

Gapless Right-Dislocation: The Role of Overt Correlates*

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Ko, Heejeong. (2016). Gapless Right-Dislocation: The Role of Overt Correlates. *Language Research*, 52.1, 3-32.

This paper examines the syntax of gapless right-dislocations in Korean. I argue that gapless right-dislocation constructions are not uniform, but divided into two types: specificational and repetitive right-dislocation. I propose that specificational right-dislocation constructions are derived by rightward movement in a mono-clausal structure, whereas repetitive right-dislocations are a result of ellipsis in a bi-clausal structure. Evidence for my proposal is drawn from a wide range of syntactic and semantic differences between the two types of gapless right-dislocation. This paper also shows that gapped right-dislocations are a type of a specificational construction. In doing so, I argue that a hybrid approach is necessary to explain the diverse syntactic and semantic patterns observed in right-dislocation.

Keywords: right-dislocation, correlates, appendix, specification, repetition, Korean

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the role of overt correlates in gapless Right Dislocation Constructions (RDCs) in Korean. The very fact that an overt element may exist to the right of the (matrix) verb in head-final languages has been widely discussed in recent studies (see section 2 for references). Crucially, however, most studies on RDCs have focused on the syntax of gapped RDCs such as (1), and have not paid much attention to gapless RDCs such as (2a) and (2b). In this paper, I aim to contribute to a better

* I thank three anonymous reviewers of *Language Research* for helpful comments. I am also grateful to Daniel Edmiston for proofreading this paper. Any remaining errors in this paper are of my own.

understanding of RDCs by closely examining two types of gapless RDCs in Korean. In particular, I show that the syntax and semantics of RDCs significantly diverge depending on the type of *correlate* in the host clause, which precedes the postverbal element, *the appendix*.¹⁾

- (1) Cheli-ka ___ mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul*. [gapped RDC]
 C.-NOM eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate *an apple*.’ (Choe 1987:40)
- (2) a. Cheli-ka *kwail-ul* mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul*. [specificational RDC]
 C.-NOM fruit-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate *some fruit, an apple*.’
- b. Cheli-ka *sakwa-lul* mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul*. [repetitive RDC]
 C.-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate *an apple, an apple*.’

Specifically, I argue that when the correlate is distinct from the appendix, as in (2a), the RDC expresses a specificational relationship between the host clause and the appendix. The semantic function of the appendix in (2a) is to further specify the meaning of the host clause by providing a specific value for the correlate. By contrast, when the correlate is identical to the appendix, as in (2b), the RDC encodes an equative relationship between the host clause and the appendix. In this case, the function of the appendix is to put a strong emphasis on the correlate by repeating it. In this paper, I call the former (e.g. (2a)) a specificational RDC, and the latter (e.g. (2b)) a repetitive RDC, given their distinct semantic properties.

I propose that specificational RDCs can be best analyzed as a mono-clausal structure with rightward movement, whereas repetitive RDCs must be treated as a bi-clausal structure, with the appendix being a fragment. This paper provides a series of arguments for this claim and discusses why

1) The term *correlate* refers to a noun in the host clause which is semantically associated with the appendix. I call (2a) and (2b) *gapless* RDCs in the sense that the host is a complete clause without the appendix, in contrast to (1). The term *gapless* is used atheoretically, however. In this paper, I will argue that (2a), unlike (2b), contains a trace/copy of the appendix as a result of rightward movement (see (29) for discussion). Thus, the term *gapless* is employed here to describe the fact that argument position of the verb in the RDC is overtly filled. I thank a reviewer for clarifying this point.

seemingly similar constructions like (2a) and (2b) must be treated differently in the current theory of right-dislocation. Empirical evidence for my proposal is drawn from several syntactic tests such as island effects, left branch extraction, and Case drop - which consistently separate the specificational RDC from the repetitive RDC. Overall, this paper lends credence to the idea that right-dislocation cannot be subsumed under one extant theory despite the surface similarities among its sub-varieties. The conclusion drawn in this paper thus poses non-trivial challenges to the approach which pursues the idea that right-dislocation is a result of one uniform syntactic process - whether it argues for movement or ellipsis. Rather, this study shows that a hybrid approach is necessary to explain the diverse syntactic and semantic patterns observed in right-dislocation.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I start the discussion by examining the arguments by Ahn and Cho (2015: A&C, hereafter), who argue for a bi-clausal fragment approach against Ko (2014). In responding to A&C, I show that it is indeed important to notice the role of overt correlates in RDCs, but their conclusion cannot be maintained given a wide range of differences between specificational and repetitive RDCs. In section 3, I present my proposal for two types of gapless RDCs in Korean, and explain the puzzles concerning syntactic and semantic differences between the two types of gapless RDCs. In particular, I argue that the specificational RDC is derived by movement, whereas the repetitive RDC is derived by ellipsis. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. A Closer Look: Some Puzzles on Overt Correlates in RDCs

Korean is well-known to be a head-final language where the matrix verb occupies the sentence-final position in canonical orderings. It has been observed, however, that a variety of elements may appear in post-verbal position in Korean (see Park and Kim 2009, Yim 2013 and Ko 2014 for an overview of the literature). Recently, a growing number of researchers have argued that RDCs constitute a bi-clausal structure in which ellipsis takes place, as depicted in (3) (for a derivation of (1)).

Under this approach, it is assumed that RDCs contain a covertly coordinated structure and that the appendix undergoes leftward movement prior to clausal ellipsis. The appendix is assumed to be a sort of fragment which survives ellipsis (see Chung 2009, 2012; Park and Kim 2009; Ahn and Cho 2015; among others).

(3) *fragment approach*

[Cheli-ka ___ mek-ess-e] & [_{FocP} sakwa-lul Cheli-ka ___ mek-ess-e]

Ko (2014, 2015a), however, raise a series of criticisms against the bi-clausal fragment approach to RDCs. In particular, capitalizing on the syntax of gapped RDCs such as (1), Ko argues that the syntax of the appendix cannot be treated in the same way as fragments, and shows that fragments and gapped RDCs show different distributions with respect to a wide range of tests such as island effects, LBC, Case drop, NPI licensing, floating quantification, and *wh*-licensing. As a response to Ko, A&C argue that gapped RDCs can be assimilated to a particular type of fragment - namely, *Sprouting-type fragments* - which lacks an overt correlate. In this section, I take up the challenges raised by A&C as a starting point of my arguments. I argue that it is indeed important to note the role of overt correlates in RDCs, but show that the hypothesis advanced in A&C cannot be upheld by the empirical data.

2.1. General Island Effects

The major issue at the heart of the controversy is whether the appendix in RDCs shows the same syntactic behavior as the fragment. Ko (2014) argues that this is not the case in island contexts. As shown in (4), *emma-ka* can be used as a fragment answer in (4B) even though its non-elliptical counterpart does not allow such extraction (cf. (4C)). Contrary to this, the gapped RDC is sensitive to islands in general (except for the Left Branching Condition; see Ko 2014, 2015a for discussion). As shown in (5), *emma-ka* cannot be right-dislocated if the associated gap is placed inside a relative clause in the host clause. If the syntax of (4B) were equivalent to that of (5), it would not be clear where the difference between

the two originated. Given that island effects can be obviated in fragments, the fragment-approach to the RDC cannot explain why such repair effects are unavailable for the appendix in (5).

