snippets

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

1. Purpose.

The aim of *Snippets* is to publish specific remarks that motivate research or that make theoretical points germane to current work. The ideal contribution is the ideal footnote: a side remark that taken on its own is not worth lengthy development but that needs to be said. One encounters many short comments of this kind in the literature of the seventies. We feel that there no longer is a forum for them. We want *Snippets* to help fill that gap.

2. Content.

We will publish notes that contribute to the study of syntax and semantics in generative grammar. The notes are to be brief, self-contained and explicit. They may do any of the following things:

- point out an empirical phenomenon that goes against accepted generalizations or that shows that some aspect of a theory is problematic;
- point out unnoticed minimal pairs that fall outside the scope of any existing theory;
- point out an empirical phenomenon that confirms the predictions of a theory in an area where the theory has not been tested;
- explicitly describe technical inconsistencies in a theory or in a set of frequently adopted assumptions;
- explicitly describe unnoticed assumptions that underlie a theory or assumptions that a theory needs to be supplemented with in order to make desired predictions;
- call attention to little-known or forgotten literature in which issues of immediate relevance are discussed.

We also encourage submissions that connect psycholinguistic data to theoretical issues. A proposal for a pilot experiment in language acquisition or language processing could make for an excellent snippet.

The earliest Linguistic Inquiry squibs exemplify the kind of note we would like to publish. Some of them posed unobserved puzzles. For instance, a squib by Postal and Ross in LI 1:1 ("A Problem of Adverb Preposing") noted that whether or not we can construe a sentence-initial temporal adverb with an embedded verb depends on the tense of the matrix verb. A squib by Perlmutter and Ross in LI 1:3 ("Relative Clauses with Split Antecedents"), challenging the prevailing analyses of coordination and extraposition, noted that conjoined clauses neither of which contain a plural noun phrase can appear next to an "extraposed" relative that can only describe groups. Other squibs drew attention to particular theoretical assumptions. For instance, a squib by Bresnan in LI 1:2 ("A Grammatical Fiction") outlined an alternative account of the derivation of sentences containing believe and force, and asked whether there were principled reasons for dismissing any of the underlying assumptions (among them that semantic interpretation is sensitive to details of a syntactic derivation). A squib by Zwicky in LI 1:2 ("Class Complements in Phonology") asked to what extent phonological rules refer to complements of classes. None of these squibs was more than a couple of paragraphs; all of them limited themselves to a precise question or observation.

3. Submission details.

Snippets is an electronic journal. We will solicit submissions twice a year. The submissions that we accept will be posted on the journal website approximately 3 months after each deadline, and all accepted submissions will remain permanently on the website.

Snippets is intended as a service to the linguistics community. Consequently, authors are advised that, when they submit to *Snippets*, we understand them as allowing their submission to be reproduced if published. At the same time, the rights for the notes themselves will remain with the authors. As a result, citation of *Snippets* material will have to indicate the author's name and the specific source of the material.

We will accept electronic submissions at the address snippets@unimi.it. Electronic submissions may take the form of (a) the text of an e-mail message, or (b) an attached file. The attached file should be a simple text file, a Word file (Mac or Windows), or a Rich Text Format (RTF) file. All submissions must state the name and affiliation of the author(s), and a (postal or electronic) return address.

Submissions are to be a maximum of 500 words (including examples), with an additional half page allowed for diagrams, tables and references. Given that we envision the submissions themselves as footnotes, the submissions may not contain footnotes of their own. The ideal submission is one paragraph; a submission of five lines is perfectly acceptable. We will not consider abstracts.

4. Editorial policy.

Submissions will be reviewed by our editorial board, and review will be name-blind both ways. While we guarantee a response within 3 months of the submission deadline, we will only provide a yes/no response to the submitter. We will not request revisions (barring exceptional cases). We allow resubmission (once) of the same piece.

1.

