

# Explicit or redundant: The social meaning of multiple exponence

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# Introduction

# Introduction

- “Non-standard” features: More or less marking
- Less marking: No copula
  - (1) a. He fast in everything he do. (Labov, 1969, 717)  
b. He is fast in everything (that) he does.
- More marking: Negative concord
  - (2) Multiple negation marking:
    - a. It ain't no cat can't get in no coop.
    - b. = There isn't any cat that can get into a [pigeon] coop.
    - c. ≠ There isn't any cat that cannot get into a [pigeon] coop.  
(Labov, 1972, 773)
- Multiple exponence at the syntax-semantics interface: The same meaning category is marked several times, but interpreted only once.

# Overview

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- 3 Definiteness marking
- 4 Negative concord
- 5 Frech Negative markers:  
*ne* and *pas*
- 6 Previous HPSG approaches to social meaning
- 7 Social meaning as implicature
  - Social meaning of variants
  - Style/register inference
- 8 Conclusion

# Predictable social meaning?

## Feature choice is not arbitrary – ?

- Finegan & Biber (1994):
  - ▶ The same linguistic features mark social group (= sociolect) and social situation (= register)
  - ▶ the same variants are found frequently in lower-ranked groups and in informal situation (analogously for higher-ranked groups and formal situations)
  - ▶ “explicit”/“elaborated” variants more frequent in formal situation/higher-ranked groups; “economic” variant in informal situations/lower-ranked groups.
- Example “economy” features:
  - ▶ contractions (*can't*)
  - ▶ *that* deletion (*She said he went.*)
  - ▶ use of pro-forms (*it, do, ...*)
- Example “elaboration”/“explicitness” features: PPs, APs, lexical diversity

## Counterexamples (Finegan & Biber, 1994, 334)

- Higher-ranked, but implicit: *r* deletion in Britain
- Lower-ranked, but explicit: *for-to* construction, resumptive pronouns, negative concord
- Finegan & Biber (1994, 334): “These patterns are rare relative to the examples [above] ...”

## Production effort as socially meaningful

- Eckert (2008, 446f.), Podesva et al. (2012, 76–77): strong word-final releases of voiceless stops as sign of being educated and ambitious, pompous, elevated, ...
- Labov (2012, 15): *-in'* as sign of laziness, ignorance; but also of hidden prestige (*Dunkin' Donuts*)
- Eckert (2017): Iconic correlation between pronunciation and associated social meaning, but arbitrariness of which aspect is chosen:
  - ▶ Fronted pronunciation of /s/ → hissing, high frequency → fear, disapproval
  - ▶ Backed pronunciation of /s/ → shushing, low frequency → authority, control
- Campbell-Kibler (2007): Arbitrary categorization of *-in'* as effortless/lazy and *-ing* as effortful.



# Production effort as socially meaningful

- Clear connection:
  - ▶ between what is considered effortful, explicit, ...and formal, educated, ...
  - ▶ between what is considered economic, implicit, ...and informal, less educated, ...
- Often: correlation with production effort, but also
  - ▶ same real effort, arbitrary assignment (ING)
  - ▶ more explicit variant associated with informal, less educated (rhoticity, negative concord)

# Today

- Two phenomena that show variation in social meaning assignment
- Presence or absence of definite article with proper names
- Single or multiple marking of negation

# Definiteness marking

# Definiteness

(3) Alex wrote a complaint letter.

Then, Alex<sub>x</sub> sent [the letter]<sub>y</sub> to [the dean]<sub>z</sub>.

a. at-issue:  $x$  sent  $y$  to  $z$

b. presupposed: existence

- there is an  $x$  called *Alex*
- there is a  $y$  that is a letter
- there is a  $z$  that is dean

c. conventionally implicated: uniqueness

(Horn & Abbot, 2013; Coppock & Beaver, 2015)

- if there exists an *Alex*, there is exactly one such person.
- if there exists a letter in the current universe of discourse, there is exactly one such letter
- if there exists a dean in the common ground, there is exactly one dean

## Uniqueness and article use

- Proper nouns (*Alex*)
  - ▶ come with common ground uniqueness implicature
  - ▶ uniqueness is part of name semantics
- General and situational uniques (*the dean*):
  - ▶ come with common ground uniqueness implicature
  - ▶ uniqueness is part of the lexical semantics
- Anaphoric uniques (*the letter*):
  - ▶ come with discourse uniqueness implicature
  - ▶ uniqueness is not part of the lexical semantics of the noun
- Crosslinguistic encoding (Am-David, 2014; Sailer & Am-David, 2016)

	proper nouns	uniques	anaphoric definites
Modern Greek	article	article	article
English	–	article	article
German	–	weak article	strong article
Papiamentu	–	–	article

# Multiple exponence in definiteness marking

- Definite article: contributes uniqueness CI
- Standard German for proper nouns: no additional marking of uniqueness by a determiner.  
⇒ implicit uniqueness marking.
- Standard German for uniques: additional marking of uniqueness by a determiner.  
⇒ explicit uniqueness marking  
If uniqueness is lexically contributed by unique nouns (*sun*), the use of an article is semantically not necessary

## Proper nouns

- Standard German: Typically no article with proper nouns for persons
- Regional varieties: Weak/unstressed definite article used.

