

# The syntax of Korean reduced conditionals

## Right edge and pronominalization

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The goal of this paper is to provide an analysis of two important aspects of conditional clauses in Korean. The first goal is to reveal the structure of the conditional clause. In investigating reduced conditionals and regular copula clausal conditionals, we suggest the right-periphery of conditional clauses based on the Split CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997; Saito 2010). The second goal is to examine the distribution of the clausal pronoun *kukes* in reduced conditionals, which, we argue, is the result of FinP ellipsis, building on the ellipsis theory of pronominalization (Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008). In doing so, we make two empirical points: (i) the parallelism regarding argument/adjunct asymmetry indicates that reduced conditionals are derived from clausal conditionals; and (ii) various connectivity effects reveal hidden clausal structure behind the pronominal element *kukes*, which means that there is a tight connection between focus constructions and conditional constructions in Korean. The implication of the present study is that we can argue against a simple-minded dichotomy of anaphora that says there are two types of anaphora, Deep and Surface, and Deep anaphora does not have syntactic structure.

**Keywords:** reduced conditional, right periphery, pronominalization, conditional adverb, ellipsis, Korean

### 1. Backgrounds: Reduced conditionals in Korean

In Korean linguistics, conditional clauses have been mostly studied from the perspectives of semantics and pragmatics (Akatsuka 1985; Yeom 2005; Han 2006; Arita 2007, among others), but little attention has been paid to their syntactic analysis. (There are some syntactic studies on Japanese conditionals. See Mikami 1960; Kuno 1973; Takanashi 2003, among others).

Conditional marking in Korean is typically realized as an inflection on the verb. In the regular copula clausal conditional in (1a), for example, the morpheme

*myen* that marks the conditional appears after the embedded verb. There are, however, cases in which the same conditional marker is attached to NPs as in (1b), which we call *reduced conditionals*. Note that we use the term *reduced conditionals* since, as we shall show, these apparently nominal conditionals are reduced from copula clausal conditionals. One interesting variant of reduced conditional is what we call *pronominal conditionals* in (1c), which is the focus of the current study.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Korean

a. *Copula clausal conditional*

*Minsik-i sakwa-lul mek-un-kes-i-la-myen...*

M-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-COMP-COP-LA-COND

'If Minsik ate an apple...'

b. *Reduced conditional*

*Minswu-la-myen hakkyo-ey iss-ul-ke-i-a*

M-LA-COND school-at be-IRR-THING-COP-DECL

'If (you are talking about) Minswu, he must be at school.'

c. *Pronominal conditional*<sup>2</sup>

*Minsik-i mwuenka-lul mek-koissnun tus-ha-ntey, manyak kukes-i*

M-NOM something-ACC eat-PROG seem-do-but.so manyak it-NOM

*sakwa(-i)-la-myen mas-iss-ulke-ya.*

apple-COP-LA-COND taste-be-must-COP.DECL

'It seems that Minsik is eating something, but if it is an apple, it must be tasty.'

In this study, we explore copula clausal conditionals in (1a), reduced conditionals, NP-*ilaymen* form in (1b), and pronominal conditionals in (1c). We show that

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1. *Manyak* 'hypothetically, in case,' equivalent to *mosi* in Japanese, is an optional conditional adverb that occurs only in conditional clauses to enhance the low likelihood of realization. As shown in (i) below, *manyak* occurring in a declarative, for example, is ungrammatical.

(i) \**manyak kukes-i sakwa-i-ess-ta.*

manyak it-NOM apple-COP-PST-DECL

'Hypothetically, it was an apple.'

2. A reviewer raises a question of whether the referent of *kukes* 'it' can be simply anaphoric to the indefinite *mwuenka* 'something,' and, if not, whether there is any evidence against that possibility. As suggested in our analysis, 'something' is not the correct referent of *kukes*, and, as the reviewer also suggests, animacy offers a strong piece of evidence. For example, if the indefinite 'something' is replaced with a personal one 'someone' in (1c), meaning {'It seems that Minsik is meeting someone, but if it is his teacher, it must be enjoyable.'}, it becomes clear that *kukes* 'it' cannot refer to a person like 'someone' and even more inappropriate to refer to an honorable person like 'teacher'. Thus, we assume that *kukes* refers to the clausal element (see Percus 1997; Han & Hedberg 2008 for a similar analysis of English clefts).

reduced conditionals give us important clues towards understanding the *internal syntax of copula conditional clauses*.

The basic line of argumentation that we pursue is that the two constructions, copula clausal conditionals and reduced conditionals, have the same base structure. Reduced conditionals are derived from copula clausal conditionals, which means that reduced conditionals are associated with a full-fledged clausal structure. In conditional constructions, the copula conditional in (2a) corresponds to the *kes-ita* construction, a focus construction that is equivalent to a cleft construction in English, as in (2b).<sup>3</sup>

- (2) a. *manyak* [[[*Minsik-i sakwa-lul Chelswu-eykey cwu-n kes*] *i*]  
 manyak M-NOM apple-ACC C-DAT give-PST NMLZ COP  
*la-myen*]...  
 LA-COND  
 ‘If Minsik gave an apple to Chelswu ...’
- b. [*MINSIK-i i sakwa-lul Chelswu-eykey cwu-n kes*] *i-ta*.  
 M-NOM this apple-ACC C-DAT give-PST KES COP-DECL  
 ‘It is Minsik who gave this apple to Chelswu.’

We make three points: First, we show what conditionals can tell us about the right-periphery in Korean, based on Rizzi (1997) and Saito’s (2010) Split CP hypothesis; we show that the conditional maker *myen* should be outside of the Report head (and nominalizer) (Saito 2010), forming a double-headed structure with two Forces, the (reported) declarative and the conditional. Second, pronominal and non-pronominal conditionals show exactly the same properties. Finally, the clausal pronoun in the pronominal conditional is a residue of clausal ellipsis, specifically, the ellipsis of FinP, in the sense of Rizzi (1997), applied to a copula clausal conditional, as a result of pronominalization in the sense of Baltin & Craenenbroeck (2008). Furthermore, as a consequence of this, we argue that pronominals do not necessarily mean deep anaphora.<sup>4</sup>

3. Note that the triple bracketing in (2a) indicates the boundaries for a conditional clause, a copula clause, and a nominalized clause, and the conditional adverb *manyak* may appear within the nominalized clause preceding the verb.

4. Let us point out one interesting property of reduced conditionals, namely its use as a topic marker. Semantically, the restricted distribution of conditional NP to a *given or presupposed* context reveals its commonality with topics, as shown in the Example (iB). Furthermore, conditional clauses and topics are marked identically in a number of typologically distant languages (e.g., languages cited in Haiman 1978). The same seems to hold true in Korean to some extent, in which conditional markers (part of complementizer system) could be attached to the verb and form a conditional clause, or conditional markers can also be attached to NP and form a topic-like NP. As the term implies, this particle can be used basically in the same context as a regular topic marker such as *nun*. For example, both the topic marker *nun* and the reduced

## 1.1 Roadmap

The paper proceeds as follows: In §2, we show that there is a tight connection between conditional clauses and focus constructions in Korean; we compare their properties regarding *connectivity*, *inversion*, *idiomatic meaning*, and *copula*, and take these connectivity effects and shared properties to argue that the clausal pronoun *kukes* ‘it’ is the same creature in pronominal conditionals and focus constructions. In §3, we offer an analysis of the clausal pronoun *kukes* ‘it’ – the pronominalization is the result of FinP ellipsis in the sense of Baltin & Craenenbroeck (2008), showing how the proposed account captures the empirical picture of focus constructions. In §4, we move on to the structure of the right-periphery in Korean conditional clauses: in §4.1, we show that the right edge of conditionals is notable in that the conditional head *myen* should be outside of the Report head (and nominalizer) (Saito 2010); in §4.2, we show how the pronominalization analysis with the internal structure for *kukes* ‘it’ predicts the observed properties of the pronominal conditional. We conclude with §5.

## 2. The focus-conditional link

There are several focus constructions in English such as *it*-cleft and pseudocleft constructions, as in (3). These constructions include a cleft clause, and a focused XP like ‘Korean’ in (3a–b). In either construction, the focused XP (‘Korean’) is coindexed with the missing argument ‘Korean’ in the cleft clause like ‘we want to learn ~~Korean~~’ (Collins 1991; Kim 2013, among others), as given below (Kim 2008: (1)).

- (3) a. It-cleft: It is Korean that we want to learn.  
 b. Pseudocleft: What we want to learn is Korean.

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conditional marker *ilaymen* are used in a typical context for a topic below, in which the topicalized NP *Minsik* must have some topic marker, and if a Nominative case marker such as *ka* is attached, the sentence is infelicitous. Both *nun* and *ilaymen* can be used naturally in this context, as opposed to *ka*.

- (i) A: ‘Have you seen Minsik?’  
 B: *Minsik*-{*i-la-myen/nun/\*ka*} *tosekwan-eyse kongpwu-ha-koiss-ess-e*.  
 M-COP-LA-COP-COND/TOP/NOM library-at study-do-PROG-PART-COP  
 ‘{If you are talking about/as for} Minsik, he was studying in the library.’

In a similar vein, traditional Japanese linguistics has pointed out that conditional topic NPs and conditional clauses are somehow related (Mikami 1960; Takanashi 2003 among others). In Japanese traditional grammar, the marker *nara* as used in reduced conditionals has been called *teidai joshi* (topic particle) (Masuoka & Takubo 1992 et al.).

In Japanese also, there are several focus constructions that share significant similarities. Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002) call them the (pseudo)cleft construction, the *no-da* in-situ focus construction, and the sluicing construction. We can compare their properties with the following Korean counterparts. In (4a), we have a cleft construction with ACC in focus position (and its counterpart without ACC is termed a pseudocleft construction in Korean and Japanese literature). In (4b), we have a *kes-ita* construction in which the entire matrix clause is headed by the nominalizer *kes* and followed by the copula *ta*, just like the Japanese *no da* in-situ focus construction, in which any phonologically prominent phrase in the nominalized CP receives a narrow focus interpretation. In (4c), we have a sluicing construction, in which ACC is optional just like the cleft construction.

