Arguments against Island Repair:

Evidence from Contrastive TP Ellipsis

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1 Introduction

In this paper, I defend the claim that TP-ellipsis (TPE, e.g. sluicing, fragment utterances) doesn't repair island violations hidden in the ellipsis site. I show that this also provides us with a way of understanding why contrastive TPE fails to show repair effects (cf. Griffiths and Lipták 2011, Lasnik 2011a, Merchant 2008). Example (1) illustrates a case of *sluicing*, a form of TPE where TP is elided in a Wh-interrogative, leaving a Wh-phrase overt. Speaker B's response in (2) illustrates a *fragment answer*.

(1) Jack ate something, but I don't know what.

(2) A: Who does Jack like?
B: Sally.

I adopt the following standard assumptions about TPE: TPE involves $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement of an XP, followed by TP deletion. The $\overline{\text{A}}$-moved XP corresponds to the phrases 'what' and 'Sally' in examples (1) and (2), respectively. I refer to this XP as the *remnant*. Typically, the remnant *corresponds*, in some intuitive sense, to some XP in the antecedent, referred to as the remnant's *correlate*; in (1), (2), these are the phrases *something* and *who*, respectively. TP deletion is understood as involving an instruction to PF not to parse the complement of C^0 (Merchant 2001, 2004).[1]

The general schema for TPE is given in (3). Throughout, I represent the elided TP as TP_E and the antecedent as TP_A, and I underline the correlate in the antecedent. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the corresponding structural analyses for (1) and (2), respectively.

(3) $[_{TP_A} \ldots \underline{\text{correlate}} \ldots] \ldots [_{CP}\ \text{remnant}_i\ C^0\ [_{TP_E} \ldots t_i \ldots]]$

(4) a. $[_{TP_A}$ Jack ate <u>something</u>], but I don't know what $[_{TP_E}\quad]$
b. $[_{CP}\ \text{what}_i\ [_{TP_E}$ he ate t_i]]

(5) a. A: <u>Who</u> does $[_{TP_A}$ Jack like]? B: Sally $[_{TP_E}\quad]$
b. $[_{CP}\ \text{Sally}_i\ [_{TP_E}$ He likes t_i]]

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[1] TPE constitutes a kind of 'surface anaphora' in the sense of Hankamer and Sag (1976).

Since Ross (1969), it is standardly assumed that sluicing can fix island violations (6). Recently, Barros (2011), Griffiths and Lipták (2011) noted that fragments also may (7), so that repair appears to be a general property of TP ellipsis (the 'repair approach'). ☹ marks the left edge of an island.

(6) a. [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who speaks <u>a Balkan language</u>],
but I don't know which one [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

b. * . . . which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ they hired someone ☹ who speaks t_{i}].

(7) a. A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Did Bill leave ☹ because <u>someone</u> didn't dance with him]?
B: Yes, Sally [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$] in fact.

b. * B: Sally$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ he left ☹ because t_{i} didn' dance with him].

Some have argued that, instead, island repair is only apparent (non-repair approaches), and that the elided structure is 'shorter' than the Full Antecedent (a 'short source').[2] The alternative, non-island containing parses for (6), (7) are given below in (8), (9), respectively.[3]

(8) a. [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ They hired someone ☹ who [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>a Balkan language</u>]] ,

b. . . . but I don't know which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SE}}}$ they (the new-hire) speak t_{i}]?

(9) a. A: Did [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ Bill leave ☹ because [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ <u>someone</u> wouldn't dance with him]]?

b. B: Yes, Sally$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SE}}}$ t_{i} wouldn't dance with him] in fact.

The gist of the argument behind non-repair approaches is that the elided structure is ambiguous from an analytical standpoint; when the correlate is contained inside an island, we can't be sure whether the elided TP is picking up the minimal TP containing the correlate as its antecedent, or some TP containing the island. If the elided TP picks up the island-containing TP as its antecedent, we're forced to accept the presence of an island violation in the ellipsis site, but not otherwise; there is no reason, a priori, to assume that an island violation obtains in the ellipsis site.

Contrast sluicing (sluicing with contrastively focused correlates) presents a puzzle for both repair and non-repair approaches. Contrast sluicing fails to repair island violations, Merchant (2008) (even apparently). Consider (10a), where the correlate *GREEK* is contained inside an island (I represent contrastive focus with italicized capital letters).

(10) a. * [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>]],
but I don't know which *OTHER* languages [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

b. ✓ [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Bill speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>], but I don't know which *OTHER* languages [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

The same is true for contrastive fragments (Griffiths and Lipták 2011):

(11) a. A: Did [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Bill leave ☹ because [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ <u>*CHRISTINE*</u> wouldn't dance with him]]?
B: *No, *SALLY* [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

[2]cf. e.g. Merchant (2001), Szczegielniak (2008).

[3]The subscript 'SA' is short for 'short antecedent', meaning, a candidate antecedent TP in the preceding utterance that does not contain an island; 'SE' means 'short ellipsis' which entails that the antecedent for $\mathrm{TP_E}$ is a TP subscripted with 'SA'.

b. A: Did $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ <u>*SALLY*</u> not dance with Bill]?
B: ✓No, *CHRISTINE* $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

The question posed for repair approaches by the contrastive TPE data is 'Why can't ellipsis fix island violations in contrastive cases?' (**Q1**). The question posed for non-repair approaches is 'Why isn't a short source available in contrastive cases?' (**Q2**). The answers I provide for Q1 and Q2 are as follows.

Q1: why can't ellipsis fix island violations in contrastive cases?

A1: Ellipsis cannot repair islands at all.

Q2: why isn't a short source available in contrastive cases?

A2: Independently motivated considerations about contrastive focus licensing ensure that short sources are unavailable in contrastive TPE contexts.

I provide evidence that contrastive TPE doesn't allow for short sources. Therefore, we can be certain that $\mathrm{TP_E}$ contains an island in contrastive TPE contexts; contrastive TPE can be seen as the relevant control in addressing the repair question. Since Contrastive TPE fails to yield what I will refer to as "repair effects", we can conclude that ellipsis does not repair islands.

Some relevant terminology/notations I adopt.

$\mathrm{TP_A}$: A candidate antecedent TP.