(4) a. No article, Standard German:

Anna ist zu Chris gegangen.

Anna is to Chris gone

'Anna went to Chris.'

b. Weak/unstressed article: marked as regional

Die Anna ist zum Chris gegangen. 'to.the Chris'

c. Strong article:

?? Die Anna ist zu dem Chris gegangen. 'to the Chris'

## Variation in Standard German

Definite article used with additional modifiers, case or gender marking, and in dislocation (von Heusinger, 2010, 98–100):

- (5) a. Ich frag \*(die) kluge Alex  
I ask the smart Alex  
'I will ask (the) smart Alex.' (restr./nonrestr.)
- b. das Ei \*(des) Kolumbus  
the egg the.GEN Columbus 'the Egg of Columbus'
- c. Peter stellt (die) Anna \*(der) Berta vor.  
Peter presents the.ACC Anna the.DAT Berta PTCL  
'Peter presents Anna to Berta.'
- d. Er nervt mich, \*(der) Felix! 'He annoys me, that Felix!'  
he annoys me the Felix



## More variation in Standard German

- Vocative form is always articleless:

(6) (\*Der) Peter/ Lieber Peter, kannst du mir helfen?  
the Peter/ dear Peter can you help me  
'(Dear) Peter, can you help me?'

- Names of restaurants, mountains, boats, ... always with article (Nübling, 2015):

(7) \*(der) Feldberg [mountain], \*(die.FEM) Großer.MASC Bär [ship]

- Names of cities: all varieties the same rules as the standard variety for names of persons.
- Names of countries: lexically determined variation

(8) ?(der) Sudan, (\*das) Frankreich 'France', (der) Iran

## Modelling article use with proper nouns

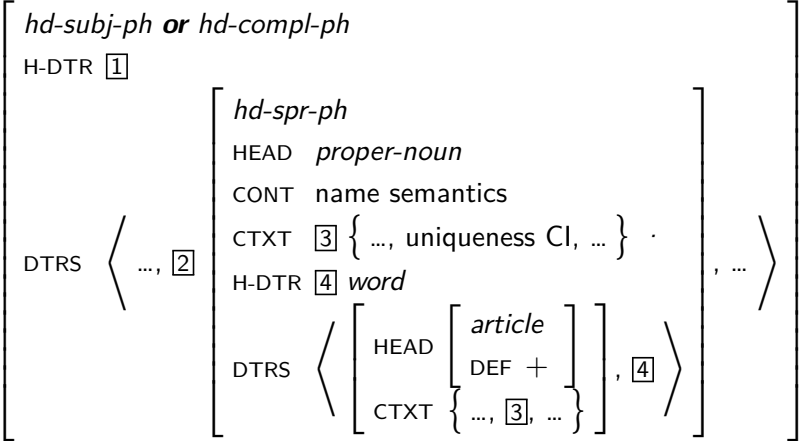
- Remark: assume head value *proper-noun* for simplicity and concreteness, without further commitment to this.
- Standard German allows or requires a definite article with proper nouns in many environments.
- Grammar of German: Allow for definite article with proper nouns:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{word} \\ \text{HEAD } \textit{proper-noun} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \quad \langle ( \text{Det} ) \rangle \\ \text{CONT} \quad \dots\text{human name semantics}\dots \\ \text{CTXT} \quad \dots\text{common-ground uniqueness}\dots \end{array} \right]$$

- Correct predictions for the choice of weak vs. strong article

# Modelling article use with proper nouns

- Only simple “Article-Name” combinations in subject or complement position are socially marked
- Constructional marking! Non-local tree!

