

Syntax Final: Attention this is NOT the 2011 final!

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Introduction to Syntax

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1 Trees (20 pts)

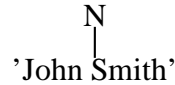
Using the theory of Chapters 9-11, draw trees for the following sentences.

Make sure your trees are readable whether you draw them by hand or with a computer. 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) how dark the pencil you use is; and (c) reasonably spaced layout of the tree. 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. Do not use triangles except for constituents that are one word long. Thus, for example, you may do:



You will be marked off for using triangles in other cases.

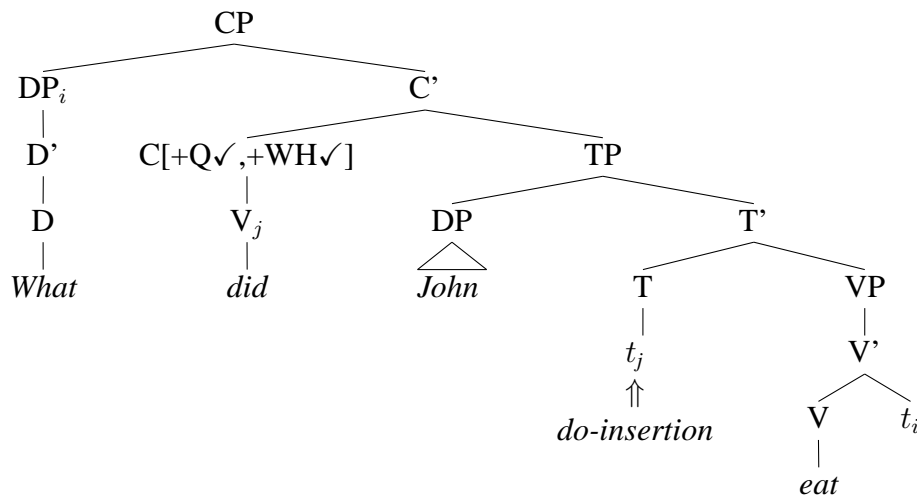
If a construction poses a problem, do your best, and comment on the problem. If you posit a word with white space in it, put quotation marks around the proposed lexical item. For example, a tree claiming that *John Smith* is a noun would look like this:



Note: you will still get points deducted if you say something is a word and are wrong.

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.

In all trees, indicate all movements with a swooping arrow from trace to landing site. At each landing site indicate what principle is being satisfied or what feature is being checked. Specify the values of the feature Q and WH on each complementizer. When there is more than one trace in a tree, use indices to make it clear which moved constituent corresponds to which trace. For example,



Note that this tree omits the swooping arrows and the principles determining each landing site.

In the following, assume that *what answer* is a DP and that *what* is a determiner. Remember: All your trees should be consistent with the basic principles of Xbar theory. For (1.3), assume the Subject-Object Raising analysis of Chapter

10, Challenge Problem 3. Remember, also, that there are verbs that can take more than one complement, and that both are sisters to V

- (1.1) That Louisa will seem to be happy is most unlikely.
- (1.2) Is it unlikely to appear to be cloudy?
- (1.3) What file do you think Frieda was shown?
- (1.4) The pope is believed to be arriving Saturday afternoon.
- (1.5) It is not obvious who Fredericka likes.

2 Stump the grammar (15 points)

For the following sentences you have two tasks:

- (a) Explain how the theory developed in the text (especially Chapters 9 - Chapter 11, but including the Binding Theory) accounts for the ungrammaticality of the following sentences. If more than one principle is being violated, say so. If you think the sentence could have been derived in more than one way but is still ungrammatical, explain how each of the derivations is ruled out.
- (b) Identify all movements.
- (c) In the case of a Θ -criterion violation, draw the Θ -grid.

Note: Explaining ungrammaticality according to the theory in our book means an answer that mentions no theoretical principles gets 0 points. As a check, read your answer over and see if you could have written exactly that answer without ever having taken this course. If you could have, chances are it is one of those pithy, extremely attractive 0-point answers. Here's an example of a 0-point answer:

* *It is not clear who Mary thinks Beethoven likes Susan* is ungrammatical because *Susan* shouldn't be there. If *Susan* were removed, the sentence would be fine: *It is not clear who Mary thinks Beethoven likes*.

In answering these questions it is essential to consider what D-structure could have produced the sentence, and what would rule out such a D-structure, or what would go wrong in the course of the derivation of the surface string. In all cases you should pay attention to traces I have included. If there is no trace, I am asking you to consider a derivation with no movements; if there are traces, you should consider only the movements indicated by the traces. Successive movements of the same constituent are always indicated by traces with the same index.

- (2.1) *Whom_i is certain that John saw t_i?

