

Positive Stripping Construction in English and Korean: A Direct Interpretation Approach

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Kim, So-Jee & Cho, Sae-Youn. (2019). Positive Stripping Construction in English and Korean: A Direct Interpretation Approach. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 27(2), 149–169. The positive stripping construction (PSC) in English and Korean is comprised of several fragments (*and*) NP *too*/(*kuliko*) NP[-*to*] but delivers a full sentential meaning. To account for such a form–meaning mismatch, we examine the similarities and differences in the properties of the PSC between the two languages. Based on the properties we observed, we argue that our Construction–Grammar based analysis under the Direct Interpretation Approach can sufficiently explain the properties of the stripping in the two languages, showing the problems of the Focus Phrase–based analysis under the Movement–and–Ellipsis Approach. Moreover, it is argued that our analysis will lead to a simpler explanation for further stripping data.

Key Words: Positive Stripping Construction, Construction Grammar, Direct Interpretation Approach, FP–based Analysis, Movement–and–Ellipsis Approach

1. Introduction

As Lobeck (1995) mentioned, it is possible to pronounce a positive stripping construction (PSC) in English, in which all the expressions corresponding to a preceding utterance are elided in the response except for an NP under identity as in (1) (cf. Potter 2017).

- (1) A: I heard that Jane likes to study rocks.
B: Yeah, and geography too. (Lobeck 1995: 27)

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In the same fashion, the PSC in Korean is also possible as shown in the construction containing a single NP as the response of (2A).

- (2) A: Na-nun Jane-i pawui-lu yenkwuha-nun kes-ul
 I-Nom Jane-Nom rock-Acc study-Top thing-Acc
 cohahanta-ko tulesse.
 like-and heard-Decl
 ‘I heard that Jane likes to study rocks.’
- B: (kuliko) cili-to.
 and geography-too
 ‘And geography too.’

As shown the above, though the English stripping construction in (1B) superficially seems to be quite similar to the Korean counterpart in (2B), a closer examination reveals the fact that it is not the case: For example, (1B) consists of an NP remnant and the adverb *too* whereas (2B) involves the delimiter (DL) *-to* instead of the adverb. Hence, it appears to be meaningful to examine similarities and differences in the linguistic properties of the PSC between the two. The results of examining the properties, in fact, will enable us to suggest what could be the most appropriate approach to the PSC in both languages.

In this paper, we will examine the various properties of the PSC in the two languages, thereafter we argue that the constructions in English and Korean share lots of linguistic properties except for the morphological one. Accordingly, we claim that the Direct Interpretation Approach (hereafter, DIA) would be more preferable to the Movement-and-Ellipsis Approach (MEA) to account for the positive stripping phenomenon in English and Korean.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces the linguistic properties of the PSC in English and Korean. After critically reviewing the previous Focus Phrase (FP)-based analyses under the MEA, section 3 proposes our Construction Grammar (CG)-based analysis under the DIA and then section 4 demonstrates how it works. Finally, the concluding remarks will follow.

2. Properties of the Positive Stripping Construction

2.1. Morpho-Syntactic Properties

Morpho-syntactically, the PSC in English and Korean shows at least 3 interesting properties. First, the PSC in English typically appears to occur in the pattern of (*and*) *NP too*¹⁾, which can be realized as either *and NP too* or *NP too*, as in (3a-b)²⁾.

- (3) a. Many learned it from him. And songs too. (COCA³⁾ 1991 FIC)
 b. I'd go for her. Yeah, Clarissa too. (COCA 2014 SPOK)

The PSC *and songs too* in (3a) can be schematized as *and NP too* and *Clarissa too* in (3b), as *NP too*. Likewise, the PSC in Korean has the pattern (*kuliko*) *NP[-to]*,⁴⁾ which is realized as *NP[-to]* or *kuliko* ('and') *NP[-to]* as illustrated in (4a-b): *na-to* in (4a) and *kuliko Kim-to* in (4b).

- (4) a. A: Ah, pay-pwul-le.
 be full-Decl
 'I am full.'

-
- 1) The adverb *also* and *as well* can be used instead of *too* in the PSC as follows:
 (i) a. You have a good weekend. And Cynthia **also**. (COCA 2000 SPOK)
 b. I should say Reverend Charles O'Byrne was there for the wedding of John, Jr.
 And Carolyn **as well**. (COCA 1999 SPOK)

However, we mainly focus on the sentences with the adverb *too*.

