

Scope without Syntax

Towards a Game Theoretic Approach

Luke Smith

Department of Linguistics

April 19, 2016

Quantifiers

Quantifiers

- Languages have what are called *quantifiers*, which are words which delineate particular quantities of nouns that they modify.

Quantifiers

- Languages have what are called *quantifiers*, which are words which delineate particular quantities of nouns that they modify.
 - ▶ **Universal quantifiers** – all, each, every (\forall)

Quantifiers

- Languages have what are called *quantifiers*, which are words which delineate particular quantities of nouns that they modify.
 - ▶ **Universal quantifiers** – all, each, every (\forall)
 - ▶ **Existential quantifiers** – a, one, some (\exists)

Quantifiers

- Languages have what are called *quantifiers*, which are words which delineate particular quantities of nouns that they modify.
 - ▶ **Universal quantifiers** – all, each, every (\forall)
 - ▶ **Existential quantifiers** – a, one, some (\exists)
 - ▶ **Negation** – not, no (\neg)

Quantifiers

- Languages have what are called *quantifiers*, which are words which delineate particular quantities of nouns that they modify.
 - ▶ **Universal quantifiers** – all, each, every (\forall)
 - ▶ **Existential quantifiers** – a, one, some (\exists)
 - ▶ **Negation** – not, no (\neg)
 - ▶ Many others – numerals, much, many, few, etc.

Quantifiers

- Languages have what are called *quantifiers*, which are words which delineate particular quantities of nouns that they modify.
 - ▶ **Universal quantifiers** – all, each, every (\forall)
 - ▶ **Existential quantifiers** – a, one, some (\exists)
 - ▶ **Negation** – not, no (\neg)
 - ▶ Many others – numerals, much, many, few, etc.
- For the purposes of sentence interpretation, quantifiers are quite a puzzle. Especially when there are multiple quantifiers in a sentence, a sentence may become ambiguous.

Scope Ambiguity

(1) Everyone loves someone.

Scope Ambiguity

(1) Everyone loves someone.

- This sentence has two quantifiers, a universal (\forall) 'every' and an existential (\exists) 'some.'

Scope Ambiguity

(1) Everyone loves someone.

- This sentence has two quantifiers, a universal (\forall) 'every' and an existential (\exists) 'some.'
- This sentence has two different interpretations:

Scope Ambiguity

(1) Everyone loves someone.

- This sentence has two quantifiers, a universal (\forall) 'every' and an existential (\exists) 'some.'
- This sentence has two different interpretations:
 - ▶ For each person, there exists some other person they love.

Scope Ambiguity

(1) Everyone loves someone.

- This sentence has two quantifiers, a universal (\forall) 'every' and an existential (\exists) 'some.'
- This sentence has two different interpretations:
 - ▶ For each person, there exists some other person they love.
 - ▶ There exists one particular person who everyone loves.
- In the first possible reading, we say that the \forall takes 'wide scope' over the \exists , which is said to have 'narrow scope.'

Scope Ambiguity

(1) Everyone loves someone.

- This sentence has two quantifiers, a universal (\forall) 'every' and an existential (\exists) 'some.'
- This sentence has two different interpretations:
 - ▶ For each person, there exists some other person they love.
 - ▶ There exists one particular person who everyone loves.
- In the first possible reading, we say that the \forall takes 'wide scope' over the \exists , which is said to have 'narrow scope.'
- In the second, we say that the \exists takes wide scope over the \forall .

Traditional View

Traditional View

- Scope was traditionally dealt with in terms of ‘movement’ and ‘logical form.’ An ambiguous sentence had to go through some kind of post-syntactic change to yield an unambiguous representation in the mind.

Traditional View

- Scope was traditionally dealt with in terms of ‘movement’ and ‘logical form.’ An ambiguous sentence had to go through some kind of post-syntactic change to yield an unambiguous representation in the mind.
- Different languages were discovered to have different availabilities of scope ambiguity. This was dealt with with formal and syntactic changes.

Traditional View

- Scope was traditionally dealt with in terms of ‘movement’ and ‘logical form.’ An ambiguous sentence had to go through some kind of post-syntactic change to yield an unambiguous representation in the mind.
- Different languages were discovered to have different availabilities of scope ambiguity. This was dealt with with formal and syntactic changes.
- Not so important to go into because basically nothing worked across wide data sets.

