On Caseless Fragments and Some Implications[*]

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A great deal of attention has been paid to two types of fragments in Korean: case-marked and caseless fragments. We suggest that case-marked and caseless fragments all involve remnant movement to a focus position prior to TP deletion. We further claim that their clausal sources are different. We propose that caseless fragments are derived from reduced copula sentences unlike case-marked fragments. Under the analysis advanced here, parallel behaviors of two types of fragments are explained as a consequence of movement and TP deletion. Non-parallel behaviors, on the other hand, are explained as a consequence of different clausal sources. In this paper, we further observe similarities and differences between the two types of fragments concerning distribution of adverbials and idiomatic interpretation. Further implications of our proposal are discussed concerning several less-noticed phenomena related to polarity and tense mismatching which are not properly analyzed in the previous literature.

Keywords: case-marked fragment, caseless fragment, copula construction, TP deletion

1. Introduction and Background

Fragment answers refer to surface XPs that have full propositional

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interpretation. Thanks to their mismatch between forms and inter-
pretations, they have received a great deal of attention. Furthermore, nomi-
nal fragment answers in Korean have received more attention since they
surface in two different forms; case-marked fragment (1b) and caseless
fragment (1c).

(1) a. Nwu-ka   chayk-ul   sa-ss-ni?
       Who-Nom book-Acc   buy-Pst-Q
       'Who bought a book?'
    b. Yengswu-ka.
       Y.-Nom
       'Youngswu bought a book.'
    c. Yengswu.
       Y.
       'Youngswu bought a book.'

Roughly, we can divide the previous analyses of these two types of frag-
ments into two groups in generative grammar (in particular, under mini-
malist perspectives): uniform analyses (Ahn & Cho 2006, Park 2015, An
2016) and hybrid analyses (Morgan 1989, Fortin 2007, Ahn & Cho 2011,
Ahn 2012).[1] The former assumes that two types of fragments are derived
in a uniform way (assuming something related to ellipsis phenomena),
while the latter assumes that case-marked fragments are derived in a way
different from caseless fragments (usually the case-marked ones are treated
as ellipsis, while the caseless as base-generated).

The uniform ellipsis approaches assume that the two types of fragments
have the same sentential sources and are derived through deletion process
that leaves the fragment. There are two varieties of uniform analyses along
this vein: Ahn & Cho (2006) and Park (2015) employ (customary) syntactic
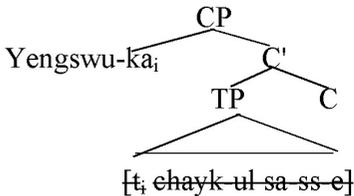
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1) There are also several non-minimalist approaches concerning the two types of frag-
   ments in Korean, which may also be classified into two varieties: uniform "direct inter-
   pretation" analyses proposed by researchers like Kim (2015a, b), and "hybrid" analyses
   such as Choi and Yoon (2009) *inter alia*. On the theoretical perspectives, we will not
   be much concerned with such alternatives in this paper. However, we believe most
   of our arguments against alternative minimalist approaches may hold to the non-mini-
   malist approaches, too.

ellipsis for the both fragments, whereas An (2016) proposes a novel uniform PF-deletion analysis.[2] The two analyses are substantially different: The former advocates the standard assumption that ellipsis as a grammatical operation can only target constituents, while the latter postulates a PF-deletion operation that can ignore syntactic constituents, and has its own guidelines that elements that undergo this process should form an unbroken, continuous string.

Under a syntactic ellipsis approach like Ahn & Cho (2006) and Park (2015), (1b-c) are analyzed as deriving from the structural representations like (2-3) prior to TP-deletion, respectively.

(2) Case-marked fragment

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{Yengswu-ka}_i \quad \text{C}' \\
\text{TP} \quad \text{C} \\
[t_i \ \text{chayk-ul sa-ss-e}]
\end{array}
$$

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2) A reviewer mentions the possibility that we misrepresent Park's (2015) claim. According to the reviewer, Park (2015) also argues that caseless fragments can also be derived from pseudo-cleft or pro source. However, we have to note the following Park's (2015: 827) claim: "Contra the standard assumption that case-marked and caseless fragments are derived in different ways, however, this paper argues that even caseless fragments can also be derived in the same way as case-marked ones i.e. via movement +(clausal) ellipsis."

Based on the claim mentioned above, we classify Park (2015) into a uniform ellipsis analysis. We also note the following Park's (2015, fn. 12) statement: "Case-marked argument fragment is always derived by ellipsis and caseless argument fragments can (optionally) be derived by ellipsis."

This sheds light on the possibility that caseless fragments can be derived without ellipsis. To sum up, Park (2015) is regarded as a uniform analysis in that both types of fragments can be derived in the same way. Park (2015) can also be regarded as a hybrid analysis in that caseless fragments can be derived without ellipsis. However, Park (2015) does not give an explanation as to why the ellipsis option is used in a certain context and why other options are used elsewhere. Unlike Park (2015), this paper suggests that caseless fragments are uniformly derived from copula constructions and that they all involve movement and ellipsis. Ahn & Cho (2017b) further shows that parallel behaviors of the two types of fragments are due to their elliptical nature, while non-parallel behaviors of them hinge essentially upon their distinct sentential sources.

(3) Caseless fragment
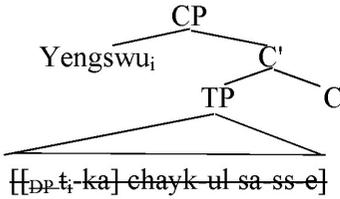
In (2), the case-marked DP *Yengswu-ka* undergoes movement to a sentence-initial position and TP undergoes ellipsis. In (3), the bare NP *Yengswu* undergoes movement to a sentence-initial position and TP including the stranded case-marker undergoes ellipsis. The analysis advanced in (2-3) is based on the assumption that both case-marked and caseless fragments involve ellipsis, and that caseless fragments can be derived by leaving their case-marker in the elliptical site, yielding a repair effect (cf. Merchant 2001). The derivation (3), however, raises a non-trivial question: why isn't the movement similar to (3) observed in other environments? It is not clear whether the constraint which is violated in (3) can be repaired by ellipsis. Ahn & Cho (2015b) suggests that a phase can undergo movement, but that part of a phase cannot.[3] With this line of reasoning, movement stranding a case marker in (3) reminds us of non-"phasal" unit movement since unlike "DP phase"-movement in (2), it involves movement of non-phase NP. We think this illicit movement gives rise to the derivational constraint violation that cannot be repaired by ellipsis.

Recently, an alternative uniform approach is put forward by An (2016) which advocates a PF-deletion analysis of these two types of fragments. An suggests that the two types of fragments are derived from the same sentential source but that range of the deletion process is different, as shown in (4).

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3) Ahn & Cho (2015b) shows that (ia) and (ib) are ill-formed because non-phasal units such as NP and TP cannot undergo movement (cf. Johnson 2001: 443).

(i) a. *It's [NP story] that Joe Bell will read Holly's t_i
   b. *It's [TP we go to the meeting] that Sally will tell us when t_i.

Likewise, we claim that case-stranding movement in (3) is an instance of illegitimate non-phasal NP movements.

(4) a. [$_{DP}$Yengswu-ka]$_i$ [t_i chayk-ul sa-ss-e]   Case-marked fragment
    b. [$_{DP}$Yengswu-ka]$_i$ [t_i chayk-ul sa-ss-e]   Caseless fragment

An (2016) advances that PF deletion extends to an ellipsis remnant, deleting parts of it, such as a case marker, a postposition, or even head noun, up to recoverability and under adjacency to a string of elements that are deleted at PF. Note that the parasitic deletion, which An (2016) terms "extra deletion" occurs in the caseless fragment, as shown in (4b). In the case of extra deletion, elements that are elided are not necessarily syntactic constituents. The crucial requirement on the PF deletion is that the elided elements should form an unbroken, continuous string. As a result, a case marker (and many other dependent markers) may undergo deletion and caseless fragment occurs.
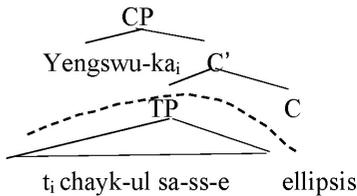
An (2016) generally assumes possibility of non-constituent deletion to handle many interesting phenomena including caseless fragment answers. One important assumption behind An's proposal, we think, is that elements affected by PF deletion do not have to correspond to a syntactic constituent although in many cases deletion appears to target constituents because, according to An, it is mostly syntax that determines what is to be deleted. Thus, An seems to assume that ellipsis can be both licensed by syntactic constituents or adjacent PF-strings. Then, it seems that the proper requirements for deletion is sometimes "recoverability" in the sense of some syntactic or semantic identity given in Merchant (2001) and Chung (2005), or sometimes the proper requirements for deletion is (in particular, for extra deletion contexts) simply string-adjacency under An's analysis. If something like "semantic-identity" or "syntactic-identity" is at work, we believe "constituency" seems to be a prerequisite for deletion. Then, it is not clear when and how extra deletion is at work under An's analysis.

