

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

SENTENCES FOR PROBLEM #1

- (i) After the rain *froze*, the little car slid off the road.
- (ii) I wonder which airport my luggage will be *sent* to.
- (iii) She seems to expect you to want to *receive* a book of poetry.

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 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.

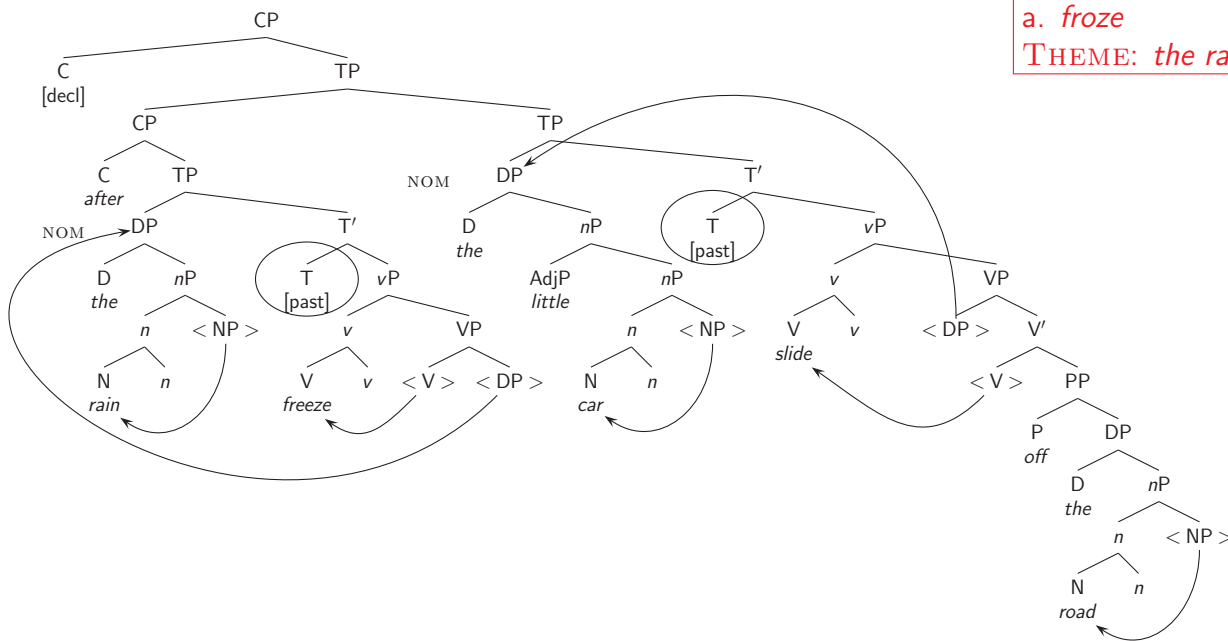
Notes: You do *not* need to list all of the features for each head. Draw everything in full (adjunction, DPs, etc.), as on the example tree. No triangles—*except*: If you have already drawn a similar DP in full (e.g., proper names), you may use a triangle for subsequent DPs with identical structure. 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) After the rain *froze*, the little car slid off the road.



Note that both *slid* and *freeze* are unaccusative verbs. Practically everybody treated *slid* as if it were unergative.