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A note on the strong generative capacity of standard Antisymmetry Theory

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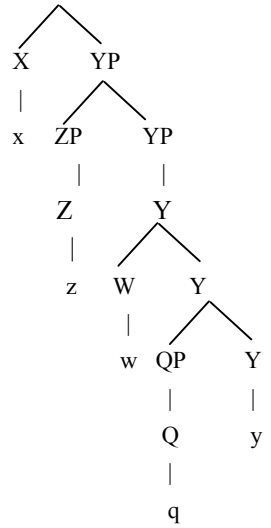
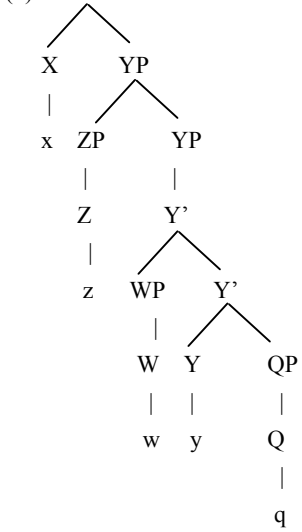
My point here is that the strong generative capacity of Kayne's (1994) classical version of the *Antisymmetry Theory* (AT) is greater than usually claimed. Thus, AT is not as restrictive as it seems at first. In and of itself, this is neither good nor bad. It is an empirical matter whether the additional types of structures apparently generated by AT correspond to representations of natural language sentences. However, since those were initially thought to be blocked by the mechanisms of AT, and initially thought not to exist, it is worth showing that, unless AT is modified accordingly, such structures are indeed predicted to be well-formed. In what follows, I presuppose full knowledge of AT from the reader, and I adopt the AT metalanguage to analyze each case. Given AT, the following types of configuration are supposed to be blocked by the *Linear Correspondence Axiom* (LCA): (i) n-ary branching (n > 2); (ii) heads adjoined to non-heads; (iii) non-heads adjoined to heads; (iv) multiple specifiers; and (v) multiple adjunction to heads. But look at (1-4):

(1)



(2)



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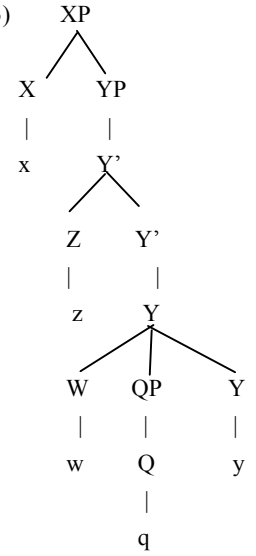
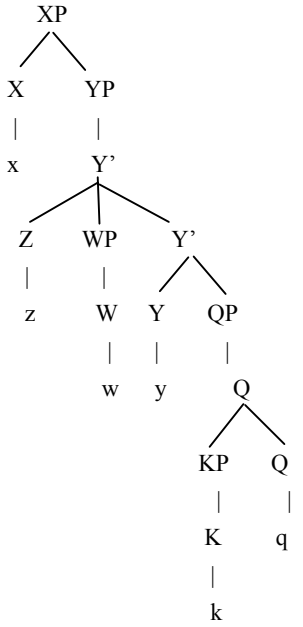


(4)



The analysis of each tree above is given in the table below, where A is the set of all pairs <α,β> such that α and β are non-terminals and α asymmetrically c-commands β. *d*(A) is the set of all pairs <γ,δ>, mapped from all pairs <α,β> ∈ A, such that γ and δ are terminals, and α dominates γ, and β dominates δ (Kayne 1994: 3-6). Here, X *c-commands* Y iff (i) X and Y are categories; (ii) no segment of X dominates Y; and (iii) every category dominating X also dominates Y (Kayne 1994: 16). In all cases above, *d*(A) is a linear ordering (i.e. transitive, total, asymmetric, irreflexive) of the set T of terminals, as required by the LCA (Kayne 1994: 6, 33). Thus, none of these phrase markers is ruled out.

