Referring nouns in name-informing quotation: A copula-based approach[1]

Holden HÄRTL — *Universität Kassel*

Abstract. In name-informing constructions like *The phenomenon is called a "sun halo"*, the noun mentioned in the quotation (*a "sun halo"*) adopts a referring interpretation, as indicated by the determiner. As an account, we claim predicates like *call* to introduce a copular relation, which is the source of referring uses of nominals in name-informing quotation: To call *y* *"n"* entails that *y* is an *n*. Two copula types are argued to be covertly contained in name-informing constructions, an identificational copula and an equative copula, and we put forward linguistic evidence in support of this distinction. Further, corpus data show that nouns quoted in a name-informing construction are more prone to be used with quotes when accompanied by a determiner. We interpret this to reflect a pragmatic strategy employed to highlight the expression's mentioning use. Lastly, the quotations under discussion are differentiated from other types of quotation. Specifically, name-informing quotations are treated as instantiations of pure quotation, which we reason to be entailed compositionally and, although they can be referential hybrids, should not be subsumed either under open or mixed quotation.

Keywords: quotation, name, referring, copula.

1. Introduction

Quotation is a metalinguistic device used to talk about certain dimensions of language, see, e.g., Cappelen & Lepore (1997); Davidson (1979); Saka (1998). In quotational constructions, expressions are mentioned rather than or in addition to being used denotationally. With an assertion like in (1a), for example, in contrast to (1b), the syllabic setup of the word *sofa* is described and the quotation marks around *sofa* indicate this use, which means reference is made to a linguistic dimension of the quoted expression, see, e.g., Quine (1981).

(1) a. "Sofa" has two syllables.
     b. A sofa is a piece of furniture.

The referential difference between a denotationally used and a mentioned expression occurring in this type of quotation is reflected in the incompatibility of the mentioned noun with a determiner, as illustrated in (2).

(2) *A "sofa" has two syllables.

Observe, however, that in quotational constructions of the type in (3) below, the quoted noun does occur with a determiner.

(3) a. A couch is also referred to as a "sofa".
     b. The phenomenon is called a "sun halo".

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The determiner is optional. A referring (i.e., denotational) use of the quoted noun is unexpected here, given that these quotations, similar to the one in (1a), inform the addressee about the (conventionalized) linguistic shape of the corresponding denotatum's name, i.e., *"sofa"* and *"sun halo"*, respectively. Accusative case is assigned to the name, cf. German *Man nennt die Erscheinung einen /* $^{??}$*ein "Sonnenring"* ('one calls the phenomenon a_{ACC} / a_{NOM} "sun halo"'), which suggests that the determiner is not a constituent part of the linguistic shape mentioned in the quotation[2] and that we are dealing with a DP here. This raises the question about the origin of the referring interpretation of the mentioned names in these cases as well as the nature of the quotation at stake.

The current paper investigates name-informing constructions of the kind in (3) with a focus on their semantics and the type of quotation involved in them. Specifically, we argue that name-informing predicates like *call* introduce a copular relation entailed by the predicate: To call *y "n"* entails that *y* is an *n*, which we claim to be the source of referring uses of nominals in name-informing quotation. Linguistic evidence is put forward in support of this analysis as well as of the assumption of two distinct types of copula manifested in name-informing constructions, an identificational and an equative copula. Further, we present corpus data, which show that quoted nouns in name-informing constructions are more prone to be used with quotes when they are accompanied by a determiner. The effect is interpreted to reflect a pragmatic strategy highlighting the expression's mentioning use. Finally, we consider the type of quotation involved in the constructions under discussion, which are reasoned to represent cases of pure quotation that emerges from the compositional properties of the name-informing predicate. Based on this, we conclude that name-informing quotation, although it can involve referential hybrids, should not be treated as either open or mixed quotation.

The structure of this paper is as follows. In section 2, the semantic properties of name-informing constructions are explored. The notion of a copular relation contained in them is introduced and linguistic evidence in support of this assumption as well as corpus data are presented. In section 3, we consider the type of quotation at work in name-informing constructions. Section 4 concludes our investigation.

