

There are 57 points in 6 questions, plus a 5-point bonus question, totaling 5 pages. Questions 1 & 6 are worth substantially more points than the others.

General Instructions: Assume acceptability judgments as marked. Assume that all anaphors are not exempt, i.e. assume they are subject to Principle A. In questions that do not ask for trees, feel free to draw trees or labeled bracketed structures if they will clarify your answer—you may abbreviate them as you see fit.

You may use blank backs of pages for rough work or for extra space. If a back page contains material you want to have graded, be sure to indicate this on a front page.

Aid allowed: One 8½ x 11" sheet (both sides).

1. (8*2=16 points) Explain why each of the following sentences is ungrammatical by naming the grammatical constraint or principle that is violated. (Do NOT describe how to change the sentence to make it grammatical.) Identify the specific element(s) in the sentence that are relevant. You may insert brackets and/or other annotations in the sentence if that will clarify your explanation.

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1	5
2	3
3	2
4	5
5	2.5
6	17
7	0
TTL	34.5

a) *Who is John_i eager for to visit him_i?

Subadjacency: [_{CP} who_i is [_{TP} John eager [_{CP} t_i for [_{TP} t_i to [_{VP} t_i visit him]]]]]

who originates in specVP of visit. It moves to specTP than specCP of lower structure. Then "who" crosses lower specCP and upper specTP to arrive in matrix specCP, thus crossing 2 bounding nodes

b) *What did who permit Susie to purchase?

Subadjacency: [_{CP} what_i did [_{TP} who_i permit [_{VP} Susie to [_{VP} t_i purchase t_i]]]]]

what has to cross the lower TP bounding node and the upper TP bounding node all at once in order to land in matrix specCP, lower specTP is filled by Susie and upper specTP is filled by who, so it is blocked from landing there first.

c) *Who permitted Susie what to purchase?

Here, what is getting object θ role from purchase and Susie gets subject role from purchase. Since permitted is an ECM predicate, there is only a TP layer in the lower structure. Thus, since Susie is already occupying specTP, there is nowhere for "what" to go.

[_{CP} who_i t_i permitted [_{TP} Susie_k to [_{VP} t_i purchase t_k]]]]]

d) *Gerard believes to be obvious that he will lose.

This sentence has nothing occupying specTP of lower TP, violating EPP. Gerard gets θ role from believe. Lower TP is the thing Gerard believes. The thing that gets subject θ role from obvious should be expletive "it" but it is not present, so the sentence is *.

[_{TP} Gerard_i [_{CP} t_i believes [_{TP} t_i to [_{VP} t_i be obvious [_{CP} that [_{CP} t_i he_j will [_{VP} t_j lose]]]]]]]]]

e) *The executive we expressed a concern that the press might intimidate decided to resign.

MLC: "The executive" originates in object position of "intimidate", "the press" originates in specCP of lower clause, blocking the movement of "the executive". Thus MLC violated. Then "The press" moves to specTP of lower clause, blocking the movement of "the executive".

[_{CP} the executive_i [_{CP} t_i we expressed a concern that [_{CP} the press_k might [_{VP} t_k intimidate t_i]]]]]] [_{VP} t_i decided to resign]]]

f) *The beverage that I drank and ate a hamburger was too sweet.

This is ungrammatical because DP "the beverage" is moving out of a conjunction, but its associated constituent in the other half of the conjunct is still there. This violates the coordinative structure constraint thingy.

g) *I proposed a plan which an honest description of could anger the team.

1 The complex NP doesn't have a VP to assign theta role to the DP which.

adjunct h) *An executive who they fired me because she criticized should not be promoted.

2 The DP who tries to move out of the adjunct PP because E_{CP}^{TP} E_{CP} E_{VP} E_{VP} criticized t. The fact that "they fired me" is perfectly acceptable sentence proves that the PP headed by "because" must be in adjunct position.

2. (3+3=6 points)

a) Under what assumption (that we have **not** otherwise adopted) would the grammaticality of the following sentence be expected, given Sportiche's theory of quantifier float that we discussed?

