An Analysis of Counteridenticals in Terms of Dream Reports

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Counteridenticals

Conditionals with the following properties:

- **Counterfactuals**
- Antecedent clause **identifies** two inherently **incompatible entities** with each other
  $\rightarrow$ In w_0: $[\![\,\text{I}\,]\!] \neq [\![\,\text{you}\,]\!]$ and $[\![\,\text{Paula}\,]\!] \neq [\![\,\text{Angela Merkel}\,]\!]$

(1)   If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.

(2)   If Paula were Angela Merkel, she'd be the chancellor of Germany.

Counteridenticals

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(2)   If <u>Paula</u> were <u>Angela Merkel</u>, she'd be the chancellor of Germany.

- Intuitive meaning:
  - **Speaker imagines** a counterfactual world w'
  - In w': antecedent clause's **subject has been identified with the clause's predicate**
    $\rightarrow$ creation of a **counterpart** of the subject x ($=$ non-actual individual, not x itself, but individual similar to x (cf. Lewis 1972))

    (3)   (?) If <u>I</u> were <u>Angela Merkel</u>, **her** name would be Carina.

  - Counterpart is a **composed individual** (i.e. contains properties of both entities)
    Support: In w_0, consequent proposition doesn't necessarily have to hold of either of the entities, but it holds of the composed individual at w'
  - Consequent proposition: evaluated with respect to this composed entity

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Counteridenticals - Two Kinds?

(1)   If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.
(2)   If Paula were Angela Merkel, she'd be the chancellor of Germany.

- Different degrees of identification ($\rightarrow$ two kinds of counteridenticals?):
    - Partial contextually relevant identification ('Advice')
    - Complete contextually relevant identification, extreme: 'being s.o. else' ('Imagine')

(see Kauf 2016 for discussion)

Dream Reports (Percus & Sauerland 2003)

When you dream, you can dream that you are/someone is somebody else!

- Examples:

  (4)   John dreamed that he was Fred and that he got promoted.

  (5)   Mary dreamed that Paula was Angela Merkel and that she had dinner with the
         Macrons on top of the Eiffel tower.
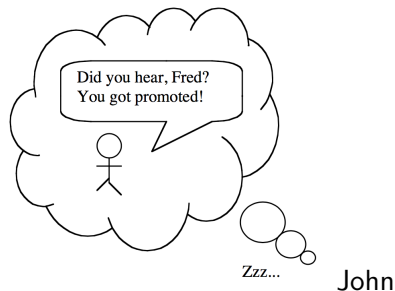
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- also assume a contrary-to-fact identity statement
    - creation of counterpart (composed individual and not subject entity of copular clause)
- also evaluates another proposition at w' w.r.t. the composed counterpart individual

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(4)   John dreamed that he was Fred and that he got promoted.

- **Reading 1:** In his dream, John is Fred and he dreams that he, as Fred, gets promoted.
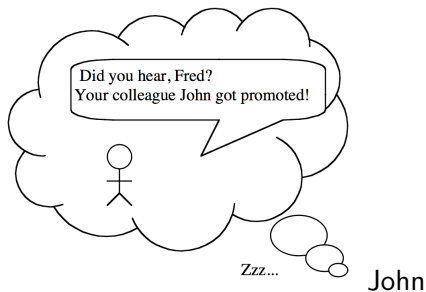
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(4)   John dreamed that he was Fred and that he got promoted.

- **Reading 2:** In his dream, John is Fred and he dreams that he, as John, gets promoted.

This Talk

Goal

Argue for an analysis of counteridenticals on a par with dream reports.

1. Parallels Between Counteridenticals and Dream Reports

2. Proposal

3. Conclusion and Remaining Questions

Parallels Between Counteridenticals and Dream Reports

Parallel 1: Validity of Identity Statements

Both enable us to **comprehend clauses which**, under canonical circumstances (i.e. excluding role playing situations, etc.), **seem irremediably false** in extensional contexts.

(5)   a. *I was you.

