

# Quotation

Lecture Notes  
ESSLI, Bolzano  
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## **Disclaimer**

This is just informal lecture notes. The content is the same as on the lecture slides. It is incomplete in terms of formal details, but especially in terms of bibliographic references. I've added a few strategic references when converting the slides to this handout format, but there are still many uncredited examples and unattributed quotations. So, please double check before citing anything specific based on these notes.

# Lecture 1

## Pure quotation

### 1.1 Introduction

#### Emar Maier

- Lecturer in Philosophy & Linguistics, Groningen.
- 2006: PhD Philosophy, Nijmegen (*de se* attitudes)
- 2009: ESSLLI *Quotation and the semantics of speech reports*
- 2011-2016: ERC Grant *Between direct and indirect discourse*
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#### Course preview

- Lecture 1: Pure quotation
  - ‘cat’ has 3 letters
  - ‘‘cat’’ refers to ‘cat’
- Lecture 2: Direct and indirect discourse
  - Mary said “I’m an idiot”

- Mary said that I’m an idiot
- Lecture 3: Direct discourse and monsters
  - And then she was like, what?! <throws hands in the air>
- Lecture 4: Role shift, free indirect discourse, and mixed quotation
  - MOM  $\overline{\text{IX1 BUSY}}^{\text{RS}}$
  - She was desperate. What on earth was she going to do now?
  - Quine said that quotation has “a certain anomalous feature”
- Lecture 5: The semantics and pragmatics of unquotation and mixed quotation
  - The politician admitted that she had “lied [her] way into [her job]”
  - Bush says that the enemy “misunderestimates me”

## 1.2 Preliminaries

### 1.2.1 Metalinguistic reference

#### Object language vs metalanguage

- $\forall xPx$  is a wellformed formula
- $[\text{NP every boy}]$  is a quantifier of type  $(et)t$
- logicians’ terminology:
  - object language = language as the object of study
  - metalanguage = language of the theory about the object language
- if metalanguage  $\approx$  object language, use quotation marks to distinguish them
- “snow” is a noun
- “snow is white” is true iff snow is white

## Use vs mention

- Snow is white
- 'Snow' is a noun
- philosophers' distinction:
  - use = using language to refer to extralinguistic entities
  - mention = using language to refer to linguistic expressions  
≈ metalinguistic reference
- quotation marks indicate that an expression is not used but mentioned

## Varieties of metalinguistic reference

- demonstrative:
  - (1) That consists of 4 words
- name:
  - (1) is true
- description:
  - the word that you get by concatenating *t*, *h* and *e* is an English article
- (pure) quotation:
  - 'cat' has three letters

## Philosophical issues

- can we reduce quotation to one of the other 3 types?
  - yes: Quine, Tarski, Geach, Davidson, ...
- what does the referring in a quotation?
  - quotation? quote marks? quoted phrase?
- what exactly is referred to?
  - strings of letters/sound, types/tokens, signs/expressions...

## 1.2.2 Quotation marks

### Quotation marks

- written
  - *italics*, “hello”, ‘hello’, , –hello!, ...
  - invented ± 1550
- spoken
  - fingerdance gesture, “quote-unquote”,...
  - intonation, pause

### Quotation without quotation marks

- spoken:
  - The word cat has three letters
  - He’s like, yeah, whatever, talk to the hand
- written:
  - My name is Emar
  - x is a variable

### Quotation marks without quotation

- titles of articles, stories, songs, nicknames
  - John’s favorite song is “Thriller”
- irony (scare quotes)
  - Your “argument” is not very convincing
  - this remarkable piece of ‘art’ consists of a large canvas covered with mud and old bus transfers (Predelli 2003)
- emphasis (greengrocer’s quotes) (Gutzmann & Stei 2011)
  - “fresh” croissants & coffee!



- quotation marks ambiguous? polysemous?
- or genuine cases of quotation?

### Greengrocer's quotes



Figure 1.1: <http://www.unnecessaryquotes.com/>

### Summary

- pure quotation
- direct discourse
- indirect discourse
- role shift
- free indirect discourse
- mixed quotation
- unquotation

## 1.3 Pure quotation

This section follows the presentation in my overview article on pure quotation (Maier 2014c). See there for references and details.

### 1.3.1 A toy grammar

#### Compositionality



“the possibility of our understanding sentences which we have never heard before rests evidently on this, that we can construct the sense of a sentence out of parts that correspond to words.” (Frege 1914: Letter to Jourdain)

- the meaning of a complex expression is determined by the meanings of its constituents

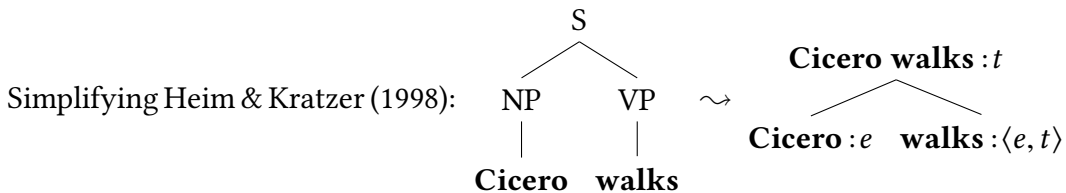
#### Fregean Program

- describe  $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket$  compositionally
- ultimate goal: describe  $L$  and  $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket$  completely by giving
  - a finite lexicon
  - a finite set of syntactic/semantic composition rules

#### Phonology

- alphabet:  $A = \{\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{b}, \mathbf{c}, \dots\}$
- strings:  $A^* = \{\mathbf{gu7ahv}, \mathbf{happy}, \dots\}$
- concatenation:  $\mathbf{Ci}^\cap \mathbf{cero} = \mathbf{Cicero}$

#### Minimal syntax



- word = string of letters plus logical type

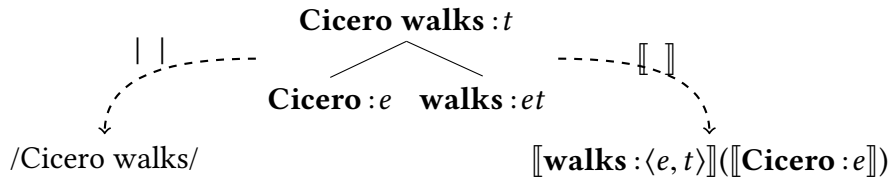
- logical type determines syntactic and semantic composition

### Syntax

- lexicon: **Cicero** :  $e$ , **walks** :  $\langle e, t \rangle, \dots \in L$
- syntactic composition rule:

$$\begin{array}{c} \sigma_1 : \langle \tau_2, \tau_1 \rangle \\ \triangle \end{array}, \begin{array}{c} \sigma_2 : \tau_2 \\ \triangle \end{array} \in L \Rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \sigma_1 \cap \sigma_2 : \tau_1 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} \sigma_1 : \langle \tau_2, \tau_1 \rangle \\ \triangle \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \sigma_2 : \tau_2 \\ \triangle \end{array} \end{array} \in L$$

### Interfaces



### Semantics

- lexicon:  $\llbracket \mathbf{walk} : \langle e, t \rangle \rrbracket \in D_{\langle e, t \rangle}$
- semantic composition rule:

$$\left[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \sigma_1 \cap \sigma_2 : \tau_1 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} \sigma_1 : \langle \tau_2, \tau_1 \rangle \\ \triangle \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \sigma_2 : \tau_2 \\ \triangle \end{array} \end{array} \right] \right] = \left[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \sigma_1 : \langle \tau_2, \tau_1 \rangle \\ \triangle \end{array} \right] \right] \left( \left[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \sigma_2 : \tau_2 \\ \triangle \end{array} \right] \right] \right)$$

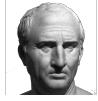
### Semantics: example

$$\left[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \mathbf{Cicero walks} : t \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \mathbf{Cicero} : e \quad \mathbf{walks} : \langle e, t \rangle \end{array} \right] \right] = \llbracket \mathbf{walks} : \langle et \rangle \rrbracket (\llbracket \mathbf{Cicero} : e \rrbracket)$$

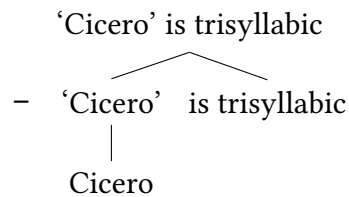
## 1.3.2 Pure quotation and compositionality

### A preliminary syntax and semantics

- semantics:

- $\llbracket \text{Cicero} \rrbracket =$  
- $\llbracket \text{'Cicero'} \rrbracket = \text{Cicero}$
- $\llbracket \text{'Cicero'} \rrbracket = \text{'Cicero'}$

- syntax:



### Semantic opacity

|                                  |                                     |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Cicero was an orator             | ‘Cicero’ is trisyllabic             |
| Cicero = Tully                   | Cicero = Tully                      |
| <hr/>                            | <hr/>                               |
| $\therefore$ Tully was an orator | $\therefore$ ‘Tully’ is trisyllabic |

### Wishlist

- opacity (substitution failure)
- compositionality
  - finite lexicon
  - finite number of composition rules
- autonymy ( $\llbracket \text{'}\alpha \text{' } \rrbracket = \alpha$ )
- quoting nonsense
- recursivity
  - interpret iterated quotation

