

IN SITU WH-INTERROGATIVES IN FRENCH

A fresh perspective on an old debate.

Auteurs: Lena Baunaz & Caterina Bonan

Affiliations: Université de Genève; University of Cambridge

Venue: Séminaire de recherche en linguistique (UniGe)

Date: 15 December 2022



Caterina Bonan's work has been supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation, Postdoc.mobility grant number 202764, 'Different types of focus in diachrony: formal and typological variations' project.

Table of contents

Introduction

French wh-interrogatives

The controversy

Larrivée (2019)

Our study

Conclusions

References

Introduction

What?

THIS PAPER

What?

THIS PAPER

- wh-interrogatives in French;

What?

THIS PAPER

- wh-interrogatives in French;
- micro-diachronic perspective

THIS PAPER

- wh-interrogatives in French;
- micro-diachronic perspective (ESLO 1-2 corpora, 1970s-2010s);

THIS PAPER

- wh-interrogatives in French;
- micro-diachronic perspective (ESLO 1-2 corpora, 1970s-2010s);
- wh-in situ

THIS PAPER

- wh-interrogatives in French;
- micro-diachronic perspective (ESLO 1-2 corpora, 1970s-2010s);
- wh-in situ ('T'as vu qui?').

WHY WH-IN SITU (AGAIN)?

WHY WH-IN SITU (AGAIN)?

- very controversial topic;

WHY WH-IN SITU (AGAIN)?

- very controversial topic;
- felicity goes beyond syntax alone (interpretation, prosody, etc.);

WHY WH-IN SITU (AGAIN)?

- very controversial topic;
- felicity goes beyond syntax alone (interpretation, prosody, etc.);
- is wh-in situ strongly presuppositional, presuppositional or not necessarily so?

WHY WH-IN SITU (AGAIN)?

- very controversial topic;
- felicity goes beyond syntax alone (interpretation, prosody, etc.);
- is wh-in situ strongly presuppositional, presuppositional or not necessarily so?
→ we might have asked the wrong question all along!

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation';

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation'; (no more presupposition)

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation'; (no more presupposition)
- Larrivé thus made a **bipartite** classification of French wh-in situ based on this concept;

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation'; (no more presupposition)
- Larrivé thus made a **bipartite** classification of French wh-in situ based on this concept;
→ explicitly activated vs. non-explicitly activated.

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation'; (no more presupposition)
- Larrivé thus made a **bipartite** classification of French wh-in situ based on this concept;
→ explicitly activated vs. non-explicitly activated.
- Garassino (2021) refines this bipartition and delivers a **tripartition**;

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation'; (no more presupposition)
- Larrivé thus made a **bipartite** classification of French wh-in situ based on this concept;
 - explicitly activated vs. non-explicitly activated.
- Garassino (2021) refines this bipartition and delivers a **tripartition**;
 - explicitly activated vs. non-explicitly activated vs. inferred.

What's the right question, then?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION

- Larrivé (2019) developed an interesting framework for the understanding of the interpretation of wh-in situ which relies on the notion of 'activation'; (no more presupposition)
- Larrivé thus made a **bipartite** classification of French wh-in situ based on this concept;
 - explicitly activated vs. non-explicitly activated.
- Garassino (2021) refines this bipartition and delivers a **tripartition**;
 - explicitly activated vs. non-explicitly activated vs. inferred.

This tripartition is powerful in predicting when these structures are licensed, and how they evolve.

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim;

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);
- Larrivé: wh-in situ in French is quite scarce until a few decades into the 20th century, and merely **explicitly activated**

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);
- Larrivé: *wh*-in situ in French is quite scarce until a few decades into the 20th century, and merely **explicitly activated** (= heavily context dependant)

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);
- Larrivé: wh-in situ in French is quite scarce until a few decades into the 20th century, and merely **explicitly activated** (= heavily context dependant)
- Larrivée & our study: wh-in situ evolves to be felicitous also in **non-activated** contexts

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);
- Larrivé: wh-in situ in French is quite scarce until a few decades into the 20th century, and merely **explicitly activated** (= heavily context dependant)
- Larrivée & our study: wh-in situ evolves to be felicitous also in **non-activated** contexts (= context independent).

What do we claim?

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);
- Larrivé: wh-in situ in French is quite scarce until a few decades into the 20th century, and merely **explicitly activated** (= heavily context dependant)
- Larrivée & our study: wh-in situ evolves to be felicitous also in **non-activated** contexts (= context independent).
- Our study: also context-inferrable occurrences increase over time

WHAT IS OUR CLAIM?

- we re-did Larrivée study (heavily sociolinguistic) based on syntax-informed criteria and Garassino's tripartition.
- our study confirms Larrivée's (2019) claim; (although with quite different data);
- Larrivé: wh-in situ in French is quite scarce until a few decades into the 20th century, and merely **explicitly activated** (= heavily context dependant)
- Larrivée & our study: wh-in situ evolves to be felicitous also in **non-activated** contexts (= context independent).
- Our study: also context-inferrable occurrences increase over time, at the expenses of context-dependency.

French wh-interrogatives

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS (answer-seeking, as opposed to echo etc.)

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS (answer-seeking, as opposed to echo etc.)

→ (non-genuine questions are interpretationally and often syntactically different, e.g. they can trigger wh-in situ also in wh-fronting languages like English etc.)

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS (answer-seeking, as opposed to echo etc.)

→ (non-genuine questions are interpretationally and often syntactically different, e.g. they can trigger wh-in situ also in wh-fronting languages like English etc.)

➤ bear on a wh-element (qui, quoi, comment, etc.);

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS (answer-seeking, as opposed to echo etc.)

→ (non-genuine questions are interpretationally and often syntactically different, e.g. they can trigger wh-in situ also in wh-fronting languages like English etc.)

- bear on a wh-element (qui, quoi, comment, etc.);
- require an answer that bears on that same wh-element.

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS (answer-seeking, as opposed to echo etc.)

→ (non-genuine questions are interpretationally and often syntactically different, e.g. they can trigger wh-in situ also in wh-fronting languages like English etc.)

- bear on a wh-element (qui, quoi, comment, etc.);
- require an answer that bears on that same wh-element.
- have different shapes

GENUINE WH-QUESTIONS (answer-seeking, as opposed to echo etc.)

→ (non-genuine questions are interpretationally and often syntactically different, e.g. they can trigger wh-in situ also in wh-fronting languages like English etc.)

- bear on a wh-element (qui, quoi, comment, etc.);
- require an answer that bears on that same wh-element.
- have different shapes (cross-linguistically and language-internally!).

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu qui?”;

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu qui?”;
- ex situ: “Qui tu as vu?”;

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu qui?”;
- ex situ: “Qui tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui est-ce que tu as vu?”;

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu qui?”;
- ex situ: “Qui tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui est-ce que tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui as-tu vu?”;

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu qui?”;
- ex situ: “Qui tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui est-ce que tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui as-tu vu?”;
- cleft: “C’est qui que tu as vu?”.

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu **qui**?”;
- ex situ: “Qui tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui est-ce que tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “Qui as-tu vu?”;
- cleft: “C’est qui que tu as vu?”.

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu **qui**?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui** tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui** est-ce que tu as vu?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui** as-tu vu?”;
- cleft: “C’est qui que tu as vu?”.

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu **qui**?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui**_i tu as vu _____i?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui**_i est-ce que tu as vu _____i?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui**_i as-tu vu _____i?”;
- cleft: “C’est qui que tu as vu?”.

FRENCH WH-QUESTIONS

- in situ: “Tu as vu **qui**?”; → SV
- ex situ: “**Qui**_i tu as vu _____i?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui**_i est-ce que tu as vu _____i?”;
- ex situ: “**Qui**_i as-tu vu _____i?”;
- cleft: “C’est qui que tu as vu?”.

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;
- favored in informal registers (cf. 'français familier' Valdman 1968 ; Behnstedt 1973 ; Söll 1985),

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;
- favored in informal registers (cf. 'français familier' Valdman 1968 ; Behnstedt 1973 ; Söll 1985), but may also be found in formal registers (Quillard 2000, Myers 2007 cited in Glasbergen-Plas, Gyllia Doetjes 2021, Boucher 2010);

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;
- favored in informal registers (cf. 'français familier' Valdman 1968 ; Behnstedt 1973 ; Söll 1985), but may also be found in formal registers (Quillard 2000, Myers 2007 cited in Glasbergen-Plas, Gyllia Doetjes 2021, Boucher 2010);
- also found in written registers that mimic spontaneous speech:

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;
- favored in informal registers (cf. 'français familier' Valdman 1968 ; Behnstedt 1973 ; Söll 1985), but may also be found in formal registers (Quillard 2000, Myers 2007 cited in Glasbergen-Plas, Gyllia Doetjes 2021, Boucher 2010);
- also found in written registers that mimic spontaneous speech:
 1. text messages (Guryev Delafontaine 2015; Guryev 2017);

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;
- favored in informal registers (cf. 'français familier' Valdman 1968 ; Behnstedt 1973 ; Söll 1985), but may also be found in formal registers (Quillard 2000, Myers 2007 cited in Glasbergen-Plas, Gyllia Doetjes 2021, Boucher 2010);
- also found in written registers that mimic spontaneous speech:
 1. text messages (Guryev Delafontaine 2015; Guryev 2017);
 2. emails (Dagnac 2013);

FRENCH WH-IN SITU

- coexists peacefully with wh-fronting ('optional' as opposed to 'pure', i.e., Chinese/Japanese wh-in situ)
- (mainly) a spoken phenomenon;
- favored in informal registers (cf. 'français familier' Valdman 1968 ; Behnstedt 1973 ; Söll 1985), but may also be found in formal registers (Quillard 2000, Myers 2007 cited in Glasbergen-Plas, Gyllia Doetjes 2021, Boucher 2010);
- also found in written registers that mimic spontaneous speech:
 1. text messages (Guryev Delafontaine 2015; Guryev 2017);
 2. emails (Dagnac 2013);
 3. theatre (Tailleur 2013; Larrivée 2019; Zimmermann Kaiser 2019 a.o).

