### CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter More information

#### Literal Meaning

According to the dominant position among philosophers of language today, we can legitimately ascribe determinate contents (such as truth-conditions) to natural language *sentences*, independently of what the speaker actually means. This view contrasts with that held by ordinary language philosophers fifty years ago: according to them, *speech acts*, not sentences, are the primary bearers of content. François Recanati argues for the relevance of this controversy to the current debate about semantics and pragmatics. Is 'what is said' (as opposed to merely implied) determined by linguistic conventions, or is it an aspect of 'speaker's meaning'? Do we need pragmatics to fix truth-conditions? What is 'literal meaning'? To what extent is semantic composition a creative process? How pervasive is context-sensitivity? Recanati provides an original and insightful defence of 'Contextualism', and offers an informed survey of the spectrum of positions held by linguists and philosophers working at the semantics/pragmatics interface.

FRANÇOIS RECANATI is a Research Director at the Institut Jean-Nicod (CNRS, Paris). He has published many papers and several books on the philosophy of language and mind, including *Meaning and Force* (Cambridge, 1987), *Direct Reference* (Blackwell, 1993), and *Oratio Obliqua, Oratio Recta* (MIT Press, 2000). He is also co-founder and past President of the European Society for Analytic Philosophy.

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter More information

# Literal Meaning

François Recanati Institut Jean-Nicod, Paris



#### CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter More information

> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521792462

© François Recanati 2004

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004 Reprinted 2006

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Recanati, François, 1952– Literal meaning / François Recanati. p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0 521 79246 0 (hardback) – ISBN 0 521 53736 3 (paperback) 1. Semantics. 2. Semantics (Philosophy). 3. Pragmatics. I. Title. P325.R344 2003 401'.43 – dc21 2003051475

ISBN 978-0-521-79246-2 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-53736-0 Paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2009

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables and other factual information given in this work are correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter. Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

## Contents

	Acknowledgments	
	Introduction	1
1	Two approaches to 'what is said'	5
	1.1 The basic triad	5
	1.2 Minimalism	7
	1.3 Literal truth-conditions vs actual truth-conditions	8
	1.4 A problem for Minimalism	10
	1.5 The availability of what is said	13
	1.6 The availability based approach	16
	1.7 'Saying' as a pragmatic notion	18
	1.8 Availability vs Minimalism	20
2	Primary pragmatic processes	23
	2.1 Enrichment, loosening and transfer	23
	2.2 Rejecting the Gricean picture	27
	2.3 Accessibility	30
	2.4 Objections and responses	32
	2.5 Interactive processing	34
	2.6 The role of schemata	36
3	Relevance-theoretic objections	38
	3.1 One or two systems?	38
	3.2 Personal and sub-personal inferences	40
	3.3 Implicature or enrichment?	44
	3.4 Mutual adjustment of explicature and implicature	46
	3.5 Implicated premisses	48
	3.6 Personal-level inferences: occurrent vs dispositional	49
4	The Syncretic View	51
	4.1 Four levels?	51
	4.2 Semantics and pragmatics: the literalist picture	54
	4.3 Semantic underdeterminacy	56
	4.4 The minimal proposition as 'common denominator'	58
	4.5 Interaction between saturation and optional pragmatic processo	
	4.6 Do we need the minimal proposition?	64
	4.7 The reflexive proposition	65

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

vi	Contents

5	Non-literal uses		
	5.1	Non-literal uses as non-minimal departures from literal meaning	68
	5.2	Non-literal uses and secondary meaning	70
	5.3	Non-minimal departures without secondariness	72
	5.4	The transparency condition	74
	5.5	Varieties of non-literal meaning	75
	5.6	Internal vs external duality	78
	5.7	Conclusion	81
6	From Literalism to Contextualism		
	6.1	Five positions	83
	6.2	Indexicalism	86
	6.3	Contextualism	90
	6.4	1 0	92
	6.5	Where Indexicalism and Contextualism meet	95
7	Inde	xicalism and the Binding Fallacy	98
	7.1	Mandatory vs optional	98
	7.2	Two criteria	100
	7.3	The indexicalist challenge	103
	7.4	Is the Binding Criterion reliable?	105
		Variadic functions	107
	7.6		109
	7.7	Conclusion: the failure of Indexicalism	111
8	Circumstances of evaluation		115
	8.1	Modality	115
	8.2	Time and tense	118
	8.3	Situations	121
	8.4		124
	8.5		125
	8.6	Conclusion	127
9	Con	textualism: how far can we go?	131
	9.1	The modulation of sense	131
	9.2	The semantic relevance of modulation	133
	9.3	TT	136
	9.4	Truth-conditional unstability: from Waismann's 'open texture' to Searle's 'background'	141
	9.5	6	144
	9.6	Meaning Eliminativism	146
	9.7	Conclusion	151
	Con	clusion	154
	10.1	Alleged arguments against Contextualism	154
	10.2		159
	10.3	Availability, Minimalism, and the dispositional/occurrent contrast	162
	ה:ני	in a new last	166
		iography	166
	Inde	x	175

