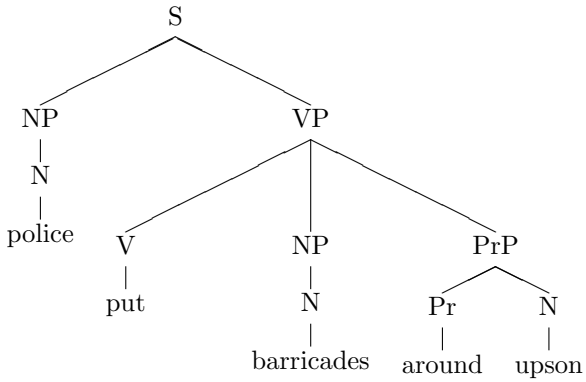
---

## I. Constituent structure

I **(a)** police put barricades around upson

I **(b)**




S = sentence
NP = noun phrase
VP = verb phrase
PrP = prepositional phrase
N = noun
V = verb
Pr = preposition

Alternative bracket notation: [police [[put]$_V$ [barricades]$_{NP}$ [around upson]$_{PrP}$ ]$_{VP}$

I **(c)** [What] will police [[put] [around upson]]

I **(d)** [Where] will police [[put] [barricades]]

I **(e)** [What] [where] will police [[put]] / [What] will police [[put]]

## II. Evidence for category proliferation

II **(a)** police [[informed]$_V$ [the president]$_{NP}$ [that students had hired lawyers ]$_{S'}$ ]$_{VP}$

II **(b)** police [informs]$_V$ the president that students had hired lawyers

II **(c)** police informed [she]$_{NP}$ that students had hired lawyers

II **(d)** police [informed]$_V$ [rocks]$_{NP}$ that students had hired lawyers

## III. Evidence for traces

III **(a)** *what will police put barricades around upson

## IV. Lexicon entry for "inform"

$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT}: & V \\ \text{ROOT}: & inform \\ \text{SUBCAT}: & \left[\begin{array}{ll} 1: & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT}: & NP \\ \text{ANIMATE}: & + \\ \text{CASE}: & \{-, ACC\} \end{array}\right] \\ 2: & [\ \text{CAT}: \ S'\ ] \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right]$$

## V. Trace generation (assuming default values, head-feature propagation, etc.).

$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT}: & NP \\ \text{CASE}: & ?c \\ \text{ANIMATE}: & ?a \\ \text{GAP}: & \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{CAT}: & NP \\ \text{CASE}: & ?c \\ \text{ANIMATE}: & ?a \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right] \longrightarrow \quad \varepsilon$$

V **(a)**

$$S \longrightarrow ?g \begin{bmatrix} CAT: & S \\ INV: & + \\ GAP: & ?g \end{bmatrix}$$

V **(b)**

$$\begin{bmatrix} CAT: & S \\ INV: & + \\ GAP: & ?g \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} CAT: & AUX \\ AGR: & ?a \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} CAT: & NP \\ \text{CASE}: & \{-, \text{NOM}\} \\ AGR: & ?a \\ GAP: & - \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} CAT: & VP \\ VFORM: & base \\ GAP: & ?g \end{bmatrix}$$

V **(c)** (abusing notation in last two nonterminals)

$$\begin{bmatrix} CAT: & VP \\ GAP: & ?g \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} CAT: & V \\ SUBCAT: & \begin{bmatrix} 1: & ?y \\ 2: & ?z \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} ?y \\ GAP: \quad ?g \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} ?z \\ GAP: \quad - \end{bmatrix}$$