

Note: You may use the textbook (Radford 2004), class handouts, and class notes on this final exam.

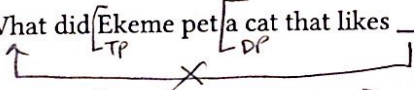
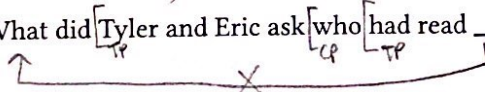
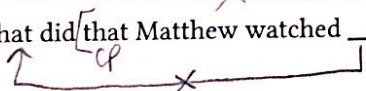
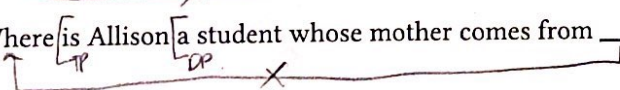
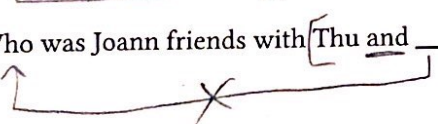
1 2 points

Please briefly explain the difference between bullet features ([•x•]) and plus features ([+x+]) in our syntactic theory. (Note: Two or three sentences should suffice.)

Bullet features are features that heads bear that encodes selection information and triggers the merge function with lexical items. Plus features are features that heads bear that encodes head movement information and triggers movement from one head to another, causing the creation of complex heads.

2 5 points

Please state why each of the following sentences is ungrammatical; in other words, the principle or constraint that they violate.

- (1) a. *What did Ekeme pet a cat that likes ___? Subjacency

- b. *What did Tyler and Eric ask who had read ___? Subjacency

- c. *What did that Matthew watched ___ surprise Kathleen? subject condition

- d. *Where is Allison a student whose mother comes from ___? Subjacency

- e. *Who was Joann friends with [Thu and ___]? CSC


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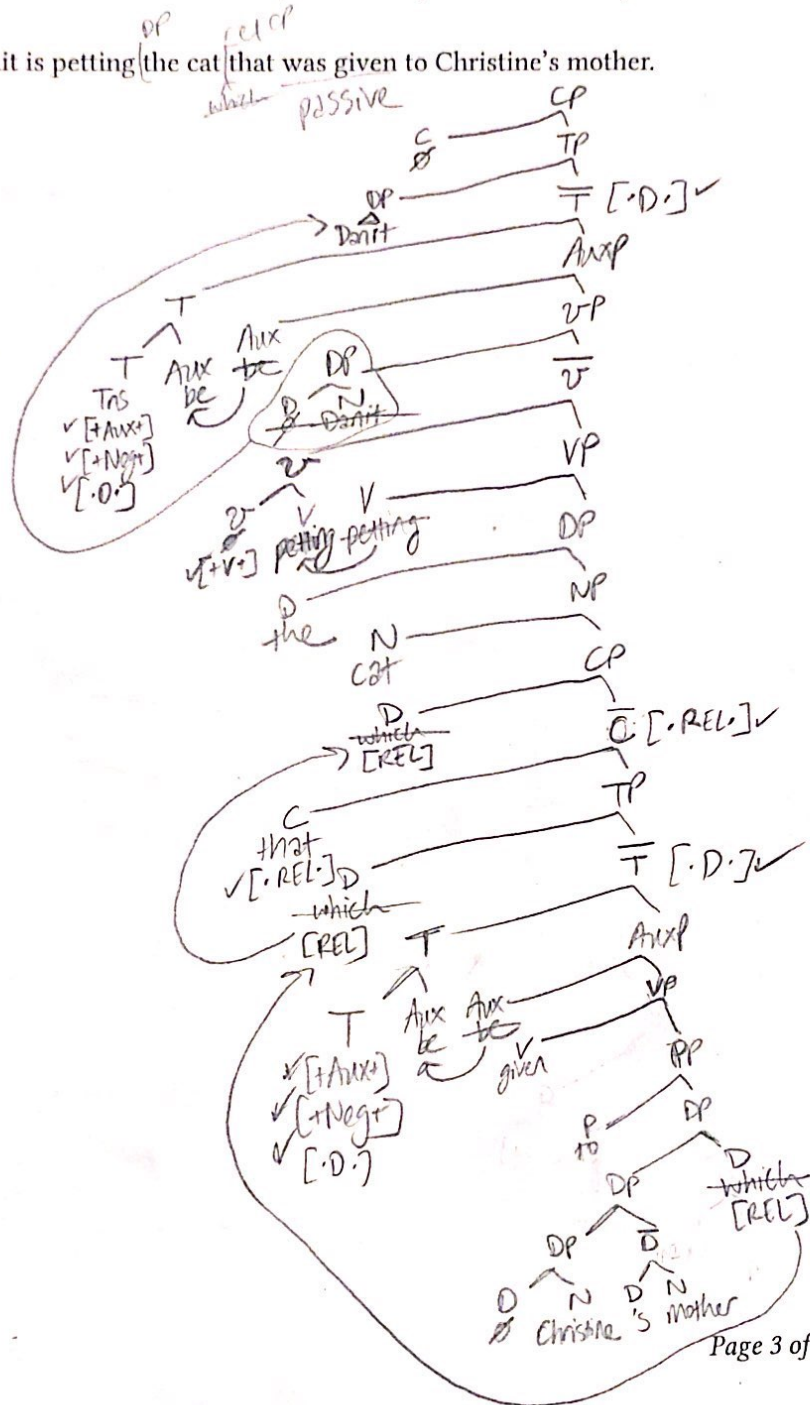
10 points

