

Parsing and the Strong Minimalist Thesis

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Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT)

Generative Grammar

•	idea: a formal system with derivation rules that generate sente	ences
	 John ate a sandwich / *Sandwich a ate John 	(pg.113, Chomsky, 1956)
•	PSG : ordered phrases, S> NP, VP. VP> V, NP. etc.	
	 Later on: efficient parsing algorithms invented (for artificial languages) 	
٠	TG: shuffling units around makes for simpler descriptions	
	• the man -past have -en be -ing take the book	(pg.120)
	• the man have-past be-en take-ing the book	
	• the man had been taking the book	
	• NP ₁ aux V NP ₂ \Rightarrow NP ₂ aux be en V by NP ₁	
	• [the man] -past eat [the food] \Rightarrow [the food] -past be -en eat by [the man]	(pg.121)
	• the shooting of the hunters (ambig.)/ (unambig.) the growling of lions / the raising of flowers	(pg. 123)
	No known efficient parsing algorithm	
•	FSA: even simpler system, more complicated descriptions: linear concatentatio	n
	plenty of evidence against this	
	• if S_1 then S_2 / either S_3 or S_4 / the man who said that S_5 is arriving today	(pg. 115)
	Efficient parsing algorithms	`

• Chomsky (1956). Three models for the Description of Language. IEEE Transactions on Information Theory.



Chomsky (1956). Three models for the Description of Language. IEEE Transactions on Information Theory.



Transformations

discussed above

Auxiliary-V-NP₂, then the corresponding string of the form NP₂-Auxiliary be en-V-by NP₁ is also a sentence.

 NP_1 aux $V NP_2 \Rightarrow NP_2$ aux be en V by NP_1

Chomsky (1956). Three models for the Description of Language. IEEE Transactions on Information Theory.

A Tradeoff



- Simple mechanisms
 - Complex descriptions of language phenomena
- Complex mechanisms
 - Simpler descriptions, e.g. using Transformations
- 1950s computational efficiency not yet in the picture ...
 - computer stack (BURY/UNBURY), Turing (1945)
 - Cocke–Younger–Kasami (CKY) algorithm, Sakai (1961)
 - LR(k) parsing, (D)PDA discovery, Knuth (1965)
 - Earley algorithm, Earley (1968)

Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT)



- SMT says
 - simplicity of mechanism is needed (evolutionary plausibility)
 - computational efficiency is needed (slow wetware)
 - simplicity of description is possible (Einstein's Miracle Creed)
- What is that simple mechanism?
 - Ask what's the simplest (formal) device that permits phrases?



Operative Complexity

3rd Factor: all operations on structure obey this

- Adopt simplest recursive formal device
 - i.e. Merge feeds Merge in the Workspace (WS)
- (Minimal) Search:
 - look in the WS for something, 1st thing you find, have to stop
- (Chomsky p.c.):
 - We assume that Merge like other operations observes it.
 - That's why only members of WS, not their terms, are eligible for EM.
- Markovian assumption:
 - e.g. no memory, no (access to) WS history
 - no elaboration permitted: no 3 objects, no parallel/no sideways/no splicing etc.
- Ask: is Simplest Merge efficient?
 - has nasty combinatorics
- Answer: Merge has Language (organ) Specific Constraints (LSCs)
 - Language Merge is pre-wired for Theta Theory (predicates and arguments)

Return to this important idea



Strong Н. H. ergaster H. erectus H. heidelbergensis H. habilis neanderthalensis Minimalist Time Millions of years ago (mya) 5.0 4.0 3.0 2.0 1.0 Thesis Denisovan until the emergence of behaviorally modern *H. sapiens*: in general, technological innovations have been sporadic and rare. The most-striking evidence for a distinct cognitive contrast between (SMT) modern humans and all their predecessors, however, comes Stockv body from Europe. H. sapiens came late to this continent and brought a new kind of stone tool based on striking long thin "blades" from a carefully prepared long core. In short order these Europeans, the so-Hor sapie Tell brain and ev called Cro-Magnons, left a dazzling variety of symbolic works of prehistoric art. story ... A. garhi Large brains,

stone tools

We special? Allometric scaling



Yes, we special

- But it's not in the raw hardware, i.e. just adding more neurons
 - neuroanatomical differences: humans vs. nonhuman primates exist, e.g. Broca's area
 - for example, supercomputer below is just a scaled-up (AMD CPU) PC
 - recently upgraded in speed by 20% (Aug 2023)