- (4) A: Cheli-nun [**nwu-ka** sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-ni?
 C.-TOP who-NOM buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-Q
 (Intended) ‘Who bought the necklace that Cheli threw away?’
 B: **Emma-ka**.
 mom-NOM
 ‘Mom.’
 C: * **Emma-ka** Cheli-nun [_ sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-e.
 mom-NOM C.-TOP buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-DEC
 (Intended) ‘Who bought the necklace that Cheli threw away?’
- (5) * Cheli-nun [_ sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-e **emma-ka**.
 C.-TOP buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-DEC mom-NOM
 ‘Cheli threw away the necklace that *his mother* bought for him.’ (Ko 2014: 299)

A&C, however, note that the presence or absence of an overt correlate matters significantly in comparing fragments with RDCs. In particular, in (4B), there is an overt correlate *nwu-ka* ‘who-Nom’ in the island domain, whereas there is no overt correlate for the appendix, *emma-ka* in (5). A&C (2015: 432) argue that this contrast makes a crucial difference between the two, and report that the fragment is indeed sensitive to island effects if there is no overt correlate in the discourse, as illustrated in (6B) (cf. (4B) and (5)).

- (6) A: Cheli-nun [_ sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-ni?
 C.-TOP buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-Q
 (lit.) ‘Did Cheli throw away the necklace that someone bought for him?’
 B: * Ung, **emma-ka**.
 Yes, mom-NOM
 ‘Yes, (his) mom (bought the necklace for him).’

A&C further argue that the contrast between (4B) and (6B) can be explained in the same way as the contrast between two types of sluicing in English, represented by (7a) and (7b) (see also Park and Kim 2009 for this line of approach). In (7a), the sluiced *wh*-phrase, *who to* does not have an overt correlate, whereas *which one* in (7b) does, *a certain problem*. The former is called *Sprouting-type* sluicing, and the latter is called *Merger-type* sluicing.

Following Chung et al. (1995), A&C assume that island violations are not repaired in *Sprouting-type* sluicing constructions such as (7a), but can be repaired in *Merger-type* sluicing constructions such as (7b) (see Ross 1969, Chung et al. 1995, and Merchant 2001 for discussion on sluicing). Central to the current discussion, A&C extend this claim to fragments in Korean, and argue that fragments without an overt correlate such as in (6B) are sensitive to islands, whereas those with an overt correlate such as in (4B) are not. Observing the grammaticality of (8), A&C also mention that the appendix may be exempt from the island constraint if the correlate is filled in the host clause, as a *Merger-type* fragment.²⁾

(7) *Sprouting-type* vs. *Merger-type* sluicing

- a. *Sandy was trying to work out which students would speak, but she refused to say **who to**.
- b. Sandy was trying to work out which students would be able to solve *a certain problem* but she wouldn't tell us **which one**.

- (8) Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** sacwu-n] cha-lul ilhepeliesse **emma-ka**.
 C.-TOP mom-NOM buy.give-RC car-ACC lost mom-NOM
 'Cheli lost the car that *his mother* bought for him.' (A&C: 432, note 3)

A&C assume that the existence of an overt correlate by itself makes it possible to repair an island violation. A closer look into the RDC, however, shows that this assumption is not correct. If the presence of an overt correlate may repair island violations, we predict that repair effects should be obtained quite generally. Put differently, under A&C's proposal we expect that island effects would disappear when an overt correlate is filled in the host clause regardless of the type of correlate. Importantly, however, this prediction is not borne out.

As shown in (9), the correlate *kacok-ul* 'family' may fill the gap position associated with the appendix. Under A&C's criterion, the appendix *em-*

2) It is not obvious, however, whether (5) and (6B) can be analyzed in the same way as *Sprouting* in (7a). English does not license a null pronoun, and thus it is reasonable to assume that the sluiced *wh*-phrase, *who to* in (7a) lacks a correlate in the preceding clause - whether it is covert or overt. Korean, however, allows a null pronoun, and one may assume that there is a covert correlate *pro* in (5) and (6). Precisely speaking, English (7a) completely lacks a correlate, whereas Korean examples in (5) and (6) may contain a covert correlate. To accept A&C's claim, however, we would have to ignore the existence of the covert correlate and treat (5) and (6) in the same way as (7a).

ma-lul in (9) would belong to the *Merger-type* fragment since there is an overt correlate for it. Notably, however, the existence of an overt correlate does not save the island violation, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (10). Even if there is an overt correlate *kacok-i* ‘family’ in the host clause, *emma-ka* cannot be licensed as a legitimate appendix in (10). This is puzzling under A&C’s fragment approach. A&C tacitly assume that the appendix is a remnant of ellipsis regardless of the type of RDC - be it gapped or gapless. Since *emma-ka* in (10) does have an overt correlate, A&C predict that (10) would be grammatical, on a par with (4B) and (7b). This prediction is not upheld, however.

- (9) Cheli-ka elilcek *kacok-ul* ilh-ess-e **emma-lul**.
 C.-NOM childhood family-ACC lost-PAST-DEC mom-ACC
 ‘Cheli lost his family, his mother.’

- (10) * Cheli-ka [*kacok-i* sacwu-n] cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-e **emma-ka**.
 C.-NOM family-NOM buy-RC car-ACC lose-PAST-DEC mom-NOM
 ‘Cheli lost the car that his family bought for him, his mother, specifically.’

Note that there is no reason to believe that examples like (9) and (10) are syntactically less close to the *Merger-type* sluicing in (7b) than the repetitive RDC in (8). Thus, it is difficult to explain the contrast between (8) and (10) under A&C’s approach. The clear contrast between (8) and (10) provides us with a new puzzle to solve concerning the typology of right-dislocation in Korean. It needs to be examined why the repetitive RDC in (8) may repair island effects, whereas other RDCs (e.g. (5), (10)) cannot (see Abe 2015 and Ko 2015b for some contrasts between gapped vs. repetitive RDCs in Korean and Japanese).³⁾

Though it is not the main interest of this paper, the data presented in (11) raise a general question on the claimed parallelism between English sluicing and Korean fragments. In (11A), an overt correlate *kacok-i* is supplied for the fragment answer *emma-ka*. Under A&C, the fragment

3) A&C (note 2) assume that indefinite nouns such as *mwukwunka* ‘someone’ cannot be used as a correlate in RDCs, but this type of construction does exist in Korean, as in (i)
 (i) Na-nun *mwuenka-ka* mekko-sip-e **talkhom-hako ttatusha-n-kes(-i)**.
 I-TOP something-NOM eat-want-DEC sweet-and warm-RD-thing-NOM
 ‘I want to eat something, something sweet and warm.’

in (11B) would belong to the *Merger-type* fragment. Thus, if Korean fragments can be explained in the same way as English sluicing, we would expect that the fragment answer in (11B) would obviate island effects. Contrary to this expectation, however, the fragment *emma-ka* in (11B) is unacceptable, just like the *Sprouting type*-fragment in (6B). The data again suggest that not all overt correlates repair island violations.