- 2) The single constituent in the patterns of English could be other categories such as an AP, PP, or VP. However, we simply focus on the NP remnant in the pattern of the PSC.
 3) The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) is one of the largest corpus of American English, and it consists of spoken (SPOK), fiction (FIC), newspapers (NEWS), magazines (MAG), and academic Journals (ACAD).
 4) Like the DL *-to*, the delimiters such as *-cocha*, *-kkaci*, and *-mace* also can be attached to the NP of the PSC in Korean as follows:

Jia-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-ko, ppang-cocha(to)/-kkaci(to)/-mace(to).
 Jia-Nom apple-Acc ate-and bread-too
 'Jia ate an apple, and bread too.'

These DLs usually are attached to a noun or an adverb in Korean, and they function to add a pragmatic meaning. According to Kim & Cho (2016), these delimiters are subtypes of the DL *-to*. (For further issues, refer to Kim & Cho (2016))

- B: *Na-to*.
 Me-too (Sejong Corpus⁵) 2001 SPOK)
- b. *kuliko Kim-to*.
 and Kim-too

The secondary property is that the adverb in English and the DL in Korean are required to occur, while the coordinate conjunctions such as *and* and *kuliko* are optional. If the adverb and the DL do not occur, then the PSCs are not allowed, as seen (5–6).

- (5) Many learned it from him. *Songs.
 (6) Ah, pay-pwul-le. *Na.

The English PSC (5) is ill-formed because the NP *songs* does not co-occur with *too*. Likewise, the Korean counterpart (6) is ungrammatical since the NP *na* occurs without the DL *-to*.

The third syntactic property we must check is whether or not the NP in the PSC observes the so-called island constraints such as Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (CNPC) by Ross (1967).

- (7) A: James met [_{island} the student who speaks German].
 B: Yeah, (and) French, too. (Potter 2017: 31)

The correlate of *French* in (7B) is the NP *German*, which is located in the object position of the *wh*-relative clause in (7A). In this case, the occurrence of *French* in (7B) seems to mean that the PSC in English is insensitive to the island constraints, if any syntactic movement is assumed. Similarly, the Korean PSC appears to be insensitive to the constraints, either.

- (8) A: James-nun [[tokile-lul malha-nun] haksayng-ul] man-nass-e.
 James-Nom German-Acc speak-Top student-Acc met-Decl

5) The Sejong Corpus is a Korean corpus, and contains written and spoken texts. It is collected from corpora of modern Korean, old Korean, and folk literature. (<http://www.sejong.or.kr>)

- ‘James met the student who speaks German.’
 B: (kuliko) phulang-sue-to.
 and French-too.
 ‘and French too.’

The correlate of *phulang-sue-to* in (8B) is the NP *tokile-lul* which is located in the object position of the *wh*-relative clause in (8A). This means that the PSC in Korean is insensitive to the CNPC.

Based on the observations above, the morphological and syntactic properties of the PSC can be summarized as follows:

- (9) a. The English and Korean PSC⁶⁾ may have the patterns (*and*) *NP too* and (*kuliko*) *NP[-to]*, respectively.
 b. The adverb *too* in English or the DL *-to* in Korean is required to occur in the PSC.
 c. The PSC in English and Korean is insensitive to the island constraints including the CNPC.

2.2 Prosodic Properties

It is widely accepted that the NP in the PSC is focused (Merchant 2003, *etc.*). Though Depiante (2000), based on her own intuition, has supported the idea as to the prosodic properties such as stress, it still remains untested. To see whether the idea is correct, we need to check the prosodic properties of the NP in the construction with the computer software for speech sounds Praat⁷⁾.

To account for the focus issue of the non-stripping sentences, Selkirk (1995) has proposed that “an accented word is F-marked” which means that it can be the focus. Further, the F-marked element is projected to the entire sentence as shown in (10).

6) The PSC data in this paper is easily found in daily-life dialogues.

