



but not in equational sentences: (8) vs. (9).

- (8) \*Shei xian lai, shenme ren /tongvang de ren xian chi.  
who first come what person the-same DE person first eat (from Crain and Luo 2011, 166)
- (9) a. The Moming Star is the Evening Star.  
b. A man who drinks alcopops is the one/the same person who gets a hangover.

The requirement of isomorphism strongly supports a remerge (ATB movement) analysis.

Second, WHY, which is hardly used as an indefinite, is allowed in (10) of Chinese *wh*-conditionals but not in (11) of Korean conditionals. *Elma-(mankhum)-na* 'how much' Adj behaves similarly (as opposed to *elma (mankhum)*, which is ambiguously interpreted). (See (12) and (13).)

- (10) ni wishenme xihuan Zhangsan, wo jiu wishenme tayan ta.  
You why like Zhangsan, I then why dislike him  
'The reason you like Zhangsan is the reason why I dislike him.' from Huang (2018)
- (11) \*ney-ka way John-ul cohaha-myen, na-nun way/ku iyu-lo ku-lul silheha-n-ta.  
You-Nom why J.-Acc like-if I-Top why/the reason-for he-Acc dislike-Pres-DEC
- (12) \*ney-ka elma (mankhum)-ina yeppu-n os-ul wenha-myen, nay-ka e/ku kes-ul sacwu-keyss-ta.  
You-Nom how;much amount-INA pretty dress-Acc want-if I-Nom e/it-Acc buy;give-will-DEC  
(Intended) 'If you want (a certain degree of) pretty clothes, I will buy them for you.'
- (13) ney-ka elma (mankhum) yeppu-n os-ul wenha-myen, nay-ka e/ku kes-ul sacwu-keyss-ta.  
You-Nom how;much amount pretty dress-Acc want-if I-Nom e/it-Acc buy;give-will-DEC  
'If you want (certain degree of) pretty clothes, I will buy them for you.'

Thirdly, Chinese WHY, *weishenme*, in *wh*-conditionals displays an ECP effect when in an island context, another clue that movement is involved in *wh*-conditionals: (1) vs. (14).

- (14) a. \*Ni xihuan [weishenme xie de shu], women jiu weishenme xie shu.  
you like why write DE book we then why write book  
'Whatever reason x s.t. you like the book written for x, we will write books for x.'
- b. \*Ni [yinwei ta weishenme likai er shangxin], wo jiu weishenme gaoxing.  
you because he why leave thus sad I then why happy  
'Whatever reason x s.t. you are sad because he left for x, I will be happy for x.'
- (from Cheung 2007)

There are also indications that I-Exs in Chinese undergo overt movement but the tail copy is pronounced: (i) They do not show scope interactions with a quantifier in an weak island (Aoun and Li 1993), intervention effects (Huang 1982), or *wh*-island effects (Huang 1982), unlike their Korean counterparts, which show opposite behaviors. (Examples are omitted for a space reason.) Finally, we observe that Korean bare common nouns, unless accompanied by a numeral classifier, but not I-Exs, can have an E-type pronoun construal, as (15) and (16).

- (15) ney-ka catongcha-ul (\*han tay) wenha-myen, nay-ka (ku) catongcha-ul sacwu-keyss-ta.  
you-Nom car-Acc one Cl. want-if I-Nom that car-Acc buy;give-will-Dec  
'If Cheli wants a car, I will buy (him) (a/the) car.'
- (16) (Ney-ka) mwues-ul wenha-myen, nay-ka \*(ku) mwues-ul sacwu-keyss-ta.  
You-Nom what-Acc want-if I-Nom that what-Acc buy;give-will-DEC  
'If you want something, I will buy something for you.'

Based on this critical data, we adopt Elbourne's (2005) approach to E-type pronouns, assuming that anaphoric elements in the consequent clause in Korean are E-type pronouns.

In conclusion, *wh*-conditionals in Chinese employ an ATB *wh*-movement, due to the featural property of the I-Exs, while the Korean counterparts employ an E-type anaphoric strategy (possibly repeating a common noun phrase.)

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