Fragments vs. null arguments in Korean

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Abstract

Korean has two types of answers shorter than full sentential answers: Fragments and null argument constructions. Apparently the two constructions have the same interpretative processes. However, there are some cases where the fragment and null argument construction behave differently: e.g., wh-puzzles, sloppy interpretation. We suggest that the two constructions involve two different types of anaphora and that the sources of sloppy(-like) interpretation are fundamentally distinct. Fragments pattern differently with null arguments in that only the former may display genuine sloppy readings. The latter may yield sloppy-like readings which are pragmatically induced by the explicature that can be cancelled unlike genuine sloppy readings in fragments. Evidence (wh-ellipsis, quantifier ellipsis) all lends substantial support to our claim that fragments are analyzed as an instance of clausal ellipsis while null arguments are analyzed as an instance of null pronoun pro; hence, the former is surface anaphora whereas the latter is deep anaphora in the sense of Hankamer & Sag (1976).

1 Introduction

Korean has two types of answers shorter than a full sentential answer, as shown in (1B-B’).1

    I-Nom J.-Gen brother-Acc meet-Pst-Dec
    'I saw/met John's brother.'
B: na-to.
    'I also (met John’s brother).'
B’: na-to __ manna-ss-ta.
    I-too meet-Pst-Dec
    'I also met (John’s brother).'

(1B) and (1B’) seem to have the same interpretation. However, there are contexts where the fragment and null argument construction show different semantic behavior. In Korean, the pronoun nwukwu is ambiguous between indefinite interpretation ‘someone’ and wh-interpretation ‘who’. Consider the following sentences:

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1 This is an abridged version of the paper that we delivered in HPSG 2012 Workshop on Ellipsis and Formal Grammar. Some of the materials and discussions that we have omitted here can be found in Ahn & Cho (2012b). We thank Hee-Rahk Chae, Sae-Youn Cho, Jong-Bok Kim, Chungmin Lee, and Kiyong Lee for valuable inputs and discussions during the conference.
(2) A: Chelswu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
   C.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q
   ‘Who did Chelswu meet?’ or ‘Did Chelswu meet anyone?’
B: Kulssey, kulem Yenghi-nun?
   Well, then Y.-Top?
   ‘Well, then, who did Yenghi meet?’ or
   ‘Well, then, did Yenghi meet anyone?’
B’: Kulssey, kulem Yenghi-nun manna-ss-ni?
   Well, then Y.Top meet-Pst-Q
   ‘Well, then, did Yenghi meet anyone?’
   *‘Well, then, who did Yenghi meet?’

(2A) is interpreted as either yes-no interrogative or wh-interrogative. Note
further that the fragment (2B) is also ambiguous between yes-no
interpretation and wh-interpretation. Interestingly, however, the null object
construction in (2B’) is unambiguous: it is interpreted only as yes-no
question. The puzzle on wh-ellipsis seems to shed light on the analysis of the
fragment and null argument construction.

We further argue that the sources of interpretation given in (1B-B’) are
fundamentally distinct. We propose that fragments are analyzed as an
instance of clausal ellipsis while null arguments are analyzed as an instance
of null pronoun pro; hence, the former is surface anaphora whereas the latter
is deep anaphora in the sense of Hankamer & Sag (1976).

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses some conceptual
arguments for our claim regarding the two types of reduced constructions.
Section 3 deals with the wh-puzzles and further extend our analysis of wh-
puzzles to the quantifier floating constructions and examples containing
negative polarity items. Concluding remarks are provided in Section 4.

2 The two types of reduced constructions: Some conceptual
arguments

2.1 Fragments as clausal ellipsis

Fragment conveys the same propositional content as its fully sentential
counterpart. The case connectivity noted by Morgan (1989) supports that the
fragment has the source of full sentential structure.

(3) A: Nwu-ka ku chayk-ul sa-ss-ni?
   Who-Nom the book-Acc buy-Pst-Q
   ‘Who bought the book?’
B: Yenghi-ka.
   Y.-Nom

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In the case of a fragment which functions as subject, only nominative case-marked fragment is grammatical. The ellipsis analysis correctly predicts the grammatical contrast shown in (3B-B’). Prior to ellipsis, (3B) and (3B’) have the following derivation.

