## Priming NPI Acceptability Judgments and the Bagel Problem

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#### Abstract

We report on a series of priming experiments on the acceptability of two types of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in two languages, namely, any in English and libo-NPIs in Russian. Our results show that (i) acceptability judgments of NPIs can be primed both in English and in Russian, and (ii) only unacceptability of the same type, i.e., unacceptability caused by an unlincensed NPI, triggers priming effects on the acceptability of NPIs. The results also indicate that (iii) priming effects for English any and Russian libo-NPIs are counterdirected: For any, an unlicensed instance has a positive priming effect, while for libo-NPIs an unlicensed instance has a negative priming effect. We attribute this contrast to the so-called 'bagel' distribution of libo-NPIs in Russian: Although licensed in all other contexts where weak NPIs are commonly licensed, libo-NPIs are hardly ever licensed by negation. We claim that this makes the crucial difference for priming effects triggered by unlicensed NPIs in English and Russian. That is, unacceptable primes trigger priming effects by evoking possible ways to 'fix' them, and different NPIs evoke different such ways, depending on their typical contexts of use, whereby exhibiting qualitatively different priming effects.

### 1 Introduction

The general idea behind priming is that if a preceding trial (a prime) affects one's behavior in a following trial (a target), the two trials must have something in common. Typically priming studies involve comparing two or more types of primes (often including trivial primes, i.e., primes with no priming effects) with respect to the same target. The priming paradigm has been extensively employed to investigate various levels of linguistic representations from lexical semantics (e.g., D. E. Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971; Neely 1976; Neely, Keefe, and Ross 1989; McNamara 2005; Neely 2012) to syntactic structure (e.g., Bock 1986; Ferreira and Bock 2006; Branigan 2007; Pickering and Ferreira 2008; Branigan and Pickering 2017) to quantifier scope (e.g., Raffray and Pickering 2010; Chemla and Bott 2015) to scalar implicatures (e.g., Bott and Chemla 2016; Rees and Bott 2018; M.-C. Meyer and Feiman 2021; Marty et al. 2024). However, it has rarely, if ever, been used in conjunction with an acceptability judgment task.

In this study, we report on a series of experiments that applied the priming paradigm to the acceptability judgments of NPIs. We tested two specific types of NPIs in two languages, any in English and libo-NPIs in Russian. The results show that acceptability judgments of NPIs can be primed both in English and in Russian, but only unacceptable primes trigger priming effects. We claim that this observation is harmonious with previous findings that large priming effects are only triggered by primes with 'unexpected' properties (e.g., Jaeger and Snider 2013; Marty et al. 2024). That is, since speakers normally do not encounter unlicensed, unacceptable NPIs in their daily lives, they trigger large priming effects. Importantly, we also observe that not all unacceptable primes trigger priming effects on acceptability judgments of NPIs, but only unacceptable primes that are unacceptable due to unlicensed NPIs do. This indicates that the priming paradigm can selectively tap into a representation or mechanism pertaining to NPI licensing. Moreover, we observe a curious crosslinguistic difference between the priming effects in English and Russian such that unlicensed any in English leads to a positive priming effect, but

unlicensed *libo*-NPIs in Russian leads to a negative priming effect. We attribute this contrast to the so-called 'bagel' distribution of *libo*-NPIs in Russian.

# 2 NPIs in English and Russian

### 2.1 English any

English *any* is seen as a prototypical NPI, more precisely a weak NPI, that is licensed by a variety of Downward Entailing (DE) operators (Fauconnier 1975; Ladusaw 1979 and much subsequent work), including clausemate nagation, as well as by certain other non-monotonic operators (see below).

One complication that will be relevant for the present study is the fact that *any* has a Free Choice (FC) use (unlike other weak NPIs like *ever*), although the exact relationship between the NPI and FC uses of *any* is immaterial for our purposes (see, e.g., Giannakidou 2001; Dayal 2004; Menéndez-Benito 2010).

#### 2.2 Russian *libo*-NPIs

Turning now to Russian, libo-NPIs, which are formed by suffixing libo onto a wh-word, exhibit an interesting distribution. Wh-libo is an NPI and as such needs a licenser, and it is in fact licensed in most typical contexts that license canonical weak NPIs including any in English such as the scope of without and the restrictor of a universal quantifier. This is illustrated by the contrast between (1-a-b) and (1-c), where the former, but not the latter, contain an NPI licenser (každij 'every' and bez 'without').

