1 Introduction (0 points)

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. Pencil will not be accepted.

The final is due December 18, 2018, at 2PM in the linguistics office in Storm Hall West. Please be responsive to that deadline. It is absolute.

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 (25 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,
For the trees, show all movements and insertions with arrows and indicate all vacated positions with traces. For each position that a DP or Verb or T 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 the principles satisfied with this CASE movement.

For the trees use the Phrase-structure rules of Chapter 7, and the movement analyses of Chapters 10 and 11. An explicitly spelled out version is given below. Bear in mind some of the constraints we have learned in class as you draw your trees; for example, every category X is the head of some XP node above it. Do not put a T in a tree unless you can construct an appropriate TP above it, of which it is the head; TPs are never the complements of verbs or adjectives, only CPs are; VP complements are rare (only have and be can have VP complements).

\[
\begin{align*}
CP & \rightarrow \ C' \quad \text{No modifier} \\
C' & \rightarrow \ C \ TP \quad \text{Complement} \\
TP & \rightarrow \ \left( \begin{array}{c} \{ \text{CP} \} \\
\text{DP} \end{array} \right) \ T' \quad \text{Specifier} \\
T' & \rightarrow \ T \ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\
\text{AdjP} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{NegP} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{Complement} \\
DP & \rightarrow \ (\text{DP}) \ D' \quad \text{Specifier} \\
D' & \rightarrow \ D \ \text{NP} \quad \text{Complement} \\
NP & \rightarrow \ N' \quad \text{No modifier} \\
N' & \rightarrow \ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{AdjP} \\
\text{NP} \end{array} \right\} \ N' \quad \text{Adjunct} \\
N' & \rightarrow \ N' \ PP \quad \text{Adjunct} \\
N' & \rightarrow \ N \ \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{PP} \\
\text{CP} \end{array} \right) \quad \text{Complement}
\end{align*}
\]
Make sure your trees and your annotations are readable whether you draw them by hand or with a computer. Make sure your arrows start and end in the right places. For example, there will be deductions for moving a T to spc of CP instead of C, or for moving a DP to Specifier of CP instead of Specifier of TP. 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.

You should not posit a word with white space in it unless you are invited to. For example, if you are told that ‘Mr. John Smith’ can be treated as Noun, the following tree would be acceptable:

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N
'Mr. John Smith'
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Note: only propose words with spaces in them if you are invited to. 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. Try to find more than one example, because most words in English can function as more than one part of speech.

Also, if you are not sure about the analysis of a word or phrase, consider discussing the issue underneath your tree, 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.

If you believe an example is ambiguous, draw a tree for one of the readings and 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*. 
You do not have to give any syntactic arguments in this section but, before submitting your trees, you should make sure (a) that you have omitted no words from the sentence you were given; and (b) that the things your trees claim are constituents are in fact constituents.

(2.1) I consider it to be very unlikely that a single rainy season will reverse the current trends in climate change.
(2.2) That anyone has accepted the president’s version surprises me.
(2.3) Zoltan appears to have been driven to school in a stretch limo.
(2.4) Is Ivan’s guitar certain to seem to cost a great deal?
(2.5) Has the mayor of Rome been notified of the tragedy?

3 Theta Grids (25 points)

(3.1) For the following sentences: (a) decide whether the *it* is an expletive or not and state your conclusion. Construct another sentence using the same predicate that supports your conclusion by testing whether the position occupied by *it* receives a theta-role. (b) For the first sentence draw theta grids for the sentence with and without the PP that is in parentheses. For the second, just draw theta grids for the sentence.

(1) a. It is obvious (to Mary) that John bares his teeth a lot.
   b. It is confident that the attacker will retreat.

(3.2) Draw theta grids for the following sentences. If a sentence is ambiguous explain the ambiguity and draw two theta grids.

(2) a. It is certain that John bares his teeth a lot.
   b. That John bares his teeth a lot is certain.
   c. Mary is certain that John bares his teeth a lot.

