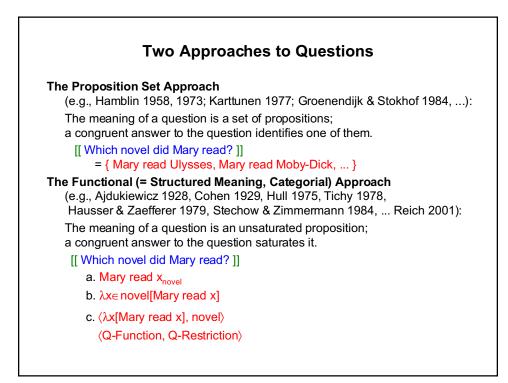
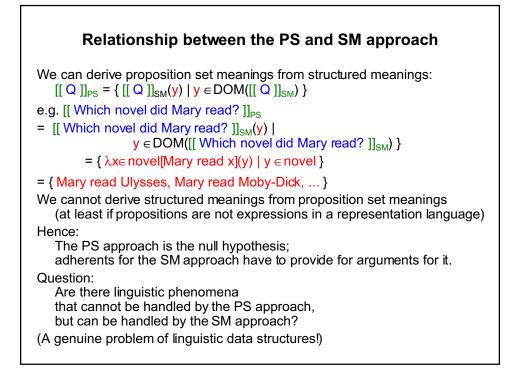
## Do we need Structured Question Meanings?

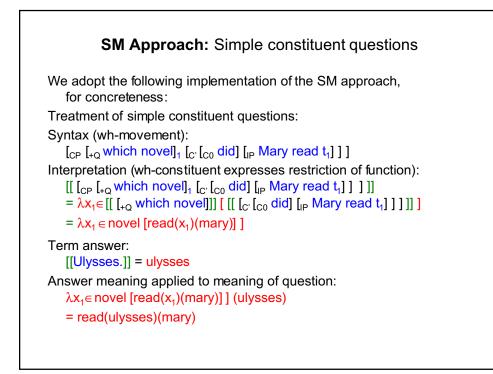
Manfred Krifka

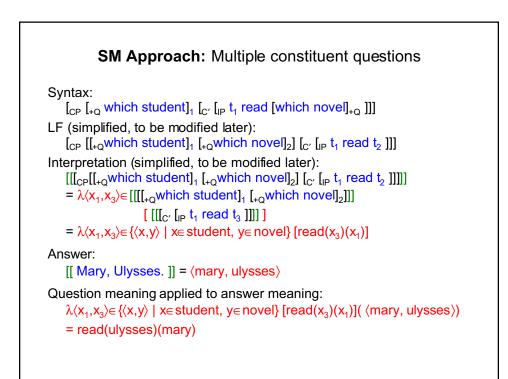
Humboldt-Universität & Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS) Berlin http://amor.rz.hu-berlin.de/~h2816i3x

