Island Obviation in Contrastive Fragment Answers: Evidence from Bulgarian Li-Questions[*]

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Contrastive fragment answers have been a puzzle to the theory of island insensitivity under ellipsis as in many languages, including English, they appear to be island sensitive (Merchant 2004, Griffiths & Lipták 2014). In this paper, we present novel data from Bulgarian showing that contrastive fragment answers to *li*-questions can be insensitive to islands. We propose that this is possible in Bulgarian due to the semantics of *li*-questions, which allow the preservation of parallelism between question and the answer.

1 Introduction

The term 'Fragment answers' refers to short answers to either wh-questions as in (1), to y/n questions as in (2) or elliptical corrections in declaratives as in (3) (small caps indicate prosodic prominence and association with Focus):

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(1) A: Who did she see?   [wh-question]
     B: JOHN.
     B': She saw JOHN.   (Merchant 2004:673)

(2) A: Does Abby speak GREEK fluently?   [y/n – question]
     B: No, ALBANIAN.
     B': No, she speaks ALBANIAN fluently   (Merchant 2004:688)

(3) A: John eat a PIZZA for dinner.   [declarative correction]
     B: No, SALAD
     B': No, John eat SALAD for dinner.

Short answers as in the B examples have been analyzed as TP-deletion in the literature and it has been claimed that they have a fully developed sentential syntactic structure as in B' examples (see Merchant 2004 and the references therein). The only difference is that the missing part in the fragment is not pronounced at PF. In this sense, fragment answers represent a type of elliptical structure on par with sluicing.

An already observed puzzle arises, however, by the fact that while sluicing has been shown to be island-insensitive (Ross 1969, Chomsky 1972), contrastive fragment answers show *sensitivity to syntactic islands* in English (3) (Merchant 2004, Griffiths and Lipták 2014):

(4) *English fragment answer [CNP island]:*
     A: Is Abby learning [$_{DP}$ the language [$_{CP}$ that JOHN speaks]]?
   ✗ B: *No, PETER$_1$ Abby is learning [$_{DP}$the language[$_{CP}$ that t$_1$speaks]].
   ✓ B': No, [$_{DP}$ the language [$_{CP}$ that PETER speaks]] Abby is learning.
                                              (adapted from Merchant 2004:688)

The island sensitivity of fragment answers is challenging in view of the current approaches to islands, in which it has been proposed that syntactic opacities are ameliorated when they are unpronounced (Ross 1969, Chomsky 1972, Merchant 2001, Fox and Pesetsky 2004). Data from Bulgarian contrastive questions, however, provide new evidence in favor of this approach to islands, since fragment answers are possible in Bulgarian[1] even if the element in question is base generated inside a

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[1] Transliteration standard used in Bulgarian examples: ISO9 (1968).

syntactic island. In (5) we see that the DP under question 'IVAN' is embedded inside a complex noun phrase (CNP) in a similar manner as 'JOHN' in the English example in (4). Nevertheless, the short answer that corresponds to the subject inside the island is possible**:**

(5) *Bulgarian fragment answer [CNP island]:*
   A: Marija uči [$_{DP}$ ezika   [$_{CP}$kojto IVAN-**li** govori]]?
     Maria learns language.the   that Ivan LI speaks
     'Is Maria learning the language that IVAN speaks?'

 ✓**B**: Ne, PETAR₁ ~~Maria uči [$_{DP}$ ezika [kojto t₁ govori}~~]]
    'No, Peter'

The goal of the current article is to account for the availability of contrastive fragment answers out of islands in Bulgarian as opposed to English. We claim that Bulgarian fragment answers out islands are possible due to the presence of the *li*-particle in the antecedent contrastive y/n question and we build on two major theoretical conditions:

- *PF-theory of Islands* (Chomsky 1972, Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2001; Fox and Lasnik 2003, Fox & and Pesetsky 2004)
- *Ellipsis under Parallelism* (Fox 1999, 2000, Merchant 2001, Griffits & Lipták 2014)

The paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical background on *PF-theory of Islands* and *Ellipsis under Parallelism*. Section 3 presents the novel data of island-insensitive fragment answers and investigates the syntactic and semantic properties of *li*-marked y/n questions in Bulgarian. In section 4, we show that a movement analysis of the *li*-marked constituent is not tenable and we propose that parallelism between question and answer is achieved due to the semantics of narrow *li*-questions that is similar to constituent questions. Section 5 concludes and points to the relevance of the Bulgarian data for the syntax of ellipsis and the nature of islands.

