

On Multiple Cleft Constructions in Korean*

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Park, Jong Un. (2024). On multiple cleft constructions in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 32(4), 67-96. Multiple cleft constructions, where there are more than one focus elements in the pivot position, have received little attention in the generative literature on Korean, as opposed to Japanese. Only a few researchers (e.g., Cho et al., 2008; D. Chung, 2021) have explicitly acknowledged the availability of multiple clefts in Korean. This paper first argues that multiple clefts are allowed in Korean, albeit restrictively, and demonstrates that they can be licensed when being congruent to the most prominent Question under Discussion (QUD) in the discourse context. Then, we suggest that in the course of derivation in syntax, multiple pivots form a single constituent via Oblique Merge (OM), suggested by D. Chung, but it is further argued that there are two routes in which multiple foci are introduced into the derivation, depending on whether they are selected arguments or unselected adjuncts (cf. J.-I. Yeom, 2014; H.-K. Wee, 2015, 2016). As an extension, we propose that the application of OM is constrained by the Phase Impenetrability Condition and Transfer (Chomsky 2000, 2001), which make it possible to derive the so-called Clausemate Condition for multiple foci in the construction.

Key Words: single cleft, multiple clefts, QUD, oblique merge, phase impenetrability condition, transfer, clausemate condition

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1. Introduction

Cleft constructions in Korean have the form of *X-kes-un Y-i-ta* where *X* is a presupposition clause with the topic marker *-un* attached and *Y* is a focused phrase followed by the copula verb *i*.¹⁾ Notice that the focused phrase can be referentially linked to an empty element inside the presupposition clause and resists nominative or accusative Case though tolerating dative Case or a postposition, as shown in (1).

- (1) Cleft constructions in Korean
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. | [Mina-ka | e ₁ | mana-n-kes]-un | Cheli ₁ (-∗lul)-i-ta. |
| | M.-Nom | | meet-Past-Comp-Top | C.-Acc-Cop-Decl |
| | 'It is Cheli that Mina met.' | | | |
| b. | [e ₁ | Cheli-lul | mana-n-kes]-un | Mina ₁ (-∗ka)-i-ta. |
| | C.-Acc | | meet-Past-Comp-Top | M.-Nom-Cop-Decl |
| | 'It is Mina that met Cheli.' | | | |

1) Some researchers like Cho et al. (2008) assume (single or multiple) clefts in Korean to be closer to pseudoclefts in English (e.g., *What I bought yesterday is a book*), while others such as D. Chung (2021) to *It*-clefts in English (e.g., *It is a book that I bought yesterday*). There is another view on its identity. That is, D.-W. Park (2021) assumes, following Hiraiwa & Ishihara's (2012) classification of Japanese clefts, that Korean clefts with a Case-marked pivot correspond to English *It*-clefts while those with a Caseless pivot are similar to English pseudoclefts. As discussed in K.-W. Sohn (2000) and S.-W. Kim (2020), however, Korean clefts exhibit different properties than English pseudoclefts, and this paper assumes with them that clefts correspond to English *It*-clefts.

Note also that there has been a debate on the identity of *-kes* in Korean clefts. One group of researchers argue that *-kes* is a complementizer that heads the presupposition clause (e.g., Kang, 2006; Cho, Whitman & Yanagida, 2008). Another group view *-kes* as a nominalizer (e.g., Kim & Sells, 2007; Kim, 2015). Without justification, however, this paper simply adopts the viewpoint held by the first group, namely that *-kes* is the complementizer of the presupposition CP.

Finally, as shown in (1a-d), nominative or accusative Case cannot be attached to an argumental focus in the pivot position, while dative Case or postpositions are permitted. M.-K Park (2014), for example, suggests that there is a morphological constraint that forces structural Case particles to be deleted when appearing right before the copular verb. However, this view would fail to explain why dative Case or postpositions can still be tolerated. One could argue, under the theory of labeling (Chomsky, 2013), that dative Case or postpositions facilitate labeling of the nominal they are attached to, but nominative or accusative Case cannot. I will leave open this issue for the future.

- c. [Mina-ka e_i i chayk-ul cwu-n-kes]-un Cheli_i(-eykey)-i-ta.
 M.-Nom this book-Acc give-Past-Comp-Top C.-Dat-Cop-Decl
 'It is to Cheli that Mina gave this book.'
- d. [Mina-ka Cheli-lul mana-n-kes]-un tosekwan(-eyse)-i-ta.
 M.-Nom C.-Acc meet-Past-Comp-Top library-Loc-Cop-Decl
 'It is at the library that Mina met Cheli.'

However, what this paper is concerned with is not cleft constructions with a single focused phrase of the sort given above but those with more than one focused phrase in the pivot position. The latter type of cleft constructions are called 'multiple cleft constructions' (or 'multiple clefts' in short), and there has been a consensus in the literature regarding the availability of multiple clefts in Japanese, as shown in (2) below (e.g., Cho et al., 2008; Hiraiwa & Ishihara, 2012; Takano, 2002, 2015, 2020; Ishii & Agbayani, 2019, *a.o.*).

(2) Multiple clefts in Japanese

- a. [Ken-ga ageta no]-wa hono-o Mari-ni ta.
 K.-Nom gave C-Top book-Acc M.-Dat Cop
 'It is a book to Mari that Ken gave.'
- b. [Ken-ga ageta no]-wa Mari-ni hono-o ta.
 K.-Nomgave C-Top M.-Dat book-Acc Cop
 'It is to Mari a book that Ken gave.'

Takano (2015: (3a,b))

By contrast, researchers have held different views on whether multiple clefts are allowed in Korean, and only a few linguists have reported that multiple pivots can be felicitously used (Cho et al., 2008; Yeom, 2014; D. Chung 2021; D.-W. Park, 2021).² Given below are some of the reported cases of multiple clefts: (3a) is drawn from Cho et al. (2008: (2a)) and (3b) from D.-W. Park (2021: (5a)).³

2) Most studies in cleft constructions in Korean do not even touch on multiple constructions, and Kim & Lee (2008) and S. Park (2014) belong to a few studies that explicitly argue against the availability of multiple clefts in Korean.

3) When citing examples from previous research in this paper, glosses and translations are mostly given as they are in the original sources without changes. Nonetheless, however, obvious mistakes

- (3) Multiple clefts in Korean (with adjunct foci only)
- a. [Yumi-ka ku chayk-ul san-kes]-un caknyen LA-eyse-i-ta.
 Y.-Nom that book-Acc bought-Comp-Top last.year LA-in-Cop-Decl
 ‘Where/when Yumi bought that book is last year in LA.’
- b. [Con-i Pil-ulpo-n kes-un] twu-si-ey
 John-Nom Bill-Acc see-Past Comp-Top two-hour-at
 siktang-eyse-i-ta.
 cafeteria-at-Cop-Decl
 Lit. ‘It is at the cafeteria at two o’clock that John saw Bill.’

