Sinn und Bedeutung 24 Universität Osnabrück Thursday 5 September 2019

DRAFT Rethinking scope islands

(and managing multidimensional meaning)

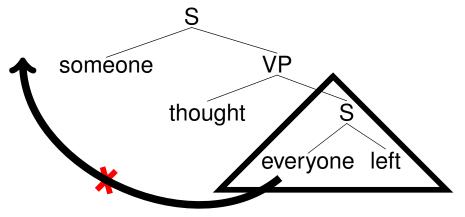
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Slides and code at https://github.com/cb125/scope-islands

Scope islands

- A SCOPE ISLAND is a syntactic context that traps a scopetaker inside of it.
- (1) Someone asked everyone to leave. [multiple askers: ok]
- (2) Someone thought everyone left. [multiple thinkers: *]



What's at stake?

- Islands have intrisic theoretical interest
- Assuming that clauses are scope islands has driven major design decisions for the semantic analysis of
 - Focus
 - Questions
 - Indefinites
 - more...
- Today: clauses are not scope islands
- We must rethink scope islands empirically and theoretically
- A sufficiently flexible strategy for enforcing islands can help manage multi-dimensional meaning (focus, expressives, etc.)

- How did we get here?
 - Radford: relative clauses are islands
 - May: clauses are islands
- Data: clauses, tensed clauses, relative clauses: not islands
- Rethinking focus, questions, and indefinites as scope
- What scope islands are there?
- How can we build a general account of scope islands?

Marr: algorithmic level only today, sadly

Challenging the standard wisdom

• p. 168: "In a relative clause the element that is relativized al-

Rodman 76: Relative clauses are scope islands

a syntactic island

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ways has wider scope than any other element in that relative clause."
The same modification to Montague's Quantifying In rule that makes relative clauses a scope island also makes them

(5) Barker 2015 The Handbook of Contemporary Semantics
 "Relative clauses are particularly strong scope islands."
 Rodman. 1976. Scope phenomena, movement transformations, and relative clauses. Partee (ed) Montague grammar 165–176.

May 1977: clauses are scope islands p. 2: [I] propose a rule, QR, which generates represen-

tations at Logical Form for sentences containing quantifiers. Well-formedness of representations at this level is determined by universal principles on the output of the rules of core grammars; specifically, the Predication Condition, the Condition on Quantifier Binding and the Subjacency Condition are all argued to be general conditions on well-formed representations at Logical Form... [I]t follows from the Subjacency Condition that quantification is clause bounded, in the unmarked case.

Subjacency (roughly): movement cannot cross more than one bounding node (bounding nodes == S, DP).

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(3.2) [S_i] John hissed [S_j] Smith liked [NP_Q] [Qevery painting]]]
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May 1977 The Grammar of Quantification. MIT Dissertation.

May's 1977:171 data that QR is clause bounded

- (3.1)a Jones hissed that Smith liked every painting in the Metropolitan
 - b John quoted Bill as saying that someone had left
 - c His mother said loudly that everyone had to go
 - d Susan didn't forget that many people had refused to contribute
 - e Helen grieved that each of the monkeys had been experimented upon
 - f It is instructive for someone to play the piece first
 - g It's impossible for The Kid to fight a contender
 - h It's false that all the men left the party
 - i John asked whether he had bought some shuttlecocks at Abercrombie's
 - j Carol wondered why everyone was reading Gravity's Rainbow
 - k Mark regretted Sam's having invited so few people

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provides a general explanation for some of the restrictions on quantifier scope... whatever principles of syntax rule out the formation of overt dependencies in these constructions can be tapped to rule out the creation of problematic covert dependencies at LF."

The beautiful idea: scope islands == syntactic islands

If only it were so—

- Farkas 1981 *CLS*: QR ignores syntactic islands
 - Huang 1982 diss: in-situ wh scopes out of islands It's not Subjacency, it's the ECP
 - Cecchetto 2003 WCCFL: phases are scope islands
 - Wurmbrand 2017 ms.: it's processing difficulty

Dayal. 2012. The syntax of scope and quantification. Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax

Relative Clauses are not scope islands

Szabolcsi 2010, CUP p. 107

 γ = naturally-occurring example (γ for Google).

Cf. also Hintikka's copular connectivity sentences

May 1977:223

(6)

(9)

(8) Hulsey and Sauerland 2006, *NALS* **14**:131
"Relative clauses are not scope islands"
The picture of himself [that everyone sent in] annoyed the teacher.

