Speech reports: Day 1
Introduction & Quotation

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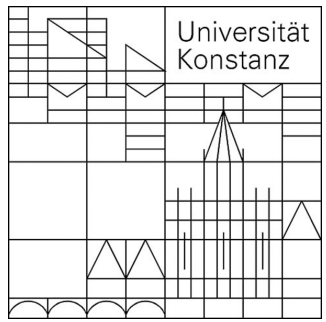


Co-conspirator

Pranav Anand (UC Santa Cruz)

Introduction

Empirical landscape I

Grammar has many ways of reporting the speech of others:

- **Direct discourse**

(1) Pranav to me: "I am sad to be missing ESSLLI".

- **Communicative verbs**

(2) Pranav said/reported/claimed/announced/noted/reassured me that he is sad to be missing ESSLLI.

- **Free Indirect Discourse**

(3) I am sad to be missing ESSLLI, said/thought Pranav.

Empirical landscape II

- **Say-complementizers**

(4) Tsez (Nakh-Dagestanian; Dagestan, Russia)
complementizer *ƛin* (< *eƛin* 'say.PST.NON-WITNESSED')

Di šuƛ'ir-si [di magazine-yāɣor yik'-ān-ƛin]
I.ERG forget-PST.WIT [I.ABS store-LOC go-FUT-**QUOT**]
'I forgot that I was going to the store.' (Polinsky 2015:11)

- **Narrative marking**

Empirical landscape III

- **Reportative subjunctives**

(5) German (Germanic; Germany)

In einem Fall bestritt der Fahrer, [dass er zu wenig
in INDEF case deny.PST def driver [COMP he too little
aufmerksam gewesen **sei**].
mindful be.PRT **be.REP.SUBJ**]
'In one case, the driver denied that he had been reckless.'
(Fabricius-Hansen and Sæbø 2004:214)

- **Reportative evidentials**

(6) Cheyenne (Algonquian; Montana, US)

ná-hó'tėhevá-**måse**
1-win-**REP.1SG**
'I won, I heard.' (Murray 2010:73)

Empirical landscape IV

- **Quotational indefinites**

(7) Japanese (isolate; Japan)

John-wa "Bill-ga **dare-dare**-o aishitieru to itta"
John-TOP "Bill-NOM **who-who**-ACC love" COMP say.PST
≈ 'John said: "Bill loves so-and-so". (Sudo 2008)

- **Evidential adverbials**

(8) Threatened by climate change, Florida **reportedly** bans term 'climate change'. *Washington Post*

Theoretical significance

- Iconicity in language
- Reference
- Intensionality
- Division of labor between semantics and pragmatics
- Cross-linguistic variation

- Recent overviews
  - Syntactic landscape (*Linguistic Typology* 2019; 23:1)
  - Semantic landscape (Bary and Maier 2018)

Agenda

Main goal

Guided tour into mechanisms involved in speech reporting across languages and constructions

- Day 1 Introduction & Quotation
- Day 2 Hybrids: Mixed Quotation & Free Indirect Discourse
- Day 3 Communicative verbs: complements and subjects
- Day 4 Hearsay evidentials
- Day 5 Cat in the bag

Quotation

Basic characteristics

1. Iconicity: verbatim reproduction of a linguistic expression
2. Opacity: closed for semantic and syntactic operations

(9) Pranav says: "Riga must be lovely".

(10) INDIRECT DISCOURSE *(inaccurate)*
Pranav told me that Riga is an old city.

(11) INDIRECT DISCOURSE *(accurate but not verbatim and not opaque)*
Pranav told me that the capital of Latvia is nice.

Varieties of quotation

- **Direct quotation**

(12) Pranav said: “Riga must be lovely”.

- **Mixed quotation**

(13) Pranav said that Riga must be “lovely”.

- **Pure quotation**

(14) ‘Riga must be lovely’ is a grammatical sentence.

Why study quotation?

