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Pseudogapping

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(1) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
(2) Dulles [$_{VP}$ suspected everyone Angleton did [$_{VP}$ e]]

suspected everyone Angleton did [$_{VP}$ 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 [$_{VP}$ e]]$_1$ [Dulles [$_{VP}$ suspected t_1]]

[$_{VP}$ suspected t_1]

(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) *He$_1$ likes [everyone that John$_1$ knows]
(10) *John thinks that Mary likes every picture of himself
cf. John thinks that every picture of himself, Mary likes

(11)a ?John believed [everyone you did ___ to be a genius]
b *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." "...whereas [(19)a] permits

a wide-scope reading for everyone vis-à-vis someone and believe, according to which for each person x there is someone who believes x is a genius, [(19)b] permits only a narrow-scope reading for everyone, according to which there is some person who believes genius to be a universal characteristic".

(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) Wyngaerd 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

(34) 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):

(35) How many of the books that Bill did did you think that Fred read

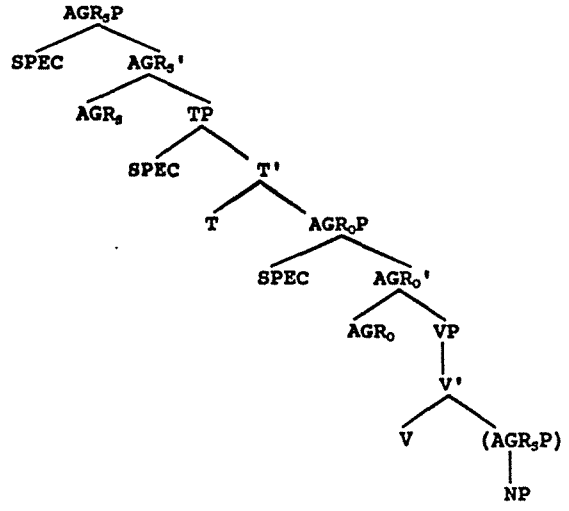
(36) Similarly, overt extraction of a nominative wh-phrase permits ellipsis resolution, in contrast with the in situ nominative expressions considered above. Compare (37) with (38):

(37) *I predicted (that) no one you did ___ has been a liar
(38) Who that you did did Harry predict ___ has been a liar

(39) The fact that ACD regresses cannot be resolved by wh in situ supports either Baltin's position that ACD must be resolved at S-structure or Chomsky's position that there is no LF wh-movement (or, of course, both).

(40) What if the crucial movement is not QR, but rather, raising, for Case purposes, to SPEC of AGR_O?

(41)



(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_O. 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) #Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton talked as well

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

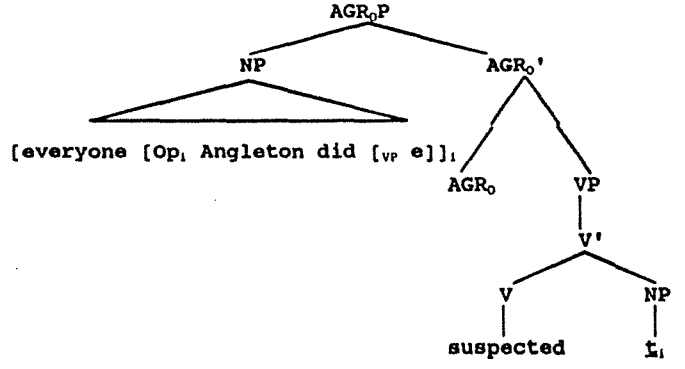
(49)a Philby was spoken to
b Philby was talked about

(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)c 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_O, 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_i is the trace of movement to a Case-licensing position, hence, an A-trace, while its copy clearly must be a variable, or Op_i will be vacuous. (Alternative: the A-trace in the copy raises to SPEC of AGR_O.)

(53)



(54) Fiengo 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 <u>all</u> ACD involves pseudo-gapping. We will shortly see that this, along with all analyses that fail to distinguish the two types (Wyngaerd 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) Jayaseelan (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
d *John took advantage of yesterday HNP

(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
d *John gave money yesterday HNP

(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 t
d John showed Bill yesterday HNP

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

(68) Consequence: In these constructions, the raising to SPEC of AGR_O is <u>overt</u> (and the VP ellipsis then at least <u>can</u> 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_O, with V raising overtly to a higher position. Under current assumptions, both movements are driven by a <u>strong</u> 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_O 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 checks 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: Wyngaerd and Zwart, Lappin, Hornstein; but not necessarily for the approaches that use a distinct mechanism for restrictive relative constructions: Fiengo 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:

(82) I visited everyone {who / that / ø} John did

(83) I visited a man {who / that / ø} John mentioned recently

(84) I visited a man recently {who / that / ?*ø} John mentioned

(85) On the other hand...
(86) ?I threw something away I had no further use for

(87) Finally, as first observed by HaÏk, ACD constructions display island effects.

(88) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton said Philby did
(89)?*Dulles suspected everyone Angleton wondered why Philby did

(90) ?*Dulles suspected everyone that Angleton believed the claim that Philby did

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

(92) 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).)

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