Not (just) any licensors cause negative polarity illusions

Hanna Muller, Iria de Dios Flores, Colin Phillips

Question

- Systematic failures to accurately represent certain types of sentences can illuminate the processes by which those representations are constructed
- NPI illusions are one such systematic failure their cause may lie in the nature of the dependency being processed

NPI = Negative Polarity Item, e.g. ever, any, lift a finger, give a damn, in years

NPIs' defining characteristic is their **limited distribution**:

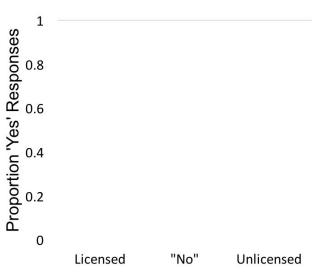
- (1) I don't think Mary has ever been to Paris.
- (2) * I think Mary has ever been to Paris.

NPIs require not just a licensor in the sentence, but a licensor in a syntactically appropriate position

- (3) I think the students [that read the paper] haven't thought about it in years.
- (4) I don't think the students [that read the paper] have thought about it in years.
- (5) * I think the students [that **didn't** read the paper] have thought about it *in years*.

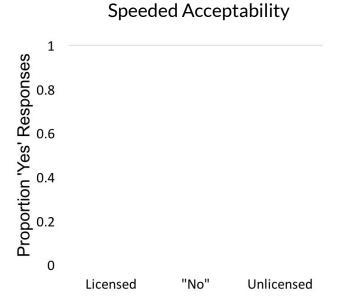
Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.





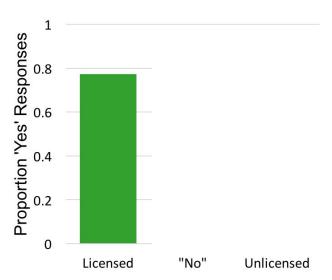
Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

(6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.



Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

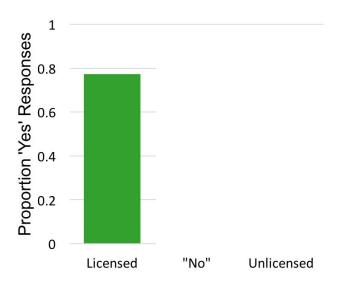
(6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.



Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

(6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.

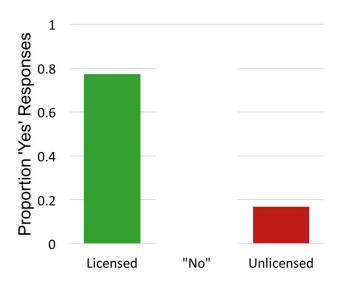
(8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.



Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

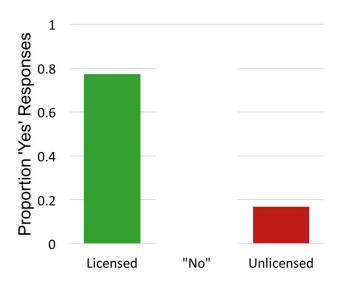
(6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.

(8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.



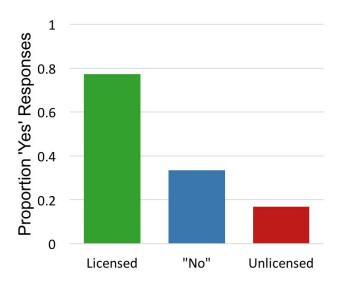
Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

- (6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that **no** critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.
- (8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.



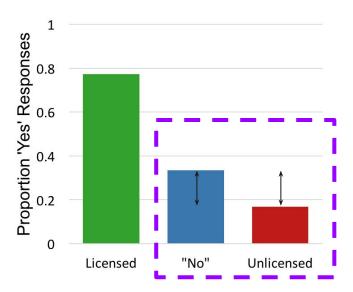
Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

- (6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that **no** critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.
- (8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.



Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

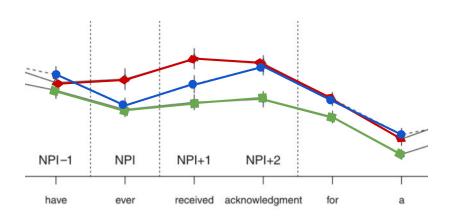
- (6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that **no** critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.



Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

- (6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that **no** critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.
- (8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.

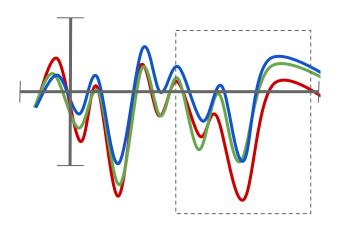
Reading Times



Online sentence comprehension does not perfectly align with these licensing facts.

- (6) **No** authors [that the critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that **no** critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.
- (8) *The authors [that the critics recommended] have *ever* written a best-selling novel.

ERPs



Why do NPI illusions arise?

- Mistaken retrieval of a non-c-commanding licensor (Drenhaus, Saddy, & Frisch 2005; Vasishth, Brussow, Lewis, & Drenhaus 2008)
- Covert exhaustification operator (Mendia, Poole, & Dillon 2018)
- Wide-scoping interpretations of the negative quantifier (de Dios Flores, Muller, & Phillips 2017;
 Orth, Yoshida & Sloggett 2019)
- Negative inferences driven by pragmatic constraints on the use of relative clauses (Xiang, Dillon, & Phillips 2009; Xiang, Grove, & Giannakidou 2013)

(6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written ...

(6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written ...

(6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) The authors that no critics recommended

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) The authors that no critics recommended have

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) The authors that no critics recommended have ever

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) The authors that no critics recommended have ever

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) The authors that **no critics recommended** have **ever**

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) The authors that **no critics recommended** have **ever** written ...

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that no critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.

Proposal

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that no critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
 - I'll argue that the online processing of NPIs relates the NPI to its surrounding context, and illusions arise when a nearby but non-surrounding context selected

Proposal

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that no critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
 - I'll argue that the online processing of NPIs relates the NPI to its surrounding context, and illusions arise when a nearby but non-surrounding context selected
 - This is not the same as a syntactic mis-parse

Proposal

- (6) No authors that the critics recommended have ever written a best-selling novel.
- (7) *The authors [that no critics recommended] have ever written a best-selling novel.
 - I'll argue that the online processing of NPIs relates the NPI to its surrounding context, and illusions arise when a nearby but non-surrounding context selected
 - This is not the same as a syntactic mis-parse
 - If this is right, we expect added distance from the RC to the NPI to kill the illusion and we might expect that properties of the RC that suggest NPI-friendly meanings (beyond the mere presence / absence of negation) will influence NPI illusions

Outline

- 1. Basic NPI illusions
- 2. Phenomenon 1: the distance effect
 - a. Experiment 1 prepositional phrases
 - b. Experiment 2 verbs
- 3. Phenomenon 2: the licensor effect
 - a. Experiment 1 no vs haven't
 - b. Experiment 2 no vs did not
 - c. Experiment 3 very few vs haven't in SRCs
 - d. Experiment 4 no vs haven't vs haven't...any
- 4. Complications

Outline

- 1. Basic NPI illusions
- 2. Phenomenon 1: the distance effect
 - a. Experiment 1 prepositional phrases
 - b. Experiment 2 verbs
- 3. Phenomenon 2: the licensor effect
 - a. Experiment 1 no vs haven't
 - b. Experiment 2 no vs did not
 - c. Experiment 3 very few vs haven't in SRCs
 - d. Experiment 4 no vs haven't vs haven't...any
- 4. Complications

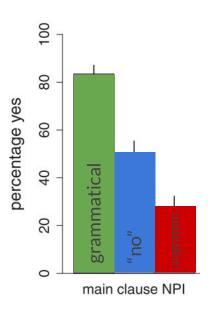
(11) **No** journalists [that the editors recommended for the assignment] *ever* thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.

