J East Asian Linguist (2018) 27:173–209
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10831-018-9168-2

Another way to avoid islands

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Received: 11 October 2016 / Accepted: 1 February 2018 / Published online: 9 April 2018

Abstract The notion of island repair in ellipsis constructions has received much attention. Existing analyses typically suggest that in island repair contexts, an element undergoes movement, inducing an island violation, and then the violation is removed by deleting the portion of the structure that contains the island. It has been observed that island violations do not arise in the Fragment Answer construction in Korean, whose derivation has also been argued to involve movement and deletion. In other words, the construction also manifests the island repair phenomenon. In this paper, I explore an alternative analysis of the absence of island effects in Fragment Answers in Korean without appealing to the notion of island repair. Assuming the movement and deletion analysis, I argue that the absence of island effects in the construction in question is a consequence of the interaction between two independently motivated processes, i.e., Pied-Piping in the sense of Cable (Linguist Inq 41:563–594, 2010a, The grammar of Q: Q-particles, wh-movement, and pied-piping, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010b) and Extra Deletion in the sense of An (J East Asian Linguist 25:313–350, 2016a). The gist of the proposal is that in the relevant contexts, instead of allowing illegitimate extraction from an island, the whole island itself undergoes movement and is subsequently reduced by deletion, leaving the focused phrase on the surface, which induces the façade of island repair. I also show that the current analysis straightforwardly accounts for a parallelism among constructions that are quite different in nature, i.e., Fragment Answers, gapless Right Dislocation, and Right Node Raising, which cannot be captured by existing approaches to the respective constructions. Thus, the parallelism provides strong evidence in support of the alternative analysis of island repair proposed in this paper.

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Keywords Fragment Answer · PF deletion · Pied-piping · Extra Deletion · Adjacency

1 Introduction

Since Merchant's (2001) influential work, the aspect of ellipsis that has drawn much attention is its ability to "repair" island violations. For instance, Merchant (2008, 136) shows that a violation of the Left Branch Condition (LBC), as in (1a), can be repaired in Sluicing, as in (1b), which he argues involves ellipsis of TP, as shown in (1c). Here, the LBC violation is repaired by deleting TP, which contains the LBC island.[1]

(1) a. *I don't know how big she bought [a __ car].
b. She bought a big car, but I don't know how big. (Merchant 2008, 136)
c. … know [$_{CP}$ how big$_i$ ~~[$_{TP}$ she bought [$_{DP}$ t$_i$ car]]~~]

(2) The Left Branch Condition
No NP which is the leftmost constituent of a larger NP can be reordered out of this NP by a transformational rule. (Ross 1967)

In the recent literature on Korean, Fragment Answers (FA) have received a great deal of attention (Ahn 2012; Ahn and Cho 2012, 2017; An 2016a, b; Ko 2015; Ku and Cho 2014; Park 2005, 2013, 2015; Park and Oh 2015, 2016; Park 2012; Park and Shin 2014; Yoon 2012; among others). Though there are differences in the detail, the general consensus is that FA involves ellipsis. In particular, researchers like Park (2005, 2013, 2015), among others, argue that FA involves focus movement of the remnant accompanied by clausal ellipsis, similarly to Merchant's analysis of Sluicing in English. According to this, an example of FA like (3a) is derived as in (3b).

(3) a. Q: Nwu-ka John-ul manna-ss-ni?
who-NOM J.-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Who met John?'
A: Mary-ka.
M.-NOM
'MARY ~~met John~~.'[2]
b. [$_{FocP}$ [Mary-ka]$_i$ ~~[$_{TP}$ t$_i$ John-ul manna-ss e]~~]
M.-NOM J.-ACC meet-PAST-DEC

[1] Precisely how island repair is implemented differs from researcher to researcher. See, for instance, Fox and Lasnik (2003), Ince (2012), Merchant (2001), (2008), Park (2005), Sugawa (2008), among others, for relevant discussion.

[2] In the English translation of Korean examples involving ellipsis, portions corresponding to the remnant are indicated by small capitals and those corresponding to the elided elements are indicated by strikethrough.

Crucially, it has been observed that island violations can be repaired in FA in Korean, as shown in (4), which involves an LBC configuration. Under the ellipsis analysis of FA, the relevant step of the derivation of (4A) can be represented as in (5). As in (1c), the illegitimacy induced by the extraction of the focused phrase is "repaired" via PF deletion. Note that the sentence is ungrammatical without deletion, as shown in (4).

(4) Q: John-i [nwukwu-uy tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-ni?
J.-NOM who-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Whose brother did John meet?'
A: Mary-uy.
M.-GEN
'~~John met~~ MARY'S ~~brother~~.' (Park and Oh 2016, 3)
Cf. *Mary-uy$_i$ John-i [t_i tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-e.
M.-GEN J.-NOM brother-ACC meet-PAST-DEC
'Mary's, John met __ brother.'

(5) [$_{FocP}$ [Mary-uy] [~~$_{TP}$ John-i *[t tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-e~~]]]

This idea of island repair is quite fascinating, as can be seen from the sheer number of proposals in the literature adopting the notion. However, it is also worth pointing out that there are some curious implications associated with it. Obviously, for such repair strategies to work, we first have to allow extractions from islands, causing an island violation. This is puzzling because islands by definition are not supposed to allow extraction. If island effects are a consequence of the way the computational system operates, the illegitimate extraction underlying the repair-by-deletion analysis should not be available as a derivational option in the first place. Or, it may be that the relevant island effects—at least, those that can be repaired by deletion[3]—are representational, not derivational, in nature. That is, there may be something wrong with the configuration itself, not with the derivational steps that lead to that configuration, so that if those configurations are removed by deletion, no illegitimacy arises. Even if we put aside the fact that this view is at odds with the strongly derivational characteristic of the minimalist program, it is still not so clear what kind of representational problem such island violations induce at the PF interface. This might not appear to be reason enough to abandon the entire program of island repair. But, I think it still makes it worthwhile to see if an alternative approach is possible that does not need to allow illegitimate movements and resort to island repair. Furthermore, if such an alternative analysis can capture new generalizations that previous analyses cannot, we have a strong motivation to explore other possibilities.

In this paper, I re-examine the absence of island effects in FA in Korean and explore an alternative way to account for it without appealing to the notion of island repair. I argue that the absence of island effects in FA is a consequence of the interaction between two independently motivated phenomena, i.e., "Pied-Piping"

[3] Merchant (2001) shows that islands are not homogeneous with respect to their reparability.

and "Extra Deletion". In a nutshell, the gist of the analysis is that in island repair contexts in FA, what undergoes movement is the entire island itself à la Cable (2010a, b). The pied-piped island is subsequently reduced by PF deletion, a phenomenon I call Extra Deletion in An (2016a). How this works is schematically represented in (6). (I discuss the details below.)

(6) a. [John-i [**Mary-uy tongsayng-ul**] manna-ss-e] → LBC island
J.-NOM M.-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-DEC (Cf. (4)/(5))
b. [**Mary-uy tongsayng-ul**] [John-i t manna-ss-e] → Pied-piping
c. [**Mary-uy tongsayng-ul**] ~~[John-i t manna-ss-e]~~ → TP deletion
d. [**Mary-uy** ~~tongsayng-ul] [John-i t manna-ss-e]~~ → Extra Deletion

The crucial feature of the derivation in (6) is that there is no illegitimate extraction from the island at any point in the derivation. As a result, no appeal is made to the notion of island repair. This is where the current analysis crucially differs from its predecessors.

I also argue that contexts comparable to island repair can be found in constructions that do not involve movement. More specifically, I show that there is a parallelism between FA and the Right Node Raising construction to the effect that remnants of the latter, which do not undergo movement, manifest the same behavior as remnants in FA. This is significant because it suggests that movement does not play a role in island repair, i.e., we do not need illegitimate extractions to obtain island repair effects. This reinforces the claim that we do not need to appeal to the notion of island repair. (See An 2016a for further discussion on the parallelism between FA and RNR.) The current analysis has implications for aspects of the architecture of the grammar and, more importantly, leads to a considerable simplification of it, which I believe makes it a desirable alternative.

This paper is organized as follows: Sect. 2 outlines the absence of island effects in FA contexts in Korean; Sect. 3 introduces the theoretical background for the current analysis—in particular, Cable's (2010a, b) discussion of pied-piping and my own (2016a) discussion of Extra Deletion; Sect. 4 proposes an alternative account of the absence of island effects in FA by combining Cable's (2010ab) and An's (2016a) analyses; Sect. 5 considers some additional issues that arise under the current analysis; Sect. 6 concludes.

2 The absence of island violations in FA in Korean

This section illustrates the basic properties of island repair in FA in Korean.[4] In particular, it is shown that island repair is restricted to remnants in final position.

Before moving into details, some remarks on single FA (SFA) are in order. Recall that LBC violations do not arise in SFA. I repeat the relevant example below.

[4] Though I will be arguing that there is no island repair per se, I will continue to use the term "island repair" for expository convenience.

(7) Q: John-i [nwukwu-uy tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-ni?
J.-NOM who-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Whose brother did John meet?'
A: **Mary-uy**.
M.-GEN
'~~John met~~ MARY'S ~~brother~~.' (Park and Oh 2016, 3)
Cf. *Mary-uy$_i$ John-i [t_i tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-e.
M.-GEN J.-NOM brother-ACC meet-PAST-DEC
'Mary's, John met __ brother.'

