

# A Uniform Analysis of Right Dislocation: A Reply to Ko (2016)\*

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Ko (2016) proposes that gapless right dislocations are divided into two types: Specificational right-dislocation constructions are derived by rightward movement in a mono-clausal structure and repetitive right-dislocations are result of leftward movement and ellipsis in a bi-clausal structure. We examine Ko's (2016) proposals in depth, and defend the claim that RD in Korean can still be uniformly analyzed as bi-clausal structure (host clause plus appendix clause) and that a right-dislocated phrase undergoes movement to a clause initial position in appendix clause and the rest of the clause undergoes deletion (cf. D. Chung 2009; Kim & Hong 2013; Ahn & Cho 2014a). We show that our uniform analysis may naturally account for the parallelism between right-dislocations and fragments that Ko's (2016) hybrid analysis cannot explain. Our proposal also sheds light on the correlation between the double accusative constructions and gapless specificational RDCs, and further clarifies the issues related to constraints on *wh*-appendix and asymmetries in question-answer among RDCs in Korean.

**Keywords:** right dislocation, bi-clausal structure, fragments, movement, deletion

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## 1. Introduction

In right dislocation constructions (RDCs) in Korean, there are at least three kinds depending upon the presence or types of correlates corresponding to the right dislocated elements.

- (1) a. Cheli-ka \_\_\_\_\_mek-ess-e sakwa-lul.  
       C.-Nom           eat-Pst-Dec apple-Acc  
       ‘Cheli ate an apple.’ (Choe 1987:40)
- b. Cheli-ka kwail-ul mek-ess-e sakwa-lul.  
       C.-Nom fruit-Acc eat-Pst-Dec apple-Acc  
       ‘Cheli ate some fruit, an apple.’ (Ko 2016:4)
- c. Cheli-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-e sakwa-lul.  
       C.-Nom apple-Acc eat-Pst-Dec apple-Acc  
       ‘Cheli ate an apple, an apple.’ (Ko 2016:4)

In (1a) the correlate is absent, while in (1b) and (1c) the correlates are overtly realized. In (1b), however, the correlate is not identical to the RDED phrase unlike (1c) where the correlate and the RDED phrase are the same.

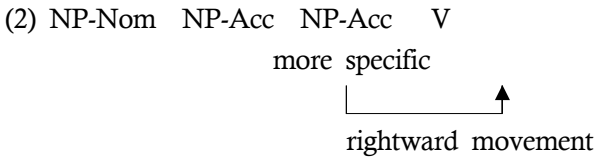
Ko (2016:4) argues that when the correlate is distinct from the appendix, as in (1b), the RDC expresses a specificational relationship between the host and the appendix and that when the correlate is identical to the appendix, as in (1c), the RDC encodes an equative relationship between the host clause and the appendix. Ko calls the former a specificational RDC, and the latter a repetitive RDC. Under this analysis, these two gapless RDCs have distinct structures. Specificational RDCs like (1b) are derived by rightward movement in a mono-clausal structure, whereas repetitive RDCs like (1c) are derived by leftward movement plus ellipsis in a bi-clausal structure.

In this paper, we show that Ko’s (2016) hybrid approach to gapped vs. gapless RDCs encounters non-trivial problems.<sup>1)</sup> More specifically,

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1) An anonymous reviewer indicates that RD can be classified into several classes depending on presence of case markers, position (matrix vs. embedded clause), function (backgrounding, afterthought, predicative function) and so on. Due to limitations of space, we will not go into a deeper discussion of this important topic in this paper.

we show that Ko’s (2016) analysis cannot capture the parallelism between fragments and RDCs with respect to their correlates. We further indicate that several empirical burdens are found with Ko’s (2016:16-17) assumption that the specificational RDC like (1b) is derived from the double accusative structure, as illustrated in (2).



We show that the following asymmetric cases are observed: cases where specificational RDCs are not possible although their corresponding double accusative constructions are possible. We propose that RDCs in Korean are composed of two juxtaposed clauses CP1 and CP2 in which CP2 has a parenthetical status relative to their host clause CP1. In particular, we suggest that the right-dislocated peripheral XP is essentially analogous to appositives (Potts 2005) or parentheses (de Vries 2012). This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 explores core cases that RDCs and fragments show parallelism with respect to island repair operations. Section 3 discusses discrepancy between specificational RDCs and their correlative multiple accusative constructions. In this section the proper formulation of identity condition for ellipsis in RDCs will also be discussed. Section 4 presents additional pieces of evidence that support our parenthetical bi-clausal analysis: *wh*-appendix and question-answer pair in RDCs. Concluding remarks are presented in Section 5.


**2. Parallelism between RDCs and Fragments:  
On Island Sensitivity**

Ahn & Cho (2014a, 2015) argues that symmetric behaviors between RDCs and fragmentary utterances can be accounted for under a similar structural treatment of these two constructions: leftward movement of

remnant fragments followed by PF-deletion. More specifically, based on a wide range of connectivity effects, Park (2005), Ahn & Cho (2005, 2006a,b, 2009a,b), and Ahn (2012) suggest that fragments are derived by leftward movement of remnants to a sentence-initial position plus deletion. Consider (3).

- (3) a. Chelswu-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?  
 C.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 ‘Who did Chelswu meet?’  
 b. Yenghi-lul.  
 Y.-Acc  
 ‘Chelswu met Yenghi.’

Under the analysis, (3b) has the following derivational step.

- (4) [Yenghi-lul<sub>i</sub> Chelswu-ka t<sub>i</sub> manna-ss-e]  


In (4), the pronounced fragment *Yenghi-lul* ‘Y-Acc’ moves to the clause-initial position and the rest of the clause undergoes ellipsis.

D. Chung (2009, 2012), Kim & Hong (2013), and Ahn & Cho (2014a) suggest that right dislocation (RD) in Korean has uniform bi-clausal structure (host and appendix clause) and RDed elements are derived by leftward movement to a clause-initial position prior to clausal ellipsis. Thus, (5) has the structure like (6).

- (5) Chelswu-ka manna-ss-e Yenghi-lul.  
 C.-Nom meet-Pst-Dec Y.-Acc  
 ‘Chelswu met Yenghi.’

- (6) [<sub>Host</sub> Chelswu-ka pro<sub>i</sub> manna-ss-e] [<sub>Appendix</sub> Yenghi-lul<sub>i</sub> Chelswu-ka t<sub>i</sub> manna-ss-e]  


Considering these analyses, both fragments and RDCs are derived by movement to a clause-initial position and deletion. The parallel analysis

accounts for the island effects that fragments and RDCs show. Ahn & Cho (2015), as a reply to Ko (2014), notes that when the correlate of RDCs and antecedent of fragments are not phonologically overt, movement across islands in RDCs and fragments makes the sentences ill-formed, as shown in (7-8).<sup>2)</sup>

- (7) \*Cheli-nun [\_\_\_ sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-e **emma-ka**.  
 C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec mom-Nom  
 ‘Cheli threw away the necklace that (his) mother bought for him’.  
 (Ko 2014: 299)

- (8) A: Cheli-nun [\_\_\_ sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 ‘Did Cheli throw away the necklace that the person bought for him?’  
 B: \*Ung, **emma-ka**.  
 Yes mom-Nom  
 ‘Yes, mom’ (Ahn & Cho 2015: 432)

Ahn & Cho (2015) also points out that when the correlates in the antecedent/host clause are overtly present, both the constructions, namely, fragments and RDCs are immune to islands, as shown in (9-10).

