

RIGHT DISLOCATION: COPIES VS. FRAGMENTS*

HEEJEONG KO
Seoul National University

1 Introduction

This paper investigates the syntax of Right Dislocation Constructions (RDCs) in Korean, where an overt argument appears to the right of the (matrix) verb, as illustrated in (1). The existence of a postverbal element in head-final languages has received much attention in recent studies (see Ko 2014b, 2015 for an overview). Though details may differ from theory to theory, two factors have been mainly considered in the literature. One is whether RDCs contain a mono-clausal or bi-clausal structure, and the other is whether some sort of movement must be involved in RDCs. This paper aims to contribute to this debate by examining some intricate differences among sub-varieties of RDCs in Korean. I show that the syntax and semantics of RDCs significantly diverge depending on the type of *host clause* which precedes the postverbal element, *the appendix*.

- (1) a. Chelswu-ka — mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul.* [gapped RDC]
Chelswu-NOM eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
'Chelswu ate *an apple*.' (Choe 1987:40)
- b. Chelswu-ka *sakwa-lul* mek-ess-e *sakwa-lul.* [repetitive RDC]
Chelswu-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DEC apple-ACC
'Chelswu ate *an apple*.'

In particular, I argue that when the host clause contains a gap associated with the appendix, as in (1a), the RDC can be best analyzed as a mono-clausal structure with rightward movement. I

* This work is a part of my research project investigating universals and variations in syntactic edges. In this paper, I report my recent research on right edges in Korean syntax (cf. Ko 2014a for left edges in syntax and linearization). An earlier version of this work was presented at the *Workshop on Korean-Japanese Linguistics at SNU* in 2014 and the *Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics 11* at the University of York. I thank the audiences at these workshops, Jun Abe, Daeho Chung, Daniel Edmiston, Maria Polinsky, Yuji Takano, Hang-Jin Yoon, and two reviewers of this volume for helpful comments. Most importantly, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to David Pesetsky, whose comments and intellectual guidance have provided me with key inspirations in pursuing this project.

Kim 2009; cf. (27)). As in (6), the universal quantifier in the appendix shows the same scopal pattern (see Choi 2008, Ko and Choi 2009 for experimental evidence). These data again seem to suggest that the syntax of RDCs is similar to that of fragments.

- (5) A: **twu ai-ka** mwues-ul po-ass-ni?
 two child-NOM what-ACC see-PAST-Q
 ‘What did two children watch?’
 B: **motun yenghwa-lul(-yo).** *fragment*
 all movie-ACC(-POL) ‘all the movies.’ (2>>all, *all>>2)
 (6) a. **twu ai-ka** — po-ass-e-yo **motun yenghwa-lul.** *RDC*
 two child-NOM see-PAST-DEC-POL all movie-ACC
 ‘Two children watched all the movies.’ (2>>all, *all>>2)

Capitalizing on the similarities between fragments and RDCs such as those seen in (3)-(6), some previous studies have argued that the appendix in RDCs is in fact a sentential fragment (e.g. Chung 2012, Park and Kim 2009, Ahn and Cho 2015). Under close scrutiny, however, the parallelism between fragments and RDCs breaks down. Ko (2014b, 2015) discusses this issue extensively. In this paper, I focus on the data regarding island (in-)sensitivity, *wh*-licensing, and information structure, which leads us to a finer-grained analysis of sub-varieties of RDCs.

Let us first consider island (in-)sensitivity. Park (2005) reports that fragments in Korean are *insensitive* to island effects (cf. Griffiths and Lipták 2014 for ellipsis and island effects). This is illustrated with (7). In (7B), *emma-ka* can be used as a fragment answer even though its non-elliptical counterpart does not allow such extraction out of an island. Contrary to this, postverbal arguments are sensitive to islands in general (except for the Left Branch Condition; see Ko 2014b, 2015 for discussion). As shown in (8), *emma-ka* cannot be right-dislocated if the associated gap is placed inside a (relative clause) island in the host clause. If the syntax of (7B) were equivalent to that of (8), it would not be clear where the difference between the two originated. Specifically, if island effects can be obviated in fragments in (7B), it remains puzzling why such repair effects are unavailable for (8) (cf. Ahn and Cho 2015 for a response and Ko 2016 for a reply to it).

