Errata

Carnie, Andrew (2021) Syntax: A Generative Introduction. 4E. Wiley-Blackwell.

Note for people using e-Readers: There are serious problems with the formatting of data in the eTextbook version produced by Vital Source. *I strongly recommend that you do not use that format*! At the end of this errata document, I've provided correctly formatted data for the worst examples in the VitalSource reader. If you are using Kindle or Google eBook formats, it's highly recommended that readers use the "original page" or other similar options. This option is not, unfortunately, available with VitalSource.

Thanks to Hoang Duong, Hasan Makhad, Sam Prins, Luis Irizarry, and students in my LING300 classes.

Textbook 4th edition Errata

Chapter 1, page 4, 2nd paragraph, 3rd line: "social too" → "social tool"

Chapter 1, page 5, footnote 1,line 10 "rather just" → "rather than just"

Chapter 1, page 8, grey box, line 2 "about primarily about" → "primarily about"

Chapter 1, page 16, bottom of first paragraph "how well you play in a that day" → "how well you play on a particular day"

Chapter 1, page 26, paragraph 2, line 2 "withmore" → "with more"

Chapter 2, CPS3 (Mohawk). There is a misalignment of the gloss. It should be:

1) Ka-rak-ʌ́-hne'   thíkʌ   o-'neróhkw-a'.
    NEUT-be.white-PRES-STAT   that   NEUT-box-NOMINALIZER
    "That box is white."

Chapter 3, page 90, paragraph under (66), 3rd line "the man used" → "the princess used"

Chapter 3, page 90, paragraph under (68), line 1 "the man killed" → "the princess killed"

Chapter 4, page 117, paragraph under (15), 2nd line from the bottom "tree in (14)" → "tree in (15).

Chapter 4, page 126, paragraph under (54), 2nd line "Fred is not" → "Gabby is not".

Chapter 6. GPS7, sentence (e). Change "You either love bagpipes inside your house or you hate them" to "Either you love bagpipes inside your house or you hate them". Also add the instruction *[Assume "either" is a complementizer.]*

Chapter 6, GPS10, sentence (e). This sentence has a null subject. I would recommend not assigning the tree for (e), or instead provide explicit discussion on how to draw null subjects.

Chapter 7, Page 228, Final paragraph "The particular aspect found in (25)" → "The particular aspect found in (53).

Chapter 7, page 232, paragraph under (62) line 3 "possess" → "process"

Chapter 7, page 234, the tree should be numbered (65) instead of (53).

Chapter 7, Page 238, GPS8: Data correction:

    c)   Anh ấy đã   học.
        He DET PERF   study
        "He has studied."

    d)   Anh ấy sẽ   học.
        He DET FUT   study
        "He will study."

Chapter 9, page 283, last line, change (78) to (56).

Chapter 9, page 284, tree should be numbered (56).

Chapter 9, page 284, examples (56) and (57) should be (57) and (58)

Chapter 9, page 285, 1st paragraph references to (56) and (56c) should be (57) and (57c) respectively.

Chapter 9, page 285, examples (58) and (59) and references to them should be (59) and (60) respectively

Chapter 9, page 285, examples (60) and (61) and references to them should be (61) and (62) respectively

Chapter 9, page 286, the table should be numbered (63) instead of (62)

Chapter 9, page 286, examples and references to them
         (63) → (64)
         (63a) → (64a)

(64) → (65)
(65) → (66)
(66) → (67)

Chapter 9, GPS 2 The data in (1) should be as the following:

1)   a)   Sue heard that Kurt had gone.
     b)   Sue heard Ø Kurt had gene.
     c)   Sue said that Kurt had gone.
     d)   Sue said Ø Kurt had gone.
     e)   Sue believed that Kurt had gone.
     f)   Sue believed Ø Kurt had gone.

Chapter 10, Page 311, final paragraph, 2nd line from the bottom "VP" → "VoiceP"

Chapter 11, Page 349, paragraph under (48). "arrive" should be italicized.

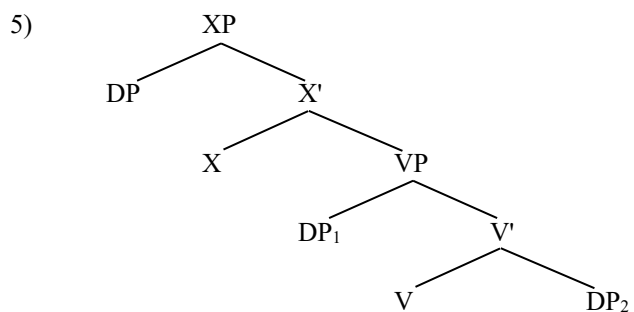Chapter 12, Page 372, paragraph under (22), "Jim" → "Nura".

Chapter 12, Page 374, paragraph under (25), "Jim" → "Nura"

Chapter 12: The text is missing GPS7, it goes straight from GPS6 to GPS8. GPS8 should actually be numbered GPS7.

Chapter 13. The header currently reads Chapter 14: A Unified theory of Movement. It should of course read Chapter 13: A Unified theory of Movement.

Chapter 13. Page 408, GPS3. The fourth Mandarin sentence should be numbered (d) rather than (c).

Chapter 14: Page 415, the tree in (5) should be:

5)

```
                XP
             /      \
          DP         X'
                   /    \
                  X      VP
                       /    \
                     DP₁     V'
                           /    \
                          V      DP₂
```

5) XP
    DP   X'
         X   VP
             DP$_1$ V'
                      V   DP$_2$

Chapter 14: Page 415, 2nd line from the bottom "an element roughly" → "an element that roughly".

Chapter 14: Page 416, paragraph under (7), "Ryan" → "Andrea"

Chapter 14: Page 417, paragraph under (9), first line, "Josh" → "Morag".

Chapter 14: Page 422, First paragraph under section 4. Last line change "little v" to "$\emptyset_{active}$ Voice head."

Chapter 14: Page 428. CPS1. Change the final line of instructions to: "Keeping in mind the Principle of Modification, explain how this data is evidence for an analysis that splits verbs into Voice and V."

Chapter 15: The header should read "Chapter 15: Raising, Control, and Empty Categories" instead of chapter 16.

Chapter 15: Page 435. Paragraph under 20, 3rd line. " (it has an empty specifier of vP at D-structure)" → "(it doesn't have a VoiceP)"

Chapter 16: Page 436. 3 lines above (24). "embedded VP" → "embedded VoiceP"

Chapter 16: Page 441, 1st line after (4). "*is* gets" → "gets"

Chapter 17: Header should read "Chapter 17: Advanced Topics in Binding Theory"

Chapter 17, Page 474, final paragraph: "(and furthermore it c-commands the antecedent)" → "(and furthermore it c-commands the anaphor)"

Chapter 19, Page 500, 2nd paragraph "always have be" → "always have to be"

Chapter 19, Page 503, 2nd paragraph "Speas (1992)" → "Speas (1990)".

Chapter 19, Page 503, Paragraph under (6), 2nd line. Italicize *the* and *eat*.

Chapter 19, Page 505, First paragraph, final line: "the argument for the importance of the intermediate in trees like (7a) go away" → "the argument for the importance of the intermediate category in trees like (7a) goes away"

Chapter 19, CPS1. The question refers to the Korean Data in Chapter 5, GPS11. This data is actually in Chapter 6, GPS 11.

References: Baker (2001b) should be Baker (2002). Baker (2001a) should be Baker (2001).

References: Add the following reference on page 517
   Merlan, Francesca (1976) Noun Incorporation and discourse reference in Modern Nahuatl. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 42, 177-91.

Workbook 2nd edition Errata

Chapter 6, WBE10 (c).   There are actually two errors in this tree. The one that's listed in the answer key is that there is an N' that doesn't dominate *bobcat*. The one that is missed is that the intermediate node in the PP is missing the bar marker (i.e., it should be P' and it is currently P). In subsequent printings we will correct this second error so the tree has a P'.

Chapter 19: WBE1. The answer to (a) is not the same sentence as (a). Change sentence (a) to "Roya loves all puppies"

SPECIAL ERRATA FOR THE E-PUB VERSION

The ePub version, which I never saw before production, is riddled with errors that aren't in the print edition. The main issue is that 3-line interlinear glosses were completely destroyed in the conversion to the ePub format. This makes the book incomprehensible, or at least very difficult, to follow in many places. I present here the correctly formatted examples. There also are occasional issues with diacritics, subscripts and tables which I correct here too:

Chapter 1, CPS11:

a) He left.

b) *Left

c) Il est parti. (French)
    he is gone
    "He left."

d) *est parti   (French)

e) Io telefono.
    I   call.1s
    "I call (phone)."

f) Telefono.   (Italian)
    call.1s
    "I call."

Chapter 2, section 1.1

8) Wita-ngku   ka   maliki wajilipinyi.
    small-SUBJ   AUX dog   chase.PRES
    "The small (one) is chasing the dog."

Chapter 2, section 4.

17) Auxiliary[1]   T[−MODAL, +FINITE]
    Modal   T[+MODAL, +FINITE]
    to   T[+MODAL, -FINITE]

---

[1] Auxiliaries are marked here as [+FINITE], but they can of course appear in non-finite clauses like *I want to be dancing*. When they do so, however, they aren't marking the non-finite nature of the clause – the particle *to* is. The feature [±FINITE] is meant to indicate what function the word has, not where the word can appear.

Chapter 2, Section 4.2

32)

Subcategory	Example
V$_{[NP\_]}$ (intransitive)	*leave*
V$_{[NP\_\_ NP]}$ (transitive type 1)	*hit*
V$_{[NP\_\_ \{NP/CP\}]}$ (transitive type 2)	*ask*
V$_{[NP\_\_ NP NP]}$ (ditransitive type 1)	*spare*
V$_{[NP\_\_ NP PP]}$ (ditransitive type 2)	*put*
V$_{[NP\_\_ NP \{NP/PP\}]}$ (ditransitive type 3)	*give*
V$_{[NP\_\_ NP \{NP/PP/CP\}]}$ (ditransitive type 4)	*tell*

Chapter 2, GPS5 Nootka:

a) Mamu:k-ma   qu:ʔas-ʔi.
    working-PRES   man-DEF
    "The man is working."

b) Qu:ʔas-ma   mamu:k-ʔi.
    man-PRES   working-DEF
    "The working one is a man."

(The : mark indicates a long vowel. ʔ is a glottal stop. *PRES* in the second line means "present tense", *DEF* means "definite determiner" (the).)

Chapter 2, CPS3:

1) Ka-rak-ʌ́-hne'   thíkʌ   o-'neróhkw-a'.
    NEUT-be.white-PRES-STAT   that   NEUT-box-NOMINALIZER
    "That box is white."

2) Ka-'neróhkwa-rak-ʌ́-hne'   thíkʌ.
    NEUT-box-be.white-PRES-STAT   that
    "That box is white."

Chapter 2, CPS8

e)   Vimos   a Juan.
       saw.1pl   DAT Juan
       "We saw Juan."

f)   Vimos   la casa   de Juan.
       saw.1pl   the house   of Juan
       "We saw Juan's house."

Chapter 3, Section 5.1

75)   duxturrin   patariw   fena.
       doctors   to   go.PAST
       "She went to doctors."

77) les   femmes   intelligentes
    the.PL   women   intelligent.PL
    "The intelligent women"

79) John-ga   tegami-o   yonda.
    John-SUBJ   letter-OBJECT   read.PAST
    "John read the letter."

81) Irino   vakhe   inagu.
    cook   rice   mother.1S.POSS
    "My mother cooked rice."

Chapter 3, section 5.2

83) Nimictomimaka.
    "I'll give you money."

84) a) Ngarrka-ngku   ka   wawirri   panti-rni.
       man-ERG   AUX   kangaroo   spear-NONPAST
       "The man is spearing the kangaroo."

    b) Wawarri ka panti-rni ngarrka-ngku.
    c) Panti-rni ka ngarrka-ngku wawarri.   … and so on.

Chapter 3, Section 5.3

86) Jōn   ballavə däkka.⟵————————— *Actual language data*
    John   dog   saw ⟵———————— *Word-by-word gloss*
    "John saw the dog."   ⟵———————— *Idiomatic translation*

87) Jōn   ballavə däkka.
    John   dog   saw
    "John saw the dog."

88) Jōn   janēle   iñdəla ballavə däkka.
    John   window from   dog   saw
    "John saw the dog from the window."

89) Jōn   eyāge   taḍi   ballavə däkka.
    John   his   big   dog   saw
    "John saw his big dog."

