

## **Non-referential Predicate Nominals and Agreement Attraction** Evidence from EEG

Hermansson, Ann; Heinat, Fredrik; Klingvall, Eva

2024

Document Version: Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):

Hermansson, A., Heinat, F., & Klingvall, E. (2024). *Non-referential Predicate Nominals and Agreement Attraction: Evidence from EEG.* Abstract from Architectures and Mechanisms for Language Processing, Edinburgh, United Kingdom. https://virtual.oxfordabstracts.com/#/event/31397/submission/92

Total number of authors:

General rights

Unless other specific re-use rights are stated the following general rights apply:

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

• Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study

- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
  You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Read more about Creative commons licenses: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

## Non-referential Predicate Nominals and Agreement Attraction: Evidence from EEG Ann Hermansson, Fredrik Heinat & Eva Klingvall (Lund University)

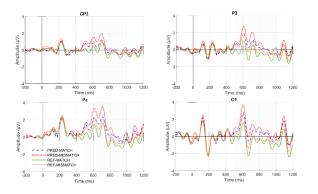
Nominal discourse entities vary regarding how likely they are to act as antecedents to anaphoric expressions (Ariel, 1990, 1988; Gundel et al., 1993). Previous research has shown that grammatically unavailable nominal entities affect syntactic dependency computation, if the dependent entity matches them in terms of morphosyntactic or semantic features (e.g. number and gender) (Van Dyke, 2007; Lewis and Vasishth, 2005). This study tested whether noun phrases that are non-referential show the same kind of interference effects as referential NPs. We used a gender mismatch paradigm (Carreiras et al., 1996) as in (1) and looked at ERP effects on the pronoun (*she* in 1). The pronoun was either compatible with a referring, stereotypically or semantically gendered NP, as in (1a), where the noun *nurse* (stereotypically feminine) and the pronoun *she* match in gender. The referring NP is of a different (stereotypical) gender in the mismatch condition: *surgeon*, in (1b). These sentences are contrasted with similar sentences, with gender match, (1c), and mismatch, (1d), but where the NPs are predicative, i.e. non-referring.

Twenty-five self-reported native speakers of English took part in the experiment. The material consisted of 160 items as in (1), half of which had male proper names in subject position, *Henry* in (1), and half featured female proper names. All subject NPs were gender incongruent with the pronoun subjects in the coordinated clause (*she* in 1). The two ROIs were: a left anterior region (Fp1, F7, F3, FT7, FC3) and a posterior region (TP7, CP3, CPz, CP4, TP8, P7, P3, Pz, P4, P8, O1, Oz, O2). The P600 time window was set to 500-1000 ms post stimulus onset, and the LAN time window was set to 300-500 ms post stimulus onset (Gouvea et al., 2010; Delogu et al., 2019; Barkley et al., 2015).

Despite predicate NPs being non-referential, the results indicated significant effects of gender match on the EEG amplitudes. A predicate NP yielded no LAN effect, but a significant P600 effect against a baseline, referential NP condition (Fig. 1 and 2). This effect indicated that the pronoun was difficult to integrate, which was interpreted as the predicate NP being realised as a poor antecedent to the pronoun (e.g. Delogu et al., 2019). However, gender congruency between the predicate NP and the pronoun attenuated the P600 amplitude. Analyses of the ERPs on the predicate NP (*nurse/surgeon* in 1) identified no significant amplitude contrasts, suggesting that the attenuated P600 could not be explained by participants overriding the conventional gender of the proper name subjects (*Henry* in 1) (Fig. 3a). No difference between semantically and stereotypically gendered NPs was observed (Fig 3b). The results suggest that a predicate, non-referring NP is considered a potential antecedent to an anaphoric pronoun during the early stages of pronoun resolution. The results are discussed from the perspective of the relation between syntax and semantics in the building of discourse representations in sentence processing.

- (1) Experimental conditions:
- a. Henry met a nurse at the hospital and she laughed a lot.
- b. Henry met a surgeon at the hospital and she laughed a lot.
- c. Henry was a nurse at the hospital and she laughed a lot.
- d. Henry was a surgeon at the hospital and she laughed a lot.

REF-MATCH REF-MISMATCH PRED-MATCH PRED-MISMATCH



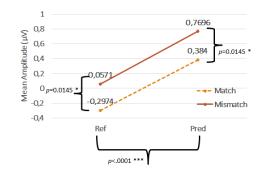
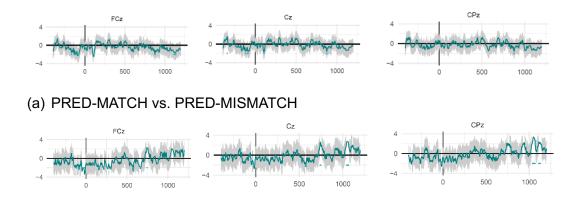


Figure 1: P600 after pronoun onset

Figure 2: P600 mean amplitude contrast



(b) Stereotypically vs. semantically gendered NPs

Figure 3: Amplitude contrasts after predicate NP onset

References: Ariel, M. 1988. Referring and accessibility. Journal of linguistics 24:65–87. Ariel, M. 1990. Accessing noun-phrase antecedents. London and New York: Routledge. Barkley, C., R. Kluender, and M. Kutas. 2015. Referential processing in the human brain: An eventrelated potential (ERP) study. Brain Research 1629:143-159. Carreiras, M., A. Garnham, J. Oakhill, and K. Cain. 1996. The use of stereotypical gender information in constructing a mental model: Evidence from English and Spanish. The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology Section A 49:639-663. Delogu, F., H. Brouwer, and M. W. Crocker. 2019. Eventrelated potentials index lexical retrieval (N400) and integration (P600) during language comprehension. Brain and Cognition 135:103569. Gouvea, A. C., C. Phillips, N. Kazanina, and D. Poeppel. 2010. The linguistic processes underlying the p600. Language and Cognitive Processes 25:149–188. Gundel, J. K., N. Hedberg, and R. Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. Language 69:274-307. Lewis, R. L., and S. Vasishth. 2005. An activation-based model of sentence processing as skilled memory retrieval. Cognitive science 29:375-419. Van Dyke, J. A. 2007. Interference effects from grammatically unavailable constituents during sentence processing. Jrnl of experimental psychology. Learning, memory, and cognition 33:407–430.