

# Phrasal Weight Effect on Word Order

light-before-heavy vs. heavy-before-light

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Lei Liu

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**The presentation in bullet points:**

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- A great number of languages prefer **light**-before-**heavy** word order.
- This preference follows from **memory resources** needed for parsing competing **syntactic structure**.
  - as shown by Minimalist Grammar parsers
- What about **heavy**-before-**light**?

1. Introduction: light-before-heavy preference
2. Heavy how?
  - Weight measured in length
  - Weight measured in distance
  - Weight measured in memory cost
3. What about heavy before light?

- English particle verb construction (PV)



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- (1) a. Chris put on [DP a hat which Alex made with merino wool].  
b. Chris put [DP a hat which Alex made with merino wool] on.

- English heavy NP shift

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(2) a. Max put [DP boxes] [PP in his car].

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  - c. **HNPS** Max put [PP in his car] [DP all the boxes of home furnishings].

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  - b. ??Max put [PP in his car] [DP boxes].
  - c. **HNPS** Max put [PP in his car] [DP all the boxes of home furnishings].
  - d. ?Max put [DP all the boxes of home furnishings] [PP in his car].

# Light-before-heavy: English HNPS

- Non-decreasing weight (Wasow 1997)

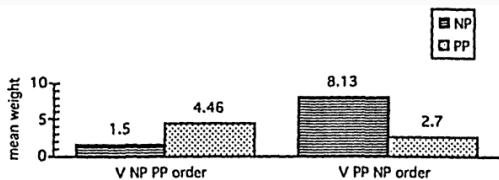


FIGURE 5. Mean weights in HNPS (in phrasal nodes).

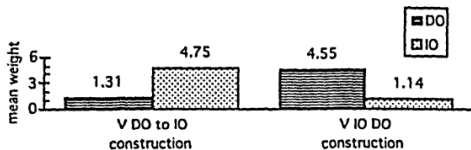


FIGURE 6. Mean weights in DA (in phrasal nodes).

## Light-before-heavy: Mandarin *ba*

- (3) a. Zhangsan *ba* [<sub>DP</sub> *dao**cha*] *fang* (le) [<sub>PP</sub> *zai yong tanmu* *zhizuo*  
Z. *ba* knife.fork put (LE) on use sandalwood make  
*de zhuozi-shang*]  
DE table-top
- b. Zhangsan [<sub>PP</sub> *zai yong tanmu* *zhizuo de zhuozi-shang*] *fang*  
Z. on use sandalwood make DE table-top put  
(le) [<sub>DP</sub> *dao**cha*]  
(LE) knife.fork  
'Z put a set of knife and fork on the table that is made of sandalwood.'



## Light-before-heavy: Mandarin *ba*

- (4) Zhangsan *ba* [<sub>DP</sub> *dao**cha*] [<sub>vP</sub> *fang* (*le*) [<sub>PP</sub> *zai* *zhuo**zi*-*shang*]]  
Z.        *ba*        knife.fork        put (LE)        on table-top  
'Z put of knife and fork on the table.'

	DP	vP	
Mean number of characters	4.73	6.82	p < 0.001
Mean number of phrases	3.1	4.8	p < 0.001
Mean subtree height	4.3	5.3	p < 0.001

**Table 1:** Mean weight values of *ba* sentences extracted from Chinese Treebank 8.0 (Liu 2022)

# Weight measured in length

- A phrase is heavy when...
  - Production: 5-word or 10-word DP, more HNPS order (Stallings et al. 1998)
  - Reading time: 9-word DP, longer reading time in PV separated order (e.g., look...up) (Gonnerman and Hayes 2005)
  - Corpus frequency: 11+ Characters, more likely occurs in a *ba* construction (Liu 2007)
- But...
  - (5) a. Max put [DP a box which Chris carefully packed] in the car.
  - b. Max put [DP a very very very heavy box] in the car.

## Weight measured in recognition distance

(6) HNPS and constituent recognition distance

adapted from (Hawkins 1994, 57)

- a. I [<sub>VP</sub> gave [[<sub>DP</sub> the old book that was very difficult to find] [[<sub>PP</sub> to Mary]].  
1            2 3 4    5 6 7 8            9 10        11
- b. I [<sub>VP</sub> gave [[<sub>PP</sub> to Mary] [[<sub>DP</sub> the old book that was very difficult to find]].  
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- c. I [VP gave [[PP to Mary] [[DP the very ... very very very very old book]].  
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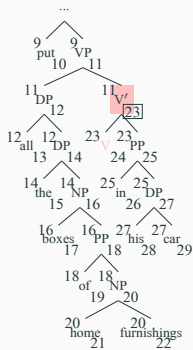
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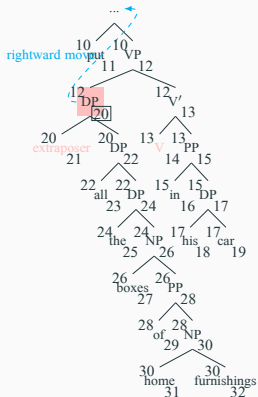
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- b. I [<sub>VP</sub> gave [<sub>PP</sub> to Mary] [<sub>DP</sub> the old book that was very difficult to find]].  
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- c. I [<sub>VP</sub> gave [<sub>PP</sub> to Mary] [<sub>DP</sub> the very ... very very very very old book]].  
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- d. I [<sub>VP</sub> gave [<sub>PP</sub> to Mary] [<sub>DP</sub> the old book]].  
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# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (7) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



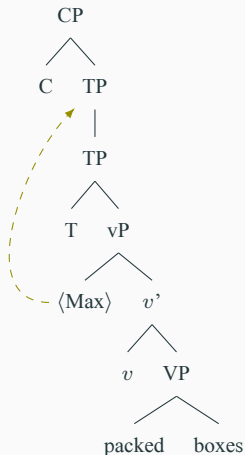
- (8) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order



# Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 1

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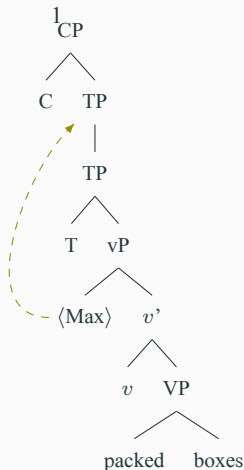
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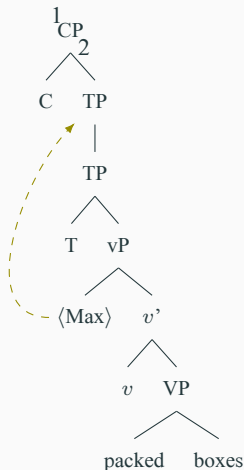




