

eman ta zabal zazu



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ON LINGUISTIC UNIVERSALS AND LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

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The emergence of grammar in the brain



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The emergence of grammar in the brain



Acquisition, processing, and cortical organization of the structural aspects of language in bilingual and monolingual populations.

Populations: Spanish monolinguals
Spanish/Catalan bilinguals
Spanish/Basque bilinguals

Combining theoretical linguistics
and experimental psycholinguistics

The emergence of grammar in the brain



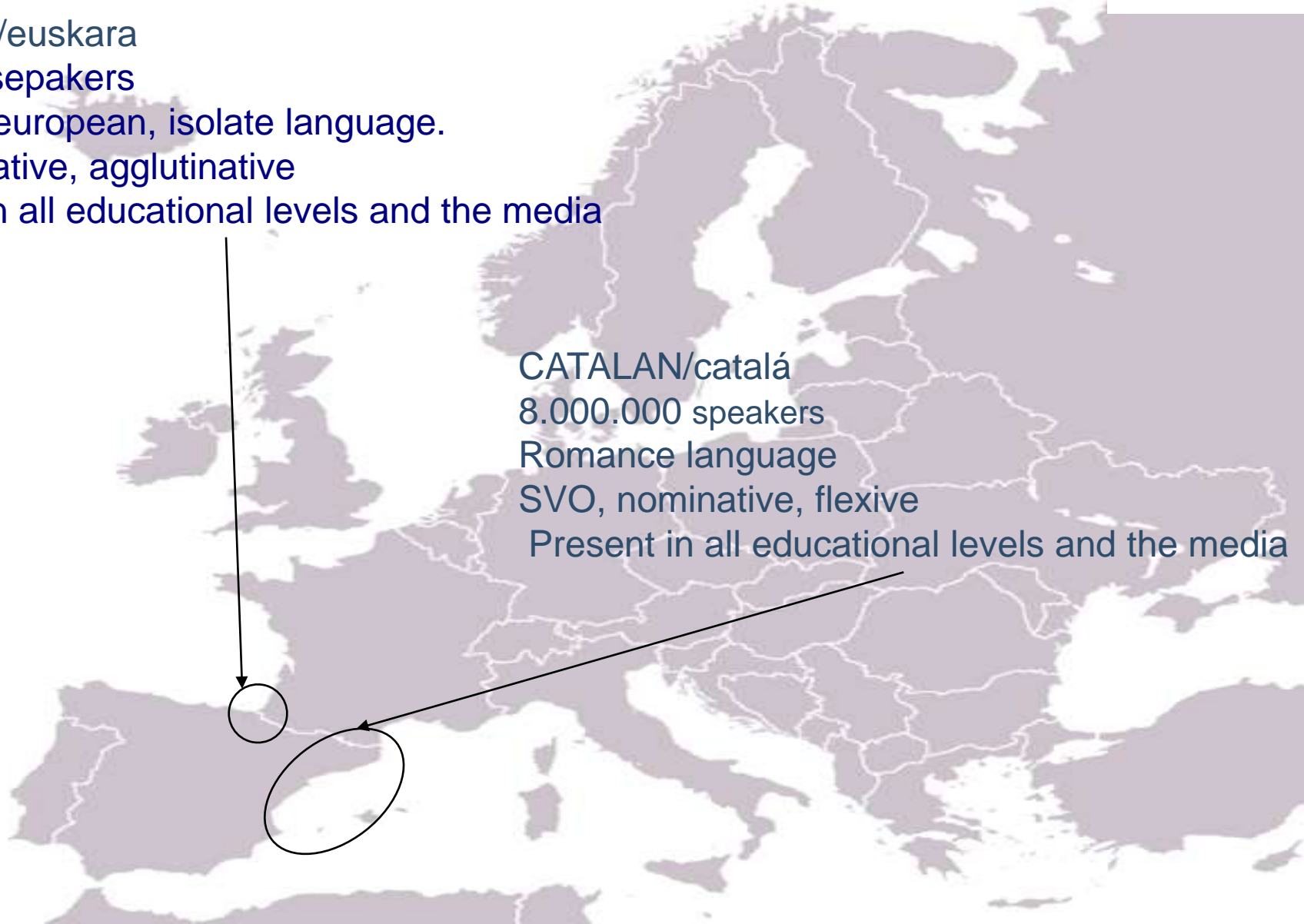
- Are all grammars processed and represented alike?
- Does bilingualism make a difference in language acquisition, processing and representation?
- Do the languages of the bilingual make a difference?
 - syntax similar languages: Spanish/Catalan
 - syntax dissimilar languages: Spanish/Basque
- Does bilingualism have collateral effects in other areas of cognition?

Bilingual communities in Spain



BASQUE/euskara
700.000 speakers
Non-indoeuropean, isolate language.
SOV, ergative, agglutinative
Present in all educational levels and the media

CATALAN/català
8.000.000 speakers
Romance language
SVO, nominative, flexive
Present in all educational levels and the media



Linguistic variation and universals



This picture of linguistic variation poses an interesting puzzle for theorizing about language origins. After years of reticence, discussion of the evolution of language has exploded in recent years. One striking feature of this literature is how little it has to say about cross-linguistic variation. Most authors are completely silent on this point; they write as though only one language had ever existed. This might make sense if linguistic variation were a minor phenomenon, or if it had no interesting structure. But the opposite is true.

Baker (2003) Linguistic differences and language design *TCS*

Some Parameters in our language pool



	free word order	Object agreement	SVO	nominative-accusative
Spanish	-	-	+	+
Catalan	-	-	+	+
Basque	+	+	-	-

SOV type despite word order freedom



emakume-a-k gizon-a ikusi du
woman-the-S man-the-O seen has
'the woman has seen the man'

[gaur etorri den] emakume-a
[today arrived is-that] woman-the
“the woman that arrived today”

Processing word order in a free word order grammar: is there a cost?



