

How to succeed at
syntactic island acquisition
without really trying:
Learning the right building blocks

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Language
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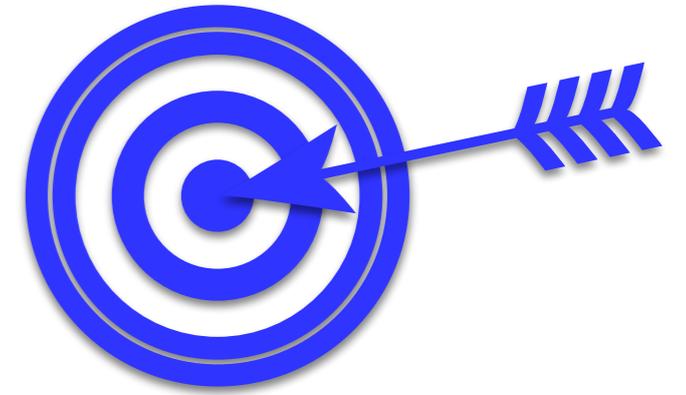
Pomona College





What does it mean to **succeed**
at **syntactic island acquisition**?



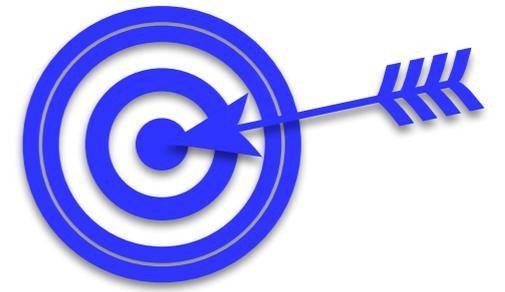


One answer: To develop the **target behavior** we observe about **syntactic islands**...





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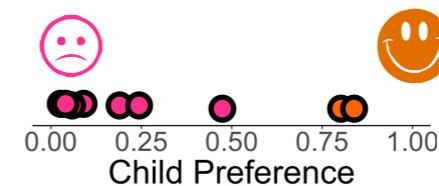
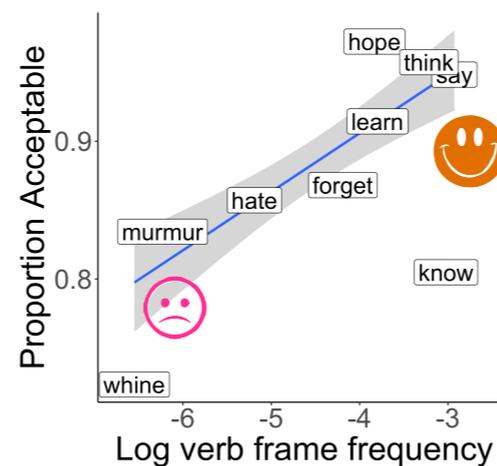
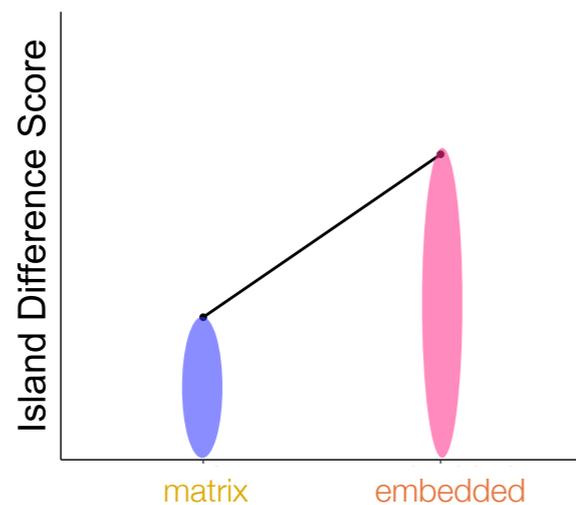


Some example behavior:
judgment patterns and **(dis)preferences** for certain utterances related to syntactic islands

What __what?

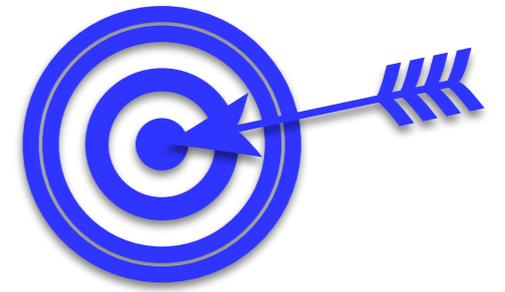


What [[__what]]?



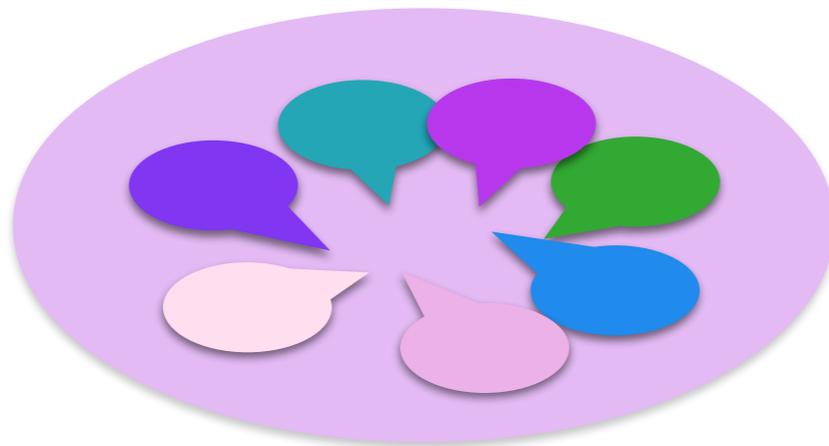


One answer: To develop the **target behavior** we observe about **syntactic islands**, given the **input** children get and the **time** they have to learn.



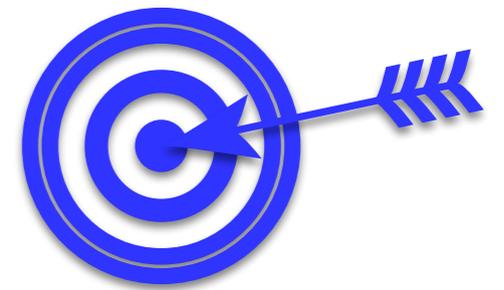
What

[[__what]]?





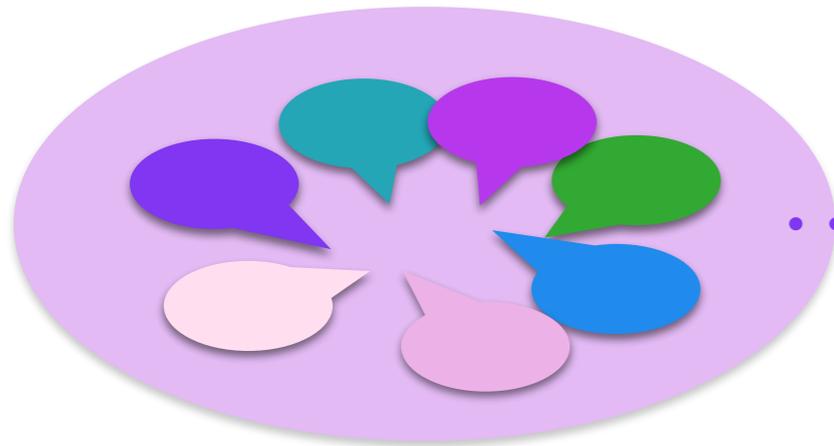
Acquisition success for syntactic islands



What

[[__what]]?





What

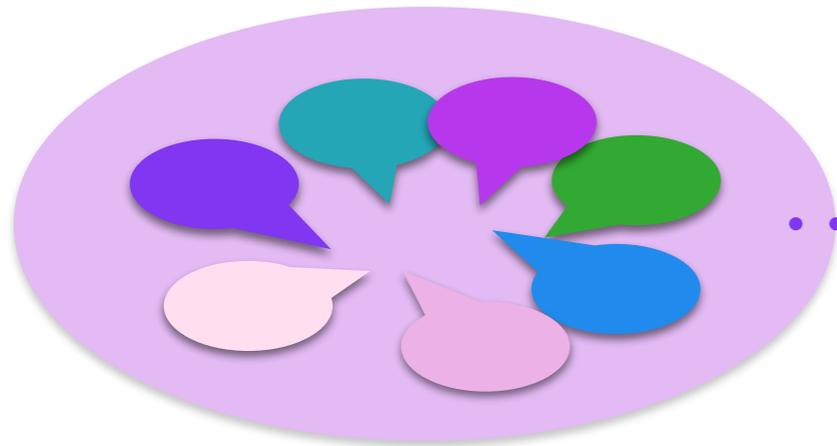
[[__what]]?



“...without really trying...”

What does it mean to **try**?





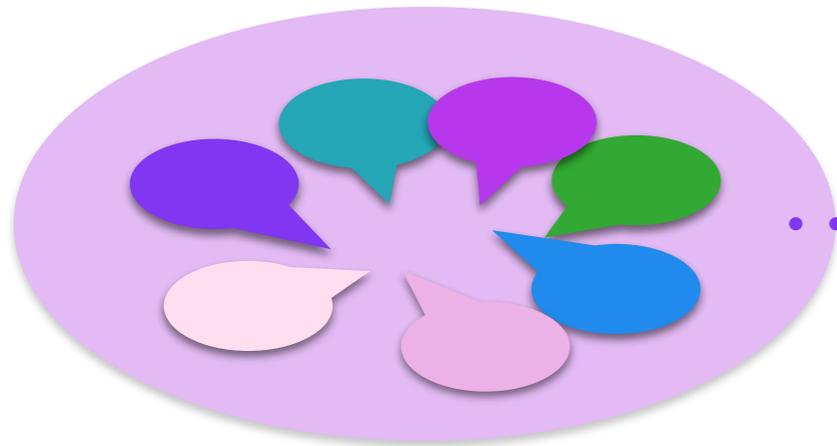
“trying”



One answer: Learn about syntactic islands *directly*. For instance, look for language-specific “bounding nodes” (*Subjacency*: Chomsky 1973, Huang 1982, Lasnik & Saito 1984) that signal syntactic island structure in *wh-dependencies*.

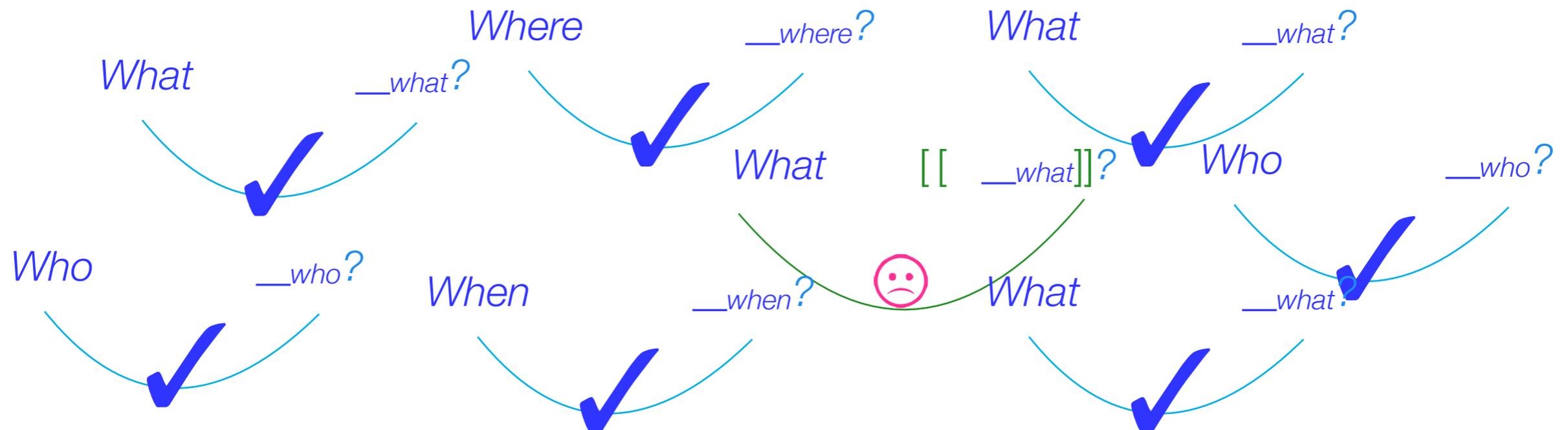
What [BN1 [BN2 *__what*]]?

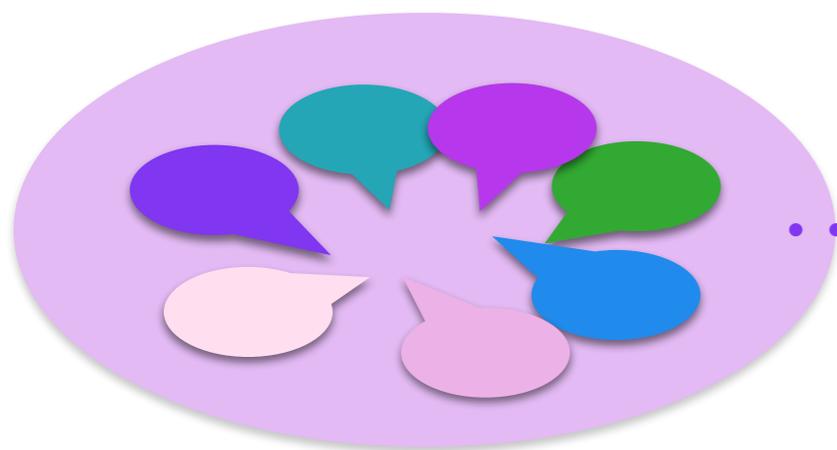




“without really trying”

Learn about syntactic islands **indirectly** by learning about **wh-dependencies** more generally.





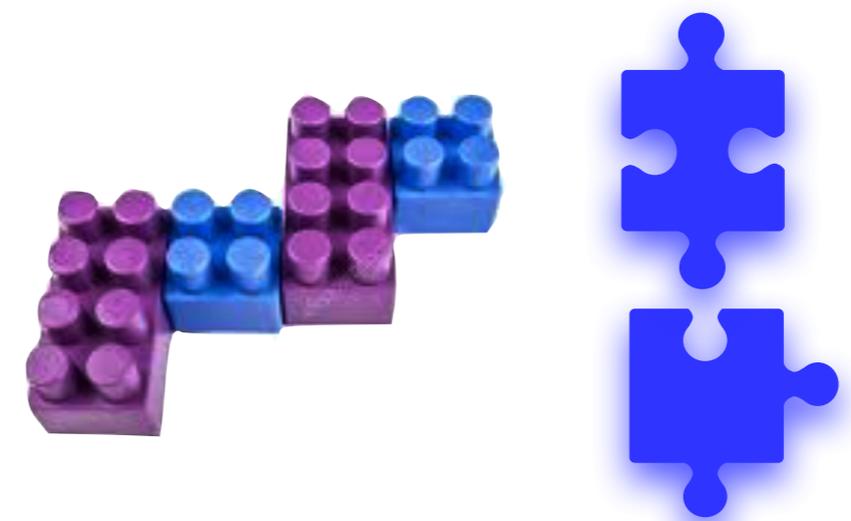
What

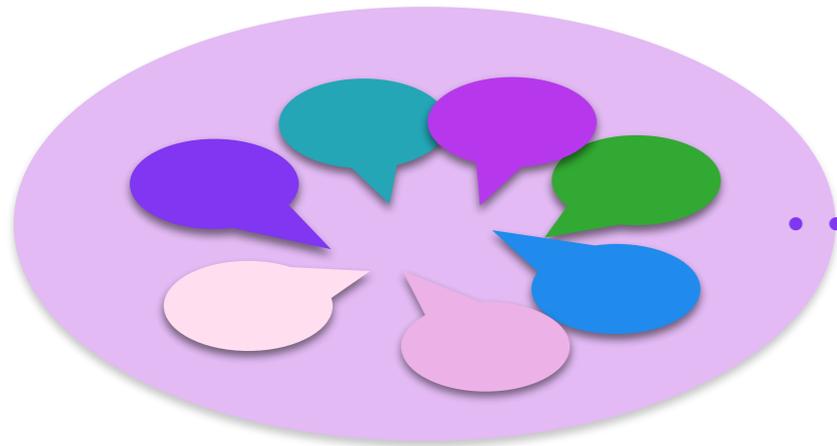
[[__what]]?



“Learning the right building blocks”

Proposal: The child is trying to learn about the building blocks that combine into *wh*-dependencies.





What

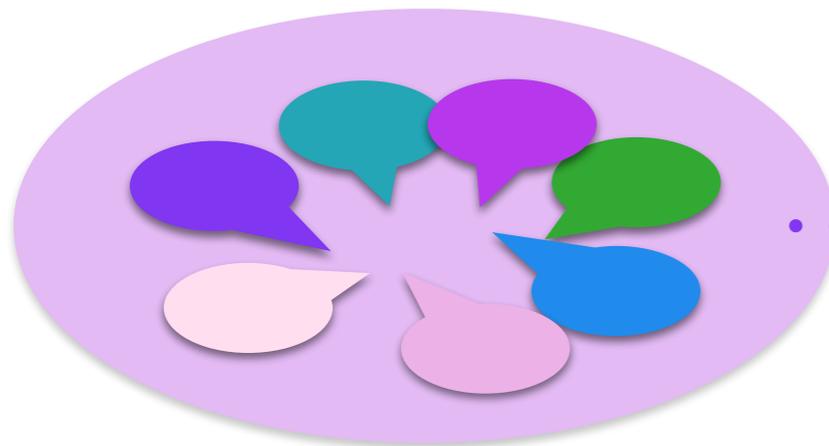
[[__what]]?



“Learning the right building blocks”



Proposal: Learn about syntactic islands indirectly by learning about the probabilities of the building blocks for *wh*-dependencies.



What

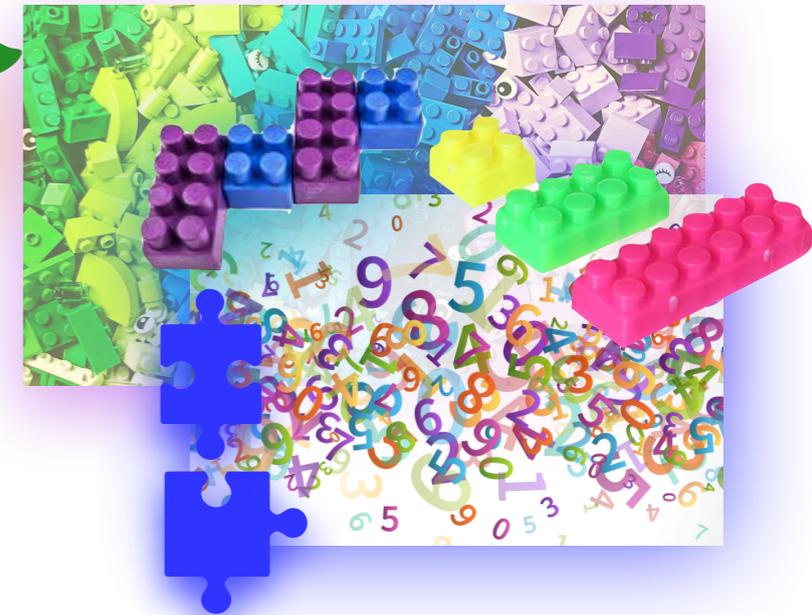
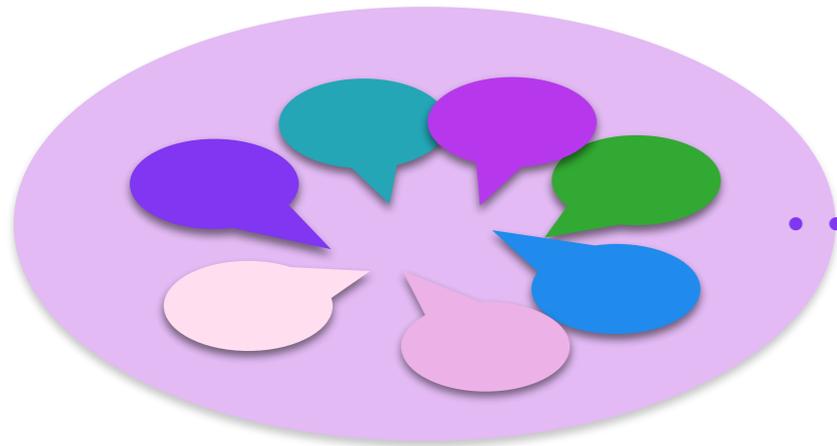
[[__what]]?



Proposal: Learn simultaneously from the **input**

- (i) **what the building blocks are**, and
- (ii) **their probabilities**

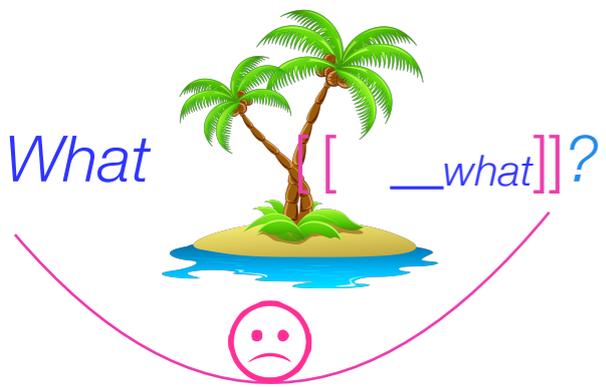
This turns out to work really well.



But first, let's briefly review some relevant information about the acquisition of syntactic islands.

What [[__what]]?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.

This kitty was bought as a present for someone.

Lily thinks this kitty is pretty.



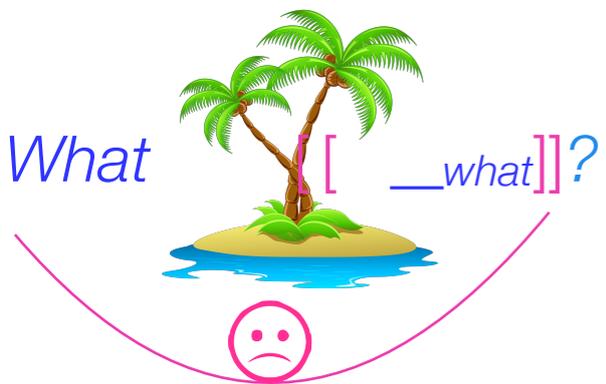
What's going on here?

Who does Lily think the kitty for is pretty?



What does Lily think is pretty, and who does she think it's for?





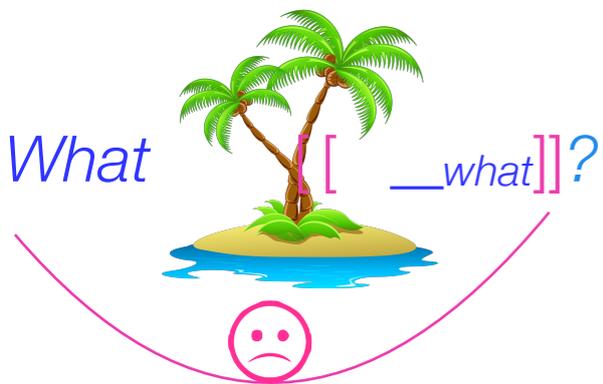
Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?

There's a *dependency* between the *wh*-word *who* and where it's understood (the *gap*)

Who does Lily think the kitty for ___{who} is pretty?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.

What's going on here?

There's a *dependency* between the *wh*-word *who* and where it's understood (the *gap*)

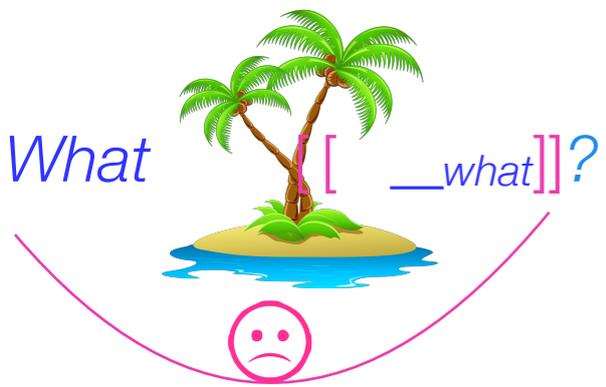
Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty?



This dependency is *strongly dispreferred* in English.

One explanation: The dependency crosses a “*syntactic island*” (Ross 1967)



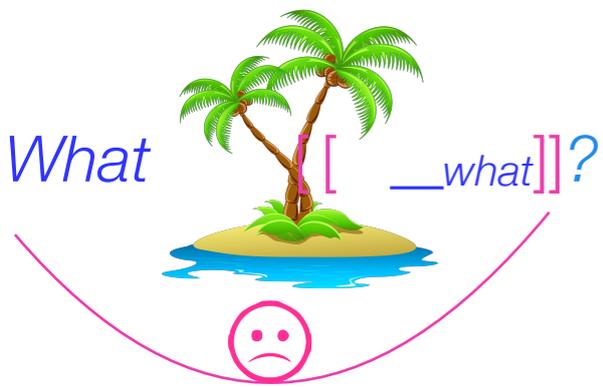


Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for __*who* is pretty? Subject island



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involve *wh*-dependencies.



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Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty?

Subject island

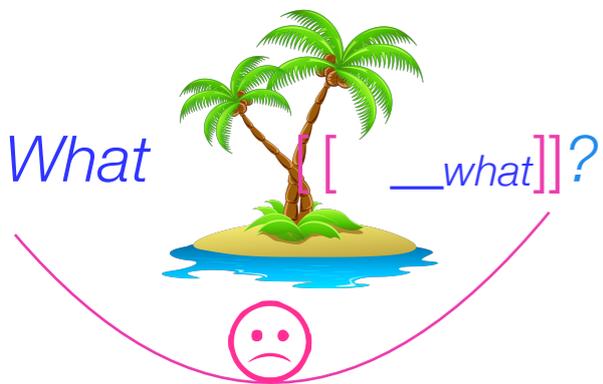


Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island



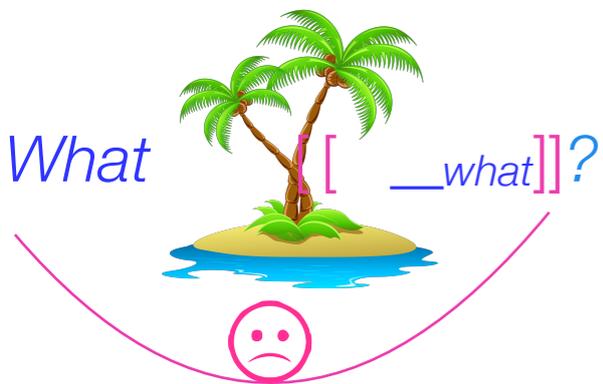
Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

Elizabeth wondered if he actually did
and what it was.

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

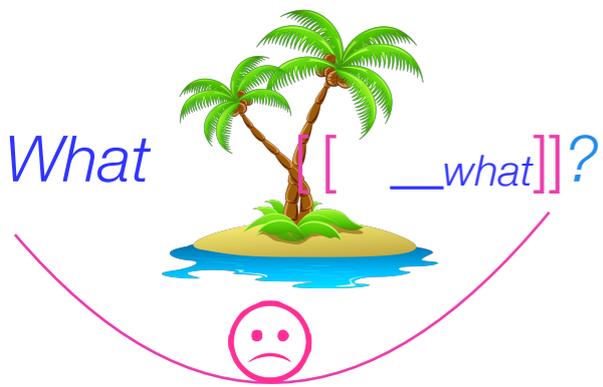
What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island



Jack is somewhat tricky.
He claimed he bought something.
Elizabeth worried it was something dangerous.

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

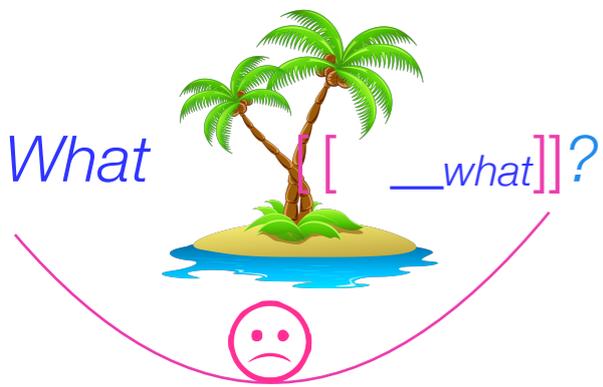
What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

(Chomsky 1965, Ross 1967)



Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

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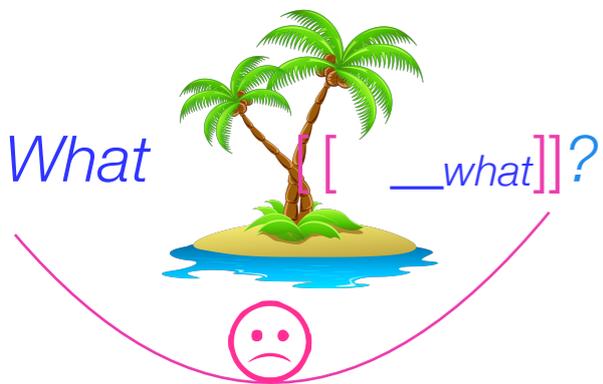
Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

Elizabeth



What did Elizabeth think *__what*?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

What did Elizabeth think Jack said *__what*?

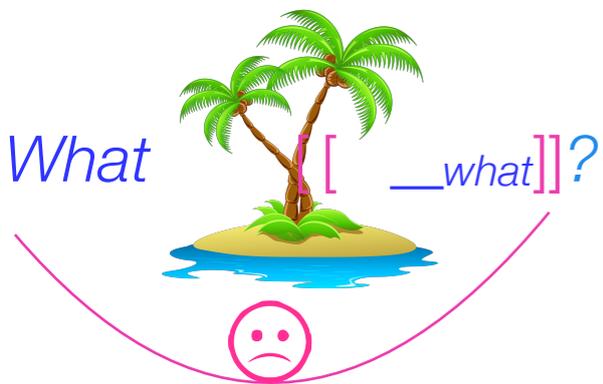


Elizabeth



Jack





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Elizabeth



Jack



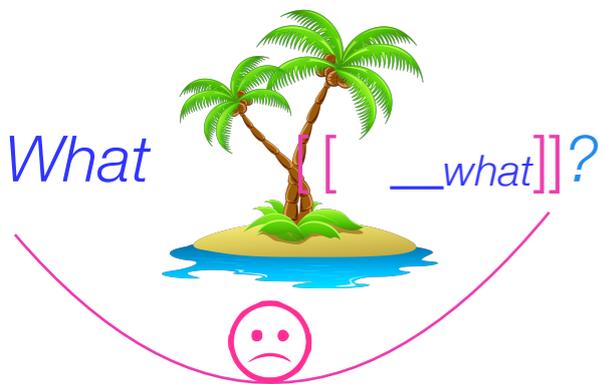
Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

What did Elizabeth think Jack said Lily saw *__what*?



Lily





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

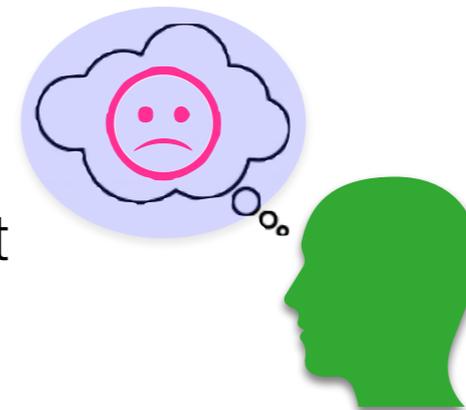
Who does Lily think the kitty for __*who* is pretty? Subject island

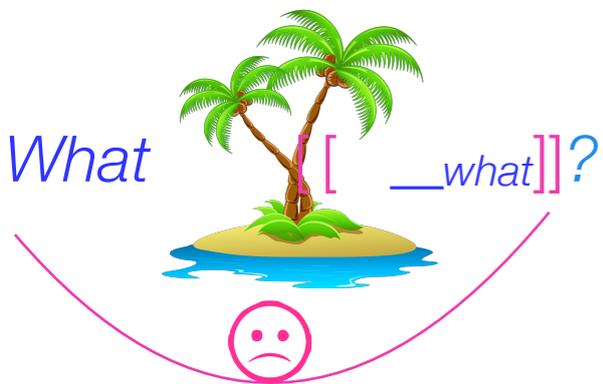
What did Jack make the claim that he bought __*what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __*what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __*what*? Adjunct island

English adults **judge** these island-crossing dependencies to be **far less acceptable** than many others, including others that are very similar except that they don't cross syntactic islands (Sprouse et al. 2012).





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island



English-learning children strongly **disprefer** one of these island-crossing dependencies compared to others (de Villiers et al. 2008).





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for *__who* is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought *__what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought *__what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought *__what*? Adjunct island

Additional *wh*-dependency knowledge:

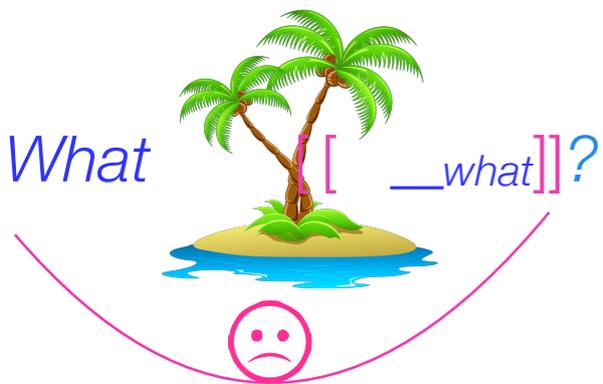
The **frequency** of a lexical item can also affect adult **acceptability judgments** of potential syntactic islands.



What did Elizabeth *say* that Jack saw *__what*?

What did Elizabeth *whine* that Jack saw *__what*?





Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



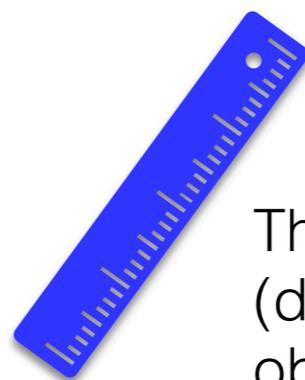
syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for __*who* is pretty? Subject island

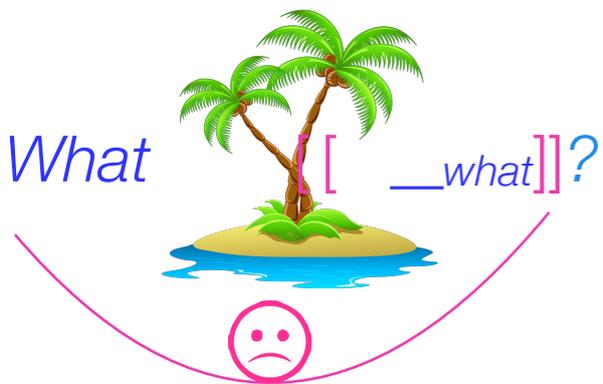
What did Jack make the claim that he bought __*what*? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __*what*? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __*what*? Adjunct island



These judgments and (dis)preferences are a measurable observable behavior that can signal the successful acquisition of syntactic island knowledge.



Syntactic islands
involve *wh*-dependencies.



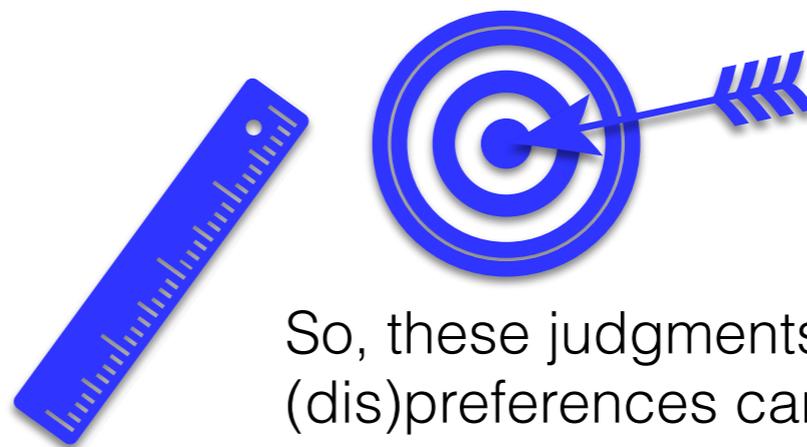
syntactic island (Ross 1967)

Who does Lily think the kitty for ___who is pretty? Subject island

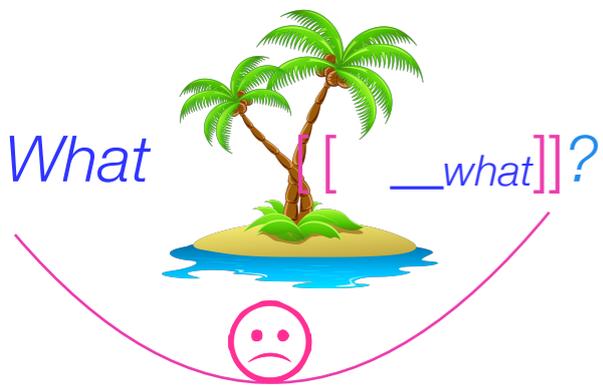
What did Jack make the claim that he bought ___what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought ___what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought ___what? Adjunct island



So, these judgments and (dis)preferences can serve as a target for successful acquisition — an outcome we can measure.



Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome

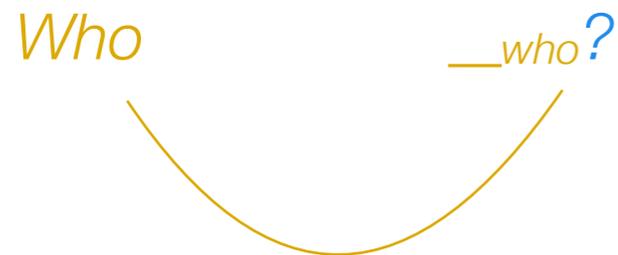


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

Sprouse et al. 2012: **magnitude estimation judgments**

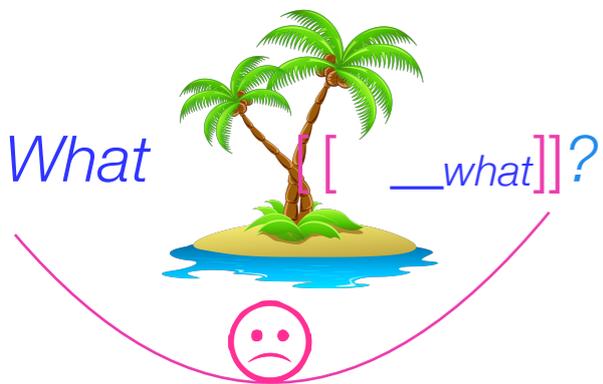
- factorial definition controlling for two salient properties of island-crossing dependencies

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)



presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)





Syntactic islands
 Adult judgments
 = behavioral target outcome

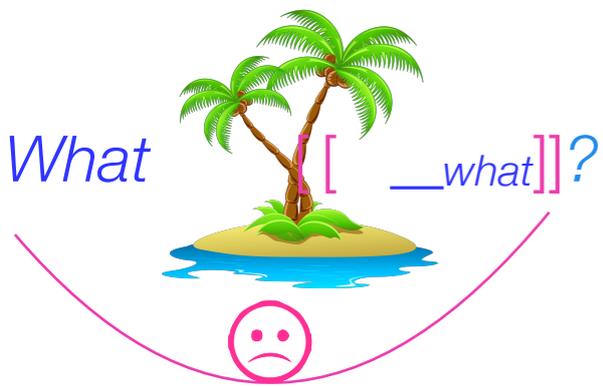


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
 (**matrix vs. embedded**) X presence of an **island** structure
 (**non-island vs. island**)

Subject island stimuli

Who __ thinks [the necklace is expensive]?	matrix		non-island
What does Jack think [__ is expensive]?	embedded		non-island
Who __ thinks [the necklace for Lily] is expensive?	matrix		island
*Who does Jack think [the necklace for __] is expensive?	embedded		island



Syntactic islands
 Adult judgments
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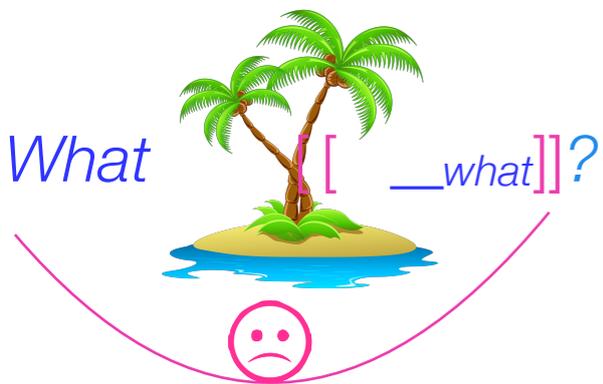


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
 (**matrix vs. embedded**) X presence of an **island** structure
 (**non-island vs. island**)

Whether island stimuli

Who __ thinks [that Jack stole the necklace]?	matrix		non-island
What does the teacher think [that Jack stole __]?	embedded		non-island
Who __ wonders [whether Jack stole the necklace]?	matrix		island
*What does the teacher wonder [whether Jack stole __]?	embedded		island



Syntactic islands
 Adult judgments
 = behavioral target outcome

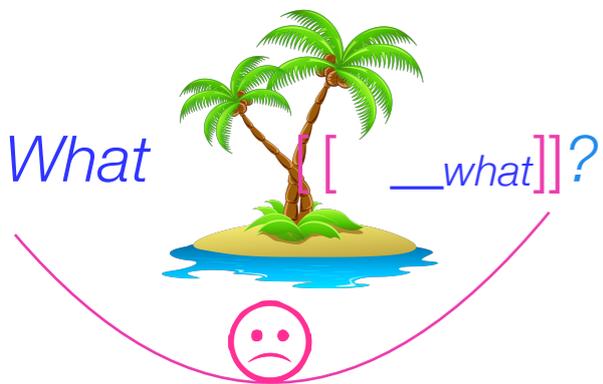


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(matrix vs. embedded) X presence of an **island** structure
(non-island vs. island)

Adjunct island stimuli

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Who __ thinks [that Lily forgot the necklace]? | matrix non-island |
| What does the teacher think [that Lily forgot __]? | embedded non-island |
| Who __ worries [if Lily forgot the necklace]? | matrix island |
| *What does the teacher worry [if Lily forgot __]? | embedded island |



Syntactic islands
 Adult judgments
 = behavioral target outcome

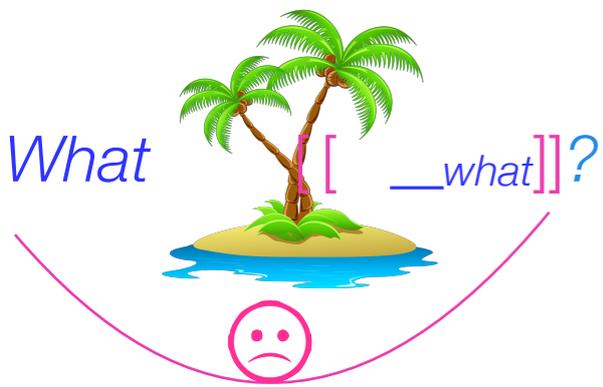


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(matrix vs. embedded) X presence of an **island** structure
(non-island vs. island)

Complex NP island stimuli

Who __ claimed [that Lily forgot the necklace]?	matrix		non-island
What did the teacher claim [that Lily forgot __]?	embedded		non-island
Who __ made [the claim that Lily forgot the necklace]?	matrix		island
*What did the teacher make [the claim that Lily forgot __]?	embedded		island



Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors.

This is **additional unacceptability** that arises when the two factors — **length** & presence of an **island** structure — are combined, above and beyond the independent contribution of each factor.



Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

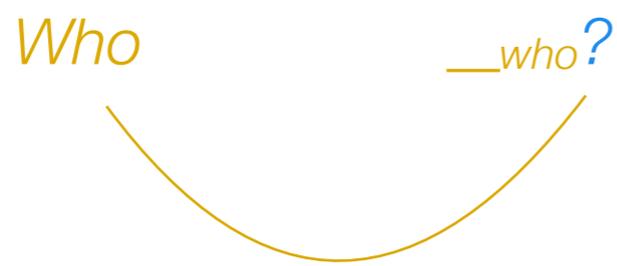
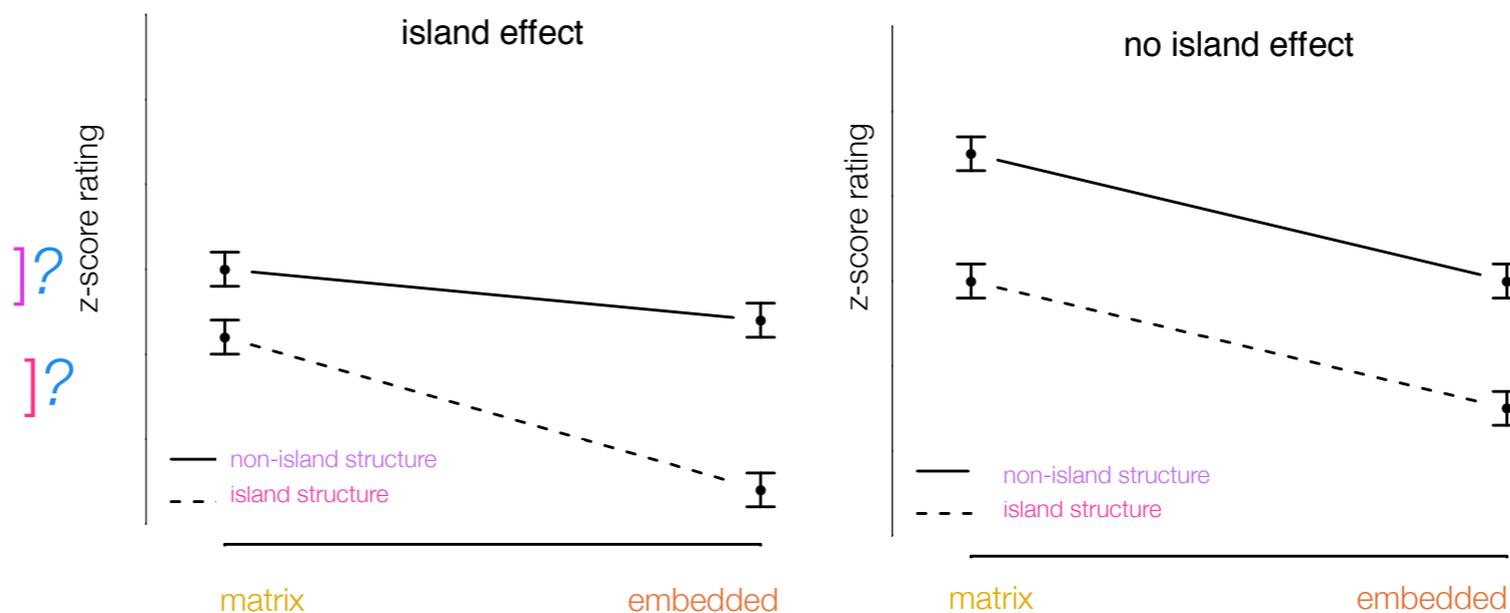
length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

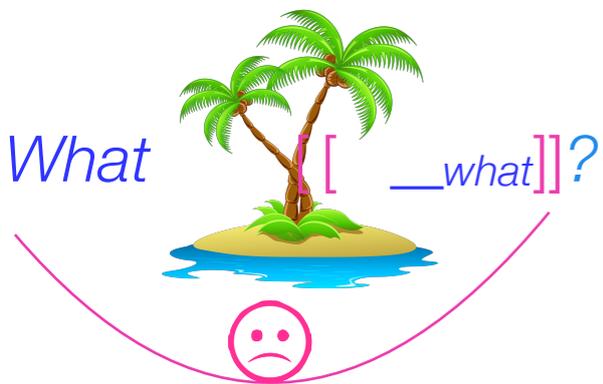
X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Who [non-island] ?
Who [island] ?





Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

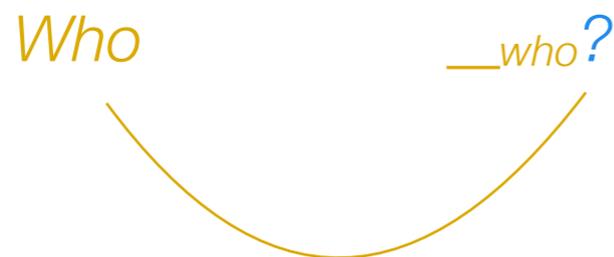
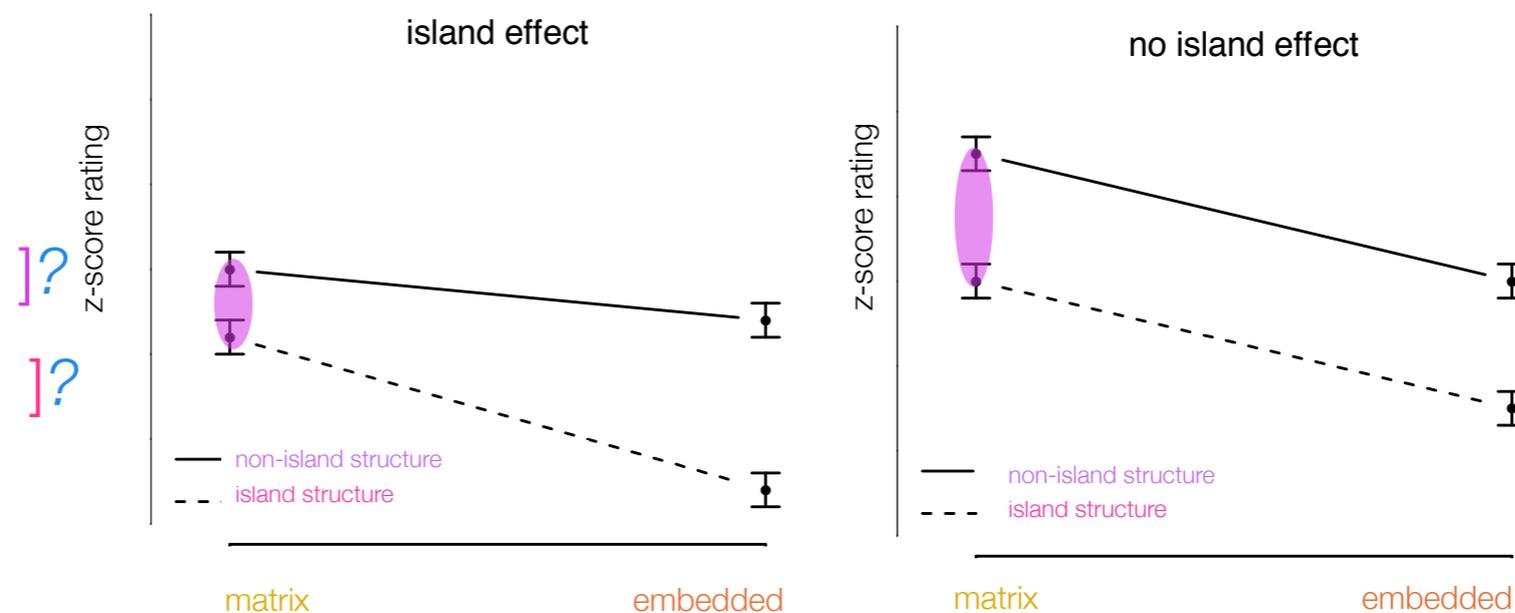
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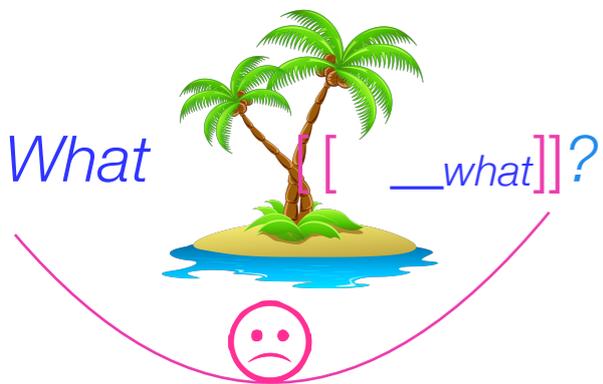
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presence of an **island** structure
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Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Who [non-island] ?
Who [island] ?





Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

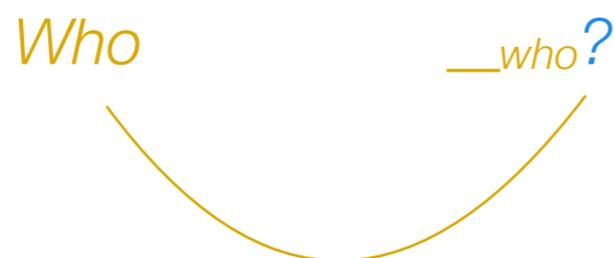
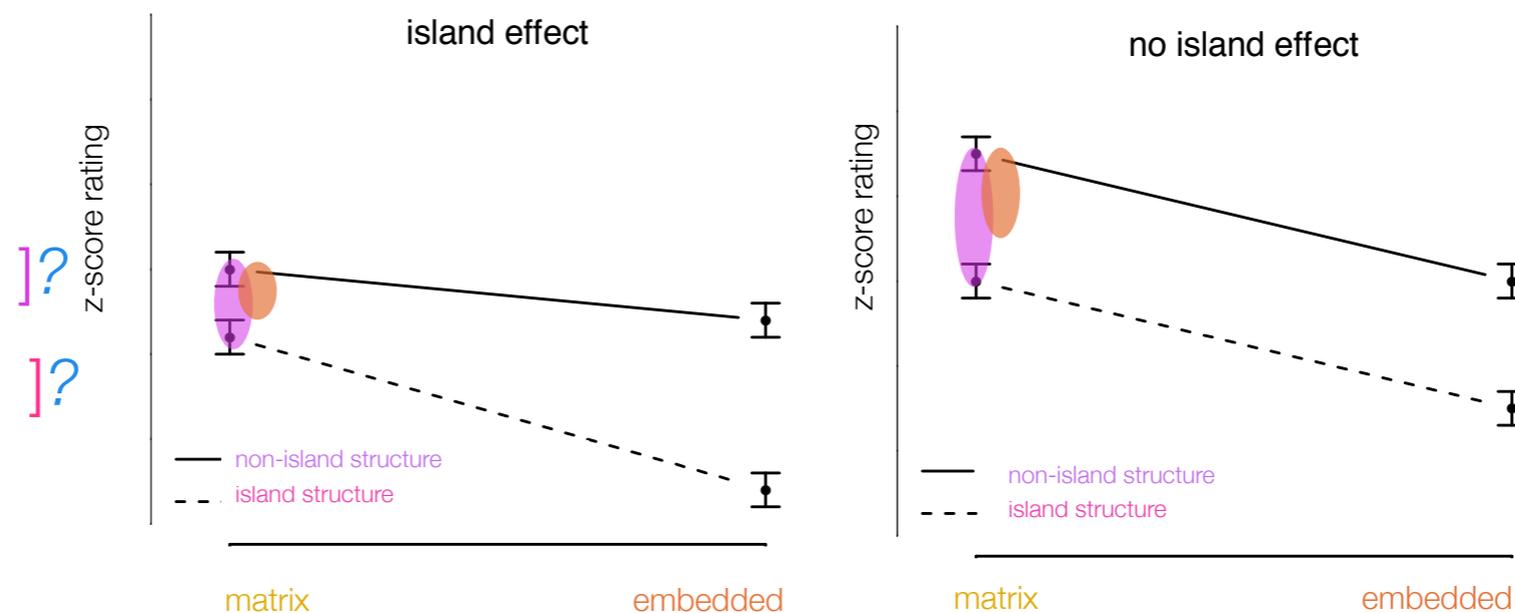
length of dependency
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Who [island] ?





Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

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Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

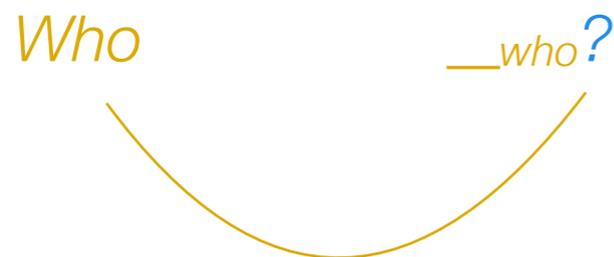
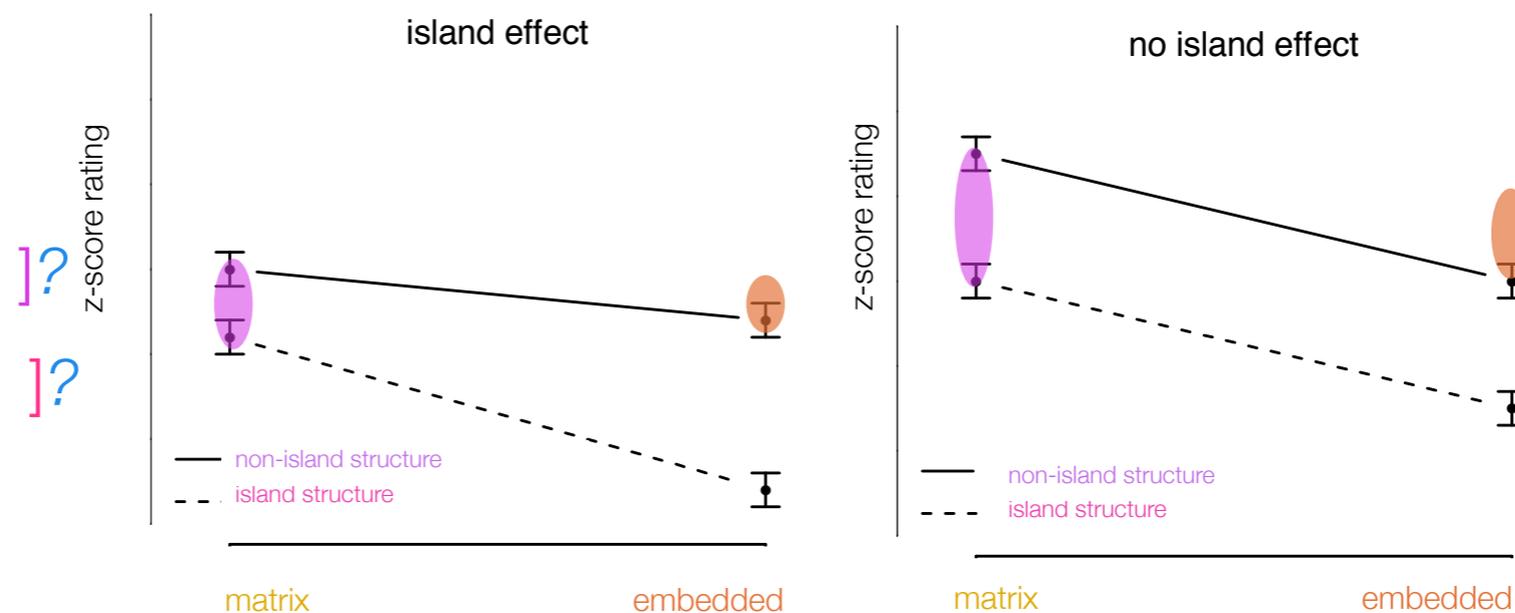
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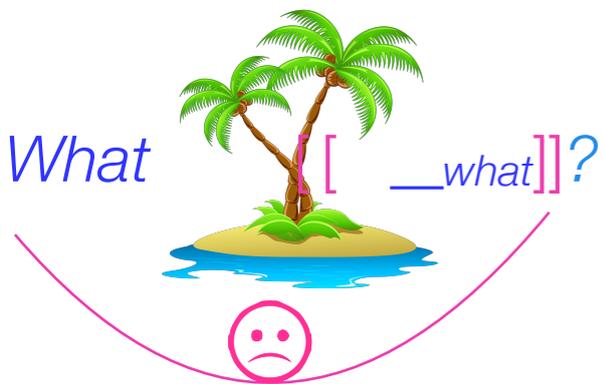
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presence of an **island** structure
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Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Who [non-island] ?
Who [island] ?





Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

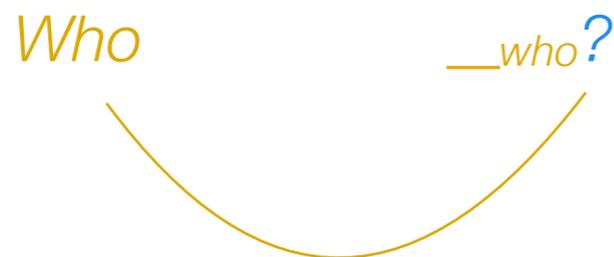
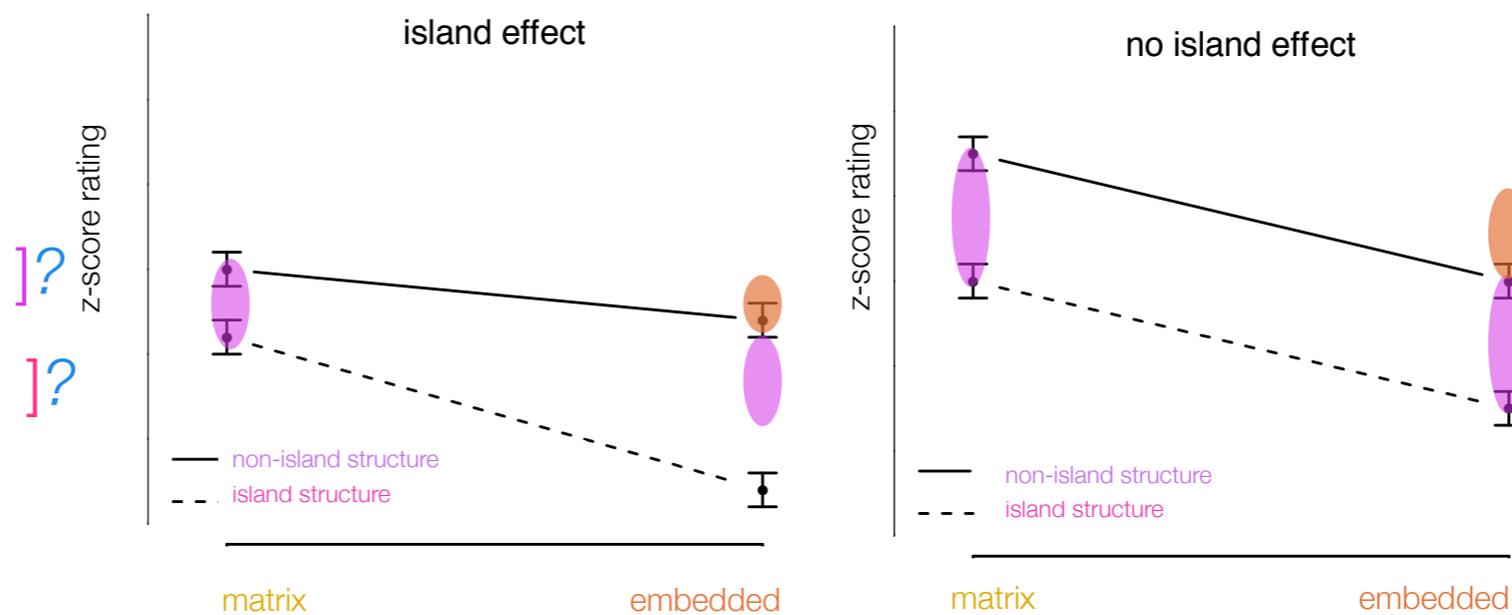
length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

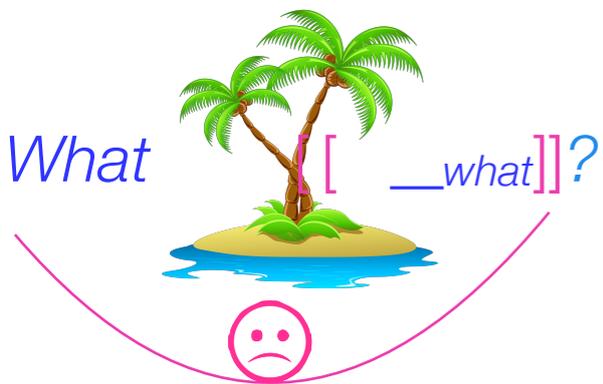
X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Who [non-island] ?
Who [island] ?





Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

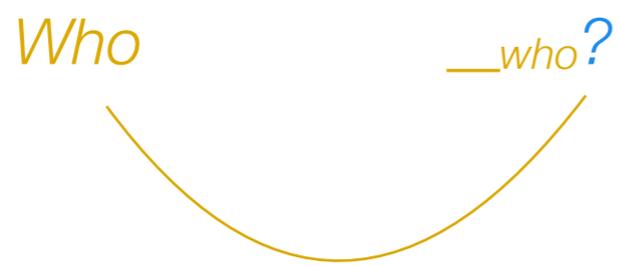
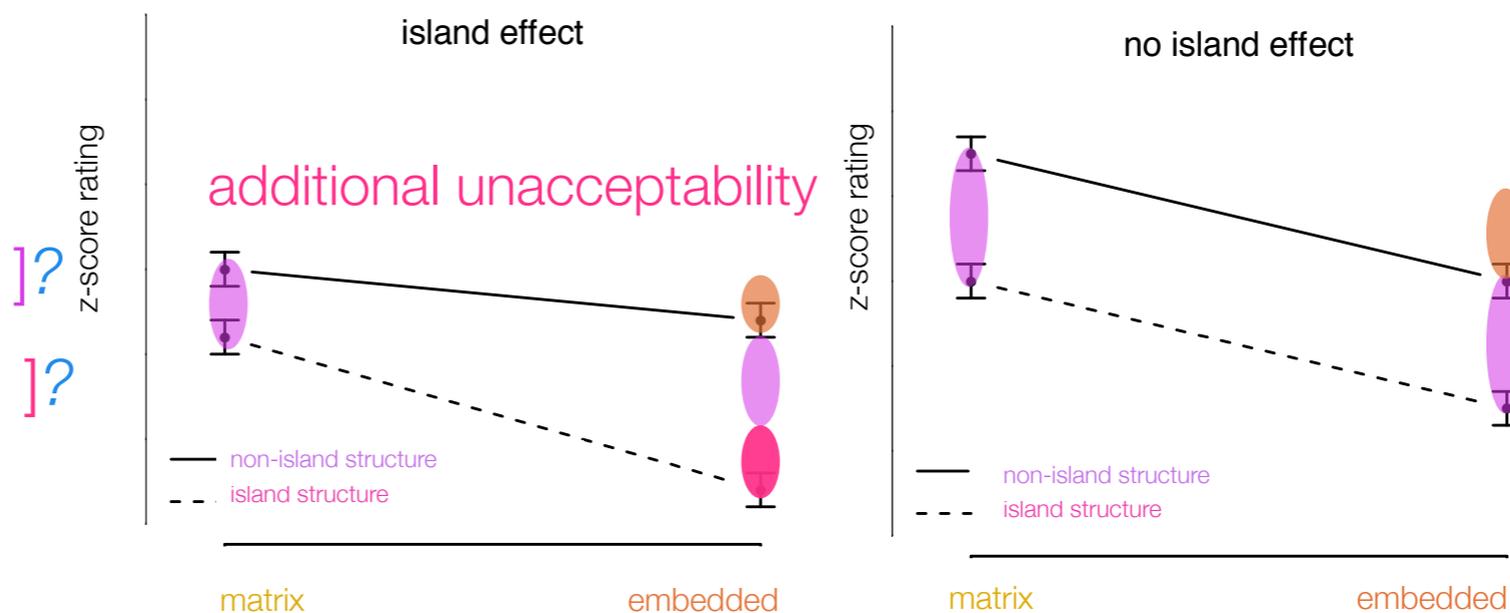
length of dependency
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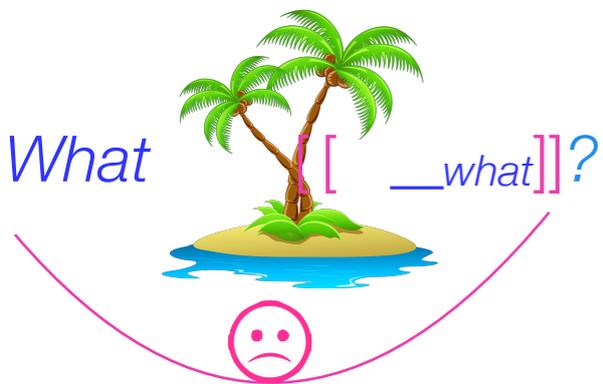
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Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

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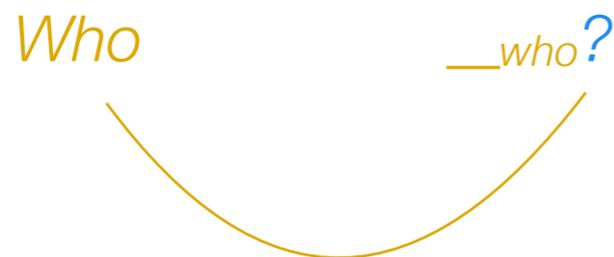
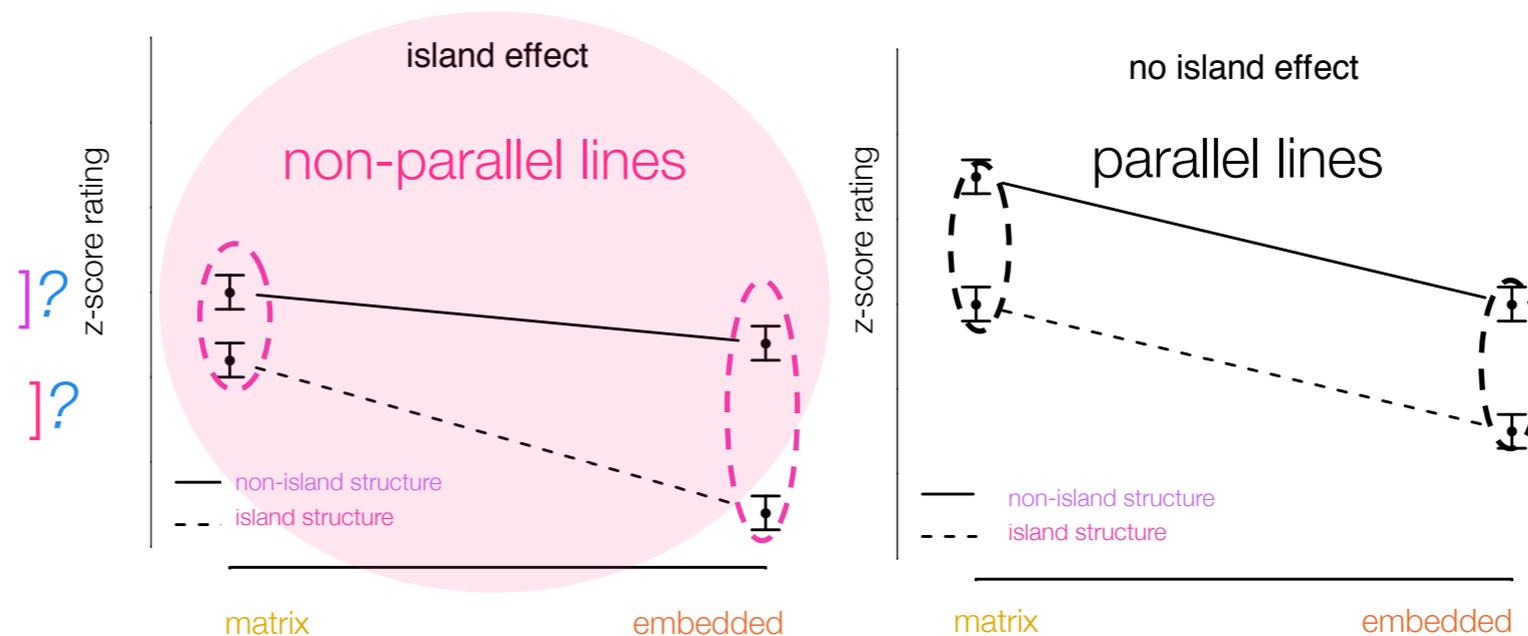
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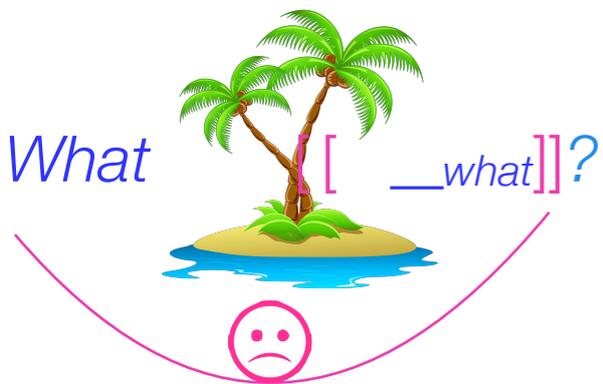
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Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

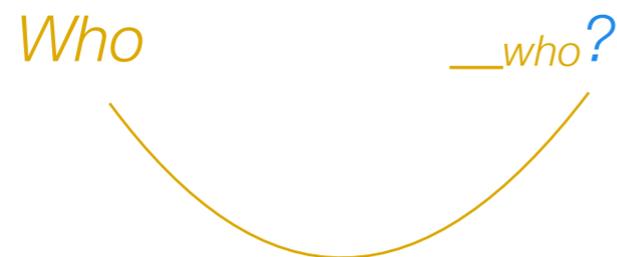
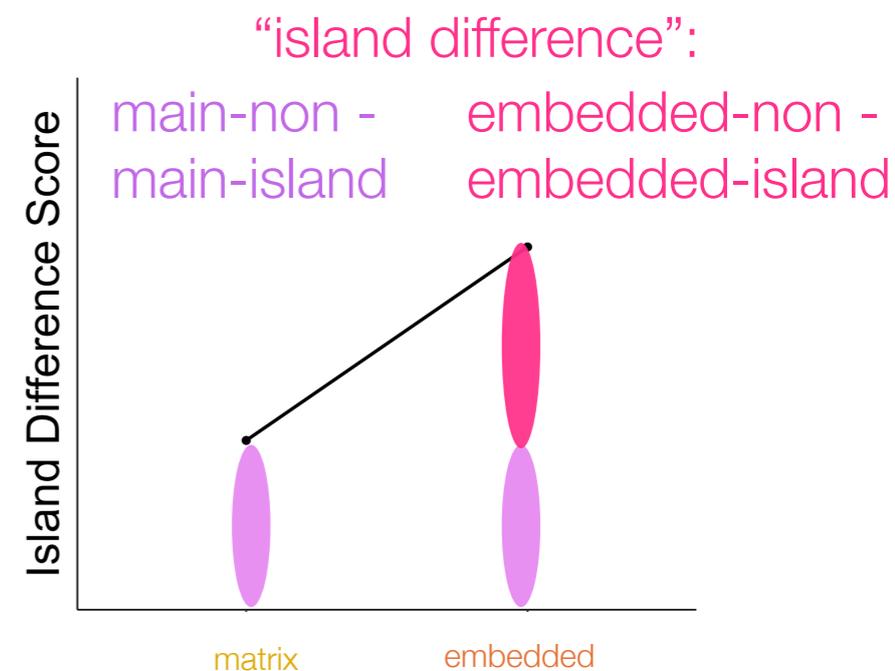
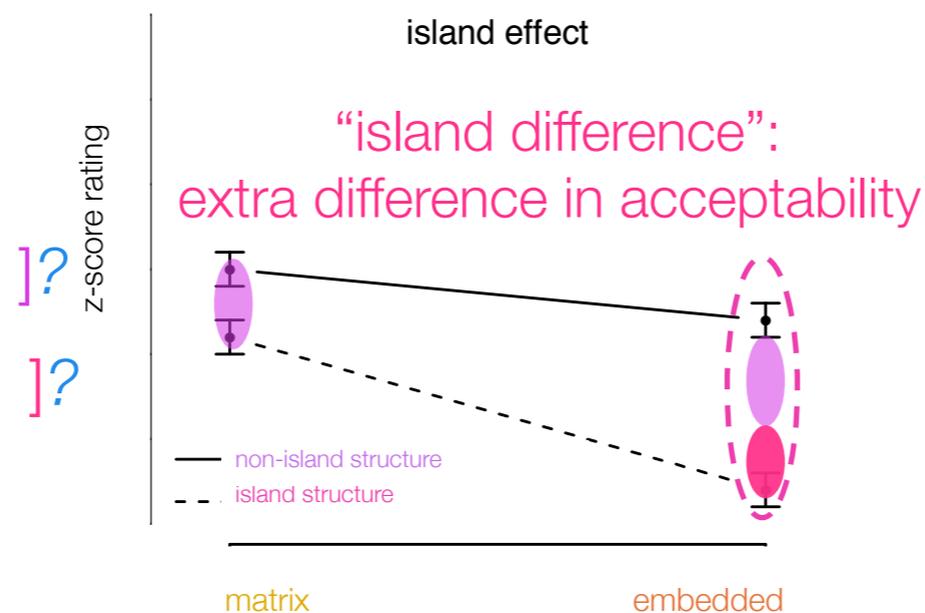
length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

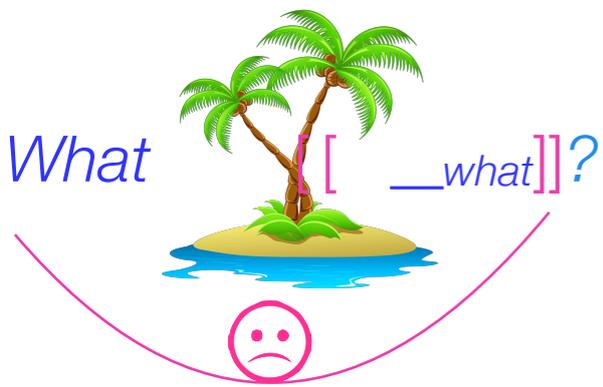
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presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

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Who [non-island] ?
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Syntactic islands
 Adult judgments
 = behavioral target outcome

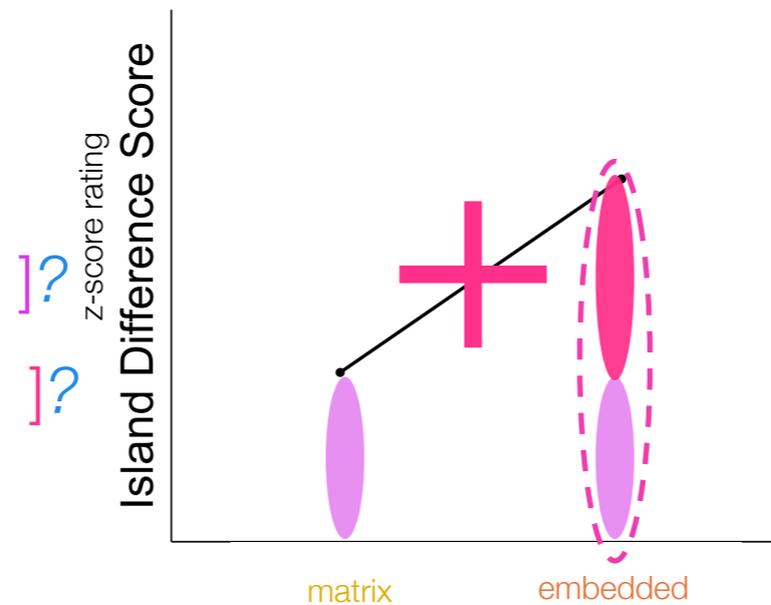


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

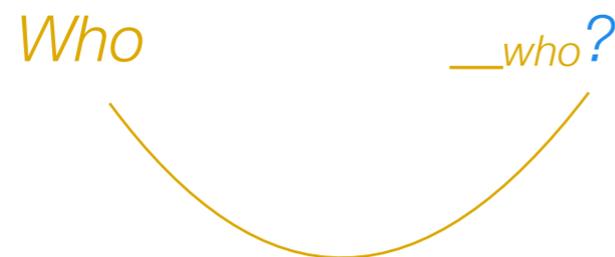
length of dependency
(matrix vs. embedded) × presence of an **island** structure
(non-island vs. island)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

Who [non-island] ?
 Who [island] ?



“island difference”:
 superadditivity = positive difference
 (positive slope)





Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

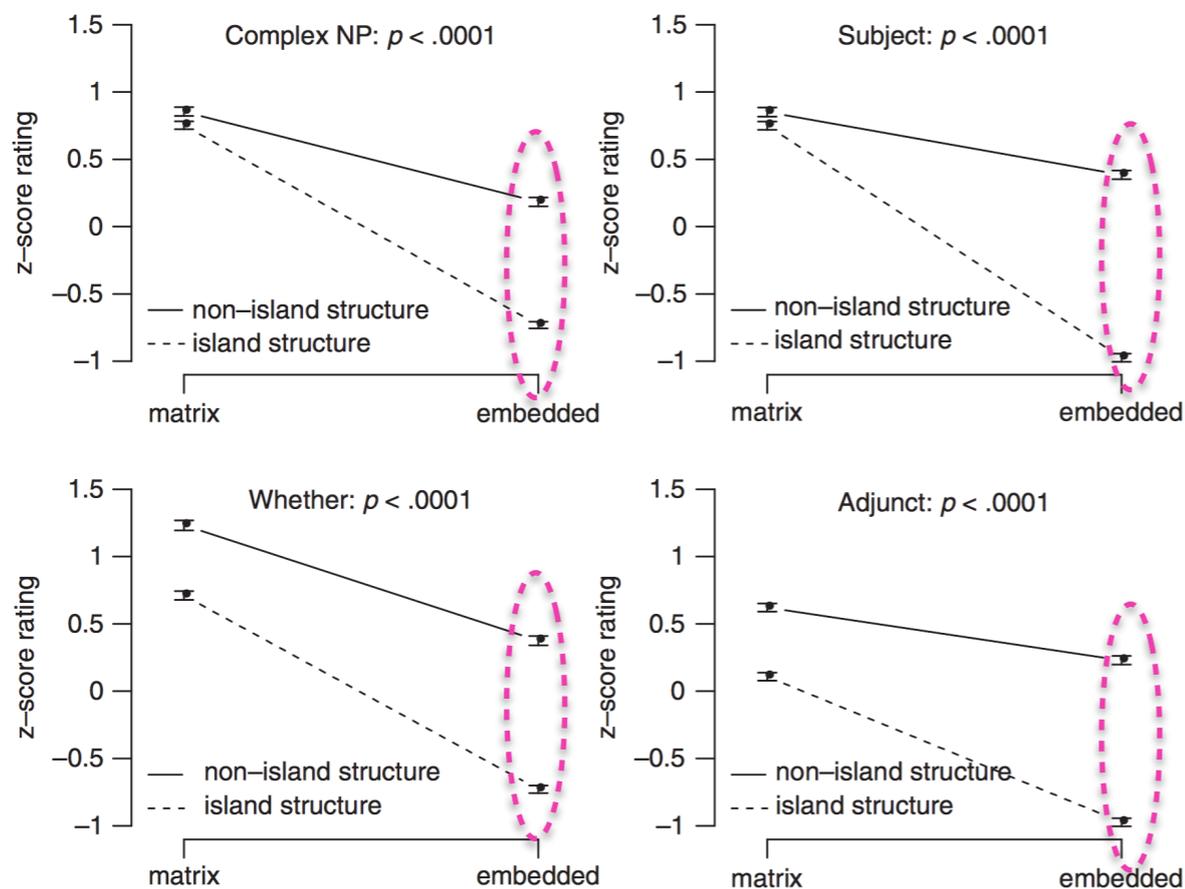
length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

X

presence of an **island** structure
(**non-island vs. island**)

Syntactic island = **superadditive** interaction of the two factors

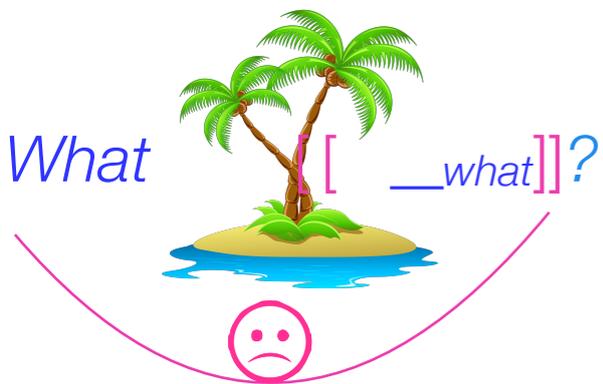
Sprouse et al. (2012): acceptability judgments from 173 adult subjects



(non-parallel lines)



superadditivity for all four island types



Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

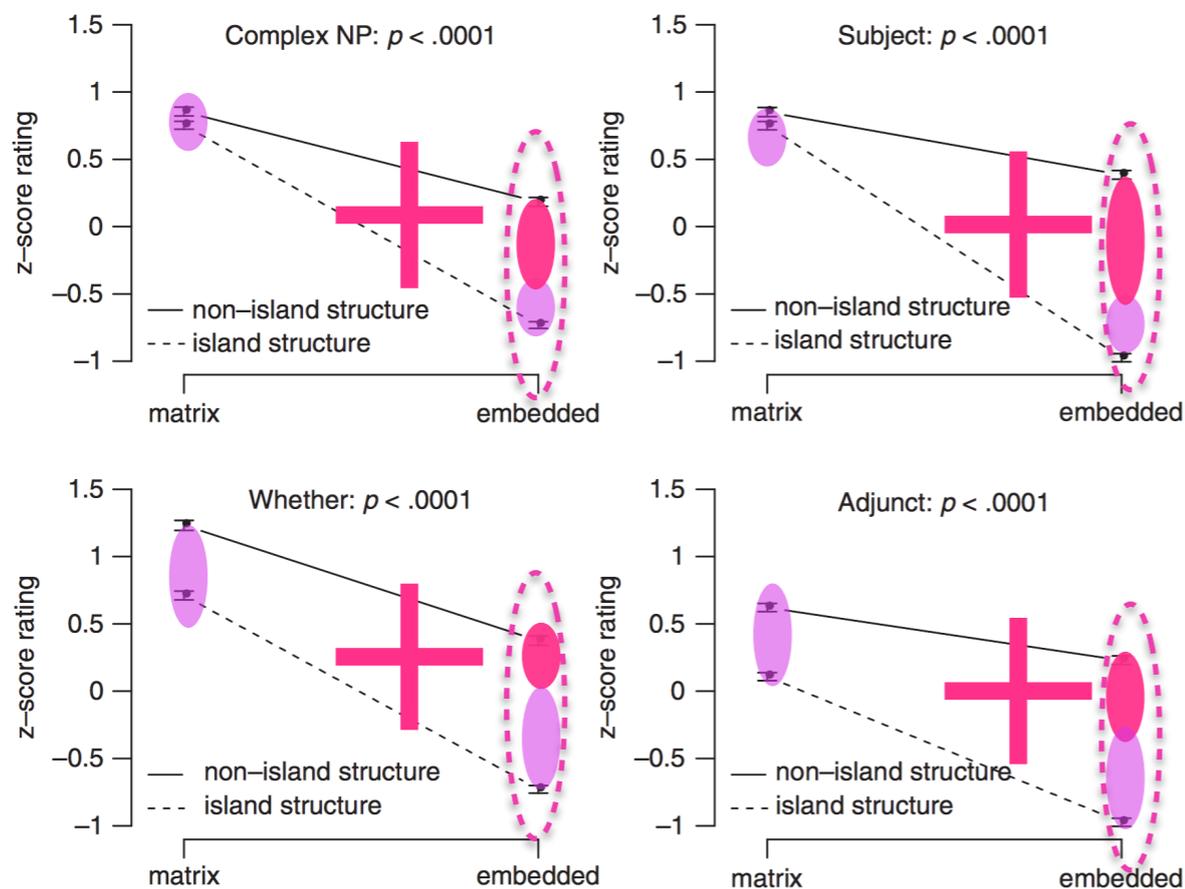
length of dependency
(**matrix vs. embedded**)

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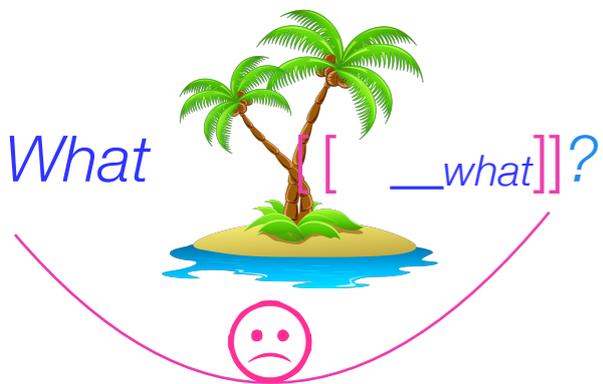
Sprouse et al. (2012): acceptability judgments from 173 adult subjects



(positive difference)



superadditivity for all four island types



Syntactic islands

Adult judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

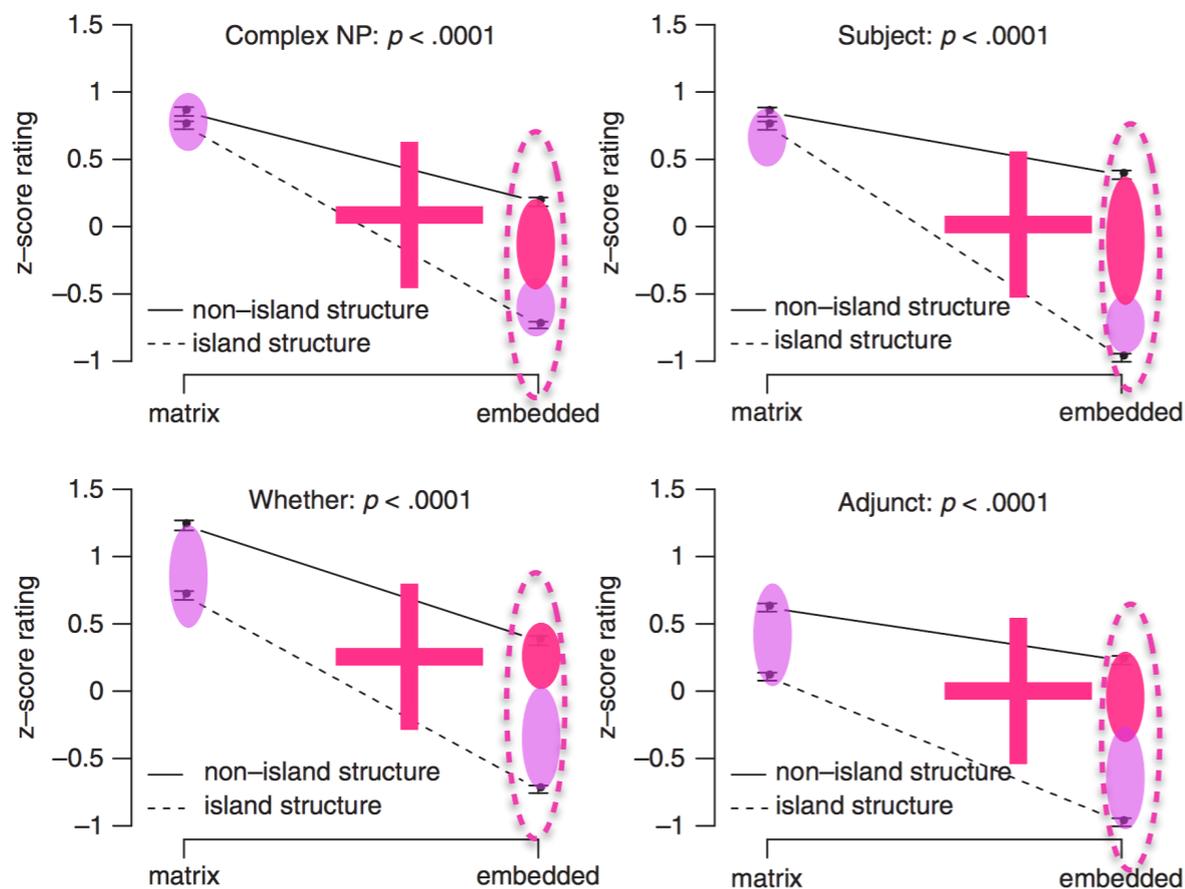
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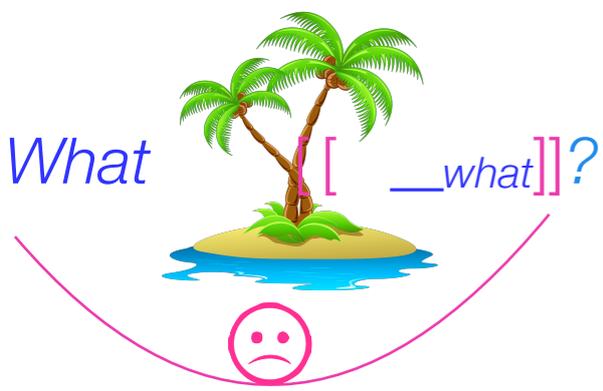
Sprouse et al. (2012): acceptability judgments from 173 adult subjects



✓
superadditivity for
all four island types

= knowledge that
dependencies
crossing these
island structures
are dispreferred.





Syntactic islands

Child judgments

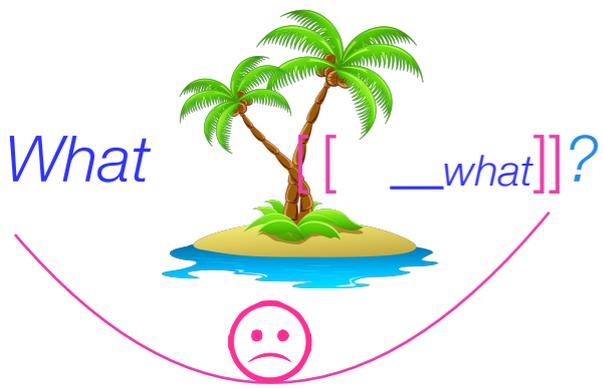
= behavioral target outcome



Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

De Villiers et al. 2008:

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?



Syntactic islands

Child judgments

= behavioral target outcome

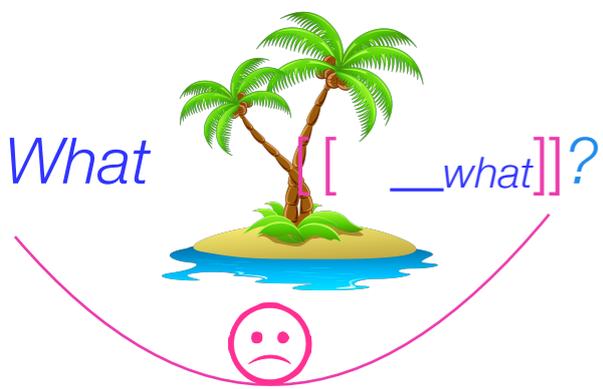


Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

context





Syntactic islands

Child judgments

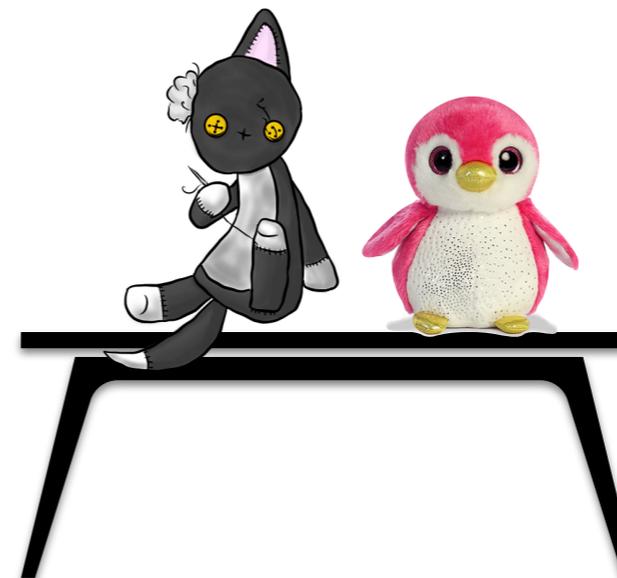
= behavioral target outcome

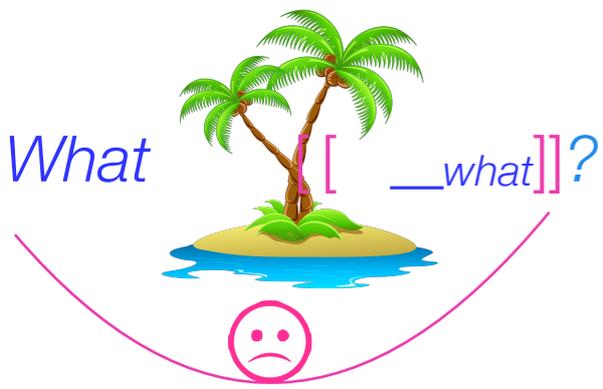


Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

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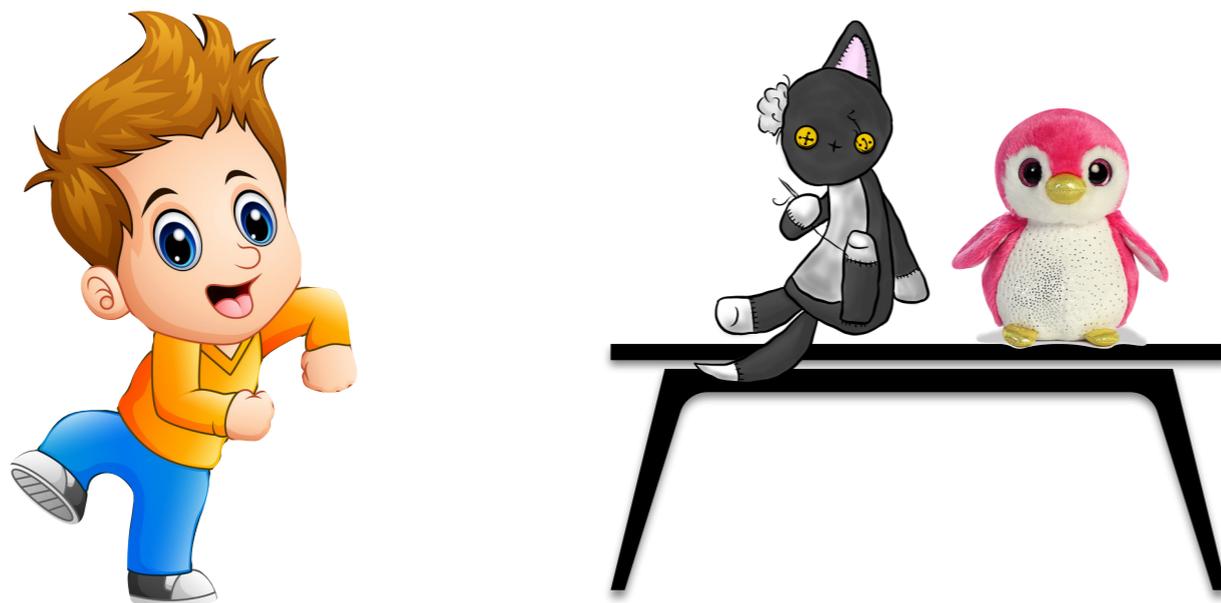
Syntactic islands
Child judgments
= behavioral target outcome

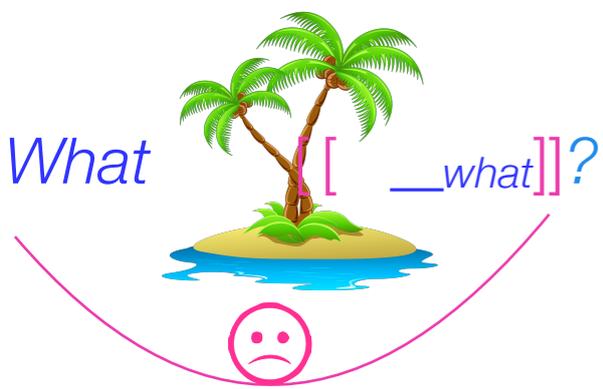


Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy fix the cat that was lying on the table with *what*?





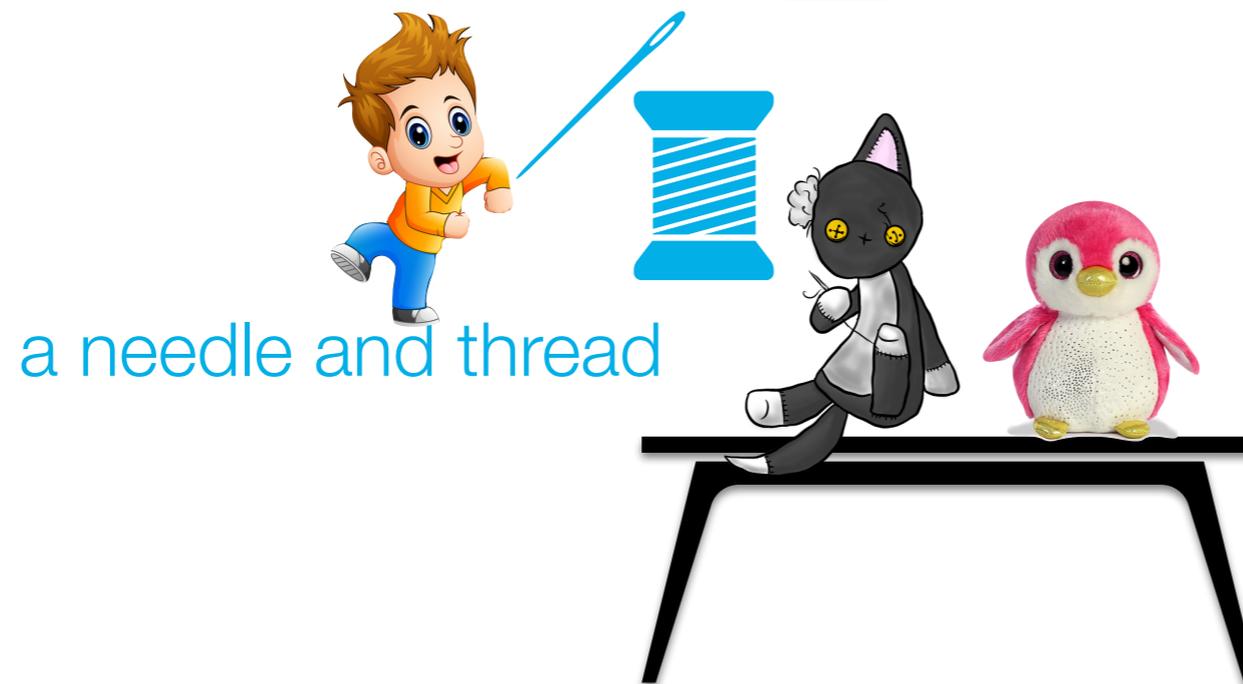
Syntactic islands
Child judgments
= behavioral target outcome

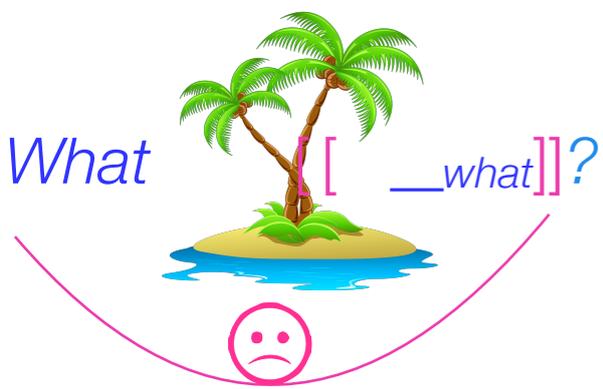


Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy [fix the cat *that was lying on the table* [with __what]]?





Syntactic islands
Child judgments
= behavioral target outcome

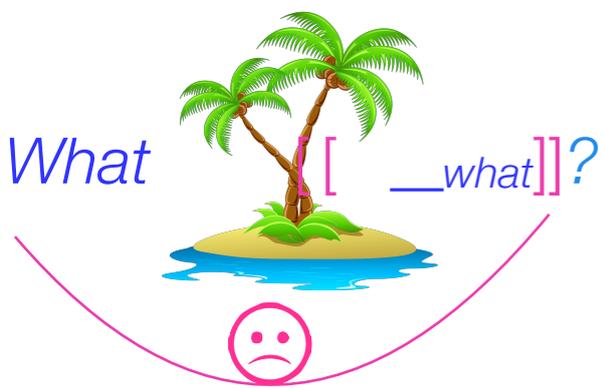


Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __what]]]]]]]]?





Syntactic islands
Child judgments
= behavioral target outcome



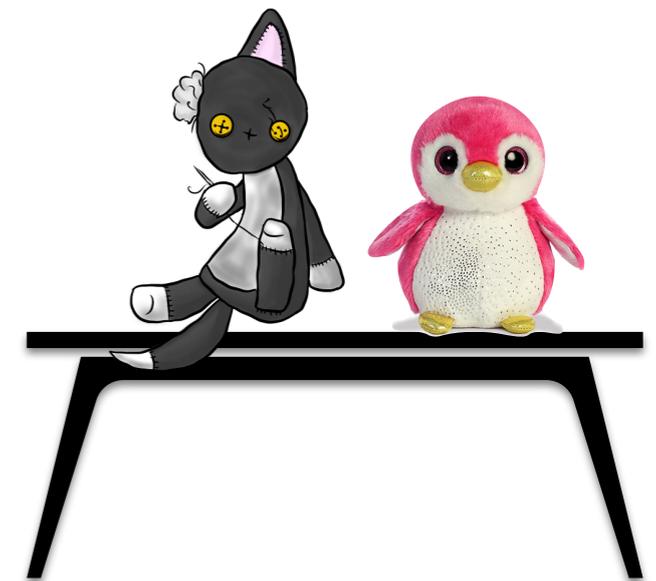
Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

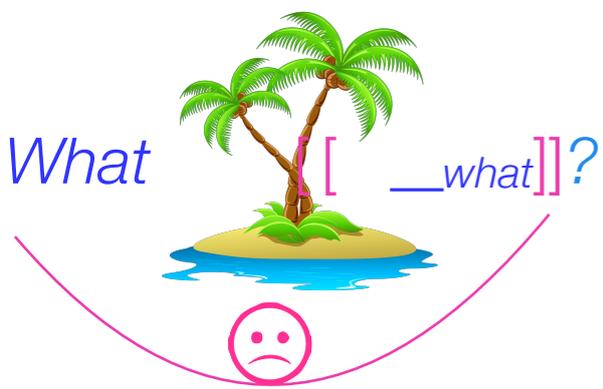
How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy fix the cat that was lying on the table with ___what?



children strongly prefer this interpretation





Syntactic islands

Child judgments

= behavioral target outcome



Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

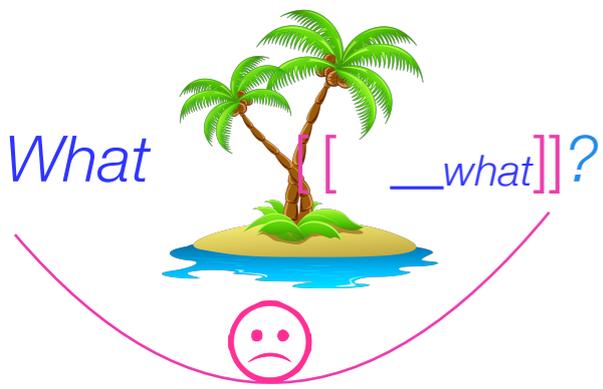
How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy fix the cat that was lying on the table with *__what*?



...and strongly disprefer this interpretation





Syntactic islands

Child judgments

= behavioral target outcome



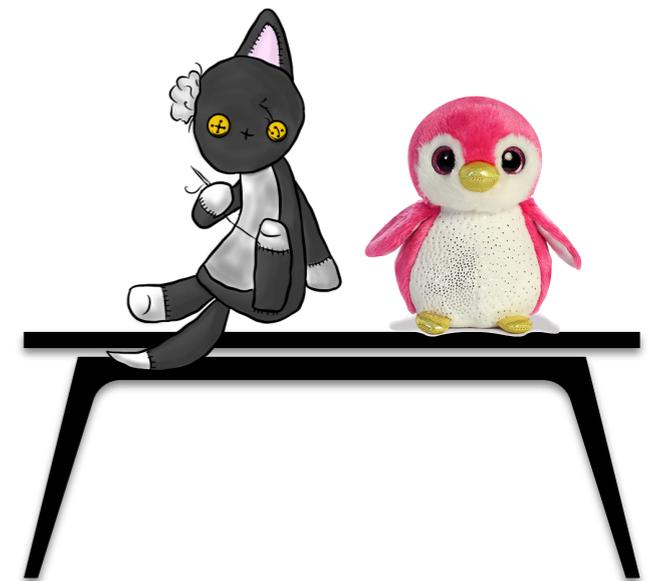
Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

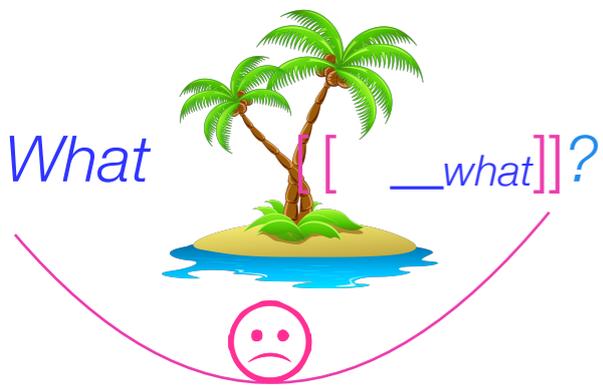
How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __what]]]]]]]]?



This means they strongly disprefer the *wh*-dependency this interpretation relies on.





Syntactic islands

Child judgments

= behavioral target outcome



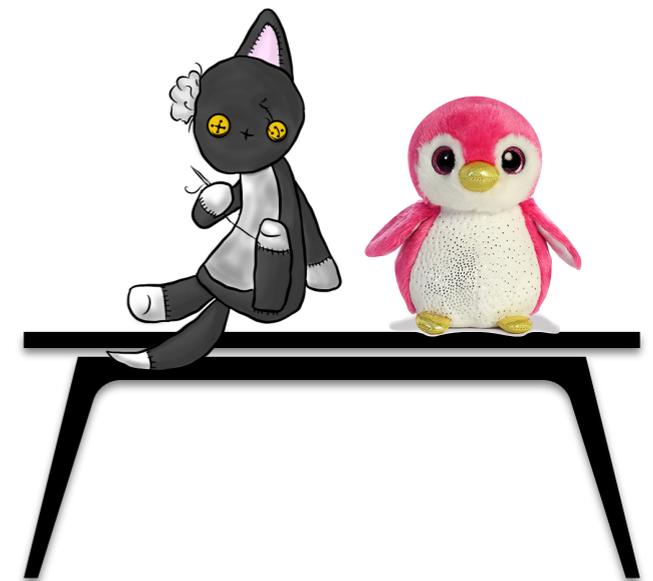
Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

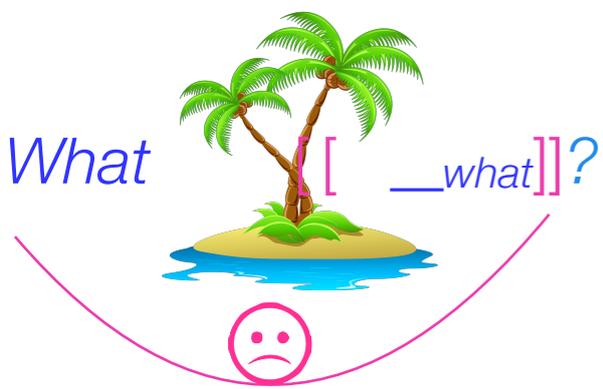
How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy [fix [NP the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with ___what]]]]]]]]?]



...which is a dependency that crosses a Complex NP.





Syntactic islands

Child judgments

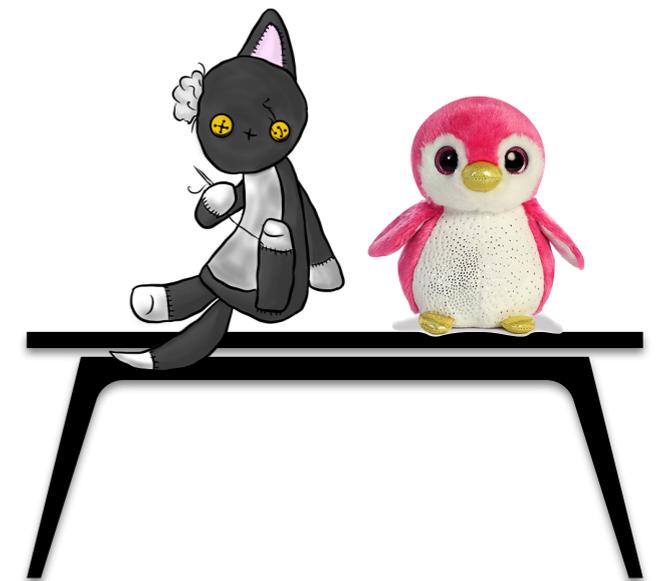
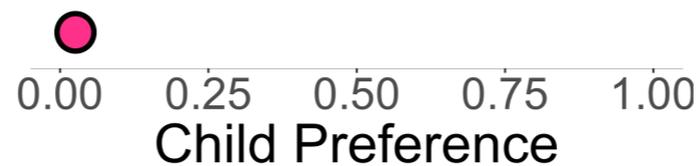
= behavioral target outcome

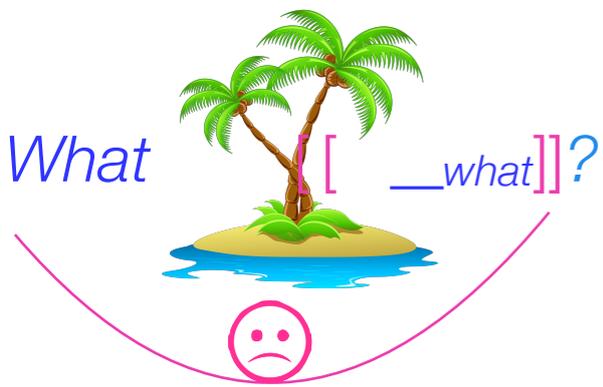


Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

What did the boy [fix [NP the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with ___what]]]]]]]]?





Syntactic islands
 Child judgments
 = behavioral target outcome



Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?

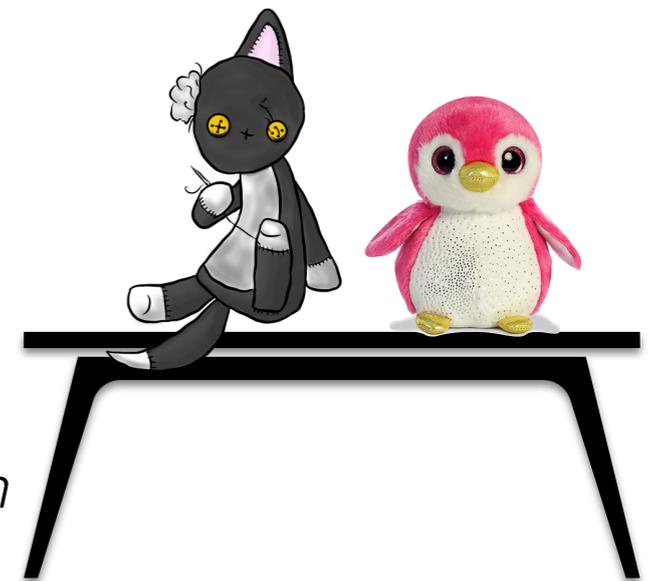
What did the boy [fix [NP the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __what]]]]]]]]?