The controversy

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of wh-in situ:

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of *wh*-in situ: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of wh-in situ: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of wh-in situ: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;
 2. diamesic variations;

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of wh-in situ: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;
 2. diamesic variations;
 3. diatopic variations, etc.

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of *wh*-in situ: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;
 2. diamesic variations;
 3. diatopic variations, etc.

→ Solution: 'Frenchs' vs French.

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of wh-in situ: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;
 2. diamesic variations;
 3. diatopic variations, etc.

→ Solution: 'Frenchs' vs French.
- whether there exists a pragmatic value **intrinsic** to wh-in situ.

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of *wh-in situ*: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;
 2. diamesic variations;
 3. diatopic variations, etc.

→ Solution: 'Frenchs' vs French.
- whether there exists a pragmatic value **intrinsic** to *wh-in situ*.
 1. conservatives: YES (Obenauer 1994; Coveney 1989; Chang 1997; Cheng Rooryck 2000);

SCHOLARS DISAGREE

- the distributional properties of *wh-in situ*: (long-distance questions? indirect questions? islands to extraction?)
 1. diastatic variations;
 2. diamesic variations;
 3. diatopic variations, etc.

→ Solution: 'Frenchs' vs French.
- whether there exists a pragmatic value **intrinsic** to *wh-in situ*.
 1. conservatives: YES (Obenauer 1994; Coveney 1989; Chang 1997; Cheng Rooryck 2000);
 2. liberals: NO (Mathieu 2004; Adli 2006; Beyssade 2007; Baunaz, 2011, 2016; Baunaz Patin 2012; Hamlaoui 2009, 2011; Oiry 2011; Shlonsky 2012 et Déprez, Syrett, Kawahara 2013, Zimmerman Kaiser 2019, Garassino 2021 (a.o).

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);
- the data supports that what's relevant is the notion 'activation'

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);
- the data supports that what's relevant is the notion 'activation' (and especially, lack thereof);

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);
- the data supports that what's relevant is the notion 'activation' (and especially, lack thereof);
- 'peacemakers':

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);
- the data supports that what's relevant is the notion 'activation' (and especially, lack thereof);
- 'peacemakers':
 1. we need to think out-of-the box;

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);
- the data supports that what's relevant is the notion 'activation' (and especially, lack thereof);
- 'peacemakers':
 1. we need to think out-of-the box;
 2. and remember that languages are not monoliths!

THE SOLUTION TO THE CONTROVERSY

- the very definition of 'presupposition' is controversial (Larrivée 2019, etc.);
- the data supports that what's relevant is the notion 'activation' (and especially, lack thereof);
- 'peacemakers':
 1. we need to think out-of-the box;
 2. and remember that languages are not monoliths!
 3. **no one's right but in a way, everyone is.**

Larrivée (2019)

LARRIVÉE (2019)

LARRIVÉE (2019) (based on Blaxter & Willis 2016; Larrivée 2016 a.o)

LARRIVÉE (2019) (based on Blaxter & Willis 2016; Larrivée 2016 a.o)

- does French wh in situ have a pragmatic value?

LARRIVÉE (2019) (based on Blaxter & Willis 2016; Larrivée 2016 a.o)

- does French wh in situ have a pragmatic value?
 - if it doesn't now, did it ever?

LARRIVÉE (2019) (based on Blaxter & Willis 2016; Larrivée 2016 a.o)

- does French wh in situ have a pragmatic value?
 - if it doesn't now, did it ever?
 - if so, when and why?

LARRIVÉE (2019) (based on Blaxter & Willis 2016; Larrivée 2016 a.o)

- does French wh in situ have a pragmatic value?
 - if it doesn't now, did it ever?
 - if so, when and why?
- what is the value?

LARRIVÉE (2019) (based on Blaxter & Willis 2016; Larrivée 2016 a.o)

- does French wh in situ have a pragmatic value?
 - if it doesn't now, did it ever?
 - if so, when and why?
- what is the value?
- is it categorical?

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):
 - structure constitutes < 1% of all occurrences in its category.
- **explicit activation:**

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):
 - structure constitutes < 1% of all occurrences in its category.
- **explicit activation**: “that the propositional content of the question has already been mentioned in discourse” (Dryer 1996).

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):
 - structure constitutes < 1% of all occurrences in its category.
- **explicit activation:** “that the propositional content of the question has already been mentioned in discourse” (Dryer 1996).

(5) ESLO2_ENT_1026 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):
 - structure constitutes < 1% of all occurrences in its category.
- **explicit activation:** “that the propositional content of the question has already been mentioned in discourse” (Dryer 1996).

(5) ESLO2_ENT_1026 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

OW26: dans les jeux antiques euh ils se dopaient quand même avec des méthodes un peu bizarres mais...

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):
 - structure constitutes < 1% of all occurrences in its category.
- **explicit activation:** “that the propositional content of the question has already been mentioned in discourse” (Dryer 1996).

(5) ESLO2_ENT_1026 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

OW26: dans les jeux antiques euh ils se dopaient quand même avec des méthodes un peu bizarres mais...

ch_PP6: ils se dopaient comment ?

CATEGORICAL PRAGMATIC VALUE IN THE EARLY STAGES

- French in situ had a categorical pragmatic value in its early stages (15th-19th centuries):
 - structure constitutes < 1% of all occurrences in its category.
- **explicit activation:** “that the propositional content of the question has already been mentioned in discourse” (Dryer 1996).

(5) ESLO2_ENT_1026 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

OW26: dans les jeux antiques euh ils se dopaient quand même avec des méthodes un peu bizarres mais...

ch_PP6: ils se dopaient comment ?

OW26: ils prenaient euh des plantes

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES IT CATEGORICAL VALUE?

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES IT CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES ITS CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;
- explicitly-activated wh-in situ survives nonetheless, but decreases significantly after the 1970s (30.8% to 14.3%).

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES ITS CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;
- explicitly-activated wh-in situ survives nonetheless, but decreases significantly after the 1970s (30.8% to 14.3%).
- French then displays a co-existence of:

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES ITS CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;
- explicitly-activated wh-in situ survives nonetheless, but decreases significantly after the 1970s (30.8% to 14.3%).
- French then displays a co-existence of:
 - explicitly activated wh-in situ;

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES ITS CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;
- explicitly-activated wh-in situ survives nonetheless, but decreases significantly after the 1970s (30.8% to 14.3%).
- French then displays a co-existence of:
 - explicitly activated wh-in situ;
 - non-activated wh-in situ:

(6) ESLO2_ENT_1022 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES IT CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;
- explicitly-activated wh-in situ survives nonetheless, but decreases significantly after the 1970s (30.8% to 14.3%).
- French then displays a co-existence of:
 - explicitly activated wh-in situ;
 - non-activated wh-in situ:

(6) ESLO2_ENT_1022 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

OW26: finalement tu trouves comment la vie à Orléans ?

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WH-IN SITU LOSES ITS CATEGORICAL VALUE?

- the categorical status is lost in the 20th century;
- explicitly-activated wh-in situ survives nonetheless, but decreases significantly after the 1970s (30.8% to 14.3%).
- French then displays a co-existence of:
 - explicitly activated wh-in situ;
 - non-activated wh-in situ:

(6) ESLO2_ENT_1022 ((Larrivée 2019: 120, (13)))

OW26: finalement tu trouves comment la vie à Orléans ?
→ 'discourse new'

WHY WE REDID THE STUDY

WHY WE REDID THE STUDY

- Larrivé's sample includes non-interrogative uses of 'comment';

WHY WE REDID THE STUDY

- Larrivé's sample includes non-interrogative uses of 'comment';
- it additionally only studies structures with a wh-element in final position (wh + ?);

WHY WE REDID THE STUDY

- Larrivé's sample includes non-interrogative uses of 'comment';
- it additionally only studies structures with a wh-element in final position (wh + ?);
- unclear definition of the sample of the corpus;

WHY WE REDID THE STUDY

- Larrivé's sample includes non-interrogative uses of 'comment';
- it additionally only studies structures with a wh-element in final position (wh + ?);
- unclear definition of the sample of the corpus;
- only one wh-phrase investigated ('comment').