Traditional View

- Scope was traditionally dealt with in terms of ‘movement’ and ‘logical form.’ An ambiguous sentence had to go through some kind of post-syntactic change to yield an unambiguous representation in the mind.
- Different languages were discovered to have different availabilities of scope ambiguity. This was dealt with with formal and syntactic changes.
- Not so important to go into because basically nothing worked across wide data sets.
- Scope ambiguity is difficult to account for because it is:

Traditional View

- Scope was traditionally dealt with in terms of ‘movement’ and ‘logical form.’ An ambiguous sentence had to go through some kind of post-syntactic change to yield an unambiguous representation in the mind.
- Different languages were discovered to have different availabilities of scope ambiguity. This was dealt with with formal and syntactic changes.
- Not so important to go into because basically nothing worked across wide data sets.
- Scope ambiguity is difficult to account for because it is:
 - ▶ Highly context sensitive

Traditional View

- Scope was traditionally dealt with in terms of ‘movement’ and ‘logical form.’ An ambiguous sentence had to go through some kind of post-syntactic change to yield an unambiguous representation in the mind.
- Different languages were discovered to have different availabilities of scope ambiguity. This was dealt with with formal and syntactic changes.
- Not so important to go into because basically nothing worked across wide data sets.
- Scope ambiguity is difficult to account for because it is:
 - ▶ Highly context sensitive
 - ▶ Sensitive to linear order

Game Theoretic Scope

Game Theoretic Scope

- **My statement:** Scope ambiguity is totally paralinguistic. Scope ambiguities fall out from listeners' evaluation of the intentions of the speaker.

Game Theoretic Scope

- **My statement:** Scope ambiguity is totally paralinguistic. Scope ambiguities fall out from listeners' evaluation of the intentions of the speaker.
- This can partially be modeled in Game Theory, seeing that speakers are mutually evaluating the others' behavior and choosing how to word or interpret sentences based on that.

Game Theoretic Scope

- **My statement:** Scope ambiguity is totally paralinguistic. Scope ambiguities fall out from listeners' evaluation of the intentions of the speaker.
- This can partially be modeled in Game Theory, seeing that speakers are mutually evaluating the others' behavior and choosing how to word or interpret sentences based on that.
- This can allow us to formally analyze an apparent “functional” alternation.

Precedents in Linguists

Precedents in Linguists

- Game Theory has been similarly employed in linguistics, particularly semantics to deal with implicatures.

Precedents in Linguists

- Game Theory has been similarly employed in linguistics, particularly semantics to deal with implicatures.
 - (2) Billy ate most of the chocolates.

Precedents in Linguists

- Game Theory has been similarly employed in linguistics, particularly semantics to deal with implicatures.
 - (2) Billy ate most of the chocolates.
- Sentences like this in actual language are inferred to mean that Billy ate most *but not all chocolates*, although the sentence is logically still true if he did.

Precedents in Linguists

- Game Theory has been similarly employed in linguistics, particularly semantics to deal with implicatures.

(2) Billy ate most of the chocolates.

- Sentences like this in actual language are inferred to mean that Billy ate most *but not all chocolates*, although the sentence is logically still true if he did.
- However speakers *assume* Billy didn't eat *all* the chocolates because if that were true, a speaker probably would've said so.

Assumptions and Constraints

Assumptions and Constraints

- It is generally preferable if quantifiers occur in the order they are supposed to be interpreted in (surface scope).

Assumptions and Constraints

- It is generally preferable if quantifiers occur in the order they are supposed to be interpreted in (surface scope).
- Moving around nouns via 'transformations' (passivization, clefting, etc.) is costly/marked/undesirable.

Assumptions and Constraints

- It is generally preferable if quantifiers occur in the order they are supposed to be interpreted in (surface scope).
- Moving around nouns via 'transformations' (passivization, clefting, etc.) is costly/marked/undesirable.
- Scrambling (to be discussed later), as opposed to transformations are not similarly costly.

English Data

English Data

- Typical English sentences show scope ambiguity if there is more than one quantifier:

English Data

- Typical English sentences show scope ambiguity if there is more than one quantifier:
 - (3) Two men dug each hole.

English Data

- Typical English sentences show scope ambiguity if there is more than one quantifier:
 - (3) Two men dug each hole.
- There can be two particular men who dig all the holes ($\exists > \forall$) or, each hole can be dug by a different pair of men ($\forall > \exists$).

English Data

- Typical English sentences show scope ambiguity if there is more than one quantifier:
 - (3) Two men dug each hole.
- There can be two particular men who dig all the holes ($\exists > \forall$) or, each hole can be dug by a different pair of men ($\forall > \exists$).
- Ambiguity will usually disappear or become highly dispreferred if the sentence undergoes a 'transformation:'

English Data

- Typical English sentences show scope ambiguity if there is more than one quantifier:

(3) Two men dug each hole.

- There can be two particular men who dig all the holes ($\exists > \forall$) or, each hole can be dug by a different pair of men ($\forall > \exists$).
- Ambiguity will usually disappear or become highly dispreferred if the sentence undergoes a 'transformation:'

(4) Each hole was dug by two men.

