

The disunity of Principle B Effects

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Introduction

Introduction

- It is a typologically well-attested generalization that simple personal pronouns are avoided when the purpose is to signal semantic identity between coarguments of a predicate (Faltz, 1985; Comrie, 1999; Levinson, 2000; Haspelmath, 2008, forthcoming; Volkova & Reuland, 2014):
 - (1)
 - a. *Susan₁ hates her₁.
 - b. *Amy₁ voted for her₁.
 - c. *Every actor₁ talks about him₁ all the time.
- I will call these patterns PRONOUN DISJOINTNESS EFFECTS (PDEs).

Introduction

- HPSG follows Mainstream Generative Grammar (MGG) in the assumption that these PDEs receive an explanation in terms of Principle B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1986; Pollard & Sag, 1994; Manning & Sag, 1998; Pollard, 2005; Branco, 2006; Müller, 2021).
- Many practitioners of MGG also seem to accept what I call the **UNIFIED VIEW**: the assumption that Principle B is both **universal** and **sufficient to explain the full range of PDEs found across languages** (Chomsky, 1981, 1986; Grimshaw & Rosen, 1990; Fiengo & May, 1994; Hornstein, 2001; Kayne, 2005; Hicks, 2009; Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd, 2011).

Introduction

- HPSG has been largely silent about the validity of the Unified View.
- In this talk, I argue that the Unified View is mistaken because it is both **TOO WEAK** (it fails to predict real PDEs) and **TOO STRONG** (it predicts PDEs where there are none).
- As an alternative, I propose that PDEs stem from a conspiracy of three distinct factors – none of which is a syntactic universal.

The Unified View is too weak

The Unified View is too weak

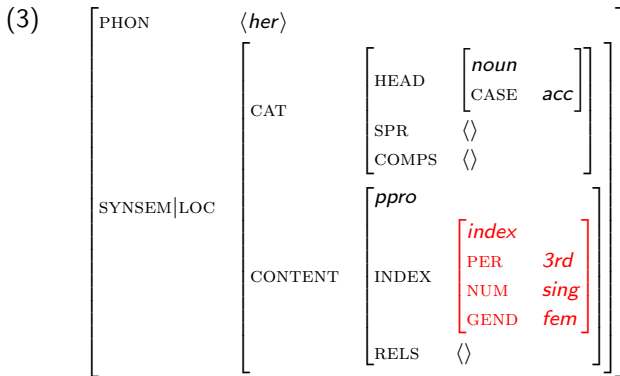
- The Unified View is TOO WEAK because Principle B inevitably fails to predict semantic disjointness in cases where disjointness is clearly enforced.
- Given that non-referential quantified NPs are also subject to PDEs, it is widely recognized that the kind of identity governed by Principle B should not be at the level of reference, but, rather, at the level of discourse representation or logical syntax (Lasnik, 1976; Reinhart, 1983, 2006; Reuland, 2011).

The Unified View is too weak

- HPSG incorporates this insight by stating Principle B as a constraint against the identity of INDEX values among members of a single ARG-STR list (Pollard & Sag, 1994; Manning & Sag, 1998; Pollard, 2005; Müller, 2021):
 - (2) PRINCIPLE B:
A p-pronoun is **not coindexed** with any of its local o-commanders.

The Unified View is too weak

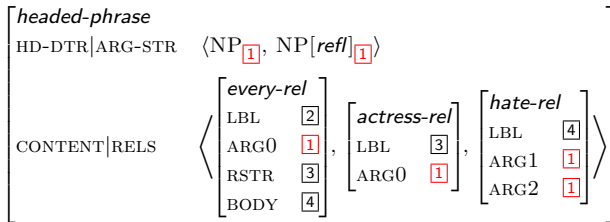
- Indices lead a double life within the HPSG formalism.



The Unified View is too weak

- Indices also play a semantic role (Copestake et al., 2005; Koenig & Richter, 2021).

(4) Every actress₁ hates herself₁



The Unified View is too weak

- Also like logical variables, different indices can be anchored to the same referent, as is clearly the case in Pollard & Sag's (1994, 72) example (5):

(5) The senate₁ just voted itself₁ another raise. Most of them₂ were already overpaid to begin with.

(where 1 and 2 pick out the same entity)

- Given the existence of cases like (5), HPSG's index-based Binding Theory predicts that it should be possible for p-pronouns to corefer with *local* antecedents as well as long as token-identity of indices is not involved.