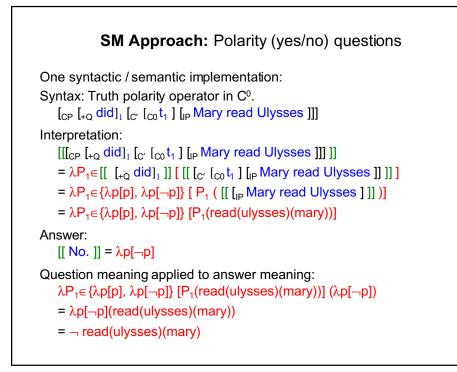


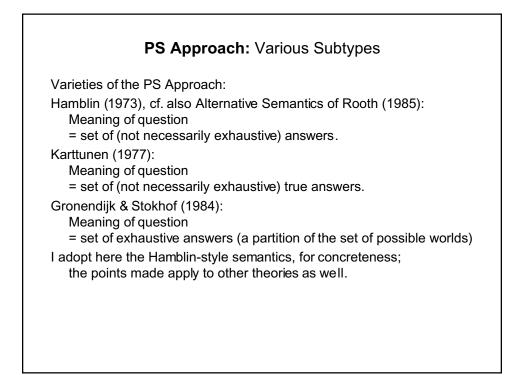


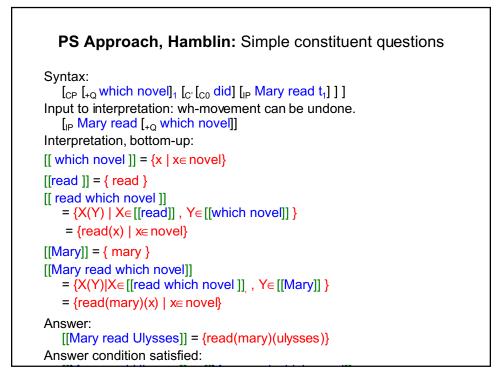
Aims of	this talk
Krifka (2001), "For a structured meaning accour There are such phenomena, hence we need an SM approach	
(Also, an argument against the S that it assigns different semantic can be refuted.)	
Büring (2002), "Question-Answer-Co gives arguments that try to refute arguing that the PS approach to o	the arguments of Krifka (2001),
Aims of this talk: - Restate the arguments of Krifka - Discuss the counterarguments of - Conclude that the PS approach and that an SM approach is on	of Büring (2002) to questions is insufficient,