2   Theoretical Background

As pointed out in the previous section, fragment answers and sluicing
have been both analyzed as TP-Ellipsis. In this section, we briefly outline
Merchant's PF-theory of islands and ellipsis and we present Griffiths &
Lipták (G&L 2014) account on English island-sensitive contrastive
fragment answers as opposed to island-insensitive sluicing.

2.1   Merchant (2001, 2004): Movement & the PF-theory of Ellipsis
In a series of papers, Merchant provides arguments that the sluiced
phrase in (6) and the fragment answer in (7) are derived from fully-
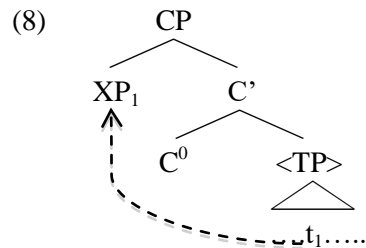fledged syntactic structure:

(6) *Sluicing:*
     Ben bought something, but I don't know [$_{CP}$what$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Ben bought t$_1$~~]].

(7) *Fragment Answer to a yes/no question*:
     A: Does Abby speak GREEK fluently?
     B: No$_i$ ALBANIAN$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Abby speaks t$_1$ fluently~~]   (Merchant 2004)

As illustrated in (8), after a phrase (called 'remnant') moves to the left-
periphery above TP, the entire TP is silenced (deletes) at PF:

(8)

Two of the major arguments in favor of this analysis are Case-matching
effects between remnant and correlate in the antecedent clause (Ross
1967, Merchant 2001, 2004) as well as preposition (P) stranding effects
in English vs. languages that do not allow P-stranding (Merchant 2001).
For reasons of space we refer to Merchant (2001, 2004) for a detailed
illustration of these facts and we turn to the core issue of our talk, namely
island-(in)sensitivity under ellipsis.

2.2   Island Insensitivity in Sluicing and the PF-theory of Islands
The proposal that elision of syntactic structure can lead to amelioration of syntactic islands has been around ever since Ross (1967). The example in (9) illustrates the mechanics: the fully pronounced structure in (9B) results in ungrammaticality because the constituent '*a Balkan language*' is embedded in a complex noun phrase (CNP), known as a strong island to syntactic movement. On the other hand, the sluice in (9B') that elides the island leads to a grammatical sentence[2]:

(9) *Complex NP-island*
   A: They hired [DP someone [CP who speaks a Balkan language]], but I don't know....
 ✗ B:…*which Balkan language$_1$ they hired someone who speaks t$_1$.
 ✓ B': …. which Balkan language$_1$ [TP ~~they hired [DP someone [CP who speaks t$_1$~~]]].

Following Merchant (2001) we dub this idea as the *PF-theory of Islands* stated below:

(10) *PF-theory of islands*:
   Island violations are due to properties of pronounced syntactic structure, not due to constraints on derivations or LF representations themselves (Chomsky 1972, Lasnik 2001, Merchant 2001, Fox & Pesetsky 2004).

Despite the fact that this proposal has been prominent in the literature on ellipsis, the exact implementation is not entirely clear. In this paper, we follow Fox & Pesetsky (2004) in assuming that islands arise due to the need for *linearization*; when the structure is not pronounced there is no need for linearization, therefore there are no island-constraints.

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[2] A different proposal has been developed by Abels (2011), Barros et. al. (2014), according to which there is no island repair under Ellipsis simply because the elided structure does not involve any islands. Barros et. al. (2014) present three possible ways in which the islands are avoided; (i) short sluices, (ii) clefts and (iii) a resumptive strategy. As it is shown below, in footnote 4, none of these strategies seem to work for the data under question in Bulgarian.

Under this view, it is expected that all types of ellipsis should ameliorate islands. However, contrastive fragment answers, as already shown in (4), seem to contradict this generalization. In what follows, we briefly outline G&L (2014) account for the island sensitive fragment answers in English.

