

Syntax Final: Monday Section

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Introduction to Syntax

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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 Wednesday, December 16, 2015.

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 θ -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 θ -grids for (2.1) (2.2), and (2.3). Be sure to have as many grids as there are clauses in each example.

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 EPP , because these are

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the principles satisfied with this movement.

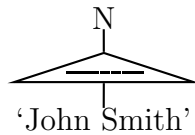
$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{CP} \rightarrow \text{C}' \\
 \text{C}' \rightarrow \text{C TP} \\
 \text{TP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{CP} \\ \text{DP} \end{array} \right\} \text{T}' \\
 \text{T}' \rightarrow \text{T} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{NegP} \end{array} \right\} \\
 \text{DP} \rightarrow (\text{DP}) \text{D}' \\
 \text{D}' \rightarrow \text{D NP} \\
 \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{N}' \\
 \text{N}' \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \text{N}' \\
 \text{N}' \rightarrow \text{N}' \text{PP} \\
 \text{N}' \rightarrow \text{N} \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{PP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right\} \right)
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{V}' \\
\text{V}' \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{AdvP V}' \\
\text{V}' \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{V}' \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PP} \\ \text{DP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\} \\
\text{V}' \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{V (DP)} \left(\left(\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{DP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right) \right) \right) \\
\text{PP} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{P}' \\
\text{P}' \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{P (DP)} \\
\text{AdjP} \rightarrow \quad (\text{Deg}) \text{Adj}' \\
\text{Adj}' \rightarrow \quad \text{AdvP Adj}' \\
\text{Adj}' \rightarrow \quad \text{Adj (PP) (CP)} \\
\text{AdvP} \rightarrow \quad (\text{Deg}) \text{Adv}' \\
\text{Adv}' \rightarrow \quad \text{AdvP Adv}' \\
\text{Adv}' \rightarrow \quad \text{Adv} \\
\text{NegP} \rightarrow \quad \text{Neg}' \\
\text{Neg}' \rightarrow \quad \text{Neg} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}
\end{array}$$

Make sure your trees and your annotations are readable whether you draw them by hand or with a computer. Make sure your arrows start and 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.

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:



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 completely certain that the murder weapon was found in John's office.
- (2.2) Our college president seems to be guilty of embezzling.
- (2.3) John is sure to be investigated by the authorities for his actions.
- (2.4) Could Alice have really kicked the ambassador to Equador in the pants?
- (2.5) Is an important work of art like that likely to be found in a private citizen's house?

3 Principles: 12 points

Determine which principles of grammar, as laid out in Chapters 8, 10, 11, and 12, can be used to account for the following ungrammatical sentences. Choose accounts consistent with the derivations indicated by the brackets and traces. 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.

- (3.1) * Did Oswald shoot Alice the president? (For this one, also explain how the grammatical sentence *Did Oswald buy Alice a present?* is different).
- (3.2) * Fred was sure that was unlikely Sam would leave.
- (3.3) * is a fact that Tom is nervous.
- (3.4) * It is very likely the dentist to have committed the crime.

4 German Problem: 13 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, $V \rightarrow T$). 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-geben.
 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.

5 Polish: 5 points

We have indicated that there are some languages which require subjects (EPP-languages) and some which do not. Based on Polish examples like the following:

- (7) a. Janek tancz-e
 Janek dance-3s.pres
 Janek dances.
- b. tancz-e
 dance-3g.pres
 He dances.

we would conclude that Polish is **not** an EPP language.

- (5.1) However, there is a problem with this, and the problem is the theta criterion. Explain using the data above how there might be a theta-criterion problem. Draw a theta grid to illustrate.
- (5.2) In Chapter 11, the chapter on DP movement, we introduced the idea that an affix might fill a theta-role in our treatment of passive, because we said the passive affix *-en* fills the Agent role. Discuss using this **role-filling affix** analysis in our treatment of Polish. How might it solve our problem? Illustrate with a theta grid of (7b). How might it create a problem? Illustrate with a theta grid of (7a).

6 Tlingit: 30 points

Try to answer the following questions about the Tlingit data that follows. Note that the data and the questions asked here **different from the Tlingit data in the Tuesday section final**, potentially affecting the answers. If you have some difficulties, explain how the question presupposes information that the data doesn't supply, or presupposes properties that the data doesn't have. The questions that will be given the most weight are 6.6 and 6.7, which together are worth 12 points.

