General instructions  Please type all of your answers. Please make your answers as concise as possible. Each subpart of a question should only require a few lines to answer. If you disagree with the acceptability judgements in the data, you should not try to change the data to match your judgements, but consider them as simply data from a (slightly) different dialect from your own, and try to explain the pattern exactly as described.

1 Categories

The following English words can belong to more than one syntactic category. For each word, (i) identify the categories that the word belongs to; (ii) give example sentences using the word which show each of the categories and (iii) defend your choice of category using a syntactic or morphological test.

1. people  5. well  9. late
2. desire  6. outside  10. back
3. down  7. long  11. like
4. clean  8. gross  12. sound

2 From the textbook (Adger)

Q1. p. 57 exercise 2
Q2. p. 59 exercise 3

3 Syntactic features and ellipsis

Ellipsis is a syntactic rule which allows certain parts of a phrase or a sentence to be unpronounced, if their content is able to be recovered from the discourse context. This problem concerns the interaction of syntactic FEATURES and ellipsis and NOT the analysis of ellipsis itself. The following are some basic examples of VP (verb phrase) ellipsis in English:

(1) a. John will visit Paris and Bill will $\Delta$ too.
   b. John might visit Paris but Bill won’t $\Delta$.
   c. I’m going to visit Paris. Are you $\Delta$?
   d. *Are you?

In each of these examples, the spot marked $\Delta$ is interpreted as being the same as something in the previous clause or sentence. In the sentences in (1a-) $\Delta$ is interpreted as being “visit Paris.”
(1c) $\Delta$ is interpreted as “going to visit Paris.” In (1d), if there is nothing already mentioned in the discourse, ellipsis is not possible. (I.e. if (1d) was uttered out of the blue, we would judge it to be unacceptable.

Basic analysis and terminology

So that we can talk about this more easily, let’s make a simple theory of how ellipsis works, and define some terms. We’ll assume that ellipsis involves DELETION of parts of a sentence. Thus, sentences in (1a-c) really are formed by deleting (or not pronouncing) parts the part of the sentence that corresponds to $\Delta$. We can show this more easily by putting the deleted parts into the sentence and marking them with a line, as in (2), and placing a box around the phrase that allows the deletion to take place. So that we can keep the two phrases apart, we will call the phrase that allows the deletion the ANTECEDENT of the ellipsis, and the phrase that is deleted the DELETED PHRASE (or ELIDED phrase). So the phrases in boxes are the antecedents of the deleted phrases marked with the strike-out.

(2) a. John will [visit Paris] and Bill will [visit Paris too].
   b. John might [visit Paris] and but Bill won’t [visit Paris].
   c. I’m [going to visit Paris]. Are you [going to visit Paris]?

This is all you will need to know about the analysis of ellipsis to do the problems below. In the example data, I will use $\Delta$ to identify the deleted part, so that the sentences sound natural when you read them. However, as you look at the data, it will be helpful for you to change the $\Delta$ to the actual words that $\Delta$ corresponds to, as in (2).

3.1 Identity and VP ellipsis

Q1. In the examples in (1), the deleted phrase is identical to (i.e. EXACTLY the same as) the antecedent. Does the antecedent always have to be identical to the deleted phrase? Use only the data in (3) in your answer.

(3) a. John lectured today and Mary will $\Delta$ tomorrow.
    b. John went to Paris last year and Mary will $\Delta$ this year.
    c. John is going to Paris this year and Bill will next year.
    d. John likes Paris, and his brothers do $\Delta$ too.

Q2. If the answer to your question was NO, what syntactic features can be ignored by VP ellipsis? You should consider features like Tense, Aspect, Number and Person.

Q3. Given your answer in to Q1 and Q2, can your generalisation account for the data in (4) below? Explain why or why not, and if not, revise your generalisation to account for it. Your answer should NOT refer to meaning, but only to syntactic features/categories.

(4) a. John was here and Mary was $\Delta$ too.
   b. John has eaten and Mary has $\Delta$ too.
c. *John was here and Mary will $\Delta$ too.
d. *John has left and Mary should $\Delta$ too. (meaning “Mary should have left too.”)

3.2 Identity in Gapping

English has another construction that is similar to VP ellipsis, but allows part of the VP to remain in the structure. This is called Gapping, and like VP ellipsis involves deletion of some verbal element, as in (5).

(5) a. John likes wine and Bill $\Delta$ beer.
   b. John likes wine and Bill $\Delta$ beer.

Q1. Does deletion in Gapping have the same identity requirement as VP ellipsis? Why or why not? Consider the data in (5) and (6).

