## Non-Literal Language Processing

Based on: Chapter 7 of the Traxler textbook

Can you open the door?

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- ► Speakers produce about six metaphors (4 "frozen" and 2 "novel" metaphors) per minute of speaking time
- About about one every 10 seconds (Pollio, Barlow, Fine, & Pollio, 1977)

#### Main Themes

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- 2. What are the neural events involved in non-literal language processing?

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Non-literal language requires the listener to draw pragmatic inferences

- 1. Recognition problem: How do listeners know that the speaker does not intend a literal meaning?
- 2. How do listeners compute the non-literal meaning?

#### Theories

1. Standard Pragmatic view

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- 2. Comparison views: Property matching and graded salience hypotheses

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- 1. Standard Pragmatic view
- 2. Comparison views: Property matching and graded salience hypotheses
- 3. Class inclusion view

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Deb's a real tiger

## Criticism of Standard Pragmatic View

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## Criticism of Standard Pragmatic View

- 1. Counter-examples related to the recognition problem
- 2. Experimental counter-evidence

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- My wife is an animal
- ▶ Literally true!
- ▶ Non-literal: My wife behaves in an unpredictable and uncivilized way
- ▶ Literal falsehood is not a necessary precondition for an utterance to be assigned a non-literal meaning.

Paraphrasing

- Paraphrasing
- Priming

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- Reading

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Are literal meanings computed faster than non-literal meanings?

# Paraphrasing $\overline{\text{(Gibbs 1983)}}$

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- ▶ Direct, literal form: I would like you to open the window
- ▶ Indirect, non-literal form: Can you open the window?
- No difference in paraphrasing and paraphrase initiation time!

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- ▶ Literal, related target word water
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- Lexical decision times same for both kinds of targets!
- Non-literal meanings computed just as quickly as literal meanings

# Reading (Ortony 1979)

- ▶ The investors looked to the Wall Street banker for advice.
- ► The sheep followed their leader over the cliff.

## Reading (Ortony 1979)

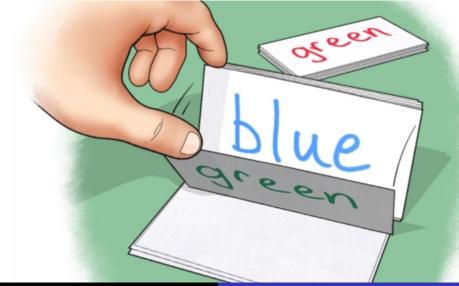
- ▶ The investors looked to the Wall Street banker for advice.
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Subjects read literal and non-literal sentences with similar speeds!

# Stroop Task (Stroop 1935)



**Story context**: Keith is described as an adult who acts in an immature way

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- Compared to literally and metaphorically "false" statements like Keith is a banana

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- 2. Computation of non-literal meanings is not optional
- 3. Undertaken even when the literal meaning is non-problematic in a given context

Attributive metaphors:  $Nicole\ Kidman_{(TOPIC)}$  is bad  $medicine_{(VEHICLE)}$ 

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- Comparison Approaches: Property Matching and Graded Salience hypotheses
- 2. Class Inclusion Approaches

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- Prediction: Metaphoric expressions will take longer to interpret than similes
- ▶ Under some circumstances, similes take longer to understand than equivalent metaphors (Glucksberg, 1998, 2003)
- Seems metaphors can be interpreted without mentally converting them to similes.

- A dog is a mammal
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- Both similes and metaphors interpreted by finding properties of the topic that are identical to vehicle
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- ?Billboards are like pears
- No common properties!

# Salience Imbalance Hypothesis (Johnson & Malgady, 1979; Tourangeau & Sternberg, 1981)

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- Refined version of the Property Matching hypothesis
- Literal comparisons used when properties are salient in both the topic and the vehicle
- Metaphors used when (in addition to common properties) some properties are obscure in topic and salient in the vehicle
- Involve low-salience properties of the topic and high-salience properties of the vehicle

#### Criticism

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- Zero shared properties cases
- No man is an island

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Reading times measured for target sentence *My lawyer is a shark*, preceded by prime sentences:

- Literal meaning of shark: Sharks can swim
- Participants had a harder time connecting topic (lawyer) and the superordinate category (dangerous animals)

a child is a snowflake

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- Characteristics of the topic point the reader toward the appropriate one

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1. Right hemisphere hypothesis

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Inconclusive results

Process of analyzing and interpreting language

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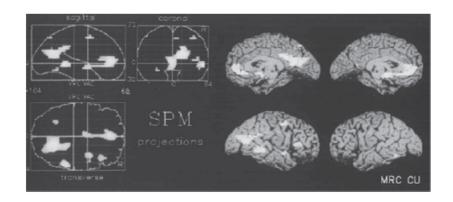
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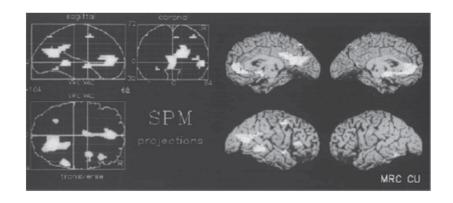
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Subsequent imaging studies have not supported the right hemisphere hypothesis, however

### **Graded Salience Hypothesis**

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- Right-hemisphere lexical representations well suited for distant semantic connections
- ▶ Left hemisphere contains more sharply defined lexical representations
- Thus activates a narrower range of associations in response to individual words
- More frequent meanings are more salient



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# Graded Salience Hypothesis receives some support from fMRI and TMS experiments

- ► Literal (paper napkin) vs metaphoric (paper tiger) word pairs given to subjects
- ► Subject judgement: literal, novel metaphors, conventional (familiar) metaphors, or unrelated
- Novel metaphors produced greater response than conventional/familiar metaphors in the right hemisphere

# fMRI Results (Mashal, Faust, Hendler, & Jung-Beeman 2007)

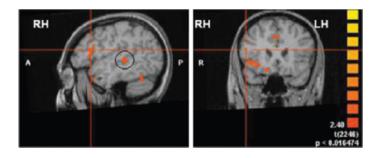


Figure: Orange areas represent parts of the brain that responded with greater activity to novel metaphors compared to conventional/familiar metaphors. The circled area is the right homologue of (counterpart to) Wernickes area.