

# Question agnosticism and change of state

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# Introduction

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## A distributional puzzle

### Question

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Which lexical semantic properties license embedded...

1. ...**declarative** clauses?
2. ...**interrogative** clauses?

(1) Jo didn't **believe** {**that**, \***whether**} Bo was smart.

(2) Jo didn't **wonder** {\***that**, **whether**} Bo was smart.

# A distributional puzzle

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Which lexical semantic properties license embedded...

1. ...**declarative** clauses?
2. ...**interrogative** clauses?

(1) Jo didn't **believe** {**that**, \***whether**} Bo was smart.

(2) Jo didn't **wonder** {\***that**, **whether**} Bo was smart.

(3) Jo didn't **know** {**that**, **whether**} Bo was smart.

Challenging to explain predicates like **know** Karttunen 1977a, Groenendijk &

Stokhof 1984, Heim 1994, Ginzburg 1995, Lahiri 2002, Egré 2008, Spector & Egré 2015, George 2011, Uegaki 2015

Q(uestion)-agnostic Lahiri's (2002) responsiveness

declaratives and interrogatives (e.g., know)



Q(uestion)-agnostic Lahiri's (2002) responsiveness

declaratives and interrogatives (e.g., know)

Q(uestion)-rejecting

only declaratives (e.g., believe)

## Minimal pair

Change-of-state (CoS) **decide** v. stative **intend**

- (4) a. Jo **decided** (*whether*) to go out.
- b. Jo **intended** (*\*whether*) to go out.

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**Decide** is part of a nontrivial class of CoS **Q-agnostics** not captured by current theories of **Q-agnosticism**

- (5) decide, judge, estimate, determine, assess, conclude, resolve, choose, assess, evaluate, appraise, rate, select, infer, diagnose, opt, elect

## Overarching claim

Q-agnosticism is licensed by change-of-state (CoS)

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**Q-agnosticism** is licensed by **change-of-state** (CoS)

- **decide** is **Q-agnostic** because it is CoS
- **intend** is **Q-rejecting** because it is not (and because no other lexical property of **intend** licenses **Q-agnosticism**)

## Upshot

Bring together CoS with another known predictor of **Q-agnosticism**, **veridicality**, via a shared lexical semantic structure

# Outline

Introduction

Veridicality and Q-agnosticism

Data and proposal

Implementation

Conclusion

Appendix

## Veridicality and Q-agnosticism

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### Veridicality

A verb  $V$  is **veridical** iff  $\forall p : \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, p) \rightarrow p(w@)$

## Two roles for veridicality

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FACTIVE( $V$ )  $\rightarrow$  VERIDICAL( $V$ ) if presuppositions are entailments

(7) Jo didn't **know** that Bo was alive  $\rightarrow$  Bo was alive

## Veridicality's relationship to Q-agnosticism

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Hintikka's (1975) observation

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(8) a.  $\text{Veridical}(V) \rightarrow \text{Q-agnostic}(V)$



## Hintikka's (1975) observation

High correlation between **Q-agnosticism** and **factivity**

## Egré's (2008) idea

Reduce **Q-agnosticism** to **veridicality**

- (8) a.  $\text{Veridical}(V) \longrightarrow \text{Q-agnostic}(V)$
- b.  $\text{Veridical}(V) \longleftarrow \text{Q-agnostic}(V)$

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Some Q-agnostic verbs are not veridical

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b. Jo **told** Mo **whether Bo was alive**.

# Veridicality and selection

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Some **Q-agnostic** verbs are not **veridical**

(Beck & Rullmann 1999, Lahiri 2002, Egré 2008)

- (9) a. Jo **told** Mo **that Bo was alive**. ↗ **Bo was alive**.  
b. Jo **told** Mo **whether Bo was alive**.
- (10) a. Jo and Mo **agreed** **that Bo was alive**. ↗ **Bo was alive**.  
b. Jo and Mo **agreed** on **whether Bo was alive**.

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Some **Q-agnostic** verbs are not **veridical**

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- (9) a. Jo **told** Mo **that Bo was alive**. ↗ **Bo was alive**.  
b. Jo **told** Mo **whether Bo was alive**.
- (10) a. Jo and Mo **agreed that Bo was alive**. ↗ **Bo was alive**.  
b. Jo and Mo **agreed on whether Bo was alive**.
- (11) a. Jo<sub>i</sub> **decided PRO<sub>i</sub> to leave**. ↗ **Jo will leave**.  
b. Jo<sub>i</sub> **decided whether PRO<sub>i</sub> to leave**.