It is worth noting that if focused phrases in the pivot position are genuine adjuncts not selected by a predicate in the presupposition clause headed by *kes*, as in (3a,b) above, most speakers I consulted agree on the acceptability despite the absence of explicit discourse context. By contrast, if they are arguments selected by a predicate in the presupposition clause, the multiple cleft construction becomes degraded, as in (4), and judgments vary.

- (4) Multiple clefts in Korean (with DAT-ACC or ACC-DAT foci)
- a. ^(?)[John-i cwu-n kes]-un Mary-eykey chayk-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top M.-Dat book-Cop-Decl
 Lit. ‘It is to Mary a book that John gave.’
- b. ^(?)[John-i cwu-n kes]-un chayk-ul Mary-eykey-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top book-Acc M.-Dat-Cop-Decl
 Lit. ‘It is a book to Mary that John gave.’

Given this backdrop, this paper aims to demonstrate that as long as the initial pivot retains its Case particle and the interlocutors share the discourse context, multiple clefts can be in principle licensed in Korean. Specifically, multiple clefts are judged acceptable when they serve as a congruent answer to the most salient Question under Discussion (QUD) in the given discourse context in Roberts’s (1998) sense. This discourse-pragmatic condition can be stated as follows.

are corrected, and annotations or brackets are added for the sake of clarity.

- (5) Multiple clefts must be a member of a set of congruent answers to the most salient Question under Discussion (QUD) in the given discourse context.

We propose that this condition applies not only to multiple cleft constructions but also to single cleft constructions. Why, then, is this condition necessary? To answer this question, this paper assumes, following Park (2023), that variables targeted by a question in the given QUD correspond to elliptical elements in the presupposition clause of the cleft construction, and that focused elements in the pivot serve as values for those variables. Under this assumption, the necessity of the discourse-pragmatic condition in (5) becomes clear: when there is more than one missing element in the *kes*-presupposition clause, it would be challenging to determine which element in the presupposition clause corresponds to the focused element in the pivot, particularly in the absence of an explicit QUD or a preceding utterance.

Another question that immediately arises is how multiple cleft constructions are derived in syntax. In answering this question, we suggest, along the lines of D. Chung (2021) (cf. Takano, 2002), that multiple foci form a constituent via Oblique Merge (OM). However, slightly departing from D. Chung, we suggest, building on J.-I. Yeom's (2014) and H.-K. Wee's (2015, 2016) observation, that while a focused argument selected by a predicate of the presupposition clause moves out of the clause into a focus position in the left periphery of the entire cleft sentence, an unselected focused adjunct is directly merged via External Merge into the same position. As an extension, we argue that the application of OM is constrained by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) and Transfer (Chomsky 2000, 2001), and that with these constraints, we can derive the so-called Clausemate Condition for multiple pivots in the multiple cleft construction.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 critically reviews recent works on multiple cleft constructions such as the syntactic movement approach and the amalgam cleft approach. Then, Section 3 lays out the suggested analysis that builds on Roberts's (1998) notion of QUD and D. Chung's (2021) Oblique Merge approach to multiple focus constructions. Section 4 shows that the way OM is applied is restricted by the PIC, and the clausemate condition for multiple pivots can naturally fall out from the PIC. Section 5 draws conclusions, along with residual issues.

2. Previous Analyses of Multiple Clefts

This section provides two major approaches to multiple clefts in Japanese and Korean. The first approach employs syntactic movement of focused phrases. Another approach does not postulate any syntactic movement but assumes the bi-clausal structure, which is analogous to Declerck's (1988) amalgam cleft in English *What Yumi bought is Yumi bought a LEXUS*.

2.1. Single Constituent Movement Approach

Saito (1994) observes that a complex NP island effect in (6a) can be ameliorated if there is an additional *wh*-word, here *nani-o* 'what-Acc' in Japanese, as in (6b) (Takano (2002: (38))).

- (6) a. *John-wa [sono hon-o naze katta hito]-o
 John-Top [that book-Acc why bought person-Acc
 sagasideiru no.
 is.looking.for Q
 'Why is John looking for a person who bought that book?'
 b. ??John-wa [nani-o naze katta hito]-o
 John-Top [what-Acc why bought person-Acc
 sagasideiru no.
 is.looking.for Q
 'Why is John looking for a person who bought what?'

Sentence (6a) is judged ungrammatical due to a violation of the Complex NP Constraint (CNPC) triggered by covert movement of the *wh*-adjunct *naze* 'why'. Interestingly, however, if there is another *wh*-phrase *nani-o* 'what-Acc' in the same clause as *naze*, the acceptability of the sentence improves, as indicated in (6b). To explain why the addition of a *wh*-phrase makes an island effect ameliorated in (6b), Saito proposes that the *wh*-adjunct *naze* (left-)adjoins to the added *wh*-argument *nani-o*, and then, they undergo covert movement together as a single constituent, taking a matrix scope.

Note also that the *wh*-adjunct *naze* cannot undergo covert movement to the domain of the matrix interrogative C in Japanese, as in (7a), which is generally attributed to a

violation of the CNPC. However, Sohn (1994) makes an interesting observation that if the same *wh*-adjunct undergoes long-distance (LD) scrambling into the higher clause, by moving along with the object DP *sono hito-o* ‘that person-Acc’, the acceptability increases, as in (7b) (Takano (2002: (37))).

- (7) a. *John-wa [Mary-ga sono hito-o naze uttaeta
 John-Top [Mary-Nom that person-Acc why sued
 toyuu uwasa]-o kiita no.
 that rumor-Acc heard Q
 ‘Why did John hear the rumor that Mary sued that person?’
 b. ??Naze_i sono hito-o_j John-wa [Mary-ga t_i t_j uttaeta
 why that person-Acc John-Top [Mary-Nom t_i t_j sued
 toyuu uwasa]-o kiita no.
 that rumor-Acc heard Q

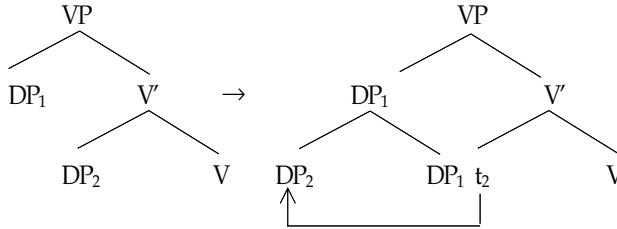
In accounting for the reason (7b) is judged more acceptable than (7a), Sohn proposes to extend Saito’s analysis of additional *wh*-effect: That is, after the *wh*-adjunct *naze* (left-)adjoins to the DP *sono hito-o* ‘that person-Acc’, they undergo LD scrambling into the higher clause just like a single constituent. Note that adverbial adjuncts in Japanese (and Korean) cannot move long-distance, but the movement of the DP *sono hito-o* to which the *wh*-adjunct *naze* has adjoined in (7b) is immune to such a restriction.

