The syntax of 'sluicing'/'fragmenting' in Korean: Evidence from the copula −*i*− 'be'*

Myung-Kwan Park

(Dongguk University)

Park, Myung-Kwan. 2014. The syntax of 'sluicing'/'fragmenting' in Korean: Evidence from the copula *-i-* 'be'. *Linguistic Research* 31(1), 103-133. Building on Park (2001), this paper takes a unified Pseudocleft analysis of the constructions in Korean that apparently correspond to Sluicing and Fragmenting constructions in English. We first bring forth matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' that require the presence of the copula *-i-* 'be', unlike the instances examined by the previous works. These cases point to the fact that the Pseudocleft analysis of the constructions applies by default. Second, the adnominal adjective (projection) apparently as a surviving expression is argued not to derive from a clausal source, but base-generated in its place like a usual predicate; this is why the adnominal adjective (projection) to be investigated here cannot appear together with the copula. Third, the behaviors of postposition pied-piping (retention) and postposition stranding (omission) in the constructions concerned, which have been taken to render compelling evidence supporting the analysis of the surviving expression as deriving from a clausal source, more effectively follow from the Pseudocleft analysis of them. **(Dongguk University)**

Keywords Sluicing, Fragmenting, Pseudocleft, copula, movement/extraction, ellipsis, surviving expression, pro(nominalization), postposition retention/ omission

1. Introduction

Since Takahashi's (1994) initial work on the Japanese counterpart construction, the following type of sentences in Korean have been referred to as the Sluicing or Pseudosluicing construction (see also Merchant (1998)):

(1) (Pseudo-)**Sluicing**

> chelswu-ka   mwuenka-lul   sa-ss-ta-nuntey,
> Chelswu-Nom something-Acc   buy-Past-Decl-Circum
> (kukey) mwues-i-nci   molu-keyss-ta.
> it   what-Cop-Interr don't know
> 'Chelswu is said to have bought something, but I don't know what.'

The hallmark of this construction is that the first conjunct clause contains an indefinite expression such as ***mwuenka*** 'something', while the second conjunct clause asks about the exact identity of this indefinite expression, using the *wh*-question expression such as ***mwues*** 'what'. Apparently, the embedded clause of the second conjunct clause usually bears only the *wh*-expression, with other clause-internal expressions phonologically suppressed. The method of this phonological suppression has been controversial, as some scholars like Takahashi (1994) argued that it is TP ellipsis or Sluicing (see also Kim (2000)), while others like Nishiyama, Whitman, and Yi (1996) and Kuwabara (1997) argued that it derives from the null pronominal *pro* realization of the subject clause of the Pseudocleft construction or of its overt pronominal counterpart ***kuke-y*** 'it-Nom'.

There is a related but slightly different construction, named as the fragmenting construction[1], as in (2):

(2) (Pseudo-)**Fragmenting**
>   A: chelswu-ka   mwues-ul   mek-ess-ni?
>   Chelswu-Nom   what-Acc   eat-Past-Interr
>   'What did Chelswu eat?'
>   B: ccacangmyen/?ccacangmyen-ul/ccacangmyen-i-ikel-yo.
>   Chinese noodle/   -Acc/   -be-may-Hearer honorific (Hh)
>   'Chinese noodle/(It) may be Chinese noodle

In this construction, the first sentence is a question sentence that contains the *wh*-expression ***mwues*** 'what'. The second sentence as a reply to the first question sentence is left with only one surviving (=phonologically realized) expression or fragment that provides the answering value for the open-variable *wh*-expression. The

---

[1]   This construction is often referred to as the fragment one. However, focussing on the operation of fragmenting that derives the construction, we refer to it as the *fragmenting* construction.

way of leaving behind apparently only one expression in the second sentence has also been controversial, as some scholars argued that it is a Sluicing-like operation or Fragmenting (Ahn and Cho (2005); B-S. Park (2005)), while others argued that it is the ellipsis of the subject clause of the Pseudocleft construction. (cf. Park (2001)).

   As indicated, Sluicing as in (1) and Fragmenting as in (2B) in Korean apparently have one thing in common. The clause concerned has only one constituent left behind: the *wh*-expression in the former case and the replying fragment expression in the latter case. More concretely, Sluicing and Fragmenting have been argued to derive from ellipsis of TP in the following way (Ross (1969); Merchant (2004)):

(3) Sluicing/Fragmenting
     (. . .) [XP   [TP ... t~XP~ ...]] (. . .)
                ↑ _____|

In this analysis, a certain surviving expression (i.e., XP in (3)) moves out of the TP that is going to undergo ellipsis.

   By contrast, the Pseudocleft analysis of sentences proposed by Park (2001) for (1) and (2B) works in the following way:

(4)   (. . .) [[CP ... t~XP~ ...]   XP] (. . .)
                     |_____ ↑

In this analysis, a certain surviving expression also moves out of the (psedo)cleft subject clause, presumably CP that is going to undergo ellipsis (cf. Chomsky (1977)).

   The two analyses schematized in (3) and (4) are hard to distinguish. Since they are not easy to tease apart, there have been controversies over which analysis is a correct one for sentences like (1) and (2b). In this paper we will bring to the light the evidence from the distribution of the Korean copula -*i*-[2] right after the surviving expression in sentences like (1) and (2b), and try to advocate the Pseudocleft approach to the sentences at issue.

   The paper is structured in the following way. First, we examine the syntactic

---

[2]   In Korean, the copula is assumed to be not a verb but an adjective.

aspects of the copula in Korean. Second, based on this syntactic distribution of the Korean copula, we turn to matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' where the copula is not optional but obligatory. Most of the previous works on these constructions have, by contrast, focused on matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' where the copula does not occur. Third, we then examine instances where the surviving expression looks like an adnominal one, which apparently involves a violation of the Left Branch Condition. These instances cannot have the copula even in embedded 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting'. Third, we finally investigate postposition omission (stranding) and retention (pied-piping) in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' constructions. All in all, we try to show that a variety of syntactic aspects of these two constructions follow from the Pseudocleft analysis of them, although the alternative Sluicing and Fragmenting analysis is not excluded for the matrix clauses of Korean.

2. Korean copula *-i-*

As will be seen below, the copula *-i-* in Korean is ubiquitously found in presumed 'Sluicing' and 'Fragment' constructions. Hence it is worth examining the syntax of the copula before investigating the constructions we are mainly concerned with. First of all, the copula denotes the equative relation between the subject and the complement of the copula. In (5), through the assumed equative relation, the complement of the copula describes the 'categorial membership' of the subject.

(5) a. chelswu-nun   chakhan   haksayng-i-ta.
      Chelswu-Top kind-hearted   student-Cop-Decl
      'Chelswu is a kind-hearted student'
   b. hak-un   twulwumi-i-ta.
      crane-Top crane-Cop-Decl
      'A crane is a crane.'

On top of it, again through the equative relation, in (6) the complement of the copula describes the 'characteristic property' of the subject.[3]

---

[3]   Yoon (2001) and Jo (2007) argue that when the complement of the copula is DP/NP, there is a
      distinction between equative and predicative complement. However, this distinction is orthogonal

(6) a. pangan-i   engmang-i-ta.

room-Nom mess-Cop-Decl

'A room is a mess.'

b. toli-nun   cengkwusomssi-ka seykyeycek[4]-i-ta.

Toli-Top tennis skill-Nom   world-class-Cop-Decl

'Toli is world class in tennis skill.'

