Quotations as Pictures

Josef Stern

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Josef Stern

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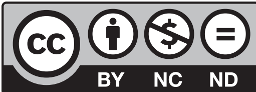

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לנטע, אריה, איה, רענן, עופרי, מעין, וגבריאל

For Neta, Aria, Aya, Ra'anan, Ofri, Ma'ayan, and Gavri'el

ואמר רבי אלעזר אמר רבי חנינא כל האומר דבר בשם אומרו מביא גאולה לעולם. שנאמר: ותאמר אסתר למלך בשם מרדכי. (מגילה טו. מ. אבות ו, ו)

And R. El'azar said: "R. Hanina' said: 'One who reports a statement in the name of the one who first said it brings redemption to the world; for it is said: "And Esther reported it to the King in Mordecai's name" (Esther 2, 22)'" (BT *Megillah* 15a; M. *Avot* 6)

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for permission to use his images. For valuable comments on chapter 10, I also want to thank Stephanie Brooks, a prominent conceptual artist and my collaborator on the artworks *Philosophy Specials* I, II, and III, now in the permanent collection of the Department of Philosophy at Chicago. I also want to express my gratitude to Anne Walters Robertson, Dean of the Division of Humanities at Chicago, for her encouragement and a subvention to cover costs of production. Finally, I want to thank Marc Lowenthal (for his generous patience waiting for me to let go); Philip Laughlin, the current editor for philosophy and linguistics at the MIT Press; Philip's assistant Alex Hoopes; and my copy editor Judy Feldmann for seeing the manuscript through publication.

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minute"), and whose love I can't quote because it is more than I can put into words.

The last chapter was composed under the dark shadow of Covid-19, though, ironically, if not for the forced isolation of the pandemic, it may never have seen the light of day. As grandparents on whom Covid took its toll, Cheryl and I dedicate this book to our grandchildren. According to the rabbis (PT *Shabbat* 1.1, 3a), whoever hears their grandchildren quote a passage from the Torah should imagine themselves hearing it at Mount Sinai in the presence of its original speaker. According to that statement, quotation reenacts an utterance in the past. But in the words of the Talmud cited in the dedication, quotation looks forward: may it be a harbinger of hope and future redemption for the world.

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Introduction

Inverted commas, single or double, usually raised above the print line—commonly called 'quotation marks'—are currently used for two purposes.[1] Both mark the use of language to talk about language, but one is to quote someone's utterance or inscription, the other to mention words. A rough-and-ready way to distinguish the two uses might be as follows: *Quotation* (e.g., 'Aristotle said: "Plato was a great philosopher"') (i) involves a "reporting frame" consisting of a singular term for the subject and a verb of saying ('said' or thicker verbs, e.g., 'call,' scream,' 'ask,' 'warn,' 'promise,' 'threaten,' etc.) (ii) complemented by an independent complete sentence (iii) enclosed in inverted commas. *Mention* (e.g., "'Aristotle' has nine letters") (i) need involve no subject or verb of saying (ii) and can include individual words or phrases of any syntactic category (as well as a nonword strings of letters and nonconstituent phrases) (iii) enclosed in inverted commas (iv) in argument or referential position.[2] The two practices, quoting and mentioning, predate the invention of the marks. However, the fact that both current practices, in written language, employ the superficially identical marks has tended to efface the difference between them. Philosophers nowadays label the use of the inverted commas to *mention* words 'pure *quotation*,' which they oppose to '*direct* quotation'—the paradigm of the practice of quotation—which in turn is contrasted with *indirect* quotation that employs no inverted commas. More perniciously, most philosophical theories of "quotation" limit themselves to the analysis of mention, either because they assume that its best explanation will carry over to (direct) quotation or because they assimilate direct to pure quotation: the independent sentence enclosed in inverted commas is taken to be a referring term in an argument or object position that mentions the enclosed sentence.[3] Next, and not surprisingly

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given all the progress we have made over the last century in the theory of reference, mention in turn is analyzed on the model of either names, definite descriptions, or demonstratives. As a result, the complement declarative sentence (enclosed by the inverted commas) in quotation-sentences turns out to be one or another kind of singular term. This move is not entirely unjustified, and it would be wonderful to arrive at a "unified theory of quotation and mentioning" (cf. C&L 1997). However, the present state of theorizing has tended to distort the very phenomenon of quotation as distinct from mentioning.[4]

In this monograph, I will focus on quotation rather than mentioning. In order to establish that the two are in fact distinct, I begin with genealogies of the two practices and their respective uses of inverted commas. Philosophers of language generally, and correctly, eschew genetic *explanations*, but I review the history in order to enable us, not to explain, but (in Duhem's words) to "save" or demarcate the different phenomena to be explained and to identify their specific semantic problems.[5] After putting the practice of quotation into sharper focus, I will turn to what I propose is the key to its understanding: the idea that quotations are pictures or have a pictorial character.

