

Speaker-referring pragmatics

Chris Cummins

c.r.cummins@gmail.com

Universität Bielefeld, SFB 673: Alignment in Communication

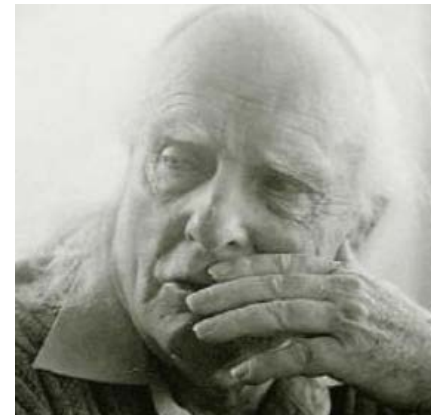
Overview

- Theoretical and experimental semantics/pragmatics
 - focusing on implicature
 - especially quantity expressions and their implicatures
- Motivation for a speaker-referring pragmatic account
 - Outline of this for cases of numerical quantification
 - Experimental tests of its predictions
- Broader theoretical implications and prospects
 - Consequences for implicature
 - Extension to other domains, such as presupposition

Quantity implicatures

- Additional information that is conveyed alongside the declarative content of an utterance
 - Usually to the effect that a related stronger statement would have been false
- Can be analysed as arising from flouting Grice's (1989) first submaxim of quantity:

“Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange”



Early (and prototypical) example

John Stuart Mill (1865: 442)

“If I say to any one, ‘I saw some of your children to-day’, he might be justified in inferring that I did not see them all, not because the words mean it, but because, if I had seen them all, it is most likely that I should have said so: though even this cannot be presumed unless it is presupposed that I must have known whether the children I saw were all or not.”



Why?

- Hearer could reason as follows
 - Speaker said “...some...”
 - Speaker could instead have said “...all...”, which would have been more informative (entailing the existential “...some...”)
 - Thus (*under some important assumptions*) the stronger statement with “...all...” must not be true
- Hence “some” **implicates** “not all”:
 - It conveys the additional meaning in some way
 - The additional meaning is context-dependent
 - The additional meaning is coherently deniable by the speaker, etc.

“Some” as a scalar term

- Idea: “some” +> “not all” is a **scalar implicature** (Horn 1972)
- *<some, all>* constitutes an informational scale, in that
 - its constituent terms differ in informational strength
 - they concern the same semantic area
 - they are equally lexicalised
- The declarative use of a weak scalar term tends to implicate the falsity of all stronger scalemates
 - “some” +> “not all”
 - “or” +> “not and”
 - “warm” +> “not hot”, etc. etc.

The hearer's necessary assumptions

- Certain conditions have to be met for the hearer's reasoning (two slides ago) to be logical
 - The speaker must be (presumed to be) knowledgeable about the stronger proposition (otherwise can only get a 'weak implicature')
 - There must be some reason why the speaker might have stated the stronger proposition
 - Uttering p does not normally implicate the falsity of just any alternative q , even though the speaker could have said " $p \ \& \ q$ "
 - The alternative has to be **relevant** (whatever that means...)
 - It must be possible for the speaker to make the stronger statement
 - The language must have the necessary resources
 - The stronger statement must have been socially permissible

Hearers' flexibility

- Hearers apparently take all this into account, rapidly and online:
 - Breheny, Katsos & Williams (2006): Implicatures reduced when the stronger alternative is irrelevant
 - Bonnefon, Feeney & Villejoubert (2009): Implicatures reduced when the stronger alternative is face-threatening
 - Antoniou, Cummins & Katsos (under review): Implicatures reduced when the speaker is presumed ignorant of the stronger statement
- Useful for communication; tricky if we're interested in the 'preferred/default interpretations' of scalar terms

Shifting focus to the speaker

- Hearer should (and do) recover implicatures iff the speaker intends to convey them
 - Fundamental to communication, if we construe this as involving alignment of situation models
- Thus it could make sense to look at the speaker too
 - Why is a particular expression selected?
 - What are the pragmatic consequences of that choice?
- This contrasts with most experimental work in the area
 - Focusing on interpretation of artificially-constructed stimuli
 - Excellent control but debatable naturalness

Numerically-quantified expressions

- Expressions containing “more than 100”, “at least 3”, “not more than 10”, and so on
- Traditionally assumed to have the obvious mathematical semantics (e.g. “ >100 ”, “ ≥ 3 ”, “ ≤ 10 ”, etc.)
- If so, rich entailment relations: many options for a speaker
 - e.g. if “more than 50” is true, so is “more than 49/48/47...”
- Non-trivial choice to be made
 - Most informative option is not necessarily chosen: can say e.g. “Edinburgh has more than 800,000 inhabitants”
 - Yet some options are distinctly odd, e.g. “Edinburgh has more than 1000 inhabitants”

Accounting for this anomaly

- That oddness could be explained semantically
 - “more than 1000” could mean a restricted range, say 1000-10,000
- Problems
 - Sentence seems to be true, if we’re forced to choose
 - Placed in the antecedent of a conditional, the consequent would have to be true
 - Under special contextual conditions, the sentence would be fine
- Nevertheless, that sentence can’t generally be asserted felicitously, while it could with “more than 800,000”
 - What is ‘too weak’ to be felicitously asserted?

