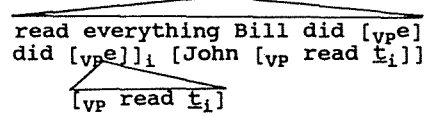


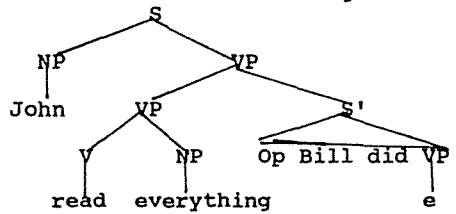
Antecedent Contained Deletion:  
A Minimalist Perspective

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- (1) John read everything Bill did
- (2) John [<sub>VP</sub> read everything Bill did [<sub>VP</sub>e]]
- (3) [everything [<sub>Op</sub><sub>i</sub> Bill did [<sub>VP</sub>e]]]<sub>i</sub> [John [<sub>VP</sub> read <sub>t</sub><sub>i</sub>]]

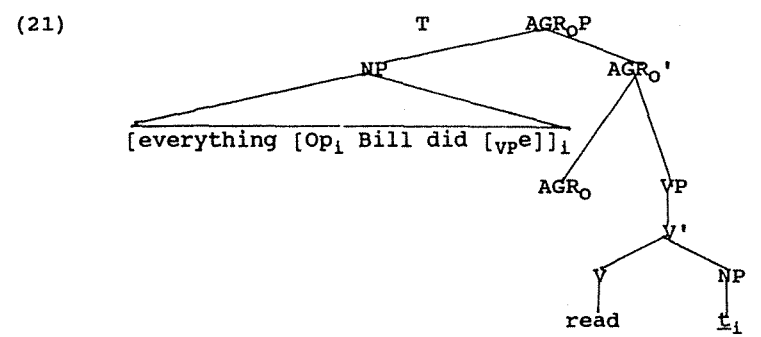
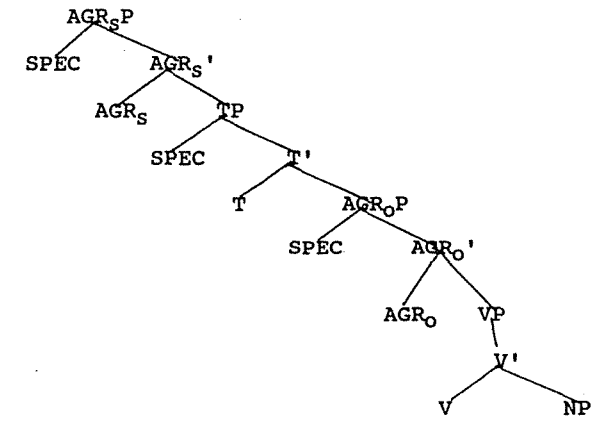


- (4) Dulles suspected everyone who Angleton did
- (5) \*Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did
- (6) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did too
- (7) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton didn't
- (8) Dulles suspected Philby. Angleton did too. Angleton didn't.
- (9)



- (10) (\*) I believed everyone that you did to be polite
- (11) I visited a man { who / that / ∅ } John mentioned recently
- (12) I visited a man { who / that / ?\*∅ } John mentioned recently
- (13) \*I believed (that) everyone you did was polite
- (14) Someone believes everyone to be a genius
- (15) Someone believes (that) everyone is a genius
- (16) What did everyone buy for Max
- (17) What do you think everyone bought for Max
- (18) Who read everything Bill did

- (19) [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> <sub>t</sub><sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> everything Bill did [<sub>VP</sub>e]]<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> read <sub>t</sub><sub>j</sub>]]]]
- (20)

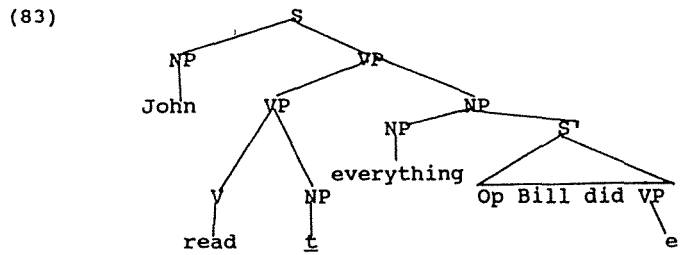


- (22) I spoke to everyone you did
- (23) Mary talked about everyone John did
- (24) Bill was spoken to
- (25) The candidates are being talked about
- (26) They stood near the building
- (27) \*The building was stood near
- (28) ?She stood near every student (\*who) you did
- (29) I spoke to the men on each other's birthdays
- (30) ?The reporter talked about the candidates during each other's speeches
- (31) \*She stood near the students during each other's presentations