One possibility of excluding the redundancy in An's (2016) dual deletion process is to make a stronger claim that there is no syntactic ellipsis involving in Korean fragments, but that both case-marked and caseless fragments are uniformly derived via "PF deletion" which simply satisfies the requirement that elided parts be a single string of elements, but not necessarily constituents. Our ellipsis analysis to be presented in this paper, in contrast,
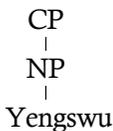
sharply departs from An's PF-deletion analysis in that we assume one and only one standard constituent deletion under syntactic or semantic identity put forward in Merchant (2001) and many others, avoiding intriguing issues concerning interactions between constituent deletion in syntax/semantics vs. non-constituent deletion at PF.

In contrast to the uniform analyses, Ahn & Cho (2011, 2012) and Ahn (2012) put forward a hybrid analysis of the two types of fragments in Korean on the minimalist grounds. They claim that case-marked fragments have elided syntactic structures, while caseless fragments are base-generated XPs not involving any elided structures. They further suggest that caseless fragments are only pragmatically licensed unlike case-marked fragments that are subject to general conditions on syntactic ellipsis. Thus, according to them, case-marked fragments like (1b) have elided syntactic structures, as shown in (5), but that caseless fragments have syntactically no elided structures, as shown in (6).

(5) Case-marked fragments

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{Yengswu-ka}_i \quad \text{C'} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{TP} \qquad \text{C} \\
\diagup \mid \diagdown \\
t_i \text{ chayk-ul sa-ss-e} \qquad ellipsis
\end{array}
$$

(6) Caseless fragments

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\mid \\
\text{NP} \\
\mid \\
\text{Yengswu}
\end{array}
$$

Ahn & Cho (2011) and Ahn (2012), however, argue that not only case-marked fragments but also caseless fragments must project to CP. Two pieces of evidence are put forward there. First, both types of fragments can have independent force/clause types from their antecedents, as shown in (7-8) (cf. D. Chung 2009: 15, Ahn & An 2011).

(7) A: Mwues-ul sikhi-l-kka?   Interrogative
     what-Acc order-Fut-Q
     'What should I order?'

  B: pap-ul.   Imperative
    rice-Acc

  B': pap.   Imperative
     rice
     '(Order) rice.'

(8) A: Wuli mwe mek-ul-kka? Interrogative
     we   what eat-fut-Q
     'What shall we eat?'

  B: pap-ul.   Propositive
    Rice-Acc

  B': pap.   Propositive
     rice
     '(Let's have) rice.'

Regardless of presence or absence of case marker, fragments are interpreted as various force/clause types. Given the usual assumption that C-domain is responsible for marking the clause type (Ahn & Yoon 1989, Cheng 1991, Rizzi 1997), both case-marked and caseless fragments are claimed to be analyzed as CPs. However, Wee (2014, fn. 8) claims that illocutionary forces observed in (7-8) are due to the interaction of the fragments with the interpretation of the specific type of preceding question. Put another way, the meaning of a specific type of question seeks a specific type of response from the addressee. Thus, Wee (2014) indicates that various force/clause types evoked in (7-8) may not crucially evidence CP or clausal structures for caseless fragments.

   Ahn (2012) further notes that caseless fragments can occur with politeness marker-*yo*, as shown in (9b'), which lends another support for the existence of (null) C that projects CP in the caseless fragment.

(9) a. Yeugswu-ka mwe-lul   masi-ess-ni?
       Y.-Nom   what-Acc drink-Pst-Q
       'What did Yengswu drink?'
    b. Coffee-lul-yo.
       Coffee-Acc-yo
    b' Coffee-yo.
       Coffee-yo
       '(Yengswu drank) coffee'

However, Wee (2014: 271) argues that *yo*-marking can appear not only
with sentences but also with many other subclausal elements such as (10).[4]

(10) a. Ce-nun-yo.
        I-Top-yo
        'As for me'
     b. kulemyen-yo.
        then-yo
        'Then'
     c. ceypal-yo.
        please-yo
        'please'

In addition, Wee (2014: 27) argues that the structure for a caseless fragment
given in (6) is not on the right track because an NP alone cannot become
a proposition. Wee indicates that NP is interpreted as either an individual
(<e> type) or a quantifier (<e,t> type). The conceptual and empirical
points Wee (2014) indicates seem to be reasonable in some respects. Thus,
the evidence for the clausal (or CP) status of caseless fragments in Korean

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4) As pointed out by a reviewer, based on the unembeddability of *-yo* constituents, Yim
   (2016) suggests that the discourse marker *-yo* in Korean only occurs in the "highest
   clause", i.e., root clause. According to Yim (2012, 2013), *-yo* retained in fragments
   and right dislocation constructions (RDCs) is explained under the assumptions that
   fragments and RDCs involve underlying full-fledged clausal structure and that *yo* re-
   sides outside of the ellipsis site. If we follow Yim's (2012, 2013, 2016) analysis of
   yo-marking, we may consider the possibility that all the examples in (10) involve hid-
   den clausal structure.

seems to be inconclusive at this stage.[5]

In sum, previous analyses concerning the two types of fragments in Korean seem to be diverse in both theoretical and empirical perspectives. In what follows, we lay out an alternative novel analysis for the two types of fragments in Korean, which we term "hybrid ellipsis analysis."[6] We suggest that both case-marked and caseless fragments are derived via move-and-delete like the famous Merchant's (2001) fashion. We claim, however, that case-marked fragments are derived from full clausal ellipsis, whereas caseless fragments are from reduced copula constructions (the so-called "limited" ellipsis analysis inspired by Merchant 2004). Ahn & Cho (2017b) shows that parallel behaviors of the two types of fragments are due to their elliptical nature, while non-parallel behaviors of them hinge essentially upon their distinct sentential sources. In this paper we further explore more convincing pieces of evidence to support our hybrid ellipsis analysis. We will show that neither uniform nor traditional hybrid

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5) There is, however, important evidence for the existence of (covert) C-like elements in the elided parts concerning speech-level distinction. Note that both case-marked and caseless fragment answers uniformly represent *panmal* 'casual style of speech'. We return to this issue altogether with the detailed structure of elided sites in section 2. Ahn & Cho (2012) further defends the idea that caseless fragments in Korean are directly base-generated as nonsentential XPs, indicating that they do not behave on a par with their full sentential correlates concerning quantifier scope and anaphoric binding. See Ahn & Cho (2017b) for a detailed analysis of this matter.

6) A reviewer points out that a similar idea is put forward by Park & Shin (2014), which is not correct. See the following claim made by Park & Shin (2014: 17): "We provisionally propose that the survivors without a Case marker or postposition can be analyzed on a par with the left-dislocated DP/NP that can be realized without being inflected with a case marker or postposition."

   Note, however, that clausal source of caseless fragment cannot contain a left-dislocated NP. For example, left-dislocated NP cannot be a felicitous answer to *wh*-question, as shown in (iB'):

(i) A: Nwu-ka   chayk-ul   sa-ss-ni?
       Who-Nom   book-Acc   buy-Pst-Q
       'Who bought a book?'
   B: Yengswu.
      Y.
   B': *Yengswu chayk-ul   sa-ss-e.-
       Y.   book-Acc   buy-Pst-Dec
       'Yengswu bought a book.'

