- 1 Linking hypothesis and number of response options modulate inferred scalar implicature rate
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Abstract

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The past 15 years have seen increasing experimental investigations of core pragmatic 10 questions in the ever more active and lively field of experimental pragmatics. Within 11 experimental pragmatics, many of the core questions have relied on the operationalization of 12 the theoretical notion of 'implicature rate'. Implicature rate based results have informed the 13 work on acquisition, online processing, and scalar diversity, inter alia. Despite its theoretical 14 importance. Implicature rate has typically been quantified as the proportion of 'pragmatic' 15 judgments in two-alternative forced choice truth value judgment tasks. Despite its theoretical 16 importance, this linking hypothesis from implicature rate to behavioral responses has never 17 been extensively tested. Here we show that two factors dramatically affect the 'implicature 18 rate' inferred from truth value judgment tasks: a) the number of responses provided to 19 participants; and b) the linking hypothesis about what constitutes a 'pragmatic' judgment. 20 We argue that it is time for the field of experimental pragmatics to engage more seriously 21 with its foundational assumptions about how theoretical notions map onto behaviorally 22 measurable quantities, and present a sketch of an alternative linking hypothesis that derives behavior in truth value judgment tasks from probabilistic utterance expectations. Keywords: scalar implicature; methodology; linking hypothesis; experimental 25 pragmatics; truth value judgment task 26

27 Word count: X

28 Linking hypothesis and number of response options modulate inferred scalar implicature rate

29 Introduction

- The past 15 years have seen the rise and development of a bustling and exciting new
- field at the intersection of linguistics, psychology, and philosophy: experimental pragmatics
- 32 (Barner, Brooks, & Bale, 2011; Bonnefon, Feeney, & Villejoubert, 2009; Bott & Chemla,
- 2016; Bott & Noveck, 2004; Breheny, Ferguson, & Katsos, 2013; Breheny, Katsos, &
- Williams, 2006; Chierchia et al., 2001; De Neys & Schaeken, 2007; Degen & Tanenhaus, 2015,
- 2016; Geurts & Pouscoulous, 2009; Grodner, Klein, Carbary, & Tanenhaus, 2010; Huang &
- Snedeker, 2009; Katsos & Bishop, 2011; I. A. Noveck & Reboul, 2008; Noveck & Posada,
- 2003; Papafragou & Tantalou, 2004; Tiel, Miltenburg, Zevakhina, & Geurts, 2014; Tomlinson,
- Bailey, & Bott, 2013). Experimental pragmatics is devoted to experimentally testing theories
- of how language is used in context. How do listeners draw inferences about the often
- 40 underspecified linguistic signal they receive from speakers? How do speakers choose
- between the many utterance alternatives they have at their disposal?
- The most prominently studied phenomenon in experimental pragmatics is undoubtedly
- 43 scalar implicature. Scalar implicatures arise as a result of a speaker producing the weaker of
- two ordered scalemates (Geurts, 2010; Grice, 1975; Hirschberg, 1985; Horn, 1972). Examples
- are provided in (1-2).
- 46 1.
- *Utterance:* Some of her pets are cats.
- Implicature: Some, but not all, of her pets are cats.
- Scale:
- 50 2.
- *Utterance*: She owns a cat or a dog.
- *Implicature:* She owns a cat or a dog, but not both.

• Scale:

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A listener, upon observing the utterances in (1-2a) typically infers that the speaker intended to convey the meanings in (1-2b), respectively. Since Grice (1975), the agreed-upon abstract rationalization the listener could give for their inference goes something like this: the speaker could have made a more informative statement by producing the stronger alternative (e.g., All of her pets are cats. in (1)). If the stronger alternative is true, they should have produced it to comply with the Cooperative Principle. They chose not to. I believe the speaker knows whether the stronger alternative is true. Hence, it must not be true. The derivation procedure for ad hoc exhaustive inferences such as in (3) is assumed to be calculable in the same way as for scalar implicatures, though the scale is assumed to be contextually driven.

- Because the basic reconstruction of the inference is much more easily characterized for scalar implicatures than for other implicatures, scalar implicatures have served as a test bed for many questions in experimental pragmatics, including, but not limited to:
- 1. Are scalar inferences default inferences, in the sense that they arise unless blocked by (marked) contexts (Degen, 2015; Horn, 1984; Levinson, 2000)?
- 2. Are scalar inferences default inferences, in the sense that they are computed
 automatically in online processing and only cancelled by context in a second effortful
 step if required by context) (Bott & Noveck, 2004; Breheny et al., 2006; Degen &
 Tanenhaus, 2016; Grodner et al., 2010; Huang & Snedeker, 2009; Politzer-Ahles &
 Fiorentino, 2013; Tomlinson et al., 2013)?
- What are the (linguistic and extra-linguistic) factors that affect whether a scalar
 implicature is derived (Bergen & Grodner, 2012; Bonnefon et al., 2009; Breheny et al.,
 2013, 2006; Chemla & Spector, 2011; De Neys & Schaeken, 2007; Degen, 2015; Degen
 & Goodman, 2014; Degen & Tanenhaus, 2015, 2016; Marneffe & Tonhauser, 2016;
 Potts, Lassiter, Levy, & Frank, 2015; Zondervan, 2010)?

- 4. How much diversity is there across implicature types, and within scalar implicatures across scale types, in whether or not an implicature is computed (Doran, Ward, Larson, McNabb, & Baker, 2012; Tiel et al., 2014)?
- 5. At what age do children acquire the ability to compute implicatures (Barner et al., 2011; Horowitz, Schneider, & Frank, 2017; Katsos & Bishop, 2011; Musolino, 2004; Noveck, 2001; Papafragou & Tantalou, 2004; Stiller, Goodman, & Frank, 2015)?
- In addressing all of these questions, it has been crucial to obtain estimates of

 implicature rates. For 1., implicature rates from experimental tasks can be taken to inform

 whether scalar implicatures should be considered default inferences. For 2., processing

 measures on responses that indicate implicatures can be compared to processing measures on

 responses that indicate literal interpretations. For 3., contextual effects can be examined by

 comparing implicature rates across contexts. For 4., implicature rates can be compared

 across scales (or across implicature types). For 5., implicature rates can be compared across