However, when we turn to the examples in (7), it is not clear at first sight what relation holds between the subject and the complement of the copula, because to say that 'I am a kind of food' is odd if the sentence concerned is not a metaphoric expression

(7) a. na-nun   ccacangmyen-i-ta.

I-Top   Chinese noodle-Cop-Decl

(Lit.) 'I'm (a bowl of) Chinese noodle.'

b. swuni-nun   pwusan-i-ta.[5]

Swuni-Top Pusan-Cop-Decl

(Lit.) 'Swuni is Pusan (the name of the city in Korea)'.

We conjecture that this is possible because the second of the multiple subjects is realized as an empty pronominal whose meaning is appropriately provided relying on

---

to our discussion in this paper.

[4] **seykyeycek** 'world class' can be used either as a noun or adnominal.

[5] The copula construction can also be used as sort of an ellipsis construction that corresponds to the Gapping construction in English, as in (iB') and (iia-b) below:

(i) A: chelswu-nun yakwu-lul   cohahanta.

Chelswu-Top baseball-Acc like

'Chelswu likes baseball,'

B: yenghuy-nun (*kukey) chwukkwu-lul.

Yenghuy-Top   it   football-Acc

B': ?yenghuy-nun (kukey) chwukkwu-(i)-e-yo.

Yenghuy-Top it   football-Cop-Informal-hearer honorific

'Yenghuy, football.'

(ii) a. ne-nun yakwu-lul   cohahaci-man, na-nun (*kukey) chwukkwu-lul

you-Top baseball-Acc like-but   I-Top   it   football-Acc

b. ?ne-nun yakwu-lul   cohahaci-man, na-nun (kukey) chwukkwu-(i)-e-yo.

you-Top baseball-Acc like-but   I-Top it   football-Cop-Informal-Hh

'You like baseball, but I like football.'

the discourse where the sentence is used, as follows. The underlined part below is understood as the one that is substituted for by *pro*.[6]

(7)′ a. na-nun (**meynyu kawuntey   senthaykhako/mekko**
     I-Top   menu   among   select/eat
     siphun kes-i)   ccacangmyen-i-ta.
     want   what-Nom Chinese noodle-Cop-Decl
     'As for me, the food I want to select/eat is a Chinese noodle.'
   b. swuni-nun (**kohyang-i/chwulsin-i**)   pwusan-i-ta.
     Swuni-Top hometown-Nom/birthplace-Nom   Pusan-Cop-Decl
     'Swuni's hometown/birthplace is Pusan.'

   Though the copula links the subject to its complement in different ways in terms of meaning, the examples like (5), (6) and (7) have it in common that the subject is DP/NP, and the complement of the copula is DP/NP. In other words, there is a restriction on the category of the complement of the copula: it has to be DP/NP that matches the DP/NP subject of the clause in syntactic category.

   In addition to this use, there is another use of the copula. In this use as in (8), the sentence is composed of the finite embedded clause, followed by the dependent noun that denotes epistemic modality, in turn being followed by the copula:

(8) yengca-ka   kal {<u>kes</u>, <u>ppwun</u>, <u>ttalum</u>, <u>the</u>}-i-ta.
    Yengca-Nom go Nm, just, only, plan-Cop-Decl (Nm= Nominalizer)
    'It is just/only/a plan that Yengca will leave.'

The sentence (8) is assimilated to the following English sentences, which have been

---

6   Jo (2007) argues against the postulation of the additional empty pronominal *pro* in the kind of examples in (7) of Korean, because despite the presumable lack of *pro* in English, similar sentences are available as in (i).

   (i) Golf is Tiger Woods. (from Jo (2007))

   However, if as Kennedy and Merchant (2000: 138-139) argue, string-vacuous Pseudogapping applies to the copula construction in English, it is not unreasonable to postulate an additional syntactic expression within the portion that is going to undergo Pseudogapping in sentences like (i).

referred to as the inferential cleft construction (cf. Delahunty (1995); Kim and Sells (2011)).

(9) a. It is (the case) that John will leave.
    b. It is only/just that John will leave.[7]

It is to be noted that the clausal complement of the copula does not seem to undergo Raising to the subject position, as shown by the unacceptability of (10a-b):

(10) a. yengca-ka   kal the-ka   *i-ta/^{OK}eps-ta.
          Yengca-Nom go   plan-Nom   Cop-Decl/not exist-Decl
      b. yengca-ka   kal kes-i   *i-ta/^{OK}pwunmyengha-ta.
          Yengca-Nom go   Nm-Nom Cop-Decl/obvious-Decl

The behavior of the copula in Korean that takes a finite clause as its complement is assimilated to that of the corresponding copula in English as in (11), whose complement does not raise to the higher subject position:

(11) a. It may be that John will leave soon.
      b. *That John will leave soon may be.

This leads us to say that there is a contrast between a small clause and a finite clause as a complement of the copula. In both cases, the copula is a raising predicate that takes either a small clause[8] or a finite one, but only the subject of the small clause is assumed to raise to the higher subject position, as follows:[9], [10]

---

7   More examples that illustrate the inferential cleft construction are in order below:

      a. It is the case that he will come to see me tomorrow.
      b. It is only that he has better means of having it than many others, because he is rich, and
         many others are poor. (from *Pride and Prejudice*)
      c. It is just that he keeps thinking about 10 different things at one moment.

8   See Heggie (1988) and Moro (1997) for the earlier analysis of the English copula construction,
    and Yoon (2001) and Jo (2007) for that of the Korean copula construction.

9   The structure for the copula construction in (12) reflects the idea that the copular relation actually
    holds in the complement of the actual copula.

10 The following examples presumably show that the subject of the small clause can generally raise
    to the [Spec,TP] position (or outside of the negation), but the pre-copula nominal stays within the

(12) a. [TP [[small clause   DP/NP   DP/NP[11]   ] i]]ta

                ↑_____|

    b. [TP [[finite clause   =   <u>kes</u>, <u>ppwun</u>, <u>ttalum</u>, <u>the</u>] i] ta]

Turning now to the negative sentence of the copula construction, it is composed of the negative form of the copula, which is a combination of the negation ***ani*** and the copula ***i***. In this case the apparent complement of the copula bears Nominative Case:

(13) a. chelswu-nun haksayng-i   ani-i-ta.

      Chelswu-Top student-Nom   not-Cop-Decl

      'Chelswu is not a student.'

    b. ku pang-un   engmang-i ani-i-ta.

      that room-Top   mess-Nom not-Cop-Decl

      'That room is not a mess.'

However, when the complement of a copula is a finite clause, it is possible to negate either the embedded verb or the matrix copula, as follows. This points to the fact that the second type of copula construction in fact involves two finite clauses:

(14) a. yengca-ka   ttenaci **an**-h-ul   kes-i-ta.

      Yengca-Nom   leave   not-do-Fut Nm-Cop-Decl

      'It is (the case) that he won't leave.'

    b. nay-ka kkok   ikyeya   ha-l   kes-un   **an**-i-ta.

      I-Nom certainly win   do-Fut Nm-Top   not-Cop-Decl

---

domain of the negation:

 (i) a. motwu-ka haksayng-i   ani-i-ess-ta.   (^OKall > not; ^OKall < not)

     all-Nom   student-Nom not-Cop-Past-Dec

     'All the people were not a student.'

    b. kutul-i   motwu-ka   ani-i-ess-ta.

     they-Nom all-Nom   not-Cop-Past-Decl   (*all > not; ^OKall < not)

     'They were not all of them.'