Unlike (iB), (iB') is ruled out as an inappropriate answer to (ia). Ahn & Cho (2006) also shows that caseless fragments are not parallel to LDed nominals in many respects. See further discussion in Ahn (2012: 41-42, fn. 20).

approaches to the two types of fragments can capture the contrasts that
we have demonstrated.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we briefly summarize
core proposals that our hybrid ellipsis analysis assumes concerning the
two types of fragments in question. In section 3, we further observe sim-
ilarities and differences between the two types of fragments concerning
distribution of adverbials and idiomatic interpretation. Further im-
plications of our proposal are discussed in section 4: In particular, we
show that several novel phenomena related to polarity and tense mismatch-
ing are accounted for under the analysis advanced here. In section 5,
we briefly discuss the (pseudo)-cleft analyses advanced by Yoon (2014)
and others, and show some problems of them. Section 6 concludes.

2. The Proposal: Hybrid Ellipsis Analysis

We suggest that case-marked and caseless fragments both have sentential
connection. Regarding case-marked fragments, following Park (2005b) and
Ahn & Cho (2005), we assume the full clause structure (11a) below under-
lies (1b), and that it is derived through movement of remnant fragments
followed by PF-deletion of the full-fledged sentential structures, as demon-
strated in (11b).

(11) a. Yengswu-ka chayk-ul   sa-ss-e.
        Y.-Nom   book-Acc buy-Pst-Dec
        'Yenswu bought a book.'
     b.

In (11b), the pronounced fragment *Yengswu-ka* 'Y-Nom' moves to the
sentence-initial position and the rest of the sentence undergoes ellipsis.

Movement of the remnant prior to ellipsis is needed to guarantee con-

stituent deletion. Perhaps in (11b), movement of the subject NP (i.e., vacuous movement) is not necessary to feed constituent deletion since the constituent VP can undergo deletion instead to leave the subject remnant. In the case of object fragment in (12b), however, the remnant should move to Spec-C to feed clausal ellipsis, namely, TP-deletion, as shown in (12c).

(12) a. Max-ka   nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?
          M.-Nom who-Acc   meet-Pst-Q
          'Who did Max meet?'
     b. Yengswu-lul.
          Y.-Acc
          'Max met Yengswu.'
     c. Yengswu-lul$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Max-ka t$_i$ manna-ss-e~~]

Suppose the object fragment is not moved, then we have to assume a non-constituent deletion shown in (13) to generate (12b).

(13) ~~Max-ka~~ Yengswu-lul$_i$ ~~manna-ss-e~~

There is another independent piece of evidence for remnant movement and TP-ellipsis, as discussed in Ahn & An (2011). They observe that fragment answers are invariably interpreted on the non-polite speech level irrespective of the speech level of the preceding question. Thus, (14b) below cannot be interpreted as polite speech.

(14) a. Max-ka   nwukwu-lul manna-ss-supnikka?
          M.-Nom who-Acc   meet-Pst-Q[polite]
          'Who did Max meet?'
     b. Yengswu-lul.
          Y.-Acc
          'Max met Yengswu.'[non-polite reading only]
     c. [$_{CP}$ Yengswu-lul$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Max-ka t$_i$ manna-ss-e~~]]
          Y.-Acc   M.-Nom meet-Pst-Dec[non-polite]

Suppose speech level (along with force) is structurally represented in C, and zero morpheme (i.e., null C) is non-polite as default, as Ahn & An (2011: 10) suggests, then the speech level of the case-marked fragment (14b) is correctly predicted as non-polite. Concerning the nature of the sentence ender morpheme *-e* in (14c), its content can be null; I.e., it is just a dummy marker for morphological closure (cf. Kang 1988).[7] Then, the force (here declarative) of the fragment (14b) is determined by the null force marker in C; hence, now we have two null morphemes projected on C or around: null declarative force marker and null non-polite speech level marker (see Ahn & An 2011 for details; hereafter, we will ignore

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7) A reviewer indicates a possibility that the sentence ender *-e* in (14c) may not be a dummy marker. There are at least two trends in treating this sentence ender *-e* in traditional Korean grammar in relation to speech levels. See Im (1984, 1985, 1998) and Ahn (2012: 46-62) for extensive discussion. The reviewer suggests the possibility that *-ta* is the sentence ender in the fragment constructions. The suggestion doesn't seem to be on the right track because *-ta* is tightly connected to a specific speech style, i.e., the so-called "plain style *Haylachey*." The plain style is usually employed reciprocally between intimates of similar age-rank or by age-rank superiors to subordinates. Thus, (i-b) sounds infelicitous.

(i) Father: Ne   ecey   nwukwu manna-ss-ni?
          You   yesterday who   meet-Pst-Q
          'Who did you meet?'
  Son: a. Yengi manna-ss-e.
         Y.   meet-Pst-Dec
        'I met Yenghi.'
    b. ??Yenghi manna-ss-ta.
       Y.   meet-Pst-Dec
    c. Yenghi.
      Y.

The "intimate style *Panmalchey*," on the other hand, departs from the plain style in that it can be used between intimates (in particular, among family members) regardless of age-rank. Thus, (ia) is equally felicitous with (ic) unlike (ib). The contrast given above shows that *-e*, which is connected to the intimate style, is appropriate for the underlying speech style of the fragments in question.
  Co-occurrence with *-yo* may give us further evidence that the sentence ender in the fragment utterance is *-e*, as shown in the contrast in (ii).

(ii) a. Yengi.manna-ss-e-yo.
     Y.   meet-Pst-Dec-yo
    'I met Yenghi.'
   b. *Yenghi manna-ss-ta-yo.
      Y.   meet-Pst-Dec-yo
   c. Yenghi-yo.
     Y.-yo

the representational details on forces and speech levels unless it's necessary). Thus, for example, the gloss given in (14c) for *-e* as Dec(larative) is not precise; the Dec can be a whole null C or part of null C or beyond.

Now suppose, however, (14b) is derived from the following ("deferential style") polite speech (15) via movement of the remnant up to the upper Spec-X (whatever this is) prior to deleting CP including speech level projection (here, *supnita*), then we expect that polite interpretation is possible in (14b) as well as non-polite, contrary to fact.

(15) [_{XP} Yengswu-lul_i [_{CP} ~~Max-ka t_i manna-ss-supnita~~]]
       Y.-Acc   M.-Nom meet-Pst-Dec[polite]

Thus, uniform non-polite ("intimate style") speech level interpretation on the case-marked fragments lends another strong support to the particular version of move-and-delete derivation for case-marked fragments, which involves moving fragments to Spec-C followed by TP-ellipsis.[8]

We further propose that caseless fragments are derived from the copula structure (16a).[9] We suggest that the caseless fragment in (1c) is derived from the reduction of the copula verb (together with the force marker or sentence ending) in (16b).[10]

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8) As a reviewer notes, one may simply stipulate that *-supnita* cannot be elided, which would have the same empirical consequence as the claim that "only non-polite markers are null." Then, the question remains as to why this restriction holds. It may be a simple restatement of the fact. In the text we try to derive this fact from independent syntactic operation; namely, move-and-delete.

9) Caseless fragment is derived from non-isomorphic structure while case-marked fragment is derived from isomorphic structure. There are some predecessors of our reduced copula analysis for caseless fragments: Hoji 1990, Merchant 2004, Park 2005, Fukaya 2007, Craenenbroeck 2012, Yoon 2014, inter alia. Recently, Ha (2017) also shows that non-isomorphic sources are possible for the ellipsis site along with an isomorphic source. Ha (2017) suggests that sluicing in Korean can be derived from (pseudo)-clefts and predicational sentences. As indicated by Craenenbroeck (2012), we suggest that morphological case-marking is used to detect this non-isomorphic structure only to a very limited context.

10) Park (2005a: 131-135) proposes that caseless matrix sluicing (iB) has the structure like (ii):

  (i) A: John-un [Bill-eykey nwukwunka-lul sokayhaycwun salam]-kwa manna-ss-e.
       J.-Top B.-to   someone-Acc introduced person-with   meet-Pst-Dec
      'John met someone who introduced someone to Bill.'
    B: nwukwu? 'Who?'
  (ii) pro wh-∅ (pro = kukey 'it' and ∅ indicates case markers are absent.)