- (7) A: Cheli-nun [**nwu-ka** sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-ni?
 C.-TOP who-NOM buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-Q
 (lit.) ‘Cheli throw away the necklace that *who* bought?’
 B: **emma-ka.**
 mom-NOM ‘Mommy.’
 (8) *Cheli-nun [_ sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul peli-ess-e **emma-ka.**
 C.-TOP buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-DEC mom-NOM
 ‘Cheli threw away the necklace that *his mother* bought for him.’

Next, *wh*-fragments in Korean are readily acceptable, as shown in (9). Crucially, however, *wh*-appendices are not allowed (in the gapped RDC), as in (10) (see Choe 1987, Chung 2012, J-S Lee 2009, C-H Lee 2013 for further discussion). If fragments and RDCs are to be treated in the same way, we are led to wonder why the grammatical status of (10) is radically different from the status of the *wh*-fragment in (9B).

- (9) A: Yuni-ka ku salam-ul manna-ss-ni? B: **nwukwu(-lul)?**
 Y.-NOM that person-ACC meet-PAST-Q who-ACC
 ‘Did Yuni meet that person?’ ‘who?’
- (10) *Yuni-ka ___ manna-ss-ni **nwukwu(-lul)?**
 Y.- NOM meet-PAST-Q who-ACC
 ‘Who did Yuni meet?’

It is also important to note that fragments and RDCs have a distinct information structure. As shown in (11B), fragments can be naturally used as an answer to a *wh*-question. By contrast, appendices cannot be used as an answer to a *wh*-question (Choi 2008). If focused (or accented), the appendix may convey new information, which provides further specification concerning the preceding clause, as in (13). Crucially, however, the appendix cannot function as an answer to a *wh*-focus, as shown by the unacceptability of (12B) as an answer to (11A). If RDCs shared the same underlying structure with fragments, this kind of discrepancy would be puzzling.

- (11) A: Yuni-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni? B: **Cheli-lul.**
 Y.-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q C.-ACC
 ‘Who did Yuni meet?’ ‘Cheli.’
- (12) B: #Yuni-ka ___ manna-ss-e **Cheli-lul.** *wh-focus*
 Y.-NOM meet-PAST-DEC C.-ACC
 ‘Yuni met Cheli.’ (Choi 2008) (as an answer to (11A))
- (13) A: way? eti-ka aphu-ni?
 why? somewhere-NOM sick-Q
 ‘What’s up? Are you sick?’
- B: **ney**, ___ nemwu apha-yo **pay-ka.** *focal (new, accented)*
 yes much sick-POL stomach-NOM
 ‘Yes, I have a stomachache.’

The data examined in this section indicate that the syntax of RDCs cannot be explained away as an instance of a fragment despite some striking similarities between them. In the next section, I explain the puzzling distribution of the (gapped) RDC seen above, proposing a mono-clausal movement analysis. I then turn to the other type of RDC (e.g. (1b)) in section 3.

2.2 Proposal: RDC as a specificational construction

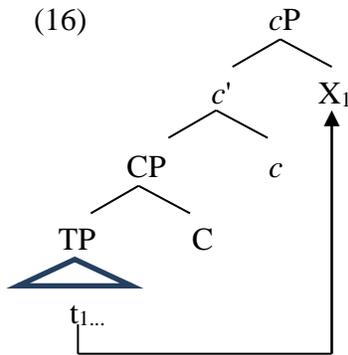
I propose that a postverbal argument in gapped RDCs (e.g. (1a)) is a copy of movement, which turns the host clause into a specificational construction (this is an elaboration and rework of my (2015) remnant movement analysis of RDCs in Korean). In particular, I argue that movement of an argument creates *Predicate Abstraction*, which turns the host clause into a sentential predicate $\langle e, t \rangle$, and the appendix provides a value for it. As illustrated in (14), the appendix may receive a focus or topic interpretation, both of which are available in specificational copular constructions.

