Antecedent Contained Deletion and/or Pseudo-Gapping
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1. Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
2. Dulles [\(\forall\) suspected everyone Angleton did [\(\forall\) e]]

\[\text{suspected everyone Angleton did [\(\forall\) e]}\]

3. May argues that if the direct object undergoes QR before copying takes place, the regress is avoided. Instead of (2), we have (4):

4. [everyone [Angleton did [\(\forall\) e]], [Dulles [\(\forall\) suspected \(\exists\)]]

\[\text{[\(\forall\) suspected \(\exists\)]}\]

5. The following contrast is also predicted, assuming that only quantificational expressions can undergo QR:

6. Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did

7. *Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did

8. This analysis crucially relies on QR raising the entire quantificational expression, hence, argues for such an operation. Yet, as is well known, QR can never rescue binding condition violations, a completely unexpected result if binding conditions are LF properties.

9. *Re likes [everyone that John knows]

10. *John thinks that Mary likes every picture of himself cf. John thinks that every picture of himself, Mary likes

\[\text{11)(a) John believed [everyone you did to be a genius]}
\[\text{b} \quad \text{John believed [that] everyone you did was a genius}\]

12. The subject of a finite clause is incapable of hosting an ACD site. Larson and May (1990)

13. a) I expect everyone you do ___ to visit Mary
   b) I expect (that) everyone you do ___ will visit Mary

14. a) I find everyone you do ___ to be qualified
   b) I find (that) everyone you do ___ is qualified

15. a) I predicted no one you did ___ to be a liar
   *I predicted (that) no one you did ___ has been a liar

16. The configurations in the (b) examples permit ellipsis that is not antecedent contained:

17. John expects that everyone Bill invites will visit Mary, and I expect that everyone you do [invite] will visit Mary

18. Larson and May (1990): "whereas quantified subjects can be given scope out of infinitives, this is not generally possible with tensed complements."

19. a) Someone believes everyone to be a genius
   *b) Someone believes (that) everyone is a genius

20. *everyone can raise out of its clause in (19)a, but not in (19)b. Similarly, everyone you did can raise out of its clause in (11)a, but not in (11)b, with the consequence that the ACD regress will be resolvable in (11)a, but not in (11)b.

21. Williams (1986) similarly indicates that (22), which is quite similar to (19)b, lacks a broad scope reading for everyone:

22. Someone thinks everyone saw you at the rally

23. Interestingly, May (1988) sharply disagrees with Williams, calling the claimed lack of broad scope for everyone in (22) a "spurious datum", and reporting as a "standard observation" that a universal quantifier in this position can be understood as having broad scope. He goes on to state that "there does not seem to be any grammatical principle that can limit extraction from the complement subject position..."

24. Wyngaard and Zwart (1991) show that even non-quantificational expressions can participate in apparent ACD:

25. ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did not

26. ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did as well

27. ?Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did

28. Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did not

29. Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did as well

30. Baltin also (1987) questions the classic account;

31. Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill did

32. = Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill read

33. = Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill thought he had read
Overt wh-movement does allow ACD resolution. (35) is rather awkward, but is surely far better than (31) on the reading comparable to that of (33):

How many of the books that Bill did did you think that Fred read?

Similarly, overt extraction of a nominative wh-phrase permits ellipsis resolution, in contrast with the in situ nominative expressions considered above. Compare (37) with (38):

What if the crucial movement is not QR, but rather, raising, for Case purposes, to SPEC of AGR,?

Diagram:

(41) AGR, P
    SPEC AGRo
    AGRo
    SPEC TP
    SPEC T
    AGRo VP
    V (AGR, P)
    V' 
    NP

(42) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did not.
(43) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did as well.
(44) Hornstein (1994): Indirect objects raise at LF to SPEC of AGR, All other PPs are outside the VP to begin with, so they don't cause a regress in the first place.

(45) a. Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton suspected as well.
b. Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton spoke to as well.

(46) a. ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did not.
b. ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did as well.

(47) a. Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton talked as well.

(48) Alternative: reanalysis, and raising of object of reanalyzed verb to SPEC of AGR, This (reasonably) correctly predicts a correlation with pseudo-passive, under plausible assumptions:

(49) a. Philby was spoken to.
b. Philby was talked about.

(50) a. *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did not.
b. *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did as well.
c. *Susan was stood near (by Mary).

(51) (50) shows that stand near cannot reanalyze. Plausibly, a consequence of this inability is that the Case of the object of near will not be licensed in SPEC of AGR, but rather, internal to the PP (or perhaps in the SPEC of some functional projection just above the PP). The elided VP internal to that NP will thus not be able to escape the resolution regress.