- Displaced constituents increase processing cost in fixed word order grammars (Rösler et al. 1998; Matzke et al. 2002): LAN and P600
- Are there processing asymmetries in free word order languages?
- If NO: processing costs are grammar dependent
- If YES: hierarchical syntactic structure is a universal blueprint of human language



Is there a cost for freedom? SOV/OSV

Subject	Object	Verb-aux
emakume-a-k	gizon-a	ikusi du
woman-the-S	man-the/O	seen has

the woman has seen *the man*

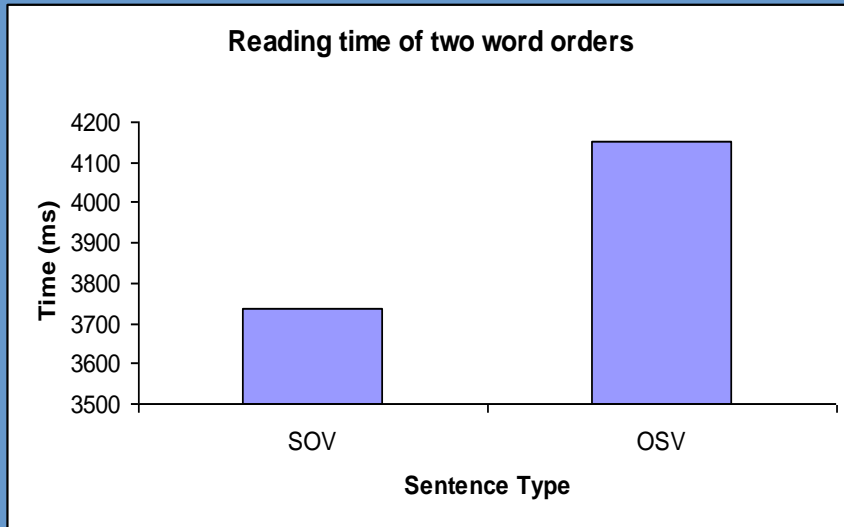
Object	Subject	Verb-aux
gizon-a	emakume-a-k	ikusi du
man-the/O	woman-the/S	seen has

the woman has seen the man

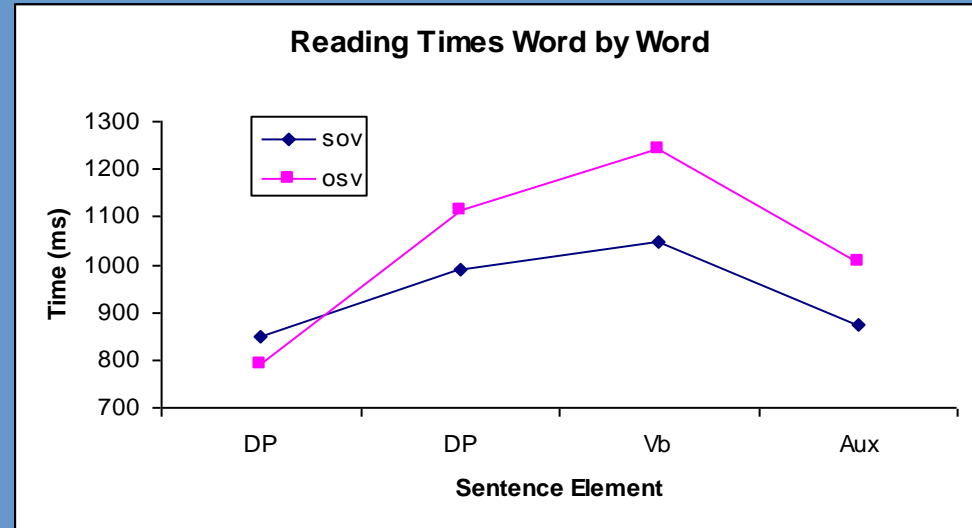
Yes there is: SOV faster than OSV



Mean Reading Times of Sentences



Mean reading times Word by Word



SOV order is processed faster than OSV order

OSV induces reanalysis of syntactic structure at S

Blind grammar and processing cost



- When a sequence is completely ambiguous, there is no context, prosody or any other clue to disambiguate, processing can only resort to grammar
- We can thus see the grammar alone making decisions
- We constructed such materials: fully ambiguous grammatical sentences

Morphological ambiguity: ak



a + k: singular det + agent case

- (a) emakume-**a-k** gizon-a ikusi du
woman-the-S man-the seen has
“the woman has seen the man”

ak: plural determiner

- (b) zu-k emakume-**ak**_{pl} ikusi dituzu
you-S woman-the seen youhavethem
“you have seen the women”

Morphological ambiguity: SOV/OSV



emakumeak gizonak ikusi ditu

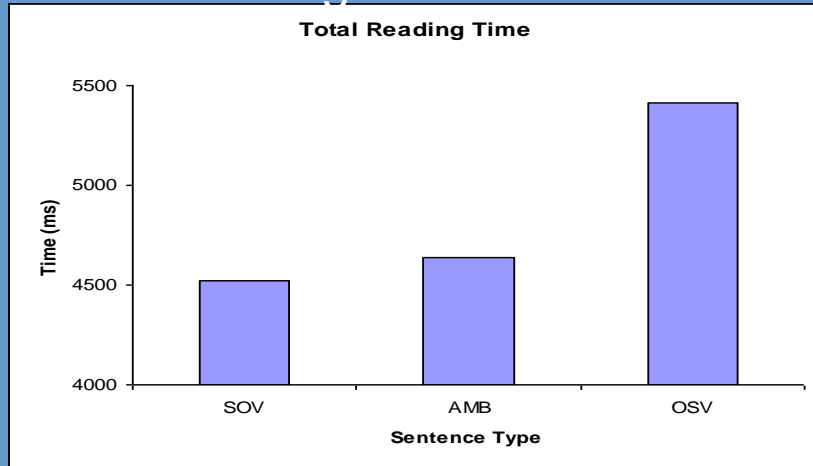
(1) **emakume-a-k** gizon-ak ikusi ditu
woman-the-S man-the_{pl} seen hasthem
“the woman has seen the men”

(2) emakume-ak **gizon-a-k** ikusi ditu
women-the_{pl} man-the-S seen hasthem
“the women, the man has seen them”

