

KNOW Evidence?

Effects of Prosody on the Interpretation of 'Know'

KATE HAZEL STANTON

doi:[10.48106/dial.v78.i1.04](https://doi.org/10.48106/dial.v78.i1.04)

Kate Hazel Stanton. 2024. "KNOW Evidence? Effects of Prosody on the Interpretation of 'Know'." *Dialectica* 78(1): 1–1. doi:[10.48106/dial.v78.i1.04](https://doi.org/10.48106/dial.v78.i1.04).

KNOW Evidence?

Effects of Prosody on the Interpretation of 'Know'

KATE HAZEL STANTON

This paper explores three arguments in epistemology that employ 'know' under prosodic emphasis: 'KNOW' as a datum. Drawing on work by Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023), I claim that these arguments fail because they do not properly account for the semantic effects of prosodic emphasis. I conclude by suggesting that this small case study indicates that work on the interpretation of prosody should be drawn into the broader project of empirical study of linguistic patterns in knowledge ascription.

Over the past twenty years knowledge ascription has been extensively explored through empirically informed approaches in epistemology (Buckwalter (2010), Beebe, (2012), Sekhar & Stanley (2012), Schaffer & Szabo (2014), Machery et al (2015), Turri (2018), Machery, Barret & Stich (2021), Beebe (2023)). Some of these approaches evaluate proposals about the syntax and semantics of knowledge ascription against current linguistic theory (e.g. Schaffer & Szabo (2014)), whilst others operationalise empirical claims concerning the conditions under which knowledge will be ascribed. (e.g. Beebe, 2012, 2024, Machery, 2021)¹. These explorations have aimed to contribute to the philosophical analysis of knowledge.

Thus far, empirical work on knowledge ascription has offered no systematic exploration of the impact of prosodic features (including intonation, stress, speech rhythm) on the interpretation of the knowledge predicate in cases of knowledge ascription.² This paper proposes a regular effect of prosodic emphasis on interpretation of 'know' with the broader goal of signalling that

¹ For overview of the kinds of questions explored in experimental epistemology see Beebe (2012).

² The study of prosody encompasses a collection of aspects of suprasegmental sound structure, for fuller discussion see Ladd (2014). Prosody is considerably broader than its information-structural uses, e.g. prosodic focus, which have received some treatment (following Dretske (1972)).

prosody deserves closer attention.³ I return to an underexplored datum that featured in older literature: ‘know’ capitalised, to be read as under prosodic emphasis (*‘KNOW’*) and reinterpret it in light of recent work concerning the contribution of prosody by Horn (2015), (Stanton, 2023).

In Section (I) I present three passages that rely on very different interpretations of the meaning of *‘KNOW’*: (it makes literal meaning salient; it raises epistemic standards). ‘Know’ under emphasis is used to prompt skeptical intuitions, contextualist intuitions and to fuel speculations about non-factive ‘know’ respectively. Section (II) introduces work by Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023) on the intensificational effects of prosody and extends it to each of the cases discussed in (I). I suggest that this approach offers a more general solution: the intuitions marshalled in (I) in fact have a unified explanation and result from the more general contribution of a prosodic contour for which there is independent evidence. The final Section concludes with a broader message: though this paper is merely a preliminary step, making a theoretical case for the influence of prosody on the interpretation of the knowledge predicate in cases of knowledge ascription, I hope to have established prosody as an interesting site for further exploration in future empirical work and one that must at the very least be controlled for.

***KNOW* in Epistemology**

In this Section I review three cases in which ‘know’ under emphasis has been employed as a datum in epistemological argument.

KNOW and Skepticism

Peter Unger’s two premise argument for Skepticism relies on the effect of emphasis on ‘know’ (Unger 1978: 88-9):

1. In the case of every human being, there is at most hardly anything of which he is certain.
2. As a matter of necessity, in the case of every human being, the person knows something to be so only if he is certain of it.

³ A reviewer notes that all of the empirical work on knowledge ascription cited here concerns knowledge-that. It is an open, interesting question whether and how the proposal would extend to knowledge-how, though not one I will treat here.

3. In the case of every human being, there is at most hardly anything which the person knows to be so.

Unger's evidence for (P₂) comes from cases like:

(1) ? He really *knows* it is raining but he isn't certain of it. (1978: 86)

He infers from the infelicity of such utterances that knowledge entails certainty (1978:86). Unger argues that this is a responsible inference to make because we have applied the 'Principle of Emphasis':

the emphasis of a word, by stress, italics, modifiers, or whatever, has the primary function of getting us to focus on that word, and generally its meaning(s) if it has at least one.⁴ (1978: 76)

"[Emphasis is] a device to attract attention to a term [...] that does not affect the term's meaning" (ibid.); it focuses attention on literal meaning. When we evaluate (1) we are checking for contradictions whilst focusing on the literal meaning of 'know'. Apparent failures of entailment from knowledge to certainty must thus be the result of loose talk, which emphasis has tightened up.

