Two Ways to the Right: A Hybrid approach to Right-dislocation in Korean*

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This paper investigates the syntax and semantics of right dislocation constructions (RDCs) in Korean, with special focus on asymmetries between postverbal arguments and postverbal adjuncts. I argue that RDCs are sub-divided into two types: argument RDCs vs. adjunct RDCs. I propose that postverbal arguments undergo focus movement to the root C in a mono-clausal structure, whereas postverbal adjuncts are base-generated at the end of the utterance, and the head of the adjunct may undergo sideward movement onto the host clause. I show that under the current proposal, we can explain a variety of unique properties of RDCs in Korean, which include: root effects, scope, variability in island effects, Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing, *wh*-licensing, and the presence or absence of LBC and CED effects. My proposal also captures otherwise surprising similarities between argument RDCs and specificational focus constructions and a parallelism between adjunct RDCs and parasitic gap constructions.

Keywords: right-dislocation, arguments, adjuncts, specificational focus, sideward movement

1. Introduction

As illustrated in (1)-(2), overt elements may appear to the right of the main verb in Korean despite the fact that the canonical ordering in Korean is a head-final SOV (subject-object-verb) order. These types of

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constructions have often been called Right Dislocation Construction (RDC) and have attracted much attention in recent studies. In particular, the syntactic nature of postverbal items has been at the center of controversy. This paper is an attempt to elucidate the syntax of RDCs in Korean by examining previously unnoticed differences among sub-varieties of RDCs. Following the common practice of the field, I call the element to the right of the main verb an *appendix* (or postverbal element), and the clause that precedes the postverbal element *a host clause.* Though these terms have often been employed in a bi-clausal approach to RDCs, I will in fact argue for a hybrid approach to RDCs: some RDCs are mono-clausal while others are bi-clausal.

(1) Cheli-ka ecey __ manna-ss-e **Yenghi-lul**
C.-Nom yesterday meet-Past-Dec Y.-Acc
'Cheli met Yenghi yesterday.'

(2) Na-n [__ han sonyen]-ul mannass-e [**acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n**]
I-Top one boy-Acc met-Dec very smart-and handsome-RC
'I met a boy who is very smart and handsome.'

In particular, I investigate argument-adjunct asymmetries in RDCs. I argue that RDCs in Korean are not uniform phenomena, and that depending on the type of postverbal element, their syntactic properties and semantic functions diverge. I claim that when an argument type <e> (or type <t>) is right-dislocated, it functions as a specificational focus. For convenience, I call this type of RDC an argument RDC. More specifically, I propose that in argument RDCs, an argument moves to a designated focus projection in the left periphery of the clause and the rest of the clause undergoes further leftward movement, akin to cleft movement (cf. Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012). I argue that Case-marked postverbal arguments, exemplified in (1), instantiate such an RDC. I show that the current approach captures otherwise surprising properties of argument RDCs, assuming a mono-clausal structure. I also show that argument RDCs cannot be assimilated to fragments despite their striking similarities. Rather, argument RDCs can be assimilated to specificational focus constructions. In particular, this paper capitalizes on the unique properties

of scope, variability of island effects, Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing, and *wh*-licensing in Korean RDCs.

The other type of RDC that this paper examines is adjunct predication, exemplified in (2). For convenience, I call this type of RDC an adjunct RDC. The adjunct appendix provides additional information to the host clause by sharing an argument with the preceding clause, but their syntax and semantics cannot be equated to those of the argument RDC seen in (1). As a working hypothesis, I suggest that the postverbal adjunct is base-generated at the end of the utterance and a part of the adjunct may undergo *sideward movement* onto the host clause before Spell-out. It is shown that this hypothesis explains why adjunct RDCs are sensitive to movement restrictions such as the Condition on Extraction Domain (Huang 1982), but not to the (shallow) Left Branch Condition (LBC: Ross 1969).

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I compare the RDC with regular fragment answers in Korean, building on previous studies concerning the two constructions. It is shown that RDCs and fragments share certain properties, but cannot be treated in the same way given their distinct syntactic behaviors. In section 3, I introduce my proposal and provide an analysis of the major puzzles regarding argument RDCs in section 4. In section 5, I turn to adjunct RDCs and discuss how the adjunct appendix is generated and provide a justification for my proposal.[1)]

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1) This paper focuses on the analysis of gapped RDCs such as (1) and (2), which contain a gap in the host clause associated with the appendix. I will not discuss gapless RDCs such as (i), which I believe must be treated differently from the gapped RDCs examined in this paper (see a brief comment on (49)). I focus on Case-marked appendices when I examine argument RDCs. Refer to Takita (2014) and Kim and Hong (2013) for recent discussions of Caseless argument RDCs (called *pseudo-right dislocation*).

(i) Cheli-ka ecey **Yenghi-lul** manna-ss-e **Yenghi-lul**
C.-Nom yesterday Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec Y.-Acc
'Cheli met Yenghi yesterday.'

2. Comparisons with fragments

2.1. Overview

Though details may differ from proposal to proposal, previous approaches to the RDC can be divided into four groups. Crucially, two major factors are intertwined in characterizing each analysis; one is whether the RDC involves a mono-clausal or bi-clausal structure, and the other is whether the appendix undergoes movement or is base-generated. The schematic description of the previous studies is given in (3) (see Ko 2014b for detailed reviews).

(3) Four major approaches to RDC in head-final languages

Analysis	Clausal type	The syntax of appendix
Type I	Mono-clausal	movement: e.g. [S t_1 V O_1]
Type II		base-generation: e.g. [S V O]
Type III	Bi-clausal	movement: e.g. [S pro_1 V] & [O_1 S t_1 V]
Type IV		base-generation: e.g. [S pro_1 V_2] & [O_1 *pro*-predicate$_2$]

The first type, Type I approach, argues that RDCs contain a mono-clausal structure. Though each analysis has rather different theoretical assumptions, the Type I approaches share the idea that RDCs involve some sort of movement (rightward or leftward). Some have argued that postverbal arguments may undergo *rightward movement* to the right of the verb in the syntax (see Choe 1987, Mahajan 1988, Kural 1997, Takano 2007, Choi 2008, Ko and Choi 2009, Manetta 2012; cf. Takano 2014 for rightward movement at PF in Japanese). Others argue that the postverbal argument itself does not undergo movement, but all other elements move leftward, stranding an argument to the right of the verb (Mahajan 1997). There is also an alternative which employs a rightward VP-remnant movement to the RDC (e.g. Bhatt and Dayal (2007) for Hindi).

The Type II approach, on the other hand, assumes that postverbal elements are base-generated at the end of the clause (or the right periphery

of the clause), maintaining the perspective that RDCs involve a mono-clausal structure. For instance, J-S Lee (2007, 2009) argues that postverbal objects are base-generated to the right of the verb, adopting the anti-symmetric approach by Kayne (1994). C-H Lee (2009, 2013) proposes that postverbal arguments are base-generated at the right periphery of the sentence, in ΩP, which serves as the intonational edge. See also Sells (1999) for a base-generation approach under the lexical-functional grammar.

The Type III and IV approaches argue for a bi-clausal analysis of RDCs with varying assumptions on the syntax of the appendix. The proponents of bi-clausal movement analyses postulate that RDCs contain two covertly coordinated clauses and that postverbal elements undergo leftward movement prior to ellipsis of the second clause. In particular, the Type III approach is sub-divided into two groups. Some argue that the appendix undergoes leftward scrambling while others argue that it should be treated in the same way as fragments. See Tanaka (2001), Takita (2009), Abe (2004), among others, for scrambling-based analyses; cf. Kuno (1978) and Whitman (2000) for slightly different assumptions. Refer to Chung (2009, 2012), Park and Kim (2009, *et passim*), and Kim and Hong (2013) for fragment-based analyses.

Unlike Type III, the Type IV approach proposes that postverbal elements can be licensed without any movement in a bi-clausal structure. A series of work by W Lee and J H-S Yoon, for instance, argues that postverbal elements are licensed by a *pro*-predicate in the appendix without ellipsis or movement (see, in particular, W Lee 2009, 2010, J H-S Yoon 2013).