- (4) a. *Pseudocleft*  
 [Minsik-i mek-un kes]-un i sakwa(-lul) (sey-kay) i-ta.  
 M-NOM eat-PST COMP-TOP this apple-ACC three-CLF COP-DECL  
 ‘What Minsik ate is (three of) these apples.’
- b. *Kes-ita construction* (= “*no-da*” in Japanese)  
 [Minsik-i I SAKWA-lul mek-un kes] i-ta.  
 M-NOM this apple-ACC eat-PST KES COP-DECL  
 ‘It was this apple that Minsik ate.’ (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002)
- c. *Sluicing*  
 Minsik-I Chelswu-eykey mwuenka-lul cwu-n tus-ha-ntey, na-nun  
 M-NOM C-DAT something-ACC give-PST seem-do-but.so I-TOP  
 [mwues(-ul) i nci] molu-n-ta.  
 what-ACC COP Q know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Minsik seems to have given something to Chelswu but I don’t know what.’

The gist of Hiraiwa & Ishihara’s (2002) analysis is that these three constructions are derivationally related, as illustrated schematically with Korean counterpart in (5). They argue that cleft is derived from the structure of the in-situ focus construction via a focus movement of a pivot followed by remnant movement of FinP to TopP in (5c). On the other hand, if FinP undergoes ellipsis following the focus movement, as illustrated in (5d), the structure of sluicing is derived.

- (5) a.  $[_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} NP-lulV]-tense]-kes]-ita]]]$   
 b. Step 1: Focus movement  
 $[_{TopP} [_{FocP} \boxed{NP-lul} [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} t_{NP-o} V]-tense]-kes]-ita]]]$   
 c. Step 2: Topic movement of FinP (*Cleft*)  
 $[_{TopP} \boxed{[_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} t_{NP-o} V]-tense]-kes]-un} [_{FocP} NP-lul t_{FinP} -ita]]]$   
 d. Step 3: Ellipsis of FinP in situ (*Sluicing*)  
 $[_{TopP} [_{FocP} NP-lul [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} t_{NP-o} V]-tense]-kes]-ita]]]$

Hiraiwa & Ishihara's analysis successfully captures the parallelism among these focus constructions. However, there is a potential problem with their analysis, namely, these focus constructions can have biclausal, rather than monoclausal, structure. We believe that Hiraiwa & Ishihara's analysis is basically the monoclausal analysis of these focus constructions. However, there is some evidence that suggests that they have multi-clausal structure; e.g., NPI licensing (Cho et al. 2009). Though this point is of potential interest, we leave this issue open. For related discussion, readers are referred to Cho et al. (2009).

## 2.1 Pronominal sluicing and pronominal conditionals

It has been suggested in the literature that Korean Sluicing is derived from a pseudocleft structure (Park 2007; Kim 2012). In (6a), for example, the source of the sluicing sentence is the underlying presuppositional pseudocleft sentence before the application of the deletion process (for the part to be deleted). The strikethrough part can be replaced with the pronoun 'it', as in (6b).

- (6) a. *Sluicing derived from a pseudocleft*  
*na-nun* [~~*Minsik-i pimanha-n kes-i*~~] *nwukwu-i-nci molu-n-ta.*  
 I-TOP M-NOM ~~blame-PST-KES-NOM~~ who-COP-Q know.not-PRS-DECL  
 [Context: Minsik blamed someone but...] 'I don't know who (Minsik blamed).'
- b. *Sluicing with a pronoun 'it' referring to the content of deleted pseudocleft*  
*na-nun kukes-i nwukwu-i-nci molu-n-ta.*  
 I-TOP it-NOM who-COP-Q know.not-PRS-DECL  
 'I don't know who it was (that Minsik blamed).'

Like sluicing, Korean reduced conditionals also involve elements like NP or PP followed by copula. This similarity leads us to the following possibility: like sluicing, reduced conditionals are derived from copula clauses via movement and ellipsis. We pursue this possibility and further reveal the following: Sluicing and reduced conditionals with the explicit pronoun *kukes* 'it' (which we term Korean Pronominal Sluicing (KPS) and Korean Pronominal Reduced Conditionals (KPRC), respectively) show very strong parallelism.<sup>5</sup>

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5. Regarding the special property of this kind of pronoun in Japanese sluicing, i.e. revealing the properties of both pronouns and clauses, Takahashi (1994) suggests two possibilities: (a) TP deletion and (b) concealed cleft; and Nakao & Yoshida's (2005) current proposal is along the line of "concealed cleft" analysis (Takahashi 1994; Saito 2004, among others).

- (7) a. *Minsik-i nwukwunka-lul pinan-ha-yss nu-ntey, na-nun kukes-i*  
 M-NOM someone-ACC blame-do-PST PROG-but.so I-top it-NOM  
*nwukwu i-nci molu-n-ta.* (KPS)  
 who COP-Q know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Minsik blamed someone, but I don’t know who (it was).’
- b. *Minsik-i mwuenka-lul mek-koissnun tus-ha-ntey, manyak kukes-i*  
 M-NOM something-ACC eat-PROG seem-do-but.so manyak it-NOM  
*sakwa(-i)-la-myen mas-iss-ulke-ya.* (KPRC)  
 apple-COP-LA-COND taste-be-must-COP.DECL  
 ‘It seems that Minsik is eating something, but if it is an apple, it must be tasty.’

As shown in Japanese Pronominal Sluicing (JPS; Takahashi 1994; see also Saito 2004; Yoshida 2006, among others), we show that KPRC, as well as KPC, has the following properties:

- (8) a. KPS and KPRC show connectivity effects;  
 b. KPS and KPRC do not allow the inversion of presuppositional clause and focused element;  
 c. KPS and KPRC preserve idiomatic meaning;  
 d. KPS and KPRC must contain a copula.<sup>6</sup>

(8a) and (8b) have been extensively documented and widely accepted in previous literature, but we add newly found properties in (8c–d); to wit, preservation of idiomatic meaning and obligatory presence of copula in Korean. Let us examine KPS and then move on to KPRC, briefly illustrating parallels between KPS and KPRC.

### 2.1.1 Properties of KPS

First, the *wh*-remnant in KPS shows a variety of *connectivity effects*. The following example is a cleft with the ellipsis of clausal material (the internal structure of which, we assume, is equivalent to KPS), illustrating binding and case connectivity effects and postposition connectivity effects (cf. Cho et al. 2009).

6. Note that, presumably, a copula is required in principal for all reduced conditionals, but can be unpronounced in certain environments for purely phonological reasons. The rule of Korean phonology forces the null copula after CV structure, just as the forms of case markers alternate depending on its phonological environment (e.g. nominative case markers CV-*ka* vs. CVC-*i*, accusative case markers CV-*lul* vs. CVC-*ul*, topic markers CV-*nun* vs. CVC-*un*). Further evidence to support the obligatory presence of (overt or covert) copula in reduced conditional comes from the fact that such a covert copula is also observed in regular copula sentences such as *Sue-ta* ‘Sue-DECL’ {‘It’s Sue.’}, which is analyzed as *Sue-i-ta* ‘Sue-COP-DECL.’

- (9) a. *Minsik-i nwukwunka-lul pinan-ha-yss nu-ntey, na-nun kukes-i*  
 M-NOM someone-ACC blame-do-PST PROG-but.so I-TOP it-NOM  
*Swuni-lul i-nci-an-i-nci molu-n-ta.*  
 S-ACC COP-if-NEG-COP-if know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Minsik blamed someone, but I don’t know whether it was Swuni.’
- b. *Minsik-i etinka-lopwuthe cim-ul ponay-n-tusha-ntey, na-nun*  
 M-NOM somewhere-from baggage-ACC send-PST-seem-but.so I-TOP  
*kukes-i Seoul-lopwuthe i-nci-an-i-nci molu-n-ta.*  
 it-NOM Seoul-from COP-if-NEG-COP-if know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘It seems that Minsik sent his baggage to us from somewhere, but I don’t know whether it was from Seoul or not.’

There are two important points in Example (9). First, accusative case in Korean can be analyzed as a structural case (cf. Saito 1982; Takezawa 1987, among others, for Japanese; Ko 2000; Yoon 2004), and we assume that it is assigned to an NP that is the sister of the verb, the direct object. Therefore, it is most plausible to think that the accusative case on the remnant phrase, *Swuni* in (9a) is assigned by the *v* (voice) of the verb in the sister relation.

Furthermore, since the verb *molu* ‘not.know’ is not an ECM type verb (cf. Kuno 1976; Saito 1985 for Japanese; Yoon 1989; Sakai 1998), it is not likely that *al* ‘know’ or its negative form *molu* assigns an accusative case to the remnant NP. These two points strongly suggest that the remnant NP is assigned accusative case by the verb that is in the elided site; i.e. *pinan-ha* ‘blame-do’. The example in (9b), the connectivity effect involving postpositions, points to exactly the same conclusion. The postpositional phrase in (9b) is selected by a particular class of verb such as *ponay* ‘send’, and it is not compatible with a verb like *molu* ‘not.know’ in Korean. As in the case of case connectivity, the remnant postpositional phrase should thus be selected by the verb that is in the elided structure.

Turning to binding connectivity, the local anaphor *cakicasin* ‘self’ in (10) seems to be bound by the subject in the first conjunct. *Cakicasin*, however, requires a local c-commanding antecedent in Korean grammar.

- (10) *Minsik<sub>1</sub>-un nwukwunka-lul pinan-hay-ss-nu-ntey, na-nun kukes-i*  
 M-TOP someone-ACC blame-do-PST-PROG-but.so I-TOP it-NOM  
*cakicasin<sub>1</sub>-ul i-nci-an-i-nci molu-n-ta.*  
 self-ACC COP-if-NEG-COP-if know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Minsik<sub>1</sub> blamed someone, but I don’t know whether it was himself<sub>1</sub>.’

Thus, it is implausible to think that the subject in the first conjunct – which does not c-command the local anaphor – directly binds it. Rather, this example reveals that the anaphor is bound by an antecedent in the elided structure. The combination of the two connectivity effects, case and local anaphor licensing, suggests that

there is hidden clausal structure in KPS. (We shall discuss the precise structure in §4.3)

Furthermore, KPS, as well as a cleft with elided clausal structure, exhibits connectivity effects in terms of anti-coreference effect, or Binding Condition C (Chomsky 1981) effect; i.e. the name in the focus position cannot be coreferential with the subject NP in the antecedent clause.