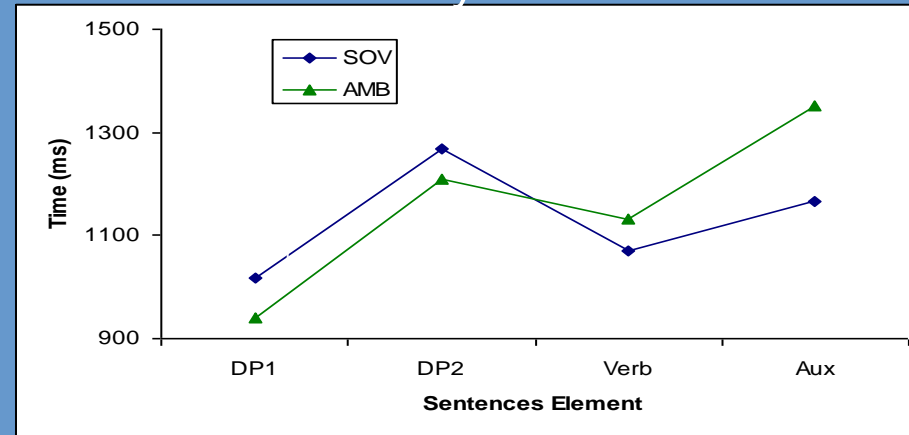
AMB(IGUOUS) SENTENCES: SOV



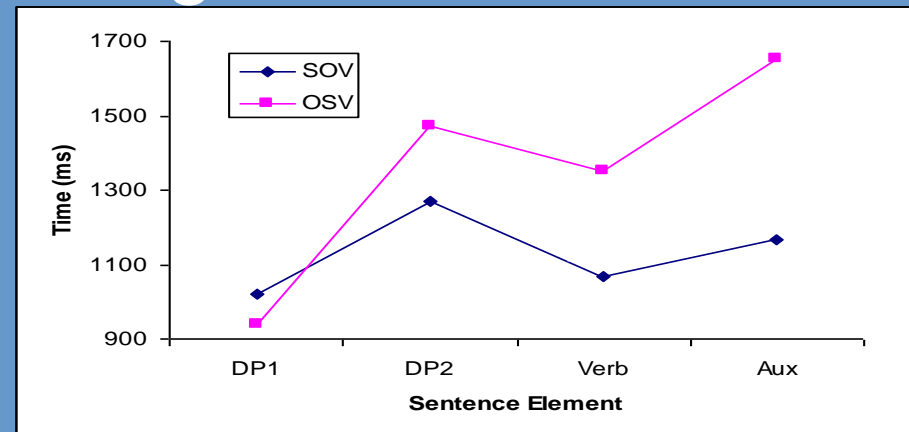
Mean Reading Times of Sentences



Word by Word



No syntactic reanalysis in AMB condition
AMB processed as SOV order sentences
SOV is the simplest processing solution.



Grammar and world-knowledge clash



SOV temporally ambiguous

Otso-ak	ardi-ak	jan	ditu
Wolf-X	sheep-X	eaten	has

'the wolf has eaten the sheep(pl)'

OSV temporally ambiguous

Ardi-ak	otso-ak	jan	ditu
Sheep-X	wolf-X	eaten	has

'the wolf has eaten the sheep(pl)'

Grammar/knowledge clash: results

At Verb Position

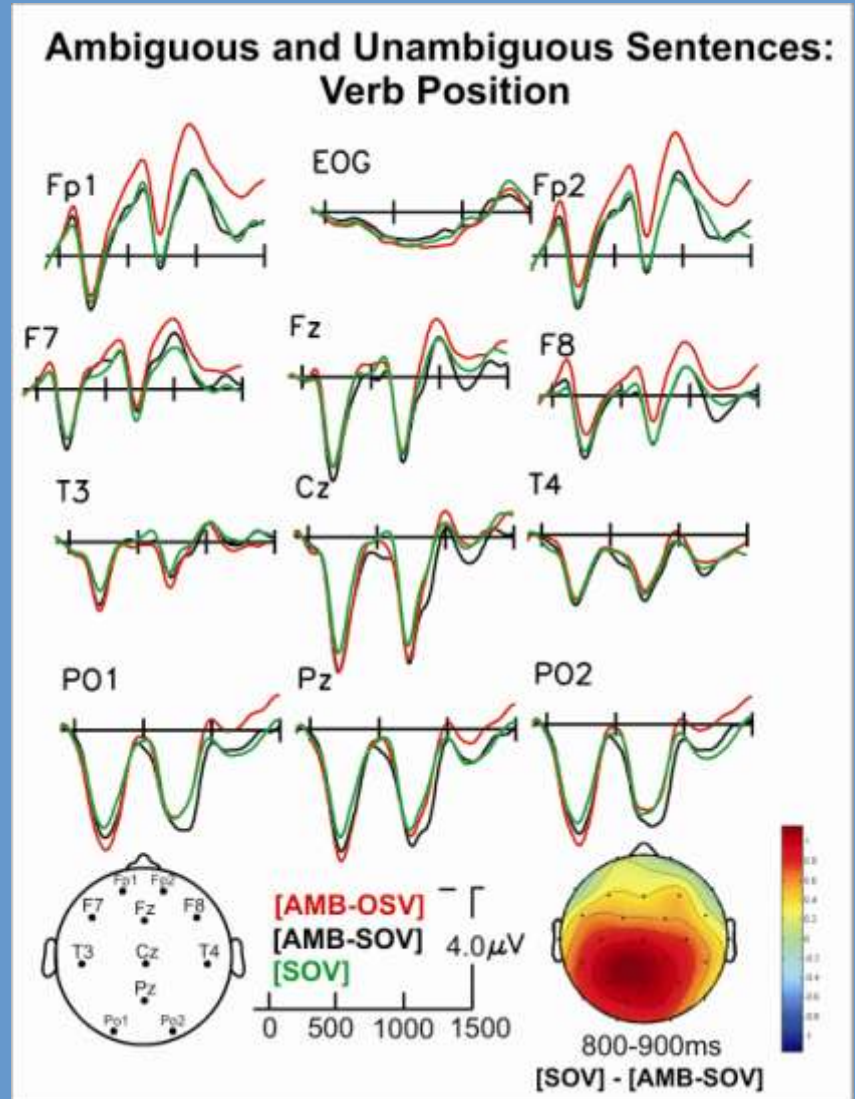
SOV vs AMB-OSV

Broad negativity

SOV vs AMB-SOV

Posterior positivity (P600)

AMB sequences are processed as SOV sentences unless a disambiguating factor generates reanalysis of syntactic structure



What about other word orders?



- Verb medial orders (SVO/OVS) are equally costly.
- The only word order that presents a processing advantage is SOV
- Experimental subjects are natives of Basque but bilinguals with Spanish (SVO!)
- SOV/SVO is acquired very early.

Processing word order in a free word order grammar: is there a cost?

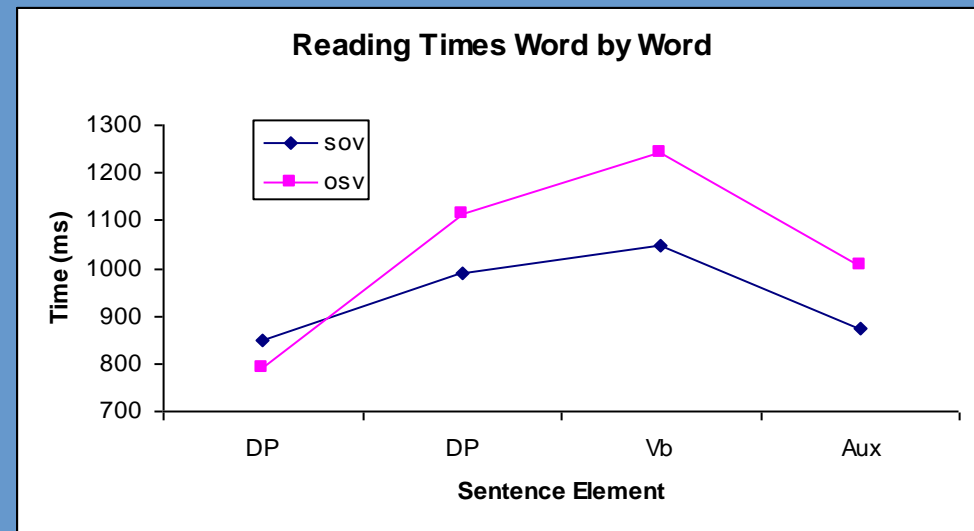


- Displaced constituents increase processing cost in fixed word order grammars (Rösler et al. 1998; Matzke et al. 2002): LAN and P600
- Are there processing asymmetries in free word order languages?
- If NO: processing costs are grammar dependent
- If YES: basic syntactic structure is a universal blueprint of human language processing and representation

