

# Raising Alternatives to Express Dependence : A Compositional Issue

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- (1) des jeunes des jeûnes [<sub>B</sub> ça peut être paronyme ou homonyme] [suivant [<sub>A</sub> comment vous le prononcez]]  
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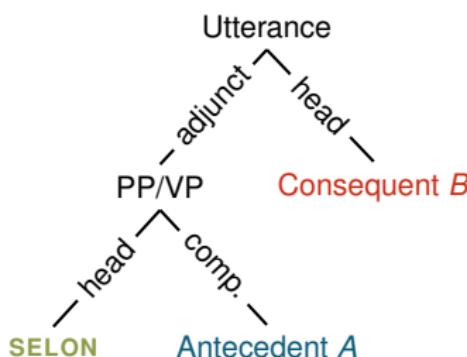
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**Adjunct      Dependence      Utterance**  
**(ADU) :**

- expresses a complex dependence
- using a adjunct phrase SELON A
- item SELON can be :
  - in French : *selon, suivant, en fonction de*
  - in English : *depending on*



# Question

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Compositional problems :

- 1 Syntactic variety in the antecedent
  - 2 Syntactic variety in the consequent
  - 3 Semantic variety in the whole utterance
- (3) Selon [<sub>A</sub> les âges], [<sub>B</sub> combien d'œufs peut-on consommer]? (frTenTen23)  
'<sub>B</sub> How many eggs can people eat, depending on [<sub>A</sub> their age] ?'

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### Q1 : How can we model the semantics of ADUs ?

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'*[B How many eggs can people eat], depending on [A their age]?*'

### Q2 : Can we come up with a single lexical entry for SELON to model this variation uniformly ?

## 1 Introduction

## 2 A first model

## 3 The antecedent

## 4 The consequent

## 5 A uniform model

## 6 Future prospects

# Basic semantics

- (4) [B French words "jeune" and "jeûne" can be paronymous or homonymous]  
[depending on [A how you pronounce "jeûne"]].

■ Alternatives of A and B

*A<sub>1</sub>* : /ʒøn/

*A<sub>2</sub>* : /ʒœn/

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B<sub>1</sub> : paronymous

A<sub>2</sub> : /ʒœn/

B<sub>2</sub> : homonymous

# Basic semantics

- (4) [B French words "jeune" and "jeûne" can be paronymous or homonymous]  
[depending on A how you pronounce "jeûne"].

- Alternatives of A and B
- Dependence relation = complex conditional (if  $A_i$  then  $B_i$ )

$A_1 : /ʒøn/ \xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}} B_1 : \text{paronymous}$

$A_2 : /ʒœn/ \xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}} B_2 : \text{homonymous}$

# A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	<b>Declarative</b>	<b>Interrogative</b>
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**Inquisitive semantics** (CIARDELLI, GROENENDIJK et ROELOFSEN 2018) :

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- Issues have alternatives
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**Inquisitive semantics** (CIARDELLI, GROENENDIJK et ROELOFSEN 2018) :

- Declaratives and interrogatives both interpreted by **issues**
- Issues have alternatives
- An alternative is a set of worlds
- Assertive iff.  $|\text{ALT}(A)| = 1$
- Inquisitive iff.  $|\text{ALT}(A)| > 1$
- Disjunction and interrogative words trigger inquisitiveness

- (5)
- a. It is raining.  
 $A_1 = \text{It is raining}$
  - b. Did you cheat?  
 $A_1 = \text{You cheated}, A_2 = \text{You didn't cheat}$
  - c. Who cheated?  
 $A_1 = \text{Mary cheated}, A_2 = \text{John cheated}, A_3 = \text{Charlie cheated}, \dots$

# Dependence statements

(6)  $[M]$  According to Dutch law],  $[B]$  one's income tax rate] depends on  $[A]$  one's age].

THEILER, ROELOFSEN et ALONI 2019 : Ingredients

- Alternatives  $\text{ALT}(A)$ ,  $\text{ALT}(B)$
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Semantic entry for *depend* :

- (7) a.  $\text{dep}_M(A, B)$  is true at  $w$  iff.  $\exists f : \text{ALT}(A) \rightarrow \text{ALT}(B)$ . (7-a-i)  $\wedge$  (7-a-ii), where
- (i) **conditional dependence** :  
 $\forall w \in M. \forall A_i \in \text{ALT}(A). A_i \text{ true at } w \rightarrow f(A_i) \text{ true at } w,$  and
  - (ii) **non-triviality** :  
 $\exists A_i, A_j \in \text{ALT}(A). A_i \cap M \neq \emptyset \wedge A_j \cap M \neq \emptyset \wedge f(A_i) \neq f(A_j)$

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- (8) #Whether I am happy depends on how much is  $1 + 1$ .