- $[\![\, I \,]\!]^{w_0} \neq [\![\, you \,]\!]^{w_0}$

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(5) a. *I was you.
     b. If I was/were you, I would be happier.
     c. I dreamed I was you.   (cf. Arregui 2007: 31)

- $[\![\, I \,]\!]^{w_0} \neq [\![\, you \,]\!]^{w_0}$
- In counteridenticals/dream reports: We imagine worlds which differ from ours w.r.t. some contextually relevant parameters, here: the presuppositions of identity of the speaker/the addressee.

Parallel 2: Principle B Effects I

Both allow **sequences to occur that cannot be independent matrix clauses.**

(6)   a.   *I kiss(ed) me.

- In w_0, "I kiss me": **Principle B violation**
  (Principle B: A pronoun must be unbound within its local domain)

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(6) a. *I kiss(ed) me.
     b. If I was/were you, <u>I'd kiss me</u>.
     c. I dreamed I was Brigitte Bardot and <u>I kissed me</u>.

(Arregui 2007: 31)

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- Dream reports and counteridenticals: Pronouns with the same features may have
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(7) a. *I_i kiss(ed) me_i.
     b. I_i dreamed (I_i was Brigitte $Bardot_j$) and $I_{i \oplus j}$ kissed me_i.
     c. If I_i were you_j, $I_{i \oplus j}$'d kiss me_i.

Parallel 2: Principle B Effects II

Both allow Principle B violations **only for first person pronouns**.

(8) a. (i) *If Peter$_i$ were Bill$_j$, he$_{i\oplus j}$'d kiss him$_i$. (3rd)
         (ii) *Sue$_i$ dreamed [she$_i$ was Brigitte Bardot$_j$ and] she$_{i\oplus j}$ kissed her$_i$.

     b. (i) */?If you$_i$ were me$_j$, you$_{i\oplus j}$'d kiss you$_i$. (2nd)
         (ii) *You$_i$ dreamed [you$_i$ were Brigitte Bardot$_j$], and you$_{i\oplus j}$ kissed you$_i$.

     c. (i) *If Peter$_i$ were you$_j$, he$_{i\oplus j}$'d kiss him$_i$/you$_j$. (3rd/2nd)
         (ii) *Peter dreamed [he was you] and he$_{i\oplus j}$ kissed him$_i$/you$_j$.

Parallel 3: Identity Inferences

From both we **infer that the speaker has taken over the entire set of (contextually relevant) properties** of the person s/he imagines to be.
$\rightarrow$ Any change: to be made explicit (otherwise: rejection by addressee)

(9) a. *[Assuming Angela Merkel does not to like traveling.]*
   If I were Angela Merkel, I'd be traveling all around the world, but (unlike her,) I'd be enjoying it.

   b. A: If I were Angela Merkel, I'd be traveling all around the world and I'd be enjoying it.
   B: Wait a minute, I thought Angela Merkel hates traveling.

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(9) a. I dreamed I was you. <u>But</u> you lived in New York and had a great apartment.

(Arregui 2007: 36)

    b. A: I dreamed I was you. I lived in New York and I had a great apartment...

        B: <u>I don't think</u> it was me that you dreamed you were. My apartment is pretty crappy.

Parallel 4: Oneiric Reference Constraint (ORC)

The **pronouns** of both structures **obey the ORC**

- For now: ORC rules out those sentences in which some pronoun referring to the dream-self/imagined-self is asymmetrically c-commanded by any pronoun whose correlate is the actual entity (cf. P&S 2003: 5)).

(10)   John dreamed that <u>he</u> was marrying <u>his</u> grand-daughter.
   a.   In John's dream, $he_{i \oplus j}$ marries $his_{i \oplus j}$ grand-daughter.
   b.   In John's dream, $he_{i \oplus j}$ marries his_i grand-daughter.
   c.   In John's dream, he_i marries his_i grand-daughter.
   d.   *In John's dream, he_i marries the $his_{i \oplus j}$ grand-daughter.
         (SCENARIO. *John does not have a grand-daughter in the real world, but he has one in the counterfactual worlds w'.*)

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(13)   If I were you, I'd encourage my son to play with my daughter.

    a.   If I_i were you_j, $I_{i \oplus j}$'d encourage $my_{i \oplus j}$ son to play with $my_{i \oplus j}$ daughter.

    b.   If I_i were you_j, $I_{i \oplus j}$'d encourage $my_{i \oplus j}$ son to play with my_i daughter.