2. Name-informing quotation

Quotations in name-informing constructions containing predicates like *call*, *name*, *refer to* etc., as embodied in (3) and also in (4) below, are used to display the linguistic shape of a concept's conventionalized name.

(4)   a.   One calls this disease "septicemia".
      b.   A function that calls itself is named "recursive function".
      c.   The purity of gold is referred to with the word "karat".

As argued in Härtl (2018), quotations of this sort are instances of pure quotation, i.e., a meta-linguistic device used to demonstrate linguistic shapes in a rule-like fashion, see, e.g., David-

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[2] This assumption is also supported by data taken from the German DeReKo corpus (IDS Mannheim), which reveal that a determiner of a mentioned noun occurs almost never inside the quotation when quotation marks are used in constructions of the type in (3) in German.

son (1979); Cappelen & Lepore (1997); Maier (2014). A standard case of pure quotation is represented in the example in (1a) above. As an explication of their metalinguistic status, pure quotations can be preceded by appositions like *the word*, as exemplified in (4c).

2.1. The semantics of name-informing quotation

Predicates like *call* are three-place predicates, which require an argument that can be interpreted metalinguistically. In a case like (4a), for instance, *call* is used to describe a naming convention. The sentence asserts that some occurrence of blood poisoning (*this disease*) is commonly referred to as *"septicemia"*. Thus, *call*'s verbal root involves three thematic arguments, an agent *x*, which is bound generically here, a theme *y* and a relational argument that, in this case, introduces a shape *"n"* of the name of the theme argument *y*.

(5)   a.   *x call- y "n"*
      b. $\lambda y\, \lambda n\, \lambda x$ [CALL(x, y, NAME("n", y))]
      c.   GENx [CALL(x, *this disease*, NAME(*"septicemia"*, *this disease*))]

Naming predicates are highly polysemous, see, among others, Anderson (2004) and Biro (2012) for analyses. While name-informing sentences like the ones in (3) and (4) describe naming conventions, naming constructions can also be used to reflect a speaker attitude, see (6a), an act of baptizing as in (6b) or an act of nomination ((6c)).

(6)   a.   They called their son a liar.
      b.   They named their son Arthur.
      c.   He was named the president of the university.

While the semantic forms in (5) are meant to represent the meaning of *call* in its name-informing use, we believe an underspecification approach to be desirable, with the different manifestations of *call* to be derived compositionally. The verbal event and the agent argument have, for example, a generic meaning in naming-informing constructions like (4) but adopt a specific interpretation in the description of a speech act like (6a).[3]

2.2. An underspecified copula in name-informing quotation

Matushansky (2008) and Fara (2015) have proposed a small-clause analysis of naming constructions like in *They named their son Arthur*, with [sc[*their son*] [*Arthur*]] as small clause, implying that proper names figure as predicates here. Evidence for this assumption comes, among other things, from the observation that the name in naming constructions does not combine with a determiner in languages like German, see (7a), where this option is generally available with argument uses of proper names as displayed in (7b). Observe that with common nouns as used in (7c), a determiner is not blocked in naming constructions in German, and above we have observed the same for name-informing constructions, cf. (3) and their German equivalents.

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[3] For a decompositional analysis of the change-of-state readings of naming predicates, as represented in (6b & c), see Matushansky (2008).

(7) a.   Sie nannten ihren Sohn (*den) Arthur.
            'They named their son (the) Arthur.'
     b.   Sie beschrieben ihrem Sohn (den) Arthur.
            they described their son (the) Arthur
            'They described Arthur to their son.'
     c.   Sie nannten ihren Sohn (einen) Lügner.
            'They called their son (a) liar.'

To address this puzzle, we propose name-informing constructions of the type in (3) and (4)[4] to involve an underspecified copular relation *P* in the predicate's verbal root. Crucially, it is this copula that introduces a referring nominal, manifested through the determiner. Consider the semantic form in (8).

(8) $\lambda P \, \lambda y \, \lambda n \, \lambda x$ [CALL(x, y, NAME("n", y) $\wedge$ P(n, y))]

With our analysis, we assume *P* to identify the particular relation holding between the denotation of the name *n*, mentioned as *"n"* in a name-informing construction, and the theme argument *y*. Reconsider the example in (4a), repeated below, and notice that the denotation of the theme argument and the denotation of the name are identical in the corresponding discourse domain.