   Y.-Nom the book-Acc buy-Pst-Dec
   ‘Yenghi bought the book.’

   Y.-Acc the book-Acc buy-Pst-Dec

Now it is clear why (3B’) is ruled out while (3B) is in since their source structures before ellipsis directly reflect the contrasts, as shown in (5):

(5) a. Yenghi-ka [ku chayk-ul sa-ss-ta].

  b. *Yenghi-lul [ku chayk-ul sa-ss-ta].

On the ellipsis analysis, no additional assumptions are necessary to license the cases on fragments. That is, the usual mechanisms that are responsible for shaping cases internal to clauses can be also relevant to cases on fragments.

Ahn & Cho (2006) further indicate the following examples that involve case-alternation in emotional constructions in Korean which support the claim that fragments have hidden sentential structures.

(6) a. Yenghi-nun nwukwu-lul manna-ko siph-ess-ni?
      Y.-Top who-Acc meet-Comp want-Past-Q
      ‘Who did Yenghi want to meet?’

  b. Chelswu-lul.
      C.-Acc

  c. Chelswu-ka.
      C.-Nom

Note that Jackendoff & Culicover (2005) (a version of direct interpretation analyses) assume that fragments which don’t have their own syntactic structure depend on the one of its antecedent. In (6a), the correlate of the fragment nwukwu ‘who’ is marked with accusative case, but the fragment answers can be marked with either accusative (6b) or nominative case (6c). If syntactic well-formedness of fragments were to depend totally upon their correlates, (6c) would be ill-formed, contrary to fact. Hence, the direct
interpretation analyses don't predict that case alternation is possible in some contexts. By contrast, the ellipsis analysis correctly predicts the case alternation shown in (6b-c) because we assume that fragmentary utterances are derived via ellipsis of the full-fledged sentential structures. Note that there are two possible full sentential answers to (6a): namely, (7a) and (7b), which underlie the fragment answers (6b) and (6c), respectively.

(7) a. Yenghi-nun Chelswu-lul manna-ko siph-ess-ta
   Y.-Top C.-Acc meet-Comp want-Past-Dec
   'Yenghi wanted to meet Chelswu.'

   b. Yenghi-nun Chelswu-ka manna-ko siph-ess-ta
   Y.-Top C.-Nom meet-Comp want-Past-Dec
   'Yenghi wanted to meet Chelswu.'

(7a) and (7b), then, have the following derivations. Before ellipsis, the fragments undergo movement to the sentence-initial position.2

(8) a. [[[DP Chelswu lul]], [Yenghi-nun t manna ko siph-ess-ta]]

       b. [[[DP Chelswu ka]], [Yenghi-nun t manna ko siph-ess-ta]]

Thus, under Ahn & Cho’s (2006) ellipsis analysis, case alternation in fragment answers is expected irrespective of case-forms on wh-phrases in antecedent clauses since fragments parallel their non-elliptical sentential counterparts, and case alternation in (6) provides substantial evidence that the fragment involves clausal ellipsis.

2.2 Null arguments = Pro

Otani & Whitman (1991) propose, following Huang (1987), that a sentence like (1B’) is an instance of VP ellipsis where the head V has been evacuated via V-raising. Park (1994), Hoji (1998), Oku (1998), Kim (1999) and many others have pointed out non-trivial problems that the VP ellipsis analysis encounters.

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2 We further assume that fragments are derived from movement of remnants followed by PF-deletion on a par with fragments in English put forward in Merchant (2004) (see Ahn & Cho 2006, 2009b, 2010a for detailed discussion). Thus, (1B), for example, can be derived in the following manner:

(i) [[[CP Na-to, [TP John-uy hyeng-ul manna-ss-ta]]]]

In (i), the fragment na-to ‘-also’ undergoes movement to Spec of C, and TP undergoes ellipsis. Although the object and the verb aren’t pronounced in (i), they remain at LF for clausal interpretation. Consequently, (1B) has the same interpretation as its full sentential counterpart, Na-to John-uy hyeng-ul manna-ss-ta ‘I also met John’s brother’.

