(Negated) fragments in English: A discourse-oriented and construction-based Perspective

Talk 2: Ellipsis and Response Systems: A Usage and Experimental-based approach

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Introduction

Fragment answers and research questions

- Fragment answers (FAs) are non-sentential utterances that occur in answers to questions. They can be positive or negative:

  (1) a. What do they want from us? Money.
  b. What was his motive? Not money.

- The meaning of these FQ would be:

  (2) a. They want money from us.
  b. His motive was not money.

- Main research questions: how we obtain the propositional meaning from an incomplete sentence form (semantic resolution Q or identity Q), what licenses such FAs (licensing Q), and what is their syntactic structure (structure Q)?

Two possible approaches for FAs: Deletion-based sentential approaches

- Deletion-based sentential analyses: derive fragments from the clausal or sentential sources via a process of ellipsis that deletes everything except a focused constituent. Depending on whether the FA is moved or not, the analyses diverge into move-and-delete or in-situ approaches (see, among others, Morgan 1989; Merchant 2004; Weir 2014; Griffiths 2019).

  (3) Move-and-delete approaches:
  $[_{\text{FocP}}\ [\text{Money}]_i\ [_{\text{TP}}\ \sout{\text{they want}}\ \_\_{}_i\ \sout{\text{from us}}]]$.

  (4) In-situ deletion approaches:
  ~~They want~~ money ~~from us~~.

- The semantic resolution of an FA thus corresponds to the assumed clausal source.
- Complexity in retrieving the 'silent' syntactic structure but simple semantic resolution.

Two possible approaches for FAs: WYSWYG-based non-sentential approaches

- WYSWYG non-sentential approaches: generate short or fragment answers 'directly' with no postulation of clausal sources; assumes neither deletion nor movement operations (Stainton 1995; Ginzburg & Sag 2000; Culicover & Jackendoff 2005; Jacobson 2016):

  (5) $[_{S}\ [_{NP}$ Money]].

- The semantic resolution refers to the discourse structure provided by the context: They want something (x) from us.
- Simple syntactic structure but complexity in the semantic resolution.

In this talk

- Discuss arguments for the deletion-based sentential analyses that assume clausal syntax for the unexpressed parts in FAs
- Discuss the empirical data for ‘negated’ FAs that challenge the sentential analyses
- Lay out a discourse-based direct interpretation (DI) approach that can yield a systematic semantic resolution process from a simple syntax

Deletion-based sentential analyses for fragment answers

Arguments for a clausal source: case matching connectivity

- The case marking of FA is the same as the corresponding NP's in a full sentential answer (Morgan 1989; Merchant 2004).

(6) Q: Whose car did you take?
A1: John's./*John.
A2: I took John's car/*John.

(7) Q: Nwukwu-lul po-ass-ni? (Korean)
who-ACC see-PST-QUE
'Who did you see?'
A1: Mimi-lul 'Mimi-ACC'/*Mimi-ka 'Mimi-NOM'
A2: Mimi-lul/*Mimi-ka po-ass-e.
Mimi-ACC/MImi-NOM see-PST-DECL
'(I) saw Mimi.'

Arguments for clausal source: connectivity in binding

- NP fragments display the same binding properties as they do in the sentential equivalents (Morgan 1989; Merchant 2004):

(8) Q: Who does John like?
A1: Himself/*Herself.
A2: John likes himself/*herself.

(9) Q: Where is he$_i$ staying?
A1: *In John$_i$'s apartment.
A2: *He$_i$ is staying in John$_i$'s apartment.

Arguments for movement: preposition stranding

- Preposition stranding generalization: In the language allowing prepositional stranding, FAs could be either a PP or a bare NP (Merchant 2004):

(10) Q1: Who was Peter talking with?
Q2: With whom was Peter talking?
A: (With) Mary. (← With Mary, Peter was talking/Mary, Peter was talking with.)

(11) Q: Mit wem hat Anna gesprochen?
with whom has Anna spoken
'With whom has Anna spoken?'
A: Mit dem Hans./*Dem Hans.

Arguments for movement: island sensitivity

- FAs seem to undergo A′-movement, observing island constraints including the CNPC and the Adjunct Island (Merchant 2004):

(12) Q: Does Abby speak the same Balkan language that *Ben* speaks?
A1: *No, Charlie.
A2: No, she speaks the same Balkan language that *Charlie* speaks.

(13) Q: Did Ben leave the party because *Abby* wouldn't dance with him?
A1: *No, Beth.
A2: No, he left the party because *Beth* wouldn't dance with him.

Arguments for movement: complementizer deletion

- The embedded complementizer cannot be omitted in FAs if it cannot be topicalized in the full sentential counterpart (Morgan 1989; Merchant 2004):

(14) Q: What are you ashamed of?
A1: *(That) I ignored you.
A2: That I ignored you, I am ashamed of.
A3: *I ignored you, I am ashamed of.

Arguments against movement: no focus movement

- Focus fronting is restricted only to contrastive focus (Valmala 2007; Weir 2015) :

(15) Q: What did Susan eat?
A1: #Spinach she ate.
A2: She ate spinach.
A3: Spinach.

