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**No Way to Avoid the Garden-Path:  
The Case of Polish Ambiguous BY-Phrases in Passives<sup>1</sup>.**

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This paper investigates the processing of *by*-phrases in Polish passive constructions, which are locally ambiguous between agentive and causative interpretations, as illustrated in 1 and 2, respectively:

- (1) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka.  
*Red apples-Nom were picked by (the) uncle-Acc.*  
Red apples were picked by the uncle.
- (2) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka nieuwagę.  
*Red apples-Nom were picked because-of (the) uncle's-Gen negligence-Acc.*  
Red apples were picked because of the uncle's negligence.

The relevant fact here is that both phrases: "by the uncle" and "because of the uncle's" have the same phonological representation in Polish. The sentence in (1) causes no ambiguity, as the *by*-phrase is assigned the agentive interpretation. The sentence in (2), however, causes a temporal ambiguity as the *by*-phrase is initially taken to carry the agentive meaning. The experiment reported in this paper examined the processing of such sentences and was designed to test two hypothesis about sentence processing: the Garden-Path Theory (Frazier, 1978, 1987, Frazier and Fodor 1978, Frazier and Clifton, 1997, de Vincenzi 1991 and others) and the Referential Model (Crain and Steedman, 1985).

I argue that the parsing of *by*-phrases in Polish passives is syntactically based and predicted by the Garden-Path model, as shown in the first part of the experiment, where causative *by*-phrases were judged difficult sentence-finally but not sentence-initially. In the second part of the experiment, disambiguating contexts were presented to test the validity of the Referential Model. The results from this part also suggest that the initial

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Lyn Frazier for helpful comments and discussion of this work.

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Paul de Lacy and Anita Nowak (eds.). UMAP 24, 191-203

parsing of passive *by*-phrases is solely based on structural information and seems unaffected by context.

This paper is organized as follows: in section 1, the Garden-Path model of sentence processing is introduced. In section 2, the syntactic analysis of Polish passives with *by*-phrases is presented. Section 3 describes the experiment and its results, and section 4 contains the concluding remarks.

## 1. The Garden-Path Model of Sentence Processing

The Garden-Path Model (Frazier, 1978, 1987, Frazier and Fodor, 1978, Frazier and Clifton, 1997, and others) is a serial model, in which the initial analysis of an utterance is based on structural information, i.e. each perceived word or two are incorporated into a structural representation of a sentence, taking into account the structure already assigned to preceding words. The initial analysis can be abandoned if proved incorrect but the reanalysis is costly.

The crucial claim of this model is a set of universal and innate parsing principles, which determine the preferred syntactic analysis of ambiguous sentences. Minimal Attachment does not permit the parser to create any potentially unnecessary nodes; Late Closure requires that new items be attached into a phrase or clause most currently processed, if grammatically possible. Another important parsing principle stated by de Vincenzi (1991), the Minimal Chain Principle, demands that chain members be postulated at the earliest grammatically possible point.

In 1996, Frazier and Clifton proposed a new parsing principle, which explained the attachment preferences not accounted for by Late Closure, Minimal Attachment, and Minimal Chain. The Construal Principle associates the "nonprimary phrases and relations" (adverbial phrases, relative clauses, adjunct predicates) into the Current Thematic Processing Domain, which is the extended projection of the last theta-assigner. Within this domain, the attachment site of nonprimary phrases is going to vary from example to example, as it will be determined by various structural and nonstructural factors.

In general, the structural parsing principles guide the parser to pursue the simplest structure possible, unless there is evidence otherwise. These principles are claimed to be innate and universal. This makes important implications for the processing of ambiguous sentences. The initial parsing decisions are argued to be affected by the structural principles alone. I assume the prosodic representation (and commas) are part of the input to the parser. However, discourse is not.

