

LING 819 Spring 2011
Ellipsis and island violation repair

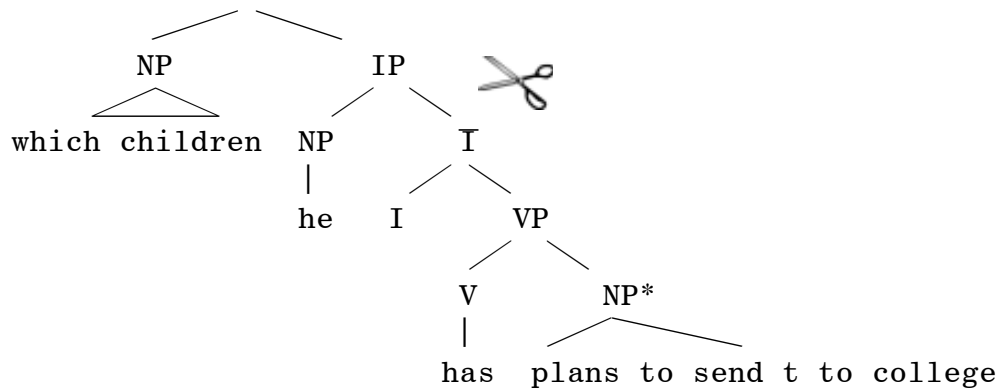
I. Instances of repair

A. The classic paradigm

- (1) I believe that he bit someone, but they don't know who (I believe that he bit)
- (2)a *I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't know who I believe the claim that he bit [Complex NP Constraint, noun complement]
b(??) I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't know who
- (3)a *Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who Irv and were dancing together [Coordinate Structure Constraint]
b(??) Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who
- (4)a *She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man who bit [Complex NP Constraint, relative clause]
b(??) She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends
- (5)a *That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that he'll hire is possible [Sentential Subject Constraint]
b (??) That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who
- All above from Ross (1969)

- (6) Ross argues that the phenomenon of island violation repair provides "evidence of the strongest sort that the theoretical power of [global] derivational constraints is needed in linguistic theory..." [p.277]
- (7) If a node is moved out of its island, an ungrammatical sentence will result. If the island-forming node does not appear in surface structure, violations of lesser severity will (in general) ensue. [p.277]
- (8)a (*) I don't know which children he has plans to send to college
b He has plans to send some of his children to college, but I don't know which ones
Chomsky (1972)

(9) I don't know CP



- (10) Chomsky rejects global derivational constraints, and suggests [see also Baker and Brame (1972), and, for an opposing view, Lakoff (1970), Lakoff (1972)] that * (# in Chomsky's presentation) is assigned to an island when it is crossed by a movement operation (the complex NP in (9)). An output condition forbidding * in surface structures accounts for the deviance of standard island violations.
- (11) If a later operation (Sluicing in this case) deletes a category containing the *-marked item, the derivation is salvaged.
- (12) For Chomsky (1972), the condition banning * applies at surface structure. The results are the same if, instead, it is a PF condition, as suggested by Lasnik (1995b), Lasnik (2001a).

B. Possible approaches not requiring repair

- (13) Someone just left - guess who it was [Pseudosluicing' (something like clefting)]
- (14) Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who it was
- (15) There is no island to repair on this copular analysis.
- (16) Merchant raises the question of the ultimate source of the copular sentences, and suggests that they are actually reduced forms of clefts with an extracted wh-phrase as pivot, as in:
- (17) Guess who [it was that just left]
- (18) But on such an account, Pseudosluicing actually wouldn't address the basic phenomenon at issue - lack of island effects - since as has been known since Ross (1967), clefts obey all the same island constraints as wh-interrogatives do
- (19) At any rate, Merchant argues convincingly that Pseudosluicing in any form cannot provide a general analysis for the Sluicing phenomenon, hence cannot provide a general answer to the repair problem.
- (20) In German, PPs can be 'survivors' of Sluicing, but can't be pivots of clefts:
- (21) *Mit wem war es, daß er gesprochen hat?
with who was it that he spoken has
- (22) Er hat mit jemandem gesprochen - rate mal mit wem!
He has with someone spoken - guess PRT with who