(9) a. John studies English hard, and Mary does (study English hard), too.
    b. John came home early, but Mary didn’t (come home early).
   M.-Nom fast run-Conj J.-also fast run-Pres-Dec
   ‘Intended: Mary runs fast and John does too.’
   b. Mary-ka kulen iyu-lo ttena-ss-ko John-to
      M.-Nom such reason-for leave-Past-Conj J.-also
      *(kulen iyu-lo) ttena-ss-ta.
      such reason-for leave-Pst-Dec
      ‘Intended: Mary left for such a reason and John did too.’

Park (1994) points out that if VP ellipsis were available in Korean, the sentence in (10) would be predicted to have an equivalent reading of (9), contrary to fact. Note that (10) does not tell us anything about how John runs or why John left. Thus, he argues that Otani & Whitman’s VP ellipsis analysis of null object arguments may not be maintained in Korean.

As one alternative to the VP ellipsis analysis, Oku (1998) and Kim (1999) propose that Japanese and Korean have an ellipsis process like argument ellipsis. Under this analysis, an argument DP itself may directly undergo ellipsis.

On the other hand, Ahn & Cho (2009, 2010b, 2011a,c, 2012a) propose that the Korean examples of apparent DP ellipsis exemplified in (1B) are all instances of pro (see also Park 1994, Hoji 1998, Moon 2010 inter alia); that is, Ahn & Cho argue that null arguments such as (1B) involve deep anaphora (null pronoun) pro but not surface anaphora ellipsis. Hence (1B’) should be represented as (11) under the pro analysis of null arguments:

(11) [TP Na-to pro manna-ss-ta]

Ahn & Cho (2011b) further suggest that the content of the null argument is supplied by the context: The noun takes a salient discourse element as its referent, and the pro in (11) may be understood as John-uy hyeng-ul ‘John’s brother’.

Many researchers (Oku 1998, Kim 1999, Saito 2007, Takahashi 2008, Um 2011 and others), however, claim that sloppy identity interpretation in (12B) is a direct challenge to the pro analyses of null arguments.
   C.-Nom teacher-Acc three Cl meet-Pst-Dec
   ‘Chelswu met three teachers.’
B: Yenghi-to _____ manna-ss-ta.
   Y.-also meet-Pst-Dec
   ‘Yenghi met (three teachers), too.’

Many people indicate that (12B) can be interpreted as either ‘Yenghi also met the same teachers Chelswu met.’ (strict reading) or ‘Yenghi also met three teachers different from the ones Chelswu met.’ (sloppy reading).

The crucial argument against pro analyses comes from the absence of sloppy interpretation when the null argument is replaced by an overt pronoun as shown in (13B).

(13) A: Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-ul sey pwun manna-ss-ta.
   C.-Nom teacher-Acc three Cl meet-Pst-Dec
   ‘Chelswu met three teachers.’
B: Yenghi-to kutul-ul manna-ss-ta.
   Y.-also them-Acc meet-Pst-Dec
   ‘Yenghi met them, too.’

Note that (13B) only yields strict interpretation in contrast to (12B) in which both sloppy and strict readings are possible.

Ahn & Cho in their recent papers, however, have proposed that this issue seems to be related to the possible interpretation of pro. By exploring the cases where apparent sloppy readings arise, they have shown how far the possible interpretation of pro is stretched. In this paper we offer additional pieces of evidence to show that what are considered to be sloppy identity readings in the null argument construction in Korean are not in fact genuine sloppy interpretations.

Our pro analysis is conceptually based on the proposal that ellipsis of DP (and other XPs) is not possible since they are not complements of functional heads (e.g., C, D, … etc) which can only bear an [E] feature (cf. Merchant 2001, Ahn & Cho 2009a, 2010b).

(14) *VP
    Ellipsis is barred
    \[
    \begin{array}{c}
    \text{VP} = \text{DP}, \text{PP}, \text{TP, CP … etc}
    \end{array}
    \]

Since DP is arguably a complement of a theta-role assigning lexical category like V which cannot have an [E] feature, DP ellipsis cannot occur. On this view, absence of DP ellipsis (and CP ellipsis, for example), as shown in the following, can be accounted for in Korean and English in a unified
way (see Ahn & Cho 2009a, 2010b, 2011b for discussions of absence of CP ellipsis in Korean).