The Unified View is too weak

- This in fact correct (Reinhart, 1983; Pollard & Sag, 1994; Heim, 1998):
 - (6)
 - a. How can you doubt that the speaker is Zelda? She₂ praises her₁ to the sky.
 - b. Larry₁ said that only he₂ voted for him₁.
(where 1 and 2 pick out the same entity)

The Unified View is too weak

- However, given that local coreference without coindexing is not ruled out by Principle B, we need for some other principle to explain why we can't get coreference in neutral contexts like (7):

- (7) a. *Zelda₁ praised her₂
b. *Larry₁ voted for him₂.

(where 1 and 2 pick out the same entity)

A solution: Coindexing Preference

A preference for coindexing

- Within MGG, this is accomplished by Grodzinsky & Reinhart's (1993) Rule I. I propose something similar for HPSG:
 - (8) COINDEXING PREFERENCE:
Let X and Y be *synsem* objects with distinct INDEX values. X cannot corefer with Y if replacing the INDEX value of Y with the INDEX value of X yields an indistinguishable interpretation.
- The basic idea is that speakers should not opt for anchoring distinct indices to the same referent unless there is a clear interpretive motivation for not using a plain coindexed structure – i.e. if there is some specific interpretive effect attainable solely by a non-coindexed variant.

A preference for coindexing

- In Pollard & Sag's (6), each index signals a distinct mode of individuation in virtue of distinct anchoring conditions associated with the grammatical features *sing* and *plur*:

(6) The senate_{1[sing]} just voted itself_{1[sing]} another raise. Most of them_{2[plur]} were already overpaid to begin with.

(9) $\left[\text{CONTENT|INDEX} \quad \boxed{1} \left[\text{NUM} \quad \textit{sing} \right] \right] \Rightarrow \left[\text{CTXT|BACKGR} \quad \left\{ \left[\textit{non-aggregate-rel} \right] \right. \right. \\ \left. \left. \left[\text{ARG0} \quad \boxed{1} \right] \right\} \right]$

(10) $\left[\text{CONTENT|INDEX} \quad \boxed{2} \left[\text{NUM} \quad \textit{plur} \right] \right] \Rightarrow \left[\text{CTXT|BACKGR} \quad \left\{ \left[\textit{aggregate-rel} \right] \right. \right. \\ \left. \left. \left[\text{ARG0} \quad \boxed{2} \right] \right\} \right]$

A preference for coindexing

- In the case of (11), each index is associated with a different guise or mode of presentation (the speaker vs. Zelda) (Heim, 1998).

(11) How can you doubt that the speaker is Zelda? She₂ praises her₁ to the sky.

(12)

<i>headed-phrase</i>	HD-DTR ARG-STR	⟨NP ₂ , NP[<i>refl</i>] ₁ ⟩																								
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A preference for coindexing

- In (13), the use of a non-coindexed structure signals the intent to avoid a bound-variable interpretation:

(13) Larry₁ said that only he₂ voted for him₁.

(where 1 and 2 pick out the same entity)

- The property that Larry affirms that only he possesses in (13) is the property of voting for Larry (' $\lambda x. x$ voted for Larry') and not the property of voting for oneself (' $\lambda x. x$ voted for x '), which would be the one obtainable under a bound-variable reading of *him*.
- The non-coindexed structure entails that Larry received a total of one vote. A coindexed variant does not.

The Unified View is too strong

The Unified View is too strong

- The idea that a syntactic Principle B exhausts the range of disjointness effects involving p-pronouns is also **TOO STRONG**: i.e. it predicts semantic disjointness for p-pronouns where there is none.

The Unified View is too strong

- In contexts like (14), p-pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) are subject to PDEs just like their English counterparts:

- (14)
- *O Paulo₁ viu ele₁.
the Paulo saw him
'Paulo₁ saw him(self)₁.'
 - *A Joana₁ esqueceu de elogiar ela₁ na festa.
the Joana forgot to praise her in-the party
'Joana₁ forgot to praise her(self)₁ at the party.'
 - *A Amy₁ bateu primeiro nela₁, depois nos outros.
the Amy hit first on-her, then on-the others
'Amy₁ hit her(self)₁ first, then other people.'
 - *O Pedro₁ não defendeu ele₁ na festa.
the Pedro not defended him in-the party
'Pedro₁ didn't defend him(self)₁ at the party.'
 - *Todo político₁ fica discordando dele₁ o tempo todo.
every politician stayed disagreeing of-him the time all
'Every politician₁ keeps disagreeing with him(self)₁ all the time.'

