

Syntactic priming as a test of argument structure: A self-paced reading experiment

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GOALS

- Test two theoretical approaches to argument structure:
 - Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) as developed in Mateu (2002), Acedo-Matellán (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2011, 2013).
[AM&M]
 - Marantz (2005, 2011)
- Study their claims about the relationship between:
 - Unergative structures
 - Transitive structures
 - Small clause structures

METHODOLOGY

- Self-paced reading language comprehension study to 500 subjects over Mechanical Turk.
- Structural priming experiment within and across sentence types.
- Analyses:
 - 6 x 6 within-subjects ANOVA
 - Mixed effects Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA)
 - Linear regression

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

- Major headline: Syntactic priming effects.
- Suggest a stronger predictive contribution of the Marantz model:
 - Significant effect of the interaction between conditions and priming in trials preceded by two trials of the same category in the Marantz model.

OVERVIEW OF THE TALK

- Two syntactic models. Review of main claims
 - H&K / AM&M
 - Marantz
- Predictions of each model
- Structural priming in comprehension. Review
- Experiment. Design and implementation
- Analyses of the data
 - ANCOVA 1.0
 - ANCOVA 2.0
 - Linear mixed effects regression model

TWO SYNTACTIC MODELS

- Two representational models of argument structure:
 - Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) as developed in Mateu (2002), Acedo-Matellán (2010), Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2011, 2013). [AM&M]
 - Marantz (2005, 2011)

TWO COMPETING HYPOTHESES

VERB TYPE

UNERGATIVE VERB

The dog barked in quiet parks at night.

COGNATE OBJECT

The man dozed a restful doze on the train.

CREATION VERBS

He baked a delicious cake with spelt flour.

LOCATION/LOCATUM

They saddled a wild horse in the farm.

STRONG TRANSITIVES

He ignored a slight niggle in his knee.

WITH-SMALL CLAUSE

They sprayed a cookie sheet with vegetable oil.

- Attribute different structures to transitive structures.
- Make different claims about the relationship between transitive structures and unergatives.
- Make different predictions about priming relations between sentence types.

H&K (1993, 1998, 2002)

- Theory of the lexicon-syntax interface
- Main questions:
 - Why are there so few (syntactically relevant) thematic roles?
 - Why are there so few lexical-syntactic categories?

H&K (1993, 1998, 2002)

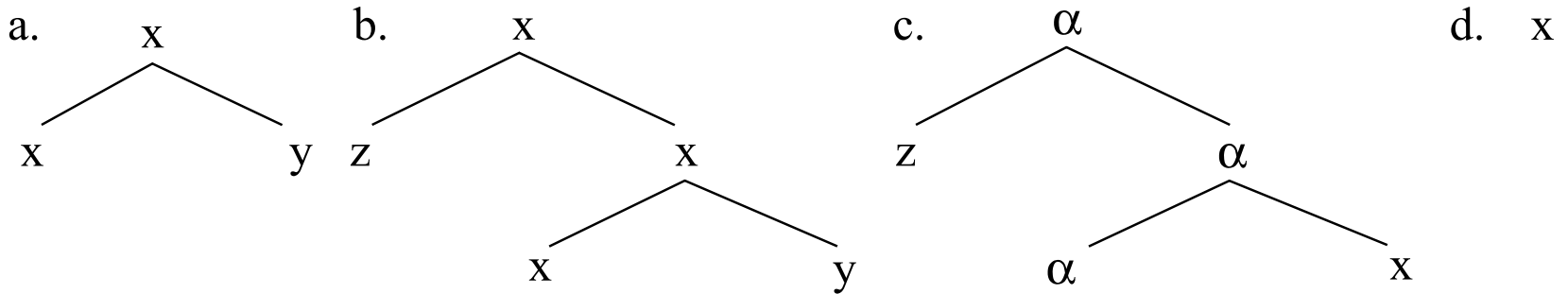
- Through independently established principles of syntax, they seek to constrain
 - range of argument structures
 - number of θ -roles
 - verb meanings
 - lexical categories

H&K (1993, 1998, 2002)

- θ -roles and categories are limited in number because the potential structural positions are also reduced: head, complement, specifier.
- Argument structure is “the syntactic configuration projected by a lexical item”, i.e. “the system of structural relations holding between heads (nuclei) and their arguments” (2002:1).

Basic structural relations

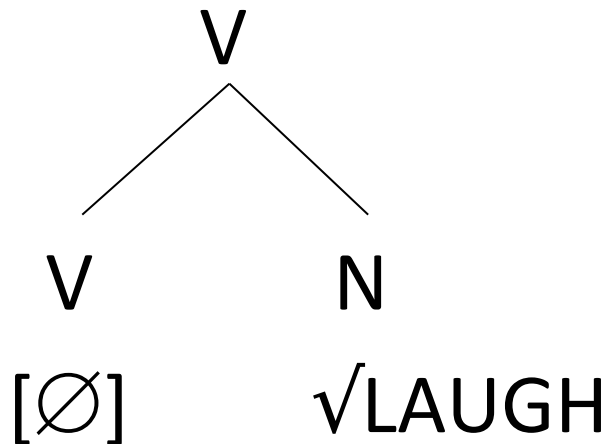
- Neutral w.r.t. morphosyntactic category of the head.



