

75 points total; 42 for #1, 9 for #2, 14 for #3, 4 for #4, 6 for #5

**SENTENCES FOR PROBLEM #1**

- (i) My advisor has *convinced* me to join the circus.
- (ii) In the little glass ball, snow *appears* to be falling gently.
- (iii) Who is believed to have *eaten* the last sandwich?

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

**(42 points total, 14 for each sentence)**

- a. **(2 points)** For each *italicized* predicate, for each  $\theta$ -role that the predicate assigns, list the  $\theta$ -role (one of: Agent, Experiencer, Theme, Goal, Proposition) and indicate what constituent it is assigned to.

**Notes:** Include whatever  $\theta$ -roles are assigned by *v* or *n* as well as whatever  $\theta$ -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”).

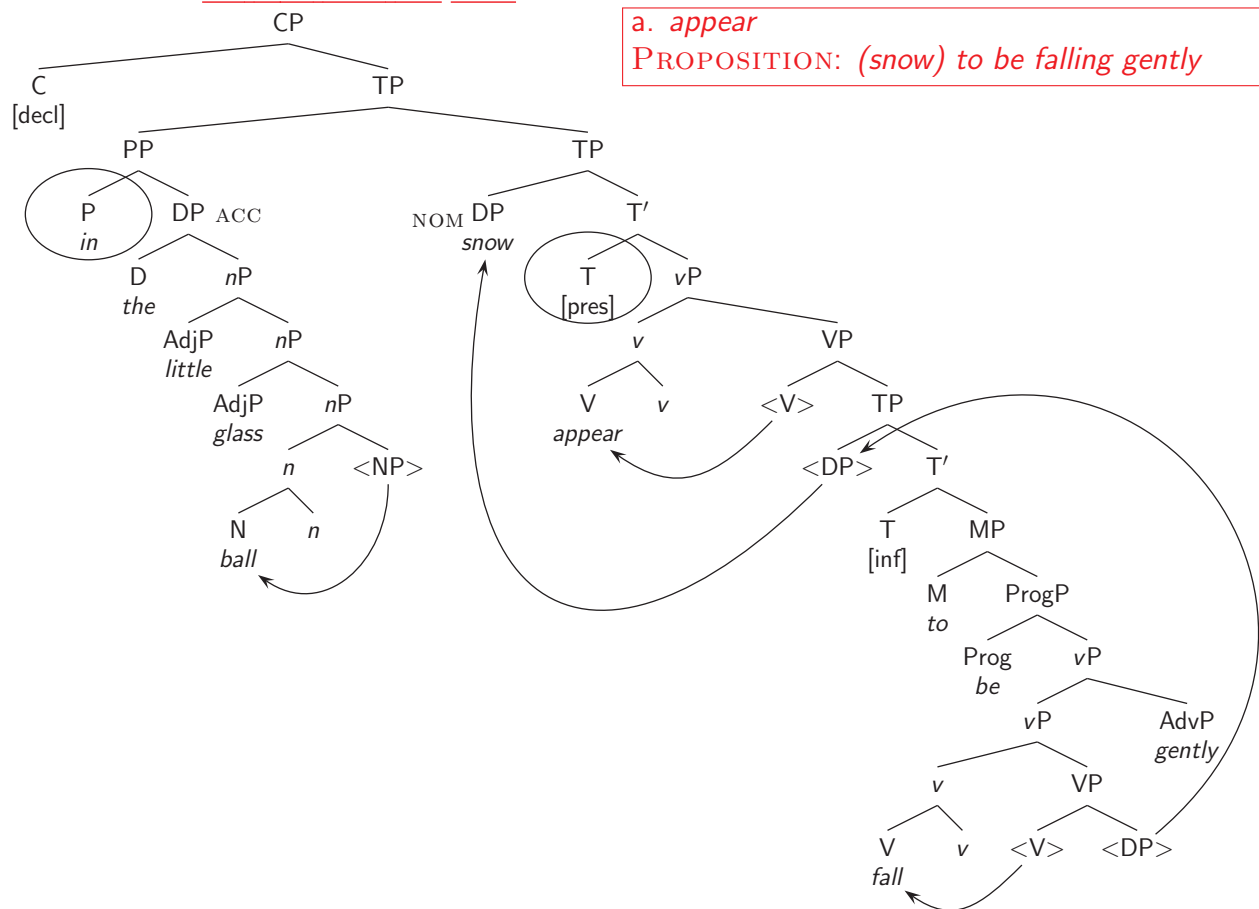
- c. **(4 points)** On the tree you drew for part (b), for each underlined DP **circle the head** that checks its case feature. Then, **write the case it receives by the DP** (one of: nominative, accusative, genitive, of).

**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(ii)** In the little glass ball snow appears to be falling gently.