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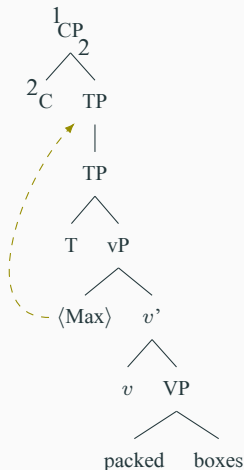
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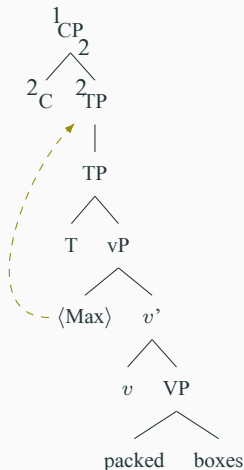
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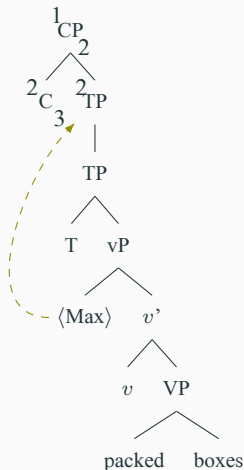
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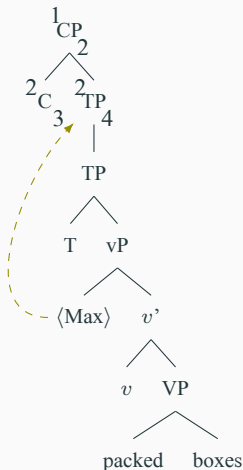
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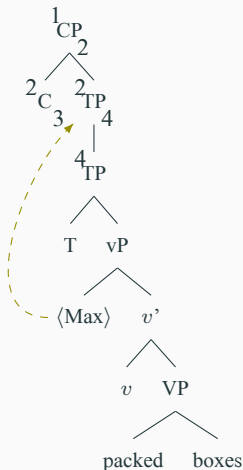
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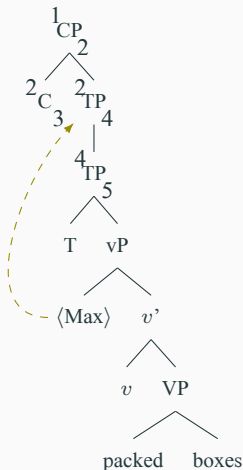
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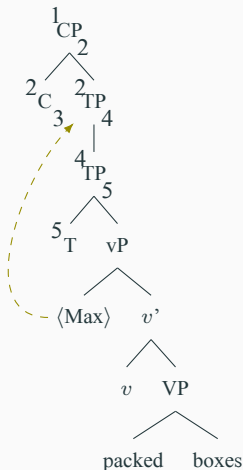
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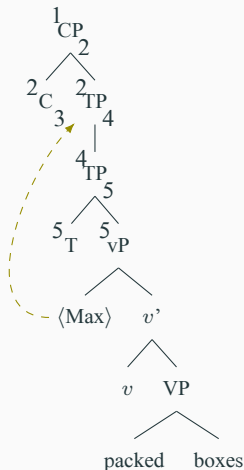




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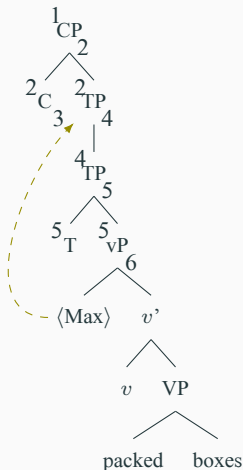
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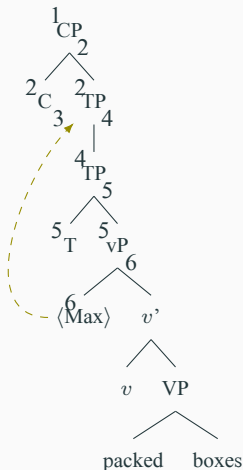
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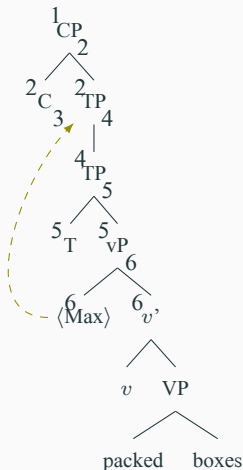
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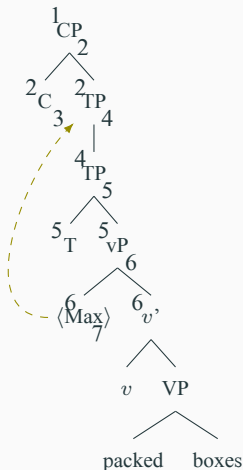
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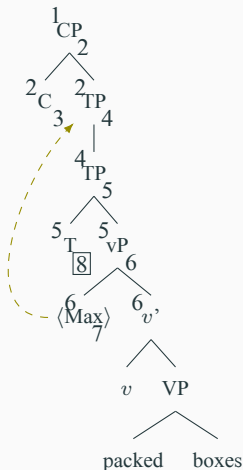
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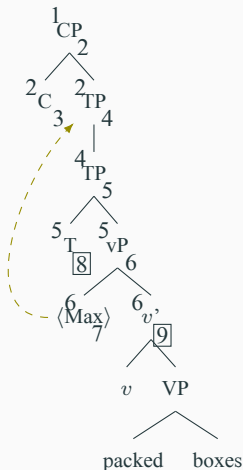
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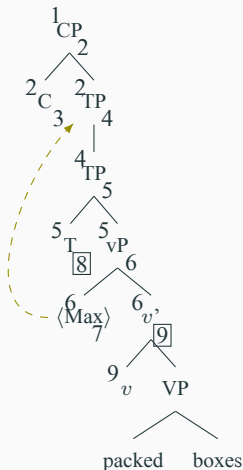
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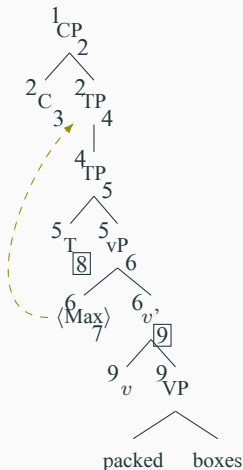