Working assumption

Veridical(V)  $\longrightarrow$  Q-agnostic(V)

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1. Determines selection of interrogatives

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## Two notions of veridicality

### P-veridicality

A verb  $V$  is (P-)veridical iff  $\forall x, p : \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, p) \rightarrow p(w@)$

(12) Jo **knew** that Bo was alive  $\rightarrow$  Bo was alive

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(13) Jo **knew** whether Bo was alive  
 $\rightarrow$  Jo **knew** the true answer to “was Bo alive?”

A verb  $V$  is Q-nonveridical if it is not Q-veridical.

Spector & Egré's (2015) observation

High correlation between Q-veridicality and P-veridicality

Spector & Egré's (2015) proposal

Q-veridicality is derived from P-veridicality

## Spector & Egré's (2015) formalization

When a **Q-agnostic** predicate takes a question  $Q$ , it relates an attitude holder to some possible (complete) answer to  $Q$

(cf. Hamblin 1973, Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984, Beck & Rullmann 1999, Lahiri 2002)

# Veridicality and interpretation

## Spector & Egré's (2015) formalization

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(cf. Hamblin 1973, Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984, Beck & Rullmann 1999, Lahiri 2002)

$$\forall x : \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, Q) \rightarrow \exists p \in Q : \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, p)$$

But if a verb  $V$  is **P-veridical**, then...

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \forall x, p' : \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, p') \rightarrow p'(w@) \wedge \\ \exists p \in Q : \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, p) \end{array} \right] \implies \exists p'' \in Q : p''(w@) \wedge \llbracket V \rrbracket^{w@}(x, p'')$$

## System

Adopt Spector & Egré's proposal that embedded interrogatives denote possible complete answers (exhaustified Hamblin Qs)

## Goal

Some alternative explanation of **Q-agnostic** predicates that are neither **P-veridical** nor **Q-veridical**—e.g. CoS predicates

## Data and proposal

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# Our proposal

## Claim

Change-of-state (CoS) licenses **Q-agnosticism**

- (14) a. Jo hasn't **decided** (**whether**) to go out.  
b. Jo didn't **intend** (**\*whether**) to go out.

## Plan

Show that...

1. ...Spector & Egré's proposal makes no wrong predictions about **CoS** verbs, but it undergenerates entailments
2. ...to strengthen their predictions without overgenerating, we have to make reference to **CoS**

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Selecting Alternating

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decide to

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## Context 1: selecting

### Selecting contexts

DECIDER selects an intention from set of possible intentions

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DECIDER selects an intention from set of possible intentions

- (15) a. Before 3pm, Jo was considering whether to leave.  
b.  $\rightarrow$  It's false that Jo intended to leave before 3pm.  
c.  $\rightarrow$  It's false that Jo intended not to leave before.
- (16) At 3pm, Jo decided to leave at 5pm.



## Context 2: alternating

### Alternating contexts

DECIDER changes intention from mutually exclusive intention

(17) At 3pm, Jo decided to leave at 5pm.

(18) At 4pm, Jo changed her mind and decided not to leave.



## Two contexts

	Selecting	Alternating
decide to	✓	✓
decide whether to		



# Selecting v. switching contexts

## Possibility

Given only the (prototypical) selecting contexts...

- (19) At 3pm, Jo decided to leave at 5pm.
- $\rightarrow$  Jo intended to leave after 3pm.
  - $\overset{?}{\rightarrow}$  It's F that Jo intended to leave before 4pm
  - $\overset{?}{\rightarrow}$  It's F that Jo intended not to leave before 4pm

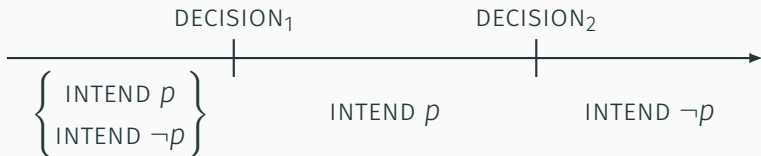


# Selecting v. switching contexts

## Conclusion

The availability of alternating contexts suggests...

- (20) At 4pm, Jo decided not to leave at 5pm.
- a.  $\rightarrow$  Jo intended not to leave after 4pm.
  - b.  $\rightarrow$  It's F that Jo intended to leave before 4pm
  - c.  $\nrightarrow$  It's F that Jo intended not to leave before 4pm



## A CoS denotation

Suggests a very straightforward CoS denotation for **decide to**  
(simplified to capture just entailments of interest)

$$(21) \quad \llbracket \text{decide } S \rrbracket^t = \lambda x. \neg \text{INTEND}(x, \llbracket S \rrbracket, < t) \wedge \text{INTEND}(x, \llbracket S \rrbracket, \geq t)$$

## Question

What predictions does Spector & Egré's (2015) proposal make?