7) The experiment was conducted with the subjects of 10 English and Korean natives. We used Praat which is a computer software for the analysis of the pitch and duration values. Since this experiment is a simple test on the prosodic characteristics of the English and Korean PSC, we did not deal with a statistical experiment such as T-test in this paper. For the detail of a prosodic experiment, refer to Kim (2018).

(10) [_FJohn [_Fbought [_Fa book about[_FBATS]]]].

Though the analysis of Selkirk (1995) may explain the accented focus element in the non-stripping complete sentences, it is not necessarily true that it works for the NP in the PSC. Hence, to see if this analysis works for the NP at issue, we conduct a phonetic experiment. The test data includes two sentences, namely the stripping and non-stripping sentences as following⁸⁾ :

- (11) A: John hit Mary.
 B: a. And Kim too.
 b. Kim too.
- (12) a. Kim hit Mary.
 b. Mary hit Kim.

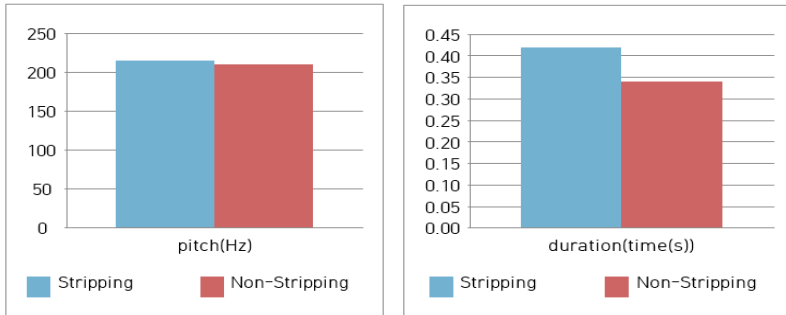
In this test, we analyze the pitch and duration values of the NP *Kim* in (11-12). The results of the experiment are represented below.

(13) a. The evaluation results of the word *kim* in English

S/N	pitch(Hz)		duration(time(s))	
	Stripping	Non-Stripping	Stripping	Non-Stripping
average	214.63	209.56	0.419	0.339

- b. The comparison of the duration and pitch values for word *Kim* between the stripping and the non-stripping in English

8) To get the unique prosodic feature of the stripping cases, we include non-stripping cases which are the counterpart construction as test data.



According to the (13), the NP of the stripping construction in English has the higher values of the pitch and duration than the non-stripping one. Hence, this test shows that the English speakers stress the NP in the pattern (*and*) *NP too* and pronounce it longer.

On the other hand, Korean stripping exhibits a little bit different prosodic properties. The relevant Korean data, where (14a-b) are the stripping cases whereas (15a-b) are not, is as follows:

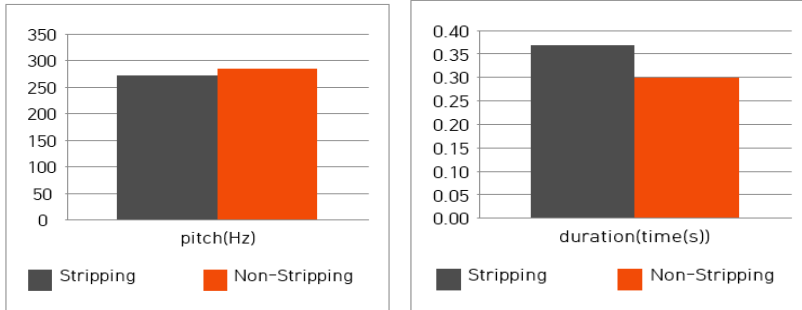
- (14) A: John-i Mary-lul ttaylye-ss-e.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc hit-Del
 ‘John hit Mary.’
- B: a. kuliko Kim-to. b. Kim-to.
 and Kim-too. Kim-too.
 ‘Kim did too.’ ‘Kim did too.’
- (15) a. Kim-to Mary-lul ttaylye-ss-e.
 Kim-too Mary-Acc hit-Del
 ‘Kim hit Mary, too.’
- b. Mary-ka Kim-to ttaylye-ss-e.
 Mary-Acc Kim-too hit-Del
 ‘Mary hit Kim, too.’

By the same token, we analyze the pitch and duration value of the NP *Kim* in the Korean PSC above. The results of the test are shown as in (16).

