

- Observations by Heim (1987), Kripke (1991), Soames (1989):

Joe broke his leg in May 1930, and Jack, too, broke his leg at age 14.



Joe broke his leg at age 14 – and that was in May 1930

- Predicted by presupposition resolution through binding  
**provided** any presupposition structure is **proper**

Kamp (1991), Kamp and Roßdeutscher (1992), Kamp (1992)

“accommodating new discourse referents carries a higher price than  
accommodating new conditions on old ones” ...

“The better interpretation is that which can make do with a  
“minimum of happenings.”