

Elaboration over a discourse facilitates retrieval in sentence processing

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Abstract

Language comprehension requires access to stored knowledge and the ability to combine knowledge in new, meaningful ways. Previous work has shown that processing linguistically more complex expressions ('Texas cattle rancher' vs. 'rancher') leads to slow-downs in reading during initial processing, possibly reflecting effort in combining information. Conversely, when this information must subsequently be retrieved (as in filler-gap constructions), processing is facilitated for more complex expressions, possibly because more semantic cues are available during retrieval. To follow up on this hypothesis, we tested whether information distributed across a short discourse can similarly provide effective cues for retrieval. Participants read texts introducing two referents (e.g., two senators), one of whom was described in greater detail than the other (e.g., 'The Democrat had voted for one of the senators, and the Republican had voted for the other, a man from Ohio who was running for president'). The final sentence (e.g., 'The senator who the {Republican | Democrat} had voted for...') contained a relative clause picking out either the Many-Cue referent (with 'Republican') or the One-Cue referent (with 'Democrat'). We predicted facilitated retrieval (faster reading times) for the Many-Cue condition at the verb region ('had voted for'), where readers could understand that 'The senator' is the object of the verb. As predicted, this pattern was observed at the retrieval region and continued throughout the rest of the sentence. Participants also completed the Author/Magazine Recognition Tests (ART/MRT; Stanovich & West, 1989), providing a proxy for world knowledge. Since higher ART/MRT scores may index (a) greater experience accessing relevant knowledge and/or (b) richer/more highly-structured representations in semantic memory, we predicted it would be positively associated with effects of elaboration on retrieval. We did not observe the predicted interaction between ART/MRT scores and Cue condition at the retrieval region, though ART/MRT interacted with Cue condition in other locations in the sentence. In sum, we found that providing more elaborative information over the course of a text can facilitate retrieval for referents, consistent with a framework in which referential elaboration over a discourse and not just local linguistic information directly impacts information retrieval during sentence processing.

1. Introduction

Real-world knowledge is activated rapidly and richly in language comprehension (e.g., Kutas & Federmeier, 2000; DeLong et al., 2005; Metusalem et al., 2012). Knowledge about events, actions, and entities in the world can rapidly affect people's expectations about upcoming linguistic information (e.g., Kamide et al., 2003; DeLong et al., 2005; Borovsky et al., 2012). What's more, real-world knowledge use during language comprehension is dynamic, and new information can update, amend, or contradict prior information.

The ability to access this continually updated information depends on a number of factors, including the linguistic context. For instance, Bransford and Johnson (1972) provided participants with labeled and unlabeled versions of prose passages. One passage described an activity in which people typically arrange things into groups, go to the appropriate facilities, and perform a routine where a mistake may be rather expensive. Participants who initially received a label (e.g., *washing clothes*) had better memory for the passages. Similar effects have been observed when people are asked to remember information that has been causally linked (e.g., (1) someone needing change because (2) they need to do their laundry) compared to unrelated information (Smith et al., 1978; see also Bradshaw & Anderson, 1982). These findings, among others, demonstrate how language comprehension is fundamentally linked to the supporting knowledge structures, or schema, that are available to the comprehender (Radvansky & Zacks, 1991).

In addition to affecting offline processes like explicit memory, the availability of related linguistic information in a sentence (e.g., the number of adjectives modifying a noun) appears to affect online sentence processing (Hofmeister, 2011; Hofmeister & Vasishth, 2014). Modifying a referent's description with a likely attribute description (e.g., a <u>ruthless</u> dictator) leads to faster reading times at words that trigger retrieval of this discourse referent, compared to a referring expression with no modifiers. However, modification with attributes that are unlikely based on real-world knowledge (e.g., a <u>lovable</u> dictator) does not lead to the same facilitation, compared to the baseline condition (Hofmeister, 2011). In short, re-accessing previously encoded content appears to be influenced by the ability to access and use prior world knowledge in both online and offline language tasks.

Here, we test whether providing more (vs. less) information about referents across a discourse similarly can increase the ease of language comprehension when these referents are subsequently referred to. In previous work on the role of elaboration in sentence processing (Hofmeister, 2011; Hofmeister & Vasishth, 2014), the syntactic constructions used to investigate elaboration and retrieval were limited to pre-nominal modification and filler-gap dependencies that linked elements within a sentence. A natural question is whether the effects observed in such environments are specific to that particular combination of encoding and retrieval conditions, or whether elaboration can facilitate online language comprehension more generally. This work therefore examines the generality of conceptual elaboration effects in language processing.

Given variability in knowledge due to individual experience, it is likely that individuals also differ from one another in their ability to access and use any particular knowledge structure. If the performance profiles described above depend significantly on the availability of existing knowledge structures, then individual profiles ought to vary as a function of their experience accessing relevant knowledge or the availability of richer or highly structured representations in memory. Before outlining the current experiment, we briefly describe work underscoring the importance of world knowledge for guiding online language comprehension.

When understanding sentences, people seem to anticipate upcoming information based on the relationship between current linguistic information and prior world knowledge (e.g., Tanenhaus et

al., 1995; Kamide et al., 2003; Borovsky et al., 2012). For instance, if a listener hears '*The pirate chases the...*', it is reasonable for her to expect that the sentence will continue with something that a pirate (the agent) might chase (the action verb), such as a ship. Visual world eye-tracking paradigms, in which participants listen to spoken language while looking at images of items on a computer screen, have shown that both children and adults are sensitive to this type of information and use it to anticipate upcoming linguistic content (e.g., Kamide et al., 2003; Borovsky et al., 2012, 2013; Troyer & Borovsky, 2015).