Our study

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

- replicate Larrivé's study in a more thorough (and syntax-informed) way:

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

- replicate Larrivé's study in a more thorough (and syntax-informed) way:
 - extended to the totality of the corpora (ESLO 1, ESLO2);

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

- replicate Larrivé's study in a more thorough (and syntax-informed) way:
 - extended to the totality of the corpora (ESLO 1, ESLO2);
 - extended to more wh-words: comment 'how', quand 'when', où 'where' qui-object 'who' and quoi-object 'what';

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

- replicate Larrivé's study in a more thorough (and syntax-informed) way:
 - extended to the totality of the corpora (ESLO 1, ESLO2);
 - extended to more wh-words: comment 'how', quand 'when', où 'where' qui-object 'who' and quoi-object 'what';
 - 3 activation levels;

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

- replicate Larrivé's study in a more thorough (and syntax-informed) way:
 - extended to the totality of the corpora (ESLO 1, ESLO2);
 - extended to more wh-words: comment 'how', quand 'when', où 'where' qui-object 'who' and quoi-object 'what';
 - 3 activation levels;
 - extracted and cleaned the data differently.

HOW WE REDID THE STUDY

- replicate Larrivé's study in a more thorough (and syntax-informed) way:
 - extended to the totality of the corpora (ESLO 1, ESLO2);
 - extended to more wh-words: comment 'how', quand 'when', où 'where' qui-object 'who' and quoi-object 'what';
 - 3 activation levels;
 - extracted and cleaned the data differently.
- evaluate the results against the controversy discussed earlier.

Our results (in a nutshell)

OUR RESULTS

OUR RESULTS

- in our corpora, *wh-in situ* has no categorical pragmatic value;

OUR RESULTS

- in our corpora, wh-in situ has no categorical pragmatic value;
- the majority in both corpora is populated by a third type of wh-in situ non considered by Larrivée;

OUR RESULTS

- in our corpora, wh-in situ has no categorical pragmatic value;
- the majority in both corpora is populated by a third type of wh-in situ non considered by Larrivée;
- this type is followed in the second corpus non-activated wh-in situ;

OUR RESULTS

- in our corpora, wh-in situ has no categorical pragmatic value;
- the majority in both corpora is populated by a third type of wh-in situ non considered by Larrivée;
- this type is followed in the second corpus non-activated wh-in situ;
- explicit activation is rare;

OUR RESULTS

- in our corpora, wh-in situ has no categorical pragmatic value;
- the majority in both corpora is populated by a third type of wh-in situ non considered by Larrivée;
- this type is followed in the second corpus non-activated wh-in situ;
- explicit activation is rare;
- our results differ from Larrivée's, except for the trends seen for non-activation.

The corpora used for this part of the study are:

The corpora used for this part of the study are:

- ESLO 1 (spoken French, 1969-1974, 318.46h);

The corpora used for this part of the study are:

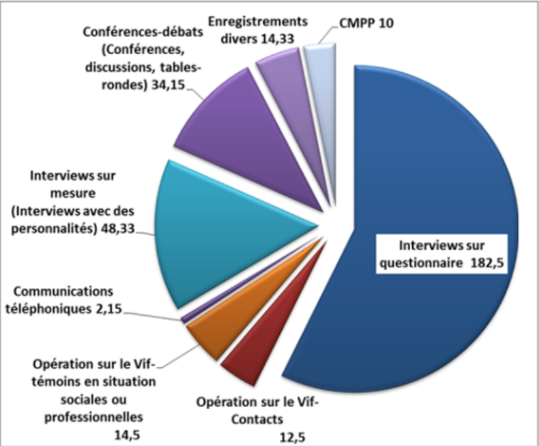
- ESLO 1 (spoken French, 1969-1974, 318.46h);
- ESLO 2 (spoken French, 2008-2014, 446h).

The corpora

The corpora are composed of several different recording types:

The corpora are composed of several different recording types:

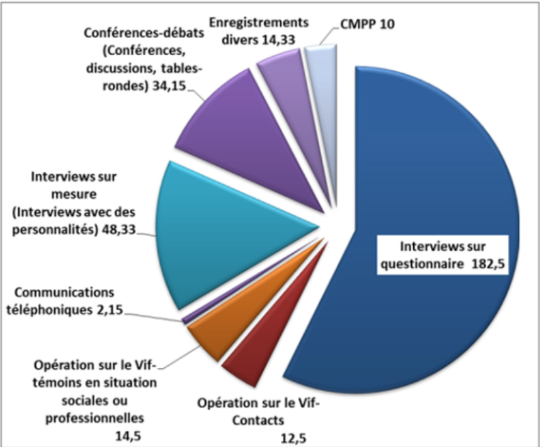
Architecture Corpus ESLO1 (heures) :



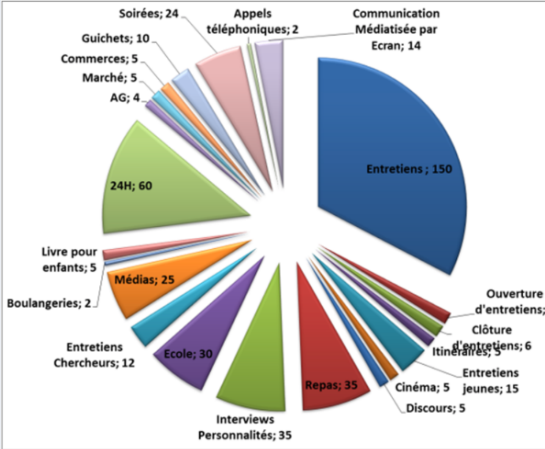
The corpora

The corpora are composed of several different recording types:

Architecture Corpus ESLO1 (heures) :



Architecture Corpus ESLO2 (heures) :



The data was extracted using the eslo 'faire une requête dans le corpus' page.

The data was extracted using the eslo 'faire une requête dans le corpus' page.

- 'mot exact' search (cvs);

The data was extracted using the eslo 'faire une requête dans le corpus' page.

- 'mot exact' search (cvs);
- automatic extraction of all interrogatives (the corpus is transcribed).

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element (ex situ, in situ);

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element (ex situ, in situ);
2. interrogative strategy

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element (ex situ, in situ);
2. interrogative strategy (SV, est-ce que, VS);

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element (ex situ, in situ);
2. interrogative strategy (SV, est-ce que, VS);
3. clause-final vs clause-internal position;

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element (ex situ, in situ);
2. interrogative strategy (SV, est-ce que, VS);
3. clause-final vs clause-internal position;
4. well-formedness

The data was pre-classified automatically (and then checked manually).

All wh-in situ occurrences + all questions with uncertain interpretation (genuine, echo etc.) were listened carefully by both authors.

BASIC CLASSIFICATION

1. position of the wh-element (ex situ, in situ);
2. interrogative strategy (SV, est-ce que, VS);
3. clause-final vs clause-internal position;
4. well-formedness (formed, fragment).
5. tripartition.

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions (no long distance questions, no embedded questions, no infinitives, etc.);

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions (no long distance questions, no embedded questions, no infinitives, etc.);
- real questions

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions (no long distance questions, no embedded questions, no infinitives, etc.);
- real questions (no rethoric questions, echo questions, quiz questions, introspective questions etc.);

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions (no long distance questions, no embedded questions, no infinitives, etc.);
- real questions (no rethoric questions, echo questions, quiz questions, introspective questions etc.);
- well-formed clauses

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions (no long distance questions, no embedded questions, no infinitives, etc.);
- real questions (no rethoric questions, echo questions, quiz questions, introspective questions etc.);
- well-formed clauses (no fragments, no questions containing only a wh-element ('Qui?', 'Quoi?'));

DATA THAT WE CONSIDERED

- wh-questions (as opposed to yes/no questions);
- matrix monoclausal questions (no long distance questions, no embedded questions, no infinitives, etc.);
- real questions (no rethoric questions, echo questions, quiz questions, introspective questions etc.);
- well-formed clauses (no fragments, no questions containing only a wh-element ('Qui?', 'Quoi?'));
- utterances by French native speakers.

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):
 1. quand;

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):
 1. quand;
 2. où;

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):
 1. quand;
 2. où;
 3. comment;

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):
 1. quand;
 2. où;
 3. comment;
 4. quoiO;

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):
 1. quand;
 2. où;
 3. comment;
 4. quoiO;
 5. quiO.

WHICH WH-ELEMENTS?

- we only studied non-lexically restricted wh-elements ('what?', no 'which chair?');
- today, I shall only present the data on those wh-elements that can surface either in situ or ex situ (e.g. not 'que'):
 1. quand;
 2. où;
 3. comment;
 4. quoiO;
 5. quiO.

OUR RAW DATA

ESLO 1	ESLO 2	total
2376	1261	3637

Table: Raw data (ex situ and in situ combined).

OUR RAW DATA

	comment		où		quand		quiO		quoiO	
	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN
1970s (eslo 1)	848	37	233	72	156	38	42	13	333	198
2010s (eslo 2)	333	156	84	260	32	30	8	21	24	476

Table: Total occurrences of non lexically-restricted wh-elements.

