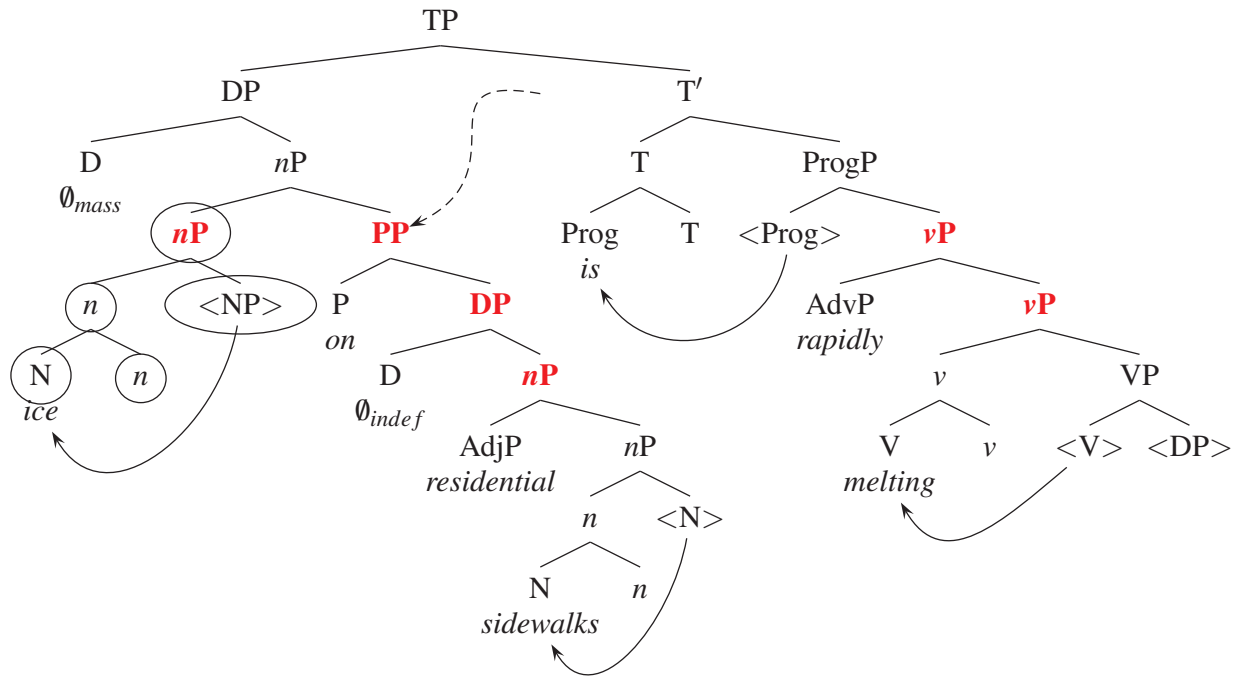


Budget your time. 30 points total. 80 minutes.
 The number of points assigned to each part is indicated by a number in brackets.

1. [6] Fill in the missing node labels 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 *Ice on residential sidewalks is rapidly melting*. The dashed arrow is for question 4.

(1)



There were a couple of labeling issues, but mostly these were fine. I don't have much guidance to offer except to just make sure, if you missed one of these, to figure out why they are the way I have them rather than the way you had them. If you put a v' above the vP , then there's something kind of deep about what these labels are supposed to represent that you haven't understood.

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

- (a) Is *residential sidewalks* a constituent? **Yes**
- (b) Is *rapidly melting* a constituent? **Yes**
- (c) Is *residential* a specifier? **No**
- (d) Is *on residential sidewalks* a complement? **No**
- (e) Is *rapidly* an adjunct? **Yes**
- (f) Does ProgP dominate *melting*? **Yes**

Here, quite a lot of people said *rapidly melting* is not a constituent, but it is. There is nothing else pronounced under the lowest node that contains both *rapidly* and *melting*. Another one that a number of people got wrong was saying that *on residential sidewalks* is a complement. It isn't, it's an adjunct to the *nP ice*. If you got something wrong in here, just make sure you know why the answer I put here is the right one.