(22) Jo decided **whether** to leave.

## Answer 1

Predicts everything correctly for **post-states**

(23) Either Jo intended to leave or she intended not to leave.

# Question embedding and CoS

## Question

What predictions does Spector & Egré's (2015) proposal make?

(24) At 4pm, Jo decided **whether** to leave at 5pm.

## Answer 2

For **pre-states**, where it makes predictions, they are correct

# Question embedding and CoS

## Question

What predictions does Spector & Egré's (2015) proposal make?

(24) At 4pm, Jo decided **whether** to leave at 5pm.

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(25) Before 4pm, either it's false that Jo decided to leave at 5pm or it's false that she decided not to leave at 5pm.

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(25) Before 4pm, either it's false that Jo decided to leave at 5pm or it's false that she decided not to leave at 5pm.

(26)  $\exists p \in Q : \neg \text{INTEND}(x, p, < t) \wedge \text{INTEND}(x, p, \geq t)$

# Question embedding and CoS

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(26)  $\exists p \in Q : \neg \text{INTEND}(x, p, < t) \wedge \text{INTEND}(x, p, \geq t)$

But this prediction is too weak



## Observation

While **decide to** is licensed in selecting and alternating contexts, **decide whether to** is only licensed in selective contexts

- (27) a. Before 3, Jo intended neither to leave nor not to.  
b. At 3, Jo decided whether to leave.
  
- (28) a. Before 4, Jo intended either to leave or not to.  
b. #At 4pm, Jo decided whether to leave at 5pm

## Intuition

(28b) → Jo have no intention with respect to leaving before 4pm

## Two contexts

	Selecting	Alternating
decide to	✓	✓
decide whether to		

## Two contexts

	Selecting	Alternating
decide to	✓	✓
decide whether to	✓	#

# Question embedding and CoS

## Consequence

We need (30), rather than (29) for CoS embedded questions.

$$(29) \quad \exists p \in Q : \neg \text{INTEND}(x, p, < t) \wedge \text{INTEND}(x, p, \geq t)$$

$$(30) \quad \forall p \in Q : \neg \text{INTEND}(x, p, < t) \wedge \exists p \in Q : \text{INTEND}(x, p, \geq t)$$

## Observation

The **pre-state** conjunct is equivalent to the negation of the **post-state** conjunct (*modulo* tense)

$$(31) \quad \forall p \in Q : \neg \text{INTEND}(x, p) \leftrightarrow \neg \exists p \in Q : \text{INTEND}(x, p)$$

## Idea

Apply Spector & Egré's (2015) proposal to each conjunct

$$(32) \quad Q = \llbracket \text{whether } S \rrbracket = \{\llbracket S \rrbracket, \neg \llbracket S \rrbracket\} = \{p, \neg p\}$$

$$(33) \quad \llbracket \text{decide whether } S \rrbracket^t = \lambda x. \neg \text{INTEND}(x, Q, < t) \wedge \text{INTEND}(x, Q, \geq t)$$

$$(34) \quad \llbracket \text{decide whether } S \rrbracket^t = \lambda x. \neg \exists p \in Q : \text{INTEND}(x, p, < t) \wedge \\ \exists p \in Q : \text{INTEND}(x, p, \geq t)$$

## Problem

Mysterious why we shouldn't be able to do this for **intend**

- (35) a. Jo hasn't **decided** *whether* to go out.  
b. \*Jo didn't **intend** *whether* to go out.

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{intend whether } S \rrbracket &= \lambda x. \text{INTEND}(x, \llbracket \text{whether } S \rrbracket) \\ &= \lambda x. \exists p \in \llbracket \text{whether } S \rrbracket : \text{INTEND}(x, p) \end{aligned}$$

## Observation

Problem doesn't arise for CoS veridicals

- (36) a. Jo doesn't **figure out** (whether) Bo left.  
b. Jo doesn't **know** (whether) Bo left.

