Scalar Items in Embedded Positions

Michael Franke

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1 Motivation

• we are interested in studying potential global/local implicatures for sentences of the forms: All of the X's are related to some of the Y's. Exactly one of the X's is related to some of the Y's. Exactly one of the Y's is related to all of the Y's.

1.1 Global Implicatures

- a GLOBAL IMPLICATURE of a sentence is derived by replacing one scalar item with its scale mates and negating the resulting sentence: All of the X's are related to some of the Y's. All of the X's are related to some of the Y's andit's not the case that all of the X's are related to all of the Y's. Exactly one of the X's is related to some of the Y's. Exactly one of the X's is related to some of the Y's. Exactly one of the Y's is related to all of the Y's. Exactly one of the Y's is related to all of the Y's is related to all of the Y's is related to all of the Y's andit's not the case that exactly one of the X's is related to some of the Y's.
- the global implicatures in (1.1) and (1.1) are attested by all current formal theories of quantity implicature
- · we are interested in whether this prediction is borne out; previous experimentation supports this
- · we are also interested in whether we find support for the global implicature in (1.1), which some theories predict [e.g.][[Sauerland2004:Scalar-Implicat,Fox2007:Free-Choice-and and others don't HornDivisionofLabor1984;need to check in detail who predicts what this case has not been investigated yet

1.2 Local Implicatures

· a LOCAL IMPLICATURE of a sentence is derived by inserting into any appropriate scope site an exhaustifity operator akin to the workings of *only*, there is some due variation in formulation of this kind of approach

- · all global implicatures are local implicatures, but additionally for our target sentences we may derive: All of the X's are related to some of the Y's. All of the X's are related to some but not all of the Y's. Exactly 1 of the X's is related to some of the Y's. Exactly 1 of the X's is related to some but not all of the Y's.
- · we are interested in whether these local implicatures are attested; previous studies have presented diverging evidence for this: GeurtsPouscoulous2009:EmbeddedImplic provide evidence against; ChemlaSpector2010:Experimental-Ev provide evidence for these inferences

2 Material

- · we apply a truth-value judgement task, under the supposition that implicatures, when drawn, inform truth-judgements
- \cdot we speak of a possible "reading" of a sentence: whether a global and/or local implicature is drawn

- · we present each of the three sentences with enough pictures to distinguish any possible reading
- since there may be entailment relations between these "readings", the space of possibilities is rather restricted (e.g., obviously, the global reading always entails the literal reading)

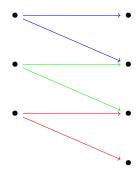
2.1 Case: "All of the X's are related to some of the Y's."

- entailment relations in this case are: $LOC \Rightarrow GLB \Rightarrow LIT$
- \cdot we can thus distinguish four cases:

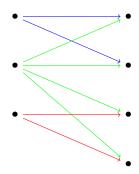
	LIT	GLB	LOC
Case 1	1	1	1
${\rm Case}\ 2$	1	1	0
Case 3	1	0	0
Case 4	0	0	0

2.1.1 Pictures

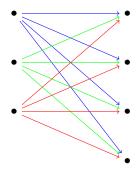
- \cdot these cases can be tested for with the following diagrams:
 - · Case 1 (true-true-true):



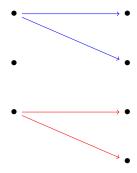
· Case 2 (true-true-false):



· Case 3 (true-false-false):



· Case 4 (false-false-false):



2.1.2 Sentence Items

Für jeden dieser Anwälte gilt: er vertritt einige dieser Angeklagten. Für jedes dieser Kinder gilt: es mag einige dieser Speisen. Für jeden dieser Kritiker gilt: er lobte einige dieser Aufführungen. Für jede dieser Tennisspielerinnen gilt: sie hat schon einige dieser Turniere gewonnen. Für jede dieser Künstlerinnen gilt: sie stellt in einigen dieser Museen aus. Für jeden dieser Jungen gilt: er ist mit einigen dieser Mädchen befreundet. Für jeden dieser Fußballfans gilt: er hat einige dieser Spiele gesehen. Für jeden dieser Touristen gilt: er hat bereits einige dieser Länder bereist. Für jeden dieser Bergsteiger gilt: er hat bereits einige dieser Gipfel erklommen. Für jeden dieser Musikliebhaber gilt: er mag einige dieser Komponisten. Für jeden dieser Schauspieler gilt: er hat bereits mit einigen dieser Regisseure zusammengearbeitet.

2.2 Case: "Exactly one of the X's is related to some of the Y's."

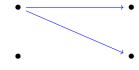
- · entailment relations in this case are:
 - (i) $GLB \Rightarrow LIT$
 - (ii) $GLB \Rightarrow LOC$
 - (iii) LOC $\Rightarrow \neg LIT$
- \cdot so we distinguish the following four cases:

	LIT	GLB	LOC
Case 1	1	1	1
Case 2	0	0	1
Case 3	1	0	0
Case 4	0	0	0

2.2.1 Pictures

· these cases can be tested for with the following diagrams:

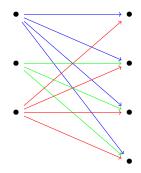
· Case 1 (true-true-true):