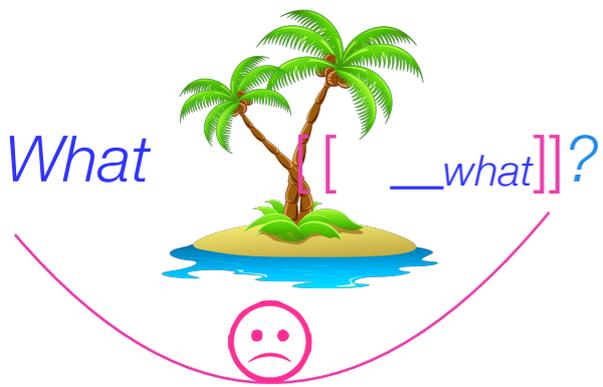
+ other *wh*-dependencies



- Who did the little sister ask how to see __?*
- Who did the boy ask what to bring __?*
- How did the mom learn what to bake __?*
- How did the girl ask where to ride __?*
- How did the boy who sneezed drink the milk __?*

- What did the mother say she bought __?*
- Who did the policewoman help to call __?*





Syntactic islands
More adult judgments
= behavioral target outcome

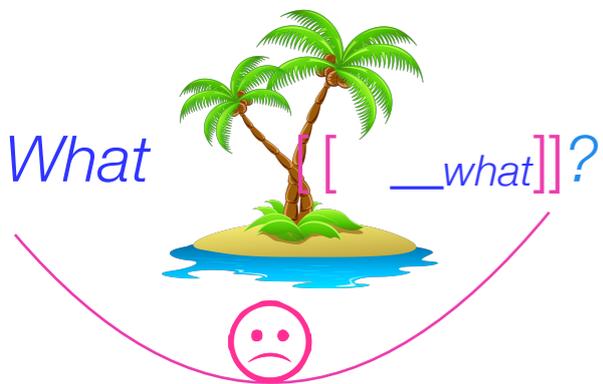


Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

Liu et al 2019, 2022: **Acceptability of *wh*-dependencies** can depend on the **lexical item in the main verb**.

 **What** did she **think** [that he saw ___]?
What did she **say** [that he saw ___]?

 **What** did she **whine** [that he saw ___]?
What did she **mumble** [that he saw ___]?



Syntactic islands
 More adult judgments
 = behavioral target outcome



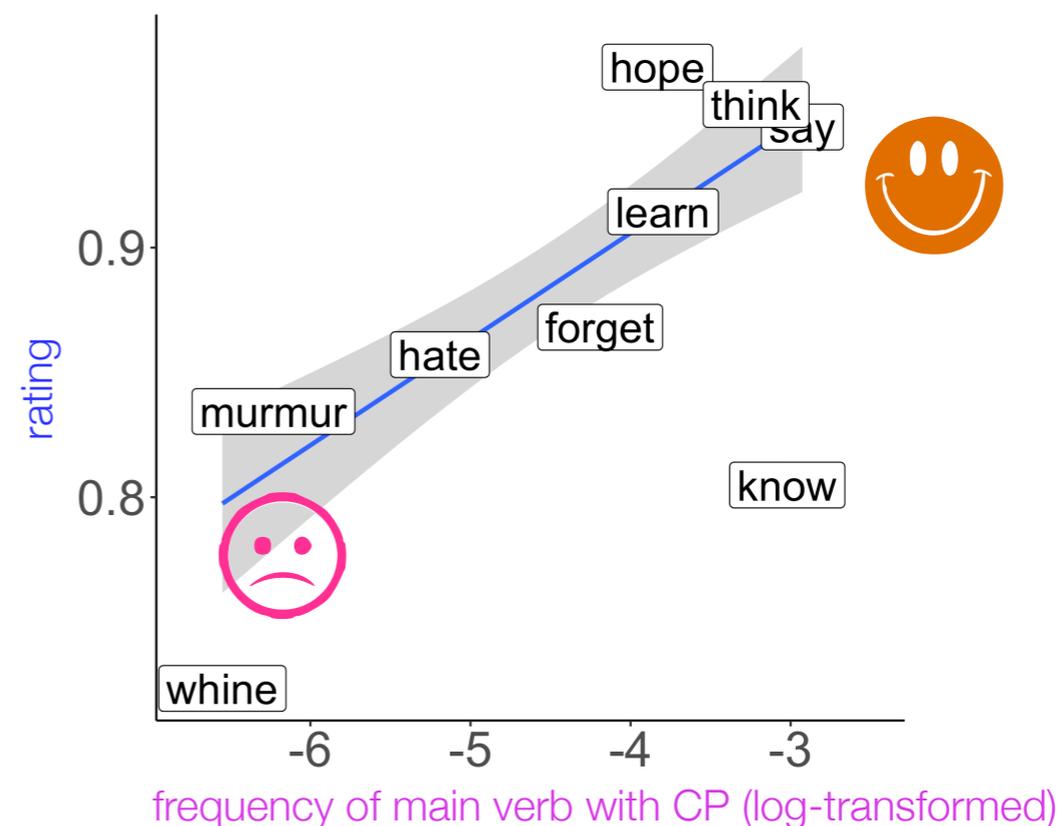
Adult knowledge as measured by **acceptability judgment** behavior

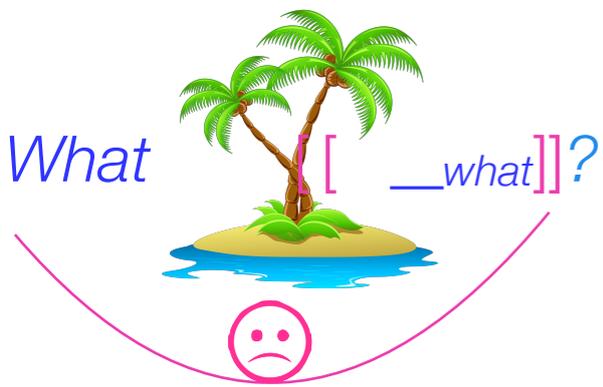
Liu et al 2019, 2022: **Acceptability of *wh*-dependencies** can depend on the **lexical item in the main verb**.

 What did she **think** [that he saw ___]?
 What did she **say** [that he saw ___]?
CP

 What did she **whine** [that he saw ___]?
 What did she **mumble** [that he saw ___]?

What did she **VERB** [that he saw ___]?





Syntactic islands
 More adult judgments
 = behavioral target outcome

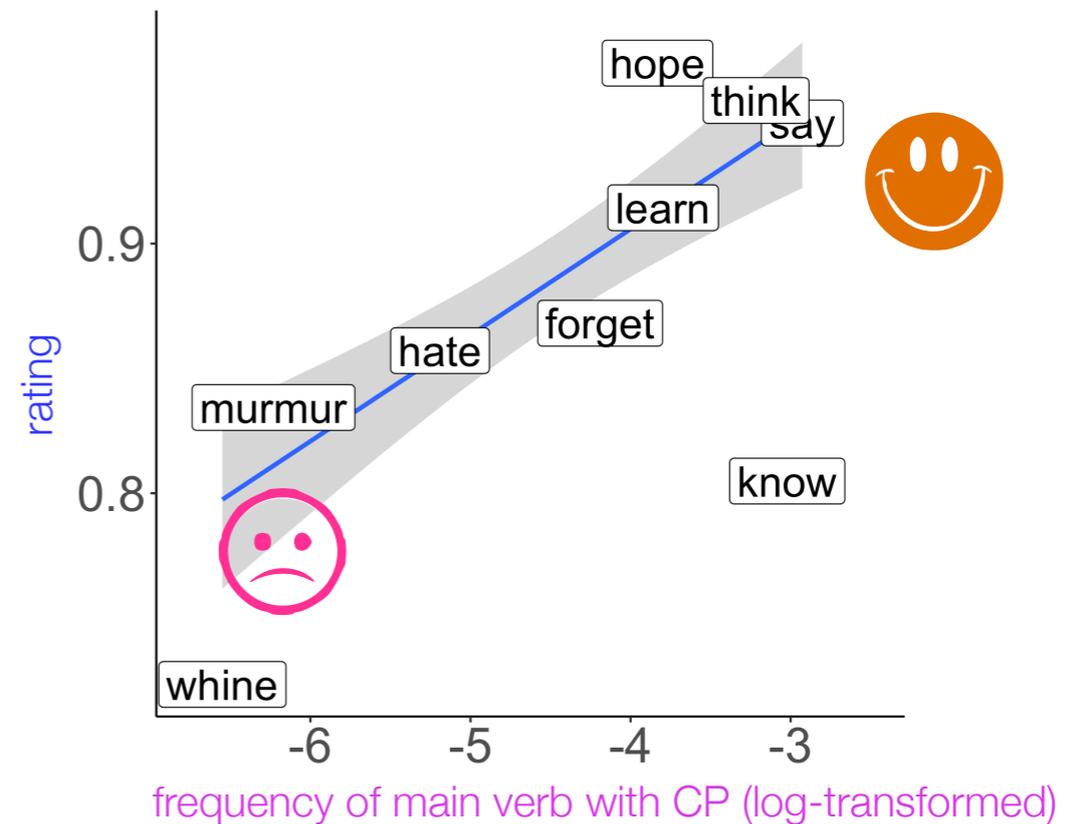


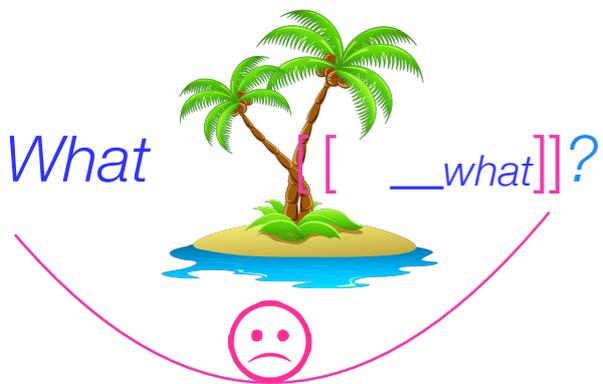
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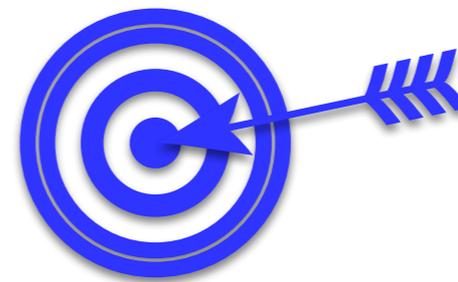
Important pattern: **+**
Positive correlation between
 main verb with CP frequency
 and judged acceptability.

What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?

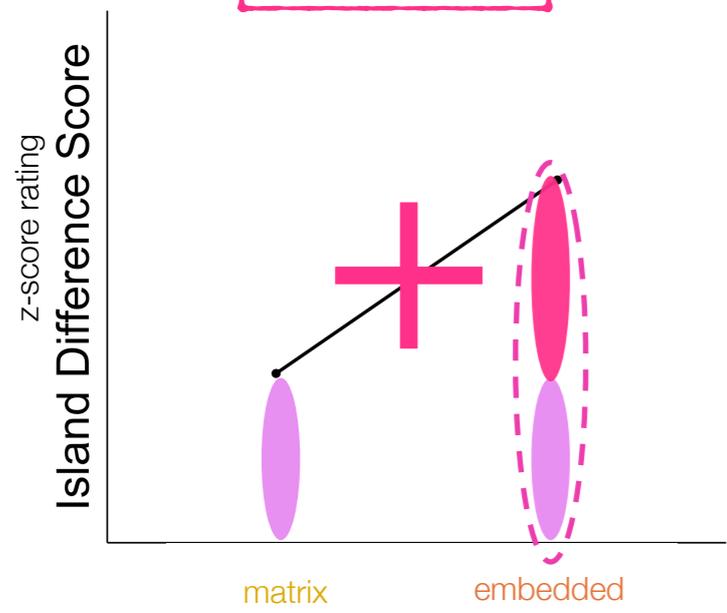




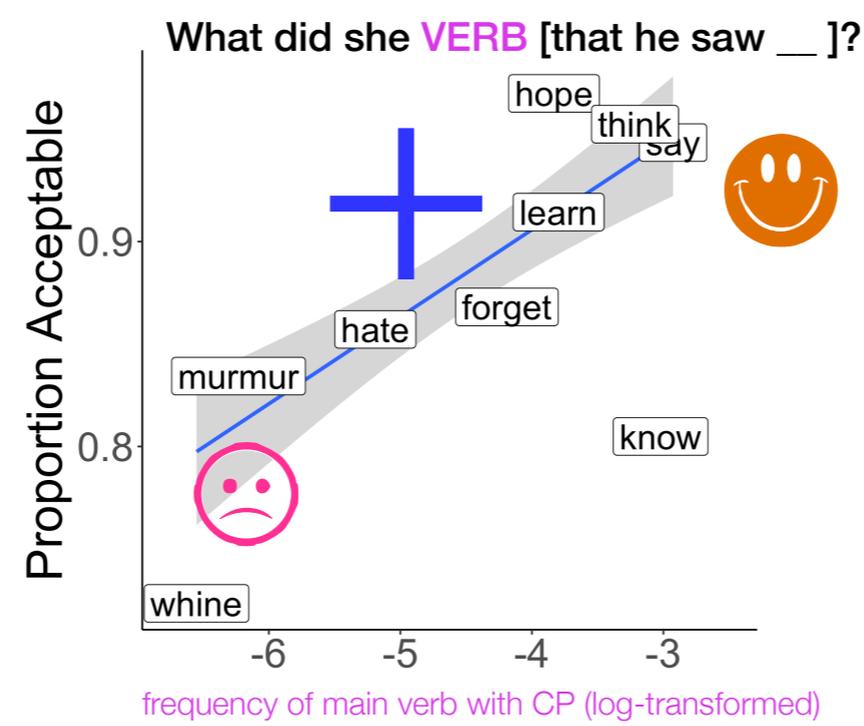
Syntactic islands
 Adult & child judgments
 = behavioral target outcome



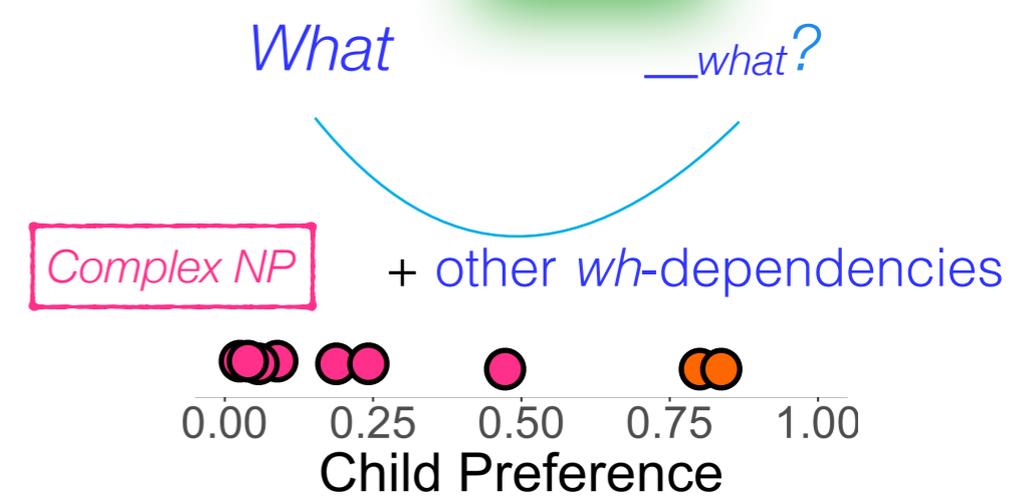
- Subject island
- Complex NP island
- Whether island
- Adjunct island



Sprouse et al. 2012



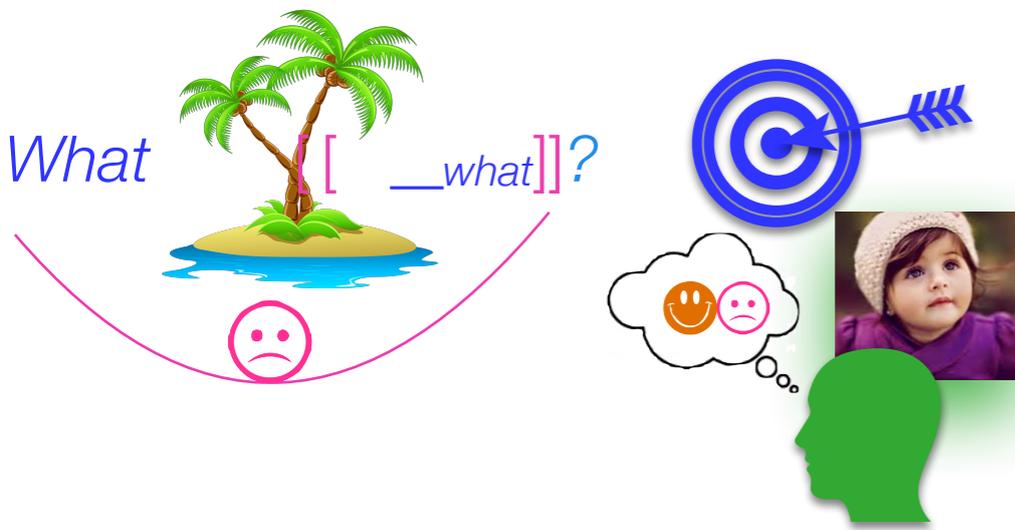
Liu et al. 2019, 2022



De Villiers et al. 2008

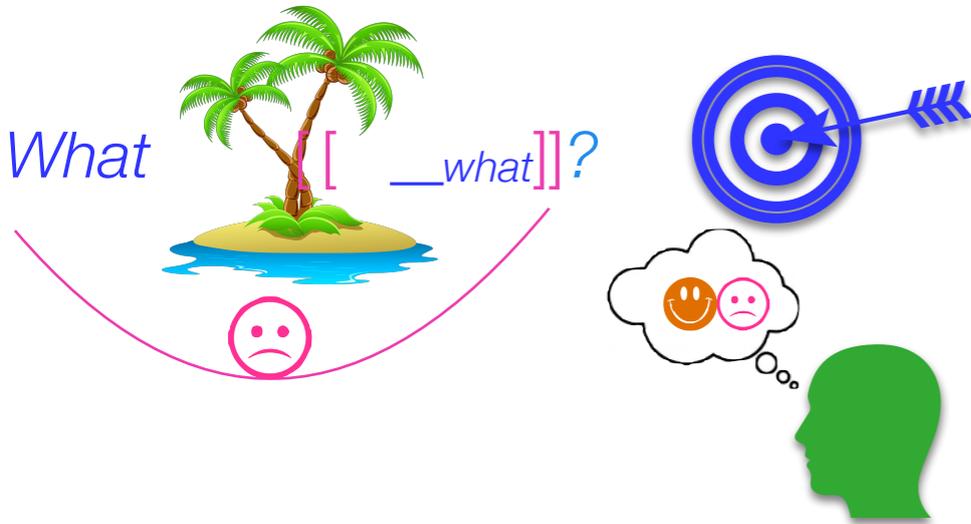
Syntactic islands

How long do children have to learn?

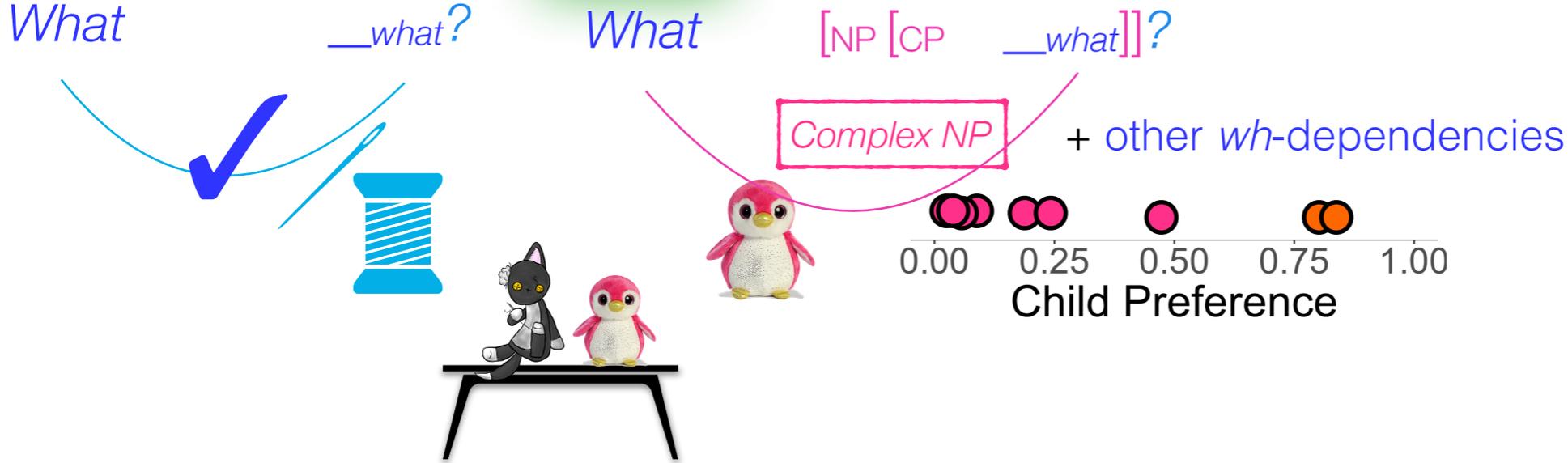


Syntactic islands

How long do children have to learn?



De Villiers et al. 2008:
Data from **four-year-olds**.



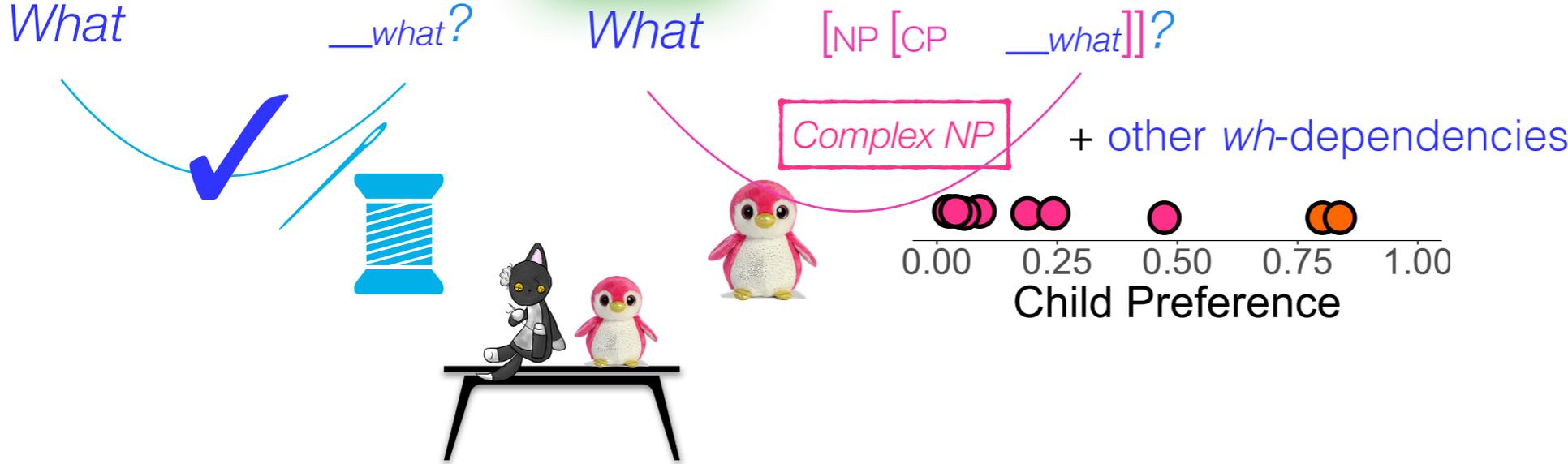
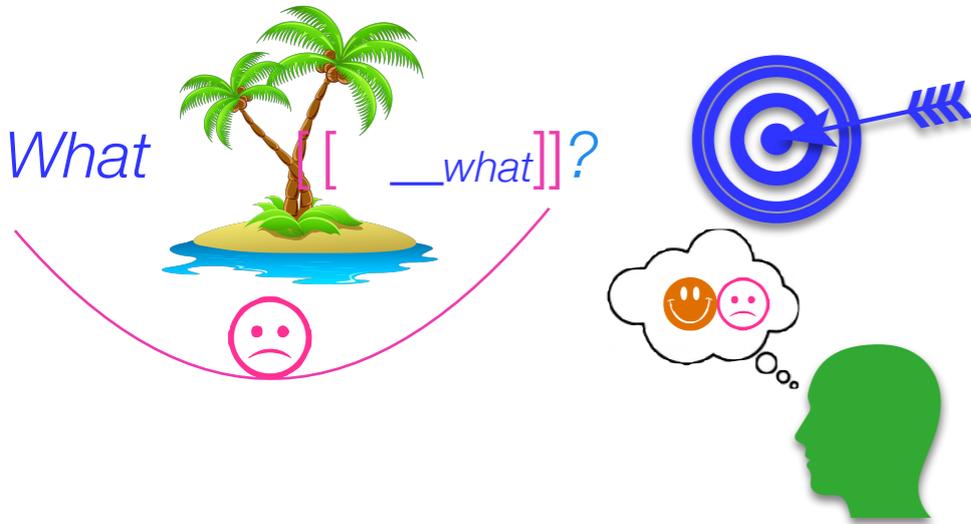
Syntactic islands

How long do children have to learn?



So input through age four.

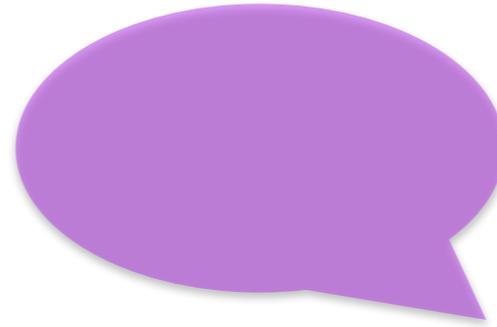
(<60 months)



Syntactic islands

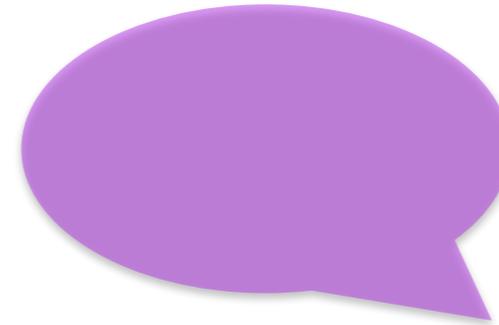


What input do children get?

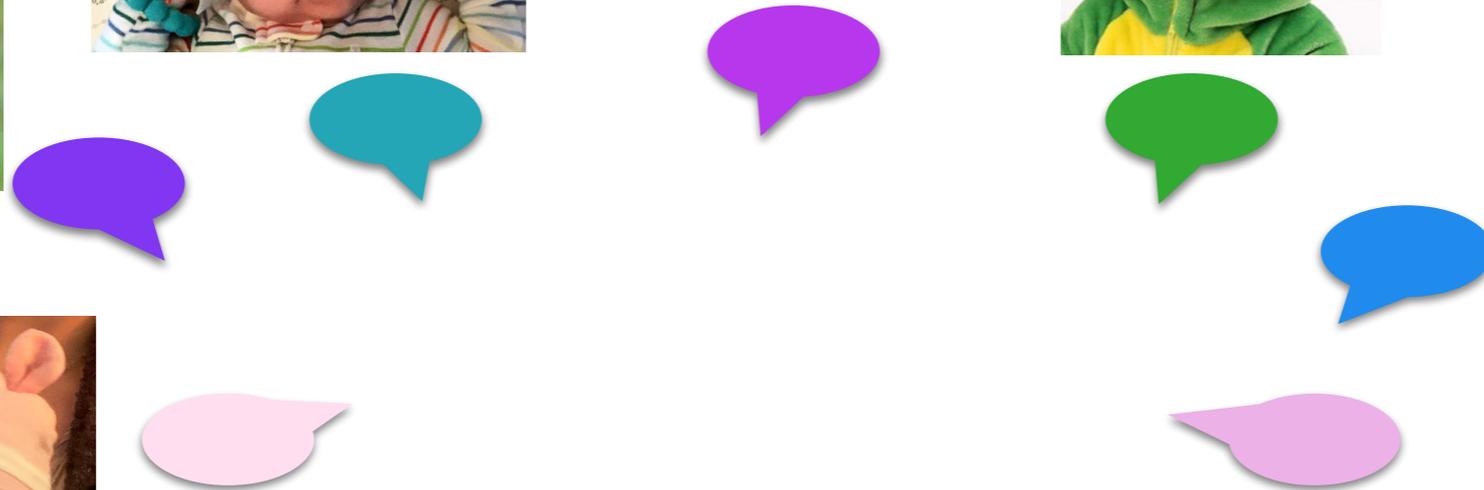


Syntactic islands

What input do children get?

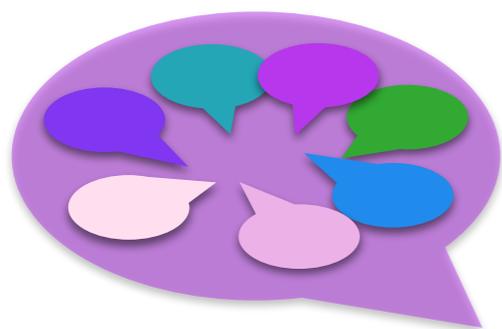


We can estimate this from samples of child-directed speech.



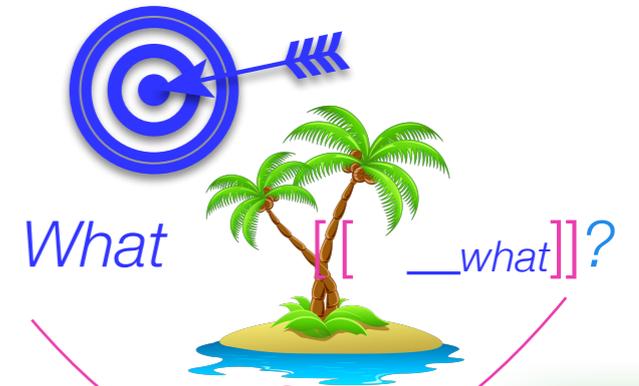
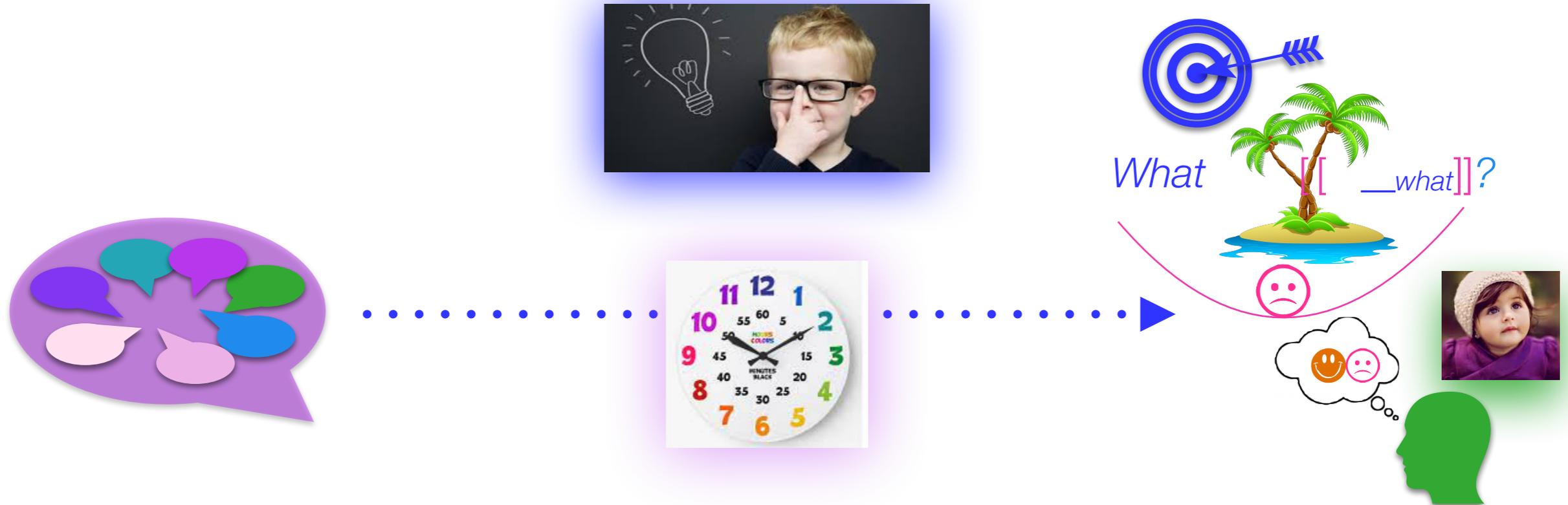
Syntactic islands

This is the acquisition problem



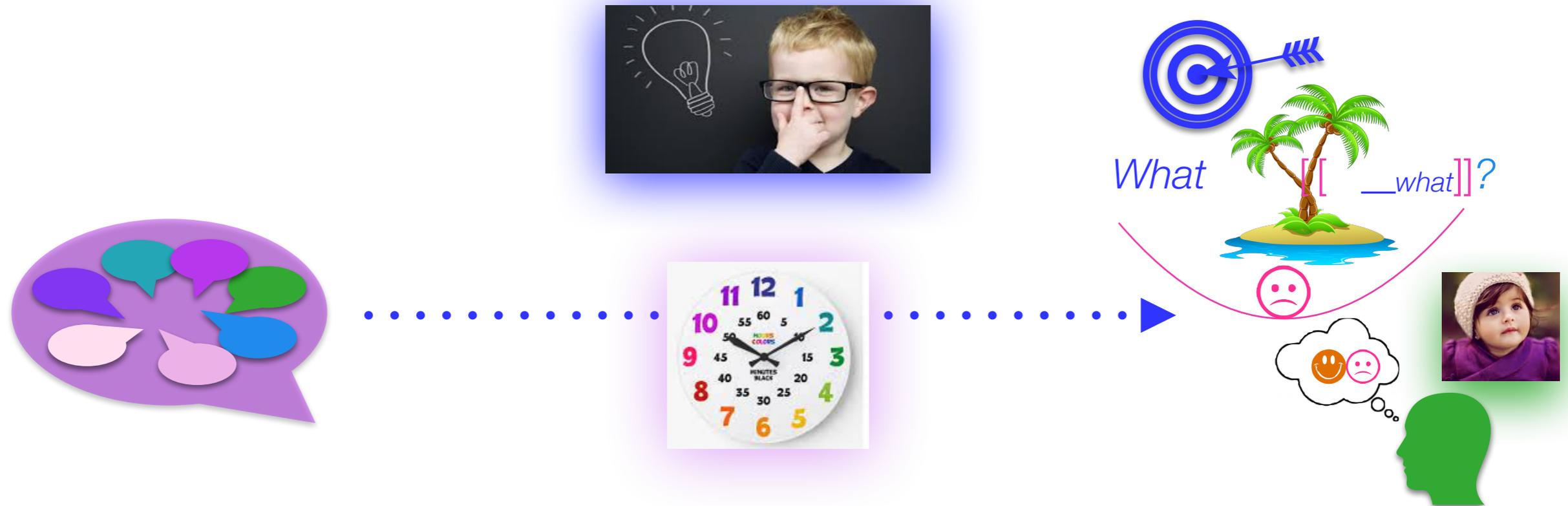
Syntactic islands

...which is where a theory of acquisition comes in.



Syntactic islands

...which is where a theory of acquisition comes in.



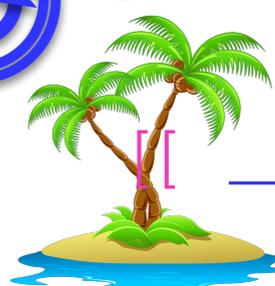
Learn the right building blocks

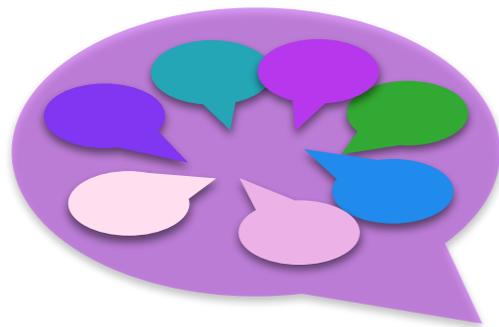
Syntactic islands



We can *evaluate a theory* by implementing it concretely in a *computational cognitive model*.



What  `[[__what]]`?

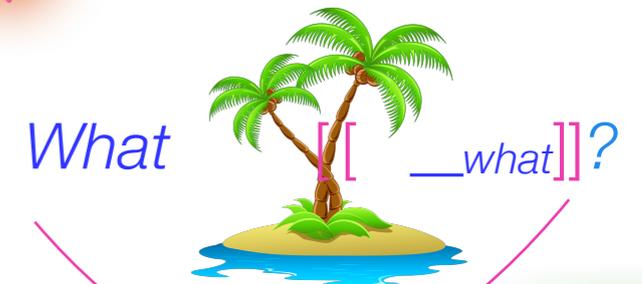
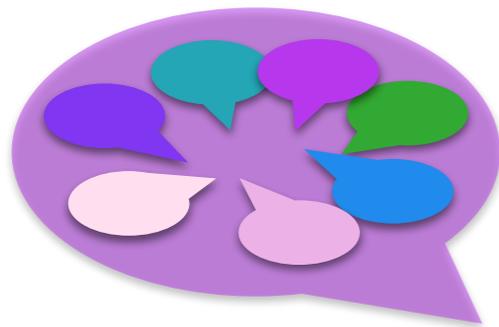
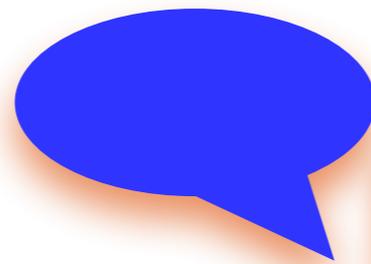


Learn the right building blocks

Syntactic islands



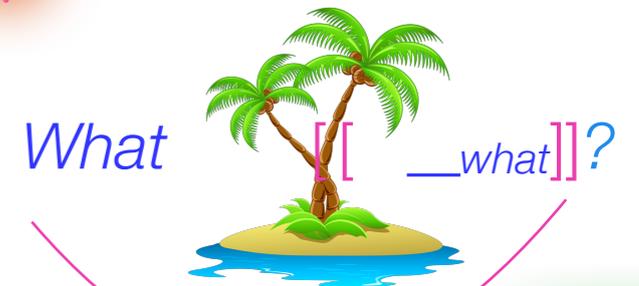
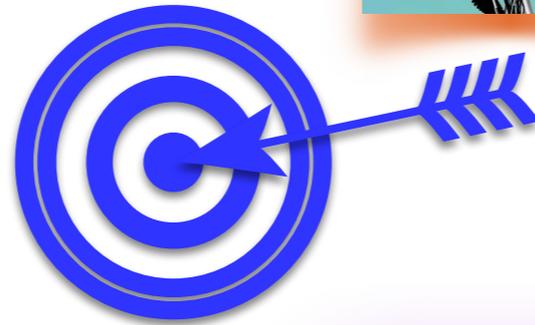
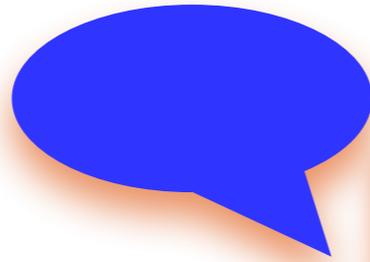
The **model** generates **predictions** that can be compared with **available empirical data**.

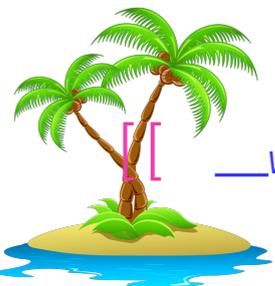


Learn the right building blocks



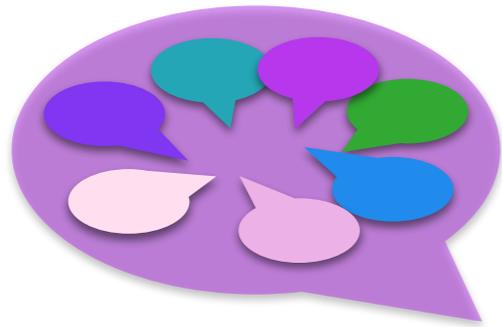
Syntactic islands



What  `[[__what]]`?

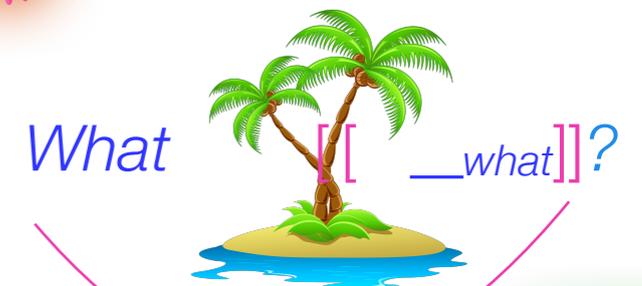
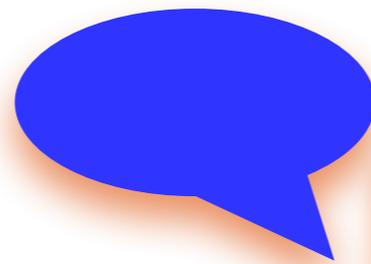


And then we can look inside it to see what makes it work (or not work).



Learn the right building blocks

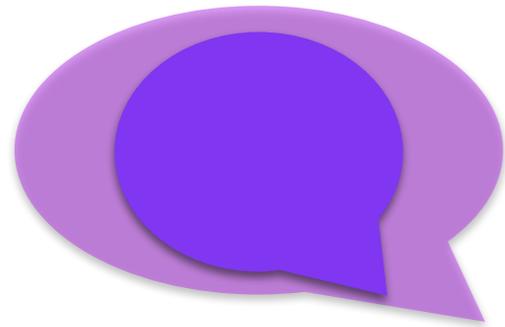
Syntactic islands



So let's do this for our theory.

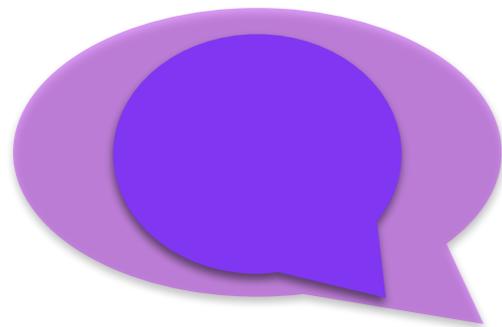


Learn the right building blocks



Intuition:

- Learn what you can from the *wh*-dependencies you observe in the input over time



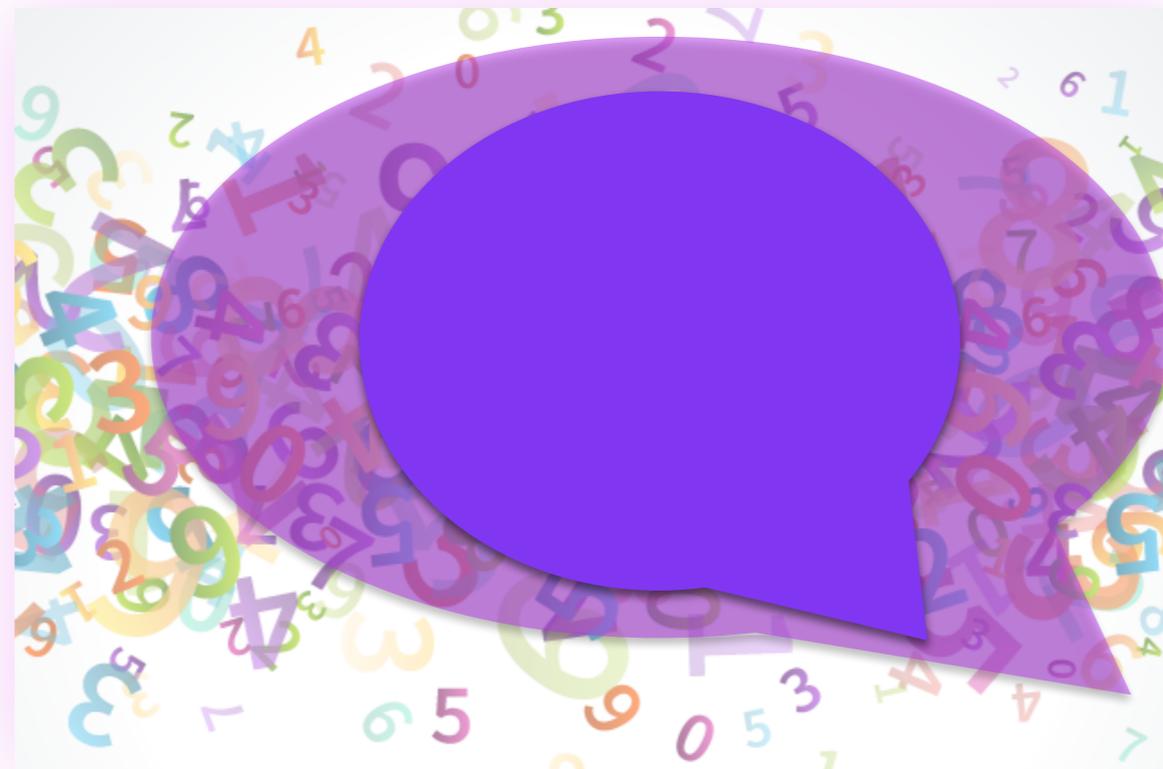
Intuition:

- Learn what you can from the *wh*-dependencies you observe in the input over time
- Apply it to generate behavior for *wh*-dependencies you haven't seen before, like those crossing syntactic islands (or other longer *wh*-dependencies).





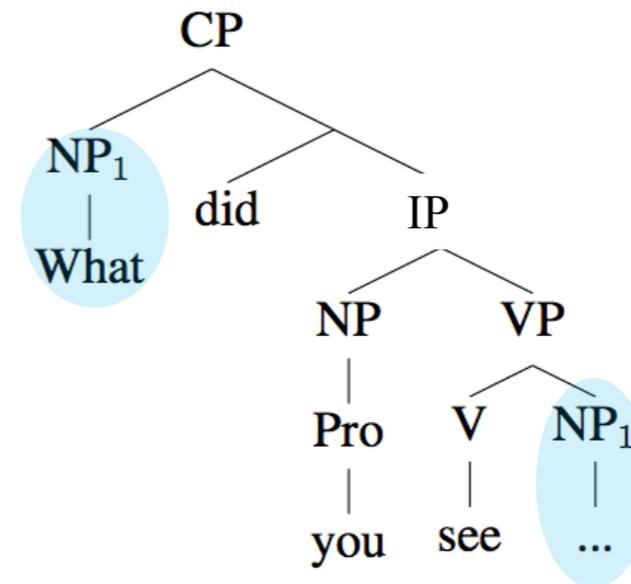
View *wh*-dependencies in terms of their **building blocks** and **track** those building blocks in the input.





Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

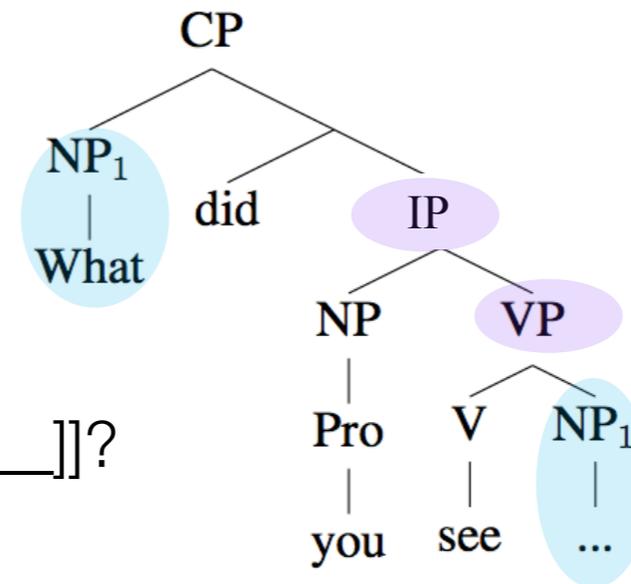
What phrases **contain** the **gap**
(but not the **wh-word**)?





Dependencies represented as a sequence of container nodes

What phrases contain the gap
(but not the *wh*-word)?



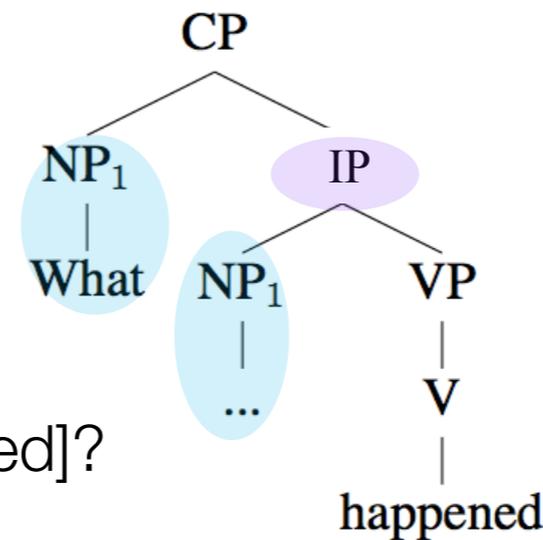
What did you see ___?
 = What did [IP you [VP see ___]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-end*



Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

What phrases **contain** the **gap**
(but not the **wh-word**)?

What did you see ___?
= What did [IP you [VP see ___]]?
= **start-IP-VP-end**



What ___ happened?
= What [IP ___ happened]?
= **start-IP-end**



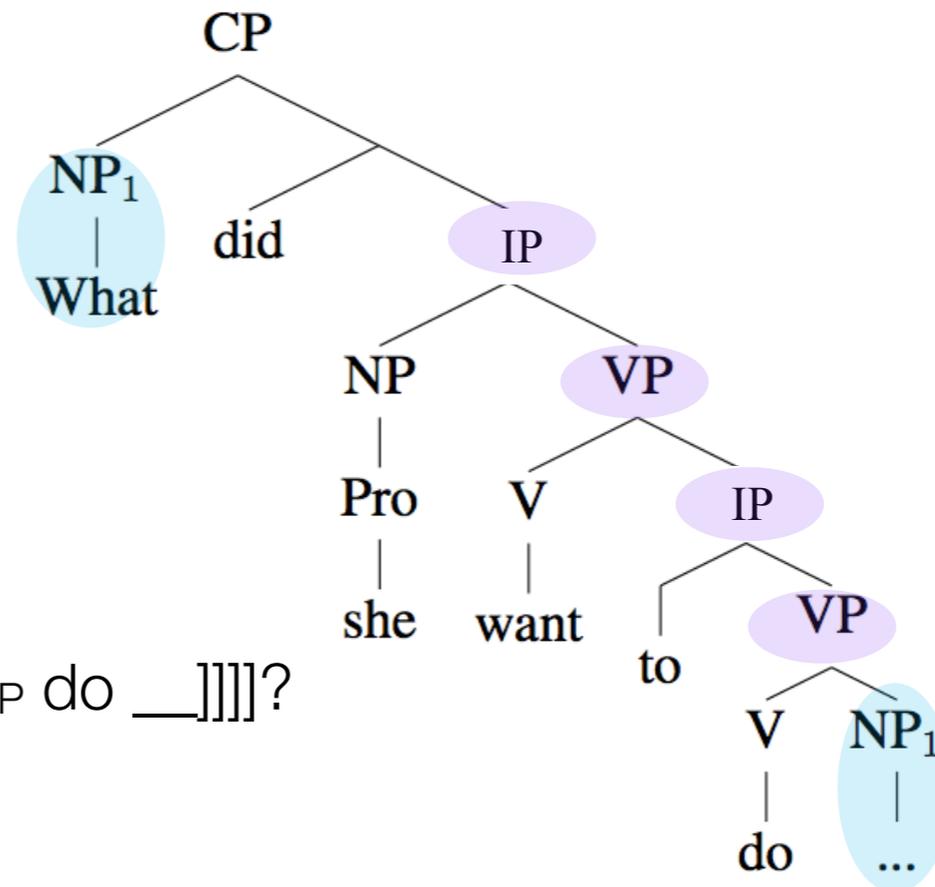
Dependencies represented as a **sequence of container nodes**

What phrases **contain** the **gap** (but not the **wh-word**)?

What did you see ___?
 = What did [IP you [VP see ___]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-end*

What ___ happened?
 = What [IP ___ happened]?
 = *start-IP-end*

What did she want to do ___?
 = What did [IP she [VP want [IP to [VP do ___]]]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end*





What did you see __?
 = What did [IP you [VP see __]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-end*

What __ happened?
 = What [IP __ happened]?
 = *start-IP-end*

What did she want to do __ ?
 = What did [IP she [VP want [IP to [VP do __]]]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end*

(Much) less acceptable dependencies have *low probability segments*

[CP *Who* did [IP Lily [VP ~~think~~ [CP-that [IP [NP the kitty [PP for __]] was pretty ?]]]]]
start-IP-VP-CP_{that}-IP-NP-PP-end



What did you see __?
 = What did [IP you [VP see __]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-end*

What __ happened?
 = What [IP __ happened]?
 = *start-IP-end*

What did she want to do __ ?
 = What did [IP she [VP want [IP to [VP do __]]]]?
 = *start-IP-VP-IP-VP-end*

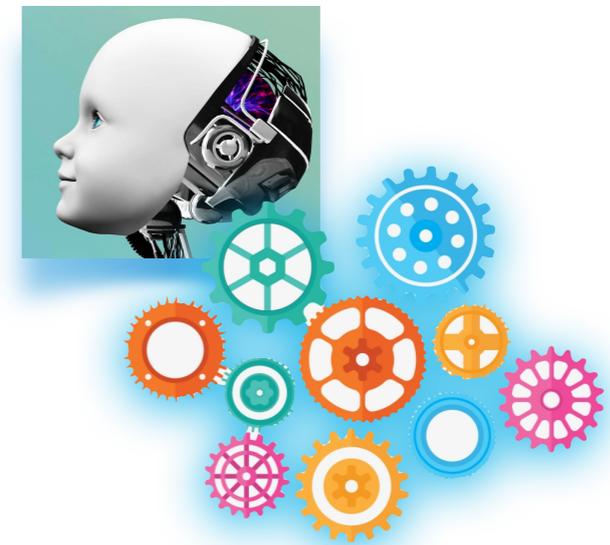
[CP *Who* did [IP Lily [VP ~~think~~ [CP-that [IP [NP the kitty [PP for __]] was pretty ?]]]]

start-IP-VP-CP_{that}-IP-NP-PP-end

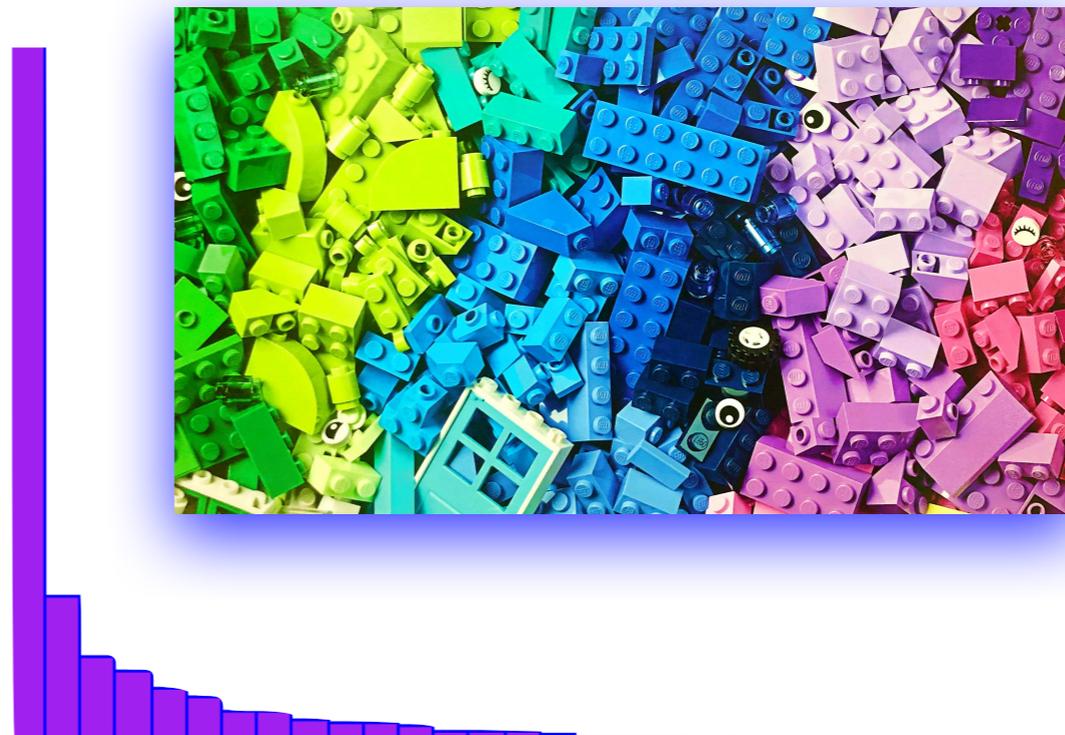


So if children break these dependencies into smaller building blocks, they can identify if a dependency has bad segments (made up of **one or more low probability building blocks**).

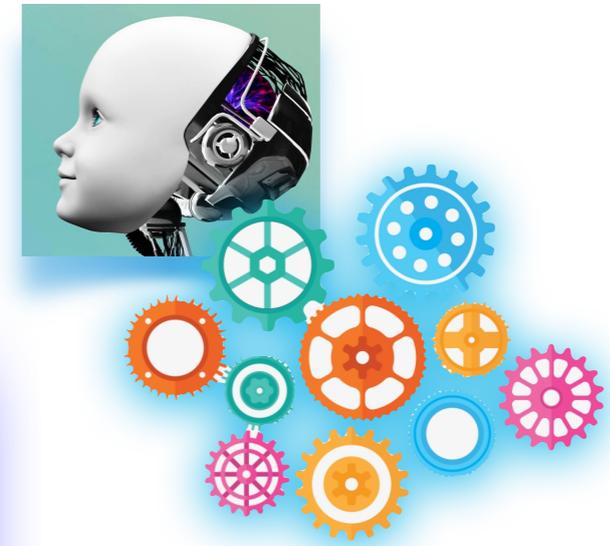
Learn the right building blocks



Theory: The child tries to learn what the “best” building blocks are at the same time she learns about their distributions in the input.



Learn the right building blocks



How can the child learn what the best building blocks are?

