

# Raising issues in discourse

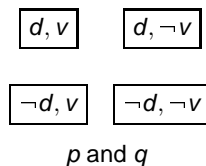
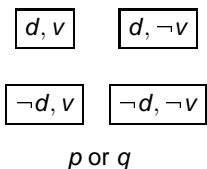
Luis Vicente  
(Universität Potsdam)

slides downloadable from [luisvicente.net/research.html](http://luisvicente.net/research.html)

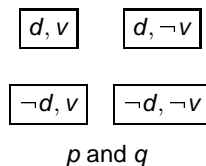
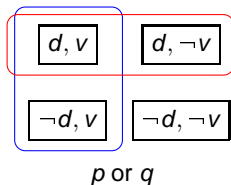
TINdag 2016

- (1) Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.
  
- (2) Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.

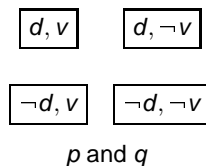
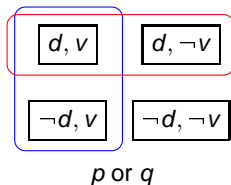
- (1) Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.
- (2) Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.



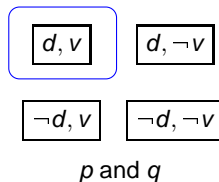
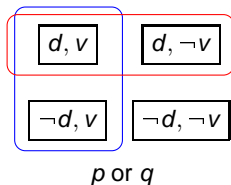
- (1) Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.
- (2) Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.



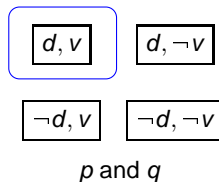
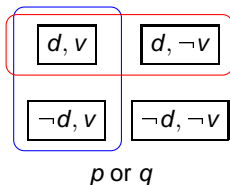
- (1) Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.  
 ✓ I forgot which (it is).
- (2) Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.



- (1) Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.  
 ✓ I forgot which (it is).
- (2) Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.



- (1) Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.  
 ✓ I forgot which (it is).
- (2) Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.  
 # I forgot which (it is).



$$(3) \llbracket \phi \vee \psi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g,w} = \text{ALT} \left\{ \alpha \subseteq W \mid \begin{array}{l} \text{or} \\ \exists \beta \in \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g,w} : \alpha \subseteq \beta \\ \exists \gamma \in \llbracket \psi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g,w} : \alpha \subseteq \gamma \end{array} \right\}$$

$$(4) \llbracket \phi \wedge \psi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g,w} = \text{ALT} \left\{ \alpha \subseteq W \mid \begin{array}{l} \text{and} \\ \exists \beta \in \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g,w} : \alpha \subseteq \beta \\ \exists \gamma \in \llbracket \psi \rrbracket^{\mathcal{M},g,w} : \alpha \subseteq \gamma \end{array} \right\}$$

[where  $\text{ALT}\mathcal{P} = \{\alpha \in \mathcal{P} \mid \neg \exists \beta \in \mathcal{P} : \alpha \subset \beta\}$ ]

[Groenendijk and Roelofsen 2009. Inquisitive semantics and pragmatics]



(5) In Germany, foreign movies are sometimes dubbed and sometimes subtitled. The TV guide usually tells you which.

[Webber 1978. A formal approach to discourse anaphora. PhD, Harvard]

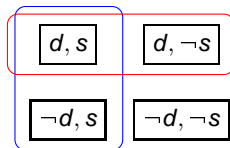
(6) Some days, all the students show up, and some days only the good ones do. I never know which it is going to be until I walk through the door.

[Craig Thiersch's complaint about his Malagasy course]

(7) The optimal strategy is to randomly kick some penalties to the left of the keeper and some to the right. Some of the best specialists have revealed that, even as they are approaching the ball, they themselves still don't know which it is going to be.

[translated from *El penalti de Nash* documentary]

(3) In Germany, foreign movies are sometimes dubbed and sometimes subtitled. The TV guide usually tells you which.



(8) A conjunction  $[p \wedge q]$  licenses an issue-addressing follow-up if

$$[p \wedge q] = [\exists xPx \wedge \exists yQy] \simeq \forall z[Pz \vee Qz]$$

(3') In Germany, foreign movies are sometimes dubbed and sometimes subtitled.