However, this issue is not definitive, awaiting more fuller discussions.

[11] This DP/NP has been described as the complement of the copula. More exactly speaking, this is not the complement of the copula, but the predicate of the small clause selected by the copula.

'It is not that I will certainly win.'

In addition to these two types, there is the third kind of structure for the copula, as in (15). In this structure, the apparent complement of the copula can be PP (15b), AdvP (15c) and CP (15d), in addition to being DP/NP (15a):
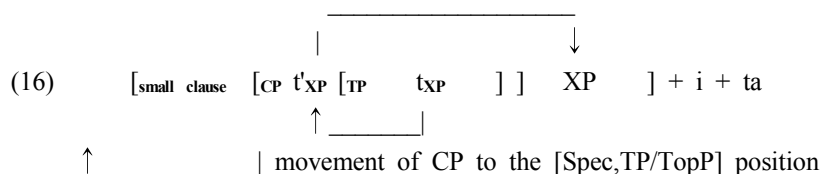
(15) a. chelswu-ka   mannan kes-un   <u>kimkyoswunim</u>-i-ta.
          Chelswu-Nom   meet   what-Top Kim-professor-Cop-Decl
          '?What Chelswu met is Professor Kim.'
      b. yengswu-ka   ku mwulken-ul nohun kes-un   <u>chayksang</u>
          Yengswu-Nom   the thing-Acc put   what-Top table
          <u>wiey</u>-i-ta.
          above-Cop-Decl
          'What Yengswu put the thing is on the table.'
      c. minho-ka   ku il-ul   chelihan kes-un <u>nungswukhakey</u>-i-ta.
          Minhi-Nom the matter-Acc handled what-Top skillfully-Cop-Decl
          'What Minho handled the matter is skillfully.'
      d. ?yengho-ka malhan kes-un   <u>ku-ka   sihem-ul</u>
          -Nom   said   what-Top he-Nom exam-Acc
          <u>mangchy-ess-tako</u>-i-ta
          screwed-up-Comp-Cop-Decl
          'What Yengho said is that he screwed up the exam.'

We assume that this kind of structure where the subject does not match the apparent complement of the copula in regard to syntactic category is possible in the case of the Pseudocleft construction[12]. The most important property of the Pseudocleft construction relevant to this paper is that the subject of this construction provides an open variable, just like the *wh*-question clause, which is understood to have been created after movement of the expression now in the apparent pivot or complement position of the copula at the end of this construction. The appropriate kind of

---

[12] This paper assumes that the examples in (15) represent the Pseudocleft construction rather than the Cleft construction, because on a par with their English counterpart examples, the Pseudocleft clause with the Nominative Case or Topic marker occupies the subject position or the [Spec,TopP] position. Park (2001) was vague about whether the kind of examples in (15) represent Cleft or Pseudocleft, while Jo (2005) took them as representing the Cleft construction.

category for the expression in the pivot position is determined/licensed by the selectional or other syntactic licensing requirements that a verb within the subject clause of the construction has to meet. For example, the subject clause of (15a), on the one hand, calls for an object DP/NP that is selected by the verb ***manna-*** 'meet', which is provided by the DP/NP pivot in the apparent complement of the copula. The subject clause of (15b), on the other hand, needs a PP complement that is selected by the verb ***noh-*** 'put', which is provided by the PP pivot in the apparent complement of the copula.

To offer a more concrete structure of the sentences in (15), we can say that the right structure for them is a combination of (12a) and (4).

(16)   [$_{small\ clause}$ [$_{CP}$ t'$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_{XP}$]] XP] + i + ta

↑ _____| movement of CP to the [Spec,TP/TopP] position

In this structure, the subject of the Pseudocleft construction is generated as the subject of the small clause selected by the copula and moves to the higher subject position, and the predicate part of the small clause is occupied by a certain expression displaced from within the clausal subject of the small clause. The structure of (16) will be elaborated on and revised in the next section.

3. Matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' and the obligatory presence of the copula

In the literature on 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in Korean, it has been noted that particularly in 'Fragmenting,' the surviving expression occurs with the appropriate Case marker that reflects the position that the questioning *wh*-word/phrase occupies in the previous question sentence, as follows:

(17) A: chelswu-ka   mwues-ul mekess-ni?
          Chelswu-Nom   what-Acc ate-Interr
          'What did Chelswu eat?'

B: (*kukey/kuken/kuke) wutong/?wutong-ul

      it   noodle/noodle-Acc

      'It's (a bowl of) noodle.'

B':   (kukey/kuken/?kuke) wutong-i-eyo.

      it   noodle-Cop-Hh

(18) A: chelswu-ka   nwukwu-lul   mannass-ni?

      Chelswu-Nom who-Acc   met-Interr

      'Who did Chelswu meet?'

B: (*kukey/kuken/kuke) yenghuy/?yenghuy-lul

      it   Yenghuy/Yenghuy-Acc

      'It's Yenghuy.'

B':   (kukey/kuken/?kuke) yenghuy-i-eyo.

      it   Yenghuy-Cop-Hh

In (17B) and (18B), the Accusative Case marker on the fragment answer reflects the *wh*-expression in the object position of the preceding question clause.

However, we acknowledge that the core set of the data in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting'[13] is not those ones with Case marker, but the ones without Case marker but with the copula (cf. Yoon and Kitagawa (2013)). This is because even the instances with Case marker in (17B) and (18B) also have corresponding instances not with Case marker but with the copula, as in (17B') and (18B'). In addition, there are matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' that do not have the Case marker option but only have the copula option. Presently, we are going to bring forth the three different instances of such a type.

The first case of such a type is the negative fragment answer. As noted above, in Korean the negative form of the copula is the combination of the negation ***ani*** 'not' and the copula ***i*** 'be'. In this form, the copula cannot be dropped, as shown by the contrast between B and B' in (19) and (20):

▷ **obligatory -*i*- with 'Fragmenting' or 'Sluicing' - negative answer**

(19)   A: chelswu-ka   mwues-ul mekess-ni?

         Chelswu-Nom what-Acc ate-Interr

---

13   Henceforth, we will use the quotation marked Sluicing and Fragmenting to conveniently refer to the constructions at issue, without implying the analyses these two terms indicate.

'What did Chelswu eat?'

B: (kukey/kuken/?kuke) wutong-un ani-i-e-yo.

it   noodle-Top not-Cop-Informal-Hh

'It is not (a bowl of) noodle.'

B':   *(kukey/kuken/kuke) wutong-un/ul ani.

-Top/Acc

(20)   A: chelswu-ka   nwukwu-lul   mannass-ni?

Chelswu-Nom   who-Acc   met-Interr

'Who did Chelswu meet?'

B: (kukey/kuken/?kuke) yenghuy-nun ani-i-e-yo.

it   Yenghuy-Top not-Cop-Informal-Hh

'It is not Yenghuy.'

B':   *(kukey/kuken/kuke) wutong-un/ul ani.

The second case where the copula cannot be dropped is the idiomatic expression denoting epistemic modality.

▷ **obligatory -*i*- with 'Fragmenting' or 'Sluicing' - epistemic modality**

(21)   A: chelswu-ka   mwues-ul mekess-ni?

Chelswu-Nom   what-Acc ate-Interr

'What did Chelswu eat?'