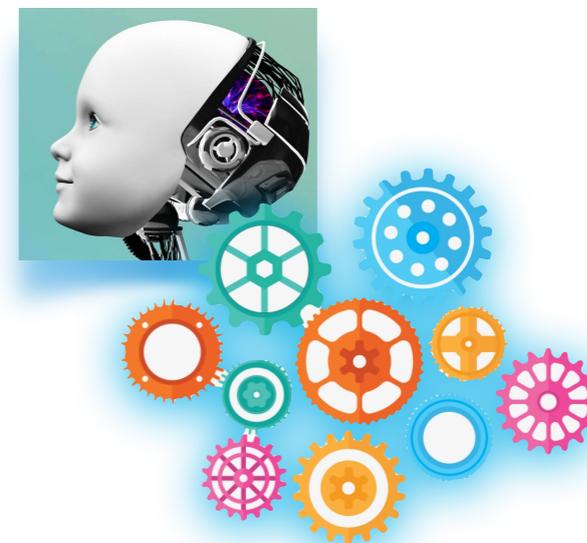


- (1) Look for the best-sized units
- (2) Sometimes include the lexical item



Learn the right building blocks

How can the child learn what the best building blocks are?



- (1) Look for the best-sized units
- (2) Sometimes include the lexical item



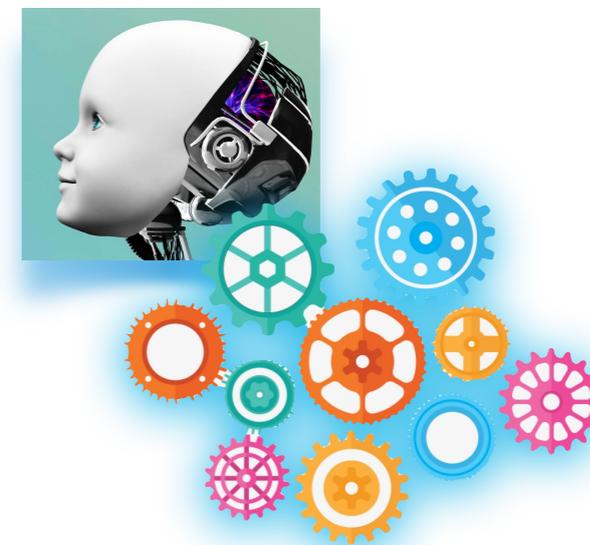
Theory: Look for an “efficient” set of building blocks.

Learn the right building blocks

How can the child learn what the best building blocks are?

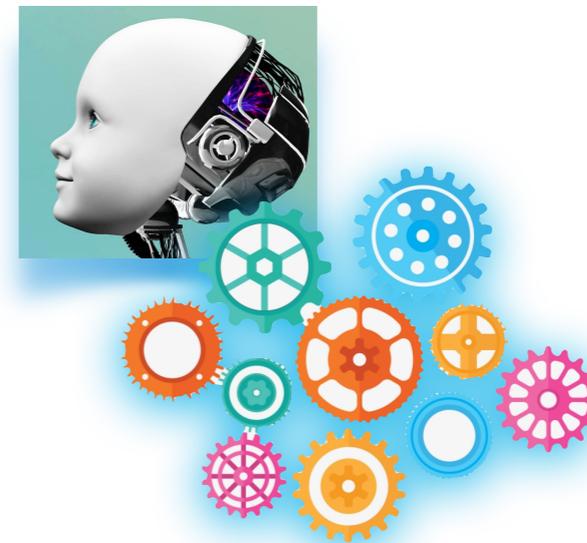


- (1) Look for the best-sized units
- (2) Sometimes include the lexical item



Efficient building blocks allow the representation of current and future *wh*-dependencies to be more probable.

Learn the right building blocks



How can the child learn what the best building blocks are?



- (1) Look for the best-sized units
- (2) Sometimes include the lexical item



Efficient building blocks allow the representation of current and future *wh*-dependencies to be more probable.

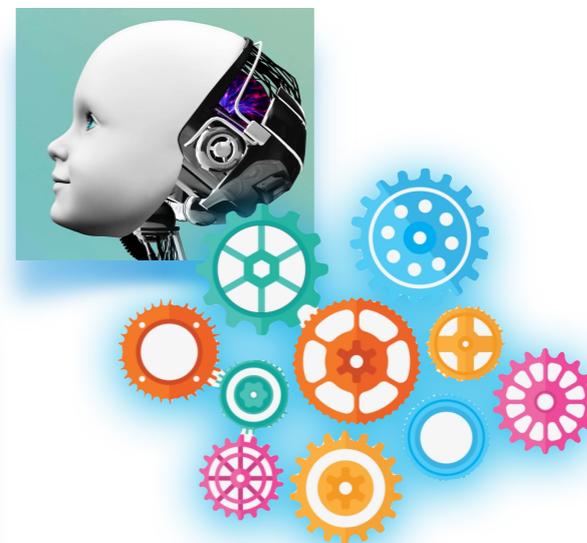


Why? One idea: Higher probability *wh*-dependencies are faster to process (comprehending or producing).

Learn the right
building blocks



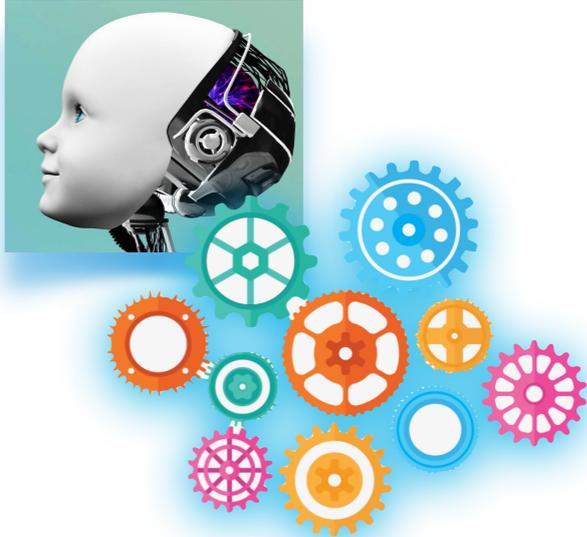
learning efficient building blocks



How? Look for building blocks that are
a **balance** between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to
make a *wh*-dependency



Learn the right building blocks



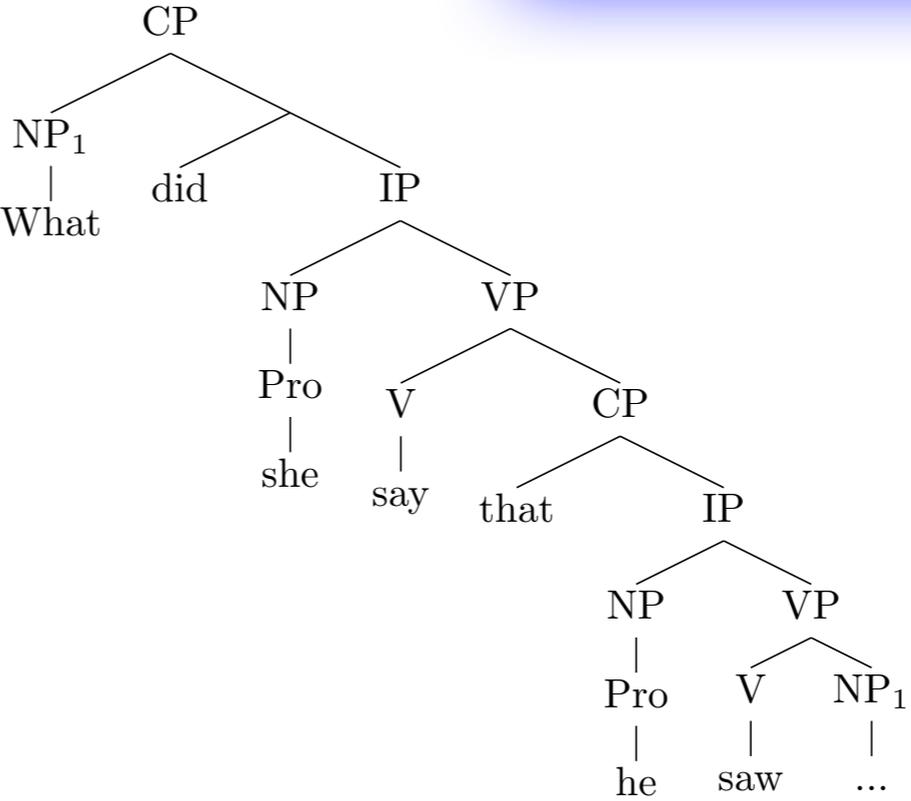
learning efficient building blocks



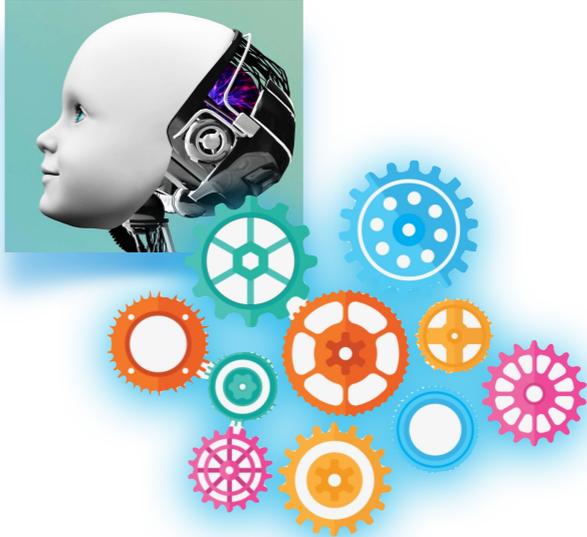
a balance between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



What did she say that he saw ___ ?



Learn the right building blocks



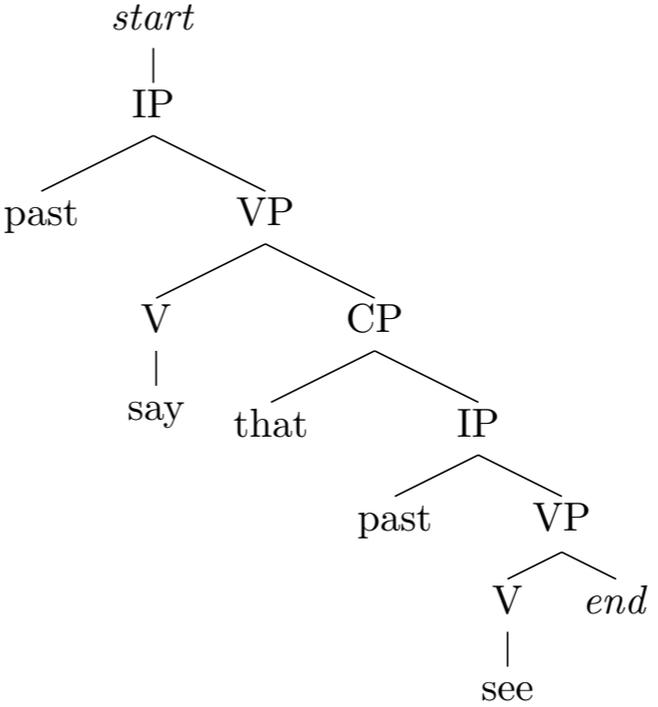
learning efficient building blocks



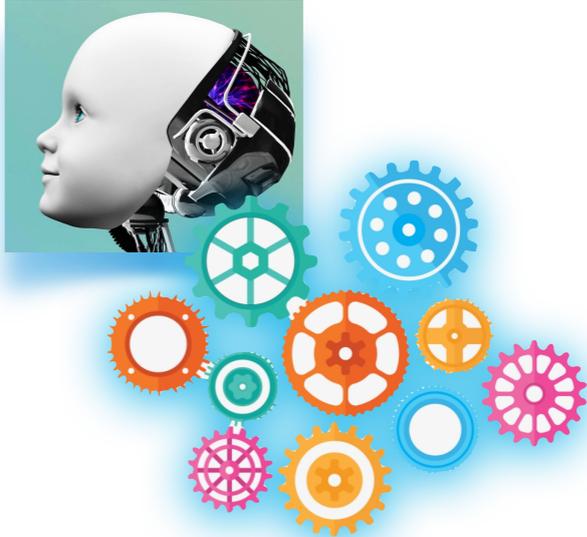
a balance between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks

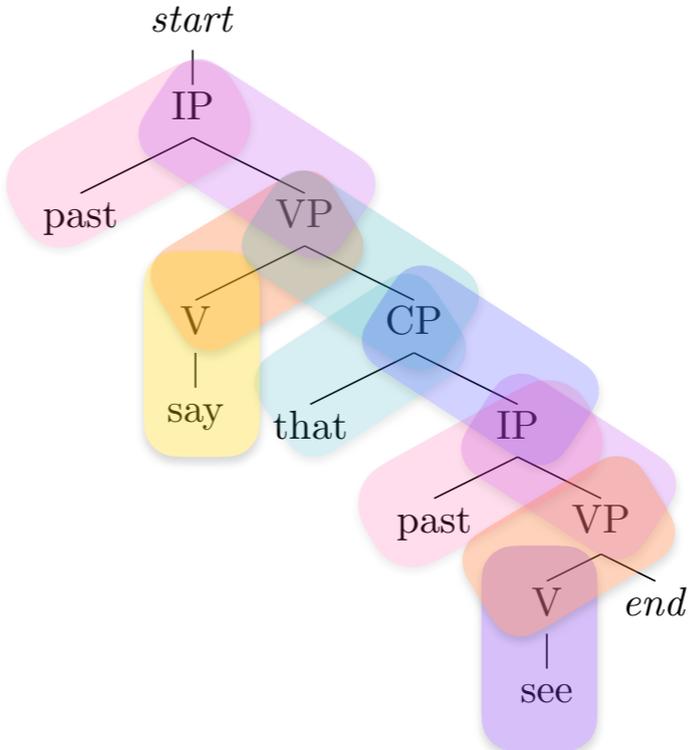


a balance between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency

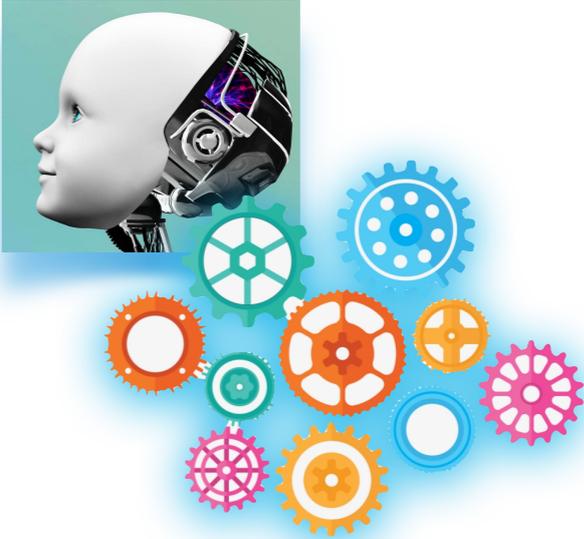


start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

Pieces can be small, so that many of them make up a *wh*-dependency



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks



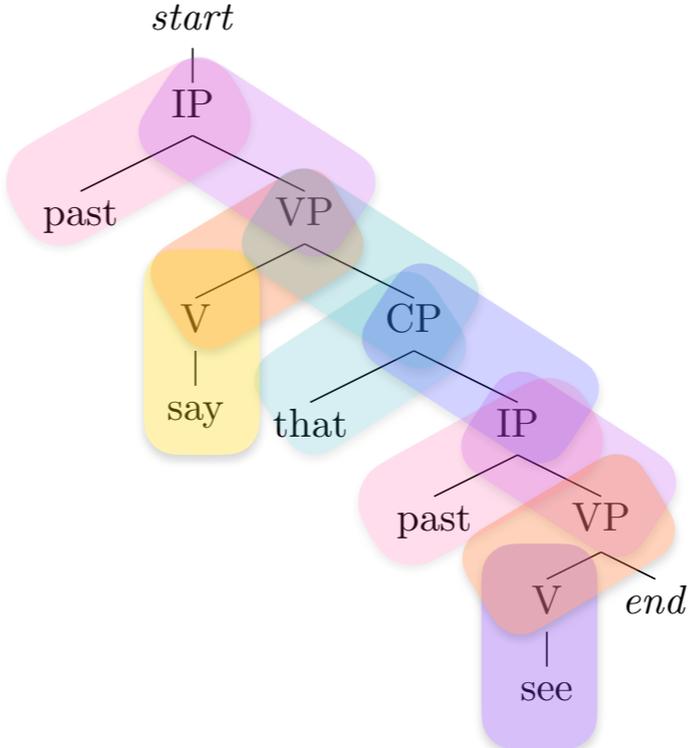
a balance between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



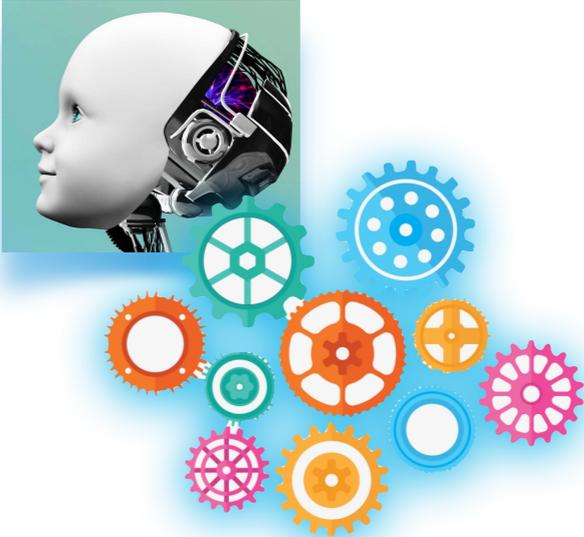
start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end



It may be slower to put together many small pieces.



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks



a balance between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency

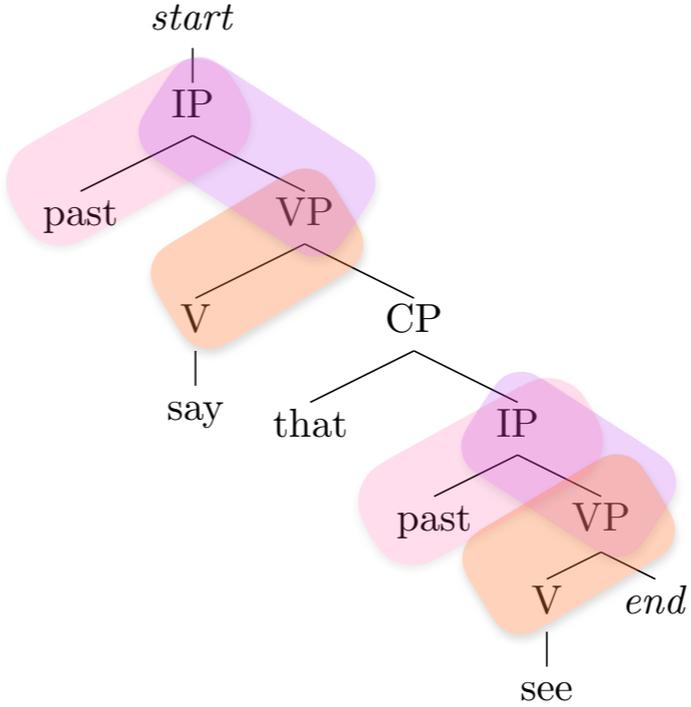


start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

many smaller



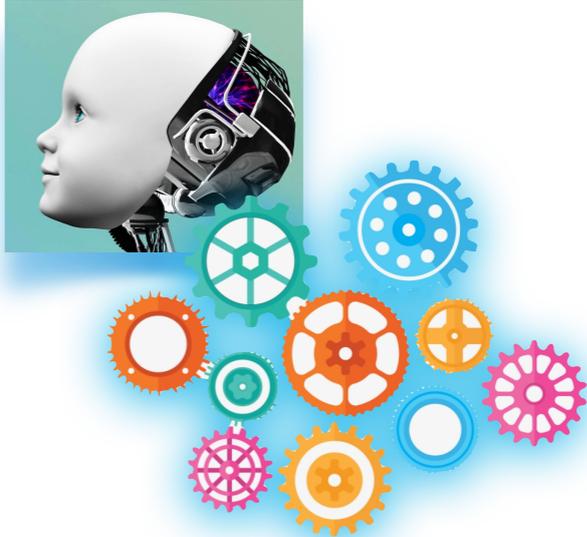
slower because many



But these pieces may get reused, so that makes them faster to access.



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks



a balance between
 (1) **how big** they are
 (2) **how fast** they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



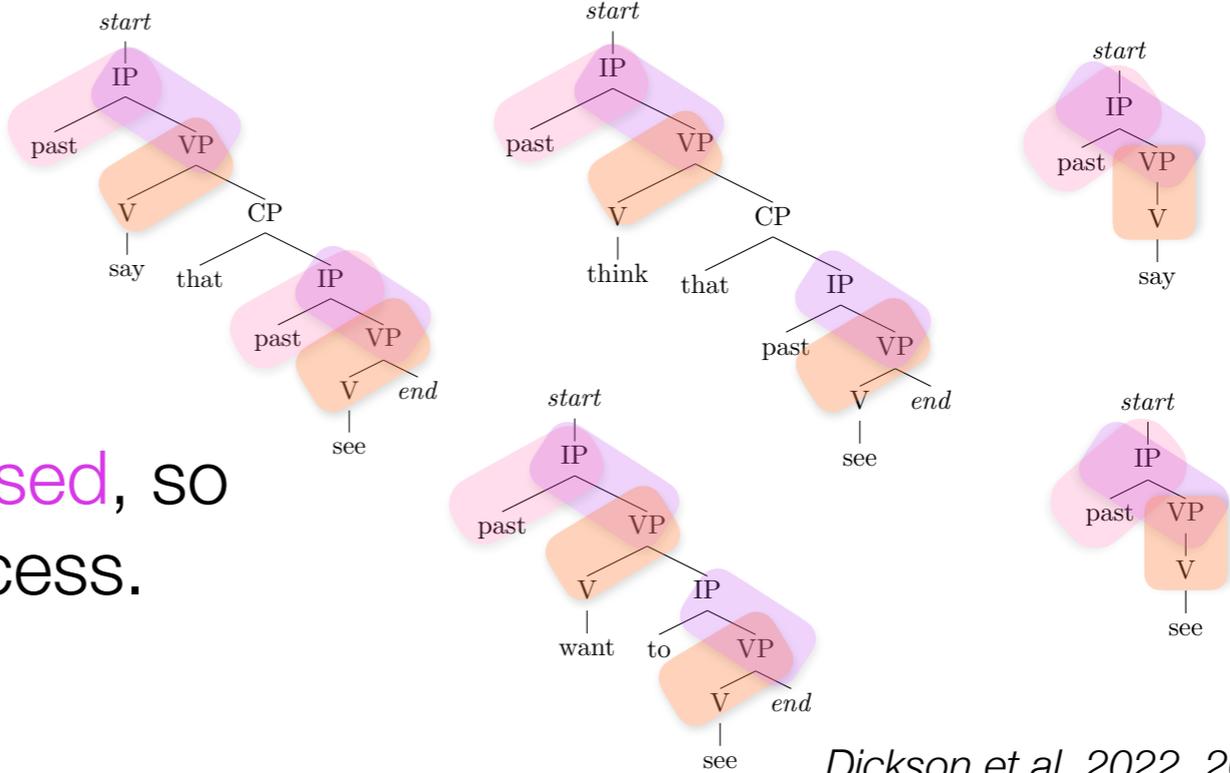
start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

many smaller

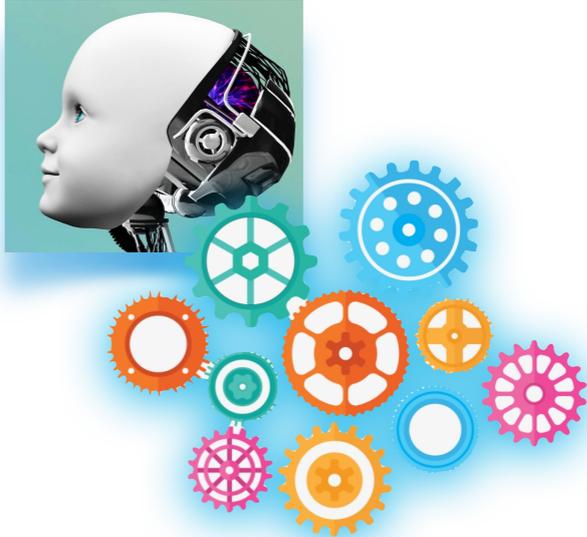


slower because many

But these pieces may get **reused**, so that makes them **faster** to access.



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks

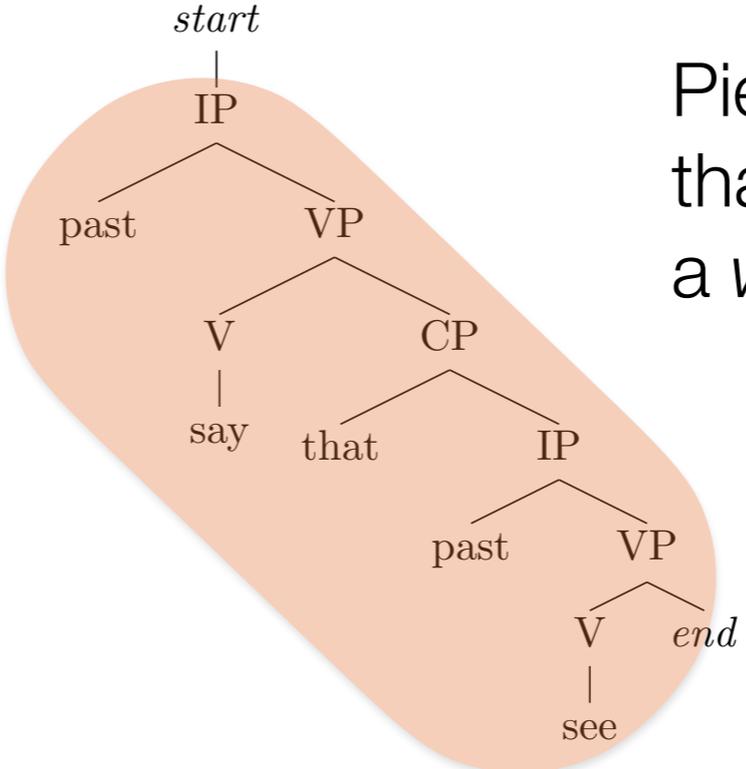
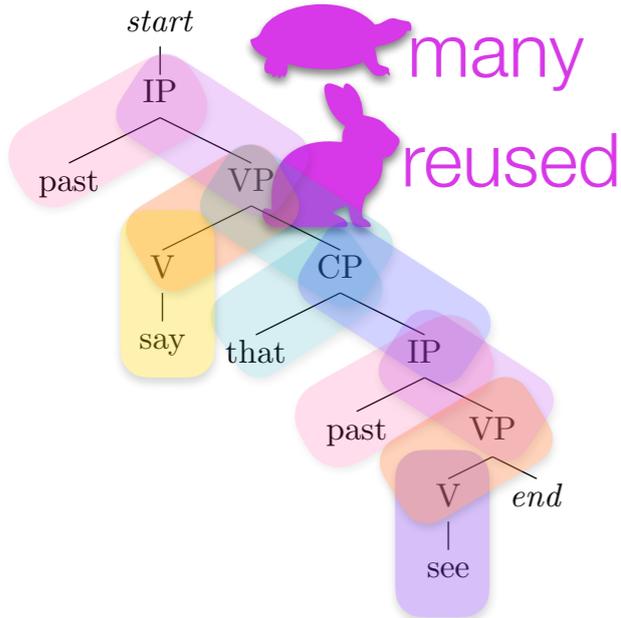


a balance between
 (1) **how big** they are
 (2) **how fast** they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



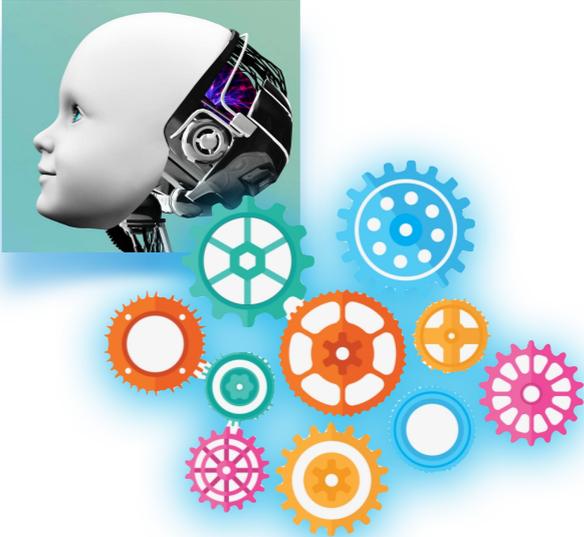
start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

many smaller



Pieces can be **big**, so that only one makes up a *wh*-dependency

Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks



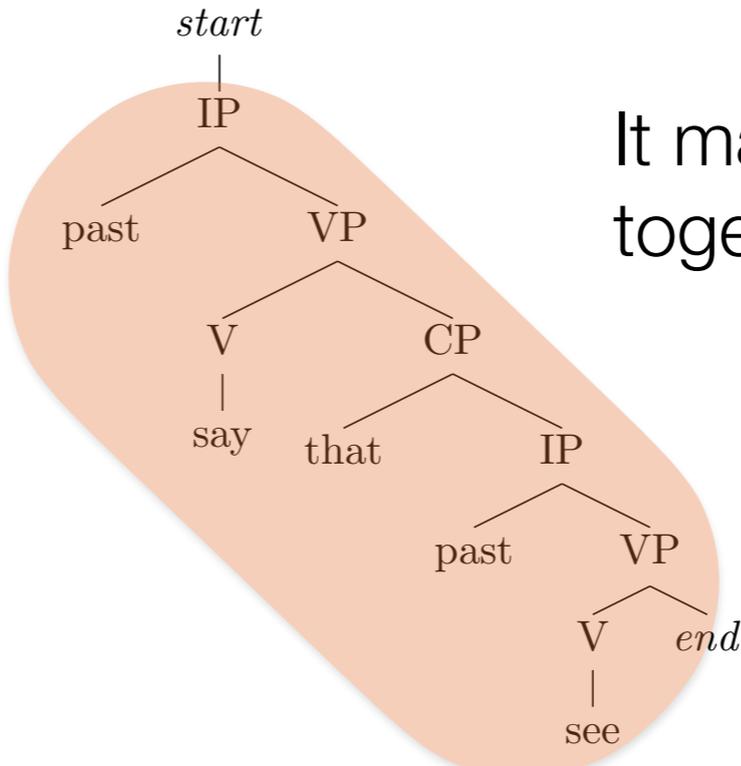
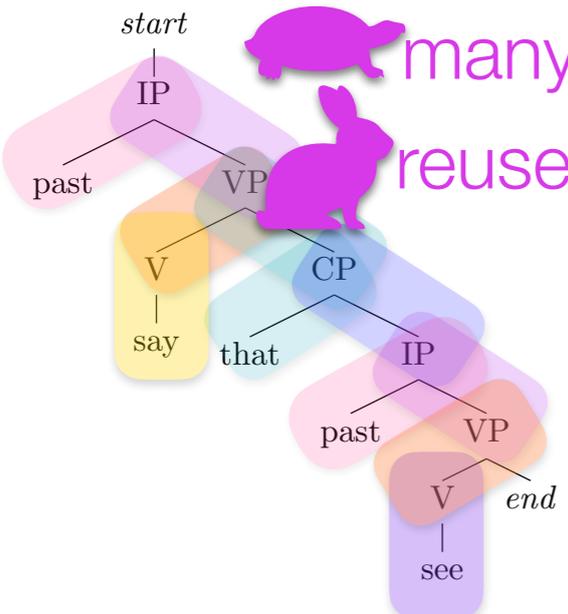
a balance between
(1) **how big** they are
(2) **how fast** they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

many smaller

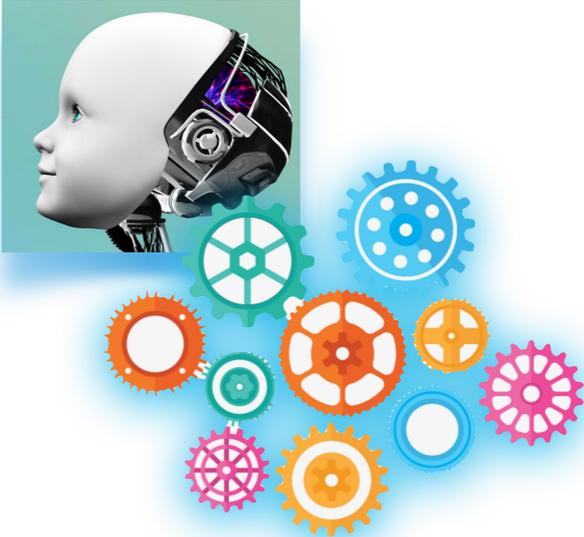
many reused



It may be **faster** to put together **one big** piece.



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks

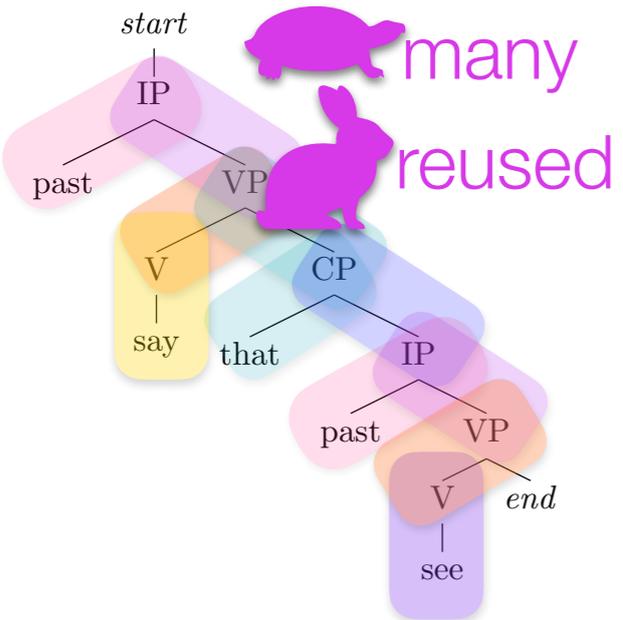


a balance between
(1) **how big** they are
(2) **how fast** they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency



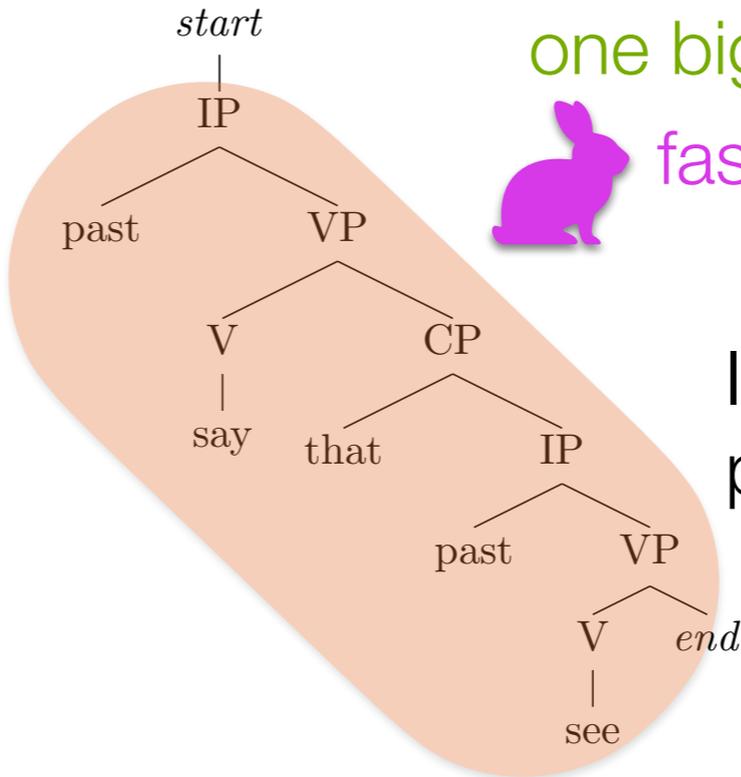
start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

many smaller



many reused

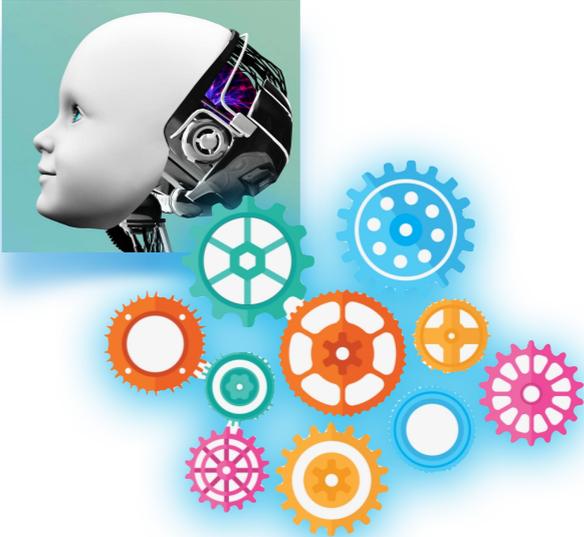
one big



faster because one

It may be **slower** if the piece is used **rarely**.

Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks

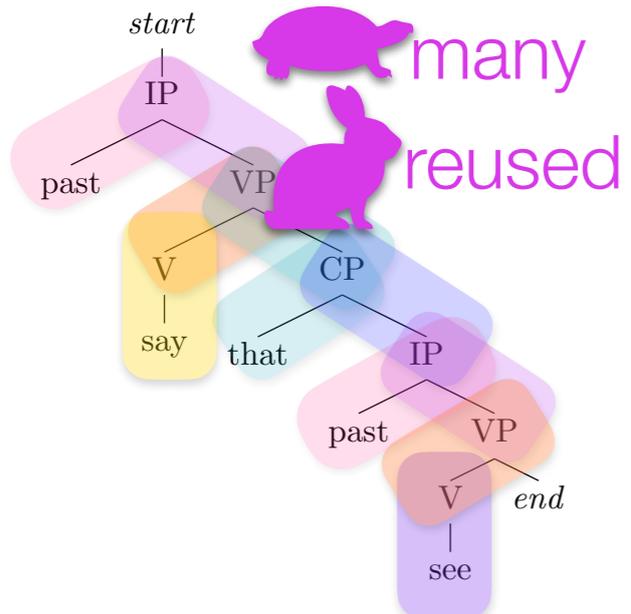


a balance between
(1) how big they are
(2) how fast they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency

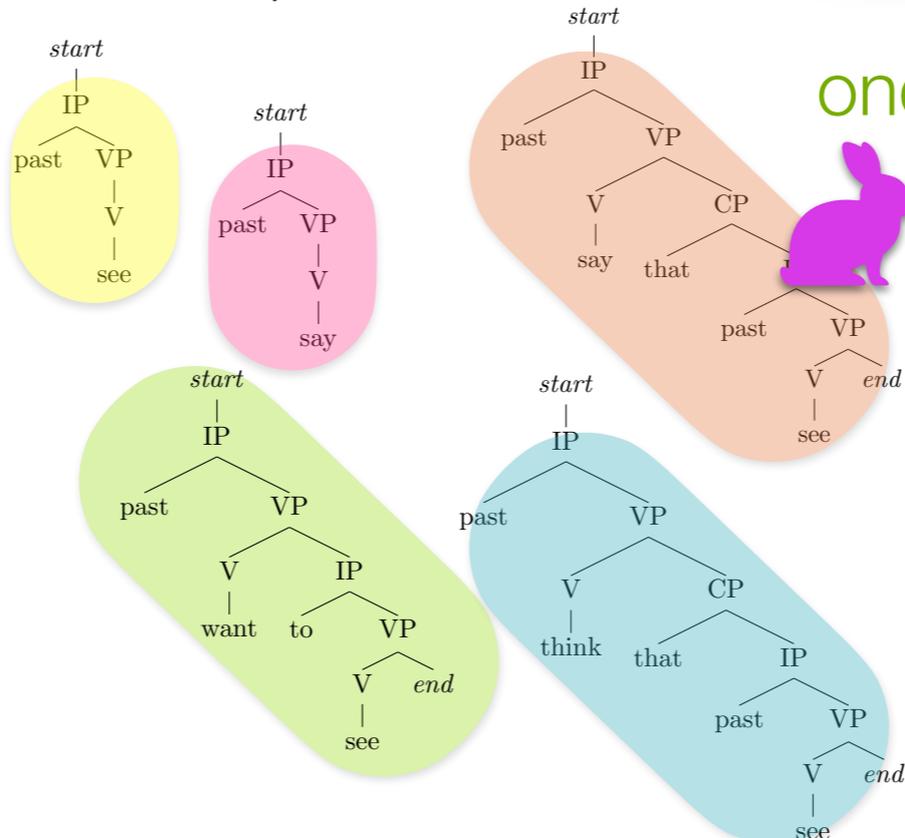


start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

many smaller



many reused

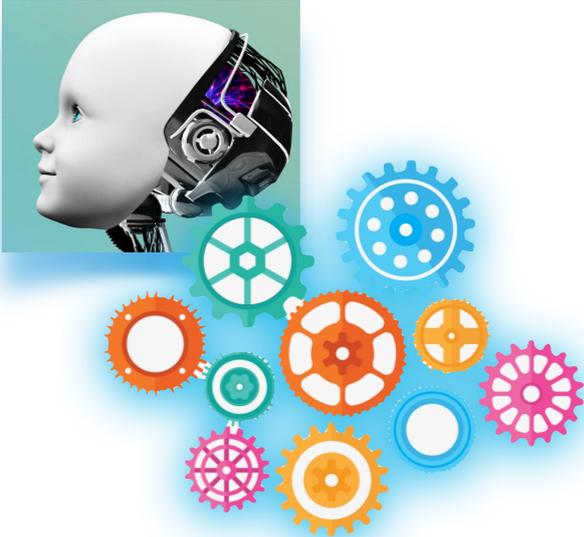


one big

faster because one

It may be slower if the piece is used rarely.

Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks

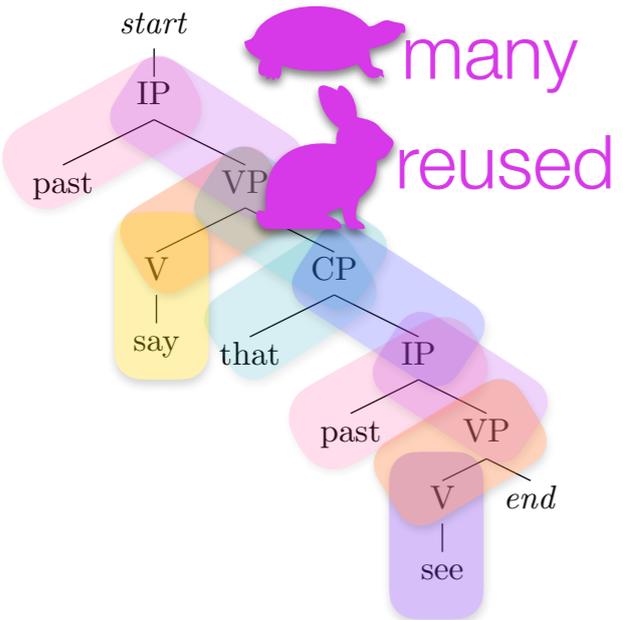


a balance between
 (1) **how big** they are
 (2) **how fast** they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency

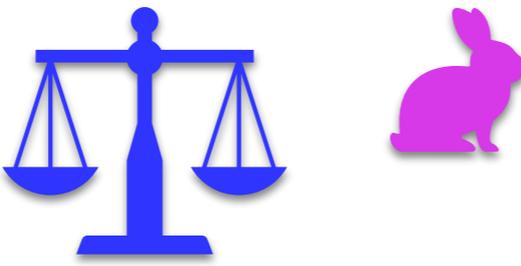


start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

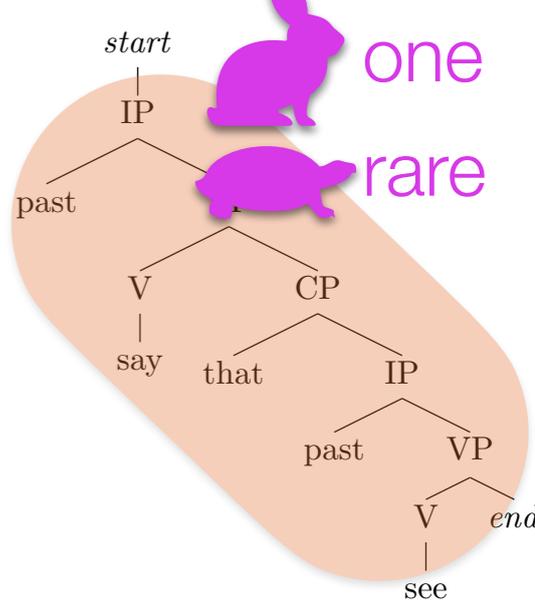
many smaller



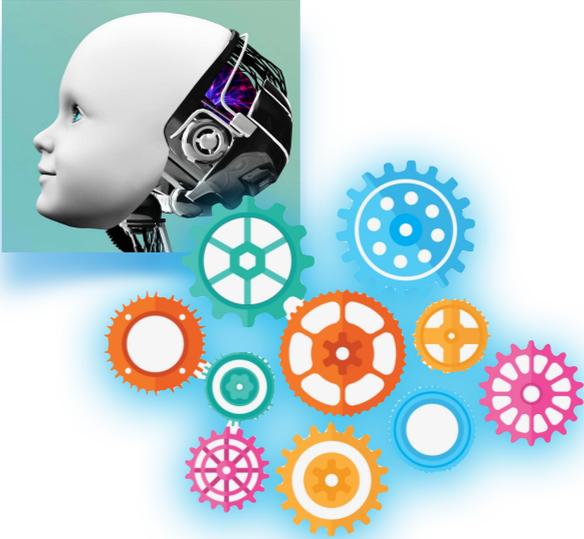
The most **efficient** option is probably a balance of **bigger** and **smaller** blocks that **collectively** are **faster** to access and put together.



one big



Learn the right building blocks



learning efficient building blocks

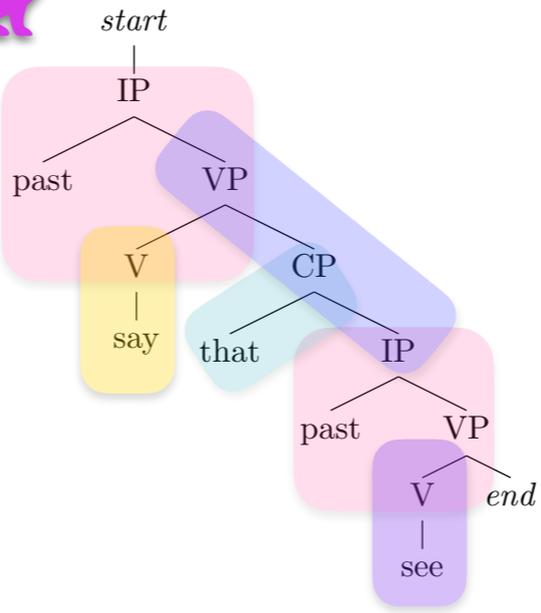
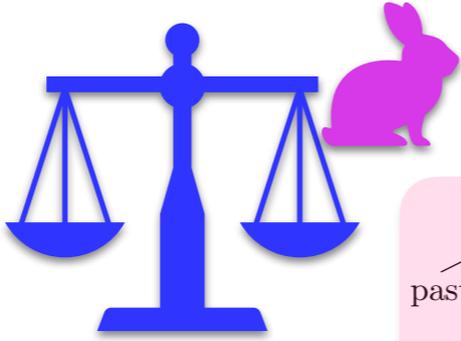
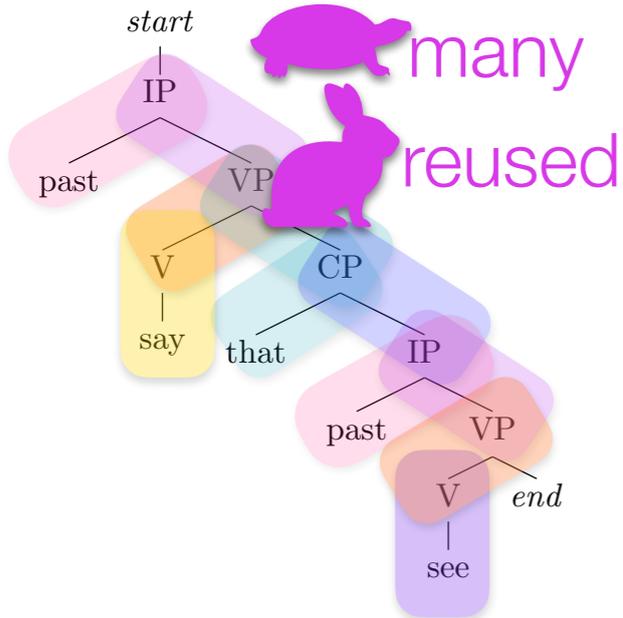


a balance between
 (1) **how big** they are
 (2) **how fast** they are to put together to make a *wh*-dependency

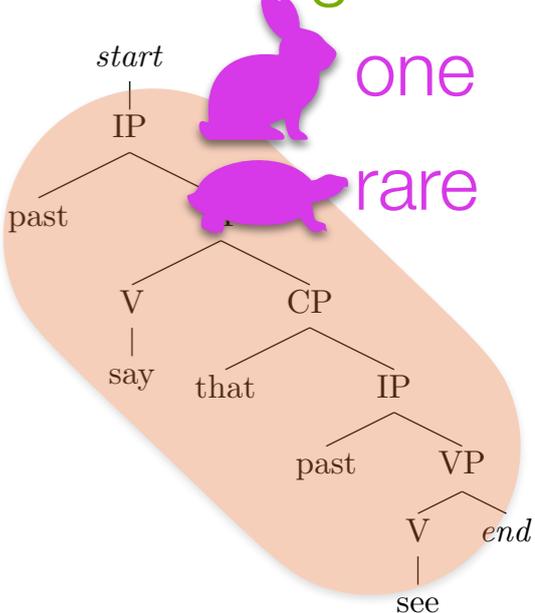


start-IP_{past}-VP_{say}-CP_{that}-IP_{past}-VP_{see}-end

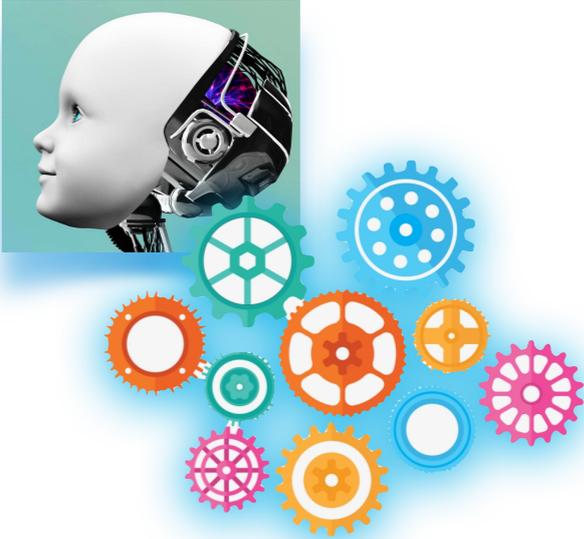
many smaller



one big



Learn the right building blocks



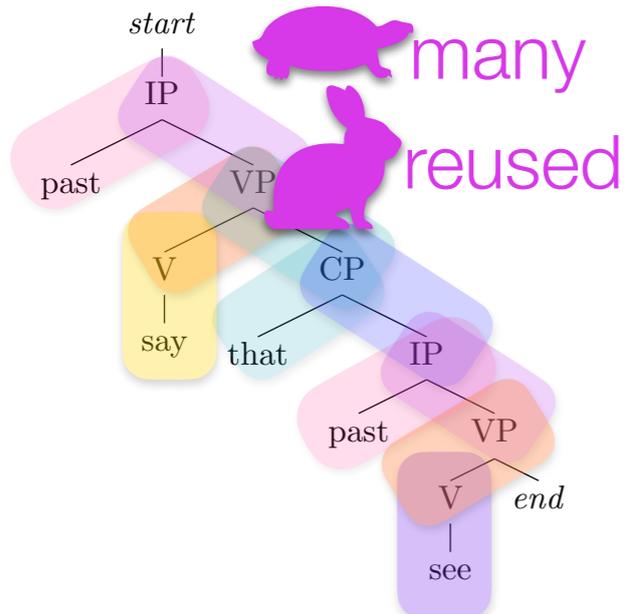
learning efficient building blocks



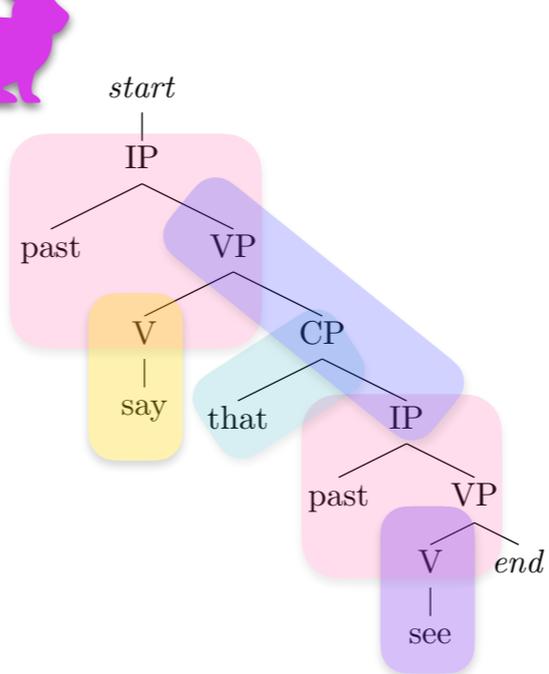
How can children find the best balance?



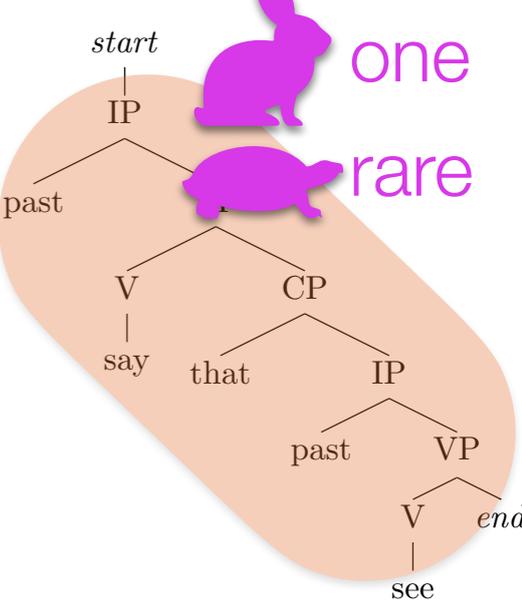
many smaller



many reused

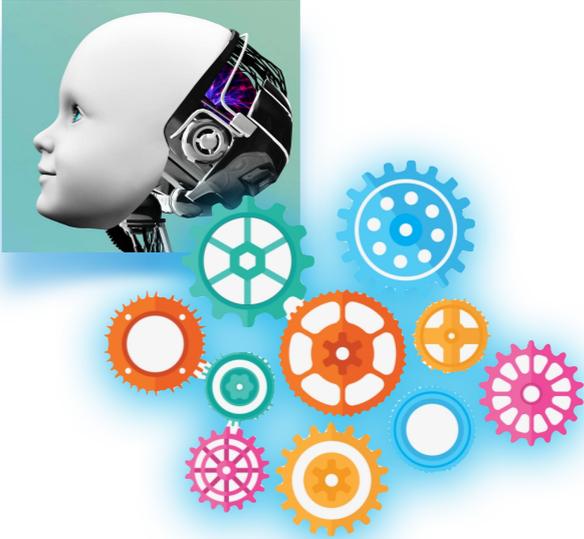


one big



one rare

Learn the right building blocks



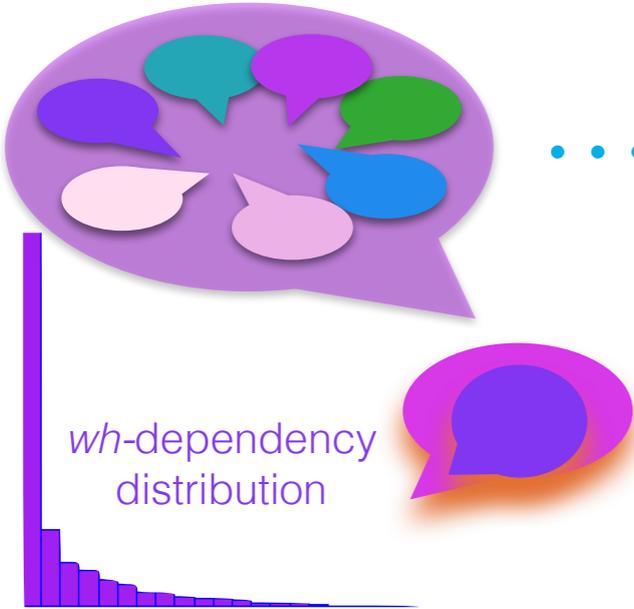
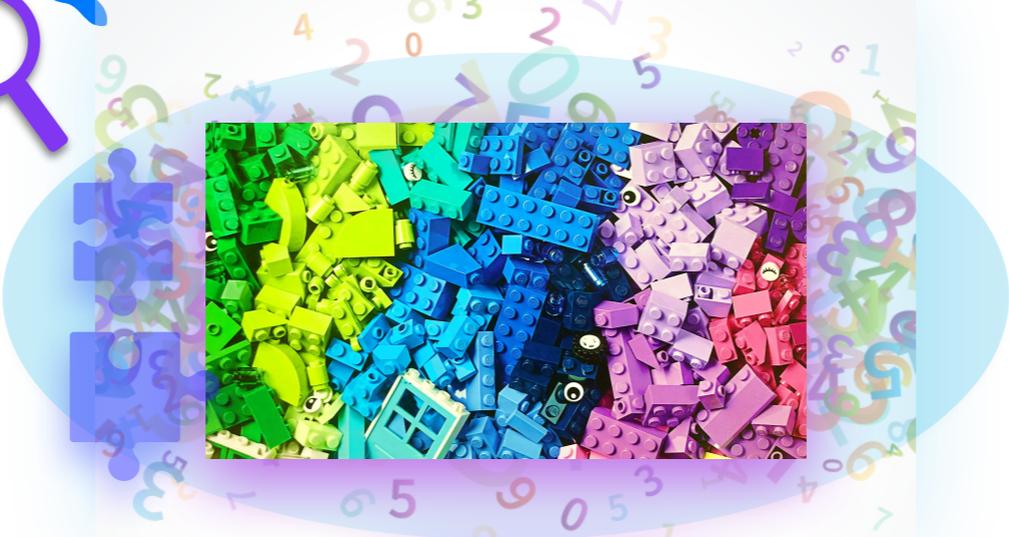
Use Bayesian inference to search through the hypothesis space of all possible building blocks (O'Donnell 2015) and find an efficient set for children's input.