≈ In Germany, every foreign movie is (either) dubbed or subtitled.

(4') Some days, all the students show up, and some days only the good ones do.

≈ Every day (that I teach), (either) all the students show up or only the good ones do.

(5') The optimal strategy is to randomly kick some penalties to the left of the keeper and some to the right.

≈ The optimal strategy is, for every penalty, to (either) kick it to the left of the keeper or to the right.

- (9) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Ok, I'm not too busy, I can do both of those things  
# and I'd rather get to decide which one.
- (10) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistants
- G: Look, I'm sort of busy, I can only do one of those things,  
✓ and I'd rather get to decide which one.

(11) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to either teach my course or meet with the lab assistants

G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do one of those things.  
✓ I'll let you know when I decide which one.

(12) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to either teach my course or meet with the lab assistants

G: You know, I'm actually pretty free, I can actually do both things.  
# I'll let you know when I decide which one.

- (13) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.  
G: No way I can do both! I'm way too busy!  
P: That's not my problem. # Let me know which one you want to do.
- (14) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.  
G: No way I can do both! I'm way too busy!  
P: Fine, fine. ✓ Let me know which one you want to do.

- (15) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to either teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
G: No way I can do either! I'm way too busy!  
P: That's not my problem. ✓ Let me know which one you want to do.
- (16) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to either teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
G: No way I can do either! I'm way too busy!  
P: Fine, fine. # Let me know which one you want to do.

(17) *Context: professors planning a meeting with the Dean*

P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask him for more lab space.

P<sub>2</sub>: Well, I think we should ask for a new hire instead.

P<sub>3</sub>: We are a strong department and he'll grant us both requests.  
# We need to figure out which one we're going to ask for.

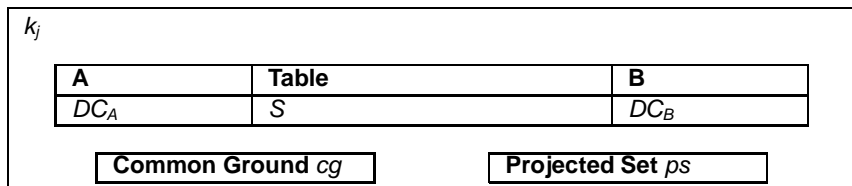
(18) *Context: professors planning a meeting with the Dean*

P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask him for more lab space.

P<sub>2</sub>: Well, I think we should ask for a new hire instead.

P<sub>3</sub>: We are a weak department and he'll grant us only one request.  
✓ We need to figure out which one we're going to ask for.





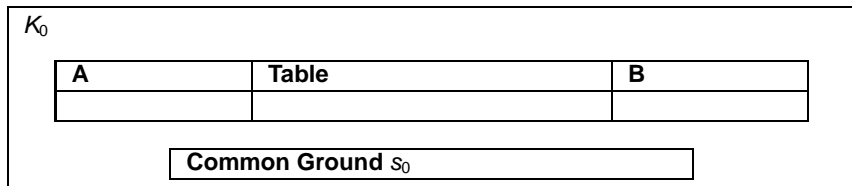
- ▶  $k_j$  = conversation state in  $\langle k_0 < k_1 < \dots < k_n \rangle$ , such that  $0 \leq j \leq n$ , and  $k_0$  is the distinguished empty state before the conversation begins.
- ▶  $DC_A/DC_B$  = public, individual discourse commitments of A and B.
- ▶  $S$  = items still under discussion.
- ▶  $cg$  = set of propositions that are joint commitments of all participants.
- ▶  $ps$  = set of  $cg$ s that are canonical ways of settling issues in  $S$ .