- (16) a. The evaluation results of the word *kim* in Korean

S/N	pitch(Hz)		duration(time(s))	
	Stripping	Non-Stripping	Stripping	Non-Stripping
average	270.95	284.41	0.367	0.299

b. The comparison of the duration and pitch values for word *Kim* between the stripping and the non-stripping in Korean



As the contrast shows, the NP of the non-stripping construction has the higher value of the pitch than the stripping one. As for the duration, the NP of the PSC represents the higher value than the non-stripping one. In particular, the graph of the duration as in (16b) demonstrates that there is a clear discrepancy in the duration value between the stripping and the non-stripping. From this, we can observe that the Korean speakers tend to pronounce the NP of the PSC longer.

On the basis of the observations above, the prosodic properties of the PSC in English and Korean can be summarized as follows:

- (17) a. As for the pitch part, while the English speakers stress the NP in the pattern (*and*) NP *too*, the Korean speakers place less stress on the NP in the pattern (*kuliko*) NP[-*to*].⁹⁾
- b. As for the duration, both English and Korean speakers pronounce the NP of the PSC longer.

2.3 Meaning properties

9) An anonymous reviewer suggests that the difference in a pitch accent should be due to the differences between *too* and *-to*.

There are at least two interesting semantic properties in the PSC. One of them is that it is uttered to get a full propositional reading from the PSC which consists of a few fragments.

- (1) A: I heard that Jane likes to study rocks.
 B: Yeah, *and geography too*.
 (18) And I heard that Jane likes to study geography, too.

For example, when speaker A utters (1A), speaker B says (1B) as a response. In this utterance, the italicized expression is interpreted to be a full propositional meaning like (18). To account for this property, we should answer how the form meaning mismatch occurs in the English PSC. Similar to English, the Korean PSC also is understood to be a complete propositional meaning.

- (2) A: Na-nun Jane-i pawui-lul yenkwuha-nun kes-ul
 I-Nom Jane-Nom rock-Acc study-Top thing-Acc
 cohahanta-ko tulesse.
 like-and heard-Decl
 ‘I heard that Jane likes to study rocks.’
 B: (kuliko) *cili-to*.
 and geography-too
 ‘And geography too.’
 (19) Na-nun Jane-i cili-to yenkwuha-nun kes-ul
 I-Nom Jane-Nom geography-too study-Top thing-Acc
 cohahanta-ko tulesse.
 like-and heard-Decl
 ‘I heard that Jane likes to study geography, too.’

When speaker A utters (2A), speaker B can say (2B) as a response. In this utterance, the italicized expression in (2B) can be interpreted as in (19).

The other semantic property is about the possibility of ambiguity in the PSC. First, the English stripping like (11B a-b) can be interpreted ambiguously as follows:

- (11) A: John hit Mary.
 B: a. And Kim too. b. Kim too.

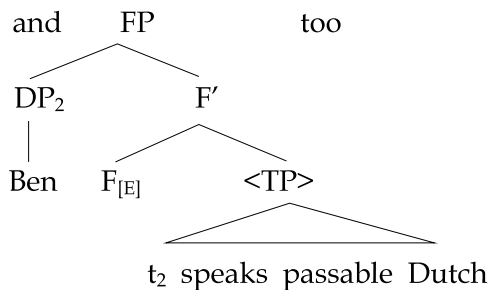
	Properties of the PSC		English	Korean
Similarities	Morpho-Syntax	Island-Insensitive	○	○
	Prosody	Long duration	○	○
	Semantics	Full propositional meaning	○	○
		Ambiguity	○	○
Differences	Morpho-Syntax	the Adverb <i>too</i>	○	X
		the DL <i>-to</i>	X	○
	Prosody	High pitch	○	X

3. Previous Analyses: FP-based Analysis under the MEA

From now on, we critically review the FP-based analyses of the PSC under the MEA with the properties of the PSC in both languages in (21) (cf. Lobeck 1995, Merchant 2003, Potter 2017). For instance, Merchant(2003) under this FP-based analysis has analyzed the PSC in terms of the procedures such as the NP movement to the SPEC position of FP and the ellipsis of TP as illustrated in the following structure:

(22) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and Ben, too.