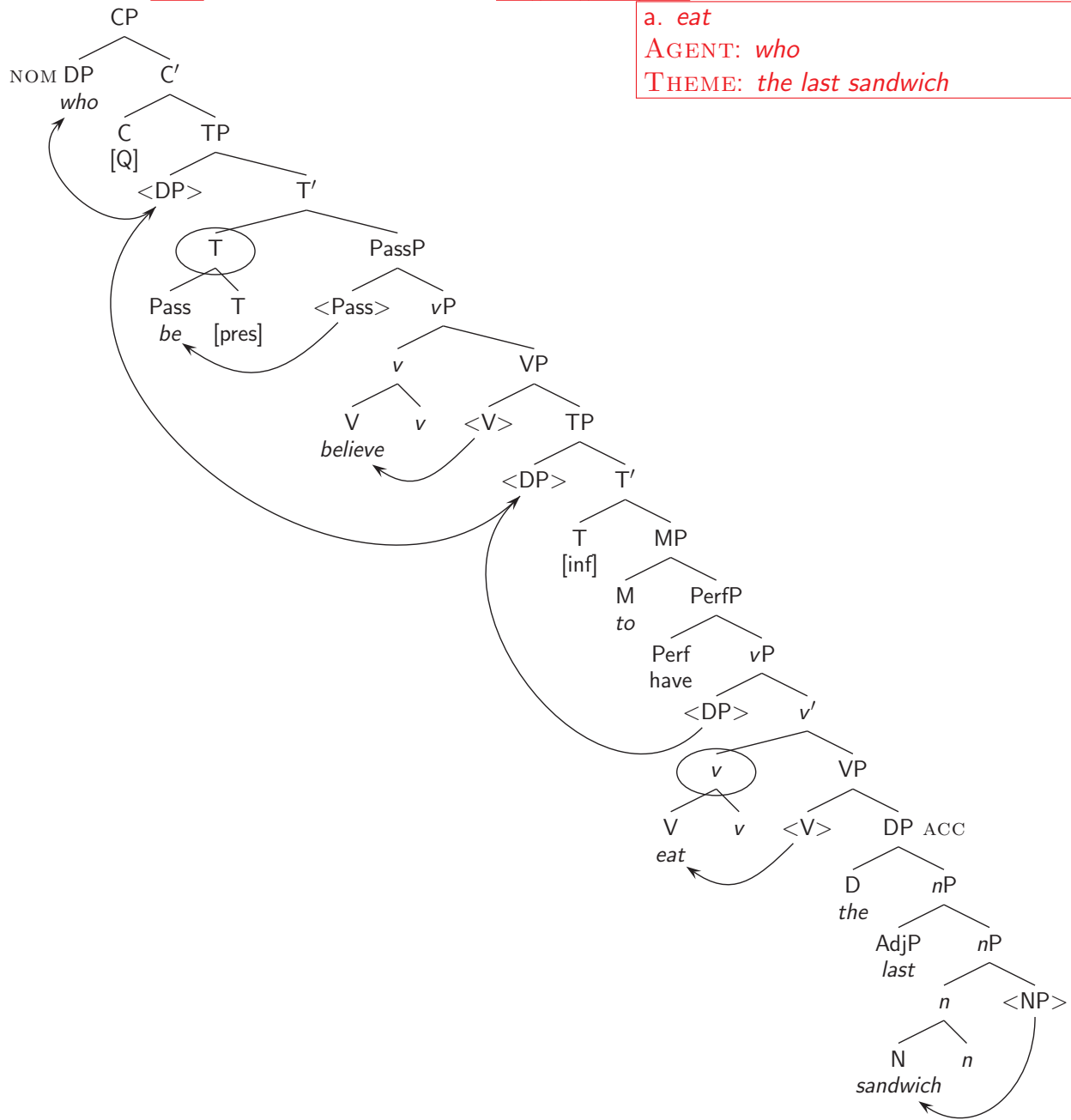
a. *appear*  
PROPOSITION: (*snow*) to be falling gently

A couple of people treated *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 *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?