Returning to multiple cleft constructions, building on Saito’s (1994) and Sohn’s (1994) idea of ‘adjunction-cum-movement’ analysis, Takano (2002) suggests a ‘surprising constituent’ analysis where multiple foci become a single constituent by adjoining one focused phrase to the other, moving to the left periphery of the cleft sentence. Takano calls such adjunction ‘oblique movement’ to distinguish it from standard XP movement.

Consider the Japanese multiple cleft construction with a theme and goal in the pivot position in (8). Under Takano’s analysis, the sentence is derived via oblique movement, which makes the two foci a ‘surprising constituent’, as represented in (9a,b).⁴⁾

4) Just like the marker *-kes* heading the presupposition clause in Korean, there are at least two different views on the identity of the marker *no*. It is sometimes analyzed as a complementizer (e.g., Koizumi, 2000), while it is also viewed as a nominalizer (e.g., Takano, 2002; 2020).

- (8) [John-ga ageta no] wa hon-o Mary-ni da.
 J.-Nom gave NM Top book-Acc M.-Dat Cop
 'It is a book to Mary that John gave.'
- (9) a. Oblique movement of ACC to DAT



- b. Leftward movement & PF deletion of the surprising constituent
~~[hon-o_i [Mary-ni]_j]~~ John-ga t_j t_i ageta no wa [hon-o [Mary-ni]] da.
 ↑

Takano (2002: 257)

In (9a), oblique movement adjoins the accusative Case-marked DP *hon-o* to the dative Case-marked DP *Mary-ni*, turning the two syntactic objects into a surprising constituent. Then, the surprising constituent moves to the left edge of the presupposition clause and it gets deleted at PF under the identity with the focused element, as depicted in (9b).

Although Takano's surprising constituent analysis is advantageous, there appear to be a couple of issues to be clarified. Firstly, it seems unclear how the multiple foci in (8)-(9), which are identical to the surprising constituent, end up occupying the pivot position. She assumes with Hoji (1987) that there is null operator movement within the presupposition clause (i.e., *no*-clause in (8)-(9)), but according to her, the higher copy of the surprising constituent inside the *no*-clause is deleted under the identity with the multiple foci in the pivot position, not its lower copy. Secondly, as Takano (2002: pp.259-60) herself explicitly acknowledges, she remains undecided about what causes oblique movement. Instead, she simply alludes to two possible ideas to pursue: The first idea is that oblique movement that adjoins one focus to another is triggered by a focus feature, while the other one is to just assume that oblique movement is a form of 'semantically vacuous scrambling.'

About two decades later, D. Chung (2021), one of few linguists in favor of the availability of multiple clefts in Korean, argues that multiple foci form a single constituent via what he labels 'Oblique Merge' (OM) in multiple cleft constructions. He

investigates several constructions involving multiple foci, which include not only multiple (pseudo)-cleft constructions but also multiple fragment constructions, multiple contrast topic constructions, and multiple right node raising constructions. According to him, what is common among these constructions is that more than one syntactic objects are assigned a [+F(ocus)] feature and they are supposed to form a single constituent via OM. Though independently developed, D. Chung's OM basically has the same function as Takano's (2002) oblique movement. Indeed, D. Chung attributes his idea about OM to Saito's (1994) and Sohn's (1994) adjunction-cum-movement approach.

Nonetheless, D. Chung is distinguished from Takano in that he explicitly argues that what triggers OM of multiply focused phrases is a [+F]-feature. More importantly, assuming Park & Shin's (2014) analysis of single cleft constructions in Korean, D. Chung suggests that multiple foci are generated inside the presupposition clause headed by the complementizer *-kes*, and after multiple foci form a single constituent (which is equivalent to a 'surprising constituent' in Takano (2002)) through OM, they experience focus movement to the left periphery of the *kes*-clause. At the final step, the *kes*-clause is fronted to the topic position. Given below are the abstract derivational steps proposed in D. Chung's OM analysis (where *-kes* is the complementizer, *-i* the copula verb, *-ta* the declarative ending).

- (10) a. Multiple focus assignment inside the *kes*-clause

[_{CP} ... X_[+F] ... Y_[+F] ... *kes*]-i-ta.

- b. Oblique Merge to multiple foci

[_{CP} ... [X_[+F]-Y_[+F]]_i ... e_i ... *kes*]-i-ta.

- c. Focus movement as a single constituent

[X_[+F]-Y_[+F]]_j [_{CP} ... e_j ... e_i ... *kes*]-i-ta.

- d. Topicalization of the *kes*-clause

[_{CP} ... e_j ... e_i ... *kes*]_k-un [X_[+F]-Y_[+F]]_j e_k-i-ta.

D. Chung (2021: (61))

Although D. Chung's (2021) OM analysis is apparently similar to Takano's (2002) oblique movement analysis, the former seems to be superior to the latter for a couple of reasons. First, D. Chung's analysis makes it clear that it is a [+F]-feature that causes OM to turn multiple foci into a single constituent, while Takano remains undecided as to motivations for oblique movement. Secondly, D. Chung's analysis can account for why

the initial focus must be Case-marked but the non-initial one can be optionally Case-marked. More specifically, in order to rule out cases like (11b) and (11d) but rule out ones like (11b) and (11d), he suggests the c-command condition for multiple foci in (12).

- (11) a. [John-i cwu-n-kes]-un [Mary-eykey chayk]-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past-Comp-Top M.-Dat book-Cop-Decl
 (Lit.) ‘It is to Mary a book that John gave.’
 b. *[John-i cwu-n-kes]-un [Mary chayk]-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past-Comp-Top M. book-Cop-Decl
 c. [John-i cwu-n-kes]-un [chayk-ul Mary-eykey]-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past-Comp-Top book-Acc M.-Dat-Cop-Decl
 (Lit.) ‘It is a book to Mary that John gave.’
 d. *[John-i cwu-n-kes]-un [chayk Mary-eykey]-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past-Comp-Top book M.-Dat-Cop-Decl

- (12) Condition for multiple foci (D. Chung (2021: p.66))

A focus element in a non-final position obligatorily spells out both the element that dominates it and the minimal node that c-commands the following focus element. In contrast, a focus element in the final position optionally spells out the element that dominates it.

According to the condition in (12), the non-final focus element *Mary* in (11b) fails to spell-out the dative Case marker *-eykey*, the element dominating the focus element; likewise, the non-final focus element *chayk* in (11d) fails to spell out the accusative Case marker *-ul*, which also corresponds to the element dominating it. Note that D. Chung assumes that structural Case markers are the head of a functional projection, namely KP. By contrast, there does not seem to be a way for Takano’s oblique movement to explain the ungrammaticality of (11b) and (11d).⁵⁾ For these reasons, we will adopt D. Chung’s OM analysis regarding the driving force of focus movement (see Sec 3.3 for the details).