- (9) Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-e **emma-ka**.  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec mom-Nom  
 ‘Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him.’  
 (Ahn & Cho 432, fn.3)

- (10) A: Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 ‘Did Cheli throw away the necklace that the person bought for him?’

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2) We assume that fragments refer to short answers smaller than grammatically complete sentence. Interestingly, Krammer & Rawlins (2011), Chung (2014) and Park (2015) assume that the polarity particle *ung* ‘yes’ or *ani* ‘no’ is a remnant derived by elision of the TP. Under this type of analyses, (8B) has a structure like (i).

(i) [ung [FF.....]] emma-ka

Park & Shin (2016) suggests that the right-edge remnant is linked to the host clause, exactly in the same way as that in the canonical RD construction. This type of analysis may be compatible with bi-clausal RD analysis of fragmental replies to polar questions only. We will not evaluate the validity and consequences of this analysis in this paper.

B: Ung, **emma-ka**  
 Yes mom-Nom  
 ‘Yes, mom’

Ko (2016), however, indicates that there is an example which shows Ahn & Cho’s (2015) claim is not empirically correct.

(11) \*Cheli-ka **kacok-i** sacwu-n cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-e **emma-ka**.  
 C.-Nom family-Nom bought-RC car-Acc lose-Pst-Dec mom-Nom  
 ‘Cheli lost the car that his family bought for him.’ (Ko 2016:9)

(12) A: Cheli-ka **kacok-i** sacwu-n cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Nom family-Nom bought-RC car-Acc lose-Pst-Q  
 ‘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).’ (Ko 2016:10)

Although the correlate *kacok-i* ‘family-Nom’ occurs in the host clause in the RDC (11) and in the antecedent in the fragment (12A), the sentences are not well-formed. Hence, Ko’s (2016) claim seems to be on the right track: there is an example where even in the presence of correlates in the antecedent/host clause, both the constructions, fragments and RDCs are sensitive to islands.

Ko (2016) suggests that island violation is repaired in the repetitive RDC like (9) and that it isn’t in the specificational RDC like (7) and (11) since the latter involves no ellipsis, whereas the former involves ellipsis. Hence, on this proposal, island repair by ellipsis occurs only in (9). However, Ko’s (2016) analysis of RDCs cannot extend to the contrasts in fragments (8), (10) and (12). More specifically, the hybrid analysis (mono-clausal structure versus bi-clausal structure plus deletion) may not plausibly extend to fragments.

To recap, there are at least three facts to be explained concerning island (in)sensitivity in Korean RDCs: (i) Gapped RDCs are sensitive to islands; (ii) Repetitive gapless RDCs are not subject to islands; (iii) Specificational gapless RDCs pattern with gapped ones concerning island sensitivity. In

what follows, we attempt to account for these (a)symmetries following Griffiths & Lipták’s (2014) proposals in part concerning island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis in English and other languages.

First of all, following Fox & Lasnik (2003) essentially, we assume that scopal parallelism (13), which is a necessary condition for clausal ellipsis such as RDCs and fragments, is also a key requirement for successful island repair.

- (13) Scopal Parallelism in ellipsis (Griffiths & Lipták 2014:210)  
 Variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound from parallel position.

The configuration where island repair occurs can be represented schematically as shown in (14) for fragments with *wh*-correlates in Korean (15).

- (14) A: [wh<sub>i</sub>...[island node...t<sub>i</sub>...]] LF representation  
 B: [Fragment<sub>i</sub>...[island node...t<sub>i</sub>...]]

- (15) A: Cheli-nun [nwu-ka sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top who-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 ‘Who did Cheli throw away the necklace that \_ bought for him?’  
 B: **Emma-ka.**  
 Mom-Nom ‘Mom.’

Fragment like (15B) can obviate island violations in Korean: the *wh*-phrase and the fragment occupy the parallel scopal position, and hence island repair occurs at LF.

Concerning island sensitivity in gapped RDCs and fragments in (7-8), Ahn & Cho (2015) indicates the parallel behaviors of sluicing (16) and the elaborative fragments (17) in English that involve the so-called “sprouting”, as noted in Merchant (2001) (examples are taken from Griffiths & Lipták 2014: 212).

- (16) \*Sandy was trying to work out which student would speak, but she refused to say to whom.

- (17) A: Sandy was trying to work out which student would speak.  
 B: \*Yeah, to the director

Griffiths & Lipták (2014) notes that the scopal parallelism condition explains the island-sensitive nature of sprouting since the implicit argument in the antecedent clause that is made overt in the sluicing/fragment can only take low scope in the antecedent, which does not mirror the high scope of the remnant in the fragments. We can extend this argument to the Korean gapped RDCs and fragments in (7-8), repeated here as (18-19).

- (18) \*Cheli-nun [ *pro* sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-e, **emma-ka**.  
 C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec mom-Nom  
 ‘Cheli threw away the necklace that (his) mother bought for him’.  
 (Ko 2014: 299)

- (19) A: Cheli-nun [ *pro* sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 ‘Did Cheli throw away the necklace that the person bought for him?’  
 B: \*Ung, **emma-ka**.  
 Yes mom-Nom ‘Yes, mom.’ (Ahn & Cho 2015: 432)

Under the analysis advanced here, the configuration in (18-19) can be illustrated schematically as (20-21) parallel to sprouting in English sluicing and fragments.

- (20) Host: [.....[island node ...*pro* correlate.....]]  
 Appendix: \*[RD<sub>i</sub>.. [island-node .....t<sub>i</sub>.....]]

- (21) A: [.....[island node ... *pro* correlate.....]]  
 B: \*[Fragment<sub>i</sub>.. [island-node .....t<sub>i</sub>.....]]

We suggest that the correlate *pro* in Korean always takes low scope like implicit arguments in English. Then scopal parallelism cannot be achieved, so island repair does not occur at LF in (20) and (21).<sup>3)</sup>

3) Numerous questions arise as to the status of null correlates in Korean. They are roughly represented as *pro* in the previous literature. Ahn & Cho (2012b) suggests that the



We further suggest that the contrast between repetitive vs. specificational RDCs related to island sensitivity, as shown in (9-12), can be accounted for in terms of some extended notion of semantic/pragmatic “contrastivity.” Here we are interested in the role of contrastiveness in the focus structure, in particular, for the purposes of describing information structure of RDCs and fragments. There is a general tendency to distinguish between two prominent subtypes of focus: information focus (essentially introducing new information into the discourse), and contrastive focus from diverse formal or functional perspectives. Contrastive focus is usually employed as a cover term for exhaustive focus, corrective focus, and identificational focus (see Zimmermann & Onea 2011). Tomioka (2010) indicates that the notion of contrastivity in the studies of focus is connected to various linguistic phenomena such as exhaustive answers in question-answer pairs, overtly contrasting statements (‘not A but B’), correcting statements, clefts/pseudo-clefts, and association with focus with focus-sensitive particles or adverbs such as *only*, *always*. Zimmermann (2007) proposes a characterization of contrastive focus not in terms of alternatives or exhaustivity but in terms of the speaker’s estimation of the hearer’s expectations regarding likely and unlikely updates of the common ground, as shown in (22):

(22) *Contrastive Focus Hypothesis:*

Contrastive marking on a focus constituent *a* expresses the speaker’s assumption that the hearer *will not consider* the content of *a* or the speech act containing *a* *likely to be(come) common ground*. (Italic emphasis is original.)