(15) A: John thought that we buy the charcoal grill.
   B: I also thought *(that we buy the charcoal grill).

(16) A: I met John's brother.
   B: *I also met [DP John's brother].

   I-Top Y.-Nom T.-Acc love-Pres-Dec-C think-Pres-Dec
   'I think Yenghi loves Toli.'
   B: *na-to__ sayngkakha-n-ta.  
   I-also think-Pres-Dec

As noted in some previous literature, *pro* is needed independently of argument ellipsis in Korean (cf. Saito 2007). For example, the following

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3 Kiyong Lee (by p.c.) points out that although (17B) is not grammatical, the following sentence is possible.

(i) na-to kulehkey sayngkakha-n-ta.
   I-also so think-Pres-Dec
   'I thought so.'

The wellformedness of (i) raises a non-trivial question: why doesn’t the covert counterpart of *kulehkey* 'so' exist?

Ahn & Cho (2011b) show that there is crucial evidence that *pro* cannot substitute *kulehkey* in Korean. Witness the following contrasts:

   C.-Nom slowly run-Past-Dec
   'Chelswu ran slowly.'
   b. Yenghi-to ttwuy-ess-ta.
   Y.-too run-Past-Dec
   'Yenghi also ran.'
   c. Yenghi-to kulehkey ttwuy-ess-ta.
   Y.-too so run-Past-Dec
   'Yenghi also ran so.'

   C.-Nom stomach cancer from die-Past-Dec
   'C.-Nom died from stomach cancer.'
   b. Yenghi-to cwuk-ess-ta.
   Y.-too die-Past-Dec
   'Yenghi also died.'
   c. Yenghi-to kulehkey cwuk-ess-ta.
   Y.-also so die-Past-Dec
   'Yenghi also died from stomach cancer.'

Note that in (iib) and (iiib), the adverbial readings are all absent; that is, (iib) and (iiib) only denote plain events of Yenghi’s running and dying without specifications of how and why. If, however, *kulehkey* 'so' in Korean can undergo ellipsis or be replaced by *pro*, the interpretation of (iib) and (iiib) would be the same as the one of (iic) and (iiic), respectively, contrary to fact.

Thus, we conclude that *pro* can only refer to NP/DP but not adverbial *kulehkey* 'so'.
sentence in Korean can be uttered without any relevant discourse when the teacher comes into the classroom:

(18) pro o-si-ess-e.
   come-Hon-Pst-Dec-
   ‘She/he came.’

Our pro analysis of null arguments is conceptually simple (hence, desirable under minimalist spirits) since it provides a uniform account for all null argument cases (see Ahn & Cho 2011b,c, 2012a for discussion).

3 Wh-puzzles and other related constructions

The puzzle on wh-ellipsis such as (2) repeated here as (19) seems to shed light on the sources of interpretation of null argument and fragment construction.

(19) A: Chelswu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
   C.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q
   ‘Who did Chelswu meet?’ or ‘Did Chelswu meet anyone?’
B: Kulisse, kulem Yenghi-nun?
   Well, then Y.-Top?
   ‘Well, then, who did Yenghi meet?’ or
   ‘Well, then, did Yenghi meet anyone?’
B’: Kulisse, kulem Yenghi-nun manna-ss-ni?
   Well, then Y.Top meet-Pst-Q
   ‘Well, then, did Yenghi meet anyone?’
*‘Well, then, who did Yenghi meet?’

On the analysis advanced here, the fragment (19B) has the structure similar to (19A), as shown in (20).

(20) Yenghi-nun [nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni]?
   Y.-Top who-Acc meet-Pst-Q

Then, (20) can be interpreted as either yes-no question or wh-question on a par with (19A). (19B’), by contrast, is not ambiguous, it only yields yes-no question reading.

