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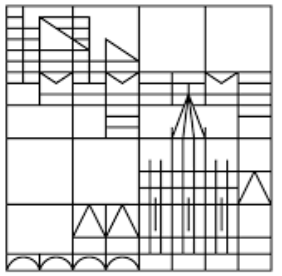


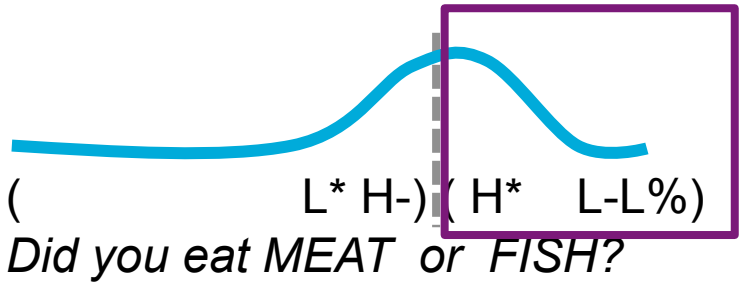
Multiple Accent in Alternative Questions

Erlinde Meertens, Sophie Egger & Maribel Romero

Sinn und Bedeutung 23 , U. A. Barcelona, September 5-7, 2018

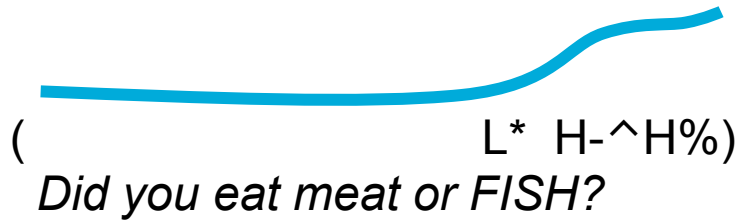
Issue

(1) a. Did you eat $MEAT_{L^* H-}$ or $FISH_{H^* L-L\%}$?



→ **Alternative Question**

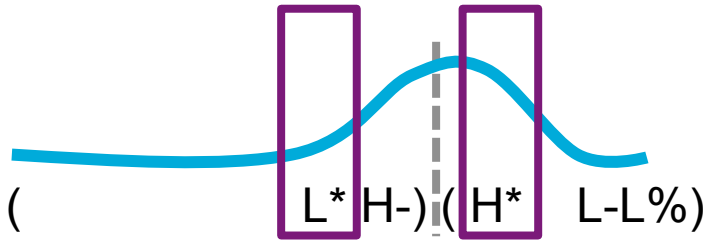
b. Did you eat meat or $FISH_{L^* H-H\%}$?



→ **Polar Question**

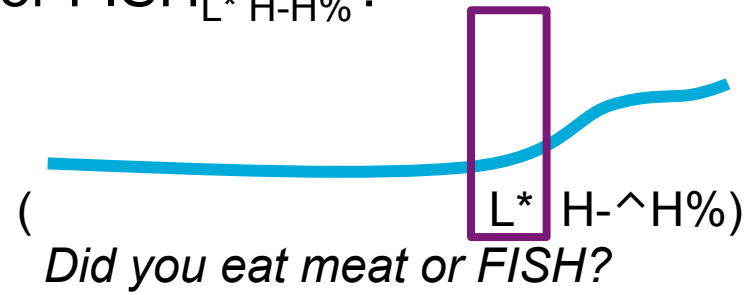
Issue

(1) a. Did you eat MEAT$_{L^* H-}$ or FISH$_{H^* L-L\%}$?



→ **Alternative Question**

b. Did you eat meat or FISH$_{L^* H-H\%}$?



→ **Polar Question**

The Puzzle

Two prosodic cues in Alternative Questions

- The Final Fall
- The Multiple Accent

(1) Do both prosodic cues contribute to the Alternative Question interpretation?
(2) If so, what is the contribution of the two cues individually?

Outline

- **Recent Previous Work**
  - Biezma & Rawlins (2012)
  - Roelfsen & van Gool (2010)
  - Pruitt & Roelofsen (2012)
- **Argument 1: Revisiting Falling Questions in English**
  - 1A-a: Acoustic properties
  - 1A-b: Pragmatic licensing
  - 1B: Embedded Alternative Questions
- **Argument 2: Q-particles in Turkish Alternative Questions**
- **Towards an Analysis**
- **Conclusion**

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Previous Work:
Biezma & Rawlins (2012)

The Final Fall signals *Closure*

The Final Fall signals exhaustivity, that is semantically encoded by means of a closure operator

- Fall applies to a list, indicating that nothing but the list item is a relevant answer to the Question Under Discussion (QUD)

(2) Closure operator (Biezma & Rawlins 2012)

$[\![[Q^{\alpha}]_{H^*L\text{-}L\%}]\!]^c =_{def} [\![Q^{\alpha}]\!]^c$

defined only if SalientAlts(c) = $[\![Q^{\alpha}]\!]^c$

Constraint: α must contain a disjunction

The Multiple Accent

The Multiple Accent is not modelled as a cue for Alternative Question composition

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Recent Previous Work:
Roelofsen & van Gool (2010)

Ingredients:

- Disjunction introduces alternatives, both in $[\![.]\!]_P$ and $[\![.]\!]_H$
- For $[\![.]\!]_P$ (set of possibilities): $[\![Q\ \alpha]\!]_P$ consists of the possibilities in α itself and the possibilities that α excludes.
- For $[\![.]\!]_H$ (set of highlighted possibilities): focus on a constituent XP makes the H-set of XP collapse.

➔ Single focus (block) accent vs. multiple focus accent

- For $[\![.]\!]_S$ (set of possible updates): exclusive strenghtening operator

➔ EX coming from Final Fall

Recent Previous Work: Roelofsen & van Gool (2010)

(3) Does $[\text{Ann}]_F$ or $[\text{Bill}]_F$ play the piano↓?

- $[\![(3)]\!]_P$ = {a play, b play} ∪ {¬play(a) ∧ ¬play(b)}
- $[\![(3)]\!]_H$ = {a play, b play}
- $[\![(3)]\!]_S$ = {a play ∧ ¬play(b), b play ∧ ¬play(a)}

(4) Does $[\text{Ann or Bill}]_F$ play the piano↑?

- $[\![(4)]\!]_P$ = {a play, b play} ∪ {¬play(a) ∧ ¬play(b)}
- $[\![(4)]\!]_H$ = {a play ∨ b play}
- $[\![(4)]\!]_S$ = {a play ∨ b play}

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Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Main question:

Which prosodic factors distinguish Alternative Questions from disjunctive Polar Questions?

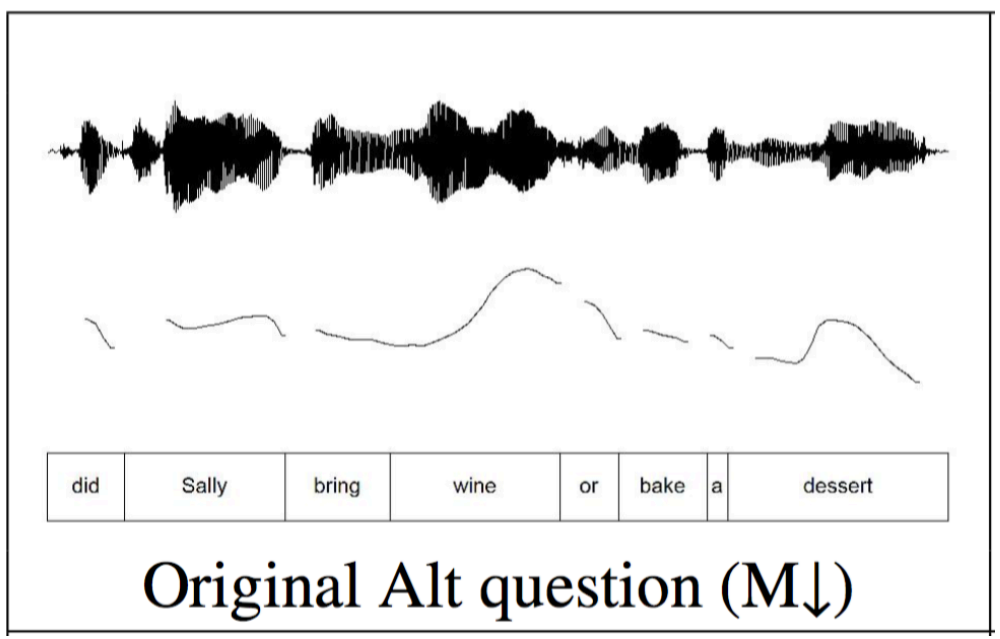
- **AltQs:** (Bartels, 1999; Quirk et al., 1985; Rando, 1980; Schubiger, 1958)
  - Accents on each disjunct
  - Two prosodic phrases: first F↑, second F↓

- **PolQs:** (Bartels, 1999)
  - Pitch accents on non-final disjuncts optional
  - Only one prosodic phrase
  - F↑ default, F↓ in specific contexts (e.g. Hedberg *et al.*, 2004)

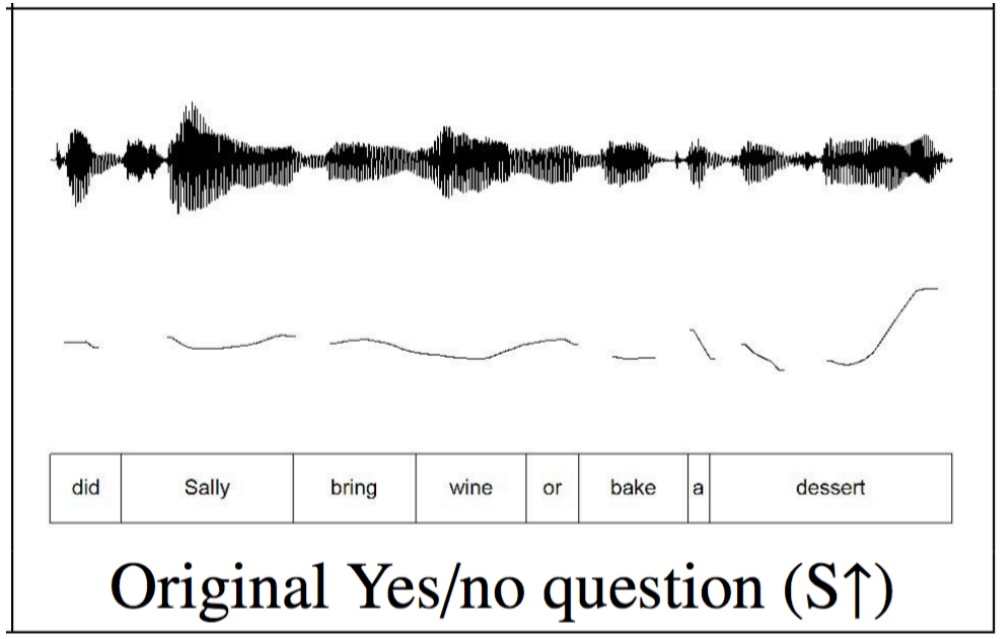
Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Experiment:

- 4 different prosodic contours: 2 **original** recordings



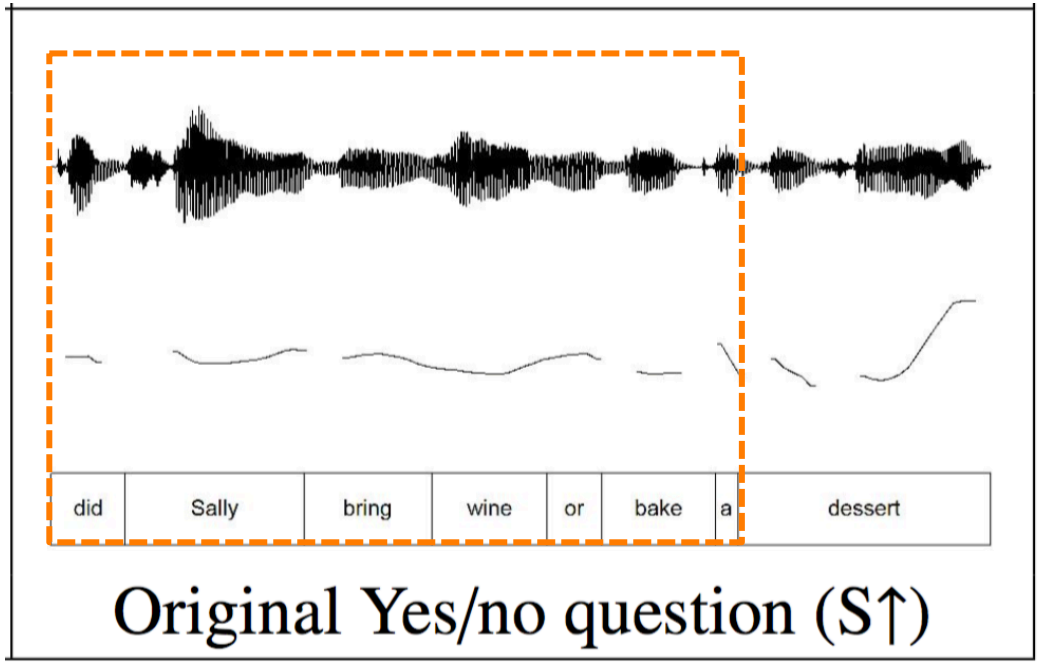
Original Alt question (M↓)

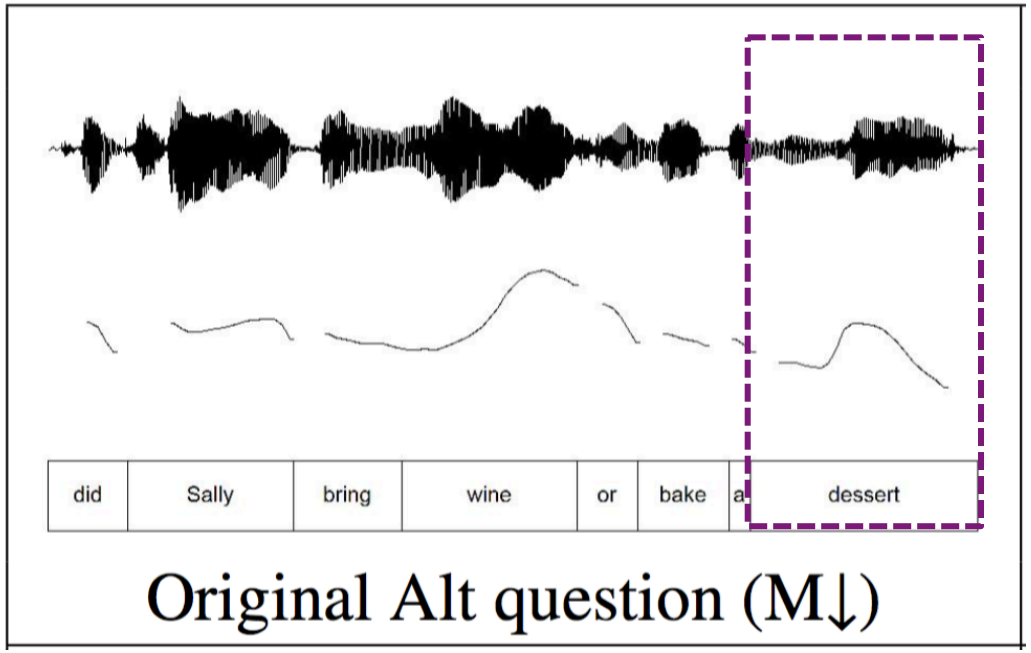


Original Yes/no question (S↑)

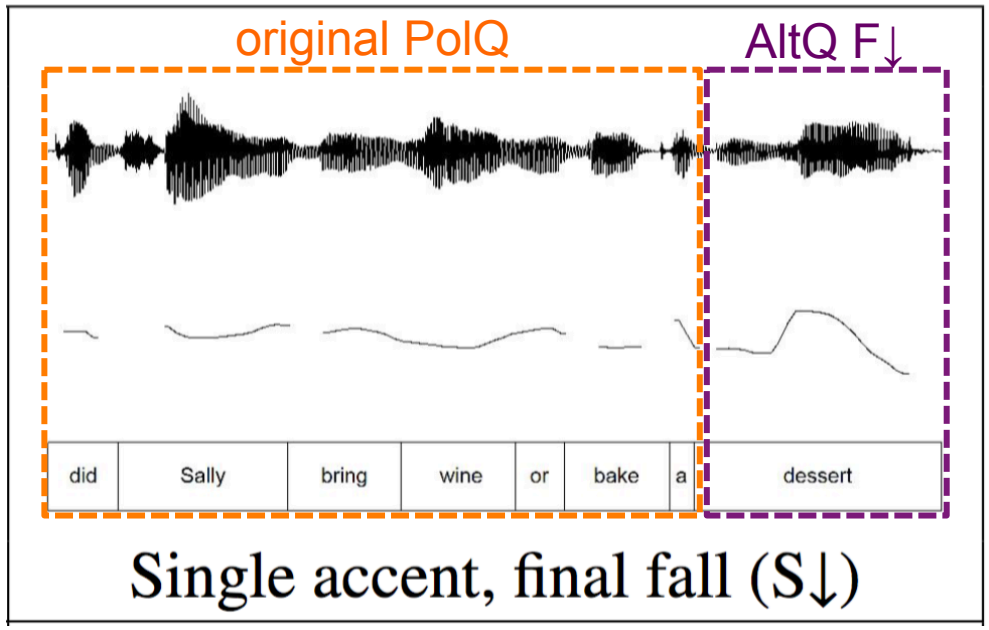
Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

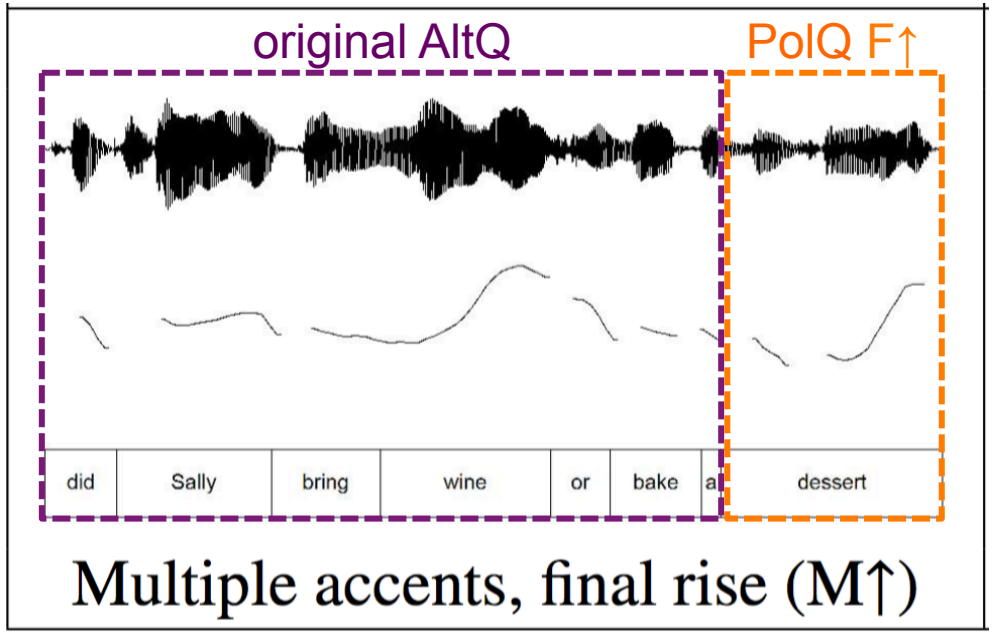
Manipulation of the spliced condition:





Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)





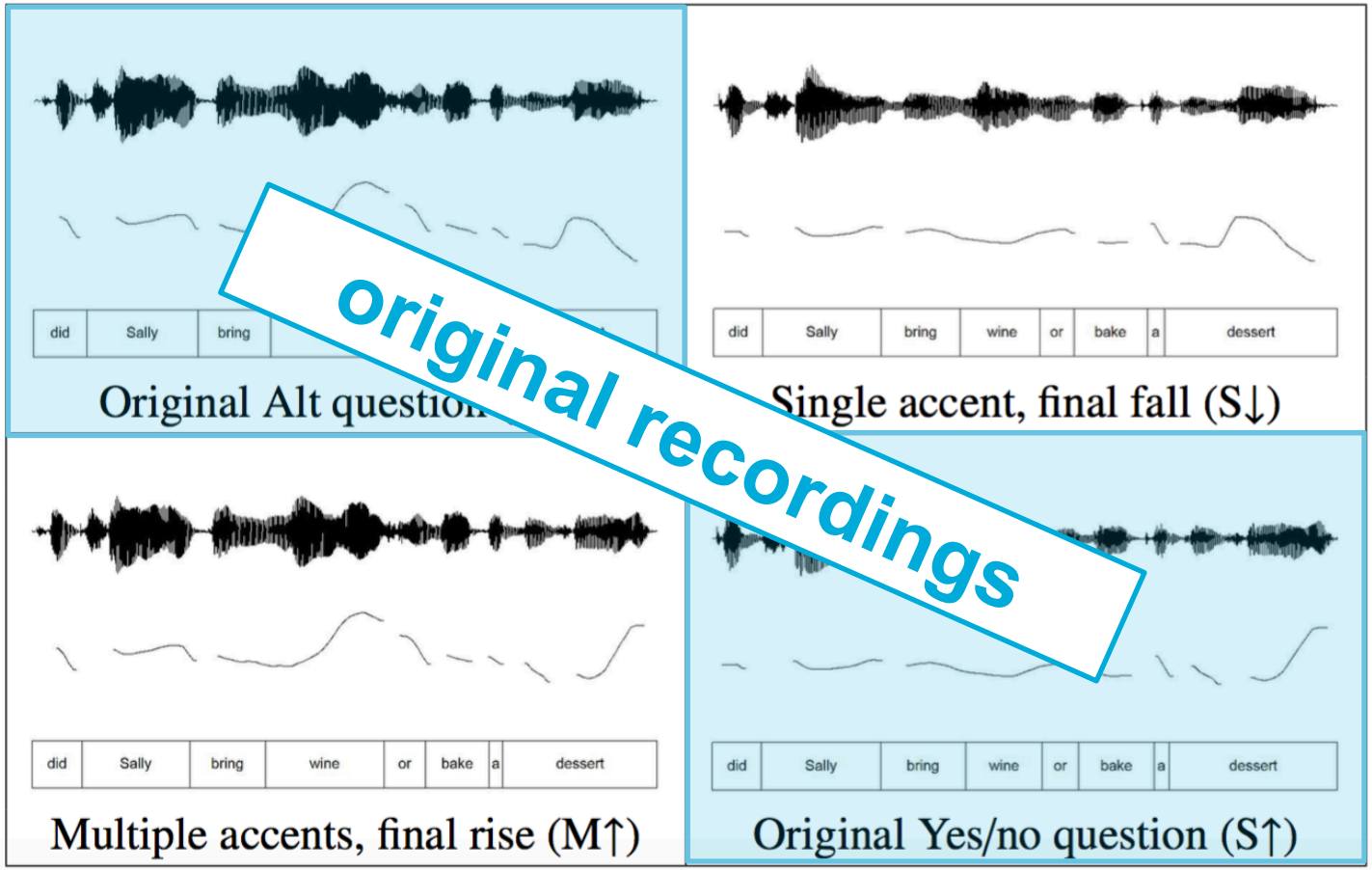
Experiment:

- 4 different prosodic contours: 2 **spliced** questions

Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Experiment:

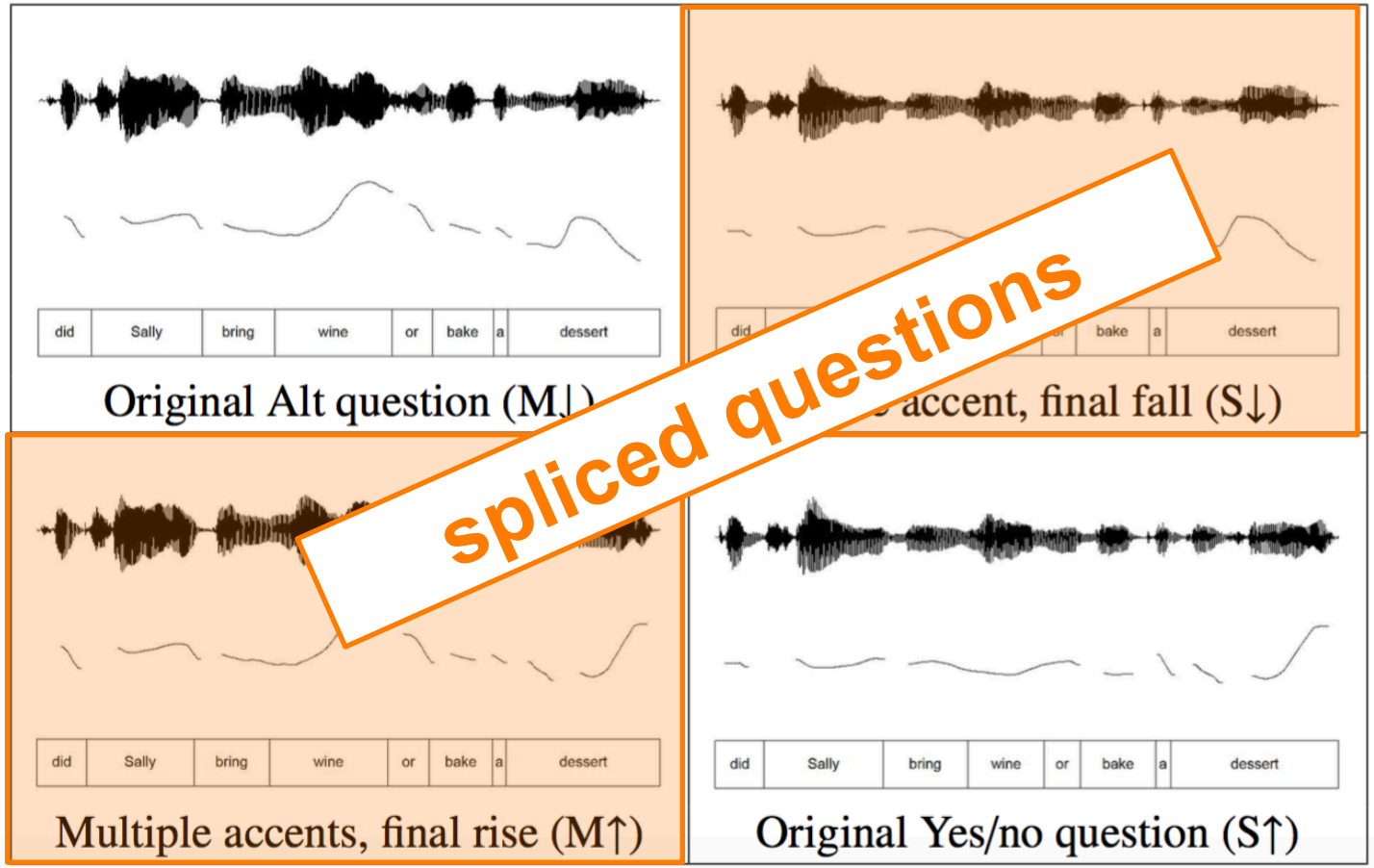
- 4 different prosodic contours:



Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Experiment:

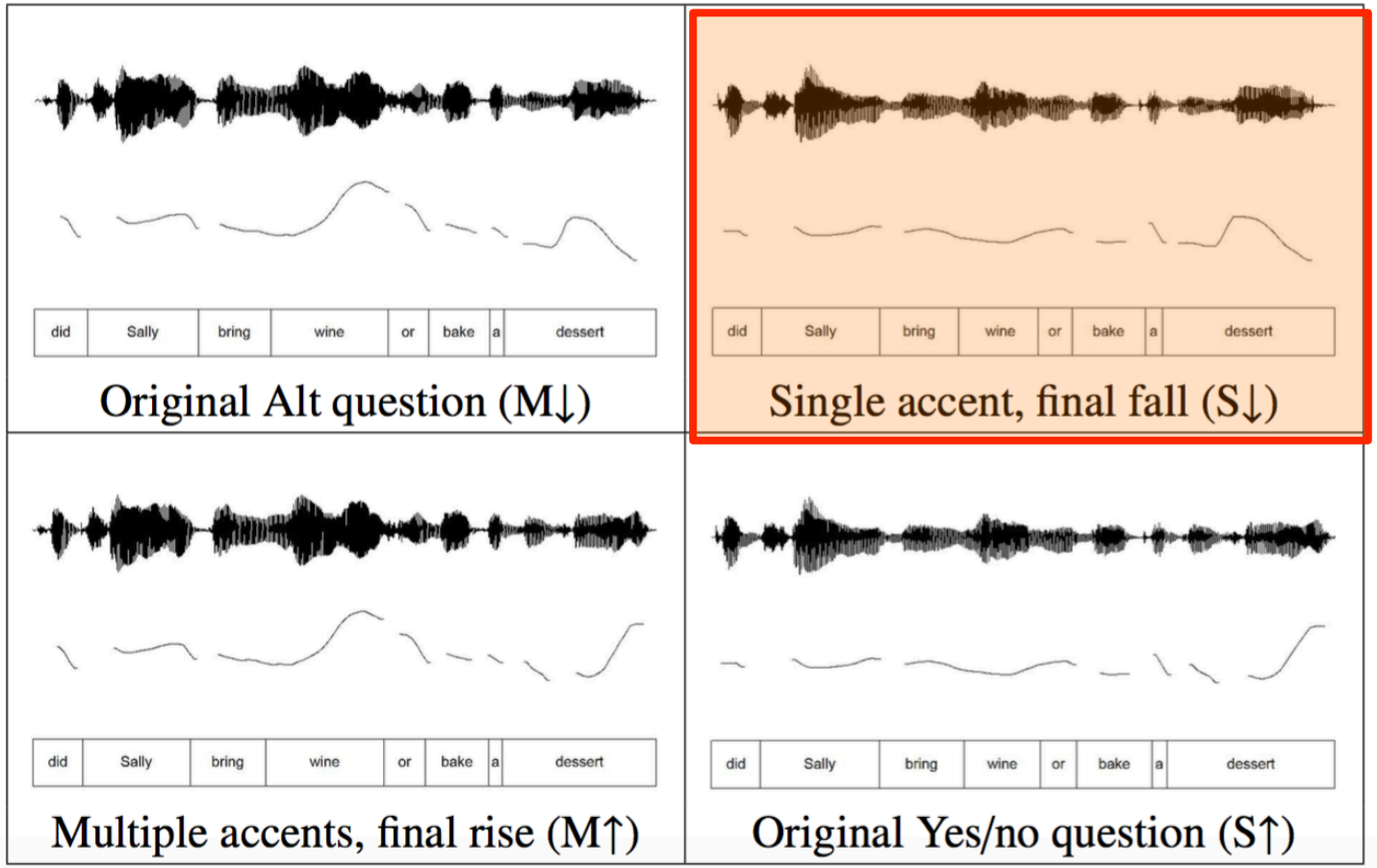
- 4 different prosodic contours:



Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Experiment:

- 4 different prosodic contours:



Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Experiment:

- Participants choose between paraphrases

(5) Did Sally bring wine or bake a dessert? [M↓/M↑/S↓/S↑]

Paraphrase options:

a.) Which of these things did Sally do: bring wine or bake a dessert?

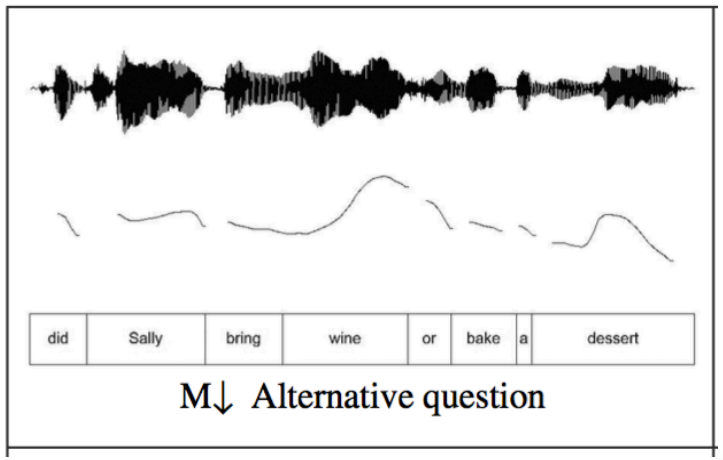
b.) Did Sally do any of these things: bring wine or bake a dessert?

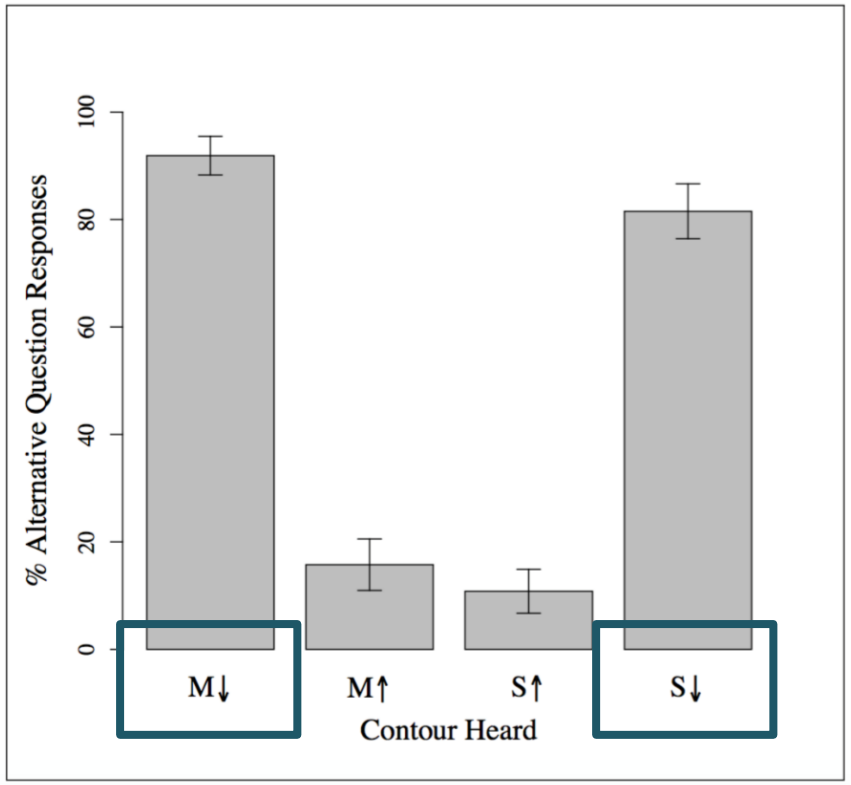
c.) Other: _____

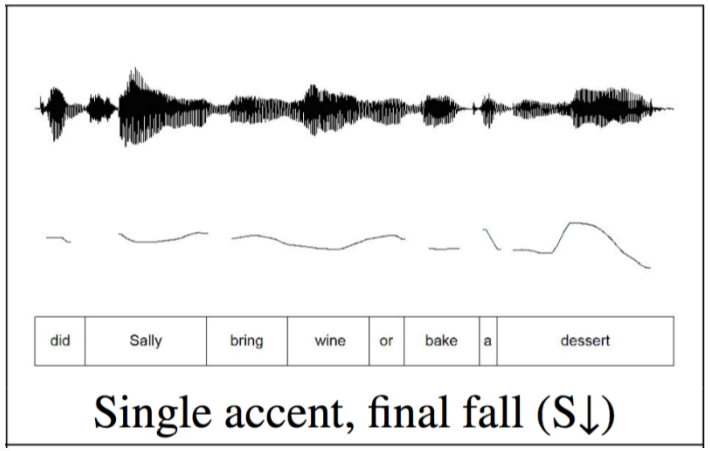
Recent Previous Work: Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)