90) Jōn   ballavə däkka.
    John   dog   saw
    N   N   V

91) Jōn   janēle   iñdəla ballavə däkka.
    John   window   from   dog   saw
    N   N   P   N   V

92) Jōn   eyāge   taḍi   ballavə däkka.
    John   his   big   dog   saw
    N   D   Adj   N   V

Chapter 3, GPS12

a) folk   "people"
b) ett paraply   "an umbrella"
c) tre paraplyer   "three umbrellas"
d) ett äpple   "an apple"
e) ett rött paraply   "a red umbrella"
f) ett gult äpple   "a yellow apple"
g) ett mycket fint paraply   "a very fine umbrella"
h) ett gammalt fint paraply   "a fine old umbrella"
i) ett rött paraply med ett gult handtag   "a red umbrella with a yellow handle"

Chapter 3, GPS13

a) Der   yid   shrayft das   wort   af 'n   tovl.
   the   guy   writes   the   word   on the   blackboard
   "The guy writes the word on the blackboard."

b) Di   sheyne   froy   zet   dem   yid.
   The   beautiful woman sees   the   guy
   "The beautiful woman sees the guy."

c) Ich ze di sheyne   froy   af der gas.
   I   see the beautiful   woman on the road
   "I see the beautiful woman on the road."

e) Moishe arbet   arayn   dem   groisn hoiz.
   Moishe works   in   the   big   house
   "Moishe works in the big house."

f) Yoisef un   Moishe zeyen di shvartze   katz.
   Yoisef and   Moishe see   the black   cat
   "Yoisef and Moishe see the black cat."

g) Di   groise katz   voint nit arayn der shul.
   The   big   cat   live   not in   the school.
   "The big cat doesn't live in the school."

h) Di   gas   ge   levn   der shul.
   The   road   goes near   the school
   "The road goes near the school."

i) Ester un   Moishe voinen   nit mit   'n yid.
   Ester and   Moishe live   not with the guy
   "Ester and Moishe don't live with the guy."

Chapter 3, GPS14

a) A   kasira.
   he cried
   "He cried."

b) Den   ye   ji   min.
   child   PAST water drink
   "The child drank water."

c) N   sonna   a   ma.
    I   agreed it   to
    "I agreed to it."

Chapter 3, GPS15

a) Kuraha   yonyhoryeno   biyekomo.
    bow   made   boy
    "The boy made a bow."

b) Newehyatxhe   woriskomo   komo.
    take-bath   women   all
    "All the women take a bath."

c) Toto   heno komo   yonoye kamara.
    person   dead all   ate   jaguar
    "The jaguar ate all the dead people."

Chapter 3, GPS 16

1) Min   kovāl   sōbrā   mōḷtõb
    my   smart   friend paint
    "My smart friend is painting."

2) Līvõd   lapst   jūobõd kõḷimtõ
    Livonian   children   drink   juice
    "(The) Livonian children are drinking juice."

3) Nänt   vanāãma   kutsūb mēḑi   kuodāj sillõ
    their   grandmother   invite us   house into
    "Their grandmother is inviting us into the house."

Chapter 3, GPS17

Part 1
a) Tha   mi ag   iarraidh cèic   glè   mhath ithe.
    Be.PRES   I PROG[2] want   cake   very   good eat
    "I want to eat very good cake."

b) 'Se   cèic   glè   mhath a   tha   mi ag   iarriadh ithe.
    It.is cake   very   good that   be.PRES I PROG want   eat
    "it is very good cake that I want to eat."

c) Q: Dè   tha   thu ag   iarraidh   ithe?
        What   be.PRES   you PROG   want   eat
       "What do you want to eat?"

    A: cèic   glè   mhath
       cake   very   good
       "Very   good   cake"

d) Tha   mi ag   iarraidh   a   h-ithe.

---

[2] PROG means "progressive aspect", PRES stands for "present tense".

Be.PRES I PROG want its eating
"I want to eat it"

e) Tha mi ag iarraidh cèic glè mhath agus uachdar ithe.
   Be.PRES I PROG want cake very good and cream eat
   "I want to eat very good cake and cream."

Part 2

a) *"Se cèic glè a tha mi ag iarriadh mhath ithe.
   It.is cake very that be.PRES I PROG want good eat
   "(it is very cake that I want to eat good."

b) Q: Dè tha thu ag iarraidh ithe?
      What be.PRES you PROG want eat
      "What do you want to eat?"

   A: *cèic glè
      cake very
      "very cake"

c) *Tha mi ag iarraidh cèic glè agus uachdar ithe.
   Be.PRES I PROG want cake very and cream eat
   "*I want to eat very cake and cream"

Chapter 3, CPS 2

a) allirhinir litlu sniglarnir mínir fjórir
   all other little snails.the my four
   "all my other four little snails"

Chapter 3, CPS4

d) Ez a haz   *Hungarian*
   This the house
   "This house"

e) Ika n anak   *Javanese*
   This the baby
   "This baby"

f) Afto to vivlio   *Greek*
   This the book
   "This book"

g) An leabhar sin   *Irish*
   The book this
   "This book"

Chapter 3, CPS10

a) Les femmes   "the women"
b) Une femme   "a woman"
c) *Femmes   "women"
d) Les femmes intelligentes   "the intelligent women"

e) *Les intelligentes femmes   "the intelligent women"
f) Les femmes bleues   "the blue women"
g) *Les bleues femmes   "the blue women"
h) Les femmes heureuses   "the happy women"
i) *Les heureuses femmes   "the happy women"
j) Les femmes bleues intelligentes   "the intelligent blue women"
k) Très intelligentes   "very intelligent"
l) Les femmes bleues très intelligentes "the very intelligent blue women"

m) Les premières femmes   "the first women"
n) *Les femmes premières   "the first women"
o) Les autres femmes   "the other women"
p) *Les femmes autres   "the other women"

q) Les pauvres femmes   "the poor women" (i.e., pitiful women)
r) Les femmes pauvres   "the poor women" (i.e., women without money)
s) Un curieux garçon   "a strange boy"
t) Un garçon curieux   "a curious boy" (i.e., a boy with curiosity)
u) Une grande dame   "a great lady"
v) Une dame grande   "a tall lady"

Chapter 4, GPS15

a) 'ispet lok'el 'antz   ti   t'ule.
   carry away woman the rabbit
   "The rabbit carried away (the) woman."

b) 'ibat xchi'uk   smalal   li Maruche.
   go with   her-husband   the Maruche
   "(the) Maruche went with her husband." (Maruche is a proper name.)

c) Pas ti 'eklixa'une.
   built the church
   "The church was built."

Chapter 4, GPS1

a) Tékil   né-u   'aáyu-k.
   work   me-for   is
   "There is work for me." (literally: "Work is for me.")

b) Hunáa'a   yá'uraa hunáka'a   hámutta   nokriak.
   that   chief   that   woman   defend
   "That chief defended that woman."

c) Taáwe   tótoi'asó'olam káamomólim   híba-tu'ure.
   Hawk   chickens   young   like
   "(The) hawk likes young chickens."

d) Tá'abwikasu   'áma   yépsak.
   different-person   there   arrived
   "A different person arrived there." (assume *there* is an adverb not a N)

Chapter 4, CPS3

a) Phóg   Liam   Seán.
kissed William   John
"William kissed John."

b) Phóg   Seán   Liam.
Kissed John   William
"John kissed William."

c) Phóg   an fear   an mhuc.
kissed the man   the pig
"The man kissed the pig."

d) Chonaic mé an mhuc mhór.
Saw   I   the pig   big
"I saw the big pig."

e) Rince   an bhean.
Danced   the woman
"The woman danced."

Chapter 5, Section 1.

9) Heidi bopped herself on the head with a zucchini.
    ↑   ↑
antecedent   anaphor

10) a) $[Andrea]_i$ gave $[Colin]_j$ $[a\ basketball]_k$.
    b) $[Alvina]_i$ said that $[she]_j$ played $[basketball]_k$ in $[the\ dark]_l$.
    c) $[Alvina]_i$ said that $[she]_i$ played $[basketball]_k$ in $[the\ dark]_l$.
    d) $[Heidi]_i$ playfully bopped $[herself]_i$ on $[the\ head]_j$ with $[a\ zucchini]_k$.

Chapter 5, Section 5

A Common Mistake

Consider the sentence *She_i loves Maria*. Which of the two NPs in this sentence is the antecedent? Common sense might tell us that *Maria* is. But common sense is wrong. The antecedent here is *she*. This is because *she* c-commands *Maria,* and not vice versa.

One easy way to avoid this mistake is not to think in terms of antecedent and anaphor/pronoun, but in terms of **binder** and **bindee**. The binder here is *she* because it is coindexed with *Maria* and c-commands *Maria*. *Maria* is the thing being bound (the bindee). Note that binding is typically an asymmetric relationship.

Chapter 5, GPS5

1) $Zhangsan_i$ xihuan $ziji_i$.
zhangsan like   self
"$Zhangsan_i$ likes $himself_i$."

2) *$Zhangsan_i$ xihuan $ziji_k$.
zhangsan like   self
"*$Zhangsan_i$ likes $himself_k$."

3) $Zhangsan_i$ xihuan ta_k.
Zhangsan   like   him
"$Zhangsan_i$ likes him_k."

4) *$Zhangsan_i$ xihuan ta_i.
Zhangsan   like   him
"*$Zhangsan_i$ likes him_i."

5) Ta_i xihuan Zhangsan_k.
   he like   Zhangsan
   "He_i likes Zhangsan_k."

6) *Ta_i   xihuan Zhangsan_i
   he   like   Zhangsan
   "*He_i likes Zhangsan_i."

Chapter 5, CPS3

a) Mery_i goft [_{CP} ke [_{TP} Jân_k   ketâb-â   ro be xodesh_{i/k}   bargardune]].
   Mary said   that   John   book-PL   râ to himself/herself return
   "Mary said that John (should) return the books to him/herself."

b) Mery_i goft [_{CP} ke [_{TP} Jân_j   ketâb-â   ro be xodesh_{i/j}   barmigardune]].
   John said   that   Jân   book-PL   râ to himself/herself return3SG.FUT
   "John said that Mary will return the books to him/herself."

c) Jân_i goft [ke [_{TP}   Mery_k ketâb râ barâye   xod_{*i/k} bexânad]].
   John said that   Mary book râ for   self   read3SG
   "John said that Mary (should) read the book to *himself/herself."

d) Jân_i goft [ke [_{TP} Mery_k ketâb râ   barâye xod_{*i/k} negahdârad]].
   John said that Mary book râ for   self   keep3SG
   "John said that Mary (should) keep the books for *himself/herself."

Chapter 5, CPS4

a) Kazukowa_i [_{CP} [_{TP} Tarooga_k zibunzisino_{k/*i} hihansita] [_C to]] itta.
   Kazuko   Taroo   zibunzisin   criticized   that said
   "Kazuko said that Taroo_k criticized himself_k."
   "*Kazuko_i said that Taroo criticized herself_i."

b) Kazukowa_i [_{CP} [_{TP} zibunzisinga_i   Tarooo korosita] [_C to]] omotteiru.
   Kazuko   zibunzisin   Taroo killed   that think
   "Kazuko thinks that herself killed Taroo."
       (*note:* grammatical in Japanese.)

c) *Kazukowa_i [_{CP}[_{TP}   zibunzisinga_k   Tarooo_k korosita] [_C to]] omotteiru.
   Kazuko   zibunzisin   Taroo killed   that think
   "*Kazuko thinks that himself_k killed Taroo_k."

Chapter 6, Section 1

Equivalent Notations

The name "X-bar theory" comes from the original mechanism for indicating intermediate categories. N'
was written as an N with a bar over the letter ($\bar{\text{N}}$). This overbar or macron is the origin of the "bar" in the
name of the theory. "X" is a variable that stands for any category (N, Adj, V, P, etc.). The following notations
are all equivalent:

Phrase level	NP $= \text{N}'' = \text{N}'' = \text{N}^{max}$
Intermediate level	N' $= \text{N}' = \bar{\text{N}}$
Word/Head level	N $= \text{N}°$

Chapter 6, section 3.1

85) the book   [of poems]   [with a red cover]
     head   *complement*   *adjunct*

86) *the book   [with a red cover] [of poems]
     head   *adjunct*   *complement*

89) the book [of poems] [with a red cover] [from Blackwell] [by Robert Burns]
     head complement   *adjunct*   *adjunct*   *adjunct*

90) *the book [of poems] [of fiction] [with a red cover]
     head complement complement adjunct

Chapter 6, section 3.2

99) I loved [the policeman] [intensely] [with all my heart].
      V   direct object   adverbial   PP phrase
         complement   *adjunct*   *adjunct*

Chapter 6, section 3.3

106) [the]   [book] [of poems]   [with a red cover]
     specifier   *head*   *complement*   *adjunct*

Chapter 6, GPS3

a) Die   schlanke   Frau   aus   Frankreich isst   Kuchen   mit   Sahne.
    The   thin   woman from   France   eats   cake   with   cream
    "The thin woman from France eats cake with cream."

Chapter 6, GPS5

a) Nividy ny vary   no an'ny   ankizy   ny vehivavy.
    bought the rice   for the   children   the woman
    "The woman bought the rice for the children."

b) Nividy vary   ny vehivavy.
    bought rice   the woman
    "The woman bought rice."

c) Nametraka my mofo   ambony   ny latabatra   Rakoto.
    put   the bread   on   the table   Rakoto
    "Rakoto put the bread on the table."