(6) a. John likes beer and his brothers $\Delta$ wine.
   b. John and Mary like beer and Fred $\Delta$ wine.
   c. John has drunk wine and Bill $\Delta$ beer.
   d. *John and Mary have left and Bill $\Delta$ arrived.
   e. *John has drunk wine and Mary is $\Delta$ beer.

4 French

French, like many languages has grammatical GENDER (Masculine and Feminine). These features do not correspond well with real world gender, as the examples below clearly show: the word maison house is Feminine, while the word garage garage is Masculine. Gender is an intrinsic property of nouns (or pronouns) in French; other instances of it are cases of agreement.

Examples from languages other than English are usually given in the following form:

(7) Il a dit que sa maison est grande.
    He has said that POSS house.F.SG is big.F.SG
    He said that his house is big

The first line is the actual sentence of the language, written either in its usual writing system (for languages which use the Roman alphabet) or in phonemic form if the writing system is not Roman.

The second line is called the GLOSS, and consists of a word for word (sometimes morpheme by morpheme) translation of the first line. This line often contains abbreviations for relevant features. Here I have used M, F, SG and PL for Masculine, Feminine, Singular and Plural, and POSS (for possessive). The gloss is the most important line.

The third line, enclosed in single quotation marks, or set in italics, is a idiomatic translation into English (i.e. the closest corresponding sentence in English.) This sentence should help you understand the meaning of the sentence, but not its structure. Notice for example, in (7) the gloss uses the form has said but the translation uses the simple past tense said. This is because French uses the has said form like English uses the past tense. I have not given translations for every
sentence, since they can be easily constructed by analogy to the examples with translations (7–10) and (19–20).

In this problem, you are to focus on the words which I have glossed as POSS (for possessive pronoun), and answer the following questions:

A List the different forms of the POSS morpheme in French. What features (person, number, gender) are relevant for determining the form of POSS?

B What element does POSS agree with for each of the features? (There may be different elements that control the agreement.) Your answer should be stated in the following way "POSS agrees with . . . in person/number/gender" (with whatever is appropriate.)

C How is the French agreement system different from the agreement system in English possessive pronouns? How is the French agreement system the similar to English?

(8) Il a dit que son garage est grand.
He has said that POSS garage.M.SG is big.M.SG
He said that his garage is big

(9) Elle a dit que sa maison est grande
She has said that POSS house.F.SG is big.F.SG
She said that her house is big

(10) Elle a dit que son garage est grand.
She has said that POSS garage.M.SG is big.M.SG
She said that her garage is big

(11) Ils ont dit que leur maison est grande
They.M have said that POSS house.F.SG is big.F.SG

(12) Ils ont dit que leur garage est grand.
They.M have said that POSS garage.M.SG is big.M.SG

(13) Elles ont dit que leur maison est grande.
They.F have said that POSS house.F.SG is big.F.SG

(14) Elles ont dit que leur garage est grande.
They.F have said that POSS garage.M.SG is big.M.SG

(15) J’ai dit que ma maison est grande.
I have said that POSS house.F.SG is big.F.SG

(16) J’ai dit que mon garage est grand.
I have said that POSS garage.M.SG is big.M.SG
Nous avons dit que nôtre maison est grande.
We have said that POSS house.F.SG is big.F.SG

Nous avons dit que nôtre garage est grand.
We have said that POSS garage.M.SG is big.M.SG

Il a dit que ses maisons sont grandes.
He has said that POSS house.F.PL are big.F.PL
He said that his houses are big

Il a dit que ses garages sont grands.
He has said that POSS garage.M.PL are big.M.PL
He said that his garages are big

Elle a dit que ses maisons sont grandes.
She has said that POSS house.F.PL are big.F.PL

Elle a dit que ses garages sont grands.
She has said that POSS garage.M.PL are big.M.PL

Ils ont dit que leurs maisons sont grandes.
They.M have said that POSS house.F.PL are big.F.PL

Ils ont dit que leurs garages sont grands.
They.M have said that POSS garage.M.PL are big.M.PL

Elles ont dit que leurs maisons sont grandes.
They.F have said that POSS house.F.PL are big.F.PL

Elles ont dit que leurs garages sont grands.
They.F have said that POSS garage.M.PL are big.M.PL

Jai dit que mes maisons sont grandes.
I have said that POSS house.F.PL are big.F.PL

Jai dit que mes garages sont grands.
I have said that POSS garage.M.PL are big.M.PL

Nous avons dit que nos maisons sont grandes.
We have said that POSS house.F.PL are big.F.PL

Nous avons dit que nos garages sont grands.
We have said that POSS garage.M.PL are big.M.PL