

'Attention, I'm violating a maxim!'
A unifying account of the final rise.

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Outline

1. The phenomenon

Examples and existing accounts

2. Proposal

A clash between aspects of cooperativity

3. Illustration

Making sense of the examples

4. Three general remarks

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- ▶ This is affected by the degree of non-cooperativity.

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Maxim of Quantity: Give all the directly relevant information you hold true.

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On the other hand:

- ▶ The different readings are *so different...*
(indeed, this was part of the challenge)

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 - ▶ discourse particles; (cf. Tania Rojas-Esponda, this morning)
 - ▶ 'first of all', 'I suspect'...

On the other hand:

- ▶ The different readings are *so different...*
(indeed, this was part of the challenge)
- ▶ ...that often minimal *contextual knowledge* will suffice.

4.1. How to know which reading is intended?

Of course 'non-cooperativity' is very unspecific.

- ▶ Speakers can disambiguate with:
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Work in progress:

- ▶ *Sentence-internal* rises do the same, but w.r.t. *sentence-internal* questions.

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Thank you!

Thanks to the SemDial reviewers ↗, to A. Ettinger ↗, J. Tyler ↗, M. Križ ↗, F. Roelofsen ↗, J. Groenendijk ↗, and the audience of *CISI* for valuable comments ↘.
Thanks to the *Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO) for financial support ↘

Motivating the Maxim of Relation: exhaustivity

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"[the epistemic] step does not follow from Gricean maxims and logic alone." - Chierchia, et al. (2008)

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What about a context negating only the competence *assumption*?

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(speaker says '*John*' because she doesn't consider '*Mary*' possible.)

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I assume intonational meaning is *non-at-issue content*.

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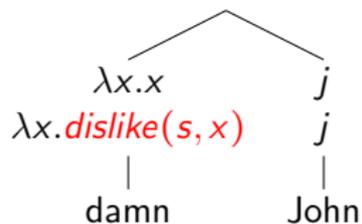
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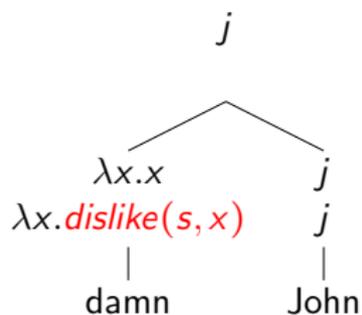
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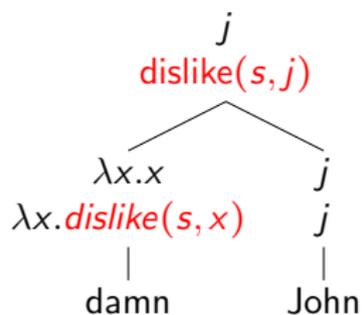
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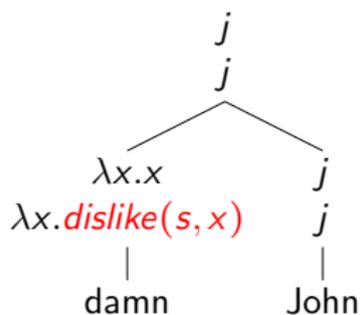
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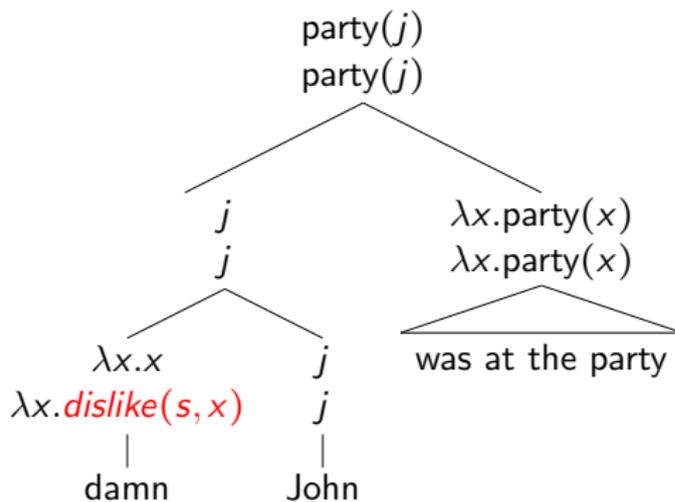