- (11) *ku/kusalam*<sub>1</sub>-*un* *nwukwunka*<sub>2</sub>-*lul* *pinan-hay-ss nu-ntey*, *na-nun*  
**he/that.person-TOP someone-ACC** blame-do-PST PROG-but.so I-TOP  
*kukes-i Minsik-uy tonsayng*<sub>\*1/</sub> *2*-*ul* *in-ci-an-i-nci* *molu-n-ta*.  
 it-NOM M-GEN **brother-ACC** COP-if-NEG-COP-if know.not-PRS-DECL  
 'He<sub>1</sub> blamed someone<sub>2</sub>, but I don't know whether it was Minsik's brother<sub>\*1/</sub> 2.'

Given that the two connectivity effects, case and local anaphor licensing, hold true in Korean (Morgan 1989; Sohn 2000; Park 2005, among others), it is tempting to posit hidden clausal structure in KPS.

The second property of KPS is the *ban on inversion* of the pre- and post-copula elements. Korean specificational constructions do not allow inversion of the presuppositional clause and the focused phrase, behaving just like JPS counterparts (cf. Takahashi 1994; Saito 2004; Yoshida 2006).

The third property observed in KPS is the *preservation of idiomatic meaning*. In the following example, the expression *twumali.thokki-lul cap* (lit. 'catching two rabbits') conveys the idiomatic meaning of 'killing two birds with one stone', which is maintained in KPS.<sup>7</sup>

- (12) Context: Kim told Lee about how Chelswu had been doing since he immigrated to US to achieve two goals, success in his business and meeting an ideal woman. Kim said Chelswu caught two rabbits, but Lee couldn't remember it very well, and says to his friend:  
*Chelswu-nun mikwuk-eyse mwuenka-lul cap-ass-ta nu-ntey*,  
 C-TOP USA-LOC something-ACC **catch-PST-HEARSAY** PROG-but.so  
*na-nun kukes-i twumali.thokki(-lul) in-cianinci molu-n-ta*.  
 I-TOP it-NOM **two.rabbits-ACC** COP-whether know.not-PRS-DECL  
 (Lit.) 'I heard that Chelswu had caught something in the US, but...I don't know whether it was "two rabbits."  
 ('I don't know whether he killed two birds with one stone.' (idiomatic meaning))

7. A reviewer points out that the idiomatic meaning does not seem to be preserved according to his own survey with five native speakers. The reason for such discrepancy between their survey and ours could be due to whether background context had been provided or not. We agree with the reviewer that the preservation of idiomatic meaning is a rather weak effect, hence it would be difficult to be maintained when (12) is uttered out of the blue, with no context whatsoever.

Now, how is the verb ‘catch’ in the first conjunct licensed as part of this idiom? The explanation is based on two assumptions. First, we assume that in a VP idiom, the V string requires the NP string as its D-structure object (Bruening et al. 2018): Regarding idioms in the ellipsis context, Rottman & Yoshida (2013) note “In the transformational grammar tradition, this type of idiom is taken as strong evidence for a movement operation and the existence of an underlying representation of sentences (e.g., Perlmutter 1970; Bresnan 1976; Chomsky 1981; Marantz 1984, 1996; Koopman & Sportiche 1991). We can find the same type of idiom in a sluicing context, as in the nonelliptical *wh*-movement sentences...”

Second, we assume that pronominalization conforms to identity of the kind that we find in standard ellipsis. The precise syntactic operation will be illustrated later in §4.2–§4.3.

Finally, and most importantly, the hidden clausal status of KPS is manifested by the *obligatory presence of copula i* in Korean (unlike the optional copula *da* in Japanese: see Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002)). As in the following example, the copular can be inflected in past tense, as in (*i-ess.nun*), which accordingly reflects the past event in the hidden clausal content of the KPS, replaced with the pronoun *kukes* ‘it’, meaning ‘why it was (that he<sub>i</sub> was scolded)’. Thus, we argue that most crucial evidence for the hidden clause comes from the obligatory presence of copula in Korean.

- (13) *Minsik-un* [*casin-I way honnass-nun ci*] *moluci man, Swuni-nun*  
 M-TOP self-NOM why got.scolded Q not.know though S-TOP  
 [*kukes-i way \*(i-ess.nun) ci*] *a-n-ta.*  
 it-NOM why-COP-PST Q know-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Minsik<sub>i</sub> doesn’t know why he<sub>i</sub> was scolded, but Swuni knows why it was (that he<sub>i</sub> was scolded).’

This is an important point to make since the debate on the status of JPS in previous literature was due to the fact that the copula was only optional in Japanese, as in (14) (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002: 142, (1d)).

- (14) Japanese  
*Naoya-ga nanika-o tabeta rasii ga, boku-wa* [*nani-o (da) ka*]  
 N-NOM something-ACC ate I.heard but I-TOP what-ACC COP Q  
*siranai.*  
 know.NEG  
 ‘I heard that Naoya ate something, but I don’t know what.’

Thus far, we have shown various reasons to believe that some clausal structure, i.e. the presuppositional clause of the pseudocleft construction, underlies *kukes* in KPS (to be discussed in §3.2). The connectivity effects indicate that there is a

clausal structure in *kukes*, and the parallelisms between KPS and pseudocleft suggest that these two are genetically related critters, and thus support the claim that *kukes* corresponds to the presuppositional clause.

### 2.1.2 Properties of KPRC

Based on the discussion so far, we argue that the pronominal *kukes* ‘it’ in KPRC is exactly the same species as the one found in KPS. To this end, we show that all the properties of KPS and *kukes* in KPS that we have reviewed hold true for KPRC with *kukes* in Korean. The core properties of *kukes* are repeated here.

- (15) a. KPS and KPRC show connectivity effects.  
 b. KPS and KPRC do not allow the inversion of presuppositional clause and focused element.  
 c. KPS and KPRC preserve idiomatic meaning.  
 d. KPS and KPRC must contain a copula.

We show that all properties of *kukes* in KPS are seen also in the *kukes* in KPRC. Let us examine these properties one by one. First, the examples in (16) show that *kukes* ‘it’ in KPRC exhibits connectivity effects of case, local anaphor licensing, and postpositions. Exactly like the examples of KPS, *kukes* in KPRC shows connectivity effects of local anaphor licensing and case in (16a) where the anaphor *cakicasin* ‘self’ is bound by the subject in the first conjunct, and accusative case is assigned to the remnant, and the connectivity effect of the postposition *lopwuthe* ‘from’ in (16b).

- (16) a. *Minsik*<sub>1</sub>-i *nwukwunka-lul* *pinan-ha-koissnun tusha-ntey*, *manyak*  
 M-NOM someone-ACC blame-do-PROG seem-but.so manyak  
 (*kukes-i*) *cakicasin*<sub>1</sub>-ul *i-la-myen*, *kumantwue-yaha-n-ta*.  
 it-NOM self-ACC COP-LA-COND stop-had.better-PRS-DECL  
 ‘It seems that Minsik is blaming someone but if it is himself, he had better stop doing that.’
- b. *Minsik-i etinka-lopwuthe cim-ul ponay-n-tus-ha-ntey*, *manyak*  
 M-NOM somewhere-from baggage-ACC sent-PST-seem-do-but.so manyak  
 \*(*kukes-i*) *Seoul-lopwuthe i-la-myen*, *kot*  
 it-NOM Seoul-from COP-LA-COND soon  
*tochakha-l-kes-i-ta*.  
 arrive-will-NMLZ-COP-DECL  
 ‘It seems that Minsik sent the baggage from somewhere, but if it is from Seoul, the baggage will arrive soon.’

The judgment seems rather subtle in that the absence of *kukes* in (16) is bad but not terribly unacceptable. However, the oddity (if not total ungrammaticality) of

(16) without *kukes* becomes clear when compared to the one without postposition *lopwuthe* in conditional clauses, as in (17). This is reminiscent of the fact that the same contrast regarding how the presence or absence of *kukes* ‘it’ affects grammaticality, holds between cleft and pseudo-cleft that is well-known in Korean and Japanese literature ((Koizumi 1995; Kizu 2005 for Japanese); Kim 1999; Sohn 2000; Park 2001; Cho et al. 2009; (Kim 2010; Kim & Sells 2013 for Korean)).

- (17) *Toli-ka etinka-lopwuthe cim-ul ponay-n-tus-ha-ntey, manyak*  
 T-NOM somewhere-from baggage-ACC sent-PRS-seem-do-but.so manyak  
*(kukes-i) Seoul i-la-myen kot tochakha-lkes-i-ta.*  
 it-NOM Seoul COP-LA-COND soon arrive-will-COP-DECL  
 ‘Toli seems to have sent baggage from somewhere, but if it is (from) Seoul, it will arrive soon.’

Thus, like case connectivity effects, anaphor connectivity effects also suggest that there is clausal structure in these constructions that supports anaphor binding, as long as these complex reflexives require a local c-commanding antecedent.

Second, inversion of *kukes* and the remnant phrase is not allowed in KPRC.

- (18) *Minsik-un sakwa na kyul-ul mek-un-tus-ha-ntey...*  
 M-TOP apple or orange-ACC eat-PST-seem-do-but.so  
 a. *manyak kukes-i sakwa-i-la-myen masiss-ess-ul.kes-i-ta.*  
 manyak it-NOM apple-COP-LA-COND tasty.be-PST-must-COP-DECL  
 b. *\*manyak sakwa-ka kukes-i-la-myen masiss-ess-ul.kes-i-ta.*  
 manyak apple-NOM it-COP-LA-COND tasty.be-PST-must-COP-DECL  
 ‘Minsik ate an apple or an orange...but if it was an apple (that he ate), it must have been tasty.’

Third, just like KPS, the connectivity is revealed in KPRC data with idioms, in which the idiomatic meaning is conserved only when *kukes* is present. We take this to argue that reconstruction of the part of idiom *twumali.thokki(-lul)* ‘two.rabbits-ACC’ into the hidden clausal structure behind *kukes* is possible for maintaining the idiomatic meaning with some contextual background. (The pronominalization for this data will be discussed in §4.2).