(16) a. (kuken/pro) Yengswu-i-a.
          It   Y.-Cop-Dec
        'It's Yengswu.'
        ("copula *i* + force marker *a*" is pronounced as *ya*)

    b.
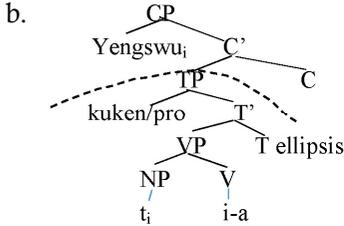
Technically, copula plus sentence ending may not undergo ellipsis directly. In other words, given the golden rule for ellipsis that dictates strict "constituency" requirement for deletion, "copula verb + sentence ending (or force marker)" complex may not undergo deletion since it does not form a constituent (cf. Chung 2007). Thus, to get the caseless fragment out of the copula structure, it is assumed that movement of the (caseless bare) NP followed by clausal ellipsis, as shown in (16b). The derivational representation given in (16) meets constituency deletion. Unlike extraction of a non-phase NP stranding a case marker in (3), extracting a phase NP *Yengswu* out of VP headed by copula *i* is completely licit in (16) (i.e., we assume a phase but not part of a phase may undergo movement).[11]

Park's (2005a) proposal, in particular, emphasizes "non-ellipsis" analysis of caseless matrix sluicing, which departs sharply from our copula analysis that relies essentially on move-and-delete operation of caseless fragments. In fact, it is not clear what ∅ symbolizes according to Park. Park simply notes that ∅ indicates case markers are absent. If that's the case, then Park doesn't even assume that a copula construction underlies caseless matrix sluicing. Reminder: We propose that case-marked and caseless fragment have different clausal sources. Perhaps Park (2005a) suggests that case-marked matrix sluicing survives clausal ellipsis, while no ellipsis is involved in caseless matrix sluicing; I.e., "*pro/kukey wh*" underlies caseless matrix sluicing. Thus, Park's proposal and ours seem to be fundamentally different concerning caseless fragments (Park didn't extend the analysis in (ii) to caseless fragments in general, though).

11) We assume a notion of phase as relative (not absolute) concept on a par with Bošković (2014, to appear). Unlike Chomsky's (2000, 2001) approach assuming that phasehood is in a sense rigid (i.e., the phasal status of a category does not depend on its syntactic context), Bošković (2014, to appear) suggests that phasehood should also be defined contextually, that is, that the phasal status of X can be affected by the syntactic context in which X is found.

Move-and-delete analysis of caseless fragments parallels that of case-marked fragments in many respects. For example, caseless fragments are also invariably interpreted on the non-polite "intimate style" speech level on a par with case-marked fragments, as shown in (17).

(17) a. Max-ka   nwukwu-lul manna-ss-supnikka?
        M.-Nom who-Acc   meet-Pst-Q[polite]
        'Who did Max meet?'
    b. Yengswu.
       Y.
       'Max met Yengswu.'[non-polite "intimate style" reading only]
    c. [$_{CP}$ Yengswu$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~pro t$_i$-i-a~~]]
          Y.   Cop-Dec[non-polite]
       'It's Yengswu.'[non-polite "intimate style" reading only]

If the caseless fragment answer (17b) is derived via movement of the caseless fragment to Spec-C followed by the TP-deletion (including Copula-Tense; NB. precisely speaking, *-a* is just a morphological closure, not a force marker), as shown in (17c), non-polite speech level reading is predicted. Note that in addition to constituency issues, parallel intimate style speech level interpretation in case-marked/-less fragments not only supports their sentential resources, but also lends strong support to the Merchant's style of move-and-delete analysis of Korean case-marked/-less fragments; namely, they all involve remnant movement to Spec-C followed by TP-deletion.

  Our copula analysis of caseless fragments in Korean is an analogue of "limited ellipsis" put forward in Merchant (2004) for certain types of fragments in English. Merchant (2004: 724), in fact, raises a possibility of "limited ellipsis" analysis for caseless fragments in Japanese. Our copular analysis essentially adopts his core insights. In particular, we assume that there are two types of subjects involved in elliptical TP; namely, demonstratives (*this/that* or a pronoun in a demonstrative use in English, and *kuken/kekey* 'it' in Korean) or expletives (*there/it* in English and null expletive symbolized as "pro" in Korean). We suggest that if the fragments

are referential, the subjects in the elliptical TP can be demonstratives, while if the fragments are quantificational (including NPIs), the subjects in the elliptical TP should be "null" expletives in Korean.

   Given that caseless fragments are derived from copula constructions, a non-trivial question arises about non-isomorphism between the ellipsis site and its antecedent. A similar issue has been discussed by Rooth (1992), Johnson (2012), Fox (1999) and Craenenbroeck (2012). According to Craenenbroeck (2012), the central idea is that ellipsis identity is syntactic/structural, but possible ellipsis antecedents are not only sentences that are actually part of the linguistic context, but also sentences that are accommodated from non-F-marked overt material in the discourse or from elements that are freely available in any discourse. Along the similar vein, we suggest that in the copula source of caseless fragment, ellipsis identity is satisfied by accommodated antecedents that are freely available in any discourse. The similar case is observed with ellipsis in discourse-initial contexts. As noted by Craenenbroeck (2012), in these situations the linguistic context provides us with no material to construct an ellipsis antecedent. Hence, all elements making up the ellipsis site must come from elsewhere. In the next sections we present further evidence to confirm our hybrid ellipsis analysis.

3. Further (Non)-Parallel Behaviors

3.1. Distribution of Adverbials

   We first see some evidence to support the premise that the two types of fragments have sentential sources, and hence are derived from clausal ellipsis. The two types of fragments show similar behavior with respect to distribution of adverbials, which can be a crucial piece of evidence against the traditional hybrid analyses which assume that unlike case-marked fragments, caseless fragments do not have sentential sources and are interpreted only by pragmatics (see Morgan 1989, Fortin 2007, Choi and Yoon 2009, Ahn & Cho 2011, 2012, Ahn 2012). Under the analysis advanced here, all of them have full sentential sources and are

predicted to be sensitive to the distribution of sentential adverbials.

First, a sentential adverb *amato* 'probably' can co-occur with these two types of fragments, as shown in (18).

(18) a. Nwu-ka   i nolay-lul   pwul-ess-ni?
       who-Nom this song-Acc sing-Pst-Q
       'Who sang this song?'
   b. amato   Yenghi-ka.
       probably Y.-Nom
       'Probably, Yenghi (sang this song).'
   c. amato   Yenghi.
       probably Y.
       'Probably (it was) Yenghi.'

As predicted under our proposal, (18b-c) show behaviors similar to their sentential counterparts, as shown in (19), as replies to the question (18a).

(19) a. amato   Yenghi-ka i   nolay-lul   pwul-ess-ta.
       probably Y.-Nom   this song-Acc sing-Pst-Dec
       'Probably, Yenghi sang this song.'
   b. amato   Yenghi-i-a.
       probably Y.-Cop-Dec
       'Probably (it was) Yenghi.'

The parallelism dictates that the two types of fragments are derived from sentential sources that properly license sentential adverbs; case-marked fragments via full clausal ellipsis, while caseless ones via limited (copula clausal) ellipsis in the sense of Merchant (2004), Fukaya (2007), Craenenbroeck (2012), among others.

A non-sentential manner adverb such as *setwulukey* 'poorly', by contrast, can occur with a case-marked fragment, but not with a caseless fragment.[12]

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12) One reviewer disagrees with us about the judgment of (20), but other reviewers agree with us about it. There seems to be speakers' variation about the judgment of (20).

(20) a. Nwu-ka   i   nolay-lul pwul-ess-ni?
         who-Nom this song-Acc sing-Pst-Q
         'Who sang this song?'
     b. Setwulukey Yenghi-ka.
        Poorly   Y.-Nom
        'Poorly, Yenghi (sang this song).'
     c. *Setwulukey Yenghi.
         Poorly   Y.
         'Poorly (it was) Yenghi.'

(20b-c) also show behaviors similar to their sentential counterparts, as shown in (21), as replies to the question (20a).

(21) a. Setwulukey Yenghi-ka i   nolay-lul pwul-ess-ta.
        Poorly   Y.-Nom   this song-Acc sing-Pst-Dec
        'Poorly, Yenghi sang this song.'
     b. *Setwulukey Yenghi-i-a.
         Poorly   Y.-Cop-Dec
         'Poorly (it was) Yenghi.'

Under the analysis advanced here, the manner adverb *setwulukey* 'poorly' can modify VP in (21a), and hence (20b) derived from (21a) is also possible This adverb, in contrast, cannot modify copula VP in (21b). Thus, (20b) derived from (21b) is also ruled out, as predicted under our hybrid ellipsis analysis.

A manner adverb like *cal* 'well', on the other hand, cannot occur with either case-marked fragments or caseless fragments.