In addition to eye-tracking paradigms, event-related brain potential (ERP) experiments support the role of real-world knowledge in guiding language comprehension. For instance, the N400 ERP component, whose amplitude is modulated by the semantic fit of meaningful input with prior context (Kutas & Hillyard, 1980, 1984; Kutas & Federmeier, 2000; see Kutas & Federmeier, 2011, for a recent review), is sensitive not only to fit of (or expectations about) semantic information but also to incoming information as it relates to individuals' real-world knowledge (Hagoort et al., 2004; Nieuwland & Van Berkum, 2006; Hald et al., 2007; Filik & Leuthold, 2013). For instance, Hagoort and colleagues (2004) presented participants with sentences drawing upon world knowledge, such as the fact that the color of Dutch trains is yellow. They found reduced N400 amplitude to words like 'yellow' in the sentence 'Dutch trains are yellow and very crowded' compared to sentences like 'Dutch trains are sour and very crowded' (where 'sour' is semantically inconsistent) and 'Dutch trains are white and very crowded' (where 'white' is semantically consistent but inconsistent with world knowledge about Dutch trains). These findings support the notion that experienced-based world knowledge (Dutch trains are yellow) affects language comprehension with the same time course as (and possibly via similar mechanisms to) semantic information (trains cannot be sour).

Furthermore, Metusalem and colleagues (2012) showed that rich information about events in the world is available during language comprehension. In their study, people read short scenarios about events—for example, a football game: 'Jeremy is a great athlete despite being prone to injury. During his last high school football game, he was knocked unconscious twice. That still didn't keep him from scoring the winning {TOUCHDOWN / HELMET / LICENSE} with only seconds remaining.' Unsurprisingly, N400 amplitude was reduced to predictable words fitting both with event-related information and with the semantics of the sentence (like 'touchdown') compared to anomalous words (like 'license'). Critically, N400 amplitude was intermediate to words which were not plausible continuations of the sentence but which were event-related (e.g., 'helmet', which is situationally related to football). These findings suggest that a rich landscape of knowledge can be rapidly activated during language comprehension, likely contributing to the flexibility of language comprehension.

Participants in the Metusalem et al. study also completed two tasks called the Author and Magazine Recognition Tests (ART and MRT, respectively), which require participants to select the authors and magazines that they recognize from lists containing both real and false examples (Stanovich & West, 1989). These tests provide an estimate of print experience, and the authors suggested that, by proxy, higher performance on the ART/MRT could reflect richer world knowledge. Indeed, performance on the ART/MRT predicts measures of declarative knowledge, including tests of cultural literacy recognition (rs = .53-.72; West & Stanovich, 1991; Stanovich et al., 1995); tests about history and literature knowledge (rs = .59-.62; Stanovich & Cunningham, 1992); a range of tests about cultural and practical knowledge (rs = .53-.85, Stanovich & Cunningham, 1993); and, in children, the General Information subtest of the Peabody Individual Achievement Test (using a modified Title Recognition Test for Children; r = .43; Cunningham & Stanovich, 1991). If prior world knowledge influences access to event-related information, then N400 amplitude might vary with performance on the ART/MRT. The authors found that scoring higher on the ART and MRT was associated with a greater numerical reduction in N400 amplitude

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for implausible, yet event-related, continuations (e.g., 'helmet,' in the example above), compared to participants who scored lower on the ART/MRT. However, the authors were unable to draw strong conclusions about the relationship between the N400 and scores on the ART/MRT, partly due to the number of participants (N = 30), which is relatively low for examining individual differences.

In combination with prior world knowledge, new information—for example, information encountered in the current discourse—can be exploited rapidly to aid future language processing. For example, Nieuwland and Van Berkum (2006) presented participants with short texts in which they ascribed human-like properties (e.g., the ability to fall in love) to typically inanimate objects (e.g., peanuts). In their experiments, the N400 was sensitive to these newly-learned features, suggesting that people easily updated their mental models of the discourse to include these properties.

The current work investigates how variability in the amount of recently encountered information, providing elaboration of a referent, affects subsequent access. This work extends recent findings from self-paced reading studies that suggest that longer or more semantically complex linguistic representations of referents can facilitate subsequent access to those referents (Hofmeister, 2011; Hofmeister & Vasishth, 2014). For instance, Hofmeister (2011) asked participants to read (word-byword) sentences in which a critical noun was described by zero, one, or two adjectives (low, mid, and high complexity conditions, respectively). Participants might read, 'It was a (famous (deaf)) sculptor that the aristocrats at the gallery ridiculed during the exclusive art show.' At a subsequent critical verb (e.g., 'ridiculed'), the critical noun had to be understood as the grammatical object of the verb. In order to access this information, participants must somehow retrieve information about the initial noun (e.g., 'sculptor'). Hofmeister reported decreased reading times during (or in some cases, immediately following) the critical verb for items in the highest-complexity condition (i.e., where critical nouns were preceded by two adjectives) compared to the other conditions. In similar experiments, such findings also were observed for nouns which were semantically richer/more specific (e.g., 'soldier') compared to less rich/less specific (e.g., 'person'). Hofmeister interpreted these results as showing that additional semantic (and possibly syntactic) features of a linguistic representation led to facilitated retrieval of the information later in the sentence.

Studies like those of Hofmeister and colleagues have primarily focused on pre-nominal descriptors ('Texas cattle rancher') or differences in the semantic specificity/richness of a single word ('soldier' vs. 'person') but have not explored the roles of other types of descriptions across a discourse. Pre-nominal adjectives are likely to change the processing of an upcoming noun for multiple reasons. First, in an information-theoretic sense, pre-nominal modification can lower the entropy of (or uncertainty about) the upcoming noun. Second, modifiers might be predictive of the noun for other reasons such as semantic relatedness (consider the relationship between the three words 'Texas,' 'cattle,' and 'rancher,' for example). And finally, pre-nominal modification entails a specific type of syntactic relationship between modifiers and the noun, with the entire bundle of linguistic information [modifier(s) + noun] constituting a phrasal unit.

In the current study, we investigate how complex descriptions impact the subsequent retrieval of information about referents in language comprehension across sentence boundaries. We vary the additional linguistic information not in adjectival modifiers directly preceding the noun, but using post-nominal modification across multiple sentences in a short discourse. We predicted that providing higher-complexity descriptions about referents would make it easier for participants to process subsequent language referring to those referents compared to referents with linguistically simpler descriptions. Such a finding would indicate that conceptual complexity, above and beyond the phrasal unit, can influence retrieval in real-time language comprehension.

We also asked participants to complete a simple test designed to assess print exposure, which has been used as a proxy for real-world knowledge (e.g., Metusalem et al., 2012). We predicted that

- participants with greater world knowledge would be able to more effectively make use of additional
- information—possibly due to richer networks of conceptual representations and/or more effective
- access to relevant conceptual information. We therefore predicted these participants would be more
- likely to show effects of linguistic complexity at subsequent retrieval sites.