(52) The Case approach might require a sort of 'Vehicle Change'. In (53), t, is the trace of movement to a Case-licensing position, hence, an A-trace, while its copy clearly must be a variable, or Op, will be vacuous. (Alternative: the A-trace in the copy raises to SPEC of AGR,)

(53) AGR, P
    NP
    AGR, VP
    V'
    [everyone [Op, Angleton did [V e]]]
    AGR, VP
    V
    NP
    suspected
(54) Flengo and May (1992) suggest that the kind of ACD we have been looking at (involving appositive relative clauses) involves 'pseudo-gapping', hence is not VP ellipsis at all. (Lappin (1992) proposed that all ACD involves pseudo-gap­ping. We will shortly see that this, along with all analyses that fail to distinguish the two types (Wyngaard and Zwart, Hornstein), is in error.)

(55) ?Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(56)a ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did as well
b ??Dulles spoke to Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(57)a ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did as well
b ?Dulles talked about Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(58)a *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did as well
b *Mary stood near Susan, and Emily did Harriet

(59) Postal (1986) calls all pseudo-gapping involving a preposition bad, but Levin (1986) gives some reasonably acceptable examples, observing that the best cases "...are likely those whose preposition forms a constituent with the verb rather than the following NP."

(60) Apparent ACD can then involve pseudo-gapping. But what is pseudo-gapping?

(61) Jayaselaan (1990) proposes that it is Heavy NP Shift (moving the remnant NP out of the VP) followed by VP ellipsis. I will argue that this proposal is of the right type, but is wrong in detail.

(62) *Dulles interrogated yesterday all of the agents who had been in the Middle East

(63) *Dulles spoke to yesterday all of the agents who had been in the Middle East

(64)a ??John took advantage of Bill, and Mary will Susan
b ??John took advantage of Bill, who Mary will as well
c Bill was taken advantage of

(65)a ??John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will Susan
b ??John gave Bill, who Mary will as well, a lot of money
c Bill was given money

(66)a *John showed Bill Harry, and Mary will show Bill Susan
b *John showed Bill Harry, who Mary will as well
c *Harry was shown Bill

(67) Refinement of Jayaselaan's proposal: Pseudo-gapping involves raising to SPEC of AGR, and VP ellipsis.

(68) Consequence: In these constructions, the raising to SPEC of AGR, is overt (and the VP ellipsis then at least can be deletion, as in classic 'transformational' analyses of ellipsis).

(69) Therefore, roughly as in proposals of Johnson (1991), Ura (1993), and Koizumi (1993), accusative NPs raise overtly to SPEC of AGR, with V raising overtly to a higher position. Under current assumptions, both movements are driven by a strong feature.

(70) Why then is pseudo-gapping possible at all, given that the V hasn't overtly raised?

(71) Suppose the relevant strong feature driving overt movement of V is a feature of the V. And suppose, following Chomsky (1993) but contra Chomsky (1994), that an unchecked strong feature is an ill-formed PF object.

(72) Prediction: Deletion of (a category containing) an item with an unchecked strong feature salvages the derivation. The portion of the structure that would have caused a PF crash is literally gone at that level.

(73) Note that this demands that AGR, have the Accusative Case feature even prior to the raising of V (or nothing drives the overt movement of NP). V raising, then, doesn't provide AGR with a Case licensing feature; rather, it Lessens a feature that AGR already has. In a sense, this remedies the lone holdout against strict lexicalism in Chomsky's theory.

(74) The correlation seen above between reanalysis and ACD, which further motivated the Case approach, surprisingly breaks down when restrictive relative clauses are considered.

(75)a ??Mary stood near everyone Emily did
b *Mary stood near John, who Emily did as well

(76)a ??John showed Bill everyone Mary did
b *John showed Bill Harry, who Mary will as well

(77) This lack of correlation is problematic for the several approaches to ACD that derive all ACD examples in the same way: Wyngaard and Zwart, Lappin, Hornstein; but not necessarily for the approaches that use a distinct mechanism for restrictive relative constructions: Flengo and May (1992), Baltin (1987).

(78) But, as already noted, the mechanism distinguishing the restrictives from the appositives cannot be QR. Baltin argued that it is extraposition.

(79) A man arrived who was wearing a red hat

(80) *John arrived who was wearing a red hat

(81) Larson and May had a powerful argument against that:
I visited everyone (who) [that] John did (82)

I visited a man (who) [that] John mentioned recently (83)

I visited a man recently (who) [that] John mentioned (84)

On the other hand... (85)

Finally, as first observed by Haik, ACD constructions display island effects. (86)

Dulles suspected everyone Angleton said Philby did (87)

Dulles suspected everyone Angleton wondered why Philby did (88)

On May's analysis, there is no movement involved, either overt or covert. Rather, [suspected it] is simply copied into the null VP, in (89) and (90). So it is not obvious what is causing the island effects. (91)

This problem disappears under the deletion analysis I have posited. There is overt movement, conforming to subjacency, then deletion. (This recapitulates an old argument of Ross (1969) for Sluicing, and a recent version of it due to Takahashi (in press).) (92)

Bibliography


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