Intonational Compliance Marking
A theory of English intonational meaning

Matthijs Westera
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Aix-en-Provence, 11-01-2019
Warming up: some rising declaratives

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Outline

1. Rising declaratives (of the Quality-suspending kind)
2. The ICM theory in a bit more detail
3. List intonation
4. The rise-fall-rise contour
5. Intonation on interrogatives
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Main characteristics of the Quality-suspending kind (Gunlogson 2008):

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Final rise on declarative would:

- express incompleteness, contingency, open-endedness etc.; (many)
- commit the addressee; (Gunlogson, 2003)
- convey ‘possibly’ (or ‘might’); (Nilsenova, 2006)
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- makes it a polar question (bipartition); (Farkas & Roelofsen, 2017)
- expresses a request to assert. (Krifka 2017)

Brief review:

- most don’t generalize to other rising declaratives (or beyond);
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   B: Fine. It’s raining?

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1.5. Interim summary

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By (re)conceiving of this in terms of ‘suspending a maxim’:
- the ICM theory predicts the various uses of rising declaratives;
- and we get more detailed predictions by considering when suspending a maxim is acceptable;
- e.g., only suspend Quality if its actual violation is deemed unlikely.
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Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

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L^*(H)
\end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
L\
H\
\%
\end{array} \right\}
\]
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven '04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \frac{H^*(L)}{L^*(H)} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
L \\
\% \\
H \\
\%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{H*(L)} \\ \text{L*(H)} \end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{L\%} \\ \text{H\%} \\ \%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

H*L

H*L

H*L

L%
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
H^*(L) \\
L^*(H)
\end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
L\
H\
\%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.
H*L  H%
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
H^*(L) \\
L^*(H)
\end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
L\% \\
H\%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.
    
    H*L       H%       H*L
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven '04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
H^*(L) \\
L^*(H)
\end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
L\
H\\
\%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) **B:** On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[
\begin{align*}
H^*L & \\
H & \\
H^*L & \\
H^*L & \\
\end{align*}
\]
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} H^*(L) \\ L^*(H) \end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L\% \\ H\% \\ \% \end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[
H^*L \quad H\% \quad H^*L \quad H^*L \quad L\%
\]
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} H^*(L) \\ L^*(H) \end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L\% \\ H\% \\ \% \end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) **B:** On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[
H^*L \quad H\% \quad H^*L \quad H^*L \quad L\%
\]

- Accents: L*, H*.
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{H}^* (\text{L}) \\
\text{L}^* (\text{H}) \\
\text{L}^* (\text{H})
\end{array} \right\}^n \\
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{L}^% \\
\text{H}^% \\
%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{H}^* \text{L} & \text{H}^% & \text{H}^* \text{L} & \text{H}^* \text{L} & \text{L}^%
\end{array}
\]

- Accents: L*, H*.
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[
\text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \frac{H^*(L)}{L^*(H)} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{L}\% \\
\text{H}\%
\end{array} \right\}
\]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
H^*L \\
H\% \\
H^*L \\
H^*L \\
L\%
\end{array}
\]

- Accents: L*, H*.
- Boundary tones: L%, H%. 
2.1. Phonological assumptions

Assumption 1 (Gussenhoven ’04, slightly simplified):

\[ \text{Intonation Phrase} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} H^*(L) \\ L^*(H) \end{array} \right\}^n \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L\% \\ H\% \end{array} \right\} \]

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[ \text{H*L H\% H*L H*L L\%} \]

- Accents: L*, H*.
- Boundary tones: L%, H%. 
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

Assumption 2: ICM theory (Provisional)

- **L%**: Sp. takes the utterance to comply with the maxims

- **H%**: Sp. doesn’t take the utterance to comply with the maxims

- **-L**: just like **L%**, but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD ‘responsible’ for the accent.

- **-H**: just like **H%**, but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD ‘responsible’ for the accent.