A sentence is syntactically ambiguous when it can be assigned different syntactic structures, which usually yields differences in meaning. In the case of temporal ambiguity, the attachment site and identity of a constituent is locally uncertain at some point in a sentence. Structural principles, such as Minimal Attachment and Late Closure, account for preferences in resolving such local ambiguities and offer an explanation as to why the minimal analysis are available earlier than the nonminimal ones. The locally ambiguous *by*-phrases in Polish passives prove the universal nature of these structure-building principles.

2. Syntax of By-Phrases in Polish Passives.

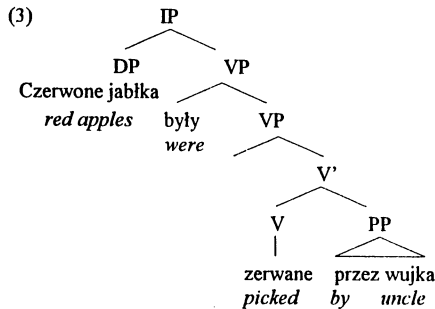
2.1 Sentence-Final By-Phrases.

The interplay of morphological case and phrase structure decisions influence the parsing of sentences with agentive and causative *by*-phrases. I want to argue that the temporal ambiguity in a sentence with the causative *by*-phrase, which is initially taken to carry the agentive meaning, is due to the processor assigning it wrong syntactic structure, namely the structure appropriate for a sentence with the agentive *by*-phrase.

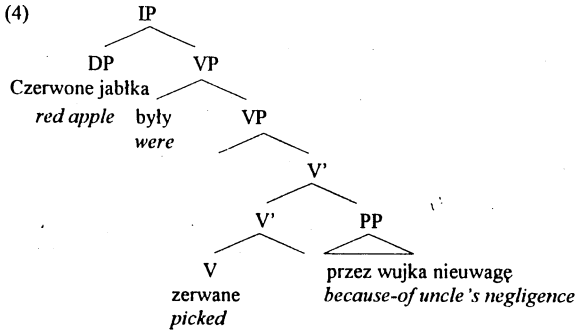
The distinction between the two *by*-phrases in sentences in (1) and (2) is expressed by the following differences:

- the types of constituents: the agentive *by*-phrase is an optional argument (or a quasi-argument) licensed by the passive verb *zzerwane* 'picked,' the causative *by*-phrase is an adjunct;
- phrase structures: the agentive *by*-phrase (as an argument of the verb) is in the complement of the verb position; the causative *by*-phrase is attached higher in the structure.

The S-Structure representations for a sentence with an agentive prepositional phrase (1) and a causative one (2) are shown in (3) and (4), respectively:



'Red apples were picked by the uncle.'



'Red apples were picked because of the uncle's negligence.'

The evidence for the higher attachment of the causative *by*-phrase comes from sentences where both *by*-phrases co-occur; in such cases the agentive *by*-phrase must come first before the causative one, otherwise the sentence is marginally (if at all) acceptable, e.g.:

- (5) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka przez nieuwagę.  
*Red apples were picked by the uncle because of negligence.*
- (6) ??Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez nieuwagę przez wujka.  
*Red apples were picked because of negligence by the uncle.*

In the Garden-Path model, the initial syntactic analysis of an utterance is based on structural information. As each word is perceived it gets incorporated into a structural representation of a sentence, taking into account the structure already assigned to preceding words. Therefore, for a sentence like that in (2), as the perceiver hits the head of the prepositional phrase 'przez' *by*, the Late Closure strategy will favor the attachment to the lowest possible phrase in the already existing tree. Hence the *by*-phrase is incorporated into the structure in the verb's complement position, to which the agentive theta-role is assigned. Once the perceiver gets to the disambiguating word 'nieuwag□' *negligence*, which cannot bear the agentive theta-role, a revision of the analysis will be required, in which the *by*-phrase will be adjoined to a higher position in the structure.