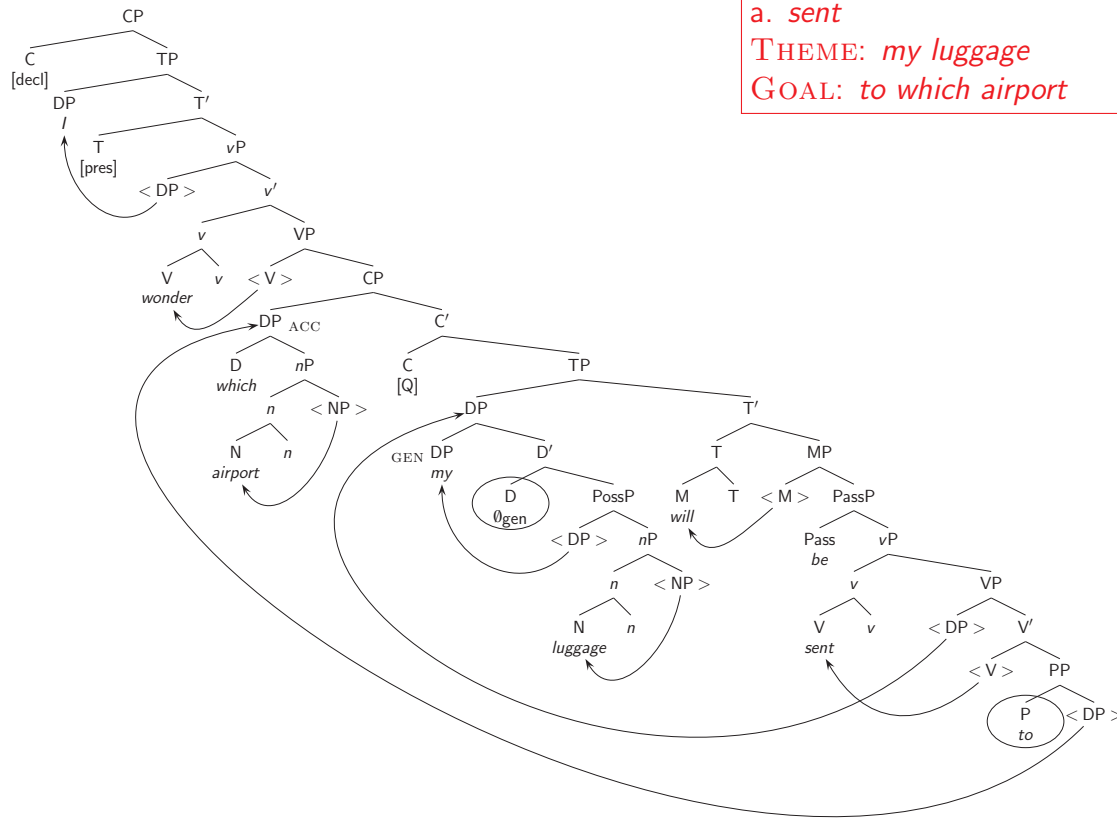
Above, I drew *off the road* as a Goal, although I also accepted it as a vP or TP adjunct.

There were also a number of people who did not combine the two clauses correctly. The *after*-clause is not the main clause, the main clause is the *slid* clause, and the *after*-clause modifies it.

Averages: a) 1.38 (0.61), b) 3.33 (1.11), c) 6.38 (1.12)

Problem 1(ii) I wonder which airport my luggage will be sent to.

a. *sent*
 THEME: *my luggage*
 GOAL: *to which airport*



On this one, note that the case for *which airport* is actually assigned by the P *to* prior to the movement of *which airport* into SpecCP. I was anticipating that this would be difficult, but a lot of people saw that.

A lot of people mistakenly had *my luggage* starting off in the SpecvP of *send*, but that's where AGENT or EXPERIENCER arguments go. The θ -role that *my luggage* gets here is THEME. A couple of people said EXPERIENCER, but the luggage is not really experiencing anything (it is not conscious). However, if you made both errors together (that is, if you said *my luggage* was EXPERIENCER, and then put it in SpecvP, then you didn't get counted off for both, since they are consistent).

