Quotation and the Composition of Linguistic Acts

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1. Types of Quotation

<u>Pure quotation</u>

Subject position:

(1) a. 'Mary' has four letters.

b. 'Mary' is common.

(2) a. 'Mary' is an English name.

   b. 'Ma' is an English morpheme.

   c.' o' is an English phoneme.

   d. 'Marie' is a French name.

Object position of verbs of manner of speaking:

(3) a. She said 'hi Joe'.

   b. She whispered 'jamais'.

   c. He screamed 'help'.

<u>Direct quotation</u>

(4) John said 'I will come'.

Indirect quotation

<u>Mixed quotation</u>

(5) John said that Mary is 'an extraordinary woman'.

<u>Predicative quotation</u>

Predicates in small clause complements of denominative verbs (Matushansky 2008):

(6) a. John called Mary 'Marie'.

 b. The baby was baptized 'Marie'.

  c. My sister is known as'Susan'.

Binominal denominative NPs

(7) a. the name 'Mary'

  b. the morpheme 'ma'

   c. the determiner 'the'

   d. the sound pfff

   e. the concept horse

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2. Views of quotation

The standard view:

(Pure) quotation amounts of the formation of an expression-referring singular term.

Different views of how expression reference is achieved, of the possible role of quotation marks etc.

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3. Problems for the standard view

The Substitution Problem

In general, pure quotations cannot be replaced by explicit expression-referring terms:

(3') a. She said the name 'Joe'.

    b. He screamed the word 'help'.

(4') a. John said the sentence 'I will come'.

(6') a. ??? John called Mary the name 'Marie'.

  b. * The baby was baptized the name 'Marie'.

  c. * My sister is known as the name 'Susan'.

(7') a. * the name that name

    b. * the name that name

c. * the name the name of the mother of Jesus

    d. * the sound the sound I will now make

Views about the syntax of quotations

[1] Pure quotations as NPs: involve implicit expression noun

[2] Quotations retain their lower-level linguistic structure: morphological, phonological or phonetic

structure. Pure quotations can appear in just those syntactic contexts that do not impose any

categorical requirements or other syntactic conditions

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4. An 'Austinian' approach to quotation

Austin's distinction among linguistic acts:

Illocutionary acts:

utterance in order to perform speech acts like assertions, requests etc

Locutionary acts:

utterance in order to convey a propositional content

Rhetic acts:

utterance in order to present a conceptual content

Phatic acts:

uttering sounds as having a particular phonological, morphological, or syntactic structure

Phonetic acts:

uttering sounds

Normally:

Higher-level acts are performed *by* performing lower-level acts. (Goldman's 1973 'level generation')

Quotation:

Lower-level acts are not or not just performed in order to perform higher-level acts.

Quotations contribute lower-level act types to the composition of the meaning of the sentence.

Pure quotations:

contributes just lower-level acts.

Direct quotations and mixed quotations:

contribute both ordinary semantic values and lower-level act type.

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5. Quotation and syntactic structure

The syntactic basis for the composition of sentence meaning:

Syntactic structure at Logical Form (LF):

LF as the direct input to semantic interpretation(Chomsky).

Standard view:

LF represents quantifier scope and some other semantically relevant syntactic relations (coreference relations, …)

Extended view:

LF represents all semantically relevant functions and relations such as 'referential NP', predication relations etc.

Views of sentence meaning(meanings of *that*-clauses):

Common view: sentence meanings as structured propositions

Propositional constituents:

objects (referential NPs), properties and relations (predicates), generalized quantifiers, objects together with modes of presentations…

Syntactic contexts for quotation:

Pure quotations occur in certain environments that in general impose no categorical restrictions.

Subject position:

NP subjects, clausal subjects (?)

Predicate position of small clauses:

(8) a. John wrote the number down. (preposition)

    b. John considers her happy. (adjective)

    c. John considers her a great person. (NP)

Left branch of compounds:

(9) a. the I-language

    b. the 'do not enter'-sign

A plausible syntactic view:

The syntactic positions in whichpure quotations can appear not impose any syntactic conditions, whatsoever.Therefore, theyaccept 'lower-level' linguistic structures, also from other languages.

Syntactic structures 'below' LF

'S-structure'

morphological structure

phonological structure

'Phonetic Form'

Other syntactic constructions than can go below syntactic structure:

focus (*exhale, not inhale*), coordination (*ex-and inhale*)

Pure quotation

insertion of lower-level linguistic structure into 'non-demanding' syntactic position

<u>Mixed quotation</u>

simultaneous LF-structures and lower-level linguistic structure(s)

<u>Direct quotation:</u>

simultaneous LF structure and S-structure

What licenses lower-level linguistic structures within LF structure?

