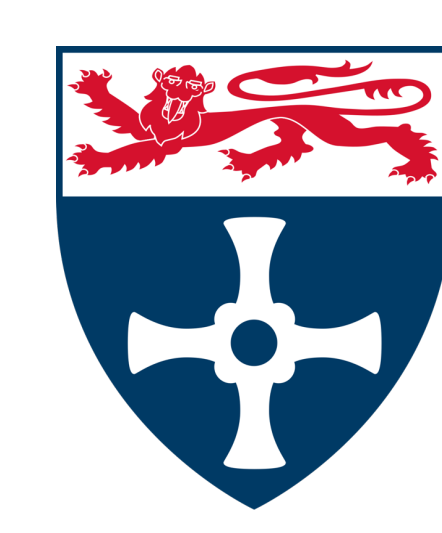


# Number, animacy, and individual variation in the processing of cataphora

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## Psycholinguistic background on the processing of **Cataphora**

A cataphor (pronoun that precedes its referent) causes an **active search** for a feature-matched NP [1-4]

- Evidence mostly comes from Gender Mismatch Effects (GMEs)
- e.g. for reading times: **she...FEM** = 🐼 (1a), but **he...FEM** = 🐼 (1b)

- (1) a. After **she** made breakfast, **the nun** interviewed the monk.  
 b. After **he** made breakfast, **the nun** interviewed the monk.

How general is this feature-guided search?

- Some previous evidence for Number Mismatch Effects (NMEs) [1,4]
- But, PL is semantically underspecified [5], and *they* has many uses!

## Sociolinguistic background on the emergence of **Singular They**

Especially in North America, non-plural uses of *they* are becoming more common [6-9]

- (2) a. **Those poets** look like **they** work out. Plural *they*  
 b. **Every poet** looks like **they** work out. Bound Variable *they* [10]  
 c. **%That poet** looks like **they** work out. Definite Sing. *they* = **dsT**

NB: Singular *they* must have an animate referent [6]

- (3) a. **Those chairs** look like **they** recline.  
 b. **#Every chair** looks like **they** recline. No inanimate SG *they*  
 c. **#That chair** looks like **they** recline.

Off-line sociolinguistic/experimental work on *dsT*

- Younger raters like it more than older raters: change in progress [9]
- Transgender & nonbinary people rate it better than cis people [9]
- Other factors: prescriptivism, trans familiarity, political beliefs... [8]

## Our previous socio-psycholinguistic work on **Cataphoric They**

Reading-time study with diverse participants [11]

- Initial evidence that real-time comprehension strategies for *they* vary predictably across sociolinguistic groups (cf. [6,7])

	<b>They-Innovators</b> (Younger, Noncis)	<b>They-Noninnovators</b> (Older, Cis)	
<b>Cataphoric s/he</b>	Strong expectation for SG <i>s/he...PL</i> = 🐼		<b>Uniform NME</b>
<b>Cataphoric they</b>	Weak exp. for PL <i>they...SG</i> = 🐼	Strong exp. for PL <i>they...SG</i> = 🐼	<b>Differential NME</b>

- Prediction: *they*.INAN should evoke strong PL expectations for everyone

## Current study: Design and recruitment breakdown

**Subexp1 (HUM):** {*s/he, they*} × {NP1<sub>SG</sub>, NP1<sub>PL</sub>}; 28 itemsets from [11]

- (4) a. When **she** exercises at home, **the reporter** misses the librarians' enthusiastic encouragement. **s/he...SG**  
 b. When **she** exercises at home, **the reporters** miss the librarian's... **s/he...PL**  
 c. When **they** exercise at home, **the reporter** misses the librarians'... **they...SG**  
 d. When **they** exercise at home, **the reporters** miss the librarian's... **they...PL**