185 **2. Methods**

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2.1 Participants

- 187 A total of 101 participants, ages 18-29 (M = 20.7, 77 women) took part in the experiment.
- Participants were excluded from analysis if their overall accuracy on comprehension questions was
- less than 70%. This resulted in the exclusion of 9 participants, for a total of 92 participants in the
- 190 final dataset. Participants were students at UCSD who reported that they were native English
- 191 speakers. They received partial class credit for participation. All participants provided informed
- consent for the study, which was approved by the University of California, San Diego Institutional
- 193 Review Board.

2.2 Design and materials

- 195 The materials for the study were 24 experimental items and 36 filler items of similar length and
- 196 syntactic complexity. The majority of our materials were created by modifying materials from
- 197 Fedorenko et al. (2012). A full listing of the experimental and filler items can be found in the
- 198 Appendix. Each item consisted of a short text of three sentences. All items began with two sentences,
- which were presented and read (self-paced) as whole sentences. The third sentence was presented
- 200 word-by-word, using a moving-window self-paced reading paradigm (Just et al., 1982). Filler items
- were constructed to be similar to experimental items in length and content.

For experimental items, the first sentence always introduced four individuals, two of whom were referred to using the same noun (e.g., 'senator', in the example below). The second sentence always described relationships between the first two individuals (e.g., the two senators) and the second two (e.g., the Democrat and the Republican), with one of the first two individuals being described in more detail more than the other. In the third and final sentence, the second noun was varied to unambiguously pick out a referent for its object. In the example below, for instance, 'The senator who the Republican had voted for' would refer to the senator from Ohio who was running for president (the Many-Cue condition), while 'The senator who the Democrat had voted for' would refer to the other senator (the One-Cue condition).

- (1) Sentence 1: Two senators were arguing with a Democrat and a Republican after a big debate.
 - Sentence 2: The Democrat had voted for one of the senators, and the Republican had voted for the other, a man from Ohio who was running for president.
 - Sentence 3: The senator who the {Republican / Democrat} had voted for was picking a fight about health care reform.

As described above, Cue condition refers to the presence or absence of additional descriptive information in the second sentence. To mitigate any effect of recency of information on reading times, we also created a second version of the materials in which the Many-Cue item came earlier than the One-Cue item. For example, in the second version of the example shown in (1), the second sentence would read, 'The Democrat had voted for one of the senators, a man from Ohio who was running for president, and the Republican had voted for the other.' The factor Mention Order refers to whether the critical item (i.e., the object of the relative clause in Sentence 3) was mentioned

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- relatively early or relatively late in the second sentence. In the example above (1), the information is
 Early for the One-Cue condition (i.e., 'The Democrat had voted for one of the senators') but Late for
 the Many-Cue condition (i.e., 'The Republican had voted for one of the senators'). The design was
 therefore a 2 x 2: Cue condition (Many-Cue, One-Cue) and Mention Order (Early, Late). This
 resulted in four lists, randomized across participants according to a Latin-square design such that no
 participant saw the same exact order of experimental and filler items.
 - Finally, each text was followed by a comprehension question, which participants answered with yes or no by key press. Across the experiment, comprehension questions queried each of the three sentences in a text so that a third focused on Sentence 1, a third on Sentence 2, and a third on Sentence 3. Half of the sentences were answered correctly with no and half with yes. For the example above in (1), the comprehension question asked about the first sentence and was correctly answered with yes: Were the senators arguing before a big debate? Similarly, filler questions asked about either the first, second, or third sentence, in equal proportions. Half of each set were correctly answered with yes, and half with no.

2.3 Author and Magazine Recognition Tests

233 Prior to testing, participants also completed an updated version of the Author Recognition Test 234 (ART) and the Magazine Recognition Test (MRT) (Stanovich & West, 1989). These tasks were designed to provide a simple yet powerful way to estimate print experience and, by proxy, world 235 236 knowledge. Previous work has found correlations in the range of r = .5-.8 between ART/MRT and 237 many measures of declarative/cultural knowledge (West & Stanovich, 1991; Stanovich et al., 1995; 238 Stanovich & Cunningham, 1992, 1993; Cunningham & Stanovich, 1991); in addition, both tests 239 correlate (rs = .3-.4) with measures of reading comprehension, and the ART also correlates with 240 measures of orthographic and phonological processing (Stanovich & West, 1989). Participants were given a printed list of 80 potential author names (ART) and 80 potential magazine titles (MRT; 241 presented separately) and were asked to put a check mark next to the ones they knew to be true 242 authors/magazines. In actuality, only half were real authors/magazines. Participants were asked to 243 244 avoid guessing because some of the names on the lists were not actual authors/magazines. Scores for these tasks were calculated by summing the number of hits (correct items checked) minus the number 245 of false alarms (checked items which were incorrect). The scores for both tasks were computed 246 247 separately but combined (summed) for analyses.

248 2.4 Procedure

- We used Linger (version 2.88) by Doug Rohde to collect self-paced reading data. For this part of the experiment, participants were instructed that they would be reading short texts made up of three sentences and that they should read the sentences for content, as there would be comprehension questions following each text. They were provided with examples and familiarized with the task before they began, including practice on two items very similar to those used in the study, preceded by a few simpler examples of word-by-word self-paced reading.
 - Accuracy was computed on the fly and in aggregate in subsequent analyses. If participants responded incorrectly, a warning flashed on the screen to encourage them to try harder to answer correctly on subsequent questions. Participants were given a break halfway through the experiment and instructed to take short breaks as needed in between items.
 - Following testing, participants completed an exit questionnaire including questions about the ease of the experiment. The experiment was typically completed in under an hour.

