38 points total; 22 for #1, 2 for #2, 7 for #3, 1 for #4, 6 for #5

SENTENCES FOR PROBLEM #1

   (i)   Pat seems to *know* who will win.

  (ii)   Pat's friend *expected* me to *cook* dinner.

 (iii)   Which band should we *introduce* to Chris?

Problem 1. For each of the sentences in (i-iv):   **(22 points total)**

  a. **(1 point each, 4 points total)** For each *italicized* predicate, for each θ-role that the predicate assigns, list the θ-role (one of: Agent, Experiencer, Theme, Goal, Proposition) and indicate what constituent it is assigned to.

       Notes: Include whatever θ-roles are assigned by *v* or *n* as well as whatever θ-roles are assigned by V or N—as in the example tree.
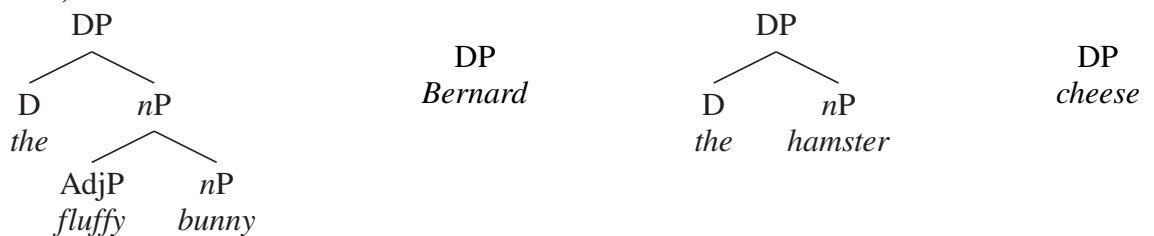
  b. **(5 points for (i), 4 each for (ii & iii)) Draw a tree**, showing where all the elements of the structure are after all of the movements are finished. **See the example tree.** Where something moves, put traces in the tree at each position occupied by the moving element. **Connect** the initial trace (at the original Merge position) to each subsequent trace and to the final position of the moved element with arrows. (Also note, CP should be the top node.)

       Notes: You do *not* need to list all of the features for each head. Draw everything in full (adjunction, DPs, etc.), as on the example tree. No triangles for complex heads, but DPs can be drawn with triangles following the rules below.

  c. **(1 point each, 5 points total)** On the tree you drew for part (b), for each <u>underlined</u> DP **circle the head** that checks its case feature. Then, **write the case it receives by the $\overline{\text{DP}}$** (one of: nominative, accusative, genitive, of).

       Notes: If the head is a complex head, circle the top node (see example tree). If the head has moved away after checking the case feature, circle the trace that is in the position where the case feature was checked.

Triangles and DP: Except where there is something interesting inside DP (including PossP!), you need not draw out the full internal structure. Proper names and simple nouns can be written as DP with a triangle (and the triangle can be implicit). If there is a *pronounced* D, you should draw the D, but the *n*P can be drawn with a triangle (possibly implicit). You should still draw adjuncts to *n*P (as below), and where something would have been in Spec*n*P (such as an Agent), draw out the *n*P as before (so it is clear where the Agent was).

Example tree on next page

Problem 1(i) Pat seems to *know* who will win.

Tree diagram nodes (reading the structure):