In recent studies, some crucial weaknesses of extant mono-clausal analyses have been widely discussed (see, in particular, Chung 2009, 2010, 2012, Park and Kim 2009, Yoon 2013, Yim 2013), which I will not repeat here. Conversely, some potential weaknesses of bi-clausal analyses have also been discussed (see Ko 2014b for critical reviews on bi-clausal analyses; see J-S Lee 2009 for possible merits of an anti-symmetric approach and a response to it by Chung 2010). In this paper, I attempt to contribute to this debate by showing that RDCs are in fact not a uniform phenomenon. In particular, I argue that argument RDCs can be best

explained by a mono-clausal movement approach, whereas adjunct RDCs are captured by a modification of bi-clausal base-generation approach.

This paper aims to show that my proposal can explain otherwise unexpected puzzles with regard to the two types of RDC in Korean, overcoming potential problems with the existing theories of RDCs. Before I introduce my proposal in section 3, however, I address major issues concerning the syntactic and semantic properties of RDCs by comparing RDCs and fragments. The claim that postverbal elements in Korean may correspond to sentential fragments has gained much support in the recent literature (e.g. Chung 2009, 2012, Park and Kim 2009, Kim and Hong 2013). Notably, however, a set of non-trivial evidence against the fragment-approach has also been adduced (e.g. Ko 2014b). By reviewing the similarities and differences between RDCs and fragments discussed in the literature, I lay out major puzzles to be resolved under my own proposal in section 3.

2.2. RDC vs. fragment

2.2.1. *Some striking similarities*

It has been reported that postverbal arguments and fragment answers share certain properties (see Chung 2009, 2012, Kim and Hong 2013, Ko 2014b for discussion). Consider first the scope parallelism of RDCs and fragments. As seen in (4), a postverbal quantifier *twul-ta* 'two-all (both)' must take wide scope over a negation in the host clause. As observed in Chung (2009, fn.11) and Ahn (2012: 88), a quantifier in a fragment answer must take scope over the negation in a non-elliptical answer as well, as shown in (5). The parallelism between (4) and (5) suggests that the syntax of fragments and postverbal arguments are similar to each other, at least at the LF level. Also notably, when a quantifier undergoes leftward scrambling as in (6), the quantifier may take wide or narrow scope with respect to the negation. This in turn suggests that the (LF-)syntax of an RDC is quite different from that of regular leftward scrambling.

(4) Cheli-ka manna-ci an-ass-e **twul-ta**. *RDC*
C.-Nom meet-CI not-Past-Dec two-all
'Cheli met neither of them.' (two>>Neg, *Neg>>two)

(5) A: Mary-ka **motwu ta** an manna-ss-ni? *fragment*
M.-Nom all not meet-Past-Q
(lit.) 'Didn't Mary meet all/any of them?' (all>>Neg, Neg>>all)
B: Ung. **motwu ta**.
Yes. all (of them).
(lit.) 'Yes, Mary did not meet all of them.' (all>>Neg, *Neg>>all)
(='No, *Mary didn't meet any of them.*')

(6) **Twul-ta**$_1$ Cheli-ka t_1 manna-ci **an**-ass-e. *scrambling*
two-all C.-Nom meet-CI not-Past-Dec
'Cheli did not meet two of them.' (two>>Neg, Neg>>two)

The data in (7) and (8) show another scope parallelism between RDCs and fragments. As shown in (7), the universal quantifier *motun yenghwa-lul* 'all the movies' in the appendix must take scope under the existential quantifier *two ai-ka* 'two children' in the host clause (see Choi 2008, and Ko and Choi 2009 for experimental evidence). Likewise, the universal quantifier in a fragment must take narrow scope under the existential quantifier in a non-elliptical answer, as in (8) (see Park and Kim 2009 for further evidence). Put differently, *motun* 'all' cannot distribute over the existential *twu* 'two' in either the RDC in (7) and the fragment in (8); in (7) and (8)B, the sentence means that there are two (specific) children who watched all the movies. It does not mean that for all the movies, there are (different sets of) two children who watched each of them. In contrast to (7) and (8), when a universal quantifier undergoes leftward scrambling, it may take scope over or under an existential, as in (9). The data from (7) to (9) again suggest that the syntax of RDCs is similar to that of fragments, but dissimilar from that of regular leftward scrambling.[2)]

2) One reviewer, however, is not sure whether (8) B does not allow wide scope reading of 'all'. Another reviewer finds that a numeral appendix may scope over or under a numeral or negation in the host clause. In this paper, I follow the judgments reported in the papers cited above. Given the reviewers' comments, however, I acknowledge that further experimentation is needed to solidify this empirical claim.

(7) Twu ai-ka po-ass-e-yo **motun yenghwa-lul** *RDC*
two child-Nom see-Past-Dec-Pol all movies-Acc
'Two children watched all the movies.' (*all>>2, 2>>all)

(8) A: **Twu ai-ka** mwues-ul po-ass-ni? *fragment*
two child-Nom what-Acc see-Past-Q
'What did two children watch?'
B: **motun yenghwa-lul(-yo)**
'all the movies.' (*all>>2, 2>>all)

(9) **Motun yenghwa-lul**$_1$ twu ai-ka t_1 po-ass-e-yo. *scrambling*
All movies-Acc two child-Nom see-Past-Dec-Polite.
'Two children watched all the movies.' (all>>2, 2>>all)

The lack of Left Branching Condition (LBC: Ross 1969) effects also points to similarities between RDCs and fragments. As in (10), postverbal elements may modify an NP in the host clause, seemingly violating the LBC. In (10), the relative clause can modify *cha* 'car' in the host clause even though leftward movement of relative clauses is strictly banned in Korean. Interestingly, it has been observed that fragments are also exempt from LBC effects, similar to postverbal elements. For instance, in (11), the adnominal phrase *Yuni-uy* can be licensed even though its host *phal-ul* is elided in the fragment answer (see B-S Park 2005, Park and Kim 2009, Chung 2012, M-K Park 2012, among others).

(10) Na-nun [__ cha]-lul pillyesse [**cinan pen-kwa ttokkathu-n**] *RDC*
I-Top car-Acc borrowed last time-as same-RC
'I borrowed the same kind of car as last time.'

(11) *Fragments immune to LBC* (modeled after Chung 2012) *fragment*
A: Cheli-ka nwukwu-uy cha-ul pilli-ess-ni?
C.-Nom who-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Q
'Whose car did Cheli borrow?'
B: **Yuni-uy**
Y.-Gen
'Yuni's.'

Capitalizing on the similarities between fragments and RDCs such as

(4)-(11), some studies have argued that the appendix in RDCs is in fact a sentential fragment (e.g. Chung 2009, 2012, Park and Kim 2009, Kim and Hong 2013). Ko (2014b), however, points out that the two constructions also show striking dissimilarities, which in turn weakens the claim that an appendix is simply a fragment. Let us turn to this issue in the next sub-section.

2.2.2. *Some striking dissimilarities*

Though they share certain syntactic properties, fragments and RDCs show radically distinct behavior in many aspects, which include interactions with respect to: NPI licensing, general island sensitivity, different types of LBC effects, and *wh*-licensing. Consider first NPI licensing with different types of polarity conditions: (i) the case where the preceding clause is positive (e.g. (12)-(13)), and (ii) the case where the preceding clause is negative (e.g. (14)-(15)).

It has been observed that NPI fragments can be licensed even without overt negation in the non-elliptical pair. (see Chung 2009, Ahn 2012, M-K Park 2013, S-Y Park 2013, R Kim 2013, among others, for discussion on NPI fragments in Korean; an observation also due to Watanabe 2004 in Japanese). As exemplified in (12), the NPI *amwuto* 'anyone' can be licensed though there is no overt negation in the preceding question. In sharp contrast to (12), however, an NPI cannot be licensed in postverbal position when preceded by a positive host clause. As in (13), the NPI appendix *amwuto* 'anyone' cannot be licensed when preceded by a positive clause. The clear contrast between (12) and (13) shows that the licensing mechanisms for NPIs in fragments and in RDCs cannot be the same (cf. Chung's (2009) account for (13) and response to it by Ko 2014b).