- (14) [Cheli-ka ecey t₁ mek-ess-e] [F/T **ku sakwa-lul**]₁
 C.-NOM yesterday eat-PAST-DEC that apple-ACC
 ‘What Cheli ate yesterday is [Focus that apple].’ (canonical specificational)
 ‘[Topic That apple] is what Cheli ate yesterday.’ (reverse specificational)

I argue that right-dislocation is a way of encoding a specificational relationship between the host clause and the appendix. The semantic function of the appendix is to further specify the meaning of the host clause by providing a specific value for the gap in the RDC. This proposal is not entirely new in the sense that a similar claim has been made for other languages. Most notably, Ott and de Vries (2015) argue that a right-dislocated phrase in German and Dutch may carry a propositional meaning, which specifies the denotation of its correlate. For instance, in (15), *den John Travolta* in right-dislocated position specifies the meaning of *einen Star* ‘a star’. Ott and de Vries (2015) argue for a bi-clausal fragment approach to right-dislocation in German and Dutch. In the preceding section, however, we have seen that RDCs cannot be treated in the same way as fragments (at least) in Korean. Instead, I propose that the appendix undergoes rightward movement to a head external to the root C, which yields a specificational interpretation.

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

A schematic representation of my proposal is given in (16). Under this proposal, rightward movement is triggered by a head external to the clause-typing C in the root such as a declarative (e.g. *-e*, *-ta*) or polarity marker (e.g. *-ni*) in Korean. For convenience, I call this head an *external c*, and I argue that this head hosts a specificational focus or specificational topic which scopes over the root proposition (cf. Rizzi’s (1997) *split CP*; Lambrecht’s (2001) *extra-clausal (Anti-) Topic*, Haegeman’s (2006) *Speaker Deixis* for some predecessors of this proposal).



In Korean, in particular, the external *c* may overtly be present to the right of the clause-typing head. This is illustrated with (17), where the external *c* denotes the speaker’s attitude towards the entire proposition (e.g. *ci*, *ney*, *tay*, *lay*) or politeness (e.g. *-yo*). Crucially, these *external-c*’s must appear in the root clause and cannot be embedded (see (18)). I claim that the *external-c* is the trigger for rightward movement in RDCs, where the appendix specifies the meaning of the root proposition (cf. Kural 1997 for rightward movement in Turkish).

- (17) onul-un nalssi-ka tep-ta (*-ci/ney/tay*) (*-yo*).
 today-TOP weather-NOM hot-DEC-BELIEF -POL
 ‘Today is hot (I believe/they say/I heard).’

- (18) na-nun [nalssi-ka tep-ta(-ko) (*-ci/*-ney/*-tay/*-yo)] sayngkakha-n-ta.
 I-TOP weather-NOM hot-DEC(-C) think-PRES-DEC
 ‘I think that the weather is hot (now).’

2.3 Analysis

Under the proposal in (16), the locality between the gap and the appendix in the RDC can be straightforwardly explained by the claim that it involves rightward movement. More specifically, under (16), the appendix in a gapped RDC is a copy of movement, and thus it is expected that the distribution of the appendix is sensitive to island effects (in contrast to fragments which may obviate island effects due to PF-ellipsis). For instance, the ungrammaticality of (8) is a natural consequence of the claim that the appendix undergoes overt *movement* to [Spec, cP] in syntax. Moreover, the fact that the RDC is a root phenomenon follows from this proposal. As shown in (19), the appendix *Yuni-lul* may be located to the right of the matrix verb, but not to the right of an embedded verb. This is in fact predicted under (16). As seen in (17), the *external-c* head takes the root proposition as its argument and thus must be merged above the root C. If the *external-c* triggers rightward movement of the appendix, its landing site must be the right-periphery of the root clause, not of the embedded C. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (19b).

- (19) a. na-nun [Cheli-ka ___ manna-ss-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta **Yuni-lul**.
 I-TOP C.-NOM meet-PAST-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC Y.-ACC
 ‘I think that Cheli met Yuni.’ (Chung 2012: 706)
 b. *na-nun [Cheli-ka manna-ss-ta-ko **Yuni-lul**] sayngkakha-n-ta.

If my proposal is on the right track, we predict that the semantics of RDCs can be assimilated to that of specificational (copular) constructions. I argue that this prediction is borne out, and claim that the otherwise surprising semantics of the gapped RDC follows from this prediction.

Consider the scope facts presented in (3)-(6). The scope pattern of the RDC is explained by the semantic properties of specificational 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. A representative example is given in (20) from Heycock and Kroch (1999): in (20b), *every* receives a specificational focus and cannot distribute over *some* in a free relative, in contrast to *every* in a predicational copular construction in (20a).

