Errata and comments

***Syntax: A generative introduction*, 4th edn, by Andrew Carnie.**
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***The syntax workbook: A companion to Carnie's Syntax 4e*,** 2nd edn (978-1119569299)

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Key:	^*x*^ = insert *x* ~~*x*~~ = delete *x* *x* → *y* = replace *x* with *y* [AC] = Erratum noted on Carnie's textbook page[1] [IC] = contribution from Ivano Caponigro, UCSD

Textbook

Running heads: "Chapter 14: A Unified Theory…" → "Chapter 13…"
"Chapter 16: Raising, Control…" → "Chapter 15…"

Location	Correction/Comment/Suggestion
Chapter 1	
pg. 4, 2nd para, 3rd line	"social too" → "social tool" [AC]
pg. 5, fn. 1, line 10	"rather ^than^ just" [AC]
pg. 7, section number	3.1 → 1.1
pg. 8, grey box, line 2	"~~about~~ primarily about" [AC]
pg. 9, section number	3.2 → 1.2
pg. 13, 3 lines below (14)	"a ~~reduced~~ relative clause"
pg. 16, bottom of 1st para	"you play in a that day" → "you play on a particular day" [AC]
pg. 26, para 2, line 2	"withmore" → "with more" [AC]
pg. 41, CPS 11, Question 2	"the right kind" → "a certain kind"

[1] www.andrewcarnie.org/textbook4e

Chapter 2	
pg. 48, §2.3, Syntactic Distribution	"follow the auxiliary" → "follow the copula"
pg. 49, §2.4: Syntactic Distribution:	It is not true that "adverbs can't appear…after the verb *is*…": *The child is quickly growing.*
pg. 49, fn.5	*I am well* is not an example of an adverb following copular *be*: *well* is independently an adjective, cf. *I feel good/well/smart/*smartly.*
pg. 49, gray box	It is not true that "where you get an adjective vs. an adverb is entirely predictable" based on the categories of adjacent words, e.g. *The scientist made the robot quick/quickly;* one would have to refer to hierarchical structure, which is not introduced in this chapter.
pg. 51, (16)	As is implicit from the absence of *be* from this list, and made explicit in fn.8 on the next page, only finite Auxiliaries are intended to be T heads; the prose leading up to (16) should reflect this.
pg. 52, gray box	Actually it requires only distribution to decide that numerals are not adjectives: a numeral can never follow an attributive adjective, i.e., it can never occur in the environment *Adj __ N*, whereas adjectives can. (Of course this does not imply numerals are determiners—they could be neither.)
pg. 53, above (19)	Reference to the "quantifier *much*" suggests *much* should appear in the list of quantifiers in (13c).
pg. 54, (22)	Somehow it should be indicated that the left column contains pronouns and the right contains anaphors.
pg. 64, CPS3, (1)	Glosses are misaligned. [AC]
pg. 59, GPS1 instructions	Delete *my* from the list of pronouns, because possessives, unlike personal pronouns, are Ds, not Ns (cf. pg. 54 gray box).
pg. 62, GPS2 instructions, last line	Delete *be* from the list of elements to ignore, because it is not of category T.
pg. 63, GPS5 instructions	"Adjectives/Adverbs" → "Adjectives, Adverbs"
pg. 66, CPS8, Part 2	The data in e) and f) vastly underdetermine the answer, making the problem a challenge to grade. Just one more example, e.g., *Vimos a la hermana de Juan*, would rule out wrong answers whereby *a* was conditioned by proper names, all animates, bare nouns, etc.

Chapter 3	
pg. 81, (60c)	"a brownie → "brownies" [to match tree (62c) next page]
pg.81, last line of gray box	Relative clauses do not occur in a different (linear) position from complement clauses, cf. the rule in (59b): they can follow PPs; (59b) fails to allow for the order "CP PP," but that is also possible for both relative and complement CPs (cf. *the claim [that Peter was responsible] [in the indictment], the picture [which Peter likes][on the windowsill]*).
pg. 83, last line	(64) does not employ each of the rules in (63), as claimed: h) and i) are not used.
pg. 90 [AC]	para under (66), 3rd line: "the man used" → "the princess used" para under (68), line 1: "the man killed" → "the princess killed" para above (69), 2nd line: "by the man" → "by the princess
pg. 92, (73b)	This is neither Preposing nor Pseudoclefting, but rather Inverse Pseudoclefting. Preposing would yield *Big bowls of beans, I like*, which would be simpler to characterize—the text description of "pseudoclefting" is insufficiently general: it may require *is when/where/why/how*, not just *is who/what*.
pg. 92	*(74b) doesn't make the intended point, since "Very blue went to the store" is already ungrammatical without attempting coordination (there is no rule TP → AdjP VP).[2]
pg. 95, (84 b, c)	"wawarri" → "wawirri"
pg. 99, CPS1 c), d); GPS6 m), r)	Since *much* was previously identified as a quantifier, students do not know how to incorporate it into these trees: the only available phrase structure rule is *AdvP → (AdvP) Adv*, but *much* fails most distributional tests for adverbs since it cannot modify verbs or (canonical) adverbs: **Mary (much) wrote a letter (much), *Mary wrote a letter much quickly/carefully/…*

[2] It is arguably not possible to illustrate both the constituency and same-category constraints on coordination with a single example, since a non-constituent by definition belongs to no category; (i) and (ii) illustrate these separately. Crucially, replacing the attempted coordination with either 'conjunct' by itself yields well-formedness, and in (i) the identical parts of speech entail that the 'conjuncts' "would be" of the same category if they had one.

(i) *[Those very] and [these barely] ripe bananas should be eaten.
(ii) *Mary ate [$_{AdvP}$ very loudly] and [$_{NP}$ a sandwich].

pg. 99, GPS2 d)	Students who correctly intuit that *bright yellow* forms a constituent on the most natural reading are puzzled because the phrase structure rules (PSRs) provide no way to capture this. (Given the existence of *brightly*, they generally will reject the hypothesis that *bright* could be an adverb.) Since the chapter is about constituency, this seems unfortunate.
pg. 99, GPS3	The question is confusing because b) is unlike a) and all the examples in the prose following b) (*in house lawyer* etc.) in containing a (potential) noun before the preposition: *venti with*…. (assuming that "I ordered two ventis" is possible, this favors N over Adj as the category of *venti*). Thus, b) plausibly has the structure [$_{NP}$ *a* [[$_{N(?)}$ *venti* [$_{PP}$ *with room*]][$_{N}$ *Americano*]], where PP follows the N it modifies as usual (also perhaps involving compounding), a possibility not available for *in house lawyer*[3] etc. Either kind of example would be interesting, but suggesting that the same structure is involved in both seems to imply counter-intuitive constituency (i.e., [*a venti* [*with room Americano*]]).
pg. 101, GPS6	Parts of these sentences cannot be diagrammed under the current PSRs (in addition to m) & r) discussed above), beyond that fact that N-N compounds must be treated as Adj-N modification (e.g. *catnip toy*): t): *didn't* w): *chocolate covered cheese* x): *green-eyed syntactician* y): *all the dishes*
pg. 102, GPS8	Students cannot draw complete trees for two of the headlines: (c) and (e) are passives, (e) also involves compounding on both readings.
pg. 102, GPS9 a)	Unless the point is to undermine faith in the constituency tests, this example is unfortunate: the only test that genuinely applies is coordination, which wrongly implies constituency. (Substitution, pseudoclefting and fragment tests are arguably inapplicable inasmuch as there is no word whose meaning would correspond to the bracketed sequence.[4])
pg. 102, GPS10 i)	Delete sentence-final bracket.

[3] These examples pose the further challenge that attempts to apply the tests introduced so far will tend to suggest there is no PP involved: *Should we use an [in house] or {[$_{AdjP}$ independent]/*[$_{PP}$ from another firm]} lawyer?*

[4] The absence of such a proform/wh-phrase is of course not ipso facto evidence against constituency: e.g., those tests are inapplicable to the underlined constituent in *Susan met the very tall professor.*

pg. 102, GPS11	The way this question is introduced is misleading: It mentions *She passed out* as illustrating an optionally transitive preposition, but in fact no NP complement to *out* is possible without completely changing the meaning. The hypothesis that [V P] can form a "complex verb" is thus NOT an alternative to the suggestion that Ps can be intransitive: genuine examples of optionally transitive P like *She stood outside (the house)* do not behave like the examples in a)-d) on constituency tests—the structure of the latter has no bearing on the analysis of the former.
pg. 107, GPS17	Part 1 c): Glosses are misaligned Part 2 a): missing close paren in translation Part 2 c): missing tab between *iarraidh* and *cèic* More substantively, Part 2 b) and c) are misapplications of the constituency tests: The fragment test requires that all words that are not part of the fragment answer appear in the question—as it stands, the answer should be ungrammatical independent of constituency because 'I want to eat very cake' is ungrammatical (substituting the fragment for the wh-phrase and undoing wh-movement). Likewise, c) should be ungrammatical because removing the coordination leaves the ungrammatical 'Be I PROG want cake very eat'. c) would be fixable by inserting 'very good' between 'cream' and 'eat', but b) is probably not salvageable, assuming Gaelic does not allow "What do you want to eat good?" (on a relevant reading).
pg. 108, CPS2 a)	Missing tab between *allir* and *hinir*
pg.108, CPS4	The data do not demonstrate "complementary distribution" (which means that where one item can occur the other(s) cannot), rather they demonstrate identical distribution: articles and demonstratives both appear in the environment [$_{NP}$ __ N. In c), *those* does not appear NP-initially, which is just another manifestation of the same distributional restriction. Also, the data in (d)-(g) highly underdetermine the solution: they do not preclude trivial answers like NP → (D) (D) … N NP → (D+) … N The exercise would be enhanced by showing that reversing the order of article and demonstrative is ungrammatical and that (at least some) *D D* sequences other than article–demonstrative are disallowed (if true). Below g): "what the NP" → "what do the NP"
pg.109, CPS5, above c)	"nouns that can" → "NPs that can" "These are nouns" → "These are NPs"

pg.110, CPS7	Part 2 cannot be answered since no phrase structure rule allows "a lot" (an apparent NP) in this position. Part 3: Students cannot "Recall that…VP-preposing", because this has not been presented. As noted above, the "preposing" test actually involved inverse pseudoclefting, whereas (b)-(d) involve "Topicalization", not heretofore identified as a constituency test. Furthermore, in the sentence *Julian does eat apples every day*, *eat apples* would not be a constituent of any kind, let alone a VP, if *every day* were attached where its interpretation requires, namely as sister to V, given the current flat phrase structure (VP → …V (NP)…($XP_{modifier}$)…), so b) appears to be showing that a non-constituent can undergo this kind of "preposing", and if that were true, the contrast between (c) and (d) would be unexpected; Parts 3 & 4: "version of sentence (b)" → "version of sentence (a)"
pg. 111, CPS9, Part 2	"object-initial" → "OVS"
pg. 111, CPS10, Part 2	It is incoherent to ask students to draw a tree for an ungrammatical sequence (e).
Chapter 4	
pg. 115, CPS4 instructions below ex. b)	"nouns" → "NPs" [twice]
pg. 117, para under (15), 2nd line from bottom	"tree in (14)" → "tree in (15)" [AC]
pg. 121, (36)	This restriction does not rule out (35), nor is it true that (35) cannot be generated by phrase structure rules. The tree is consistent with L → NO, N → PR and O → QZ. The way precedence is defined, R precedes Q in this tree, because R's parent N is a left sister to Q's parent O. Ruling out (35) requires observing that the relative left-right order of Q and R on the page does not match the left-right order of their respective parents, but precedence can only "see" left-right ordering at one point in the tree (where an ancestor of A and an ancestor of B are sisters).
pg. 124, fn.5	The alleged problem would not arise, because (48) requires that the potential intervenor G asymmetrically c-command B, which would be false if G were a sister of A and B.
pg. 125	para below (50): "G c-commands B" → "G asymmetrically c-commands B" para above (51): "they don't command B" → "they don't c-command B"
pg. 125, fn. 7	"on c-command does ~~not~~ hold."