- (1) a. Každij, kto gde-**libo** byval, znaet èto čuvstvo. every who where-LIBO was knows this feeling 'Everybody who has been anywhere knows this feeling.'
  - b. Ivan opozdal na urok bez kakoj-**libo** pričiny.

    Ivan came late on class without which-LIBO reason

    (Ivan came to class late without any reason)

'Ivan came to class late without any reason.' (Denić 2015)

c. \*Ivan opozdal na urok po kakoj-libo pričine. Ivan came.late on class on which-LIBO reason Intended: 'Ivan came to class late for some reason.'

In light of this, it is striking that *libo* NPIs are not licensed by clausemate negation, the most prototypical NPI licenser, as in (3).

(2) \*Ja ne videl kogo-libo.

I NEG saw who-LIBO
Intended: 'I didn't see anybody.'

Explanations of this distributional 'hole' usually involve competition with another series of pronouns, ni-NPIs, which are strong NPIs that are canonically licensed by clausemate negation. In fact, the distributions of libo NPIs and ni NPIs are nearly complementary, as illustrated by (3) (although with some overlap; see Padučeva 2015; Padučeva 2016; Pisarenko 2023).

- (3) a. Ja ne videl {ni-kogo / \*kogo-libo}.

  I NEG saw who-LIBO
  'I didn't see anybody.'
  - b. Každij, kto {\***ni**-gde / gde-**libo**} byval, znaet èto čuvstvo. every who NI-where / where-LIBO was knows this feeling
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'Everybody who has been anywhere knows this feeling.'

For our purposes, details of theories of *libo* NPI's 'bagel' distribution are immaterial. Importantly, *libo* is also licensed in non-negative contexts—such as deontic modals—where they exhibit non-NPI readings (for the discussion of these readings and the range of non-negative licensers, see Padučeva 2015 and Pisarenko 2023).

#### 2.3 NPIs in non-monotonic environments

Apart from DE environments, weak NPIs can also appear in certain non-monotonic environments (Linebarger 1980; Linebarger 1987). Among such non-monotonic environments that license weak NPIs, we will focus on the scope of exactly n (Heim 1984; Rothschild 2006; Crnič 2014). Both English any and Russian libo NPIs are licensed in the scope of exactly n, as illustrated by (4) and (5).

- (4) Exactly two restaurants served any vegan dishes.
- (5) Rovno dva restorana dobavili v men<sup>j</sup>u kakie-**libo** vegetarianskie bl<sup>j</sup>uda. exactly two restaurants added in menu which-LIBO vegetarian dishes 'Exactly two restaurants added any vegetarian dishes to their menu'

The acceptability judgments of NPIs in the scope of exactly n are not as crisp as those of NPIs in canonical DE environments, as previously experimentally shown by Alexandropoulou, Bylinina, and Nouwen 2020 for any. These intermediate judgments are advantageous for our purposes, as they are more likely to be affected by priming by more extreme judgments and may be affected in either direction. For this reason, our experiments use such sentences in target items.

# 3 Experiment 1: English

### 3.1 Methods

We collected acceptability judgments of 16 target sentences that contain exactly n NP in subject position and any in object position, as in (4). As weak NPIs are considered to be judged as more acceptable for smaller n's (Heim 1984; Rothschild 2006; Crnič 2014), we used numerals between two and eight, each of which was used in two separate target items.

Each target sentence was preceded by two primes. There were six types of primes altogether, with no or some as the subject quantifier and one of the following as the object quantifier: (a) any, (b) bare plural, or (c) many + singular NP. The six types of primes are illustrated in (6) and (7).

- (6) a. No artists sold any paintings.
- (7) a. Some artists sold any paintings.
- b. No artists sold paintings.

- b. Some artists sold paintings.
- c. No artists sold many painting.
- c. Some artists sold many painting.

Regardless of the subject quantifier, (b) is expected to be grammatical, and (c) is expected to be ungrammatical due to an irrelevant grammatical factor, namely, number mismatch between *many* and the noun. On the other hand, (a) should be sensitive to the subject quantifier such that it is acceptable with *no* and unacceptable with *some*.

