Tracking the activation of scalar alternatives with semantic priming

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EXPERIMENTS IN LINGUISTIC MEANING 2

Scalar implicature (SI)

Mary ate some of the deep dish.

Literal content

Mary ate some, and **possibly all**, of the deep dish.

Scalar implicature
Mary ate some, but **not all**, of the deep dish.

Comprehenders reason about stronger unsaid alternatives: all

(Grice, 1967; Horn, 1972)

Alternatives in processing

Alternatives: psychologically real, or just a useful theoretical tool?

Operationalization: Are alternatives activated in processing?

Semantic priming with lexical decision

Goal: Track the retrieval and activation of alternatives

Do we activate the meaning of *all* when we access *some*?

Mary ate some of the deep dish.

The movie is good.

excellent

Alternatives in processing: previous work

Alternative activation in the processing of...

- Focus (i.a., Fraundorf et al., 2010, 2013; Gotzner & Spalek, 2017, 2019; Braun & Tagliapietra, 2010; Yan & Calhoun, 2019; Husband & Ferreira, 2016; Spalek et al., 2014; Kim et al., 2015)
- Negation (i.a., Kaup & Zwaan, 2003; Kaup et al., 2006; Tian et al., 2016)
- Counterfactuals (i.a., Ferguson et al., 2008; de Vega & Urrutia, 2012)

Previous priming studies on SI

Lexical priming (Schwarz et al., 2016; de Carvalho et al., 2016)

Priming the mechanism of SI calculation (i.a., Bott & Chemla, 2016; Rees & Bott, 2018; Bott & Frisson, 2022)

Experiment 1: Sentential semantic priming

PRIME \rightarrow 650 ms \rightarrow TARGET

The movie is good.



- Task: decide whether excellent is a word or non-word
- Dependent measure: reaction time (RT)
- Items: 60 different lexical scales

Item N=60
Participant N=46
(recruited online)

Sentential semantic priming: conditions

Condition	Prime	Target
Related (scalar)	The movie is good.	excellent
Unrelated	The movie is foreign.	excellent
Filler (non-word)	Susan decorated the cookies.	kleens

Experiment 2: Priming with only

Previous work has found alternative activation

Item N=60
Participant N=43
(recruited online)

PRIME \rightarrow 650 ms \rightarrow

TARGET

The movie is only good.



Experiment 3: Lexical semantic priming

- What if the priming effect is not due to SI?
- Ruling out effect of meaning similarity

Item N=60
Participant N=44
(recruited online)

PRIME → 650 ms →

good

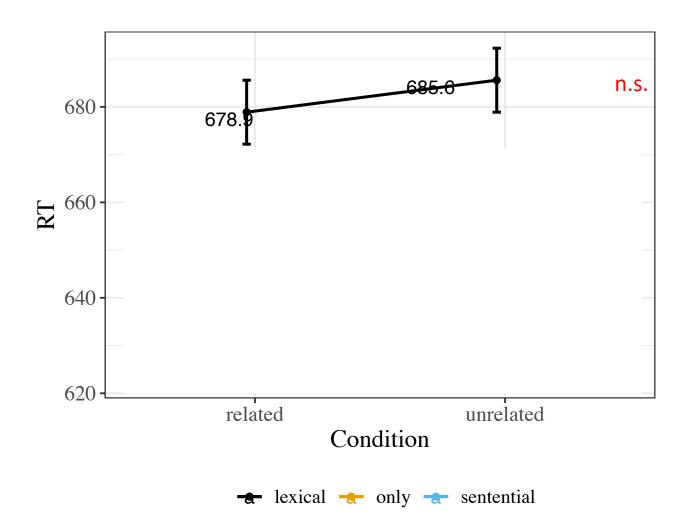


TARGET

No effect in lexical experiment

Linear mixed effects regression model:

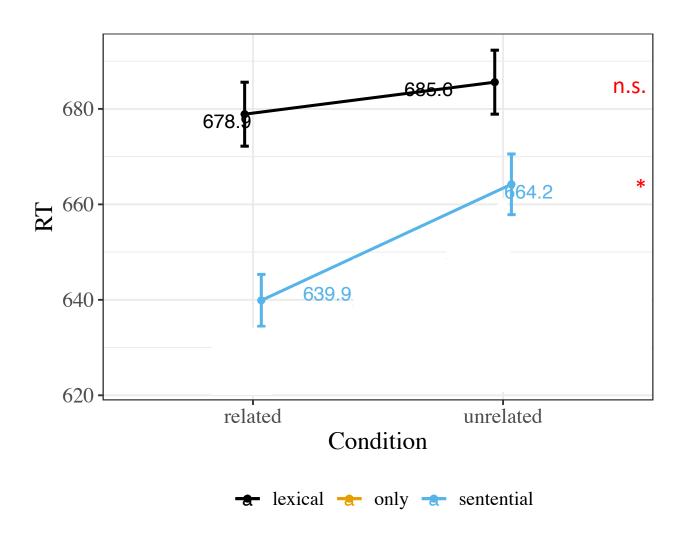
Estimate=11.46 SE= 9.94 t=1.15 p=0.26



Facilitated RT to alternatives in sentential experiment

Linear mixed effects regression model:

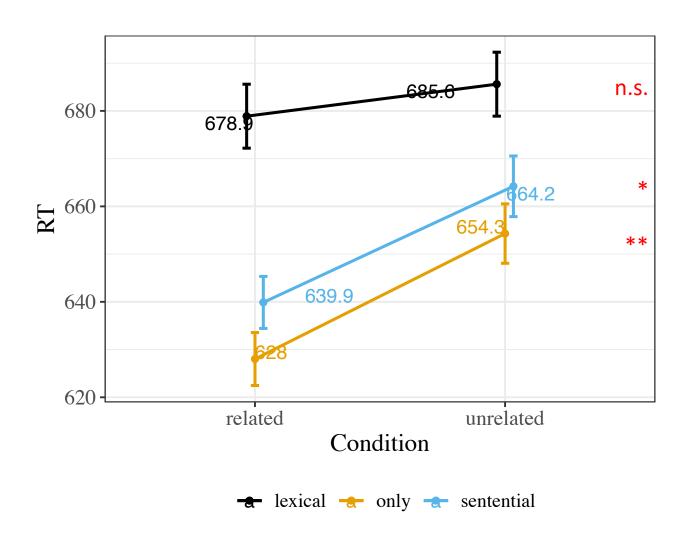
Estimate=21.62 SE= 8.65 t=2.5 p<0.05



only: similar facilitation

Linear mixed effects regression model:

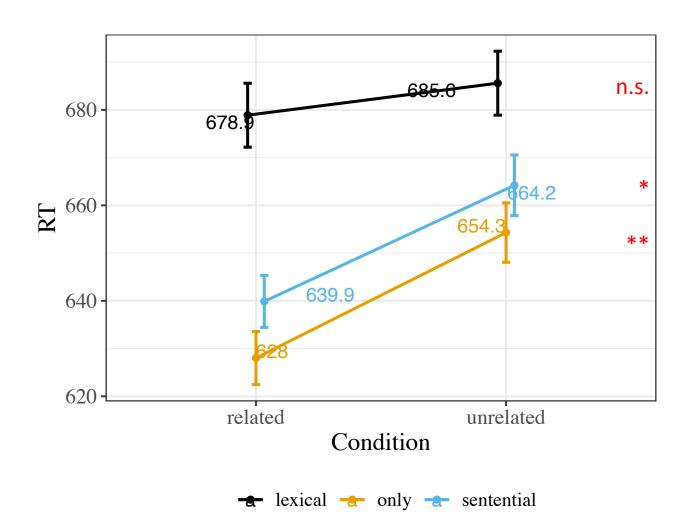
Estimate=24.47 SE= 8.01 t=3.06 p<0.01



SI and *only*: no difference

Linear mixed effects regression model:

Estimate=9.51 SE= 22.53 t=0.422 p=0.67



Upshot of findings

Alternatives are retrieved and activated in real-time processing of scalar implicature-triggering sentences

A puzzle

Alternatives like excellent:

similar activation with The movie is good or The movie is only good

does not track the rate of inference from the corresponding sentences

Thank you!



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List of scales

Adjective	<allowed, obligatory="">; <attractive, stunning="">; <big, enormous="">; <cool, cold="">; <dark, black="">; <difficult, impossible="">; <dirty, filthy="">; <funny, hilarious="">; <good, excellent="">; <happy, ecstatic="">; <hard, unsolvable="">; <harmful, deadly="">; <hungry, starving="">; <intelligent, brilliant="">; <intimidating, terrifying="">; <old, ancient="">; <overweight, obese="">; <palatable, delicious="">; <polished, impeccable="">; <possible, certain="">; <pre>; <pre>; <pre>; <scared, petrified="">; <serious, life-threatening="">; <similar, identical="">; <small, tiny="">; <snug, tight="">; <tired, exhausted="">; <ugly, hideous="">; <understandable, articulate="">; <unpleasant, disgusting="">; <warm, hot="">; <willing, eager=""></willing,></warm,></unpleasant,></understandable,></ugly,></tired,></snug,></small,></similar,></serious,></scared,></pre></pre></pre></possible,></polished,></palatable,></overweight,></old,></intimidating,></intelligent,></hungry,></harmful,></hard,></happy,></good,></funny,></dirty,></difficult,></dark,></cool,></big,></attractive,></allowed,>	
Verb	<pre><begin, complete="">; <believe, know="">; <damage, destroy="">; <dislike, loathe="">; <double, triple="">; like, love>; <match, exceed="">; <permit, require="">; <reduce, eliminate="">; <slow, stop="">; <start, finish="">; <survive, thrive="">; <tolerate, encourage="">; <try, succeed="">; <want, need=""></want,></try,></tolerate,></survive,></start,></slow,></reduce,></permit,></match,></double,></dislike,></damage,></believe,></begin,></pre>	
Adverb	<pre><equally, more="">; <here, everywhere="">; <largely, totally="">; <mostly, entirely="">; <once, twice="">; <overwhelmingly, unanimously="">; <partially, completely="">; <primarily, exclusively="">; <pre><probably, necessarily="">; <usually, always="">; <well, superbly=""></well,></usually,></probably,></pre></primarily,></partially,></overwhelmingly,></once,></mostly,></largely,></here,></equally,></pre>	
Quantifier	<or, and=""></or,>	
Connective	<some, all=""></some,>	

Experimental details

Before each sentence, a fixation cross was displayed for **350ms**, followed by **400ms** of an empty screen.

Each word in the sentence was displayed for **350ms** (Experiments 1-2). Prime sentences were presented word-by-word.

In Experiment 3, the prime word was displayed for **150ms**.

The time (SOA) between the offset of the final prime word (*good/foreign*) and the onset of the target word (*excellent*) was **650ms**.

Another puzzle

No by-item correlation between SI rates and priming effect allowed \rightarrow not obligatory more robust SI than dirty \rightarrow not filthy this doesn't correspond to a difference in priming

Possible reason: we measure priming effect by **comparing to the unrelated condition** (*The movie is foreign.*)