Here, the possessor *Mary-uy* occupies a left branch. Given the ellipsis analysis of FA, where remnants undergo overt movement, we expect to observe an LBC violation here, though the utterance is judged grammatical. Similarly, extraction of an adnominal modifier, which normally induces an LBC violation as well, does not lead to ungrammaticality.[5]

(8) Q: John-un [etten yeca-lul] manna-ss-ni?
J.-TOP what girl-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'What girl did John meet?'
A: **Maywu** **alumtawu-n**.
very beautiful-ADN
'~~John met a~~ VERY BEAUTIFUL ~~girl~~.' (Park and Oh 2015)
Cf. *[Maywu alumtawu-n]$_i$ John-un [t_i yeca-lul] manna-ss-e.
very beautiful-ADN J.-TOP girl-ACC meet-PAST-DEC
'Very beautiful, John met a __ girl.'

Likewise, extraction from a relative clause (RC) does not lead to ungrammaticality either.

(9) Q: John-i [[nwu-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul] pwul-ess-ni?
J.-NOM who-NOM compose-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-Q
'Who$_i$ did John sing a song that e_i composed?'
A: **Max-ka**.
M.-NOM
'~~John sang the song that~~ MAX ~~composed~~.' (adapted from Park 2005, 323)
Cf. *Max-ka$_i$ John-i [[t_i cakkokha-n] nolay-lul] pwul-ess-e.
M.-NOM J.-NOM wrote-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-DEC
'Max, John sang a song that __ wrote.'

[5] Contexts like (7) and (8) do not allow NP-ellipsis in Korean. See An (2009, 2013) for relevant discussion.

Turning now to multiple FA (MFA), it has been observed that island repair is available here as well.[6] But, in this case, island repair is constrained in an interesting way. As Park and Oh (2016) observe, LBC violations in MFA can be repaired only if the island-violating remnant is in final position among the remnants. This is illustrated by the contrast between (10Aa) and (10Ab). (Here, *sey-phyen-uy* 'three pieces' is the element responsible for an LBC violation.)

(10) Q: John-i (encey) [myech-phyen-uy nonmwun-ul] (encey) ilk-ess-ni?
J.-NOM when how many-CL-GEN article-ACC when read-PAST-Q
'How many articles did John read when?'
A: a. Ecey **sey-phyen-uy**.
yesterday 3-CL-GEN
b. *__Sey-phyen-uy__ ecey.
3-CL-GEN yesterday
'~~John read~~ THREE ~~articles~~ YESTERDAY.' (Park and Oh 2016, 5)

RC islands in MFA behave similarly. Here, too, the remnant extracted from an RC must be in final position, as shown by the contrast between (11) and (12).[7]

[6] There seems to be some speaker variation concerning island repair in multiple FA contexts. Given this, I will be relying on the judgments reported in the literature for the most part. See also Sect. 5.4.

[7] Despite the remark in footnote 6, examples (11) and (12) are my own. This is because I could not find in the literature relevant MFA data where a remnant is extracted from an RC island in a way that would illustrate the contrast between (11) and (12). However, similar examples are discussed by Park and Oh (2016, 13–14), as shown in (i)–(iii). Note that these examples involve LBC islands as well as RC islands. However, since LBC violations can be repaired in final position, as shown in (10), the additional presence of LBC islands in (i)–(iii) does not affect the point I am making here. (In (i)–(iii), the LBC-violating elements are consistently in final position.) Thus, (i)–(iii) also confirm that RC-island violations can only be repaired in final position.

(i) Q: Nwu-ka [[nwukwu-uy chayk-ul ilk-un] haksayng-ul] chingchanha-ess-ni?
who-NOM who-GEN book-ACC read-REL student-ACC praise-PAST-Q
'Who praised a student that read whose book?'
A: ? Mary-ka Chomsky-uy.
M.-NOM C.-GEN
'MARY ~~praised a student who read~~ CHOMSKY'S ~~book~~.'

(ii) Q: [[Nwu-ka ssu-n] chayk-i] nwukwu-uy haksayng-eykey centaltoy-ess-ni?
who-NOM wrote-REL book-NOM who-GEN student-to deliver-PAST-Q
'To whose student was the book that who wrote delivered?'
A: *Chomsky-ka Mary-uy.
C.-NOM M.-GEN
'~~The book that~~ CHOMSKY ~~wrote was delivered to~~ MARY'S ~~student~~.'

(iii) Q: [[Nwukwu-lul pinanha-n] salam-i] nwukwu-uy chayk-ul sa-ss-ni?
who-ACC blamed-REL person-NOM who-GEN book-ACC buy-PAST-Q
'The person that blamed whom bought whose book?'
A: *John-ul Chomsky-uy.
J.-ACC C.-GEN
'~~The person who blamed~~ JOHN ~~bought~~ CHOMSKY'S ~~book~~.'

(11) Q: [[nwu-ka coaha-nun] chinkwu-ka] nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
who-NOM like-REL friend-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Who did a friend that __ likes met who?'
A: *Kim-i Chomsky-lul.
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'~~The friend that~~ KIM ~~likes met~~ CHOMSKY.'

(12) Q: Nwu-ka [[nwukwu-lul manna-n] haksayng-ul] chac-ko iss-ni?
who-NOM who-ACC meet-REL student-ACC look.for-is-Q
'Who is looking for a student that met who?'
A: Kim-i **Chomsky-lul**.
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'KIM ~~is looking for a student who met~~ CHOMSKY.'

The generalization that emerges from this set of data is that LBC and RC island repair in MFA are restricted to elements in final position (Cf. Park and Oh 2016). Note however that there is no reason not to extend this to SFA, because the remnant is necessarily in final position there. Given this, the observation in this section can be summarized as below.

(13) Periphery Restriction on Island Repair in FA
In FA, island repair is only allowed for remnants in final position.

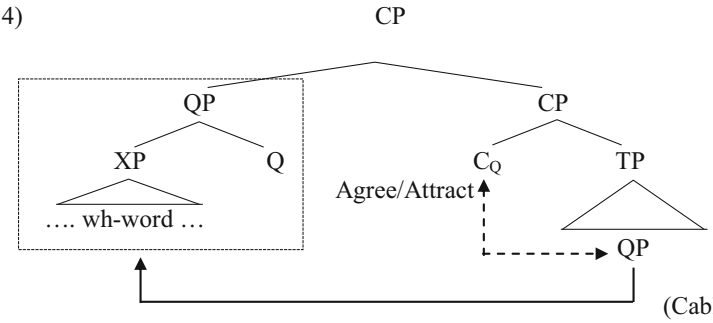
3 Theoretical background

This section introduces Cable's (2010a, b) theory of Pied-Piping and An's (2016a) theory of Extra Deletion. For reasons of space, only the bare minimum of these analyses is presented here. See Cable's and An's work for fuller details.

3.1 Pied-piping structure in A-bar movement: Cable (2010a, b)

Cable's main proposal is that, unlike usual assumptions, A-bar movements such as wh-fronting do not involve a direct interaction between an interrogative C and a wh-word. Rather, wh-fronting involves an independent functional head Q, whose projection contains the wh-word and is probed by the interrogative C. As a result, when wh-fronting takes place, it is actually the QP, not the wh-phrase, that undergoes movement. In other words, wh-fronting always involves a pied-piping structure, as illustrated in (14).

(14)



(Cable 2010b, 100)

According to Cable, the pied-piping structure in (14) holds universally across languages. Furthermore, the analysis in (14) is not limited to wh-fronting per se, but can be extended to other types of A-bar movement such as focus movement, relativization, and so on.[8] To illustrate, in cases like (15), there is no real pied-piping in the traditional sense, where the wh-word *whose* (or, more precisely, its formal feature) would trigger movement of a larger phrase containing it.[9] Rather, what happens is an ordinary "phrasal movement" of QP, whose head bears the relevant feature for movement and enters into an Agree relation with the interrogative C, as shown in (16).[10]

(15) Whose book did you read?

(16) $[_{CP}\ [_{QP}\ [_{DP}$ Whose book$]]_i$ did you read $t_i]$

As supporting evidence for his analysis, Cable provides ample data from Tlingit, a Na-Dene language spoken in Southeast Alaska, and several other languages. I briefly discuss below some of Cable's Tlingit data that illustrate some properties that are relevant to our discussion in subsequent sections.

First, wh-fronting in Tlingit is characterized by the obligatory presence of the Q-particle *sá*, which heads QP. An important property of *sá* is that it is always required in contexts of wh-fronting.

(17) **Goodéi** ***(sá)** kkwagóot?
where.to Q I.will.go
'Where will I go?'

[8] Similar arguments are made concerning focus movement in Hungarian by Horvath (2007), where it is shown that focus movement is not triggered by the focused phrase itself. Rather, what is called focus movement actually involves phrasal movement of a quantificational element, which contains the focused phrase, much like the way Cable analyzes wh-movement.

[9] Cable (2010a, b) explicitly argues against postulating pied-piping as an independent operation and argues for its elimination. I use the term "pied-piping" in this paper for expository convenience.

[10] There are some aspects that are subject to parametric variation, such as the phonological overtness of the Q-particle, the position of the Q-particle with respect to its complement as per the head parameter, the point in the derivation at which the movement of QP takes place, etc. For instance, it is assumed that the Q head can be phonologically null in languages like English.

