A WCO and ACD puzzle

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The following example, from Evans 1988 (14), is a puzzle for standard accounts of VP-ellipsis and weak crossover (WCO):

(1) Someone who shouldn't have kissed each man.

As Evans points out, this sentence is ambiguous, having among its possible readings the one given roughly in (2):

(2) x(man(x) → y(person(y) & kissed(y,x) & shouldn't-have-kissed(y,x)))

The important thing to note in characterizing this reading is that the deleted VP in the relative clause adjoined to the subject DP contains a pronoun bound by the object quantifier. It is parallel, thus, to more familiar and often discussed examples like (3) (see Sag 1976, Dalrymple *et al.* 1991, Hardt 1999, among many others):

(3) John greeted everyone when Mary did.

In one influential strand of analyses of VP-ellipsis (Sag 1976, Fiengo and May 1994, Fox 2000 etc.), the reading in (2) would be generated by giving (1) the structure in (4a) (see Merchant 2001 for extensive justification that A'-traces can license the deletion of pronouns, in line with Fiengo and May 1994 and *pace* Safir 1998); at LF, after QR has applied to the object *each man*, the pronoun is bound and gives rise to the attested reading:

(4) a. Someone who shouldn't have <kissed him_2> kissed each man_2.
b. $[each\ man]_2$ [someone who shouldn't have <kissed him_2> kissed t_2]

The puzzle arises because the movement of *each man* in (4b) is expected to give rise to a WCO violation, assuming that WCO effects derive from the constraint like the one in (5) (Chierchia 1995, Hornstein 1995):

(5) Weak crossover:
An antecedent of a bound pronoun must be in an A-position.

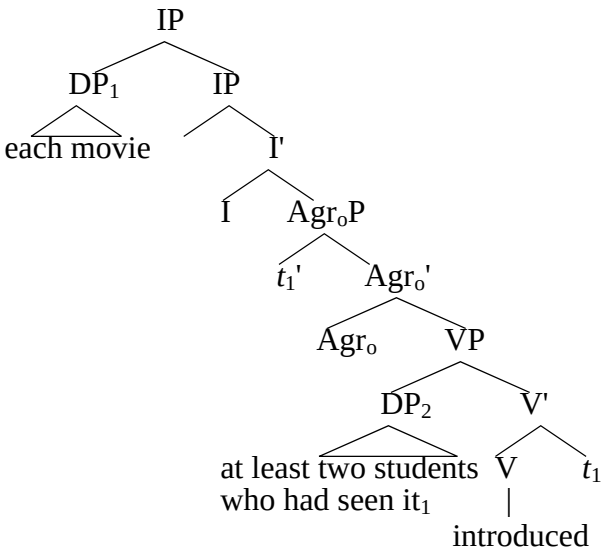
In (4b), neither *each man* nor its trace can bind the pronoun and satisfy (5): QR is A'-movement, so *each man* is in an A'-position, hence unable to antecedent the pronoun (though *each man* does c-command *him*) without violating (5), while trace t_2, although in an A-position, does not c-command *him* and therefore cannot bind it. (The pronoun also precedes the trace, on the Leftness theory of WCO originating in Chomsky 1976).

Of course, one should note that such apparent violations of WCO are routine for pronouns in relative clauses attached to subjects (though further constraints limit the availability of this backward binding):

(6) At least two students who had seen it_1 introduced each $movie_1$.
(7) ?The woman who accompanied him_2 ended up ditching every guy_2.

A possible solution to these, building on Johnson and Tomioka 1998 and Hornstein 1995, is to analyze them as involving reconstruction of the subject, with wide scoping of the object, and further assuming that object movement proceeds first by movement to an A-position, such as the specifier of an agreement projection. For (6), for example, this yields the LF in (9) (the further movement of *each movie* to adjoin to IP is irrelevant; the same result holds if its scopal position is in SpecAgr_oP).

(8)

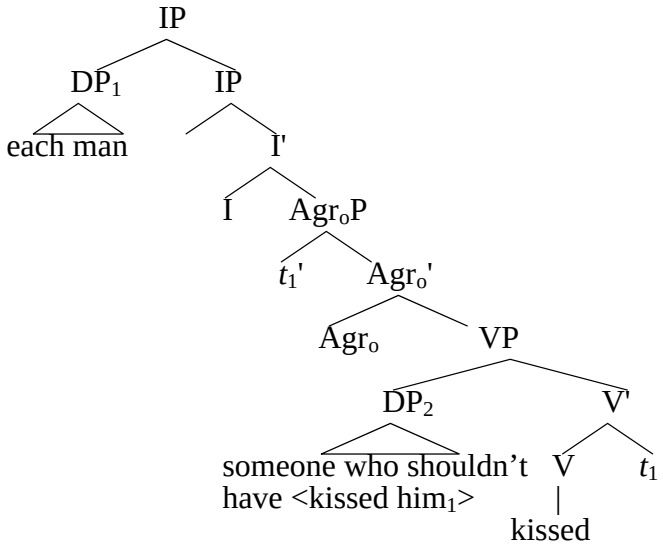


In this structure, the subject-internal pronoun it_1 is bound by t'_1. Because t'_1 is in an A-position, in SpecAgr_oP, this structure does not trigger a WCO violation.

This general solution follows Hornstein's 1995 discussion of examples like *John read every book before reviewing it*, where he argues that A-movement of *every book* to SpecAgr_oP allows binding of *it* in the VP-adjoined adverbial without triggering a WCO violation. It further builds on Johnson and Tomioka's 1998 account of object>subject scoping in assuming that when objects outscope subjects, the subject is interpreted in a VP-internal position. We can see the same amelioration in examples like *Mary wanted every man to marry the same woman his mother did <want him to marry>*, where *every man* must raise to an A-position above the A'-landing site of the ACD-containing DP *the same woman his mother did*, in order to allow the binding of the pronouns *his* and *him*. (Note that further A'-movement is sometimes necessary to resolve the ACD; see Kennedy 1997 for extensive reasons why A-movement cannot alone account for the full range of data; crucial here is the *initial* A-movement which repairs the WCO violation.)

We can now see why the example in (1) is a puzzle: in order to avoid the WCO violation, it should have an LF parallel to (9):

(9)



But under many recent theories of VP-ellipsis (such as Fiengo and May 1994, Fox 2000), the LF in (9) does not provide an appropriate antecedent to license the deletion of the VP *<kissed him>*. These theories require that there be a VP which is structurally isomorphic (identical in LF structure) to the deleted VP. In (9), however, because the subject has reconstructed, there is at best a V'.

There are several possible ways out of this dilemma. One possibility is to abandon the claim that ellipsis targets only maximal projections, claiming instead that in (9) what is deleted is a V' which is LF-identical to the matrix V'; such a solution would require re-thinking the original reasons for postulating this requirement and a re-analysis of subject-sensitivity facts like those discussed in Kennedy 1994 (likewise for an expanded *v*P/VP structure which puts the base-position of the subject in spec*v*P and claiming that VP-ellipsis targets VP, not *v*P). The alternative is to abandon the strict LF-identity condition and allow deletion of VPs based on semantic equivalence to possibly non-isomorphic syntactic structures (i.e., deletion of VP based on the semantics of an antecedent V').

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