

Raising Alternatives to Express Dependence : A Compositional Issue

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Topic of this talk

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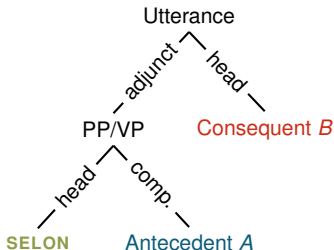
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Adjunct Dependence Utterance (ADU) :

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

$A_1 : /ʒø̃n/$

$A_2 : /ʒœ̃n/$

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■ Alternatives of *A* and *B*

*A*₁ : /ʒø̃n/

*B*₁ : paronymous

*A*₂ : /ʒœ̃n/

*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)

$A_1 : /ʒø̃n/ \Longrightarrow B_1 : \text{paronymous}$

$A_2 : /ʒœ̃n/ \Longrightarrow B_2 : \text{homonymous}$

A uniform semantics

Semantics \ Syntax	Declarative	Interrogative

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- 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) $[M \text{ According to Dutch law}], [B \text{ one's income tax rate}] \text{ depends on } [A \text{ one's age}]$.

THEILER, ROELOFSEN et ALONI 2019 : Ingredients

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

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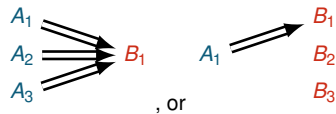
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- (8) #Whether I am happy depends on how much is $1 + 1$.

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Non-triviality condition :

- forbids trivial dependencies :



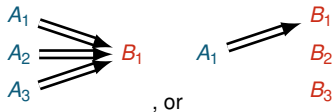
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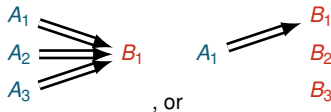


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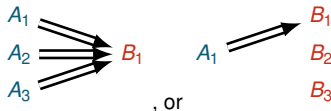
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Idea : use **dep** to model SELON

Problem :

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- (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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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]
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would have a certain social identity]
B₁ = they would be a professor, B₂ = they would be a laborer,...
- c. but depending on the method you use to connect two tiles [_B they could be
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B₁ = they are a little rough, B₂ = they are not (a little) rough

We can induce alternatives

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Where do these alternatives come from ?

Quantificational adverbs

Quantificational adverbs are focus-sensitive

- (12) a. $B = \text{Kim always tells Sandy to be NICE}_F$. (and not something else)
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 $B_1 =$ Kim tells Sandy to be nice, $B_2 =$ Kim tells Sandy to be strong,...
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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 $\llbracket (12\text{-a}) \rrbracket = \text{always}(M, B_1)$

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HÉNOT-MORTIER 2024 :

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SELON is sensitive to focus

- (13)
- Depending on the time, [I MIGHT ASK MARIE TO COOK]_F. (instead of not asking her anything)
 - Depending on the time, I might ask Marie to COOK_F. (and not something else)
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 - Depending on the time, I might ask Marie to COOK_F. (and not something else)
 $B_1 = I \text{ ask Marie to cook}, B_2 = I \text{ ask Marie to do the laundry}, \dots$
 - Depending on the time, I might ask MARIE_F to cook. (and not someone else)

The consequent's alternatives are focus alternatives

SELON as a modal construction

- (14) Depending on the time, *I might ask Marie to cook_F*
B₁ = I ask Marie to cook, B₂ = I ask Marie to do the laundry,...

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

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- 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)

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]].

Interrogative consequents

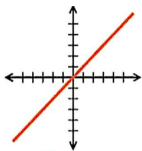
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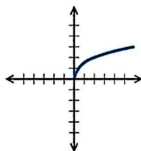
If B is an interrogative :

- SELON $A, B =$ What is the dependence function $f : \text{ALT}(A) \rightarrow \text{ALT}(B)$?



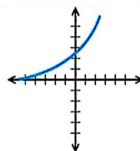
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or



,

or



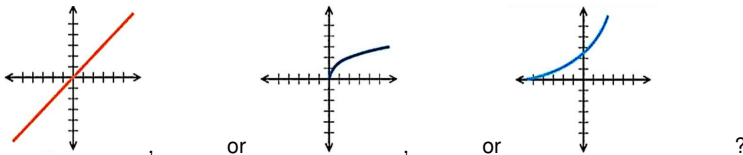
?