# Problem

Non-triviality condition :

- forbids trivial dependencies :



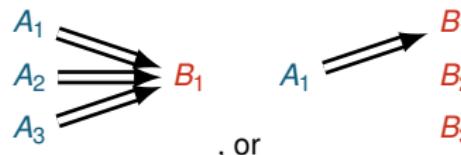
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⇒ forbids *A* and *B* to be declaratives



, or

- (9) a. \*That the light is on depends on whether the switch is up.  
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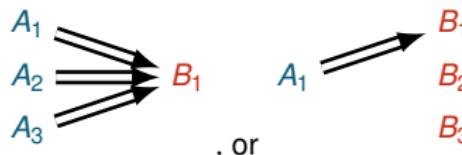
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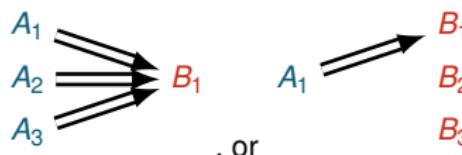
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**Problem :**

- $A$  and  $B$  can be declaratives

- (10) a. [ $B$  Cet effort n'est pas le même] selon [ $A$  qu'on est héritier ou this effort NEG is not the same SELON that one is heir or que l'on a que sa force de travail].  
 that one has only one's force of work  
*'This effort is not the same for heirs as it is for those who only have their labor power.'* (frTenTen23)
- b. but depending on the method you use to connect two tiles [ $B$  they could be a little rough on the fingertips]

# Syntactic variation in the antecedent

Form	interrogative	NP	decl. CP disjunction
Example	<i>depending on how you pronounce it</i>	<i>depending on the method</i>	<i>selon qu'on est héritier ou que l'on travaille</i>

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**Concealed questions** (e.g. MILLER et HEMFORTH 2024) :

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- e.g. I know [**the time**] = I know [what time it is].

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- NP interpreted as an inquisitive issue
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Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics (ROELOFSEN et DOTLAČIL 2023) :

- Any disjunction above the complementizer triggers inquisitiveness

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# Declarative consequents

Doesn't work for consequents :

- (11) a. [B French words "jeune" and "jeûne" can be paronymous or homonymous] depending on how you pronounce "jeûne".
- b. We project the idea that, depending on how someone speaks, [B they would have a certain social identity]
- c. but depending on the method you use to connect two tiles [B they could be a little rough on the fingertips]

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- b. We project the idea that, depending on how someone speaks, [B they would have a certain social identity]  
 $B_1 = \text{they would be a professor}$ ,  $B_2 = \text{they would be a laborer}, \dots$
- c. but depending on the method you use to connect two tiles [B they could be a little rough on the fingertips]  
 $B_1 = \text{they are a little rough}$ ,  $B_2 = \text{they are not (a little) rough}$

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**Where do these alternatives come from ?**

# Quantificational adverbs

Quantificational adverbs are focus-sensitive

- (12) a.  $B = \text{Kim}$  always tells Sandy to be  $\text{NICE}_F$ . (and not something else)
- b.  $B = \text{Kim}$  always tells  $\text{SANDY}_F$  to be nice. (and not someone else)

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**Free Association with focus** (BEAVER et CLARK 2008) :

- focus triggers alternatives  $\text{ALT}(B)$
- modal base  $M = \bigcup \text{ALT}(B) \subsetneq W$
- universal quantification  $\llbracket(12\text{-a})\rrbracket = \mathbf{always}(M, B_1)$

# SELON as focus-sensitive

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  - Depending on the time, I might ask Marie to COOK<sub>F</sub>. (and not something else)
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 $B_1 = I \text{ ask } Marie \text{ to cook}$ ,  $B_2 = I \text{ ask } Marie \text{ to do the laundry}, \dots$
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**The consequent's alternatives are focus alternatives**

# SELON as a modal construction

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  - Additional modal quantification : **might**( $M, B_1$ )

## Interrogative consequents

- (15) a. [*B* How many eggs can people eat], depending on their age ?  
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[you can find out [*B* how long it has been decaying]].