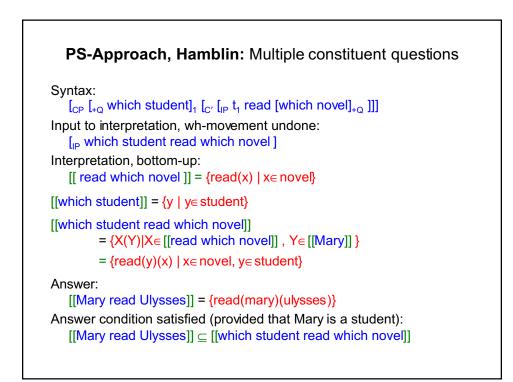


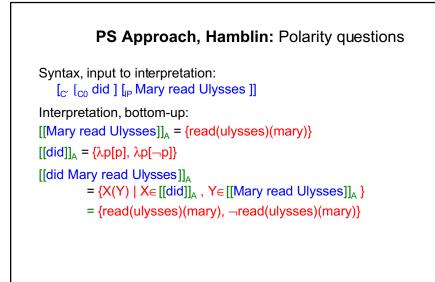


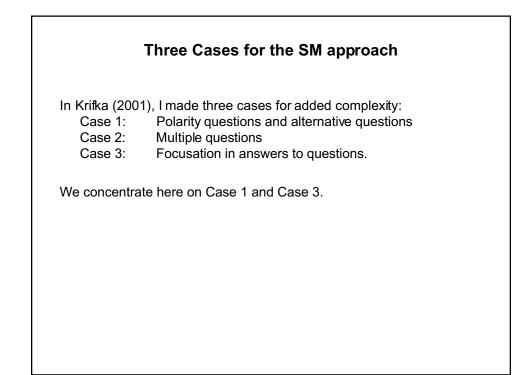


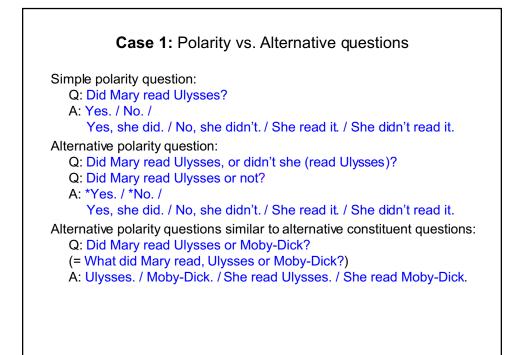


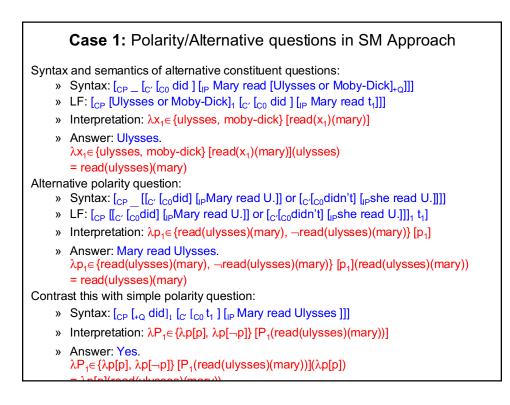


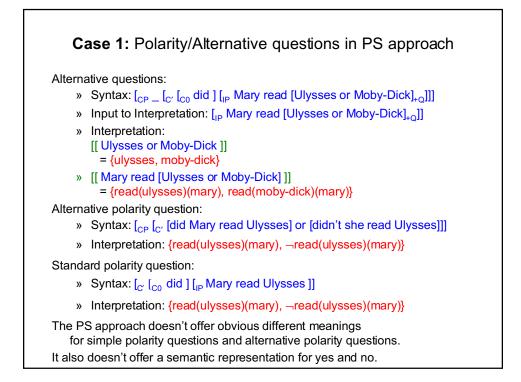


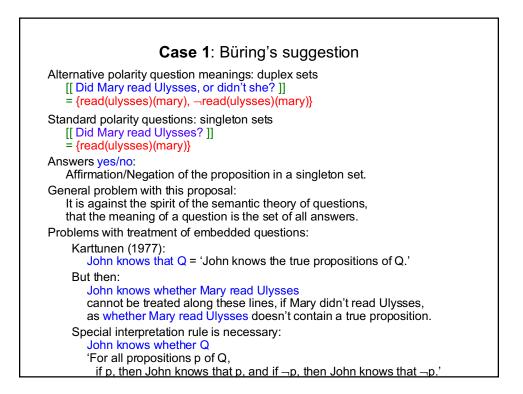






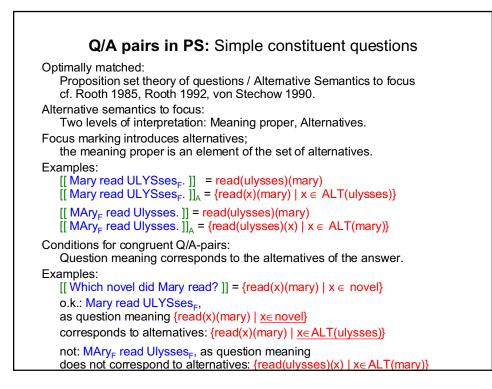


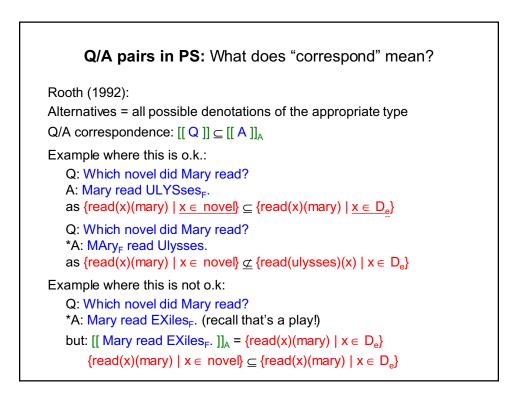


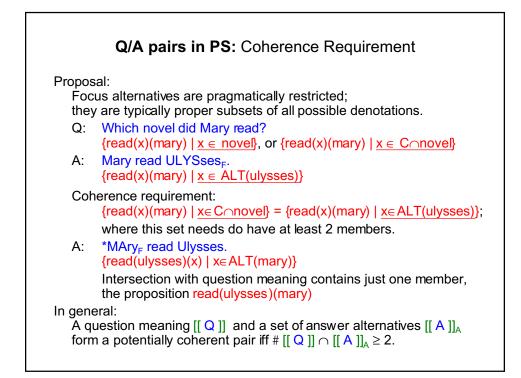


Case 3: Answer Focus						
Question-answer congruence; cf. also Ingo Reich (2001). Congruent question / answer pairs indicated by focus of the answer: Q: What did Mary read?						
A: Mary read ULYSses <sub>F</sub> .	Focus o.k.					
A typology of wrong focus placements:						
A': *MAry <sub>F</sub> read Ulysses.	Focus on wrong place.					
A ": *MAry <sub>F</sub> read ULYSses <sub>F.</sub>	Overfocused; too many foci.					
Q: Which student read which novel? A: MAry <sub>F</sub> read ULYSses <sub>F</sub> . A': Mary <sub>F</sub> read ULYSses <sub>F</sub> .	Focus o.k. (except for list answer) Underfocused; too few foci.					
Q: What did Mary do? A: Mary [read ULYSses] <sub>F</sub> . A": *Mary READ <sub>F</sub> Ulysses.	Focus o.k.; focus projection Underfocused; focus too narrow.					
Q: What did Mary do with Ulysses? A: Mary READ <sub>F</sub> Ulysses. A': *Mary [read ULYsses] <sub>F</sub> .	Focus o.k. Overfocused; focus too wide.					

Q/A pairs in SM: Simple constituent questions	
Focus in the SM approach (von Stechow 1981, 1990; Jacobs 1984): Focus marking induces a partition between background and focus; the background applied to the focus yields the standard proposition.	
Examples: [[ Mary read ULYSses <sub>F</sub> . ]] = ⟨λx[read(x)(mary)], ulysses⟩ [[ MAry <sub>F</sub> read Ulysses. ]] = ⟨λx[read(ulysses)], mary⟩	