OUR RAW DATA

	comment		où		quand		quiO		quoiO	
	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN
1970s (eslo 1)	848	37	233	72	156	38	42	13	333	198
2010s (eslo 2)	333	156	84	260	32	30	8	21	24	476

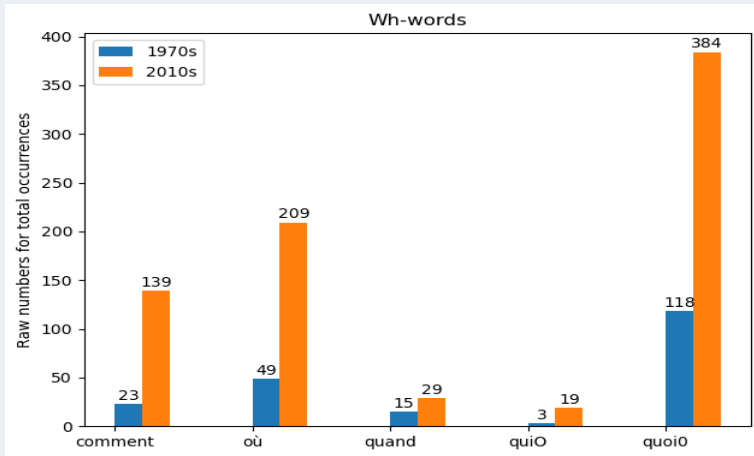
Table: Total occurrences of non lexically-restricted wh-elements.

OUR RAW DATA

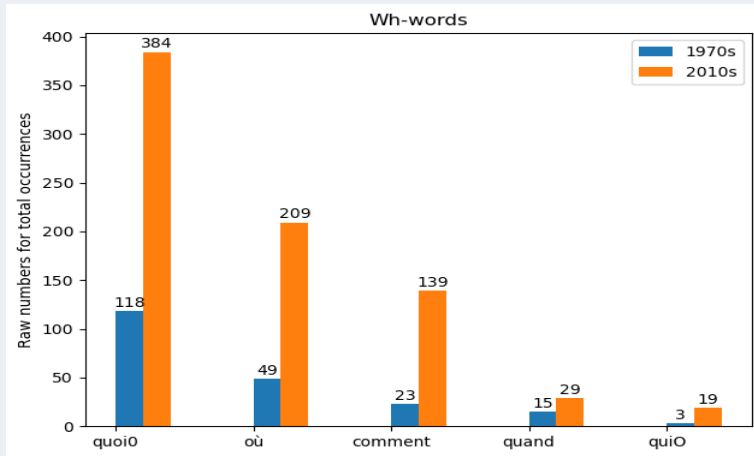
	comment		où		quand		quiO		quoiO	
	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN	EX	IN
1970s (eslo 1)	848	37	233	72	156	38	42	13	333	198
2010s (eslo 2)	333	156	84	260	32	30	8	21	24	476

Table: Total occurrences of non lexically-restricted wh-elements.

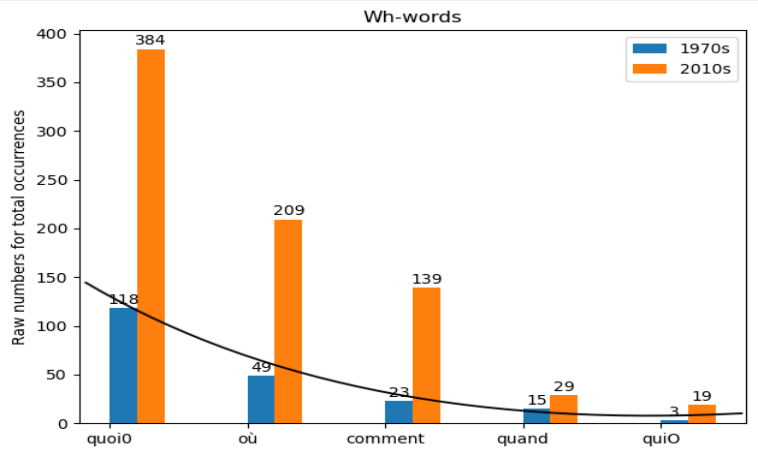
The data: wh-in situ



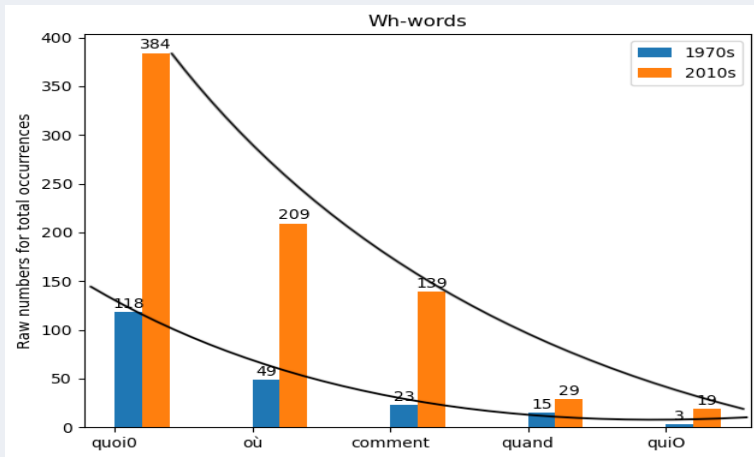
The data: wh-in situ



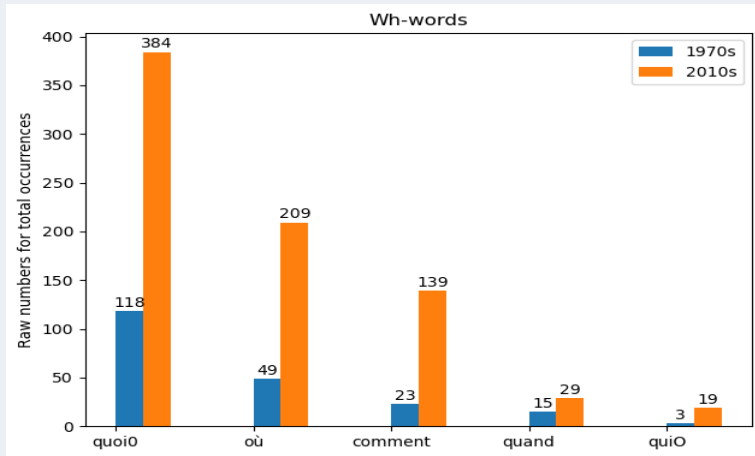
The data: wh-in situ



The data: wh-in situ



The data: wh-in situ



OUR CLASSIFICATION

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
 - we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question)
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question)
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')
- **inferable**

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question)
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')
- **inferable** (Garassino 2021)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question)
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')
- **inferable** (Garassino 2021)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question)
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')
- **inferable** (Garassino 2021)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question) = 'discourse old'
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')
- **inferable** (Garassino 2021)

OUR CLASSIFICATION

- the % of in situ questions > 1 (Larrivée's threshold for categorial values)
→ we expected wh-in situ to **not** be categorial (not just explicitly-activated)
- we determined three activation levels (using both the script and the audio file):
- explicitly activated (= prepositional content repeated in the question) = 'discourse old'
- non-activated (= 'discourse new')
- **inferable** (Garassino 2021) = 'discourse old'

INFERABLE WH-IN SITU

INFERABLE WH-IN SITU

The propositional content of the question is not “explicitly mentioned in the conversation, but is easily accessible thanks to our world knowledge’ (Garassino 2021: 10).

INFERABLE WH-IN SITU

The propositional content of the question is not “explicitly mentioned in the conversation, but is easily accessible thanks to our world knowledge’ (Garassino 2021: 10).

(7) C-ORAL-ROM, ffamcv05 (Garassino 2021 : 10, (12))

INFERABLE WH-IN SITU

The propositional content of the question is not “explicitly mentioned in the conversation, but is easily accessible thanks to our world knowledge’ (Garassino 2021: 10).

(7) C-ORAL-ROM, ffamcv05 (Garassino 2021 : 10, (12))

NAT: Et qu’est-ce que tu as acheté d’autre alors ?

INFERABLE WH-IN SITU

The propositional content of the question is not “explicitly mentioned in the conversation, but is easily accessible thanks to our world knowledge’ (Garassino 2021: 10).

(7) C-ORAL-ROM, ffamcv05 (Garassino 2021 : 10, (12))

NAT: Et qu’est-ce que tu as acheté d’autre alors ?

MAI: Et ben on a acheté...euh la table avec les quatre chaises...sept-cent balles...

INFERABLE WH-IN SITU

The propositional content of the question is not “explicitly mentioned in the conversation, but is easily accessible thanks to our world knowledge’ (Garassino 2021: 10).

(7) C-ORAL-ROM, ffamcv05 (Garassino 2021 : 10, (12))

NAT: Et qu’est-ce que tu as acheté d’autre alors ?

MAI: Et ben on a acheté...euh la table avec les quatre chaises...sept-cent balles...

JOS: Pour mettre **où** ?

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

➤ Q1:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Q1: To what extent does the overall proportion between in-situ and ex-situ vary over time?

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Q1: To what extent does the overall proportion between in-situ and ex-situ vary over time?
- Q2:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Q1: To what extent does the overall proportion between in-situ and ex-situ vary over time?
- Q2: To what extent does the proportion of explicitly activated / inferable / non-activated vary over time?

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Q1: To what extent does the overall proportion between in-situ and ex-situ vary over time?
- Q2: To what extent does the proportion of explicitly activated / inferable / non-activated vary over time?
- Q3:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Q1: To what extent does the overall proportion between in-situ and ex-situ vary over time?
- Q2: To what extent does the proportion of explicitly activated / inferable / non-activated vary over time?
- Q3: To what extent does the proportion of Discourse Old (explicitly activated + inferable) vs Discourse New (non activated) vary over time?

To what extent does the overall proportion between in-situ and ex-situ vary over time?