2.3 Island-sensitivity in Fragment Answers; Parallelism under Ellipsis
In a recent paper, G&L (2014) attribute the observed contrast between sluicing and fragment answers to the lack of *scopal parallelism* between question and answer:

(11) *Scopal Parallelism:*
      In ellipsis, variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound from parallel positions.

<div align="right">(due to Fox and Lasnik 2003)</div>

Based on this definition, G&L (2014) propose that *scopal parallelism* is preserved with indefinites, as they are known to take sentential scope, thus licensing TP-elision. Parallelism, they claim, can also be preserved in focused fragment answers given that there are no syntactic islands. As demonstrated by the two LFs in (12), in the absence of an island, the focused constituent moves above TP leaving a variable which is bound at LF by a λ-operator in a parallel fashion. Although we do not see overt focus movement in English, it has been independently proposed that there is covert focus movement (Krifka 1992, 1996, Wagner 2006, 2009):

(12) A. Did John introduce MARY to Sue?
      LF: [$_{CP}$ MARY λx [$_{TP}$ John introduced x to Sue]]

      B. No, ANA$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~John introduced t$_1$ to Sue~~].
      LF: [$_{CP}$ ANA λx [$_{TP}$ John introduced x to Sue]]

However, if the focused constituent is embedded inside an island as in (13), parallelism between the LF of the question and the intended LF of the fragment answer cannot be achieved:

(13) A: Did John introduce [$_{DP}$ the man that JILL admires] to Sue?
    LF:[[$_{DP}$the man that JILL admires]$_1$ λx [$_{TP}$ John introduce x$_1$ to Sue]].

  ✗ B: *No, [BEN$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~John introduced [the man that t$_1$ admires] to Sue~~]]
    LF: [BEN λx ([$_{TP}$ John introduced [the man that x$_1$ admires] to Sue])]

    ✓B': No,[the man that BEN admires]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~John introduced t$_1$ to Sue~~]].
    LF: [[the man that BEN admires]$_1\lambda$x ([$_{TP}$ John introduced x$_1$ to Sue])]

The possible answer to (13) is the one that overtly includes the entire island. In this case, it is assumed that the entire island in the question undergoes Focus movement, thus creating a parallel structure that licenses only the TP-ellipsis in (13B'), which spells out the island itself. The fragment that includes a remnant which correlates just to the contrastively focused constituent as in (13B) is ill-formed. The assumption that English pied-pipes covertly the entire island to a focus-checking position above TP, is well in line with work that independently shows that not only overt but also covert Focus movement, is sensitive to syntactic islands (Krifka 2006, Wagner 2006, Erlewine and Kotek 2014)[3]. So, if the question has a constituent that is contrastively focused and is within an island that prevents the constituent to scope out in order to bind its variable from a relevant scope position, the fragment answer is predicted to be ungrammatical.

Under this view, contrastive fragment answers in English do not present a counterexample to the generalization of *island amelioration under ellipsis.* Since unpronounced structure ameliorates illegal syntactic moves across islands, it is not the LF of the short answer that causes a clash. Instead, it is the LF of the corresponding question that creates the problem as it prevents the formation of parallel LFs between question and answer.

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[3] Barros et. al. (2014) criticize the claim that covert movement is sensitive to islands as inconsistent with the PF-theory of islands. They claim that covert movement should also be insensitive to islands if islands were a purely PF-phenomenon. However, based on Fox & Pesetsky's (2004) proposal covert movement still is sensitive to linearization as opposed to elided structures where there is no linearization. There is certainly a lot to be clarified with respect to the PF-theory of Islands and island sensitivity of covert movement but this is far from saying that the PF-theory of Islands predicts covert movement to be island-insensitive.

In sluicing, on the other hand, parallelism is achieved because the indefinite and the wh-phrase can scope out of the syntactic island as argued in G&L (2014) and Fox and Lasnik (2003);

(14) John introduced the man that someone admires to Sue but I don't remember [who [$_{TP}$ ~~John introduced the man that t₁ admires to Sue~~]].

LF antecedent:
[someone₁ λx [$_{TP}$ John introduced the man that x₁ admires to Sue]]
LF sluice:
[who₁   λx ([$_{TP}$ John introduced the man that x₁ admires to Sue])]

As G&L (2014) note, languages with overt focus movement (i.e. Hungarian) also fail to allow contrastive fragment answers out of islands exactly as it is the case in English. In the following section, we provide evidence from Bulgarian, which also has overt focus movement, that island amelioration is possible in contrastive fragment answers but only when their antecedent is a *li*-question.