pg. 126, para below (54), 2nd line	"Fred is not" → "Gabby is not" [AC]
pg. 138, CPS2	g) still leaves open at least two possibilities, viz. that Neg must c-command the NPI or that they must mutually c-command each other (since the question labels the entire object NP as an NPI).
Chapter 5	
pg. 143	(6): "from another word" → "from another NP" 2 lines above (8): "another noun" → "another NP"
pg. 146, fn.7	Wrongly implies that the problem with (18) is that *herself* is a binder, rather than that *Heidi* is bound. Anaphors can perfectly well be binders: *Mary$_i$ believes [herself$_i$ to resemble her$_i$ sister]*.
pg. 149, gray box, 1st line	Add subscript i to *Maria*. But given the definition of "antecedent," nothing precludes saying that *Maria* is the antecedent of *she*, since antecedenthood does not require binding, nor is it precluded by an antecedent being bound by the NP it antecedes.
pg. 150, (32b)	The argument does not go through, because on the flat structure this sentence would still be predicted to be ungrammatical as a Principle C violation.
pg. 151, definition of Antecedent	Replace with definition from pg. 143.
pg. 152, GPS2 instructions	"two nouns" → two NPs" "which noun → which NP" "if there is relationship" → "if there is a binding relationship"
pg. 152, GPS3	Instructions: "boldfaced noun" → "boldfaced NP" c): PSRs provide no way to tree the VP *sounded wrong*
pg. 153, GPS4	Instructions: "c-commanded by its ~~binder (~~antecedent~~)~~, and…~~condition~~ ^principle^ that is…" [a binder by definition c-commands the coindexed element]. c), d): Add square brackets for clarity around *Michael's father*

pg.155, CPS3	a), b) glosses: 'himself/herself" → 'herself/himself" b) gloss: 'John' → 'Mary', 'Jân' → 'John' b) translation: "John said that Mary" → "Mary said that John"; "him/herself" → "herself/himself" c) translation: "read the book to" → "read the book for" d) translation: "books" → "book"
pg. 155, CPS4	Instructions: "any noun that" → any NP that" [twice] a), b), c): insert hyphens before *-wa, -ga, -o*
pg. 156, CPS5 d)	i. gloss: "his" → "him" ii, Dogrib: "mo" → "mǫ"
pg. 157, CPS6, final para	"condition C" → "principle C"
Chapter 6	
pg. 163, (10)	Parenthesizing an adjunct (AdjP or PP) in a recursive N' rule is unnecessary and would license vacuous (non-branching) X-bar recursion. Likewise pg. 165, (19) for V', pg. 167, (34) for Adj', (44) for P'. Remove parentheses from all adjunct rules here and later (pg. 168 et seq.), including the general X-bar schemas in (67), (69), (73), (76), (83), (84), (104), (115b), (117b), (120), (121b), (162b); (xi) on pg. 200.
pg. 165, (16), (17)	Omitting *so* following *do* (with or without *too*) changes this from a substitution/replacement test to an ellipsis test. These are not equivalent (e.g., *do so* substitution is ungrammatical with stative VPs, unlike ellipsis). Ditto pg. 177, above (102); pg. 209, CPS1 instructions.
pg.166, §1.2 heading	"Adv-bar" is never illustrated in this section (or anywhere else in this chapter), except abstractly below (36), and in the rules in (54, 55), (64d). But the idea that adverbs (expressing degrees) can pre-modify other adverbs has already come up, and complements to Adv can be found, e.g. *independently of his colleagues*, so there is no reason not to lay this out.
pg. 166, (26)	See above (pg. 99) for why *bright blue* does not plausibly involve *bright* as an Adv(P).
pg.167, last para	It should be stated that *so* can replace a P' as well as an Adj'.
pg. 169, 4 lines above (64)	"AP" → "AdjP, AdvP"

pg. 176, fn. 5	If there were a dialect that allows *one* to replace N, such speakers would never reject *one* + PP sequences, but this seems not to be true: one can find highly relational nouns (e.g. *top/bottom/side*) for which *one*-substitution is rejected by all speakers. The variation seems rather to rest in which PPs can attach as adjuncts and/or complements.
pg. 177, §3.2 heading	complements and adjuncts in AdvPs are not mentioned in this section.
pg. 180, (114)	"the NP or CP ^is^ sister to…"
pg. 180, (116), gloss	"Hasan-SUBJ" → "Hasan(SUBJ)"
pg. 184, (127)	These trees are not licensed by the existing PSRs: AdvP has been introduced only as a right-adjunct to V. Also, the discussion of structural ambiguity would be more compelling if the relative scope of the adjuncts had truth-conditional consequences, i.e. if at least one were nonintersective (e.g. *allegedly*)
pg. 193, below (151)	The tree fails the requirement that "every head has…X' and XP on top of it" for the D heads.
pgs. 193–4	It should be noted that the TP structure does not conform to the X-bar schema at this point.
pg. 196, 3 lines below (158)	"has a single N' " → "has a single A' "
pg. 200, (xiii)	Chapter 3 already introduced CP as alternative to NP for Spec-TP, so that should be reflected here: TP → {NP/CP} (T) VP
pg. 202, GPS3, Instruction i)	Asserting that *die* is never a pronoun seems to be directly contradicted by the translations of e) and h), so students are baffled. If they realize from previous translations that German may have a silent counterpart to *one*, that doesn't help, since *The one eats cake with cream* is ungrammatical in English (even with context), so it does not seem plausible as a way of avoiding treating *die* as a pronoun. Also, *der* does not appear in the data and therefore should not appear in this instruction.
pg. 204, GPS7	(e): "You either love" → "Either you love" Also add the instruction "Assume *either* is a complementizer." [AC]
pg. 206, GPS10, 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. [AC]
pg. 209, CPS2, Part 2 e)	"professor" → "student" [to match Part 1]

Chapter 7	
pg. 213, (1b)	delete parentheses as discussed under Chapter 6 (pg. 163)
pg. 215, last para	see discussion above (pg. 108): the data do not illustrate complementary distribution
pg. 216, line below (10)	"[$_{DP2}$ *the man*" → "[$_{DP2}$ *the woman*"
pg. 218, line below (16)	"the head *man*" → "the head *ballerina*"
pg. 219	2 lines below (20): "third person nouns" → "third person singular verbs" 2 lines above (22): "Third person" → "Third person singular" fn.1: "the auxiliary *to*" → "the T head *to*"
pg. 220, para below (25)	Ex. (25) falsifies this test: *him* is obligatory but the embedded clause is nonfinite.
pg. 220, 2 lines above (28)	"only auxiliary" → "only T"
pg. 225, para above (44)	Again, (44c) does not illustrate complementary distribution, but rather mutual exclusion. (In this case, because main verb inflections appear in a different position from tensed auxiliaries, (44a vs. b) do illustrate complementary distribution, but while that is true in S-structure, the proposed analysis makes it false at D-structure, cf. (47) where the affix originates under T, the locus of finite auxiliaries, giving them identical—not complementary—D-structure distribution.)
pg. 226, (48) & fn. 2	*ought* should be excluded, for the same reason as *dare/need*: they must be followed by *to* (except when negated, for some speakers, e.g. *You dare/need/ought not leave*)
pg. 227, 2nd line	Once again, this is not complementary distribution, it is identical distribution (all the listed elements occur in the T position).
pg. 228, para below (53)	This seems to treat (53) as if it were *Juan had eaten his sandwich before I got him his pickle.* (The inclusion of *could* in (53) would complicate the discussion.)
pg. 228, 4 lines below (53)	"found in (25)" → "found in (53)" [AC]
pg. 229, (54)	b): "attaching an *-ed*" → "attaching a *-d* or *-ed*" A fifth option (54e) should be added to cover cases with both stem change and suffixation, e.g. *steal* → *stolen*
pg. 230, 1st para	This problem could have been solved without misusing the term *gerund*, by using "perfect participle" and "progressive participle".

pg. 232, para below (62)	line 3: "possess" → "process" [AC] line 4 and trees (63) & (64): "*deep-fired*" → "*deep-fried*"
pg. 234, below (52) (which should be (65) [AC])	Other "mysterious" aspects that should be noted include the fact that these structures seem to violate X-bar theory (and indeed are missing category labels for the two-part heads). Students are also frustrated because no tree shows the structure that results from affix-hopping/head lowering.
pg. 237, GPS6 e)	How to treat possessive pronouns like *her* in this example under the DP hypothesis has not been explained. (See also comments re: pg. 478.)
pg. 238, GPS8: Data corrections [AC]	c) Anh ấy đã học. He DET PERF study "He has studied." d) Anh ấy sẽ học. He DET FUT study "He will study."
pg. 241, CPS4, Part 3	"results of part ~~3~~^2^"
Chapter 8	
pg. 244, 1st line	"VPs, APs, PPs" → "VPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PPs"
pg. 246	(11a): the italicized "entity" towards which there is motion should presumably just be *Chicago*, not *to Chicago*. (11b) belongs under (12) since it uses the same verb as (12a), meaning 'change of possession'. (11c) doesn't seem to involve a Goal: in what (even abstract) sense does an evil thought move towards Nancy? Didn't it originate inside her head? (13b): *from* should not be italicized, not being part of "the entity" whence motion originates.
pg. 249, para above (22)	"They take the output of rules, and throw away any ^outputs^ that don't meet …" [IC]
pg. 251, b)	"V, A, P" → "V, Adj, Adv, P"
pg. 254, xviii)	"A lexical item ~~is~~ ^has^ an entry…": (the whole entry could contain lots of stuff beyond the word)
pg. 263, CPS6	2a): First word should not be underlined 5): Second word should not be underlined Part C Instructions: "whether a numeral ~~or demonstrative~~ can"

Chapter 9	
pg. 266, above (2)	The claim that *order* can take a finite complement is hard to reconcile with (2a,b), in that the finite 3sg suffix *-s* is missing from the verb.
pg. 267, (4)	e): *whether* can introduce infinitival interrogatives (*I wondered whether to take my shoes off*), so its entry should be separate from *if*'s and should read f) whether [+Q, ±FINITE]
pgs. 267–8, (5)–(7)	These theta-grids are odd in that the internal argument is shown as a category with no theta role. In the preceding text it is stated that the [–Q] feature "replaces the 'proposition' theta role"[5] used in chapter 8 (for CPs). But if so, wouldn't it make more sense to write these theta grids with the [Q] feature on the top line, alongside "Agent", and the CP on the bottom line, alongside "DP"?
pg. 268, (7)	While the text correctly (for my English) notes the badness of **I inquired to purchase a bikini*, it fails to note the (relative) goodness of *(?)I inquired whether/how/when to take my shoes off*; for speakers who accept these, the features of the CP should be [+Q, ±FINITE].
pg. 271, above (18)	"But it actually…expected": This claim makes no sense unless one assumes that a given type of NP can be the complement of only one D (such that the null Ds in (18) would exclude any other Ds). But of course this is false: cf. (18c), corresponding to (17d): *Raindrops struck all/many/the/etc. rooftops* is perfectly fine. So the entries in (18) do not go any way towards explaining the restrictions. [If you are surprised to see (18b) here, you probably assumed that when DP was introduced in Ch. 7, personal pronouns would have been identified as D heads, but that was not done, so as of this point they are still Ns.]
pg. 274, 2nd para	"As we'll ^see^,"
pg. 274, fn. 1	*could* and *would* clearly function as purely past-tense counterparts of *can* and *will* in sequence-of-tense contexts: *She says she can't/won't do it, but yesterday she said she could/would do it.*
pg. 275, below (28)	*(28b) is already accounted for by prior statements: modals are T heads, and T cannot take another T as complement, so there would be no possible source for the *-s*. The need for [FORM *bare*] comes from examples like **Angelica should eating candied olives.*
pgs. 276–284	In every tree the Ø C head should be subscripted as [–Q].

