

# Incrementality all the way up

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- 1 Incrementality and content negotiation
- 2 Incrementality and argument negotiation
- 3 Record types and incremental specification



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# Interpretation is incremental

One kind of example:

- 1 **A:** Er, the doctor
- 2 **B:** Chorlton?
- 3 **A:** Chorlton, mhm, he examined me . . .

[BNC: KPY 1006-1008]

- Dialogue involves interaction
- We need to model interaction



<b>A</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>B</b>
	$e_1$ : <b>A</b> /the doctor	
$\text{ref}(e_1, c)$		? $\text{ref}(e_1, c)$
	$e_2$ : <b>B</b> /Chorlton?	
$\text{cont}(e_2, \text{?ref}(e_1, c))$		$\text{cont}(e_2, \text{?ref}(e_1, c))$
	$e_3$ : <b>A</b> /Chorlton	
$\text{cont}(e_3, \text{ref}(e_1, c))$		$\text{cont}(e_3, \text{ref}(e_1, c))$ $\text{ref}(e_1, c)$

<b>A</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>B</b>
	$e_1$ : <b>A</b> /the doctor	
$\text{ref}(e_1, c)$		? $\text{ref}(e_1, c)$
	$e_2$ : <b>B</b> /Chorlton?	
$\text{cont}(e_2, \text{?ref}(e_1, c))$		$\text{cont}(e_2, \text{?ref}(e_1, c))$
	$e_3$ : <b>A</b> /Chorlton	
$\text{cont}(e_3, \text{ref}(e_1, c))$		$\text{cont}(e_3, \text{ref}(e_1, c))$ $\text{ref}(e_1, c)$

# Mismatches in information states and accommodation

- 1 **A:** Er, the doctor
- 2 **B:** Chorlton?
- 3 **A:** no, **Fitzgerald**, mhm, he examined me  
...



<b>A</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>B</b>
	$e_1$ : <b>A</b> /the doctor	
$\text{ref}(e_1, f)$		? $\text{ref}(e_1, c)$
	$e_2$ : <b>B</b> /Chorlton?	
$\text{cont}(e_2, \text{?ref}(e_1, c))$		$\text{cont}(e_2, \text{?ref}(e_1, c))$
	$e_3$ : <b>A</b> /no, Fitzgerald	
$\text{cont}(e_3, \text{ref}(e_1, f))$		$\text{cont}(e_3, \text{ref}(e_1, f))$ $\text{ref}(e_1, f)$



<b>A</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>B</b>
	$e_1$ : <b>A</b> /the doctor	
$ref(e_1, f)$		?ref( $e_1, c$ )
	$e_2$ : <b>B</b> /Chorlton?	
cont( $e_2$ , ?ref( $e_1, c$ ))		cont( $e_2$ , ?ref( $e_1, c$ ))
	$e_3$ : <b>A</b> /no, Fitzgerald	
cont( $e_3$ , ref( $e_1, f$ ))		cont( $e_3$ , ref( $e_1, f$ )) $ref(e_1, f)$

# Misunderstanding

- 1 **A:** Er, the doctor
- 2 **A:** mhm, he examined me . . .



<b>A</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>B</b>
	$e_1$ : <b>A</b> /the doctor	
ref( $e_1$ ,f)		ref( $e_1$ ,c)
	$e_2$ : <b>A</b> /he examined me	
cont( $e_2$ , examine( <b>f</b> , A))		cont( $e_2$ , examine( <b>c</b> , A))

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# Accommodating arguments

- 1 **P:** Metal was actually the reason I started doing hip hop.
- 2 **P:** ...Because I hated metal
- 3 **J:** Oh, I thought you were going to say something completely different!

[radio interview with hip-hop artist Petter,  
translated from Swedish]



# Two relevant arguments

- $\frac{\text{like}(a, b) \quad \text{similar}(b, c)}{\text{do}(a, c)}$
- $\frac{\text{hate}(a, b) \quad \text{similar}(b, c)}{\text{do}(a, c)}$
- and many more ...
- enthymematic arguments
  - not logically valid (can possibly be made so by adding premises)
  - can be defeasible



# Topoi and enthymemes

**topos** abstract argument form

like( $a, b$ )    similar( $b, c$ )  
~~~~~  
do( $a, c$ )

**enthymeme** instantiated topos

like(petter, metal)    similar(metal, hip-hop)  
~~~~~  
do(petter, hip-hop)

Call these  $\tau_{\text{like}}$  and  $\varepsilon_{\text{like}}$



**topos** abstract argument form

$$\frac{\text{hate}(a, b) \quad \text{similar}(b, c)}{\text{do}(a, c)}$$

**enthymeme** instantiated topos

$$\frac{\text{hate}(\text{petter}, \text{metal}) \quad \text{similar}(\text{metal}, \text{hip-hop})}{\text{do}(\text{petter}, \text{hip-hop})}$$

Call these  $\tau_{\text{hate}}$  and  $\varepsilon_{\text{hate}}$





# Updating the dialogue gameboard

$e_1$ : **P**/Metal was actually the reason I started doing hip hop.