From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

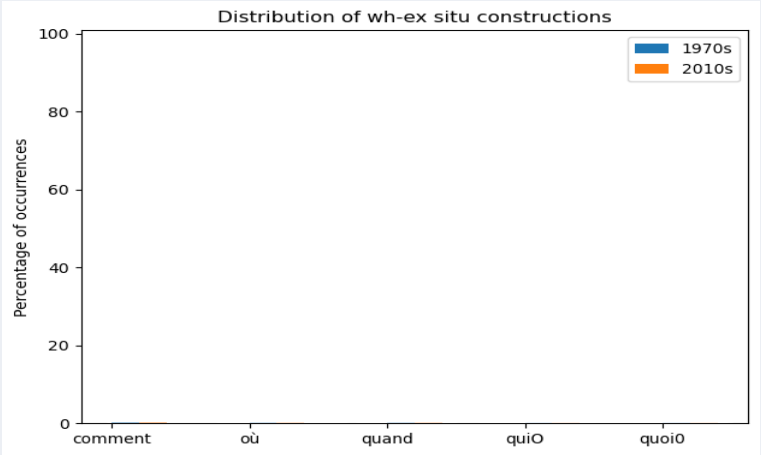
THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU

From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)

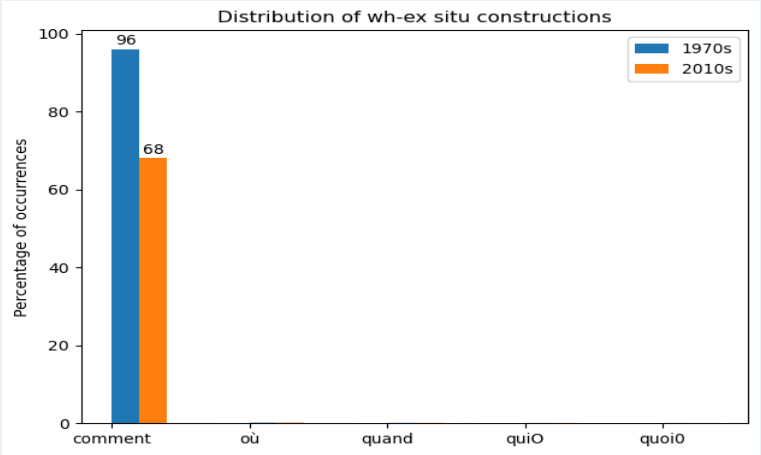
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)



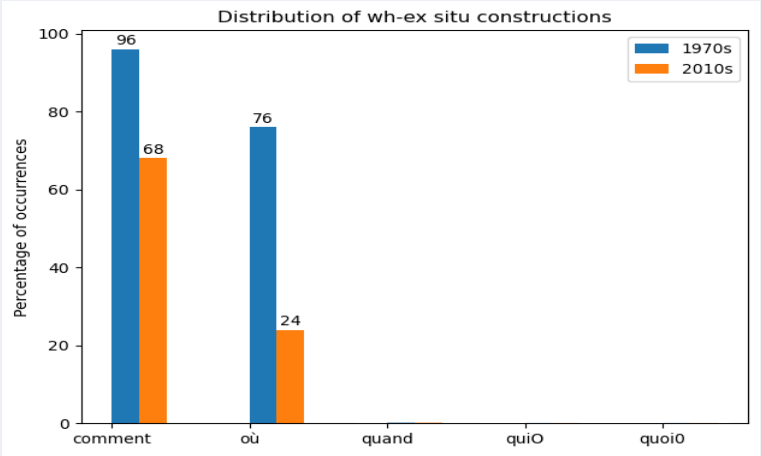
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)



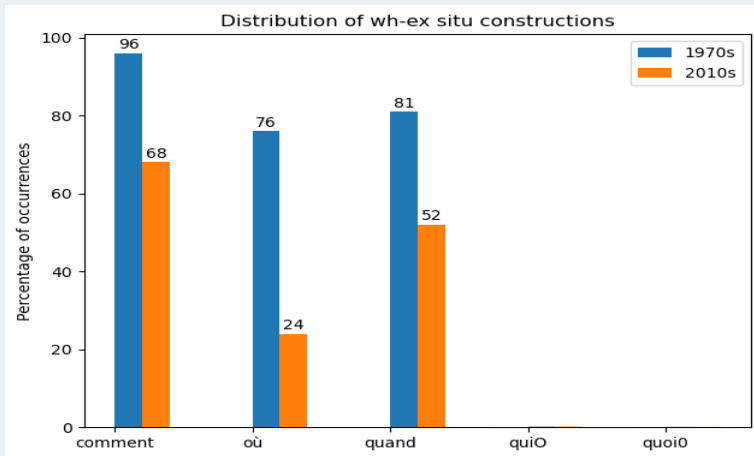
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)



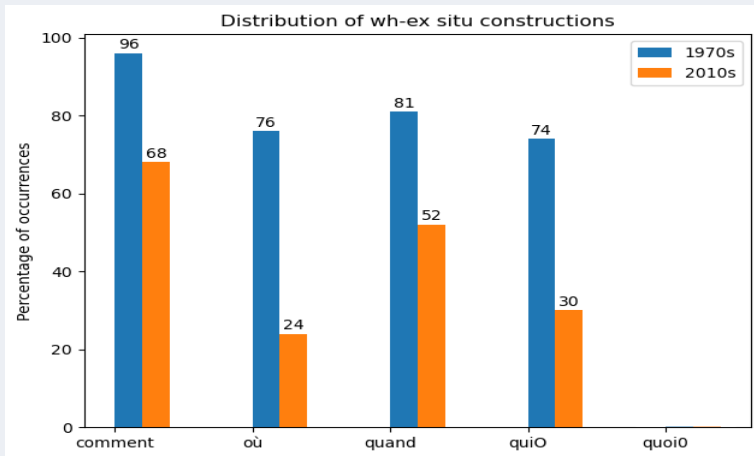
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)



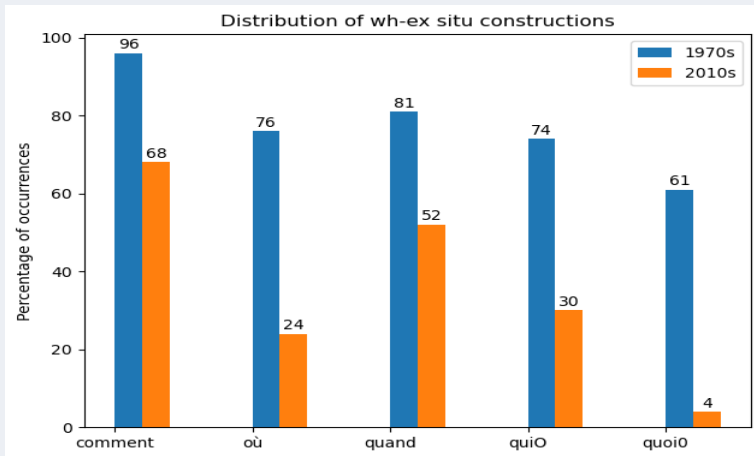
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)



From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE DECLINE OF WH-EX SITU (all types combined)

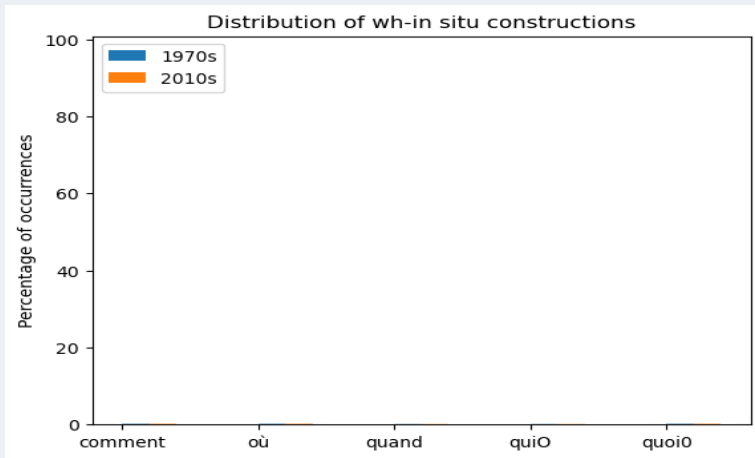


From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE RISE OF WH-IN SITU

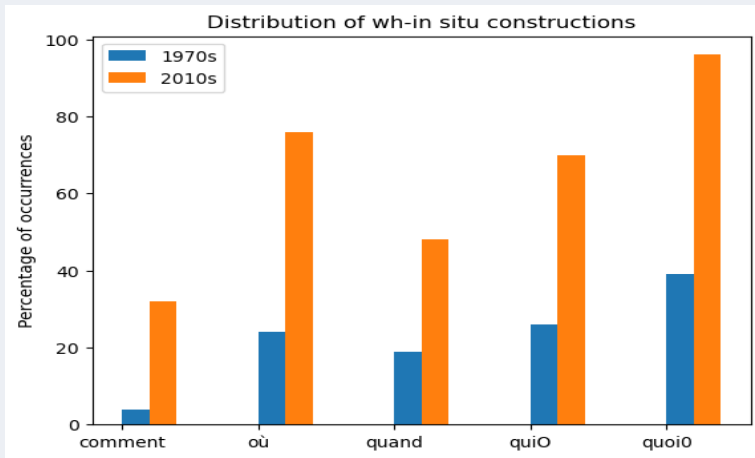
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE RISE OF WH-IN SITU



