ker Fillmore, Charles. 1979. Verbs of judging. In Fillmore + Langendoen, eds., Studies in Linguistic Semantics, 272-289. New York: Holt, Reinhart + Winston, Inc.

mentalist conceptions — image/concept in head of speaker before/after utterance.

behaviorist (Bloomfield) — mng of ling form — sit. preceding performance, consequence in hearer's behavior). [PN: something like perlocutionary act].

structuralist — common to all appropriate contexts of use.

▷ 3 conceptions of meaning.

componential approaches. — break down into "feature" or "components"
—▷ e.g. check via selectional restrictions on co-occurrence.

(1) The wolf fell          + PHYS OBJ)  } test for
(2) The wolf died          + LIVING    } component
(3) The wolf felt it       + ANIMATE.  } of a noun

presupp failures: weird under both +/-, but grammatical → diagnoses absent component.

-(5)#
(4) The wolf got /didn't get a divorce.   — HUMAN.
(6) I accidentally broke your wolf   ~ — RIGID.

→ ad infinitum-, subject to our beliefs.

Fillmore problem is approaching "what is the meaning of this form".

ustead, ask:

|| what do I need to know in order to use this form appropriately, + in order to understand others?

- linguistics should be interested in usage rules, not "external signs" or "reflexes" of mng.

Q· should theory of mng begin with words or sentences?
words — rules for use, including compositional principles.

sentences — illocutionary acts (how to do things w/ sentences — Austin).
( "potentials" of sentences ~ dynamic conl. event.
( → felicity conditions for sentences.

(7) please shut the door.
    (i) Spk-Add rel'ship
    (ii) Add. can shut door.
    (iii) Specific door, recoverable from context.
    (iv) Door is open.
    (v) Spk wants door to become closed.

( → these relate to different gramm. features of sentence.
imperative, "shut", definite article.
- some are preconditions, not context.

(8) please don't shut the door.
    Q: what changes? only (v) → |context|

| 2 levels of communication (speech) | 1. presuppositional
    2. illocutionary.

1. presupp - conditions needing to be satisfied for p. illoc. act to be effectively performed.
( → + which relate to facts about linguistic structure of sentences.

2.

- note : psupps can be used to communicate attitudes
or special information.
  (e.g. when did you stop ... ).

eventual goal : system of rules s.t., given a
grammatical description, we can compute
fullset of presuppositions.
  - lexical info (words)
  - global structural properties
  - stress (prosody).

## case study : Verbs of judging

role structure · identify various types, entities,
aspects of situation required.

situation , "defendant" (being judged)
  "judge" (making judgement)
addressee (of speech act).

  (
  locutionary cause , locutionary target
    (spkr)                 (addressee of culence).

context John says congressman is soft on communism.
  (9) J. accused my Congressman of being soft ...

context J. writes impudent letter to M, then said sorry.
  (10) J. apologized to M. for writing the letter.
  (11) M. forgave J. for writing the letter.

clm M is still the affected, J. the defendant.

urbc : differ syntactically, but also in rel'ship to
situation.

(12) a. J accused H of writing... ⎫
     b. J credited H with ... ⎬ prep. changes.
     c. J. criticized H for ... ⎭

event, entity, ? (as situation).

(13) I accused J. of causing the accident.
(14) I scolded J. for causing the accident.
(15) * I accused J of the accident.
(16) * I scolded ... for

"blame": either "causing the accident" or "the accident".
"accuse" - "of", but not "for".
also: (21) I blamed the accident on John.
"scold", "criticize" don't need situation to be explicit.

– accuse, criticize, scold, blame, credit, praise
  ⤷ req: judge, defendant, situation to be involved

– apologize, forgive – affected, defendant, situation.

– justify, excuse – defendant, situation.

some verbs: linguistic acts (accuse, criticize, praise).
  ⤷ verbs of saying as well as of judging!
some: inner experiences (blame / think).
  ⤷ attitude verbs / psych.

ACCUSE [Judge, Defendant, Situation (of)].   (performative)
  Mng: SAY [Judge, 'X', Addr.].
     X = RESPONSIBLE [Sit., Def.].
  Presupp: BAD [Situation].