Please answer the following multiple-choice questions. Select ***all*** of the answers that apply.

- (1) What is the syntactic subject of "leave" in the sentence "Jessica decided to leave".
- A. Jessica
B. PRO
C. *pro*
D. it has no subject
- (2) Fill in the blank: The verb "seems" is a(n) ___ verb
- A. unergative verb
B. control verb
C. raising verb
D. transitive verb
- (3) Which of the following predicate types do not occur with a *v* projection?
- A. passive
B. control
C. unergative
D. unaccusative
- (4) What constraint does the sentence "He₁ thought that Isaac called Henry₁" violate?
- A. Condition A
B. Condition B
C. Condition C
D. Condition H
- (5) What does the EPP apply to?
- A. Null finite T
B. Overt finite T
C. Nonfinite T
D. Embedded finite T

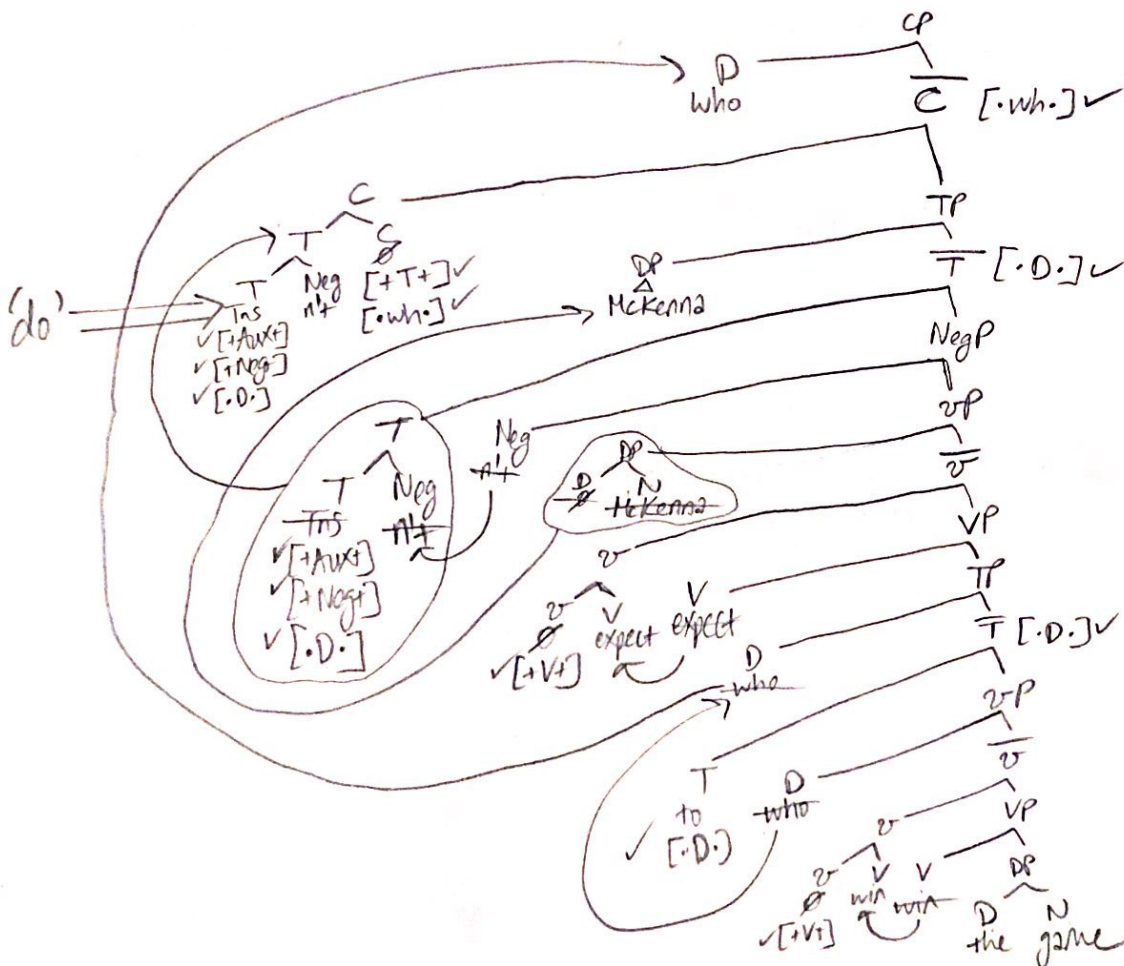
Please draw the **final structure** for the sentence in (2). You do not need to show each derivational step, but you do need to include the features that are relevant for the derivation. This will minimally include any features that may drive movement.

(2) Danit is petting ^{DP} ^{rel CP} (the cat ^{which} ^{passive} that was given to Christine's mother).



Please draw the **final structure** for the sentence in (3). You do not need to show each derivational step, but you do need to include the features that are relevant for the derivation. This will minimally include any features that may drive movement.

- (3) Who didn't McKenna expect to win the game?
 McKenna didn't expect who to win the game?



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3 points