The Unified View is too strong

- The problem, however, is that slight modifications of (14) make binding by a local coargument fully acceptable:

- (15)
- O Paulo₁ viu ele₁ no espelho.
the Paulo saw him in-the mirror
'Paulo₁ saw him(self)₁ in the mirror.'
 - A Joana₁ esqueceu de incluir ela₁ na lista de convidados.
the Joana forgot to include her in-the list of guests
'Joana₁ forgot to include her(self)₁ in the guest list.'
 - A Amy₁ pensa primeiro nela₁, depois nos outros.
the Amy thinks first on-her, then on-the others
'Amy₁ thinks of her(self)₁ first, then of others.'
 - O Pedro₁ não reconheceu ele₁ na foto.
the Pedro not recognized him in-the photo
'Pedro₁ didn't recognize him(self)₁ in the photo'.
 - Todo político₁ fica falando dele₁ o tempo todo.
every politician stays talking of-him the time all
'Every politician₁ keeps talking about him(self)₁ all the time.'

The Unified View is too strong

- The first set of data in (14) suggests that BP p-pronouns are subject to a disjointness constraint of some sort.
- However, the subsequent examples in (15) show that this constraint cannot be Principle B as it applies to English, since the latter incorrectly rules out instances of local binding that are acceptable in BP (Moreira da Silva, 1983; Lemle, 1985; Galves, 1986; Menuzzi, 1999; Grolla & Bertolino, 2011; Lacerda et al., 2014; Menuzzi & Lobo, 2016; Carvalho, 2019; Varaschin, 2021).
- This presents a major puzzle for the Unified View, which attempts to reduce all PDEs to a single syntactic constraint, which is supposed to be universal and apply in the same way in different languages.

The Unified View is too strong

- We see similar patterns in French (Ronat, 1982; Pica, 1984; Zribi-Hertz, 1995):

- (16)
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. *Pierre₁ bavarde avec lui₁.
 Pierre is chatting with him
 'Pierre₁ is talking to him(self)₁.'</p> <p>b. *Pierre₁ est jaloux de lui₁.
 Pierre is jealous of him
 'Pierre₁ is jealous of him₁.'</p> <p>c. *Pierre₁ a besoin de lui₁.
 Pierre has need of him
 'Pierre₁ needs him(self)₁.'</p> <p>d. *Pierre₁ se confie à lui₁.
 Pierre CL confides to him
 'Pierre₁ confides in him(self)₁.'</p> | <p>(17)</p> <p>a. Jean₁ parle souvent de lui₁.
 Jean often talks about him
 'Jean₁ often talks about him(self)₁.'</p> <p>b. Pierre₁ est fier de lui₁.
 Pierre is proud of him
 'Pierre₁ is proud of him(self)₁.'</p> <p>c. Pierre₁ a honte de lui₁.
 Pierre is ashamed of him
 'Pierre₁ is ashamed of him(self)₁.'</p> <p>d. Pierre₁ pense souvent à lui₁.
 Pierre thinks often of him
 'Pierre₁ often thinks of him(self)₁.'</p> |
|--|---|

The Unified View is too strong

- Middle English (Visser, 1963; Faltz, 1985; Peitsara, 1997; Van Gelderen, 2000; Levinson, 2000):

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| (18) | <p>a. *Hie₁ forseoð hie₁.
 he despises him
 'He₁ despises him(self)₁.'</p> <p>b. *He₁ hyngge hym₁.
 he hanged him
 'He₁ hanged him(self)₁.'</p> | (19) | <p>a. He₁ cladde hym₁ as a poure laborer.
 he dressed him as a poor laborer
 'He₁ dressed him(self)₁ as a poor laborer.'</p> <p>b. He₁ repentyd hym₁.
 he repented him
 'He₁ repented (himself)₁.'</p> |
|------|---|------|--|

The Unified View is too strong

- And Frisian (Hoekstra, 1994; Reuland & Reinhart, 1995; Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd, 2011):

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| (20) | <p>a. *Max₁ hatet him₁.
Max hates him
'Max₁ hates him(self)₁.'</p> <p>b. *Willem₁ bewûnderet him₁.
Willem admires him
'Willem₁ admires him(self)₁.'</p> | (21) | <p>a. Max₁ wasket him₁.
Max washes him
'Max₁ washes him(self)₁.'</p> <p>b. Jack₁ fielde him₁ fuortgleden.
Jack felt him slip-away
'Jack₁ felt him(self)₁ slip away.'</p> |
|------|---|------|--|

The Unified View is too strong

- There is no syntactic generalization that distinguishes the good and bad cases of local binding in these languages in a general way.

