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### “Defective Category C and Highest Subject effect in Korean Pseudoclefts”

Sungshim Hong (Chungnam National University): vshong@cnu.ac.kr

Howard Lasnik (University of Maryland): lasnik@umd.edu

#### 1. Goals of the study:

-to provide an analysis of Korean pseudoclefts with ‘-kes’

-to account for a peculiar reconstruction puzzle, Highest Subject effect, by arguing that some instance of C, ‘-kes’ is a defective category (Gallego 2007)

#### 2. Basic Properties of ‘-kes’

(1) ‘-kes’: a bound morpheme whose literal meaning is ‘thing’ ‘fact’

a. ‘ku-kes’ (the thing, it)/‘ce-kes’ (that thing, that)/i-kes (this thing, this)/i-kes-tul (these, pl.)

b. mek-ul-kes (eat-Asp-thing)= ‘(a) thing to eat’

c. etten-kes (which-thing)= ‘which’

(2) N<sup>0</sup>/D<sup>0</sup> (Kizu 2005?, Kim & Sells 2007) or C<sup>0</sup> (Jhang 1994, Sohn 2000, Kang 2006)

-Characteristics of clefts/pseudoclefts:

Presuppositionality, Exhaustivity, Given-Focus information structure with the appearance of Copula verb, Reconstruction (Condition A, in particular) effect, etc.

(3) Diverse occurrences of ‘-kes’ in Korean syntax

#### 3. Signature properties of Pseudoclefts

(4) *Def.&Types*. Pseudoclefts are defined as having a free relative in subject position (Higgins 1979). Paul (2000) defines that pseudoclefts are constructions either with headless relative or free relative in subject position. Different types of Focus constructions, including *it*-clefts, *wh*-clefts (Hankamer, 1974); clefts *vs.* pseudoclefts *vs.* inverse pseudoclefts.

a. It is this book that John bought (Cleft)

b. What John<sub>i</sub> is is important to himself<sub>i</sub> (Specificational Pseudocleft)

c. Important to himself<sub>i</sub> is what John<sub>i</sub> is (Inverse Specificational Pseudocleft)

d. What John<sub>i</sub> is is important to him<sub>i</sub> (Predicational clefts)

e. \*Important to him<sub>i</sub> is what John<sub>i</sub> is

(5) *Connectivity effects: Condition A, bound variable reading, NPI connectivity*

(Akmajian 1970, Higgins 1973, 1979, Delahunty 1984, Collins 1994, Sharvit 1999, Jhang S.-E. 1994, Boskovic 1997, den Dikken et al 2000, Ross 2000, Schlenker 2003, Sohn 2004, Kizu 2005)

a. What John<sub>i</sub> bought was a picture of himself<sub>i</sub> (Condition A reconstruction)

a’ John<sub>i</sub> bought a picture of himself<sub>i</sub>

b. What *every professor* bought was *his* own book (bound variable reading)

b’. *Every professor* bought *his* own book

c.(?)What John didn’t buy was *any* books (NPI) (cf. \*It was any books that John didn’t buy)

c’. John didn’t buy *any* books

(6) *Anti-Connectivity effects* (Sharvit 1999, Cecchetto, 2000) or *Connectivity breakdown* (Boskovic, 1997)

a. The man who every professor<sub>i</sub> thinks should get a raise is himself<sub>i</sub>

a’ \*Every professor<sub>i</sub> thinks himself<sub>i</sub> should get a raise.

b. What John<sub>i</sub> thinks that Bill<sub>j</sub> likes is a picture of himself<sub>i/k</sub>

b’. John<sub>i</sub> thinks Bill<sub>j</sub> likes himself<sub>\*i/j</sub>

c. John doesn’t believe that Mary will graduate (ambiguous, high Neg reading, low Neg reading)

c’. \*What John doesn’t believe is that Mary will graduate (under the low Neg reading)