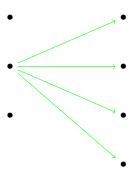
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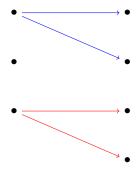
 \cdot Case 2 (false-false-true):



 \cdot Case 3 (true-false-false):



· Case 3 (false-false-false):



2.2.2 Sentence Items

Für genau einen dieser Anwälte gilt: er vertritt einige dieser Angeklagten. Für genau eines dieser Kinder gilt: es mag einige dieser Speisen. Für genau einen dieser Kritiker gilt: er lobte einige dieser Aufführungen. Für genau eine dieser Tennisspielerinnen gilt: sie hat schon einige dieser Turniere gewonnen. Für genau eine dieser Künstlerinnen gilt: sie stellt in einigen dieser Museen aus. Für genau einen dieser Jungen gilt: er ist mit einigen dieser Mädchen befreundet. Für genau einen dieser Fußballfans gilt: er hat einige dieser Spiele gesehen. Für genau einen dieser Touristen gilt: er hat bereits einige dieser Länder bereist. Für genau einen dieser Bergsteiger gilt: er hat bereits einige dieser Gipfel erklommen. Für genau einen dieser Musikliebhaber gilt: er mag einige dieser Komponisten. Für genau einen dieser Schauspieler gilt: er hat bereits mit einigen dieser Regisseure zusammengearbeitet.

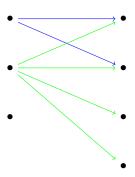
2.3 Case: "Exactly one of the X's is related to all of the Y's."

- · entailment relations in this case are trivial: GLB \Rightarrow LIT
- \cdot so we distinguish the following three cases:

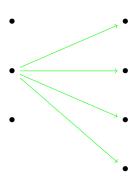
	LIT	GLB
Case 1	1	1
${\rm Case}\ 2$	1	0
${\it Case 3}$	0	0

2.3.1 Pictures

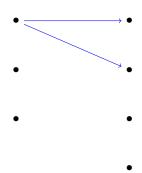
- · these cases can be tested for with the following diagrams:
 - · Case 1 (true-true):



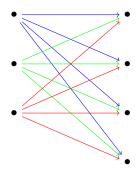
· Case 2 (true-false):



· Case 3 (false-false):



 \cdot Case 4 (false-false): we wanted to use two false conditions here, to fill the data set with four pictures for each sentence

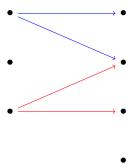


2.3.2 Sentence Items

Für genau einen dieser Anwälte gilt: er vertritt jeden dieser Angeklagten. Für genau eines dieser Kinder gilt: es mag jede dieser Speisen. Für genau einen dieser Kritiker gilt: er lobte jede dieser Aufführungen. Für genau eine dieser Tennisspielerinnen gilt: sie hat schon jedes dieser Turniere gewonnen. Für genau eine dieser Künstlerinnen gilt: sie stellt in jedem dieser Museen aus. Für genau einen dieser Jungen gilt: er ist mit jedem dieser Mädchen befreundet. Für genau einen dieser Fußballfans gilt: er hat jedes dieser Spiele gesehen. Für genau einen dieser Touristen gilt: er hat bereits jedes dieser Länder bereist. Für genau einen dieser Bergsteiger gilt: er hat bereits jeden dieser Gipfel erklommen. Für genau einen dieser Musikliebhaber gilt: er mag jeden dieser Komponisten. Für genau einen dieser Schauspieler gilt: er hat bereits mit jeden dieser Regisseure zusammengearbeitet.

3 Thoughts on Cumulative Readings

- \cdot there may be a problem in our design from cumulative readings of (1.1)
- under a cumulative reading, a sentence like (1.1) means that the group of X's as a whole is connected to some of the Y's
- \cdot there are three relevant possible (disjoint) state distinctions for this reading:
 - false-condition: group of X's is connected to none of the Y's; no arrows whatsoever
 - · literally-true-condition: group of X' is connected to all of the Y's
 - · implicature-condition: group of X' is connected to some-but-not-all of the Y's
- the potential problem is that subjects' true/false judgements could be based on these cumulative readings (with/without implicature) and thus obscure whether they apply local or global readings
- · in particular, subjects who answer *false* in cases 2 and 3 might do so based on the cumulative reading with implicature, so that we might not know whether these judgements reflect on the potential implicatures of the non-cumulative readings
- there is no way we can present a picture that could illicit judgements that would let us differentiate between cumulative and non-cumulative readings in cases 2 and 3
- \cdot but we can assess whether cumulative readings are available in two ways:
 - \cdot under a cumulative reading case 1 (as depicted above) should also be judged false
 - · moreover, we should change pictures for case 4 to:



Subjects who apply a cumulative reading should judge this true

- · as far as I can see, this is the best we can do: we have control conditions (cases 1 and 4) that would detect cumulative readings; but when they do we simply cannot use pictures like these to test cases 3 and 4 (if we wanted that, we'd need different visual material, unfortunately)
- · or am I wrong?
- finally, if cumulative readings are possible for "all of the X's" in (1.1), so should they be in (1.1), shouldn't they?
- but here, too, we would see this in subjects responding *true* in case 3 (as above) for this casecareful: I mean the *first* false-false picture; the previous text contained two times "case 3", a typo!