(9)   a.   One calls this disease "septicemia".
      b.   [[*this disease*]] = [[*septicemia*]]

The relation holding between the two arguments can be made explicit, see (10a), and cannot be negated, see (10b).

(10) a.   One calls this disease "septicemia" and this disease is a septicemia.
      b.   ⚢One calls this disease "septicemia" but this disease is not a septicemia.

The contradiction produced in (10d) suggests that a relation of the type in (9b) is entailed as part of the truth-conditional meaning of the sentence in (9a).[5]

The inclusion of a copular relation in naming constructions has been stated before, see Matushansky (2008: 582, 590). From a functional syntactic angle, cf. Ágel (2017: 358ff.), German *nennen* ('call'), as used in (11) below, has been analyzed as a transitive copula verb, which involves an object predicative, i.e., *einen Leerverkauf* ('a short sale'). It assigns a property to

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[4] In the following, we focus on name-informing constructions and stay agnostic as to whether or how our analysis applies to (baptizing) uses of naming predicates involving proper names.

[5] Note that the intended reading of the naming construction used in (10b) is a name-informing one, introducing a naming convention, and not one describing a vocative act as in, e.g., *They mistakenly called this disease "septicemia" but this disease is not a septicemia*. We assume that with a sentence like (9a), the speaker "veridically commits" (see Giannakidou & Mari 2019) themselves to the truth of the assertion that the disease in question is indeed a septicemia.

the first object DP (*diesen Vorgang*, 'this practice') and both nominals are marked with accusative case.[6]

(11) Man nennt diesen Vorgang einen Leerverkauf.
      one calls this practice$_{ACC}$ a short sale$_{ACC}$

An object predicative analysis for *nennen* ('call') is supported by the behavior of the two participating nominals in the passive voice. As opposed to double-accusative verbs in German like *abfragen* ('test'),[7] which take two referential DPs, see (12a), with *nennen*, both participating nominals are marked with nominative case in the passive, see (12b).

(12) a. Der Schüler wird den Wortschatz abgefragt.
          the student$_{NOM}$ is the vocabulary$_{ACC}$ tested
          'The student is tested on the vocabulary.'
      b. Dieser Vorgang wird ein Leerverkauf genannt.[8]
          the practice$_{NOM}$ is a short sale$_{NOM}$ called
          'This practice is called a short sale.'

In the following section, we will take a closer look at the copular relation *P* implied in name-informing constructions and identify two distinct types of copulas figuring here as well as their grammatical manifestation.

2.2.1. Identificational copulas in name-informing constructions

The first type of copula we claim to be involved in name-informing constructions is the identificational copula.[9] Typically, identificational copular sentences contain a demonstrative or definite nominal expression as subject and are used to teach the names of people or things, introduced in the postcopular phrase, see, among others, Higgins (1979); Mikkelsen (2011). Heller & Wolter (2008) argue that the postcopular expression in an identificational sentence denotes a sort or kind, respectively. This is also what we observe in the covert copular sentence contained in (13a) as it specifies the sort of the subject referent, see (13b).

(13) a. The phenomenon is called a "sun halo".
      b. The phenomenon is a sun halo.
      c. λy GENs ... [SUN HALO(s, y)] (*the phenomenon*)

We assume the postcopular nominal to refer generically, as indicated by the generic operator in (13c) and (14). Thus, the generic operator is the source of the occurrence of the indefinite article in assertions like (13a & b). Further, it follows that the shape of the name in quotes

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[6] We wish to thank Vilmos Ágel for his input on this subject matter.

[7] See, for example, Czepluch (1988) for an analysis.

[8] For a reason still unknown to us, the article use is somewhat marked with the second nominal in (12b). Without the article, the sentence is unmarked. The article use is also unmarked in the active voice, see (11).

[9] We wish to thank Ljudmila Geist for the fruitful discussion of the proposed analysis and data at issue. For the different views on the taxonomy of copulas see, among others, Geist (2006); Heller (2005); Mikkelsen (2005).