Under DP-ellipsis analyses of null arguments such as Kim (1999), Oku (1998), Saito (2004, 2007), Takahashi (2008), Lee & Kim (2010), and Lee (2011) inter alia, (19B’) should have the structure like (21).
(21) Yenghi-nun [nwukwu-lul] manna-ss-ni?
    Y.-Top who-Acc meet-Pst-Q

Then, (21) is predicted to be interpreted as either yes-no question or \textit{wh}-question on a pair with (19A), contrary to fact.

If \textit{pro}, on the other hand, can directly refer to \textit{nwukwu-lul} ‘who-acc’, (19B’) is also expected to be ambiguous (parallel to (19B)), contrary to fact.

(22) Yenghi-nun \textit{pro}(=nwukwu-lul) manna-ss-ni?
    Y.-Top who-Acc meet-Pst-Q

Recall that (19B’) is not ambiguous: it yields only indefinite reading but not WH reading.

We suggest that single \textit{wh}’s in Korean can be analyzed as complex \textit{wh}-phrases; namely, \[\textit{wh} \text{ NP + wh}\]. The property of the preceding NP (which can be null \textit{pro}) is determined by an appropriate context that the modifying \textit{wh} is employed.

(23) A: Chelswu-ka (salamtul-ul) nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
    C.-Nom people-Acc who-Acc meet-Pst-Q
    ‘Who did Chelswu meet?’ or ‘Did Chelswu meet anyone?’

B: Yenghi-nun \textit{pro}(=salamtul-ul) manna-ss-ni?
    Y.-Top people-Acc meet-Pst-Q
    ‘Did Yenghi meet people?’

The null argument \textit{pro} in (23B), then, can refer to the unpronounced \textit{salamtul-ul} ‘people-Acc’. Consequently, apparent \textit{wh}-argument ellipsis can be an instance of \textit{pro} replacement of the NP parts of this structure. Hence, (23B’) is predicted to be interpreted only as yes-no question under this proposal.

Likewise, we can explain the contrast between (24B) and (24B’).

(24) A: Chelswu-ka mwuess-ul sa-ss-ni?
    C.-Nom what-Acc buy-Pst-Q
    ‘What did Chelswu buy?’ or ‘Did Chelswu buy anything?’

B: Kulssey, kulem Yenghi-nun?
    Well, then, Y.-Top
    ‘Well, then, what did Yenghi buy?’ or ‘Well, then, did Yenghi buy anything?’

B’: Kulssey, kulem Yenghi-nun sa-ss-ni?
    Well, then Y.-Top buy-Pst-Q
    ‘Well, then, did Yenghi buy anything?’
    *‘Well, then, what did Yenghi buy?’
(24B) has the structure like (25).

(25) Yenghi-nun [mwuess-ul sa-ss-ni]?  
    Y.-Top what-Acc buy-Pst-Q

Then, (25) can be interpreted as either yes-no question or wh-question on a par with (24A).

Again, apparent wh-argument ellipsis is an instance of pro replacement of the NP part of this structure which is phonetically unrealized in (26B').

(26) A: Chelswu-ka (mwulken-ul) mwuess-lul sa-ss-ni?  
    C.-Nom thing-Acc what-Acc buy-Pst-Q
    ‘What did Chelswu buy?’ or ‘Did Chelswu buy anything?’
B: Yenghi-nun pro(=mwulken-ul) sa-ss-ni?  
    Y.-Top buy-Pst-Q
    ‘Did Yenghi buy things?’

The null argument pro in (26B) refers to the unpronounced mwulken-ul ‘thing-Acc’. Hence, (26B) is interpreted only as yes-no question.

We would further extend our analysis of wh-constructions to the quantifier floating constructions below. Consider examples containing a cardinal quantifier sey pwun-ul ‘three Cl-Acc’, as shown in (27).

(27) A: Swunhi-ka sensayngnim-ul sey pwun(-ul) manna-ss-e.  
    S.-Nom teacher-Acc three Cl-Acc meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Swunhi met three teachers.’
B: Yenghi-to.  
    ‘Y.-also.’
B’: Yenghi-to _____ manna-ss-e .  
    Y.-also meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Lit. Yenghi met, too.’

At first glance, (27B’) gives rise to sloppy reading: ‘Yenghi met three teachers, too’.