 age groups.
- A standard measure that has stood as a proxy for implicature rate across many studies 93 is the proportion of "pragmatic" judgments in truth value judgment paradigms (Bott & Noveck, 2004; Chemla & Spector, 2011; De Neys & Schaeken, 2007; Degen & Goodman, 2014; Degen & Tanenhaus, 2015; Geurts & Pouscoulous, 2009; Noveck, 2001; Noveck & Posada, 2003). In these kinds of tasks, participants are provided a set of facts, either presented visually or via their own knowledge of the world. They are then asked to judge whether a sentence intended to describe those facts is true or false (or alternatively, whether it is right or wrong, or they are asked whether they agree or disagree with the sentence). The crucial condition for assessing implicature rates in these kinds of studies typically consists of a case where the facts are such that the stronger alternative is true and the target 102 utterance is thus also true but underinformative. For instance, Bott and Noveck (2004) 103 asked participants to judge sentences like "Some elephants are mammals", when world 104 knowledge dictates that all elephants are mammals. Similarly, Degen and Tanenhaus (2015) 105

asked participants to judge sentences like "You got some of the gumballs" in situations where 106 the visual evidence indicated that the participant received all the gumballs from a gumball 107 machine. In these kinds of scenarios, the story goes, if a participant responds "FALSE", that 108 indicates that they computed a scalar implicature, eg to the effect of "Not all elephants are 109 mammals" or "You didn't get all of the gumballs", which is (globally or contextually) false. 110 If instead a participant responds "TRUE", that is taken to indicate that they interpreted the 111 utterance literally as 'Some, and possibly all, elephants are mammals' or "You got some, and 112 possibly all, of the gumballs". 113

Given the centrality of the theoretical notion of "implicature rate" to much of 114 experimental pragmatics, there is to date a surprising lack of discussion of the basic 115 assumption that it is adequately captured by the proportion of FALSE responses in truth 116 value judgment tasks (but see Benz and Gotzner (2014); Geurts and Pouscoulous (2009); 117 Degen and Goodman (2014); Katsos and Bishop (2011)). Indeed, the scalar implicature 118 acquisition literature was shaken up when Katsos and Bishop (2011) showed that simply by 119 introducing an additional response option, children started looking much more pragmatic 120 than had been previously observed in a binary judgment paradigm. Katsos and Bishop 121 (2011) allowed children to distribute 1, 2, or 3 strawberries to a puppet depending on "how 122 good the puppet said it". The result was that children gave on average fewer strawberries to 123 the puppet when he produced underinformative utterances compared to when he produced literally true and pragmatically felicitous utterances, suggesting that children do, in fact, 125 display pragmatic ability even at ages when they had previously appeared not to. 126

But this raises an important question: in truth value judgment tasks, how does the researcher know whether an interpretation is literal or the result of an implicature computation? The binary choice task typically used is appealing in part because it allows for a direct mapping from response options – TRUE and FALSE – to interpretations – literal and pragmatic. That the seeming simplicity of this mapping is illusory becomes apparent once a third response option is introduced, as in the Katsos and Bishop (2011) case. How is

the researcher to interpret the intermediate option? Katsos and Bishop (2011) grouped the intermediate option with the negative endpoint of the scale for the purpose of categorizing 134 judgments as literal vs. pragmatic, i.e., they interpreted the intermediate option as 135 pragmatic. But it seems just as plausible that they could have grouped it with the positive 136 endpoint of the scale and taken the hard line that only truly FALSE responses constitute 137 evidence of a full-fledged implicature. The point here is that there has been remarkably little 138 consideration of linking hypothesiss between behavioral measures and theoretical constructs 139 in experimental pragmatics, a problem in many subfields of psycholinguistics (Tanenhaus, 2004). We argue that it is time to engage more seriously with these issues. 141

We begin by reporting an experiment that addresses the following question: do the 142 number of response options provided in a truth value judgment task and the way that 143 responses are grouped into pragmatic ("SI") and literal ("no SI") change inferences about 144 scalar implicature rates? Note that this way of asking the question presupposes two things: 145 first, that whatever participants are doing in a truth value judgment task, the behavioral 146 measure can be interpreted as providing a measure of interpretation; and second, that 147 listeners either do or do not compute an implicature on any given occasion. In the General 148 Discussion we will discuss both of these issues. First, following Degen and Goodman (2014), we will offer some remarks on why truth value judgment tasks are better thought of as measuring participants' estimates of speakers' production probabilities. This will suggest a 151 completely different class of linking hypothesiss. Next, we discuss an alternative conception 152 of scalar implicature as a probabilistic phenomeonen, a view that has recently rose to 153 prominence in the subfield of probabilistic pragmatics (Franke & Jäger, 2016; Goodman & 154 Frank, 2016). This alternative conception of scalar implicature, we argue, affords developing 155 and testing quantitative linking hypothesiss in a rigorous and motivated way. 156

Consider a setup in which a listener is presented a card with a depiction of either one or two animals (see Figure 1 for an example). As in a standard truth value judgment task, the listener then observes an underinformative utterance about this card (e.g., "There is a

cat or a dog on the card") and is asked to provide a judgment on a scale with 2, 3, 4, or 5 160 response options, with endpoints "wrong" and "right." In the binary case, this reproduces 161 the standard truth value judgment task. Figure 1 exemplifies (some of) the researcher's 162 options for grouping responses. Under what we will call the "Strong link" assumption, only 163 the negative endpoint of the scale is interpreted as evidence for a scalar implicature having 164 been computed. Under the "Weak link" assumption, in contrast, any response that does not 165 correspond to the positive endpoint of the scale is interpreted as evidence for a scalar 166 implicature having been computed. Intermediate grouping schemes are also possible, but 167 these are the ones we will consider here. Note that for the binary case, the Weak and Strong 168 link return the same categorization scheme, but for any number of response options greater 169 than 2, the Weak and Strong link can in principle lead to differences in inferences about 170 implicature rate. 171

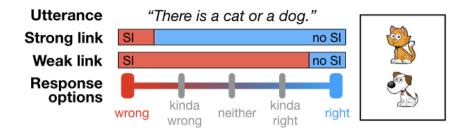


Figure 1. Strong and Weak link from response options to researcher inference about scalar implicature rate, exemplified for the disjunctive utterance when the conjunction is true.