Although it is hard to find an optimal analysis of contrastive focus, we will mainly adopt a discourse-pragmatic approach like (22) here for our purposes. According to the Contrastive Focus Hypothesis given in (22), if a speaker has reason to suspect that the hearer will be surprised by the assertion of *a*, or by the speech act containing *a*, s/he will use

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*pro* can be a null counterpart of bare nouns (either definite or indefinite) in Korean. Here we simply note the fact that the *pro* in Korean is essentially similar to the implicit arguments in English with respect to low-scope taking possibility, leaving concrete analysis of (in)definite *pro* in future research.

contrastive focus on  $\alpha$ .

Technical details aside, Griffiths & Lipták (2014) further suggests that TP ellipsis with contrastive remnants does not repair islands, whereas TP ellipsis with noncontrastive remnants does. In a similar vein, we propose that (9-10) involve noncontrastive TP ellipsis and (11-12) involve contrastive TP ellipsis and that in the former, island repair occurs while in the latter, island repair doesn't. First, consider (9-10), repeated here as (23-24).

- (23) Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-e, **emma-ka**.  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec mom-Nom  
 'Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him.'  
 (Ahn & Cho 2015, fn.3)

- (24) A: Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 'Did Cheli throw away the necklace that the person bought for him?'  
 B: Ung, **emma-ka**.  
 Yes mom-Nom 'Yes, mom.'

Note that in (23-24), the elliptical remnant does not stand in contrast with any element in the host/antecedent clause following (22). In other words, the speaker has no reason to suspect that the hearer will be surprised by the repetition of the remnants; it is simply repeated to confirm his message for himself or for hearers. We further assume that the correlate/antecedent *emma-ka* in (23-24) can be specific indefinite, so it takes sentential scope.<sup>4)</sup> The LF representation of (23) is represented (25).

4) One controversial assumption we can make here is that any nouns or NPs including proper names in Korean can be specific indefinites that take sentential scope. Thus, the repetitive RD/fragment constructions are not sensitive to islands even when the correlates/antecedents are proper names. There are some independent pieces of evidence that show that Korean proper names behave differently from English ones: for example, proper names in Korean do not obey strict binding principle C, and they may (marginally) yield sloppy reading in ellipsis context, as shown below:

- (i) A: \*Cheli-nun (kewul-sokey iss-nun) Cheli-lul po-ko nollay-ss-ta.  
 C.-Top mirror-in be-Mod C.-Acc see-Comp surprise-Pst-Dec  
 'Lit, Cheli was surprised at seeing Cheli in the mirror.'  
 B: Yenghi-to (kulay-ss-ta).  
 Y.-also (do-Pst-Dec)  
 'Yenghi (did) too' [Intended: Yenghi was surprised at seeing Yenghi in the mirror.]

- (25) Parallelism satisfied → island repair obtains  
 Host: [emma-ka<sub>i</sub>.....[island node ...t<sub>i</sub>.....]] LF  
 Appendix: [emma-ka<sub>i</sub>.. [island node .....t<sub>i</sub>.....]]

Likewise, the LF representation of (24) is represented as (26).

- (26) Parallelism satisfied → island repair obtains  
 A: [emma-ka<sub>i</sub>.....[island node ...t<sub>i</sub>.....]] LF  
 B: [emma-ka<sub>i</sub>.. [island node .....t<sub>i</sub>.....]]

In (25-26), scope parallelism is satisfied, so island repair obtains.

We further note that even in the case of the repetitive style RD/fragment, there is a case where island repair does not obtain if RD/fragment is contrastively focused. Korean has lexicalized some of the meaning facets of contrastive focus in the form of focus-sensitive particles, such as *man* ‘only’, expressing exhaustiveness, or *cocha* ‘even’, expressing the relative unlikelihood of the asserted proposition compared to the focus alternatives ordered on a scale. Along the similar lines, the appearance of focus-induced speaker-oriented adverbs like *pwunmyenghi* ‘clearly’ may show a tendency to occur with contrastive foci as well. Given this assumption, consider the ill-formedness of the following RD/fragment constructions where the repeated remnant contains a focus-sensitive adverb:<sup>5)</sup>

- (27) \*Cheli-nun [emma-ka sacwu-n] mokkal-i-lul peli-ess-e, pwunmyenghi emma-ka.  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec clearly mom-Nom  
 ‘Lit, Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him, clearly his mother.’

5) Similar contrast can be found in adjunct islands with focus-sensitive particles.

- (i) \*Cheli-nun [emma-ka o-ci anh-ass-ki-ttaymwuney] hwakana-ass-e, emma-man/cocha.  
 C.-Top mom-Nom come-not-Pst-because get.angry-Pst-Dec mom-only/even  
 ‘Lit, Cheli got angry because his mom didn’t come, only/even his mom.’  
 (ii) A: Cheli-nun [emma-ka o-ci anh-ass-ki-ttaymwuney] hwakana-ass-ni?  
 C.-Top mom-Nom come-not-Pst-because get.angry-Pst-Q  
 ‘Lit, Did Cheli get angry because his mom didn’t come?’  
 B: \*Ung, emma-man/cocha.  
 Yes mom-only/even  
 ‘Yes, only/even his mom.’

- (28) A: Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 ‘Did Cheli throw away the necklace that the person bought for him?’  
 B: \*Ung, **pwunmyenghi emma-ka**.  
 Yes clearly mom-Nom  
 ‘Yes, clearly mom.’

In (27-28), the remnants get contrastive foci due to focus-induced elements. Notice in passing that in non-island contexts, focus-induced elements do not result in unacceptability:

- (29) Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** keki-ey kass-ta-ko] malha-yess-ta,  
 C.-Top mom-Nom there go-Dec-Comp say-Pst-Dec  
**pwunmyenghi emma-ka**. / **emma-man**. / **emma-cocha**.  
 clearly mom-Nom mom-only mom-even  
 ‘Lit, Cheli said that his mom went there, clearly/only/even his mother.’
- (30) A: Cheli-nun [**emma-ka** keki-ey kass-ta-ko] malha-yess-ni?  
 C.-Top mom-Nom there go-Dec-Comp say-Pst-Q  
 ‘Did Cheli say that his mom went ther?’  
 B: Ung, **pwunmyenghi emma-ka**. / **emma-man**. / **emma-cocha**.  
 Yes clearly mom-Nom mom-only mom-even  
 ‘Yes, clearly/only/even mom.’

Thus, the ill-formedness in (27-28) correlates with the interaction with contrastive foci in remnants and island contexts in the antecedent/host clauses. Ko’s (2016) analysis, however, predicts that when the correlate is the same as the RDed element, island repair necessarily occurs. Hence, the ill-formedness of (27-28) can be a potential problem on this proposal.<sup>6)</sup>

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- 6) Note further that when correlates bear focus-sensitive particles, and they are fully repeated in appendix or fragment, the constructions are no longer sensitive to island since they no longer receive contrastive foci (*mutatis mutandis* the same is true for focus-sensitive adverbs in (27-28)). (i-ii) are fully acceptable in contrast to the ones in fn. 5.
- (i) Cheli-nun [**emma-man/cocha** o-ci anh-ass-ki-ttaymwuney] hwakana-ass-e, **emma-man/cocha**.  
 C.-Top mom-only/even come-not-Pst-because get.angry-Pst-Dec mom-only/even  
 ‘Lit, Cheli got angry because only/even his mom didn’t come, only/even his mom.’
- (ii) A: Cheli-nun [**emma-man/cocha** o-ci anh-ass-ki-ttaymwuney] hwakana-ass-ni?  
 C.-Top mom- only/even come-not-Pst-because get.angry-Pst-Q  
 ‘Lit, Did Cheli get angry because only/even his mom didn’t come?’  
 B: Ung, **emma-man/cocha**.  
 Yes mom-only/even  
 ‘Yes, only/even his mom.’

