The Character of Quotation

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Quotation is widespread in writing and speech.

(1)   (Pure quotation)   'Bachelor' has eight letters.

(2)   (Direct quotation)   Quine says 'quotation has a certain anomalous feature'.

(3)   (Indirect quotation) Quine says quotation has a certain anomalous feature.

(4)   (Mixed quotation)   Quine says quotation 'has a certain anomalous feature'.

(5)   (Mixed quotation)   Bush is proud of his 'eckullectic' reading list.

A fragment of quotation to show **recursive syntax and compositional semantics**. Excuse: *mixed* quotation (4, 5) (Davidson 1979). Intuition: metaprogramming. Ignore pragmatic effects such as distancing—conversational implicature?

How does the quoting language represent the quoted language? Quoting categories embed quoted categories; quoting denotations are quoted characters (Kaplan 1989). Unquotation.

Two dimensions of meaning:

(4)   Quine says quotation 'has a certain anomalous feature'.
   - a. (mention) *has a certain anomalous feature* is used to mean some f.
   - b. (use)   Quine says quotation f.

(5)   Bush is proud of his 'eckullectic' reading list.
   - a. (mention) *eckullectic* is used to mean some f.
   - b. (use)   Bush is proud of his f(reading list).

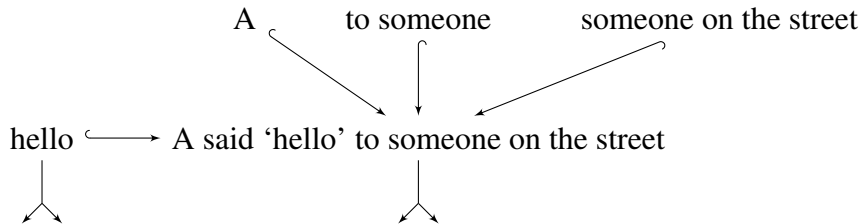Use is at issue and depends on mention (Geurts and Maier 2003, Potts 2007).

(6)   A: Bush is proud of his 'eckullectic' reading list.
       B: # No, he never said 'eckullectic'.

(7)   Bush is proud of his 'eckullectic' reading list.
       Yet Cheney's reading list is far more 'eckullectic', not to mention longer.

(8)   Bush: I am proud of my reading list, even though the Bible is not on it.
       Bush: My foreign policy is not as eckullectic as some people suggest.
       A: ? Bush is proud of his 'eckullectic' reading list.

(9)   Bush is proud of 'how eckullectic {the/my} reading list is', but Cheney maintains that 'how eckullectic {the/#my} reading list is' is less important than how many books on it Bush actually read.

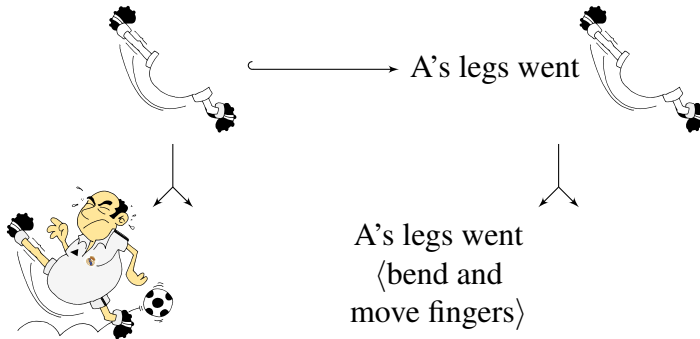Quoted use can be hypothetical or generic (Sams 2010).

1. Use to Mean?

**Abstract expressions and the concrete tokens that indicate their use.**

(10)   A: Hello.
   B: A said 'hello' to someone on the street.

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A   to someone   someone on the street

hello → A said 'hello' to someone on the street

</div>

(11)   (Clark and Gerrig 1990)

A's legs went

A's legs went
⟨bend and
move fingers⟩

(12)   A: Hel, ahem, hello.
        B: A said 'helllo' to someone on the street.

(13)   A: Bonjour.
        B: A said 'hello' to someone on the street.

