

## Effect of partial quotation and transparent free relatives on perspective shift

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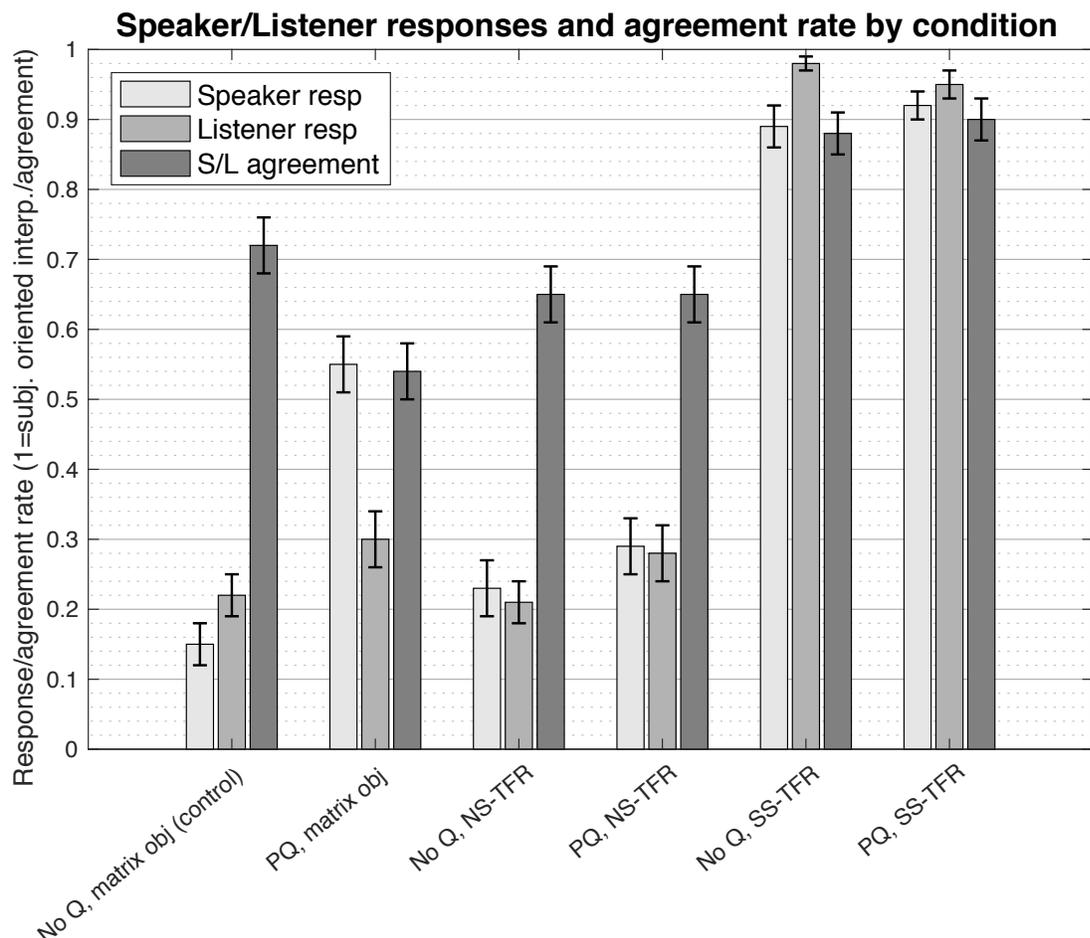
**Background:** Perspective shift allows speakers to utter content they need not be fully committed to (Smith, 2003; Harris & Potts, 2009). Partial quotation (also known as subclausal quotation or mixed quotation) has been proposed to facilitate perspective shift away from the speaker (Potts, 2007), following previous analyses for full clausal quotation (Kaplan, 1989, among many others.) This situates partial quotation (PQ) amongst other perspective shifting phenomena such as transparent free relatives (Wilder, 1998; Grosu 2003), as well as appositives and expressives (Amaral et al., 2007; Harris & Potts, 2011). Transparent Free Relatives (TFRs, e.g. *Allen poured what (is called/he calls) a beergarita*) syntactically embed an expression (*beergarita*) within a Free Relative using a verb of saying (*calls*) and an optional source for the expression (*he*). Harris (2014) found that embedding under a subject-source TFR consistently induced a subject-oriented interpretation of the object NP. The present study was an exploratory investigation of the extent to which PQ induces perspective shift in the interpretation of object NPs, employing no-source and subject-source TFRs as floor and ceiling baselines for perspective shift. The production component of the study was also an exploration of the intonational realization of PQ, investigating whether speakers employ regular intonational cues to signal the orthographic presence of PQ (c.f. Kasimir, 2008 for German.)

**Methodology:** The experiment was designed for a Speaker/Listener pair (N=36 pairs of native English speakers) and thus included both a production and perception component. The pair was instructed 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 the set up included a physical divider between the participants to eliminate any non-verbal communication. The procedure for an item was as follows: **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 (“Everyone calls it a beergarita”) or subject-oriented (“Only Allen calls it a beergarita”) **iii)** the Speaker read the item aloud **iv)** the Listener answered the same interpretation question. The design was 2x3 within-subject, crossing the presence of PQ around the object NP with no embedding/no source TFR/subject-source TFR (1), with 24 target items, 40 fillers, and 8 catch items.

**Results:** Three GLMER models were run to evaluate perspective shift: the Speaker’s interpretation, the Listener’s interpretation, and their agreement, shown in (2). For the Speaker, both PQ ( $p < .001$ ) and subject-source TFRs (henceforth SS-TFRs,  $p < .001$ ) increased the likelihood of a subject-oriented interpretation; no-source TFRs (henceforth NS-TFRs,  $p < .001$ ) decreased the likelihood. Both the interaction between PQ and NS-TFRs ( $p < .05$ ) and PQ and SS-TFRs ( $p = .054$ ) decreased the likelihood of a subject-oriented response. For the Listener, relying solely on the Speaker’s production of the item, PQ was not significant. As expected, NS-TFRs decreased the likelihood of a subject-oriented response ( $p < .001$ ), whereas SS-TFRs increased the likelihood ( $p < .001$ ), replicating Harris (2014). The interaction between PQ and SS-TFRs marginally suggests a decrease ( $p = .066$ ). For the Agreement model, only the TFRs (both  $p < .001$ ) produced significant effects, with NS-TFRs corresponding to a decrease in agreement and SS-TFRs, an increase. The design successfully invoked expressive speech from the Speakers. Analysis of the production data is in progress. Preliminary results suggest 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 generally a plateau (H-L%), and there seem to be more pitch accents inside PQ than in the unquoted conditions.

**Discussion:** Orthographic representation of PQ reliably encodes perspective shift as shown by the Speaker responses. Lack of a corresponding shift in Listener responses and Agreement suggests that either Speakers are not consistently encoding PQ phonetically or Listeners are unable to successfully decipher the Speakers’ prosodic cues to reconstruct PQ in their representation of the sentence.

(1) Example item:	Matrix object	NoSource TFR (NS-TFR)	Subj-Source TFR (SS-TFR)
Partial Quotes (PQ)	Allen poured a beergarita at the party.	Allen poured what is called a beergarita at the party.	Allen poured what he calls a beergarita at the party.
No Quotes (No Q)	Allen poured a “beergarita” at the party.	Allen poured what is called a “beergarita” at the party.	Allen poured what he calls a “beergarita” at the party.



(2) Mean response rate (1=subj. oriented) for Speaker and Listener and Agreement rate with standard error by condition

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