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    d.   */? If I_i were you_j, $I_{i \oplus j}$'d encourage my_i son to play with $my_{i \oplus j}$ daughter.

                          (Data gathered from four native speakers of English (non-linguists))

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Summary: Parallels Between Counteridenticals and Dream Reports

1. Validity conditions for identity statements
2. Principle B effects
3. Inferences regarding the identity of entities
4. Oneiric Reference Constraint

▷ Motivation for an analysis which treats counteridenticals and dream reports on a par.

Proposal

Proposal: Questions to Be Answered

How does the meaning of "If x were y" come about?

1. How do we arrive at the **composed individual** $X_{i \oplus j}$?
   - Meaning of the copula "be"

2. How can we **explain the parallels between counteridenticals and dream reports** observed above?
   - Different readings (pronoun reference)
   - ORC effects

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Proposal: Combination of three different proposals/assumptions

- Notion of asymmetric *be* (Percus & Sharvit (2014))
- LFs inspired by Percus & Sauerland (2003)
- (Covert) *imagine*-operator taking the antecedent clause as input (cf. Moltmann 2003)

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The Meaning of the Copula 'Be' – Two Properties to Account For

Two observations to account for:

1. $[\![$ If I were you $]\!] \;\neq\; [\![$ If you were me $]\!]$
   $\rightarrow$ **not an equative** copular clause
   (for more reasons see Kauf (2016)).

2. **Different degrees of identification**:

   (1)   If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.
          $\rightarrow$ *True if only external circumstances are taken over*
             (partial identification)

   (2)   If Paula were Angela Merkel, she'd be the chancellor of Germany.
          $\rightarrow$ *True if only job properties/all properties are taken over*
             (up to complete identification)

$\rhd$ Two distinct readings of "If x were y"?

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Lexical Ambiguity of "If X Were Y"? - Introducing the Phenomenon

(3) a. **If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.** I like it much better than the green one.

   b. *If I were Stephen Hawking*, I would've insisted on a speaking device with a British accent. It surprises me that he didn't.

⇒ The speaker is imagining what he would do in the shoes of someone else. ('Advice')

(4) a. **If Paula were Angela Merkel, she'd be the chancellor of Germany.**

   b. I'm so jealous of you right now; *If I were you, I would already be done with all of my papers and could enjoy the weather*. Instead, I am stuck at my desk.

⇒ The speaker is imagining to actually *be* someone else. ('Imagine')

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Empirical Test for Ambiguity

Claim: There exists a distinction between the 'advice' and the 'imagine' reading.
Empirical test for advice interpretation: Follow sentences with "That's/That would've been my advice for X" or preface them with "In X's shoes"

(5)   If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.

    a.   If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress. That's my advice for you.

    b.   In your shoes, I'd buy the blue dress.

(6)   If I were you, I would already be done with all of my papers and could enjoy the weather.

    a. *If I were you, I would already be done with all of my papers and could enjoy the weather. That's/That would've been my advice for you.

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Morphosyntactic Evidence: 1. Polish

Two different antecedents with designated meaning

(7) Na Twoim miejscu, ...
     On your spot, ...
     'In your spot, ...'
     ⇒ Only to be used in 'advice' reading

(8) Gdybym był tobą, ...
     I be-PAST you, ...
     'If I were you, ...'
     ⇒ Only to be used in 'imagine' reading[1]

(p.c. Fuchs)

[1] The copula 'byè' (= to be) is not restricted to true identity, but can be used outside of equatives, as well (cf. Citko (2008); Bondaruk (2013))

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(9)   SCENARIO. *Talking to someone from the US.*
       If I were you, I'd be from the US.

    a.   Gdybym był   Tobą,   byłabym   Amerykanką.
        If-1sg   be-PAST you.instr, would.be-1sg American.instr.
        'If I were you, I'd be from the US.'

    b. *Na Twoim miejscu, byłabym   Amerykanką.
        On your   spot,   would.be-1sg American.instr.
        Intended: 'If I were you, I'd be from the US.'