Second, the relative position of *sá* with respect to its associated wh-word is also an important factor. For instance, in (18a), where the wh-word is complement to P, *sá* comes after the P, i.e., it is outside the PP, meaning that the whole PP undergoes movement as a subpart of QP. Thus, the status of PP in (18a) is the same as that of XP in (14).[11]

(18) a. **Aadóo** teen **sá** yeegoot?
who with Q you.went
'Who did you go with?'
b. *[$_{QP}$ **Aadóo** **sá**] [$_{PP}$ t teen] yeegoot?
who Q with you.went

More importantly, Cable (2010b, 33–34) notes that wh-words in Tlingit can be contained inside an island if and only if *sá* is merged outside the island, which means that the entire island is pied-piped as part of QP. (19) and (20) illustrate the behavior of LBC in this regard. As indicated, the examples are only grammatical if the Q-particle is outside the LBC island.

(19) a. **Aadóo** yaagú **sá** ysiteen?
who boat Q you.saw.it
'Whose boat did you see?'
b. ***Aadóo** **sá** yaagú ysiteen?
who Q boat you.saw.it

(20) a. **Aadóo** x̲'asheeyí **sá** iya.aax̲?
who song Q you.heard.it
'Whose song did you hear?'
b. ***Aadóo** **sá** x̲'asheeyí iya.aax̲?
who Q song you.heard.it (Cable 2010b, 44–45)

3.2 Extra deletion: An (2016a)

My analysis in An (2016a) is concerned with the peculiar distribution of case-marked and caseless NP remnants in FA.[12,13] That is, while NP remnants in SFA

[11] Incidentally, the contrast between (18a) and (18b) indicates that P-stranding is not allowed in Tlingit. Given the availability of P-stranding in languages like English, Cable argues that the lexical/functional status of P determines the position of *sá* and that this consequently leads to the (un)availability of PP pied-piping (or P-stranding). See his work for further details.

[12] I also examine Right Node Raising in An (2016a), to which the reader is referred for details. I briefly discuss Right Node Raising in Sect. 5.3 as well.

[13] Right Dislocation (RD) in Korean, especially the gapless type, as exemplified in (i), behaves exactly the same as FA in relevant respects. For instance, it is usually assumed that gapless RD involves movement of the RDed element and clausal ellipsis, as shown in (ii). More importantly, RDed elements

can freely alternate between case-marked and caseless forms, as shown in (21), caseless NP remnants in MFA are restricted to final position only, as shown in (22) (see An 2016a; Ku and Cho 2014; Park 2013; Park and Oh 2014; Park and Shin 2014; among others). The state of affairs is summarized in (23).

(21) Q: Cho-ka nwukwu-lul coaha-ni? A: **Yang-(ul)**.
C.-NOM who-ACC likes-Q Y.-ACC
'Who does Cho like?" '~~Cho likes~~ YANG.'

(22) Q: Nwu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni? A: **Cho-*(ka)** Yang-(ul).
who-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q C.-NOM Y.-ACC
'Who met whom?' 'CHO ~~met~~ YANG.'

(23) Periphery Restriction on Bare NPs in FA
In FA, bare NPs are only allowed in final position. (adapted, An 2016a)

Given this, it is important that the omission of case markers in FA is not the same as the usual case marker drop phenomenon in Korean. For instance, it is well-known that case marker drop is not allowed for indefinite subjects, as in (24).

(24) **Chayk-*(i)** seysang-ul pakkwun-ta.
book-NOM world-ACC change-DEC
'Books change the world.' (Hong 1994)

However, such NPs can be bare in FA, as shown in (25).

Footnote 13 continued
can omit their case marker when they are in final position, as indicated in (i) and (iii). Furthermore, RDed elements can originate from islands without leading to ungrammaticality, as shown in (iv).

(i) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul coaha-e, Yenghi-(lul).
C.-NOM Y.-ACC likes-DEC Y.-ACC
'Chelswu likes Yenghi, Yenghi.'
(ii) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lul coaha-e, [Yenghi-(lul) ~~[Chelswu-ka t coaha-e]~~]
(iii) Yenghi-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-e, Yenghi-*(ka) chayk-(ul).
Y.-NOM book-ACC read-PAST-DEC Y.-NOM book-ACC
'Yenghi read a book, Yenghi a book.'
(iv) na-nun [Yenghi-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e, Yenghi-uy.
I-TOP Y.-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-DEC Y.-GEN
'I borrowed Yenghi's car, Yenghi's.' (Ko 2015)

As the analysis proposed for FA below can be straightforwardly extended to gapless RD, I will not go into it here for reasons of space. (See An 2016b for the parallelism between FA and gapless RD; See also Abe 2015, 2016; Chung 2012; Ko 2015, 2016; Lee 2013; Lee 2010; Takita 2014, for general dicussion on RD.).

(25) Q: Mwues-i seysang-ul pakkwu-ess-ni? A: **Chayk-(i)**.
what-NOM world-ACC change-PAST-Q book-NOM
'What changed the world?' 'BOOKS ~~changed the world~~.'

Based on this (and other facts), An (2016a) concludes that bare NPs in FA are not derived by case marker drop.[14]

Assuming the ellipsis analysis of FA, my proposal in An (2016a) is that we are dealing here with a case where PF deletion optionally extends into an ellipsis remnant, a situation referred to as Extra Deletion (ED).[15] This is schematically illustrated in (26).

(26) $[_{\alpha P}$ X Y ~~Z] [$_{\beta P}$ rest of the clause]~~

where αP is the remnant,
βP is the constituent that initially undergoes PF deletion,
Z is the part of the remnant that undergoes ED.

Given this, the caseless NP remnant in (21) is derived as in (27a) through (27c).[16]

(27) a. [$_{FocP}$ [Yang-ul] [$_{TP}$ Cho-ka t coaha-e]] → Focus movement
Y.-ACC C.-NOM likes-DEC
b. [$_{FocP}$ [Yang-ul] ~~[$_{TP}$ Cho-ka t coaha-e]~~] → PF deletion
c. [$_{FocP}$ [Yang-~~ul] [$_{TP}$ Cho-ka t coaha-e]~~] → ED

Furthermore, I argue in An (2016a) that one important restriction on ED is adjacency between deleted elements. That is, the portion of the remnant undergoing ED should be adjacent to the string of elements that are independently deleted, e.g., to derive FA. Given this, situations like those in (28) are predicted to be ill-formed, which is actually borne out.

(28) a. *[$_{\alpha P}$ X ~~Y~~ Z] ~~[$_{\beta P}$ rest of the clause]~~ → No adjacency.
b. *[$_{\alpha P}$ X Y ~~Z~~] [$_{\beta P}$ rest of the clause] → No independent deletion.

[14] Although I focus on case markers here, the phenomenon in question is not limited to case markers. I show in An (2016a) that postpositions and nouns can also be omitted if they occur in appropriate contexts. In fact, if the analysis proposed below is correct, much larger elements of various kinds can also be omitted.

[15] ED is not a separate, brand-new deletion operation. Rather, it refers to a situation where PF deletion deletes more elements than is originally determined by the syntax—that is, by deleting into the remnant. This implies that there can be a mismatch between the target of deletion marked by the syntax and the actual object that is deleted in PF. I assume that this mismatch stems from the fact that syntactic operations are based on constituents, while PF deletion is based on linear order. Of course, this does not mean that ED is unconstrained. For instance, deleted elements have to be recoverable. Also, certain morpho-phonological dependencies can block ED. For further discussion, see An (2016a, b), to appear.

[16] Of course, without ED in (27c), a case-marked FA is derived, as in (27b).

To see this, consider the distribution of bare NPs in (29) and (30). (29) is an MFA version of (25). Here, *chayk* 'book' can no longer be bare unlike in (25).[17] This is because (29A) has the configuration in (28a), where a non-final element undergoes ED failing to meet the adjacency restriction. (30A) corresponds to (28b). Here, there is no independent deletion, as the utterance is a full sentential answer. Recall that *chayk* in (30A) does not have the option of ordinary case marker drop (Cf. (24)). Therefore, ED is the only possibility for it to be bare. However, given the parasitic nature of ED, that is not an option either.

(29) Q: Mwues-i mwues-ul pakkwu-ess-ni?
what-NOM what-ACC change-PAST-Q
'What changed what?'
A: **Chayk-*(i)** seysang-(ul).
book-NOM world-ACC
'BOOKS ~~changed~~ THE WORLD.'

(30) Q: Mwues-i seysang-ul pakkwu-ess-ni?
what-NOM world-ACC change-PAST-Q
'What changed the world?'
A: **Chayk-*(i)** seysang-ul pakkwu-ess-e.
book-NOM world-ACC change-PAST-DEC
'Books changed the world.'

The generalization in (23), repeated below as (31), receives an analysis on a par with (28a). That is, the case marker on a non-final remnant cannot be the target of ED as it is not adjacent to the string of deleted material.[18]

(31) Periphery Restriction on Bare NPs in FA
In FA, bare NPs are only allowed in final position. (adapted, An 2016a)

Given this, it is crucial to notice that there is a parallelism between the distribution of bare NP remnants in FA and the distribution of island repair in FA, as in (13), repeated below.

(32) Periphery Restriction on Island Repair in FA
In FA, island repair is only allowed for remnants in final position.

[17] This again confirms that the bare NP does not result from case marker drop.

[18] The generalization in (31) is not specifically tied to FA in Korean. As I show in An (2016a, b, to appear), other ellipsis constructions such as Right Node Raising, Right Dislocation, VP-ellipsis, and so on, in languages like English, Japanese, Serbo-Croatian, and Chinese behave the same as FA in Korean in relevant respects. This implies that ED is possibly a general phenomenon, though a more precise understanding of its distribution requires further research.

This observation provides a crucial starting point for the alternative analysis of island repair proposed in the next section.