B: (kukey/kuken/?kuke) wutong-i-l   ke-i-e-yo.

it   noodle-Cop-Fut Nm-Cop-Informal-Hh

B':   (*kukey/kuken/kuke) wutong-ul.

-Acc

(22)   A: chelswu-ka   enu   sensayngnim-ul cohaha-ni?

Chelswu-Nom   which teacher-Acc   like-Interr

'Which teacher does Chelswu like?'

B: (kukey/kuken/??kuke) kim sensayngnim-i-l ke-i-e-yo.

it   Kim teacher-Cop-Fut Nm-Cop-Informal-Hh

B':   (*kukey/kuken/kuke) kim sensayngnim-ul.

If in (21B) and (22B), the underlined part that corresponds to the modal auxiliary in English is dropped, the replying fragment cannot express epistemic modality.

The third case is where the copula is, if done so, used instead of Case marker. This is the case for the *wh*-question expression that appears before the copula, thereby the replying fragment occurring with the copula:

▷ **-i- with 'Fragmenting' or 'Sluicing' - the complement of the copula**

(23)   A: chayksang   wiuy mwulken-i mwues-i-ni?
            table   on   thing-Nom what-Cop-Interr
            'What is the thing on the table?'

       B: kukey/kuken/?kuke   sensayngnim senmwul(-i-e-yo).
            it   teacher   present-Cop-Informal-Hh
            'It is a present for the teacher.'

(24)   A: ku pwun-i   nwukwu-i-ni?
            the esteemed person-Nom   who-Cop-Interr
            'Who is the esteemed person?'

       B: kukey/kuken/?kuke   chelswu   sensayngnim(-i-e-yo).
            it   Chelswu   teacher-Cop-Informal-Hh
            'It is Chelswu's teacher.'

Turning now to 'Sluicing', when the speaker wants to convey epistemic modality, the copula is required to be present after the surviving *wh*-expression even in the matrix clause, and in this case, the pronominal subject is optionally found, as in (25) and (26). However, the absence of the copula implies the impossibility of the pronominal subject. On the other hand, with embedded 'Sluicing', the copula is required to be present, and like matrix 'Sluicing', the pronominal subject occurs optionally.

(25)   A: chelswu-ka   sicang-eyse mwuenka-lul   sass-ta.
            Chelswu-Nom   market-at   something-Acc bought-Decl
            'Chelswu bought something at the market.'

       B: cengmal? (*kukey) mwues/mwues-ul?
            really   it   what/what-Acc
            'Really? (Is it) what?'

       B':   cengmal? (kukey) mwues-i-ni?
                                 what-Cop-Interr

/nanun (kukey)　mwues-i-nci　　kwungkumha-ney.
　　　　　　　　　　what-Cop-Interr　wonder-Informal

B″:　cengmal? (kukey)　mwues-i-l-kka?
　　　　　　　　　　　　what-Cop-Fut-Interr

/na-nun (kukey)　mwues-i-l-kka kwungkumha-ney.

(26)　A:　chelswu-ka　　paykhwacem-eyse nwukwunka-lul　ttaylyess-ta.
　　　　　Chelswu-Nom department　store-at someone-Acc　　　beat-Decl
　　　　　'Chelswu beat　someone　at　the　department　store.'

B:　cengmal? (*kukey) nwukwu/nwukwu-lul?
　　　　　　　　　　　　who/who-Acc

"Really? (Is it) who?"

B′:　cengmal? (kukey)　nwukwu-i-ntey?
　　　　　　　　　　　who-Cop-Interr

/na-nun (kukey)　nwukwu-i-nci kwungkumha-ney.

B″:　cengmal? (kukey)　nwukwu-i-l-kka?

/na-nun (kukey)　nwukwu-i-l-kka kwungkumha-ney.

In the case of embedded 'Fragmenting', the copula is also required to be present, hence the subject of the embedded clause in the replying sentence being optionally realized as the pronominal subject:

(27)　A:　ne-nun　　chelswu-ka　　sicang-eyse mwues-ul sass-tako
　　　　　you-Top　Chelswu-Nom market-at　　what-Acc bought-Comp
　　　　　sayngkakha-ni?
　　　　　think-Interr
　　　　　'What do you think Chelswu bought at the market?'

B:　na-nun (kukey)　thomatho-i-lako　　sayngkakha-y.
　　　I-Top　　it　　　　tomato-Cop-Comp think-Informal
　　　'I think it is tomato.'

B′:　na-nun (kukey)　thomatho-i-l ke-i-lako sayngkakha-y.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　-Cop-Fut Nm-Cop-Comp
　　　'I think it may be tomato.'

(28)　A:　ne-nun　　chelswu-ka　　hakkyo-eyse nwukwu-lul ttaylyess-tako
　　　　　you-Top　Chelswu-Nom school-at　　who-Acc　　　beat-Comp

saynghakhani?

think-Interr

'Who do you think Chelswu beat at the school?'

B: na-nun (kukey) minho-i-lako sayngkakha-y.

I-Top   it   -Cop-Comp think-Informal

'I think it is Minho.'

B':   na-nun (kukey) minho-il ke-lako sayngkakha-y.

'I think it may be Minho.'

The generalization that emerges from the data examined in this section is that in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', the presence of the copula requires that its complement small clause have Pseudocleft structure, implying that the subject of the small clause is (i) the clausal subject, or (ii) **kuke-y** 'it-Nom' that replaces the clausal subject, or (iii) the covert subject. However, when the copula is not present, no equative relation holds, prohibiting the pronominal subject of the small clause.

Incorporating this generalization to propose an analysis of the clause involving 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', we modify the structure (16) as in (29), which shows how the clausal subject of the small clause can undergo pronominalization:

(29) [TP [[small clause [CP tXP   [TP ...   tXP   ...]]   XP   ] -i-] T]

⟶ _____ **kuke** 'it' replacement of TP
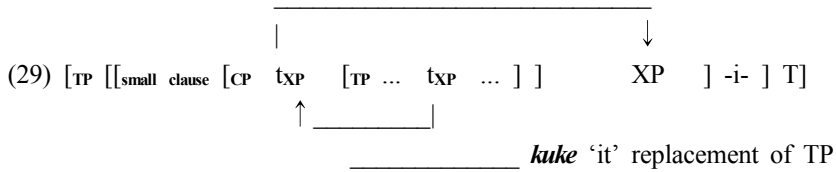
Following the line of analysis advanced by Park (2013), who argues that **kuleh** 'so' is a TP replacement, we propose that **kuke** 'it' is also a TP replacement. This means that after extraction takes place via [Spec,CP], either the clausal subject or its substituting overt or covert pronoun may appear. Crucially, the proposed structure accounts for the complementary distribution of **kuke** 'it' and the surviving expression + Case marker. The former pronominal can occur only if the copula that selects the small clause is present.

4. Apparent violation of the left branch condition

One constituent that can also occur apparently as a surviving expression in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' is the adnominal expression that modifies the following noun (projection). In Korean, the adnominal expression cannot be separated from the modified noun, supposedly owing to the Left Branch Condition (which will be shown shortly), but it can be apparently in embedded 'Sluicing', as in (30):

(30) a. minswu-ka   cwumal-ey caymiissnun yenghwa-lul poass-tako
         Minswu-Nom   weekend-in interesting   movie-Acc   watched-Comp
         ha-te-ntey,   (kukey) elmana caymiiss(*i)(ess)-nunci molukeyss-ta.
         say-Retro-Circum it   how much interesting-Interr don't know-Decl
         'It was said that Minswu watched an interesting movie, but I don't
         know how much interesting.'
      b. minswu-ka   olhay casanghan tamimsensayngnim-ul mannass-tako
         Minswu-Nom   this year caring homeroom teacher-Acc met-Comp
         ha-te-ntey, (kuka)/(??kukey) elmana casangha(*i)(si)-nci molukeyss-ta.
         say-Retro-Circum, he/it how much caring-Hon-Interr don't know-Decl
         'It was said that Minswu met a caring homeroom teacher, but I don't
         know how much caring.'