National Weather Service: NOAA supercomputers *Dogwood* (VA) and *Cactu*



You all noticed the 20% better weather forecasts, right? :-)

Fact: Brain is slow, efficiency is important

Computational efficiency (and **bandwidth**) are important considerations for all organic systems:

- our sensory apparatus can generate vast amounts of data (sensor mismatch)
- a slow (*chemical*) brain limits what can be analyzed
- The War of Soups and Sparks (Valenstein, 2005) 19th century belief that neurons were electrically connected. Neurophysiologists believed only electrical transmission is fast enough to activate skeletal muscles. Mid-20th century: brain is chemical.
- neuron communication uses 50% of energy
- we (selectively) throw out/ignore almost all of the signal



Evolution is slow

Land & Fernald (1992), Animal Eyes Land & Nilsson (2012)

- From the first opsin to high-resolution vision took about **170 million years** and was largely completed by the onset of the Cambrian, about 530 mya.
 - stage 1: receptors (evolved 40-65 times)
 - stage 2: optics (10 different systems)
- Most of the types of eye that we recognize today arose in a brief period during the Cambrian, about 530 million years ago.
- First brain cells (700 mya),
- First nervous system (500 mya, Cambrian). Jellyfish: eyes but no brain.
- First human-like brain (3-4 mya)
- Modern brain (1-0.2 mya)

• SMT optimal solution: Nature adapts/optimizes what it has to work with



- "camera eye" (cf. compound eye)
- octopus: color-blind, but can re-generate eyes
- we lost superior tetrachromatic vision 100 mya

Einstein's Miracle Creed

from McDonough (2022)

Time and again the passion for understanding has led to the illusion that man is able to comprehend the objective world rationally, by pure thought, without any empirical foundations—in short, by metaphysics. I believe that every true theorist is a kind of tamed metaphysicist. . . . The metaphysicist believes that the logically simple is also the real. The tamed metaphysicist believes that not all that is logica LLMs: "largest models perienced reality, but that the tot typically have 100 billion can be "comprehended" on the bas parameters " GPT-4 on premises of great simplicity. The 1,760 billion (Wikipedia) "miracle creed." Admittedly so, but it is a miracle creed which has been borne out to an amazing extent by the development of science. (Einstein 1950, 342)

Merge: LSC

- Recall there are simpler things than Simplest Merge
 - e.g. linear concatenation (Chomsky 1956 Model #1)
 - e.g. non-recursive (so-called) Core-Merge, Fujita (2014)
 - e.g. Conjoin, Progovac (2015)
 - e.g. recursive Internal Merge (IM) only (as it's more efficient)
 - NO: can't work on its own, it can't get started
 - e.g. recursive External Merge (EM) only
 - hmm, can build $\theta\text{-configurations}$ now, but all languages exhibit displacement

same as concat-2?

- Posit them as earlier stages of evolution?
 - only necessary if you believe Merge cannot emerge in "one step"

Merge: LSC

• Merge has nasty combinatorics



1erge) vs. EM (External Merge). rmines how to interpret identical

an't observe theta theory (and duality eferred derivation.

rations (SBO) are thought-related,

- (External) Merge builds θ-configurations efficiently
- i.e as early and quickly as possible

Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT)

- This is not a technical talk (*unfortunately*)
 - there are ways to computationally tame Merge (under SMT)
 - i.e. without requiring the invention of new mechanisms/algorithms
 - LSC: θ-theory
 - arguments and predicates that seek arguments
 - **Operative complexity**: Language Merge hugely better than Merge
 - Phases (aka WS partitioning)
 - for internal thought generation, NOT for parsing (that's sorta okay)
 - Workspace Balancing
 - wrt. θ-seekers and θ-relevant WS items (the problem of unpronounced items)



Berkeley Neural Parser

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Grammaticality

John ate a sandwich /
 *Sandwich a ate John

 (pg.113, Chomsky, 1956)







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Colorless green ideas sleep furiously / *Furiously sleep ideas green colorless





Statistical systems can accept nearly anything, including unnatural languages. Is that a feature or a bug?

