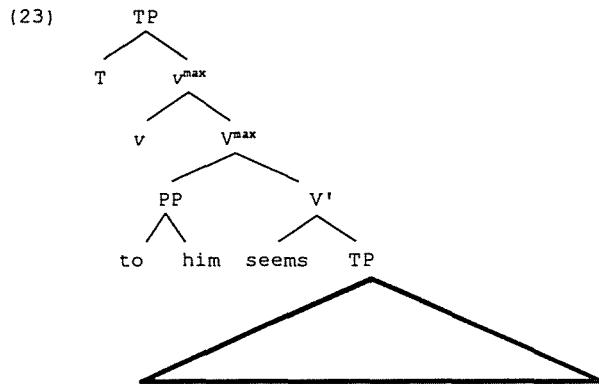


Further Consequences of Conflicting C-Command Relations

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- (1) [_α They] seem to [_β him] [_{TP} t(α) to like John]
- (2) In (1), him evidently c-commands TP, since him and John must be disjoint in reference. Therefore, in the pre-raising structure, him c-commands they.
- (3) [_{TP} T seem to [_β him] [_{TP} [_α they] to like John]]
- (4) "Why, then, does I [=T] in [(3)] attract the subject they of [embedded TP] rather than [him], which c-commands it, an apparent Relativized Minimality violation." Chomsky (1995, p.304)
- (5) There are really two problems here:
a. Why is they allowed to move over the c-commanding, hence closer, him?
b. How is it that him, which is inside the PP to him, c-commands John in the first place?
- (6)
-
- ... they ...
- (7) Kitahara (1997) proposal: In (6), him does not c-command into the embedded TP (because of the dominating PP). Hence, RM (in whatever form) won't prevent they from being attracted by matrix T.
- (8) What of the Condition C effect?
- (9)a Condition C applies solely at LF.
b In the LF component "...FF[him] adjoins to the preposition to for the checking of Case features of him and to...and this covert feature movement allows the referential property of him to enter into a c-command relation with John."

- (10) The proposal is derivational in an interesting respect. Throughout the overt syntax, the object of the preposition does not c-command out of the PP. But as a consequence of an LF operation, c-command becomes possible.
- (11) A raising operation creating a new c-command configuration relevant to Binding Theory is rather familiar:
- (12) Two linguists seem to each other [t to have been given good job offers]
- (13) And the same has been proposed for covert raising:
- (14)a There arrived two knights on each other's horses SS
b Two knights arrived [t on each other's horses] LF Uriagereka (1988)
- (15) An even more derivational version of Binding Theory, proposed by Lebeaux in a series of writings (Lebeaux (1988); Lebeaux (1991); Lebeaux (1994)), would also be compatible with the facts so far:
- (16)a Condition A can be satisfied at any point in the derivation (as in Belletti and Rizzi (1988)).
b Conditions B and C must be satisfied everywhere in the course of the derivation.
- (17)a Which claim that John_i made did he_i later deny t?
b *Whose claim that John_i likes Mary did he_i deny t?
Lebeaux (1991)
- (18)a The Projection Principle requires that heads and their arguments, and the arguments of these heads, and so on, must be present in the base.
b Adjuncts (including relative clauses) need not be present in the base.
c Condition C is not earmarked for any particular level--it applies throughout the derivation, and marks as ungrammatical any configuration it sees, in which a name is c-commanded by a coindexed pronoun.
Lebeaux (1988); Lebeaux (1990)
- (19)a *Which claim [that John_i was asleep] was he_i willing to discuss
b Which claim [that John_i made] was he_i willing to discuss
Chomsky (1993)
- (20) The claim that John_i was asleep seems to him_i [_{IP} t to be correct]
Chomsky (1993)
- (21) "Reconstruction" is essentially a reflex of the formation of operator-variable constructions. Chomsky (1993)
- (22) Lexical material is inserted only in the head position of an A-chain. Lebeaux (1988); Lebeaux (1990)



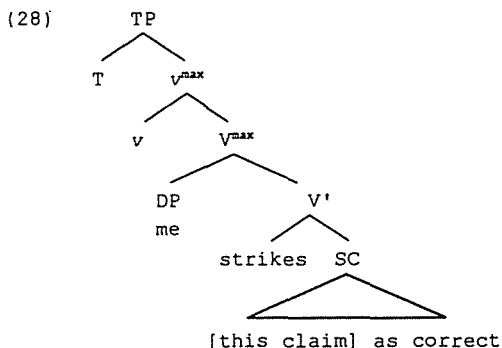
[the claim that John was asleep] to be correct

(24) A simple extension of Kitahara's theory: In (23) him does not c-command John, so the lack of Condition C reconstruction is straightforwardly explained.

(25) On the other hand:

(26) This claim strikes me as correct

(27) *Mary strikes him_i as angry at John_i



(29) The Kitahara-Lebeaux hybrid suggested above evidently fails for (27); this time there is no PP preventing c-command by the experiencer.

(30) Further, there is substantial evidence that LF feature movement, unlike overt phrasal movement, does not create new Binding Theoretic configurations. [den Dikken (1995); Lasnik (1995); Lasnik (1997); etc.]

(31)a There is/*are a man here
b There are/*is men here

(32)a Some linguists seem to each other [t to have been given good job offers]

b *There seem to each other [t to have been some linguists given good job offers]

(33)a The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials

b *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's trials

(34) The claim that John_i was asleep seems to him_i [_{IP} t to be correct]

(35) Condition C is just an LF (or interface) requirement.

(36) ?? No reconstruction with A-movement.

(37) The absence of RM effects in these constructions continues to be mysterious.

(38) *Jean semble à Marie [t avoir du talent]
Jean seems to Marie to have talent Chomsky (1995, p.305)

(39) "The status of the English constructions still remains unexplained, along with many other related questions." Chomsky (1995, p.306)

(40)a *John seems to t that Mary is clever

b *John is seemed to t that Mary is clever

(41)a *John strikes t that Mary is clever

b *John is struck t that Mary is clever

(42) Evidently, the Case of the experiencer in these constructions is inherent. We want this to somehow entail that the experiencer doesn't count as a closer attractee either because it cannot, in principle be attracted; or because the experiencer doesn't c-command the complement subject.

(43) As for the absence of (forced) reconstruction with A-movement, here I offer the speculation that I offered for other reasons in one of my 1994 Numazu lectures:

(44) A-movement leaves no copy. (Ultimately, though, as discussed in my 1998 Numazu lectures, and contrary to standard assumptions, there is very little evidence for forced reconstruction under any circumstances.)

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