The same is true of embedded 'Fragmenting' as in (31B) and (32B):

(31) A: ne-nun   chelho-ka   ettehan salam-i-lako   sayngkakhayss-ni?
          you-Top Chelho-Nom which person-Cop-Comp think-Interr
          'Which person do you think that Chelho is?'
      B: na-nun ku-ka/*kukey chakha(*i)-tako   sayngkakhayss-e.
          I-Top   he-Nom/it   kind-hearted-Decl thought-Informal
          'I thought he was kind-hearted.'
(32) A: ne-nun yenghuy-ka   elmana   ton-i   manhun salam-kwa
          you-Top Yenghuy-Nom how much money-Nom a lot person-with
          kyelhonhayss-tako sayngkakha-ni?
          got married-Comp think-Interr
          'How much money do you think is owned by the person

Yenghuy got married to?'

B: (kuka)/*kukey koyngcanghi ton-i manh(*i)-tako
     he/it   greatly   money-Nom a lot-Comp
     sayngkakha-y.
     think-Informal
     'I think he has a lot of money.'

One important thing to note in (30b), (31B) and (32B) is that the apparent adnominal surviving expression cannot co-occur with the copula -*i*-; if the former appears, the latter cannot. This may lead us to say that, since the apparent surviving adnominal expression is not followed by the copula, examples like in (30b), (31B) and (32B) are genuine instances of Sluicing and Fragmenting that do not involve pseudocleft structure. However, this reasoning is not warranted, because the subject in (30b), (31B) and (32B) is not the usual neuter pronoun ***kuke-y*** 'it-Nom' but the masculine pronoun ***ku-ka*** 'he-Nom'. The unexpected use of ***ku-ka*** 'he-Nom' instead of ***kuke-y*** 'it-Nom' implies that the apparent surviving adjective (phrase) in these examples does not involve extraction as in usual Sluicing or Pseudocleft. Rather it is base-generated in the embedded predicate position, thereby taking as its subject the pronominal expression not ***kuke-y*** 'it-Nom' but ***ku-ka*** 'he-Nom' that enters into predication with the based-generated adjective predicate.

In addition to adjective expressions that are base-generated in the embedded predicate position, the *wh*-word or phrase that corresponds to the Genitive-marked indefinite in the preceding clause can be done so without Genitive marker, as in (33):

(33) a. chelswu-ka   ecey   nwukwunka-uy nonmwun-ul ilkess-tako
        Chelswu-Nom yesterday someone-Gen   paper-Acc   read-Comp
        ha-te-ntey,   (kukey) nwukwu(*uy)-i-nci molukeyss-ta.
        say-Retro-Circum it   who-Cop-Interr   don't know-Decl
        'It was said that Chelswu read someone's paper, but I don't know
        who.'

b. chelswu-ka   ecey   etten sensayngnim-uy thukkang-ul tuless-tako
   Chelswu-Nom yesterday some   teacher-Gen special lecture-Acc
   heard-Comp
   ha-te-ntey,   (kukey) enu sensayngnim(*uy)-i-nci molukeyss-ta.
   say-Retro-Circum it which professor-Cop-Interr don't know-Decl
   'It was said that Chelswu heard some professor's special lecture,
   but I don't know which professor.'

Unlike (30b), (31B) and (32B) that do not allow the pronominal *kukey* as a subject,
(33a) and (33b) do with the predicate portion occurring with the copula.

   However, some unconjugating adjectives like ***etten*** 'some/which' and ***mwusun***
'what' cannot occur as a surviving expression as in (34), because they need to
conjugate with the embedded complementizer, but they in fact cannot owing to their
status as a fixed expression with the inability to undergo conjugation:

(34) yenghuy-ka ecey cenyek etten/mwusun chayk(-inka)-ul ilkess-tako
      Yenghuy-Nom yesterday night some/some book(-Q)-Acc read-Comp
      ha-te-ntey, (kukey) *etten-nci/*mwusun-nci   molukeyss-ta.
      say-Retro-Circum it which-Interr/what-Interr don't know-Decl
      'It was said Yenghuy read some book last night, but I don't know
      what/which.'

This instance is also taken to show that the Left Branch Condition has to be
respected in Korean. Otherwise, examples like (34) would be acceptable.

   When we turn to matrix clauses, apparent adnominal expressions cannot occur as
surviving ones as in (35)-(40), unlike the corresponding ones in (30b), (31B) and
(32B):

(35) a. A: minswu-ka   cwumal-ey caymiissnun   yenghwa-lul
            Minswu-Nom weekend-in interesting   movie-Acc
            poass-tay.
            watched-Factive
            'It was said that Minswu watched an intersting movie in the
            weekend.'

B:?*elmana   caymiissnun?

   how much interesting

B': *kukey elmana   caymiissnun?

   it   how much interesting

b. A: minswu-ka olhaynun acwu casanghasin tamimsensayngnim-ul

   Minswu-Nom this year very caring   homeroom teacher-Acc

   mannass-tay.

   meet-Factive

   'Minswu met a very caring homeroom teacher this year.'

B: ?*elmana   casanghan?

   how much caring

B': *kukey elmana casanghasin?

(36) a. A: minswu-ka cwumal-ey   elmana   caymiissnun yenghwa-lul

   Minswu-Nom weekend-in how much interesting movie-Acc

   poass-ni?

   watched-Interr

   'How much interesting a movie did Minswu watch?'

B:?*koyngcanghi   caymiissnun

   greatly   interesting

B': *kukey koyngcanghi caymiissnun

b. A: minswu-ka elmana casanghasin tamimsensayngnim-ul

   Minswu-Nom how much caring homeroom teacher-Acc

   mannass-ni?

   met-Interr

   'How much caring a homeroom teacher did Minswu meet?'

B:?*acwu   casanghasin

   very   caring

B': *kukey acwu casanghasin

(37) A: chelswu-ka   nwukwunka-uy ton-ul   hwumchyess-ta-te-ntey.

   Chelswu-Nom someone-Gen money-Acc stole-Decl-Retro-Circum

   'It was said that Chelswu stole someone's money.'

B: cengmal? nwukwu?

   really   who

B': cengmal? ?*nwukwu-uy?

```
                really       who-Gen
        B": cengmal? nwukwu-uy ton?
```

(38) A: chelswu-ka nwukwu-uy ton-ul   hwumchyess-ni?
          Chelswu-Nom who-Gen money-Acc stole-Interr
          'Whose money did Chelswu steal?'

      B: yenghuy

      B': ?*yenghuy-uy

      B": yenghuy-uy ton

(39) A: chelswu-ka etten chayk-ul ilkess-ta-te-ntey.
          Chelswu-Nom some book-Acc read-Decl-Retro-Circum
          'It was said that Chelswu read some book.'

      B: cengmal? *etten?

      B': cengmal? etten chayk?

(40) A: chelswu-ka   etten chayk-ul   ilkess-ni?
          Chelswu-Nom which book-Acc   read-Interr
          'Which book did Chelswu read?'