The temporal ambiguity in passive sentences with the causative *by*-phrase could also be explained within the Referential Model (Crain and Steedman, 1985). According to the principle of "Priori Plausibility," the expected interpretation is based on the world knowledge, frequency of occurrence, or the universe of discourse. Therefore, in a passive sentence with a prepositional *by*-phrase (like 2), the agentive reading of the *by*-phrase would be favored, as it is frequent in the passive constructions. However, this model would predict that the causative reading should be readily available in disambiguating contexts, and this we do not find as I will show in the second part of my experiment.

## 2.2 Sentence-Initial By-Phrases.

Another interesting aspect of the passive structures like (1) and (2) is that when the prepositional phrases are sentence initial, the ambiguity is reversed: the sentence with the agentive *by*-phrase becomes temporarily ambiguous, and the sentence with the causative *by*-phrase is no longer ambiguous:

- (7) Przez wujka czerwone jabłka były zerwane.  
*By the uncle red apples were picked.*
- (8) Przez wujka nieuwagę czerwone jabłka były zerwane.  
*Because of the uncle's negligence the red apples were picked.*

What is ambiguous in (7)? The word 'wujka' *uncle* is ambiguous between Accusative and Genitive. The next constituent – 'czerwone jabłka' *red apples* is ambiguous between Nominative and Accusative. So the possible sequences are:

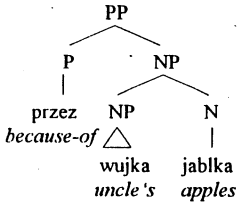
- (i) Genitive-Accusative  
przez wujka czerwone jabłka...  
*by (the) uncle's -Gen red apples-Acc*  
'Because of the uncle's red apples...'
- (ii) Accusative-Nominative  
przez wujka czerwone jabłka...  
*by (the) uncle -Acc red apples-Nom*  
'By the uncle, red apples (were)...'

The initial analysis chosen is that in (i), which in a sentence like that in (7) is the wrong interpretation. Why is that analysis chosen? The Garden-Path model can account for this using the Minimal Attachment Principle, which disfavors creating any potentially unnecessary nodes, and the Late Closure Principle, which favors the attachment of new items into a phrase most currently processed, if grammatically possible. At 'wujka' *uncle/uncle's* both possible cases (Acc and Gen) are temporarily retained. When the next two words are processed – 'czerwone jabłka' *red apples*, which can be either in Nom. or Acc., Late Closure chooses the Gen-Acc sequence, as it prefers to incorporate the new words into an already existing node. The choice of Acc. – Nom. would require an addition of a new node. The structure representations of the sequences in (i) and (ii) are illustrated in (9) and (10), respectively:

196

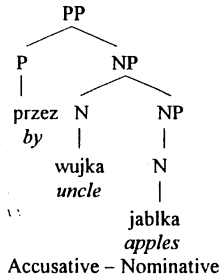
Anita Nowak

(9)



Genitive – Accusative

(10)



Accusative – Nominative

Hence, these two principles predict and account for the temporal ambiguity in (6), as the Genitive-Accusative sequence is initially chosen.

That a sentence like that in (8) is not ambiguous is also expected in this model. The first two NPs are in Gen-Acc sequence, which is the right analysis for this causative *by*-phrase. The next words that come, 'czerwone jabłka' *red apples*, are not grammatically permitted to be added to the already existing node. Hence, a new node is created.

In my experiment, I tested the processing of such temporally ambiguous causative *by*-phrases sentence-finally and agentive *by*-phrases sentence-initially. The first part was designed to capture the difficulties with processing the nonminimal analysis, the second part was intended to show that the initial analysis is based on structural information and is not influenced by the context.

### 3. The Experiment.

#### 3.1 Participants.

Nine native Polish speakers currently living in Amherst, Northampton, and Chicago participated in the experiment. All were born and raised in different parts of Poland. Their age ranged between 21 and 35.