	A =	*d*(A) =
1)	{ <X,Z>,<X,W>,<X,Y>,<X,QP>,<X,Q>, <ZP,YP>, <ZP,W>,<ZP,Y>,<ZP,QP>, <ZP,Q>,<W,Y>,<W,Q>, <QP,Y> }	{ <x,z>,<x,w>,<x,q>, <x,y>, <z,w>,<z,q>, <z,y>,<w,q>,<w,y>, <q,y> }
2)	{ <X,Z>,<X,WP>,<X,W>,<X,Y'>,<X,Y>, <X,QP>,<X,Q>,<ZP,WP>,<ZP,W>, <ZP,YP>,<ZP,Y'>,<ZP,Y>,<ZP,QP>, <ZP,Q>,<WP,Y'>,<WP,Y>,<WP,QP>, <WP,Q>,<Y,Q> }	{ <x,z>,<x,w>, <x,y>, <x,q>,<z,w>,<z,y>,<z,q>, <w,y>, <w,q>, <y,q> }
3)	{ <X,Y'>,<X,Z>,<X,Y>,<X,W>,<X,QP>, <X,Q>,<Z,Y'>,<Z,Y>,<Z,W>,<Z,QP>, <Z,Q>,<W,Q>, <W,Y>, <QP,Y> }	{ <x,z>,<x,w>,<x,q>, <x,y>, <z,w>,<z,q>,<z,y>, <w,q>, <w,y>,<q,y> }

4)	{ <X,Y'>,<X,Z>,<X,WP>,<X,W>,<X,Y>,<X,QP>, <X,Q>,<X,KP>,<X,K>,<Z,Y'>,<Z,W>,<Z,Y>, <Z,QP>,<Z,Q>,<Z,KP>,<Z,K>,<WP,Y'>,<WP,Y>, <WP,QP>,<WP,Q>,<WP,KP>,<WP,K>,<Y,Q>, <Y,KP>,<Y,K>,<KP,Q> }	{ <x,z>,<x,w>,<x,y>, <x,k>,<x,q>,<z,w>,<z,y>, <z,k>,<z,q>,<w,y>,<w,k>, <w,q>,<y,k>,<y,q>,<k,q>}

From (1), (3) and (4), we conclude that the LCA prevents non-heads from adjoining to heads only if the hosting head has a complement. Also, double adjunction to a head is blocked only if (i) the head has a complement, AND (ii) both adjuncts are non-heads or both are heads. From (3) and (4), we conclude that the LCA prevents a head α from being a specifier only if α is symmetrically c-commanded by another head β immediately above it (Kayne 1994: 30-32). But nothing prevents the sister of α from vacuously projecting so that this projection is the complement of the immediately higher head β, causing β to c-command α asymmetrically. Also, as shown in (2), multiple specifiers are banned only if all of them adjoin to the same category (Kayne 1994: 21-22). Since nothing in AT explicitly prevents a category sister to a specifier from vacuously projecting, creating a new category, there can be one specifier for each of these projections (all of them distinct categories, not segments of a single category). From (3) and (4), we conclude that the LCA does not block ternary branching if (i) one of the three sisters is a segment of the mother category (which won't c-command any of the sisters), AND (ii) the other two sisters are necessarily one head and one non-head. Given that *d*(A) is a linear ordering of T in (4), we are forced to revise our conclusion about multiple specifiers above. In (4) we have two specifiers adjoined to the same category in a ternary branch. This configuration satisfies the LCA because (i) one specifier is a head and the other one a non-head, AND (ii) the category that hosts the adjuncts/specifiers further projects vacuously.

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2.

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Yet *as a negative perfect marker in English*

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In English, *yet* can serve a number of functions. One form of *yet* that has not been discussed in the literature is given in (1) (henceforth INF-*yet*). In (1), *yet* conveys 'negative perfect' aspect; (1a) can be glossed as 'Up until the time of speech, it is not the case that John ate the apple' with relevant presuppositions. Although *yet* in (1) has a similar meaning to its NPI counterpart in (2), there are obvious differences in distribution.