KNOW and Contextualism

Keith DeRose offers the following anecdote:

one of my introductory philosophy students, who, when presented with a sceptical argument involving the possibility of his being a brain in a vat, and then asked whether he knew after all that he was sitting in a philosophy class, responded, 'Well I know it, even though I don't *KNOW* it' (DeRose 1998: 71)

DeRose suggests that the 'know'/'*KNOW*' contrast in this case indicates that the contextually set standards for knowledge are being raised. In order to 'know' you must know according to ambient low standards, but in order to '*KNOW*', you must count as knowing even when high standards are in place. High standards will vary by context: here they are the ultra-demanding standards of the skeptic which perceptual evidence cannot satisfy, but the standards to *KNOW*' will be lower, admitting strong perceptual evidence, in the case, say, that someone wants to '*KNOW*' that the bank is open so that they can deposit an important check (as in Bank Case B, DeRose 1993, 912.)

⁴ A reviewer points to the word 'generally' here: I believe that Unger means it to quantify over the object(s) over which emphasis typically operates, as: 'in general'.

For the Contextualist, the behaviour of ‘know’ under emphasis thus seems to provide a favourable piece of ordinary language evidence. The ‘know’/‘*KNOW*’ contrast is the intuitive datum, the Contextualist offers an explanation that draws in standard-raising. From here one might apply the standard battery of arguments from the context sensitivity of ‘know’ to the context sensitivity of knowledge.

1.3 *KNOW and the Non-factivity of Knowledge*

Consider the following sentences:

(2) Mary *knew* that she wasn’t going to survive. Fortunately, she was wrong. (DeRose 2009:16)

(3) How could this have happened? I *knew* that Kerry was going to win. (Stanley 2008:43)

And, where the Yankees lost not two years ago, but one year ago.

(4) I [...] *knew* the Yankees were going to lose two years ago, but they took a year longer than I expected. (Kvanvig CD)⁵

These uses are not obviously infelicitous.⁶ But if ‘*KNOW*’ is a guide to ‘know’, either because emphasis directs us to the literal meaning as Unger has it, or because the only semantic change is raise in standards then the result is surprising and perhaps unpalatable: ‘know’ turns out to be non-factive or to have non-factive uses.⁷

Stanley, DeRose and Schaffer want to reject cases like (2)-(4) but they do not offer a clear story about how to do it (Stanley 2008: 43; DeRose 2009: 16; Schaffer CD). It is assumed that knowledge is factive and so the peculiar behaviour of ‘know’ under emphasis must show “that there is some funny business afoot” (Schaffer CD) and it needs to be funny business that renders evidence using ‘*KNOW*’ inadmissible. DeRose has tentatively suggested that emphasis may signal that non-literal interpretation is at play, and Kvanvig has suggested that it signals that the meaning of ‘know’ had been altered (DeRose 2009: 16fn11; Kvanvig CD).⁸

5 CD = Posts by Jonathan Schaffer, Jonathan Kvanvig, and Keith DeRose on: <http://certain-doubts.com/how-many-knowledge-relations-are-there/>. Accessed: 03/03/2018.

6 A reviewer points out that intuitions do vary in cases like these, citing Dahlman et al (2022).

7 Alternatively a semi-factive analysis may be available if projection behaviour matches that of other semi-factives.

8 A reviewer notes Hazlett (2010), in which non-emphasized uses of ‘know’ appear to motivate a non-factive analysis of knowledge, has yielded proposals about the non factive uses of ‘know’

1.3.1 Summary

In each of the three cases above emphasis receives a distinct treatment: Unger says that emphasis directs attention to literal meaning, DeRose offers the conflicting claim that it raises contextual standards for the applicability of the predicate and in the cases that seem non-factive, Kvanvig and DeRose imply that it is involved in non-literal interpretation, and possibly in meaning-modulation (i.e. contextually local reinterpretation). In the next Section I will offer an account that unifies all three effects under a recent proposal for the semantic contribution of the relevant variety of emphasis.

1.2 Meanings Under Stress

So far I have been talking, somewhat loosely, about ‘know’ under prosodic emphasis. It is time to be a little more specific. Prosodic contours are configurations of (predominantly) suprasegmental features including *inter alia* tone, pitch, duration, amplitude and word junctures.⁹ In this Section I will suggest that the realisation of the emphasis on ‘know’ is plausibly a contour characterised signally by high pitch tone and a strong boundary tone.¹⁰ The semantic and pragmatic effects of this contour have been studied in Geurts (2010); Geurts and Van Tiel; (2014); Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023). In what follows I apply the analysis in Stanton (2023) to the knowledge predicate, but a note of caution is needed before proceeding. It is well recognized that prosody is often overcrowded – a single contour can realise multiple pragmatic functions; equally, the typographical realisation of emphasis is too coarse-grained to uniquely determine its intended phonological realisation. A clarification about my aim in applying this analysis is therefore needed. My goal is not to demonstrate that emphasis on ‘know’ *must* receive exactly this treatment — though I believe that it does makes sense of the interpretative variation observed. Instead, my goal is to show that proper attention to the contribution

that may extend into the emphasized cases. Buckwalter (2014) offers an account in terms of *protagonist projection* according to which ‘know’ retains its usual semantics but in these non-factive cases is interpreted from the perspective of the individual to whom the knowledge state is ascribed. This constitutes a more developed form of the ‘non-literal’ approach (cf. Buckwalter 2014 p.395.) noted by DeRose; I respond to non-literal interpretations in Section 2.

