Sluicing? It's Just One of Copular Constructions

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Jo, Jung-Min. 2005. Sluicing? It's Just One of Copular Constructions. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 13*(2), 143-167. This paper provides a cross-examination of Cleft and Sluicing constructions in Korean. In particular I claim that Cleft construction is not the direct source for deriving Sluicing construction. Instead, two constructions are only indirectly related in that they share the same base structure, which is the copula-accompanying full *kes*-clause. I claim that the two constructions diverge due to the differences in the derivation involved. Despite the similarities between the two constructions in sharing the base structure, some contrasts are expected to arise due to the derivational differences and the organization of the grammar assumed. In particular, I show that contrasts with regard to the occurrence of Nom/Acc Case markers before the copula and the multiple sluiced or clefted elements follow from the derivational differences involved. Also I suggest that speaker variations with regard to Nom/Acc Case markers before the copula in Cleft and Sluicing constructions arise from the status of the relevant morphological constraint as a preference condition.

Key words: Sluicing, Cleft, Copula, Focus, Topic, Scrambling, PF-deletion, *kes*-clause

1. Introduction

This paper examines so-called 'Sluicing'in Korean, which is a Focus construction involved with ellipsis, as shown in (1).

(1) (Chelswu-ka nwukwu-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta-ko
    C-Nom   someone-Dat   book-Acc give-Past-Decl-Comp
    tul-ess-nuntey)
    heard

nwukwu-eykey-i-nci molukeyssta
who-Dat-Cop-Q   not.know
'(I heard that Chelswu gave a book to someone, but) I don't
 know to whom (he gave a book)'

    Due to its similarity to English Sluicing construction as English translation suggests, sentences like (1) have been analyzed as Korean (and similarly, Japanese) counterpart of Sluicing (see Takahashi 1994, J-S Kim 1997). I point out some empirical and theoretical problems of previous analyses of this construction and propose an alternative account in this paper.

2. Previous Analyses and Problems

    Takahashi (1994) accounts for Sluicing in Korean/Japanese in terms of Wh-movement followed by IP/TP deletion. In light of the challenge for this account posed by Nishiyama et al.'s (1996) multiple Sluicing data (which include non-wh element among the sluiced remnant), J-S Kim (1997) argues for Focus movement followed by TP/VP deletion in Japanese on the basis of Korean Pseudogapping (2).

  (2) John-i sakwa-lul meke
    J-Nom apple-Acc eats
    (kuliko) BANANA$_i$-to/*-lul [$_{VP}$ ~~John-i~~ t_i ~~mek~~] ya
    and   banana-Foc/-Acc   J-Nom   eat is
    'John eats apples, and BANANAS too'   (J-S Kim 1997: 53)

Kim claims that Pseudogapping involves Focus movement followed by VP-deletion. Kim extends this analysis to Sluicing in Japanese as shown in (3a), claiming that Sluicing involves PF deletion of TP or VP after Focus movement. (3b) is my rendition of his analysis to Korean Sluicing as Kim assumed that the same analysis also holds for Korean.

(3) a. Boku- wa [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ NANI$_i$- o [$_{TP}$[$_{VP}$ ~~John- ga t$_i$ kau~~] da/datta] ka]]

   I- Top   what- Acc   J- Nom   buy is/was   Q

   wakaranai

   not.know

   'I don't know what (John bought)'   (J- S Kim 1997: 121)

   b. na- nun [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ mwues$_i$- ul [$_{TP}$ [$_{VP}$ ~~John- i t$_i$ sa~~] i]- nci]]

   molukeyssta

Although this accounts for the Focus interpretation of the relevant nominal, Kim's proposal faces some problems. First, Kim claims that the copula is inserted to support the stranded verbal affix (Tense) after VP deletion. The question is why not a dummy verb 'ha', which is a counterpart of English 'do'? By analyzing the copula as an inserted expletive verb, he cannot provide a systematic answer to this question. Secondly it also makes a wrong prediction in Sluicing (4). That is, (4b) is predicted to be grammatical since it involves Focus movement followed by VP- deletion and the copula is inserted to support stranded verbal affixes as shown in (4c). However, this prediction is not borne out.

(4) (nwukwu- eykey ton- i manhta- ko tulessnuntey)

   someone- Dat money much- Comp heard/hearsay

   a. Kim sensayngnim- eykey- i- lkka?

     Prof. Kim- Dat- Cop- Q

   b. *Kim sensayngnim- eykey- i- si- lkka?

      Prof. Kim- Dat- Cop- Hon- Q

   c. [Kim sensayngnim- eykey$_i$ [[$_{VP}$ ~~t$_i$ ton- i manhu~~] si- lkka]]

Finally, as pointed out in Sakai (2001), under the assumption that Negation is projected over VP, Kim's account predicts (5a) to be grammatical as the derivation (5b) suggests, which is not the case. Negation also should be part of ellipsis as (5c) shows.

(5) (Cheslwu-ka nwukwu-lul cohaha-ci anh-nun-ta-ko tulessnuntey)
    C-Nom   who-Acc   like-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl-Comp heard
  a. *nwukwu(-lul)-i-ci   anh-unci molukeyssta
     who(-Acc)-Cop-Comp Neg-Q   not.know
  b. [nwukwu-lul$_i$ [[$_{VP}$ ~~Chelswu-ka t$_i$ cohaha~~]ci anh-unci]]]...
     who-Acc   C-Nom   like-Comp Neg-Comp
  c. nwukwu(-lul)-i-nci molukeyssta
     who(-Acc)-Cop-Q not.know
   'I heard that Chelswu doesn't like someone but I don't know
      who (he doesn't like)'

Due to the problems raised by TP/VP-deletion approach, Nishiyama et
al. (1996), K-W Sohn (2000), M-K Park (2001), among others, came up
with the cleft analysis of so-called Sluicing in (1). Though they differ
from one another in the detail of the account, they share the key source
for the account of the construction at issue. That is, the sluicing in (1)
is derived from the cleft construction given in (6) by the PF-deletion of
the bracketed *kes*-clause (see M-K Park 2001) or the pronoun
counterpart of the *kes*-clause, i.e. *kukesun* or *kukey* phonologically
unrealized (see Nishiyama et al. (1996), K-W Sohn (2000).