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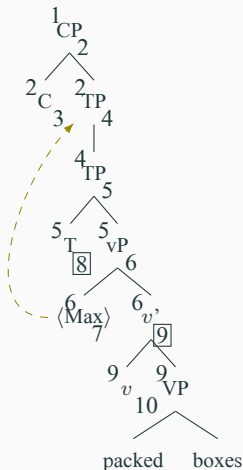
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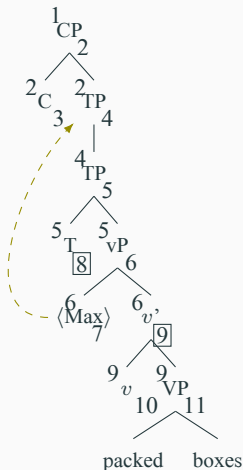
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| Step 7  | Max is found                   | look for T      |
| Step 8  | T is found                     | look for v      |
| Step 9  | v' expands to v and VP         | look for v      |
| Step 10 | v is found                     | look for packed |
| Step 11 | VP expands to packed and boxes | look for packed |
| Step 12 | packed is found                | look for boxes  |
| Step 13 | boxes is found                 | done            |



# Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 1

(9) C Max T v • packed boxes.

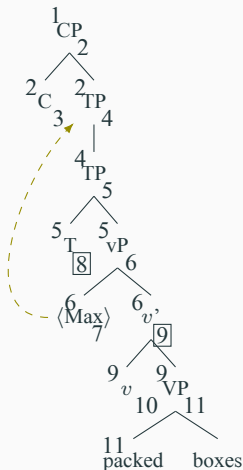
- |         |                                |                 |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Step 1  | CP is conjectured              | look for C      |
| Step 2  | CP expands to C and TP         | look for C      |
| Step 3  | C is found                     | look for Max    |
| Step 4  | TP expands to TP               | look for Max    |
| Step 5  | TP expands to T and vP         | look for Max    |
| Step 6  | vP expands to Max and v'       | look for Max    |
| Step 7  | Max is found                   | look for T      |
| Step 8  | T is found                     | look for v      |
| Step 9  | v' expands to v and VP         | look for v      |
| Step 10 | v is found                     | look for packed |
| Step 11 | VP expands to packed and boxes | look for packed |
| Step 12 | packed is found                | look for boxes  |
| Step 13 | boxes is found                 | done            |



# Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 1

(9) C Max T v • packed boxes.

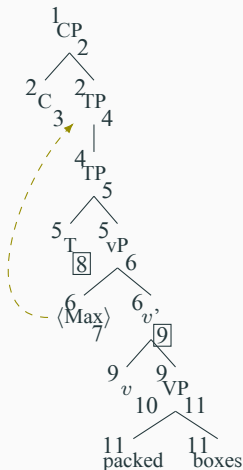
- |         |                                |                 |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Step 1  | CP is conjectured              | look for C      |
| Step 2  | CP expands to C and TP         | look for C      |
| Step 3  | C is found                     | look for Max    |
| Step 4  | TP expands to TP               | look for Max    |
| Step 5  | TP expands to T and vP         | look for Max    |
| Step 6  | vP expands to Max and v'       | look for Max    |
| Step 7  | Max is found                   | look for T      |
| Step 8  | T is found                     | look for v      |
| Step 9  | v' expands to v and VP         | look for v      |
| Step 10 | v is found                     | look for packed |
| Step 11 | VP expands to packed and boxes | look for packed |
| Step 12 | packed is found                | look for boxes  |
| Step 13 | boxes is found                 | done            |



# Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 1

(9) C Max T v • packed boxes.

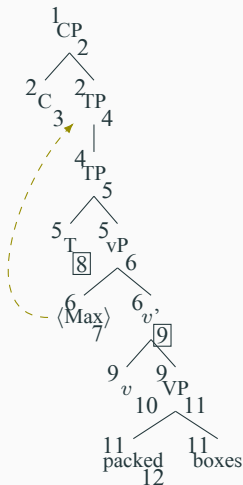
- |         |                                |                 |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Step 1  | CP is conjectured              | look for C      |
| Step 2  | CP expands to C and TP         | look for C      |
| Step 3  | C is found                     | look for Max    |
| Step 4  | TP expands to TP               | look for Max    |
| Step 5  | TP expands to T and vP         | look for Max    |
| Step 6  | vP expands to Max and v'       | look for Max    |
| Step 7  | Max is found                   | look for T      |
| Step 8  | T is found                     | look for v      |
| Step 9  | v' expands to v and VP         | look for v      |
| Step 10 | v is found                     | look for packed |
| Step 11 | VP expands to packed and boxes | look for packed |
| Step 12 | packed is found                | look for boxes  |
| Step 13 | boxes is found                 | done            |



# Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 1

(9) C Max T v packed • boxes.

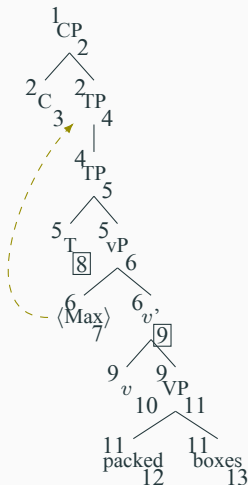
- |         |                                |                 |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Step 1  | CP is conjectured              | look for C      |
| Step 2  | CP expands to C and TP         | look for C      |
| Step 3  | C is found                     | look for Max    |
| Step 4  | TP expands to TP               | look for Max    |
| Step 5  | TP expands to T and vP         | look for Max    |
| Step 6  | vP expands to Max and v'       | look for Max    |
| Step 7  | Max is found                   | look for T      |
| Step 8  | T is found                     | look for v      |
| Step 9  | v' expands to v and VP         | look for v      |
| Step 10 | v is found                     | look for packed |
| Step 11 | VP expands to packed and boxes | look for packed |
| Step 12 | packed is found                | look for boxes  |
| Step 13 | boxes is found                 | done            |



# Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 1

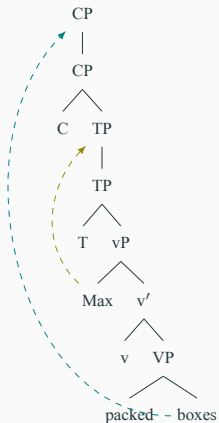
(9) C Max T v packed boxes. ✕

- |         |                                |                 |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Step 1  | CP is conjectured              | look for C      |
| Step 2  | CP expands to C and TP         | look for C      |
| Step 3  | C is found                     | look for Max    |
| Step 4  | TP expands to TP               | look for Max    |
| Step 5  | TP expands to T and vP         | look for Max    |
| Step 6  | vP expands to Max and v'       | look for Max    |
| Step 7  | Max is found                   | look for T      |
| Step 8  | T is found                     | look for v      |
| Step 9  | v' expands to v and VP         | look for v      |
| Step 10 | v is found                     | look for packed |
| Step 11 | VP expands to packed and boxes | look for packed |
| Step 12 | packed is found                | look for boxes  |
| Step 13 | boxes is found                 | done            |



## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

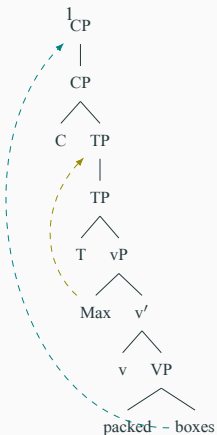
- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.