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⟨greeting⟩ → A said '⟨greeting⟩' to someone on the street

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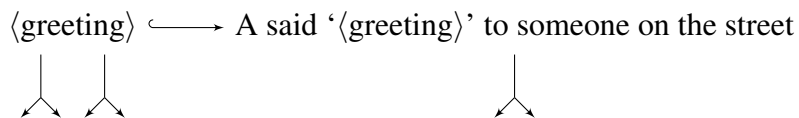
(14)   a. Bush said 'I have an eclectic reading list'.
        b. Did Bush say 'I have an eclectic reading list'?

(15)   a. Yes, but he did not say it that way.
        b. No, he said 'I've got an eckullectic reading list'.

<div align="center">

I have an eclectic reading list → Bush said 'I have an eclectic reading list'

I have an ⟨eclectic⟩ reading list → Bush said 'I have an ⟨eclectic⟩ reading list'

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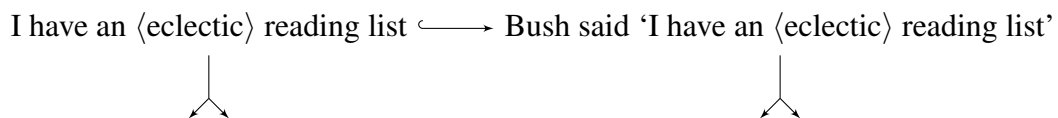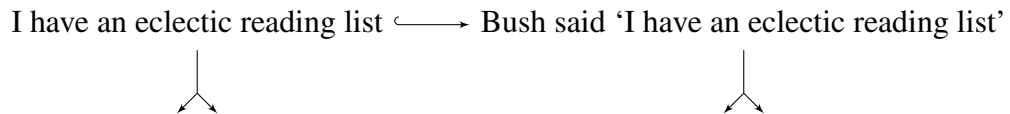
Lots of homonyms! Stick to literal notation.

2. Well-Formedness

Syntax has to fit, not just semantics.

(16)   * Bush said his reading list 'eckullectic'.

(17)   * Quine's 'has a certain anomalous feature' is trivial.

(18)   Ken: My only paper has appeared in print.
        * Ken has said that all of his papers 'has appeared in print'.
        Ken has said that all of his papers 'have appeared in print'.

(19)   Ken: Gli   uomini italiani
             the.MASC.PL   men   Italian.MASC.PL
             mi   sembrano molto carini
             to.me look.3PL very   cute.MASC.PL

             'Italian men look very cute to me.'

        * Ken ha   detto che le   persone italiane
          Ken has said   that the.FEM.PL people   Italian.FEM.PL
          'mi   sembrano molto carini'
           to.me look.3PL very   cute.MASC.PL

          'Ken has said that Italian people 'mi sembrano molto carini'.'

        Ken ha   detto che le   persone italiane
        Ken has said   that the.FEM.PL people   Italian.FEM.PL
        'mi   sembrano molto carine'
         to.me look.3PL very   cute.FEM.PL

(20)   Jan: Ik zal   die idioot een koekje van eigen deeg   geven
             I shall that idiot a   cookie of own   dough give

             'I will give that idiot a taste of his own medicine.'

        * Jan zegt dat hij 'zal   die idioot een koekje van eigen deeg   geven'
          Jan says that he   shall that idiot a   cookie of own   dough give

          'Jan says that he 'zal die idioot een koekje van eigen deeg geven'.'

        Jan zegt dat hij 'die idioot een koekje van eigen deeg   zal   geven'
        Jan says that he   that idiot a   cookie of own   dough shall give

Just presupposition failure? Syntactic ill-formedness.

(21)   * Bush said his reading list eclectic.

(22)   * Quine's constitutes a knockdown argument is trivial.

Coercion of pure quotes?

(23)   He said many 'no thank you's to the sales people in the aisles.

(24)   She decided to 'no comment' the question.

(25)   It is a very 'what the hell' movie.

Compared to mixed quotes, looser semantics and tighter syntax.

(26)   Bush expected his speech to win over 'few, if any' Democrats.

(27)   Bush expected his speech to win over 'needles in a haystack' Democrats.

(28)   It is a very 'needles in a haystack' movie.