In Finnish, *wh*-questions involve movement of the *wh*-expression to [Spec, CP], but no movement of a verbal element, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. Karen on ostanut kirjan
Karen has bought book
'Karen has bought a book'
- b. **Mitä** Karen on ostanut **mitä**?
what Karen has bought what
'What has Karen bought?'

Question: Which feature or features does the *wh*-question complementizer bear in Finnish? Make sure to exhaustively list them.

C
∅
[·wh·]
[·T·]

7

10 points

This final question deals with an interaction between different independent syntactic processes in German. This interaction yields an interesting surface phenomenon: German *wh*-questions appear to not obey Superiority. Like English, when a *wh*-question contains two *wh*-expressions in German, it must be the case that one of them moves to [Spec, CP]. However, unlike English, either *wh*-expression can be the one that moves, not just the one closest to C.

- (5) a. Lauren has bought a book.
b. **Who** has bought **what**?
c. ***What** has **who** bought?

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- (6) a. Lauren hat ein Buch gekauft
Lauren has a book bought
'Lauren has bought a book'
- b. **Wer** hat **wer** was gekauft?
who has who what bought
'Who has bought what?'
- c. **Was** hat **wer** was gekauft?
what has who what bought
'What has who bought?'

Question 1:

[2 points]

For English, what is the principle, condition, or constraint that rules out the superiority-violating question in (5c)?

Minimal Link Condition

In this question, you will explore the explanation of why German *wh*-questions appear to violate superiority, in a step-by-step guided investigation.

