

OXFORD
LINGUISTICS

INTONATION AND MEANING

DANIEL BÜRING

OXFORD SURVEYS IN SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

Intonation and Meaning

OXFORD SURVEYS IN SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

GENERAL EDITORS: Chris Barker, New York University, and Christopher Rice, University of Chicago

ADVISORY EDITORS: Kent Bach, *San Francisco State University*; Barbara H. Haiman, *University of Groningen*; Laurence R. Horn, *Yale University*; William J. Levelt, *University of Southern California*; Beth Levin, *Stanford University*; John R. Larson, *Stony Brook University*; Anna Szabolcsi, *New York University*; John C. Y. Lee, *University of Edinburgh*; Gregory Ward, *Northwestern University*

PUBLISHED

1 *Modality*

Paul Portner

2 *Reference*

Barbara Abbott

3 *Intonation and Meaning*

Daniel Büring

IN PREPARATION

Questions

Veneeta Dayal

Aspect

Hana Filip

Lexical Pragmatics

Laurence R. Horn

Mood

Paul Portner

Intonation and Meaning

DANIEL BÜRING

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, ox2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Daniel Buring 2016

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First Edition published in 2016

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015956590

ISBN 978-0-19-922626-9 (Hbk)

ISBN 978-0-19-922627-6 (Pbk)

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

Contents

General Preface

Preface

List of Abbreviations

- 1 Prominence, accent, focus
 - 1.1 Prominence, accent (and stress)
 - 1.1.1 Perceived prominence and pitch accenting
 - 1.1.2 The nuclear pitch accent
 - 1.2 Default intonation
 - 1.2.1 Default accenting
 - 1.2.2 Predicting default accenting: a sketch
 - 1.3 Focus
 - 1.3.1 When default accenting is not normal accenting
 - 1.3.2 Focus realization and focus projection
 - 1.3.3 Introducing information structure
 - 1.4 Summary and outlook
- 2 Focus and givenness in flexible accent languages
 - 2.1 Givenness
 - 2.2 Focus and background
 - 2.2.1 F-alternatives
 - 2.2.2 Focus and accenting
 - 2.2.3 Focus semantics, first inspection
 - 2.3 A grammar of focus and givenness
 - 2.3.1 Representation
 - 2.3.2 Interpretation
 - 2.3.3 Realization
 - 2.3.4 Enforcement
 - 2.4 Arguments for keeping focussing and givenness separate
 - 2.4.1 Partially given foci: given elements within a broader focus
 - 2.4.2 Completely given foci
 - 2.5 Larger foci and focus ambiguities
 - 2.5.1 Focus ambiguity
 - 2.5.2 Focus sizes: broad, wide, narrow
 - 2.5.3 Focus and ellipsis

- 3 Focus and givenness theories
 - 3.1 Alternative Semantics: Rooth (1985, 1992b)
 - 3.1.1 Composing alternatives
 - 3.1.2 The Squiggle Theory
 - 3.1.3 Notable properties
 - 3.1.4 Rooth (1992a): bridging by entailment
 - 3.1.5 Desiderata
 - 3.2 F/FOC-Theory: Selkirk (1984, 1995b)
 - 3.2.1 Notable properties
 - 3.2.2 Problems
 - 3.3 GIVENness Theory: Schwarzschild (1999)
 - 3.3.1 The GIVEN relation
 - 3.3.2 AVOIDF
 - 3.3.3 Notable properties
 - 3.3.4 Open ends
 - 3.4 Chapter summary
 - 3.4.1 Comparing F-conditions
 - 3.4.2 Comparing F-/G-relations
 - 3.4.3 Comparison of the theories
 - 3.5 Appendix: definitions and technical details
 - 3.5.1 Focus Semantic Values
 - 3.5.2 Existential closure
 - 3.5.3 Existential focus closure
- 4 More on focus/givenness representation
 - 4.1 Back to F-marking plus G-marking
 - 4.2 Using stacked F-domains to replace G-marking
 - 4.3 Interim summary
 - 4.4 Focus projection rules
 - 4.4.1 The idea
 - 4.4.2 Integration
 - 4.4.3 F-Projection Rules revisited
 - 4.4.4 Bottom up and top down
 - 4.4.5 Competition-based analyses of focus projection
 - 4.5 Lesser studied focus configuration
 - 4.5.1 Discontinuous foci and multiple foci
 - 4.5.2 Multiple foci
 - 4.5.3 Focus in questions
- 5 More on the semantics of focus and givenness