Arguments against movement: bare quantifier

- no parallelism between fronting and FAs: bare quantifier phrases cannot undergo fronting, but they can nevertheless be fragment answers (Merchant 2004; Weir 2015):

(16) a. *Someone, I will talk to __ ./??Everyone, I will talk to __ .
b. *It's someone I will talk to __ ./??It's everyone I will talk to __ .

- Some attested data

(17) a. Who is responsible for not catching up with our responsibilities? Somebody. (COCA 2006 SPOK)
b. Who doesn't like me? Everyone. (COCA 1995 TV)
c. What was that all about? Something. (COCA 2013 TV)

Arguments against ellipsis:

- Unlike VPE, fragment answers cannot pick up antecedents which are inside parentheticals/appositives (Weir 2015):

(18) A: John once killed a man.
B: Yeah, Bill.

(19) A: John, who once killed a man, is nice once you get to know him.
B: #Yeah, Bill.

Arguments against ellipsis: entailment

- Different entailment between full clauses and fragments (Jacobson 2016)

(20) Q: Which math professor left the party at midnight?
A: Well, Jill left the party at midnight, but I don't think she's a math professor.
A: Well, Jill, #but I don't think she's a math professor.

Arguments against ellipsis: unclear putative sources

- Antecedentless fragments in the discourse initial position (Stainton 1995):

(21) a. [In a taxi.] To the train station, please.
b. [In a café.] A coffee, please.
c. [Admonishing a child holding a bowl of soup unsteadily.] Both hands.

- Even in the non-initial position

(22) M: What are you going to buy?
S: A chocolate.
[M gives S a disapproving look]
S: Something healthier?

Arguments against ellipsis: unclear putative sources

- prevalent attested examples with no determined sentential sources:

(23) A: Why are you so nervous?
B: Coffee. (COCA 2007 MOV)

- There could be more than one possible sentential source for this simple FA.

(24) a. I am so nervous because of coffee.
b. Due to coffee, I am so nervous.
c. The reason is coffee.
d. It is coffee that makes me so nervous.
e. Coffee makes me nervous.

Arguments against movement: no parallelism

- Fronting strategy is not possible with a negative inversion expression, but the corresponding FA is acceptable (Valmala 2007):

(25) a. Never in my life will I accept the possibility of resigning.
b. *Never in my life I will accept the possibility of resigning.

(26) A: When will you accept the possibility of resigning?
B1: Never in my life.
B2: *Never in my life will

- Some attested data:

(27) a. Can you forgive Tom Ryan? Never in this life. (COCA 2008 TV)
b. That's no good, is it? Not in this world. (COCA 2005 FIC)

Arguments against movement: no parallelism

- Fronting is possible for an expression in the embedded clause, but FA is not possible for the corresponding one (Valmala 2007).

(28) a. Albanian$_i$ I think she speaks t$_i$.

b. I think that Albanian$_i$ she speaks t$_i$.

c. I think Albanian$_i$ she speaks t$_i$.

(29) A: What Balkan language does she speak?

B1: Albanian I think.

B2: *I think that Albanian.

B3: I think Albanian

Negated fragments

Negated fragment answers: Basic data

- Just like positive FAs, various syntactic categories can serve as NFAs (negative FAs):

(30) a. What are you into these days? Not algebra. (COCA 2007 TV)

b. Do you have a problem? Not with you. (COCA 2016 TV)

c. Did you hear that? Not a sound. (COCA 2014 TV)

d. Does it feel good? Not very good. (COCA 2010 TV)

e. Have we met before? Not officially. (COCA 1993 TV)

Negated fragment answers: Basic data

- Not only phrases, but also clauses can be involved in NFAs:

(31) a. Who did that? Not for you to worry about. (COCA 2015 TV).

b. Are they supposed to be running test today? Not that I'm aware of. (COCA 2017 TV).

c. Will they torture us ? Not if you answer their questions. (COCA 2018 TV)

d. Don't you ever knock? Not when you stay out two nights in a row, my friend. (COCA 2019 TV)

Move-and-delete for negative fragments

- Merchant (2003) and Weir (2020): the deletion-based view could generate negated fragments in two different ways:

(32) A: What did John give to Mary?
B: Not flowers.

1. The constituent negation approach:

(33) a. ~~John gave~~ [not [flowers]] ~~to Mary~~. (in-situ deletion)
b. [[Not [flowers]] ~~[John gave __ to Mary]~~] (move-and-delete)

2. The sentential operator (or left-peripheral) approach:

(34) a. [Not [~~John gave~~ [flowers] ~~to Mary~~]]. (in-situ deletion)
b. [Not [flowers [~~[John gave __ to Mary]~~]]]. (move-and-delete)

Data supporting for the sentential analysis

- Syntactic connectivity in the case value/preposition.

(35) a. So where did it come from? Not from God!

b. What were you talking about? Not about the reward.

- Connectivity with the implicit argument

(36) a. Did he happen to mention his name? Not to me./*Not for me.

b. Are we getting coffee? Not for me/*to me.

Data supporting for the sentential analysis

- Connectivity in binding effects:

(37) a. What are you feeling right now ? Not myself at all.

b. But can you fight him? Not by myself.

c. How has your son been lately? Not himself.

(38) a. Who did he$_{*i}$ meet last night? Not him$_{*i}$.

b. Where is she$_{i}$ sleeping? Not in Mary$_{*i}$'s room.