**Subexp2 (INAN):** {*it, they*} × {NP1<sub>SG</sub>, NP1<sub>PL</sub>}; 28 new itemsets

- (5) a. After **it** was replanted last spring, **the elm** protected the petunias from harsh sunlight. **it...SG**  
 b. After **it** was replanted last spring, **the elms** protected the petunia... **it...PL**  
 c. After **they** were replanted last spring, **the elm** protected the petunias... **they...SG**  
 d. After **they** were replanted last spring, **the elms** protected the petunia... **they...PL**

Participant breakdown

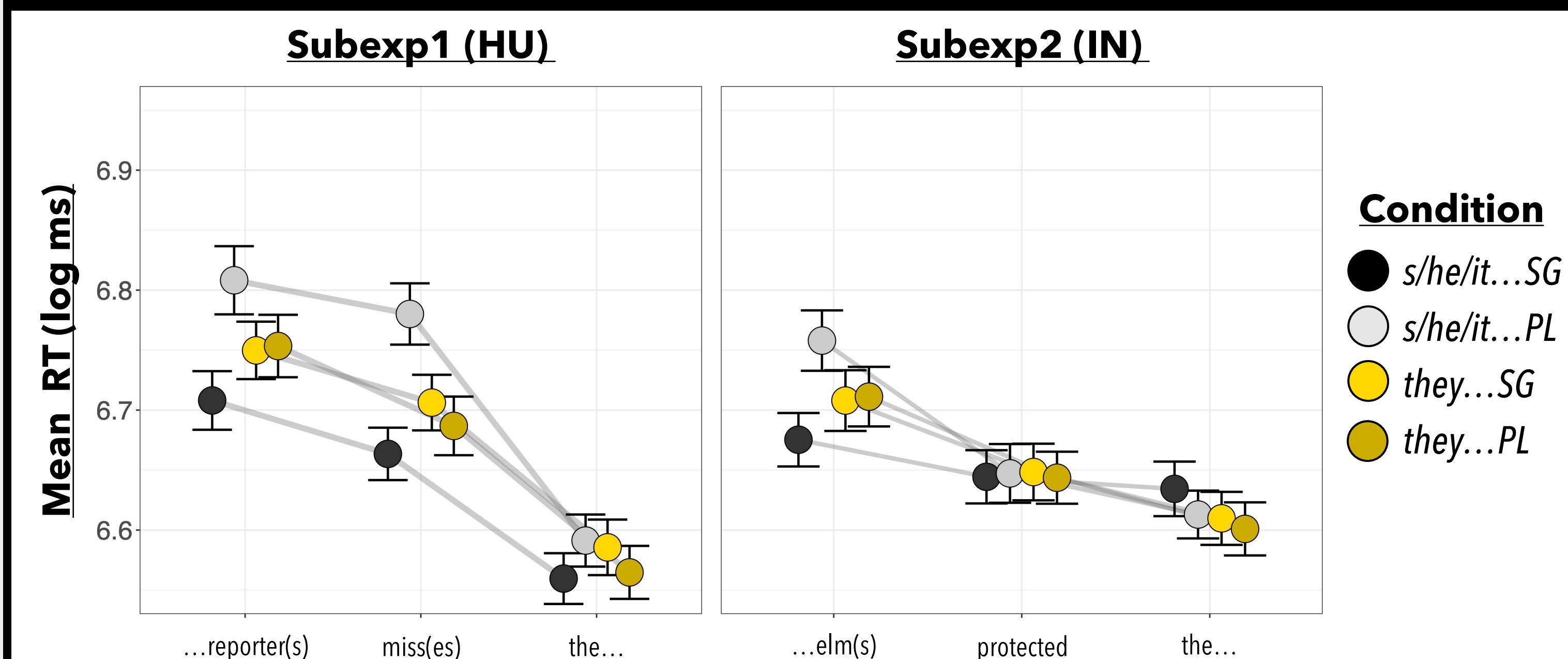
- Recruited from a previous big socio-lx survey [12]; many other variables for analysis

	More familiar with <i>dsT</i>	Less familiar with <i>dsT</i>
<b>Older</b> (born before '80)	N=18	N=22
<b>Younger</b> (born after '89) [13]	N=24	N=21

