Antecedent Contained Deletion
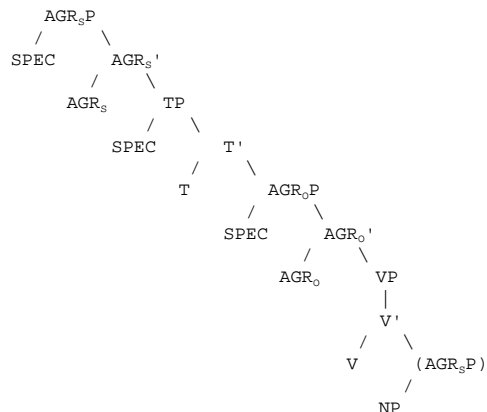
(1)   Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did

(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 [Op$_i$ Angleton did [$_{VP}$ e]]$_i$ [Dulles [$_{VP}$ suspected t$_i$]]
                   _____
                   [$_{VP}$ suspected t$_i$]

(5)   This analysis crucially relies on QR raising the <u>entire</u>
      quantificational expression, hence, argues for such an operation.

(6)   John scratched his arm and Mary did too

(7)   I turned in my assignment, but most of the other students didn't
      [turn in their assignments]

(8)   Cheryl stops to look at any pretty flower she stumbles onto, and I
      do too

(9)   Wyngaerd and Zwart (1991) propose that 'Vehicle Change' of Fiengo
      and May (1994) can ignore the difference between a full NP and a
      variable. For example, (10) can be copied as (11):

(10) [$_{VP}$ suspected everyone Angleton did [$_{VP}$ e]]

(11) [$_{VP}$ suspected t]

(12)a (?*)John kissed Mary, but I wonder who Harry did [e]
    b (?*)John loves himself, but I wonder who Harry does [e]

(13) In (12), the NPs treated as identical are entirely dissimilar, while
     in (10)-(11), they have an obvious relation: they have the same
     index. Identity of indices is a constraint on this extended form of
     Vehicle Change.

(14)   Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
(15) *Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did

(16) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did not
(17) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did as well

(18) ?*Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did

(19)   Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did not
(20)   Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did as well

(21)a ?John believed everyone you did __ to be a genius
    b *John believed (that) everyone you did __ was a genius

(22) The subject of a finite clause is incapable of hosting an ACD site.
      Larson and May (1990)

(23)a ?I expect everyone you do ___ to visit Mary
    b *I expect (that) everyone you do ___ will visit Mary
(24)a ?I find everyone you do ___ to be qualified
    b *I find (that) everyone you do ___ is qualified
(25)a ?I predicted no one you did ___ to be a liar
       *I predicted (that) no one you did ___ has been a liar

(26)   I expect that everyone you expect will visit Mary will visit Mary

(27) The configurations in the (b) examples permit ellipsis that is not
      antecedent contained:
(28)   John expects that everyone Bill invites will visit Mary, and I
       expect that everyone you do [invite] will visit Mary

(29) Larson and May (1990): "whereas quantified subjects can be given
      scope out of infinitives, this is not generally possible with tensed
      complements." "...whereas [(30)a] permits a wide-scope reading for
      <u>everyone</u> vis-à-vis <u>someone</u> and <u>believe</u>, according to which for each
      person <u>x</u> there is someone who believes <u>x</u> is a genius, [(30)b] permits
      only a narrow-scope reading for <u>everyone</u>, according to which there is
      some person who believes genius to be a universal characteristic":

(30)a   Someone believes everyone to be a genius
    b   Someone believes (that) everyone is a genius

(31) <u>Everyone</u> can raise out of its clause in (30)a, but not in (30)b.
      Similarly, <u>everyone you did</u> can raise out of its clause in (21)a, but
      not in (21)b, with the consequence that the ACD regress will be
      resolvable in (21)a, but not in (21)b.

(32) Williams (1986) similarly indicates that (33), which is quite
      similar to (30)b, lacks a broad scope reading for <u>everyone</u>:

(33)   Someone thinks everyone saw you at the rally

(34) Interestingly, May (1988) sharply disagrees with Williams, calling
      the claimed lack of broad scope for <u>everyone</u> in (33) a "spurious
      datum", and reporting as a "standard observation" that a universal
      quantifier in this position <u>can</u> 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 posi-
      tion..."

(35)   What did everyone buy for Max
(36)   Who bought everything for Max
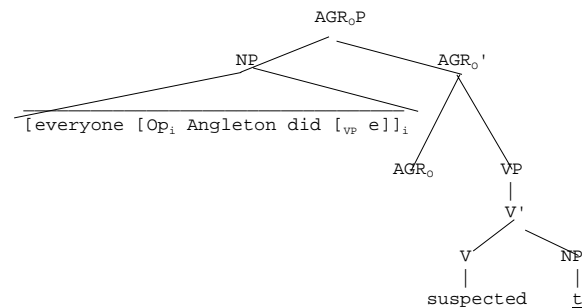
(37)   Who do you think everyone saw at the rally

(38)

```
                    AGR_sP
                   /     \
              SPEC       AGR_s'
                        /     \
                   AGR_s       TP
                             /    \
                        SPEC      T'
                                 /   \
                              T      AGR_oP
                                    /     \
                               SPEC       AGR_o'
                                         /     \
                                    AGR_o       VP
                                                |
                                                V'
                                               /  \
                                              V    (AGR_sP)
                                                   /
                                                 NP
```

(39)   *John believed (that) everyone you did ___ was a genius
(40)   *I expect (that) everyone you do ___ will visit Mary
(41)   *I find (that) everyone you do ___ is qualified
(42)   *I predicted (that) no one you did ___ has been a liar

(43)   Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill did

(44) = Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill read
(45) ≠ Who thought that Fred read how many of the books that Bill thought
       he had read

(46) Overt wh-movement does allow ACD resolution. (47) is rather
      awkward, but is surely far better than (43) on the reading
      comparable to that of (45):

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

(48) Similarly, overt extraction of a nominative wh-phrase permits
      ellipsis resolution, in contrast with the in situ nominative
      expressions considered above. Compare (42) above with (49):

(49)   Who that you did did Harry predict has been a liar

(50) The fact that ACD regresses cannot be resolved by wh in situ argues
      that ACD must be resolved at S-structure (Baltin (1987)) or that
      there is no LF wh-movement.