Let's examine an example. Assume three response options (wrong, neither, right). Assume further that each of the three responses was selected by a third of participants, i.e., the distributions of responses is 1/3, 1/3, and 1/3. Under the Strong link, we infer that this task yielded an implicature rate of 2/3. Under the Weak link, we infer that this task yielded

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¹An open question concerns the extent to which the labeling of points on the scale affects judgments (e.g., "wrong"—"right" vs. "false"—"true" vs. "disagree"—"agree"). While some studies have used "false"—"true", others have argued that judging truth may lead to meta-linguistic reasoning in participants that could distort judgments.

an implicature rate of 1/3. This is quite a drastic difference if we are, for instance, interested 176 in whether scalar implicatures are inference defaults and we would like to interpret an 177 implicature rate of above an arbitrary threshold (e.g., 50%) as evidence for such a claim. 178 Under the Strong link, we would conclude that scalar implicatures are not defaults. Under 179 the Weak link, we would conclude that they are. In the experiment reported in the following 180 section, we presented participants with exactly this setup. We manipulated the number of 181 response options between participants and analyzed the results under different linking 182 hypothesiss. 183

Experiment

Participants played an online card game in which they were asked to judge descriptions 185 of the contents of cards. Different groups of participants were presented with different 186 numbers of response options. On critical trials, participants were presented with descriptions for the cards that typically result in exhaustivity implicatures ("There is a cat on the card" 188 when there was a cat and a dog) or scalar implicatures ("There is a cat or a dog on the card" 189 when there was a cat and a dog). We categorized their responses on such trials according to 190 the weak and the Strong link introduced above, and tested whether the number of response options and the linking hypothesiss led to different conclusions about the rate of computed 192 implicatures in the experimental task.

Methods 194

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200 participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk. They Participants. 195 optionally provided demographic information at the end of the study. Participants' mean age 196 was 35. We also asked participants if they had any prior training in logic. 40 participants 197 reported that they did, while 160 had no prior training in logic. All participants' data was 198 included in the final analysis. 199

Materials and procedure. The study was administered online through Amazon 200 Mechanical Turk.² Participants were first introduced to the set of cards we used in the study 201 (Figure 2). Each card depicted one or two animals, where an animal could be either a cat, a 202 dog, or an elephant. Then participants were introduced to a blindfolded fictional character 203 called Bob. Bob was blindfolded to avoid violations of ignorance expectations associated with 204 the use of disjunction (Chierchia et al., 2001; Sauerland, 2004) Participants were told that 205 Bob would guess the contents of the cards and their task was to indicate whether Bob's guess 206 was wrong or right. On each trial, participants saw a card and a sentence representing Bob's 207 guess. For example, they saw a card with a cat and read the sentence "There is a cat on the 208 card." They then provided an assessment of Bob's guess. The study ended after 24 trials. 209

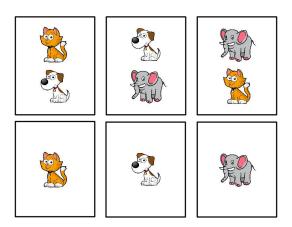


Figure 2. Cards used in the connective guessing game.

Two factors were manipulated within participants: card type and guess type. There
were two types of cards, cards with only one animal on them and cards with two animals.

There were three types of guesses: simple (e.g. *There is a cat*), conjunctive (e.g. *There is a cat and a dog*), and disjunctive (e.g. *There is a cat or a dog*). Crossing card type and guess
type yielded trials of varying theoretical interest (see Figure 3): critical underinformative
trials that were likely to elicit pragmatic inferences (either scalar or exhaustive) and control
trials that were either unambiguously true or false. Each trial type occurred three times with

²The experiment can be viewed here.

randomly sampled animals and utterances that satisfied the constraint of the trial type.

Trial order was randomized.

elephant	cat	cat and dog	cat or dog	
control:	control:	control:	control:	*
unambiguously	unambiguously	unambiguously	unambiguously	
false	true	false	true	
control:	critical:	control:	critical:	
unambiguously	exhaustivity	unambiguously	scalar	
false	implicature	true	implicature	

Figure 3. Trial types (critical and control). Headers indicate utterance types. Rows indicate card types. Critical trials are marked in bold.

On critical trials, participants could derive implicatures in two ways. First, on trials on 219 which two animals were present on the card (e.g., cat and dog) but Bob guessed only one of 220 them (e.g. "There is a cat on the card"), the utterance could have a literal interpretation 221 ("There is a cat and possibly another animal on the card") or an exhaustive interpretation 222 ("There is only a cat on the card"). We refer to these trials as "exhaustive". Second, on trials 223 on which two animals were on the card (e.g., a cat and a dog) and Bob used a disjunction 224 (e.g., "There is a cat or a dog on the card"), the utterance could have the literal, inclusive, 225 interpretation, or a pragmatic, exclusive interpretation. We refer to these trials as "scalar". 226 In order to assess the effect of the number of response options on implicature rate, we 227 manipulated number of response options in the forced choice task between participants. We refer to the choice conditions as "binary" (options: wrong, right), "ternary" (options: wrong, neither, right), "quaternary" (options: wrong, kinda wrong, kinda right, right), and "quinary" (wrong, kinda wrong, neither, kinda right, right). Thus, the endpoint labels always remained 231 the same. If there was an uneven number of response options, the central option was neither. 232 Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four task conditions.

Results and discussion

The collected dataset contains 50 participants in the binary task, 53 in the ternary task, 43 in the quaternary task, and 54 in the quinary task. Figures 4 to 7 show the proportions of response choices in each of the 8 trial types on each of the four response tasks, respectively. We report the relevant patterns of results qualitatively before turning to the quantitative analysis of interest.

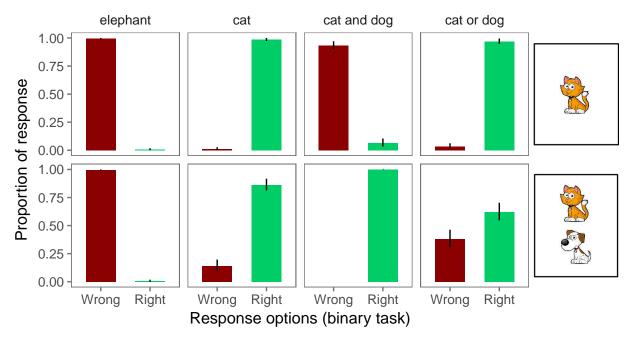


Figure 4. Proportion of responses for the binary forced choice judgments. Error bars indicate 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Qualitative analysis. In the binary task, participants were at or close to ceiling in responding "right" and "wrong" on unambiguously true and false trials, respectively (see Figure 4). However, on underinformative trials (i.e. a "cat" or "cat or dog" description for a card with both a cat and a dog), we observe pragmatic behavior: on exhaustive trials, participants judged the utterance "wrong" 14% of the time; on scalar trials, participants judged the utterance "wrong" 38% of the time. That is, both under the Weak and Strong link assumptions introduced in the Introduction, inferred implicature rate on exhaustive trials is 14% and on scalar trials 38%.