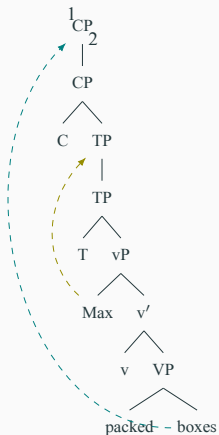
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



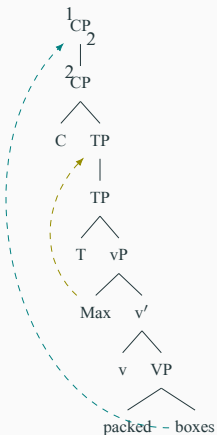
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



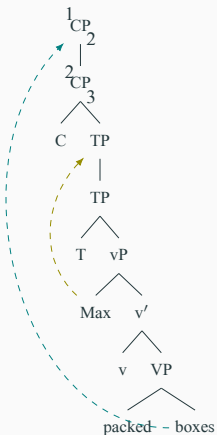
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



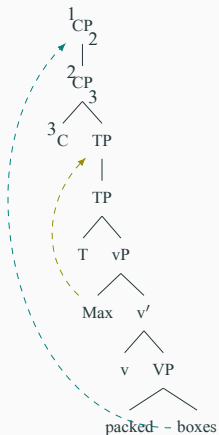
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



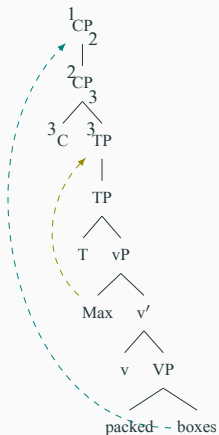
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



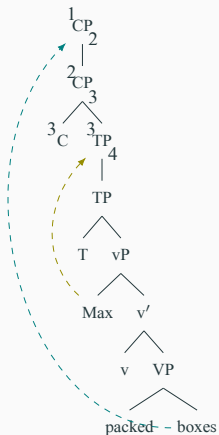
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



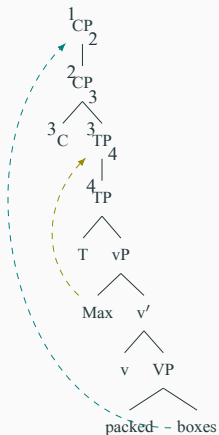
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

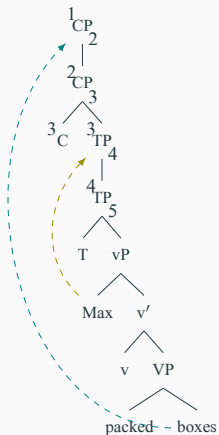
- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.





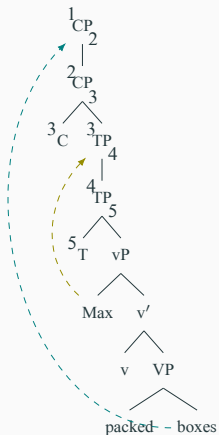
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



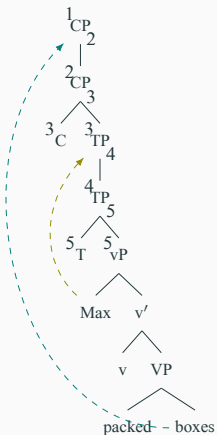
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



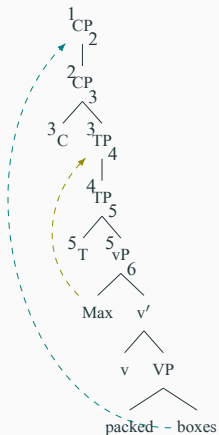
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



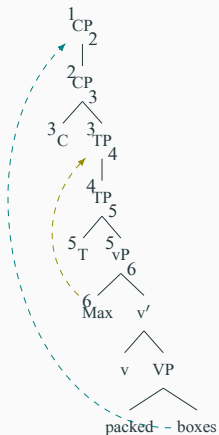
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



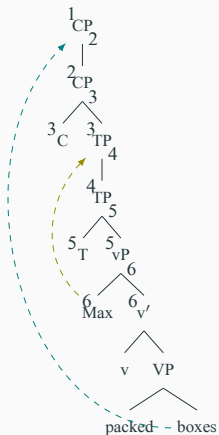
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



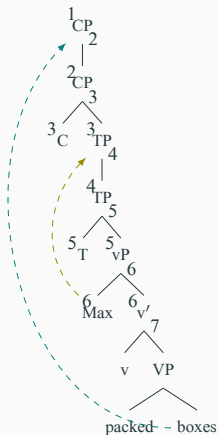
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



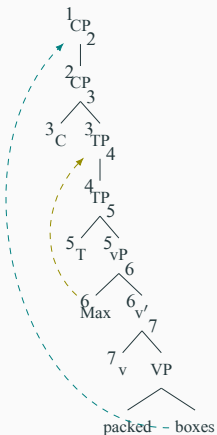
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

(10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

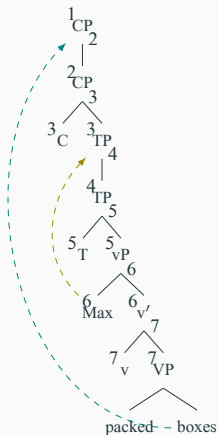
- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.





