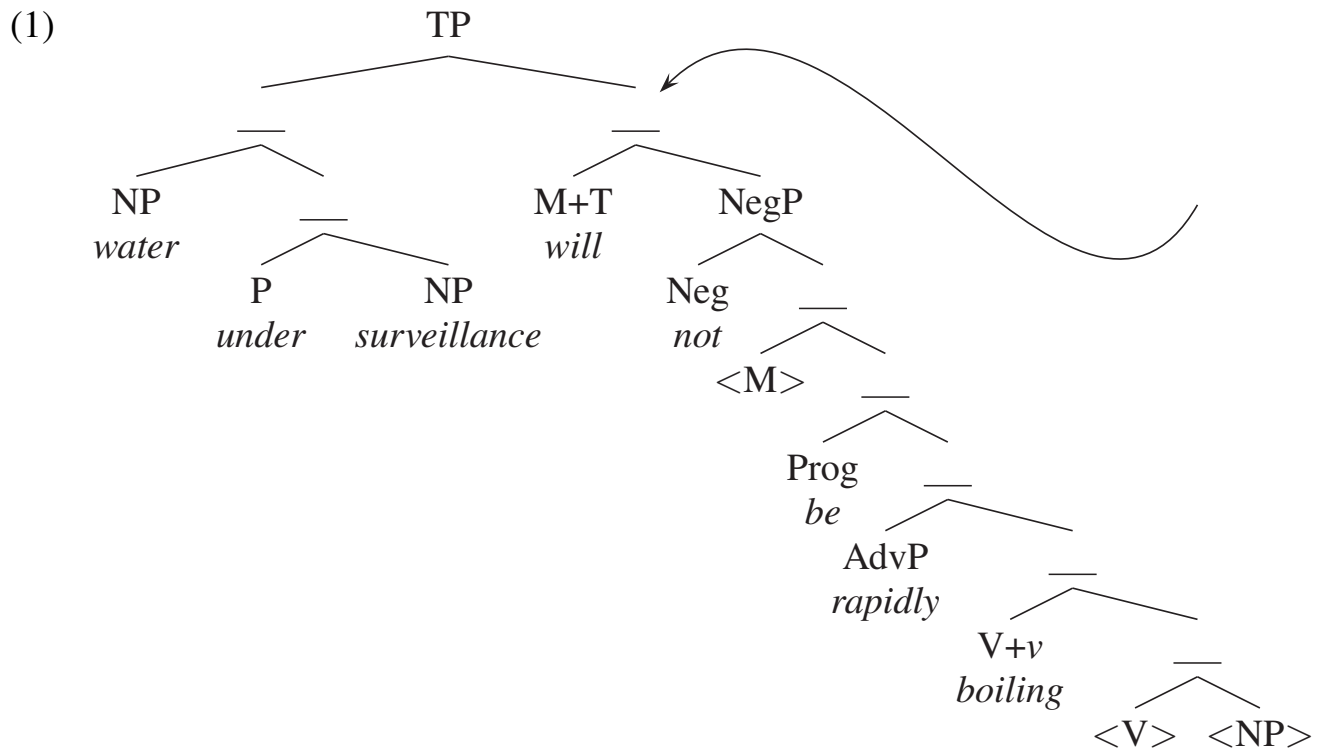


**Budget your time. 35 points total. 80 minutes. Average 2.29 minutes/points.**  
*The number of points assigned to each part is indicated by a number in brackets.*

1. [8] Fill in the missing labels for the nodes in the tree below. Where a node is the maximal projection of a lexical item, indicate this with the standard “X-bar” notation (e.g., NP for the maximal projection of a noun, *v'* for an intermediate projection of *v*). The sentence is *Water under surveillance will not be rapidly boiling*. The arrow is for use in question 4.



2. [6] Yes or No. In the sentence for which the structure is given in (1)...