⁹ ‘Suprasegmental’ here refers to units larger than a prosodic ‘segment’, which can be loosely thought of as an individual speech sound, like a consonant. There is no fully settled definition of ‘prosody’, but for a historical characterisation, see Ladd (2014).

¹⁰ This characterisation follows Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023).

of prosody is required in order to evaluate arguments that employ ‘know’ under emphasis (*KNOW*).

Before offering the analysis a preliminary note is needed. In the broader linguistics literature prosody has received much attention for its ability to mark information structural focus: this is an aspect of information-packaging that renders a constituent prominent (for an overview see Beaver & Clark (2008)). In English, prosodic focus is often typographically rendered by modes of emphasis including capitalisation and italicisation. It may thus be natural to think that the cases above should be subsumed under a focus-based analysis.¹¹ The reason that I do not pursue a focus-based analysis is that focus alone cannot account for the semantic contribution of emphasis in the cases that I will discuss.¹² Focal prosody is typically treated as supplementing the meaning of the focus-marked constituent at a context by evoking contextually salient alternatives, as when:

Q) What does Ede want?

A) Ede wants [coffee]_F

Contrasts ‘coffee’ with the set of other things that Ede might want to drink (cf. Rooth, 1995).¹³ This can lead to truth-conditional change only in the presence of scope-bearing ‘focus-sensitive’ operators such as quantifiers. In the absence of such elements focus does not make a truth-conditional contribution; the cases of ‘know’ under emphasis that I will treat fall into this category and so an approach that treats emphasis as alternative-evoking focus will be insufficient. As I will show below, this paper concerns the interpretation of a particular prosodic contour that has been associated instead with meaning modulation (contextually local modification of the interpretation of an expression); following Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023), it has not been treated as merely contributing contrastive focus.¹⁴

To introduce the contour in question and the flavour of the analysis, note that the behaviour of ‘know’ under emphasis is neither strange nor unique. Recall DeRose’s student who uttered:

(5) I know it, even though I don’t *KNOW* it.

11 Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pressing this question.

12 Whether focus plays some role in the full account is contentious but not required for our purposes. For the claim that it is involved see Horn (2015); for an account that does without it Stanton (2023).

13 For varieties of contrastive focus see Beaver & Clark (2008). Contrastive focal phenomena are typically treated with a Hamblin-style alternative semantics and embedded in a Roberts-style QUD model (cf. Roberts, 1996/2012).

14 For comparison of semantic vs pragmatic approaches to the contour, see Stanton (2023).

If ‘KNOW’ retains its usual meaning, this should be a contradiction. Now consider the following cases:

(6) This table is flat, but it’s not *FLAT*.

(7) This guy is tall, but that guy is *TALL*.

(8) It’s not that I must but that I *MUST* finish this paper today.

(9) I ate all the biscuits... well not *ALL* the biscuits.

Absent further context (6) means something like: the table counts as flat, even though it isn’t perfectly flat; (7) means that the first guy is tall but the second is very tall, in (8), ‘*MUST*’ signals that the relevant obligation is very strong, and in (9) whilst you might have eaten all the biscuits around here, you haven’t eaten totally all the biscuits in a further contextually expanded domain (say: all the biscuits in the house but not the city). And to return to (5), in which the student claims to know but not *KNOW*, what he says might be glossed as follows: he knows but he doesn’t really know it. There are many ways to fail to count as ‘really knowing’: perhaps his knowledge is not deep, or thorough or perhaps it is not stable.¹⁵ In DeRose’s case, the student contrasts knowing in a way sufficient to live his everyday life with knowing in a stronger, better, deeper way — one that would be sufficient to defeat the skeptic.

In all of the glosses that I offered above the emphasis is replaced by an *intensifier*: an expression that says that a certain property is possessed to a *high degree*. Intensifiers in English include: ‘very’, ‘really’, ‘seriously’, ‘absolutely’, ‘totally’. Intensifiers are predicate modifiers that are commonly understood to have the following semantic function: they restrict the extension of the expression that they modify to only those members that satisfy a contextually-set high standard for falling under that predicate. There is thus nothing contradictory about saying that someone is tall but not very tall, or that a table is flat but not perfectly flat, or even that prior to becoming an F1 driver Louis Hamilton knew how to drive, but now he really knows.¹⁶ Both Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023) argue that in cases like (7)–(9) the prosodic emphasis brings about

15 A reviewer suggests that ‘I know but I don’t really know’ strikes them as contradictory. I believe this is only so when ‘really’ is read as hedging (as in: ‘I don’t really think so’). ‘Really know’ where ‘really’ is an intensifier meaning: to a high degree, should not induce contradiction, as in: ‘when I was a student I knew the Slingshot argument, but now that I’ve been teaching it for years I really know it.’