CP
- C ∅DECL
- TP
  - DP ← NOM — T′
    - D ∅PROPER, nP
      - n (N *Pat*, n), <NP>
    - T [tense:pres]
    - vP
      - v (V *seem*, v), <V>
      - TP
        - <DP>, T′
          - T [inf] (M *to*), MP
            - vP
              - <DP>, v′
                - v (V *know*, v), VP
                  - <V>, CP
                    - DP *who*, C′
                      - C, TP
                        - <DP>, T′
                          - T (M *will*, T [tense:pres]), MP
                            - <M>, vP
                              - <DP>, v′
                                - v (V *win*, v), <VP>
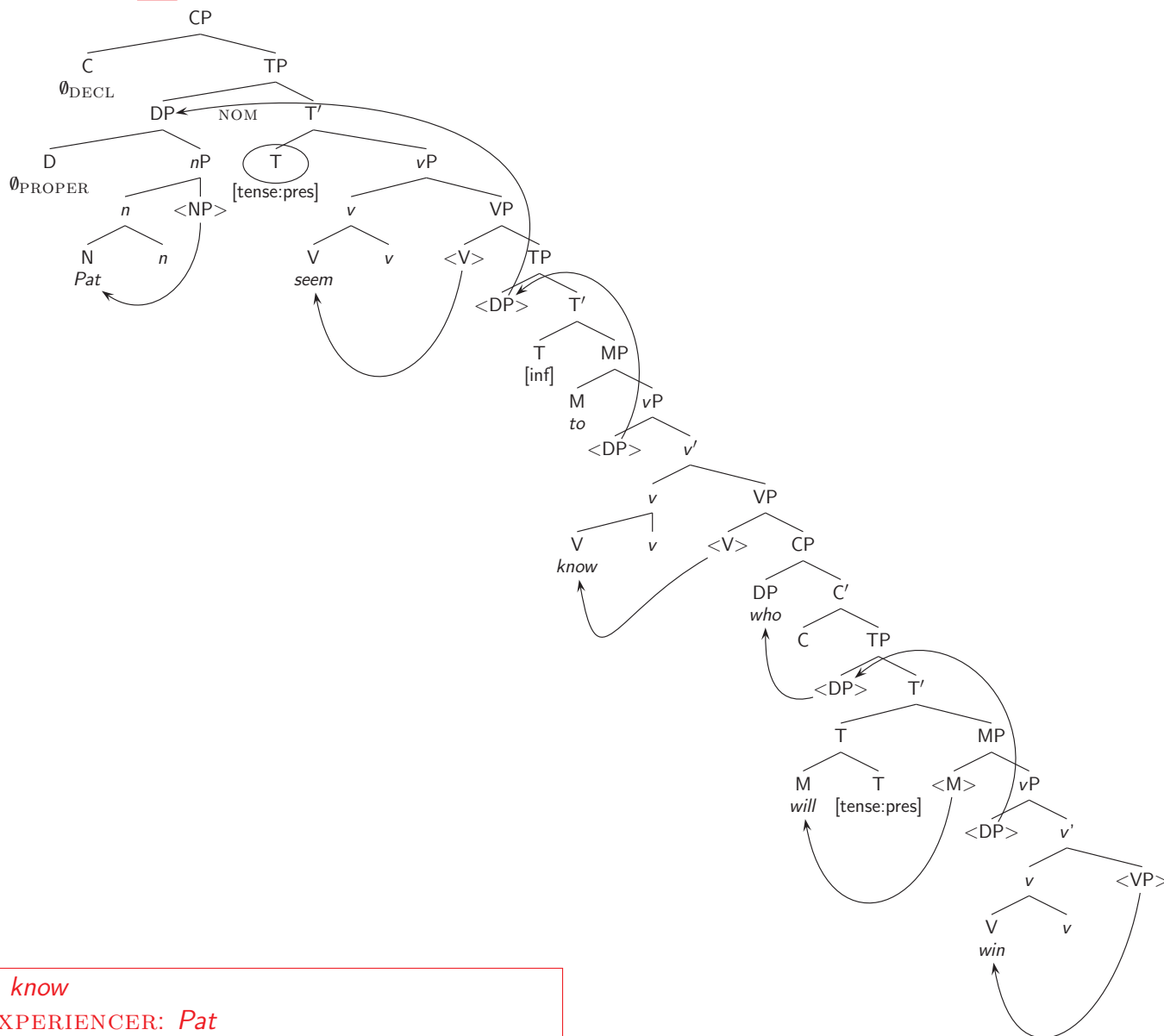
b. *know*
SMALL CAPS EXPERIENCER: *Pat*
INTERROGATIVE: *who will win...*

Note that *Pat* is a proper name (with a D ∅PROPER and an *n*P), and that *who* is a pronoun and so should have no internal structure. Though Experiencer is probably the right θ-role for the external argument of *know*, I took Agent too. Similarly, the UTAH we have to date would makes the θ-role of the embedded question a Proposition. Either we need to allow for both Interrogatives and Propositions (like we allow for Agents and Experiencers) to occupy the same structural spot, or there should be a more abtract name that covers both. Either way, Proposition was fine here.

2

Problem 1(ii) Pat's friend _expected_ me to _cook_ dinner.