Note that in contrastive contexts, island repair does not obtain in English, either, as in (31).

- (31) a. Abby wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan Language, but I don't remember which.
- b. \*Abby wants to hire someone who speaks GREEK fluently, but I don't remember what OTHER languages.

As shown in (31a), island repair occurs when the *wh*-phrase is non-contrastive, but it does not occur when the *wh*-phrase is contrastive, as shown in (31b). Griffiths & Lipták (2014) claims that contrastive focused phrases are island sensitive both in languages that move focus in overt syntax (Kiss 1998) and in languages where focus moves only at LF (Drubig 1994, Rooth 1997, Krifka 2006). Following Griffiths & Lipták (2014), we assume that the contrastively focused phrase must pied-pipe the island in which it is contained at LF to the relevant scope position. The LF representation of (27), then, is represented as (32).

- (32) Parallelism violated → island repair does not obtain
- Host: [[<sub>island node</sub> ...correlate<sub>i</sub>...][ ...t<sub>i</sub>...]] LF
- Appendix: [RD<sub>i</sub>.. [<sub>island node</sub> ...t<sub>i</sub>...]]

In (32), RD and its correlate do not occupy the same scope position, so island repair does not obtain. The LF representation of (28) is represented as (33).

- (33) Parallelism violated → island repair does not obtain
- A: [[<sub>island node</sub> ...antecedent<sub>i</sub>...][ ...t<sub>i</sub>...]] LF
- B: [fragment<sub>i</sub>.. [<sub>island node</sub> ...t<sub>i</sub>...]]

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Here, unlike the ones in the fn. 5, the focus-sensitive particles attached to the RDed elements do not invoke contrastive focus reading since the speaker has no reason to suspect that the hearer will be surprised by the assertion indicated via simple repetitions of the correlates in the appendix. Thus, the notion of contrastivity appears to be more pragmatics than semantics. Note in passing that if focus-sensitive adverbs like *pwunmyenghi* 'clearly' or *hangsang* 'always' are added on the appendices in (i-ii), the sentences turn out to be less acceptable, presumably because contrastive focus readings reemerge in those contexts.

In (33), fragment and its antecedent do not occur in the parallel scope position, so island violation is not mitigated.<sup>7)</sup>

Now let us consider gapless specificational RDCs and fragments (11-12), repeated here as (34-35) concerning island sensitivity.

- (34) \*Cheli-ka **kacok-i** sacwu-n cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-e **emma-ka**.  
 C.-Nom family-Nom bought-RC car-Acc lose-Pst-Dec mom-Nom  
 ‘Cheli lost the car that his family bought for him.’ (Ko 2016:9)

- (35) A: Cheli-ka **kacok-i** sacwu-n cha-lul ilhepeli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Nom family-Nom bought-RC car-Acc lose-Pst-Q  
 ‘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).’ (Ko 2016:10)

The default meaning of *emma-ka* ‘mom-Nom’ in (34-35) is arguably to identify a constituent exhaustively. Then, the elliptical remnant stands in contrast with the element in the host/antecedent clause, *kacok-i* ‘family-Nom’. Hence, island repair does not occur since the remnants

7) It is interesting to compare (27-28) with (i-ii).

- (i) Cheli-nun **emma-ka** sacwu-n mukkeli-lul peli-ess-e,  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Dec  
**pwunmyunghi emma-ka** sacwu-n mukkeli-lul.  
 clearly mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc  
 ‘Lit, Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him, clearly the necklace that his mother bought for him.’  
 (ii) A: Cheli-nun **emma-ka** sacwu-n mukkeli-lul peli-ess-ni?  
 C.-Top mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Pst-Q  
 ‘Did Cheli throw away the necklace that the person bought for him?’  
 B: Ung, pwunmyunghi **emma-ka** sacwu-n mukkeli-lul.  
 Yes clearly mom-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc  
 ‘Ye clearly the s, necklace that his mother bought for him.’

Unlike (27-28), parallelism is satisfied in (i-ii), as shown in (iii-iv), respectively.

- (iii) Host: [[<sub>island node</sub> ...correlate<sub>i</sub>][ ...t<sub>i</sub>...]] LF  
 Appendix: [[<sub>island node</sub> ...RD<sub>i</sub>...]] [ ...t<sub>i</sub>... ]  
 (iv) A: [[<sub>island node</sub> ...antecedent<sub>i</sub>...]] [ ...t<sub>i</sub>... ] LF  
 B: [[<sub>island node</sub> ...fragment<sub>i</sub>...]] [ ...t<sub>i</sub>... ]

Hence, the examples are well-formed.

are contrastively focused. There is some speakers’ variation concerning the acceptability of (34-35), however. Those who marginally accept (34-35) may interpret elliptical remnants in a non-contrastive way. In this case, island repair is expected to obtain and the sentences are well-formed. Again, it seems that the rise of “exhaustive focus” interpretation in specificational RDCs and fragments may not be a pure semantic matter, but is sensitive to pragmatic-discourse considerations, given the Contrastive Focus Hypothesis in (22), which may accommodate the wider range of speakers’ variation (see Zimmermann (2007) for further discussion).<sup>8)</sup>

Ko (2016) also notes that when the correlates are present, RDCs and fragments show the same acceptability judgement with respect to the left branch condition (LBC), as shown in (36-39). Ahn & Cho (2015: note 5) mentions that when the correlate and RD are the same, the LBC does not occur, as shown in (36), and that when the antecedent and the fragment are the same, the LBC does not occur, either, as shown in (37).

(36) Na-nun **Yenghi-uy** emma-uy cha-lul pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy**.  
I-Top Y.-Gen mother-Gen car-Acc borrow-Pst-Dcc Y.-Gen  
‘I borrowed Yenghi’s mother’s car.’ (Ko 2016:11)

(37) A: Ney-ka **Yenghi-(uy)** emma-uy cha-lul pilli-ess-ni?  
You-Nom Y.-(Gen) mother-Gen car-Acc borrow-Pst-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).’ (Ko 2016:11)

However, as pointed out by Ko (2016:11), when the correlate and RD are not phonologically the same, the LBC occurs, as shown in (38), and that when the antecedent and the fragment are not identical, the LBC occurs, as shown in (39).

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8) Once we add focus-sensitive particles/adverbs in specificational remnants in (34-35) to strengthen the contrastive focus reading, the constructions are completely ruled out. This again confirms the premise that contrastiveness is a crucial factor for obtaining island violations.