3 (i) The students have all been complaining about the midterm.

The assumption that DPs can move from specVP to specVP would allow for this sentence to be grammatical. If DP [all the students] moved from specVP of "complaining" to specVP of "been" then this sentence would work.

b) What two assumptions (that we **have** adopted) would the grammaticality of the following sentence support, given Sportiche's theory of quantifier float that we discussed?

0 (ii) Which question were the students wishing to be able all to answer?

The assumption that DPs can move from specVP to specTP, and then an embedded wh-phrase DP can move from within that DP to specCP, along with the assumption that wh-phrases move in a successfully cyclic manner, allows for the grammaticality of this sentence.

3. (2+2=4 points) Suppose a fellow student suggested that the reason why the following sentence is ungrammatical is the Strong Crossover Constraint, because *who* has "moved across" *him* from its theta position in the AP headed by *excited*.

*Who_i strikes him_i as being excited about Spring Break?

0 (i) What is wrong with this idea?

This idea is wrong because in order for the crossover constraint to apply, the two items must be co-indexed, but this can't be possible because

(ii) Why is the sentence actually ungrammatical—what constraint/principle does it violate?

2 Explain.

who_i c-commands him_i in him_i's binding domain, so they cannot be co-indexed.

This violates Principle B of the binding principle or whatever it's called.

4. (5*2=10 points) Use only the data given below to assess whether the bracketed string in (1) forms a constituent.

(1) Ted gave [Fido a bone on Saturday].

i) For each of the following sentences, state what it tells us about the (possible) constituency of the bracketed string. Briefly justify each answer.

a) *Ted gave {him/it/one/there/then/do so}. (not compatible with meaning of (1))

1 since we cannot substitute the string with "it", and retain original meaning, this is evidence that the string is not a constituent

b) What Ted gave Fido was a bone on Saturday.

2 This uses pseudo-clefting to prove that {a bone} is a constituent. Since "was" occurs between "Fido" and "a bone", this does not test the constituency of the given string

c) Ted gave Fido a bone on Saturday and Rover a treat on Sunday.

0 coordination tests don't actually apply to constructions like this, so the fact that the resulting sentence is grammatical is immaterial.

d) Ted gave Fido a bone on Saturday and Ariel did give Fido a bone on Saturday too.

2 the ellipsis test targets the entire VP [give Fido a bone on Saturday] and proves that VP is a constituent. It says nothing about the targeted string

ii) What do you conclude from (i) about the bracketed string in (1)? Justify your answer.

0 It is not a constituent. No test for constituency can target this string and return a positive result, so the string is not a constituent

5. (4 points) Explain why the following sentence is NOT ambiguous, in particular, why the interpretation paraphrased in (ii) is not available while the one in (i) is:

Where did Wilma demand to know whether Fred might be sleeping?

(i) Where was Wilma when she demanded to know the following: Might Fred be sleeping?

(ii) What is the location such that Wilma demanded to know the following: Might Fred be sleeping at that location?"