261 **2.5 Analysis**

- Although the final sentence of each text was presented word by word, five regions were created, the
- last four of which were analyzed (an example is demarcated below). Region 1 always consisted of a
- 264 noun phrase (two words); region 2 was the start of the relative clause (three words); region 3 was the
- verb phrase of the relative clause (1-3 words); region 4 was the matrix verb phrase region (2-5)
- words); and region 5 was a final region including direct objects, adverbials, or prepositional phrases
- 267 (2-7 words).
- The senator / who the Republican / had voted for / was picking a fight / about health care reform.
- For the primary analyses, we first identified any trial containing single-word responses that were less
- 271 than 100 ms or greater than 5000 ms and removed these trials from subsequent analysis, affecting
- less than 1% of the data. Next, for each trial, RTs for words within a region were averaged. These
- averaged RTs were then log-transformed, and data points falling more or less than 2.5 SDs from the
- mean (by region and condition) were eliminated, affecting \sim 2.5% of the data.
- 275 Statistical analyses used linear mixed-effects models (Baayen, 2008) incorporating random
- effects for both items and subjects as well as fixed effects of Cue condition, Mention Order, and
- 277 Spillover (log RT of the preceding region) as fixed effects, unless otherwise indicated. In addition,
- we included by-subjects and by-items random slopes for Cue condition, as this was our primary
- 279 independent variable of interest. All analyses were performed in the statistical programming
- 280 environment R.

281 **3. Results**

282 3.1 Self-paced reading

- Mean log reading times by region are shown in Figure 1, and full model estimates and statistics are
- provided in Table 1.
- At the second region (which is the point at which the noun phrase 'The senator' begins to be
- disambiguated), we observed no main effect of Cue condition or Mention Order, but there was a
- significant interaction of the two (β = -.011, SE = .005, t = -2.055, p < .05). Visual inspection
- revealed this interaction appeared to be driven by slower reading times for conditions from Version 1
- 289 (Many-Late, One-Early) compared to Version 2 (Many-Early, One-Late) (see above for an example
- of Version 1 vs. Version 2 of the materials). A follow-up analysis with Version (V1, V2) as fixed
- 291 effects and Subject and Item as random effects indicated this was the case, with a significant
- 292 difference between the two ($\beta = -.011$, SE = .005, t = -2.04, p < .05).
- Region 3 was the retrieval region where we predicted a main effect of Cue condition. Here, we
- observed the predicted main effect of Cue condition, with faster reading times in the Many-Cue
- compared to the One-Cue condition (β = .019, SE = .008, t = 2.394, p < .05). In addition, we also
- observed a marginal effect of Mention Order, with relatively Late information leading to faster
- reading times compared to Early information (p = .07) as well as a marginal interaction of Cue and
- 298 Mention Order (p = .09).

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The effect of Cue condition persisted into both Regions 4 (β = .016, SE = .006, t = 2.632, p < .05) and 5 (β = .026, SE = .006, t = 4.074, p < .001). No significant main effects or interactions with Mention Order were observed in either region, though there was a marginal interaction between Cue and Order in region 4 (p = .05).

Table 1. Full model estimates and statistics for reading times from the final sentence. Statistically significant predictors (p < .05) are in bold.

Region	Effect	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
Region 2	(Intercept)	5.693	0.023	247.15	0.000
	Cue condition	0.000	0.007	-0.059	0.953
	Mention Order	-0.003	0.005	-0.656	0.512
	Cue x Order	-0.011	0.005	-2.055	0.040
Region 3	(Intercept)	5.834	0.026	222.01	0.000
	Cue condition	0.019	0.008	2.394	0.025
	Mention Order	0.014	0.008	1.794	0.073
	Cue x Order	-0.013	0.008	-1.680	0.093
Region 4	(Intercept)	5.786	0.022	264.604	0.000
	Cue condition	0.016	0.006	2.632	0.015
	Mention Order	0.005	0.005	0.899	0.369
	Cue x Order	-0.011	0.005	-1.953	0.051
Region 5	(Intercept)	5.916	0.025	238.968	0.000
	Cue condition	0.026	0.006	4.074	0.000
	Mention Order	0.008	0.005	1.639	0.101
	Cue x Order	-0.003	0.005	-0.544	0.586

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3.2 **ART/MRT scores**

- 307 Scores on the ART and MRT were calculated separately and then summed to create a single
- 308 composite score. For the ART, scores ranged from -5 (one participant checked more incorrect items
- than correct items, leading to the negative score) to 25, with a mean of 7.28 (SD = 3.87). Scores for 309
- the MRT ranged from 1 to 20, with a mean of 7.97 (SD = 3.83). The two tasks were positively 310
- 311 correlated (r = .415, p < .0001). When combined by summation, the mean composite score was 15.25
- 312 (SD = 6.47).

3.3 **Comprehension question accuracies**

- 314 Comprehension questions were included primarily to encourage participants to read the texts
- carefully. Comprehension question accuracy was 88.32% (SD = 6.14%) for filler materials. Analyses 315
- 316 using mixed-effects logistic regression (with Cue condition and Mention Order as fixed effects and
- 317 Subject and Item as random effects) revealed that accuracy did not differ as a function of Cue
- 318 condition or Mention Order, with a mean of 79.35% (SD = 14.80%) for the Many-Cue condition and
- 319 a mean of 77.26% (SD = 13.82%) for the One-Cue condition. We therefore observed that our
- 320 manipulation of interest, Cue condition, had no measurable effect on offline comprehension
- 321 accuracies.
- Accuracies were also analyzed by the type of question, that is, whether the question asked about 322
- 323 the first, second, or third sentence. Mixed-effects logistic regression with question type (first, second, third sentence) as a fixed effect and Subjects and Items as random effects revealed that questions 324
- about the second sentence (M = 70.92%, SD = 20.89%) were answered less accurately than questions 325
- 326 about the final sentence (M = 84.51%, SD = 13.54%; $\beta = -0.46$, SE = 0.17, z = -2.75, p < .01), though
- the difference between questions about the first sentence (M = 79.48%, SD = 14.30%) and second 327
- 328 sentence did not reach significance (p = .14). This pattern likely reflects the fact that the second
- 329 sentence was the most complex/longest of the three sentences.