CRITICIZE [judge, Defendant, Sit (for)].
   Mng: SAY [judge, 'X', Addr.].
      X = BAD [Sit.].
    Presupp: RESPONSIBLE [Defendant, Sit].
        ACTUAL [Situation].

claims: use accuse when ocar Sit. is bad, wants to
    assign responsability.
    criticize when responsibility clear, wants to
    assign value judgement.

(35) J. accused H of writing the letter.
    presupp: blameworthy.
    tell: J said H did it
                          } there's
                           an
(36) J criticized H for writing the letter.      alternation.
    presupp. H did it
    tell: J said was blameworthy.

also contrast in forms of factuality.
accuse is performative (I accuse H! — is the
                      accusation).
    (I criticize H → not itself the criticism).

"scold" - addressee of ling. act = defendant.
  SCOLD [judge, Defendant, Sit (for)].
    Mng: SAY (judge, X, Addr).
      X = BAD (Sit).
    Psupp: RESPONSIBLE [Defendant, Sit].
        THINK [judge, ACTUAL (Sit)].
      Def = Addr.
accuse - more certain implications.
    (presupps - shouldn't need to explain
        bad).

3 uses of "blame".

1. BLAME [J, D, Sit (for)]                    dup-act.

   Mng: SAY [J, 'X', Addr].
        X = RESP [Def, Sit]

   Psupp: BAD (Sit).
          NOT (RESPONSIBLE [Def, Sit]).
          Def ≠ Addr.
          Judge ≠ Def.

   (44) H. blamed the differ on me.
        clm: I'm not resp. psuppd.. (?).


BLAME₂, BLAME₃   opinions, thoughts.
   ↓         ↓
criticize   accuse.

   3 alternate w/ resp. to mng, psupp. content.
   _____

EXCUSE [Def, Sit].
   Mng.   SAY [Def, 'X', Addr].
          X = NOT (RESP. [Def, Sit]).      } excuse when
                                             responsible.
   Psupp:  BAD [Sit]
           ACTUAL [Sit].

JUSTIFY [Def, Sit].
   Mng:  SAY [Def, 'X', Addr].
         NOT (BAD [Sit]).                  } justify when looks
                                                    bad
   Psupp.  RESP [Def, Sit].
           ACTUAL [Sit].          Q: do these have to be
                                     things that the Def. said?

   → so far, responsibility + badness → one in mng,
                         one in psupp.

                           6.

§9 APOLOGIZE &, FORGIVE — both recp, + badner in prupp.

mng: change in std affected / def. rel'ship.

credit, praise like blame, ~~accuse~~ critiaze

↳ GOOD.

Upshot ~~these verbs form a semantic field~~

Q, e.g. what about "good" equiv. to
accuse, justify, forgive, apologize
(are English gaps accidental).

↳ wide range of additional verbs.
(crude, castigate, commend, admit,
confess, concede).

—› do these ~~features~~ work cross-linguistically?
(could there be dimensions that
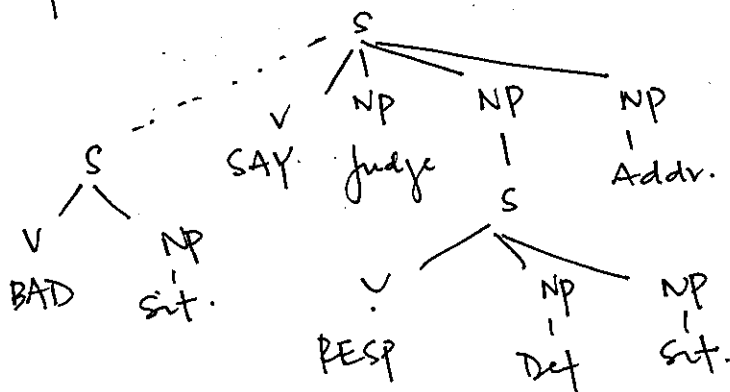English doesn't mark?).

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McCawley, James. 1979. Verbs of bitching in McCawley,
Adverbs, Vowels, + Other Objects of Wonder: 135-150.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fillmore → diagram form.

