

Case-drop, left-branch extraction and multiplicity in the right-dislocation construction*

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Park, Bum-Sik and Hyosik Kim. 2016. Case-drop, left-branch extraction and multiplicity in the right-dislocation construction. *Linguistic Research* 33(2), 259-297. This paper investigates the Right-Dislocation Construction (RDC) in Korean. We provide some novel sets of data and discuss how these data could be dealt with by the main approaches to the RDC. The major part of the data is concerned with the multiplicity of appendices (or multiplicity of RDed elements) and the restrictions imposed on their distribution. We discuss the restrictions on the distribution of multiple appendices, focusing on the following three phenomena: Case/postposition-drop, the Clause-Mate Condition effect, and Left-Branch Extraction. It is observed that the distribution of multiple appendices becomes quite restricted when they are interrelated with these phenomena. We show that the restrictions present various argument in favor of the bi-clausal ellipsis approach to the RDC. Finally, we address the issue of island-(in)sensitivity in the RDC and their implications. (Dongguk University)

Keywords right-dislocation construction, case-drop, clause-mate condition, left-branch extraction, island-sensitivity, ellipsis, repair by ellipsis

1. Introduction

Korean is a strict head-final SOV (subject-object-verb) language. Nonetheless, in colloquial speech overt elements often appear post-verbally, and this type of construction is dubbed Right-Dislocation Construction (RDC). Examples in (1) are representative. They show that an argument or an adjunct can be a post-verbal/RDed

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element, and the preceding sentence appears to contain a ‘gap’ that corresponds to the RDed element. In this paper, we call the gap-containing sentence Host, and the RDed element Appendix, following Sells’ (1999) terminology and for reasons to be clearer.

- (1)
- | | Host | | Appendix | |
|----|--|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| a. | Chelswu-ka | __ | coahay, | Yenghi-lul [Argument] |
| | C.-Nom | | like | Y.-Acc |
| | ‘Chelswu likes Yenghi.’ | | | |
| b. | Chelswu-ka | [__ sonyen]-ul | mannasse, | acwu ttokttokha-n |
| | C.-Nom | boy-Acc | met, | very start-Adn |
| | ‘Chelswu met a boy who is very smart.’ [Adjunct] | | | |

The RDC has received much attention in the literature and various approaches have been proposed. In general, they are divided into two groups, *the mono-clausal approach* and *the bi-clausal approach*, depending on whether or not it is assumed that the construction consists of two separate sentences/propositions. Under the roof of *the mono-clausal approach*, three sub-approaches have been proposed. First one argues that the RDC involves rightward movement of the appendix as in (2) (Choe 1987, Mahajan 1997, 1988, Kural 1997, Takano 2007, Choi 2008, Ko and Choi 2009). We call this approach *the mono-clausal rightward movement approach*.

- (2)
- | | | | |
|-------------|---|---------|-------------|
| [Chelswu-ka | t | coahay, | Yenghi-lul] |
| | | | |

Maintaining that the RDC involves a mono-clause, the second approach advocates that the appendix is base-generated at the right periphery (and thus there is no gap to begin with) (J-S Lee 2007, 2009, 2012; C-H Lee 2009, 2013), as illustrated in (3). This approach is called *the mono-clausal base-generation approach* in this paper.

- (3) Chelswu-ka coahay, Yenghi-lul

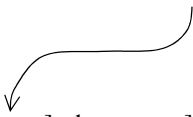
Finally, Ko (2015) has proposed a *hybrid approach* to the RDC. It is hybrid in that the two types of appendix, argument appendix and adjunct appendix, are derived in a different way. For the argument RDC as in (1a), Ko argues that it involves double-preposing, where the argument first fronts to FocP, followed by the remnant fronting to TopP. The derivation of (1a) is illustrated in (4). For the adjunct RDC in (1b), she proposes that the adjunct is base-generated in the independent adjunct domain as a form of a DP including its head and that the head is copied onto the host clause via sideward movement. After the copy operation takes place, the remaining element in the adjunct domain is concatenated (indicated with $\wedge$) with the host (cf. Hornstein and Nunes 2008). This is illustrated in (5).