Chapter 6, GPS8

a) Maria hefus   aldrei   lesið   þessa   bók.
    Mary has   never   read   this   book
    "Mary has never read this book."

b) Jón   hefur   farið   til Boston.
    John   has   gone   to Boston
    "John has gone to Boston."

c) Jón   hefur þrisvar farinn til Boston.
   John   has   thrice gone   to Boston.
   "John has gone to Boston three times."

d) Ég hef   borðað morgunmat   á   Hótel Sögu.
   I   have eaten breakfast   at Hotel Saga
   "I have eaten breakfast at Hotel Saga."

Chapter 6, GPS9

a) He   muc   cu:k   tugʌ:k cuk   tiʔiš.
   That little rat   three ants saw
   "That little rat saw three ants."

b) Mʌh cu:č   he   tugʌk muc   cuk   ʔišp.
   Big horsefly those three little ants sees
   "The big horsefly sees those three little ants."

Chapter 6, GPS10

a) Eva bleu   akullore.
   Eva bought ice-cream
   "Eva bought (an) ice-cream."

b) makina e   shpejtë
   car.DEF LINK   fast
   "the fast car"

c) të pestë   librat
   the five   books
   "the five books"

d) një kopsht i   madh shumë
   a   garden LINK   big   very
   "a very big garden."

e) Thashë se   Beni   iku.
   said.1S that Ben.DEF   left.3S
   "I said that Ben left."

f) Këto tre   pakot   arritën dje.
   these three parcels arrived yesterday
   "These three parcels arrived yesterday."

Chapter 6, GPS11

a) Toli-ka   mantwu-lul   mekessta.
   Toli-NOM   dumpling-ACC   ate
   "Toli ate a dumpling."

b) ppalkan   kong
   red   ball
   "a red ball".

c) Yuli-nun Toli-ka cipey kass   tako   malhayessta.
   Yuli-TOP Toli-NOM home   went   that   said
   "Yuli said that Toli went home."

Chapter 6, GPS12

a) Xijloqʼ jun akʼ   yaj Waan li   kʼáybʼl.

bought one   chicken   CLF Juan   in.the   market
"Juan bought a chicken in the market."

b) Íwr   xijloq' jun   ak'   yaj Waan.
      yesterday bought one   chicken   CLF Juan
      "Yesterday Juan bought a chicken."

c) Xjolin xb'e yaj Waan   li   k'áyb'l.
      ran went   CLF Juan   to.the   market
      "Juan ran to the market."

d) Laj oor   xjolin yaj Waan
      EMPH hour ran   CLF Juan
      "Juan ran quickly."

e) Laj oor   xtij jrikiil   yaj Waan.
      EMPH hour ate his.food   CLF Juan
      "Juan ate his food quickly."

Chapter 6, CPS5

a) Juntuul ajmeyaj ich   kiwet'ok   b'intilitz   tucha'
      One   worker among our.companions   went.fishing   at.edge

      a' ja'yan t'a   paarkejej.
      the water in.DEF park
      "One worker among our companions went fishing at the edge of the lake in the park."

Chapter 6, CPS6

a) Tkanan   mu bera   duhung   nii.
      Pound   I   rice   mortar   this
      "I pounded the rice with this mortar."

b) Pnuqan   daha   damac ngerax kiya.
      Eat   they   food   bowl   that
      "They ate food from that bowl."

Chapter 7, Section 3

35)   Ar thit Seán?
         Q fall John
         "Did John fall?"

Chapter 7, GPS 8

a) Trà được   trồng ở Nhật Bản.
      tea PASS   grown in Japan
      "Tea is grown in Japan."

b) Tôi đang   học.
      I   PROG   study
      "I am studying.

c) Anh ấy đã   học.
      He DET PERF   study
      "He has studied."

d) Anh ấy sẽ   học.
      He DET FUT   study

"He will study."

Chapter 7, CPS1

a) az   én kalapom
    the I   hat-1SG
    "my hat"

b) a   te   kalapod
    the you hat-2SG
    "your hat"

c) Marinak a   kalapja
    Mary   the hat-3SG
    "Mary's hat"

Chapter 7, CPS3

a) an den   mañ
   the man   here
   'this man'

b) an den   se
   the man   there
   'that man'

c) an den   hont
   the man   yonder
   'yon man'

Chapter 8, Section 1

4)

Subcategory	Example
V[DP __] (intransitive)	leave
V[DP ___ DP] (transitive type 1)	hit
V[DP ___ {DP/CP}] (transitive type 2)	ask
V[DP ___ DP DP] (ditransitive type 1)	spare
V[DP ___ DP PP] (ditransitive type 2)	put
V[DP ___ DP {DP/PP}] (ditransitive type 3)	give
V[DP ___ DP {DP/PP/CP}] (ditransitive type 4)	tell

Chapter 8, Section 2

8) Ku yeca-ekey   sopwung-i   culkew-ess-ta.
   she-DAT   picnic-NOM   enjoy-PAST-DECL
   "She enjoyed the picnic."

9) Ku yeca-ka sopwung-lul   culkew-eha-ess-ta.
   she.NOM   picnic-ACC   enjoy-do-PAST-DECL
   "She enjoyed the picnic."

Chapter 8, GPS2

a) Lungkarda ka   ngulya-ngka   nguna-mi.
   bluetongue AUX burrow-A   lie-NON.PAST
   "The bluetongue skink is lying in the burrow."

b) Nantuwu   ka   karru-kurra   parnka-mi.
   horse   AUX   creek-B   run-NON.PAST
   "The horse is running to the creek."

c) Karli   ka   pirli-ngirli   wanti-mi.
   boomerang AUX   stone-C   fall-NON.PAST
   "The boomerang is falling from the stone."

d) Kurdu-ngku ka-jana pirli   yurutu-wana   yirra-rni.
   child-D   AUX   stone   road-E   put.NON.PAST
   "The child is putting stones along the road."

Chapter 8, GPS4

a) Mamə   kawi   kiənəwa.
   I   poetry tell-A
   "I recite poetry."

b) Maʈə   kawi   kiəwenəwa.
   I   poetry tell-B
   "I started reciting poetry (despite myself)."

c) Lamea   kataawə   ahanəwa.
   child   story   hear-A
   "The child listens to the story."

d) Lameaʈə   kataawə   æhenəwa.
   child   story   hear-B
   "The child hears the story."

e) Mamə   naʈənəwa.
   I   dance-A
   "I dance."

f) Maʈə   næʈəenəwa.
   I   dance-B
   "I dance (I can't help but do so)."

g) Hæmə irida   mə   mamə koləmbə   yanəwa.
   every Sunday   EMPH I   Columbo   go-A
   "Every Sunday I deliberately go to Colombo."

h) Hæmə irida   mə   maʈə koləmbə   yæwenəwa.
   every Sunday   EMPH I   Columbo   go-B
   "Every Sunday I experience going to Colombo."

i) Malli   nitərəmə   aňɖənəwa.
   brother   always   cries-A
   "Brother always cries."

j) Malliʈə   nitərəmə   æňɖ̦ənəwą̦.
   brother   always   cries-B
   "Brother always bursts out crying without control."

k) Mamə   untə   baninəwa.
   I   them   scold-A
   "I deliberately scold them."

l) Maʈə   untə   bænenəwa.
   I   them   scold-B
   "I experienced scolding them."

m) Apiʈə   pansələ peenəwa.
   we   temple   see-B
   "We saw the temple."

Chapter 8, CPS1

a) an fear   a   bhfaca mé é
   the man   who   saw   I   him
   "the man who I saw"

b) Rinceamar.
   dance.1PL
   "We danced."

c) Ba-mhaith liom   an teach   a   thógail.
   COND-good with-me   the house   its   building
   "I would like to build the house."

Chapter 8, CPS4

a) Peo   Huan-ta   chochon-ak.[3]
   Pete   John-ACC   punch-PERF
   "Pete punched John."

a') Huan   chochon-wa-k.
   John   punch-WA-PERF
   "John was punched."

b) 'Ume uusi-m   uka   kuchu-ta   kuchi'i-m-mea bwa'a-ka.
   the   children-PL the-ACC   fish-ACC   knife-PL-INST   eat-PERF
   "The children ate the fish with knives."

b') 'U kuchu   kuchi'i-m-mea   bwa'a-wa-k.
   the fish   knife-PL-INST   eat-WA-PERF
   "The fish was eaten with knives."

c) Peo   bwiika.
   Pete   sing

---

[3] Sometimes when -*wa* attaches to a verb, the form of the root changes (usually /e/ becomes /i/). This is a morphophonological phenomenon that you don't need to worry about. ACC refers to accusative case, INST means instrument, and PERF means perfective aspect (aspect plays no role in the answer to this problem). There is no nominative suffix in Hiaki.

"Pete is singing."

c') Bwiik-wa.
sing-WA
"Singing is happening." or "There is singing going on." or "Someone is singing."

a) 'U wikia chukte.
the rope come.loose
"The rope is coming loose."

a') *Chukti-wa.
come.loose-WA
"Coming loose is happening." or "There is coming loose going on." or "Something is coming loose."

b) 'U kaaro nasonte.
the car damage
"The car is damaged."

b') *Nasonti-wa.
damage-WA
"Damage is happening." or "There is damage going on." or "Something is getting damaged."

c) 'U kari veete-k.
The house burn-PERF
"The house burned."

c') *Veeti-wa-k.
Burn-WA-PERF
"Burning happened." or "There was burning going on." or "Something is getting burned."

d) 'U vachi bwase'e.
The corn cook
"The corn is cooking."

d') *Bwase'i-wa.
cook-WA
"Cooking happened." or "There was cooking going on." or "Something is being cooked."

e) Ume uusim sawaria-ta-mak koko-n
The.PL children.PL yellow.fever-ACC-with die.PL-IMPF
"The children were dying of yellow fever."

e') Sawaria-ta-mak koko-wa-n
Yellow.fever-ACC-with die.pl-WA-IMPF
"People were dying with yellow fever" *or*
"There was dying with yellow fever."

Chapter 8, CPS5

a) Aŋuti-m umiaq qiñig-aa tirrag-mi. *Active*
man-ERG boat-ABS see-3SUBJ.3OBJ beach-at
"The man sees the boat at the beach."

b) Aŋun (umiag-mik) qiñiq-tuq tirrag-mi. *Antipassive*
man-ABS boat-INST see-3 beach-at
"The man sees (with a boat) at the beach."

Chapter 8, CPS6

1) a) Mihtâtam   <u>êkîsipwêhtênit.</u>
    regret.TRAN.3   LEFT.INTRAN.3
    "She regrets he left."

   b) Pâhpiw   <u>êsipwêhtênit.</u>
    laugh.INTRAN.3 leave.INTRAN.3
    "She laughs/laughed when he leaves/left."

2) a) <u>Nikiskênimâw</u> <u>êsipwêhtêt</u>   mêriy.
    know.TRAN.1   leave.INTRAN.3 Mary
    "I know that Mary left."

   b) Nimâton   <u>êsipwêhtêt</u>   mêriy.
    cry.INTRAN.1   leave.INTRAN.3 Mary
    "I cried when Mary left."

3) a) Wâpahtam   **mihkoh.**
    see.TRAN.3   blood
    "She saw some blood."

   b) Wâpahtam   <u>êhmisatimositêyit.</u>
    see.TRAN.3   horse.foot.HAVE.3
    "He saw that he had horses' feet."

4) a) Awa   kimotisk   pêhtawêw **anihi** **atimwa.**
    this   thief   hear.TRAN that   dog
    "This thief heard that dog."

   b) Awa   kimotisk   pêhtawêw   <u>ê-ati-kîwênit</u>   câna.
    this   thief   hear.TRAN   go.home.INTRAN   John
    "This thief heard John go home."

   c) *Awa   kimotisk   pêhtawêw **anihi** **atimwa**   <u>ê-ati-kîwênit</u>   câna.
    this   thief   hear.TRAN that   dog go.home.INTRAN   John

5)   <u>Êsipwêhtêyan</u>   <u>nikîpêhtawâw</u>   **atim.**
    leave.INTRAN.2   1-PST-hear.TRAN   dog
    "When you went out, I heard the dog."

7) a) Pâhpiwak   **nêwo**   **awâsisak.**
    laugh.INTRAN four   child
    "The four children are laughing."

   b) **Nêwo** pâhpiwak   **awâsisak.**
    four   laugh.INTRAN child
    "The four children are laughing."

8) a) Cîmiy wâpamêw **nisto**   **iskwêwa.**
    Jimmy see.TRAN three   woman
    "Jimmy sees three women."

   b) **Nisto**   cîmiy   wâpamêw   **iskwêwa.**
    three   Jimmy see.TRAN   woman
    "Jimmy sees three women."