5) By making a novel observation that multiple clefts in Japanese do not show island effects, Takano (2020) proposes that multiple foci undergo Double Sideward Movement (DSM). However, since multiple clefts in Korean, as opposed to those in Japanese, seem to be subject to island constraints, we do not further examine the advantages and disadvantages of Takano’s DSM.

(13) Null operator movement analysis (Hoji, 1987; Hoji & Ueyama, 2003)

(14) Direct movement analysis (Hiraiwa & Ishihara, 2002)

'What Yumi bought is three books.'

'What John did not drink at the party is even one bottle of beer.'

- (16) *[John-i phathi-eyse masin kes]-un maykcwu han-pyeng-ul
 J.-Nom party-at drank Comp-Top beer one-Cl-Acc
 cocha an-i-ta.
 even Neg-Cop-Decl
 ‘What John drank at the party is not even one bottle of beer.’
 Cho et al. (2008: (13), (15))

Cho et al. further claim that a real problem with the null operator movement and direct movement analysis lies in the fact that clefts are not mono-clausal but bi-clausal. As a piece of evidence for the bi-clausal structure, they present the contrast between (17a) and (17b), which shows that NPIs in the presupposition clause must be licensed by the predicate in the presupposition clause independently.

- (17) NPIs must be licensed by negation in the presupposition.
 a. [John-i amukesto an-masin kes]-un phathi-eyse-i-ta.
 John-Nom anything not-drank Comp-Top party-at-Cop-Decl
 ‘Where John didn’t drink anything is at the party.’
 b. *[John-i amukesto masin kes]-un phathi-eyse-ka an-i-ta.
 John-Nom anything drank Comp-Top party-at-Nom not-be-Decl
 Cho et al. (2008: (20))

For this reason, Cho et al. propose the non-movement bi-clausal approach to Korean and Japanese (multiple) clefts, which they call the ‘amalgam cleft approach,’ following Declerck’s (1988) analysis of amalgam clefts like (18a).

- (18) a. [What Yumi bought] is [she bought a LEXUS].
 b. *[What Yumi bought] is [YUMI bought a lexus].

As shown above, amalgam clefts seem to be similar to pseudoclefts, but unlike standard pseudoclefts, a full clause like *she bought a LEXUS* can appear in the post-copular position. In addition, the focalized constituents in the post-copular clause must include an element corresponding to the variable. In (18a) above, it is *LEXUS* that corresponds to the variable connected to *what* in the presupposition clause. By contrast, (18b) is judged infelicitous because it is not the subject *Yumi* but the object *lexus* that

corresponds to the variable paired with *what*. Note, however, that the focalized elements in amalgam clefts need not be restricted to the constituent corresponding to the variable in the presupposition, as long as that constituent is focalized, as in (19), where LEXUS is connected to the variable.

- (19) a. [What she bought] is [YUMI bought a LEXUS].
 b. [What Yumi bought] is [she bought a LEXUS in LA for HER BROTHER].
 Cho et al. (2008: (33), (34))

As reported by Cho et al., the same information structure is also found in Korean multiple clefts, as in (20A-B).

- (20) Korean amalgam cleft
 A: Yumi-nun mwues-ul eti-eyse nwukwu-hanthey sa.cwu-ess-ni?
 Y.-Top what-Acc where-in who-for buy.give-Past-Q
 'What did Yumi buy where for whom?'
 B: [Yumi-ka sa.cwu-n kes]-un [Lexus-lul LA-eyse
 Y.-Nom buy.give-Past Comp-Top Lexus-Acc LA-in
 oppa-hanthey]-i-ta.
 elder.brother-for-Cop-Decl
 'What Yumi bought is she bought a Lexus in LA for her elder brother.'

According to them, the multiple cleft in (20B) can be analyzed as in (21): The subject in the post-copular clause is *pro*, while the verb in the post-copular clause is suppressed since a verb cannot appear before the copula verb in Korean clefts.

- (21) [Yumi-ka sa.cwu-n kes]-un [*pro* Lexus-lul LA-eyse
 Y.-Nom buy.give-Past Comp-Top Lexus-Acc LA-in
 oppa-hanthey sa.cwu-ess]-i-ta.
 elder.brother-for buy.give-Past]-Cop-Decl
 'What Yumi bought is she bought a Lexus in LA for her elder brother.'

But it should be pointed out that the amalgam approach appears to have its own problems. First, given that the ban on the occurrence of the predicate in the cleft is due

to the copula verb and the copula verb and declarative ending can be omitted in Korean clefts, as in (22a), the sentence in (22b), which lacks the copula verb unlike (21), is expected to allow for the predicate, contrary to fact.

- (22) a. [Yumi-ka ecey sa-n kes]-un (palo) i chayk
 Y.-Nom yesterday buy-Past Comp-Top very this book
 (Lit.) 'What Yumi bought yesterday this very book.'
- b. *[Yumi-ka sa.cwu-n kes]-un [Lexus-lul LA-eyse
 Y.-Nom buy.give-Past Comp-Top Lexus-Acc LA-in
 sa.cwu-ess].
 buy.give-Past

Secondly, it seems unclear how the amalgam approach explains the morphological restrictions on focused phrases. Recall that in (11), we have seen that the non-final focused element must be Case-marked, while the final focused element can be marked only with oblique Case or postpositions, but not with nominative or accusative Case. Third, amalgam clefts in English are closer to pseudoclefts than *It*-clefts, and as such, it is predicted that *wh*-words are ruled out in the focus position, as in (23a). However, as briefly mentioned in the earlier section, Korean clefts pattern together with *It*-clefts, not with pseudoclefts, and one piece of evidence for this claim is that *wh*-words can be focalized in Korean clefts, as in (23b).

- (23) a. *Where is what Yumi bought this book?
- b. [Yumi-ka i chayk-ul sa-n kes]-un eti-eyse-i-ni?
 Y.-Nom this book-Acc buy-Past Comp-Top where-at-Cop-Q
 (Lit.) 'Where is it that Yumi bought this book?'

Nonetheless, there is one lesson we can learn from Cho et al. 's amalgam approach: That is, the presence of an explicit question with overt *wh*-variables tends to make multiple clefts (as answers to that question) more felicitous. This tendency will in turn lend support to our analysis, which will be laid out in the upcoming section. In brief, multiple clefts should satisfy a kind of discourse-pragmatic condition, requiring that they be congruent to the most salient Question under Discussion (QUD) in the on-going discourse.

3. How Are Multiple Clefts Licensed and Derived?

3.1. QUD and Multiple Clefts

As Park (2023) discusses, discourses are often characterized by interlocutors' attempts to convey their understanding of the world, with coherence achieved through a hierarchical structure of question-answer relationships. In particular, participants in a conversation must work toward answering the most salient question within the discourse context. This primary question solicits the emergence of related subquestions that the interlocutors are also expected to address. These ongoing questions within each discourse are often referred to as Questions under Discussion (QUDs) in the literature (Roberts, 1996/2012, among others).