The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6)

B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

H*L H% H*L H*L L%

- It contains both **H%** and **L%**!
- It contains **-L** directly followed by **H%**!
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

Assumption 2: ICM theory (Provisional)

- **L%**: Sp. takes the utterance to comply with the maxims

- **H%**: Sp. doesn’t take the utterance to comply with the maxims

- **-L**: just like L%

- **-H**: just like H%

The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

H*L H% H*L H*L L%

▶ It contains both H% and L%!

▶ It contains -L directly followed by H%!
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

Assumption 2: ICM theory (Provisional)

- L%: Sp. takes the utterance to comply with the maxims relative to the main QUD.
- H%: Sp. doesn’t take the utterance to comply with the maxims relative to the main QUD.
- -L: just like L% but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD ‘responsible’ for the accent.
- -H: just like H% but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD ‘responsible’ for the accent.

The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6)  B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[ H^*L \quad H\% \quad H^*L \quad H^*L \quad L\% \]
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

**Assumption 2: ICM theory (Provisional)**

- **L%**: Sp. takes the utterance to comply with the maxims relative to the main QUD.
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- **-L**: just like L%
- **-H**: just like H%

The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6) **B**: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

```
H*L   H%   H*L   H*L   L%
```

- It contains both H% and L%!
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

Assumption 2: ICM theory (Provisional)

- **L%**: Sp. takes the utterance *up to this boundary tone* to comply with the maxims
- **H%**: Sp. doesn’t take the utterance *up to this boundary tone* to comply with the maxims
- **-L**: just like L%
- **-H**: just like H%

The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6) **B**: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

    H*L   H%   H*L   H*L   L%

- It contains both H% and L%!
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

Assumption 2: ICM theory (Provisional)

- **L%**: Sp. takes the utterance up to this boundary tone to comply with the maxims
- **H%**: Sp. doesn’t take the utterance up to this boundary tone to comply with the maxims
- **-L**: just like L%, but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD 'responsible' for the accent.
- **-H**: just like H%, but up to the first subsequent boundary tone

The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6) **B**: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
| & H^*L & | & H% & | & H^*L & | & H^*L & | & L\% \\
\end{array}
\]

- It contains both H% and L%!
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- L%: Sp. takes the utterance up to this boundary tone to comply with the maxims.
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H*L H% H*L H*L L%

- It contains both H% and L%!
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The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6) **B**: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

\[ \text{H*L H% H*L H*L L%} \]

- It contains both H% and L%!
- It contains -L directly followed by H%!
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The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.
    H*L H% H*L H*L L%
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    It contains -L directly followed by H%!
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The foregoing is too simplistic, e.g.:

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

    H*L  H%  H*L  H*L  L%

- It contains both H% and L%!
- It contains -L directly followed by H%!
2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

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    H*L   H%   H*L   H*L   L%

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    H*L   H%   H*L   H*L   L%

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Assumption 2: ICM theory (Westera ’17)

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- -L: just like L%, but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD ‘responsible’ for the accent.
- -H: just like H%, but up to the first subsequent boundary tone and relative to some QUD ‘responsible’ for the accent.

(6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian.

H*L    H%    H*L    H*L    L%

- It contains both H% and L%!
- It contains -L directly followed by H%!
2.3. Definition of the maxims

▶ Many different ways of defining the maxims;

Assumption 3: The maxims
▶ Quality: Assert only what is true.
▶ Relation: Assert only answers to the QUD.
▶ Quantity: Assert the strongest answer to the QUD that you believe is true.
▶ Manner: What you assert should be conveyed clearly by the semantic content expressed, and as concisely as clarity allows.
2.3. Definition of the maxims

- Many different ways of defining the maxims;
- Differences don’t matter much for, e.g., deriving implicatures;
2.3. Definition of the maxims

- Many different ways of defining the maxims;
- Differences don’t matter much for, e.g., deriving implicatures;
- But given ICM, subtle details start to matter...
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Assumption 3: The maxims
2.3. Definition of the maxims

- Many different ways of defining the maxims;
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- Many different ways of defining the maxims;
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Many different ways of defining the maxims;
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2.3. Definition of the maxims

- Many different ways of defining the maxims;
- Differences don’t matter much for, e.g., deriving implicatures;
- But given ICM, subtle details start to matter...