9) a) Cân   sipwêhtêw   ipsî   êmâcinikamonit   **nêwo**   **awâsisa.**
        John   leave.INTRAN   when   begin-sing.INTRAN   four   child
        "John left when four children began to sing."

    b) *__Nêwo__   cân   sipwêhtêw   ipsî   êmâcinikamonit   **awâsisa.**
        four   John   leave.INTRAN   when   begin-sing.INTRAN   child

10) a) Mêriy   kaskikwâsow   **nîso**   **awâsisa**   ohci.
        Mary   sews.INTRAN   two   child   for
        "Mary sews for the two children."

    b) *__Nîso__   mêriy   kaskikwâsow   **awâsisa**   ohci.
        two   Mary   sews.INTRAN   child   for

Chapter 9 Section 1.1

4)   a)   that   [–Q, +FINITE]
        b)   Ø[-Q, +FINITE]   [–Q, +FINITE]
        c)   for   [–Q, –FINITE]
        d)   Ø[-Q, -FINITE]   [–Q, –FINITE]
        e)   if/whether   [+Q, +FINITE]

5) *think*

Agent	CP
DP	[–Q, +FINITE]

6) *order*

Agent	CP
DP	[–Q]

7) *inquire*

Agent	CP
DP	[+Q, +FINITE]

9) *that*

TP
[–INFINITIVE]

Chapter 9, Section 2

12) *a/an (to be revised)*

NP
[–PLURAL]

13) *the (to be revised)*

NP

15) a) *a (final)*

NP
[−PLURAL, -PROPER, -PRONOUN]

   b) *the (to be revised)*

NP
[-PROPER, -PRONOUN]

16) *strike*

Agent DP	Theme DP
i	k

18) a) $\emptyset_{[+PROPER]}$

NP
[+PROPER, -PRONOUN]

   b) $\emptyset_{[+PRONOUN]}$

NP
[−PROPER, +PRONOUN]

   c) $\emptyset_{[+PLURAL]}$

NP
[+PLURAL, -PROPER, -PRONOUN]

20) a) *many*

NP
[+COUNT, +PLURAL, −PROPER, -PRONOUN]

   b) *much*

NP
[−COUNT, −PLURAL, −PROPER, −PRONOUN]

23) *all*

DP

27) *should* (to be revised)

[+V]

Chapter 9, Section 3
30)

[+V, FORM *bare*]

33) a) Calvin $\emptyset_{past}$ ate the beef waffles
    b) Calvin can eat the beef waffles

34) $\emptyset_{past}$

[+V, FORM *preterite*]

37) *have*$_{perf}$

[+V, –PERFECT, FORM *participle*]

41) *be*$_{prog}$

[+V, –PERFECT, –PROGRESSIVE, FORM *gerund*]

44) *be*$_{pass}$

[+V, –PERFECT, –PROGRESSIVE, –PASSIVE, FORM *participle*]

50) *do*$_{neg}$

NegP

51) *not*

[+V, FORM *bare*]

53) *Do*$_{emph}$

[+V, FORM *bare*]

Paragraph above the tree in (55). Final line: The tree for the first clause in (55) is given in (78)
→ The tree in for the first clause in (55) is given in (56).

Tree in 55: The Numbering of examples from this point forward is wrong in the eBook edition (it is correct in the print book). The tree in 55 should be numbered 56. And from this point forward, all the numbered examples and diagrams should be fixed.

Chapter 9, Section 4:

For the following the numbering needs to be corrected in both the text and the example itself. This is fine in the print version of the textbook.
56) → 57)
57) → 58)
58) → 59)
59) → 60)
60) → 61)
61) → 62)
62) → 63)
63) → 64)

64) → 65)
65) → 66)
66) → 67)

63)

Name	Meaning	Subcategory
be_{cop}	Copula (identity/property)	Main verb
be_{prog}	Progressive	Auxiliary
be_{pass}	Passive	Auxiliary
$have_{poss}$	Possession	Main verb
$have_{perf}$	Perfect	Auxiliary
do_{main}	Accomplishment/performance	Main verb
do_{aux}	Supports tense before negation	Auxiliary

Chapter 9, Section 5
For the following the numbering needs to be corrected in both the text and the example itself.
67) → 68)

Chapter 10, Section 0

1) Phóg   Máire   an lucharachán.
   Kissed Mary   the leprechaun
   "Mary kissed the leprechaun."

2) Jemange   souvent   des   pommes.
   I   eat   often   of.the   apples
   "I often eat apples."

Chapter 10, Section 1

5) Je   mange souvent   des   pommes.
   I   eat   often   of.the   apples
   "I often eat apples."

8)

a)	I	$\emptyset_{pres}$	often	eat	apples
b)	Je	mange	souvent		des pommes
c)	I	have	often	eaten	apples
d)	J'	ai	souvent	mangé	des pommes
e)	I	can	often	eat	apples
f)	Je	peux	souvent	manger	des pommes

13)

a)	I	do	not	eat	apples
b)	Je	ne-mange	pas		des pommes
c)	I	have	not	eaten	apples
d)	Je	n'ai	pas	mangé	des pommes
e)	I	can	not	eat	apples

f)

Je	ne-peux	pas	manger	des pommes

18) a) A   la   saka li.
      we   have   rice eaten
      "We have eaten rice."

  b) A   li   saka.
      we   eat   rice
      "We eat rice."

21) Phóg Máire an   lucharachán.
    Kissed Mary   the   leprechaun
    "Mary kissed the leprechaun."

23) Tá Máire ag-pógadh an lucharachán.
    Is Mary   PROG-kiss the leprechaun
    "Mary is kissing the leprechaun."

24) Phóg Máire an lucharachán.
    kissed Mary   the leprechaun
    "Mary kissed the leprechaun."

Chapter 10, Grey box in section 1

ii) Tá Máire [ag-pógadh an lucharachán].
   Is Mary   PROG-kiss the leprechaun
   "Mary is kissing the leprechaun."

iii) Tá Máire [ag-pógadh an lucharachán]   agus   [ag-goid   a   ór].
    Is Mary [PROG-kiss   the leprechaun]   and   [PROG-steal his gold]
    "Mary is kissing the leprechaun and stealing his gold."

iv) Is   [ag-pógadh an lucharachán]   atá   Máire.
    It-is   [PROG-kiss the leprechaun]   that.be Mary
    "It's kissing the leprechaun that Mary is."

v) Chonaic Síle$_i$ í-fein$_i$.
   Saw   Sheila her-self
   "Sheila saw herself."

vi) *Chonaic   í-fein$_i$ Síle$_i$.[4]
    Saw   her-self Sheila
    "Sheila saw herself."

Chapter 10, Section 2

30) An bhfaca tú an madra?
    Q see.PAST   you the dog

---

[4] Sentence (vi) actually has a grammatical interpretation, but in that circumstance *i-fein* is not an anaphor, it has an emphatic meaning rather than an anaphoric one.

"Did you see the dog?"

Chapter 10, Grey box in Section 2

<table>
<tr><td>i)</td><td>Duirt</td><td>mé</td><td><u>gur</u></td><td>*phóg*</td><td>**Máire**</td><td>an</td><td>lucharachán.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Said</td><td>I</td><td>that</td><td>kissed</td><td>Mary</td><td>the</td><td>leprechaun</td></tr>
</table>

"I said that Mary kissed the leprechaun."

Chapter 10, GPS 1

a) Gianni non ha più parlato.
Gianni *non* has anymore spoken
"Gianni does not speak anymore."

b) Gianni non parla più.
Gianni *non* speaks anymore
"Gianni speaks no more."

Chapter 10, GPS2

a) Bouki deja konnen Boukinèt.
Bouki already knows Boukinèt
"Bouki already knows Boukinèt."

b) Bouki pa konnen Boukinèt.
Bouki NEG knows Boukinèt
"Bouki doesn't know Boukinèt."

Chapter 10, GPS4

a) Gwelodd Bronwyn ddraig.
saw.PAST Bronwyn dragon
"Bronwyn saw a dragon."

b) Gwnaeth Bronwyn weld draig.
do.PAST Bronwyn seen dragon.GEN
"Bronwyn saw a dragon."

Chapter 10, GPS5

c) Les enfants n'ont pas travaillé. (French)
the children have not worked
"The children haven't worked."

d) Les enfants (ne)-travaillent pas. (French)
the children work not
"The children don't work."

Chapter 10. GPS6

a) Yutut   wrba_k   *ixfnns_k*.
   hit   boy-NOM_k   himself_k
   "The boy_k hit himself_k."

b) *Yutut   *ixfnns_k*   arba_k.
   hit   himself_k   boy_k
   "Himself_k hit the boy_k."

Chapter 10, GPS8

a) beit   ha-more
   house   the-teacher
   "the teacher's house"

c) *ha-beit   ha-more
   the house   the teacher
   "the house of the teacher"

d) more   kita   xadaš
   teacher-M   class-F   new-M
   "a class's new teacher" or "a new teacher of a class"
        but: "*a new class's teacher" or "*a teacher of a new class"

Chapter 10, CPS2

German
a) Sprechen   Sie   Deutsch?
   speak   you   German
   "Do you speak German?"

b) Ist er   nach   Hause gegangen?
   is he   to   home   gone
   "Has he gone home?"

c) Er sitzt   nicht   auf diesem Tisch.
   he sits   not   on this   table
   "He does not sit on this table."

d) Sie soll   nicht   auf diesem Tisch   sitzen.
   she must   not   on this   table   sit
   "She must not sit on this table."

Persian
a) Rafti   to   madrese?
   went   you   school
   "Did you go to school?"

b) Bâyad   un biyâd?

   must   he come
   "Must he come?"

c) Man   keyk   na-poxtam.

```
        I        cake    not-cooked
        "I did not bake cakes."

d)  Un  na-xâhad    âmad.
    he  not-will     come
    "He will not come."
```

Chapter 10, CPS3

```
a)  Die Kinder      haben  diesen Film    gesehen.
    the children    have    this    film    seen
    "The children have seen this film."

d)  Er  sagt,   [daß    die Kinder    diesen Film    gesehen    haben].
    he  said    that    the children  this    film    seen        have
    "He said that the children saw this film."

f)  Gestern      sahen  die Kinder      den Film.
    Yesterday    saw     the children     the film
    "The children saw the film yesterday."
```

Chapter 10, CPS5

```
a)  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."

b)  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

c)  i)   E' venuto      il      vecchio        Cameresi.
         came           the     older          Cameresi

    ii)  *E' venuto     vecchio        Cameresi.
         came           older          Cameresi

    iii) E' venuto      Cameresi       vecchio.
         came           Cameresi       older

d)  i)   L'  antica     Roma
         the ancient    Rome
         "Ancient Rome"

    ii)  *Antica        Roma
         ancient        Rome

    iii) Roma           antica
```

       Rome   ancient

Chapter 10, CPS6

a) Ekwe k   hinne.
   NEG   3S walk.
   "He doesn't walk".

b) MoT   ak   hinne?
   Q   3S   walk
   "Does he walk?"

c) Hinne k.
   walk   3S
   "He walks."

Chapter 11, section 2

18) a) *kiss*

Theme
DP

   b) $\emptyset_{active}$

Agent	[+V, −PASSIVE, −PERFECT, −PROGRESSIVE]
DP	

19) be_{pass} *(to be revised)*

[+V, −PASSIVE, −PERFECT, −PROGRESSIVE, FORM *participle*]

Chapter 11, section 2, Grey box

i)

Agent	Theme	→	Theme
DP	DP		DP

Chapter 11, section 3

27) Asako-ga   ronbun-o   kai-ta.
   Asako-NOM   article-ACC wrote-PAST
   "Asako wrote the article."

28) Etsuko-ga   heya-ni   haitte-kita.
   Etsuko-NOM   room-DAT   in-came
   "Etsuko came into the room."

31)

Nominative	I	you	he	she	it	we	you	they
Accusative	me	you	him	her	it	us	you	them

35) *he*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{MASCULINE} \\ \text{3rd PERSON} \\ \text{SINGULAR} \\ \text{NOMINATIVE} \end{bmatrix}$$

36) T ($\emptyset_{pres}$)

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRESENT} \\ \text{NOMINATIVE} \end{bmatrix}$$

Chapter 11, section 5

44) *be$_{pass}$ (to be revised)*

[+V, –PASSIVE, –PERFECT, –PROGRESSIVE, –ACC, FORM *participle*]

Chapter 11, section 6

50) a) Giovanni   ha   telefonato.
        Giovanni   has   telephoned
        "Giovanni has called.[5]"

   b) Giovanni   è   arrivato.
       Giovanni   is   arrived
       "Giovanni has arrived."

51) Giovanni ne-invitera   molti.
    Giovanni *ne*-invite.FUT   many
    "Giovanni will invite many of them."

52) a) *Giovanni   ne-parlerà   a   due.
        Giovanni   *ne*-speak.FUT   to   two
        "Giovanni will speak to two of them."

   b) *Ne-esamineranno il   caso   molti.
       ne-examine.FUT   the case   many
       "Many of them will examine the case."