(22) a. Nwu-ka   i   noray-lul pwul-ess-ni?
        who-Nom this song-Acc sing-Pst-Q
        'Who sang this song?'
     b. *Cal   Yenghi-ka.
         Well Y.-Nom
         'Well Yenghi (sang this song).'

    c. *Cal   Yenghi.
       Well Y.
       'Well (it was) Yenghi.'

Again, fragments in (22b-c) also show behaviors similar to their sentential counterparts, as shown in (23).

  (23) a. *Cal   Yenghi-ka i   nolay-lul   pwul-ess-ta.
         Well Y.-Nom this song-Acc sing-Pst-Dec
         'Well Yenghi sang this song.'
     b. *Cal   Yenghi-i-a.
         Well Y.-Cop-Dec
         'Well (it was) Yenghi.'

The adverb *cal* 'well' occurs in the wrong position, which makes (23a) ill-formed. Furthermore, since the manner adverb *cal* 'well' cannot semantically modify the copula VP, which also makes (23b) ill-formed. As a result, (22b-c) and their underlying structures (23a-b) are all ill-formed.

    In sum, parallelism concerning co-occurrence with various kinds of adverbials can naturally be accommodated under our hybrid ellipsis analysis.

3.2. Idiomatic Interpretation

    Regarding two types of fragments, there is an interesting difference to note. Case-marked fragments can retain idiomatic interpretation, while idiomatic reading is absent and only literal interpretation is available with caseless fragments, as shown in (24-26).[13]

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13) A reviewer questions whether the case-marked fragments in (24-26) lose their idiomatic interpretation because they undergo movement. However, as noted by Ahn & Cho (2009: 51), idiomatic interpretation retains even when movement occurs, as shown in (i).

  (i) a. Son   Yenghi cham khu-ta.
      Hand Y   really big-Dec
      'Yenghi is generous.'
    b. Pal   Yenghi cham nelp-ta.
      Foot Y.   very wide-Dec
      'Yenghi has a large acquaintance.'

(24) a. Chelswu-ka pal-i   nelp-ni?[14]

C.-Nom   foot-Nom wide-Q

'Does Chelswu have a wide connection?'

b. Ung, pal-i.

Yes, foot-Nom

'Yes, Chelswu has a wide connection.'

c. #Ung, pal.

Yes, foot

'Yes, a foot.'

(25) a. Chelswu-uy kakey-ka   phali-lul nalli-ni?

C.-Gen   shop-Nom fly-Acc   fly-Q

'Is Chelswu's shop slack?'

b. Ung, phali-lul.

Yes, fly-Acc

'Yes, Chelswu's shop is slack.'

c. #Ung, phali.

Yes, fly

'Yes, a fly.'

(26) a. Chelswu-ka paltung-ey   pwul-i tteleci-ess-ni?

C.-Nom   top.of.the.foot-at fire-Nom fall-Pst-Q

'Was Chelswu pressed by urgent business?'

b. Ung, pal-tung-ey.

Yes, top.of.the.foot-at

'Yes, Chelswu is pressed by urgent business.'

As indicated by reviewers, there are speakers' variation about the judgment related to idiomatic interpretation. However, as for some speakers we consult, the idiomatic interpretations are obtained in the case of case-marked fragments and such interpretations are not obtained in the case of caseless fragments. For those who don't easily get idiomatic interpretation in (24-26), many of them still seem to get sharp distinction between case-marked vs. caseless fragments. The discussion in this section is relevant for only those who gets pairwise judgment distinction between the two types of idiomatic fragments.

14) We assume that fragments not only include short answers to *wh*-questions but also any short answers smaller than grammatically complete sentence. In other words, our research is not confined to only short answers to *wh* -questions, as a reviewer indicates.

c. #Ung, pal-tung.
   Yes, top.of.the.foot
   'Yes, a top of the foot.'

Presence of idiomatic interpretation with case-marked fragments is well accounted for because they are derived from the following sentential sources which retain idiomatic readings.[15]

(27) a. pal-i   Chelswu-ka nelp-e.
         foot-Nom C.-Nom   wide-Dec
         'Chelswu has a wide acquaintance.'
     b. Phali-lul Chelswu-uy kakey-ka   nalli-e.
         fly-Acc   C.-Gen   shop-Nom fly-Dec
         'Chelswu's shop is slack.'
     c. pal-tung-ey   Chelswu-ka pwul-i   tteleci-ess-e.
         Top.of.the.foot-at C.-Nom   fire-Nom fall-Pst-Dec
         'Chelswu is pressed by urgent business.'

Absence of idiomatic interpretation on caseless fragments is also accounted for given that their sentential connection, i.e., copula constructions, shown

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15) R. Kim (2015: 60-61) indicates that idiomatic reading is absent when idioms are separated by movement:

(i) a. Cheolswu-nun ecey   miyekkuk-ul   mek-ess-e.
        C.-Top   yesterday seaweed.soup-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
        'Chelswu failed.' (idiomatic reading possible)
    b. miyekkuk-ul   Cheolswu-nun ecey   mek-ess-e.
        seaweed.soup-Acc C.-Top   yesterday eat-Pst-Dec
        'Chelswu ate seaweed soup.' (only literal reading possible)

(ii) a. Chelswu-nun yocum   mok-ey him-ul   cwu-ko tani-e.
         C.-Top   these.days neck-at strength-Acc put-Pst-Dec
         'Chelswu is arrogant these days.' (idiomatic reading possible)
     b. mok-ey him-ul   Chelswu-nun yocum   cwu-ko tani-e.
         neck-at strength-Acc C.-Top   these.days put-Pst-Dec
         'Chelswu is putting strength on his neck these days.' (only literal reading possible)

To our ears, only (ib) sounds unnatural with idiomatic reading on a par with R. Kim's judgment; we don't get sharp contrast in (ii). Further, we cannot judge some other idioms discussed in R. Kim (2015) since they are no longer used these days (at least in our idiolects). We don't understand why the idiom in (i) doesn't pattern with others in the text. In-depth typological study of idioms is required in the future.

in (28-30) also give rise to absence of idiomatic interpretation.[16)]

(28) a. Chelswu-ka pal-i   nelp-ni?
        C.-Nom   foot-Nom wide-Q
        'Does Chelswu have a wide acquaintance?

  b. #Ung, pal-i-a.
       Yes, foot-Cop-Dec.
       'Yes, it was a foot.'

(29) a. Chelswu-uy kakey-ka   phali-lul nalli-ni?
        C.-Gen   shop-Nom fly-Acc fly-Q
        'Is Chelswu's shop slack?'

  b. #Ung, phali-i-a.
       Yes, fly-Cop-Dec
       'Yes, it was a fly.'

---

16) R. Kim (2015: 63) indicates a caseless fragment answer that can retain idiomatic reading. Compare the caseless fragments in (b) with the ones in (c) below:

(i) a. Chelswu-ka yocum   palam-i   tul-ess-ni?
       C.-Nom   these.days silly.ideas-Nom have-Pst-Q
       'Does Chelswu have silly ideas?'
    b. #Ung, palam.
       'Intended: Yes, silly.ideas.'   (idiomatic reading impossible)
    c. Ung, chwumpalam.
       'Yes, hooked on dancing.'   (idiomatic reading possible)

R. Kim notes that (c) can yield idiomatic reading; we agreed. (b), by contrast, cannot retain idiomatic reading to our ears. This contrast, however, is also properly accounted for under the reduced copular analysis given in (ii):

(ii) a. Chelswu-ka yocum   palam-i   tul-ess-ni?
        C.-Nom   these.days silly.ideas-Nom have-Pst-Q
        'Does Chelswu have silly ideas?'
     b. #Ung, palam-i-a.
        Yes, silly.ideas-Cop-Dec
        'Lit. Yes, it's silly ideas.'   (idiomatic reading impossible)
     c. Ung, chwumpalam-i-a.
        Yes, hooked on dancing-Cop-Dec
        'Yes, he got hooked on dancing.'   (idiomatic reading possible)

The observed contrast hinges on the fact that *chumpalam* is lexically idiomatic (i.e., context-free idiom) unlike *palam* which gains its idiomatic reading from VP composition with *tulta*. Thus, full-fledged elliptical structure is not required to get idiomatic reading for (ii-c), unlike (ii-b).