(*"sun halo"*) in (13a) is derived from the name of a kind. Similarities between kind-referring nouns and proper names have been pointed out by Krifka et al. (1995).

(14)   GENs ∃x [CALL(x, *the phenomenon*, NAME(*"sun halo"*, *the phenomenon*) ∧
             SUN HALO(s, *the phenomenon*)))]

The subject in identificational copular sentence has a different semantic type than the subject of predicational copular sentences, see Geist (2006) and Mikkelsen (2005) for analyses. This is reflected grammatically in the fact that the subject of a copular sentence like (13b) can only be referred to with a non-referential pronoun, e.g., in a left-dislocation configuration, see Mikkelsen (2005: 74f). Consider the German examples in (15) and observe that the dislocated subject cannot be referred to by the gender-matching, referential demonstrative pronoun *die* ('the$_{FEM}$') but only by the non-referential neuter pronoun *das* ('that$_{NEUT}$').

(15)   a.   Die Erscheinung, das / *die ist ein Sonnenring.
            the phenomenon$_{FEM}$ that$_{NEUT}$ / the$_{FEM}$ is a sun halo
       b.   Die Krankheit, das / *die ist eine Septikämie.
            the disease$_{FEM}$ that$_{NEUT}$ / the$_{FEM}$ is a septicemia

Identificational copular sentences are in sharp contrast here to predicational copular sentences. Consider example (16a).

(16)   a.   Die Kette ist ein Erbstück.
            'The necklace is an heirloom.'
       b.   Die Kette, die ist ein Erbstück.
            the necklace$_{FEM}$ the$_{FEM}$ is an heirloom
            'The necklace that is an heirloom.'

As (16b) illustrates, the subject of a predicational copular sentence can be referred to by means of a referential pronoun, i.e., *die* ('the$_{FEM}$') in this case, thus reflecting the distinct referential properties of nominals involved in this type of copular sentence.

2.2.2. Equative copulas in name-informing constructions

A second type of copula we postulate to be involved in the constructions at stake is the equative copula. Name-informing constructions like those in (3b), repeated below as (17a), as well as (17b), entail equative copular sentences as given in (17a') and, respectively, in (17b'). According to Higgins (1979), in equative copular sentences, the reference of the pre- and the postcopular nominal are the same, as represented in (18).[10]

(17)   a.   A couch is also referred to as a "sofa".
       a.'   A couch is a sofa.

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[10] See, for example, Geist (2006) for an analysis. Equative copular sentences are also termed identity or equational clause in the literature, cf. Mikkelsen (2011) and others.

  b. A pullover is also called a "sweater".
  b.' A pullover is a sweater.

(18) a. $\lambda n\, \lambda y\, ... \,[y = n]$ (*a pullover*) (*a sweater*)
  b. GENs GENp $\exists x$ [CALL(x, *a pullover*, NAME(*"sweater"*, *a pullover*) $\wedge$
     PULLOVER(p) = SWEATER(s)))]

Observe that equative sentences of this type occur in left-dislocation configurations only with markedness. Consider the following examples.[11]

(19) a. $^{??}$A couch that is a sofa.
  b. $^{??}$A pullover that is a sweater.

In comparison to identificational and predicational copular sentences, left dislocation is generally marked with equative copular sentences. Sentences of the type in (19) are acceptable only if specific use conditions are met. If somebody, perhaps a non-native speaker of English, does not know the word *couch*, the use of (19a), for instance, could be appropriate in response to a question like (20a).[12]

(20) a. A: What is a "couch"? I have never heard that word before!
  b. B: Oh, a "couch" that is just a sofa!