[5] Which nonetheless returns on pgs. 431 et seq.

pgs. 276–7, §3.2	It is not explained how $Ø_{pres}$ will select for *eat* vs. *eats* as a function of the subject.
pg. 277, under §3.3	"This lets us…does not." This is not true and does not alleviate the criticism on pg. 74 (1[s] para): all we have done is replace rules like *-en* → *-t*/ *burn*__ with rules like [FORM *participle*] → *-t*/ *burn*__ , … [FORM *participle*] → *-en* (elsewhere). This is no less ad hoc.
pg. 278, (37)	This entry assumes that Prog and Pass bear the specification [–PERFECT], which would be redundant: [+PERFECT], [+PROGRESSIVE] and [+PASSIVE] are all mutually exclusive, suggesting they are actually alternative values of a single (nonbinary) feature: effectively [+PROGRESSIVE/+PASSIVE] entail [–PERFECT], and similarly for [–PROGRESSIVE] and [–PASSIVE] proposed below. We should not use three binary features where one ternary feature would do, wrongly implying eight possible combinations of values. *(36e) might alternatively be blocked just by modals lacking a *participle* FORM.
pg. 278, (38)	"$Perf_2$" [twice] → "Perf ' ", "Perf"
pg. 280, (42)	*eaten* should be labeled [+V, FORM *participle*], as in (38) & (45)
pg. 282, 1[st] para	Although chapter 10 does contain a discussion of *do*-support in questions, "do_Q" never appears and no lexical entry for it is provided. The analysis involves inserting *do* in T prior to T-to-C, just like do_{neg} and do_{emph}; at that point the derivation does not "know" that T will raise to $C_{[+Q]}$, so there would be no basis for choosing to insert a uniquely interrogative *do*.
pg. 282, para above (49)	Again, the data does not illustrate complementary distribution, but rather identical distribution: modals and *do* both occur between the subject and Neg(P).
pg. 282, above (50)	Positing that do_{neg} is a T head, combined with the observation on pg. 281 that tense inflections appear on do_{neg}, undermines the previous attempt to explain why modals (allegedly) never bear tense inflection—this was supposed to be captured by modals and *pres/past* competing for the T head position. But then *do* should also preclude tense inflections.

pg. 282, above & below (50)/(51)	The claim that *not* is followed by/selects a bare form is false: that is true when do_{neg} selects *not*, but not otherwise: *Mary has not eaten*. So (51) is incorrect. Likewise it is false that "Negation always occurs with a *do* auxiliary": same example. And "$Ø_{past}$ and $Ø_{pres}$ don't select for negation" is also falsified by the same example: the *-s* on *has* manifests *pres*, so prior to V-raising of *have* to T, T must have contained $Ø_{pres}$ selecting for NegP. (This reveals another problem: $Ø_{pres}$ is supposed to require its complement to be [FORM *present*], but *not* does not bear that feature.)[6]
pg. 282, (52)	delete subscript 3 on NegP
pg. 282, below (52)	The claim that do_{emph} behaves in all respects like a modal is false: modals can co-occur with PerfP and/or ProgP and/or PassP, but do_{emph} cannot: *Reggie must/*DID {have chased/be chasing/be chased by} the ball.* The ungrammatical examples all satisfy (53), so (53) must be augmented with the features [–PERFECT], [–PROGRESSIVE], [–PASSIVE].
pgs. 282–3, (50), (51), (53)	This system will wrongly allow examples like **She does not have eaten*.[7] It also requires every Modal to select for NegP as an alternative to [+V], and seems to provide no way for emphatic *do* to co-occur with negation, which is perfectly possible (especially with *n't*).
pg. 283, last line	"(78)" → "(56)". [AC]
pgs. 284 et seq.	"(55)" → "(56)", and all subsequent example numbers should be incremented by 1. [AC]
pg. 285, below (59)	(59b) is a pseudopassive, not a passive. "followed by a noun" → "followed by a DP, AdjP, or PP" [although the latter two are not illustrated here].[7]
pg. 285, para below (61)	"the *do*s in (60) are followed by ~~nouns~~^DPs^" "the *do*s in (61)…" does not apply to the second *do* in (61b), which is of the type in (60). "the ~~*do*~~^*did*^ in (61) is "meaningless""
pg. 286, (62)	"do_{aux}" → "do_{neg}", and do_{emph} should be added to the table.
pg. 286, below (63)	"Speakers…given." While in British and other dialects (66a) may be acceptable, I am aware of no dialect where (66b) is.

[6] Some of the problems with negated finite auxiliaries are acknowledged, but not solved, in the gray box on the bottom of pg. 317.

[7] In the same sentence, "Leaving aside…verbs)" is misleading: it has been acknowledged that *gerund* is not an accurate description of the form in (59a)—a progressive participle—so we should not expect consequences of this mislabeling, e.g. nounhood, to follow. And indeed in the meantime these have been assigned the category [+V], so they already are being treated like verbs.

pg. 286, below (65)	"Only auxiliary verbs and modals can appear before the word *not*" is false: the copula, identified in (62) as a Main verb, can also do so. (Above (64) it was noted that *be* [i.e., be_{cop}] behaves differently, but not how it does.)
pg. 288, xxxi)	"in the context of negation ^or emphasis^"
pg. 289, GPS1, *Part 2*, final bullet	"and either (c) or (d)" → "and either (d) or (e)"
pg. 289, GPS2	(1b): delete period before *Ø*; [AC] (1f): "~~that~~ *Ø*" [AC] Instructions below (2): → "or *that* (e.g., *that* ~~is~~ has the feature" [italicize *that* twice, delete "is"]
pg. 290, GPS4, below (b)	"~~auxiliary~~^copula^ *were*"
pg. 291, GPS7	Since the only example containing *the* is ungrammatical and we are told CSE does not work like Standard English, there is no basis for positing a theta grid for *the*: we do not know what complements it allows.
pg. 292, GPS10	The tree for (b) raises the same problem as its translation: *these* and *three* are both Ds.
pg. 292, CPS1 Instructions	"General Problem set ~~2~~^3^" [twice]
pg. 294, CPS6	"The noun that follows *all* must be plural" is false: mass nouns are possible, e.g. *all (the) water/sand/information*.
pg. 294, CPS7	"All of the partitive-taking quantifiers also take NPs as complements" is false: *none *(of the) men.*
Chapter 10	
Trees throughout this chapter	Matrix C Ø in declaratives should be subscripted with [–Q] $Ø_{pres}/Ø_{past}$ should not be obliterated when V raises to T If a trace is subscripted, the raised verb should be co-subscripted, and subscripts should be consistent: either always letters (i, j etc.) or always names (e.g. t_{have}, as in (31)). Full S-structure trees that illustrate the structure that results from head movement are lacking but would be very helpful. Most trees are neither D- nor S-structures, and movement arrows are often the only indication of movement, although they are surely not part of the posited representations.

pg. 303, (13) & pg. 304, fn. 2	*ne-* → *ne* [twice each]
pg. 304, above (14)	"negation in French… ~~*Not*~~ ^*Pas*^ heads…"
pg. 304, (14)	Under lower DP triangle insert "de pommes"
pg. 305	Above (16): "all [+V]s ^can^ move to T…only auxiliaries ^can^ raise" [Because they will not raise if T is occupied by a modal or if a higher auxiliary has raised.] (16): "all verbs ^can^ raise…auxiliaries ^can^ raise…"
pg. 310, (26)	"$Ø^{pres}$" → "$Ø_{pres}$"
pgs. 311–12, (27) & (28)	Students are puzzled as to how head movement can move through the Voice head without leaving a trace there and without picking up $Ø_{ACTIVE}$
pg. 311, final para, 2nd line from bottom	"VP" → "VoiceP" [AC]
pg. 312, 4 lines above gray box	"VP-internal" → "VoiceP-internal"
pg. 315, (32) & fn. 9	One can create embedded inversion examples where a direct quote reading is much less plausible, e.g. *She asked could she go to the bathroom*, which if acceptable most plausibly means *She asked, "Can I go to the bathroom?"*
pg. 315, above (33)	"only auxiliaries ^and modals^ ever occupy the T head as free-standing entities" "only auxiliaries ^and modals^ undergo T → C movement"
pg. 316, (34)	Inconsistent with previous trees, a trace has been left under Voice. The three instances of head movement should not have traces coindexed: one is V movement, one is Voice movement, and one is T movement. Given only traces under Voice and T, their original contents ($Ø_{ACTIVE}$ and $Ø_{pres}$) should show up in C.
pg. 316, below (35)	"where V→T movement applies ^uniformly/to all verbs^, main verbs…"
pg. 317, below (36)	"this is a contradiction…there is nothing in it": both claims are false, because in such sentences $Ø_{pres}/Ø_{past}$ is generated under T and thus available to raise to C. "This is *do*-support" wrongly implies that T→C is necessarily involved in triggering *do*-support.

pg. 317, (37)	Inconsistent with previous para: the claim was that T is completely empty, not that it contains inflectional affixes (which it would under Affix Hopping, but that was rejected in favor of (non-affixal) $Ø_{pres}/Ø_{past}$). So there is no reason why (37) should apply under the conditions described in the preceding para.
pg. 317, para below (37)	"It is, in essence, ^an^ operation~~s~~ of *last resort.* You only apply ~~them~~^it^ when…~~and when no movement transformations can apply~~." [The struck-through text contradicts the claim that T→C can trigger *do*-support. It might have made more sense if affix-lowering were a transformation, but as noted, that has been rejected.]
pg. 317, below (38)	The claim that *do*-support applies in (38b) is hard to reconcile with the reference to "inflectional affixes" in (37), given that $Ø_{pres/past}$ are claimed not to be part of the structure for (38b) [and even then, as noted, they are not affixes].
pg. 318	A) & B): It should be explained that *often* stands for a set of adverbs (and ideally, some hint as to which ones). B) & C): "has ^main verb^ V → T." C) should have a second clause saying "If the language has T→C movement but main verbs do not raise to C, then the language does not have main verb V→T." In B) and the second clause of A), the "O" should be optional (parenthesized): in those cases the relative order of V and *not/often* suffice, and the diagnostics can be applied in intransitive clauses (cf. GPS1). But O is required in the first clause of A) because "Subj V *often*" could arise without V→T if *often* is right-adjoined in VP.
pg. 319, GPS1	a) Translation should be "Gianni has not spoken anymore." b) The example is insufficient: because it contains no object, *più* could be right-adjoined in VP (see previous point re: pg. 318 A).
pg. 319, GPS2 Instruction	"Is Creole a ^main verb^ verb-raising language"
pg. 319, fn. 10	"a special intonation ^that indicates^ a particular interpretation"
pg. 320, GPS4 instructions	"…construct an argument that Welsh has ^main verb^ V to T movement."
pg. 321, GPS6, (ii)	Subjects are supposed to originate in Spec-VoiceP, not Spec-VP.