- (11) A: Cheli-ka [*kacok-i* sacwu-n] cha-lul ilhepli-ess-ni?
 C.-NOM family-NOM buy-RC car-ACC lose-PAST-Q
 (lit.) ‘Did Cheli lose the car that his family bought for him?’
 B: *Ung, **emma-ka**.
 yes, mom-NOM
 ‘Yes, (his) mom (bought the car for him).’

2.2. Left Branch Condition

Ko (2014, 2015a) point out that the appendix in RDCs behaves differently than fragments with respect to the Left Branch Condition (LBC: Ross 1967) as well. In particular, Ko shows that fragments can obviate the LBC effect regardless of the depth of embedding, in contrast to appendices. As shown in (12B), *Yenghi-uy* can be used as a fragment answer even though its non-elliptical pair is embedded within a complex NP. By contrast, the appendix *Yenghi-uy* in (13) cannot appear in postverbal position when its associate gap is embedded within another NP layer in the host clause (but see also Ko 2015b for some qualifications). If the appendix could be derived in the same way as a fragment, it would be mysterious why the fragment in (12B) and the appendix in (13) show different sensitivity to the LBC.

- (12) *fragment answer out of complex NPs* (Ko 2014: 302)
 A: Ne-nun [*nwukwu-uy* emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-ni?
 you-TOP who-GEN mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-Q
 ‘Whose mother’s car did you borrow?’
 B: **Yenghi-uy**.
 Y.-GEN
 ‘(I borrowed) Yenghi’s (mother’s car).’

(13) *appendix associated with complex NPs* (Ko 2014: 302)

*Na-nun [__ emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy.**
 I-TOP mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-DEC Y.-GEN
 ‘I borrowed Yenghi’s mother’s car.’

As a response to Ko, A&C argue that an overt correlate again plays an important role. In (12), there is an overt correlate for the fragment, namely *nwukwu-uy* ‘who-GEN’. In (13), on the other hand, there is no such overt correlate for the appendix. A&C argue that this makes a difference between the two examples, and show that the fragment becomes sensitive to the LBC if there is no overt correlate, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (14B). A&C (433: note 5) also mention in passing that repetitive RDCs such as (15) are exempt from the LBC, similar to (12).

(14) *fragment answer without a correlate*

A: Ne-nun [__ emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-ni?
 you-TOP mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-Q
 ‘Whose mother’s car did you borrow?’

B: *Ung, **Yenghi-uy.**
 yes, Y.-GEN
 ‘Yes, (I borrowed) Yenghi’s (mother’s car).’

(15) Na-nun [**Yenghi-uy** emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy.**
 I-TOP Y.-GEN mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-DEC Y.-GEN
 ‘I borrowed Yenghi’s mother’s car.’ (A&C: 433, note 5)

Note, however, that an account based on the presence or absence of an overt correlate makes an incorrect prediction. A&C would predict that the gapless RDC in general may show repair effects with respect to the LBC. As shown in (16), however, this prediction is not borne out. The appendix *Yenghi-uy* in (16) cannot be licensed even if there is an overt correlate *chinkwu-uy* in the host clause. Also notably, fragments cannot be licensed when the overt correlate is not a *wh*-phrase, as shown in (17). The ungrammaticality of (16) and (17) remain puzzling under A&C’s account. The data also show that the gapless RDC in (16) cannot be analyzed in the same way as the repetitive RDC in (15).

- (16) *Na-nun [*chinkwu(-uy)* emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy.**
 I-TOP friend-GEN mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-DEC Y.-GEN
 ‘I borrowed Yenghi’s mother’s car.’
- (17) A: Ney-ka [*chinkwu(-uy)* emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-ni?
 you-NOM friend (-GEN) mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-Q
 ‘Did you borrow a friend’s mother’s car?’
 B: *Ung, **Yenghi(-uy).**
 yes, Y.-GEN
 ‘Yes, (I borrowed) Yenghi’s (mother’s car).’

2.3. Genitive Case drop

Ko (2014) shows that Case drop has different consequences for fragments and gapped RDCs. In particular, genitive Case drop in fragments is optional and does not affect overall grammaticality (when it is a single fragment). This is illustrated in (18), which shows that genitive Case marking can be freely dropped in fragments. By contrast, genitive Case drop is much more limited in RDCs. As shown in (19), when the gap is placed inside a noun phrase, genitive Case drop is not allowed in gapped RDCs. If we assume that the appendix is the same as a fragment, the contrast between (18B) and (19) would not be expected.

- (18) A: Yenghi-ka [*nwukwu(-uy)* emma-lul] manness-tay?
 Y.-NOM who-GEN mother-ACC met-Q_{hearsay}
 ‘Whose mother did Yenghi meet?’
 B: **Cheli-uy.** / **Cheli.**
 C.-GEN C.
 ‘Cheli’s.’
- (19) Yenghi-ka [__ emma-lul] manness-tay **Cheli-uy.** / ***Cheli.**
 Y.-NOM mom-ACC met-Q_{hearsay} C.-GEN C.
 ‘Yenghi met Cheli’s mother.’ (Ko 2014: 300)

A&C claim that the contrast between (18) and (19) is also tied to the distinction between *Sprouting* and *Merger* type sluicing in English. Chung (2005) originally observes that prepositions in English cannot be stranded in the elided TP in *Sprouting-type* sluicing, as in (20). In *Sprouting-type* sluicing, a preposition must be pied-piped by a sluiced *wh*-phrase, as shown

in (21). A&C argue that (19) can receive the same account as (20): since there is no overt correlate for the appendix, genitive Case cannot be stranded in the elided clause in (19). A&C (436: note 10) also note that the appendix in a repetitive RDC may drop the genitive Case, as shown by the grammaticality of (22).

- (20) a. *They are jealous but it's unclear **who**.
 b. *Last night he was very afraid, but he couldn't tell us **what**.
 c. *Mary was flirting, but they couldn't say **who**.
- (21) a. They are jealous but it's unclear **of who/who of**.
 b. Last night he was very afraid, but he couldn't tell us **of what/what of**.
 c. Mary was flirting, but they couldn't say **with who/who with**.
- (22) Yenghi-ka *Cheli-uy* emma-lul manness-tay **Cheli-uy**. / **Cheli**.
 Y.-NOM C.-GEN mother-ACC met-Q_{hearsay} C.-GEN C.
 'Yenghi met Cheli's mother.'