- (19) *Chelswu-nun mikwuk-eyse mwuenka-lul cap-ass-ta-nu-ntey,*  
 C-TOP USA-LOC something-ACC catch-PST-hearsay-PROG-but.so  
*manyak \*(kukes-i) twumali.thokki(-lul) i-la-myen sengkonghankes-i-ta.*  
 manyak it-NOM two.rabbits-ACC COP-LA-COND success-COP-DECL  
 (Lit.) ‘I heard that Chelswu had caught something in the US, but...if it was “two rabbits”, it is a success.’  
 (‘If he killed two birds with one stone, it is a success.’ (idiomatic meaning))

Therefore, we conclude that the movement responsible for these constructions, KPS and KPRC, is a movement working behind Cleft formation. Following Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002), this movement is referred to as *focus movement*.

Finally, just like KPS, KPRC require the presence of copula. The observation so far can be summarized as follows (with some individual variation in acceptability of preservation of idiomatic meaning, as indicated by %).

(20)

	Properties			
	Connectivity	Inversion	Idiomatic meaning	Copula
KPS	√	√	√/%	√
KPRC	√	√	√/%	√

These parallelisms between KPS and KPRC strongly suggest that *kukes* in these constructions is the same critter. The striking similarities of these two instances of *kukes* are otherwise accountable.

### 3. The analysis of focus constructions in Korean

So far, we have shown that the clausal pronoun *kukes* in KPS and KPRC is the same element by showing the parallelism between these two constructions.<sup>8</sup> In

8. In the following example, however, *kukes* seems only optional. This particular example of *counterfactual conditional*, however, requires some paraphrase for the elided structure to achieve the intended reading of ‘if it were you in that situation,’ which could be why *kukes* is not as strictly required. If *kukes* is present, however, it may have a different (unintended) interpretation such as ‘if it were you who saved other people in the situation...’ since the overt presence of *kukes* indicates the elided structure as in (ii):

- (i) *John-un ku sangwhang-eyse namtul-ul kwuha-yss-nu-ntey, manyak (kukes-i)*  
 J-TOP he situation-LOC other.people-ACC save-PST-PROG-but.so manyak it-NOM  
*ne(-i)-la-myen ettehkeyhal-keskath-ni?*  
 you-COP-LA-COND do.what-seem-Q  
 ‘John saved other people in that critical moment, and, **if you were in that situation**,  
 what would you do?’
- (ii) *manyak* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> <sup>ne(-i)-ka</sup> *ku sangwhang-eyse namtul-ul kwuha-n*] [<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]]-i  
 manyak you-NOM the situation-LOC other.people-ACC save-PST it-NOM  
*ne(-i)-la-myen ettehkeyhal-keskat-ni?*  
 you-COP-LA-COND do.what-seem-Q  
 ‘**If you saved other people**, what would you do?’

this section, we make two points. First, Korean copula conditional clauses have an articulated CP structure that can be best analyzed by Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP analysis, along the line of Hiraiwa & Ishihara; second, the clausal pronoun *kukes* in focus constructions is the residue of ellipsis (Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008).

The heart of Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP hypothesis is that, just as there is evidence that IP is better analyzed by splitting it up into multiple projections, there is also evidence that CP should be split up into several projections. Specifically, he claims that CP has the internal makeup illustrated below.

(21) [<sub>ForceP</sub> Force [<sub>TopP\*</sub> Top [<sub>FocP</sub> Foc [<sub>TopP\*</sub> Top [<sub>FinP</sub> Fin [<sub>IP</sub> ... ]]]]]]]

Providing much empirical evidence for the split-CP system, Rizzi argues that the distribution of elements like Force, Topic, Foc, etc. can be accurately captured by the split-CP system, but not by traditional analyses assuming that there is a single CP projection.

Based on Rizzi's Split-CP system, Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002) offer an analysis of several Japanese focus constructions. Specifically, they pick three focus constructions that have many similarities, but for which no analyses were previously offered which could capture these similarities, and they show that the properties of these constructions can be readily derived by Rizzi's articulated CP-system. Here we briefly review their study, and build a bridge to our analysis of conditional clauses in Korean.

### 3.1 Common properties in focus constructions

Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002) argue that three focus constructions in Japanese, i.e. (pseudo)cleft construction, the *no-da* in-situ focus construction, and the sluicing construction, share the following properties, which also applies to Korean counterparts.

- (22) a. The possibility of multiple foci  
 b. Island effects  
 c. The Fin-head cannot be substituted with a pronoun/NP  
 d. Clause mate condition on multiple foci

First, focus constructions allow multiple foci in Korean (Kim 1999; Sohn 2000; Park 2001; Cho et al. 2009; Kim 2010; Kim & Sells 2013), as well as in Japanese (Koizumi 1995; Kizu 2005). In the example below, (23b) and (23c) are derived from the base sentence in (23a). As in (23c), multiple cleft is allowed when the focused elements are case-marked and clause-mate. As in (23b), however, multiple cleft is banned when the focused items are from different clauses. The same pattern is shown in sluicing and *kes-ita* constructions in Korean.

- (23) a. *Minsik-i sensayngnim-ekey* [*Chelswu-ka i sakwa-lul mek-ess-tako*]  
 M-NOM teacher-DAT C-NOM this apple-ACC eat-PST-COMP  
*malha-yss-ta.*  
 say-PST-DECL  
 ‘Minsik told the teacher that Chelswu ate this apple.’
- b. \* [*Minsik-i e<sub>i</sub> [Chelswu-ka e<sub>j</sub> mek-ess-tako] malha-n-kes-un*]  
 M-NOM C-NOM eat-PST-COMP say-PST-KES-TOP  
*sensayngnim-ekey<sub>i</sub> i sakwa-lul<sub>j</sub> i-ta.*  
 teacher-DAT this apple-ACC COP-DECL  
 (Lit.) ‘It is the teacher, this apple that Minsik told that Chelswu ate.’
- c. [*Minsik-i sensayngnim-ekey [e<sub>i</sub> e<sub>j</sub> mek-ess-tako] malha-n-kes-un*]  
 M-NOM teacher-DAT eat-PST-COMP say-PST-KES-TOP  
*Chelswu-ka<sub>i</sub> i sakwa-lul<sub>j</sub> i-ta.*  
 C-NOM this apple-ACC COP-DECL  
 (Lit.) ‘It is Chelswu, this apple that Minsik told the teacher that ate.’

Second, *kes-ita* in-situ construction in Korean (Sohn 2000; Park 2001; Kim 2010; Ok & Kim 2012; Kim & Sells 2013, among others), along with *no da* in-situ construction in Japanese (Kuwabara 1996; Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002; Mihara & Hiraiwa 2006), is not expected to show island sensitivity, in contrast with cleft constructions in both languages. According to Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002), this contrast indicates that only cleft constructions involve movement.

The third property is relevant to the properties of the complementizer (the head of FinP) involved in clefting. In the *kes-ita* construction, the complementizer *kes* (the Fin-Head) cannot be substituted with an NP ‘fruit,’ as illustrated in (24).

- (24) *Kes-ita* construction  
 [*MINSIK-i i sakwa-lul mek-un {kes/\*kwail}*] *i-ta.*  
 M-NOM this apple-ACC eat-PST KES/fruit COP-DECL  
 ‘It is Minsik who ate this apple.’

Furthermore, in the cleft construction, the complementizer *kes* in Korean cannot be substituted with a lexical noun ‘fruit,’ as in (25a). In the pseudocleft (25b), however, such alternation is possible. Since *kes* is morphologically ambiguous between ‘thing’ and ‘complementizer,’ the confirmed complementizer status of *kes* in cleft supports our assumption on the syntactic derivation with a Topic movement of FinP, as described above in (5c). In the case of pseudocleft with the lexical noun ‘fruit,’ however, it is in fact grammatical not with a pseudocleft reading, but with a relative clause reading like ‘The fruit that Minsik ate was apple.’

This is a welcome result corresponding to observations in the literature: Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002) made similar observations in Japanese; Hoshi (1995)

also uses this (non)substitutability to argue that Japanese nominal complementizer *no* is a complementizer, not a lexical noun ‘thing’, and we assume that this is what (25) shows regarding the status of *kes* in Korean.

- (25) a. [*Minsik-i mek-un {kes/\*kwail}-un sakwa-lul (sey-kay) i-ta.*  
 M-NOM eat-PST KES/fruit-TOP apple-ACC three-CLF COP-DECL  
 ‘It was (three) apples that Minsik ate.’
- b. [*Minsik-i mek-un {kes/kwail}-un sakwa (sey-kay) i-ta.*  
 M-NOM eat-PST KES/fruit-TOP apple-Ø three-CLF COP-DECL  
 ‘It was (three) apples that Minsik ate.’

In sluicing, the FinP undergoes ellipsis and we thus cannot see if such substitution is possible or not. Hiraiwa & Ishihara treat the Japanese counterpart of (25a) as an example that shows a ban on NP-substitution, arguing that this also is a similarity between cleft and sluicing. According to their judgment, the Japanese counterpart (26a) is ungrammatical. However, this type of sentence in Korean is an example of KPS, and we have used the same type of example to show case connectivity in KPS. To us, this example does not seem ungrammatical, and according to the native speakers of Japanese and Korean who we have interviewed (10 Japanese and 12 Korean speakers), this example is as good as its pseudocleft counterpart. We take our earlier observation and the judgment of this sentence to argue that the pronoun in this example corresponds to the one with an elided clause rather than the complementizer.

- (26) *Swuni-ka mwuenka-lul sa-n tus-ha-ntey...*  
 S-NOM something-ACC buy-PST seem-do-but.so  
 ‘It seems that Swuni bought something, but...’
- a. *Case marked sluicing*  
*na-nun [kukes-i mwues-ul in-ci] molu-n-ta.*  
 I-TOP it-NOM what-ACC COP-Q know.NOT-PRS-DECL
- b. *Non-case marked sluicing*  
*na-nun [kukes-i mwues in-ci] molu-n-ta.*  
 I-TOP it-NOM what-Ø COP-Q know.NOT-PRS-DECL  
 ‘I don’t know what it is.’