53) Ne-sarrano invitati   molti.
    Ne-be.FUT   invite.PASS many
    "Many of them will be invited."

54) a) *Ne-telefoneranno   molti.
        Ne-telephone.FUT   many
        "Many of them will call."

   b) Ne-arrivanno   molti.
       Ne-arrive.FUT   many
       "Many of them will arrive."

Chapter 11, GPS 1

---

[5] All Italian data in this section taken from Burzio (1986).

a) Sanble   Jan   pati.
   seems   John   left
   "It seems that John left."

b) Jan   sanble li   pati.
   John   seems   he   leave
   "John seems he to have left."

Chapter 11, GPS2

a) Cal   paʔ   mpon.
   Wind   open   door
   "The wind opened the door."

b) Mpon   gə   paʔ   mə cal.
   Door   PASS   open   by wind
   "The door was opened by the wind,"

Chapter 11, GPS3

a) Móðirin   vakti   drenginn   klukkan   sjö.
   mother.DEF.NOM   woke   boy.DEF.ACC   clock   7
   "The mother woke the boy up at 7 o'clock."

b) Drengurinn   var   vakinn   klukkan   sjö.
   boy.DEF.NOM   was   awakened   clock   7
   "The boy was awakened at 7 o'clock."

Chapter 11, GSP4

a) i) *Man*   ruznâme   xarid-am.
        I   newspaper bought-1SG
        "I bought a newspaper."

   ii) Simâ   az   *man*   ruznâme   xâst.
       Sima   from   me   newspaper   wanted.3SG
       "Sima wanted a newspaper from me."

   iii) Ruznâme-ye   *man*   injâ-st.
        newspaper-EZ me   here-is
        "My newspaper is here."

b) i) Man   jiân-o   didam.
       I   Jian-RÂ   saw.1SG
       "I saw Jian."

   ii) *Man   jiân   did-am.
       I   Jian   saw-1SG

c) i) Jiân   man-o   did.
       Jian   I-RÂ   saw.3SG
       "Jian saw me."

   ii) *Jiân   man   did.
       Jian   I   saw.3SG

d) i) Jiân in   ketâb-o   xarid.
      Jian this   book-RÂ   bought.3SG
      "Jian bought this book."

   ii) *Jiân   in   ketâb   xarid.
       Jian   this   book   bought.3SG

e) i) Jiân   ye ketâb   xund.
      Jian   a   book   read.3SG
      "Jian read a book."

   ii) Jiân   ketâb-o   xund.
       Jian   book-RÂ   read.3SG
       "Jian read the book."

f) i) Man   se-tâ   qalam   xarid-am.
      I   three   pen   bought-1SG
      "I bought three pens."

   ii) Man   se-tâ   qalam-o   xarid-am.
       I   three   pen-RÂ   bought-1SG
       "I bought the three pens."

g) i) Jiân   pirhan   xarid.
      Jian   shirt   bought.3SG
      "Jian bought a shirt."

   ii) Jiân   pirhan-o   xarid.
       Jian   shirt-RÂ   bought.3SG
       "Jian bought the shirt."

Chapter 11, GPS5

a) Biz   süt   içiyoruz.
   we   milk   drink
   "We are drinking milk."

b) Biz$_i$ sana   [$_{CP}$ t$_i$ süt   içtik]   gibi   göründük.
   We   you-DAT   milk   drank   like   appear
   "We appear to you [$_{CP}$ drunk milk]."

Chapter 11, GPS6

a) Cerkvu   bulo   zbudovano   v 1640 roc'i.   *Ukrainian*
   Church-ACC   was   built   in 1640 year
   "The church was built in the year 1640."

b) Rama-nannu   kollalayitu.   *Kannada*
   Rama-ACC   kill.PASS
   "Rama was killed."

Chapter 11, GPS8

a) Eyıt'à   [$_{DP}$ deʔo̧ò̧do̧ ło̧]   goxè   aget'ı̧̀   ajà.
   so   people   many   with.them   3P.went   3S.became

"So it came to be that great numbers of people went with them."

b) [_DP_ Gɪdzìì   goìlee sìɪ]   egeèhkw'o̜ò̜   agejà.
    3P.hearing   lack   FOC   3P.hear   3P.become
    "Those lacking hearing became able to hear."

Chapter 11, GPS11

a) Ég hjálpaði   honum.
    I   helped   him-DAT
    "I helped him."

        hjálpað "help"

Agent	Theme
DP	DP
i	k

Dative Case

Chapter 11, CPS5

a) Kúku   l-erló   Ṯúʈu-ga.
    L.Kuku   L-walked   G.Tutu-G.INST
    "Kuku walked with Tutu."

b) Ṯúṯ̩u   g-irl-əní   ja.
    G.Tutu   G-walked-PASS 3S.INST
    "Tutu was walked with."

Chapter 11, CPS7

a) puʔ-nis-ʔi   həw   sat-ʔaka-c-u.
    older.bro-DUAL-AGENT   younger.brother   kill-PAST-DUAL-AG
    "The two older brothers killed the younger brothers accidentally."

b) həw-kay   puʔ-nis-ʔi   sat-ʔa-thəy.
    younger.bro-GOAL older.bro-DUAL-AGENT kill-PAST-GOAL
    "The two older brothers killed the younger brother."

Chapter 12

Throughout this chapter, indexes are systematically not subscripted.

Chapter 12, Section 0

Who **and** *Whom*
In traditional prescriptive grammar, there are two *wh*-phrases that refer to people: *who* and *whom*. *Who* is used when the *wh*-phrase originates in subject position and gets nominative Case. *Whom* is the accusative version. In most spoken dialects of Canadian and American English this distinction no longer exists, and *who* is used in all environments. For the sake of clarity, I use *whom* to indicate that the *wh*-phrase originated in object position, but you should note that from a descriptive point of view *who* is perfectly acceptable in object position for most speakers today.

Chapter 12, Section 1

11) Cad   **a^L**   tá sa   seomra?
    What   C-*wh*   is in.the   room
    "What is in the room?"

14) [–Q, –WH] *go*
    [+Q, –WH] *an*
    [+Q, +WH] *a^L*

Traces and *Wanna*-contraction

You may have noticed that I have been marking the position that movement occurs from with a *t* (coindexed with the word it replaces). The *t* here stands for "trace". Later in this chapter we'll see that traces are required to block certain kinds of illicit movement. But an important question is whether there is any reality behind the notion "trace". This is especially important in a theory like generative grammar, which claims psychological underpinnings. Finding evidence for something that is not pronounced is remarkably difficult. However, there is some straightforward evidence for traces. First a little background: In spoken varieties of English (both standard and non-standard), function words often contract with nearby words. One such contraction takes non-finite T (*to*) and contracts it with a preceding verb like *want*:

i)   I want to leave → I wanna leave.

This phenomenon is called **wanna-*contraction***. Now consider what happens when you have *wh*-movement and *wanna*-contraction going on at the same time. *Wanna*-contraction is permitted when the *wh*-movement applies to an object:

ii)   Who(m)$_i$ do you wanna kiss t_i?

But look what happens when you try to do *wanna*-contraction, when *wh*-movement targets the subject:

iii)   Who$_i$ do you want t_i to kiss the puppy?
iv)   *Who do you wanna kiss the puppy?

English speakers have very strong judgments that *wanna*-contraction is impossible when the subject is *wh*-questioned. Why should this be the case? If we have traces, the explanation is simple: the trace intervenes between the *to* and the verb. It blocks the strict adjacency between the verb and the *to*, thus blocking contraction:

v)   Who$_i$ do you want t$_i$ to kiss the puppy?

The theory of traces provides a nice explanation for this fact. For an alternate view see Pullum (1997).

Chapter 12, paragraph under (24)

The main difference between this sentence and (23) lies in the nature of the main verb. In (23) the verb was *think*, that subcategorizes for a CP headed by C$_{[-Q, -WH]}$ (25a). The verb *wonder*[6] differs in that it subcategorizes for a CP headed by C$_{[-Q, +WH]}$; that is, the embedded clause has *wh*-movement in it (25b):

25)   a)   *think*

Agent	Proposition
DP	CP$_{[-Q, -WH]}$

    b)   *wonder*

Agent	Proposition
DP	CP$_{[-Q, +WH]}$

---

[6] We have to assume that there is another verb *wonder*, found in sentences such as *I wonder if Bill left*, that selects for a CP headed by C$_{[+Q,-WH]}$.

Chapter 12, Section 2

Examples 28 and 29 are missing the critical underscore, and indices are not correctly subscripted

28)   a)   I [VP asked [CP where [TP you found it _____]]].
        b)   I won't reveal [DP the place$_i$ [CP where$_i$ [TP we found it _____]]].

29)   a)   I [VP asked [CP who [TP she kissed _____]]].
        b)   I know [DP several people [CP who [TP she kissed _____]]].

Chapter 12, Section 3
Critical indices are not subscripted:

37) a)   What$_i$ did Lori claim [CP that she read t_i in the syntax book]?
     b)   *What$_i$ did Lori make [DP the claim [CP that she read t_i in the syntax book]]?

Critical boxes are missing, indices not subscripted

38) *What$_i$ did Lori make │[DP the claim [CP that she read t_i in the syntax book]│?
<p style="text-align:center">Complex DP Island</p>

39) *[Which cake]$_i$ did you see │[DP the woman [CP who baked │t_i]] ?

40)   *The Complex DP Constraint*:   *wh$_i$ [… [DP … t_i …] …]

41) I wonder [CP what$_i$ C$_{[-Q, +WH]}$ [TP Sonya bought t_i with the $20 bill]]

42)   [CP How$_k$ do [TP you think [Sonya bought the sweater t_k]]]?

43) *[CP How$_k$ do [TP you wonder [CP what$_i$ [TP Sonya bought t_i t_k]]]]?

45) a)   I wonder [CP what$_i$ [TP Theresa kissed t_i]].
     b)   [CP Who$_k$ did [TP you think [TP t_k kissed the gorilla]]]?

46) *[CP1 Who$_k$ did [TP you wonder [CP2 what$_i$ [TP t_k kissed t_i]]]]?

47) I asked   │[CP what$_i$ Theresa kissed t_i].│   *wh*-island

48)   *Wh-island Constraint*:   *wh$_i$ [… [CP wh$_k$ [… t_i …] …] …]

49) a)   [TP [CP That the police would arrest <u>several rioters</u>] was a certainty].
     b)   *Who$_i$ was [TP [CP that the police would arrest t_i] t_{was} a certainty]?

50) *The Subject Condition:*   *wh$_i$ … [TP [CP … t$_i$ …] T …]

51) a)   I liked Mary and Fiona.
     b)   *Who$_i$ did you like Mary and t_i?
     c)   *Who$_i$ did you like t_i and Fiona?

52) a)   I [VP ate some popcorn] and [VP drank some soda].
     b)   *What$_i$ did you eat t_i and drink some soda?
     c)   *What$_i$ did you eat some popcorn and drink t_i?

53) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*:
$*wh_i$ … $[_{XP}$ $[_{XP}$ … t_i …] conj $[_{XP}$ …]] …
   or $*wh_i$ … $[_{XP}$ $[_{XP}$ …] conj $[_{XP}$ … t_i …]] …
   or $*wh_i$ … $[_{XP}$ $[_{XP}$ …] conj t_i] …
   or $*wh_i$ … $[_{XP}$ t_i conj $[_{XP}$ …]] …

<div style="background:#d9d9d9">

The *That*-trace Effect

In English, *wh*-movement of objects seems to be free – you can do it either when there is a complementizer or when there is no complementizer:

i)   What$_i$ do you think Melissa kissed t_i ?
ii)   What$_i$ do you think that Melissa kissed t_i ?

This is not the case with subjects. *Wh*-movement from subject position is only possible when there is no overt *that* complementizer:

iii)   Who$_i$ do you think t$_i$ kissed Francesca?
iv)   *Who$_i$ do you think that t_i kissed Francesca?

This phenomenon is called the **that-*trace effect*,** from the constraint that is used to rule out sentences like (iv), the **that-*trace filter*:**
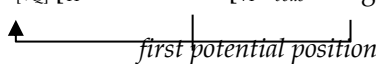
v)   * $[_{CP}$ that t…]

The *that*-trace effect is not universal. Many languages (such as Italian), don't have it:

vi)   Chi   credi   che t_i venga?
        Who you.think that t$_i$ come
        "Who do you think is coming?" (Rizzi 1982)

The explanation for the *that*-trace effect in English is still a bit of a mystery and is widely debated among syntacticians.

</div>

Chapter 12 Section 4

54) a)   I wonder $[_{CP}$ what$_i$ $[_{TP}$ Jean kissed t_i]].
    b) $[_{CP}$ Who$_k$ did $[_{TP}$ you think $[_{TP}$ t_k kissed the gorilla]]]?