(4) $[_{TopP} [_{MP2} \text{ Chelswu-ka } t_1 \text{ coahay}]]_2, [_{FocP} \text{ Yenghi-lul}_1 t_2]]$ (=1a)

(5) *Derivation of adjunct RDC* (=1b)

a. *Adjunct domain*: $[[\text{acwu ttoktokha-n}] \quad \boxed{\text{sonyen}}]$

b. *Host Clause*: $[\text{Chelswu-ka } \boxed{\text{sonyen}}\text{-ul mannsse}] \wedge [\text{acwu ttoktokha-n}]$



Under the roof of *the bi-clausal approach*, two main approaches have been proposed. First one assumes that the appendix is generated via leftward movement of the appendix, followed by TP-ellipsis, which we call *the bi-clausal ellipsis approach* (Tanaka 2001; Takita 2009; Abe 2004; Chung 2009, 2010). Under this approach (1a) is derived as follows.

(6) $\text{Chelswu-ka } pro_j \text{ coahay, Yenghi-lul}_i \quad \boxed{\text{Chelswu-ka}_j \text{ } t_i \text{ coahay}}$



In contrast, the other approach does not assume ellipsis but maintains that the appendix is base-generated separately from the host and its sentential meaning is recovered from the matching predicate or noun in the host (Lee 2010, Yoon 2013). Under this *the bi-clausal base-generation approach*, (1a) and (1b) are represented as (7a) and (7b), respectively.¹

- (7) a. Chelswu-ka *pro*_j coahahay_i, Yenghi-lul_j [e]_i
 b. Chelswu-ka sonyen-ul_i mannasse, acwu tokttokha-n [e]_i

In this paper, presenting novel data, we investigate the issue of how the RDC is derived. The main data are concerned with multiplicity of appendices. It is sometimes noted that multiple appendices are possible, giving the impression that their distribution is rather free. However, we observe that the distribution of multiple appendices is fairly restricted in certain contexts. This paper discusses the restrictions, focusing on the following three phenomena: Case/postposition-drop, the Clause-Mate Condition and Left-Branch Extraction, and shows that the restrictions present various arguments in favor of the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. Finally we address the issue of island-(in)sensitivity in the RDC.

2. Case-drop

2.1 Case-drop in the gapped and gapless RDC

The RDC exhibits a certain asymmetry in permitting case-drop from the appendix. As shown in (8) in the gapped RDC only the direct object appendix can optionally drop its case-marker.²

[Gapped RDC]

- (8) a. ____ Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse, Chelswu[?](-ka)
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent C.(-Nom)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

¹ As a result, (7a) will consist of two propositions. Given that it contains two propositions, in this paper we simply classify this approach as a bi-clausal approach to differentiate it from the mono-clausal approaches. Note that under this approach, the appendix in (7b) will be further processed via matching the relevant predicate in the host clause, also resulting in two propositions.

² Case-drop from the embedded subject leads to a more severe degradedness.

- (i) Na-nun [____ Yenghi-ekey peyenci-lul ponayssta-ko] sayngkakhay, Chelswu*(-ka)
 I-Top Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent-C think C.-Nom
 ‘I think that Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

- b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey ____ ponaysse, pyenci(-lul)
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat sent letter(-Acc)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’
- c. Chelswu-ka ____ pyenci-lul ponaysse, Yenghi³(-eykey)
 C.-Nom letter-Acc sent, Y.(-Dat)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

Korean also allows gapless RDCs, which have not received much attention and been discussed only sporadically (Tanaka 2001; J-S Lee 2009; Lee 2010). Interestingly, the gapless RDC shows a different pattern from the gapped RDC in that it can optionally drop case-markers from any types of argument appendices as shown in (9).³

[Gapless RDC]

- (9) a. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse, Chelswu³(-ka)
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent C.(-Nom)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’
- b. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse, pyenci(-lul)
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent letter(-Acc)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’
- c. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse, enghi(-eykey)
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent Y.(-Dat)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

Another contrast is also observed with respect to postposition-drop, as shown in (10) and (11): Postposition-drop is only possible in the gapless RDC.

³ The gapless RDC in general seem to require focus on the correlate in the host that corresponds to the appendix. Putting focus becomes easier when a relevant context is provided in the discourse, as shown in (i).