(10)   **If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.**

    a.   Na Twoim miejscu, kupiłaby-m   niebieską sukienkę.
        On your   spot,   buy.cond-1sg blue.f.acc dress.f.acc.
        'If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.'

    b. *Gdybym był   Tobą,   kupiłabym   niebieską sukienkę.
        If-1sg   be-PAST you.instr, buy.cond-1sg blue.f.acc dress.f.acc.
        Intended: 'If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.'

(p.c. Fuchs)

2. LIBRAS (**Lí**ngua **Bra**sileira de **S**inais)

1 If I were Michelle Obama, I'd be from the US.

a. $\overline{\text{FS(si) IX(self) FS(Michelle Obama)}}^{\text{eyebrows}-\text{raised}}$ INCORPORATE, $\overline{\text{IX(self) EUA.}}^{\text{head}-\text{nod}}$

b. *$\overline{\text{FS(si) IX(self) FS(Michelle Obama)}}^{\text{eyebrows}-\text{raised}}$, $\overline{\text{IX(self) EUA.}}^{\text{head}-\text{nod}}$

2 If I were you, I'd pick the blue dress.

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b. *$\overline{\text{FS(si) IX(self) IX(you)}}^{\text{eyebrows}-\text{raised}}$ INCORPORATE, $\overline{\text{I PICK BLUE DRESS.}}^{\text{head}-\text{nod}}$

3 If I were Michelle Obama, I'd live in the White House and I(=the speaker)'d love it.

$\overline{\text{FS(si) IX(self) FS(Michelle Obama) INCORPORATE,}}^{\text{eyebrows}-\text{raised}}$

$\overline{\text{IX(self) LIVE WHITE-HOUSE}}^{\text{head}-\text{nod}}$ $\overline{\text{BUT}}^{\text{shift}-\text{back}}$ $\overline{\text{IX(self) LOVE.}}^{\text{head}-\text{nod}}$

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③ **If I were Michelle Obama, I'd live in the White House and I(=the speaker)'d love it.**

$\overline{\text{FS(si) IX(self) FS(Michelle Obama) INCORPORATE}}^{\textit{eyebrows}-\textit{raised}}$,

$\overline{\text{IX(self) LIVE WHITE-HOUSE}}^{\textit{head}-\textit{nod}}$ $\overline{\text{BUT}}^{\textit{shift}-\textit{back}}$ $\overline{\text{IX(self) LOVE}}^{\textit{head}-\textit{nod}}$.

(p.c. Quadros)

Interim Conclusion – Two Kinds of Counteridenticals?

- There seem to be **two distinct readings** of the antecedent "If x were y".
  - ▶ Imagine
  - ▶ Advice

- In some languages (Polish, LIBRAS, Korean, Greek, . . .) these readings are **disambiguated**, in others (English, German, French, Dutch,. . .) not
  (ASIDE. All have a structure like "In your shoes", but this does not block the "If I were you" reading)

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  (ASIDE. All have a structure like "In your shoes", but this does not block the "If I were you" reading)

▷ Theory needs to be able to **generate both readings** (and explain cross-linguistic variation)

The Meaning of *If X Were Y* – A Proposal

- Adoption of **asymmetric 'be'** (Percus & Sharvit 2014):
  - ▶ Motivation: mistaken identity contexts
    - (11) *Peter is throwing a party in honor of his cousin Dan who has just been awarded his PhD. All the guests know that it is a PhD party, but they don't all know Dan (and some of them, like Kevin, don't even know the new PhD's name). When Becky arrives, Kevin, who is already completely toasted, walks up to her with a big smile. 'You must be proud to be a doctor now,' he says. Seeing this, Jim says to Peter:*
      - a. *Kevin thinks that Becky is Dan, (but he doesn't think that Dan is Becky).*
  - ▶ Takes an **individual concept** as its input, identifies it with an individual x (Percus & Sharvit 2014) by means of **predication** (Zhang 2016)

Asymmetric Be I

CASE 1. Individual concept is overtly present: property predication

(12)   [Kevin thinks that] Becky <u>is</u> the new PhD student.