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- **Quality:** Assert only what is true.
- **Relation:** Assert only answers to the QUD.
- **Quantity:** Assert the strongest answer to the QUD that you believe is true.
- **Manner:** What you assert should be conveyed clearly by the semantic content expressed, and as concisely as clarity allows.
Outline

1. Rising declaratives (of the Quality-suspending kind)

2. The ICM theory in a bit more detail

3. List intonation

4. The rise-fall-rise contour

5. Intonation on interrogatives
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%

3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%
c. H*L L% H*L L% H*L L%
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%

b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%

c. H*L L% H*L L% H*L L%

d. H* % H* % H* %
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%

b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%

c. H*L L% H*L L% H*L L%

d. H* % H* % H* %

e. L*H % L*H % H*L L%
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>H*L</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>H*L</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>L*H</td>
<td>H%</td>
<td>L*H</td>
<td>H%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>H*L</td>
<td>L%</td>
<td>H*L</td>
<td>L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>H*</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>H*</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>L*H</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>L*H</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>L*H</td>
<td>H%</td>
<td>L*H</td>
<td>H%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%
c. H*L L% H*L L% H*L L%
d. H* % H* % H* %
e. L*H % L*H % H*L L%
f. L*H H% L*H H% L*H H%
g. H*L H% H*L H% H*L H%
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & H*L & \% & H*L & \% & H*L & L\% \\
\text{b. } & L*H & H\% & L*H & H\% & H*L & L\% \\
\text{c. } & H*L & L\% & H*L & L\% & H*L & L\% \\
\text{d. } & H* & \% & H* & \% & H* & \% \\
\text{e. } & L*H & \% & L*H & \% & H*L & L\% \\
\text{f. } & L*H & H\% & L*H & H\% & L*H & H\% \\
\text{g. } & H*L & H\% & H*L & H\% & H*L & H\%
\end{align*}\]
3.1. “List intonation”?

Let’s focus on ‘ordinary’ lists: those which address a single QUD, and compliantly so.
3.1. “List intonation”?

(7)  John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Intonation Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>H<em>L % H</em>L % H*L L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>L<em>H H% L</em>H H% H*L L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>H<em>L L% H</em>L L% H*L L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>H* % H* % H* %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>L<em>H % L</em>H % H*L L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>L<em>H H% L</em>H H% L*H H%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>H<em>L H% H</em>L H% H*L H%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... 

- Let’s focus on ‘ordinary’ lists: those which address a single QUD, and compliantly so.

- **Predictions of ICM theory:**
  - a./b. are “neutral” contours for ordinary lists;
  - whereas c./d./e. involve “something funny”.
  - (f./g. are unavailable for ‘ordinary’ lists, due to final H%).
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%

b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
   a. $H^*L \ % \ H^*L \ % \ H^*L \ L\%$
   b. $L^*H \ H\% \ L^*H \ H\% \ H^*L \ L\%$

Predictions of ICM theory:
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
   a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
   b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%

Predictions of ICM theory:
► In (7a) Sp. instead indicates full compliance early on (-L)

By the way: what is the suspended maxim in (11b)?