A syntactic tree structure for the sentence "Pat's friend expected me to cook dinner":

- CP
  - C [decl]
  - TP
    - DP
      - DP GEN
        - D ∅PROPER
        - nP
          - n
            - N _Pat_
            - n
          - <NP>
      - D'
        - D ∅GEN
        - PossP
          - <DP>
          - Poss'
            - Poss
            - nP
              - n
                - N _friend_
                - n
              - <NP>
    - T'
      - T [tense:past]
      - vP
        - <DP>
        - v'
          - v
            - V _expect_
            - v
          - VP
            - < V >
            - TP
              - DP ACC _me_
              - T'
                - T [inf]
                - MP
                  - M _to_
                  - vP
                    - <DP>
                    - v'
                      - v
                        - V _cook_
                        - v
                      - VP
                        - <V>
                        - DP
                          - D ∅MASS
                          - nP
                            - n
                              - N _dinner_
                              - n
                            - <NP>
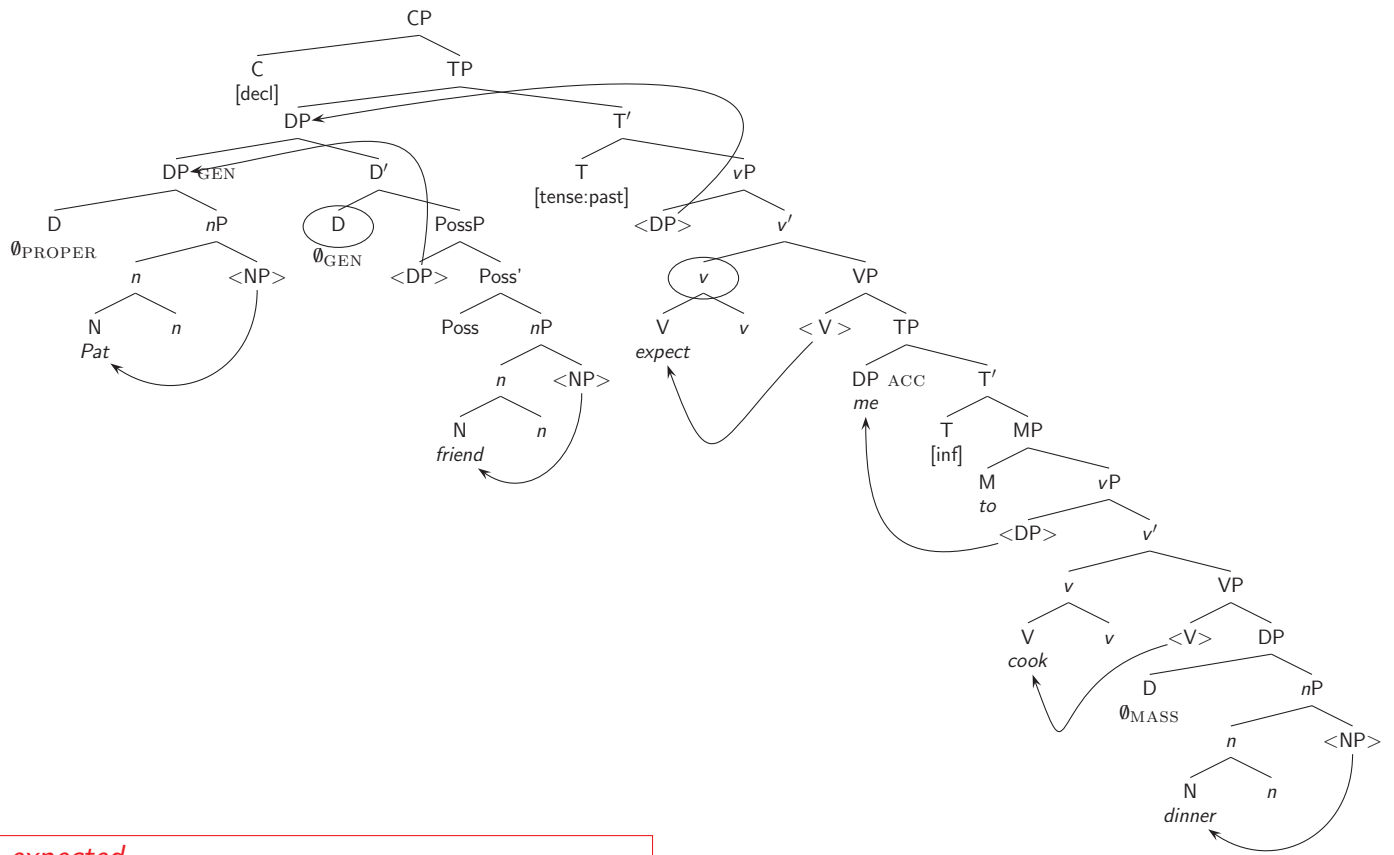
a. _expected_
EXPERIENCER: _Pat's friend_
PROPOSITION: _me to cook..._
b. _cook_
AGENT: _me_
THEME: _dinner_