(6) [Chelswu-ka chayk-ul cwu-n kes]-i/un   nwukwu-eykey-i-nci
    C-Nom   book-Acc give-Adn KES-Nom/Top who-Dat-Cop-Q
    molukeyssta
    not.know
    'I don't know to whom it is that Chelswu gave a book.'

The cleft account of sluicing immediately accounts for the occurrence
of the copula and the syntactic connectivity with Case marker retained
before the copula, which are the typical properties of Cleft construction.
However, the cleft account doesn't go through without problems as
well. Here I just point out two major problems in the analysis of
Sluicing on the basis of Cleft construction, as noted in J-S Kim (1997).

First, most speakers do not accept the clefted nominals marked with the Accusative Case marker as shown in (7a), while many speakers accept the Accusative-marked sluiced nominals as shown in (7b). Under the cleft analysis of Sluicing, both sentences should have the same grammatical status, contrary to the fact.

(7) a. *[Chelswu-ka t_i sa-n   kes]-un <u>sakwa-lul$_i$-i-ta</u>
        C-Nom   buy-Adn KES-Top apple-Acc-Cop-Decl
       'It is an apple that Chelswu bought.'
   b. (na-nun Chelswu-ka mwues-ul   sa-ss-ta-ko tul-ess-nuntey)
      I-Top C-Nom   something-Acc bought-Comp heard
      <u>mwues-ul-i-n-ci</u>   molu-keyss-ta
      what-Acc-Cop-Adn-Q not.know
      '(I heard that Chelswu bought something but) I don't know
        what (he bought).'

Second, as shown in (8a-b), Cleft constructions which contain more than one clefted elements become degraded though they are not totally unacceptable. However, multiple sluiced elements are allowed in Sluicing and, in contrast to Cleft constructions, they sound perfect. Hence there is clear contrast between Cleft construction and Sluicing with regard to the possibility of multiple elements being clefted and sluiced, respectively. Again this is contrary to the expectation under the Cleft analysis of Sluicing, which predicts that both types of sentences should have the same grammatical status.

(8) a. ??[Chelswu-ka cwu-n kes]-un chayk-ul Yenghi-eykey-i-ta
        C-Nom give-Adn KES-Top book-Acc Y-Dat-Cop-Decl
      'Lit., It is a book to Yenghi that Chelswu gave.'
   b. ??[Chelswu-ka cwu-n kes]-un   mwues-ul nwukwu-eykey-i-ni
        C-Nom give-Adn KES-Top what-Acc who-Dat-Cop-Q
      'Lit., What to whom is it that Chelswu gave?'

   c. Chelswu-ka nwukwu-eykey mwues-ul cwu-ess-ta-nuntey,
     C-Nom   someone-Dat something-Acc give-Past-Decl-hearsay
     <u>mwues-ul nwukwu-eykey-i-nci</u> molu-keyss-ta
     what-Acc who-Dat-Cop-Q   not.know
    'Chelswu gave something to someone but I don't know what to
       whom'

  In this paper, I propose an alternative account for the construction at issue. In particular I claim that Cleft construction is not the direct source for deriving Sluicing construction. Instead, two constructions are only indirectly related in that they share the same base structure, which is the copula-accompanying full *kes*-clause as shown in (9).

  (9) [Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey chayk-ul cwu-n   kes]-i-ta
     C-Nom   Y-Dat   book-Acc give-Adn KES-Cop-Decl
    'It is that Chelswu gave a book to Yenghi.'

From this same base structure, Cleft and Sluicing constructions arise as a result of different derivational processes. To the extent that they share the same base structure, they are expected to show similar morpho-syntactic properties but at the same time they will show some differences due to the differences in the derivation involved.

3. Cleft and Sluicing Constructions

3.1. Relation between *kes*-clause and Cleft Construction

  As shown in (10a), the bracketed clause forms a relative clause whose head predicate 'bring' has a missing argument that is co-indexed with the noun *kes*, which is in turn an argument of the matrix predicate 'give'. On the contrary, all the arguments of the embedded predicate in (10b) are saturated and the embedded clause itself is an argument of the matrix clause. Hence *kes* in (10b) does not

have a referential function unlike the one in (10a). I assume that *kes* found in saturated clauses as in (10b) functions as a complementizer which corresponds to the head of CP.

(10) a. Yenghi- nun [Chelswu- ka phathi- ey t$_i$ kacyeo- n] kes$_i$- ul
         Y- Top   C- Nom   party- Loc   bring- Adn KES- Acc
       Tongswu- eykey cwu- ess- ta
       T- Dat   give- Past- Decl
       'Yenghi gave to Tongswu what Chelswu brought to the party'
    b. Yenghi- nun [Chelswu- ka phathi- ey photocwu- lul kacyeo- n
       Y- Top   C- Nom   party- Loc wine- Acc   bring- Adn
       kes]- ul   molla- ss- ta
       KES- Acc not.know- Past- Decl
       'Yenghi didn't know that Chelswu brought wine to the party'

The full CP *kes*- clause itself can occur at the precopular position as shown in (11).