 $^{\gamma}$ A timeline poster should list the different ages/periods (Triassic, Jurassic, etc.) and some of the dinosaurs or other animals/bacteria [that lived in each].

New data: relative clauses are not scope islands

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(11) $^{\gamma}$ The papers are all laid out by alphabetical order, so you can see the grade [that every person got]. (12) $^{\gamma}$ What is the absolute earliest [that each character can die]?

GTP; (b) dCDP; (c) dTTP; (d) UDP. (14) ^{\gamma}Classroom time and content vary based on the job [that

(13) $^{\gamma}$ Give the name [that corresponds to each abbreviation]: (a)

each person does]. (15) $^{\gamma}$ For the experiment, measure the time [that each person

took to travel 20 meters]. (16) ^{\gamma} Include the name of the person [that each volunteer must report to].

Some quantifiers are in non-subject position.

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Pragmatic manipulations can help • Each is a stronger island-escaper

(17) John has dated a woman who loves every man.

(18) Guinevere has **a bone** that is in every corner of the house.

FBI agents tracked down and interviewed a woman who had

(19) [As part of the usual painstaking security clearance background investigation,]

So what explains Rodman's examples?

Indefinite head nouns make it harder

• In any case, all that matters today is whether there are any quantifiers that scope out of relative clauses

More research needed

dated each man

(20) Fox and Sauerland 1995 NELS 26

(Tensed) clauses are not scope islands

- In general, a guide ensures that [every tour to the Louvre is fun].
- (21) Farkas and Giannakidou 1996 SALT 6
 A student made sure that [every invited speaker had a ride].
 (22) Szabolcsi 2010 CUP p. 107

Determine whether [each number in the list is even or odd].

- "distributive scope is not always clause-bounded: each NP supplies solid counterexamples"
 And of course, in all of the relative clause examples given
 - And of course, in all of the relative clause examples given above the crucial universal is also within a tensed clause!

(24) γ After [each person had been taken], we heard a shot—one for each. (25) γ After [each person had eaten], they had a spot of kunkumam (colored powder) placed on their foreheads.

New data: clauses are not scope islands: before and after 49

(23) Someone needs to clean the room after each guest has left.

(26) γ Henceforth you will see a draw method call after [each object is created]
(27) γ [B]efore [each person had a turn doing the DB thrusters],

that person had to do a farmer's carry of 40 meters

taining a tabulation of the opinions in the group

(28) γ After [each person had a turn of leading the horse, they were given a debrief on their communication style which ranged from bored, quiet, ...
(29) γ after [each person had written down his opinion on an issue] he was handed back a slip of paper presumably con-

New data: universals are not clause-bounded: when

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- a few seconds to pause in silence before the next person shares.
 (32) γ When [each person finishes filling out the form], they should place it back on a table and remain or leave the
- should place it back on a table and remain or leave the space.

 (33) Y When [each person finishes speaking], they pass the foot-
- ball to someone else.

New data: clauses are not scope islands: unless

- (34) γ Unless [each person thinks that the others will cooperate], he himself will not.
 (35) γ Unless [each person communicates their needs], the other
- (35) $^{\gamma}$ Unless [each person communicates their needs], the other family members aren't likely to help them satisfy ...

New data: clauses are not scope islands: make sure/ensure

(36) A student made sure that [every invited speaker had a ride]

- == Farkas and Giannakidou's (21)
 (37) ^γBut someone has to make sure that [each actor has what is needed at the time it is needed].
- (38) γOn a global scale, someone has to make sure that [each application, when introduced, doesn't send ... shock waves through the economy].
- (39) γSomeone needs to make sure that [each incoming report or complaint of abuse is actually being investigated].
 (40) γSomeone should ensure that [each tool has been returned to its proper storage location]...
- (41) $^{\gamma}$ Once the responsibilities are clarified, someone should make sure that [each group is doing what it is supposed to do].

Set aside untensed clauses in (f) and (g)

So what explains May's examples?

- Set aside wh complements (i), (j) and the DP in (k)
 In (a) through (b) and (b) all communication verbs
 - In (a) through (e) and (h), all communication verbs or attitude verbs: hissed, quoted, said, forget, grieved, be false
- Possible alternative hypotheses: the complement of attitude verbs is a scope island for *every* and *each*Note that *make sure* is a rare sentence-embedding verb that
 - and as Farkas and Giannakidou realize, and as the previous slide shows, easily allows universals embedded in its complement to scope out

 In any case, all that matters today is whether there are any

is not a verb of communication, nor is it an attitude verb—

• In any case, all that matters today is whether there are *any* universals that scope out of a tensed clause.

