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## Trends in syntactic parsing: anticipation, Bayesian estimation, and good-enough parsing

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### Abstract

Syntactic parsing processes establish dependencies between words in a sentence. These dependencies affect how comprehenders assign meaning to sentence constituents. Classical approaches to parsing describe it entirely as a bottom-up signal analysis. More recent approaches assign the comprehender a more active role, allowing the comprehender's individual experience, knowledge, and beliefs to influence his or her interpretation. This review describes developments in three related aspects of sentence processing research: anticipatory processing, Bayesian/noisy-channel approaches to sentence processing, and the 'good-enough' parsing hypothesis.

### Keywords

syntax; parsing; Bayes' theorem; noisy channels; good-enough parsing

### Syntactic parsing: then and now

Syntactic parsing comprises a set of mental processes that bridges the gap between word-level and discourse-level semantic processes. These interface processes serve to build or recover dependencies between words in a string [1–5] (see [6,7] for the role of syntax and grammar in production). Structural dependencies, conceptual information supplied by content words, and principles governing how thematic role assignments are derived from grammatical functions determine the standard, literal interpretation assigned to a sentence. Take, for instance, the content words embarrass, nurse, and doctor. These words are not sufficient, by themselves, to allow a comprehender to say who did what to whom (or how, when, and where). Syntactic cues and syntactic parsing processes supply the information needed to determine who did what to whom. While the meaning assigned to a given utterance depends on multiple factors, no theory of language understanding can be complete without a consideration of syntax (or grammar) and syntactic parsing.

Psycholinguists have long debated the degree to which syntax and syntactic parsing represent an autonomous, modular subsystem within the larger suite of language production and comprehension processes [8–11]. The prevailing view is that, while there are aspects of syntactic parsing that cannot be subsumed by other levels of processing (e.g., lexical or

discourse processes), there are strong interactions between syntactic processes and other aspects of linguistic interpretation (e.g., prior linguistic context, concurrent prosody) and between syntactic processes and aspects of cognition beyond strictly linguistic systems [3,12–15]. Examples of aspects of interpretation that require syntactic computations include phrase packaging (inclusion or exclusion of words from phrases), modifier attachment decisions (in cases where a modifying expression may belong to only one among a set of previous words), and the definition of theta domains and assignment of thematic roles (see Glossary), among others [16–19].

There is general agreement that syntax plays an important role in meaning derivation, but there has been a shift away from strictly bottom-up, serial, encapsulated views of language interpretation and toward more interactive accounts. Three sets of related developments are changing the way that psycholinguists view language interpretation in general and the nature of syntactic parsing processes in particular. These include the relatively recent emphasis on predictive or anticipatory processes, the application of Bayesian probability estimation to language comprehension, and the changing view of language comprehension through the lens of satisficing or good-enough processing [20–25].

### The role of anticipation

Language interpretation occurs in a rapid and incremental fashion [26,27]. Comprehenders can identify a word's semantic and syntactic characteristics and the word's relationship to prior context within a few hundred milliseconds of encountering it. Any account that assumes that processing occurs in a strictly bottom-up fashion (signal analysis, followed by word recognition and lexical access, followed by syntactic parsing, followed by integration of new information with prior syntactic and semantic context) is strongly constrained by the speed at which comprehenders can access detailed information about newly encountered words. One way to account for the incredibly rapid and incremental nature of interpretation is to propose that comprehenders anticipate upcoming input rather than waiting passively for the signal to unfold and then reacting to it. Results from various experimental paradigms indicate that comprehenders discriminate between more likely and less likely continuations. In reading, more predictable words are skipped more often than less predictable words [28–30]. Visual world experiments also indicate that comprehenders actively anticipate or predict the imminent arrival of not-yet-encountered information [20]. In these visual world experiments, participants view an array containing pictures of various objects (e.g., a cake, a girl, a tricycle, and a mouse). While viewing the array, participants listen to sentences. If the sentence begins 'The little girl will ride...', participants make eye movements toward the picture of the tricycle even before the offset of the verb 'ride'. This is not simply a reflex based on association between ride and tricycle, however. If the visual array includes a little girl, a man, a tricycle, and a motorcycle, participants make anticipatory eye movements toward the tricycle when listening to 'The little girl will ride...'. However, they make anticipatory movements toward the motorcycle in the same visual array if the subject noun is 'man' (as in 'The man will ride...'). Event-related potential experiments show that prediction-supporting contexts produce smaller N400 responses than less supportive contexts, even when intralexical association is held constant [31].