$\mathrm{TP_E}$: The elided TP.

$\mathrm{TP_{SA}}$: A non-matrix candidate antecedent TP that does not contain an island.

$\mathrm{TP_{SE}}$: An elided TP that takes a $\mathrm{TP_{SA}}$ as an antecedent.

SA construal: The interpretation resulting from $\mathrm{TP_E}$ taking a $\mathrm{TP_{SA}}$ as an antecedent (i.e. a $\mathrm{TP_{SE}}$)

NSA construal: Non-SA construal (i.e. $\mathrm{TP_E}$ takes a $\mathrm{TP_A}$ as an antecedent).

As an illustration, example (12a) shows what happens in contrastive TPE when the correlate is contained in an island in the antecedent. An NSA construal for $\mathrm{TP_E}$ entails there is an island violation in the ellipsis site. In non-contrastive TPE, (12b), an SA construal is available.

(12) a. * $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>], but I don't know which *OTHER* languages$_{\mathrm{i}}$ $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ they hired someone ☹ who speaks t_{i}].

b. ✓ $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>a Balkan language</u>]], but I don't know which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SE}}}$ they speak t_{i}].

In section 2, I show that SA construals are unavailable in contrastive TPE but available in non-contrastive TPE. In section 3, I provide a pragmatic account of these facts where constraints on focus licensing derive the pattern. In section 4, I discuss other conceptual and empirical reasons why we should adopt the non-repair approach. In section 5, I compare the non-repair approach to contrastive island sensitivity defended here with the recent proposal in Griffiths and Lipták (2011).

2 Full/Partial-antecedent effects in TPE

When the antecedent has more than one TP, which TP counts as the antecedent for the ellipsis can be ambiguous (Chung et al. 1995). Sometimes we can force one or another reading. The SA construal is illustrated in (13), the NSA construal, in (14). The observation that which TP may count as the antecedent for TP_E may be ambiguous has been made independently in Chung et al. (1995), Merchant (2001).

(13) $[_{TP_A}$ Sally heard that $[_{TP_{SA}}$ Bill met <u>someone</u>]], (forced SA construal)
but she didn't hear who $[_{TP_E}$].

a. = She didn't hear who he met. (SA construal)

b. ≠ She didn't hear who she heard that he met. (NSA construal)

(14) A: $[_{TP_A}$ <u>Who</u> does Sally think $[_{TP_{SA}}$ Chris met]]? (forced NSA construal)
B: Matt $[_{TP_E}$].

a. ≠ He met Matt. (SA construal)

b. = She thinks he met Matt. (NSA construal)

This data shows us that SA construals must be available in principle in order to get the right interpretation for (13a), and that the same is true for NSA construals in order to get the right interpretation for fragment answers as in (14b). In the following section, I illustrate that contrastive TPE forces NSA construals for TP_E.

2.1 Full Antecedent effects in contrastive TPE

For contrastive fragment assertions, only the NSA construal is available for TP_E.[4]

(15) A: Does $[_{TP_A}$ Bill think $[_{TP_{SA}}$ Sally speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>]]?
B: No, *ALBANIAN* $[_{TP_E}$].

a. = No, he doesn't think she speaks Greek, he thinks she speaks Albanian. (NSA)

b. ≠ No, he doesn't think she speaks Greek, she speaks Albanian. (SA construal)

(16) A: Did $[_{TP_A}$ Sally hear that $[_{TP_{SA}}$ Christine won't dance with <u>*JACK*</u>]]?
B: No, *ROBERT* $[_{TP_E}$].

a. = No, Sally didn't hear that Christine won't dance with Jack, She heard that she won't dance with Robert. (NSA)

b. ≠ No, Sally didn't hear that Christine won't dance with Jack, she won't dance with Robert. (SA)

Just as for contrastive fragments, contrastive sluicing also forces a Full Antecedent parse.

[4] One relevant observation, for the contrastive assertion cases at least, is that an overt follow-up corresponding to the SA construal is infelicitous (the reader may confirm this by checking to see whether the provided parses after '≠' are felicitous when overt). This is not true for the contrastive sluicing cases, however, as the reader can confirm. I lack an account for this difference, but it is encouraging for the account I will present below, which is a pragmatic account, that overt follow-ups corresponding to SA construals in contrastive TPE contexts are infelicitous. Since the pattern doesn't generalize to the sluicing cases, I hesitate to take advantage of these facts in support of my account. In contrast, the judgements reported for non-overt elliptical cases are consistent across both fragment assertions and sluicing.

(17) [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Sally heard that [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Bill speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>]],
but I don't know which *OTHER* languages [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. = which *other* languages she heard that he speaks. (NSA).

b. $\neq$ which *other* languages he speaks. (SA).

(18) <u>Which *BALKAN* language</u> does [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Sally think [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Bill speaks]],
and which *AUSTRONESIAN* language [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$] for that matter?

a. = and Which Austronesian language does she think he speaks, for that matter? (NSA)

b. $\neq$ and Which Austronesian language does he speak, for that matter? (SA)

In the following section, I illustrate that non-contrastive TPE allows for SA construals for $\mathrm{TP_E}$. In these cases, either NSA or SA construals are possible.

2.2 Non-contrastive TPE allows for short sources

Fragment assertions Either NSA or SA construals are possible.[5]

(19) A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Sally heard that [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Bill likes <u>someone</u>]].
B: Yes, Christine [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$], in fact.

a. = Yes, She heard that he likes Christine, in fact. (NSA).

b. = Yes, He likes Christine, in fact. (SA).

