Thanks to Chris Barker, Sam Cumming, Gabriel Greenberg, Michael Johnson, Ernie Lepore, Emar Maier, Matthew Stone, Rutgers Linguistics, and the University of Århus.
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
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


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).
Truth conditions of mixed quotation

Bush is proud of his ‘eckullectic’ reading list.

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

Quine says quotation ‘has a certain anomalous feature’.

1. ‘has a certain anomalous feature’ is used to mean $f$.
2. Quine says quotation $f$.

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.

3. *Bush said his reading list eclectic.
4. *Quine’s constitutes a knockdown argument is trivial.

5. *Bush met the king of France.
Well-formedness conditions of mixed quotation

1. *Bush said his reading list ‘eckullectic’.
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3. *Bush said his reading list eclectic.
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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

\[ A ::= A/B\ B \]
\[ A ::= B\ B\backslash A \]

\[ \text{DP} ::= \text{Bush} \]
\[ (\text{DP}\backslash S)/S ::= \text{says} \]
\[ (\text{DP}\backslash S)/\text{DP} ::= \text{is proud of} \]

\[ N/N ::= \text{eclectic} \]
\[ N ::= \text{reading list} \]
Starting with categorial grammar

Abusing notation: $\sem{A}$

$$A ::= A/B \ B \quad \sem{A}(w) = \sem{A/B}(w)(\sem{B})$$

$$A ::= B \ B\setminus A \quad \sem{A}(w) = \sem{B\setminus A}(w)(\sem{B})$$

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

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

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

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

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

The type of $\sem{A}$ is $\tau(A)$, defined to be $\langle s, \sigma(A) \rangle$, where

$$\sigma(A/B) = \sigma(B\setminus A) = \langle \tau(B), \sigma(A) \rangle, \quad \sigma(\text{DP}) = e, \quad \sigma(S) = t, \quad \ldots.$$
Quoting categories embed quoted categories

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

' Bush English \ ' Quine English \ ... \n
$A ::= 'A'$
Quoting categories embed quoted categories

Enshrine quoted syntax in quoting syntax:

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

\[
A ::= ‘A’
\]

\[
(N/N)’ ::= eckullectic
\]
Bush is proud of his eclectic reading list.
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’*.’

\[
A ::= ‘A’
\]
\[
(N/N)' ::= \text{eckullectic} \quad \llbracket (N/N)' \rrbracket (i) = \llbracket \text{eckullectic} \rrbracket^i
\]

\[ ... \]
Quoting contents are quoted characters (Kaplan)

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.

\[
A ::= '\text{'A'}' \\
[N/N]' ::= \text{eckullectic} \\
\text{[}[A')(i) = [\text{[eckullectic}]^i]
\]
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’.

\[
A ::= 'A' \\
[N/N]' ::= \text{eckullectic} \\
A' ::= (A/B)' B' \\
A' ::= [DP] \\
A' ::= [A]
\]
Bush boasted of DP

\[ \text{DP} \]

... expletive ...

\[ \text{DP} \]

an N

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{DP} \]

... expletive ...

\[ \text{DP} \]

an eclectic reading list

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{N} \]

\[ \text{N} \]

eclectic reading list
Varieties of unquotation

Mixed-quote of non-constituent
Mary allowed as how her dog ate ‘odd things, when left to his own devices’.  (Abbott 2003)

Mary Fido devoured odd things, when left to his own devices.
Varieties of unquotation

**Mixed-quote of non-constituent**

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

*Mary* Fido devoured *odd things, when left to his own devices.*  

(Abbott 2003)
Varieties of unquotation

Mixed-quote of non-constituent
Mary allowed as how her dog ‘[ate] odd things, when left to his own devices’.

Mary Fido devoured odd things, when left to his own devices.

Not Mary Whereas under human supervision Fido ate odd things, when left to his own devices he ate only Nutrapup.
Varieties of unquotation

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Mary Fido devoured odd things, when left to his own devices.
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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]’.
John I would like the à la mode apple pie please.
Varieties of unquotation

Mixed-quote of non-constituent
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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]’.

John I would like the à la mode apple pie please.