3. The Basic Fragment
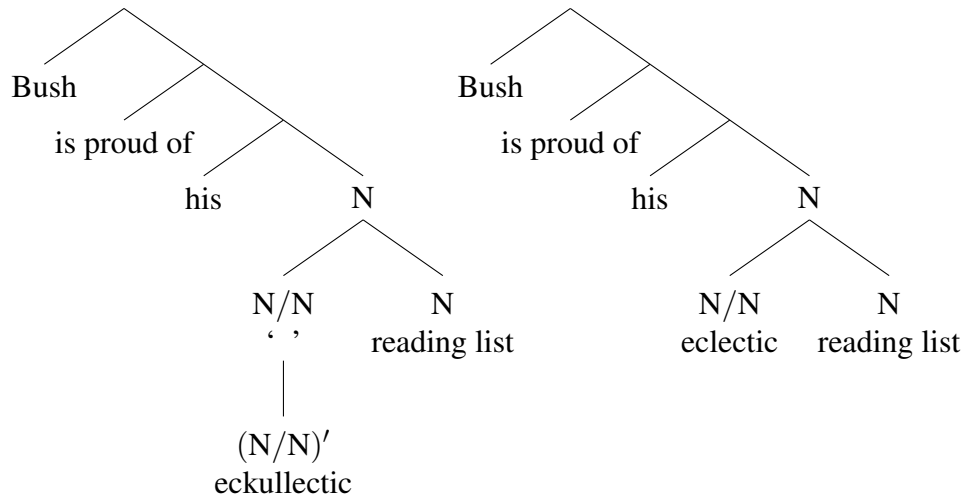
Quoting categories embed quoted categories.

(29) $A ::= A/B \; B$ $[\![A]\!](w) = [\![A/B]\!](w)([\![B]\!])$

(30) $A ::= B \; B\backslash A$ $[\![A]\!](w) = [\![B\backslash A]\!](w)([\![B]\!])$

(31) $\mathrm{DP} ::= \mathrm{Bush}$ $\vdots$

(32) $(\mathrm{DP}\backslash \mathrm{S})/\mathrm{S} ::= \mathrm{says}$

(33) $(\mathrm{DP}\backslash \mathrm{S})/\mathrm{DP} ::= \text{is proud of}$

(34) $\mathrm{N/N} ::= \mathrm{eclectic}$

(35) $A ::= \text{'}A'\text{'}$ $[\![A]\!](w) = [\![A']\!](w)(\text{Bush English (in } w))(w)$

(36) $\mathrm{N} ::= \text{reading list}$

(37) $(\mathrm{N/N})' ::= \mathrm{eckullectic}$ $[\![(\mathrm{N/N})']\!] = (\!|\mathrm{eckullectic}|\!)$

(38) $\mathrm{N}' ::= \text{reading list}$ $[\![\mathrm{N}']\!] = (\!|\text{reading list}|\!)$

$\qquad\qquad \vdots \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \vdots$

Constituents of each category A have semantic contents of type $\langle s, \tau(A)\rangle$, where

(39) $\tau(A/B) = \tau(B\backslash A) = \langle\langle s, \tau(B)\rangle, \tau(A)\rangle, \quad \tau(\mathrm{DP}) = e, \quad \tau(\mathrm{S}) = t, \quad \ldots.$

(40) $\tau(A') = \langle u, \langle s, \tau(A)\rangle\rangle$

Quoting denotations are quoted characters (Kaplan 1989).

$(\!|E|\!)(w)(i)$ is the content that E is used to mean in an utterance context i in a world w.

(41) $\qquad\qquad (\!|\text{eckullectic}|\!)(w_0)(i) = [\![\text{eclectic}]\!],$

(42) $\qquad\qquad (\!|\text{reading list}|\!)(w_0)(i) = [\![\text{reading list}]\!].$

Interpretation (35) by diagonalization (Stalnaker 1978).

(43) a. To be 'eckullectic' is to have never been seen by Bush.
  b. To be eclectic is to have never been seen by Bush.

(44) $[\![\text{'eckullectic'}]\!](w) = (\!|\text{eckullectic}|\!)(w)(\text{Bush English (in } w))(w)$

(45) a. 'Hesperus' is identical with 'Phosphorus'.
  b. Hesperus is identical with Phosphorus.

