

Intonational meaning beyond the F-marking system

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1 Intonation yields minimal pairs

- (1) a. The linguist who works on presuppositions spoke with the linguist who works on vowel harmony.
b. #The linguist, who works on presuppositions, spoke with the linguist, who works on vowel harmony.
- (2) a. Chris asked for “[æ]pricots”, not “[e]pricots”.
b. #Chris asked for apricots, not apricots.
- (3) a. #Chris is so next in line.
b. Chris is so_F next in line.

The hardest part of this presentation was finding a title.

- According to Ladd (1996), intonation is “postlexical”:
“intonation conveys meanings that apply to phrases or utterances as a whole, such as sentence type or speech act, or focus and information structure. By this definition, intonation excludes features of stress, accent, and tone that are determined in the lexicon, which serve to distinguish one word from another.” (p. 7).
- These examples are unlike anything we saw in the seminar. Are we therefore beyond (or before) F-marking? Or non-F-marking? Or independent of F-marking?

A claim None of the meanings discussed here can be reduced to focus or givenness.

A hope We can identify each of these effects by their phonology.

An expectation This will require us to look beyond the standard set of tunes. Duration, amplitude, and the like might also be part of the exponent of the meanings in question (but cf. Ward and Hirschberg 1988; Hirschberg and Ward 1992).

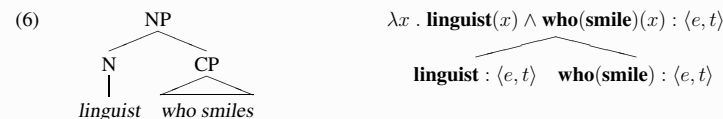
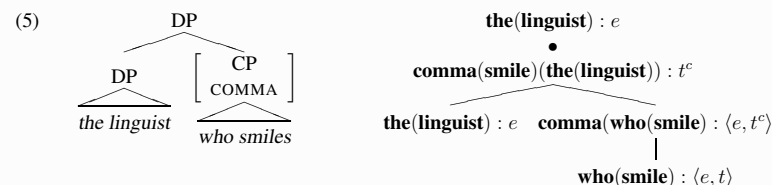
2 Comma intonation

Emonds (1976) proposed that comma intonation is a distinguishing characteristic of supplementary (appositive, parenthetical) expressions. Potts (2004b) provides this notion with a semantic interpretation.

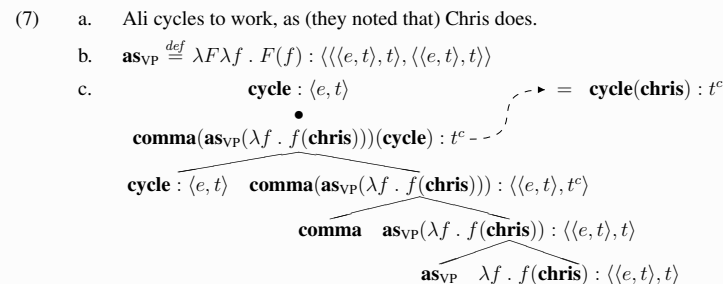
Comma intonation in three domains

phonology	syntax	semantics
IP	COMMA	$\lambda X . X : \langle \langle \sigma, t \rangle, \langle \sigma, t^c \rangle \rangle$, where $\sigma \in \{e, t\}$

A type superscripted with *c* indicates that the content is conventionally implicated. Comma intonation shifts expressions into that type space.



In some cases, the differences cannot be made to flow from the comma intonation alone:



- (8)
- a. Ali cycles to work as (they noted that) Chris cycles to work — along Main Street.
 - b. $\mathbf{as}_{Adv} \stackrel{def}{=} \lambda p \lambda f \lambda x . \exists P[P(p) \wedge P(f(x))] : \langle t, \langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$

3 Quotation

The quoted expression is **intonationally prominent** and (almost) **obligatorily given!**

- (9) a. Ellen: *The Godfather II* is a total snooze.
 b. Frank: Well, Pauline Kael said that this “total snooze” is a defining moment in American cinema.

Quotative contour rise–fall–rise, perhaps on each prosodic word

Lexicalization

- In print, speakers use quotation marks and related devices.
- In speech, they sometimes use body language.
- With subclausal quotations like (9b), they always use a special intonation throughout the quotation. This is how one can say “quote-unquote” at the start of the quotation and not use a similar expression to mark its end.