3   Island-insensitivity of Fragment Answers in Bulgarian

This section introduces novel data from Bulgarian narrow y/n questions, which demonstrate that fragment answers are possible out of syntactic islands. To provide a better understanding of the meaning and syntax of narrow questions, we also discuss the general properties of focus movement and y/n questions in Bulgarian.

3.1 Properties of the Bulgarian y/n-questions
Bulgarian y/n questions are formed with an overt particle *li*[4]. This particle is analyzed as an element that bears [+Q ,+Foc] features because

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[4] As one of the reviewers notes, matrix y/n questions in Bulgarian can be formed also by raising intonation (marginally accepted) or the interrogative complementizer *dali* (Engl.'whether'). Different than the structurally flexible li-particle, embedded *dali* can occupy only the left edge of the clause, thus evoking mainly broad focus questions, unless there is additional overt focus movement (Izvorski 1995, Dukova-Zheleva 2010). In addition, matrix *dali*-questions are reported to feel more like *rhetorical questions* (Rudin at al 1999). For reasons of space and because we are concerned specifically with narrow contrastive questions, we will leave the investigation of *dali* and intonation for further research.

it is specific to interrogatives and it is shown to associate always with focus (Izvorski et. al. 1997, Rudin at all 1999, Franks 2006 Dukova-Zheleva 2010)

Crucially, the placement of the *li*-particle matters when it comes to interpreting a question in Bulgarian; when *li* attaches to the right edge of the clause as in (15a) or when it right-adjoins to a non-stressed main verb (which moves to T in Bulgarian) as in (15b), we obtain neutral polar questions with broad focus similar to English questions, for which the answer is either 'yes' or 'no'.

(15) *Broad focus y/n questions*

    a. Petar kupi prăsten na Marija **li**?
       Petar bought ring   to Maria LI

    b. Petar kupi **li**   prăsten na Marija?
       Petar bought LI ring   to Maria
       'Did Peter buy a ring to Maria?'   *(Answer: yes/no)*

The *li-particle* can also attach to individual constituents to create so-called *narrow focused* questions. This type of y/n questions do not interrogate about the entire proposition, but about the particular constituent they adjoin to. If the corresponding answer to such question is 'no' the answer feels incomplete. In this sense, Dukova-Zheleva (2010) draws a parallel between Bulgarian narrow *li*-questions and wh-questions, which can also be oriented towards a part of the clause and have to follow the question-answer congruence. The data in (16) demonstrate how one can interrogate about the particular event[5] (16a), the subject (16b), or the direct object (16c) by marking the constituent with the *li*-particle and moving it to the focus-designated position above TP:

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[5] Narrow focus on the verb coincides with the word order of broad focus due to overt V-to-T movement in Bulgarian. Thus, narrow focus on the verb, requires additional stress on the lexical verb.

(16) *Narrow focus y/n questions:*

  a. Petar   KUPI-**li** prăsten na Marija?   **[V – li]**
     Petar bought LI ring   to Maria
     'Is it buying what Peter did a ring to Maria?'
     (*Answer: yes / no, {stolen, borrowed, etc}*)

  b. PETAR-**li** kupi prăsten na Marija?   **[Sbj – li]**
     'Is it Peter the one who bought a ring to Maria?'
     (*Answer : yes / no, {Boris, Ivan, etc}*)

  c. PRĂSTEN(A)-**li** kupi Petar na Marija?   **[DO – li]**
     'Is it a/the ring that Peter bought to Maria?'
     (*Answer : yes / no, {(the) necklace, (the) bracelet, etc}*)

Note than even though some speakers can leave *li*-marked constituents in-situ, overt leftward movement to the focus projection (FocP)[6] is widely preferred (Izvorski 1995). This overt fronting follows from the general properties of focus marking in Bulgarian. Similar to the Hungarian data in G&L (2014), focused (indefinite and definite) constituents in Bulgarian undergo overt movement to a preverbal position above TP (Rudin 1999, Lambova 2004):

(17) a. Petar kupi prăsten(a) na Marija.   [neutral declarative]
     Petar bought ring.(the) to Maria
     'Peter bought a/the ring to Maria.'

   b. Petar PRĂSTEN(A)$_1$ kupi t$_1$ na Marija   [narrow Focus on DO]
     'Peter bought a/the RING to Maria.'