(1) a. John has yet to eat the apple.
b. John is yet to eat the apple.

(2) a. John didn't eat yet.
b. John hasn't eaten yet.

INF-*yet* occurs in a specific infinitival construction, and it always occurs linearly after an auxiliary verb, either *have* or *be*. When INF-*yet* is not present ((3)), *have* and *be* lose their status as auxiliaries and function as modals.

(3) a. John has to eat lunch.
b. John is to eat lunch (at 1 o'clock).

Diagnostics show *have* in (1a) is an auxiliary. Modal *have* does not undergo-subject-verb inversion ((4)), but inversion is required with *have* and INF-*yet* ((5)).

(4) a. Do you have to eat lunch?
b. *Have you to eat lunch?

(5) a. Have you yet to eat lunch?
b. *Do you have yet to eat lunch?

Modal *have* requires *do*-support with negation ((6)), but negation is not available with INF-*yet* ((7)). However, INF-*yet* functions as negation because it licenses NPIs in its scope ((8)), including the strong NPI *a red cent*, which requires true negation and not just a downward entailing licenser (van der Wouden 1997).

(6) John doesn't have to eat lunch.

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(7) a. *John hasn't yet to eat lunch.
b. *John doesn't have yet to eat lunch

(8) a. John has yet to eat anything today.
b. John has yet to earn a red cent in his new sales job.

Diagnostics for the perfect indicate that constructions containing INF-*yet* involve the perfect. Present perfect constructions in English cannot occur with definite past-oriented adverbials, while past perfect constructions are fine with such adverbials ((9)). The case is identical for constructions involving INF-*yet* ((10)).

(9) a. *John has eaten lunch yesterday.
b. John had eaten lunch yesterday.

(10) a. *John has yet to eat lunch yesterday.
b. John had yet to eat lunch yesterday.

The availability of the perfect is restricted to situations that are still currently possible ((11)) (McCawley 1971). Likewise, INF-*yet* is ungrammatical in similar contexts ((12)).

(11) ??Einstein has visited Princeton.

(12) ??Einstein has yet to visit Princeton.

The above data show that INF-*yet* truly functions as negation, induces a perfect reading, and appears with an auxiliary in an infinitival context. However, several questions about the nature of INF-*yet* remain:

What is the structure associated with (1)?
What is the denotation of INF-*yet*? What difference in meaning exists between (1a) and (1b)?
Is negation part of the lexical entry of INF-*yet* or does negation come from another source?
How does INF-*yet* condition the auxiliary/modal contrast with *have* and *be*?
What is the nature of *have* and *be* (Kayne 1993)?
What other phenomena are related (e.g., reduced relatives)?

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3.

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The interaction of Right Node Raising and extraposition

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Right Node Raising (RNR) is subject to a strict right edge constraint: the shared material must be right-peripheral in each conjunct. (1) seems to circumvent this constraint but isn't a genuine violation. In such sentences, as Wilder (1997) noticed, Heavy NP Shift feeds RNR.

(1) John bought _ YESterday _ and Mary sold _ toDAY *the complete works of Charles Dickens*.

What has gone unnoticed – as far as we know – is that extraposition *in general* can feed RNR. Moreover, the reverse is also possible. We will illustrate this with Dutch, which is verb-final (modulo V2 in main clauses), so that extraposition can be conveniently investigated.

The examples in (2) and (3) show that extraposition can feed RNR. In both cases, the italicized constituent has been extraposed across the participle in both conjoined clauses, after which it can be right node raised without violating the right edge constraint.

(2) Joop heeft iemand _ beWONderd _ , maar Jaap heft
Joop has someone admired but Jaap has
iemand _ verGUISD *die vorig jaar meer dan twee ton*
someone maligned who last year more than 200,00
verdiend had.
earned had
'Joop admired someone who earned more than 200,000 last year, but Jaap maligned someone who earned more than 200,000 last year.'

