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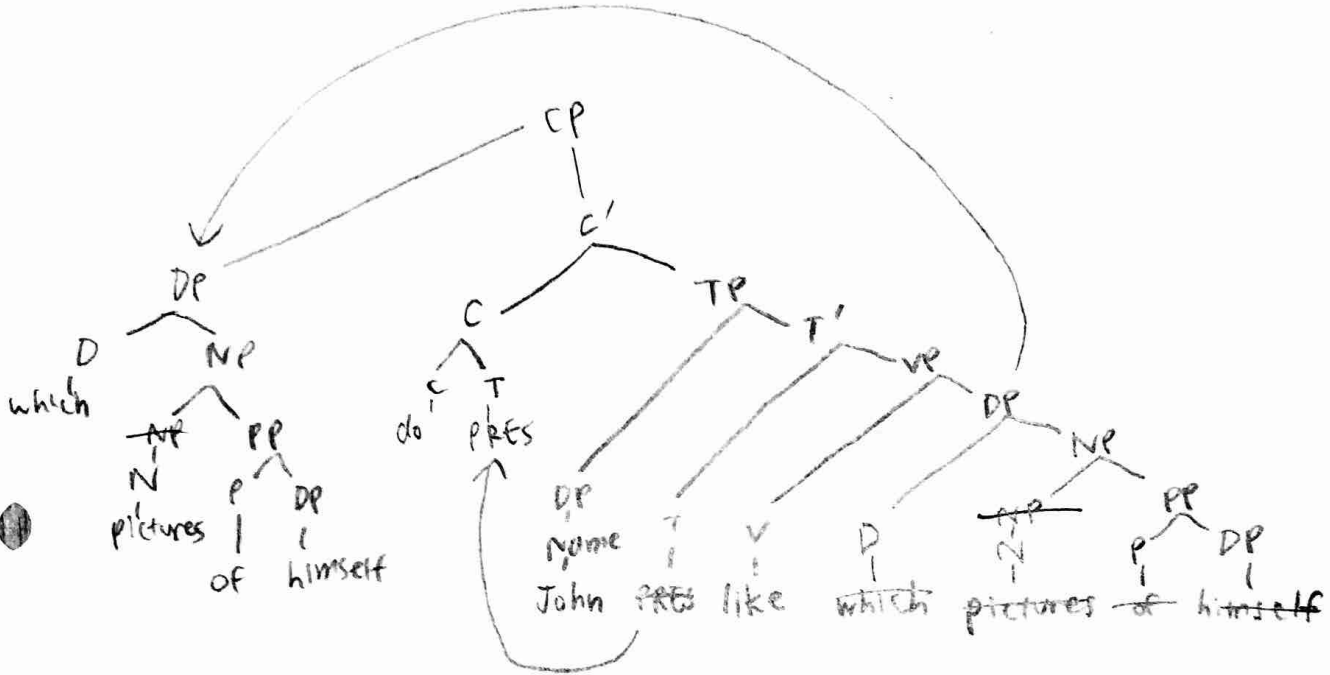
(1) English reflexives. Let's use these words:

word	category	arguments
picture	N	PP <sub>[of]</sub>
like	V	DP DP

Notice that the noun *picture* takes *of*-PP complements.

a. Using the lexical items above, draw a complete tree for the following sentence. Show movements with ~~strikeout~~ and arrows, as usual. This sentence is grammatical.

Which pictures of himself does John like?



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NO, b/c no DP commands the DP himself

b. Does principle (A) allow DP *himself* to have DP *John* as its antecedent? (very briefly explain) (Remember *himself* indicates the position where this reflexive was before it moved.)

Yes ~~himself~~ is a reflexive pronoun & it is c-commanded by the DP *John*, which is in the same smallest TP. DP *John* is sisters with T', which contains DP ~~himself~~ & therefore DP *John* c-commands DP ~~himself~~.

c. Does principle (A) allow DP *himself* to have DP *John* as its antecedent? (very briefly explain) (Here, we mean the DP *himself* in the position where it is pronounced.)

Yes, (A) applies before movement occurs. In the original tree, the DP *John* is in the same smallest TP as the DP ~~himself~~. Thus, it is allowed even after movement. DP *John* also c-commands DP ~~himself~~.

d. Does principle (A) need to be modified when it applies to things that move? If not, explain why not. If so, propose a simple modification. (Just considering this one example.)

(A) Before movement reflexive pronouns must be c-commanded by an antecedent DP in same TP. This is about post-movement position.

reflexive pronouns, before they move, must be c-commanded by an antecedent DP in same TP.

(2) **Determiners.** Let's make up a new determiner *glorf*, adding it to these lexical items:

word	category	arguments
glorf	D	NP
dangerous	A	
cat	N	
pres	T	VP
chase	V	<u>DP</u> DP
bird	N	

Consider the following sentence:

2. glorf [[dangerous cats]] [[chase birds]]

Dangerous is not  
intersective bc it depends  
on context & it doesn't  
make sense to have a set  
of dangerous things not quite,

- a. **Adjectives.** Is *dangerous*, as used in this sentence, intersective? (explain why or why not) of dangerous
- No.** Dangerous does not describe its own set. It's used in the same sense as the word 'fake', such as in the NP "fake watch". Looking at the Venn diagram in c, it is evident that dangerous is not intersective. How?? Dangerous depends on context so it does not describe a set.