A different outcome: Subject/Object



- Objects are processed faster than Subjects
- Objects are unmarked, Subjects are marked
- Ergativity



ERGATIVITY: A DIFFERENT WAY OF ARRANGING ACTANTS

EMAKUME-A-K
woman-the-erg
the woman has seen

EMAKUME-A
woman-the
the woman
EMAKUME-A
woman-the
the woman arrived

IKUSI DU
seen has

HELDU DA
arrived is

ERGATIVE
TYPE

SHE
SHE

HAS SEEN HER

HAS ARRIVED

NOMINATIVE
TYPE

Subject/Object in Relative clauses



SR easier to process than OR

SR The senator₁ [that (e₁) attacked the reporter] admitted the error

OR The senator₁ [that the reporter attacked (e₁)] admitted the error

Structural distance hypothesis: object deeper

Universal accessibility hypothesis: subject > object

Linear distance hypothesis: intervening words

Materials: fully ambiguous S/O RCs dissambiguated at main clause V



(5) Subject-gap RC:

[**e₁** emakume-ak ikusi ditu-en] gizon-**a-k₁** lagunak **ditu**

[e₁ women-the seen hasthem-rl] man-the-S₁ friends hasthem

“the man that has seen the women has friends”

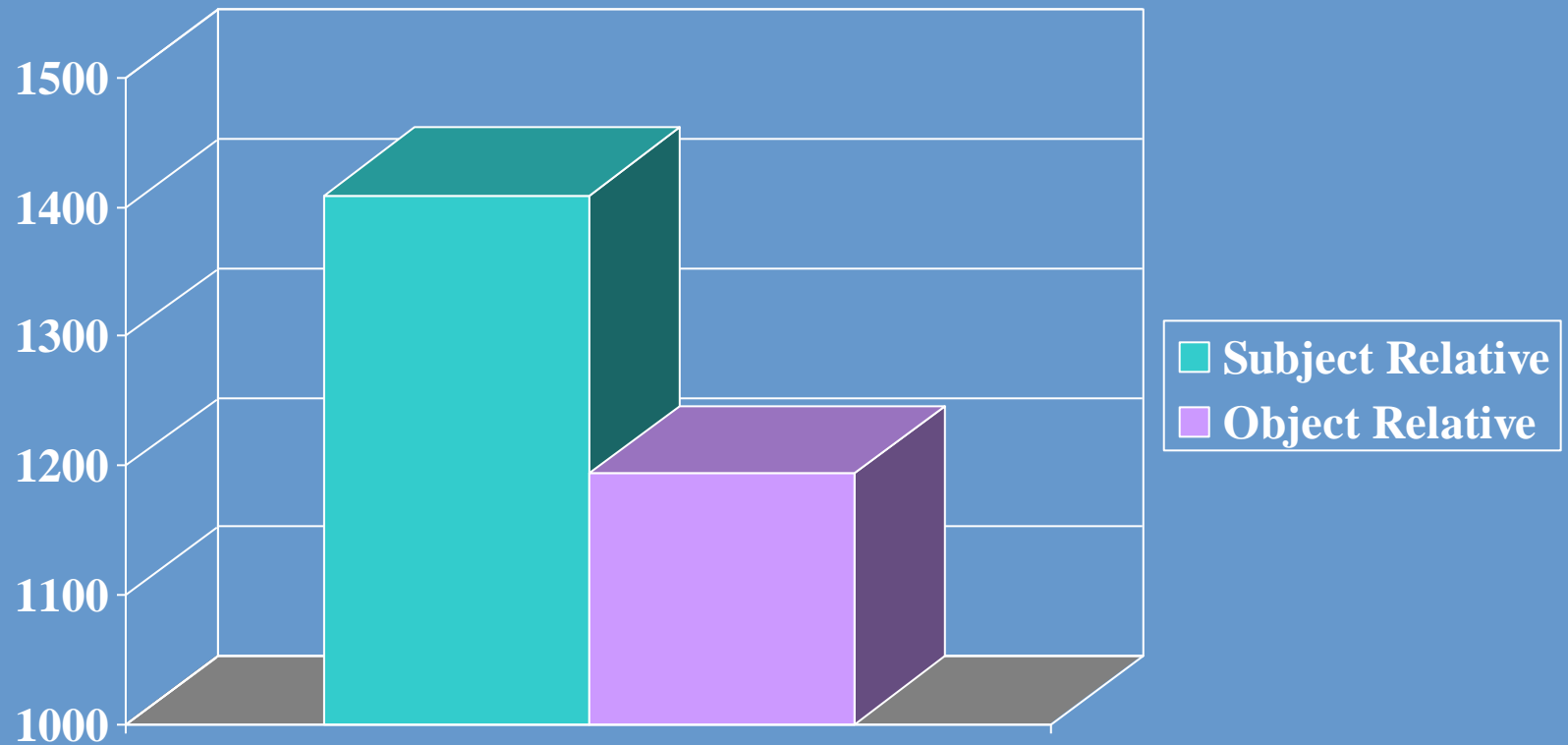
(6) Object-gap RC:

[**emakume-a-k** e₁ ikusi ditu-en] gizon-**ak₁** lagunak **dira**

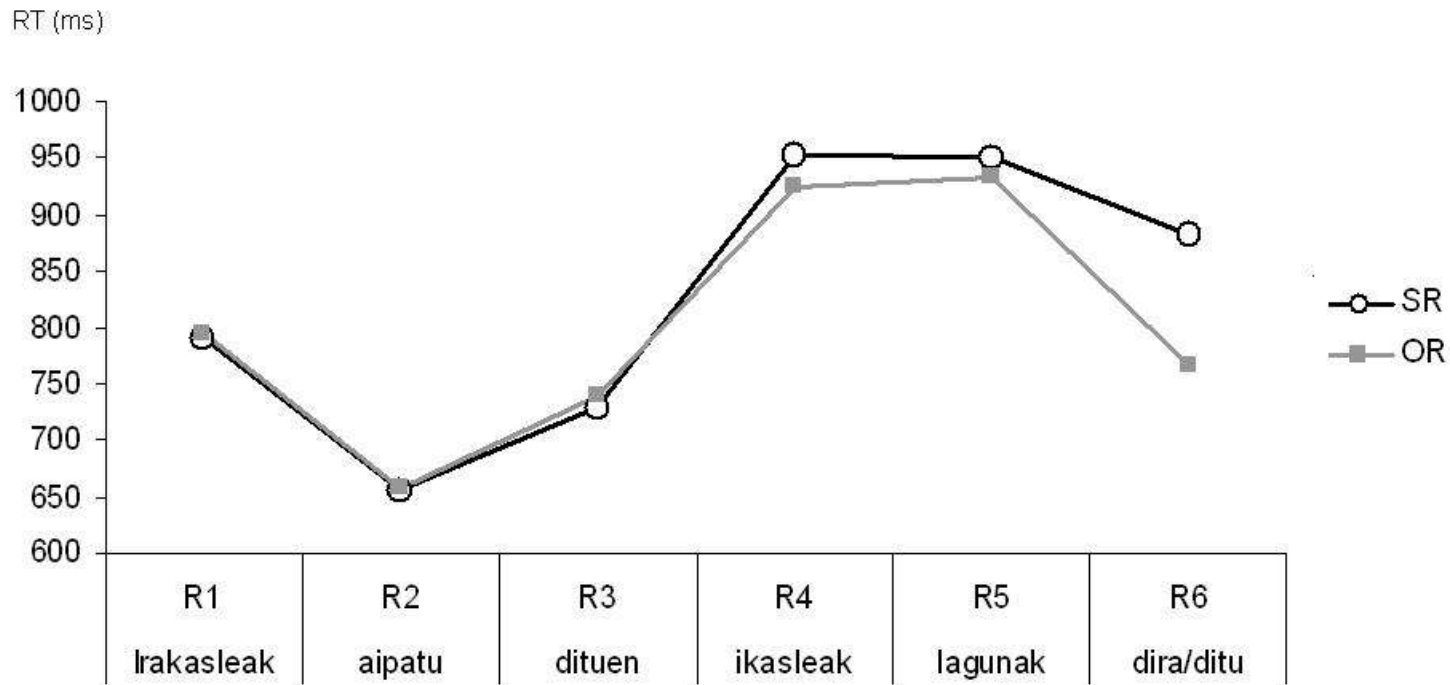
[woman-**the-S** e₁ seen hasthem-rl] men-the₁ friends **are**

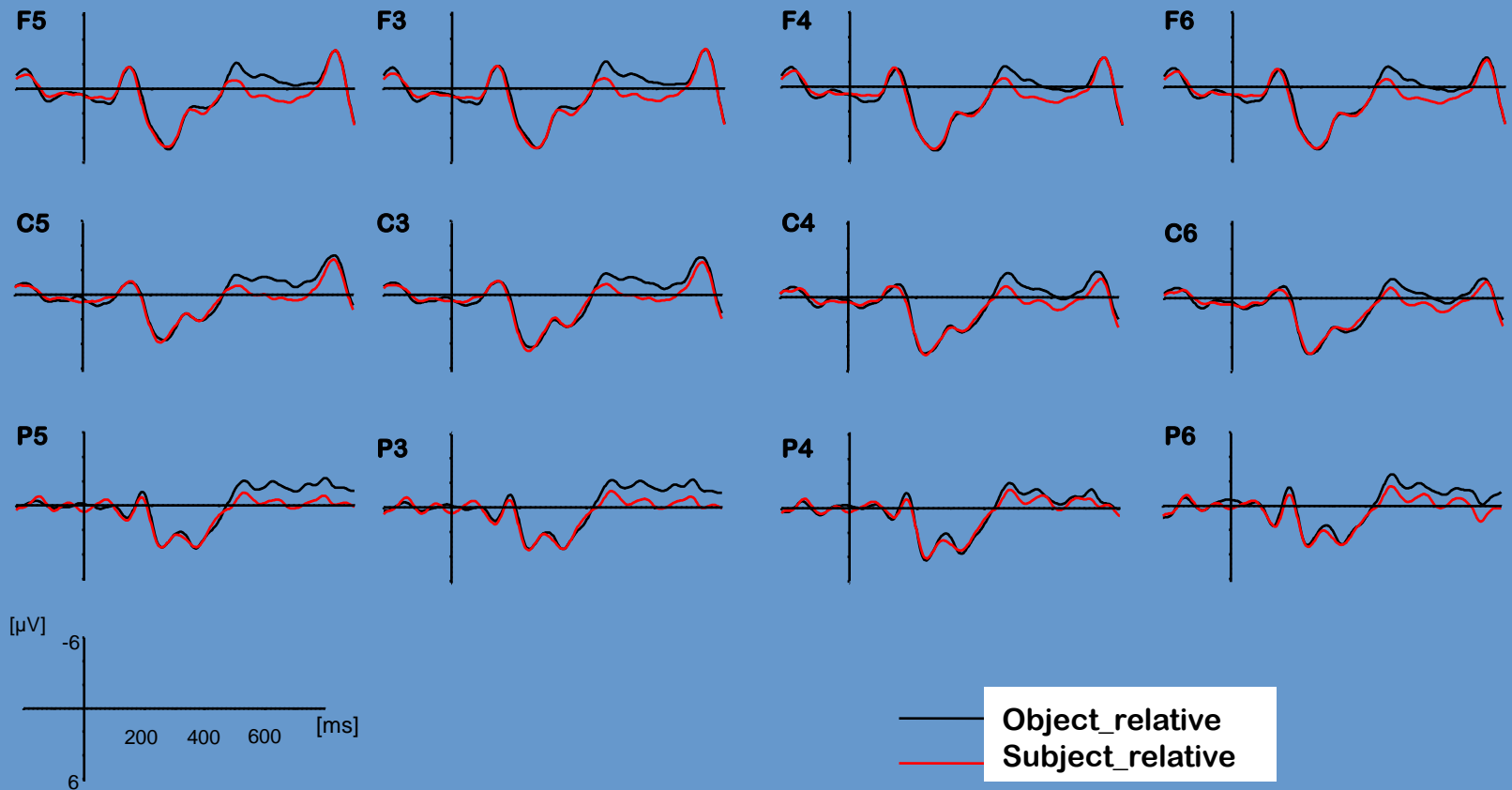
“the men that the woman has seen are friends”

Reading times



READING TIMES: Object relative faster





In the P600 window the amplitude of the SR is more positive going than that of the OR sentences. The present results show that in Basque, SR are harder to process than OR.

ERGATIVITY: A DIFFERENT WAY OF ARRANGING ACTANTS

EMAKUME-A-K
woman-the-erg
the woman has seen

EMAKUME-A
woman-the
seen the woman
EMAKUME-A
woman-the
the woman arrived

IKUSI DU
seen has

HELDU DA
arrived is

ERGATIVE
TYPE

SHE
SHE

HAS SEEN HER

HAS ARRIVED

NOMINATIVE
TYPE

Conclusions



- Word-order processing and representation follows universal mechanisms despite surface differences: fixed and free word order grammars display processing costs
- Seemingly universal phenomena based on Subject/Object require deeper, more abstract characterization
- Cross linguistic research is crucial to understand universal versus language specific acquisition/processing/representation mechanisms and strategies.