(7) *Boskovic’s analysis includes the following:*

a. In SPC, Wh-clause is base-generated in [Spec, VP], the counterweight is base-generated in post-copula position

b. Wh-Op in English SPC is replaced by the counterweight in LF (i.e. ‘What’ in SPC is not present in LF)

c. Differentiating antecedent-trace relation created in overt syntax and in LF

-Counterweight created in overt syntax cannot LF-move to Wh-clause (anti-connectivity cases)

-English ‘not’ overtly raises to the matrix clause in SPC; so connectivity relation cannot be licensed (or checked) in LF

d. the anaphor undergoes head movement to INFL (Chomsky 1986) so the anaphor in the counterweight can and must LF-move to Wh-clause

Overt syntax: [VP [VP What<sub>i</sub> John likes t<sub>i</sub> [V’ is ] ] this car]

LF: [VP [VP ~~What~~<sub>i</sub> John likes t<sub>i</sub> [V’ is ] ] this car] => [VP [VP this car<sub>i</sub> John likes [this car<sub>i</sub>] [V’ is] ▲ ]]

#### 4. Syntactic Properties of Korean ‘-Kes’ constructions: null cleft operator

(8) *Examples (from Jhang 1994) and abstract representations*

a. Mary-ga i caeyk-ul sa-ess-ta (non-cleft)

Mary-Nom this book-Acc buy-Pst-Decl

Mary bought this book

b. Mary-ka sa-n KES-un i caeyk i-ta (Pseudocleft)

Mary-Nom buy-Prs C-Top this book be-Decl

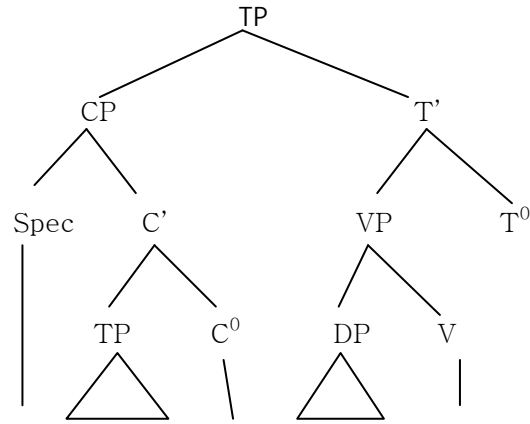
What Mary bought is this book

c. i caeyk -i/un [ [Mary-ka sa-n]-KES i-ta (Inverse Pseudocleft)

this book-N./Top Mary-Nom bought-Asp]-C be-(Prs)-Decl

This book is what Mary bought

- d. [Mary-ka i caeyk -ul sa-n]-KES i-ta (Cleft)  
Mary-Nom this book-Acc buy-Prs]-C Cop-Decl  
It is that Mary bought this book
- e. [CP<sub>2</sub>nullOP<sub>TP2</sub>DP-N.[CP<sub>1</sub>[TP<sub>1</sub>DP-N. ... e... V<sub>1</sub>]-C<sub>1</sub>] V<sub>2</sub>]-C<sub>2</sub>]-Top Counterweight be]



[CP What [TP DP ... V]-KES]<sub>i</sub> counterweight<sub>i</sub> be

(9) Diverse Information structures in English (Dikken 2000)

- a. Mary bought this book. (canonical sentence, neutral)  
b. What Mary bought is *this book*. (pseudocleft, Old/Given/Presupposed)-New/Focus)  
c. It is *this book* that Mary bought (cleft, New/Focus-Old/Given/Presupposed)  
d. *This book* is what Mary bought (inverse PC, New/Focus-Old/Given/Presupposed)  
e. [Taro-ga tabeta no]-wa kono ringo-o da (Japanese cleft)  
f. [Taro-ga tabeta no]-wa kono ringo- $\emptyset$  da (Japanese pseudocleft)

(10) Diagnostics based on Kuroda (1999) Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002)

-Case markers/postpositions: NOT allowed in argument clefting, optionally allowed in adjunct clefting.