- iterated interpretation of quotation
- $\llbracket \llbracket \llbracket \llbracket \text{“Cicero”} \rrbracket \rrbracket \rrbracket \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{Cicero} \rrbracket = \text{Cicero}$

## 1.4 Semantic theories of pure quotation

### 1.4.1 Proper name theory

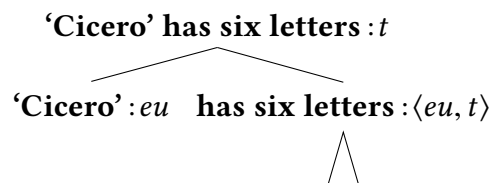
#### Tarski

“Quotation mark names may be treated like single words of a language, and thus like syntactically simple expressions. The single constituents of these names—quotation marks and the expressions standing between them—fulfill the same function as the letters and complexes of successive letters in single words. [...] Every quotation-mark name is [...] a name of the same nature as the proper name of a man”



(Tarski 1933)

#### Syntax



- new type  $u$  for *metalinguistic expressions*
  - ‘Cicero’ :  $u$
- new domain  $D_u$  of *linguistic entities*
  - $\llbracket \text{‘Cicero’ : } u \rrbracket = \text{Cicero} \in D_u$
- extend the lexicon
  - $\text{Cicero} : e, \text{‘Cicero’} : u, \dots \in \text{LEX}$

## Extending the lexicon

- ‘Cicero’ has six letters
- ‘Cicero walks’ is a sentence
- ‘walks hits Cicero’ is not grammatical
- ‘FgHj’ is not a word
- for every string  $\sigma \in A^*$ , there is a lexical item ‘ $\sigma$ ’ :  $u$  with interpretation given by  $\mathbb{I}(\text{‘}\sigma\text{’} : u) = \sigma (\in D_u)$

## Evaluation

- opacity ✓
- compositionality ✓
  - finite rules ✓
  - finite lexicon ×
- nonsense words
- autonomy
- recursivity

## 1.4.2 Lexical description theory

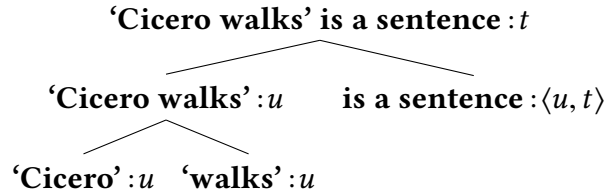
### Geach

“I should maintain that the quotation ‘*man is mortal*’ is rightly understood only if we read it as meaning the same as ‘*man*’  $\cap$  ‘*is*’  $\cap$  ‘*mortal*’, i.e. read it as describing the quoted expression in terms of the expressions it contains.”



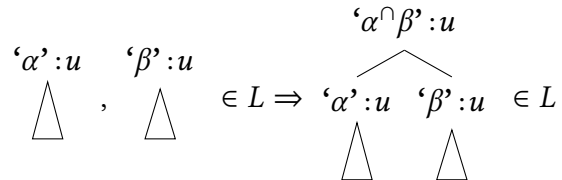
(Geach 1957)

## Adding syntactic structure

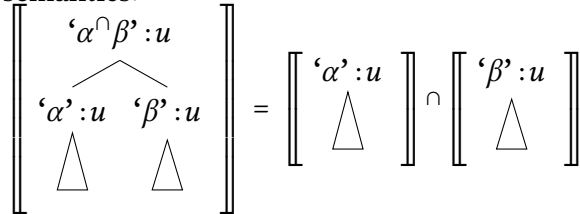


## The quote composition rule

- syntax:



- semantics:



## Finite lexicon

- for each word  $\sigma : \tau$  there is a (metalinguistic) lexical item  $\text{'}\sigma\text{' : } u$ , with  $\llbracket \text{'}\sigma\text{' : } u \rrbracket = \sigma$
- but what about non-words?
  - ‘uishdf’ is not a word

### 1.4.3 The spelling theory

#### Quine

“Instead of ‘Tully was a Roman’ we might as well say *tee-yu-ell-ell-wye-space-doubleyu-ay-ess-space-ar-oh-em-ay-en*”

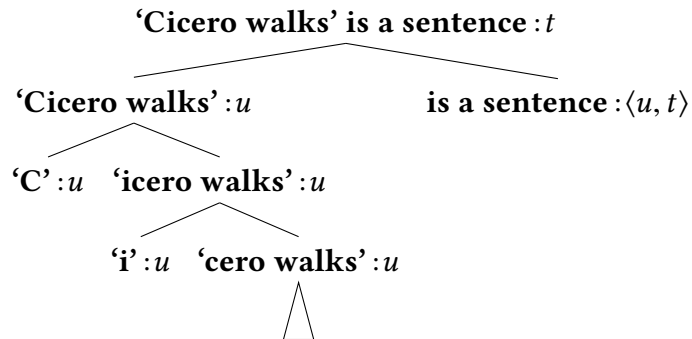


(Quine 1940)

### Formal syntax and semantics

- quote composition rule
  - $\alpha', \beta' \in L \Rightarrow \alpha' \beta' \in L$
  - $\llbracket \alpha' \beta' \rrbracket = \llbracket \alpha' \rrbracket \cap \llbracket \beta' \rrbracket$
- extend lexicon with letter-names
  - for each letter  $\lambda \in A$  there is a lexical item  $\lambda' : u$  with  $\llbracket \lambda' : u \rrbracket = \lambda$

### Spelling in the syntax




### Evaluation

- opacity ✓
- compositionality ✓
  - finite rules ✓
  - finite lexicon ✓



## Davidson's autonymy objection

- $\llbracket \text{Cicero} \rrbracket = \text{Cicero} =$  
  - names are arbitrary
- $\llbracket \text{'Cicero'} \rrbracket = \text{Cicero}$ 
  - quoting is autonymous

### 1.4.4 The demonstrative theory

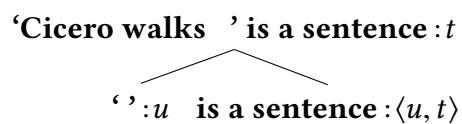
#### Davidson

“neither the quotation as a whole (quotes plus filling) nor the filling alone is, except by accident, a singular term. The singular term is the quotation marks, which may be read *the expression a token of which is here.*” (Davidson 1979)



#### Syntax

- ‘Cicero walks’ is a sentence



#### Semantics of quotation marks

- new lexical item: ‘ :  $u$
- $\llbracket \text{' : } u \rrbracket^c :=$  the most salient quotation-marked string ( $\in D_u$ ) tokened in context  $c$ .

### Problem 1

- (1) 'Cicero walks' is a sentence
- (2) 'John is happy' is a sentence
- (3) 'Cicero' is a sentence
  - same LF:
    - ' ' is a sentence
  - $\Rightarrow$  same truth conditions?
    - true iff most salient demonstrated string (in context) is sentence

### Solution

- quoted string is “presented” in context
- restrict interpretation to *proper contexts*
- implement metalinguistic context update
- (Predelli 2008; Maier 2014c)
- $\llbracket \text{'Cicero walks' is a sentence} \rrbracket^c = \llbracket \text{' is a sentence : } t \rrbracket^{c+\text{Cicero walks}}$

### Recursion??

- $\llbracket \llbracket \text{'Alice'} \rrbracket \rrbracket^c = \llbracket \llbracket \text{' : } u \rrbracket \rrbracket^{c+\text{'Alice'}}$

### Evaluation

- opacity ✓
- compositionality ?
  - finite rules ✓
  - finite lexicon ✓
- autonymy ✓
- nonsense ✓
- recursivity ?

## 1.4.5 The disquotational theory

### Autonymy by composition rule

- syntactic quote introduction:

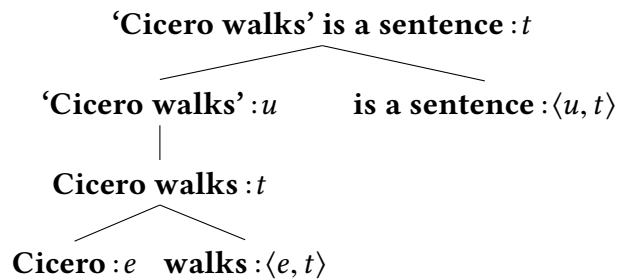
$$\begin{array}{c} \sigma : \tau \\ \triangle \\ \in L \end{array} \Rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{'}\sigma\text{' : } u \\ | \\ \sigma : \tau \\ \triangle \\ \in L \end{array}$$

- semantics:

$$\left[ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{'}\sigma\text{' : } u \\ | \\ \sigma : \tau \\ \triangle \end{array} \right] \right] = \begin{array}{c} \sigma : \tau \\ \triangle \end{array}$$

(Richard 1986; Pagin & Westerståhl 2011; Gaskin & Hill 2013; Maier 2014c)

### Example



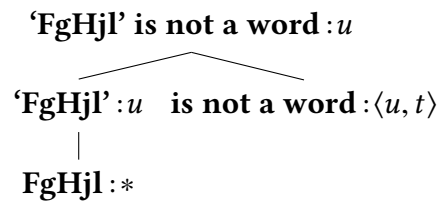
### Benefits

- no extension of the lexicon
- recursive quote introduction rule

$$\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{"John"} : u \\ \hline | \\ \hline \text{'John'} : u \\ \hline | \\ \hline \text{John} : e \\ \hline \end{array} = \begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{'John'} : u \\ \hline | \\ \hline \text{John} : e \\ \hline \end{array} = \llbracket \text{John} : e \rrbracket =$$

### Quoting nonsense

- problem: only grammatical expressions can be quoted
- solution: for every  $\sigma \in A^*$ , there is a lexical item  $\sigma : *$  with  $\llbracket \sigma : * \rrbracket$  undefined.