So why should the complements of attitude verbs be islands?

What we've learned so far

- Universal quantifiers systematically scope out of clauses, tensed causes, and relative clauses
- So clauses (taken as a class) are not scope islands
- Whether a universal can scope out of a clause depends on the embedding predicate: thought, no, but make sure, yes.
- So scope islands are created on a per-predicate basis.

What's at stake: the "exceptional scope" conspiracy

"Exceptional" scope: If the standard wisdom were right, and Quantifier Raising were clause bounded, then whenever a scope-taker appears to take scope outside of an island, it must be via some

Defending the standard wisdom: "Exceptional" Scope 20/49

- Indefinites: choice functions, Skolem functions, singleton sets, alternatives with pointwise functional application, etc.
- Focus

mechansim other than QR.

- Pair-list readings of universals inside embedded questions
- Functional relative clauses

The "Exceptional Scope" Conspiracy: At the end of the day, non-QR scoping mechansims deliver the same truth conditions that QR would deliver if we ignored islands.

Interesting test case: functional indefinites

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• each > every > a [overachieving student]

Ordinary indefinites can take arbitrarily wide scope

each > a > every [specialist student]

(44) Schwarz 2001 Amsterdam Colloquium

• a > each > every [departmental monoculture]

"Indefinites can often be interpreted as if they had scoped from a syntactic island."

Fodor and Sag 1982, Farkas 1981, Abusch 1994, Kratzer/Reinhart 1998, Chierchia 2001, Schwarz 2001, Schlenker 2006, ...

Explaining the wide scope of indefinites

- Abusch 1994 NALs: the reason that indefinites behave differently than distributive predicates is because indefinites are not quantificational (as in Heim's 1982 dissertation)
- Different behavior, therefore different mechanism
- Yes, but it's choice functions (Kratzer/Reinhart/Winter 1998)
- Yes, but it's singleton indefinites (Schwartzschild 2002)
- Yes, but it's alternatives with pointwise function composition
 - Charlow 2018 Linguistics & Philosophy
 - Universals, indefinites all clause-bounded (!)
 - But clauses can take scope ("roll-up", "snowballing")
- In each case, the net result is equivalent to allowing indefinites to take scope via Quantifier Raising
- So Quantifier Raising is perfectly adequate for interpreting indefinites, if we have a way of managing scope islands

Functional indefinites

- Winter, Schwarz, Schlenker, Solomon, Bumford
- (45) If every student improves in a (certain) area, no one will fail. $\exists f.if(\forall x.improves(x)(f(x)(area)))(no-fail)$
 - not equivalent to any configuration of if, \forall , \exists
 - ullet Skolemized choice function will work: f :: e \to (e \to t) \to e
 - Non-QR mechanisms for indefinties aren't any better suited at managing choice functions than Quantifier Raising is
 - Bumford 2015 Semantics & Pragmatics
 - functional reading only arise near universals, e.g., every
 - independently-motivated sequence-forming every:
 Every year I buy a faster car
 - indefinites have their ordinary simple existential meaning

Compositional focus Rooth's 1985 diss. builds focus meanings compositionally

ments:

Multiple foci just work (Ann only introduced BILL to SUE)

Scope is clause-bounded (standard wisdom)

alternative sets, composed via pointwise composition

- But scope is not clause-bounded!
- Multiple foci easy to handle via scope (Krifka 92, Rooth 96)

BTW, indefinites do not have completely unrestricted scope

Why not via Quantifier Raising? Rooth 85 gives two argu-

- Quantifier Raising works great for computing focus sets!
- (46) Ann only gave a book to BILL. [* $\exists > only$]
- The complement of only is a scope island for indefinites

Details in fragment below

Functional Relative Clauses

- (47) The woman who hugged every man pinched him.
 - Sharvit 1999 *L&P*: "If Scoping (Quantifier Raising or "quantifying in") is clause-bounded, as is often argued, it cannot be the mechanism responsible for these readings."
 - Proposes a special-purpose relativization operator

[Op QNP]
$$\rightarrow \lambda K \lambda P \lambda T \lambda R \exists A[W([QNP], A) \& \forall x \in A[R(T(\lambda g[Dom(g) = A \& \forall y \in A[P(g(y)) \& K(g, y)]])(x), x)]]$$

• Delivers truth conditions as if the universal had wide scope

Scope islands and weak Negative Polarity Items

(49) If [any relative of mine dies], I'll inherit a house. [unambig]The antecedent of a conditional is a scope island for any

(48) If [a relative of mine dies], I'll inherit a house. [ambiguous]

What else should we expect from a theory of scope islands?

