

# Characterizing quotation\*

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## Varieties of quotation

Pure quotation (mention)

‘Bachelor’ has eight letters.

Direct quotation (mention)

Quine says ‘quotation has a certain anomalous feature’.

Indirect quotation (use)

Quine says quotation has a certain anomalous feature.

Mixed quotation (Davidson 1979)

Quine says quotation ‘has a certain anomalous feature’.

Bush is proud of his ‘eckullectic’ reading list.

## Truth conditions of mixed quotation

Bush is proud of his ‘eckullectic’ reading list.

1. ‘eckullectic’ is used to mean  $f$ . ← mention
2. Bush is proud of his  $f$ (reading list). ← use

Why *Bush’s* use? Anaphora/presupposition resolved in parse.

What is *using to mean*? Utterance subevents, but not hierarchical.

Intuition: a context interprets a Gödel number; code generation.

Prevalence: curating meaning from other minds (elm, Aristotle).

Two dimensions of meaning:

1. Anaphoric presupposition (Geurts & Maier 2003);  
conventional implicature (Potts 2007)
2. ‘At-issue’ truth

## Well-formedness conditions of mixed quotation

1. \*Bush said his reading list ‘eckullectic’.
2. \*Quine’s ‘has a certain anomalous feature’ is trivial.

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3. \*Bush said his reading list eclectic.
4. \*Quine’s constitutes a knockdown argument is trivial.
5. \*Bush met the king of France.

## This talk: Generalized quotation

- Syntax: Quoting categories embed quoted categories
- Semantics: Quoting contents are quoted characters (Kaplan)
- Other payoffs: Names and definitions (Kripke); unquotation; pure quotation; take over the world

## Starting with categorial grammar

$$A ::= A/B \quad B \quad \llbracket A \rrbracket(w) = \llbracket A/B \rrbracket(w) (\llbracket B \rrbracket)$$

$$A ::= B \setminus A \quad \llbracket A \rrbracket(w) = \llbracket B \setminus A \rrbracket(w) (\llbracket B \rrbracket)$$

$$DP ::= \text{Bush} \quad \vdots$$

$$(DP \setminus S)/S ::= \text{says}$$

$$(DP \setminus S)/DP ::= \text{is proud of}$$

$$N/N ::= \text{eclectic}$$

$$N ::= \text{reading list}$$

The type of  $\llbracket A \rrbracket$  is  $\tau(A)$ , defined to be  $\langle s, \sigma(A) \rangle$ , where

$$\sigma(A/B) = \sigma(B \setminus A) = \langle \tau(B), \sigma(A) \rangle, \quad \sigma(DP) = e, \quad \sigma(S) = t, \quad \dots$$

## Quoting categories embed quoted categories

For each category  $A$  of the quoted language, the quoting language has a category  $A'$ .

Enshrine quoted syntax in quoting syntax:

- Bush is proud of his ‘eckullectic’ reading list.
- \*Bush said his reading list ‘eckullectic’.

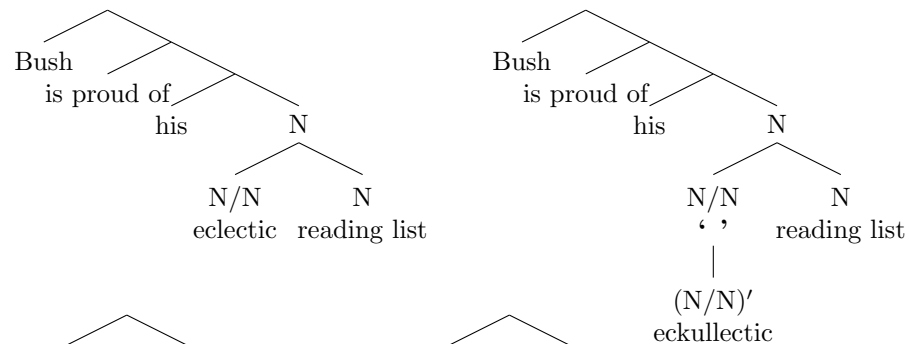
## Quoting contents are quoted characters (Kaplan)

Each quotation level introduces a new context argument.

- The politician said she is ‘sorry to have used an ‘epithet’’.