(13) $[\![\text{PRED}]\!]^w = [\![\text{be}_{\text{asymmetric}}]\!]^w_{<<s,et>,et>} = \lambda P_{<s,et>}.\ \lambda x_e.\ P(w')(x)$,

   $P_{<s,et>} = $ the new PhD student, $x = $ Becky

Asymmetric Be II

CASE 2. Mistaken identity context: coersion of predicate entity into an individual concept, then property predication w.r.t. the subject entity

(14)   [Kevin thinks that] Becky <u>is</u> Dan, (but he doesn't think that Dan is Becky).

(15) $[\![\text{PRED } y]\!]^w = [\![\text{be}_{\text{asymmetric}}]\!]^w_{<e,et>} = \lambda y_e. \ \lambda x_e. \ P_{(w,y)}(w')(x)$,

    $P_{(w,y)}$ = coersion of the individual y (here: Dan) into some contextually salient individual concept in a world w (here: being the new PhD student)

Asymmetric Be in Counteridenticals

- **Conceptually attractive** (cf. *If Peter weren't Peter, he'd VP*)
- Accounts for observed **asymmetry** of antecedent clause

  (16) a.   If I were you, [I would VP] $\Rightarrow P_{(w,you)}(w')(I)$
        b.   If you were me, [you would VP] $\Rightarrow P_{(w,I)}(w')(you)$

  ▷ Yields marginality of (3), i.e. (?) *If I were Angela Merkel, her name would be Carina*

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  ▷ Yields marginality of (3), i.e. (?) *If I were Angela Merkel, her name would be Carina*

- No restrictions on the set of properties the predicate is coerced into
  → **Different degrees of identification** can be captured

  (1) If I were you, I'd buy the blue dress.
       → $P_{(w,you)}$ = only external circumstances

  (2) If Paula were Angela Merkel, she'd be the chancellor of Germany.
       → $P_{(w,Angela\,Merkel)}$ = job properties/all properties

Interim Conclusion

How does the meaning of "If x were y" come about?

1. How do we arrive at the **composed individual** $X_{i \oplus j}$?
   - ▶ Meaning of the copula "be"

ANSWER:

   - ▶ $X_{i \oplus j}$ = non-actual entity, counterpart of subject, mix of properties of subject/predicate
   - ▶ "be" = asymmetric copula: $[\![x \text{ be } y]\!] = P_{(w,y)}(w')(x)$

2. How can we **explain the parallels between counteridenticals and dream reports observed above?**
   - ▶ Different readings (pronoun reference)
   - ▶ ORC effects

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   ▶ ORC effects

Pronoun Reference (P&S's Analysis of Dream Reports)

Assumptions:

- *dream* has a denotation that **selects for a property** ($\hat{=}$ attitude verbs)

  (20) $[\![\,\text{dream}\,]\!]^g = \lambda P.\ \lambda x.\ \lambda w.$ For all $<y, w'>$ in $\text{DREAM}_{x,w}$: $P(y)(w') = 1$.

  ($\text{DREAM}_{x,w} = \{\ <y, w'>\ |w'$ is a world compatible with x's dream in w, and y is the individual in w' who x, in w, identifies as himself.$\}$)

- There are **two kinds of pronouns**:
  1. pronouns functioning as free variables ($\rightarrow$ *in situ* analysis)
  2. starred pronouns: like relative pronouns ($\rightarrow$ no meaning of their own, move, leave a trace in the original position which functions as a variable, create a lambda abstractor right below their target positions)

Pronoun Reference (P&S's Analysis of Dream Reports)

SCENARIO. *John dreams that he is Bill. John, in the real world, has a grand-daughter, but his dream-counterpart Bill does not have one.*

(21) (John) dreamed that he$_{\text{dream-self}}$ was marrying his$_{\text{actual-self}}$ grand-daughter.

    a. dream [he* λ_3 [λw_1 [$_{VP}$ w_1 t_3 was marrying [his$_2$ w_1] grand-daughter]]]