[Farkas and Bruce. 2010. On reacting to assertions and polar questions. *JoS* 27]

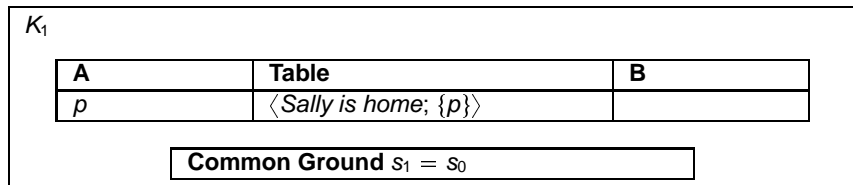
## Rules of conversation (with participants A and B)

- ▶ The ultimate goal of the conversation is to remove items from the Table and  $DC_A/DC_B$ , and pass them to the Common Ground.
- ▶ *Assert*: if A utters  $p$ , then  $p$  is added to both the Table and  $DC_A$ .
- ▶ *Accept*: if B accepts  $p$ , then  $p$  is removed from the Table and  $DC_A$ , and transferred to the Common Ground.
- ▶ *Reject*: if B objects to  $p$ ,  $p$  remains on the Table and  $DC_A$ ; additionally, an alternative  $q$  (which may or may not be  $\neg p$ ) is added to both the Table and  $DC_B$ .

Initial (empty) state



(19) A: Sally is home.



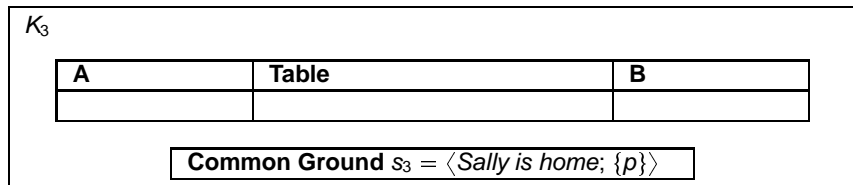
- (19) A: Sally is home.  
B: Yeah

$K_2$

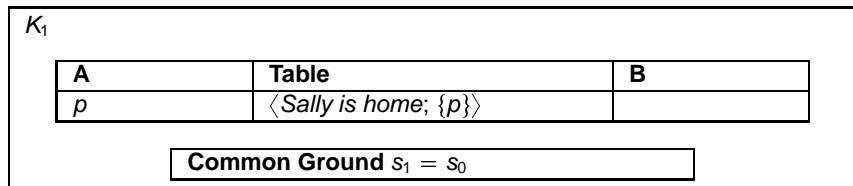
A	Table	B
$p$	$\langle \text{Sally is home}; \{p\} \rangle$	$p$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (19) A: Sally is home.  
B: Yeah



(20) A: Sally is home.



- (20) A: Sally is home.  
B: No, she isn't

$K_2$

A	Table	B
$p$	$\langle \text{Sally is home}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\langle \text{Sally isn't home}; \{\neg p\} \rangle$	$\neg p$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$



## Proposal

- ▶ Let  $P_j$  be the set propositions  $\{p, q, r \dots\}$  present on the Table and on the  $DC$  of any participant at discourse stage  $k_j$ .
- ▶ Right after  $p_i$ , a speaker  $x$  can utter an issue-addressing follow-up iff the relevant issue is present on the Table and in  $DC_x$ .

(21) A: Jack has to do the dishes or vacuum the floor.

$k_j$

<b>A</b>	<b>Table</b>	<b>B</b>
$p \vee q$	$\langle \text{do the dishes}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\langle \text{vacuum the floor}; \{q\} \rangle$	

**Common Ground  $s_j$**

A: ✓ I forgot which.

(22) A: Jack has to do the dishes and vacuum the floor.

$k_j$

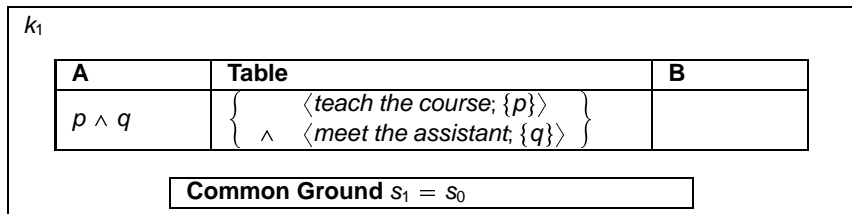
<b>A</b>	<b>Table</b>	<b>B</b>
$p$	$\langle \text{do the dishes and vacuum the floor}; \{p\} \rangle$	

**Common Ground  $s_j$**

A: # I forgot which.