(pg.116, Chomsky, 1956)

SMT Parser



SMT Parser

Words: colorless green ideas sleep furiously **Initial WS 1:** furiously_v sleep_ø $v_{sleep:\theta:pres}$ INFL_v ideas green_θ colorless_θ {C, {{ideas, {{green_θ, ideas}, {colorless_θ, ideas}}}, {INFL_v, {furiously_v, {{ideas, {{green_θ, ideas}, {colorless_θ, ideas}}}, {v_{sleep:\theta:pres}, sleep_ø}}}}

Initial WS 2: $furiously_v$ $sleep_{\emptyset} v_{sleep:\theta}$ $INFL_v$ ideas $green_{\theta}$ colorless_{\theta}



Technical aside Uses FormSet as well as Merge e.g. *John arrived and met Bill* Chomsky GK



How it works

[pg.118, Chomsky (1956)]

this sentence will have two phrase structures assigned to it; it can be analyzed as "they - are - flying planes" or "they - are flying - planes." And in fact, this sentence is ambiguous in just this way; we can understand it as meaning that "those specks on the horizon are - flying planes" or "those pilots - are flying - planes."

- they are flying planes
- they are flying planes

How it works

• Parsing:

- recognize a word from the input signal
- look it up in LEX
- heads go in an Initial Workspace (WS)
- Merge fires!



How it works

Workspaces (WS):

- planes fly_{\theta:presp} v_{fly:\theta} INFL_v v_{v:prog:pres} they
- planes flying_{\theta} be_{\theta} v_{\text{be:}\theta:\text{pres}} INFL_{v} they
- could be more ...

[They] [are] [flying] [planes]

[They] [are] [flying] [planes]

θ-configuration Derivation: 1. planes $fly_{\theta:presp} v_{fly:\theta} INFL_v v_{v:prog:pres}$ they Merge output: 2. {fly_{θ :presp}, planes} $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL_v $v_{v:prog:pres}$ they converged 3. { $v_{fly:\theta}$, { $fly_{\theta:presp}$, planes}} INFL_v $v_{y:prog:pres}$ they 4. {they, { $v_{fly:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}</sub>, planes}} INFL_v <math>v_{v:prog:pres}$ </sub> FormCopy 5. { $v_{v:prog:pres}$, {they, { $v_{fly:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}$ </sub>, planes}}} INFL_v 6. {INFL_v, { $v_{v:prog:pres}$, {they, { $v_{flv:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}$ </sub>, planes}}} 7. {they, {INFL_v, { $v_{v:prog:pres}$, {they, { $v_{fly:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}</sub>, planes}}}}}</sub>$ 8. {C, {they, {INFL_v, { $v_{v:prog:pres}}$, {they, { $v_{flv:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}</sub>, planes}/₇</sub>$ 9. {C, {they, {INFL_v, { $v_{v:prog:pres}}$, {they, { $v_{fly:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}</sub>, planes}</sub>$ Linear 10. planes[,] they 3pl flying pres. be Spellout 11. thev flying planes are

[They] [are] [flying] [planes]

• Derivation:





SMT Parser

sandiway.arizona.edu/smtparser

Hand-built LEX

Words: they are flying planes

- ► Initial WS 1: planes $fly_{\theta:presp}$ $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL_v $v_{pred:pres}$ INFL_v they
- ► Initial WS 2: planes flying₀ $v_{pred:pres}$ INFL_v they
- ► Initial WS 3: planes $fly_{\theta:presp}$ $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL_v be_{θ} $v_{be:\theta:pres}$ INFL_v they
- ▶ Initial WS 4: planes flying₀ be₀ $v_{be:0:pres}$ INFL_v they
- ► Initial WS 5: planes $fly_{\theta:presp} v_{fly:\theta} INFL_v v_{v:prog:pres}$ they
- ► Initial WS 6: planes $flying_{\theta} v_{v:prog:pres}$ they
- ► Initial WS 7: planes $flying_{\theta} v_{v:pass:pres}$ they



WordNet LEX (nltk)