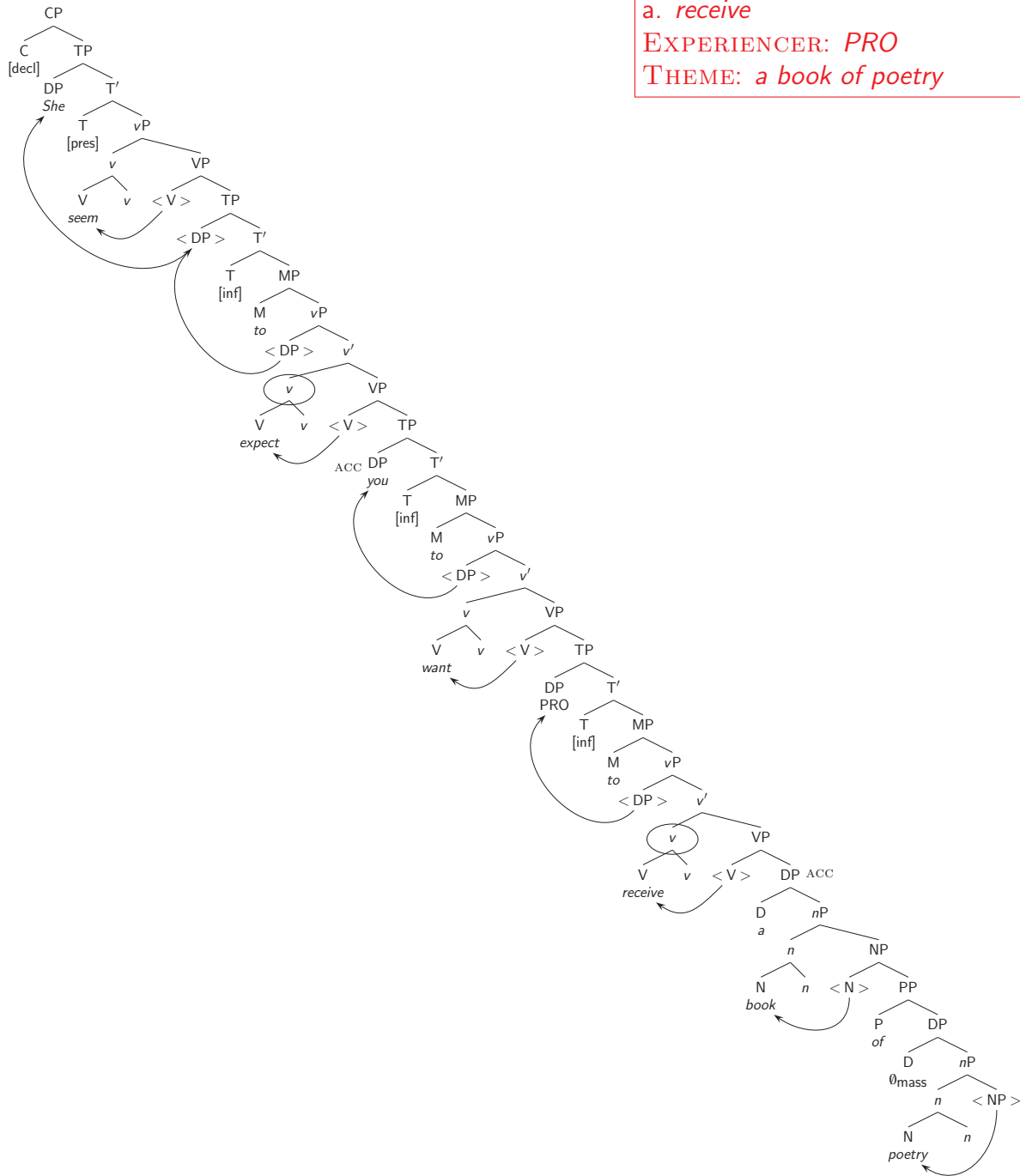
Pronouns (like *I*, *she*, etc.) have no internal structure; there is no *nP* inside a pronoun. A few people drew the regular elaborate DP structure inside the pronouns. I did count off for this, but only once.

Also notice that *be sent* here is passive. A few people put Prog in the tree instead of Pass.

Averages: a) 1.73 (0.52), b) 2.81 (1.33), c) 6.41 (1.58)

Problem 1(iii) She seems to expect you to want to receive a book of poetry.

a. receive
 EXPERIENCER: PRO
 THEME: a book of poetry



This was an absurdly long tree. Sorry about that. It also opens up a lot of places where errors can have lasting repercussions, so I graded this one a bit more abstractly, taking into account places where your trees were wrong, but internally consistent.

For the θ -roles, I accepted *you* as the EXPERIENCER (I also accepted AGENT) only if, in the tree, it was actually PRO. The right answer is PRO.