(3) Joop heft MINder _ geKOCHT _ , maar MEER _ geHUURD *dan hij*
Joop has less bought but more rented than he
aanvankelijk wilde.
initially wanted
'Joop bought less than he initially wanted, but rented more than he initially wanted.'

To see that RNR can also feed extraposition, consider (4), which contains a relative clause belonging to two conjoined NPs:

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(4) Het verbaast me dat Mieke [niet alleen de LElijke MAN _ , maar ook de
it surprises me that Mieke not only the ugly man but also the
KNAPpe JONGen _] verafschuwt *die nog geen vriendin heeft*/**hebben*
handsome boy detests who yet no girlfriend has/*have
'It surprises me that Mieke detests not only the ugly man who does not have a girlfriend, but also the handsome boy who does not have a girlfriend.'

(4) is derived from a structure with two relative clauses. Its interpretation suggests this, and moreover, since the relative clause's verb (*heeft*) is singular, we can rule out an analysis with a single relative clause and an antecedent (NP + NP). We claim that (4) is derived as follows: first, the relative clauses (which are at the right edge of their respective NPs) are right node raised within the nominal coordination phrase, forming *not only the UGly MAN _ but also the HANDsome BOY <u>who does not have a girlfriend</u>*; then, the one visible relative clause is extraposed across *verafschuwt*. Similarly, in (5), N + RC (*boek over de golfoorlog*) is right node raised, and after that, the relative clause is extraposed across *vergeleken*. (One might wonder if an alternative analysis of (4) is possible involving VP coordination, and non-constituent RNR (of V + RC) after extraposition of the relative clause within each VP. Note that this kind of alternative is not available for (5).)

(5) Mieke heft in haar essay het ENE met het ANdere *boek* vergeleken *over*
Mieke has in her essay the one with the other book compared about
de golfoorlog.
the gulf.war
'In her essay, Mieke compared one book about the gulf war with the other book about the gulf war.'

Thus, extraposition can feed RNR, and vice versa. These facts are problematic for a rightward movement account if, as Sabel (2002) argues, successive-cyclic adjunction is impossible. Such an account would have to involve successive rightward movement via a right-adjoined position. Note in this connection that (6) shows that extraposition, even if it is fed by RNR (which is known to be island-insensitive), is subject to the Right Roof Constraint (that is, it cannot cross a finite clause boundary). If successive-cyclic movement to the right were possible, we would not expect such limitations. The facts we discussed here are also problematic, we believe, for a base-generation account in terms of right-adjunction, since the intended meaning cannot be read off the syntactic structure. However, the interaction of extraposition and RNR can be explained straightforwardly if RNR is analyzed in terms of multidominance (McCawley 1982, and recently Kluck 2007), and extraposition in terms of specifying coordination (De Vries 2002, to appear).

(6) [Dat Joop het artikel van de MAN _ en het boek van de VROUW _ verbrand heeft
that Joop the article of the man and the book of the woman burnt has
(die gisteren op tv was)] vind ik vreemd. *(*die gisteren op tv was)*
who yesterday on tv was find I strange who yesterday on tv was
'I find it very strange that Joop burnt the article of the man and the book of the woman who was on tv yesterday.'

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4.

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Expressive content and logophoricity

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The aim of this note is to point out a contrast relating to the connection between expressive content and logophoricity. It seems clear that there is such a connection---Potts (2007) relativizes expressive content to a 'judge' parameter (cf. Lasersohn 2005); such judges have been argued to have connections with logophoricity by McCready (2007) and Stephenson (2007), and Schlenker (2007), in a comment on Potts's paper, proposes a treatment of expressives as a special kind of presupposition involving shiftable indexicals.

Here I would like to show that in certain respects logophoric pronouns (or, at minimum, 'long-distance' pronouns) and expressives behave similarly. Consider first the following example, from Japanese. Here, *zibun* 'self' can be bound by the matrix subject *tonari-no ossan* 'old guy next door'; it also has a reading on which it refers to the speaker.