- (20) 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*)

Extending Heycock and Kroch’s (1999) proposal to RDCs, I argue that the scope facts in (3)-(6) can be explained by the general property of specificational constructions. On this view, *twul-ta* ‘all-2’ must outscope the negation in (4) since the postverbal element is interpreted as a specific plural individual. Moreover, since it is interpreted as a specific indefinite, the postverbal QP in (6) cannot distribute over another quantifier, in parallel to (20b). More precisely, ‘all’ in (6) cannot distribute over ‘two’, not because it has a narrow scope, but because it does not bear

any scope with respect to other quantifiers as a specific indefinite (cf. Park and Kim 2009 for specificity of the RDC in Korean). Moreover, if a QP functions as a specificational topic, it is necessarily interpreted as a group-denoting specific indefinite. Thus, the same argument holds in the case where the QPs are interpreted as a topic in (4) and (6).

Next, consider the *wh*-licensing data presented in (10). Suppose that a *wh*-phrase could undergo movement to C to license its *wh*-force and further movement to [Spec, *cP*] to be interpreted as a specificational focus in an RDC. We would then expect (10) to be grammatical, contrary to fact. I argue that this type of movement is blocked due to *operator freezing effects*. It has been argued that operator movement cannot feed another operator movement (see Rizzi 2006, Bošković 2008, among others). Both focus movement and *wh*-movement belong to operator movement, which creates an operator-variable chain. Once *wh*-movement to C occurs, a *wh*-phrase cannot undergo focus movement any longer and thus right-dislocation to [Spec, *cP*] becomes impossible. The only way to satisfy both is to license the focus and *wh*-operator feature by the same head. This, however, is impossible under (16) because the specificational focus and *wh*-licenser are hosted by two different heads in RDCs: *c* and C, respectively.

The unacceptability of (12B) can be understood in a similar vein. Specificational focus assigned by the *external-c* has a different semantic and syntactic function from information focus. The information focus conveys new non-presupposed information, whereas the specificational focus (or topic) identifies a subset of the contextually salient set for which the predicate phrase actually holds (see É. Kiss 1998). É. Kiss (2010) provides a set of convincing evidence that specificational (“identificational” in her term) and information focus are licensed in different syntactic positions in Hungarian. In this paper, I argue that information focus is hosted by C, whereas specificational focus is hosted by *external-c* in Korean. For (12B) to be acceptable as an answer to a *wh*-phrase, *Cheli-lul* must receive new information focus and be licensed by C just as its *wh*-counterpart. If *Cheli-lul* undergoes right-dislocation to [Spec, *cP*], as in (12B), it is merged too high to be licensed by C and cannot be interpreted as an answer to a *wh*-phrase. Put generally, when the specificational focus and information focus are hosted by different heads in syntax, as in Korean RDCs, the two foci cannot fall on one item simultaneously.²

3 Right-Dislocation: in the case of bi-clausal fragments

In this section, I turn to repetitive RDCs which have rarely been discussed until recently (cf. Ahn and Cho 2015, Ko 2016 for recent studies on gapless RDCs). As seen in (1b), the repetitive RDC is the same as the gapped RDC except for the fact that the appendix repeats an overt argument in the host clause. Interestingly, however, the repetitive RDC shows radically different syntax from the gapped RDCs seen in section 2.

(1b) Chelwu-ka **sakwa-lul** mek-ess-e **sakwa-lul**. [repetitive RDC]

² É. Kiss (1998) argues that the identificational focus may be specified for [+exhaustive] and/or [+contrastive], depending on the language. On this view, the specificational RDC in Korean can be characterized as [-exhaustive] and [+contrastive]: it is [-exhaustive] in that the appendix does not necessarily convey exhaustive presuppositions, but it is [+contrastive] in that the focus can only be applied to a closed set of individuals known to the participants of the discourse, as seen in (12) (see É. Kiss 1998 for similar restrictions in Italian and Standard Arabic associated with [+contrastive] identificational focus).

Most notably, a *wh*-appendix is readily available in the repetitive RDC, as shown in (21). Furthermore, the appendix in repetitive RDCs can be used as an answer to a *wh*-question, as in (22). This is in sharp contrast to the ungrammaticality of the gapped RDCs in (10) and (12B). Though this contrast is very robust, it has not received a proper analysis in previous studies and the two constructions have been subsumed as one and the same phenomenon. Given the grammaticality of (21) and (22), it would be misleading to assume that repetitive RDCs have the same syntax as gapped RDCs. It is also noteworthy that the correlate and the appendix in the repetitive RDC are always phonologically prominent (or focused), in contrast to the appendix in the gapped RDC, which can be de-accented. Given that the appendix in repetitive RDCs functions as information focus, as seen in (21)-(22), I propose that (1b) is the true case where the bi-clausal fragment analysis works out. A sample derivation for (1b) is given in (23).

