Condition C Reconstruction: Implications for LF
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I. Condition C Complement/Adjunct Reconstruction Asymmetries (The 'Freidin-Lebeaux Effect')

(1) a.   Which report that John$_i$ revised did he$_i$ submit?
    b.   Which report that John$_i$ was incompetent did he$_i$ submit?
                                        Freidin (1986)
(2) a. *He$_i$ believes the claim that John$_i$ is nice.
    b. *He$_i$ likes the story that John$_i$ wrote.
    c. *Whose claim that John$_i$ is nice did he$_i$ believe?
    d.   Which story that John$_i$ wrote did he$_i$ like?
                                        Lebeaux (1988)
(3) a. *Which claim that John$_i$ was asleep did he$_i$ later deny
    b.   Which claim that John$_i$ made did he$_i$ later deny
                                        Munn (1994)
(4) 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
(5) a. *The claim that John$_i$ is [sic] asleep, he$_i$ was willing to
     discuss
    b.   The claim that John$_i$ made, he was willing to discuss
                                    Chomsky (1993)
(6) a. *The claim that John$_i$ was asleep, he$_i$ won't discuss
    b.   The claim that John$_i$ made, he$_i$ won't discuss
                                        Chomsky and Lasnik (1993)

(7)   The claim that John$_i$ was asleep seems to him$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t to be
     correct]   Chomsky (1993)
(8)   *I seem to him$_i$ [t to like John$_i$]

(9) a. The 'Extension Condition': structure must be built
     strictly cyclically.
    b. Adjuncts are exempt from the Extension Condition; relative
     clauses are adjuncts.
    c. "Reconstruction" is essentially a reflex of the formation
     of operator-variable constructions.
    b. An operator chain (a sequence of copies) undergoes
     complementary deletion.
    c. Condition C is an LF requirement.   Chomsky (1993)

(10)a. [[Which claim][that John made]] was he willing to discuss
     ~~which claim~~   PF
    b. [[Which [t ~~claim~~]][that John made]] was he willing to
     discuss [~~which~~ [t claim]]   LF
    c. For which x that John made, he was willing to discuss x
     claim   Interpretation (?)

OR?

(11)a. [[Which claim][that John made]] was he willing to discuss
~~which claim~~   PF
   b. [[Which claim][*t*]][that John made]] was he willing to
   discuss [[~~which claim~~][*t*]]   LF
   c. For which x, x a claim that John made, he was willing to
   discuss x   Interpretation (?)

(12)a. Which claim [that John was asleep] was he willing to
   discuss ~~[which claim that John was asleep]~~   PF
   b. [Which [*t* ~~claim [that John was asleep]~~] was he willing to
   discuss [~~which~~ [*t* claim that John was asleep]   LF
   c. For which x, he was willing to discuss x claim that John
   was asleep   Interpretation (?)

BUT CRUCIALLY NOT

(13)a. Which claim [that John was asleep] was he willing to
   discuss ~~[which claim that John was asleep]~~   PF
   b. [[Which [*t* ~~claim~~]] [that John was asleep]]] was he willing
   to discuss [[~~which~~ [*t* claim]] ~~that John was asleep~~]]   LF
   c. For which x that John was asleep, he was willing to
   discuss x claim   Interpretation (?)

OR

(14)a. Which claim [that John was asleep] was he willing to
   discuss ~~[which claim that John was asleep]~~   PF
   b. [[[Which claim][that John was asleep]]] ~~t~~] was he willing
   to discuss [[~~which claim that John was asleep~~]*t*]   LF
   c. For which x, x a claim that John was asleep, he was
   willing to discuss x   Interpretation (?)

(15) "...preference principle for reconstruction: Do it when you
   can (i.e., try to minimize the restriction in the operator
   position)."

II. Concerns About the Generalization

(16) Which piece of evidence that John was guilty did he
   successfully refute?
(17) The widespread belief that John is incompetent, he deeply
   resents
(18) Whose argument that John was incorrect did you show him?
(19) How many arguments that John's theory was correct did he
   publish?
(20) This argument that John's theory is correct, he is now
   ready to publish.
(21) Which proof that Mary's theory is superior to John's did
   she present?
(22) Mary's attempt to hire John's student, he heartily
   endorsed.
(23) John's request to attend Mary's lecture, she immediately
   granted.

(24) a. The claim that the director$_i$ was corrupt, he$_i$ was
       unwilling to discuss
     b. That the director$_i$ was corrupt, everyone knew that he$_i$
       would always be able to deny with a straight face
                                    Postal (1997)

(25) a. Whose allegation that John$_i$ was less than truthful did he$_i$
       refute vehemently?
     b. Whose claim that the Senator$_i$ had violated the campaign
       finance regulations did he$_i$ dismiss as politically
       motivated?   Kuno (1997)

(26) a. *Which claim that John$_i$ was asleep did he$_i$ later deny
     b. Which claim that John$_i$ made did he$_i$ later deny
                                          Munn (1994)
(27)   Later than what, one might ask?

(28)   *Whose claim that John$_i$ is nice did he$_i$ believe?
                                          Lebeaux (1988)
(29) Susan: John is nice.
       Mary: John is nice.
      !John: I believe Susan but I don't believe Mary.

(30) Lydia Grebenyova's experiment (UMD undergrads, 2004):
(31) Two claims have been made about John's arrest: that John was
       arrested yesterday and that John was arrested a week ago.
       John has a lawyer, whose name is Bill
(32) Which specific claim that John had been arrested did Bill
       deny
(33) Which specific claim that he had been arrested did John deny
(34) Which specific claim that John had been arrested did he deny
(35) 6 of 7 subjects accepted both (33) and (34) on the
       coreferential reading.

(36) What if the complement/relative asymmetry with WH-movement
       is illusory. How problematic is that for the theory?
(37) a. (9)a vs. b is arguably just a stipulation, as is (9)c.
     b. The status of (15) is unclear.
(38)   If anything, then, lack of that asymmetry might be a
       'better' state of affairs. (The only mildly negative
       consequence, depending on your point of view, is that a
       potential argument for traces, i.e., copies, disappears.)

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