- (23) Further, crucially, PPs can be survivors even in island contexts.
- (24) Anke wird sich ärgern, wenn Peter mit einem der Lehrer
 Anke will REFL upset if Peter with one of the teachers
 spricht, aber ich weiß nicht mehr, *(mit) welchem.
 speaks but I know not more with which
 'Anke will get upset if Peter talks to with one of his
 teachers, but I don't remember which.'
- (25) Romanian seems to have no cleft constructions at all, but still has Sluicing.
- (26) *E Ion {ce/care} a câştigat premiul întâi
 is Ion that/who has won prize.the first
 'It's Ion that won first prize.'
- (27) *E Ion pe care (l-) am întâlnit ieri
 is Ion ACC who him- have.1sg met yesterday
 'It's Ion who I met yesterday'
- (28) Cine-va a câştigat premiul întâi – ghici cine!
 someone has won prize.the first guess who
 'Someone won first prize – guess who!'
- (29) Chung et al. (1995) argue that the amelioration of island effects with Sluicing follows from their account, in which there is no movement or deletion involved, but a type of LF copying.
- (30) However, Merchant (2001), following Ross (1969), provides strong evidence that syntactic movement (and hence deletion) *is* involved in Sluicing constructions. The evidence involves:
- (31) 'Case matching': In overtly Case inflected languages (such as German), the Case of the survivor is just what the Case of the fronted WH expression would have been in the non-elliptical form, and this is even true in the island violation configurations.
- (32) Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie wissen nicht,
 he wants someone.DAT flatter but they know not
 *wer / *wen / wem
 who.NOM who.ACC who.DAT
 'He wants to flatter someone, but they don't know who.'
 Merchant, p.89

- (33) Sie will jemanden finden, der einem der Gefangenen
 she wants someone find who one.DAT of the prisoners
 geholfen hat, aber ich weiss nicht
 helped has but I know not
 *welcher / *welchen / welchem
 which.NOM which.ACC which.DAT
 'She wants to find someone who helped one of the prisoners, but
 I don't know which.' Merchant, p.91
- (34) And preposition stranding: In languages that allow P-stranding (such as English), the
 survivor can be the bare object of a preposition; in languages that don't (such as Greek) it
 can't, and, crucially, this is even true in the island violation configurations. [Big remaining
 question: Why can't P-stranding violations be repaired by ellipsis?]
- (35) Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know who Merchant, p.92
- (36) Peter's mom will get angry if he talks with someone from his class, but I don't remember
 who
- (37) I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero *(me) pjon
 the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know with who
- (38) I mitera tou Giannis tha thimosi an milisi me kapjon
 the mom of Giannis FUT get.angry if he.talks with someone
 apo tin taksi tou, alla dhe thimame *(me) pjon
 from the class his but not I.remember with who
 'Giannis's mom will get angry if he talks with someone from his
 class, but I don't remember who.'
- (39) So there is island violation repair. Maybe along the lines of Chomsky (1972)?
- (40) Possible problem: In Chomsky's approach, "a new element is introduced..."
 Lakoff (1972, p.81)
- (41) Kitahara (1999) gives an argument reminiscent of Lakoff's against an approach like
 Chomsky's (though for a slightly different phenomenon - ECP reduction to mere
 Subjacency via deletion of *-marked trace á la Chomsky (1991), Chomsky and Lasnik
 (1993)):
- (42) "... a *-feature, which is not a lexical feature – since it appears nowhere in the lexicon – ...
 enters into a derivation as the output of certain movements. ...this assumption violates the
 Inclusiveness Condition." p.79
- (43) ??Who do you wonder [_{CP} whether [_{IP} John said [_{CP} t' [_{IP} t solved the problem]]]]
 (*)
- (44) Deletion is possible only to turn an illegitimate LF object into a legitimate one, where the
 legitimate LF objects are:

- (45)a Uniform chains (all of whose members are in A-positions; A'-positions; or X⁰-positions)
 b Operator-variable pairs.
- (46) Deletion in the chain (Who, t', t) is permissible since the chain is neither uniform (Who and t' are in A'-positions, t in an A-position) nor is it an operator-variable pair.
- (47) More generally, in the case of successive-cyclic A'-movement of an argument, an intermediate trace (starred or otherwise) can (in fact must) be deleted in LF, voiding an ECP violation when the trace to be deleted is starred.
- (48) On the other hand, long movement as in (49) **will** be an ECP violation, since the movement chain in this instance is uniformly A', so economy prevents the deletion of t':
- (49) *How do you wonder [_{CP} whether [_{IP} John said [_{CP} t' [_{IP} Mary solved the problem t]]]]
 (*)
- (50) Kitahara's alternative to *-marking (for the related phenomenon mentioned just above):
- (51) An expression is marginally deviant if its derivation employs an MLC-violating application of Attract. p.80
- (52) But how is that marginal deviance represented?
- (53) What won't work: Send the deviance information to the interface(s) immediately. This would predict that there is never repair.
- (54) Technical solution to the Inclusiveness problem: Everything is 'born' with a ✓. When a violation occurs, the ✓ is erased. A representation with an item lacking a ✓ is unacceptable.
- (55) Merchant (2001) gives an empirical argument against Chomsky's (1972) approach, based on instances of:

II. Failure of island violation repair

- (56) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which they do
 [_{VP} ~~want to hire someone who speaks t~~] Merchant (2001)
- (57) Compare (58), which also involves a relative clause island:
- (58) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language) [_{IP} ~~they want to hire someone who speaks t~~] Merchant (2001)
- (59) In fact, Chung et al. (1995) had already claimed that Sluicing and VP ellipsis diverge in this way, concluding that the latter, unlike the former, is an instance of deletion. Their example involved an adjunct island:
- (60) We left before they started playing party games.
 *What did you leave before they did [_{VP} ~~start playing t~~]?

- (61) Note, though, that this case, unlike Merchant's, is actually consistent with Chomsky's account (which Chung et al. (1995) do not consider), as the island is not eliminated in (60), unlike the situation in (56).
- (62) Merchant, on the other hand, takes all ellipsis to be PF deletion, and argues that only some islands represent PF effects. Others, especially including relative clause islands, are LF constraints, and their violation therefore cannot be repaired by ellipsis, a PF process.
- (63) (58) is then reanalyzed as:
- (64) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language) [_{IP} ~~she should speak *t*~~] [See also Baker and Brame (1972)]
- (65) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language –
Guess which [~~she speaks *t*~~]
- (66) No-one moved to a certain town – guess which! Merchant p.225
- (67) (66) has no island, so is unproblematic. But...
- (68) Noone had a student who worked on a certain Balkan language, but I can't remember which Balkan language Lasnik (2001b)
- (69) There are also cases where structure that includes the island must exist in the Sluicing site in order to license an item in the Sluicing remnant:
- (70) Every linguist_i met a philosopher who criticized some of his_i work, but I'm not sure how much of his_i work [~~every linguist_i met a philosopher who criticized *t*~~]
- (71) Each of the linguists met a philosopher who criticized some of the other linguists, but I'm not sure how many of the other linguists
- (72) !How many of the other linguists did the philosopher criticize
- (73) Consider now Merchant's PF islands: COMP-trace effects; derived positions (topicalizations, ?subjects)
- (74) It appears that a certain senator will resign, but which senator [~~it appears that *t* will resign~~] is still a secret [adapted from Merchant p.185]
- (75) Sally asked if somebody was going to fail Syntax One, but I can't remember who [~~Sally asked if *t* was going to fail Syntax One~~] Merchant p.185, from Chung et al. (1995)
- (76) She said that a biography of one of the Marx brothers is going to be published this year, but I don't remember which [~~she said that a biography of *t* is going to be published this year~~] [adapted from Merchant p.185]
- (77) Recall the apparent failure of island violation repair with Merchant's LF island:
- (78) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which they do [_{VP} ~~want to hire someone who speaks *t*~~]
- (79) Surprisingly, we find the same apparent failure of repair with Merchant's PF islands [Lasnik (2001)]:

- (80) *It appears that a certain senator will resign, but which senator it does [~~appear that *t* will resign~~] is still a secret [that-trace]
- (81) *Sally asked if somebody was going to fail Syntax One, but I can't remember who she did [~~ask if *t* was going to fail Syntax One~~] [if-trace]
- (82) *She said that a biography of one of the Marx brothers is going to be published this year, but I don't remember which she did [~~say that a biography of *t* is going to be published this year~~] [subject condition]
- (83) And now notice that parallel 'failure of repair' obtains even when there was no violation in the first place.
- (84) Extraction out of an embedded clause is typically fine and Sluicing is just as good, but VPE is bad:
- (85) They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language they said they heard about
- (86) They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language
- (87) *They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language they did
- (88) Similarly for extraction out of an object NP:
- (89) They heard a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language they heard a lecture about
- (90) They heard a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language
- (91) *They heard a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language they did
- (92) Even short movement of a direct object shows rather similar behavior:
- (93) They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan language they studied
- (94) They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan language
- (95) ??They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan language they did
- (96) Is VPE blocked when Sluicing is available (Merchant's MaxElide, sort of 'Delete as much as you can')?
- (97) Someone solved the problem.
Who (?did)?
- (98) Is a VPE site precluded from containing a WH trace?
- (99) I know what I like and what I don't Merchant p.58 [See Fiengo and May (1994) for similar examples.]

III. Towards a Solution [This section is based on Fox and Lasnik (2003)]

- (100) The constraint seems to be specific to VPE, and seems limited specifically to circumstances where an indefinite antecedes a WH-trace. In fact, in other circumstances, VPE can even repair actual island violations:

- (101) *[How interesting] did Brio write [a *t* novel]
- (102)a Pico wrote a more interesting novel than Brio did
 b Pico wrote a more interesting novel than [*Op* Brio did write a *t* novel]
 Kennedy and Merchant (2000)
- (103) For the ill-formed VPE cases above, which contrasted with the Sluicing examples, the fact that VPE deletes a smaller portion of the structure than Sluicing (IP ellipsis) could be relevant.
- (104) But first, a prior question: Why can an indefinite antecede a WH-trace?
- (105)a An old idea: a WH expression combines an interrogative and an indefinite. (See, among many other references, Stockwell et al. (1973, p.606)
 b The 'trace' is the indefinite.
- (106) Fred said that Mary talked to a certain girl, but I don't know which girl <~~Fred said that Mary talked to t~~>
- (107) Suppose, following Chung et al. (1995), that the indefinite must be bound by existential closure in a way that is parallel to the wh-dependency in the sluiced clause
- (108) And suppose, contra Merchant (2001), that formal parallelism is required for ellipsis. This is satisfied since the variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound by parallel operators and from parallel positions. [The verbal morphology facts discussed in Section 1, Part IV support the idea that some kind of formal identity is required for ellipsis.]
- (109) Now notice that in the structure shown, there are no intermediate traces in the elided portion (in angle brackets), indicating that there were no intermediate landing sites in the movement.
- (110) If there had been successive movement, under plausible assumptions the relevant portions of the antecedent and the ellipsis site would not be parallel, and this would prevent ellipsis.
- (111)a This seems to be problematic under the assumption that successive cyclic movement is required by considerations of locality.
 b But as discussed earlier, considerations of locality are nullified under deletion (island repair, as in the proposal of Chomsky (1972) or Lasnik (2001a)).
- (112) But why is there no 'repair' with VPE?
- (113) VPE involves deletion of a smaller constituent than the clause that is elided in sluicing (VP vs. TP):
- (114) which girl [_{TP} he T [_{AspP} did <_{VP} say that I talked to g(girl)>]]
- (115) *Fred said that Mary talked to a certain girl, but I don't know which girl he did

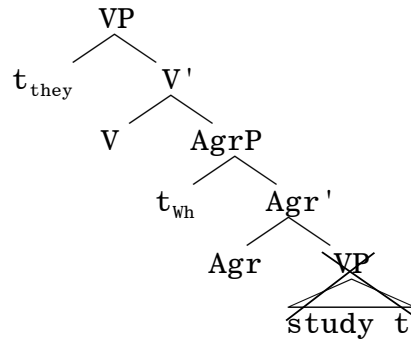
- (116) The unacceptability of VPE follows if we assume that one of the two remaining maximal projections, AspP or TP, is an 'island' that must be circumvented by adjunction or repaired by deletion. [This roughly follows the claim of Chomsky (1986) that all XPs are potential barriers.] Since the island is not deleted, the escape hatch is required, and a violation of Parallelism is unavoidable.
- (117) An interesting consequence of this line of analysis: Movement must not be allowed to proceed in one long 'island-violating' step followed by short successive steps. If this were allowed, the ellipsis site could lack any intermediate traces, making it parallel to its antecedent. And the undeleted portion could be free of *s.
- (118) Metaphorically, when you enter the subway, once you have chosen the express, you can't switch to a local train at a local stop.
- (119) This line of reasoning straightforwardly covers the badness of the classic island situations discussed by Merchant.
- (120) Since this account of the contrast between VPE and sluicing relies crucially on the fact that there is movement in the elided constituent but not in the antecedent constituent, a prediction is that if the antecedent clause is replaced with a clause that involves movement, both VPE and sluicing would be possible.
- (121)a I know which book John said that Mary read, but YOU don't know which one
 b ?I know which book John said that Mary read, but YOU don't know which one he did.