Results like this indicate that, at least in processing environments where a small number of referents are made visually salient, participants are capable of identifying how a sentence is likely to continue. These predictions may relate to what concept is likely to be mentioned next, but they may be even more specific than that. For example, DeLong and colleagues' event-related potential study [32] produced evidence that comprehenders anticipated the phonological form of an upcoming pair of words (a determiner and a noun). Further, participants appear to act on these predictions before they receive definitive bottom-up evidence confirming or disproving the prediction (i.e., when context makes one continuation more likely than others, the eyes will fixate a picture representing the likely continuation before the comprehender hears a word that refers to that object).

Although researchers agree that anticipation and prediction occur during sentence interpretation, the precise means by which comprehenders derive predictions is currently not well understood. Hence, we need accounts that can tell us how predictions are made, which in turn will tell us why some predictions are made but not others. Hypotheses about how predictions are made include using the production system to emulate the speaker [33,76], relying on intralexical spreading activation [34], or using schematic knowledge of events [35]. A simple word–word association hypothesis is made less plausible by experiments showing that syntactic factors affect the response to a word when lexical association to preceding context is held constant [36]. In addition, words that do not fit a syntactically governed thematic role do not enjoy a processing advantage simply because they are associated with other content words in a sentence [37]. For example, the word *axe* is strongly associated with the noun *lumberjack*. Despite this strong association, *axe* is not processed faster than normal in the sentence frame 'The lumberjack chopped the *axe*'. Interestingly, the neurophysiological response to a word that is associated with other content words in a sentence changes based on preceding discourse context [31,38–41]. When discourse context activates an event schema that incorporates a particular concept, a word relating to that concept will evoke a smaller N400 response, even when that word is not a good fit given the immediate syntactic context. Hence, event knowledge representations rather than simple lexical co-occurrence appear to provide comprehenders with the basis for deriving predictions.

## Bayesian estimation and noisy channels

Comprehenders can anticipate the imminent arrival of specific lexical items relating to activated event representations. Research on syntactic processes suggests that comprehenders may also be able to anticipate structural properties of sentences before bottom-up cues provide definitive evidence for or against a given structural hypothesis. The idea that syntactic parsing processes can be affected by the probability or likelihood of particular syntactic structures has, in fact, been around for a long time [2,3,42]. Trueswell and colleagues were among the first to provide evidence that the conditional probability of a structural analysis in a given context influenced the processing load imposed on the comprehender [10,43]. The precise timing and nature of probabilistic influences are treated differently under different accounts of parsing [19,44–46].

More recent experiments indicate that word recognition is affected by the fit between a word's category distribution profile and the preceding syntactic context [47]. A word that is ambiguous between being a noun or a verb (e.g., card, spin) could be used more often as a noun or as a verb or might appear equally often in each category. Noun-biased words took longer to recognize in a minimal context that favored the verb meaning ('to card'), while the opposite was true of verb-biased ambiguous words ('a spin'). Several studies indicate that lexical statistics attaching to individual words in a sentence (e.g., the frequency with which a verb appears with a direct object versus with a sentence complement) influence the time it takes to parse a sentence. There is also evidence that the syntactic context in which a word appears influences lexical processing (word recognition/lexical decision). The implication is that lexical and syntactic levels of processing place constraints on one another, not that one level takes complete precedence over the other.