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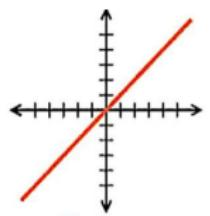
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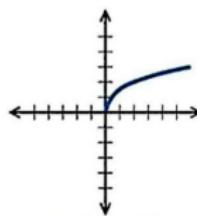
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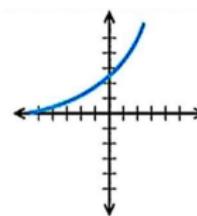
,

or



,

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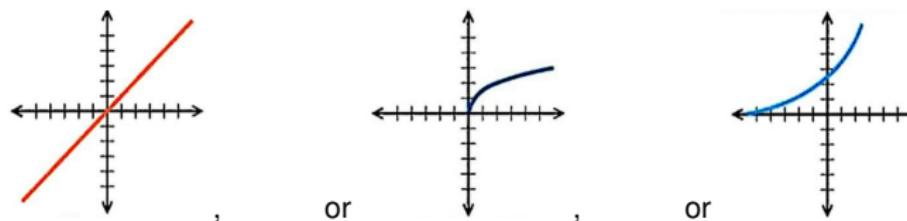
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Summary :

Syntax of consequent	declarative	interrogative
Semantics of utterance	assertive	inquisitive

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# Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics

Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics(ROELOFSEN et DOTLAČIL 2023) :

- Wh-words raise drefs : *Which<sup>U</sup> student cheated ?*
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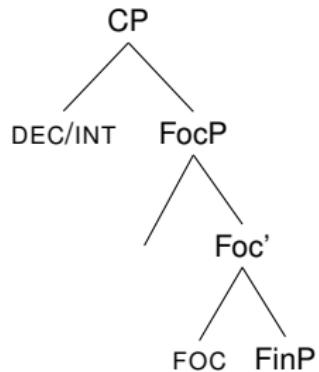
Various operators :

- ? introduces inquisitiveness
- ! removes inquisitiveness

# The left periphery

According to (Rizzi 1997) :

- Syntactic type phrase (CP) : declarative or interrogative
- Focus head FOC
- Finite phrase



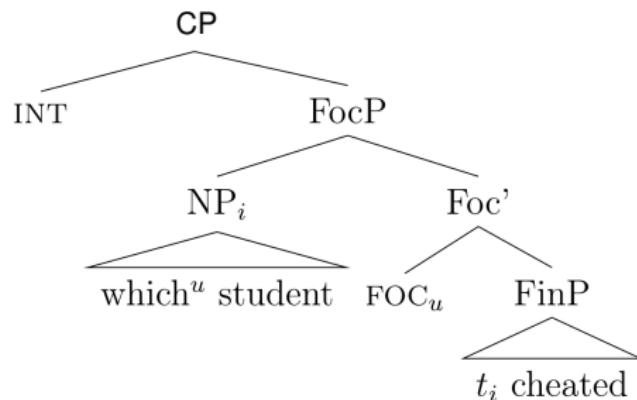
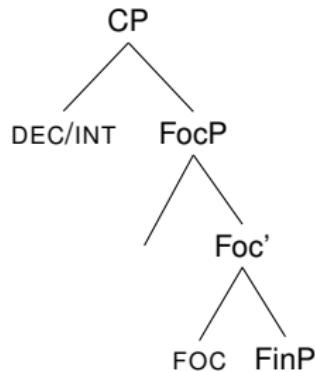
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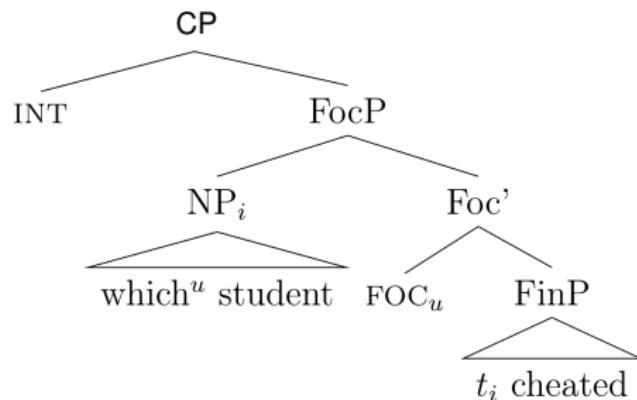
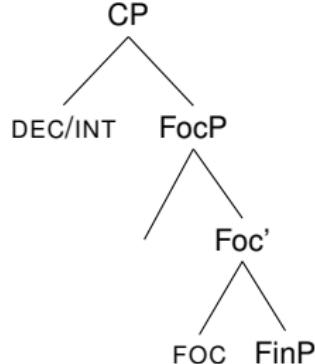
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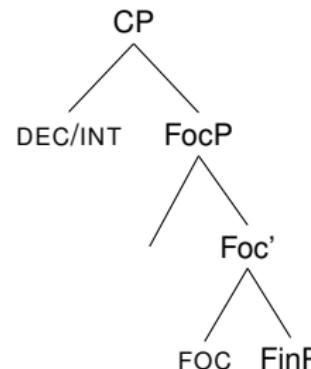
- 1 ***which<sup>u</sup>* student moves to co-index FOC[*u*]**
- 2 and then reconstructed for a local interpretation