The “potential” benefits

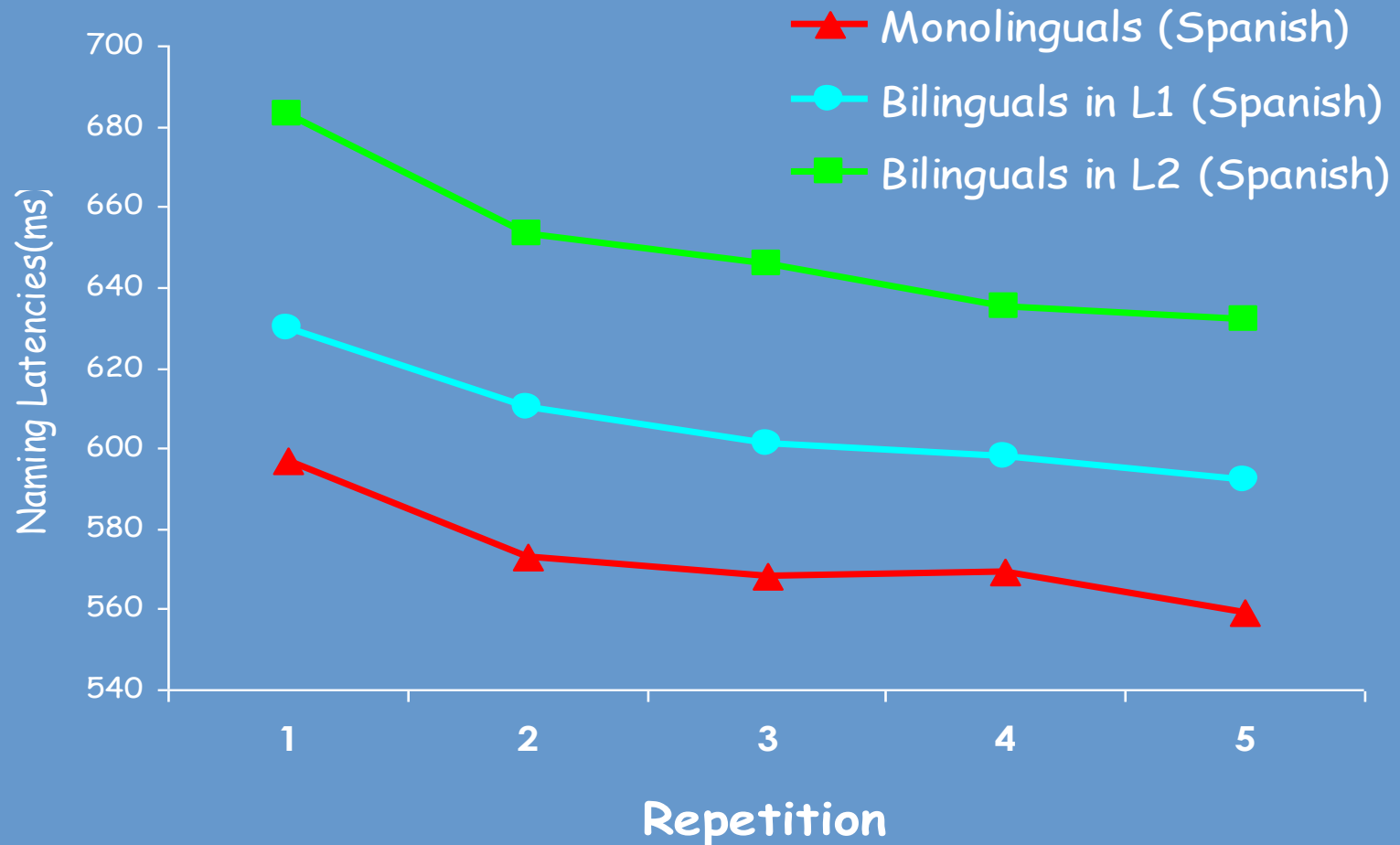
Do bilinguals enjoy an attentional advantage over monolinguals?

If so....

how important is such cost?

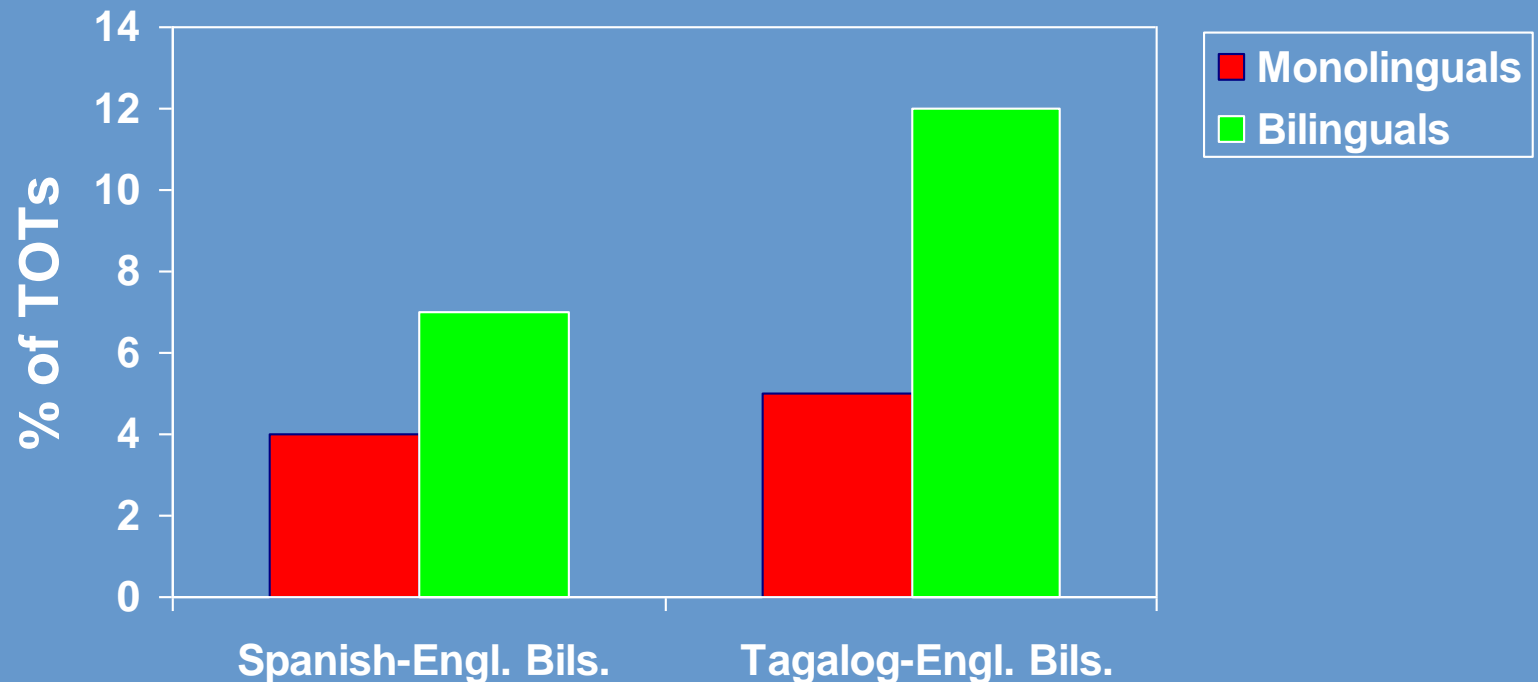
what are the implications of such an effect for brain architecture?

