1 Introduction

*** WARNING ***

This final differs significantly from the Monday section final. If you are in the Monday 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 2:00 P.M on Tuesday, December 20, 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CP} & \rightarrow \text{C'} \\
\text{C'} & \rightarrow \text{C TP} \\
\text{TP} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{DP}
\end{array} \right\} \text{T'} \\
\text{T'} & \rightarrow \text{T} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
\text{AdjP} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{NegP}
\end{array} \right\} \\
\text{DP} & \rightarrow (\text{DP}) \text{D'} \\
\text{D'} & \rightarrow \text{D NP} \\
\text{NP} & \rightarrow \text{N'} \\
\text{N'} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{AdjP} \\
\text{NP}
\end{array} \right\} \text{N'} \\
\text{N'} & \rightarrow \text{N'} \text{PP} \\
\text{N'} & \rightarrow \text{N} \left( \begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \\
\text{CP}
\end{array} \right)
\end{align*}
\]
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 end 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:

\[
\text{N} \quad \text{‘John Smith’}
\]

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 unfortunate that syntactic theory does not provide an answer to your question.
(2.2) The dogs are bound to be caught.
(2.3) What did Sue give Mary for her birthday?
(2.4) Should John reveal that the letter to his cousin did not arrive?
(2.5) Will the mayor say that the issue was not likely to have been decided?
3  **Theta grids: 10 points**

Draw theta grids for sentences (2.1) and (2.5).

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 $[cp ... ]$, that indicates you should treat it as an embedded clause.

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

(4.2) * The mayor denied $[cp [c that ] had rioted ]$

(4.3) * The mountains are likely $[cp$ to be snowing at that time.$]. (For this one, also explain how the grammatical sentence The mountains are likely to be snowy at that time is different).

(4.4) * It is apt $[cp$ the senator to be convicted. $]$

(4.5) * Liam resented $[cp [c that ] the children were punished the teacher.]$

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.

   (1) Ich glaube dass sie das Buch liest
   I believe-PRES that she the book read
   I believe that she is reading the book.

   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→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 anmachen.
we must the light on-make.
We must turn the light on.

b. Die Frau musst den Brief aufgeben.
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 Mann 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 Mandarin: 20 points

(7) a. nǐ qù
 2nd-sg go
‘You are going.’

b. nǐ bù qù
2nd-sg not go
‘You are not going.’

c. tā lái
3rd-sg come
‘He/she/it is coming.’

d. tā lái le
3rd-sg come pst
‘He/she/it came.’

e. tā lái le ma
3rd-sg come pst Q
‘Did he/she/it come?’

f. tā mǎi shū
3rd-sg buy book
‘He/she buys books.’

g. tā bù mǎi shū
3rd-sg not buy book
‘He/She doesn’t buy books/the books.’

h. tā mǎi shū le ma
3rd-sg buy book pst Q
‘Did he/she buy books/the books?’

i. nǐ xīng qì shénme
2nd-sg want eat what
‘What do you want to eat?’

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

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

(6.4) On the basis of this data, where do you think Mandarin complementizers come, sentence initially or sentence finally? Cite some examples 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, but of course different, because Mandarin is different.

(6.6) Draw S-structure trees for examples (7g), (7h), and (7i). Indicate any movements you are assuming.