4 Another way to avoid islands in fragment answers

This section proposes an alternative analysis of the absence of island effects in FA in Korean without resorting to illegitimate extractions from islands and the notion of island repair. Section 4.1 presents the core idea based on basic instances of island repair. Section 4.2 is concerned with the periphery restriction on island repair.

4.1 An alternative analysis: pied-piping and ED

Given Cable's theory of pied-piping and An's theory of ED, as well as the observation that there is a parallelism between the distribution of bare NPs and that of island repair in FA, we are now ready to account for island repair in FA from a new perspective. As suggested at the outset, the crucial hypothesis is that in island repair contexts in FA, there is in fact no extraction from the island. Rather, the island itself undergoes movement as part of a larger phrase, say QP,[19] forming a pied-piping structure, part of which is then deleted by ED as part of the deletion process that derives FA. This analysis is schematically represented below.

(33) a. $[_{\text{FocP}}\ [_{\text{QP}}\ [_{\text{Island}}\ \ldots\ \text{X Y Z}]]\ [_{\text{TP}}\ \ldots\ \text{t}\ \ldots]]$ → Pied-piping of the island
b. $[_{\text{FocP}}\ [_{\text{QP}}\ [_{\text{Island}}\ \ldots\ \text{X Y Z}]]\ \cancel{[_{\text{TP}}\ \ldots\ \text{t}\ \ldots]}]$ → PF deletion for FA
c. $[_{\text{FocP}}\ [_{\text{QP}}\ [_{\text{Island}}\ \ldots\ \text{X Y}\ \cancel{\text{Z}]]}\ \cancel{[_{\text{TP}}\ \ldots\ \text{t}\ \ldots]}]$ → ED

Under this analysis, the examples of island repair examined in Sect. 2 are reanalyzed as below. First, (34) involves an LBC violation context. Instead of triggering island-violating movement, the island itself, which contains the focused phrase, undergoes movement as part of QP, as shown in (34b). Then, PF deletion applies to TP to derive FA, as in (34c), and to a subpart of QP, as in (34d), which is an instance of ED.

[19] Cable (2010b) refers to the Q-particle involved in focus fronting as Q_{FOC} to distinguish it from the Q-particle involved in wh-fronting. As I do not discuss wh-fronting in this paper, I ignore this notational difference.

(34) Q: John-i [nwukwu-uy tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-ni? (=(4))
J.-NOM who-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Whose brother did John meet?'
A: Mary-uy.
M.-GEN
'~~John met~~ MARY'S ~~brother~~.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-i [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy tongsayng-ul]] manna-ss-e]]
J.-NOM M.-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-DEC
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy tongsayng-ul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t manna-ss-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy tongsayng-ul]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t manna-ss-e]~~]
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy ~~tongsayng-ul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t manna-ss-e]~~]

(35) involves a prenominal modifier phrase as the remnant in FA, which also forms a potential LBC violation context. The same account as above applies.

(35) Q: John-un [etten yeca-lul] manna-ss-ni? (=(8))
J.-TOP what girl-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'What girl did John meet?'
A: Maywu alumtaw-un.
very beautiful-ADN
'~~John met a~~ VERY BEAUTIFUL ~~girl~~.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-un [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [maywu alumtawu-n] yeca-lul]] manna-ss-e]]
J.-TOP very beautiful-ADN girl-ACC meet-PAST-DEC
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [maywu alumtawu-n] yeca-lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-un t manna-ss-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [maywu alumtawu-n] yeca-lul]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-un t manna-ss-e]~~]
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [maywu alumtawu-n] ~~yeca-lul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John-un t manna-ss-e]~~]

This account also straightforwardly extends to RC island violation cases.

(36) Q: John-i [[$_{RC}$ nwu-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul] pwul-ess-ni? (=(9))
J.-NOM who-NOM compose-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-Q
'Who$_i$ did John sing a song that e$_i$ composed?'
A: Max-ka.
M.-NOM
'~~John sang the song that~~ MAX ~~composed~~.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-i [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] pwul-ess-e]]
J.-NOM M.-NOM composed-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-DEC
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]~~]
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka ~~cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]~~]

The crucial point is that there is no movement out of LBC and RC islands at any point in the derivation of these sentences. Instead, the island itself undergoes movement as part of QP and is subsequently reduced by PF deletion, leaving only the relevant remnants on the surface, which gives rise to the façade of extraction from the islands. No appeal is ever made to the notion of island repair.

Note that the idea of an island undergoing movement as a whole plays an important part in the current analysis. Evidence that such movement is possible has been presented by several researchers based on various languages. I have already shown some of Cable's data involving LBC contexts in Tlingit in Sect. 3.1. The relevant examples are repeated below.

(37) a. **Aadóo** yaagú **sá** ysiteen?
who boat Q you.saw.it
'Whose boat did you see?'
b. *__Aadóo__ **sá** yaagú ysiteen?3
who Q boat you.saw.it

(38) a. **Aadóo** x̲'asheeyí **sá** iya.aax̲?
who song Q you.heard.it
'Whose song did you hear?'
b. *__Aadóo__ **sá** x̲'asheeyí iya.aax̲?
who Q song you.heard.it (Cable 2010b, 44–45)

Similarly, when a wh-word is contained inside an RC, the Q-particle *sá* appears to the right of both the RC and the noun it modifies. (Examples (39)–(41) are from Cable 2010b, 33–34.)

(39) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** kwligeyi] x̲áat] **sá** i tuwáa sigóo?
how it.is.big.REL fish Q your spirit it.is.happy
'How big a fish do you want?'
b. *[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** **sá** kwligeyi] x̲áat] i tuwáa sigóo?
how Q it.is.big.REL fish your spirit it.is.happy
c. *[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** kwligeyi] **sá** x̲áat] i tuwáa sigóo?
how it.is.big.REL Q fish your spirit it.is.happy

(40) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** yateeyí] sháax'w sáani] **sá** ash koodlénx̲aa?
how they.are.REL girls Q they.are.tempting.him
'What kind of girls are tempting him? (=Girls that are how are tempting him?)
b. *[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** **sá** yateeyí] sháax'w sáani] ash koodlénx̲aa?
how Q they.are.REL girls they.are.tempting.him
c. *[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** yateeyí] **sá** sháax'w sáani] ash koodlénx̲aa?
how they.are.REL Q girls they.are.tempting.him

(41) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** yateeyí] sháax'w sáani] **sá** ash tuwáa gaa yatee?
how they.are.REL girls Q his.spirit for they.are
'What kind of girls are pleasing to his eye? (=Girls that are how are pleasing to his eye?)

b. *[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** **sá** yateeyí] sháax'w sáani] ash tuwáa gaa yatee?
how Q they.are.REL girls his.spirit for they.are

c. *[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ **Wáa** yateeyí] **sá** sháax'w sáani] ash tuwáa gaa yatee?
how they.are.REL Q girls his.spirit for they.are

Kishimoto (2005) observes that wh-questions in Sinhala employ the Q-particle *da*. Just like in Tlingit, the wh-operator of a Sinhala wh-question may be contained inside an island if and only if *da* is merged outside the island. (42) illustrates this based on an LBC context.

(42) a. Chitra [**mona** pota] **da** gatte?
Chitra what book Q bought
'What book did Chitra buy?'

b. Chitra [**kaa**-ge amma] **da** daekke?
Chitra who-GEN mother Q saw
'Whose mother did Chitra see?' (Kishimoto 2005, 13)

(43) illustrates that when an RC island contains a wh-word, *da* has to be outside the RC.

(43) a. Oyaa [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ Chitra **kaa**-ta dunna] pota] **da** kieuwe?
you Chitra who-DAT give book Q read
'Who did you read the book that Chitra gave?'

b. *Oyaa [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ Chitra **kaa**-ta **da** dunna] pota] kieuwe?
you Chitra who-DAT Q give book read (Kishimoto 2005, 29)

Choe (1987) is one of the earliest researchers who noted that island violations can be ignored in certain question–answer contexts in Korean, which is basically what we are dealing with in this paper.[20] Significantly, he notes that in answering a wh-question involving an island, repeating the whole island, say, a long answer, as well as uttering a short answer, is a legitimate option. The two options are illustrated in (44).

[20] After I submitted this paper to JEAL, Park (2016) presented an independently developed analysis building on Choe's (1987) data. Though the details are very different, Park's analysis is similar to the current analysis in that island repair effects in FA are captured by assuming that a moved island category is subsequently reduced. The reader is referred to Park (2016) for details.

(44) Q: [Nwu-ka cwuk-ess-ta-nun] kisa-lul ilk-ess-ni?
who-NOM die-PAST-DEC-ADN article-ACC read-PAST-Q
'Who did you read an article that (he) died?'
A: a. Andropov.
'~~I read the article that~~ ANDROPOV ~~died~~.'
b. Andropov-ka cwuk-ess-ta-nun kisa.
A.-NOM die-PAST-DEC-ADN article
'~~I read~~ THE ARTICLE THAT ANDROPOV DIED.' (adapted from Choe 1987)

(44Aa) illustrates the short answer option, which corresponds to our island repair case. The long answer in (44Ab) involves a repetition of the whole island.[21] Notice the similarity between (44Ab) and the data from Tlingit and Sinhala above.

4.2 The periphery restriction on island repair

I have explained the basic instances of island repair in FA in Korean in the previous section. Let us now turn to the generalization that island repair in FA is restricted to final position.

(45) Periphery Restriction on Island Repair in FA
In FA, island repair is only allowed for remnants in final position.