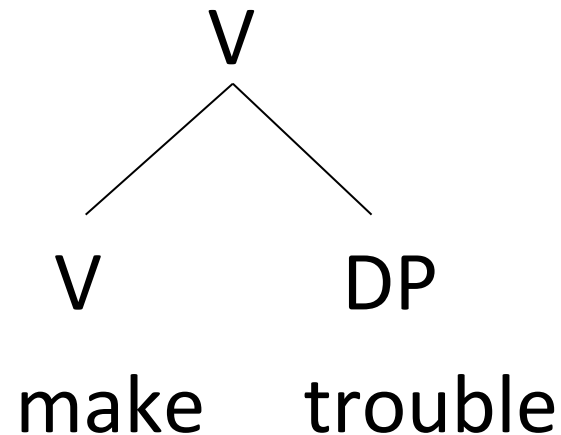
H&K: Unergatives and V of creation

- Empirical evidence: e.g. Basque

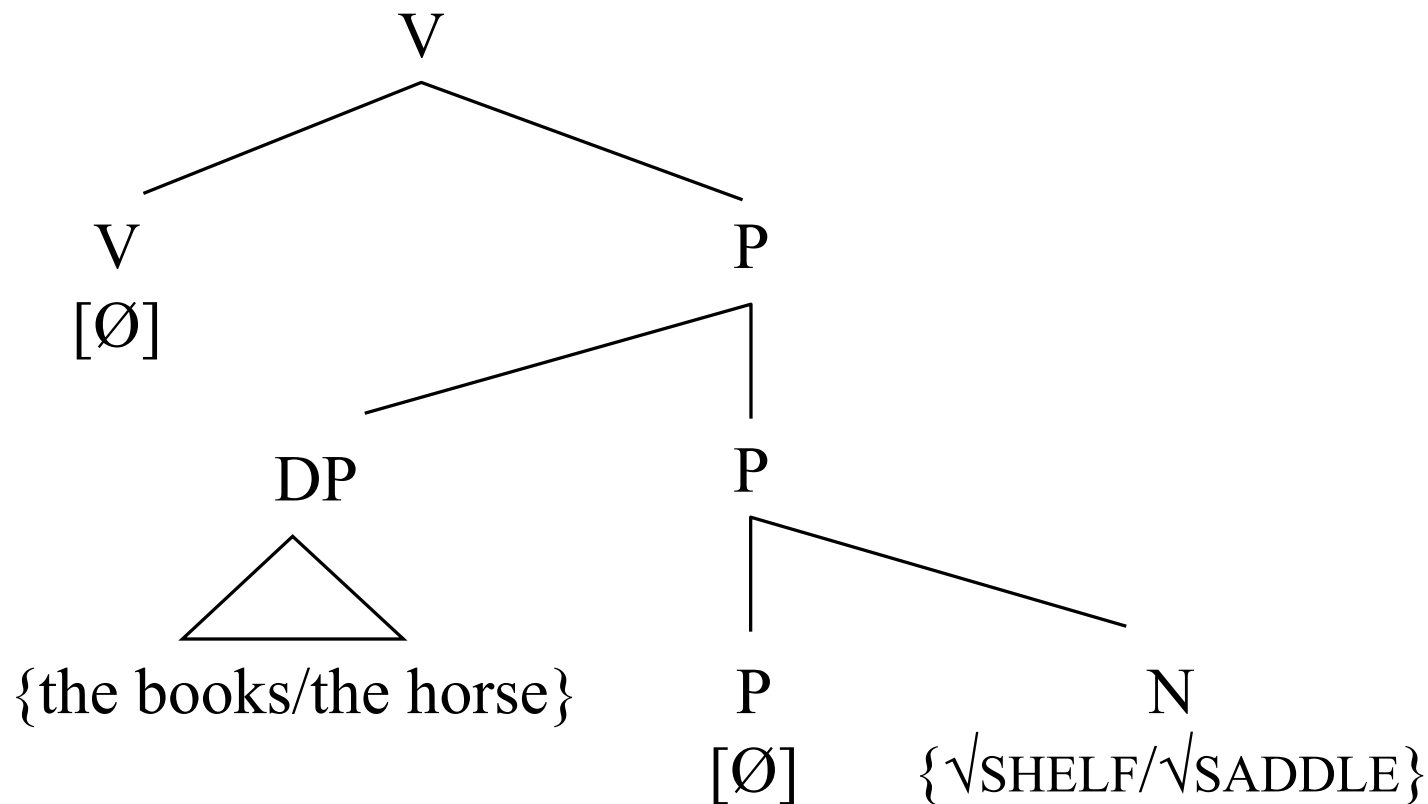
Unergatives



V of creation



Transitive location/locatum verbs



Acedo-Matellán (2010: 53-54)

- Strict configurational model of argument structure: compositional semantics directly read off the syntactic structure.
- Five basic structure configurations:
 - unergative and transitive verbs of creation and consumption
 - atelic transitive events
 - atelic unaccusative events
 - unaccusative events of change of state or location
 - transitive events of change of state or location

Acedo-Matellán (2010)

- Decomposition of P and adposition particles in syntax into PathP and PlaceP (e.g. Cinque & Rizzi 2010).
- Jackendoff's (1973) conceptual decomposition of PPs into PATH and PLACE and functions such as TO, VIA, ON, etc.
- Talmy's (1975) semantic concepts of Figure and Ground for arguments of P.

Acedo-Matellán (2010)

- Figure is the entity that moves with respect to a potential Ground.
- Relational functional head p
 - PathP introduces a transition that encodes the change (H&K's Terminal Coincidence P).
 - PlaceP introduces a Figure/Ground configuration that establishes a location or state (H&K's Central Coincidence P).
- Eventive head v
 - with specifier: causative configuration.
 - without specifier: unaccusative configuration.

AM&M

- Unergative and transitive verbs of creation and consumption

(1) Sue danced.

$[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{Sue}] [_{V'} v \text{VDANCE}]]$

(2) Sue did a dance.

$[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{Sue}] [_{V'} v [_{DP} \text{a dance}]]]$

AM&M

- Atelic transitive events

(3) Sue pushed the car.

$[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{Sue}] [_{V'} v [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{the car}] [_{Place'} \text{Place } v\text{PUSH}]]]]$

(4) Sue lengthened the rope (for five minutes).

$[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{Sue}] [_{V'} v (=en) [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{the rope}] [_{Place'} \text{Place } v\text{LONG}]]]]$

AM&M

- Transitive events of change of state or location

(5) The strong winds cleared the sky.

$[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{The strong winds}] [_{V'} v [_{PathP} [_{DP} \text{the sky}] [_{Path'} \text{Path} [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{the sky}] [_{Place'} \text{Place } v\text{CLEAR}]]]]]]$

(6) Sue shelved the books.

$[_{VP} [_{DP} \text{Sue}] [_{V'} v [_{PathP} [_{DP} \text{the books}] [_{Path'} \text{Path} [_{PlaceP} [_{DP} \text{the books}] [_{Place'} \text{Place } v\text{SHELF}]]]]]]$

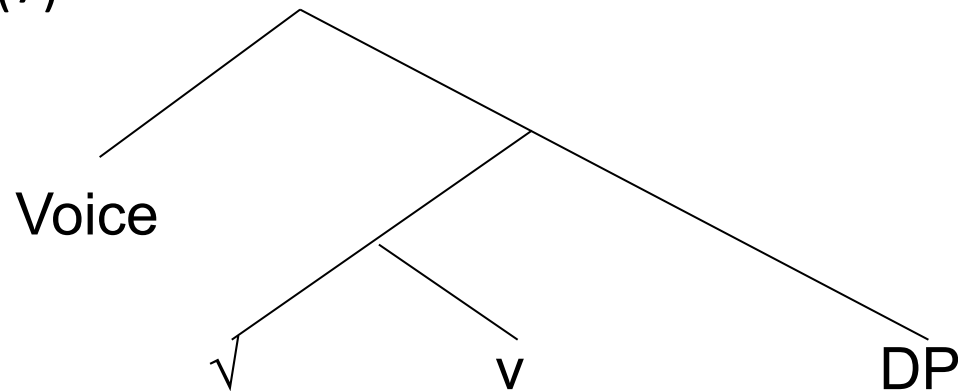
MARANTZ

- Roots cannot be merged as complements, but are always merged as events modifiers.
 - Unergatives as plain intransitives.
 - Transitive structures are plain transitive, i.e no small clause configuration for (a)telic transitives.

MARANTZ

- Unergatives as plain intransitives.
- Transitive structures are plain transitive, i.e. no small clause configuration for (a)telic transitives.

(7)



MARANTZ: Empirical Evidence

- Restitutive *re-* prefixation distinguishes between unergative and transitive:

(8) a. John danced.

b. *John re-danced.

c. John re-danced a dance first performed by his distant ancestors.

- Restitutive *re-* prefixation distinguishes between transitives and SC:

(9) a. John re-shelved the books.

b. *John re-put the books on the shelf.

MARANTZ: Empirical Evidence

- Denominal verb formation systematically resists argument interpretation of roots (Rimell, 2011)

(10) John caked last night. (hard to get ‘bake, make, eat’)

- Denominal verbs do not behave as if the root occupies the argument position. Their semantics is that of modifying the event introduced by *v* or the end state of a change of state syntactically projected as a direct object.

MARANTZ: Empirical Evidence

- Verb compounds (outside synthetic noun compounds), where possible, resist argument interpretation of “incorporated” root.
- (11) *Truck drive (i.e. ‘drive trucks’); cf. truck driver

ACEDO-MATELLÁN (2014)

- Against Marantz (2011):
 - (First) Merge as an operation that takes two objects and creates a first phrasal projection, by definition a structure involving a head and its complement.

ACEDO-MATELLÁN (2014)

- Against Marantz (2011):
 - Cross-linguistic data may support the distinction between roots as adjunct modifiers or complements.
- (12) a. Pauline smiled her thanks. (ADJUNCT)
b. *La Paulina somrigué les gràcies. (Catalan)
- (13) a. The cow calved yesterday. (COMPLEMENT)
b. La vaca vedellà ahir. (Catalan)

THE DEBATE

- H&K, AM&M: “Generative semantics” view.
 - Semantically unambiguous structures reflecting argument/event structure.
- Marantz: “Interpretive semantics” view of syntax.
 - Syntax does not start with a structure transparently representing argument/event structure.