#### 3.2 Stimuli and Procedure.

In the first part of the experiment, I constructed 24 pairs of passive sentences: 12 pairs consisted of one sentence-final agentive *by*-phrase like that in (1) and one sentence-final causative *by*-phrase like that in (2), repeated below as (11) and (12), respectively:

- (11) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka.  
*Red apples were picked by the uncle.*
- (12) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka nieuwagę.  
*Red apples were picked because of the uncle's negligence.*

Each of the other 12 pairs consisted of one sentence-initial agentive *by*-phrase like that in (7), and one sentence-initial causative *by*-phrase like that in (8), repeated below as (13) and (14), respectively:

- (13) Przez wujka czerwone jabłka były zerwane.  
*By the uncle red apples were picked.*
- (14) Przez wujka nieuwagę czerwone jabłka były zerwane.  
*Because of the uncle's negligence the red apples were picked.*

Except for the prepositional phrase, the sentences were identical. I constructed two lists of 12 pairs of sentences; each list consisted of 6 agentive-causative pairs with the final PP, 6 with the initial PP and 24 filler sentences of different syntactic types, insuring that initial and final *by*-phrase pairs of a given sentence were in separate lists. The participants were asked to read each pair of sentences and state which of the two was more difficult to understand. They marked a box next to the more difficult sentence. One list is presented as Appendix 1.

What I expected to find is that the subjects would mark as more difficult the final causative *by*-phrases and the initial agentive *by*-phrases. These predictions are based on the hypothesis about the different syntactic structure for agentive and causative *by*-phrases in passive sentences in Polish, as well as the interplay of morphological case in assigning phrase structure, which are accounted for by the garden-path theory.

In the second part of the experiment, I wanted to determine whether preceding context influences the initial processing preferences. In the first part, I showed that ambiguous *by*-phrases in passives were initially interpreted as agentive rather than causative sentence-finally. However, these sentences were presented in isolation. It is claimed within the Referential Model, that discourse context could have an immediate effect on processing. I want to argue that for these structures the initial parsing is purely syntactic despite the context.

I constructed disambiguating contexts for 6 final causative *by*-phrases in passives, which in isolation were temporarily misanalysed as agentive (see appendix 2). In each context, the agentive reading was repressed and, in most of the cases, the implicature as to the cause was made to enforce the causative reading. I asked the participants to read these short passages, in which the passive sentence, which also was the last sentence in that paragraph, was underlined. After reading each passage, they were asked to state whether the underlined sentence was difficult to comprehend. If they found the sentence difficult, they were supposed to check a box next to that sentence. Here is a sample context for the sentence in (2):

- (15) *John's uncle, who owns an orchard, believes that red apples should not be picked directly from the trees. The uncle lets them be gathered only when they have already fallen to the ground. All day long the uncle spends in the orchard and makes sure that nobody picks the red apples. One day, however, as the uncle engaged in a long chat with a neighbor, some rascal played a trick on him and picked all the red apples from the trees. In the afternoon, when John came back from school, he found out that the red apples were picked because of the uncle's negligence.*



The second part of the experiment consisted of 7 paragraphs; 4 of them had the causative *by*-phrase and were structured to block the agentive reading, the other 2 paragraphs enforced the agentive reading and contained the agentive *by*-phrase and the remaining paragraph was a filler with a different syntactic structure being tested.

What I expected to find was that the participants would still find the causative *by*-phrases difficult to comprehend even in disambiguating contexts, as the initial processing preference is syntactically based.

### 3.3 Results.

Table 1 shows the results of the two-part experiment on Polish passive sentences with agentive and causative *by*-phrases, in isolation and in context; the digits indicate the number of sentences marked as difficult. For each type of a sentence in isolation there were 54 sentences (6 of each kind % 9 participants); for the sentences in context, there were 18 sentences with an agentive *by*-phrase sentence-finally (2 on each list % 9 participants), and 36 sentences with a causative *by*-phrase sentence-finally (4 on each list % 9 participants).

(14) Table 1. Percentage of sentences with *by*-phrases marked as difficult.