- (22) a. *Todo político₁ fica **discordando** dele₁ o tempo todo.
 every politician stayed disagreeing of-him the time all
 'Every politician₁ keeps disagreeing with him(self)₁ all the time.'
- b. Todo político₁ fica **falando** dele₁ o tempo todo.
 every politician stays talking of-him the time all
 'Every politician₁ keeps talking about him(self)₁ all the time.'

- This suggests that PDEs in these languages are not the product of Principle B, but of some principle which is sensitive to non-syntactic properties of predicates (Zribi-Hertz, 1995; Menuzzi, 1999; König & Siemund, 2000b)

A solution: Constraint on Reflexive Predications

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The simplest solution involves:
 - (i) abandoning the idea that p-pronouns in BP, French, Middle English and Frisian abide by Principle B (in the traditional sense); and
 - (ii) explaining the bad cases of local binding with a different kind of disjointness principle – one which is sensitive to non-syntactic properties of predicates.
- The first step implies rejecting the view that Principle B is a syntactic universal.

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- We can regard Principle B as a language-specific implicational constraint on the ARG-STR values of predicative lexemes:

$$(23) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{pred-lxm} \\ \text{ARG-STR} \quad [A] \langle \text{NP}_{[1]}(, \text{NP}_{[2]}) \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{pred-lxm} \\ \text{ARG-STR} \quad [A] \oplus \langle \text{NP}[\textit{ppro}]_{-[1] \wedge -[2]} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

- Languages like BP, Middle English, Frisian and French simply lack (23) as a constraint on their predicative lexemes.

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The cases where locally o-bound p-pronouns are *not* acceptable in BP, Middle English, Frisian and French are handled by a semantically-based constraint:

(24) CONSTRAINT ON REFLEXIVE PREDICATIONS (CRP):

If the CONTENT|RELS value of a *synsem* object *S* contains a reflexive elementary predication *R* and *R* is stereotypically non-reflexive, then *S* must be reflexive-marked, where

- R* is reflexive iff the values for two ARG attributes of *R* are structure-shared;
- S* is reflexive-marked iff a member of *S*'s ARG-STR list is NP[*refl*].

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The notion of stereotypical non-reflexivity is based on the intuition that reflexive interpretations are more unexpected for some predicative lexemes (e.g. *hang*, *jealous*, *hate*) than for others (e.g. *dress*, *proud*, *shave*) (Haiman, 1983; Faltz, 1985; Zribi-Hertz, 1995; Comrie, 1999; König & Siemund, 2000a,b; Ariel, 2008; Haspelmath, 2008).
- Stereotypical non-reflexivity (like other kinds of stereotypes) is a arguably product of inductive regularities in speakers' experience of the world: e.g. people experience more often other-directed instances of actions like *hitting* than of actions like *dressing*. (Levinson, 2000).

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- These stereotypes are also plausibly reflected in frequency of reflexive use: lexemes which introduce stereotypically non-reflexive EPs like *jealous* and *hang* occur less frequently with reflexive pronouns (signaling reflexive readings) than more neutral predicates like *proud* or *dress* (Haspelmath, 2008; Ariel, 2008; Bouma & Spender, 2008).

Prototypical Reflexivity

- This is confirmed by the following data collected from the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Longman Spoken American Corpus (LSAC):

	Non-reflexive Pronoun	Reflexive Pronoun
<i>proud of</i>	212 (84%)	39 (16%)
<i>jealous of</i>	41 (100%)	0 (0%)

Table: Reflexive vs. non-reflexive readings in the BNC (Haspelmath, 2008, pg. 47)

	Non-reflexive Pronoun	Reflexive Pronoun
<i>dress</i>	4 (6.2%)	60 (93.7%)
<i>hit</i>	109 (99.1%)	1 (0.09%)

Table: Reflexive vs. non-reflexive readings in the LSAC (Ariel, 2008, pg. 231-232)

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The CRP is similar to the Condition B of Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) Reflexivity Theory.
- Unlike Reinhart & Reuland's principle, however, the CRP should not be seen as a primitive property of UG, but as a consequence of a universal pragmatic principle that associates unmarked forms with stereotypical interpretations:

(25) I(NFORMATIVENESS)-PRINCIPLE (Levinson, 2000, 37):
What is expressed simply is stereotypically exemplified.

Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The idea is that, since p-pronouns are simple unmarked forms (in contrast to reflexives), they trigger an I-based inference to a stereotypical interpretation for each *synsem* object where they occur.
- This means that if a non-reflexive interpretation is stereotypical for a *synsem* object *S*, p-pronouns, *qua* unmarked forms, will trigger an I-based inference to a non-reflexive interpretation for *S*.
- The only way to signal that *S* is reflexive in such cases is resorting to specialized reflexive-marking

Illustrating the Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The following structures are ruled out by the CRP:

- (26)
- *Todo político₁ fica **discordando** dele₁ o tempo todo.
every politician stayed disagreeing of-him the time all
'Every politician₁ keeps **disagreeing** with him(self)₁ all the time.'
 - *Pierre₁ est **jaloux** de lui₁.
Pierre is jealous of him
'Pierre₁ is **jealous** of him(self)₁.'
 - *He₁ **hynge** hym₁.
he hanged him
'He₁ **hanged** him(self)₁.'
 - *Max₁ **hatet** him₁.
Max hates him
'Max₁ **hates** him(self)₁.'

- The EPs introduced by the predicates (*disagree-rel*, *jealous-rel*, *hang-rel* and *hate-rel*) are all stereotypically non-reflexive.

Illustrating the Constraint on Reflexive Predications

- The CRP gives us basically two logically possible scenarios where a locally o-bound p-pronoun may be acceptable:
 - (27) a. When the EP introduced by the p-pronoun's predicate is not stereotypically non-reflexive.
 - b. When the EP introduced by the p-pronoun's predicate is not reflexive.

Local binding with non-stereotypically non-reflexive EPs

- The scenario in (27-a) covers the following kinds of cases:

- (28)
- Todo político₁ fica **falando** dele₁ o tempo todo.
every politician stays talking of-him the time all
'Every politician₁ keeps **talking** about him(self)₁ all the time.'
 - Pierre₁ est **fier** de lui₁.
Pierre is proud of him
'Pierre₁ is **proud** of him(self)₁.'
 - He₁ **cladde** hym₁ as a poure laborer.
he dressed him as a poor laborer
'He₁ **dressed** him(self)₁ as a poor laborer.'
 - Max₁ **wasket** him₁.
Max washes him
'Max₁ **washes** him(self)₁.'

- The EPs introduced by the predicates (*talk-rel*, *proud-rel*, *dress-rel* and *wash-rel*) are not stereotypically non-reflexive.

When EPs are not reflexive

- Local binding of p-pronouns is also allowed in languages lacking Principle B whenever the EP linked to the p-pronoun's predicate is not reflexive.
- This happens in raising to object structures, which imply a mismatch between the syntactic locality of ARG-STR and the semantic locality of EPs (Reinhart & Reuland, 1993; Carvalho, 2019).

When EPs are not reflexive

- Even though the p-pronouns and their antecedents in (29) are in a local relationship with respect to ARG-STR, they correspond to indices that contribute to separate EPs.

- (29) a. O Roberto₁ imaginou ele₁ casado.
 the Roberto imagined him married
 'Roberto₁ imagined him(self)₁ married.'
- b. Jack₁ fielde him₁ fuortgliedden.
 Jack felt him slip-away
 'Jack₁ felt him(self)₁ slip away.'

- Since BP and Frisian lack the purely ARG-STR-based Principle B we see in English, these examples are predicted to be fine.

When EPs are not reflexive

- Something similar goes on in cases where the meaning of the p-pronoun is not identical to that of its antecedent, but is shifted to denote a representational proxy of the latter (Jackendoff, 1992; Nunberg, 1995; Safir, 2004; Varaschin, 2020).

When EPs are not reflexive

- This is what happens in the BP example (30)/(33), where *ele* ('him') is interpreted as a visual image of Pedro:

(30) O Pedro₁ não reconheceu ele₁ na foto.
 the Pedro not recognized him in-the photo
 'Pedro₁ didn't recognize him(self)₁ in the photo'.

