Raising Alternatives to Express Dependence : A Compositional Issue

Valentin D. Richard

ILLC, Universiteit van Amsterdam, The Netherlands
LORIA, Université de Lorraine, Nancy, France
Université de Montpellier Paul Valéry

CSSP
14 Novermber 2025

## Topic of this talk

Topic of this talk

(1)   des jeunes des jeûnes [*B* ça peut être paronyme ou homonyme] [**suivant** [*A* comment vous le prononcez]]
*'[B French words "jeune" and "jeûne" can be paronymous or homonymous] [**depending on** [A how you pronounce "jeûne"]].'*

Topic of this talk
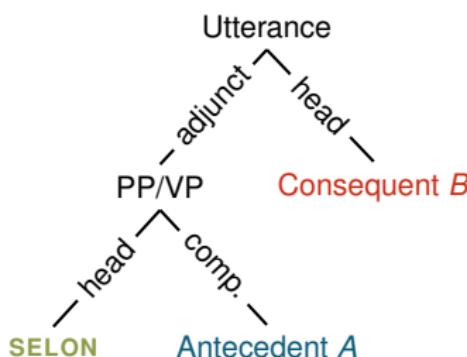
(1)　　des jeunes des jeûnes [$_B$ ça peut être paronyme ou homonyme] [**suivant** [$_A$ comment vous le prononcez]]
*'[$_B$ French words "jeune" and "jeûne" can be paronymous or homonymous] [**depending on** [$_A$ how you pronounce "jeûne"]].'*

(2)　　but [**depending on** [$_A$ the method you use to connect two tiles]] [$_B$ they could be a little rough on the fingertips]

Topic of this talk

(1)   des jeunes des jeûnes [_B_ ça peut être paronyme ou homonyme] [**suivant** [_A_ comment vous le prononcez]]
*'[_B_ French words "jeune" and "jeûne" can be paronymous or homonymous] [**depending on** [_A_ how you pronounce "jeûne"]].'*

(2)   but [**depending on** [_A_ the method you use to connect two tiles]] [_B_ they could be a little rough on the fingertips]

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*

Utterance

adjunct — head

PP/VP   Consequent *B*

head — comp.

SELON   Antecedent *A*

Question

Q1 : How can we model the semantics of ADUs ?

Question

Q1 : How can we model the semantics of ADUs ?

Compositional problems :

1. Syntactic variety in the antecedent
2. Syntactic variety in the consequent
3. Semantic variety in the whole utterance

(3) **Selon** [$_A$ les âges], [$_B$ combien d'œufs peut-on consommer] ?   (frTenTen23)
*'[$_B$ How many eggs can people eat], **depending on** [$_A$ their age] ?'*

Question

Q1 : How can we model the semantics of ADUs ?

Compositional problems :

1. Syntactic variety in the antecedent
2. Syntactic variety in the consequent
3. Semantic variety in the whole utterance

(3) **Selon** [$_A$ les âges], [$_B$ combien d'œufs peut-on consommer] ?   (frTenTen23)
   *'[$_B$ 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 ?

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_1 : /ʒøn/

A_2 : /ʒœn/

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_1 : /ʒøn/ B_1 : paronymous

  A_2 : /ʒœn/ B_2 : 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/ ══════════════▶ B_1 : paronymous

A_2 : /ʒœn/ ══════════════▶ B_2 : homonymous

A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	**Declarative**	**Interrogative**

Introduction
○○○○
A first model
○●○○
The antecedent
○
The consequent
○○○○○○
A uniform model
○○○○○
Future prospects
○○○○
Références

A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	**Declarative**	**Interrogative**
Assertive	*It is raining.*	

Introduction
0000
A first model
0●00
The antecedent
0
The consequent
000000
A uniform model
00000
Future prospects
0000
Références

A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	**Declarative**	**Interrogative**
Assertive	*It is raining.*	
Inquisitive	Tu veux du thé ou du café ?	*Who cheated ?* *Did you cheat ?*

A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	**Declarative**	**Interrogative**
Assertive	*It is raining.*	
Inquisitive	Tu veux du thé ou du café ?	*Who cheated ?*
		Did you cheat ?

