1 Introduction

*** WARNING ***

This final differs significantly from the Tuesday section final. If you are in the Tuesday syntax section, you CANNOT do this final.

You final should be on $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11''$ paper computer printed or typewritten. You may draw your trees by hand on the same size paper, but draw them in ink.

The midterm is due at 4 P.M. on Monday, December 19, 2016.

Work by yourself. No collaboration is allowed. Non native speakers may ask native speakers for help with judgments with their own constructed examples, but not for help on any of the technical material in the exam or for help in constructing the examples. Non-native speakers should remember that their judgments will not be scored; the only thing being scored is whether they draw the right conclusions from the judgments they give.
2 Trees and $\theta$-grids: 40 points

Please read these directions carefully. Do all that is asked of you and also take full advantage of the options offered. The directions are not the same as they were for last year’s final.

Draw S-structure trees for the following sentences, and give $\theta$-grids for (2.1) (2.2), and (2.3). Be sure to have as many grids as there are clauses in each example. If you do not know what a clause is, fold up your final and give up. It’s too late now to learn.

For the trees use the Phrase-structure rules of Chapter 7, and the movement analyses of Chapters 10, 11, and 12. Show all movements and insertions with arrows and indicate all vacated positions with traces. For each position that a DP or Wh-phrase moves to, add an annotation to your tree indicating why that position was occupied. For example, in a passive clause, the object of a normally transitive verb moves to subject position in the same clause; the subject position should be annotated $\text{EPP}$, because these are the principles satisfied with this movement.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CP} & \rightarrow C' \\
C' & \rightarrow C \text{ TP} \\
\text{TP} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{CP} \\
\text{DP} \\
\end{array} \right\} T' \\
T' & \rightarrow T \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\text{AdjP} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{NegP} \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
\text{DP} & \rightarrow (\text{DP}) D' \\
D' & \rightarrow D \text{ NP} \\
\text{NP} & \rightarrow N' \\
N' & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{AdjP} \\
\text{NP} \\
\end{array} \right\} N' \\
N' & \rightarrow N' \text{ PP} \\
N' & \rightarrow N \left( \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{PP} \\
\text{CP} \\
\end{array} \right\} \right)
\end{align*}
\]
VP → V'
V' → AdvP V'
V' → V' \{ PP \\
      DP \\
      AdvP \}
V' → V (DP) \{ VP \\
           AdjP \\
           PP \\
           DP \\
           CP \}
PP → P'
P' → P (DP)
AdjP → (Deg) Adj'
Adj' → AdvP Adj'
Adj' → Adj (PP) (CP)
AdvP → (Deg) Adv'
Adv' → AdvP Adv'
Adv' → Adv
NegP → Neg'
Neg' → Neg \{ VP \\
      AdjP \\
      PP \\
      NP \}

Make sure your trees and your annotations are readable whether you
draw them by hand or with a computer. Make sure your arrows start an
dend in the right places. For example, there will be deductions for moving
a Wh-phrase to C instead of Spec of CP, or for moving a T to Spec of CP
instead of C. Readability considerations many of you have ignored in your
homeworks include (a) size of the tree and the size of the print in the tree;
(b) using a pencil; use a pen instead; and (c) reasonably spaced layout of the
tree. If you draw your tree illegibly, you will receive no credit for it. Please
use the tree website if you are having trouble drawing legible trees

If you draw your tree by hand, draw it on a separate piece of paper as
many times as it takes to resolve your layout issues. Then copy it to your
final version neatly. You may use triangles only for one-word phrases. You
will be marked off for every node you omit if you use a triangle for any other
purpose. Trees that are unreadable will be given no credit. If you have any
doubts about whether your trees are legible, show them to me.

If you posit a word with white space in it, put quotation marks around the proposed lexical item. For example, a tree claiming that *John Smith* is a noun would look like this:

```
  N
 `John Smith`
```

However, if you treat phrases that have a syntactic analysis, such as *too happy*, as single words, you will lose points.

If you do not know the part of speech of a word, consider the fact that this is a take home final. Do a Google search and get examples of the usage of the word. Try to find examples in which the word occurs in a context similar to the one you’ve been given.

Also, if you are not sure about the analysis of a word or phrase, consider discussing the issue, and presenting the alternatives (for example, you can draw two versions of the part of the tree that is affected), and discussing how you arrived at a decision. Even if I disagree with your final decision, I will often give you more credit for at least having thought about the issue.

You do not have to give any syntactic arguments in this section but, before drawing your trees, you should make sure that the things your trees claim are constituents are in fact constituents. If an example is ambiguous, draw a tree for one of the readings but give an unambiguous paraphrase of the reading you are drawing the tree for. A paraphrase of a sentence S is another sentence that has the same meaning as S. It is not a partial clue as to the meaning. Thus, for *Cow injures farmer with axe*, *Cow uses an axe to injure farmer* is a paraphrase, but *The cow has the axe* is not. Paraphrases should not themselves be ambiguous. Thus, *Cow uses an axe to injure farmer* is better than *Cow injures farmer using an axe*, because *Cow injures farmer using an axe* has the same ambiguity as *Cow injures farmer with axe*.