To adopt A&C's explanation for (18)-(22), we would have to assume that Case drop is the same syntactic process as preposition stranding in English. Theoretically, however, it is not clear whether we can treat these two as the same. Even if such an assumption could be accommodated independently, the gapless RDC does not behave as A&C would expect. As shown in (23), Case drop of the appendix is disallowed even when there is an overt correlate for it. Under A&C's proposal, we would predict that genitive Case could be dropped in gapless RDCs such as (23), contrary to fact. The contrast between (22) and (23) again shows that not all gapless RDCs can be analyzed in the same way. Rather, a theory is needed to capture some systematic asymmetry between repetitive RDCs and other types of RDCs.⁴⁾

- (23) Yenghi-ka *wulipan namcaay-uy* emma-lul manness-tay [?]**Cheli-uy**. / ***Cheli**.
 Y.-NOM our class boy-GEN mother-ACC met-Q_{hearsay} C.-GEN C.
 'Yenghi met the mother of someboy in our class.'

In short, as A&C correctly point out, it is important to understand the role of correlates in explaining the syntax of right-dislocation. Crucially,

4) For reasons unclear to me, I find that (23) with *Cheli-uy* is somewhat degraded.

however, a proposal based on the dichotomy between the presence or absence of an overt correlate cannot explain the distribution of the appendix in RDCs. A&C have tacitly assumed that RDCs share the same underlying structure whether they are gapped or gapless. The data presented in this section, however, show that this assumption is not correct, and that a further study on different types of RDCs is necessary - which we turn to in the next section.

3. Proposal

I propose that right-dislocation is a way of encoding a predicational relationship between the host clause and the appendix at the syntax-pragmatics interface. Though there is no audible predicate between the host clause and the appendix, I argue that the two are semantically linked to each other by a predicational relationship. In particular, I argue that right-dislocation in Korean may convey diverse predicational meanings expressed by copular constructions in other languages. When the correlate in the host clause is distinct from the appendix as in (2a) - repeated here as (24a), the RDC conveys a specificational relationship between the host and the appendix. The semantic function of the appendix is to further specify the meaning of the host clause by providing a specific value for the correlate. I call this a specificational RDC. By contrast, when the correlate is identical to the appendix as in (2b) - repeated here as (24b), the RDC encodes an equative relationship between the host clause and the appendix. In this case, the semantic function of the appendix is to further emphasize the focal reading on the correlate by repeating it. I refer to it as a repetitive RDC.

- (24) a. Cheli-ka *kwail-ul* mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul*. [specificational RDC]
 C.-NOM fruit-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 'Cheli ate *some fruit*, *an apple*.'
- b. Cheli-ka *sakwa-lul* mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul*. [repetitive RDC]
 C.-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 'Cheli ate *an apple*, *an apple*.'

Under my proposal, the semantics of the specificational RDC in (24a) can be assimilated to that of specificational copular sentences such as (25). The semantics of the repetitive RDC in (24b) can be understood as that of equative copular constructions such as in (26) (see den Dikken 2006 for a comprehensive review on copular constructions). In the following, I argue that this semantic distinction between specification and repetition in RDCs maps into different syntax: the former is derived from movement, and the latter from ellipsis. I first discuss the syntax and semantics of specificational RDCs, and then move onto repetitive RDCs.

(25) *Specificational sentences* (Heycock 2013: 341)

- a. The cause of the riot was the announcement of a pay freeze.
- b. Her favorite author was Joseph Heller.
- c. One thing you might consider is psychotherapy.
- d. The culprit was Jennifer.

(26) *Equative sentences* (Heycock 2013: 341)

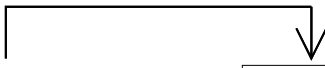
- a. A: I like Richard Bachman's stuff but I can't stand that Stephen King.
B: But Richard Bachman is Stephen King!
- b. War is war.

3.1. Specificational RDCs

Let us first consider the specificational RDC in Korean. My proposal that right-dislocation can be interpreted as a type of specificational construction is not entirely new, and a similar claim has been made for other languages and other types of RDCs as well. A novelty of my proposal comes from association of this idea to a particular type of syntax for gapless RDCs. Most notably, Ott and de Vries (2015) argue that a right-dislocated phrase in German and Dutch may function as a specificational argument for its correlate. For instance, in (27), *den John Travolta* in right-dislocated position specifies the meaning of *einen Star* 'a star'. In fact, Ott and de Vries (2015) argue for a bi-clausal fragment approach to right-dislocation in German and Dutch. As extensively discussed in Ko (2014), however, the alleged parallelism between fragments and RDCs is not yet straightforward, and in the preceding section, we have also seen that not all types of RDCs can be analyzed in the same way in Korean.

- (27) Ich habe heute einen Star getroffen, **DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA!**
 I have today a star met the John Travolta
 'I met a star today: John Travolta!' (German)

Ko (2015b, *to appear*) argue that gapped RDCs in Korean such as (1) are categorized into a type of specificational RDC, similar to (27). Contra Ott and de Vries (2015), however, Ko (*to appear*) adopts a rightward movement approach to gapped RDCs in Korean. In particular, Ko (*to appear*) argues that movement of an argument creates *Predicate Abstraction*, which turns the host clause into a sentential predicate $\langle e, t \rangle$, and the appendix provides a value for it. This is described in (28). The appendix in (28) may receive a focus or topic interpretation in the discourse, both of which are available in specificational copular constructions (this is an elaboration and rework of Ko (2015a)'s remnant movement analysis of RDCs in Korean).⁵⁾

- (28) [Cheli-ka ecey t₁ mek-ess-e] [_{F/T} **ku sakwa-lul**]₁
 C.-NOM yesterday eat-PAST-DEC that apple-ACC
 'What Cheli ate yesterday is [_{Focus} that apple].'
 '[_{Topic} That apple] is what Cheli ate yesterday.'
- 

In this paper, I extend Ko's claim for the specificational *gapped* RDC depicted in (28) to the specificational *gapless* RDC seen in (24a). In particular, I propose that the appendix in (24a) undergoes movement to the right edge of the host clause and serves as a specificational argument. This is illustrated in (29). As shown in (29a), both *kwail-ul* 'fruit-Acc' and *sakwa-lul* 'apple-Acc' are base-generated in the host clause, and then the specific argument *sakwa-lul* undergoes rightward movement and creates a specificational RDC, as in (29b).⁶⁾

5) To clarify, it is technically possible to derive the RDC under the remnant analysis proposed by Ko (2015a). The remnant analysis, however, involves some unnecessary steps to place the appendix in postverbal position. Since the empirical evidence adduced in Ko (2015a) can be straightforwardly accommodated by the present analysis, this paper adopts the rightward movement approach.

6) Gapless right-dislocation in (29b) is reminiscent of split topic constructions in that two semantically associated nouns appear as a discontinuous constituent (see Riemsdijk 1989 for extensive discussions). Representative examples are given in (i) and (ii) from German. Similar to right-dislocation in Korean, the split topic construction may con-

- (29) a. Cheli-ka *kwail-ul* *sakwa-lul* mek-ess-e.
 C.-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC
 ‘Cheli ate some fruit, an apple.’
- b. [[Cheli-ka *kwail-ul* t₁ mek-ess-e] [*sakwa-lul*]₁
 C.-NOM fruit-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate some fruit, an apple.’