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{know whether } S \rrbracket &= \lambda x. \text{KNOW}(x, \llbracket \text{whether } S \rrbracket) \\ &= \lambda x. \exists p \in \llbracket \text{whether } S \rrbracket : \text{KNOW}(x, p) \end{aligned}$$

## Upshot

Only target certain event types (e.g. intentions) in CoS structure

## Proposal

Make interrogative-taking dependent on CoS



# Implementation

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## Minimal requirements

For **decide to**, something of the form in (37)

$$(37) \quad \dots \neg \text{INTEND}(x, \llbracket S \rrbracket, < t) \wedge \text{INTEND}(x, \llbracket S \rrbracket, \geq t)$$

For **decide whether to**, something of the form in (38)

$$(38) \quad \dots \forall p \in Q : \neg \text{INTEND}(x, p, < t) \wedge \exists p \in Q : \text{INTEND}(x, p, \geq t)$$

# Our implementation

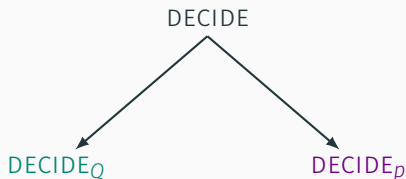
Core idea

Q-agnostic predicates undergo a regular polysemy

Lexical abstraction

Polysemy rules

Lexicon



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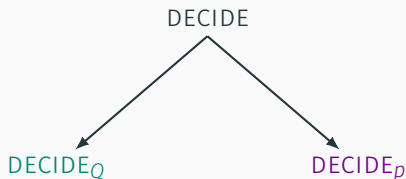
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# George's (2011) Twin Relations Theory

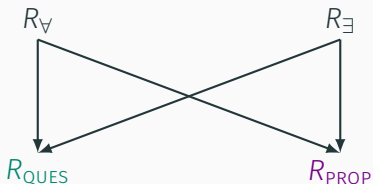
## Goal

A polysemy approach for Q-agnostics

Elementary relations

Lexical templating

Lexicon



# Lexical templates

Proposition-taking variant passes  $p$  to elementary relations

$$R_{\text{PROP}} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda x. \lambda p. R_{\forall}(x, p, w) \wedge R_{\exists}(x, p, w)$$

Question-taking variant passes  $p \in Q$  to elementary relations

$$R_{\text{QUES}} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda x. \lambda Q. \forall p \in Q : R_{\forall}(x, p, w) \wedge \exists p \in Q : R_{\exists}(x, p, w)$$

Veridicality arises from  $R_{\forall}$

$$\text{KNOW}_{\forall}(x, p, w) \equiv \text{BELIEVE}(x, p, w) \rightarrow p(w)$$

$R_{\text{PROP}}$  corresponds to the form we need for **decide to**, and  
 $R_{\text{QUES}}$  corresponds to the form we need for **decide whether to**

$$(39) \quad \text{DECIDE}_{\forall} = \neg \text{INTEND}$$

$$(40) \quad \text{DECIDE}_{\exists} = \text{INTEND}$$

$R_{\forall} = R_{\text{pre}}$  characterizes pre-states

$R_{\exists} = R_{\text{post}}$  characterizes post-states

## Hacquard's (2010) neo-Davidsonian event content approach

(cf. Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2009, Bogal-Allbritten 2016)



# Basic approach

Hacquard's (2010) neo-Davidsonian event content approach

(cf. Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2009, Bogal-Allbritten 2016)

(41)  $\text{CON}(e) = \{w : w \text{ is compatible with the contents of } e\}$

(42)  $\llbracket [V S]_{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda e. P_V(e) \wedge \forall w \in \text{CON}(e) : \llbracket S \rrbracket(w)$

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Champollion's (2015) verb-as-event-quantifier approach

(43)  $\llbracket VP \rrbracket = \lambda f. \exists e : f(e) \wedge \dots$

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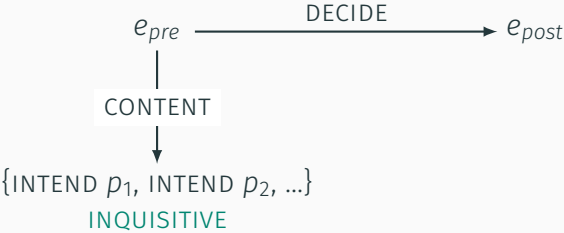
Our attitude denotations

$$(44) \quad \llbracket [V S]_{VP} \rrbracket = \lambda f. \exists e : P_V(e) \wedge f(e) \wedge \forall w \in \text{CON}(e) : \llbracket S \rrbracket(w)$$

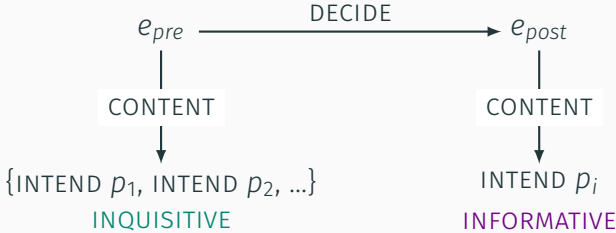
# Our implementation



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# Our implementation



# Defining decision

Define DECISION to relate a **pre-state** and a **post-state**

$$(45) \quad \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \equiv e \text{ is a decision with} \\ \text{pre-state } e_{pre} \text{ and post-state } e_{post}$$

