

~~42~~ 40.5 points total; 23 for #1, 2 for #2, 7 for #3, 1 for #4, 9 7.5 for #5

SENTENCES FOR PROBLEM #1

- (i) Joe *wanted* them to *demonstrate* a new version.
- (ii) Cameron's demo *failed* to *deceive* him.
- (iii) Which wire should we *put* in the last socket?

Problem 1. For each of the sentences in (i-iv):

(23 points total)

- a. **(1 point each, 5 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 (ii), 4 each for (i & iii))** Draw a tree, showing where all the elements of the structure are after all of the movements are finished. **See the example tree.** No triangles. 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.)

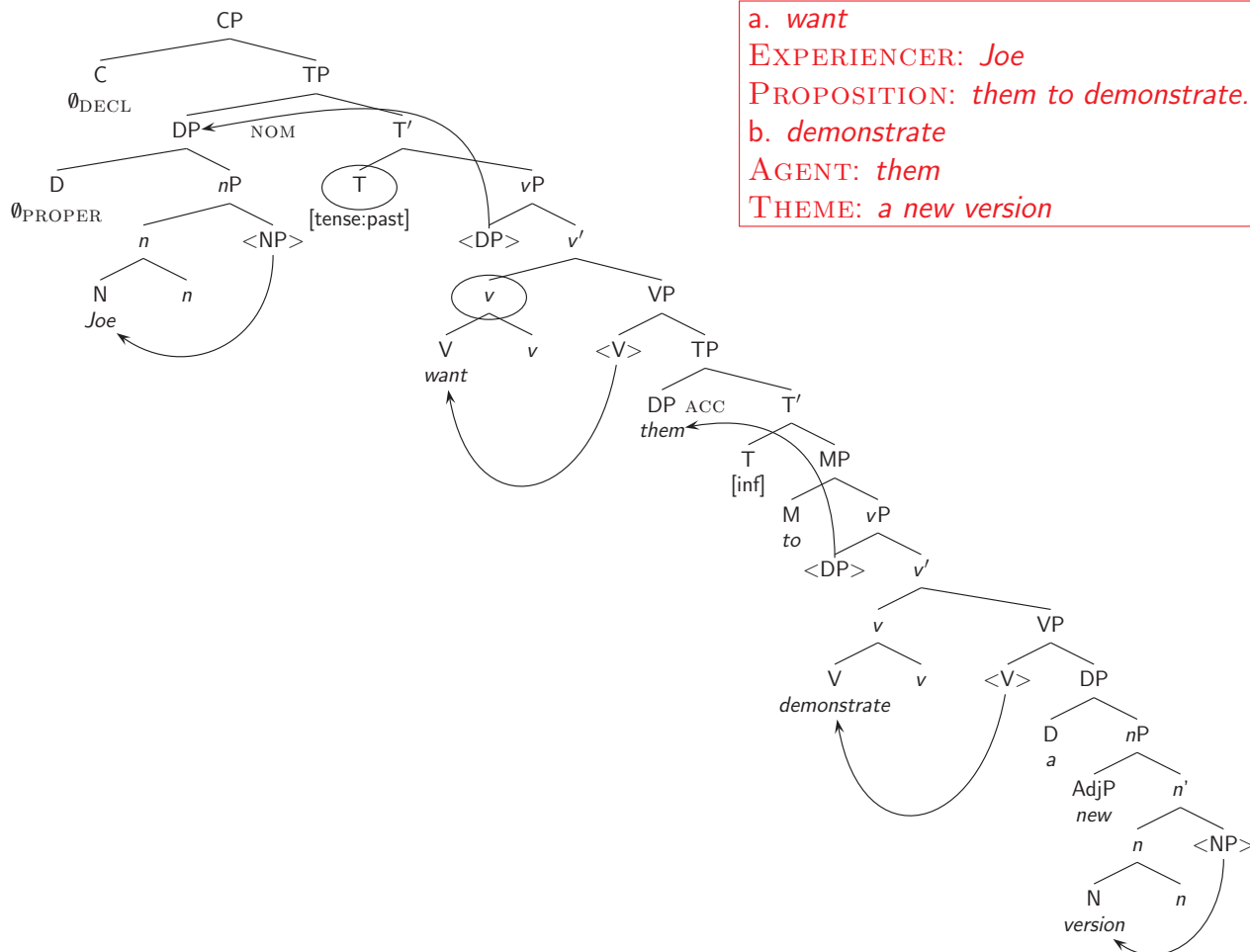
Notes: You do *not* need to list all of the features for each head. Draw everything in full (adjunction, DPs, etc.), as on the example tree. No triangles.