- A linguistic device with a metalinguistic purpose
  - a window on opacity
  - a window on reference
  - the nature of context-sensitivity, including indexicality
  - understanding of compositionality
- Some readings: Davidson (1979); Capellen and Lepore (1997, 2003); Saka (2013); Cappelen et al. (2019)

Today

- Pure quotation
- Direct quotation
- Quotation across modalities

Pure quotation

Defining characteristics I

- Pure quotation: pure mention (vs. use)
- Opacity: no substitution

(15) a. Riga was founded in 1201.
b. The capital of Latvia was founded in 1201.

(16) a. ‘Riga’ has four letters.
b. ‘The capital of Latvia’ has four letters.

- Productivity: any utterance in the language can be pure-quoted
- No well-formedness: any string can be pure-quoted

(17) ‘Latvia capital of’ is ungrammatical in English.

(18) ‘Abcdefg’ is not a word of English.

Defining characteristics II

- Reference: relation between the quote and the expression
- Fixed syntactic category: always a DP
- Presumably a fixed semantic type
- Some readings: Pagin and Westerstahl (2010); Maier (2014)

Accounts I

The proper name theory (Quine)

For each linguistic expression, the lexicon contains a name for this expression; such names are DPs syntactically and of a special type semantically (cf. Potts 2007)

- Opacity ✓
- Productivity ☹
- Reference ☹

(19)
a. 'Riga': name of Riga
b. *'Riga' has four letters* ≡ *The name of Riga has four letters*

The description theory (Geach)

Quotations: closed under concatenation of quoted words/letters

- Opacity ✓
- Productivity ✓
- Reference ☹

(20)
a. 'The capital of Latvia' ≡ 'The' 'capital' 'of' 'Latvia'
b. 'Riga' ≡ 'R' 'i' 'g' 'a'

Accounts II

The demonstrative theory (Davidson 1979)

Quotation marks constitute a special demonstrative referring to a salient expression (like *that*, only for linguistic expressions)

- Opacity ✓
- Productivity ✓
- Reference ✓
- But no internal structure ...

(21) *'Riga' has 4 letters* ≡ ***That*** *has four letters.*

Accounts III

The disquotational theory (e.g. Pagin and Westerstahl 2010)

Quotation is a syntactic operation that turns any expression into a DP of a special type *u*

- Opacity ✓
- Productivity ✓
- Reference ✓
- Internal structure ✓

(22) D_u is a domain of utterances

(23) For any linguistic expression α,

a. $\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner \in D_u$

b. $[\![\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner]\!] = \alpha$

(24) $[\![\ulcorner\text{Riga}\urcorner]\!] = \textit{Riga}$

Direct quotation

What can be quoted

- Any utterance, not just propositional content

(25) a. ✓Pranav said/exlaimed: “Wow! / Man! / Ouch!”

b. # Pranav said/exclaimed that wow / man / ouch.

- Some verbs that take quotes require content

(26) a. ✓Pranav claimed/remarked/noted: “Riga is lovely”.

b. # Pranav claimed/remarked/noted: “Wow! / Man! / Ouch!”

Complementizers

Quotations may be introduced by complementizers

(27) a. Interjections

Taroo-wa “tye”-**to** it-ta
Taroo-TOP “tut”-**COMP** say-PST
✓‘Taro said: “Tut”.’
Taro said that tut.

b. Questions

Hanako-wa [dare-ga ki-ta-ka-**to**] it-ta
Hanako-TOP [who-NOM come-PST-Q-**COMP**] say-PST
✓‘Taro said: “Who came?’.
✓‘Taro said who came.’ (Hashimoto 2015:12-13)

What can quote (Grimshaw 2015) I

- Speechy predicates differ in argument structure
- The linguistic content argument:

(28) Absent with predicates describing speech

a. ✓We spoke/conversed/talked.

b. # We spoke/conversed/talked that ESSLLI is great .

(29) Present with communicative predicates

a. ✓We said/announced/remarked that ESSLLI is great.

b. # We said/announced/remarked.

- Only communicative predicates take quotes

(30) a. ✓We said/announced/remarked: “ESSLLI is great”.

b. # We spoke/conversed/talked: “ESSLLI is great”.