16 Lexical intensifiers are typically grammatically restricted to modify adjectives and adverbs, but can also modify both nominal and verbal meanings by a process called ‘coercion’ (cf. González-García (2020)). The Corpus of Contemporary American English has 96 hits for ‘absolutely know’, 86 for ‘totally know’ and 8946 hits for ‘really know’, though these cases are split between the hedge and the intensifier sense. See Stanton (2023) for the case that the contour under discussion

semantic intensification. My claim here is that semantic intensification is also what is happening in (5).

To get a grip on how an intensifier works, first think about what it intensifies. Intensifiers apply to gradable expressions, these are expressions that denote properties that come in degrees; you can be more or less cold or strange or happy. There are a range of proposals about the semantic treatment of gradables, but here I will recruit the popular degree-semantic treatment of Kennedy & McNally (2005a,b), following Stanton (2023). On this account gradable adjectives map their argument onto degrees, which are points or intervals along a dimension; sets of ordered degrees form scales (cf. Kennedy & McNally (2005: 349). There may be just one scale associated with the meaning of the gradable, like the height scale for ‘tall’. In the case of so-called ‘multidimensional’ adjectives there are many such scales — one can be more or less ‘strange’ along many different dimensions. For gradable adjectives in the positive form (e.g. ‘is happy’), in the absence of overt degree morphology, Kennedy and McNally (2005) posit a null degree morpheme, *pos*, that encodes the relation **stnd**. The **stnd** relation holds of a degree just in case it meets a standard of comparison for an adjective relative to a comparison class (cf. 2005a: 350, 2005b:182). What this means is that **stnd** provides a context-sensitive threshold for falling under the predicate; there is no context-independent standard for counting as ‘tall’: an individual may be tall for a toddler but not a basketball player.

An intensifier interacts with scalar structure by adjusting the **stnd** function, so that the threshold degree is boosted. For our purposes it should be noted that intensifiers typically apply to gradable expressions and exploit scalar structure that is part of the denotation of the expression to which they apply, as when applying ‘very’ to ‘tall’ boosts us up the height scale. But it can also apply to expressions that are usually non-gradable but whose meaning has been locally adapted to scalarity, in a process called ‘scalar coercion’.¹⁷ Scalar coercion involves converting the semantic structure of a non-gradable expression to that of a gradable and involves organising its extension into an *ad hoc* scale, structured around a comparison class that is locally salient.¹⁸ Scalar coercion can be triggered by applying an intensifier to a range of non-

is not integrated into the grammar and so it not grammatically restricted in the way that an adverbial intensifier is.

17 Asher (2011) surveys semantic approaches to coercion, cf. Sawada & Grano (2011) for scalar coercion in particular.

18 For more on *ad hoc* scales see Hirschberg & Ward, (2007).

gradable, ‘absolute’ adjectives. Leffel, Xiang and Kennedy (2017) list ‘straight’, ‘empty’, ‘open’ and ‘flat’ among the absolute adjectives, but the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) shows that each of these is used widely under intensification (‘very straight’ (299); ‘very empty’ (87); ‘very open’ (942); ‘very flat’ (137)).¹⁹ There are a range of ways to build an *ad hoc* scale; we need simply identify a property or properties associated with the meaning of the word and rate cases in relation to them. A ‘really flat table’ exceeds a high threshold for flatness that may be settled relative to the way that one measures or estimates (e.g. spirit level vs. eyeballing). Similarly, a ‘really empty bowl’ is one that is empty according to a contextually scrupulous standard for measuring emptiness (not a single morsel left even when one looks closely/touches the inside).

The heart of my proposal is this: Horn (2015) and Stanton (2023) have argued that prosodic emphasis can bring about intensification, triggering scalar coercion when needed; I propose that this can happen when prosodic emphasis is applied to the knowledge predicate.²⁰ I claim that the application of prosodic emphasis may temporarily convert ‘know’ to gradable-‘know’ by triggering the construction of a *knowledge scale* at the context of utterance: this is an *ad hoc* scale whose threshold expresses the local standards for knowing (more on that below). Though work on scalar coercion has typically focused on adjectival meaning, Stanton (2019; 2023) argues that scalar coercion is also available in verbs and that composing many verbs with intensifiers yields scalar denotations for those verbs. I believe that ‘know’ can be thus converted: COCA demonstrates widely attested usage of ‘know’ composed with an intensifier (‘really know’ has 8943 hits; ‘totally know’ has 86 and ‘absolutely know’ has 96 hits).²¹ If ‘know’ can be converted to gradable under intensification and prosodic emphasis can intensify then in any of the cases above the interpretation of ‘know’ under emphasis could be the product of an *ad hoc* and contextually flexible meaning adjustment. If so then the evidential relevance of interpreting of ‘know’ under emphasis is placed in question because it

19 This is a sample with ‘very’. Intensified readings are available on COCA for a range of intensifiers, including ‘really’, ‘extremely’, ‘totally’ etc.