pg. 322, GPS7 instructions	The claim about what the position of *never* tells us is incorrect. You can see this from a variant of sentence (a) to which a modal has been added: it is possible to say (a') I should have never seen this movie. Here *have* still precedes *never*, but *have* cannot possibly be raised to T because T is occupied by *should*. On the other hand, (b') is possible, mirroring (b), but presumably in (b') *have* has raised to T: (b') I never have seen that move. We don't know how to draw the tree for (b'), but its grammaticality undermines the argument. The crucial piece of data to show main verb *have* does not raise would be (b'') *I have never a pen when I need it. The data in c)–d) are uninformative about main verb *had*: the preceding auxiliary "fills up" T, so the position of *had* is consistent with it being the second auxiliary, i.e. something that can raise to T when the position is open but cannot in these examples: c') I have <u>been</u> hating this day. d') I have never <u>been</u> given a pencil case. And as noted above (d) is uninformative with respect to whether *have* is in T. So, c) & d) are red herrings, only e) and f) are relevant.
pgs. 322–3, GPS8	last para on pg. 322: "possessor ~~noun~~^DP^ sits" The tree on pg. 323 is inconsistent with the structure previously given for possessors, which places them in Spec-DP, not Spec-NP; of course then the question would have to be reframed. c) is presumably meant to show that N cannot raise to an overt determiner, but it is not clear why not (the hyphens suggest the determiner is a prefix/clitic); alternatively, the presence of *the* in the higher D might be independently excluded by the (possibly null) counterpart of *'s* that is (so far as we know) required when Spec-DP contains a possessor. The crucial missing data is whether 'the the teacher house' is possible with the intended meaning of c).
pgs. 323–4, GPS9	Instructions: "noun phrase(s)" → "DP(s)" [4 times]. In the tree, "AP" → "AdjP"
pgs. 324–5, CPS1 Instructions	"appear ~~before~~ ^at the beginning of^ a DP" "start in the specifier of ~~VP~~^VoiceP^"
pg. 325, CPS2 Instructions	"exhibit ^main verb^ V→T movement?"

pg. 326 CPS2, *Persian*	As Carnie acknowledges in the Instructor's Manual, the data are problematic (and his diagnostics are claimed not to apply in SOV languages, which Persian seems to be). If c) is taken to show that the basic word order is S-initial, then a) and b) presumably involve T-to-C, and since a) involves a main verb, this would require main verb V-to-T to feed it. But c) and d) themselves are problematic for this conclusion: c) is SOV, so if main verbs raise, TP must be right-headed, but if so then in d) the auxiliary should follow, not precede, the main verb. (The placement of negation is also challenging: perhaps it could be picked up by V right-adjoining to Neg on its way to T.)
pgs. 326–7, CPS3	In the absence of case marking in the glosses, someone knowing nothing about German would at least need a translation to be certain that object fronting is involved in b). d) & e): "said" → "says" (in gloss and translation); *Bonus*: "part 1" → "(a) and (b)"
pg. 327, CPS4, *Part 1*	Both first and last names are "proper names", but a)–d) clearly show that they do not both undergo N-to-D, so one cannot ask students to show that the data supports this claim: it must be restricted to first names.
pg. 328, CPS5 c)	"E'" → "È" [3 times]
pg. 329, CPS6 Instructions	"an~~d~~ argument"
Chapter 11	
Trees throughout this chapter	C Ø is often missing subscript [–Q] $Ø_{pres}/Ø_{past}$ are often missing from T
pg. 332, gray box	In the previous chapter it was claimed that all clauses have a Voice(P), so why is there none in this tree?
pg. 333, (6c)	Why is the complement to *likely* [–FINITE] when (6a,b) show it taking a finite complement?
pg. 334, 2nd line	"auxiliary" → "copula"
pgs. 334–6, 346, 362	Trees: Having just introduced in (6c) that raising predicates take CP[–Q, –FINITE] complements, it is puzzling why the embedded C Ø in the trees is never marked with those features.
pg. 339, above (20)	"$Ø_{passive}$" → "$be_{passive}$"
pg. 340, (21)	Students are confused as to why DP-movement left an indexed trace in (10) but leaves a t_{DP} in (21).

pg. 341, gray box	"into the subject position…with no movement": No, it would still originate in Spec-VoiceP and have to raise to Spec-TP (iii): "…considered t_i to be ^t_i^ foolish"
pg. 344	below (36): "noun" → "DP" [3 times]; "like ~~*is*~~^$Ø_{pres}$^" below (39): "noun" → "DP" [twice]
pgs. 345 et seq.	(40) etc.: "Muriel" → "Monica"
pg. 346, above (41)	"Patrick" → "Monica"
pg. 347, lines 5-6	"If it did move, it would move without reason" is false: such movement would satisfy EPP in the higher spec-TP.
pgs. 347–8, (45) & (46)	"*was*^$_{pass}$^"
pg. 349, (48)	Again, it is mysterious why this Active verbal clause lacks $Ø_{active}$: evidently the fact that a clause is in Active Voice is not encoded by presence of a $Ø_{active}$ Voice head, which means that head is very misleadingly named. (It would be perfectly possible to have two entries for $Ø_{active,}$ one that assigns an external theta role and optionally takes an [ACC] complement, and one that has neither of those properties.) The text below (48) [and much of the rest of the book] ignores the earlier claim that all clauses have a Voice(P).
pg. 349, para under (48)	italicize *arrive* [AC]
pg. 349, above (49)	"Boxes can't choose to do things": But Stacy can choose to arrive (or not), suggesting she does bear an agent role; so this cannot be criterial for Themehood.
pg. 349, fn.7	"means ^"^not "~~"~~unaccusative~~s~~"."
pg. 350, (51)	"invitera" → "inviterà"
pg. 350, above (52)	"is in object position ^at D-structure^" "an adjunct (52a)": the PP is presumably an argument of 'speak', so this actually shows that complements of P disallow *ne*-cliticization in general.
pg. 350, fn. 10	"subject follows the verb": In (52b) it actually follows the direct object.
pg. 351	(53): "sarrano" → "saranno" below (53): "an unergative" → "and unergative" (54b): "arrivanno" → "arriverano"

pg. 352	(50)–(52) should be numbered (55)–(57), and Voice should contain $Ø_{active}$. (50): It would be helpful to show V-to-Voice raising. below (50): "In ~~actives~~^transitives^ and ~~intransitives~~^unergatives^…In passives ^and unaccusatives^, the movement is…" (52): "V~~v~~oice"
pg. 352, above (52)	An Irish subject in Spec-VoiceP will not be immediately c-commanded by T if auxiliaries are present, so it cannot get NOM in that configuration in general. More problematically, if NOM is assigned/checked under immediate c-command, in English and Irish an in-situ Theme in an unaccusative should be able to receive NOM in its D-structure position (if there are no auxiliaries): this is because "immediate c-command" (a.k.a. Head Government) was defined such that a node counts as an intervener only if it asymmetrically c-commands the target. E.g. in (48), V does not intervene, hence T immediately c-commands t_{DP}, because V does not asymmetrically c-command t_{DP}. It should also be noted that the EPP as formulated (Spec-TP must be filled) cannot hold in Irish-type VSO languages.
pg. 357, GPS5	Instructions: "we argued…embedded clause": Actually, it was argued such movement has two motivations, Case and EPP (see pg. 348). So these data pose no problem. b) translation: "drunk" → "drank"
pg. 358, GPS7 instructions	"verb movement" → "verb raising"
pg. 359, fn. 7	"NP" → "DP"
pg. 359, GSP10	e) & f): Since the translations are not passive, glosses would be helpful (e.g. 'in the summer is it here often swum/drowned') It would also be worth remarking that (e) shows that Dutch, unlike English, allows unergatives to passivize, presumably a relevant data point (i.e., passivization is not limited to transitives in general, although it is in English).
pg. 360, GPS11 instructions	"whatever ~~noun~~^DP^ takes"

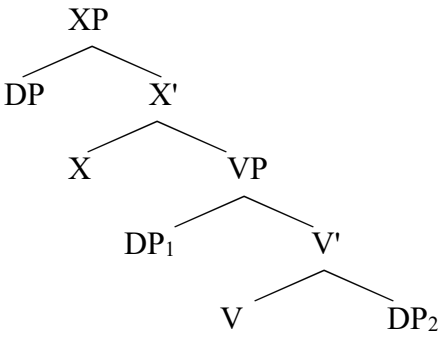
pg. 361, CPS2	Above c): c) is not a middle, it is an unaccusative (specifically, an inchoative), and (d) is a causative. b) and c) crucially differ in that what the boat is doing in (c) is sinking, but what the bread is doing in (b) is not cutting. The badness of f) has already been addressed in GPS10, viz. why unaccusatives don't passivize. (True middles also don't passivize, but that data is not shown, so students cannot be expected to try to explain it.)
pg. 361, fn. 22	"NP movement" → "DP movement"
pg. 362, CPS4	tree: Add subscript i to DP, insert triangle + "Janet" underneath it. h): the placement of the *by*-phrase is not consistent with the analysis: *by*-phrases are adjoined to V', so they cannot intervene between V and its CP complement. Students are puzzled by the switch from *want* to *believe*, particularly when they notice that these verbs are not interchangeable: h') *She is wanted (by Erica) to (have) be(en) at the game.
pg. 363, CPS5, Instructions	"non-class" → "noun-class"; unfortunately the data show no hint of class markers on the nouns.
pg. 363, CPS6 Part 2 Instructions	This is a very useful way of stating the theta-criterion; unfortunately it is not how it was stated previously in the text (cf. pg. 254). References to "overt DP" are puzzling since silent DPs have not been introduced.
Chapter 12	
pg. 367, (7)	C should contain Ø (at least; its feature haven't yet been fully laid out)
pg. 369, (13)	Replace final question marks with periods
pg. 369, last para	"~~Three~~^Four^ other operations"
pg. 370, (17)	This cannot be the D-structure, as claimed on the previous page, since *do*-insertion has already applied (and the "past tense" that it allegedly supports is nowhere to be found).
pg. 371, last para	The claim that T-to-C applies in matrix subject *wh*-questions is problematic, in that this might wrongly predict obligatory *do*-support in the absence of an auxiliary, i.e., **Who did leave?* vs. *Who left?* [This comes up in CPS1 on text pg. 392.]
pg. 371, (31)	The check-mark notation on [NOM] appears out of nowhere (cf. (46) on pg. 348).
pg. 372, gray box, below (iv)	Not only is the judgment not very strong, many younger speakers get no contrast between (iii) and (iv).

pg. 372, below (22)	"*Jim*" → "*Nura*" [AC]
pg. 373, (23) and pg. 375, (26)	Matrix subject DP (*you/I*) should be marked [NOM]. "+ACC" → "ACC" on lowest V and DP
pg. 374, gray box and fn. 1	These contradict each other: the gray box says theta grids cannot contain $C_{[+Q]}$ while the footnote says that *wonder*'s theta-grid can contain $C_{[+Q, -WH]}$. The gray box treats [+Q] as if it always triggers inversion, while the footnote acknowledges that $C_{[+Q]}$ can be overt, in which case it does not. The problem is that [+Q] was originally introduced as a semantic feature signalling interrogative clauses, but also a morphosyntactic feature triggering T-to-C. In embedded clauses these properties dissociate, but the text remains hazy on how that problem is to be solved.
pg. 374, (25)	The external theta-roles of *think/wonder* should be Experiencer, not Agent.
pg. 374, below (25)	"*Jim*" → "*Nura*" [AC]
pg. 375	(26): The triangled "I" subject should be marked [NOM] Just above (38): "^Complex^ DPs are islands."
pg. 377, (30)	The *she* DP should be marked [NOM], *kissed* and *who* should be marked [ACC], *who* should be marked [+WH].
pg. 377, fn. 2	This is doubly incorrect: (31b) contains a restrictive, not a non-restrictive, relative. *That* cannot introduce non-restrictives. The prescriptive "objection" is to the use of *that* with a human head noun (as opposed to *who(m)*)—*that* is prescribed for inanimate/nonhuman head nouns.
pg. 378	para below (32): single noun → single DP (33) & (34): $[_{NP}$ → $[_{DP}$ below (33): "the ~~noun~~^DP *the*^ *book*", "head noun *book*" → "DP *the book*"
pg. 378, discussion of (34)	This will require that *that* have a lexical entry in which it is [+WH], given this as the feature driving relative pronouns/operators to move; one will then somehow have to exclude ***I wonder who that you saw.***
pg. 379, above (37)	(37b) does not contain a factive clause (*claim* does not presuppose the truth of its complement). Thus, *claim* should also be deleted from the lists of factive nouns/verbs in (vi) on pg. 388.