Diagonalizing (Stalnaker) and quantifying, not just code switching:

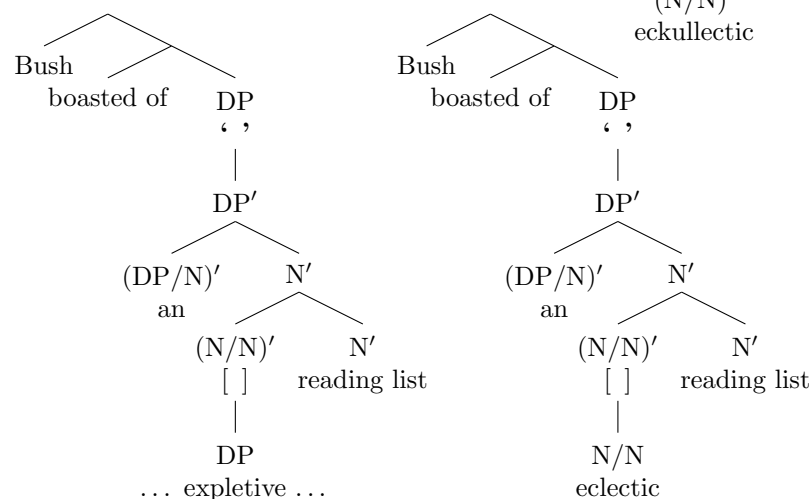
- To be ‘eckullectic’ is to have never been seen by Bush.
- ‘Hesperus’ is ‘Phosphorus’. (quoting English itself)
- Danes and Norwegians eat ‘frokost’ at different times.



## Quoted productivity and compositionality

Two kinds of unquotation:

- de Quine: Bush boasted of ‘an [expletive] reading list’.  
Every boy liked ‘the gift [his uncle’s name] gave me’.
- de re: Bush boasted of ‘an [eclectic] reading list’.  
Every boy liked ‘the gift [his uncle] gave me’.



## Varieties of unquotation

Mixed-quote of non-constituent (Abbott 2003)

Mary allowed as how her dog ate ‘odd things, when left to his own devices’.

Mixed quote of construction

Trying to show off his French at the restaurant, John ordered not ‘[some dessert] à la mode’ but ‘à la mode [some dessert]’.

Pure unquotation

de Quine: Ralph would assent to ‘[Orcutt’s name] is a spy’.

de re: ?Ralph would assent to ‘[Orcutt] is a spy’.

## The fragment

$A ::= \text{‘}A\text{’}$	$\llbracket A \rrbracket(w) = \llbracket A' \rrbracket(\text{Bush English in } w)(w)$
$(N/N)' ::= \text{eckullectic}$	$\llbracket (N/N)' \rrbracket(i) = \llbracket \text{eckullectic} \rrbracket^i$
$\vdots$	
$A' ::= (A/B)' B'$	$\llbracket A' \rrbracket(i) = \llbracket A ::= A/B B \rrbracket^i(\llbracket (A/B)' \rrbracket(i), \llbracket B' \rrbracket(i))$
$\vdots$	
$A' ::= [\text{DP}]$	$\llbracket A' \rrbracket = \text{character of } \llbracket \text{DP} \rrbracket$
$A' ::= [A]$	$\llbracket A' \rrbracket(i) = \llbracket A \rrbracket$ directly referential

## What is in a context?

a function?  $\llbracket A \rrbracket(w) = \llbracket A' \rrbracket(\lambda u. \llbracket u \rrbracket^{\text{BE}w})(w)$

$\llbracket (N/N)' \rrbracket(i) = i(\text{eck})$   $\llbracket A' \rrbracket(i) = i(A ::= A/B B)(\llbracket (A/B)' \rrbracket(i), \llbracket B' \rrbracket(i))$

a tuple?  $\llbracket A \rrbracket(w) = \llbracket A' \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{eck} \rrbracket^{\text{BE}w}, \llbracket A ::= A/B B \rrbracket^{\text{BE}w})(w)$

$\llbracket (N/N)' \rrbracket(i) = i_1$   $\llbracket A' \rrbracket(i) = i_2(\llbracket (A/B)' \rrbracket(i), \llbracket B' \rrbracket(i))$

## Put the mental in fragment.

Payoffs: Mixed quotes can be ill-formed

Names and definitions are mixed quotes

Unquotation, both de Quine and de re

Pure quotation; take over the world

Quotation has *linguistic* structure and can be studied *formally*: syntactic and semantic, recursive and compositional

Dynamic semantics, in the sense of *simulating pragmatics*: context dependence and *theory of mind* (rather than anaphora and nondeterminism)