Compare:

- (122)a I know that John said that Mary read a certain book, but I don't know which one.
 b *I know that John said that Mary read a certain book, but I don't know which one he did.
- (123) Now recall the somewhat less degraded status of very short movement cases such as (95), repeated here:
- (124) ??They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan language they did
- (125) This can now plausibly be explained in terms of Pseudogapping. The WH-trace can be completely outside of the ellipsis site, so parallelism is not at issue for it. If I am right that the raising of the Pseudogapping survivor is A-movement, it follows that long distance instances will still not be possible.

- (126) [_{CP} which Balkan language [_{TP} they T [_{AspP} did [_{VP} t_{they} [_{AgRP} t_{Wh} [_{VP} study t]]]]]]]
 Lasnik (1995a)

(127)



(128) (?)Mary studied Bulgarian and John did Macedonian

(129) Finally (and most speculatively) violations of island constraints with wh-movement of adjuncts cannot be repaired.

(130) A student solved the problem (somehow), but I'm not sure exactly how

(131) *Mary met a student who solved the problem (somehow), but I'm not sure exactly how

(132) *That Susan will solve the problem (somehow) is unclear, and I think I know how

(133) This will follow on the theory of Lasnik and Saito (1984), Lasnik and Saito (1992) that the locality constraints on adjuncts (unlike those on arguments) must be satisfied at LF. Thus, PF deletion will be of no avail.

(134) In fact, as Benjamin Bruening observes, it is generally very difficult to get 'long distance' readings of wh-adjuncts in Sluicing constructions altogether:

(135) John left (for some reason), but I don't know [_{CP} exactly why [_{IP} ~~John left~~ *t*]]

(136)?*Mary claimed that John left (for some reason), but I don't know [_{CP} exactly why [_{IP} ~~Mary claimed [that John left~~ *t*]]]

(137)?*Bob thinks that Mary fixed the car (somehow) but I don't know exactly how [_{IP} ~~Bob thinks that Mary fixed the car~~ *t*]

(138) This too could generally follow from the Lasnik-Saito approach to locality, though some details would have to be reconsidered. I abstract away from those details here.

Appendix A

Sluicing ≠ Clefting

Merchant discusses 'Pseudosluicing' (cleft + deletion of 'it is/was') and argues in 4.2.2 that Sluicing cannot be reduced to Pseudosluicing.

(A1) Someone just left - guess who ~~it was~~

This is of interest since Pseudosluicing is a seductive alternative to island violation repair (in fact, very much in the spirit of Merchant's own alternative in the case of relative clause islands). Merchant gives 10 strong counterarguments (only a few of which are actually relevant to our immediate concern - island repair).

1. Adjuncts and implicit arguments

(A2) He fixed the car, but I don't know how (*it was)

(A3) They served the guests, but I don't know what (*it was)

<<Not relevant since no island violation 'repair' with Sprouting anyhow; and probably no long distance at all.>>

2. Prosody

(A4) Someone gave me a valentine, but

a. I don't know WHO

b. I don't know who it WAS

c. *I don't WHO it was

<<Relevant, I think. Standard Sluicing intonation obtains even with island violations.