The preceding studies indicate that comprehenders anticipate how expressions will continue (in terms of concepts that are likely to be mentioned, the forms that will be used to denote those concepts, and the syntactic structures that are likely to be expressed). Making such predictions entails privileging concepts that are relevant to the described situation and may also entail anticipating the imminent arrival of specific words. Similarly, comprehenders may develop hypotheses that give some syntactic structures advantage over others in an anticipatory fashion. Information that is in some way more predictable or more relevant, whether lexical, conceptual, or structural, must be activated more strongly than other kinds of information. In that case, the comprehender must have some means of determining what is more likely and what is less likely. Recent approaches to sentence processing have incorporated three claims relating to prediction. First, comprehenders do not have a veridical internal representation of the input [48,49]. Second, comprehenders use all available information to compute the likelihood of different interpretations given the cues available in the input [21,24,50–54]. Third, failed predictions are an important factor in the on-line response to input and in the way that knowledge about language is obtained [50]. Surprisal accounts suggest that the information value of a given word in a sentence is a function of its likelihood in context. Words that are relatively less likely will carry more information than words that are more likely. All other things being equal, less likely (more surprising) words lead to greater changes in the knowledge base that is used to derive predictions (see [55,56] for a related approach).

In many cases, the interpretation derived from a 'lowfidelity' representation of the input will match the speaker's intended meaning, but in other cases comprehenders' prior knowledge will lead to systematic distortions in interpretation. These distortions may occur because interpretation does not depend on the signal alone. Interpretation also depends on the comprehender's knowledge about what is likely and what is not likely before the signal arrives. A Bayesian mechanism has to take base-rate information into account when deriving probability estimates. Comprehenders integrate base-rate information (how likely is a given interpretation in the absence of any evidence) with information available in the stimulus to rank interpretations from more likely to less likely. If the signal is noisy or is conveyed over a noisy channel, interpretation will be systematically biased toward higher-frequency interpretations.

Gibson and colleagues' formulation of this type of account introduces the idea that the degree of perceived noise, and assumptions about the kinds of distortion that are likely to occur because of noise, affect the interpretations that comprehenders assign to sentences [24]. Given that the transmission channel is noisy, a comprehender may assume that the signal is missing a component. Noise need not be purely environmental. 'Internal noise' can be caused by inattention, distraction, fatigue, or boredom. These internal factors influence the rate of uptake of information and the nature and quality of long-term memory for language input [57–59].

Comprehenders are less likely to assume that something has been spuriously added to the signal. This leads to predictions about the way that comprehenders will respond to specific types of sentence that (if the signal is perceived accurately) are anomalous. For example, if a person heard or read 'The mother gave the candle the girl', this is less disruptive than hearing or reading 'The mother gave the girl to the candle' (although the licensed interpretation is the same in either case). In the former case, the sentence can be 'repaired' by assuming that noise wiped out the part of the signal between 'candle' and 'the'. Noise is a less plausible explanation for the anomaly in the second sentence. Gibson and colleagues showed that a metric of deviance based on the number and types of edits required to make a semantically anomalous sentence plausible provided accurate estimates of the extent to which participants would rate an anomalous sentence as plausible. These differences in acceptability are not predicted by an account under which comprehenders always perceive the sentence accurately.

Similar assumptions may account for other syntactic complexity effects [60] and similarity-based interference effects [60,61]. Memory-based interference relies on the idea that mental representations can interfere with one another and that more similar mental representations interfere with one another more than less similar representations. This resembles the systematic misperception that is assumed to underlie interpretive errors by noisy-channel accounts. 'Doctor' and 'lawyer' may be difficult to distinguish at a semantic level in the same way that 'at' and 'as' are difficult to differentiate at the phonological level. The latter problem has been claimed by noisy channel proponents to account for processing phenomena in a certain type of difficult, 'garden-path' sentence [62]. Structures that impose greater memory demands may be more susceptible to disruption by noise (internal or external). Similarly, noise may have greater effects when two representations are more similar in terms of their phonology (e.g., nurse–purse) or meaning (e.g., doctor–lawyer) than when they are more distinct (nurse–handbag, doctor–hamster) [63].