57) $[_{CP1}$ __ C$_{[+WH]}$ $[_{TP}$ you Ø$_{[PRES]}$ wonder $[_{CP2}$ __ C$_{[+WH]}$ $[_{TP}$ who kissed what]]]]?

61) $[_{CP}$ Who$_i$ do you think $[_{CP2}$ $[_{TP}$ t_i kissed the gorilla]]]?

63) a)   Bella$_i$ is likely $[t_i$ to have left].
    b)   Bella$_i$ seems $[t_i$ to have left].

64) a)   __ seems [that ___ is likely [Bella to have left]].
    b)   It seems [that Bella$_i$ is likely $[t_i$ to have left]].
    c)   *Bella$_i$ seems that is likely $[t_i$ to have left].
    d)   *Bella$_i$ seems that it is likely $[t_i$ to have left].

67) a) $[_{CP}$ C$_{[+Q]}$ $[_{TP}$ vous avez $[_{VP}$ t_{vous} mangé   des pommes]]]
                     you   have   eaten   of.the apples

    b) $[_{CP}$ C$_{[+Q]}$ $[_{TP}$ vous avez $[_{VP}$ t_{vous} mangé des pommes]]]

              ▲_____|
                  first potential position

    c)   *Mangé vous avez   des pommes
          eaten   you have   of.the apples

Chapter 12, The paragraph under (67) is missing the arrow between V and C:

The ungrammaticality of (67c) follows easily: the V → C movement has skipped the intermediate T (occupied by *avez*).

Chapter 12 Ideas Rules and Constraints

xi)   ***The Complex DP Constraint***: *wh$_i$ [… [$_{DP}$ … t_i …] …]

xii)   ***Wh-island Constraint***:   *wh$_i$ [… [$_{CP}$ wh$_k$ [… t_i …] …] …]

xiii)   ***The Subject Condition***:   *wh$_i$ … [$_{TP}$ [$_{CP}$ … t$_i$ …] T …]

xiv)   ***Coordinate Structure Constraint***:

        *wh$_i$ … [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ … t_i …] conj [$_{XP}$ …]] …

        or *wh$_i$ … [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ …] conj [$_{XP}$ … t_i …]] …

        or *wh$_i$ … [$_{XP}$ [$_{XP}$ …] conj t_i] …

        or *wh$_i$ … [$_{XP}$ t_i conj [$_{XP}$ …]] …

Chapter 12, GPS2

a)   ɾao   ʒua   ʒubaʔ.
    Eats   John   corn
    "John eats corn."

b)   nuʒi   ɾao   ʒubaʔ?
    who   eats   corn
    "Who eats corn?"

c)   biʒi   ɾao   ʒua?
    what   eat   John
    What does John eat.

d)   ɾao   ʒua   ʒubaʔ   uga.
    Eats   John   corn   there
    John eats corn there.

e)   gaʒi   ɾao   ʒua   ʒubaʔ?
    Where   eats   John   corn
    "Where does John eat corn?"

Chapter 12, GPS4

GPS4. **BINDING AND SCRAMBLING**[7]

[Critical Thinking; Intermediate/Advanced]

You should complete GPS 2 before attempting this problem set.

Modern Persian has a kind of movement often called ***scrambling***. Your task in this problem set is to figure out whether scrambling is DP movement, head-to-head movement or *wh*-movement. The Persian word *hamdiga* means "each other" and is an anaphor. Assume that anaphors are subject to the binding theory of chapter 5, and that they must be in argument positions to be bound. Sentence (a) shows the basic order. Sentences (b) and (c) show the surface word order after scrambling has applied. The scrambled sentences mean almost exactly the same thing as (a). HAB stands for "habitual". RÂ is a suffix that often shows up with specific or definite objects. EZ is a suffix that appears with modified words. Neither RÂ nor EZ are relevant to the answer to this question. Recall that $_{i/*k}$ means that the sentence is okay with the DP having the index $_i$ but not with the index $_k$.

---

[7] Data from Simin Karimi; glosses have been simplified for pedagogical purposes.

a) Mo'allemâ$_k$ fekr   mikonan   [$_{CP}$ ke [$_{T'}$ [$_{vP}$ bachchehâ$_i$
    teachers   thought   do   that   children

    [$_{vP}$ aksâye   hamdigaro$_{i/*k}$ be modir   neshun dâdan]]]].
         pictures   each.other   to principal   sign   gave
    "The teachers$_k$ think that the children$_i$ showed [each other's]$_{i/*k}$ pictures to the principal."

b) Mo'allemâ$_k$ [aksâye hamdigaro$_{i/*k}$]$_m$ fekr mikonan [$_{CP}$ ke [$_{T'}$ [$_{vP}$ [bachchehâ$_i$] [$_{VP}$ t_m be modir neshun
    dâdan]]]].

c) [Aksâye hamdigaro$_{i/*k}$]$_m$ mo'allemâ$_j$ fekr mikonan [$_{CP}$ ke [$_{T'}$ [$_{vP}$ bachchehâ$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t_m be modir neshun
    dâdan]]]].

Chapter 12, GPS7

a)   Ceapann   tú   go   bhuailfidh an píobaire   an t-amhrán
        think   you   that   play.FUT   the piper   the song
        "You think that the piper will play the song."

b)   Caidé   a^L cheapann   tú   a^L bhuailfidh an píobaire?
        What   WH think   you   WH play.FUT   the piper
        "What do you think the piper will play?"

Chapter 12, CPS 3

CPS3. IRISH

[Data Analysis; Challenge]

Some dialects of English allow a kind of *wh*-construction, where the base position of the *wh*-phrase is filled by a ***resumptive pronoun***. (The idea behind this problem set is taken from McCloskey 1991.)

    This is the book$_i$ that the police are arresting everyone who reads it$_i$.

Modern Irish has two different *wh*-complementizers (notice that these are <u>not</u> *wh*-phrases, which go in the specifier of CP; these are complementizers): a^L, a^N. The complementizer a^L is found in sentences like (a). Sentence (i) shows a simple sentence without *wh*-movement using the non-*wh*-complementizer *go*. Sentences (ii) and (iii) show two possible forms of the question. (ii) has the question moved only to an intermediate CP specifier. (iii) has the *wh*-phrase moved to the topmost specifier.

a) i) Bíonn fios   agat   i gconaí [$_{CP}$ **go** bhuailfidh an píobaire an t-amhrán].
        be.HAB know   at.2.S always   that play.FUT   the piper   the song
        "You always know that the bagpiper will play the song."

   ii) Bíonn fios   agat   i gconaí [$_{CP}$ caidé$_i$ **a^L**   bhuailfidh an píobaire t_i].
        be.HAB know   at.2.S always   what$_i$ C$_{WH}$ play.FUT   the piper t_i
        "You always know what the bagpiper will play."

   iii) [$_{CP}$Caidé$_j$ **a^L** [$_{TP}$bhíonn   fios   agat   i gconaí [$_{CP}$ t_j **a^L**   bhuailfidh
         What$_j$ C$_{WH}$ be.HAB   know   at.2.S always t_j C$_{WH}$ play.FUT

        an píobaire t_i]]]?
        the piper t_i
        "What do you always know the piper will play?"

Now the distribution of the complementizer a^N seems to be linked to the presence of a resumptive pronoun. Consider the (ii) sentences in (b) and (c). Both show resumptive pronouns and the complementizer a^N:

b) i) Bíonn fios agat i gconaí [$_{CP}$ caidé$_i$ **a^L** bhuailfidh an píobaire t_i].
    be.HAB know at.2.S always   what$_i$ C$_{WH}$ play.FUT the piper t_i
    "You always know what the bagpiper will play."

  ii) [$_{CP}$ Cén Píobaire$_j$ **a^N** [$_{TP}$ mbíonn fios agat i gconaí
       Which piper   C$_{WH}$ be.HAB   know at.2.S always

    [$_{CP}$ caidé$_i$ **a^L**   bhuailfidh **sé$_j$** t_i]]]?
      what$_i$ C$_{WH}$ play.FUT   he
    "Which bagpiper do you always know what he will play?"

c) i) Tá máthair an fhir san otharlann.
    Be.PRES mother the man.GEN in.the hospital
    "The man's mother is in the hospital."

  ii) Cé$_i$ **a^N**   bhfuil **a$_i$** mháthair san otharlann?
    who C$_{WH}$ be.PRES his mother   in.the hospital
    "Who is (his) mother in the hospital?"

The *a^N* complementizer and the resumptive pronouns are boldfaced in the above examples. Where precisely does the *a^N*-resumptive strategy appear?

Chapter 12, CPS4

c) Je n'aime pas t_V des pommes.
   I like not of.the apples.
   "I don't like apples"

Chapter 13, Section 1

11) *Local Configuration*:
   [WH], [NOM] features: specifier–head configuration.
   [ACC] features: head–complement configuration.[8]
   [PAST], etc., [Q] features: head–head configuration.

Chapter 13, Section 2

12) a) Ni xiang chi shenme?
    you want eat what
    "What do you want to eat?"

  b) *Shenme ni xiang chi?
    what   you want eat
    "What do you want to eat?"

  c) Ni kanjian-le shui?
    you see-PERF   who
    "Who did you see?"

  d) *Shui ni kanjian-le?
    who you see-PERF

---

[8] In the next chapter, we will claim that [ACC] is actually checked in a specifier–head configuration like [NOM]. This will allow us to create a phrase structure system that accounts for double object verbs and dative constructions.

"Who did you see?"

Chapter 13, Section 3

19) *[Nani-o   doko-de   katta   to] oboete-iru no?
   what-ACC   where-at   bought Q   remember   Q
   "What do you remember where we bought?"

Chapter 13, GPS3

GPS3. T to C movement in Mandarin[9]
[Data Analysis; Intermediate]
Consider the following data from Mandarin. Assume that the Complementizer head in Mandarin sits on the right of the TP (i.e., [CP [TP…] C]. Does Mandarin have overt or covert T to C movement in questions?

a) Zhangsan   lai-le.
    Zhangsan   come-PERF
    "Zhangsan has arrived."

b) Zhangsan   lai-le   ma?
    Zhangsan   come-PERF Q
    "Has Zhangsan arrived?"

c) Zhangsan   hui   lai.
    Zhangsan   will   come
    "Zhangsan will come."

d) Zhangsan   hui   lai   ma?
    Zhangsan   will   come   Q
    "Will Zhangsan come."

Chapter 13, CPS1

Nepali:
a) Timilai uu   kahile aunche   jasto-lagcha?
    You   she   when   coming   think
    "When do you think she is coming?"

b) Timi   kahile aaunchau?
    You   when   coming
    "When are you going to come?"

c)   Ramle Sitale   kun   manche   ayecha bhaneko   sochecha?
     Ram   Sita   which   man   came   said   think?
    "Which man did Ram think that Sita said came?"

Mongolian:
d) Ekč   jamar   hɔl   hix   ve?
    Older.sister   which.one food   make   C[+Q]

---

[9] Thanks to Jian Gang Ngui, Yuan-Lu Chen, and Jianrong Yu for help with this data.

"Which food will the older sister make?"

Chapter 13, CPS4
(problems with subscripts)

CPS 4. STRONG CROSSOVER[10]
[Data Analysis, Creative and Critical Thinking; Challenge]
Strong crossover is a phenomenon illustrated in (a) & (b). The effect of crossover is that *wh*-words can't be moved over a coindexed pronoun. Such movement creates a binding condition violation.

a)   *Who$_i$ does she$_i$ see t_i?
b)   ?*Who$_i$ does her$_i$ mother love t$_i$?

Consider now the data in (c). Given what you know about the source of the ungrammaticality in the sentences in (a) and (b), how does the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (c) serve as an argument for quantifier raising as covert movement of quantifier phrases?

c)   *She$_i$ saw me visit nobody$_i$.

Chapter 14, Section 2

6) a) Keiko-wa   pizza-o   ag-**e**-ta.
        Keiko-TOP   pizza-ACC   rise-**v**-PAST
        "Keiko raised the pizza."

    b) Huan   u'usit-ta   ee-**tua**-k.
        Juan   child-ACC   feel-**v**-PAST
        "Juan teased the child."

    c) M-**an**-sasa   ny lamba   amin ny savony   Rasoa.
        PAST-**v**-wash   the clothes   with the soap   Rasoa
        "Rasoa washes the clothes with the soap."

Chapter 14. Section 3

10) a) Ba mhaith liom   [$_{CP}$ Aoife   *an abairt*   a^L scríobh].
        C   good   with.1.S   Aoife   the sentence.ACC   AGRO   write
        "I want Aoife to write the sentence." (Northern Irish)

    b) Ba mhaith liom   [$_{CP}$ Aoife   a^L scríobh *na habairte*].
        C   good   with.1.S   Aoife   AGRO   write   the sentence.GEN
        "I want Aoife to write the sentence." (Southern and Literary Irish)

11) a) Tá   Aoife   tar eis   *an abairt*   a^L scríobh.
        be.PRES Aoife   PERF   the sentence.ACC   AGRO   write
        "Aoife has just written the sentence."

    b) Tá   Aoife   ag   scríobh   *na habairte*.
        be.PRES Aoife   PROG   write   the sentence.GEN
        "Aoife is writing the sentence."