- a. [[Mary-ka sa-n]- kes]-un i caeyk-\*ul/ $\emptyset$  i-ta (pseudocleft S)  
Mary-N. buy-Prs] KES-Top this book-Acc/ $\emptyset$  be-Decl  
[What] Mary bought is this book
- b. [[e i caeyk-ul sa-n]-KES]-un John-\*i/ $\emptyset$  i-ta  
[e this book-Acc buy-Prs]-C-Top John-\*N./ $\emptyset$  be-Decl  
[The one who] bought this book is John
- c. [[Chomsky kyosu-ka Mary-ekey kaluci-n]-KES]-un thongsalon-\*ul/ $\emptyset$  i-ess-ta  
Chomsky prof.-N. Mary-to teach-Asp]-C-Top syntax-\*Acc/ $\emptyset$  be-Pst-Decl  
[What] [Prof. Chomsky taught to Mary]] was syntax

- d.(?)[[Chomsky kyosu-ka thongsalon-ul kaluci-n]-KES]-un Mary-(ekey) i-ess-ta  
Chomsky prof.-N. syntax-Acc teach-Asp]-C-Top Mary-(to) be-Pst-Decl  
[What] [Prof. Chomsky taught to Mary]] was syntax
- e. [[Mary-ga John-ul manna-n]- KES]-un doseokwan-(eseo)-i-tta (Kang2006)  
Mary-Nom John-Acc meet-PRE]-C-Top library-(at)be-Decl  
It was in the library that Mary met John
- f. Mary-ga dalyeo ga-n]-KES-un byeongwon-(eulo)-i-tta (Kang, 2006)  
Mary-Nom run-go-PRE]-C-Top hospital-(to)be-Decl  
It was in the library that Mary met John

- Multiple Foci: disallowed in arg. clefting, but (optionally) allowed in adjunct clefting

- a.\*?[[Chomsky kyosu-ka kaluci-n]-KES]-un Mary-ekey thongsalon-ul i-ess-ta  
Chomsky prof.-N. teach-Asp]-C-Top Mary-to/Dat syntax-Acc be-Pst-Decl  
[What] [Prof. Chomsky taught]] was syntax to Mary (no equivalent Dative Construction)
- b.\*?[[Chomsky kyosu-ka kaluci-n]-KES]-un thongsalon-ul Mary-ekey i-ess-ta  
Chomsky prof.-N. teach-Asp]-C-Top syntax-Acc. Mary-to/Dat be-Pst-Decl  
[What] [Prof. Chomsky taught]] was syntax to Mary

- Island sensitivity: No island effects in argument clefting, but Clause-boundedness in adjunct clefting (Kang 2006, Sohn 2000)

- a. John-i [nuwku-ka sa-nun-ci] kungumhaeha-n]-KES-un i caeyk i-tta  
John-N. [who-N. buy-Prs-C] wonder-PRS]-C-Top this book-be-Decl  
[What] John wondered who<sub>i</sub> e<sub>i</sub> bought e<sub>k</sub> is this book<sub>k</sub>
- b. John-i [Mary-ka wae sa-nun-ci kungumhaeha-n]-KES-un i caeyk-i-tta  
John-N. Mary-N. why buy-Prs-C wonder-PRS-Asp]-C-Top this book-be-Decl  
What John wondered why<sub>i</sub> Mary bought e<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub> is this book<sub>k</sub>
- c.\*John-i [nuwku-ka i caeyk-ul sa-nun-ci] kungumhaeha-n]-KES-un i secum-eseo-i-tta  
John-N. who-N. this book-Acc buy-Prs-C wonder-Asp]-C-Top this book-at-be-Decl  
[What] John wondered [who<sub>k</sub> t<sub>k</sub> bought this book t<sub>i</sub>] is at this bookstore<sub>i</sub>
- d.\*Mary-ga John-i kyulsukha-n nal cikakha-n]-KES-un kamki-ttamun-i-tta  
Mary-N. John-N. absent-Prs day late-Asp]-C-Top cold-because of-be-Decl  
It was because of cold that Mary was late on the day John was absent t