Learn the right building blocks

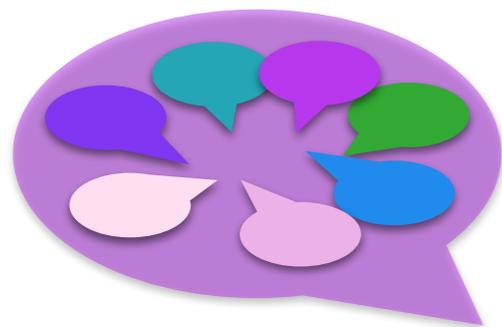
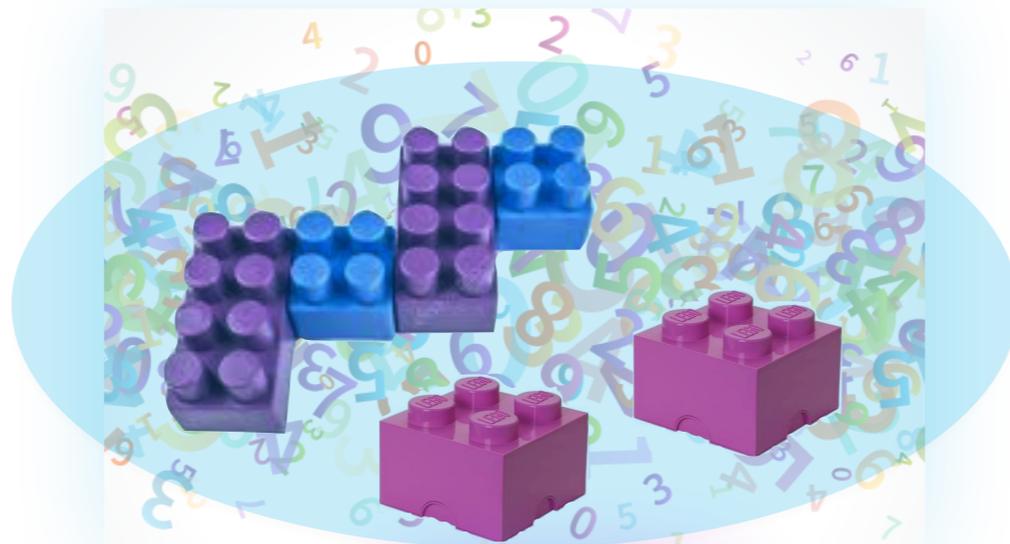
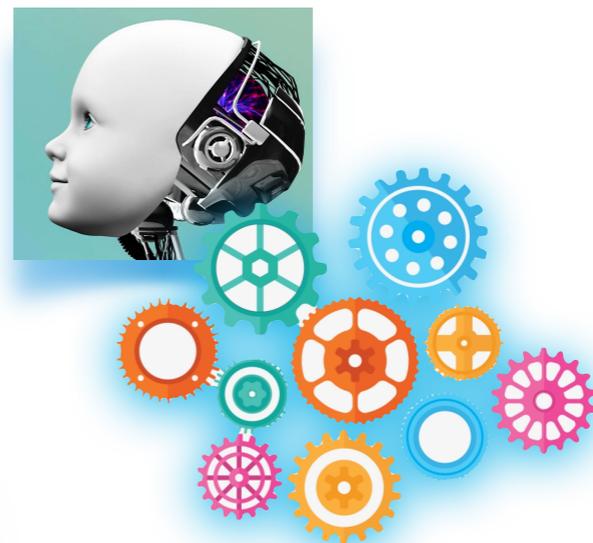


So that's what the modeled child will do

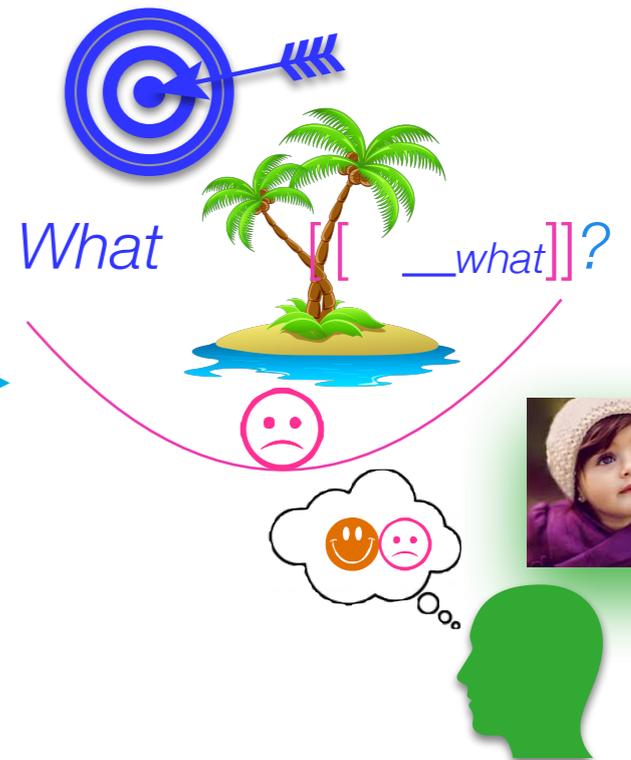
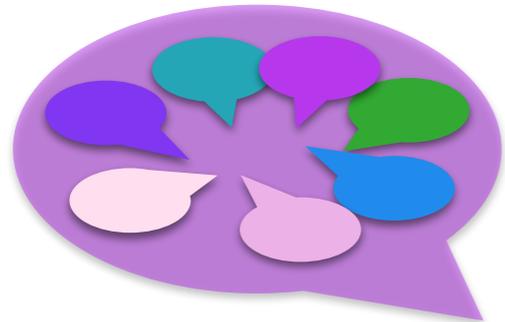
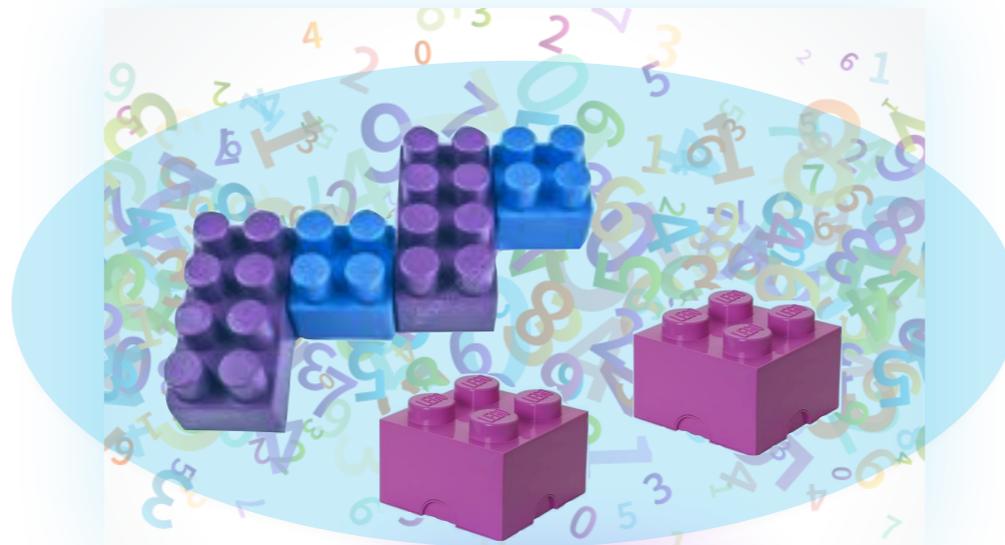
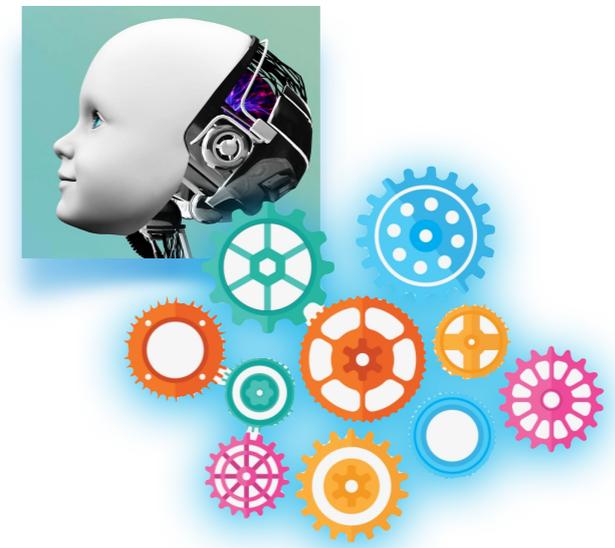


Evaluating the theory

If we learn from the **input** children get
the way this theory specifies, can this theory
output the **behavior** children (should) produce?

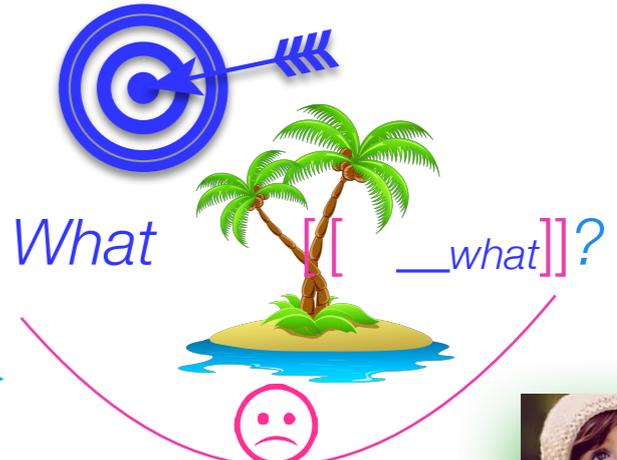
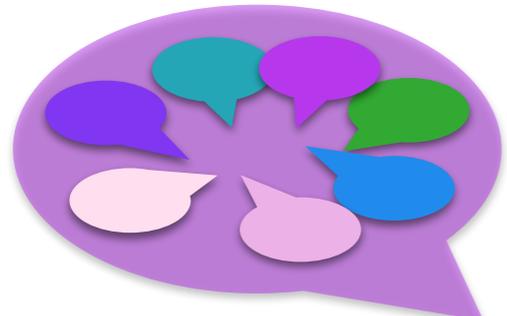
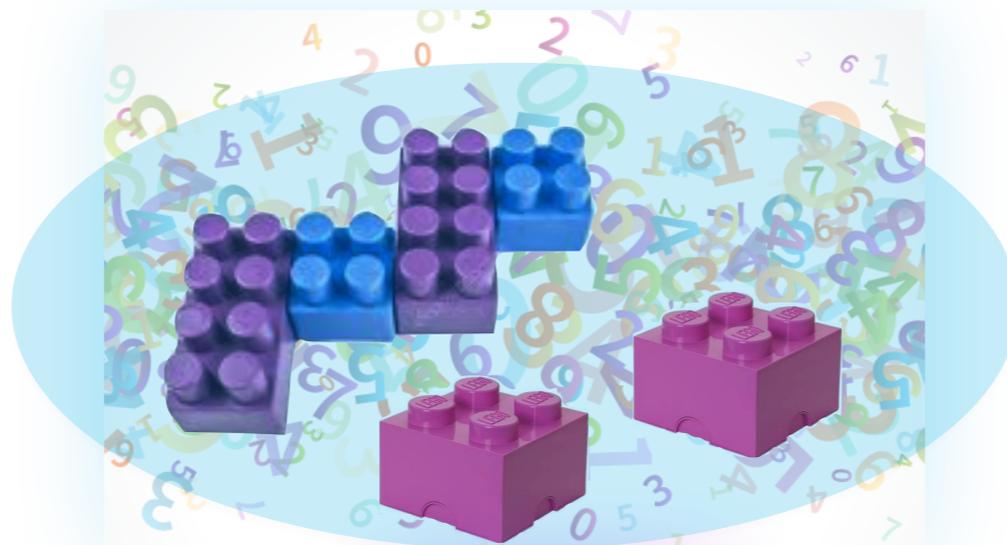


Evaluating the theory



What's the input look like?

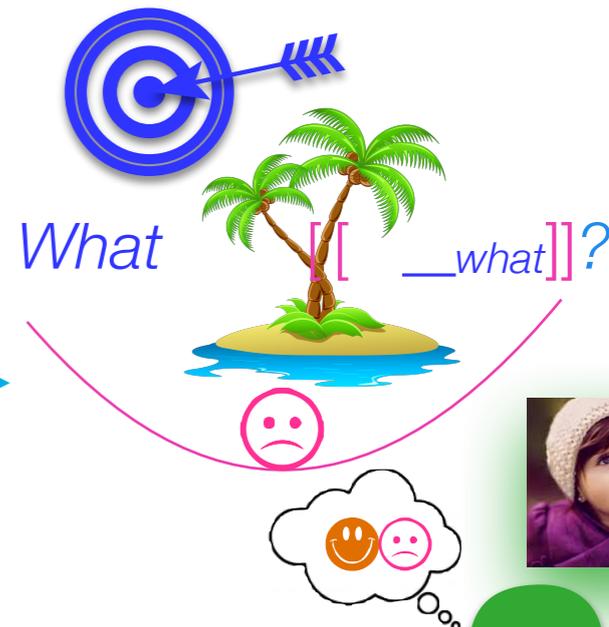
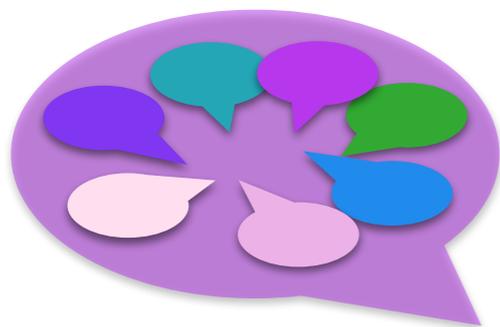
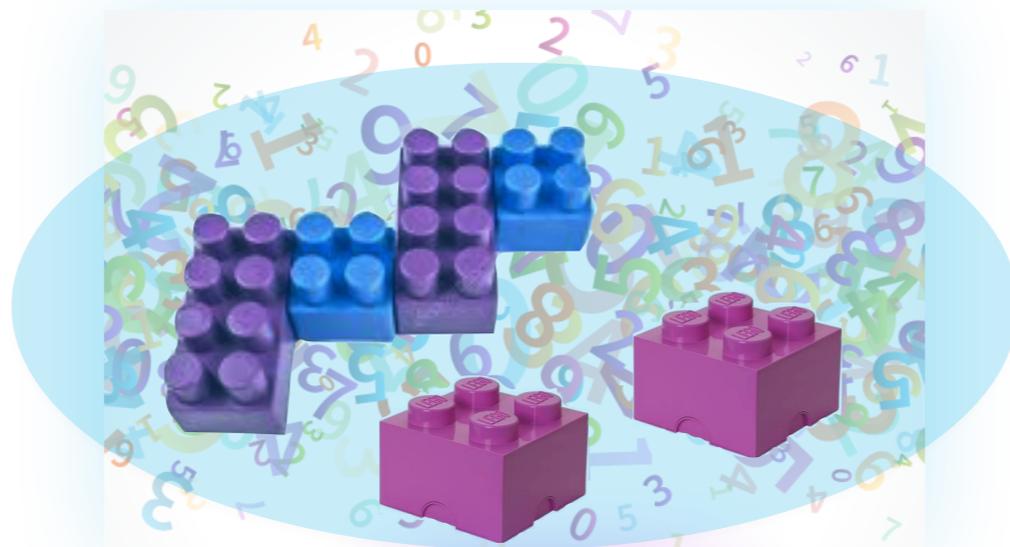
Evaluating the theory



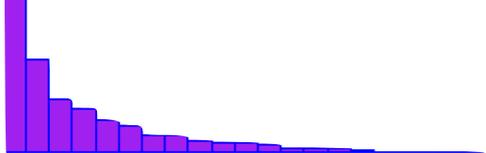
12.7K *wh*-dependencies from the CHILDES Treebank (Pearl & Sprouse 2013) of speech directed at 25 children between the ages of 1 and 5 years old.



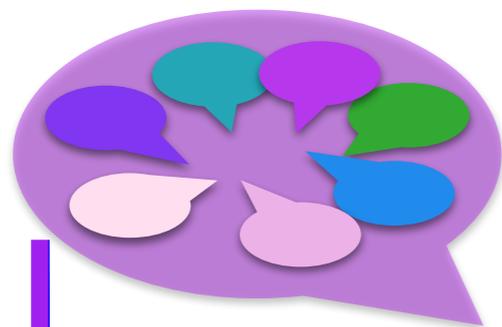
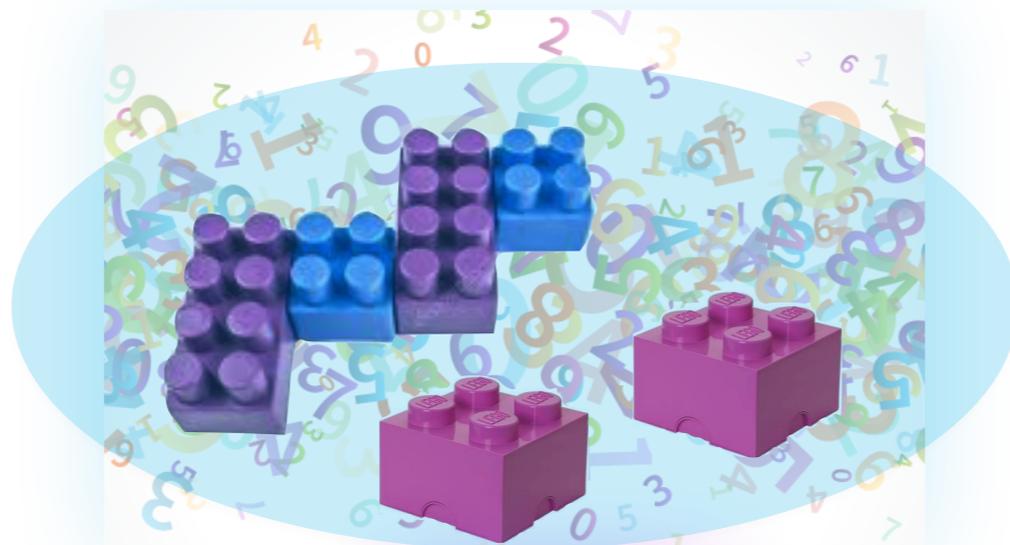
Evaluating the theory



This lets us estimate which *wh*-dependencies children hear and how often they hear them (the *wh*-dependency distribution).



Evaluating the theory

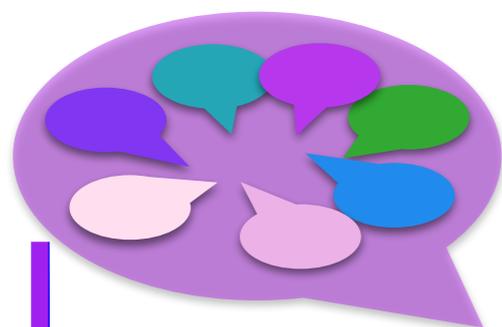
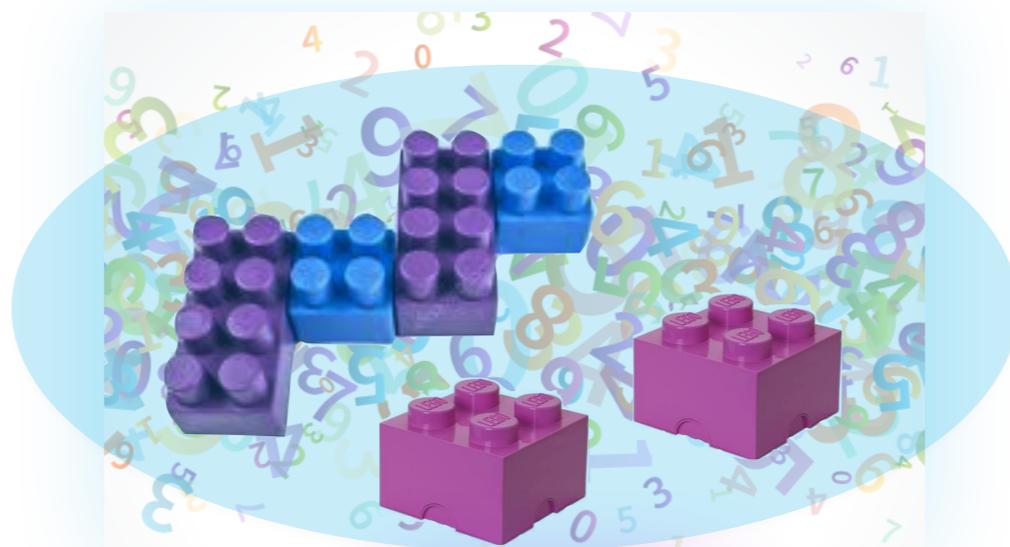
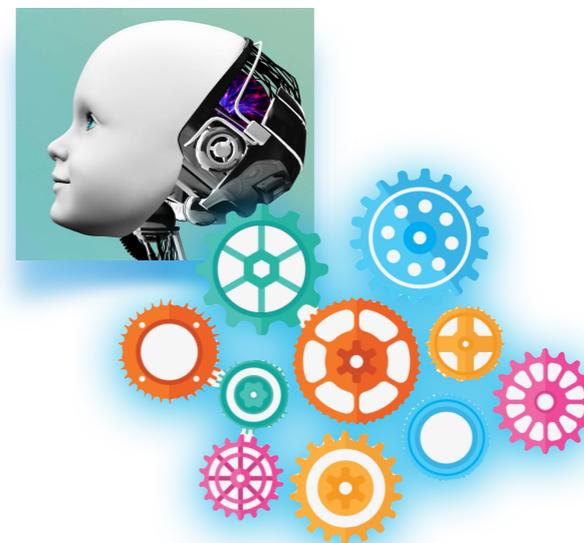


#

We can then estimate how many *wh*-dependencies children hear during the learning period.
(<60 months)



Evaluating the theory



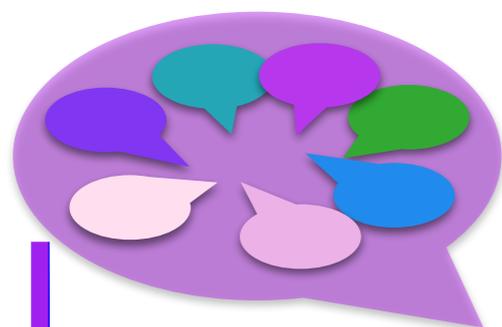
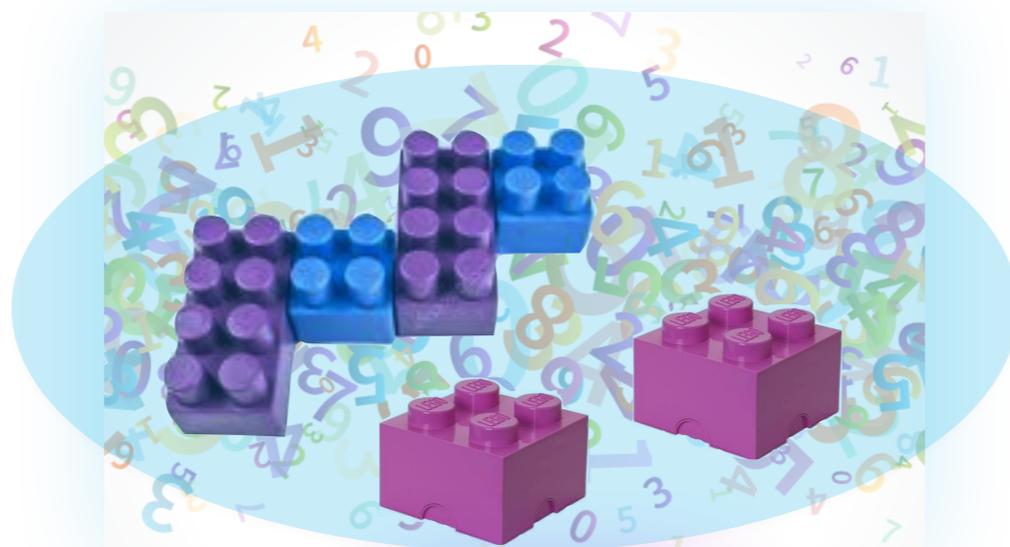
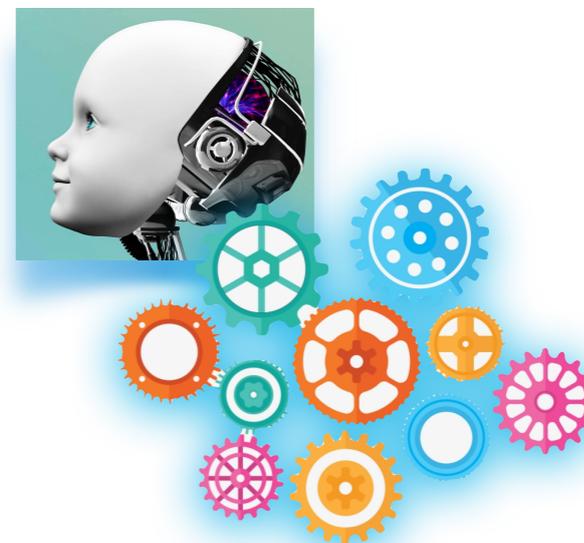
#

(<60 months)



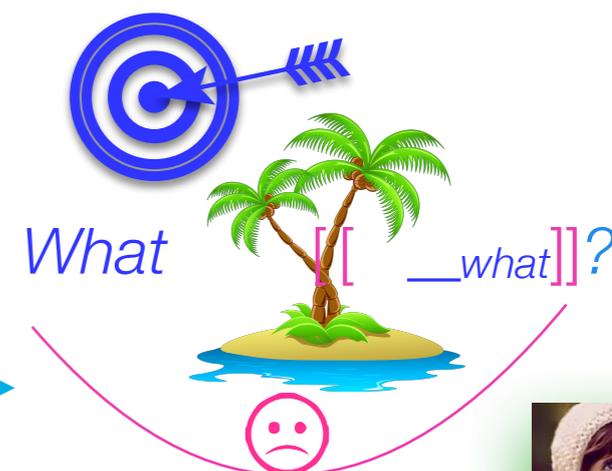
Children begin to represent the full structure of *wh*-dependencies (e.g., *wh*-questions and relative clauses) around **18 months**: Perkins & Lidz 2021.

Evaluating the theory

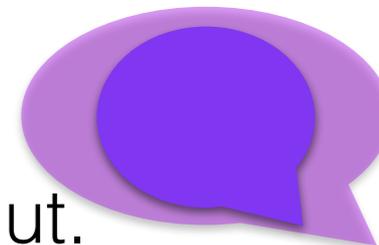
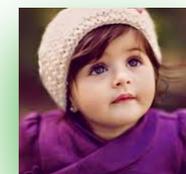


#

(18 months \leq age < 60 months)

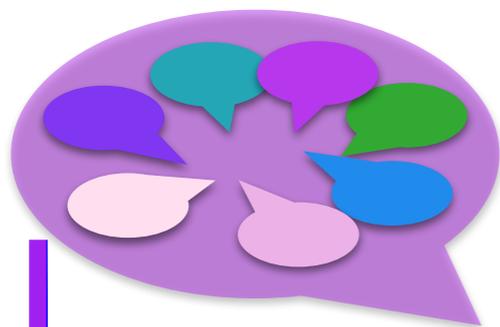
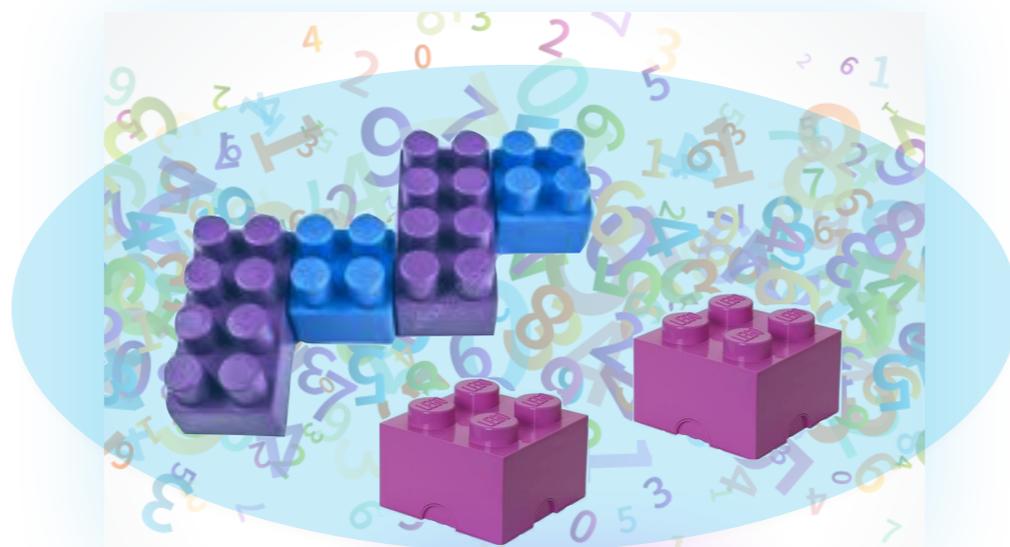
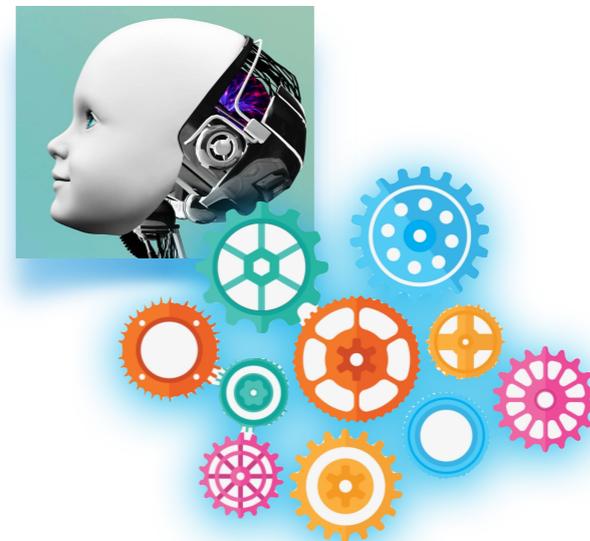


What



Educated guess: This is when children can start processing *wh-dependencies* reliably from their input.

Evaluating the theory

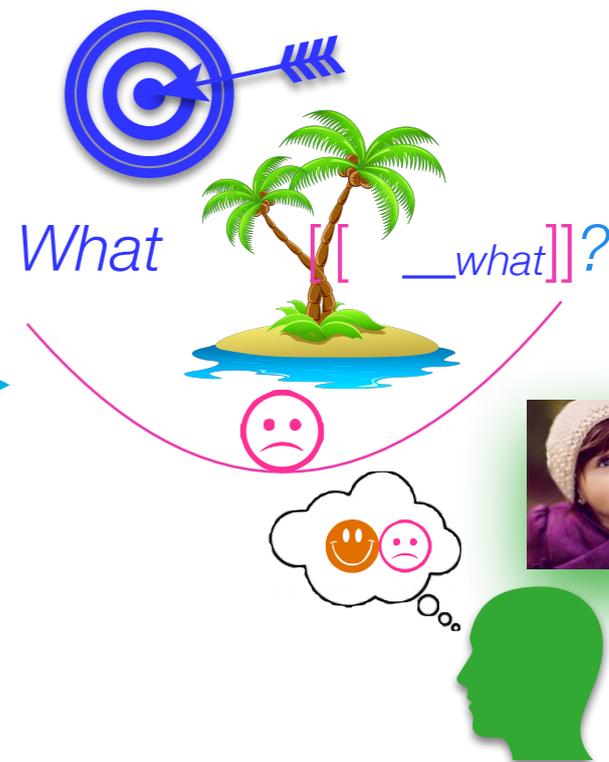


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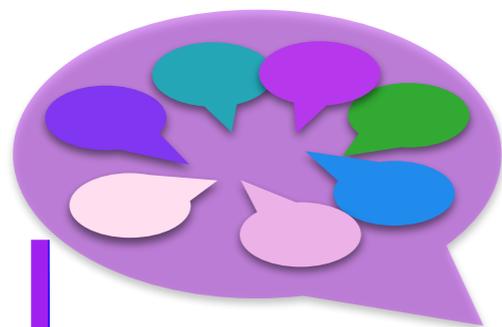
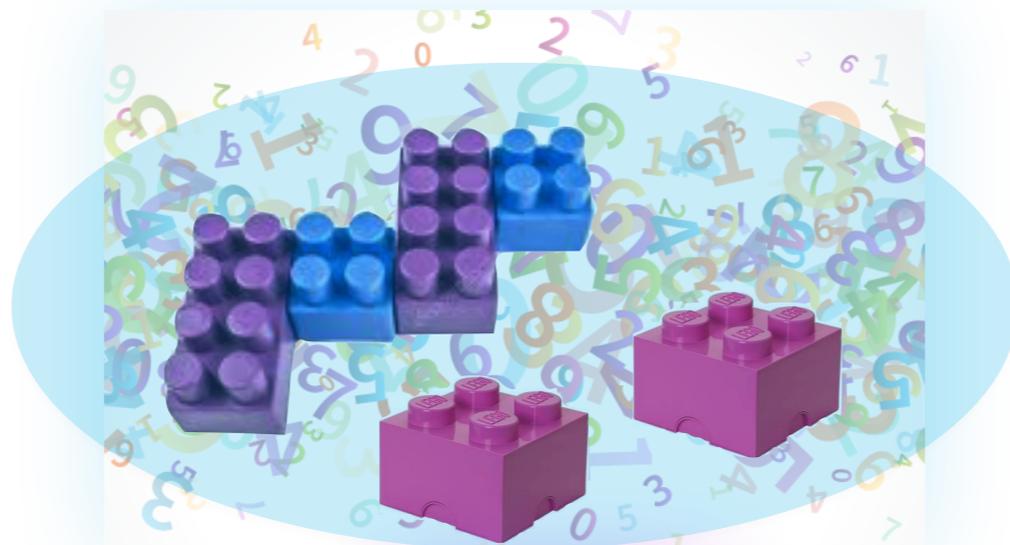
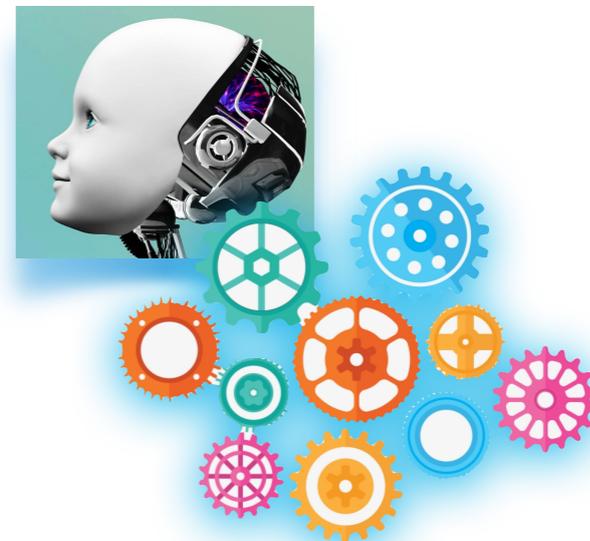
(18 months \leq age < 60 months)



How many minutes is this? In particular, children are awake for only a certain portion of the day at different ages (Davis et al. 2004).



Evaluating the theory



#

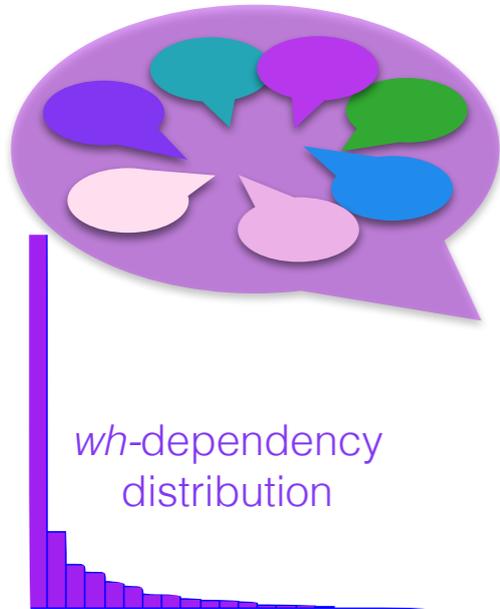
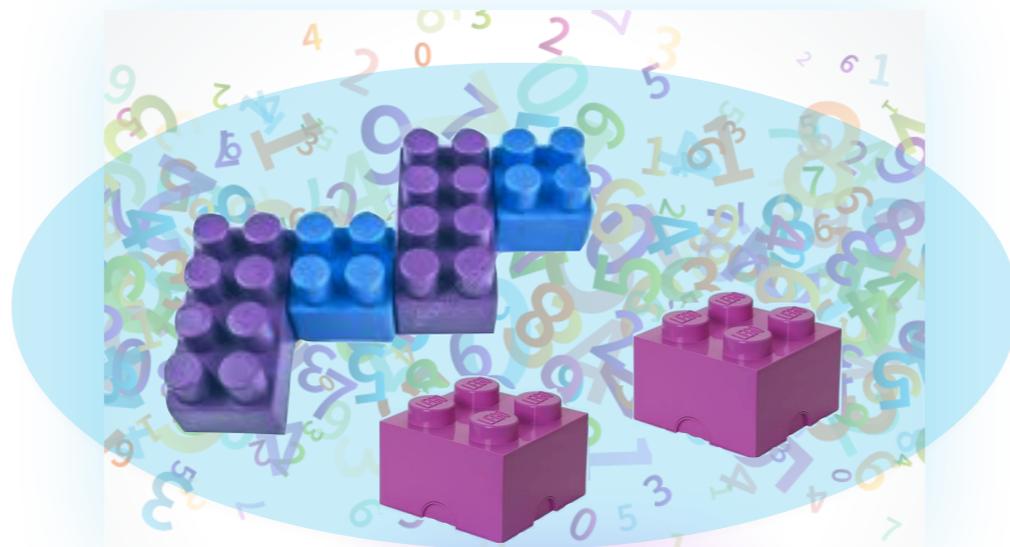
(18 months \leq age < 60 months)

How many minutes:
 $\approx 10,442,258$



What `[[__what]]`?

Evaluating the theory

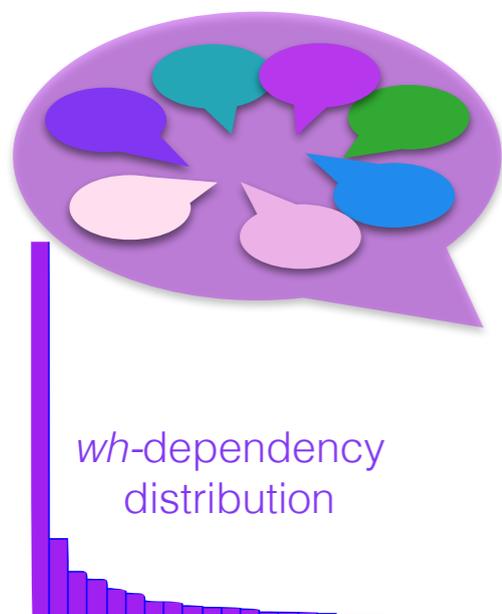
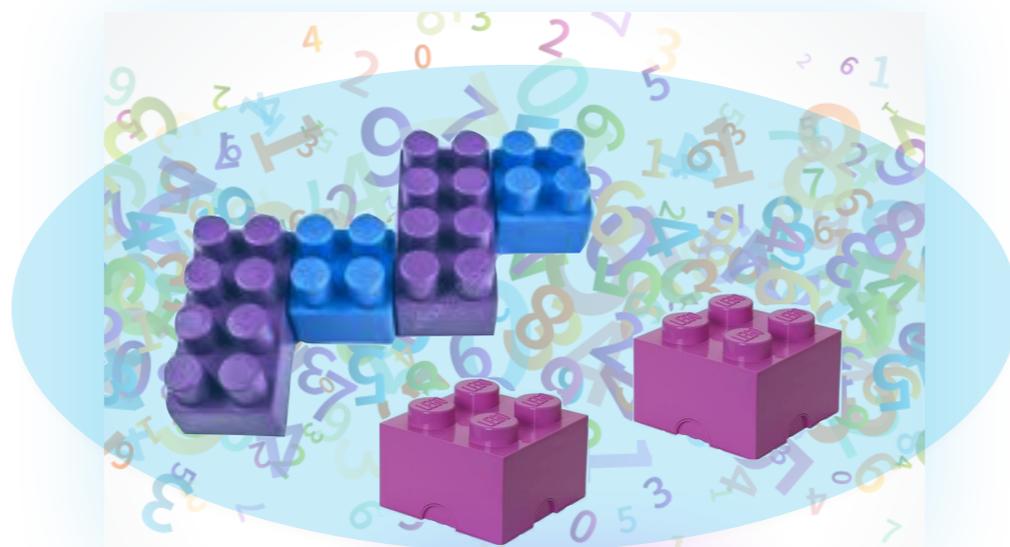
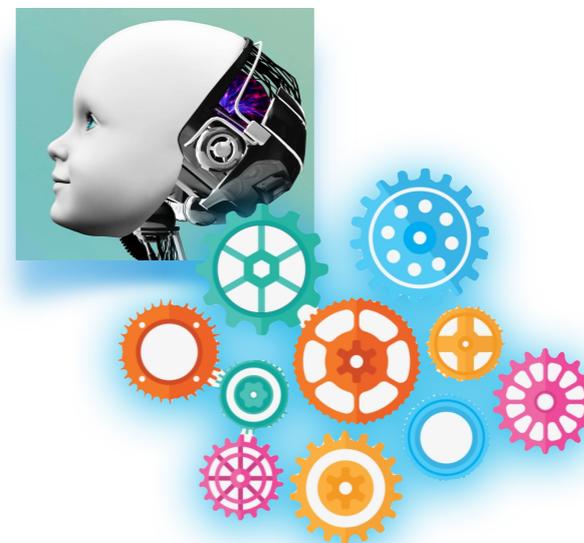


($\approx 10,442,258$ minutes)



How many *wh*-dependencies is this? #

Evaluating the theory

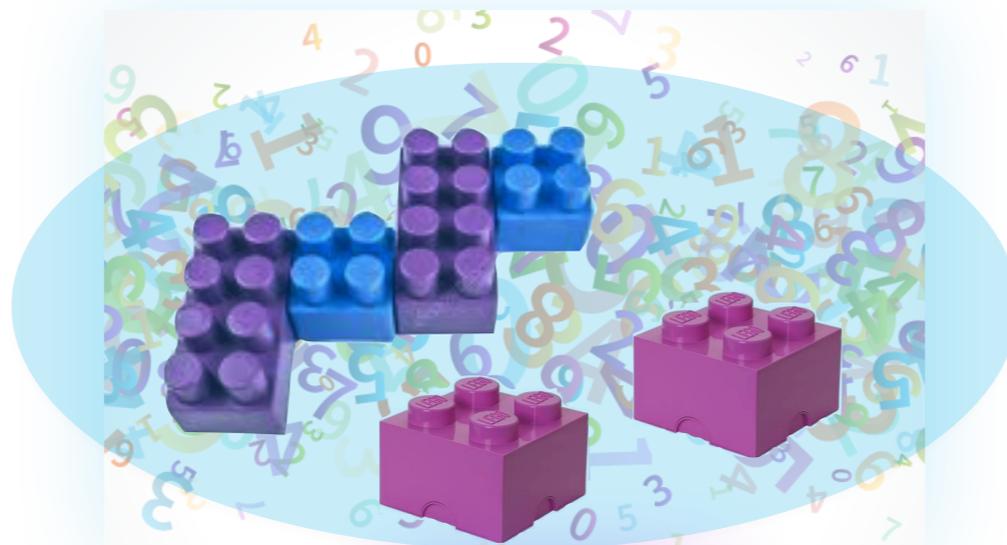


($\approx 10,442,258$ minutes)



Hoff-Ginsberg (1998) and Rowe (2012): #
Estimates of **utterances per minute** in speech directed at children from different backgrounds.

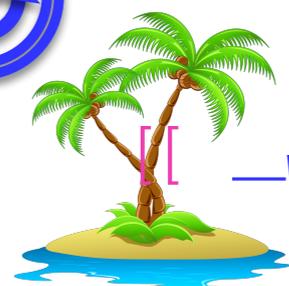
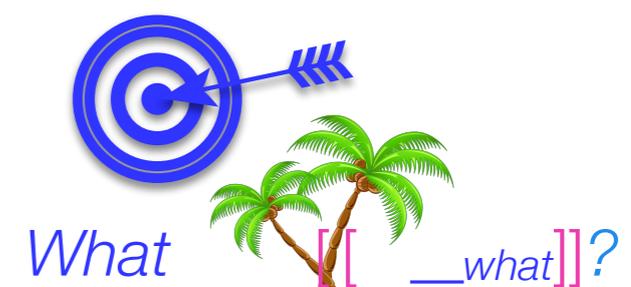
Evaluating the theory



($\approx 10,442,258$ minutes)

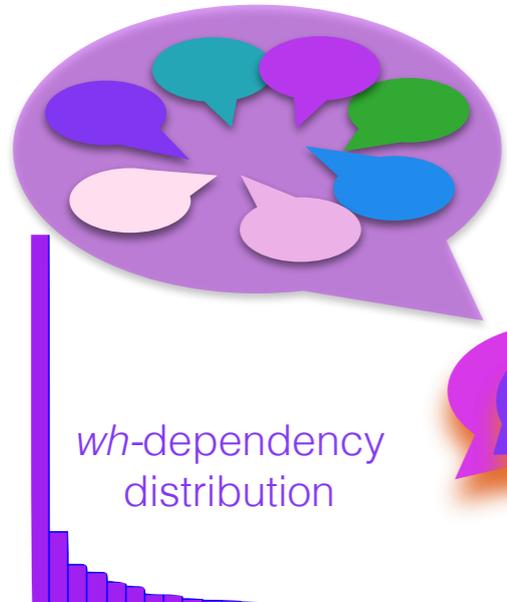
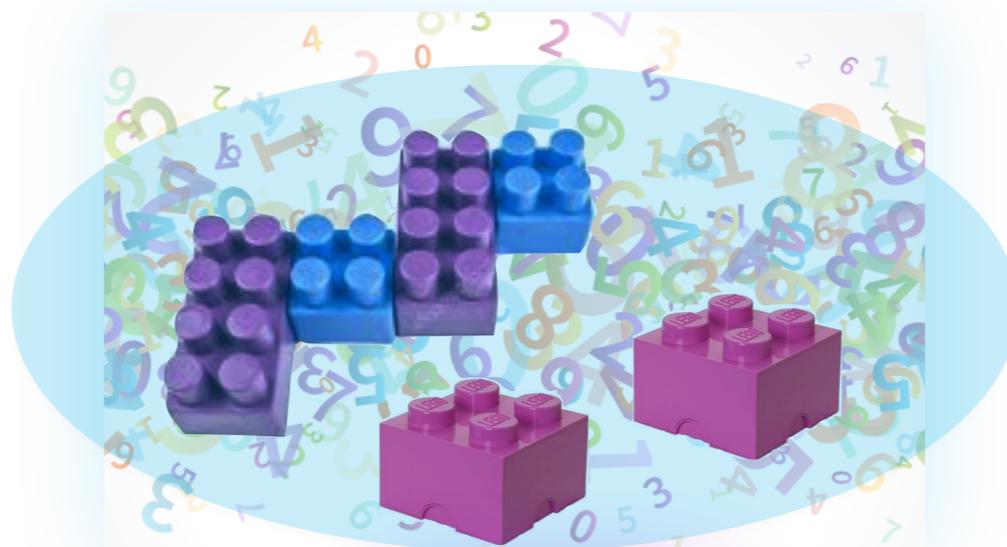
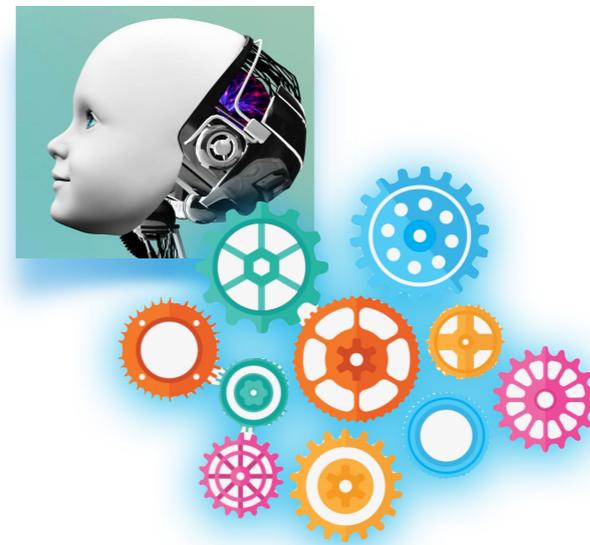


≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies

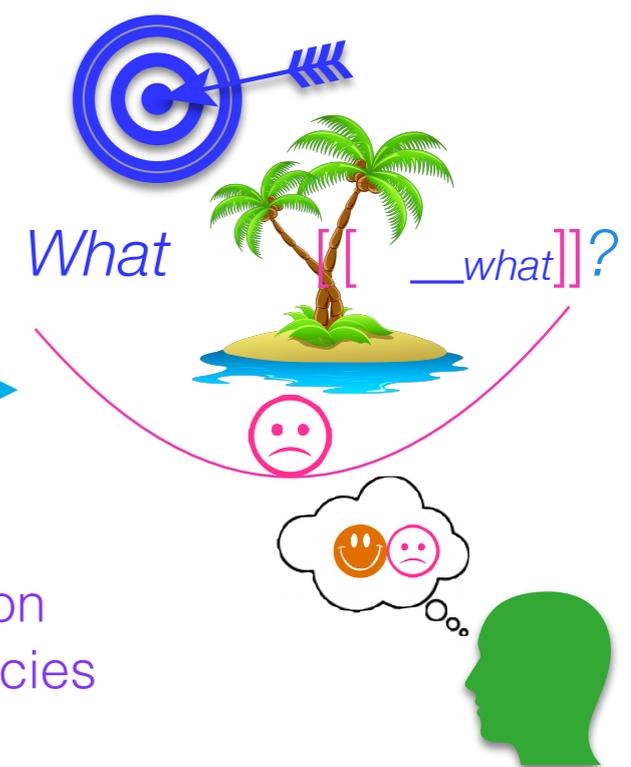


#

Evaluating the theory



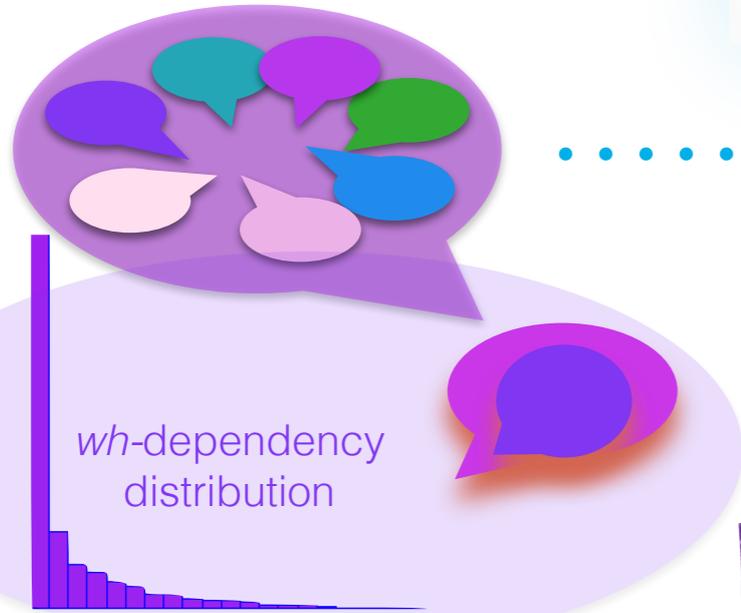
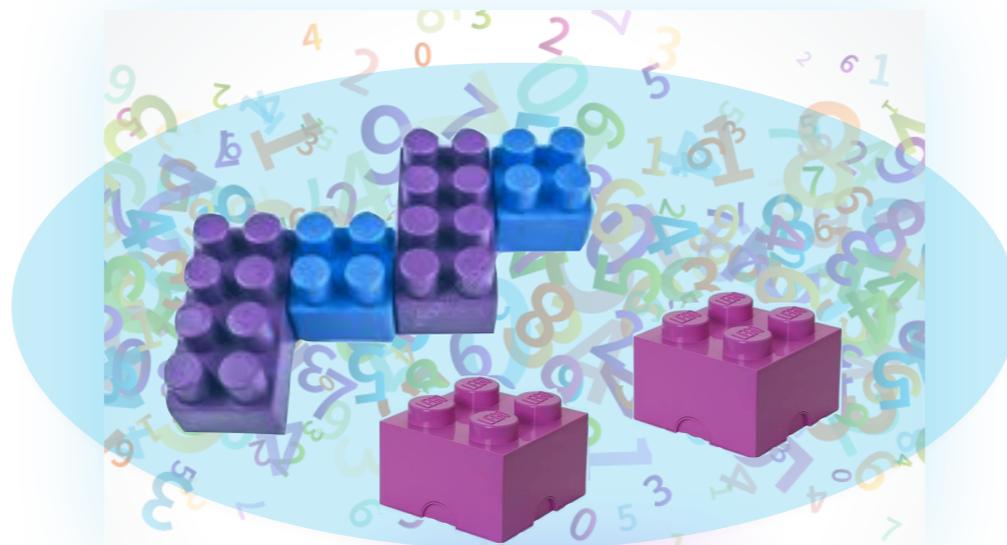
≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies



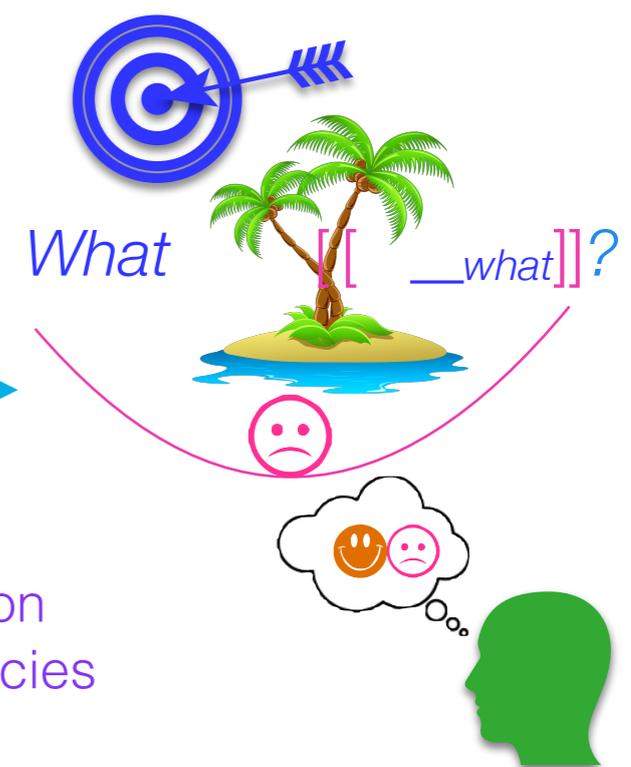
An additional wrinkle:
Children's memory isn't perfect



Evaluating the theory



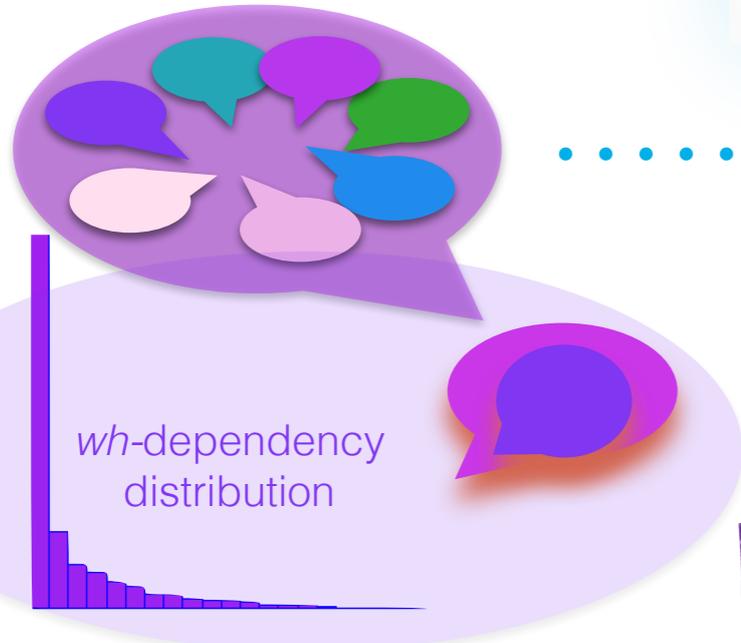
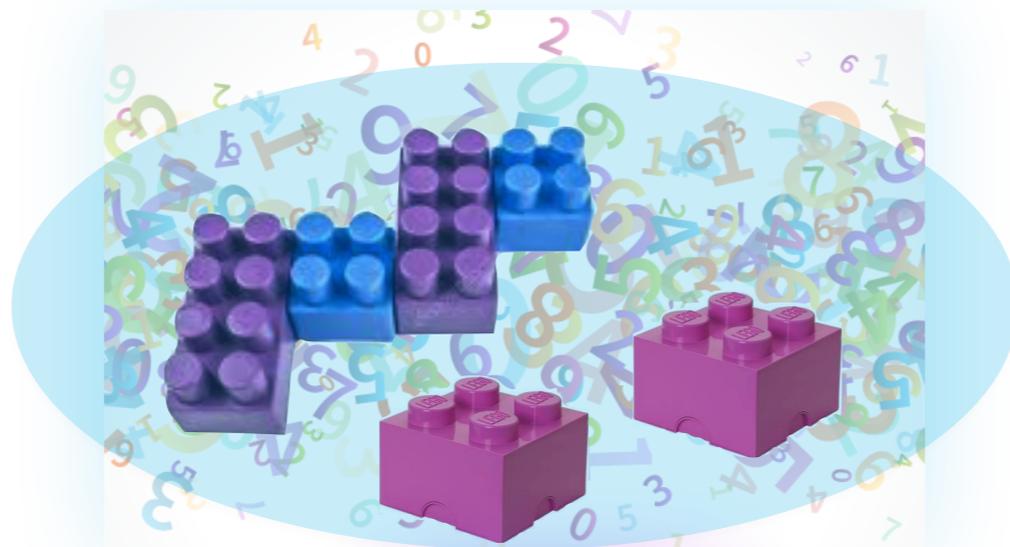
≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies



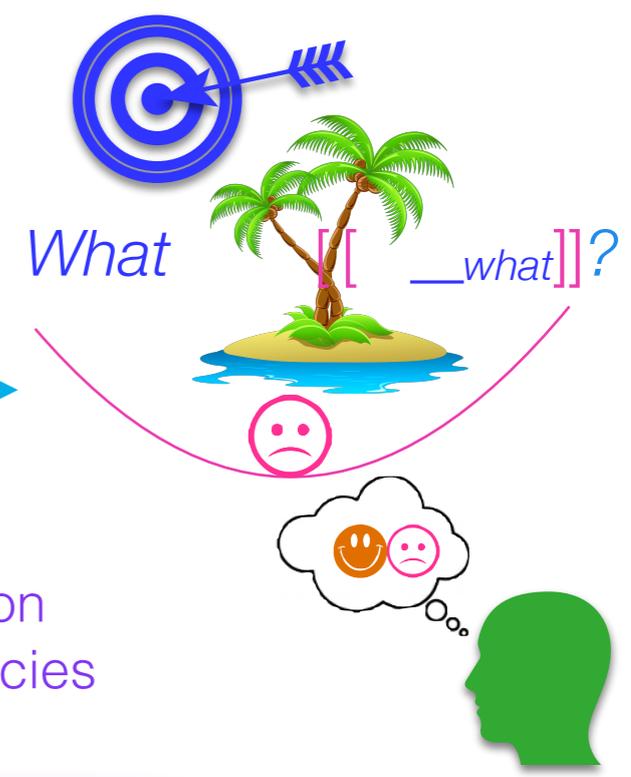
Memory is an important part of processing dependencies (McElree et al. 2003).