(30) a. Chelswu-ka paltung-ey   pwul-i   tteleci-ess-ni?
       C.-Nom   top.of.the.foot-at   fire-Nom   fall-Pst-Q
       'Was Chelswu pressed by urgent business?'

    b. #Ung, pal-tung-i-a.
       Yes,   top.of.the.foot-Cop-Dec
       'Yes, it was a top of the foot.'

Thus, presence or absence of idiomatic interpretation further lends support to our hybrid ellipsis analysis of two types of fragments in Korean.[17]

4. Further Implications

In this section we will show that only the analysis advanced here can account for the following peculiar properties on polarity mismatching and tense mismatching, as noted in Ahn (2012) and Ahn & Cho (2011) which argue for an alternative hybrid analysis of two types of fragments.

4.1. Polarity Mismatching

Our analysis of caseless fragments is empirically supported by negative polarity mismatch phenomena. A negative polarity item, *cenhye* 'at all' should be in a clause specified as [NEG+], as shown in (31).

(31) a. *Kay ton-ul   cenhye pel-ess-e.
       he   money-Acc   at all earn-Pst-Dec
       '*He earned money at all.'

    b. Kay ton-ul   cenhye pel-ci-anh-ass-e.
       he   money-Acc   at all earn not-Pst-Dec
       'He didn't earn money at all.'

---

17) R. Kim (2015: 64-65) makes an insightful comment that a hybrid ellipsis approach incorporating reduced copula constructions might be the most promising analysis to accommodate idiom-oriented fragments, indicating problems on pseudo-cleft analysis of caseless idioms as fragment answers.

As observed in Ahn & Cho (2011: 29), although antecedent sentential source of the fragment *cenhye* 'at all' isn't a clause specified as [NEG+], the negative polarity item *cenhye* is licensed as a fragment answer in (32).

(32) a. Mary-ka   ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?[18]
          M.-Nom   money-Acc earn-Pst-Q
          'Did Mary earn money?
      b. Cenhye.
          at all
          'Lit. It's not at all.'

Note further that the well-formedness of (32b) is parallel to the copula sentence (33b), which lends another support to our reduced copula construction analysis of caseless fragments.[19]

(33) a. Mary-ka   ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
          M.-Nom   money-Acc earn-Pst-Q
          'Did Mary earn money?'

---

18) A reviewer points out the following example.

(i) a. Nwu-ka   ton-ul   kulehkey manhi pel-ess-ni?
        Who-Nom money-Acc that   much earn-Pst-Q
        'Who earned money that much?'
    b. *Amwuto.
         Anybody
         'Nobody earned money that much.'

(ib) is sounds marginal to us, too, but when the domain is specified, the acceptability improves, as shown in (ii).

(ii) a. Wuli-cwungey nwu-ka   ton-ul   kulehkey manhi pel-ess-ni?
         Us-among   who-Nom money-Acc that   much earn-Pst-Q
         'Which person among us earned money that much?'
     b. Amwuto.
         Anybody
     c. Amwuto-i-a.
         anubody-Cop-Dec
         'Nobody among us earned money that much'

Given (iic) is an appropriate answer to (iia), we can extend our copular analysis to (iib).

19) A reviewer points out the possibility that (32b) is bad if *ani*' is absent. To speakers we consult, the absence of *ani* doesn't affect the grammaticality judgment about (33b). Here too there seems to be a speaker's variation.

b. Cenhye-i-a.
   at all-Cop-Dec
   'Lit. It's not at all.'

As noted by Ahn & Cho (2011: 29), however, when a case-marked fragment and *cenhye* 'at all' occur together as a fragment answer, polarity mismatching is not allowed, and results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (34b).[20][21]

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20) As pointed out by a reviewer, (i) is perfectly fine in sharp contrast to (34b).

(i) a. Mary-ka   ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
       M.-Nom   money-Acc   earn-Pst-Q
       'Did Mary earn money?'
   b. Cenhye   ton-un.
      at all   money-Top
      'As for money, it's not at all.'

The clausal source of (ib), as in (ii), is also fine as an answer to (ia), too.

(ii) Cenhye-i-a   ton-un.
     at all-Cop-Dec   money-Top
     'As for money, it's not at all.'

Thus, we can extend our copular analysis to (ib) naturally.

21) A reviewer points out the following contrast, which is similar to (34).

(i) a. Mary-ka ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
       M.-Nom money-Acc earn-Pst-Q
       'Did Mary earn money?'
   b. *Cenhye ton.
       at all   money
   c. Ton   cenhye.
      money   at all

When argument fragment precedes the adverb, the double fragmentary utterance is felicitous in the polarity context. We suggest that (ic) is derived from (ii), so it is acceptable.

(ii) Ton$_i$ (Mary-ka t$_i$ pel-ess-nyako)? cenhye(-i-a).
     money M.-Nom   earn-Pst-Q   at all(-Cop-Dec)
     '(Did Mary earn) money? It was not at all.'

By contrast, a couple of possible clausal sources below for (ib) are all ill-formed.

(iii) a. *Cenhye ton$_i$ (Mary-ka t$_i$ pel-ess-nyako)?
         At all money   M.-Nom   earn-Pst-Q
         'It was not at all. Did Mary earn money?'
     b. *Cenhye ton-i-a.
         At all   money-Cop-Dec
         'Lit. It's not money at all.'

(34) a. Mary-ka   ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
         M.-Nom   money-Acc   earn-Pst-Q
         'Did Mary earn money?'
     b. *Cenhye ton-ul.
          at all   money-Acc
          'No, (she didn't earn) money at all.'

The construction (34b) contains a case-marked fragment DP *ton-ul* 'money-Acc' and an adverbial fragment *cenhye* 'at all'. Suppose that the case-marked fragment *ton-ul* 'money-Acc' is derived from its sentential source like (35).

(35) *Mary-ka cenhye ton-ul   pel-ess-e.
        M.-Nom at all   money-Acc earn-Pst-Dec
        'Lit. Mary earned money at all.'

In this environment, the NPI *cenhye* 'at all' isn't licensed since the underlying structure prior to ellipsis contains no affected elements such as negation that can license the NPI *cenhye* 'at all'. The uniform ellipsis analyses, accordingly, do not seem to account for the contrast between (32b) and (34b). For example, according to Park (2015) (and presumably An 2016, too), both (32b) and (34b) are derived from the structure like (36).[22]

(36) a. Cenhye$_i$ [Mary-ka ton-ul t$_i$ pel-ess-e]   → (32b)
     b. Cenhye$_i$ ton-ul$_j$ [Mary-ka t$_i$ t$_j$ pel-ess-e]   → (34b)

As shown in (36a), when *cenhye* 'at all' undergoes movement and clausal deletion takes place, (32b) may occur. Further, when both *cenhye* 'at all' and *ton-ul* 'money-Acc' undergo movement and the clause undergoes deletion, as in (36b), (34b) is expected to occur. In both the cases, however, the sentential

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22) Park (2015) did not discuss the ill-formedness of (34b). Hence, a reviewer suggests that the underlying structure we assume here could also be incorporated in Park (2015) and that the ill-formednes of (34b) does not raise a problem. However, when we consult Park's previous work (Park & Oh 2014), he assumes that multiple fragments are derived from a single clause. It is not clear how the bi-clausal structure we assume here can be incorporated in Park (2015).

source isn't interpreted pragmatically felicitous. Hence, the uniform ellipsis analyses predict both (32b) and (34b) are ruled out, contrary to fact.

Note the further contrast between (37) and (40) (cf. Ahn 2012, Ahn & Cho 2014). As far as we know, no previous analyses of fragments in Korean have accounted for the difference between (34b) and (37b).[23)]

(37) a. Mary-ka ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
         M.-Nom money-Acc earn-Pst-Q
         'Did Mary earn money?'
     b. Ton-ul   cenhye.
        money-Acc at all
        '(She didn't earn) money at all.'

Interestingly, although *cenhye* 'at all' occurs with a case-marked fragment *ton-ul* 'money-Acc', it is allowed in the apparent positive context in (37b). We also note that (37b) is well-formed only when *ton-ul* 'money-Acc' occur with a rising intonation, which may be a clue for the puzzle.[24)]

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23) A reviewer indicates that if the contrast between (34) and (37) is due to (un)availability of having two independent utterances, (37) is not a problem for Park's (2015) analysis, which can be true. However, note in passing that it is also true that no previous analyses including Park (2015) have tried to pursue for bi-clausal analysis of the multiple fragments like (38).