- NP substitutability; pseudocleft allows NP substitute, but not clefts

- a.[John-i mek-un]-KES/eumsik-un phija-(*\*lul*)-(i)-ta  
John-N. eat-Asp thing/food-Top pizza-\*Acc-be-Decl  
The thing/food that John ate is pizza
- b.[John-i ecey hakkyo-ese mana-n]-KES/saram/pun-un Chomsky kyosu-(*\*lul*)-(i)-ta  
John-N. yesterday school-at meet-Asp]thing/person/Hon.-Top Chomsky-Acc.-be-Decl  
The thing/person/Honorable person that John met yesterday in school was prof. Chomsky

### 5. Highest Subject effect in Korean Pseudoclefts

(11) Korean/Japanese **Binding condition (A)** requires c-commanding subjects(s)

- a. Chomsky kyosu-nun/ka casin-uy nonmun-ul ilk-ess-ta  
Chomsky prof.-Top/N. self-Gen article-Acc read-Pst-Decl  
Prof. Chomsky<sub>i</sub> read his<sub>i</sub> (literally, *self*'s) own article
- b. John-nun/i Mary-ka casin-uy imo-lul koilophi-n-ta-ko malha-ess-ta  
John-Top/N. Mary-Nom self's aunt-Acc torture-Prs-Decl-C say-Pst-Decl  
John<sub>i</sub> said that Mary<sub>i</sub> tortures self<sub>i</sub>'s aunt
- c. Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga [Masao-ga zibun-no hahaoya-ni atta to] itta to] omoteiru  
Taro-Nom Hanako-Nom Masao-Nom self-Gen mother-Dat met C said C think  
Taro<sub>1</sub> thinks that Hanako<sub>2</sub> said that Masao<sub>3</sub> met self<sub>1/2/3</sub>'s mother

(12) Korean anaphors 'casin' (=Self) bound by an Operator/Quantifier (Hong 1985)

- a. nu(kwu)-ka casin-uy anay-lul ttaeri-ess-ci?  
Who(-Nom) self-Gen wife-Acc hit-Pst-C  
Who hit self's wife?
- b. John-i [nu(kwu)-ka casin-uy anay-lul ttaeri-ess-nun-ci] kungkumhayha-ess-ta  
John-N. who-N. self-Gen wife-Acc hit-Pst-C<sub>Question</sub> wonder-Pst-Decl  
John<sub>i</sub> wondered who<sub>j</sub> hit self<sub>j</sub>'s wife
- c. nukwuna-(ka) kakkeum casin-uy anay-lul ttaeri-n-ta  
Everyone-(Nom) sometimes self-Gen wife-Acc hit-Prs-Decl  
Everyone hits self's own wife once in a while