3.4 Relationship between reading times and ART/MRT

- 331 We predicted that individuals scoring higher on the ART/MRT, and who are therefore likely to have
- 332 greater world knowledge, would show the greatest effects of Cue condition during the retrieval
- region. However, adding the continuous ART/MRT composite scores as a predictor did not indicate 333
- any effect of ART/MRT on reading times during region 3 nor was there any interaction with Cue or 334
- 335 Mention Order (all ps > .16).
- 336 However, ART/MRT scores interacted with Cue condition at an un-predicted location, in Region
- 337 2 ($\beta = -.002$, SE = .001, t = -2.247, p < .05). To follow up on this interaction, we used both group
- 338 comparisons based on a median split as well as a correlational analyses. Numerically, individuals
- 339 scoring higher on the ART/MRT had faster reading times for the One- $(M = 5.66 \log ms, SD = .31)$
- 340 compared to the Many-Cue condition ($M = 5.69 \log ms$, SD = .33), but individuals scoring lower on
- 341 the ART/MRT had the opposite numeric pattern (One-Cue, $M = 5.72 \log ms$, SD = .31; Many-Cue, M
- = 5.70, SD = .31). Mixed-effects models performed separately over each group with Cue as a fixed 342
- 343 effect and subject and item as random effects indicated that these were only trends (ps = .09, .11,
- 344 respectively). However, a correlational analysis of ART/MRT scores and differences between One-
- Cue minus Many-Cue RTs was significant, r = -.216, p < .05. We had no specific predictions for any 345
- effect of Cue at this region nor any interactions with ART/MRT (but see discussion). 346

In addition, ART/MRT scores interacted with Cue condition in Region 4 ($\beta = -.002$, SE = .001, t 347 348 = -2.172, p < .05). We again inspected both group differences and correlations between ART/MRT and reading time differences. For the higher-scoring group, there was little difference based on Cue 349 350 condition (One-Cue, $M = 5.80 \log ms$, SD = .33; Many-Cue, $M = 5.79 \log ms$, SD = .34; difference n.s.). However, a mixed-effects model (see above) revealed a difference between the One-Cue (M =351 5.81 log ms, SD = .32) and Many-Cue (M = 5.76, log ms, SD = .29) conditions for the group scoring 352 lower on the ART/MRT ($\beta = .027$, SE = .008, t = 3.537, p < .001). The correlation between 353 354 ART/MRT scores and differences between One-Cue minus Many-Cue RTs was significant (r = -.283, p < .01), indicating that lower scores were associated with larger differences between 355 356 conditions. Although this pattern occurred at Region 4, a region subsequent to the critical retrieval region in our experiment (Region 3), it is possible the interaction between ART/MRT and Cue 357 condition at this region relates to continued retrieval processes. We further discuss this possibility in 358 359 the discussion.

There were no other interactions with ART/MRT at any other region in this analysis.

4. Discussion

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4.1 Summary of findings

This study had two primary aims. The first was to test whether a greater amount of linguistic elaboration about a referent over a short discourse could facilitate subsequent access to that information during online language processing. If so, the second was to test whether this facilitation was greater for those with more world knowledge (determined using scores from the Author and Magazine Recognition Tests as a proxy) would lead to increased facilitation based on elaboration.

Supporting our hypothesis that elaborative information would provide more cues to retrieval, we found reduced reading times at a critical retrieval site when the referent had previously been described in more detail, albeit not more so for those with greater world knowledge. This work provides a novel contribution by suggesting that elaboration can affect retrieval-related processes in cross-sentential dependencies. These findings demonstrate the generality of elaboration effects in sentence processing (Hofmeister, 2011; Hofmeister & Vasishth, 2014).

It is particularly noteworthy that various formal syntactic theories treat anaphoric dependencies as fundamentally different than filler-gap dependencies. For instance, in transformational theories of syntax, filler-gap dependencies are licensed via cyclic movement of the filler, leaving behind a trace, whereas no such process applies to anaphoric dependencies (co-indexing provides the necessary connection) (e.g., Chomsky, 1995, among many others). More importantly, the retrieval conditions in filler-gap dependencies are quite different from those in the current study. In filler-gap dependencies, the retrieval target is necessarily within the same sentence, which may limit the retrieval search space, relative to that for anaphoric dependencies. Further, the onset of a filler-gap dependency signals that the target information must be restored in the near future. That is, once a filler is encountered, a process is initiated that necessarily ends with retrieval; hence, it is predictable that the filler information will be needed again. Up to that point, the parser is actively engaged in searching for the first available integration point (Frazier & Clifton, 1989; Frazier & d'Arcais, 1989; Clifton & Frazier, 1989). This contrasts with anaphoric dependencies where there is no guarantee that a referent will ever be mentioned again—as was the case for the elaborative information presented in our short texts. In sum, anaphoric dependencies do not come with the same set of expectations or retrieval cues that accompany filler-gap dependencies. Thus, demonstrating that elaboration effects nevertheless

arise in cross-sentential dependencies suggests that they are not contingent upon any of the idiosyncrasies of filler-gap dependencies.

We did not observe the predicted interaction between ART/MRT and Cue condition at Region 3. However, two unpredicted related results were the interactions between ART/MRT scores and Cue condition on reading times at Regions 2 and 4. In Region 2 ('The senator / who the Democrat /...'), participants may begin to anticipate the upcoming object of the relative clause, though there is still ambiguity with respect to which referent will be mentioned. We tentatively speculate that differences in language experience / world knowledge (as indexed by ART/MRT scores) may affect the individual's sensitivity to this ambiguity (or ability to predict an upcoming referent), possibly resulting in the observed interaction.

We initially hypothesized that having greater world knowledge (and higher scores on the ART/MRT, by proxy), would associate with greater ease of access for meaningful cues to retrieval. We therefore predicted greater facilitation in retrieval (at Region 3) for the Many-Cue condition, or possibly in a subsequent region, for those with greater world knowledge. However, the interaction between Cue and ART/MRT scores which we observed at Region 4 did not support our hypothesis; rather, individuals with lower ART/MRT scores drove effects of Cue condition in this region, with lower reading times associated with the Many-Cue compared to the One-Cue condition. One possibility is that for our materials, having more information benefited those with less language experience / less knowledge *more*, meaning that the group scoring lower on ART/MRT was able to benefit from the additional information in the Many-Cue condition while the higher-scoring group showed less of a difference between conditions. Future work using more tightly controlled stimuli (e.g., with identical numbers of words in each region, with identical syntax, etc.) might shed more light on the nature of these individual differences.

Overall, we interpret our findings as evidence that having more information about a referent is beneficial during retrieval and perhaps during subsequent comprehension, as the sentence progresses and information accumulates.