Conditions for congruent Q/A pairs: Background condtion: Background of the answer = Question function Focus condtition: Focus of the answer ∈ Question restriction	
Examples: [[ Which novel did Mary read? ]] = ⟨λx[read(x)(mary), novel⟩	
o.k.: [[ Mary read ULYSses <sub>F</sub> . ]], = $\langle \lambda x[read(x)(mary)]$ , ulysses $\rangle$ identical backgrounds, ulysses $\in$ novel	
not ok: [[ MAry <sub>F</sub> read Ulysses. ]], = $\langle \lambda x$ [read(ulysses)], mary $\rangle$ Background condition violated.	
not o.k: [[ Mary read Exiles <sub>F</sub> . ]], = $\langle \lambda x [read(x)(mary)]$ , exiles $\rangle$ Focus condition violated.	
Cases of underfocusation and overfocusation are excluded: [[ Which student read which novel? ]], = $\langle \lambda xy[read(y)(x)]$ , student×novel $\rangle$	
not o.k.: [[ Mary read ULYSses <sub>F</sub> . ]], = $\langle \lambda x [read(x)(mary)]$ , ulysses $\rangle$ ,	
Background condition and focus condition violated	
[[ What did Mary do with Ulysses? ]], = $\langle \lambda R[R(ulysses)(mary)]$ , transitive_activity $\rangle$	
not o.k.: [[ Mary [read ULY Sses <sub>E</sub> . ]]. = (\\\\P[P(mary)], \\x[read(ulvsses)(x)]\	





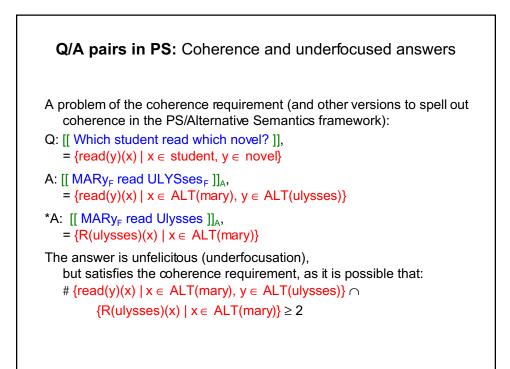


oherence requirement, schematically: Propositions						
	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read		
	Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles		
	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read		
	Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles		
	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read		
	Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles		
	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read		
	Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles		