4 Grammar principles (15 points)

Look at the ungrammatical sentences below. For each sentence, explain why it is ungrammatical, using one of the grammatical principles introduced in Chapters 8-11. If there is a theta criterion violation, draw the theta grid for the sentence. Note: The *t* that appears in some of the examples is a trace, indicating there has been a movement.
(3) a. * snowed last night.
   b. * The city snowed.
   c. * John appeared [CP t to be likely [CP t to rain]].
   d. * It appeared [CP John to be likely [CP t to leave]].
   e. * It seems [CP the girl to smile].
   f. * John appeared [CP Mary to leave].
   g. * John is fond Mary.

5 Indonesian (20 points)

Look at the Indonesian sentences below and their glosses and translations; then answer the questions below. Note: You may treat the term of respect Pak rektor (glossed as “Mr. rector”) as a single Noun with a space in it. The rules for when the prefix me(n)- occurs need not concern us, so you can basically ignore it, although its presence has been indicated as X in the glosses.

4 Guru kami duduk di ruang Pak rektor
   teacher our sit in room Mr. rector
   ‘Our teacher is sitting in the rector’s office.’

5 Guru kami men-duduk-i ruang Pak rektor
   Teacher our X-sit-TRAN room Mr. rector
   ‘Our teacher is occupying the rector’s office.’

6 Ruang Pak rektor di-duduk-i oleh guru kami
   room Mr. rector di-sit-TRAN by teacher our
   ‘The rector’s office is occupied by our teacher.’

7 Air akan me-resap kedalam tanah
   water FUT X-seep into ground
   ‘Water will seep into the ground.’
(8) Air me-resap-i tanah
    water x-seep-TRAN ground
    ‘Water seeps into the ground.’

(9) Tanah di-resap-i oleh air
    ground di-seep-TRAN by water
    ‘The ground is seeped into by the water.’

(10) *Tanah di-resap oleh air
    ground di-seep by water

(5.1) Draw trees for (4), (5), and (6), using the system of Chapter 7. That is, assume every clause has a CP in addition to a TP, and assume DPs. If there are any movements please indicate them with traces and arrows.

(5.2) Give all the phrase structure rules needed to account for all the sentences in (4) through (9) (not just the ones you drew trees for), in the same style as the chapter 7 rules given in Section 2.

(5.3) Leaving aside rules with no modifier, which of your phrase-structure rules are head-final? Which are not?

(5.4) Explain what the difference is between (5) and (6) and between (8) and (9). What is the role of the prefix di-? How would you describe that role using Case?

(5.5) How would you describe the role of the suffix -i using Case?

(5.6) Being consistent with what you’ve said about di- and -i, speculate as to why (10) is ungrammatical.

(5.7) In order to use the phrase structure system of Chapter 7, you had to draw a TP and there needed to be a head T. Explain what data told you where to place T in your trees.

6 German Problem (15 points)

1. In this problem, you should assume that VP in German is head-final (the German verb comes after all its modifiers). The following example gives some of the motivation for this idea.

   (11) Er sagt dass die Kinder das Buch lesen
        He say-PRES that the children the book read
        He says that the children read the book.
(12) Er sagt dass die Kinder das Buch gelesen haben.
He say-PRES that the children the book read-PPT have
He says that the children have read the book.

Draw a tree for the surface structure of (11) and (12).

2. Assuming German VP’s are head final, use (11), (12), and the following examples to argue that German is a V-movement language (Specifically, $V \rightarrow T$). Be sure to indicate which of the three examples $V \rightarrow T$ movement has happened in, and which have no $V \rightarrow T$ movement.

(13) Sieht die Frau den Mann?
sees the woman the man
Does the woman see the man?

(14) Die Frau muss den Mann sehen.
the woman must the man see.
The woman must see the man.

(15) Die Frau sieht den Mann
the woman see the man
The woman sees the man.

Using the assumptions of Challenge Problem Set 3, in Chapter 10 (pp. 320–321), draw a tree that illustrates the V-movement for one of the examples that has V-movement.