## Challenges for noisy-channel models

While Bayesian estimation and noisy-channel hypotheses account for various empirical phenomena, it remains unclear whether accounts derived for specific sentence types are computationally tractable for natural language more broadly. This is due to the combinatorial explosion that occurs for any system that must compute interpretations, both for the signal and for near neighbors across different dimensions (phonological, lexical, syntactic) and different grain sizes [64]. Bayesian approaches to parsing assume that a comprehender must compute and evaluate not just the syntactic structures and interpretations

that can be assigned to an accurately perceived string, but also all of the near neighbors that would be produced by edits to the string. Given the number of lexical, structural, and semantic replacements that are possible, the number of computed interpretations would be astronomical. However, there may be ways of limiting the search space such that the space consistently includes the intended interpretation without requiring the computation and evaluation of massive numbers of alternative interpretations [65].

Levy [49] noted that Bayesian noisy-channel models faced the challenge of predicting and explaining a wide variety of experimental results across a wide variety of tasks and sentence types. Bayesian noisy-channel models may resist being scaled up for a few reasons. Currently, much of the empirical evidence for noisy-channel models comes from sentence judgments, a kind of ‘off-line’ task. Off-line tasks are those that measure the consequences of comprehension rather than the process of comprehension itself. A full-coverage account should be able to handle the results of both off-line and on-line performance. Second, it is unclear why a system that is indifferent to the precise nature of the signal would reliably and very rapidly detect ungrammaticalities. However, as Phillips and Lewis note, comprehenders ‘detect just about any linguistic anomaly within a few hundred milliseconds of the anomaly appearing in the input’ ([66], p. 19). Third, some of the on-line evidence for the noisy-channel hypothesis comes from very restricted processing environments. For example, Levy and colleagues’ paper on reduced relative clause processing focused on the possibility that comprehenders might misperceive the word ‘at’ as the word ‘as’ [62]. Comprehenders frequently misinterpret sentences such as ‘The coach smiled at the player tossed the frisbee’ as meaning that the player tossed the frisbee (the grammar licenses the meaning that somebody tossed the player a frisbee). The noisy-channel model attributes this misinterpretation to misperception of the sentence (people hear it as ‘The coach smiled *as* the player tossed the frisbee’). In the 2009 experiment, all of the experimental sentences had reduced relative clauses in object position and they all were preceded by the word ‘at’. However, processing difficulty and misinterpretation could remain even if the word ‘at’ were replaced by various other words (smiled beside..., smiled in front of..., smiled longingly toward...) that are not as confusable with ‘as’, although the relevant experiment has not been conducted. Finally, as Pykkänen and McElree note, any kind of underspecification account, including noisy-channel models, may be unable to explain how novel meanings are constructed in the first place ([67], p. 540). Interpretive systems whose main function is pattern recognition do not, without some major additions, have the ability to assign meanings to unfamiliar patterns. It is also probably not viable to assume syntactic underspecification in production, since speakers must ultimately select one set of morphosyntactic and phonological forms for any given sentence [6,7]. Comprehension and production need not operate in exactly the same way, but there is substantial evidence for shared representation and similar if not identical syntactic structure-building processes across production and comprehension [68].

## Satisficing

Bayesian/noisy-channel approaches to parsing hypothesize that interpretation may be based not on the produced signal but on a comprehender’s approximation of the signal. This approximation depends both on cues extracted from the signal and on prior beliefs about