Evaluating the theory



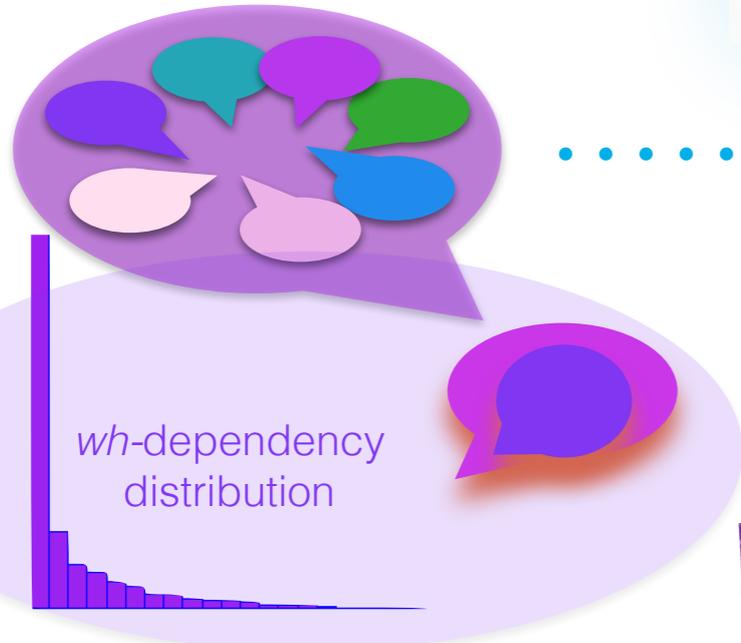
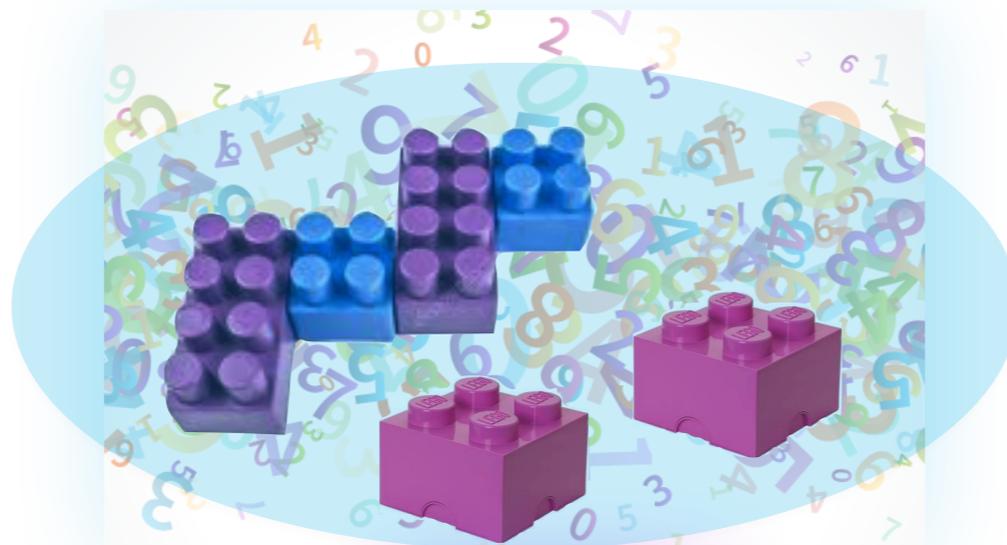
≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies



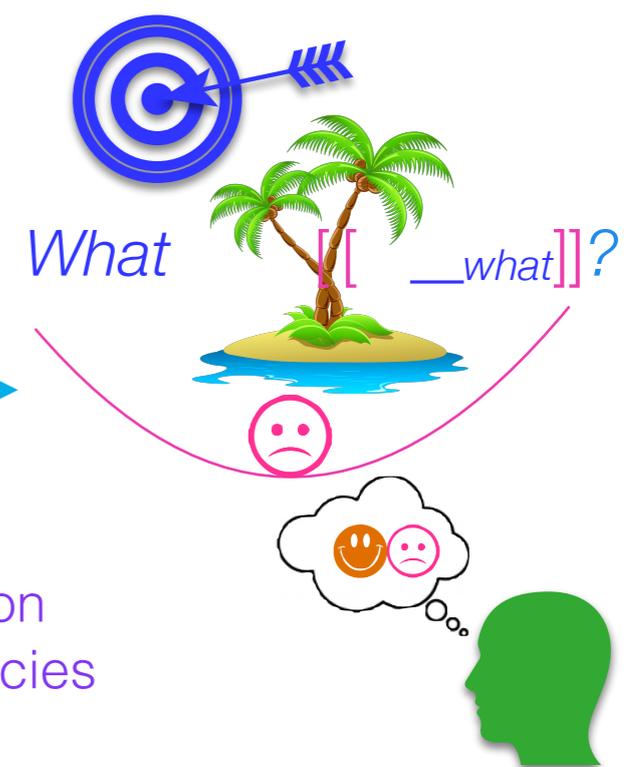
Children's short term memory, along with related abilities like encoding information with context and maintaining attention, develops over time (Paris 1978, Gathercole et al. 2004, Fandakova et al. 2014).



Evaluating the theory



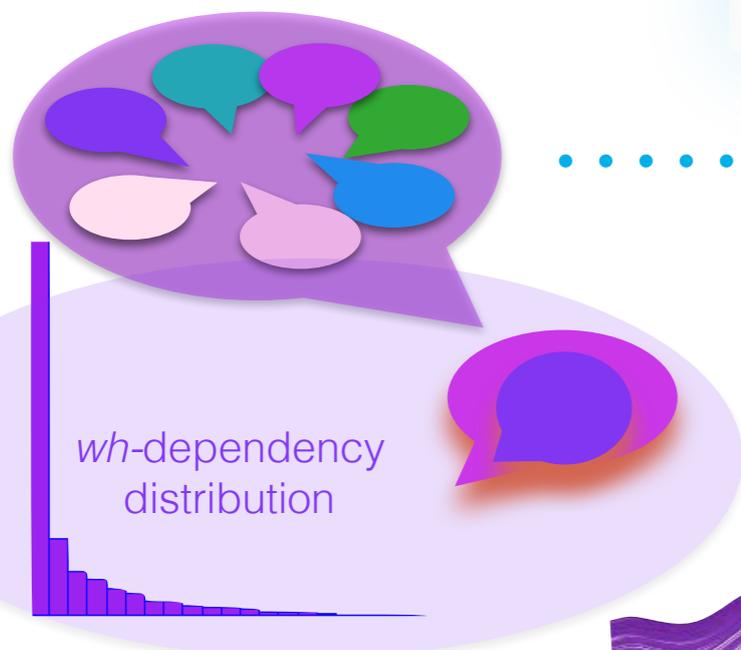
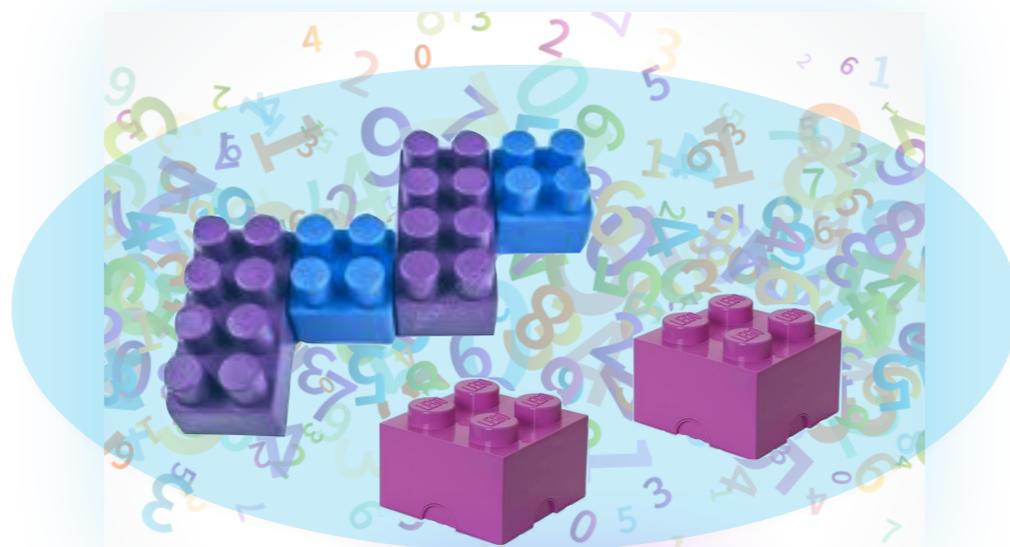
≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies



Upshot: Children might **not take in** all the *wh*-dependency distribution information in their input.



Evaluating the theory



≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies



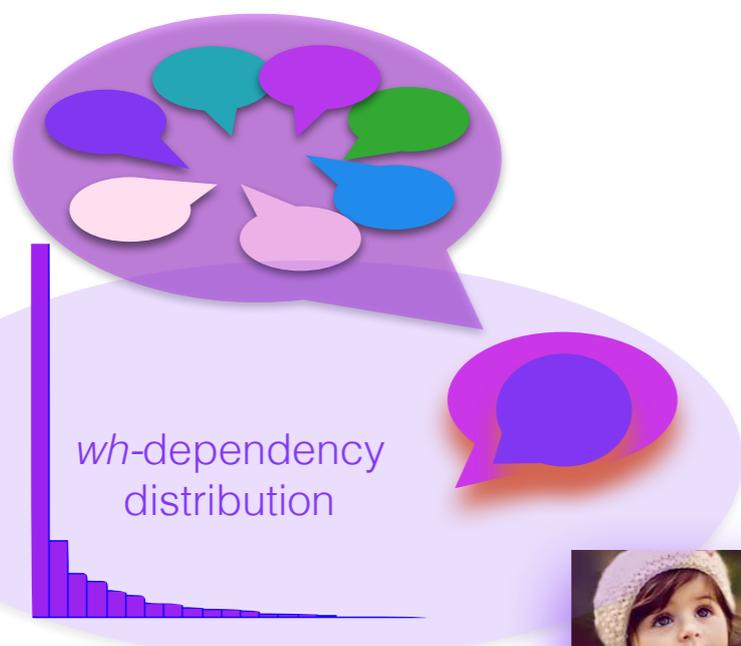
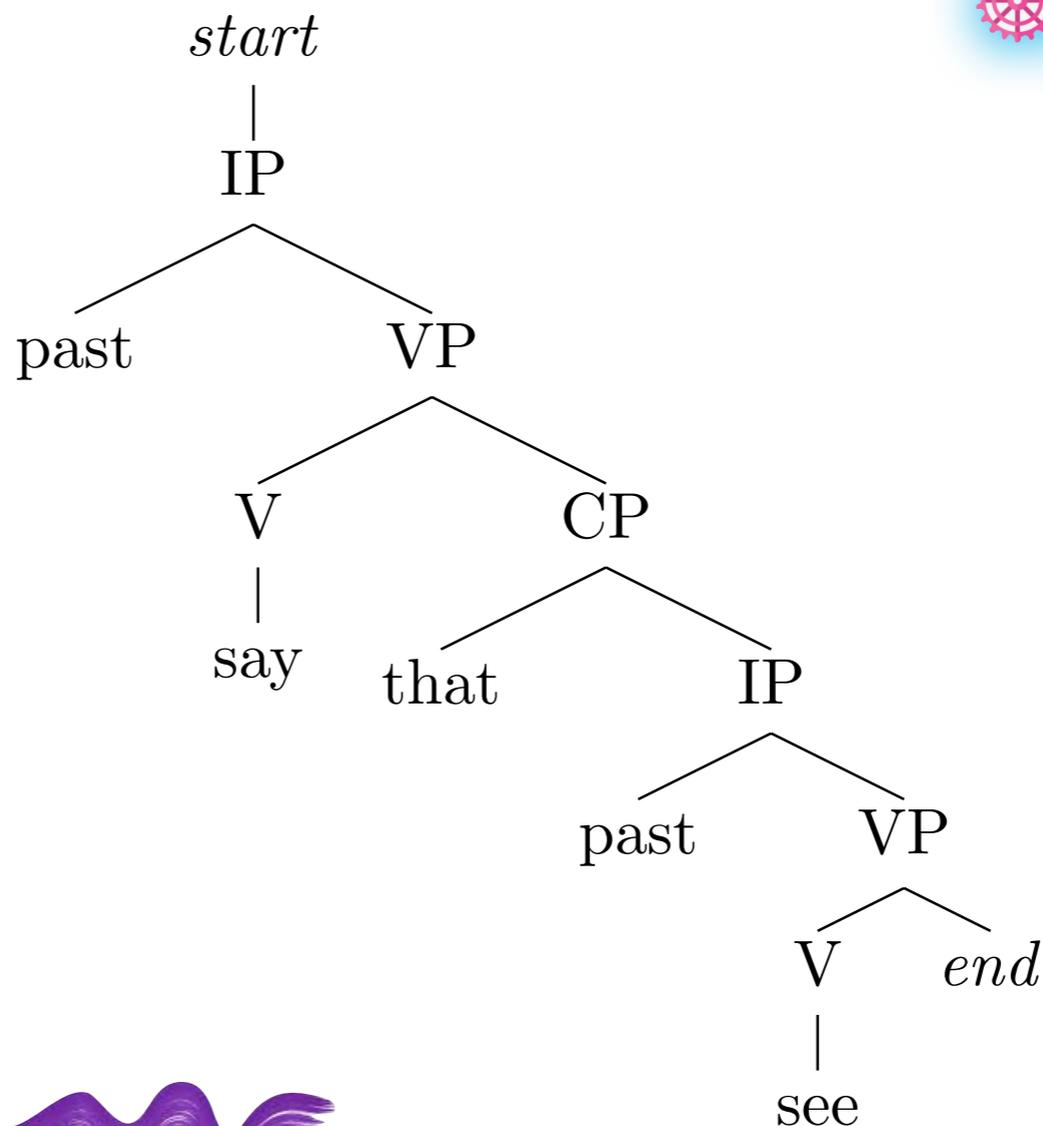
Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency
may be forgotten in the moment.



Evaluating the theory

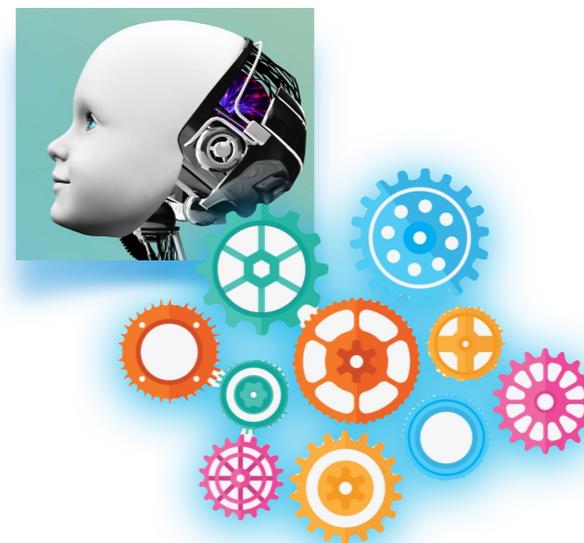


input

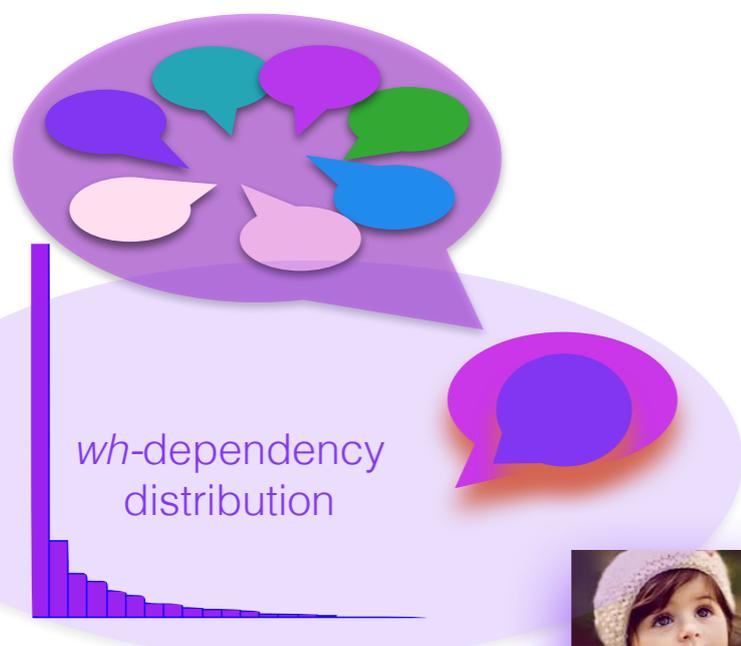
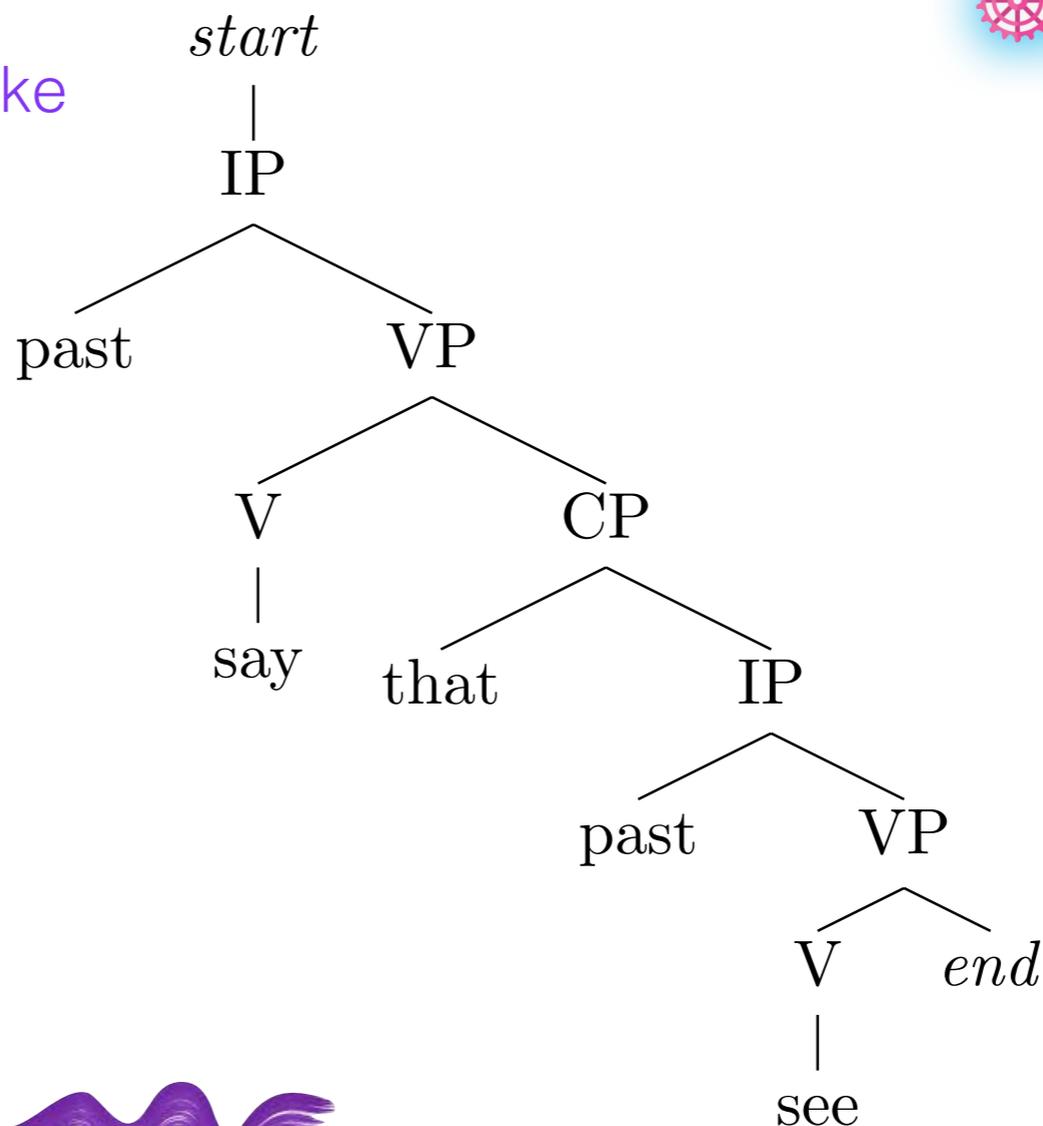


Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory

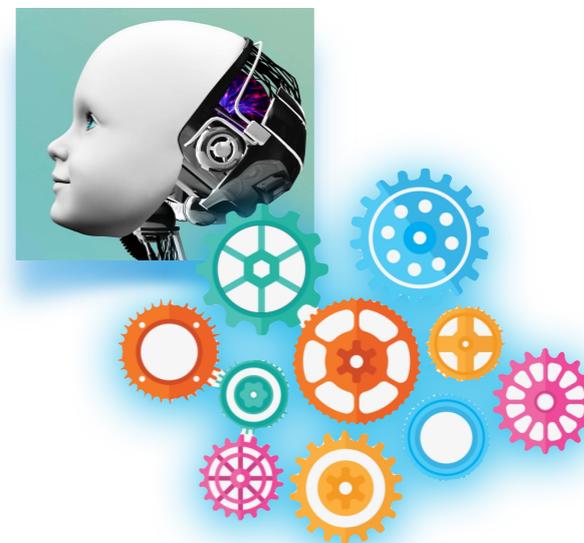


perfect intake

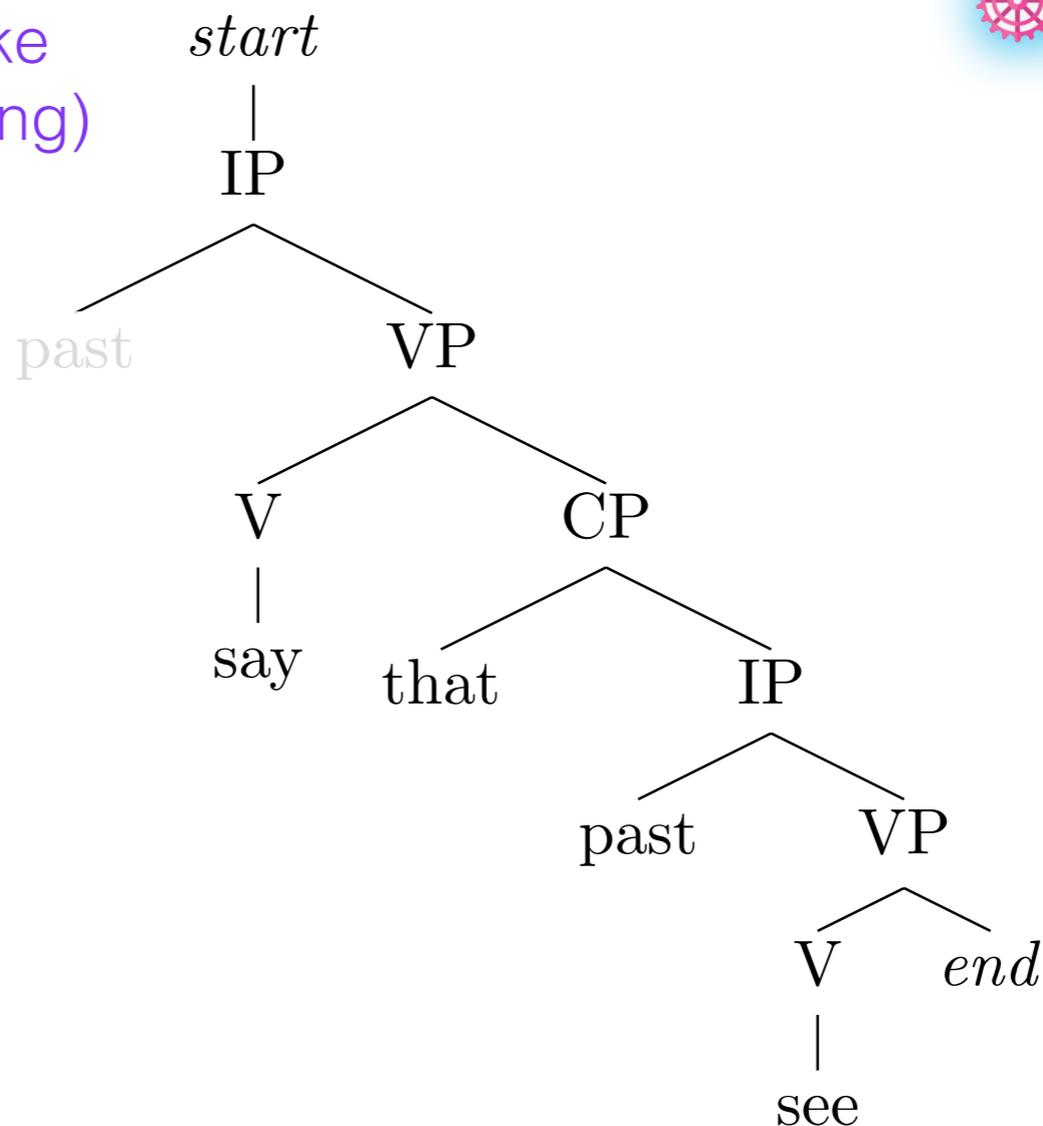


Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory




imperfect intake
(a little forgetting)

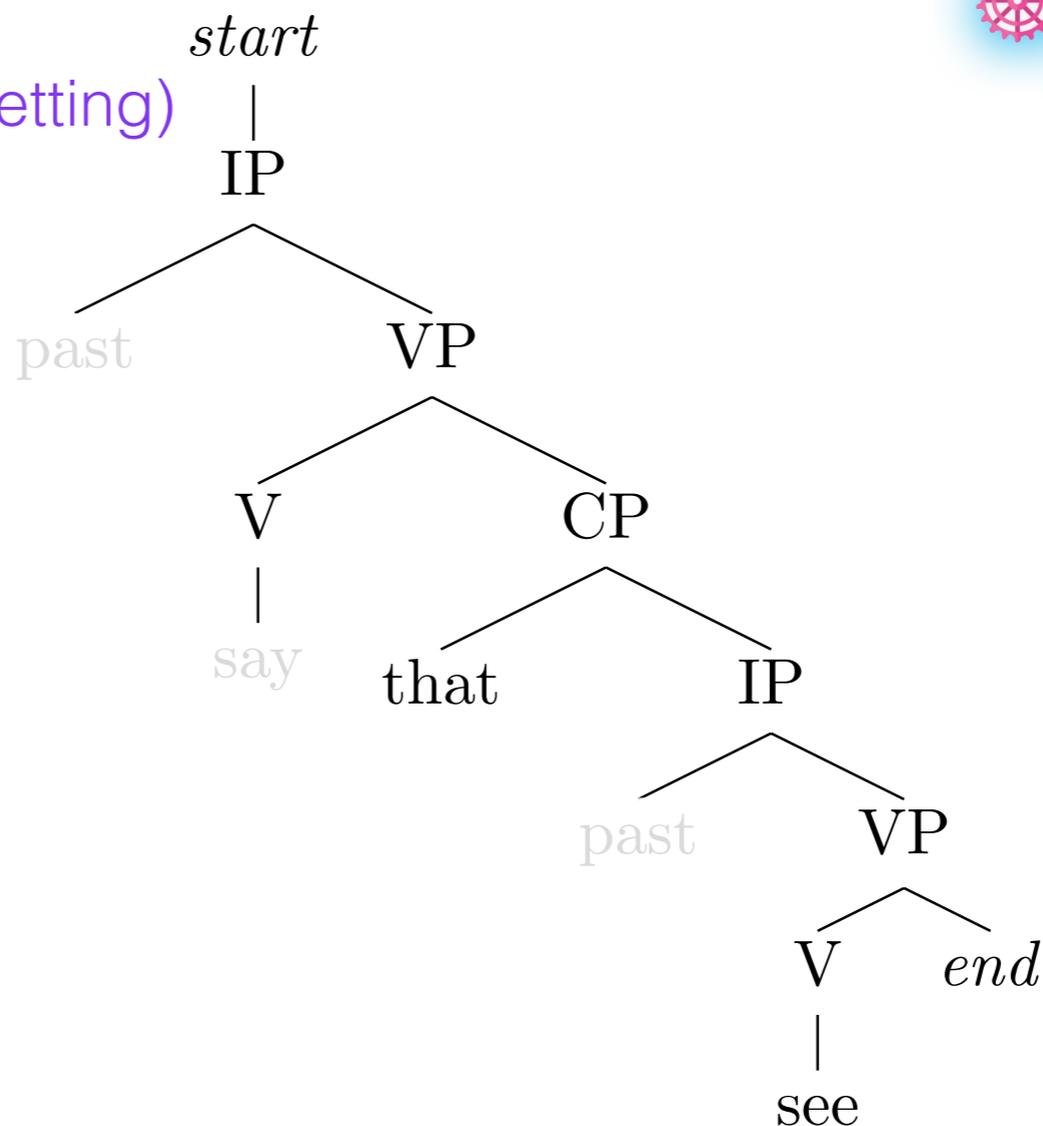


Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory

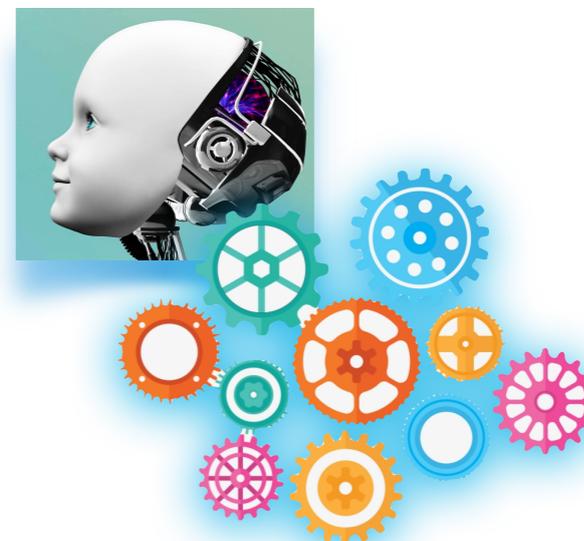


imperfect intake
(a little more forgetting)

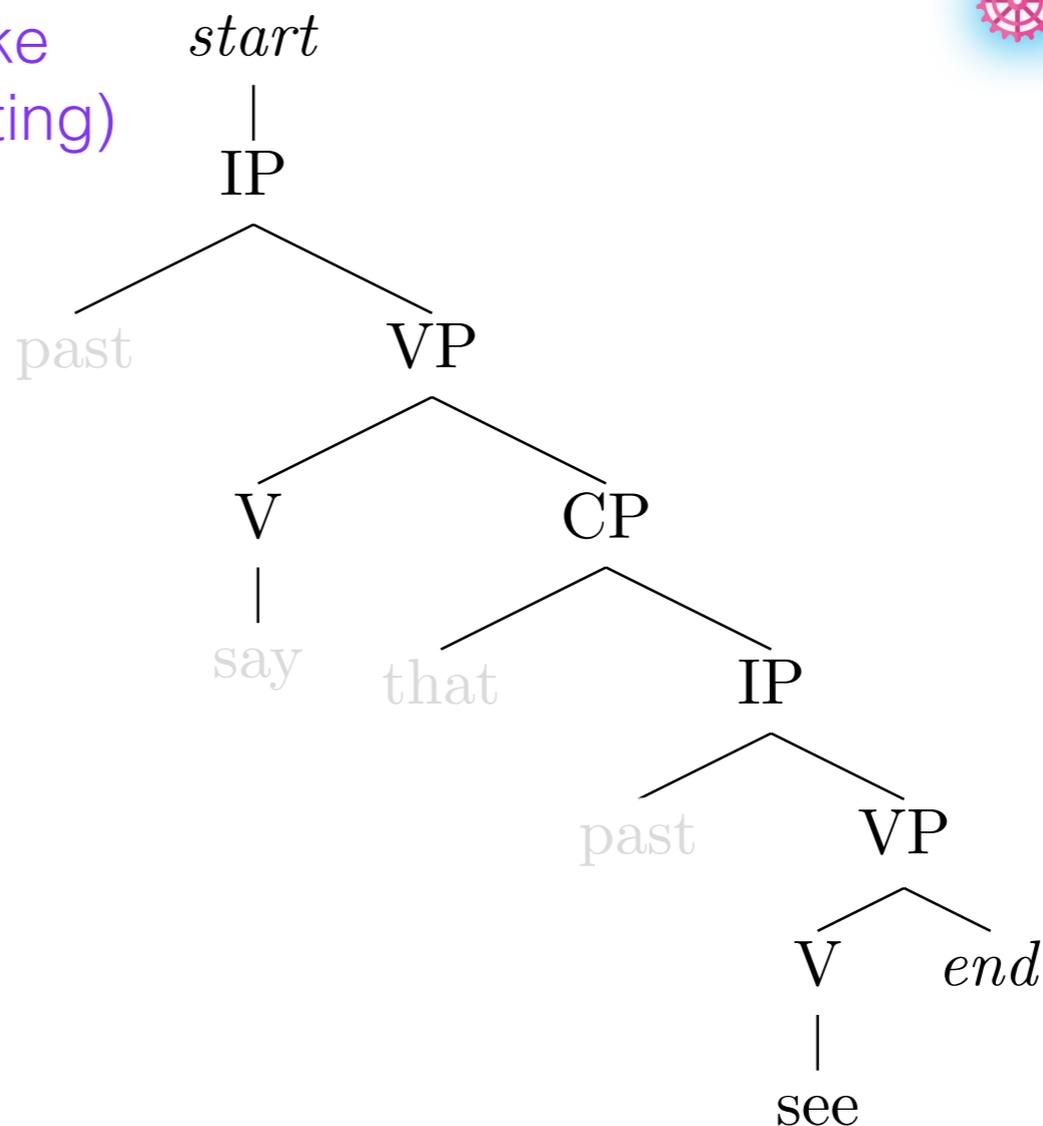


Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory

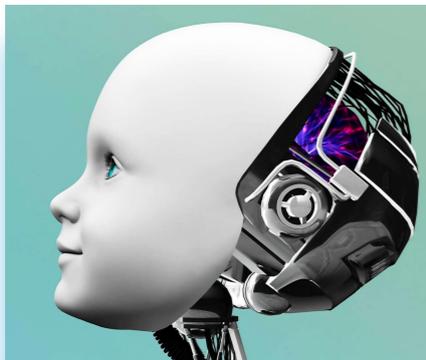



imperfect intake
(a lot of forgetting)

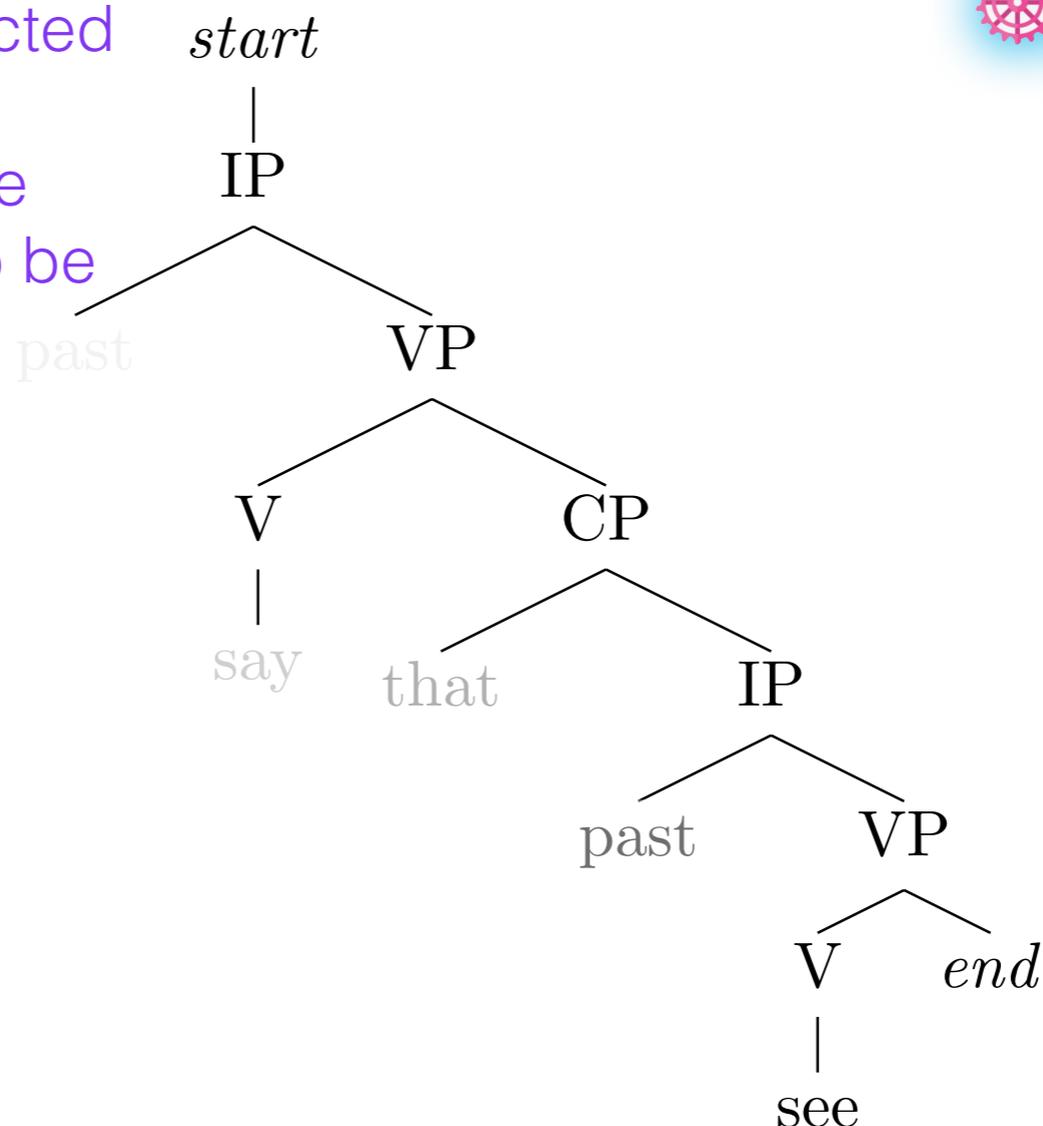


Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory

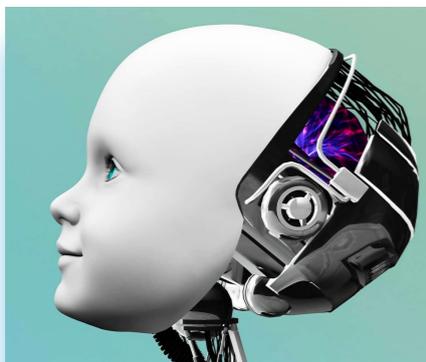


We can investigate memory-impacted learners with a **recency effect** (Anderson & Milson 1989), where more recent information is more likely to be remembered.



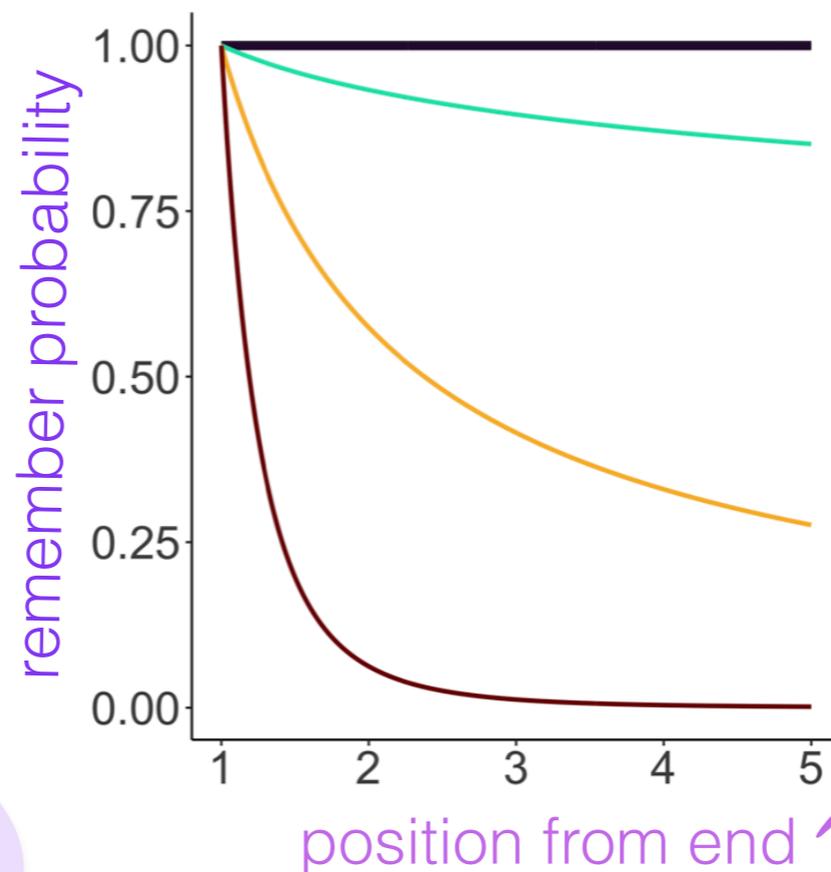
Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory

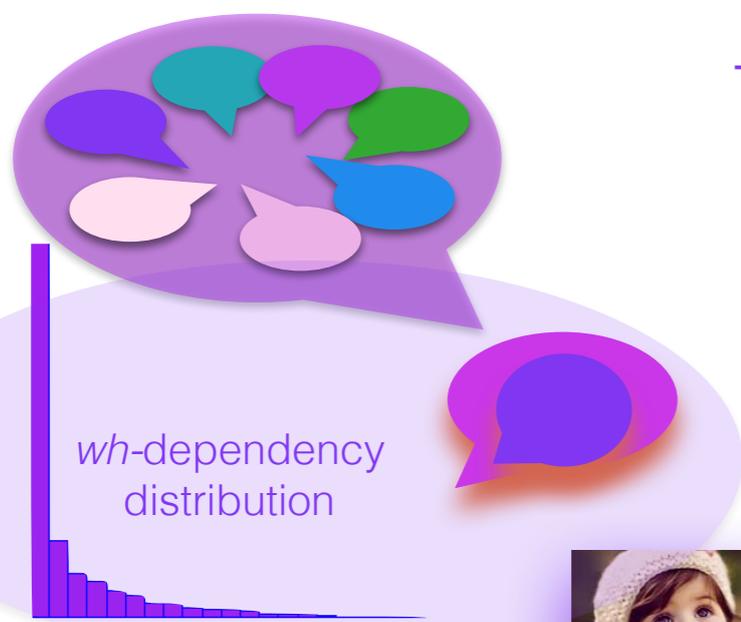
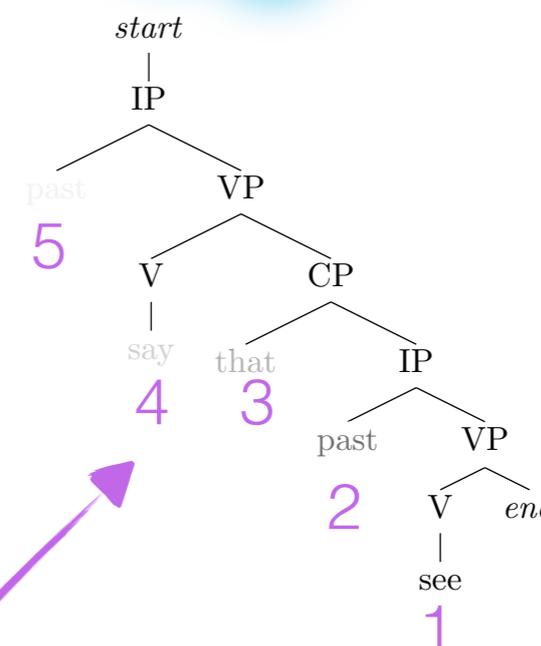


Anderson & Milson 1989

$$\frac{1}{(position + 1)^\alpha}$$

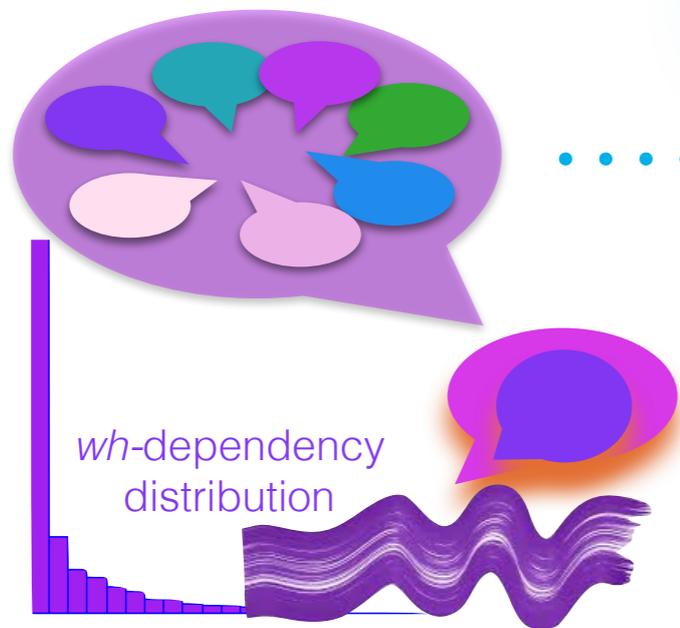
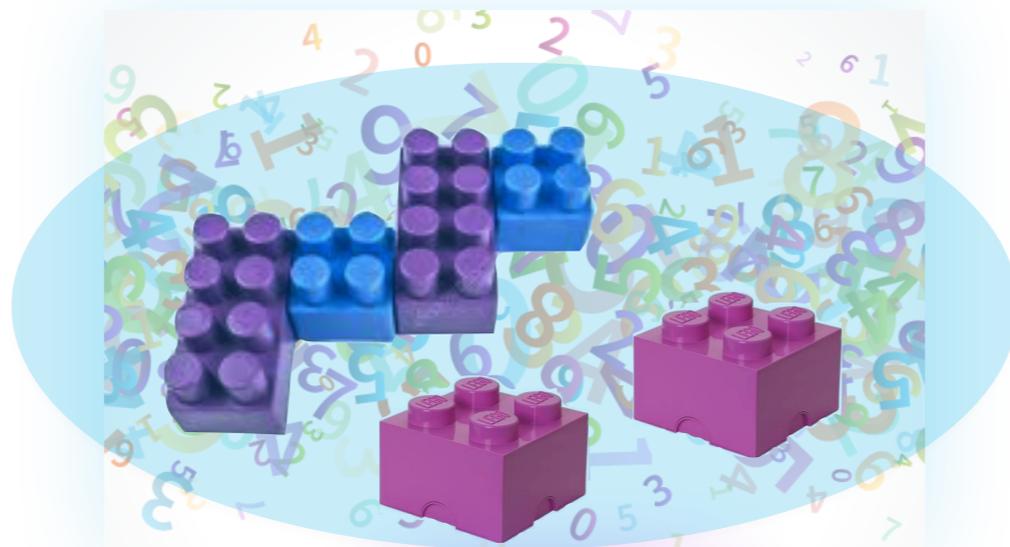
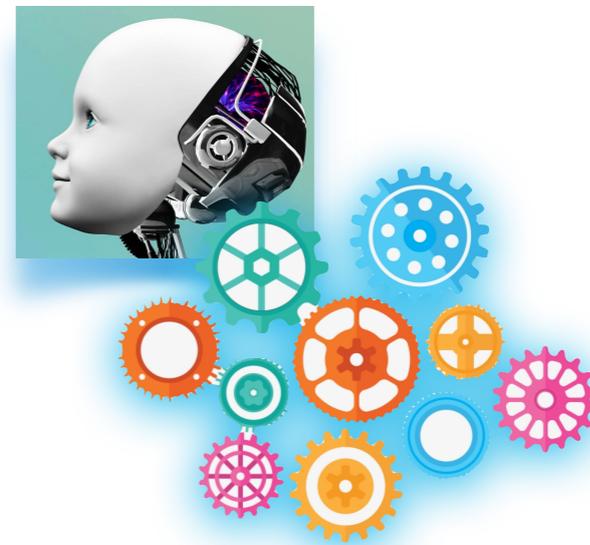


α
alpha
— 0
— 0.1
— 0.8
— 4



Learner intake:
Some parts of any particular *wh*-dependency may be forgotten in the moment.

Evaluating the theory

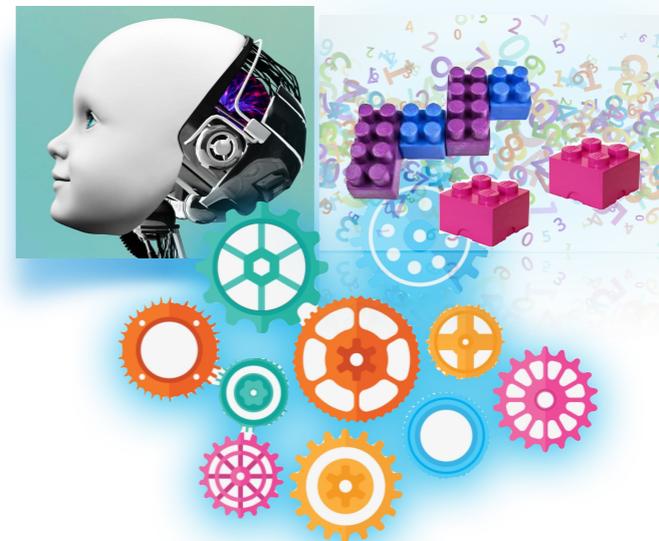


≈ 2.15 million
wh-dependencies



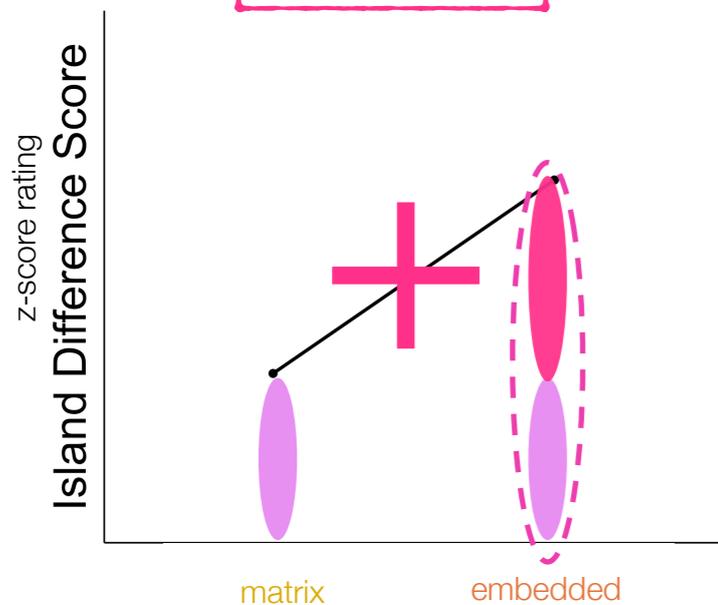
Can the modeled learner produce the appropriate observable behavior?

