

Answer the questions in the spaces provided on the question sheets.

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Total points: 138/144

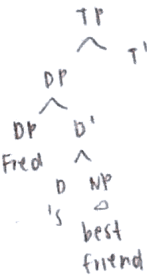
Every time you are asked to draw a tree, we expect you to draw a surface tree that includes everything you learned in this class. In particular don't forget to include:

- [+q],[+wh] features when relevant;
- indices in controlled structures;
- arrows and traces showing movement.

Nota Bene Sometimes you will be allowed to use triangles for phrases containing a single word. Sometimes you won't. Make sure to read the directions carefully.

✓ **Question 1: Binding Theory** (18 points)

Consider the following sentences and answer the questions below. Make sure state clearly why each principle is satisfied or violated. You should discuss all the indexed DPs.



- (1) [Fred_i's best friend]_j ^{subject control} wants him_i to ^{PRO_i} respect his_i sister more.
- (a) (4 points) Is principle B satisfied? Yes No

Justify your answer [Max 3 lines.]

[him] is not bound in its BD, which is the whole sentence, since the only preceding DP coindexed with it, [Fred], does not c-command it. [his] is not bound in its BD, [his sister], which has subject [his]. So principle B is satisfied.

- (b) (4 points) Is principle C satisfied? Yes No

Justify your answer [Max 3 lines.]

B-expressions [Fred] and [Fred's best friend] are not bound, since there are no preceding DPs coindexed with them that c-command them.

- (c) (1 point) Overall, is the sentence predicted to be grammatical? Yes No

(2) John_i expects himself_i to be successful

(a) (4 points) Is principle A satisfied?

Yes No

Justify your answer [Max 3 lines.]

[himself] is bound in its BD, which is the whole sentence, by [John]. The BD is the whole sentence because it is the smallest XP with a subject such that [himself] is c-commanded by another DP, which is [John]. So principle A is satisfied.

(b) (4 points) Is principle C satisfied?

Yes No

Justify your answer [Max 3 lines.]

R-expression [John] is not bound, since there are no DPs c-commanding it. So principle C is satisfied.

(c) (1 point) Overall, is the sentence predicted to be grammatical? Yes No

✓ **Question 2: Different structural positions**

(12 points)

Consider the following English sentences:

- (3) a. [_{DP} The children] agreed to dance. *control verb*
 b. We persuaded [_{DP} the children] [to dance]. *object control*
 c. We expected [_{DP} the children] to dance. *raising to object*
 d. We made [_{DP} the children] dance

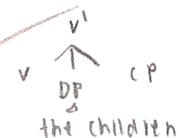
You will have to specify what is the position of the DP *the children* in the surface tree of each sentence.

(a) (3 points) What is the structural position of [_{DP} the children] in (3a)?

- specifier of TP; complement of V;
 specifier of VP; specifier of CP.

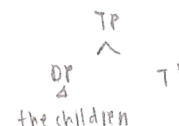
(b) (3 points) What is the structural position of [_{DP} the children] in (3b)?

- specifier of TP; complement of V;
 specifier of VP; specifier of CP.



(c) (3 points) What is the structural position of [_{DP} the children] in (3c)?

- specifier of TP; complement of V;
 specifier of VP; specifier of CP.



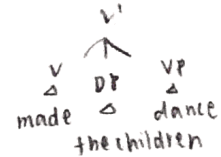
(d) (3 points) What is the structural position of [DP the children] in (3d)?

specifier of TP;

complement of V;

specifier of VP;

specifier of CP.



✓ Question 3: Raising and Control adjectives

(25 points)

For each of the following sentences, identify the type of underlined adjective. Give one argument justifying your choice and write the lexical entry.

Make sure to pay attention to the interpretation of the sentence and to account for that! A particular adjective could participate in both raising and control structures, but with different interpretations. Here you are only asked to account for the interpretation of the examples provided.

- (4) a. Dan is eager to eat the last croissant.
b. Dan is certain to have eaten the last croissant.

(a) (3 points) *eager* is a raising control adjective because

Dan is the actual external argument of [eager]: he is the one who is eager.
we know [eager] is probably not raising and is instead control because
it does not allow weather 'it': *It is eager to be raining.

(b) (2 points) The lexical entry of *eager* is:

eager A free DP_{exp} TP[to] theme

(c) (3 points) *certain* is a raising control adjective because

Dan is not the actual external argument selected by [certain]: Dan is not
the one who is certain. we know [certain] is raising because it allows for
weather 'it': It is certain to be raining.