(2.1) It is remarkable that many college students seem to have been convinced of her guilt.
(2.2) Her therapist is apt to be swindled. *
(2.3) Who do you think John believed was eating a candy bar?
(2.4) Could Alice really believe the prince of Monaco did not recognize his son?
(2.5) Will that portrait of Napoleon be sure to bring six figures?
3  Theta grids: 10 points

Draw theta grids for sentences (2.2) and (2.3).

4  Principles: 15 points

Determine which principles of grammar, as laid out in Chapters 8, 10, and 11 can be used to account for the following ungrammatical sentences. (You do not need to consider the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) of Chap 12). If a theta-violation is involved, draw the theta grids for all clauses and indicate which theta-grid creates the violation. Don’t draw a theta-grid if a theta-violation is not involved. Choose accounts consistent with the derivations indicated by the brackets and traces. An italics $t$ indicates that you should consider a derivation in which a DP has been moved from the position filled by $t$. When a portion of the sentence is enclosed in $[\text{cp} \ldots ]$, that indicates you should treat it as an embedded clause.

(4.1) * Ferdinand remembered Alice the president. (For this one, also explain how the grammatical sentence Ferdinand bought Alice a present? is different).

(4.2) * Liam knew $[\text{cp} \ldots ]$ that was obvious Lila was not returning.

(4.3) * It is unlikely $[\text{cp} \ldots ]$ the Dean to be so late.

(4.4) * The fact $[\text{cp} \ldots ]$ that was nervous angled Tom.

(4.5) * John seems $[\text{cp} \ldots ]$ to have been convicted the judge.

5  German Problem: 10 points

1. We will assume that VP in German is head final. The following example gives some of the motivation for this idea.

$$\begin{array}{l}
\text{(1) Ich glaube dass sie das Buch liest} \\
\text{I believe-PRES that she the book read} \\
\text{I believe that she is reading the book.}
\end{array}$$

Draw a tree for the surface structure of this sentence.

2. Assuming German VP’s are head final, use the following examples to argue that German is a V-movement language (Specifically, \(V \rightarrow T\)). Be sure to indicate which examples \(V \rightarrow T\) movement has happened in, and which have no \(V \rightarrow T\) movement.
(2) Tanzt das Mädchen?  
Dances the girl  
Is the girl dancing?

(3) Das Mädchen tanzt  
the girl dances  
The girl dances.

(4) Das Mädchen muss tanzen.  
the girl must dance  
The girl must dance.

Draw a tree that illustrates the V-movement and preserves X-bar assumptions about the relationship of heads and complements in D-structure.

3. Now consider German prefixes. The following sentences illustrate ordinary uses of the dictionary verbs anmachen (turn on) and aufgeben (send):

(5) a. Wir müssen das Licht an-machen.  
we must the light on-make.  
We must turn the light on.

   b. Die Frau musst den Brief auf-gaben.  
   the woman must the letter send  
The woman must send the letter.

Draw trees for the following sentences and explain what has happened:

(6) a. Der Man macht das Licht an.  
the man makes the light on.  
The man turns the light on.

   b. Die Frau gibt den Brief auf.  
   the woman gives the letter out.  
The woman sends the letter.

6 Vietnamese: 20 points

(7) a. toy di cē  
I go market  
‘I am going to the market.’
b. toy thay kon gay.
   I see the girl
   ‘I see the girl.’

c. toy an sway.
   I eat mango
   ‘I am eating a mango.’

d. kon gay xawŋ di cē.
   the girl NEG go market
   ‘The girl is not going to the market.’

e. toy xawŋ thay ka.
   I NEG see fish
   ‘I do not see any fish.’

f. kon gay thay sway xawŋ
   the girl see mango NEG
   ‘Does the girl see the mango?’

f. kon gay an kayzi
   the girl eat what
   ‘What did the girl eat?’

g. kon gay di daw
   the girl go where
   ‘Where did the girl go?’

(6.1) On the basis of this data, does Vietnamese have have V→T movement? Say exactly what examples motivate your response, and say why.

(6.2) On the basis of this data, does Vietnamese have have T→C movement? Say exactly what examples motivate your response, and say why.

(6.3) On the basis of this data, does Vietnamese have Wh-movement? Say exactly what examples motivate your response, and say why.

(6.4) On the basis of this data, where do think Vietnamese complementizers come, sentence initially or sentence finally? Cite some data from this data set as evidence for your claim. (Note: looking this answer up on the Internet will get you no credit.)

(6.5) Write phrase structure rules for this data. You should use the Xbar system of Chapter 7, like the rules given to you in Section 2.
(6.6) Draw S-structure trees for examples (7a), (7e), and (7f). Indicate any movements you are assuming.