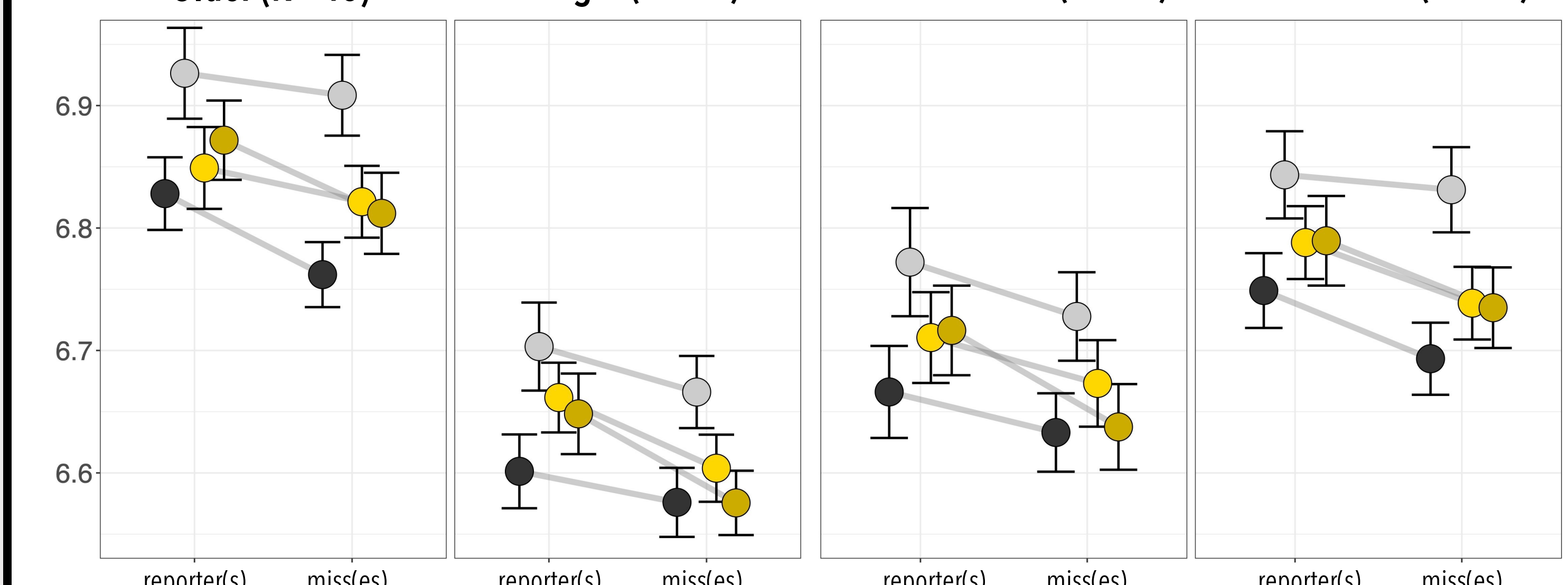
- This study ended with a mini acceptability task

L-Maze task [14] on PC-Ibex [15]; N1 was gender neutral [16]

## Reading-time **Results** at critical regions & spillovers



**Subexp1 participants by age** Older (N=40) Younger (N=45) **Subexp1 participants by dsT-familiarity** More Familiar (N=42) Less Familiar (N=43)