As pointed out at the end of Sect. 3, there is a parallelism between the distribution of caseless NPs in FA and the distribution of island repair in FA—that is, these phenomena are restricted to final position. Given this, I suggest that the generalization in (45) also falls out from the fact that PF deletion—in particular, ED—requires adjacency of the deleted elements. Recall that under the current analysis, when a wh-phrase is contained in an island in FA, the whole island undergoes movement as part of QP, where the QP is subsequently reduced by ED. If the island is not in final position among the remnants, deletion into this element would not be possible, given the adjacency restriction. I repeat the relevant examples below to illustrate this.

[21] In fact, Choe (1987) argues for a pied-piping analysis of such cases, though the details cannot be maintained in the current theoretical framework. In this respect, Choe's work can be considered a predecessor of the current analysis.

(46) Q: John-i encey [myech-phyen-uy nonmwun]-ul ilk-ess-ni?
J.-NOM when how many-CL-GEN article-ACC read-PAST-Q
'How many articles did John read when?'

A: Ecey **sey-phyen-uy**.
yesterday 3-CL-GEN
'~~John read~~ THREE ~~articles~~ YESTERDAY.'

a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-un [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ecey]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ sey-phyen-uy nonmwun-lul]] ilk-ess-e]]

b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ Ecey]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ sey-phyen-uy nonmwun-lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-un t t ilk-ess-e]]

c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ Ecey]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ sey-phyen-uy nonmwun-lul]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-un t t ilk-ess-e]~~]

d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ Ecey]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ sey-phyen-uy ~~nonmwun-lul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John-un t t ilk-ess-e]~~]

(47) Q: John-i [myech-phyen-uy nonmwun]-ul encey ilk-ess-ni?
J.-NOM how many-CL-GEN article-ACC when read-PAST-Q
'How many articles did John read when?'

A: *__Sey-phyen-uy__ ecey.
3-CL-GEN yesterday
'~~John read~~ THREE ~~articles~~ YESTERDAY.'

a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-un [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ sey-phyen-uy nonmwun-lul]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ecey]] ilk-ess-e]]

b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Sey-phyen-uy nonmwun-lul]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ecey]] [$_{TP}$ John-un t t ilk-ess-e]]

c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Sey-phyen-uy nonmwun-lul]] [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ecey]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-un t t ilk-ess-e]~~]

d. * [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Sey-phyen-uy ~~nonmwun-lul]]~~ [$_{QP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ ecey]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-un t t ilk-ess-e]~~]

The representations in (46d) and (47d) make it clear why island repair in FA is legitimate only in final position. In order to induce the effect of island repair, the island containing the focused phrase should be the final element among the moved items, so that it is adjacent to the rest of the deleted material in TP, creating a configuration for ED. While this is the case in (46d), it isn't in (47d).

This account extends straightforwardly to all other cases of island repair seen above.

(48) Q: [Nwu-ka coaha-nun] chinkwu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni? (=(11))
who-NOM like-REL friend-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Who did a friend that __ likes met who?'
A: ***Kim-i** Chomsky-lul.
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'~~The friend that~~ KIM ~~likes met~~ CHOMSKY.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i coaha-nun chinkwu-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul] manna -ss-e]]
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i coaha-nun chinkwu-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul] [$_{TP}$ t t manna -ss-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i coaha-nun chinkwu-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul] ~~[$_{TP}$ t t manna -ss-e]~~]
d. *[$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i ~~coaha-nun chinkwu-ka~~] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul] ~~[$_{TP}$ t t manna -ss-e]~~]

(49) Q: Nwu-ka [nwukwu-lul manna-n] haksayng-ul chac-ko iss-ni? (=(12))
who-NOM who-ACC meet-REL student-ACC look.for-is-Q
'Who is looking for a student that met who?'
A: Kim-i **Chomsky-lul**.
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'KIM ~~is looking for a student who met~~ CHOMSKY.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul manna-n haksayng-ul] chac -ko iss-e]]
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul manna-n haksayng-ul] [$_{TP}$ t t chac -ko iss-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul manna-n haksayng-ul] ~~[$_{TP}$ t t chac -ko iss-e]~~]
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Kim-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-lul ~~manna-n haksayng-ul] [$_{TP}$ t t chac -ko iss-e]~~]

(50) Q: Nwu-ka [[nwukwu-uy chayk-ul ilk-un] haksayng]-ul chingchanha-ess-ni?
who-NOM who-GEN book-ACC read-REL student-ACC praise-PAST-Q
'Who praised a student that read whose book?'
A: ?Mary-ka **Chomsky-uy**. (=n8. (i))
M.-NOM C.-GEN
'MARY ~~praised a student who read~~ CHOMSKY'S ~~book~~.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy chayk-ul ilk-un haksayng-ul] chingchanha-ess-e]]
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy chayk-ul ilk-un haksayng-ul] [$_{TP}$ t t chingchanha-ess-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy chayk-ul ilk-un haksayng-ul] ~~[$_{TP}$ t t chingchanha-ess-e]~~]
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-ka] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy ~~chayk-ul ilk-un haksayng-ul] [$_{TP}$ t t chingchanha-ess-e]~~]

(51) Q: [Nwu-ka ssu-n] chayk-i nwukwu-uy haksayng-eykey centaltoy-ess-ni?
who-NOM wrote-REL book-NOM who-GEN student-to deliver-PAST-Q
'To whose student was the book that who wrote delivered?'
A: ***Chomsky-ka** Mary-uy. (=n8. (ii))
C.-NOM M.-GEN
'~~The book that~~ CHOMSKY ~~wrote was delivered to~~ MARY'S ~~student~~.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-ka ssu-n chayk-i] [$_{QP}$ Mary-uy haksayng-eykey] centaltoy-ess-e]]
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-ka ssu-n chayk-i] [$_{QP}$ Mary-uy haksayng-eykey] [$_{TP}$ t tcentaltoy-ess-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-ka ssu-n chayk-i] [$_{QP}$ Mary-uy haksayng-eykey] ~~[$_{TP}$ ttcentaltoy-ess-e]~~]
d. *[$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-ka ~~ssu-n chayk-i]~~ [$_{QP}$ Mary-uy ~~haksayng-eykey]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ ttcentaltoy-ess-e]~~]

(52) Q: [Nwukwu-lul who-ACC pinanha-n] blamed-REL salam-i person-NOM nwukwu-uy who-GEN chayk-ul book-ACC sa-ss-ni? buy -PAST-Q

'The person that blamed whom bought whose book?'

A: ***John-ul** J.-ACC Chomsky-uy. C.-GEN (=n8. (iii))

'~~The person who blamed~~ JOHN ~~bought~~ CHOMSKY'S ~~book~~.

a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{QP}$ John-ul pinanha-n salam-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy chayk-ul] sa-ss-e]]

b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ John-ul pinanha-n salam-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy chayk-ul] [$_{TP}$ t t sa-ss-e]]

c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ John-ul pinanha-n salam-i] [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy chayk-ul] ~~[$_{TP}$ t t sa-ss-e]~~]

d. *[$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ John-ul ~~pinanha-n salam-i]~~ [$_{QP}$ Chomsky-uy ~~chayk-ul]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ t t sa-ss-e]~~]

To summarize, I have argued in this section that the notion of island repair (as well as illegitimate extraction as a precondition for island repair) can be dispensed with in FA in Korean. Given Cable's (2010a, b) proposal that A-bar fronting universally involves pied-piping structures formed by phrasal movement of QP and An's (2016a) proposal that PF deletion can extend the deletion string into the remnant under adjacency, I have argued that apparent island repair in FA results from the interaction between these two independent processes. That is, focused phrases in FA undergo focus fronting as part of QP followed by PF deletion of the rest of the clause. If the focused phrase is contained in an island, the island as a whole undergoes such pied-piping movement. Then, in certain contexts, the deletion string, initially formed by deleting TP, can be extended into the remnant, i.e., ED. Given that what gets deleted in such ED contexts corresponds to an island, leaving only the focused phrase on the surface, the process gives the impression that the remnant has been extracted from the island and that the violation is repaired. Under the alternative analysis, however, there is no need to appeal to the notion of island repair, because there is no island violation at any point in the derivation. In other words, there is nothing to repair in the first place.

5 Some additional issues

This section deals with some additional issues and considers their implications. Section 5.1 is concerned with aspects of island repair in relation to the optionality of ED and examines a new set of data that can be straightforwardly captured by the current analysis, providing additional support for it. Section 5.2 examines the clause-mate condition on FA and proposes a potential analysis of it. The suggestion is somewhat speculative at the moment, but can capture the facts straightforwardly. Section 5.3 briefly discusses the parallelism between Right Node Raising and FA

with respect to the absence of island effects. Section 5.4 discusses some alternative analyses proposed by other researchers.

5.1 Some consequences of the optionality of ED

It was pointed out above that ED is an optional phenomenon. For instance, the alternation between case-marked and bare forms in (53) indicates that ED can, but does not have to, apply.

(53) Q: John-i nwukwu-lul coaha-ni? A: **Mary-(lul)**.
J.-NOM who-ACC likes-Q M.-ACC
'Who does John like?" 'John likes MARY.'

Under the current analysis, the FA in (53) is derived as in (54).

(54) a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-i [$_{QP}$ Mary-lul] coaha-e]] → Underlying structure
J.-NOM M.-ACC likes-DEC
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-lul] [$_{TP}$ John-i t coaha-e]] → Movement
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-lul] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t coaha-e]~~] → PF deletion
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ Mary-~~lul~~] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t coaha-e]~~] → ED

(54d) is where ED takes place, which derives the bare NP remnant. (55c) is the point of derivation where PF deletion applies to TP as dictated by the syntax. This is the step that is primarily responsible for deriving FA under the ellipsis analysis. If the derivation is finished at this point without further application of deletion into the remnant, we derive the case-marked NP remnant.

