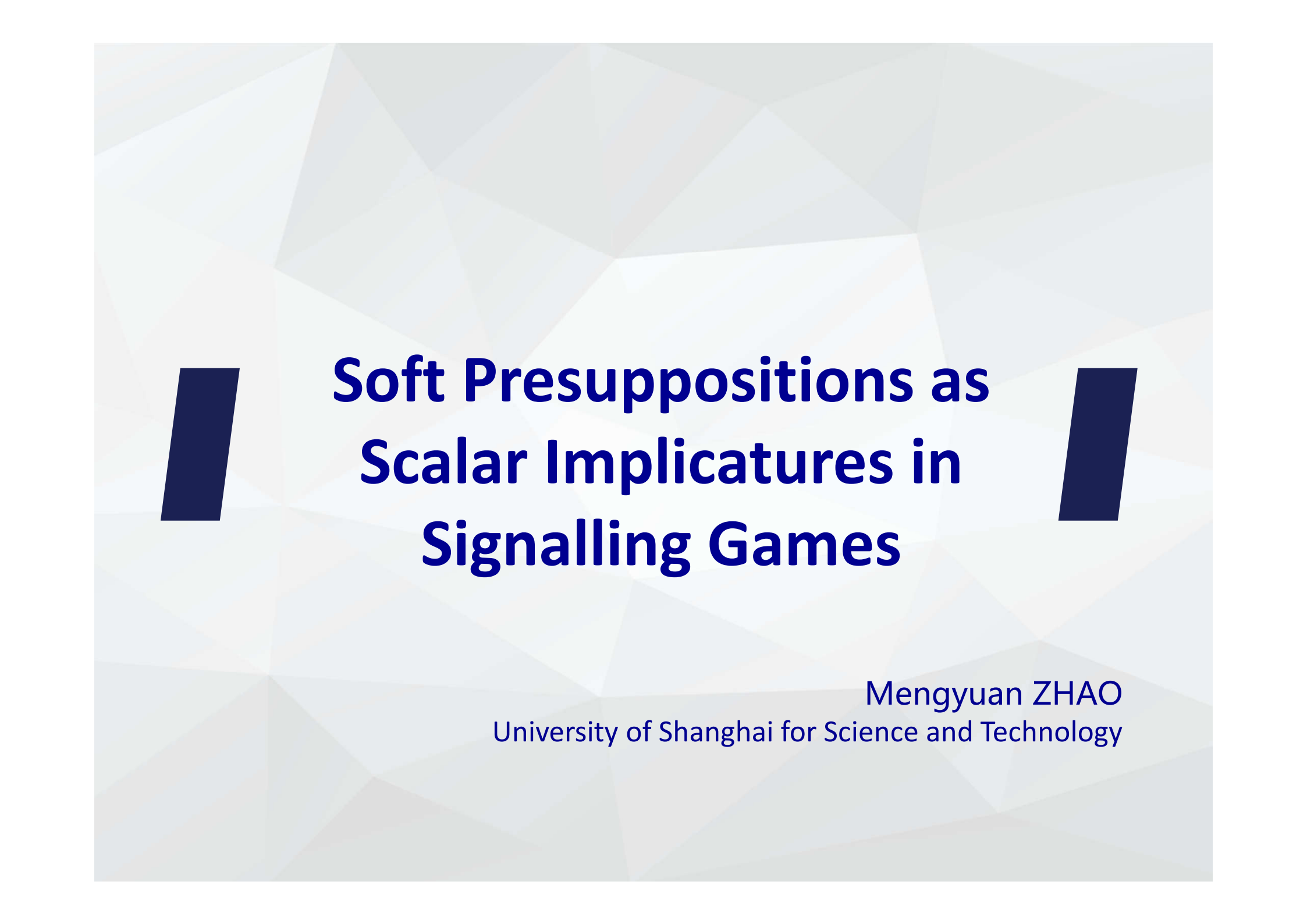




Soft Presuppositions as Scalar Implicatures in Signalling Games

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Summary and Future Work

Introduction

Angelo *won* the contest.

→ Angelo *participated in* the contest.



Presupposition in **pragmatic** sense is to be taken for granted (Stalnaker 1972) ; or interlocutors purported to (Lewis 1979).

Introduction

Presupposition Projection

uniform

Heim (1983)
Beaver (2001)

Angelo *won* the contest.
Angelo didn't *win* the contest.
If Angelo *won* the contest, he will celebrate.
Did Angelo *win* the contest?
It's possible that Angelo *won* the contest.
→ Angelo ***participated in*** the contest.

Introduction

Presupposition Projection

uniform

Heim (1983)
Beaver (2001)

problem?

Soft vs. Hard triggers

**cancelable;
uniform through
quantification**

Abusch (2002, 2010)
Charlow (2009)

Introduction

Presupposition Projection

uniform

Heim (1983)
Beaver (2001)

problem?

Soft vs. Hard triggers

cancelable;
uniform through
quantification

Abusch (2002, 2010)
Charlow (2009)

(1) I don't know whether
Linda participated in the
contest or not.

But if she *won*, she will
celebrate.

(2) I don't know whether
anybody saw the cat.
#But if *it is* Angelo *who* saw it,
he should let me know.

Introduction

- (1) a. All of the students smoke Marlboro *too*.
b. None of the students smoke Marlboro *too*.
c. Some of the students smoke Marlboro *too*.
d. → All of the students smoke ***something other than*** Marlboro.

Soft vs. Hard triggers

cancelable;
uniform through
quantification

Abusch (2002, 2010)
Charlow (2009)

- (2) a. All of the students *stopped* smoking.
b. None of the students *stopped* smoking.
c. → All of the students *used to* smoke.
d. Some of the students *stopped* smoking.
e. $\nrightarrow$ All of the students ***used to*** smoke.

Introduction

Presupposition Projection

uniform

Heim (1983)
Beaver (2001)

problem?