- (a) Is *will not be* a constituent? \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Is *rapidly boiling* a constituent? \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) Does NegP dominate the AdvP (*rapidly*)? \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) Does Prog (*be*) dominate the AdvP *rapidly*? \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) Is the NP (*surveillance*) the complement of P (*under*)? \_\_\_\_\_
- (f) Is the M+T (*will*) the specifier of NegP? \_\_\_\_\_

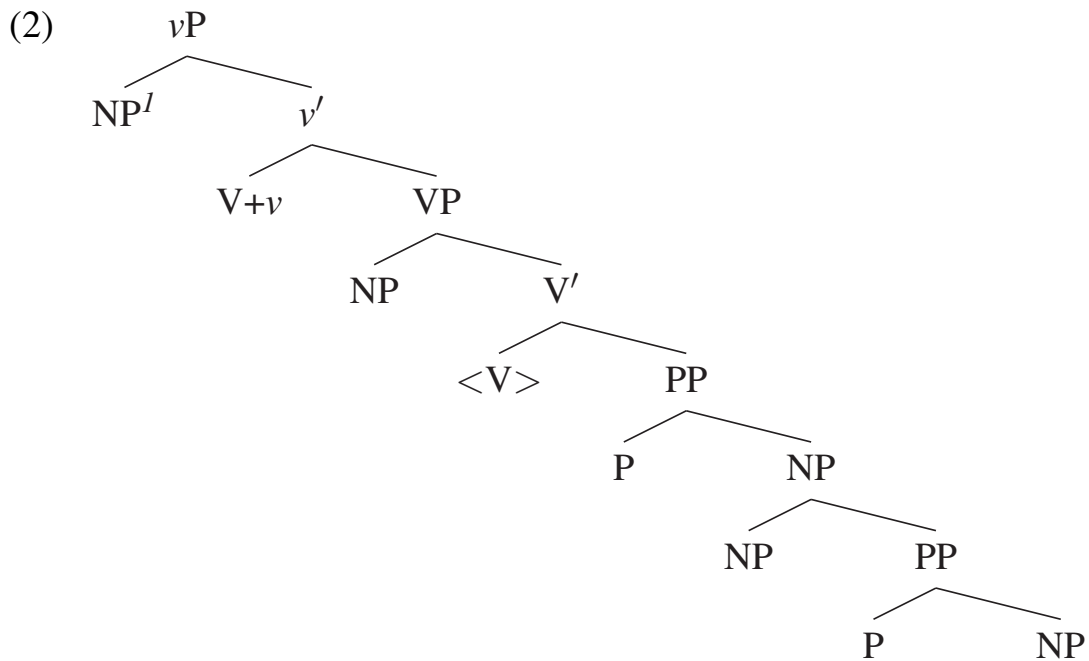
3. [1] **Circle one.** The verb shown in the structure in (1) above is...

ditransitive / transitive / unergative / unaccusative

4. [1] **C-command.** The arrow in the tree above points to a node. Circle every node in the tree that node c-commands.

5. [1]  **$\theta$ -role.** Name the  $\theta$ -role that *water under surveillance* has in (1). \_\_\_\_\_

6. Suppose we start building a structure for a sentence, and at a certain stage we wind up with a *vP* as shown (abstractly) below in (2).



(a) [1] Name the  $\theta$ -role that the  $NP^I$  will have. \_\_\_\_\_

(b) [1] How many times was Adjoin used? \_\_\_\_\_

(c) [1] How many [*uN*] features were there—total—in these lexical items initially? \_\_\_\_\_