Problem 1(iii) Which band should we *introduce* to Chris?
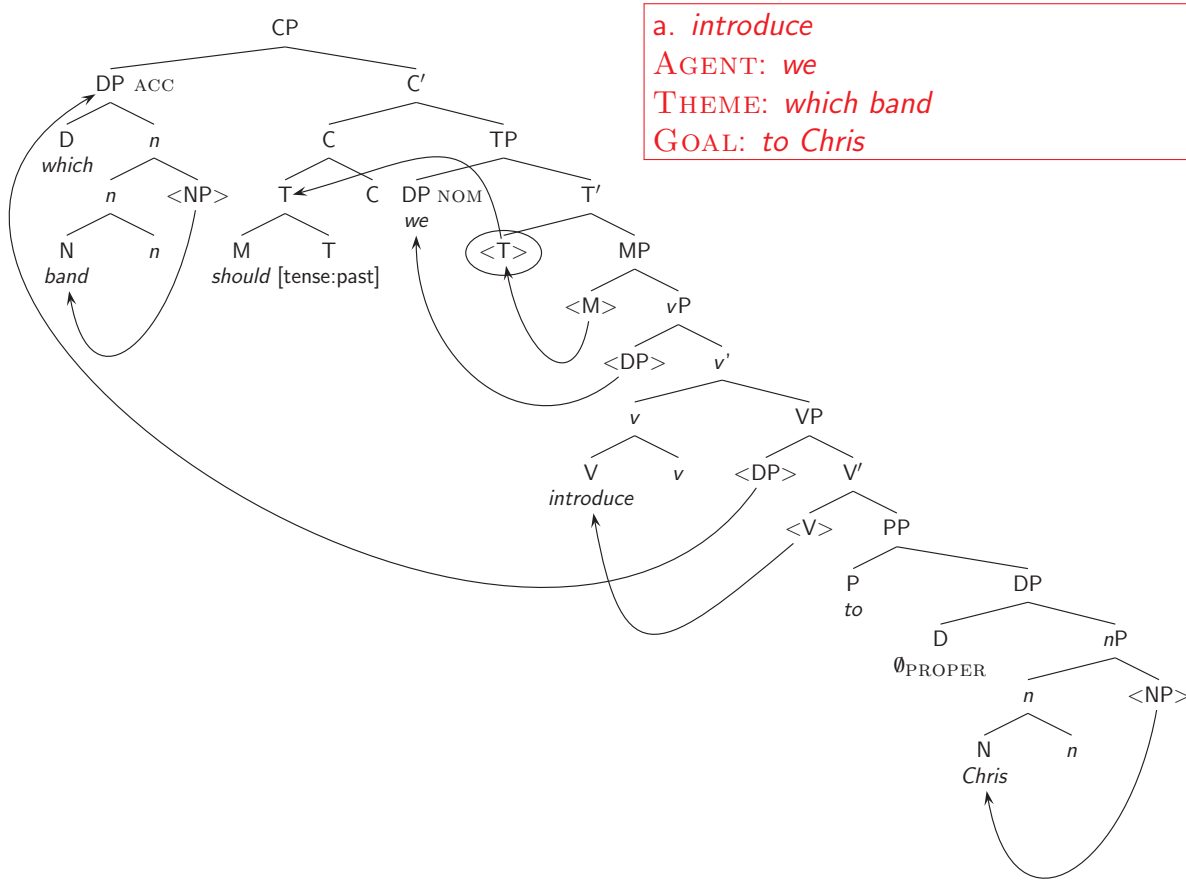
a. *introduce*
AGENT: *we*
THEME: *which band*
GOAL: *to Chris*