Multiple clefts, which consist of the presupposition clause (headed by *-kes* in Korean and *-no* in Japanese) and focused phrases, are generally known to be used in order for the speaker to make an emphasis, make a contrast, or make a correction on a certain issue that has already been brought up by the interlocutor in the previous utterance during the conversation. Sometimes, multiple clefts are also used for answering questions invoked by the interlocutor. As such, it is expected that there is a QUD shared by interlocutors, and they use multiple foci in order to supply values to the variables required by *wh*-words in the QUD.

To see how QUDs play a role in licensing multiple clefts, consider the examples in (24) and (25), the latter of which is repeated from (4). Although the Japanese equivalents are reported to be acceptable in the literature (e.g., Hiraiwa & Ishihara, 2002, 2012; Takano, 2002, 2020), most Korean speakers I consulted seldom consider them as perfectly natural; in particular, (24) is deemed to be a bit worse than (25a-b).

- (24) Multiple cleft in Korean (with NOM-ACC foci)

??[_{CP} e_i e_j cohaha-n kes]-un John_i-i Mary_j-i-ta.
 like-Past Comp-Top J.-Nom M.-Cop-Decl

Intended: 'It is John Mary that liked.'

- (25) Multiple clefts in Korean (with DAT-ACC or ACC-DAT foci)

a. ⁽²⁾[John-i cwu-n kes]-un Mary-eykey chayk-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top M.-Dat book-Cop-Decl

Lit. 'It is to Mary a book that John gave.'

- b. ⁽⁷⁾[John-i cwu-n kes]-un chayk-ul Mary-eykey-i-ta.
 J.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top book-Acc M.-Dat-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'It is a book to Mary that John gave.'

However, as long as the right context is provided, the acceptability of each multiple cleft can be improved. First, as for (24), let's suppose that Kyle and Jenny, the alumni who graduated from the same department, are talking about their classmates at the department reunion. According to Kyle's memory, there were a couple who liked each other in their freshman year, and they were Rob and Ellie. So he uttered (26A), where *-ya* is used as the declarative ending to make the conversation colloquial. However, Jenny thinks that Kyle is wrong since it is not 'Rob and Ellie' but 'John and Mary' who liked each other. Thus, in order to correct what Kyle said, Jenny uttered sentence (26B), which is the same as (24) except for the clause-final ending. In this discourse context, the most salient QUD is something like *Who liked whom?*, and each of (26A) and (26B) serves as the answer to this QUD. In particular, the answer given by Jenny has a function of making a correction to what was said in the preceding turn. This means that the discourse-pragmatic condition in (5), repeated below as (27), is satisfied, and thus, (26B) sounds more natural than (24), as the former is immediately preceded by the utterance in (26A), which helps to recover the most salient QUD in the given discourse context.

(26) **QUD:** Who liked whom?

- A: [_{CP} e_i e_j cohaha-n kes]-un Rob-i Ellie-ya.
 like-Past Comp-Top R.-Nom E.-Cop.Decl

Lit.: 'It is Rob Ellie that liked.'

- B: Ani-ya, [_{CP} e_i e_j cohaha-n kes]-un John-i Mary-ya.
 No-Decl like-Past Comp-Top J.-Nom M.-Cop.Decl

Lit.: No, it is (not Rob Ellie but) John Mary that liked.

- (27) Multiple clefts must be a member of a set of congruent answers to the most salient Question under Discussion (QUD) in the given discourse context.

Secondly, it seems possible to think of (28) as the case where multiple clefts function as part of an overtly spelled-out question-and-answer pair. That is, if a mom utters multiple questions like (28b-A) in the context where John, her son, gave a gift to someone at the church on Christmas Day, the multiple clefts in (25a,b) become more

natural, as in (28b-B) and (28b-B'), respectively. The declarative ending *-(e)yo* in both is generally used by an interlocutor who is lower than the addressee in social status.

(28) a. **QUD:** Who gave what to whom?

b. **Sub-QUD:** What did John give to whom?

A: John-i nwukwu-eykey mwues-ul cwu-ess-ni?

J.-Nom who-Dat what-Acc give-Past-Q

'What did John give to whom? '

B: [John-i cwu-n kes]-un Mary-eykey chayk-i-(e)yo.

J.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top M.-Dat book-Cop-Decl

B': [John-i cwu-n kes]-un chayk-ul Mary-eykey-(e)yo.

J.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top book-Acc M.-Dat-Cop-Decl

Notice that the mom's question in (28b) in this case corresponds to the sub-QUD, which is developed from the more general QUD in (28a), and it is the most salient QUD in the given context described above.

Third, (29B) seems to be a complicated case that is difficult to parse because while there is only a ditransitive verb in the presupposition clause, all the arguments selected by the verb appear in the pivot position. Suppose that a mom heard that John, one of her two sons, gave a Christmas gift to someone, while Rob, her another son, got a gift from someone else. The mom wants to know not only 'who gave what to whom' but also 'who received what from whom,' and in this discourse context, she asks their friend (labeled 'B') the question in (29A), which corresponds to the most salient QUD.

(29) **QUD:** Who gave what to whom, and who received what from whom?

A: Nwu-ka nwukwu-eykey mwues-ul cwu-ess-ko,

who-Nom who-Dat what-Acc give-Past-Conj

nwu-ka nwukwu-eykeyse mwues-ul pat-ass-ni?

who-Nom who-from what-Acc receive-Past-Q

'Who gave what to whom? '

B. [_{CP} e_i e_j e_k cwu-n kes]-un John_i-i Mary_j-eykey i
give-Past Comp-Top J.-Nom M.-Dat this

chayk_k-i-ko, [_{CP} e_l e_m e_n pat-(u)n kes]-un

book-Cop-Conj receive-Past Comp-Top

Rob_i Audrey_m-eykeyse ce chayk_n-i-(e)yo.
 R.-Nom A.-from that book-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'It is John to Mary this book that gave, and it is Rob from Audrey
 that book that received.'

From what has been discussed in this subsection, we can draw the following generalizations: First, multiple clefts are required to fulfill the discourse-pragmatic congruency condition in (27), stating that they should be a member of a set of congruent answers to the most (explicit or implicit) salient QUD; secondly, the presupposition clause in multiple clefts contains syntactic objects other than *wh*-phrases appearing in the most salient QUD; and third, the QUD that feeds multiple clefts can be characterized as multiple *wh*-questions with a single pair or pair-list reading.⁶⁾

3.2. Two Ways of Merging Multiple Pivots

It is worth noting that the current approach can be said to be similar to the amalgam cleft view by Cho et al. (2008), in that the latter postulates a question that feeds multiple clefts in the pre-copular position, while the former assumes the interlocutors to have an explicit or implicit QUD in common, which plays a similar role to the pre-copular question under the amalgam cleft view. However, unlike the amalgam cleft approach that postulates a bi-clausal structure, we assume with Takano (2002) and D. Chung (2021) that multiple clefts consist of a single clause, and that multiple focused phrases can form a single constituent via Oblique Merge (OM) in D. Chung's sense.