### 3.2 Analysis: Configurational pronominalization

In this subsection, we suggest an analysis and show how it successfully derives the core properties of focus constructions like KPS and conditionals like KPRC that we have discussed at the outset, repeated below.

- (27) a. KPS and KPRC show connectivity effects.
- b. KPS and KPRC do not allow the inversion of presuppositional clause and focused element.
- c. KPS and KPRC preserve idiomatic meaning.
- d. KPS and KPRC must contain a copula.

All similarities among the *kes-ita* construction, the cleft construction and the sluicing construction follow straightforwardly from Hiraiwa & Ishihara’s (2002) assumption that these constructions are derivationally related – (i) focus movement, followed by (ii) topic movement of FinP for cleft or (ii) ellipsis of FinP in situ for sluicing, as discussed in (5) above, repeated below.

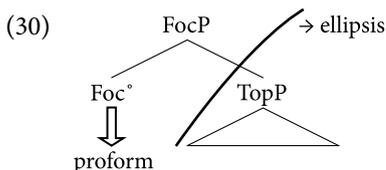
- (28) a.  $[_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} NP-lulV]-tense]-kes]-ita]]$  (=5)
- b. Step 1: Focus movement  
 $[_{TopP} [_{FocP} \boxed{NP-lul} [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} t_{NP-o} V]-tense]-kes]-ita]]$
- c. Step 2: Topic movement of FinP (*Cleft*)  
 $[_{TopP} [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} t_{NP-o} V]-tense]-kes]-un [_{FocP} NP-lul t_{FinP}-ita]]$
- d. Step 3: Ellipsis of FinP in situ (*Sluicing*)  
 $[_{TopP} [_{FocP} NP-lul [_{FinP} [_{TP} NP-ka [_{VP} t_{NP-o} V]-tense]-kes]-ita]]$

A novel set of properties found in Korean in (22), however, suggests that Hiraiwa & Ishihara’s (2002) analysis of sluicing requires revision.

The observation so far suggests that KPS is best analyzed as ellipsis of presuppositional clause of cleft construction. Specifically, we argue that the distribution of the clausal pronoun *kukes* in KPRC is the result of ellipsis, based on the ellipsis theory of pronominalization (Baltin 2006; Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008; Baltin 2012). Assuming that proforms are configurational, Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008 propose “while Postal & Elbourne claim that pronouns are ellipsis sites, we claim that ellipsis sites are pronouns (or more generally, proforms)”, as given in the following.

- (29) Proforms as configurations (Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008)  
 “A proform is a functional head whose complement has been elided.”

Regarding sluicing, for instance, Baltin & Craenenbroeck assumes the following derivation (cf. Baltin 2006).



By assuming that proforms have internal syntactic structure, the crucial prediction is that it should in principle be possible to *move out of* and *reconstruct into* them. The pronominalization approach thus predicts all the properties of KPS (cf. Nakao & Yoshida 2005 for JPS).

First, the following data makes two points: (i) reconstruction at the elided structure is possible for case assignment, as shown in (31a); and (ii) more importantly, it shows that the ban on inversion is predicted by the current approach. By assuming an unseen presuppositional clause as represented below, the ban on inversion is given a straightforward explanation; that is to say, because the presuppositional clause and the focused phrase cannot be inverted, the pronoun *kukes* and the focused phrase cannot be inverted either, as in (31b). It is ungrammatical due to the *case mismatch* between ‘what-NOM’ in the subject position and ‘what-ACC’ in the trace in (31b).<sup>9</sup>

(31) *Minsik-i mwuenka-lul san-tus-ha-ntey...*

M-NOM something-ACC bought-seem-do-but.so

a. *na-nun* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Minsik-i t<sub>mwues-ul</sub> san*]] ([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]-i) *mwues-ul in ci*  
I-TOP M-NOM what-ACC bought it-NOM what-acc COP Q  
*molu-n-ta.*  
know.not-PRS-DECL

b. \**na-nun mwues-i* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Minsik-i t<sub>mwues-ul</sub> san*]] ([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]) *in ci*  
I-TOP what-NOM M-NOM what-ACC bought it COP Q  
*molu-n-ta.*  
know.not-PRS-DECL

‘It seems that Minsik bought something, but I don’t know what it is.’

Furthermore, the pronominalization predicts the data with anaphor and postposition, which suggests that reconstruction at the elided structure is possible for binding and for case marking.

9. In Korean, the pronominalization via *kukes* is also available in the simplest cases, as in the following example. As a reviewer notes, this is expected to be the case if *ku* can generally arise from ellipsis within the current analysis:

(i) A: *Kim-i mwues-ul mek-ess-ni?*  
K-NOM what-ACC eat-PST-Q  
‘What did Kim eat?’

B: [*Kim-i t<sub>mwues-ul</sub> mek-un*] *kuke-un i sakwa(-lul)<sub>1</sub>-i-ta.*  
K-NOM eat-PST it-TOP this apple(-ACC)-COP-DECL  
‘It is this apple that Kim ate.’

- (32) a. *Minsik<sub>1</sub>-i nwukwunka-lul pinan-ha-koissnun tus-ha-ntey, na-nun*  
 M-NOM someone-ACC blame-do-PROG seem-do-but.so I-TOP  
 [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Minsik-i t<sub>2</sub> cakisim-ul pinan-ha-n*] \*([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*])]-i) *cakisin<sub>1</sub>-ul<sub>2</sub>*  
 M-NOM self-ACC blame-do-PST it-NOM self-ACC  
*in ci molu-n-ta.*  
 COP Q know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘It seems that Minsik is blaming someone but I don’t know whether it was himself.’
- b. *Minsik-i etinka-lopwuthe cim-ul ponay-n-tus-ha-ntey, na-nun*  
 M-NOM somewhere-from baggage-ACC sent-PST-seem-do-but.so I-TOP  
 [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Minsik-i t<sub>1</sub> Seoul-lopwuthe cim-ul ponay-n*] \*([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*])]-i)  
 M-NOM Seoul-from baggage-ACC sent-PST it-NOM  
*Seoul-lopwuthe<sub>1</sub> in ci molu-n-ta.*  
 Seoul-from COP Q know.not-PRS-DECL  
 ‘It seems that Minsik sent the baggage from somewhere, but I don’t know whether it was from Seoul.’

#### 4. The analysis of KPRC

Thus far we have shown how the properties of Korean focus constructions can be captured by the pronominalization theory (Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008). The stage is now set for our analysis of KPRC in Korean. What we show here is: first, identical properties of clefts that Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002) observe hold true for KPRC; and, second, configurational proform approach within the split-CP system is the best tool to capture the properties of KPRC. *Nota bene*, we argue that non-pronominal reduced conditionals behave differently crucially because they do not undergo ellipsis.

##### 4.1 Further properties of KPRC

Recall that there are four properties of clefts that Hiraiwa & Ishihara derive from their analysis, as repeated below.

- (33) a. The possibility of multiple foci  
 b. Island effects  
 c. The complementizer (Fin-head) cannot be substituted with a pronoun/  
 NP  
 d. Clausemate condition on multiple foci

In this subsection, we show that the same contrast between clefts and pseudoclefts can be seen in the underlying form of reduced conditionals; to wit, there is a bifurcation between case-marked and non-case-marked conditionals.

Note importantly that the complementizer *kes* and the copula *i* are both involved in the plain conditional construction in (34a), which are the necessary ingredients in *kes-ita* focus constructions and cleft constructions that we have seen earlier. Thus, the morphology at the right-periphery of the conditional clauses in Korean suggests that conditionals and focus constructions have very similar structure. From the example in (34a), we can make a conditional sentence containing a cleft-like focus construction, as in (34b) with DAT and ACC, which we term *cleft conditional*. We can understand this construction as the conditional version of the cleft construction. As the Example (34b) without DAT and ACC indicates, a focused phrase without a case marker is also a possible option, which we term *pseudocleft conditional*.

Now, observe that this cleft conditional shows all the signature properties of clefts. First, the cleft conditional allows multiple foci in (34a), which the pseudocleft conditional does not in (34b).

- (34) a. *Cleft conditional*  
*manyak* [*Minsik-i e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> cwu-n kes*]-*i*      *Chelswu-eykey<sub>1</sub> sakwa-lul<sub>2</sub>*  
*manyak* M-NOM      give-PST NMLZ-NOM C-DAT      *apple-ACC*  
*(sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) 'If it is to Chelswu, (three) apples that Minsik gave ...'
- b. *Pseudocleft conditional*  
 \**manyak* [*Minsik-i e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> cwu-n kes*]-*i*      *Chelswu<sub>1</sub> sakwa<sub>2</sub> (sey-kay)*  
*manyak* M-NOM      give-PST NMLZ-NOM C- $\emptyset$       *apple- $\emptyset$  three-CLF*  
*i-la-myen...*  
 COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) 'If it is to Chelswu, (three) apples that Minsik gave ...'

Second, the cleft conditional is sensitive to island constraints. Thus, in (35b) the focused phrase is extracted from a complex NP island, and the sentence is severely degraded. In the pseudocleft conditional in (35c), on the other hand, extraction out of a complex NP is possible.

- (35) a. *manyak* [*Minsik-i* [<sub>RC</sub> [*Chelswu-ka e<sub>1</sub> sakwa-lul cwu-n*] *salam<sub>1</sub>*]-*ul*  
*manyak* M-NOM      C-NOM      *apple-ACC* give-PST person-ACC  
*man-na-ss te la-myen*]...  
 meet-PST REFL LA-COND  
 'If Minsik met the man who Chelswu gave the apple to ...'

b. *Cleft conditional*

\**manyak* [[*Minsik-i* [<sub>RC</sub>[*Chelswu-ka e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> cwu-n*] *salam<sub>1</sub>*]-*ul*  
*manyak* M-NOM C-NOM give-PST person-DAT  
*man-na-n*]-*kes*]-*i sakwa-lul<sub>2</sub> (sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 meet-PST-NMLZ-NOM **apple-ACC** three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) 'If it is (three) apples that Minsik met the man who Chelswu gave to ...'

c. *Pseudocleft conditional*

*manyak* [[*Minsik-i* [<sub>RC</sub>[*Chelswu-ka e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> cwu-n*] *salam<sub>1</sub>*]-*ul*  
*manyak* M-NOM C-NOM give-PST person-DAT  
*man-na-n*]-*kes*]-*i sakwa<sub>2</sub> (sey-kay) i-la-myen ...*  
 meet-PST-NMLZ-NOM **apple-Ø** three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) 'If it is (three) apples that Minsik met the man who Chelswu gave to ...'