(11) [Yenghi- ka Tongwu- eykey senmwul- ul cwu- n   kes]- i- ta
      Y- Nom   T- Dat   gift- Acc   give- Adn KES- Cop- Decl
      'It is that Yenghi gave a gift to Tongswu.'

Since the bracketed clause is saturated, *kes* before the copula can only be analyzed as a complementizer. That is, for a tensed clause to occur before the copula, it must carry a complementizer *kes* with it, which should be a part of subcategorization information for the copula.
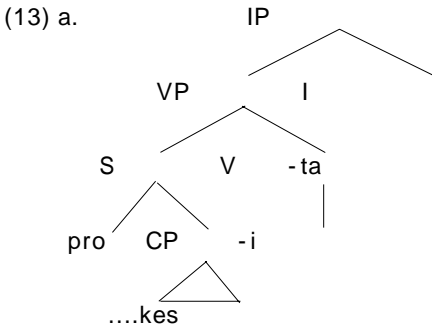
   In the sentence (11), the precopular whole clause can be interpreted as Focus or an element inside the *kes*- clause may be interpreted as Focus with the rest as given (presupposed) information. In the former case, the implicit (discourse) Topic information is presumably suppressed since it is immediately recoverable in the given context. Hence in a discourse context like (12), the entire *kes*- clause in the utterance by the speaker B is interpreted as Focus, while the discourse topic (or a

Subject if the *kes*-clause along with the copula is taken as a Predicate) is unexpressed since it is given in the question uttered by the speaker A.

(12) A: ecey   phathi-eyse mweka kacang nollawun il-i-ess-ni?
yesterday party-Loc what most surprising thing-Cop-Past-Q
'What is the most surprising at the part yesterday?'
B: [Yenghi-ka Tongswu-eykey senmwul-ul cwu-n kes]-i-ta
Y-Nom   T-Dat   gift-Acc give-Adn KES-Cop-Decl
'It is that Yenghi gave a gift to Tongwu.'

Under the plausible assumption that the copula has a combinatorial function only of mediating two linguistic expressions (type-theoretically, e and <e, t> or e and e), the unexpressed discourse topic can be identified as a pro. Under the assumption that the copula is a syntactic head selecting a Small Clause (see Heggie 1988, Moro 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1999, James Yoon 2001, among others), simply labeled as S here, the structure of the sentence in (12B) can be represented as in (13a). A pro can be optionally spelled out, e.g., *kukes*, as in (13b).

(13) a.

```
                     IP
                    /  \
                   /    \
                 VP      I
                /  \     |
               /    \    |
              S      V  -ta
             / \     |
            /   \    |
          pro   CP  -i
                /\
               /__\
              ....kes
```

b. kukes-un [_CP_ Yenghi-ka Tongswu-eykey senmwul-ul cwu-n kes]-i-ta
'It is that Yenghi gave a gift to Tongswu.'

On the other hand, just a part of the *kes*-clause, not the whole *kes*-clause in (11), can be interpreted as Focus. For instance, in the discourse fragment (14), the same sentence (11) is uttered by the speaker B with the pitch accent on the Dative Object, which is interpreted as identificational (or contrastive) Focus interpretation in the sense of Kiss (1998) which is a typical semantic property observed in the Cleft construction. The rest of the *kes*-clause is interpreted as presupposed information since it is given in the utterance by the speaker A. The fact that the element inside the *kes*-clause may bring about the identificational Focus interpretation with the pitch accent on it can be understood as a mixed strategy of encoding information structure, that is, syntactic construction (*kes*-clause) plus phonology (pitch accent). It is worth noting here that the Cleft construction in B' in (14) has exactly the same interpretation as the one in B. In this regard, the gap-containing *kes*-clause in the Cleft construction can be viewed as a result of locating the given/presupposed information as a Topic of the sentence minus the element interpreted as the identificational Focus which occurs in the precopular position. In contrast to the full *kes*-clause in B, which is a mixed strategy of encoding information structure (syntax and phonology), the Cleft construction in B' is a mere result of encoding information structure solely by syntactic mechanism.

(14) A: Yenghi-ka Chelswu-eykey senmwul-ul cwu-ess-e
     Y-Nom   C-Dat   gift-Acc   give-Past-Decl
     'Yenghi gave a gift to Chelswu.'

  B: anya [Yenghi-ka **Tongswu-eykey** senmwul-ul cwu-n ke]-ya
     no   Y-Nom   T-Dat   gift-Acc give-Adn KES-Cop-Decl
     'No, it is that Yenghi gave a gift to **Tongswu**.'
     (= It is to Tongswu that Yenghi gave a gift.)

  B': anya [Yenghi-ka t_i senmwul-ul cwu-n   kes]-un
     no   Y-Nom   gift-Acc   give-Adn KES-Top

           Tongswu-eykey$_i$-ya
           T-Dat-Cop-Decl
           'No, it is to Tongswu that Yenghi gave a gift.'

   Now that I claim that the copula-accompanying full *kes*-clause in (14B) and the Cleft construction in (14B') are somehow related, the next question that should be addressed is what syntactic mechanism is precisely involved in relating those two structures. Under the assumption that the copula-accompanying full *kes*-clause like the one in (14B) is the base structure for the Cleft construction like the one in (14B') (see also Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2001), I claim that two independent movements are involved for deriving the Cleft construction. First it is the dislocation of the element within the *kes*-clause which is construed as identificational Focus, resulting in the gap-containing *kes*-clause which is construed as given information, as shown in (15), which is an intermediate stage for deriving Cleft construction. This movement is parallel to the long-distance Scrambling out of the embedded full *kes*-clause in sentences like (16a) as shown in (16b). Both (15) and (16) involve the dislocation of the Dative Object, resulting in gap-containing remnant CP *kes*-clause.