pg. 380	3rd line: ^Complex^ DPs are islands. (39): box should include trace (40) [recurs in (xi) on pg. 384]: The schema as written does not single out **complex** DPs: to do so it should read *wh$_i$ […$_{DP}$… […$_{CP}$… t_i …] …] …]
pg. 381, (50) & just above	"subject condition" → "sentential subject constraint" [recurs in (xiii) on pg. 388] below (53): subjects → sentential subjects
pgs. 383–4, (57)–(60)	Ø$_{[PRES]}$ → Ø$_{past}$
pg. 385, below (65)	The explanation relies on an expletive in the lower subject position, but (64) and its description point out that the result is equally ungrammatical without it (64c). This is problematic, since a successive cyclic derivation where *Bella* moves through the lower Spec-TP to the higher one (possibly satisfying EPP in one place and checking NOM in the other) seems parallel to the good derivation in (62), where it is also true that one of the movement steps does not satisfy any requirement of the moving element. Such a derivation is presumably involved in the grammatical *Bella$_i$ seems t_i to be likely t_i to have left.* Thus, the problem with (64c) apparently cannot be an MLC violation.
pgs. 385–6, description of (67)	It is not clear that MLC is needed to rule out (67c), since there may not be any motivation to drive V to move to C: unlike the previous examples where the more distant landing site would check a feature with the moved element, that is arguably not true for the null C[+WH], if it seeks a T head. If instead it just required any overt head, one might expect a grammatical outcome when T does not block V from raising to/through it, i.e., when T contains just a feature (Ø$_{pres/past}$): but then English would wrongly be expected to allow main verb V-to-(T-to-)C, even without independent main verb V-to-T.
pg. 386, (67c)	Gloss is misaligned.
pg. 386	below (67): "the requirement that DP movement always target the closest Case position": There can be no such requirement, if the aforementioned *Bella$_i$ seems t_i to be likely t_i to have left* indeed has an intermediate trace where only EPP is checked. below (69): (68) does not involve an echo reading (of either wh-phrase): it is simply a pair-list question: subject *who* has moved to Spec-CP, which (in English) prevents any other wh-phrase from fronting in the same clause. Object *who(m)* can still be [+WH] if that feature is checked at LF.

pg. 387, 1[s] para of §6	"*Wh*-movement of a DP is always from a Case position" is false, if one describes the second step of movement in examples like (62) as an instance of Wh-movement; only the first step is from a Case position. The same sort of caveat applies to (i) at the bottom of this page: the first step of *wh*-movement in (62) is to a [–WH] C position. The generalizations hold only if one conceives of the two steps together as one instance of *wh*-movement.
pg. 389, GPS2 c) gloss	"eat" → "eats"
pg. 390, GPS4 Instructions	"complete GPS ~~2~~^3^ before" The stipulation "[anaphors] must be in argument positions to be bound" defeats the purpose of the question, since it stipulates that no kind of movement can feed anaphor binding—thus the facts are expected regardless of the nature of scrambling. The instructions refer to glosses not present in the data: HAB, RÂ, EZ.
pg. 391, GPS5	There is no constraint that this sentence violates. There would have been one if the assertion (pg. 380) that all DPs are islands were true, but no evidence for islandhood of non-complex DPs was presented.
pg. 392, CPS1	Since T heads like $Ø_{past}$ are explicitly not affixes and do not need to unite with inflected main verbs by movement, it is not clear that anything would be wrong with a structure like $[_{CP}$ who$_i$ $[_C$ $Ø_{past\ j}$ + $Ø_{[+WH\ +Q]}][_{TP}$ t_i $[_{T'}$ t_j …$[_{VP}$ ate the pizza]]]]
pg. 393, CPS3 Instructions	"(ii) has the ~~question~~^*wh*-phrase^ moved"
pg. 394, CSP4	The answer depends entirely on something the text explicitly avoided defining, namely what constitutes a potential landing site. Plausibly, V-to-T is driven (when it happens) by the presence of verbal inflectional features in T; if *pas* lacks such features, it is arguably not a potential landing site.
Chapter 13	
pg. 396, 1[s] para	"as do the binding conditions": CPS2 of chapter 12 provided evidence against at least Principle A being enforced exclusively at D-structure. "Heads move…or to check ~~at~~ Tense feature": there has been no mention of inflected verbs bearing a tense feature or of such features being checked as the result of head movement—this idea is first introduced at the bottom of pg. 398; however, given the lack of main verb V-to-T in English, if such checking were required it could not rely on head movement; In this para and in (2b) on pg. 397, checking of EPP should be added as a possible motivation for DP-movement.

pg. 399, discussion of (10)	The idea of T bearing [+Q] is a novelty, and seems to require all (finite) T heads to have twin lexical entries [±Q] so that they can occur in both questions and statements.
pg. 399, (11)	As was discussed on pg. 352, Irish-type VSO languages cannot check [NOM] in a spec-head configuration because the subject does not raise to Spec-TP; they require positing a fourth configuration in which checking is possible, government (immediate c-command). [This oversight recurs in (iii) on pg. 407.]
pg. 404, (19)	Since *pro* has not been introduced, it is mysterious to students where the meanings 'you' and 'we' come from. Furthermore, it is not ideal that this word order would be consistent with *wh*-fronting (which would cease to be true if the matrix subject were overt).
pg. 407, (xii)	Defining narrow scope as "the opposite" is confusing in this context: e.g., it does not involve the negation of the condition for wide scope. These are relational notions involving two scope-bearing elements that the definition should mention, e.g., "Q1 takes wide scope with respect to Q2 if…, which is equivalent to saying that Q2 takes narrow scope with respect to Q1."
pg. 408, GPS3	The fourth Mandarin sentence should be labeled (d) rather than (c). [AC]
pg. 409, CPS2	While (a) can have an echo reading of *what*, it can also have a non-echo pair-list reading. If non-echo *wh*-phrases have to move (perhaps covertly), the latter reading should violate the MLC. So there is no evidence that echo *wh*-phrases do not move—their movement could escape MLC by whatever means information-seeking *wh*-phrases do. b) was probably intended to have *what* italicized, but the same problem arises: It is also grammatical on a non-echo, pair-list reading. That reading evidently must allow both *wh*-phrases to target the embedded Spec-CP, so even if the echo reading required movement to matrix Spec-CP, the intermediate landing site satisfying the MLC should apparently be available. Thus, only c), which has no grammatical non-echo reading, might make the point, although the Complex DP Constraint was not shown to be reducible to the MLC, and appears not to be: specifier of *that* should be available as a landing site. [So the "hint" is off-base.]
pg. 409, CPS3, below (ii)	The inverse scope reading should be symbolized as ¬ (MANY x)[editor find x] for consistency with §3.2. Part 2: The sentence is ambiguous for many speakers.

pg. 410, CPS4	b) is an example of weak, not strong, crossover. The claim that these examples create binding violations is not obvious: for (a) one must assume that the trace of *who* behaves like an R-expression; for (b), since *her* doesn't c-command the trace, the trace cannot be the problem, and if the domain for Principle B is TP, then *who* binding *her* is also not a violation. On the other hand, in c) if *nobody* is an R-expression (cf. *no girl*) then the S-structure is already a Principle C violation: one does not need to consider covert cross-over, which would not add any binding violations anyway.
pg. 410, CPS5	The question makes no sense on the assumption, made in this chapter, that scope is determined by LF c-command. Since the subject raises overtly to Spec-TP (whence it c-commands *never*), Quantifier Raising could not yield wide scope for *never* unless *never* could undergo QR; by referring to it as "negation", the assumption from CPS3 that negation does not QR would preclude this. One must posit Q-lowering/Reconstruction in order to make an argument about the D-structure position of the subject.
Chapter 14	
Trees throughout this chapter	$Ø_{past}$ under T, [NOM] on T, and [–Q] on Ø C are often missing.
pg. 415	(5) should be: [AC] 
pg. 415, 2nd line from bottom	"an element ^that^ roughly" [AC]
pg. 416, para below (7)	"Ryan" → "Andrea" [AC] "the short verb movement…is new": No, it appeared already in Chapter 10. The example would be more compelling with an alternating verb like *close*, although it would again beg the question of why the active sentence *The window closed* would lack $Ø_{active}$.

pg. 417, para below (9), 1s line	"Josh" → "Morag" [AC]
pg. 418, last line:	"full ~~NPs~~^DPs^"
pg. 419, (13 c&d)	It was just noted that pronouns show case distinctions, but *it* does not; the facts continue to hold with *him/her/them* as long as they are not stressed.
pg. 421 et seq.	(17): Given that (14) showed an overt morpheme as the head AgrO, and the presence of Ø heads in T and Voice here, it seems inconsistent to leave AgrO as a category label with no lexical item under it in English: a Ø would be more consistent. (Ditto for AgrIO when it is introduced.)
pg. 421, (18)	(18): "be_{pass}" → "was_{pass}" below (18): "passive ~~v~~^Voice^ ~~*be*~~^*was*^$_{pass}$"
pg. 422, grey box	"~~The a~~^A^fter short movement"
pg. 422, 1st para under section 4, last line	"little v" → "$Ø_{active}$ Voice head." [AC]
pg. 425, (22)	Unfortunately this structure makes exactly the wrong prediction for passivization of double object verbs: earlier it was claimed that Passive Voice differs from Active Voice in not selecting for AgrOP. That would predict that the second object, rather than the first, must raise to subject position in the passive, which is incorrect: **The tape recorder was given Ayumi.*
pg. 425, below (22)	"Locate" → "Appl"
pg. 426, GPS2	a) cannot support the idea since it contains no Verb to combine with Voice.
pg. 427, GSP4	The required theta-grid for $Ø_{active}$ was already given in (16) As for *clean*, there seems to be no mechanism to indicate that its sole theta-role is assigned to its complement rather than its specifier.
pg. 428. CPS1	Instructions: Change final sentence to: "Keeping in mind the Principle of Modification, explain how this data is evidence for an analysis that splits verbs into Voice and V." [AC] The meaning in (i) is not derivable without decomposing V *open* into Adj *open* + V $Ø_{become}$, so (i) should be replaced with "The door opened before (perhaps Susan or the wind opened it) and now it has opened again due to Roberta's action." Then *again* can modify the VP *opened the door* (= 'The door opened').