- (2.2) * It is certain John_j to appear t_j to be happy.
- (2.3) * Whom_i did John see Mary t_i ?
- (2.4) * Whom_i is it unclear how_j they saw $t_i t_j$?
- (2.5) * Whom_i did they wonder t_i Mary saw t_i ? (In your explanation, compare and contrast the grammatical *Whom_i did they think t_i Mary saw t_i ?*)
- (2.6) * How_i did see Mary t_i ?
- (2.7) * What_i is it likely t_i to have been bought t_i at the supermarket. (In your explanation, compare and contrast the grammatical *What_i is it likely t_i was bought t_i at the supermarket?*)

3 German V2 (10 points)

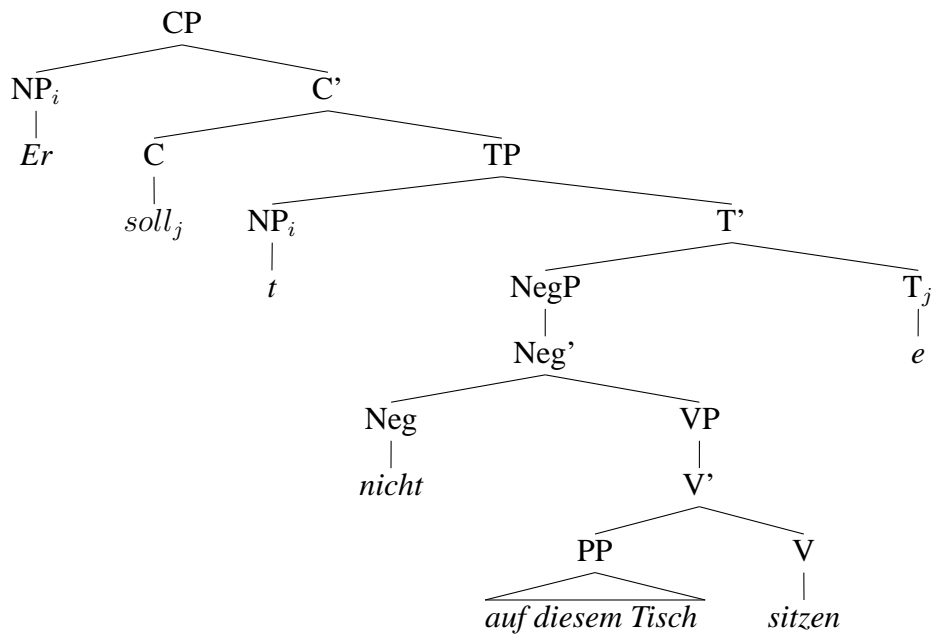
3.1 Assumptions: V2 analysis

In the questions in this section we will assume the following **V2 analysis** for German:

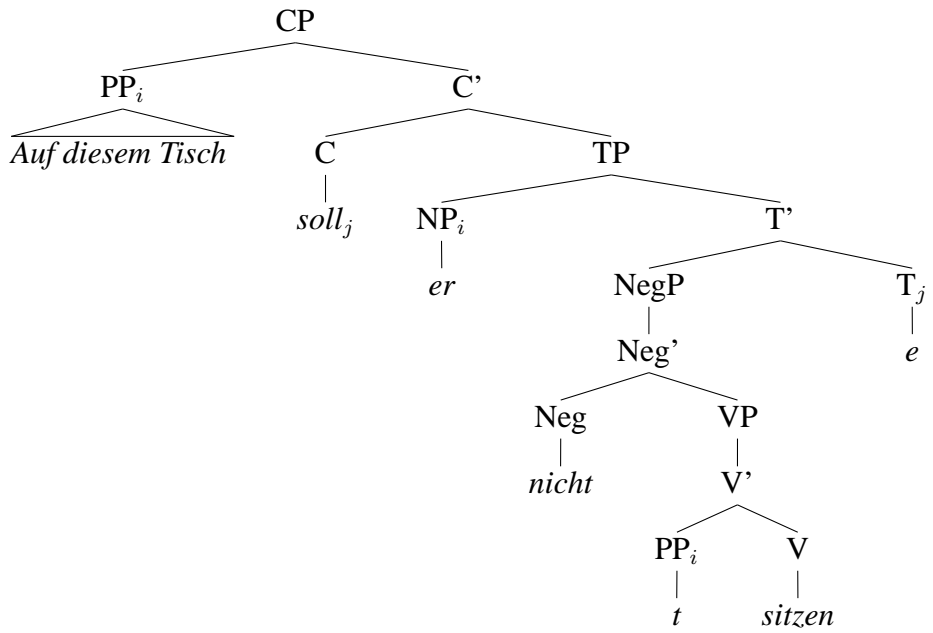
1. Spec of CP (topic position) must always be filled in declaratives. Perhaps this is due to a EPP-like principle which simply requires, structurally, that topic-position is never empty. Movements that satisfy this requirement are called **Topicalizations**.
2. T→C movement is obligatory when C is unfilled. Perhaps this is to express (or check) mood/force features in C. This kind of movement is called **head movement**.
3. Only X^0 categories can do head movement. That is, only 0-level, lexical categories, not X' or X'' .

