There is reconstruction for Condition C in English questions

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Condition C reconstruction

• Theoretically foundational (Barss 1986, Heycock 1995, Fox 1999, Takahashi & Hulsey 2009, i.a.)

(0) a. *He$_i$ framed the picture of Harry$_i$.
   b. (*)Which picture of Harry$_i$ did he$_i$ frame $t$?
   c. (*)Which picture of Harry$_i$ did Meghan say he$_i$ framed $t$?

• Empirically questioned in recent experimental work (1b) (Bruening & Al-Khalaf 2019), especially at a distance (1c) (Adger et al. 2017)

• A formal, large-scale acceptability rating experiment

• There is Condition C reconstruction in English questions (1b,c)
Task

"Which picture of Harry did he frame?"

What is this asking about?

- A picture that Harry framed:
  - More natural: 4

- A picture that someone else framed:
  - More natural: 7
## Design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(I) Condition C</th>
<th>(II) Distance</th>
<th>Item + (III) Response – NAME / ELSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>SHORT</td>
<td>(1) [ Which picture of Harry ] did he frame it? A picture that Harry / someone else framed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LONG</td>
<td>(2) [ Which picture of Harry ] did Meghan say he framed it? A picture that Harry / someone else framed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>SHORT</td>
<td>(3) [ Which picture of Harry ] it made him laugh? A picture that made Harry / someone else laugh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LONG</td>
<td>(4) [ Which picture of Harry ] it made Meghan say he has good taste? A picture that suggests Harry / someone else has good taste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis

• Items: 12 sets, Latin square design, four lists
• \( n = 223 \), mixed effects models
• Baselines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>(5) [ Which statue ] did Flo say she bought ( t )?</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ELSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A statue that Flo bought.</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A statue that someone else bought.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAD</td>
<td>(6) [ Which statue ] did he say Carol made Gary sell ( t )?</td>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>ELSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A statue that Gary was speaking about.</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A statue that someone else was speaking about.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results
Comparison I: N and Task

• Number of participants, statistical power
  • 223 vs. 53/91/89 (Adger et al. 2017), 75/75/70 (Bruening & Al-Khalaf 2019)
• Task probed referential possibilities; cf. Georgi et al. (2018), German
• Adger et al. (2017): coreference possible, Yes or No?
  • Direct task encourages shallow processing
  • ‘Else’ option not salient
• Bruening & Al-Khalaf (2019): coreference with Name1 or Name2?
  • Referential preferences in complex sentences
Comparison II: Accent

• ‘Eavesdropping’ context, no special accent on the pronoun
• Georgi et al. (2018): no Condition C reconstruction with German strong demonstrative pronouns
• Yoshida et al. (2019): stripping, where ellipsis precludes accent:

(7) A: Her\textsubscript{i} friends reported that the manager wrote to John.
    B: No, [to Mary\textsubscript{j}]\textsubscript{i} her\textsubscript{i} friends reported that the manager wrote \textsubscript{t}\textsubscript{j}.

(8) A: She\textsubscript{i} reported that the manager wrote to John.
    B: *No, [to Mary\textsubscript{j}]\textsubscript{i} she\textsubscript{i} reported that the manager wrote \textsubscript{t}\textsubscript{j}.
Conclusion

• Condition C reconstruction with preposed DPs in English is experimentally observable, even at a distance
• Validates the theoretical literature that relies on its existence
References

• Adger et al. 2017. Is there Condition C reconstruction? *NELS* 47.
• Georgi et al. 2018. Condition C reconstruction in German A'-movement: an experimental investigation. QMU handout.