

Sinn und Bedeutung 24  
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# **DRAFT Rethinking scope islands**

(and managing multidimensional meaning)

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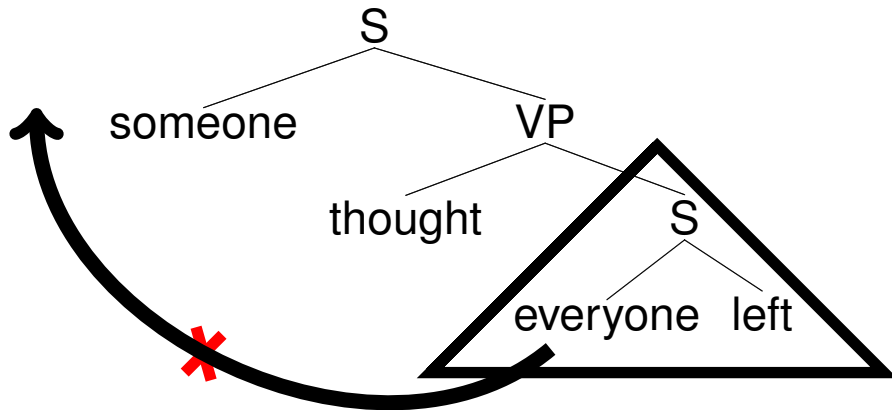
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Slides and code at <https://github.com/cb125/scope-islands>

## Scope islands

- A **SCOPE ISLAND** is a syntactic context that traps a scope-taker 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 intrinsic 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.)

# Plan

- 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**

## Rodman 76: Relative clauses are scope islands

- (3) John has dated a woman who loves every man.  $*\forall > \exists$
- (4) Guinevere has a bone that is in every corner of the house.
- p. 168: “In a relative clause the element that is relativized always 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 a syntactic island
- (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 representations 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 Subacency Condition are all argued to be general conditions on well-formed representations at Logical Form...

[I]t follows from the Subacency Condition that quantification is clause bounded, in the unmarked case.

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

(3.2)  $[_{S_i} \text{John hissed } [_{\bar{S}} \text{that } [_{S_j} \text{Smith liked } [_{NP} [_{Q} \text{every painting}]]]]]$

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 shuttle-  
cocks at Abercrombie's
- j Carol wondered why everyone was reading  
Gravity's Rainbow
- k Mark regretted Sam's having invited so few  
people



## The beautiful idea: scope islands == syntactic islands

“Conceiving of Quantifier Raising as a syntactic rule 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.”

*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

- (6) May 1977:223  
A book [which every prisoner left] surprised the warden.
- (7) Sharvit 1999 *L&P*  
The woman [that every man hugged] pinched him.
- (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.
- (9) Szabolcsi 2010, CUP p. 107  
 $\gamma$ 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].

$\gamma$  = naturally-occurring example ( $\gamma$  for Google).

Cf. also Hintikka's copular connectivity sentences

**New data: relative clauses are not scope islands**

- (10)  $\gamma$ The data set represents the number of snails [that each person counted on a walk after a rainstorm]. 12, 13, 22, 16, 6, 10, 13, 14, 12
- (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]?
- (13)  $\gamma$ Give the name [that corresponds to each abbreviation]: (a) GTP; (b) dCDP; (c) dTTP; (d) UDP.
- (14)  $\gamma$ Classroom time and content vary based on the job [that 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.

## So what explains Rodman's examples?

- (17) John has dated **a woman** who loves every man.
- (18) Guinevere has **a bone** that is in every corner of the house.
- Indefinite head nouns make it harder
  - Pragmatic manipulations can help
  - *Each* is a stronger island-escaper
- (19) [As part of the usual painstaking security clearance background investigation,]  
FBI agents tracked down and interviewed a woman who had dated each man.
- In any case, all that matters today is whether there are *any* quantifiers that scope out of relative clauses

More research needed

## (Tensed) clauses are not scope islands

(20) Fox and Sauerland 1995 *NELS* 26

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 above the crucial universal is also within a tensed clause!