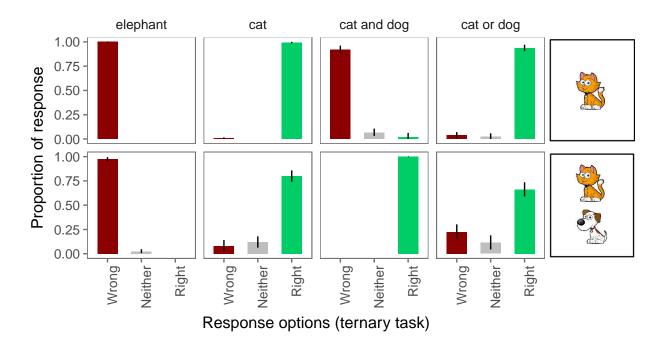


Figure 5. Proportion of responses for the ternary forced choice judgments. Error bars indicate 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals.

In the ternary task, participants were also at or close to ceiling in responding "right" and "wrong" on unambiguously true and false trials, respectively (see Figure 5). And again, on underinformative trials (a "cat" and "cat or dog" description for a card with both a cat and a dog), we observed pragmatic behavior: on exhaustive trials, participants considered the guess "wrong" 8% of the time and neither wrong nor right 12% of the time. On scalar trials, participants judged the guess "wrong" 23% of the time and "neither" 11% of the time. This means that the Weak and Strong link lead to different conclusions about implicature rates on the ternary task. Under the Weak link, inferred implicature rate on exhaustive trials is 20%; under the Strong link it is only 8%. Similarly, under the Weak link, inferred implicature rate on scalar trials is 34%; under the Strong link it is only 23%.

In the quaternary task (Figure 6), participants were again at or close to ceiling in responding "right" and "wrong" on 4 of the 6 unambiguously true and false trials. However, with four response options, two of the control conditions appear to be showing signs of pragmatic infelicity: when a conjunction was used and only one of the animals was on the

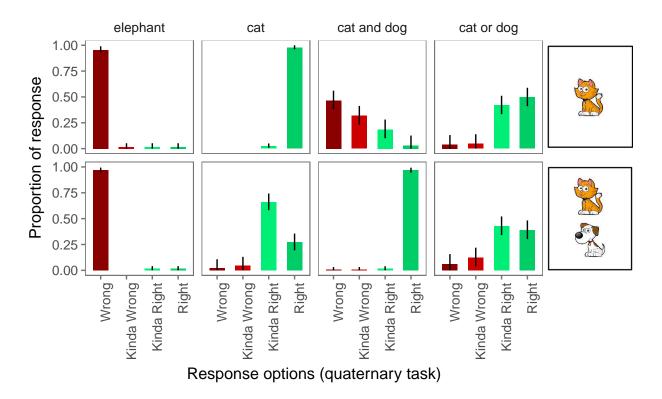


Figure 6. Proportion of responses for the quaternary forced choice judgments. Error bars indicate 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals.

card, participants considered the guess "wrong" most of the time, but they often considered it "kinda wrong" or even "kinda right". This suggests that perhaps participants considered the notion of a partially true or correct statement in our experimental setting. Disjunctive descriptions of cards with only one animal, while previously at ceiling for "right" responses, were downgraded to only "kinda right" 26% of the time, presumably because these utterances are also underinformative, though the degree of underinformativeness may be less egregious than on scalar trials.

On underinformative exhaustive trials, we observed pragmatic behavior as before:
participants judged the guess "wrong" 2% of the time, "kinda wrong" 5% of the time, and
"kinda right" 66% of the time. On scalar trials, participants judged the guess "wrong" 6% of
the time, "kinda wrong" 12% of the time, and "kinda right" 43% of the times.

Thus, we are again forced to draw different conclusions about implicature rates

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depending on whether we assume the Weak link or the Strong link. Under the Weak link, inferred implicature rate on exhaustive trials is 73%; under the Strong link it is only 2%. Similarly, under the Weak link, inferred implicature rate on scalar trials is 61%; under the Strong link it is only 6%.

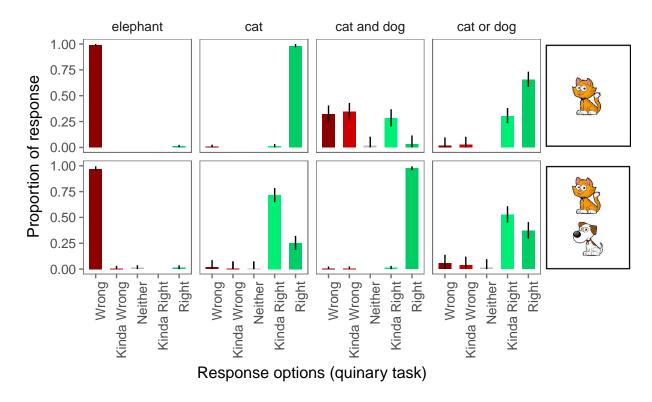


Figure 7. Proportion of responses for the quinary forced choice judgments. Error bars indicate 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals.

Finally, Figure 7 shows the proportion of responses in the quinary task. Performance on the 4 pragmatically felicitous control trials was again at floor and ceiling, respectively.

The 2 control conditions in which the quaternary task had revealed pragmatic infelicity again displayed that pragmatic infelicity in the quinary task, suggesting that this is a robust type of pragmatic infelicity that, nonetheless, requires fine-grained enough response options to be detected experimentally.