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

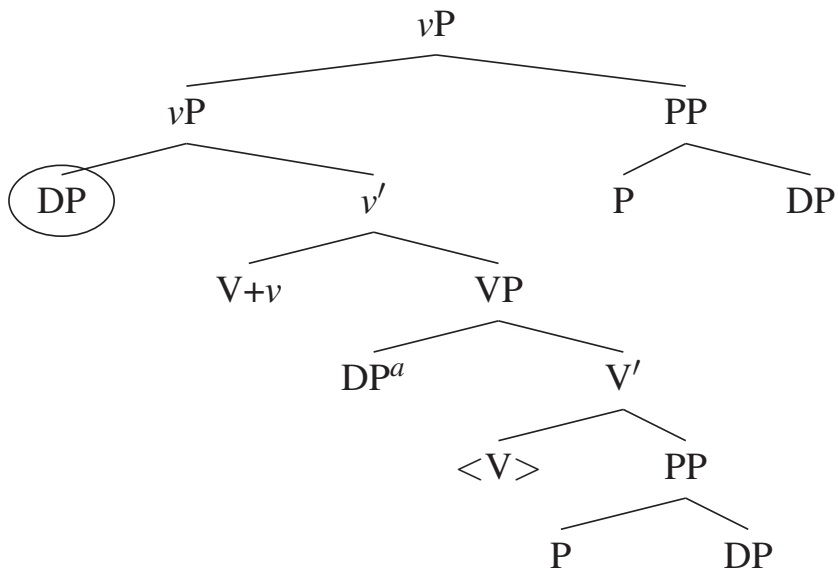
ditransitive / transitive / unergative / **unaccusative**

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

5. [1] **θ -role.** Name the θ -role that *ice on residential sidewalks* has in (1). **Theme**

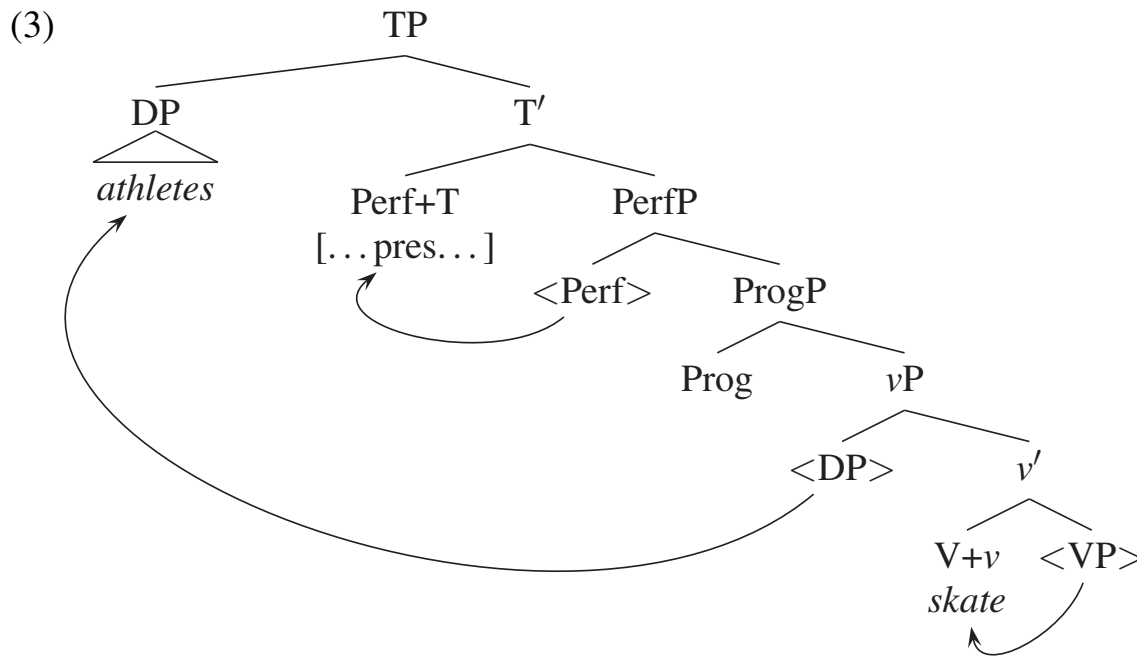
6. Suppose we start building a structure for a sentence, and at a certain stage we wind up with a *vP* as shown (abstractly) below in (2). *Note:* The superscript is just for identification purposes—it isn't part of the structure, I just need to be able to refer to that particular NP.

(2)



- (a) [1] Name the θ -role that the DP^a has. **Theme**
- (b) [1] Name the operation (Merge, Adjoin, Move) that connected DP^a and V' . **Merge**
- (c) [1] How many [μD^*] features were there—total—in these lexical items initially? (assume there are no “floating quantifiers” like *all*) **Four**
- (d) [1] Which of the following three sentences might plausibly include the vP in (2)?
1. **Mary puts bacon on sandwiches with delight.**
 2. Pat delivers sandwiches with bacon to customers.
 3. Steve orders sandwiches with bacon under protest.
- (e) [1] Circle any DP in (2) that does not (yet) have its [$\mu case:$] feature checked.