Arguments against the sentential approaches

- Prevalent non-case matching or even no preposition matching:

(39) a. Who wants that? Not me./*Not I.

b. Are you now saying that she's asking for more money? Not her./*Not she.

- Preposition mismatching:

(40) a. Where is he at right now? Not on the phone.

b. He is on the phone./*He is not at the phone.

Arguments against the sentential approaches

- Preposition mismatch: the prepositional matching requirement is overridden.

(41) a. Where will the dish be assembled? Not the kitchen. (COCA 2002 NEWS)

b. Do you date the girls that work in those establishments too? Not the bookstore. (COCA 1999 MOV)

- The putative clause sources of the fragments here would be something like the following:

(42) a. The dish will not be assembled *(in) the kitchen.

b. I date the girls that work *(in) the bookstore.

Arguments against the sentential approaches

- Island insensitivity:

(43) a. Isn't there some special light that finds blood? Not blood. (COCA 2015 TV)

b. You know what you should do if you're afraid to drive? Not drive. (COCA 2017 TV)

(44) a. Will they wonder if the lions will devour the wildebeest? Not the wildebeest.

b. Did they met someone that knows Whitney? Not Whitney.

On the status of *not*: sentential or constituent?

- Sentential negation? The clausal sources are unacceptable (data from Weir 2020):

(45) What did John gave to Mary? Not flowers.

(46) a. *John gave not flowers to Mary. (with sentential negation)
b. *Not flowers John gave to Mary.
c. ??Not flowers did John give to Mary.
d. *Not John gave flowers to Mary.

On the status of *not*: constituent negation?

- An example like (45) can be acceptable with the negator being contrastive, the constituent negation approach may gain more support than the sentential operator approach (Weir 2020):

  (47) John gave not flowers but chocolates to Mary.

- However, there are clear instances where *not* is interpreted as sentential negation: the negator in the fragment has a wide scope reading (Merchant 2003; Weir 2020):

  (48) A: What did Beth say she wanted to study?
  B: Not French. (=Beth didn't say she wanted to study French.)

On the status of *not*: constituent negation?

- Sentential negation following a sentential adverb (Weir 2020):

(49) a. Are you ready for that? Obviously not .
b. Will she keep it? Almost certainly not.

- Even the reverse ordering is possible for some:

(50) a. Do you need to know HTML? Not absolutely.
b. Does it follow that we should give up making such judgments? Not obviously.

- Other final negation:

(51) a. Are these two ways of saying the same thing? I think not.
b. If he comes, it will be fine: if not, we have a problem.

Challenges for the in-situ approach

- For the negator in the final, one might adopt in-situ sentential approaches:

(52) a. Possibly ~~he is~~ not ~~coming today~~.

b. ~~She will~~ almost certainly not ~~keep it~~.

- However, note that this alternative is not a plausible option when the remnant functions as the subject:

(53) Who danced with Mary? Not John/*John not.

(54) a. *Not John danced with Mary.

b. John did not dance with Mary.

An escape hatch for the in-situ approach

- The negation in such a context is hosted in a left-peripheral NegP (or ΣP/PolP) above the Focus position and to this position, the remnant is moved (Merchant 2004; Vicente 2006):

  (55) $[_{\text{NegP}}\ \text{Not}_i\ [_{\text{FOC}}\ \text{John}_j\ \sout{[\_\_ _i\ \text{did}\ \_\_ _j\ \text{dance with Mary}]}]]$

- The question then arises if English allows movements with crossing paths and further how to deal with clear constituent negation.

  (56) a. What's wrong with you? Not a thing.

  b. Does he always talk to you like this? Not always but mostly.

  c. Should I come in? Well, not tonight, but soon.

A discourse-based direct interpretation analysis

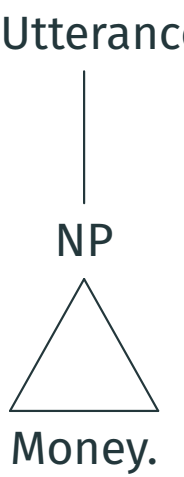
Direct interpretation for fragments

- The direct interpretation (DI) approach licenses the meanings of the unpronounced material with no underlying syntactic structures; there is no syntactic structure at the ellipsis site and fragments are the sole daughter of an S-node, directly generated from the following construction (Ginzburg & Sag 2000; Kim 2015; Abeillé & Kim 2022; Kim & Nykiel 2020):

(57) Head Fragment Construction:
Any maximal category can be projected into a NSU (non-sentential utterance) when it functions as a focus establishing constituent (FEC).

(58) Q: What do you want from us?

A:



discourse structure and parallelism

- The resolution of fragments is achieved by discourse-based machinery. Ever since the pioneering work of Rooth (1992), it is widely acknowledged that ellipsis involves a focus assignment to an expression and further that ellipsis resolution requires certain 'parallelism' between the clause including the ellipsis and its antecedent clause (see, among others, Sag 1976; Kehler 2000; Hardt & Romero 2004; Hartman 2011; Thoms 2016; Griffiths & Lipták 2014; Merchant 2016; Stockwell 2018).

(59) Parallelism condition (Hardt & Romero 2004):
Ellipsis requires that there be some phrase E containing the ellipsis and some antecedent phrase A in the discourse, such that ⟦A⟧ is or contextually implies a member of F(E).

