

Attitude problems? Projection helps!

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De re, de dicto, etc.

Four sorts of 'readings'

(Egré 2004)

[1] Pierre believes that the president is a singer.

- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------|
| a. | $\text{Bel}_{\text{Pierre}}(\exists x[\text{Px} \wedge \text{Sx}])$ | (simple) de dicto |
| b. | $\exists x[\text{Px} \wedge \text{Bel}_{\text{Pierre}}(\text{Sx})]$ | (simple) de re |
| c. | $\exists x[\text{Px} \wedge \text{Bel}_{\text{Pierre}}(\text{Px} \wedge \text{Sx})]$ | de re/de dicto |
| d. | $\exists x[\text{Bel}_{\text{Pierre}}(\text{Px} \wedge \text{Sx})]$ | pseudo de dicto |

Hyperintensionality

The truth-conditional account of attitude reports

- [1] Wilbur believes that April is the cruelest month.
- ▶ [1] says that Wilbur stands in the belief relation to [1*] the proposition that April is the cruelest month.
 - ▶ [1*] is defined by its truth conditions: [1*] is true iff April is the cruelest month.

A problem with the truth-conditional account

- [1] Mildred believes she has arthritis in the thigh.
- ▶ [1] says that Mildred stands in the belief relation to [1*] the proposition that she has arthritis in the thigh.
 - ▶ [1*] is true iff Mildred has arthritis in the thigh.
 - ▶ [1*] is true iff Mildred has arthritis in her left ear lobe.
 - ▶ Hence, [1] is equivalent to:
- [2] Mildred believes she has arthritis in her left ear lobe.

bother!

Towards a solution

- [1] Mildred believes that she has arthritis in the thigh.
- [2] Mildred believes that she has what she calls 'arthritis' in the thigh.
- [3] Mildred believes that she has 'arthritis' in the thigh.


Idea: Once we know what to do about [2] and [3], we'll have an account of [1], as well.

Varieties of quotation

Quotation works in wondrous ways

- [1] 'Gud' is wrong.
- [2] George says Tony is his 'bestest friend'.
- [3] In poetry the vocabulary attains a remarkable flexibility through the wealth of synonyms for words like war, warrior, shield, sword, battle, sea, ship . . . and through the bold use of metaphors. . . . Warriors in their woven war-shirts, carrying battle-brand or war-shaft, form the iron-clad throng.
- [4] 'ATTENTION' SLIPPERY FLOOR
- [5] 'PIZZA'

Things you can do with “sheep” (or “Sheep”)

- [1] ‘Sheep’ is an irregular plural.
 - [2] In this sentence, ‘sheep’ is singular.
 - [3] ‘Sheep’ begins with an /s/.
 - [4] ‘Sheep’ begins with an ‘s’.
 - [5] ‘Sheep’ begins with an ‘S’.
 - [6] ‘Sheep’ is a universal concept.
 - [7] ‘Sheep’ rhymes with ‘heap’.
 - [8] In German, ‘sheep’ doesn’t rhyme with ‘heap’.
-  It seems that the interpretation of quotation depends quite heavily on the context.

Mixed quotation

Mixed quotation in 2D

- [1] Quine says that quotation 'has a certain anomalous feature'.
- ▶ '[Quotation marks] do double duty, once as meaningful cogs in the machine of the sentence, once as semantically neutral objects with a useful form.' (Davidson 1979)
 - ▶ '[T]he proposition expressed by the complement sentence is the same with or without the quotation marks, and it is **not** about words. The [quotation] conveys an additional meaning, but that pictorial meaning runs in parallel to the proposition which is linguistically articulated: it is not a part of it.' (Recanati 2001)
 - ▶ The suggestion is that mixed quotations are interpreted on two levels at once. Where does this view lead to?

Implementing the 2D view

(Potts 2004)

[1] George said that Tony is 'very special'.

In Potts' system, [1] is associated with a **pair** of meanings:

- ▶ **regular meaning**: the proposition that George asserted that Tony is very special; and
- ▶ **speech report meaning**: the proposition that George uttered the phrase 'very special'.

A binding problem

By relegating regular meaning and speech report meaning to separate levels, their contents come apart:

- [1] George said that Tony is 'very special'.
 - ▶ George asserted that Tony is very special.
 - ▶ George uttered the phrase 'very special'.

- [2] George said that, unlike his wife, Tony is 'very special'.
 - ▶ George asserted that Tony is very special and Cheryl is not.
 - ▶ George uttered the phrase 'very special'.

Quotation in 1D

- ▶ The semantic effect of quotation is to shift the ordinary meaning of an expression α to a new meaning that involves mentioning α .
- ▶ This meaning shift is not constant: quotation doesn't always work in the same way.
- ▶ Pure quotation: $\alpha \rightsquigarrow$ 'the expression ' α ''.
 - ▶ 'Monosyllabic' is not monosyllabic.
- ▶ Mixed quotation: $\alpha \rightsquigarrow$ 'what x expressed by way of ' α ' on occasion e'.
 - ▶ George called the 'POLice'.
 - ▶ Dad : Somebody call the POLice!
Tony : George just CALLED the 'POLice'.

Binding to a speech event

[1] George called the 'POLice'.

[2] $[y: \text{George}(y), x \in Q: E_e(x, Q, \mathbf{POLice}), z: Q(z), e': \text{call}_{e'}(y, z)]$

$x = y, e = e'$

[3] $[y: \text{George}(y), e \in Q: E_e(y, Q, \mathbf{POLice}), z: Q(z), \text{call}_e(y, z)]$

Mixed quotation: Binding to an attitudinal eventuality

[1] Tony says the 'POLice' are on their way.

[2] [y: Tony(y),
 e: say_e(y,
 [x e' Q: E_{e'}(x,Q,**POLice**), z: Q(z), e'': OTW_{e''}(z))]]

x = y, e' = e

[3] [y: Tony(y), e Q: E_e(y,Q,**POLice**), z: Q(z),
 say_e(y, [e'': OTW_{e''}(z)])]

Hyperintensionality: Projection beyond an attitudinal eventuality

[1] Mildred believes she has arthritis in the thigh.

[2] [y: Mildred(y),
 e: believe_e(y,
 [x e' Q: E_{e'}(x,Q,**arthritis**), z: Q(z), e'': IT_{e''}(z))]]

x = y

[3] [y: Mildred(y), e' Q: E_{e'}(y,Q,**arthritis**), z: Q(z),
 e: believe_e(y, [e'': IT_{e''}(z))]]