events, what speakers are likely to say about those events, and how they are likely to structure their expressions. These assumptions are largely if not fully compatible with a strand of research based on the good-enough parsing hypothesis [22,23,69]. Ferreira and colleagues discovered that comprehenders often derived meanings that were incompatible with the grammatically licensed interpretations of temporarily syntactically ambiguous sentences as well as sentences that were unambiguous. For instance, participants would interpret ‘While Mary was dressing the baby played on the floor’ as meaning that Mary was dressing the baby. This meaning is not licensed by the signal (the licensed meaning is that Mary was dressing herself). Comprehenders also systematically misinterpret semantically anomalous sentences (sentences for which the licensed meaning is implausible), especially when the syntactic structure is less frequent or noncanonical. Comprehenders will tend to interpret the passive-voice sentence ‘The mouse was eaten by the cheese’ as meaning that the mouse ate the cheese. This tendency is stronger than for active-voice sentences such as ‘The cheese ate the mouse’ (Figure 1). There is also some evidence that comprehenders do not resolve syntactic ambiguities involving modifier attachments unless specifically prompted to do so by comprehension questions [70], although this effect differs cross-linguistically and may depend on comprehenders’ working-memory capacity [71,72]. Because comprehenders’ interpretations in these studies were systematically biased toward plausible meanings, these findings offer a clear demonstration of the effects of prior knowledge and beliefs. That is, they indicate that anomalous interpretations are not adopted even when the syntax of a sentence provides clear indications that the anomalous meaning was intended. Thus, the results are straightforwardly compatible with the Bayesian/noisy-channel approach to sentence interpretation.

These results do not, by themselves, discriminate between two hypotheses regarding syntactic and semantic analysis. The first is that comprehenders computed syntactic form as dictated by the available cues, derived semantic interpretations from syntactic form, and then rejected those meanings because they conflicted with prior beliefs (i.e., mice eat cheese, not the other way around). The second is that semantic interpretations were derived from the lexical content of the sentences without the benefit of syntactically driven thematic role assignment. This latter syntactic underspecification hypothesis would be compatible with the noisy-channel proposal (i.e., comprehenders derive an approximate set of structures for a given string). However, recent work involving comprehenders’ response to reflexive pronouns calls the syntactic underspecification hypothesis into question [73]. While reading sentences similar to ‘After the banker phoned, Steve’s father/mother grew worried and gave himself five days to reply’, readers showed a gender-mismatch effect on the reflexive pronoun ‘himself’. That means that readers spent more time when the pronoun (himself) did not match the gender of the preceding noun (mother).

This mismatch effect should occur only if the comprehenders have built a detailed syntactic structure for the sentence (based on previous studies on the effects of sentence structure on co-reference) [14,61]. These results suggest that comprehenders do not underspecify syntactic form, but that plausible semantic interpretations derived early in a sentence are not always displaced based on later processing events [74–76]. Hence, while comprehenders may favor sensible interpretations over less sensible ones (based on general world knowledge or contextually supplied information), this does not mean that syntactic



structures are not computed or do not contribute to sentence interpretations. If this is correct, the noisy-channel assumption of underspecified syntax may need to be modified. If the assumption of multiple syntactic structure activations, weighted by frequency and similarity to the signal, were discarded, a different explanation for editdistance effects would be required. Perhaps such effects could result from the kinds of recovery process that are presumed by accounts of syntactic reanalysis or self-monitoring and self-correction during speech production. According to this kind of account, comprehenders would build and assess one syntactic structure at a time. When that structure led to a faulty interpretation, comprehenders would undertake syntactic structure revisions or word-based edits (e.g., ‘cheese’ is edited to ‘chief’) to bring the word-level, syntactic, and sentence-level interpretations into agreement.