CP
- DP ACC
  - D *which*
  - n
    - n
      - N *band*
      - n
    - <NP>
- C'
  - C
    - T
      - M *should*
      - T [tense:past]
    - C
  - TP
    - DP NOM *we*
    - T'
      - <T>
      - MP
        - <M>
        - vP
          - <DP>
          - v'
            - v
              - V *introduce*
              - v
            - VP
              - <DP>
              - V'
                - <V>
                - PP
                  - P *to*
                  - DP
                    - D ∅PROPER
                    - nP
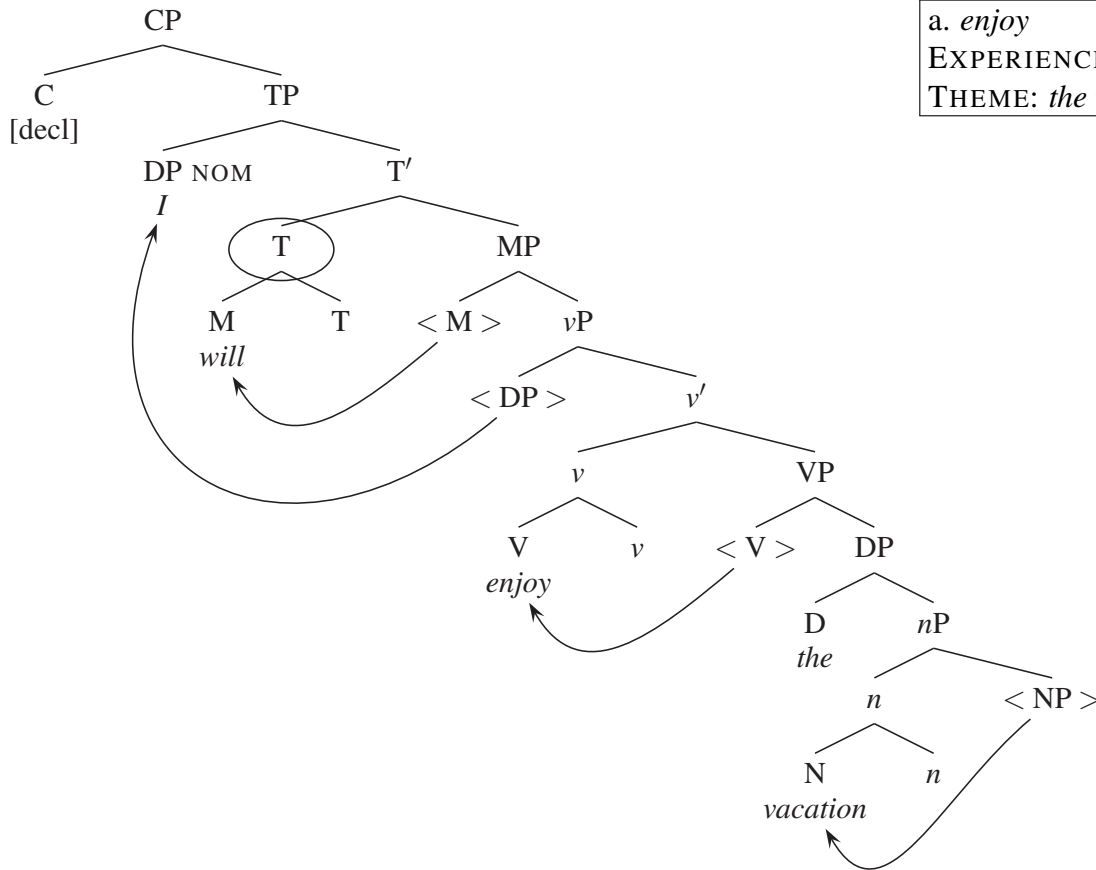   - n
                        - N *Chris*
                        - n
                      - <NP>

This was a little too close to identical to the practice one. Oh well.

