

Everything that I have always wanted to know about antecedent contained deletion* (*but was ashamed to ask)

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1. Introduction

Antecedent VP contains the elliptical VP.

(1) Polly [_{VP} read everything Anna did [_{VP} ___]].

Infinite refress

(2) Polly read everything Anna read everything Anna read ...

ACD is sensitive to the type of quantifier Carlson (1977), Diesing (1992).

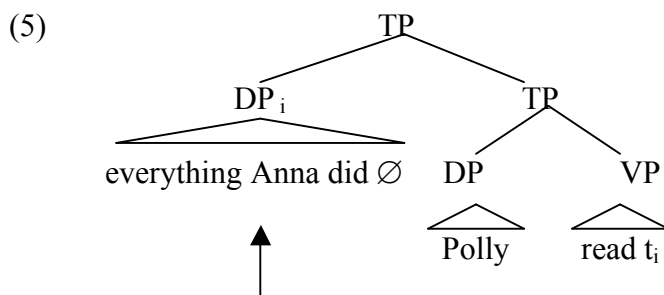
-Strong quantifiers:

(3) Polly read $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{every} \\ \text{each} \\ \text{most} \\ \text{any} \end{array} \right\}$ book Anna did.

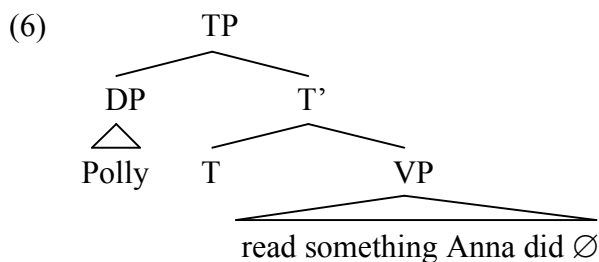
-Weak quantifiers;

(4) Polly read $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *a \\ *some \\ *?many \\ *few \\ *two \end{array} \right\}$ book Anna did.

Strong quantifiers undergo quantifier raising QR.



Weak quantifiers do not undergo QR out of the antecedent VP. Sentences in (4) therefore results in infinite regress.



One claim is that this widely accepted view is false. Even if QR puts quantifiers out of the antecedent VP, weak quantifiers cannot license ACD.

Negative polarity Merchant (2000a)

(7) Polly didn't read any book Anna did.

Bare plural Diesing (1992).

(8) *Polly read \emptyset books Anna did.

How about *no* NPs?

(9) ()Polly read no book Anna did.

Definite NPs can support ACD Harley (2002).

(10) Polly read the book Anna did.

(11) Polly helps those she can.

(12) Polly helps whoever she can.

2. Argument Contained Antecedent Contained Deletion

Argument contained ACD (Kennedy (1997)).

(13) Polly read [a report on [every accident Anna did]].

QR of the universal quantifier correctly captures semantics.

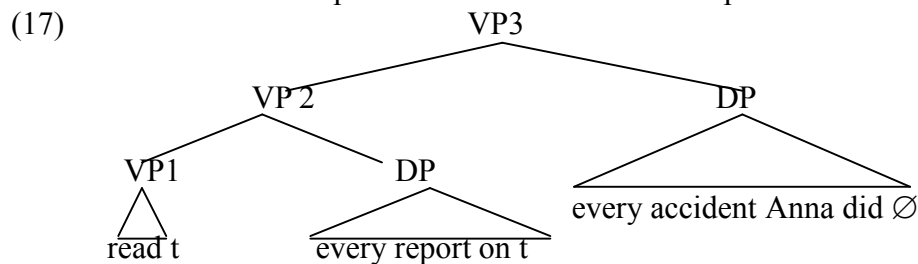
(14) [every accident Anna did]_i Polly read [a report on t_i].

Why is (15) not ambiguous?

(15) Polly read every report on every accident Anna did.

(16) [every accident Anna did]_i [every report on t_i]_j Polly read t_j

QR is rightward adjunction to VP (Fox and Nissenbaum (1999)). In this structure, either VP1 or VP2 is the possible antecedent for the elliptical VP.



...and why is (18) ungrammatical.

(18) *Polly read every report on an accident Anna did.

If the object universal quantifier raises, *read t* can be an antecedent.

(19) Polly [read t_i] [every report on an accident Anna did]_i

This particular case can be attributed to selectional restriction. But, (20) cannot be. Even if the universal quantifier must pied-pipe the ACD VP, ACD is impossible.

