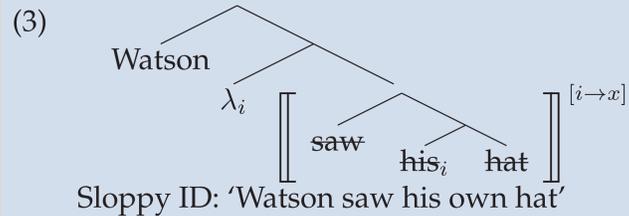
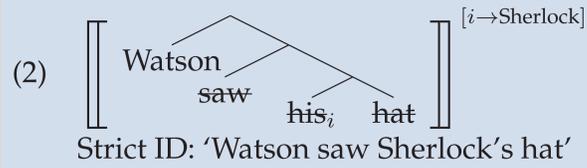
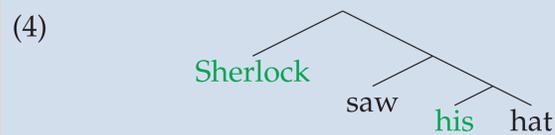


## 1 Sloppy Identity

(1) Sherlock saw his hat, and Watson did, too.



Reinhart (1983) says sloppy ID requires binding (via c-command):



## 2 Unbound

But there are plenty of sloppy ID cases **without c-command**:

- (5) [The officer [who arrested John]] insulted him, and the one who arrested Bill did, too. (Wescoat 1989, Dalrymple et al. 1991, Fiengo and May 1994, Hardt 1993)
- (6) [Everyone [who knows John Belushi]] knows his brother. But no one who knows Dan Ackroyd does.
- (7) [I [like Sarah]] but I hate her political views. You feel the same way about Jill.
- (8) [Most people [who are [taller than John]]] are way taller than him. Only one person who is taller than Bill is.
- (9) Kennedy looked good. People voted for him. Nixon looked bad. People didn't.
- (10) Articles that portray him as conservative never [bother Obama] as much as articles that don't bother Romney.
- (11) Rumors about him don't [bother Biden] as much as the truth about him bothers Ryan.

## 3 Previous Accounts

Two proposals to handle counterexamples:

- (5') [The officer who arrested John] insulted him.
- (12) him ≈
  - a. [the man he arrested] (Tomioka 1999, E-type pronoun)
  - b. [the one out of {John,Bill} that he arrested] (Elbourne 2008, NP Ellipsis)

But both over-generate sloppy ID (Elbourne 2001, 2005, Hardt 2003):

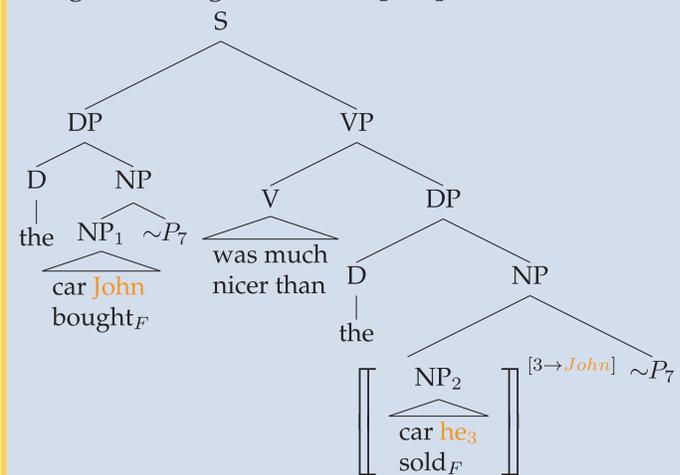
- (13) a. The officer who<sub>i</sub> arrested John insulted the man he<sub>i</sub> arrested, and Officer Jones<sub>j</sub> did, too. (strict, sloppy)
- b. The police officer who<sub>i</sub> arrested John insulted him, and Officer Jones<sub>j</sub> did, too. (strict, \*sloppy)

And neither proposal handles sloppy ID across sentences in (9) or via cataphora in (10) & (11).