Passive Sentences:	In isolation: sentence-final	In isolation: sentence-initial	In context: sentence-final
with an agentive <i>by</i> -phrase	7/54 (12.96%)	51/54 (94.45%)	0/18 (0%)
with a causative <i>by</i> -phrase	47/54 (87.04%)	3/54 (5.55%)	30/36 (83.33%)

The participants found the causative *by*-phrases more difficult than the agentive ones in the sentence final position for sentences in isolation (87.04%). The results look similar for the sentences in contexts: 83.33% of the sentences with a causative *by*-phrase sentence finally were found difficult. For the sentences with the prepositional phrases in the initial position, the ones with agentive *by*-phrases were found more difficult than the ones with a causative PP (94.45%).

### 4. Conclusions.

The results of this experiment accord with the prediction of the Garden-Path model that the nonminimal analyses are more difficult to process than the minimal ones. It was argued that there are different syntactic structure for agentive and causative *by*-phrases in passive sentences in Polish<sup>1</sup>. As the initial syntactic analysis of an utterance is based on structural information, the processing of temporally ambiguous causative *by*-phrases sentence-finally is more costly, for it requires revisions of already assigned structures. Furthermore, the interplay of morphological case in assigning phrase structure causes a temporal ambiguity with agentive *by*-phrases sentence-initially, an outcome

<sup>1</sup> This is a first look at the problem as, to my knowledge, there is no previous work done on parsing Polish.

predicted by the Minimal Attachment and Late Closure principles. Finally, the second part of the experiment confirmed the assumption that the initial syntactic analysis is based on structural information, as the ambiguous sentences were not influenced by disambiguating contexts.

### Appendix 1

A sample list of the experimental materials for sentences in isolation. Each of the 2 lists consisted of 6 pairs with initial and 6 pairs with final agentive and causative PPs. Initial and final *by*-phrases of a given sentence were in separate lists. Each list also contained 24 filler sentences.

- (1) a) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka.  
*Red apples were picked by the uncle.*  
b) Czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka nieuwagę.  
*Red apples were picked because of the uncle's negligence.*
- (2) a) Przez mojego brata stary samochód nie był pomalowany.  
*By my brother the old car was not painted.*  
b) Przez mojego brata lenistwo stary samochód nie był pomalowany.  
*Because of my brother's sloth the old car was not painted.*
- (3) a) Drzewa nie były ścięte przez leśniczego.  
*The trees were not felled by the forester.*  
b) Drzewa nie były ścięte przez leśniczego interwencję.  
*The trees were not felled because of the forester's intervention.*
- (4) a) Przez piekarza czekoladowy tort był zjedzony.  
*By the baker the chocolate cake was eaten.*  
b) Przez piekarza łakomstwo czekoladowy tort był zjedzony.  
*Because of the baker's gluttony the chocolate cake was eaten.*
- (5) a) Nowy zeszyt był podarty przez ucznia.  
*A new notebook was torn up by the schoolboy.*  
b) Nowy zeszyt był podarty przez ucznia złośliwość.  
*A new notebook was torn up because of the schoolboy's malice.*
- (6) a) Przez sąsiada mieszkanie było posprzątane.  
*By the neighbor the apartment was cleaned.*  
b) Przez sąsiada uczynność mieszkanie było posprzątane.  
*Because of the neighbor's kindness the apartment was cleaned.*
- (7) a) Diamenty nie były skradzione przez złodzieja.  
*Diamonds were not stolen by a thief.*  
b) Diamenty nie były skradzione przez złodzieja niezręczność.  
*Diamonds were not stolen because of the thief's clumsiness.*