---

[10] Thanks to Yosuke Sato for this problem set.

12) a)   … weil   ich ***nicht*** [DP eine   einzige Katze] gestreichelt   habe
              since   I   not   a   single   cat   petted   have
         "… since I have not petted a single cat"

    b)   … weil   ich [DP die   Katze] ***nicht***   streichle
              since   I   the   cat   not   pet
         "… since I do not pet the cat"

Chapter 14, GPS2

GPS2. COMPLEX VERBS
[Data Analysis and Critical Thinking; Intermediate]
Sentence (a) is from Persian and sentence (b) is from Chicheŵa. Explain how these data support the idea that verbs are really composed of a Voice head and a V.

a)   Kimea az ra'ise   edâre   da'vat   **kard.**
     Kimea of boss   office   invitation   **VOICE**
     "Kimea invited the office boss."

b)   Mtsikana   anagw-**ets**-a   kuti   mtsuko.
     Girl   fall-**VOICE**   that   water-pot
     "The girl knocked over that water-pot."

Chapter 14, GPS6

a)   Saja   mem-bawa   surat itu   kepada Ali.
     I   CAUSE-bring   letter the   to   Ali
     "I brought the letter to Ali."

b)   Saja   mem bawa-kan   Ali   surat itu.
     I   CAUSE-bring-APPL Ali   letter the
     "I brought Ali the letter."

Chapter 14, CPS2

c)   Bu toigh   leam   [CP sibh   aᴸ   bhith   air   an doras   aᴸ dhúnadh.]
     be like   with.me   you   AGR   be   PERF   the door   AGR close
      "I'd like you to have shut the door."
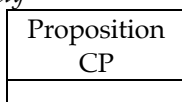
Chapter 15, Section 0
3)   Jean$_i$ is reluctant [PRO$_i$ to leave].   *(subject) control*

6)   Jean persuaded Brian$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to leave].   *object control*

Chapter 15, section 1

8)   *is likely*

```
┌─────────────┐
│ Proposition │
│     CP      │
├─────────────┤
│             │
└─────────────┘
```

14) *is reluctant*

Experiencer	Proposition
DP	CP

17) a) *is reluctant*

Experiencer	Proposition
DP	CP
i	k

   b) Jean$_i$ is reluctant [to leave]$_k$.

19) Jean$_{i/m}$ is reluctant [to leave]$_k$.

Chapter 15, Section 2

28) I$_i$ want [PRO$_i$ to leave].

29) I$_i$ want [Jean$_j$ to dance]$_k$.

34) a)   I want Jean$_i$ [t$_i$ to dance].
   b)   I want [Jean to dance].

35) a)   *Jean$_i$ wants her$_i$ to be appointed president.
   b)   Jean$_i$ wants her$_j$ to be appointed president.
   c)   Jean$_i$ wants herself$_i$ to be appointed president.

36) a)   Jean$_i$ is likely [t$_i$ to leave].
   b)   Jean$_i$ is reluctant [PRO$_i$ to leave].

37) a)   Jean wants Roberto$_i$ [t$_i$ to leave].
   b)   Jean persuaded Roberto$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to leave].

38) a) (=36b) Jean$_i$ is reluctant [PRO$_i$ to leave].   *subject control*
   b) (=37b) Jean persuaded Roberto$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to leave].   *object control*

39) Jean$_i$ wants Roberto$_j$ [t$_j$ to leave]$_k$.

41) Jean^i persuaded Roberto^m [PRO^j to leave]^k.

44) a)   Jean$_i$ wants [PRO$_i$ to leave].   *subject control*
   b)   Jean wants Roberto$_i$ [t$_i$ to leave].   *subject-to-object raising*

45) a)   Jean is likely to leave.   *subject-to-subject raising*
   b)   Jean wants Roberto to leave.   *subject-to-object raising*
   c)   Jean is reluctant to leave.   *subject control*
   d)   Jean persuaded Roberto to leave.   *object control*

Chapter 16, Section 3

48) Jean$_i$ tried PRO$_{i/*j}$ to behave.

49) Roberto$_i$ knows that it is essential [PRO$_{i/j}$ to be well-behaved].

50) a)   Roberto$_i$ knows that it is essential [PRO$_i$ to be good on his$_i$ birthday].
   b)   Roberto$_i$ knows that it is essential [PRO$_j$ to be good on one's$_j$ birthday].

51) Roberto$_i$ knows it is essential [that he$_{i/j}$ is well-behaved].

52) [Jean$_i$'s father]$_j$ is reluctant PRO$_{j/*i}$ to leave.

53) a) Roberto$_i$ is reluctant [PRO$_i$ to behave].   *subject control*
    b) Susan$_j$ ordered Roberto$_i$ [PRO$_{i/*j}$ to behave].   *object control*

54) Jean$_i$ promised Susan$_j$ [PRO$_{i/*j}$ to behave].   *subject control*

55) a) *is reluctant*

Experiencer	Proposition
DP *controller*	CP

    b) *persuade*

Agent	Theme	Proposition
DP	DP *controller*	CP

    c) *promise*

Agent	Theme	Proposition
DP *controller*	DP	CP

56) a) Louis begged Kate$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to leave her job].
    b) Louis begged Kate that she leave her job.
    c) Louis$_i$ begged Kate [PRO$_i$ to be allowed [PRO$_i$ to shave himself]].
    d) Louis$_i$ begged Kate that he be allowed to shave himself.

Chapter 16, section 4

58) Io parlo.
    I speak.1SG
    "I speak."

Chapter 15, GPS3

b) Strákunum leiddist öllum   í skóla.
    boys.DAT bored   all.DAT in school
    "The boys were all bored in school."

c) Strákarnir vonast til að PRO   leiðast ekki   öllum í skóla.
    boys.NOM   hope   for to   bore   not   all.DAT in school
    "The boys hope not to be bored in school."

Chapter 15, GPS6

a) Rinceamar.
    Dance.3PL.PAST
    "We danced."

b) Tá mé.   c) Táim.   d) *Táim   mé.
    Am I   Am.1SG   Am.1SG I
    "I am."   "I am."   "I am."

Chapter 15, CPS5

a) Íry [$_{CP}$ úlú'útí Juáàny bzyàá lè'èny bòòls].
    NEG   put.NEG   Juan   beans   in   bag
    "Juan didn't put the beans in the bag."

b) Íry   Juáàny [$_{CP}$ nígù   bzyàá lè'èny bòòls].
    NEG   Juan   NEG.put   beans   in   bag
    "Juan didn't put the beans in the bag."

c) Rr-tùìnééy   lòò   Màrìì lìzní'.
    HAB-shame-   face   Maria house
    "Maria is ashamed of her house."(lit. 'Maria's face is shamed with her house.')

d) Íry   lòò   Màrî ì-túynééy lììzní'.
    neg   face   Maria POT-shame house
    "Maria won't be ashamed of her house."

Chapter 16, Section 0

3) Brandon [$_{VP}$ read every book that Megan did [$_{VP}$ …]].

4) [$_{VP}$ … [$_{DP}$ … [$_{CP}$ … [$_{VP}$ …]$_i$ …]]]$_i$

Chapter 16, First paragraph of Section 1, issues with subscripts

Ellipsis is unlike any syntactic process we've seen before. It appears, at least at first glance, to be a process that deletes items. We've seen plenty of silent elements (and operations) before. For example, we've posited a number of empty DPs (*pro*, PRO, *Op*), and a number of empty heads, including: the complementizers $\emptyset_{[-Q, -WH]}$ and $\emptyset_{[+Q, -WH]}$; the T nodes $\emptyset_{past}$, $\emptyset_{pres}$; null AgrO; and the Voice heads. So it's worth considering if different kinds of ellipsis are really like these phonologically null elements, or if the absence of material in VP ellipsis is actually the consequence of a deletion process. Both of these hypotheses have been vigorously debated in the recent literature on syntax (see the reading list at the end of this chapter for just a few of the many papers and books on the topic).

Chapter 16, section 1

7) a) Frank$_i$ loves herself$_i$.   *SPELLOUT and PF*

        ⇓ *covert copying rule*

    b) Fran$_i$ loves Fran$_i$.   *LF*

8) a) Fran$_i$ thinks she$_i$ might have insulted Morgan.   *SPELLOUT and PF*

        ⇓ *covert copying rule*

    b) Fran$_i$ thinks Fran$_i$ might have insulted Morgan. *LF*

9) a) Fran will [eat an apple]$_i$ and Morgan will [$_{VP}$ $\emptyset_i$] too.   *SPELLOUT and PF*

        ⇓ *covert copying rule*

    b) Fran will [eat an apple]$_i$ and Morgan will [eat an apple] too. *LF*

11) a) Fran will [eat an apple]$_i$ and Morgan will [eat an apple] too. *SO, LF*

        ⇓ *PF-deletion rule*

    b) Fran will [eat an apple]$_i$ and Morgan will ~~eat an apple~~ too. *PF*

12) [$_{CP}$ Calvin$_i$ will strike himself$_i$ and [$_{CP}$ Otto$_k$ will strike himself$_{k/*i}$ too]].

13) Calvin will strike himself and Otto will [$_{VP}$ ___] too.

13) a)　Calvin will strike himself and Otto will [$_{VP}$ Ø] too.　　　　*SPELLOUT*

⇓ *covert VP-copying rule*

　　b)　Calvin will [strike himself] and Otto will [strike himself] too.

⇓ *covert anaphor-copying rule*

　　c)　[$_{CP}$ Calvin will [strike Calvin]] and [$_{CP}$ Otto will [strike Otto] too.　*LF*

14) a)　Calvin will strike himself and Otto will [$_{VP}$ Ø] too.　　　　*SPELLOUT*

⇓ *covert anaphor-copying rule*

　　b)　[$_{CP}$ Calvin will [strike Calvin]] and Otto will [$_{VP}$ Ø] too.

⇓ *covert VP-copying rule*

　　c)　Calvin will [strike Calvin] and Otto will [strike Calvin] too.　　*LF*

15) a)　Calvin has dated everyone who Jeff has.
　　b)　Calvin has dated [$_{DP}$ everyone [$_{CP}$ who$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Jeff has [$_{VP}$ ~~dated t_i~~]]]].

16) a)　I know which guys you've dated, but I don't know which guys you haven't.
　　b)　I know which guys$_i$ you've dated t_i, but I don't know [which guys]$_i$ you haven't [$_{VP}$ ~~dated t_i~~].

17) a)　*Which language do you want to hire someone who speaks t_i?
　　　　(cf. I want to hire someone who speaks Bulgarian.)
　　b)　*They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which language$_i$ they do [$_{VP}$ ~~want to hire someone who speaks t_i~~].

18) Colleen will fire someone today, but I don't know who [$_{TP}$ ___].

19)　　Who$_i$ has Petra talked with t_i?

20)　　*Pjon　　milise　　　　me?　　　　　　　　　　*Greek*
　　　　who　　she.spoke　　　with
　　　　"Who did she speak with?"

22) *I　Anna　milise　　me　　kapjon,　　alla　　dhe　　ksero　　pjon
　　the Anna　spoke.3s　with　　someone,　but　　not　　know　　who
　　"Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who."
　　(cf. *I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero me pjon*, which is grammatical)

Chapter 16, Section 2

23) [$_{VP}$ … [$_{DP}$ … [$_{CP}$ … [$_{VP}$ ~~---~~]$_i$ …]]]$_i$

24) Brenda [$_{VP}$ read every book that Megan did [$_{VP}$ …]].

26) [Every book that Megan did [$_{VP}$ ~~___~~]]$_i$ Brenda [$_{VP}$ read t_i]

28) The lawyer can't prove Paula innocent but he can ~~prove~~ *Della* ~~innocent~~.

30) What$_i$ does Colleen like t_i but Rory hate t_i?

32) a)　Brenda has been reading more novels than she has short stories.
　　b)　… she has [$_{VoiceP}$ ~~been~~ [$_{AgrO}$ short stories [$_{VP}$ ~~read~~]]]

Chapter 16, GPS1

GPS1. Irish VP Ellipsis
[Data Analysis and Critical Thinking; Intermediate]
Consider the following data from Irish. Sentence (a) represents a typical VP ellipsis structure in the language. The sentences in (b) represent a related phenomenon known as "responsive ellipsis", where a question is replied to with a bare verb in its positive or negative form (instead of a "yes" or "no").

a)   Dúirt   mé   go   gceannóinn   é   agus cheannaigh.
         said   I   that   buy.COND.1s   it   and   bought.
         "I said that I'd buy it and I did." (literally "I said that I'd buy it and bought.") (McCloskey 1991)

b)   Q: Ar cheannaigh tú é?
               Q   buy you it
               "Did you buy it?"