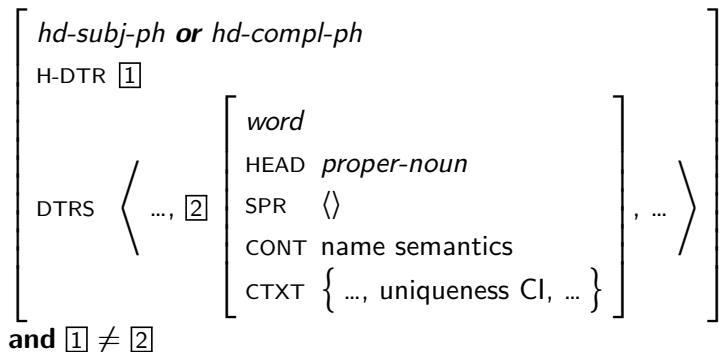


and  $\boxed{1} \neq \boxed{2}$

⇒ social meaning

## Modelling article non-use with proper nouns

- Only articless names in subject or complement position are socially marked
- Constructional marking! Local tree!



⇒ social meaning

## Social meaning of article use with proper nouns

- Form with article is more explicit, as it indicates case and gender.  
⇒ Finegan & Biber (1994) would expect this to be the more formal form.
- Form with article requires more articulatory effort.  
⇒ Eckardt (2012) would expect this to be the higher-ranked form.
- However, the use of the explicit/redundant article in non-required cases is considered:
  - ▶ non-iconic (regional): Southern German (first/second order index)
  - ▶ iconic:
    - ★ for users: repeating the element that indicates common ground  
uniqueness: affective
    - ★ for non-users: using longer form to refer to someone indicates social distance from that person
- The non-use of the article is considered:
  - ▶ non-iconic (regional): regionally neutral
  - ▶ iconic:
    - ★ article users: non-affective
    - ★ article non-users: unmarked

## Definite article with person names

- Both forms are part of the grammar of German language users
- Social meaning attached to form can be motivated post hoc, but not predicted

# Negative concord

## Negative concord

- Several potential markers of negation appear in a sentence with a single-negation reading.

(9) *Personne n'a rien dit.*  
nobody NE has nothing said

Negative concord reading: 'Nobody said anything.'

Non-concord reading: 'Nobody said nothing' (= 'Everybody said something.'

- Cross-linguistic variation: For example, Richter & Sailer (2006)
  - ▶ Obligatory in Polish
  - ▶ Optional in Standard European French
  - ▶ Excluded in Standard German and English



## Negative concord and non-negative concord

- Labov (1972, 784): “any speaker of English, no matter how refined, is familiar with the existence of negative concord [...] When an underlying double negative is intended, speakers of non-standard dialects use the same device as speakers of SE [Standard English, M.S.] – heavy stress on both negatives”
- Labov (2004): Expected stratification of negative concord as a non-standard form: more negative concord in less formal settings with all speaker groups.
- Blanchette (2017), Blanchette & Lukyanenko (2019): Speakers of English have access to negative concord interpretation, even if they don't use them in their own speech.
- Blanchette (2017, 4): Negative concord readings appear first in children's production, even if largely absent from the parents' production.

## HPSG analyses of negative concord

- Neg-words have the same lexical entry in negative concord and non-negative concord languages/varieties
- The syntactic structure is the same independently of whether there is a negative concord or a double negation interpretation
- Contrast: Different interpretations for one structure.  
In sociolinguistics: Contrast Neg-word word vs. NPI (*any N*) or polarity neutral indefinite (*a N*)
- de Swart & Sag (2002): Lexical, polyadic analysis
- Richter & Sailer (2006): Phrasal, interpretive analysis

- (10) *Personne (ne) dit rien.*  
nobody NM says nothing  
'Nobody says anything.' [Single negation]  
'Nobody says nothing.' [Double negation]

## Lexical amalgamation of negative quantifiers

de Swart & Sag (2002): Lexical, polyadic analysis

- Neg words are negative indefinite quantifiers.
- Quantifiers can be “retrieved” from the ARG-ST of a selecting element
- Two modes of retrieval:
  - ▶ iteration ( $\rightarrow$  double negation): **No<sub>x</sub> No<sub>y</sub>(say(x,y))**
  - ▶ resumption ( $\rightarrow$  concord): **No<sub>x,y</sub>(say(x,y))**

<i>word</i>	
phon	$\langle (ne) \text{ dit} \rangle$
ARG-ST	$\langle \text{NP}[\text{STORE } \langle \mathbf{No}_x \rangle], \text{NP}[\text{STORE } \langle \mathbf{No}_x \rangle] \rangle$
cont	$\left( \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{quants } \langle \mathbf{No}_x, \mathbf{No}_y \rangle \\ \text{nucleus } \mathbf{say}(x,y) \end{array} \right] \text{ or } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{quants } \langle \mathbf{No}_{x,y} \rangle \\ \text{nucleus } \mathbf{say}(x,y) \end{array} \right] \right)$