Evaluating the theory

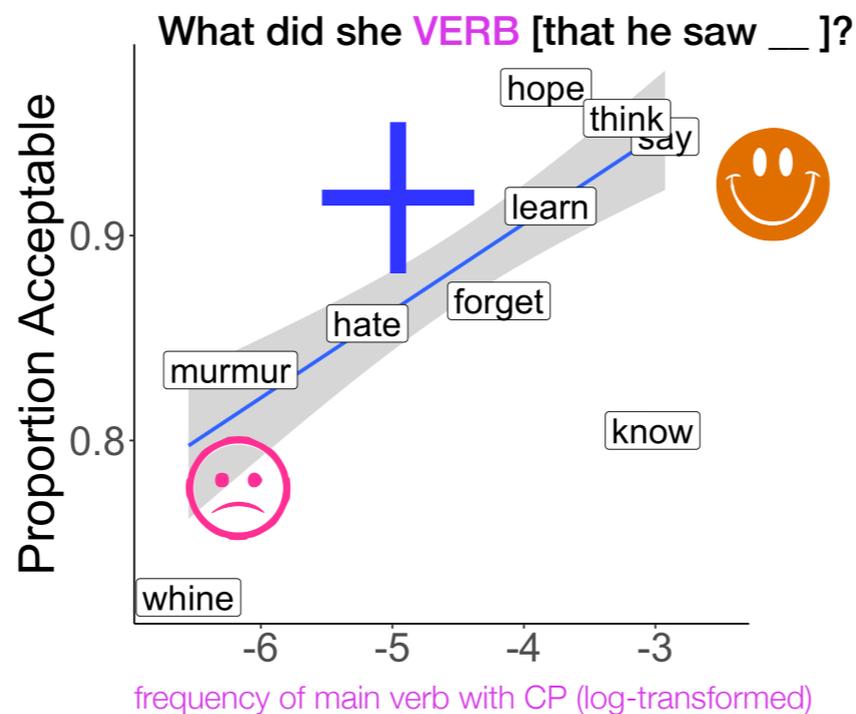


Reminder: Target behavior

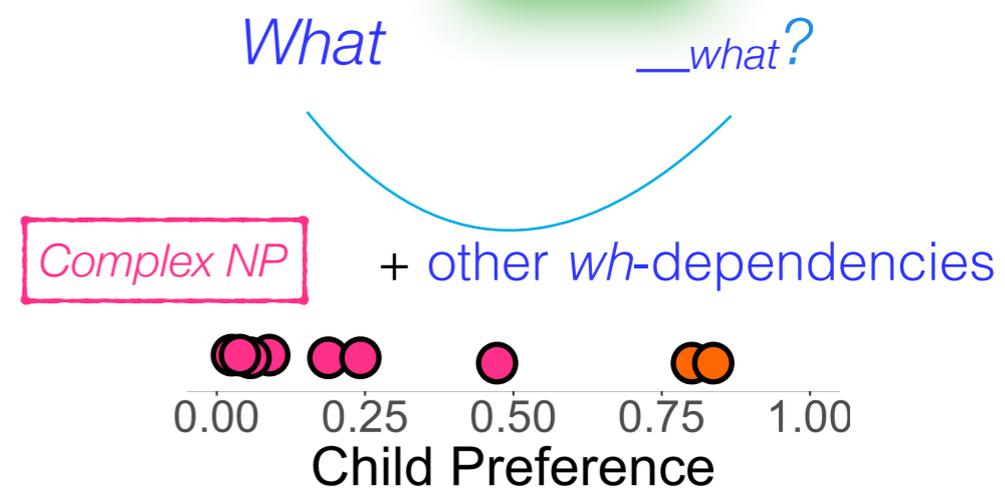
- Subject island
- Complex NP island
- Whether island
- Adjunct island



Sprouse et al. 2012

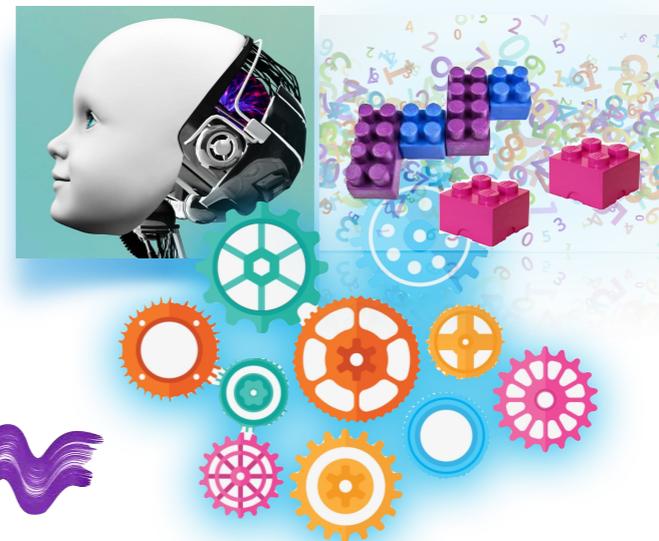


Liu et al. 2019, 2022

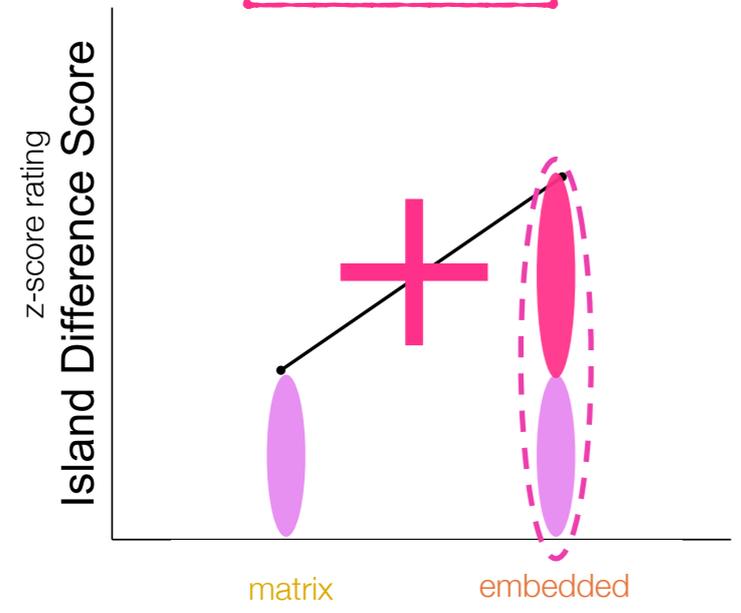
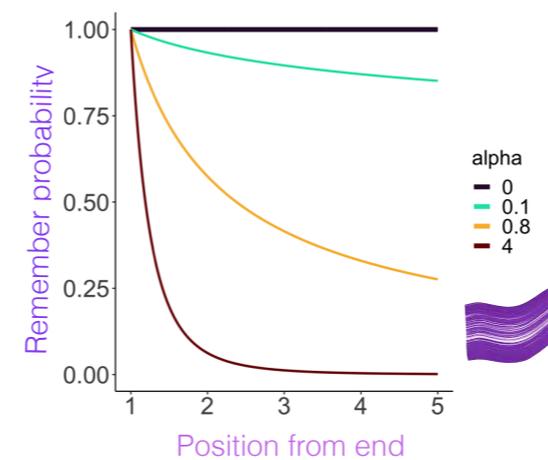


De Villiers et al. 2008

Evaluating the theory

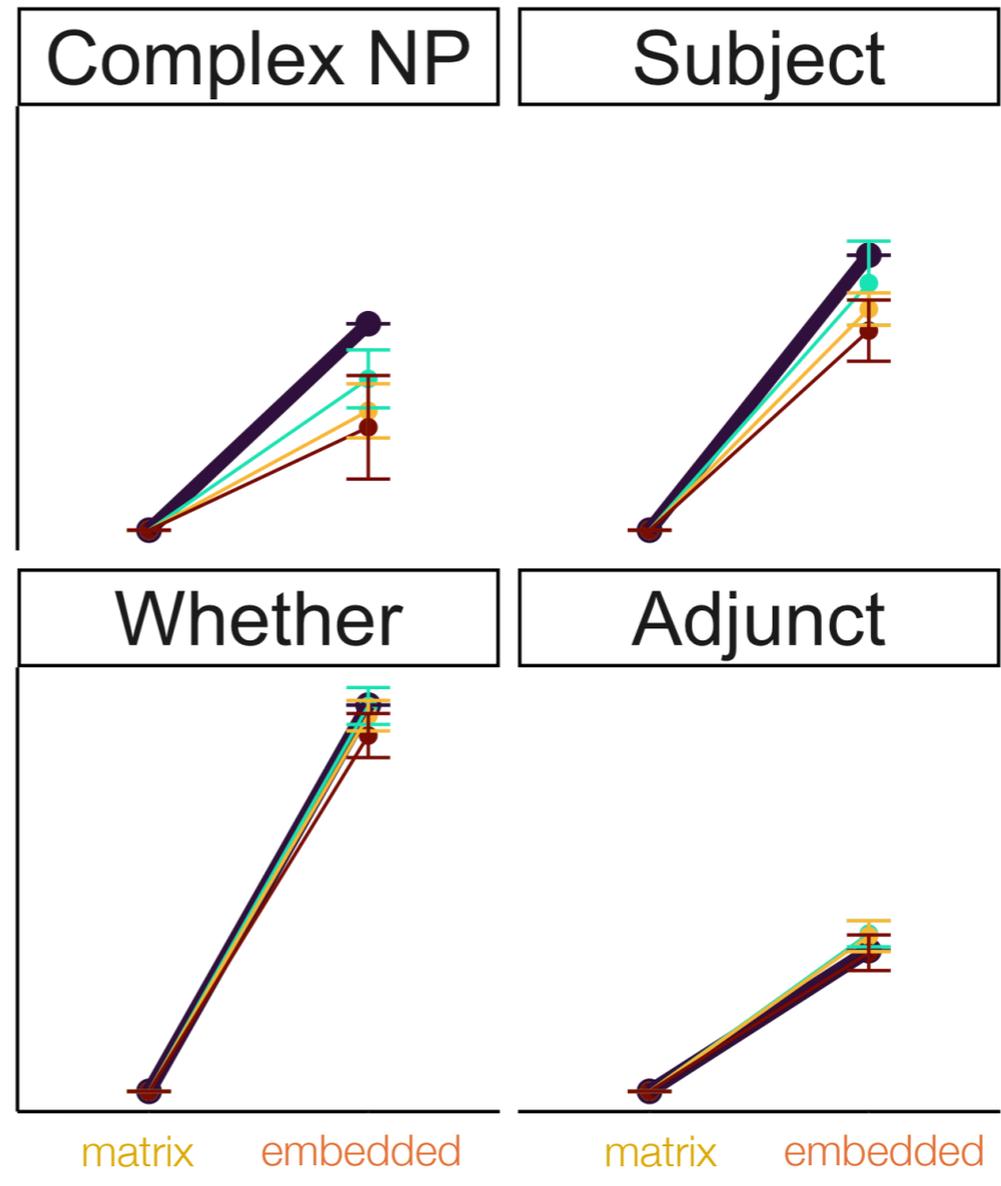


- Subject island
- Complex NP island
- Whether island
- Adjunct island



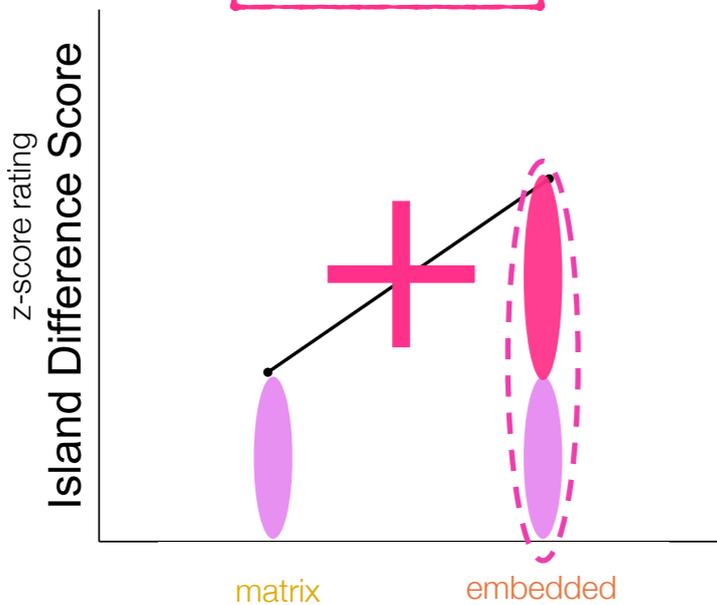
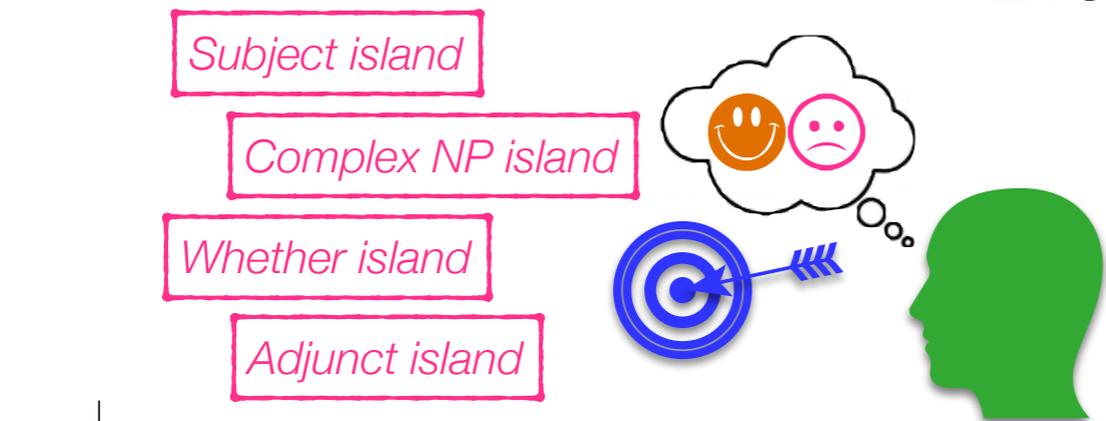
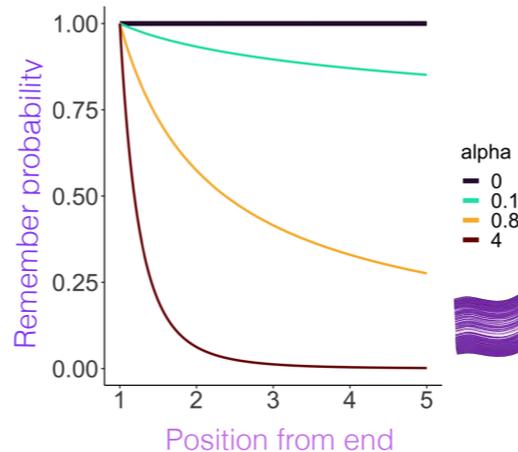
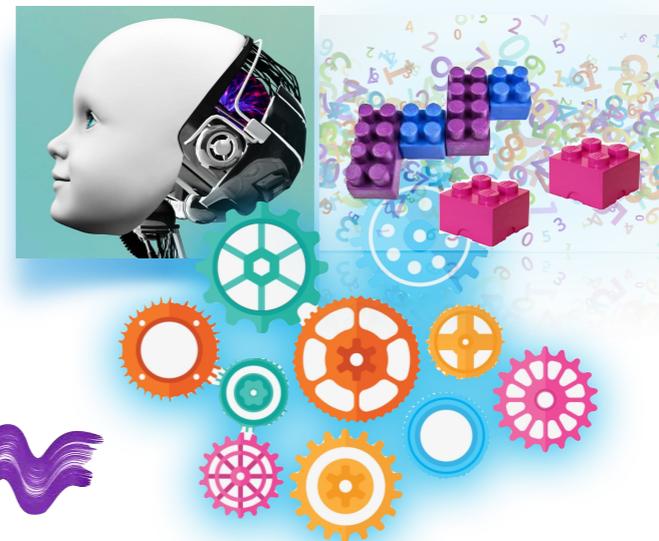
Sprouse et al. 2012

modeled learner (log) probability



- % Forgotten
- 0%
- 9%
- 52%
- 96%

Evaluating the theory

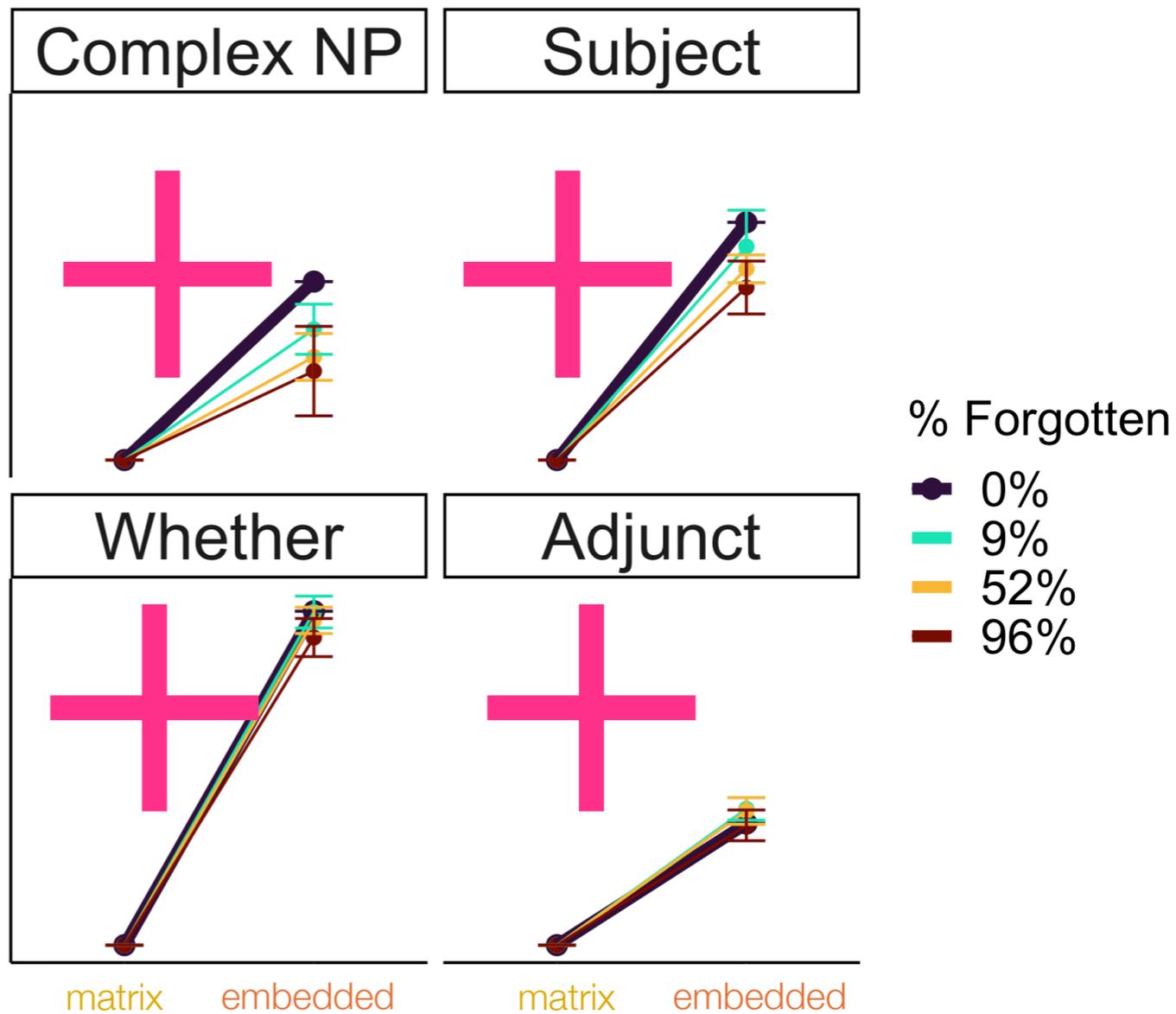


Sprouse et al. 2012

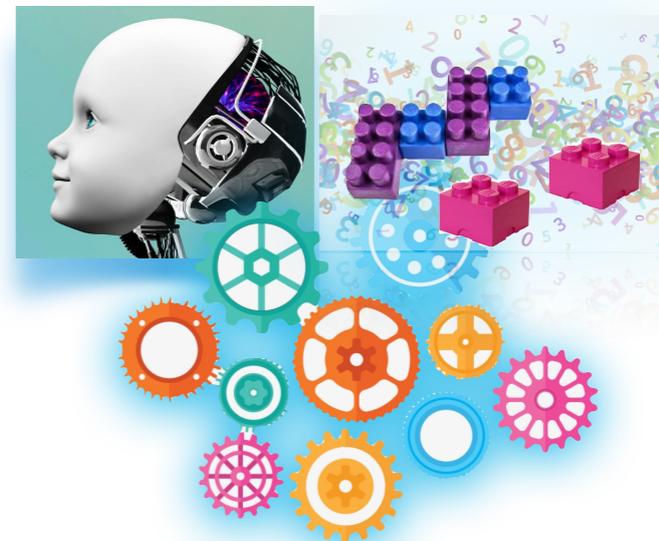


modeled learner (log) probability

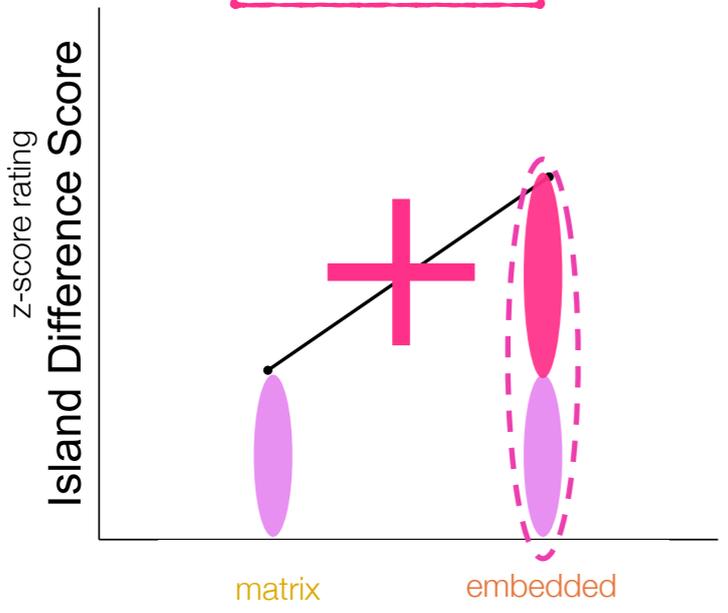
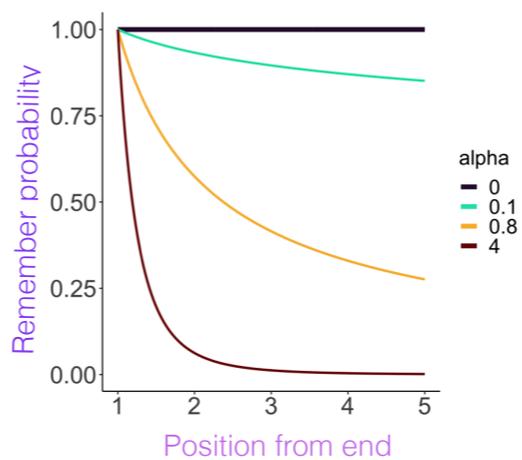
The modeled learners can predict the observed pattern (positive slope = "island difference").



Evaluating the theory



- Subject island
- Complex NP island
- Whether island
- Adjunct island



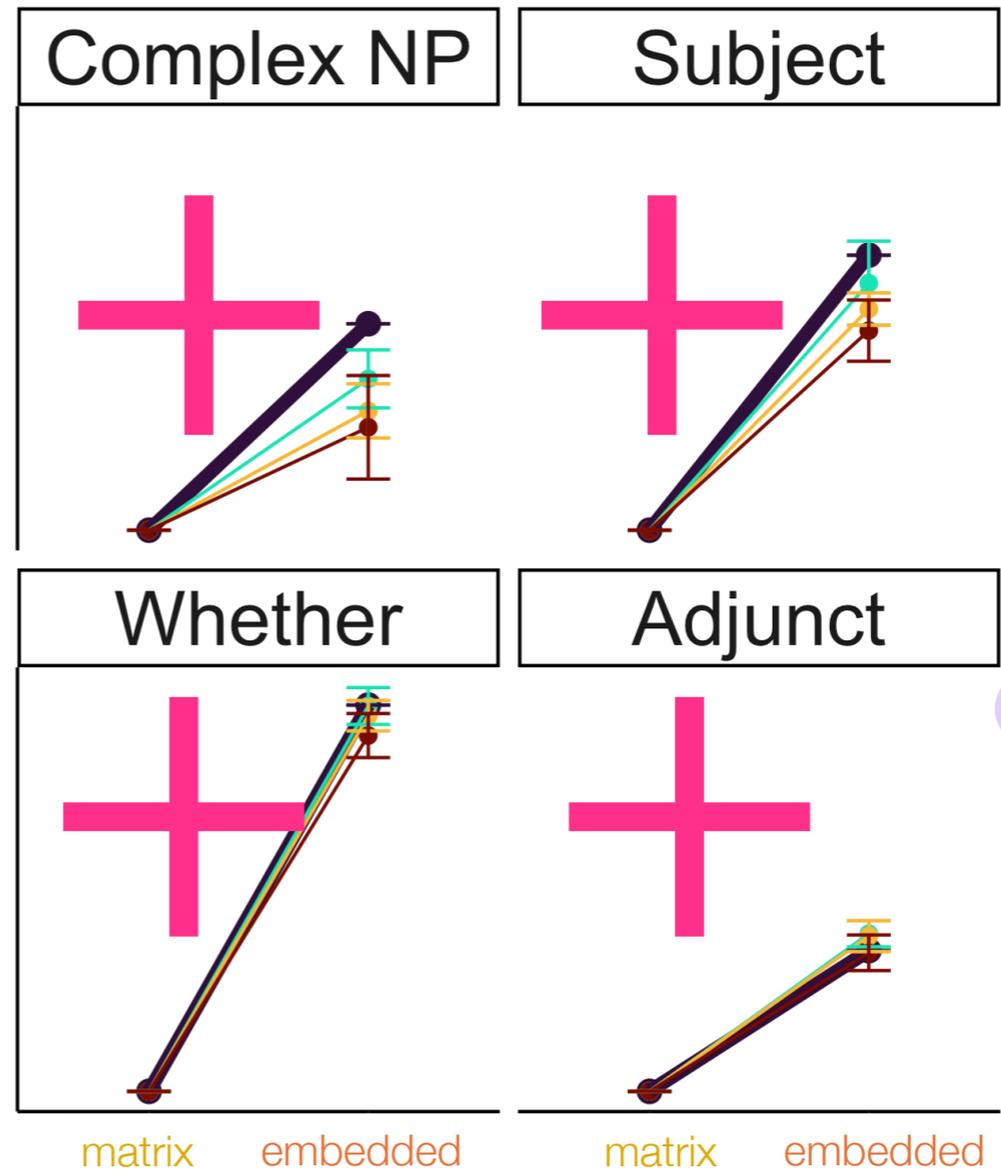
Sprouse et al. 2012



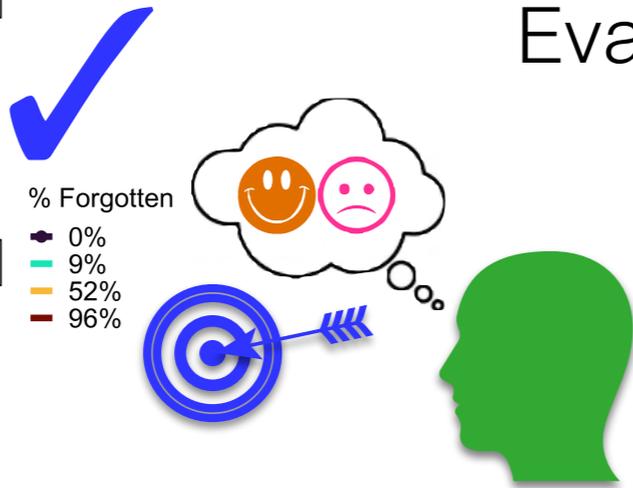
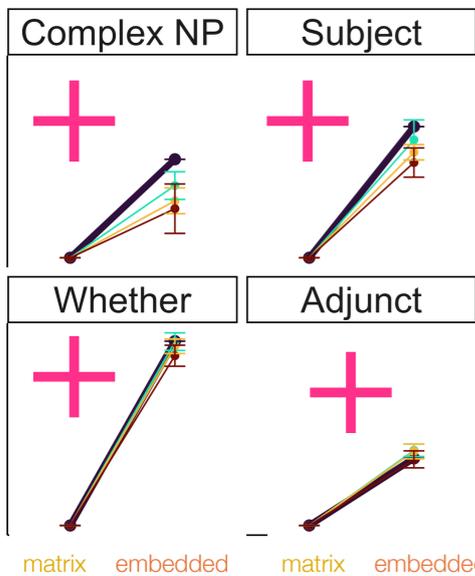
This happens even if they forget a whole lot.



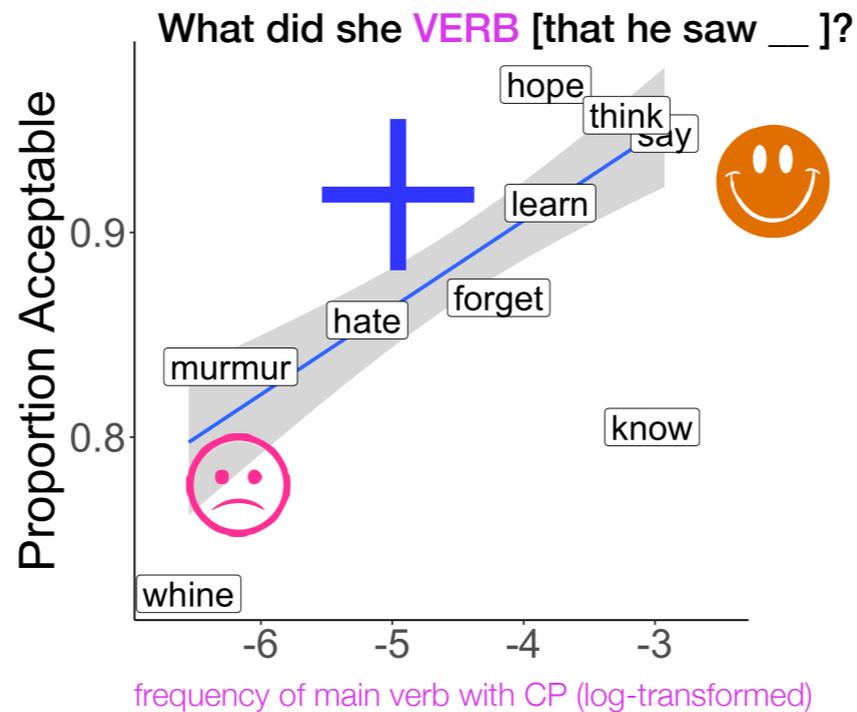
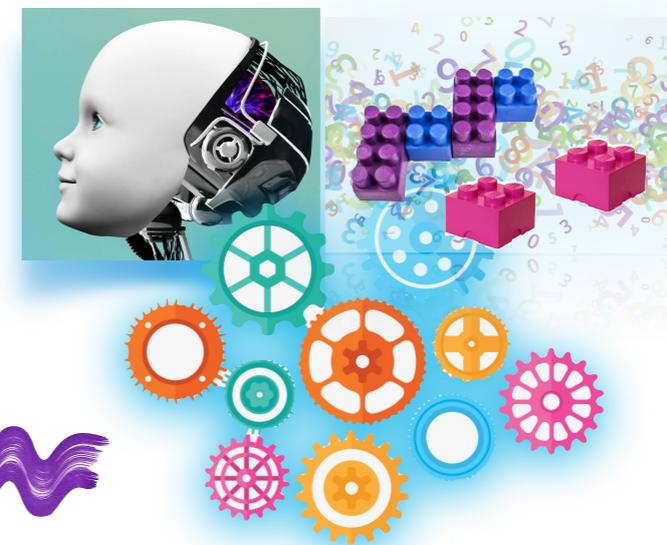
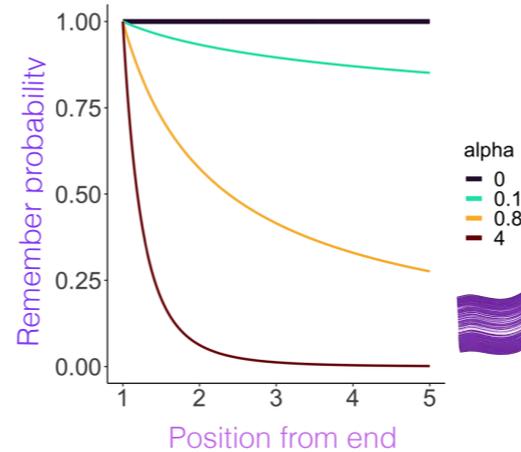
modeled learner (log) probability



- 0%
- 9%
- 52%
- 96%

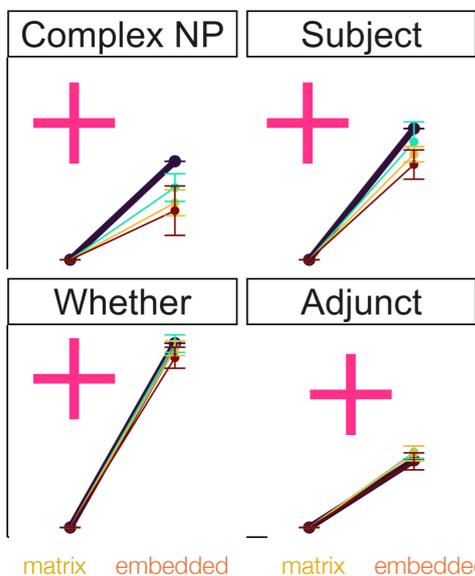


Evaluating the theory



Liu et al. 2019, 2022

modeled learner (log) probability

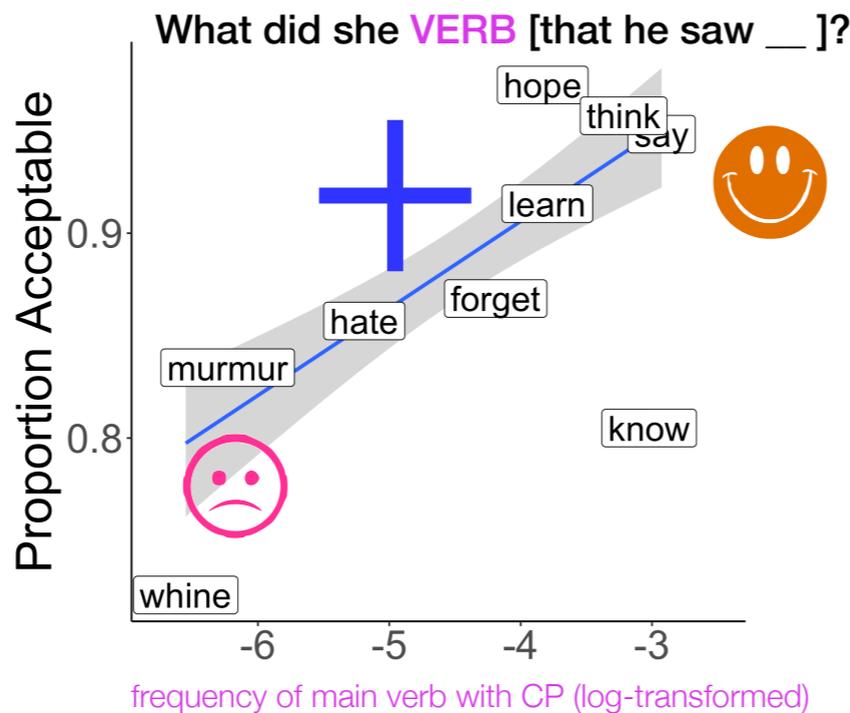
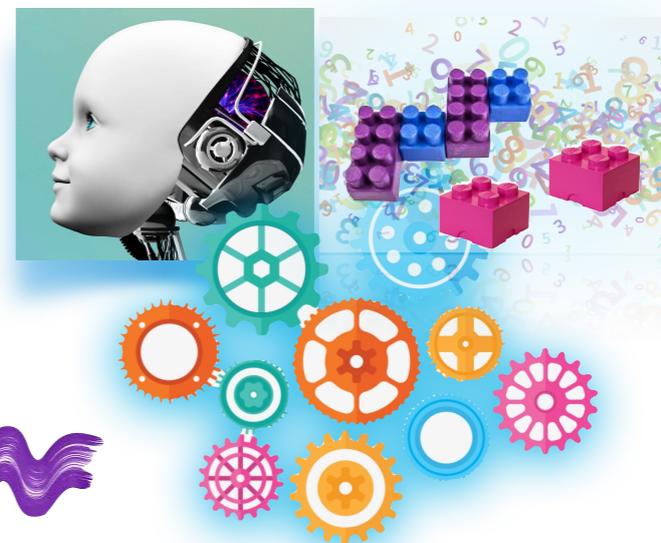
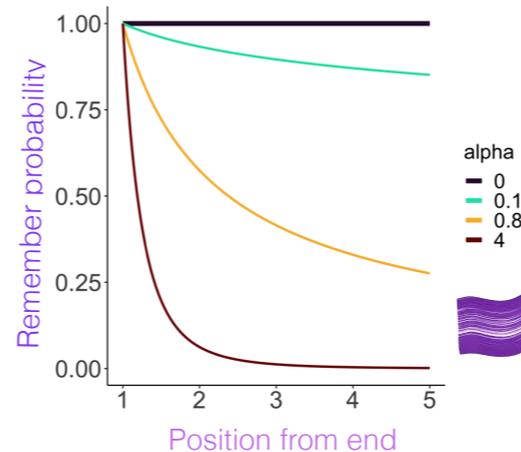


% Forgotten

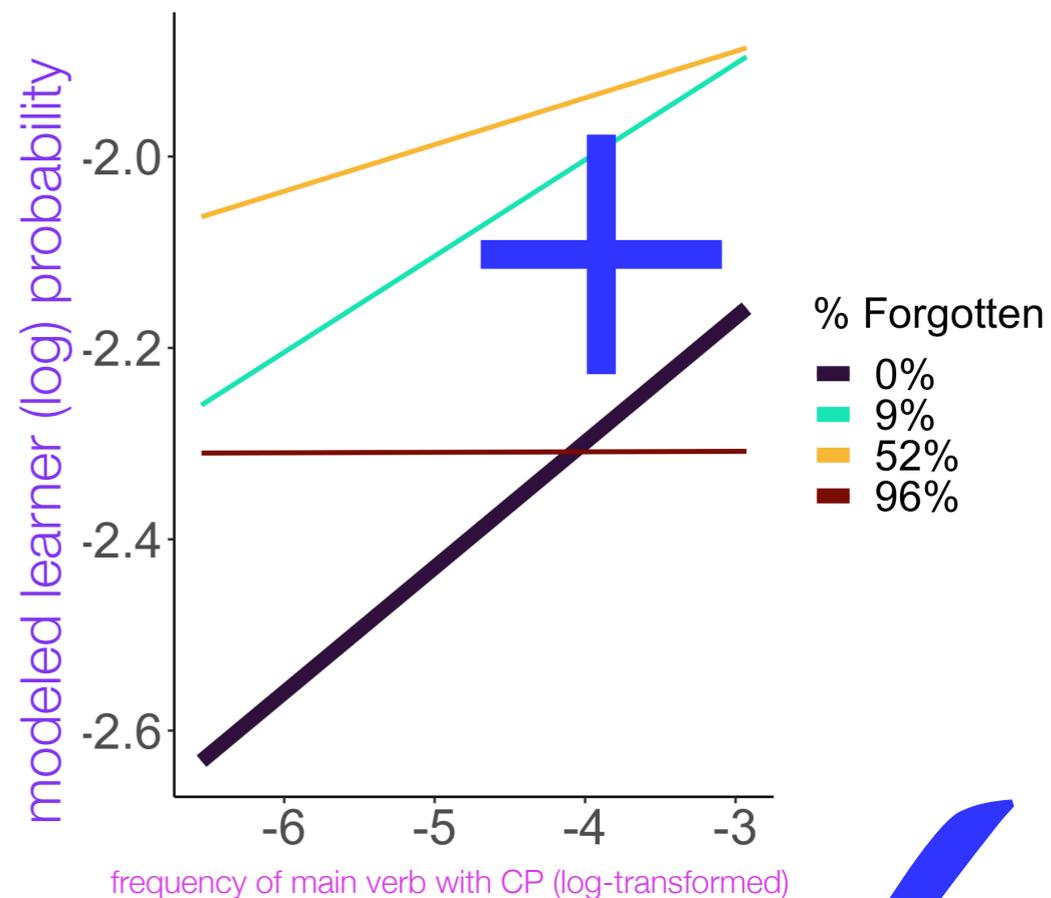
- 0%
- 9%
- 52%
- 96%



Evaluating the theory



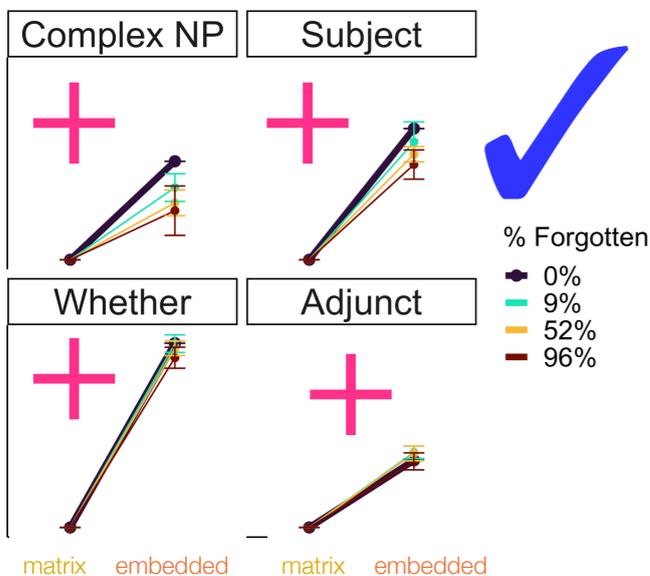
Liu et al. 2019, 2022



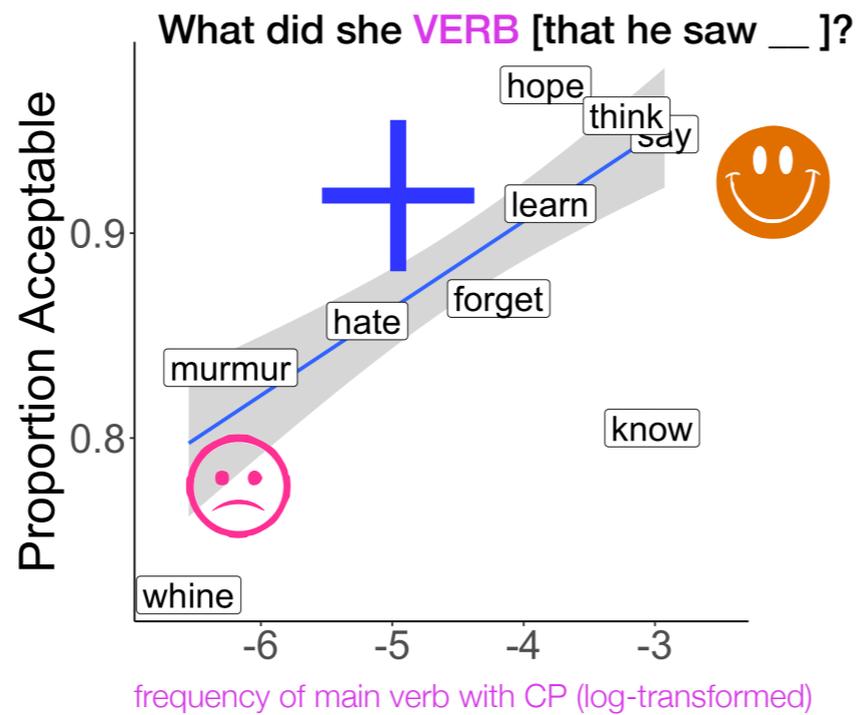
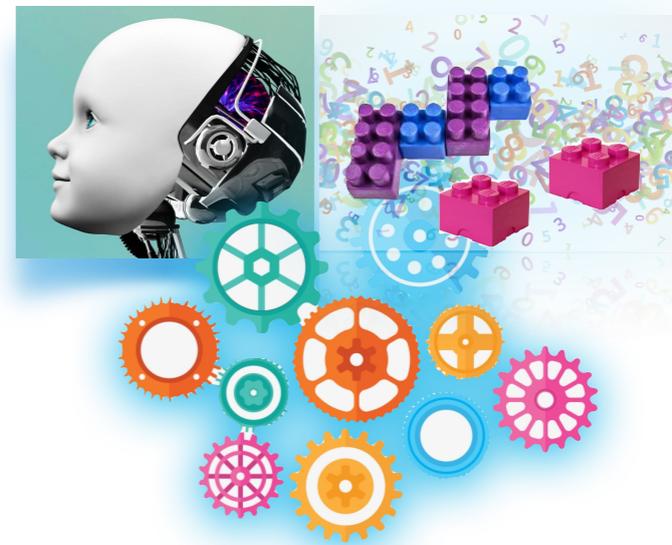
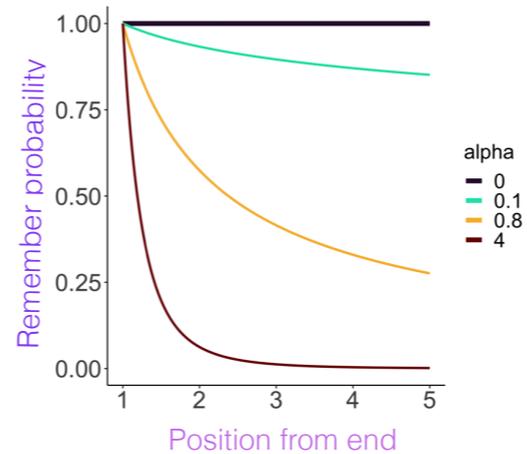
Most modeled learners can predict the observed pattern (positive correlation with frequency).

Dickson et al. 2022, 2024, in prep.

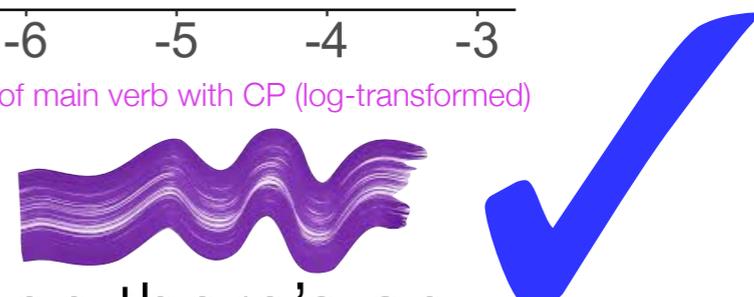
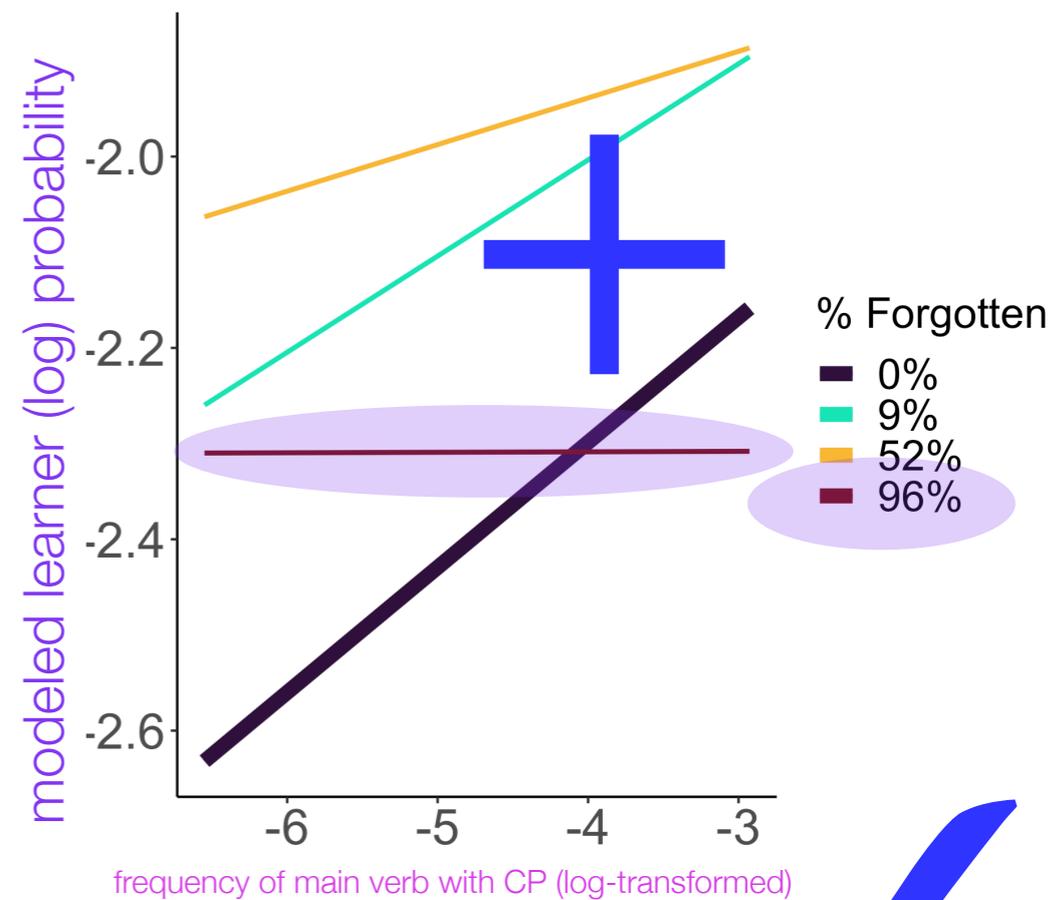
modeled learner (log) probability



Evaluating the theory



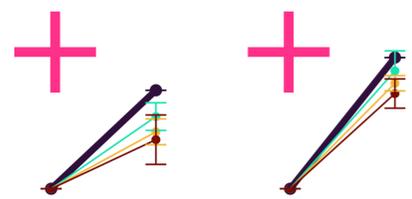
Liu et al. 2019, 2022



This happens, except when there's an extraordinary amount of forgetting.

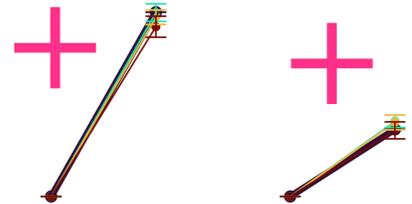
modeled learner (log) probability

Complex NP Subject



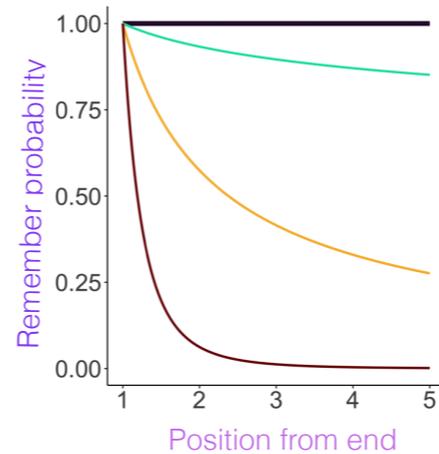
% Forgotten
0%
9%
52%
96%

Whether Adjunct

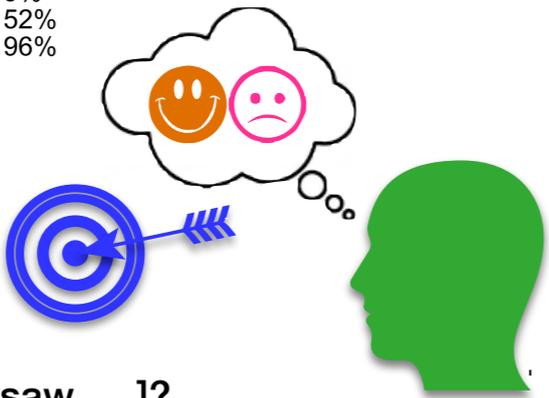
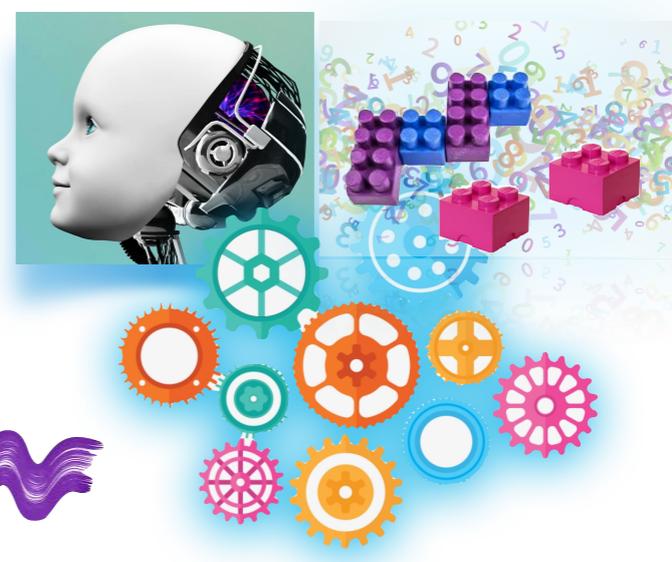


matrix embedded matrix embedded

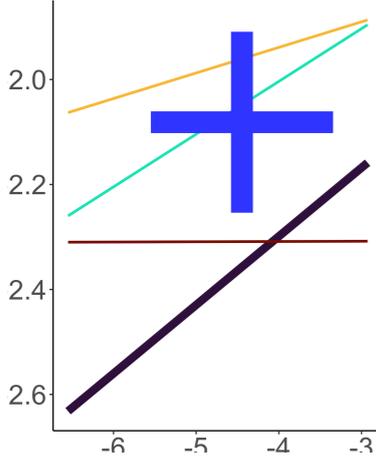
Evaluating the theory



alpha
0
0.1
0.8
4



What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?

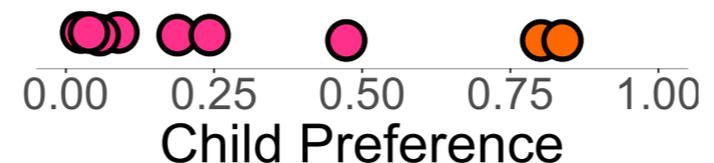


% Forgotten
0%
9%
52%
96%

frequency of main verb with CP (log-transformed)

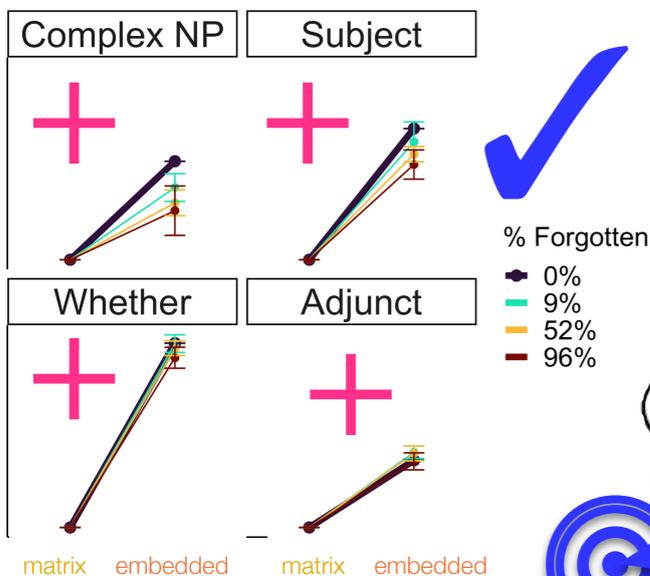
Complex NP

+ other wh-dependencies

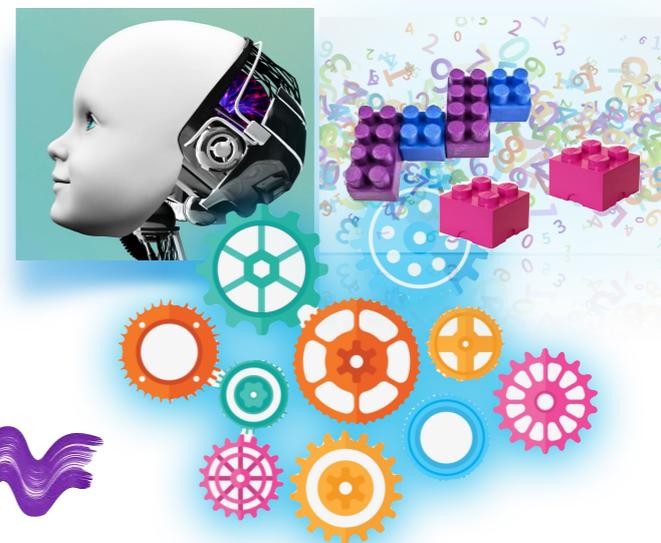
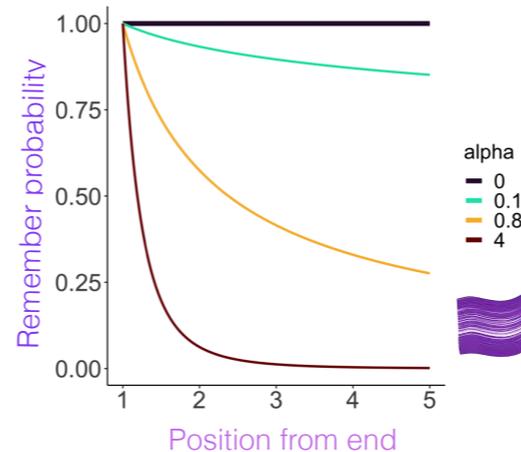


De Villiers et al. 2008

modeled learner (log) probability

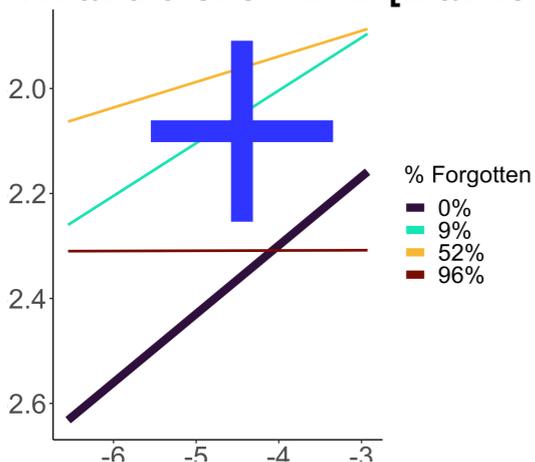


Evaluating the theory

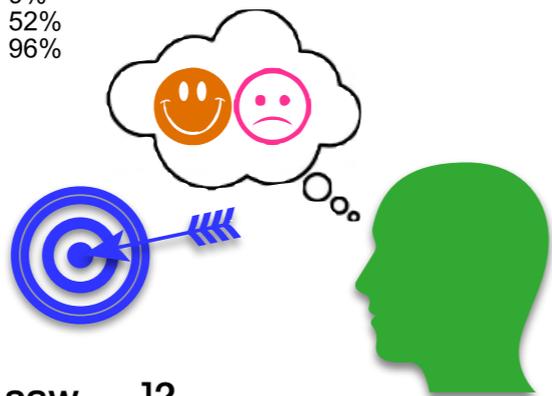


modeled learner (log) probability

What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?

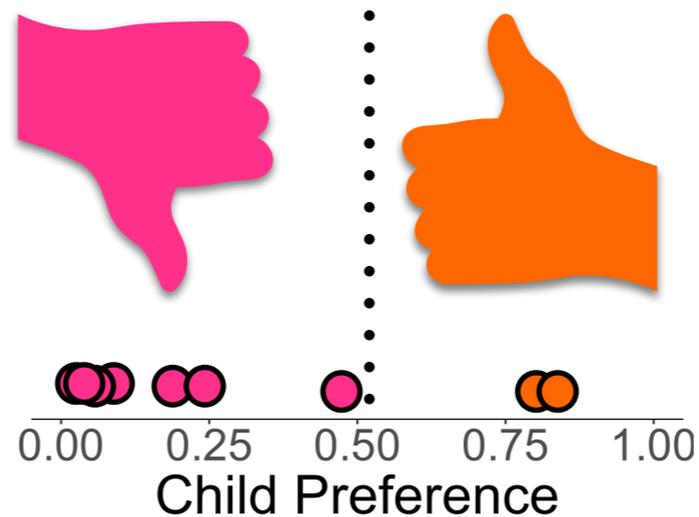


frequency of main verb with CP (log-transformed)



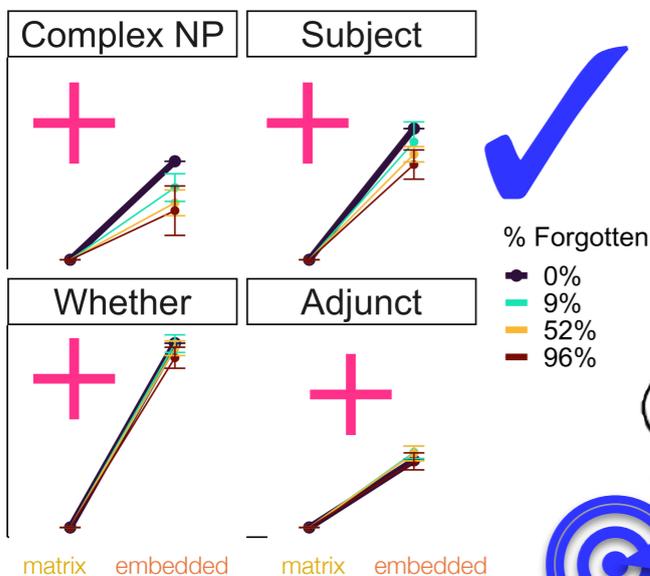
Complex NP

+ other *wh*-dependencies

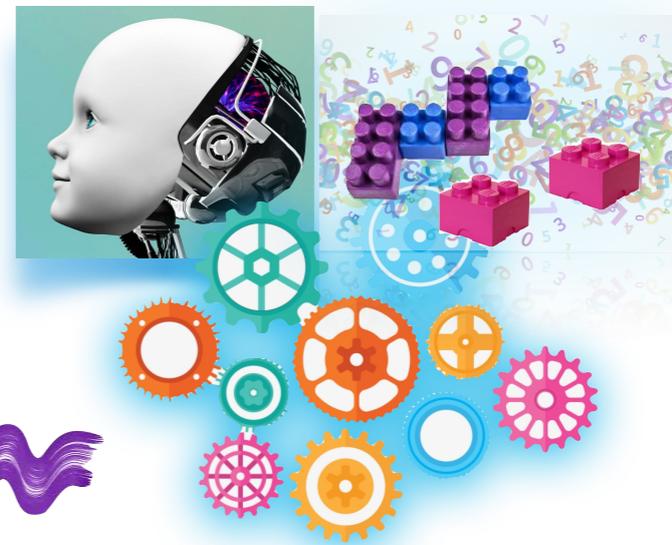
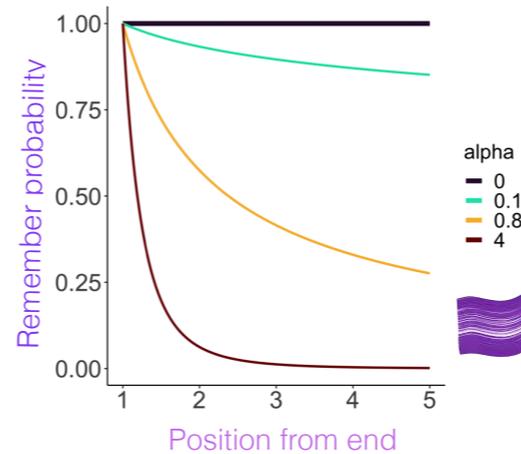


One way to think about these is as qualitative categories.

modeled learner (log) probability

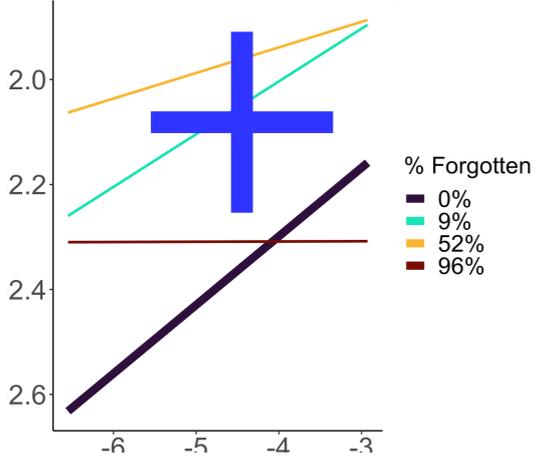


Evaluating the theory



modeled learner (log) probability

What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?