## New data: clauses are not scope islands: *before* and *after*

- (23) Someone needs to clean the room after each guest has left.
- (24)  $\gamma$  After [each person had been taken], we heard a shot—one for each.
- (25)  $\gamma$  After [each person had eaten], they had a spot of kunkumam (colored powder) placed on their foreheads.
- (26)  $\gamma$  Henceforth you will see a draw method call after [each object is created]
- (27)  $\gamma$  [B]efore [each person had a turn doing the DB thrusters], that person had to do a farmer's carry of 40 meters
- (28)  $\gamma$  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)  $\gamma$  after [each person had written down his opinion on an issue] he was handed back a slip of paper presumably containing a tabulation of the opinions in the group

**New data: universals are not clause-bounded: *when***

- (30)  $\gamma$  When [each person had finished his turn at shoveling], he placed the spade back into what remained of the mound.
- (31)  $\gamma$  When [each person finishes], thank them for sharing. Take a few seconds to pause in silence before the next person shares.
- (32)  $\gamma$  When [each person finishes filling out the form], they should place it back on a table and remain or leave the space.
- (33)  $\gamma$  When [each person finishes speaking], they pass the football to someone else.

**New data: clauses are not scope islands: *unless***

- (34)  $\gamma$  Unless [each person thinks that the others will cooperate], he himself will not.
- (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)  $\gamma$ But someone has to make sure that [each actor has what  
is needed at the time it is needed].
- (38)  $\gamma$ On a global scale, someone has to make sure that [each  
application, when introduced, doesn't send ... shock waves  
through the economy].
- (39)  $\gamma$ Someone needs to make sure that [each incoming report  
or complaint of abuse is actually being investigated].
- (40)  $\gamma$ Someone 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].



## So what explains May's examples?

- Set aside untensed clauses in (f) and (g)
- Set aside *wh* complements (i), (j) and the DP in (k)
- 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 is not a verb of communication, nor is it an attitude verb—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* 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**

## Defending the standard wisdom: “Exceptional” Scope

*“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 mechanism other than QR.

- Indefinites: choice functions, Skolem functions, singleton sets, alternatives with pointwise functional application, etc.
- Focus
- Pair-list readings of universals inside embedded questions
- Functional relative clauses

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

Interesting test case: functional indefinites

## Ordinary indefinites can take arbitrarily wide scope

(42) Nobody believes the rumour that a student of mine cheated.

(43) Each student read every paper that discussed a particular problem.

- each > every > a [overachieving student]
- each > a > every [specialist student]
- a > each > every [departmental monoculture]

(44) Schwarz 2001 Amsterdam Colloquium

“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, ...

## Rant about “exceptional” scope

If the only scope-taker that takes non-exceptional scope is *every*, you need to rethink your theory of scope-taking.

## 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.  
 $\exists f. \text{if}(\forall x. \text{improves}(x)(f(x)(\text{area}))) (\text{no-fail})$

- not equivalent to any configuration of *if*,  $\forall$ ,  $\exists$
- Skolemized choice function will work:  $f :: e \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow e$
- Non-QR mechanisms for indefinites 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
- alternative sets, composed via pointwise composition
- Why not via Quantifier Raising? Rooth 85 gives two arguments:
  - Scope is clause-bounded (standard wisdom)
  - Multiple foci just work (*Ann only introduced BILL to SUE*)
- But scope is not clause-bounded!
- Multiple foci easy to handle via scope (Krifka 92, Rooth 96)
- **Quantifier Raising works great for computing focus sets!**
- BTW, indefinites do not have completely unrestricted scope  
(46) Ann only gave a book to BILL. [ $*\exists > \text{only}$ ]
- 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

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

- Delivers truth conditions as if the universal had wide scope

## Scope islands and weak Negative Polarity Items

- What else should we expect from a theory of scope islands?
- Weak NPIs must occur in a suitable licensing context
- Must take scope inside the licensing context

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

(49) If [**any** relative of mine dies], I'll inherit a house. [unambig]

- The antecedent of a conditional is a scope island for *any*

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 context, 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-scopers sensitivity harder
  - Kokke's per-scopers solution related to 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