On this proposal, we expect that the appendix in specificational RDCs would necessarily be more specific or informative than the correlate in the host clause. The data presented in (30)-(32) show that this is indeed the case. As shown in (29a), *kwail* ‘some fruit’ can be a correlate for the appendix *sakwa* ‘apple’, whereas *sakwa* ‘apple’ cannot be a correlate for the appendix *kwail* ‘some fruit’, as shown by the unacceptability of (30).⁷ The examples in (31)-(32) illustrate the same type of contrasts: the appendix must be more specific than the correlate in the host clause; otherwise, it sounds semantically infelicitous. For instance, the example in (31b) sounds infelicitous in that it is hard to interpret the appendix *salam* ‘person’ as a specific value for the correlate *SNU-haksayng* ‘SNU student’.

- (30) #[[Cheli-ka t₁ *sakwa-lul* mek-ess-e] [*kwail-ul*]₁
 C.-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC fruit-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate an apple, some fruit.’

tain a gap as in (i), or may be gapless as in (ii). It is noteworthy that right-dislocation and split topic constructions share interesting syntactic and semantic properties (see note 10). It would be interesting to examine whether we can provide a unified analysis for the two in future research.

- (i) **Eine Katze** habe ich nur [*eine ganz kleine* ___] gesehen.
 a cat have I only a very small seen
 ‘As for cats, I’ve only seen a very small one.’
- (ii) **Zeitungen** liest Maria nur [*die junge Welt*]
 newspapers reads Maria only the junge Welt
 ‘As for newspapers, Maria only reads the *Junge Welt*.’ (Ott 2012)

7) (30) would be acceptable in the context where one is not aware of the fact that an apple is a type of fruit. In those contexts, “fruit-ness” would count as specific information to zoom in the denotation of “apple”. Given our world knowledge, however, this type of interpretation is very unlikely to arise. The same is true of the relationship between *salam* ‘person’ and *SNU-haksayng* ‘SNU student’ in (31), and between *sosel* ‘novel’ and *chayk* ‘book’ in (32).

- (31) a. Cheli-ka *salam-ul* ttayli-ess-e **SNU-haksayng-ul**.
 C.-NOM person-ACC hit-PAST-DEC SNU-student-ACC
 ‘Cheli hit a person, an SNU student.’
- b. #Cheli-ka *SNU-haksayng-ul* ttayli-ess-e **salam-ul**.
 C.-NOM SNU-student-ACC hit-PAST-DEC person-ACC
 ‘Cheli hit an SNU student, a person.’
- (32) a. Cheli-ka *chayk-ul* ilk-ess-e **soseul-ul**.
 C.-NOM book-ACC read-PAST-DEC novel-ACC
 ‘Cheli read a book, a novel.’
- b. #Cheli-ka *soseul-ul* ilk-ess-e **chayk-ul**.
 C.-NOM novel-ACC read-PAST-DEC book-ACC
 ‘Cheli read a novel, a book.’

This asymmetry between the correlate and appendix in specificity would be puzzling under the fragment approach to RDCs. In fact, the fragment approach would predict the exact opposite of what we have seen above. When two semantically associated elements compete for leftward movement, the less specific element must be fronted, as shown in (33). In (33a), *salam* ‘person’ may undergo leftward movement, leaving *SNU-haksayng* ‘SNU student’ in-situ. By contrast, the more specific element *SNU-haksayng* ‘SNU student’ cannot undergo leftward movement, leaving *salam* ‘person’ to its right. The same pattern is true of (34). The examples in (33) and (34) show that when two semantically associated elements compete for leftward movement, the less specific element must be fronted. Thus, the fragment approach would predict that the less specific element could serve as an appendix, as illustrated in (35).

- (33) a. *Salam-ul* Cheli-ka **SNU-haksayng-ul** ttayli-ess-e.
 person-ACC C.-NOM SNU-student-ACC hit-PAST-DEC
 ‘Cheli hit a person, an SNU student.’
- b. # *SNU-haksayng-ul* Cheli-ka **salam-ul** ttayli-ess-e.
 SNU-student-ACC C.-NOM person-ACC hit-PAST-DEC
 ‘Cheli hit a person, an SNU student.’

- (34) a. *Chayk-ul* Cheli-ka **soseul-ul** ilk-ess-e.
 book-ACC C.-NOM novel-ACC read-PAST-DEC
 'Cheli read a book, a novel.'
- b. # **Soseul-ul** Cheli-ka *chayk-ul* ilk-ess-e.
 novel-ACC C.-NOM book-ACC read-PAST-DEC
 'Cheli read a book, a novel.'

- (35) Possible derivations under the fragment approach
- a. √[Cheli-ka *SNU-haksayng-ul* ttayli-ess-e] &
 [salam-ul₁ Cheli-ka—t₁ SNU-haksayng-ul—ttayli-ess-e]
- b. √[Cheli-ka *soseul-ul* ilk-ess-e] &
 [chayk-ul₁ Cheli-ka—t₁ soseul-ul—ilk-ess-e]

More specifically, the fragment approach assumes that the RDC contains two covertly coordinated clauses, as in (35). Given the data in (33) and (34), the fragment approach should assume that the less specific element must be fronted prior to ellipsis. For instance, in (33), it is *salam* 'a person' that would be fronted in the elided clause, as in (35a). Similarly, *chayk* 'a book' would be fronted instead of *soseul* 'novel' prior to ellipsis, as in (35b). Therefore, the fragment approach would expect that examples like (31b) and (32b) would be grammatical, contrary to the facts.⁸⁾

Moreover, there is no obvious way of deriving grammatical examples such as (31a) and (32a) under the fragment approach, where a more specific element serves as an appendix. To explain the grammaticality of (31a) and (32a), it seems necessary to stipulate that a more specific element must be fronted prior to ellipsis even though such leftward movement is generally banned in overt syntax. More generally, since the fragment

8) As a reviewer pointed out, it remains unanswered why (33b) and (34b) are ruled out in Korean. Given that (rightward) movement of a specific element is in principle possible in (31)-(32), one may assume that a specific element must follow its superset in (33b) and (34b) due to pragmatic reasons. This restriction also holds in other types of multiple Case constructions in Korean, which do not involve a predicational relationship, as in (i). Capitalizing on this, proponents of fragment approaches may resort to some extra-syntactic/pragmatic principles to rule out possibilities like (35).