I thought I was tossing you a softball by including the DP *a book of poetry*, since I've been using that all semester to refer to DPs with that particular structure. But yet almost everybody drew it wrong. Here, *of poetry* is an actual PP, that is a complement to the N, inside the NP. I made one exception to this, and that's just because in addition to adjoining *of poetry* to the nP, the student also challenged the judgment on the *one*-replacement test that led us to hypothesize that *of poetry* is inside the NP.

Incidentally, I think that the PP reordering facts can also lead us to the same conclusion without the *one*-replacement test, but that's good enough for the final.

Although this didn't happen in the other trees, there were a number of places where people moved a DP from somewhere lower in the tree up into the specifier of VP or *v*P. This can never happen—you cannot move a DP *into* a θ -position. The reason is that no DP can get more than one θ -role, and the DP gets its θ -role based on the initial position where it is Merged. To move into a θ -position entails that the DP is now getting two θ -roles (since the UTAH says that any DP daughter of VP is going to be a THEME, etc.). This also means that with unaccusative or passive verbs, the single THEME argument that starts inside the VP *cannot* stop in Spec*v*P on its way up—in those cases, *v* simply does not have a specifier.

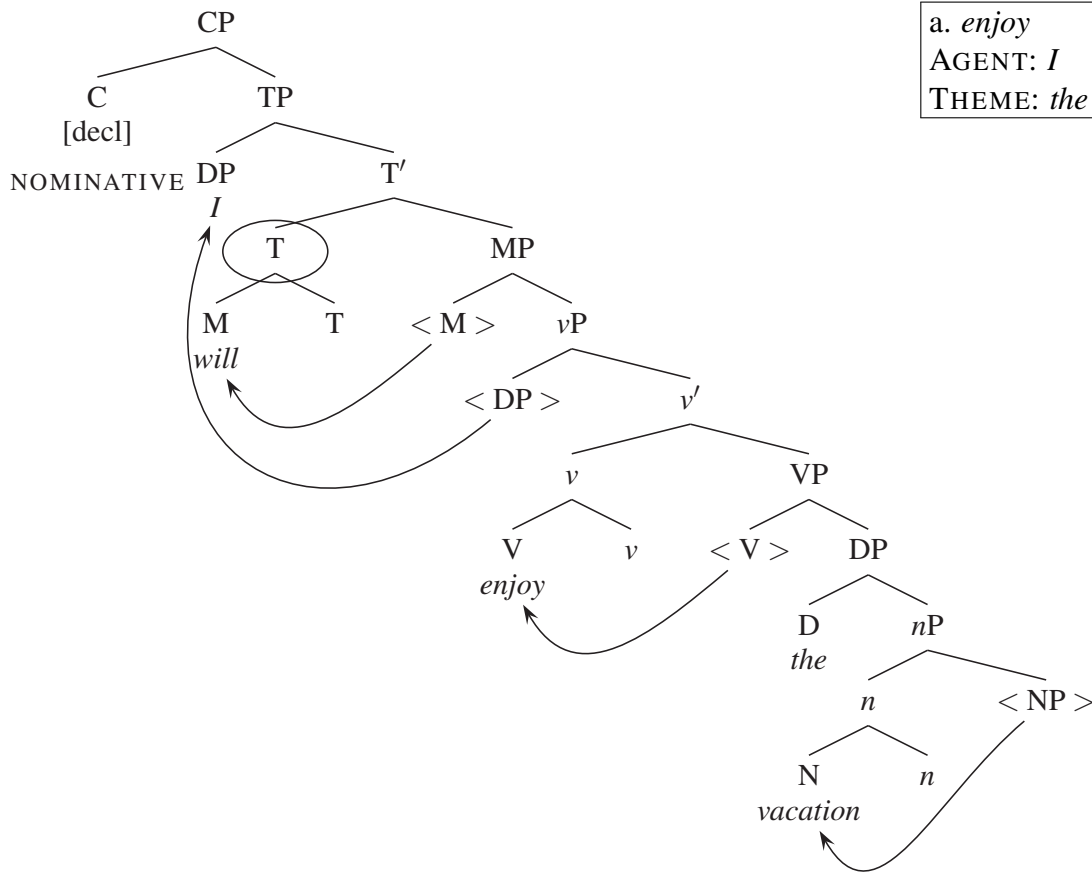
A lot of people also neglected to provide EXPERIENCER arguments for some or most of the verbs. In an *expecting*, there is somebody experiencing the expectation (in Spec*v*P), in a *wanting* there is somebody experiencing the want, etc.