- 5.2 Focussing
 - 5.2.1 No truth conditions for focussing
 - 5.2.2 Focus-mentalism
- 5.3 Contrast
 - 5.3.1 Deaccenting requires local contrast
 - 5.3.2 Wagner (2012b)
 - 5.3.3 On the notion of contrast
 - 5.3.4 Where and when is focus contrastive?
- 5.4 Open ends in Alternative Semantics
 - 5.4.1 Focus on semantic functions
 - 5.4.2 Givenness distributivity
 - 5.4.3 Focus/background compared to new/given once more
 - 5.4.4 The role of context and world knowledge
- 5.5 Chapter summary and outlook
- 6 Prosodic structure
 - 6.1 Introducing prosodic structure
 - 6.1.1 Metrical structure: prosodic constituents, heads, and stress
 - 6.1.2 Stress and accent
 - 6.1.3 Intonational structure
 - 6.1.4 Phrasal prosody
 - 6.2 Building prosodic structure: phrasal stress and integration
 - 6.2.1 Phrasal stress: WRAP-XP and STRESS-XP
 - 6.2.2 Integration
 - 6.2.3 Non-integration
 - 6.2.4 Function words and integration
 - 6.2.5 IP-HEAD-RIGHT
 - 6.2.6 Appendix: alternative approaches to the syntax–prosody mapping
 - 6.3 Towards more complex stress (and accent) patterns
 - 6.3.1 Additional levels of phrasing above the intermediate phrase
 - 6.3.2 Left-branching sub-constituents
 - 6.3.3 Left-branching and stress equalization
 - 6.3.4 Excursus: free recursion?
 - 6.3.5 Right-branching structures
- 7 Prosodic structure and information structure
 - 7.1 Focus
 - 7.1.1 How to reassign sentential stress: head misalignment vs de-phrasing

- 7.2 Givenness
 - 7.2.1 Nuclear deaccenting
 - 7.2.2 Pre-nuclear deaccenting
- 7.3 Second occurrence focus
 - 7.3.1 The basic generalization and how to derive it
 - 7.3.2 Further aspects of second occurrence focus
 - 7.3.3 Open questions
 - 7.3.4 Outlook
- 7.4 Summary
- 8 More on focus/givenness realization
 - 8.1 Italian: two focus types and no givenness
 - 8.1.1 Clause-final focus only
 - 8.1.2 Lack of givenness accenting
 - 8.1.3 Clause-initial (and clause-medial) focus
 - 8.2 Hungarian
 - 8.3 Outlook: focus, sentential stress, and verb adjacency
 - 8.4 A note on Nuclear Stress Rules
 - 8.5 Integration revisited
 - 8.5.1 Some more cases of non-integration
 - 8.5.2 Intransitive subject integration
 - 8.5.3 Special cases of object integration
- 9 The meaning of tones
 - 9.1 Intonational morphemes and text-to-tune alignment
 - 9.2 Boundary tones
 - 9.2.1 Rising vs falling declaratives
 - 9.2.2 Phrase tone meanings
 - 9.2.3 Boundary tone meanings
 - 9.2.4 Interim summary: phrase and boundary tone meanings
 - 9.3 Accent tone(s)
 - 9.3.1 Paradigmatic accent tone choice
 - 9.3.2 Accent alignment in German
 - 9.3.3 Paradigmatic accent choice in German
 - 9.3.4 Another interim summary
 - 9.4 Theme/topic vs rheme/focus accents
 - 9.4.1 A brief natural history of contrastive topics
 - 9.4.2 Single CT and F+CT
 - 9.4.3 Representation and interpretation of CT
 - 9.4.4 Realization of CT

- 10.3 FSE and pseudo-FSEs
 - 10.3.1 Strong, weak, and intermediate theories of AwF
 - 10.3.2 On strong theories
 - 10.3.3 Focus sensitivity vs context sensitivity
 - 10.3.4 Other instances of (apparent) focus sensitivity
- 10.4 Odds and ends about FSEs
 - 10.4.1 Presupposition and assertion
 - 10.4.2 Scope and domain of FSEs
 - 10.4.3 Binding into focus (alternatives)
- 10.5 Indexed foci
 - 10.5.1 Nested foci
 - 10.5.2 Formal intermezzo: a semantics for indexed foci
 - 10.5.3 Tanglewood
 - 10.5.4 Are foci ever “absorbed”?

Bibliography

Index

Supplementary material for this book is available on a companion web
www.oup.co.uk/companion/Buring