- (i) A: nwu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponayss-ni?
 who-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent-Q
 ‘Who sent Yenghi a letter?’
- B: CHELSWU-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse, Chelswu³(-ka)
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent, C.(-Nom)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

- (10) Chelswu-ka ___ ton-ul pilyesse, Yenghi*(-lo pwute)
 C.-Nom money-Acc bollowed Y.(-from)
 Intended: ‘Chwlswu borrowed money from Yenghi.’

- (11) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-lo pwute ton-ul pilyesse, Yenghi(-lo pwute)
 C.-Nom Y.-from money-Acc borrowed Y.(-from)
 ‘Chewlswu borrowed money from Yenghi.’

We will now discuss how the contrast between the gapped RDC and the gapless RDC regarding case/postposition-drop fares with the various approaches to the RDC. Let us first overview how each approach would treat the two types of the RDC. For the mono-clausal rightward approach and the hybrid approach, it is not so obvious how these two types are treated by them. If they assume that the two types are derived in the same way (with the assumption that the copy in the host can optionally be pronounced), the contrast would remain obscure. However, under these approaches the two types might well be treated differently, for these approaches are mainly concerned about the gapped RDC.⁴ In favor of these approaches and for the sake of argument, let us assume that this is the case (see further discussion below). Then, the contrast might be something that is predicted, although detailed analyses still remains to be proposed. By contrast, the contrast appears to strongly disfavor the other three approaches (i.e. the mono-clausal base-generation approach, the bi-clausal base-generation approach and the bi-clausal ellipsis approach), since they all assume that the two types are derived in the same way.

Despite this inclination, however, we argue that the contrast can best be captured by the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. For the rest of this section, we will first show that the contrast is indeed problematic for both the mono-clausal base-generation approach and the bi-clausal base-generation approach. Then we will show that the contrast is straightforwardly captured by the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. The discussion will leave us the other two approaches (i.e. the mono-clausal rightward approach and the hybrid approach) to be examined in more detail. In Sections 2.2 and 2.3, we will take up the task and argue that these approaches also face some non-trivial problems.

⁴ For instance, proposing the hybrid approach to the gapped RDC, Ko (2015) notes that the gapless RDC should be derived differently from the gapped RDC.

First, let us consider the mono-clausal base-generation approach. The approach assumes that Korean is basically a SVO language, and that the SOV order is derived by leftward movement of O to vP, resulting in the order SO_iV t_i (Kayne 1994). In particular, J-S Lee (2009, 2012) argues that the SVO order represents the ‘gapped’ RDC like (1) while the ‘gapless’ RDC occurs when both the copies created by movement are pronounced. However, it is not so clear how this approach would deal with the optionality of case-drop in the gapless RDC. Arguably, under the approach, it might be accounted for by employing partial copy-deletion. For instance, (9c) would be derived as in (12), where the copy-deletion operation would only target the Dat-marker of the post-verbal copy. By contrast, the same partial copy-deletion could not take place for (8c) because the post-verbal dative object has not moved (and thus no pre-verbal copy is created to begin with).

(12) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey peyn-ci-lul ponaysse, Yenghi-eykey

However, two potential problems arise. One has to do with the contrast between (8a) and (9a), where the appendix is (to be interpreted as) the subject and case-drop can only be possible in the gapless RDC in (9a). Given that the appendix is not an internal argument, it is not obvious if we can adopt the same partial copy-deletion mechanism that we did for the contrast (8c).⁵ Adopting the copy-deletion analysis would also lead to another potential problem, as shown in (13). In both examples in (13), arguably, the dative object undergoes movement, leaving its copy behind. However, the partial copy-deletion leads to the ungrammaticality.

⁵ One way of deriving the subject appendix would be to assume (a version of) the hybrid approach’s double-preposing, as shown in (i), where for simplicity, only the copies of the subject *Chelswu-ka* is represented. If the copy of *Chelswu-ka* in the host in (1b) is deleted, it results in the gapless RDC in (8a). If it is retained, it will result in the gapped RDC in (9a). However, if we naturally assume that copy-deletion is restricted by the C-command relation among copies, it is unclear how the contrast between (8a) and (9a) could be captured regarding the asymmetry of the case-drop, since in both examples, being the head of the copy, the appendix is not C-commanded by its tail throughout the derivation.