Inquisitive semantics (CIARDELLI, GROENENDIJK et ROELOFSEN 2018) :

- Declaratives and interrogatives both interpreted by **issues**
- Issues have alternatives
- An alternative is a set of worlds

A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	**Declarative**	**Interrogative**
Assertive	*It is raining.*	
Inquisitive	Tu veux du thé ou du café ?	*Who cheated ?* *Did you cheat ?*

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 = *It is raining*
    b. Did you cheat ?
      A_1 = *You cheated*, A_2 = *You didn't cheat*
    c. Who cheated ?
      A_1 = *Mary cheated*, A_2 = *John cheated*, A_3 = *Charlie cheated*,...

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 ALT(A), ALT(B)
- Dependence function f : ALT(A) $\rightarrow$ ALT(B)
- Modal base $M \subseteq W$

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 ALT(A), ALT(B)
- Dependence function f : ALT(A) → ALT(B)
- Modal base $M \subseteq W$

Semantic entry for *depend* :

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

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 ALT(A), ALT(B)
- Dependence function f : ALT(A) → ALT(B)
- Modal base $M \subseteq W$

Semantic entry for *depend* :

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

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

Problem

Non-triviality condition :
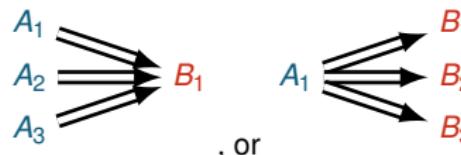
- forbids trivial dependencies :

Problem

Non-triviality condition :

- forbids trivial dependencies :
- ⇒ forbids assertions
- ⇒ forbids A and B to be declaratives

A_1 ⟹
A_2 ⟹ B_1 A_1 ⟸ B_1
A_3 ⟹ B_2
                          B_3
, or

(9) a. *That the light is on depends on whether the switch is up.
   b. *Whether the light is on depends on that the switch is up.

Problem

Non-triviality condition :

- forbids trivial dependencies :
- ⇒ forbids assertions
- ⇒ forbids *A* and *B* to be declaratives

A_1
A_2 ⟹ B_1
A_3

, or

A_1 ⟹ B_1
B_2
B_3

(9) a. *That the light is on depends on whether the switch is up.
     b. *Whether the light is on depends on that the switch is up.

Idea : use **dep** to model SELON
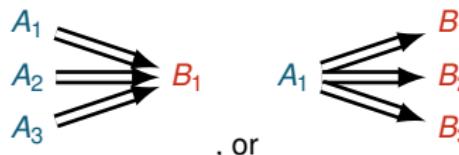
Problem :

- *A* and *B* can be declaratives

Problem

Non-triviality condition :

- forbids trivial dependencies :
- ⇒ forbids assertions
- ⇒ forbids *A* and *B* to be declaratives

A_1 ⟹
A_2 ⟹ B_1
A_3 ⟹

A_1 ⟹ B_1
B_2
B_3

, or

(9) a. *That the light is on depends on whether the switch is up.
    b. *Whether the light is on depends on that the switch is up.

Idea : use **dep** to model SELON
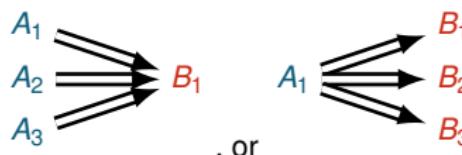
Problem :

- *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	*depending on how you pronounce it*	*depending on the method*	*selon qu'on est héritier ou que l'on travaille*

Introduction	A first model	**The antecedent**	The consequent	A uniform model	Future prospects	Références
oooo	oooo	●	oooooo	ooooo	oooo	

Syntactic variation in the antecedent

Form	interrogative	NP	decl. CP disjunction
Example	*depending on how you pronounce it*	*depending on the method*	*selon qu'on est héritier ou que l'on travaille*
Interpretation	inquisitive issue		

Syntactic variation in the antecedent

Form	interrogative	NP	decl. CP disjunction
Example	*depending on how you pronounce it*	*depending on the method*	*selon qu'on est héritier ou que l'on travaille*
Interpretation	inquisitive issue	concealed question	

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

- NP interpreted as an inquisitive issue
- e.g. **I know [the time]** = I know [what time it is].