English Data

- Typical English sentences show scope ambiguity if there is more than one quantifier:

(3) Two men dug each hole.

- There can be two particular men who dig all the holes ($\exists > \forall$) or, each hole can be dug by a different pair of men ($\forall > \exists$).
- Ambiguity will usually disappear or become highly dispreferred if the sentence undergoes a 'transformation:'

(4) Each hole was dug by two men.

- Here, the strongly preferred reading is the one where there is a pair of men for each hole ($\forall > \exists$), while the case where there is two specific men for each hole is harder to get out of the blue.

English Data

English Data

(5) Everyone loves someone.

English Data

- (5) Everyone loves someone.
- (6) Everyone loves someone, and that person is Billy.

English Data

- (5) Everyone loves someone.
- (6) Everyone loves someone, and that person is Billy.
- (7) Everyone loves someone. Don't pretend like you don't have someone special.

English Data

- (5) Everyone loves someone.
- (6) Everyone loves someone, and that person is Billy.
- (7) Everyone loves someone. Don't pretend like you don't have someone special.
- (8) Someone is loved by everyone.

English Data

- (5) Everyone loves someone.
- (6) Everyone loves someone, and that person is Billy.
- (7) Everyone loves someone. Don't pretend like you don't have someone special.
- (8) Someone is loved by everyone.
- (9) Someone is loved by everyone, and that person is Billy.

English Data

- (5) Everyone loves someone.
- (6) Everyone loves someone, and that person is Billy.
- (7) Everyone loves someone. Don't pretend like you don't have someone special.
- (8) Someone is loved by everyone.
- (9) Someone is loved by everyone, and that person is Billy.
- (10) ?? Someone is loved by everyone. Don't pretend like you don't have someone special.

Scope in Scrambling Languages

Scope in Scrambling Languages

- English has relatively rigid word order (subject-verb-object), but many languages have what is called 'scrambling' which is free linear movement of nouns without the cost of transformations.

Scope in Scrambling Languages

- English has relatively rigid word order (subject-verb-object), but many languages have what is called 'scrambling' which is free linear movement of nouns without the cost of transformations.
- Scope is systematically different in languages like these.

Scope in Scrambling Languages

- English has relatively rigid word order (subject-verb-object), but many languages have what is called ‘scrambling’ which is free linear movement of nouns without the cost of transformations.
- Scope is systematically different in languages like these.

(11) Har dāneshjui yek kitābi-rā mixune.
all student a book-OBJ reads
“Every student is reading a book.”

Scope in Scrambling Languages

- English has relatively rigid word order (subject-verb-object), but many languages have what is called ‘scrambling’ which is free linear movement of nouns without the cost of transformations.
- Scope is systematically different in languages like these.

(11) Har dāneshjui yek kitābi-rā mixune.

all student a book-OBJ reads

“Every student is reading a book.”

(12) Yek kitābi-rā har dāneshjui mixune.

a book-OBJ all student reads

“Every student is reading a book.”

Scope in Scrambling Languages

- English has relatively rigid word order (subject-verb-object), but many languages have what is called ‘scrambling’ which is free linear movement of nouns without the cost of transformations.
- Scope is systematically different in languages like these.

(11) Har dāneshjui yek kitābi-rā mixune.
all student a book-OBJ reads
“Every student is reading a book.”

(12) Yek kitābi-rā har dāneshjui mixune.
a book-OBJ all student reads
“Every student is reading a book.”

- However, both of these sentences *must have surface scope*. They cannot be ambiguous.

A Game Theoretic Account

A Game Theoretic Account

- Given our previous suggested constraints, we can predict these scope availabilities.

A Game Theoretic Account

- Given our previous suggested constraints, we can predict these scope availabilities.
- Remember, **surface scope** is preferred and **transformations** are costly.

In an English-like language...

In an English-like language...

- As assumed speakers *want* to interpret quantifiers in linear order.

In an English-like language. . .

- As assumed speakers *want* to interpret quantifiers in linear order.
- When a speaker produces a costly transformation (like a passive) the listener assumes that the new surface word order is the intended scope order.

In an English-like language. . .

- As assumed speakers *want* to interpret quantifiers in linear order.
- When a speaker produces a costly transformation (like a passive) the listener assumes that the new surface word order is the intended scope order.
- If a speaker produces an untransformed sentence, the listener has two possible hypotheses: (1) the speaker intended surface scope, or (2) that the speaker intended inverse scope, but didn't want to undergo a costly transformation.

In an English-like language. . .