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    a.   dream [he* λ_3 [λw_1 [$_{VP}$ w_1 t_3 was marrying [his$_2$ w_1] grand-daughter]]]

    b. $\lambda x.\ \lambda w.\ \forall <y, w'>$ in DREAM$_{x,w}$: y marries the grand-daughter of $g(2)(w')$ in w'

                                                                (P&S 2003: 10)
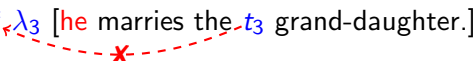
The ORC (P&S's Analysis of Dream Reports)

(22) John dreamed that <u>he</u> was marrying <u>his</u> grand-daughter.

    a. In John's dream, he$_{i\oplus j}$ marries his$_{i\oplus j}$ grand-daughter.

    b. In John's dream, he$_{i\oplus j}$ marries his$_i$ grand-daughter.

    c. In John's dream, he$_i$ marries his$_i$ grand-daughter.

    d. *In John's dream, he$_i$ marries the his$_{i\oplus j}$ grand-daughter.
       (SCENARIO. *John does not have a grand-daughter in the real world, but he has one in the counterfactual worlds w'.*)

The ORC (P&S's Analysis of Dream Reports)

(22)   John dreamed that <u>he</u> was marrying <u>his</u> grand-daughter.

    a.   In John's dream, he* λ_3 <u>his*</u> λ_4 [t_3 marries <u>t_4</u> grand-daughter.]

    b.   In John's dream, he* λ_3 [t_3 marries his grand-daughter.]

    c.   In John's dream, [he marries his grand-daughter.]

    d.   *In John's dream, he* λ_3 [he marries the t_3 grand-daughter.]

- The ORC excludes LFs in which a starred pronoun *pro** ($\hat{=}$ dream-self) moves across an unstarred pronoun ($\hat{=}$ actual self) which
  1. asymmetrically c-commands it, and
  2. shares the same features *pro** has

One Last Assumption...Conditionals As Attitudinal Complements

- *If* licenses the presence of *imagine* (the proposition *x be y* is taken under a certain **attitude**, i.e. imagine (cf. Moltmann 2003))
- Support for a covert *imagine*-operator in conditionals:
    - *imagine* can also overtly take a conditional antecedent as a complement.
    - No change in meaning with/without *imagine*

(23)   (Imagine) If Peter had been Julius!
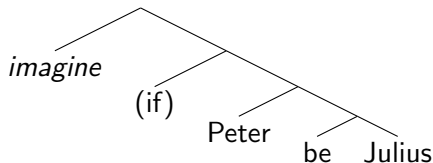
Putting Everything Together: The Proposal

Assumptions:

- The presence of *if* licenses the presence of the **imagine-operator**
  $\rightarrow$ Creates a landing site for the starred pronoun

- Underlying LF is inspired by P&S (2003)

- Denotation of the copula: asymmetric *be*

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- The presence of *if* licenses the presence of the **imagine-operator**
  $\rightarrow$ Creates a landing site for the starred pronoun

- Underlying LF is inspired by P&S (2003)

- Denotation of the copula: asymmetric *be*

   (24)   a. $[\![\text{If } x \text{ were } y]\!]^g = [\![\text{imagine } [\, x \text{ be } y\,]]\!]^g = \lambda Q.\ \lambda x.\ \lambda w.\ \forall <y, w'>$ in
         $\text{IMAGINE}_{x,w}\colon Q(y)(w') = 1.$

   b. $\text{IMAGINE}_{x,w} = \{<y, w'>|\ w' \text{ is a world compatible with the worlds } x$
         imagines in w, and y is the individual in w' which x, in w (partially)
         identifies as himself (meaning that $P_{(y,w)}(w')(x) = 1$).}

- Challenges:
   1. Antecedent-$y \neq$ consequent-y
   2. Asymmetric 'be' wants counteridentical to quantify over 'x-centered' worlds

Putting Everything Together: The Proposal

Alternative

(25)   a. $[\![\text{If } x \text{ were } y]\!]^g = [\![\text{imagine } [\ x \text{ be } y\ ]]\!]^g = \lambda Q.\ \lambda y.\ \lambda x.\ \lambda w.\ \forall <z, w'>$ in
$\{\ \text{IMAGINE}_{x,w} \wedge P_{(w,y)}(w')(z) : z \simeq_{w'} x\ \} \to Q(z)(w') = 1.$

b. $\text{IMAGINE}_{x,w} = \{<z, w'>|\ w'$ is a world compatible with the worlds x imagines in w, and z is the individual in w' which x, in w, identifies as himself$\}$[2]

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[2] This proposal has benefited from discussions with Clemens Mayr.