(13) **Highest Subject effect** in (Pseudo-)Clefted constructions

- a. John-i [Chomsky kyosu-ka ilk-ess-ta-ko saynggakh-n]-KES-un  
John-N. [Chomsky prof.-N. read-Past-Decl]-C think-Asp]C-Top  
casin-uy nonmun i-ess-ta  
self-Gen article be-Pst-Decl  
[What John<sub>j</sub> thinks that Prof. Chomsky<sub>i</sub> read ]] was his<sub>i/\*j</sub> (literally, *self*'s) own article
- b. [John-i [[ Mary-ka koilophinn-ta]-ko] malha-ess-ten]-KES-un casin-uy- imo i-ess-ta  
John-N. Mary-N. torture-Prs-C said-Past-Asp]-C-Top self's aunt be-Pst-Decl  
[What [John<sub>j</sub> said that Mary<sub>j</sub> tortures ]] was self's<sub>i/\*j</sub> aunt
- c. John-i [Mary-ka kwantayha-ta-ko] malha-n]-KES-un casin-ekye i-ess-ta  
John-N. Mary-N. be generous-Prs-Decl-C say-Asp]-C-Top self-to be-Pst-Decl  
[What [John<sub>j</sub> said that Mary<sub>j</sub> is generous (to t ) ]] was self<sub>i/\*j</sub>
- d. [ casin-uy anay-lul ttaeri-n]-Kes-un nukwu-(i)-ci?  
[ Self's wife-Acc hit-Asp] C-Top who-(be)-C<sub>Question</sub>  
[ e hit his<sub>i</sub> own wife] was who?  
= Who<sub>i</sub> is it that hit his<sub>i</sub> own wife?
- e. [John-i [e casin-uy anay-lul ttaeri-ess-ta-ko] malha-n]-KES-un nukwu-(i)-ci?  
John-N. [e Self's wife-Acc hit-Pst-Decl-c]-Top said-C]kes-Top who-(be)-C<sub>Question</sub>  
John<sub>1</sub> said[ [e<sub>2</sub> hit his<sub>1/2</sub> own wife] was who?

= Who<sub>2</sub> is it that John<sub>1</sub> said that t hit his<sub>1/\*2</sub> own wife?

- f. (Clausal scrambled version of e)  
[ [e casin-uy anay-lul ttaeri-ess-ta-ko] John-i malha-n]-Kes-un nukwu-(i)-ci?  
[ [e Self's wife-Acc hit-Asp] John-N. said-C]kes-Top who-(be)-C<sub>Question</sub>  
John said[ [e hit his<sub>i</sub> own wife] was who?  
= Who<sub>2</sub> is it that John<sub>1</sub> said that t hit his<sub>1/\*2</sub> own wife?
- g. John-i [nu(kwu)-ka ttaeri-ess-nun-ci kungkumhayha-n]-KES-un casin-uy  
John-N. [Who-N. e hit-Pst-Asp-C<sub>Q</sub> wonder-Prs]-C-Top self's  
anay-i-ess-ta  
wife-be-Pst-Decl  
Lit [What [John<sub>j</sub> wondered [who<sub>j</sub> [t<sub>j</sub> hit ]]] was his<sub>i/\*j</sub> own wife

(14) **High Subject effects in Japanese clefts (Kizu 2005)**

*found even in SBJ oriented local anaphor (zibun-zisin) and local anaphor w/o orientation (kare-zisin)*

- a. Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga [Masao-ga zibun-no hahaoya-ni atta to] itta to] omoteiru  
Taro-Nom Hanako-Nom Masao-Nom self-Gen mother-Dat met C said C think  
Taro<sub>1</sub> thinks that Hanako<sub>2</sub> said that Masao<sub>3</sub> met self<sub>1/2/3</sub>'s mother
- b. Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga [Masao-ga e atta to] itta to] omoteiru no] wa zibun-no hahaoya-ni  
Taro<sub>1</sub>-Nom Hanako<sub>2</sub>-Nom Masao<sub>3</sub>-Nom e met C said C think-NM]-TOP self's mother-Dat  
datta  
Cop-Pst  
It was self<sub>1/\*2/\*3</sub>'s mother that Taro<sub>1</sub> thinks that Hanako<sub>2</sub> said that Masao<sub>3</sub> met e
- c. Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga [Masao-ga zibun-zisin-ni yasasi-sugiru to] omotteiru  
Taro-Nom Hanako-Nom Masao-Nom self-self-Dat be too kind Comp think  
Taro<sub>1</sub> thinks that Hanako<sub>i</sub> was too kind to her/\*himself.
- d. Taroo-ga [Masao-ga yasasi-sugiru to] omotteiru-no]-wa zibun-zisin-ni datta  
Taro-Nom [Masao-Nom be too kind C] think -NM-Top self-self-Dat Cop-Pst  
It was himself<sub>1/\*2</sub> that Taro<sub>1</sub> thought that Masao<sub>2</sub> was too kind to