Results:

The Final Fall is the dominant cue for Alternative Question interpretation







Recent Previous Work

Altogether

- Prominent recent accounts do not model the Multiple Accent,
  or take it's netto semantic contribution to be null

- Recent empirical work suggests that the Final Fall indeed is the crucial prosodic cue for an Alternative Question interpretation

- We will argue that the Multiple Accent should be modelled
  with a non-null semantic contribution in a unified account of Alternative Questions

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Argument 1: Revisiting Falling PolQs in English
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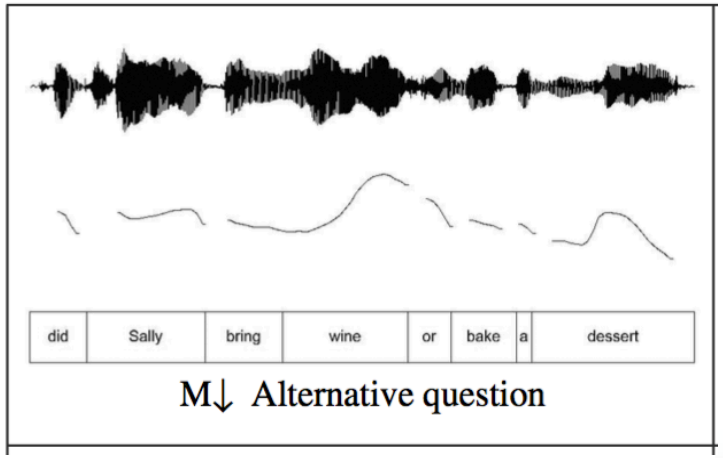
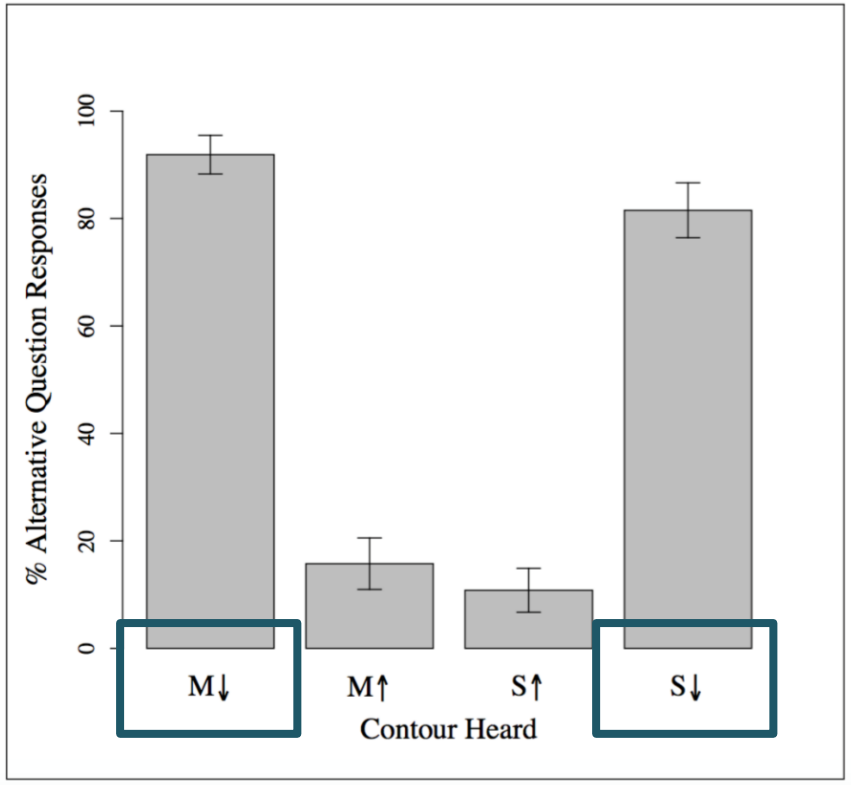
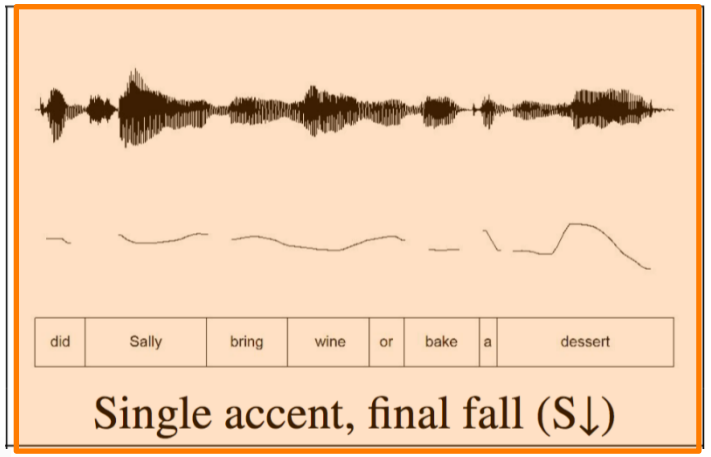


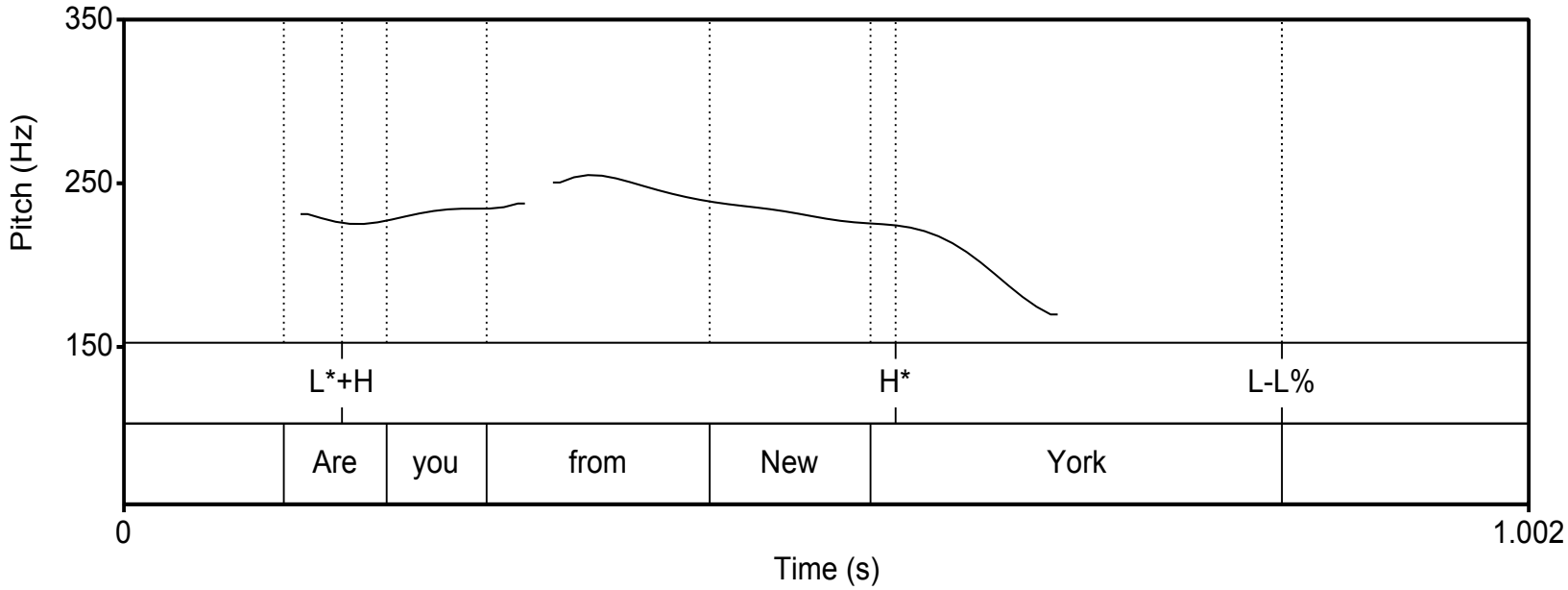




Falling Questions in English

- **Hey wait a minute…**
  It is known that Polar Questions can **also** have a falling final contour (Bartels, 1997; Schubinger, 1958)

Context: You are working as a HR secretary at a big firm, in which all employees that are from New York get a special benefit. You are fixing the paperwork for a new employee and want to know whether he can get this benefit, so you ask:

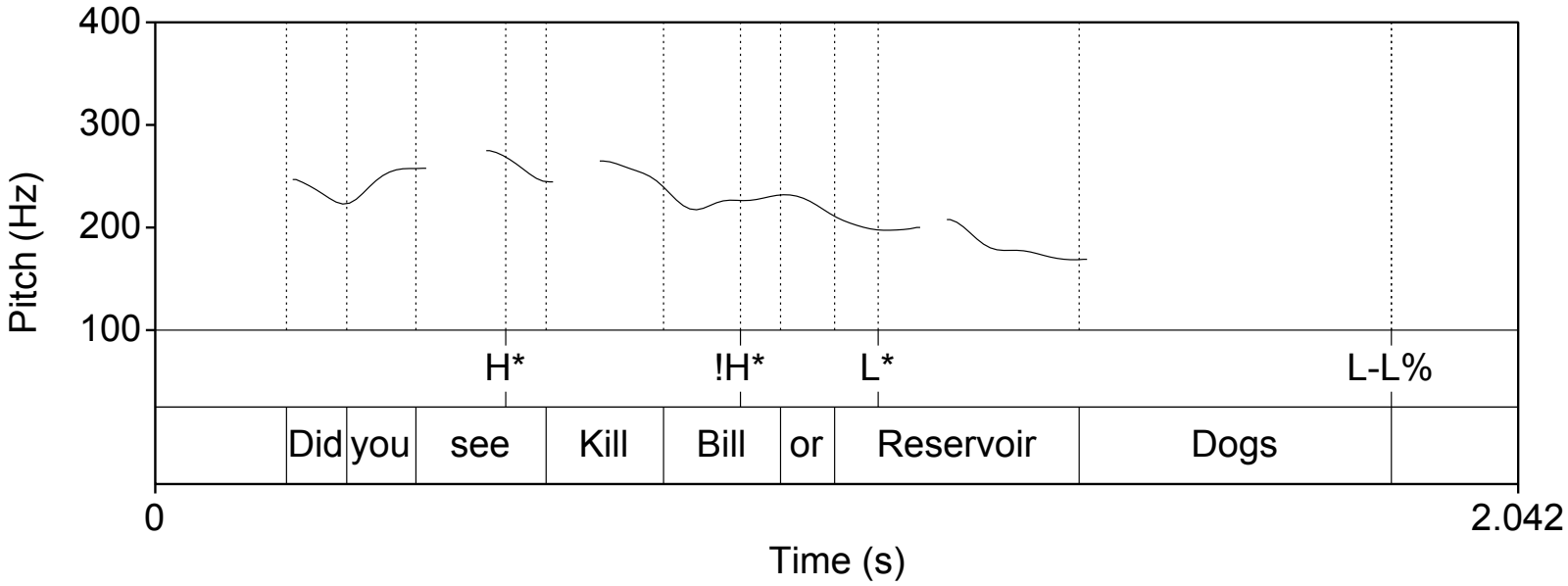


Falling Questions in English

Falling Disjunctive Polar Questions

This is not different for Disjunctive Polar Questions

Context: You are teaching a class on popular culture and want to discuss a film. For the next discussion point, you need a student who has seen Kill Bill or Reservoir Dogs, no matter which one of them. To make sure this is the case, you ask every student before they start speaking:



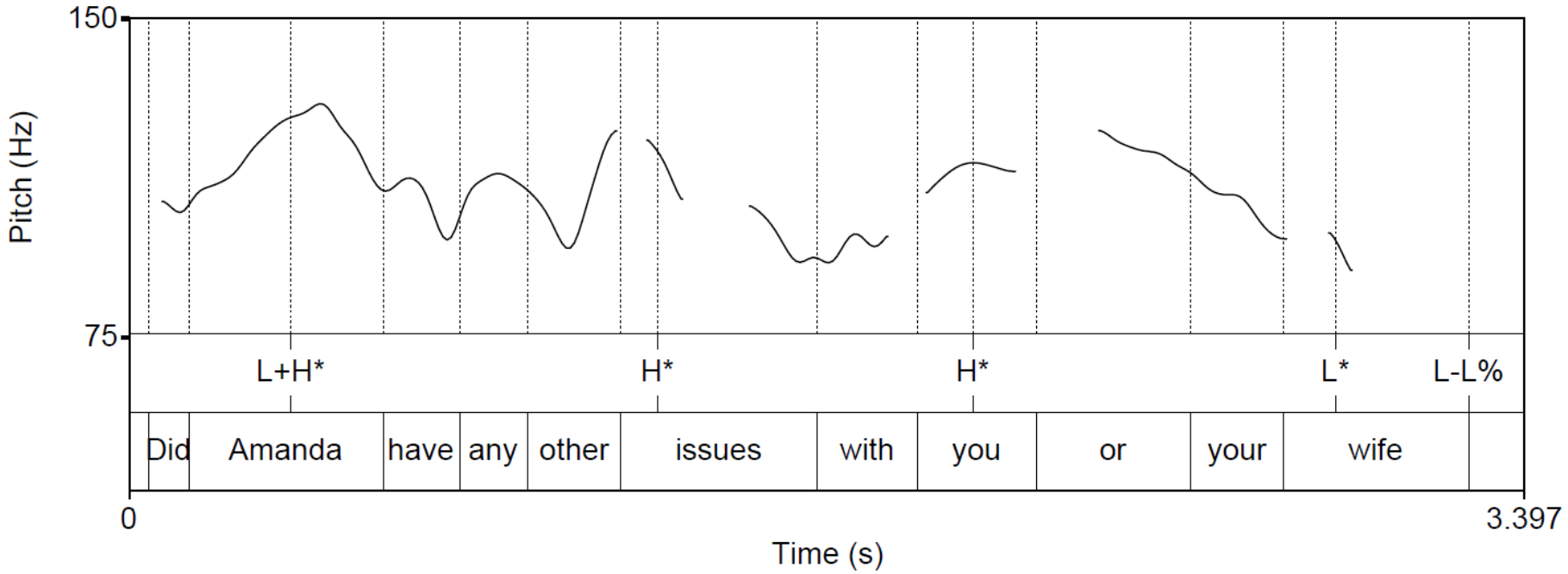
Falling Questions in English

Biezma (2018). Non-informative assertions. Ms., University of Konstanz.

Major Crimes, Episode 1, Season 5, “Present tense”. starts on 6’ 02” within the episode

Falling Questions in English

Falling Disjunctive Polar Questions in the wild



Falling Questions in English

Altogether:

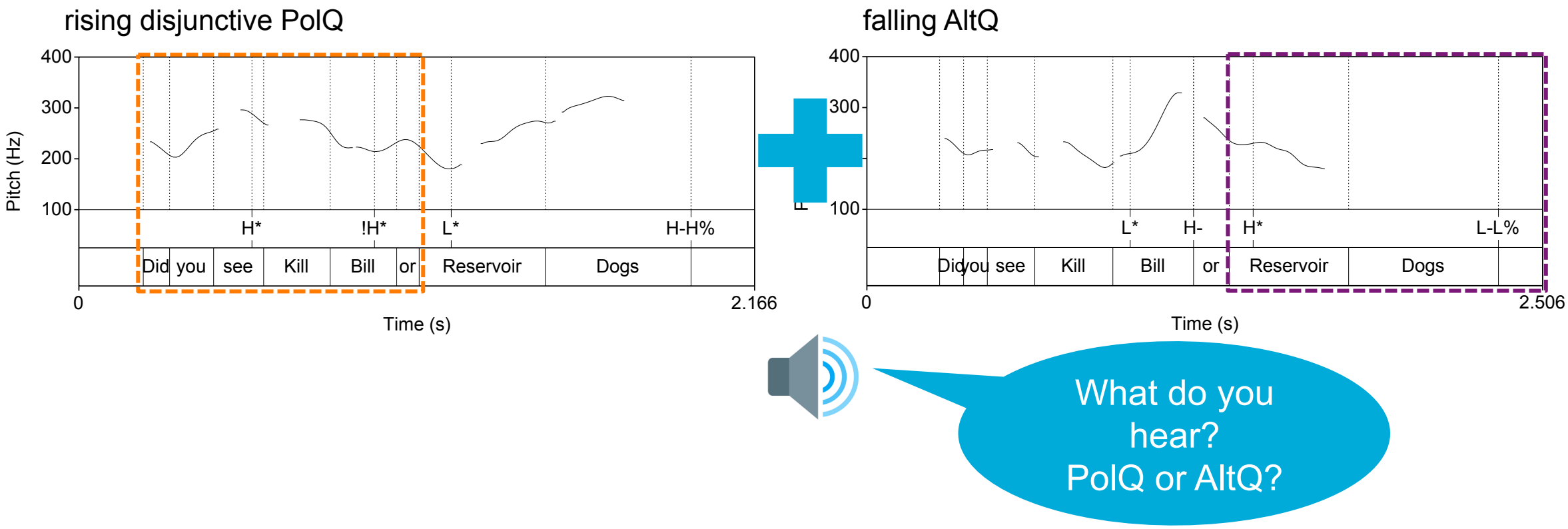
- Bartels (1997) observed that Polar Questions can have a Final Fall
- There is no reason why Disjunctive Polar Questions would be different from Plain Polar Questions
- Biezma (2018) found Falling Disjunctive Polar Questions in the wild!

This raises the question…

Why were the Falling Disjunctive Questions (S↓) interpreted as Alternative Questions in the Experiment?

Falling Questions in English

Empirical data English: splicing à la Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)



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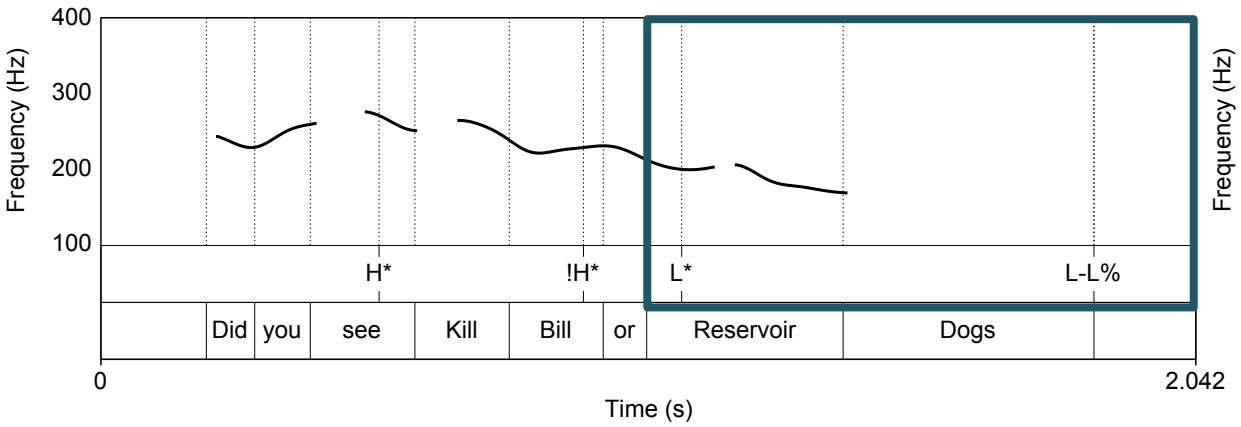
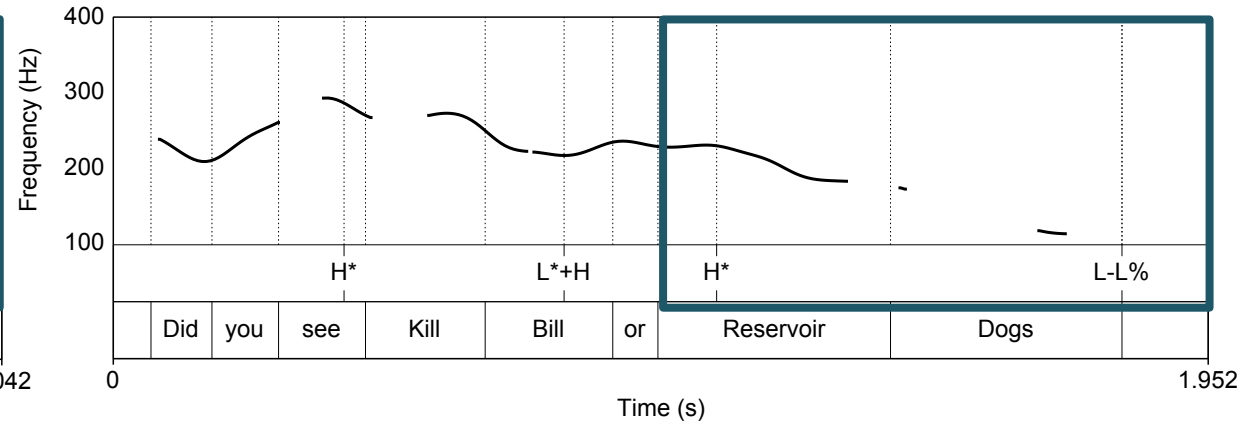
Revisiting Falling Questions in English:
Argument 1A-b: Acoustic Properties of falling Questions