Soft vs. Hard triggers

**cancelable;
uniform through
quantification**

Abusch (2002, 2010)
Charlow (2009)

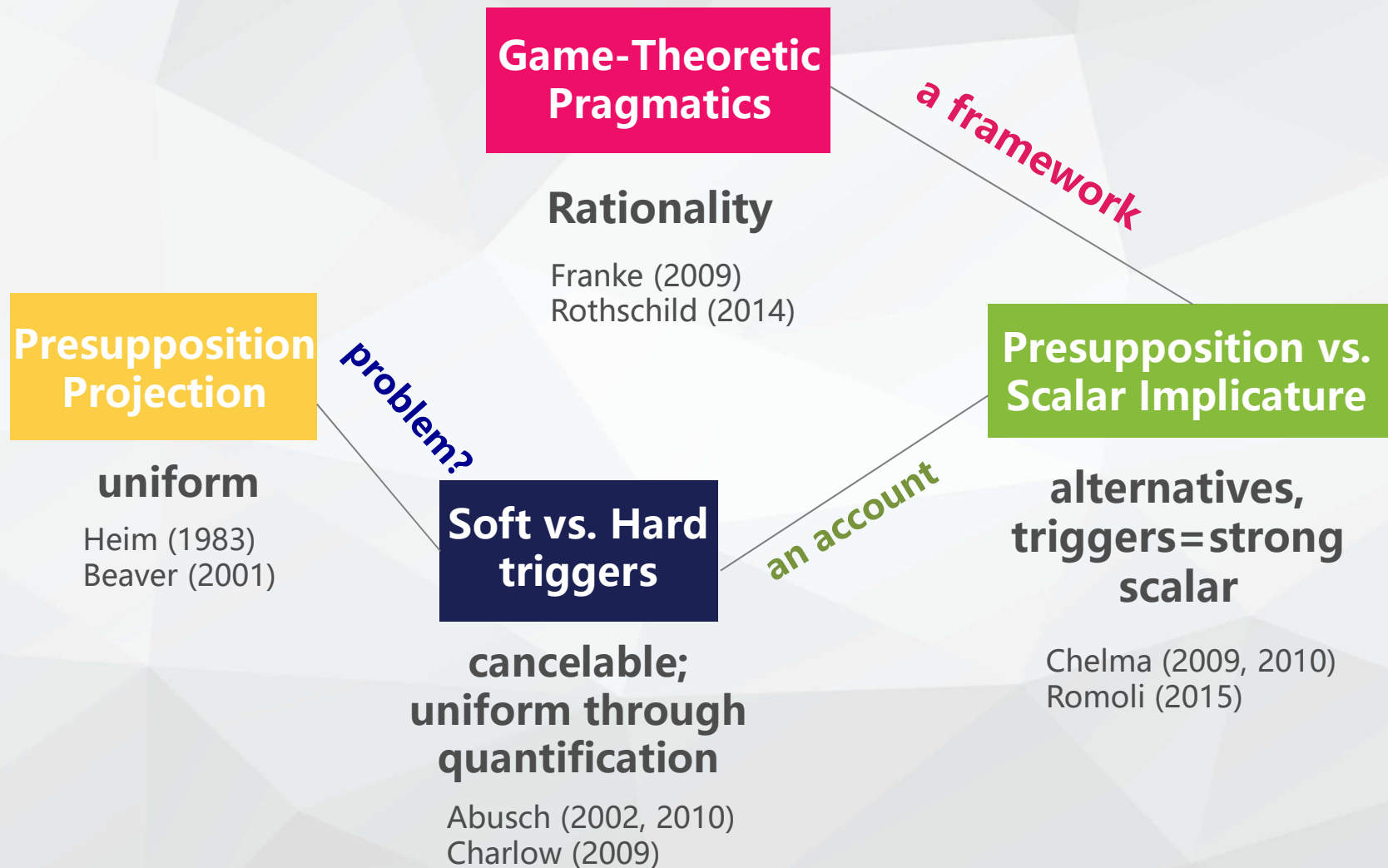
an account

Presupposition vs. Scalar Implicature

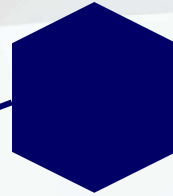
**alternatives,
triggers=strong
scalar**

Chelma (2009, 2010)
Romoli (2015)