What can quote (Grimshaw 2015) II

- Not all communicative predicates take quotes

(31) a. ✓Pranav publicized/verbalized/guaranteed/brought up that Riga is beautiful.

b. #Pranav publicized/verbalized/guaranteed/brought up, "Riga is beautiful!"

- One semantic generalization: negative communicatives do not take quotes

(32) #Pranav {denied, omitted, left out}, "Riga is beautiful!"

Basic properties I

Opacity

Quotations are closed off for syntactic and semantic operations

- **Extraction**

(33) a. ✓What$_i$ did Pranav say [Recanati claims t_i in "Literal meaning"]?

b. #What$_i$ did Pranav say: " Recanati claims t_i in "Literal meaning"?

- **Binding**

(34) a. Pranav told no$_i$ collaborator [that the Dean called them$_i$].

b. Pranav told no$_i$ collaborator: "The Dean called them$_{j/\#i}$".

Basic properties II

- **NPI licensing**

(35) a. ✓Pranav didn't say that Natasha ever taught at ESSLLI.

b. #Pranav didn't say: "Natasha ever taught at ESSLLI".

- **Sequence-of-Tense**

(36) a. Pranav told me yesterday that it would rain.

b. Pranav told me yesterday: "It will/#would rain".

Next

- **Indexicals**
- ***De re* construal**

Indexicality I

- Indexicals: *I, you, here, now*
- Indexicals vs. definite descriptions

(37) a. I am in Riga.

b. The speaker is in Riga.

(38) a. I always have brown hair.

b. The speaker always has brown hair.

(39) a. Pranav thinks that I have brown hair.
I = Natasha

b. Pranav thinks that the speaker has brown hair.
the speaker = someone else

Indexicality II

- Contexts and indices

(40) $[\![\cdot]\!]^{c,i,g}$

(41) $c_k = \langle \mathit{author}, \mathit{hearer}, \mathit{location}, \ldots, \mathit{world} \rangle$

(42) $i_k = \langle t, w \rangle$

- Indexicals: directly referential (Kaplan 1989)

(43) a. $[\![\text{ I }]\!]^{c,i,g} = \textsc{author}(c)$

b. $[\![\text{ you }]\!]^{c,i,g} = \textsc{hearer}(c)$

c. $[\![\text{ here }]\!]^{c,i,g} = \textsc{location}(c)$

- Unlike definite descriptions

(44) $[\![\text{ the speaker }]\!]^{c,i,g} = \iota x.x \text{ is speaker in } i$

- Some readings: Podobryaev (2017); Schlenker (2018)

Intensionality I

- Speech and attitude verbs: intensional environments
- Classic semantics: quantifiers over possible worlds (Hintikka 1969)

(45) a. $[\![\text{ think }]\!]^{c,i,g} = \lambda p \lambda x.\ 1 \text{ iff } \forall i' \in \text{DOX}_{x,i}[\ p(i)\ ]$

b. $\text{DOX}_{x,i} = \{i' \mid i' \text{ is compatible with what } x \text{ thinks in } i\ \}$

(46) a. $[\![\text{ say }]\!]^{c,i,g} = \lambda p \lambda x.\ 1 \text{ iff } \forall i' \in \text{SAY}_{x,i}[\ p(i)\ ]$

b. $\text{SAY}_{x,i} = \{i' \mid i' \text{ is compatible with what } x \text{ said in } i\ \}$

- Some readings: (Schlenker 2003; Anand and Nevins 2004; Kratzer 2006; Stephenson 2007, 2010; Moulton 2009; Grønn and von Stechow 2010; Hacquard 2010; Anand and Hacquard 2013; Pearson 2015, 2016)

Intensionality II

- Non-indexicals in intensional environments

(47) $[\![$ Pranav thinks that the speaker has brown hair. $]\!]^{c,i,g}$
$= \forall i' \in \text{DOX}_{Pranav,i} : [\![$ the speaker has brown hair $]\!]^{c,i',g}$
$= 1$ iff $\forall i' \in \text{DOX}_{Pranav,i}$: [the speaker has brown hair in i']

