Effect of partial quotation and transparent free relatives on perspective shift

Bethany Sturman & Jesse Harris (University of California, Los Angeles)
bsturman@ucla.edu

Background: Although speakers are generally committed to the truth of their utterances, perspective shift allows speakers to utter content they may not fully endorse [1,2]. In a cue-based account of perspective shift, speakers overcome their default commitment to an utterance through a preponderance of cues [1,3,4]. Perspective shifting with appositives and expressives has been well studied [9,10,11]. We extend the domain of perspective shifting expressions with a study on Transparent Free Relatives (TFRs; e.g. *Allen poured* <u>*what (is called/he calls) a beergarita*</u>) and Partial Quotation (PQ; e.g., *Allen poured a 'beergarita'*). **TFRs** provide a syntactic means to introduce an explicit attribution of an expression (*beergarita*) with a verb of saying (*calls*) or belief and an optional source for the attribution (*he*). Harris [12] found that adding a source to a TFR produced greater instances of perspective shift than those without a source. **PQ** has also been proposed to facilitate perspective shift away from the speaker [5], but crucially lacks the explicit cues to identify the non-speaker source. The **present study** compares the perspective-shifting potential of TFRs and PQ in a dual production-perception experiment. We propose that PQ provides a less robust cue for perspective shift, even when the speaker attempts to verbally mark it as non-speaker oriented. The production component allows us to explore the prosodic realization of perspective shift and what prosodic cues signal the orthographic presence of PQ (c.f. [13] for German.)

Methodology: The experiment was designed for a Speaker/Listener pair (N=36 native English speaking pairs). Subject pairs were told they were in a game where they scored by interpreting a sentence in the same way. The Speaker could only communicate by reading items aloud and was separated from the Listener with a physical divider. The procedure had four parts: **i)** the Speaker read the item silently **ii)** the Speaker answered a forced choice question about whether they interpreted the object NP as speaker-oriented or subject-oriented **iii)** the Speaker read the item aloud **iv)** the Listener answered the same interpretation question. The 2x3 design crossed the presence of PQ around the object NP with no embedding/no source TFR/subject-source TFR (see example item in (1)), with 24 target items, 40 fillers, and 8 catch items.

Results: Two GLMER models were run to evaluate the Speaker's rate of shift and the Listener's rate of shift, shown in Fig. 1. The results demonstrate the full range of perspective shifting potential. As expected, the No Quotes matrix object (control) condition and No-Source TFRs rarely resulted in a perspective shifted interpretation, showing a floor for both the Speaker and the Listener (p's <.001). Similarly, the Subject-Source TFRs increased the likelihood of a subject-shifted interpretation for both Speaker and Listener (p's <.001), replicating Harris [12] and providing a ceiling for perspective shift. The matrix PQ condition was the intermediate case. PQ increased the Speaker's likelihood to shift (p <.001) but was not significant for the Listener, who was relying solely on the Speaker's production of the item. There was a great deal of variation in individual Speakers' propensity to perspective shift in the matrix PQ condition, shown in the histogram in Fig. 1. Some speakers may be more cautious, needing stronger cues to license perspective shift.

Prosodic marking of PQ: Although the design successfully invoked expressive speech from Speakers, these results suggest that either Speakers are not consistently marking PQ phonetically or Listeners cannot successfully decipher the Speakers' prosodic cues to reconstruct PQ. Preliminary analysis of the production data suggests that speakers mark the presence of PQ by inserting large (IP) prosodic breaks at the location of the quotation marks. The preceding boundary tone is a plateau (e.g. H-L%). An example ToBI annotated utterance is shown in Fig. 2.

Conclusion: Speakers' less frequent rate of perspective shift in the matrix PQ condition compared to the Subject-Source TFR condition as well as the Listeners' low rate of perspective shift in the matrix PQ condition supports the hypothesis that perspective shift is a pragmatically risky strategy and must be carefully marked with robust cues. There also seems to be individual variation in how strong the cues must be to license perspective shift.