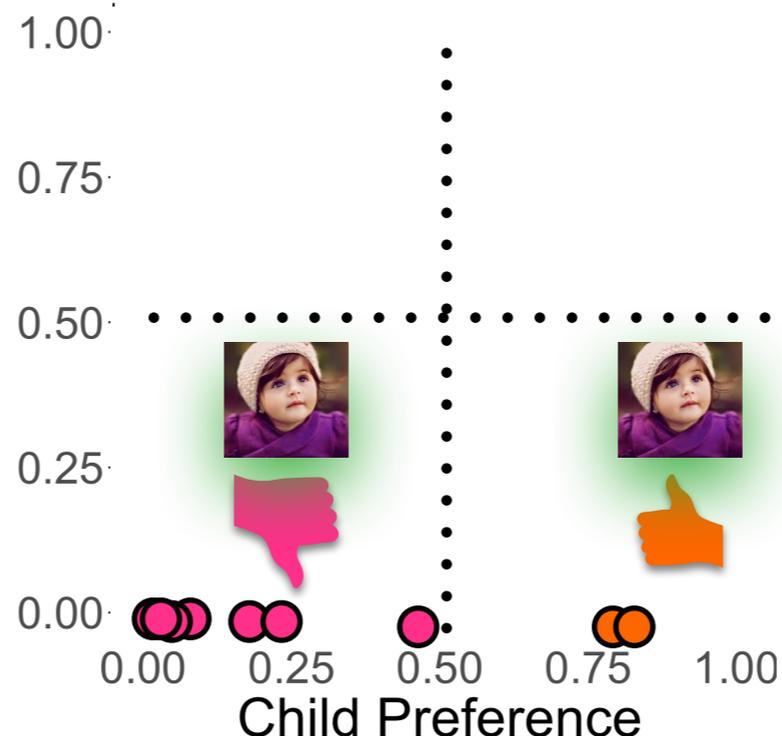
frequency of main verb with CP (log-transformed)



Complex NP

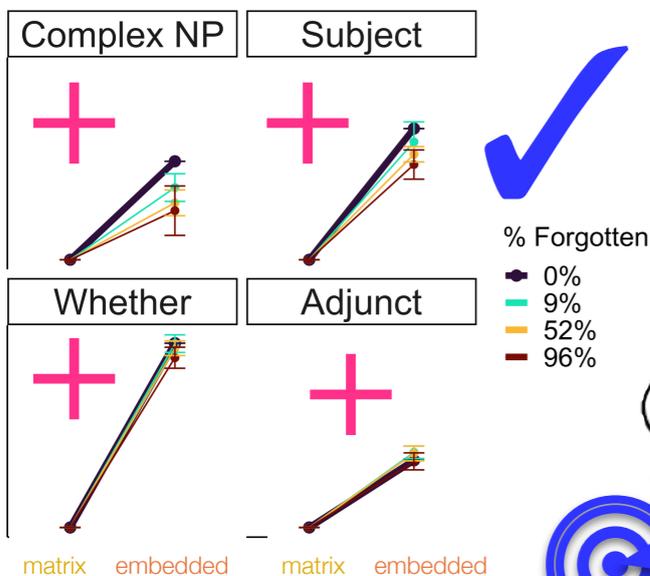
+ other *wh*-dependencies

Modeled learner predicted preference

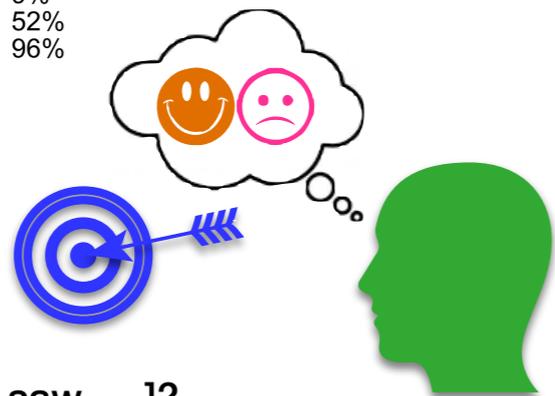
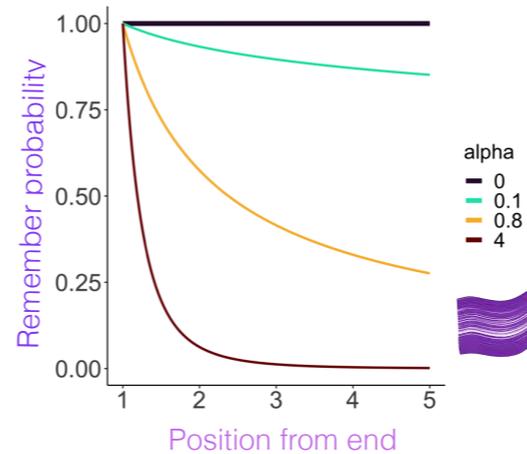


Then, we want to try to connect these **observed qualitative categories** to modeled learner predicted judgments.

modeled learner (log) probability

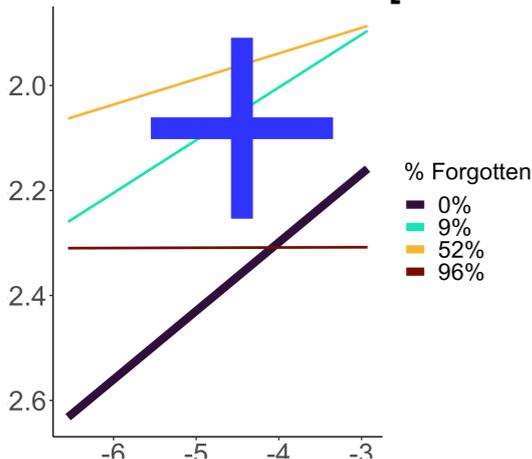


Evaluating the theory



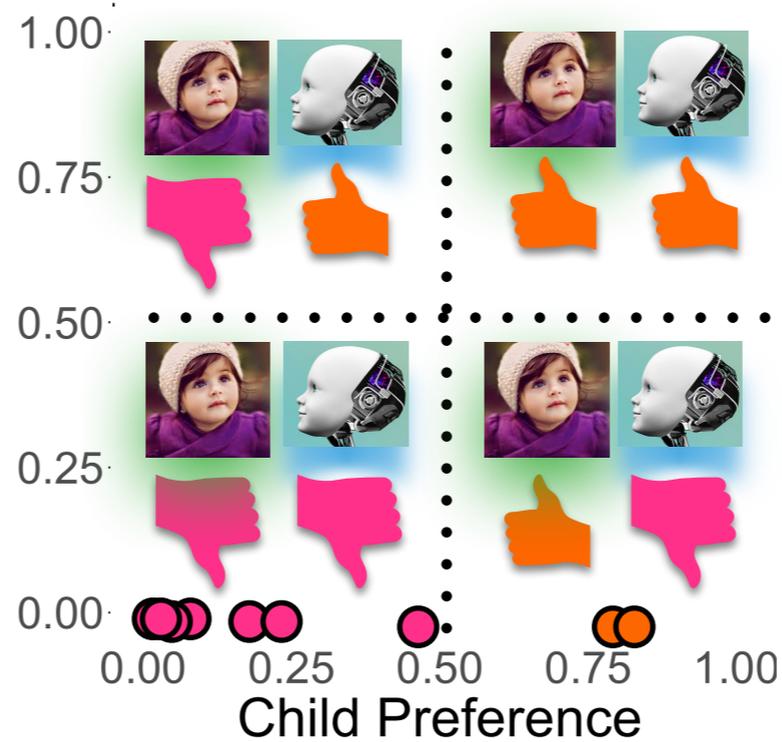
modeled learner (log) probability

What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?



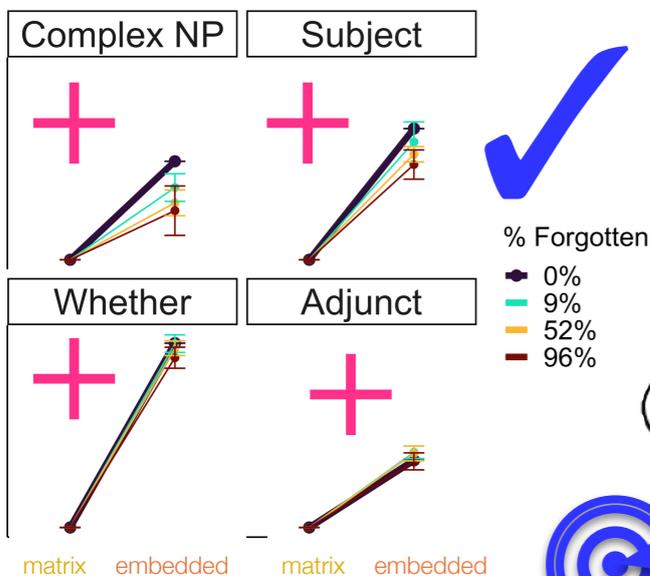
Complex NP + other *wh*-dependencies

Modeled learner predicted preference

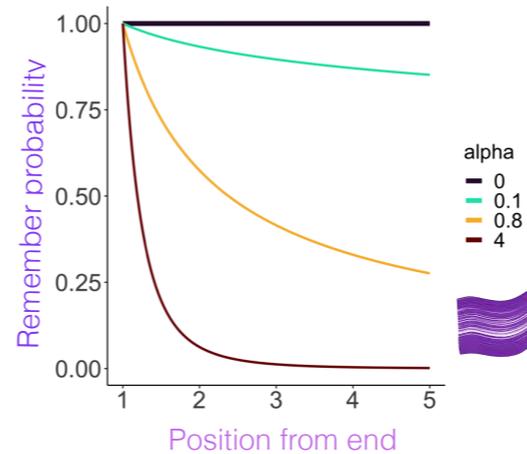


The different quadrants correspond to child vs. modeled learner qualitative predictions.

modeled learner (log) probability

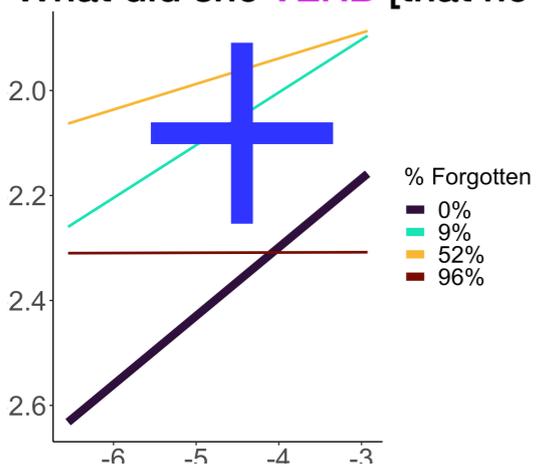


Evaluating the theory

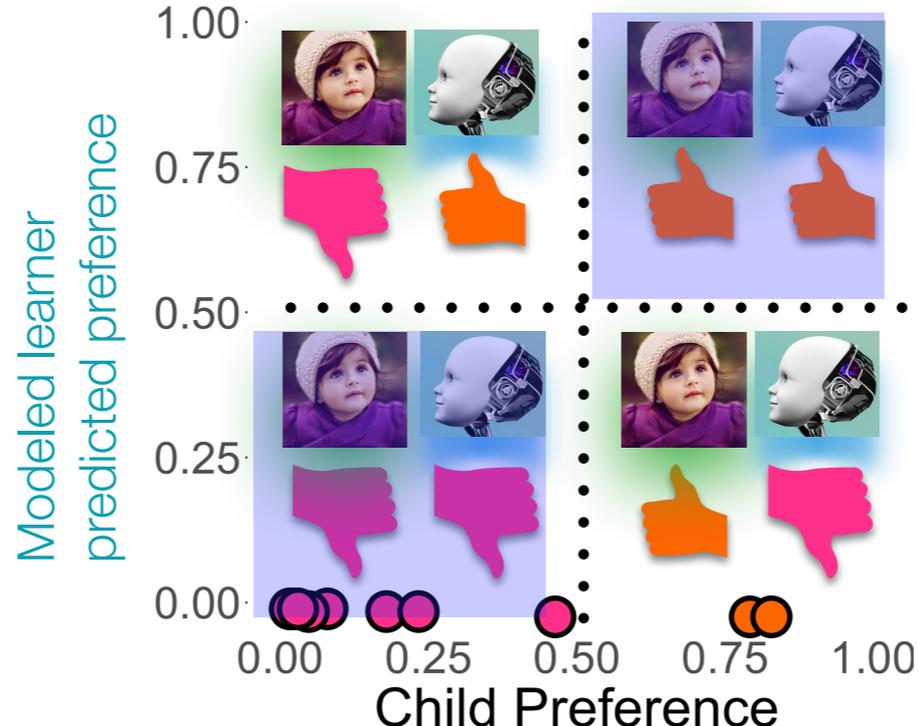


modeled learner (log) probability

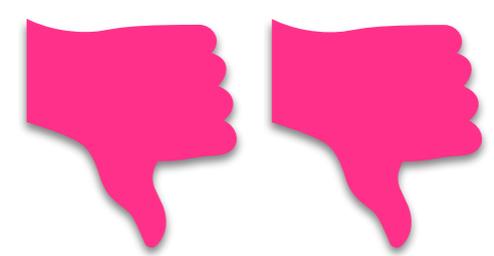
What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?



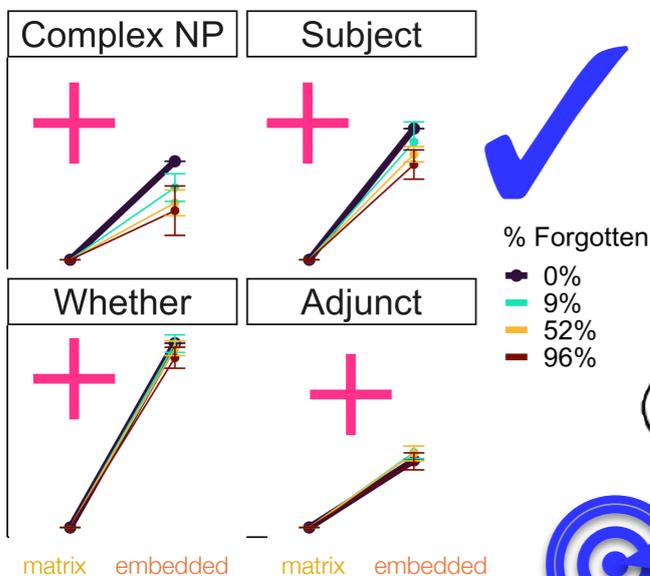
Complex NP + other *wh*-dependencies



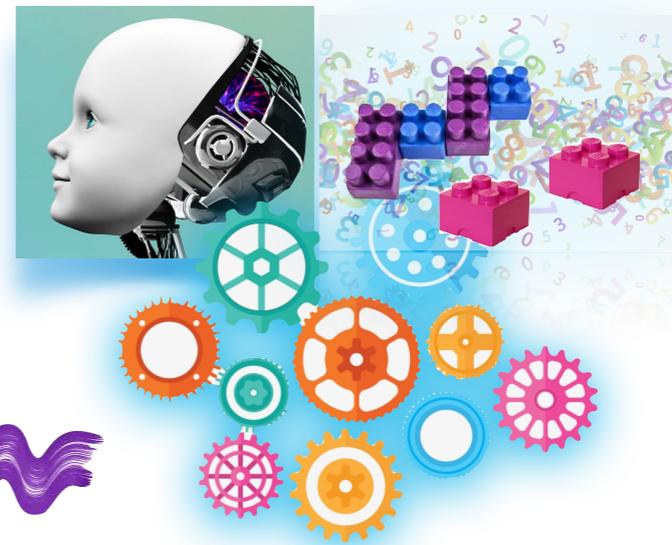
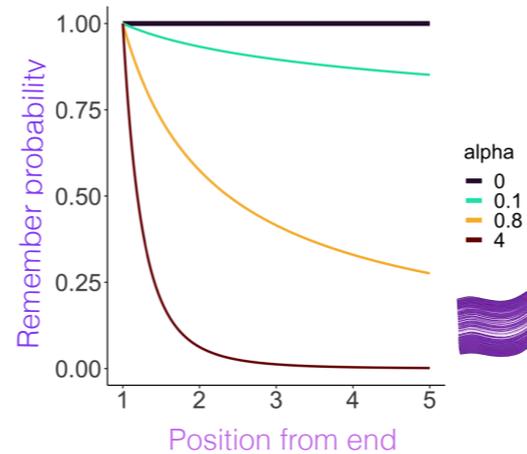
We'd like the modeled learner predictions to **qualitatively match** the observed child behavior.



modeled learner (log) probability

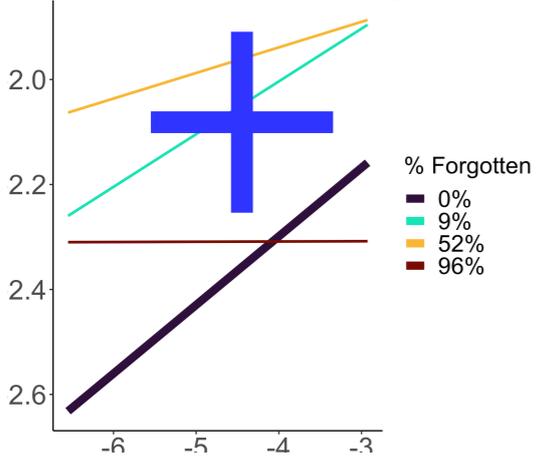


Evaluating the theory



modeled learner (log) probability

What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?

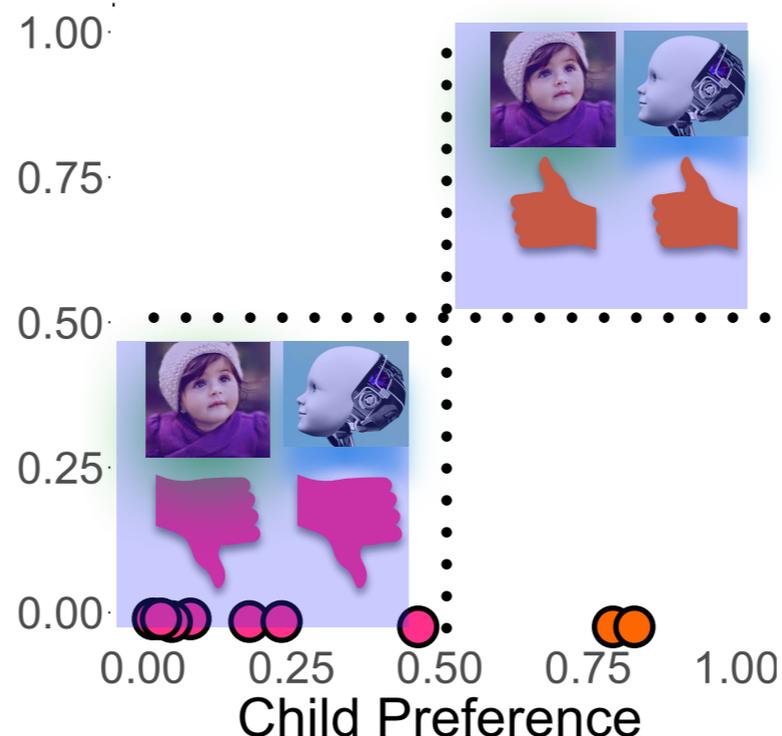


Complex NP

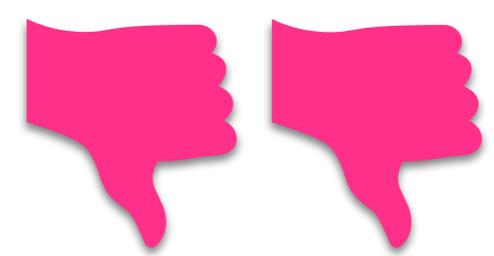
+ other *wh*-dependencies



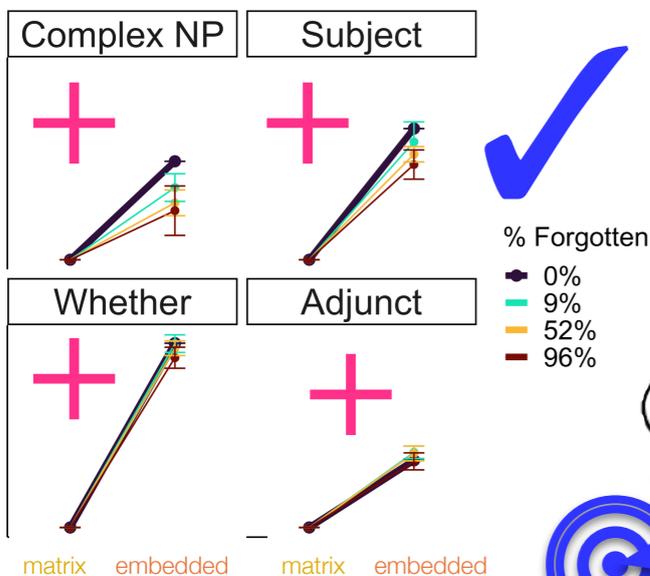
Modeled learner predicted preference



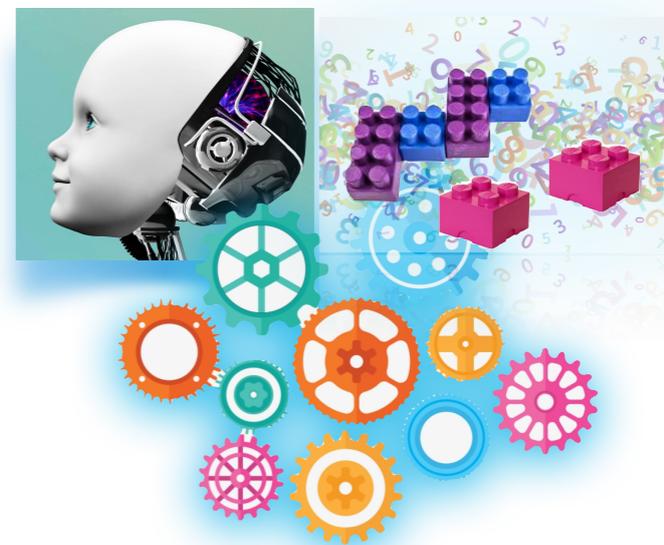
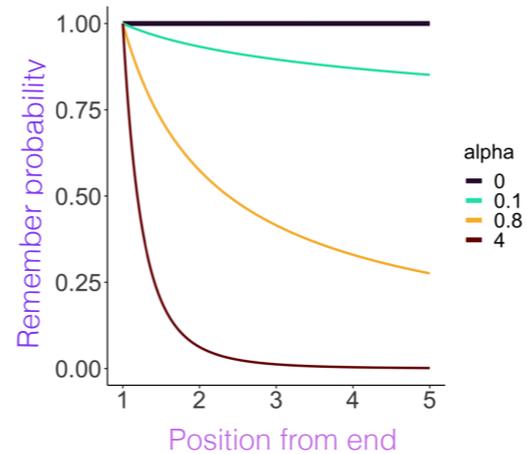
We'd like the modeled learner predictions to **qualitatively match** the observed child behavior.



modeled learner (log) probability

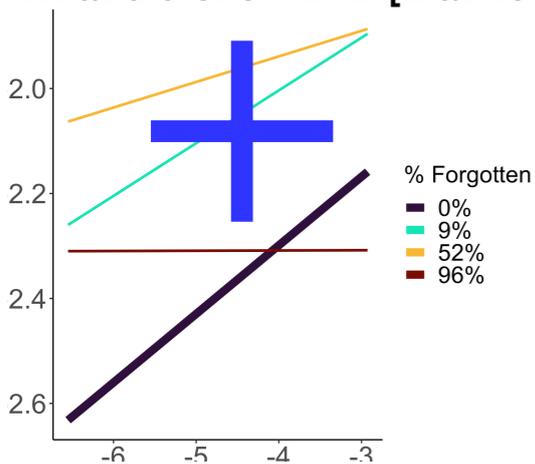


Evaluating the theory

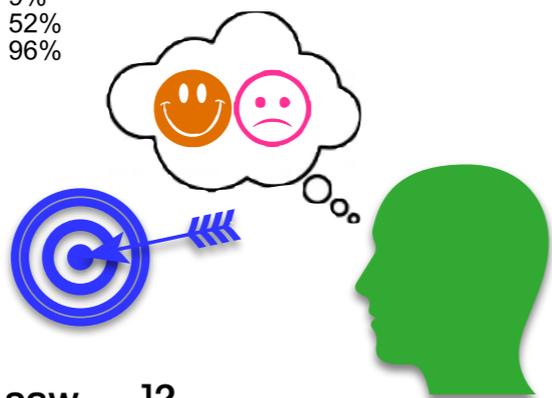


modeled learner (log) probability

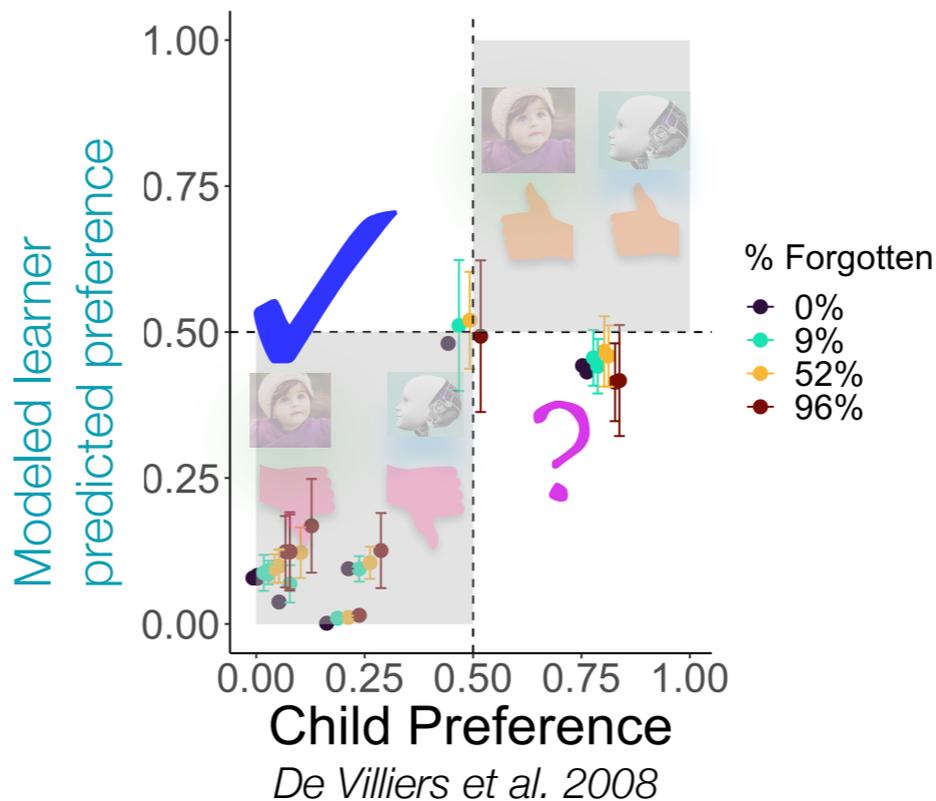
What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?



frequency of main verb with CP (log-transformed)



Complex NP + other *wh*-dependencies



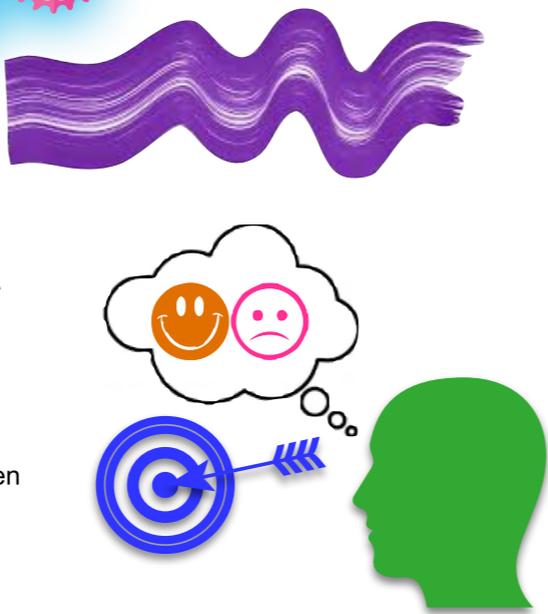
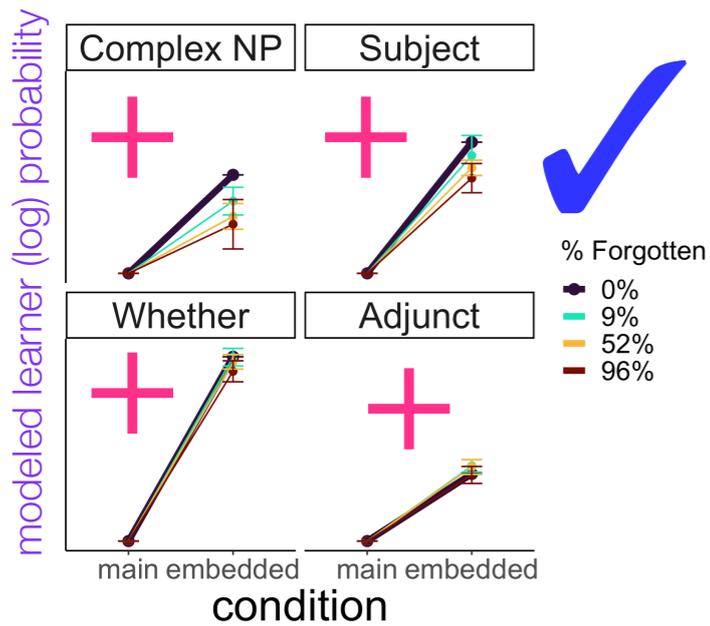
They mostly do, but there are some exceptions.

This is true, no matter how much forgetting there is.

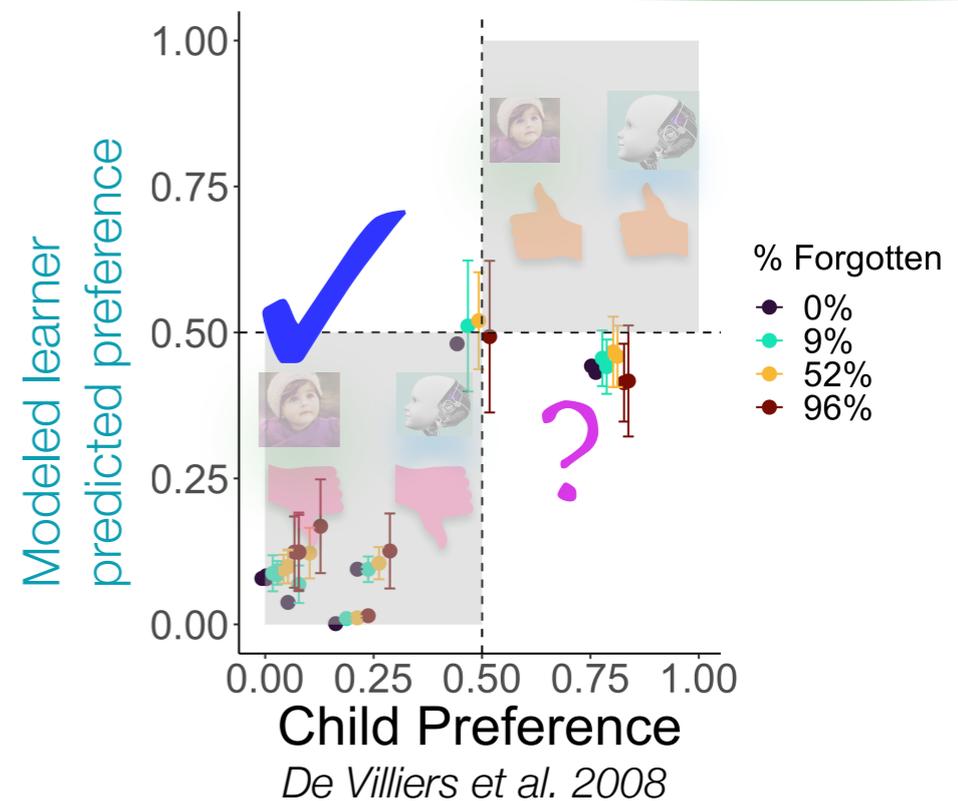
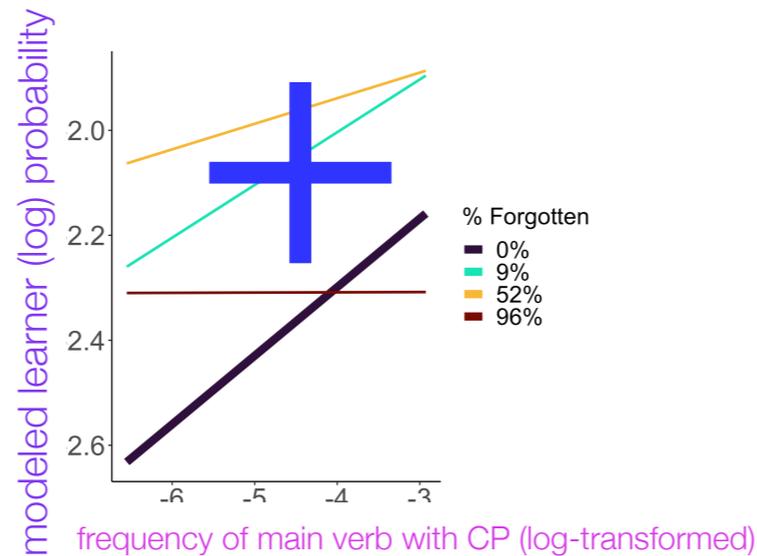




Takeaway: Modeled learners implementing this learning theory can generate most of the observed target behavior patterns, even with human(-like) memory limitations.

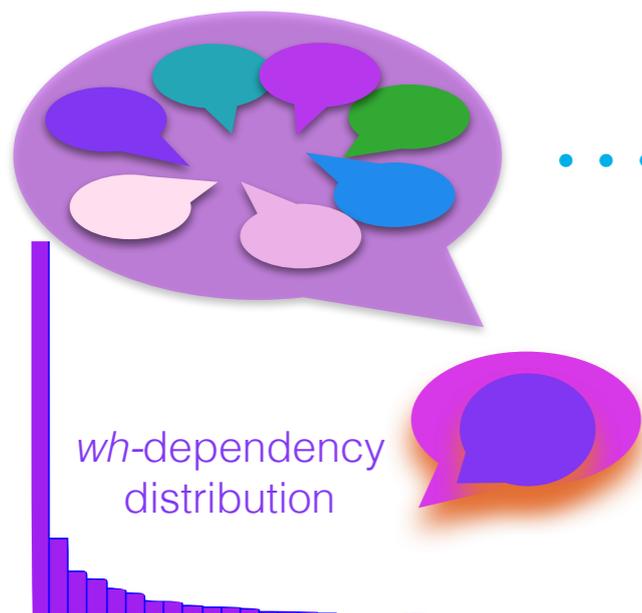
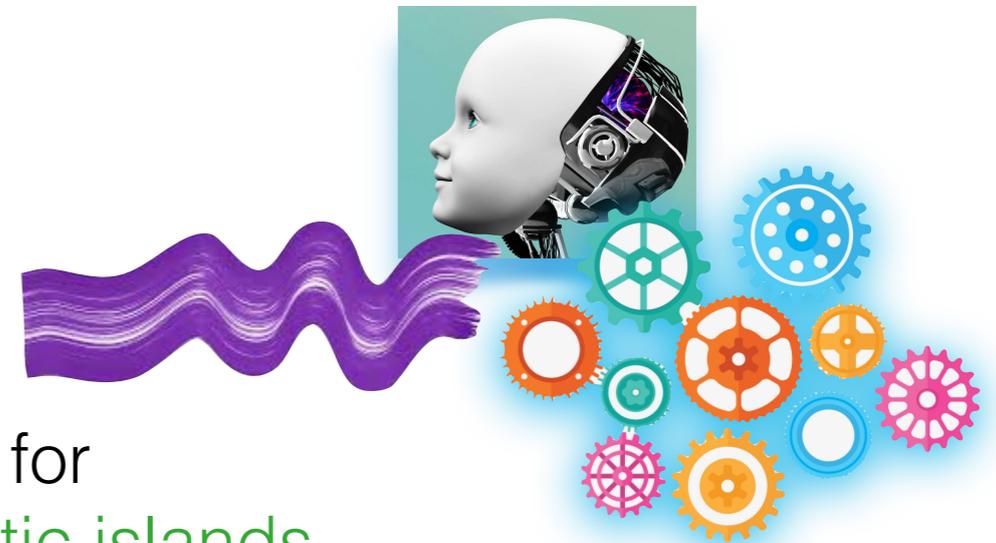


What did she **VERB** [that he saw __]?



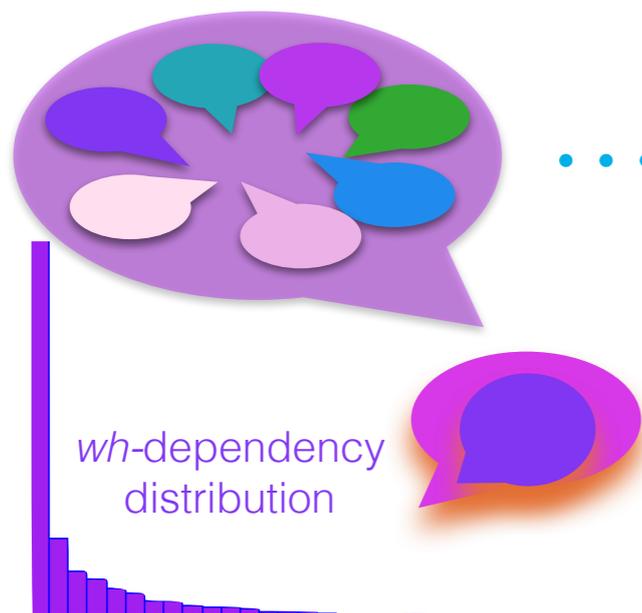
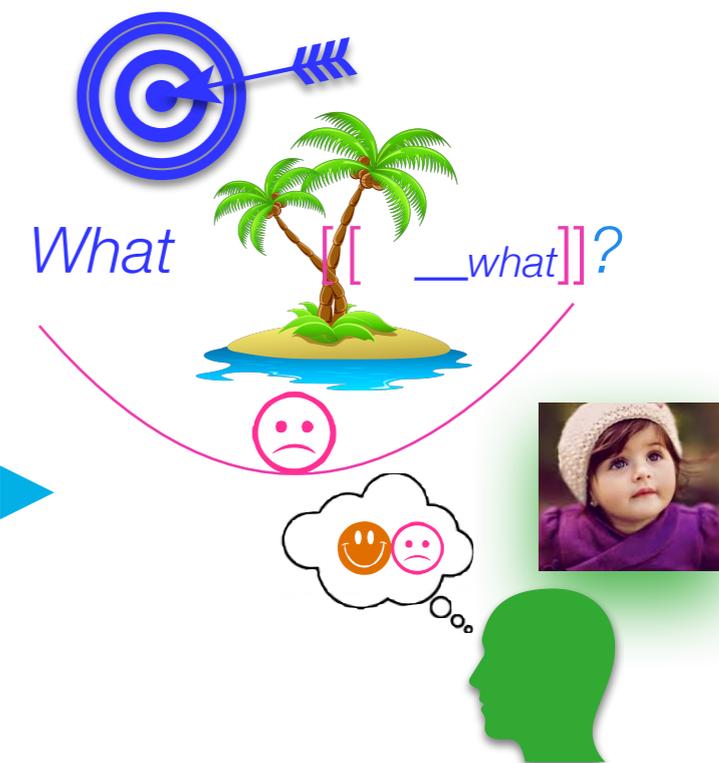
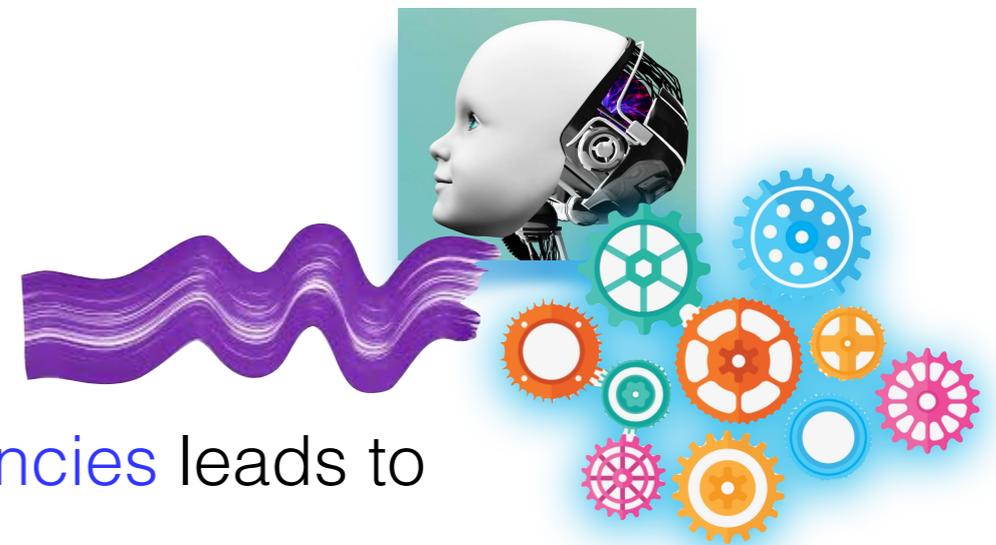
Learn the right building blocks

Bigger takeaway:
This theory can work (pretty well) for learning knowledge about syntactic islands.



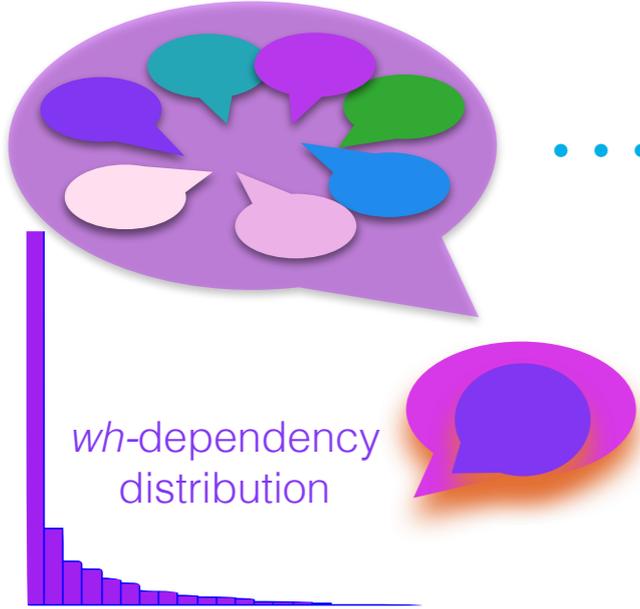
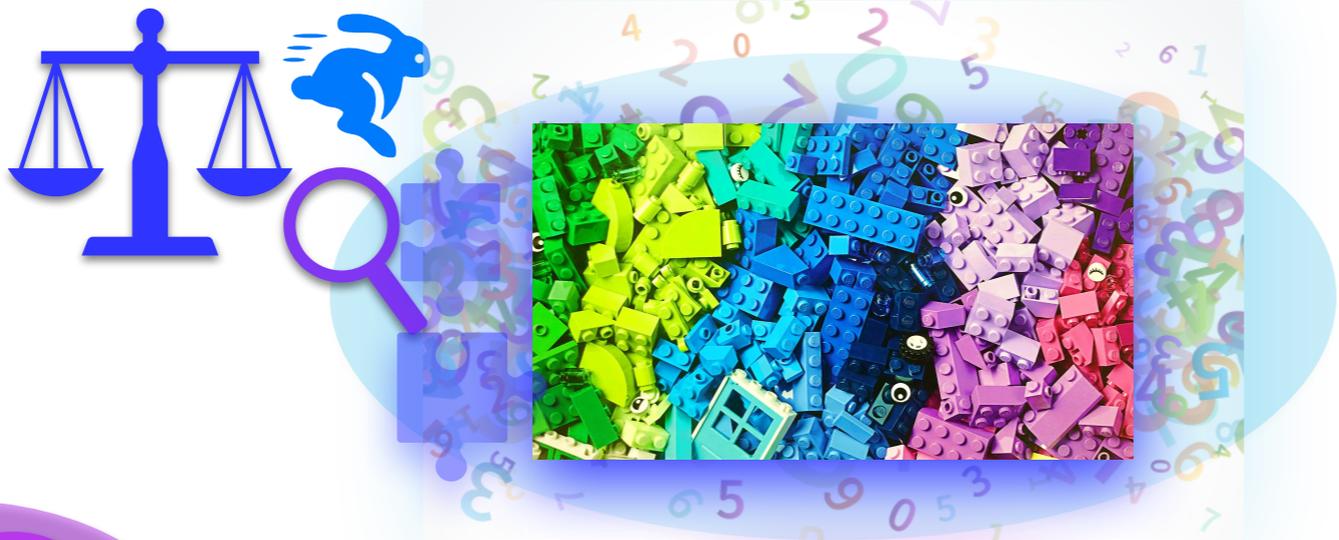
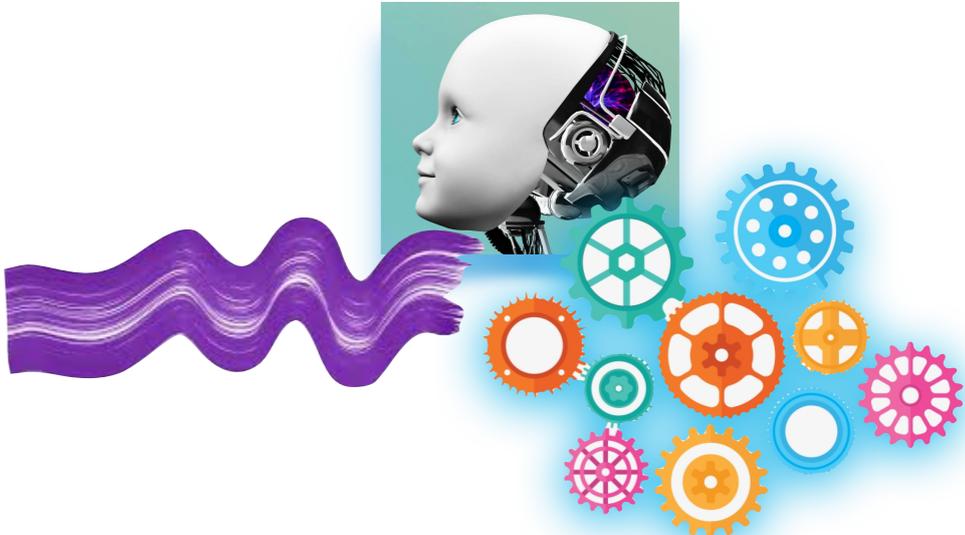
Learn the right building blocks

Key idea: Learning about the building blocks of *wh*-dependencies leads to knowledge about syntactic islands.



Learn the right building blocks

Key idea: This strategy works when the child's goal is finding efficient building blocks.



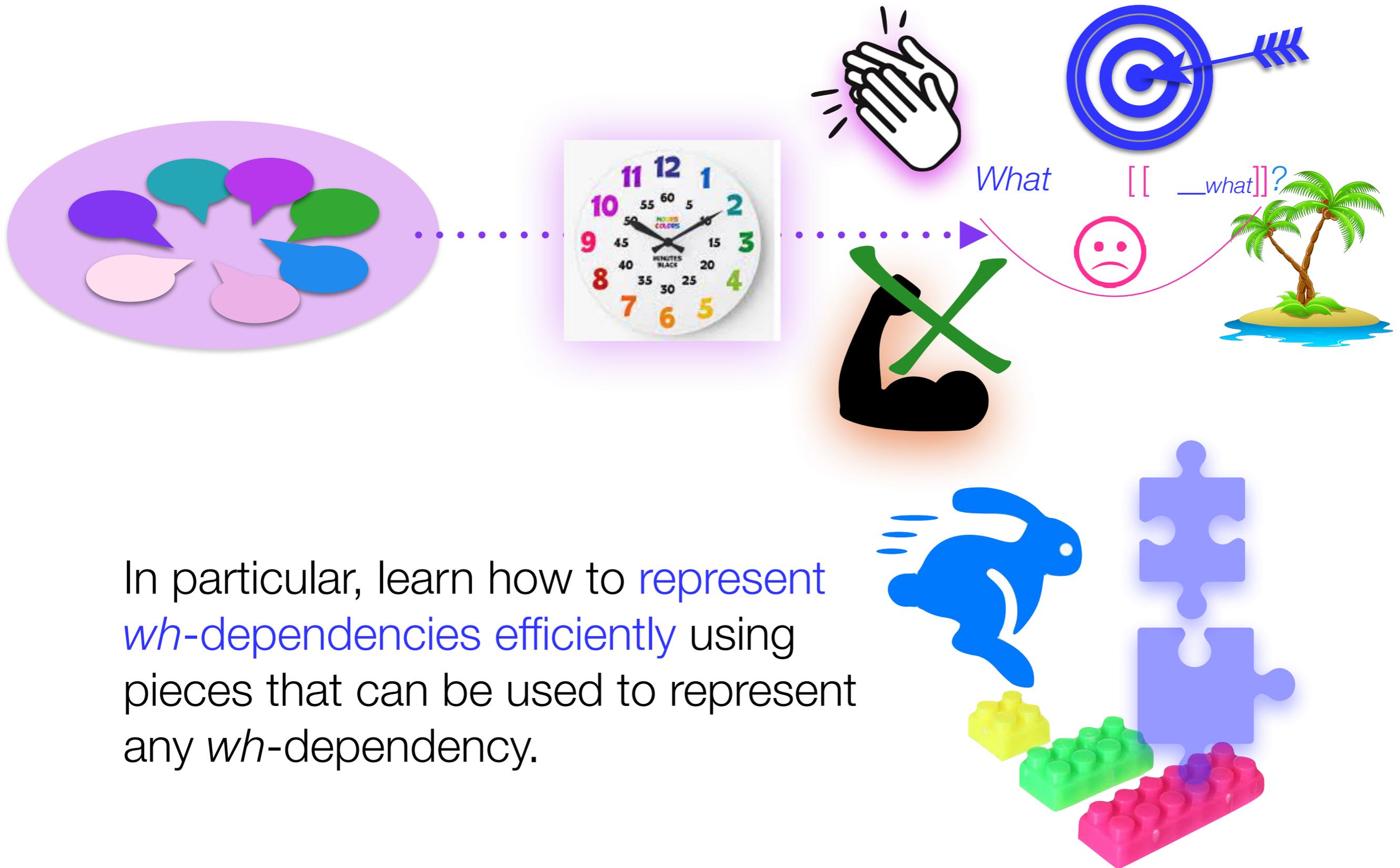
The big picture



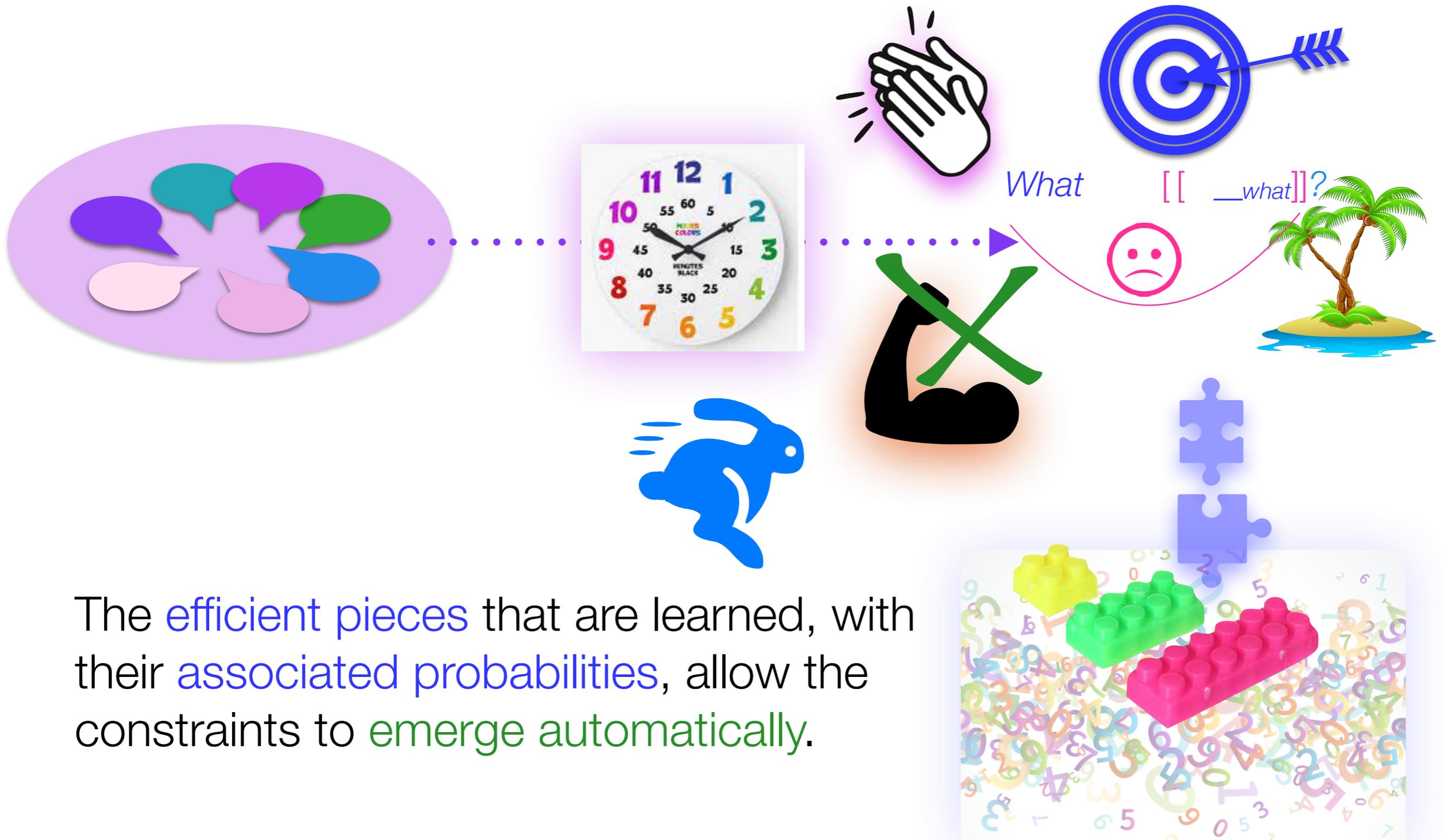
One way to succeed at learning about constraints on *wh*-dependencies (syntactic islands) is to learn them indirectly.



The big picture



The big picture



The **efficient pieces** that are learned, with their **associated probabilities**, allow the constraints to **emerge automatically**.

Thank you!

Niels
Dickson



Jon
Sprouse



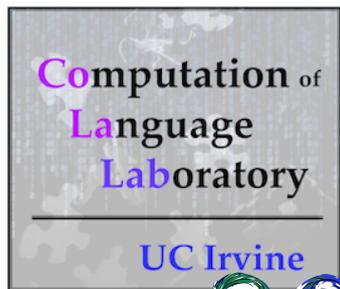
Richard
Futrell



Alandi
Bates



BUCLD 2018 UCSD Linguistics 2020 ForMA Group 2020
UMD Linguistics 2020 BUCLD 2021 SCiL 2022
UArizona Linguistics 2022 UChicago LEAP 2022
UPenn 2023 UCI QuantLang Collective



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