- c. **(1 point each, 5 points total)** On the tree you drew for part (b), for each underlined DP **circle the head** that checks its case feature. Then, **write the case it receives by the 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.

Example tree on next page

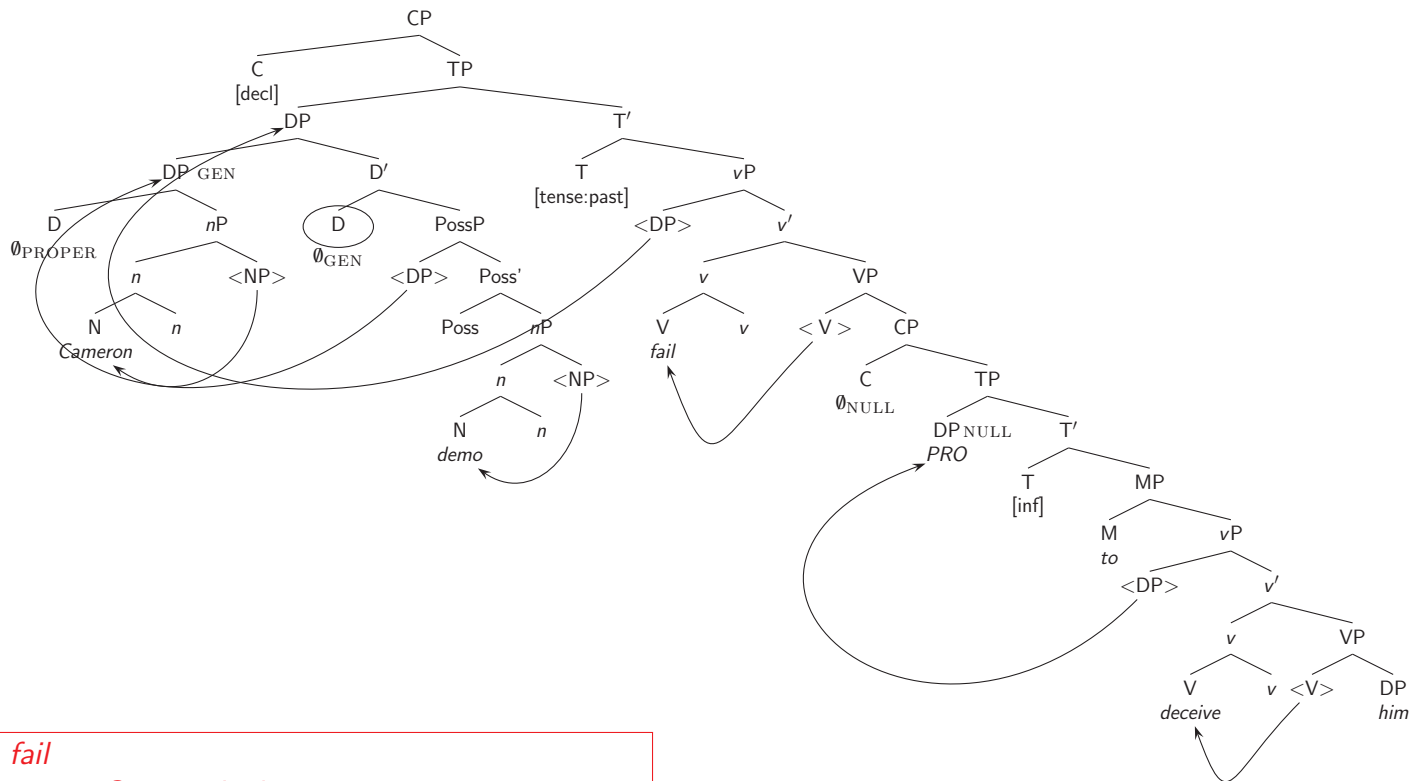
Problem 1(i) *Joe wanted them to demonstrate a new version.*



Note that *Joe* is a proper name, and so should have a full DP structure (with a D $\emptyset_{\text{PROPER}}$ and an *nP*), and that *them* is a pronoun and so should have no internal structure. The main verb here, *want*, is acting as an ECM verb in this sentence, so *want* is assigning accusative case to *them*.