(15) Tongswu-eykey$_i$ [Yenghi-ka t$_i$ senmwul-ul cwu-n kes]-i-ta
     T-Dat   Y-Nom   gift-Acc give-Adn KES-Cop-Decl
(16) a. Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-ka Tongswu-eykey senmwul-ul cwu-n
       C-Top   Y-Nom   T-Dat   gift-Acc give-Adn
       kes]-ul molla-ss-ta
       KES-Acc not.know
    b. Tongswu-eykey$_i$ Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-ka t$_i$ senmwul-ul
      cwu-n kes]-ul molla-ss-ta
     'Chelswu didn't know that Yenghi gave a gift to Tongswu.'

   We may regard the movement involved in the intermediate stage (15) as either Focus movement or mere dislocation by way of local

Scrambling. In the view of Focus movement approach, Focus construal of the dislocated element can be claimed to result from the movement itself. Hence we may posit the left periphery functional projection (e.g., FocP) to the Spec of which the dislocated element is landed, and another functional projection (TopP) to the Spec of which the gap- containing *kes*- clause is fronted (cf. Rizzi 1997).[1] Initially appealing as it may be, I reject this approach in conceptual and empirical considerations. First, without appealing to the Focus movement, the relevant Focus interpretation can be viewed as an inherent semantic property of copular constructions. The copula has been assumed to take as its argument a Small Clause, which necessarily involves two linguistic elements whether they have specificational or predicative relations (cf. Partee 1998). If one of these two elements is construed as a Topic, then the other one is construed as a Comment. That is, once the gap- containing *kes*- clause in (15) is topicalized, then the rest of the sentence is construed as a Comment, which contains the Dative Object. Since this Dative Object is the only element found in the Comment and Focus information is a part of Comment, it is natural that the clefted nominal should be interpreted as Focus. That is, Focus interpretation of the clefted nominal is not due to the movement involved per se, but follows from the characteristic of copular construction and its interaction with information structure. Furthermore, if we take the movement of the Dative Object out of the *kes*- clause in (15) as Focus movement, we lose the parallelism between (15) and (16b) since the fronted Dative Object in (16b) doesn't have an obligatory Focus interpretation. Finally, the Focus movement approach by the postulation of FocP has an empirical problem with wrong prediction. (17a) shows the schematic representation of the derivation of the Cleft construction according to
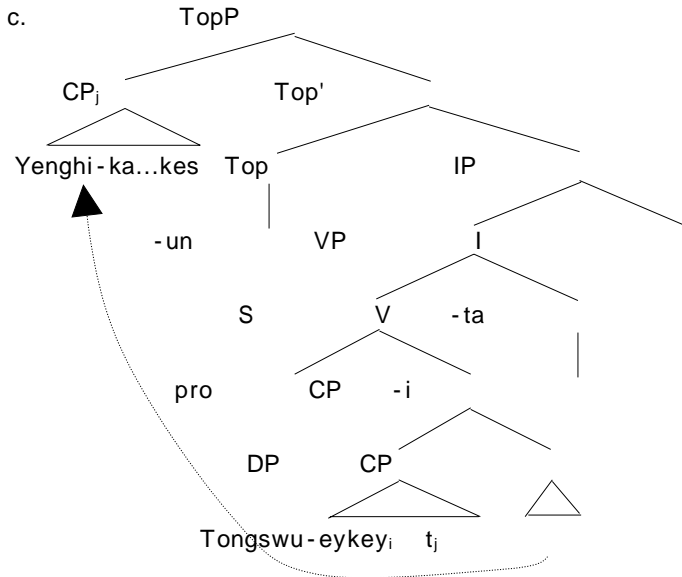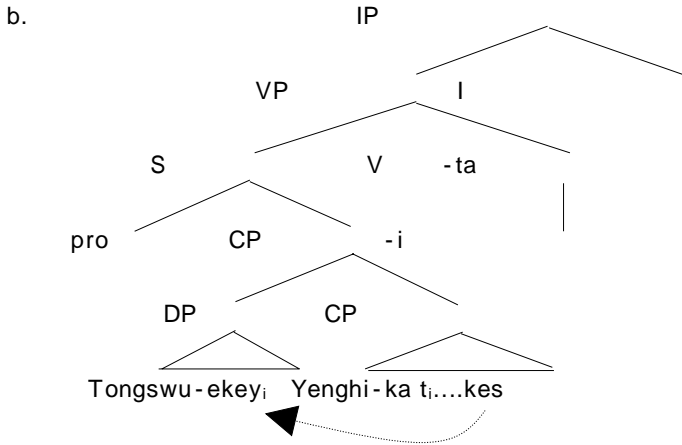
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1) For this line of analysis of Japanese Cleft constructions, see Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2001). Though I cannot provide the detailed comparison of their analysis and mine due to the space limit, one major problem of their analysis lies in treating the copula as Focus marker heading FocP. Considering the fact that not all pre- copular elements are construed as Focus, the analysis of the copula as Focus marker seems dubious at least.

the Focus movement approach. That is, first the Dative Object moves out of the CP *kes-* clause to the Spec of FocP and then the remnant CP is topicalized to the Spec of TopP. Since a pro can be optionally spelled-out as shown in (13), however, (17b) should be grammatical according to this approach, which is not the case. Therefore I conclude that the Focus movement approach has conceptual and empirical problems and instead I take the movement of the Focus-construed element out of the *kes-* clause as a simple Scrambling.