(20) A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Sally thinks that [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Bill speaks <u>a Balkan language</u>]].
B: Yes, Albanian [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$], in fact.

a. = Yes, She thinks he speaks Albanian, in fact. (NSA)

b. = Yes, He speaks Albanian, in fact. (SA)

Sluicing

(21) [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Jack thinks [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Bill likes <u>someone</u>]], I wonder who [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. = Who Jack thinks Bill likes. (NSA)

b. = Who Bill likes. (SA)

(22) [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ The newspaper reported that [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ they are about to appoint <u>someone</u>]], but I don't recall who [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. = Who the newspaper reported that they are about to appoint. (NSA)

[5] As shown in examples (13), (14), an embedded or matrix parse can be forced for non-contrastive TPE; I tried as best as I could to avoid examples that privilege one reading or another in illustrating non-contrastive TPE ambiguity with respect to whether NSA or SA was privileged in a given example. My methodology was admittedly informal; I asked colleagues whether they could get the SA construal for contrastive and non-contrastive cases; the data I report here mirrors the response patterns, paraphrasable as "I can get the SA construal" in non-contrastive cases, and "I can't get the SA" in the contrastive cases. Personally, I notice a difference with respect to the choice of embedding verb; the SA construal is more readily available in non-contrastive cases when the embedding verb is 'hear', as opposed to 'think', for which the SA construal is slightly more difficult. Importantly, all informants found the SA construal to be *much* more difficult, when at all possible, in contrastive TPE contexts, matching my own judgements; hence the reported judgements herein.

b. = Who they are about to appoint. (SA)
(Chung et al. 1995, examples (39), (40))

Empirical/Conceptual Consequences

Before providing an account for the pattern, it should be noted that we have enough already to argue against repair approaches; SA construals are unavailable in contrastive TPE contexts, so that contrastive TPE contexts are the crucial test case for answering the repair question. Given that NSA construals are required, if a contrastive correlate is contained in an island, an island violation will obtain in the ellipsis site.

(23) $* \, [_{\mathrm{TP_A}} \ldots [_{☹} \, [_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}} \ldots \underline{\textit{CORRELATE}} \ldots]]] \ldots \textit{REMNANT}_{\mathrm{i}} \, [_{\mathrm{TP_E}} \ldots [_{☹} \, [_{\mathrm{TP}} \ldots t_{\mathrm{i}} \ldots]]].$

Contrastive TPE doesn't allow for SA construals, non-contrastive TPE does. In island cases, this predicts that we should get unacceptable contrastive TPE's IF we adopt the notion that ellipsis cannot fix island violations.

3 Accounting for Full Antecedent Effects

In this section I provide an account for the unavailability of SA construals under contrastive TPE. I argue that this stems from constraints on focus licensing; SA construals in contrastive TPE contexts give rise to 'incongruent' discourses (in the sense of Büring 2003, Roberts 1996).

A relevant observation is that fragment answers to Wh-questions in general require an NSA construal. I assume this follows from simple question/answer congruence.

(24) A: <u>Who</u> does $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Jack think $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Sally hates]]?
B: Christine $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].
a. = He thinks she hates Christine. (NSA)
b. $\neq$ She hates Christine. (SA)

I adopt the characterization of Q/A congruence in Roberts (1996), given in (25). Adopting the notation in Rooth (1992), $[\![\mathrm{U}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}}$ constitutes a 'focus value' for U, in the way it is usually understood, i.e. a set of alternative interpretations differing with respect to different values substituted for a variable replacing the F(ocus)-marked element.[6] $[\![\mathrm{U}]\!]^{\mathrm{o}}$ constitutes the 'regular semantic value' of an utterance (e.g. a set of propositions for a question).

(25) **Congruence (Roberts 1996):**
An utterance, U, is *congruent* to a question, Q, iff $[\![\mathrm{U}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}} = [\![\mathrm{Q}]\!]^{\mathrm{o}}$
a. $[\![\mathrm{U}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}}$ = a set of interpretations varying with respect to values for variables replacing F-marked parts of U.[7]
b. $[\![\mathrm{Q}]\!]^{\mathrm{o}}$ = a set of possible answers to Q (as in e.g. Hamblin 1973).

[6] e.g. for 'Jack$_{\mathrm{F}}$ left', this would be a set of propositions of the form $\{ x \text{ left} : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle} \}$, where '$\mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$' = the domain of individuals in a given model. Basically a set like { Bill left, Jack left, Sally left, ... }, with an additional proposition in the set for each distinct value for *x* in the domain.

[7] Importantly, Roberts (1996) assumes Wh-phrases are F-marked for the purposes of calculating $[\![\mathrm{U}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}}$ when U is a question.

In (24), the answer corresponding to the NSA construal, as in (26b), is congruent (26d). An SA construal for the answer, as in (26c), is incongruent (26e). I represent F-marking with an 'F' subscript.

(26) a. $[\![\text{Who does Jack think Sally hates?}]\!]^{o}$: $\{$ Jack thinks Sally hates $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}$ $\}$

b. $[\![\text{Jack thinks Sally hates Christine}_{F}]\!]^{f}$: $\{$ Jack thinks Sally hates $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}\}$ (NSA)

c. $[\![\text{Sally hates Christine}_{F}]\!]^{f}$: $\{$ Sally hates $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}\}$ (SA)

d. (26a) = (26b)

e. (26a) $\neq$ (26c)

Thus, the SA construal for the fragment in (24) is ruled out on independent pragmatic grounds stemming from conditions on focus licensing in answers. As I will show, essentially the same considerations force NSA parses in contrastive TPE contexts.

I adopt the theory of information structure in Roberts (1996), where F-marking presupposes congruence with a Question under Discussion (QuD), which may be implicit or explicit.

(27) **Presupposition of prosodic focus in an utterance, U**: (Roberts 1996, (28))
U is congruent to the QuD at the time of utterance.

In (24), the QuD is speaker A's (explicit) Wh-question, which licenses F-marking on 'Christine'. Thus, an NSA construal for TP_E satisfies (27).

3.1 Extension to Contrastive Fragment Assertions

In contrastive TPE, the antecedent contains a focused correlate; therefore, by (27), it must be congruent to some QuD. For the Yes/No question antecedent in (28), we can identify such a QuD by taking the focus value of the antecedent. This is so because congruence is equivalence, so by (27): $[\![\text{QuD}]\!]^{o} = [\![\text{Antecedent}]\!]^{f}$.

(28) A: Does $[_{TP_A}$ Jack think Sally hates ***BILL***$]$?
B: No, *CHRISTINE* $[_{TP_E}$ $]$.