Furthermore, building on J.-I. Yeom's (2014) and H.-K. Wee's (2015, 2016) observation

6) Given below in (iB) is the case (from D. Chung (2021: 201)) where multiple clefts correspond to pair-list answers solicited by the QUD in (iA). We leave open how cases like (iB) can be derived.

- (i) A: Ne yehayng-cwungey eti-eyse mwusun mwulken-tul-ul sa-ss-e?
 You travel-during where-in what stuff-Pl-Acc buy-Past-Q?
 'What (stuff) did you buy during the trip?'
 B: Ung, [pro yehang-cwungey sa-n-kes]-un Hong Kong-eyse mokkal,
 Yes trip-during buy-Past-Comp-Top H.K.-in necklace
 Paris-eyse hayndubayk, kuliko Swiss-eyse sikyey-i-ya.
 P.-in handbag, and Swiss-eyse watch-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'Yes, it is a necklace in Hong Kong, a handbag in Paris, and a watch in Swiss that I
 bought during the trip.'

that focused adjuncts in single clefts in Korean are not referentially linked to anything inside the presupposition clause, we make a novel claim that not all focused phrases in multiple clefts have been extracted out of the presupposition clause: That is, a focused argument selected by the predicate is extracted out of the presupposition *kes*-clause, just as argued by the OM approach, but a focused adjunct, not selected by the predicate, is directly merged to the periphery of the *kes*-clause.

As observed by J.-I. Yeom and H.-K. Wee (2015, 2016), in a single cleft with a focused argument without Case, which is selected by the predicate inside the presupposition clause, the Caseless argument focus denotes an individual (of type *e*) and the copula an equative relation between the *kes*-clause and the focused phrase, as in (30a). This view can be supported by the fact that an adjective is ruled out in the focus position in a cleft, as in (30b), since it cannot denote an individual but a property (of type $\langle e, t \rangle$).

- (30) a. (Minswu-ka ecey etten namca-lul manna-ss-nuntey,)
 M.-Nom yesterday some man-Acc meet-Past-Conj
 [_{CP} Minswu-ka ecey e_i manna-n kes]-un Jin_i-i-ya.
 M.-Nom yesterday meet-Past Comp-Top J.-Cop-Decl
 '(Minswu met some man yesterday, but) it is Jin that Minswu met
 yesterday.'
- b. (Minswu-ka ecey etten namca-lul manna-ss-nuntey,)
 M.-Nom yesterday some man-Acc meet-Past-Conj
 * [_{CP} Minswu-ka ecey e manna-n kes]-un yeppu-ta.
 M.-Nom yesterday meet-Past Comp-Top pretty-Decl
 Intended: '(Minswu met some man yesterday, but) it is pretty that Minswu
 met yesterday.'

(adapted from H.-K. Wee (2016: 111))

On the other hand, in a single cleft with an adjunct pivot, the focused adjunct (marked with a postposition) does not denote an individual but property, as in (31a); as such, it can serve as a predicate of what is denoted by the presupposition clause. Notice that adjuncts which can appear in the pivot position in Korean clefts are not limited to locative PPs; other PPs, such as a reason PP or instrumental PP, are also allowed, as in (31b) and (31c), respectively.

- (31) a. [_{CP} Mina-ka ku chayk-ul sa-n kes]-un LA-eyse-i-ta.
 M.-Nom that book buy-Past Comp-Top LA-in-Cop-Decl
 'It is in LA that Mina bought that book.'
- b. [_{CP} Mina-ka ku ilon-ul mitnu-n kes]-un sasohan
 M.-Nom that theory-Acc believe-Past Comp-Top trivial
 iywu ttaymwun-i-ta.
 reason because.of-Cop-Decl
 'It is for a trivial reason that Mina believes that theory.'
- c. [_{CP} Mina-ka ku mwun-ul ye-n kes]-un i
 M.-Nom that door-Acc open-Past Comp-Top this
 yelsoy-lo-i-ta.
 key-with-Cop-Decl
 'It is with this key that Mina opened that door.'

All the adjunct PPs in the pivot position above are not selected by the predicate inside the presupposition clause, and their function is to predicate an event denoted by the presupposition *kes*-clause.

Based on this contrast between arguments and adjuncts in the pivot position of single clefts, we suggest that in multiple clefts, focused arguments are base-generated inside the presupposition clause out of which they are extracted via Internal Merge, while focused adjuncts are directly merged via External Merge outside of the presupposition clause. In the next subsection, we will provide more details about the ideas suggested in this subsection.

3.3. Analysis

In order to understand how the suggested analysis works, let us first consider the multiple cleft construction in (32b) only with the focused arguments, as well as the derivational steps for it.⁷⁾

7) We assume that when entering the derivation, an argument or adjunct pivot comes with an interpretable focus feature ([iFoc]), which needs to undergo Agree with an uninterpretable focus feature ([uFoc]) on the head of the Copula Phrase (CopP). For the sake convenience, I will not specify the [iFoc] for pivots hereafter.

- (32) a. **QUD:** Mina-ka nwukwu-eykey mwues-ul cwu-ess-ni?
 M.-Nom who-Dat what-Acc give-Past-Q
 'What did Mina give to whom?'
 b. [_{CP} Mina-ka e_i e_j cwu-n kes]-un Tom_i-eykey i
 M.-Nom give-Past Comp-Top T.-Dat this
 chayk-i-ya.
 book-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'It is to Tom this book that Mina gave.'
- (33) a. Step 1: Underlying structure
 [_{TP} [_{CopP} [_{CP} Mina-ka Tom-eykey_[iFoc] i chayk-ul_[iFoc] cwun kes]-un i] ya].
 b. Step 2: Oblique Merge to DAT & ACC
 [_{TP} [_{CopP} [_{CP} Mina-ka [_{YP} Tom-eykey_[iFoc] i chayk-ul_[iFoc]] cwun kes]-un i] ya].
 c. Step 3: Internal Merge of DAT & ACC to Spec-CoP
 [_{TP} [_{CopP} [_{YP} Tom-eykey_[iFoc] i chayk-ul_[iFoc]]_i [_{CP} Mina-ka t_i cwun kes]-un i] ya].
 d. Step 4: Internal Merge of the *kes*-CP to Spec-TP
 [_{TP} [_{CP} Mina-ka t_i cwun kes]-un [_{CopP} [_{YP} Tom-eykey_[iFoc] i chayk-ul_[iFoc]]_i t_j I] ya].

The multiple foci in (32b) start out inside the presupposition clause, since both are arguments selected by the predicate *cwu-* 'give', as in (33a), and they correspond to values to the *wh*-phrases in the QUD in (32a). As shown in (33b), the Dative Case-marked argument and Accusative Case-marked argument form a single constituent (tentatively labeled YP) via Oblique Merge (OM) in D. Chung's (2021) sense, and then, in (33c), the Dative & Accusative arguments as a single constituent are fronted to the Spec-CopP via Internal Merge (IM). In the final step, the presupposition clause headed by *kes* undergoes IM to Spec-TP, as in (33d).