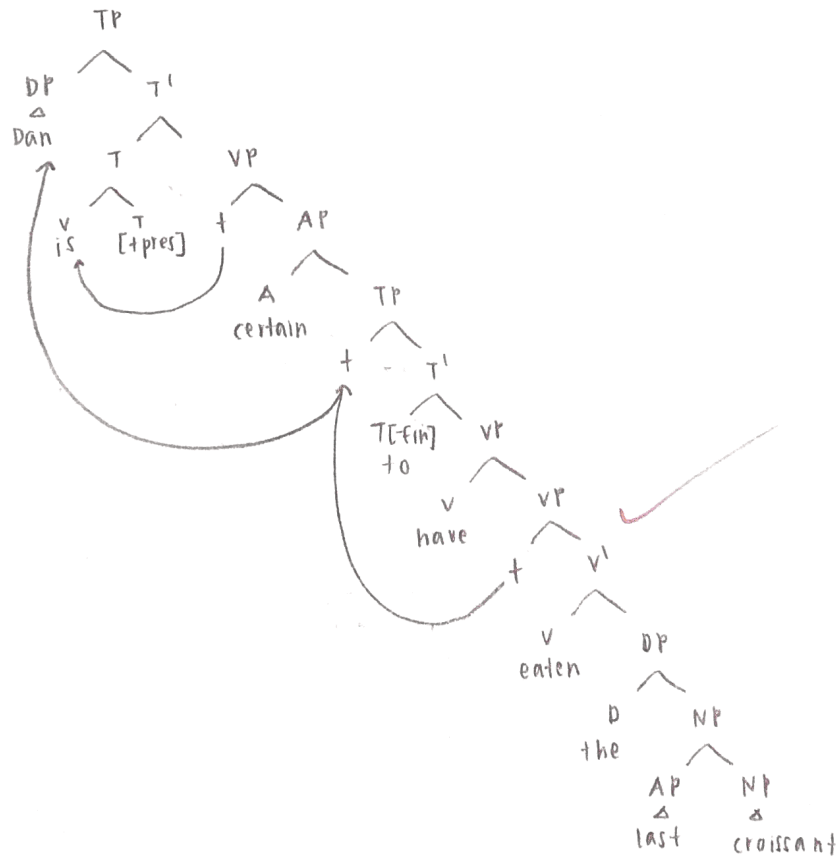
(d) (2 points) The lexical entry of *certain* is:

certain A free TP[to] theme / CP[that] theme

It is certain that ...

- (e) (15 points) Draw a tree structure for (4b). You are allowed to use triangles for single words.

Dan is certain to have eaten the last croissant.



✓ **Question 4: Object Control vs. ECM verbs** (24 points)

For each of the following sentences, identify the type of underlined verb. Is it object control or ECM? Provide one argument justifying your choice and finally draw the tree for (5b).

- (5) a. Dan ordered Josh to read a book of poems.
 b. Dan reported John to have stolen the package.
 c. Dan urged Josh to read a book of poems.

(a) (3 points) *order* is a ^{object control} ~~raising to object~~ ECM verb because

It does not allow for weather 'it': *Dan ordered it to be raining.

(b) (3 points) *report* is a ~~raising to object~~ ECM verb because

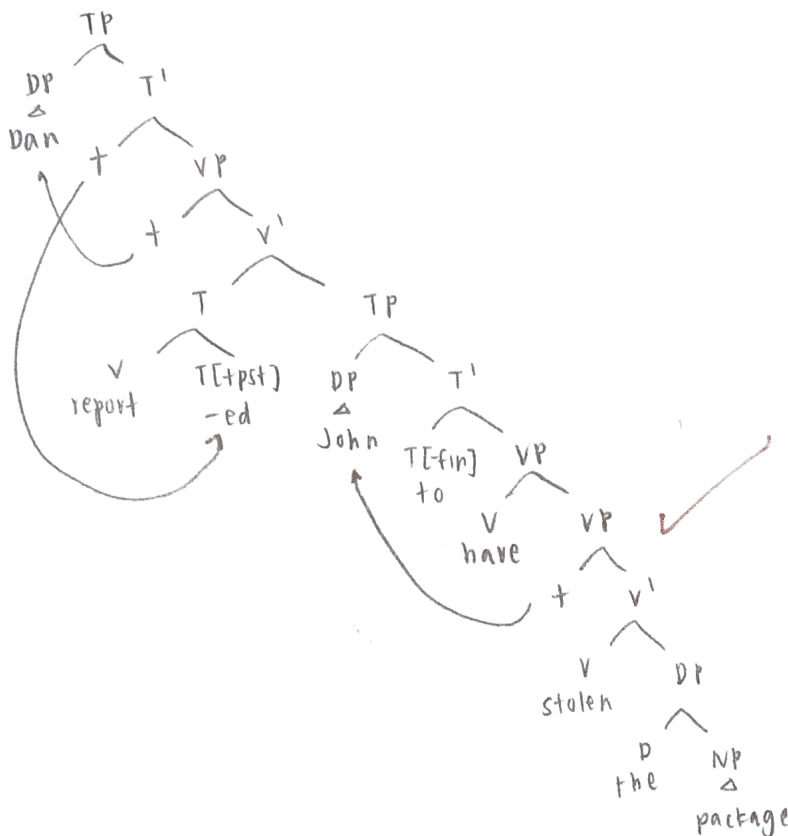
It allows for weather 'it': Dan reported it to be raining.