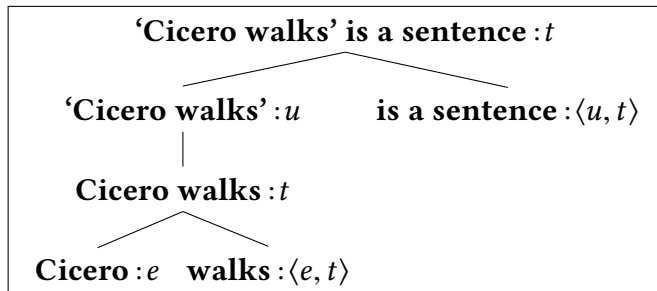
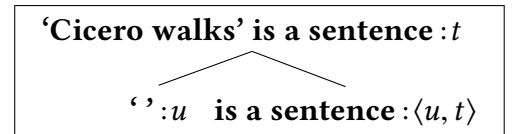
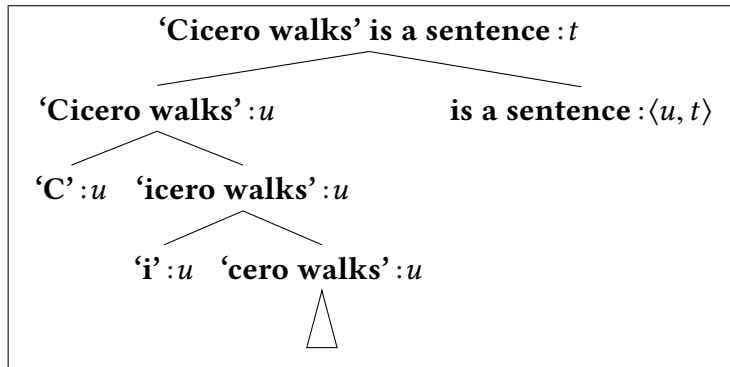
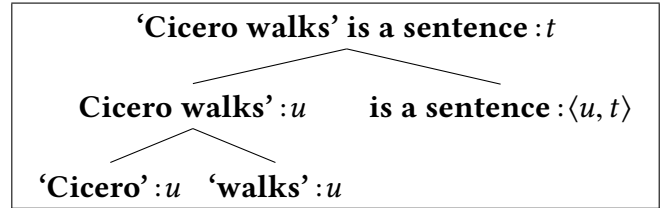
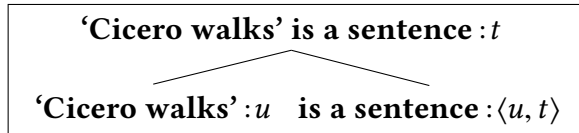
### Evaluation

- opacity ✓
- compositionality ×
  - finite rules ✓
  - finite lexicon ✓
- autonymy ✓
- nonsense ✓
- recursivity ✓

## 1.5 Conclusion

### 1.5.1 Semantic approaches to pure quotation

Varieties of pure quotation semantics



## Overview semantics theories of pure quotation

|           | opacty | compos | lexic          | rules | auton | recurs. |
|-----------|--------|--------|----------------|-------|-------|---------|
| name      | ✓      | ✓      | $+\infty$      | +0    | ×     | ×       |
| descript. | ✓      | ✓      | $\geq 2\times$ | +1    | ×     | ×       |
| spelling  | ✓      | ✓      | $< 2\times$    | +1    | ×     | ×       |
| demonstr. | ✓      | ?      | +1             | +0    | ✓     | ×       |
| disquot.  | ✓      | ×      | +0             | +1    | ✓     | ✓       |

### Who wins?

- Werning (2012): spelling theory
  - compositional
- Partee (1973); Banfield (1973): demonstrative theory
  - extendable to direct discourse)
- Potts (2007); Maier (2014b): disquotational
  - extendable to mixed quotation ( $\rightsquigarrow$  lect 5)
- pragmatic alternatives?

## 1.5.2 Pragmatic theories

### Core of pragmatic proposals

- what refers in quotation is the quoted material
- people use expressions for various purposes, e.g.:
  - refer to something in the world
  - refer to itself (type/token/shape/sound...)
- quotation marks mark that an expression is used in the metalinguistic sense

### **Early pragmaticists?**

“If words are used in the ordinary way, what one intends to speak of is what they mean. It can also happen that one wishes to talk about the words themselves or their sense. This happens for instance when the words of another are quoted. [...] [A] word standing between quotation marks must not be taken as having its ordinary meaning.” (Frege 1892)

### **Early pragmaticists?**

“[In quotation] a word is uttered [...] but not in its normal use. The word itself is presented and then talked about, and that it is to be taken as presented rather than used conventionally to refer is indicated by the quotes” (Searle 1969)

### **Washington’s Identity Theory**

“In quotation, expressions are used to mention themselves [...] I call this view the identity theory, which is based on the idea that linguistic expressions may be used in different ways. According to the theory, a special quotational use of expressions underlies the phenomenon of quotation. [...] Quotation marks are punctuation. As punctuation they signal that the quoted expression has a special use. They take their place alongside the period, semicolon, comma” (Washington 1992)

### **Modern pragmaticists**

- identity theories
  - Saka (1998), Sudo (2013)
- demonstration theories
  - Clark & Gerrig (1990); Recanati (2001); Davidson (2015)
  - John was like ;shrugs;

### **Summary**

- preliminary distinctions
  - object language vs. metalanguage

- use vs. mention
  - quotation ≠ quotation marks
- varieties of quotation
  - pure quotation
  - direct discourse, indirect discourse
  - free indirect discourse, role shift
  - mixed quotation



# Lecture 2

## Direct and Indirect Discourse

### 2.1 Introduction

#### Reported speech as quotation

- broadest definition: quotation is ‘language turned on itself’
- reporting = saying what someone said
  - direct speech: John said “I’m happy”
  - indirect speech: John said that he’s happy

### 2.2 The direct–indirect distinction

#### Two ways to report

- direct: “They took my precious!”, said Gollum
- indirect: Gollum said that the hobbits took his precious ring
  - prosody, quotation marks
  - syntax
    - \* e.g. quotative inversion, complementizer
  - semantics
    - \* e.g. indexical adjustment

## 2.2.1 Prosody

### Prosodic marking of direct discourse

- quotation intonation:
  - pause + independent main clause prosody
- orthography:
  - comma, colon
  - quotation marks, fingerquotes
- beyond prosody:
  - mimic intonation, accent, tone, speed
  - mimic gesture, facial expression

## 2.2.2 Syntax

### Direct discourse frames

- quotatives
  - John was like, “Well, how should I know?”
  - Mary’s all, “Get out!”
- parenthetical frames
  - “I don’t know, really,” he muttered
  - “Hey you,” she yelled, “Get out!”
- quotative inversion
  - “It’s really cold,” said Mary

### **Direct discourse complement = main clause**

- subject–auxiliary inverted question
  - Peter asked, “Can it be that I’m in love with her?”
- exclamatory constructions
  - Joe exclaimed, “What an idiot!”
- vocatives, tag-questions, clause initial connectives,... (Banfield 1973)

### **Indirect discourse complement = dependent clause**

- complementizer: *that* or *wh*
  - Peter asked who did it
- subordinate clause
  - no main clause/root phenomena
    - \* \* Peter {said that/asked whether} you did it, didn’t you
  - word order changes
    - \* English questions: \* Peter asked who are you
    - \* German/Dutch: Hij zei dat hij Jan een koekje gegeven had
  - mood
    - \* German subjunctive

## **2.2.3 Semantics**

### **Opacity of direct discourse I**

- substitution failure
  - Ann said, “Tully was an orator”  
⇒ Ann said, “Cicero was an orator.”
- logical entailments not preserved

- Mary said, "John and Peter are coming too"
- ⇒ Mary said, "Peter and John are coming too"
- ⇒ Mary said, "John is coming"
- ⇒ Mary said that Peter is coming

### Opacity of direct discourse II

- quantifying in:
  - There is someone that Sue says is coming too
  - # There is someone that Sue says, "is coming too"
- *de re* construal:
  - John said that that ugly car is beautiful
  - # John said, "That ugly car is beautiful"

### Opacity of direct discourse III

- wh-movement:
  - What did Al say they took?
  - \*What did Al say, "They took"?
- NPI licensing
  - I never said that I killed anybody
  - ??I never said, "I killed anybody"
- quantifier binding: Every student<sub>*i*</sub> said "He<sub>*i*</sub>'s tired"

⇒ direct discourse is verbatim/faithful copy of previous speech act?

### Levels of faithfulness of direct discourse

- different language, dialect (Banfield 1973)
  - Dido admitted to Anna, "Agnosco veteris vestigia flammae"
- fragments, idiolect, errors, ehh, false starts

- He protested, “But, but—I am almost the unnecessary party”
- Bush said, “I have a-ehh ekull-ectic reading list”
- Bush said, “The enemy underestimated us”
- sounds (Partee 1973; Clark & Gerrig 1990; Abbott 2005)
  - The parrot went “Polly wants a cracker”
  - The car engine went [brmbrm] and we were off
  - John opened his mouth and screamed, “Aayyyyeeeeee!”