Note, however, that (20b) is embedded in a metalinguistic discourse and has a translational function, and it is this restriction which licenses the subject DP to occur as a hanging topic. Outside such contexts, (19a & b) are uninformative.[13] Left dislocation is typically used to topicalize a constituent or, respectively, emphasize a topic constituent, see, for example, Ebert & Hinterwimmer (2009). In the resulting topic-comment structure, the comment expresses a property, which is predicated of the topic referent. In equative copular sentences, the pre- and the postcopular nominal are referentially equated, and a sentence like *A couch is a sofa* is truth-conditionally equivalent to the sentence *A sofa is a couch*, with a reversed constituent order.[14] It follows that left dislocation produces an informationally empty interpretation here, in which a topic referent is highlighted with respect to having the property of being itself.[15]

Supporting evidence for our assumption that name-informing sentences like (17a & b) involve a different type of copula comes from the observation that, as a lexical reflector, they require the additive particle *also* or a semantic equivalent thereof. In name-informing con-

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[11] Acceptability judgements for examples of the type in (9) vary. If we follow our informants, the construction's equivalents seem to be less acceptable in German as compared to English and French.

[12] We wish to thank Gillian Ramchand for the example in (20).

[13] Observe also that in an exchange like (20) the corresponding name-informing paraphrase for (20b) is *A sofa is also referred to as a "couch" in English* and not *A couch is also referred to as a "sofa" in English*, indicating that (20b) is in fact not the left-dislocation equivalent of (17a/a').

[14] For an analysis on the reversibility of constituents in copular sentences see, for example, Declerck (1988).

[15] We thank Stefan Hinterwimmer for the discussion on this issue.

texts, *also*, based on Szwedek (1991), entails that a name for *y* exists, which is included in the set of (other) names used for *y*.

(21) a.   A couch is also referred to as a "sofa".
      b. $[[also]] \rightarrow$ NAME(*"sofa"*, y) $\in$ {NAME(*"couch"*$_i$, y), NAME("n"$_{i+1}$, y) ...}

When omitting *also* in sentences of this sort, a different meaning of the name-informing construction is conveyed. The examples in (22) illustrate this.

(22) a.   A couch is referred to as a "sofa" (in this warehouse).
      b.   A pullover is called a "sweater" (in this store).

While, for example, (21a) has a paraphrase along the lines of 'things called "couch" in speech community A are, in addition, called "sofa" in speech community A', the only reading available for (22a) is something like 'things called "couch" in speech community A are called "sofa" in speech community B', with the latter materialized as the domain of a warehouse in the example.[16] (22b) works analogously.

Crucially, in name-informing sentences involving an identificational copula, *also* is entirely optional and, hence, its absence does not produce a difference in meaning, as illustrated in (23).[17]

(23) a.   The phenomenon is (also) called a "sun halo".
      b.   The purity of gold is (also) referred to with the word "karat".

Here, the meaning of *also* does not entail that the denotata in question are called either *"phenomenon"* or *"sun halo"* and, respectively, *"purity of gold"* or *"karat"*. Rather, *also* implies that *"sun halo"* and *"karat"* are included in an alternative set of other, not specified names used for the denotata in question.

(24) a.   The phenomenon is also called a "sun halo".
      b. $[[also]] \rightarrow$ NAME(*"sun halo"*, y) $\in$ {NAME("n"$_i$, y), NAME("n"$_{i+1}$, y) ...}

The optionality of *also* is explained here by its redundancy in such contexts as the existence of alternative names for things can usually be taken for granted by competent members of a speech community.

We have identified two distinct types of copula involved in name-informing quotation, an identificational copula and equative copula, and presented linguistic reflectors of the distinction. Our proposal implies that the copula contained in the semantics of a name-informing construction entails a (generically) referring interpretation of the quoted nominal, which, in turn, is the source for the use of a determiner with this nominal.

[16] The sentences in (22), which again have a translational meaning, can be speculated to involve an identificational copula in fact, as discussed in the previous section. We leave this issue for future research.

[17] The reading of *also* as a speech act adverb (cf. *Also, the phenomenon is called a "sun halo"*) is not intended in (23). We thank one of the editors for pointing out this reading of *also*.