# Constraint-based underspecified semantic combinatorics

- Tradition of underspecified semantics (Pinker, 1994; Bos, 1996; Egg, 1998; Egg et al., 2001; Copestake et al., 2005; Egg, 2010)
- Richter & Sailer (2002, 2006), Sailer & Richter (2021): *Lexical Resource Semantics* (LRS), Constraints on semantic representations
- Each word constraints the overall sem. representation.
  - ▶ *(ne) dit*:  $\left[ \text{PARTS } \mathbf{say}(x, y) \right]$   
“The sem. representation of a structure containing *(ne) dit* must contain the subexpression  $\mathbf{say}(x, y)$ ”
  - ▶ *personne*:  $\left[ \text{PARTS } \neg\alpha[\exists x(\beta)] \right]$   
“The sem. representation of a structure containing *personne* must contain a negation in whose scope there is an existential quantifier binding  $x$ .”
  - ▶ *rien*:  $\left[ \text{PARTS } \neg\gamma[\exists y(\delta)] \right]$   
“The sem. representation of a structure containing *rien* must contain a negation in whose scope there is an existential quantifier binding  $y$ .”

# Constraint-based underspecified semantic combinatorics

- Constraints percolate up the structure.
- Overall sem. representation contains all contributed elements in the constraint position.

$\epsilon[\mathbf{say}(x, y), \neg\alpha[\exists x(\beta)], \neg\gamma[\exists y(\delta)]]$

- Final step: Overall semantic representation satisfies all introduced constraints and must not contain elements not mentioned in the constraints. (“plugging”)

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- double negation: all metavariables refer to different subexpressions.
  - ▶  $\delta \equiv \mathbf{say}(x, y)$
  - ▶  $\gamma \equiv \exists y(\delta) \equiv \exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$
  - ▶  $\beta \equiv \neg\gamma \equiv \neg\exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$
  - ▶  $\alpha \equiv \exists x(\beta) \equiv \exists x\neg\exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$
  - ▶  $\epsilon \equiv \neg\alpha \equiv \neg\exists x\neg\exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$

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- double negation: all metavariables refer to different subexpressions.  
 $\epsilon \equiv \neg\exists x\neg\exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$
- negative concord:  $\alpha \equiv \gamma$

- ▶  $\delta \equiv \mathbf{say}(x, y)$
- ▶  $\beta \equiv \exists y(\delta) \equiv \exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$
- ▶  $\alpha \equiv \gamma \equiv \exists x(\beta) \equiv \exists x\exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$
- ▶  $\epsilon \equiv \neg\alpha \equiv \neg\gamma \equiv \neg\exists x\exists y(\mathbf{say}(x, y))$

## Structures with social meaning

- Under both HPSG analyses, there is no difference in the lexical entry of neg-words and in the syntactic structure for a negative concord and a double negation interpretation of a sentence.



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- de Swart & Sag (2002): Presence of polyadic or iterative quantifiers on a sign's QUANTS list.

$$\left[ \text{CONT} \left[ \text{QUANTS} \left\langle \dots, \mathbf{No}_{x,y}, \dots \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

⇒ social meaning (informal/non-standard/less educated/...)

$$\left[ \text{CONT} \left[ \text{QUANTS} \left\langle \dots, \mathbf{No}_x, \mathbf{No}_y, \dots \right\rangle \right] \right]$$

⇒ social meaning (formal/standard/educated/...)

## Structures with social meaning

- Under both HPSG analyses, there is no difference in the lexical entry of neg-words and in the syntactic structure for a negative concord and a double negation interpretation of a sentence.
- Richter & Sailer (2006): Negative expressions contributed by more than one word, but only one negative expression in the overall sem. representation.

$$\left[ \text{DTRS} \left\langle \dots, \left[ \text{PARTS } \alpha[\neg\beta] \right], \dots, \left[ \text{PARTS } \gamma[\neg\delta] \right], \dots \right\rangle \right]$$

- ▶ ...**and**  $\beta \equiv \gamma$  (concord)  $\Rightarrow$  social meaning
- ▶ ...**and**  $\beta \neq \gamma$  (double negation)  $\Rightarrow$  social meaning

# Social meaning of negative concord in English and German

- Negative concord:  $neg-w \dots neg-w \mapsto \neg$ 
  - ▶ German: regional marking for “strongly dialectal”
  - ▶ US English: regional marking for “strongly dialectal”; social strong marking for “non-dominant social group”
- Double negation:  $neg-w \dots neg-w \mapsto \neg\neg$ 
  - ▶ Unmarked in fixed combinations (*not for nothing*)
  - ▶ Strongly marked interpretation; socially marked as roundabout way of expression
- Neg-word with NPI/non-negative indefinite:  $neg-w \dots any- \mapsto \neg\exists$ 
  - ▶ Within NC varieties: *any* NPIs marked as “formal”

## Predictability of the social/register meaning of the form?

- Double negation readings require a lot of contextual motivation (or conventionalization)
- Concord readings are provided by the syntax-semantics interface and rather common
- Heavy normative pressure needed to “supress” these reading.
- Resulting in very strong stigma against their use in groups for which normative education has high social value.
- Difference to article+name: No “double definiteness” reading as alternative

# French Negative markers: *ne* and *pas*

## French negation

- Optional negative concord language with neg-words
- Two negative markers:

- (11) a. Nous (n')avons rien dit.  
we NE=have nothing said  
'We said nothing.'
- b. Nous (ne) travaillons pas  
we NE work not  
'We are not working.'