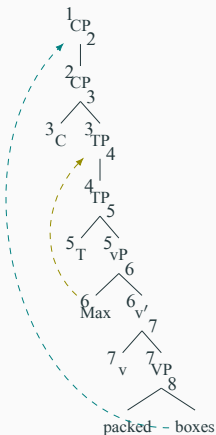
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



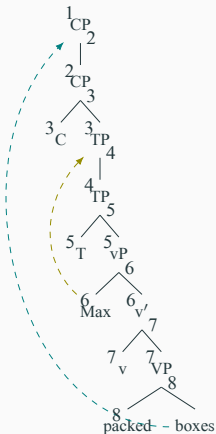
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



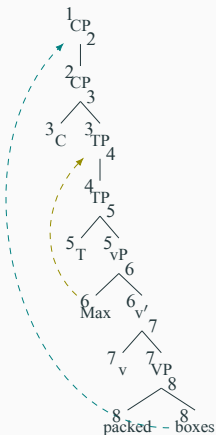
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



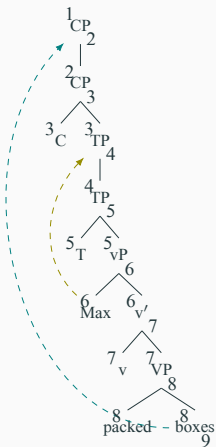
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

- (10) • Boxes, C Max T v packed.



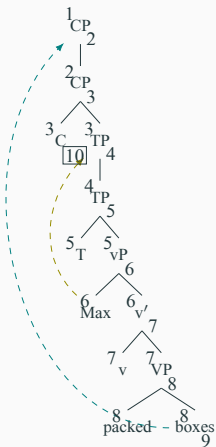
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

(10) Boxes, • C Max T v packed.



## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

(10) Boxes, C • Max T v packed.



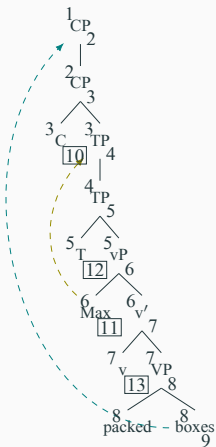






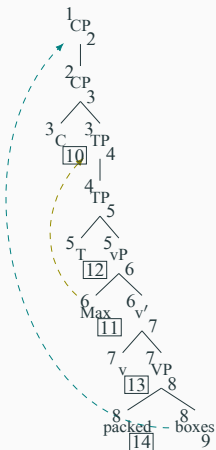
## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

(10) Boxes, C Max T v • packed.

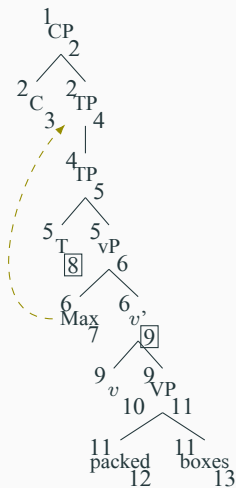


## Weight measured in memory cost - toy sentence 2

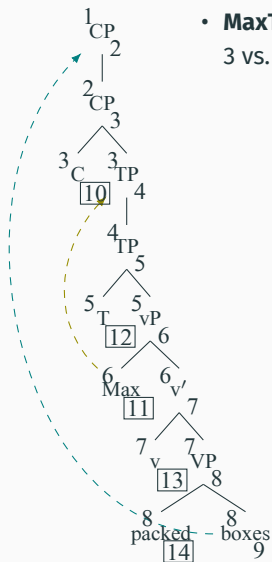
(10) Boxes, C Max T v packed.×



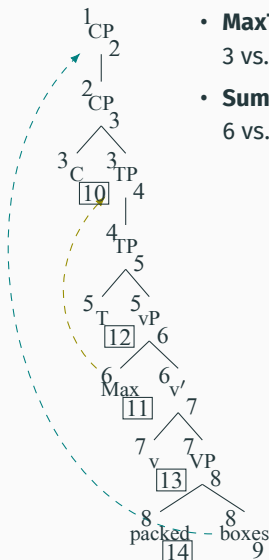
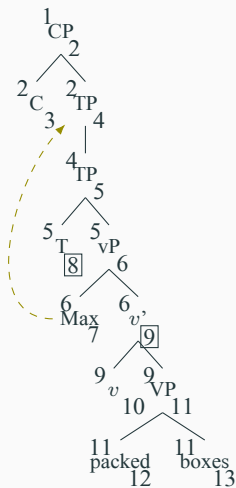
# Weight measured in memory cost - complexity metrics



- **MaxT** =  $\max(\text{tenure-of}(n) | n \in T)$   
3 vs. 7

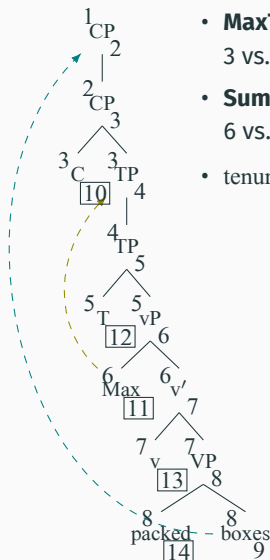
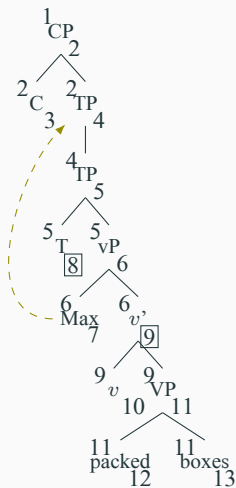


# Weight measured in memory cost - complexity metrics



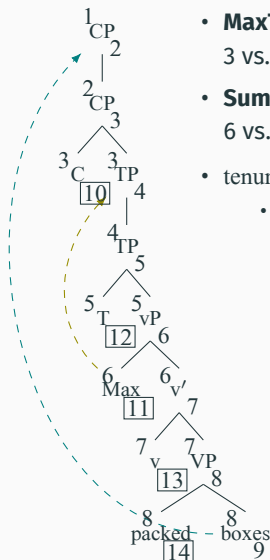
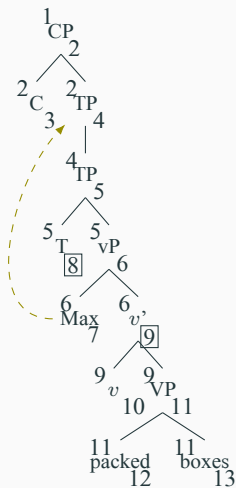
- **MaxT** =  $\max(\text{tenure-of}(n) | n \in T)$   
3 vs. 7
- **SumT** =  $\sum_{n \in T} \text{tenure-of}(n)$   
6 vs. 31