Pragmatic option: constraints

- I propose to treat the speaker's task as solving a problem of multiple constraint satisfaction
- Speaker's general objective assumed to be to convey maximal information with minimal effort
 - Trade-off needed between conflicting requirements
 - Can be treated within a constraint-based framework such as Optimality Theory (OT), if we can spell out the contributory factors to "information" and "effort"
 - OT systems generate the optimal output given an input and a ranked set of (violable) constraints

Which constraints?

- Functional motivations for the following:
 - Informativeness (INFO)
 - Numeral salience (NSAL)
 - Granularity (GRAN)
 - Quantifier simplicity (QSIMP)
 - Numeral priming (NPRI)
 - Quantifier priming (QPRI)
- System permits the integration of constraints from various different research areas

Relation to Relevance Theory

- Broadly compatible with Relevance Theory, but aims to make more precise predictions
- Note that RT supposes
 - Utterances can be presumed optimal
 - This is defined in terms of the ratio of effect to effort
 - Limitations in the speaker's resources may result in utterances that are not strictly optimal in this sense
- This seems reasonable in outline
 - but we need to unpack the notions of effect, effort and speaker resources in order to make predictions about outputs

Potential of the model

- Can provide a (hopefully well-founded) pragmatic account of phenomena that have been approached semantically
 - e.g. superlative versus comparative quantifiers
- Can generate novel predictions about classes of pragmatic enrichment that have been overlooked
 - e.g. inferences from “more than n”, and their interface with priming effects

#1: Superlative quantifiers

- “at most”, “at least”
- Classically treated as equivalent to operators \leq , \geq
- On cardinals, should therefore be interdefinable with comparative quantifiers:
 - “...at most 3...” true iff “...fewer than 4...” true
 - “...at least 3...” true iff “...more than 2...” true
- However, there are differences (Geurts and Nouwen 2007)
 - “...at most 2...” not judged to entail “...at most 3...” (whereas this works with “...fewer than 3...” and “...fewer than 4...”)
 - Various distributional differences, e.g.
“...at most 3/*fewer than 4 people, namely Tom, Dick and Harry”

#1: Superlative quantifiers

- Semantic account (G&N): superlative quantifiers also possess a modal component to their semantics
 - “At most 3” \simeq “certainly no more than 3, and possibly exactly 3”
- Pragmatic account (Cummins and Katsos 2010)
 - Compare “at most 3” and “fewer than 3”
 - “fewer than 3” is more informative and the quantifier can be assumed to be no more complex (based on frequency etc.)
 - “fewer than 3” harmonically bounds “at most 3”, in OT terms
 - Speaker-referring model thus suggests that “at most 3” should occur only when speaker cannot affirm “fewer than 3”
 - Hence can obtain an implicature from “at most 3” that “exactly 3” must be possible, from the speaker’s point of view

#1: Superlative quantifiers

- The constraint-based account thus recaptures the proposed modal meaning, but does so pragmatically
- Advantages:
 - Arguably less stipulative
 - Neatly captures the fact that the modal meaning sometimes doesn't seem to surface (as G&N acknowledged), e.g.:

“If you have had at most 2 drinks, you are fit to drive”

#2: Inferences from comparative quantifiers

- Expressions of the form “more than n” argued not to enter into informational scales (Fox and Hackl 2006)
- Why not? Suppose they did, then
 - *<more than 4, more than 5>* would be part of a scale
 - “more than 4” would implicate “not more than 5”...
 - ...and together these would entail “exactly 5” (for cardinalities)
 - But “more than 4” does not seem to convey “exactly 5”, so this kind of scalar implicature must be absent
- But if there’s no implicature, why is “Edinburgh has more than 1000 inhabitants” so anomalous?

#2: Inferences from comparative quantifiers

- Competing prediction: “more than n” does give an implicature, but not the obvious one:
 - “more than 70” implicates “not more than 80”
- Idea: “more than 71” is more informative than “more than 70”, but it violates numeral salience (NSAL)
 - Round numbers widely agreed to be easier to process
 - Assertion of “more than 70” might just mean that the speaker chose the ‘low-effort’ option
 - However, “more than 80” would be just as good in terms of NSAL, as well as more informative
 - Hence, “more than 70” should implicate “not more than 80”, and in general implicatures about the next round number should work

#2: Inferences from comparative quantifiers

- Tested in Cummins, Sauerland and Solt (2012)
 - Preferred interpretations elicited for quantity expressions

Information:

A newspaper reported the following.

“[Numerical expression] people attended the public meeting about the new highway construction project.”