Third, the nominalizer complementizer *kes* cannot be substituted with an NP in the cleft conditional, but it is possible in the pseudocleft conditional.

(36) a. *Cleft conditional*

*manyak* [*Minsik-i mek-un {kes/\*kwail}*]-*i sakwa-lul (sey-kay)*  
*manyak* M-NOM eat-PST NMLZ/fruit-NOM apple-ACC three-CLF  
*i-la-myen ...*  
 COP-LA-COND  
 'If it was (three) apples that Minsik ate ...'

b. *Pseudocleft conditional*

*manyak* [*Minsik-i mek-un {kes/kwail}*]-*i sakwa (sey-kay)*  
*manyak* M-NOM eat-PST NMLZ/fruit-NOM apple three-CLF  
*i-la-myen ...*  
 COP-LA-COND  
 'If it was (three) apples that Minsik ate ...'

Finally, the cleft conditional with multiple foci is sensitive to the clausemate condition.

## (37) a.

*manyak* [*Chelswu-ka sensayngnim-kkey* [*Minsik-i sakwa-lul*  
*manyak* C-NOM teacher-DAT M-NOM **apple-ACC**  
*mek-essta ko*] *ill-ess ta-myen*]...  
 eat-PST-COMP tell-PST TA-COND  
 'If Chelswu tells the teacher (on Minsik) that Minsik ate the apple...'

- b. \**manyak* [*Chelswu-ka e<sub>1</sub>* [*Minsik-i e<sub>2</sub> mek-essta ko*] *ill-un- kes*]-*i*  
 banyak C-NOM M-NOM eat-PST-COMP tell-PST NMLZ-NOM  
*sensayngnim-kkey<sub>1</sub> sakwa-lul<sub>2</sub> (sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 teacher-DAT apple-ACC three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) ‘If it was to the teacher, three apples that Chelswu told that Minsik ate...’

Given these properties, it is clear that the cleft and the cleft conditional are quite similar critters.

Now let us turn to KPRC. Our prediction here is that KPRC corresponds to sluicing in Hiraiwa & Ishihara’s (2002) paradigm. To test this point, we need to examine whether the contrast between case-marked sluicing and non-case-marked sluicing also holds between the reduced conditional with a remnant bearing a case-marker and the one without a case-marker. Hiraiwa & Ishihara assume the following two properties: (i) case-marked sluicing allows multiple foci, but non-case-marked sluicing does not; and (ii) case-marked sluicing shows island effects, but non-case-marked sluicing does not. Now notice that KPRC indeed exhibits such contrasts: the case-marked KPRC, i.e. cleft-conditional, allows multiple foci in (38a) but the non-case-marked KPRC, pseudocleft conditional, does not in (38b).

- (38) a. *Multiple foci*  
*Minsik-i nwukwunka-eykey mwuenka-lul cwu-n tus-ha-ntey...*  
 M-NOM someone-DAT something-ACC give-PST seem-do-but.so  
 ‘It seems that Minsik gave something to someone, but...’
- b. *Cleft conditional (case-marked KPRC)*  
*manyak kukes-i Chelswu-eykey sakwa-lul (sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 banyak it-NOM C-DAT apple-ACC three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) ‘If it was (three) apples to Chelswu...’
- c. *Pseudocleft conditional (non-case-marked KPRC)*  
 \**manyak kukes-i Chelswu sakwa (sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 banyak it-NOM C- $\emptyset$  apple- $\emptyset$  three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 (Lit.) ‘If it was (three) apples to Chelswu...’

Furthermore, examples in (39) show that the case-marked KPRC is sensitive to the complex NP island, but the non-case-marked KPRC is not. This, in turn, suggests that movement is not involved in the non-case-marked KPRC.

- (39) a. *Island sensitivity*  
*Minsik-un* [[*hyeng-eykey mwuenka-lul ponayn*] *salam*]-*ul chotayha-n*  
 M-TOP brother-DAT something-ACC send person-ACC invite-PST  
*tus-ha-ntey...*  
 seem-do-but.so  
 ‘It seems that Minsik invited a person who had sent something to his brother, but...’
- b. *Case-marked KPRC*  
 \**manyak kukes-i sakwa-lul (sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 manyak it-NOM apple-ACC three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 ‘If it was (three) apples...’
- c. *Non-case-marked KPRC*  
*manyak kukes-i sakwa (sey-kay) i-la-myen...*  
 manyak it-NOM apple- $\emptyset$  three-CLF COP-LA-COND  
 ‘If it was (three) apples...’

Summarizing the discussion so far, KPRC reviewed in this subsection reveals significant similarities with the *kes-ita* in Korean (*no-da* in Japanese), cleft, and sluicing constructions. Furthermore, we have seen that KPS and KPRC show striking parallelism. It is thus plausible to conclude that they are variants of the same type of construction, and should be analyzed in an analogous fashion.

#### 4.2 Right periphery of conditionals in Korean

Along with the focus constructions above, the basic line of analysis of KPRC is built upon the analysis of sluicing by Baltin & Craenenbroeck (2008). We propose that KPRC is derived from a copula conditional clause through movement of aNP followed by a clausal ellipsis, in much the same way as sluicing in Korean (Choi 2012; Kim 2012; Lee 2012; Kim & Sells 2013) and Japanese (Takahashi 1994; Nishiyama et al. 1996; Kizu 1997; Merchant 1998, 2001, 2006; Fukaya & Hoji 1999; Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002, among others). Furthermore, both regular copula conditionals and KPRC involve the structure of the so-called *kes-ita* construction (cf. Kuno 1973; Noda 1997 for Japanese *no-ta* construction) as their underlying structure like Korean sluicing. However, we have not yet described the internal makeup of copula conditional clauses under the split-CP system. Let us start from this point.

The discussion so far confirms that many parts of the complex verbal morphology of conditional clauses are shared by the *kes-ita* construction. The right edge of conditional clauses, however, is different from that of cleft constructions in the following two respects: first, the top nodes of these constructions are occupied by different elements; and, second, the morphemes that compose conditional morphology can be omitted relatively freely.

Compared with the *kes-ita* construction that we observed above and schematized below in (40a), the structure of copula conditionals can be illustrated as in (40b).

- (40) a. *Kes-ita constructions*  
 $[\text{ForceP}[\text{TopP}[\text{FocP}[\text{FinP}[\text{IP}[\text{VP}\dots\text{V}]\text{-tense}]\text{-kes}]]]\text{-i-ta}]$
- b. *Conditionals*  
 $[\text{ForceP}[\text{FocP}[\text{ReportP}[\text{ForceP}[\text{TopP}[\text{FocP}[\text{FinP}[\text{IP}[\text{VP}\dots\text{V}]\text{-tense}]\text{-kes}]]]\text{-ila}]]]\text{-myen}]$   
 (*ko-ha*)

In the embedded context, the *kes-ila/ita* ‘C-copula’ construction must be followed by complementizers like *-ko* for declaratives. On the other hand, in conditionals, the rightmost element is *-myen* ‘COND’ and this *-myen* marks the clause type of a conditional.

Based on the optionality of some of the morphemes, conditional verbs can have seven possible surface forms in Korean. (41) illustrates all seven possibilities with the verb *mek* ‘eat’. These examples show how the omission of conditional morphemes can take place, and we can reconfirm that the reduced conditional construction must be derived from the copula conditional containing *ta/la-myen*, but not other forms.<sup>10</sup>

- (41) a. *mek-un-kes-i-la-koha-myen*  
 b. *mek-un-kes-i-la-myen*  
 c. *mek-un-ke-la-myen*  
 d. *mek-ess-takoha-myen*  
 e. *mek-ess-umyen*  
 f. *mek-ess-ta-myen*  
 g. *mek-umyen*

What’s special about the Korean conditional clause is that it employs a Foc head to host the hypothesized part (the protasis of the conditional) by employing

10. A reviewer raises a question about what motivates the complex head that we assume here. As shown in (35), we argue that the multiple variants of conditional construction suggest that Korean conditional head has a morphologically and syntactically complex structure. This is strongly reminiscent of multiple variants available in Japanese conditional construction discussed in Yoshida (2006).

a Report head, i.e. “paraphrases” or “reports” of direct discourse in the sense of Saito (2010): Based on parallelism between Japanese complementizer *to* and Spanish complementizer *que* in that both can take a question complement only with a verb of saying or thinking as a matrix verb, Saito extends Plann’s (1982) analysis of *que* as “paraphrases of direct discourse” to *to*. We further suggest the current right edge of Korean conditionals along these lines since Saito’s two pieces of evidence for the Report head analysis are applicable to Korean also. First, the list of predicates in (42a) that allows Korean *nya-ko* ‘Q-C’ sequence, i.e. *ko* headed CP with a question complement, is parallel to the predicates that permit Japanese *ka-to* sequence:<sup>11</sup>

- (42) a. *nya-ko*: *mwut* ‘ask’, *cilmwunha* ‘question’, *malha* ‘say’, *oychi* ‘scream’, *sayn-gkakha* ‘think’.  
 b. \**nya-ko*: *cosaha* ‘investigate’, *palkyenha* ‘discover’, *ihayha* ‘understand’, *molu* ‘don’t know’.

Just like Japanese, only the *nya-ko* sequence with verbs of saying and thinking can co-occur with direct quotes as in (43a). We take this to argue that *ko* is a complementizer for paraphrases of direct discourse:

- (43) a. *Minsik-un*, “*ney-ka kekiey ka-lke-nya*”-*ko malha-yss-ta*.  
 M-NOM you-NOM there go-will-Q-KO say-PST-DECL  
 ‘Minsik said, “Will you go there?”’  
 b. \**Minsik-un*, “*nwu-ka kekiey ka-lke-nya*”-*ko molla-ss-ta*.  
 M-NOM who-NOM there go-will-Q-KO not.know-PST-DECL  
 ‘Minsik didn’t know, “Who will go there?”’

