

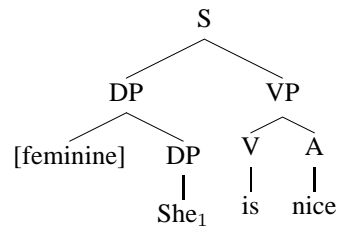
Problem Set 11: Bound and Referential Pronouns

Reading: Heim and Kratzer (1998), ch. 9

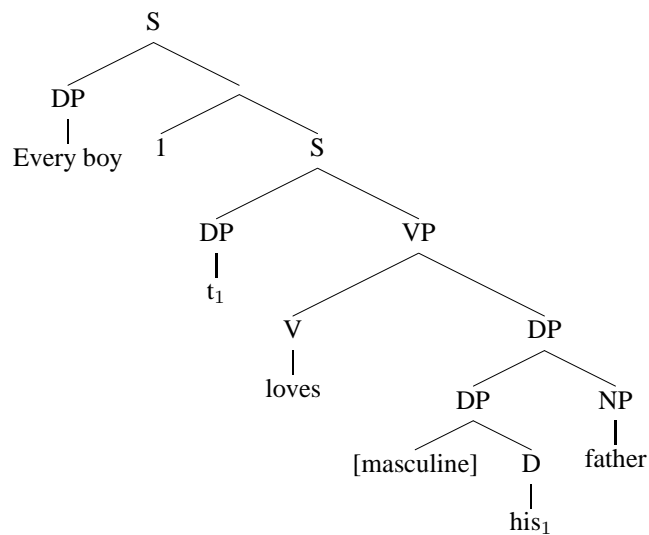
Exercises

1. For each of the following structures, say whether the pronoun is bound or referential.

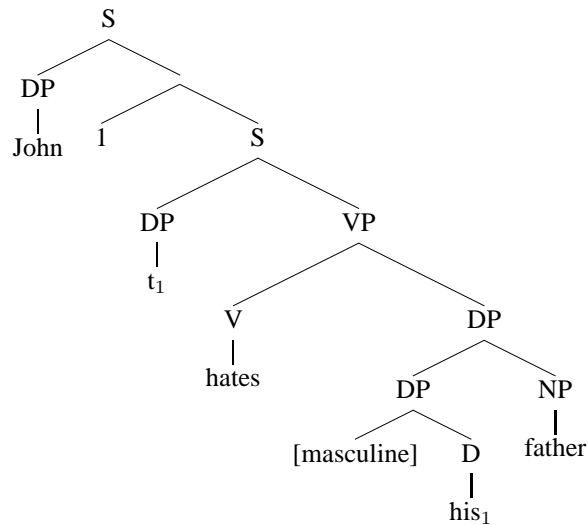
(1)



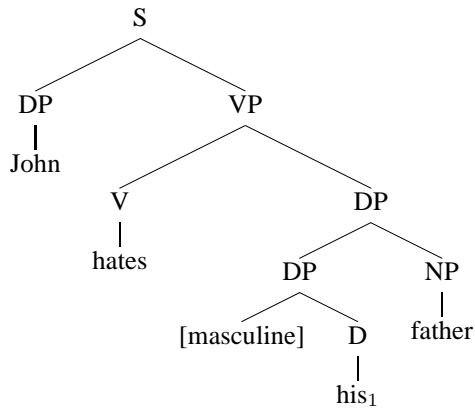
(2)



(3)



(4)



- On p. 243, Heim and Kratzer say: "Treating referring pronouns as free variables implies a new way of looking at the role of variable assignments. Until now we have assumed that an LF whose truth-value varied from one assignment to the next could *ipso facto* not represent a felicitous, complete utterance. We will no longer make this assumption. Instead, let us think of assignments as representing the contribution of the utterance situation." Explain what this means in your own words.
- Suppose the context c_1 "determines" the assignment g_1 (i.e., the context contains a bunch of information, among which is the assignment g_1), and g_1 is defined as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} 1 \rightarrow \text{Kim} \\ 2 \rightarrow \text{Kim} \\ 3 \rightarrow \text{Sandy} \end{array} \right]$$

Suppose further that Kim is male. (i) Is c_1 “appropriate” for (1) according to the Appropriateness Condition (p. 243)? (ii) Is $\llbracket(1)\rrbracket^{g_1}$ defined? (I.e., is (1) in the domain of $\llbracket\rrbracket^{g_1}$?) Explain.

4. Since example (6) *Laura showed a drawing to every teacher* has two distinct readings ($\forall > \exists$ and $\exists > \forall$), you might expect example (7) *Laura showed a drawing to every teacher, but Lena didn't* to have four readings:

- $\forall > \exists$ for the first conjunct, $\forall > \exists$ for the second conjunct
- $\forall > \exists$ for the first conjunct, $\exists > \forall$ for the second conjunct
- $\exists > \forall$ for the first conjunct, $\forall > \exists$ for the second conjunct
- $\exists > \forall$ for the first conjunct, $\exists > \forall$ for the second conjunct

but two of these readings are absent. Which two readings *does* the sentence have?

5. Of the following possible readings for example (13) *On Roman's birthday, Philipp went to his office. Marcel didn't*, which ones does it have, according to Heim and Kratzer p. 252? (Assume that all distinct indices are mapped to distinct individuals.)

- On Roman_{*i*}'s birthday, Philipp_{*j*} went to his_{*i*} office. Marcel_{*k*} didn't ~~go to his_{*i*} office.~~
- On Roman_{*i*}'s birthday, Philipp_{*j*} went to his_{*i*} office. Marcel_{*k*} didn't ~~go to his_{*j*} office.~~
- On Roman_{*i*}'s birthday, Philipp_{*j*} went to his_{*i*} office. Marcel_{*k*} didn't ~~go to his_{*k*} office.~~

6. The LF Identity Condition on Ellipsis explains why the missing interpretations in the previous question are missing. Explain how.

7. Extra credit: There is another reading of that sentence that is not available:

- On Roman_{*i*}'s birthday, Philipp_{*j*} went to his_{*i*} office. Marcel_{*k*} didn't ~~go to his_{*k*} office.~~

There is a “loophole” by which this reading is generated, even if we maintain the LF Identity Condition on Ellipsis. (i) What is the loophole? (ii) Explain what Heim and Kratzer suggest in order to patch it up.

8. For each of the four imaginable readings of (7), draw the LF, and show how the LF Identity Condition on Ellipsis rules out the missing readings.