Quantifier scope

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The phenomenon

A climber scaled every cliff.

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- There was one climber and he scaled every cliff.
- Every cliff was scaled by a potentially different climber.

Logical Form:

- intermediate between surface syntactic structures and meaning
- input to semantic interpretation
- level of representation for scope disambiguation
- derived by quantifi er raising/lowering (QR/QL)
- quantifi er scope ambiguity: structural ambiguity

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Anderson (2004):

- the inverse scope reading is more diffi cult
- even following a biasing context
- even in disambiguated senteces:
 - A different climber scaled every cliff.

'How many' questions

Villalta (2003)

scope ambiguity: how many and every

assumptions:

- LF-style interpretation
- incremental construction of LF
- surface order is "cheaper" (Minimal Cost Hypothesis)

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LF2: $[_{CP} \text{How}_n [_C Q [_{IP} [t_n \text{-many pieces}]_j \text{ every student}_i [[_{VP} t_i \text{ played } t_j]]]]]$

Questionnaire

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results: surface order dispreferred (37.8% vs. 58.3%)

proposal:

- interrogative phrases need an antecedent in context
- context is accessed immediately
- failure to find unique antecedent delays processing

Context: In December, the chef distributed some of his recipes to his students. There was one recipe that everybody received: the "Chilled Terrine with Pistachios and Caper Mustard".

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Question: How many recipes / did every student / receive / from the chef / in December?

Results:

- slower RTs on last two segments in Multiple Sets condition
- surface order dispreferred in Multiple Sets condition (34% vs. 53% in other condition)

What influences quantifier scope?

- intrinsic properties of quantifi ers
- grammatical function
- linear order/c-command
- topichood
- focusing
- partitiveness/discourse binding
- thematic role
- etc.

multi-factor theories (e.g. loup 1975, Kuno 1991, Pafel 1997)

- interaction of several properties
- individual properties differ in relative weight
- the sum of the weight values for Q correspond to its scope potential
- scope interpretation determined by Q1's and Q2's scope potential
- large difference \rightarrow unambiguous scope

Kurtzman and MacDonald (1993)

- Linear Order
- Surface Subject
- External Argument
- C-command
- Topic
- Thematic Hierarchy

Kurtzman and MacDonald (1993)

(0) A kid climbed every tree.

a. The kid was full of energy.b. The kids were full of energy.

(0) Every kid climbed a tree.

- a. The tree was full of apples.
- b. The trees were full of apples.

self-paced reading sentence-by sentence, acceptability judgment

conditions: ambiguity X Q order X verb (activity vs. perception) X continuation (scope)

Experiment 1: active sentences

results:

- preference for forward scope
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- effect of Thematic Hierarchy: high WS2 with every ... a plus perception verb

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Single Reference Principle: simplicity (similar to Fodor 1982)

allows immediate interpretation of an initial indefi nite NP