<u>NPI licensing with positive host:</u>

(12) A: Cheli-ka nwukwu-lul mannass-ni? B: **Amwuto.** *fragment*
C.-Nom who-Acc met-Q 'anyone'
'Who did Cheli meet?'

(13) *Cheli-ka mannass-e **amwuto.** *RDC*
C.-Nom met-Dec anyone
'Cheli met anyone.' (Ko 2014b)

RDCs and fragments show further contrast in NPI licensing when the preceding clause is negative. It has been reported that NPIs in Korean cannot be used as a fragment answer to a negative question (see Ahn 2012, R Kim 2013, Ko 2014b, among others). For instance, as shown in (14), NPIs such as *amwuto* 'anyone', *Cheli-ppakey* 'Cheli-only', and *nwukwuto* 'anyone' are quite degraded (if not ungrammatical) as a response to a negative question (but there is some speaker variation in the acceptability of (14)B). By contrast, it is clear that - negation in a host clause can license NPIs in RDCs, as illustrated in (15). This again shows that the syntax of RDCs and fragments diverge from each other.

<u>NPI licensing with negative host:</u>

(14) A: Nwu-ka o-ci-**ahn**-ss-ni? *fragment*
Who-Nom come-CI-Neg-Past-Q
'Who didn't come?'

B: %**Amwuto/*Cheli-ppakey/*Nwukwuto* C: **Cheli-ka**
anyone C.-only anyone C.-Nom
'Nobody/only Cheli/nobody.' 'Cheli (didn't come).'

(15) Cheli-ka mek-ci-**ahn**-ass-e **amwukesto/ sayngsen-ppakey/ enukesto** *RDC*
C.-Nom eat-CI-Neg-Past-Dec anything fish-only anything
'Cheli did not eat anything/Cheli ate only fish.' (Ko 2014b)

The next interesting asymmetry between RDCs and fragments comes from general island (in-)sensitivity. It has been argued that fragments in Korean are immune to island effects, including complex NP islands (see B-S Park 2005 for further evidence). An example is given in (16). In (16), the fragment *emma(-ka)* can be licensed even though its original position in the non-elliptical pair is located within an island environment. RDCs, however, are sensitive to island effects in general (see Choe 1987 for original observations). As illustrated in (17), *emma(-ka)* cannot appear in postverbal position when it is associated with a position inside a complex NP island, in sharp contrast to (16). If the fragment in (16) and the appendix in (17) were derived in the same way, it would be mysterious why (16) is grammatical in contrast to (17). Whatever repair strategy we may employ for fragments such as (16)B, it is clear that we cannot

apply the same mechanism to RDCs in (17).

General Island (in)sensitivity:

(16) A: Cheli-nun [[**nwu-ka** sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul] peli-ess-ni?
C.-Top who-Nom bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Past-Q
(lit.) 'Who is such that Cheli threw away the necklace that the person bought for him?'
(Intended) 'Who bought the necklace that Cheli threw away?'
B: **Emma(-ka)**
mommy-Nom 'Mommy.'

(17) * Cheli-nun [_ sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-e **emma(-ka)**
C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Past-Q mommy-Nom
'Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him.'

In the preceding section, we have seen that RDCs and fragments seem to obviate the LBC (recall (10) and (11)). Crucially, however, the parallelism breaks down when it comes to extraction out of an NP which embeds more than one NP layer, as in (18) and (19). I call this "deep" LBC effects.

Fragments can obviate the LBC effect regardless of the depth of embedding. As shown in (18)B, *Yenghi-uy* can be used as a fragment answer even though its non-elliptical pair is embedded within a complex NP. Note that a fragment answer can be licensed even though the non-elliptical answer does not allow such extraction, as in (18)C. RDCs, on the other hand, are sensitive to such deep LBC effects. As illustrated in (19)B, *Yenghi-uy* cannot appear in postverbal position when its original position in the host clause is embedded within another NP layer. If the appendix is derived in the same way as the fragment, it would be mysterious why the fragment in (18)B and appendix in (19)b show different sensitivity to the LBC. Furthermore, it is mysterious why RDCs are exempt from "shallow" LBC, as in (10), but not from deep LBC, as in (19)b.[3)]

3) Note that (19)b cannot be explained by Kuno's (1978) generalization that the host clause in an RDC must be a complete utterance by itself. In (19)b, the host clause is indeed complete, yet adnominal phrases cannot be licensed in postverbal position (cf. Yoon 2013). The *pro*-predicate analysis (Type IV in (3)) argues that (10) is grammatical because the postverbal relative clause is base-generated in the appendix

<u>Emergence of LBC effects:</u>

(18) *Fragments*

A: Ne-nun [[nwukwu-uy emma-uy] cha-lul] pilli-ess-ni?
You-Top who-Gen mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Dec
'Whose mother's car did you borrow?'

B: **Yenghi-uy**.
Y.-Gen

C: * **Yenghi-uy** na-nun [[__ emma-uy] cha-lul] pilli-ess-e.
Y.-Gen I-Top mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Dec
'I borrowed Yenghi's mother's car.'

(19) *RDC with complex NPs*

a. Na-nun [[Yenghi-uy emma-uy] cha-lul] pilli-ess-e.
I-Top Y.-Gen mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Dec
'I borrowed Yenghi's mother's car.'

b. *Na-nun [[__ emma-uy] cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy**.
I-Top mommy-Gen car-Ac borrow-Past-Dec Y.-Gen
'I borrowed Yenghi's mother's car.'

Finally, the asymmetries between fragments and RDCs in *wh*-licensing require further investigation. As shown in (20), *wh*-fragments are readily available in Korean. By contrast, a *wh*-appendix is generally banned, as shown in (21) (see Chung 2009, 2012, C-H Lee 2013, Yoon 2013, Ahn and Cho 2014 for discussion). If possible, a *wh*-appendix is read as a continuation of two truly separate questions, as in (22). In (22), a *wh*-reading is acceptable only when the preceding clause is read as a *yes-no* question. If we assume that the syntax of fragments and that of RDCs are the same, the question remains why *wh*-fragments are quite freely allowed while *wh*-appendices are severely limited.[4)]

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and licensed by a null nominal predicate co-indexed with *cha* in the host clause. Note, however, that this analysis makes the wrong prediction that (19)b would be grammatical. If the *pro*-predicate next to *Yenghi-uy* could be co-indexed with *emma* or *cha* in (19)b, we would predict (19)b to be grammatical on a par with (10), contrary to fact.

4) The description of the fact is rather simplified. As Chung (2009) reports, when a *wh*-appendix is preceded by another *wh*-element in the host clause, *wh* appendices seem acceptable (e.g. (i)). As Ahn and Cho (2014) observe, however, questions like (i) cannot be taken as a genuine multiple *wh*-question since they do not allow a pair-list reading. Strictly speaking, (i) is interpreted as a continuation of two separate questions; 'who hit someone?' and 'who is the person that was hit?', which allows a single pair

Compatibility with wh-phrases:

(20) *wh-fragment*

A: Yuni-ka ku salam-ul mannass-ni? B: **Nwukwu(-lul)**?
Y.-Nom that person-Acc met-Q who-Acc
'Did Yuni meet that person?' 'who (is it)?'

(21) *Yuni-ka __ mannass-ni? **nwukwu(-lul)**?
Y.-Nom met-Q who-Acc
'Who did Yuni meet?'

(22) Yuni-ka haksayng-ul mannass-ni? **nwukwu(-lul)**?
Y.-Nom student-Acc met-Q who-Acc
'Did Yuni meet a student? and who (is he/she)?'

As reviewed in this section, the syntax of RDCs cannot be readily equated to the syntax of leftward scrambling or fragments, despite their striking similarities (with the latter, in particular). As pointed out in Ko (2014b), the connectivity effect between the host and the appendix are much more rigid than the one between a fragment and its non-elliptical pair. This paper provides a novel account for the puzzles addressed above by closely examining different types of RDCs. In the next section, I lay out my proposal for argument RDCs in Korean and then turn to the other type of RDC, adjunct RDCs in section 5.