      B: *wucwu-ey kwanhan
          universe-about

      B': wucwu-ey kwanhan   chayk
          universe-about   book

These instances corroborate our thesis that adnominal expressions cannot extract out of DP/NP in Korean, because of the Left Branch Condition. Apparently they can sometimes occur alone in cases like (30b), (31B) and (32B), but they are not adnominal expressions but in fact base-generated predicative adjectives that take as their subject a nominal or pronominal expression semantically suitable to them.

To reiterate, this section has shown that when the clause involving 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' has an adjective rather a copula-marked predicate, this adjective predicate is not a usual surviving expression. It has to be understood as being base-generated in its surface position and entering into predication with the subject rather than being derived via Move from the adnominal position within a DP/NP.

5. Postposition pied-piping and stranding under Korean 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting'

This section explores the consequence of the Pseudocleft analysis of 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' on the account for the postposition pied-piping (or retention) / postposition stranding (or omission) in Korean. As in (41), the postposition in Korean cannot be stranded nor omitted in scrambling (41b), relativation (41c), and cleft formation (41d):

(41)   a. ku kwukchayksaep-i no taythonglyeng-ey uyhay chakswutoyess-ta.
            that government project-Nom Noh president-by launched-Decl
            'That government project was launched by President Noh.'
       b. no   taythonglyeng(*ey   uyhay)   [ku   kwukchayksaep-i
            chakswutoyess-ta].
            'By President Noh that government project was launched.'
       c. *ku kwukchayksaep-i chakswutoyn no taythonglyeng
            'President Noh, by whom that government project was launched'
       d. *ku kwukchayksaep-i chakswutoyn kesun no taythonglyeng(*ey
            uyhay)-i-ta.
            'What that government project was launched by is President Noh.'

Rather the postposition undergoes pied-piping as in scrambling (41b) and cleft formation (41d).

    However, the postposition can apparently be omitted/dropped in matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', as in (42) and (43):

(42)   A: ku saep-i nwukwunka-ey uyhayse chakswutoyess-e.
            the project-Nom someone-by   launched-Informal
            'That project was launched by someone.'
       B: cengmal? (kukey) nwukwu(-ey uyhayse)-i-ntey?
            really   it   who(by)-Cop-Circum
(43)   A: ku kwukchayksaep-i nwukwu-ey uyhayse chakswutoyess-ni?
            that government project-Nom who-by   launched-Interr
            'By whom was that government project launched?'

B: kukey notaythonglyeng(-ey uyhayse)-i-l ke-l-yo.
　　　it　　　Noh president-by-Cop-Fut Nm-Fut-Hh

This is also true of embedded 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', as in (44) and (45):

(44)   ku kwukchayksaep-i nwukwunka-ey uyhayse chakswutoyessess-tako
　　　 that government project-Nom someone-by　　launched-Comp
　　　 ha-te-ntey,　　　 (kukey)　 nwukwu(-ey uyhayse)-inci molukeyss-ta.
　　　 say-Retro-Circum it　　　 who-by-Interr　　　　 don't know-Decl
　　　 'It was said that the government project was launched by someone,
　　　 but I don't know who.'

(45)   chelswu-ka ku kwukchayksaep-i nwukwu-ey uyhay
　　　 Chelswu-Nom that government project-Nom who-by
　　　 chakswutoyess-nyako mwulessul ttay, yenghuy-nun
　　　 launched-Interr　　　 asked　　　 when Yenghuy-Top
　　　 notaythonglyeng(-ey uyhayse)-i-lako malhayss-ta.
　　　 Noh-president-by-Cop-Comp said-Decl
　　　 'When Chelswu asked by whom the government project was
　　　 launched, Yenghuy said that it is by President Noh.'

This behavior of postposition omission in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' is unexpected, given the important generalization, advanced by Merchant (2001), that genuine instances of Sluicing and Fragmenting are in tandem with *wh*-question constructions in regard to postposition stranding/pied piping. If a certain language allows postposition stranding/pied-piping in *wh*-question constructions, it also does in Sluicing and Fragmenting. If not, it does not.

A complicating picture arises, however, when the preceding clause does not contain a postposition, as follows:

(46)   A: ku phuloceykthu-ka   caknyen-ey chwucintoyess-e.
　　　　　 that project-Nom　　 last year-in push ahead-Informal
　　　　　 'That project was pushed ahead last year.'
　　　 B: cengmal? nwukwu*(-ey uyhayse)?
　　　　　 really　　 who-by

(47)   ku mwulcil kaypal-i   caknyen-ey ilwuecyess-tako
     that matter development-Nom last year-in made-Comp
     ha-te-ntey, (kukey) hankwuk kwahakca nwukwu*(-ey uyhayse)-inci
     say-Retro-Circum it   Korean   scientist who-by-Interr
     molukeyss-ta.
     don't know-Decl
     'The development of the material was said to have been made last
     year, but I don't know by which Korean scientist it is.'

(48)   A: chelswu-ka namwu-lul ettehkey callass-ni?
         Chelswu-Nom tree-Acc how   cut-Interr
         'How did Chelswu cut the tree?'

      B: cenkithop?*(-ulo).
         electric saw-with
         'With an electric saw.'

(49)   A: kotay sikmwultul-i way myelcongtoyess-nunci   al-ko iss-ni?
         ancient plant-Nom why became extinct-Interr know-be ing-Interr
         'Do you know why the ancient plant became extinct?'

      B: cikwu onnanhwa?*(-lo inhayse)-i-lako al-ko iss-e.
         global warming-because of-Cop-Comp know-be ing-Informal
         'I know that it is because of global warming.'

Postposition pied-piping is obligatory for these instances of matrix and embedded 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting,' as found in other usual types of extractions.

    However, the surprising aspect of postposition pied-piping in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' is that it is also required in so-called <u>contrastive</u> 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', as follows:

(50)   chelswu-ka yenghuy-lopwuthe ton-ul ppayasass-tako
     Chelswu-Nom Yenghuy-from   money-Acc   took   by   force-Comp
     ha-te-ntey, yenghuy ioy-uy tto etten haksayng?*(-ulopwuthe)-inci
     said-Circum Yenghuy other than also which student-from-Interr
     molukeyss-ta.
     don't know-Decl
     'Chelswu was said to have taken money by force from Yenghuy, but

I don't know who else than Yenghuy.'

(51) chelswu-ka yenghuy-ey uyhayse piphanpatass-nuntey,
Chelswu-Nom Yenghuy-by   criticized-Circum
yenghuy ioy-uy tto nwukwu*(-ey uyhayse)-inci molukeyss-ta.
Yenghuy other than also who-by-Interr   don't know-Decl
'Chelswu is said to have been criticized by Yenghuy, but I don't
know who else than Yenghuy.'

(52) ku kwukchayksaep-i itaythonglyeng-ey uyhayse
tha government project-Nom Lee president-by
chakswutoyess-tako sayngkakhayssessci-man, sasil-un
launched-Comp   thought-but   fact-Top
notaythonglyeng?*(-ey uyhayse)-i-lanun kes-ul alkey toyess-ta.
Noh president-by-Cop-Comp Nm-Acc   know-came-Decl
'I thought the government project was launched by President Lee, but
I came to know that it had been by President Noh.'