For some reason, a lot of people treated *expect* as a subject-control verb in this sentence, but it is really an ECM verb. It *can* be a subject-control verb, if the sentence were something like *I expect to leave*, but in this case, there is no PRO below, but rather an embedded subject.

Averages: a) 1.69 (0.53), b) 2.78 (1.43), c) 5.72 (1.88)

Example for Problem 1: I will enjoy the vacation.

b.,c.



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

Problem 2. (6 points) Suppose that there is a dialect of English, Shingle, that has all the same properties as English does (including vocabulary), except for the following:

- a. When valued by T, [*uInfl*:] is strong (always, not just for auxiliaries).
- b. Heads *follow* complements

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

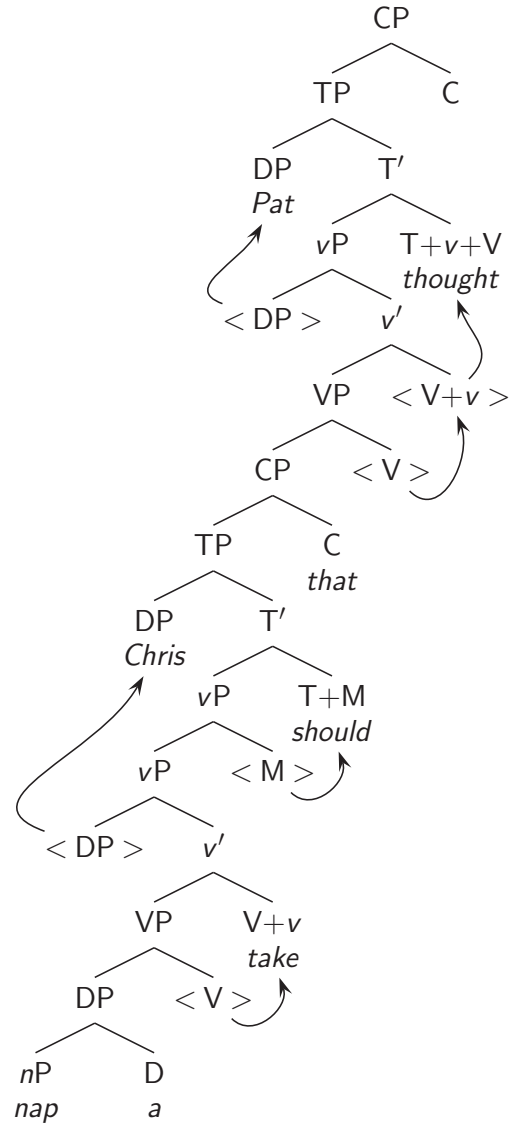
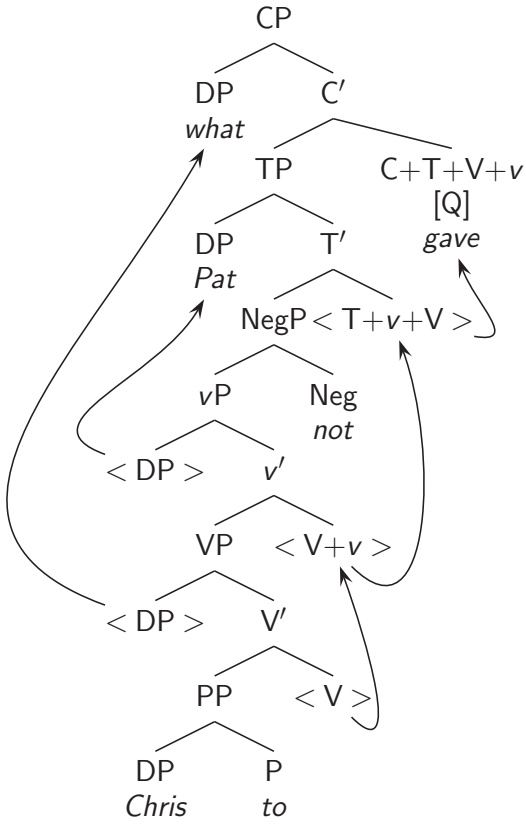
- (i) What did Pat not give to Chris?
What Pat Chris to not gave?
- (ii) Pat thought that Chris should take a nap.
Pat Chris nap a take should that thought.