Introduction



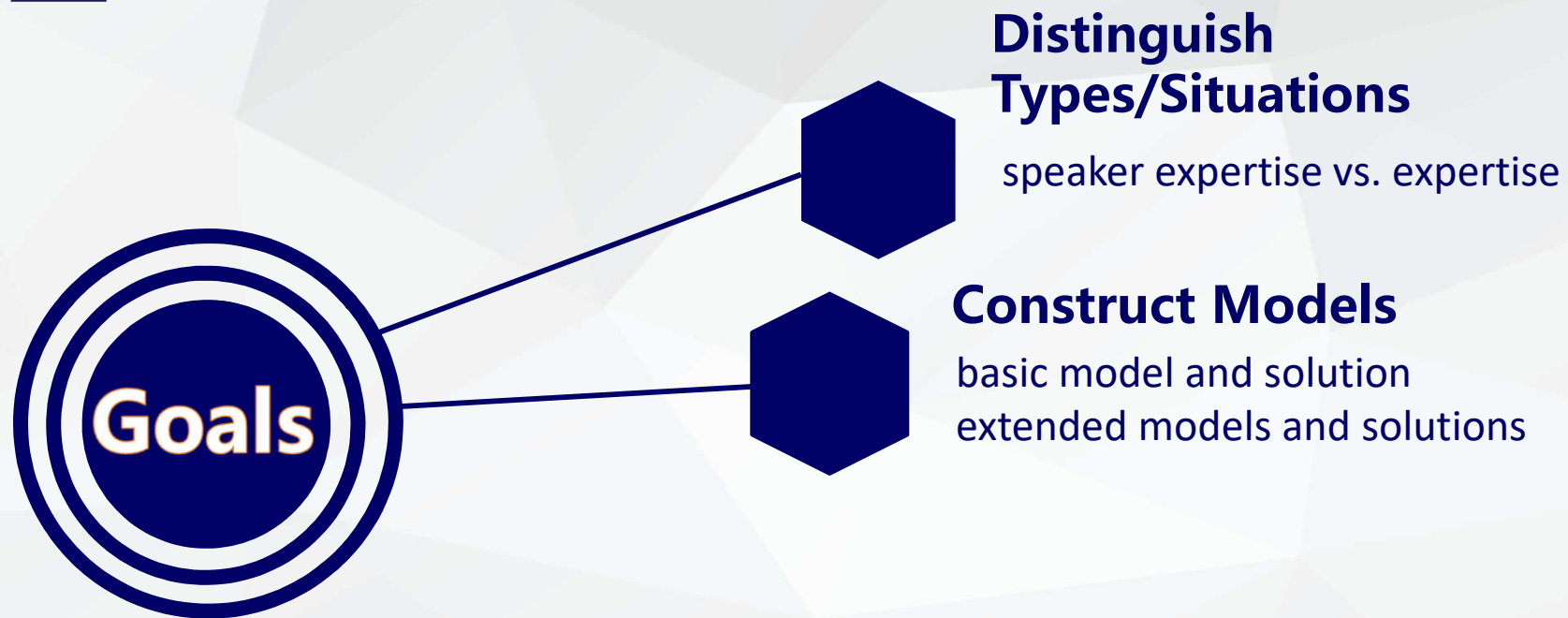
Introduction



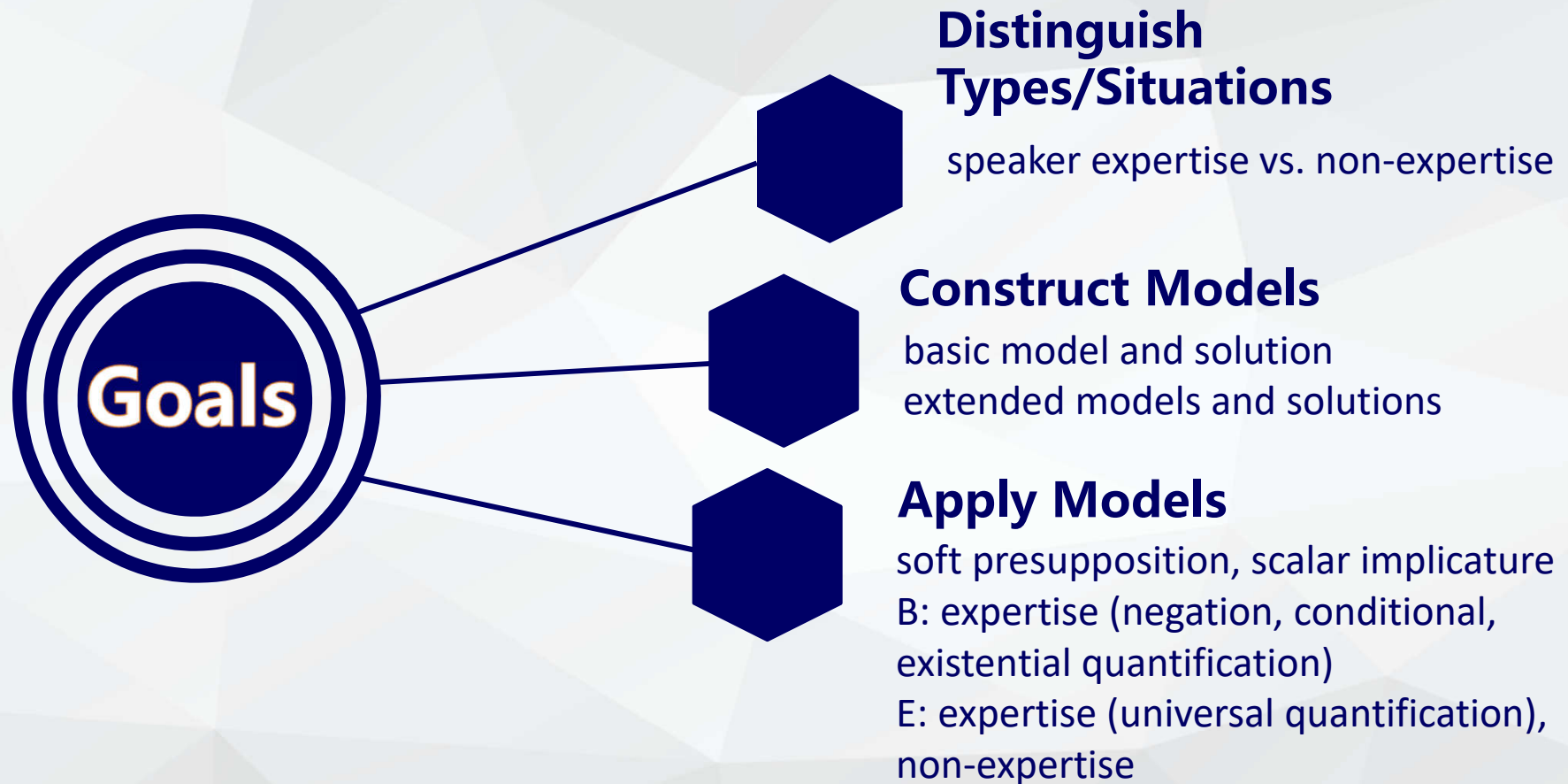
Distinguish Types/Situations

speaker expertise vs. non-expertise

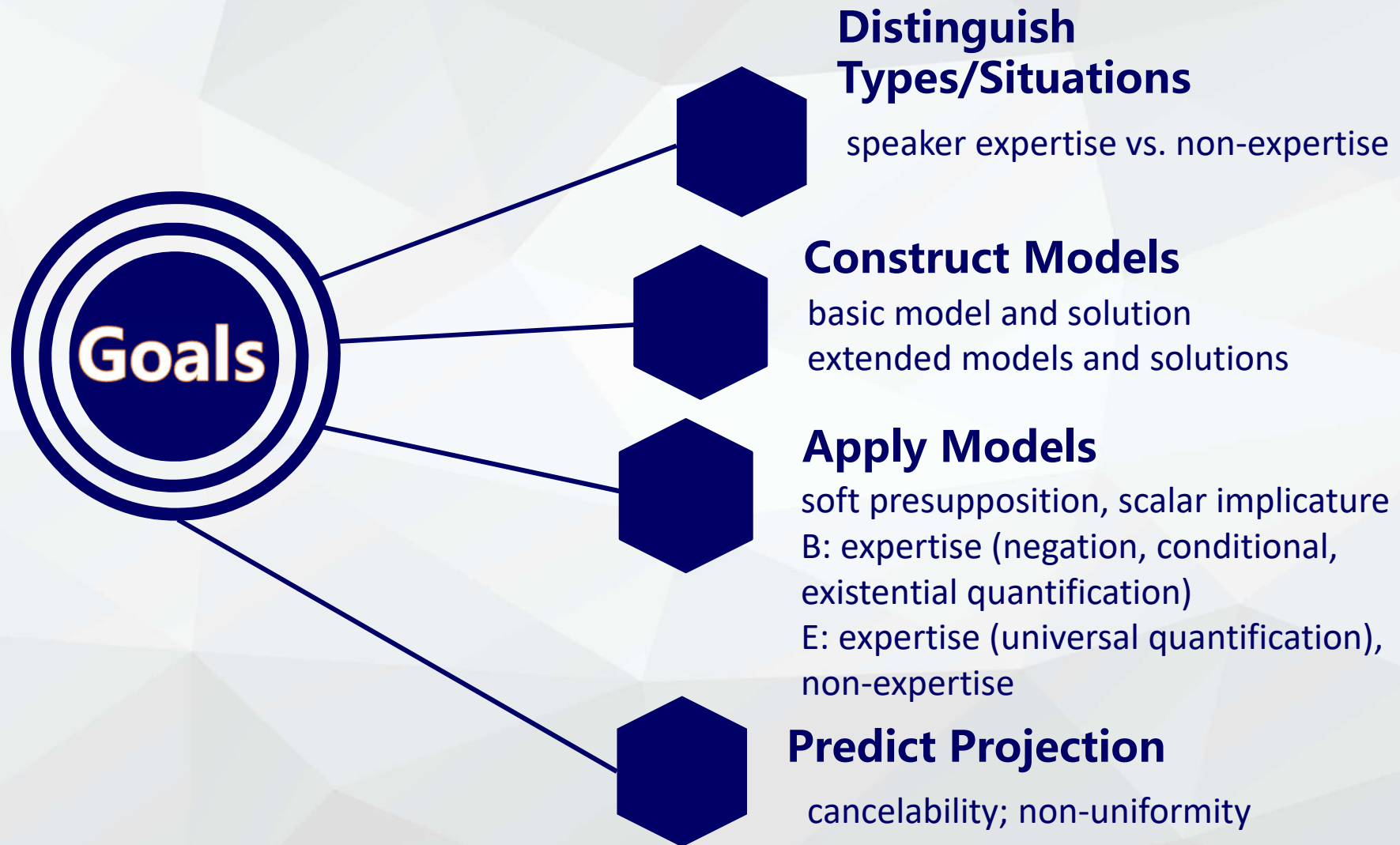
Introduction



Introduction



Introduction



The Model-Basic Model and Solution



Type/Situation

Speaker Expertise
 $t \in T^W$



Speaker Strategy

Intentionally consistent (IC)
 $\sigma \in S = (\Delta(M))^T, t = \llbracket m \rrbracket$



Hearer Strategy

IC
 $\rho \in H = (\Delta(T)^M), t = \llbracket m \rrbracket$

The Model-Basic Model and Solution



Type/Situation

Speaker Expertise
 $t \in T^W$



Speaker Strategy

Intentionally consistent (IC)
 $\sigma \in S = (\Delta(M))^T, t = \llbracket m \rrbracket$