(17) a. [$_{TopP}$ [$_{CP}$ Yenghi-ka t_i senmwul-ul cwu-n kes]$_j$-un
        Y-Nom   gift-Acc   give-Adn KES-Top
   [$_{FocP}$ Tongswu-eykey$_i$ [$_{IP}$ [$_{VP}$ pro t_j i]-ta]]]
     T-Dat   pro   Cop-Decl
   b. *Yenghi-ka senmwul-ul cwu-n kes-un Tongswu-eykey
     kukes-i-ess-ta

In the view of local Scrambling, the dislocation of the element out of the full *kes-* clause is not responsible for the Focus construal of the dislocated element but the Focus construal follows as a result of accompanying topicalization of the gap-containing *kes-* clause. First, as shown in (18b), the Dative Object is scrambled out of the CP *kes-* clause and adjoined to it. Then the remnant CP is topicalized to the Spec of TopP the head of which is morphologically realized as a Topic maker -*nun*, as shown in (18c). Since the Focus-construed Dative Object is located lower than the pro as shown in (18c), contrary to the Focus movement approach, this simple Scrambling approach correctly generates a grammatical sentence even when the pro is optionally spelled-out as shown in (18d).

(18) a. [Yenghi-ka t_i senmwul-ul cwu-n kes]$_j$-un
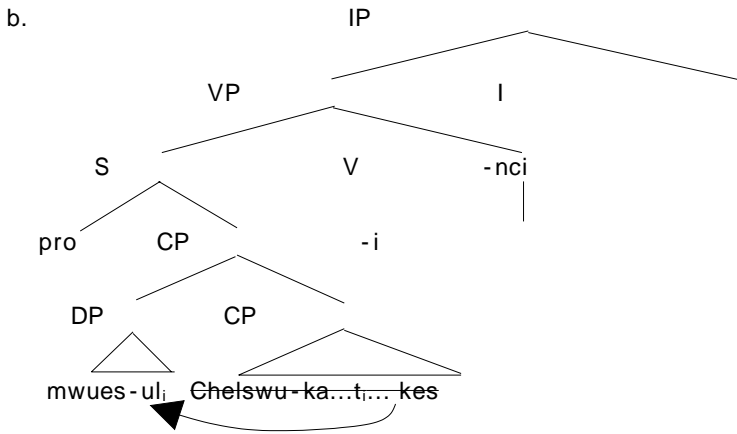   Tongswu-eykey$_i$ t_j-i-ta

b.

```
                                    IP
                      VP                     I
              S                      V    - ta
      pro             CP          - i
                 DP         CP
           Tongswu- ekeyᵢ   Yenghi- ka tᵢ....kes
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c.

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                TopP
        CPⱼ              Top'
   Yenghi- ka...kes   Top           IP
                       - un    VP          I
                              S      V    - ta
                           pro      CP    - i
                                 DP      CP
                            Tongswu- eykeyᵢ   tⱼ
```

d. [Yenghi- ka senmwul- ul cwu- n   kes]- un
   Y- Nom   gift- Acc   give- Adn KES- Top
   kukes- un Tongswu- eykey- i- ta
   it- Top   T- Dat- Cop- Decl

Similarly, Sluicing is derived from the same base structure which contains the full *kes*-clause. It is different from Cleft construction, though, due to the different derivation involved.

3.2. Sluicing.

In this section I argue that Cleft construction is not directly related to Sluicing but only indirectly related to it in sharing their base structure, which is the copula-accompanying full *kes*-clause, and involving the same local Scrambling of the element construed as Focus. As examined in the preceding section, Cleft construction is accompanied by topicalization of the given information, which is the gap-containing CP *kes*-clause. Sluicing is crucially different from Cleft construction in that it is not accompanied by an additional syntactic derivation, i.e. topicalization, but by PF-deletion process of the CP remnant. Hence Sluicing construction in (19a) is derived on the basis of the copula-accompanying full *kes*-clause shown in (19a'). The two sentences have exactly the same interpretation. As shown in (19b), (19a) is derived from the initial Scrambling of Accusative-marked wh-element out of the CP *kes*-clause, followed by PF-deletion of the remnant CP, which is given/presupposed information.

(19) a. na-nun Chelswu-ka mwues-ul sa-ss-ta-ko tul-ess-nuntey,
        I-Top C-Nom something-Acc bought-Comp hear-Past-though
        <u>mwues(-ul)-i-nci</u> molu-keyss-ta
        what-Acc-Cop-Q not.know
       'I heard that Cheslwu bought something but I don't know what
         (he bought)'
    a'. [$_{CP}$ Chelswu-ka mwues-ul sa-n kes]-i-n-ci molu-keyss-ta
           C-Nom   what-Acc buy-Adn KES-Cop-Adn-Q not.know