(51) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did not
(52) ?Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did as well

(53)   Philby, who Angleton suspected, is likely [t to defect]

(54) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did not
(55) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did as well

(56) Hornstein (1994): The regress is resolved by (covert) raising to
      SPEC of AGR_o. Indirect objects also 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.

(57)a Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton suspected as well

    b Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton spoke to as well

(58)a ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did not
    b ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did as well

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

(60) Alternative: reanalysis, and raising of object of reanalyzed verb to
      SPEC of AGR_o. This correctly predicts a correlation with pseudo-
      passive:

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

(62)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)

(63) (62)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.

(64) The Case approach might require a sort of Vehicle Change. In (65),
      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.

(65)

```
                          AGR_oP
                         /      \
                   NP            AGR_o'
             _____        /     \
            [everyone [Op_i Angleton did [_VP e]]_i
                                AGR_o       VP
                                            |
                                            V'
                                           /  \
                                          V    NP
                                          |    |
                                      suspected  t_i
```

(66) 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.
(67)   Dulles suspected Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(68)a ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did as well
    b??Dulles spoke to Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(69)a ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did as well
    b??Dulles talked about Philby, and Angleton did Burgess

(70)a *Mary stood near Susan, who Emily did as well
    b *Mary stood near Susan, and Emily did Harriet

(71) Speculation 1: Apparent ACD can involve pseudo-gapping, and pseudo-gapping involves raising to SPEC of AGR_O and VP ellipsis.

(72) Consequence: In these constructions, the raising to SPEC of AGR_O is <u>overt</u> (and the VP ellipsis at least <u>can</u> be deletion).

(73) *Dulles Philby$_i$ suspected $\underline{t}_i$

(74) Speculation 2: (Rougly following Ura (1993) and Koizumi (1993)) Accusative NPs generally raise overtly to SPEC of AGR_O, with V raising overtly to a higher position. As usual, both movements are driven by a <u>strong</u> feature.

(75) Why then is pseudo-gapping good, given that the V hasn't raised?

(76) Suppose the relevant strong feature is a feature of the higher V. And suppose, following Ochi (1999), that raising of geatures to check a higher strong feature leaves behind a PF defective item.

(77) Prediction: Deletion of (a category containing) an item that has 'lost' features by feature movement salvages the derivation.

(78) The correlation seen above between reanalysis and ACD, which further motivated the raising to SPEC of AGR_O approach, surprisingly breaks down when restrictive relative clauses are considered.

(79) ?Mary stood near everyone Emily did

(80) As noted by Hornstein (1994), and as I indicated earlier, the mechanism cannot be QR, since if QR can raise an entire quantificational expression, the minimalist goal of eliminating S-structure binding conditions in favor of LF ones cannot be attained.

(81) A man arrived who was wearing a red hat

(82) *John arrived who was wearing a red hat

(83) I visited a man who / that / ∅ John mentioned recently

(84) a / b / c I visited a man recently a who / that / ?*∅ John mentioned

(85) ?I threw something away I had no further use for

(86) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did

(87) ?Mary stood near everyone Emily did

(88) ?Mary stood near a woman yesterday who was distributing leaflets

(89) Mary [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ stood near everyone] [$_{CP}$ Op [Emily did [$_{VP}$ e]]]]

(90) Mary [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ stood near everyone] [$_{CP}$ Op [Emily (did) [$_{VP}$ stood near everyone]]]]]

(91) everyone [$_{IP}$ Mary [$_{VP}$[$_{VP}$ stood near $\underline{t}$] [$_{CP}$ Op [Emily (did) [$_{VP}$ stood near $\underline{t}$]]]]]]

(92) Mary wondered which pictures of himself Bill saw

(93) Mary wondered [$_{wh-}$ which picture of himself] [Bill saw [$_{wh-}$ which picture of himself]

(94) Mary mentioned the pictures of himself that Bill saw

(95) Mary mentioned the pictures of himself that Bill saw [the pictures of himself]

Baltin, Mark R. 1987. Do antecedent contained deletions exist? *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 579-595.

Fiengo, Robert, and Robert May. 1992. Ellipsis and apposition. Ms. City University of New York and University of California at Irvine.

Fiengo, Robert, and Robert May. 1994. *Indices and identity*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hornstein, Norbert. 1994. An argument for minimalism. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25: 455-480.

Larson, Richard, and Robert May. 1990. Antecedent containment or vacuous movement: Reply to Baltin. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 103-122.

May, Robert. 1988. Ambiguities of quantification and *wh*: A reply to Williams. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 118-135.

Ochi, Masao. 1999. Some consequences of Attract F. *Lingua* 109: 81-107.

Williams, Edwin S. 1986. A reassignment of the functions of LF. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17: 265-299.

Wyngaerd, Guido Vanden, and Jan Wouter Zwart. 1991. Reconstruction and vehicle change. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1991*, ed. Frank Drijkoningen and Ans van Kemenade, 151-160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.