20 For debate on the balance of semantic to pragmatic labour, see Stanton (2023).

21 ‘Damn know’, with intensificational ‘damn’ is also attested: ‘I damn know I agree with it’ (<http://www.redstate.com/ironchapman/2012/05/21/on-this-natural-born-citizen-issue-part-i-from-alexander-hamilton-to-lynch-v-clerke/>) as is ‘very know’ e.g.: ‘you very know a lot’ (though this strikes me as ungrammatical) (<http://matadornetwork.com/abroad/10-japanese-customs-you-must-know-before-a-trip-to-japan/>). Interestingly ‘know’ with the mitigator ‘at all’, which says that no degree of the relevant property is possessed, is also heavily attested (140).

could be merely the result of a local meaning adjustment. The meaning of ‘*KNOW*’ cannot straightforwardly be used to tell us about the meaning of ‘*know*’ because of the possible meaning-restructuring effect of emphasis.

Let us return to Unger. Recall that Unger and his opponents both agree that the sentences he chooses, such as:

(1) ? He really *knows* it is raining but he isn’t certain of it.

are infelicitous.²² Unger believes that the infelicity of (1) will secure him the conclusion that certainty is a necessary condition on falling under the knowledge predicate. But in light of the proposal above this is not the only possibility and so he is not entitled to the conclusion. It is also possible that non-scalar ‘*know*’ is converted under stress into an *ad hoc* knowledge scale that places superlative knowers at the top and stratifies the rest by proximity to these cases. If the paradigm cases we have in mind are those that are certain knowledge then under intensification the non-paradigm cases will be sloughed off leaving only the certain paradigm cases. The effects on the felicity of asserting (1) would be just as if certainty *were* a necessary condition on falling under the knowledge predicate.²³

What of the Contextualist? Instead of constructing a scale from paradigm cases of knowledge, perhaps she constructs it from salient standards for knowledge, with the highest standards for a belief to count as knowledge at the top. Once the threshold is boosted only beliefs that satisfy the higher standards will count as knowledge. Context will determine what those higher standards are. When we hear (5) and we have just been frightened by the skeptic then those high standards require sufficient justification to dismiss sceptical scenarios. But when driving to the bank the salient paradigm cases of knowing are those where our justification will soothe bank timetable-related nerves.

The Contextualist must reject the competing hypothesis: ‘*know*’ itself is not scalar; instead we have built an *ad hoc* knowledge scale and boosted its threshold. This reinterpretation significantly complicates what we can infer about the semantic structure of unemphasised ‘*know*’ without further argu-

22 A reviewer points out that it is interesting that Unger uses both emphasis and an overt intensifier. Stanton (2019) points out that chaining of intensificational elements (use of both prosodic and overt intensifiers) is common when attempting to bring about a conversion to scalarity.

23 Not all cases of knowledge are so: The strangeness of (1)-type utterances can be diffused by filling in the background so that our local paradigm tracks other features of knowledge. E.g. we prioritize concept mastery over occurrent certainty when we say that the nervous student *KNOWs* the answer. As a review points out, paradigm cases of perceptual knowledge may also lack certainty.

ment. Just as Unger was not entitled to claim *KNOW* as a datum supporting his account of ‘know’, neither is the Contextualist.

Finally, what is to be made of those cases in Section 2.3, in which ‘*KNOW*’ appears to be non-factive? Well, we should first notice that many factive verbs are judged acceptable with non-factive readings (cf. Beaver, 2002).²⁴ Other factive and semi-factive verbs also exhibit non-factivity under emphasis:

(10) I *remember* putting my keys in the drawer! So why are they in the fridge?!
[said whilst staring at the set of keys on the fridge shelf.]

(11) But yesterday I had *noticed* that you were wearing a blue tie! I was surprised to find out that it was actually green — perhaps the lighting was off.

(12) That night I had been *aware* of the spirits around me... so when I found out later that they were just balls of swamp gas I was disappointed.

In each case the usual factive reading for the verb disappears in favour of a reading that foregrounds an associated perceptual or phenomenological experience: the availability of a visual memory in (10) and (11) and the phenomenology of awareness in (12).²⁵ I propose that in these cases emphasis has brought about a semantic shift from the usual interpretation of the verb that may require the truth of the complement to one that prioritizes an experiential association carried by the epistemic verb. It does this by inducing the construction of an *ad hoc* scale that privileges the associated perceptual or phenomenological experience, ranking cases of ‘remembering’, ‘noticing’ etc with respect to availability and/or strength of these experiences. Thus, to ‘*remember*’ in (10) is to have a strong visual memory; to ‘*notice*’ is to strongly recall remarking on some detail and to be ‘*aware*’ is to have a strong phenomenological experience of a state.²⁶ I propose that this is also what is happening in the case of ‘know’; as Schaffer points out, uses of ‘*know*’ like those in (2)-(4) ‘seem to express felt certainty’ [cd]. The result of scalar intensification is that to ‘*know*’ — like to *remember* — means to have the relevant phenomenology to a high degree, though need not entail the truth of the complement.