Chapter 15	
Trees throughout this chapter	Matrix CP, features of embedded C, and [NOM] on T are not consistently indicated.
pg. 435, (20)	*Jean* should originate in Spec-AdjP, not Spec-VP. (It would be preferable if the theta-grids in (7), (8), etc. omitted *is*.). Indices i and m, marking theta roles, are missing from *Jean* and *PRO*, respectively.
pg. 435, para below 20, 3rd line	Carnie's errata provide this correction: "(it has an empty specifier of vP at D-structure)" → "(it doesn't have a VoiceP)" [AC]. But that is not sufficient, since *reluctant* also lacks a VoiceP; the replacement text should be "(it has an empty Spec-AdjP at D-structure)".
pg. 436, 3 lines above (24)	"embedded VP" → "embedded VoiceP" [AC]
pg. 438, (31) and 1[s] para of pg. 349	"cat to be ~~let~~ out…"
pg. 439, (32)	There is a contradiction between having $Ø_{active}$ in matrix Voice, which is claimed to assign the Agent theta role, and the observation in (30b) that *want* takes an Experiencer, not an Agent, subject. If $Ø_{active}$ could assign Experiencer, why is it not present in the matrix clause of (20)? Indices i and j, marking theta roles, are missing from *I* and *Jean,* respectively.
pg. 441	(40b): index under Experiencer should be j to match (39) 1st line below (41): "~~is~~ gets" [AC] (43): For many speakers this idiom must be past tense: *The cat got X's tongue*. Also, the meaning of this idiom should be explained for non-native speakers, or the idiom should be replaced with *the cat is out of the bag,* cf. (31).

pgs. 442–3, (46)	Would be clearer if references to TP were specified as to matrix (a) vs. embedded (c, d). This summary is missing two very useful diagnostics: • (dis)allows existential *there*: *There are likely/*reluctant to be problems in the future.* *Jean wanted/*persuaded there to be flowers on every table.* • meaning is (not) preserved under downstairs passivization: *Jean is likely to see Roberto = Roberto is likely to be seen by Jean.* *Jean is reluctant to see Roberto ≠ Roberto is reluctant to be seen by Jean.* *etc.*
pg. 443, 1st line of §3	"~~noun~~^DP^ types"
pg. 443, §3	It is confusing to classify optional control as a type of non-arbitrary PRO and then say that it allows a PRO_{arb} reading. A better way to set this up: "PRO can be interpreted in two ways: either coreferential with a controller or arbitrary. Certain syntactic environments allow only one of these interpretations while others allow both.…"
pgs. 443–4	Discussion of (50): the interpretation of *his* has no bearing on whether PRO is present or what its index is: as a pronoun, *his* simply must be locally free; it can be bound by *Roberto*. Likewise, *one* is a pronoun that needs no binder. To make the point, the most embedded clause should be changed to *to behave himself/oneself*.
pg. 444, below (51)	The hypothesis attributed to Williams, which the text states "can't be right", is in fact true: in obligatory control constructions PRO must be c-commanded by its antecedent/controller. What happens outside obligatory control constructions cannot in principle falsify this claim. The text then contradicts itself by re-endorsing the Williams proposal below (52).
pg. 445, (54)	It should be observed that many speakers disallow such sentences and have no clear intuition about the intended controller of PRO when they hear them.
pg. 445, below (56)	"(56c~~ and d~~), however, show^s^" "The difference between the (a) and the (~~b~~^c^) sentences"
pg. 448, CPS3	Floating quantifiers are discussed in a problem at the end of Chapter 10, not in Chapter 11. "Recall from the last chapter" → "Recall from Chapter 11, GPS 11", but there quirky case was demonstrated only on an object, not a subject. (c) translation: "…not to ^all^ be bored in school"

pg. 450, GPS6 b)	The point is presumably that the verb does not agree with an overt subject pronoun, but glossing it as 'am' obscures this; better to gloss *tá* as 'be' and *táim* as 'be.1SG'.
pg. 450, CPS2	The presupposition of the question is false: the data are not instances of obligatorily controlled PRO as defined in the text.
pg. 451, CPS4, last line	"In the case of ~~*someone*~~*^everyone*"
pg. 452, CPS5	a), b), d): 1st word should be *Íity* [also in instructions 1) & 2)] a): 2nd word should be *ùlù'ùtì'* c): 4th word should be *lììzní'*
Chapter 16	
pg. 455, 2nd line	"section 2" → "section 1"
pg. 457, (11)	second "[eat an apple]" should have subscript i
pg. 459	(13a) & (14a) → "Calvin will [strike himself]$_i$ and Otto will [$_{VP}$ Ø$_i$] too." (13c): insert right bracket before *too* (14b) → "~~[~~$_{CP}$ Calvin will [strike Calvin]$_i$~~]~~ and Otto will [$_{VP}$ Ø$_i$] too."
pg. 460, (17a)	Insert subscript i after "Which language"
pgs. 461–2	The analyses in (25) and (26) do not work because *read*, being an active transitive verb, raises to Ø$_{active}$ Voice, which is outside the elided VP, and should therefore not be elided. On pg. 463 it is stated in connection with Lasnik's analysis of pseudogapping that one must assume "regular VP ellipsis" is really VoiceP ellipsis, but that was relevant all along.[8] That will fix (26), but Hornstein's (25) has the same problem as Lasnik's (29): they must assume that in these cases (of actual VP ellipsis) the V root does not raise (overtly) to Ø$_{active}$.
pg. 462, (26)	"[VP read t$_i$]" → "[$_{VP}$ read t$_i$]"
pg. 462, last para	See note above re: transitive verbs on pgs. 461–2.
pg. 464, (32b)	"…she has ~~been~~ [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{AgrOP}$ short stories [$_{VP}$ read^ing^]]]"

[8] It would of course introduce a complication into all the examples of standard ellipsis in the chapter, namely that the elided VoiceP can contain the trace of a different subject than the antecedent VoiceP.

pgs. 465–6	ii): ~~normally in a conjunction~~ vi): Comparative Subdeletion cannot be reduced to pseudogapping in general, because its remnant need not be a DP, e.g., *John gives more books to me than Fred does ~~give books~~ [to my sister]* vs. **John gave books to me and Fred did ~~give books~~ to my sister.* xii): Sloppy identity is not restricted to local subject antecedents, e.g. *John$_i$'s father loves him$_i$ and Bill$_j$'s father does ~~[love him$_j$]~~ too.* xiii): The same holds for strict identity, as shown by the example in the text; it would be better characterized as "…pronoun or anaphor takes its reference from the DP in the corresponding position in the antecedent…" xv) & xvi): "…places [the quantified DP] outside of the (lowest) VP that is its antecedent": Obviously the VP is not the antecedent of the quantified DP. Reword to "…outside of the VP that is the antecedent for the elided VP inside that DP." xviii): Insert subscript i on *Who* xix): "little v" → "Voice"
pg. 467, GPS2, 2)	subscript on [a fish] should be i
pg. 470, (32) b)	The elided VP should be ~~[$_{VP}$ reading *t*]~~
Chapter 17	
pg. 472, 1st sentence	On pg. 142, binding domain was defined as TP, not CP.
pg. 474, final para	"(and furthermore it c-commands the ~~antecedent~~^anaphor^)" [AC]
pg. 475	"as in 9b and ~~17~~^12^"
pg. 477, (25b)	*Heidi* and *her* should be co-subscripted
pg. 478, below (26)	The paragraph beginning "The version" does nothing more than paraphrase the preceding paragraph and should be deleted.

pg. 478, (24')	Since possessive pronouns are still being treated as D heads (cf. CPS2 on pg. 481), this definition makes the wrong prediction for (23): it should be bad in Dialect 2, because the DP [her violin] contains no specifier, so the binding domain for *her* is the whole sentence. In fact, this issue also undermines the revised definition of Principle A: a pronominal possessor should not count as a potential antecedent since it is not a DP. Therefore the following variant of (9'b) is wrongly predicted to be grammatical: *Heidi believes his description of herself.* And for that matter, if binding is a relation between DPs, then the following would violate any version of Principle A because the anaphor would lack a binder: *John admired [her pictures of herself].* …all the more reason to introduce the analysis shown in CPS2 back in Chapter 7.
pg. 480, GPS3	The data in chapter 5 contained different names. Case markings are not glossed as such there or here, so it is unclear how students can follow the instruction to be "clear about case marking."
pg. 481, GPS4 d) translation	"books" → "book"
pg. 481, CPS1	"Is this true?" can be trivially answered "No" since pronouns do not need to be bound. To avoid smart-alecky answers like this, reword: "Is it sufficient that one link of a movement chain containing a pronoun satisfy Principle B, i.e., be free in within its binding domain?"
Chapter 18	
pg. 487, discussion of (9)	By itself this example (what it cannot mean) doesn't make the case against subject incorporation very strongly. The 3s agreement might block the interpretation where 'cows' is the subject. Also, since it's an ergative language, the transitive subject might be blocked from incorporating by the extra structure sometimes associated with ERG, so a better test case would use an intransitive subject. The theoretical foundation is also weak: in languages with V-to-T, subject incorporation could be upward (as alluded to in CPS2).
pg. 490, (19)	a) Subject should be *ngarrka-ngku* a & b) Verb should be *panti-rni* [same as c)]
pg. 493, below (25)	"The acceptability of (25~~a~~^b^)"

Chapter 19	
pg. 500	3rd line: "always have ^to^ be" [AC] para above §1: "chapters 10–12 ~~are~~^is^ strongly" line above §1: "those other idea^s^"
pg. 501	1st para, 3rd-last line: "theory on it~~'~~s" 3rd para, 2nd line: "what ~~are~~ the component" para below (1): "subconstituents ~~combined~~ with"
pg. 502	(4) c) italicize *eat* (4) f), h): italicize *will* para below (4): "externally motivated ^as the^ idea"
pg. 503	2nd para: "Speas (1992)" → "Speas (1990)" [AC] para below (6), 2nd line: Italicize *the* and *eat* [AC] last para: Given this, in (6) "NP" should be "N(P)" [twice][9]
pg. 504, §1.2	"Kayne's proposal~~,~~^is^ called" The LCA crucially demands "if a head ^asymmetrically^ c-commands another head, then…", with the unmentioned consequence that in (5), *the* and *peanuts* cannot be ordered. Also unmentioned is the fact that traditional X-bar parameters can stipulate the relative order of specifiers and complements with respect to the head independently, but under Merge that distinction is obliterated for phrases that contain only a specifier or only a complement. So one cannot in fact replicate the ordering parameter settings or derive any order at all for many sentences where this used to be possible.
pg. 505, para below (9)	6th line: "is that ~~it~~^*one*^ cannot assign" 7th line: "to be a ~~c~~^C^ase ~~marker~~^assigner^" Last line: "…the importance of the intermediate ^category^ in trees like (7a) go^es^ away" [AC] The proposal does not seem to extend to *do-so* substitution, so it would not eliminate the need for nonbranching V' constituents.

[9] But this approach to phrase structure does not undermine the previous motivation for positing Ø D as the head of the subject *Rosita*: it should still be identifiable as a DP, not just an NP.

pg. 505, (10)	Nothing about this representation allows for adjuncts to be distinguished from complements: the relationship between *book* and *of poems* is identical to the relationship between *book* and *red*. Also, sets are not two-dimensional, so it is unclear what it means for adjunction to involve a third dimension. (There will also be no way to impose the ordering restriction that complements must be closer to heads than adjuncts (with just the LCA), since there can be no c-command relationship across sets.)
pg. 506, discussion of (12)	Re-merging is not supposed to involve making a copy, so it is unclear what the actual set-based representation of (12) could be, or how one could identify which instance/copy of *the candy* is unpronounced, since there is only one.
pg. 506, above §3	The "sketchy" distinction was already eliminated in this way when the Copy Theory of Movement was introduced in Chapter 17.
pg. 507, GPS1 d)	The *without* adjunct is a gerund, for which a structure has never been proposed.
pg. 508, CPS1 Instructions	"Chapter 5" → "Chapter 6" [AC]
References	
pg. 511	Baker (2001b) → Baker (2002); Baker (2001a) → Baker (2001). [AC]
pg. 517	^Merlan, Francesca (1976) Noun Incorporation and discourse reference in Modern Nahuatl. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 42, 177-91.^ [AC]
Index	
pg. 523	Dogrib: "158, 370" → "156"
pg. 524	Greek: "158" → "156"

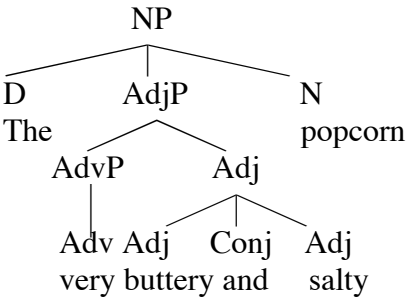
Workbook[10]

Location	Correction/Comment/Suggestion
Chapter 1	
WBE1 Answers	Italicize the following: i) *10 items or fewer*; m) *You didn't complete the homework efficiently*
WBE4 Answers	e): Italicize *dancing, make, dancing makes me tired*
Chapter 2	
WBE13, Part 5	"parts 4, 5, and 6" → "parts 2, 3, and 4"
WBE3 Answer	"~~of the work~~"
WBE5 answers	According to text pg. 51, possessive pronouns are Ds, so the following should not be part of this answer: *my, her, his*.
WBE6 Answers	*do, was, were* should not appear here given that they were listed as Verbs in the WBE5 Answer. Possessive pronouns are Ds and so should be added here: *my, her, his*.
WBE8 Answers	*everything* is not a determiner, it was listed as a Noun in WBE5, so it should not appear here.
WBE9 Answers	Alternatives: d) *if…then*; C, C; e) *that*; C; g) *and*; Conj or *if*; C. In d), *neither…nor* does not fit; in f) *nor* does not fit, and *if…then* should be labeled C, C.
WBE12 Answers	e): *cattle* is a plural count noun, not a mass noun, in my English (and American and British dictionaries): *The cattle are/*is {lowing/being rounded up}. Those/*That cattle attacked me*.
WBE13 Answers	Part 1: Some students may want the features for *we* to represent the fact that the addressee can be part of the referent set, as can non-discourse participants, so ± are plausible values for both features.
WBE14 Answers	b): *rub* is optionally transitive (*My toe is rubbing (against my shoe)*), hence $V_{[NP\_\_(NP)]}$ (or intransitive and transitive type 1) c): *demand* allows a CP subject ([*That our way of life is threatened*] *demands action*), hence $V_{[\{NP/CP\}\_\_\{NP/CP\}]}$ (not a type listed in the text)

[10] See Carnie's errata (www.andrewcarnie.org/textbook4e) for errors particular to the e-pub version.

