# Beyond intuitions, algorithms, and dictionaries: Historical semantics and legal interpretation 

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## Origins and kinds of meaning and interpretation

original (public) meaning, original intent, textualism, historicism, common law constitutionalism

Three major questions of linguistics:
(1) a. What do we know when we know a language? (What is knowledge of language?) Chomsky's I-language (vs. E-language)
b. How is this knowledge acquired?
c. How is this knowledge used?
(2) What do we know when we know a language?
a. What the words mean
b. How words can be combined into phrases (including sentences)
c. And more ...

(3) Susan saw the man with the telescope.

(4) "this crime covers anyone who intentionally accesses a federal computer without authorization, and by means of one or more instances of such conduct alters, damages, or destroys information"
18 U.S.C. 1030(a)(5)(A) debated in United States v. Morrison (1991).
a. Adverb [VP and VP]: defense
b. [Adverb VP] and [VP]: prosecution


- US Constitution, Art.II, sect.2, clause 2:
"He [the President] shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States...
The President shall have Power to fill up Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session."




A clue to resolving the structural ambiguity:

Compare Art. I sec. 3.2:
and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies

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The President shall have Power to fill up Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session."

- US Court of Appeals DC in Noel Canning v. National Labor Relations Board (1115 DC Circuit 17, 27 (2013):

Contemporaneous dictionaries treated "the" as "noting a particular thing" Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language 2041 (1755)

The, article, [de, Dutch.]

1. The article noting a particular thing.

Your fon has paid a foldier's debs :
He only liv'd ber till he was a man ; The which no fooner had his proweff confirm'd, In the unthrinking fation where he fought, But like a man he dy'd. Sbakefprare's Macberb.

He put him in mind of tbe long pretence he had to be groom of tbe bed-chamber, for $t b r$ whitch he could not chufe but fay, that he had tbe queen's promife. Clareados.

Unhappy flave, and pupil to a bell,
Unhappy till the laft, tbe kind releafing knell.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { I'll march tbe mufes, Hannibal. } & \text { Covvilg. } \\
\text { The fair example of tbe heav'aly lark, }
\end{array}
$$ Thy fellow poet, Cowley, mark; Above the flars let thy bold mufick found, Thy humble nelt build on the ground. Civvig. TBe fruit

Of that forbidden tree, whofe mortal tafte Brought death into $t b c$ world.

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Milten.
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Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (1755)

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2. Before a vowel e is commonly cut off in
    verfe.
        Who lad tb
    His fortunes ip into the flate they were., Dania. 
            Tb
        Is but a barb'rous fkill:
            "Tis Tike the pol'位g of a dart,
        Too apt before to kill.
        Cotvly.
    3. Sometimes be is cpt off.
        In this fcale gold, in'r'other fame does,ile.
    4. It is ufed by way of confequential re-
    ference.
        TbFlonger fin bath kept pofferion of the heart,
    tig harder it will be to drive it out. Dury of Mar.
    5. In the followving paflage the is ufed ac-
        cordjug to the French idiom.
            As all the confiderable governmerits among the
        Alps are commonweaiths, fo it is a conftitution
        the mof adapted of 2ny to the poverty of thefe
        countrie:.
        Addion on If(ly.
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Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (1755)

- Even if 'particular' = 'specific', specificity is neither necessary nor sufficient: definiteness $\neq$ specificity (or exhaustivity, exclusivity, universal quantification, etc.).

Generics use definite articles:
(1) The lion is a fearsome animal.
(2) The madrigal is a polyphonic compositional form.
(3) During the day, I allow my daughter to wear socks; at night, I don't. Compare:
(4) *During day, I allow my daughter to wear socks; at the night, I don't.

## Betrand Russell, "On denoting", Mind (1905):

(5) The king of France is bald = $\exists x[($ KingOfFrance $(x) \& \forall y$ (KingOfFrance $(y) \rightarrow$ $x=y)) \& B a \operatorname{ld}(x)]$

Table 1 Alternative lexical meanings for singular the

| Label | Definition | Author(s) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e t, e t\rangle}^{W F}$ | $\lambda P \cdot \lambda x \cdot[\partial(\|P\| \leq 1) \wedge P(x)]$ | Coppock and Beaver (2012b, here) |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e t, e t\rangle}^{R}$ | $\lambda P \cdot \lambda x \cdot[\|P\|=1 \wedge P(x)]$ | Winter (2001), Fara (2001) |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e t, e t\rangle}^{F}$ | $\lambda P \cdot \lambda x \cdot[\partial(\|P\|=1) \wedge P(x)]$ | Winter (2001) |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e t,\langle e t, t\rangle\rangle}^{R}$ | $\lambda P \cdot \lambda Q \cdot[\|P\|=1 \wedge P \subseteq Q]$ | e.g. Partee (1986) |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e t,(e t, t\rangle\rangle}^{F}$ | $\lambda P \cdot \lambda Q \cdot[\partial(\|P\|=1) \wedge P \subseteq Q]$ | e.g. Barwise and Cooper (1981) |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e t, e\rangle}^{F}$ | $\lambda P \cdot \iota x P(x)$ | Partee (1986), Elbourne (2012) |
| $\mathrm{THE}_{\langle e, e\rangle}^{F}$ | $\lambda x \cdot x$ | Löbner (1985, 2011) |