- For an illustration, consider the Stripping example *Kim comes from Seoul, and Lee, too* from Abeillé & Kim (2022). The first conjunct *Kim comes from Seoul* can be a member of F(E), as in (60a), since its focus value is the set of propositions as in (60b):

  (60) a. $[\![$ [Kim comes from Seoul] $]\!] \in$ F([Lee comes from Seoul]) (Stripping: Lee too)

  b. $\{P | \exists x.P = x \text{ comes from Seoul too}\}$

- The Stripping example thus satisfies the condition in (59).

discourse structure and parallelism

- Following Kehler (2000) and Hardt & Romero (2004), we also assume that the parallelism condition for ellipsis is a condition on discourse structure. This means that the Ellipsis Construction (*elliptical-cxt*) bears the following constructional constraints, which are inherited by its sub-constructions including fragment answers (Kim & Runner 2022):

(61) Elliptical Construction:

$$\textit{elliptical-cxt} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{sem}\ \mathrm{E} \\ \textsc{foc}\ \textit{nelist} \\ \textsc{cntxt} \mid \textsc{presup}\ \textit{parallel-rel}(A, E) \end{bmatrix}$$

- The construction reflects the observed generalization that ellipsis clause (E) has at least one FOC expression, and its meaning E is in a parallel-relation with its antecedent A.

discourse structure

- In addition to the Parallelism Condition in the discourse, the interpretation of a fragment answer depends on the notion of 'question-under-discussion' (QUD) in the context.
- CNXT is thus part of the contextual information and has at least the attributes FEC (focus establishing constituent) and MAX-QUD (maximal-question-under-discussion):

(62)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CNXT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAX-QUD} \ldots \\ \text{FEC} \ldots \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

An example

- Consider the following dialogue exchange:

  (63) Q: Who were you with tonight?

  A: Friends.

- Two different approaches to the meaning of a *wh*-question:

  1. propositional set approach: the meaning of questions denotes sets of propositions that are possible answers to the question (see Hamblin 1973; Karttunen 1977; Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984)

  (64) $[\![Q]\!]$ = {I am with Kim tonight, I am with Lee tonight, I am with Mary tonight,...}

  2. Structured-meaning approach: the meaning of a question is a function that yields a proposition when applied to the meaning of the answer (Krifka 2001; Ginzburg & Sag 2000; Jacobson 2016)

  (65) $[\![Q]\!] = \lambda_x[be.with(i, x, tonight)]$

Semantics, QUD, and FEC

- In addition to its own syntax and semantics, a *wh*-question evokes a QUD (question-under discussion) but also introduces a FEC(focus establishing constituent) in the given context:

(66) a.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{form} \left\langle \text{Who were you with tonight?} \right\rangle \\ \textsc{syn}\ \mathrm{S} \\ \textsc{sem}\ \lambda_x\ [be.with(i, x)] \end{bmatrix}$$

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{cnxt} \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{max-qud}\ \lambda_x\ [be.with(i, x)] \\ \textsc{fec} \begin{bmatrix} \textsc{syn} \mid \textsc{cat}\ \mathrm{NP} \\ \textsc{sem}\ x \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

meaning resolution

- The question *Who were you with tonight?*, which introduces a QUD questioning a value for the individual with whom the hearer was tonight (λ_x[be.with(*i*,*x*)]). The fragment *friends*, functioning as a salient utterance, then provides a value for this variable.
- This structured meaning approach would yield the following semantic resolution for the FA in (63):

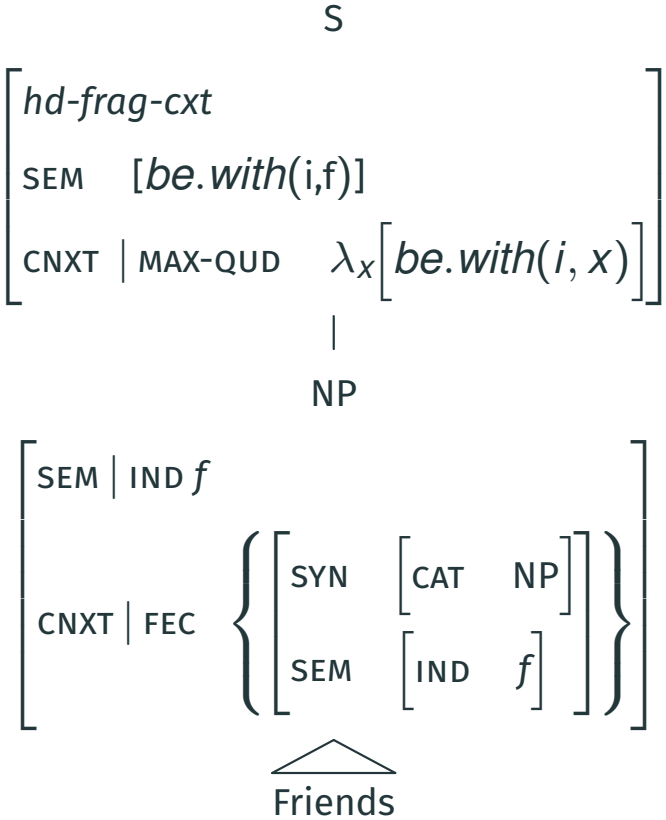
(67) a. Meaning of the Q and QUD: λ_x [$be.with(i, x)$]

b. Meaning of the fragment: f

c. Question applied to the answer: $\lambda_x[be.with(i, x)](f)$ = [$be.with(i, f)$]

Structure of the fragment answer

(68)



Some advantages

- Prevalent examples with no overt sentential source. What is the putative clausal source here?