W. V. O. Quine, to the best of my knowledge, was the first to mention a connection between quotations and pictures: "A quotation is . . . a hieroglyph; it designates its object . . . by picturing it" (Quine 1951, 26). His digression through hieroglyphs, however, is obscure—and, for Quine, surprising. Hieroglyphs employ images, but they do not pictorially represent the things of which they are hieroglyphs. They are minimal units (graphemes) in a specific kind of writing system that conventionally represent either words, letters, or (groups of) sounds that, in turn, refer to external objects. The hieroglyphs themselves do not refer to the objects by picturing them. Dropping the detour through hieroglyphs, we shall directly connect quotations and pictures. A second misleading feature of Quine's own statement is that he uses the term 'quotation' to mean mention rather than quotation proper, and we shall argue that mentioning need not involve picturing, unlike quotation.

Nonetheless, Quine's quotation-picture analogy has been very influential. After lying fallow for a number of years, it resurfaced in Donald Davidson's seminal 1979 paper "Quotation": "a quotation somehow pictures what it is about" (Davidson 1984b, 82). Since then it has become a common motif in the quotation/mentioning literature. Herman Cappelen

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and Ernie Lepore (henceforth C&L) 2007 contrast the "arbitrary" relation between other linguistic expressions and their values with the "intimate" relation—they call it "proximity"—between a quotation and its semantic value that is "immediately striking . . . [but] difficult to make precise and non-metaphorical."[6] Others see in pictures the distinctive power of quotation that enables us to "go from knowing the quotation of any expression to knowing the expression itself."[7] Francois Recanati makes the quotation–picture analogy central to his theory of open quotation but refrains from explaining it.[8] More than any other potential *explanans*, authors fall back on *resemblance* between the quoting expression (e.g., "*e*") and the quoted one (e.g., '*e*')—assuming, uncritically, that it is resemblance that explains pictorial representation or depiction.[9] However, as a quick look at the literature on pictures over the past seventy years reveals, resemblance theories of pictorial representation have taken more than their share of critical beating. In recent years, resemblance has made a comeback, but we now know that the notion cannot be taken at face value. And even if resemblance can be made to work for pictures, it is not obvious how to extend it to quotation.

A primary aim of this monograph is to explore the quotation–picture analogy, but I shall focus on three different pictorial characteristics—not resemblance—to flesh out the connection. Following Nelson Goodman and more recent work by John Kulvicki, I shall focus on features that characterize pictures as elements of symbol systems and on their systemic interrelations within such systems. Drawing on these features, we can explain the "dual-reference" of quotations, their "opacity," and their iterability, but I should add from the start that the quotation–picture analogy is not a panacea that explains all phenomena associated with the practice of quotation, especially those related to its compositional semantic structure. It is indeed this perplexing interaction between the semantics and the pictoriality of quotation that makes it an interesting phenomenon.

My turn to pictures also bears on another issue central to contemporary debates over the question of whether quotation is a semantic or pragmatic phenomenon: whether its inverted commas are truth-conditionally relevant or nothing more than a heuristic device, a signal of quotational use of language, or a trigger for presuppositions, conventional implications, or other not-truth-relevant conditions. In all of these cases, quotation is a broadly linguistic phenomenon, whether semantic or pragmatic. According to the story I shall tell, quotation is a phenomenon where language, or

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linguistic competence, meets a nonlinguistic symbolic or representational ability, the pictorial. Our understanding of a quotation is neither a product exclusively of our semantic competence or language faculty—even in a broad sense that would include linguistic pragmatics—nor is it solely a matter of nonlinguistic symbolic skills like the pictorial; instead, it is a combination of features drawn from these two different symbolic or representational systems that accounts for the exceptional, and apparently idiosyncratic, behavior of quotation.[10]

Chapters 1 and 2 lay out the prehistories of the inverted commas employed in quotation and mentioning in order to establish the independence of these practices. Once I have accomplished that, I put aside the question of how best to explain mentioning, although I will continue to raise it as a foil to quotation.[11] In chapter 3 I turn to the last moment in my history, which focuses on Donald Davidson's seminal paper "Quotation" (1984b) that introduced a body of hitherto unexamined data and, in turn, will enable us to articulate the semantic problem posed by quotation. Chapter 4 sketches three themes in the theory of pictures, which, in chapters 5–8, I apply to quotation. Although I argue that the inverted commas do no work in determining truth conditions, on my view (unlike that of use theories of quotation) they do more than simply heuristically signal *that* an expression is being used quotationally on an occasion. Chapter 9 argues that their literal use for the purpose of quotational attribution empowers us to use them in nonliteral or figurative ways, for example, to express irony and sarcasm, uses that are often bracketed in the literature as the peripheral phenomenon of scare quotation.[12] Finally, in the last chapter I turn to the possibility of quotation *in* pictures: can one picture quote (as opposed to mention) another? That question, as well as our earlier question concerning the interplay between the linguistic and pictorial in the interpretation of linguistic quotations, raises the question to what extent our diverse symbolic skills, linguistic and nonlinguistic, are independent of one another.

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