Quotative semantics (Potts 2004a)

- (10) a. Ellen stands in the utterance relation to *total snooze*
 b. Pauline Kael said that the object that is picked out by *total snooze* in Ellen’s belief worlds is a defining moment in American cinema.

Potts (2004a) defines a continuation operator (Barker 2002; Shan and Barker 2003) to obtain these meanings compositionally. But the fundamental move is an elevation of linguistic objects to first-class objects in the models. (Surely this cannot be controversial among linguists!)

4 “Metalinguistic” negation

Potts (2004a) develops a semantics for metalinguistic negation on which it is not metalinguistic. The sentences in question are multidimensional. Negation can target one dimension or the other. It remains a regular propositional negation. This achieves the unification sought by Horn (1989) (unsuccessfully; Geurts 1998).

- (11) He didn’t call the POLICE, he called the poLICE.
 (12) a. $\llbracket \ulcorner \text{POLICE} \urcorner \rrbracket = \langle \llbracket \text{po.lis} \rrbracket ; \text{NP} ; \text{police} : \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
 b. $\llbracket \ulcorner \text{poLICE} \urcorner \rrbracket = \langle \llbracket \text{po.lis} \rrbracket ; \text{NP} ; \text{police} : \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$

Negation is a function taking pairs of propositions into pairs of propositions. But in its heart it remains a regular unary predicate:

- (13) a. $\llbracket \text{not}_1(\llbracket \text{p} \cdot \text{q} \rrbracket) \rrbracket = \langle \{w \mid w \notin \llbracket \text{p} \rrbracket\}, \llbracket \text{q} \rrbracket \rangle$
 b. $\llbracket \text{not}_2(\llbracket \text{p} \cdot \text{q} \rrbracket) \rrbracket = \langle \llbracket \text{p} \rrbracket, \{w \mid w \notin \llbracket \text{q} \rrbracket\} \rangle$

Translations for the first and second sentences in (11):

- (14) a. $\text{not}_2(\llbracket \text{he called the police} \cdot \text{the speaker utters} \langle \llbracket \text{po.lis} \rrbracket ; \text{NP} ; \text{police} : \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rrbracket)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{he called the police} \cdot \text{the speaker utters} \langle \llbracket \text{po.lis} \rrbracket ; \text{NP} ; \text{police} : \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \rrbracket$

The first of these has the property defined by the meaning of **stress-initial**. The second does not.

Hypothesis The target of metalinguistic negation has the same intonational contour as quotation: rise–fall–rise.

5 Speech-act SO

Lyn Frazier notes that the following use of *so* seems to indicate the speaker’s degree of commitment to the proposition expressed:

- (15) a. “Here are some recent papers. I am so looking forward to your being here.”¹
 b. Chris is so_F next in line.

Intonational prominence seems to be the factor that distinguishes this particle from its uses as the usual sort of gradable modifier:

- (16) so tired very tired too tired

There is another stressed variant in which *so* functions as a kind of verum focus operator:

- (17) a. Lisa: You’re not going to the movies.
 b. Bart: I am SO!

Ideally Ideally, phonological factors alone would permit us to distinguish these uses of *so* from the one in (15).

Ingredients for a semantics

- Assertion is a scalar affair: one can be committed to varying degrees.
- Speech-acts can be represented in the semantics (Krifka 2001; Geurts and Maier 2004, Potts and Kawahara, to appear) .
- Operators like *SO* modify an assertion operator.

On this account, SO can be gradable on both its adverbial and speech-act uses.

¹From a very nice note by Lisa Selkirk, March 13, 2003.

6 Matt Wolf on *vice-versa*

- (18) a. The semanticists teased the phonologists, and vice versa.
 b. *vice versa* ≈ the phonologists teased the semanticists
- (19) a. Bush will address Fox in Mexico City, and vice versa.
 b. *vice versa* ≈ Fox will address Bush in Mexico City.
 c. *vice versa* ≈ Fox will address Bush in Washington. [if capital cities are salient]
 d. *vice versa* ≈ Fox will visit Bush in New Haven. [if bithplaces are salient]
- (20) a. Ali introduced Chris to Wesley, and vice versa.
 b. *vice versa* ≈ Ali introduced Wesley to Chris
 c. *vice versa* ≈ Chris introduced Ali to Wesley
 d. ...

Intonation helps to distinguish which reading we get. But if you invoke focus sets, you will almost certainly end up with many more alternatives that *vice versa* can manipulate.

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