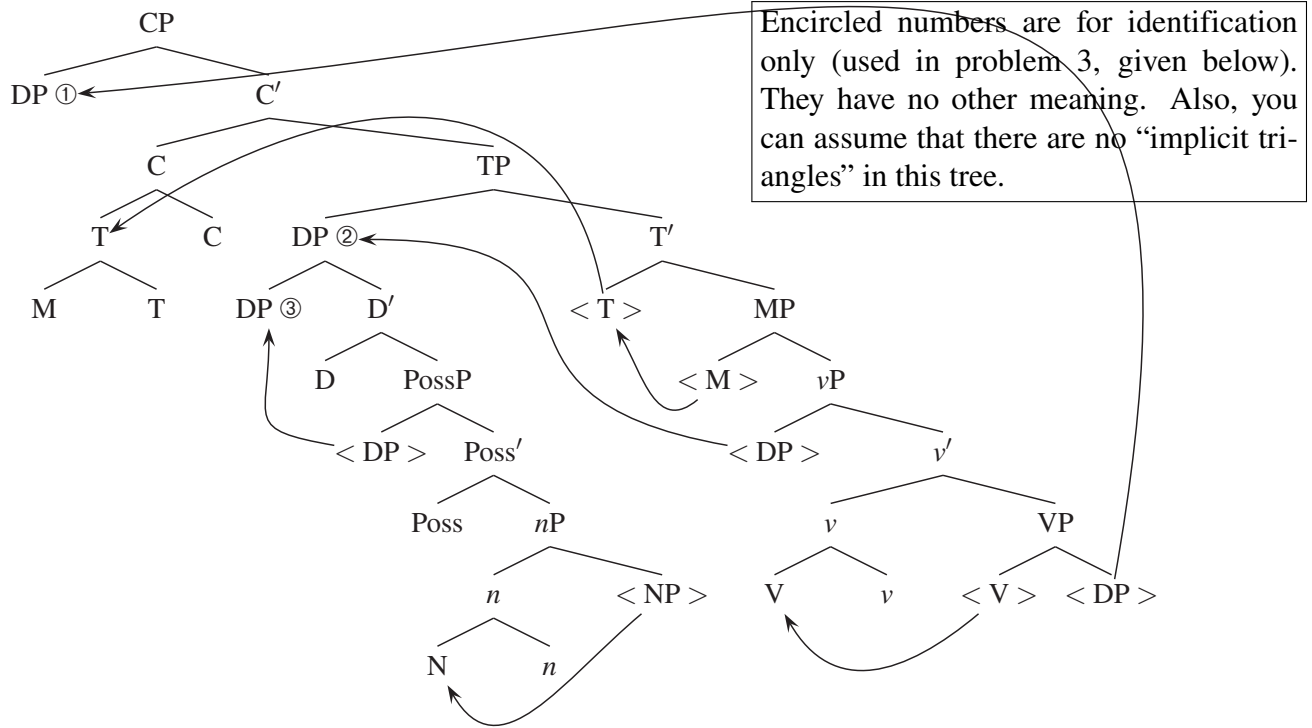
Because there was not a lot of agreement on this, let me walk through my reasoning. First, notice that heads follow complements, but specifiers, as usual, precede both. So, it's SOV like Japanese. And verbs raise to T. And in questions (like in English), T raises to C, so everything is all mashed up in C. Notice also that there is no need for *do*-support, since T and *v* are sisters.