3. Proposal

I propose that when an argument is right-dislocated, it functions as a specificational focus in the root clause. In particular, I argue that in RDCs, an argument moves to a designated focus projection in the left periphery of the root clause and the rest of the clause undergoes further movement (cf. cleft movement by Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012). A

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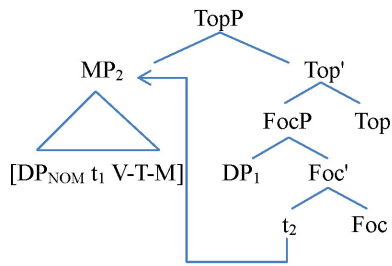
reading only.

(i) Nwu-ka __ tayli-ess-ni? **nwukwu(-lul)**?
Who-Nom hit-Q who-Acc
'Who hit whom?'

representative derivation is given in (23) in which an object is dislocated to the right of the main verb as in (24).

(23) Derivation of argument RDC



specificational focus

(24) [$_{TopP}$ [$_{MP}$ Cheli-ka ecey t_1 manna-ss-e]$_2$ [$_{FocP}$ **Yenghi-lul**$_1$ t_2]]
C.-Nom yesterday meet-Past-Dec Y.-Acc
'Cheli met Yenghi yesterday.'

I assume that the focus head in an RDC takes the entire utterance as its complement and thus only the root clause may serve as its complement. This reflects the speakers' intuition that the appendix in an RDC is "afterthought" or "addendum" to the preceding utterance, and provides further information concerning the preceding utterance, which is the host clause. The claim that a head may exist above the root proposition is not new. Phrases related to the discourse such as vocatives, jussives, politeness markers, and hanging topics are assumed to be merged above the clause-typing head. I assume that the focus in the RDC is one such head which appears in the discourse field.[5] Semantically, I argue that the elements merged in [Spec,Foc] receive specificational focus (S-focus:

5) The description of the fact is rather simplified. As Chung (2009) reports, when a *wh*-appendix is preceded by another *wh*-element in the host clause, *wh* appendices seem acceptable (e.g. (i)). As Ahn and Cho (2014) observe, however, questions like (i) cannot be taken as a genuine multiple *wh*-question since they do not allow a pair-list reading. Strictly speaking, (i) is interpreted as a continuation of two separate questions; 'who hit someone?' and 'who is the person that was hit?', which allows a single pair reading only.
(i) Nwu-ka __ tayli-ess-ni? **nwukwu(-lul)**?
Who-Nom hit-Q who-Acc
'Who hit whom?'

hereafter). The host clause functions as a topic (predicate) for S-focus (value) (cf. Higgins 1973, Declerck 1988, Heycock and Kroch 1999, É. Kiss 2010 for specificational focus and exhaustivity). Specificational focus by itself may be merged in various positions in the sentence (see É. Kiss 2010), but I argue that S-focus in RDCs appears in the root clause only, because the appendix functions as a value for the preceding utterance as a whole (see section 4.1 for further discussion).

Under the proposal in (23), the postverbal argument *Yenghi-lul* in (24) first undergoes focus movement to [Spec,Foc], and then the rest of the clause moves to [Spec,Top]. This proposal makes the interesting prediction that the syntax of postverbal arguments can be assimilated to that of specificational focus constructions in general. In the following section, I show that this is indeed the case. The (LF-)syntax of postverbal arguments is surprisingly similar to that of specificational copular constructions and of pseudocleft constructions - all of which share the semantic basis of S-focus. I argue that the peculiar aspects of RDCs seen in section 2 can in fact be attributed to the syntax and semantics of specificational focus.[6)]

Before I proceed, some clarification on the derivation in (24) is in order. A reviewer asks how the remnant MP in (24) may move against the PBC (Proper Binding Condition: Fiengo 1977). In particular, Saito (1989) argues that examples like (25) are ungrammatical because of the PBC. In (25), the embedded object scrambles out of the embedded CP, and then the embedded CP undergoes scrambling over the object. Saito (1989) argues that the CP in (25) contains an unbound trace and thus is ruled out due to the PBC. On the surface, (25) seems to be derived in the same way as (24). Thus, one reasonably wonders why (24) is assumed

6) A cautionary note on the term "focus" is on order. My proposal does not imply that the postverbal argument with S-focus is always interpreted as new information. As É. Kiss (2010) argues, S-focus (identificational focus or exhaustive focus in her terms) is distinct from information focus. The individual with S-focus provides an exhaustive listing of the referents of which the sentence is true. By contrast, information focus is given to an element which is discourse-new. On this view, S-focused elements may or may not be new information (just as exhaustively focused 'only' phrases can be old or new information) (cf. Takano 2014 who argues that the appendix is always a background [-focus]). Note that NPIs in Korean are anti-topic items, which cannot be used as a topic. If the appendix is reserved for topics, we would predict that NPIs cannot appear in the appendix in Korean, contrary to the facts (recall (15)).

to be possible, in contrast to (25).

(25) *[Cheli-ka t_1 ecey manna-ss-ta-ko]$_2$ Yenghi-lul$_1$ [na-nun t_2 sayngkakhay].
C-Nom yesterday meet-Past-Dec-C Y-Acc I-Top think
'I think that Cheli met Yenghi yesterday.'

However, the notion of "trace" has little, if any, theoretical status under the current minimalism (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent works). As extensively argued in Takita (2010), the so-called PBC effect in (25) can be reduced to the minimality effect proposed by Müller (1996). Specifically, a head must attract the element structurally closest to it. In (25), the embedded CP contains (and is structurally higher than) the object, and thus the object cannot be scrambled across the CP under minimality. As Müller (1996) shows, however, remnant movement is allowed when two elements undergo different types of movement:

(26) [t_1 zu lesen]$_2$ hat keiner [das Buch]$_1$ t_2 versucht
to read has no.one the book tried
'No one has tried to read the book.' (German)

In (26), the object *das Bach* has been extracted by scrambling and then the remnant clause undergoes topicalization. Since scrambling and topicalization differ from each other, the two movements do not compete for the same head. Remnant movement in (26) is considered licit, in contrast to (25). Note that the derivation in (24) has the same property as (26). In (24), *Yenghi-lul* undergoes focus movement, and the remnant CP undergoes topic movement. Thus, (24) can be licensed observing minimality, just like (26).

It must also be mentioned that the derivation in (24) is similar to the cleft movement in (27) proposed by Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012), in that focus movement is followed by a topic movement. Crucially, however, I am not claiming that clefts and RDCs are identical in syntax. Rather, I argue that the two constructions may be similar to each other to the extent that S-focus is shared by them. Moreover, *-kes* clefts in Korean such as in (28) are radically different from the RDC or the clefts examined in Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012). Analyses on *-kes* clefts are rather

controversial and it is beyond the scope of this paper to review the literature on them. I assume with Kang (2006) and Park and Li (2014) that *-kes* clefts can be best explained by a bi-clausal equative copular construction, which cannot be treated in the same way as a mono-clausal cleft construction such as (27). A comparison between (28) and RD therefore is an interesting research topic, but is orthogonal to my proposal. I thank a reviewer for bringing my attention to (28).

(27) [Naoya-ga t_1 tabeta no]$_2$-wa [ringo-o mit-tu]$_1$ da
N.-Nom ate C-Top apple-Acc 3-Cl Cop
'It was three apples that Naoya ate.' (Japanese: Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012: 142)

(28) Cheli-ka san-kes-un panci-(*lul)-i-ta
C.-Nom buy-C-Top ring-Cop-Dec
'What Cheli bought is a ring.' (Korean)

4. Analysis

4.1. Root phenomenon

As shown by the contrast between (29)b and (29)c, the appendix *Yuni-lul* may be located to the right of the matrix verb, but not to the right of an embedded verb. The fact that the appendix cannot appear in the embedded clause is another unique feature that distinguishes an RDC from regular leftward scrambling. For instance, in (30) where *Yuni-lul* undergoes leftward scrambling, it may target the left edge of the embedded clause (30)a or the left edge of the matrix clause (30)b, in contrast to the RDC data in (29).