- (6.1) Is Tlingit head final or head initial? What assumption do you need to make to provide a uniform answer?
- (6.2) Is Tlingit SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS, OSV, or SOV?
- (6.3) Our analysis of TP says that tense/agreement features found in T need to be united with the V and that verb-raising or affix lowering is the result. Do you see anything in this data that shows something analogous going on in Tlingit with D and N? What is it? What examples show it? Assume that Tlingit is affix lowering and draw a tree of one of the examples you just cited that shows it.
- (6.4) Is Tlingit an EPP language?
- (6.5) Do you expect Tlingit to have expletives? Why or why not?
- (6.6) Assuming that Tlingit has TPs and VPs, write the phrase structure rules this data requires using Chapter 3-style rules; draw the tree for (14). Use a tree consistent with your phrase-structure rules. **Use no English words in your trees.**
- (6.7) Do any of the examples in this data set appear to raise any issues with respect to the θ -criterion? If so, explain, and show the theta-grid for at least one problematic example.

- (6.8) If there are any problems with respect to the theta criterion in this data set, how might the following idea help?

A zero-pronoun is an ordinary pronoun which is not pronounced. Like an ordinary pronoun it can either have an antecedent or just refer to some individual in context.

Explain why zero-pronouns help with the theta-criterion problem or why not. Draw theta-grids for (3) and (7) to help illustrate your discussion.

- (6.9) Whether or not you feel that zero-pronouns are of relevance to this data, explain the difference between a zero pronoun and a **shadow pronoun**; although the term shadow pronoun is not used in the exercise, the phenomenon was introduced in GPS1 in Carnie, Chapter 11, p. 347. The pronoun *li* is a shadow pronoun in example (b). In describing the difference between shadow pronouns and zero pronouns, be sure to discuss any difference in how they interact with the theta-criterion.
- (6.10) Whether or not you find zero-pronouns of relevance, discuss how positing zero-pronouns would affect (a) your answer to 6.4; (b) the phrase-structure rules you proposed in answering 6.6. If you already posited zero-pronouns in your initial analysis, discuss how the phrase structure rules would differ if you didn't posit zero-pronouns. If you do find you need to modify your phrase-structure rules, redraw your tree for (14). to be consistent with the new rules.
- (6.11) Discuss whether a role-filling affix analysis like the one discussed in Section 5 is a viable alternative to a zero-pronoun analysis for this data. Draw revised theta-grid for examples (3) and (7) to illustrate the role-filling affix analysis. Which is better, the zero-pronoun analysis or the role-filling affix analysis? Or do they make equivalent predictions?

(1) $\Lambda\chi$ gan-i χ waxaf
 1sg firewood-1sg 1sg.sawed.off
 'I sawed off my firewood.'

(2) una χ wat'e
 gun 1sg.found
 'I found a gun.'

(3) qa t'utʃ' x Λ fa aw Λ t'e
 man black saw 3sg.found
 'A man found a black saw.'

- (4) qa gʌn awʌxaj
 man firewood 3sg.sawed.off
 ‘A man sawed off firewood.’
- (5) we qa ʃawʌt awʌgwal
 that man woman 3sg.stabbed
 ‘That man stabbed a woman’
- (6) we ʃawʌt s’isa awʌus’
 that woman cloth 3sg.washed
 ‘That woman washed a cloth’
- (7) du dlet us’a-yi awʌt’e
 his white soap-3sg 3sg.found
 S/he_i found his/her_j white soap. (*i* and *j* can be different persons)
- (8) ʃawʌt we dlet s’isa awʌhun
 woman that white cloth 3sg.sold
 ‘A woman sold that white cloth’
- (9) we t’utʃ’ qa us’a awʌhun
 that black man soap 3sg.sold
 ‘That black man sold soap.’
- (10) ʌχ xʌʃa-yi awʌhun.
 1sg saw-1sg 3sg.sold
 ‘S/he sold my saw.’
- (11) t’utʃ’ gwʌla awʌt’e
 black dagger 3sg.found
 ‘S/he found a black dagger.’
- (12) du gwʌla-yi we qa awʌdzʌq
 3sg dagger-3sg that man 3sg.killed
 ‘His/her dagger killed that man.’
- (13) we qa wacix awʌun
 that man caribou 3sg.shot
 ‘That man shot a caribou.’
- (14) ʌx dlet wacix-i ʃawʌt awʌdzʌq
 1sg white caribou-1sg woman 3sg.killed
 ‘My white caribou killed a woman.’