Kai read	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles

Kai read	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles

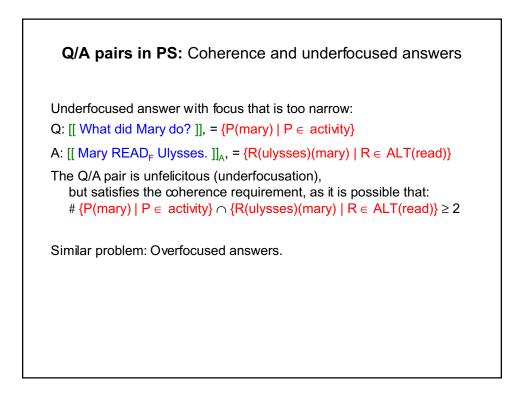
Kai read	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles

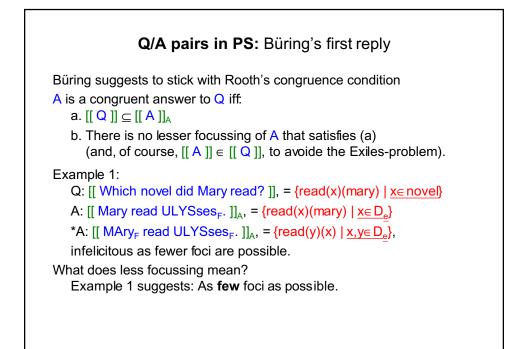


Kai read	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles

Kai read	Kai read	Kai read	Kai read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles

	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Mary read	Mary read	Mary read	Mary read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Bill read	Bill read	Bill read	Bill read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	Exiles
Sue read	Sue read	Sue read	Sue read
Ulysses	Moby-Dick	Dr. Faust	
uming Sue <sub>F</sub> read ULY:	is no student)	1	