Secondly, consider another multiple cleft construction in (34b) where there are only focused adjuncts in the pivot position. Given in (35) are derivational steps for (34b).

- (34) a. **QUD:** Mina-ka encey eti-eyse i paci-lul sa-ss-ni?
 M.-Nom when where-at this pants-Acc buy-Past-Q
 b. [_{CP} Mina-ka i paci-lul sa-n kes]-un pom-ey
 M.-Nom this pants-Acc buy-Past Comp-Top spring-in
 mathu-eyse-i-ya.
 mart-at-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'It is in the spring at the mart that Mina bought these pants.'

- (35) a. Step 1: Underlying structure
 [_{TP} [_{CopP} [_{CP} Mina-ka i paci-lul san kes]-un i] ya].
 b. Step 2: External Merge of locative PP & temporal PP
 [_{TP} [_{CopP1} pom-ey [_{CopP2} mathu-eyse [_{CP} Mina-ka i paci-lul san kes]-un i]] ya].
 c. Step 3: Internal Merge of the *kes*-CP to Spec-TP
 [_{TP} [_{CP} Mina-ka i paci-lul san kes]_i-un [_{CopP1} pom-ey [_{CopP2} mathu-eyse t_i i]] ya].

Just as do the multiple focused arguments in (32b), the multiple focused adjuncts in (34b) correspond to the values to the *wh*-phrases in the QUD in (34a). However, what distinguishes (34b) from (32b) is that there are no gaps for the focused adjuncts inside the *kes*-clause, as in (35a), since neither of them is selected by the predicate *sa*- ‘buy’. Instead, the two adjuncts are directly merged to Spec-CopP via External Merge, as illustrated in (35c). This means that OM applies in the multiple cleft construction only when focused phrases are only arguments. Note also that even an adjunct can be base-generated inside the presupposition clause if it is included in the QUD as part of the background information.

One possible piece of evidence for the current suggestion that adjunct foci are directly merged outside of the presupposition clause can be found in (36).

- (36) [Inho-ka [cicin-i palsaynghay-ss-ta-ko] pokoha-n-kes]-un
 I.-Nom earth.quake-Nom break.out-Past-Decl-Comp report-Past-Comp-Top
 ecey Seoul-eyse-i-ta.
 yesterday Seoul-in-Cop-Decl
 Lit. ‘It is yesterday in Seoul that Inho reported that the earthquake broke out.’

The focused adjuncts in this example can modify only the matrix event of Inho’s reporting, not the embedded event of earthquake breaking out. If the adjuncts were base-generated within the presuppositional clause, it would be puzzling why they fail to modify the embedded event.

At this point, we should note some core assumptions made in this paper. First, following D.-W. Park (2021), we assume that the head of Copula Phrase (CopP) selects for the presupposition CP in Korean (pseudo-)cleft constructions, and that it has the uninterpretable focus feature (the [*uFocus*]), which should be valued by the interpretable

focus feature (the [*i*Focus]) borne by focused phrases. For this reason, focused arguments with the [*i*Foc] should move to Spec-CopP. Secondly, the presupposition CP bears the interpretable topic feature (the [*i*Top]), while the head of TP carries the uninterpretable topic feature (the [*u*Top]), which can be valued via Agree with the [*i*Top] of the presupposition CP. Along with the [*u*Top], the head of TP bears the [EPP]-feature, which forces the presupposition CP to be displaced to Spec-TP. Third, we tentatively assume that multiple specifiers are available for CopP, and thus, they can host more than one focused phrases.

Finally, a more complicated case than the first and second case of multiple cleft constructions may be the one where multiple pivots consist of an argument and an adjunct (or the other way around).

- (37) a. **QUD:** Mina-ka eti-ese mwues-ul mek-ess-ni?
 M.-Nom where-at what-Acc eat-Past-Q
 ‘What did Mina eat where?’
- b. [_{CP} Mina-ka e_i mek-un kes]-un siktang-eyse sushi-ya.
 M.-Nom eat-Past Comp-Top cafeteria-at sushi-Cop.Decl
 Lit. ‘It is at the cafeteria the sushi that Mina ate.’
- (38) a. Step 1: Underlying structure
 [_{TP} [_{CopP} [_{CP} Mina-ka sushi-lul mek-un kes]-un i] ya].
- b. Step 2: Internal Merge of ACC to Spec-CopP
 [_{TP} [_{CopP} sushi-lul [_{CP} Mina-ka t_i mek-un kes]-un i] ya].
- c. Step 3: External Merge of locative PP to the outer Spec-CopP
 [_{TP} [_{CopP1} siktang-eyse [_{CopP2} sushi-lul [_{CP} Mina-ka t_i mek-un kes]-un i]] ya].
- d. Step 4: Internal Merge of the *kes*-CP to Spec-TP
 [_{TP} [_{CP} Mina-ka t_i mek-un kes]-un [_{CopP1} siktang-eyse [_{CopP2} sushi-lul t_i i]] ya].

The multiple pivots in (37b) consist of one focused argument and one focused adjunct, and both provide the values to the *wh*-phrases in the QUD in (37a). The immediate question regarding this case is how the two focused phrases are introduced into the derivation and whether they also form a single constituent. This is because the two foci are different in their status, and recall that under the current analysis, the focused argument should be extracted out of the presupposition CP via Internal Merge, while the focused adjunct is expected to be directly merged via External Merge. With

respect to this question, we tentatively suggest that the focused argument *sushi-lul* ‘sushi-ACC’ moves up to Spec-CopP, as in (38b), and the focused adjunct *siktang-eyse* ‘at the cafeteria’ is directly merged to the outer Spec-CopP, as in (38c).⁸⁾ The interpretation would be something like ‘There are a unique individual x and a unique event e such that it is at the cafeteria that the event e of Mina’s eating x took place.’⁹⁾

4. Extension: Locality in Multiple Clefts

This section will briefly address how the locality issue in multiple clefts can be handled under the current analysis. Specifically, it will demonstrate how the proposed analysis captures the locality restriction on the sources of multiple clefts, also known as the Clausemate Condition.

It was reported in Takano (2020) that multiple clefts in Japanese are subject to the Clausemate Condition, requiring that focused phrases be generated in the same clause. The same condition appears to be operative in Korean clefts, as shown by the contrast between (39b) and (40b) below.

- (39) a. **QUD:** Ellie-ka emma-eykey [nwu-ka eti-ey ka-l.kes.i-la-ko]
 E.-Nom mom-Dat who-Nom where-to go-will-Decl-Comp
 malhay-ss-ni?
 say-Past-Q
 Lit. ‘Who_i did Ellie tell the mom [_{t_i} will go where]?’
- b. [Ellie-ka emma-eykey [_{e_i} _{e_j} ka-l.kes.i-la-ko] malha-n-kes]-un
 E.-Nom mom-Dat go-will-Decl-Comp say-Past-Comp-Top
 Jenny_i-ka Busan_j-i-ya.
 J.-Nom Busan-Cop-Decl
 Lit. ‘It is Jenny to Busan that Ellie told the mom [that will go].’

