Modelling the pragmatic effects of approximation

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Vague quantifiers?

- "More than"
- "Fewer than"
- "At least"
- "At most"

Vague quantities

"John has more than three children"



Vague quantities

"John has more than three children"



Enriched meaning?

- "More than 50 people..."
 - "...live in my apartment block"
 - "...live in Berlin"

Implicature: "more than 50" => not more than x, for some x > 50

But: no implicatures of this type

- "John has more than three children"
 - SI because speaker did not say "John has more than four children"
 - "John has more than three children" => "It is not the case that John has more than four children"
 - => "John has more than three and not more than four children"
 - => "John has exactly four children"
- SI not conveyed (Geurts et al. 2010)

Exception: Granularity effects

- "Berlin has more than 50 inhabitants"
 - SI because speaker did not say "Berlin has more than 51 inhabitants"...
 - ...DOES NOT ARISE because "51" less efficient expression than "50"

Exception: Granularity effects

- "Berlin has more than 50 inhabitants"
 - Respecting granularity, speaker could have said "Berlin has more than 60/100 inhabitants"
 - but could not have said "Berlin has more than 51/52/53 inhabitants", etc.
 - hence => "It is not the case that Berlin has more than 60/100 inhabitants"

Experiment: SIs with modified numerals

Information: A newspaper reported the following.

"[Numerical expression] people attended the public meeting about the new highway construction project."

Question: Based on reading this, how many people do you think attended the meeting?

Between _____ and _____ people attended [range condition].

_____ people attended [single number condition].

Experiment: SIs with modified numerals



Significant effects of condition (roundness) for both upper-bound and preferred single number (ANOVAs, p < 0.01).

Attenuation of SIs with modified numerals

- "More than 50" seems to implicate upper-bound...
- ...but what if you have some particular reason to be talking about 50?

"We need to sell 50 tickets to break even" "We'll sell more/fewer than 50"

• Pragmatically, argument for implicature *fails*.

Experiment: *Attenuation of* SIs with...

- Please read the following short dialogues, and answer the questions by filling in a value for each blank space, according to your opinion. Consider each dialogue separately. Assume that participant B is well-informed, telling the truth, and being co-operative in each case.
- A: We need to sell tickets to cover our costs. How are the ticket sales going?
- B: So far, we've sold fewer than 60 tickets.

How many tickets have been sold?

From to, most likely

Experiment: *Attenuation of* SIs with...

- Please read the following short dialogues, and answer the questions by filling in a value for each blank space, according to your opinion. Consider each dialogue separately. Assume that participant B is well-informed, telling the truth, and being co-operative in each case.
- A: We need to sell 60 tickets to cover our costs. How are the ticket sales going?
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How many tickets have been sold?

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Experiment: *Attenuation of* SIs with...



Significant effects of condition (roundness) (ANOVAs, p < 0.01); marginally significant effect of priming (p = 0.069).

Follow-up with MTurk shows significant priming effect.

Underlying proposal

- Choice of quantifier construed as output of multiple constraint satisfaction problem.
- Constraints:
 - Informativeness
 - Use of salient numeral
 - Priming (numeral and quantifier)
 - Use of appropriate granularity level

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Underlying intuition

- SIs arise from what you chose not to say
- No* choice no* inference
- Extent to which you draw inferences should be proportional to the extent to which you think the speaker had a choice.
- If the choice is forced, e.g. by the need to talk about a certain number, then there are no grounds for inference.

Properly vague quantifiers

- Explicit approximation
 - "about", "around", "approximately", vs. "exactly", etc.
- as accounted for by this intuition / this model

Constraints on approximation

- Explicit approximation violates constraint on economy of expression
 - "about 50" vs. "50"
- Tacit approximation violates constraint on informativeness
 - Assuming that the bare numeral is ambiguous between precise and approximative readings
- Relative ranking of constraints posited to predict choice (simplicity vs. informativeness)

Constraints on approximation

- Explicit approximation violates constraint on economy of expression
 - "about 47" vs. "47"
- Tacit approximation violates truthfulness
 Assumption of ambiguity fails
- Other candidates "about 50", "50", etc.
 - Informativeness, simplicity, numeral salience predicted to conflict

Exception: prior activation

• Previous argument suggests that "about 47" wins over "about 50" only for certain distributions

Pragmatic enrichments follow

• Prior mention of "47" enables "about 47" to be favoured anyway

– Pragmatic enrichments fail

- Potential to use "about 47" to refer even to "exactly 49", say
 - Numeral salience/priming versus informativeness

Pragmatic effects of approximation

- Use of approximation => speaker does not have better information
 - Unless approximation serves to allow use of contextually-salient number
 - Transparent in the case of round numbers (general case of contextual salience)
 - For non-round numbers, achievable through prior activation

Expressing uncertain quantities



Appropriate measure of informativeness?

Conclusion

- Constraint-based model
 - Generates correct predictions for "more than", etc.
 - Generates testable predictions for approximate quantities
 - including potentially theory-critical predictions concerning failure of implicature in context
- Approximation generally potentially difficult to characterise in this way
 - Need to stipulate some kind of semantics
 - Need to measure informativeness