## French negative marker *ne* (Abeillé & Godard, 2021, §X1.3)

- in negated clauses: must co-occur with *pas* or a neg-word

(12) Nous (*ne*) viendrons pas.

we      NE                      come.FUT not 'We won't come.'

- normatively required
- obligatory in formal written registers
- optional in spoken registers
- not negative, but
- indicates the scope of negation
- used in many contexts of expletive negation

Negation with *ne* is an explicit variant

## French negative marker *pas* (de Swart & Sag, 2002)

- usually does not participate in negative concord in formal, written registers and in educated speech.

(13) Il ne va pas nulle part, il va à son travail.  
he NE goes not nowhere he goes to his work  
'He doesn't go nowhere, he goes to work.'

- participates in negative concord in many varieties

(14) ... il fera pas d'cadeau à personne.  
he make.FUT not of present to nobody  
'..., he will not give a present to anyone'  
= '..., he will not grant anyone a favor.'

- obligatory concord interpretation non-adjacent position:

(15) Je n'ai pas donné le moindre renseignement à personne.  
I NE=have not given the least information to no one  
'I have not given the least information to anyone.'



## French negative marker *pas* in concord varieties

- Burnett et al. (2015); Burnett (2016): Montréal French:
- Pre-/post-verbal asymmetry in this variety:

(16) a. *Personne est (\*pas) venu.*  
no one is not come  
'No one came.'

b. *J'ai (pas) vu personne.*  
I have not seen no one  
'I saw no one.'

- Factors for concord:
  - ▶ on neg-word: *personne* 59% > *rien* 15% > *jamais* 1%
  - ▶ on age: older speakers > younger speakers
  - ▶ on education level: low 14% > medium 11% > high 5%

# Social meaning of negative concord

- Negative concord is provided by the grammars of French, German, and English
- Variation with respect to pre- and post-verbal elements, just like in weak vs. strong negative concord languages.
- In English and German: Negative concord is a strong marker of non-standardness
- In French:
  - ▶ Occurrence of *ne* is required in formal writing (register)
  - ▶ Negative concord with *pas* only marked as non-standard for relatively simple phrases
  - ▶ Montréal French: Concord with pre-verbal neg-word does not trigger social meaning of Montréal French.

## Social meaning constraints: *ne*

Presence of *ne* signals written/formal language:

- Clitic treated added to the verb by a lexical rule
- Lexical rule introduces:
  - ▶ Marking on the verb as [NE +] (to prevent recursive application)
  - ▶ Requirement that the verb be in the scope of negation
  - ▶ Social meaning: normative language use

Absence of *ne*: If a finite verb that is marked as [NE -] is in the scope of a neg-word within its clause: signal as not intended for writing

## Social meaning constraints: *pas*

- Kim & Sag (2002), de Swart & Sag (2002), Abeillé & Godard (2021): *pas* is complement (selected adverb) of finite verb
- *pas* is added by a lexical rule
- verbs with *pas* are marked as [PAS +] (to prevent recursive application)
- de Swart & Sag (2002): *pas* is treated as non-binding quantifier. Social marking can be attached to cases in which it participates in polyadic quantifier formation.
- Richter & Sailer (2006): if a verbal projection that is [PAS +] has more than one daughter with a negation on its PARTS constraint and these are the same negation, then there is a marking of non-standard use.

## Predictability of social/register meaning of the form?

- In co-occurrence with neg-words, bot *ne* and *pas* are optional but more explicit than their absence
- *Pas* requires more articulatory effort than *ne*, and is inherently negative.
- The form with *pas* would be expected to be the more explicit one according to Finegan & Biber (1994) and the more effortful one according to Eckert (2012):  
expected formality:  $\emptyset$  neg-word < *ne* neg-word < *pas* neg-word  
attested formality: *pas* neg-word <  $\emptyset$  neg-word < *ne* neg-word
- No iconic motivation for the pattern in sight

