

Projection and QUD

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- (1) a. *Eloise realized that deep learning is fun.*
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A – *Well, I am.*

B – *And your husband ?*

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2.2 Because each member of a couple counts on the other for housework.

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 - ▶ Frege, Grice, Potts and many others: truth-conditional content vs. the rest (implicatures and presuppositions). See Karttunen (2016) for an historical reminder.
- (3) *Unfortunately, my stupid colleague didn't even realize that deep learning is fun.*

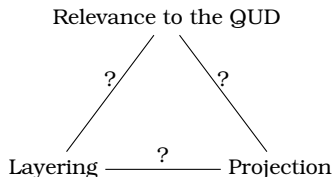
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2. When there is no central content, projection is obligatory.
3. When projection is possible, it is the default but does not occur if it conflicts with the central content.

- ▶ **Claim 1 : Central information must address the QUD.**

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(4) Q – *Did Paul pass the Science exam?*

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(6) ? Paul stopped smoking because he liked that.

↯ Paul smoked because he liked that

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(7) **Ducrot**

- Paul* stopped *smoking, as a result he felt better.*
- ? *Paul stopped* smoking *, as a result he had lung cancer.*

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(7) **Ducrot**

- a. Paul stopped smoking, as a result he felt better.
- b. ? Paul stopped smoking, as a result he had lung cancer.

(8) **QUD**

Q – *Why did Paul have lung cancer?*

R1 – *Because he* smoked.

R2 – ? *Because he* stopped smoking.

see Grimshaw (1979) for a generalization.

- ▶ Generalized Linking Law (9).

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(10) Q – *Does Paul has a strong will?*

R – *Well, he stopped smoking.*

- ▶ The peripheral content can be more important than the central content (Simons 2007), see (11)

(11) Q – *Where is Paul?*

B – *I just remembered that he is teaching.*

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- ▶ The content of some triggers can't even be suspended.
- ▶ A case in point: deictic particles.

- (12) a. *If Paul passed his exam, Mary certainly knows that he did.*
 ↯ Paul passed
- b. *If Paul did not prepare the exam, I am surprised that he passed.*
 ↷ Paul passed
- c. ? *If Paul did not prepare the exam, Ah! I saw that he passed.*
 ↯ If Paul . . . , I am surprised to see that he passed
 ↷ If Paul . . . , I saw that he passed

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- ▶ Other views: procedural vs. conceptual (Blakemore 2002), showing vs. saying (Wharton 2003)
- ▶ Discriminant prosodic properties (Aijmer 2012), visible in automatic classification (Dargnat et al. 2015).

- ▶ Examples for homophonic words (*quoi* and *voilà* as pronoun/something vs. particles in French), investigated with Prosotran (Bartkova et al., 2012)

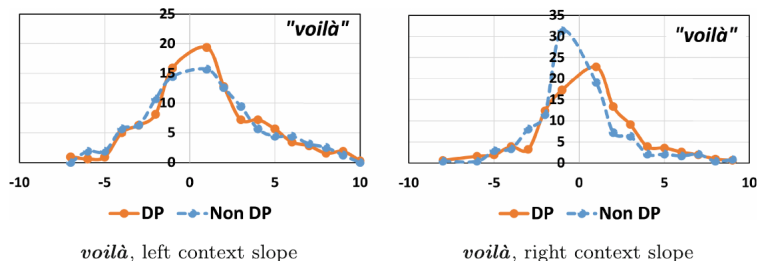


Fig. 5. Frequency of occurrences with respect to the ΔF_0 value for *voilà*

From Dargnat et al. (2015)

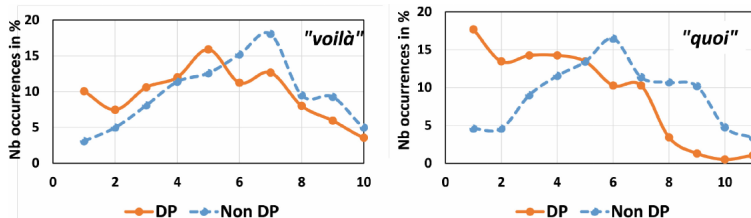


Fig. 3. Frequency of occurrences with respect to pitch level values (measured on the last syllable nuclei)

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(13) **Context:** Paul just passed the French language exam.

If getting credits for the French exam allows one to register for FL34, Paul, as a result, can register.

↗ getting credits \Rightarrow registration

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(14) *If I discover that I was mistaken, I will take another option.*
↯ I was mistaken

- ▶ Simons et al. (2011): projection is blocked when the peripheral content addresses the QUD.

- (15) a. p is at-issue iff the speaker intends to address the QUD via an answer to the question whether p (abbreviated as $?p$)
- b. An intention to address the QUD via $?p$ is felicitous only if $?p$ is relevant to the QUD and the speaker can reasonably expect the hearer to recognize this intention.
(Def. 26 of Simons et al., 2011)

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- ▶ E.g., in (16), ⟨? Paul passed⟩ and ⟨? Paul was well-prepared⟩ are relevant to the QUD.

(16) Q – Did Paul pass his exam?

R1 – I am not aware he did.

↗ he did

R2 – I am not aware that he was well-prepared.

- ▶ Problem 1: in some cases projection and (intentional) QUD addressing coexist.

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(10) Q – *Does Paul has a strong will?*

R – *Well, he didn't stop smoking.*

(17) Q – *What about a picnic?*

B – *Did you realize it's raining?*

(18) Q – *Which neighbor kid keeps ringing John's doorbell and running away?*

R – *John is beside himself with frustration. He hasn't figured out it's Billy.*

(Peters' 2016 example 32)

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(19) Q – *Did Paul pass the exam?*
B – *Mary doesn't know that he did.*

- ▶ Problem: in some cases, lexical meaning > general pragmatic reasoning.

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English	French
Question	
<i>Did Paul pass the exam?</i>	<i>Est-ce que Paul a réussi l'examen ?</i>
Answer	
<i>Mary doesn't know that he did</i>	<i>? Marie ne sait pas qu'il l'a eu</i>
Reasoning	
<i>Mary would know</i>	<i>Marie le saurait</i>

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- ▶ Difficult to account for these differences in very general terms (≠ Simons et al. 2016).
- ▶ Unclear whether general inference strategies, stochastic learning or/and attention to convention is behind such differences (de Gries, 2012, Hanks, 2015, Callanan and Siegel, 2014 Clark 2016, chapter 4, Lapesa et al. 2016).

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- ▶ The crucial descriptive factor: combination of relevance to the QUD and layering.

- ▶ Simple observations suggest that the central content plays a central role.
- ▶ Projection is possible only when it does not obscure the contribution of the central content to answering the QUD.
- ▶ The crucial descriptive factor: combination of relevance to the QUD and layering.
- ▶ The interaction of on-line strategies and conventional 'frozen' lexical knowledge needs further study.

- ▶ Open question 1: Unify deictic particles with (some) gestures, intonation and laughter (Mazzocconi et al. 2016)?

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- ▶ Open question/program 3: Develop a fine-grained semantics for triggers of various classes.
- ▶ Open question/program 4: the diachrony of triggers (*know* vs. *savoir*).

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information](#)[Variations of
projection](#)[Discussion](#)[References](#)

THANK YOU! (projects)

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