(29) a. Na-nun [Cheli-ka **Yuni-lul** manna-ess-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
I-Top C.-Nom Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec-C think-Pres-Dec
'I think that Cheli met Yuni.'
b. *Na-nun [Cheli-ka __ manna-ess-ta-ko **Yuni-lul**] sayngkakha-n-ta
c. Na-nun [Cheli-ka __ manna-ess-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta **Yuni-lul**
(Chung 2012: 706)

(30) a. Na-nun [**Yuni-lul** Cheli-ka __ manna-ess-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
b. **Yuni-lul** na-nun [Cheli-ka __ manna-ess-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta

The fact that RDCs are root phenomena has often been taken as major evidence against a mono-clausal approach to RDCs. If the SVO order can be base-generated in Korean, there is no obvious reason to block it in the embedded clause. If an embedded SVO order could be generated, we would wrongly predict (29)b to be grammatical (cf. J-S Lee 2007 for a possible solution to this problem, and a response to it by Chung 2012). Chung (2009, 2012) takes (29)b as evidence for a bi-clausal approach to RDCs, assuming that elliptical coordination happens at the root level only. C-H Lee (2009, 2013), on the other hand, argues that postverbal arguments are base-generated at the right periphery, and thus they cannot be embedded. C-H Lee's proposal may rule out (29)b, but it cannot explain the island effects or connectivity effects shown in the preceding section.

My proposal in (23) can explain the root effect without assuming a bi-clausal structure and maintain the merits of the mono-clausal analysis. Under my proposal, the final landing site of right-dislocation is a focus position in the root C that scopes over the entire proposition. Thus, the argument RD cannot target the embedded clause as its final position. I assume that focus movement happens in a successive cyclic way (see Chomsky 2000 and Fox and Pesetsky 2005 for different implementations). Crucially, however, focus movement in RDCs cannot stop and freeze at an intermediate position, like regular long-distance *wh*-movement in English. As in (31)a, once *who* undergoes long-distance movement to the matrix C, it must land at the final position. If it is pronounced in an intermediate landing site, as in (31)b, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Regardless of the exact nature of the theoretical mechanism we employ for the ungrammaticality of (31)b, we can extend the same account to the ungrammaticality of (29)b.[7)]

7) For clarification, I assume that right dislocation may apply in a successive cyclic way *per* Cyclic Linearization (CL: Fox and Pesestsky 2005, Ko 2014a). Ko and Choi (2009) argue that the object targets the inner right edge of *v*P. I adopt the same assumption for *v*P-internal rightward movement. I also assume that the subject may follow the entire VP via tree reversal (just like other adjuncts) within *v*P before Spell-out of *v*P. Departing from Ko and Choi (2009), however, I argue that the postverbal argument

(31) a. **Who** do you think [$_{CP}$ _ John likes __ most]?
b. *Do you think [$_{CP}$ **who** John likes __ most]?

4.2. General Island Effects in RDC

As shown in (32), the postverbal argument in RDCs obeys the complex NP island condition. As shown by Choe (1987), the postverbal argument cannot be associated with a gap inside other islands, either. See examples like (33)-(35). This fact can be rather straightforwardly explained under my proposal. The postverbal argument does undergo focus *movement* and thus it is expected to be subject to a garden variety of movement constraints such as CNPC, subject islands, adjunct islands, and CSC. The examples in (32)-(35) are ungrammatical because focus movement of a postverbal argument cannot happen out of island domains, just like regular *wh*-movement in English.

Extraction out of complex NP constraint (CNPC)
(32) *Cheli-nun [t_1 sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-e **emma(-ka)**$_1$
C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc throw.away-Past-Q mommy(-Nom)
'Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him.'

Further examples from Choe (1987: 43)
(33) *Condition on Extraction Domain* (CED)
*[t_1 oki ceney] Chelswu-ka konghang-ey tochakhayssta **Yenghi-ka**$_1$
come before C.-Nom airport-at arrived Y.-Nom
'Chelswu arrived at the airport before Yenghi came.'

(34) *wh*-island
*[t_1 mwues-ul sassnun-ci] Chelswu-ka molunta **Yenghi-ka**$_1$
what-Acc bought-Comp C.-Nom don't.know Y.-Nom
'Chelswu doesn't know what Yenghi bought.'

---

must land at the right edge of the main clause, assuming that S-focus in the RDC takes the entire utterance as its complement. It must be noted that specificational focus itself can be embedded (e.g. *I believe that what John bought was coffee*). Thus, the root effect in RDCs cannot be derived from the semantic property of specificational focus. Rather, I attribute the root effect to the scopal restriction of the appendix in RDCs, which functions as a value for the preceding proposition. I thank Jun Abe (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

(35) *Coordinate structure constraint* (CSC)

*Nay-ka t_1 mekess-ko, ney-ka kwaca-lul mekessta **sakwa-lul**$_1$
I-Nom ate-and you-Nom cookies-Acc ate apple-Acc
'I ate an apple and you ate cookies.'

One remaining puzzle is why the LBC can be violated in simplex NPs but must be obeyed in complex NPs (recall (10) vs. (19)b). I turn to this issue in section 5 where I discuss the syntax of adjunct RDCs. Note, crucially, that the postverbal elements in (32)-(35) are all arguments, but the postverbal elements in (10) and (19)b are adjuncts, which modify the preceding noun phrase. In section 5, I argue that adjunct RD must be treated differently from argument RD, which interacts with the LBC in an interesting way.

4.3. Scope properties

In section 2, we have seen that postverbal arguments show peculiar scopal properties with respect to negation and existential quantifiers in the host clause. The key data are repeated here as (36) and (37).

(36) Cheli-ka manna-ci an-ass-e **twul-ta**
C.-Nom met-CI not-Past-Dec two-all
'Cheli met neither of them.' (two>>Neg, *Neg>>two)

(37) Twu ai-ka po-ass-e-yo **motun yenghwa-lul**
two child-Nom see-Past-Dec-Polite all movies-Acc
'Two children watched all the movies.' (*all>>2, 2>>all)

I argue that these scope facts follow from the semantic properties of specificational focus constructions. It has been reported that QPs cannot be interpreted as a quantificational element if they receive specificational focus (see Heycock and Kroch 1999). Rather, they are interpreted as a specific indefinite (or a group-denoting individual), which must take scope over negation and cannot distribute over an existential quantifier, as they are non-quantificational. For instance, in (38), specific indefinites (e.g. *xad* 'one') obligatorily scope over negation in Hebrew (Givón 2001). Lidz (1999) also shows that in Kannada, accusative-marked (specific) indefinites

must take wide scope over negation, whereas bare indefinites may take either wide or narrow scope with respect to negation. Semantically, under Lidz (1999), bare indefinites are analyzed as quantificational whereas specific indefinites are choice-function variables.

Specific indefinites over negation

(38) Hilo **lo** raata sham **ish-xad**
she Neg saw there man-one
'There is a man that she didn't see.' *'She didn't see any man there.'
[Hebrew]

Note also that S-focused QPs in pseudocleft and specificational copular constructions are non-quantificational (see Williams 1994, Heycock and Kroch 1999 for evidence). This is illustrated with examples in (39) and (40). As shown by the contrast between (39)a and (39)b, *every* cannot scope over an indefinite when it is S-focused. Specifically, *every* in (39)b is the locus of S-focus in the pseudocleft construction and cannot distribute over *a friend of mine,* in contrast to *every* in free relative clauses (which is not S-focused). Similarly, in specificational copular constructions such as (40)b, *every* must take scope under *some*. By contrast, in predicational copular constructions, *every* may scope over or under *some,* as in (40)a.