Words: they are flying pl	Words: they are flying planes		
Initial WS 1: planes	flying are they		
► Initial WS 2: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} flying are they		
Initial WS 3: planes	$fly_{\theta:presp} v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL _v are they		
► Initial WS 4: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} fly _{$\theta:presp$ $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL_v are they}		
Initial WS 5: planes	flying _{θ} are they		
► Initial WS 6: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} flying _{θ} are they		
Initial WS 7: planes	flying v _{pred:pres} INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 8: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} flying $v_{pred:pres}$ INFL _v they		
Initial WS 9: planes	$fly_{\theta:presp}$ $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL _v $v_{pred:pres}$ INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 10: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} fly _{$\theta:presp$ $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL_v $v_{pred:pres}$ INFL_v they}		
► Initial WS 11: planes	flying _{θ} v _{pred:pres} INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 12: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} flying _{θ} v _{pred:pres} INFL _v they		
▶ Initial WS 13: planes	flying $be_{\theta} v_{be:\theta:pres}$ INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 14: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} flying $be_{\theta} v_{be:\theta:pres}$ INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 15: planes	$fly_{\theta;presp} v_{fly;\theta} INFL_v be_{\theta} v_{be;\theta;pres} INFL_v$ they		
► Initial WS 16: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} fly _{$\theta:presp$} $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL _v be _{θ} $v_{be:\theta:pres}$ INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 17: planes	flying _{θ} be _{θ} v _{be:θ:pres} INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 18: plane _θ	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} flying _{θ} be _{θ} v _{be:$\theta:pres$} INFL _v they		
► Initial WS 19: planes	flying v _{v:prog:pres} they		
► Initial WS 20: planes	$fly_{\theta:presp} v_{fly:\theta} INFL_v v_{v:prog:pres}$ they		
► Initial WS 21: $plane_{\theta}$	$v_{plane:\theta:pres}$ INFL _{v:3sg} fly _{$\theta:presp$ $v_{fly:\theta}$ INFL_v $v_{v:prog:pres}$ they}		
► Initial WS 22: planes	$flying_{\theta} v_{v:prog:pres}$ they		
► Initial WS 23: planes	flying v _{v:pass:pres} they		
► Initial WS 24: planes	$flying_{\theta} v_{v:pass:pres}$ they		

Jokes: multiple parses

- Many jokes are based on the human parser reflexively computing more than one parse
- Examples:
 - As I handed my dad his 50th birthday card, he looked at me with tears in his eyes and said,
 - "You know, one would've been enough."

• on a bicycle





Sam: No. Hot dogs don't have hands!

Note: the visual system can also exhibit parsing ambiguity



You

Is it okay to eat hot dogs with hands? No. Hot dogs don't have hands! What's funny about this?

0

S ChatGPT

The humor in the response "No. Hot dogs don't have hands!" comes from the unexpected twist in the interpretation of the question. Instead of addressing whether it's socially acceptable for humans to eat hot dogs with their hands, the response takes the question literally and humorously points out that hot dogs themselves don't possess hands to eat with. This unexpected and literal interpretation creates a humorous moment by subverting the original question in a clever and playful way.

SMT Parser

- {C, {they, {INFL_v, { $v_{v:prog:pres}}$, {they, { $v_{fly:\theta}$, {fly_{$\theta:presp}$ </sub>, planes}}}}}
- {C, {they, {INFL_v, {they, { $v_{be:\theta:pres}}$, { be_{θ} , {planes, {flying_{\theta}}, planes}}}}}}





How it works

[pg.118, Chomsky (1956)]

- they are flying planes
- they are flying planes

(20))Σ F	: # Sentence # : Sentence - NP VP VP - Verb NP
	(23)	Verb - are flying Verb - are NP - they NP - planes NP - flying planes



Berkeley Neural Parser parser.kitaev.io



They are flying planes (pg.118, Chomsky, 1956) (24) # Sentence ~ # # Sentence ~ # ٧P VP NP NP. they they Verb NP Verb NP are flying planes are flying planes



More Structural Ambiguity

It's generally hard to avoid computing structural descriptions **PP attachment:**

• John saw the boy with a telescope

(generally, prepositions are hard for computer parsing!)

[pg.101 Chomsky Aspects (1965)]

Location-PP or not?

He decided on the boat

"he chose the boat"

• "he made his decision while on the boat"

- He decided on the boat on the train
- On the train, he decided on the boat



"He decided on the boat" suggests someone made a choice while on a boat, or perhaps chose the

ChatGPT boat itself for a specific purpose or journey.

