

Carlson

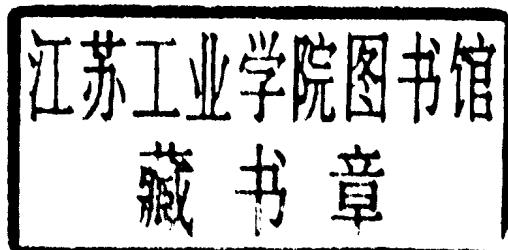
PARALLELISM AND PROSODY IN THE PROCESSING
OF ELLIPSIS SENTENCES

OUTSTANDING DISSERTATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

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Katy Carlson

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ABSTRACT

Parallelism and Prosody in the Processing of Ellipsis Sentences

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This book investigates the processing of ellipsis sentences, focusing on the following questions: (i) are ellipsis sentences processed using special routines employed only for ellipsis or are they processed using the same principles needed for unelided sentences? (ii) does parallelism influence sentence processing? if so, what kinds of similarities matter?

The interpretation of ambiguous gapping sentences (e.g., *Janie asked my dad about careers and Sharon about politics*) is explored first, finding that lexical and prosodic similarities between the DP remnant (*Sharon*) and either DP in the first clause raise the rate of analyses placing *Sharon* in a syntactic position corresponding to that of the most similar DP, supporting (1).

(1) DP Parallelism Hypothesis

The processor favors analyses in which DPs that share internal properties (have similar syntactic, prosodic, and semantic features) share external properties (appear in similar structural positions within their respective clauses or phrases), and vice versa.

The availability of a smaller syntactic structure for the object interpretation of *Sharon*, however, leads to an overall bias towards that analysis. These results show that parallelism between DPs is indeed favored by the processor, but it modulates the general preference for minimal structure (e.g., Frazier, 1978, 1987).

Further experiments explore whether parallelism is only effective in structures containing *and*, or whether it has a broader domain of application. Experiments on comparative, stripping, and replacive ellipsis sentences show that (1) applies generally in a range of ellipsis types.

The relationship between focus and prosodic parallelism is explored to investigate whether prosodic similarity of elements in the elided and antecedent clauses is due entirely to their focus structure. An experiment manipulating

parallelism of pitch range shows that prosodic properties unrelated to focus can also affect processing. Finally, a production experiment finds that prosodic renditions of ellipsis sentences can be quite similar to those of full conjoined sentences. The overall conclusion is that parallelism between DPs can affect the processing of a range of ellipsis structures, as well as unelided structures (e.g., Black, Coltheart, & Byng, 1985; Frazier, Munn, & Clifton, 2000; Henstra, 1996), but that there is no need for construction-specific mechanisms in processing theory.

Table of Contents

	Page
Acknowledgments	v
Abstract	vii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	xv
Chapter 1: Introduction	3
Parallelism and the Parallelism Hypothesis	4
Sentence Processing	8
Ellipsis Sentences and Conjunction	10
Prosody and Prosodic Processing	14
Overview of Book	17
Chapter 2: The Processing of Ambiguous Written Gapping Sentences.....	21
Introduction to Gapping and its Structure	21
Processing Gapping Sentences	25
Experiment 1: Written Gapping Questionnaire	29
Method	29
Stimuli	29
Stimulus Pre-Testing	31
Procedure	33
Participants	33
Results	34
Discussion	36
Other Possible Biases	36
Experiment 2: Fill-in Questionnaire	38
Method	39
Stimuli	39
Procedure	40

Participants	40
Results	40
Discussion	42
Carminati Experiment: Gapping in Context	43
General Discussion	46
Conclusions	48
Chapter 3: The Auditory Processing of Ambiguous Gapping Sentences.....	51
Auditory Processing	51
Experiment 3: Prosodic Parallelism Auditory Questionnaire	54
Method	55
Stimuli	55
Procedure	59
Participants	59
Results and Discussion	59
Experiment 4: Context-rating and Naturalness Study	63
Method	64
Stimuli	64
Procedure	65
Participants	66
Results	66
Discussion	67
On-line Auditory Processing	68
Experiment 5: Ellipsis Self-Paced Listening Questionnaire.....	70
Method	73
Stimuli	73
Procedure	75
Participants	76
Results	76
Discussion	78
Experiment 6: Gapping Self-Paced Listening Questionnaire.....	79
Method	80
Stimuli	80
Procedure	82
Participants	83
Results	83
Discussion and Conclusions from Self-Paced Listening Experiments..	87
General Conclusions	89