Hearer Strategy

IC
 $\rho \in H = (\Delta(T))^M, t = \llbracket m \rrbracket$



Payoff Function

$U_N(t_i, m, t_j), N \in \{S, H\}$

Failure: 0

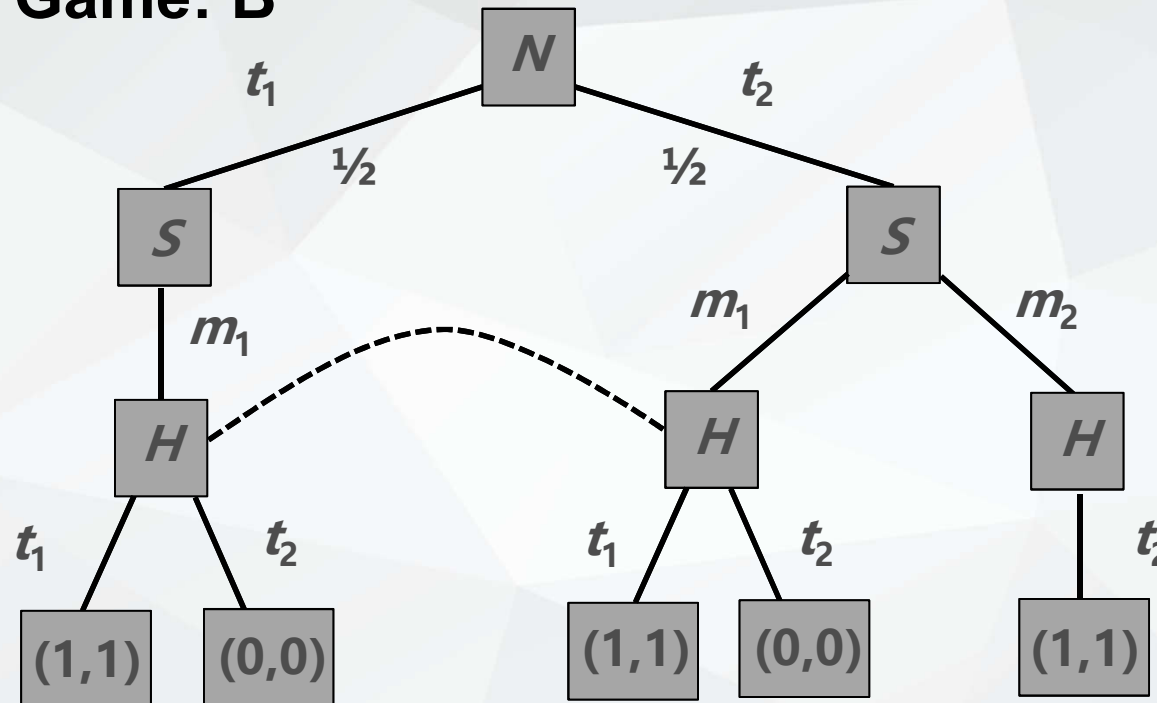
if $i \neq j$

Success: 1

if $i = j$

The Model-Basic Model and Solution

Signaling Game: B

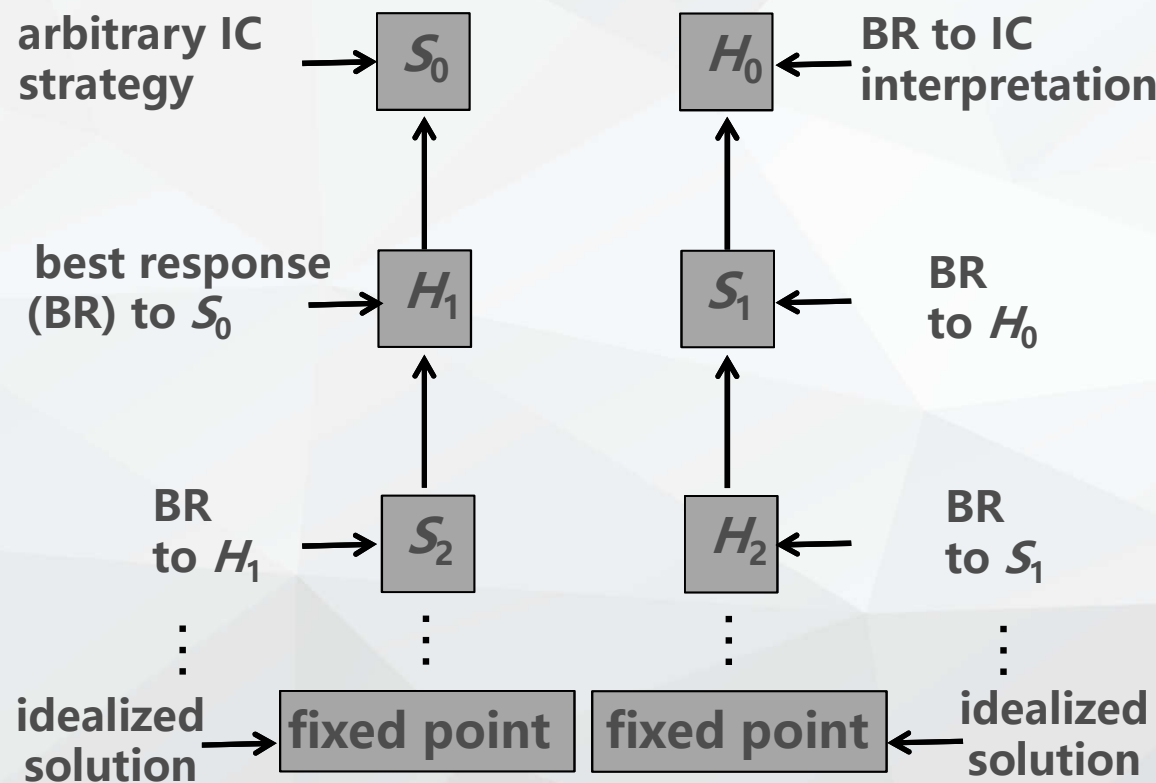


Type	Knowledge
t_1	$\{w_w\}$
t_2	$\{w_s\}$

- speaker intention: t_1, t_2 .
- hearer prior belief: $p = \frac{1}{2}$.
- messages: weak- m_1 , strong- m_2 .
- hearer interpretation: t_1, t_2 .

The Model-Basic Model and Solution

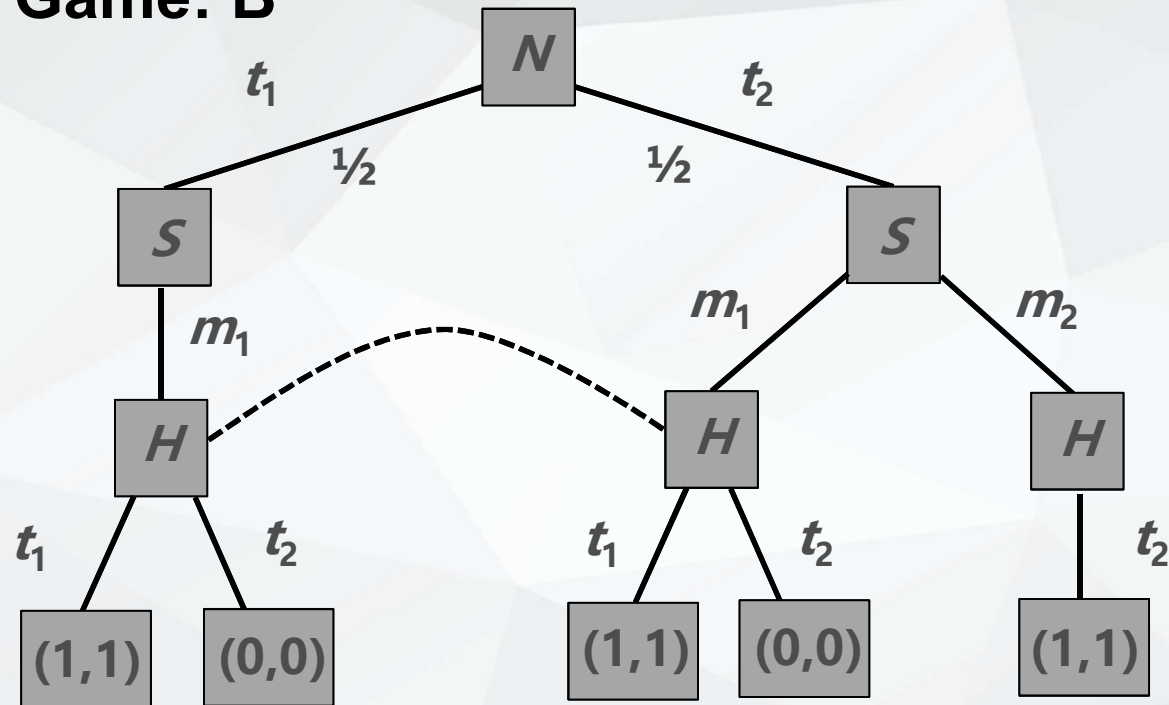
Solution: iterated best response (IBR)
reasoning framework