We had a 2 (Subject: Some vs. No)  $\times$  3 (Object: Any vs. BarePlural vs. Many) factorial design, with both factors being between participants. This between-participant design was chosen to avoid potential spillover effects across primes, as a target trial could be influenced by priming trials occurring earlier in the experiment, rather than only by the two preceding prime trials. In addition to the six priming conditions, furthermore, we also prepared a baseline

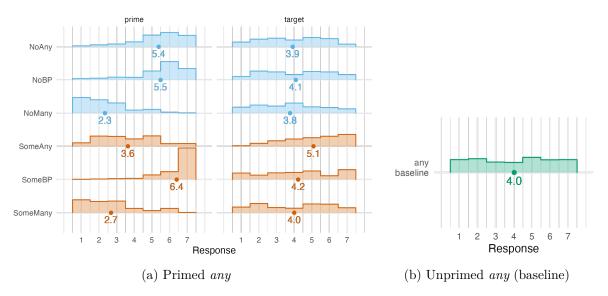


Figure 1: **Acceptability of English** any. (a) Ratings of primes and target items by condition in the priming experiment. (b) Ratings of target items outside of the priming context (baseline ratings).

condition, which was created by removing all the primes. The purpose of this condition was to collect baseline ratings for the target trials.

For the main six priming conditions, the 16 prime-prime-target triplets were interspersed by 72 filler items with varying acceptability. The order of stimulus presentation was randomized for each participant. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the six priming conditions. Each of them provided acceptability ratings of 120 sentences (16 prime-prime-target triplets = 48 items + 72 filler items) on a 7-point Likert scale (labelled 'Completely ungrammatical' and 'Completely grammatical' at endpoints), after reading instructions that were modelled after those used by Sprouse, Schütze, and Almeida 2013 and completing one practice item. The baseline condition was carried out in essentially the same way except that the participants saw no primes and half the filler items, so judged 48 sentences in total (16 targets + 36 filler items).

The experiment was designed on Gorilla. 90 participants were recruited on Prolific Academic (www.prolific.com). Each participant was compensated £3.00 for their participation and provided informed consent prior to participating. Two participants were excluded for low accuracy ( $\leq 75\%$ ) on filler items, where accuracy was measured *post hoc*: Ratings outside 1.5 times the inter-quantile range from the median were considered wrong.

## 3.2 Results

The results are summarized in Figure 1. The acceptability judgments of primes (Figure 1a) are overall as expected. We fitted an ordinal mixed-effects regression model to the target data using the ordinal package (Christensen 2023) for R (R Core Team 2024). The model included two fixed effect variables, Subject (Some vs. No) and Object (Any vs. BarePlural vs. Many), each treatment-coded with Some and Any as reference levels, respectively. The model also had by-item variance on the intercept as the sole random effect (including any other random effect resulted in estimation error). The model reveals that target items following ungrammatical Some+Any primes were judged as more acceptable than those following Some+Any primes ( $\beta = -1.14, z = -7.24, p < 0.001$ ), and that target items following Some+Any primes were judged as more acceptable than those following the other two kinds of Some primes (BarePlural:  $\beta = -0.83, z = 5.04, p < 0.001$ ; Many:  $\beta = -1.04, z = -6.21, p < 0.001$ ). Baseline non-primed judgments (Figure 1b) confirm the direction of priming: Unlicensed any as a

prime drives a melioration in target acceptability (BarePlural:  $\beta=-0.83, p<0.001;$  Many:  $\beta=-1.04, p<0.001).$  In addition, significant positive interaction effects were observed (BarePlural:  $\beta=0.99, z=4.24, p<0.001;$  Many:  $\beta=0.88, z=3.89, p<0.001)$  that counteract the negative effect of Subject and suggest that the acceptability of target items following the three types of No primes did not differ substantially from each other.

# 4 Experiment 2

#### 4.1 Methods

Methods and procedure were the same as in Experiment 1. The main experiment is a priming study, followed by a baseline study where non-primed acceptability judgments were collected for the target items. The basis for the materials was translations of the English items used in Experiment 1 with libo-NPIs as objects in target items. Importantly, we changed the design of primes. There were 4 types of primes – each either had sentential negation (ne 'not') or did not have it (Subject factor), and either contained libo or ni in object position (Object factor). Example primes of each type are given below (items were shown to participants in Cyrillic):

- (8) Xudožniki **ne** prodali kakix-**libo** artists not sold which-LIBO kartin.
  paintings
  'No artists sold any paintings.'
- (9) Xudožniki ne prodali nikakix artists not sold NI-which kartin. paintings 'No artists sold any paintings.'
- (10) Xudožniki prodali kakix-libo artists sold which-libo kartin.
  paintings
  'Artists sold any paintings.'
- (11) Xudožniki prodali **ni**kakix kartin. artists sold NI-which paintings 'Artists sold any paintings.'