# Weight measured in memory cost - complexity metrics



- **MaxT** =  $\max(\text{tenure-of}(n) | n \in T)$   
3 vs. 7
- **SumT** =  $\sum_{n \in T} \text{tenure-of}(n)$   
6 vs. 31
- $\text{tenure-of}(n) = y - x |^x n_y$

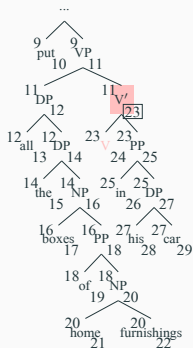
# Weight measured in memory cost - complexity metrics



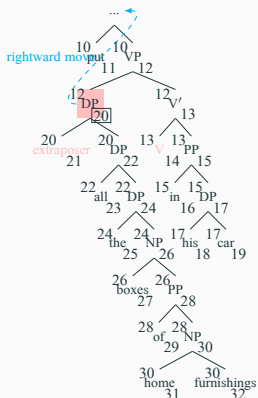
- **MaxT** =  $\max(\text{tenure-of}(n) | n \in T)$   
3 vs. 7
- **SumT** =  $\sum_{n \in T} \text{tenure-of}(n)$   
6 vs. 31
- $\text{tenure-of}(n) = y - x |^x n_y$ 
  - steps a node has been kept in memory

# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



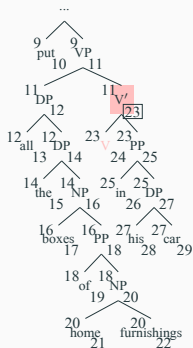
- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order



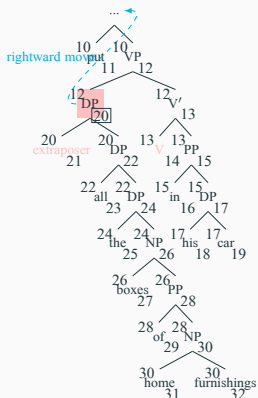
**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical)

# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order

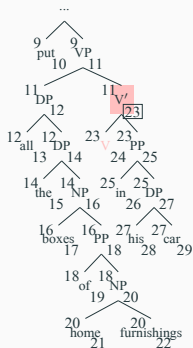


**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical) > 8/DP (HNPS)

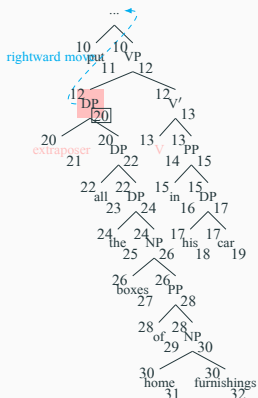


# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



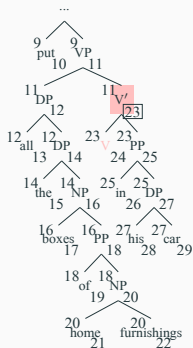
- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order



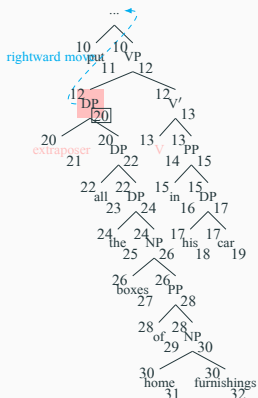
**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical) > 8/DP (HNPS) ✓

# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order

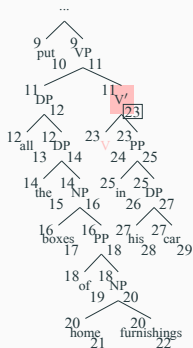


**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical) > 8/DP (HNPS) ✓

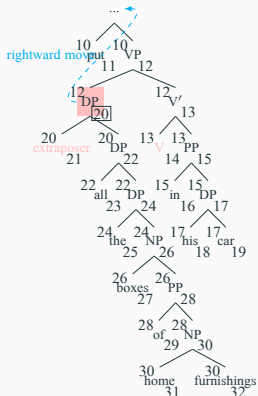
**SumT:** 18 (canonical)

# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order

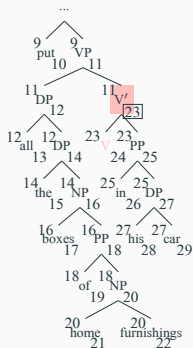


**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical) > 8/DP (HNPS) ✓

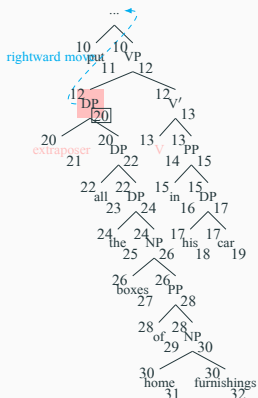
**SumT:** 18 (canonical) > 15 (HNPS)

# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order

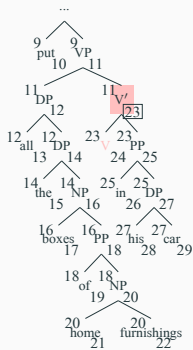


**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical) > 8/DP (HNPS) ✓

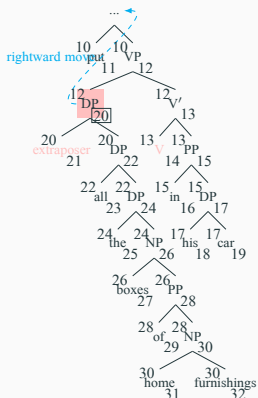
**SumT:** 18 (canonical) > 15 (HNPS) ✓

# Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

- (16) put [DP ...boxes...] [PP in...]  
canonical order



- (17) put [PP in...] [DP ...boxes...]  
HNPS order



**MaxT:** 12/v' (canonical) > 8/DP (HNPS) ✓

**SumT:** 18 (canonical) > 15 (HNPS) ✓

**HNPS advantage!**

# Weight measured in memory cost

- Structural simplicity accounts for word order preferences in:

- English heavy NP shift (HNPS)

(18) Max put [PP in his car] [DP all the boxes of home furnishings].

(19) Max put [DP all the boxes of home furnishings] [PP in his car].

- English particle verb construction (PV)

(20) Chris put on [DP a hat which Alex made with merino wool].

(21) Chris put [DP a hat which Alex made with merino wool] on.

- Mandarin *ba* construction

(22) Zhangsan ba [DP dao cha] fang (le) [PP zai yong tan mu zhi zuo  
Z. ba knife.fork put (LE) on use sandalwood make  
de zhuo zi-shang]  
DE table-top

(23) Zhangsan [PP zai yong tan mu zhi zuo de zhuo zi-shang] fang (le)  
Z. on use sandalwood make DE table-top put (LE)  
[DP dao cha]  
knife.fork

'Z put a set of knife and fork on the table that is made of sandalwood.'