- $s(t) \in \arg \max_{m \in M} EU_S(m, t, \rho)$
- $EU_S(m, t, \rho) = \sum_{t \in T} \rho(m, a) \times U_S(t, m, a)$
- $h(m) \in \arg \max_{t \in T} EU_H(t, a, \mu)$
- $EU_H(t, a, \mu) = \sum_{t \in T} \mu(t|m) \times U_H(t, m, a)$
- $\mu(t|m) = \frac{Pr(t) \times \sigma(m|t)}{\sum_{t' \in T} Pr(t') \times \sigma(m|t')}$

The Model-Basic Model and Solution

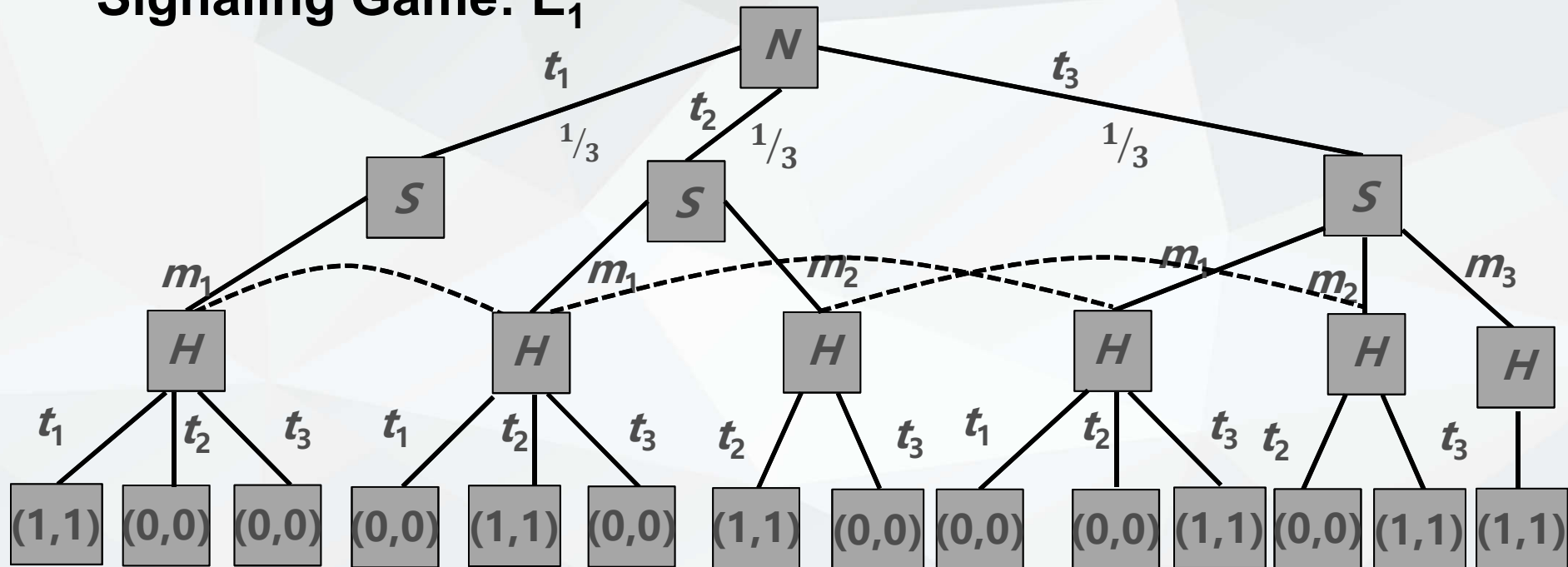
Signaling Game: B



$$S^* = \begin{cases} \sigma(t_1) = m_1 \\ \sigma(t_2) = m_2 \end{cases}, H^* = \begin{cases} \rho(m_1) = t_1 \\ \rho(m_2) = t_2 \end{cases}$$