He decided on the boat

Basic Property (BP) of Language

• simplest computational rule: *pick nearest (appropriate) word*

The simplest operation is certainly within the cognitive repertoire. A child has no problem picking the first bead on a string.

g Wassg

- **BP:** no, simplest rule available:
 - build structure, then determine nearest
 - observed by children (as early as 30 months), not learned
- Number Agreement:
 - a. the bombing_{sg} of the cities_{pl} was_{sg} criminal
 - b. * were_{pl}
 - c. the bombings_{pl} of the city_{sg} were_{pl} criminal

[pg.9, Chomsky GK (2021)]

ChatGPT

ChatGPT 40 mini \sim

\$

The bombing of cities has been a significant and tragic aspect of warfare throughout history, especially during the 20th century. This tactic involves using aerial or missile bombardment to target cities, typically aiming to destroy infrastructure, disrupt civilian life, demoralize the population, and weaken an enemy's capacity for war. Here are some notable instances:

the bombing of the cities have

The bombing of the cities

It seems like you're referring to a historical event involving the bombing of cities. Could you

Basic Property (BP) of Language

[pg.9, Chomsky GK (2021)]

• "adverb *carefully* seeks a verb [to modify], but it cannot use the simplest computation: pick the linearly closest verb."

• Construal:

- [...] marks linearly closest verb
- the mechanic who *fixed* the car *carefully* [*packed*] his tools
- Carefully, the mechanic who [fixed] the car packed his tools <--
- the mechanic who *fixed* the car [*packed*] his tools *carefully*
- the mechanic who *carefully* [*fixed*] the car *packed* his tools **



ChatGPT





Berkeley Neural Parser parser.kitaev.io



The mechanic who fixed the car carefully packed his tools [Chomsky GK (2021), pg.9]





corenlp.run



• stanza.run



SMT Parser



SMT Parser

One question: two parses from one initial WS or two?

Answer: just one.

Parse:

- 1. {C, {{mechanic_{the}, {C_{relword(who)}, {mechanic_{the}, {INFL_v, {carefully_v, {mechanic_{the}, {V_{fix:0:pst, {fix_0, car_{the}}}}}}, {INFL_v, {mechanic_{the}, {C_rel_{word(who)}, {mechanic_{the}, {INFL_v, {carefully_v, {mechanic_{the}, {V_{fix:0:pst}, {fix_0, car_{the}}}}}}, {v_{pack:0:pst, {pack_0, tools_{his}}}}}
- 2. {C, {{mechanic_{the}}, {C_{relword(who)}}, {mechanic_{the}, {INFL_v, {mechanic_{the}}, {v_{fix:0:pst}, {fix_{\theta}, car_{the}}}}}, {INFL_v, {carefully_v, {{mechanic_{the}}, {C_rel_{word(who)}, {mechanic_{the}}, {INFL_v, {mechanic_{the}}, {v_{fix:0:pst}, {fix_{\theta}, car_{th}, {}}}}}, {v_{fix:0:pst}, {fix_{\theta}, car_{th}, {}}}}}



car_{the}

fix₀

SMT Parser



[pgs.8,103,117 Berwick & Chomsky (2016)]

- Similarly ambiguous sentences:
 - Birds that fly instinctively swim
 - The desire to fly instinctively appeals to children
- and unambiguous counterparts:
 - Instinctively, birds that fly swim
 - Instinctively, the desire to fly appeals to children

SMT Parser



[pg.39, Chomsky POP (2013)]

- Can eagles that fly swim?
 - "the question is about ability to swim, not to fly."
- Are eagles that fly swimming?
- *Are eagles that swimming fly?
 - "... does not ask whether it is the case that eagles that are swimming fly. ... that is a fine thought, but it cannot be expressed by [this sentence]."





[pg.39, Chomsky POP (2013)]

- Are eagles that fly swimming?
- *Are eagles that swimming fly?





[pg.39, Chomsky POP (2013)]

- *Are* eagles that fly swimming?
- *Are eagles that swimming fly?