Chapter 3	
WBE13	d) *réclamé* means 'demanded', not 'declared'
WBE1 Answers	f): The third structure + discussion should be removed: it wrongly leads students to believe they can assign any category they want to a word, regardless of empirical evidence, in order to create a valid tree, when the lesson should be that there are some meanings the current theory cannot capture.[11] Distributional tests show very clearly that *old* cannot be an Adv (and for that matter, that *banana* cannot be an Adj—only the first structure is valid, which corresponds to my intuitions that the other two alleged readings are unavailable).
WBE2 Answers	b): Given the stipulated interpretation there is still an ambiguity: [*in the square*…] could modify *flag* rather than *pole*. c): *intensely* should be labeled Adv, not A. Sentence below tree: "…has the ~~blue~~^pink^ lid" Same comment as for WBE1 f) re: labeling *blue* an Adverb: distributional evidence does not support this. And by my intuition it is unnecessary since I must construe *blue* as modifying *container*, so the second tree is the right one.
WBE3 Answers	a): *big* and *brass* should be labeled Adj, not A.

[11] That assertion is made in connection with WBE6 (r); unfortunately it is incorrect (see below).

WBE6 Answers	k): "heros" → "heroes" [in tree and string] r): Same comment as above re: labeling *amazing* Adv, especially since *amazingly* is a word. The problem is that English has a PSR VP → V AdjP that has not been introduced. Paragraph top of pg. 47: Italicize *very, salty, buttery*. And the statement is false: the tree for that reading can be drawn:  t) Paragraph below: "If the heat is on the ~~flagstone~~^patio^…" w) final word: "sheet" → "paper"; Alternative: *bright* could form its own AdjP modifying *flower*. x): An N-N compound structure for *swimming pool* would be preferable: the given tree would mean that the pool is swimming.
WBE8 Answers	e): "into the ~~NP~~^VP"
WBE16 Answers	3): (e) does not exemplify multiple AdjPs in the object. 7 e): *pērk* should be under V; *no* should be under P. Since *fruit* is marked plural and seller is singular, *fruit* cannot be an adjective modifying *seller*: this must mean 'seller of fruits', calling for either an N-N compound or an NP complement to N. (By the same logic, if we take the glosses seriously, in d) *forest* is not an Adj since, unlike *tiny*, it does not agree with the head N, and is also plausibly part of an N-N compound.)
Chapter 4	
WBE13 Answers	h) (7): *negusha* should be under N
Chapter 5	
General note	Binding Principles are often referred to as "Condition" A/B/C, terminology not introduced in the text.

WBE7	2b) should be *Hon$_i$ älskar sin$_k$ man. 3a) gloss: *husband* is misaligned
WBE3 Answers	c): Re: *Important note:* Given the structures available at this stage, it is perfectly possible for two NPs to bind each other, e.g. if both are complements to the same head, as in *Mary$_i$ gave/showed herself$_i$ herself$_i$*. (Although intuitively the antecedent for both anaphors is *Mary*, nothing in Binding Theory forces that conclusion—indeed the current formulation wrongly predicts the grammaticality of *John$_j$ gave herself$_i$ herself$_i$*: the anaphors satisfy Principle A for each other.)
WBE5 Answers	b): "the embedded ~~CP~~^TP^" c): Binding domain: "~~*that*~~ *Trevor is…*"
WBE7 Answers	Part 1: "can sometimes ~~co-refer~~^be bound^"; "from that ~~from~~^for^ other"
Chapter 6	
WBE7	(d): The NP modifier *every day* in VP is not consistent with the PSRs available. (The answer to this problem (pg. 92) asserts "adjuncts don't have to be AdvP or PPs!", but the textbook makes no such assertion.)
WBE9	(g) Relies on AdjP complement of V, which is not an available PSR. [See Ch. 3, WBE6 (r) above.]
WBE10 (c) [question and answer]	There are actually two errors in this tree. In addition to the one that's listed in the answer key, the intermediate node in the PP is missing the bar marker (i.e., PP → P'). [AC]

Answers (General)	The following trees have P' mislabeled as P: WBE9 (j), (k), (l), (t iv & v), (u ii), (v iii). We have no PSRs that would license many of the structures shown in the Answers, e.g., the NP left adjunct to Adj in WBE9 e) on pg. 104, the NP/AdjP left complement to N suggested below WBE9 m) & n) (i) on pgs. 110 and 113; the NP (left) adjunct to N suggested on pg. 113; the NP right complement to N in WBE (14c) and WBE15 (4a). As noted above for Chapter 3, the trees commonly treat as Adjectives words for which distributional evidence does not support this, apparently due to a desire to avoid compounds (which are nonetheless frequent in the sentences to be diagrammed and mostly diagnosable by stress placement), e.g., WBE9 d) *lava*, g) *test,* j) *pen,* m) *computer*, o) *water, color* [the sentence is not about water-color**ed** paintings], r) *street*, s) *strawberry,* t) *bowling* [not an alley that is bowling], u) *palm, lounge, monsoon*, v) *shell*.[12] [A fairly reliable test for Adj(P) is whether it can follow *seem*: **Her results seem test*. **The alley seems bowling*, etc.] Likewise there is no distributional evidence for *banana* or *chief* as Advs as in WBE9 u), v). While the answers often mention the possibility of some PP being a complement, there are many more cases where this is probably/demonstrably the status of a PP but that option is not mentioned: WBE7 b) *throw NP at the wall*; WBE9 e) *taste in…snacks*; i) *came with NP*; p) *pulled NP off NP*; q) *travelled from NP to NP;* r) *bought NP from NP*; s) *led NP in a … direction*; u) *fluttered to the ground*, *escape from justice*; v) *fleeing to Morocco*.
Answers to X-bar parameter questions	Students are confused because the terminology for parameter settings does not match the textbook: Workbook answers are worded like "Specifiers come before the head", "Complements come after the head"; textbook wording is "specifier on left", "head on right", etc. It would be preferable if both used the standard terminology: "head-initial/final" etc.

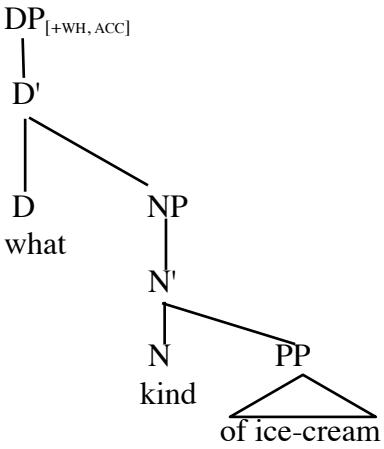
[12] Although not offered in tree form, the Answer to WBE9 n) suggests that *hazelnut* and *hotdog* could be Adj(P)s "by virtue of the tests we saw in chapter 2." This seems false: **I enjoyed the {very hazelnut/very hotdog} kebabs*, *?*The kebabs were hotdog,* etc.

WBE9 Answer	(g): The meaning of an iterated degree expression like *very very* is not very clear, but a plausible alternative is for these to be two separate AdvP modifiers of *anxious*. para below g): Contra the implication here, there are plenty of PP complements (to Adj and N) headed by Ps other than *of* (the former diagnosable with *so*-substitution). para in n) i): "the interpretation ~~is~~ that" para below r) ii): "higher in the tree ~~higher~~" u): The PP in (iv) could modify *landing* rather than *fluttered*. Paragraph in u) iii): "as ~~so~~^to^ what the PP"
WBE15 Answer	(4c): Delete vertical line after Adv
Chapter 7	
WBE16 Answers	b):"had" → "have"
Chapter 8	
WBE5	below (3): "thematic relations each of the ~~nouns~~^DPs^"
WBE4 Answer	The second noun can also be an experiencer.
WBE10 Answer	"The Theta Criterion requires that arguments be of the correct type." This directly contradicts the answer to WBE9 d) on the previous page. Ice cream being a poor experiencer and bones being a poor agent are the very same kind of problem (violation of selectional restrictions). These are surely not violations of the Theta-Criterion: in fact, the resulting sentences sound odd precisely because the role in question **is** assigned to the DP in question, otherwise the anomalous meaning could not arise.
Chapter 9	
WBE4	Part 1: It is false that English *the* requires a [+COUNT] N; French *le/la* work just like *the*.
WBE5	b): *zhe*, if glossed accurately, presumably requires the head N to be construed as singular, but the data do not indicate whether this can be enforced by selecting for [–PLURAL] ClP (in turn selecting for [–PLURAL] NP), since we do not know if *ben* is compatible with plurals.

WBE1 Answers, Part 2	The verbs on the theta-grids should not be inflected. As noted also re: the text, the CP portions of the theta-grids seem upside-down: the [Q] feature encodes the theta-role (Proposition vs. Question) while CP is the category.
WBE3 Answers	*this*/*that* allow mass ([–COUNT]) complements as well as [+COUNT, –PLURAL] ones: this ought to be reflected in the data as well.
WBE4 Answers	The answer assumes that *les* is incompatible with proper names, but the data did not show that (unlike for *le*/*la*) and it is false.
WBE5 Answer	*zho* → *zhe*
WBE8 Answer	*been* should be subscripted *pass*
WBE8 & 9 Answers	C Ø should be subscripted [–Q].
WBE11 Answer	e): The question asked about **inflected** forms, so *have* is not relevant.
Chapter 10	
WBE2	1): According to Merrifield et al., 1st word should be *da-bëts*^{ʔ}***e*** and 3rd word should d be *tsïnt*^{ʔ}***ï***.
WBE3 *Bonus challenge*, WBE7	"V^oice^P internal subjects"
WBE3 Answers	Trees are missing subscript [–Q] on matrix C
WBE4 Answer	The answer denies the relevance of precisely the word order cues that the textbook claims **are** indicative of lack of main-verb V-to-T (text pg. 318).
WBE6 Answers	Below b): "V^oice^P-internal"
Chapter 11	
WBE1 Instructions	"main clause ~~verbs~~^predicates^"; "~~agent~~^external^ theta roles" [Because, e.g., *wants* takes an Experiencer subject.]
WBE7 Instructions	1): "both the subject…are ~~both~~ before"; "that the ~~object~~^subject {of the passive/in (b)} has in fact undergone DP movement ^to Spec-TP^." [All subjects now undergo DP-movement.]
WBE12 Questions	(2) provides one of the answers to (1).