Empirical data English: Original recording vs. spliced question

original falling disjunctive PolQ

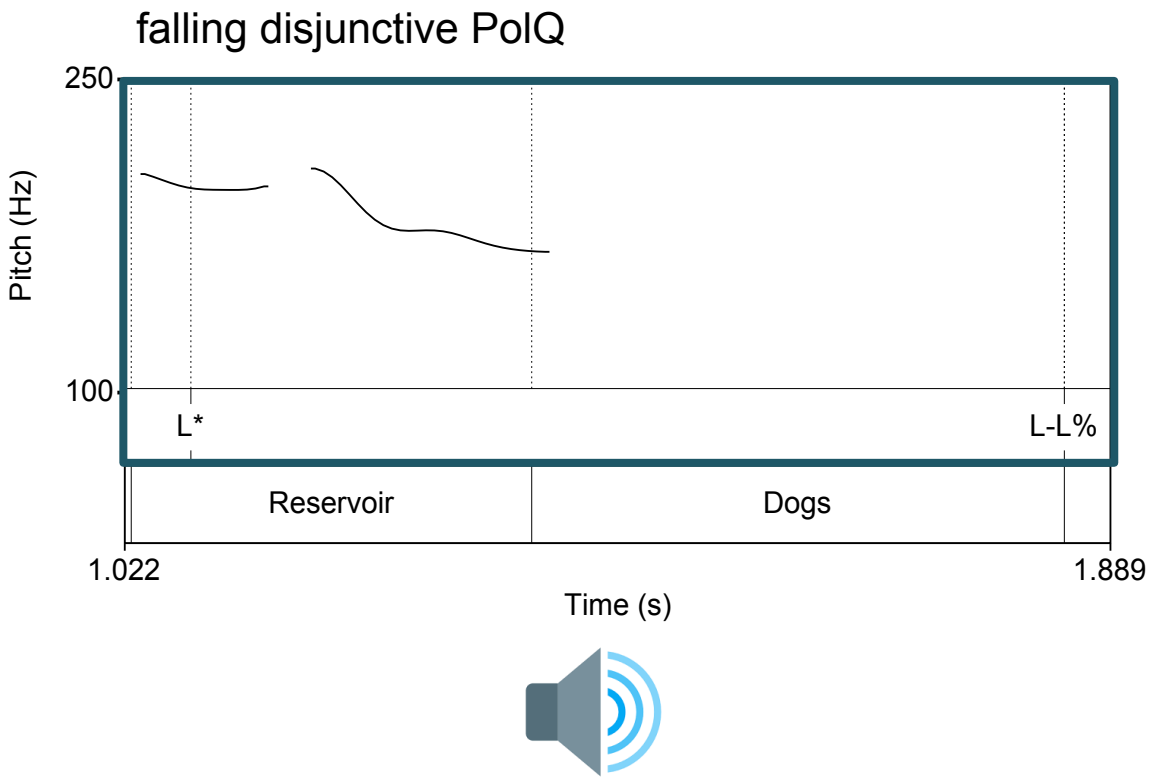


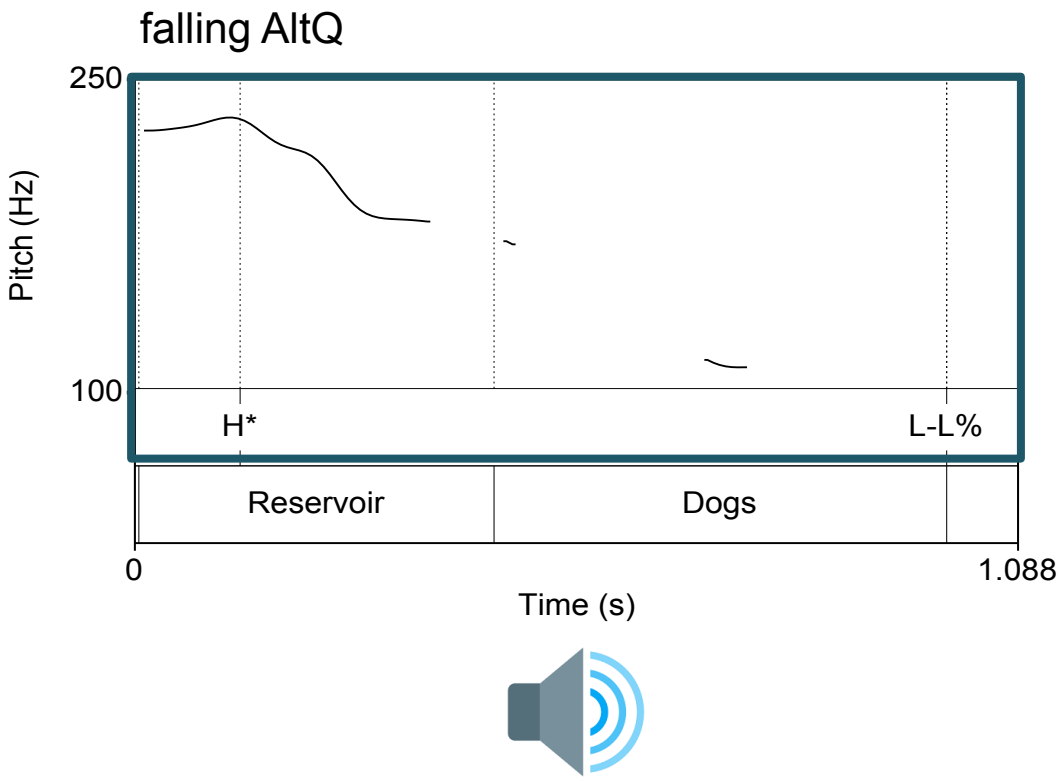
spliced falling question: rising PolQ + fall from AltQ



Revisiting Falling Questions in English:
Argument 1A-b: Acoustic Properties of falling Questions

Empirical data English: Original disjunctive PolQ F↓ vs. AltQ F↓





Revisiting Falling Questions in English:
Argument 1A-b: Acoustic Properties of falling Questions

So, if you do perceive a difference between the original falling PolQ and the spliced one, then possibly…

- a Final Fall does NOT automatically give you an AltQ interpretation, but

- the interpretation depends on the kind of Final Fall:
  - Final Fall L* L-L%: falling PolQ
  - Final Fall H* L-L%: AltQ

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Revisiting Falling Questions in English: Argument 1A-a: Pragmatic Requirements

So, if you do not perceive a difference between the original falling PolQ and the spliced one, then possibly…

- the interpretation of the pattern S↓ as falling PolQ vs AltQ is induced by the previous context.

Pragmatic requirements on falling PolQs: Keeping the addressee 'to the point'

Falling Polar Questions are more restricted than their Rising counterparts in terms of the alternatives taken into consideration (Schubinger, 1958:63).

(6) a.) In a guessing game:
Is it green$_{H^*\ L\text{-}L\%}$? Does it grow here$_{H^*\ L\text{-}L\%}$?
b) To spouse who is unpacking the suitcase:
Did you find my camera$_{H^*L\text{-}L\%}$? Did you leave it in Edinburgh$_{H^*L\text{-}L\%}$? (Bartels 1999)

This is the **only** colour you care about. You do not want to know about any other colour

We will get back to this!

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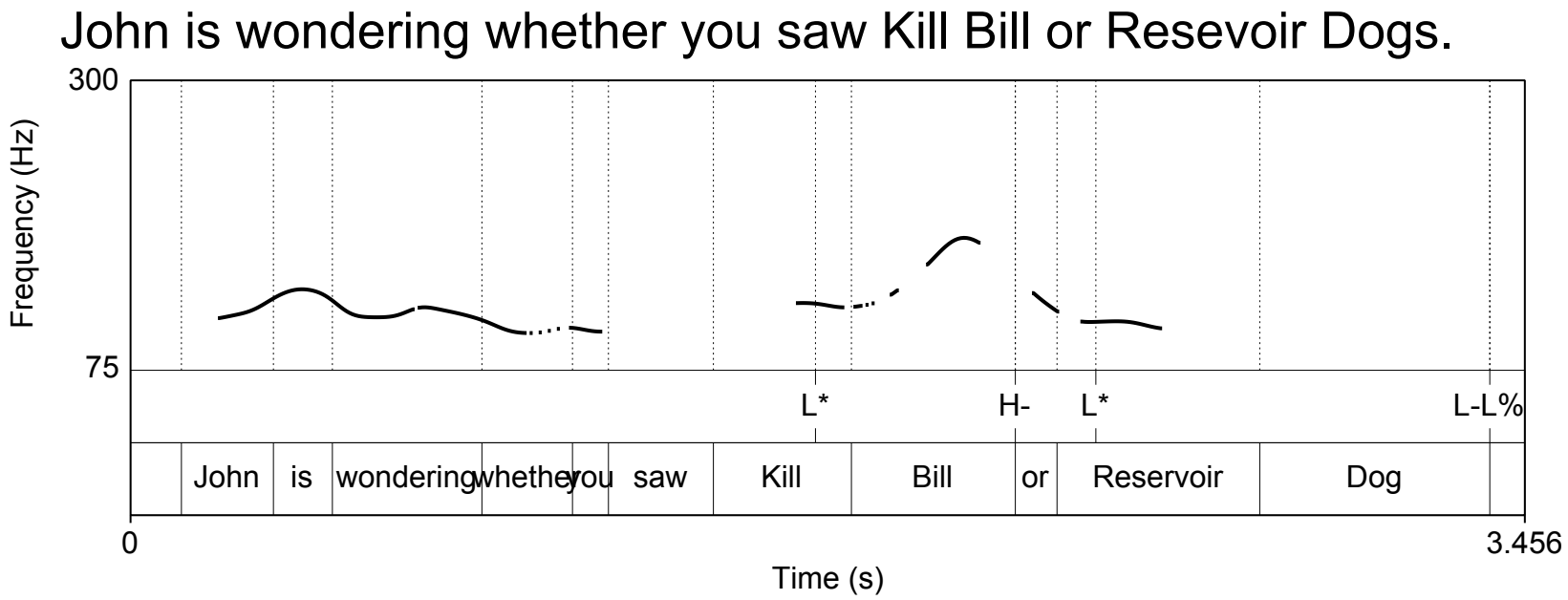
Revisiting Falling Questions in English:

Argument 1B: Embedded Alternative Questions

Both Alternative Questions and Polar Questions are produced with a Final Fall under embedding

(7) Embedded AltQ:

"John is wondering which of these two is true: you saw KB or you saw RD."



Revisiting Falling Questions in English:

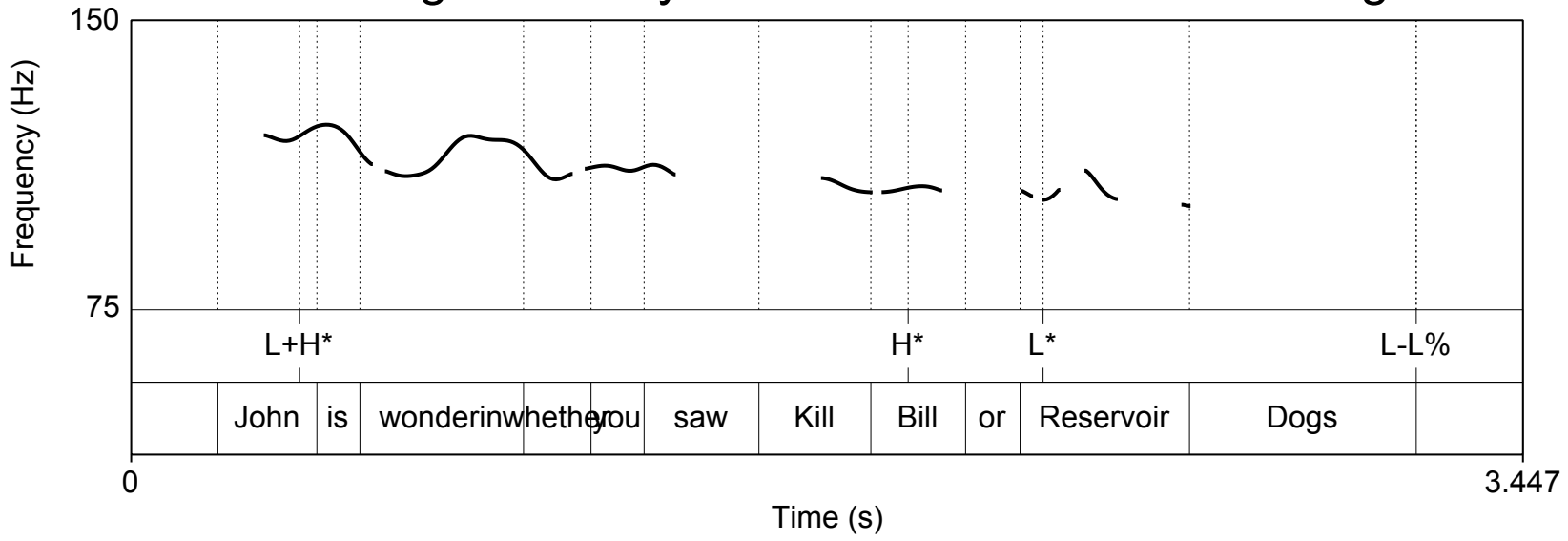
Argument 1B: Embedded Alternative Questions

Both Alternative Questions and Polar Questions are produced with a Final Fall under embedding

(8) Emdedded PolQ:

"John is wondering whether the following is true: that you saw KB or RD."

