Dynamic pragmatic view of negation processing

Y. Tian & R. Breheney (2016), in P. Larivée, Negation and Polarity: Experimental Perspectives, Cham: Springer

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Research questions

- * This is not a hotel.
 - Question under discussion (QUD): 'what is at issue at any point of the conversation'
 - Negation is a cue for retrieving the prominent QUD:
 - * [The door] is not open vs. The door is [not open].
- Why does negation allow us to infer background information?
- What can this process tell us about the often cited difficulty with negation process?
- A very good discussion of the current state of the art!

Background

- General findings:
 - More difficult processing:
 - Longer reaction times, higher error rates, increased activation of brain areas responsible for language comprehension (Carpenter et al. 1999)
 - Memory:
 - Memory of negated material is worse than of positive material: low recall, misremembering, rephrasing in a positive form (Cornish & Watson 1970);
 - Reasoning:
 - Logical inference is more difficult when explicit or implicit negation is involved (Evans et al. 1996; Prado & Noveck 2006)
 - Access to the positive representation in negation processing (Dale & Duran 2011; Kaup et al. 2007)
 - Not mandatory

Background

- Rejection based approaches: not(the door is open)
 - * Advantages: explain both difficulty and positive representation
 - 2 step processing: representing the positive representation, which is rejected and replaced with a consistent one
 - Disadvantages:
 - Representing the positive counterpart is not always mandatory
 - Not incremental meaning of negation
- Contextual approaches
 - Advantages:
 - Out of context negative sentences are infelicitous and under informative
 - Disadvantages:
 - ♠ The door is not open = the door is closed
 - Contextual treatment of negation > contextual treatment of positive sentences

Dynamic pragmatic account of negation processing

General principles:

- The meaning of an utterance is dynamic: it is analysed in terms of its potential in updating the context.
- The context can constrain the content and the structure of upcoming utterances.
- Processing an utterance:
 - 1. Process its semantic meaning
 - 2.Inferring contextual information: (i) presuppositional beliefs and (ii) its source of relevance: the QUD;
- * The QUD can be explicit but most often implicit, hence inferred and accommodated (Carlson 1983; Roberts 2012).

Negation:

- Negation is a cue for retrieving the most prominent QUD.
- * The door is not open => QUD: 'whether the positive counterpart is true'
- QUD accommodation is incremental and automatic:
 - Out of context, the QUD triggered by negation is the positive representation.
 - In a context, the positive representation is no longer created.
 - The meaning of negation is incremental.

Experiment 1: the representation of the positive argument (Tian et al. 2010)

- Similar paradigm as Kaup et al. (2007)
- Stimuli: simple and clef negative sentences.
 - John didn't iron his shirt.
 - It is John who did not iron his shirt.
- Predictions:
 - * **Rejection based approach**: shorter RT for simple negative sentences for mismatching pictures than for matching ones.
 - * Dynamic pragmatic approach: Longer RT for cleft negative sentences for mismatching pictures than for matching ones.
- * Results:
 - Replication of Kaup et al.'s results for simple negative sentences.
 - Longer RT for cleft negative sentences for mismatching pictures indicating that the positive representation is **not** created.
 - The non-mandatory positive representation is due to QUD accommodation.
 - Simple negative sentences: QUD regards the truth of the positive argument.
 - The clef structure projects a prominent QUD that is negative.

Experiment 2: when do we represent the positive (Tian et al., in prep. b)

- * Visual-world eyetracking paradigm: participants listen to linguistic stimuli while looking at visual scenes.
 - Language mediated eye movements are anticipatory corresponding to a dynamically changing representation of events.
- Stimuli: simple and clef affirmative and negative sentences.
 - 1. Mat has shut his dad's window.
 - 2. Mat hasn't shut his dad's window.
 - 3. It is Mat who has shut his dad's window.
 - 4. It is Mat who hasn't shut his dad's window.
- Predictions:
 - Rejection based approach
 - * 2 and 4 first represent the positive counterpart and then the negative one;
 - * A delay in 2 and respectively 4 compared to 1 and, respectively 3;
 - * Dynamic pragmatic approach
 - Represent the positive counterpart for 2 but not for 4;
 - * A delay in 2 compared to 1, and a reduced or no delay in 4 compared to 3.



Experiment 2: when do we represent the positive (Tian et al., in prep. b)

- Method: calculate the log ratios of percentages of looks to target over competitor from the offset of the verb to the offset of the noun (several segments).
- Results for simple sentences:
 - Different patterns for positives and negatives.
 - For positives, a bias towards target immediately after the verb.
 - * For negatives, (i) equal number of looks immediately after the verb; (ii) a bias towards the target later on, however, still before the noun.
 - * Evidence against a mandatory representation of the positive counterpart: they did not first focus on the competitor and then to the target.
 - * Evidence against the processing of negation only after the verb's argument: the target biased was set before the onset of the noun.
- Results for cleft sentences:
 - No different patterns for positives and negatives.

Conclusion

- Simple sentences:
 - * Without a context, the most prominent QUD of a negative sentence is whether the positive counterpart is true.
 - More difficult to process because of the inconsistency between positive counterpart and negation consistent representation.
- Cleft sentences:
 - Negative clefts have a prominent negative QUD, which is consistent to the negation consistent representation.
 - Positive clefts have a prominent positive QUD, which is consistent to the negation consistent representation.
- QUD accommodation is incremental:
 - Prominent QUDs are represented as soon as we find cues for them.
 - In simple negative sentences, this process interferes with the representation of sentence meaning.
- Representing the positive counterpart is not mandatory. Rather, it is due to QUD accommodation. When other cues are available, the positive counterpart is not longer represented.

Thank you!

Sentence verification

- Previous findings:
 - 4 possibilities of polarity and truth-value status:
 - * The plus is above the star. TA
 - * The star is above the plus. FA
 - * The star isn't above the plus. TN
 - * The plus isn't above the star. FN
 - * TA, FA < TN, FN
 - * TA < FA; FN < TN at 0ms and TN = FN at 1500ms (Kaup et al. 2005).
 - Two strategies:
 - Truth-functional strategy
 - Conversion strategy
- Tian et al's (in prep a)