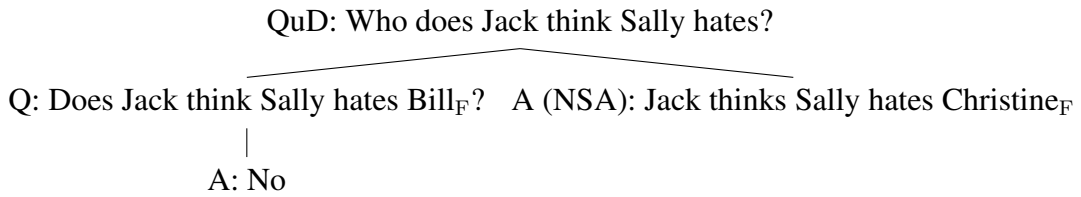
a. $[\![\text{Does Jack think Sally hates Bill}_{F}\text{?}]\!]^{f}$ = $\{$ Jack thinks Sally hates $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}$ $\}$.

b. $[\![\text{QuD}]\!]^{o}$ = $\{$ Jack thinks Sally hates $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}$ $\}$.

This is the same value as for the explicit QuD in (24), 'Who does Jack think Sally hates?'.[8] Speaker B's response is more complex; we have a 'no' response followed by a fragment utterance. Intuitively, 'No' answers the Yes/No question antecedent, while the fragment addresses the implicit QuD. We can represent the various relations the utterances in the discourse in (28) are in with a Büring (2003)-style D(iscourse)-tree. Dominance indicates congruence relations; daughter nodes are congruent to their parents.

[8]This observation is made in Merchant (2004) in discussing fragment answers; Y/N question antecedents with focused correlates were introduced as a way to test island sensitivity, since the corresponding explicit Wh-question antecedent would itself be island sensitive.

(29)



The sub-tree indicating a dominance relation between the root QuD and its (NSA construal fragment) answer is the same as the tree for example (24) (where the QuD was explicit). As was shown in (26), an SA parse for TP_E will result in incongruence. The empirical data and theoretical machinery discussed and adopted above yield the Contrastive Parallelism Generalization in (30). In the following section I show how CPG effects are also manifest in contrast sluicing.

(30) **Contrastive Parallelism Generalization (CPG):**
In contrastive TPE, both the ellipsis clause and the utterance immediately preceding it[9] must be congruent to the same QuD.

3.2 Extension to Contrast Sluicing

There are many functions elided utterances and their antecedents can play in discourse;[10] in this section I show how Roberts (1996)'s theory of information structure also accounts for the unavailability of SA construals in contrast sluicing. The definition given for congruence applies to 'utterances', so it encompasses both (sluiced) questions and (fragment) assertions. Consider (31); in order to license focus in the antecedent, we need a QuD like 'What languages did Sally hear that Bill speaks?'.

(31) $[_{TP_A}$ Sally heard that $[_{TP_{SA}}$ Bill speaks ***GREEK***]],
but I don't know which *OTHER* languages $[_{TP_E}$].

a. QuD: { Sally heard that Bill speaks $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}$ }

b. = which *other* languages she heard that he speaks. (TP_A).
{ Sally heard that Bill speaks $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}$ }

c. $\neq$ which *other* languages he speaks. (TP_{SA}).
{ Bill speaks $x : x \in D_{\langle e \rangle}$ }

The antecedent/sluice pair in (31) both address the QuD; the antecedent commits the speaker to standing in the 'know' relation to the proposition 'Sally heard that Bill speaks Greek', the right conjunct contributes the limits of the speaker's knowledge with respect to the QuD. Once again, only the NSA parse is congruent with the QuD (31b).

[9] The utterance immediately preceding the elliptical utterance = the 'antecedent', for repair proponents; here I move away from this given the fact that sub-parts of the immediately preceding utterance may count as the 'antecedent' for the ellipsis.

[10] I've restricted the scope of the investigation thus far to those fragment assertions that have been discussed in the literature, specifically in the context of testing for island sensitivity in English, where the antecedent is a Yes/No question with a focused correlate and the answer is a correction consisting of a 'no' answer to the Yes/No question and a fragment answering the implicit QuD (cf. e.g. Griffiths and Lipták 2011, Ince 2009, 2012, Krifka 2006, Merchant 2004, Park 2005, Temmerman (to appear) for the predominance of examples of this sort). Different sorts of antecedent/fragment utterance pairs likely invoke different pragmatic principles that bear on licensing considerations.

(32)

QuD: What language(s) does Sally think Bill speaks?

A: (I know) Sally thinks Bill speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>$_{\mathrm{F}}$

Q: (But I don't know) which *other* languages$_{\mathrm{F}}$ Sally thinks Bill speaks

3.3 What happens with islands in contrast TPE?

Consider what happens when the correlate is contained inside an island in the antecedent; Contrastive TPE is doomed to failure either because an island will be violated with a congruent NSA parse or because CPG will be violated with an SA, island-respecting parse.

(33) A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Is the book ☹ that [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ <u>*RINGO*</u> wrote] on sale now]?
B: No, **LENNON* [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$]. (Griffiths and Lipták 2011, (110))

a. NSA construal = Island-violating, Congruent parse

i. * No, Lennon$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ the book ☹ that [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ t_{i} wrote] is on sale now].

b. SA construal = Island-respecting, Incongruent parse

i. No, Lennon$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SE}}}$ t_{i} wrote it (= the book that's on sale now)].

(34) * [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>*GREEK*</u>]], but I don't know which *OTHER* languages [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. NSA construal = Island-violating, Congruent parse

i. * Which *OTHER* languages$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ they hired someone ☹ who [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ speaks t_{i}]].

b. SA construal = Island-respecting, Incongruent parse

i. Which *OTHER* languages$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SE}}}$ they speak t_{i}].

3.4 What happens in Non-contrast TPE?

Unfocused correlates entail that the CPG will not hold in non-contrastive TPE; the QuD that the antecedent is congruent with is different from the QuD that the ellipsis clause is congruent with. In order for both clauses to be congruent to the same QuD, F-marking must be identical on both.

Example (35) illustrates a typical sluice, where the correlate *someone* is not focused. We can idealize and assume that the antecedent contains broad focus on the antecedent (any proper super-constituent containing the correlate will get us the same result).