To sum up the observations, Bulgarian creates narrow y/n questions by marking the focused constituent with the overt question particle *li* and fronting it to a preverbal focus position above TP, similarly to what happens in wh-questions and narrow focus declaratives.

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[6] In Bulgarian FocP is at the left-periphery above TP but crucially bellow functional projections that host Topic and complementizers in embedded clauses (Izvorski 1995, Lambova 2004).

3.2 Narrow Focus li-questions out of Syntactic Islands
The crucial data regarding the island insensitivity in Bulgarian contrastive fragment answers are presented in (18-20). In (18) the *li*-marked constituent is embedded in a CNP island, in (19) in an adjunct island, and in (20) in a subject island. In all cases, the *li*-marked constituent is easily understood as the element under question and a speaker can answer with a short fragment answer that corresponds to this constituent, contrary to what happens in English or in Hungarian[7]:

(18) **a**. *CNP-Island* (narrow DO-li)

   A: Ivan namrazi [momčeto [koeto PRĂSTEN(A)-**li** kupi t_1 na Maria]]?
     Ivan hates   boy.the   that   ring(the) LI   bought to Maria
     'Does Ivan hate the boy that bought a/the RING to Maria?'
  B: Ne, GERDAN(A)$_1$ [Ivan namrazi [$_{DP}$ momčeto [$_{CP}$ koeto kupi t_1 –
    na Maria]]]?
    'No, a/the necklace'

    b. *CNP-Island* (narrow V-li)

   A: Ivan namrazi momčeto, koeto beše KUPILO-**li** prăsten na Marija?
     Ivan hates   boy.the   that   Aux bought LI ring   to Maria
     'Does Ivan hate the boy that had BOUGHT a ring to Maria?'
  B: Ne, OTKRADNALO.
    'No, stolen'

(19) *Adjunct Island* (narrow V – li)

   A: Ivan se   jadosa, zaštoto Marija beše PUŠILA-**li** včera ?
     Ivan refl angry because Maria Aux smoked LI yesterday
     'Did Ivan get angry because Maria was SMOKING yesterday?'
  B: Ne, PILA.
    'No, drinking'

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[7] Barros et al (2014) draw evidence from similar examples in English to argue against the PF-theory of islands, by showing that the answer fragment out of the island is ungrammatical. They say that this is because none of their suggested strategies (i.e. short sluices, clefts, resumptives) works here and this is correct. The problem for their analysis is that none of these strategies work in Bulgarian in general; a short sluice would be incongruent and a cleft or a resumptive are not possible as well. On the contrary, the PF-theory of islands provides a straightforward explanation for the grammaticality of such fragment answers in Bulgarian.

(20) *Subject Island* (narrow Sbj-li)

   A: Kučeto, koeto ANNA-**li** donese, umrja včera?
      Dog.the that Anna LI brought died yesterday
      '*Did the dog that ANNA brought died yesterday?*'
  B: Ne, MARIJA.
     'No, Maria'

In the following section, we explore two hypotheses under which parallelism can be achieved due to the *li*-particle.

4   Analysis

We argue that in Bulgarian the culprit for licensing fragment answer out of islands is the *li* particle. The importance of the *li*-particle becomes evident when we look to fragment answers (corrections) to narrow focus declaratives, which lack the question particle. Whereas fragment corrections to declarative statements are possible (see (3)), a fragment correction cannot correspond to a constituent inside an island in a declarative:

(21) A: Ivan namrazi [$_{DP}$ momčeto, koeto PRĂSTEN(A)$_1$ kupi t$_1$ na Marija].
       Ivan hates   boy.the   that ring(the)   bought to Maria
      '*Ivan hates the boy that bought a/the RING to Maria?*'
  ✗ B: Ne, GERDAN(A)$_1$ [~~Ivan namrazi momčeto, koeto kupi t$_1$ na M.~~].
  ✓B': Ne, momčeto, koeto podari GERDAN(A) na Marija.
     'No, the boy that gave the necklace to Maria.'

