A TYPE-DRIVEN HYPOTHESIS (PUSTEJOVSKY 1995)

Jack Kerouac began the book around 1949 → writing the book (logical metonymy)
Jack Kerouac began his journey across America → no covert event

★ The Trigger Question: When do covert events arise?
  ▷ type-clash (EV-selecting verb + EN-like-denoting object)
  ▷ longer RTs (e.g., Traxler et al. 2002)

★ The Range Question: Where do covert events come from?
  ▷ artifacts are associated with events (qualia) in the lexicon
  book → reading / writing

Kerouac was an amateur wrestler. He always enjoyed a good fight → fighting the fight
Kerouac was a wrestling fan. He always enjoyed a good fight → watching the fight

✔ preserves compositionality and the generative power of the lexicon
★ limited to artifacts, underestimates the range of covert events
★ rigid, not suitable to model effects of context and discourse
★ logical metonymy seen as an “anomalous” case

EXPERIMENT: DISENTANGLING OBJECT TYPE AND THEMATIC FIT

★ Motivation:
  ▷ Contrasting type and thematic fit theories
  ▷ What is the trigger of the logical metonymy?

★ Procedure and design:
  ▷ 2x2 (EN vs. EV obj., high vs low thematic fit)
  ▷ self-paced reading

★ Novelty:
  ▷ participle-final word order in German, metonymic verb measured
    in all four conditions (as opposite to Traxler et al. 2002)
  ▷ 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
★ Revision of the Thematic-fit Hypothesis

A WORDS-AS-CUES ACCOUNT FOR LOGICAL METONYMY (ZARCONE ET AL. 2014)

★ Lexical Hypothesis: cannot account for the effect of thematic fit → too rigid, not context- and discourse-sensitive enough

★ Thematic-fit Hypothesis: cannot account for the effect of type → long RTs for EN objects, although they can be modulated by varying the thematic fit

★ A Words-as-cues Account:
  ▷ both semantic type and thematic fit contribute to the expectation building process
  ▷ metonymic verbs’ selectional properties drive expectations for high-typicality EV objects
  ▷ contextual cues update expectations for high-typicality covert events
  ▷ a more dynamic model of lexical access in context (expectations based on contextual cues)
    (Word-as-cues paradigm, Elman 2011)

We need to account for type AND figure out how type and thematic fit interact,
  cognitively and computationally
★ towards a two-level model to account for the interaction of type and thematic fit

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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