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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^U student cheated?*
- Contexts are issues with assignment functions
- Utterances interpreted as **functions** from a context \mathcal{U} to a context

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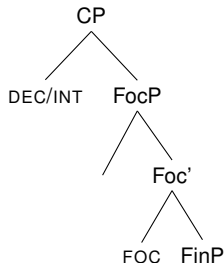
Various operators :

- ? introduces inquisitiveness
- ! removes inquisitiveness

The left periphery

According to (RIZZI 1997) :

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



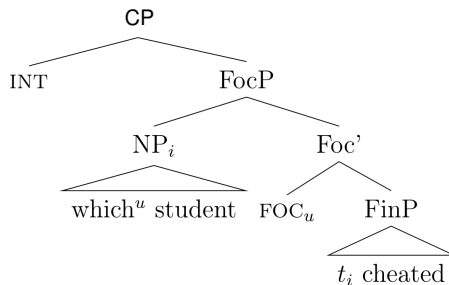
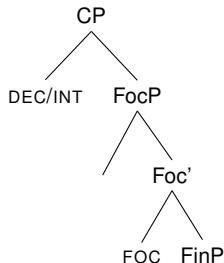
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With an interrogative word :

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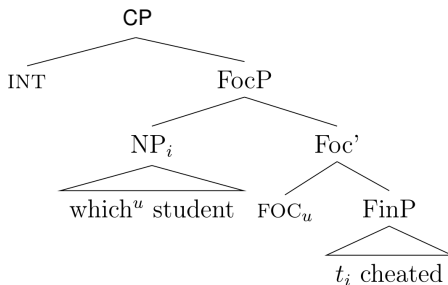
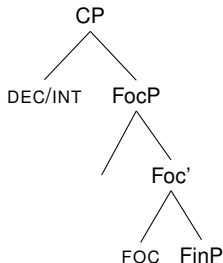
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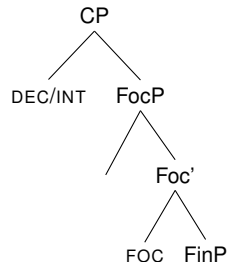


Compositional theory

Semantic interpretation :

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

(1)

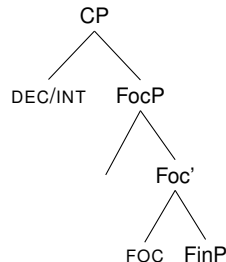


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 \end{aligned}$$

(1)



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

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

Modeling consequents

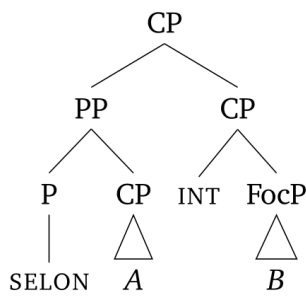
Changing $\mathbf{dep}_M(A, B)$ to be an **inquisitive hole** :

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

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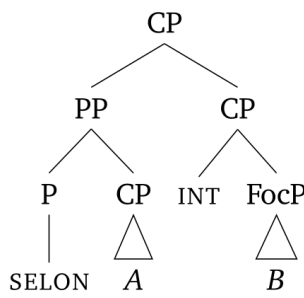


Inquisitive ADU

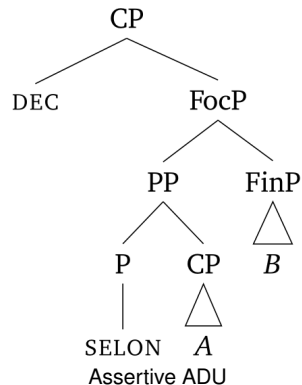
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Inquisitive ADU

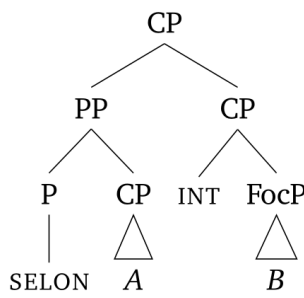


Assertive ADU

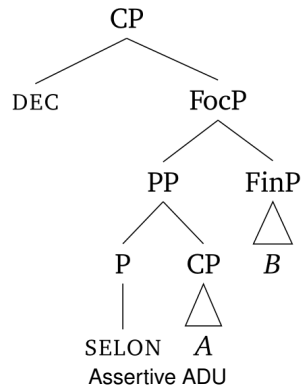
Modeling consequents

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

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



Inquisitive ADU



Assertive ADU

- 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

Broader consequences

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

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Conversion/shift operator from QuD / focus-alternatives → inquisitive at-issue content

The reverse is possible :

- Turning inquisitive at-issue content into a (local) QuD : Adjunct Thematic Clauses (RICHARD 2024)

- (18)
- Tu progresses **par rapport à** [_A comment tu étais avant]
'You're making progress **compared to** [_A how you were before].'
 - 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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- Are modal constructions

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Selon [A si vous avez aimé], [B vous [avez le droit]_F d'applaudir].

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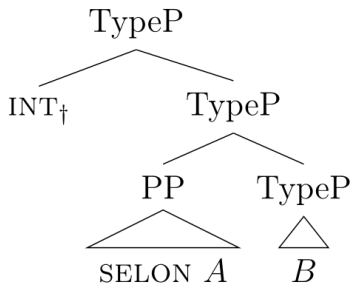
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<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11050-019-09152-9> (visité le 29/07/2021).

Presupposition in inquisitive ADUs

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

- (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 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.*