Linguistics 611 Spring 2009

Condition A Reconstruction: Implications for LF (and SS) H. Lasnik

- (1) Arguments, of increasing strength, against an S-Structure condition:
- (2)a. The condition can apply at LF alone.
 - b. Furthermore, the condition sometimes must apply at LF.
 - c. Furthermore, the condition must *not* apply at S-Structure.

Chomsky, p. 192

- (3)a. John₁ wondered [[which picture of himself_{1/2}][Bill₂ saw t]]
 - b. John₁ wondered [who₂ [t saw [which picture of himself_{*1/2}]]]
- (4)a. The students₁ asked [[what attitudes about each other_{1/2}][the teachers₂ had noticed t]]
 - b. The students₁ asked [who₂ [t had noticed [what attitudes about each other_{*1/2}]] p.205
- (5) The bad readings of (3)b and (4)b are ruled out at LF, under the assumption that LF movement is not of the entire wh-phrase. Then no appeal to S-Structure is required.
- (6) The ₂ readings of all the examples implicate the 'copy theory of movement'.
- (7) John wondered [[$_{wh}$ which picture of himself]][Bill saw [[$_{wh}$ which picture of himself]]]
- (8) Then, by an LF "operation akin to QR" we have (9) or (10), depending on the size of the QRed item.
- (9) John wondered [[[$_{wh}$ which picture of himself][$_{wh}$ t]][Bill saw [[$_{wh}$ which picture of himself][$_{wh}$ t]]]
- (10) John wondered [[which [$_{wh}$ t picture of himself]][Bill saw [which [$_{wh}$ t picture of himself]]]]
- (11) With complementary deletion to produce an operator variable structure, we have:
- (12) John wondered [[[$_{wh}$ which picture of himself][$_{wh}$ t]][Bill saw [[$_{wh}$ which picture of himself][$_{wh}$ t]]]]
- (13) John wondered [[which x, x a picture of himself][Bill saw x]]
- (14) John wondered [[which [$_{wh}$ t picture of himself]][Bill saw [$_{wh}$ t picture of himself]]]]
- (15) John wondered [[[which x][Bill saw x picture of himself]]]
- (16)a In (12), <u>John</u> is the antecedent of <u>himself</u>.

 b In (14), <u>Bill</u> is the antecedent of <u>himself</u>.

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- (17) John wondered [[which picture of himself][Bill took t]]
- (18) <u>Himself</u> in (17) can take <u>John</u> or <u>Bill</u> as antecedent, just as in the earlier examples, BUT only when <u>took</u> means 'pick up and walk away with'.
- (19) When <u>took (pictures)</u> means 'photograph' (the 'idiomatic reading'), <u>Himself</u> can only take <u>Bill</u> as antecedent, according to Chomsky.
- (20)a John wondered [[which x, x a picture of himself][Bill took x]] b John wondered [[[which x][Bill took x picture of himself]]]
- (21) "Having abandoned D-Structure, we must assume that idiom interpretation takes place at LF ..." p.207
- (22) "Thus, take ... picture can be interpreted as 'photograph' only if the phrase is present as a unit at LF that is, in (20)b, but not (20)a."
- (23) This explains why in (20)a we can only have the nonidiomatic interpretation of *take*.
- (24) The students₁ asked [[what attitudes about each other_{*1/2}][the teachers₂ had t]]
- (25) Chomsky gives a parallel analysis here: <u>have</u> ... <u>attitudes</u> is a sort of idiom, so must be unified at LF.
- (26) "The conclusions follow on the crucial assumption that Condition A not apply at S-Structure... If Condition A were to apply at S-Structure, John could be taken as antecedent of himself in [(17)] and the later LF processes would be free to choose either the idiomatic or the literal interpretation, however the reconstruction phenomena are handled ..." p.207
- (27) "Thus, we have the strongest kind of argument against an S-Structure condition ... Condition A cannot apply at S-Structure."
- (28) But there is now a near contradiction with the account of the Freidin-Lebeaux examples, as Chomsky observes (p.208).
- (29)a John₁ wondered [which picture of himself_{1/2}][Bill₂ saw t] b John₁ wondered [which picture of Tom₂][he_{1/*2} liked t]
- (30) In (29), the <u>of</u> phrase, being a complement, must reconstruct. This gives the right result for (29)a but not for (29)b.
- (31) The 2 reading of (29)a is ruled out by the preference principle:

- (32) "... try to minimize the restriction in the operator position p.209
- (33) Why "minimize the restriction"? Why not "maximize the restriction"? A speculation: When you minimize the restriction, you have QRed a smaller (and proper subpart) of what you would QR to maximize the restriction. Moving less is more economical than moving more (like the deduction of Procrastinate from economy).
- (34) To allow the 1 reading of (29)b, we need it to be true that something makes the normally disfavored option necessary.
- (35) That something is the LF cliticization approach to anaphora:
- (36)a John self-wondered [which picture of $t_{\rm self}$][NP saw [which picture of himself]] b John wondered [which picture of himself][NP self-saw [which picture of $t_{\rm self}$]]
- (37)a [[which picture of α] t] $\alpha = t_{self}$ or himself b [which][t picture of α]
- (38) If we select the syntactic option (36)a then we cannot select the interpretive option (37)b (with $\alpha = t_{self}$).
- (39) That option requires deletion of [t picture of $t_{\rm self}$] in the operator position, which would break the chain (self, $t_{\rm self}$), leaving the reflexive without a θ -role at LF.
- (40) In short, if we take the antecedent of the reflexive to be *John*, then only the nonreconstructing option converges.
- (41) several pictures were taken t
- (42) the students asked [which pictures of each other] [t' were taken t by Mary]
- (43) "One possibility is that the trace of the A-chain enters into the idiom interpretation (and, generally, into θ -marking), while the head of the chain functions in the usual way with regard to scope and other matters."
- (44) the claim that John was asleep seems to him [$_{\text{IP}}$ t to be correct]
- (45) "... if "reconstruction" is essentially a reflex of operator-variable constructions, it will hold only for \overline{A} -chains, not for A-chains."