(35) (A: what's up?) B: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Jack is dating <u>someone</u>]$_{\mathrm{F}}$ but I don't know who [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

Broad focus on an entire assertion can be seen as being congruent to something close to Roberts (1996)'s 'Big Question': 'What is the way things are?'. Which we can equate roughly with the meaning of 'what's up?' in (35).

(36) $[\![\mathrm{U}_{\langle \mathrm{s,t}\rangle,\mathrm{F}}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}}$ = the set of all propositions
By (27), $[\![\mathrm{U}_{\langle \mathrm{s,t}\rangle,\mathrm{F}}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}} = [\![\mathrm{QuD}]\!]^{\mathrm{o}}$

Clearly, the sluiced question in (35) will not be congruent with a QuD licensing broad focus on the antecedent, since:

(37) $[\![\text{who is Jack dating?}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}} \neq [\![\mathrm{QuD}]\!]^{\mathrm{o}}$ (the set of all propositions.)

This motivates the generalization in (38):

(38) **In Non-contrastive TPE, TP_A and TP_E are congruent to separate QuD's.**

This frees non-contrastive TPE from the restriction to NSA construals. We are left, however, with the question of which QuD is responsible for the satisfaction of (27) in non-contrastive TPE contexts. There must be another QuD that the sluice is congruent with in (35); we can, as usual, figure this out by calculating $[\![\mathrm{Q}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}}$; for the sluice in (35), this will be:

(39) $\{$ Jack is dating $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle \mathrm{e} \rangle}$ $\}$.[11]

This is, of course, a QuD with the same denotation as the sluiced question itself, motivating the generalization in (40).

(40) **In Non-contrastive TPE, the QuD that satisfies (27) for the elided clause is identical to** $[\![\text{elliptical utterance}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}}$.

This leaves us with the question of where this QuD comes from. I assume that the antecedent itself introduces such a QuD. In (35), for instance, the antecedent arguably makes salient the issue of 'who Jack is dating'. This is similar if not identical to the intuition behind the proposal in Anderbois (2011), couched in the framework of Inquisitive Semantics (cf. Groenendijk and Roelofsen 2009), where antecedents with indefinite correlates introduce 'issues', the values for which are sets of alternatives, much like QuD's (which are just questions) in Roberts's (1996) system. For our purposes, I assume as an axiom, the generalization in (41).

(41) **In Non-contrastive TPE, the antecedent introduces the QuD that satisfies (27) in the ellipsis clause.**

I refrain from providing a full theory of QuD introduction by an antecedent, the following simple algorithm will do for our purposes.[12]

(42) QuD introduction in non-contrastive TPE.
  a. Given an antecedent TP, $\mathrm{TP}_{(\mathrm{S})\mathrm{A}}$, with a non-F-marked indefinite correlate, C, F-mark the correlate. This gives us a derived focus value for the antecedent.
  b. The QuD introduced by $\mathrm{TP}_{(\mathrm{S})\mathrm{A}}$ is identical to the derived focus value of $\mathrm{TP}_{(\mathrm{S})\mathrm{A}}$.
    i. $[\![\mathrm{TP}_{(\mathrm{S})\mathrm{A}}]\!]^{\mathrm{f}} = [\![\mathrm{QuD}]\!]^{\mathrm{o}}$

By (42), given a non-contrastive TPE example with more than one potential TP antecedent, such as (43), either the QuD in (43a) or in (43b) (or both) are introduced by the preceding utterance; either can satisfy (27) for TP_{E}, depending on whether the SA or NSA parse obtains for TP_{E}.

(43) $[_{\mathrm{TP}_{\mathrm{A}}}$ Jack heard $[_{\mathrm{TP}_{\mathrm{SA}}}$ Sally likes <u>someone</u>]], I wonder who $[_{\mathrm{TP}_{\mathrm{E}}}$].

[11] Recall that in Roberts (1996)'s system, Wh-phrases are treated the same as F-marked constituents in the calculation of a focus value for a constituent.

[12] Possibly, Anderbois (2011)'s issues could be construed as the QuD's introduced by the antecedent. I leave exploring this possibility aside here.

a. QuD introduced by $\mathrm{TP_A}$: { Jack heard that Sally likes $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$ } (NSA)

b. QuD introduced by $\mathrm{TP_{SA}}$: { Sally likes $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$ } (SA)

(43a) serves to satisfy (27) for the NSA parse for the sluice. We can represent this with Buring's (2003) D-trees; the antecedent is not a part of the structure since it is not congruent with anything in the structure; the dashed arrow just illustrates that the antecedent 'introduces' the QuD via the algorithm in (42).

(44)

QuD in (43a):
{ Jack heard Sally likes $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$ }

$[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ Jack heard Sally likes someone].

Sluiced question:
*Who does Sally like?
✓Who did Jack hear that Sally likes?

The value in (43b) serves to satisfy (27) for the SA parse 'Who does Sally like?'.

(45)

QuD in (43b):
{ Sally likes $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$ }

(Jack heard) $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ Sally likes someone].

Sluiced question:
✓Who does Sally like?
*Who did Jack hear that Sally likes?

The algorithm in (42) allows for SA construals in island cases as well.

(46) $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>a Balkan langauge</u>]], but I can't recall which one $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. QuD introduced by $\mathrm{TP_A}$:
{ they hired someone who speaks $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$ }

b. QuD introduced by $\mathrm{TP_{SA}}$:
{ they (i.e. the person they hired) speak $x : x \in \mathrm{D}_{\langle e \rangle}$ }[13]

Of course, here, syntactic constraints on movement, and the inability of ellipsis to repair extraction violations step in to prevent an NSA parse for $\mathrm{TP_E}$, since this would entail that the remnant was extracted from an island in the ellipsis site. In allowing for the island bound $\mathrm{TP_{SA}}$ to introduce a QuD, Non-contrastive TPE licenses a (non-island containing) SA parse for $\mathrm{TP_E}$. Finally, since F-marked constituents and Wh-phrases are treated identically for the purposes of generating a focus-value for an utterance in Roberts (1996)'s system, the exact same analysis given above for non-contrast sluicing will apply straightforwardly to fragment assertions.