(53) ku kwukchayksaep-i itaythonglyeng-ey uyhayse chwucintoyn
that government project-Nom Lee president-by pushed ahead
kes-i ani-i-ko,   sasil-un notaythonglyeng?*(ey uyhayse)-i-ta.
Nm-Nom not-Cop-Conj, fact-Top Noh president-by-Cop-Decl
'That government project was not pushed ahead by President Lee, but
by President Noh.

The characteristic feature of these instances in (50)-(53) is that what constitutes
either the surviving *wh*-expression in (50)-(51) or the surviving fragment expression
in (52)-(53) is not exactly about the correlate expression in the preceding clause, but
the one in contrast with it.

   The following sentences are apparently similar to contrastive 'Fragmenting'
constructions, but they do not require postposition pied-piping:

(54) A: chelswu-ka   wenemin-ulopwuthe yenge-lul   paywess-e.
        Chelswu-Nom native speaker-from English-Acc learned-Informal
        'Chelswu learned English from a native speaker.'

     B: aniya[14], naykwukin(-ulopwuthe)-i-e-yo.
        No   Korean teacher-from-Cop-Informal-Hh

'No, it is from a Korean teacher.'

(55) A: chelswu-ka wenemin-ulopwuthe yengelul   paywess-e.
         Chelswu-Nom native speaker-from English-Acc learned-Informal
         'Chelswu learned English from a native speaker.'

      B: ani-lkel, na-n naykwukin(-ulopwuthe)-i-lako sayngkakhanun-tay.
         No-maybe I-Top native speaker-from-Cop-Comp think-Factive
         'Maybe no, I think that it is from a Korean speaker.'

(56) A: ku kwukchayksaep-un notaythonglyeng-ey uyhay
         that government project-Top Noh president-by
         hakswutoyess-e.
         launched-Informal
         'The government project was launched by President Noh.'

      B: aniya, itaythonglyeng(-ey uyhay)-i-e-yo.
         No   Lee president-by-Cop-Informal-Hh
         'No, it is from President Lee.'

(57) A: chelswu-ka   suwisu khallo namwu-lul callassess-ci.
         Chelswu-Nom Swiss   knife tree-Acc   cut-Interr
         'Did Chelswu cut a tree with a Swiss knife?'

      B: aniya, na-n cenkithop(-ulo)-i-lako kiekha-nuntay.
         No   I-Top electric saw-with-Cop-Comp remember-Factive
         'No, I remember that it was with an electric saw.'

We refer to these sentences as <u>corrective</u> 'Fragmenting,' as the surviving fragment in the second sentence corrects the corresponding expression mentioned as part of the preceding sentence.

   Now heading toward an optimal analysis of postposition omission and retention for surviving expressions in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting,' the instances in (46)-(49) are normal cases that display the typical behavior of postposition in Korean: postposition pied piping. The postposition-marked expression that is based-generated inside the subject clause of the Pseudocleft construction undergoes displacement to its edge (or ultimately to the predicate position of the small clause), along the same line analysis depicted in (29), which is repeated in (58):

---

14   The anonymous review suggested that **kukey ani-i-ko** 'it is not the case, but' rather than **aniya** 'no' in the text is the more felicitous expression.

(58) [$_{TP}$ [[$_{small\ clause}$ [$_{CP}$ t$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ … t$_{XP}$ …]]   XP   ] -i-] T]
_____ ***kuke*** 'it' replacement

Now we turn to the examples such as (42)-(45), where either postposition pied-piping or stranding/omission is apparently allowed. The prominent feature of these instances is that unlike (46)-(49), these instances have a correlate expression in the preceding clause. For example, (42) repeated below as (59), the surviving expression in B's question has the correlate expression in A's remark.

(59) A: ku saep-i nwukwunka-ey uyhayse chakswutoyessess-e.
          the project-Nom someone-by   launched-Informal
          'The project was launched by someone.'
      B: cengmal? (kukey) nwukwu(-ey uyhayse)-i-ntey?
          really   it   who(by)-Cop-Circum

We suppose that the two factors come into play in allowing the unexpected postposition stranding/omission. One is the availability of the Pseudocleft construction for the underlying structure of 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting',[15] as argued

---

[15] Both German and Spanish do not allow preposition stranding, as in (i):
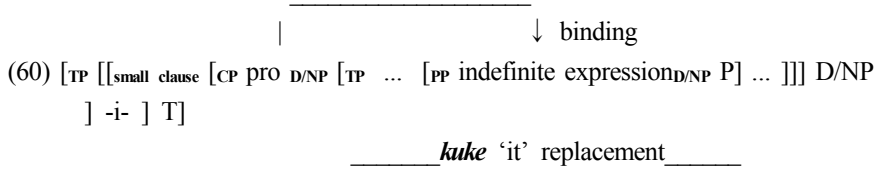
(i) a. *Wen hat sie für gearbeitet?   German
        who has she for worked
        '(INTENDED) Who did she work for?'
    b. Qué chica rubia ha hablado Juan con?   Spanish
        what girl blonde has talked John with
        '(INTENDED) What blonde girl did Juan talk to?'

However, in Sluicing, German expectedly does not allow preposition stranding (but requires preposition pied-piping) as in (iia), but Spanish unexpectedly allows preposition stranding as in (iib).

(ii) a. Peter hat sich für ein amerikanisches College entschieden,   German
        Peter has REFL for a American   college decided
        aber er wollte uns nicht sagen, *(für) welches.
        but he wanted us not   stay   for which
        'Peter decied on an American college, but he wouldn't tell us which.'
    b. Juan ha hablado com una chica pero no sé   cuál (es pro).   Spanish
        Juan has talked   with a   girl but   not know which is it.
        'Juan talked to a girl, but I don't know which (girl it was).'

throughout the paper. The other is the presence of the correlate expression in the preceding clause in (42)-(45), unlike in (46)-(49).

To provide a more concrete analysis of unusual postposition stranding/omission, we suppose that this option proceeds in the following way:

(60) [TP [[small clause [CP pro D/NP [TP ... [PP indefinite expressionD/NP P] ...]]] D/NP] -i-] T]

_____*kuke* 'it' replacement_____

In this representation, the presence of the indefinite expression within the clausal subject of the Pseudocleft clause makes it possible for the surviving expression in the pivot position to take the resumptive strategy rather than the movement strategy necessary for the instances in (46)-(49). In other words, the indefinite expression inside the subject clause does not undergo displacement, but it is linked via binding to the operator (*pro*) at the edge of the clause, as shown in (60).

This resumptive strategy via binding has a consequence on the analysis of contrastive 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in (50)-(53). As the resumptive strategy does not derive the surviving expression via Move from the subject clause of the Pseudocleft construction, the subject clause enters into an equative relation with the apparently surviving expression in the predicate position. More precisely, the *pro* in the [Spec,CP] position of the subject clause that is linked to the correlate expression within it is identified with the predicate nominal within the small clause. Thus, when the *pro* is understood as a respectable entity, it allows for the honorific marker *si* after the copula, as follows:

(61)   ku-ka mannan kes-un pwuhwalhasin yeyswu kulisuto-i-**si**-pnita.
         he-Nom met   what-Top resurrected Jesus Christ-Cop-Hon-Sl
         '?What he met is Jesus Christ resurrected (from death).'

Vicente (2008) and Nevins et al. (2007) propose that in Spanish, the so-called short cleft composed of the pronominal subject and the copula is crucial in allowing preposition stranding. We, however, leave for the future work the more thorough discussion of the issue of when preposition/postposition stranding/omission is allowed in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' although it is not allowed in usual constructions involving extraction.