Pure unquotation
de Quine Ralph would assent to ‘[Ortcutt’s name] is a spy’.
de re ? Ralph would assent to ‘[Ortcutt] is a spy’.
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’.

\[
A ::= 'A' \quad [A](\nu) = [A'](\text{Bush English in } \nu)(\nu)
\]
\[
(N/N)' ::= \text{eckullectic} \quad [(N/N)'](i) = [\text{eckullectic}]^i
\]
\[
A' ::= (A/B)' B' \quad [A'](i) = [A ::= A/B B]^i
\]
\[
A' ::= [\text{DP}]\quad (\text{Composition rules type-lifted to be context-dependence friendly—pragmatics in semantics!})
\]
\[
A' ::= [A]
\]
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’.

\[
\begin{align*}
A &::= \{}^\prime\! A{}^\prime \quad [A](w) = [A']\text{(Bush English in } w)(w) \\
(N/N)' &::= \text{eckullectic} \quad [(N/N)'](i) = [\text{eckullectic}]^i \\
A' &::= (A/B)' B' \quad [A'](i) = [A::= A/B B]^i \\
&::= \text{[DP]} \quad [A'] = \text{character of [DP]} \\
A' &::= [A]
\end{align*}
\]
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’.

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

\[(N/N) ::= \text{eckullectic} \quad [(N/N)](i) = [\text{eckullectic]}^i
\]

\[
A' ::= (A/B) B' \quad [A'](i) = [A ::= A/B B]^i
\]

\[
A' ::= [\text{DP}] \quad [A'] = \text{character of } [\text{DP}]
\]

\[
A' ::= [A] \quad [A'](i) = [A] \quad \text{directly referential}
\]
Recap

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
Recap

Put the mental in fragment.

Payoffs:

- Mixed quotes can be ill-formed
- Names and definitions are mixed quotes
- Un quotation, both de Quine and de re
- Pure quotation; take over the world
What is in a context?

A context is: an argument to characters?
a function from words and constructions?
a tuple of semantic values and combinators?

Herbrand/identity interpreter → pure quotation/hyperintensionality

\[
A ::= \text{`A'} \\
(N/N)' ::= \text{eckullectic} \\
A' ::= (A/B)' B' \\
A' ::= [DP] \\
A' ::= [A]
\]

\[
[A](\omega) = [A'](\text{Bush English in } \omega)(\omega) \\
((N/N)')(i) = [\text{eckullectic}]^i \\
[A'](i) = [A ::= A/B B]^i \\
([((A/B)')(i), [B'](i)) \\
[A'](i) = [A]
\]
What is in a context?

A context is: an argument to characters?
   a function from words and constructions?
   a tuple of semantic values and combinators?

Herbrand/identity interpreter → pure quotation/hyperintensionality

\[
A ::= \textquote{A}' \\
(N/N)' ::= \text{eckullectic} \\
A' ::= (A/B)' B' \\
A' ::= [\text{DP}] \\
A' ::= [A]
\]

\[
\mathbb{A}(w) = \mathbb{A}' (\lambda u. \mathbb{u}^{BE} w) (w)
\]

\[
[(N/N)'](i) = i(\text{eckullectic}) \\
\mathbb{[A]}'(i) = i(A ::= A/B B) \\
\mathbb{[A]}'(i) = \text{character of } [\text{DP}] \\
\mathbb{[A]}'(i) = \mathbb{[A]}
\]
What is in a context?

A context is: an argument to characters?
a function from words and constructions?
a tuple of semantic values and combinators?

Herbrand/identity interpreter → pure quotation/hyperintensionality

\[ A ::= 'A' \]
\[ (N/N)' ::= \text{eckullectic} \]
\[ A' ::= (A/B)' B' \]
\[ A' ::= \lbrack \text{DP} \rbrack \]
\[ A' ::= \lbrack A \rbrack \]
\[ [A](w) = [A']([A ::= A/B B]^{BEw}) \]
\[ [(N/N)'](i) = i_1 \]
\[ [A'](i) = i_2 \]
\[ ([A/B']'(i), [B'](i)) \]
\[ [A'] = \text{character of } [\text{DP}] \]
\[ [A'](i) = [A] \]
Curating meaning from other minds

Alice saw Bob . . . but isn't all this nesting terribly inefficient?
Curating meaning from other minds

Alice saw Bob... but isn't all this nesting terribly inefficient?
Curating meaning from other minds

Alice saw Bob. . . but isn't all this nesting terribly inefficient?
Curating meaning from other minds

Alice saw Bob... but isn't all this nesting terribly inefficient?
Curating meaning from other minds

Alice saw Bob... but isn’t all this nesting terribly inefficient?
Reducing interpretive overhead

If the quoted and quoting languages are identical, then the extra level of quotation can be ignored.
Reduction interpretive overhead

If the quoted and quoting languages are identical, then the extra level of quotation can be ignored.

That is, much of the nested context shifting can be compiled away.
Conclusion

Put the mental in fragment.

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)