Syntactic variation in the antecedent

Form	interrogative	NP	decl. CP disjunction
Example	*depending on how you pronounce it*	*depending on the me-thod*	*selon qu'on est héritier ou que l'on travaille*
Interpretation	inquisitive issue	concealed question	inquisitive issue

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

- NP interpreted as an inquisitive issue
- e.g. **I know [the time]** = I know [what time it is].

Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics (ROELOFSEN et DOTLAČIL 2023) :

- Any disjunction above the complementizer triggers inquisitiveness

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]

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_1 = *it is paronymous*, B_2 = *it is homonymous*
      b. We project the idea that, depending on how someone speaks, [_B_ they
          would have a certain social identity]
          B_1 = *they would be a professor*, B_2 = *they would be a laborer*,...
      c. but depending on the method you use to connect two tiles [_B_ they could be
          a little rough on the fingertips]
          B_1 = *they are a little rough*, B_2 = *they are not (a little) rough*

We can induce alternatives

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_1 = *it is paronymous*, B_2 = *it is homonymous*
     b. We project the idea that, depending on how someone speaks, [$_B$ they
        would have a certain social identity]
        B_1 = *they would be a professor*, B_2 = *they would be a laborer*,...
     c. but depending on the method you use to connect two tiles [$_B$ they could be
        a little rough on the fingertips]
        B_1 = *they are a little rough*, B_2 = *they are not (a little) rough*

We can induce alternatives

Where do these alternatives come from ?

Quantificational adverbs

Quantificational adverbs are focus-sensitive

(12) a. $B =$ Kim always tells Sandy to be NICE$_F$.   (and not something else)

      b. $B =$ Kim always tells SANDY$_F$ to nice.   (and not someone else)

Quantificational adverbs

Quantificational adverbs are focus-sensitive

(12) a. B = Kim always tells Sandy to be NICE$_F$. (and not something else)
  B_1 = *Kim tells Sandy to be nice*, B_2 = *Kim tells Sandy to be strong*,...
  b. B = Kim always tells SANDY$_F$ to nice. (and not someone else)
  B_1 = *Kim tells Sandy to be nice*, B_2 = *Kim tells Mary to be nice*,...

Quantificational adverbs

Quantificational adverbs are focus-sensitive

(12)   a. $B =$ Kim always tells Sandy to be NICE_F.   (and not something else)
           $B_1 =$ *Kim tells Sandy to be nice*, $B_2 =$ *Kim tells Sandy to be strong*,...
     b. $B =$ Kim always tells SANDY_F to nice.   (and not someone else)
           $B_1 =$ *Kim tells Sandy to be nice*, $B_2 =$ *Kim tells Mary to be nice*,...

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 $[\![(12\text{-a})]\!] = \textbf{always}(M, B_1)$

Introduction
0000

A first model
0000

The antecedent
0

The consequent
000●00

A uniform model
00000

Future prospects
0000

Références

SELON as focus-sensitive

HÉNOT-MORTIER 2024 :

- *Depending on Q, p* captures the Question under Discussion raised by the focus element in *p*

SELON as focus-sensitive

HÉNOT-MORTIER 2024 :

- *Depending on Q, p* captures the Question under Discussion raised by the focus element in *p*

SELON is sensitive to focus

(13)   a.   Depending on the time, [I MIGHT ASK MARIE TO COOK]$_F$.   (instead of not asking

                                                         her anything)

    b.   Depending on the time, I might ask Marie to COOK$_F$. (and not something else)

    c.   Depending on the time, I might ask MARIE$_F$ to cook. (and not someone else)

SELON as focus-sensitive

HÉNOT-MORTIER 2024 :

- *Depending on Q, p* captures the Question under Discussion raised by the focus element in *p*

SELON is sensitive to focus

(13)   a.   Depending on the time, [I MIGHT ASK MARIE TO COOK]$_F$.   (instead of not asking

her anything)

   b.   Depending on the time, I might ask Marie to COOK$_F$. (and not something else)
         B_1 = *I ask Marie to cook*, B_2 = *I ask Marie to do the laundry*,...

   c.   Depending on the time, I might ask MARIE$_F$ to cook. (and not someone else)

The consequent's alternatives are focus alternatives

| Introduction | A first model | The antecedent | The consequent | A uniform model | Future prospects | Références |
| 0000 | 0000 | ○ | 000●0 | 00000 | 0000 | |

SELON as a modal construction

(14)   Depending on the time, I *might* ask Marie to **cook**$_F$
        B_1 = *I ask Marie to cook*, B_2 = *I ask Marie to do the laundry*,...