With this in mind, recall that in answering a wh-question containing a wh-phrase inside an island, the speaker can either utter the answer to the wh-phrase alone, i.e., a short answer, or repeat the whole island, i.e., a long answer, as pointed out in Sect. 4.1 (Choe 1987; Nichigauchi 1990; Watanabe 1992). For instance, the island-repair example discussed in (34), repeated below as (55), allows a long answer, as shown in (55Aii). The short answer in (55Ai) is generated if the derivation proceeds all the way from (55a) to (55d), while the long answer in (55Aii) is generated if the derivation finishes at (55c).

(55) Q: John-i [nwukwu-uy tongsayng-ul] manna-ss-ni?
J.-NOM who-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Whose brother did John meet?'
A: (i) Mary-(uy).
M.-GEN
'~~John met~~ MARY'S ~~brother~~.'
(ii) Mary-uy tongsayng-(ul).
M.-GEN brother-ACC
'~~John met~~ MARY'S ~~brother~~.'
a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-i [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy tongsayng-ul]] manna-ss-e]]
J.-NOM M.-GEN brother-ACC meet-PAST-DEC
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy tongsayng-ul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t manna-ss-e]]
c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy tongsayng-ul]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t manna-ss-e]~~]
d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ Mary-uy ~~tongsayng-ul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t manna-ss-e]~~]

Notice that unlike in (34), I put parentheses around the genitive case marker in (55Ai).[22] What this means is that ED can also apply to this case marker, which in turn means that there can be an additional step of derivation even after (55d). This is shown in (56a). The same applies to the long answer in (55Aii) as well. Here, too, the accusative case marker, which is the linearly final element within the remnant, can further undergo ED, as shown in (56b).

(56) a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Mary**~~-uy tongsayng-ul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John i t manna ss e]~~]
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Mary-uy tongsayng**~~-ul]]~~ ~~[$_{TP}$ John i t manna ss e]~~]

This account extends to other examples of island repair discussed above. For reasons of space, I only repeat one example involving an RC island. Here, (57c) is responsible for the long answer in (57Aii) with the overt case marker, while (57d) is responsible for the one without the case marker. (57e) is responsible for the short answer in (57Ai) with the overt case marker, while (57f) is responsible for the one without the case marker.

[22] This was simply because when I was examining (34) in Sect. 4, the omission of this case marker was not crucial for the discussion.

(57) Q: John-i [[$_{RC}$ nwu-ka cakkokha-n] nolay]-lul pwul-ess-ni? (=(36))
J.-NOM who-NOM compose-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-Q
'Who$_i$ did John sing a song that e$_i$ composed?'

A: (i) Max-(ka).
M.-NOM
'~~John sang the song that~~ MAX ~~composed~~.'

(ii) Max-ka cakkokha-n nolay-(lul).
M.-NOM compose-REL song-ACC
'~~John sang the song that~~ MAX ~~composed~~.'

a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ John-i [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] pwul-ess-e]]
J.-NOM M.-NOM composed-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-DEC

b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]]

c. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] ~~[$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]~~]

d. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-~~lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]~~]

e. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-ka ~~cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]~~]

f. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$ Max-~~ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul]] [$_{TP}$ John-i t pwul-ess-e]~~]

In sum, the availability of long and short answers in island-repairing FA (as well as their caseless counterparts) is a direct consequence of the amount of deletion into the remnant, i.e., ED, which stems from the optional nature of the phenomenon in question. Incidentally, the various derivational choices in (55)–(57) illustrate an important aspect of PF deletion in a visually clear manner. That is, as is easy to see in (57c–f), for instance, if we put together the deleted elements in each case, they always form a single straight line, incrementally moving into the remnant, while there is no way to form a single syntactic constituent based on them. As mentioned before, I argue in An (2016a) that this is a consequence of the adjacency restriction on ED. Furthermore, it is suggested that PF deletion operates on strings of elements, similarly to the fact that syntactic operations operate on constituents. That is why we observe in all the legitimate examples above that elements undergoing deletion form a single continuous string, while in the ungrammatical cases, they do not. One might suspect whether deletion applies iteratively in these cases, deleting one constituent each time. While that is a reasonable conjecture, it would leave the adjacency restriction totally unexpected, although the generalization is quite robust.[23] (See An 2007, 2016a, b, to appear, for relevant discussion.)

5.2 The clause-mate condition on MFA

It has been claimed that MFA is subject to some kind of clause-mate condition to the effect that if two wh-phrases originate from separate clauses, the corresponding

[23] For instance, recall that the adjacency restriction is basically the reason why caseless NP remnants and island repair in FA are both restricted to final position despite being quite different in nature. This will be left unaccounted for under the putative alternative.

MFA is unacceptable (Ko 2015; Park and Oh 2014). Consider the contrast between (58) and (59).

(58) Q: **Nwu-ka** [Chelswu-ka **mwues-ul** mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-ni?
who-NOM C.-NOM what-ACC eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-Q
'Who said that Chelswu ate what?'
A: *Yenghi-ka sathang-ul.
Y.-NOM candy-ACC
'YENGHI ~~said that Chelswu ate~~ CANDY.' (Ko 2015)

(59) Q: Chelswu-nun [**nwu-ka mwues-ul** mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-ni?
C.-TOP who-NOM what-ACC eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-Q
'Who did Chelswu say ate what?'
A: Mary-ka ppang-ul.
M.-NOM bread-ACC
'~~Chelswu said that~~ MARY ~~ate~~ BREAD.'

The presence of the clause-mate condition is puzzling because we have seen that MFA involving an RC island can be legitimate.

(60) Q: **Nwu-ka** [**nwukwu-lul** manna-n haksayng-ul] chac-ko iss-ni?
who-NOM who-ACC meet-REL student-ACC look.for-is-Q
'Who is looking for a student that met who?'
A: Kim-i Chomsky-lul. (=(12)/(49))
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'KIM ~~is looking for a student who met~~ CHOMSKY.'

Here, the two remnants originate from different clauses, while the utterance is just fine. Given this, it is interesting that (58) improves if the object wh-phrase in the embedded clause is reordered to the beginning of its clause.

(61) Q: **Nwu-ka** [**mwues-ul** Chelswu-ka t mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-ni?
who-NOM what-ACC C.-NOM eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-Q
'Who said that Chelswu ate what?'
A: Yenghi-ka sathang-ul.
Y.-NOM candy-ACC
'YENGHI ~~said that Chelswu ate~~ CANDY.'

Now, consider the surface form of the examples in (58)–(61) focusing on the linear position of the wh-phrases. It seems that the adjacency between the wh-phrases somehow affects the acceptability of the corresponding MFA. The consequence of two wh-phrases being adjacent to each other is that the rest of the elements in the sentence can form a single straight string when deleted, which is

one of the requirements on PF deletion. That is not the case in (58), which may probably be why the example is unacceptable.

Although this sounds plausible, we have to be careful, because the examples in (58)–(61) are not homogeneous. That is, in (60), we are dealing with a context of island repair, which involves pied-piping of the whole island under QP, while there is no island in (58), (59), and (61). In particular, between (58) and (61), it seems that regardless of the adjacency between the wh-phrases (and between their focused counterparts in the underlying structure), there should not be a difference after their movement, as shown below.

(62) a. $[_{FocP}\ [_{QP1}$ Yenghi-ka] $[_{QP2}$ sathang-ul] (=(58A))
Y.-NOM candy-ACC
~~$[_{TP}\ t_{QP1}\ [_{CP}$ Chelswu-ka t_{QP2} mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-e$]]$~~
C.-NOM eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC

b. $[_{FocP}\ [_{QP1}$ Yenghi-ka] $[_{QP2}$ sathang-ul] (=(61A))
Y.-NOM candy-ACC
~~$[_{TP}\ t_{QP1}\ [_{CP}\ t_{QP2}$ Chelswu-ka mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-e$]]$~~
C.-NOM eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC

If the configurations in (62) are correct, it is again not clear why there is a contrast between (58) and (61).

Given this, I would like to suggest a tentative solution to this puzzle, though a more thorough exploration of the idea has to be put aside for future research. The idea is that the notion of adjacency does play a role in the contrast between (58) and (61). What we need is a way to guarantee that after the movement of QPs, the rest of the elements form a single straight string in the legitimate case in (61), but not in the illegitimate case in (58). To achieve this, suppose that in MFA contexts where the focused phrases originate from separate clauses, as in (58) and (61), movement out

of the embedded clause is somehow blocked, so that the whole embedded clause has to pied-pipe.[24] This is only a speculation at the moment, but if this is correct, then the relevant configurations for (58A) and (61A) would be as in (63a) and (63b), respectively, rather than as those in (62). Then, the pattern of acceptability can be captured in the same way as other examples examined above.

(63) a. *[FocP [QP1 **Yenghi-ka**] [QP2 ~~Chelswu-ka~~ **sathang-ul** ~~mek-ess-tako]~~
Y.-NOM C.-NOM candy-ACC eat-PAST-COMP
~~[rp t1 t2 malha-ess-e]~~]
say-PAST-DEC

b. [FocP [QP1 **Yenghi-ka**] [QP2 **sathang-ul** ~~Chelswu-ka mek-ess-tako]~~
Y.-NOM candy-ACC C.-NOM eat-PAST-COMP
~~[rp t1 t2 malha-ess-e]~~]
say-PAST-DEC

5.3 Right node raising

In An (2016a), I show that Right Node Raising (RNR) behaves the same as FA with respect to ED. For instance, just like in FA, NPs that normally resist case marker drop can be bare in RNR, as shown in (64). Here, the embedded subject *chayk* 'book' can be bare when it is adjacent to an RNR site. (In the RNR examples below,

[24] This should be limited to the kind of MFA contexts in question, because long-distance QP movement should be allowed for SFA.