Also, though I think Experiencer is probably the right θ -role for the external argument of *want*, I took Agent too.

Problem 1(ii) Cameron's demo failed to deceive him.

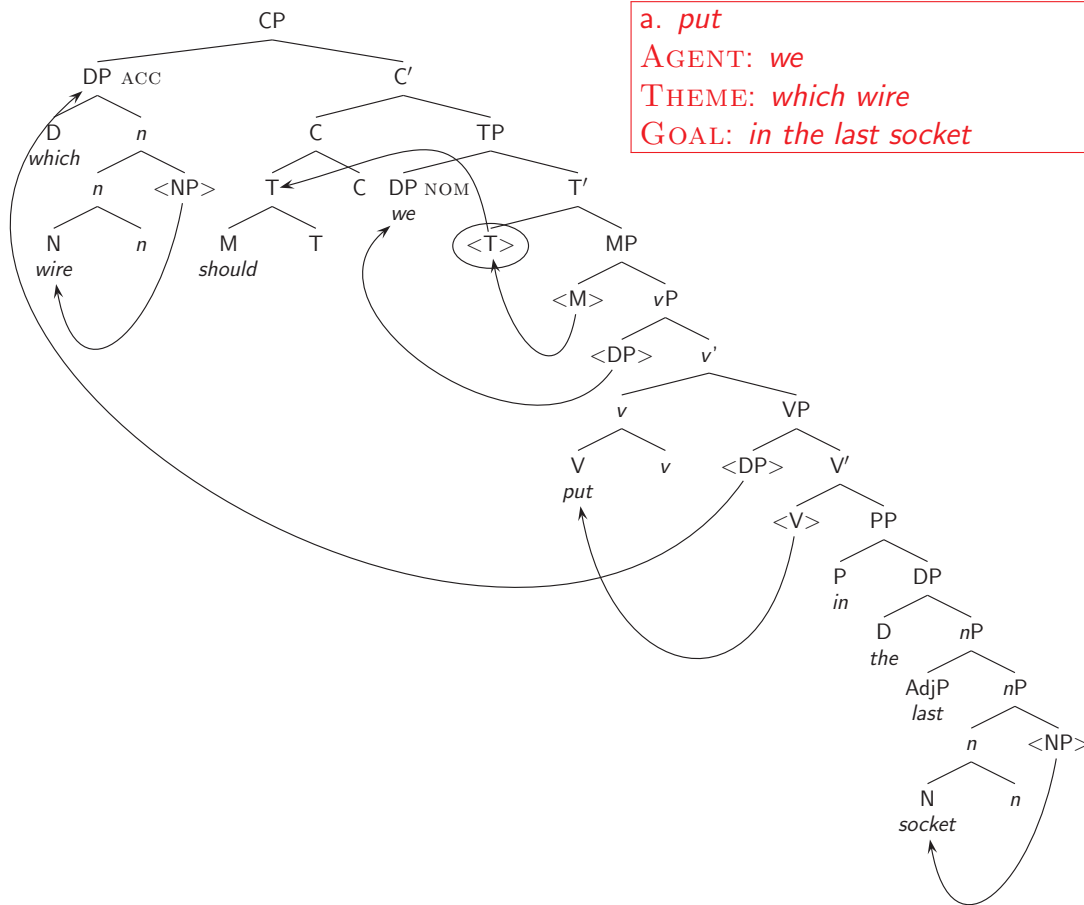


- a. *fail*
 AGENT: *Cameron's demo*
 PROPOSITION: *PRO to deceive...*
- b. *deceive*
 AGENT: *PRO*
 THEME: *him*

The verb *fail* here was probably not a great choice. The interpretation is supposed to be that the causer of the failing event leading to the falseness of the embedded proposition is *Cameron's demo*. It sounds a bit weird to call it an Agent. One possibility (not represented in the tree above) might be to say that *Cameron's demo* is the Theme, and the Proposition is still *PRO to deceive...* That might match the semantics better and the predicted surface form would be the same. Anyway, if you put Agent, you got credit (or if you explained that you wanted to put Agent but it was kind of weird to do so).