- (38) \*Na-nun **chinkwu-uy**<sub>i</sub> emma-uy cha-lul pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy**<sub>i</sub>.  
 I-Top friend-Gen mother-Gen car-Acc borrow-Pst-Dcc Y.-Gen  
 'I borrowed Yenghi's mother's car.' (Ko 2016:11)
- (39) A: Ney-ka **chinkwu-(uy)**<sub>i</sub> emma-uy cha-lul pilli-ess-ni?  
 You-Nom friend-(Gen) mother-Gen car-Acc borrow-Pst-Q  
 'Did you borrow a friend's mother's car?'  
 B: \*Ung, **Yenghi-(uy)**<sub>i</sub>.  
 yes, Y.-Gen  
 'Yes, (I borrowed) Yenghi's (mother's car).' (Ko 2016:11)

Ko (2016) suggests that the ill-formedness of (38) results from impossibility of sideward movement of the non-constituent *emma-uy cha-lul* 'mother's car'. However, it is not clear how such explanation can be extended to the ill-formedness of the fragment (39B).

Our uniform analysis of RD and fragments may account for the contrast mentioned above. The well-formed examples all involve noncontrastive information while the ill-formed examples involve contrastive interpretation. Then, LBC violation repair only occurs in the former but not in the latter on a par with other island contexts.

In sum, presence of an overt correlate cannot save island and LBC violations in some cases, as indicated by Ko (2016). However, the examples in (7-12) show that parallelism still holds between RDCs and fragments. Ko (2016) seems to fall short of accounting for the observed parallelism. We suggest that the similarities related to island and LBC are naturally captured under the analysis assuming that the two constructions are derived in a similar way and that scope parallelism is a key factor in island repair.<sup>9)</sup>

9) With respect to genitive Case drop, RDCs and fragments do not seem to pattern together contra Ko (2016).

(i) Yenghi-ka wulipan namcaay-uy emma-lul manna-ss-tay, ?Cheli-uy/\*Cheli.  
 Y.-Nom our class boy-Gen mother-Acc meet-Pst-Q<sub>hearsay</sub> C.-Gen/C.  
 '(lit) Yenghi meet the mother of a boy in our class, Cheli's.' (Ko 2016:13)

(ii) A: Yenghi-ka wulipan namcaay-uy emma-lul manna-ss-ni?  
 Y.-Nom our class boy-Gen mother-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 'Did Yenghi meet the mother of a boy in our class?'  
 B: Ung, Cheli-uy./Cheli.  
 Yes, C.-Gen/C.  
 'Yes, (Yenghi met) Cheli's (mother).'



### 3. Gapless Specificational RDCs and Double Accusative Constructions

Ko (2015) argues that gapped RDCs in Korean such as (1a) are categorized into a type of specificational RDCs, which is derived like (40).

(40) [Cheli-ka t<sub>1</sub> mek-ess-e] [<sub>F/T</sub> sakwa-lul]<sub>1</sub>

Ko (2016:17) further extends this claim for the specificational gapped RDC depicted in (40) to the specificational gapless RDC seen in (41b).

(41) a. Cheli-ka kwail-ul sakwa-lul mek-ess-e.

C.-Nom fruit-Acc apple-Acc eat-Pst-Dec

‘Cheli ate some fruit, an apple.’

b. [Cheli-ka kwail-ul t<sub>1</sub> mek-ess-e] [sakwa-lul]<sub>1</sub>

C.-Nom fruit-Acc eat-Pst-Dec apple-Acc

‘The fruit that Cheli ate is an apple.’

As shown in (41a), both *kwail-ul* ‘fruit-Acc’ and *sakwa-lul* ‘apple-Acc’ are base-generated in the host clause, and then the specific argument *sakwa-lul*

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As shown in (i), Caseless RD *Cheli* is ill-formed while as shown in (ii), Caseless fragment is marginally accepted (here too, there are some speakers’ variations). The ill-formedness of Caseless RD seems to be related to the ill-formedness of (iii).

(iii) \*Yenghi-ka wulipan namcaay-uy emma-lul manna-ss-tay kuken Cheli(-ya).

Y.-Nom our class boy-Gen mother-Acc meet-Pst-Q<sub>nearsay</sub> that C.(-Dec).

‘(lit) Yenghi meet the mother of a boy in our class, That’s Cheli.’

We assume that the Caseless RD in (i) is derived from the copular construction in (iii). Because (iii) is ill-formed, (i) is also ill-formed. This is derived exactly like “limited ellipsis” in English copular clauses put forward by Merchant (2004, 2010), as shown in (iv).

(iv) [<sub>CP</sub> beautiful<sub>i</sub> [this is-t<sub>i</sub>]]

Note further that Korean has two types of fragments, as argued by Ahn & Cho (2011): Case-marked and Caseless fragments. Caseless fragments are non-sentential XPs whose interpretations come directly from pragmatics-discourse. Because of the Caseless fragment option, the asymmetric behavior related to genitive Case drop is observed between RDCs and fragments since this option is only available in fragmental constructions.

‘apple-Acc’ undergoes the rightward movement and creates a specificational RDC, as shown in (41b).

This analysis expects that when the second accusative nominal is more specific than the first accusative nominal, specificational RDC can be derived from the double accusative constructions. Now consider (42).<sup>10</sup>

- (42) a. Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul melikhalak-ul cala-ss-e.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc hair-Acc cut-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Cheli cut Yenghi’s hair.’  
 b. \*Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul cala-ss-e melikhalak-ul.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc cut-Pst-Dec hair-Acc  
 ‘Cheli cut Yenghi’s hair.’

As shown in (42b), *melikhalak-ul* ‘hair-Acc’ denotes a specific part Yenghi has. Nonetheless, its RDC is not possible as shown in (42b). Ko (2016) proposes that the host clause and the appendix in Korean RDCs are semantically linked to each other by a predicational relationship. Then, under this proposal the ill-formedness of (42b) may result from the absence of predication relation between the two accusative case-marked nominals. However, the putative argument cannot account for the contrast between (42b) and (43b).

- (43) a. Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul meli-lul ttayli-ess-e.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc head-Acc hit-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Cheli hit Yenghi’s head.’  
 b. Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul ttayli-ss-e meli-lul.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc hit-Pst-Dec head-Acc  
 ‘Cheli hit Yenghi’s head.’

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10) Similar contrast is found in the following pair:

- (i) a. ?Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul emma-lul manna-ss-e.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc mom-Acc meet-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Cheli met Yenghi’s mom.’  
 b. \*Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul manna-ss-e, emma-lul.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc cut-Pst-Dec hair-Acc  
 ‘Cheli met Yenghi’s mom.’

(i-a) is marginally acceptable for some speakers, and for those who accept (i-a), (i-b) is still not acceptable.

(43b) is a licit RDC although the host clause and the appendix do not form a predicational relationship.

Interestingly, in fragments too, we can find the contrast parallel to the one between (42b) and (43b). Consider the contrast in (44) and (45).

- (44) A: Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul cala-ss-ni?  
C.-Nom Y.-Acc cut-Pst-Q  
'Did Cheli cut Yenghi?'  
B: \*Ung, melikhalak-ul.  
Yes, hair-Acc  
'Yes, (he cut Yenghi's) hair.'

- (45) A: Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul ttayli-ess-ni?  
C.-Nom Y-Acc hit-Pst-Q  
'Did Cheli hit Yenghi?'  
B: Ung, meli-lul.  
Yes, head-Acc  
'Yes, (he hit Yenghi's) head.'