On underinformative exhaustive trials, we observed pragmatic behavior as before:
participants judged the guess "wrong" 2% of the time, "kinda wrong" 1 and 1% of the time,

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"neither" 1 and 1% of the time, and "kinda right" 72% of the time. On scalar trials,
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   participants judged the guess "wrong" 6% of the time, "kinda wrong" 4% of the time,
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    "neither" 1% of the time, and "kinda right" 52% of the time.
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Thus, we would again draw different conclusions about implicature rates depending on 289 whether we assume the Weak link or the Strong link. Under the Weak link, inferred 290 implicature rate on exhaustive trials is 76 and 76%; under the Strong link it is only 2%. 291 Similarly, under the Weak link, inferred implicature rate on scalar trials is 63%; under the 292 Strong link it is only 6%. 293

Quantitative analysis. Our primary goal in this study was to test whether the 294 estimated implicature rate in the experimental task is affected by the linking hypothesis and the number of response options available to participants. To this end, we only analyzed the critical trials (exhaustive and scalar). In particular, we classified each data point from 297 critical trials as constituting an implicature (1) or not (0) under the Strong and Weak link. Figure 8 shows the resulting implicature rates by condition and link. 299

Visually, the Weak link tends to result in greater estimates of implicature rates, 300 especially in tasks with more response options. Under the Strong link, this latter pattern is reversed: the binary and ternary judgment tasks result in greater estimates of implicature rates than with more response options. 303

To analyze the effect of link and response options on inferred implicature rate, we used 304 a Bayesian binomial mixed effects model using the R packge "brms" (Bürkner & others, 305 2016) with uninformative or weakly informative priors.³ The model predicted the log odds of 306 implicature over no implicature from fixed effects of response type (binary, ternary, quaternary, quinary – dummy-coded with binary as reference level), link (strong vs. weak – 308 dummy-coded with strong as reference level), and trial type (exhaustive vs. scalar – 309 dummy-coded, with exhaustive as reference level), as well as their two-way and three-way 310 interactions. Following Barr, Levy, Scheepers, and Tily (2013), we included the maximal 311

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³You can access our pre-registration at https://aspredicted.org/tq3sz.pdf

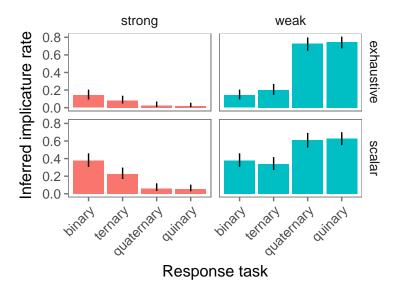


Figure 8. Inferred implicature rates on exhaustive and scalar trials as obtained with the binary, ternary, quaternary, and quinary response task. Columns indicate link from response to implicature rate (strong: proportion of "wrong judgments; weak: proportion of non-'right" judgments).

random effects structure justified by the design: random intercepts for items (cards) and 312 participants, random by-participant slopes for link, trial type, and their interaction, and 313 random by-item slopes for link, trial type, response type, and their interactions. Since the 314 number of response options was a between participant variable we did not include random 315 slopes of response options for participants. Four chains converged after 2000 iterations each 316 (warmup = 1000). Table 1 summarizes the mean parameter estimates and their 95% credible 317 intervals. $\hat{R} = 1$ for all estimated parameters. All the analytical decisions described here 318 were pre-registered 4 . 319

[^3: For more information about the default priors of the "brms" package, see the brms package manual.]

The model provided evidence for the following effects: First, there was a main effect of trial type such that scalar trials resulted in greater implicature rates than exhaustive trials

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⁴You can access our pre-registration at https://aspredicted.org/tq3sz.pdf

(Mean Estimate = 6.09, 95% Credible Interval=[1, 12.29]). Second, there was an interaction between link and number of response options such that the quaternary task (Mean Estimate 325 = 14.03, 95% Credible Interval=[7.24, 21.88]) and the quinary task (Mean Estimate = 17.28, 326 95% Credible Interval=[10.64, 25.80]) with a weak link resulted in greater implicature rates. 327 Finally, there was a three-way interaction between link, trial type, and number of response 328 options (Mean Estimate = -7.74, 95\% Credible Interval=[-16.59, -0.16]). One interpretation 329 of this interaction is that the difference between the Weak and Strong link on scalar trials in 330 the quinary task was smaller than on exhaustive trials, though we believe this is not too 331 interesting, given that the binary reference level implicature estimate was lower for 332 exhaustive trials in the first place. Crucially, both number of response options and link affect 333 the inferred implicature rate. 334

General Discussion

336 Summary and methodological discussion

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In this paper we asked whether linking hypothesiss and number of response options 337 available to participants in truth value judgment tasks affects inferred implicature rates. The 338 results presented here suggest they do. A linking assupption that considered the highest 339 point on the scale literal and any lower point pragmatic (Weak link) resulted in higher 340 implicature rates in tasks with 4 or 5 response options compared to the standard two options. 341 A linking hypothesis that considered the lowest point on the scale pragmatic and any higher 342 point literal (Strong link) reported lower implicature rates in tasks with 4 or 5 options 343 compared to the standard two options. The results suggest that the choice of linking 344 hypothesis is a crucial analytical step that can significantly impact the conclusions drawn 345 from truth value judgment tasks. In particular, there is danger for pragmatic ability to be 346 both under- and overestimated.

While the binary truth value judgement task avoids the analytic decision between Strong and Weak linking hypothesiss, the results reported here suggest that binary tasks can

also underestimate participants' pragmatic competence. In binary tasks, participants are 350 often given the lowest and highest points on a scale ("wrong" vs. "right") and are asked to 351 report pragmatic infelicities using the lowest point (e.g. "wrong"). The study reported here 352 showed that on trials with true but pragmatically infelicitous descriptions, participants often 353 avoided the lowest point on the scale if they were given more intermediate options. Even 354 though the option "wrong" was available to participants in all tasks, participants in tasks 355 with intermediate options chose it less often. In computing implicature rate, this pattern 356 manifested itself as a decrease in implicature rate under the Strong link when more response 357 options were provided, and an increase in implicature rate under the Weak link when more 358 response options were provided. These observations are in line with Katsos and Bishop 350 (2011)"s argument that pragmatic violations are not as severe as semantic violations and 360 participants do not penalize them as much. Providing participants with only the extreme ends of the scale (e.g. wrong/right, false/true) when pragmatic violations are considered to 362 be of an intermediate nature risks misrepresentation of participants" pragmatic competence. It further suggests that in studies that use binary tasks to investigate response-contingent processing, proportions of "literal" responses may be a composite of both literal and 365 pragmatic underlying interpretations that just happen to get mapped differently onto 366 different response options by participants. 367

This study did not investigate the effect of response labels on the inferred implicature 368 rate. However, the results provided suggestive evidence that some options better capture 369 participant intuitions of pragmatic infelicities than others. Among the intermediate options, 370 "kinda right" was chosen most often to report pragmatic infelicities. The option "neither" 371 was rarely used in the ternary and quinary tasks (where it was used as a midpoint), 372 suggesting that participants interpreted pragmatic infelicities as different degrees of being 373 "right" and not "neither right nor wrong." Therefore, options that capture degrees of being "right" like "kinda right" may prove most suitable for capturing infelicity in the long run. 375 We leave this as a methodological issue for future research. 376