Second, Korean *ko*, just like Japanese *to*, shows the property of what Kuno (1988) called “blended discourse” that reveals a shift from indirect to direct quotation, as illustrated below. Extending Saito’s analysis of the blended discourse as indirect discourse in Japanese to Korean, we can see that the grammaticality of (44a) is predicted if we assume *ko* as a complementizer for paraphrases of direct discourse:<sup>12</sup>

11. We assume the use of *ko* is historically developed to be extended from a complementizer for direct quotation marker to one for both direct and indirect quotes, which is why we term it “paraphrases of direct discourse” (cf. Kim 2018). In this sense, Korean *ko* and Japanese *to* exhibit very similar patterns.

12. For empirical motivations for positing Foc and Report heads, instead of a simpler structure with Foc head only, see Saito (2010).

- (44) a. *Minsik-un casin-uy cip-ey wa-talla-ko Chelswu-eykey*  
 M-NOM self-GEN home-to come-do.favor-KO C-DAT  
*malha-yss-ta.*  
 say-PST-DECL  
 (Lit.) ‘Minsik said to Chelswu *that* he should come to self’s house.’
- b. *Minsik-un “na-uy cip-ey wa-talla”-ko Chelswu-eykey*  
 M-NOM I-GEN home-to come-do.favor-KO C-DAT  
*malha-yss-ta.*  
 say-PST-DECL  
 ‘Minsik said to Chelswu, “Come to my house.”’

Based on their striking parallelism with Japanese right periphery, we argue for the following basic structure for Korean embedded declarative clauses.

- (45) *Korean embedded declaratives*  
 [... [... [... Finite (*kes*) Force (*ila*)] **Report** (*ko*)]

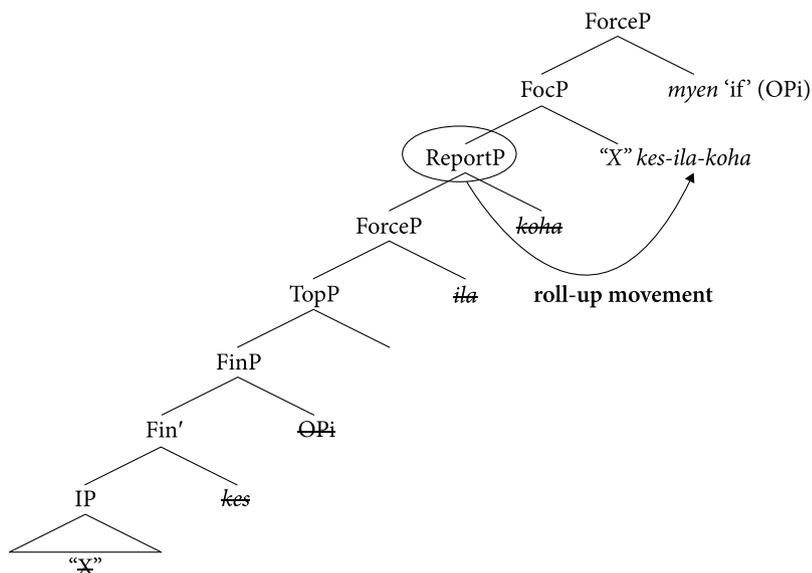
Here the *-koha* in the complex conditional morphology *-ila-koha-myen* marks an indirect quotation of the hypothesized part, i.e. the protasis of the conditional, in order to separate it from the unhypothesized part, which roughly means something like ‘let’s assume “X”’, putting X in the focus position.<sup>13</sup> Further, we assume a roll-up movement of the *-koha* from Report head to Foc head, which involves a series of head movements, deriving the following structure.

- (46) *Korean conditionals*  
 a. [... [... [... [... [... Finite (*kes*) Force (*ila*)] **Report** ( $t_{koha}$ )] **Focus** (*koha*)]  
 Force (*myen*)]

---

13. As a reviewer suggests, we can assume that *ko* is a complementizer and *ha* is the light verb like ‘do’, as it is frequently used as a short form for *mal ha-ta* ‘speech do-DECL’ = ‘to say’. We can further suggest re-analyzing *koha* as a functional morpheme that has been historically derived from ‘say’, and plays a role as a report clause head.

b.



On the other hand, note that the proposed structure of conditionals is comparable with the *because*-clause in Korean, *kes-iki-ttaymwuney*, which seems to have a rather similar internal structure with a different Force-head. We take this to argue that the *type* of adjunct clause is determined by the type of morpheme inserted in the Force-head.

(47) *Korean because-clauses*

[... [... [... Finite (*kes*) **Focus** (*iki*)] Force (*ttaymwuney*)]

This is interesting because, Saito (2010) claims, Japanese declarative structure lacks a Foc head. Thus, the crucial difference between adverbial clauses and declarative matrix clauses or complement clauses is the presence or absence of the Foc head, suggesting that these adverbial adjunct clauses always have the structure of focus.<sup>14</sup>

14. One may wonder whether the same holds true for the temporal adjuncts, such as *before*-clauses or *after*-clauses. There seems to be a crucial difference between temporal clauses and conditional/*because*-clauses. Temporal clauses in Korean are always headed by a temporal NP such as *cen* 'before' or *hwu* 'after'. They are NPs because they can be modified by demonstratives, and they can bear case particles, which suggests that the temporal adjunct clauses have the structure of complex NP. Furthermore, like Japanese declarative clauses, they seem to lack the Foc head, as the Foc morphology never appears on the verb. Rather, the verb must have the adnominal form. Thus, these two types of adverbial clauses have essentially different internal syntax.

## 4.3 The derivation of KPRC

With the structure in (46) at hand, let us see the derivation of reduced conditionals. As in the derivation of sluicing, KPRC results from the base sentence through the cleft conditional structure, which requires a copula and ellipsis of FinP(/IP).

- (48) a. *Minsik-i sakwa-lul mek-un-kes-i(-la-ko.ha)-myen...*  
 M-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-NMLZ-COP-LA-REPORT-COND
- b. *Manyak* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Minsik-i t<sub>sakwa-lul</sub> mek-un*]] \*([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]-i) *sakwa-lul<sub>1</sub>*  
 manyak M-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST it-NOM apple-ACC  
*i-la-myen...*  
 COP-LA-COND  
 ‘If Minsik ate an apple...’

Under this analysis, we can successfully capture the similarities between copula conditional constructions and focus constructions. As in the case of focus constructions, the copula clausal conditional, the cleft conditional and the reduced conditional show similarities because they are derived from the homogenous underlying structure. Furthermore, we can derive the parallelisms between KPS and KPRC with *kukes* in Korean. They are all residues of FinP ellipsis. The crucial differences between focus constructions and conditional constructions are their surface verbal morphology, Force<sup>0</sup> elements, and the optional Report/Foc head.

As such, KPRC can tell us about the *mechanism of the pronominalization in general* in Korean. We found, if you recall, that clausal pronouns show connectivity effects with respect to postposition, case, Binding Condition C and A, and idioms, as summarized in the following table.

**Table 1.** Connectivity effects of clausal pronouns

	Connectivity effects				
	Postposition	Case	Binding C	Binding A	Idioms
KPS	√	√	√	√	√/%
Non-pronominal reduced conditionals	√	√	*	*	*
KPRC	√	√	√	√	√/%
Non-reduced conditionals	√	√	√	√	√/%

The present analysis of pronominalization predicts the following data of case connectivity, by assuming that the proform *kukes* contains an elided internal structure that can host the trace of the focused phrase *Chelswu-lul*, serving as a reconstruction site for binding. If there is no such proform, as in non-pronominal reduced conditionals, however, this means that there is no reconstruction site for

binding. Hence, no connectivity effects are observed with regard to Binding C, A, or idioms.

- (49) *ku/kusalam*<sub>1</sub>-*un* *nwukwunka*<sub>2</sub>-*lul* *pinan-ha-n-tus-ha-ntey* *manyak*  
 he/that.person-TOP someone-ACC blame-do-PST-seem-do-but.so manyak  
 [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *ku/kusalam-i* <sub>3</sub>*Chelswu-tul* *pinan-ha-n*] \*([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]-i)]  
 he/that.person-NOM C-ACC blame-do-PST it-NOM  
*Chelswu*<sub>\*1</sub><sup>✓</sup><sub>2</sub>-*lul*<sub>3</sub> *i-la-myen*, *kumantwu-eyaha-n-ta*.  
 C-ACC COP-LA-COND stop-had.better-PRS-DECL  
 ‘He<sub>1</sub> blamed someone<sub>2</sub>, but if it is Chelswu<sub>\*1/1</sub><sup>✓</sup><sub>2</sub>, he had better stop doing it.’

Thus, as in the examples of connectivity effects, this pattern suggests the existence of hidden clausal structure.

Another crucial set of data concerns *idioms*, which reveals that reconstruction is possible for maintaining the idiomatic meaning. In the following example, *twumali.thokki(-lul) cap* ‘catching two rabbits’ in Korean means ‘killing two birds with one stone’, which is preserved under KPRC (as well as KPS).<sup>15</sup>

- (50) *Chelswu-nun mikwuk-eyse mwuenka-lul cap-ass-ta nu-ntey*,  
 C-TOP USA-LOC something-ACC catch-PST-HEARSAY PROG-but.so  
*manyak* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Chelswu-ika* <sub>1</sub>*twumali.thokki-tul* *cap-un*] \*([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]-i)]  
 manyak C-NOM two.rabbits-ACC catch-PST it-NOM  
*twumali.thokki(-lul)*<sub>1</sub> *i-la-myen sengkonghankes-i-ta*.  
 two.rabbits-ACC COP-LA-COND success-COP-DECL  
 (Lit.) ‘I heard that Chelswu had caught something in the US, but... if it was  
 “two rabbits”, it is a success.’  
 (‘If he killed two birds with one stone, it is a success.’ (idiomatic meaning))

Finally, we have shown that both case-marked and non-case-marked pronominal conditionals as well as KPS and reduced conditionals, exhibit island effects.