7. Suppose you had a sentence with the abstract structure given below in (3). I have provided the value for tense and the pronunciation of two lexical items (the NP, *athletes*, and the bare (uninflected) form of the verb, *skate*).



(a) [1] The verb shown in the structure in (3) (above) is...

ditransitive / transitive / **unergative** / unaccusative

(b) [1] Draw arrows in the tree that show, for things that moved, where they moved from and to.

(c) [1] Write the sentence that this would be the structure for.

Athletes have been skating.

(d) [1] What was the motivation to Merge vP and Prog?

The Hierarchy of Projections— vP was finished, Perf was next on the Hierarchy.

(e) [1] Prog started with a [μ Infl:] feature. What value does it have at the end?

Perf (that is, [μ Infl: Perf])

8. [2] Binding Theory I. Consider the sentence in (4), which is “trying to mean” *Mary convinced herself that she was unable to win the race*, and answer the questions below.

(4) * She_i convinced herself_i that Mary_i was unable to win the race.

(a) [1] Which noun phrase(s) bind *Mary* in (4)?

She and herself.

(b) [1] Which Principle(s) of Binding Theory is/are *not* violated in (4)?

Principles B (*she is free*), and A (*herself is locally bound by she*).

9. [2] Binding Theory II. Now consider the sentence in (5), which is “trying to mean” *John asked Mary to dismiss him from her committee*, and answer the questions below.

(5) * John_j asked her_i to dismiss himself_j from Mary_i's committee.

(a) [1] Which noun phrase(s), if any, bind *himself* in (5)?

John.

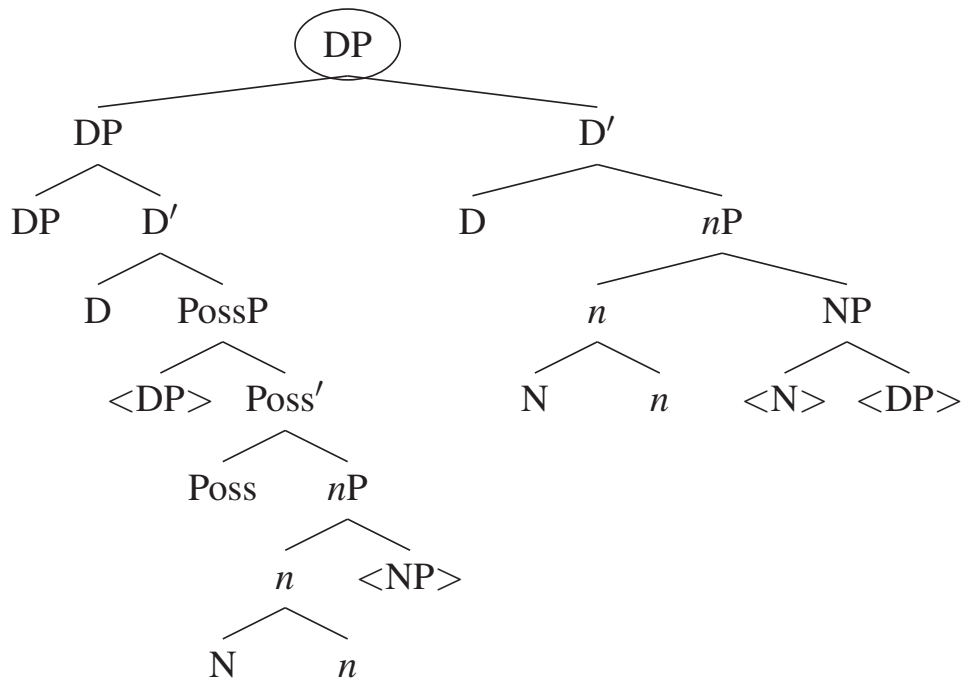
(b) [1] Which Principle(s) of Binding Theory (if any) is/are *not* violated in (5)?

Principle B. *Mary* violates Principle C, *himself* violates Principle A, *her* is ok.

The thing to remember (for any question that asks about “binding”) is that “binding” is *defined* like this: *X binds Y* if *X c-commands Y* and *X* is co-indexed with *Y*. In particular, the binding domain does not enter into it—binding occurs no matter what the binding domain is. However, the Principles of Binding Theory do care about the binding domain.

10. [2] DP Structure. Answer the questions below about (6). Assume that if no internal structure is *shown* for a DP, then the DP *has* no internal structure.

(6)



(a) [1] Circle any DP in (6) (in its final position, ignore <DP> traces) that does not have its [*u*case:] feature checked.

(b) [1] Write an English DP that (6) could represent.

My homework's destruction