We propose that the sources of apparent sloppy readings in Q-float constructions are also due to peculiar double object/accusative constructions in Korean, roughly equivalent to [QP NP-Acc Q]-Acc (here Q includes (general) quantifiers & quantifier-like modifiers) parallel to wh-constructions. We suggest that the source of apparent sloppy reading hinges on the possibility that the null argument pro refers to the NP part of this QP. This reading, however, is not genuine sloppy reading under our proposal assuming the following Q-float structure like (28).
Notice that (27B’) in fact conveys the meaning ‘Yenghi met teachers, too’ if pro refers to the NP sensayngnim-ul ‘teacher-Acc’ in (28). Then, the apparent sloppy reading occurs as a result of explicatures under our pro analysis of null arguments.4

Note further that the apparent sloppy interpretation (which is called sloppy-like interpretation by Hoji 1998) of the null argument is cancellable as shown in (29). Thus, (29) is possible as a reply to (27A).

(29) Yenghi-to manna-ss-e. kulentey Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul
    Y.also meet-Pst-Dec but Y.-Top teacher-Acc
twu pwun(-ul) manna-ss-e.
two Cl-Acc meet-Pst-Dec
‘Lit. Yenghi met, too. But Yenghi met two teachers.’
‘Intended reading: Yenghi met teachers, too. But she met two (but not three) teachers.’

By contrast, the genuine sloppy interpretation of fragments is non-cancellable as shown in (30); i.e., (30) isn’t possible as a reply to (27A).

(30) #Yenghi-to. kulentey Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul
    Y.also but Y.-Top teacher-Acc
twu pwun(-ul) manna-ss-e.
two Cl-Acc meet-Pst-Dec
‘Yenghi, too. But Yenghi met two teachers.’

Furthermore, in the null argument construction, the first NP isn’t denied in the discourse.


4 According to Sperber & Wilson (1986:182), an explicature is a combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features. Consider (i-ii):  
   (i) a. He is meeting a woman this evening.  
      b. He is meeting a woman [who is not his wife, mother, or sister] this evening.  
   (ii) a. I have had breakfast. 
      b. I have had breakfast [today] (Agerri & Korta 2004:15)  
   (ib) and (iib) are the explicature of (ia) and (iia), respectively. (ib) and (iib) are the development of the logical form encoded by the utterance or the result of the process of the reference assignment and enrichment to the logical form.
S.-Nom teacher-Acc three Cl-Acc meet-Pst-Dec  
‘Swunhi met three teachers.’

B:# Yenghi-to manna-ss-e. kulentey Yenghi-nun noin-ul  
Y.also meet-Pst-Dec but Y.-Top old man-Acc  
meet-Pst-Dec  
‘Lit. Yenghi met, too. But Yenghi met old men.’
‘*if: Yenghi met three people, too. But Yenghi met three old men  
(but not three teachers).’
‘ok if: Yenghi met someone, too. But Yenghi met old men.’

Note that (31B) is impossible only under the interpretation that who Yenghi  
met are three old men. In other words, (31B) should involve the structure  
[noin-ul pro] ‘students-Acc pro’ in which pro refers to sey pwun(-ul) ‘three  
Cl(-Acc)’, as shown in (32).

(32) Yenghi-to manna-ss-e. kulentey Yenghi-nun [noin-ul pro]  
manna-ss-e. (pro = sey pwun-ul)

Note further that the ill-formedness in (27B) can be explained under the  
assumption that pro cannot directly refer to the “X” head” sey pwun-ul ‘three  
Cl-Acc’ since proforms in general are XP categories. On this view, pro  
replaces either the whole QP sensaynim-ul sey pwun-ul ‘teacher-Acc three  
Cl-Acc’ or the complement phrase NP sensaynim-lul ‘teacher-Acc’, but  
not the head of the phrase.5

A similar pattern is observed in multiple accusative constructions, as  
shown in (33).

(33) A: Swunhi-ka sensaynim-ul atunim-ul sey pwun(-ul)  
S.-Nom teacher-Acc son-ul three Cl-Acc  
manna-ss-e.  
meet-Pst-Dec  
‘Swunhi met a teacher’s three sons.’
B’: Yenghi-to ____ manna-ss-e .  
Y.-also meet-Pst-Dec  
‘Lit. Yenghi met, too.’