4.2 The role of elaboration in online sentence processing

Work by Hofmeister and colleagues (Hofmeister, 2011; Hofmeister & Vasishth, 2014) has shown that under many circumstances, elaborative information, typically in the form of adjectives preceding a noun, increases processing times at the point of encoding (at the noun) but facilitates processing times at a subsequent dependency. This finding holds for words which are more elaborated in the sense that they are semantically richer (e.g., 'soldier' is richer than 'person'), but it does not hold when adjectives preceding a noun are atypical descriptors (e.g., 'ruthless military dictator' is typical but 'lovable military dictator' is not). Here, we add to this literature by showing that elaborative information presented across multiple sentences, and not just locally (at the point of modifying a noun, for example), can facilitate subsequent access to or retrieval of that information.

What may account for the benefit of retrieving representations that have relatively many features associated with them, even across discourse boundaries? On one hand, such effects are surprising since it would seem to imply that more content must be retrieved. On the other, these effects align naturally with several non-mutually-exclusive hypotheses about the nature of memory retrieval in language processing. For instance, in the cue-based retrieval model of Lewis & Vasishth (2005), the efficacy of retrieval for some item in memory is driven partly by its retrieval history, i.e., how many times an item has been restored and how recently. Modifying a word or phrase that has been encoded in the past reactivates that item, leading to an increase in its activation. This reactivation process can

even arguably offset any effects of time-based decay, giving rise to so-called anti-locality effects (Vasishth & Lewis 2006). From this point of view, the increased ease of retrieval observed in regions 3 to 5 is ascribable to a boosted level of activation of the target either prior to retrieval, or possibly during retrieval, as relevant cues spread activation to other cues (see Hofmeister, 2011). A separate, though not mutually exclusive, view suggests that adding semantic features to a discourse referent typically gives rise to a conceptually unique representation in the current discourse context. The advantage of this elaboration is manifested at the retrieval region, as the broader memory literature demonstrates a robust memory advantage for targets with contextually unique features (Moscovitch and Craik, 1976; Fisher & Craik, 1977; Jacoby & Craik, 1979; Hunt & Worthen, 2006, Gallo et al, 2008). In essence, adding details about a person or event increases the likelihood that this entity bears conceptual features that no other memory item (or very few others) shares, reducing the chance for similarity-based interference at retrieval. Both of these views capture the observed effects in our experiment without adjudicating between them.

In conclusion, the present findings are novel in showing that when (potentially) relevant semantic information is associated with a concept, it may directly impact its retrieval, even when the elaborative information is distributed across a discourse, and not just or at all in the local (withinsentence) linguistic context (as in Hofmeister, 2011; Hofmeister & Vasishth, 2014). Relatedly, one recent study found that when participants read longer descriptions (e.g., 'The actor who was frustrated and visibly upset' vs. 'The actress'), they were more likely to refer back to them with a pronoun, a finding the authors attributed to enhanced prominence of the referent due to the elaboration (Karimi et al., 2014). When concepts are more elaborated, subsequent processing advantages may occur because (a) there are more semantic features available and/or (b) those features lead to increased activation levels of the concept. Our findings suggest that variability in the elaboration of referents may have relatively long-term consequences for their processing across the subsequent discourse.

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6. Figure Legends

Figure 1 Log average word reading times by region for sentence 3. Errors bars represent by-

subject standard errors of the mean. There was a main effect of Cue condition at regions 3-5 (Many-

Cue > One-Cue; * = p < .05; ** = p < .001). See Table 1 for full model statistics.

615 **7. Appendix**

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A. Experimental Sentences

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Shown here is version 1, one-cue; version 1, many-cue, and version 2 (both Cue conditions) can be deduced following the schema provided in the text.

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1. Two senators were arguing with a Democrat and a Republican after a big debate.

The Democrat had voted for one of the senators, and the Republican had voted for the other, a man from Ohio who was running for president.

The senator who the Democrat had voted for was picking a fight about health care reform.

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- 2. Two musicians were talking to an interviewer and a newscaster during a radio talk show.
- The interviewer had dated one of the musicians, and the newscaster had dated the other, a guitarist who also sang with a gospel group.
 - The musician who the interviewer had dated was answering most of the questions.

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- 3. Two cashiers were discussing recent events with a customer and a supervisor at the grocery store.
- The customer joked with one of the cashiers, and the supervisor joked with the other, a mother of two who often picked up extra shifts.
- The cashier who the customer joked with was getting off work in two hours.

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- 4. Two scientists were going over a new protocol with a technician and an intern in the lab.
- The technician questioned one of the scientists, and the intern questioned the other, a UCLA graduate who was the head of the lab.
- The scientist who the technician questioned was going to a conference in Philadelphia.

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- 5. Two actors were having a conversation with a screenwriter and a director during the filming of a movie.
- The screenwriter corrected one of the actors, and the director corrected the other, an Academy Award winner who often starred in period dramas.
- The actor who the screenwriter corrected was planning to appear in his first Broadway role.

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- 6. Two lawyers got along very well with a secretary and an accountant in their office in a big firm.
- The secretary greeted one of the lawyers, and the accountant greeted the other, a new partner in the firm who was originally from the south.
- The lawyer who the secretary greeted was running late that morning.

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- 7. Two pediatricians often went over various medications with a cardiologist and a nurse on staff.
- The cardiologist phoned one of the pediatricians, and the nurse phoned the other, an oncologist who specialized in leukemia.
- The pediatrician who the cardiologist phoned was on call on Christmas Day.

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- 8. Two neurologists worked together with a professor and a resident at the medical center on campus.
- The professor gave advice to one of the neurologists, and the resident gave advice to the other, a
- newcomer who had gone to school in New York.
- The neurologist who the professor gave advice to usually worked with epilepsy patients.

- 9. Two writers were quibbling about the point of a book with a critic and a publisher at a public
- 664 event
- The critic annoyed one of the writers, and the publisher annoyed the other, a staff member at the New
- York Times who wrote Op-Ed pieces.
- The writer who the critic annoyed had recently started to teach college writing.

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- 10. Two teachers were talking about lesson plans with a student and the principal in the school office.
- The student really liked one of the teachers, and the principal really liked the other, a Civil war buff who taught social studies.
- 671 who taught social studies.
 672 The teacher who the student really liked was teaching eighth graders that year.