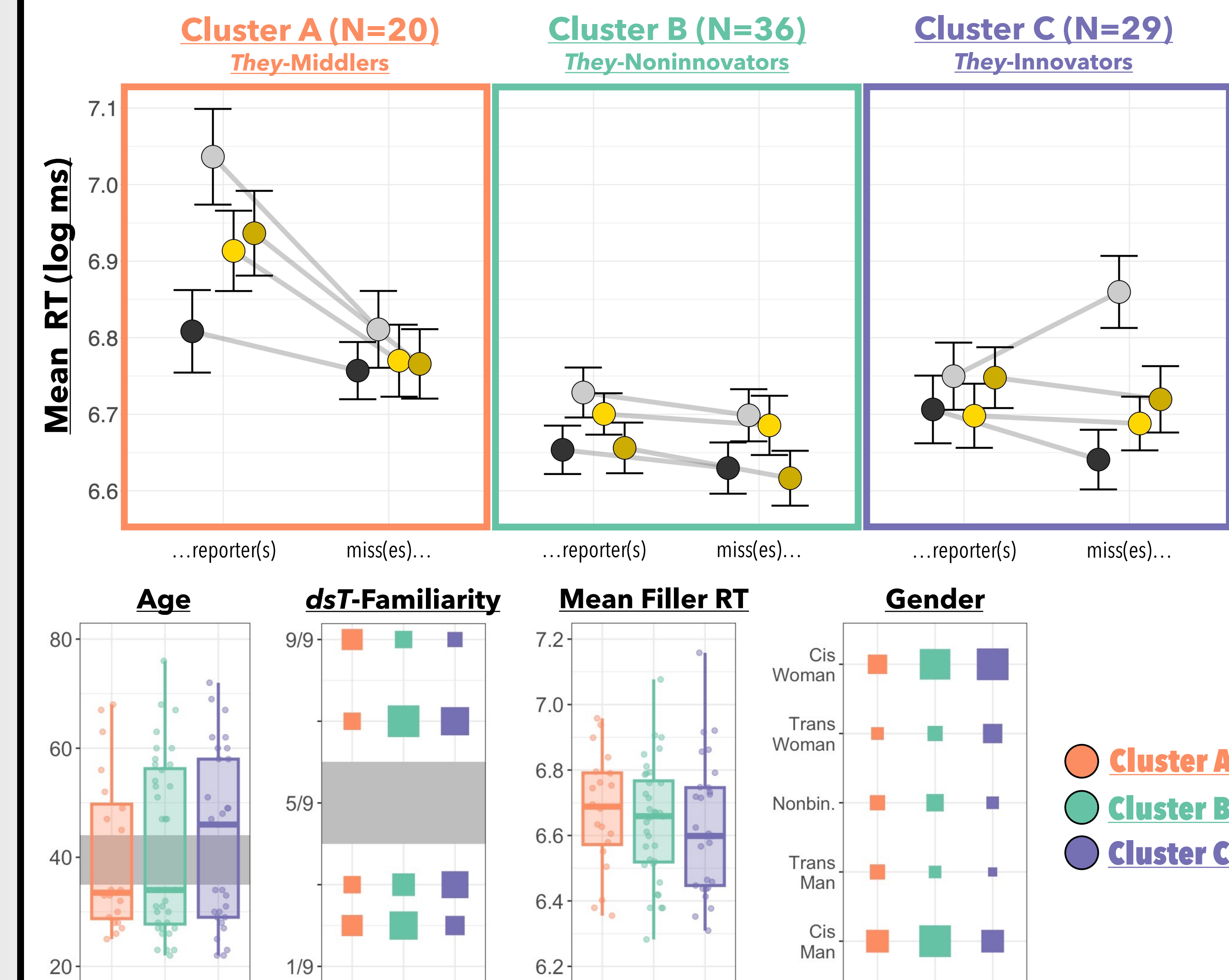
## Discussion and Exploratory analyses

Overall, cataphoric *they* evokes middling predictions – even given INAN cues, which should exclude *dsT*

- Predictions about group-level variation not borne out [11]

But *k*-means clustering reveals coherent RT patterns

- None obviously correlated with coarse demographic variables [6-8]



Individuals read & make lx predictions differently [17]

- Populations representing different stages of the change in progress are hard to recruit for; age, gender, education etc. are noisy wrt *dsT*
- How connected are ratings (off-line, conscious) & RTs (on-line, subc.)?

Next: 1984 generation [13], new task [14], UK English

## References and Acknowledgements

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