- (21) Yuni-ka (totaychey) **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni **nwukwu-lul**?
 Y.-NOM on.earth who-ACC meet-PAST-Q who-ACC
 ‘Who did Yuni meet?’
- (22) A: Yuni-ka **nwukwu-lul** manna-ss-ni?
 Y.-NOM who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Yuni meet?’
 B: Yuni-ka **Cheli-lul** manna-ss-e **Cheli-lul**.
 Y.-NOM C.-ACC meet-PAST-DEC C.-ACC
 ‘Yuni met Cheli.’
- (23) [Chelswu-ka **sakwa-lul** mek-ess-e] &[_{FocP} **sakwa-lul** Chelswu-ka — mek-ess-e]
-

If my proposal for repetitive RDCs in (23) is correct, we predict that repetitive RDCs will show the same syntactic and semantic properties as fragments. The following data show that this is indeed the case. As shown in (24), repetitive RDCs are not subject to island constraints, just like fragments (e.g. (7B)) - the appendix can be licensed even if its correlate is placed in a relative clause in the host clause (cf. the gapped RDC in (8)).

- (24) Cheli-nun [emma-ka sacwu-n] mokkal-lul peli-ess-e **emma-ka**.
 C.-TOP mom-NOM buy.give-RC necklace-ACC throw.away-PAST-DEC mom-NOM
 ‘Cheli threw away the necklace that *his mother* bought for him.’

As illustrated in (25) and (26), the scopal behavior of the appendix in repetitive RDCs is the same as fragments seen in (3) and (5). The appendix outscopes negation in the host clause, and cannot distribute over an existential in the host clause. The fact that the repetitive RDC may host a *wh*-appendix and can be used as an answer to a *wh*-question is also expected: it receives information focus, like the fragments in (9B) and (11B).

- (25) Cheli-ka **twul-ta** manna-ci anh-ass-e **twul-ta**.
 C.-NOM two-all meet-CI not-PAST-DEC two-all
 ‘Cheli met neither of them.’ (2>>Neg, *Neg>>2)
- (26) twu ai-ka **motun yenghwa-lul** po-ass-e-yo **motun yenghwa-lul**.
 two child-NOM all movie-ACC see-PAST-DEC-POL all movie-ACC
 ‘Two children watched all the movies.’ (2>>all, *all>>2)

The scope pattern becomes even more interesting when the host clause contains a scrambled correlate. Contra the previous generalization based on (5), when a quantifier is scrambled in a non-elliptical question, as in (27A), its fragment answer may take either narrow or wide scope with respect to an indefinite, as in (27B). The data in (27B) shows that the universal QP in a fragment may show scope ambiguity when its non-elliptical pair contains a scrambled QP. If my proposal in (23) is correct, we predict that the RDC counterpart of (27) would yield scope ambiguity as well. Put differently, if the host clause contains a scrambled correlate, we would predict that a universal QP may show ambiguity with respect to an indefinite. The data in (28) show that this prediction is borne out. When the host clause contains a scrambled QP in repetitive RDCs, as in (28), the sentence is ambiguous between the narrow and wide scope readings of the universal QP. This would be surprising if we simply stipulated that the appendix in an RDC is always a non-quantificational specific indefinite to explain the data in (26).

- (27) A: **etten yenghwa-lul** twu ai-ka po-ass-ni?
 which movie-ACC two child-NOM see-PAST-Q
 ‘Which movie did two children watch?’
 B: **motun yenghwa-lul(-yo)**.
 all movie-ACC(-POL) ‘all the movies.’ (2>>all, all>>2)
- (28) **motun yenghwa-lul** twu ai-ka po-ass-e-yo **motun yenghwa-lul**.
 all movie-ACC two child-NOM see-PAST-DEC-POL all movie-ACC
 ‘Two children watched all the movies.’ (2>>all, all>>2)