24) A reviewer raises the following question: how do we recover the question marker *nyako* in (38)?. We believe *nyako* represents a default echo question marker, which doesn't seem to be a problem for recoverability. J.-H. Kim (1999:31) shows that Korean echo questions occur with *-ta, -nya, -(u)la, -ca* connecting to comp *-ko* and involve question intonation. Lee (2010: 334-5) also suggests that in echo questions in Korean (E), the CP structure of the previous utterance (U) is frozen. If the CP of U is a declarative, it is kept as a declarative, if an interrogative, as an interrogative, ⋯ etc., as shown below.

(i) Declarative
    a. U: Mary-ka   hanyak-ul   mek-ess-ta.
          M.-Nom   oriental medicine-Acc eat-Pst-Dec
          'Mary took oriental medicine.'
    b. E: Mary-ka MWUES-UL mek-ess-ta-ko?
          M.-Nom what-Acc   take-Pst-Dec-C
          'Mary took what?'

(ii) Interrogative
    a. U: Mary-ka   hanyak-ul   mek-ess-ni?
          M.-Nom   oriental medicine-Acc eat-Pst-Q
          'Did Mary take oriental medicine?'

We suggest that (37b) has the interpretation like (38).[25)26)]

(38) Ton-ul$_i$ (Mary-ka t$_i$ pel-ess-nyako)? cenhye-i-a.
        money-Acc M.-Nom   earn-Pst-Q   at all-Cop-Dec
        '(Did Mary earn) money?' 'It's not at all.'

Then, *ton-ul* 'money-Acc' and *cenhye* 'at all' in (38) form two independent
utterances. The rising intonation of *ton-ul* 'money-Acc' supports the fact
that the elided part is (confirmative) interrogative. At this juncture, the
following question may arise: Can the similar possibility extend to (34b),

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   b. E: Mary-ka MWUES-UL mek-ess-nya-ko?
           M.-Nom what-Acc   take-Pst-Q-C
           'Mary took what?'

 (iii) Imperative
      a. U: Hanyak-ul   mek-ela.
              oriental medicine-Acc eat-Im
              'Take oriental medicine.'
      b. E: MWUES-UL mek-ula-ko?
              what-Acc   take-Im-C
              'Take what?'

 (iv) Propositive
      a. U: Hanyak-ul   mek-ca.
              oriental medicine-Acc eat-Im
              'Let's take oriental medicine.'
      b. E: MWUES-UL mek-ela-ko?
              what-Acc   take-Im-C
              'Let's take what?'

25) It is not clear how to handle the interrogative force marker (here indicated as '?') in
    the elided site, which reflects its prosodic intonation. We assume without further dis-
    cussion that the interrogative force projection lies outside the scope of elliptical struc-
    ture (hence, the symbol '?' is represented outside the parenthesis in (38)). Recall that
    this is consistent with our previous speculation given in section 2 and footnotes that
    (unpronounced) force (as well as speech level) projections should be outside the scope
    of ellipsis in fragmental constructions in Korean.
26) In (38), *ton-ul* 'Money-Acc' occurs in the position different from the previous
    utterance. Lee (2010:342) shows that word order change by scrambling in echo que-
    stions is basically allowed, as shown in (ib).

 (i) a. Nwu-ka   Chelswu-lul po-ass-ni?
        Who-Nom   C.-Acc   see-Pst-Q
        'Who saw Chelswu?'
    b. Nwukwu-lul Nwu-ka   po-ass-nya-ko?
        Who-Acc   Who-Nom see-Pst-C
        'Who saw whom?'

as shown in (39b)?

(39) a. Mary-ka ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
       M.-Nom money-Acc earn-Pst-Q
       'Did Mary earn money?'
    b. *Cenhye ton-ul$_i$ (Mary-ka t$_i$ pel-ess-nyako)?
       at all   money-Acc M.-Nom   earn-Pst-Q
       '(She didn't earn money) at all.' '(Did Mary earn) money?'

As the two utterances of (39b) cannot be interpreted felicitously, such a possibility disappears.

    Polarity mismatching is also observed with a postpositional fragment. First consider (40) (Ahn & Cho 2011: 30).

(40) a. Ne   ku yenghwa acik an   poa-ss-ni?
       You   the movie   yet   not see-Pst-Q
       'Have you seen the movie yet?'
    b. Cinan   cwu-ey.
       last   week-at
       '(I saw it) last week.'

According to the analysis advanced here, the sentential source of (40b) can be a copula sentence like (41).

(41) Cinan cwu-ey-i-a.
     last   week-at-Cop-Dec
     'It was last week.'

Both (40b) and (41) are felicitous as a reply to the question (40a).

    In the case of double fragments, the postpositional fragment *cinan cwu-ey* 'last week-at' shows a pattern similar to *cenhye* 'at all', as shown in (42).

(42) a. Ne   ku yenghwa   acik an poa-ss-ni?
       You   the movie   yet not see-Pst-Q
       'Have you seen the movie yet?'

b. *Cinan cwu-ey   ku yenghwa-lul.
   last   week-at the movie-Acc
   'Intended: Yes, (I saw) the movie last week.' (Ahn & Cho
   2011:30-31)

c. Ku yenghwa-lul cinan   cwu-ey.
   the movie-Acc   last   week-at
   'Intended: Yes, (I saw) the movie last week.'

In the case of polarity mismatching context, when the case-marked fragment *ku yenghwa-lul* 'the movie-Acc' precedes *cinan cwu-ey* 'last week-at', the fragment answer is felicitous, as shown in (42c), but when the case-marked fragment follows the postpositional fragment, the fragment answer is infelicitous, as shown in (42b), which is schematized as (43).

(43) a. *Adverbial Fragment   Case-marked fragment
     b. √Case-marked fragment Adverbial Fragment

Again, we also note that rising intonation of *ku yenghwa-lul* 'the movie' is crucial to the well-formedness of (42c). Here, *cinan cwu-ey* 'last week-at' and *ku yenghwa-lul* 'the movie-Acc' are instances of independent utterances. (42c), then, has the interpretation like (44).

(44) Ku yenghwa-lul$_i$ (nay-ka t$_i$ acik an poa-ss-nyako)? cinan cwu-ey-i-a.
     the movie-Acc   I-Nom   yet not see-Pst-Q   last week-at-Cop-Dec
     '(Have I seen) the movie (yet)?' 'It was last week.'

The similar possibility, however, cannot be extended to (42b).
   The following contrast that Lee & Joh (2016: 243) points out can be explained along the similar lines.[27]

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27) As pointed out by a reviewer, (ib) is perfectly fine in sharp contrast to (45b).

   (i) a. Ne cemsim-ul mek-ess-ni?
          You lunch-Acc eat-Pst-Q
          'Did you have lunch?'
       b. Acik cemsim-un.
          yet lunch-Top
          'As for lunch, (it's not) yet.'

(45) a. Ne   cemsim-ul mek-ess-ni?
         You lunch-Acc eat-Pst-Q
         'Did you have lunch?'
    b. ?*Acik cemsim.
          yet   lunch
    c. Cemsim acik.
         lunch   yet

When argument fragment precedes the adverb, the double fragmentary utterance is felicitous in the polarity context. We suggest that (45c) is derived from (46), hence it is acceptable.

(46) cemsim$_i$ (nay-ka t$_i$ mek-ess-nyako)? acik(-i-a).
     lunch   I-Nom   eat-Pst-Q   yet(-Cop-Dec)
     '(Did I have) lunch?' 'It is not yet.'

However, a couple of possible clausal sources below for (45b) are all not well-formed.

(47) a. *?Acik cemsim$_i$ (nay-ka t$_i$ mek-ess-nyako)?
          yet lunch   I-Nom   eat-Pst-Q
          'It was yet.' 'Did I have lunch?'
    b. *?Acik cemsim-i-a.
          yet   lunch-Cop-Dec
          'Lit. It's yet lunch.'

Thus, the contrast that Lee & Joh (2016) observes also naturally follows under our proposal.

_____

(ii), the clausal source of (ib) is also fine as an answer to (ia), too.

(ii) Acik-i-a   cemsim-un.
     yet-Cop-Dec   lunch-Top
     'As for lunch, (it's not) yet.

Here too we can extend our copular analysis to (ib).