(i) Q: Yang-un [Cho-ka mwues-ul mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-ni?
Y.-TOP C.-NOM what-ACC eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-Q
'What did Yang say Cho ate?'
A: Sathang-ul.
candy-ACC
'~~Yang said that Cho ate~~ CANDIES.'
→ [FocP [QP sathang-ul] ~~[rp Yang-un [cp Cho-ka t mek-ess-tako] malha-ess-e]~~]
candy-ACC Y.-TOP C.-NOM eat-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC

Similarly, when both focused phrases originate from the same clause, pied-piping of the entire embedded clause does not seem necessary either.

(ii) Q: Yang-un [nwu-ka Cho-eykey mwues-ul cwu-ess-tako] malha-ess-ni?
Y.-TOP who-NOM C.-DAT what-ACC give-PAST-COMP say-PAST-Q
'Who did Yang say __ gave what to Cho?'
A: Mary-ka chayk-ul.
M.-NOM book-ACC
'~~Yang said that~~ MARY ~~gave Cho~~ A BOOK.'
→ [FocP [QP Mary-ka] [QP chayk-ul] ~~[Yang-un [t Cho-eykey t cwu-ess-tako] malha-ess-e]~~]
M.-NOM book-ACC Y.-TOP C.-DAT give-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC

RNR sites are indicated by an underline. Italics indicate shared, i.e., RNRed, elements.)

(64) Cho-nun **chayk-(i)** ___, kuliko
C.-TOP book-NOM and
Yang-un intheneys-*(i) *seysang-ul pakkwu-ess-tako malha-ess-ta*.
Y.-TOP internet-NOM world-ACC change-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC
'CHO ~~said that~~ BOOKS ~~changed the world~~, and Yang said that the internet changed the world.' (An 2016a)

Under the deletion analysis of RNR,[25] the relevant aspect of the derivation of (64) can be represented as in (65). Here, the case marker on *chayk* 'book' undergoes ED under adjacency with the rest of the deleted elements.

(65) [Cho-nun chayk-~~i~~ ~~seysang-ul~~ ~~pakkwu-ess-tako~~ ~~malha-ess-ta~~] kuliko …
C.-TOP book-NOM world-ACC change-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC and

Note also that in (64), unlike the case marker on *chayk*, the case marker on the corresponding element in the second conjunct, i.e., *intheneys* 'internet', cannot be null. This is predicted, because there is no deletion in the second conjunct. Furthermore, the case marker on *chayk* cannot be null again, if it is not adjacent to other deleted elements.

(66) Cho-nun **chayk-*(i)** wuli-uy seysang-ul ___, kuliko
C.-TOP book-NOM we-GEN world-ACC and
Yang-un intheneys-i wuli-uy uysasothong-pangsik-ul
Y.-TOP internet-NOM we-GEN communication-way-ACC
pakkwu-ess-tako *malha-ess-ta*.
change-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC
'CHO ~~said that~~ BOOKS ~~changed~~ THE WORLD, and Yang said that the internet changed the ways of our communication.'

Significantly, remnants in RNR, i.e., elements in the first conjunct, can originate from islands, a situation equivalent to island repair in FA. For instance, in (67a), *Min-uy* occupies a left branch. In (67b), *Min-i* is the subject of a relative clause. The relevant aspect of the derivation of these sentences is illustrated in (68).

[25] Another prominent analysis of RNR is the multi-dominance analysis, where shared elements are literally shared at the level of phrase structure by means of a special configuration called multi-dominance. See An (2007), Barros and Vicente (2011), Larson (2012), among others, for relevant discussion and references.

(67) a. Cho-nun **Min-uy** ___, kuliko Yang-un [Kim-uy *apeci-ka*]
C.-TOP M.-GEN and Y.-TOP K.-GEN father-NOM
aphu-tako *malha-ess-ta*.
sick-COMP say-PAST-DEC
'CHO ~~said that~~ MIN's ~~father is sick~~ and Yang said that Kim's father is sick.'

b. Cho-nun **Min-i** ___, kuliko Yang-un [Kim-i *ssu-n*] *chayk-ul*
C.-TOP M.-NOM and Y.-TOP K.-NOM wrote-REL book-ACC
ilk-ess-ta.
read-PAST-DEC
'CHO ~~read the book that~~ MIN ~~wrote~~ and Yang read the book that Kim wrote.'

(68) a. Cho-nun [Min-uy ~~apeci-ka]~~ ~~aphu-tako~~ ~~malha-ess-ta~~ kuliko …
C.-TOP M.-GEN father-NOM sick-COMP say-PAST-DEC and

b. Cho-nun [Min-i ~~ssu-n]~~ ~~chayk-ul~~ ~~ilk-ess-ta~~ kuliko …
C.-TOP M.-NOM wrote-REL book-ACC read-PAST-DEC and

In (67)/(68), the relevant island categories are adjacent to the string of other deleted elements, which makes them eligible for ED. If the adjacency requirement is not met, the sentences become ungrammatical, as illustrated below.

(69) a. *Cho-nun **Min-uy** ___ yengkwuk-ey ___, kuliko
C.-TOP M.-GEN England-to and
Yang-un [Kim-uy *apeci-ka*] mikwuk-ey *ka-ss-tako* *malha-ess-ta*.
Y.-TOP K.-GEN father-NOM America-to go-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC
'CHO ~~said that~~ MIN'S ~~father went~~ TO ENGLAND and Yang said that Kim's father went to America.'

b. *Cho-nun **Min-i** ___ secem-eyse ___, kuliko
C.-TOP M.-NOM bookstore-at and
Yang-un [Kim-i *ssu-n*] *chayk-ul* kyosil-eyse *ilk-ess-ta*.
Y.-TOP K.-NOM wrote-REL book-ACC classroom-in read-PAST-DEC
'CHO ~~read the book that~~ MIN ~~wrote~~ AT THE BOOKSTORE and Yang read the book that Kim wrote in the classroom.'

(70) a. *Cho-nun [Min-uy ~~apeci ka~~] yengkwuk-ey ~~ka-ss-tako~~ ~~malha-ess-ta~~ …
C.-TOP M.-GEN father-NOM England-to go-PAST-COMP say-PAST-DEC

b. *Cho-nun [Min-i ~~ssu-n]~~ ~~chayk-ul~~ secem-eyse ~~ilk-ess-ta~~ …
C.-TOP M.-NOM wrote-REL book-ACC bookstore-at read-PAST-DEC

These data illustrate that RNR behaves the same as FA with respect to ED and island repair effects. However, one crucial property of RNR is that the remnants do not undergo movement. In fact, all the RNR examples above are carefully constructed in such a way that the remnants as well as the shared elements do not form constituents. This makes it clear that in contexts of island repair (as well as caseless NP remnants), movement of the remnant is not a necessary condition. Therefore, the systematic parallelism between FA and RNR provides strong evidence against the view that postulates "island repair", as this necessitates island-violating movement.

5.4 A note on alternative approaches

In this section, I discuss two alternative analyses that deal with different aspects of the phenomenon discussed in this paper. More specifically, I discuss Yoon's (2012) analysis of caseless FAs in Korean and Sugawa's (2008) analysis of island repair effects.[26] Note however that I am not concerned with providing a thorough critique of these analyses here. Rather, I will focus on illustrating the aspects in which they make different predictions than the current analysis.

First, Yoon (2012) claims that there is an asymmetry in case marking between subject and object FAs in Korean to the effect that subject FAs allow both case-marked and caseless forms, while object FAs have to be caseless. Case-marked object FAs are claimed to be possible only when contrastively focused. Thus, according to Yoon, case-marked FAs are only available for subjects, i.e., accusative FAs are normally bad, while caseless FAs are available for both subjects and objects. To capture this asymmetry, Yoon argues that case-marked FAs are derived from regular sentences by VP-ellipsis. This means that nominative FAs can escape ellipsis as they are outside VP, while accusative FAs cannot as they are within VP. This way, the unavailability of accusative FAs is explained. As for caseless FAs, it is argued that they originate from the focus position of pseudocleft sentences.[27] This is in part based on the fact that pseudocleft sentences in Korean normally do not allow case-marked NPs in the focus position, as shown below.

[26] I thank an anonymous reviewer and the editors for JEAL for drawing my attention to Yoon's work and Sugawa's work, respectively.

[27] See also Ahn and Cho (2017), Park (2012, 2014) for similar cleft-based approaches to FA.

(71) a. [John-i manna-n kes]-un Mary-(*lul)-ya.
J.-NOM met-ADN kes-TOP M.-ACC-COP
'It was Mary that John met.'
b. [John-ul manna-n kes]-un Mary-(*ka)-ya
J.-ACC met-ADN kes-TOP M.-NOM-COP
'It was Mary that met John.' (adapted, Kang 2006: 254)

To derive caseless FAs from pseudocleft sentences like (71), Yoon also assumes that the topic phrase and the copula can be null. Finally, as for legitimate instances of accusative FAs, it is argued that they undergo focus movement to the left periphery of the clause, followed by TP deletion, much like the way FA is derived in general under the current analysis.