There were a couple of people who seemed to have Merged *Cameron's demo* in as the Agent of *deceive* (which, incidentally, has the same kind of problem as *fail* did, it's a bit weird to call *Cameron's demo* an Agent of the deception, but same logic applies here as with *fail*), then moving it up to the lower subject position, below a null-case-assigning C, and then moved it further up into the Agent position of *fail*. But that movement is never possible, you can't move into a θ -position. That was actually part of the point of having you list the θ -roles for each predicate, to highlight where it seems like one DP (e.g., *Cameron's demo*) is getting two θ -roles (which it can't, meaning that a PRO is called for).

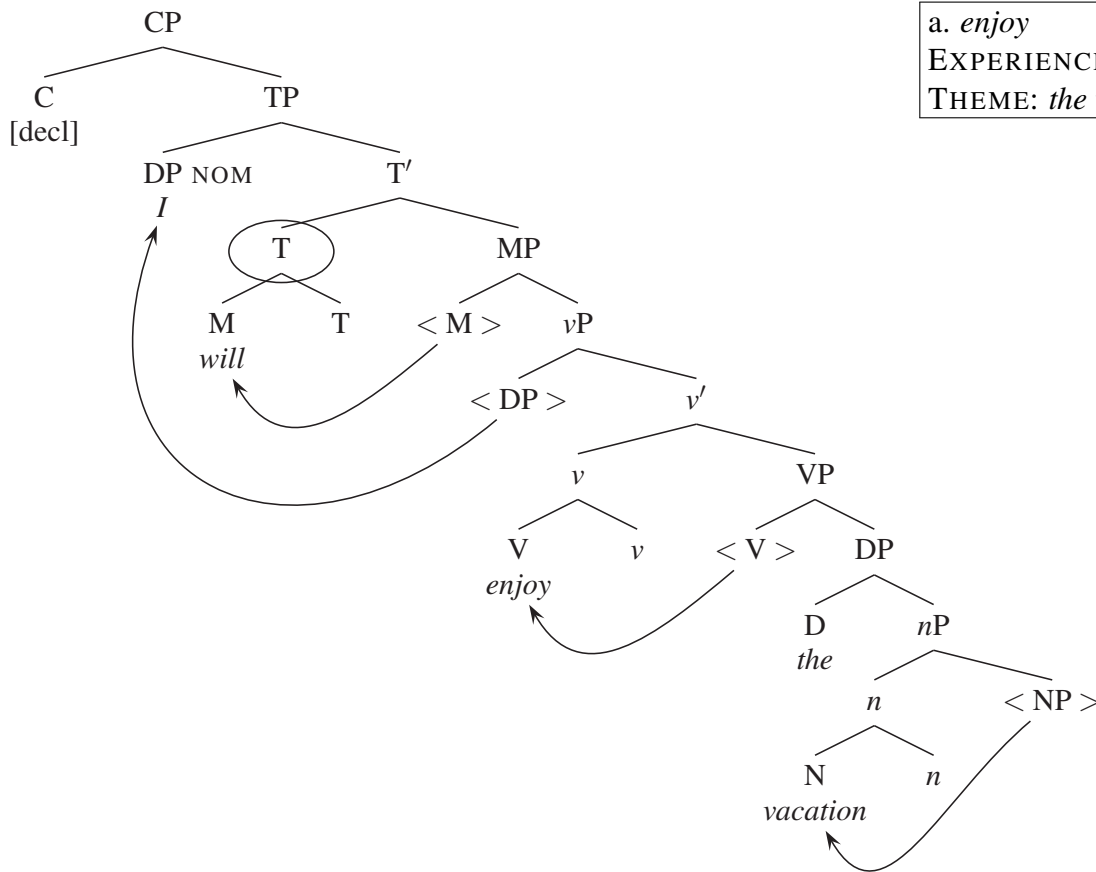
Problem 1(iii) Which wire should we put in the last socket?