(12) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended for the assignment] *ever* thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.



(11) **No** journalists [that the editors recommended for the assignment] *ever* thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.

(12) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended for the assignment] *ever* thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.



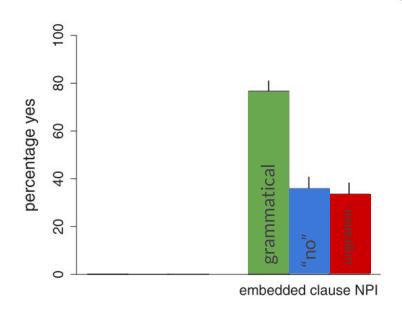
(14) **No** journalists [that the editors recommended for the assignment] thought that the readers would *ever* understand the complicated situation.

(15) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended for the assignment] thought that the readers would *ever* understand the complicated situation.



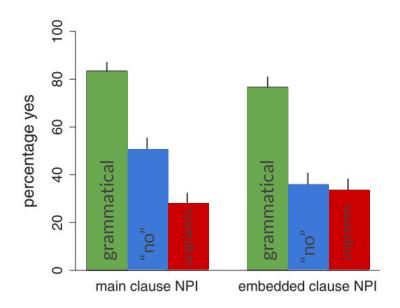
(14) **No** journalists [that the editors recommended for the assignment] thought that the readers would *ever* understand the complicated situation.

(15) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended for the assignment] thought that the readers would *ever* understand the complicated situation.



(17) **No** journalists [that the editors recommended for the assignment] (*ever*) thought that the readers would (*ever*) understand the complicated situation.

(18) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended for the assignment] (*ever*) thought that the readers would (*ever*) understand the complicated situation.





(20) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended **for the assignment**] (*ever*) thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.

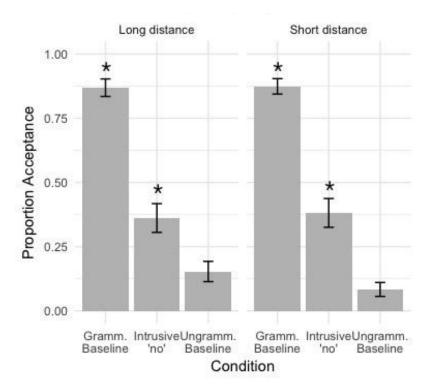
(21) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended] (*ever*) thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.

(20) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended **for the assignment**] (*ever*) thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.

(21) *The journalists [that **no** editors recommended] (*ever*) thought that the readers would understand the complicated situation.

- (a) No politicians [that the journalists have endorsed (in the media)] have ever earned trust from the rural communities.
- (b) *The politicians [that no journalists have endorsed (in the media)] have ever earned trust from the rural communities.
- (c) *The politicians [that the journalists have endorsed (in the media)] have ever earned trust from the rural communities.

- (a) No politicians [that the journalists have endorsed (in the media)] have ever earned trust from the rural communities.
- (b) *The politicians [that no journalists have endorsed (in the media)] have ever earned trust from the rural communities.
- (c) *The politicians [that the journalists have endorsed (in the media)] have ever earned trust from the rural communities.



Distance effect (Parker & Phillips 2016)

Is a PP not enough added distance?

Parker & Phillips found that just a verb is enough

- (22) No/The surgeons [that no/the patients have trusted] have **healed** *any* injuries with experimental medications.
- (23) No/The surgeons [that no/the patients have trusted] have **ever healed** the injuries with experimental medications.

(a-c) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

(a-c) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

(a-c) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

(d-f) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted **to heal their injuries**] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

short

(a-c) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

short

(d-f) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted **to heal their injuries**] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

long

short

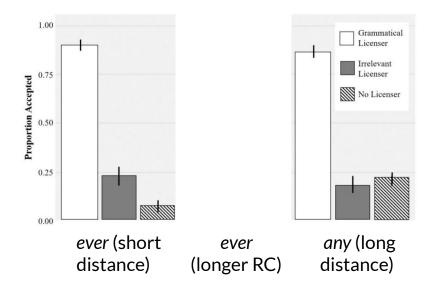
(a-c) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

long

(d-f) No/The surgeons [that **no**/the patients trusted **to heal their injuries**] have *ever* prescribed new experimental medications.