(39) a. What every boy saw was **a** friend of his. (every >> a)
b. What bothered a friend of mine was **every** article that appeared (a >> every)

(Williams 1994)

(40) a. **Some** boy is the problem in **every** school.
(predicational; *some* >><<*every*)
b. The problem in **some** school is **every** boy.
(specificational; *some* >>*every*, **every*>>*some*)

(Heycock and Kroch 1999)

Extending Heycock and Kroch's (1999) proposal on specificational focus to RDCs, I argue that the scope facts reported about RDCs in Korean can be explained by the general property of specificational focus. On this view, *twul-ta* 'all-2' must outscope the negation in (36) since the postverbal

element is interpreted as a specific plural individual, in parallel to (38). Similarly, *motun yenghwa-lul* 'all the movies' in (37) denotes a plural individual in the RDC. Since *motun* 'all' with S-focus in (37) is not quantificational, it cannot distribute over 'two' (cf. Park and Kim 2009 for discussion of specificity in Korean RDCs). On this view, the term "narrow scope" in (37) is in fact a misnomer. Since 'all' in (37) is interpreted as a plural individual, it does not function as a scope-bearing element. Put differently, 'all' in (37) cannot distribute over the numeral 'two', not because it has a narrow scope, but because it simply does not bear scope with respect to other quantifiers.[8)]

4.4. NPI licensing

We have seen that NPIs in RDCs must be licensed by overt negation in the preceding clause, as shown in (15), repeated here as (41). I argue that this naturally follows from the proposal that NPIs undergo focus movement from a syntactically negated clause. As illustrated in (42), NPIs in postverbal position are in fact base-generated within the same clause as the negation in the host clause. Thus, NPIs can be licensed by the preceding negation prior to focus movement. If we assume a mono-clausal approach to RDCs, the strong connection between negation in the host clause and NPIs in the appendix follows from the base structure.

(41) Cheli-ka mek-ci-ahn-ass-e **amwukesto/ sayngsen-ppakey/ enukesto**
C.-Nom eat-CI-Neg-Past-Dec anything fish-only anything
'Cheli did not eat anything/Cheli ate only fish.'

---

8) As a reviewer notes, examples like (i) are acceptable in Korean. If the exhaustivity of S-focus is a semantic entailment, the grammaticality of (i) would not be expected. Given (i), I assume that exhaustivity in RDCs is a pragmatic implicature, which can be cancelled as in English pseudoclefts (ii) (following Higgins 1973, Declerck 1988, Heycock and Kroch 1999, among others; cf. É. Kiss (2010) for exhaustivity as semantic entailment.).
(i) Cheli-ka manna-ss-e Yuna-lul, kuliko, Yenghi-to.
C.-Nom meet-Past-Dec Y.-Acc, and Y.-also
'Chelie met Yuni, and Yenghi, too.'
(ii) What I bought was a pen and a pencil, among others.

(42) $[_{TopP}$ $[_{MP}$ S t_1 V-Neg-T-M$]_2$ $[_{FocP}$ anything$_1]$ t_2]

The fact reported in (41) can be understood as a general property of specificational focus constructions as well. As in (43), NPIs may appear in the focus position of specificational pseudocleft constructions in English as well (see Den Dikken, Meinunger, and Wilder 2000). This shows that NPIs can generally be compatible with S-focus and thus are acceptable both in the appendix and specificational constructions. This contrasts with the reverse (predicational) pseudocleft clause in (44), which does not allow NPIs (cf. Den Dikken et al. 2000 for some exceptions and complications in licensing NPIs in reverse pseudoclefts).

(43) a. ?What nobody bought was **any** wine.
b. ?Who didn't laugh was **any** of Bill's students.
c. ?What didn't work was **any** of the printing equipment.
d. ?What didn't impress us was **any** of his political jokes.

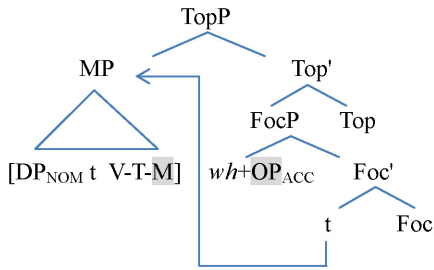
(44) a. ***Any** novels was/were what he didn't buy.
b. ***Any** wine was what nobody bought.

4.5. *Wh*-licensing

We have seen that a (single) *wh*-appendix is generally banned in RDCs, unlike *wh*-fragments. The representative example is repeated here as (45). I argue that this constraint can be explained by adopting the theory of null operator movement proposed by Watanabe (1992), in conjunction with my proposal for RDCs. Specifically, adopting Watanabe (1992), I assume that *wh*-phrases in Korean (and Japanese) must undergo overt operator movement to a Mood phrase (*i.e.* C in traditional terms). Crucially, however, a *wh*-operator in SpecFocP cannot move into MP after remnant MP-movement. Note that under a probe-goal theory of movement (Chomsky 2000), the target M cannot search or agree with the *wh*-appendix since M does not c-command the *wh*-phrase in focus position. This is described in (46).

(45) *Yuni-ka __ mannass-ni? **nwukwu(-lul)**?
Y.-Nom met-Q who-Acc
'Who did Yuni meet?'

(46) *Remnant MP movement to the left of FocP*



A reviewer points out that (46) may be allowed if *wh*-operator movement precedes focus movement. I assume that this type of movement is blocked due to general *operator freezing effects*. It has been argued that operator movement cannot feed another operator movement (see Rizzi 2006, Bošković 2008 and references therein for extensive discussion). On this view, both focus movement and *wh*-movement belong to operator movement, which creates an operator-variable chain. Once *wh*-movement to M occurs, a *wh*-phrase cannot undergo focus movement any longer and thus RD becomes impossible. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (45) follows.

More generally, *wh*-movement is blocked in (46) not just because a probe cannot search its *wh*-goal, but also because *wh*-movement and focus movement cannot feed each other due to the operator freezing effect mentioned above. The only way to satisfy both is to license the focus and operator feature by the same head. This, however, is impossible in (46) because the root S-focus and *wh*-licenser are hosted by a different head in RDCs.

In this vein, it is noteworthy that similar restrictions are found in other specificational constructions. It is well-known that *wh*-phrases may not be extracted out of focus positions in specificational copular constructions (see Den Dikken et al. 2000, Moro 1997). As illustrated in (47)b, *what* cannot be extracted from the complex NP, *any pictures of* in S-focus position, in contrast to *what* in object position in (47)a. Similarly, a

wh-phrase or a part of it cannot be extracted out of an S-focus position in (48). The symmetry between RDCs and specificational focus constructions in (45)-(48) further supports the claim that the two constructions share the semantic basis of S-focus.

(47) *Specificational pseudocleft constructions* (Den Dikken et al. 2000: 63)
a. **What** do you think that John doesn't have [**any pictures of** _]?
b. ***What** do you think that [what John doesn't have] is [**any pictures of** _]?

(48) *Specificational copular constructions* (Moro 1997)
a. ***Which wall** do you think that the cause of the riot is [**a picture of** _] ?
b. ***Which picture of the wall** do you think that the cause of the riot is [_]?

In contrast to gapped RDCs such as in (45), gapless right-dislocation such as in (49) seems to involve a genuine case of bi-clausal coordination, as illustrated in (49). It is a polar question followed by a *wh*-question; it has a different presupposition from a simple *wh*-question such as 'who did Yuni meet?'. *Nwukwu* in (49) is interpreted as 'students among them'. In the Kyungsang dialect, which distinguishes a polar question from a *wh*-question via different C morphology, the *yes-no* marker *-na* is employed in constructions like (49) instead of the *wh*-marker *-no*. The grammaticality of (49) hints that the gapless RDC in (49) cannot be treated in the same way as the ungrammatical gapped RDC in (45), but I leave it for future research how and why their syntactic structures differ from each other.[9)]

(49) [Yuni-ka haksayng-ul mannass-ni/*na*/**no*?] & [**nwukwu(-lul)** ~~Yuni-ka mannass-ni~~]?
Y.-Nom student-Acc met-Q who-Acc
'Did Yuni meet a student? and who (is he/she)?'

---

9) Another possibility is that (49) is mono-clausal and derived from (i) (Hang-Jin Yoon, p.c.). However, when (i) is tested with Kyungsang dialect speakers, only the *wh*-marker *-no* is acceptable, in contrast to (49). This leads me to assume that (i) cannot be the base structure for (49). I thank Daeho Chung (p.c.) for suggesting that I test (49) and (i) with Kyungsang dialect speakers.
(i) Yuni-ka haksayng-ul **nwukwu(-lul)** mannass-ni/*no*/**na*?
Y.-Nom student-Acc who-Acc met-Q
'Which student did Yuni meet?'