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- 11. Two politicians were disagreeing with a journalist and a photographer after an interview.
- The journalist criticized one of the politicians, and the photographer criticized the other, a Green
- 676 Party member who supported gun control.
- The politician who the journalist criticized was becoming popular with young voters.

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- 12. Two inventors displayed new technology to a researcher and an organizer at a convention.
- The researcher praised one of the inventors, and the organizer praised the other, an employee of
- Caltech who was interested in robotics.
- The inventor who the researcher praised was writing a book on artificial intelligence.

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- 13. Two congressmen squabbled about the national election with a governor and a moderator after the panel discussion.
- The governor antagonized one of the congressmen, and the moderator antagonized the other, a Texan who lived on a ranch.
- The congressman who the governor antagonized often voted in the minority of his party.

689

- 690 14. Two ambassadors were planning a trip with an interpreter and a reporter for later in the month.
- The interpreter contacted one of the ambassadors, and the reporter contacted the other, a speaker of five languages who often worked abroad.
- The ambassador who the interpreter contacted was traveling constantly for the next three months.

694

- 15. Two managers were examining the company's books with a programmer and an administrator after work.
- The programmer interrogated one of the managers, and the administrator interrogated the other, a hard worker who often stayed for late hours.
- The manager who the programmer interrogated was coming up for a big promotion.

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- 16. Two historians were discussing an article with an anthropologist and a geographer in a group meeting.
- The anthropologist challenged one of the historians, and the geographer challenged the other, an expert on Ancient Greece who studied papyrus.
- The historian who the anthropologist challenged was going to Athens later that month.

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- 17. Two counselors were chatting about teaching methods with a librarian and an aide at the high school.
- The librarian offended one of the counselors, and the aide offended the other, an alum of the school who also worked at an after-school program.
- 711 The counselor who the librarian offended was starting to think about a change in careers.

- 713 18. Two sopranos were practicing their duet with a conductor and an accompanist before chorus rehearsal.
- The conductor approached one of the sopranos, and the accompanist approached the other, a high school senior who was applying to Stanford.
- 717 The soprano who the conductor approached almost always got a solo in each performance.

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- 719 19. Two engineers were chatting about a project with a mathematician and a physicist at a meeting.
- 720 The mathematician interrupted one of the engineers, and the physicist interrupted the other, a car buff who also loved to ride motorcycles.
- The engineer who the mathematician interrupted was describing a new project for the company.

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- 724 20. Two artists met up at a museum with a docent and a curator before a new exhibit.
- The docent addressed one of the artists, and the curator addressed the other, a painter who also taught art at a local college.
- The artist who the docent addressed was visiting the museum for the first time.

728

- 729 21. Two gymnasts were working out with a wrestler and a coach at the school gym.
- 730 The wrestler watched one of the gymnasts, and the coach watched the other, a national competitor who performed best on balance beam.
- The gymnast who the wrestler watched was graduating at the top of her class.

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- 734 22. Two caterers were talking about food with chef and a server before a big event.
- 735 The chef spoke to one of the caterers, and the server spoke to the other, an entrepreneur who was noted for her pastries.
- 737 The caterer who the chef spoke to was planning the menu for a wedding later in the week.

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- 739 23. Two carpenters were working near each other with a bricklayer and a foreman at a construction site.
- The bricklayer yelled to one of the carpenters, and the foreman yelled to the other, a specialist in restoration who had decades of experience.
- 743 The carpenter who the bricklayer yelled to was going to retire within the next year.

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- 745 24. Two attorneys were talking shop with a client and a judge in the courtroom.
- The client argued with one of the attorneys, and the judge argued with the other, a highly paid prosecutor who won nearly all her cases.
- The attorney who the client argued with primarily handled criminal cases.

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B. Filler Sentences

- 1. A model, a makeup artist, and two hairdressers discussed possible hairstyles during a photo shoot.
- The model liked her hair straight; however, the makeup artist and the hairdressers wanted her hair to be curly.
- The model got paid ten thousand dollars for every photo shoot but was stubborn and hard to work with.

- 2. A lifeguard, a swimmer and two surfers became good friends over the summer.
- The lifeguard began dating the swimmer, and the surfers both envied them.
- After a few weeks they broke up, and the surfers were secretly glad.

- 761 3. A higher school, his sister, and two cousins watched a movie together in a movie theater.
- The high schooler threw popcorn at his sister and then one of the cousins hit the boy for 762
- 763 misbehaving.
- All four family members were kicked out of the movie theater. 764

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- 766 4. A singer, a ballerina, and two violinists performed together during a concert.
- One of the violinists accompanied the singer and then the ballerina joined in with a beautiful piece. 767
- The singer was dating the ballerina, and they had been going out for two months. 768

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- 770 5. A cheerleader, her father, and two injured players sat together at the basketball game.
- The father disliked one of the injured players because he was dating his daughter. 771
 - In fact, the cheerleader's father disliked all of his daughter's boyfriends.

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- 6. A tightrope walker, a clown, and two acrobats were bowing to the audience at the circus. 774
- 775 The clown opened the circus with an introductory act, and then the tightrope walker and the acrobats ended the show with an amazing finale. 776
 - When the tightrope walker was little, he did not want to be in the circus.

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- 7. A chauffeur, a beauty gueen and two PR reps sat in a limousine together.
- 780 The beauty queen and the chauffeur exchanged private looks while the PR reps both talked on their 781
- 782 The beauty queen and the chauffeur were planning to elope together.

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- 8. A sports psychologist, a snowboarder, and two instructors met after the big competition. 784
- The sports psychologist gave a lecture and then the instructors showed a video of the snowboarder's 785 786 race
- 787 The snowboarder had won a bronze medal last year, and this year, he aspired to win the gold.

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- 789 9. A cartoonist, a filmmaker and two producers expressed interest in producing a movie together.
- 790 The cartoonist and the filmmaker wanted to make a movie for young children; however, the 791 producers wanted to make an R-rated movie.
- 792 Most of the filmmaker's movies are total failures on opening weekend.

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- 794 10. A ski instructor, a teenager, and two young twins skied down the bunny slope together during a 795 ski lesson.
- 796 The ski instructor and the teenager finished the course quickly; however, the twins fell down twice 797 before the finish line.
- 798 It was the twins' first time skiing ever, and the last time the teenager had skied he broke his arm.