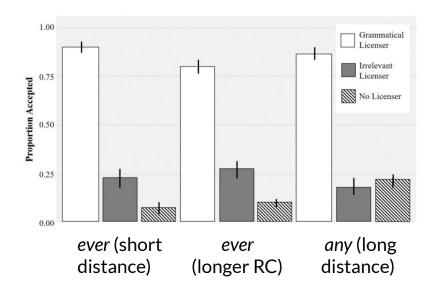
long

(a-c) No/The surgeons [that no/the patients trusted] have ever prescribed new experimental medications.



(a-c) No/The surgeons [that no/the patients trusted] have ever prescribed new experimental medications.

(d-f) No/The surgeons [that no/the patients trusted to heal their injuries] have ever prescribed new experimental medications.



Outline

- 1. Phenomenon 1: the distance effect
 - a. Experiment 1 prepositional phrases
 - b. Experiment 2 verbs
- 2. Phenomenon 2: the licensor effect
 - a. Experiment 1 no vs haven't
 - b. Experiment 2 no vs did not
 - c. Experiment 3 very few vs haven't in SRCs
 - d. Experiment 4 no vs haven't vs haven't...any
- 3. Complications

NPI licensors

Why would the wrong context ever be chosen?

NPI licensors

Why would the wrong context ever be chosen?

Differences in the NPI-friendliness of the RC should lead to differences in illusion rates

Negative quantifiers seem to signal strong negative commitments or exceptionless claims

Negative quantifiers seem to signal strong negative commitments or exceptionless claims

NPIs have been argued to function as <u>strengtheners</u> (i.e. they indicate a lack of exceptions along some dimension)

Negative quantifiers seem to signal strong negative commitments or exceptionless claims

NPIs have been argued to function as <u>strengtheners</u> (i.e. they indicate a lack of exceptions along some dimension)

Simple sentential negation *didn't* may not signal the same strong exceptionless negative claims, though it's a perfectly good licensor

So if the strength of the claim matters, no clauses should be more NPI-friendly than not clauses

Negative quantifiers vs sentential negation

COCA query	Frequency of ever per 5000 sentences
[No]	59 (1.18%)
[Not]/[n't]	12 (0.24%)

(24) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

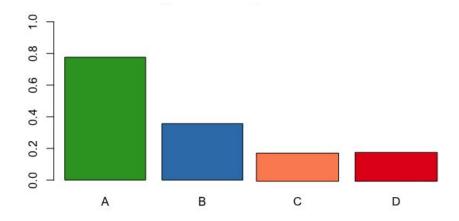
(25) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have ever received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

Licensor experiment 1

- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received...
- (c) The authors [that the critics **haven't** recommended for the award] have *ever* received...
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received...

Licensor experiment 1

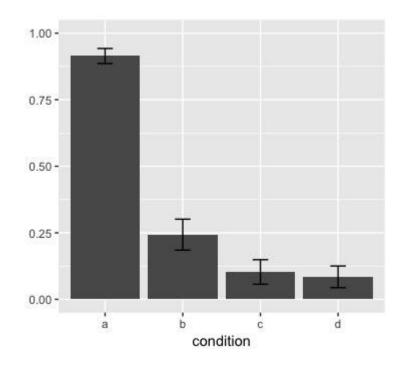
- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received...
- (c) The authors [that the critics **haven't** recommended for the award] have *ever* received...
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have **ever** received...



Maybe you don't see illusions for *haven't* because negation is phonologically reduced / not salient.

- (a) **No** authors that the critics recommended have ever received acknowledgment for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors that **no** critics recommended have ever received ...
- (c) The authors that the critics **did not** recommend have ever received ...
- (d) The authors that the critics recommended have ever received ...