# Compositional theory

Semantic interpretation :

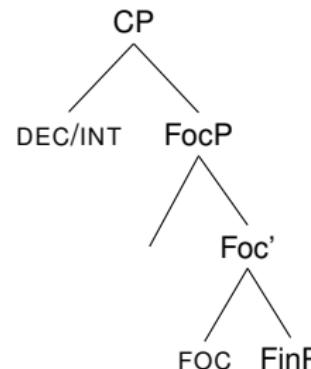
$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{FOC} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}. !\mathcal{U} \\ \llbracket \text{FOC}_u \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}. !\mathcal{U}; ?u \\ \llbracket \text{DEC} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}. !\mathcal{U} \\ \llbracket \text{INT} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}. (?)\mathcal{U} \quad (\text{simplified}) \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$



# Compositional theory

Semantic interpretation :

$$\begin{aligned}
 [[FOC]] &= \lambda U. !U \\
 [[FOCu]] &= \lambda U. !U; ?U \\
 [[DEC]] &= \lambda U. !U \\
 [[INT]] &= \lambda U. (?U) \quad (\text{simplified})
 \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$



- $(?)U$  triggers inquisitiveness for yes/no question :

$$(?)U = \begin{cases} ?U & \text{if } U \text{ is not inquisitive yet} \\ U & \text{if } U \text{ is already inquisitive} \end{cases} \tag{2}$$

# Modeling consequents

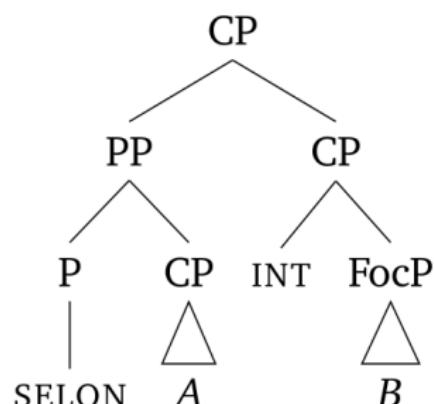
Changing  $\mathbf{dep}_M(A, B)$  to be an **inquisitive hole** :

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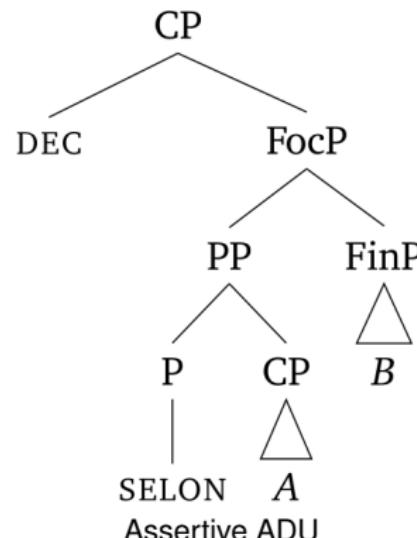
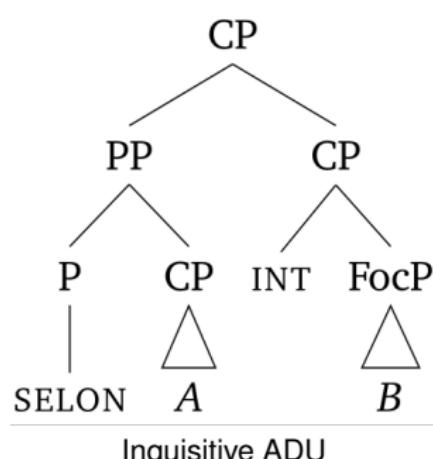