QUIZ!
► Quantity?
Not likely; this would require that the intent changes throughout the utterance.
► Manner?
Yes; it’s only the content expressed that changes.
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%

Predictions of ICM theory:

▶ In (7a) Sp. instead indicates full compliance early on (-L) (toneless boundaries (%) don’t interfere with compliance marking).
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

a. H*H % H*H % H*H L%
b. L*H H% L*H H% H*H L%

Predictions of ICM theory:

▶ In (7a) Sp. instead indicates full compliance early on (-L) (toneless boundaries (%) don’t interfere with compliance marking).
▶ In (7b) Sp. signals that pre-final items are insufficient (-H / H%).
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
   a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
   b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%

Predictions of ICM theory:

▶ In (7a) Sp. instead indicates full compliance early on (-L)
  (toneless boundaries (%) don’t interfere with compliance marking).
▶ In (7b) Sp. signals that pre-final items are insufficient (-H / H%).

By the way: what is the suspended maxim in (11b)?  

QUIZ!
3.2. Normal/neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
   a. H*L % H*L % H*L L%
   b. L*H H% L*H H% H*L L%

Predictions of ICM theory:
- In (7a) Sp. instead indicates full compliance early on (-L)
  (toneless boundaries (%) don’t interfere with compliance marking).
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By the way: what is the suspended maxim in (11b)?
- Quantity?
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By the way: what is the suspended maxim in (11b)?
   ▶ **Quantity?** Not likely; this would require that the *intent* changes throughout the utterance.
   ▶ **Manner?** Yes; it’s only the *content expressed* that changes.
3.3. Non-neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

c. H*L   L%   H*L   L%   H*L   L%
d. H*    %    H*    %    H*    %
e. L*H   %    L*H   %    H*L   L%
3.3. Non-neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

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Predictions of ICM theory:
3.3. Non-neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

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Predictions of ICM theory:

➤ in (7c) each single list item is deemed sufficient (H*L L%),
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Predictions of ICM theory:

▶ in (7c) each single list item is deemed sufficient (H*L L%), e.g., “driving the point home”. 

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(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

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Predictions of ICM theory:

▶ in (7c) each single list item is deemed sufficient (H*L L%), e.g., “driving the point home”.
▶ in (7d) compliance marking is deemed unnecessary (H* %),
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NB.: Many more contours (and predictions); also for “unordinary” lists.
3.3. Non-neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
    c. H*L   L%   H*L   L%   H*L   L%
    d. H*   %   H*   %   H*   %
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NB.: Many more contours (and predictions); also for “unordinary” lists.
3.3. Non-neutral contours for ‘ordinary’ lists

(7) John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there

   c. H* L%  H* L%  H* L%  H* L%
   d. H*  %  H*  %  H*  %
   e. L*H  %  L*H  %  H* L%  L%

Predictions of ICM theory:

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NB.: Many more contours (and predictions); also for “unordinary” lists.
Outline

1. Rising declaratives (of the Quality-suspending kind)

2. The ICM theory in a bit more detail

3. List intonation

4. The rise-fall-rise contour

5. Intonation on interrogatives
4.1. The many uses of rise-fall-rise

(8) B: John – he’s a vegetarian – envies Fred.
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(8) B: John – he’s a vegetarian – envies Fred.

(9) A: Have you ever been West of the Mississippi?
B: I’ve been to Missouri...
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Challenge: Rise-fall-rise has many different uses, with no obvious common denominator.
4.2. Previous accounts of the meaning of RFR

RFR would indicate:

- three types of *uncertain relevance or incredulity* (Ward and Hirschberg ’85, ’86).
- the key of a *strategy* (Jackendoff ’72, Roberts ’96, Büning ’03).

Shortcomings:

- these approaches are aimed at particular sub-classes of uses;
- they are non-compositional (except Steedman 2014);
- [some empirical inadequacies].
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- these approaches are aimed at particular sub-classes of uses;
- they are non-compositional (except Steedman 2014);
- [some empirical inadequacies].
4.3. ICM-based account of RFR

Phonology:

- **fall-rise**: H*L H%
- **rise-fall-rise**: L*HL H%

The ICM theory is neutral wrt. the meaning of the delay. (Gussenhoven 1983, 2002: delay conveys extra significance.)