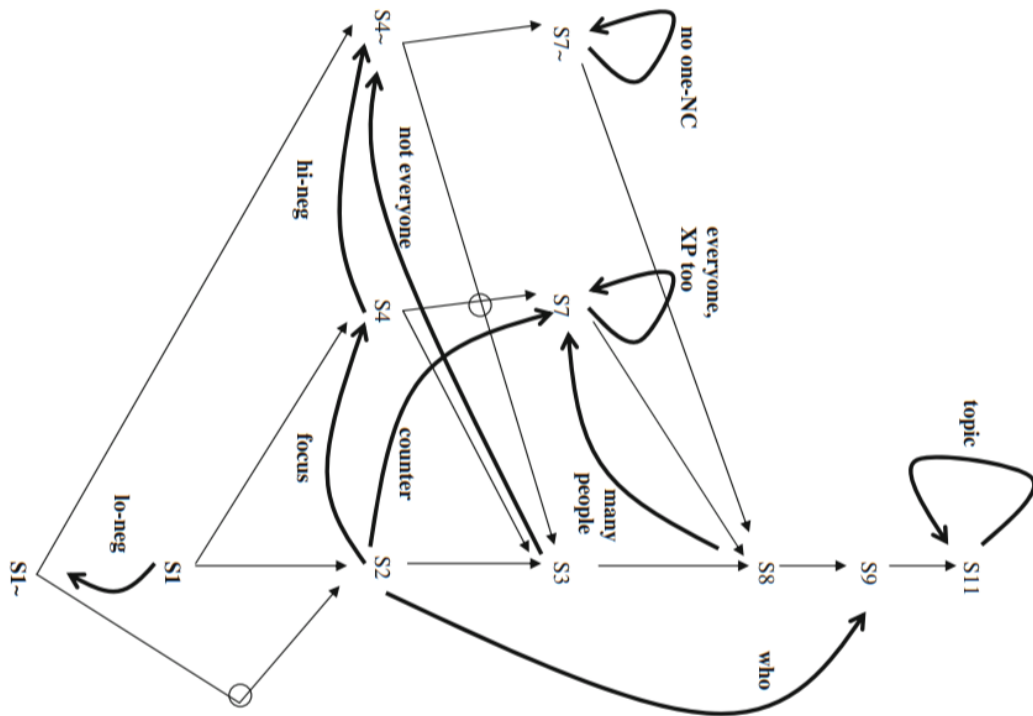
# Kiselyov & Shan's 2014 Continuation Hierarchy

Syntax	Semantic type	Denotation $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket$
VP $\rightarrow$ Vs that S	$et^n$ or $((et)^n \rightarrow \{\alpha\}) \rightarrow \{\beta\}$	$\llbracket Vs \rrbracket > (\llbracket S \rrbracket)_2$
NP $\rightarrow$ that S	$e^n$ or $(e^n \rightarrow \{\alpha\}) \rightarrow \{\beta\}$	<b>That</b> . $(\llbracket S \rrbracket)_2$
NP $\rightarrow$ NP <sub>1</sub> and NP <sub>2</sub>	$e^n$ or $(e^n \rightarrow \{\alpha\}) \rightarrow \{\beta\}$	<b>alongWith</b> . $\llbracket NP_1 \rrbracket \cdot \llbracket NP_2 \rrbracket$
N $\rightarrow$ max	$e$	<b>max</b>
N $\rightarrow$ lady	$et$	<b>lady</b>
Det $\rightarrow$ some <sub>3</sub> , a <sub>3</sub>	$(et) \rightarrow (e^{n+1} \rightarrow \{\beta_3(n+1)\gamma\}) \rightarrow \{\beta_3 n \gamma\}$	$\lambda z. \uparrow \llbracket \text{some}_2 \rrbracket z$
Det $\rightarrow$ some <sub>4</sub> , a <sub>4</sub>	$(et) \rightarrow (e^{n+1} \rightarrow \{\beta_4(n+1)\gamma\}) \rightarrow \{\beta_4 n \gamma\}$	$\lambda z. \uparrow \llbracket \text{some}_3 \rrbracket z$

**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  $\gamma$  is  $j$ , the size of  $\beta_3$  is  $3(j+2)$  and of  $\beta_4$  is  $7(j+2)$ .