There were a couple of people who switched the position of Theme and Goal in this one. The Theme needs to be in the specifier of VP, and the Goal needs to be in the complement of VP. If you didn't list Goal as one of the θ -roles for *put* (and you really should have), then it was not counted as further wrong if the PP *in the last socket* was adjoined to *vP* instead, since the listed θ -roles and structure matched at least.

Example for Problem 1: I will enjoy the vacation.

b.,c.



a. <i>enjoy</i> EXPERIENCER: <i>I</i> THEME: <i>the vacation</i>
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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:

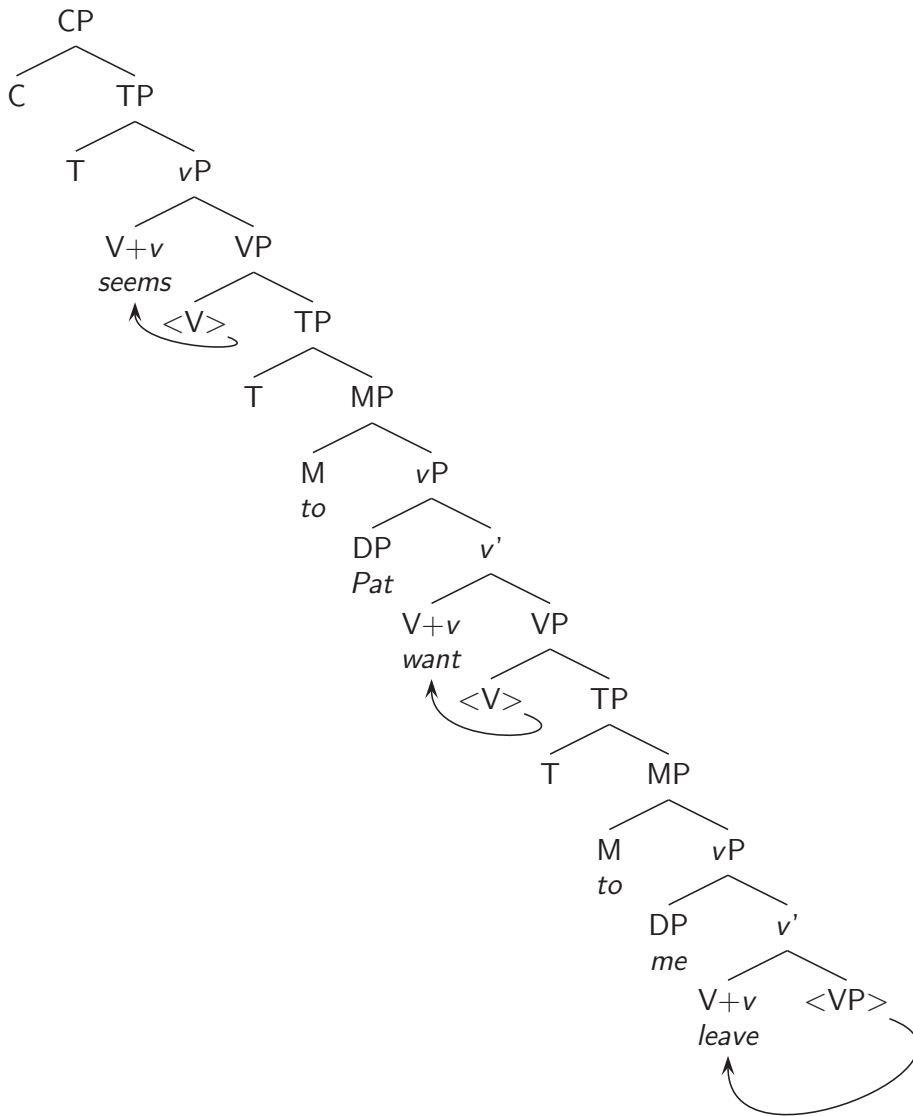
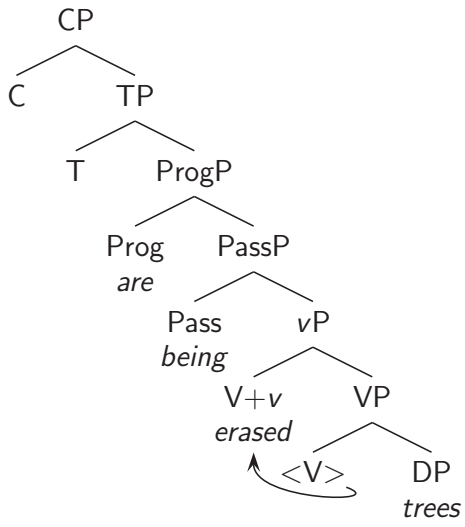
- a. T lacks the “EPP” feature: T does not have a [*uD**] feature.
- b. When valued by T, [*uInfl:*] is never strong (not even for auxiliaries)