Returning to (50)-(53), the thing to note here is that for example in (50), repeated below (62), the surviving expression (*yenghuy ioy-uy tto etten haksayng* 'student other than Yenghuy') before the copula cannot be equative with the *pro* linked to the correlate expression (*Yenghuy*):

(62)   chelswu-ka yenghuy-lopwuthe ton-ul ppayasass-tako
       Chelswu-Nom Yenghuy-from money-Acc took by force-Comp
       ha-te-ntey, yenghuy ioy-uy tto etten haksayng?*(-ulopwuthe)-inci
       said-Circum Yenghuy other than also which student-from-Interr
       molukeyss-ta.
       don't know-Decl
       'Chelswu was said to have taken money by force from Yenghuy, but
       I don't know who else than Yenghuy.'

This is the crucial difference between (42)-(45) and (50)-(53). In the former case, the indefinite expression as a correlate expression is equative with the surviving expression. In the latter case, the usual referring expression as a correlate expression cannot be equative with the surviving expression that it is in contrast with. This amounts to saying that in the case of contrastive 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', the resumptive strategy depicted in (60) cannot be capitalized upon. Rather, contrastive 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' have to rely on the strategy of extracting postposition-marked expressions, depicted in (60), allowing only the postposition pied-piping option. The behavior of contrastive 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in regard to postposition pied-piping in turn renders compelling evidence in support of the Pseudocleft analysis of 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in Korean.

Unlike contrastive 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting', corrective 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' as in (54)-(57) behave in a somewhat different way, allowing postposition stranding/omission. We follow Merchant (2004: 714) in assuming that this type of 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' is in essence echoic, in that it echoes the correlate expression in the preceding clause by additively mentioning the expression that replaces it for the statement to be true. Thus, for example in (54), repeated below (63), the phonologically suppressed portion of the second sentence is presumably the parenthesized part.

(63)A: chelswu-ka   wenemin-ulopwuthe yenge-lul   paywess-e.
          Chelswu-Nom native speaker-from English-Acc learned-Informal
          'Chelswu learned English from a native speaker.'
   B: aniya, (kukey wenemin-i aniko)   naykwukin(-ulopwuthe)-i-e-yo.
       No   it native speaker-Nom not Korean-from-Cop-Informal-Hh
       'No, it is not from a native speaker, but from a Korean teacher.'

Note that the correlate expression is repeated/echoed in the portion phonologically suppressed, but it is replaced by the expression that makes the statement true. Thus, without repeating the postposition, the sentence is fine.

6. Conclusion

This paper took a Pseudocleft analysis of 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in Korean. In the previous analyses, matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' have been unduely concentrated on, where the copula does not occur. This paper, by contrast, started to examine the types of matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' where the copula is required to occur. Based on these types, we argued that 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in Korean derive from an underlying Pseudocleft construction, by replacing its subject clause with the overt (***kuke*** 'it') or covert (***pro***) pronominal. This amounts to saying that 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' take the Pseudocleft option generally/by default, and when the subject clause of the underlying pseduocleft construction is replaced by the pronominal, 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' are understood as taking the simple copula option (see also Sohn (2000), Kim (2013), and Yoo (2013)). However, it is to be emphasized that the usual *wh*-movement option employed by Sluicing and Fragmenting in English is not excluded altogether for the Korean counterparts. As we saw, the last resort option kicks in when the copula does not occur in matrix 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting' in Korean. To repeat, the three options are taken advantage of in 'Sluicing' and 'Fragmenting'. The use of these three options are made in a predictable way. The first Pseudocleft option is taken when the copula is selected. The second option is chosen when the subject clause of the Pseudocleft construction is substituted for by the pronominal. The third option is elected when the copula is not part of the matrix clause.

References

Ahn, Hee-Don and Sungeun Cho. 2005. On scope asymmetries in fragments. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 15: 661-678.

Chomsky, Noam. 1977. On Wh-Movement. *Formal syntax*, ed. by Peter Culicover, Thomas Wasow, and Adrian Akmajian, 71-132. New York: Academic Press.

Delahunty, Gerald P. 1995. The inferential construction. *Pragmatics* 5: 341- 364.

Heggie, Lorie. 1988. *The Syntax of Copular Sentences*. Ph.D. dissertation, USC.

Jo, Jung-Min. 2007. Sluicing? It's just one of copular constructions. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 15(3): 209-238.

Jo, Jung-Min. 2007. Word order variations in Korean copular constructions. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 15(3): 209-238.

Kim, Jeong-Seok. 2000. Sluicing in Japanese and Korean. *Korean Journal of Linguistics* 25(2): 271-290.

Kim, Jong-Bok and Peter Sells. 2011. On the Korean inferential cleft construction. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 64: 45-72.

Kim, Jong-Bok. 2013. The Korean Sluicing - As a family of constructions. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 23(1): 103-130.

Kennedy, Christopher and Jason Merchant. 2000. Attributive comparative deletion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18: 89-146.

Kuwabara, Kazuki. 1997. On the properties of truncated clauses in Japanese. In K. Inoue (ed.), *Report (1) Researching and Verifying an Advanced Theory of Human Language*, 61-84. Chiba: Kanda University of International Studies.

Merchant, Jason. 1998. Pseudosluicing": Elliptical Clefts in Japanese and English. In Artemis Alexiadou, Nanna Fuhrhop, Paul Law, and Ursula Kleinhenz (eds.), *ZAS Working Papers in Linguistics 10,* 88-112. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.

Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 661-738.

Moro, Andrea. 1997. *The Raising of Predicates: Predicate Noun Phrases and the Theory of Clause Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nevins, Andrew, Cilene Rodriguez, and Luis Vicente. 2007. Preposition stranding under sluicing. In *Proceedings of Going Romance*.

Nishiyama, Kunio, John Whitman, and Eun-Young Yi. 1996. Syntactic movement of overt wh-phrases in Japanese and Korean. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 5: 337-351. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Park, Bum-Shik. 2005. Island-insensitive fragment answers in Korean. *Proceedings of the*

24th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics: 317-325.

Park, Myung-Kwan. 2001. Subject-less clefts in Korean: Towards a deletion analysis. *Language Research* 37(4): 715-739.

Park, Myung-Kwan. 2013. The syntax of clausal and verbal pro-form/ellipsis in Korean: Focusing *mit-* 'believe' and *sayngkakha-* 'think' verbs. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 23: 221-242.

Sohn, Keun-Won. 2000. A non-sluicing, non-cleft approach to copular constructions (written in Korean). *Studies in Generative Grammar* 10: 267-295.

Takahashi, Daiko. 1994. Sluicing in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 3: 241-265.

Vicente, Luis. 2008. Syntactic isomorphism and non-isomorphism under ellipsis. Unpublished manuscript, UCSC.

Yoo, Eun-Jung. 2013. A base-generated fragment approach to Sluicing constructions. *The Linguistic Association of Korean Journal* 21(4): 27-56.

Yoon, James. 2001. What the Japanese/Korean copula reveals about the interaction of morphology and syntax. A paper presented at the 11th Japanese/Korean Linguistics Conference, UCSB.

Yoon, Junghyoe and Yoshihisa Kitagawa. 2013. Case drop from Fragment answers in Korean. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 19: 277-286.

Myung-Kwan Park
Department of English
Dongguk University
23-1, Pil-dong, Chung-gu, Seoul, Korea
E-mail: parkmk@dgu.edu