- Excellent theoretical and computational properties
- Fine-grained control: per-predicate, per-scoper

Comparison with system here postponed; see below



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



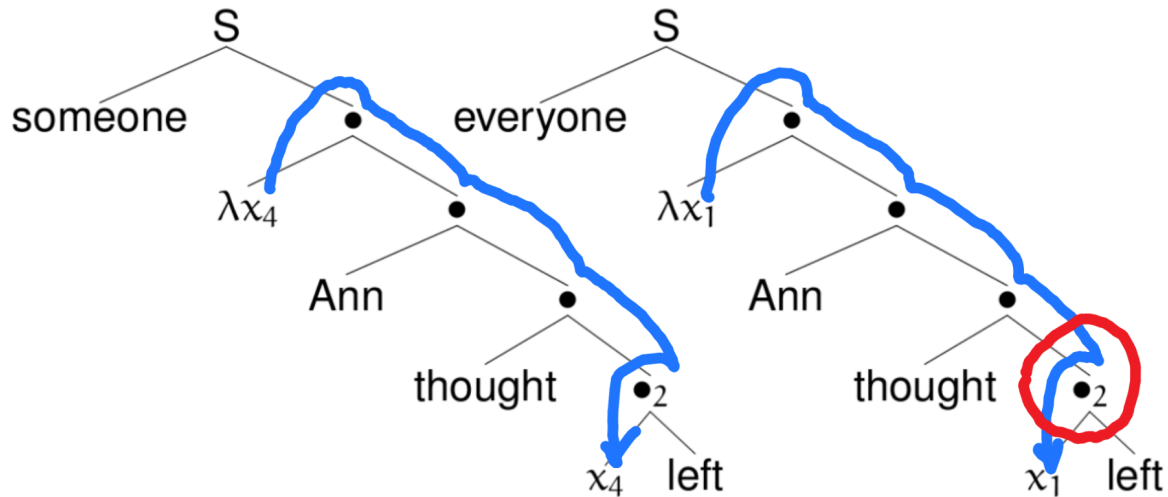
## Proposal: argument indexing

- Refinement of Kokke 2016 without unary modalities
- 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:  $\langle t_2, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- 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

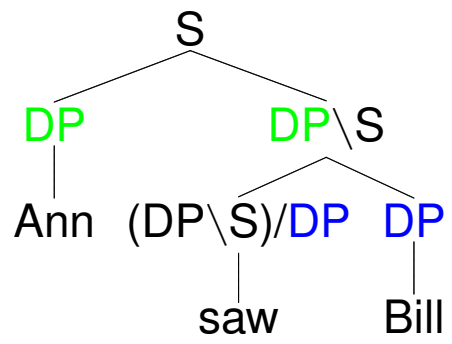
*everyone* provides its trace with island-hopping strength of just 1

# NL<sub>QR</sub>: Non-associative Lambek with **Quantifier Raising**

$$\frac{\Gamma \vdash A \quad \Sigma[B] \vdash C}{\Sigma[\Gamma \cdot A \backslash B] \vdash C} \backslash L \quad \frac{A \cdot \Gamma \vdash B}{\Gamma \vdash A \backslash B} \backslash R \quad \frac{}{A \vdash A} \text{Axiom}$$

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

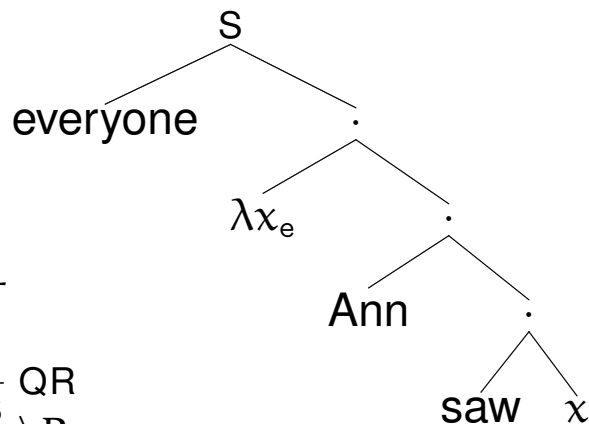
$$\frac{DP \vdash DP \quad \frac{DP \vdash DP \quad S \vdash S}{DP \bullet DP \backslash S \vdash S} \backslash L}{DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet DP) \vdash S} /L$$



Lambek's 1958, 1961 non-associative, sequent presentation  
 Barker 2007, Barker and Shan 2014, Barker 2018: decidable

(50) Ann saw everyone.