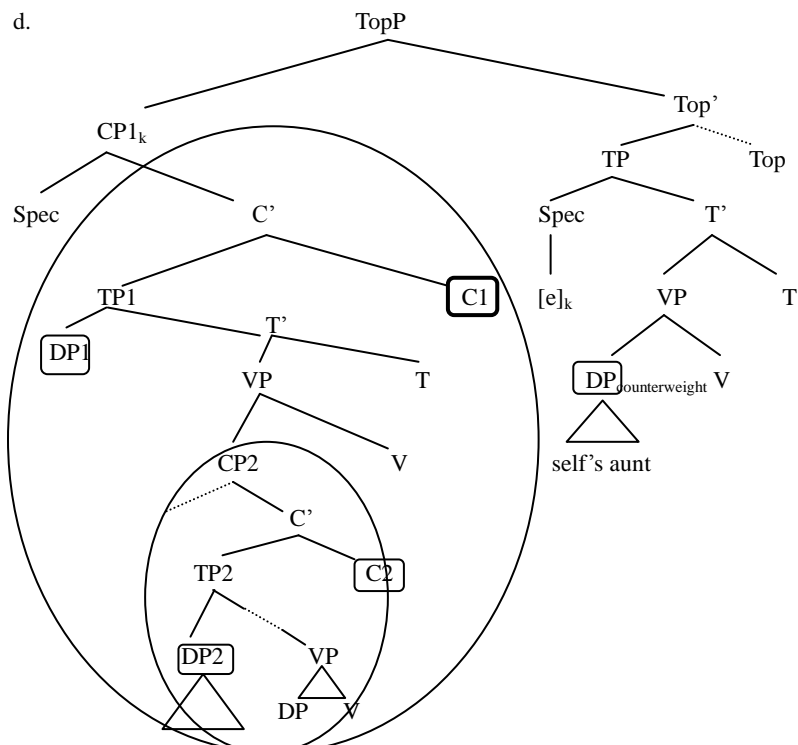
### 6. Proposing an explanation/analysis for Highest Subject effects

(15) **'-kes' C is a defective functional category; C demands the relaxation of C-command into Subcommand; Subcommand is available not only through DP but through CP as well.**

(16) Instances of **Sub-command within DP** (Yoon 1989, Tang 1999, Huang 2000) in K&C

- a. [Caki-ka i seysang-ese ceil yeppeuke toy-nun-KES]-i Mary-uy kkwum i-ta  
Self-N. this world-in most pretty become-Asp-C-N. Mary-Gen. dream-be-Decl  
It is Mary<sub>i</sub>'s dream that Self<sub>i</sub> becomes the prettiest in the world
- b. Xiaoming de taidu shi ziji jue bu ren cuo  
Xiaoming Poss attitude be self EMPH not admit mistake  
Xiaoming's attitude is that self will never admit any mistake

c. [John-i [Mary-ka koilophi-n-ta-ko] malha-ess-ten-KES]-un casin-uy imo i-ess-ta  
 John-N. Mary-N. torture-Prs-C said-Past-Asp-C-Top Self's aunt be-Pst-Decl  
 [What] [John<sub>i</sub> said that Mary<sub>j</sub> tortures <sub>j</sub>] was self's<sub>i/\*j</sub> aunt



[What] John<sub>i</sub> Chomsky<sub>j</sub> [e] read-C thought-C(KES) self<sub>i/\*j</sub>'s article be-Pst  
 (What John<sub>i</sub> thought that Chomsky<sub>j</sub> read was self<sub>i/\*j</sub>'s article)