4

Example for Problem 1: I̲ will *enjoy* the vacation.

b.,c.

a. *enjoy*
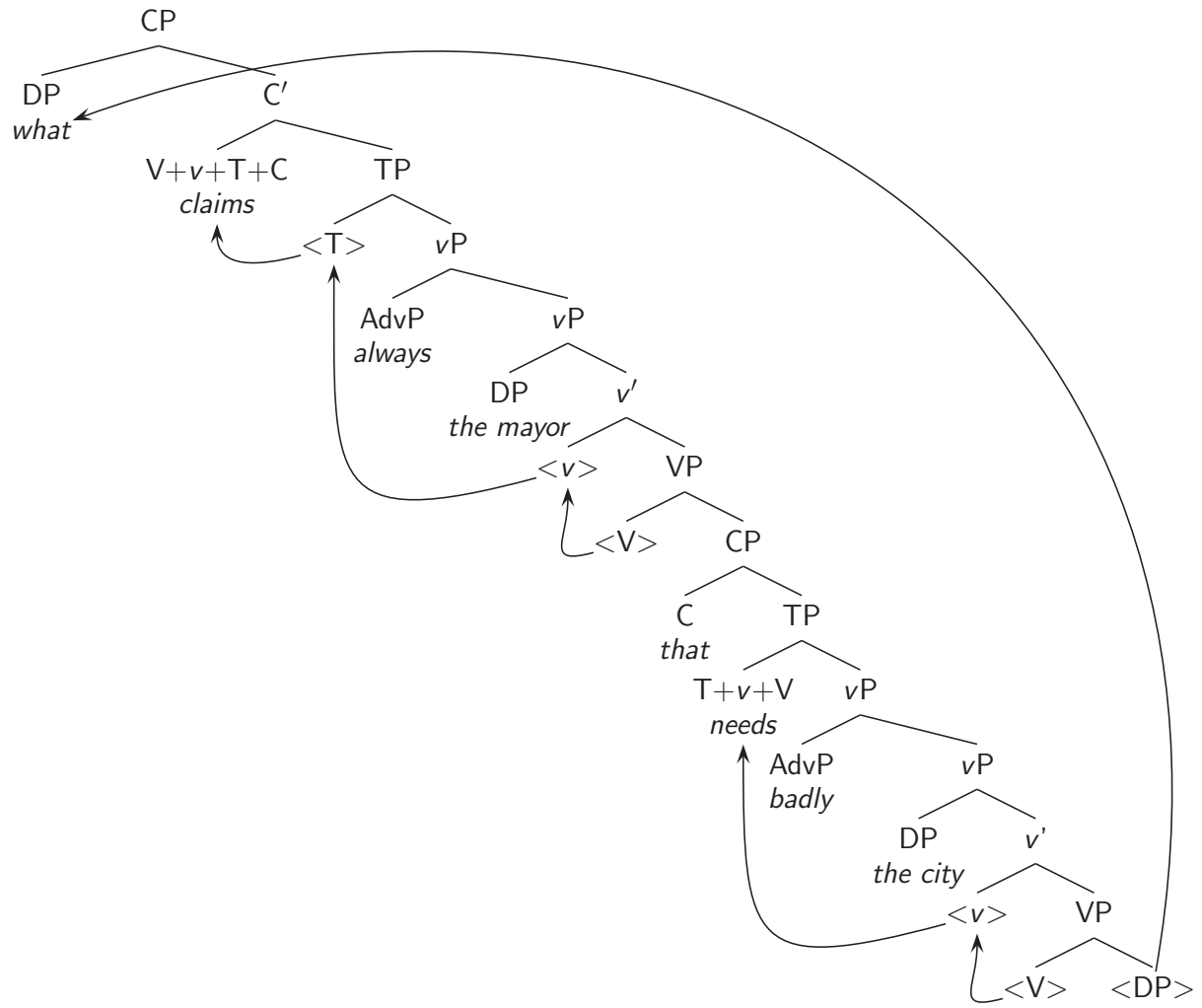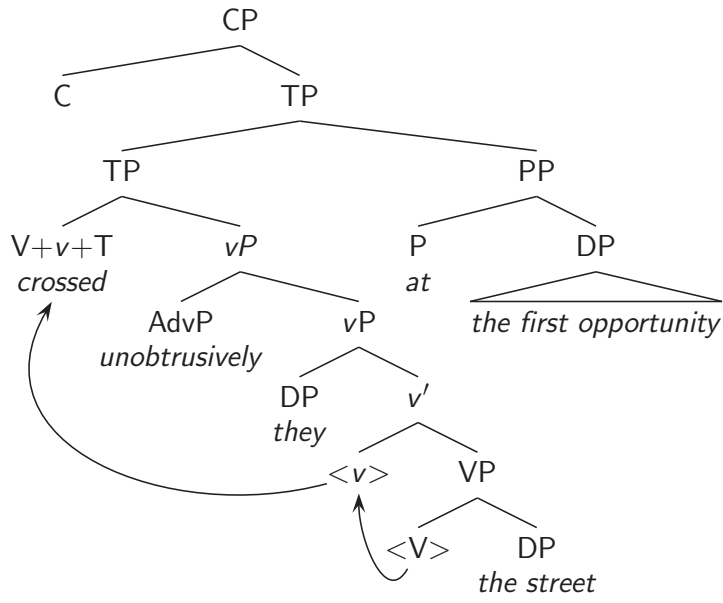EXPERIENCER: *I*
THEME: *the vacation*