The study had three further design features worth investigating in future work. First, 377 the utterances were ostensibly produced by a blindfolded character. This was an intentional 378 decision to control for violation of ignorance expectations with disjunction. A disjunction 379 such as "A or B" often carries an implication or expectation that the speaker is not certain 380 which alternative actually holds. Future work should investigate how the violation of the 381 ignorance expectation interacts with link and number of response options in inferred 382 implicature rate. Second, in this study we considered exhaustive and scalar implicatures 383 with or. If the observed effects of link and number of response options hold in general, they should be observable using other scales, e.g., on implicatures with some. Finally, our 385 experiment was designed as a guessing game and the exact goal or task-relevant Question 386 Under Discussion of the game was left implicit. Given the past literature on QUD effects on 387 scalar implicature, we expect that different goals – e.g., to help the character win more points vs. to help the character be more accurate – would affect how strict or lenient participants are with their judgments and ultimately affect implicature rate in the task (Degen & Goodman, 2014; Zondervan, 2010). Future work should systematically vary the 391 goal of the game and explore its effects on the inferred implicature rate. But crucially, it's 392 unlikely that the observed effects of number of response options and linking hypothesis on 393 inferred implicature rate are dependent on any of the discussed design choices. 394

395 Revisiting linking hypothesiss

On the traditional view of the link between implicature and behavior in sentence verification tasks, scalar implicature is conceptualized as a binary, categorical affair – that is, an implicature is either "calculated" or it isn't, and the behavioral reflexes of this categorical interpretation process should be straightforwardly observed in experimental paradigms. This assumption raises concerns for analyzing variation in behavior on a truth value judgment task; for example, why did the majority of respondents in the binary condition of our experiment answer "right" to an utterance of the underinformative "There is a cat or dog"

when the card had both a cat and a dog on it? And why did a sizeable minority nonetheless choose "wrong" in this same condition?

To explain these data on the traditional view, we are forced to say that a) not all 405 participants calculated the implicature; or that b) some participants who calculated the 406 implicature did not choose the anticipated (i.e., "wrong") response due to some other 407 cognitive process which overrode the "correct" implicature behavior; or some mixture of (a) 408 and (b). We might similarly posit that one or both of these factors underlie the variation in 409 the ternary, quaternary, and quinary conditions. However, without an understanding of how 410 to quantitatively specify the link between implicature calculation and its behavioral 411 expression, the best we can hope for on this approach is an analysis which predicts general 412 qualitative patterns in the data (e.g. a prediction of relatively more "right" responses than 413 "wrong" responses in a given trial of our binary truth value judgment task, or a prediction of 414 a rise in the rate of response of "right"/"wrong" between two experimental conditions, given 415 some contextual manipulation). However, we should stress that to the best of our knowledge, 416 even a qualitative analysis of this kind of variation in behavior on sentence verification tasks – 417 much less the effect of the number of response choices on that behavior – is largely 418 underdeveloped in the scalar implicature literature.

We contrast the above view of implicature and its behavioral reflexes with an 420 alternative linking hypothesis. Recent developments in the field of probabilistic pragmatics 421 have demonstrated that pragmatic production and comprehension can be captured within 422 the Rational Speech Act (RSA) framework (Bergen, Levy, & Goodman, 2016; Degen, Franke, 423 & Jäger, 2013; Degen, Tessler, & Goodman, 2015; Frank & Goodman, 2012; Franke & Jäger, 2016; Goodman & Frank, 2016; Goodman & Stuhlmüller, 2013; Kao, Wu, Bergen, & 425 Goodman, 2014; Qing & Franke, 2015; Scontras, Degen, & Goodman, 2017). Much in the spirit of Gricean approaches to pragmatic competence, the RSA framework takes as its point 427 of departure the idea that individuals are rational, goal-oriented communicative agents, who 428 in turn assume that their interlocutors similarly behave according to general principles of

cooperativity in communication. Just as in more traditional Gricean pragmatics, pragmatic
inference and pragmatically-cooperative language production in the RSA framework are, at
their core, the product of counterfactual reasoning about alternative utterances that one
might produce (but does not, in the interest of cooperativity). However, the RSA framework
explicitly and quantitatively models cooperative interlocutors as agents whose language
production and comprehension is a function of Bayesian probabilistic inference regarding
other interlocutors' expected behavior in a discourse context.

Specifically, in the RSA framework we model pragmatically competent listeners as
continuous probabilistic distributions over possible meanings (states of the world) given an
utterance which that listener observes. The probability with which this listener L_1 ascribes a
meaning s to an utterance u depends upon a prior probability distribution of potential states
of the world P_w , and upon reasoning about the communicative behavior of a speaker S_1 . S_1 in turn is modeled as a continuous probabilistic distribution over possible utterances given
an intended state of the world the speaker intends to communicate. This distribution is
sensitive to a rationality parameter α , the production cost C of potential utterances, and the
informativeness of the utterance, quantified via a representation of a literal listener L_0 whose
interpretation of an utterance is in turn a function of that utterance's truth conditional
content [[u]](s) and her prior beliefs about the state of the world $P_w(s)$.

```
449
450 $P_{S_1}(u | s) \propto exp(\alpha(log(L_0(s | u)) - C(u))) $
451
452 $P_{L_0}(s | u) \propto [[u]](s) * P_w(s)$
```

 $P_{L_1}(s \mid u) \cdot P_{S_1}(u \mid s) * P_w(s)$

This view contrasts with the traditional view in that it is rooted in a quantitative formalization of pragmatic competence which provides us a continuous measure of pragmatic reasoning. In the RSA framework, individuals never categorically draw (or fail to draw)

pragmatic inferences about the utterances they hear. For example, exclusivity readings of

disjunction are represented in RSA as relatively lower posterior conditional probability of a conjunctive meaning on the P_L distribution given an utterance of "or", compared to the prior probability of that meaning. Thus, absent auxiliary assumptions about what exactly would constitute "implicature", it is not even possible to talk about rate of implicature calculation in the RSA framework. The upshot, as we show below, is that this view of pragmatic competence does allow us to talk explicitly and quantitatively about rates of observed behavior in sentence verification tasks.