# Grammatical basis for social meaning marking

- Inclusive grammar modelling: all variants are licensed by the grammar
- Grammar needs to be able to describe the environment for each variant
- Little hope for identifying a predictive correlation between form of a variant and its social/register meaning, even in cases of explicit/economic variants.
- Post-hoc iconic justification of the variant distribution sometimes possible (see: article+name)
- Normative pressure can play an essential role (see negative concord)

# Previous HPSG approaches to social meaning

# Basic architecture and challenges

Pollard & Sag (1994) CONTEXT:

- BACKGROUND: set-valued, contains backgrounded propositions
- Green (1994b): Speaker attitude: mutual belief of speaker and addressee that it is normally believed within the speech community that an expression has a certain meaning (including social meaning)
- Only lexical elements introduce background elements
- Simple, global percolation (Principle of Contextual Consistency)
- Used for all types of backgrounded, projective meaning – presuppositions, conventional implicatures



# Global percolation

- Paolillo (2000): diglossia in Sinhala (Indo-Aryan, Sri Lanka) as register variation
  - Utterance-percolation too much and too little
  - Register-consistency is a discourse-level phenomenon, not restricted to a single sentence.
  - Register-consistency not required if a sentence contains quotes, embedded speech etc.
- ⇒ How can this seemingly contradictory behavior be modelled?

# Lexical/constructional introduction of attitudes

- Word-level constraints:

Green (1994b): Hope that all relevant information can be introduced at the word level. But:

- ▶ Proper names in German: Constraints on head-compl/head-subj structure
- ▶ Negative concord: Even “lexical approach” (de Swart & Sag, 2002) does not assume separate lexical items for concord/ non-concord.

- Constructional constraints:

Machicao y Priemer et al. (2022): Constructions can change the register value – but there can only be one register-sensitive constraint on any given structure. But:

- ▶ Proper nouns: Non-local constraint needed to identify “proper noun with determiner used as complement”  
Possibility of having more than one proper noun as complement
- ▶ Negative concord: interaction of various constraints (*ne*, *pas*, other neg-words)

⇒ More flexible mechanism to introduce social meaning needed

# What information does social meaning express?

- Wilcock (1999): Single REGISTER value for entire utterance
  - Eckert (2012, 2019): Individual linguistic forms are indexical of properties of the speaker and/or the speech situation  
⇒ Different forms can point to different properties within the same utterance.
  - Paolillo (2000):  
Form signals stylistic aspect (edited, interactive, public, ...)  
⇒ included in the grammar  
Register follows from combination of stylistic aspects: colloquial register contains markers for interactive, but not edited and public.  
⇒ inferrable from the grammatical style markers
- ⇒ Paolillo's (2000) architecture, but: in terms of standard pragmatic inferences

# Social meaning as implicature

## Sketch of the proposal

- Linguistic expressions can trigger social meaning inferences of the form proposed in Green (1994b):  
(X believes that) X and Y mutually believe that community Z normally believes that expression E signals  $\phi$ . (Asadpour et al., 2022, 18)
- These inferences are conventionalized expressive meaning.
- Evaluation for adequacy/consistency of expressed social meanings is a *particularized conversational implicature*.

# Social meaning of variants

## Projective properties of social meaning

Social meaning inferences are *conventionalized expressive meaning* (Potts, 2007; Gutzmann, 2013), which behaves like *conventional implicatures* (Grice, 1975; Potts, 2005)

- Projects over negation, believe contexts, but not necessarily over predicates of saying/quotes, ...

(17) *baba* 'bottle', child-directed speech, odd (“\$”) in inter-adult speech.

- a. \$ Kim should (not) buy a new *baba*.
  - b. \$ Alex believes that Kim should buy a new *baba*.
  - c. Kim should buy a new “*baba*”.
- Speaker-oriented side message
  - Conventionally attached to a linguistic expression.
  - Potts (2007, 166–167) independence, nondisplaceability, perspective dependence, descriptive ineffability, immediacy, repeatability

## Social meaning as implicature

- Burnett (2019, 423): “the inferences triggered by socially meaningful variants are kinds of implicatures, similar [...] to scalar implicatures or implicatures generated by expressions with expressive content.
- Similar position in Green (1994a), Paolillo (2000)
- Potts (2007, 166–167) independence, nondisplaceability, perspective dependence, descriptive ineffability, immediacy, repeatability
- Analysis of *uh/um* in Clark & Fox Tree (2002):
  - ▶ *uh*: signals short delay
  - ▶ *um*: signals longer delay

These fixed, conventional, measurable meanings have different, context-specific interpretations (floor keeping, invitation to give up the floor, ...)