The costs: Slower Picture Naming Latencies

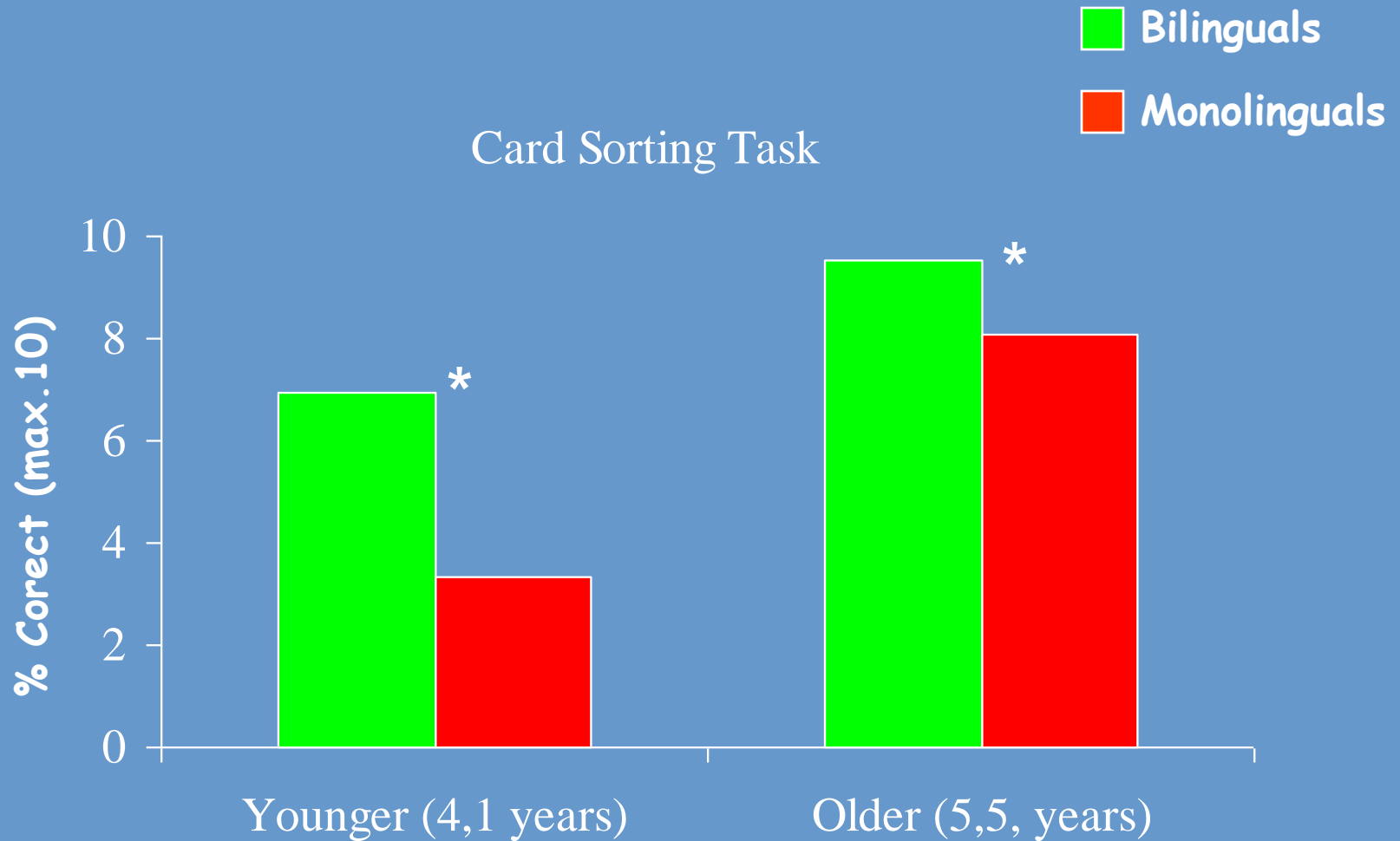


The costs: More Tip of the Tongue

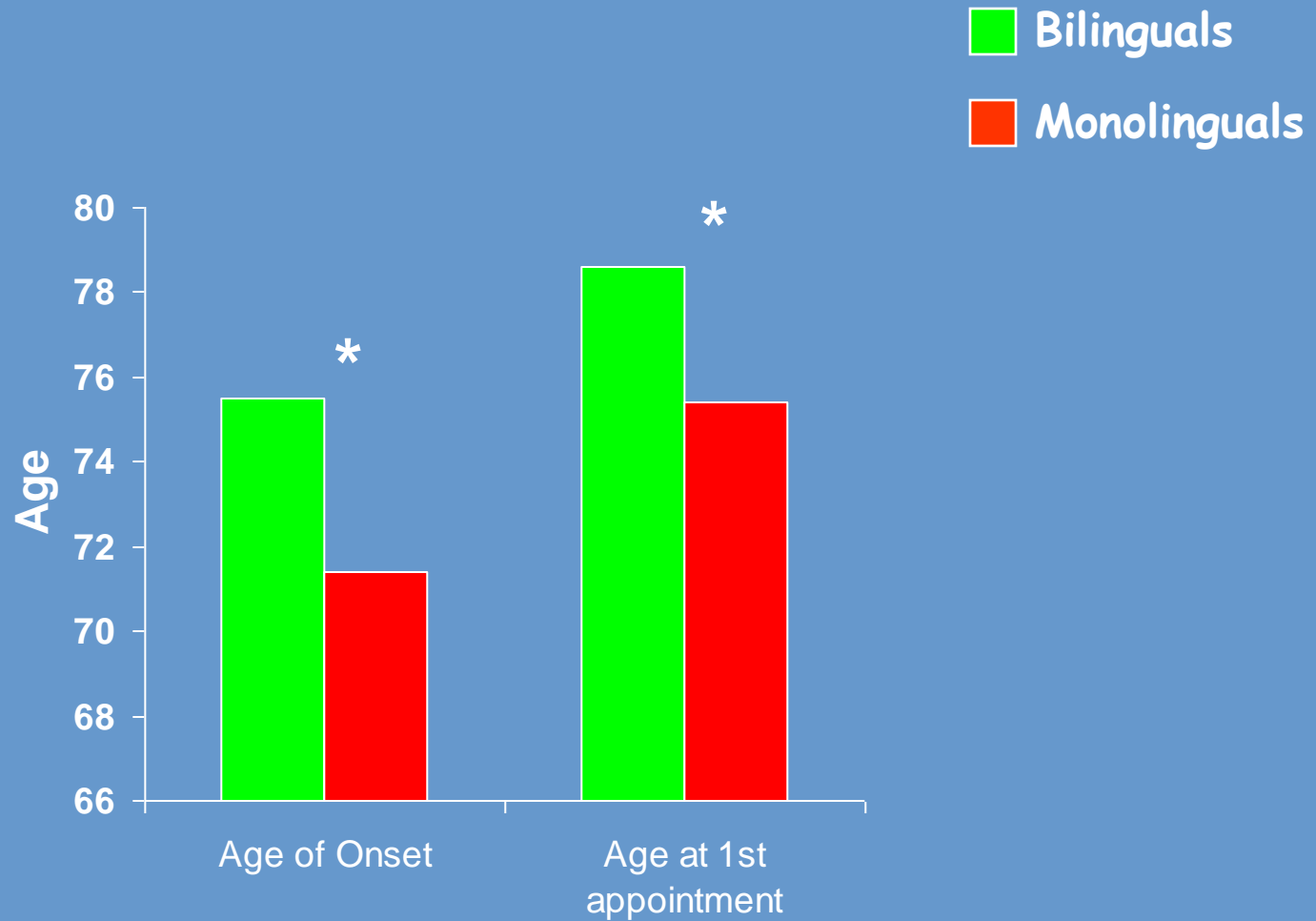
Percentage of TOTs for monolinguals and bilinguals