From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

THE RISE OF WH-IN SITU

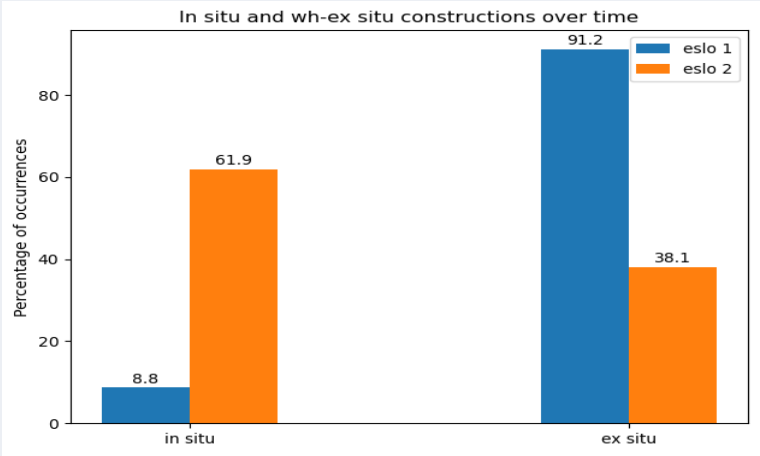


From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

GENERAL OVERVIEW

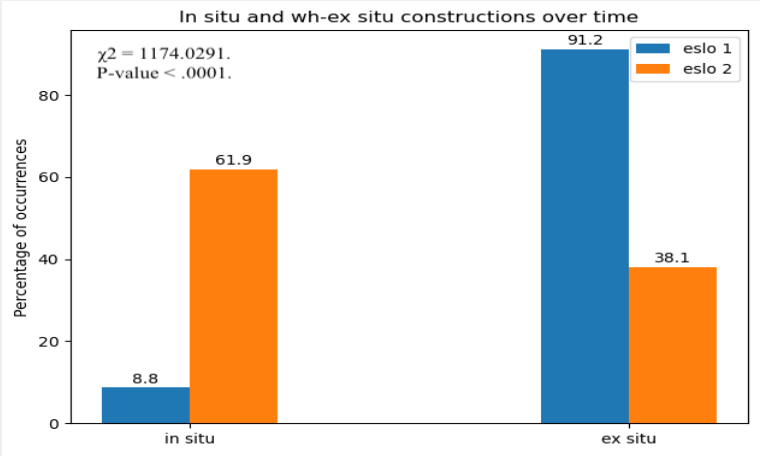
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

GENERAL OVERVIEW



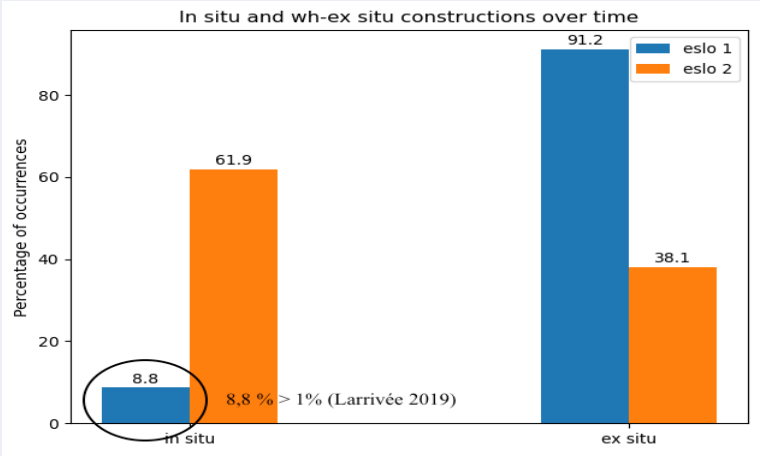
From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

GENERAL OVERVIEW



From predominant wh-ex situ to predominant wh-in situ

GENERAL OVERVIEW

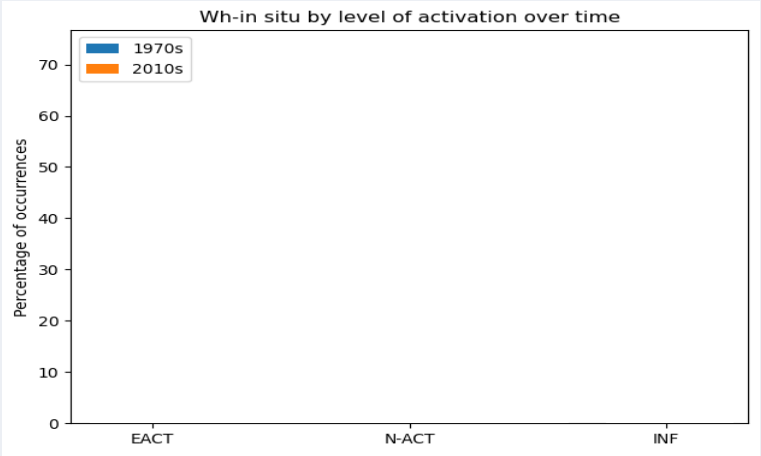


To what extent does the proportion of explicitly activated / inferable / non-activated vary over time?

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME

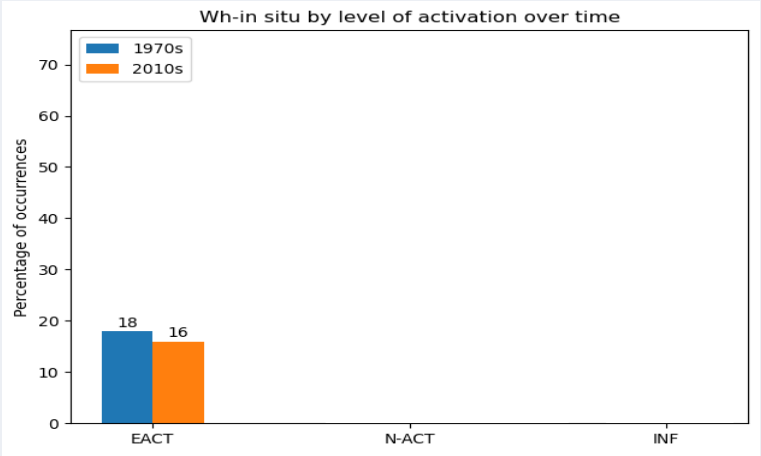
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



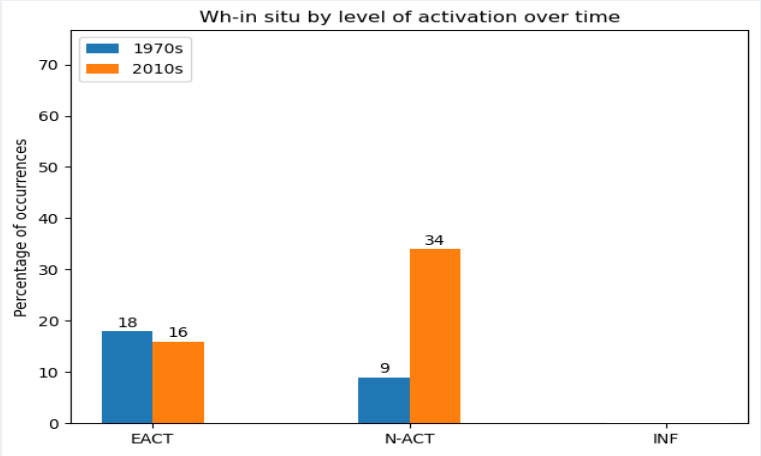
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



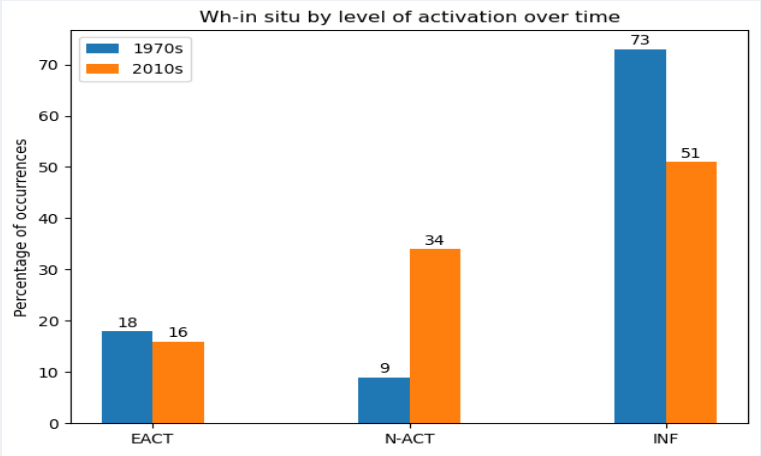
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



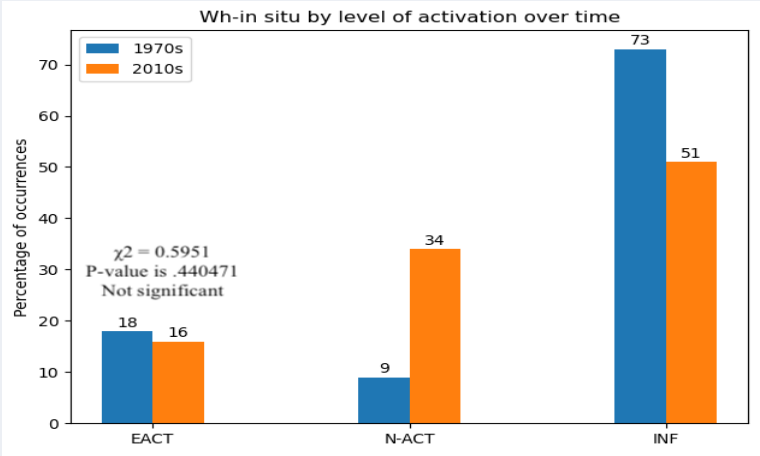
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