- Modal base $M = \bigcup \text{ALT}(B)$ in THEILER, ROELOFSEN et ALONI's definition for
  dep$_M(A, B)$

SELON as a modal construction

(14)   Depending on the time, I *might* ask Marie to **cook**$_F$
        B_1 = *I ask Marie to cook*, B_2 = *I ask Marie to do the laundry*,...

- Modal base $M = \bigcup \text{ALT}(B)$ in THEILER, ROELOFSEN et ALONI's definition for
  dep$_M(A, B)$

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

Introduction	A first model	The antecedent	**The consequent**	A uniform model	Future prospects	Références
oooo	oooo	o	oooooo●	ooooo	oooo	

Interrogative consequents

(15) a. [$_B$ How many eggs can people eat], depending on their age ?

 b. Depending on how many radioactive elements you have left in your object, [you can find out [$_B$ how long it has been decaying]].

Introduction	A first model	The antecedent	**The consequent**	A uniform model	Future prospects	Références
oooo	oooo	o	oooooo●	ooooo	oooo	

Interrogative consequents
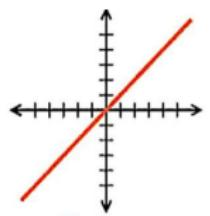
(15) a. [*B* How many eggs can people eat], depending on their age ?
      b. Depending on how many radioactive elements you have left in your object,
          [you can find out [*B* how long it has been decaying]].
          = *you can know the dependence relation*

Interrogative consequents

(15)   a.   [$_B$ How many eggs can people eat], depending on their age ?
       b.   Depending on how many radioactive elements you have left in your object,
            [you can find out [$_B$ how long it has been decaying]].
            = *you can know the dependence relation*
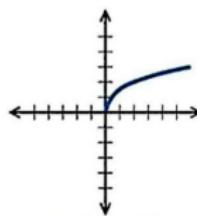
If *B* is an interrogative :

- SELON *A*, *B* = *What is the dependence function f* : ALT(*A*) → ALT(*B*) *?*
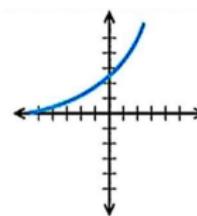
,   or   ,   or   ?

Interrogative consequents

(15)   a.   [$_B$ How many eggs can people eat], depending on their age ?
      b.   Depending on how many radioactive elements you have left in your object,
         [you can find out [$_B$ how long it has been decaying]].
         = *you can know the dependence relation*

If *B* is an interrogative :
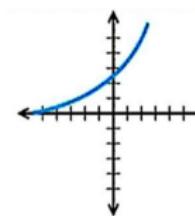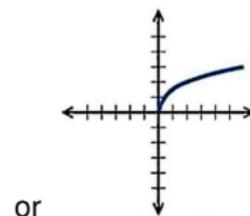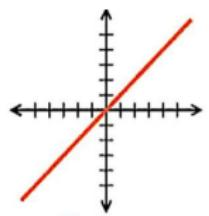
- SELON A, B = *What is the dependence function* $f : \text{ALT}(A) \to \text{ALT}(B)$ *?*

,   or   ,   or   ?

Summary :

Syntax of consequent	declarative	interrogative
Semantics of utterance	assertive	inquisitive

1 Introduction

2 A first model

3 The antecedent

4 The consequent

5 **A uniform model**

6 Future prospects

Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics

Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics(ROELOFSEN et DOTLAČIL 2023) :

- Wh-words raise drefs : *Which^u student cheated?*
- Contexts are issues with assignment functions
- Utterances interpreted as **functions** from a context $\mathcal{U}$ to a context

Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics

Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics(ROELOFSEN et DOTLAČIL 2023) :

- Wh-words raise drefs : *Which[u] student cheated ?*
- Contexts are issues with assignment functions
- Utterances interpreted as **functions** from a context $\mathcal{U}$ to a context
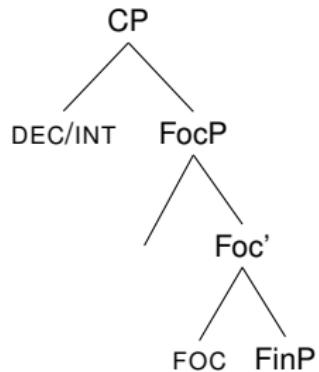
Various operators :