²⁴ For issues delimiting the class of factives at all, see: Degen and Tonhouser (2022).

²⁵ This sense is even clearer when modified by ‘distinctly’: I distinctly remember, distinctly noticed, was distinctly aware.

²⁶ In each case reinterpretation is induced to make sense of contrast: e.g. the keys are in fact in the fridge so the speaker must not be reporting factive memory.

323 Conclusion

325 I have argued that ‘know’ under emphasis, ‘*KNOW*’, cannot form part of an
 326 argument about the semantics of the knowledge predicate unless the effects
 327 of prosody are further explored. In particular I have suggested that ‘*KNOW*’
 328 as a datum cannot reveal whether ‘know’ is non-factive, or context sensitive
 329 or requires certainty, but something much weaker: that it can, in the right
 330 context and under emphasis, be reinterpreted as such.

331 This is a very small step in a broader tradition of inserting linguistic theory
 332 between intuition and epistemology. Larger steps are being taken by work that
 333 applies experimental and theoretical linguistic methodology to the analysis
 334 of the kinds of linguistic data used by epistemologists (e.g. Beebe (2012),
 335 Buckwalter (2014), Machery et al (2015), Machery, Barrett & Stich (2021);
 336 Dahlman & Weijer (2022), Porter et al (2024)). This is crucial work insofar
 337 as epistemology employs intuitions concerning language and its use — for
 338 example concerning the truth conditions of epistemic state attributions or
 339 intuitions about the meanings or entailments of particular expressions.

340 My aim in this paper has been merely to signal that prosody is a worthwhile
 341 site for further exploration as it has heretofore seen little of the theoretical and
 342 experimental work that has been devoted to epistemic vocabulary and work
 343 on knowledge ascription. I have extended a proposal about the interpretation
 344 of prosody to demonstrate that it can bring about truth conditional change
 345 to the knowledge predicate but much more remains to be done. I have, for
 346 example, remained agnostic concerning conceptual structure and its interface
 347 with prosodic information. It may be, for example, that ‘know’ latches on to a
 348 dual character concept and prosodic information (‘know’/‘*KNOW*’) can direct
 349 us to the abstract dimension (cf. Knobe, Prasada & Newman (2013)). If so
 350 then the contribution of prosody may yet have something to tell us about the
 351 concept of knowledge. Another potential avenue of exploration concerns the
 352 role that prosody may play in driving participant responses in extant survey-
 353 based research; in such work the intended prosodic realisation of knowledge
 354 ascriptions in vignettes is underspecified and so the contribution of prosody
 355 is not controlled for. If I am correct that prosody can have a systematic effect
 356 on meaning then it has the potential to act as a confound.²⁷ This suggests that

27 Though this paper has focused on typographically marked prosody, the intended prosodic realisation of written text is largely underspecified outside of syntactic contexts that encourage particular prosodic structure.

it may be informative to replicate such studies with audio material in which prosody can be controlled.*

Kate Hazel Stanton

 0000-0002-1513-6280

University of Pittsburgh

katehazelstanton@pitt.edu

References

- ASHER, Nicholas. 2011. *Lexical Meaning in Context: A Web of Words*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, doi:10.1017/cbo9780511793936.
- BAUER, Alexander Max and KORNMESSER, Stephan, eds. 2024. *The Compact Companion of Experimental Philosophy*. De Gruyter Reference. Berlin: de Gruyter, doi:10.1515/9783110716931.
- BÄUERLE, Rainer, REYLE, Uwe and ZIMMERMANN, Thomas Ede, eds. 2010. *Presuppositions and Discourse: Essays Offered to Hans Kamp*. Current Research in the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface n. 21. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group, doi:10.1163/9789004253162.
- BEAVER, David I. 2010. "Have You Noticed that Your Belly Button Lint Color is Related to the Color of Your Clothing?" in *Presuppositions and Discourse: Essays Offered to Hans Kamp*, edited by Rainer BÄUERLE, Uwe REYLE, and Thomas Ede ZIMMERMANN, pp. 65–100. Current Research in the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface n. 21. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group, doi:10.1163/9789004253162.
- BEAVER, David I. and CLARK, Brady Zack. 2008. *Sense and Sensitivity: How Focus Determines Meaning*. Explorations in Semantics. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, doi:10.1002/9781444304176.
- BEEBE, James R. 2012. "Experimental Epistemology." in *The Continuum Companion to Epistemology*, edited by Andrew CULLISON, pp. 248–269. London: Bloomsbury Academic. Reprinted in Cullison (2014, 283–306).
- . 2024. "Experimental Epistemology: Knowledge and Gettier Cases." in *The Compact Companion of Experimental Philosophy*, edited by Alexander Max BAUER and Stephan KORNMESSER, pp. 163–182. De Gruyter Reference. Berlin: de Gruyter, doi:10.1515/9783110716931.
- BUCKWALTER, Wesley. 2010. "Knowledge isn't Closed on Saturday: A Study in Ordinary Language." *The Review of Philosophy and Psychology* 1(3): 395–406, doi:10.1007/S13164-010-0030-3.

