

Questions on Quantificational DPs in Non-Subject Position

(1) Mechanical Comprehension Question on Type Shifting

Review our type-shifting rule for quantifiers under (36) of the handout “Quantificational DPs in Non-Subject Position” [Rule (3) on p. 182 of Heim & Kratzer (1998)].

Using this rule, please calculate the type $\langle et \langle eet, et \rangle \rangle$ meanings of the quantificational determiners *no* and *some*.

(2) Type Shifting Rule for Transitive Verbs

In class, we considered a ‘type-shifting’ analysis of sentences like (2a).

a. Obama likes every politician.

In this analysis, we introduced a rule which introduced a crucial ambiguity in the meaning of the quantificational determiner *every*.

b. Question 1:

Provide a novel type-shifting analysis of (2a) with the following properties:

- The meaning of *every politician* directly composes with the meaning of *likes* (*i.e.*, there is no ‘covert movement’ of *every politician*).
- The ability of *every politician* to semantically compose with *likes* is due to a crucial ambiguity in the meaning of *likes*. (*i.e.*, introduce and then employ a type-shifting rule that targets transitive verbs like *likes*).

c. Question 2:

Briefly review the empirical challenges faced by the type-shifting account developed in class (*i.e.* in the handout *The Movement Account vs. the Type-Shifting Account*). Does the analysis you proposed in (2b) fare any better?

(3) Inverse Scope and Binding

The sentence in (3a) has a reading with the T-conditions in (3b). However, (3a) does not have a reading with the T-conditions in (3c).

a. Every boy likes a girl who likes him.

b. For all x , if x is a boy, then there is some y s.t. y is a girl and y likes x , and x likes y .

c. There is some y s.t. y is a girl and for all x , if x is a boy, then x likes y and y likes x .

d. Question 1: Show how the ‘covert movement account’ predicts reading (3b).

e. Question 2: Does this account also predict the absence of reading (3c)?

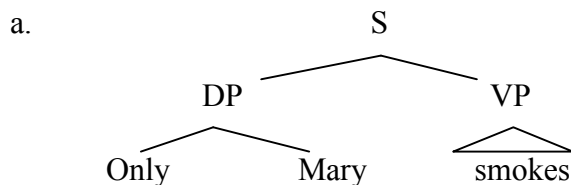
(4) 'Weak Cross Over' and Covert Movement

It's long been observed that the sentence in (4a) does not easily admit the reading in (4b).

- a. The woman who he loves hates every boy.
- b. For all x , if x is a boy, then the unique y such that y is a woman and x loves y , hates x .
- c. Question 1:
Does the type-shifting account offer an explanation of this fact?
- d. Question 2:
Does the covert movement account offer an explanation of this fact?
- e. Question 3:
Which of the two accounts fares better with respect to the data in (4a,b). That is, if both accounts offer an explanation of these data, which seems to offer the better account?
(Feel free to argue on whatever grounds you like.)

(5) Binding and Gender Again (Sigh)

The sentence structure in (5a) appears to have the T-conditions in (5b).



- b. Mary smokes, and for all x , if x is not Mary, then x does not smoke.
- c. Question 1: Provide a semantics for *only* which predicts these T-conditions.

Review our analysis of the fact that (5d) has the presupposition in (5e).

- d. Every pilot loves himself.
- e. Every pilot is male.
- f. Question 2:
Given your answer to (5c), what prediction does our analysis of (5d,e) make regarding the presuppositions of (5g)? Is the prediction accurate?
- g. Only Mary loves herself.