## 4 Focus Constrains Pronouns

- (14) Q: Who does John like? A: He likes Mary.
- (15) The car John BOUGHT was much nicer than the car he SOLD.

Proposal: Rooth's (1992) ~ operator may alter the assignment, e.g., to ensure [he<sub>3</sub>] = John:



(16)  $[[\alpha \sim P]]^{o,g}$  presupposes that there is a minimal variant  $g'$  of the assignment function  $g$ , such that  $P \subseteq [[\alpha]]^{f,g'}$  and  $[[\alpha]]^{o,g'} \in P$ . If such a  $g'$  exists,  $[[\alpha \sim P]]^{o,g}$  denotes  $[[\alpha]]^{o,g'}$ .

## 5 Coherence as QUD

Discourse (coherence) relations between sentences also constrain pronouns (Hobbs 1979):

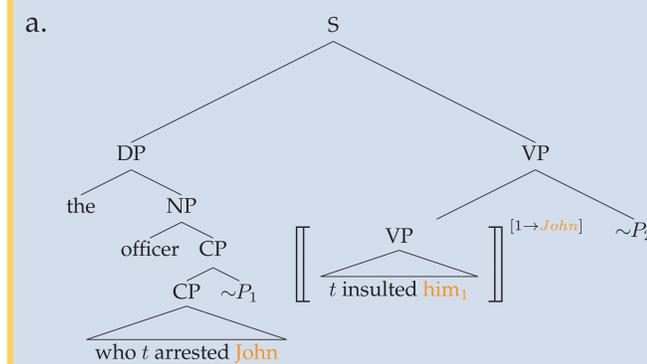
- (17) Bob was late. He missed the bus.
- Roberts (1996) structures discourse via (often <covert>) questions under discussion (QUDs):
- (18) Q: What did you do in school today?
  - a. <What classes did you have?>
    - (i) Q: Did you have math? A: Yes.
  - b. <What did you do in your classes?>
    - (i) Q: What did you do in math class? A: We studied fractions.

Perhaps Coherence = QUDs? (Kehler 2009):

- (19) <When did Bob arrive and why?>
  - a. <When did Bob arrive?> Bob was late.
  - b. <~P [Why did Bob arrive late?]>
    - [~P [He missed the bus]]

## 6 Analysis

- (20) QUDs: <How did each officer treat the prisoner he arrested?>
  - a. <[~P<sub>1</sub> who arrested John?] and [~P<sub>2</sub> how did he treat John?]>
  - b. <[~P<sub>3</sub> who arrested Bill?] and [~P<sub>4</sub> how did he treat Bill?]>



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- (21) <Who knows two brothers? Who knows John Belushi and his brother? Dan Ackroyd?>
  - a. Everyone who knows John Belushi knows his brother.
  - b. No one who knows Dan Ackroyd does know his brother.
- (22) <Who do we like but hate their politics?>
  - a. I like Sarah but I hate her politics.
  - b. You feel the same way about Jill.

- b.
- The diagram shows a syntax tree for the sentence 'the one who arrested Bill insulted him'. The root is S, which branches into DP 'the one who arrested Bill' and VP 'insulted him'. The DP branches into 'the' and NP 'one who arrested Bill'. The NP branches into 'one' and CP '~P<sub>3</sub>' 'who arrested Bill'. The VP branches into 'insulted' and NP 'him'. The CP '~P<sub>3</sub>' is annotated with [1 -> Bill] and ~P<sub>4</sub>. The NP 'him' is annotated with [1 -> Bill] and ~P<sub>4</sub>.
- (23) <How did candidates' looks affect voters?>
    - a. <How did Kennedy look?> Kennedy looked good.
    - b. <How did Kennedy's looks affect voters?> People voted for him.
    - c. <How did Nixon look?> Nixon looked bad.
    - d. <How did Nixon's looks affect voters?> People didn't vote for him.