* My thanks go to Jason Stanley, Keith DeRose and Larry Horn for invaluable discussion. I am grateful to the excellent reviewers at *Dialectica*, whose insightful and extremely helpful observations have greatly improved this paper. No funding was received in support of this research.

- . 2014. “Factive Verbs and Protagonist Projection.” *Episteme* 11(4): 391–409, doi:[10.1017/epi.2014.22](https://doi.org/10.1017/epi.2014.22).
- COLE, Jennifer and HUALDE, José Ignacio, eds. 2007. *Laboratory Phonology 9: A Selection of Papers Presented at the 9th Conference on Laboratory Phonology, at the University of Illinois in June 2004*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- COLONNA DAHLMAN, Roberta and WEIJER, Joost van de. 2022. “Cognitive Factive Verbs Across Languages.” *Language Sciences* 90(1): 101458, doi:[10.1016/j.langsci.2021.101458](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2021.101458).
- CULLISON, Andrew, ed. 2012. *The Continuum Companion to Epistemology*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. Republished as Cullison (2014).
- , ed. 2014. *The Bloomsbury Companion to Epistemology*. Bloomsbury Companions. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- DAVIES, Mark. 2008. “The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA),” <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>.
- DEGEN, Judith and TONHAUSER, Judith. 2022. “Are there Factive Predicates? An Empirical Investigation.” *Language* 98(3): 552–591, doi:[10.1353/lan.0.0271](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.0.0271).
- DEROSE, Keith. 1992. “Contextualism and Knowledge Attributions.” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 52(4): 913–929, doi:[10.2307/2107917](https://doi.org/10.2307/2107917).
- . 2009. *The Case for Contextualism: Knowledge, Skepticism, and Context, Vol. I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi:[10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199564460.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199564460.001.0001).
- DRETSKE, Fred I. 1972. “Contrastive Statements.” *The Philosophical Review* 81(4): 411–437, doi:[10.2307/2183886](https://doi.org/10.2307/2183886).
- GEURTS, Bart. 2010. *Quantity Implications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, doi:[10.1017/cbo9780511975158](https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511975158).
- GEURTS, Bart and TIEL, Bob van. 2013. “Embedded Scalars.” *Semantics and Pragmatics* 6(9): 1–37, doi:[10.3765/sp.6.9](https://doi.org/10.3765/sp.6.9).
- GONZÁLEZ-GARCÍA, Francisco. 2020. “Metonymy Meets Coercion: The Case of the Intensification of Nouns in Attributive and Predicative Constructions in Spanish.” in *Figurative Meaning Construction in Thought and Language*, edited by Annalisa BAICCHI, pp. 151–184. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., doi:[10.1075/flt.9](https://doi.org/10.1075/flt.9).
- HAZLETT, Allan. 2010. “The Myth of Factive Verbs.” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 80(3): 497–522, doi:[10.1111/j.1933-1592.2010.00338.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1933-1592.2010.00338.x).
- HETHERINGTON, Stephen Cade, ed. 2018. *The Gettier Problem*. Classic Philosophical Arguments. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, doi:[10.1017/9781316827413](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316827413).
- HIRSCHBERG, Julia, GRAVANO, Agustín, NENKOVA, Ani, SNEED, Elisa and WARD, Gregory. 2007. in *Laboratory Phonology 9: A Selection of Papers Presented at the 9th Conference on Laboratory Phonology, at the University of Illinois in June 2004*, edited by Jennifer COLE and José Ignacio HUALDE, pp. 455–482. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