### **Adjustments in indirect discourse**

- language, dialect, errors, etc. fixed/adjusted
  - \*Bush said that he has an ehh-ekullectic reading list
- tenses and (other) indexicals adjusted
  - John: Bolzano? I will go there tomorrow → John said that he would come here today
- non-assertive speech acts paraphrased
  - John: Go away! → John said that Mary should go away

### **Summary**

#### Marking the direct–indirect distinction

- prosody
- syntax
  - frame: quotative, inversion, interjection
  - complement: main clause vs dependent clause
- semantics
  - opaque vs transparent
    - \* entailment, substitution, movement, binding ...

- faithfulness vs adjustment/paraphrase
  - \* language, dialect, errors
  - \* indexicals, speech acts, expressives

## Preview

- indirect discourse as intensional operator
  - from Davidson (1968) to Kaplan (1989) and Schlenker (2003)
- direct discourse as pure quotation
  - disquotational
  - demonstrative (cf. D. Davidson, Banfield, Partee)
- direct discourse as demonstration (Clark & Gerrig, Recanati, K. Davidson)
  - towards a unified approach: saying in event semantics

## 2.3 Indirect discourse as intensional operator

### 2.3.1 Davidson

#### Davidson

- “when I say that Galileo said that the earth moves, I represent myself and Galileo as samesayers.” (Davidson 1969)
- Galileo said that the earth moves
- The earth moves. Galileo’s actual utterance and that one make us same-sayers

#### Cappelen & Lepore (1997)

- Alice said, “Life is difficult to understand”
- $\exists u[\text{say}(a, u) \wedge \text{sametoken}(u, \text{that})]$  Life is difficult to understand
- Alice said that life is difficult to understand
- $\exists u[\text{say}(a, u) \wedge \text{samesay}(u, \text{that})]$  Life is difficult to understand

## Objections

- samesaying as primitive relation between utterances?
- what is the status of second half?
  - semantically inert presentation  $\Rightarrow$  can't account for transparency (movement, binding, substitution, ellipsis,...) or syntax of subordination
  - separate assertion  $\Rightarrow$  speaker commitment
    - \* John said it's boring, but it isn't
    - \* John samesaid that. It's boring. But it isn't.

## Objections

What happens with indexicals?

- Alice said my life is easy
- Alice samesaid that. My life is easy
  - why does 'Emar's life is easy' samesay 'My life is easy'?
- Kaplan: account of context-dependent samesaying

## 2.3.2 Kaplan

### Intensional operators

- Necessarily, whales are mammals
  - possible worlds semantics:
    - \* necessarily = in all possible worlds it is true that
- John believes that Pluto is a planet
  - in all  $w$  compatible with John's belief state, Pluto is a planet
- can we define *says that* as intensional operator?

## Kaplan's principles of indexicality

- indexicals = I, you, here, that, ...
- **principle 1:** indexicals are context dependent
  - referent of *I* changes with every utterance
  - $I \approx$  the current speaker
- **principle 2:** indexicals are directly referential/rigid designators
  - for every  $w, w' : \llbracket I \rrbracket_w = \llbracket I \rrbracket_{w'}$

## Why Principle 2?

- reference unaffected by embedding (Fixity Thesis)
  - Some people might have thought that I was crazy
- indexicals not synonymous with any description:
  - If you had been {the speaker of this utterance/me}, everybody would have listened attentively
  - {I am/the current speaker is} speaking

## Two dimensions of interpretation

- 2 interpretation parameters:  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_i^c$
- $M = \langle C, W, T, D, I \rangle$
- $i \in W \times T$ : index (world–time pairs)
- $c \in C$ : contexts of utterance
  - $C \subset D \times W \times T$
  - $c = \langle \text{speaker, world, time} \rangle = \langle s_c, w_c, t_c \rangle$
- $\llbracket I \rrbracket_i^c := s_c =$  speaker of  $c$
- $\llbracket \text{the speaker} \rrbracket_i^c =$  the speaker of  $i$
- intensional operators manipulate only the  $i$  parameter



### Three levels of meaning

- referent = extension:  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_w^c \in D$
- content = intension:  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^c = \lambda i. \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_i^c : W \times T \rightarrow D$ 
  - = what is said = proposition expressed
- meaning = character:  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket = \lambda c \lambda i. \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_i^c : C \rightarrow [W \times T \rightarrow D]$ 
  - = linguistic meaning = cognitive significance

### Further definitions

- utterance := sentence in context
    - utterance of  $\varphi$  in  $c$  expresses a proposition  $\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket^c$
    - utterance of  $\varphi$  in  $c$  is true iff  $\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i_c}^c = 1$
- ⇒ every utterance of ‘I speak’ is true
- $\llbracket \text{I speak} \rrbracket_i^c = \lambda x. \text{I speak}(x, i)$
- ⇒ ‘I speak necessarily’ is false
- $\llbracket \text{necessarily } \varphi \rrbracket_i^c = \forall i'. \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i'}^c$
- ⇒ ‘The speaker speaks necessarily’ is true

### Prohibition of monsters

- indexicals and the Fixity Thesis:
  - $\llbracket \text{Possibly I walk} \rrbracket_i^c = \exists i': s_c \text{ walks in } i'$
  - $\llbracket \text{Mon I walk} \rrbracket_i^c = \exists c': s_{c'} \text{ walks in } i$
- Kaplan’s prohibition of monsters:
  - natural language does not have operators like Mon

### Kaplan's semantics of indirect speech

- John said<sub>ID</sub> that  $\varphi \approx$  John said<sub>DD</sub> something that expressed the same content as expressed by  $\varphi$  in current context
- $say_{DD}(x, C, i) =$  speaker  $x$  utters character  $C$  in index  $i$ 
  - $say_{DD}$  is character-sensitive  $\Rightarrow$  monster?
- $\llbracket say \varphi \rrbracket_i^c = \lambda x. \exists C. say_{DD}(x, C, i) \wedge C(\langle x, w_i, t_i \rangle) = \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket^c$

### Example

- Otto says that I am a fool
- uttered by Emar ( $c_0$ )  $\Rightarrow$  same truth conditions as 'Otto says that Emar is a fool'
  - substitution of intensional equivalents allowed
  - not sensitive to characterial differences
  - $\Rightarrow$  intensional operator

# Lecture 3

## Direct discourse and monsters

This lecture and the next follow two recent papers. For more background, references and details on the event-based approach to direct and indirect discourse, as well as the pragmatics of unquotation, see Maier (forthcoming). For a thorough discussion of role shift, ancient greek, (super)monsters, see Maier (2016b).

### 3.1 Introduction

#### Recap: Kaplan

- semantics of indexicals following principle 1 and 2
  - + prohibition of monsters  $\Rightarrow$  Fixity Thesis
- compositional account of indirect speech
  - intensional operator  $\Rightarrow$  (intensional) transparency
    - \* substitution of intensional equivalents/logical entailments
    - \* wh-movements, ellipsis, etc.
  - indexical adjustment

#### Schlenker's simplification

- $\llbracket \text{Joe said that } \varphi \rrbracket_i^c = 1$ 
  - iff Joe uttered a character in  $i$  that expressed  $\lambda i'. \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i'}$

- iff for all  $i'$  compatible with what Joe said in  $i$ :  $\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i'}^c = 1$ 
  - \*  $i'$  compatible with what Joe said in  $i$  iff Joe uttered a character in  $i$  that is true in  $i'$  ( $C(\langle j, w_i, t_i \rangle)(i') = 1$ )

## 3.2 Direct discourse as pure quotation

### Direct discourse as pure quotation

- Mary said, “John is a nice guy”
  - Mary uttered (a token of) the expression/string ‘John is a nice guy’
- $\llbracket \text{say} \rrbracket_i^c = \lambda y_u \lambda x_e . \text{utter}(x, y, i)$
- disquotation rule:
  - for every expression/string  $\alpha \in D_u$ , “ $\alpha$ ” is an expression of type  $u$  and  $\llbracket \text{“}\alpha\text{”} \rrbracket_i^c = \alpha$
- $\llbracket \text{“John is a nice guy”} \rrbracket = \ulcorner \text{John is a nice guy} \urcorner (\in D_u)$

### Evaluation

- benefits
  - syntax: main clause
  - semantics: opacity
  - nonsense quotes
- shortcomings:
  - can only quote strings/symbols/signs, not gesture, facial expressions,
    - \* the car went “brm brm”
    - \* he was like <shrugs>
  - too opaque?

## Occasional transparency of direct discourse

- adjustment of language/dialect/errors/hesitation...
  - “Ah, sorry, eh can I help you?” asked the man, in Japanese
- direct–indirect inference
  - John said “I’m happy” ⇒ John said that he is happy
- ellipsis/anaphora into quotes
  - John said, “My sister came to visit”, but did she?
    - \* The guide said, “George Washington slept here,” but I don’t believe he really did (Partee 1973)

## Solutions

- demonstrative account
  - can incorporate gestures, sounds, etc
  - problems with recursion
  - still fully opaque?
- demonstration account

## 3.3 Direct discourse as demonstration

### 3.3.1 Demonstrations

#### Kathryn Davidson 2015

- research on quotation too focused on modern writing practices
- in natural spoken/signed language, quotation is special case of imitation behavior
  - reporter demonstrates a previous speech or other act
  - basic case: she was like <shrugs>
- give compositional semantics of demonstration behavior

- apply to quotation in spoken and signed language
- (Davidson 2015)

### Clark & Gerrig 1990

- (1) she says “well I’d like to buy an ant”  
 (2) and she tells him uh that she wants to buy an ant

“What Matt does in (1) is *demonstrate* what the customer did in talking to the ant clerk. In (2) Beth *describes* what the customer did. Demonstrations and descriptions are fundamentally different methods of communication. Demonstrations depict their referents [...] whereas descriptions do not.”