15. Likewise, it accounts for the data of KPS with idioms:

- (i) *Chelswu-nun mikwuk-eyse mwuenka-lul cap-ass-ta nu-ntey, na-nun*  
 C-TOP USA-LOC something-ACC catch-PST-HEARSAY PROG-but.so manyak  
 [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *Chelswu-ika* <sub>1</sub>*twumali.thokki-tul* *cap-un*] \*([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]-i)] *twumali.thokki(-lul)*<sub>1</sub>  
 C-NOM two.rabbits-ACC catch-PST it-NOM two.rabbits-ACC  
*in-cianinci molu-n-ta*.  
 COP-whether know.not-PRS-DECL  
 (Lit.) ‘I heard that Chelswu had caught something in the US, but...I don’t know  
 whether it was “two rabbits”’  
 (‘I don’t know whether he killed two birds with one stone.’ (idiomatic meaning))

Table 2. Island effects of conditionals

	Island for case marked ones	Non-island for non-case marked ones
KPS	√	√
Non-pronominal reduced conditionals	√	√
KPRC	√	√

The following structure in (51a) shows that it is ungrammatical since the CP with pronominal head is an island that bans the movement of *sakwa-lul* ‘apple-ACC’.

(51) a. *Island sensitivity*

*Minsik-un* [[*hyeng-eykey mwuenka-lul ponayn*] *salam*]-*ul chotayha-n*  
M-NOM brother-DAT **something**-ACC send person-ACC invite-PST  
*tusha-ntey...*

seem-but.so

‘It seems that Minsik invited a person who had sent something to his brother, but...’

b. *Cleft conditionals*

\*(*manyak*) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> *hyeng-eykey t*<sub>1</sub> *sakwa-lul* (*sey-kay*) *ponayn*]] ([<sub>C</sub><sup>o</sup> *kukes*]]-*i*)  
manyak brother-DAT apple-ACC send it-NOM

*sakwa-lul*<sub>1</sub> (*sey-kay*) *i-la-myen...*

**apple**-ACC three-CLF COP-LA-COND

‘If it was (three) apples that he sent to his brother...’

c. *Pseudocleft conditionals*

(*manyak kukes-i*) *sakwa* (*sey-kay*) *i-la-myen...*

manyak it-NOM **apple**- $\emptyset$  three-CLF COP-LA-COND

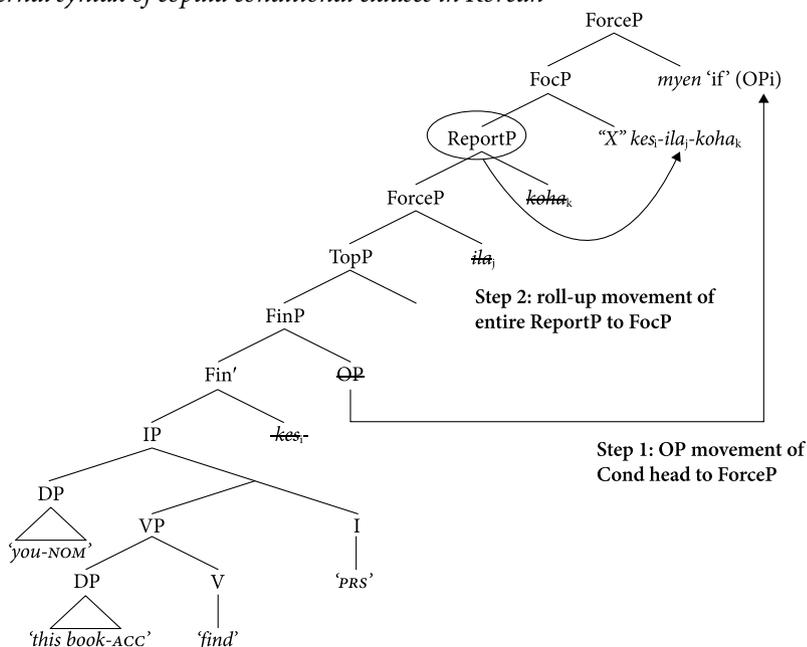
‘If it was (three) apples...’

These facts collectively support the current proposal that the pronominal conditional has the *internal structure*. We thus conclude that reduced conditionals show that the pronominal *kukes* is a clausal pronoun, i.e. the *residue of ellipsis*.

Based on the composition of right periphery observed thus far, we propose the following *internal structure of conditionals* for an example like (52b) in Korean, where “X” is the focused part ‘you look for this book’ that is hypothesized.

(52) Internal syntax of copula conditional clauses in Korean

a.



- b. [ney-ka i chayk-ul chas-un]-kes-i-la(-koha)-myen...  
 you-NOM this book-ACC find-PRS-KES-COP-LA-REPORT-COND  
 'If you look for this book...'

The proposed structure regarding step 1, operator movement of conditional head to ForceP, is built upon Haegeman’s (2010) account of conditionals that is based on Bhatt & Pancheva’s (2002, 2006; cf. Geis 1970, 1975) analysis of conditional clauses as free relatives. Semantically, this analysis implies that free relatives (Jacobson 1995) are interpreted as definite descriptions.

(53) what John bought

- a. LF:  $wh_x C^0$  John bought x  
 b.  $\lambda p[p = \exists x[\text{John bought } x]]$   
 c.  $\alpha[\text{John bought } x]$  (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: (45))

Likewise, conditional clauses are definite descriptions, the LF structure of which is assumed to involve abstraction over a possible world variable  $w$ .

(54) if John arrives late

- a. LF:  $OP_w C^0$  John arrives late in  $w$   
 b.  $\iota w[\text{John arrives late in } w]$  (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: (46))

This suggests the following commonalities between free relatives (and *wh*-questions) and conditionals: First, just as the *wh*-operator in the [Spec, CP] of free

relatives binds the variable, the null operator in the [Spec, CP] of *if*-clauses is a definite binder of the possible world variable. Second, just like the covert *wh*-movement in free relatives, conditionals involve the covert movement of world operator ( $Op_w$ ). Bhatt & Pancheva (2006) thus analyze conditional clauses as free relatives of possible worlds, as a result of leftward movement of a world operator.

This claim is supported by three pieces of evidence in Korean: First, recall that, as shown in (45) and (46), the complex conditional morphology *-kes-ila-koha-myen* can be decomposed into several elements, marking an indirect quotation of the hypothesized part, and also the unhypothesized part. This is strongly reminiscent of the fact that conditional conjunctions can be typically paraphrased by expressions like *in case that*, *in the event that*, which appears in the structure of relative clauses in languages like French. As Haegeman (2010) notes, this supports the relative clause analysis of conditionals.

Second, the definiteness is revealed by the fact that Korean conditional morphology employs the nominalizer *kes* (see Kim 2018): (i) as *kes* literally means ‘the thing’, it is a definite expression; and (ii) free relatives also employ *kes* head in Korean.

Third, one potential problem for the relative clause analysis comes from the lack of low construal reading in conditionals like (55) in English (Haegeman 2010: (26)); in Korean conditionals, however, both high and low construal readings seem available, which further supports the free relative analysis of conditionals.

- (55) I will leave if you say you will do. (English)
- i. high construal: ‘I will leave at time of your announcement of your departure.’
  - ii. \*low construal: ‘I will leave at the time of your departure.’
- (56) *ney-ka kulekeyyss-tako malha-myen, na-to (kuttay) ttena-keyyss-ta.*  
 you-NOM SO.will-COMP say-COND I-also then leave-will-DECL
- i. high construal: ‘I will leave at time of your announcement of your departure.’
  - ii. low construal: ‘I will leave at the time of your departure.’

Furthermore, Haegeman (2003) mentions the Japanese fact (Hideki Maki pers. comm.) that regular (i.e. event) conditionals, introduced by *ba*, are incompatible with *wa*-topicalization, which also holds in Korean. One theoretical advantage of adopting the free relative analysis of conditionals is that it predicts the ban on topicalization due to intervention effects: in the above proposed structure, an

argument fronted to the left periphery, i.e. the movement of ‘this book’ for topicalization, is blocked by the possible world operator, associated in Fin phrase.

- (57) \**i chayk-un ney-ka chac-un-kes-i-la-myen...*  
 this book-TOP you-NOM look.for-PRS-NMLZ-COP-LA-COND  
 ‘If, this book, you look for...’

## 5. Conclusion

In the present study, we offer an analysis of KPRC, focusing on two important aspects. The primary goal is to investigate the syntax of right periphery of KPRC, driven from full clausal conditionals: we suggest the structure of *the right-periphery* in Korean conditional clauses, showing that the conditional marker *myen* should be outside of the Report head (and nominalizer) (Saito 2010), forming a double-headed structure with two Forces, the (reported) declarative and the conditional.

The second goal is to examine the nature of the clausal pronoun *kukes* in KPRC, which, we argue, is the result of ellipsis, based on the ellipsis theory of pronominalization (Baltin & Craenenbroeck 2008). A variety of connectivity effects supports the current proposal that the pronominal conditional has the *internal structure*, i.e. the pronominal *kukes* is a clausal pronoun, i.e. the *residue of ellipsis*. This reveals that pronoun vs. ellipsis is too simple a distinction à la Baltin & van Craenenbroeck, since there are cases where pronouns are the result of the ellipsis process. The implication of the present study is that we can argue against a simple-minded dichotomy of anaphora that assumes that there are two types of anaphora, Deep and Surface, and Deep anaphora does not have syntactic structure. Instead, we argue for the analysis that pronoun is really the product of ellipsis.

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## List of abbreviations

ACC	accusative	COMP	complementizer
CLF	classifier	COND	conditional

COP	copular	NMLZ	nominalizer
CP	Complementizer Phrase	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	NP	Noun Phrase
DECL	declarative	NPI	Negative Polarity Item
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking	Op <sub>w</sub>	world operator
Fin	finite	PART	partitive
Foc	focus	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive	PRS	present
IP	Inflection Phrase	PST	past
IRR	irrealis	Q	question
JPS	Japanese Pronominal Sluicing	REFL	reflexive
KES	<i>kes</i> nominalizer	REPORT	report head
KPRC	Korean Pronominal Reduced Conditionals	Spec	specifier
KPS	Korean Pronominal Sluicing	TOP	topic
LOC	locative	V	Verb
NEG	negative	VP	Verb Phrase

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