(1) Example item:	Matrix object	NoSource TFR (NS-TFR)	Subj-Source TFR (SS-TFR)
No Quotes (No Q)	Allen poured a beergarita at the party on Friday.	Allen poured <u>what is called a beergarita</u> at the party on Friday.	Allen poured <u>what he calls a beergarita</u> at the party on Friday.
Partial Quotes (PQ)	Allen poured a "beergarita" at the party on Friday.	Allen poured <u>what is called a "beergarita"</u> at the party on Friday.	Allen poured <u>what he calls a "beergarita"</u> at the party on Friday.
Interpretation Question:	Who calls it a beergarita? *Subject*: Only Allen calls it a beergarita / *Speaker*: Everyone calls it a beergarita		
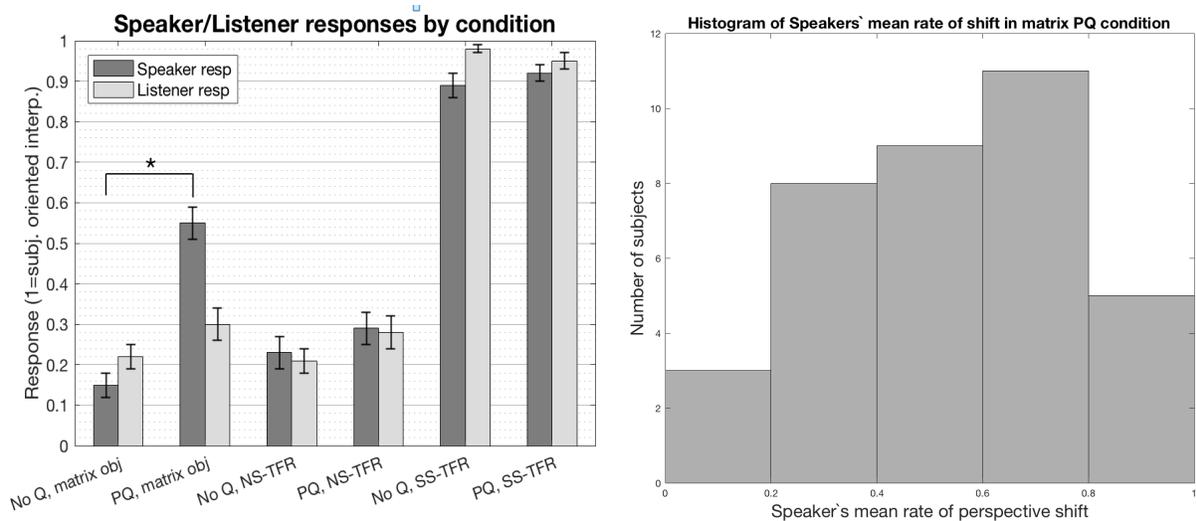
Figure 1. Left: Mean response rate (1=subj. oriented) for Speaker and Listener with standard error by condition **Right:** Histogram of individual Speakers' mean rate of perspective shift in the matrix PQ condition
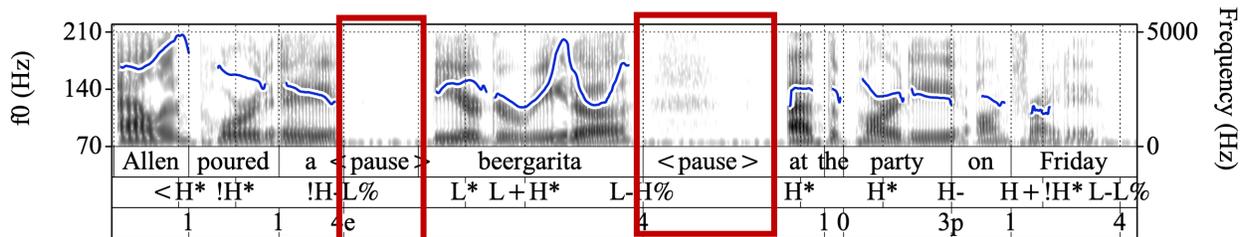
Figure 2. Spectrogram with pitch track and ToBI annotation for *Allen poured a "beergarita" at the party on Friday*. The pauses used to prosodically mark partial quotation are boxed.

References:
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