(46) $[\![\text{'Hesperus is identical with Phosphorus'}]\!]$
$\qquad\qquad = \lambda w. (\!|\text{Hesperus is identical with Phosphorus}|\!)(w)(\text{English})(w)$

Common knowledge turns metalinguistic into linguistic.

(47) $\forall w. (\!|\text{eckullectic}|\!)(w)(\text{Bush English}) = [\![\text{eclectic}]\!]$
$\qquad\qquad \Longrightarrow \qquad [\![\text{Bush is proud of his 'eckullectic' reading list}]\!]$
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad = [\![\text{Bush is proud of his eclectic reading list}]\!]$

Put characters in semantics rather than pragmatics, to quantify over contexts.

(48) Every day, I would promise to finish the paper 'tomorrow'.

(49) Danes and Norwegians eat 'frokost' at different times.

Curating meanings from other minds.

Compositionality of sense, not of reference.

4. Unquotation

Unquotation is a strategy for quoting a construction without quoting any complete constituent containing it (Bawden 1999). Square brackets are ambiguous.

(50) **Syntactic unquotation**
  a. Bush boasted of 'my [expletive] reading list'.
  b. Every boy$_i$ liked 'the gift [his$_i$ uncle's name] gave me'.
  c. The politician admitted that she 'lied my way into [redacted]'.

(51) **Semantic unquotation**
  a. Bush boasted of 'my [eclectic] reading list'.
  b. Every boy$_i$ liked 'the gift [his$_i$ uncle] gave me'.
  c. The politician admitted that she 'lied my way into [her job]'.

(52) Bush: Who chose these utterly deafening loudspeakers?
 Bush: Who chose these UTTERLY IN-FUCKING-AUDIBLE loudspeakers?
  Bush complained about the 'utterly [inaudible] loudspeakers' in the room.

Square brackets belong to a restricted register, but **unquotation is prevalent**.

(53) John tried to show off his French at the restaurant the other day—he ordered 'à la mode [(the name of) some dessert] pour moi'.

Mixed-quoting non-constituents:

(54) Mary: Fido devoured odd things, when left to his own devices.
   a. Mary allowed as how her dog ate 'odd things, when left to his own devices'.
   b. Mary allowed as how her dog '[ate] odd things, when left to his own devices'.

(55) David: I gave largish sums, to several benign institutions over the years.
   a. David said that he had donated 'largish sums, to several benign institutions'.
   b. David said that he had '[donated] largish sums, to several benign institutions'.

(56) Mary: Whereas under human supervision Fido already ate odd things, when left to his own devices he would even eat soap.

A pure quote can contain a syntactic unquote but not a semantic unquote.

(57) a. Ralph scribbled the sentence 'I suspect that [Ortcutt's beach alias] is a spy' on a notepad.
   b. 'I suspect that [Ortcutt's beach alias] is a spy' has ten words.

(58) a. ?? Ralph scribbled the sentence 'I suspect that [Ortcutt] is a spy' on a notepad.
   b. * 'I suspect that [Ortcutt] is a spy' has ten words.

Quoting combination modes represent quoted combination modes.

(59) $A' ::= (A/B)' \ B'$ $[\![A']\!](w)(i) = (\!|A ::= A/B \ B|\!)(w)(i)$
$$([\![(A/B)']\!](w)(i), [\![B']\!](w)(i))$$

(60) $A' ::= B' \ (B\backslash A)'$ $[\![A']\!](w)(i) = (\!|A ::= B \ B\backslash A|\!)(w)(i)$
$$([\![B']\!](w)(i), [\![(B\backslash A)']\!](w)(i))$$

(61) $A' ::= [DP]$ $[\![A']\!](w)(i) = (\!|[\![DP]\!](w)|\!)(w)(i)$

(62) $A' ::= [A]$ $[\![A']\!](w)(i) = [\![A]\!]$

Example:
Let f_1 be what forward application to N yielding DP means in Bush English
   m be what *my* means in Bush English
   f_2 be what forward application to N yielding N means in Bush English
   r be what *reading list* means in Bush English

(63) a. Bush boasted of 'my [Cheney's favorite adjective] reading list'.
   b. Bush boasted of $f_1(m, f_2(\text{what Cheney's favorite adjective means in Bush English}, r))$

6

(64)   a.   Bush boasted of 'my [eclectic] reading list'.
       b.   Bush boasted of $f_1(m, f_2(\llbracket \text{eclectic} \rrbracket, r))$

Primed categories and unquotation rules are like slash categories and gap rules.