SENTENCE TYPES

| VERB TYPE |
|---|
| UNERGATIVE VERB |
| The dog barked in quiet parks at night. |
| COGNATE OBJECT |
| The man dozed a restful doze on the train. |
| CREATION VERBS |
| He baked a delicious cake with spelt flour. |
| LOCATION/LOCATUM |
| They saddled a wild horse in the farm. |
| STRONG TRANSITIVES |
| He ignored a slight niggle in his knee. |
| WITH-SMALL CLAUSE |
| They sprayed a cookie sheet with vegetable oil. |

Table 1: Sentence types

- Selection based on frame frequency rates (VALEX), and lexical frequency (COCA).
- Unergatives: frame frequency lower than 0.15.
- Creation, Loc/Loc, *With-SC*: selected from among those with the highest frame frequency rate.
- Strong transitives: frame frequency higher than 0.83.

TWO COMPETING GROUPINGS

| VERB TYPE | A-M/M | MARANTZ |
|---|----------|----------|
| UNERGATIVE VERB | v + v/DP | v |
| The dog barked in quiet parks at night. | | |
| COGNATE OBJECT | | |
| The man dozed a restful doze on the train. | | |
| CREATION VERBS | v + v/DP | |
| He baked a delicious cake with spelt flour. | | v + v/DP |
| LOCATION/LOCATUM | v + SC | |
| They saddled a wild horse in the farm. | | |
| STRONG TRANSITIVES | | |
| He ignored a slight niggle in his knee. | | |
| WITH-SMALL CLAUSE | | v + SC |
| They sprayed a cookie sheet with vegetable oil. | | |

Table 2: Sentence types and grouping by theory

SYNTACTIC PRIMING

- The tendency to repeat or better process a sentence because of its structural similarity to a previously experienced, i.e. 'prime' sentence (Bock 1986).
- Bock & Loebell 1990; Bock et al. 1992; Pickering & Branigan 1998; Pickering et al. 2002; Pickering & Traxler 2004; Pickering & Ferreira 2009; Thothathiri & Snedecker 2008, 2010; Wittenberg et al. 2015; among others.

PRIMING CONDITIONS

| | VERB TYPE | A-M/M | MARANTZ |
|----|---|----------|----------|
| C1 | UNERGATIVE VERB | v + v/DP | v |
| | The dog barked in quiet parks at night. | | |
| C2 | COGNATE OBJECT | | v + v/DP |
| | The man dozed a restful doze on the train. | | |
| C3 | CREATION | v + SC | |
| | He baked a delicious cake with spelt flour. | | |
| C4 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | v + SC | v + SC |
| | They saddled a wild horse in the farm. | | |
| C5 | STRONG TRANSITIVES | v + SC | v + SC |
| | He ignored a slight niggle in his knee. | | |
| C6 | WITH-SMALL CLAUSE | v + SC | v + SC |
| | They sprayed a cookie sheet with vegetable oil. | | |

Table 3: Priming conditions, sentence types and groupings by theory.

STRUCTURAL PRIMING EXPERIMENT

- We test structural priming within and across sentence types.
- Self-paced reading language comprehension study over Mechanical Turk.
- Priming paradigm where each target item also serves as a prime sentence for the next target item (up to attention task or control condition – non-primed sentences).

SYNTACTIC PRIMING: PREDICTIONS 1

- Different structural priming predictions in terms of individual sentence types.

PRIMING RELATIONS – PREDICTIONS

| | PRIME | TARGET | AM&M | MARANTZ |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------|---------|
| C1>C2 | UNERGATIVE | COGNATE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C1>C3 | UNERGATIVE | CREATION | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2>C1 | COGNATE | UNERGATIVE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2>C4 | COGNATE | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✗ | ✓ |
| C2>C5 | COGNATE | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C3>C1 | CREATION | UNERGATIVE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C3>C4 | CREATION | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✗ | ✓ |
| C3>C5 | CREATION | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C2 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | COGNATE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C3 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | CREATION | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C6 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | ✓ | ✗ |
| C5 > C2 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | COGNATE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C5 > C3 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | CREATION | ✗ | ✓ |
| C5 > C6 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | ✓ | ✗ |
| C6 > C4 | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✓ | ✗ |
| C6 > C5 | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✓ | ✗ |

PRIMING RELATIONS – PREDICTIONS

| | PRIME | TARGET | AM&M | MARANTZ |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------|---------|
| C1>C2 | UNERGATIVE | COGNATE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C1>C3 | UNERGATIVE | CREATION | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2>C1 | COGNATE | UNERGATIVE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2>C4 | COGNATE | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✗ | ✓ |
| C2>C5 | COGNATE | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C3>C1 | CREATION | UNERGATIVE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C3>C4 | CREATION | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✗ | ✓ |
| C3>C5 | CREATION | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C2 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | COGNATE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C3 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | CREATION | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C6 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | ✓ | ✗ |
| C5 > C2 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | COGNATE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C5 > C3 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | CREATION | ✗ | ✓ |
| C5 > C6 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | ✓ | ✗ |
| C6 > C4 | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✓ | ✗ |
| C6 > C5 | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✓ | ✗ |

SYNTACTIC PRIMING: PREDICTIONS 2

- Different structural priming predictions in terms of groupings of sentence types by each theoretical approach.

GROUPING RELATIONS – PRIMING PREDICTIONS

| | PRIME / TARGET AMONG THEMSELVES | AM&M | MARANTZ |
|-------------|---|------|---------|
| C1-C2-C3 | UNERGATIVE – COGNATE – CREATION | ✓ | ✗ |
| C4-C5-C6 | LOCATION/LOCATUM – STRONG TRANSITIVES – WITH SMALL CLAUSE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2-C3-C4-C5 | COGNATE – CREATION – LOCATION /LOCATUM – STRONG TRANSITIVES | ✗ | ✓ |

Table 5: Priming relations - Predictions by sentence groupings

GROUPING RELATIONS – PRIMING PREDICTIONS

| | PRIME / TARGET AMONG THEMSELVES | AM&M | MARANTZ |
|--------------------|---|------|---------|
| C1-C2-C3 | UNERGATIVE – COGNATE – CREATION | ✓ | ✗ |
| C4-C5-C6 | LOCATION/LOCATUM – STRONG TRANSITIVES – WITH SMALL CLAUSE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2-C3-C4-C5 | COGNATE – CREATION – LOCATION /LOCATUM – STRONG TRANSITIVES | ✗ | ✓ |

Table 5: Priming relations - Predictions by sentence groupings

NOTES ON STRUCTURAL PRIMING

- Surface vs. abstract structure priming
 - Bock et al. (1992), Pickering et al. (2002), Pickering & Ferreira (2009), Wittenberg et al. (2015), i.a.: syntactic priming is sensitive / attributable to surface structure.
- In both models, AM&M and MARANTZ, the proposed structures are surface structures.

PRIMING ACROSS MODALITIES

- Production vs. Comprehension (in behavioral studies)
 - Syntactic priming effects in **production** occur without lexical repetition and are enhanced when there is *lexical boost*, e.g. Pickering & Branigan (1998); Segaert et al. (2011, 2013).
 - Pickering & Branigan (1998): priming without lexical repetition only when primed with 2 sentences in **production** (completing sentence fragments).

PRIMING ACROSS MODALITIES

- Production vs. Comprehension (in behavioral studies)
 - Syntactic priming in **comprehension** seems to depend on *lexical boost*, e.g. Pickering & Traxler (2004); Branigan et al. (2005); Arai et al. (2007); Traxler & Tooley (2007); Tooley et al. (2009); Segaert et al. (2011, 2013).
 - Recent studies reporting syntactic priming in **comprehension** independent from *lexical boost*: Thothathiri & Snedeker (2008a,b); Traxler (2008); Pickering, McLean & Branigan (2013).

PRIMING IN COMPREHENSION

- Pickering & Traxler (2004): no priming in comprehension without lexical boost (eye tracking recording in reading task).

(14) The man watched by the woman was tall.

- a. \neq The child cleaned by the girl was covered in chocolate.
- b. \Rightarrow The mouse watched by the cat was hiding under the table.

PRIMING IN COMPREHENSION

- Segaert et al. (2013): no syntactic priming in active sentences in the absence of lexical boost of head word (fMRI neuronal study of active and passive sentence comprehension and production).