### Depictive vs supportive aspects

- demonstrations are not verbatim copies
  - My cat was like “feed me!”
  - And then he said, in French, “My name is Jean”
  - Tolstoy wrote, “All unhappy families are unhappy in their own way”
- distinguish
  - depictive aspects
  - supportive aspects
- ⇒ need flexible, pragmatic analysis

## 3.3.2 Events

### Event semantics

- Jones buttered the toast
  - *butter(j, t)*
- Jones buttered the toast at midnight in the kitchen
  - *butter'(j, t, m, k)*

- Davidsonian:
  - $\exists e.butter(j, t, e) \wedge time(e, m) \wedge place(e, k)$
- Neo-Davidsonian:
  - $\exists e.butter(e) \wedge agent(e, j) \wedge theme(e, t) \wedge \dots$

### Compositional?

- $\llbracket butter \rrbracket = \lambda y \lambda x \lambda e.butter(e) \wedge agent(e, x) \wedge thm(e, y)$
- $\llbracket \text{Jones buttered the toast} \rrbracket = \lambda e.butter(e) \wedge agent(e, j) \wedge thm(e, t)$
- $\llbracket \text{at midnight} \rrbracket = \lambda e.time(e, m)$
- predicate modification:
  - $\llbracket \text{Jones buttered the toast at midnight} \rrbracket = \lambda e.butter(e) \wedge agent(e, x) \wedge thm(e, y) \wedge time(e, m)$
- existential closure
  - $\exists e.butter(e) \wedge agent(e, j) \wedge thm(e, t) \wedge time(e, m)$

### 3.3.3 From quotatives to quotation

#### Quotative

Mary was like <shrugs>

- $\llbracket \text{be like} \rrbracket = \lambda d \lambda x \lambda e.demonstr(d, e) \wedge agent(e, x)$ 
  - $demonstr(d, e) := d$  reproduces relevant properties (intonation, facial expression, emotional state, gestures, or words) of  $e$
- $\llbracket \text{<shrugs>} \rrbracket = d_0$ 
  - $d_0$  denotes the reporter's shrugging gesture event
- $\llbracket \text{be like <shrugs>} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e.demonstr(d_0, e) \wedge agent(e, x)$
- $\llbracket \text{Mary was like <shrugs>} \rrbracket = \exists e.demonstr(d_0, e) \wedge agent(e, m)$

## Quotative

Mary was like “Well, I dunno <+puzzled look>”

- $\llbracket \text{be like} \rrbracket = \lambda d \lambda x \lambda e. \text{demonstr}(d, e) \wedge \text{agent}(e) = x$
- $\llbracket \text{“I dunno <+puzzled look>”} \rrbracket = d_0$ 
  - note:  $d_0$  is the (multimodal) report act
- $\llbracket \text{be like “I dunno...”} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e. \text{demonstr}(d_0, e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, x)$
- $\llbracket \text{Mary was like “I dunno...”} \rrbracket = \exists e. \text{demonstr}(d_0, e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, m)$

## Direct discourse

Mary said “I’m an idiot”

- $\llbracket \text{say} \rrbracket = \lambda d \lambda x \lambda e. \text{say}(e) \wedge \text{demonstr}(d, e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, x)$

Bob ate like <gobble gesture>

- $\llbracket \text{like} \rrbracket = \lambda d \lambda e. \text{demonstr}(d, e)$
- $\llbracket \text{ate like <gobble>} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{eat}(e) \wedge \text{demonstr}(d_1, e)$

## 3.3.4 Events for indirect speech?

### Events for direct and indirect speech

- speech events have agents, themes, times, but also form and content
- Anna said “I’m a genius”
  - $\exists e. \text{say}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, a) \wedge \text{demonstr}(d_0, e)$ 
    - \* conservative disquotational variant:
      - \*  $\exists e. \text{say}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, a) \wedge \text{form}(e, \ulcorner \text{I’m a genius} \urcorner)$
- Anna said that I’m a genius
  - $\exists e. \text{say}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, a) \wedge \text{content}(e, \lambda i \llbracket \text{I’m a genius} \rrbracket_i^c)$
- (Maier forthcoming)



## 3.4 Between direct and indirect discourse I

### 3.4.1 Overview

#### The direct–indirect dichotomy

- prosody
- syntax
  - subordination vs main clause
- semantics
  - indexical shift vs adjustment
  - opacity vs transparency

#### Distinct semantics

- direct discourse = quotation
  - $\llbracket \text{Joe said, “}\varphi\text{”} \rrbracket_i^c = \text{Joe produced a sentence/expression/utterance event of the form } \ulcorner \varphi \urcorner \text{ in } i$
- indirect discourse = intensional operator
  - $\llbracket \text{Joe said that } \varphi \rrbracket_i^c = \text{Joe produced a sentence/character/utterance event in } i \text{ that expressed } \lambda i' \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i'}^c$   
 $\approx \forall i' \in \text{Say}(j, i): \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i'}^c = 1$

#### In between

- Amharic, Zazaki, Navajo, Uyghur, Matses ... (indexical shift)
- ancient Greek, old Egyptian, Aramaic (direct–indirect slipping)
- role shift
- free indirect discourse
- mixed quotation

## Preview

- strategy 1: reduce apparent mixes to indirect discourse
  - key ingredient: (monstrous) context shift
  - cf. Schlenker, Anand, Quer, Sharvit, Eckardt
- strategy 2: analyze apparent mixes as (partial) quotation
  - key ingredients: mixed quotation and unquotation

### 3.4.2 Indexical shift and monsters

#### Schlenker on Amharic

ǰon ǰəgna nə-ññ yil-all  
*John hero I.am he.says*  
John says he's a hero

- claim: not direct discourse
  - mixed indexicality
  - grammatical dependencies
- analysis: monstrous indirect say-operator
- Schlenker (2003, 2011); Anand (2006)

#### Mixed indexicality

Simon rásereyineht'u hadi  
*Simon you.hit.me said*  
Simon said that you hit him.  
(≠ Simon said, “you hit me”) (Slave: Anand & Nevins (2004))

#### NPI licensing

Rojda ne va kə mi kes paci kərd  
*Rojda not said that I anyone kiss did*  
Rojda didn't say that she kissed anyone.  
(≠ Rojda didn't say, “I kissed anyone”) (Zazaki: Anand & Nevins (2004))

## Wh-extraction

Tursun men kim-ni kör-dim di-di?

*Tursun I who-ACC saw he.said*

Who did Tursun say he saw?

(\* Who did Tursun say “I saw”?)

≠ Tursun said “Who did I see?” (Uyghur: Shklovsky & Sudo (2013))

## Cross-linguistic constraints on indexical shift

- shift together
  - \* John says that  $I_{John}$  am smarter than  $I_{Emar}$
- no intervening binder
  - \* Mary says that someone told me<sub>Mary</sub> that  $I_{Emar}$  am an idiot

## Monstrous analyses

- universal shifter
  - $\llbracket \text{say that } \varphi \rrbracket_i^c = \lambda x \forall c' \in \text{Say}(x, i). \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i_c'}^{c'}$
  - $\llbracket \text{John said that I'm a hero} \rrbracket_i^c = 1$  iff ...

## More sophisticated

- Schlenker 2003
  - add contexts, worlds, times to object language
    - \*  $I \rightsquigarrow \text{spkr}_c$  or  $\text{spkr}_{c^*}$
  - John said that I'm a hero
    - \* Amharic:  $\rightsquigarrow \text{SAY}_{John, i, c}. \text{hero}(\text{spkr}_c, w_c, t_c)$
    - \* English:  $\rightsquigarrow \text{SAY}_{John, i, c}. \text{hero}(\text{spkr}_{c^*}, i_c)$
  - $\llbracket \text{SAY}_{x, i, c}. \varphi \rrbracket^f = 1$  iff  $\forall c' \in \text{Say}(f(x), f(i))$ :  $\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket^{f[c \rightarrow c']}$

# Lecture 4

## Role shift, free indirect discourse, and mixed quotation

### 4.1 Between direct and indirect discourse II

#### Summing up

- Kaplan:
  - indirect speech: intensional operator
  - indexicals: directly refer/Fixity Thesis
- Schlenker/Anand/Nishiguchi/Ozyildiz:
  - some good evidence for monsters in indirect discourse
    - \* Amharic, Zazaki, Dhaasanac, Turkish...
- but not every indexical shift indicates a monster...