- ? introduces inquisitiveness
- ! removes inquisitiveness

The left periphery

According to (RIZZI 1997) :

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

```
              CP
            /    \
     DEC/INT     FocP
                /    \
                     Foc'
                    /    \
                  FOC    FinP
```
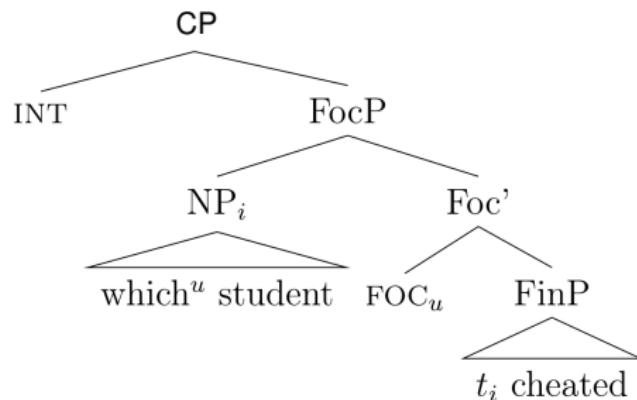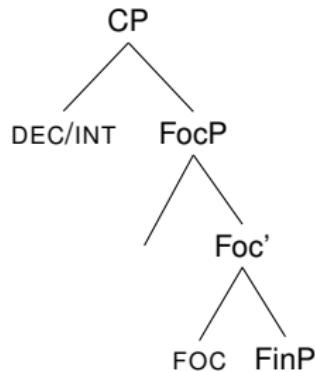
The left periphery

According to (Rizzi 1997) :

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

With an interrogative word :

1. *which^u student* **moves to co-index** FOC[*u*]
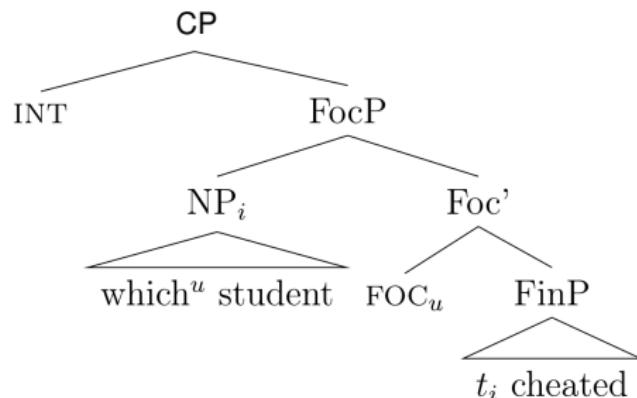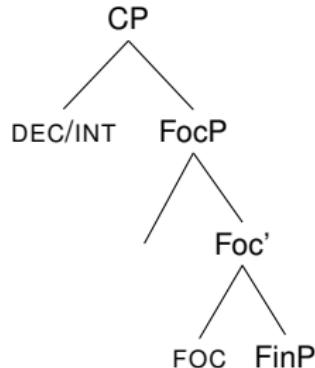
The left periphery

According to (RIZZI 1997) :

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

With an interrogative word :
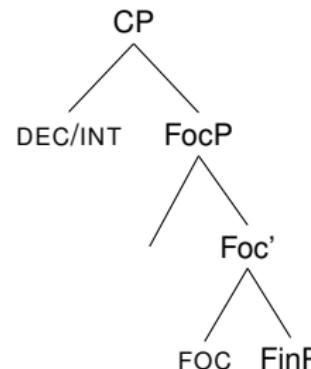
1. *which^u student* **moves to co-index** FOC[*u*]
2. and then reconstructed for a local interpretation

CP

DEC/INT   FocP

Foc'