Core prediction of ICM theory:

- L*: The utterance up to this point complies relative to some QUD;
- H%: ...but not the main QUD.

Hence (R)FR is predicted to be a marker of secondary QUDs. (Westera (in press). Rise-fall-rise as a marker of secondary QUDs.)
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(13)  B: John – he’s a vegetarian – envies Fred.

(14)  A: Have you ever been West of the Mississippi?
      B: I’ve been to Missouri...

(15)  A: I’d like you here tomorrow morning at eleven.
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QUIZ! What’s that secondary QUD?

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   “Whom is this utterance about?”

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4.5. Interim summary

- ICM theory predicts RFR to be a marker of secondary QUDs.
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- ICM theory predicts RFR to be a marker of secondary QUDs.
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- ICM theory predicts RFR to be a marker of secondary QUdS.
- Recommended strategy for understanding a usage of RFR:
  1. What is the primary QUd?
  2. What is the secondary QUd?
  3. Why is it rational for the speaker to pursue this combination?
- RFR provides a window on the pragmatics of QUdS.
Outline

1. Rising declaratives (of the Quality-suspending kind)

2. The ICM theory in a bit more detail

3. List intonation

4. The rise-fall-rise contour

5. Intonation on interrogatives
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My explanation of ‘badness out of the blue’ of rising declaratives relied on a particular view of (interrogative) questions:
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**Proposal:**
- They do everything assertions do, *minus* the informational part;
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▶ Interrogativity signals opting out of making an informational contribution.

But then, what sort of contribution do interrogatives make?

Proposal:
▶ They do everything assertions do, *minus* the informational part;
▶ in particular, they still (like assertions) draw attention to things.
5.2. Definition of the maxims (extended)

Assumption 3: The maxims

▶ Quality: Assert only what is true.
▶ Relation: Assert only answers to the QUD.
▶ Quantity: Assert the strongest answer to the QUD that you believe is true.
▶ Manner: What you assert should be clearly conveyed by the semantic contents expressed, and as concisely as clarity allows.

Assumption 4: The attention maxims

▶ A-Quality: Intend to draw attention only to things that are possible.
▶ A-Relation: Intend to draw attention only to answers to the QUD.
▶ A-Quantity: Intend to draw attention to all answers to the QUD that you believe are possible.
▶ Manner: Make clear what you intend to draw attention to [etc.]

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- **I-Relation:** Assert only answers to the QUD.
- **I-Quantity:** Assert the strongest answer to the QUD that you believe is true.
- **Manner:** What you assert should be clearly conveyed by the semantic contents expressed, and as concisely as clarity allows.

**Assumption 4: The attention maxims**
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5.3. ICM for interrogatives

Prediction of ICM theory:
▶ Boundary tones and trailing tones on interrogatives mark (non-)compliance solely with the A-maxims (+ Manner).

(18) Was ′John at the party, or ′Mary? (H%)
Predicted readings:
▶ A-Relation: I may have drawn attention to an irrelevant possibility.
▶ A-Quantity: There may be relevant possibilities I didn’t mention (cf. Biezma & Rawlins 2012).
▶ Manner (not plausible here): Not sure if I’ve drawn attention to these things clearly.
(An A-Quality suspension/violation is not normally possible.)
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Outline

1. Rising declaratives (of the Quality-suspending kind)

2. The ICM theory in a bit more detail

3. List intonation

4. The rise-fall-rise contour

5. Intonation on interrogatives
Conclusion

Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM):

- A way of making long-standing characterizations in terms of ‘incompleteness’ etc. more precise;
- Generalized from boundary tones to trailing tones;
- A unifying perspective on many/all different intonation contours;
- Across clause types (declarative, interrogative).

Some core predictions:

- Different types of rising declaratives;
- The Quality-suspending type: question-likeness, speaker bias, badness out of the blue.
- List intonation: many possible contours, some ‘neutral’, others ‘something funny’.
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