(A5) John will leave if someone shows up, but he won't say WHO>>

3. Aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases

(A6) Someone dented my car last night -

a. I wish I knew who

b. I wish I knew who the hell it was

c. *I wish I knew who the hell

<<Not relevant, since here no Sluicing is possible.>>

6. Else-modification

(A7) Harry was there, but I don't know who else (*it was)

<<This is a special kind of Sluicing where the antecedent of the wh-trace is not an indefinite.>>

<<Apparently, this kind of Sluicing is not possible out of islands:

(A8) *That Harry came is unfortunate, but I don't know who else

Why it isn't is an interesting question.>>

7. Wh-preposition inversion

(A9) They were arguing, but we couldn't figure out what about

(A10) *[What about] was it (that they were arguing)

<<I believe that these are only ever possible with no antecedent (Sprouting), but then no islands possible at all, and, if I'm right, not even long distances cases.>>

<Merchant gives some non-Sprouting ones he indicates as good, but I'm a bit skeptical>

(A11) He was shouting to someone, but it was impossible to tell who to

(A12) A: She's going to leave her fortune to someone. B: Really? Who to?

8. Languages with limited or no cleft strategy

-In German, PPs can be survivors of Sluicing, but can't be pivots of clefts.

(A13) *Mit wem war es, daß er gesprochen hat?
with whom was it that he spoken has

(A14) Er hat mit jemandem gesprochen - rate mal mit wem!
He has with someone spoken - guess PRT with who

-Further, PPs can be survivors even in island contexts.

(A15) Anke wird sich ärgern, wenn Peter mit einem der Lehrer
Anke will REFL upset if Peter with one of the teachers
spricht, aber ich weiß nicht mehr, *(mit) welchem.
speaks but I know not more with which

'Anke will get upset if Peter talks to with one of his teachers, but I don't remember which.'

<<This argument does seem directly relevant.>>

-Romanian is claimed to have no cleft constructions at all, but still has Sluicing.

(A16) *E Ion {ce/care} a câştigat premiul întâi
is Ion that/who has won prize.the first
'It's Ion that won first prize.'

(A17) *E Ion pe care (l-) am întâlnit ieri
is Ion ACC who him- have.1sg met yesterday
'It's Ion who I met yesterday'

(A18) Cine-va a câştigat premiul întâi – ghici cine!
someone has won prize.the first guess who
'Someone won first prize – guess who!'

<<This one, too, is directly relevant, assuming that Sluicing in Romanian repairs island violations. As far as I can tell Merchant provides no pertinent data.>>

9. Languages with pivots of clefts in the nominative

- Greek is claimed to be one of the Case matching languages in Sluicing, but a cleft pivot is nominative.

(A19) I astinomia anerkrine enan apo tous Kiprious prota, ala dhen ksero
the police interrogated one_{acc} from the Cypriots first but not I.know
{*pjos / pjon}.
which_{nom} / which_{acc}
{pjos itan / *pjon itan}.
which_{nom} it was / which_{acc} it was

<<Again, a powerful argument, assuming, again, that Greek island violating Sluicing shows Case matching, as Merchant indicates. Merchant actually doesn't provide Case matching data even for

‘short’ instances. He says "The case of a sluiced wh-phrase...must match the case of its correlate (as discussed in chapter 3, §3.2.1 above)." pp.148 But there, the only discussion of Greek is the following: "...this case-matching property holds in every language with overt case-marking on wh-phrases that I have examined (German, Greek, Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovene, Finnish, Hindi, Hungarian, Basque...)" p.108 Then, after giving an apparent island instance from German he reports that "...this generalization [that case matching holds even in island contexts] holds in the nine other languages I have checked as well (Greek, Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovene, Finnish, Hindi, Hungarian, Basque...)" p.109>>

<<Interestingly, the German example has a relative clause island. But, as we have seen, Merchant denies that relative clause islands are repairable.>>