Given this, it should be pointed out that there is speaker variation with respect to the (un)acceptability of accusative FAs, as Yoon also notes. Thus, although Yoon considers them to be unacceptable, examples of accusative FAs can be found in the existing literature. As a native speaker of Korean, I also happen to be the kind of speaker that allows accusative FAs, as can be seen from some of the examples discussed above. Perhaps, one way to reconcile this might be to assume that those speakers who allow accusative FAs employ focus movement even when they are not contrastive, while those who disallow accusative FAs resort to Yoon's strategy, though the feasibility of such an approach needs to be investigated further. Independently of that, Yoon's analysis faces problems with respect to MFA contexts. For instance, in (72A), the subject FA is case-marked, while the object FA can be caseless. It is not clear how this can be derived under Yoon's analysis.[28]

(72) Q: Nwu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
who-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Who met whom?'
A: Cho-ka Yang-(ul).
C.-NOM Y.-ACC
'CHO ~~met~~ YANG.' (An 2016a, 317)

Finally, Yoon's analysis has difficulty capturing the parallelism between FA and RNR discussed above.

Second, though Sugawa's (2008) analysis focuses on Sluicing, it has some relevance to the current analysis. Putting aside details, Sugawa's analysis is based on the assumption that ellipsis can in principle repair island violations and that in ellipsis contexts, the antecedent clause and the ellipsis clause have to be identical. This is illustrated by the contrast below. ((73) is attributed to Fox and Lasnik 2003.)

[28] Yoon (2012, 71–72) also acknowledges similar problems with respect to case marking in MFA contexts, though I will not go into them here.

(73) a. The detective ruled out the possibility that Fred killed someone, but I don't know who else ~~[the detective ruled out the possibility that Fred killed]~~
b. *The detective ruled out the possibility that Fred killed ABBY, but I don't know who else ~~[the detective ruled out the possibility that Fred killed]~~

In both cases, wh-movement in the ellipsis clause induces an island violation, which is subsequently remedied by deletion. Given the identity requirement, the presence of wh-movement in the ellipsis clause requires there to be an equivalent operator-variable chain in the antecedent clause. In (73a), the indefinite *someone* is bound by existential closure and remains in situ within the island. Therefore, no island violation arises. In (73b), ABBY is focused. Sugawa assumes that focused elements undergo LF focus movement, which leads to an island violation in this case. Hence, the ungrammaticality. The crucial point is that what happens in the antecedent clause also matters in island repair contexts.

Let us see if this could be extended to FA as well. I repeat a basic case of "island repair" in FA below.

(74) Q: John-i [[nwu-ka cakkokha-n] nolay-lul] pwul-ess-ni? (=(9))
J.-NOM who-NOM compose-REL song-ACC sing-PAST-Q
'Who$_i$ did John sing a song that e$_i$ composed?'
A: Max-ka.
M.-NOM
'~~John sang the song that~~ MAX ~~composed~~.'

As for the antecedent clause in (74Q), having a wh-phrase inside an island does not seem to cause a problem in and of itself, presumably because Korean is a wh-in situ language.[29] As for the ellipsis clause in (74A), even if there were a violation, it would be remedied by deletion under Sugawa's analysis. Thus, (74) is predicted to be grammatical. It seems that the same line of reasoning can be extended to other SFA examples discussed above. However, Sugawa's analysis faces difficulty capturing the behavior of MFA. For instance, in (75Q), the in situ wh-phrase *nwukwu-lul* 'who-ACC' contained in an RC island does not induce an island violation. No problem arises in the ellipsis clause in (75A) either. But, the problem is that the same should be true of (76), contrary to fact. (Recall that many similar cases were discussed in Sect. 4.2.)

[29] Actually, it is not so clear how (74Q) would determine the grammaticality of (74A), considering that they are separate sentences. This is different from the situation in (73), where the antecedent clause and the ellipsis clause belong to the same sentence.

(75) Q: **Nwu-ka** [[**nwukwu-lul** manna-n] haksayng-ul]chac-ko iss-ni? (=(12))
who-NOM who-ACC meet-REL student-ACC look.for-is-Q
'Who is looking for a student that met who?'
A: Kim-i Chomsky-lul.
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'KIM ~~is looking for a student who met~~ CHOMSKY.'

(76) Q: [[**Nwu-ka** coaha-nun] chinkwu-ka] **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni? (=(11))
who-NOM like-REL friend-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
'Who did a friend that __ likes met who?'
A: *Kim-i Chomsky-lul.
K.-NOM C.-ACC
'~~The friend that~~ KIM ~~likes met~~ CHOMSKY.'

Furthermore, recall that the distribution of island repair effects in FA parallels that of caseless remnants, as shown in Sect. 3.2. I repeat a relevant example below. Here, the impossibility of a caseless FA is on a par with the ungrammaticality of (76A). However, since no island is involved in (77), it is not clear how Sugawa's analysis could be extended to it.

(77) Q: Mwues-i mwues-ul pakkwu-ess-ni? (=(29))
what-NOM what-ACC change-PAST-Q
'What changed what?'
A: **Chayk-*(i)** seysang-(ul).
book-NOM world-ACC
'BOOKS ~~changed~~ THE WORLD.'

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored an alternative analysis of the absence of island effects in FA in Korean. The gist of the analysis is that in the relevant island repair contexts, there is actually no extraction from islands and thus no island violation to repair. Rather, what happens is that the whole island pied-pipes, i.e., it undergoes movement as part of a larger phrase, QP, followed by PF deletion of the rest of the clause. In applying PF deletion, parts of the QP can be deleted under adjacency and recoverability, a phenomenon called ED. The combination of these processes results in the surface form where the focused remnant of FA appears to have been extracted from an underlying island, contrary to fact. Therefore, what has been argued to involve an illegitimate extraction from an island and subsequent repair of the illegitimacy is actually something quite different in nature, which results from an interaction between two independently motivated processes.

Concerning those cases where such "island repair", which is reanalyzed as deletion into a pied-piped island category, fails, it is argued that the deviance reduces to a failure to meet the requirement on PF deletion that it target a single continuous linear string of elements, similarly to the fact that syntactic operations have to target a single constituent. This may at first seem inconsistent with the usual assumption that deletion targets constituents. Although deleted elements do often form a constituent in many cases, that is because the syntax initially determines what is to be deleted. But, that is not a requirement on PF deletion per se. Rather, PF, as the component that determines linear order, among other things, independently requires that deleted elements be a single string of elements, which can be defined on the basis of linear order. That is why in some contexts, what is deleted can ignore syntactic constituency.[30] Of course, when only a single constituent is deleted, the single-string requirement will be automatically satisfied, which is what happens in most cases.

Concerning the ability to account for the absence of island violations in FA, one might suspect that there is not much difference between the current analysis and the previous analyses that postulate island repair. However, in addition to the conceptual issue of allowing illegitimate extractions and postulating the curious process of island repair, the previous analyses fail to capture the robust generalization of periphery sensitivity (or adjacency effects) and the associated parallelism between constructions that are quite different in nature. (See An, to appear, for further discussion.) As shown above, bare NP remnants are only found in final position in FA, RD, and RNR. Likewise, the absence of island effects is also found only in final position in FA, RD, and RNR. It is not clear how the previous analyses of these constructions could capture these properties in a uniform manner. On the other hand, the current analysis provides a way to unify these phenomena and constructions by means of the processes that are independently motivated. In this respect, the current analysis considerably reduces the complexity of the grammar compared to existing analyses, which is where the superiority of the current analysis lies.

There remain several questions to be explored further—especially, concerning the nature of ED, though I cannot go into them in this paper. For instance, we should ask whether ED is unique to Korean or whether it is available in other languages. It is worth mentioning that I have been informed by several speakers of Japanese that the language allows ED in the same way as Korean in most cases. If that is correct, the question is how these languages differ from the rest of the languages of the world and if there are other languages that behave similarly to Korean and Japanese. Given this, it will be instructive to explore the possibility that ED is available more generally across languages (An, to appear), while its manifestation can be blocked

[30] Given this, it is also noteworthy that RNRed elements sometimes do not form a constituent.

(i) I think Mary's, but he thinks Susan's, *father is sick*. (An 2007)
(ii) John wrote an interesting, and Elvira wrote a brilliant, *thesis on nightingales*. (McCawley 1988)

or disguised by independent language-specific factors.[31] Another important question is whether island repair phenomena in other constructions can be reanalyzed as in this paper. Currently, I do not have any definite answer to these questions. I hope that future research will help us better understand the true nature of the phenomena in question.

Acknowledgements I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editors for JEAL for their insightful comments. I am also grateful to Jun Abe, Hee-Don Ahn, Bum-Sik Park, Myung-Kwan Park, Kate Pilson, Mamoru Saito, and Hideaki Yamashita for their support at various points in the preparation of this paper.

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[31] An anonymous reviewer asks whether the English example in (i) could involve the kind of derivation proposed for FA in Korean, so that (i) can be analyzed as in (ii).

(i) Someone's car is parked on the lawn—find out whose!
(ii) … find out [whose ~~car][$_{1P}$ t is parked on the lawn]~~ → TP-deletion + ED

Although this is plausible, it should be noted that English allows NP-ellipsis. So, what is going on in (i) may instead be a combination of TP-deletion and NP-ellipsis. However, as mentioned in footnote 5, Korean normally does not allow NP-ellipsis (An 2009, 2013). This exemplifies potentially many similar situations that we may face in trying to determine the cross-linguistic availability of ED. Of course, ultimately, it is necessary to identify those interfering factors and understand how they interact to determine the availability of ED. But, that has to await further research at the moment.

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