The ungrammaticality of the fragment answer in (21B) directly contrasts the well-formed fragment answer in (18). This shows that licensing contrastive fragments in Bulgarian narrow *li*-questions cannot be due to some special properties of focus in Bulgarian because then we would expect contrastive fragment answers to be acceptable across the board. On the contrary, it seems that focus movement is sensitive to islands.

In the following, we first explore the possibility that the *li*-marked constituent moves out of the island to the specifier of CP, such that a parallel structure to the one in the elided answer can be derived. We

show, however, that a movement analysis cannot be maintained as shown by the intervention effects and overt pied-piping.

4.1 The movement hypothesis of Scopal Parellelism
One option of obtaining scopal parallelism is by assuming that the *li*-marked constituent moves into the left-periphery to check its [+F] feature in FocP and its [+Q] in CP as illustrated in (22):

(22) *Narrow focus-question*
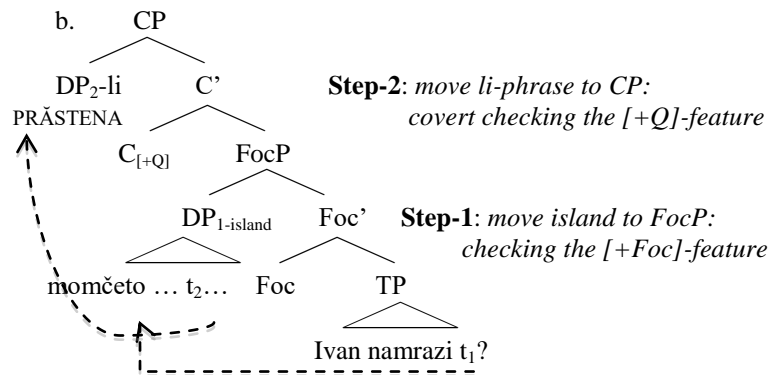   a. PETAR-**li** kupi   prăsten na Marija?
      Peter   LI bought ring   to Maria
     'Is it Peter who bought a ring to Maria?'

    b.
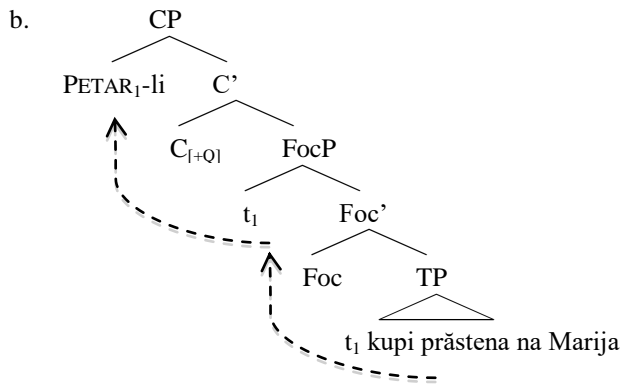
When the *li*-marked constituent is base-generated inside an island, we need to explain how it escapes the island. There is no conclusive answer to this question, but there are proposals in the literature according to which extracting an item out of an island becomes easier after an island has moved itself to a derived position (see von Stechow (1996) and Richards (2008) for an analysis along these lines of wh-questions out of islands in Japanese). For us, this would mean that the entire island pied-pipes to FocP, and then the *li*-marked constituent escapes the island and moves (covertly) to the CP to check its [+Q] feature as illustrated in (23):

(23) *Narrow focus li-movement out of CNP*

   a. Ivan namrazi [momče.to, koeto PRĂSTEN(A)-**li** kupi na Marija]?
     Ivan hates   boy.the   that   ring(the) LI   bought to Maria
     'Did Ivan hate the boy that bought a RING to Maria?'

b.

Step-2: *move li-phrase to CP:*
          covert checking the [+Q]-feature

Step-1: *move island to FocP:*
          checking the [+Foc]-feature

Now, as illustrated in (24) scopal parallelism between the question and the answer is achieved;

(24) *Scopal parallelism*

  a. Question LF:
  [ring-li λx. [the boy that bought x to Maria λy [$_{TP}$ Ivan hates y]]]

  b. Answer LF:
  [necklace λx.[the boy that bought x to Maria λy. [$_{TP}$Ivan hates y]]]

A theoretical problem for this analysis, as pointed out by a reviewer, is the derivation of the answer-LF. Namely, under a PF-theory of Ellipsis it is not clear why the F-marked constituent of the answer cannot move directly out of the island but must first pied-pipe to FocP.