FOC   FinP

CP

INT   FocP

NP$_i$ Foc'

which^u student   FOC$_u$ FinP

t_i cheated

Compositional theory

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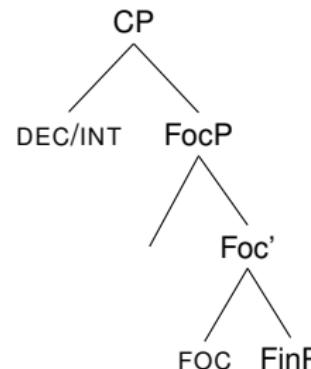
$$
\begin{aligned}
\llbracket \text{FOC} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ !\mathcal{U} \\
\llbracket \text{FOC}_u \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ !\mathcal{U};\ ?u \\
\llbracket \text{DEC} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ !\mathcal{U} \\
\llbracket \text{INT} \rrbracket &= \lambda \mathcal{U}.\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

CP
 / \
DEC/INT   FocP
            / \
             Foc'
            / \
         FOC FinP

Compositional theory

Semantic interpretation :

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
[\![\text{FOC}]\!] = & \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ !\mathcal{U} \\
[\![\text{FOC}_u]\!] = & \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ !\mathcal{U};\ ?u \\
[\![\text{DEC}]\!] = & \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ !\mathcal{U} \\
[\![\text{INT}]\!] = & \lambda \mathcal{U}.\ \langle ?\rangle \mathcal{U} \quad \text{(simplified)}
\end{array} \qquad (1)
$$

CP

DEC/INT   FocP

Foc'

FOC   FinP

■ $\langle ?\rangle \mathcal{U}$ triggers inquisitiveness for yes/no question :

$$
\langle ?\rangle \mathcal{U} = \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} ?\mathcal{U} & \text{if } \mathcal{U} \text{ is not inquisitive yet} \\ \mathcal{U} & \text{if } \mathcal{U} \text{ is already inquisitive} \end{array} \right. \qquad (2)
$$

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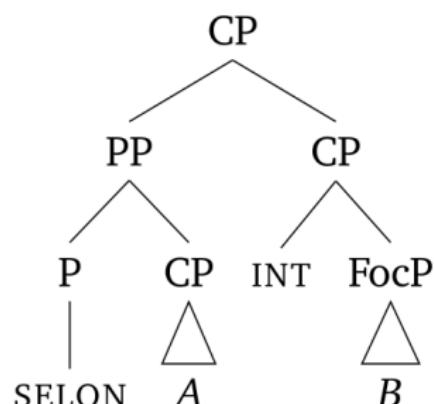
Changing $\textbf{dep}_M(A, B)$ to be an **inquisitive hole** :

- $\text{ALT}(\textbf{dep}_M(A, B)) = \{f : \text{ALT}(A) \rightarrow \text{ALT}(B) \mid \text{(7-a-i)} \wedge \text{(7-a-ii)}\}$

Modeling consequents

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

- ALT(**dep**$_M(A, B)$) = {f : ALT(A) → ALT(B) | (7-a-i) ∧ (7-a-ii)}

Inquisitive ADU

Modeling consequents

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

- ALT(**dep**$_M(A, B)$) = $\{f : \text{ALT}(A) \rightarrow \text{ALT}(B) \mid$ (7-a-i) $\wedge$ (7-a-ii)$\}$

Inquisitive ADU

Assertive ADU

Introduction
0000

A first model
0000

The antecedent
0

The consequent
000000

A uniform model
0000●

Future prospects
0000

Références

Modeling consequents

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

- ALT(**dep**$_M(A, B)$) = $\{f : \text{ALT}(A) \rightarrow \text{ALT}(B) \mid$ (7-a-i) $\wedge$ (7-a-ii)$\}$

Inquisitive ADU

Assertive ADU

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)

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)

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

Introduction
0000
A first model
0000
The antecedent
0
The consequent
000000
A uniform model
00000
Future prospects
0000
Références

Broader consequences

Conversion/shift operator from QuD / focus-alternatives $\rightarrow$ inquisitive at-issue content

Broader consequences

Conversion/shift operator from QuD / focus-alternatives $\rightarrow$ inquisitive at-issue content

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

Adjunct Dependence Utterances SELON *A*, *B* :

- Complex conditional
- Takes inquisitive content
- Exhibit syntactic and semantic variations
- Are focus-sensitive
- Are modal constructions

Conclusion

Adjunct Dependence Utterances SELON A, B :

- Complex conditional
- Takes inquisitive content
- Exhibit syntactic and semantic variations
- Are focus-sensitive
- Are modal constructions

Selon [$_A$ si vous avez aimé],[$_B$ vous [avez le droit]$_F$ d'applaudir].