McCawley —
analogize to
deep str, input / output
to inference rules.

1. ACCUSE [Judge, Def, Sit (of)].
   Mng  SAY [Judge, 'X', Addr].
   X = RESP [Def, Sit].
   ~~Presup~~ BAD (Sit).

Questions: 1) Are Fillmore's precupps actually pcupps?

2) can aoh always be filled by same kind of things? (e.g. "situation").

3) syntax ⟷ sem. links.

(3) Nixon accused Agnew of wanting to end the war.

⎧ Q: is "situation" : Agnew wants to ...
⎨ or "propositional function" x wants to ...
⎩

( don't work, it isn't req'd that spkr believe that Agnew (anyone wants to end war is bad.

So ~ change pcupp from BAD (Sit) to
THINK [Judge, BAD [Sit]].    PN: theory of
                                   pcupp projection.

but (4) doesn't commit spkr to
either position re: Officers attitude.

(4) Officer O'Reilly accused me of not offering him a bribe + threatened to take me to the station

⎧ + accuse me of offering him a bribe.
⎨

point: accusation introduces "jeopardy".

→ potential for negative consequence ~ need to defend self.
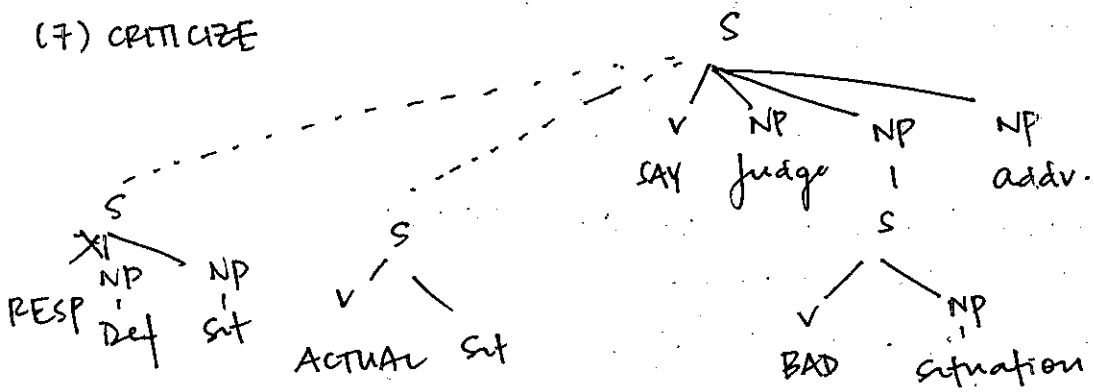
so:  (6) a. J. accused S. of breaking the window.
          b. ~ J said that S broke the window + thereby
                  put S. in jeopardy.
but: also needs infml of creaty jeopardy [does it?].
          ↳ responsible for performativity (for McCauley).

(7) CRITICIZE



because same components, just distributed differently, we expect same selectional restrictions.

but: "critize" doesn't require human defendant.

(8) a. Mencken criticized Act 2 for being too long.
   b. * accused ... of.

some restr. on "criticize".

(11) a. * J. criticized wisdom for being hard to achieve.
    b. * Arthur criticized 17 for being an unlucky number.
    c. * S criticized the Mississippi river for being too wide.
       ✓ ... the Cuyahoga for being too filthy
       ✓ ... the Erie Canal for being too narrow.

(13) a. McGovern criticized Nixon for {
    * irresponsibility
    his "
    ? Mitchell's irresp..
    }

    ↑N: judgement vary here.

    b. ... the fact that he puts ketchup on his cottage cheese.

    c. {
    what he said to the knight of Columbus.
    the basis of which he fills conf vacancies
    the way in which his econ. policy has failed
    }

→ alternates w/ "accused" – p. 140, top.

9

- ACTUAL presupp captures some of this.

  → (13, 14 c) have odd properties.

(15) a. length (Bible) > length (Tr. of Cancer).
   b. length (ToC) = 287 p.
   ∴ length (bible) > 287 p.