(i) a. [Chelswu-ka_i [Chelswu-ka_j Yenghi-ekey peyn-ci-lul ponaysse]] →
b. [Chelswu-ka_j Yenghi-ekey peyn-ci-lul ponaysse] Chelswu-ka_i t_j

- (13) a. *Yenghi-ekey [Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse]
 Y.-Dat C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent
 'Yeonghi, Chelswu sent Yeonghi a letter.'
- b. *na-nun [Yenghi-ekey Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul
 I-Top Y.-Dat C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc
 ponayssta-ko] sayngkakhay
 sent-C think
 'I think that Yeonghi, Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.'

The bi-clausal base-generation approach would also fail to account for the contrast. Recall that under this approach the two types of RDC are derived in the same way and what is crucial for the approach is the possibility of recovering the null predicate via matching, regardless of whether the gap is overtly filled or not (Lee 2010). Then, the contrast between (8) and (9) would remain mysterious under this approach.

What about the bi-clausal ellipsis approach? We argue that the contrast readily comes about under this approach. Before we show how it captures the contrast, we first take a little detour and consider the relevant fragment constructions that exhibit a similar pattern. The fragment constructions that are relevant to our discussion are of two types: fragment answers and matrix sluicing. As observed by Park (2015), these two types show an interesting contrast regarding case/postposition-drop. In fragment answers, case/postposition-drop is freely allowed as in (14). In contrast, in matrix sluicing only the Nom-marker and Acc-marker can optionally be dropped, but neither the Dat-marker nor the postposition can be dropped, as shown in (15).

[Fragment answers]

- (14) a. A: nwu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponayss-ni?
 who-Nom Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent-Q
 'Who sent a letter to Yenghi?'
 B: Chelswu(-ka)
 C.(-Nom)
 'Chelswu'

b. A: Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey mwues-ul ponayss-ni?

C.-Nom Y.-Dat what-Acc sent-Q

‘What did Chelswu send Yenghi?’

B: pyenci(-lul)

letter(-Acc)

‘A letter.’

c. A: Chelswu-ka nwukwu-eykey pyenci-lul ponayss-ni?

C.-Nom who-Dat letter-Acc sent-Q

‘Who did Chelswu send a letter?’

B: Yenghi(-eykey)

Y.(-Dat)

‘Yenghi.’

d. A: Chelswu-ka nwukwu-lo pwute ton-ul pilyess-ni?

C.-Nom who-from money-Acc borrowed-Q

‘From whom did Chelswu borrowed money?’

B: Yenghi(-lo pwute)

Y.(-from)

‘(From) Yenghi’

[Matrix sluicing]

(15) a. A: ____ Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse.

Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent

B: nwu-ka/²nwukwu?

who-Nom/who

‘Who?’

b. A: Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey ____ ponaysse

C.-Nom Y.-Dat sent

‘Chelswu sent Yenghi’

B: mwue(-lul)?

what(-Acc)

‘What?’

c. A: Chelswu-ka ____ pyenci-lul ponaysse.

C.-Nom letter-Acc sent

‘Chelswu sent a letter.’

B: nwukwu*(-eykey)?

who(-Dat)

‘To whom?’

- d. A: Chelswu-ka ____ ton-ul pilyesse.
 C.-Nom money-Acc borrowed
 ‘Chelswu borrowed money.’

B: nwukwu*(-lo pwute)?

who(-from)

‘From whom?’

We take these case/postposition-drop phenomena to be crucial for our purposes, and suggest that Park’s (2015) analysis of fragments can extend to the relevant RDC. In line with Kim (2010), Park (2015) argues that the optionality of case/postposition-drop in fragment answers is straightforwardly accounted for under the ellipsis approach to fragments. He assumes that in ellipsis fronting of the remnant/fragment can optionally strand its case-marker or the postposition to which it is the complement. When the case marker/postposition is stranded, the subsequent TP-ellipsis is required to eliminate the stranded marker/postposition, giving rise to a repair effect (cf. Merchant 2001; Lasnik 2001). The resulting construction is the bare remnant/fragment NP. For instance, the bare remnant in (14c) is derived as shown in (16). We suggest that the same derivation applies to the appendix of the gapless RDC in (9) and (11).