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Linebarger's intervention effect: perhaps the nuclear scope of *every* is a scope island for weak NPIs, blocking licensing

What we've learned so far

- Clauses are not scope islands
- Scope islands are created on a per-predicate basis
- Scope islands trap some scope-takers but not others: universals escape from fewer islands than indefinites do
- So: whether a scope-taker is trapped in a context depends both on the specific predicate that created the contex, and on the identity of the scope-taker in question

An algorithmic description

Formal accounts of scope islands

- Montague grammar: Rodman 1976
 - Not clear how to generalize to other island phenomena
- Type Logical Grammar: Moortgat and associates
 - Kurtonina, Hepple, Morrill, Bernardi, Kokke, others:
 - Per-predicate islands, but per-scoper sensitivity harder
 - Kokke's per-scoper solution inspires the proposal below
 - Bernardi and Szabolcsi 2008, see below
- Continuation Hierarchy: Kiselyov & Shan 2014 (see below)
- Today's proposal: argument indexing
 - Quantifier Raising as a general scoping mechanism
 - Fine-grained lexical control over islands and scopers
 - Simple, explicit, precise, and implemented

Denotation [.]

 $\|Vs\|^{>}(\|S\|)_{2}$

That $.([S])_2$

max

lady

alongWith $. [NP_1] . [NP_2]$

Kiselyov & Shan's 2014 Continuation Hierarchy

 $VP \rightarrow Vs \text{ that } S \qquad et^n \text{ or } ((et)^n \rightarrow \{\alpha\}) \rightarrow \{\beta\}$

 $\mathsf{NP} \to \mathsf{that} \mathsf{S} \qquad e^n \text{ or } (e^n \to \{\alpha\}) \to \{\beta\}$

 $NP \rightarrow NP_1 \text{ and } NP_2 \quad e^n \text{ or } (e^n \rightarrow \{\alpha\}) \rightarrow \{\beta\}$

Semantic type

Syntax

 $N \rightarrow max$

 $N \rightarrow lady$

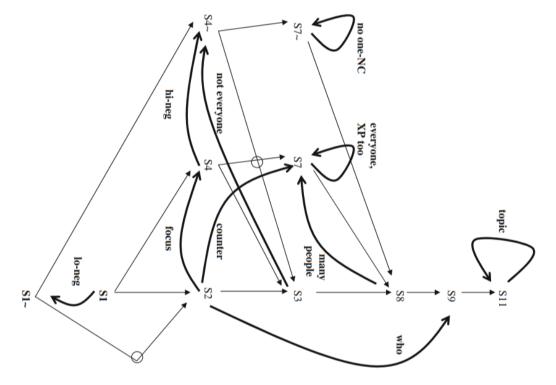
Det \rightarrow some₃, a₃ $(et) \rightarrow (e^{n+1} \rightarrow \{\beta_3(n+1)\gamma\})$ $\lambda z. \uparrow [[some_2]] z$ $\rightarrow \{\beta_3n\gamma\}$ Det \rightarrow some₄, a₄ $(et) \rightarrow (e^{n+1} \rightarrow \{\beta_4(n+1)\gamma\})$ $\lambda z. \uparrow [[some_3]] z$ $\rightarrow \{\beta_4n\gamma\}$ Fig. 13. Adjustments to the syntax and the multi-level direct-style continuation semantics for the additional fragment, to account for wide-scope indefinites. If the size of the sequence γ is j, the size of β_3 is 3(j+2) and of β_4 is 7(j+2).