📄 BEAVER, David I. et Brady Z. CLARK (2008). **Sense and Sensitivity : How Focus Determines Meaning**. Malden, MA : Blackwell.

📄 CIARDELLI, Ivano, Jeroen GROENENDIJK et Floris ROELOFSEN (27 nov. 2018). **Inquisitive Semantics**. Oxford Surveys in Semantics and Pragmatics. Oxford, New York : Oxford University Press. 240 p. ISBN : 978-0-19-881478-8.

📄 HÉNOT-MORTIER, Adèle (2024). ""One Tool to Rule Them All"? An Integrated Model of the QuD for Hurford Sentences". In : **Proceedings of the 29th Sinn Und Bedeutung**. Noto, to appear.

📄 MILLER, Philip et Barbara HEMFORTH (9 déc. 2024). "Verb Phrase Ellipsis with Nominal Antecedents : The Case of Polar Nouns". In : **Glossa : a journal of general linguistics** 9.1. ISSN : 2397-1835. DOI : 10.16995/glossa.15303. URL : https://www.glossa-journal.org/article/id/15303/ (visité le 16/11/2025).

📄 RICHARD, Valentin D. (2024). "« selon comment vous vous positionnez » : Étude des circonstancielles à interrogative". In : **9e Congrès Mondial de Linguistique Française**. Sous la dir. de Frank NEVEU et al. T. 191. Syntaxe. Lausanne : SHS Web of Conferences, p. 14010. DOI : 10.1051/shsconf/202419114010.

📄 RIZZI, Luigi (1997). "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery". In : **Elements of Grammar : Handbook in Generative Syntax**. Sous la dir. de Liliane HAEGEMAN. Dordrecht : Springer Netherlands, p. 281-337. ISBN : 978-94-011-5420-8. DOI : 10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7. URL : https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7 (visité le 20/11/2024).

📄 ROELOFSEN, Floris et Jakub DOTLAČIL (1er juin 2023). "Wh-Questions in Dynamic Inquisitive Semantics". In : **Theoretical Linguistics** 49.1–2, p. 1-91.

ISSN : 1613-4060. DOI : 10.1515/tl-2023-2001. URL :
https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/tl-2023-2001/html
(visité le 13/12/2023).
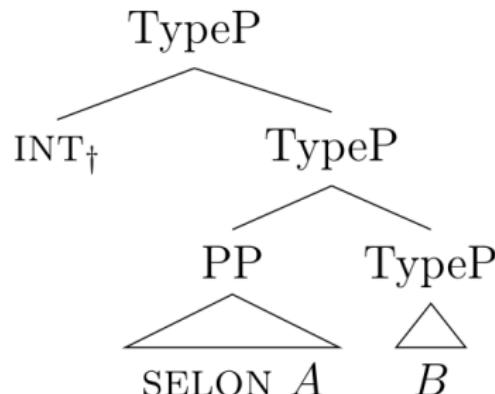
THEILER, Nadine, Floris ROELOFSEN et Maria ALONI (1er juin 2019). "Picky
Predicates : Why Believe Doesn't like Interrogative Complements, and Other
Puzzles". In : **Natural Language Semantics** 27.2, p. 95-134. ISSN : 1572-865X.
DOI : 10.1007/s11050-019-09152-9. URL :
https://doi.org/10.1007/s11050-019-09152-9 (visité le 29/07/2021).

Presupposition in inquisitive ADUs

$$\begin{aligned}
\llbracket \text{INT} \rrbracket = & \quad \lambda \mathcal{U}. \; \dagger \, \langle ? \rangle \mathcal{U} \\
\dagger \mathcal{U} = & \quad \lambda c. \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \mathcal{U}(c) & \text{if } \bigcup c \subseteq \bigcup \mathcal{U}(c) \\ \text{undefined} & \text{otherwise} \end{array} \right.
\end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

(19)   a.   *'[$_B$ How many eggs can people eat]*, **depending on [$_A$ their age]** *?'*

        b. $\overset{\text{presup}}{\Longrightarrow}$ There exists age periods $(A_i)_i$ and egg consumptions recommendations $(B_i)_i$ and a non-trivial dependence function $f : (A_i)_i \to (B_i)_i$

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.*