## Why light-before-heavy after all?

- *Focus Last*: reserving the more important information at the end (also Krifka 1998)

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- *Focus Last*: reserving the more important information at the end (also Krifka 1998)
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## Why light-before-heavy after all?

- *Focus Last*: reserving the more important information at the end (also Krifka 1998)
- Incremental production processes: longer, harder-to-process phrases are delayed during utterance planning (Stallings et al. 1998, Stallings and MacDonald 2011)
- Memory efficiency: a short-before-long structure is more memory efficient to parse. (Liu 2022)

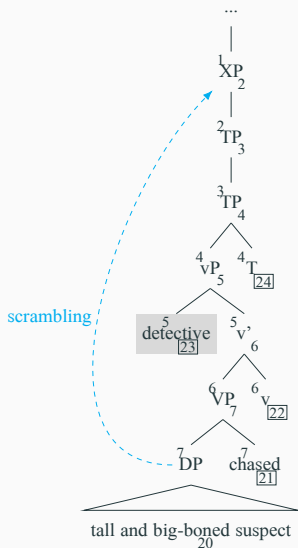
## Heavy before light - Japanese

(24) Japanese OSV and SOV order (adapted from Yamashita and Chang (2001))

- a. [obj.Se-ga takakute gassiri sita hann-i-o]<sub>i</sub> [subj.Keezi-ga] t<sub>i</sub>  
height-nom tall-and big-boned suspect-acc detective-nom  
Oikaketa.  
chased  
'The detective chased the suspect who is tall and big-boned.' **Shift  
order, preferred**
- b. [subj.Keezi-ga] [obj.Se-ga takakute gassiri sita hann-i-o] Oikaketa.  
detective-nom height-nom tall-and big-boned suspect-acc chased  
'The detective chased the suspect who is tall and big-boned.'
- c. C.f., [subj.Keezi-ga] [obj.hanni-o] Oikaketa.  
detective-nom suspect-acc chased  
'The detective chased the suspect.'

# Heavy before light - Japanese

(25)



# Morphology invading syntax

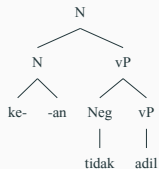
(26) From Sören's retreat presentation

ke-tidak adil-an  
NMLZ-NEG just-NMLZ

'injustice'

Indonesia

(27)



# Morphology invading syntax

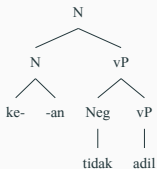
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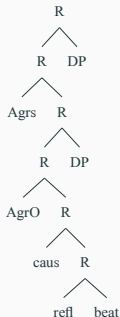
- What about **justice**?

# Verb is everything - Quechua

- (28) Maqa -ku -ya -chi -n  
beat -refl -dur -caus -3sg  
'He<sub>i</sub> is causing [him<sub>j</sub> to beat himself].'

Quechua

- (29) From Greg's retreat presentation

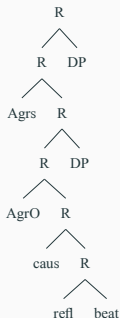


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- (29) From Greg's retreat presentation • What about **beat** as a simple transitive?

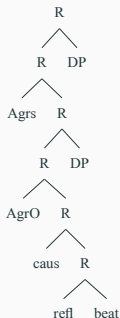


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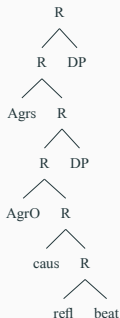


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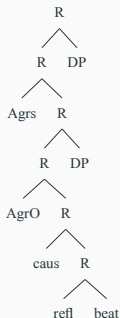
we can test 'em!

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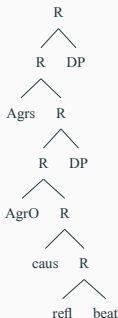
- More structure  $\Rightarrow$  more memory cost

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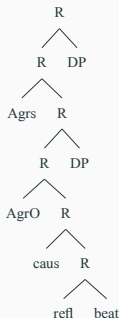
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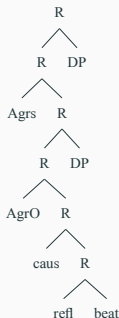
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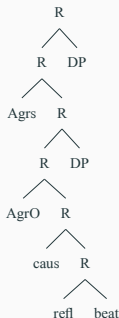
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Memory cost  $\leftarrow$  MG parsing  $\rightarrow$  Structure

# References i

- Gonnerman, L. M. and Hayes, C. R. (2005). The professor chewed the students... out: Effects of dependency, length, and adjacency on word order preferences in sentences with verb particle constructions. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, volume 27.
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## Weight measured in memory cost - HNPS

Metric		Metric	
AvgS	No	MaxT	Yes
AvgS' <sup>†</sup>	No	MaxT'	Yes
AvgT	Yes	MaxTR	Yes
AvgT'	Yes	MaxTR'	Yes
BoxT	Tie	Movers	No
BoxT'	No	Movers'	No
MaxS	No	SumS	No
MaxS'	No	SumS'	No
MaxSR <sup>‡</sup>	No	SumT	Yes
MaxSR'	No	SumT'	No
MaxT	Yes	SumT'	No

† Primed (') metrics are metrics that do not ignore trivial ( $\leq 2$ ) memory load.

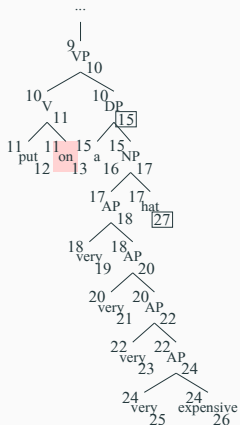
‡ metrics suffixed with "R" apply recursively until a difference is found.

