

A New Case of Strong Crossover:
Locality Conditions on Chains?

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1. *John believes [that [Mary likes himself]]

2. *John { seems } [that [Mary likes ___]]
is believed

3. Condition A: An anaphor must be A bound in its governing category.

4. *John₁ is believed [that [he₁ likes e₁]] Violates SSC, TSC, but not Condition A.

Cf. It is believed that John likes himself.

5. By "functional determination", e₁ is pronominal since not locally A' bound, and locally A bound by an element with an independent θ role (he₁). (4) then would violate Condition B.

6. Problems with functional determination

a. who₁ [did [e₁ losing the race] annoy e₁]

b. John₁ was arrested e₁ [after e₁ arriving at the party]

c. *who₁ [did he₁ try [[e₁ to win the race]]]

7. Movement as a last resort? [See also (14a) below.]

8. ___ is believed [that [he₁ likes John₁]]

The underlying form of (4) would violate Condition C.

9. John₁ wants [[PRO₁ to be hired t₁]]

PRO has moved to avoid violating Binding Theory.

10. Case conflict? Suppose an A chain cannot have 2 case-marked elements.

11. *Bill₁ tried [[John₁ to be believed [that [he₁ likes t₁]]]]

12. *Bill₁ tried [[PRO₁ to be believed [that [he₁ likes t₁]]]]

13. *John₁ is believed [that [he₁ is proud (of) t₁]]

14. a. [Rome's₁ destruction t₁]
NP

b. [the destruction of Rome]₁
NP

15. *(the belief (of) [John to be intelligent])
NP

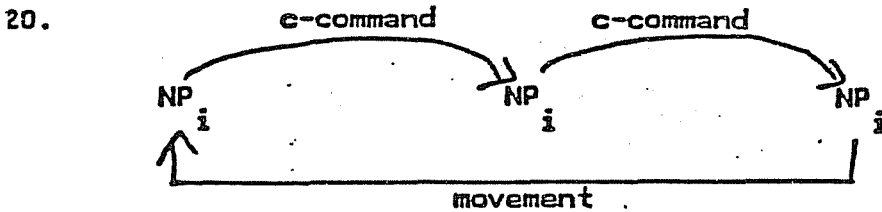
16. *John₁ seems [that [[pictures (of) t₁] are on sale]]

Cf. It seems that pictures of John are on sale.

17. *John₁ seems [that [[the belief [t₁ to be intelligent]] is strange]]

Cf. It seems that the belief that John is intelligent is strange.

18. a. *John₁ seems [that [[his₁ belief [t₁ to be intelligent]] is strange]]
 b. *John₁ seems [that [Mary regrets [his₁ belief [t₁ to be intelligent]]]]
 19. There is no "exceptional" case marking by nouns. Neither (17) nor (18) is an instance of case conflict, regardless of how case assignment and case conflict are formulated.



21. a. Where α^j , α^{j+1} are successive members of a chain, α^j must locally bind α^{j+1} . [From Chomsky LGB, p. 333]

- b. *Who₁ does he₁ think t₁ will win
 c. *Who₁ does he₁ think Mary likes t₁
 22. Gianni è stato affidato a se stesso.
 Gianni was entrusted to himself
 23. *Gianni si è stato affidato.
 Gianni to himself was entrusted
 24. Gianni gli è stato affidato.
 Gianni to him was entrusted
 25. Gianni I si è stato affidato e' e" (order of e', e" irrelevant)
 1 VP 1 1 1
 26. a. John was entrusted to himself.
 b. John₁ [himself₁ [was entrusted t₁ (to) t₁]]
 27. a. They seem to each other [t to be intelligent]
 b. *It seems to him₁ that John₁ is intelligent
 28. They₁ strike each other₁ [t₁ as intelligent]
 29. They₁ think they₁ like each other₁
 =They think each of them likes the other(s)
 =Each of them thinks he likes the other(s)
 30. They₁ think John said they₁ like each other₁
 31. They₁ think they₁ are sick

32. *John is believed [that [he likes t]]

33. Linking is automatic under movement, and free at S-structure.
 34. If A is an anaphor, then there is exactly one B in G(A) such that B c-commands A, and A is linked to B.

35. *John asked Mary about themselves
 36. *John said that Mary likes themselves

37. An anaphor cannot be multiply linked.
 37. a. *We like myself
 b. *I like ourselves
 38. If A is an anaphor and is linked to B, then A and B are 'coreferential'.