Problem 2. (2 points) Suppose that there is a dialect of English, Ghensli, that has all the same properties as English does (including vocabulary), except for the following:
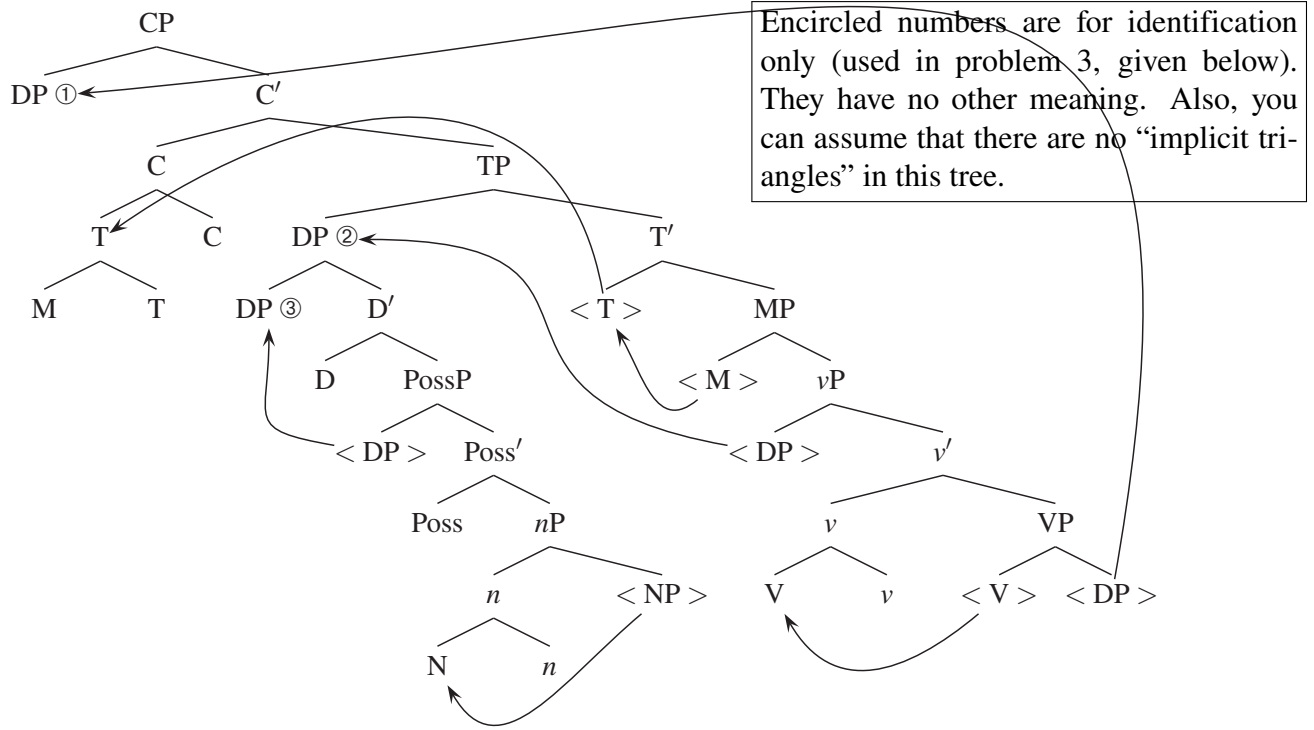
a. When valued by T, [*u*Infl:] is strong (always, not just for auxiliaries)

b. T *lacks* the "EPP" feature: T does not have a [*u*D*] feature.