(23)



(Merchant 2003: 1)

The FP-based analysis basically assumes that the NP *Ben* in (22) moves to the SPEC of FP, and the TP ellipsis occurs, as shown in (23). This syntactic analysis appears to account for how the remnant NP *Ben* can be understood to be the propositional reading “Ben

speaks passable Dutch.” However, it seems to face empirical and theoretical difficulties: As mentioned in (21), the English and Korean PSC both are not sensitive to the CNPC as an island constraint.¹⁰ Further, the NP in the PSC can have a correlate which is not a constituent.

(24) A: You did get the canned tomatoes and canned oysters, didn't you?

B: I did. Onions too. (COCA 2016 FIC)

The correlates of the NP *onions* in (24B) are *tomatoes* and *oysters*, which do not constitute any constituent in (24A). To handle this insensitivity of the island constraints, the theory should additionally explain how to deal with it. Furthermore, the cases such as (24) still remain unexplained under this purely syntactic analysis.

Prosodically, the NP of the PSC in both languages shows that comparing the NP in the non-stripping cases, the duration value is high in common, though the pitch value is different. Since English is a pitch accent language, it seems to be natural that the NP of the English PSC contains a relatively high accent under the FP-based analysis assuming it to be focused. However, it is unclear why the NP of the Korean PSC does not attract high pitch. The analysis may suggest that Korean is not a pitch accent language and hence it exhibits no high pitch accent for the NP. Such a suggestion, however, faces difficulties answering why a focused element in non-stripping sentences of Korean can have a stress (*i.e.* a high pitch accent) exactly like the English. Further, it is questionable how this analysis could explain the fact that the NP in the PSC of both languages has a long duration. Thus, based on the proposal of Selkirk (1995), ‘an accented word may have a [F]’ which can be projected syntactically (cf. Chomsky 1971), the analysis appears to be hard to deal with the duration value in stripping and non-stripping cases together. Rather, the long duration can be purely phonologically accounted for. Specifically, Turk & Stefanie (2007) proposes that English and Korean may have the phrase-final lengthening rule as a universal phonological rule. If we adopt this proposal, we can say that the long duration in the PSC of both languages follows from the pure phonological reason. Hence, the prosodic evidence above cannot be a supporting argument for the FP-based analysis and further such prosodic properties observed in the PSC should be treated independently from syntax.

10) This violation may be repaired by ellipsis under Chomsky's theory as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer.

The final property to review is about the semantics of the PSC. First, the analysis takes an advantage of the syntactic structure like (23) to explain the fact that the surface pattern of the PSC consists of a few fragments but delivers a full sentential meaning. In other words, the elided TP combines with the NP in the SPEC of FP and as a result, we can obtain a complete sentential reading. This could be attractive in that the form–meaning mismatch can be easily accounted for in this analysis. However, the possibility of the ambiguous readings in the PSC was not unexplained clearly under this theory (cf. Kim & Cho 2018). Moreover, since the theory posits a deleted TP based on the previous utterance, the English and Korean stripping expressions such as (25a–b), where the exact TP seems putative, would be problematic.

- (25) a. I'm a bit of a magpie. Hats too. (COCA 2006 MAG)
 b. Na–nun captongsani swucipka–ya. mocatul–to.
 I–Nom a magpie–Coplua Hats–too.
 'I'm a magpie. Hats too.'

Needless to say, the only way to get a correct interpretation from such cases is to check various contexts related to the uttered PSC. In this regard, the FP–based syntactic analysis is hard to avoid the semantic difficulties above, either.¹¹⁾

4. Our Analysis under the DIA

4.1. Our Analysis

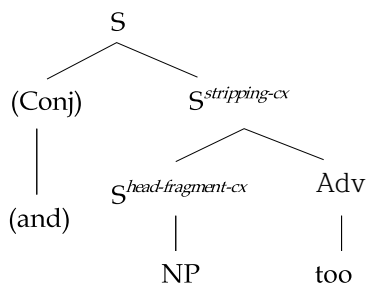
We have pointed out that one of the key differences of the PSC in the two languages is the obligatory existence of the Adverb *too* in English and the DL *-to* in Korean, assuming that the prosodic properties of the PSC are independent from other components. Moreover, the appropriate interpretation can be delivered only when the contexts of an uttered PSC are sufficiently provided.