The Model-Extended Models and Solutions

Signaling Game: E_1

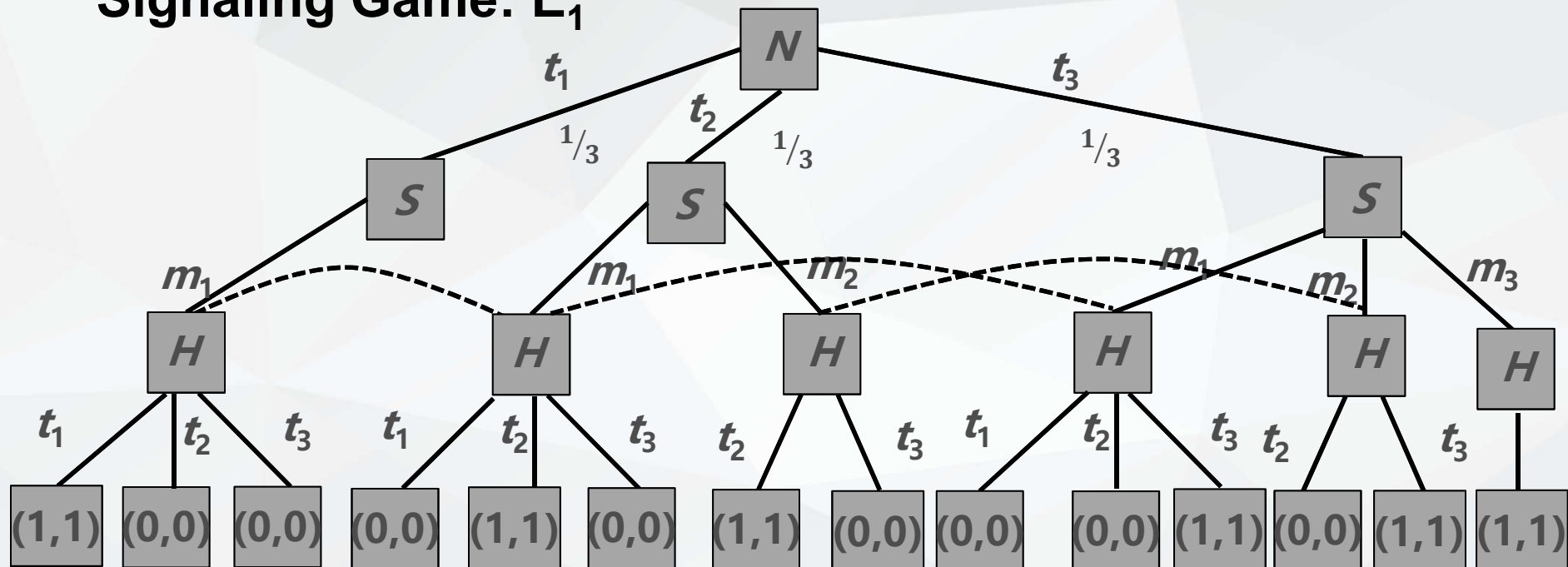


Type	Knowledge
t_1	$\{w_{\vee}\}$
t_2	$\{w_{\exists}, w_{\neg\vee}\}$
t_3	$\{w_{\neg}\}$

- speaker intention: t_1, t_2, t_3 .
- hearer prior belief: $p, 1-p$.
- messages: m_1, m_2, m_3 .
- hearer interpretation: t_1, t_2, t_3 .

The Model-Extended Models and Solutions

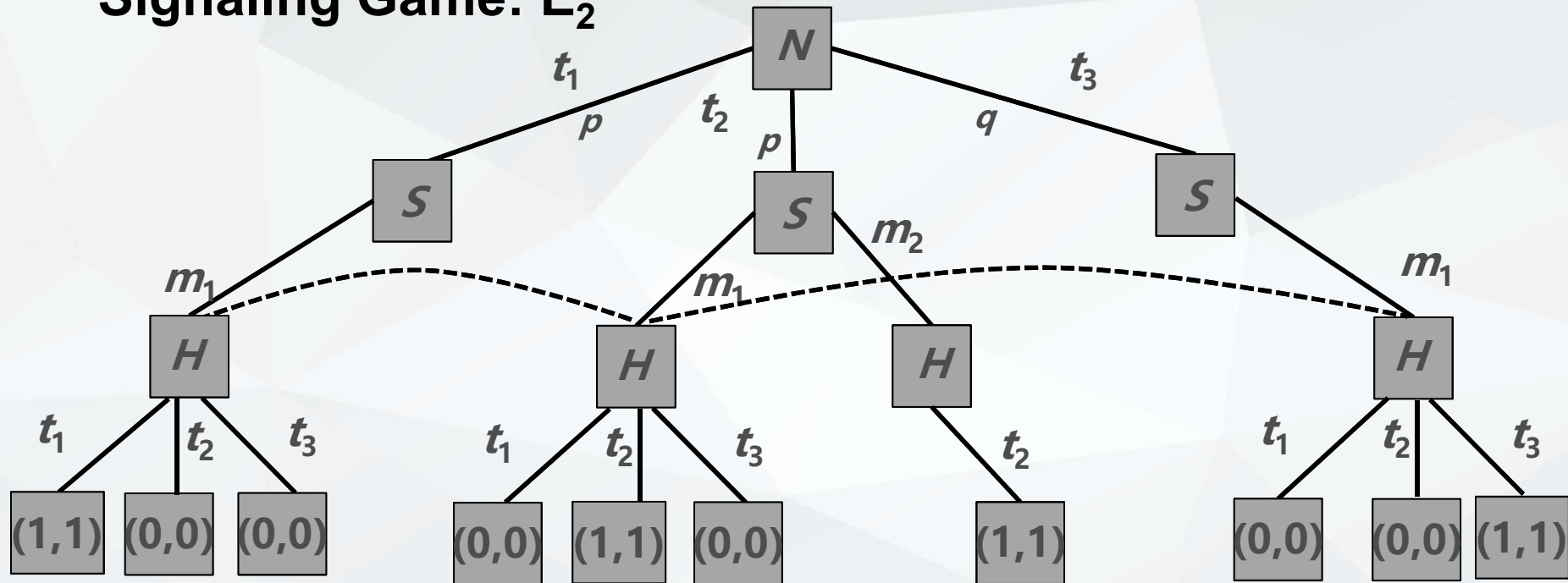
Signaling Game: E_1



$$S^* = \begin{cases} \sigma(t_1) = m_1 \\ \sigma(t_2) = m_2 \\ \sigma(t_3) = m_3 \end{cases}, H^* = \begin{cases} \rho(m_1) = t_1 \\ \rho(m_2) = t_2 \\ \rho(m_3) = t_3 \end{cases}$$