### 4.2 All apparent mixes as monsters?

#### 4.2.1 Ancient Greek

##### Ancient Greek?

ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὡσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὐήθης εἶη

ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ὃ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν προᾶξιν. another man arose to point out the foolishness of the speaker who had urged them to ask for vessels, just as if Cyrus were going home again, and to point out also how foolish it was to ask for a guide from this man whose enterprise they were ruining (lit: we are ruining) (Bary & Maier (in a talk in 2002/3), but cf. Maier (2012) for opposing view)

## 4.2.2 Role shift

### Mixed indexicality

- Martine signs:

– IX-1 BETTER SIGN THAN MACHA

- Macha reports:

– MARTINE  $\overline{\text{IX-1}_{martine} \text{ BETTER SIGN THAN IX-1}_{mascha}}$ <sup>RS</sup>

[NGT, Maier (2016b)]

### Extraction?

BEFORE IX-a JOHN IN LA WHO IX-a SAY  $\overline{\text{IX-1 WILL LIVE WITH} \text{ ---- HERE}}$ <sup>RS</sup>  
WHO?

While John was in LA, who did he say he would live with there?

(≈ ... who did he say “I will live with \_\_\_ here”?)

[ASL, Schlenker (forthcominga)]

### Role shift as monster?

- Zucchi (2004): LIS
- Quer (2005, 2011): LSC
- Hübl (2014): DGS
- Schlenker (forthcominga,f): ASL, LSF

## Challenges for monster approach

- wh-extraction contested (Davidson)
- no ShiftTogether (Quer)
- role shift outside reports
  - action role shift
- Maximize Iconicity
  - \*? JOHN SAY IX1 DISAPPOINTED <+big smile><sup>RS</sup>

## 4.3 Free indirect discourse

I'm mainly presenting here my own views on free indirect discourse. For more details, references, etc, see Maier (2014a, 2015, forthcoming).

### 4.3.1 Between direct and indirect

#### Free indirect discourse

- Ashley was lying in bed freaking out. Tomorrow was her six year anniversary with Spencer and it had been the best six years of her life.
- She thought to herself, “Tomorrow is my six year anniversary with Spencer and it has been the best six years of my life”
- She thought to herself that the next day was her six year anniversary with Spencer and that it had been the best six years of her life.

#### Free indirect discourse

Mary started packing her bags. Today was her last day, she thought to herself. Thank God! Tomorrow she would go home and leave this godforsaken place forever.

- indexicals and expressives interpreted “from protagonist’s perspective” (=shifted)
- pronouns and tenses interpreted “from narrator’s perspective” (=unshifted)

### **Some more examples**

- My mother reminded me of this every day with a raised eyebrow and sentences that trailed off into a question mark – she was married at 24, which was already up there, and all my friends back in Tombov had at least one child by now. She was only living to see me married, she said.
- Would I perhaps be interested in giving a talk? he asked me.
- Sunlight. A morning. Where the hell are your sunglasses? You hate mornings – anger rises in you, bubbling like something sour in your throat – but you grin into the morning because somebody is approaching you, shouting a magic word. Your name.

### **4.3.2 Monstrous context shift?**

#### **Strategy 1: Free indirect discourse as indirect discourse**

free indirect discourse is indirect discourse

- with parenthetically realized (or silent) say/think-operator
  - cf. reportative evidentials, subjunctive
  - Er sagte sie sei schön. Sie habe grüne Augen.
- plus context shift/split

#### **Splitting the context**

- intuition: simultaneous protagonist and author perspectives
- idea: interpretation with two contexts
  - some indexicals depend on narrator context
  - others depend on protagonist context

(Banfield 1973, 1982; Schlenker 1999, 2004; Eckardt 2014; Sharvit 2008)

### Double context dependence

- $\llbracket \text{Today was her last day} \rrbracket_i^{C,c}$ 
  - $C$  = context of narration
  - $c$  = context of protagonist
- two types of indexicals
  - narrator indexicals
    - \*  $\llbracket \text{she} \rrbracket_i^{C,c}$  = the most salient third person in  $C$
    - \*  $\llbracket \text{I} \rrbracket_i^{C,c}$  = the speaker/thinker of  $C$
  - protagonist indexicals
    - \*  $\llbracket \text{today} \rrbracket_i^{C,c}$  = day of  $c$

### Free indirect discourse as monster

$THINK_{Mary} \lambda c. \llbracket \text{Today was her last day} \rrbracket_i^{C,c}$

[cf. esp. Sharvit 2008]

### 4.3.3 Challenges

#### Challenges for monster approaches

1. no *de re* readings
2. no lexically coded split between narrator and protagonist indexicals
  - not all pronouns are unshifted
  - not only pronouns are unshifted
3. prosodic mimicry
4. language shift



### Challenge 1: no *de re* readings

- *de re* in indirect discourse
  - She thinks that her idiot boyfriend is a genius
- no *de re* in free indirect discourse
  - \* Oh, what a genius her idiot boyfriend was! she thought.

### Challenge 2

- lexical split
  - $[[\text{she}]]^{C,c}$  = the most salient third person in  $C$ 
    - \* pronouns/tense/mood = narrator oriented
  - $[[\text{tomorrow}]]^{C,c}$  = the day after time of  $c$ 
    - \* other context-dependent expressions = protagonist oriented
- two challenges
  - not all pronouns are narrator oriented
  - not only pronouns are narrator oriented

### Not all pronouns are narrator oriented

[Mary was talking to Robin, who she believes to be a man, but who is actually a woman] Where had he been all morning, for instance? Mary asked her  
[Schlenker 2004]

### Not only pronouns are narrator oriented



“Heb je hem gezien?” vroeg Haas bedaard.  
Nee, Kikker had hem niet gezien, maar hij had wel iets gehoord  
“Did you see it?” Hare asked calmly  
No, Frog had not seen it, but he had heard something

### **Challenge 3: prosodic mimicry**

- indirect discourse: prosodic integration into report
- free indirect discourse allows prosodic mimicry

### **Challenge 3: prosodic mimicry**

- anecdotal support:

“If free indirect quotations . . . are demonstrations, they should also be able to depict intonation, emotion, dialect, and register. In commercial recordings of novels and short stories, we have heard professional readers add these aspects.” [Clark & Gerrig (1990), cf. also Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen (1999)]

- experimental confirmation?
  - readers adjust reading rate to reported speaker in direct speech [Yao & Scheepers (2011)]
  - reading rate modulation difference between indirect and free indirect speech? (unfortunately not confirmed. . . Maier et al. (2015))

### **Challenge 4: Language shifts**

- Ah well, her fathaire would shoorly help her out, she told John in her thick French accent
- She was angry. Oh, how they underestimated her!
- Mary was lost for words. But, but, ehh, well, sure–surely this wasn’t her fault? No way!

### **Summing up**

- Role Shift
  - mixed indexicality + (maybe) wh-extraction
  - ⇒ monstrous indirect discourse
  - challenges:
    - \* no shift together
    - \* iconicity

Ancient Greek indirect speech occasionally slips into apparent direct discourse

#### **A monster-free alternative?**

- to point out also how foolish it was to ask for a guide from this man “whose enterprise we are ruining”
- When he was in Madrid, Joan thought “I’ll finish my studies [here]”
- Mary started packing her bags. “Today [was] [her] last day,” she thought to herself. “Thank God! Tomorrow [she] [would] go home and leave this godforsaken place forever.”

#### **4.3.4 Mixed quotation**

I follow, loosely, my handbook article on mixed quotation (Maier 2016a).

##### **Mixed quotation**

- Quine says that quotation “has a certain anomalous feature”

“Are the quoted words used or mentioned? Obviously mentioned since the words are Quine’s own, and I want to mark the fact. But equally obvious is the fact that the words are used; if they were not, what follows the word ‘quotation’ would be a singular term, and this cannot be if I have produced a grammatical sentence.” (Davidson 1979)

##### **Cappelen & Lepore (1997)**

- Quine says that quotation “has a certain anomalous feature”
  - Quine says that<sub>1</sub> while mentioning that<sub>2</sub>. [Quotation [has a certain anomalous feature ]<sub>2</sub> ]<sub>1</sub>

##### **Potts’s (2007) 2D semantics**

- $\llbracket \text{“}\alpha\text{”} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket \\ \text{utter}(x, \ulcorner \alpha \urcorner) \end{array} \right\rangle$

- $\llbracket \text{“has an anomalous feature”} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \llbracket \text{has an anomalous feature} \rrbracket \\ \text{utter}(x, \ulcorner \text{has an anomalous feature} \urcorner) \end{array} \right\rangle$
- $\llbracket \text{Quine said that quotation “has an anomalous feature”} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{SAY}_{\text{quine}}(\text{anom. feature}(\text{quot})) \\ \text{utter}(x, \ulcorner \text{has an anomalous feature} \urcorner) \end{array} \right\rangle$

### Challenge: indexical shift

- Mr. Greenspan said he agreed with Labor Secretary R. B. Reich [...]. Their accord on this issue, he said, has proved “quite a surprise to both of us.”  
[Cappelen & Lepore 1997]
- Levi Foster, in fact, is the great-great-grandfather of Gov. Mike Foster of Louisiana, who said recently on a radio program that it would be “news to me” if anyone in his family had owned slaves.  
[Recanati 2001]
- He said that during those moments “my ass was Uncle Sam’s”

### Recanati’s solution

“On this view the quotation marks function as a context-shifting operator  $d$ . That operator combines with an expression  $\sigma$  (the expression within the quotation marks) to yield an expression of the same type, and shifts the context for the interpretation of  $\sigma$  from the current context  $c$  to the source context  $c'$ .” (Recanati 2001)

- $\llbracket \text{“}\sigma\text{”} \rrbracket^c = \llbracket d\sigma \rrbracket^c = \llbracket \sigma \rrbracket^{c'}$

### Zimmermann (2008)

- mixed quotations allude to past utterances
- $\llbracket \text{“news to me”} \rrbracket^c = \llbracket \text{news to me} \rrbracket^{c + \text{“news to me”}}$ 
  - $c + \text{“}\alpha\text{”}$  = the utterance context that the reporter in  $c$  alludes to with “ $\alpha$ ”
- mixed quotation = monster

## Potts + Zimmermann

$$\llbracket \text{"news to me"} \rrbracket^c = \left\langle \left[ \llbracket \text{news to me} \rrbracket^c + \text{"news to me"} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{utter}(x, \lceil \text{news to me} \rceil)$$

## 4.4 Supermonsters

### 4.4.1 Language shifts

#### Language shifts in direct discourse

- One day he said, “Leela, is high time we realize that we living in a British country and I think we shouldn’t be shame to talk the people language good.”
- Wolfgang asked “Hast du Hunger?” and I answered “Ja.”