PRIMING IN COMPREHENSION

- Thothathiri & Snedeker (2008): priming effects without lexical repetition in comprehension with 2 primed sentences (eye tracking identification plus acting out).
- Problems (reported in Tooley & Traxler 2010):
 - two prime sentences may reflect a task-specific effect,
 - kids had to act out target sentence with toys, invoking some covert production.

PRIMING IN COMPREHENSION

- Traxler (2008): first evidence of between-sentence structural priming in online sentence comprehension without lexical overlap, involving adjunct relations (eye-tracking).

(15) a. The chemist poured the fluid in the beaker into the flask earlier. (Same-structure PRIME)

b. The chemist poured the fluid into the flask earlier. (Different-structure PRIME)

c. The vendor tossed the peanuts in the box into the crowd during the game (TARGET).

PRIMING IN COMPREHENSION

- Pickering, McLean & Branigan (2013): structural priming in both lexically independent and lexically dependent comprehension (sentence-picture matching task of high and low-attachment ambiguous adjuncts).

- (16) a. The policeman is thumping the soldier with the gun. (PRIME)
- b. The waitress is prodding the clown with the umbrella. (TARGET)

STIMULI IN STRUCTURAL PRIMING

- Garden-path sentences

(17) The man accepted the price was not going to him. (Trueswell & Kim 1998)

- Ambiguous low and high-attachment adjuncts

(18) The waitress is prodding the clown with the umbrella. (Pickering, McLean, Branigan 2013)

STIMULI IN STRUCTURAL PRIMING

- Double Object versus Dative constructions

(19) a. Give the bird the dog bone.

b. Give the bird house to the sheep. (Thothathiri & Snedeker 2008)

STIMULI IN STRUCTURAL PRIMING

- Datives versus Locatives versus Passives

(20) a. The wealthy widow drove her Mercedes to the church.

(PRIME)

b. A rock climber sold some cocaine to an undercover agent.

(TARGET) (Bock & Loebell 1990)

(21) a. The foreigner was loitering by the broken traffic light.

(PRIME)

b. The referee was punched by one of the fans. (TARGET)

(Bock & Loebell 1990)

- Actives versus Passives (e.g. Bock 1986; Segaert 2011, 2013)

PERSISTENCE OF PRIMING

- Hartsuiker et al. (2008): enhanced priming effect due to lexical boost does not persist across any number of intervening structures in production (picture description task).
- Carminati & van Gompel (2009): lexically dependent syntactic priming effects persist across 2 intervening sentences in comprehension (eye tracking identification task).

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

- 24 sentences of each condition ($24 \times 6 = 144$), separated into 4 segments:
 - Subject
 - Verb
 - First Complement
 - Second Complement
- 1/6 of trials preceded by a two-choice comprehension question
- 3 blocks of trials, with 6 block orderings
 - Trials randomized within blocks

SEGMENTS OF 4 PHRASES

| | | NP | V (+N/NP) | PP | PP |
|----|------------|---------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| C1 | Unergative | The dog | barked | in the park | at night |

| | | NP | V | NP | PP |
|----|---------------------------|---------|---------|------------------|---------------------|
| C2 | Cognate | The dog | barked | a ferocious bark | in the garden. |
| C3 | Creation | The man | built | a detached house | in the countryside. |
| C4 | Locative/Locatum | The man | caged | a young tiger | in the zoo. |
| C5 | Strong Transitive | The man | ignored | a slight niggle | in his knee. |
| C6 | <i>With</i> -Small Clause | The man | crammed | a cigarette butt | into the ashtray. |

STUDY IMPLEMENTATION

- Created in Ibex
 - Each segment presented sequentially in center of the screen
 - 400 ms between each sentence
 - Participants were shown instructions and completed a practice round before beginning

The army

flooded

a small river

in Austin.

Did they block it up or cross it?

1. cross it

2. block it up

STUDY IMPLEMENTATION

- Distributed via Amazon Mechanical Turk (500 HITs completed)
 - Restricted to participants in the U.S.
 - 95% or greater HIT acceptance rate

DATA PROCESSING

- Exclusion criteria:
 - Non-native English speakers
 - Multilinguals
 - < 70% overall accuracy
 - Duplicate participants
- n = 355 included participants

DATA PROCESSING

- Average reading time was calculated for each participant, for each segment:
 - Trials with $RT > 2$ standard deviations from participant's respective mean were excluded.
- First trial of each block was excluded.

CONTROLLED ANALYSES

- Based on preliminary ANOVA results (6x6 within subjects; Factors: cond + prev_cond) and visual inspection of the plots, we decided to focus on the reading times of Segment 3, the first constituent after the verb (complement /adverbial).
- The analyses that follow will have Segment 3 reading time as the outcome/response variable.

ANCOVA

(Analysis of Covariance)

- We designed a mixed effects ANCOVA with random intercepts by subject and by item.
- ‘Nuisance’ variables included as covariates:
 - trial order,
 - verb frequency,
 - RT of previous segment,
 - RT of same segment in previous trial.

ANCOVA (1.0)

(Analysis of Covariance)

- We coded two variables:
 - Conditions recoded/grouped based on Marantz theory: Unergatives, DP/Root, Small Clause ($V\alpha$)
 - Conditions recoded/grouped based on AM&M theory: DP/Root, Small Clause ($V\beta$)
- These two variables were included as predictors in an ANCOVA model, with log-transformed frequency, trial order, previous trial RT, and previous segment RT as controls/covariates.

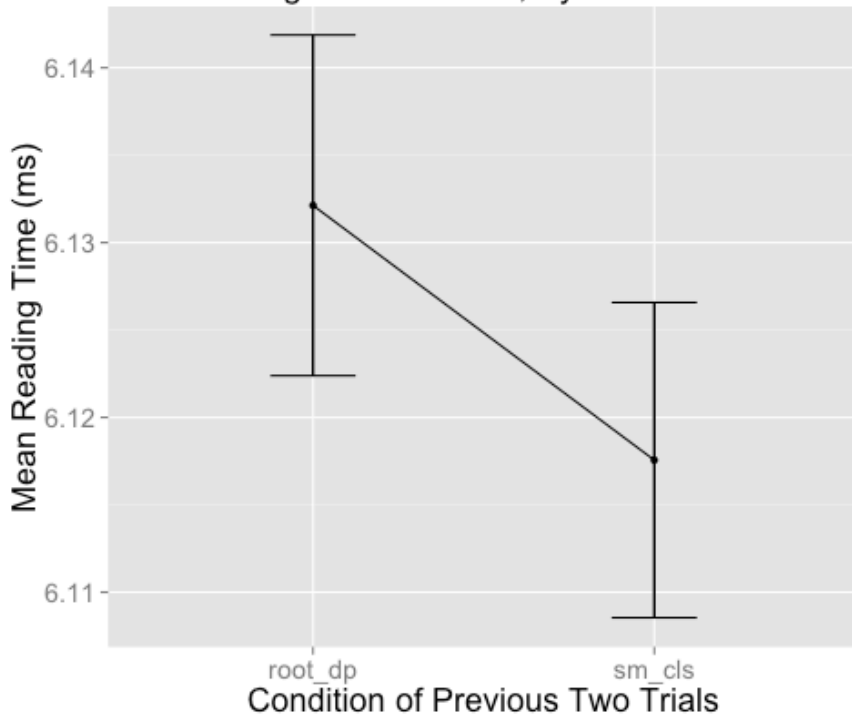
ANCOVA (1.0) – FINDINGS

- The full model was tested against models excluding each respective variable of interest.
- We found:
 - Significant contribution of Marantz model ($p = .012$)
 - Neither significant nor trending contribution of AM&M model ($p = .1379$)