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- 800 11. A chemist, a neuroscientist, and two biologists conducted several experiments.
- The chemist and the neuroscientist came up with a new hypothesis, but the biologists offered an 801 802 alternative account.

803 The chemist and the neuroscientist had recently won a Nobel prize for some important discoveries.

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- 805 12. A drummer, a bassist, and two vocalists listened carefully while a song was playing.
- 806 The vocalists decided to change the lyrics after the drummer complained about the song's message.
- The vocalists are no longer talking to the drummer, and the band might break up. 807

- 13. Two members of the marching band, a football player, and his girlfriend were going to dinner
- before prom.
- The football player waited while his girlfriend and the others finished getting ready.
- The football player's girlfriend got her dress at a thrift shop, so it cost very little.

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- 14. Two actresses, a comedian, and a dog had a scene together in a play.
- The comedian taught the dog tricks while the actresses watched.
- The comedian has become very popular and all of his performances are sold out for the next two
- 817 months.

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- 15. Two supermodels, a businessman, and his wife drank red wine together on a yacht.
- The businessman flirted with the supermodels while the wife rolled her eyes.
- The businessman had dated five different models in the last month, and his wife was thinking of
- 822 divorcing him.

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- 16. Two parents, a daughter, and a son walked around together at the zoo.
- The daughter stopped to buy some ice cream while the parents and the son looked at the lions.
- The daughter loves to go to the zoo and has a season pass.

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- 828 17. Two celebrities, a runway model and a rock star held a pre-party together before the big gala.
- The celebrities talked to the rock star and then the rock star danced with the runway model.
- The model just divorced her husband and is now dating the rock star.

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- 18. Two CEOs, a strategist, and a trustee argued during a board meeting.
- The trustee and the strategist agreed upon a solution but the CEOs preferred their own ideas.
- The trustee had donated ten million dollars to the company, so he was unhappy when his opinion was
- not taken into consideration.

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- 19. Two midfielders, a goalie, and a fullback made dessert together before the team dinner.
- The goalie and the fullback baked a cake and then the midfielders decorated the cake with icing.
- The whole team really cared about the soccer coach, and the cake was for his birthday.

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- 20. Two chaperones, a freshman, and a senior class officer were having an argument at the school dance.
- The chaperones were yelling at the senior class officer because she had been dancing inappropriately.
- The chaperones yelled at most of the students at the dance and were known for being very strict.

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- 21. Two bridesmaids, a groom, and a bride celebrated at the reception after a wedding.
- The bride and groom danced while the bridesmaids looked on.
- There was a rumor that the groom had cheated on the bride with one of the bridesmaids.

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- 22. Two hall monitors, a janitor, and a police officer patrolled the hallways of the high school
- between classes.
- The hall monitors asked the janitor to clean up after a food fight and then informed the police officer
- of the incident.
- 854 It took the janitor two hours to clean up the mess, and no one could identify the students involved in
- the food fight.

- 23. Two environmentalists, a zoologist and a philanthropist worked on a plan for saving the
- 858 endangered African elephants.
- After the environmentalists and the zoologist described the worsening situation, the philanthropist
- wrote a check for 23 million dollars.
- The environmentalists and the zoologist have been working together for many years.

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- 24. Two waitresses, a bouncer, and a DJ conversed during their break.
- The bouncer playfully teased the waitresses, and then the DJ warned the bouncer about his
- inappropriate behavior.
- The bouncer was known to be obnoxious, and the DJ didn't much care for him.

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- 25. A city councilman, a treasurer, and an orator gathered together for a meeting.
- The councilman and the treasurer wanted to improve their public speaking skills, so the orator was giving them advice.
- The councilman's speeches improved significantly after meeting with the orator.

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- 26. A queen, a princess and a prince prepared for the grand arrival of the king.
- The queen applied make-up while the princess and the prince checked up on the festive meal.
- The queen had spent the entire day primping for the arrival of the king.

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- 27. A shark, a seal and an animal feeder were in the same tank together at the aquarium.
- The shark attacked the seal while the animal feeder tried to distract it with shark food.
- The shark bit the animal feeder on the leg, and he decided to sue the aquarium.

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- 28. A fugitive, an undercover cop, and a schoolgirl were in the same train car.
- The cop tackled the fugitive, and then the schoolgirl screamed.
- The fugitive managed to escape, but the cop eventually caught up with him.

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- 29. A farmer, a banker, and a mayor had a meeting on a farm.
- The farmer talked to the banker while the mayor surveyed the farm.
- The mayor wants to buy the farm and turn it into a community park, and she hopes to start
- 888 construction this month.

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- 890 30. A preacher, an assistant pastor, and an organist led praise worship during the service on Sunday.
- The preacher said the prayer, and then the assistant pastor gave a reading.
- The assistant pastor and the organist got married last month in the same church.

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- 31. A golf pro, a novice player, and a caddy were on the golf course.
- The golf pro demonstrated how to putt, and the novice imitated him.
- The caddy thought that the golf pro was very patient, and the novice was really enjoying the lesson.

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- 32. A university president, a campus police chief, and a dean spoke to the incoming class at orientation.
- The chief's speech was sobering, but the other two speeches were more uplifting.
- The university president is retiring this year, and the university has already found a replacement.

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- 33. A rapper, his agent, and a dancer were going over the contract for a new music video.
- The rapper talked to the agent while the dancer looked over the information about her salary.
- The rapper had worked with the agent before, so he was confident that the contract was fair.

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- 34. A physician assistant, a surgeon, and a patient discussed several treatment options in the emergency room.
- The physician assistant and the surgeon recommended a surgery; however, the patient remained skeptical.
- The physician assistant and the surgeon have been at the same hospital for nearly ten years and often work together.

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- 35. A concierge, a pianist, and a flutist were engaged in an argument in the hotel lobby.
- The pianist and the flutist stated they had made room reservations; however, the concierge claimed that they had not.
- Later, the concierge was fired for being so rude because the pianist and the flutist complained to the manager about the horrible guest service.

- 920 36. A nanny, a dog walker, and a pickpocket were sitting in the same area at the park.
- The dog walker punched the pickpocket after he stole the nanny's wallet.
- The pickpocket got away, and the dog walker never found out whether he was ever arrested.