- Indexicals in intensional environments

(48) $[\![$ Pranav thinks that I have brown hair. $]\!]^{c,i,g}$
$= \forall i' \in \text{DOX}_{Pranav,i} : [\![$ I have brown hair $]\!]^{c,i',g}$
$= 1$ iff $\forall i' \in \text{DOX}_{Pranav,i}$: [AUTHOR(c) has brown hair in i']

Indexicals in quotations

Generalization

Indexicals shift in quotations

(49) a. Pranav says that I want to go on vacation.

b. Pranav says: "I want to go on vacation".

(50) *I am in Riga, Pranav is Santa Cruz.*

a. Pranav says that it is sunny here.

b. Pranav says: "It is sunny here".

De re / *de dicto* ambiguities I

- Hallmark of intensional environments

(51) Pranav thinks that the unicorn hid his watch.

  a. DE DICTO: the unicorn only exists in $\text{DOX}_{Pranav,w}$

  b. DE RE: the unicorn exists in the world of evaluation

- *De re*: a matter of scope? (Russell 1905)

(52)

  a. 51a: Pranav thinks [the unicorn hid his watch]

  b. 51b: [the unicorn$_i$ Pranav thinks [t_i hid his watch]

- *De re* is about identity (Quine 1956), not scope

De re / *de dicto* ambiguities II

(53) Double Vision scenarios from *Breaking Bad*

Walter White is a high school chemistry teacher who begins to manufacture methamphetamine, unbeknowst to his family, including his brother-in-law, Hank, who serves in the Drug Enforcement Administration. Meanwhile, Hank is investigating Heisenberg, a potentially apocryphal new drugmaker.

a. Hank believes that Walter is not a drug manufacturer.

b. Hank believes that Walter is a drug manufacturer.

(Anand and Korotkova 2019)

- Not just speech and attitude verbs

(54) a. In Hank's opinion, Walter is a drug manufacturer.

b. According to Hank, Walter is a drug manufacturer.

De re / *de dicto* ambiguities III

- Proper analysis of *de re*: a mechanism of generating guises
- Some readings: Keshet (2010); Aloni (2001); Percus and Sauerland (2003); Charlow and Sharvit (2014), Keshet and Schwarz (forth.)

De re in quotations

Generalization

De re is blocked in quotations

(55) *Hank utters the words*:
Heisenberg is a drug manufacturer.

a. ✓Hank said: "Heisenberg is a drug manufacturer".

b. # Hank said: "Walter is a drug manufacturer".

Defining property

- Direct discourse requires iconicity: verbatim reproduction
- Indexical shift and *de re* blocking ensue

(56) Pranav uses 'I' to talk about himself, therefore:

a. ✓Pranav says: "I finished the slides".

b. # Pranav$_i$ says: "He$_i$ finished the slides" .

(57) Hank uses "Heisenberg" to talk about the criminal, therefore:

a. ✓Hanks says: "Heisenberg is a druglord".

b. # Hank says: "Walter is a druglord".

How verbatim is verbatim?

- Different language

(58) 

The signs says “Fresh strawberries”.

- Different dialect
- Hedges, repetitions, speech errors (think “edited for clarity”)
- Mechanisms for imprecision:
  - Contextual standards: cf. scales of gradable adjectives (Kennedy and McNally 2005)
  - Loose talk: there is only one true verbatim report, but language use allows approximation (cf. Lasersohn 1999)

Next: Accounts of direct discourse

- Multi-dimensionality (Potts 2007)
- Demonstration (Davidson 2015)

Potts (2007) I

- Direct quotation as multidimensional content

(59) D_u is a domain of utterances

(60) For any linguistic expression α,

a. $\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner \in D_u$

b. $[\![\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner]\!]^{c,i,g} = \alpha$

(61) $[\![\text{utter}(\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner)(x)]\!]^{c,i,g} = 1$ iff $[\![\text{x}]\!]^{c,i,g}$ utters $\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner$ in i