<b>P</b>	<b>J</b>
topos: $\tau_{\text{hate}}$	topos: $\tau_{\text{like}}$

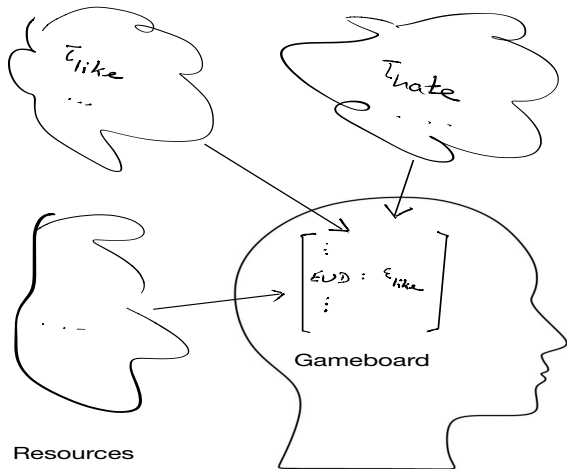
$e_2$ : **P**/...Because I hated metal

eud: $\varepsilon_{\text{hate}}$	topos: $\tau_{\text{hate}}$ eud: $\varepsilon_{\text{hate}}$
----------------------------------	---

$e_3$ : **J**/Oh, I thought you were going to say something completely different!



# Topoi as resources



Resources



# Ceci n'est pas une logique

- Topoi do not lead us to a monolithic consistent logic (Ducrot, 1980, 1988; Anscombe, 1995)
- Perhaps local consistency
- But the inference rules may change within a dialogue or even their appropriateness be discussed



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- TTR is a type theory with records
- Cooper (2005, 2012); Ginzburg (2012); Cooper and Ginzburg (2015)
- TTR applied to enthymematic reasoning: Breitholtz (2014a,b); Breitholtz and Cooper (2011); Breitholtz et al. (2015); Breitholtz and Howes (2015); Schlöder et al. (2016)

# Record types in TTR

- A record type is a set of fields consisting of a label and a type

Let  $T$  be

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} x : \text{Ind} \\ c : \text{doctor}(x) \end{array} \right]$$

- A record is a set of fields consisting of a label and an object.

$r : T$  just in case  $r$  is of the form

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} x = a \\ c = s \\ \vdots \end{array} \right]$$

where  $a : \text{Ind}$  and

$s : \text{doctor}(r.x)$ , i.e.  $s : \text{doctor}(a)$



# Partial specification using manifest fields

- Let  $T'$  be

$$\begin{bmatrix} x = \text{chorlton} & : & \text{Ind} \\ c & : & \text{doctor}(x) \end{bmatrix}$$

- $r : T'$  just in case  $r$  is of the form

$$\begin{bmatrix} x = a \\ c = s \\ \vdots \end{bmatrix}$$

where  $a : \text{Ind}_{\text{chorlton}}$

i.e.  $a : \text{Ind}$  and  $a = \text{chorlton}$  and

$s : \text{doctor}(r.x)$ , i.e.  $s : \text{doctor}(a)$

Note that  $T' \sqsubseteq T$ , i.e.  $r : T'$  implies  $r : T$



# Adding fields to record types

- Let  $T''$  be 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} x=\text{chorlton} & : \text{Ind} \\ c & : \text{doctor}(x) \\ e & : \text{examine}(x, \mathbf{A}) \end{array} \right]$$
- $T'' \sqsubseteq T'$
- Essentially similar to a DRT treatment (Kamp and Reyle, 1993)
- Records used to model situations (Barwise and Perry, 1983)





# Enthymemes and topoi as type theoretic objects

- objects which can be loaded into the gameboard, have a type
- dependent types — functions from objects to types
- $\tau_{\text{like}}$  —

$$\lambda r: \left[ \begin{array}{l} x: \text{Ind} \\ y: \text{Ind} \\ z: \text{Ind} \\ e_1: \text{like}(x,y) \\ e_2: \text{similar}(y,z) \end{array} \right] . [e: \text{do}(r.x, r.z)]$$



# Dependent types as functions

$$\tau_{\text{like}} : \left( \begin{array}{l} x:\text{Ind} \\ y:\text{Ind} \\ z:\text{Ind} \\ e_1:\text{like}(x,y) \\ e_2:\text{similar}(y,z) \end{array} \right) \rightarrow \text{RecType}$$



# Obtaining enthymemes by partial specification

$$\varepsilon_{\text{like}} \text{ --- } \left[ \begin{array}{l} x=\text{petter:Ind} \\ y=\text{metal:Ind} \\ \lambda r: z=\text{hip-hop:Ind} \\ e_1:\text{like}(x,y) \\ e_2:\text{similar}(y,z) \end{array} \right] . [e:\text{do}(r.x,r.z)]$$

(More sophisticated versions of  $\tau_{\text{like}}$  and  $\varepsilon_{\text{like}}$  in the paper.)



# Using topoi and enthymemes to make inferences

- topoi and enthymemes can be used in various ways to make “inferences”

- $$\frac{\tau : (T \rightarrow \text{Type}) \quad a : T}{a : \tau(a)}$$
$$\frac{\tau : (T \rightarrow \text{Type}) \quad a : T}{\tau(a) \text{ true}}$$
$$\frac{\tau : (T \rightarrow \text{Type}) \quad a : T}{! \tau(a)}$$

- $!T$  — act of creating an object  $a$ ,  $a : T$   
~~~~ — licensing an act such as a judgement or creation (Cooper, 2014, prep)



# Conclusion

- incremental interpretation and incremental reasoning
- topoi as resources to underpin enthymemes necessary to establish coherence
- as in incremental interpretation there can be misunderstanding and accommodation
- topoi and enthymemes as type theoretic objects as opposed to external rules



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