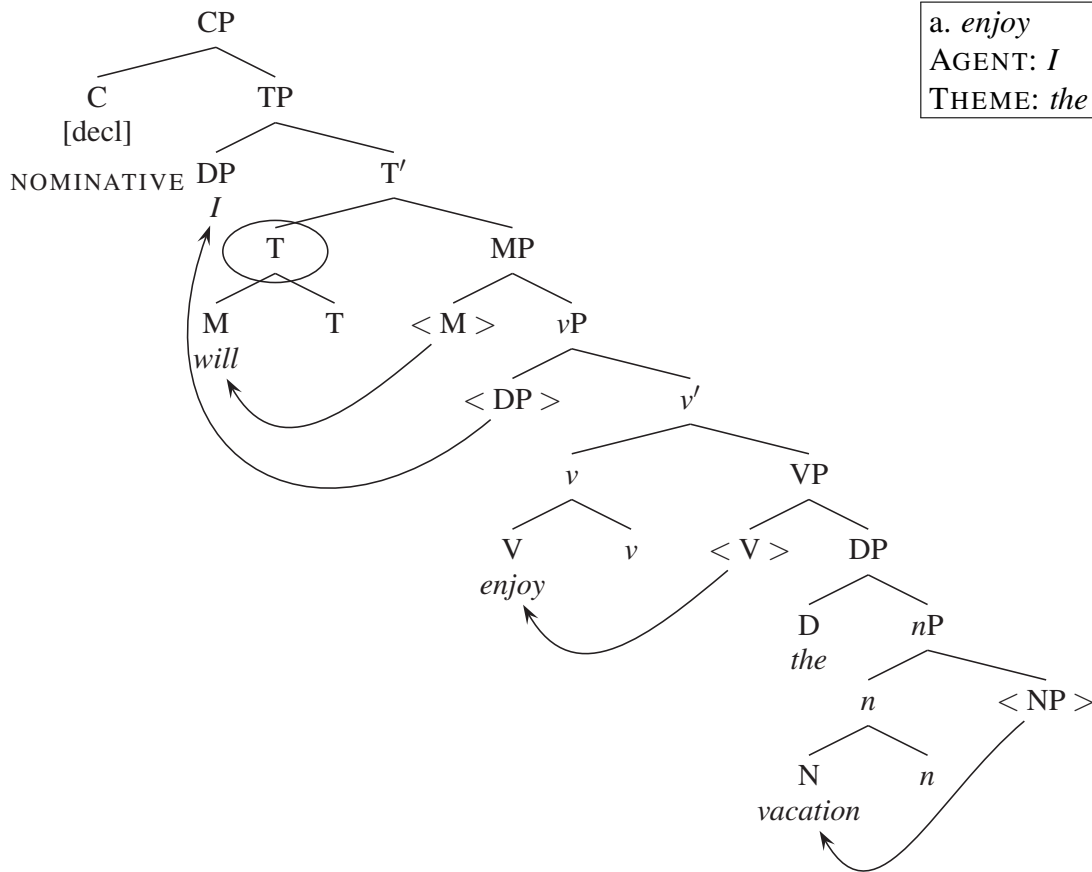
a. eat  
 AGENT: *who*  
 THEME: *the last sandwich*



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.



<p>a. <i>enjoy</i>  AGENT: <i>I</i>  THEME: <i>the vacation</i></p>
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**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.

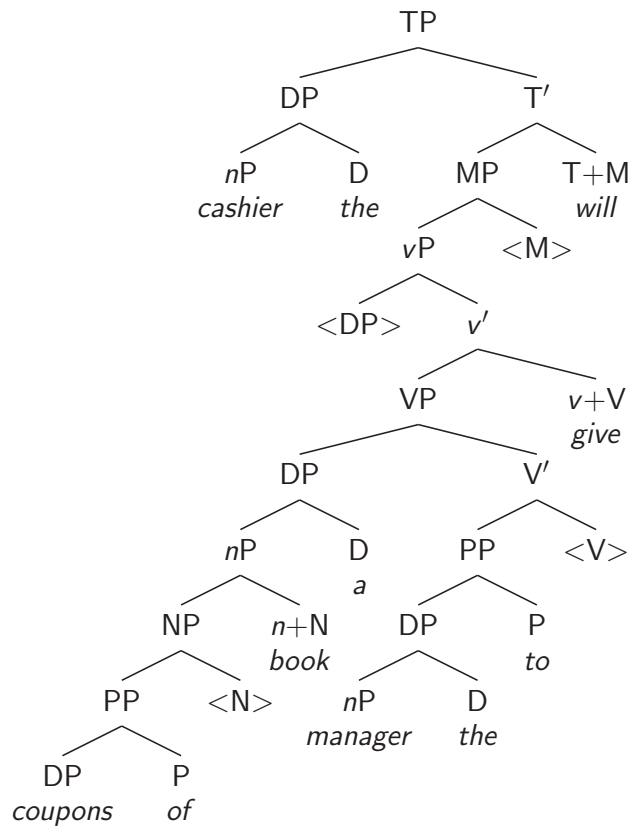
- (i) The cashier will give a book of coupons to the manager.  
Cashier the coupons of book a manager the to give will.
- (ii) What does the dog seem to be eating?  
Dog the what eating be to seem (does)?