Excellent theoretical and computational properties

Fine-grained control: per-predicate, per-scoper

Comparision with system here postponed; see below

Bernardi and Szabolcsi: scope-takers in Hungarian



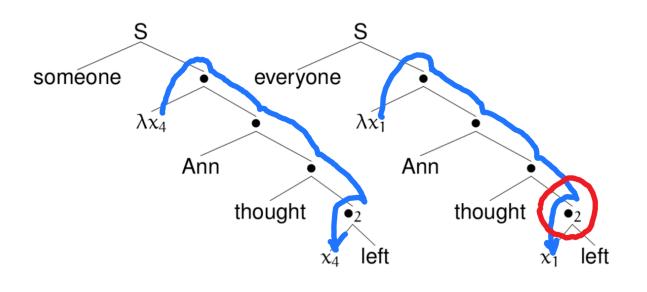
Light lines: derivability; dark lines: lexical operators B&S assume a separate clause-bounded scoping mechanism

- Example: the complement of thought is an island for everyone, but not for someone
- Bigger == stronger: stronger island, stronger island-escaper
- Adorn argument types with an integer representing strength
- Complement of thought is a strength-2 island: \(\tau_2, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \)
- Trace of *someone* is a strength-4 island escaper: $\langle \langle e_4, t \rangle, t \rangle$
- Trace of *everyone* is a strength-1 island escaper: $\langle \langle e_1, t \rangle, t \rangle$ If the path between a quantifier and its trace crosses a node with an equal or higher index, that's an island violation.

Kokke 2016. NLQ: a modular type-logical grammar for quantifier movement, scope islands, and more. Utrecht MS thesis

Illustration

Follow the chain from each lambda to its trace:



think assigns its complement to mode 2 everyone provides its trace with island-hopping strength of just 1

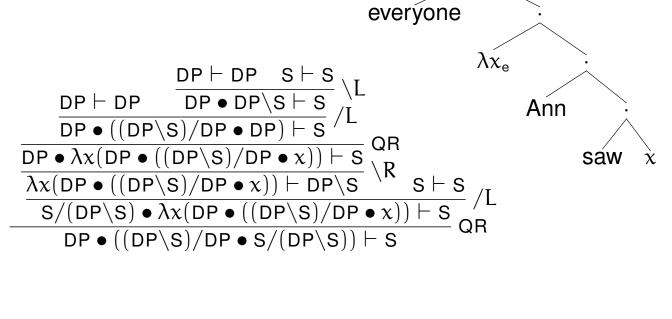
$\frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Sigma[B] \vdash C}{\Sigma[B/A \cdot \Gamma] \vdash C} / L \quad \frac{\Gamma \cdot A \vdash B}{\Gamma \vdash B/A} / R \quad \Sigma[\Delta] \equiv_{QR} \Delta \cdot \lambda \alpha \Sigma[\alpha]$ DP DP\S Ann (DP\S)/DP DP

 $\frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Sigma[B] \vdash C}{\Sigma[\Gamma \cdot A \setminus B] \vdash C} \setminus L \qquad \frac{A \cdot \Gamma \vdash B}{\Gamma \vdash A \setminus B} \setminus R$

 $\frac{\mathsf{DP} \vdash \mathsf{DP} \quad \frac{\mathsf{S} \vdash \mathsf{S}}{\mathsf{DP} \bullet \mathsf{DP} \backslash \mathsf{S} \vdash \mathsf{S}} \backslash L}{\mathsf{DP} \bullet ((\mathsf{DP} \backslash \mathsf{S}) / \mathsf{DP} \bullet \mathsf{DP}) \vdash \mathsf{S}} / L$

 NL_{QR} : Non-associative Lambek with Quantifier Raising 35/49

Lambek's 1958, 1961 non-associative, sequent presentation Barker 2007, Barker and Shan 2014, Barker 2018: decidable (50) Ann saw everyone.



The logic guarantees that QR derivations type-check

 $\frac{p \bullet (q \bullet (r \bullet B))}{(p \bullet q) \bullet r}$

Condition on the red inferences: j > i

 $\frac{p \bullet l}{p}$

 NL_{QR} , combinator implementation, with scope islands 37/49

• Multiple modes, indexed by integers: $\setminus_1 \bullet_1 /_1$, $\setminus_2 \bullet_2 /_2$...

I, B, C: zero-ary structural logical connectives (combinators)
p, q, r schematize over arbitrary structures; i, j, k over ints

 $\frac{q \bullet (p \bullet (r \bullet C))}{p \bullet (q \bullet r)}$

These inferences replace the QR structural rule with local hops

Ex: think is an island for everyone, but not for someone 8/49 Bigger == stronger:

- complements with higher indexes are stronger islands
 - scope traces with higher indexes escape more islands
- thought: (DP \ S) /2 S someone: S / (DP \4 S) everyone: S / (DP \ S)
- (51) Ann thought someone left.a. thought (someone left) annb. someone (λx. thought (left x) ann)

(52) Ann thought everyone left.