(1) Tonari-no ossan-ga zibun-no musuko-ga zibun-no
next.door-Gen old.guy-Nom self-Gen son-Nom self-Gen
kaki-o totta to itta
persimmon-Acc picked COMP said
'The old guy next door said self's son picked self's persimmon(s)'

The sentence therefore has in principle four distinct interpretations, on which *zibun* is understood as follows (where 'o' indicates binding by *ossan* and 's' reference to, or binding by, the speaker): <o,o>, <s,s>, <o,s>, and <s,o>. Each tuple thus indicates, in sequence, the interpretations assigned to the two instances of *zibun* in the sentence. Interestingly, these sequences are all possible except for the last, *<s,o>, so the interpretation indicated below is out.

(2) *Tonari-no ossan$_{o}$-ga zibun$_{s}$-no musuko-ga zibun$_{o}$-no
next.door-Gen old.guy$_{o}$-Nom self$_{s}$-Gen son-Nom self$_{o}$-Gen
kaki-o totta to itta
persimmon-Acc picked COMP said
'The old guy next door said my son picked his persimmons'

The precise reason for this is unclear, but one suspects it relates to the impossibility of binding anaphoric/logophoric elements like *zibun* and Chinese *ziji* across first and second person pronouns (Pan 1997).

The main point to be made in this note is that expressive content behaves similarly with respect to this feature. There is an 'anti-honorific' *-yagaru* in Japanese, which indicates that the individual whose attitude the expressive describes is not happy with the subject of the sentence in which the honorific appears. Assume (following several authors) that the content of honorifics is expressive. Potts (2007) also notes that expressive content can be relativized to matrix subjects in many cases when it is embedded, in addition to having a speaker-oriented interpretation. Now consider this variation on (1) above.

(3) Tonari-no ossan-ga zibun-no musuko-ga kaki-o
next.door-Gen old.guy-Nom self-Gen son-Nom persimmon-Acc
tori-yagatta to itta
took-Antihon COMP said
'The old guy next door said self's damn$_{\{s,o\}}$ son took (his) persimmon(s)'

How is this sentence to be interpreted? Again, *zibun* can be dependent on the matrix subject or on the speaker; the same is true for the anti-honorific. Again, we have the same possible sequences above --- <o,o>, <s,s>, <o,s>, and <s,o> -- though here the second element in the sequence is to be understood as the perspective from which the antihonorific attitude is expressed. In this case as well, only the last interpretation, <s,o>, is impossible.

(4) * Tonari-no ossan-ga zibun$_{\mathbf{s}}$-no musuko-ga kaki-o
next.door-Gen old.guy-Nom self$_{\mathbf{s}}$-Gen son-Nom persimmon-Acc
tori-yagatta$_{\mathbf{o}}$ to itta
took-Antihon$_{\mathbf{o}}$ COMP said
'The old guy next door said my damn$_{\mathbf{o}}$ son took (his) persimmon(s)'

This parallel suggests that the connection between logophoricity and expressive content does indeed go deep.

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5.

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The anaphor agreement effect in Tamil

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The Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE) in (1), formulated by Rizzi (1990), captures the fact that anaphors in many languages are barred from positions that trigger agreement, as in (2).

(1) Anaphors do not occur in syntactic positions construed with agreement.

(2) *They think that each other are happy.

Woolford (1999) considers agreeing anaphors in a few languages that appear to constitute counterexamples to the AAE. She categorizes them into three types illustrated by the configurations in (3).

(3) Type 1: [$_{\text{MATRIX CLAUSE}}$ [$_{\text{EMBEDDED CLAUSE}}$ ANAP. V-*default Agr*]]
Type 2: [$_{\text{MATRIX CLAUSE}}$ [$_{\text{EMBEDDED CLAUSE}}$ ANAP. V-*anaphoric Agr*]]
Type 3: [$_{\text{MATRIX CLAUSE}}$ [$_{\text{EMBEDDED CLAUSE}}$ [$_{\text{NP}}$ ANAP. [$_{\text{N}}$ X]] V-*Agr*]]

In the first two configurations, agreement on V is atypical. It is either default agreement that does not match the phi-features of ANAP, or a special form of anaphoric agreement. In the third configuration, ANAP is embedded inside the subject as possessor and it is the whole NP that triggers agreement on V. Since there is no canonical agreement relationship between ANAP and V in all three cases, Woolford concludes that they do not constitute real counterexamples to AAE.