Inquisitive ADU

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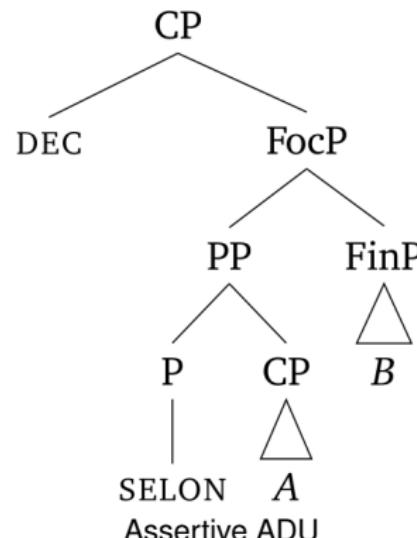
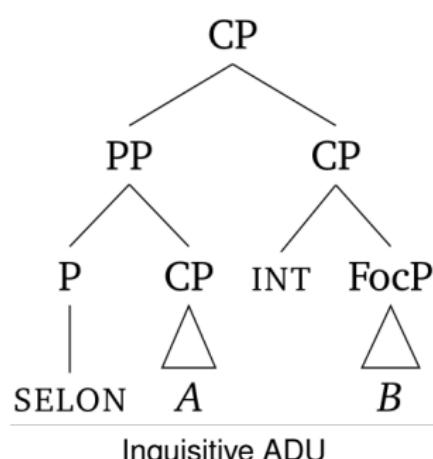
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## 1 Introduction

## 2 A first model

## 3 The antecedent

## 4 The consequent

## 5 A uniform model

## 6 Future prospects

# A more general phenomenon

In several languages

- (16) **Je nachdem**, [*A wie alt dein Kind ist*], [*B kann es in allen Bussen und Bahnen der Leipziger Verkehrsbetriebe gratis mitfahren oder zum ermäßigten Sonderpreis.*]  
*'Depending on how old your child is, they can travel free of charge or at a reduced special price on all buses and trains operated by Leipziger Verkehrsbetriebe.'* (deTenTen23)

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Extends to other clause types (and disjunction level)

- (17) Click or double-click, depending on your personal settings. (frTenTen23)  
→ Attachment site above the illocutionary act operator

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The reverse is possible :

- Turning inquisitive at-issue content into a (local) QuD : Adjunct Thematic Clauses (RICHARD 2024)
- (18)    a. Tu progresses **par rapport à** [*A* comment tu étais avant]  
*'You're making progress compared to [A how you were before].'*
- b. **Au vu de** [*A* comment tu réponds], le 'j'aimerais simplement comprendre'  
me semble bien hypocrite  
*'Given [A how you respond], saying "I'd just like to understand" seems  
rather hypocritical to me.'*

# Conclusion

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- Complex conditional
- Takes inquisitive content
- Exhibit syntactic and semantic variations
- Are focus-sensitive
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Selon  $[_A \text{ si vous avez aimé}], [_B \text{ vous [avez le droit]}]_F$  d'applaudir].

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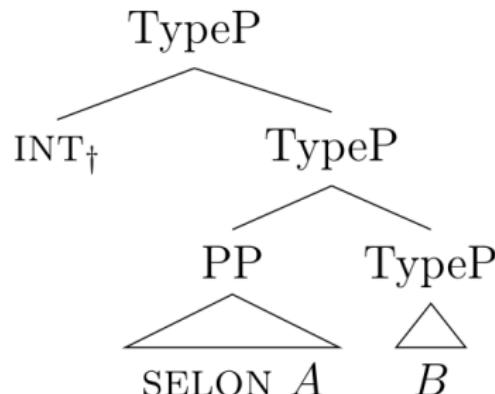
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DOI : 10.1007/s11050-019-09152-9. URL :  
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# Presupposition in inquisitive ADUs

$$\begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{INT} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}. \uparrow \langle ? \rangle \mathcal{U} \\ \uparrow \mathcal{U} &= \lambda c. \begin{cases} \mathcal{U}(c) & \text{if } \bigcup c \subseteq \bigcup \mathcal{U}(c) \\ \text{undefined} & \text{otherwise} \end{cases} \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

- (19) a. '*[B How many eggs can people eat], depending on [A their age]?*'  
 b.  $\xrightarrow{\text{presup}}$  There exists age periods  $(A_i)_i$  and egg consumptions recommendations  $(B_i)_i$  and a non-trivial dependence function  $f : (A_i)_i \rightarrow (B_i)_i$

Split into  $\text{INT}_\dagger$  and  $\text{INT}_{\langle ? \rangle}$  to account for this presupposition



## A uniform analysis including “accordance”

Non-triviality is maybe a **conversational implicature** :

- (20)    a. CONTEXT : *In an introductory discussion about mathematical functions.*  
          b. La valeur de  $f(x)$  varie selon/suivant  $x$ .  
              ‘*The value of  $f(x)$  varies according to  $x$ .*’  
          c. cancelable inference :  $\rightsquigarrow f$  is not constant
- (21)    JOURNALIST TO A SPECIALIST : Depending on the election outcome, should we expect a protest ?  
              Compatible with the answer : *In all cases, we should expect a protest.*