- ▶  $Accept(p \wedge q) =$  transfer  $[p \wedge q]$  from the Table to the Common Ground.
- ▶  $Accept(p \vee q) = [p \vee q]$  remains on the Table; the Common Ground is updated with the acceptance that  $[p \vee q]$  is an issue.
  
- ▶  $Reject(p \wedge q) = [p \wedge q]$  remains on the Table; the Table is updated with an alternative to  $[p \wedge q]$
- ▶  $Reject(p \vee q) = [p \vee q]$  remains on the Table; the Table is updated with an alternative to  $[p \vee q]$ .

- (23) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.



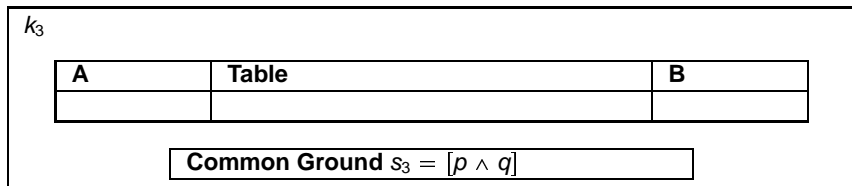
- (23) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.  
 G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do both of those things.

$k_2$

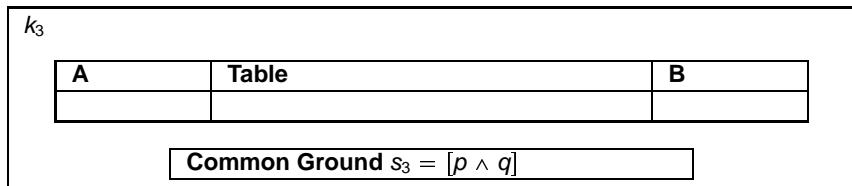
A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \wedge q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (23) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do both of those things.



- (23) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do both of those things.



G: # I'll let you know when I decide which.



- (24) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.

$k_1$

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $S_1 = S_0$

- (24) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
 G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do one of those things.

$k_2$

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (24) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
 G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do one of those things.

 $k_3$ 

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_3 = [p \vee q]$  accepted as an issue

- (24) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
 G: That's ok, I'm not that busy, I can do one of those things.

$k_3$

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_3 = [p \vee q]$  accepted as an issue

G: ✓ I'll let you know when I decide which.

- (25) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.

$k_1$

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $S_1 = S_0$

- (25) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm sort of busy. I can only do one of those things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \wedge \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \vee \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (25) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm sort of busy. I can only do one of those things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- G: ✓ And I'd rather get to decide which.

- (26) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.

$k_1$

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $S_1 = S_0$



- (26) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
 G: You know, I'm actually pretty free. I can do both things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \wedge q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (26) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course or meet with the lab assistant.  
 G: You know, I'm actually pretty free. I can do both things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \wedge q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- G: # I'll let you know when I decide which one.

- (27) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.

$k_1$

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $s_1 = s_0$

- (27) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (27) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.
- P: That's not my problem.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_3 = s_2 = s_1 = s_0$

- (27) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.
- P: That's not my problem.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_3 = s_2 = s_1 = s_0$

P: # Let me know which one you'll do.

- (28) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.

$k_1$

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $s_1 = s_0$

- (28) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_2 = s_1 = s_0$



- (28) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.
- P: Fine, fine.

 $k_3$ 

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_3 = [p \vee q]$  accepted as an issue

- (28) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.
- P: Fine, fine.

 $k_3$ 

A	Table	B
$p \vee q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course; } \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant; } \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $s_3 = [p \vee q]$  accepted as an issue

- P: ✓ Just let me know which one you'll do.

- (29) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.

$k_1$

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $s_1 = s_0$

- (29) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.