  (69) Why are you so nervous? Coffee. (COCA 2007 MOV)

- Possible sentential source?

  (70) a. Because of coffee, I am so nervous.
  b. It is because of coffee.
  c. Coffee makes me nervous.
  d. The reason is coffee.
  e. ...

- Semantic resolution referring to the QUD evoked from the context:

  (71) a. Meaning of the Q and the evoked QUD: λ_x [$be.nerveous(i, reason(x))$]
  b. Meaning of the fragment: c
  c. QUD applied to the answer: λ_x [$make(x, i, nerveous(i))$](c) = [$make(c, i, nerveous(i))$]

Negated fragments

- Typical examples again

(72) a. I wonder where he got that from? Not me. (COCA 2019 MOV)
b. Did you really just fix everything? Not everything. (COCA 2018 MOV)

- Within the DI that directly generates FAs as an nonsentential utternance (NSU) without referring to a sentential source, we first can take thee negator as as a constituent negation:

(73) a. $[_{S}\ [_{NP}$ Not $[_{NP}$ me]]].
b. $[_{S}\ [_{NP}$ Not $[_{NP}$ everything]]].

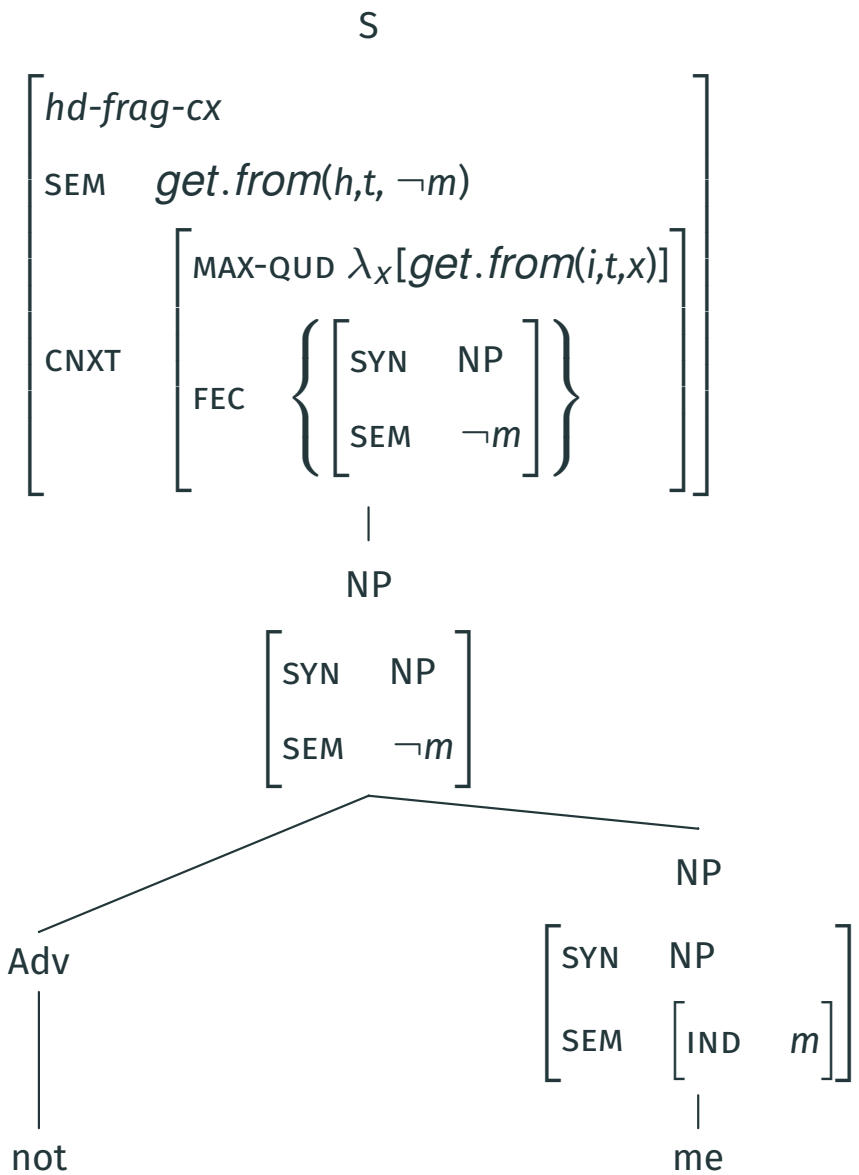
Licensing such simple cases

- The indirect *wh*-question evokes a QUD together with the *wh*-phrase as a focus establishing constituent:

(74)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} \left\langle \text{where he got that from?} \right\rangle \\ \text{SYN S} \\ \text{SEM } \lambda_x \left[get.from(h, t, x) \right] \\ \text{CNXT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAX-QUD } \lambda_x \left[get.from(h, t, x) \right] \\ \text{FEC} \left\{ \left[\text{SEM } x \right] \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Structure of the negated FA

(75)



Meaning resolution

- The fragment answer thus properly offers a value for the focused *wh*-expression: it is not referring to the hearer ‘me’, but to someone else.