(65)
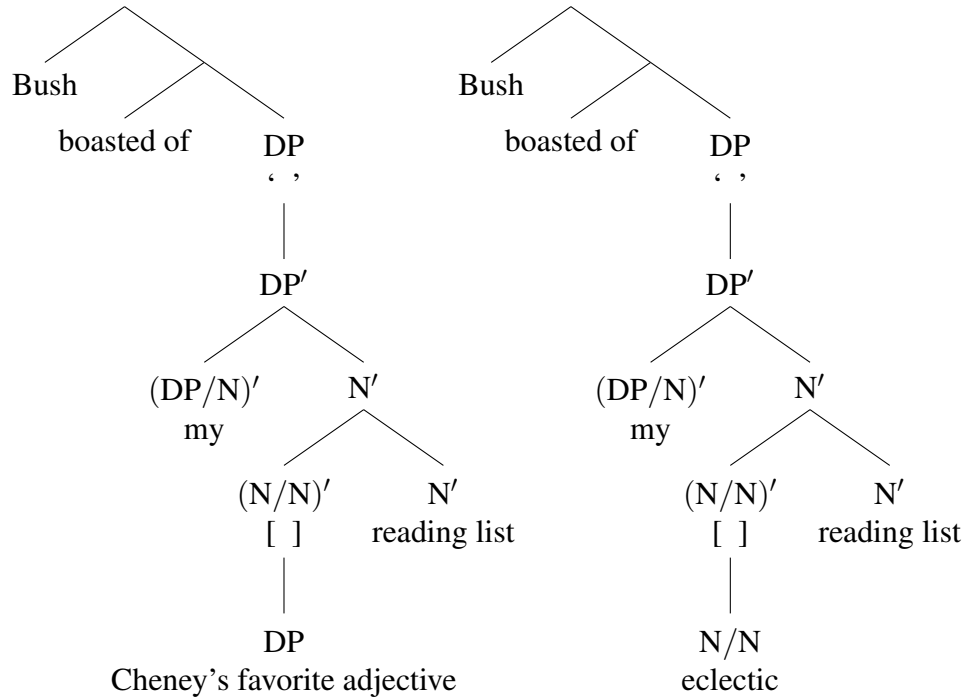
For *[expletive]* ($\approx$ *[an expletive]*) and *[redacted]* ($\approx$ *[a redacted expression]*), need quantification. For *[his uncle]* and *[her job]*, need bound anaphora. Solution: use *monads* to generalize type-lifting from intensionality to other linguistic side effects.

5. Beyond Mixed Quotation

Treat an utterance context as a function from a world and a quoted expression (or quoted combination mode). For example, treat Bush English in (35) as

(66) $\lambda w. \lambda E. (\!|E|\!)(w)(\text{Bush English})$

and replace $(\!|E|\!)(w)(i)$ everywhere else by $i(w)(E)$. For example, the lexical entry

(37) $(\text{N/N})'$ ::= eckullectic $\llbracket (\text{N/N})' \rrbracket = (\!|\text{eckullectic}|\!)$

changes to

(67) $(\text{N/N})'$ ::= eckullectic $\llbracket (\text{N/N})' \rrbracket(w)(i) = i(w)(\text{eckullectic})$.

Pure quotation is interpreting with the identity function:

(68) $A ::= \text{'}A'\text{'}$ $[\![A]\!](w) = [\![A']\!](w)(\lambda w. \lambda E. E)$

Compatible with syntactic unquotation but not semantic unquotation, as desired.

The rest of language:

(69)   a. Alice saw Bob
        b. '['Alice'] saw ['Bob']'
        c. "[["Alice"]] saw [["Bob"]]"

Once we know what $\ldots saw \ldots$ is used to mean, '$\ldots saw \ldots$' becomes an ordinary construction, whose semantic content involves no diagonalization.

(70) $\lambda w. \lambda o. \lambda s. (\![\text{S} ::= \text{DP saw DP}]\!)(w_0)(\text{English})(s, o)(w) = [\![\text{saw}]\!]$

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