Assume unmarked connectives have index 1

a. thought (everyone left) ann

Comparison with Kiselyov & Shan 2014 Similarities with the account here (spiritual siblings!):

- continuation-based, directly compositional, per-predicate/perscoper flexibility, islands and scopers correspond to integer strength levels
- Conceptual differences: for K&S, quantifier scope ambiguity is due to polysemy in the scope takers, instead of being purely syntactic, as here
- Practical limitations of the K&S system (as they present it): only clauses can be islands, scope takers must take scope only over clauses, the result type must be a clause, no parasitic scope, weaker scope takers must be uniformly weaker with respect to all islands
- Practical advantages of argument indexing: the familiarity of Quantifier Raising, more expressive flexibility, super easy to verify a derivation by hand

Island Stre Scoper

Enlarging the fragment a bit

6 5 only $(DP\S)/_5F$

ngth

 $(S/S)/_3S$

4 3 2 thought $(DP\S)/_2S$

Some other lexical items:

ann, bill, carl: DP

FOCUS $(F/(DP \setminus 5(DP \setminus S)))/DP$

left: DP\S

the: DP/N

damn

someone $S/(DP\setminus_4S)$ anyone $S/(DP\setminus_3S)$ everyone $S/(DP\setminus_1S)$

 $T/((N/N)\backslash_6 S)$



dog: DP

but not for ordinary indefinites: if anyone left, ann left:

((if (anyone left)) (left ann))

if someone left, ann left:

((if (someone left)) (left ann))

(someone (\x ((if (left x)) (left ann))))

Runable code available at github.com/cb125/scope-islands

Weak NPIs such as *anyone* can escape a *thought* complement, but not the antedent of a conditional.

if ann thought anyone left, bill left:

if ann thought someone left, bill left: ((if ((thought (someone (\x (left x)))) ann)) (left bill)) ((if (someone (\x ((thought (left x)) ann)))) (left bill)) (someone (\x ((if ((thought (left x)) ann)) (left bill))))

**NPI licensing not implemented here; see Barker 2018 *L&P*

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But nothing traps an expressive like *damn*:

ann)

y)))))

Towards a theory of multidimensional meaning

What dimensions of meaning can and should be included?9

- Nominal quantifiers
- NPIs
- focus
- expressives
- interrogatives and in-situ wh
- appositives
- same and different
- comparatives (Nouwen and Dotlačil 2017 S& P)
- adverbial quantifiers, modals
- negation
- DE quantifiers (*Few people know 3 languages*: *3 > few)
- negative concord (Kuhn 2019 SALT)
- linear bias
- crossover and weak crossover
- inverse linking and DPs in general
- ...?

Are island strengths ordered?

- Indefinites can escape the antecedent of a conditional, but universals cannot.
- Can there ever be a context in which a universal can escape, but not an indefinite?

 It's easy to model this using the combinator grammar: just add structural rules allowing a universal to escape from which island flavor characterizes an interrogative context.

(54) I know who got a paper accepted. [choice reading: $*\exists > 0$]

(53) I know who everyone likes. [pair list reading ok: $\forall > 0$]

 But it raises the possibility that the full picture will require arbitrary relations among semantic context types.

• I have concentrated today on When and How: – When is a scoper trapped? (Not inside a clause!)

Towards a more explanatory theory

- How can we enforce scope islands? (Argument indexing)
- What about Why? Indefinites take wide scope because of their meaning
- How: indefinite alternatives ignore QR Licensing contexts are scope islands for NPIs
- because that's the point of getting licensed • Universals (unlike indefinites) can scope over questions
- because conjoining speech acts makes sense • In other cases, the answer is much less clear:

 - Why is *realize* but not *make sure* an island for *everyone*? – Why do DE operators resist undergoing inverse scope?

We're in the business of answering the Why question. But first we have to get the empirical picture right, and then we have to have a way of describing the patterns we find explicitly and precisely.

Conclusions

- Despite long-established standard wisdom, neither clauses, tensed clauses, nor relative clauses are scope islands.
- Therefore decisions motivated by the belief that scope is clause-bounded need to be rethought
- If Quantifier Raising can deliver appropriate denotations, QR should be the presumptive scoping mechanism

We have only a hazy idea what the empirical landscape

- of scope constraints looks like (current gold standard: Szabolcsi 2010). Scope islands are per-predicate and per-scope taker
- Argument indexing provides a simple and practical fine-graine tool for describing scope islands.
- Argument indexing can help manage multiple dimensions of meaning

THANKS!!

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