The contrast observed in (44-45) thus further sheds light on the parallelism between RDCs and fragments.

We suggest that the contrast between (44B) and (45B) can be captured under the identity requirement between the host and the appendix. Following Ott & de Vries (2015), we assume that deletion in an appendix clause is subject to general conditions on recoverability, requiring that deleted material be in some sense identical to the previously given material in the host clause. Ott & de Vries (2015) suggests that when the two clauses are truth-functionally equivalent, the RD is felicitous. In addition, we assume that when the referent of the correlate is identical with the referent of the right-dislocated XP, the host and the appendix are truth-functionally equivalent.

We assume that (42b) and (43b) have the structure like (46a) and (46b), respectively.

- (46) a. [<sub>Host</sub> Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul cala-ss-e] \* [<sub>Appendix</sub> melikhalak-ul<sub>i</sub> Cheli-ka t<sub>i</sub>-cala-ss-e]  
 b. [<sub>Host</sub> Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul ttayli-ss-e] [<sub>Appendix</sub> meli-lul<sub>i</sub> Cheli-ka t<sub>i</sub>-ttayli-ss-e]

Deletion in appendix in (42a) does not satisfy the identity requirement. We cannot obtain [[Host]] = *Cheli cut Yenghi* and [[Appendix]] = *Cheli cut her hair*, which are not truth-functionally equivalent with coreference of correlate and RDed element. In other words, in (46a), the referent of *Yenghi* is not equal to the referent of *melikhalak* ‘hair’.<sup>11)</sup> Hence, the RD is not felicitous. By contrast, deletion in appendix in (46b) satisfies the identity requirement. We obtain [[Host]] = *Cheli hit Yenghi* and [[Appendix]] = *Cheli hit her head*, which are truth-functionally equivalent with coreference of correlate and RDed element. The sentence *Cheli hit Yenghi* does not usually mean that Cheli hit the whole body of Yenghi. Rather, it means that Cheli hit some body part of Yenghi. For truth-conditional equivalence to obtain in (46b), the domain of the correlate *Yenghi* must be restricted to the body part *meli* ‘head’ and the appendix clause must be interpreted exhaustively, such that Cheli hit only Yenghi’s head but no other body parts relevant in the discourse.

It’ll also be interesting to compare the ill-formed example (42b) with the well-formed example (47).<sup>12)</sup>

11) (i) seems to be judged grammatically better than (42b).

- (i) Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul cala-ss-e, phal-ul.  
 C.-Nom Y.-Acc cut-Pst-Dec arm-Acc  
 ‘Cheli cut Yenghi’s arm.’

The sentence ‘Cheli cut Yenghi’ means that Cheli cut Yenghi’s body part. Generally cutting some body’s hair does not mean cutting somebody. However, cutting somebody’s arm can be treated as cutting somebody.

Likewise, we can account for (ii), as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer.

- (ii) Cheli-ka cong-i-lul cala-ss-e, kkuth-ul.  
 C.-Nom paper-Acc cut-Pst-Dec end-Acc  
 ‘Cheli cut one end of the paper.’

Cutting one part of paper can be treated as cutting the paper. Hence, the identity requirement is satisfied in (ii) unlike (42b).

12) A fragment parallel to (47) is observed, as shown in (i).

- (i) A: Cheli-ka melikhalak-ul cala-ss-ni?  
 C.-Nom hair-Acc cut-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Lit. Did Cheli cut hair?’

- (47) Cheli-ka melikhalak-ul cala-ss-e, Yenghi-lul.  
 C.-Nom hair-Acc cut-Pst-Dec Y.-Acc  
 ‘Cheli cut Yenghi’s hair.’

We assume that (47) has the structure like (48).

- (48) [<sub>Host</sub> Cheli-ka [<sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> melikhalak-ul] cala-ss-e] [<sub>Appendix</sub> Yenghi-lul;  
 Cheli-ka [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> melikhalak-ul] cala-ss-e]

(48) satisfies the identity requirement since the correlate *pro* and the trace/copy of the remnant share the same referential index. As a result, the RD is felicitous. Then a novel question arises: Is the structure similar to (48) possible for (42b)? If (42b) is derived from (49), the identity requirement will be satisfied. As a result, RD will be felicitous, contrary to fact.

- (49) [<sub>Host</sub> Cheli-ka [Yenghi-lul;<sub>j</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub>] cala-ss-e] \* [<sub>Appendix</sub> melikhalak-ul;  
 Cheli-ka [Yenghi-lul;<sub>j</sub> <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>] cala-ss-e]

We propose that the host clause violates the generalization that *pro* cannot occur with prenominal elements, unlike overt pronouns (see Ahn & Cho (2014b) for technical details).<sup>13</sup> Hence, (49) is not a possible structure. Thus, in the case of (42b), there is no way to satisfy the identity requirement between the host and the appendix clause.

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B: Ung, Yenghi-lul.  
 Yes, Y.-Acc  
 ‘Yes, Yenghi’s.’

Fragments are also subject to the parallel identity requirement that RD is subject to.  
 13) Ahn & Cho (2014b) points out the following contrast.

- (i) a. Cal sayngkin ni-ka ka-la.  
 Good looking you-Nom go-Imp  
 ‘You, handsome guy! go!’  
 b. \*Cal sayngkin *pro* ka-la.  
 Good looking go-Imp  
 Intended: ‘You, handsome guy! go!’

As shown in (ia), the adjunct *cal sayngkin* ‘handsome’ can modify the second person overt pronoun *ni* ‘you’. By contrast, the same adjunct cannot modify *pro* as shown in (iib).

The analysis advanced here also accounts for other types of specificational RDCs in Korean, as shown in (50).

- (50) a. Yenghi-ka ku haksayng-ul manna-ss-e Cheli-lul.  
 Y.-Nom the student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec C.-Acc  
 ‘Yenghi met the student, Cheli.’  
 b. Yenghi-ka haksayng-ul manna-ss-e Cheli-lul.  
 Y.-Nom student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec C.-Acc  
 ‘Yenghi met a student, Cheli.’

The examples in (50a-b) have the structure like (51a-b), respectively.

- (51) a. [<sub>Host</sub> Yenghi-ka ku haksyang-ul manna-ss-e] [<sub>Appendix</sub> Cheli-lul;  
 Yenghi-ka t<sub>i</sub>-manna-ss-e]  
 b. [<sub>Host</sub> Yenghi-ka hakysang-ul manna-ss-e] [<sub>Appendix</sub> Cheli-lul;  
 Yenghi-ka t<sub>i</sub>-manna-ss-e]

In (51a), the referent of *ku haksayng* is equal to the referent of *Cheli*. Hence, the two clauses are truth-functionally equivalent, and the RDC in (50a) is felicitous. Likewise, in (51b), the referent of *haksayng* is equal to the referent of *Cheli*. The domain of the correlate *haksayng* ‘student’ is restricted to the individual Cheli and the appendix must be interpreted exhaustively; that is, (50b) means Yenghi met only Cheli and no one else relevant in the discourse. Hence, the two clauses are truth-functionally equivalent, but stand in an asymmetrical semantic relationship, the linearly second clause specifying the first by adding the relevant information to it. Hence, the RDC in (50b) is also felicitous.

