

# The Final-over-Final Constraint as a Result of Complement Stranding

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## Abstract

It is proposed that the phenomenon ‘Complement Stranding’ provides an important insight into the linearization of complex specifiers, which in turn serves to explain Holmberg’s (2000) Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC). Many complex phrases optionally or obligatorily strand what appear to be their complements upon movement. This phenomenon is difficult to account for given standard assumptions, even via remnant movement, as in most cases these ‘stranded’ complements are not strong islands, but rather are open to subextraction. Given Huang’s (1982) Constraints on Extraction Domains (CED), extraction of a PP complement prior to remnant movement of its containing phrase should render said PP a strong island. Given these problems, an alternative account of Complement Stranding is proposed, whereby the latter results directly from the linearization challenge posed by specifiers in an LCA-mediated PF-mapping. Essentially, Uriagereka’s (1999) Multiple Spell-Out proposal is extended to allow for the possibility of unlinearized derived specifiers. Assuming a minimal amendment to Chomsky’s (1995) Bare Phrase Structure, Complement Stranding is predicted to hold as a ‘last resort’ where a complex phrase in a complement position moves without first being spelled out, a possibility which is not fully explored by Uriagereka (1999) or Nunes & Uriagereka (2000). It is argued that the properties of Complement Stranding fall out from such an approach, as does FOFC. Finally, it is proposed that a subclass of apparent exceptions to FOFC also receive a partial explanation, given the approach outlined here.



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