Appendix B Speculations on P-stranding

- (B1) As noted earlier, P-stranding violations evidently cannot be repaired by ellipsis. This is rather mysterious, in fact paradoxical if the P-stranding constraint is an "island constraint".
- (B2) Abels (2003) shows that in one crucial respect, the P-stranding prohibition (in languages that exhibit it) diverges from standard island constraints: While the complement of the P cannot move, subextraction out of the PP is (sometimes) possible.
- (B3) Some Russian examples:
- (B4) Ot čego sleduet otkazaťsja
Of what follows give up-self
'What should one give up?'
- (B5) *Čego sleduet otkazaťsja ot
what follows give up-self of
- (B6) ?Na čto sleudet otkazaťsja ot vsjačeskih pretenzij
on what follows give up-self of whatsoever hopes
'What should one rid oneself of any kind of hope for?'
- (B7) *Kakih argumentah protiv ehtoj točki zrenija ty ešče ne slyšal o
which arguments against this point view you yet not heard about
'Which arguments against this point of view haven't you heard about?'
- (B8) ?Protiv kakov točki zrenija ty ešče ne slyšal ob argumentah
against which point view you yet not heard about arguments
'Against which point of view haven't you heard about arguments?'
- (B9) "The existence of examples like [(B6)] shows that PPs are not inherently barriers to movement. Moreover, the sharp contrast between [(B5)] and [(B6)] shows that subextraction out of PP and P-stranding are clearly different phenomena." p. 160
- (B10) Standard island violations (at least most of them) do not show this pattern. Rather, extraction from deeper in the island is still bad.

- (B11) *That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that he'll hire is possible
[Sentential Subject Constraint]
- (B12) *That Mary thinks he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that Mary thinks he'll hire is possible
- (B13)a *She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man who bit [Complex NP Constraint, relative clause]
- (B14)a *She kissed a man who Bill said bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man who Bill said bit [Complex NP Constraint, relative clause]
- (B15) **DIGRESSION** 'Deeper' Coordinate Structure Constraint violations do improve. I won't have anything to say about that here.
- (B16) **Who was John dancing with Mary and
- (B17) *Who was John dancing with Mary and a student of
- END OF DIGRESSION**
- (B18) So why can't P-Stranding violations be repaired? I conjecture (roughly following a suggestion of Merchant (2001) for another phenomenon) that there is a distinction between constraints whose violations are marked in the output and those that are more strictly properties of derivations. (See, in this connection, Lasnik (2001a) and Boeckx and Lasnik (2006).)
- (B19) 'Derivational' constraints can't be repaired (Merchant's suggestion about Superiority).
- (B20) Suppose now that the P-stranding constraint is derivational: the A-over-A.
- (B21) Chomsky (1973) proposed this in anticipation of Postal's argument against successive cyclic wh-movement (Postal (1972)).
- (B22)a To whom do you think (that) John talked
b Who do you think (that) John talked to
c *Who do you think to (that) John talked
- (B23) To allow (B22)a and (B22)b, Chomsky proposes that the wh-feature on *who(m)* can 'percolate' to the PP *to whom*.
- (B24) (B22)c is still not possible, since the initial move of the PP means the feature has percolated, so the second step is impossible, by the A-over-A condition.
- (B25) Suppose then that the difference (or one of the differences) between languages that do and don't allow P-stranding in initial position is whether the wh-feature **can** or **must** percolate from DP to immediately dominating PP.
- (B26) In the latter type of language, even the first P-stranding step would violate the A-over-A. And if we continue to take that as a constraint on the operation of the transformation, P simply couldn't be stranded, so repair would never be a possibility.

- (B27) As Ross (1969) observes, even in English, pied piping is sometimes required:
- (B28)a Under what circumstances will the moon implode
 b *What circumstances will the moon implode under
- (B29) Ross does not point out, though, that this English violation can be repaired by Sluicing:
- (B30) The moon will implode under certain circumstances, but I'm not sure exactly what circumstances
- (B31) Thus, the English effect does pattern with island constraints. In fact, the CED (which bars extraction out of adjuncts) seems like the relevant island constraint, at least for this example.
- (B32) **PROBLEM (OR MYSTERY?)** Almeida (2005) observes that Brazilian Portuguese is a strongly non-P-stranding language, yet Sluicing seems to repair violations, unlike the situation in the languages documented by Merchant (2001):
- (B33) A Maria dançou com alguém
 the Maria danced with someone
- (B34) Com quem que a Maria dançou *t*
 with whom that the Maria danced
- (B35)*Quem que a Maria dançou com *t*
 who that the Maria danced with
- (B36) A Maria dançou com alguém, mas eu não lembro com quem
 the Maria danced with someone but I NEG remember with who
- (B37) A Maria dançou com alguém, mas eu não lembro quem
 the Maria danced with someone but I NEG remember who

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