5. Adjunct RDCs

5.1. Proposal

In section 1, I introduced a case of an adjunct RDC as in (50), which contains a right-dislocated relative clause. Other types of adjunct appendix in RDCs include adverbial phrases, postpositional phrases, resultative predicates, and small clause predicates. Some examples of adjunct RDCs are given in (51). The postverbal adjuncts in (50) and (51) modify an argument or event structure of the host clause. The postverbal adjunct adds new information to the discourse but does not necessarily receive specificational focus. I first discuss the general structure of adjunct RDCs in (51) which does not involve extraction onto the host clause, and then turn to the adnominal RDC in (50), which is formed by sideward movement.

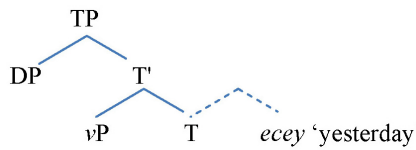
(50) Na-n [__ han sonyen]-ul mannass-e [**acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n**]
I-Top one boy-Acc met-Dec very smart-and handsome-RC
'I met a boy who is very smart and handsome.'

(51) *Adjuncts in postverbal position*
a. Cheli-ka Yenghi-lul manna-ss-e **ecey**
C.-Nom Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec yesterday
'Cheli met Yenghi yesterday.'
b. Na-nun cha-lul sa-ss-e **Seoul-eyse**
I-Top car-Acc buy-Past-Dec S.-Loc
'I bought a car in Seoul.'

I propose that the adjunct appendix is generated in an independent domain from the host clause, and combined with the host clause via *concatenation* (see Hornstein and Nunes 2008). Hornstein and Nunes (2008) argue that *Merge* is decomposed into two basic operations, *concatenation* and *label. Concatenation* is a process to connect a syntactic item with other items and *label* is a process of projecting concatenated items into one atomic unit. Hornstein and Nunes (2008) claim that unlike arguments, adjuncts may be linked to a syntactic projection without labeling, which results in a multi-rooted structure. I extend this claim to the adjunct RDC.

Specifically, I argue that postverbal adjuncts like *ecey* 'yesterday' and *Seoul-eyse* 'in Seoul' in (51) are formed in a separate domain and concatenated with the host clause before Spell-out, as illustrated in (52).

(52)

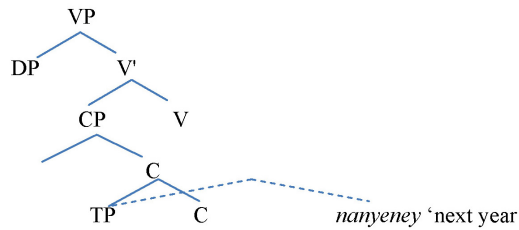


This way, we can explain the fact that adjuncts can be right-dislocated rather freely though (clause-external) leftward movement of an adjunct is severely restricted in Korean. For instance, leftward movement of an embedded adjunct is not allowed, as in (53)b, whereas rightward dislocation of an embedded adjunct is possible, as in (53)c. We can explain this fact by assuming that an adjunct can be concatenated with various nodes in a multi-rooted structure, as in (54). The adjunct appendix in (54) may modify the embedded T without disrupting the orderings or structure of the host clause by being concatenated at the right periphery.[10)]

(53) a. **Hwayoil-ey** Cheli-ka [Yenghi-ka **nanyeney** olkela-ko] malhayesse.
Tuesday-at C.-Nom Y.-Nom next.year come-C said
'Cheli said on Tuesday that Yenghi will come next year.'
b. ***Nanyeney**$_1$ **hwayoil-ey** Cheli-ka [Yenghi-ka t_1 olkela-ko] malhayesse.
c. **Hwayoil-ey** Cheli-ka [Yenghi-ka olkela-ko] malhayesse **nanyeney**

10) Note that (53)c presents a non-trivial challenge to the previous studies listed in section 2. Since adjuncts in general do not undergo clause-external movement, as in (53)b, the grammaticality of (53)c is not expected under the movement-based approaches (Type I and III). Moreover, it is not feasible to base-generate an embedded adjunct in the matrix clause given its semantics (Type II). One could employ a *pro*-predicate analysis (Type IV) for (53)c, but as will be seen in section 5.2, this approach does not explain *constraints on adjunct LBCs.*

(54)



I further argue that a part of an adjunct can be merged on the host clause via sideward movement and that adnominal stranding in (50) constitutes such a case. Specifically, I argue that the head of a postverbal adjunct can be copied onto the host clause in RDCs before Spell-out. The relevant derivation for (50) is described in (55) (^ marks concatenation in the sense of Hornstein and Nunes 2008):

(55) *Derivation of adjunct RDCs*

a. Adjunct domain: [[acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n] han sonyen]
very smart-and handsome-RC one boy

b. Host Clause: Na-n [han sonyen]-ul mannss-e] ^ [acwu ttokttok-hako calsayngki-n__]
I-Top one boy-Acc met-Dec very smart-and handsome-RC
'I met a boy, who is very smart and handsome.'

As illustrated in (55), adjunct predicates are generated in a domain separate from the host clause, but a part of the adjunct (e.g. the head of the adjunct predicate *han sonyen* 'one boy') can be copied onto the host clause via sideward movement. When the predicate appendix and the host clause are combined via concatenation, we obtain a predicative adjunct RDC in (50).

My proposal makes a prediction that the syntax of adjunct RDCs can be assimilated to the syntax of so-called 'syntactic orphans' in general - items that are derived separately from their host but intersect with it at the terminal string, which include parentheticals, appositive relative clauses, and parasitic gap constructions (see Haegeman 1991, Espinal

1991, Griffiths and de Vries 2013). Though I cannot develop a comprehensive theory for 'syntactic orphans' in this paper, I will provide some evidence that this proposal is on the right track. In particular, in the following section, I show that the interaction between adjunct RDCs and LBC effects can be explained by a general constraint on sideward movement, which crucially assumes a multi-rooted structure in syntax. Empirical evidence for my claim is drawn from parallels between parasitic gap constructions and adnominal RDCs.

5.2. Constraints on adjunct RDC

It is well-known that parasitic gaps may be exempt from CED effects, but if the parasitic gap is further embedded within another CED island, the construction again becomes unacceptable (Nunes 1995, Nunes and Uriagereka 2000 for detailed discussion). Consider the examples in (56)-(58) for an illustration.

(56) *Regular CED effects*
a. *Which politician did [pictures of __] upset the voters? *subject island*
b. *Which paper did you read *Don Quixote* [before filing __]? *adjunct island*

(57) *Parasitic gap and lack of CED effects*
a. Which politician did [**pictures of** *pg*] upset __ ? *pg+subject island*
b. Which paper did you read __ [**before filing** *pg*] ? *pg+adjunct island*

(58) *Emergence of CED effects with parasitic gap*
a. *Which politician did you criticize __ [before [**pictures of** *pg*] upset the voters]?
b. *Which book did you finally read __ [after leaving the bookstore [**without finding** *pg*]]?

The examples in (56) show that *wh*-extraction out of a subject island or adjunct island is generally banned in English. The ungrammaticality of (56)a and (56)b can be dubbed CED effects. As illustrated in (57), however, sub-extraction out of subjects or adjuncts becomes possible when there is another gap in the object position. Put differently, a parasitic

gap in a subject or adjunct island can be licensed when there is a licit gap in the object position. Importantly, however, CED effects arise again when the parasitic gap is further embedded under another island, as in (58). In (58)a, the parasitic gap of *which politician* is originally within a subject island, which is further embedded within an adjunct island headed by *before.* In (58)b, the parasitic gap of *which book* is found within an adjunct island headed by *without*, which is further embedded within an adjunct phrase headed by *after.* In contrast to (57), the parasitic gaps in (58)a and (58)b are not licensed even though there is a licit gap in the object position in the main clause.