2.2.3. Correlations between determiner occurrence, *auch* ('also'), and the use of quotes

In this section, we will take an empirical look at the interplay between the occurrence of a determiner and the additive particle in a name-informing construction, on the one hand, and the use of quotation marks, on the other. Quotes and their material realization, respectively, are a device used to draw the addressee's attention to the mentioning use of an expression. Pragmatic approaches, which we follow here, implement quotes as pragmatic markers used to indicate a deviation from the standard, denotational use of an expression and give rise to a non-stereotypical interpretation instead, see, e.g., Gutzmann & Stei (2009); Härtl (2018); Klockow (1978). Besides pure quotation, see (25a) below, quotes are commonly used to signal scare quotation, see (25b), direct quotation, (25b), as well as mixed quotation, (25d).

(25) a. "Sofa" has two syllables.
      b. The "beach" was in fact a thin strip of black volcanic grit.
      c. "Something is wrong", Alan whispered softly to his dolls.
      d. The coach declared that his team would "kick arse" today.

A standard definition of their semantics holds that quotations refer to the expression inside the quotes reflexively, see Ludwig & Ray (2017: 102). There is a debate in the literature about the status of quotes in the compositional structure of a quotation. In semantic analyses, quotes, or their meaning equivalent, are typically assumed to be an essential part of a quotational construction, see, e.g., Predelli (2003). In contrast, pragmatic approaches argue that contextual clues alone are sufficient to construe a quotational meaning, which is also used to explain why quotes are optional, see, e.g., De Brabanter (2013); Washington (1992).[18]

A pragmatic approach towards quotes entails that their manifestation is context-sensitive. As regards name-informing quotations, the occurrence of a referring noun accompanied by a determiner can be hypothesized to correlate with a higher rate of quotes, reflecting a compensating strategy to highlight the name's metalinguistic use in the underlying copular sentence (Hypothesis H_A). A reversed correlation can be expected to hold between the occurrence of the (German) additive particle *auch* ('also') and the occurrence of quotes, as *auch* alone highlights the mentioning use of the quoted material, considering that *auch* entails alternative shapes of names (Hypothesis H_B).

In order to test hypothesis H_A and H_B, we conducted two corpus studies. In the pilot study, sentences containing the verbs *bezeichnen* ('refer to as') and *nennen* ('call'), each *n*=500, were randomly extracted from the German DeReKo corpus (IDS Mannheim). From each set, all sentences with a name-informing semantics were selected as valid hits based on predetermined annotation guidelines and classified with respect to the occurrence of determiners (definite / indefinite) as well as *auch* in them. The occurrence of quotes was taken to be the dependent variable.

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[18] In semantic approaches, the expression of a semantic equivalent of quotes is not optional as they are always encoded, either silently or through additional indicators, e.g., through air quotes or acoustic means, cf. Schlechtweg & Härtl (2019).

As a result, in the sentences containing *bezeichnen* (*n*=163), 29 included *auch* in the relevant sense, and in ten of these (34 %) quotes occurred around the mentioned nominal. In sentences without *auch*, the mentioned nominal was embraced by quotes in 23 cases (17 %). A reversed correlation was observed with *nennen* (*n*=174). Here, in sentences containing *auch* (*n*=36), the mentioned nominal occurred in quotes in six of the cases (16 %), whereas in sentences without *auch*, the mentioned nominal was in quotes in 40 % of the cases. As concerns the occurrence of a determiner, only sentences involving *nennen* yielded noteworthy output. In eleven cases, the mentioned nominal occurred with a determiner, from which six (54 %) were in quotes. When no determiner occurred, only 34 per cent of the mentioned nominals were enclosed by quotes.