It has been noted in passing that Dravidian anaphors pose a genuine challenge to AAE (Kayne 1994). However, as far as we are aware of, no explicit discussion of the relevant data has been offered in the literature. We provide a relevant set of data from Tamil and note some of its implications for the AAE. Tamil anaphor *taan* can appear in (embedded) subject position and trigger agreement on V, as shown in (4):

(4) a. [*taan* *varugir-aan/*-aal* enru] Murukeecan conn-aan
self come-3sgm/3sgf comp Murugesan say-3sgm
'Murugesan said he is coming.'
b. [*taan* *varugir-aal/*-aan* enru] Mala conn-aal
self come-3sgf/3sgm comp Mala say-3sgf
'Mala said she is coming.'

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(5) a. *avan* *varugir-aan/*-aal.*
he come-3sgm/3sgf
'He is coming.'
b. *aval* *varugir-aal/*-aan.*
she come-3sgf/3sgm
'She is coming.'

The agreement on the embedded verb, *varu* 'come', in (4) must match the features of *taan* and its antecedent, ruling out the Type 1 possibility that this is default agreement. Pronoun *avan* in (5) triggers the same agreement marking on *varu* as *taan*. This excludes the Type 2 possibility that the agreement marking in (4) is something reserved just for agreeing anaphors. The mere fact that *taan* is a simple lexical item does not rule out the Type 3 possibility of positing a complex structure for it, i.e., [$_{NP}$ *taan* [$_{N}$ *ec*]], but, if this structure cannot be motivated on independent grounds, a revision of the AAE seems necessary.

It is worth noting that Woolford also discusses Tamil sentences with *taan* which do *not* counterexemplify the AAE. (6) contains a finite embedded clause with subject agreement and here the agreement is atypically first person. There is something special about the first person agreement here: first person agreement may be used in a marked situation in which the embedded clause more or less sounds like a quotation. The natural choice of agreement when we have a finite embedded clause is third person, as in our (4). (Woolford claims that finite embedded clauses that show agreement are exceptional, and that normally embedded verbs are nonfinite and do not show agreement. We disagree. Finite embedded clauses, which are introduced by a complementizer as in (4) and (6) and must show agreement, are more frequently used than nonfinite embedded clauses, which are nominalized, cf. (7), also cited by Woolford.)

(6) *Murukeecan taan* *varreen-¯u* *connaaru.*
Murugesan self come(pres.*1sg*)-quot./comp say (past.3sg.hon.)
'Murugesan said he (himself) was coming.' (Asher 1985:(5))

(7) *Taan* *varrataa* *Murukeecan* *connaaru.*
self come (pres.nom.adv suff.) Murugesan say (past.3sg.hon.)
'Murugesan said he (himself) was coming.' (Asher 1985:(13a))

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6.

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Proxy counterfactuals

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The following sentence is a paradigmatic example of a proxy counterfactual:

(1) If I were you, I would go to the beach.

According to Lewis (1973), these conditionals quantify over worlds in which the counterparts of the speaker and the counterparts of the addressee are the same. Such an analysis is problematic in that it fails to predict a number of properties of the construction. In particular, Lakoff (1996) noted the contrast here illustrated by (1) and (2):

(2) #If I were you, you would go to the beach.

It seems that Lakoff's challenge has been ignored by formal semanticists ever since. Here, I would like to argue that an account of the unacceptability of (2) needs to rule out two conceivable interpretations of the pronoun *you* in the consequent. I will assume a counterpart theory of cross-world identity.