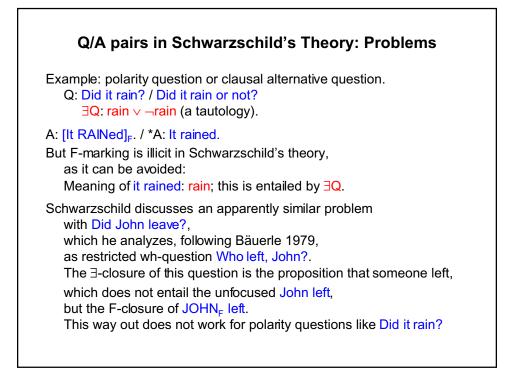


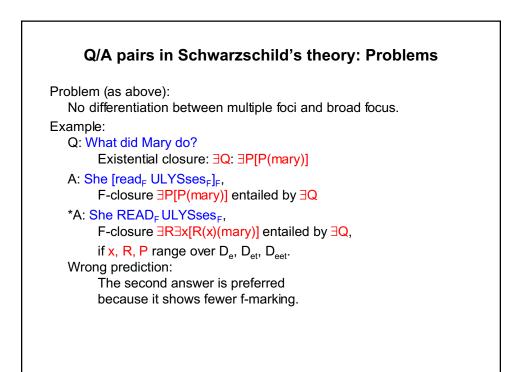


Q/A pairs in PS: Büring's first reply
Example 2: Q: [[ What did Mary do with Ulysses? ]], = {R(ulysses)(mary)   R∈ transitive activities} A: [[ Mary READ <sub>F</sub> Ulysses. ]] <sub>A</sub> , = {R(ulysses)(mary)   R∈ D <sub>eet</sub> } *A: [[ Mary [read ULYSses] <sub>F</sub> ]] <sub>A</sub> , = {P(mary)   P ∈ D <sub>et</sub> } infelicitous as a smaller focus is possible.
Example 2 suggests: less focussing can also mean <b>as small a focus as possible</b> .
Example 3: Q: [[ What did Mary do with which novel? ]], = {R(x)(mary)   R∈ transitive activities, x∈ novel} A: [[ Mary READ <sub>F</sub> ULYSses <sub>F</sub> . ]] <sub>A</sub> , = {R(x)(mary)   R∈ D <sub>eet</sub> , x∈ D <sub>e</sub> } *A: [[ Mary [read ULYSses] <sub>F</sub> . ]] <sub>A</sub> , = {P(mary)   P∈ D <sub>et</sub> } Hence: Reduction of <b>number</b> of foci
should be more important than reduction of <b>size</b> of foci. Example 4: Q: [[ What did Mary do? ]], = {P(mary)   P ∈ activity} A: [[ Mary [read ULYSses] <sub>F</sub> . ]], = {P(mary)   P∈D <sub>et</sub> }
*A: [[ Mary READ <sub>F</sub> ULYSses <sub>F</sub> . ]], = { $R(x)(mary)   R \in D_{eet}, x \in D_{e}$ } Notice that if R, x are unrestricted, the last answer satisfies the first congruence condition, [[ Q ]] $\subseteq$ [[ A ]] <sub>A</sub> Hence reduction of the <b>size</b> of foci

## Q/A pairs in PS: Büring's second reply: An appeal to Schwarzschild Preference of lesser focusing is reminiscent of Schwarzschild's theory of deaccenting Schwarzschild 1999, "Givenness, AvoidF and other constraints on the placement of accent" Schwarzschild's theory in a nutshell: Selkirk (1984, 1995): Recursive F-marking assignment. -- F-marking on argument licenses F-marking on head. -- F-marking on head licenses F-marking on phrase. Givenness: If a constituent is not F-marked, it must be given. Avoid F: F-mark as little as possible. Treatment of Example 3: Q: What did Mary do with which novel? A: Mary READ<sub>F</sub> ULYSses<sub>F</sub>. \*A: Mary [read\_ ULYSses\_] Now the second answer has more F-marking, which should be avoided: good prediction.

Q/A pairs in Schwarzschild's theory	
<ul> <li>Schwarzschild: F-marking can be explained solely by reference to givenness.</li> <li>Explanation of focus in answers to questions:</li> <li>Example: Q: Who did John's mother praise? A: She praised HIM<sub>F</sub>.</li> <li>F-marking on him is allowed, even though it is given, and even required. Why?</li> <li>Givenness is not violated, under the definition of Schwarzschild: An utterance β is given iff it has a salient antecent α, and and if β is an entity, β and α corefer,</li> </ul>	
or modulo ∃-type shifting, α entails the existential-F-closure of β. ∃-type shifting of antecedent question of example: ∃x[praise(x)(mother(john))], = ∃Q	
Meaning of she praised HIM <sub>F</sub> is given: ∃F-closure: ∃X[praise(X)(mother(john))], entailed by ∃Q	
Meaning of praised HIM <sub>F</sub> is given: ∃F-closure: ∃y∃ <u>X[praise(X)(y)]</u> , entailed by ∃Q.	
Meaning of HIM <sub>F</sub> is given, as it has an antecedent. F-marking on HIM <sub>F</sub> cannot be avoided, else: as the meaning of <u>she praised him, praise(john)(mother(john)),</u> would otherwise not be entailed by ∃Q.	
Induced F-marking praised <sub>F</sub> HIM <sub>F</sub> must be avoided, following Avoid F. Consequently, F-marking [praised <sub>F</sub> HIM <sub>F</sub> ] is not possible. Also, F-marking SHE <sub>F</sub> praised HIM <sub>F</sub> is ruled out by Avoid F.	





## Conclusion

The structured meaning theory of questions provides a more complex representation of questions; this greater complexity has to be justified.

- We have seen that it is justified on at least two counts, in spite of criticism on previous arguments:
- -- It provides for a way to distinguish the meanings of polarity questions and certain alternative questions: Did Mary read Ulysses? Did Mary read Ulysses or not?
- -- It prevents the problem of over- or underfocused answers in a straightforward way.

## Conclusion:

The greater complexity of the SM approach to questions may well be necessary.