Write the Ghensli translations of the following two English sentences (that is, put the words in the correct order for Ghensli). *Note:* Ghensli doesn't exist. But it could, in principle.

(i) They unobtrusively crossed the street at the first opportunity
Crossed unobtrusively they the street at the first opportunity

(ii) What does the mayor always claim that the city badly needs?
What claims always the mayor that needs badly the city?

Again I weirdly wound up using essentially the same parameters as I used in a previous one, so this wasn't such a great example. I also wasn't consistent about what the language was called. I've fixed that here. I drew the trees below to explain my rationale for the wording, but the trees were not asked for.

Tree 1

```
                    CP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
              C             TP
                     ┌───────┴───────┐
                    TP               PP
              ┌──────┴──────┐    ┌────┴────┐
          V+v+T           vP     P        DP
         crossed      ┌────┴────┐ at  the first opportunity
                    AdvP        vP
               unobtrusively ┌───┴───┐
                            DP       v'
                           they  ┌───┴───┐
                               <v>      VP
                                    ┌────┴────┐
                                  <V>        DP
                                         the street
```

Tree 2

```
                CP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
         DP             C'
        what      ┌──────┴──────┐
              V+v+T+C           TP
              claims      ┌──────┴──────┐
                        <T>            vP
                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                             AdvP                vP
                            always        ┌──────┴──────┐
                                         DP             v'
                                      the mayor   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                <v>            VP
                                                         ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                       <V>            CP
                                                               ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                               C              TP
                                                             that      ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                                    T+v+V           vP
                                                                    needs     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                            AdvP           vP
                                                                           badly     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                                    DP             v'
                                                                                 the city   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                                          <v>            VP
                                                                                                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                                                 <V>          <DP>
```

Encircled numbers are for identification only (used in problem 3, given below). They have no other meaning. Also, you can assume that there are no "implicit triangles" in this tree.

Problem 3. (7 points) Concerning the tree above, on each of the following statements, write T if it is true, or F if it is false.

a. [T] DP ① is the specifier of CP.

b. [T] PossP is the complement of D.

c. [F] DP ③ is the head of DP ②.

d. [F] DP ② c-commands PossP.

e. [T] T′ c-commands DP ②.

f. [F] DP ② is a proper name.

g. [F] DP ③ is a Theme.

h. [T] DP ③ is a pronoun.

i. [F] T values the case feature of DP ③ as genitive.

j. [T] D values the case feature of DP ③ as genitive.

k. [T] v values the case feature of DP ① as accusative.

l. [F] DP ① Merged with C′ to check a [uD*] feature of C.

m. [T] DP ② Merged with T′ to check a [uD*] feature of T.

n. [F] T Merged with MP to check a [uM*] feature of T.

Problem 4. (1 point) Come up with an English sentence that the tree for problem 3 could represent.
What will my dog destroy?

Problem 5. (6 points; 1 per sentence × 6 sentences) For each of the ungrammatical sentences below, indicate what principle(s) of grammar is violated. It might be more than one.

- **Note:** Pay close attention to the *indices*.

- **Note:** Assume that the pronunciation matches the features: the problems are in the structures or the features in the tree, but not in how the features get pronounced.

- **Note:** Principles will be one of: Principle A, Principle B, Principle C, Hierarchy of Projection, uninterpretable feature unchecked (name the feature), island violation (name the island type, of CNP island, adjunct island, or *wh*-island).

i.   * I expect John$_i$ to vote for him$_i$.
Principle B.

ii.   * Mary$_i$ persuaded him$_j$ that John$_j$ called herself$_i$
Principle A, Principle C.

iii.   * What will Pat read the book that explains?
Complex Noun Phrase island violation.

iv.   * Pat could not be having been followed.
Hierarchy of Projections.

v.   * What has been Tracy trying to buy?
Unchecked [uD*] feature on T.
Maybe this one was kind of a trick—it looks like it could be an island violation because it is a *wh*-question, and it looks like the kind of thing that leads to a Hierarchy of Projections violation, but it isn't.

vi.   * Who did Pat know whether Chris had revealed the secret to?
wh-island violation.
I gave half credit for answers of other islands, though if two islands were listed (wh-island as well as something else like adjunct island), then that was also half credit.