- (8) a) Przez biednego rybaka łódź była zatopiona.  
*By the poor fisherman the boat was sunk.*  
b) Przez biednego rybaka niedopatrzenie łódź była zatopiona.  
*Because of the poor fisherman's oversight the boat was sunk.*
- (9) a) Zabytkowy wazon był rozbity przez kolekcjonera.  
*An ancient vase was broken by the collector.*  
b) Zabytkowy wazon był rozbity przez kolekcjonera bezmyślność.  
*An ancient vase was broken because of the collector's recklessness.*
- (10) a) Przez mechanika brudne narzędzia były porozrzucane.  
*By the mechanic the dirty tools were scattered.*  
b) Przez mechanika niechlujstwo brudne narzędzia były porozrzucane.  
*Because of the mechanic's slovenliness the dirty tools were scattered.*
- (11) a) Obiad był przypalony przez łakomczucha.  
*Dinner was burned by a glutton.*  
b) Obiad był przypalony przez łakomczucha niecierpliwość.  
*The dinner was burned because of the glutton's impatience.*
- (12) a) Przez słynnego malarza kiepski obraz był wystawiony.  
*By a famous painter a good-for-nothing painting was exhibited.*  
b) Przez słynnego malarza wstawiennictwo kiepski obraz był wystawiony.  
*Because-of the famous painter's intercession a good-for-nothing painting was exhibited.*

## Appendix 2

A sample list of the experimental materials for sentences in contexts. Each of the two lists consisted of seven paragraphs: four with sentence final causative *by*-phrase, two with sentence final agentive *by*-phrase, and one filler.

- (1) Janka wujek, który ma sad z jabłkami, uważa że czerwone jabłka nie powinny być zrywane z drzew. Wujek pozwala je zbierać tylko wtedy gdy one spadną już na ziemię. Całe dnie wujek przebywa w sadzie i pilnuje żeby nikt nie zrywał czerwonych jabłek. Pewnego dnia, gdy wujek wdał się w długą pogawędkę z sąsiadem, jakiś psotnik splatał mu figla i pozrywał wszystkie czerwone jabłka z drzew. Po południu, kiedy Janek wrócił ze szkoły dowiedział się, e czerwone jabłka były zerwane przez wujka nieuwagę.

*John's uncle, who owns an orchard, believes that red apples should not be picked directly from trees. The uncle lets them be gathered only when they have already fallen to the ground. All days long the uncle spends in the orchard and makes sure that nobody picks the red apples. One day, as the uncle engaged in a long chat with a neighbor, some rascal played a trick on him and picked all the red apples from the trees. In the afternoon, when John came back from school, he found out that the red apples were picked because of the uncle's negligence.*

- (2) Pewien rybak, Waldek Wiosło, był tak biedny że cały jego majątek stanowiła jedna stara łódź. Żona rybaka, która miała już dość życia w biedzie, wpadła na pomysł, że jej mąż mógłby potajemnie zatopić starą łódź, a za pieniądze z ubezpieczenia kupić nową. Waldkowi Wiosło ten pomysł bardzo się spodobał, więc postanowił w nocy niepostrzeżenie wslizgnąć się do portu, aby wykonać ich plan. Kiedy Wiosło dotarł do portu, był tak przejęty swym przedsięwzięciem, że nie zauważył przyglądającego mu się nocnego stróża. Nazajutrz wszyscy wiedzieli, że łódź była zatopiona przez biednego rybaka.

*A fisherman, Valdek Oar, was so poor that all his property consisted of one old boat. The fisherman's wife had enough of living in poverty, so she got an idea. She thought her husband could secretly sink the old boat and with the insurance money buy a new one. Valdek Oar liked that idea a lot, so he decided to sneak into the harbor at night to execute their plan. When Oar reached the harbor, he was so excited by his undertaking that he didn't notice a watchman observing him. The next day everybody found out that the boat was sunk by the poor fisherman.*

