

*Except for Parts I and II, the rest are compiled from questions that you submitted. Some adaptations here or there.*

I. What do the following two sentences have in common and how does it constitute an argument in favor of covert movement? [6]

- (1) Who did her brother see?
- (2) Her brother saw every girl.

II. The sentence in (3) is ambiguous. What are the two readings? For each reading, describe a world that would make it true. What is a proposal for how to derive these two readings in the *syntax*? [4]

- (3) Three girls read every book.

III. Explain why the following is ungrammatical: [3]

- (4) \*Mary hates to see oneself.

IV. Say whether the sloppy reading, strict reading, or both are acceptable in the following, and explain why this fits the pattern of such distributions that we have seen in class. [6]

- (5) George liked his cake and Betsy did too.
- (6) George thought that it was time to get in shape, and his wife Betsy did too.

V. Consider the sentence in (7). Using indices, indicate what would represent the bound variable and strict reading for this sentence. Describe two worlds where, for one world, the strict reading is true and the bound variable reading is false and, for the other world, the strict reading is false and the bound variable reading is true. Is sentence (7) true in both worlds? Does your judgement coincide with the readings allowed in NOC sentences? [6]

- (7) Only Sally thinks that [PRO arriving late] is bad

VI. In control, how does showing that the embedded infinitive is an IP, rather than a bare VP, provide an argument for the existence of PRO? [2]

VII. For each sentence below, decide whether they demonstrate A-movement and/or control. Describe which tests or logic you used to come to your decision. [6]

- (8) Susan is certain to punish her son for breaking the window.
- (9) Susan is eager to reward her son for doing well in school.

VIII. An alternative to PRO: We began by examining ways to explain the unpronounced pronoun in sentences like “Mary wants to win”. One hypothesis was deletion under identity, that is, “Mary wants Mary to win”. What evidence is there that would reject such a hypothesis? [5]

IX. One argument that Landau gives for PRO’s existence, that control infinitives can be conjoined with clauses, rests on the assumption that only like syntactic elements can be conjoined. Can you find a counterexample to this assumption? [2]

X. In (10), *The Beast* and *him* can be co-indexed but in (11) not. Explain why not. [4]

- (10) The Beast<sub>i</sub> thought they would tear him<sub>i</sub> to pieces.

(11) \*The Beast<sub>i</sub> sought to tear him<sub>i</sub> to pieces.

XI. Recall that PRO in OC conditions excludes arbitrary control, long-distance control, non-c-commanding control, and strict readings under VP-ellipsis. Create four examples, one for each of the four conditions, to show that they are in fact excluded in OC conditions. [4]

XII. For each of the following sentences state: [6]

- Whether it is OC or NOC.
- Why this is the case.
- What kind of clause PRO occurs in (subject, adjoined or complement).

(12) I<sub>i</sub> believed that [PRO<sub>i/j</sub> to give myself/himself up] would be a better option for John<sub>j</sub>

(13) I<sub>i</sub> believed that Sandra<sub>i/j</sub> wouldn't want [PRO<sub>j/\*i</sub> to give herself/\*myself up].

XIII. Consider the following sentences in (14)-(15). What phenomenon is demonstrated by these sentences? [5]

(14) Mary cleaned the apartment listening to music.

(15) \*The apartment was cleaned listening to music.

XIV. Provide two arguments for PRO being real on a syntactic level. Use some examples. Can the same arguments be used to argue for the existence of pro as well? [4]

XV. Why is (16) not a violation of Principle A? [3]

(16) Bill<sub>i</sub> does not think that seeing himself<sub>i</sub> in the mirror will make it easier.

XVI. What is the difference between PRO and pro w.r.t. weak crossover? [4]

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