An expectation-based account of logical metonymy interpretation

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Logical Metonymy

John began the book ⇒ John began **reading** the book The goat enjoyed the book > The goat enjoyed eating the book

- * longer reading times (vs begin the journey)
 - * The Trigger Question: When do covert events arise?
- * covert event: available for inference, challenge to compositionality
 - * The Range Question: Where do covert events come from?

The Lexical Hypothesis (Pustejovsky 1995, McElree et al 2001):

- Trigger: type-mismatch (EV verb + EN object)
- Range: qualia structure in the lexicon (book: reading OR writing)
 - ✓ preserves compositionality
 - **x** rigid, limited to artifacts
 - * not suitable to modeling effects of context and discourse (cf. Lascarides & Copestake 1998)

Thematic fit and expectations

The baker finished the icing > SPREAD / EAT The child finished the icing SPREAD / EAT

* knowledge of typical events / participants used to build expectations about upcoming input (McRae & Matsuki 2009, Elman 2001)

The Thematic Fit Hypothesis (Zarcone & Padó 2011):

- Trigger: low thematic fit (expectation for EV object)
 - computational models of thematic fit (no type, Zarcone et al 2013)
- ⇒ Range: we expect a <u>high thematic fit</u> event (typical event knowledge)
 - thematic fit determines the expected covert event (Zarcone & Padó 2011)
 - More flexible lexical representations
 - ✓ Context- and discourse-sensitive
 - ✓ Early, dynamic generation of lexical expectations

Experiment: disentangling object type and thematic fit

- * Motivation: What is the *trigger* of the logical metonymy (type vs. thematic fit)?
- * **Design:** 2x2 (EN vs EV obj., high vs low thematic fit)
- * Task: self-paced reading with Yes/No comprehension questions

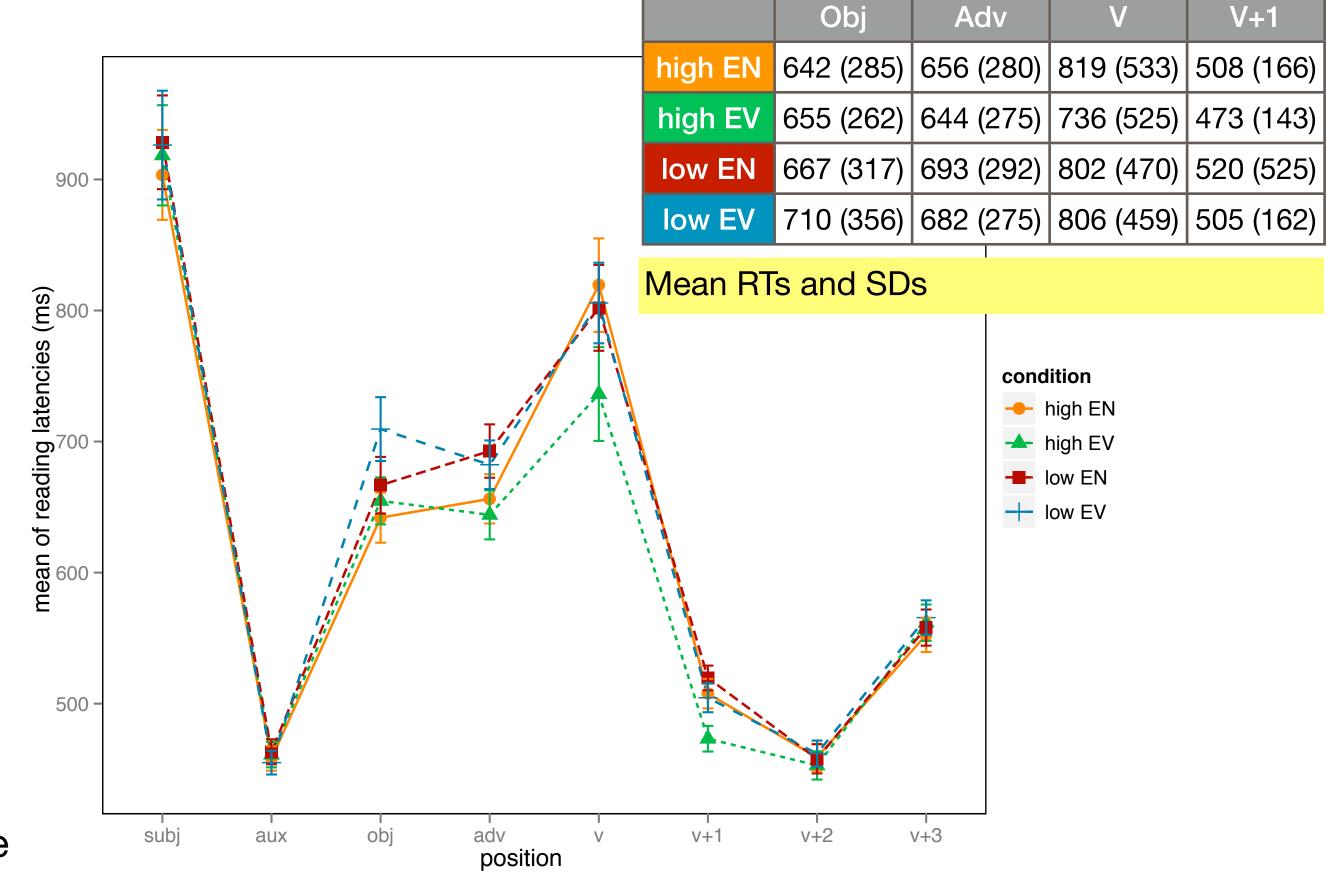
Novelty:

- * participle-final word order in German, same word measured in all four conditions (the metonymic verb)
- * manipulating BOTH thematic fit and type

Results:

- * Obj.: longer RTs for EV objects (*) and for low-thematic fit objects (*)
- * Adv.: longer RTs for low-thematic fit objects (*)
- * V: longer RTs for EN objects (*), interaction with thematic fit (*)
- * V+1: effect of object type (**) and thematic fit (**)
- * quickest condition: EV obj. + high thematic fit (matches expectations)
- * thematic fit matters: long RTs also for low-thematic fit EV objects (no type clash)
- * type matters too, although the coercion costs due to the coercion operation can be modulated by varying the thematic fit

Das Geburtstagskind hat mit den Geschenken / der Feier / der Suppe / der Schicht sofort angefangen, obwohl seine Mutter nicht da war. The birthday boy has with the presents / the party / the soup / the shift straight away started, although his mother was not there.



sofort / angefangen, / obwohl / seine Mutter / nicht...

Thematic fit and type

- * Lexical Hypothesis: too rigid, not context- and discourse- sensitive enough
- * Thematic Fit Hypothesis: towards a more dynamic model of lexical access in (intra- and extra- sentential) context (expectations based on contextual cues: word-as-cues paradigm, Elman 2011)
 - * not sufficient, we need to account for type ⇒ is type sensitive to thematic fit? Do we need a two-level model?

Conclusions

- ✓ thematic fit provides a valuable (context- and discourse- sensitive, dynamic) extension for the qualia structure (Zarcone & Padó 2011)
- * thematic fit is not a sufficient answer for the trigger question
- * we need to figure out a way to figure out how type and thematic fit interact, cognitively and computationally

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