[13] Merchant (2001) assumes that traces of Wh-movement in the antecedent are capable of licensing E-type anaphora in the ellipsis site; for the 'Balkan language' examples, for instance, with short sources contained in indicative relative clauses, the trace of the relativized subject licenses an E-type reading for a subject pronoun in the elided clause. I have been assuming such an analysis throughout this paper, though cf. Merchant (2001) for discussion and specifics of implementation for this idea.

(47) A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who [$_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>a Balkan language</u>.]]
B: Yes, Albanian$_{\mathrm{F}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$] in fact.
a. = Yes, they speak Albanian$_{\mathrm{F}}$, in fact.

4 Other reasons to believe in lack of repair

Given that short source construals for $\mathrm{TP_E}$ are unavailable in contrastive TPE, we can be sure, when the correlate is island-bound, that an island violation obtains in the ellipsis site. Since we don't see repair effects in contrastive TPE, we can conclude that ellipsis doesn't repair islands. Concluding that ellipsis *can* repair islands based on non-contrastive TPE is unwarranted since we can't be sure whether the ellipsis site contains an island violation to begin with.

In this section I claim that this line of reasoning can also be extended to a certain class of ellipsis examples. There is a class of ellipsis phenomena which 'mysteriously' fail to show repair effects ('mysterious' under the assumption that ellipsis can repair extraction violations). Importantly, in all these cases, there is unambiguous surface evidence of an extraction violation obtaining in the ellipsis site.

4.1 VP-ellipsis

One well known difference between Verb Phrase ellipsis and Sluicing is that VPE does not give rise to repair effects (cf. e.g. Fox and Lasnik 2003, Johnson 2001, Merchant 2008 for discussion and proposals).[14]

(48) a. ✓ They hired someone ☹ who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know
which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ ($_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ *they hired someone ☹ who speaks t_{i}).

b. * Jack hired someone ☹ who speaks Greek, but I don't know
what language$_{\mathrm{i}}$ Sally did ($_{\mathrm{VP_E}}$ hire someone ☹ who speaks t_{i}).

If ellipsis cannot repair island extractions, one way to understand why example (48a) is good while (48b) is bad is to assume that (48a) does not contain an island violation in the ellipsis site (i.e. $\mathrm{TP_E}$ receives an SA construal). On the other hand, we have enough overt structure in (48b) to force a parse entailing that there is an island violation in the VP ellipsis site.

4.2 Multiple Remnant Sluicing

Lasnik (2011b) analyzes multiple remnant sluicing (49) as being derived via rightward movement of the right-most Wh-phrase. Evidence for this analysis comes from the observation that multiple remnant sluicing is sensitive to many of the same restrictions as rightward-movement. As an illustration, rightward movement is clause-bound (the 'right roof constraint', cf. Ross 1967). In (50), the remnant 'to which professor' would have to cross the embedded clause boundary on its way to adjoin to the matrix clause in order to escape the ellipsis site. This would violate the right roof constraint.

[14] Wh-extraction from VP ellipsis sites requires contrastive stress on some element between the Wh-phrase and the elided VP; in (42b), this is the subject 'Sally' (cf. Merchant 2008, Schuyler 2001 for discussion).

(49) One of the students was talking to one of the professors, but I can't recall which student ✓(was talking) to which professor.

(50) One of the students said that Mary spoke to one of the professors, but I don't know which student *(said that Mary spoke) to which professor.
(Lasnik 2011b, (29))

Of course, if ellipsis could fix extraction violations, the correlation between properties of multiple remnant sluicing and rightward movement would never have been evident to begin with, since, e.g. (50) would have been good. The question raised in light of the view that ellipsis can repair extraction violations is why ellipsis cannot repair violations of the right roof constraint. If ellipsis cannot repair extraction violations, the existence of the empirical patterns that led Lasnik (2011b) to analyze multiple remnant sluicing as involving rightward movement makes sense.[15]

4.3 Preposition stranding

As noted in Merchant (2001), sluicing does not repair P(reposition)-stranding violations in languages that do not allow P-stranding under overt Wh-movement.[16,17] As an illustration, consider Greek; when the correlate is contained inside a prepositional phrase, and the remnant is not, the conclusion is that a preposition has been stranded in the ellipsis site. Since preposition stranding is banned in Greek, the example is correctly predicted to be bad.

(51) I gonis tou pedhiou malosan ☹ gia kati, alla arnite na mas pi
the parents of.the child argued.3pl ☹ about something, but refused.3sg SUBJ us tell
*(gia) ti.
*(about) what

'The child's parents were arguing about something, but she refused to tell us what.'
(Merchant 2001, (47))

If ellipsis can repair islands, why not preposition stranding violations as well? Importantly, in these cases, there is no TP_{SA} which may serve as an alternative antecedent for TP_{E}. I assume that this is precisely why we don't see repair effects in these instances.[18]

[15]The inability of sluicing to fix violations of the right roof constraint are especially puzzling given the proposal in Sabbagh (2007), where constraints on rightward movement stem from properties of linearization at PF; these strike me as precisely the sorts of constraints that should be suspended under PF deletion.

[16]Vicente (2008) shows that this is also true of stripping and fragment answers in Spanish, French, Bulgarian, Brazilian Portuguese and Italian.

[17]It is true that there is a growing body of evidence that appears to counterexemplify Merchant's (2001) generalization about preposition stranding (cf. e.g. Fortin 2007, Rodrigues et al. 2009, Szczegielniak 2008, van Craenenbroeck 2009, 2010 inter alia); the general analytical approach adopted in the literature takes these cases to be merely *apparent* counterexamples, and that no prepositions are actually stranded in the ellipsis site. This sort of result is very much in keeping with the approach to repair phenomena in general defended here.

[18]To be fair, there may be significant differences between the nature of the ban on island extractions and the nature of the ban on preposition stranding; a repair approach might take advantage of these differences in accounting for the lack of repair in the p-stranding case (cf. e.g. the proposals in Abels 2003, Cable 2007 where the ban on preposition stranding follows automatically from architectural properties of the grammar; there is no expectation that ellipsis should be capable of fixing these kinds of violations).

4.4 Evidence for repair?

Strong evidence in favor of repair approaches is provided by Lasnik (2011a). In arguing specifically against non-repair approaches, Lasnik (2011a) provides examples such as that in (52), where a bound reading is available for the pronoun in the remnant.