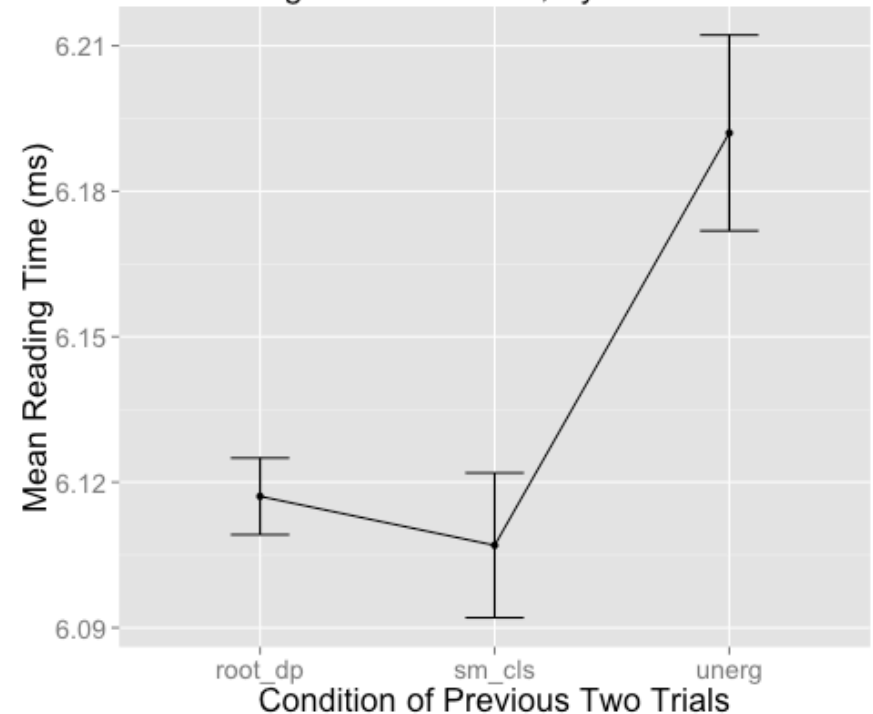
AM&M vs. MARANTZ – By Condition

- No significant separation between conditions for the AM&M model – error bars overlap quite a bit.
- Significant separation in the Marantz model.

Segment 3: AM&M, By Condition



Segment 3: Marantz, By Condition



ANCOVA (2.0) – PREVIOUS TWO SAME CATEGORY

- We created two new binary variables:
 - Trials preceded by TWO trials of the same condition (same as each other, not as the current trial)
 - According to the Marantz theory ($V\gamma$)
 - According to the AM&M theory ($V\delta$)
- Included the same control variables as in the previous ANCOVA models.
- We ALSO included the interaction of the two above variables ($V\gamma$, $V\delta$) with the variables associated with their respective models ($V\alpha$, $V\beta$).

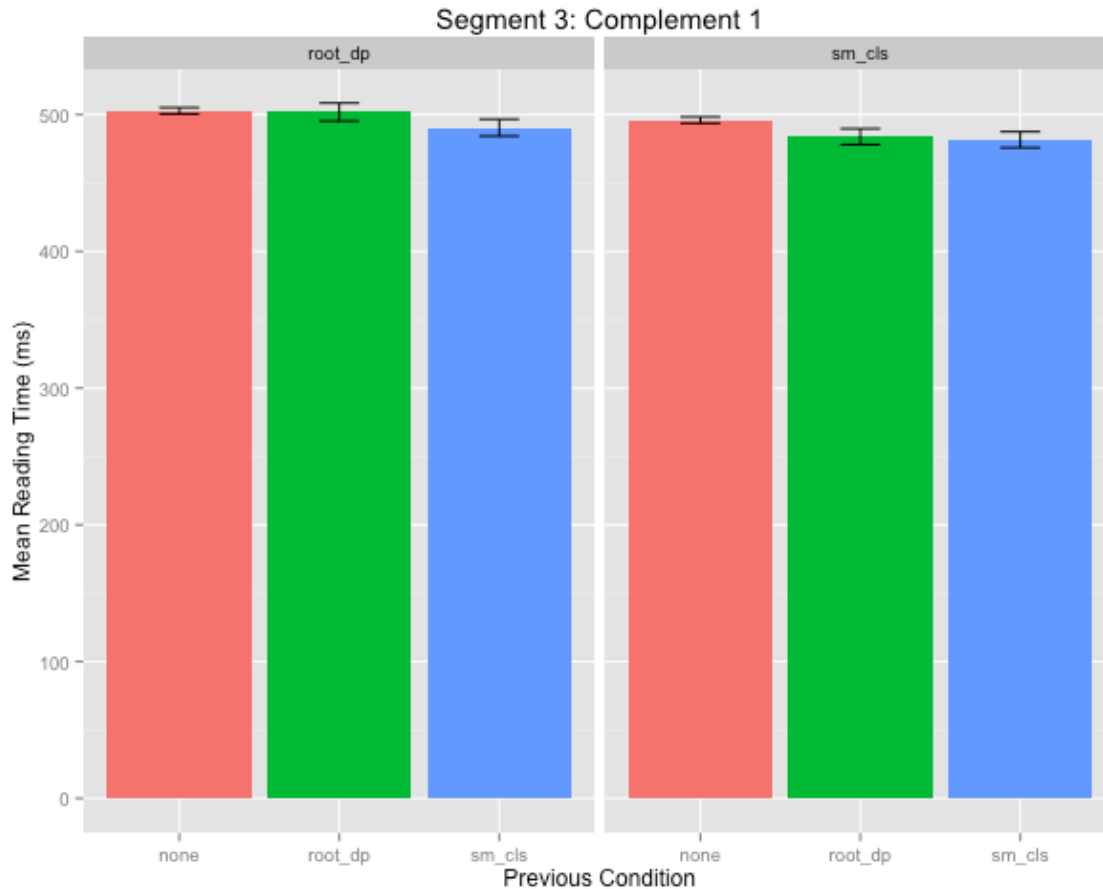
ANCOVA (2.0) – FINDINGS

- The full model was tested against models excluding each respective interaction term.
- This gave a null result:
 - The contribution of the Marantz interaction was not significant ($p = .649$)
 - The contribution of the AM&M interaction was not significant ($p = .863$)

ANCOVA (2.0) – FINDINGS

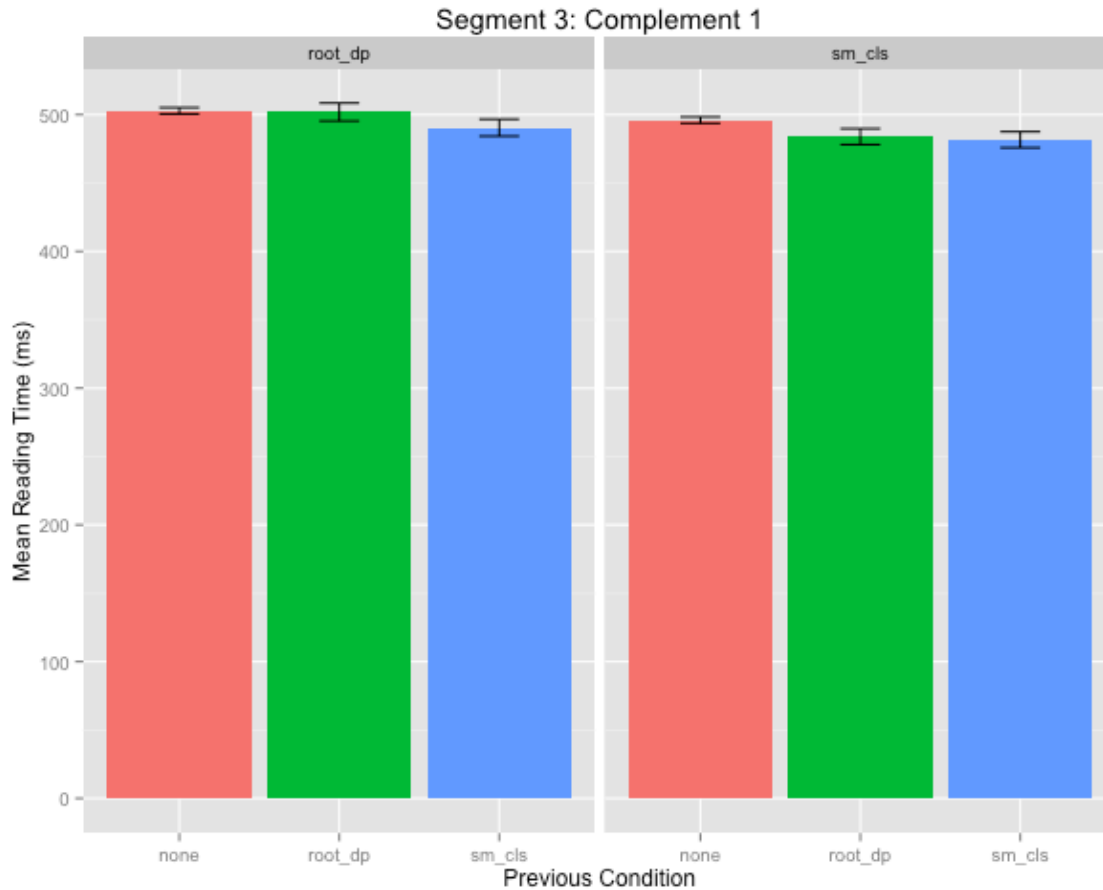
- However, when we remove the random effects structure, keeping order as a covariate, we obtain significant effects
 - The contribution of the Marantz interaction was significant ($p = .0037$)
 - The contribution of the AM&M interaction was not significant ($p = .756$)
- Caution: Simplified model!