An additional empirical problem for the movement analysis arises by so-called *Intervention Effects* in narrow *li*-questions[8]. Beck (2006) shows that when there is an intervening focus sensitive element (i.e. *only*, *always,* (stressed) *negation*, etc.) between a wh-phrase interpreted in situ

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[8] We thank Ivona Kučerová for suggesting the relevance of the intervention effects and Hadas Kotek for in depth discussion.

and a higher operator (i.e. Q in C^o), the derivation crashes. On the contrary, if the wh-phrase moves overtly or covertly above the intervener, the question is grammatical. Using intervention effects as a diagnostic, we expect that if the *li*-marked constituent associates with a Q-operator via movement (covert or overt), then there should be no intervention effects. Yet we observe that the presence of an intervener between Q and the *li*-constituent gives rise to ungrammaticality as shown in (25a); the *li*-marked constituent has to move overtly above the intervener (25b), thus suggesting that in (25a) the *li*-constituent is interpreted in-situ.

(25) a. ***Samo** Petar PRĂSTEN$_1$-li beše kupil t$_1$ na Marija?
          only Peter aux bought ring.the LI to Maria

b. PRĂSTEN$_1$-li **samo** Petar beše kupil t$_1$ na Marija?
    ring.the   LI only Peter aux   bought to Maria
    'Is it a ring that only Peter bought to Maria?'

Furthermore, when the *li*-marked constituent is inside an island and there are two interveners - INTERV-1 outside the island and INTERV-2 inside the island - then the entire island must move overtly above INTERV-1 and the *li*-marked constituent must move overtly above INTERV-2 inside the island (26c). This is illustrated by the following example:

(26) [INTERV-1….[Complex Noun [INTERV-2 …LI….]]]

a. *[**Samo** Ivan namrazi **[**momčeto [koeto **vinagi** POZDRAVJAVA-**li**
   ONLY Ivan hates   boy.the   that   always greets   LI

   Marija]]]?
   'Does only Ivan hate the boy that always GREETS Maria?'

b.*[momčeto koeto **vinagi** POZDRAVJAVA-**li** Marija]$_1$ **samo** Ivan
    namrazi t$_1$?[9]

c. [momčeto, koeto POZDRAVJAVA-**li**$_1$ **vinagi** Marija]$_1$ **samo** Ivan
   namrazi t$_1$?

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[9] Note that a reading, under which *li* asks the broad question whether the event 'always greeting Maria' takes place, the sentence in (26b) is acceptable. Yet, under a reading under which *li* asks whether it is the event of 'greeting' in contrast to another contextually available event, the reading is out.

Following Beck (2006), we interpret the data in (25) and (26) to mean that in the absence of overt movement, the *li*-marked constituent is interpreted in-situ, below the focus-sensitive intervener.

Finally, probably the strongest argument against the two-step movement analysis comes from overt pied-piping. Overt movement of the entire island containing the *li*-constituent is possible in Bulgarian as shown in (27). Surprisingly, however, the short fragment answer is not acceptable. Instead, the answer must contain the entire island (27B') very similar to what we observe in the English data in (4):

(27) A:Ivan [momčeto, koeto kupi PRĂSTEN(A)-**li** na Marija]$_1$ namrazi t$_1$?
    Ivan boy.the   that   bought ring(the) LI   to Maria hates
    'Does Ivan hate the boy that bought a/the RING to Maria?'
  ✗ B: Ne, GERDAN(A)$_1$ [~~Ivan namrazi momčeto, koeto kupi t$_1$ na M.~~].

  ✓B': Ne, [$_{DP}$ momčeto [$_{CP}$ koeto kupi GERDAN(A) na Marija]]
    'No, the boy that bought a/the NECKLACE to Maria'

If the two-step movement is correct, then moving the entire island overtly should not prevent the second movement of the *li*-constituent and therefore the licensing of the fragment answer. Unless there is some strange condition that requires both movements to be either covert or overt, we propose that there is no movement to C. Any analysis of the island insensitivity in Bulgarian fragment answers should therefore be able to account for the contrast in the meaning between the overt island pied-piping in (27) and the in-situ interpretation in (5), (18-20).

