# **Intonational Compliance Marking** A theory of English intonational meaning

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final rise indicates incompleteness, contingency, open-endedness, ...

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Relation

#### Warming up: some rising declaratives QUIZ! (1)A: (Enters with an umbrella.) B: It's raining? Quality (2) A: What do you think of your new neighbor? B: He's attractive...? Relation (3) A: (Receptionist) Can I help you? M: Hello, my name is Mark Liberman...? Quantity (4) A: (In a café in Aix:) Bonjour! B: Bonjour, I'd like... err... je veux... a black coffee?

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Westera (2017, 2018, in press): Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM).

#### 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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Westera (2018). Rising declaratives of the Quality-suspending kind. Glossa.

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most don't generalize to other rising declaratives (or beyond);

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- those that do, end up assuming rather than explaining them.

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#### **Bonus prediction:**

In a context where Relation is in fact more important than Quality...

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- ▶ Quality is more important than Relation (Grice '89; Gunlogson '11);
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#### Bonus prediction:

- ▶ In a context where Relation is in fact *more* important than Quality...
- ▶ a rising declarative should be fine even without the speaker bias:

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- ▶ Quality is more important than Relation (Grice '89; Gunlogson '11);
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- (5) A: Hey B, guess what the weather is like.
  - B: I have absolutely no idea; I haven't been outside in days.
  - A: Guess!!!

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  - B: I have absolutely no idea; I haven't been outside in days.
  - A: Guess!!!
  - B: Fine. It's raining?

<sup>(\*:</sup> How would an addressee figure this out?)
(\*\*: Why couldn't it clash with some other maxim?)
(\*\*\*: How probably, exactly?)

# 1.5. Interim summary

Rising declaratives are often characterized in terms of incompleteness, forward-looking, etc.

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

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# 2.2. Intonational Compliance Marking (ICM)

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

- ▶ L%: Sp. takes the utterance to comply with the maxims
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- (6) B: On an unrelated note, Fred is a vegetarian. H\*L H% H\*L H\*L L%
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- L%: Sp. takes the utterance up to this boundary tone to comply with the maxims relative to the main QUD.
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John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
a. H\*L % H\*L % H\*L L%
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(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was there, and	Bill wa	s there
	a.	H*L		%	H*L	. %	H*L	L%
	b.	L*H		Н%	L*H	Н%	H*L	L%
	c.	H*L		L%	H*L	L%	H*L	L%
	d.	H*		%	Н*	%	H*	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H	%	H*L	L%

(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was	there, and	Bill wa	as there
	a.	H*L		%	H*L		%	H*L	L%
	b.	L*H		Н%	L*H		Н%	H*L	L%
	c.	H*L		L%	H*L		L%	H*L	L%
	d.	H*		%	Н*		%	H*	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H		%	H*L	L%
	f.	L*H		Н%	L*F	ł	Н%	L*H	Н%

(7)	John	was there,	Mary v	vas there, and	Bill wa	is there
a	. H*L	%	H*L	%	H*L	L%
b	. L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%	H*L	L%
с	. H*L	L%	H*L	L%	H*L	L%
d	. H*	%	Η*	%	H*	%
e	. L*H	%	L*H	%	H*L	L%
f.	L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%
g	. H*L	Н%	H*L	Н%	H*L	Н%

(7)	John	was there,	Mary w	vas there, and	Bill wa	is there
a	. H*L	%	H*L	%	H*L	L%
b	). L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%	H*L	L%
с	. H*L	L%	H*L	L%	H*L	L%
c	I. H*	%	H*	%	H*	%
е	. L*H	%	L*H	%	H*L	L%
f	. L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%
g	5. H*L	Н%	H*L	Н%	H*L	Н%

...