 $k_2$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \textit{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \textit{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (29) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.
- P: I didn't know that, but we still need to reach a compromise now

 $k_3$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$
$[p \wedge q]$ $\vee$ $[p \vee q]$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \\ \vee \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $S_3 = S_2 = S_1$

- (29) P: Hey, next week I'm going to a conference. While I'm away, you have to teach my course and meet with the lab assistant.
- G: Look, I'm kind of busy, I can only do one of those things.
- P: I didn't know that, but we still need to reach a compromise now

 $k_3$ 

A	Table	B
$p \wedge q$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$p \vee q$
$[p \wedge q]$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \\ \vee \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$	
$[p \vee q]$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \\ \vee \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{teach the course}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \\ \langle \text{meet the assistant}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$	

**Common Ground**  $S_3 = S_2 = S_1$

- P: ✓ And I have my preferences, but I don't really care which.

(30) P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.

$k_1$

<b>P<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>P<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>Table</b>	<b>P<sub>3</sub></b>
$p$		$\langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle$	

**Common Ground**  $S_1 = S_0$

- (30)  $P_1$ : I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.  
 $P_2$ : I think we should ask him for a new hire.

$k_2$

$P_1$	$P_2$	Table	$P_3$
$p$	$q$	$\langle$ more lab space; $\{p\}$ $\rangle$ $\langle$ new hire; $\{p\}$ $\rangle$	

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$



- (30) P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.  
 P<sub>2</sub>: I think we should ask him for a new hire.  
 P<sub>3</sub>: We are a strong department and he'll grant us both things.

$k_3$

P <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>2</sub>	Table	P <sub>3</sub>
$p$	$q$	$\langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\langle \text{new hire}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \langle \text{new hire}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$[p \wedge q]$

**Common Ground**  $S_3 = S_2 = S_1$

- (30) P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.  
 P<sub>2</sub>: I think we should ask him for a new hire.  
 P<sub>3</sub>: We are a strong department and he'll grant us both things.

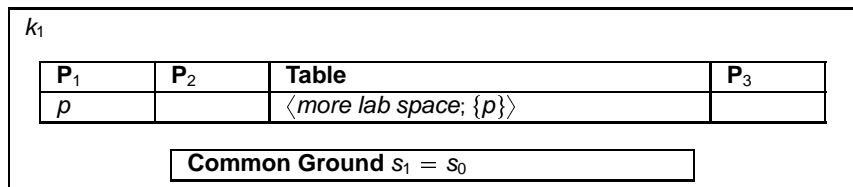
$k_3$

P <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>2</sub>	Table	P <sub>3</sub>
$p$	$q$	$\langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\langle \text{new hire}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \wedge \langle \text{new hire}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$[p \wedge q]$

**Common Ground**  $S_3 = S_2 = S_1$

P<sub>3</sub>: # We need to figure out which one we are going to ask for.

(31) P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.



- (31)  $P_1$ : I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.  
 $P_2$ : I think we should ask him for a new hire.

$k_2$

$P_1$	$P_2$	Table	$P_3$
$p$	$q$	$\langle$ more lab space; $\{p\}$ $\rangle$ $\langle$ new hire; $\{p\}$ $\rangle$	

**Common Ground**  $S_2 = S_1 = S_0$

- (31) P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.  
 P<sub>2</sub>: I think we should ask him for a new hire.  
 P<sub>3</sub>: We are a weak department and he'll grant only one of those things.

$k_3$

P <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>2</sub>	Table	P <sub>3</sub>
$p$	$q$	$\langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\langle \text{new hire}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \langle \text{new hire}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$[p \vee q]$

**Common Ground**  $S_3 = S_2 = S_1$

- (31) P<sub>1</sub>: I think we should ask the Dean for more lab space.  
 P<sub>2</sub>: I think we should ask him for a new hire.  
 P<sub>3</sub>: We are a weak department and he'll grant only one of those things.

$k_3$

P <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>2</sub>	Table	P <sub>3</sub>
$p$	$q$	$\langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\langle \text{new hire}; \{p\} \rangle$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{more lab space}; \{p\} \rangle \\ \vee \langle \text{new hire}; \{q\} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	$[p \vee q]$

**Common Ground**  $S_3 = S_2 = S_1$

P<sub>3</sub>: ✓ We need to figure out which one we are going to ask for.

- ▶ We need a theory of how inquisitive semantics interacts with the public commitments of the conversation participants, including complex acceptance/rejection moves.
- ▶ My stab at the problem: you can only address issues that are in your public list of discourse commitments (and, by extension, on the Table).