**Table 2:** Complexity metrics predictions for HNPS - Rightward movement

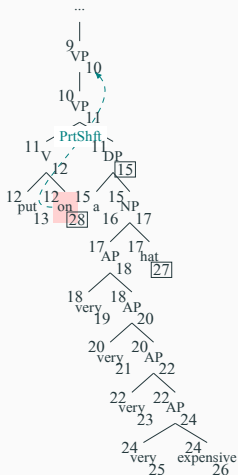


# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very  
very...hat]

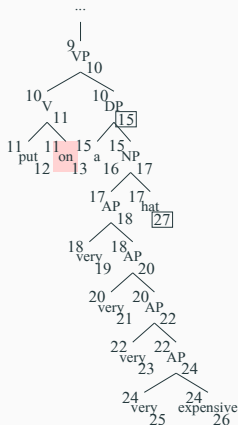


(31) put [a very very...hat]  
on

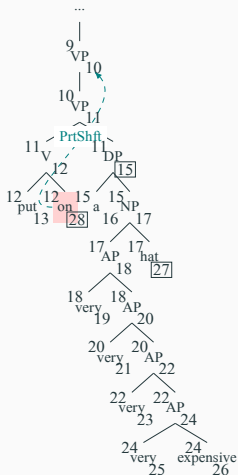


# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very  
very...hat]

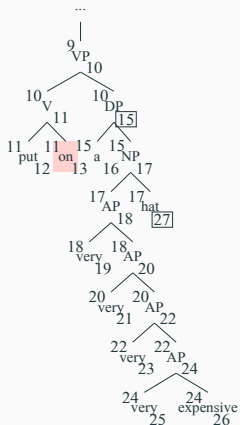


(31) put [a very very...hat] **MaxT:**  
on 10/hat (join)



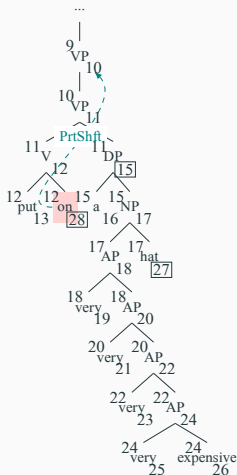
# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very  
very...hat]



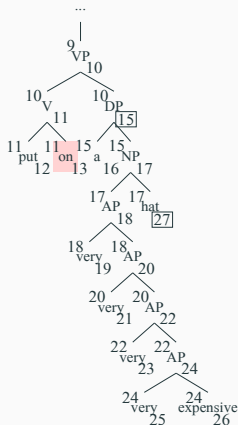
(31) put [a very very...hat]  
on

**MaxT:**  
10/hat (join) < 16/on (sep.)

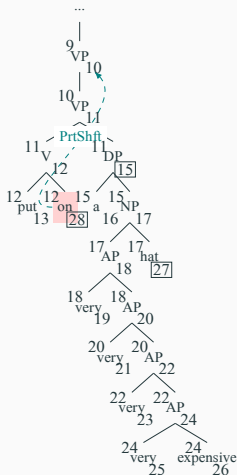


# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very  
very...hat]



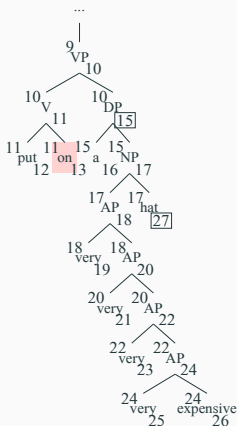
(31) put [a very very...hat]  
on



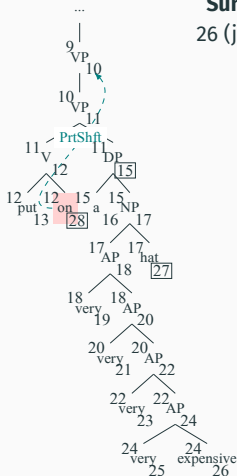
**MaxT:**  
10/hat (join) < 16/on (sep.) ✓

# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very  
very...hat]



(31) put [a very very...hat]  
on



**MaxT:**

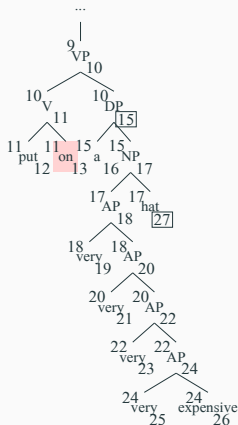
10/hat (join) < 16/on (sep.) ✓

**SumT:**

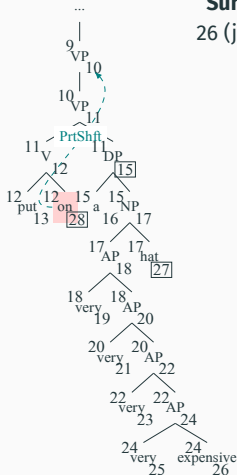
26 (join)

# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very very...hat]



(31) put [a very very...hat]  
on

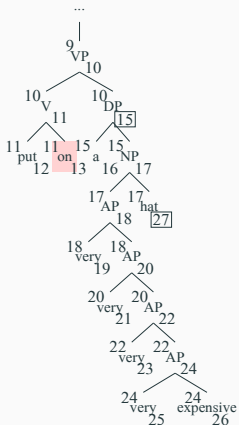


**MaxT:**  
10/hat (join) < 16/on (sep.) ✓

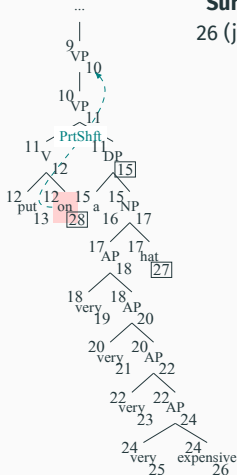
**SumT:**  
26 (join) < 41 (sep.)

# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very very...hat]



(31) put [a very very...hat]



**MaxT:**

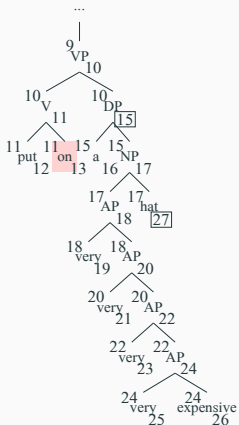
10/hat (join) < 16/on (sep.) ✓

**SumT:**

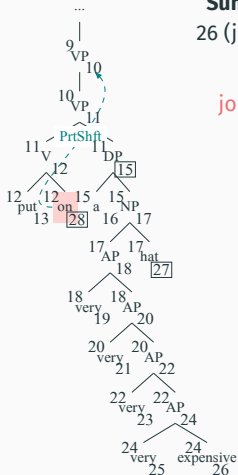
26 (join) < 41 (sep.) ✓

# Weight measured in memory cost - English PV

(30) put on [a very  
very...hat]



(31) put [a very very...hat]  
on



**MaxT:**  
10/hat (join) < 16/on (sep.) ✓

**SumT:**  
26 (join) < 41 (sep.) ✓

joined order advantage!