You are not allowed to co-operate with your fellow classmates on this exam. Clarification questions should be sent to me. In evaluating your responses, I will grade you on correctness, clarity, and precision. Your answers should present clearly the logic behind your choices.

1: Assuming the judgements given, give an account of the following pattern of grammaticality. Your explanation should make reference to X-bar theory, in particular the complement-adjunct distinction and one-substitution. Focus on the bracketed constituents. Make sure you determine the complement/adjunct status of the PPs of the match/of the riots and at the match/in the bar (6pts.). Draw trees for the bracketed constituents. For the ungrammatical constituents, draw as much of the tree as you can and indicate where ungrammaticality enters into the picture. (18pts.)

(1) a. i. *[The discussion of the match] was more animated than [the one of the riots].
   ii. [The discussion at the match] was more animated than [the one in the bar].

   b. i. [The discussion of the riots and their implications] was full and frank.
   ii. [The discussion at the match and in the bar] was full and frank.
   iii. *[The discussion of the riots and in the bar] was full and frank.

   c. i. [The discussion of the riots in the bar] was full and frank.
   ii. *[The discussion in the bar of the riots] was full and frank.

2: Draw trees for the following examples (16pts.) and use binding theory to explain why the indicated co-indexations are grammatical/ungrammatical as the case may be (16pts.). Do not indicate case/θ-role information in these trees. Note that the PP of his/John’s book is a complement of publisher.

(2) a. [The publisher of his book] thinks that John, will win a prize.

   b. *[The publisher of his book], thinks that John, will win a prize.

   c. [The publisher of John’s book] thinks that he, will win a prize.

   d. [The publisher of John’s book], thinks that he, will win a prize.

   e. John, thinks that [the publisher of his book] will win a prize.

   f. *[John, thinks that [the publisher of his book], will win a prize.

   g. *He, thinks that [the publisher of John’s book] will win a prize.

   h. *He, thinks that [the publisher of John’s book], will win a prize.

(Construct only 4 trees: the a/b, c/d, e/f, and g/h cases share the same tree.)
3: The following sentences are ungrammatical. Identify the source of the ungrammaticality. You are not required to provide trees for this question.

(3) (4pts. each, total 28pts.)
   a. *Who did John smile when he saw?
   b. *Where John smiled when he saw Mary?
   c. *Where did he smile when John saw Mary?
   d. *Who did will smile when he sees Mary?
   e. *Who not smiled when he saw Mary?
   f. *Who does Mary think that Bill saw Tom?
   g. *Who did Tom tell that Mary saw?

4: (4) is ambiguous. Point out the ambiguities (6pts.) and construct trees to go with each ambiguity (14pts.)

   (4) Why does Mary believe that John resigned?

Only one of the readings available in (4) is available in (5).

(5) Why does Mary believe the rumor that John resigned?

Which reading is available here? (3pts.) Construct a tree for the available reading (4pts.). Making reference to islands, explain why the other reading is unavailable here. As a part of an explanation construct a tree for the unavailable reading (4pts.) and indicate on the tree why the missing reading is unavailable (4pts.).

The following sentences are essentially unambiguous.

(6) a. Where did Tom say that Mary knows French?
    b. When does Tom believe that Mary saw the secret memo

(6a) asks for the location of Tom’s saying that Mary knows French, and (6b) asks for the time at which Mary saw the secret memo according to John. What are the missing interpretations? (4pts.) Why are they missing? (6pts.)

5: Give an example of *wh*-movement that does not involve question formation. (5pts.) Next show that this instance of *wh*-movement is also subject to island constraints. (6pts.) Construct trees for both examples, indicating in the second tree the island violation that leads to ungrammaticality. (10pts.)