It's possible one could even say that this problem was a complete disaster. I think I got almost every possible permutation of words. Sometimes I could see what the rationale was, and gave what partial credit I could. These were *tough* points to get, though. If you got any points on this, you may do a small celebratory dance.

One popular wrong answer featured specifiers on the right as well. This would come out *Chris to not Pat gave what?* and *nap a take should Chris that thought Pat*. I generally gave some points for that, though. It seems to have been difficult to be consistent—some heads were on the left, some were on the right, or perhaps the words were simply in a random order.

Averages: i) 0.89 (1.01), ii) 1.09 (1.20)





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"/> DP ① is the specifier of CP. | i. <input type="checkbox"/> T values the case feature of DP ③ as genitive. |
| b. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PossP is the complement of D. | j. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> D values the case feature of DP ③ as genitive. |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> DP ③ is the head of DP ②. | k. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> v values the case feature of DP ① as accusative. |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> DP ② c-commands PossP. | l. <input type="checkbox"/> DP ① was Merged with C' to check a [uD*] feature of C. |
| e. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> T' c-commands DP ②. | m. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DP ② was Merged with T' to check a [uD*] feature of T. |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> DP ② is a proper name. | n. <input type="checkbox"/> T was merged with MP to check a [uM*] feature of T. |
| g. <input type="checkbox"/> DP ③ is a Theme. | |
| h. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DP ③ is a pronoun. | |

For the most part, everyone did well on these. The ones that seemed to cause the most trouble were (c) and (k). For (c), notice that DP ③ is the *specifier* of DP ②, not the head. And, for (k), it might be worth pointing out that this is exactly the situation in the second tree of problem 1 (with *which airport*).

Averages: a) 0.93, b) 0.93, c) 0.76, d) 0.96, e) 0.91, f) 0.89, g) 0.93, h) 0.82, i) 0.87, j) 0.89, k) 0.71, l) 0.78, m) 0.91, n) 0.91

Problem 4. (4 points) Come up with an English sentence that the tree for problem 3 could be the structure for.

What will your roommate eat?

For some reason, *What should my dog eat?* was a very popular choice here. Other highlights included *Who should my dog attack?*, *What will my father shoot?*, and *What will his explanation demonstrate?*. What's important here is that the possessor be a pronoun (like *my*, or *her*), and the *wh*-word should be a DP that can be an object (so *when* and *where* are not good here). Also a modal (like *will*, or *should*) is needed.

Average: 3.53

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. * Michelle_i persuaded him_j that Michael_j called herself_i.

Principle A, Principle C.

A half-point was taken off if only one of these was given.

Average: 1.31.

ii. * Who did Pat ask if Chris introduced to Tracy?

Wh-island violation.

If you called this an adjunct island (on the basis of *if*, which—it's true—can head certain adjunct clauses), I took a half-point (since in this case, it is not really plausible that *if* heads a conditional *if*-clause—in this case it's just the C of an embedded interrogative clause).

Average: 0.97

iii. * Tommy_i promised him_i to do better in the future.

Principle B.

Average: 1.23

iv. * Pat persuaded to leave.

[*uD**] feature of V.

An alternative problem you could have mentioned here was an unchecked [*ucase:*] feature on *v*.

Average: 0.96

v. * What is Chris being eaten?

Hierarchy of Projection. If you assume it is not passive. If you assume it is passive, then *Chris* does not get case.

This one caused a fair amount of trouble. There were a lot of people calling upon the Unique θ Generalization, suggesting that *Chris* and *what* are competing for then same θ -role. However, the Unique θ Generalization does not apply to this case. From Adger's textbook, p. 81: "Each

θ -role must be assigned, but a constituent cannot be assigned more than one θ -role.” This doesn’t apply to a situation where there are more DPs than θ -roles, only to a situation where there are more θ -roles than DPs.

Average: 0.64

- vi. * What did Tracy tell the owner of that the auction was over?

Complex Noun Phrase island.

If you said that this was an adjunct island, I allowed half a point—but the *of*-phrase here is not an adjunct, really.

Average: 1.01