5 For example, in English an indefinite proform like one can only replace phrasal constituents  
bigger than a head.
(i) a. Which [student] were you referring to? *The one of Physics with long hair? (Radford  
1988:186)
    b. *The [student] of chemistry was older than the one of Physics. (Lightfoot 1982:54)
The multiple accusative constructions can be structured as follows.

\[
(34) \quad \begin{array}{c}
Pro \rightarrow \text{NP}_1 \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{Q}' \\
\text{NP}_2 \rightarrow \text{NP}' \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{QP} \quad \text{se} \text{pwun(-ul)} \\
\text{sensayngnim-ul} \quad \text{atunim-ul}
\end{array}
\]

The sloppy-like interpretations occur due to the possibilities of denoting either NP1 or NP2 by pro. If pro refers to the NP2, the sentence means ‘Yenghi met teachers’ (=> explicature: ‘Yenghi met a teacher’s three family members or offsprings’). If pro refers to the NP1, the sentence means ‘Yenghi met sons’ (=> explicature: ‘Yenghi met a teacher’s three sons’). Since these sloppy-like interpretations are pragmatically induced, they are cancellable, as shown in (35) as replies to (33A).

\[(35) \quad \text{a. Yenghi-to manna-ss-e. kulentey Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul} \]
\[Y.\text{-also meet-Pst-Dec} \quad \text{but} \quad Y.\text{-Top teacher-Acc} \]
\[\text{atunim-ul twu pwun(-ul) manna-ss-e.} \]
\[\text{son-(Acc) two Cl-Acc meet-Pst-Dec} \]
\[\text{‘Yenghi met a teacher’s sons, too. But she met a teacher’s two sons.’} \]
\[\text{b. Yenghi-to manna-ss-e. kulentey Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul} \]
\[Y.\text{-also meet-Pst-Dec} \quad \text{but} \quad Y.\text{-Top teacher-Acc} \]
\[\text{atunim-ul manna-ss-e.} \]
\[\text{daughter-(Acc) meet-Pst-Dec} \]
\[\text{‘Yenghi met a teacher’s three family members or offsprings, too.} \]
\[\text{But she met a teacher’s three daughters.’} \]

Here too, NP2 isn’t denied in the discourse; that is, (33B’) cannot convey the meaning like ‘Yenghi met someone who has three sons, and that someone is her uncle, for example’.

The examples containing universal quantifiers can be analyzed in a similar way. Consider (36).

\[(36) \quad \text{A: Swunhi-ka sensayngnim-ul motwu(-lul) manna-ss-e.} \]
\[S.-Nom teacher-Acc all-Acc meet-Pst-Dec \]
\[\text{‘Swunhi met all the teachers.’} \]
\[\text{B: Yenghi-to. ‘Y.-also.’} \]
\[\text{B’: Yenghi-to manna-ss-e.} \]
\[\text{Y.-also meet-Pst-Dec} \]
\[\text{‘Lit. Yenghi met, too.’} \]

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(36B’) yields sloppy-like reading ‘Yenghi met all teachers, too’. This reading, too, is a pragmatic explicature under pro analysis of null arguments assuming the following Q-float structure like (37).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Pro} \\
\rightarrow \text{NP} \\
\text{sensayngnim-ul} \\
\rightarrow \text{Q} \\
\text{motwu}
\end{array}
\]

As shown in (38), sloppy-like reading of null arguments is cancellable.

(38) Yenghi-to manna-ss-ta. kulteuy Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul \\
Y. also meet-Pst-Dec but Y.-Top teacher-Acc some-ilpuw-man manna-ss-e. \\
only meet-Pst-Dec \\
‘Lit. Yenghi met, too. But Yenghi met some teachers.’ \\
‘Intended reading: Yenghi met teachers, too. But she met only some (but not all) teachers.’

As shown in (39), genuine sloppy reading of fragments isn’t cancellable.

(39) #Yenghi-to. kulteuy Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul ilpuw-man \\
Y. also but Y.-Top teacher-Acc some-only manna-ss-e. \\
meet-Pst-Dec \\
‘Yenghi, too. But Yenghi met only some teachers.’