Putting Everything Together: The Proposal
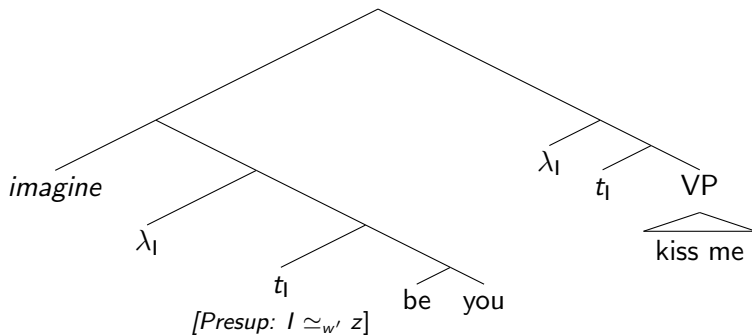
- Presupposition sits on trace (generated via the movement of the pronoun)
- Presupposition ($I \simeq_{w'} z$) projects

  (26)   Sample presupposition tests
      a.   It's not the case that [If I were you, I'd kiss me.]
      b.   Maybe [if I were you, I'd kiss me.]

The Proposal: Analyzing Counteridenticals in Terms of Dream Reports

(27)   If I were you, I$_{\text{imagined-self}}$'d kiss me$_{\text{actual-self}}$.

    a.   [[(I) imagine [I be you]] [I* λ_3 [λw_1 [$_{VP}$ w_1 t_3 kiss [me$_2$ w_1]]]]]

    b.   [$\lambda y.\ \lambda x.\ \lambda w.\ \forall <z,w'>$ in { IMAGINE$_{x,w} \wedge P_{(w,y)}(w')(z) : z \simeq_{w'} x$ } $\rightarrow z$ kisses g(2)(w') in w'](you)(I)

    c.   True iff for all of the speaker's imagined worlds at which his/her imagined self takes over a set of contextually relevant properties from the addressee, his/her imagined self kisses his/her actual self.

The Proposal: Analyzing Counteridenticals in Terms of Dream Reports

UNACCOUNTED FOR. Cases in which the speaker imagines *someone else* to be another person.

(28)   If Susan were Sue, she$_{\text{imagined-self}}$'d be in love with her$_{\text{actual-self}}$ brother.

TENTATIVE SOLUTION.

(29)   a. $[\![$If a were $y]\!]^g = [\![$imagine$_x$ [a be y]$]\!]^g = \lambda Q.\ \lambda a.\ \lambda y.\ \lambda x.\ \lambda w.$
        $\forall <z, w'>$ in $\{$ IMAGINE$_{(x,w),a} \wedge P_{(w,y)}(w')(z) : z \simeq_{w'} a \} \rightarrow Q(z)(w') = 1$,
        whereby

        b.   IMAGINE$_{(x,w),a} = \{<z, w'>|\ w'$ is a world compatible with the worlds x imagines
        in w, and z is the individual in w' which x, in w, identifies with $a\}$.

The Proposal: Analyzing Counteridenticals in Terms of Dream Reports

(30)   SCENARIO. *Susan, in real life, has a brother, but Sue does not have one.*

If Susan were Sue, she$_{\text{imagined-self}}$'d be in love with her$_{\text{actual-self}}$ brother.

a.   (I) imagine$_{\text{sp(c)}}$ of Susan [she* λ_3 [λw_1 [$_{VP}$ w_1 t_3 be in love with [[her$_2$ w_1] brother]]]]

b.   [λw. $\forall <z,w'>$ in { IMAGINE$_{\text{(sp(c)},w),\text{Susan}}$ $\wedge$ $P_{(w,y)}(w')(z)$: $z \simeq_{w'} a$ } $\rightarrow$ z kisses $g(2)(w')$ in w']

Conclusion and Remaining Questions

Conclusion

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1 How do we arrive at the **composed individual** $X_{i \oplus j}$?

