

Antecedent-Contained Deletion without QR or Extraposition

We present two puzzles to existing accounts of Antecedent -Contained Deletion (ACD) in terms of VP ellipsis. We argue that neither QR nor extraposition are sufficient to explain the distribution of ACD. We provide a novel analysis of ACD in terms of syntactic sharing. The new proposal accounts for the data without assuming syntactic QR, extraposition or VP ellipsis.

The puzzles:

Exceptional scope in ACD: Sag's (1976) observation that the scope of the head of the relative in ACD correlates with the size of the elided domain (1) receives a seemingly natural explanation if ACD is parasitic on Quantifier raising (May, 1977).

- (1) Betsy's father wants her to read everything her boss does
 - a. ~~read~~ (*want* > \forall)
 - b. ~~want her to read~~ (**want* > \forall) (Sag (1976) p.73)

However, data from long distance ACD argues that while Sag's correlation is correct, the causal link is the reverse. The scope of the head of the relative is parasitic on ACD. We show that ACD (3) allows for scopal interactions which are otherwise not available (4). To maintain the QR analysis of ACD, one needs to explain why in ACD, PF deletion licenses exceptional QR out of a tensed clause (cf. Cecchetto:2004). This account would encounter the further complication, observed by Wilder (2003), that long distance ACD does not license scope interaction with the matrix subject (5). The emerging empirical generalization is summarized in (2):

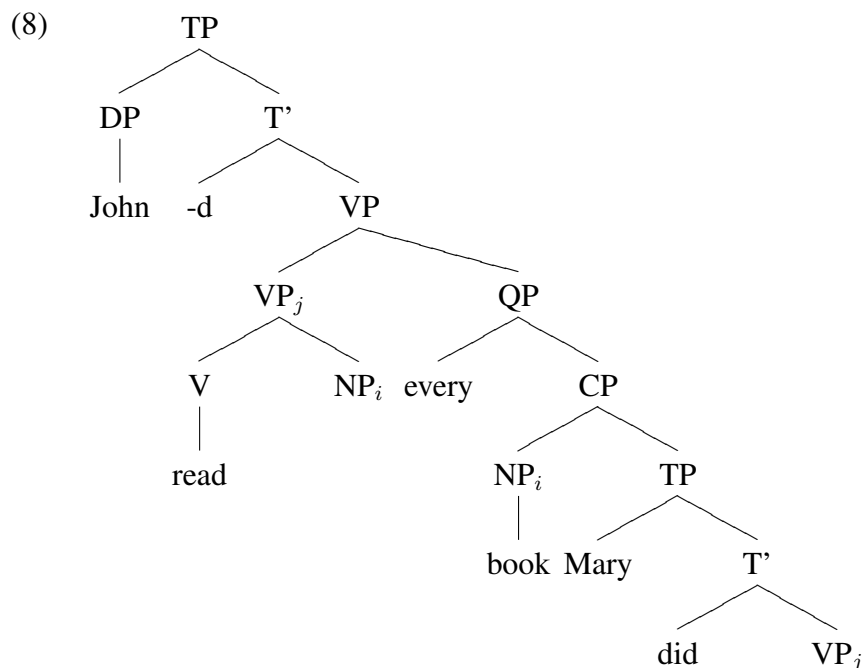
- (2) The head of the relative outscopes all and only the material contained within the elided domain.

Head-Raising ACD: Extraposition is incompatible with head-raising relative clauses (6) (Hulsey and Sauerland, 2006). We observe that, contrary to the predictions of an analysis of ACD in terms of extraposition (Fox, 2002; Baltin, 1987) for many speakers ACD is compatible with head-raising relative clauses.

Proposal: ACD is a case of syntactic sharing where a single VP is shared by the matrix clause and the relative clause (8). In derivational terms, the structure in (8) is formed by a movement of DP_i to the edge of the embedded CP (Vergnaud, 1974), forming a relative clause. The remnant VP_j moves to attach as a sister of the resulting CP , forming the matrix VP by projecting its own label (cf. Donati, 2006 for a similar proposal for free relatives). We assume that quantifier scope is determined by the phase in which the quantifier is spelled out. We further assume that spellout applies only to material that is completely dominated (cf. Bachrach and Katzir, 2006).

In (8), DP_i is not completely dominated within VP_j and so its scope is unbound within it, explaining the exceptional scope in 3. Once VP_i has merged with the embedded CP , DP_i is completely dominated. Consequently, the scope of DP_i is frozen at this height (4). As for the compatibility of ACD with diagnostics of head-raising, such as reconstruction and idioms (7), in our analysis it is the same DP_i that is used in both the matrix clause and the relative clause, and so these results are predicted. Finally, since the VP-internal object is not a *wh*-element, the derivation of a *wh*-relative clause is blocked.

- (3) The president told some journalist that a war was breaking out in every country the ambassador did ($\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$)
- (4) The president told some journalist that a war was breaking out in every country the ambassador visited ($*\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$)
- (5) Some professor said that every student was a genius that I did. ($*\forall > \exists$)
- (6) a. I saw every picture of himself_i (*yesterday) that John_i saw.
b. I reviewed the headway (*yesterday) that you made
- (7) a. I saw every picture of himself_i that John_i did.
b. I made the same amount of headway you did



References

- Bachrach, Asaf, and Roni Katzir. 2006. Right-node raising and delayed spellout. In Proceedings of Interphases.
- Baltin, Mark. 1987. Do antecedent-contained deletions exist? Linguistic Inquiry 18:579–595.
- Donati, Caterina. 2006. On *Wh*-head movement. In Wh-movement: Moving on, ed. L. Cheng and N. Corver, 21–46. MIT Press.
- Fox, Danny. 2002. Antecedent contained deletion and the copy theory of movement. Linguistic Inquiry 33:63–96.
- Hulsey, Sarah, and Uli Sauerland. 2006. Sorting out relative clauses. Natural Language Semantics 14:111–137.
- May, Robert. 1977. The grammar of quantification. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Sag, Ivan. 1976. Deletion and logical form. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Vergnaud, Jean-Roger. 1974. French relative clauses. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Wilder, Chris. 2003. Antecedent containment and ellipsis. In The interfaces: Deriving and interpreting omitted structures, ed. Kerstin Schwabe and Susanne Winkler. John Benjamin.