(7)	Joh	n was there,	Mary was	there, and	Bill wa	s there
	a. H*L	. %	H*L	%	H*L	L%
	b. L*H	I H%	L*H	Н%	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	Н%	L*H	Н%	L*H	Н%
	g. H*L	. Н%	H*L	Н%	H*L	Н%

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

(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was	there	e, and	Bill	was	there	
	a.	H*L		%	H*L	-		%	H*l	_	L	%
	b.	L*H		Н%	L*H		F	1%	H*L		L	%
	c.	H*L		L%	H*L			L%	H*I	_	L	%
	d.	H*		%	Н*			%	Н*		(	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H			%	H*L	_	L	%
	f.	L*H		Н%	L*ŀ	1		Н%	L*I	Н	ŀ	₩١
	g.	H*L		Н%	H*L	-		Н%	H*I	L	F	1%

 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	Н%	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	-		%	Н*	L	L	.%
	b.	L*H		Н%	L*H		H	%	H*l	_	L	%

Predictions of ICM theory:
(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was	there,	and	Bill	was	there	
	a.	H*L		%	H*L	-		%	Н*	L	L	%
	b.	L*H		Н%	L*H		H	%	H*I	L	L	%

Predictions of ICM theory:

▶ In (7a) Sp. instead indicates full compliance early on (-L)

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

(7)		John	was there	2,	Mary	was	there,	and	Bill was	there
	a.	H*L	9	6	H*L	-		%	H*L	L%
	b.	L*H	H%	6	L*H		H	%	H*L	L%

- 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%).

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%

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



John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
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Quantity?

John was there, Mary was there, and Bill was there
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QUIZ!

Quantity?

#### Manner?

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

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- Quantity? Not likely; this would require that the *intent* changes throughout the utterance.
- Manner?



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QUIZ!

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.

(7)		John	was ther	e, I	Mary	was	there,	and	Bill was	s there
	c.	H*L	L	%	H*L		L	%	H*L	L%
	d.	H*		%	Н*			%	H*	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H	ł		%	H*L	L%

(7)		John	was t	here,	Mary	was there,	and	Bill was	there
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▶ 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".

(7)		John	was the	ere,	Mary	was there,	and	Bill was	there
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- 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\* %),

(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was the	ere, and	Bill was	there
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	d.	H*		%	H*		%	H*	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H	I	%	H*L	L%

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(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was the	ere, and	Bill was	there
	c.	H*L		L%	H*L		L%	H*L	L%
	d.	H*		%	H*		%	H*	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H	I	%	H*L	L%

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(7)		John	was	there,	Mary	was the	ere, and	Bill was	there
	c.	H*L		L%	H*L		L%	H*L	L%
	d.	H*		%	H*		%	H*	%
	e.	L*H		%	L*H	I	%	H*L	L%

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	e.	L*H		%	L*H	I	%	H*L	L%

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- NB.: Many more contours (and predictions); also for "unordinary" lists.

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**Challenge:** Rise-fall-rise has many different uses, with no obvious common denominator.

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- ▶ the key of a *strategy* (Jackendoff '72, Roberts '96, Büring '03).

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- [some empirical inadequacies].

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(Westera (in press). Rise-fall-rise as a marker of secondary QUDs.)

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- (14) A: Have you ever been West of the Mississippi?B: I've been to Missouri...
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- ▶ RFR provides a window on the pragmatics of QUDs.

### Outline

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2. The ICM theory in a bit more detail

3. List intonation

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#### Proposal:

- They do everything assertions do, minus the informational part;
- ▶ in particular, they still (like assertions) draw attention to things.

#### 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.

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Boundary tones and trailing tones on interrogatives mark (non-)compliance solely with the A-maxims (+ Manner).
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(An A-Quality suspension/violation is not normally possible.)

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Westera (2017). Intonation and exhaustivity: a unified theory. University of Amsterdam dissertation.





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- Westera, Goodhue & Gussenhoven (in press). The meanings of tones and tunes. To appear in Gussenhoven & Chen (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Language Prosody.