John is wondering whether you saw Kill Bill or Resevoir Dogs.



Revisiting Falling Questions in English

Altogether…

- There is a bias in recent literature towards the Final Fall as the crucial cue for Alternative Question Composition, but…
- Under embedding, Polar Questions always have a Final Fall
- Unembedded Polar Questions can also have a Final Fall, although
  - There is an acoustic difference between the AltQ Fall and the PolQ Fall
  - Falling Polar Questions are pragmatically restricted

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Argument 2:
Non-null contribution of the Multiple Accent

Turkish

- Alternative and Polar Question prosody in Turkish parallels English
- The Multiple Accent is mirrored by occurrences of the Q-particle *mI*

(9) a. Ali iskambil **mi** (oynadi) yoksa futbol **mu** oynadi?
Ali cards Q play.past or_{alt} football Q play.past
'Did Ali play cards or football?' [Alternative Question]

b. Ali iskambil veya futbol oynadi **mu**?
Ali cards $or_{decl/pol}$ football play.past **Q**
'Did Ali play cards or football?' [Polar Question]

Argument 2:
Non-null contribution of the Multiple Accent

Turkish

- *mI* appears in Polar Questions
- *mI* in Polar Questions signals that the constituent it attaches to is in focus (Kamali 2015)

- We find similar patterns in other languages, such as Sinhala and Macedonian (Slade 2011)

Argument 2:
Non-null contribution of the Multiple Accent

(10) a. Ali iskambil oynadi **mi**?
Ali cards play Q
'Did Ali play cards?' [Neutral]

b. Ali **mi** iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q cards play
'Was it Ali who played cards?' [Focus]

c. Ali iskambil **mi** oynadi?
Ali cards Q play
'Was it cards what ali played?' [Focus]

Argument 2:
Non-null contribution of the Multiple Accent

(10) a. Ali iskambil oynadi **mi**?
Ali cards play Q
'Did Ali play cards?' [Neutral]

b. Ali **mi** iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q cards play
'Was it Ali who played cards?' [Focus]

c. Ali iskambil **mi** oynadi?
Ali cards Q play
'Was it cards what ali played?' [Focus]

Argument 2:
Non-null contribution of the Multiple Accent

The effect of *ml* is reminiscent of the focal accent in English (Biezma 2009)

(11) a. Did ALI play cards? → QUD: Who played cards?

Ali played cards Beste played cards ……

b. Did Ali play CARDS? → QUD: What did Ali play?

Ali played cards Ali played football ……

Outline

- Recent Previous Work
  - Biezma & Rawlins (2012)
  - Roelfsen & van Gool (2010)
  - Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013)
- Argument 1: Revisiting Falling Questions in English
  - 1A-a: Acoustic properties
  - 1A-b: Pragmatic licensing
  - 1B: Embedded Alternative Questions
- Argument 2: Q-particles in Turkish Alternative Questions
- **Towards an Analysis**
- Conclusion

Towards a Unified Analysis

We aim for an analysis that accounts for:

- The semantic effect of *mI* in plain Polar Questions
- The mandatory status of the occurrence of the Q-particle *mI* in each disjunct in Turkish Alternative Questions
- The mandatory status of the Multiple Accent in English Alternative Questions

Towards a Unified Analysis

Ingredients:

1. Discourse trees and QUD (Roberts 1996, Büring 2003)
2. Focus Marking (Rooth 1992, Biezma 2009)
3. (Un)satisfaction of Maxims (Westera 2017)

Realisation of Ingredients 2 and 3:

- Focus Marking:
  - English: Focal Accent
  - Turkish: Q-particle *mI*

- (Un)satistaction of Maxims:
  - English: Boundary tone
  - Turkish: Boundary tone in AltQs;
    not sure how in PolQs

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Realisation of Ingredients 2 and 3:

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- (Un)satistaction of Maxims:
  - English: Boundary tone
  - Turkish: Boundary tone in AltQs; not sure how in PolQs

Contribution of Ingredients 2 and 3 to QUD:

➡ General shape of the QUD (Biezma 2009)

➡ Restriction on content of QUD (Westera 2017)

Towards a Unified Analysis
Ingredients: Discourse Trees and QUD

Roberts (1996)

Discourse is structured in a hierarchy of (often implicit) Questions under Discussion (QUDs):

QUD1: Who ate what?
- QUD1.1: What did Amy eat?
  - QUD1.1.1: Did Amy eat tofu?
  - QUD1.1.2: Did Amy eat natto?
- QUD1.2: What did Hassan eat?
  - QUD1.1.1: Did Hassan eat tofu?
  - QUD1.1.2: Did Hasaan eat natto?
- …

QUD2: Who drank what?

…

Rooth (1992)

The focus semantic value $[\![.]\!]^f$ is exemplified in (12a), and the focus felicity condition of the squiggle operator ~ is defined in (12b) (Rooth 1992)

(12) a. $[\![\text{Ali}_F \text{ played cards}]\!]^f = \{\text{a played cards, b played cards, c played cards, …}\}$
b. $[\![\varphi \sim C]\!]$ is felicitous only if $[\![C]\!] \subseteq [\![\varphi]\!]^f$

Towards a Unified Analysis: Ingredients: A-Maxims

Westera (2017)

Next to Information Maxims (Grice 1975), we have A(ttention)-Maxims shaping the Question under Discussion (QUD)

- A-Quality: Intend to draw attention only to states of affairs that you consider (epistemically) possible
- A-Relation: Intend to draw attention only to states of affairs that you consider relevant

Final boundary tones signal the speakers attitude towards A-Maxims

- The Final Fall signals that the speaker believes all A-Maxims are satisfied
- The Final Rise signals that the speaker considers the possibility that not all A-Maxims are satisfied

Example

(13) a. Are you from Denmark ↑?
b. Are you from Denmark ↓?

Towards a Unified Analysis: Ingredients: A-Maxims

Westera (2017)

The relationship between rising and falling and the speakers obedience of the A-Maxims can be applied to sub-sentential constituents

(14) Barbara visited Loulou ↑, Sophie ↑, and Mila ↓ for Christmas.

Towards a Unified Analysis:

Proposal combining ingredients from literature:

(i) *ml* / focal accent contributes F-marking of its adjacent constituent at LF
(ii) The squiggle operator ~ shaping ⟦C⟧ is attached to IP
(iii) ⟦C⟧ is taken as a salient Question Under Discussion
(iv) Boundary tones restricting or not restricting ⟦C⟧ / QUD

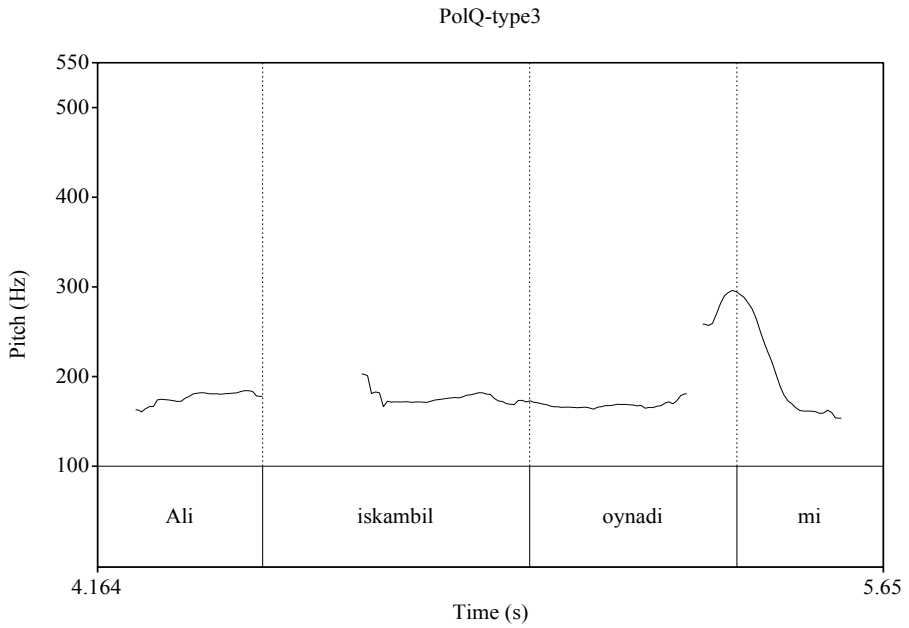
Towards a Unified Analysis: Polar Questions

Polar Question + broad focus / broad *ml*

(15) Did [Ali play cards]$_F$ ↑?

(16) Did [Ali play cards]$_F$ ↓?

(17) [Ali iskambil oynadi] mi?
Ali cards play Q



(Kamali & Büring 2011, Karatas 2017)

Towards a Unified Analysis: Polar Questions

Polar Question + broad focus / broad *ml*

(15) Did [Ali play cards]$_F$ ↑?

(16) Did [Ali play cards]$_F$ ↓?

(17) [Ali iskambil oynadi]$_F$ mi?
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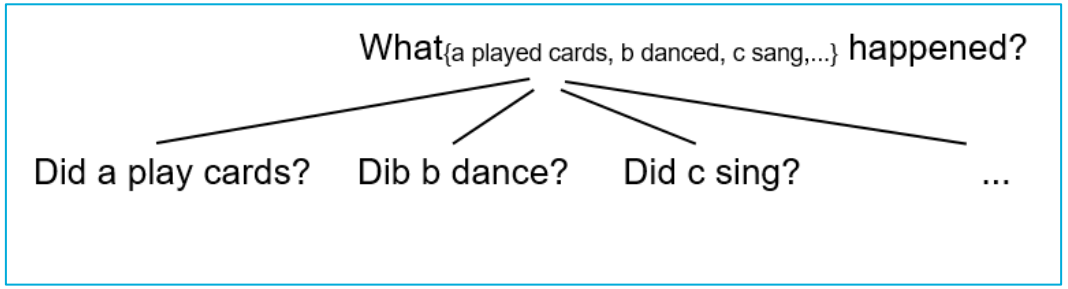


(18) Analysis of (15) and possibly (17):

a. LF: [Q [$_{IP}$ Ali play cards]$_F$ ~ C]

b. ⟦C⟧ ⊆ ⟦*[Ali played cards]*$_F$⟧^{f} = {a played cards, b danced, c sang,…}

c. ⟦C⟧ = QUD = {a played cards, b danced, c sang,…}
= 'What$_{\{a\ played\ cards,b\ danced,\ c\ sang,...\}}$ happened?'