The Model-Extended Models and Solutions

Signaling Game: E_2

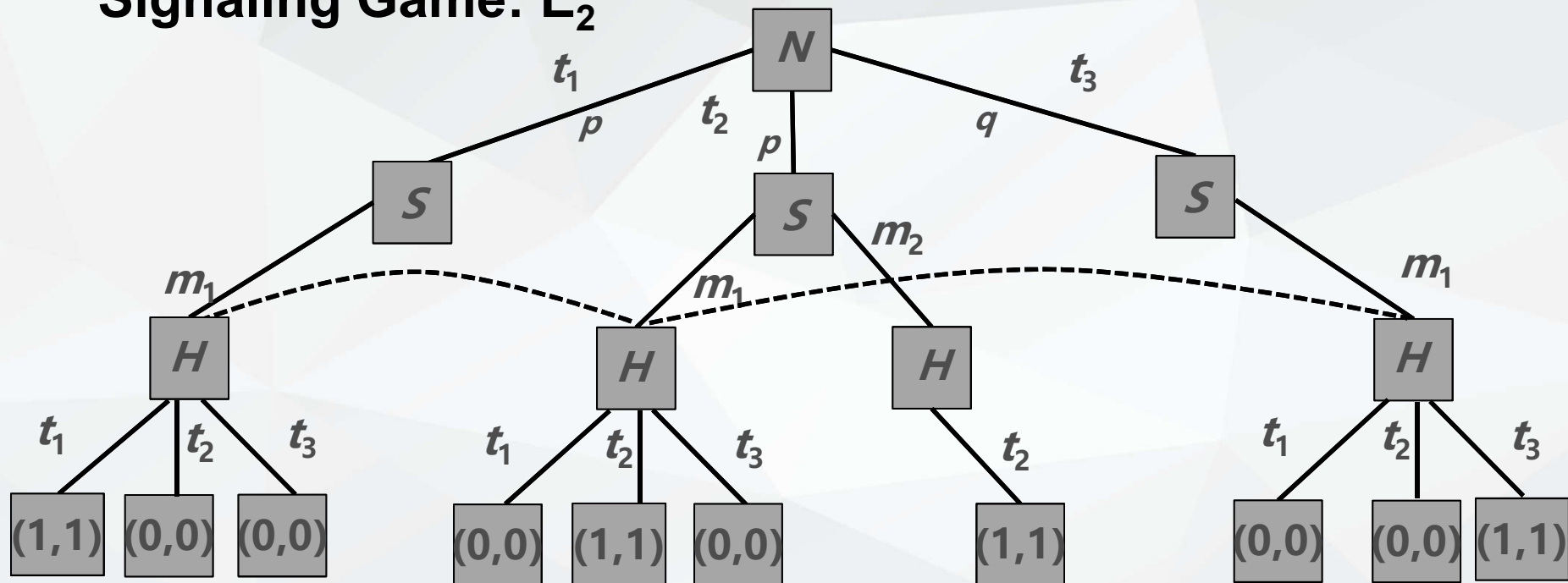


Type	Knowledge
t_1	$\{w_w\}$
t_2	$\{w_s\}$
t_3	$\{w_w, w_s\}$

- speaker intention: t_1, t_2, t_3 .
- hearer prior belief: $p = 1-q/2, q$.
- messages: m_1, m_2 .
- hearer interpretation: t_1, t_2, t_3 .

The Model-Extended Models and Solutions

Signaling Game: E_2



$$S^* = \begin{cases} \sigma(t_1) = m_1 \\ \sigma(t_2) = m_2 \\ \sigma(t_3) = m_1 \end{cases}, H^* = \begin{cases} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rho(m_1) = t_1 \\ \rho(m_2) = t_2 \end{array} \right\}, q < \frac{1}{3} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rho(m_1) = t_3 \\ \rho(m_2) = t_2 \end{array} \right\}, q > \frac{1}{3} \end{cases}$$

The Model-Model Comparison



Chelma Model

Projection:
exhaustification
principle vs. payoff.
Signaling game.



Parikh Signaling
Game

Expertise: speaker type
vs. knowledge
t: situation vs. intention;
solution: Pareto-
dominating equilibrium
vs. IBR.
Expertise; Reasoning.



Rothschild
Game Model

solution: weak
dominance
reasoning vs. IBR.
**Cancelability;
Reasoning.**



Franke IBR
Model

Starting point:
semantic vs.
intentional
consistent.
Prior belief:
unbiased vs.
biased.
Cancelability.

Applications



Example

Neg: He didn't eat all. → He ate some.

He didn't win. → John participated.

Cond: If he didn't eat all,... → He ate some.

If he won,... → He participated.

Exis Qut: Some of them ate all. → Some but not all ate some. ↗ All ate some.

Some of them won. → Some but not all participated. ↗ All participated.

Correspondence with B

Expertise: S knows about the presupposition/weak implicature.

Alternatives: <strong, weak>. eg. <none, some but not all>, <not participate, participate but not win>.

Applications



Example

Univ Qut: None of them ate all. $\rightarrow$ All ate some.
None of them won. $\rightarrow$ All participated.

Correspondence with E_1

Expertise: S knows about the presupposition/weak implicature.

Alternatives: $\langle \forall, \exists, \neg \forall, \neg \rangle$. eg. $\langle$ all participate, some but not all participate, none participate $\rangle$.

Applications



Example

Sus: I don't know whether John ate any of the cake or not. But if he ate all, Linda will cry. $\Rightarrow$ He ate some.

I don't know whether Linda participated in the contest or not. But if she won, she will celebrate. $\Rightarrow$ She participated.

Correspondence with E_2

Non-Expertise: S does not know about the presupposition/weak implicature. $q=1$

Alternatives: <strong, weak>. eg. <none, some but not all>, <not participate, participate but not win>.

An Evolutionary View

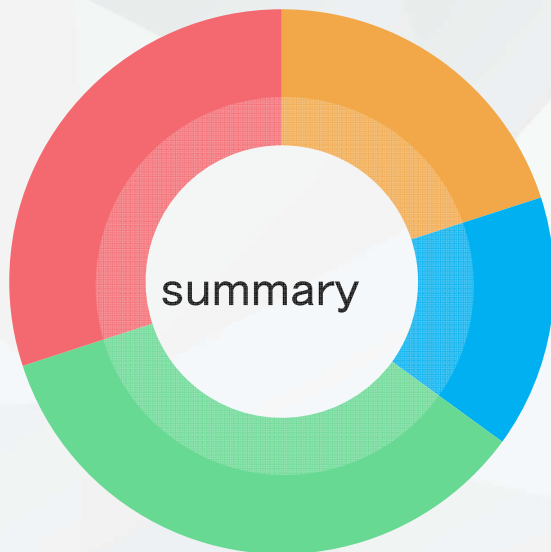


Projection happens unless it is common knowledge that the speaker is **ignorant** about it, in which case the presupposition is cancelable.



Projection depends on type of the **quantifiers**, which leads to non-uniform behaviors.

Summary and Future Work



▶ **Model Construction**
Game-theoretic models is built to analyze the rationale of soft presupposition.

▶ **Application**
Model is applied to analysis of projection through negation, conditional, quantificational sentences.

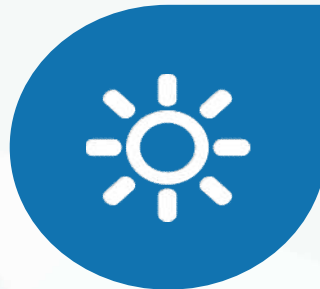
▶ **Prediction**
Two predictions on projection are given.

Summary and Future Work



Corpus Study

Compare our predictions with corpus study results.



Neuroscience Test

Test our assumption of rationality in neuroscientific experiments



AI Simulation

Simulate our reasoning framework with computer programming.



THANK YOU FOR LISTENING