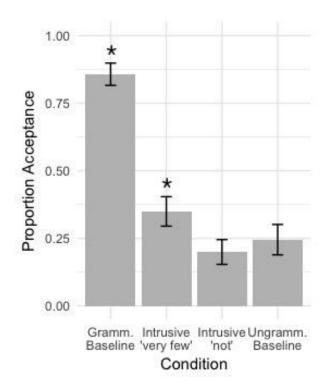
- (a) **No** authors that the critics recommended have ever received acknowledgment for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors that **no** critics recommended have ever received ...
- (c) The authors that the critics **did not** recommend have ever received ...
- (d) The authors that the critics recommended have ever received ...



Maybe you don't see illusions with *haven't* and *did not* because they're structurally lower than a negative quantifier, so they're more nodes away from c-commanding it.

- (a) Very few critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **very few** authors of alternative genres have ever objected ...
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected ...
- (d) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected ...

- (a) Very few critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **very few** authors of alternative genres have ever objected ...
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected ...
- (d) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected ...



Quantifier scope

Could the licensor contrast be attributed to the fact that quantifiers can take scope somewhere other than their surface position but sentential negation can't?

Quantifier scope

Could the licensor contrast be attributed to the fact that quantifiers can take scope somewhere other than their surface position but sentential negation can't?

Negative quantifiers cannot exceptionally scope out of a relative clause

Quantifier scope

Could the licensor contrast be attributed to the fact that quantifiers can take scope somewhere other than their surface position but sentential negation can't?

Negative quantifiers cannot exceptionally scope out of a relative clause

That wouldn't explain the other data (like the distance effect)

I've claimed the relevant difference between *no* and *not* is actually about a difference in the meanings you get for clauses containing *no* vs the meanings you get for clauses containing *no* t

If we could get a no-type meaning using the word haven't we would be able to tell if that's right

(a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

(e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

(e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

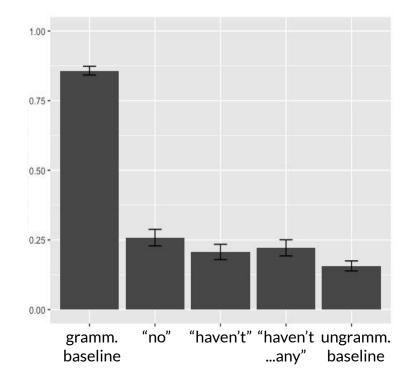
(e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (d) *The critics that **haven't** recommended **any** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

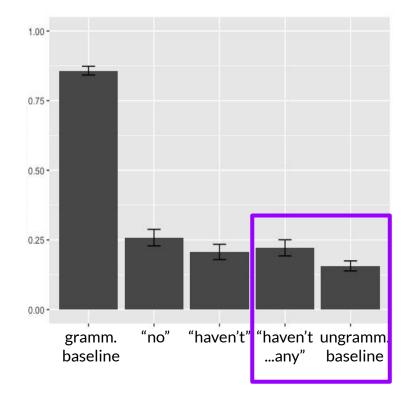
- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (d) *The critics that **haven't** recommended **any** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (d) *The critics that **haven't** recommended **any** authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.
- (e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever objected to mainstream literary trends.

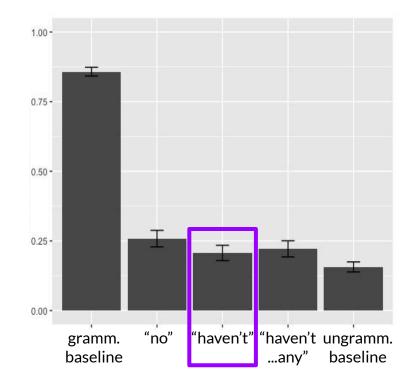
- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (d) *The critics that **haven't** recommended **any** authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...



- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (d) *The critics that **haven't** recommended **any** authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...