Define constraint on **inquisitive** pre-state

$$(46) \quad R_{pre}(e, p) = \neg \forall w \in \text{CON}(e) : p(w)$$

Define constraint on **informative** post-state

$$(47) \quad R_{post}(e, p) = \forall w \in \text{CON}(e) : p(w)$$

## Defining lexical templates

As expected for a change-of-state verb

$$(48) \quad \forall e, p : R_{pre}(e, p) \longleftrightarrow \neg R_{post}(e, p)$$



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Extend George's lexical templates to events

- (49) a.  $\llbracket \text{decide}_{PROP} \rrbracket = R_{PROP}(\text{DECISION}) = (50a)$   
b.  $\llbracket \text{decide}_{QUES} \rrbracket = R_{QUES}(\text{DECISION}) = (50b)$

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$$(50) \quad a. \quad \lambda p. \lambda f. \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge f(e)$$

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$$(50) \quad a. \quad \lambda p. \lambda f. \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge f(e) \\ \wedge R_{pre}(p)(e_{pre}) \wedge R_{post}(p)(e_{post})$$

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- (49) a.  $\llbracket \text{decide}_{PROP} \rrbracket = R_{PROP}(\text{DECISION}) = (50a)$   
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- (50) a.  $\lambda p. \lambda f. \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge f(e)$   
 $\quad \quad \quad \wedge R_{pre}(p)(e_{pre}) \wedge R_{post}(p)(e_{post})$   
b.  $\lambda Q. \lambda f. \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge f(e)$

# Defining lexical templates

As expected for a change-of-state verb

$$(48) \quad \forall e, p : R_{pre}(e, p) \longleftrightarrow \neg R_{post}(e, p)$$

Extend George's lexical templates to events

$$(49) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a.} \quad \llbracket \text{decide}_{\text{PROP}} \rrbracket = R_{\text{PROP}}(\text{DECISION}) = (50\text{a}) \\ \text{b.} \quad \llbracket \text{decide}_{\text{QUES}} \rrbracket = R_{\text{QUES}}(\text{DECISION}) = (50\text{b}) \end{array}$$

$$(50) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a.} \quad \lambda p. \lambda f. \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge f(e) \\ \quad \quad \quad \wedge R_{pre}(p)(e_{pre}) \wedge R_{post}(p)(e_{post}) \\ \text{b.} \quad \lambda Q. \lambda f. \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge f(e) \\ \quad \quad \quad \wedge \forall p \in Q : R_{pre}(p)(e_{pre}) \\ \quad \quad \quad \wedge \exists p \in Q : R_{post}(p)(e_{post}) \end{array}$$

When **decide** takes a declarative...

$$\llbracket \text{Jo decide}_{\text{PROP}} S \rrbracket = \exists e, e_{\text{pre}}, e_{\text{post}} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{\text{pre}}, e_{\text{post}}) \wedge \text{AGENT}(j, e)$$

When **decide** takes a declarative...

$$\llbracket \text{Jo decide}_{\text{PROP}} S \rrbracket = \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge \text{AGENT}(j, e) \\ \wedge \neg \forall w \in \text{CON}(e_{pre}) : \llbracket S \rrbracket(w)$$

When **decide** takes a declarative...

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{Jo decide}_{\text{PROP}} S \rrbracket = & \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge \text{AGENT}(j, e) \\ & \wedge \neg \forall w \in \text{CON}(e_{pre}) : \llbracket S \rrbracket(w) \\ & \wedge \forall w \in \text{CON}(e_{post}) : \llbracket S \rrbracket(w) \end{aligned}$$



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When **decide** takes an interrogative...

$$\llbracket \text{Jo decide}_{\text{QUES}} ?S \rrbracket = \exists e, e_{pre}, e_{post} : \text{DECISION}(e, e_{pre}, e_{post}) \wedge \text{AGENT}(j, e)$$

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## Remaining question

Where does the **intention** entailment come from?

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## Possible answer

Decision pre-states just **are** intentional states

## Evidence

Always(?) intention for infinitivals

(51) Jo {determined, decided, chose} whether to leave.

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Always(?) intention for infinitivals

(51) Jo {determined, decided, chose} whether to leave.

Otherwise dependent on content of finite complement

- (52)
- a. Jo decided whether she would leave.
  - b. Jo decided whether Bo could leave.

## Remaining question

Where does the **intention** entailment come from?