(c) (3 points) *urge* is a ^{object control} ~~raising to subject~~ ECM verb because

It does not allow for weather 'it': *Dan urged it to be raining.

(d) (15 points) Draw a tree structure for (5b). You are allowed to use triangles for single words.

Dan reported John to have stolen the package.



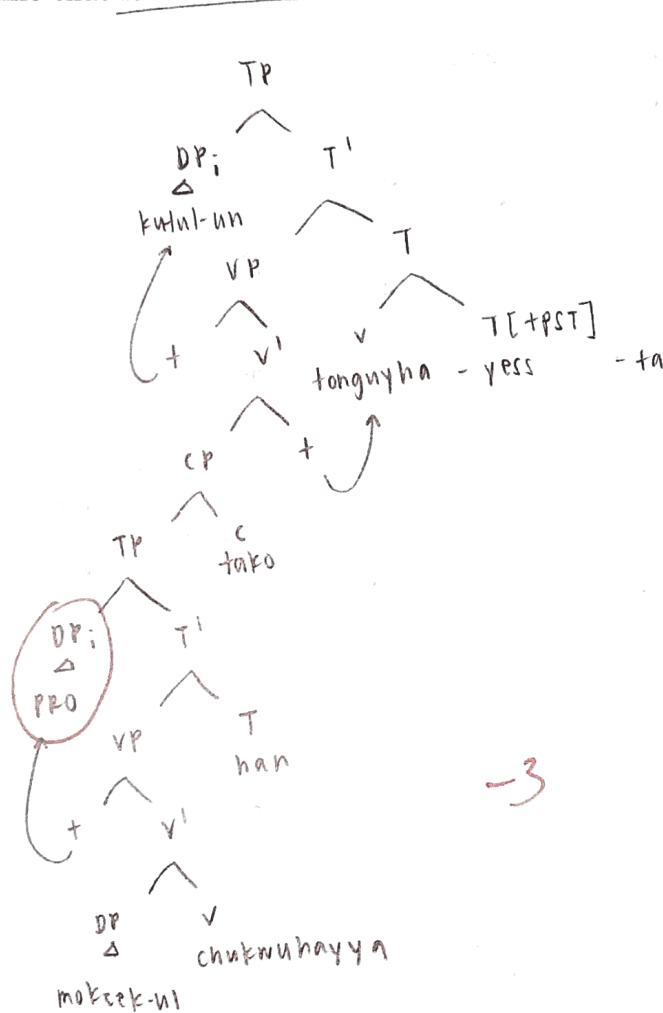
✓ Question 5: Head-final languages

(15 points)

Draw a tree structure for the following Korean sentence.

- (6) kutul-un mokcek-ul chukwuhayya han tako tonguyha-yess-ta.
they-TOP goal-ACC pursue must that agree-PAST-DECL
'They agreed that they should pursue the goal.'

1. You can ignore the case markers and use triangles for the DPs present in the sentence.
2. One of the two third-person subject pronouns is omitted. You will have to decide which one.
3. Assume that lexical verbs can raise to T and ignore the declarative marker *-ta*.



Question 6: Wh-questions in Scottish Gaelic

(15 points)

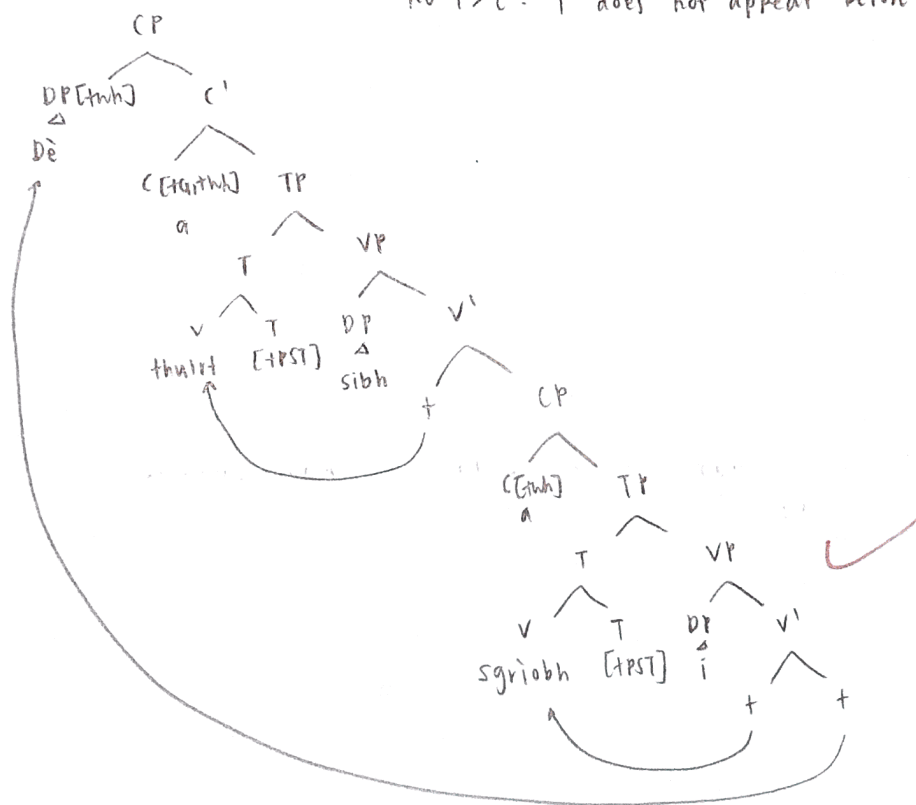
The following data are from Scottish Gaelic. Scottish Gaelic is like Irish in that it is a VSO language.