As the data collected so far delivered conflicting results and, respectively, cannot be reliably used to verify the hypotheses, a follow-up study was conducted using a larger-scale data set and a more restricted search pattern. Specifically, only sentences with the verb *nennen* were retrieved which exhibited the pattern 'man nennt y (auch) n' ('one calls y (also) n'), with and without *auch*, each *n*=500. The results of the analysis are displayed below. Figure 1 below shows the correlations between the occurrence of *auch* and quotes as well as the occurrence of a determiner (with determiner *n*=296) and quotes in name-informing constructions involving the verb *nennen*.
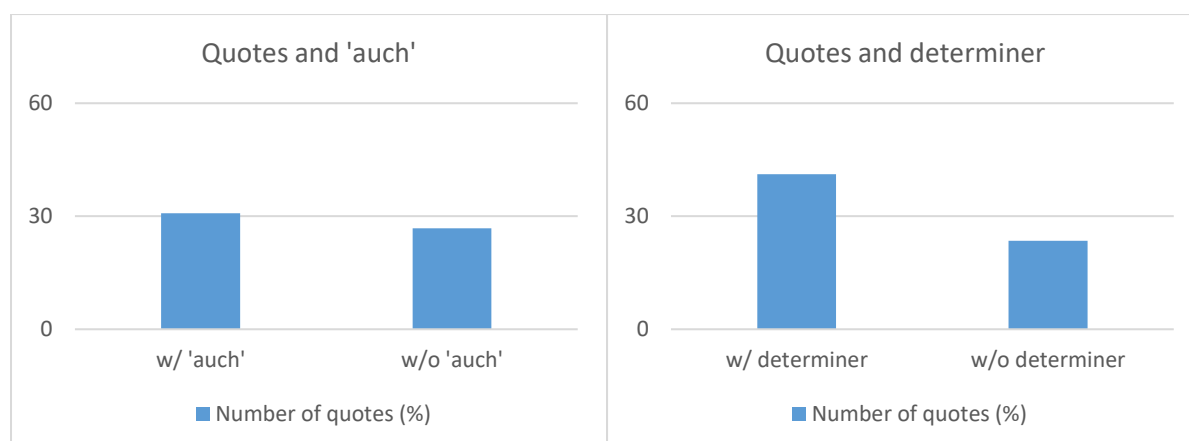

Figure 1: Correlations between quote occurrence and 'auch' / determiner

The results indicate that the occurrence of *auch* in this type of name-informing construction does not affect the probability of quotes to occur around the mentioned nominal, $t(1)=1.9$, $p<.16$, and Hypothesis H_B must thus be rejected. We conclude that *auch* is not a predictor for the use of quotes. In contrast, the occurrence of a determiner did have an effect on the occurrence of quotes, $t(1)=32.5$, $p<.001$. The null hypothesis must thus be rejected and the alternative hypothesis (H_A) accepted. We interpret these results to reflect a compensating pragmatic strategy. It aims at highlighting the metalinguistic status of the mentioned expression, when the expression strongly suggests a denotational interpretation signaled by the determiner as constituent part of the copular relation introduced by *nennen*.

The above results are better compatible with pragmatic, use-conditional approaches towards quotes, in which their manifestation is sensitive to context. Therefore, in name-informing constructions, which instantiate pure quotation, whether quotes are manifested or not depends

on the presence of a determiner accompanying the mentioned nominal. Note that our conclusion rests on the assumption that quotations in name-informing constructions used with and without determiner are both instances of pure quotation. This premise, however, may not be uncontroversial. We address this issue in the next section.

3. Type of quotation

We assume quotations of the type under discussion to involve pure quotation, i.e., a metalinguistic device used to demonstrate linguistic shapes in a rule-like fashion, but this theoretical perspective is not without alternative. Consider the example in (26), taken from Recanati (2001: 682).

(26)   A "fortnight" is a period of fourteen days.

Recanati analyzes quotations of this type as, what he calls, open quotations. With this type, the expression inside the quotes contributes to the semantic content of the rest of the sentence, which, in turn, explains the referring use of the quoted nominal. Open quotations are not recruited as singular terms, as opposed to closed quotations, e.g., *"Fortnight" is an unfamiliar word*, which figure as singular terms in the compositional structure (Recanati 2001: 682f.).

Crucially, sentences of type in (26) are not assertions explicitly "about words", see Recanati (2008: 446) and, thus, the interpretation of the quotes to metalinguistically demonstrate a somehow special word here, i.e., *fortnight*, is derived through pragmatic inferencing. This inference, as noted in De Brabanter (2013: 138), can be explicated by means of metalinguistic appositions like *as one says in English*, cf. *A "fortnight", as one says in English, is a period of fourteen days*. In that sense, quotations like in (26) are similar to pure quotations, as they ascribe properties to words, see Recanati (2001: 683), and presuppose some kind of generic English speaker, see De Brabanter (2013: 138).