ANSWER:

- $X_{i \oplus j}$ = non-actual entity, counterpart of subject, mix of properties of subject/predicate
- "be" = asymmetric copula: $[\![x \text{ be } y]\!] = P_{(w,y)}(w')(x)$

2 How can we **explain the parallels between counteridenticals and dream reports** observed above?

ANSWER:

- *if* licenses covert *imagine*-operator:
  $[\![\text{If } x \text{ were } y]\!]^g = [\![[\text{imagine } [x \text{ be } y]]]\!]^g$
- LFs inspired by P&S (2003) + asymmetric *be*
- To capture counteridenticals that do not involve the speaker: *imagine* is relativized to the imaginer (capturing the attitude s/he holds w.r.t. the composed entity of subject/predicate): $[\![[\text{imagine}_x [a \text{ be } y]]]\!]^g$

Generating Both Readings (and Explaining Cross-Linguistic Variation)

- Proposed account is able to generate both readings (via flexibility of asymmetric 'be' operator)
- **Cross-linguistic variation** needs to be accounted for.
- Possible explanation: If antecedent is known to hold of object of copula clause $\rightarrow$ 'imagine' reading arises
  - $\triangleright$ In imagine readings, $P_{(w_0,y)}(w')(x)$
  - $\triangleright$ In advice readings: $P_{(w^*,y)}(w')(x)$
- Blocking arises since some languages encode **restriction on the worlds at which y's properties are generated**?
  - ▶ Polish: Restriction to w_0
  - ▶ LIBRAS: Restriction to w_0 (via additional morphological element INCORPORATE)

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Explaining the Parallels Between Counteridenticals and Dream Reports

1 **Validity conditions for identity statements**
   $\triangleright$ Evaluated with respect to a world $w' \neq w_0$ in both counteridenticals and dream reports. In addition: Asymmetric 'be' operator, no real identity is assumed.

2 **Inferences regarding the identity of entities**
   $\triangleright$ Follows directly from similar assumptions of composed individuals and how the composition comes about ("imagine" as "dreaming while awake")

3 **Oneiric Reference Constraint**
   $\triangleright$ Follows directly for assuming similar LFs in counteridenticals and dream reports

4 **Principle B effects**
   $\triangleright$ For first person: Follow directly from assuming two different individuals, i.e. the real entity and an imagined counterpart

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At the same time, the following questions emerge ...

Remaining Questions

Question 1: Principle B Effects

Why does the principle B violations persist in the case that $a \neq z$ (i.e. whenever we are talking about 2nd/3rd person pronouns).

Some **speaker special hypothesis** needs to be at work.

- Arregui (2007: 38): First person pronouns allow for special binding (in her case: *de se* binding)
- Here, tentative: Only for first person pronouns it holds that imaginer (i.e. x) $\simeq z$
- Analysis will help shed light on integration of counteridenticals and dream reports:

    (31)   I dreamed that Paula was Sue and that she married her brother.

    $\rightarrow$ excluded in P&S's analysis of dream reports so far

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Remaining Questions

Question 2: Closest worlds of *imagine*-operator?

Does the $\forall$-operator in the denotation of *imagine* encode a similarity relation?

- *imagine* itself brings in too many worlds $\rightarrow$ we want to stay as close to the real world as possible
- Prediction: Every conditional licenses covert *imagine*-operator (Is this what we want?)

Thank you!

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Support for Two Centers: Duality of Deixis

(32) a. If I were Mary, I wouldn't be dating that horrid guy[attitude of speaker].
      b. If Paula were Mary, she wouldn't be here[speaker] right now[speaker].

(33) *[Assuming Mary is at the beach in Spain.]*
      a. If I were Mary, I would taste all of the local[Mary] goodies.
      b. If Paula were Mary, she'd jump into the sea in front of her[Mary].

Some indexicals seem to always be anchored to the speaker (cf. (32)), but others are/can be relative to the counterfactual counterpart (cf. (33)).