- (16) Yenghi_i [~~TP~~ Chelswu-ka ~~t_i-eykey~~ pyenci-tul ~~ponaysse~~]
 Y. C.-Nom Dat letter-Acc sent

What is crucial here is the assumption that the presence/absence of the corresponding markers in the antecedent plays an important role in licensing ellipsis (Chung 2013). In the fragment answers in (14), the antecedent contains the identical case-marker or postposition, and this licenses TP-ellipsis under identity/recoverability. In contrast, in matrix sluicing in (15), the corresponding marker is absent in the antecedent, which prohibits TP-ellipsis. This accounts for the unacceptable matrix sluicing in (15c) and (15d). Park argues that the goodness of the bare remnant in (15a) and (15b) is due to the claim that they allow an alternative derivation. Note

first that the direct object can optionally drop its Acc-marker even without ellipsis as shown in (17). This means that the bare fragment in (15b) can be derived from (17b) by eliding TP.⁶

- (17) a. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey mwue ponayss-ni?
 b. ?mwue_i <[_{TP} Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey t_i ponayss-ni]>?

But the same analysis cannot apply to the subject sluicing in (15a) since unlike the Acc-marker, other markers such as the Nom-marker and the Dat-marker cannot be dropped when ellipsis is not involved. As for the acceptable subject matrix sluicing in (15a), Park suggests that only the subject matrix sluicing allows an alternative source, which is called (pseudo-)cleft source/*pro* source, as shown in (18).⁷

- (18) ?Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponan-ken/ku-ken nwukwu?
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent-KEN/it-KEN who
 ‘Who (was it that sent Yenghi a letter)?’

The same analysis can straightforwardly be extended to the gapped RDC in (8) and (10).⁸ Note here that under this approach, it is predicted that in contrast to the

⁶ Compared to (17a), (17b) seems slightly degraded. But the contrast seems very subtle, and becomes almost non-existent especially when a pause is put after the *wh*-phrase. Given this, we take it to be acceptable. (See also footnote 8 for related discussion.)

⁷ A reviewer reports that (15a) with *nwukwu* sounds awkward to him/her. We agree that it sounds somewhat marginal (and thus we mark it with ‘?’) but it is not clear if it is entirely ruled out. There might be speaker variation regarding the acceptability of (15a) with *nwukwu*. Under Park’s (2015) analysis adopted here, it is predicted that the variation, if any, patterns with the acceptability of the underlying source in (18) among speakers, which remains to be further investigated.

⁸ A reviewer notes that the proposed analysis may not apply to the RDC in (8b), repeated below.

- (i) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey ____ ponaysse, pyenci(-lul) (=8b)
 C.-Non Y.-Dat sent letter(-Acc)
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

Under the proposed analysis, the appendix is derived as in (iia). However, the reviewer claims that when ellipsis does not take place as in (iib) it is severely degraded (for many speakers), compared to (iic) and thus may not be the underlying source.

- (ii) a. pyenci_i [~~Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey t_i ponaysse~~]
 b. pyenci_j [Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey t_j ponaysse]

matrix sluicing in (15a), the (pseudo-)cleft/*pro* source should not be available for the unacceptable RDC in (8a). The prediction is borne out, as shown (19).⁹

- (19) #___ Yenghi-eykey pyenci-lul ponaysse,
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent
 Yenghi-eykey penci-lul ponan-ken/ku-ken Chelswu(-ka)
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent-KEN/it-KEN C.(-Nom)
 Intended: ‘Someone sent a letter to Yenghi. It was Chelswu (that
 sent Yenghi a letter).’

In this section we have shown that the variability of case/postposition-drop in the (two types) RDC cannot be captured by the mono-clausal base-generation approach or by the bi-clausal base-generation approach, and that it can readily be captured by the bi-clausal ellipsis approach.