German word order is more flexible than English word order. Different word orders reflect subtle differences in meaning. Note that this difference is not relevant to the problem at hand, just the fact that different word orders are possible. (Abbreviations: DAT = dative, indirect object; ACC = accusative, direct object)

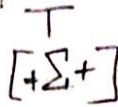
- (7) a. Dustin hat [**dem** **Samuel**] [*die* *Nahyun*] vorgestellt
Dustin has the.DAT Samuel the.ACC Nahyun introduced
'Dustin introduced Nahyun to Samuel'
- b. Dustin hat [*die* *Nahyun*] [**dem** **Samuel**] vorgestellt
Dustin has the.ACC Nahyun the.DAT Samuel introduced
'Dustin introduced Nahyun to Samuel'

Syntacticians analyze this word-order flexibility as involving *movement*. That is, the reason that German has a more flexible word order than English is because it has a general-purpose movement operation that English does not. It can use this movement operation to move constituents around in the structure. This movement operation is known as **SCRAMBLING**.

Question 2:

[2 points]

Let us assume that (i) scrambling targets a constituent bearing a $[\Sigma]$ feature, (ii) any D head in German may freely bear $[\Sigma]$, and (iii) scrambling targets $[\text{Spec}, \text{TP}]$. What feature does T bear then?



Like all movement, there are constraints on scrambling. The relevant constraint to this investigation is that scrambling in German can never cross a CP boundary, as shown in (8). Let us assume this as a German-specific constraint; that is, you do not need to explain why scrambling cannot leave a CP. (Abbreviations: NOM = nominative, subject; ACC = accusative, direct object)

- (8) a. Cindy hat gesagt [_{CP} dass [der Alex] [die Ashley]
Cindy has said that the.NOM Alex the.ACC Ashley
gesehen hat]
seen has
'Cindy said that Alex saw Ashley'

- b. *Cindy hat [die Ashley] gesagt [_{CP} dass [der Alex] ~~die~~
Cindy has the.ACC Ashley said that the.NOM Alex the
~~Ashley~~ gesehen hat]
Ashley seen has

Returning to multiple *wh*-questions, (9) shows that superiority is in fact obeyed in German when one of the two *wh*-expressions is in the matrix clause and the other *wh*-expression is embedded inside a CP.

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(9) a. **Wer** hat **wer** gesagt [CP dass der Alex **wen** gesehen hat]?
who has who said that the Alex whom seen has
'Who has said that Alex has seen whom?'

b. ***Wen** hat wer gesagt [CP dass der Alex **wen** gesehen hat]?
whom has who said that the Alex whom seen has
Intended: 'Whom has who said that Alex has seen?'

Question 3:

[6 points]

You have been given all of the pieces to solve this problem now. Why is it that German multiple *wh*-questions (appear to) violate superiority in (6)? Why can they not violate superiority in (9)?

These questions appear to violate superiority in (6) because we're not taking into account the German-specific scrambling operation. They are actually not violating superiority because there are two movements happening: the first is scrambling (with the [+E+] feature on T) and the second is the actual *wh*-movement to [Spec, CP]. In (9), the sentences can't violate superiority (and don't even appear to) because one of the *wh*-expressions is embedded inside a CP and scrambling can't leave a CP. Thus only the outer *wh*-expression is able to perform the movement to [Spec, CP], following superiority.

Big Hint: A movement-triggering feature only sees the closest relevant constituent, given the Minimal Link Condition.

Bigger Hint: A *wh*-expression may move more than once and for different purposes. For example, one such case that we have seen in class is that a subject *wh*-expression starts out in [Spec, vP], moves to [Spec, TP] for the EPP, and then moves to [Spec, CP] to form a *wh*-question.

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+6 points

For extra credit on this test: In class, we learned about the Subjacency Condition, given in (10). Subjacency derives the *Wh*-Island Condition and the Complex DP Constraint, in addition to forcing a successive-cyclic movement path.

(10) **SUBJACENCY CONDITION**

- a. In a structure $[\alpha \dots [\beta \dots [\gamma \dots \delta \dots] \dots] \dots]$, movement of δ to α cannot apply if β and γ are bounding nodes.
- b. DP and TP are bounding nodes.

Question: Please explain why the grammaticality of the following two sentences in (11) is problematic for the Subjacency Condition:

- (11) a. Who did Anza read a book about?
- b. Who do you believe Victoria to love?