- As assumed speakers *want* to interpret quantifiers in linear order.
- When a speaker produces a costly transformation (like a passive) the listener assumes that the new surface word order is the intended scope order.
- If a speaker produces an untransformed sentence, the listener has two possible hypotheses: (1) the speaker intended surface scope, or (2) that the speaker intended inverse scope, but didn't want to undergo a costly transformation.
- These two possibilities produce scope ambiguity.

In Scrambling Languages

In Scrambling Languages

- In scrambling languages, since speakers have greater flexibility in ordering, listeners make different assumptions about intended scope.

In Scrambling Languages

- In scrambling languages, since speakers have greater flexibility in ordering, listeners make different assumptions about intended scope.
- If the speaker wants the object to scope over the subject, he can easily scramble it leftward.

In Scrambling Languages

- In scrambling languages, since speakers have greater flexibility in ordering, listeners make different assumptions about intended scope.
- If the speaker wants the object to scope over the subject, he can easily scramble it leftward.
- Since he can do this, the unscrambled sentence has an unambiguous surface scope interpretation.

In Scrambling Languages

- In scrambling languages, since speakers have greater flexibility in ordering, listeners make different assumptions about intended scope.
- If the speaker wants the object to scope over the subject, he can easily scramble it leftward.
- Since he can do this, the unscrambled sentence has an unambiguous surface scope interpretation.
- **Sidenote:** Potentially related, languages with scrambling/flexible word order, usually rely on things like passivization less often.

Just a random difference?

Just a random difference?

- In addition to this correlation between rigid word-order and scrambling languages, we see that this theory still hold in rigid constructions in scrambling languages.

Just a random difference?

- In addition to this correlation between rigid word-order and scrambling languages, we see that this theory still hold in rigid constructions in scrambling languages.
- In Persian, for example, although nouns are flexible, negation must always be on the same part of a verb.

Just a random difference?

- In addition to this correlation between rigid word-order and scrambling languages, we see that this theory still hold in rigid constructions in scrambling languages.
- In Persian, for example, although nouns are flexible, negation must always be on the same part of a verb.
- We should expect negative quantifiers to work similar to English sentences in that they produce ambiguity. This is the case:

Just a random difference?

- In addition to this correlation between rigid word-order and scrambling languages, we see that this theory still hold in rigid constructions in scrambling languages.
- In Persian, for example, although nouns are flexible, negation must always be on the same part of a verb.
- We should expect negative quantifiers to work similar to English sentences in that they produce ambiguity. This is the case:

(13) Billy yek kitābi-rā na-xand.

Billy a book-OBJ not-read

“Billy didn’t read a (particular) book.” ($\exists > \neg$) or “Billy didn’t read any book.” ($\neg > \exists$)

Just a random difference?

- In addition to this correlation between rigid word-order and scrambling languages, we see that this theory still hold in rigid constructions in scrambling languages.
- In Persian, for example, although nouns are flexible, negation must always be on the same part of a verb.
- We should expect negative quantifiers to work similar to English sentences in that they produce ambiguity. This is the case:

(13) Billy yek kitābi-rā na-xand.

Billy a book-OBJ not-read

“Billy didn’t read a (particular) book.” ($\exists > \neg$) or “Billy didn’t read any book.” ($\neg > \exists$)

- This holds in similar languages with scrambling and stable negation location (e.g. Korean).

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:
 - ▶ Accounts for the ubiquitous linear ordering problem.

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:
 - ▶ Accounts for the ubiquitous linear ordering problem.
 - ▶ Makes logical form and other linguistic representations dealing with scope theoretically unnecessary (eye toward Minimalism).

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:
 - ▶ Accounts for the ubiquitous linear ordering problem.
 - ▶ Makes logical form and other linguistic representations dealing with scope theoretically unnecessary (eye toward Minimalism).
- General project goals:

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:
 - ▶ Accounts for the ubiquitous linear ordering problem.
 - ▶ Makes logical form and other linguistic representations dealing with scope theoretically unnecessary (eye toward Minimalism).
- General project goals:
 - ▶ Formalize key examples.

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:
 - ▶ Accounts for the ubiquitous linear ordering problem.
 - ▶ Makes logical form and other linguistic representations dealing with scope theoretically unnecessary (eye toward Minimalism).
- General project goals:
 - ▶ Formalize key examples.
 - ▶ See how many constructions in how many languages and constructions this can work on.

Goals and Intuitions

- One of the more tricky aspects of formal linguistics can be dealt with implicatures that can be modeled Game Theoretically.
- Main benefits:
 - ▶ Accounts for the ubiquitous linear ordering problem.
 - ▶ Makes logical form and other linguistic representations dealing with scope theoretically unnecessary (eye toward Minimalism).
- General project goals:
 - ▶ Formalize key examples.
 - ▶ See how many constructions in how many languages and constructions this can work on.
 - ▶ Motivate any apparent exceptions.