We take inspiration from the RSA approach and treat participants' behavior in our 464 experimental tasks as the result of a soft-optimal pragmatic speaker in the RSA framework. 465 That is, following Degen and Goodman (2014), we proceed on the assumption that behavior 466 on sentence verification tasks, such as truth value judgment tasks, is best modeled as a 467 function of an individual's mental representation of a cooperative interlocutor (S_1 in the 468 language of RSA) rather than of a pragmatic listener who interprets utterances (P_{L_1}) . In 460 their paper, Degen & Goodman argue that sentence verification tasks are relatively more 470 sensitive to contextual manipulations (such as manipulation of the Question Under 471 Discussion) than are sentence interpretation tasks, and that this follows if sentence 472 interpretation tasks – but not sentence verification tasks – require an additional layer of counterfactual reasoning about the intentions of a cooperative speaker. 474

A main desideratum of a behavioral linking hypothesis given the RSA view of 475 pragmatic competence is to transform continuous probability distributions into categorical 476 outputs (e.g. responses of "right"/"wrong" in the case of the binary condition of our 477 experiment). For a given utterance u and an intended communicated meaning s, $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s})$ outputs a conditional probability of u given s. For example, in the binary condition of our 479 experiment where a participant evaluated "There is a cat or a dog" when there were both animals on the card, the participant has access to the mental representation of S_1 and hence 481 to the S_1 conditional probability of producing the utterance "cat or dog" given a dog and cat 482 card: S_1 ("cat or dog" | cat and dog). According to the linking hypothesis advanced here, the 483

= "wrong" otherwise

510

participant provides a particular response to u if the RSA speaker probability of u lies within 484 a particular probability interval. We model a responder, R, who in the binary condition 485 responds "right" to an utterance u in world s just in case $S_1(u|s)$ exceeds some probability 486 threshold θ : 487 $R(u, w, \theta)$ 488 = "right" iff $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta$ 489 = "wrong" otherwise 490 The model of a responder in the binary condition is extended intuitively to the 491 condition where participants had three response options. In this case, we allow for two 492 probability thresholds: θ_1 , the minimum standard for an utterance in a given world state to 493 count as "right", and θ_2 , the minimum standard for "neither". Thus, in the ternary 494 condition, R(u, s, θ_1 , θ_2) is "right" iff $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_1$ and "neither" iff $\theta_1 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_2$. To 495 fully generalize the model to our five experimental conditions, we say that R takes as its 496 input an utterance u, a world state s, and a number of threshold variables dependent on a 497 variable c, corresponding to the experimental condition in which the participant finds 498 themself (e.g. the range of possible responses available to R). 499 Given c = "ternary"500 $R(u, w, \theta_1, \theta_2)$ 501 = "right" iff $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_1$ 502 = "neither" iff $\theta_1 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_2$ 503 = "wrong" otherwise 504 Given c = "quaternary"505 $R(u, w, \theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3)$ 506 = "right" iff $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_1$ = "kinda right" iff $\theta_1 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_2$ 508 = "kinda wrong" iff $\theta_2 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_3$ 509

```
Given c = "quinary"
511
           R(u, w, \theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3, \theta_4)
512
           = "right" iff S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_1
513
           ="kinda right" iff \theta_1 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_2
514
           = "neither" iff \theta_2 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_3
515
           = "kinda wrong" iff \theta_3 > S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) > \theta_4
516
           = "wrong" otherwise
517
           In an RSA model, S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) will be defined for any possible combination of possible
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    utterance and possible world state. One consequence of this is that for the purposes of our
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    linking hypothesis, participants are modeled as employing the same decision criterion – does
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    S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s}) exceed the threshold? – in both "implicature" and "non-implicature" conditions of
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    a truth value judgment task experiment. That is, participants never evaluate utterances
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    directly on the basis of logical truth or falsity: for example, our blindfolded character Bob's
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    guess of "cat and dog" on a cat and dog card trial is "right" to the vast majority of
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    participants not because the guess is logically true but because S_1 ("cat and dog" | cat and
```

dog) is exceedingly high.

526

For further illustration, we use our definition of a pragmatically-competent speaker S_1 527 (as defined above) to calculate the speaker probabilities of utterances in states of the world 528 corresponding to our experimental conditions (i.e., for "cat", "dog", "cat and dog", and 529 "elephant", given either a cat on the card, or both a cat and a dog on the card). In 530 calculating these probabilities, we assume that the space of possible utterances is the set of 531 utterances made by Bob in our experiment (i.e. any possible single, disjunctive, or conjunctive guess involving "cat", "dog", or "elephant"). For the purposes of our model, we assume a uniform cost term on all utterances. We furthermore assume that the space of 534 possible meanings corresponds to the set of possible card configurations that a participant 535 may have seen in our experiment, and that the prior probability distribution over these 536 world states is uniform. Lastly, we set α – the speaker rationality parameter – to 1. The 537

resulting speaker probabilities are shown in Figure 9.5

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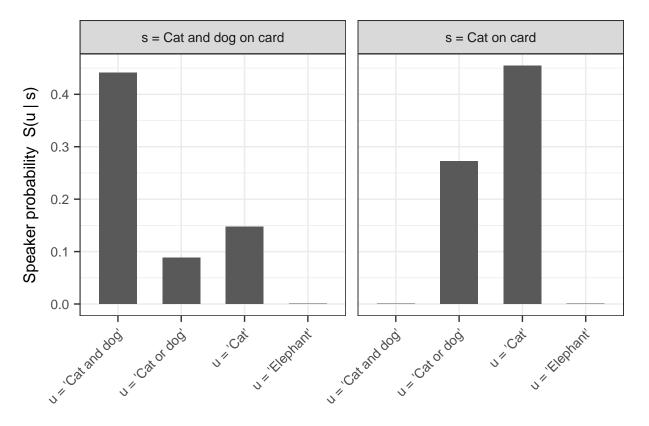


Figure 9. Speaker probabilities of utterances on the exhaustive and scalar trials, as obtained using the model described in this section.

The linking hypothesis under discussion assumes that speaker probabilities of utterance given meaning are invariant across a) our four different experimental conditions, b) across participants, and c) within participants (that is, participants are not capable of updating their S_1 distribution in a local discourse context). We note that the assumption (b) may conceivably be relaxed by allowing one or more of the parameters in the model – including the prior probability over world states P_w , the cost function on utterances C, or the rationality parameter α – to vary across participants. We also note that assumption (c) in particular is in tension with a growing body of empirical evidence that semantic and

⁵Note that the probabilities in each facet don't sum to 1 because the model considers all possible disjunctive, conjunctive, and simple utterances, while we are only visualizing the ones corresponding to the experimental conditions.

pragmatic interpretation is modulated by rapid adaptation to the linguistic and social features of one's interlocutors (Fine, Jaeger, Farmer, & Qian, 2013; Kleinschmidt & Jaeger, 2015).