As in Experiment 1, Subject and Object were between-participant factors. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of the priming conditions in the main experiment and rated 120 sentences (16 prime-prime-target triplets + 72 fillers) on a 7-point Likert scale (labeled *Užasno zvučit po-russki*, tak nikto ne govorit 'It sounds bad in Russian; no one speaks like that' and Xorošo zvučit po-russki, ja by sam(a) mog(la) tak skazat<sup>j</sup> 'It sounds good in Russian; I could say that myself' at endpoints). In addition, there was a baseline condition that had no primes and half the fillers but was otherwise identical to the six priming conditions.

The experiment was designed using Gorilla. 68 native speakers of Russian were recruited via the Toloka platform. Each participant was compensated £3.00 for their participation and provided informed consent prior to participation. Five participants were excluded for low accuracy ( $\leq 75\%$ ) on the filler items (same participant exclusion criterion as in Experiment 1).

### 4.2 Results

The obtained ratings are presented in Figure 2. As per Experiment 1, we fitted an ordinal mixed-effects regression model, with treatment-coded fixed effects: SUBJECT (absence of sentential negation (Pos) as reference level) and OBJECT (libo as reference level). The model revealed: (i) a difference in target acceptability between Pos+Libo and Pos+Ni prime conditions ( $\beta=2.10$ ,  $z=2.80,\ p<0.01$ ), with the former receiving lower ratings overall; (ii) a difference in target acceptability between Pos+Libo and Neg+Libo primes ( $\beta=1.45,\ z=1.99,\ p<0.05$ ), with the former generally receiving lower ratings, and (iii) this difference being larger than the difference

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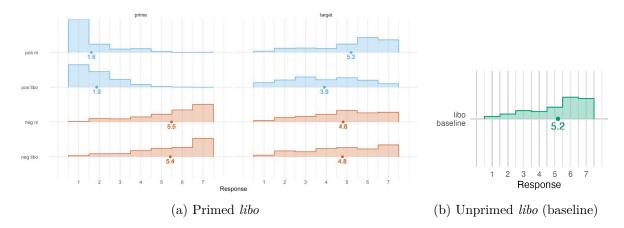


Figure 2: **Acceptability of Russian** *libo*. (a) Ratings of primes and target items by condition in the priming experiment. (b) Ratings of target items outside of the priming context (baseline ratings).

between Pos+Ni and Neg+Ni (significant interaction:  $\beta = -2.06$ , z = -2.03, p < 0.05). Given the non-primed baseline (Figure 2b), we conclude that the Pos+Libo prime (unlicensed *libo*) degrades the *libo* target.

## 5 General discussion

The results indicate that acceptability judgments of NPIs under exactly n can be primed, but only by unacceptable primes containing an unlicensed NPI. This selective nature of NPI priming gives credence to the existence of a mental representation dedicated to NPI licensing. Licensed NPIs don't show priming effects—we attribute this to the more general property of priming that only 'unexpected events' trigger priming effects (see Jaeger and Snider 2013; Waldon and Degen 2020; Marty et al. 2024).

Our results also indicate a contrast between English and Russian: unlicensed any triggers a positive priming effect, while unlicensed libo triggers a negative priming effect. We suggest that this difference arises from an interplay between the difference in their distributions and how acceptability judgments are primed. Specifically, for Experiment 1, we hypothesize that positive sentences containing unlicensed any evoked in participants' mind possible ways to make them grammatical, most plausibly, if not exclusively, by adding negation. Then upon encountering the following target item with  $exactly\ n$ , they are more likely to notice that it is another way of licensing the NPI any. Turning now to Experiment 2, we assume that priming effects arose in a similar manner, but crucially, libo does not have prototypical NPI uses under direct negation and as a result, salient ways of fixing ungrammatical primes involved other types of licensors. We hypothesize that one class of licensors that participants came up with was modals, in whose scope wh-libo receives a non-NPI reading. Then when judging acceptability of the following target item containing  $exactly\ n$ , licensing wh-libo as a non-NPI was still on the participant's mind and they were less likely to notice that  $exactly\ n$  is a possible licensor of its NPI use.

Note that English *any* also has a non-NPI use, namely a Free Choice use, under modals, but our explanation assumes that the most salient way that was evoked in Experiment 1 involved negation and other ways of licensing its NPI use. This assumption needs to be given independent evidence, and if true, a theoretical explanation, but we leave these questions for future research.

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