Chapter 4: Parallelism in Non-conjoined Ellipsis Sentences	93
Comparatives and Their Structure	94
Replacives and Stripping and Their Structures	97
Commonalities Between Comparatives, Replacives, and Stripping	101
Experiment 7: Replacives, Stripping Self-Paced Reading Questionnaire....	102
Method	103
Stimuli	103
Procedure	104
Participants	104
Results	104
Discussion	105
Experiment 8: Written Comparatives, Replacives, Stripping Questionnaire .	106
Method	106
Stimuli	106
Procedure	109
Participants	110
Results	110
Discussion	113
Experiment 9: Auditory Comparatives Questionnaire	114
Method	115
Stimuli	115
Procedure	117
Participants	117
Results	118
Discussion	119
Conclusions	121
Chapter 5: Prosodic Parallelism, Focus, and Pitch Range	125
The Grammar of Focus	127
Processing Issues	132
Experiment 10: Auditory Gapping Questionnaire with Neutral Accent	136
Method	137
Stimuli	137
Procedure	140
Participants	140
Results and Discussion	140
Experiment 11: Production Study	142
Method	144
Stimuli	144

Procedure and Participants	145
Results	146
Discussion	154
Features of Prosodic Parallelism	157
Experiment 12: Pitch Range Auditory Questionnaire	158
Pitch Matching	159
Sentence Types and Prosodic Descriptions	162
Replacives	162
VP Ellipsis Sentences	163
Cantrall-Inspired Pronoun Sentences	164
Adverbial Sentences	165
Procedure	166
Participants	167
Results	167
Discussion	170
General Conclusions	172
Chapter 6: Conclusions about Parallelism and Ellipsis.....	177
Appendices	
A. Materials for Experiments 1 and 3	189
B. Materials for Experiment 2.....	192
C. Figures for Experiment 3.....	195
D. Materials for Experiment 4	197
E. Materials for Experiment 5	198
F. Materials for Experiment 6	200
G. Materials for Experiment 7	202
H. Materials for Experiments 8 and 9	204
I. Materials for Experiment 10	208
J. Materials for Experiment 11 (Production Study)	209
K. Materials for Experiment 12	213
Bibliography	215
Index.....	225

List of Tables

Table	Page
1. Pretest Plausibility Rating Averages (and <i>SDs</i>) by Verb and Clause Type.....	32
2. Means (and <i>SDs</i>) for Alternative Interpretations, Experiment 1.....	34
3. Percentage of Subject Uses of Ambiguous DP, Experiment 2.....	40
4. F0 Averages in Hz for Cooperating Prosodic Conditions, Experiment 3.....	56
5. F0 Averages for Baseline Prosodic Condition, Experiment 3.....	57
6. Naturalness/Felicitousness Rating Averages, Experiment 4.....	66
7. F0 Averages in Hz for Different Ellipsis Sentences, Experiment 5.....	74
8. Percentage of Subject Interpretations of Post- <i>and</i> DP, Experiment 5.....	76
9. Response Time Averages (in ms) after Segments, Experiment 5.....	78
10. F0 Averages for Subject and Object Accent Conditions, Expt. 6.....	81
11. Percentage of Subject Interpretations, Gapping Sentences, Expt. 6.....	83
12. Initial Response Time Averages after Segments, Experiment 6.....	85
13. RT Averages with Strict Cutoffs, Experiment 6.....	85
14. Percentage of Subject Analyses of Remnant, Experiment 7.....	104
15. Percentage of Subject Analyses, Replacives and Stripping, Expt. 8.....	110
16. Repl./Stripping Results Separated by Parallelism Sub-Types, Expt. 8.....	111
17. Percentage of Subject Analyses of Remnant, Comparatives, Expt. 8.....	112
18. Results Separated by Parallelism and Comparison Sub-Types, Expt. 8.....	112
19. Results Separated for Combined Parallelism and Comparison Sub-Types, Experiment 8.....	113
20. F0 Averages for Comparatives, Experiment 9.....	116
21. Duration Averages for Comparatives, Experiment 9.....	116
22. Percentage of Subject Analyses of Remnant, Comparatives, Expt. 9.....	118
23. F0 Averages for Subject, Object, and Neutral Accent Conditions, Expt. 10.....	138
24. Duration Averages, Experiment 10.....	138

25. Percentage of Subject Interpretations, Gapping Sentences, Expt. 10.....	141
26. F0 Averages for Subject, Object, Ambiguous DP, Separated by Context, Experiment 11.....	147
27. F0 Averages, Separated by Context, Including Only H* Accents, Experiment 11.....	148
28. F0 Averages Separated by Context and Sentence Type, Expt. 11.....	149
29. F0 Averages Separated by Context and Speaker, Experiment 11.....	151
30. Duration Averages for Subject, Object, Ambiguous DP, Separated by Context and Sentence Type, Experiment 11.....	152
31. Duration Averages for Noun Within First-Clause PP and Pre-Conjunction Break, Experiment 11.....	153
32. F0 Averages of Replacives, Experiment 12.....	163
33. Percentage of Subject Interpretations of Remnant, Replacives, Expt. 12....	167
34. Percentage of High Ellipsis Responses, VP Ellipsis Sentences, Expt. 12....	168

List of Figures

Figure	Page
1. Cooperating Gapping Prosody: Subject Accent Pitch Track.....	195
2. Cooperating Nongapping Prosody: Object Accent Pitch Track.....	195
3. Baseline Prosody Pitch Track.....	196

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