To accommodate the key idea, we propose an analysis based on the Construction Grammar (CG) under the Direct Interpretation Approach (DIA). Basically, this analysis

11) The current analysis under the CG base generates (25) directly. Hence, the deleted nodes such as TP do not matter.

enables us to represent the English PSC as following:

(26)

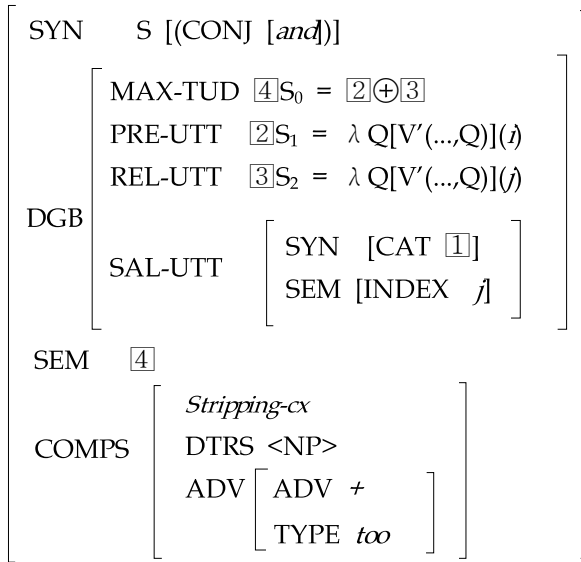


Simply, the stripping construction (*stripping-cx*) consists of a Head-Fragment Construction (*head-fragment-cx*)¹²⁾ whose daughters are an NP and the adverb *too* as in (26), and in turn, the *stripping-cx* combines with the optional conjunct *and* as shown above. The analysis proposes a positive stripping construction (PSC) rule for English, adopting the Ginzberg (2012)'s DGB (Dialogue Game Board)¹³⁾ as following:

(27) Positive Stripping Construction (English Version)

12) For a Head-Fragment Construction, refer to Kim (2015).

13) The DGB has two attributes such as MAX-QUD (Maximal Question Under Discussion) and SAL-UTT (Sailent Utterance). Further, the PRE-UTT (Preceding Utterance) and REL-UTT (Relevant Utterance) proposed by Cho and Lee (2017) are added to the DGB. These attributes will play an important role to explain the PSC semantically and pragmatically.



(Kim and Cho 2018: 90)

As for the English PSC pattern *(and) NP too*, this theory allows an NP in the feature DTRS and *too* in the ADV, assuming the CONJ *and* to be optional in the SYN of the AVM above. As a salient expression, the INDEX value of the NP in the pattern is semantically specified and plays an important role to convey a sentential meaning to the stripping construction in conjunction with the speaker’s contextual information encoded in the DGB. After all, this leads us to getting the right English pattern of the PSC and further obtaining an appropriate reading directly.

Since the only difference in the PSC between the two languages is the pattern, it is easy to postulate the Korean version of the PSC as following:

(28) Positive Stripping Construction (Korean Version)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYN S [(CONJ [} \mathit{kuliko} \text{])} \\ \\ \text{DGB} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MAX-TUD } \boxed{4}S_0 = \boxed{2} \oplus \boxed{3} \\ \text{PRE-UTT } \boxed{2}S_1 = \lambda Q[V'(\dots, Q)](i) \\ \text{REL-UTT } \boxed{3}S_2 = \lambda Q[V'(\dots, Q)](j) \\ \text{SAL-UTT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SYN [CAT } \boxed{1}] \\ \text{SEM [INDEX } j] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \text{SEM } \boxed{4} \\ \\ \text{COMPS} \left[\begin{array}{l} \mathit{korean-stripping-cx} \\ \text{DTRS } \langle \text{NP}[-\textit{to type}] \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Specifically, the difference of the two patterns is specified in the value of the COMPS in the above AVM, namely an NP with *-to*, whose value is *korean-stripping-cx*. Otherwise, the two AVMs, *i.e.* the two constructions, are the same. To enhance your readability, we briefly explain how an appropriate interpretation can be obtained from each pattern. In the English and Korean construction rule, the PRE-UTT specifies a preceding situation which has a situation *S1* and index value *i*. This index value *i* is substituted for the index *j* of the REL-UTT encoded in the SAL-UTT. Throughout the equation and substitution, we can get the appropriate meaning $\boxed{4}$ from $\boxed{2}$. Of course, the PRE-UTT should be given by the speaker’s contextual information such as Background Knowledge, Information Structure and Point of View¹⁴⁾.