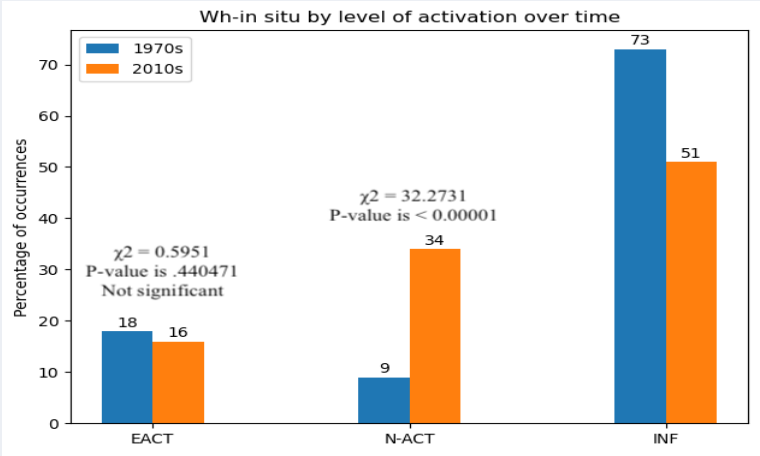
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



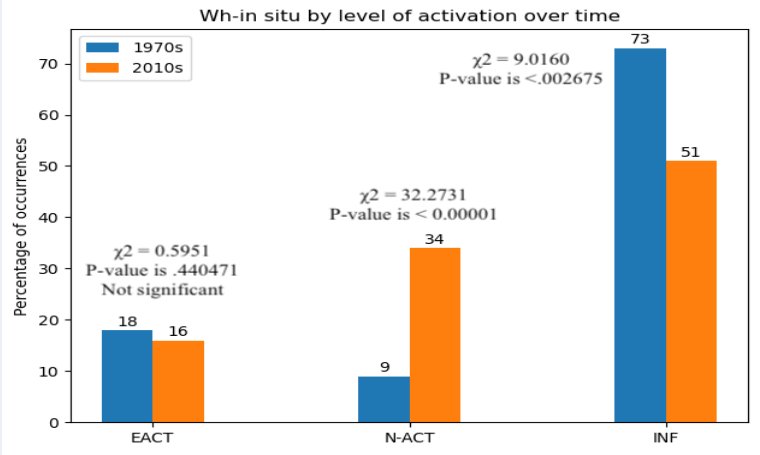
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



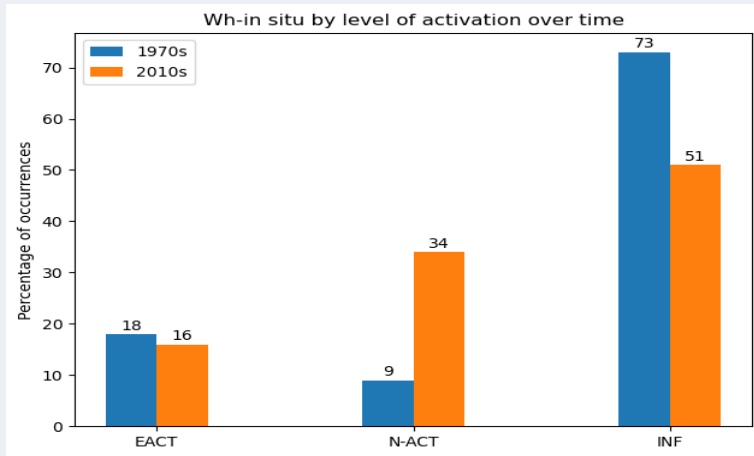
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



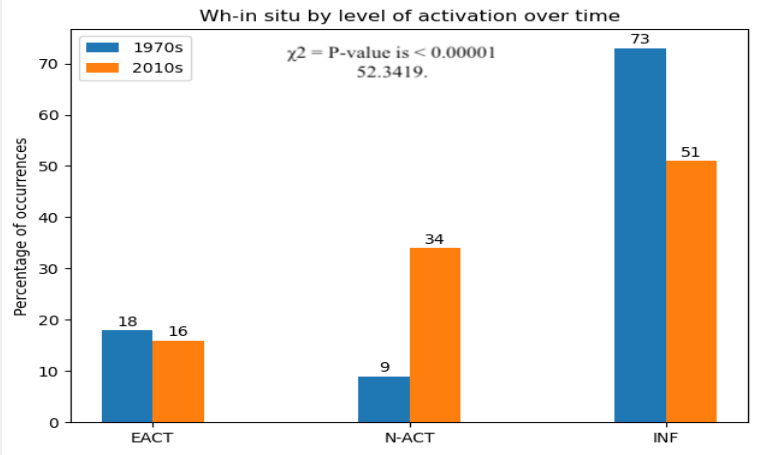
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



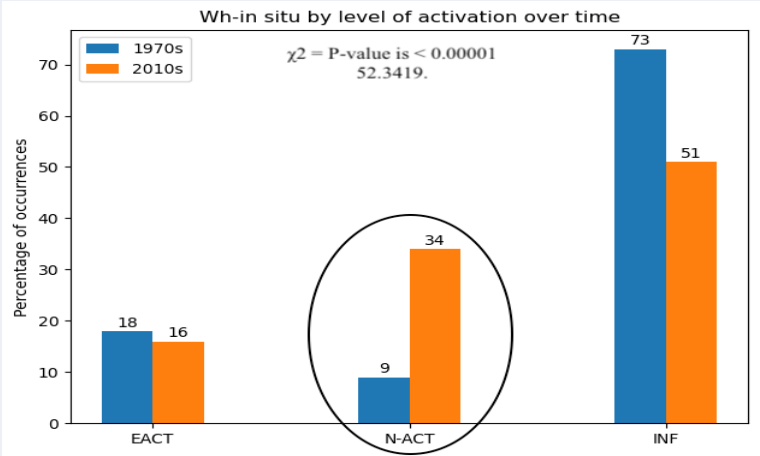
Towards an increase of non-activation

LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



Towards an increase of non-activation

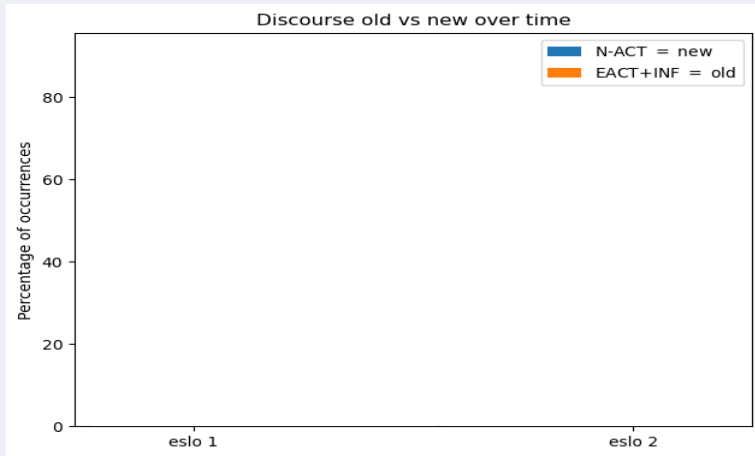
LEVELS OF ACTIVATION OVER TIME



To what extent does the proportion of Discourse Old vs Discourse New vary over time?