Parsing not the same as Internal Thought

- Operative Complexity less for Internal Thought
 - Language is optimized for thought, not communication
- No Phases
 - Chomsky MI (2000) assumes WS's are pre-partitioned:
 - (26) the demonstration that glaciers are receding showed that global warming must be taken seriously

The prefinal phases of the derivation are the syntactic objects corresponding to (27a-c).⁵⁵

- (27) a. $P_1 = [_{CP}$ that global warming must be taken seriously]
 - b. $P_2 = [_{CP} \text{ that glaciers are receding}]$
 - c. $P_3 = [_{\nu P} \text{ [the demonstration } P_2 \text{ [show } P_1 \text{]]]}$

For each new phase, a subarray provides the lexical material required and the operations proceed in the manner already sketched, with P_1/P_2

The SMT Parser Project

- Isn't it a mystery that we can parse externalized language at all?
 - No help from SMT
 - Only Merge builds thoughts (**BP**)
 - Not enough time for Nature to tinker with language
 - Not enough time to evolve new systems or mechanisms, e.g. a parsing algorithm

Basic Property (BP) of Language

[Chomsky GK (2021), pg.9]

- The puzzle is that from infancy on we ignore 100% of what we hear (linear order) and reflexively use only structures that we never hear but that our mind constructs, with non-trivial computations.
- The reason must be that linear order is simply not available to the I-language, the system that constructs thoughts.
- Why then does speech require linearization? The articulatory system cannot produce structures ...
 - The [sensory-motor] systems used for externalization have nothing to do with language; they were in place long before language emerged, and have not changed since.
 - Pure language is the internal system that generates thought.

Communication and Thought

- Language organ is designed to construct thoughts efficiently
- Language is not designed for efficient communication
- If the the set of th
 - EXT cannot have come before Merge.
 - The modern doctrine that language may have evolved from animal communication seems quite untenable. [pg.10, Chomsky GK (2021)]
- It makes no sense to say that some system evolved for **X**
 - "the spine evolved for keeping us upright," or "language evolved for communication"

Communication and Thought

- Communicative efficiency is always sacrificed
 - The most serious cases involve deletion of copies in accord with computational efficiency, leading to some of the **hardest parsing problems.** [pg.10, fn.12, Chomsky GK (2021)]
 - see solutions in the SMT Parser ...
 - Externalization: John or the men *is/*are in the room
 - ... unproblematic for expression of thought if feature valuation kept to late insertion so that only the bare copula reaches the thought level (as in some spoken dialects)
- Note that statistical information is irrelevant to I-language as a matter of principle, though as has always been assumed in the generative enterprise (see Chomsky 1957), it can be highly relevant to processing and acquisition.

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- sandiway.arizona.edu/smtparser
- Theory
 - Chomsky 3M:
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Appendix: TG

- Why is (1), but not (2) and (3), ambiguous?
 - 1) the shooting of the hunters
 - 2) the growling of lions
 - 3) the raising of flowers

[pg.123, Chomsky 3M (1956)]

- Answer:
 - lions growl => the growling of lions
 - they raise flowers => the raising of flowers
 - hunters shoot
 - they shoot the hunters

Appendix: TG

[pg.192, Chomsky Remarks (1970)]

- Tomatoes grow
- The growth of tomatoes
 - tomatoes grow => the growth of tomatoes
- John grows tomatoes
 - John [+cause] [s tomatoes grow]
 - *John grows tomatoes => the growth of tomatoes
- The growing of tomatoes (ambiguous)
 - lions growl => the growling of lions
 - they raise flowers => the raising of flowers

the corresponding derived nominal is excluded (though not, of course, the corresponding nominalization *the growing of tomatoes* — we return to nominalizations of this type on p. 214). Hence the lack of ambiguity offers empirical support for a combination of the lexicalist hypothesis with the causative analysis, though not for either of these assumptions taken in isolation.

(unambiguous)

Appendix: TG

[pg.214–215, Chomsky Remarks (1970)]

John grows tomatoes

• John [+cause, grow] tomatoes

In other words, we postulate that there is a feature [+cause] which can be assigned to certain verbs as a lexical property. Associated with this feature are certain redundancy rules which are, in this case, universal, hence not part of the grammar of English but rather among the principles by which any grammar is interpreted. These principles specify that an intransitive with the feature [+cause] becomes transitive and that its selectional features are systematically revised so that the former subject becomes the object.

To account for the distinction between (56c) and (57), we must restrict the feature [+cause] with respect to the feature that distinguishes derived nominals such as *growth* from forms such as *growing*, limiting it to the latter case.