b.

```
                              IP
                    ┌──────────┴────────┐
                   VP                   I ────────┐
            ┌───────┴──────┐      ┌─────┴──┐      │
            S              V    - nci
      ┌─────┴─────┐      - i
     pro         CP
            ┌─────┴─────┐
           DP          CP
           △           △
      mwues- ulᵢ   Chelswu- ka...tᵢ... kes
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As we can see from the comparison of (18) and (19b), both Cleft
construction and Sluicing share the same base structure, i.e. the
copula- accompanying full *kes*- clause, and the local Scrambling of the
Focus- construed element. They differ from each other, though, in that
Cleft construction involves a further syntactic derivation, which is the
topicalization of the remnant CP clause to the Spec of TopP, while
Sluicing doesn't involve any more syntactic derivation but PF- deletion
process of the remnant CP. Therefore even though Cleft construction
and Sluicing are indirectly related with respect to their base structure,
crucially Cleft construction is not the basis for deriving Sluicing. Hence
the current analysis doesn't face the problems raised in the analysis of
Sluicing on the basis of Cleft construction. As pointed out earlier, there
are two major problems in the analysis of Sluicing on the basis of Cleft
construction due to the contrast between the two constructions with
respect to the Accusative Case availability before the copula and the
possibility of multiple clefted and sluiced elements as shown in (7) and
(8), repeated here in (20) and (21).

(20) a. *[Chelswu- ka tᵢ sa- n   kes]- un   sakwa- lulᵢ- i- ta
          C- Nom   buy- Adn KES- Top apple- Acc- Cop- Decl
        'It is an apple that Chelswu bought.'

   b. (na-nun Chelswu-ka mwues-ul sa-ss-ta-ko tul-ess-nuntey)
      mwues-ul-i-n-ci   molu-keyss-ta
      what-Acc-Cop-Adn-Q not.know
      '(I heard that Chelswu bought something but) I don't know
         what (he bought).'
(21) a. ??[Chelswu-ka cwu-n   kes]-un chayk-ul Yenghi-eykey-i-ta
         C-Nom   give-Adn KES-Top book-Acc Y-Dat-Cop-Decl
         'Lit., It is a book to Yenghi that Chelswu gave.'
   b. ??[Chelswu-ka cwu-n kes]-un mwues-ul nwukwu-eykey-i-ni
         C-Nom give-Adn KES-Top what-Acc who-Dat-Cop-Q
         'Lit., What to whom is it that Chelswu gave?'
   c. Chelswu-ka nwukwu-eykey mwues-ul cwu-ess-ta-nuntey,
      C-Nom   someone-Dat something-Acc give-Past-Decl-hearsay
      <u>mwues-ul nwukwu-eykey-i-nci</u> molu-keyss-ta
      what-Acc who-Dat-Cop-Q   not.know
   'Chelswu gave something to someone but I don't know what to
         whom'

   The current proposal can provide a systematic account of the contrast
between the two in this regard. First, concerning Accusative Case,
under the familiar assumption that there is a Morphological Component
right between PF and Syntactic Component in the model of the
grammar (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993), I further assume that there is a
morphological constraint in the Morphological Component by which
precopular Nominative/Accusative Case markers should be deleted,
which is a kind of repair strategy.[2] Hence as shown in (22) for the
derivation of the Cleft construction (20a), once all the relevant syntactic
derivation is over, the end structure goes over to the Morphological

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   2) This somehow reflects the lexicalist intuition that the copula and Nominative/
Accusative markers occupy the same morphological slot and hence they cannot
co-occur (see Cho & Sells 1995). However, under this lexicalist view, there is no
way to account for the possibility of Nom/Acc markers occurring before the
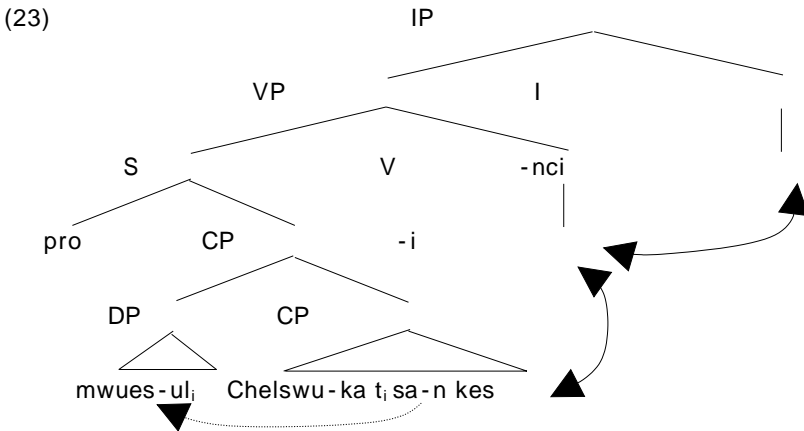copula in Sluicing context.

Component in which morphological merger takes place and hence all bound affixes are attached to their host, being subject to specific morphological constraints. One of these constraints is the one identified here that Nominative/Accusative Case markers should be deleted before the copula. In this way, we can rule out the occurrence of clefted nominals marked with Nom/Acc Case markers in Cleft constructions.

(22)
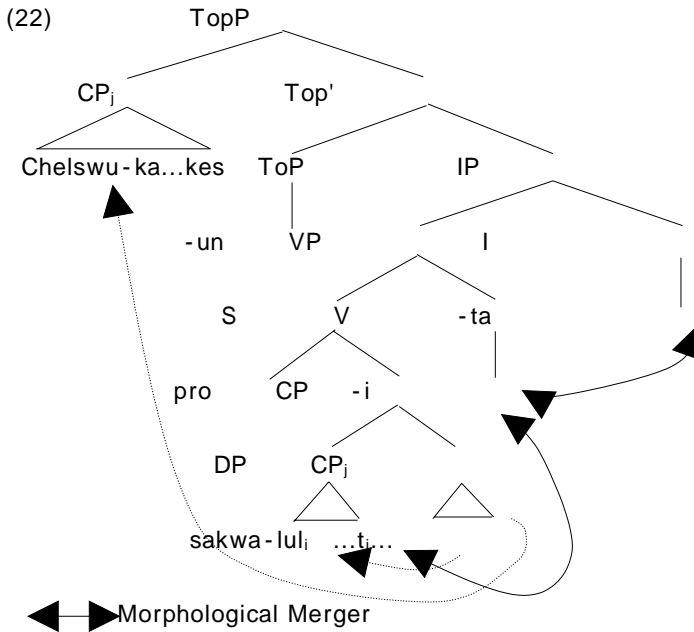
Why then is Accusative Case marker allowed in Sluicing context as in (20b)? If Nom/Acc Case markers cannot occur before the copula as a part of morphological constraints, then (20b) should also be ungrammatical just like the Cleft construction (20a). However, the careful examination of the derivational process of Sluicing (20b) sheds a light on solving this puzzle. The structure represented in (23) shows the derivation of Sluicing (20b) before the PF- deletion process of the CP remnant, which occurs at the Phonological Component. Once the

