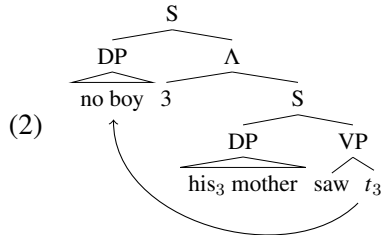


Homework 5: Due Nov 25 in class

1. In order to account for WCO examples like (1), imagine that some grammatical principle (maybe the Binding Principle, maybe a linearity constraint) prohibits an object from semantically binding into a subject, as in (2). Is such a principle consistent with the grammaticality of (3)? Why or why not?

(1) *?His_i mother saw no boy_i.



(3) His_i mother saw John_i.

2. Extraposed relative clauses can apparently be bound into, as in example (4). Give an LF that derives this reading (you can ignore VP-internal subjects) and a detailed calculation of its truth conditions (you can assume *time* has type $\langle e, e \rangle$).

(4) No linguist_i went who valued her_i time.

We've seen a way to derive the *every boy* > *someone* reading of (5) using semantic reconstruction via higher-order traces.¹ Does this sort of strategy extend to cases of *binding reconstruction* like (6) (NB: in line with the previous problem, you should assume that *every boy* cannot QR over *his mother*)? Why or why not?

(5) Someone_i seems to every boy [_{*t*}_{*i*} to be a genius]

(6) [His_{*j*} mother]_{*i*} seems to every boy_{*j*} [_{*t*}_{*i*} to be a genius]

3. Sentence (7) is ambiguous: it can either mean that John is the only *x* who criticized John's paper, or that John is the only *x* who criticized *x*'s paper. Propose a meaning for this use of *only* (that is, the adnominal use), say what its type is, and use it to derive the ambiguity by positing two LFs. Give a node-by-node semantic derivation for **one** of your LFs and indicate how it differs from the other.

(7) Only John_{*i*} criticized his_{*i*} paper.

4. We've seen ample reason to suppose that a constituent can be elided only in the presence of another constituent with a semantically identical LF. Show how this principle entails that (8) is 2- rather than 4- ways ambiguous. [Hint: you'll need to appeal to VP-internal (or *v*P-internal, if you prefer) subjects.]

(8) Mary introduced a boy to every girl, and then Bill did.

BONUS (not required, but give it a shot; high degree of difficulty): Show how this principle is consistent with the existence of an across-the-board inverse-scope reading of sentence (9)—that is, the reading on which every patient got some nurse-attention and some doctor-attention.

(9) A nurse examined every patient, and a doctor did too.

¹ For those of you who haven't seen A-movement like this before, the rough idea is that (5) is derived from a deep structure that's closer to *it seems to every boy that someone is a genius*.