- (i) a. Cheli-ka **Tongswu-lul** **tali-lul** ttayliess-ta
 C.-NOM T.-ACC leg-ACC hit-DEC
 'Cheli hit Tongswu's leg.'
- b. *Cheli-ka **tali-lul** **Tongswu-lul** ttayliess-ta

approach assumes that the appendix is a reduced version of a clause with leftward movement, it is hard to explain the fact that the appendix on the right periphery behaves differently from the element fronted onto the left edge. To explain the contrasts seen in (31) and (32), it is necessary to invoke some extra-syntactic constraints. Instead of committing ourselves to such a stipulation, this paper dissociates right-dislocation from leftward movement, as illustrated in (29).⁹⁾

Under my proposal, the fact that the specificational RDC is sensitive to island effects straightforwardly follows from its derivational history. Since the appendix in specificational RDCs undergoes rightward *movement*, its distribution is subject to movement constraints. In (36), the appendix *emma-ka* must move to the right edge to form a specificational RDC, but it cannot move across the relative clause island - hence, the ungrammaticality of (36). On this proposal, it is also expected that the gapped RDC in (5) should be sensitive to the island effect, just like the gapless RDC in (36). The two constructions share the same underlying syntax and semantics as a specificational RDC. If the appendix undergoes rightward movement both in (5) and (36), it is not surprising that both are sensitive to island constraints.¹⁰⁾

9) A reviewer, however, notes that a fragment answer to a *polar question* may be subject to a similar semantic constraint as specificational RDCs. As in (i), a fragment answer must be more specific than the correlate in the preceding question. It suggests to me that a fragment answer to a polar question must be systematically distinguished from the one to a *wh*-question. In terms of its semantics, the former is tied to specificational RDCs, whereas the latter is assimilated to repetitive RDCs (see section 3.2). I leave it open, however, whether the same syntax can be assigned to a specificational RDC and a fragment answer to a polar question. This is partly because it is not obvious how to derive fragments like (iB). As discussed above, (iB) cannot be derived by leftward fronting. One may extend the rightward movement analysis to (iB) by assuming that a specificational RDC serves as a basis for (iB) prior to ellipsis. Further study is needed to justify such a possibility, however.

(i) A: Cheli-ka **haksayng-ul** ttayliess-ni?
 C.-NOM student-ACC hit-Q
 'Did Cheli hit a student?'

B: Ung, **SNU- haksayng-ul**
 yes, SNU student-ACC
 'Yes, (he hit) an SNU student.'

B': # Ung, **salam-ul**
 yes, person-ACC
 'Yes, (he hit) a person.'

10) As shown in (i), two nominative-marked nouns may be juxtaposed in one clause in Korean, with some pause between the two nouns. I find that the baseline data for (36) is somewhat degraded but is acceptable with some pause between the asso-

- (36) *Cheli-ka [*kacok-i* sacwu-n] cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-e **emma-ka**.
 C.-NOM family-NOM buy.give-RC car-ACC lose-PAST-DEC mom-NOM
 ‘Cheli lost the car that *his family* bought for him, *his mother* specifically.’

Recall that gapped and gapless RDCs behave in the same way with respect to the complex LBC effect, as shown in (13) and (37). Both in gapped (13) and gapless RDCs (37), a genitive-marked appendix cannot be associated with a noun embedded in a complex noun phrase. This parallelism between gapped and gapless RDCs can receive a uniform account under the current proposal as well.

- (37) *na-nun [*chinkwu-uy* emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy**.
 I-TOP friend-GEN mother-GEN car-ACC borrow-PAST-DEC Y.-GEN
 ‘I borrowed *a friend’s mother’s car*, *Yenghi’s*.’

Though there might be other ways of deriving this fact in syntax, this paper adopts Ko’s (2015a) account for LBC effects in gapped RDCs (cf. Park and Kim 2009, Kim and Park 2010, and Lee 2010, among others for other approaches). Ko (2015a) argues that a genitive-marked adnominal may be stranded on the right edge due to sideward movement of the associate noun. For instance, in (38a), the associate noun *emma* ‘mother’ may undergo sideward movement onto the host clause, so that the adnomi-

ciated nouns, as in (ii). It is noteworthy that an idea similar to my proposal has been advanced for split topic constructions in German. In particular, Ott (2012) argues that two predicatively associated nouns are externally-merged in thematic position, and the frame-setting noun undergoes topic movement, stranding the other noun in-situ. Gapless split topics are sensitive to island conditions, as in (iii), like gapped split topics in (iv). Interestingly enough, this is what we have observed with gapped and gapless right-dislocation in Korean in this paper. I wish to return to this parallelism between split topics and right-dislocation in future research.

- (i) Cheli-nun caknyen-ey *kacok-i*, **emma-ka**, tolaka-si-ess-ta.
 C.-TOP last.year-at family-NOM mom-NOM die-HON-PAST-DEC
 ‘As for Cheli, he had some family, specifically his mom, who died last year.’
- (ii) Cheli-ka [*kacok-i*, **emma-ka**, sacwu-n] cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-e.
 C.-TOP family-NOM mom-NOM buy-RC car-ACC lose-PAST-DEC
 ‘Cheli lost the car that *his family* bought for him, *his mother* specifically.’
- (iii) **Neue Autos* kennt Peter [einen Typen [der bisher nur **Toyotas** gekauft hat]]
 new cars knows Peter a guy who so.far only Toyotas bought has
 ‘Peter knows a guy who has bought only new cars, Toyotas.’ (German)
- (iii) **Bücher* war Peter traurig [nachden seine Mutter [**viele** _] weggeworfen hatte]
 books was Peter sad after his mother many thrown.away had
 ‘Peter was sad after his mother had thrown away many books.’ (German)

nal *Cheli-uy* is stranded on the right. The appendix *Cheli-uy* and the host clause are concatenated with each other by sharing an argument, as illustrated in (38b) (cf. Hornstein 2009, Hornstein and Nunes 2008 for concatenation of adjuncts).

- (38) a. Yenghi-ka [emma-lul] manness-tay ^ [Cheli-uy _].
 Y.-NOM mother-ACC met-Q_{hearsay} C.-GEN
 ‘Yenghi met Cheli’s mother.’
- b. $\exists e$. [Agent (Yenghi, e) & Patient (mother, e) & meeting (e) & Patient (*Cheli’s* mother, e)]

Ko (2015a) argues that this approach can explain why the gapped RDC may be exempt from simplex LBC effects, as in (38), but is sensitive to complex LBC effects, as in (39). In (38), *Cheli-uy* is stranded on the right edge due to sideward movement of its host noun. In (39), on the other hand, such adnominal stranding is impossible because sideward movement cannot happen out of such complex nouns. Specifically, the genitive-marked noun *Cheli-uy* modifies the specifier of the complex noun, and the moving element, *emma-uy cha* ‘mother’s car’ does not form a constituent within the noun phrase. Since movement targets a constituent in syntax, *emma-uy cha* cannot undergo sideward movement even if it is sideward.

- (39) *Na-nun [_] pilli-ess-e ^ [[Cheli-uy emma-uy] cha-lul]
 I-TOP borrow-PAST-DEC C.-GEN mother-GEN car-ACC
 ‘I borrowed Cheli’s mother’s car.’

I argue that we observe exactly the same effect in gapless RDCs: the grammaticality of (40) is assimilated to that of (38), whereas the ungrammaticality of (37) can be tied to that of (39). In (40), the head noun *emma* ‘mother’ may undergo sideward movement to the host domain in order to seek a theta-role from the main verb (see Nunes 2001 for discussion of sideward movement). After sideward movement, the two domains (*i.e.* the host clause and the appendix) are concatenated with each other via

argument sharing. By contrast, *emma-uy cha* in (37) cannot undergo sideward movement because it does not form a constituent prior to movement. Just as sideward movement of a non-constituent is banned in the gapped RDC in (39), the same is true of the gapless RDC in (37).