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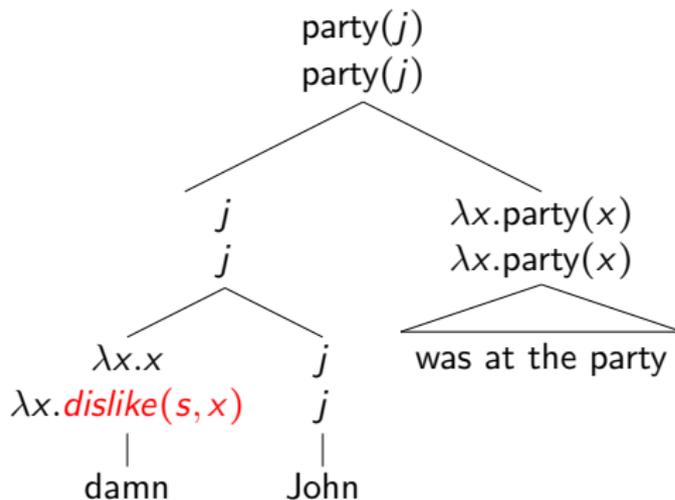
- ▶ \mathcal{I} fetches an *issue* from the context (for now, Ω).
- ▶ In the second dimension:
 - $\searrow :: \lambda p_{stt}. \text{☺}(\mathcal{I}, p)$; and
 - $\nearrow :: \lambda p_{stt}. \text{☹}(\mathcal{I}, p)$

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[That damn John was at the party] ↗

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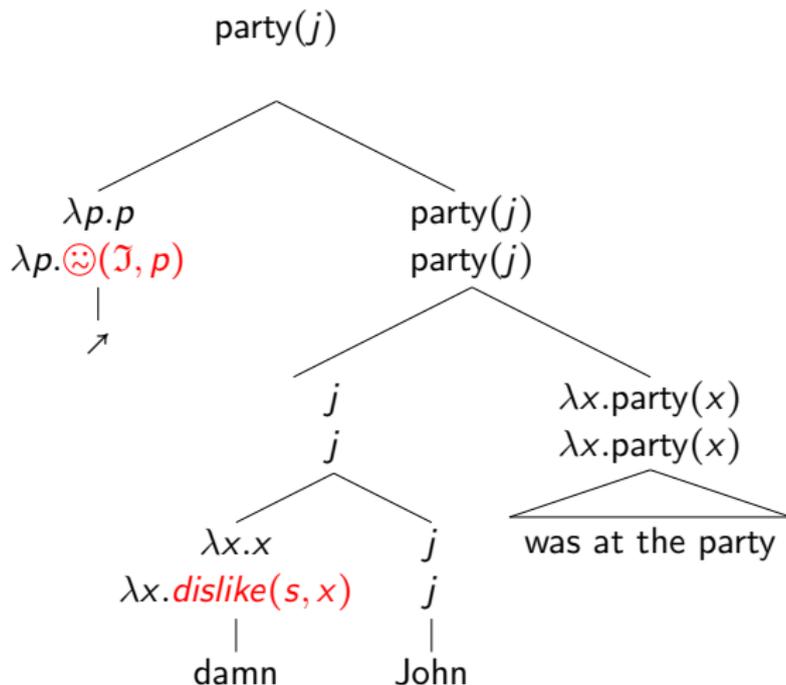


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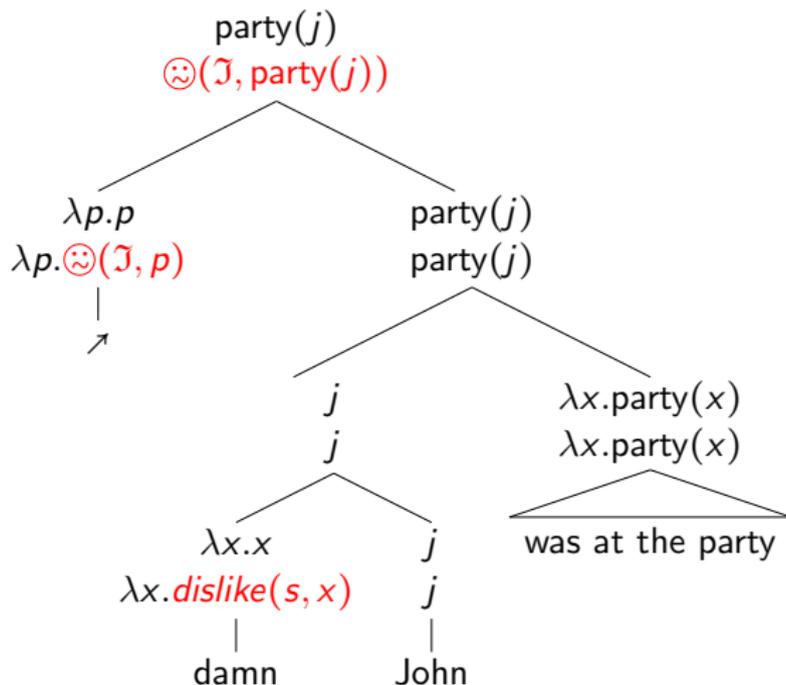


