1 Introduction

You final should be on 8½" × 11" paper computer printed or typewritten. You may draw your trees by hand on the same size paper, but draw them in ink. You may also use printed trees (created, for example, on the tree-drawing website), and annotated them with arrows and principle names by hand.

The midterm is due at 11 A.M. on Tuesday, December 16, 2014.

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

Draw S-structure trees for the following sentences, using 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 moved.
For example, in a passive the object of a normally transitive verb moves to subject position in the same clause; the subject position should be annotated \textsc{epp}, because these are the principles satisfied with this movement.

\textsc{case}

\begin{center}
\begin{align*}
\text{CP} & \rightarrow \text{C}' \\
\text{C}' & \rightarrow \text{C TP} \\
\text{TP} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{CP} \\
\text{DP}
\end{array} \right\} \text{T'} \\
\text{T'} & \rightarrow \text{T} \left( \begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\text{AdjP}
\end{array} \right) \\
\text{DP} & \rightarrow (\text{DP}) \text{D}' \\
\text{D}' & \rightarrow (\text{D}) \text{NP} \\
\text{NP} & \rightarrow \text{N}' \\
\text{N}' & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{AdjP} \\
\text{NP}
\end{array} \right\} \text{N}' \\
\text{N}' & \rightarrow \text{N'} \text{PP} \\
\text{N'} & \rightarrow \text{N} \left( \begin{array}{l}
\text{PP} \\
\text{CP}
\end{array} \right) \\
\text{VP} & \rightarrow \text{V'} \\
\text{V'} & \rightarrow \text{AdvP} \text{V'} \\
\text{V'} & \rightarrow \text{V'} \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{PP} \\
\text{DP}
\end{array} \right\} \\
\text{V'} & \rightarrow \text{V} (\text{DP}) \left( \begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{CP}
\end{array} \right)
\end{align*}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{align*}
\text{PP} & \rightarrow \text{P}' \\
\text{P'} & \rightarrow \text{P} (\text{DP}) \\
\text{AdjP} & \rightarrow (\text{Deg}) \text{Adj'} \\
\text{Adj'} & \rightarrow \text{AdvP} \text{Adj'} \\
\text{Adj'} & \rightarrow \text{Adj} (\text{PP}) (\text{CP}) \\
\text{AdvP} & \rightarrow (\text{Deg}) \text{Adv'} \\
\text{Adv'} & \rightarrow \text{AdvP} \text{Adv'} \\
\text{Adv'} & \rightarrow \text{Adv}
\end{align*}
\end{center}

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.

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:

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N
  ‘John Smith’
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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.

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.

Draw theta grids for (2.4) and (2.5)

(2.1) Is the king likely to be questioned by the queen?
3 Principles

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 theta-grid if a theta-violation is not involved.

(3.1) * What question didn’t the king of Spain answer the queen t? (For this one, also explain how the grammatical sentences Why didn’t the king of Spain answer the queen t? What question didn’t the king of Spain ask the queen t? are different).

(3.2) * The queen thinks that it is certain [cp the king to win.] (Assume the it is an expletive it)

(3.3) * John is obvious that he will win. (For this one, also explain why the grammatical sentence John is sure that he will win is different).

(3.4) * The queen is certain [cp t to snow.] (For this one, also explain why the grammatical sentence The queen is certain [cp t to win] is different).

(3.5) * Queen Isabel is quite sorry [cp that interrupted the king] (Assume there is NO trace in the embedded clause)

(3.6) * Queen Isabel is quite sorry that t interrupted the king.

(3.7) * It is quite sorry that the queen interrupted the king. (Assume the it is an expletive, and for this one, explain why the grammatical sentence it is quite obvious that the queen interrupted the king requires the it to be an expletive).

(3.8) * The queen is certain [cp to be cheered the king.]

4 Verb raising, mostly Irish

(4.1) We have explained VSO movement in Irish using two assumptions

(4.1a) Irish is a verb raising language (There is \( V \rightarrow T \) movement).
(4.b) VP-internal subjects are universal, but in some languages, Irish, for one, DPs can check Nominative case in Spec of VP.
These two assumptions yield the following S-structure for a simple Irish clause with no Auxiliary, which we’ll call analysis A.
a. bhuailfidh an piobaire an fheadog mhor
   play.FUT the piper flute
b. The piper will play the flute,
A.

Now the same fact could be explained with another analysis we’ll call analysis B. Suppose that subjects occurred in Spec of TP and Irish had obligatory $T \rightarrow C$ movement. In that case, the S-structure tree would look like this.
But the following sentence provides an argument against analysis B. Explain why.

(1) a. Duirt mé gur phog Maire an lucharachan.
   Said I that kissed Mary the leprechaun.
   b. I said that Mary kissed the leprechaun.

(4.2) Consider the following Irish sentence, which has two readings, given in (2b) and (2c):

(2) a. Caide a\textsuperscript{L} cheapann tu a\textsuperscript{L} bhuailfidh an piobaire?
   What \textit{wh} think you \textit{wh} play.FUT the piper
   b. What do you think the piper will play?
   c. What do you think will play the piper?

The S-structure tree for the more pragmatically likely reading (b) of this sentence looks like this.
(4.3) Which of the following sentences have V→T movement? Which have T→C movement? Whether you say there is movement or not, explain how you reached your conclusion. Your explanations can have two forms. The language isn’t a language in which the movement happens, or the movement is blocked for some reason. If the movement is blocked, say what the reason is, pointing out specific facts about the sentences here.

(3) a. Phog Maire an lucharachan.
   Kiss.PAST Mary the leprechaun
   “Mary kissed the leprechaun” (Irish, see Chapter 10, section 1.3)

b. Ta Maire ag-pogail an lucharachan.
   Is Maire ing-kiss the leprechaun
   “Mary is kissing the leprechaun”

c. Gianni vede spesso Maria
   John sees often Mary
   “John often sees Mary.” (Italian, see problem GPS1, p. 313)

d. Gianni ha spesso visto Maria
   John has often seen Mary
   “John has often seen Mary.”