## Possible answer

Decision pre-states just **are** intentional states

## Our answer

Modality in the embedded clause (Bhatt 1999, Grano 2012, Wurmbrand 2014, White 2014)



## Conclusion

---

## Working assumption

Veridicality predicts Q-agnosticism

## Proposal

Change-of-State (CoS) also predicts Q-agnosticism

## Implementation

Assimilates CoS pre-state entailments to veridicality entailments

## Question

Why would pre-state entailments be like veridicality entailments?

## Relevant observation

Pre-state entailments are generally backgrounded (cf. **start, stop**) (Roberts 1996, Simons 2001, Abusch 2002, Simons et al. 2010, Abusch 2010, Abrusán 2011, Romoli 2011,

Anand & Hacquard 2014)

# A generalization

## Tentative generalization

No monomorphemic verb characterizes a relation between an **informative** pre-state and an **inquisitive** post-state (\***undecide**)

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No monomorphemic verb characterizes a relation between an **informative** pre-state and an **inquisitive** post-state (\***undecide**)

**Possible exception: forget**

## Relevance

Suggests an asymmetry between **pre-states** and **post-states** that we don't currently encode

## Suggestion

Whatever gives rise to pre-state backgrounding for other CoS predicates also gives rise to this asymmetry

## Direction 1

Reducing the relationship between veridicality and Q-agnosticism to a relationship between CoS and Q-agnosticism

## Direction 2

Explaining remaining nonveridicals in terms of event structure

## Observation

Many verbal veridicals besides the stative **know** are CoS

remember, forget, discover, find out, figure out, realize, recognize, ...



## Timid reduction

Most verbal veridicals explained by CoS; **know** stipulated

## Aggressive reduction

**Know** has a bipartite structure involving a knowledge state (fact contents) and a belief state (proposition contents) (Kratzer 2002)

## Question

What about the other **Q-agnostic** nonveridicals?

Nonveridical  
Q-agnostic

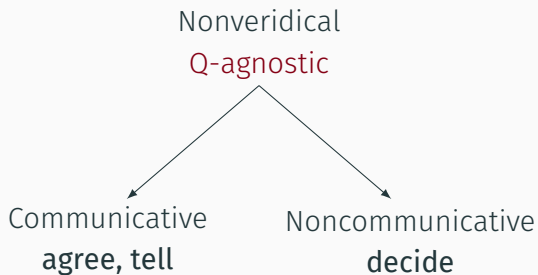
(cf. Anand & Hacquard 2014, White & Rawlins 2016)

# Regimenting nonveridical Q-agnostics



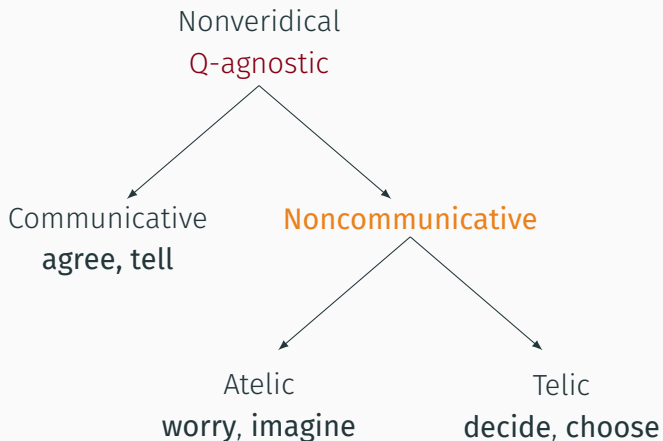
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# Regimenting nonveridical Q-agnostics



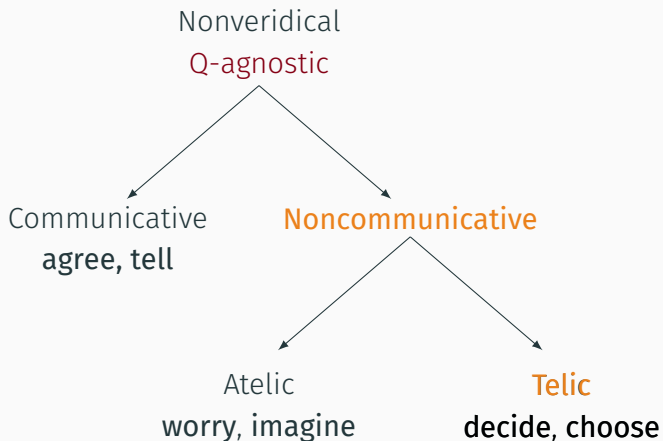
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# Regimenting nonveridical Q-agnostics



