

1. Two Observations

QUOTE It is [...] allowed for one and the same individual to have two or more names (just as "Samuel Clemens" and "Mark Twain" are names of the same person). **UNQUOTE**
Dowty *et al.* (1981: 17)

- *Observation 1*
Names are generally expected to be unique.

QUOTE There are simple sentences [footnote suppressed] which evoke anti-substitution intuitions quite similar to those evoked by attitude-reporting sentences. **UNQUOTE**
Saul (1997a: 102)

- *Observation 2*
Non-substitutivity of coreferential names may occur in extensional contexts.

(1) **Clark Kent went into the phone booth, and Superman came out.**

2. Changing Names

(2) **I never made it to Karl-Marx-Stadt, but I visited Chemnitz last year.**

2.1 A Semantic Account

QUOTE *Chemnitz*
[...] formerly **Karl-Marx-Stadt** [...], city (1994 pop. 279,520), Saxony, E central Germany, on the Chemnitz River. It is a major industrial center and an important road and rail junction; it has become one of the most heavily polluted cities in Europe. [...] The city was renamed Karl-Marx-Stadt in 1953 but returned to its original name shortly after German reunification in 1990. **UNQUOTE**
The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition. 2001.
[www.bartleby.com/65/ch/ChemnitzKMS.html]

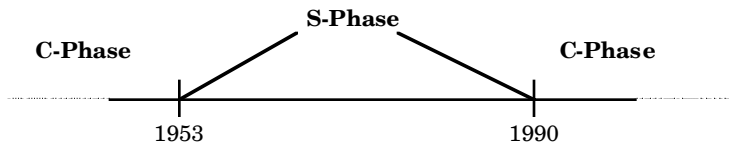


Fig. 1: Phases of Chemnitz

(3) ***Karl-Marx-Stadt*** as a restricted name

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Karl-Marx-Stadt** *P* uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff [and only iff]

- (a) in (w, t) Chemnitz has the property the predicate *P* expresses in (w_0, t_0) and
- (b) *t* is part of some S-Phase.

(4) If uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) , **Fritz lived in Karl-Marx-Stadt** is true of a situation (w, t) iff at some time *t'* that is both before the time of utterance t_0 and part of a S-Phase, the relation of dwelling holds between Fritz and Chemnitz in *w*

(5) If uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) , **Fritz lives in Karl-Marx-Stadt** is true of a situation (w, t) iff at the time of utterance t_0 , which is part of a S-Phase, the relation of dwelling holds between Fritz and Chemnitz in *w*

2.2 Asymmetry

(6) **Chemnitz** as a restricted name

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Chemnitz P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff

- (a) in (w, t) Chemnitz has the property that the predicate **P** expresses in (w_0, t_0) and
- (b) t is part of some C-Phase.

(7) **Fritz lived in Karl-Marx-Stadt, not in Chemnitz.**

(8) *Analysis of (7), based on (3) and (6)*

At some time before the time of utterance and during an S-Phase, which was not a time during a C-Phase, does the relation of dwelling hold between Fritz and Chemnitz in w .

(9) **Fritz lived in Chemnitz while it was called Karl-Marx-Stadt.**

(10) *Analysis of (9), based on (3) and (6)*

There is a time before the time of utterance which is part of an S-Phase and part of a C-Phase and at which the relation of dwelling holds between Fritz and Chemnitz in w .

(11) **Chemnitz** as a neutral name

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Chemnitz P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff

- in (w, t) Chemnitz has the property the predicate **P** expresses in (w_0, t_0) .

(12) *Analysis of (7), based on (3) and (11)*

At some time before the time of utterance and during an S-Phase, which was not a time during a C-Phase, does the relation of dwelling hold between Fritz and Chemnitz in w .

(13) **Fritz lived in Karl-Marx-Stadt while it was [still] called Chemnitz.**

- (14) Fritz lived in $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Chemnitz} \\ \text{Karl-Marx-Stadt} \end{array} \right\}$ from $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \checkmark \text{1840 till 1860} \\ \# \text{1840 till 1860} \\ \checkmark \text{1940 till 1960} \\ \# \text{1940 till 1999} \\ \checkmark \text{1960 till 1980} \\ \# \text{1960 till 1999} \\ \checkmark \text{1994 till 1999} \\ \# \text{1994 till 1999} \end{array} \right\}$.