(7) Thuirte sinn gun dosgrìobh i an leabhar
 say.PAST we that write.PAST she the book
 'We said that she wrote the book'

(8) Dè a thuirte sibh a sgrìobh i
 What WH-C say.PAST 2s.POLITE WH-C write.PAST she
 'What did you say that she wrote?'

Your job is to draw a tree structure for (8). You are allowed to use triangles for the DPs. You can assume that T does not have a EPP feature. You will need to figure out: (i) whether Scottish Gaelic has V → T and (ii) whether T moves to C in questions.

yes V → T: V appears before spec.
 no T → C: T does not appear before C



Question 7: Island Constraints 1

(18 points)

You will be presented with pairs of sentences. For each of the pairs, the ill-formed forms in (b) are derived from the string in (a). Examine how (b) could be derived from (a) and answer the questions below.

(a) (6 points) Consider the following pair:

- (9) a. He mentioned ^{NP} [the fact that he had run into Julia Roberts] ^{CP}
 b. * [Which celebrity]_i did he mention the fact that he had run into t_i ?

Is (b) excluded by one of the island constraints? Yes No

Is yes, state by which one(s) (the name(s) of the constraint(s)), and state clearly how extraction violates that/those particular constraint(s).

(b) is excluded by the Complex NP constraint constraint because
 it attempts to move the element [which celebrity] from the CP [that he had run into ^{which celebrity}] that is dominated by (the complement of) the NP [the fact].

(b) (6 points) Consider the following pair:

- (10) a. Alec bought [Banana Yoshimoto's book]
 b. * [Whose]_i did Alec buy t_i book?

Is (b) excluded by one of the island constraints? Yes No

Is yes, state by which one(s) (the name(s) of the constraint(s)), and state clearly how extraction violates that/those particular constraint(s).

(b) is excluded by the left branch constraint constraint because
 it attempts to move the DP subject, [whose], from a larger DP, [whose book].

(c) (6 points) Consider the following pair:

- (11) [That he has met Subcomandante Marcos] is extremely unlikely.
 (11) *Who_i is that he has met t_i extremely unlikely?

Is (b) excluded by one of the island constraints? Yes No

Is yes, state by which one(s) (the name(s) of the constraint(s)), and state clearly how extraction violates that/those particular constraint(s).

(b) is excluded by the Sentential Subject Constraint constraint because it attempts to move the element [who] from the CP [that he has met who] that is in the subject position of the whole sentence.

Question 8: Island Constraints 2

(12 points)

You are now asked to produce pairs of sentences illustrating two different island constraints. Like in question 7, sentence (a) should show a grammatical declarative sentence, whereas sentence (b) should be an ill-formed sentence derived from (a). Sentence (b) should be excluded by the relevant island constraint.

(a) (6 points) First case: Coordinated Structure Constraint

- a. I ate a pastry and drank some coffee.
 b. What_i did I eat a pastry and drink t_i?

(b) (6 points) Second case: Subject Condition

- a. This picture of my friends is very nice.
 b. Which friends_i is this picture of t_i very nice?

Question 9: Island Constraints 3

(5 points)

Explain the contrast between (12a) and (12b). Can you account for it using the island constraints?

- (12) a. [Which celebrities]_i did you see a picture of t_i?
 b. *[Which celebrities]_i did a picture of t_i appeared in the newspapers?

The difference is in (a), we are extracting from a DP in the object position, while in (b), we are extracting from the subject position. (b) violates the subject condition island constraint, since it attempts to move the DP [which celebrities] from the DP [a picture of which celebrities] that is the subject of the whole sentence. (a) doesn't violate any island constraints.