Nunes (1995) and Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) argue that the subject and adjunct form a Spell-out domain separate from the verb and its complement. Under their proposal, sideward movement may happen across different Spell-out domains so that parts of the subject or parts of the adjunct can be copied onto the object position of the main verb. Nunes (1995) and Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) further argue that sideward movement allows movement out of CED islands in (57), which results in parasitic gaps. Specifically, *which politician* in (57)a is copied onto the object position before Spell-out of *a picture of which politician.* Similarly, *which paper* is copied onto the object position before Spell-out of the adjunct *before filing which paper.*

Crucially, sideward movement (copying across different Spell-out domains) may happen only when copying may apply before Spell-out. If an adjunct is embedded within another Spell-out domain as in (58), sideward movement cannot happen. For instance, in (58)b, by the time the adjunct head *after* is introduced, *which book* has already been spelled out together with *without finding.* Since it has already been spelled-out, *which book* cannot undergo sideward movement onto the main clause.

I argue that a similar type of embedding effect is obtained with adjunct RDCs in Korean. Recall that adjunct RDCs are sensitive to the depth of embedding in modifying a noun phrase in the host clause. The relevant examples are given here as (59) and (60).

(59) *Lack of LBC*

Na-nun [__ cha]-lul pilliesse [**Yenghi-uy emma-uy** _]
I-Top car-Acc borrowed Y.-Gen mother-Gen
'I borrowed Yenghi's mother's car.' (cf. (19)a, see also (10))

(60) *Emergence of LBC due to embedding*

*Na-nun [[__ **emma-uy**] cha-lul] pilli-ess-e **Yenghi-uy**.
I-Top mommy-Gen car-Acc borrow-Past-Dec Y.-Gen
'I borrowed Yenghi's mother's car.' (=(19)b)

Similar to sideward movement in parasitic gap constructions, obviation of LBC effects is possible only when copying happens before Spell-out of the adjunct phrase. Suppose that DP is a Spell-out domain (or phase). The head noun *cha* 'car' in (59) can be copied onto the host clause before Spell-out of the DP (whose head is *cha*). By contrast, *emma-uy cha* 'mother's car' in (60) cannot be copied onto the host clause. It does not form a constituent, so it may not undergo copying (or sideward movement) in syntax. Even if such copying were possible at PF (cf. Kim and Park 2010, Takano 2014), (60) is filtered out due to linearization conflicts. Note that *Yenghi-uy* is part of the DP headed by the noun *emma* in (60). By the time *cha* is introduced in the adjunct domain, *Yenghi-uy emma* has already undergone linearization. When the first DP *Yenghi-uy emma* is spelled-out and linearized, the ordering that *Yenghi-uy* precedes *emma* is registered at PF. Thus, sideward movement such as (60) necessarily results in an ordering contradiction. Crucially, this problem does not arise for (59) since the head noun *cha* is copied onto the host clause before the DP headed by *cha* is linearized at the adjunct domain. More generally, my proposal captures the fact that LBC violation is allowed in RDCs only when the (highest) head of the phrase in the appendix is the target of sideward movement.

My proposal can explain an otherwise unexpected asymmetry between the subject and object in adnominal RDCs (see Ko 2014b for original observation). When an adnominal phrase is right-dislocated, it must modify the object, but not the subject. This is shown in (61) and (62). As in (61)a, the adnominal clause 'who wears a big red hat' must be associated with the object *Yenghi*, and not with the subject *Cheli.* The

same point can be made with genitive-marked adnominal phrases, as shown by the contrast between (62)a and (62)b.

(61) *Subject-object asymmetry: relative clause*
Cheli-ka **Yenghi-lul** manna-ss-e [$_{RC}$ **ppalkah-ko khun moca-lul ssu-n**.]
C.-Nom Y.-Acc meet-Past-Dec red-and big hat-Acc wear-RC
'Cheli met Yenghi, who wears a big red hat. (who=Yenghi)'.
[object-orientation]
*'Cheli met Yenghi, who wears a big red hat. (who=Cheli)'. [subject-orientation]

(62) *Subject-object asymmetry: genitive-marked phrase*
a. Cheli-ka apeci-lul manna-ss-e **Yenghi-uy**
C.-Nom father-Acc meet-Past-Dec Y.-Gen
'Cheli met Yenghi's father.' [object-orientation]
b. *Apeci-ka Cheli-lul manna-ss-e **Yenghi-uy**
father-Nom C.-Acc meet-Past-Dec Y.-Gen
'Yenghi's father met Cheli.' [subject-orientation]

To the best of my knowledge, this type of asymmetry in adjunct RDCs has not received a proper explanation yet. Since adnominal phrases in Korean cannot undergo regular (leftward) movement, it is not feasible to apply a movement approach to the data (Type I or III in (3)). Given the asymmetries between the subject and the object in (61) and (62), one cannot readily apply the base-generation approach (Type II or IV in (3)) either. If an object-oriented adjunct can be base-generated in postverbal position, there is no reason to block a subject-oriented adjunct in postverbal position, which goes against the data in (61) and (62). Under the previous approaches to RDCs, it remains puzzling why the postverbal adjunct in the RDC strongly favors object-orientation over subject-orientation.

I suggest that the asymmetries between the subject and the object seen above may follow from the claim that the adnominal RDC is formed by sideward movement. Specifically, following Nunes and Uriagereka (2000), I argue that the subject must be merged as a fully linearized item on the verbal domain, unlike the transitive object. Specifically, I assume with Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) that linearization of the verbal complement (i.e. the object) can be deferred until *v*P is spelled-out, whereas the specifier of the verb is merged onto verbal projection after being fully

linearized. On this view, the object can be the target of sideward movement since the linearization of the object can be deferred until *v*P is spelled-out. By contrast, the subject cannot be the target of sideward movement. Sideward movement applies to un-linearized domains only, but the subject must be introduced into the verbal domain only after being fully linearized. Since the subject is fully linearized before it is merged onto the verbal domain, there is no space for sideward movement to target within the subject domain. Therefore, the head noun of the appendix may be merged onto the object position, but not onto the subject position in (61) and (62).[11)]

I acknowledge that my analysis for (61) and (62) would remain tentative until I fully develop a comprehensive theory of sideward movement. In particular, it awaits further research exactly when a specifier is spelled-out with respect to *v*P domains, and why such timing effects must hold. It is important to note, however, that both adjunct RDCs and parasitic gaps are licensed when the real gap (or the gap in the host) is the object. I hope that my analysis has provided a useful step towards a solution for this puzzle by connecting RDCs and parasitic gaps via sideward movement.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have investigated some interesting properties of RDCs in Korean. We have seen that right-dislocation cannot be treated in the same way as leftward scrambling or sentential fragments. I have argued

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11) This proposal crucially assumes that multiple sideward movement is impossible. In particular, I assume that the following derivation must be banned. (i) *apeci-ka* in (62)b is base-generated in the adjunct domain, and (ii) *apeci-ka* side-moves to the subject domain, and then (iii) *apeci-ka* side-moves again to the specifier of *v*P. Put differently, the (first and final) landing site of sideward movement must be a verbal domain, not another adjunct or subject domain. Otherwise, the observed asymmetries between the subject and the object would not obtain. For now, it is unclear to me how to derive this constraint, but this type of constraint must be assumed for parasitic gap constructions in general. Just like adjunct RDCs, parasitic gaps can be licensed by the object, not by the subject. This means that sideward movement in parasitic gap constructions may target object position in the verbal domain, but not a position in the subject domain.

that RDCs are not a uniform phenomenon. Postverbal arguments undergo S-focus movement to the root C, whereas postverbal adjuncts are base-generated at the end of the utterance and the head of the adjunct may undergo sideward movement onto the host clause. I have shown that under the current proposal, we can explain a variety of unique properties of RDCs in Korean, which include: root effects, scope, variability of island effects, Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing, *wh*-licensing, and the presence or absence of LBC and CED effects. My proposal also captures otherwise surprising similarities between argument RDCs and specificational focus constructions, and a parallelism between adjunct RDCs and parasitic gap constructions.

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