(76) a. QUD: $\lambda_x[get.from(i,t,x)]$

b. Meaning of the negated fragment: $\neg m$

c. QUD and Question applied to the answer: $\lambda_x[get.from(i,t,x)](\neg m) = get.from(h,t, \neg m)$

Sentential sources: Constituent or sentential negation?

- The negative FA is linked to the subject

(77) a. Who's a fast reader? Not me. (COCA 2018 TV)

b. Who could do such a thing? Not Ella. (COCA 2010 FIC)

- No direct sentential source is possible:

(78) a. *Not me is a fast reader.

b. *Not Ella could do such a thing.

QUD and meaning resolution

- Within the DI approach here, there is no need to construct a sentential source. The fragment just needs to match a value of the variable evoked in the context.

(79) a. Question and QUD: $\lambda_x[\mathit{fast}.\mathit{reader}(x)]$

b. Meaning of the negated fragment: $\neg m$

c. QUD and Question applied to the answer: $\lambda_x[\mathit{fast}.\mathit{reader}(x)](\neg m) = \mathit{fast}.\mathit{reader}(\neg m)$

As sentential negation

- Examples where the negation behaves like a sentential negation

(80) a. What does he eat? Not fairies. (COCA 2014 MOV)

b. Does it still hurt? Not anymore. (COCA 2012 TV)

- Possible readings involve not constituent but sentential negation:

(81) a. He does not eat fairies.

b. It does not hurt anymore.

One possible direction

- Takes it as a sentential operator combining with an FA:

  (82) [Not [$_{S}$ [$_{NP}$ fairies]]].

- possible support from the Old or Middle English where *not* combines with a finite S:

  (83) a. Not I started to run. (COHA 1938 FIC)
  b. Let them come to you for orders, not you go to them. (COHA 1867 FIC)
  c. Not she plays the Slav Queen. (COHA 1907 NEWS)

  (84) a. Not I believe in the holy Catholique church. (EEBO 1651)
  b. Not I put the lords oath upon you, (EEBO 1660)
  c. Not they meet in silence, and they will speak or pray unless they be moved (EEBO 1694)

A semantic-based analysis

- The negator *not* forms a prosodic unit with the following remnant, forming a syntactic constituent. In addition, the pronoun remnant needs to be accusative, implying that the two are a interconnected constituent in terms of syntax:

  (85) a. Who looks smart? Not me/*I.
  b. Who's paying for these surgeries? Not him/*he.

- Behave like a quantifier in inducing scope ambiguties:

  (86) a. Kim did not find many valuable books.
  b. All that glitters is not gold.

An example

- Adopting De Swart & Sag (2002), we could assume that the negator *not*, just like quantifiers, starts out in storage and can be retrieved at different levels:

(87)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} \langle \ldots \rangle \\ \text{NUCLEUS} \begin{bmatrix} \ldots \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

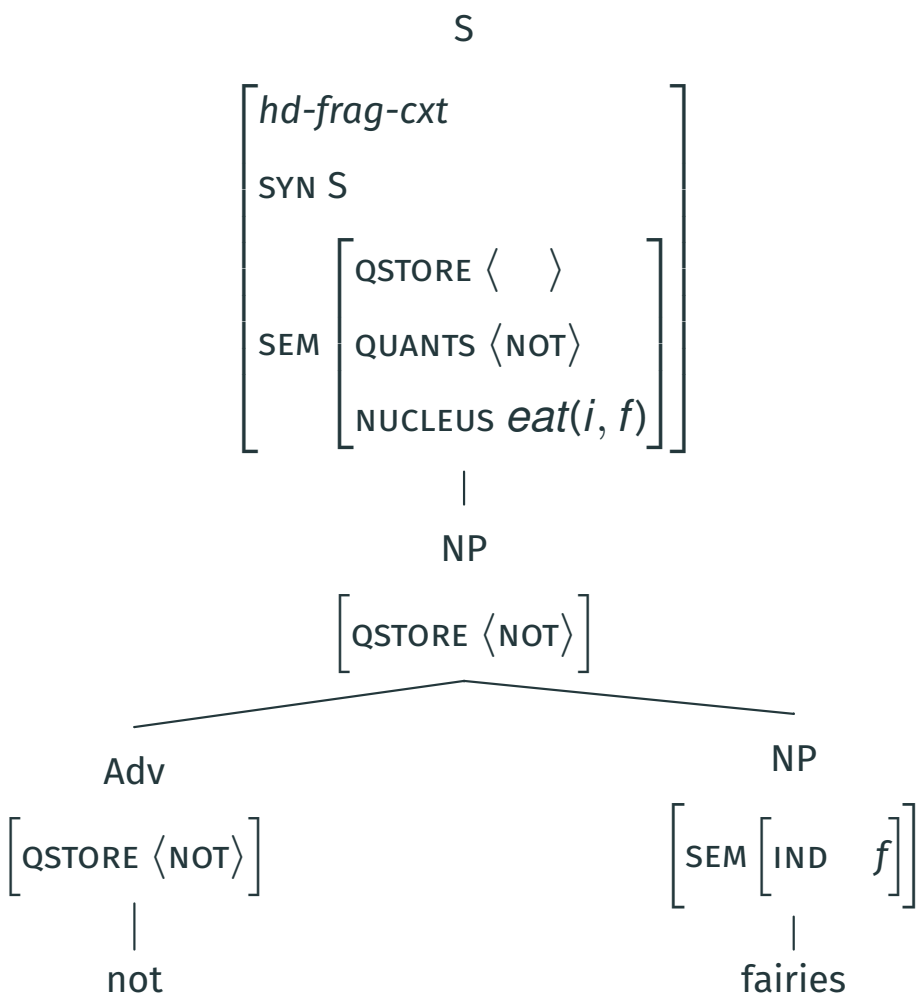
- An example with quantifiers:

(88) a.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} \left\langle \text{EVERY}_x^{person(x)}, \text{SOME}_y^{person(y)} \right\rangle \\ \text{NUCLEUS } love(x, y) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

b.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} \left\langle \text{SOME}_y^{person(y)}, \text{EVERY}_x^{person(x)} \right\rangle \\ \text{NUCLEUS } love(x, y) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Licensed structure

(89)



Meaning resolution

- The FA *not fairies* projects into an NSU as a head-fragment construction. As represented here, the negator stored in the q-storage (QSTORE) is retrieved not at the lower NP level but at the S level for a proper quantification (QUANTS) relation. This allows the negator to be interpreted as sentential negation:

(90) a. MAX-QUD: $\lambda_x[eat(i, x)]$

b. Meaning of the negated fragment with the retrieval of the quantifier 'not' at S: $\neg[eat(i, f)]$

Predictions

- This analysis seems to be more viable, considering that the negator can be interpreted ambiguously:

  (91) What was his motive? Not money.

  (92) a. His motive is not money, but (something else).

  b. It is not the case that his motive is money.

- Syntactically the negator combines with the following NP, but semantically the negator can be retrieved at the NP level or at the sentence level.

  (93) $[_{S}\ [_{NP}$ not [money]]].

Negator in the final position

- Negation can occur in the sentential final position following an adverb or a verb:

(94) a. Does this apply to learning? Maybe not. (COCA 2012 BLOG)
b. Politically, is it the right decision? Probably not. (COCA 1998 SPOK)

(95) a. Are these two ways of saying the same thing? I think not. (COCA 2012 WEB)
b. Is that a lie? I hope not. (COCA 2017 TV)

(96) a. Can I have some time to think about it? Afraid not. (COCA 2016 MOV)
b. Are you going to sign up with me? Most likely not. (COCA 2014 MOV)

Negator as a sentential anaphor

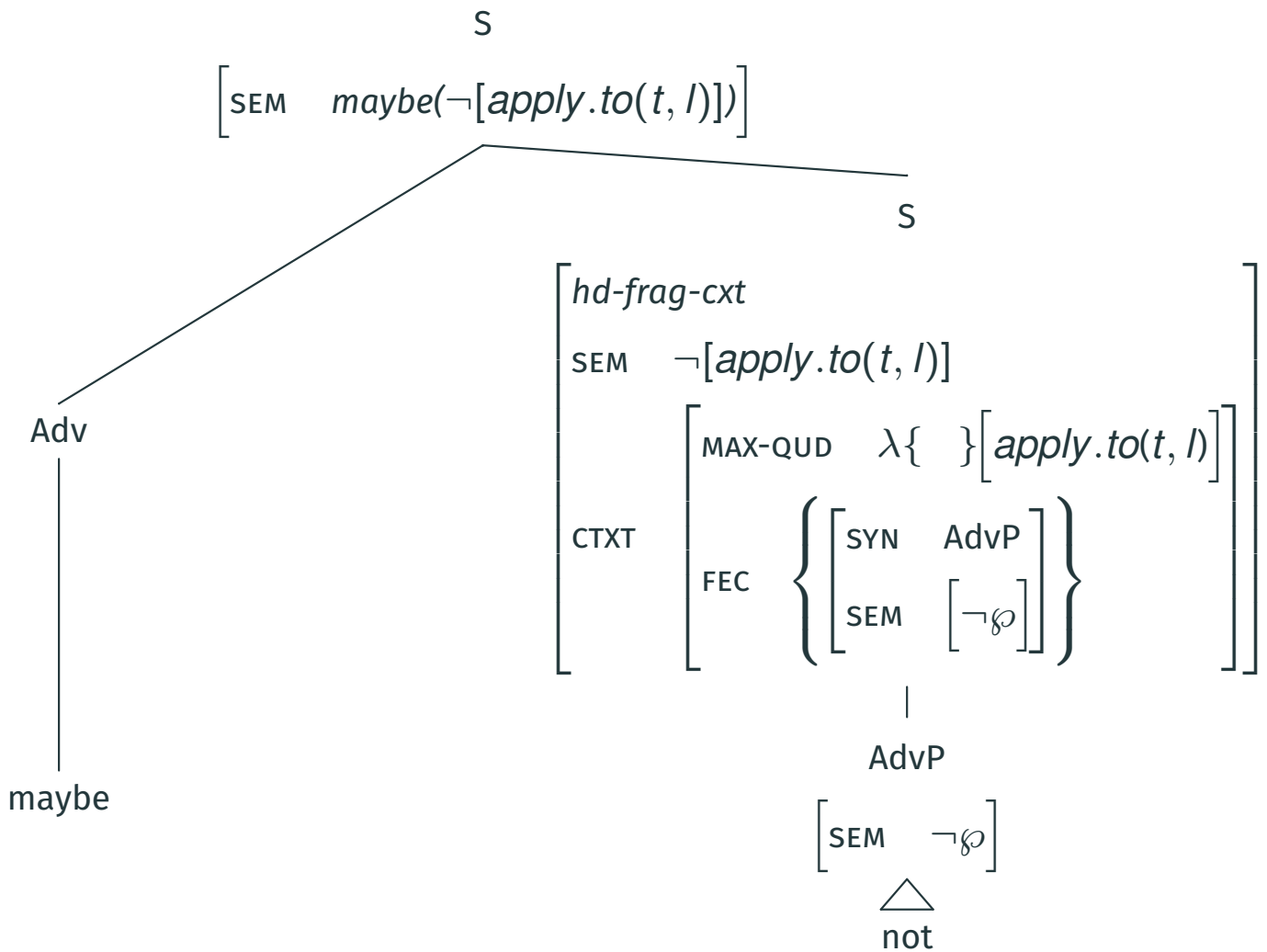
- the negator *not* in these final positions behaves like the propositional anaphor *so*:

(97) a. Does the constitution force me to vote? I don't think so.
b. I think he probably learned his lesson from all this. At least I hope so.
c. If you have a problem with it, say so.

- In these examples, *so* is a type of sentential anaphor, as evidenced from their interpretation. Just like *so*, we could take the negator *not* as a propositional anaphoric expression selecting an antecedent provided by the context as its argument.

Licensed structure

(98)



Advantages: connectivity effects with covert correlate

- the preposition of the fragment needs to match that of the overt or covert correlate. A similar requirement also occurs in negated fragments:

(99) a. Has she mentioned anything? Not to me/*Not with me.
b. You want to dance or something? Not with you/*Not to me.
c. Something you want to talk about? Not to you/*Not with me.

Implicit correlate

- The correlate is implicitly provided by the argument structure of the predicate *mention* and *scare*. Adopting the analysis of Ginzburg & Sag (2000) and Kim (2015), for instance, we could take the unrealized oblique argument of *mention* as an instance of indefinite null instantiation (*ini*) (Ruppenhofer & Michaelis 2014):

(100) Lexical information for *mention*:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textsc{form} & \langle \text{mention} \rangle \\ \textsc{arg-st} & \left\langle \text{NP}_i, \text{NP}_j, \left(\text{PP} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{ini} & \\ \textsc{pform} & \textit{to} \\ \textsc{ind} & x \end{bmatrix} \right) \right\rangle \\ \textsc{sem} & \textit{mention}(i, j, x) \end{bmatrix}$$

- The lexical information specifies that the second argument of *mention* can be an unrealized PP. Uttering the antecedent clause would activate this information and the following QUD:

(101) $\left[\text{MAX-QUD} \quad \lambda_x[mention(i, j, x)]\right]$

- The negated fragment is linked to this variable as a salient expression:

(102)
$$\left[\begin{array}{lll} \text{FEC} & \left[\begin{array}{lll} \text{CAT} & \text{PP} & \left[\begin{array}{ll} ini & \\ \text{PFORM} & toF \\ \text{IND} & x \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right] \\ \text{SEM} & mention(i, j, x) & \end{array}\right]$$

- The QUD that the antecedent clause in (101a) evokes is something like 'The dish will be assembled at x'. The QUD thus introduces a variable in the discourse. The fragment answer *Not the kitchen* is offering a value for this variable: it says that its value cannot be the kitchen. This resolution process can be given in the following:

(103) a. Meaning of the Q: $\lambda_x[be.assembled.at(d,x)]$

b. Meaning of the negated fragment: $\neg k$

c. Question applied to the answer: $\lambda_x[be.assembled.at(d,x)](\neg k) = [be.assembled(d, \neg k)]$

No linguistic antecedent

- The discourse plays a key role in resolving the propositional meaning of negated fragments. Attested data where we can hardly find an overt antecedent:

(104) a. Do you like him? Not my type. (COCA 2010 MOV)
b. How long you had it? Not mine. (COCA 2002 MOV)
c. Where do we get those? Not my problem. (COCA 2006 TV)
d. Who sent the flowers? Not a clue. (COCA 2004 TV)

Sentential source or discourse-structure

- All these examples have no clear sentential sources.
- The context evokes appropriate QUDs and negated FAs function as an answer to these contextually evoked QUDs.
- Syntax-based resolution vs. discourse-based resolution of the (negated) FAs?

Conclusion

Conclusion

- The intriguing feature of positive and negative fragments is that they are non-sentential with respect to form values, but they induce a propositional interpretation.
- This mismatch between form and semantic function has led the development of two main approaches: deletion-based sentential approaches and direct interpretation non-sentential approaches.
- There are a variety of naturally occurring data from which we can hardly build consistent sentential sources.
- The direct interpretation approach offered here shows us that once we have a system that represents clear discourse structures with the information about salient utterances and question-under-discussion, we can have straightforward mapping relations from negated fragments to propositional meaning.

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