However, if we should like to keep the above assumptions in place, then we must look 550 elsewhere to explain the observed variation in our experimental data. In particular, this 551 linking hypothesis, coupled with our assumptions, commits us to explaining variation in the 552 data in terms of the threshold parameters of our responder model R. Consider first the 553 variation in response across different experimental conditions on a given trial, e.g. evaluation 554 of a guess of "cat and dog" when the card contains both a cat and a dog. The variation in 555 the proportion of responses of "right" on this trial between the binary, ternary, quaternary, 556 and quinary conditions indicates that the threshold value for "right" responses must vary 557 across conditions; that is, we predict that the θ of the binary condition will differ from, e.g., 558 the θ_1 of the ternary condition as well as the θ_1 of the quaternary condition. We also 559 observed variation in response on this trial within a single condition (for example, a sizeable 560 minority of participants responded "wrong" to this trial in the binary condition). Thus, this 561 linking hypothesis is committed to the notion that threshold values may vary across participants, such that a speaker probability of utterance $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s})$ can fall below θ for some subset of participants while $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s})$ itself remains constant across participants.

Lastly, it is conceivable that for two utterances of the same conditional probability and in the same experimental condition, a participant in our experiment provided a judgment of, e.g. "right" to one utterance but "wrong" to the other. That is, it is possible that there was within-subject variation in this experiment. One way to represent such variation would be to posit that the parameterization of threshold values proceeds stochastically and that threshold values are recalibrated for every individual sentence verification task. Rather than representing a threshold as a discrete value N between 0 and 1, we can represent that threshold as a distribution over possible threshold values – with mass centered around N. Whenever an individual encounters a sentence verification task, such as a single trial of our

truth value judgment task experiment, the threshold value is recalibrated by sampling from this distribution. If we allow values of θ to vary as a result of this schotastic process, for the possibility that $S_1(\mathbf{u} \mid \mathbf{s})$ sometimes falls below θ (and is otherwise above θ) for a given participant.

One outstanding empirical problem is the pattern of response we observed for "cat and 578 dog" on trials where there was only a cat on the card. Because this utterance is strictly false 579 in this world state, it is surprising – on both the traditional view as well as on the account 580 developed here – that participants assigned this utterance ratings above "wrong" with any 581 systematicity. However, this is exactly what we observed, particularly in the quaternary and 582 quinary conditions of the experiment, where a sizeable minority of participants considered 583 this utterance "kinda right". As Figure 9 demonstrates, the conditional speaker probability 584 of this utterance in this world state is 0; thus, there is no conceivable threshold value that 585 would allow this utterance to ever be rated above "wrong" (on the reasonable assumption 586 that the thresholds in our responder model R should be nonzero). Any linking hypothesis 587 will have to engage with this data point, and we leave to future work an analysis which 588 captures participants' behavior in this condition. 589

For the time being, however, we present the above analysis as a proof of concept for 590 the following idea: by relaxing the assumptions of the traditional view of scalar implicature 591 (namely, that scalar implicatures either are or are not calculated, and that behavior on 592 sentence verification tasks directly reflects this binary interpretation process), we can 593 propose quantitative models of the variation in behavior we observe in experimental settings. 594 We note that the linking analysis proposed here is just one in the space of possible analyses when traditional assumptions about scalar implicature are relaxed. For example, one might reject this threshold-based analysis in favor of one whereby responses are the outcomes of 597 sampling on the (pragmatic speaker or pragmatic listener) probability distributions provided 598 by an RSA model. We must leave this investigation to future work, but for now we 599 emphasize that this kind of quantitative, data-driven and systematic model criticism is made 600

available to researchers in experimental pragmatics by revising core assumptions about the nature of scalar implicature. Though we no longer have a crisp notion of scalar implicature as something that is or is not "calculated" in interpretation, we have new flexibility to explicitly discuss categorical behavior in experimental settings.

Concluding, we have shown in this paper that inferred "implicature rate" – ubiquitous 605 in theoretical and experimental pragmatics – as estimated in truth value judgment tasks, depends on both the number of responses participants are provided with as well as on the linking hypothesis from proportion of behavioral responses to "implicature rate". We further 608 sketched an alternate linking hypothesis that treats behavioral responses as the result of 609 probabilistic reasoning about speakers' likely productions. While a thorough model 610 comparison is still outstanding, this kind of linking hypothesis opens a door towards more 611 systematic and rigorous formulation and testing of linking hypotheses between theoretical 612 notions of interest in pragmatics and behavioral responses in experimental paradigms. 613

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Table 1

Model parameter estimates and their credible intervals. Rows marked with an asterisk in the evidence column do not contain 0 in the credible interval, thereby providing evidence for an effect.

Predictors	Estimate	2.5%	97.5%	Evidence
Intercept	-8.60	-13.98	-4.53	*
Link = Weak	-0.15	-4.86	4.77	
Task = Quaternary	-1.83	-8.08	4.20	
Task = Quinary	-4.05	-10.90	2.38	
Task = Ternary	-1.45	-7.31	4.56	
Implicature = Scalar	6.09	1.00	12.29	*
Link = Weak : Task = Quaternary	14.03	7.24	21.88	*
Link = Weak : Task = Quinary	17.28	10.64	25.80	*
Link = Weak : Task = Ternary	3.81	-1.49	9.22	
Link = Weak : Implicature = Scalar	0.90	-4.01	6.43	
Task = Quaternary : Implicature = Scalar	-5.67	-13.66	1.54	
Task = Quinary : Implicature = Scalar	-2.31	-9.30	4.61	
Task = Ternary : Implicature = Scalar	-1.31	-7.70	4.65	
Link=Weak : Task=Quaternary : Implicature=Scalar	-3.29	-12.07	4.55	
Link=Weak : Task=Quinary : Implicature=Scalar	-7.74	-16.59	-0.16	*
$\label{link-Weak} \begin{tabular}{ll} Link-Weak: Task-Ternary: Implicature-Scalar \\ \end{tabular}$	-1.44	-7.00	4.22	