AM&M Model Prev2



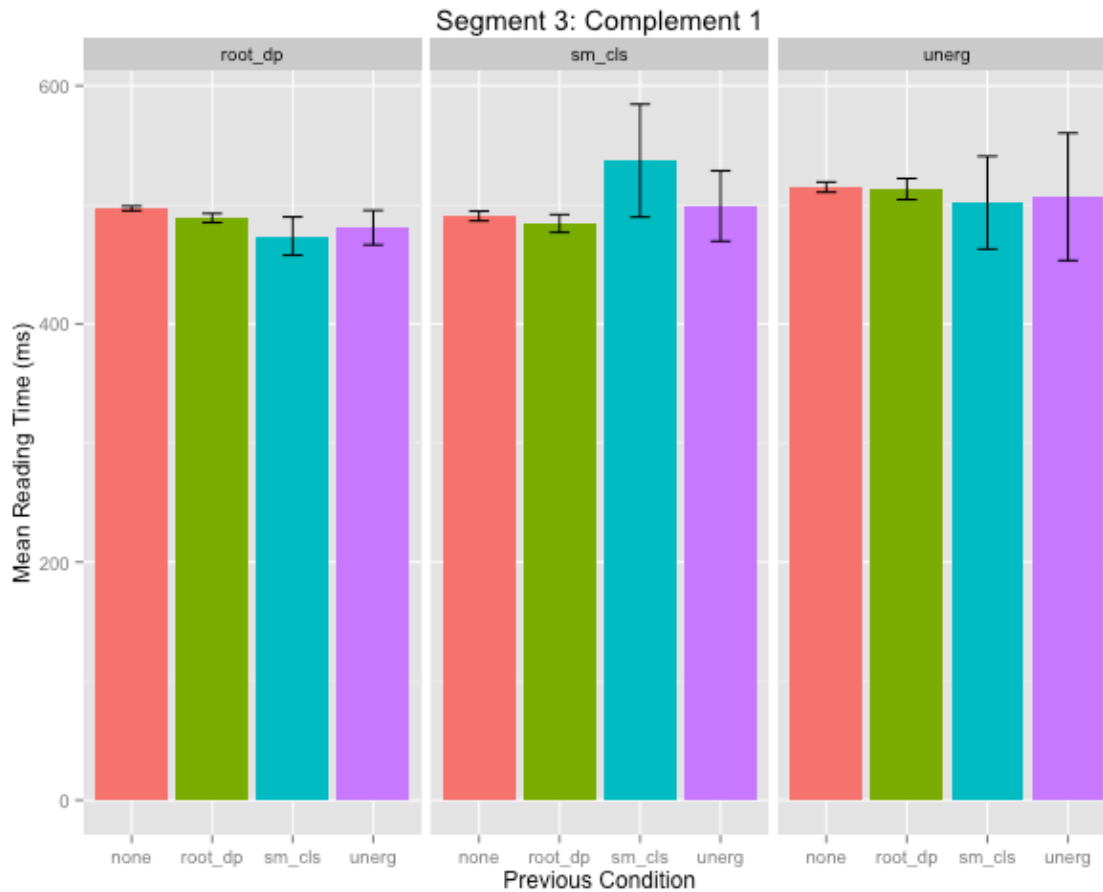
- Differences in mean RT for Segment 3, by condition and previous condition for trials preceded by TWO trials of the same condition.
- None= Trials not preceded by 2 of the same condition.

AM&M Model Prev2



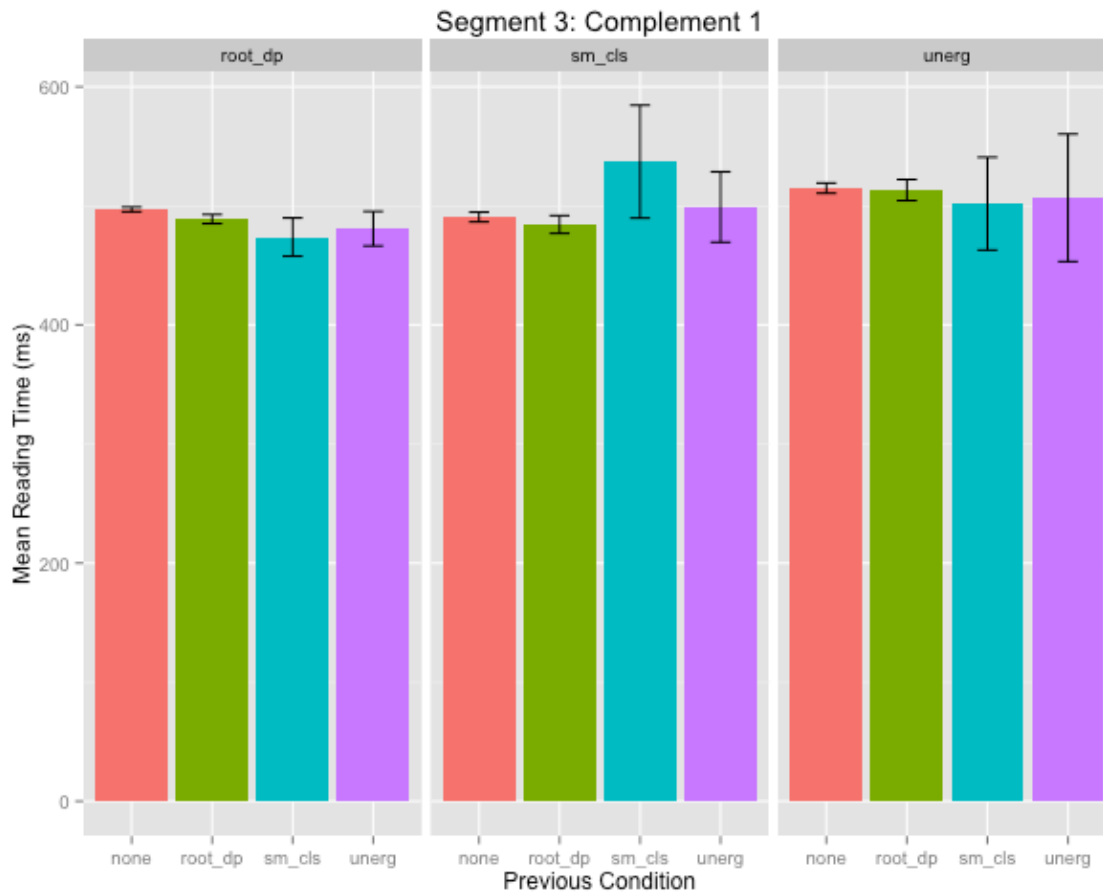
- No evidence that some set of V NP PP structures behave like SC or that unergatives look like transitives.