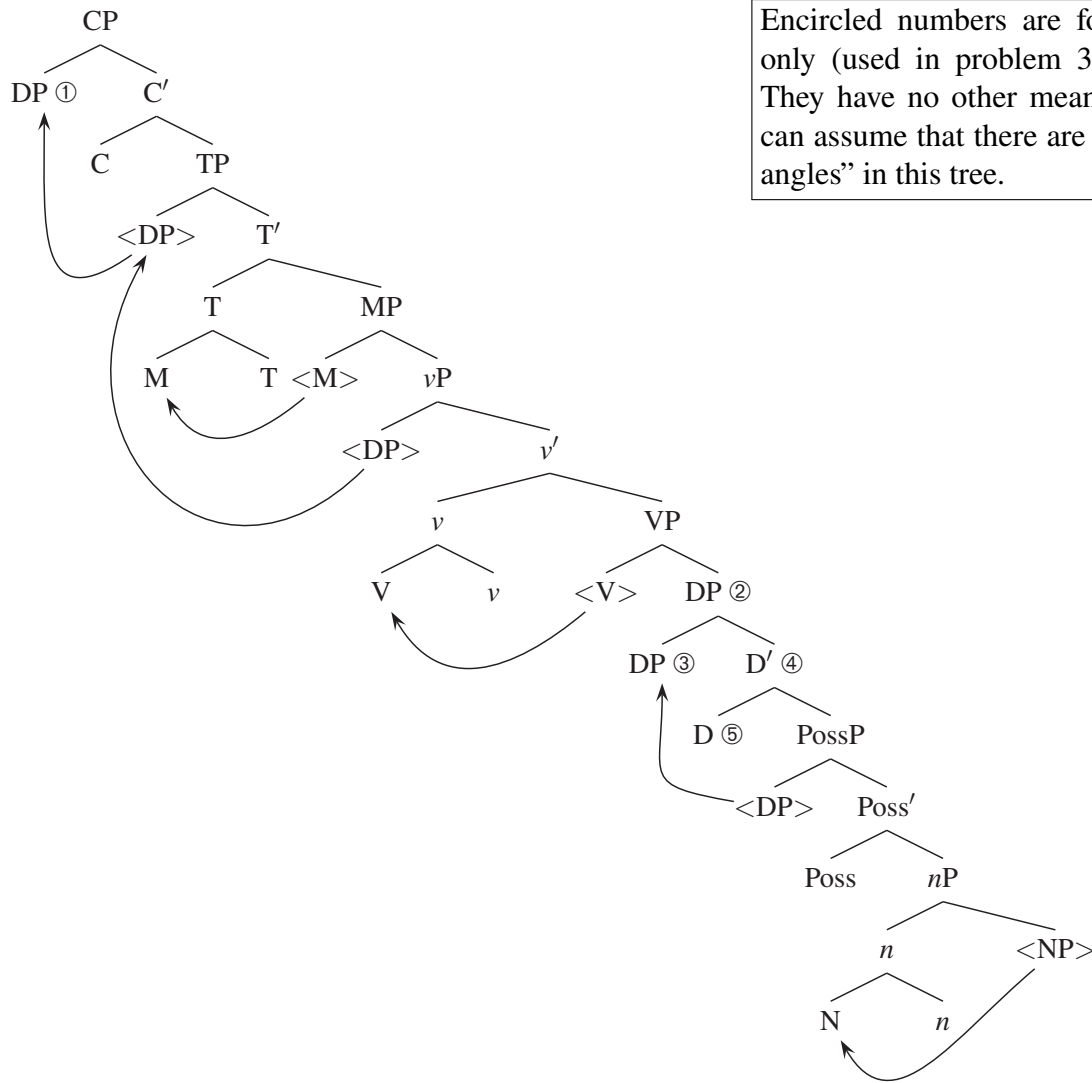
I was very strict on this—very few people got this right.

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.





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. (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. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T M is adjoined to T.                     | h. <input type="checkbox"/> F T has an [inf] feature.                                     |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> F D ⑤ values the case feature of DP ③ as accusative. | i. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T C had a [ <i>uwh*</i> ] feature to check.        |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> F PossP c-commands nP.                               | j. <input type="checkbox"/> F DP ③ dominates PossP.                                       |
| d. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T TP is the complement of C.              | k. <input type="checkbox"/> F D' ④ is adjoined to DP ③.                                   |
| e. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T DP ① is a <i>wh</i> -word.              | l. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T T values the case feature of DP ① as nominative. |
| f. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T DP ② is a Theme.                        | m. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T DP ③ c-commands nP.                              |
| g. <input type="checkbox"/> F The verb here is unergative.                       | n. <input type="checkbox"/> 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- $\theta$ -generalization~~, uninterpretable feature unchecked (name the feature).

i. \* Justin told Justine<sub>i</sub> that herself<sub>i</sub> would win.

Principle A.

ii. \* Michelle told Michael<sub>i</sub> to prepare him<sub>i</sub>.

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*. 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- $\theta$ -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.