8) Note that the ordering can be reversed when the focused argument precedes the focused adjunct.

9) One possible way to obtain this reading is to postulate a covert conjunction whose function is to combine the two foci as each conjunct (cf. Miyamoto, 2024), but we will not delve into this issue any further. This is because we are mainly concerned with whether multiple clefts are available in Korean, when they can be licensed, and how multiple foci can form a single constituent.

- (40) a. QUD: Nwu-ka emma-eykey [Jenny-ka eti-ey ka-l.kes.i-la-ko]
 who-Nom mom-Dat J.Nom where-to go-will-Decl-Comp
 malhay-ss-ni?
 say-Past-Int
 Lit. 'Who_i t_i said to the mom [that Jenny will go where]?'
 b. *[e_i emma-eykey [Jenny-ka e_j ka-l.kes.i-la-ko] malha-n-kes]-un
 mom-Dat J.-Nom go-will-Decl-Comp say-Past-Comp-Top
 Ellie_i-ka Busan_j-i-ya.
 E.-Nom Busan-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'It is Ellie to Busan that said to the mom [that Jenny will go].'

As represented in the QUD in (39a), when the two focused phrases start out in the same clause, the multiple cleft construction is judged acceptable, as in (39b). On the other hand, as shown in the QUD in (40a), when the Nominative-marked focus *Ellie-ka* 'Ellie-Nom' and the Goal argument *Busan-ey* 'Busan-to' are base-generated in different clauses, the multiple cleft becomes degraded, as in (40b).

Then, how can we derive the Clausemate Condition under the current analysis? Given the current analysis where focused arguments in multiple clefts should undergo Oblique Merge (OM) to form a single constituent before moving out of the presupposition clause, we suggest that OM cannot apply to more than one syntactic objects when separated by a phase boundary. Note that phases are *vP* and *CP*, both of which are propositional, and their function is to determine which parts of the structure are accessible to computation (Chomsky, 2000, 2001). More importantly, according to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) suggested by Chomsky (2000), a syntactic object in the complement of a phase is not accessible from the next head, as defined in (41), and the notion of Transfer, originally suggested by Chomsky (2001), can be defined as in (42) (both adapted from Takano (2020: 23)).

- (41) Phase Impenetrability Condition
 The complement of a phase head is not accessible to further computation after Transfer has applied to it.
 (42) Transfer applies to the complement of a phase head when the next head is introduced into the structure.

By appealing to the PIC (and Transfer) above, we suggest that OM should apply to syntactic objects with the [iFocus] in the same phase before Transfer applies. With this condition, the contrast between (39b) and (40b) can be naturally captured. In (39b), OM can apply to the external argument *Jenny-ka* and the Goal argument *Busan-ey* before the lower T is merged with *vP*, in accordance with the PIC. On the contrary, in (40b), the external argument *Ellie-ka* in the higher clause fails to form a single constituent with the Goal argument *Busan-ey* in the lower clause. This is because the complement of the phase (i.e., the lower TP) has been transferred before the matrix subject is merged. Each case can be schematized as follows:

- (43) a. [_{VP} XP_[iFoc] [_{VP} V ... YP_[iFoc] ...]]
 b. [_{VP} XP_[iFoc] [_{VP} V YP [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{VP} ... ZP_[iFoc] ...]]]]]

(43a) is equivalent to the abstract structure of the embedded *vP* of (39b), and in this case, OM is applicable to two syntactic objects XP and YP, since they are in the same phase (i.e., *vP*). (43b) is the abstract configuration of the matrix *vP* of (40b), and in this case, OM cannot target XP and ZP. This is because the lower TP has been transferred when the higher V is merged with the lower CP, making ZP inaccessible to any computation.

Then, the prediction is that even if two focused elements start out in different clauses separated by a phase boundary, they could appear in the pivot position as long as the higher element is an adjunct, not an argument. This is because unlike arguments, adjuncts are assumed to be directly merged via External Merge outside of the presupposition clause. Indeed, this prediction is borne out by (44b). Notice that this case is distinguished from the case in (40b), where the focused phrase in the higher clause and the one in the lower clause need to form a constituent via OM.

- (44) a. **QUD:** Ellie-ka encey emma-eykey [Jenny-ka eti-ey
 E.-Nom when mom-Dat J.-Nom where-to
 ka-l.kes.i-la-ko] malhay-ss-ni?
 go-will-Decl-Comp say-Past-Q
 Lit. 'When_i did Ellie tell the mom t_i [Jenny would go where]?'
 b. [Ellie-ka e_i emma-eykey [Jenny-ka e_k ka-l.kes.i-la-ko]
 E.-Nom mom-Dat J.-Nom go-will-Decl-Comp

malha-n-kes]-un ecey_i Busan_k-i-ya.
 say-Past-Comp-Top yesterday Busan-Cop-Decl
 Lit. 'It is yesterday to Busan that Ellie said to the mom [Jenny would go].'

5. Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that multiple cleft constructions are available, though restrictively, in Korean, and that what is called Questions under Discussion (QUDs) plays an important role in rendering multiple clefts sound more natural. In particular, it was argued that multiple clefts should meet a discourse-pragmatic condition, namely that they should be a member of a set of congruent answers to the most salient QUD.

As for the question of how more than one focused phrases can form a constituent, we adopted D. Chung's (2021) Oblique Merge (OM), but departing from him, it was suggested that there are two ways of introducing multiple pivots: Focused arguments can form a single constituent via OM inside a clause where they are base-generated, while focused adjuncts are directly merged via External Merge in the periphery of the presupposition clause (i.e., CopP).

It was shown in Section 4 that OM does not apply in an unrestricted manner, and it was argued that the application of OM is constrained by the PIC and Transfer. With this idea, we derived what is called the Clausemate Condition for multiple pivots.

Finally, let us briefly address a couple of residual issues. First, under the current analysis, it appears hard to explain why an NPI cannot be licensed in the pivot position if a focused phrase has been extracted out of the presupposition clause, as suggested in this paper. This issue will be left open for future research—not because it is unimportant, but because addressing it in depth would take us beyond the scope of this discussion. Secondly, Korean patterns with Japanese, but not with English, in allowing multiple clefts. A natural question that arises is why English, unlike these two languages, does not permit multiple foci in *It*-clefts. One possible explanation may lie in the fact that Korean and Japanese are discourse-prominent languages, while English is a subject-prominent language. Additionally, in Korean and Japanese, grammatical functions are indicated by Case markers or postpositions, which seem to facilitate the interlocutors' comprehension of multiple pivots in multiple cleft constructions. I will further explore this issue in the near future.

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