Does this imply that quotations of the type under discussion here should be treated as instances of open quotations, whose interpretation is derived pragmatically? Certainly not. Consider below the name-informing equivalent of (26).

(27)   A period of fourteen days is called a "fortnight".

Observe that in this sentence, the assertion, other than the one in (26), is indeed about a word. As discussed in section 2.1. above, predicates like *call* require a mentioned expression as complement, which provides the shape, in this case *"fortnight"*, of the name of the theme argument, i.e., *a period of fourteen days*. Inverted commas around the name argument are used to explicate this meaning. So, the quotational meaning in constructions of this sort is rooted in the combinatorial properties of the verbal predicate. At the same time, *call*, as claimed above, introduces a copular relation, which we argued to be the source of the quoted nominal's referring use.

We assume that name-informing constructions entail pure quotation compositionally.[19] It is another open question, though, whether hybrid uses, where, as in (27), the name argument is both mentioned and used referringly are in fact instances of what is known as mixed quotation in the literature, see, e.g., Davidson (1979). Consider the example in (25d), repeated below.

(28)   The coach declared that his team would "kick arse" today.

In sentences containing mixed quotation, an expression, in this case an idiomatic verb phrase, is used denotationally as the predicate of the clause and, simultaneously, mentioned to report a specific linguistic expression uttered by the coach. Hence, direct and indirect speech are combined in clauses involving mixed quotation, see Cappelen and Lepore (1997); Maier (2007). Geurts & Maier (2005) propose to treat mixed quotations of this sort to involve a meaning shift where quoting expression *n* entails something like 'what x calls "n"', with the value of *x* to be determined contextually, i.e., by the subject DP *the coach* in (28). The analysis implies that the presence of the quotes creates a speaker shift such that if the quotes are present *x*'s uttering the expression in quotes is reported. If the quotes are not present, the corresponding expression is interpreted to be uttered by the speaker of the sentence.[20] Crucially, we do not observe such a shift in meaning with quotations in name-informing constructions. Consider (29).

(29)   The phenomenon is called a sun halo / a "sun halo".

Although the two realizations may differ with respect to their suitability, they both entail a paraphrase along the lines of 'what the competent speaker of speech community A calls "sun halo"', regardless of the presence of quotes. The reason for this is, again, that predicates like *call* entail a metalinguistic argument compositionally and, hence, quotes have a pragmatic function here. We conclude that, although name-informing quotation involves hybrid, denotational and mentioning uses of expressions, these are not instantiations of mixed quotation in the narrow sense.

4. Conclusion

We have argued name-informing constructions containing predicates like *call*, *name*, *refer to* etc. to introduce a copular relation. To call *y "n"* entails that *y* is an *n*. This copular relation is the source of referring uses of nominals in name-informing quotations as in, e.g., *The phenomenon is called a "sun halo"* or *A couch is also referred to as a "sofa"*. Two distinct types of copulas are involved in name-informing constructions. While the former above example is an instantiation of, as we claim, an identificational copula, the latter involves an equative copula. Linguistic evidence put forward in support of these assumptions includes truth-condi-

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[19] Recall that it does not follow from this that quotes materialize obligatorily here as they can also be present silently, cf. footnote 18. Furthermore, the quotes used in name-informing quotation can sometimes also adopt a scare-quote interpretation, as, possibly, in *This yoga position is called a "tree"*, which supports the notion of an underspecified, pragmatic function of quotes.

[20] The truth-conditional effects this shift brings about are discussed in, among others, Cappelen & Lepore (1997); De Brabanter (2013).

tional effects, left-dislocation configurations as well as the presence of the additive particle *also*. The corpus data we collected show that nouns mentioned in name-informing constructions are more prone to be used with quotes when they are accompanied by a determiner, i.e., when they are used referringly. This effect was interpreted to reflect a compensating pragmatic strategy to highlight the mentioning use of the expression. Finally, we claim the type of quotation under discussion to represent pure quotation, which is rooted in the compositional properties of name-informing predicates and is not a result of pragmatic inferencing. Based on this, we concluded that name-informing quotation, although they can be referential hybrids, should not be treated as either open or mixed quotation.

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