## Open questions

The Bayesian/noisy-channel hypothesis answers several questions about how predictions are drawn. For instance, it indicates that the conditional probability of various syntactic interpretations is computed by combining base-rate information with cue-driven estimation of likelihood. Other questions about how predictions are drawn remain unanswered. Are predictions drawn in a graded fashion or does prediction work like implicit lexical selection, with one candidate ultimately selected? Does prediction depend on emulating the speaker or writer? If so, one would expect that making comprehenders undertake covert articulation would disrupt the prediction process. Another set of questions revolves around the extent to which free attentional and working-memory resources are required for prediction. If prediction depends on free resources, one would expect to see individual differences. Comprehenders with better executive control or more working-memory capacity should make more predictions and predict with greater success than comprehenders with fewer resources. Individual differences may also be found in the way that comprehenders acquire the knowledge that drives estimates of prior probability. Given that the Bayesian account appeals to baserate information as a factor that affects prediction, different comprehenders with different exposure to language input should derive different predictions or at least draw the same predictions with different degrees of certainty. Given that event knowledge feeds into predictions [39], comprehenders with different degrees of expertise in a given content area should derive different predictions, based on their different conceptualizations of the domain. Here again, resources may be an important factor. If gathering of priors is cost free and automatic, mere exposure to patterns in the language should lead to prior probability estimates that closely match the languagewide patterns. If, however, adjustment of priors depends on a mismatch between predicted and observed input, if generating the prediction requires speaker emulation, and if all of that requires some degree of attention, mere exposure will not lead to acquisition of base-rate information or changes in existing estimates of prior probability. If so, task-related factors influencing depth of processing may play an important role in the acquisition and modification of base-rate information [70,77]. All of these questions will require careful investigation before claims can be made with confidence.

## Concluding remarks

Classical accounts of syntactic parsing present it as a largely reactive process. According to these classical views, words are identified, syntactic dependencies are computed, and structured sequences are subjected to semantic analysis. This bottom-up, encapsulated view of processing does not offer elegant or clear explanations for experimental results such as Altmann and Kamide's findings that attention shifts to concepts that do not yet have a counterpart in the signal [20]. Alternative approaches embrace the notion that comprehenders use prior knowledge to predict how a string is likely to unfold, in terms of both its lexical and semantic content and its syntactic structure. The noisy-channel hypothesis elaborates on this approach by focusing on the kinds of assumption that comprehenders have about signal distortion. Bayesian approaches, like prior constraint-based lexicalist approaches to parsing, assume that parsing a string entails simultaneously computing and evaluating a set of structural and semantic alternatives. The good-enough parsing hypothesis resembles Bayesian/noisy-channel accounts in that it supposes that comprehenders' prior beliefs strongly influence the interpretation derived for a given sentence. This supposition is borne out by findings that comprehenders prefer plausible, illicit interpretations over implausible, grammatically licensed interpretations.

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## Glossary

### Event-related potentials (ERPs)

when neurons fire, they generate electrical current that can be detected at the scalp. Neural activity produces systematic oscillations of electrical current. This activity occurs in response to various stimuli. Presentation of a stimulus leads to an ERP – the pattern of electrical activity at the scalp that occurs because of the stimulus.

### Grain size

probabilistic accounts, including Bayesian/noisy-channel accounts, suppose that people keep track of patterns in the language. These patterns can occur at different levels of specificity. For example, the most common structure in English is noun–verb–noun (NVN) (subject–verb–object). That is a very large grain size. However, a verb like sneeze almost never takes a direct object. It is most often expressed as noun–verb (NV). So, at a fine grain size, sneeze is most likely to appear in a NV structure. At a larger grain size, the most likely structure is NVN.

### Lexical co-occurrence

some words are more likely to appear together than others; police–car is more likely than police–cat.

### Lexical item/lexical processing

a lexical item is roughly a single word. Lexical processing refers to the mental operations that retrieve or activate stored knowledge about words as needed during comprehension and production.

**N400 response**

the N400 is a characteristic of brain waves. The amplitude (size) of the N400 is related to how frequently a word appears in the language, how well the word's meaning fits with its contexts, and other factors that make identifying and integrating the word easier or more difficult.

**Reduced relative clauses**

relative clauses are expressions that modify preceding nouns. They are often signaled by a relativizer, a word like 'that'. In the expression 'The cat that my sister likes', 'that my sister likes' is a relative clause modifying cat. If the word 'that' were removed, the relative clause would be a reduced relative clause.

**Schema**

a knowledge structure in long-term memory that reflects an individual's knowledge of a certain kind of event. For example, a restaurant schema encodes the typical participants, objects, and events that occur when one goes to a restaurant.