In the null argument construction, the first NP isn’t denied in the discourse.

(40) A: Swunhi-ka sensayngnim-ul motwu(-lul) manna-ss-e. \\
S.-Nom teacher-Acc all-Acc meet-Pst-Dec \\
‘Swunhi met all teachers.’

B: # Yenghi-to manna-ss-e. kulteuy Yenghi-nun haksayng-ul \\
Y. also meet-Pst-Dec but Y.-Top student-Acc manna-ss-e. \\
meet-Pst-Dec \\
‘Lit. Yenghi met, too. But Yenghi met students.’ \\
‘* if: Yenghi met all, too. But Yenghi met all students (but not teachers).’ \\
‘ok if: Yenghi met someone, too. But Yenghi met students.’
Our pro analysis of null arguments can further be extended to examples containing negative polarity items.

(41) A: Swunhi-ka sensayngnim-ul amwuto an manna-ss-e.
    S.-Nom teacher-Acc anyone not meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Swunhi didn’t meet any teachers.’

    B: Yenghi-to.
    ‘Y.-also.’

    B’: Yenghi-to _____ an manna-ss-e.
        Y.-also neg meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Lit. Yenghi didn’t meet, either.’

Under our pro analysis, the sloppy-like reading ‘Yenghi didn’t meet any teachers, too’ in (41B’) is pragmatically derived from the following structure where pro refers to sensayngnim-ul ‘teacher-Acc’ in (42):\footnote{Kawashima & Kitahara (1992), Ko (2005), Lee & Um (2004), and Shi (1997) independently suggest that NPs and negative polarity items form a constituent.}

(42) Yenghi-to pro an manna-ss-e.
    Y.-also neg meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Yenghi didn’t meet pro (=teachers), either.’

We assume the structure like (43). In (43), pro refers to NP

(43)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{QP} \\
\text{Q} \\
\text{sensayngnim-ul amwuto}
\end{array}
\]

Sloppy-like reading of null arguments seems to be marginally cancellable.

(44) Yenghi-to an manna-ss-e. kultentey Yenghi-nun sensayngnim-ul
    Y.-also not meet-Pst-Dec but Y.-Top teacher-Acc
    amwuto an manna-n kes-un an-i-ta.
    anyone not meet-Mod Comp-Top not-be-Dec
    ‘Lit. Yenghi didn’t meet, either. But it is not the case that Yenghi didn’t meet any teachers.’

    ‘Intended reading: Yenghi didn’t meet teachers, either. But it is not the case that Yenghi didn’t meet any teachers.’

By contrast, genuine sloppy reading of fragments isn’t cancellable at all:
Further, in the null argument construction the first NP isn’t denied in the discourse.

    S.-Nom teacher-Acc anyone not meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Swunhi didn’t meet any teachers.’
B: # Yenghi-to an manna-ss-e. kulentey Yenghi-nun haksayng-ul an
    Y.also not meet-Pst-Dec but Y.-Top student-Acc not
    meet-Pst-Dec
    ‘Lit. Yenghi didn’t meet, either. But Yenghi didn’t meet
    students.’
    ‘* if: Yenghi didn’t meet anyone, either. But Yenghi didn’t
    meet any students (but not teachers).’
    ‘ok if: Yenghi didn’t meet someone, either. But Yenghi didn’t
    meet students.’

Thus, our pro analysis of null arguments along with clausal ellipsis analysis of fragments gains further supports from the observed asymmetries in the above Q-floating structures in Korean.

4 Concluding Remarks

In sum, fragments pattern differently with null arguments in that only the former may display genuine sloppy readings. The latter may yield sloppy-like (i.e., apparent sloppy) readings which are pragmatically induced by the explicature that can be cancelled unlike genuine sloppy readings in fragments. Thus, the above evidence (wh-ellipsis, weak/strong quantifier ellipsis, NPI ellipsis) all lends crucial support to our claim that fragments and null arguments are fundamentally different: fragments are instances of ellipsis (surface anaphora), while null arguments are instances of pro (deep anaphora).
References