(52) Every linguist$_i$ met a philosopher ☹ who criticized some of his$_i$ work, but I don't know how much of his$_i$ work.

It would seem, in order to get the bound reading, we must assume that the quantificational subject in the antecedent is contained in the ellipsis site, suggesting there must be an NSA parse available for TP_E. If this is the case, then we have an island violation which is repaired in (52).

(53) Every linguist$_i$ met a philosopher ☹ who criticized some of his$_i$ work, but I don't know [how much of his$_i$ work]$_j$ [$_{TP_E}$ every linguist$_i$ met a philosopher ☹ who criticized t_j]

Through reconstruction of the remnant, the same binding relation that obtains in the antecedent will obtain in TP_E.

Perhaps surprisingly, the very same bound reading available in (52) is available in the non-elided follow-up in (54); this is strange since there is no obvious binder for the pronoun in the follow-up.

(54) Every linguist$_i$ met a philosopher who criticized some of his$_i$ work, but I don't recall [how much of his$_i$ work]$_j$ the philosopher criticized t_j.

Importantly, the non-elided TP in (54) corresponds to a viable SA parse, which picks up the TP contained in the relative clause 'who criticized some of his work' as its antecedent. Given the possibility of a bound reading in (54), there is no reason to conclude that TP_E in (52) actually hides an island violation as indicated in (53). As for accounting for how the bound reading is available in (52), whatever account is given for its availability in (54) should extend straightforwardly to a corresponding parse for TP_E in (52).

A bigger challenge for the proposal defended here involves examples such as that in (55) (Lasnik 2001):[19]

(55) They didn't hire anyone who speaks a certain Balkan language, but I can't remember which one.

a. $\neq$ I can't remember which one they speak.

In Merchant's (2001) proposal, the availability of short sources when TP_{SA} is contained in a relative clause rests on the capacity of a Wh-trace in TP_{SA} to license an E-type pronoun in the elided TP; Lasnik's (2001) example controls for this with an NPI as a relative clause head. If short sources such as the kind argued for in Merchant (2001) are the only way an island violation can be avoided; then (55) should be unacceptable (contrary to fact).

Of course, there is reason to believe that short construals are not the only alternative. Many authors have proposed that on occasion, TP_E may be a cleft copula clause which is non-isomorphic to its antecedent (dubbed 'pseudosluicing' following Merchant (1998); cf. e.g. Rodrigues et al. 2009, van Craenenbroeck 2009, 2010, Vicente 2008 and references). So we are still not forced to conclude that there is an island violation, even in (55):

[19]Thanks to Luis Vicente for pointing this out, p.c.

(56) They didn't hire anyone who speaks a certain Balkan language, but I can't remember which one $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ it was $]$.

This raises the question of why it is that clefts are unavailable in contrastive TPE; if they were, the same reasoning would predict that contrastive TPE should show repair effects. There is already an answer to this question available however. Consider the case of sluicing; Merchant (2001) provides ten empirical arguments against the hypothesis that *all* sluicing can be reduced to pseudosluicing (generalized pseudosluicing). One such argument involves the incompatibility of clefts with *else*-modification, illustrated in (57). One of Merchant's (2001) arguments against generalized pseudosluicing was that sluicing was possible with *else*-modification, as in (57a), but impossible with clefting in the same context as in (57b, 57c):

(57) a. ✓ Jack speaks *GREEK*, but I don't know what *ELSE*/which *OTHER* languages.

b. * Jack speaks *GREEK*, but I don't know what *ELSE* it is.

c. * Jack speaks *GREEK*, but I don't know which *OTHER* language it is.

d. ✓ Jack speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which Balkan language it is.

Importantly, *Else* modification of remnants constitutes contrast sluicing; if clefts are incompatible with *else*-modification, then they are also ruled out in contrast sluicing. To summarize, the famous 'Balkan language' example is, from an analytical standpoint, three ways ambiguous between the following parses:

(58) $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone who $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks a Balkan language $]]$, but I don't know ...

a. **parse 1:** which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ they hired someone who speaks $t_{\mathrm{i}}]$. (NSA)

b. **parse 2:** which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ they speak $t_{\mathrm{i}}]$. (SA)

c. **parse 3:** which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ it is $t_{\mathrm{i}}]$. (pseudosluice)

If the claim that ellipsis cannot repair islands is correct, then the Balkan language example is only two ways ambiguous (SA construal and pseudosluice). Lasnik's (2001) example (55), on the other hand, is not ambiguous at all, having only the pseudosluice parse (parse 3).

4.5 Interim Conclusion

To summarize, there are other good reasons to believe in lack of repair. In short, whenever we are faced with an ellipsis example where we can be sure that an extraction violation obtains in the ellipsis site, the example is unacceptable (repair effects are mysteriously missing). On the other hand, when we are faced with ellipsis examples where we cannot be sure that an extraction violation obtains in the ellipsis site (e.g. non-contrast TPE), repair effects are manifest. In the next section, I discuss the recent proposal in Griffiths and Lipták (2011), a 'repair approach', which aims to account for lack of repair effects in contrast TPE.

5 Comparison with Griffiths and Lipták (2011)

The proposal in Griffiths and Lipták (2011) aims to account for island sensitivity under contrastive TPE. Griffiths and Lipták (2011) assume that ellipsis can repair island extractions (hence Griffiths and Lipták 2011 counts as a repair approach). Since ellipsis can repair islands, the problem with contrastive TPE cannot stem from an extraction violation in the ellipsis site. Griffiths and Lipták (2011) assume, instead, that the problem is with the antecedent.

Crucial Assumptions

1. Islands are PF constraints. (Griffiths and Lipták 2011, pg. 26)

2. Ellipsis repairs islands by hiding the violations from PF. (Griffiths and Lipták 2011, pg. 26)

3. Contrastively focused correlates must undergo LF movement in ellipsis contexts in order to meet scopal parallelism requirements.