Question:

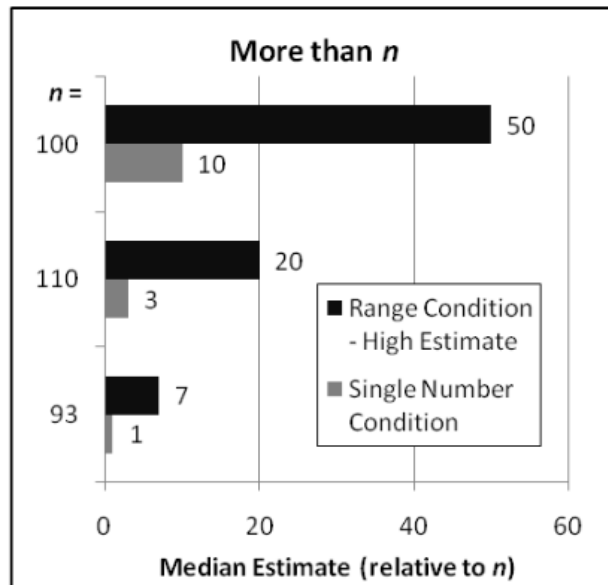
Based on reading this, how many people do you think attended the meeting?

Between _____ and _____ people attended.

_____ people attended.

#2: Inferences from comparative quantifiers

- Tested in Cummins, Sauerland and Solt (2012)
 - Preferred interpretations elicited for quantity expressions
 - Evidence of pragmatic upper bounds
 - Some participants explicitly reported that they assumed that a stronger statement would have been used if it were true



Fielded on MTurk, $n=100$ per condition (separate days)

#2b: Effect of priming

- Constraint-based model predicts weaker implicatures in the case of numeral reuse
 - Consider e.g. “more than 70” where 70 already occurs in the preceding context
 - Why does speaker use this instead of a stronger expression?
 - Could be because the stronger expression is not true
 - Could be because “more than 70” conforms with the numeral priming constraint
 - In the latter case, no implicature should be available
 - Hence, reused numerals should yield less robust implicatures
 - cf. “Edinburgh has more than 1000 inhabitants”
 - Also borne out by Cummins, Sauerland and Solt (2012)

Summary and prospects

- A speaker-referring constraint-based account appears to have some explanatory and predictive value
 - It offers a novel pragmatic account of some observed phenomena
 - It enables new predictions about pragmatic enrichments to be drawn
- Potential to extend this in theoretically and practically useful ways
 - Exploring priming
 - Handling presuppositions
 - Attempting to generalise to other usage domains

Priming and implicature

- Model assumes form-based priming effects
- However, experimental results could be attributable to higher-level concepts such as Question Under Discussion
 - We need to sell n tickets to break even.*
 - We've already sold more than n tickets.*
- So, does the reuse of a number affect the implicatures even if the prior mention was somehow irrelevant?
- May be an interesting question either way:
 - If 'yes', evidence that pure priming effects have effect on implicature
 - If 'no', suggests that priming effects may lead to imperfect communication at a pragmatic level

Presupposition projection

- Active research question in sem/prag: how do we explain the variable projection behaviour of presuppositions?

- Contrast

John didn't find out that Clare was ill with
John didn't find out that Clare was ill, because she wasn't

- Presupposition triggers such as 'find out' can introduce new information, but sometimes that's suppressed
- Again we can ask: why does the speaker use a trigger?
 - If there's a contextual justification, such as priming, we should expect the presupposition not to project to the discourse level
 - If not, it should project
 - Can we model the speaker's choice in a similar fashion?

Other domains?

- Numeral-referring constraints are domain-specific, but the underlying idea is more general
- The approach captures the idea that
 - hearers are good at computing the speaker's intended meaning
 - they do this by distinguishing what is intentional from what is unintentional, as far as the speaker is concerned
 - so if hearers are sufficiently adept, we can study meaning by focusing on the speaker
- Widening the scope of the model is problematic, but
 - might shed light on 'metalinguistic negation' and similar effects
 - might open up new perspectives on pragmatic enrichment

Thank you!

References

- Bonnefon, J. F., Feeney, A., and Villejoubert, G. (2009). When some is actually all: Scalar inferences in face-threatening contexts. *Cognition*, 112: 249-58.
- Breheny, R., Katsos, N., and Williams, J. (2006). Are scalar implicatures generated by default? *Cognition*, 100: 434-63.
- Cummins, C. and Katsos, N. (2010). Comparative and superlative quantifiers: pragmatic effects of comparison type. *Journal of Semantics*, 27: 271-305.
- Cummins, C., Sauerland, U., and Solt, S. (2012). Granularity and scalar implicature in numerical expressions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 35: 135-69.
- Fox, D. and Hackl, M. (2006). The universal density of measurement. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 29: 537-86.
- Geurts, B. and Nouwen, R. (2007). "At least" et al.: the semantics of scalar modifiers. *Language*, 83: 533-59.
- Grice, H. P. (1989). *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Horn, L. R. (1972). On the semantic properties of logical operators in English. UCLA dissertation, distributed by Indiana University Linguistics Club, 1976.