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter More information

### Acknowledgments

This book started its life as a series of lectures at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1994. Those who attended my graduate seminar in philosophy that year were so passionately involved in discussing the foundational issues I had raised that we all retain wonderful memories of those weeks of continuing debate. (Or at least, I do.) The most active debaters were, undoubtedly, Herman Cappelen and Josh Dever on the student side, and John Searle and Stephen Neale on the faculty side. I am greatly indebted to the four of them for those valuable and exciting discussions.

The second major step was taken when Professor Kunihiko Imai, of Gakushuin University, invited me to present my views on the semantics/pragmatics interface during a special workshop which took place in Tokyo on 30 September 2001. For that workshop I prepared a long talk which, I soon realized, could easily be expanded into a book. A couple of years earlier I had contracted with Cambridge University Press for a book on literal meaning. (The original title was 'Context and Content', but Robert Stalnaker published a collection of papers under that title in 1999, so I had to find something else.) I decided to use the Tokyo presentation as the nucleus for that book. I am grateful to Professor Imai for the invitation, and for the discussions which took place during the workshop. I also benefited from insightful comments by Yuji Nishiyama, Haruhiko Yamaguchi and Seiji Uchida.

When the book was well under way the department of philosophy of the University of Granada (Spain), in charge of the thirteenth Inter-University Workshop on Philosophy and Cognitive Science to be held in February 2003, decided to invite me as main speaker and to organize the workshop around my work. I was supposed to give three talks during the three days of the workshop. I chose to devote the three of them to the Literalism/Contextualism controversy, which is the topic of this book. This provided me with a welcome opportunity for testing my new ideas; an opportunity for which I wish to thank Maria José Frápolli, Esther Romero and Belén Soria, as well as the SEFA (Sociedad Española de Filosofía Analítica) in cooperation with which the inter-university workshops are organized.

vii

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-79246-2 - Literal Meaning Francois Recanati Frontmatter More information

#### viii Acknowledgments

During the past ten years, I have had many occasions for discussing those issues with the fifteen to twenty philosophers and linguists who regularly gather in conferences on the semantics/pragmatics distinction, contribute to the same issues of the same journals, and so on. For fear of forgetting someone, I will not list them individually here, but I thank them collectively; they know who they are. Two persons in that crowd deserve special thanks: Robyn Carston, who provided detailed, chapter-by-chapter comments on a first version of the book; and Jason Stanley, whose systematic defence of the positions I attack provided a helpful and timely challenge. I am also grateful to my students and colleagues in Paris for numerous discussions which shaped my thinking on those topics.

I have used materials from previously published or forthcoming articles in many chapters. The relevant papers are: 'The Pragmatics of What is Said', in Mind and Language 4 (1989), 295-329; 'Contextualism and Anti-Contextualism in the Philosophy of Language', in Savas Tsohatzidis (ed.), Foundations of Speech Act Theory: Philosophical and Linguistic Perspectives (Routledge, 1994), 156-66; 'The Alleged Priority of Literal Interpretation', in Cognitive Science 19 (1995), 207-32; 'Pragmatics', in The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Routledge, 1998), vol. 7, 620-33; 'Situations and the Structure of Content', in Kumiko Murasugi and Rob Stainton (eds.), Philosophy and Linguistics (Westview Press, 1999), 113-65; 'Déstabiliser le sens', in Revue Internationale de Philosophie 216 (2001), 197–208; 'What is Said', in Synthèse 128 (2001), 75-91; 'Literal/Nonliteral', in Midwest Studies in Philosophy 25 (2001), 264-74; 'Unarticulated Constituents', in Linguistics and Philosophy 25 (2002), 299-345; 'Does Linguistic Communication Rest on Inference?', in Mind and Language 17 (2002), 105-26; 'Pragmatics and Semantics', in Larry Horn and Gregory Ward (eds.), Handbook of Pragmatics (Blackwell, forthcoming); 'The Limits of Expressibility', in Barry Smith (ed.), John Searle (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming); 'Descriptions and Situations', in Marga Reimer and Anne Bezuidenhout (eds.), Descriptions and Beyond: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays on Definite and Indefinite Descriptions and Other Related Phenomena (Oxford University Press, forthcoming); and 'Relativized Propositions', in Michael O'Rourke and Corey Washington (eds.), Situating Semantics: Essays on the Philosophy of John Perry (MIT Press, forthcoming). I wish to thank the publishers for permission to reprint or adapt various passages from those papers.