3. Double lives I: Semantic accounts

3.1 Restricted Names

(NN) *Semantic behaviour of neutral names (Montagovian version)*

If **N** is a *neutral name*, there is some (uniquely identifiable) individual x (the *bearer* of **N**) such that any subject-predicate combination **N P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) , is true of a situation (w, t) iff

- in (w, t) , x has the property expressed by the predicate **P** in (w_0, t_0) .

- (RN) *N* is a *restricted name* iff *N* is not a neutral name and there is some (uniquely identifiable) individual *x* (the *bearer* of *N*) and a condition φ such that any subject-predicate combination of the form *N P* uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff
- (a) in (w, t) , *x* has the property the predicate *P* expresses in (w_0, t_0) and
 - (b) φ .

3.2 *The apparel oft proclaims the man*

(15) **Clark, so-attired, entered the phone booth and Superman, so-attired, emerged.**

(16) entered(Clark_{*i*}, *b*) & (the α : $L(\alpha, so_i)$) [attired(he_{Clark}, α)] &
then(emerged(Superman_{*j*}, *b*) & (the α : $L(\alpha, so_j)$) [attired(he_{Superman}, α)])

(17) **Clark [Kent]** as a *restricted name (attire version)*

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Clark P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff

- (a) in (w, t) Superman has the property the predicate *P* expresses in (w_0, t_0) and
- (b) Superman is wearing Kentian attire in (w, t) .

3.3 *Personae*

(18) **Lois slept with Superman before she slept with Clark Kent.**

(19) **Lois slept with Superman, so-attired, before she slept with Clark Kent, so-attired.**

QUOTE [...] due to her long-standing fascination with the Man of Steel, asks Clark to put on a little cape, take off those spectacles, etc.' UNQUOTE
Saul (1997b: 116)

(17') **Clark [Kent]** as a *restricted name (persona version)*

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Clark P** [...] iff

- (a) [...]
- (b) Superman is playing the Kent part in (w, t) .

(20) **Superman went into the phone booth, and Clark Kent came out.**

(17'') **Clark [Kent]** as a *restricted name (adverbial version)*

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Clark P** [...] iff

- (a) [...]
- (b) *Q* is a C-Property in (w, t) .

(21) **Superman frequently disguises as Clark Kent.**

(22) **Clark Kent frequently disguises as Superman.**

(23) **Superman** as a *restricted name (adverbial version)*

A subject-predicate combination of the form **Superman P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff

- (a) in (w, t) Superman has the property *Q* that the predicate *P* expresses in (w_0, t_0) and
- (b) *Q* is an S-Property in (w, t) .

- (23') **Superman** as a neutral name
A subject-predicate combination of the form **Superman P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) is true of a situation (w, t) iff
- in (w, t) Superman has the property the predicate **P** expresses in (w_0, t_0) .

(24) **Clark Kent is Superman.**

4. *Double lives II: a pragmatic attempt*

(25) **I've read all of Barbara Vine's books.**

(26) **I've read all of Ruth Rendell's books.**

(27) **I've read all of Ruth Rendell's books, though not all of Barbara Vine's.**

- ① **Why** are these sentences reinterpreted, rather than construed literally?
- ② **What** is the result of reinterpretation, the non-literal meaning?
- ③ **How** does it come about, given the literal meaning and the utterance situation?

- ❶ Because in the utterance situations considered, they do not have a literal meaning.
- ❷ The meaning that the sentence would have had, if it had a literal meaning.
- ❸ Due to general pragmatic principles of making sense.

Uniqueness Principle

In any language L , no two (neutral) names of L have the same bearer.

Uniqueness Presumption

Speakers know that the Uniqueness Principle holds and that speakers know it holds.

(NN') *Semantic behaviour of neutral names (two-dimensional version)*

If **N** is a *neutral name*, there is some identifying property **Q** (the *descriptive content* of **N**) such that any subject-predicate combination **N P** uttered in a context (w_0, t_0) , is true of a situation (w, t) iff

- in (w, t) , the individual that has the property **Q** – the *bearer* of **N** – in (w_0, t_0) also has the property expressed by the predicate **P**.

(28) If (w_0, t_0) is compatible with speaker S 's epistemic background [i.e. if S cannot exclude the possibility of being in (w_0, t_0)], **N** and **N'** are distinct proper names of S 's language L , then the bearer of **N** is distinct from the bearer of **N'**.

(29) *Counterfactual reinterpretation of a sentence S*

If I were a *Layman*, I would speak the truth by uttering **S**.

(30) **The Morning Star is the Evening Star.**