(6) What do these words mean?
a. peripatetic (rank order: 36555; $0.0000351 \%$; 1 in 3.5 million words) Example: "Little empirical data is available about the evolution and development of peripatetic communities, but it appears that many contemporary peripatetics evolved from hunter-gatherers, or nomadic pastoralists"
b. pecuniary (rank order: 22108; frequency: $0.000139 \%$; 1 in 1 million words)
Example: "I will not protract these remarks on the subject of Mr. Micawber's pecuniary affairs."
(7) What do these words mean?
a. bank (rank order: 538; frequency: $0.0058 \%$; 1 in 20,000 words) Examples: "the tree was on the river's left bank", "she put her money in the bank"
b. set (rank order: 189; 0.033\%; 1 in 3300 words) Examples: "set theory", "a desk set", "game, set, match", "set the table", " he was set up", "he set the papers on the desk", "a TV set" c. the (rank order: 1; frequency: 5.0306\%; 1 in 20 words)
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Historical patterns in the use of the definite article: Data from Google's n-gram corpus


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without the consent of without consent of

with the consent of with consent of


## for the love of

for love of

during the recess during recess


Proportion of occurrences of 'during the recess' to all occurrences of 'during (the) recess'


Proportion of occurrences of 'the recess' to all occurrences of 'recess'

Therefore, the appellate court's opinion regarding the meaning and use of 'the' may rest on a serious descriptive error.

Higher stakes:

- D.C. v. Heller 2008
- McDonald v. Chicago 2010


## 2nd Amendment:

(10) A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

## Questions

(11) a. Is 'bear arms' an idiom?
b. Can other objects apnear with 'bear'?
c. Does the subject of 'bear arms' always have to denote a collectivity?
d. Does the subject always have to be plural?

## 2nd Amendment:

(12) A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Questions:
(13) a. Is 'bear arms' an idiom?
b. Can other objects appear with 'bear'?
c. Does the subject of 'bear arms' always have to denote a collectivity?
d. Does the subject always have to be plural?




Likewise 0\% for
(14) a. bear a rifle
b. bear a musket
c. bear a pistol
d. bear a weapon
e. bear a knife
f. bear rifles
g. bear muskets
h. bear pistols
i. bear weapons

Other uses of arms:
(15) a. Put me under arms = make me a soldier
b. be under arms = be in a militia/army
c. be at arms = be armed/be equipped for military duty
d. take arms against (a sea of troubles)

Google Books search 1 Jan 1760-31 Dec 1795: 181 results

We classified by hand each text in the selections as either showing a militia/collective use or an individual use or undeterminable ( $C$ vs $/$ vs $U$ ). We also counted the number of plural vs singular subjects, or undeterminable ( $p$ vs $s$ vs $u$ ). A last category was for heraldic uses (H).

1. Common sense; addressed to the inhabitants of America [by T. ...
http://books.google.com/books?id=1YhbAAAAQAAI\&pg=PA93\&dq=\"bear+arms \%22\&hl=en\&sa=X\&ei=BucQU5SIDoTW2gXm7oDYDw\&ved=0CC0Q6wEwADhk books.google.com/books?id=1YhbAAAAQAAJ
Thomas Paine - 1776 - Read - More editions
Wherefore, if ye really preach from conscience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horse of your religion, convince the world thereof, by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, for they likewise bear arms. Give us proof of your sincerity ...
Cp
2. The New Universal Traveller: Containing a Full and Distinct ... http://books.google.com/books?id=WK8-
AAAACAAJ\&pg=PA551\&dq=\%22bear+arms\%22\&hl=en\&sa=X\&ei=BucQU5SIDoTW2 gXm7oDYDw\&ved=0CDMQ6wEwAThk books.google.com/books?id=WK8-AAAAcAAJ
Jonathan Carver - 1779-Read - More editions
In this town is a barrack for two companies of foot; and at the arrays in 1746, here were a thousand protestants fit to bear arms. Four miles from Youghal stands Killeigh, a small village, where was a nunnery of canonesses, founded by St.
Cp

The History of Great Britain, from the First Invasion of it by the Romans, 2nd edition, 1788, Volume 4, p. 142, by Robert Henry (Collective Singular):

Slizes not permitted to bear arms.

As the bearing of arms was efteemed the moft honourable of all employments by the AngloSaxons, and all the other nations of Europe in this period, their numerous flaves were excluded from that honour, and from all military fervices, except in cafes of the greateft national diftrefs and danger ${ }^{113}$. But when a flave was made free, a fpear was put into his hand as one mark of his freedom, and he was thenceforward permitted to bear arms, and fubjected to military fervices ${ }^{114}$.

Settlements in America, 1779, p. 175 (Collective Singular):

## SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 175

nence, he is expofed to the fcorching heat of the fun, the intenfe frofts of the night, or the bloody ftings of infects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and omineus ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to fave themfelves, by flight, from being preffed into the fervice, or could not pro-

## 7. $\rightarrow$ The Works of the English Poets: With Prefaces, Biographical ... .


books.google.com/books?id=GWroQteiSZ4C ๆ
Samuel Johnson--1779--Read-- More editions ${ }^{\text {II }}$
I'll fire his blood, by telling what I did When I was strong, and able to bear arms. I Is ${ }^{\top}$

Uses of 'bear arms' 1781-1788 in Google Books ( $\mathrm{N}=62$ )


## Uses of 'bear arms’ 1760-1795 in Google Books ( $\mathrm{N}=181$ )



Tokens: 181

## Newspaper corpus, 1760-1795 (sampled from 1013 tokens)



Tokens: 109

## America's Historical Newspapers (Readex)

The ineluctability of interpretation
tools and their limits
the illusion of authority automaticity of decision
the algorithmic umpire remains a myth:
OUR FIELD HAS BEEN
STRUGGLING WITH THIS
PROBLEM FOR YEARS.


Mouseover text: She: "We told you it was hard." He: "Yes, but now that I’VE tried it, we KNOW it's hard.

## The ineluctability of interpretation

tools and their limits the illusion of authority automaticity of decision
the algorithmic umpire remains a myth:


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