   (59) Scopal parallelism in ellipsis: Variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound from parallel positions.
   (Griffiths and Lipták 2011, (64))

4. LF focus movement is island sensitive. (Griffiths and Lipták 2011, pg. 21)

5. LF movement of non-contrastive correlates is not island sensitive (e.g. indefinites).

Given a contrastive TPE case where the focused correlate is contained in an island, there is no way to meet scopal parallelism since a (repaired) island violation in the ellipsis site forces island-violating LF-movement of the focused correlate in the antecedent.

(60) A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who speaks ***BULGARIAN*** fluently].
*No, *SERBO-CROATIAN* [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. * LF for $\mathrm{TP_A}$: Bulgarian$_{\mathrm{i}}$ λx_{i} [they hired someone ☹ who speaks x_{i} fluently]

b. LF for $\mathrm{TP_E}$: Serbo-Croatian$_{\mathrm{i}}$ λx_{i} [they hired someone ☹ who speaks x_{i} fluently]

(Griffiths and Lipták 2011, (91))

Given a non-contrastive TPE case, since LF-movement of non-focused correlates is not LF focus movement, it is not island sensitive and parallelism may grammatically obtain.

(61) A: [$_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who speaks a Balkan language], but I don't know which one [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. ✓ LF for $\mathrm{TP_A}$: a Balkan language$_{\mathrm{i}}$ λx_{i} [they hired someone ☹ who speaks x_{i}]

b. LF for $\mathrm{TP_E}$: Which one$_{\mathrm{i}}$ λx_{i} [they hired someone ☹ who speaks x_{i}]

5.1 Issues with the account in Griffiths and Lipták (2011)

To my mind, the biggest issue for the account in Griffiths and Lipták (2011) is a conceptual one; namely, the characterization of the nature of islandhood; under the assumption that islands are PF constraints, it is mysterious why LF-movement of any sort should be sensitive to them (since LF movement is just as PF-invisible as movement inside the ellipsis clause). Importantly, these are precisely the same islands that PF-deletion repairs in the ellipsis clause; shouldn't violations of these islands at LF yield repair effects just the same?

On the other hand, if the islands are LF-islands for interpretive reasons, then island constraints are not just PF-constraints but also LF-constraints. If that were true, then shouldn't we expect whatever interpretive problems arise in island violating LF-movement to *not* be reparable by PF deletion in the ellipsis clause? While I'm sure some sense could be made of such a position, I leave this as an exercise for proponents of repair approaches.

Another issue involves the adoption of island-sensitive LF focus movement. Many authors have shown that association with focus is not island sensitive, suggesting that there is no covert focus movement (e.g. Kratzer 1991, Rooth 1985).[20] Additionally, we already have many frameworks that derive focus interpretations without recourse to movement (e.g. Rooth 1992, Schwarzschild 1999).[21]

Finally, the account in Griffiths and Lipták (2011) says nothing about when and whether an SA parse is available for $\mathrm{TP_E}$. As I've shown, contrastive TPE does not allow for short source construals of $\mathrm{TP_E}$; the account I provided derives this from independent considerations about focus licensing so that nothing extra need be said (if we jettison the assumption that there is repair by deletion). On the other hand, nothing in Griffiths and Lipták (2011)'s account predicts the unavailability of short source construals. If $\mathrm{TP_E}$ corresponds to a short source, shouldn't LF-focus movement be capable of targeting a position inside the island? This would satisfy both parallelism and island constraints, erroneously predicting contrastive TPE to show repair effects.

(62) A: $[_{\mathrm{TP_A}}$ They hired someone ☹ who $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks <u>*BULGARIAN*</u> fluently].
*No, *SERBO-CROATIAN* $[_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$].

a. ✓ LF for Antecedent:
(they hired someone ☹ who) Bulgarian$_{\mathrm{i}}$ λx_{i} $[_{\mathrm{TP_{SA}}}$ speaks x_{i} fluently]

b. LF for $\mathrm{TP_E}$: Serbo-Croatian$_{\mathrm{i}}$ λx_{i} [they speak x_{i} fluently]
(Griffiths and Lipták 2011, (91))

The non-repair approach defended here automatically avoids these issues, since there is no repair by deletion or covert focus movement to speak of. Also, my proposal is an answer to the question of what prevents short source construals in contrast TPE.[22]

[20] though cf. Rooth 1996 footnote 14.

[21] Krifka (2006) argues that LF focus movement is island sensitive (and that there is LF focus movement). Relevantly, the empirical evidence cited in Krifka (2006) in support of such an account primarily comes from island sensitivity under contrastive TPE, so that his account is subject to the same sorts of criticisms leveled against the account in Griffiths and Lipták (2011) here.

[22] With respect to the issue of repair by deletion, as was noted in Merchant (2004), many fragments sound bad in the absence of ellipsis:

(1) A: What did Jack eat?

6 Conclusion

In this paper I provided an account for island sensitivity in contrast TPE. Specifically, contrast sluicing and contrastive fragment utterances. The account is essentially that movement is island sensitive, and ellipsis cannot fix that. Appearances to the contrary are just appearances. Contrast TPE was shown to be an adequate control for answering the question of whether or not ellipsis can fix island violations because it rules out alternative non-island containing parses for the elided structure. As was discussed, this result also allows us to understand the failure of ellipsis to repair extraction violations in other construction types (e.g. VPE, multiple remnant sluicing, and P-stranding) - these are all cases where an extraction violation is unambiguously diagnosable based on properties of the remnant and its relationship to the antecedent.

Finally, I should mention that it's not clear whether the claim that PF-deletion cannot remedy *any* kind of extraction is tenable. The analysis defended here only pertains to cases where the island-bound correlate is contained inside an island-bound TP in the antecedent. Consider (63a), for instance, where a left-branch extraction is assumed to obtain in the ellipsis site, or (64a), where a CSC violation obtains:

(63) Jack wrote ☹ a long paper, but I don't know exactly how long.

a. but I don't know exactly how long$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ he wrote ☹ a t_{i} paper].

(64) Jack left with ☹ Sally and someone else, but I don't know who.

a. but I don't know who$_{\mathrm{i}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP_E}}$ he left with ☹ Sally and t_{i}].

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B: Beans (*Jack ate *t*).

So that it seems that PF deletion does have some effect on the space of possible derivations. Importantly, this is not the same as saying that PF-deletion can fix island violations.

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