Marantz Model Prev2



- Differences in mean RT for Segment 3, by condition and previous condition for trials preceded by TWO trials of the same condition.
- None= Trials not preceded by 2 of the same condition.

Marantz Model Prev2



- We see effects for the SC condition. 2 SC sentences before a SC sentence causes a significant slow down in Segment 3 RTs, while 2 standard V NP PP sentences before SC causes a significant speed up in S3 reading.

ANCOVA – Limitations

- Limitations:
 - The AM&M variable, and thus the interaction including this variable, had fewer levels than the Marantz model, perhaps inherently restricting its ability to capture variance associated with this interaction.
 - However, adding more levels to the categorical predictor does not improve the analysis. The test of the ungrouped condition variable is still not significant ($p = .11$).

LINEAR MIXED EFFECTS REGRESSION MODEL

- To test priming on the basis of the grouping of conditions in each model.
- Same control variables as in previous ANCOVA analyses.
- We coded two additional binary variables based on the predictions of each model :
 - Primed
 - Unprimed

PRIMING RELATIONS – PREDICTIONS

| | PRIME | TARGET | AM&M | MARANTZ |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------|---------|
| C1>C2 | UNERGATIVE | COGNATE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C1>C3 | UNERGATIVE | CREATION | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2>C1 | COGNATE | UNERGATIVE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C2>C4 | COGNATE | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✗ | ✓ |
| C2>C5 | COGNATE | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C3>C1 | CREATION | UNERGATIVE | ✓ | ✗ |
| C3>C4 | CREATION | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✗ | ✓ |
| C3>C5 | CREATION | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C2 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | COGNATE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C3 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | CREATION | ✗ | ✓ |
| C4>C6 | LOCATION/LOCATUM | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | ✓ | ✗ |
| C5 > C2 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | COGNATE | ✗ | ✓ |
| C5 > C3 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | CREATION | ✗ | ✓ |
| C5 > C6 | STRONG TRANSITIVE | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | ✓ | ✗ |
| C6 > C4 | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | LOCATION/LOCATUM | ✓ | ✗ |
| C6 > C5 | <i>WITH-SMALL CLAUSE</i> | STRONG TRANSITIVE | ✓ | ✗ |

LINEAR MIXED EFFECTS REGRESSION MODEL

- To test priming on the basis of the grouping of conditions in each model.
- Same control variables as in previous ANCOVA analyses.
- We coded two additional binary variables based on the predictions of each model :
 - Primed
 - Unprimed
- ✓ coded as 1
- ✗ coded as 0

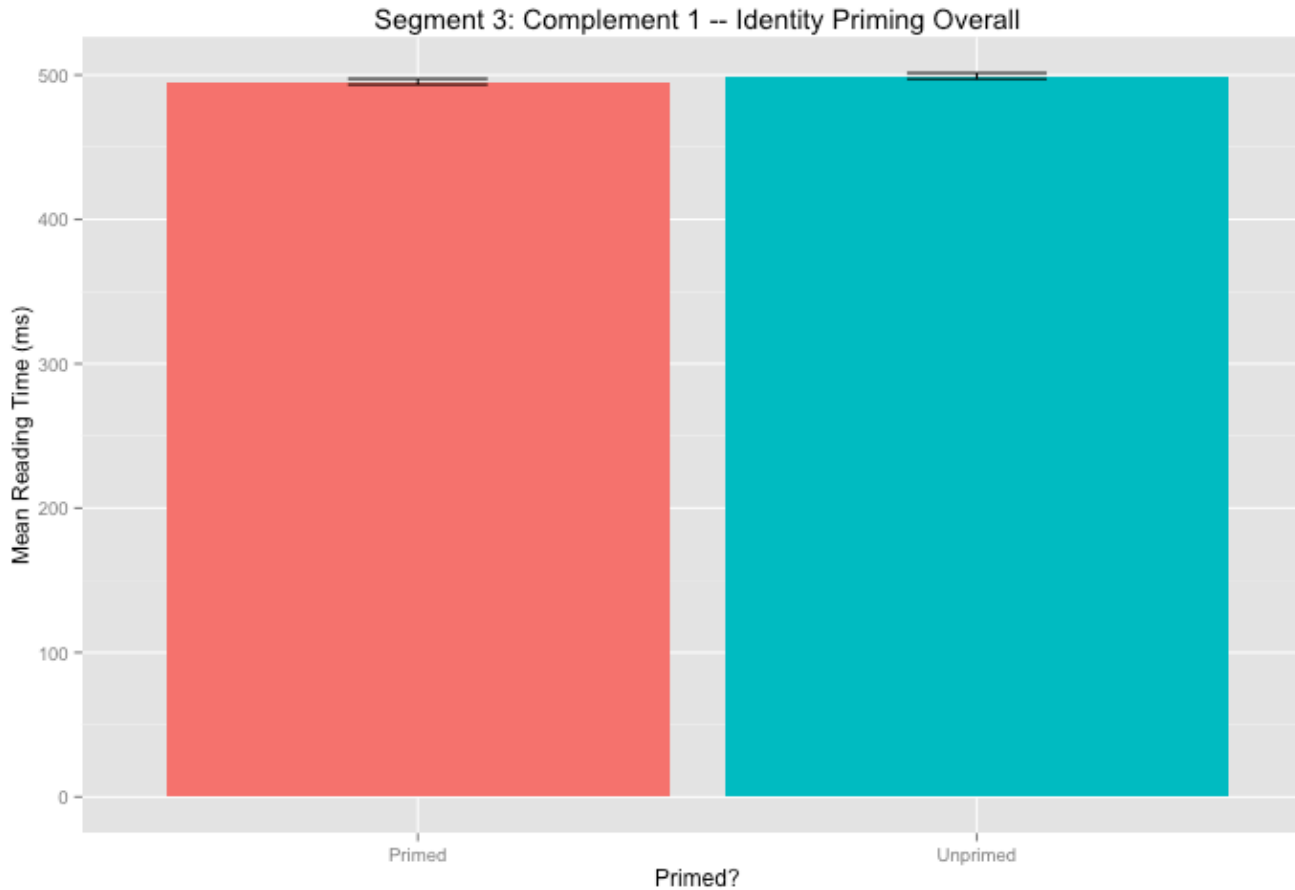
LINEAR MIXED EFFECTS REGRESSION MODEL

- Results are not significant. However, the effect size for the Marantz model is consistently larger than that of AM&M.
- Without considering random effects:
 - Marantz model ($p = .1078$)
 - AM&M model ($p = .2999$)
- With random effects:
 - Marantz model ($p = .1766$)
 - AM&M model ($p = .565$)