#### 4. Further Implications:

##### *Wh*-appendix, Question-Answer Asymmetries

In this paper we attempt to defend a uniform bi-clausal analysis of RDCs in Korean. We suggest that Korean RDCs consist of two juxtaposed clauses; namely, the host clause CP1 and the clause CP2 including the appendix

(here the appendix = the dislocated XP which is claimed to be a remnant of ellipsis in CP2).<sup>14</sup>) In this section, we will further highlight the fact that CP2 has a parenthetical status relative to their host clause CP1. The right-dislocated peripheral XP, then, is analogous to appositives (cf. Potts 2005, 2007) or parentheses (cf. de Vries 2013) in many important ways.

Note further that some of double/multiple accusative constructions in Korean can also be treated as nominal appositives or parentheses. We may possibly assume that the nominal appositives/parentheses in Korean specify the meaning of the preceding nominals, the so-called their anchors, and take their anchors' meaning as an argument to return a proposition. Thus, in a sense, nominal appositives are similar to fragments derived via clausal ellipsis in that they are not simple nominal phrases but full clausal projections that give rise to a semantic proposition.

Given this much background, let us observe a couple of typical properties of nominal appositives/parentheses in the double accusative constructions (DOCs) in the following. Consider the DOCs in the embedded clause.

- (52) Sue-nun nay-ka ecey Cheli-lul, nay iwus-ul manna-ss-ta-ko malha-yess-ta.  
 Sue-Top I.-Nom yesterday C.-Acc my neighbor-Acc meet-Pst-Dec-Comp say-Pst-Dec  
 'Sue said that I met Cheli, my neighbor yesterday.'

In (52), nominal appositives, on the face of it, seem to be syntactically included in the embedded sentence, but they are, in fact, outside the scope of the proposition of the sentence; namely, they are logically and compositionally independent of the "at-issue" entailments. The appositive construction *Cheli-lul, nay iwus-ul* 'Cheli, my neighbor-Acc' contributes

14) The term "juxtaposition" is sometimes used as a cover term for non-syntagmatic relations between clause-peripheral and clause-medial parentheticals and their host clauses. Here we use this term to just indicate that the relation between the host clause and the right-dislocated remnant is essentially "parenthesis"; i.e., the "afterthought" clause CP2 is not subordinated to the host clause. Another caveat is in order: According to Ott & de Vries (2015), two types of RDs in German, backgrounding RD and specificational afterthought, have non-trivial different properties. For example, Ott & de Vries (2015) assumes a structural difference in these two cases; the former bears a syntactic relation to its host, while the latter is structurally unconnected. It is not clear whether the parallel asymmetries are also observed in Korean RDCs. Here we simply assume a uniform structure (namely, parenthesis/juxtaposition) for both the backgrounding and afterthought RDCs in Korean for the sake of simplicity.

the proposition that Cheli is my neighbor, but (52) does not commit Cheli to this; i.e., Sue is agnostic about the truth of this proposition. In other words, the proposition that ‘Cheli is my neighbor’ is only a speaker-oriented contribution that is independent of the at-issue entailments of the sentence.

In some languages, the nominal appositive can be topicalized together with the anchor, as shown in (53b), but stranding in the middle field is impossible, as shown in (53c) (de Vries 2012:152).

- (53) a. Ik heb [Joop, onze buurman,] gezien.  
 I have Joop our neighbor] seen.  
 ‘I’ve seen Joop, our neighbor.’  
 b. [Joop, onze buurman,]<sub>i</sub> heb ik t<sub>i</sub> gezien. (topicalization)  
 c. \*Joop<sub>i</sub> heb ik [t<sub>i</sub> onze buurman] gezien (stranding)

The nominal appositive in Korean seems to pattern alike, as shown in (54).

- (54) a. Sue-ka ecey Cheli-lul, (palo) nay iwus-ul manna-ss-e.  
 S.-Nom yesterday C.-Acc namely my neighbor-Acc meet-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Sue met Cheli, my neighbor yesterday.’  
 b. [Cheli-lul, (palo) nay iwus-ul]<sub>i</sub> Sue -ka ecey t<sub>i</sub> manna-ss-e.  
 C.-Acc namely my neighbor-Acc S.-Nom yesterday meet-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Sue met Cheli, my neighbor yesterday.’  
 c. \*Cheli-lul<sub>i</sub> Sue -ka ecey, t<sub>i</sub> (palo) nay iwus-ul manna-ss-e.  
 C.-Acc S.-Nom yesterday namely my neighbor-Acc meet-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Sue met Cheli, (namely) my neighbor yesterday.’

We suggest that the nominal appositive *nay iwus-ul* ‘my neighbor-Acc’ in (54) can also be an instance of parenthesis that is juxtaposed to the anchor *Cheli-lul* ‘Cheli-Acc’. (54b), however, shows that a parenthesis can be added on the constituent level, and (54c) further shows that the parenthesis should be “syntactically adjacent” to its anchor properly; i.e. juxtaposition is a local relation for some unclear reasons. We would like to further indicate that apposition and right-dislocation are all instances of “parenthesis” which we use here as a cover term for a wealth of juxtaposed construction types.



Then, the nominal appositive in (54a) now has an RD counterpart, as shown in (55).

- (55) Sue-ka ecey Cheli-lul manna-ss-e, (palo) nay iwus-ul.  
 S.-Nom yesterday C.-Acc meet-Pst-Dec namely my neighbor-Acc  
 ‘Sue met Cheli, (namely) my neighbor yesterday.’

Based on the similarity between (54a) and (55), we can analyze (54a) and (55) as bi-clausal structures like (56) and (57).

- (56) Sue-ka ecey Cheli-lul [<sub>CP</sub> [nay iwus-ul]<sub>i</sub> ~~---t<sub>i</sub>---~~] manna-ss-e  
 (57) Sue-ka ecey Cheli-lul manna-ss-e [<sub>CP</sub> [nay iwus-ul]<sub>i</sub> ~~---t<sub>i</sub>---~~]

Both constructions involve leftward movement of remnants and clausal deletion, and the only difference is linearization of juxtaposition.<sup>15)</sup>

The anchors in appositive constructions are analogous to the correlates in the host clause of RDCs, and the nominal appositives behave on a par with the appendix of RDCs. According to de Vries (2012:9) “Parenthesis is a grammatical construction type that involves a message that is presented or perceived as secondary with respect to the host.” He also indicates that his definition is compatible with Potts’s (2005) observation that appositions and other conventional implicatures involve independent lambda terms that are not at issue. Thus, in (54a), the primary message is the root clause minus the nominal appositive: ‘I met Cheli yesterday’. The secondary message (arguably speaker-oriented) is either ‘Cheli is my neighbor’ or ‘Sue met my neighbor’ depending on the analysis of elided information in the medial parenthesis. Likewise, the primary message of (55) is the proposition the host clause conveys: i.e., ‘Sue met Cheli yesterday’. On a par with (54a), the secondary message of (55)

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15) We are only concerned with the bi-clausal analysis of peripheral parenthesis such as RD in this paper. Due to space limitations, we will not justify the bi-clausal analysis of medial parenthesis in this paper. Furthermore, we will not clarify what would be the elided content in the (appositive) parenthetical CPs in (56-57); it can be either limited ellipsis in the sense of Merchant (2004) or full mirror of antecedent/host clause under semantic identity.

is the proposition that the appendix (here a full CP involving TP-ellipsis) denotes: namely, ‘Cheli is my neighbor’ or ‘Sue met my neighbor’.