## Encoding of projective meaning

- Eckardt (2021): attitudes and social meaning is not like expressive, they do not trigger an inference, but have a particular meaning depending on a particular common ground.
- Oversimplistic formulation: “If a speaker uses  $E$ , they indicate meaning  $\phi$  about themselves.”
- Rather:  $X$  believes that  $X$  and  $Y$  mutually believe that community  $Z$  normally believes that expression  $E$  signals  $\phi$ .  
Typically  $\phi$  is of the Form: “that its user has property  $P$ ”

## Encoding of projective meaning

- Rather:  $X$  believes that  $X$  and  $Y$  mutually believe that community  $Z$  normally believes that expression  $E$  signals  $\phi$ .  
Typically  $\phi$  is of the Form: “that its user has property  $P$ ”
- Three levels:
  - ▶ Who has property  $\phi$ ?
  - ▶ What is the relevant community  $Z$ ?
  - ▶ Who makes this assumption about the community belief?
- Per default, we then infer property  $P$  for  $X$ , but this is not strictly necessary.
- If we know that the speaker does not have property  $P$ , there is no conflict,
- however, the social “prejudice” as such is still attributed to  $X$
- $X$  is usually the immediate speaker

## Example

- Social meaning: Article+name in argument position indicates that the speaker believes that they and the addressee mutually believe that the community of speakers of Standard German normally believe that the expression signals that the speaker is from the South.

(18) [It is known that Alex does not speak a Southern German variety]

Alex: Ich muss die Kim noch anrufen.

I must the Kim still call

'I still have to call Kim.'

- ▶ The determiner+name form cannot be used to signal that Alex is from the South.
  - ▶ Alex could be using *die Kim* as a quote, i.e., attributing the form to someone who is from the South
  - ▶ It could be a performance error.
- ⇒ Because of our knowledge about Alex, we do not (need to) infer anything about Alex

## Encoding of projective meaning

- Distinct attributes for different types of projective meaning (Sailer & Am-David, 2016; Rizea & Sailer, 2020)

$$\left[ \text{CTXT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRESUP} \dots \\ \text{CI} \quad \left\{ \dots \right\} \\ \text{CX-CI} \quad \left\{ \dots \right\} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

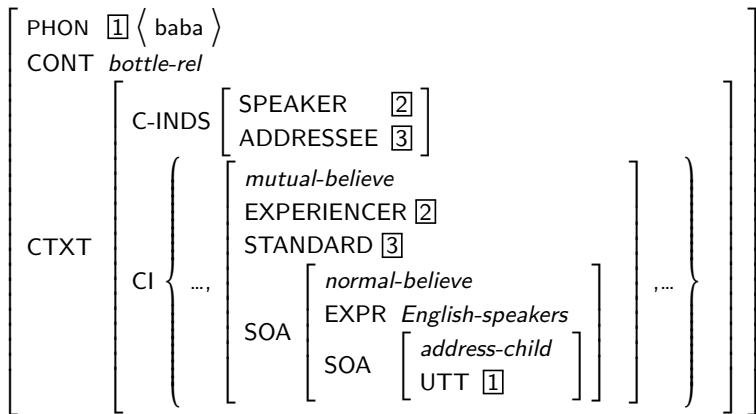
- Percolation (Asadpour et al., 2022, 19):

(19) For each phrase, the CI value of the phrase is a superset of the union of the CI values of the daughters minus those that are integrated into the phrase's semantic representation.

CIs can be integrated into a semantic representation only in the scope of a speech act operator.

- CI integration only possible in the scope of speech operators (unembedded utterances, complements of speech predicates, quotes)
- Paolillo's (2000) concern of embedded speech is taken care of by standard mechanism for conventional implicatures.

## Example: *baba* 'bottle' – child directed speech



By using the word *baba* in the meaning of 'bottle', speaker and addressee mutually believe that the English speech community normally believes that the word is used while talking to a child.

# “Social” dimensions

- No fixed set of registers/styles/...
- Marking can be with respect to:
  - ▶ Speech situation, purpose, ...(public, child-directed, ...)
  - ▶ Properties of participants (social status, mutual relation, age, ...)
  - ▶ Usually, one of the factors contributing to style (prepared, educated, ...)
  - ▶ ...
- Flexible modelling: some proposition

## Formal remark

- Green (1994b): social meaning inferences are contributed by lexical items and percolate up.
- Wilcock (1999); Bender (2001): an utterance has exactly one social meaning value, which can be constraint from any part of it.
- Machicao y Priemer et al. (2022): every substructure can influence the overall register value
- Here: CI is a set. The CI set is underspecified. Lexicon and grammar enforce some items to be in this set, but there is no “closure” in the grammar.
- Suggestion: Closure at the level of the model of the grammar.
  - ▶ Richter (2021): An HPSG grammar denotes an exhaustive model of linguistic structures (all structural configurations that satisfy all constraints of the grammar).
  - ▶ Our structures are isomorphic with respect to their “core” linguistic properties, but differ with respect to CI elements.
  - ▶ Pragmatic efficiency: Among otherwise isomorphic structures, we interpret pragmatically only those structures that have the smallest number of elements in the CI set.