syntactic derivation is over and the end product goes over to the Morphological Component, the CP remnant is still present right between the Accusative Case- marked nominal and the copula. Therefore there is no point in the structure of (23) where the Accusative Case- marked nominal and the copula go through morphological merger. Consequently the morphological constraint with regard to Nom/Acc Case makers and the copula is moot in (23). Finally the structure (23) is transferred to the Phonological Component and the PF- deletion process of the remnant CP takes place, which brings the Accusative- Case marked nominal adjacent to the copula. At this point, morphological constraints are no more available since what is relevant in the Phonological Component are phonological constraints, not morphological ones. This results in the pronunciation of the Accusative Case maker before the copula.

(23)

IP

VP

I

S

V

- nci

pro

CP

- i

DP

CP

mwues- ul$_i$ Chelswu- ka t$_i$ sa- n kes

The proposed analysis can also account for why even Nominative Case can occur before the copula in Sluicing context as in (25a- b). Nominative Case cannot normally occur right between the nominal and the copula as shown in (24). Since the Nominative Case cannot occur before the copula as in (24), the only explanation of the appearance of Nominative Case should lie in the CP *kes-* clause, which undergoes

PF- deletion after the dislocation of a Nominative Case- marked Subject as represented in (25c).

(24) a. pwuca- nun   Chelswu(*- ka)- i- ta
       rich.person- Top C- (Nom)- Cop- Decl
       'As for a rich person, it's Chelswu'
   b. Chelswu- ka pwuca(*- ka)- i- ta
       C- Nom   rich.person- Cop- Decl
       'Chelswu is rich / It is Chelswu who is rich'

(25) a. nwuka Swunhi- eykey senmwul- ul cwu- ess- ta- nuntey
       someone S- Dat   gift- Acc   give- Past- Decl- hearsay
       <u>Chelswu- ka- i- l- kka</u>
       C- Nom- Cop- Q
       'Someone gave a gift to Swunhi but can it be Chelswu (who gave a gift to her)?'
   b. <u>Chelswu- ka- i- n- ci</u> <u>Tongswu- ka- i- n- ci</u> molu- keyss- ta
       C- Nom- Cop- Q   T- Nom- Cop- Q   not.know
       'I don't know whether it's Chelswu or Tongwu (who gave a gift to her)?'
   c.   Chelswu- ka$_i$ ~~[$_{CP}$~~ ~~t$_i$~~ ~~Swunhi- eykey~~ ~~senmwul- ul~~ ~~cwu- n~~
        ~~kes]~~- i- l- kka

Therefore the contrast between Cleft construction and Sluicing with regard to the availability of Nom/Acc Case markers before thecopula follows from the organization of the grammar assumed here along with the differences in the derivation involved in the two constructions.

   With regard to the possibility of more than one sluiced element, it naturally follows from the current proposal. As shown in (26), more than one element can be freely scrambled out of the full *kes*- clause. Hence it is not surprising at all to find more than one sluiced element since Sluicing is derived from the base structure which contains the full *kes*- clause. As shown in (27), more than one element can be scrambled out of the CP *kes*- clause, adjoined to it, and then the CP remnant

undergoes the PF-deletion, giving rise to Sluicing construction which contains more than one sluiced element.

(26) a. nwukwu-eykey$_i$ mwues-ul$_j$ [Yenghi-nun [Chelswu-ka t$_i$ t$_j$
       who-Dat   what-Acc Y-Top   C-Nom
       cwu-n   kes]-i-n-ci   molla-ss-ta]
       give-Adn KES-Cop-Adn-Q not.know
       'Lit., To whom what, Yenghi didn't know that Chelswu gave.'
       (= Yenghi didn't know to whom Chelswu gave what.)

  b. Tongswu-eykey$_i$ ku chayk-ul$_j$ [Yenghi-nun [Chelswu-ka t$_i$ t$_j$
       T-Dat   the book-Acc Y-Top   C-Nom
       cwu-n   kes]-ul molla-ss-ta]
       give-Adn KES-Acc not.know
       'Lit., To Tongswu the book, Yenghi didn't know that Chelswu
          gave.'

(27) a. [Chelswu-ka nwukwu-eykey mwues-ul cwu-n   kes]-i-nci
       C-Nom   who-Dat   what-Acc give-Adn KES-Cop-Q
       molu-keyss-ta
       not.know

  b. [$_{CP}$ nwukwu-eykey$_i$ [$_{CP}$ mwues-ul$_j$ [$_{CP}$ ~~Chelswu-ka t$_i$ t$_j$ cwu-n
          kes~~]]]-i-nci

What is rather puzzling is why Cleft constructions with multiple clefted elements are degraded. If more than one element can be extracted out of the CP *kes*-clause as shown above, it should be possible, in principle, to topicalize the CP remnant with more than one gap, giving rise to Cleft construction with multiple clefted elements. Contrary to the expectation, however, those sentences are marginal. It is not clear at the current stage of study why they are degraded. I leave this puzzle for the future study. Though we don't know for sure why multiple clefts become marginal, the current proposal provides a systematic explanation of why multiple sluiced elements are allowed, i.e. precisely because it is possible to extract more than one element out of the CP *kes*-clause.

The current proposal also immediately accounts for why (4b) and (5a) is ungrammatical, here repeated in (28b) and (30a), contrary to J-S Kim, the derivation of which is represented in (29a) and (31a), respectively. Under the current proposal, an honorific affix -*si-* and negation are part of the constituent undergoing the PF deletion, i.e. CP *kes-* clause, as shown in (29b) and (31b), respectively. Hence the derivation of (28b) and (30a) is in principle blocked.

(28) (nwukwu- eykey ton- i   manh- ta- ko   tul- ess- nuntey)
    someone- Dat   money- Nom much- Decl- Comp heard/hearsay
  a. Kim sensayngnim- eykey- i- lkka?
    Prof. Kim- Dat- Cop- Pres- Q
  b. *Kim sensayngnim- eykey- i- si- lkka?
    Prof. Kim- Dat- Cop- Hon- Pres- Q