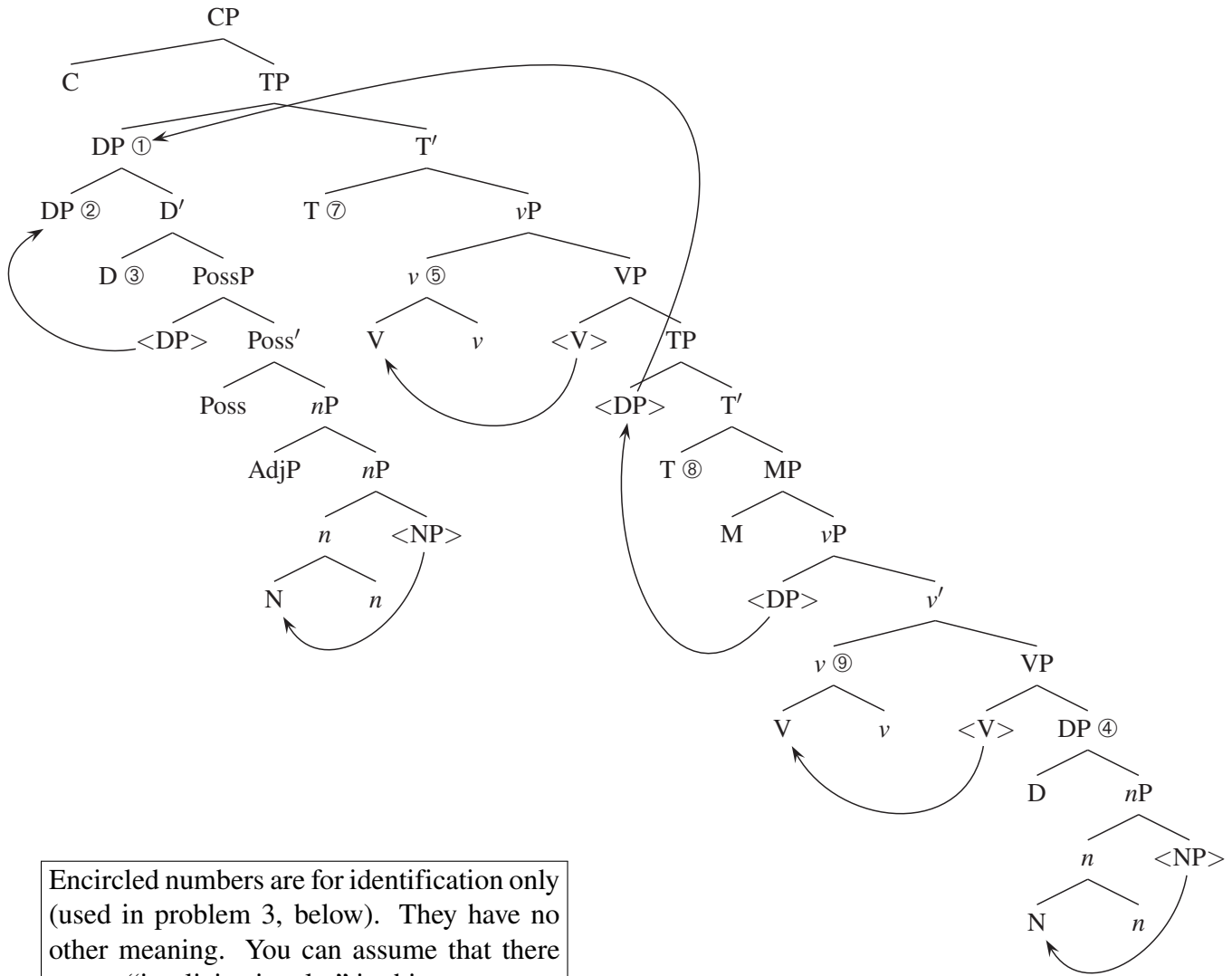
Write the Ghensli translations of the following two English sentences (that is, put the words in the correct order for Ghensli). *Note:* Ghensli doesn’t exist. But it could, in principle.

