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

(a) (2 points) 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) (8 points) 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 (don’t forget intermediate positions). Connect the initial trace (at the original Merge position) to each subsequent trace and to the final position of the moved element with arrows.

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—except: If you have already drawn a similar DP in full (e.g., proper names), you may use a triangle for subsequent DPs with identical structure. Such triangles must be actually drawn (no “implicit triangles”).

(c) (4 points) 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) My advisor has convinced me to join the circus.

A number of people gave me case for my advisor (nom) but not for my (gen). Also, quite a number of people treated my as the determiner for advisor, rather than as a possessor (which has to raise to SpecDP from a SpecPossP). The modal to does not move to T (when T is non-finite, which is the only time you’ll have a modal to). This applies to all three sentences.
Problem 1(ii) In the little glass ball snow appears to be falling gently.

A couple of people treated \textit{in the little glass ball} as a topicalization, which is fine, though I treated it as a modifier that hasn’t moved from anywhere.

A surprising number of people wrote this as \textit{the little glass bowl}. Perhaps that means people don’t understand what the sentence is about. The thing referred to is supposed to be one of those glass orbs with a little house or something inside, filled with water and little flakes of something, so that when you shake it, it looks like it is snowing inside. These used to be available in every airport souvenir shop.
Problem 1(iii) Who is believed to have *eaten* the last sandwich?

a. *eat*

**AGENT:** *who*

**THEME:** *the last sandwich*

Note that this is a subject question, so T does not move to C. Not much else to comment on here.
**Example for Problem 1:** I will *enjoy* the vacation.

b.,c.

![Diagram of sentence structure](image)

**Problem 2. (6 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. Heads *follow* complements.

b. The \([uwh]\) feature on interrogative C is *not* strong.

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) The cashier will give a book of coupons to the manager.

Cashier the coupons of book a manager the to give will.

(ii) What does the dog seem to be eating?

Dog the what eating be to seem (does)?

I was very strict on this—very few people got this right.

Because there was so much confusion on this problem, let me walk through it.

Complements are on the left, so heads are on the right. Here’s the first one, with a few implicit triangles where it doesn’t matter.

The second one works the same way, except that the object of *eat* is *what* (but it doesn’t move anywhere because the \([uwh^*]\) feature of C is not strong). Strictly speaking, there should still be a *does* at the end, but I didn’t count off for not having it.
The cashier will give a book to the manager of the coupons of the manager.
Problem 3. (14 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 M is adjoined to T.

b. F D ⃝ values the case feature of DP ⃂ as accusative.

c. F PossP c-commands nP.

d. T TP is the complement of C.

e. T DP ① is a w/h-word.

f. T DP ② is a Theme.

g. F The verb here is unergative.

h. F T has an [inf] feature.

i. T C had a [uwh*] feature to check.

j. F DP ③ dominates PossP.

k. F D′ ④ is adjoined to DP ③.

l. T T values the case feature of DP ① as nominative.

m. T DP ③ c-commands nP.

n. F D ⑤ is the specifier of PossP.
Problem 4. (4 points) Come up with an English sentence that the tree for problem 3 could be the structure for.

Who might buy my hedgehog?

I gave only 3 points if the possessor was something other than a pronoun.

Problem 5. (9 points; 1.5 per sentence x 6 sentences) For each of the ungrammatical sentences below, indicate what principle(s) of grammar is/are violated (there may be more than one) and briefly state in what way the principle(s) is/are violated.

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

- **Note:** Assume that the pronunciation matches the features: the problems are in the structures, not in the pronunciation of the features.

- **Note:** Principles will be one of: Superiority, wh-island, CNP island, Adjunct island, Principle A, Principle B, Principle C, Hierarchy of Projection, Unique θ generalization, uninterpretable feature unchecked (name the feature).

i. * Justin told Justine that herself would win.
   
   Principle A.

ii. * Michelle told Michael to prepare him.
    
   Principle B.

iii. * What did Tammy ask Timmy who gave to Tommy?
    
    Wh-island.

    On this one, there were a lot of people who said Superiority, but that isn't actually correct. Here's why: This is a question with a question inside it. The question inside it, at the point of reaching the lower C, was *who gave what to Tommy?*. Given that, the highest wh-word would be *who*, and so *who* moves to the lower SpecCP, checking the [uwh*] feature on C. Since that was it for [uwh*] features on C, we continue on, finishing the phase, and building up to the higher C—at which point *what* has been locked inside the phase and cannot move anymore. It’s a wh-island because the reason *what* couldn’t move out to the edge of the phase (so it could be seen from above) is that there was already a wh-word (*who*) in SpecCP (which used the [uwh*] feature itself).

iv. * I guessed who Fred visited Frieda before she married.
   
   Adjunct island

   On this one, there were also a number of other things said, I gave credit for some of them. If you were to assume that *married* is intransitive, then you could imagine that this leaves a Case feature unchecked (on *Frieda* or else on *who*) since both seem to be playing the role of Theme of *visit*. You might also say that this is a violation of the Unique θ generalization in that there seem to be two things trying to be Theme. However, the intent I had was to take *married* as transitive, in which case *who* was the Theme of *married* and had to move out of an adjunct.

v. * Tracy was written the book.
   
   Unique θ generalization. Also a Case problem (*the book* wouldn’t get Case).

vi. * I heard that could not Pat solve the problem.
   
   Unchecked [uD*] feature (on the lower T).
A number of people said HoP for this. It doesn’t appear to require that, though. The fact that could appears left of not suggests that T is above NegP, in which case it isn’t because the TP is out of order that Pat appears too low in the structure. You could construct this sentence with a HoP violation, by putting MP above NegP, then TP below that, but it wouldn’t be the reason the sentence is ungrammatical because you wouldn’t have to do that. (You could also put nP and NP in the wrong order in John left, which would be an ungrammatical structure, but wouldn’t lead to the sentence being ungrammatical because you could also put them in the right order and get the sentence). This one is maybe a bit touchy—I didn’t take HoP as a correct answer, but it might be argued that HoP is a valid answer—there’s nobody whose course grade would have been improved by getting points for that.