LINEAR MIXED EFFECTS REGRESSION MODEL

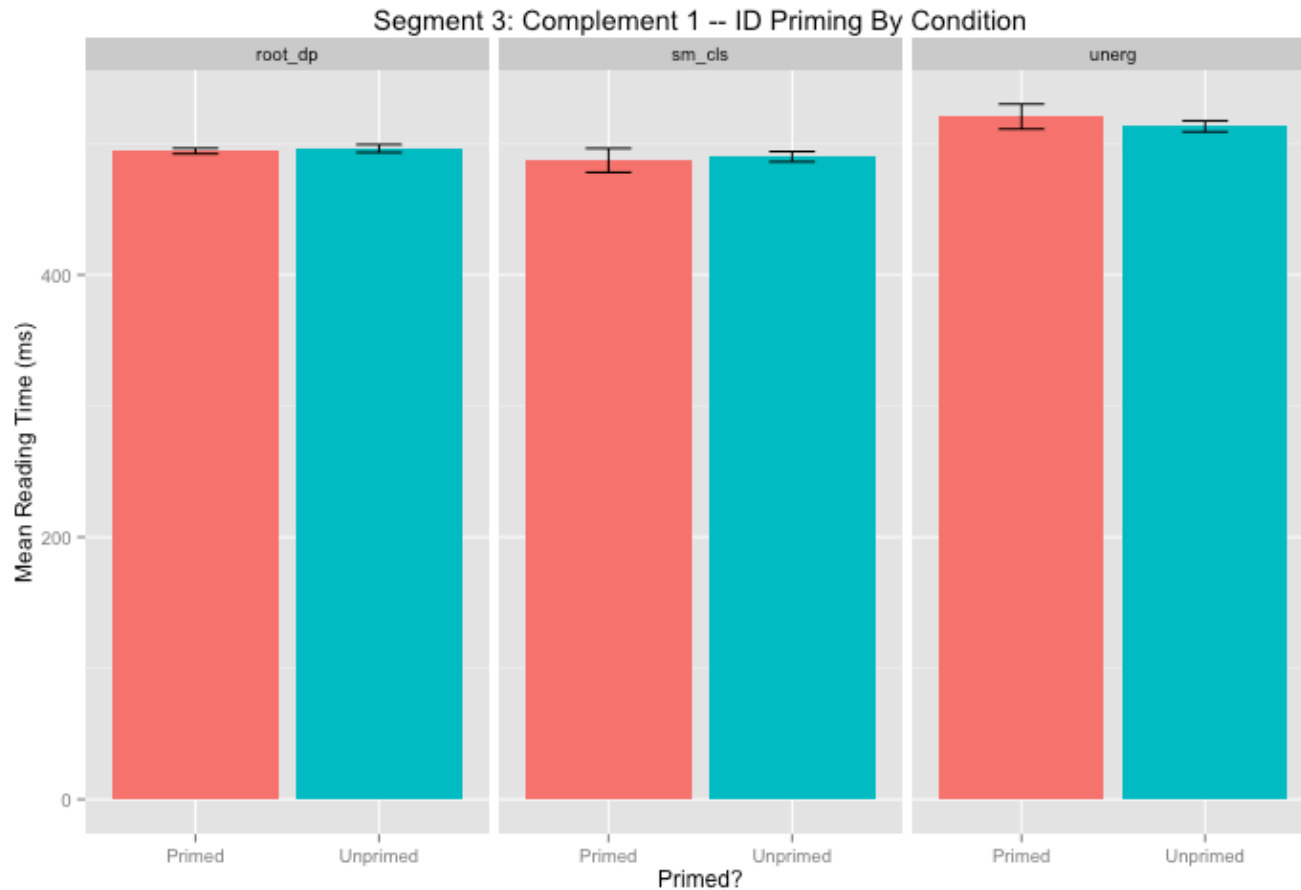
- This is likely our most reliable model, because we have reduced the number of levels for the variables we are testing to just two for both models.

Marantz – Identity Priming Overall



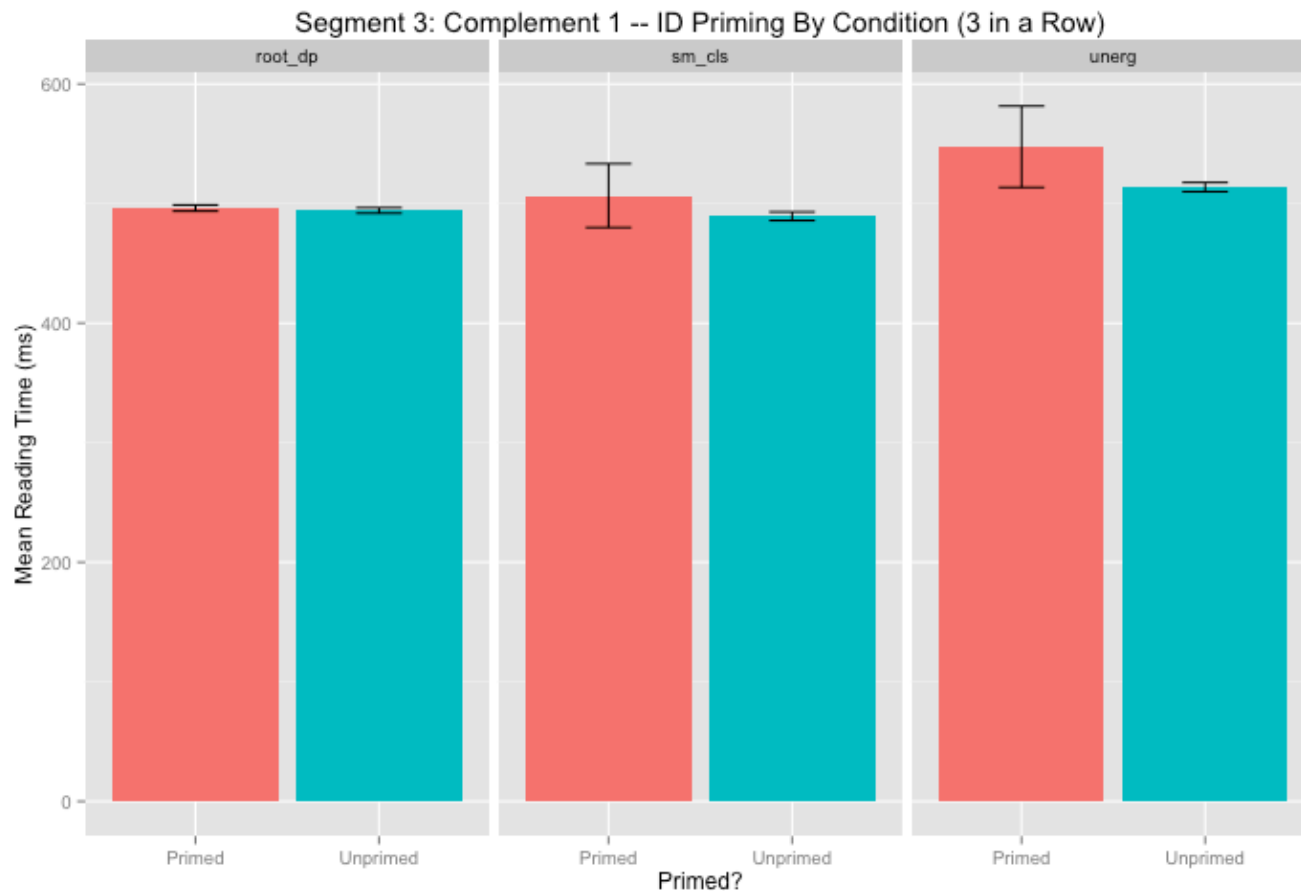
- Conditions preceded by the same condition (just 1 previous trial), given the grouping of conditions in the Marantz model.

Marantz – Identity Priming By Condition



- Conditions preceded by the same condition (just 1 previous trial), given the grouping of conditions in the Marantz model by condition.

Marantz – Identity Priming By Condition 3 in a Row



- Conditions preceded by TWO same conditions (2 previous trials), given the grouping of conditions in the Marantz model by condition.

CONCLUSIONS

- Self-paced reading comprehension study shows syntactic priming effects with canonical (simple) NP V NP PP structures.
- ANCOVA 1.0: By Condition, we get significant effects of the Marantz model.
- ANCOVA 2.0: Interaction of Models with Prev_Two_Same, we get significant effects of the Marantz model with trial order and no random effects.

ONGOING QUESTIONS

- The inhibitory effect in slower RTs in conditions of priming.
- Limitations of the model variables in the number of levels (3 vs. 2) in the ANCOVAs, perhaps inherently conditioning their ability to capture variance.

NEXT STEPS

- More data are needed. Preliminary effects showing that the Marantz model is a better predictor are based on one aspect of the model, and we may not currently have enough statistical power to look at ALL aspects of the model.
- We had few trials preceded by 2 trials of the same condition as the current trial. We need more data to get reliable results in this direction.

DGfS 2016

AG2: The syntax of argument structure

Syntactic priming as a test of
argument structure: A self-paced
reading experiment

THANKS!

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