(16) a. Schw. criticized ToC for its length.
   length (TOC) = 287 p.
   →∴ Sch. crit ... for 287 p.

] McCauley:
logical etr.
of underlying
sentence
matters here.

so: really (18) McGov. criticized ...

   Nixon for saying ... what he said to them.
   ... for filling c. vacancies on the banc on which ...
   ... for his econ. policies failing in the way
   in which ...

rule: TELESCOPING.   ↝ delete all but nominalization.
   ↳ depends on embedding ung. context.

log. structure:
   (24) a. x criticize y for S := x say (y is bad b/c S).
      b.   accuse   of S := (x say₂ S) and
                     (become₂(y in jeopardy)).

   subscript ~ event.

p. 143 (26) further gramm. contrast - but judg. vary (PN).

Fillmore: credit, praise - positive counterparts.
   p. 144 (27-28) → many of same observations.

also parallel v.

(29) a. M criticized A.  (= ... for sthg.
                          ≠ ... for it ).    ~ praise

     b.      accused     (= ... for it
                          ≠ for sthg).    ~ credit

(31) a. x praise y for S = x say (y is good b/c of S)
     b. x credit₂ y with S = (x say₂ S) and
                             (become₂ (y is sch. in eopardy )).
(₃
  ﹐ McCauley : nope
         diff : credit doesn't req. human defendant.
         → also no "good" prsupp.
(33) M. Daley credited me w/ saving his life + promised
     to reward me by taking me to Royko + a crediting
     me w/ refusing...
         PN (but "promise" also shifts co-
         pn. left in some respect).

blame₁ · shift blame onto    , 2 - hold culpable · 3 - think
                                                       guilty.
(34) a. Phil put a bomb in the gov's office + blamed it on
         me.
     b. J. blamed₂ me for writing that letter.
     c. B. blamed₃ me for what had happened.

bl₂,₃ → diagrams, p. 146.   again, alt. btw. mng + prupp
                            w/ resp. to eval. judg. +
McCauley—                   responsibility.
    v diff. situation
    restrictions.
              blame₃ · situation really crit, not action.
                      (PN : state vs. event).

.11.

blame$_2$ - human defendant req'd.

(NB: McCawley is marking spkrs).
    consistent w/ "resp. for" (~ attrib. to).
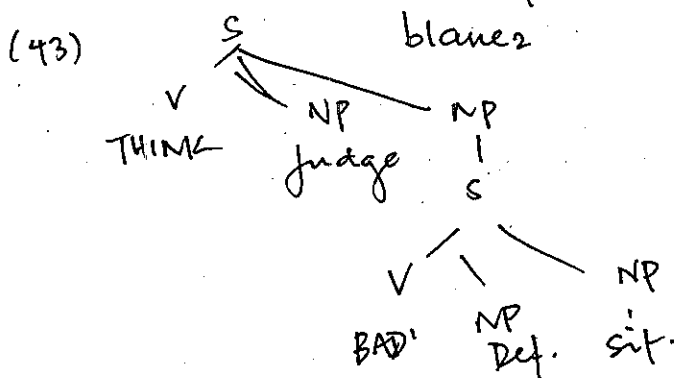
blame$_2$ - add'n'l restrict - act must be act or controll.
    state on defendant's part.
        ↳ suggestion: ~~replaced~~ "BAD" w/
        "if was bad of $x$ to" (include prsns).
                ↳ PN: also links jndg. to prsns,
                        sp. context.
            ↳ <u>bad</u> as binary relation.

(43)                S          blame$_2$



BAD' → could
be by itself resp.
for psupps
(needs own
decompositional
analysis).

McCawley upshot.
    - psupps aren't as idiosync. as might seem.
            ↳ some predictable fr. other features
                    (lex items) of entence.
    "category errors" ~ select. restrictions.

    - but some are <u>key</u> parts of mng.
        → blame$_3$; credit, attribute
        ~~bad~~/   ~~good~~/   ~~neutral~~/
        ʲ bad     ʲ good       ʲ neutral
        (but certain contrasts won't ever get
        lexicalized). - knowing there is
                        a cross-ling. fact,
        whereas confront like $\neq$ are
                        language - specific