## 7. Further empirical supports

### (17) Korean Externally Headed Relative Clause (EHRC)

- a. John-i [Mary-ka t sa-ess-ta]-ko malha-n casin-uy caeyk  
 [John-N. [Mary-N. t<sub>i</sub> buy-Pst-Decl]-C] say-Asp]RO] self-Gen book  
 Self<sub>1/\*2</sub>'s book [RO that John<sub>1</sub> said [that Mary<sub>2</sub> bought e]]
- b. John-i [Mary-ka t ttari-ess-ta]-ko malha-n casin-uy imo  
 [John-N. [Mary-N. t<sub>i</sub> buy-Pst-Decl]-C] say-Asp]RO] self-Gen aunt  
 Self<sub>1/\*2</sub>'s aunt [RO that John<sub>1</sub> said [that Mary<sub>2</sub> bought e]]

### (18) Raising constructions with '-kes' (Hong 2007, 2009)

-Clausemate condition for Korean NPI licensing is violated => '-kes' is defective

- a. \*John-i amwuteto ka-un-KES kath-ta  
 John-Nom anywhere go-Prs-C seem-Decl  
 \*It seems that John has gone anywhere
- b. John-i amwuteto ka-ci ahn-un-KES kat-ta  
 John-Nom anywhere go-Neg-Prs-C seem-Decl  
 It seems that John has not gone anywhere
- c. John-i amwuteto ka-n-KES kat-ci ahn-ta  
 John-Nom anywhere go-Prs-C seem-Neg-Decl  
 It does not seem that John has gone anywhere

### -NPI object

- a. \*John-i amwuto manna-n-KES kath-ta  
 John-Nom anyone meet-Prs-C seem-Decl  
 \*It seems that John meets anyone
- b. John-i amwuto manna-ci ahn-un-KES kath-ta  
 John-Nom anyone meet-Neg-Prs-C seem-Decl  
 It seems that John does not meet anyone
- c. John-i amwuto manna-n-KES kath-ciahn-ta  
 John-Nom anyone meet-Prs-C seem-Neg-Decl  
 It does not seem that John meets anyone

### -NPI subject

- a. \*amwuto John-ul manna-n-KES kath-ta  
 anyone John-Nom meet-Prs-C seem-Decl  
 \*It seems that anyone meets John
- b. amwuto John-ul manna-ciahn-un-KES kath-ta  
 anyone John-Nom meet-Neg-Prs-C seem-Decl  
 \*It seems that anyone does not meet John
- c. amwuto John-ul manna-n-KES kath-ciahn-ta  
 anyone John-Nom meet-Prs-C seem-Neg-Decl  
 It does not seem that anyone meets John

### (19) Wh-questions

- a. John-i Mary-ka casin-uy etten sacin-ul po-ass-nun-ci mwul-ess-ta  
 John-N. Mary-N. self-Gen. which picture-Acc see-Pst-Asp-C<sub>Q</sub> ask-Pst-Decl  
 John<sub>1</sub> asked Mary<sub>2</sub> saw which picture of self<sub>1/2</sub>  
 John asked which picture of self Mary saw t
- b. [John-i [Mary-ka po-ass-nun-ci] mul-eun]-KES-un casin-uy etten sacin-i-ci?  
 [Johny-N. Mary-N. see-Pst-Asp-C<sub>Q</sub> ask-Asp]-C-Top self-Gen which pict.-be-C<sub>Q</sub>

[What [John<sub>1</sub> asked [whether Mary<sub>2</sub> saw t]]] was which picture of self<sub>1/\*2</sub> ?  
Which picture of self<sub>1/\*2</sub> is what John<sub>1</sub> asked whether Mary<sub>2</sub> saw

## **8. Theoretical consequences**

Phase Sliding/Extension via Head movement may be evitable in pro-drop languages  
(Gallego, Dikken 2007, 2008, Hong 2009)

More defective categories? T<sub>def.</sub> (Chomsky 2000), C<sub>def.</sub> (Gallego 2007)

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