Text Entailment,  
915 (Delmonte et al. 2010, 2005, 2006, 2007); Semantic and Pragmatic Computing in  
916 STEP (Delmonte 2008); Causality Relations in Unrestricted Text, (Delmonte et al.  
917 2007); Evaluation of Anaphora Resolution, (Delmonte et al. 2006); Comparing  
918 Dependency and Constituency Parsing, (Delmonte 2005); Evaluating Grammatical  
919 Relations, (Delmonte 2004).

920 All these evaluations have shown the high resiliency of the system for the  
921 different applications with little adjustments. Results are comparable if not better,  
922 thus that manually organized linguistic grammars and parsers are better suited for  
923 semantically related tasks. It is a fact that Machine Learning does not easily adapts  
924 to the presence of null elements in the training set and this represents a fatal  
925 drawback for any further improvement along the lines indicated in the paper.

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