4.2. How to work

To help you understand the analysis above, we demonstrate how our theory works. As for the English stripping pattern (*and*) *NP too*, we provide a simplified tree configuration for a representative data in (29).

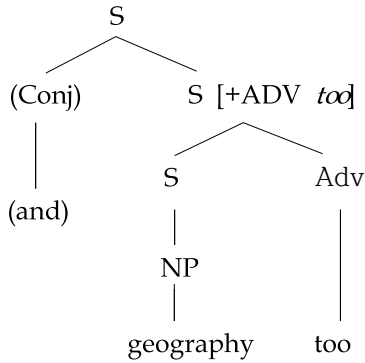
(29) a. A: I heard that Jane likes to study rocks.

14) For the detailed explanation on how a proper reading can be obtained in this theory, see Kim & Cho (2018).

B: Yeah, (and) geography too.

(Lobeck 1995: 27)

b.

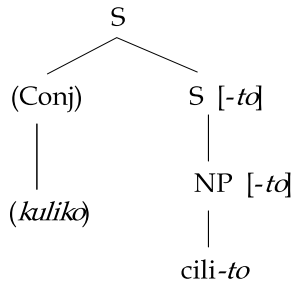


First of all, the response *(and) geography too* in (29B) can be predicted to be grammatical in terms of the SYN and COMPS value of the English stripping construction rule (27). As previously pointed out, the given stripping can be understood as ‘I heard that Jane likes to study geography too.’ To get this reading, we collect the meaning of the previous utterance ‘I heard that Jane likes to study X’ and insert the NP *geography* as a salient element into the variable X in the REL-UTT value, by the definition of the DGB and SEM value in the AVM. Consequently, we can get the right reading from the English stripping via the construction (27).

Similar to the English PSC, we provide a representative data and a simplified tree configuration for the Korean stripping pattern *(kuliko) NP-to* in (30).

- (30) a. A: Na-nun Jane-i pawui-lul yenkwuha-nun kes-ul
 I-Nom Jane-Nom rock-Acc study-Top thing-Acc
 coahanta-ko tulesse.
 like-and heard-Decl
 ‘I heard that Jane likes to study rocks.’
 B: (kuliko) cili-to.
 and geography-too
 ‘And geography too.’

b.



The Korean PSC as the response (*and*) *geography too* in (30B) to (30A) is correctly predicted to be well-formed in terms of the SYN and COMPS value of the Korean PSC (28). As for the semantic part, the given stripping can be interpreted as ‘I heard that Jane likes to study geography too’ exactly like the English counterpart. In the same fashion, we can directly obtain the right sentential meaning from the Korean PSC by the definition of the DGB and SEM value in the AVM of the construction (28).

4. Concluding Remarks

After examining the various properties of the PSC in English and Korean, we could observe the similarities and differences in the PSC between the two languages. The two different properties are morpho-syntactic and prosodic. The morpho-syntactic difference is that the English PSC requires the adverb *too* whereas the Korean must have the DL *-to* attached to the NP in the PSC. On the other, the prosodic difference is that though the NP in the stripping of the both languages can have long duration in common, the NP in the English PSC has an accent but that in the Korean does not. In order to account for the similarities and differences, we have argued that the tests for the pitch accent value in non-stripping sentences are meaningless for the (positive) stripping sentences due to the different phonological environments and moreover, the long duration found in the stripping sentences is sufficiently explained in terms of the final-phrase lengthening rule in phonology. Hence, it may have nothing to do with the syntax & semantics of the stripping construction. So the only difference we should consider is the morpho-syntactic properties.

To provide a concrete structure and a proper reading for the PSC of the two languages, we have proposed each PSC rule for the two languages under the DIA. Rejecting the FP-based syntactic analysis under the MEA, we demonstrate how our analysis can account for the PSC with some representative data.

We believe our analysis under the DIA to be on the right track in the sense that it will enable us to handle lots of untouched stripping data without additional tools.

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Received on May 1, 2019

Revised version received on June 22, 2019

Accepted on June 30, 2019