- (40) Yenghi-ka [*wulipan namcaay-uy emma-lul*] manness-tay [?]**Cheli-uy.** / ***Cheli.**
 Y.-NOM our class boy-GEN mother-ACC met-Q_{hearsay} C.-GEN C.
 ‘Yenghi met *the mother of some boy* in our class, namely *Cheli’s*.’

Finally, note that genitive Case marking is obligatory in (38) and (40) (cf. the fragment in (18)). I argue that (38) and (40) share the same syntax and semantics as a specificational RDC, and it is thus expected that Case drop would pattern together in (38) and (40). One remaining but rather fundamental question is why genitive Case marking is obligatory in the first place. It has been controversial which factors regulate Case drop in Korean (see Park 2014, and An 2014 for genitive Case drop in general; cf. Takita 2014 for Case drop in Japanese RDCs). It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an independent theory for Case drop, but the recoverability condition seems to play a role here. Under Ko (2015a), the genitive-marked appendix is concatenated to the host clause via sharing an argument with it. Without genitive Case marking, it is hard to interpret the adnominal appendix as a modifier of the associate noun in the host clause. For instance, in (38), it is not clear how to link *Cheli* with the host clause without genitive Case marking. I assume that the general recoverability condition works in Case drop. Genitive Case marking in (38) and (40) makes it possible to retrieve the semantic link between the adnominal and the associate noun distributed in different domains. Since semantic information encoded by genitive Case marking cannot be recovered if it is omitted, Case drop is not allowed in the adnominal appendix. I leave it open, however, how genitive marking contributes to the composition of event semantics in right-dislocation.

3.2. Repetitive RDCs

Let us now turn to repetitive RDCs. As seen in (2b), repeated here as (41), the repetitive RDC contains an appendix, which repeats its correlate in the host clause. The semantic function of the appendix is to put a strong emphasis on the correlate by repeating it. In section 2, we have seen that the repetitive RDC behaves quite differently from specificational RDCs (gapped or gapless), despite their surface similarities. In fact, upon closer examination, we can find other syntactic and semantic characteristics that single out the repetitive RDC from other RDCs.

- (41) [Cheli-ka *sakwa-lul* mek-ess-e] *sakwa-lul*. [repetitive RDC]
 C.-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate an apple, an apple (and not something else).’

First, it is noteworthy that the correlate and the appendix in the repetitive RDC are always phonologically prominent (or focused), in contrast to the appendix in the gapped RDC, which can be de-accented. For instance, *sakwa-lul* ‘apple’ in (41) must be phonologically prominent and receive a focal stress. By contrast, the correlate in specificational RDCs does not require such phonological prominence. For example, *sakwa-lul* in (1) and (2a) does not necessarily require phonological prominence or focal stress.

Second, a *wh*-appendix is readily available in repetitive RDCs, in contrast to other RDCs. It is well-known and widely discussed that a *wh*-appendix is not acceptable in gapped RDCs such as (42) (see Ko 2014 for an overview). Moreover, the gapless RDC does not license a *wh*-appendix, as seen in (43). The example in (43) is acceptable only when it is understood as a continuation of two separate questions: a polar question plus a *wh*-fragment. Notably, however, a *wh*-phrase may naturally serve as an appendix in the repetitive RDC, as illustrated in (44). The example in (44) is interpreted as a single *wh*-question, unlike (43).

- (42) *Yenghi-ka __ manna-ss-ni **nwukwu-lul**?
 Y.-NOM meet-PAST-Q who-ACC
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’
- (43) *Yenghi-ka *haksayng-lul* manna-ss-ni **nwukwu-lul**?
 Y.-NOM student-ACC meet-PAST-Q who-ACC
 ‘Which student did Yenghi meet?’
- (44) Yenghi-ka *nwukwu-lul* manna-ss-ni **nwukwu-lul**?
 Y.-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q who-ACC
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’

Third, the appendix in repetitive RDCs can be used as an answer to a *wh*-question, as shown in (45). This is in sharp contrast with the ungrammaticality of other types of RDCs in the same context. Choi (2008) notes that the appendix in gapped RDCs cannot be used as an answer to a *wh*-question. In (46B), *Cheli* is interpreted as an answer to the *wh*-phrase in (46A), and this type of answer is judged unacceptable. The example in (47) illustrates the same point with the gapless specificational RDC. The appendix *Cheli* cannot be used as an answer to *etten haksayng* ‘which student’ in the preceding question. Crucially, however, *Cheli* in the repetitive RDC in (45) receives a focal stress and serves as an appendix.

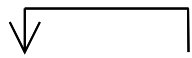
- (45) A: Yenghi-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
 Y.-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’
 B: Yenghi-ka **Cheli-lul** manna-ss-e **Cheli-lul**.
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC meet-PAST-DEC C.-ACC
 ‘Yenghi met Cheli.’
- (46) A: Yenghi-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
 Y.-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’
 B: #Yenghi-ka __ manna-ss-e **Cheli-lul**.
 Y.-NOM meet-PAST-DEC C.-ACC
 ‘Yenghi met Cheli.’ (Choi 2008)

(47) A: Yenghi-ka **etten haksayng-ul** manna-ss-ni?
 Y.-NOM which student-ACC meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Which student did Yenghi meet?’

B: #Yenghi-ka **haksayng-ul** manna-ss-e **Cheli-lul**.
 Y.-NOM student-ACC meet-PAST-DEC C.-ACC
 ‘Yenghi met a student, Cheli.’

Though the contrasts described in (42)-(47) are very robust, these facts have not attracted much attention in the previous studies, and right-dislocation in general has been until recently treated as a unified phenomenon. Given the systematic asymmetries between repetitive RDCs and other (specificational) RDCs shown in this paper, it would be misleading to assume that repetitive RDCs have the same syntax or semantics as specificational RDCs. The syntactic, semantic, and phonological behavior of the appendix in repetitive RDCs is distinct from the appendix in specificational RDCs. The repetitive appendix receives phonological prominence and may host a *wh*-phrase or constitute an answer to a *wh*-phrase. Capitalizing on these facts, I propose that the repetitive RDC is the case where the bi-clausal fragment approach works out perfectly. A sample derivation is given in (48). The appendix in the repetitive RDC undergoes focus movement, and the rest of the clause is elided under identity.

(48) [Cheli-ka [_{Foc} **sakwa-lul**] mek-ess-e] & [[_{Foc} **sakwa-lul**] Cheli-ka mek-ess-e]
 C.-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 ‘Cheli ate *an apple, an apple*.’