- HORN, Laurence R. 2018. "The Lexical Clone: Pragmatics, Prototypes, and Productivity." in *Exact Repetition in Grammar and Discourse*, edited by Rita FINKBEINER and Ulrike FREYWALD, pp. 233–264. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs n. 323. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton, doi:[10.1515/9783110592498-010](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110592498-010).
- KENNEDY, Christopher and McNALLY, Louise. 2005a. "Scale Structure, Degree Modification, and the Semantics of Gradable Predicates." *Language* 81(2): 345–381, doi:[10.1353/lan.2005.0071](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2005.0071).
- . 2005b. "The Syntax and Semantics of Multiple Degree Modification in English." in *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Department of Informatics, University of Lisbon, August 23-24, 2005*, edited by Stefan MÜLLER, pp. 178–191. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications, doi:[10.21248/hpsg.2005.10](https://doi.org/10.21248/hpsg.2005.10).
- KNOBE, Joshua, PRASADA, Sandeep and NEWMAN, George E. 2013. "Dual Character Concepts and the Normative Dimension of Conceptual Representation." *Cognition* 127(2): 242–257, doi:[10.1016/j.cognition.2013.01.005](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2013.01.005).
- LADD, D. Robert. 2014. *Simultaneous Structure in Phonology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi:[10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199670970.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199670970.001.0001).
- LASERSOHN, Peter. 1999. "Pragmatic Halos." *Language* 75(3): 522–551, doi:[10.2307/417059](https://doi.org/10.2307/417059).
- MACHERY, Edouard, BARRETT, H. Clark and STICH, Stephen P. 2021. "No Way Around Cross-Cultural and Cross-Linguistic Epistemology." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 44: e160, doi:[10.1017/S0140525X20001831](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X20001831).
- MACHERY, Edouard, STICH, Stephen P., ROSE, David, CHATTERJEE, Amita K., KARASAWA, Kaori, STRUCHINER, Noel, SIRKER, Smita, USUI, Naoki and HASHIMOTO, Takaaki. 2015. "Gettier Across Cultures." *Noûs* 51(3): 645–664, doi:[10.1111/nous.12110](https://doi.org/10.1111/nous.12110).
- MÜLLER, Stefan, ed. 2005. *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Department of Informatics, University of Lisbon, August 23-24, 2005*. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications, <https://proceedings.hpsg.xyz/issue/view/30>.
- PORTER, Brian, BARR, Kelli, BENCHERIFA, Abdellatif, BUCKWALTER, Wesley, DEGUCHI, Yasuo, FABIANO, Emanuele, HASHIMOTO, Takaaki, et al. forthcoming. "A Puzzle About Knowledge-Ascriptions." *Noûs*, doi:[10.1111/nous.12515](https://doi.org/10.1111/nous.12515).
- ROBERTS, Craige. 1996. "Information Structure in Discourse: Towards an Integrated Formal Theory of Pragmatics." Columbus, Ohio: Linguistics Department, The Ohio State University. OSU Working Papers in Linguistics, volume 49, Jae-Hak Yoon and Andreas Kathol, editors.
- . 2012. "Information Structure: Towards an Integrated Formal Theory of Pragmatics." *Semantics and Pragmatics* 5(6). Revised version of Roberts (1996), doi:[10.3765/sp.5.6](https://doi.org/10.3765/sp.5.6).

- 471 SAWADA, Osamu and GRANO, Thomas. 2011. "Scale Structure, Coercion and the
472 Interpretation of Measure Phrases in Japanese." *Natural Language Semantics*
473 19(2): 191–226, doi:[10.1007/s11050-011-9070-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11050-011-9070-1).
- 474 SCHAFFER, Jonathan and SZABÓ, Zoltán Gendler. 2014. "Epistemic Comparativism: a
475 Contextualist Semantics for Knowledge Ascriptions." *Philosophical Studies* 168(2):
476 491–543, doi:[10.1007/s11098-013-0141-7](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11098-013-0141-7).
- 477 SIMONS, Mandy, BEAVER, David I., ROBERTS, Craig and TONHAUSER, Judith. 2016.
478 "The Best Question: Explaining the Projection Behavior of Factives." *Discourse*
479 *Processes* 54(3): 187–206, doi:[10.1080/0163853X.2016.1150660](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2016.1150660).
- 480 SRIPADA, Chandra Sekhar and STANLEY, Jason. 2012. "Empirical Tests of Interest-
481 Relative Invariantism." *Episteme* 9(1): 3–26, doi:[10.1017/epi.2011.2](https://doi.org/10.1017/epi.2011.2).
- 482 STANLEY, Jason. 2008. "Knowledge and Certainty." in *Philosophical Issues 18: Interdis-*
483 *ciplinary Core Philosophy*, edited by Ernest Sosa and Enrique VILLANUEVA, pp.
484 35–57. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, doi:[10.1111/j.1533-6077.2008.00](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-6077.2008.00136.x)
485 [136.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-6077.2008.00136.x).
- 486 STANTON, Kate Hazel. 2019. "Semantic Paths for Linguistic Innovation: Evidence from
487 Innovation Markers." PhD dissertation, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University.
- 488 —. 2023. "Composing Words and Non-Words." *Synthese* 202(6): 179, doi:[10.1007/s112](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-023-04233-z)
489 [29-023-04233-z](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-023-04233-z).
- 490 TURRI, John. 2018. "Experimental Epistemology and 'Gettier' Cases." in *The Gettier*
491 *Problem*, edited by Stephen Cade HETHERINGTON, pp. 199–217. Classic Philosoph-
492 ical Arguments. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, doi:[10.1017/9781316827](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316827413.014)
493 [413.014](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316827413.014).
- 494 UNGER, Peter. 1971. "A Defense of Skepticism." *The Philosophical Review* 80(2):
495 198–219, doi:[10.2307/2184030](https://doi.org/10.2307/2184030).
- 496 —. 1975. *Ignorance: A Case for Scepticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, doi:[10.109](https://doi.org/10.1093/0198244177.001.0001)
497 [3/0198244177.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/0198244177.001.0001).