



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Questions in context: the case of French wh-in-situ

Glasbergen , A.

Citation

Glasbergen, A. (2021, November 4). *Questions in context: the case of French wh-in-situ*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3239072>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3239072>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Questions in context:
the case of French *wh*-in-situ

Published by
LOT
Kloveniersburgwal 48
1012 CX Amsterdam
The Netherlands

phone: +31 20 525 2461
e-mail: lot@uva.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: wallpaper inspired on 'Almond Blossom' by Vincent van Gogh.

Wallpaper: BN International, 220020 Van Gogh, Huizen 2019.
'Almond Blossom', Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, February 1890. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam (Vincent van Gogh Foundation).

ISBN: 978-94-6093-391-2
DOI: <https://dx.medra.org/10.48273/LOT0606>
NUR: 616

Copyright © 2021: Aliza Glasbergen-Plas. All rights reserved.

Questions in context: the case of French *wh*-in-situ

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 4 november 2021
klokke 15.00 uur

door

Aliza Glasbergen-Plas

geboren te Rotterdam
in 1984

Promotores: prof. dr. Jenny Doetjes
 prof. dr. Lisa Lai-Shen Cheng

Promotiecommissie: prof. dr. Yiya Chen
 prof. dr. Ur Shlonsky (Université de Genève)
 prof. dr. Claire Beyssade (Université Paris 8)
 dr. Stella Gryllia
 dr. Leticia Pablos Robles

The research for this dissertation has been conducted as part of the project Understanding Questions (360-70-480), funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO).

To Stefan, my parents and Tamar

Contents

Glossing conventions	xiii
1 Introduction	1
1 French <i>wh</i> -in-situ questions	1
2 The approach of this dissertation	7
3 Outline of the work	10
2 French <i>wh</i>-in-situ questions	13
1 Indirect questions	13
2 Long-distance questions	16
3 Strong islands	20
4 Prosody	22
4.1 Sentence-final rise	22
4.2 Prosodic constraints or strategy	25
5 Intervention effects	28
6 Extra-strong presupposition	32
7 Conclusions	37
3 Context: the relevant notions	39
1 Information structure	39
1.1 Introduction	39
1.2 Focus	41
1.2.1 Introducing two conceptions of focus	41
1.2.2 Focus in <i>wh</i> -questions	43
1.2.3 Semantic representation of focus in <i>wh</i> -questions.	48
1.3 Givenness	49
1.3.1 Definition of givenness	49
1.3.2 Relation of givenness to focus	51
1.4 Contextual salience	52

1.4.1	Büiring's (2016) notion of contextual salience	52
1.4.2	A refinement of the notion of contextual salience . .	55
2	Echo versus information seeking questions	59
2.1	Introduction	59
2.2	Syntactic properties	61
2.3	Semantico-pragmatic properties	62
2.4	Prosodic properties	65
3	Conclusions	66
4	A role for context: prosody	69
1	Introduction	69
2	Background	71
2.1	Prosodic correlates of information structure in French . .	71
2.2	French echo versus information seeking questions	74
3	Experimental design	75
3.1	Elicitation paradigm: Scripted Simulated Dialogue	76
3.2	Materials	78
3.3	Recording procedure	83
3.4	Participants	84
3.5	Acoustic analysis	84
3.6	Statistical analysis	87
4	Results	88
4.1	Descriptions of the three characteristic prosodic tunes . . .	89
4.2	Comparisons of the three characteristic tunes: Fo	93
4.3	Comparisons of the three characteristic tunes: duration and intensity	97
4.4	Summary of the results	99
5	Discussion	99
5.1	The influence of information structure	100
5.2	The influence of an echo versus an information seeking question	104
5.3	Prosodic properties that were unaffected by context	106
6	Conclusions	109

5	A role for context: intervention effects	111
1	Introduction	111
2	The relevant data	114
2.1	Interveners	114
2.2	Data variation	115
2.3	The effect of context	117
3	Previous approach: nanosyntax and Relativized Minimality	119
4	Proposed generalisation: Maximal Givenness	124
5	Proposed explanation: a contextually supplied choice function	131
6	Explained data variation	137
6.1	Variation among interveners	137
6.2	Variation regarding the same intervener	143
7	Echo questions	146
8	Conclusions	149
6	Two mechanisms to interpret <i>wh</i>-in-situ	151
1	Introduction	151
2	<i>Wh</i> -in-situ with <i>des quoi</i> : a rating study	154
2.1	Materials	157
2.2	Procedure	162
2.3	Participants	164
2.4	Analysis	164
2.5	Results	165
2.6	Discussion of the results	167
3	<i>Wh</i> -in-situ out of the blue: a rating study	172
3.1	Materials	174
3.2	Analysis	179
3.3	Results	179
3.4	Discussion of the results	182
4	Explaining data variation	185
4.1	Extra-strong presupposition	186
4.2	Sentence-final rise	189
4.3	Back to intervention effects	190

5	<i>Wh</i> -in-situ in English and German	193
5.1	Maximal Givenness	193
5.2	Other (related) similarities	202
6	Comparison with echo questions	207
7	General discussion	213
8	Conclusions	217
7	Conclusion	221
1	Properties of French <i>wh</i> -in-situ questions	221
1.1	Occurrence of intervention effects	223
1.2	Extra-strong presupposition	225
1.3	Prosody, including the sentence-final rise	226
1.4	Indirect questions, adjunct islands and long-distance questions	228
2	Echo questions	230
3	Focus and givenness	231
4	Methodological considerations	233
4.1	Intervention effects	233
4.2	Prosody: Scripted Simulated Dialogue	233
5	The cross-linguistic picture	234

Bibliography	239
Appendix A (Chapter 4):	
Materials of the production experiment	257
Appendix B (Chapter 4):	
Statistical appendix	277
Appendix C (Chapter 5):	
Interveners in the literature	281
Appendix D (Chapter 6):	
Information provided to participants (in French)	283
Appendix E (Chapter 6):	
Materials of the rating study reported in Section 2	285
Appendix F (Chapter 6):	
Materials of the rating study reported in Section 3	297
 Samenvatting	 307
Acknowledgements	315
Curriculum Vitae	319

Glossing conventions

Abbreviations in glosses

ART	article
CL	classifier
DE	modification marker <i>de</i> (Mandarin)
DES	plural indefinite article (French)
F	feminine
INDF	indefinite
NE	clitic <i>ne</i> combining with negation (French)
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
REFL	reflexive

Interveners are marked by slanted text in all examples, also if the example was taken from another publication and the intervener was originally not marked like this.

CAPITALS in English and German examples represent the main pitch accent.

I added a translation in all cases where the source of an example did not provide one.