4.2. Towards a Solution
So far, we have shown that contrastive short fragments out of islands are possible in Bulgarian if i) the antecedent is a narrow *li*-question and ii) if the island containing the *li*-constituent remains in situ.

We therefore propose that it is the dual [+Q] [+F] property of *li* that allows the *li*-marked constituent to associate either with the FocP via overt movement or with Q from its in-situ structural position (via Hamblin semantics).

In a structural environment without islands, one cannot tell whether the contrastive fragment answer is licensed due to focus or due to the question operator, because both operators can be interpreted via the mechanism of distinguished variables (Beck 2006:17), thus allowing for a parallel LF. But in structures with islands, we suddenly observed that overt movement of the island to the left periphery, does not license the short fragment answer. As a result we propose that the fragment answer to the narrow y/n question is licensed not by focus but by in-situ association with Q which results in parallel LFs between question and answer (28):

(28) *Parallelism:*
　　a. Quesion LF:
　　　[λx. [$_{TP}$ Ivan hates the boy that bought x to Maria]]

　　b. LF-Answer:
　　　[λx. [$_{TP}$ Ivan hates the boy that bought x to Maria]]

The proposed LF for the question makes sense if we consider that the association of the *li*-marked constituent with Q derives, in addition to the polar alternatives, a set of alternatives similar to those of wh-questions, thus capturing Dukova-Zheleva's (2010) observation that narrow *li*-questions behave like constituent questions[10]. At this point, we remain ignorant as to the exact mechanism of deriving the semantics for narrow *li*-questions, such that they include both the set of alternatives that correspond to the ordinary semantics of y/n questions and the set of alternatives of wh-questions. Yet the intuitive relation to wh-questions, in which the speaker asks only about a constituent by taking everything else in the clause to be given, suggests that proposing parallel semantics is on the right track.

As focus is shown to associate with the entire island (Krifka 2006), we keep the generalization that contrastive fragment answers out of islands are not possible, because focused constituents remain within islands, thus

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[10] Furthermore, as pointed out by a reviewer, Bulgarian fragment answers out of islands are possible even when the antecedent is an alternative question with the disjunctive *ili* 'or' inside the island. And this is not surprising, as disjunctive questions have been analyzed with Hamblin alternative semantics without movement.

failing to create parallel structure that would license elision (Fox & Lasnik 2003). This is true for fragments in English and Hungarian and it is also true for fragments in Bulgarian declaratives (21) and for fragments that correspond to overtly fronted islands in Bulgarian (27).

And yet because Bulgarian associates Q with the in-situ phrase inside the island by marking it with an overt element (*li)*, it is possible to create a parallel LF structure with a variable that is bound inside the island. In languages, which mark contrastive constituents in y/n questions only with focus intonation (i.e. English and Hungarian), the LF of the question is predicted to include the entire island as the variable to be bound, thus licensing only the long fragment answers (that includes the island).

5   Conclusions

In this paper we showed that contrary to what happens in English, short fragment answers out of islands are possible in a certain set of Bulgarian y/n questions. Building on Griffits & Lipták (2014) and Fox & Lasnik (2003), we assumed that parallelism between antecedent and remnant is the key for licensing elision and that such parallelism is not given when syntactic islands prevent extraction. However, our evidence from overt pied-piping and focus intervention showed that scopal parallelism is not achieved via movement in Bulgarian *li*-questions and that the *li*-marked constituent is interpreted in situ. This urged us to propose that narrow *li*-questions should be analyzed as a combination of y/n and wh-questions, providing a parallel LF for the short fragment answer. It remains to be seen whether our proposal that Q is associated with an in-situ phrase in Bulgarian can be developed theoretically and supported with further empirical evidence. Crucially, our analysis of the island–insensitivity of contrastive fragment answers in Bulgarian converges with the theoretical generalizations regarding island-insensitivity in other types of ellipsis, such as sluicing, certain types of VP-Ellipsis, and Comparative-Ellipsis (Fox & Lasnik 2003, Griffiths & Lipták 2014), thus providing further evidence that islands are a PF-phenomenon (Chomsky 1972, Merchant 2001, Fox & Pesetsky 2004) and therefore can be ameliorated under ellipsis.

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