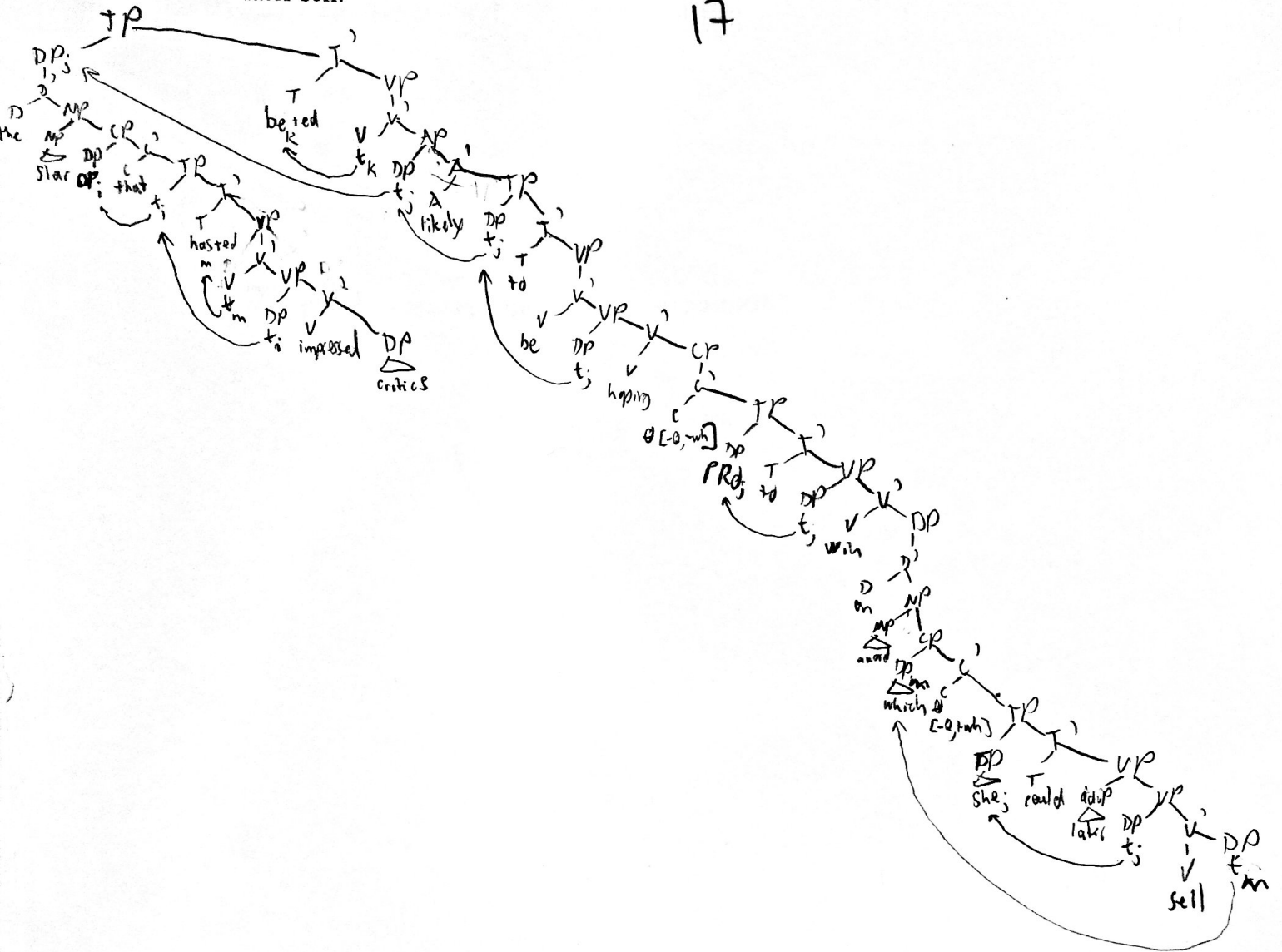
The PP where does not receive a theta role from sleeping so it is not in complement of that VP. Thus it must be an adjunct to the VP demand since that is the only position left for it to have come from. Thus, since it is not modifying the sleeping, it can not

2.5 The lower CP headed by whether has a [+Q] feature, thus, if where were indeed modifying the VP sleeping, it would have to move to that position since the sentence is grammatical, this proves that PP where did not originate in that position, so the interpretation in ii is not an option

6. (17 points) Draw the S-structure tree for the following sentence. (You may abbreviate one-word NPs and one-word DPs with triangles. We suggest turning the page sideways.)

(1) The star that had impressed critics was likely to be hoping to win an award which she could later sell.

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7. BONUS QUESTION: You may earn up to an additional 3+2=5 points.

a) Neither of the Crossover Constraints can explain the ungrammaticality of (i). Explain why not.

(i) *Whose_i book will he_i buy?

b) How could the ungrammaticality of (i) be explained?

THE END