- (3) Pewnego dnia pani nauczycielka poprosiła piekarza, żeby przyszedł do szkoły i upiekł czekoladowy tort dla dzieci. Pani nauczycielka prosiła go, żeby pilnował żeby dzieci nie wchodziły do kuchni, bo dzieci często próbują wykraść słodycze przed obiadem. Gdy piekarz uporał się już ze swoją pracą, zauważył że drzwi do spiżarni były otwarte. A że bardzo lubił ogórki, zaszył się w spiżarni i, zapińając o całym świecie, opróżniał słoiki za słoikiem. Przy obiedzie dzieci się śmiały, że czekoladowy tort był zjedzony przez piekarza łakotwem

*One day the teacher asked a baker to come to school and bake a chocolate cake for the children. She asked him to make sure that the children don't go into the kitchen, as they often try to steal sweets before dinner. When the baker was done with his work, he noticed that the door to the pantry was opened. And as he loved pickles, he hid himself in the pantry and emptied one jar after another, forgetting about the whole world. During the dinner the children were laughing that, the chocolate cake was eaten because of the baker's gluttony.*

- (4) Alfons Pędzel był słynnym malarzem, choć nie miał własnej galerii. Któregoś dnia przyjechała do niego siostrzenica, która rozpoczynała dopiero karierę malarską. Poprosiła więc wujka o rekomendacje, jako że chciała by jej nowy obraz był wystawiony na pokazie. Alfons Pędzel nie wahał się pomóc swej siostrzenicy, mimo że nie miał czasu obejrzeć jej dzieła. Nazajutrz wszystkie gazety głosiły, że kiepski obraz był wystawiony przez słynnego malarza wstawiennictwem.

*Alfons Brush was a famous painter, although he didn't have his own gallery. One day, his niece, who was just beginning her painting career, came to visit him. She asked her uncle for recommendations, as she wanted her new painting to be shown at an exhibition. Alfons Brush didn't hesitate to help his niece, even though he didn't have time to see her work. The next day all the headlines announced that a good-for-nothing painting was exhibited because of the famous painter's intercession.*

- (5) W pewnym mieście mieszkał kolekcjoner zabytków Alfons Urna, który niestety był bardzo niezadarny, cecha nader nieporzdana u kolekcjonera. Gdy prysłano mu pewnego razu bardzo cenny zabytkowy wazon, pani Urna ostrzegła swojego męża żeby był nadzwyczaj ostrożny. Niestety, pan Urna potknął się o dywan kiedy niósł ten wazon do gabloty i wazon wypadł mu z rąk. Wstydząc się bardzo pan Urna skłamał przed swoją żoną, że jakiś lobuz włamał się do jego sklepi i zbił ten wazon. Pani Urna dobrze jednak wiedziała, że zabytkowy wazon był rozbity przez kolekcjonera.

*In a certain town, there lived an antique collector Alfons Urn, who, unfortunately, was very clumsy, a feature very undesirable for a collector. One day, when Mr. Urn was sent a parcel with a very valuable ancient vase, Mrs. Urn warned him to be extra careful. Long behold, Mr. Urn slipped on a rug when he was carrying the vase to the cabinet and the vase fell out of his hands. To ashamed to admit the truth, Mr. Urn told his wife that some rascal broke into his store and broke the vase. But Mrs. Urn knew very well that the ancient vase was broken by the collector.*

- (6) Pewien uczeń bardzo nie lubił chodzić do szkoły. Zbliżał się koniec wakacji i jego siostra, Gracjela, chciała mu dokuczyć. Przy obiedzie położyła więc na stole zeszyt, oznajmiając "to jest twój nowy zeszyt do szkoły." Uczeń tak się zezłościł że wybiegł na zewnątrz i rzucił ten zeszyt swojemu psu. Tego wieczoru Gracjela poskarżyła się mamie, że nowy zeszyt był podarty przez ucznia złośliwość.

*A schoolboy detested going to school. The end of vacation was approaching and his sister, Grace, wanted to annoy him. So during the dinner, she placed a notebook on the table saying "This is your new notebook for school." The schoolboy got so mad that he ran outside and threw the notebook to his dog. That evening Grace complained to her mother that a new notebook was torn up because of the schoolboy's malice.*

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