Potts (2007) II

- Direct quotation predicates
  - require utterance of the quote

(62) $[\![\text{utter}(\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner)(x)]\!]^{c,i,g} = 1$ iff $[\![\text{x}]\!]^{c,i,g}$ utters $\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner$ in i

  - compose with the interpretation of its denotation

(63) $[\![\textit{say}_q(\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner)(x)]\!]^{c,i,g} =$

a. Tier A: 1 iff $[\![x]\!]^{c,i,g}$ utters $\ulcorner\alpha\urcorner$ in i

b. Tier B: 1 iff $[\![x]\!]^{c,i,g}$ says $[\![\alpha]\!]^{c,i,g}$ in i

Potts (2007) III

- Correct predictions
  - ▷ iconicity: the utterance requirement
  - ▷ opacity: no interaction between dimensions for type-theoretic reasons (cf. Potts 2005 on supplements)
  - ▷ selectional restrictions

(64) a. Pranav ✓remarked / # asked: 'ESSLLI is in Utrecht next year".

b. Pranav # remarked / ✓asked: 'Where is ESSLLI next year?"

Potts (2007) IV

- Direct discourse is semantically active (Partee 1973)
  - Ellipsis

(65) 'I talk better English than the both of youse!' shouted Charles, thereby convincing me that he didn't.

  - Anaphora

(66) What he actually said was, 'It's clear that you've given this problem a great deal of thought,' but he meant quite the opposite.

Potts (2007) V

- Note: supplements
  - Similar problems
  - Solutions: interaction between dimensions (Anderbois et al. 2015) or uni-dimensionality (Schlenker 2013)
  - Those solutions not suitable for quotations due to opacity
- Solution: quotes are available for discourse operations (Recanati 2001)
  - straightforward for anaphora
  - works for anaphoric accounts of ellipsis

Next

- Multi-modality of quotation
- Demonstration (Davidson 2015)

Psychological perspective

Cognitively speaking

Direct quotations are not mere descriptions of what is said

- Direct quotations are more vivid than meaning-equivalent indirect ones in written language processing (Yao and Scheepers 2011)
- Auditory cortex activation while reading direct quotes (Yao et al. 2012)
- Long argued that spontaneous oral quotations are multi-modal, recruiting bodily gesture and vocal mimicry (Clark and Gerrig 1990)

Multimodal articulation I

- Blackwell et al. (2015): how people recalled Youtube videos with a variety of vocalizations and movements
  - a parrot producing imitations of human speech and a tiger's roar
  - another parrot counting to ten
  - two infants babbling to each other
  - a talking robot
  - a speaker pretending to have a French accent
- 32% recalls overall had no quotation or indirect quotes
- 42% *be like*, 22% *say*, 18% *go*, 6% zero, 4% *just*

Multimodal articulation II

- Annotators rated demonstrations on 1-5 scale
- Results show multi-modal productions: more vocal demonstration correlates with more bodily demonstration

Form	N	Vocal Dem	Bodily Dem
zero	23	3.61 (.64)	3.94 (.83)
be like	77	3.27 (1.10)	3.10 (1.13)
go	68	3.31 (1.03)	3.07 (1.16)
say	81	2.13 (1.25)	2.28 (1.15)
no/ind quotation	89	1.46 (.60)	1.69 (.78)

(Median rating (SD); Blackwell et al. 2015)

Multimodal articulation III

- Stec et al. (2016): quoting characters in personal narratives
  - Corpus: 5 hours, 704 quotations, 25 speakers
  - Devices: intonation, facial features, hands, gaze, posture
  - Narratives: actual quotation vs. fictive discourse
  - Fictive: character's thoughts; an entity which cannot speak; a future, pretend or counterfactual scenario

Q Predicates	Q Speech		Fictive Speech		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bare	129	27.7	86	36.1	215	30.5
Be like	178	38.2	97	40.8	275	39.1
Say	102	21.9	6	2.5	108	15.3
Think	8	1.7	33	13.9	41	5.8
Other	49	10.5	16	6.7	65	9.3