The RDCs in Korean essentially show that the syntactic and semantic composition of the host clause is complete by itself, and the parenthesis (here the RDed XP) is always a non-restrictive addition.<sup>16)</sup> Such facts give rise to a number of desirable consequences to which we now turn, concerning several interesting issues of RDCs that Ko (2016) has observed.

Ko (2016:25) indicates that a *wh*-appendix is readily available in a repetitive RDC (58), while a *wh*-appendix is not acceptable in a gapped RDC (59) and in a specificational gapless RDC (60).

- (58) Yenghi-ka *nwukwu-lul* manna-ss-ni *nwukwu-lul*?  
 Y.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q who-Acc  
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’

- (59) \*Yenghi-ka \_\_ manna-ss-ni *nwukwu-lul*?  
 Y.-Nom meet-Pst-Q who-Acc  
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’

- (60) \*Yenghi-ka *haksayng-ul* manna-ss-ni *nwukwu-lul*?  
 Y.-Nom student-Acc meet-Pst-Q who-Acc  
 ‘Which student did Yenghi meet?’

Suppose the following *wh*-licensing condition advanced by Ahn & Cho (2014a):

- (61) *Wh*-licensing condition  
 A [+Wh] C requires a *wh*-phrase in its probe domain.

16) In normal context, the secondary message, namely, the parenthetical reading, cannot be denied directly, as noted in Potts (2005) and de Vries (2012). Thus, if the hearer responds *thullyesse!* ‘False!’ or *aniya!* ‘Nope!’, this means that Sue did not meet Cheli; it does not mean that Cheli is not the speaker’s neighbor. It is not clear, at this stage, that this diagnostics uniformly holds in all types of (gapless) RDCs in Korean, which are not apparent appositives. The gapless RDCs correlated with Macro-Micro specificational constructions seem to pattern differently from Appositive constructions in some respects including this diagnostics. We hope to return to this issue in a separate paper.

Recall our core assumption concerning RDCs in Korean; namely, the host clause is complete by itself syntactically and semantically, while the appendix is a non-restrictive addition. This implies that a *wh*-licensing condition like (61) should primarily be met in the host clause to license the legitimate *wh*-question. In repetitive RDCs like (58), this condition is clearly satisfied since there is a *wh*-correlate in the host clause. In (59) and (60), however, the sentences are ruled out as violation of the *wh*-licensing condition since the host clauses do not bear any *wh*-elements to meet (61) (NB: the *pro* in (59) and the bare nominal *haksayng-ul* ‘student’ in the host clauses are not *wh*-feature bearing entities). In sum, the contrasts in (58-60) have nothing to do with *wh*-appendices. In fact, the status of the host clauses is responsible for the observed contrasts. Any accounts of these contrasts (like Ko 2015, 2016) correlated with the action of *wh*-appendices are untenable.

Ko (2016:25-26) further indicates that the appendix in repetitive RDCs like (62B) can be used as an answer to a *wh*-question, in contrast to other RDCs where the appendix cannot be used as an answer to a *wh*-question, as shown in (63B) and (64B).

(62) A: Yenghi-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?

Y.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q

‘Who did Yenghi meet?’

B: Yenghi-ka Cheli-lul manna-ss-e Cheli-lul.

Y.-Nom C.-Acc meet-Pst-Dec C.-Acc

‘Yenghi met Cheli.’ (Choi 2008).

(63) A: Yenghi-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?

Y.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q

‘Who did Yenghi meet?’

B: #Yenghi-ka \_\_\_\_\_ manna-ss-e Cheli-lul.

Y.-Nom \_\_\_\_\_ meet-Pst-Dec C.-Acc

‘Yenghi met Cheli.’ (Choi 2008).

- (64) A: Yenghi-ka etten haksayng-ul manna-ss-ni?  
 Y.-Nom which student-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 ‘Which student did Yenghi meet?’  
 B: #Yenghi-ka haksayng-ul manna-ss-e, Cheli-lul.  
 Y.-Nom student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec C.-Acc  
 ‘Yenghi met a student, Cheli.’

Based on the parallelism between (63) and (64), Ko (2016) argues that gapped RDCs and gapless specificational RDCs are derived in a similar way.

However, Ko’s (2016) approach to the question-answer pair does not seem to be on the right track. In particular, the appendix in RDCs cannot be a legitimate answer to the *wh*-question since the relevant answer should be given in the host clause, but not in the parenthetical appendix which cannot serve as a primary answer to the question. Thus, (62B) is a legitimate answer to the question not because the appendix can serve as a proper answer, but because the correlate in the host clause plays a crucial role as an answer. In the gapped RDC (63) and in the specificational RDC (64), in contrast, there are no potential candidates in the host clauses for appropriate answers to the questions. This line of argument is confirmed by ill-formedness in the following question-answer pairs which do not involve any RD-like appendices.

- (65) A: Yenghi-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?  
 Y.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 ‘Who did Yenghi meet?’  
 B: #Yenghi-ka \_\_\_\_\_ manna-ss-e.  
 Y.-Nom \_\_\_\_\_ meet-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Yenghi met someone/him.’
- (66) A: Yenghi-ka etten haksayng-ul manna-ss-ni?  
 Y.-Nom which student-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 ‘Which student did Yenghi meet?’  
 B: #Yenghi-ka haksayng-ul manna-ss-e.  
 Y.-Nom student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec  
 ‘Yenghi met a student’

As shown in (65-66), even when an RDED material is absent, the answer is judged unacceptable. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the ill-formedness in (65-66) may be due to general pragmatic constraints. For example, the maxim of quantity states that each participant's contribution to a conversation should be no more or less informative than required. B's responses in (65-66) are far less informative than required, and hence are pragmatically infelicitous.

Note in passing that when the host clause satisfies maxim of quantity, even the gapless specificational RDC can be a felicitous answer to a *wh*-question. This is illustrated in (67) and (68).

- (67) A: Yenghi-ka etten haksayng-ul manna-ss-ni?  
 Y.-Nom which student-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 'Which student did Yenghi meet?'  
 B: Yenghi-ka ne-to alkoiss-nun haksayng-ul manna-ss-e.  
 Y.-Nom you-also know-Rel student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec.  
 'Yenghi met a student that you also know.'  
 B': Yenghi-ka ne-to alkoiss-nun haksayng-ul manna-ss-e, Cheli-lul.  
 Y.-Nom you-also know-Rel student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec C.-Nom  
 'Yenghi met a student that you also know, Cheli.'
- (68) A: Yenghi-ka nwukwu-lul manna-ss-ni?  
 Y.-Nom who-Acc meet-Pst-Q  
 'Who did Yenghi meet?'  
 B: Yenghi-ka haksayng-ul manna-ss-e.  
 Y.-Nom student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec  
 'Yenghi met a student.'  
 B': Yenghi-ka haksayng-ul manna-ss-e Cheli-lul.  
 Y.-Nom student-Acc meet-Pst-Dec C.-Acc  
 'Yenghi met a student Cheli.'

Note that the appendix *Cheli-lul* in (67B') and (68B') cannot be a primary answer to the question. Its role is just to express discourse-new information about the referent of its correlate as an afterthought. In other words, only the correlate in the host clause can serve as an answer to the question since only the correlate belongs to the at-issue statement. The appendix, employed as a parenthesis, can only specify the meaning of its correlate.



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