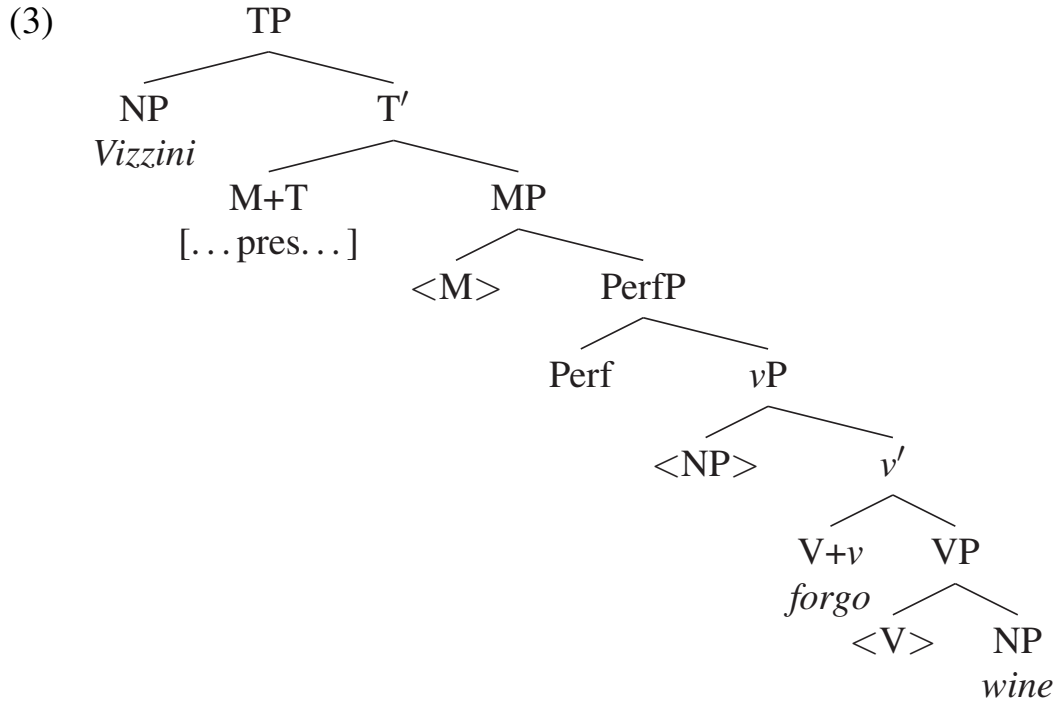
(d) [1] Which of the following three sentences might plausibly include the *vP* in (2)?

1. Mugar lends books to students with IDs.
2. Chefs cook omelets with asparagus on Sunday.
3. Serafinowicz writes answers to questions from followers.

7. [1] **Circle one.** The verb shown in the structure in (2) is...

ditransitive / transitive / unergative / unaccusative

8. Suppose you had a sentence with the abstract structure given below in (3). I have provided three lexical items (the NPs *Vizzini* and *wine*, and the bare (uninflected) form of the verb, *forgo*).



- (a) [1] Draw arrows in the tree that show, when things moved, where they moved from and to.
- (b) [1] Write the sentence that this would be the structure for. (If you recognize what the sentence refers to, the missing M I had in mind will be obvious, but if you don't, just pick an appropriate one.)

---

- (c) [1] What was the motivation to Merge V and NP?

---

- (d) [1] What was the motivation to Merge M and PerfP?

---

**9. [5] Binding Theory.** Consider the sentences in (4) below. The first one (4a) can either mean that John moved the book Mary was near, or that John moved the book, with the result that the book wound up near Mary. Here’s a controversial part—I was convinced of these judgments last night, and now I am not sure. But let’s pretend at least that the judgments are right. Suppose that they are as follows: (4b) can only mean that John moved the book, with the result that it came to be nearby (so, for example, it is hard to add “to the floor” after it—?*John moved the book near himself to the floor*). The third one (4c) can only mean that, of the books that were around, John moved the one he was near (so, *John moved the book near him to the floor* is relatively natural).

To explain this, suppose that we add another binding domain to our Binding Theory—definite noun phrases (like *the book* or *the book near Mary*). So, now there are two things that count as binding domains, clauses and this kind of definite noun phrase within. The task for you is: **Explain briefly how adding this assumption (that this kind of definite noun phrase also constitutes a binding domain) can explain why (4b) and (4c) have only the interpretations they do.**

*Hint:* The title of this question is “Binding Theory”—expect to find yourself using the word “Principle” and one of the capital letters “A,” “B,” or “C” in the answer.

- (4) a. John<sub>i</sub> moved the book near Mary<sub>j</sub>.  
b. John<sub>i</sub> moved the book near himself<sub>i</sub>.  
c. John<sub>i</sub> moved the book near him<sub>i</sub>.

**10. [4]** The sentence in (5) is not grammatical in English. But the system developed so far in class predicts that it should be. Explain briefly how to construct what should be a legitimate structure that would result in (5). Include a suggestion about what additional constraint we could add to the system to rule (5) out (this should be relatively straightforward once you identify how to derive (5)).

(5) \* Fezzik eats often peanuts.