(20) *Polly read every review of a book Anna did <read t>.

The descriptive generalization seems to be...

(21) The smallest DP containing the ACD relative clause must be strong.

Moving out of the antecedent VP through QR is a necessary, but not satisfactory, condition for ACD licensing.

3. Coordinate Structure and Antecedent Contained Deletion

(22) Polly read [*Anna Karenina* and *Ivan the Fool*]

Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC)

(23) *What_i did Polly read t_i and *Ivan the Fool*?

(24) *What_i did Polly read *Anna Karenina* and t_i?

Relative scope

(25) Some girl loves every boy. ($\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$)

(26) [[some girl loves t_i] every boy_i]

QR is subject to CSC

(27) Some girl loves *Anna* and every boy. ($\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$)

3.1. ACD in Coordinate Structure

But then, how can ACD be licit in coordinated structure?

(28) Polly read [*Anna Karenina* and every book Anna did]

Coordinate structure, as a whole, move to make *read t* available?

(29) Polly [read t_i] [*Anna Karenina* and every book Anna did]_i

But if the whole coordinated structure moved, *read t* must be available. Still, weak quantifiers cannot host ACD.

(30) *Polly [read t_i] [every book and a magazine Anna did]_i

(31) *Polly [read t_i] [*Anna Karenina* and a magazine Anna did]_i

(32) *Polly [read t_i] [every book Anna did and a magazine Angleton did]_i

(33) Polly [read t_i] [every book Anna did and a magazine]_i

⇒ Again, moving out of the antecedent VP, which makes *read t* available, is not a satisfactory condition for ACD.

3.2. ACD and Locality

ACD observes locality constraints within ellipsis.

(34) Polly read a book on every subject Anna did <read a book on>.

(35) *Polly read a book on every shelf Anna did <read a book on>.

(36) Polly {read/*destroyed} copies of every report William did <read/*destroyed copies of>.

No CSC effects in (29).

(37) Polly read *Anna Karenina* and every book Anna did <read *Anna Karenina* and>.

Clearly, (37) is not what (29) means. (29) means this. The antecedent *read t* is somehow available.

(38) Polly read Anna Karenina and every book Anna did <read>.

But if [Anna Karenina and every book Anna did] moved, and leave a copy of it, (37) is the expected reading.

(39) [Anna Karenina and every book Anna did]
Polly read $t_{\text{Anna Karenina}}$ and $t_{\text{every book}}$

⇒ Copy theory is not correct

So far, even if a weak quantifier moves out of the VP, it cannot host ACD.

4. Possible Antecedents

(40) The baby destroys everything. That is why his mother must put away everything that he does $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * <\text{destroy } t> \\ \# <\text{put away } t> \end{array} \right\}$

(41) At the party, Bill ate a hot dog. The host warned all the guests who did not <eat a hot dog> to swim for an hour.

(42) Sue kissed John the other day, but it didn't mean anything. John has run the Boston Marathon, and Sue kisses every man who has.

(43) At the party, Bill kissed almost every girl. The host warned all the girl who Bill did not $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} () <\text{kiss } t> \\ \# <\text{warned } t> \end{array} \right\}$ to swim for an hour.

(44) The baby destroys everything. That is why his mother must put away everything before he does.

5. Condition C

Fiengo and May (1994): absence of condition C with ACD (see also Fox (1995), Fox (2000), Fox (2002) Merchant (2000b))

(45) You sent him_i the letter that John_i expected you would.

(46) You introduced him_i to everyone John_i wanted you to.

(47) I reported him_i to every cop John_i was afraid I would.

(48) ??You sent him_i the letter that John_i expected you would write.

(49) ??You introduced him_i to everyone John_i wanted you to meet.

(50) ??I reported him_i to every cop John_i was afraid of.

Between the subject ACD, condition C is still active.

(51) *He_i sent me the letter that John_i expected you would.

(52) *He_i introduced me to everyone John_i wanted you to.

(53) *He_i reported you to every cop John_i was afraid I would.

(54) *He_i read every report that John_i could.

(55) John_i read every report that he_i could.

Whatever the operation is involved, it moves strong quantifier out of the c-command domain of the object DP, but not out of the c-command domain of the subject.

(56)

(57)

(58)

(59)

(60)

(61)

(62)

(63)

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