  '(I heard that someone has lots of money.) Can it be Prof. Kim?'

(29) a. Kim sensayngnim- eykey$_i$ [~~$_{VP}$ t$_i$ ton- i   manhu~~]- si- lkka
    Prof. Kim- Dat   money- Nom much- Hon- Pres- Q
  b. Kim sensayngnim- eykey$_i$ [~~$_{CP}$ t$_i$ ton- i manhu- si- n kes~~]- i- lkka
    Prof. Kim- Dat money- Nom much- Hon- Adn KES- Cop- Pres- Q

(30) (Chelswu- ka nwukwu- lul cohaha- ci anh- nun- ta- ko
    C- Nom   who- Acc   like- Comp not- Pres- Decl- Comp
    tul- ess- nuntey)
    heard
  a. *nwukwu(- lul)- i- ci anh- unci molukeyssta
  b. nwukwu(- lul)- i- nci mulukeyssta

(31) a. [nwukwu- lul$_i$ [[~~$_{VP}$ Chelswu- ka t$_i$ cohaha~~]ci anh- unci]]]…
  b. nwukwu- lul$_i$ [~~$_{CP}$ Chelswu- ka t$_i$ cohaha- ci anh- nun kes~~]- i- nci]…

3.3. Remarks on Speaker Variations

There are speaker variations with regard to the occurrence of Nom/Acc Case markers before the copula in Cleft construction. Youngjoo Choi (p.c.) provides me with the Cleft construction (32), which

she finds perfect to her dialect (Chulla province).

(32) [Chelswu- ka Yenghi- eykey t_i cwu- n kes]- un <u>ton- ul</u>$_i$- i- ta
     C- Nom   Y- Dat   give- Adn KES- Top money- Acc- Cop- Decl
     'It is money that Chelswu gave to Yenghi'

Many speakers that I consulted, though, do not like the occurrence of either Nom/Acc Case marker in Cleft construction though they find perfectly fine the occurrence of Dative Case and other delimiters, including Z- lims, which Cho & Sells (1995) claimed to occupy the same morphological slot as Nom/Acc Case markers and hence predicted not to occur before the copula, which is a wrong prediction. In contrast to Cleft construction, in Sluicing, with regard to the occurrence of Nom/Acc, speakers diverge more on their judgment, though they find Dative Case and Z- lims perfectly fine as shown in (33). As the derivation of (33b) is schematically represented in (34), the analysis proposed in the preceding section provides a systematic account of the occurrence of the contrastive topic marker before the copula, which is otherwise not permitted.[3]

(33) (Yenghi- ka Chelswu, Swunhi- eykey senmwul- ul cwuesstanuntey)
       Y- Nom   C   S- Dat   gift- Acc give- Past- Decl- hearsay
      'I heard that Yenghi gave a gift to Chelswu and Swunhi.'
   a. Tongswu- eykey- to- i- lkka?
      T- Dat- also- Cop- Q
      'Can it be to Tongswu too (that Yenghi gave a gift)?
   b. Tongswu- eykey- nun- i- lkka?
      T- Dat- Top- Cop- Q
      'Could it be to Tongswu (Maybe not!)?
(34) [$_{CP}$ Tongswu- eykey- nun$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ~~Yenghi- ka t_i senmwul- ul cwu- n kes~~]]- i- lkka

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   3) Exactly the same analysis of Sluicing can be easily extended to so- called Pseudogapping constructions like (2).

In Sluicing, many speakers find the occurrence of Acc more acceptable in wh- question sluicing and some speakers equally accept either Nom/Acc before the copula in Sluicing in general. So I could identify four groups of speakers in regards to the allowance of Nom/Acc Case markers before the copula. First, speakers who permit Nom/Acc in Cleft constructions also allow Nom/Acc in Sluicing. Second group of speakers allows Nom/Acc only in Sluicing construction. Third group of speakers only allows Acc in wh- question Sluicing. Finally fourth group of speakers disallows Nom/Acc before the copula whatsoever. This state of affair is reminiscent of 'interface strategies (preferences)'noted in Sells (2001) with regard to the Korean speaker variation in the interpretation of Negative Sensitive Items (NSIs), which in essence arises from the variation in the speakers' different preferences in interpretation of NSIs. Though it's not involved with interpretation, a similar kind of preference condition in Morphological Component may be working in the Korean speakers. Hence the morphological constraint suggested in the preceding section should be understood as the preference condition rather than a categorical constraint. Hence depending on how strongly this preference condition plays a role in Morphological Component which prevents the occurrence of Nom/Acc before the copula, speakers will vary in their judgment.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I presented an analysis of Cleft and Sluicing constructions on the basis of the copula- accompanying *kes*- clause. While Cleft and Sluicing constructions are similar in that they share the same base structure, the two constructions diverge due to the differences in the derivation involved. Despite the similarities between the two constructions in sharing the base structure, some contrasts are expected to arise due to the derivational differences and the organization of the grammar assumed. In particular, contrasts with regard to the occurrence of Nom/Acc Case marker before the copula and the multiple

sluiced or clefted elements have been shown to follow from the proposed analysis. Also I have suggested an account of speaker variations with regard to Nom/Acc Case markers before the copula in Cleft and Sluicing constructions, i.e. due to the status of the relevant morphological constraint as a preference condition.

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