The benefits: More efficient attentional control

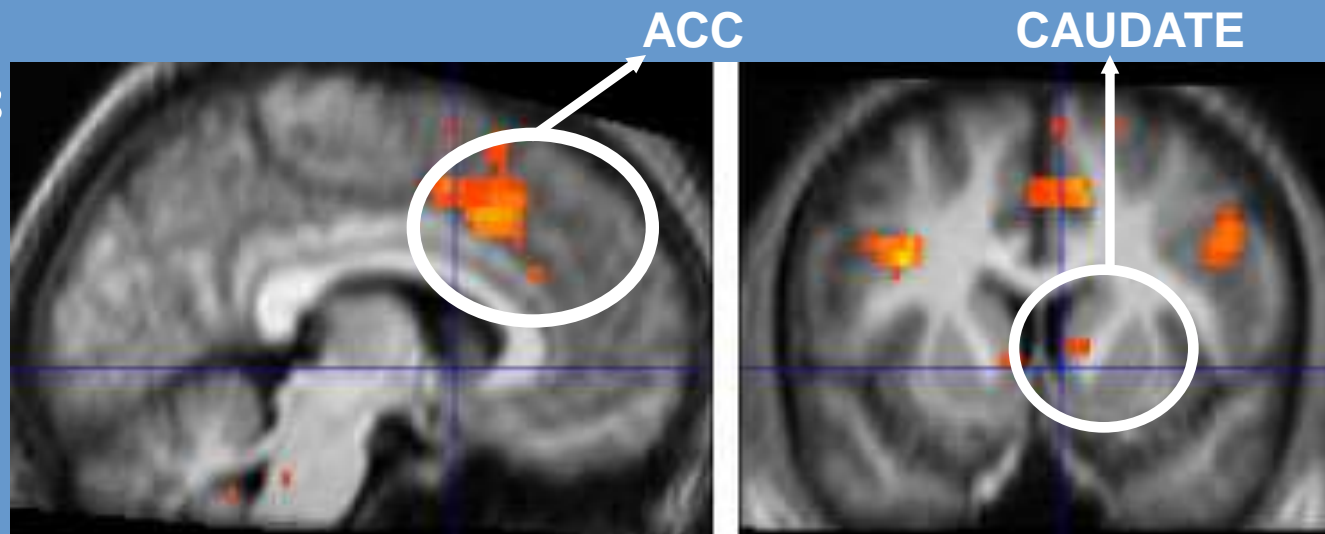


The Benefits: Bilingualism Delays Dementia Symptoms

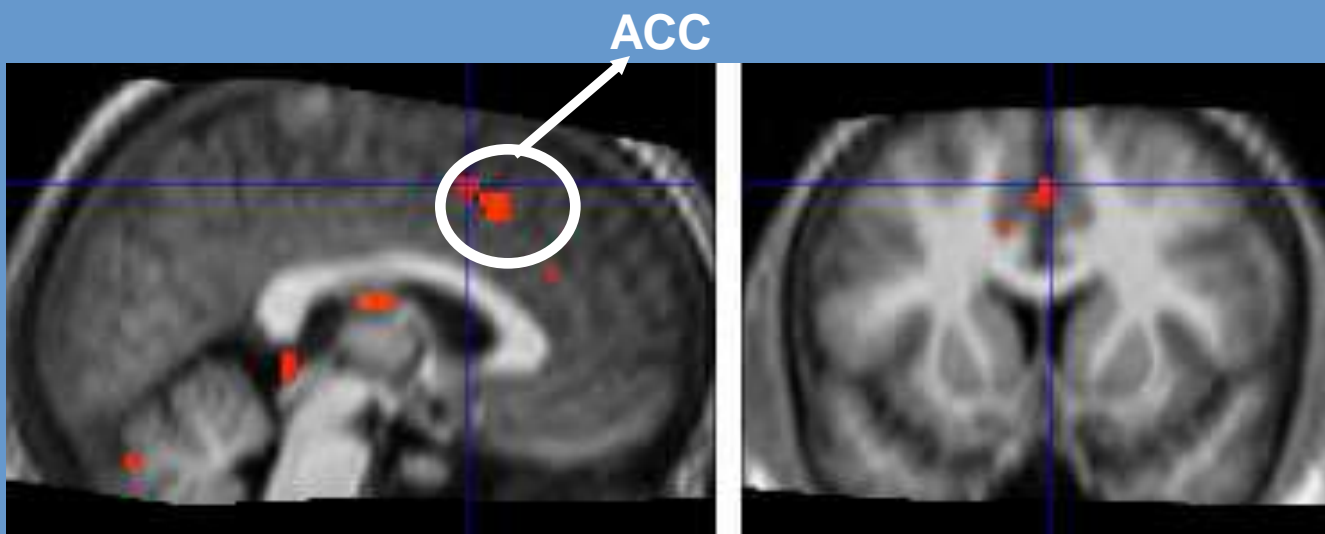


The benefits: More efficient attentional control

Monolinguals



Bilinguals



$P < 0.005$ corrected

Abutalebi, Costa, et al., (in prep)

FLANKER TASK. Incong vs congruent trials

Direct comparison between MONOLINGUALS and BILINGUALS:

Despite similar behavioral performance, MONOLINGUALS engage more extensively areas related to cognitive control such as the ACC and the caudate nucleus