Note that the two clauses in (48) are synchronized in terms of their information structure: the correlate *sakwa* ‘apple’ receives a focal reading, so does the appendix *sakwa* ‘apple’. The two constructions are identical not only in their syntax, but also in their semantics, which provides a perfect environment for ellipsis. By contrast, it is hard to posit such a parallelism in gapped RDCs. Some previous studies employed a bi-clausal approach to gapped RDCs, and assumed that there is a null pronoun in the host clause, as illustrated in (49) (see Ahn and Cho 2015). Crucially,

however, the two clauses in (49) do not share information structure. The appendix in the elided clause must receive a focus, but its correlate cannot. The correlate in (49) is a null pronoun, and it is not clear how to assign focus to a null element in the host clause. Under the bi-clausal approach in (49), it is assumed that the two clauses in (49) must be identical in some way to license ellipsis. It is not obvious, however, in what sense the two clauses in (49) are identical given their semantic differences. Put differently, the semantic association between the appendix and *pro* remains largely unexplained in (49) (cf. Abe 2015 who argues that (49) is a bi-clausal specificational construction in Japanese).

- (49) [Cheli-ka *pro* mek-ess-e] & [_{FocP} sakwa-lul Cheli-ka ___ mek-ess-e]
 C.-NOM *x* eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
 'Cheli ate an apple.'

I argue that the validity of the bi-clausal fragment approach is confined to the repetitive RDC only, and that specificational RDCs can be best analyzed as a mono-clausal structure with rightward movement. Under my proposal, the appendix in the repetitive RDC has a different semantic function from the appendix in the specificational RDC. The former expresses information focus, and the latter encodes specificational focus (or specificational topic). The information focus conveys new non-presupposed information, whereas the specificational focus (or specificational topic) identifies a subset of the contextually salient set for which the predicate phrase actually holds (cf. "identificational focus" in the sense of É. Kiss 1998). In this paper, I propose that different types of information structure can be represented as different types of right-dislocation in Korean.¹¹⁾

11) This proposal was inspired by É. Kiss's (1998) distinction of identificational vs. information focus - the former encodes presuppositional focus via syntactic movement, whereas the latter conveys new information with prosodic prominence. É. Kiss (1998) further argues that the identificational focus may be specified for [+exhaustive] and/or [+contrastive], depending on the language. On this view, the specificational RDC in Korean can be characterized by [-exhaustive] and [+contrastive] features: it is [-exhaustive] in that the appendix does not necessarily convey exhaustive/exclusive interpretation, as in (i), but it is [+contrastive] in that the focus can only be applied to a closed set of individuals known to the participants of the discourse. As seen in (46)-(47), specificational RDCs cannot be used as an answer to a non-presuppositional *wh*-question (see also É. Kiss 1998 for [+contrastive] identificational

If my proposal in (48) is on the right track, we expect that the repetitive appendix will show the traits of ellipsis, just as sentential fragments. I argue that this is indeed the case. Recall that the appendix in the repetitive RDC is not subject to general island conditions as in (8), repeated here as (50). As noted in (4), this is indeed one of the distinctive properties of fragments in Korean. As reported in Park (2005), fragments in Korean show the repair-by-ellipsis effect and can be licensed even when they are moved out of an island (cf. Merchant 2004 for repair-by-ellipsis in English). Similarly, the appendix in (50) can be licensed due to repair-by-ellipsis in the second clause. The same is true of left branch extraction. Just like the fragment in (12), the LBC violation can be obviated under ellipsis, as illustrated in (51).

(50) Cheli-nun [_{Foc} *emma-ka*] sacwu-n cha-lul ilhepeliess-e &
 [_{Foc} *emma-ka*] [~~Cheli-nun [___ sacwu-n] cha-lul ilhepeliess-e]~~

(51) Na-nun [[_{Foc} *Yenghi-uy*] emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e &
 [[_{Foc} *Yenghi-uy*] na-nun [___ emma-uy cha-lul] pilli-ess-e]]

Under my proposal, it naturally follows that genitive Case marking can be dropped in the fragment in (18B) and repetitive RDC in (22). Since the two constructions share the same elliptical syntax, it is expected that they would show the same type of flexibility in Case drop. As shown in (52), genitive Case drop is readily acceptable in other types of ellipsis in Korean such as right-node-raising (see An 2015 for Extra Deletion). Given that genitive Case drop is acceptable in elliptical contexts in Korean, it is not surprising that the repetitive appendix in (22) is compatible with genitive Case drop as well.

focus in Italian and Standard Arabic). Repetitive RDCs, on the other hand, convey new information focus so that they are perfectly compatible with *wh*-questions, as shown in (45). I thank a reviewer for drawing my attention to this point.

(i) Nay-ka ecey (haksayng-ul) manna-ss-e **Cheli-lul**, kuliko **Tongswu-to**
 I-NOM yesterday student-ACC meet-PAST-DEC C.-ACC and T.-also
 'I met (a student) yesterday, Cheli, and Tongswu, too.'

- (52) Na-nun **Cheli(-uy)** (ton-ut), ku-nun **Yenghi-uy** ton-ul piliessta.
 I-TOP C.-GEN money-ACC he-TOP Y.-GEN money-ACC borrowed
 'I borrowed Cheli's money and he borrowed Yenghi's money.'

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen that gapless right-dislocation constructions in Korean are divided into two sub-types: specificational right-dislocation and repetitive right-dislocation. The two types of right-dislocation differ in their semantics as well as in their syntax. In the case of specificational RDCs, the appendix functions as a specific value for the correlate in the host clause, and this results in an asymmetry between the appendix and the correlate in specificity. Furthermore, the appendix in specificational RDCs is sensitive to island effects, and it does not allow genitive Case drop, like the appendix in gapped RDCs. By contrast, the appendix in repetitive RDCs functions as information focus and emphasizes the correlate with focal stress. Unlike the appendix in specificational RDCs, the appendix in repetitive RDCs may host *wh*-phrases or constitute an answer to a *wh*-focus. Moreover, it can obviate island effects and allow genitive Case drop, like fragment answers in Korean. Given the robust asymmetries between specificational and repetitive right-dislocation, I have argued for a different syntactic derivation for each type. I have claimed that specificational gapless RDCs are derived from rightward movement, like specificational gapped RDCs, whereas repetitive gapless RDCs are derived from a bi-clausal structure with ellipsis. I have shown that this proposal explains the aforementioned puzzling contrasts between the two types of gapless right-dislocation in Korean.

If my proposal is on the right track, it implies that right-dislocation is not a uniform phenomenon despite the surface similarities among its sub-varieties. The semantic relationship between the host and the appendix in RDCs is diverse - it can be specificational, equative, or predicational, like copular constructions. The syntactic relationship between the host and the appendix is not uniform either. In some contexts, it can be best explained by movement, but in other contexts, ellipsis needs to be

postulated. Most previous studies have analyzed one of the many types of RDCs so that their conclusions are naturally biased towards one particular approach that fits best with a particular type of RDC in a given language. This paper attempts to show that Korean encodes various semantic distinctions in RDCs by different syntactic mechanisms. The conclusion drawn here thus poses non-trivial challenges to any approach which pursues the idea that RDCs in head-final languages are a result of one uniform syntax. This paper also shows that the right periphery is neither a mirror image nor a simply reduced version of the left periphery. A number of novel questions need to be asked concerning the right edge, which remains relatively unexplored in comparison to its leftward counterpart. I hope that this paper provides us with a useful backdrop for the pursuit of these questions.

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Received: February 17, 2016
 Revised version received: March 25, 2016
 Accepted: March 30, 2016