# Style/register inference



## Short sketch

- Paolillo (2000): individual forms contribute aspects of social meaning conventionally; there is a discourse-based evaluation of these forms to determine register.
- Eckert (2012): same concept of variant-style interaction
- Clark & Fox Tree (2002): modelling of conventional meaning of *uh/um* and their context-dependent function in discourse
- Here: Style/register inference has the status of a conversational implicature (Grice, 1975)

# Basic assumptions

- Conventional implicatures give rise to particularized conversational implicatures

Infer discourse function of non-restrictive relatives:

(20) Alex, who I consider one of my best friends, ...

- a. ...is the person I always turn to when I have problems.
- b. ...has just won a trip to Paris in some lottery.

- Expectations:

- ▶ Don't contradict in their speech what I believe about them
- ▶ Don't contradict in their speech what I expect from the situation

# Reverse linguistic stereotyping

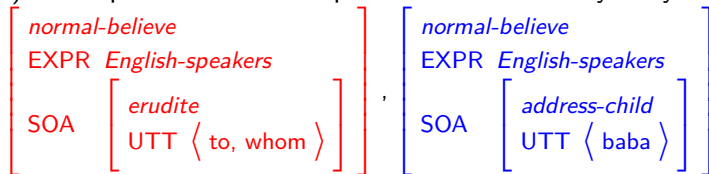
- Kang & Rubin (2009, 2014):
  - ▶ Linguistic stereotyping: Users of a variety  $X$  are considered less able for positions/situations that are associated with the use of variety  $Y$  (for ex. varieties with low overt prestige for positions with high overt prestige)
  - ▶ Reverse linguistic stereotyping: If a language user is assumed to belong to a group, it is more likely that they will be perceived as producing utterances of the variety associated with that group.
  - ▶ Method: matched guise technique; “name” and “biographic information” given; speech rating for certain variants.
- Addressees assume that speakers perform in accordance to their expectations
  - ▶ Realization of an expected variant  $\Rightarrow$  default inference, confirms expectation about speaker
  - ▶ Realization of an unexpected variant  $\Rightarrow$  default inference not made; alternative explanation searched (mock language, speech idiosyncrasy, ...)

# Conversational maxims

- Quality: Satisfy expectations
- Quantity: Complex speech situation, speaker needs to find balance between identity marking, situational adequacy, accommodation to addressee
- Relevance: Identity management; speakers may use unexpected variants to trigger alternative inferences
- Manner: ?

# Discourse assessment of social meaning

(21) The person **to whom** I passed the **baba** nearly dehydrated.



- Particularized conversational implicature (Grice, 1975):
  - ▶ Register mixing in conflict with the Maxim of Manner
  - ▶ Maxim can be flouted (irony, in-group talk, ...)
  - ▶ If no fitting particularized conversational implicature can be calculated and the utterance is infelicitous.
- Discourse effect: Cooperative speakers are expected to utter sentences that are in line with the properties of dialogue participants and situation.

## Example: article-name combination

- MS: uses article-name combinations as part of “Southern German” identity, together with trilled /r/ realization, ...
- Visiting friends near Berlin after many years:
  - ▶ Low use of articles with names at the beginning of the evening (trilled /r/ enough to mark identity)
  - ▶ Higher use of articles later: more frequent use of articles with proper names (old friendship ties reestablished, more personal topics, more affectionate language)
  - ▶ Hearer expectation:
    - ★ Hearer 1 (old friend): perceives variant as “Southern”
    - ★ Hearer 2 (their spouse): unfamiliar with “affectionate” use of article+name variant;  
in the course of conversation: establishes “freindliness”-expectation, article+name variants does not trigger affectionate inference, but is added to “Southern” stereotype

# Conclusion

## Conclusion

- General, formalizable notions of pragmatics used to model architectural assumptions of third-wave sociolinguistics (“sociolinguistic as applied pragmatics”)
- No additional machinery needed in the grammar, but
- Discussion about what exactly the relevant social meaning of variants are
- No fixed set of styles, registers, ...: Rather anything can have any social meaning
- Explicit/redundant marking: Some aspects of social meaning may be motivated by their form, but the final result is not predictable (arbitrariness in iconicity)
- Global style/register inference grounded in local variants. Therefore:
- Not modellable this way: Global properties such as richness of the vocabulary. But (Finegan & Biber, 1994, 333): seems to correlate with word length.



# Thank you!

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