**Sentence complement**

sometimes verbs appear with an entire sentence as an argument (as opposed to, for example, just a noun phrase). In the sentence 'John knows the answer is in the book', 'the answer is in the book' is a sentence complement that is governed by the verb 'knows'. (What does John know? That the answer is in the book.)

**Syntactic parsing**

involves the set of mental operations that detects and uses cues in sentences to determine how words relate to one another.

**Syntactic structure**

a mental representation that captures dependencies between words in sentences.

**Thematic roles**

abstract semantic classes that capture common roles that many different entities and objects play in different sentences. For example, in the sentences 'John drank milk' and 'John pokes bears', John is the initiator of the described action. John is a thematic agent. In the two sentences, milk and bears are on the receiving end of the action, so they are thematic patients.

**Theta domains**

according to Frazier and Clifton [16] some words in sentences assign thematic roles to other words in the sentence. A theta domain is that part of a sentence for which a given word assigns thematic roles.

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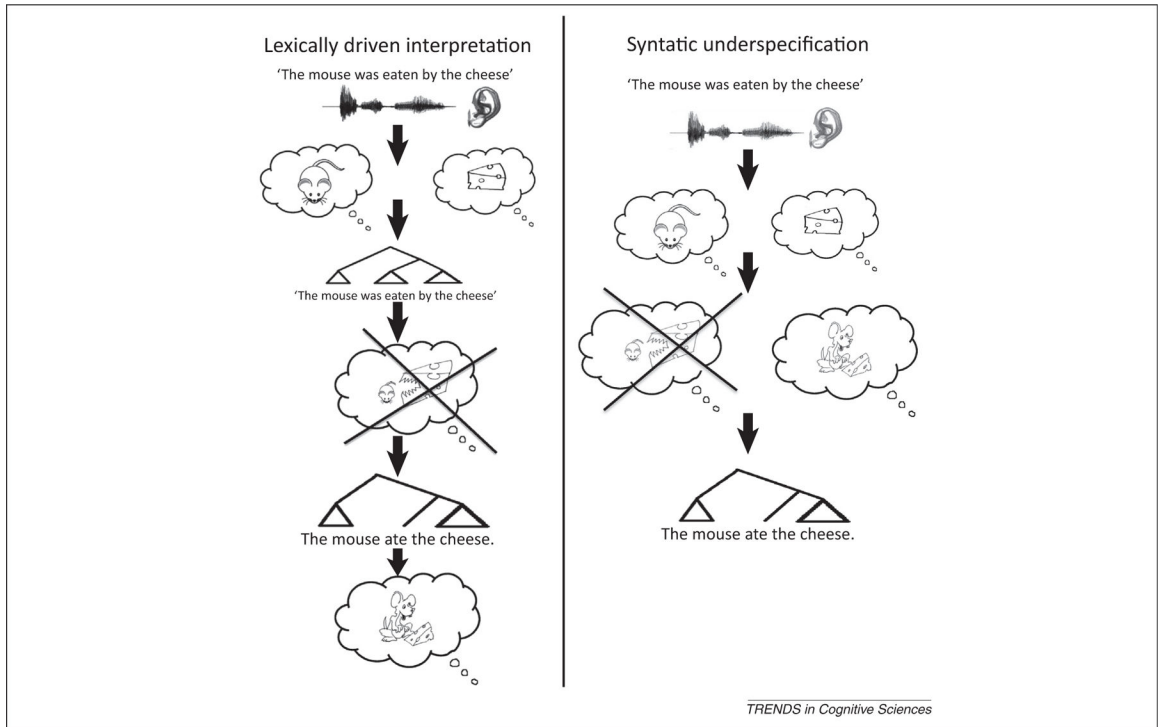
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**Figure 1.** A processing architecture under which default lexical information overrides syntactically derived meanings appears on the left side. Under these assumptions, syntax is computed and then ignored in favor of lexically derived meanings. The right side shows how a similar interpretive outcome could result if syntactic computations were foregone altogether.