The following trees illustrate both topicalization and T→C:

1. He should not sit on this table. (lit. He t should not on this table sit e)



2. He should not sit on this table. (lit. On this table should he not *t* sit)



3.2 German Problem

1. The trees in Section 3.1 assume that TP in German is head final and that the VP in German is head final. Defend this idea using the following example:

(1) Er sagt dass die Kinder das Buch gelesen haben.
He say-PRES that the children the book read-PST have
He says that the children have read the book.

Draw a tree for the surface structure of this sentence. Does T→C movement happen in the embedded clause? If not, why not?

2. Assuming German VP's are head final, use the following example to argue that German is a V-movement language (Specifically, V→T):

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

Draw a tree that illustrates the V-movement *and preserves X-bar assumptions* about the relationship of heads and complements in D-structure.

3. Now consider German prefixes. The following sentences illustrate ordinary uses of the dictionary verbs *anmachen* (turn on) and *aufgeben* (send):

(3) a. das Licht müssen wir an-machen.
the light must we on-make.
We must turn the light on.
b. Jetzt müssen wir das Licht anmachen.
Now must we the light on-make.
We must turn the light on.
c. den Brief musst die Frau aufgeben.
the letter must the woman send
The woman must send the letter.

Draw trees for the following sentences and explain what has happened:

(4) a. das Licht macht der man an.
the light makes the man on.
The man turns the light on.

- b. Jetzt machen wir das Licht an.
 Now make we the light on.
 Now we turn the light on.
- c. den Brief gibt die Frau auf.
 the letter gives the woman out.
 The woman sends the letter.

4 V→T movement (English) [15 points]

Our textbook assumes that two “aspect” verbs in English exceptionally undergo V→T movement (*have* and *be*). Explain how the following three sentences provide evidence for the V→T analysis. (Assume that adjective phrases and prepositional phrases following the verb *be* are complements of *be* and assume that NegP is a complement of T).

- (5) a. John is not happy.
 b. The ring is really under the table.
 c. Is John happy?

Do the following sentences provide evidence for or against the V→T analysis of *have* and *be*? Explain, and be sure to explain the difference between (5a) and (6a) and between (6a) and (6b).

- (6) a. * John may be not happy.
 b. John may not be happy.

5 Adverbs [15 points]

Consider the following data and propose an explanation for the contrast between (7b) and (7d). Note: semantic appropriateness is a possible explanation. Draw trees. Explain why the contrast disappears in (7e) and (7f). Note also that (7f) is ambiguous: On one reading it means John is feeling very badly; on the other, it means it is actually the case that he is feeling badly. Draw trees for these two readings.

- (7) a. * I found the ring really under the table.
 b. * The ring may be really under the table.
 c. John was feeling really under the weather.
 d. John may be really under the weather.
 e. The ring is really under the table.
 f. John is really under the weather.

6 Welsh V→T movement [10 points]

Using the very limited data from Welsh below, construct an argument that Welsh has V to T movement. Be sure to draw trees for both examples. Do not worry about the alternation in the form of the word for "dragon," it is irrelevant to the answer to the question. (Data from Kroeger 1993.)

- (8) a. Gwelodd Sion ddraig.
 saw.PAST John dragon
 John saw a dragon.
 b. Gwnaeth Sion weld draig.
 do.PAST John seen dragon.GEN
 John saw a dragon.

The difference between (a) and (b) is a difference in discourse function not relevant to the problem.

7 English Proper names and pronouns [10 points]

- (9) a. Lucy
 b. *The Lucy
 c. *Smiths
 d. The Smiths
 e. Him
 f. *The him
 g. We linguists love a good debate over grammar.

Part 1: One possible analysis of proper names in English is that they involve head movement from an N position into a D position. How does the data in (a-d) above support this idea?

Part 2: Consider now the pronouns in (e-g). What category are they? N or D? Is there any evidence for movement?

8 Italian N→D [10 points]

In English, proper names cannot co-occur with determiners (e.g. *the John). However, in Italian proper names of human beings can occur with determiners as the following example shows. (The presence or absence of the determiner seems to be free or perhaps stylistically governed.)

- (10) i. Gianni mi ha telefonato.
Gianni me has telephoned
"Gianni called me up."
ii. Il Gianni mi ha telefonato.
the Gianni me has telephoned
"Gianni called me up."

Now, it has been argued that in the cases where the determiner does not occur, the proper name has moved from N to D. Provide an argument to support this view, based on the following examples. (Note: for the purposes of this question treat possessive pronouns such as my as adjectives.)

- (11) i. Il mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.
the my Gianni has finally telephoned
ii. *Mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.
my Gianni has finally telephoned
iii. Gianni mio ha finalmente telefonato.
Gianni my has finally telephoned
- (12) i. E'venuto il vecchio Camerese.
came the older Camerese
ii. *E'venuto vecchio Camerese.
came older Camerese
iii. E'venuto Camerese vecchio.
came Camerese older

- (13) i. L' antica Roma
the ancient Rome
"Ancient Rome"
- ii. *Antica Roma
ancient Rome
- iii. Roma antica
Rome ancient