Towards a Unified Analysis: Polar Questions

Polar Question + broad focus / broad *ml*

(15) Did [Ali play cards]$_F$ ↑?

(16) Did [Ali play cards]$_F$ ↓?

(17) [Ali iskambil oynadi]$_F$ mi?
Ali cards play Q

What$_{\{a\ played\ cards\}}$ happened?
|
Did a play cards?

(19) Analysis of (16) and possibly (17):
a. LF: [Q [$_{IP}$ Ali play cards]$_F$ ~ C]
b. ⟦C⟧ ⊆ ⟦*[Ali played cards]*$_F$⟧^{f} = {a played cards, b danced, c sang,…}
c. ⟦C⟧ = QUD = {a played cards, ~~b danced, c sang,…~~}
= 'What$_{\{a\ played\ cards\}}$ happened?'

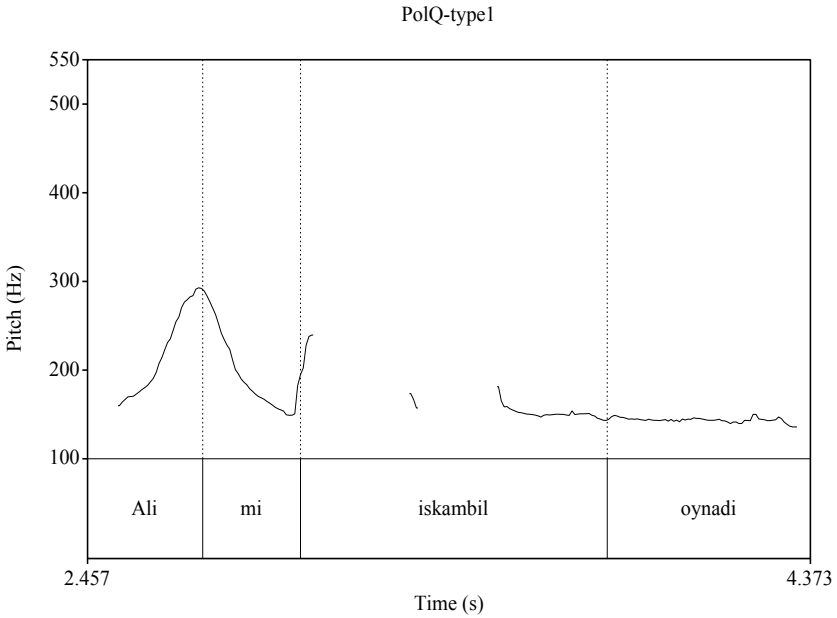
Towards a Unified Analysis: Polar Questions

Polar Question + narrow focus / adjacent *mI*

(20) Did $[\text{Ali}]_F$ play cards↑?

(21) Did $[\text{Ali}]_F$ play cards↓?

(22) [Ali] mi iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q cards play



(Kamali & Büring 2011, Karatas 2017)

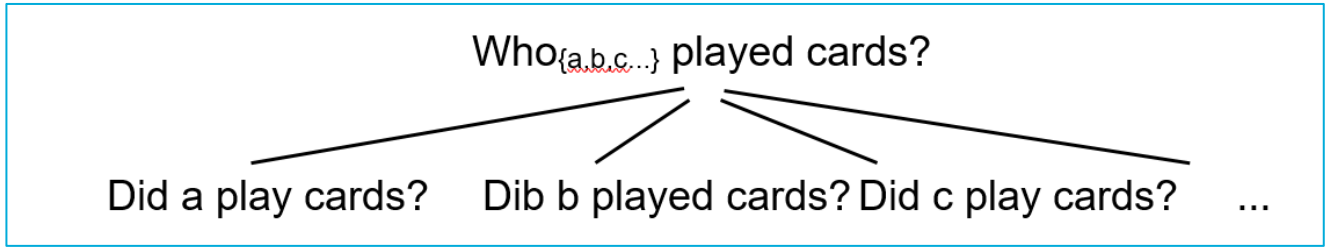
Towards a Unified Analysis: Polar Questions

Polar Question + narrow focus / adjacent *mI*

(20) Did [Ali]$_F$ play cards↑?

(21) Did Ali$_F$ play cards↓?

(22) [Ali] mi iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q cards play



(23) Analysis of (20) and possibly (22):

a. LF: [Q [$_{IP}$ Ali$_F$ play cards] ~ C]

b. ⟦C⟧ ⊆ ⟦*Ali$_F$ played cards*⟧^{f} = {a played cards, b played cards, c played cards,…}

c. ⟦C⟧ = QUD = {a played cards, b played cards, c played cards,…}
= ‘Who$_{\{a,b,c,...\}}$ played cards?’

Towards a Unified Analysis: Polar Questions

Polar Question + narrow focus / adjacent *mI*

(20) Did Ali_F play cards↑?

(21) Did $[Ali]_F$ play cards↓?

(22) [Ali] mi iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q cards play

Who{a} played cards?

|

'Did Ali↓ -mI play cards?'

[Turkish (22) as "surprise" question in Karatas (2017)]

(24) Analysis of (21) and possibly (22):

a. LF: [Q [$_{IP}$ Ali_F play cards] ~ C]

b. $[\![C]\!] \subseteq [\![Ali_F \text{ played cards}]\!]^f$ = {a played cards, b played cards, c played cards,…}

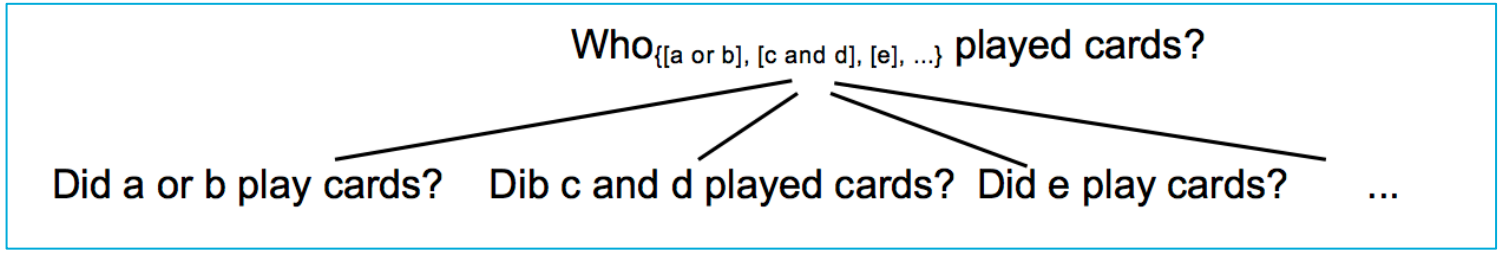
c. $[\![C]\!]$ = QUD = {a played cards, ~~b played cards, c played cards,…~~}
= 'Who{a} played cards?'

Towards a Unified Analysis: Disjunctive Polar Questions

Disjunctive Polar Question + narrow focus

(25) Did [Ali or Beste]$_F$ play cards↑?

(26) Did [Ali or Beste]$_F$ play cards↓?



(27) Analysis of (25):

a. LF: [Q [$_{IP}$ [Ali or Beste]$_F$ play cards] ~ C]

b. ⟦C⟧ ⊆ ⟦*[Ali or Beste]$_F$ played cards*⟧^{f}

= {a or b played cards, c and d played cards, e played cards…}

c. ⟦C⟧ = QUD = { a or b played cards, c and d played cards, e played cards…}

= 'Who$_{\{[a\text{ or }b],\,[c\text{ and }d],\,[e],\ldots\}}$ played cards?'

Towards a Unified Analysis: Disjunctive Polar Questions

Disjunctive Polar Question + narrow focus

(25) Did [Ali or Beste]$_F$ play cards↑?

(26) Did [Ali or Beste]$_F$ play cards↓?

Who$_{\{[a \text{ or } b]\}}$ played cards?

|

Did a or b play cards?

(28) Analysis of (26):

a. LF: [Q [$_{IP}$ [Ali or Beste]$_F$ play cards] ~ C]

b. ⟦C⟧ ⊆ ⟦*[Ali or Beste]$_F$ played cards*⟧^{f}

= {a or b played cards, c and d played cards, e played cards…}

c. ⟦C⟧ = QUD = { a or b played cards, ~~c and d played cards, e played cards~~…}

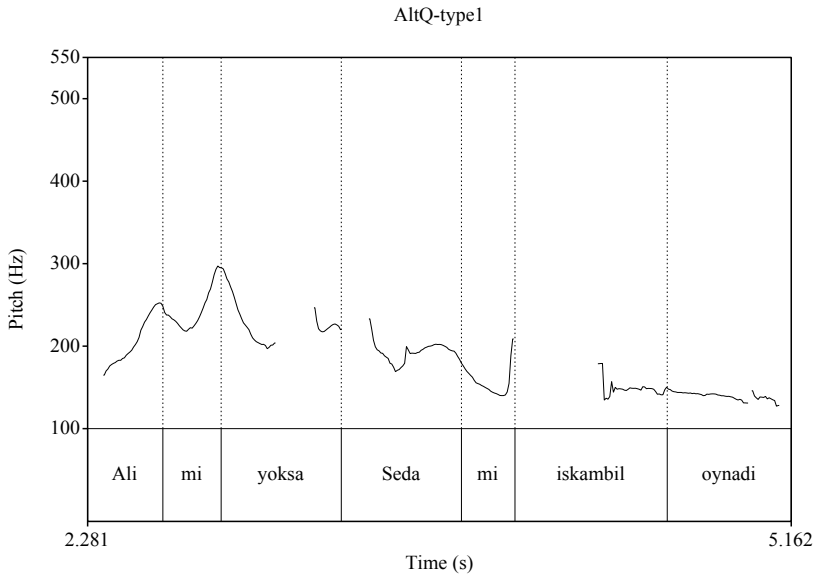
= 'Who$_{\{[a \text{ or } b],\ [c \text{ and } d],\ [e],\ldots\}}$ played cards?'

Towards a Unified Analysis: Alternative Questions

Alternative Question + focus on each disjunct

(29) Did [Ali]$_F$↑ or [Seda]$_F$↓ play cards?

(30) [Ali] mi↑ yoksa [Seda] mi↓ iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q or Seda Q cards play



Towards a Unified Analysis: Alternative Questions

Alternative Question + focus on each disjunct

(29) Did [Ali]$_F$↑ or [Seda]$_F$↓ play cards?

(30) [Ali] mi↑ yoksa [Seda] mi↓ iskambil oynadi?
Ali Q or Seda Q cards play

Who$_{\{a,b\}}$ played cards?

|

Did Ali$_F$↑ or Seda$_F$↓ play cards??

(31) Analysis of (29) and (30):

a. LF: [Q [[$_{IP1}$ Ali*F* played cards]~ C or [$_{IP2}$ Seda*F* play cards]~ C]]

b. ⟦C⟧ ⊆ ⟦IP1⟧^{f} = ⟦IP2⟧^{f} = {a played cards, s played cards, c played cards,…}

c. ⟦C⟧ = QUD = {a played cards, s played cards, ~~c played cards,…~~}
= 'Who$_{\{a,s\}}$ played cards?'

Outline

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- **Conclusion**

Conclusion

Two prosodic cues in Alternative Questions

- Final Fall
- Multiple Accent

(1) Do both prosodic cues contribute to the Alternative Question interpretation?

YES!

(2) If so, what is the contribution of the two cues individually?

Multiple Accent	→	General shape of the QUD via Focus marking
Final Fall	→	Restrictions on content of QUD via (un)satisfaction of Attention Maxims

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