(31)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{headed-phrase} \\ \text{HD-DTR|ARG-STR} \quad \langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}}, \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle \\ \\ \text{CONTENT|RELS} \quad \left\langle \dots \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{recognize-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{3} \\ \text{ARG1} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG2} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] , \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{proxy-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{4} \\ \text{PROXY} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{REPRESENTED} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

When EPs are not reflexive

- This is also what happens in (32)/(33):

(32) A Joana₁ esqueceu de incluir ela₁ na lista de convidados.
 the Joana forgot to include her in-the list of guests
 'Joana₁ forgot to include her(self)₁ in the guest list.'

(33)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{headed-phrase} \\ \text{HD-DTR|ARG-STR} \quad \langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}}, \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle \\ \\ \text{CONTENT|RELS} \quad \left\langle \dots \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{include-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{3} \\ \text{ARG1} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG2} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] , \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{proxy-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{4} \\ \text{PROXY} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{REPRESENTED} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

- The EP introduced by *incluir* ('include') expresses a relation between Joana and a proxy of Joana (namely, *her name*).

The CRP in English

- Since the CRP is grounded in the pragmatic I-PRINCIPLE, it should be universal.
- Therefore, we expect to see some of its effects in English constructions that are exempt from syntactic Principle B.
- This is the case of locative PPs (Chomsky, 1981; Hestvik, 1991; Reinhart & Reuland, 1993).

The CRP in English

- Locative PPs are exempt from Principle B because they have single-membered ARG-STR lists (in spite of introducing a binary EP).

(34) Bobby₁ rolled the carpet over him₁.

(35) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{headed-phrase} \\ \text{HD-DTR|DTRS} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|CAT} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{prep} \\ \text{ARG-STR} \quad \langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONTENT|RELS} \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \textit{name-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{4} \\ \text{ARG0} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{NAME} \quad \textit{bobby} \end{array} \right\rangle, \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{carpet-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{5} \\ \text{ARG0} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{roll-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{6} \\ \text{ARG1} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{ARG2} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{ARG3} \quad \boxed{3} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{over-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{3} \\ \text{ARG1} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{ARG2} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$

The CRP in English

- However, when the *synsem* object that corresponds to the PP does contain a reflexive EP among the values of CONTENT|RELS, CRP predicts reflexive marking to be necessary. This is correct (Reinhart & Reuland, 1993, 687-8):

(36) *Bobby rolled the carpet₂ over it₂.

(37)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{headed-phrase} \\ \text{HD-DTR|DTRS} \quad \left[\text{SYNSEM|CAT} \quad \left[\text{HEAD} \quad \textit{prep} \right] \right] \\ \quad \quad \quad \left[\text{ARG-STR} \quad \langle \text{NP}_{[2]} \rangle \right] \\ \text{CONTENT|RELS} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{name-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad [4] \\ \text{ARG0} \quad [1] \\ \text{NAME} \quad \textit{bobby} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{carpet-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad [5] \\ \text{ARG0} \quad [2] \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{roll-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad [6] \\ \text{ARG1} \quad [1] \\ \text{ARG2} \quad [2] \\ \text{ARG3} \quad [3] \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{over-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad [3] \\ \text{ARG1} \quad [2] \\ \text{ARG2} \quad [2] \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

Concluding Remarks

Concluding Remarks

- The examples from BP, French, Middle English and Frisian show that a purely syntactic Principle B stated over the level of ARG-STR is not universal.
- These cases, along with other examples from English, strongly suggest that disjointness effects typically attributed to Principle B do not correspond to a unified phenomenon, thereby contradicting the Unified View.

Concluding Remarks

- I proposed that the responsibility for accounting for PDEs should be distributed into at least three factors:
 - (i) A preference for expressing semantic identity by coindexation rather than anchoring distinct indices to the same referent (Reinhart, 1983; Krifka, 2018).
 - (ii) A language-specific variant of HPSG's Principle B, interpreted as an implicational constraint on the ARG-STR values of predicative lexemes.
 - (iii) A constraint on the morphosyntactic encoding of reflexive elementary predications (Faltz, 1985; Comrie, 1999; Levinson, 2000; Mattausch, 2007).

Concluding Remarks

- Unlike the traditional Principle B, none of these factors is a *syntactic* universal. (i) and (iii) are grounded in pragmatics and (ii) is arguably learned on the basis of indirect negative evidence (Elbourne, 2005; Varaschin, 2021)

Thank you!

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