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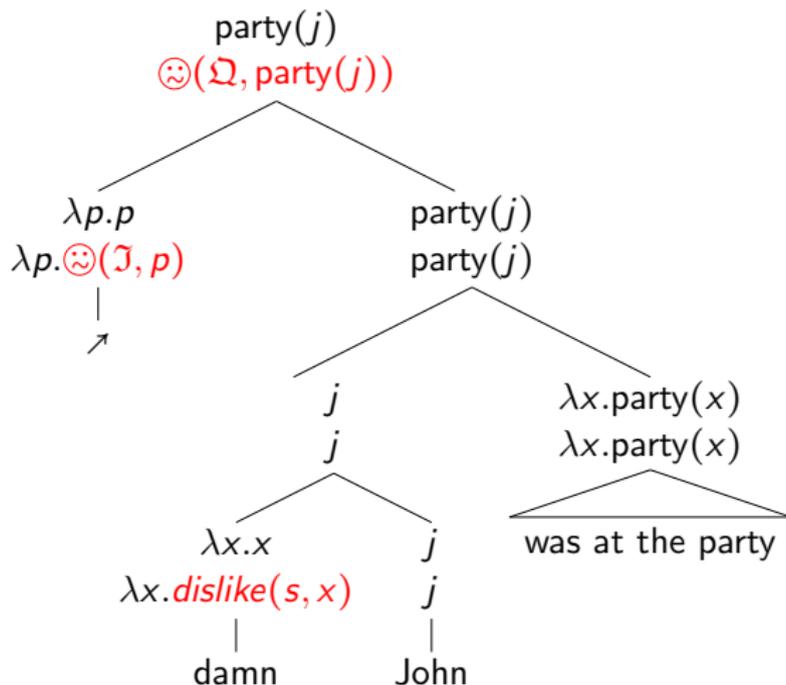


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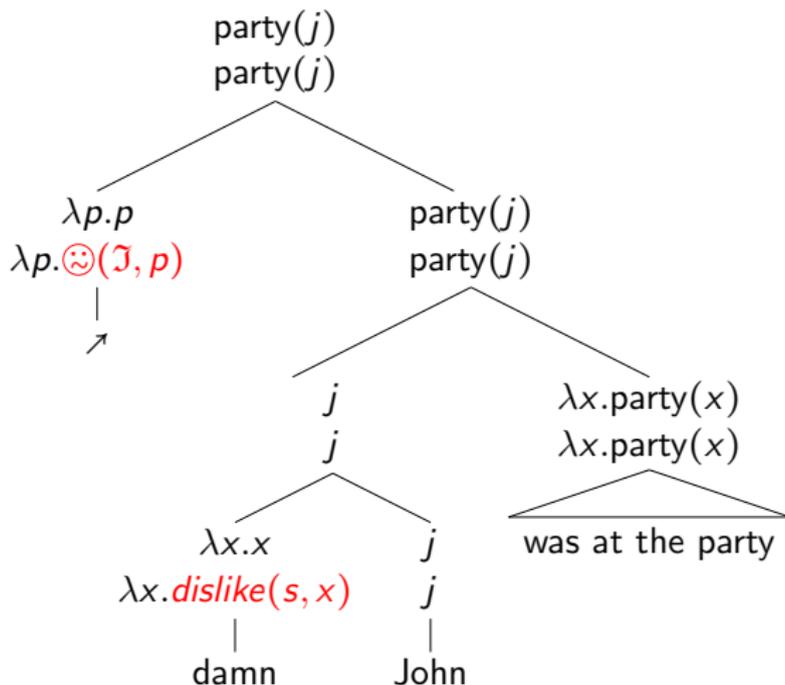
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