(cf. Anand & Hacquard 2014, White & Rawlins 2016)

# Regimenting nonveridical Q-agnostics



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## Fundamental split

Communicatives characterize speech events that involve updates to a public **Common Ground** (cf. Farkas & Bruce 2009)

$$\llbracket \text{claim} \rrbracket^w = \lambda p. \lambda e. \text{CLAIM}(e, w) \wedge [\forall w' \text{ compatible with GOAL}(e)] \\ ([\forall w'' \in \text{CG}(w')] (p(w'')))]$$



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Noncommunicatives make reference to private eventualities

$$\llbracket \text{believe} \rrbracket^w = \lambda p. \lambda e. \text{BELIEF}(e, w) \wedge [\forall w' \text{ compatible with } e](p(w'))$$

## **Idea** (Anand & Hacquard in prep)

1. Some communicatives also make reference to a Question Under Discussion (QUD) (Roberts 1996)

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1. Some communicatives also make reference to a Question Under Discussion (QUD) (Roberts 1996)
2. Encoding of QUD is predictable from the kind of communicative act a verb characterizes
3. A communicative embeds interrogatives iff it explicitly represents QUDs

## Possibility

Encoding of QUD may be (partially) predictable based on CoS

# Thanks!

We'd like to thank the JHU Semantics Lab as well as Valentine Hacquard and Pranav Anand for helpful discussion.

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# Appendix

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## Egré's (2008) solution

1. Some apparently nonveridical communicatives have veridical variants (cf. Spector & Egré 2015)
2. All others embed questions only via prepositions

## Evidence

Some nonveridical verbs can embed via prepositions

- (53) a. Jo and Mo **agree** {on, about} whether Bo is alive.  
b. Jo is still **deciding** {on, about} whether she will go.



## Evidence

Some nonveridical verbs can embed via prepositions

- (53) a. Jo and Mo **agree** {on, about} whether Bo is alive.  
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## Assumption

A clause-embedding preposition can be silent

- (54) Jo is still **deciding** ({on, about}) whether she will go.

## Possible prediction

All **Q-agnostic** nonveridicals at least embed Qs via prepositions

## Challenge

There are **Q-agnostic** nonveridicals that don't embed clauses via prepositions

(55) Jo **determined** {\***on**, \***about**} whether she would leave.

There are some complications with *about* (see Rawlins 2013)

# Predictions for Q-agnosticism

Embedded interrogatives	Captured	Cost
True answers (K-GS questions)	Q-veridicals ( <i>know</i> )	Q-nonveridicals ( <i>agree, decide</i> )

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# Predictions for Q-agnosticism

Embedded interrogatives	Captured	Cost
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True + possible answers	Both ( <i>know, agree, decide</i> )	Must explain selection
Possible answers (Hamblin questions)	Q-nonveridicals ( <i>agree, decide</i> )	Must explain Q-veridicals

## Argument

Declaratives and interrogatives can be coordinated, so their denotations must have the same type

- (56) I **decided** that I would go to the store but not whether I would get apples.

### Question

Does  $XP \text{ and } YP \rightarrow \text{type}(\llbracket XP \rrbracket) = \text{type}(\llbracket YP \rrbracket)$ ?

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Does  $XP$  and  $YP \rightarrow \text{type}(\llbracket XP \rrbracket) = \text{type}(\llbracket YP \rrbracket)$ ?

(57) I **decided** to go to the store and that I would get apples.



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Does  $XP \text{ and } YP \rightarrow \text{type}(\llbracket XP \rrbracket) = \text{type}(\llbracket YP \rrbracket)$ ?

(57) I **decided** to go to the store and that I would get apples.

## Conditional answer

If we're willing to say that infinitival denotations have the same type as declaratives, then maybe. But...

## Question

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## Conditional answer

If we're willing to say that infinitival denotations have the same type as declaratives, then maybe. But...

(58) I remember leaving and that Mary left with me.