[Clark&Gerrig 1990]

#### ...but not in indirect discourse

“

“because indirect speech has only one speaker, a literary text quoted indirectly ... must conform to the style of his own speech, just as a text in a foreign language quoted indirectly must be translated into the unique speaker’s language or dialect.”

[Banfield 1973:24]

#### No language shift in indirect discourse

- ?? An employee of mine, whose language is extremely uncouth, insisted that them brown cows were back in my corn patch again. [Banfield 1973]
- \* Wolfgang asked whether ich Hunger hatte

#### Plan

- language shifts also in mixed quotation and free indirect discourse
- monsters can’t shift language
- therefore, mixed quotation and free indirect discourse are not monsters
- therefore, monster-free quotation-based alternatives superior

### **Language shifts in mixed quotation**

- Nicola said that Alice is a “philtosopher”. (Cappelen & Lepore 1997)
- Bush said that the enemy “misunderestimates me”
- A doctor tells him he is like a “vieille femme hystérique” (de Brabanter 2010)

### **Language shifts in free indirect discourse**

- She was angry. Oh, how they underestimated her!
- Ah well, her fathaire would shoorly help her out, she told John in her thick French accent
- Brainy Smurf was not going to give up. Tomorrow was Smurfday, wasn't it? The perfect time to smurf his big surprise. How they would smurf!

### **Language shifts in free indirect discourse**

He remembered the day when Buck, jealous of his winning, had tried to smash his kiln. Yeah, that ol sonofabitch! Naw, Lawd! [...] Cussin the dead! Yeah, po ol Buck wuz dead now. N Lester too. Yeah it wuz awright fer Buck t smash his kiln. Sho. N he wished he hadn't socked ol Buck so hard tha day. [Wright 1934, *Big Boy Leaves Home*, cf. Fludernik (1995)]

### **Language shift in free indirect discourse**

“Was het bon?” vroeg meneer Pardoes.  
Wie wie, het was heel erg bon bon geweest.

“Was it bon?” asked Mr. Pardoes.  
Wee wee, it had been very bon bon.

[Schmidt 1980, *Otje*]

## **4.4.2 Language in context**

### **Language as context parameter**

“[philtosopher] involves what I dubbed a language-shift: the words within the quotation marks are interpreted as belonging to the ‘language’ (idiolect) of the source, and this affects not only their content but also their linguistic meaning or character. Yet, as I pointed out in several places, the two phenomena can be

unified if we let the language spoken in a context be one of the coordinates of the context in question.”

[Recanati 2008:452]

### Supermonsters

- supercontext:  $c = \langle a_c, t_c, w_c, L_c \rangle$
- supermonster:  $\llbracket \text{“}\sigma\text{”} \rrbracket^c = \llbracket \sigma \rrbracket^{c^*}$

### Example

- Bush said that the enemy “misunderestimates me”

$\llbracket \text{“misunderestimates me”} \rrbracket^{\langle Emar, English \rangle} = \llbracket \text{misunderestimates me} \rrbracket^{\langle Bush, L_{Bush} \rangle} \llbracket \text{misunderestimates} \rrbracket^{\langle Bush, L_B \rangle}$

### Character in Kaplan’s logic

- def.  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket = \lambda c. \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^c = \lambda c \lambda i. \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket_i^c$
- content/referent:
  - $\llbracket I \rrbracket^{c_1} = Emar$
  - $\llbracket I \rrbracket^{c_2} = John$
  - ...
- semantic context dependence (coded in English grammar/lexicon)
- linguistic meaning:  $\llbracket I \rrbracket = \lambda c \lambda i. s_c$

### Metalinguistic character?

- $\llbracket \text{misunderestimate} \rrbracket = \lambda c. \llbracket \text{misunderestimate} \rrbracket^c$ 
  - $\llbracket \text{misunderestimate} \rrbracket^{c_1} = \#$
  - $\llbracket \text{misunderestimate} \rrbracket^{c_2} = \textit{misunderstand}$
  - $\llbracket \text{misunderestimate} \rrbracket^{c_3} = \textit{underestimate}$
  - $\llbracket \text{misunderestimate} \rrbracket^{c_4} = \textit{dislike}$
- does not capture linguistic meaning of (English) expressions

- language dependence  $\neq$  indexicality
  - indexicality = semantic/linguistic context dependence
  - language dependence = pre-semantic context dependence

### Kaplan

“Semantics can associate meanings with expressions ... but given an utterance, semantics can't tell us what expression was uttered or what language it was uttered in. This is a pre-semantic task.”

### Excursus: Kripke on contingency

“One doesn't say that ‘two plus two equals four’ is contingent because people might have spoken a language in which ‘two plus two equals four’ means that seven is even.”

- language dependence is not intensional

### A priori

- Kaplan:  $\varphi$  is a priori true iff for all  $c$ :  $\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket_{i_c}^c = 1$ 
  - $2+2=4$
  - I am here now
  - I exist
  - ...
- if language dependence is indexical, nothing is a priori
  - there are supercontexts where *I* means 7 and *am here now* means *is even*

## 4.5 Toward a uniform quotational alternative

### A uniform monster-free alternative

- JOAN THINK “IX1 STUDY FINISH [HERE]”



- MARTINE “IX1 SIGN BETTER THAN [IX1]”
- Mary started packing her bags. “Today [was] [her] last day,” she thought to herself. “Thank God! Tomorrow [she] [would] go home and leave this godforsaken place forever.”
- “Today [she] [would] visit [her] favoritest philtosopher, finally!”

## Lecture 5

# The semantics and pragmatics of unquotation and mixed quotation

### 5.1 Between direct and indirect discourse

#### Recap

- strategy 1: reduce apparent direct/indirect mixes to indirect discourse
  - key ingredient: (monstrous) context shift
  - central problem: shifting beyond indexicals
    - \* language shift, prosodic/form faithfulness, iconicity,
    - \* supermonsters are conceptually dubious
- strategy 2: analyze apparent mixes as (partial) quotation
  - key ingredients: mixed quotation and unquotation

### 5.2 Toward a quotational alternative

#### A monster-free alternative

- JOAN THINK  $\overline{\text{IX1 STUDY FINISH HERE}}^{\text{RS}}$   
JOAN THINK “IX1 STUDY FINISH [HERE]”
- MARTINE  $\overline{\text{IX1 SIGN BETTER THAN IX1}}^{\text{RS}}$   
MARTINE “IX1 SIGN BETTER THAN [IX1]”

- Mary started packing her bags. Today was her last day, she thought to herself. Thank God! Tomorrow she would go home and leave this godforsaken place forever.  
Mary started packing her bags. “Today [was] [her] last day,” she thought to herself. “Thank God! Tomorrow [she] [would] go home and leave this godforsaken place forever.”
- Today she would visit her favoritest philtosopher, finally!  
“Today [she] [would] visit [her] favoritest philtosopher, finally!”

### To do

- semantics of direct discourse ✓
- semantics of unquotation
- pragmatics of unquotation: attraction
- semantics/pragmatics of mixed quotation
  - Bush says the enemy “misunderestimates me”
  - ...to point out also how foolish it was to ask for a guide from this man “whose enterprise we are ruining”

## 5.2.1 The semantics of direct speech

### Events for direct and indirect speech

- Anna said “I’m a genius”
  - $\exists e.say(e) \wedge agent(e, a) \wedge form(e) = \lceil I'm a genius \rceil$
- Anna said that I’m a genius
  - $\exists e.say(e) \wedge agent(e, a) \wedge content(e) = \lambda i \llbracket I'm a genius \rrbracket_i^c \lambda i.genius(s_c, i)$

### Quoting thoughts

- “My heart’s broken,” he thought. “If I feel this way my heart must be broken.” [Hemingway]
- $\exists e.think(e) \wedge agent(e, x) \wedge form(e) = \lceil My heart is broken. If I feel this way my heart must be broken \rceil$

- thoughts  $\approx$  inner speech acts
  - \* belief, know, fear: states (content/no form)
  - \* Sue believes that I'm an idiot
  - \*  $\exists s. \text{belief}(s) \wedge \text{agent}(s, x) \wedge \text{content}(s) \subseteq \lambda i. \text{idiot}(s_c, i)$

## 5.2.2 The semantics of unquotation

### Unquotation

“in quoting verbatim, writers need to integrate tenses and pronouns into the new context [...] occasional adjustments to the original may be bracketed.”