- (a) **No** critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (b) *The critics that have recommended **no** authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (c) *The critics that **haven't** recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (d) *The critics that **haven't** recommended **any** authors of alternative genres have ever...
- (e) *The critics that have recommended the authors of alternative genres have ever...



What we've learned

- NPI illusions only arise when the NPI is sufficiently close to the licensing context.
- NPI illusions arise for negative quantifiers but not sentential negation.
- The licensor contrast does not reduce to a difference in phonological prominence, syntactic depth, or quantifier scope, but seems to be about the compositional meanings of clauses containing negative quantifiers.

These findings are consistent with the claim that online NPI licensing involves computations over clause-level meanings, not individual licensing lexical items

Outline

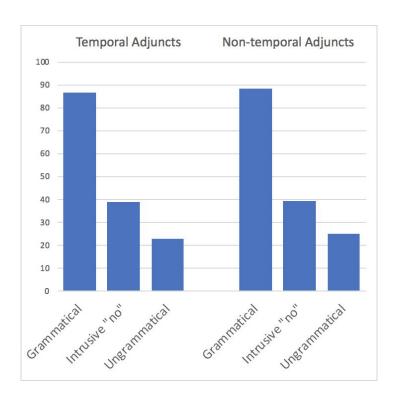
- 1. Phenomenon 1: the distance effect
 - a. Experiment 1 prepositional phrases
 - b. Experiment 2 verbs
- 2. Phenomenon 2: the licensor effect
 - a. Experiment 1 no vs haven't
 - b. Experiment 2 no vs did not
 - c. Experiment 3 very few vs haven't in SRCs
 - d. Experiment 4 no vs haven't vs haven't...any
- 3. Complications

Temporal adjuncts

- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award / last week] have ever received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award / last week] have ever received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award / last week] have ever received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

Temporal adjuncts

- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award / last week] have ever received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended <u>for the award / last week</u>] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award / last week] have ever received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.



- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

Did the authors receive acknowledgement for a best-selling novel?

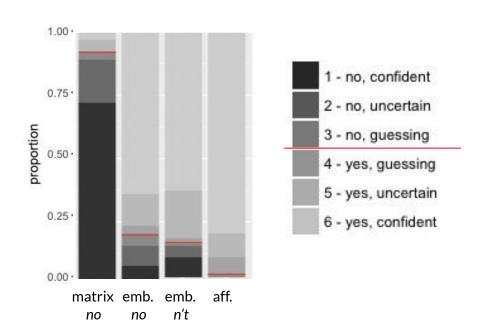
- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

Did the authors receive acknowledgement for a best-selling novel? Yes / No

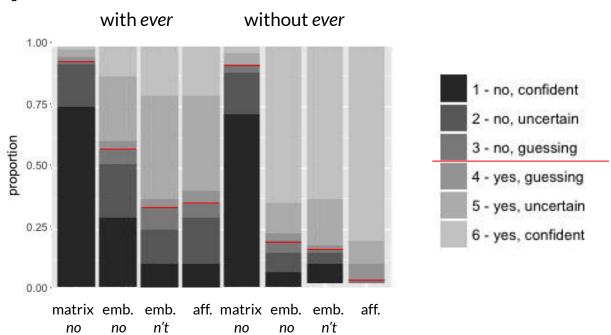
- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel. **No!**
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.

- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel. **No!**
- (b) The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel. γ_{es} !



- (a) **No** authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (b) *The authors [that **no** critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (c) *The authors [that the critics haven't recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.
- (d) *The authors [that the critics have recommended for the award] have *ever* received acknowledgement for a best-selling novel.



Thanks

Research assistants:

Celeste Joly

Jerry Peng

Angela Wu

Andrew Merchant

Audiences at the University of Maryland Cognitive Neuroscience of Language Lab, CUNY 2017 @ MIT, and CUNY 2019 @ CU Boulder

This work was supported by NSF DGE-1449815, a University of Maryland Flagship Fellowship awarded to HM, FPU2013/01628 predoctoral grant by the Spanish Ministry of Education awarded to IDF, and ONR MURI Award N00014-18-1-2670.