4.2. Tense Mismatching

A temporal adverb should be harmonized with tense in its clause. Nonetheless, apparent tense mismatching is observed with a fragment (Ahn & Cho 2011: 31).[28]

(48) a. Ne   ecey   ku yenghwa-lul poa-ss-ni?
         You   yesterday the movie-Acc   see-Pst-Q
         'Did you see the movie yesterday?'
     b. Ani, nayil.
         No, tomorrow
         'Intended: No, (I will see it) tomorrow.'

As shown in (48), tense mismatch occurs between the past tense verb *po-ass-ni,* 'see-Pst-Q' in the question clause and the future time adverb *nayil* 'tomorrow' in the fragment answer.

Our analysis accounts for the well-formedness of (48b) based on the sentential source given in (49) that serves well as the answer to (48a).

(49) Ani, nayil-i-a.
     No, tomorrow-Cop-Dec
     'No, it's tomorrow.'

Again, in the case of double fragments, fragment utterances in tense mismatch context show a pattern similar to ones in polarity mismatch context.

(50) a. Ne   ecey   ku yenghwa-lul poa-ss-ni?
         You   yesterday the movie-Acc   see-Pst-Q
         'Did you see the movie yesterday.'
     b. *Ani, nayil   ku yenghwa-lul.
          No,   tomorrow the movie-Acc
          'Intended: No, I will see the movie tomorrow.'

---

28) *Ani* 'no' in (48) negates the proposition that I saw the movie yesterday. We don't think that the negative marker plays a tense shifting role.

  c. Ani, ku yenghwa-lul nayil.
   No, the movie-Acc tomorrow
   'No, I will see the movie tomorrow.'

When *ku yenghwa-lul* 'the movie-Acc' precedes *nayil* 'tomorrow', the examples are well-formed, as shown in (50c). However, when *ku yenghwa-lul* 'the movie-Acc' follows *nayil* 'tomorrow', the examples are ill-formed, as shown in (50b). (50c) has the interpretation of the following licit bi-clausal counterpart (51), which is not possible with (50b).

(51) Ku yenghwa-lul$_i$ (nay-ka t$_i$ poa-ss-nyako)? nayil-i-a.
  the movie-Acc I-Nom see-Pst-Q tomorrow-Cop-Dec
  '(Did I see) the movie?' 'It'll be tomorrow.'

In sum, the above contrasts can be properly accounted for under our hybrid ellipsis analysis of the two kinds of fragments in Korean.[29]

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29) A reviewer raises a question as to how the analysis advanced here addresses lack of left branch condition (LBC) in fragment constructions.

 (i) Nwukwu-uy cha-lul Chelswu-ka sa-ss-ni?
   Who-Gen car-Acc C.-Nom buy-Pst-Q
   'Whose car did Chelswu buy?'
   a. Yenghi-uy.
    Y.-Gen
   b. Yenghi.   (Ahn & Cho 2012: 31)

 We suggest that the clausal sources of (ia) and (ib) are like (iia) and (iib), respectively.

 (ii) a. (Kuken) Yenghi-uy cha-i-a.
    It Y.-Gen car-Cop-Dec
    'It was Yenghi's car.'
   b. (Kuken) Yenghi-i-a.
    it Y.Cop-Dec
    'It was Yenghi.'

 (ia) and (iib) then now have the derivation like (iiia) and (iiib), respectively.

 (iii) a. Yenghi-uy$_1$ [(kuken) [$_{DP}$ t$_1$ t$_2$] cha$_2$-i-a].
    b. Yenghi$_1$ [(kuken) t$_1$-i-a].

 The derivation of *Yenghi-uy* 'Yenghi-Gen' out of DP in (iiia), does not violate LBC since the head N incorporates into the copula, which may relax the island status of DP. This reminds us of den Dikken's (2006) phase extension. Given that a small

5. Against Pseudo-Cleft Analyses

According to Yoon (2014), caseless (i.e., bare) fragment answers in Korean are derived from elliptical "pseudo-cleft" sentences involving elliptical topic phrase and null copula, as shown in (52) (see also similar lines of reasoning in Park (2013, 2015) and Park (2014)).

(52) a. nwu-ka   hakkyo-eyse chayk-ul   ilk-ess-ni?
         who-Nom school-at   book-Acc read-Pst-Q
         'Who read a book at school?'
     b. [~~hakkyo-eyse chayk-ul ilk-en kes-un~~]   Yenghi-[$\varnothing$]$_{ya}$
         school-at   book-Acc read-Adn kes-Top Y.-Cop
         'The person who read a book at school is Yenghi.'

Yoon's pseudo-cleft analysis gives rise to numerous nontrivial consequences concerning the distribution of caseless fragments and connectivity effects, but it does not seem to account for many theoretical and empirical issues concerning caseless fragments that we deal with in this paper. In particular, (pseudo-)cleft analysis may not give a plausible account to the distribution of adverbials and polarity & tense mismatching we have discussed in the previous sections.

In addition, there are many cases where fragmental constructions are possible while pseudo-cleft counterparts are not. For example, numeral quantifiers cannot occur in the (pseudo-)cleft constructions, while they can occur in caseless fragments.

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clause is a phase and that in a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, but only H and its edge (Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition), the element inside the phase can be accessible only when the phase extends in the ways shown in (iv) (den Dikken 2006: 113).

(iv) a. [$_{RP}$ DP [REALTOR+X$_j$ [XP t$_j$ ···]]
     b. [$_{FP}$ Spec [F+REALTOR$_i$ [$_{RP}$ DP [t$_i$ [XP Predicate]]

In (iva) the head of the small clause predicate is raised up to the Realtor-head. In (iv-b), the relator head moves up to a functional head. The head movement will make not just head but also its associated maximal projection visible to an outside probe. Thus, LBC violation can be obviated in both case-marked and caseless fragments in Korean. See Ahn & Cho (2017b) for extensive discussion.

(53) *John-i   chayk-ul   san-kes-un   sey kwon-i-ta.
      J.-Nom book-Acc buy-kes-Top three CL-Cop-Dec
      'It was three that John bought books.' (Sohn 2000: 285)

(54) a. John-i   chayk-ul   sa-ss-ni?
        J.-Nom book-Acc buy-Pst-Q
        'Did John buy books?'
    b. Ung, sey kwon.
       Yes, three Cl.
       'Yes, three.'   (Ahn & Cho 2017a, fn. 2)

Further, NPIs completely resist pseudo-clefting, while some NPIs can occur in the reduced copula constructions (recall section 3). The pseudo-cleft analysis in Yoon (2014) incorrectly predicts that (55b) is ruled out on a par with (55b'), contrary to fact.

(55) a. Mary-ka   ton-ul   pel-ess-ni?
        M.-Nom   money-Acc earn-Pst-Q
        'Did Mary earn money?'
    b. cenhye-i-a.
       at-all-Cop-Dec
       'Mary did not earn money at all.'
    b'. *Mary-ka   ton-ul   pe-n-kes-un   cenhye-i-a.
         M.-Nom   money-Acc earn-Adn-kes-Top at-all-Cop-Dec
         'Lit. What Mary earned money was at all.'

Thus, (pseudo-)cleft analysis seems to be an implausible alternative to the copula analysis for caseless fragments that we are dealing with in this paper.

6. Concluding Remarks

We have examined two types of fragments in Korean, case-marked and caseless fragments. We propose that both case-marked and caseless fragments have sentential sources. However, we indicate that their sentential sources are not identical. We suggest that case-marked fragments are derived from full clausal ellipsis, whereas caseless fragments are derived from limited ellipsis on reduced copula constructions. We have shown that parallel behaviors of two types of fragments are due to their elliptical nature, while non-parallel behaviors of them are due to their distinct sentential sources. We have further indicated that the sentential connection well captures distribution of adverbials and absence or presence of idiomatic interpretations.

Our analysis further offers fresh accounts for polarity and tense mismatching related to two types of fragments. We believe that alternative analyses concerning the two types of fragments in Korean may not capture the elegant contrasts that we have demonstrated above; for example, uniform ellipsis analyses such as Ahn & Cho (2006), Park (2015), and An (2016) cannot capture asymmetric behaviors of the two fragments regarding idiom interpretation, and polarity & tense mismatching. Furthermore, all the traditional hybrid analyses (such as Morgan 1989, Fortin 2007, Choi and Yoon 2009, Ahn & Cho 2011, 2012, Ahn 2012), let alone non-minimalist "direct interpretation" approaches (such as Kim 2015a, b), may not capture any of these asymmetries, either.

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