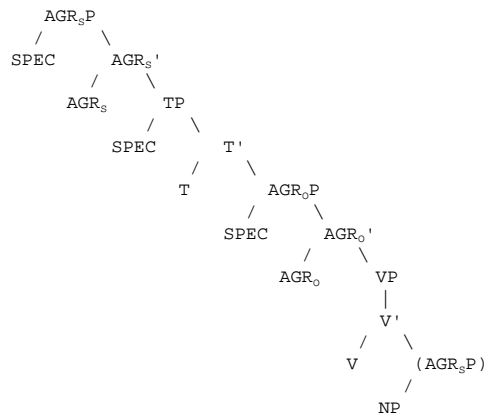




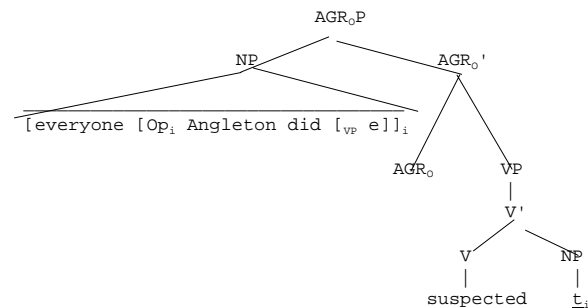
(38)



- (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<sub>i</sub> is the trace of movement to a Case-licensing position, hence, an A-trace, while its copy clearly must be a variable, or Op<sub>i</sub> will be vacuous.  
 (65)



- (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