Principle of 'Full Interpretation' (Chomsky)

<u>Act-based conception of meaning:</u>

Interpretation of lower-level linguistic structures as lower-level linguistic act types:

rhetic act types, phatic act types (syntactic, morphological or phonological act types), phonetic act types

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6. The interpretation of predicational quotation

(10) a. John called Mary 'Marie'

  b. The priest baptized the baby 'Marie'.

    c. John called Mary 'hehe'.

Event argument of *call*: labeling someone by performing a phatic or phonetic linguistic act

Event argument of *baptize*: giving a name by performing a phatic linguistic act

'Marie': contributes phatic (morphological) linguistic act type

'hehe': contributes phonetic act type

Predicational quotations expressing act types -- properties events: semantic composition as act composition:

Davidsonian event semantics: verbs take an implicit argument for events

Predicational quotations function as predicates of the Davidsonian event argument (or part of it)

Suggestions:

(11)a. $\exists$ e e'(*call 'Marie'*(by(e, e'), j, M))

b. $\exists$e e'(phat(MARIE)(e, m) & call(e', j) & BY(e', e))

<u>Verbs of way of speaking</u>

(12) a. John whispered 'Marie'.

b.$\exists$e(phonet(MARIE)(e) & WHISP(e, j))

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7. A unified account of sentence meaning based on linguistic acts?

Approaches making use of linguistic act types rather than or instead of just abstract structured propositions

Soames (2010), Moltmann (2003), Hanks (2007) and others:

Conceiving of predication as an act to account for the unity of propositions problem.

Soames (2010):

That-clause contributes standard structured proposition,

attitude verb contributes predication act, which providesthe 'glue' among the propositional constituents and is constitutive of the intentional acts that are the truth bearers.

Hanks (2011):

Structured propositions as act-types

Simple subject-predicate sentences expresses structured proposition consisting of

reference acttypes– contributed by referential NPs

concept-conveying act types– contributed by predicates

predication act types – contributed by illocutionary force indicators.

An account of mixed quotation:

(13) a. John said that Mary is an extraordinary woman.

   b. <ref(MARY), rhet(an extraordinary woman)>

(14) a. John said that Mary is an 'extraordinary woman'.

b. <ref(MARY), <rhet(*an extraordinary woman*), phatic(an extraordinary woman)>>

The formal basis of the interpretation of mixed quotation:

multiple linguistic structures for *an extraordinary woman* at LF:

phonological structure, morphological structure, S-structure

Direct quotation

(15) a. John said 'I will come'.

Direct quotations are CP complements, which means that they have a syntactic structure at LF.

At the same time, they retain a lower level linguistic structure, to be interpreted as a phatic act type.

Special interpretation of indexicals: reference act type relativized to reported agent:

(15) b. <<ref(I, John), phat(I)>, <rhet(COME), phat(COME>>

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8. Quotation in subject position and in binominal denominative NPs

(16) a. the name 'Mary'

  b. the morpheme 'ma'

  c. the determiner 'the'

   d. the sound pfff

  e. the concept horse

Properties of the construction:

No substitution of material after the sortal by co-referential expression-referring terms

Obligatory definite determiner

No restrictive modifiers

Alternation with predicative construction:

(17) a. 'Mary' is a nice name.

b. 'Ma' is an English morpheme.

c. 'The' is the definitedeterminer in English.

  d. 'Pfff' is an ugly sound.

The approach:

Contribution of material after the sortal or the subject: lower-level linguistic act types

Syntactic structure:

Material after the sortal / subject comes with lower-level linguistic structure (phonetic, phonological, morphological structure, non-LF syntactic structure)

Semantic role of the sortal head noun:

Reification: mapping phonetic, phatic, or rhetic act types onto expression types or concepts

Expression types with lower-level linguistic structure

Binominal NPs:

reification in order to setup a referent

Predicative structure:

reification inside the predicate or within the subject, with the help of an implicit reifying sortal

Lower-level linguistic act types serve as the semantic values of subject material

Prediction:

(Pure) quotation of *meaning* is possible only with lexical items,not with sentences

(18) a. the concept horse

  b. the notion illocutionary

(19) a. the sentence 'it is raining'

  b. * the proposition 'it is raining'

  c. *'It is raining' is a proposition that can be expressed in many languages.

Referential NPs?

(20)a. * the referent 'John'

b. * the person/referent the president of the US

  c. the poet Goethe

   d. die Stadt Berlin

    the city Berlin

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