         A: Cheannaigh.   *or*   Níor   cheannaigh.
               buy.PAST   NEG.PAST buy.PAST
               "Yes." (literally "Bought.")   "No." (literally "Not bought.")

Now recall our analysis of VSO order in Irish. The verb moves V → Voice → T, and the subject stays in the specifier of VoiceP. With that in mind, what is the predicted result of ellipsis if you omit a VP in Irish? What is the predicted result of ellipsis if you omit a VoiceP instead of a VP in Irish? So is VP ellipsis really ellipsis of a VP or a VoiceP? How does the data above support your analysis? Draw a tree for sentence (a) demonstrating what structure gets elided in a VP ellipsis structure in Irish.

Chapter 16, GPS2

2)   [$_{CP}$ [a fish]$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Alexandra wants to catch t$_i$]]

Chapter 16, GPS 3

1) a)   Er   will   jemanden   loben,   aber   sie   wissen
          He   wants   someone.ACC   praise   but   they   know

          nicht   wen/*wem   er   loben   will.
          not   who.ACC/*who.DAT   he   praise   want
          "He wants to praise someone but they don't know who he wants to praise."

    b)   Er   will   jemandem   schmeicheln,   aber   sie   wissen
          He   wants   someone.DAT   flatter   but   they   know

          nicht   wem/*wen   er   schmeicheln   will.
          not   who.DAT/*who.ACChe   flatter   wants
          "He wants to flatter someone but they don't know who he wants to flatter."

2) a)   Er   will   jemanden   loben,   aber   sie   wissen
          he   wants   someone.ACC   praise   but   they   know

          nicht   wen/*wem.
           not who.ACC/*who.DAT
          "He wants to praise someone but they don't know who."

b) Er will   jemandem   schmeicheln,   aber   sie   wissen
He   wants   someone.DAT   flatter   but   they   know

nicht   wem/*wen.
not   who.DAT/*who.ACC
"He wants to flatter someone but they don't know who."

Chapter 16, CPS 2

1) a) Morgan_i said he_i loves his_i mother and Rory said that he loves his mother, too.
   b) Rory said Morgan loves Morgan's mother.   (strict + strict)
   c) Rory said Rory loves Rory's mother.   (sloppy + sloppy)
   d) Rory said Rory loves Morgan's mother.   (sloppy + strict)
   e) Rory said Morgan loves Rory's mother.   (strict + sloppy)

2) a) Morgan_i said he_i loves his_i mother and Rory did, too.
   b) Rory said Morgan loves Morgan's mother.   (strict + strict)
   c) Rory said Rory loves Rory's mother.   (sloppy + sloppy)
   d) Rory said Rory loves Morgan's mother.   (sloppy + strict)
   e) *Rory said Morgan loves Rory's mother.   (strict + sloppy)

Chapter 16, CPS3

1) a) Mividy   ny akoho   i Bao.
      buy   the chicken   Bao
      "Bao is buying the chicken."

   b) Nividy   inona   i Bao?
      buy   what   Bao
      "What did Bao buy?"

2) Nandoko   zavatra i Bao   fa hadinoko   hoe   inona.
   Paint   thing Bao   but forget.1S   C   what
   "Bao painted something but I forget what."

Chapter 17, GPS3

a) Johnwa_i [_CP [_TP Maryga_k   zibunzisino_k/*i hihansita] [_C to]]   itta.
   John   Mary   zibunzisin   criticized that   said
   "John said that Mary_k criticized herself_k."
   "*John_i said that Mary criticized himself_i."

b) Johnwa_i [_CP [_TP zibunzisinga_i   Maryo korosita] [_C to]] omotteiru.
   John   zibunzisin   Mary   killed   that   think
   "John thinks that himself killed Mary." (*note:* grammatical in Japanese!)

Chapter 17, GPS4

a) Jân_i   goft [_CP ke [_TP Mery_k ketâb-â ro be xodesh_i/k   bargardune]].
   John   said   that   Mary   book-PL RÂ to himself/herself   return
   "John said that Mary (should) return the books to him/herself."

b) Jân_i   goft [_CP ke [_TP Mery_j ketâb-â ro be xodesh_i/j   barmigardune]].
   John   said   that   Mary   book-PL RÂ to himself/herself return3SG.FUT
   "John said that Mary will return the books to him/herself."

c) Jân_i   goft [_{CP} ke [_{TP} Mery_k ketâb râ barâye xod*_{i/k} bexânad]].
   John   said   that   Mary book RÂ for   self   read3SG
   "John said that Mary (should) read the book to *himself/herself."

d) Jân_i goft [_{CP} ke [_{TP} Mery_k ketâb râ   barâye xod*_{i/k} negahdârad]].
   John said   that   Mary book RÂ for   self   keep3SG
   "John said that Mary (should) keep the books for *himself/herself."

Chapter 18, Section 1

1) Təmeyŋəlevtpəɣtərkən.   *Chukchi*
   1S.SUBJ.great-head-hurt.PRES
   "I have a fierce headache." (Skorik 1961: 102)

2) Wa'-ke-tshʌɾi-'-Ø
   FACT-1S-find-PUNC-3S
   "I found it."

3) Hablo   Italiano.   *Spanish*
   speak.1S   Italian
   I speak Italian.

Chapter 18, Section 2

6) a) Wa'khninu'   ne ka-nàkt-a'.   *Mohawk*[11]
      fact.1S.buy.PUNC   the bed
      "I bought a/the bed."

   b) Wa'ke-**nakt**-ahnìnu'.
      FACT.1s-bed-buy.PUNC
      "I bought a/the bed."

8) Qisum-mik illo-qar-poq.   *Greenlandic*
   wood-INST house-have-INDIC.3S
   "He has a wooden house."

9) Ñi chao   kintu-waka-ley.   *Mapadungun*
   my father   seek-cow-INDIC.3S
    "My father is looking for the cows."

Chapter 18, Section 3

11) a) Kurdu-ngku   ka-ju   nya-nyi   ngaju.   *Warlpiri*
       child-ERG   pres1SOBJ   see-NONPAST   me-ABS
       "The child sees me."
    b) Kurdu-ngku ka-ju ngaju nya-nyi.
    c) Nya-nyi ka-ju Kurdu-ngku ngaju.
    d) Nya-nyi ka-ju ngaju Kurdu-ngku.
    e) Ngaju ka-ju nya-nyi Kurdu-ngku.
    f) Ngaju ka-ju Kurdu-ngku nya-nyi.

12) a) Mary-ga   okasi-o   taberu.   *Japanese*
       Mary-NOM   cakes-ACC eats

---

[11] Throughout this chapter, I've simplified irrelevant aspects of the glossing of sentences. Before quoting any data here, you should cross-check it against the original sources. The data in (6) is taken from Baker (1988).

"Mary eats cakes."
b) Okasi-o Mary-ga taberu.
c) *Mary-ga taberu okasi-o.
d) *Okasi-o taberu Mary-ga.
e) *Taberu Mary-ga okasi-o.
f) *Taberu okasi-o Mary-ga.

14) a) Parviz barâ   Kimea pirhan xarid.   *Persian*
       Parviz for   Kimea shirt   bought
       "Parviz bought shirts for Kimea."

    b) Parviz pirhan-o   barâ   Kimea xarid.
       Parviz shirt-ACC   for   Kimea bought
       "Parviz bought the shirt for Kimea."

    c) Pirhan-o   Parviz barâ   Kimea xarid.
       shirt-ACC   Parviz for   Kimea bought
       "As for the shirt, Parviz bought it for Kimea." or
       "It was the SHIRT that Parviz bought for Kimea."

16) **Kurdu-jarra-ngku** ka-pala   maliki wajilipi-nyi   wita-jarra-rlu.
    child-DUAL-ERG   pres-3DS   dog   chase-NONPST small-DUAL-ERG
    "Two small children are chasing the dog."   *Warlpiri*

17) Keq   **nikt**   itom-uk   **sipsis-ok**?
    what   those   say-3P   bird-3P
    "What are those birds saying?"   *Passamaquoddy*

18) **Páá**   hɔ́n **kɔ́ítɔ̸gya**   yą́– pêide-haigɔɔ.
     some   NEG Kiowa words   1/3–straight-know.NEG
     "There are some Kiowa words I don't really understand."   *Kiowa*

19) a) Ngarrka-nku   ka   panti-rni.   *Warlpiri*
       man-ERG   AUX   spear-NONPAST
       "The man is spearing it."

    b) Wawirri   ka   pantri-rni.
       kangaroo   AUX   spear-NONPAST
       "He/she is spearing the kangaroo."

    c) Panti-rni   ka.
       spear-NONPAST AUX
       "He/she is spearing it."

23) A Maria,   no   le enviaré   ningun paquete.   *Spanish*
    to Maria   NEG   her send.1S.FUT no   package
    "To Maria, I won't send her a package."

25) a) Ro-ya'takéhnh-ʌ   [NP ne   thíkʌ Sak   raó-a'share'].   *Mohawk*
       MSOBJ-help-STAT   PART   that   Sak   MSP-knife
       "That knife of Sak's is helping him." (coreference is ok)

    b) Wa'-t-há-ya'k-e'   [NP ne   thíkʌ Sak   raó-a'share'].
       FACT-DUP-3SGS-break-PUNC   PART   that   Sak   MSP-knife
       "He broke that knife of Sak's." (coreference is ok)

26) Q: Hâatêl   yán– tháá̰ɔ̰ɔmei?   *Kiowa*
       who.Q 3S:2S:3P[12]–help.PF
       "Who helped you?"

    A: Ɔúelmaa   yá̰– tháá̰ɔ̰ɔmei.
       Carrie   3S:1S:3P–help.PF
       "Carrie helped me."

27) a) Béthɔɔ T!a̰ĩ́k!op   ḛ́– példoudei.
       MIR   Laurel   3S:1S–think.about.IMPF.EVID
       "I didn't realize Laurel was still thinking about me."

    b) Hɔ́n   an   êlk!yoi   gyát– sém- hɔ̰́ɔ́nɔ̰ɔ-de.
       NEG   HAB   old men   1P:3P–longing-give.up.NEG-NOM
       "[We] old men don't give up our desires."

    c) Hɔ́n hábé   ɔnk!îi   ḛ́ĩ́hɔde tɔ̰́ṵ́gya bát– guudɔɔ.
       NEG sometime   PAST   this   word   1IN.D:3p–write.NEG
       "We never wrote this word in the past."

28) Q: Hâatêl an   gɔ–gûugu?
       who.q   HAB   3s:2s–hit.IMPF
       "Who hits you?"

    A: Carl anḛ́–gûugu.
       Carl HAB 3S:1S–hit.IMPF
       "Carl hits me."

29) **Á-xɔɔ-de**   béthɔɔ hégóán–dôi-hḭ-khyakɔnhel.
    3- mother-D   MIR   just :3s:3p–too-real-incompetent.EVID
    "I had no idea his mother was totally incompetent."

Chapter 18: Ideas Rules Constraints

xiii) ***Hale's   Phrase   Structure   Rule   for   Non-configurational   Languages***:
       TP → X T Z+

Chapter 18, GPS 1

GPS1. MAPADUNGUN INCORPORATION
[Application of Skills; Basic]
Draw the tree for the following sentence of Mapadungun (data from Baker 2006). Assume the *-ley* suffix is in T.

   Ñi chao   kintu-waka-ley.
   my father   seek-cow-INDIC.3s
    "My father is looking for the cows."

Chapter 18, GPS2

GPS2. ONONDAGA
[Application of Skills; Basic]
The following data from Onondaga is taken from Baker (1988). Using trees to illustrate your answer, explain the alternation between (a) and (b).

a) Pet   waʔha-htu-ʔt-aʔ   neʔ   hwist.
    Pat   PAST.3MS-lost-CAUSE-ASP   the   money
    "Pat lost the money."

b) Pet   waʔha-hwist-ahtu-ʔt-aʔ.
    Pat   PAST.3MS-money-lost-CAUSE-ASP
    "Pat lost money."

Chapter 18, GPS 3

Ka niáyʌ   t-ʌ-hse-wír-ahkw-e'?
which   DUP-FUT-2s-baby-Ø-pick.up-PUNC
"Which baby are you going to pick up?"

Chapter 18, GPS4

a) I   kanga-**la**   wini-o.
    I   eat-COMPL   medicine-that
    "I took all that medicine."

b) I   keng-winih-**la.**
    I   eat-medicine-COMPL
    "I completed my medicine taking."

Chapter 18, CPS3

a) *Soitu-ga   Taroo-no   hono   mituke-ta.
    guy-NOM   Taro-GEN   book-ACC   found-PAST
    "The guy$_i$ found Taro's$_i$ book." (R-expression can't be bound)

b) ?Taroo-no   hono   soitu-ga   mituke-ta.
    Taro-GEN   book-ACC   guy-NOM   found-PAST
    ?"Taro's$_i$ book the guy$_i$ found." (coreference is ok)

Chapter 19