- (i) Trees are being erased
Are being erased trees
- (ii) Pat seems to want me to leave
Seems to Pat want to me leave

People did pretty well on these, particularly the first one. Most people saw that it was passive, and so *trees* should be at the end. Some people used *do*, but there would be no need for *do*, since as long as T is the sister to the thing it provides inflection for, the inflection can be pronounced on that thing. Similarly, a couple of people used *it* here, but there would be no need for *it*—the only reason you put in *it* when there is no other subject available is to satisfy the EPP feature of T, but in Ghensli, there is no EPP feature of T.

On the second one, there was a bit more variation. Generally I tried to give half-points where it was close.





Encircled numbers are for identification only (used in problem 3, below). They have no other meaning. 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. DP ② is a Possessor.
- b. DP ① is an Agent.
- c. DP ④ is a Goal.
- d. DP ② is PRO.
- e. DP ① c-commands DP ②.
- f. T ⑦ c-commands T ⑧.
- g. T ⑧ has a [tense:inf] feature.
- h. T ⑧ values the case feature of DP ① as nominative.
- i. v ⑨ values the case feature of DP ④ as accusative.
- j. D ③ values the case feature of DP ② as genitive.
- k. T ⑧ values the [uInfl:] feature of v ⑨.
- l. M could be “could.”
- m. v ⑤ (with V) is a raising verb.
- n. v ⑨ (with V) is unergative.

The ones here that were most commonly marked incorrectly were k, e, i, and f. For k: T ⑧ values

the [μ Infl:] feature of M, not v ⑨. For e: DP ② is not contained within the sister of DP ① (which is what c-command means). For i and f: They're true. Not sure what led people to say "false", so can't offer much explanation here.

On the sentence below, note that a DP without internal structure must be a pronoun, so the first DP (the possessor) has to be a pronoun (and likewise, the last DP has internal structure and so can't be a pronoun).

Problem 4. (1 point) Come up with an English sentence that the tree for problem 3 could represent.

My dumb roommate seems to enjoy pizza.

Problem 5. (9 7.5 points; 1.5 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. * J.K. Rowling was written another book.

Unchecked [μ case:] feature on *another book*.

...At least that's what I had in mind. This was a bad question though. A large number of people found it unclear what the sentence was even "trying" to mean. It was in principle not an option to say that it was supposed to be progressive but came out passive, because the pronunciation has to match the features. It must be passive. The problem is that we didn't get rid of the Agent, so it became the subject, got Nom case, and left *another book* without case. Except that it might also have counted as a problem that we didn't get rid of the Agent, since that's supposed to be a requirement for v P in a passive. Anyway, I'm excluding this from one of the possible points on the test, the test is out of fewer points because of this.

ii. * Mary_i wants John_j to nominate herself_i

Principle A.

On this, I did accept a description even if Principle A was not named. Same for the next one as well. But if you put Principle A *and* something else, then I took a half-point off.

iii. * Who did he_j persuade to attend John_i's concert?

Principle C.

iv. * She does have sung several national anthems.

Unchecked [μ Infl:pres3sg*] feature on Perf.

I accepted things that were close here as well. I gave half credit for [μ Aux*] or [μ Infl] on T, since it's in the right ballpark even if it isn't technically quite right—the uninterpretable feature is on the auxiliary. I took most variants of [μ Infl:something*] (like "Perf"), but the real answer is as above, it's the [μ Infl:pres3sg*] feature on Perf that got valued by T and so should have moved to adjoin to T (but didn't).

v. * What did Pat ask if I sent to Chris?

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.

vi. * Mistakes are had made.

Hierarchy of Projections.