## Elementary relations

$$\text{KNOW}_{\forall} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda p. \lambda x. \text{BELIEVES}(w)(p)(x) \rightarrow p(w)$$
$$\text{KNOW}_{\exists} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda p. \lambda x. \text{KNOW}(w)(p)(x)$$

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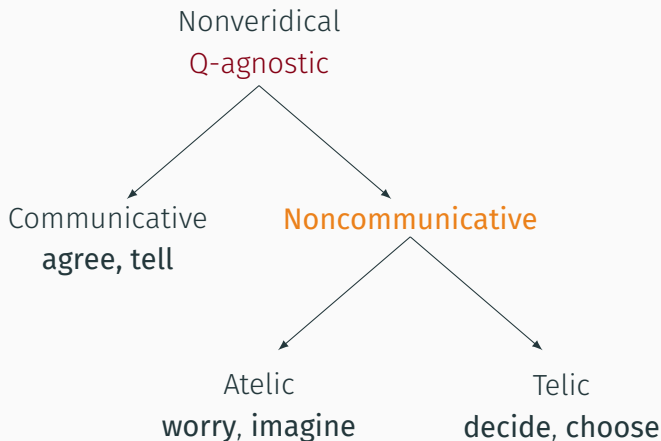
$$\text{KNOW}_{\exists} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda p. \lambda x. \text{KNOW}(w)(p)(x)$$

## Lexicon

$$\text{KNOW}_{\text{PROP}} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda p. \lambda x. \text{KNOW}_{\forall}(w)(p')(x) \wedge \text{KNOW}_{\exists}(w)(p')(x)$$

$$\text{KNOW}_{\text{QUES}} \equiv \lambda w. \lambda Q. \lambda x. \forall p' \in Q : \text{KNOW}_{\forall}(w)(p')(x) \wedge \\ \exists p' \in Q : \text{KNOW}_{\exists}(w)(p')(x)$$

# Regimenting nonveridical Q-agnostics



(cf. Anand & Hacquard 2014, White & Rawlins 2016)

## Observation 1

All atelic **Q-agnostics** are degraded with questions

- (59) a. Jo imagined {that, ???whether} she could fly.  
b. Jo worries {that, ???whether} Bo gets too little support.

# Explaining residuals

## Imagine Whether Or Not



I have this sentence using "think":

1

I was **thinking** whether or not he has money that I can borrow.



is good English. If I replace "think" with "imagine":



I was **imagining** whether or not he has money that I can borrow.

Would this be okay English?

interrogative

free-relative-clauses

share improve this question

edited Oct 11 '15 at 18:38



StoneyB

128k 5 134 292

asked Sep 5 '14 at 16:01



meatie

3,100 4 10 41

They're both correct grammatically, but the sentences have different connotations. – TheIntern Sep 5 '14 at 16:08

@TheIntern I have a feeling that while "think" could be used with two or more possibilities, "imagine" can only be used with one possibility or the other? – meatie Sep 5 '14 at 16:15

- 1 "Think" can be used when there is only one possibility, like "I think he has money that I can borrow." "Imagine" is more like you are fantasizing or dreaming. – TheIntern Sep 5 '14 at 16:18

# Explaining residuals

## 1 Answer

active oldest votes



Neither *think* nor *imagine* is used this way with *whether*.

To *think* X is to hold it as a strong idea or opinion that X is true or happened, and to *imagine* it is to form and subsequently hold such an idea or opinion. These do not suit well with *whether*, which implies uncertainty between two or more ideas or opinions.

Ordinarily we **wonder** whether X is true, to indicate that we raise the question in our minds; or if we ponder the question deeply we **consider** or **think about** whether it is true.

share Improve this answer

edited Sep 5 '14 at 18:01

answered Sep 5 '14 at 17:52



StoneyB

128k 5 134 292

+1 for **wonder**. Good suggestion! – [Manish](#) Sep 5 '14 at 18:01

"I'm going to think about whether or not he has money I can borrow." is valid to say, but has a different connotation. It suggests more that it's the thinker who will be making the decision—it doesn't express a curiosity. It's as if they were a puppetmaster of some kind, who will examine his assets and then make the decision; the lending will be happening or not on the thinker's terms. – [HostileFork](#) Sep 6 '14 at 0:02

@HostileFork I agree about 90%; but "thinking about" **could** be *Hmm - I know he just got a promotion...but then he also just got a girlfriend...and he's been talking about buying a house...but on the other hand he owes me a big favour, he wouldn't have gotten that promotion if I hadn't rewritten his report...and he never spends any money on clothes....* – [StoneyB](#) Sep 6 '14 at 0:20

But the pattern "**be thinking whether** ...." could definitely be found in substantial numbers on google. – [meatie](#) Sep 6 '14 at 22:26

@meatie See this [Google Ngram](#). It arose in the 1780s and surged in the early 19th century - by 1818 it was four or five times more common than *imagine* - but from 1820 on it declined rapidly and is now strictly colloquial. Avoid it. – [StoneyB](#) Sep 6 '14 at 23:13



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## Observation 2

Insofar as they are good, they act like **doubt** (cf. Karttunen 1977b)

- (60) a. Jo doubted whether Bo could fly.  
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## Observation 3

All(?) take subjunctive in languages that have it