Under the current proposal, however, the contrast between (26) and (28) can be explained by the syntactic parallelism between fragments and repetitive RDCs. In an environment where a fragment allows scope ambiguity due to a scrambled non-elliptical pair, as in (27B), we get scope ambiguity in RDCs as well, as in (28). In the context where a fragment QP does not allow scope ambiguity (e.g. (3), (5)), we observe the same scope rigidity in repetitive RDCs (e.g. (25), (26)). This pattern is exactly what we expect from the proposal that repetitive RDCs contain a bi-clausal fragment structure.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that right-dislocation in Korean is not a uniform phenomenon. In particular, I have proposed that the gapped RDC has a mono-clausal syntax with rightward movement, whereas the repetitive RDC has a bi-clausal syntax with a fragmentary appendix. Under this proposal, we can explain why two sub-varieties of RDCs show different syntactic and semantic properties despite their surface similarities. Overall, the conclusion drawn in this paper implies that the right periphery is neither a mirror image nor a simply reduced version of the left periphery. A number of novel questions need to be asked concerning the right edges, which remain relatively unexplored in comparison to its leftward counterpart. I hope that this paper contributes to a better understanding of the right periphery in syntax and wish to come back to this issue with a broader outlook of language universals and variations in right peripheries.

References

Ahn, H.-D. 2012. *Cokakmwun ynkwu*. [Studies on fragments]. Seoul: Hankuk Mwonhwasa.

- Ahn, H.-D. and S. Cho. 2015. Right dislocation vs. fragment: a reply to Ko (2014). *Studies in Generative Grammar* 25: 427-446.
- Bošković, Ž. 2008. On the operator freezing effect. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26: 249-287.
- Choe, H. S. 1987. Successive-cyclic rightward movement in Korean. In *Harvard studies in Korean linguistics II*, ed. by Kuno et al., 40-56. Seoul: Hanshin.
- Choi, J. 2008. Economy in rightward movement. MA thesis, Seoul National University.
- Chung, D. 2009. An elliptical coordination analysis of the right dislocated construction in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 17 (4): 1-23.
- Chung, D. 2012. Pre- vs. post-verbal asymmetries and the syntax of Korean right dislocated construction. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 22(4): 703-721.
- É. Kiss, K. 1998. Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74 (2): 245-273.
- É. Kiss, K. 2010. Structural focus and exhaustivity. In *Information structure: theoretical, typological and experimental perspectives*, 64-88. Oxford-NY: Oxford University Press.
- Griffiths, J., and A. Lipták 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17:189-234.
- Haegeman, L. 2006. Conditionals, factives and the left periphery. *Lingua* 116: 1651-1669.
- Heycock, C. and A. Kroch. 1999. Pseudocleft connectivity: Implications for the LF interface. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 365-397.
- Ko, H. 2014a. *Edges in syntax: scrambling and cyclic linearization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ko, H. 2014b. Remarks on right dislocation construction in Korean: challenges to bi-clausal analyses. *Language Research* 50(2): 275-310.
- Ko, H. 2015. Two ways to the right: a hybrid approach to right-dislocation in Korean. *Language Research* 51(1): 3-40.
- Ko, H. 2016. Gapless right-dislocation: the role of overt correlates. *Language Research* 52:1-30.
- Ko, H. and J. Choi. 2009. Rightward movement and output economy. In *Proceedings of the 11th SICOGG: 2009 visions of the Minimalist Program*, 247-255. Seoul: Hankuk Publishing Co.
- Kural, M. 1997. Postverbal constituents in Turkish and the linear correspondence axiom. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28: 498-519.
- Lambrecht, K. 2001. Dislocation. In *Language typology and language universals: an international handbook* Vol. 2, 1050-1078. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Lee, C.-H. 2013. Why are WH-afterthoughts impossible? [written in Korean]. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 72: 105-119.
- Lee, J.-S. 2009. A verb-initial single clause analysis of right-dislocated constructions in Korean. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 57: 127-157.
- Ott, D. and M. de Vries. 2015. Right-dislocation as deletion. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, [Online First] DOI 10.1007/s11049-015-9307-7.
- Park, B.-S. 2005. Island-insensitive fragment answers in Korean. In *Proceedings of the 24th WCCFL proceedings*, 317-325. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Park, M.-K. and S.-W. Kim. 2009. The syntax of afterthoughts in Korean: Move and delete. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 17: 25-53.
- Rizzi, L. 2006. On the form of chains: Criterial positions and ECP effects. In *Wh-movement: Moving on*, ed. by L. Cheng & N. Corver, 97-133. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by L. Haegeman, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.