- (32) ?I spoke to Bill, who you did too  
(33) ?Mary talked about Harry, who John did too  
(34) \*She stood near Tommy, who you did too
- (35) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did  
(36) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton said Philby did  
(37) ?\*Dulles suspected everyone Angleton wondered why Philby did  
(38) Who did Angleton say Philby suspected  
(39) ??Who did Angleton wonder why Philby suspected  
(40) ?\*Dulles suspected everyone that Angleton believed the claim that Philby did  
(41) ??Who did Angleton believe the claim that Philby suspected
- (42) ??What<sub>i</sub> do you wonder [who<sub>j</sub> [<sub>t</sub><sub>j</sub> read <sub>t</sub><sub>i</sub>]]  
(43) \*Why<sub>i</sub> do you wonder [who<sub>j</sub> [<sub>t</sub><sub>j</sub> read the book <sub>t</sub><sub>i</sub>]]  
(44) ??What<sub>i</sub> do you wonder [whether [John read <sub>t</sub><sub>i</sub>]]  
(45) \*Why<sub>i</sub> do you wonder [whether [John read the book <sub>t</sub><sub>i</sub>]]  
(46) ??What do you wonder whether John said Mary read  
(47) \*Why do you wonder whether John said Mary read the book  
(48) What do you think that Mary read  
(49) \*Who do you think that read the book  
(50) Why do you think that Mary read the book
- (51) Given that both subjects and adjuncts must be antecedent governed, why are there no "that"-trace effects with adjuncts?  
(52) Lasnik and Saito (1984): Adjunct traces need not be present at S-structure. In the LF component, that can be deleted. [But something more had to be said for (47): Proper government requirements ('gamma marking') for adjunct traces cannot be satisfied at S-structure.]  
(53) L&S (1992): A minimalist approach. Since no principle demands their presence at S-structure, adjunct traces must not be present at that level.  
(54) Chomsky: Economy of representation and derivation.  
(i) LF and PF representations must be minimal, containing only ('morphologically') well-formed objects.  
(ii) Derivations are driven exclusively by considerations of (i).  
(55) LF 'chains':  
(i) A-chains (passive, raising, etc.). The moved NP and its traces are all in A-positions.  
(ii) X<sup>0</sup>-chains (verb raising to INFL, INFL raising to COMP, etc.). The moved head and its traces are all in head positions.  
(iii) Adjunct chains. The moved adjunct and its traces are all in A-bar positions.  
(iv) Operator-(argument)variable chains. The moved operator and all intermediate traces are in A-bar positions; the initial trace is in an A-position.
- (56) Hypothesis: 'Uniform' chains are well-formed, so, by (54)ii, trace deletion is not permitted. Operator-(argument)variable pairs constitute well-formed objects, so any intermediate traces must, hence may, be deleted.  
(57) Subjacency is therefore a constraint on Move  $\alpha$ , and not (solely) a filter on LF representations. The intermediate traces of wh-movement of an argument must be deleted, thus obliterating the representational difference between normal successive-cyclic movement and movement out of an island.  
(58) Configurations of ACD must involve movement of the relative operator. Further, if Subjacency is strictly a constraint on movement in the overt syntax, and not on LF movement, then these configurations must involve overt movement (and subsequent deletion). [Ross (1970) presents virtually the same argument to the effect that Sluicing must involve movement and deletion.]  
(59) What forces overt movement?  
(60) (a) An operator cannot be base-generated in Comp. [Resumptive pronoun structures represent a major potential problem for this conjecture.]  
(b) A null operator is invisible for LF movement.  
(61) Deletion (or copying) under identity to what?  
(62) John scratched his arm and Mary did too  
(63) I turned in my assignment, but most of the other students didn't [turn in their assignments]  
(64) Cheryl stops to look at any pretty flower she stumbles onto, and I do too  
(65) Mary loves John, and John/he thinks that Sally does [love him] too  
(66) John kissed every girl who wanted him too  
(67) 'Vehicle Change': a [-pronominal] counts as identical to its [+pronominal] correlate. (Fiengo and May, as cited in Wyngaerd and Zwart)  
(68) Mary introduced John<sub>i</sub> to everyone that he<sub>i</sub> wanted her to [introduce him<sub>i</sub> to t]  
(69) Hypothesis: consider VC as an in principle unlimited phenomenon. (Wyngaerd and Zwart)  
(70) In, e.g., (1), [read everything Bill did [<sub>VP</sub>e]] is, under VC, equivalent to [read t].  
(71) a John kissed Mary, but I wonder who Harry did [e]  
b John loves himself, but I wonder who Harry does  
c John was killed by Mary, but I wonder who Sally did

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- (72) 'Moderately strong' VC: Fiengo and May, plus count an operator as equivalent to a coindexed variable.
- (73) Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill did {that Bill read/ \*that Bill thought Fred read}
- (74) Which student thinks that Bill visited which city that you did
- (75) Which student thinks that Bill visited which city that you do
- (76) Which student wants to visit which city that you do
- (77) John wants to visit every city you do
- (78) I wanted to visit someone yesterday who I really liked
- (79) John wanted to leave because she was angry and Mary wanted to [<sub>VP</sub>e] because she was sick
- (80) \*John wants to visit every city that you visit and Bill wants to [<sub>VP</sub>e] that Mary visits
- (81) I wanted to visit yesterday someone who I really liked
- (82) ?John wants to visit every city that you visit and Bill wants to [<sub>e</sub>] every city that Mary visits



- (84) Mary wonders which pictures of herself John will like
- (85) \*Mary thinks that John will like every picture of herself
- (86) Mary thinks that [every picture of herself] [John will like t]
- (87) \*Mary wonders which man will like which pictures of herself
- (88) The DA proved the [defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials

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