LIN6049 Advanced semantics: puzzles in meaning

2024-2025 Luisa Martí

Week 3

Definites, part 2

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Last week: two uses of *the*, languages with two definite articles

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This week: what our semantic theory should say about this

- (1) A student of physics came to office hours
- (2) The student of physics came to office hours

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- (2) The student of physics came to office hours

Suppose: there is 1 student of physics in my class

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(2) The student of physics came to office hours

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X

Suppose: there are no physics students in my class

(1) A student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics} ∩ {x: x came to office hours} ≠ Ø

(2) The student of physics came to office hours

 $\{x: x \text{ is a student of physics}\} \cap \{x: x \text{ came to office hours}\} \neq \emptyset$

(2) The student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics} ∩ {x: x came to office hours} ≠ Ø
and

|{x: x is a student of physics}| = 1

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uniqueness requirement

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- when we say (1), we don't usually have the entire set of physics students in the world in mind
- we usually have a smaller set of physics students in mind
- for example, the set of physics students in my class

(2) The student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics} \cap {x: x came to office hours} \neq Ø and |{x: x is a student of physics}| = 1

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{x: x is a student of physics} \cap {x: x came to office hours} \neq Ø and |{x: x is a student of physics}| = 1

• likewise, when we say (2), we don't usually have the entire set of physics students in the world in mind

(2) The student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics} \cap {x: x came to office hours} \neq Ø and |{x: x is a student of physics}| = 1

- likewise, when we say (2), we don't usually have the entire set of physics students in the world in mind
- it would be hard to meet the requirement that |{x: x is a student of physics}| = 1 in that case

and we know from last week that we can talk about contextual domains of different sizes with *the*:

- (3) Never look at **the sun** during a solar eclipse
- (4) I attended a speech by the Prime Minister
- (5) **The mayor** visited a hospital
- (6) The cat is on the mat

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- we will call that situation s
- situations can be bigger (the world!) or smaller (the classroom)

- (1) A student of physics came to office hours{x: x is a student of physics in s} ∩ {x: x came to office hours} ≠ Ø
- (2) The student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics $\underline{in s}$ \cap {x: x came to office hours} \neq Ø and |{x: x is a student of physics $\underline{in s}$ | = 1

(2) The student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics in s} \cap {x: x came to office hours} \neq Ø and

 $|\{x: x \text{ is a student of physics in s}\}| = 1$

(2) The student of physics came to office hours

{x: x is a student of physics in s} \cap {x: x came to office hours} \neq Ø and |{x: x is a student of physics in s}| = 1

(7) **The student of physics** didn't come to office hours

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- so, the two bits of information have different status

(7) The student of physics didn't come to office hours PRESUPPOSITION: $\{x: x \text{ is a student of physics in s}\} = 1$ ASSERTION: $\{x: x \text{ is a student of physics in s}\} \cap \{x: x \text{ came to office hours}\} = \emptyset$

- (7) The student of physics <u>didn't</u> come to office hours PRESUPPOSITION: |{x: x is a student of physics in s}| = 1

 ASSERTION: {x: x is a student of physics in s} n {x: x came to office hours} = Ø
- (2) The student of physics came to office hours

 PRESUPPOSITION: |{x: x is a student of physics in s}| = 1

 ASSERTION: {x: x is a student of physics in s} ∩ {x: x came to office hours} ≠ Ø

(8) #The king of France is bald

presupposition failures

- (9) #The London bus stop is on fire
- (10) [Context description: Jess tells me she has read three books in the last week. I say:]
 - #Is the book interesting?
- (11) [Context description: several students came to Fred's office hours. I know that. I say:]
 - #The student who came to Fred's office hours asked some questions about the assignment.

Summary of innovations so far

- sentences are interpreted with reference to a situation
- the uniqueness requirement of the is a presupposition

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 - #The student who came to Fred's office hours asked some questions about the assignment.

- (11) [Context description: several students came to Fred's office hours. I know that. I say:]#The student who came to Fred's office hours asked some questions about the assignment.
- (12) A student came to Fred's office hours. The student asked some questions about the assignment. The student/she was one of many students to come to Fred's office hours today with questions about the assignment. I guess his assignment instructions were unclear

What we have about the so far (innovations included):

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'The NP VP' presupposes that $\{x: x \text{ is an NP in s}\}\} = 1$. If that's true, then 'the NP VP' asserts that $\{x: x \text{ is an NP in s}\} \cap \{x: x \text{ VPs}\}$ $\neq \emptyset$

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by allowing s to be big or small, we can account for the domain size effect we saw before

- (3) Never look at **the sun** during a solar eclipse (s is the world)
- (4) I attended a speech by the Prime Minister (s is the UK)
- (5) **The mayor** visited a hospital (s is London)
- (6) The cat is on the mat (s is my house)

'The_W NP VP' presupposes that $\{x: x \text{ is an NP in s}\}\} = 1$. If that's true, then 'the_W NP VP' asserts that $\{x: x \text{ is an NP in s}\} \cap \{x: x \text{ VPs}\} \neq \emptyset$ (with s allowed to be of different sizes)

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the discourse situation is a special situation, separate from the non-linguistic situation

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The presupposition that there be a unique student who came to Fred's office hours in s is not satisfied \rightarrow presupposition failure

(12) A student came to Fred's office hours. **The student** asked some questions about the assignment. **The student/she** was one of many students to come to Fred's office hours today with questions about the assignment. I guess his assignment instructions were unclear

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The presupposition that there has to be a unique student who came to Fred's office hours in the discourse situation (one in which a student came to Fred's office hours) can be met even if there are many students who came to Fred's office hours who are not in the discourse situation (i.e., who have not been mentioned already) \rightarrow **not** a presupposition failure

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- strong the contributes the formula that is sensitive to linguistic situations/the discourse/what has been mentioned before
- in languages with two definite articles, one contributes the weak formula and the other, the strong formula

• definite determiners/articles contribute a presupposition of uniqueness in a situation

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- the weak form is used for non-linguistically described situations