Answers (General)	Trees often are missing [–Q] subscript on matrix C Ø; [–Q, –FINITE] subscript on embedded C Ø[13]; [(+)ACC] subscript on active transitive verb and direct object. Trees are inconsistent as to whether object DP is marked [ACC] or [+ACC].
WBE1 Answer	"The agent ^role^ is not assigned ~~as part of~~^to^ the matrix subject." a) & b): The VP headed by *have* should be PerfP; a): If $Ø_{ACTIVE}$ Voice always assigns an external theta role, it should not be part of this tree (cf. *seems* in tree WBE9 (d)).
WBE6 Answers	3) "consistent…in ~~in~~transitives."
WBE9 Answers	d): [$_{DP}$ the book] should be subscripted [NOM] i): was_{pass} should raise to T
WBE10 Answer	2): This should not be surprising since CP raising to Spec-TP for EPP was already discussed in the text (pgs. 345–6).
Chapter 12	
WBE4	c): "…unlimited data~~,~~ plan^,^ fell…"
Answers (General)	Trees should be consistent on the following: There should be a Ø under C whenever there is no overt C word; matrix C Ø in non-interrogative sentences should be marked [–Q, –WH]; embedded C Ø in complement clauses should be marked [–Q, –WH, ±FINITE]; subject DPs and finite T heads should be marked [NOM]; transitive verbs and their objects should be marked [ACC]; passive participles should be marked [–ACC]; interrogative XPs should be marked [+WH]. There are several active verbs whose subjects are not Agents, so it should be acknowledged that there are $Ø_{active}$ heads that can assign other theta roles (including Experiencer).

[13] It was noted for Chapter 11 of the text that these embedded Cs ought to be annotated with these features.

WBE2 Answers	c): PerfP should be below NegP, not above it. e): Since this is the first time students have to draw WH-DPs, they should not be triangled:  e): *in the mall* could also modify *threw* instead of *Santa* f): AP → PP g), h): AP → AdvP (or PP?) h): The VP headed by $Ø_{active}$ in both clauses should be VoiceP
WBE3 Answers	a): Contradicts the instruction to treat *do sgrìobh* as a single word. Moreover we do not generally allow head movement of one overt word onto another overt word, as shown here—e.g., overtness of a [+Q] C in English (*if, whether*) blocks T-to-C. b): matrix VP label is misaligned
WBE5 answers	a) $Ø_{past}$ in lower clause is misaligned; as noted previously, in the text it is never asserted that DP can be an adjunct to V(P) c) and d): These are punctuated as non-restrictive relatives, so the relative clause CP should be adjoined to D', not N' (see text pgs. 379, 388) c): The *with*-PP is more likely a complement to *came*; matrix verb *fell* is unaccusative (certainly with an inanimate subject), so there should be no matrix VoiceP and the DP should originate as complement to *fall* d): AP → AdvP e): AP → AdvP (or PP?)
WBE7 Answers	a): "^Sentential^ Subject Condition"

WBE9 Answer	a): Structure should be …[$_{NegP}$ not [$_{PerfP}$ has [$_{VoiceP}$ t_{DP} Ø$_{active}$ [$_{VP}$ eaten her breakfast]]]]] Thus, *not* could be an adjunct to PerfP or VoiceP as well as VP. 2nd last sentence: italicize *not*.
Chapter 13	
WBE4	a): In gloss, *Oaxaca* is misaligned
WBE3 Answer	"specifier of the V^oice^P"
WBE5 Answer	QR is supposed to be movement to Spec-CP [cf. text pg. 406], which would not derive this word order, so the data are not relevant to QR being overt. Object Shift provides a more straightforward explanation.
Chapter 14	
Answers (General)	Trees should be consistent on the following points: There should be a Ø under C whenever there is no overt C word; matrix C Ø in non-interrogative sentences should be marked [–Q, –WH]. As in Ch. 12, there are several active verbs whose subjects are not Agents, so it should be acknowledged that there are Ø$_{active}$ heads that can assign other theta roles (including Experiencer).
WBE1 Answers	f): As noted re: pg. 425 in the text, such structures are not predicted: the claim is that passive Voice does not select AgrOP—nothing is said about it not selecting AgrIOP. Thus, the former should be absent and the latter present in this tree, wrongly predicting that this sentence cannot be derived, but **A free drink was sent the charming man* can. g): "ask" → "asked"
WBE2 Answer	To derive the English/French contrast in adverb placement one must additionally assume that AdvP can (left-)adjoin in VoiceP.
Chapter 15	
WBE3	Since there are raising-to-subject predicates that cannot appear (bare) with CP subjects (e.g., *seem* as well as *is bound*), logically speaking nothing follows from the ungrammaticality of a CP subject unless one also tests something like *PRED to be the case*: this should not be restricted to a) but needs to be applied across the board for the results to be valid.

WBE11	Not mentioned but also crucial for Government to hold under the ECM analysis is the absence of an embedded CP. Thus, the presence of an overt embedded C in (1b) and (2b) already excludes this analysis.
WBE12	a): As noted above, for many speakers *promise* cannot appear in this construction.
WBE13	d) *request* appears to be like *beg* in showing pragmatic control: *Mary$_i$ requested her boss [PRO$_i$ to be allowed [PRO$_i$ to leave early]]*.
WBE14	fn. 3: "Cowen" → "Cowan" Data typos: (2a) filosofii → filozofii (2b) Evje → Evě filozofija → filozofii (3b) sousedi → sousedy (2b): Missing tab in gloss before "study.PAST"
WBE3 Answers	b): This shows nothing, since *able* never takes a finite CP complement: **John/It is able [that he eats beef-waffles]*.
WBE4 Answer	We can fix the test for *seem* the way it was fixed for *bound*: *[That Bill could win] seems to be the case*. The fact that *ready* cannot be analogously fixed (**[That Bill could win] is ready to be the case*) suggests that this (modified) test **is** diagnosing a non-raising predicate.
WBE5 Answers	b): Again, *able* disallows finite complements even with non-expletive subjects, just like *bound*, so the same fix is required: **It is able to be the case that Bill likes beef-waffles*.
WBE6 Answer	Again, since *ready* never takes finite CP complements, the appropriate test sentence is **It is ready to be the case that Bill …* The logic of the proposal does not go through: if *ready* existed as a raising predicate meaning 'about to', then *The contract is ready to be signed* should be ambiguous between the raising meaning 'about to' and the control meaning 'prepared to', and so should the example with *Bill* as matrix subject: all subject types should be able to raise. Also, *It is ready to be the case that…* should be acceptable on the 'about to' reading. The text gives no indication that any of these predictions are correct. The apparent acceptability of the idiom chunk seems to be a red herring.
WBE7 Answers	a): *Jean* should originate in Spec of *able*, not Spec of *is*
WBE10 Answers	a): subscript m should not be on *Fiona* but on DP containing it

WBE11 Answer	"the verb marks the left edge…": Actually in embedded clauses the complementizer does that. "*e pusi* appears to the left of the verb": but also to the left of the complementizer.
Chapter 16	
WBE1	Below 1): "…as if the V^oice^P…with the V^oice^P in…" Part 2: If KiSwahili had genuine VP ellipsis (as opposed to VoiceP ellipsis), the answer would be indeterminate: since the complement to *want* is a CP, it is not expected to raise to Spec-AgrOP, so VP-ellipsis could elide it, leaving *want* under Voice unelided. Only if we assume the ellipsis process must be VoiceP ellipsis does the survival of the finite V support overt V-to-T.
WBE2 Instructions	The textbook does not introduce the concept of function words licensing ellipsis.
WBE3	3): b)–e) should be labelled i)–iv)
WBE1 Answers	*Part 1:* "VP" → "VoiceP" [3 times] *Part 2*: "VP" → "VoiceP" [twice]
WBE2 Answers	d) "VP" → "VoiceP"
WBE3 Answer	To ensure the result, something must guarantee that VP copying follows QR. [Recall that deriving the strict/sloppy identity ambiguity requires the ability for some operations to precede VP copying.] More importantly, deriving inverse scope has a serious problem: the second conjunct contains no existential DP to begin with (*Every professor* $[_{VP}$ *Ø]); after* VP copying, we have *Every professor* $[_{VP}$ *read* t*]* and the second conjunct still contains no existential DP. It seems the desired LF cannot be derived, so there is no argument in favor of LF copying.

WBE4 Answer	The claim that the TP contains no island violation because it contains no structure is overly simplistic. Under LF-copying, the surface [$_{TP}$ Ø] will be filled by LF copying: The second conjunct will then be *They don't know who [$_{TP}$ I believe [the claim that he bit* t*]]* (finessing the issue of how *someone* turns into a trace and why its meaning apparently isn't copied). The only way to make an interpretation derivable from this is to coindex *who* and the trace, at which point we have an island-violating configuration. So for there to be no actual island violation, island violations must be filtered out prior to LF. But on a model where S-structure is not a level of representation (where this could otherwise have happened), it seems that island violations must be blocked, not by a filter, but by making the movement that would create them illegal. The MLC could be viewed as working this way, but it does not derive the badness of Complex DP islands: Spec-CP, the closest potential landing site, is available.
Chapter 17	
WBE2 Answers	"trace" → "copy [twice]
WBE3 Answers	b) "potential ~~subject~~^antecedent in its binding domain,^" d) "potential ~~subject~~^antecedent^" g) "main clause ~~DP~~^CP^"
Chapter 18	
WBE1	Pseudoincorporation is defined in terms of V+object behaving "like a single unit", but the data do not illustrate that, they just show them linearly adjacent. Since the whole object is a single noun in both cases, object shift could potentially derive the (b) orders, and (as noted in the answer), (2b) could simply involve right-adjunction of the adverb with no object movement whatsoever. It appears the question was intended to be asking about evidence for a **head** movement analysis (of N to V, which could then move to T as a unit), but there seems to be none here.
WBE2	Again, the question was presumably intended to be seeking evidence for a **head** movement analysis. Given the stranding of the possessor, it is hard to be sure how this could work. We don't know where in the structure *many* and *daughters* would be relative to *king.POSS* prior to incorporation, but in addition to the incorporation movement into V we presumably need N-to-D/Q in order for 'daughters' to pick up 'many'.
WBE3	It was never stated in the text that adjuncts are islands. 1b) Second word should be *pe-fin-y-mi* 'see OBJ-IND-2sS'

WBE4	None of the translations violate Binding Theory even in English, so it is hard to see how they could provide evidence for nonconfigurationality.
WBE3 Answer	"Extraction from within DPs is in general disallowed due to the Complex DP constraint." This is false: that constraint disallows extraction from a **CP** dominated by a DP. The data contain no such CPs, so that cannot be relevant. What could be relevant is that the possessor in (1) is being separated from the POSS head (perhaps also in (2) if that's what *ne* does): This makes the examples potentially analogous to English *Who did you borrow *t*'s book?/*Whose did you borrow *t* book? which is traditionally analyzed as a Left Branch Constraint violation. [Left Branch islands are not discussed in the main text.]
WBE4 Answer	As noted above, none of the English translations are Principle C violations with the indicated indexing, so clearly we need not assume all DPs are adjuncts to derive their grammaticality. The point of this question is obscure—the data does not contain an analog of the critical Mohawk sentence (text p. 493), which would have been *She$_i$ sees Mary$_i$'s mother*.
Chapter 19	
WBE1	a): Change sentence to "Roya loves all puppies" [AC]
WBE1 Answers	b): add one more final close brace ("}")
WBE3 Answers	a): *puppies* should be labeled "(N, NP)"
WBE4 Answer	add one more final close brace ("}")