

Présentation de *Lexicalized intonational meaning* (C. Potts)

But de C. Potts: montrer que l'intonation est sensible aux dimensions de sens.

But de l'exposé: classer les effets de la prosodie (constituance, accentuation, intonation)

1. Objet

Trois "items prosodiques" que Potts présente comme des items lexicaux ("playful but accurate enough")

- (1) a. Comma intonation: , – ()
b. Quotation contour: “ “ ‘ ‘
c. Speech act *SO* [=accentué] (vs *so* [non accentué])
- (2) a. #The linguist, who works on presuppositions, is taller than the linguist, who work on vowel harmony
b. The linguist who works on presuppositions, is taller than the linguist who work on vowel harmony
- (2') # The linguist is taller than the linguist
- (3) a. Chris asked for "[ae] pricots", not [er] pricots
b. # Chris asked for apricots, not apricots
- (4) a. Chris is *SO* next in line
b. * Chris is *so* next in line
- (5) a. In each of the (a) examples in (2)-(4), we have some kind of multidimensionality
b. Intonation is the defining feature of each of the (a) examples in (2)-(4).
c. It's no surprise that intonation and multidimensionality arrive together: separate messages travel more easily on separate channels.

2. Comma intonation (CI)

Restriction: CI avec les relatives appositives (*supplementary relatives*)

Propriété:

- i) "scopeless"; (ii) échappe à la négation dialogale.

- (6) a. Arlo thinks that Ali, that works on presuppositions, is a phonologist.
b. A.: Armonstrong, qui est australien, a gagné le Tour de France
B.: C'est pas vrai !

- commentaire/information d'arrière-plan

→ expressive meaning

- seule propriété formelle:

- (7) a. [[The romans]_{MaP} [who arrived early]_{MaP}]_{IntP} [found a land of wooded hill]_{IntP}
b. [The romans who arrived early]_{MaP} found a land of wooded hill]_{IntP}

Effet du contour:

- (8) <'Armonstrong a gagné le Tour de France', 'Armonstrong est australien'>
at-issue meaning expressive meaning

- at-issue meaning (contenu descriptif): contenu de l'assertion

- expressive content (contenu expressif): commitment du locuteur, n'est pas asserté (le locuteur ne demande pas à l'interlocuteur de le prendre en charge).

3. Quotation contour

Description du contour

- (9)=(22) They made phone calls to three “
H* L H% H* L H% H* L H%
prominent Indian government
officials”

- (10)=(23) In quotation, each prosodic word projects to its own intonational phrase with a rise-fall-rise.

Effet du contour:¹

- (3) a. Chris asked for “[ae] pricots”, not [er] pricots

- (11) < 'Chris asked for apricots' × 'x uttered the phrase [ae]pricots' >
cf. (25) (the value of x is supplied by the context of utterance).

NB: l'analyse permet de rendre compte d'un des usages de la négation dite métalinguistique

4. Speech act *SO*

- *so*: degree modifier + gradable adjectives

- (12)=(36) a. Ed is so angry he could scream
b. * The number 7 is so prime that it is often used in examples

- Speech act *SO* can appear as the syntactic modifier of non gradable predicates and it can adjoin to the left edge of the verb phrase

- (13)=(38) a. I am SO looking forward to your being here
b. I am SO next in line

¹ Quoted expressions pick out linguistic objects but also have the usual semantics of their quotation-free counterparts. Their semantics is thus multidimensional. This multidimensionality traces back to to an element of the intonational lexicon, namely “ “ (and their variants). (ibid.: 139).

- (14)=(39) a. Ali could SO win that race
b. Nancy could SO wear that dress

cf. C'est tellement vrai ! Il pourrait tellement produire ce film !

Effet du contour²

(4) Chris is SO next in line

(15) < 'Chris is next in line', 'I am strongly committed to the proposition that Chris is next in line' >

5. Commentaires

5.1. Les items prosodiques comme (règles | indices (*cue*) d'une règle) de composition du sens

Multidimensional denotations (p. 143):

- (16) a. Contenu descriptif (*at-issue*) vs contenu expressif
b. Expression en usage vs expression en mention
c. Contenu (de l'acte de discours) vs (aspect de l') acte de discours (commitment du locuteur)
- (17) a. Contenu de l'énoncé : (a) et (b)
b. Énonciation de l'énoncé : (c)

5.2. Intonational reduction

(17)=(21) Conjecture

Intonational effects are often reduced when the (linguistic or extra-linguistic) context biases in favor of the interpretation it would deliver (ibid: 135).

Ex.: marquage de l'associé d'un adverbe associatif

- (18) a. Paul a seulement vu Bernadette au restaurant hier soir
b 'Paul a vu Bernadette – et personne d'autre– au restaurant hier soir'

Deux versions de (17)

Illustration. Admettons l'analyse de Beyssade et al. (cf. poster dans le couloir): l'associé est (i) prosodiquement distingué dans le domaine de restriction (ii) prosodiquement marqué sur sa frontière droite.

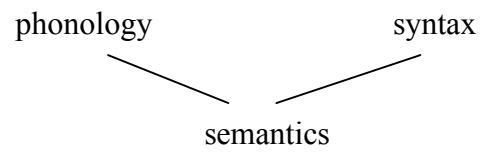
- forte: l'associé doit être distingué dans un domaine qui doit être borné,
- faible: l'associé peut être distingué dans un domaine qui peut être borné.

Deux conceptions de la prosodie:

² The contribution of Speech act *SO* seems fundamentally different from what we find in the realm of regular content.

– contribue à la construction des énoncés à l’instar de la syntaxe

(19)=(41)



– appartient au système collatéral (Clark) : “signals that refer to the local, ongoing performance of [the] primary signals.”

Ref.

Clark, Herbert. *Pragmatics of Language Performance*. [Horn L et al., eds] *Handbook of Pragmatics*. 365-382.

Potts, Christopher. 2005. *Lexicalized intonational meaning*.
<http://people.umass.edu/potts/papers.shtml>.