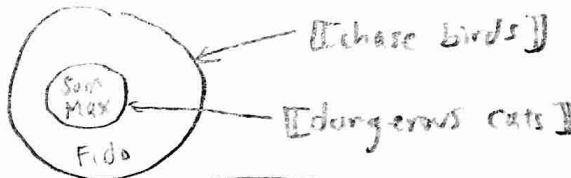
b. **Semantics:** Let's define the new determiner *glorf* this way:

$[\text{glorf NP T}']$  means that  $|\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket| > 0$  and  $\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket \subseteq \llbracket \text{T}' \rrbracket$ .

Say in English (as naturally as possible, without using the word *glorf*) what sentence 2 means:

There are some dangerous cats and all dangerous cats chase birds.

c. **Venn diagram.** Draw a Venn diagram of a situation where the relation between  $\llbracket \text{dangerous cats} \rrbracket$  and  $\llbracket \text{chase birds} \rrbracket$  makes sentence 2 true.



glorf basically means "every", which is not conservative, so glorf is not conservative.

d. **Conservativity.** Is *glorf* conservative? (Explain clearly why or why not)

- (1) glorf dangerous cats chase birds means there are some dangerous cats and all dangerous cats chase birds
- (2) glorf dangerous cats are dangerous cats that chase birds means there are some dangerous cats and all dangerous cats are dangerous cats that chase birds. (1) ↔ (2). (Yes, because  $\llbracket \text{DN T}' \rrbracket \leftrightarrow \llbracket \text{DN or N that T}' \rrbracket$ )
- contradictory??

e. **Negativity.** Is *glorf* decreasing? (Explain clearly why or why not. Refer to a Venn diagram if it will help.)

**No.** The set of  $\llbracket \text{dangerous cats} \rrbracket$  is a subset of  $\llbracket \text{chase birds} \rrbracket$ .

A simple example can illustrate this. For instance, glorf dangerous cats chase birds does not entail glorf dangerous cats chase birds beautifully, even though chase birds beautifully is a subset of chase birds. Glorf means every, which is not decreasing, so glorf is not decreasing.

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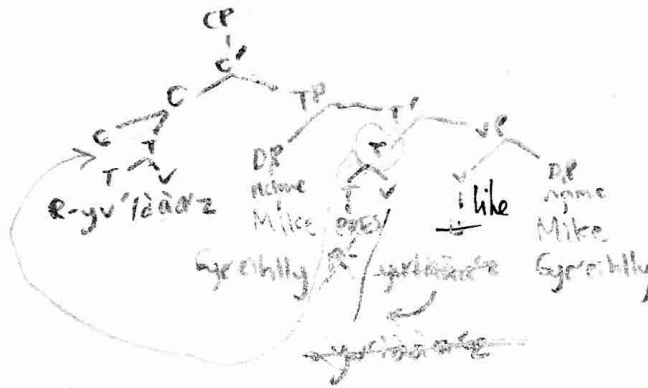
(3) **Zapotec DPs.** In Zapotec, an indigenous language spoken in Southern Mexico, the restrictions on what DPs refer to are different from English. These examples were studied by UCLA linguist Felicia Lee (2002):

1. R-yu'lààa'z    Gye'eihlly    Gye'eihlly  
 tns-likes    Mike    Mike  
 This means 'Mike<sub>i</sub> likes Mike<sub>i</sub>', or as we would say, 'Mike<sub>i</sub> likes himself<sub>i</sub>'
2. A            w-nalààa'z    bxuuhahz    g-uhcènè    Lia    Paamm            bxuuhahz  
 Already    tns-remember    priest    helped    Ms.    Pam            priest  
 This means 'The priest<sub>i</sub> already remembered that Ms. Pam helped the priest<sub>i</sub>',  
 or as we say, 'The priest<sub>i</sub> already remembered that Ms. Pam helped him<sub>i</sub>'

a. We see in sentence 1 that tense is a prefix *r-*, not a suffix like English *-ed* or *-s*. More interestingly, in Zapotec, subjects come after the verb. Some linguists assume that this happens because, roughly, in Zapotec main verbs are moved by V-to-T and T-to-C. With these assumptions, sentence 1 is similar to the English sentence 'Is Mike Mike?' or as we would usually say, 'Is Mike himself?', except

- 1 is not a question,
- in 1 it is not an auxiliary verb *be* but the main verb that has moved, and
- in 1 the second name Gye'eihlly can have the first Gye'eihlly as its antecedent.

With these ideas, draw the complete syntactic tree for the Zapotec sentence 1 (showing any movements with strikeouts and arrows). (Hint: If you think you might get confused, draw the tree for 'Is Mike Mike?' and then write the Zapotec words underneath the corresponding English words.)



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Revision: It appears as if Zapotec, nouns such as Gye'eihlly & bxuuhahz can also function as reflexive pronouns & non-reflexive pronouns. If we read the 2nd occurrence of Gye'eihlly & bxuuhahz as pronouns, Zapotec doesn't violate (A), (B), & (C). Else, (C) should be "Other DPs, not being used as pronouns, do not have antecedents"

b. In the tree you just drew for a, when the second occurrence of the name Gye'eihlly ('Mike') has the first occurrence as its antecedent, does this violate any of the binding principles (A), (B) or (C)? (See last page.) Briefly explain, and propose a revision of (A), (B), and (C) for Zapotec that would allow sentences 1 and 2. (If Gye'eihlly is not acting like an English name, is it acting like an English reflexive, or an English pronoun?) Don't worry about structures other than what we have assumed about 1 and 2.

No, it does not violate any of the principles. The 2nd occurrence of Gye'eihlly is acting like the English reflexive himself. Therefore, looking at principle (A), the 1st & 2nd occurrences of Gye'eihlly both appear in the same smallest TP. The 1st occurrence of Gye'eihlly also c-commands the 2nd occurrence