(Stec et al. 2016:11)

Multimodal articulation IV

- High rates of various role-shift devices (and multiple at once)
- Except manual gestures (similar to what's found for role shift)

Bodily Resources	Q Speech		Fictive Speech		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Intonation	249	53.4	140	58.8	389	55.3
Facial expression	196	42.1	140	58.8	336	47.7
Hand gesture	92	19.7	53	22.3	145	20.6
Gaze	341	73.2	162	68.1	503	71.4
Posture	396	85.0	200	84.0	596	84.7

(Stec et al. 2016:11)

- **Multiple bodily activities are a regular feature of spoken language**

Davidson (2015)

Main goal

A unified account of devices that depict speech or behavior

- quotation
- *be like*
- classifier predicates
- role shift

Be like I

- Iconic, but not necessarily verbatim

(67) The girl was like "[with a beaming smile] I got an A" .
(Davidson 2015:484)

- Opaque

(68) a. Wh-extraction
What$_i$ was the girl like "[with a beaming smile] I got t_i"?

b. NPI licensing
The girl was never like "[with a beaming smile] I got any A".
(Davidson 2015:484)

NB similar constructions elsewhere (Buchstaller and van Alphen 2012)

Be like II

Event semantics for demonstration

A demonstration d of e reproduces properties of e and those properties are contextually relevant

- Properties of speech events include words, intonation, gestures, facial expressions

(69) $[\![\text{ like }]\!] = \lambda d.\lambda e.[\text{demonstration}(d, e)]$

(70) John was like "I'm happy"

a. $[\![\text{ "I'm happy" }]\!] = d_1$ (a particular demonstration)

b. $[\![\text{ John was like "I'm happy" }]\!]$
$= \exists e.[\mathit{agent}(e, \mathit{John}) \wedge \mathit{demonstration}(d_1, e)]$

Sign languages I

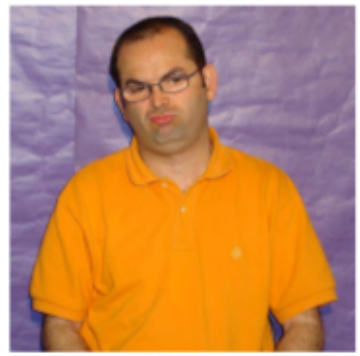
Role shift

- Construction to report speech/thought or actions
- Special non-manual marking (examples from Quer 2011)

- Body lean

- Head position

- Facial expression



Sign languages II

- Eyegaze break

- Some readings: Quer (2011, 2019); Herrmann and Steinbach (2012); Lillo-Martin (2012); Schlenker (2017a,b)

Sign languages III

Tests for indirect discourse (Davidson 2015; Schlenker 2017a,b)

- Indexical shift
- *Wh*-extraction: mixed results
- No NPI licensing
- *De re* / *de dicto*: not tested

Sign languages IV

(71) Indirect report

___t

ANNA$_i$ 3-SAY-1 IX-3$_i$ FED-UP LOSE+++ (LSC)

'Anna told me that she was fed up with losing so often.'

(Quer 2019:223)

Sign languages V

(72) Role shift

_____rs-i

ANNA_i 3-SAY-2 IX-1_i FED-UP LOSE+++ (LSC)

'Anna told you that she was fed up with losing so often/ Anna told you: 'I'm fed up with losing so often.'

(Quer 2019:223)

Sign languages VI

- Another use of Role Shift: constructed action (Cormier et al. 2015)
- Davidson (2015): both uses of Role Shift are instances of event demonstration
- Future work: a better notion of similarity / contextual relevance

Spoken language quotation marking

- Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999)
  - Prosody can delimit boundaries of a quote: pitch, volume, rhythm, speech rate
  - Prosodic marking can appear with indirect discourse
  - Typically prosodic formatting is partial (unlike non-manual marking in sign)
- Bottom line: lots of work to be done!

Tomorrow

- Strategies that simultaneously exhibit properties of direct and indirect discourse
  - Mixed Quotation
  - Free Indirect Discourse

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