In the first interpretation, the second occurrence of *you* in (2) would denote counterparts of the addressee that are identical to the counterparts of the speaker in each world that is quantified over by the conditional. Under this interpretation, (2) should be synonymous with (1). Note that the analysis of Lewis (1973) does not explain why this is impossible: if the antecedent identifies the counterparts of the speaker with the counterparts of the addressee and if the counterpart relations used in the consequent and the antecedent are the same, we should be able to use first and second person pronouns interchangeably as subjects of the apodosis of the conditional. That this is not so might constitute an argument against an identificational analysis of the copula in (1).

In the second interpretation, the second occurrence of *you* in (2) would denote counterparts of the addressee that are not the same as the counterparts of the speaker in the worlds quantified over by the conditional. In an analysis *a la* Lewis, this would require that two different counterpart relations be applied to the two occurrences of the pronoun *you* in (2). Moreover the subject of the protasis and the subject of the apodosis would not be coreferent. That these two conditions are not problematic as such is suggested by (3) and (4):

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(3) If I were you, I would kiss me.

(4) If I were you, Michelle would go to school instead of hanging out all day long.
[context: Michelle is the daughter of the addressee]

In (3), the two occurrences of the first person pronouns in the apodosis have two different interpretations, which can be analyzed as the result of using two different relations to pick out the counterparts of the speaker in each case. In (4), the subject of the apodosis is not coreferent with the subject of the protasis.

Given the amount of work on related issues, such as the analysis of *De Se* pronouns, it is surprising that this construction has not received more attention from formal semanticists. While analyses of proxy counterfactuals do exist (cf. Arregui 2007), they should be extended to account for the unacceptability of sentences like (2).

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7.

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A partial antecedent

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Normally, we think of deletion as targeting an entire phrase (as in VP Ellipsis) or a single word (as in simple Gapping examples). The following, though, give examples of what we might call a "partial antecedent" :

(1) The food at Burger King is pretty unspectacular. But then again, it isn't supposed to be ~~spectacular~~ / *~~unspectacular~~
(2) Fans of The Three Stooges are unsophisticated. But then again, they never claimed to be ~~sophisticated~~ / *~~unsophisticated~~
(3) Dana's promotion is unlikely. But then again, no one thinks it should be ~~likely~~ / *~~unlikely~~

Note that only parts of the antecedents *unspectacular*, *unsophisticated*, and *unlikely* seem to "copy and delete" in the second clause. This requires a polarity contrast of sorts between the two clauses; loosely put, the negative markers *not*, *never*, and *no one* appear to take the place of the negative prefix *un-*. Without a polarity contrast, we do not find partial antecedents of this type:

(4) The food at Burger King is pretty unspectacular, though admittedly one expects it to be ~~unspectacular~~ / *~~spectacular~~
(5) Fans of The Three Stooges are unsophisticated, and they claim to be ~~unsophisticated~~ / *~~sophisticated~~

Even with a polarity contrast across clauses, though, neither various Class I negative prefixes nor the Class II morpheme *non-* pattern with *un-* in this way:

(6) The puzzles in this book are impossible, but they're really not supposed to be *~~possible~~ / ~~impossible~~
(7) That juggler was particularly maladroit, but nobody thought that he would be *~~adroit~~ / ~~maladroit~~
(8) My syntax students are disenchanted, but I never expected them to be *~~enchanted~~ / ~~disenchanted~~
(9) The workers are noncompliant, but the boss didn't expect them to be *~~compliant~~ / ~~noncompliant~~

So only *un-* appears to allow for a partial antecedent. However, it does not seem to occur when material in addition to the affected adjective attempts to delete (thanks to a *Snippets* reviewer for this observation):

(10) Some say the food at Burger King has become unspectacular, and it really hasn't ~~become unspectacular~~ / *~~become spectacular~~

In sum, then, we have an interesting observation: "copy and delete" can apparently target part of an antecedent. We also have at least two puzzles: why such a phenomenon should require the prefix *un-* rather than any other negative prefix, and why it does not occur when material in addition to the affective adjective deletes.