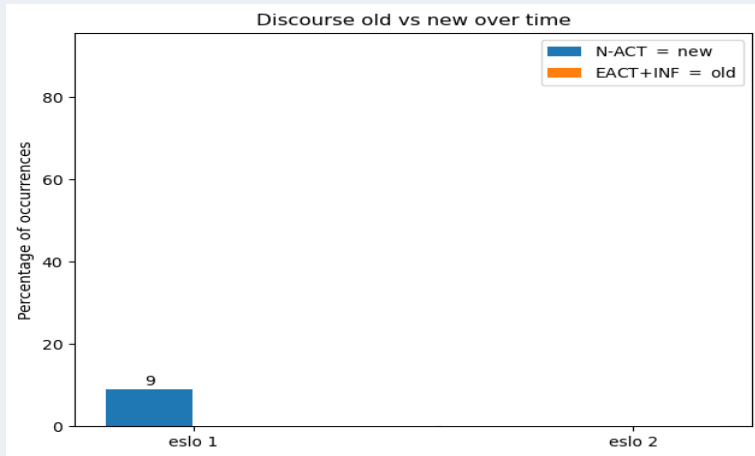
Non-activation drives the change

DISCOURSE-OLD VS DISCOURSE NEW OVER TIME



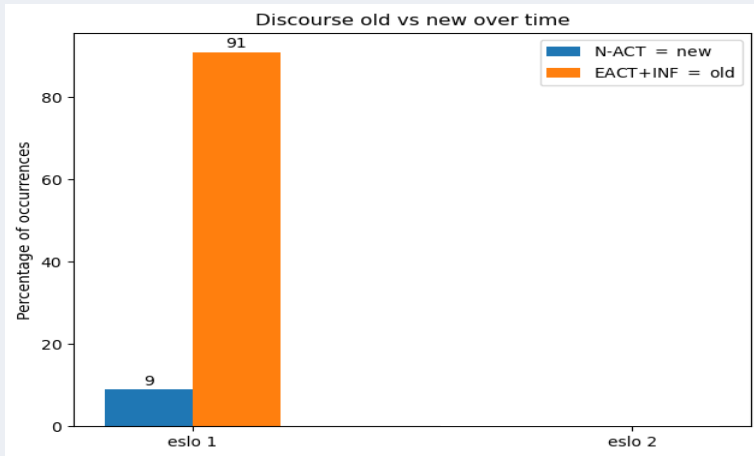
Non-activation drives the change

DISCOURSE-OLD VS DISCOURSE NEW OVER TIME



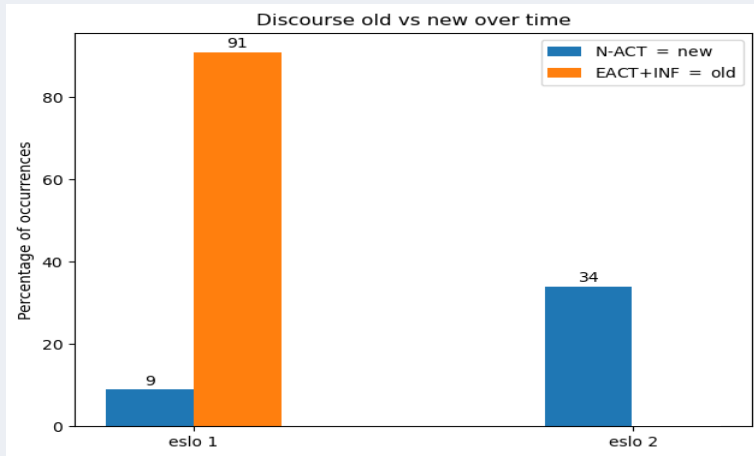
Non-activation drives the change

DISCOURSE-OLD VS DISCOURSE NEW OVER TIME



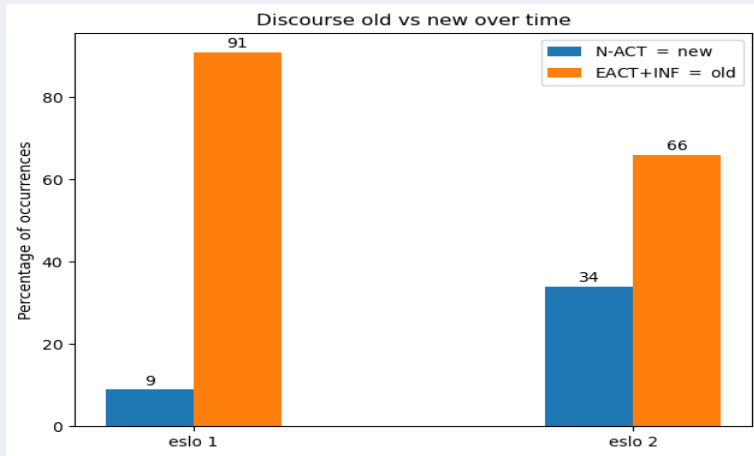
Non-activation drives the change

DISCOURSE-OLD VS DISCOURSE NEW OVER TIME



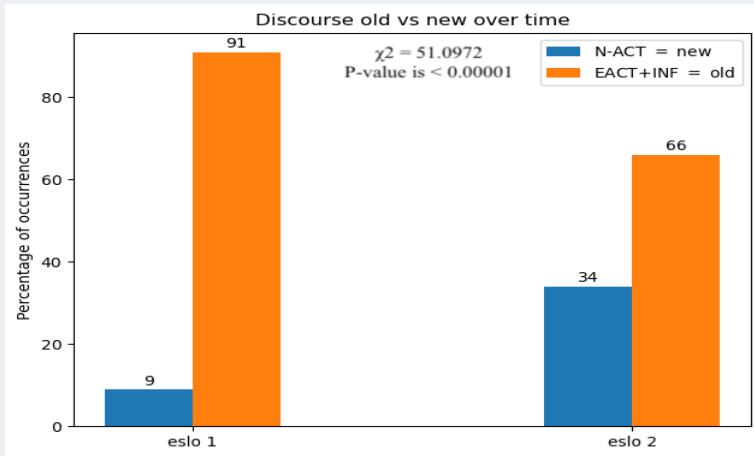
Non-activation drives the change

DISCOURSE-OLD VS DISCOURSE NEW OVER TIME



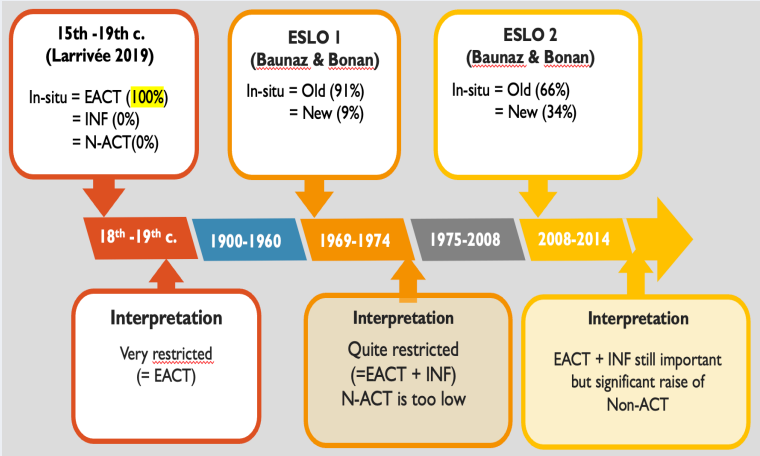
Non-activation drives the change

DISCOURSE-OLD VS DISCOURSE NEW OVER TIME



SUMMARY

SUMMARY



THE CONTROVERSY

THE CONTROVERSY

- conservatives (mid 1990s - 2000s);

THE CONTROVERSY

- conservatives (mid 1990s - 2000s);
- liberals (mid 2000s - today)

THE CONTROVERSY

- conservatives (mid 1990s - 2000s);
→ compatible with ESLO 1 data

THE CONTROVERSY

- conservatives (mid 1990s - 2000s);
→ compatible with ESLO 1 data (little N-ACT, mostly discourse-old wh-in situ)
- liberals (mid 2000s - today)

THE CONTROVERSY

- conservatives (mid 1990s - 2000s);
→ compatible with ESLO 1 data (little N-ACT, mostly discourse-old wh-in situ)
- liberals (mid 2000s - today)
→ compatible with ESLO 2 data

THE CONTROVERSY

- conservatives (mid 1990s - 2000s);
→ compatible with ESLO 1 data (little N-ACT, mostly discourse-old wh-in situ)
- liberals (mid 2000s - today)
→ compatible with ESLO 2 data (numerous N-ACT, i.e. discourse new)

Conclusions

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French *wh*-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels';

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French wh-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels;'
- French has evolved from having wh-in situ mainly in explicitly activated contexts (Larrivée 2019) to allowing, and then impressively increase wh-in situ in non-activated contexts!

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French wh-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels;'
- French has evolved from having wh-in situ mainly in explicitly activated contexts (Larrivée 2019) to allowing, and then impressively increase wh-in situ in non-activated contexts!
- the controversy on wh-in situ was caused by the fact that 'presupposition' was being investigated

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French wh-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels;'
- French has evolved from having wh-in situ mainly in explicitly activated contexts (Larrivée 2019) to allowing, and then impressively increase wh-in situ in non-activated contexts!
- the controversy on wh-in situ was caused by the fact that 'presupposition' was being investigated (although the publication dates and our micro-diachronic data are compatible and explain the different claims);

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French wh-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels';
- French has evolved from having wh-in situ mainly in explicitly activated contexts (Larrivée 2019) to allowing, and then impressively increase wh-in situ in non-activated contexts!
- the controversy on wh-in situ was caused by the fact that 'presupposition' was being investigated (although the publication dates and our micro-diachronic data are compatible and explain the different claims);
- language is not monolithic, it evolves over time

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French wh-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels';
- French has evolved from having wh-in situ mainly in explicitly activated contexts (Larrivée 2019) to allowing, and then impressively increase wh-in situ in non-activated contexts!
- the controversy on wh-in situ was caused by the fact that 'presupposition' was being investigated (although the publication dates and our micro-diachronic data are compatible and explain the different claims);
- language is not monolithic, it evolves over time (and very quickly!);

OUR TAKE-HOME MESSAGE

- when it comes to French wh-in situ, the presence/absence of 'presupposition' is not as important as the notion of activation, and its 'levels';
- French has evolved from having wh-in situ mainly in explicitly activated contexts (Larrivée 2019) to allowing, and then impressively increase wh-in situ in non-activated contexts!
- the controversy on wh-in situ was caused by the fact that 'presupposition' was being investigated (although the publication dates and our micro-diachronic data are compatible and explain the different claims);
- language is not monolithic, it evolves over time (and very quickly!);
- to speak of in-situ as an anchored phenomenon is a mistake, which has created controversy in the literature.

Thank you for your attention!

References