[Chicago Manual of Style §11.14]

- Mr. Graham has resolutely ducked the issue, saying he won't play the game of rumor-mongering, even though he has “learned from [his] mistakes.”

### Unquotation in direct speech

(1) “Find a way to get rid of [me] as soon as possible,”

- $\llbracket (1) \rrbracket_i^c = \exists e [\text{say}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, x) \wedge \exists e' \sqsubset e [$   
 $\text{form}(e) = \ulcorner \text{Find a way to get rid of } \lrcorner \cap \text{form}(e') \cap \ulcorner \text{as soon as possible } \lrcorner$   
 $\wedge \text{content}(e')(i) = \llbracket \text{I} \rrbracket_i^c ]$

## 5.2.3 Free indirect discourse and role shift

### Free indirect discourse

Mary was packing her bags. Tomorrow was her last day. Oh how happy she would be to finally walk out of here. To leave this godforsaken place once and for all.

Mary was packing her bags. “Tomorrow [was] [her] last day.” “Oh how happy [she] [would] be to finally walk out of here.” “To leave this godforsaken place once and for all.”

$\llbracket \text{“Tomorrow [was] [her] last day”} \rrbracket_i^c =$   
 $\exists e [\text{think}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, x) \wedge \exists e', e'' \sqsubset e [$   
 $\text{form}(e) = \ulcorner \text{Tomorrow } \lrcorner \cap \text{form}(e') \cap \text{form}(e'') \cap \ulcorner \text{last day} \lrcorner$   
 $\wedge \text{content}(e')(i) = \llbracket \text{was} \rrbracket_i^c$   
 $\wedge \text{content}(e'')(i) = \llbracket \text{her} \rrbracket_i^c ]]$

## Role shift

- JOAN SAY  $\overline{\text{IX1 STUDY FINISH HERE}}^{\text{RS}}$
- $\llbracket \text{JOAN SAY "IX1 STUDY FINISH [HERE]}" \rrbracket_i^c =$   
 $\exists e[\text{utt}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, j) \wedge \exists e' \sqsubset e[$   
 $\text{form}(e) = \ulcorner \text{IX1 STUDY FINISH} \urcorner \wedge \text{form}(e')$   
 $\wedge \text{content}(e')(i) = \llbracket \text{HERE} \rrbracket_i^c \text{ bolzano}]$

## Iconicity effects

- $*? \text{ JOHN } \overline{\text{IX1 DISAPPOINTED}}^{\text{RS}} <+\text{big smile}>$
- pure demonstration account  $\Rightarrow$  no unquotation
- hybrid disquotation + demonstration account
  - quotations can be modified by demonstration
  - $\exists e[\text{utt}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, j) \wedge$   
 $\text{form}(e) = \ulcorner \text{IX1 DISAPPOINTED} \urcorner$   
 $\wedge \text{demonstr}(d, e)]$

## Overview

- there is evidence for monsters in Amharic, Zazaki, ...
- also monsters in ancient Greek, Role Shift, free indirect discourse, mixed quotation?
- no: free indirect discourse and mixed quotation show language shift (like direct discourse/quotation)
  - supermonsters?
  - no: confuse (pre-semantic) language dependence with (semantic) indexicality
- alternative: quotational account
  - eventive direct speech + covert unquotation

## 5.3 Pragmatics of unquotation

Details and references in Maier (forthcoming).

### 5.3.1 The challenge

#### The challenge

- covert unquotation needs to be constrained
- why are some pronouns/tenses unquoted but not others?
  - in free indirect discourse: almost all pronouns/tenses
  - lexical stipulation? ⇒ too rigid
    - \* not all/only pronouns and tenses
  - covert unquotation not restricted to free indirect discourse
    - \* role shift
    - \* regular direct speech in Kwaza, Slave, Nez Perce

### 5.3.2 Second person magnetism

#### Unquoting pronouns cross-linguistically?

- second person in direct quote sometimes picks out actual addressee
  - Slave, Kwaza
  - “second person magnetism” (Evans 2012)
- analysis: in some languages direct discourse allows covert unquotation of certain pronouns

#### Van der Voort on Kwaza

“In Kwaza, no distinction is made between direct and indirect reports. Maybe it is even better to say that there is no indirect speech at all. Speech is quoted by literally repeating what has been said. [... but] the quoted second person represents an exception”

- maga'rida kukui'hy-xa-'ki-tse  
*Margarida ill-2sg-DECL-DECL*  
'Margarida says, “[you] are ill” '(≈that you are ill)

## How about English?

“X had become confused about which house his daughter-in-law Y lives in, knocked on the neighbour’s door, and had been directed to the daughter-in-law Y’s house. Later he tells his daughter-in-law what had happened:

- ‘They told me, “Oh, you’ve got the wrong house, you[you] live next door.”’  
[Evans (2012)]

### 5.3.3 Attraction

#### The principle of indexical attraction

- why use unquoted *you*?
- Attraction: when talking about the most salient speech act participants, use indexicals to refer to them directly
- conflicts with the semantics of direct speech
  - use unquotation to resolve the conflict

#### Beyond *you*

- Nez Perce: 1st and 2nd?
- attraction affects all pronouns in
  - sign language role shift (NGT,DGS)
  - child language
  - free indirect discourse

#### Sign language: NGT

- Martine signs:
  - I think C-r-u-y-f-f is the best soccer player
- Mascha reports:
  - Martine  $\overline{\text{I think he}_{\text{point.at.Cruyff}} \text{ is the best soccer player}}^{\text{RS}}$

## Typology of attraction

|                         |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| Dutch, English          | 2(?)         |
| Slave, Kwaza            | 2            |
| Nez Perce (?)           | 1,2          |
| DGS, NGT                | (1),2,3,here |
| Dutch children          | 1,2,3        |
| free indirect discourse | 1,2,3        |

- note: in free indirect discourse the source of attraction is the most salient participants in the story (narrator backgrounded)

## 5.4 Mixed quotation

See full presentation in Maier (2014b) and Maier (2016a).

### The 2D account of mixed quotation

$$\llbracket \text{“}\alpha\text{”} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket \\ \text{utter}(x, \ulcorner \alpha \urcorner) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

$$\llbracket \text{Quine said that quotation “has an anomalous feature”} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{SAY}_{\text{quine}}(\text{anom. feature}(\text{quot})) \\ \text{utter}(x, \ulcorner \text{has an anomalous feature} \urcorner) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

- problems: language and indexical shift

### A 1.5D account of mixed quotation

Quine said that quotation “has a certain anomalous feature”

≈ Quine said that quotation has what he referred to as *has a certain anomalous feature*

- key feature: deference
  - semantics doesn't specify what property Quine referred to



### A 1.5D account

$$\llbracket \text{“}\alpha\text{”} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} P \\ refer(x, \ulcorner \alpha \urcorner, P) \end{array} \right\rangle$$
$$\llbracket \text{Quine said that quotation “has an anomalous feature”} \rrbracket =$$
$$\left\langle \begin{array}{c} SAY_{quine}P(quot) \\ refer(x, \ulcorner \text{has an anomalous feature} \urcorner, P) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

### Language and indexical shift

$$\llbracket \text{Bush said that the enemy “misunderestimates me”} \rrbracket =$$
$$\left\langle \begin{array}{c} SAY_{bush}P(the\ enemy) \\ refer(x, \ulcorner \text{misunderestimates me} \urcorner, P) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

### To do list

- pragmatics: projection of metalinguistic component  $\Rightarrow$  presupposition
- syntax/semantics: category of quote determines type of  $P$ 
  - ?? Quine said that “anomalous”
  - he said the dog ate
- adding events and demonstration
- overt and covert unquotation in mixed quotation

## 5.4.1 Presupposition

### Projection

- Maybe Bush really does have an “eckullectic” reading list
- A: That movie was a total snooze  
B: Well Pauline Kael said that this “total snooze” was great

### Presupposition behavior

- If you use ‘leg’ to refer to a horse’s tail as well, how many “legs” does a horse have?

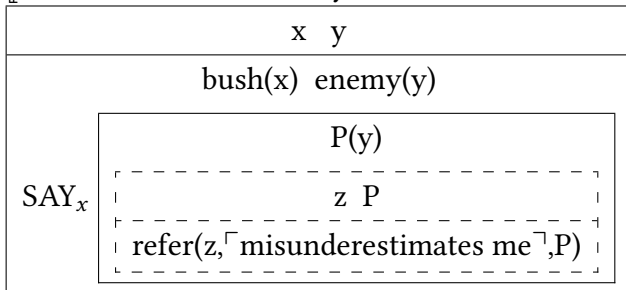
- Marie: I heard you broke new ground today?  
Hank: Yeah, if you decide to change the meaning of the entire English language then I guess I “broke new ground” today

**Presupposition behavior**

- A: Looks like Trump himself “misunderestimated” this presidency thing  
B: Hey wait a minute, I didn’t know Trump uses that phrase, I thought that was a Bushism
- A: Why are all the grammar nerds on the forum angry at her?  
B: I don’t know, maybe she said she “could care less” about proper usage?

**Language and indexical shift**

[[Bush said that the enemy “misunderestimates me”]] =



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