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\frac{\frac{DP \vdash DP}{DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet DP)} \vdash S}{DP \bullet \lambda x (DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet x))} \vdash S \quad \text{/L} \quad \frac{DP \vdash DP \quad S \vdash S}{DP \bullet DP \backslash S \vdash S} \quad \text{\backslash L}}{\frac{DP \bullet \lambda x (DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet x)) \vdash S}{\lambda x (DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet x))} \vdash DP \backslash S} \quad \text{QR} \\
 \frac{\lambda x (DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet x)) \vdash DP \backslash S \quad S \vdash S}{S / (DP \backslash S) \bullet \lambda x (DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet x)) \vdash S} \quad \text{\backslash R} \\
 \frac{S / (DP \backslash S) \bullet \lambda x (DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet x)) \vdash S}{DP \bullet ((DP \backslash S) / DP \bullet S / (DP \backslash S)) \vdash S} \quad \text{/L} \quad \text{QR}
 \end{array}$$



The logic guarantees that QR derivations type-check

# NL<sub>QR</sub>, combinator implementation, with scope islands

- Multiple modes, indexed by integers:  $\backslash_1 \bullet_1 /_1, \backslash_2 \bullet_2 /_2 \dots$
- I, B, C: zero-ary structural logical connectives (combinators)
- p, q, r schematize over arbitrary structures; i, j, k over ints

$$\frac{p}{p \bullet I}$$

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

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

$$\frac{p \bullet I}{p}$$

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

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

- Condition on **the red inferences**:  $j > i$
- If  $j \not> i$ , then mode i is an island wrt mode j
- Given a set of indexes, the grammar will contain every instantiation of these inferences that obeys the condition

These inferences replace the QR structural rule with local hops

Ex: *think* is an island for *everyone*, but not for *someone*

- 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) ann

b. someone ( $\lambda x$ . thought (left x) ann)

(52) Ann thought everyone left.

a. thought (everyone left) ann

Assume unmarked connectives have index 1

## Comparison with Kiselyov & Shan 2014

- Similarities with the account here (spiritual siblings!): continuation-based, directly compositional, per-predicate/per-scoper 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

# Enlarging the fragment a bit

Stre ngth	Island	Scoper
6		damn $T/((N/N)\backslash_6 S)$
5	only $(DP\backslash S)/_5 F$	FOCUS $(F/(DP\backslash_5 (DP\backslash S)))/DP$
4		someone $S/(DP\backslash_4 S)$
3	if $(S/S)/_3 S$	anyone $S/(DP\backslash_3 S)$
2	thought $(DP\backslash S)/_2 S$	
1		everyone $S/(DP\backslash_1 S)$

Some other lexical items:

ann, bill, carl: DP

left:  $DP\backslash S$

the:  $DP/N$

dog: DP



## Example analyses

The antecedent of a conditional is a scope island for weak NPIs, 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))))
```

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

```
if ann thought anyone left, bill left:
  ((if ((thought (anyone (\x (left x)))) ann))
   (left bill))**
  ((if (anyone (\x ((thought (left x)) ann))))
   (left bill))
```

An ordinary indefinite can escape both:

```
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*



## **Towards a theory of multidimensional meaning**

# What dimensions of meaning can and should be included?

- 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?

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

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

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

## Towards a more explanatory theory

- I have concentrated today on When and How:
  - When is a scoper trapped? (Not inside a clause!)
  - 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-grained tool for describing scope islands.
- Argument indexing can help manage multiple dimensions of meaning



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