Note however that we have not discussed in detail how the other two approaches (i.e. the mono-clausal rightward movement approach and the hybrid approach) would capture the contrast between the gapped RDC in (8)/(10) and the gapless RDC in (9)/(11). As mentioned above (Section 2.1), if these approaches all treat the two types in the same way, the contrast would remain obscure. On the other hand, if both the approaches treat these two types differently, the contrast could be captured. For the sake of argument and in favor of these approaches, let us assume that the latter possibility is the case. And given the discussion (of the ellipsis approach) above, let us further assume that for the gapless RDC, these approaches also adopt the ellipsis approach. This will straightforwardly account for the gapless RDCs in (9)/(11). The contrast in the gapped RDCs in (8) can also be explained away, given that these approaches all assume movement of the ‘appendix’ from its canonical position, where only the Acc-marker can optionally be dropped. This explains why only the Acc-marker in (8b) can optionally be dropped.

c. Chelswu-ka Yenghi-eykey pyenci ponaysse

There might be speaker variation, but to us, (iib) still seems acceptable (especially with a pause after *pyenci* ‘letter’). Im (2007) also reports the same judgment (see also Ahn and Cho (2006) for related discussion). Despite the controversial issues regarding the nature of *pyenci*, what is crucial here is that we need check if (iib) can naturally follow the host in (i), and it seems that it can.

⁹ The unacceptability of (19) is probably due to some discourse incongruency between the two clauses. Note also that (19) is more severely degraded when the Nom-marker is retained.

In the above discussion, we explored the possibility that the mono-clausal rightward movement approach and the hybrid approach could account for the contrast the gapped RDC and gapless RDC regarding the case/postposition-drop. What is crucially assumed here is that both the approaches should adopt the ellipsis approach to the gapless RDC. However, in the following section we will argue that the assumption faces some non-trivial problems. Our main discussion will focus on a third type of the RDC, called the Mixed RDC, which has not been discussed (in detail) in the literature.

2.2 Mixed RDC

There exists a third type of the RDC, as exemplified in (20). (20) involves a mixture of the gapped RDC and gapless RDC (Mixed RDC, *hereafter*).¹⁰ In (20a), the dative appendix indicates that it is the gapless RDC (due to the presence of its overt equivalent in the host), and at the same time the accusative appendix indicates it is the gapped RDC (since it contains a gap).

- (20) a. Chelswu-ka **Yenghi-eykey** _____ ponaysse,
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat sent
 [**Yenghi-eykey** pyenci-lul] / ?[pyenci-lul **Yenghi-eykey**]
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc letter-Acc Y.-Dat
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’
- b. _____ **Yenghi-eykey** pyenci-lul ponaysse,
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc sent
 [Chelswu-ka **Yenghi-eykey**] / [**Yenghi-eykey** Chelswu-ka]
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat Y.-Dat C.-Nom
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’
- c. Chelswu-ka **Yenghi-lo pwute** _____ pilyesse,
 C.-Nom Y.-from borrowed
 [**Yenghi-lo pwute** ton-ul] / [ton-ul **Yenghi-lo pwute**]
 Y.-from money-Acc money Y.-from

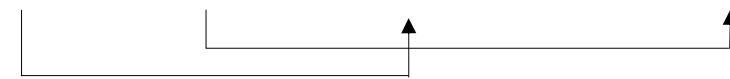
¹⁰ For one of our informants, the mixed RDCs in (20) is slightly degraded. Interestingly the same speaker also finds the typical gapless RDCs like (9) as much degraded. We agree that the mixed RDCs in general may be somewhat marginal, but we still find the gapless RDCs perfect.

‘Chelswu borrowed money from Yenghi.’

- d. ____ **Yenghi-eykey** ____ ponaysse,
 Y.-Dat sent
 ?Chelswu-ka **Yenghi-eykey** pyenci-lul
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat letter
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

To our best knowledge, the mixed RDC has never been discussed (in detail) in the literature. We will show that the mixed RDCs in (20) pose problems for both the mono-clausal rightward approach and the hybrid approach if as mentioned above, these approaches assume the ellipsis approach to the gapless RDC. Let us consider (20d). Under the hybrid approach, which assumes double-preposing for the gapped RDC, the first and the third appendix should be fronted to FocP, followed by preposing of the remnant TP above it. Then there will be no room for deriving the second appendix via ellipsis in between these two appendices.

The mono-clausal rightward movement approach also faces a potential problem. In (20d), for instance, the second appendix indicates it is derived by ellipsis from its own sentence. If we assume that the elliptical sentence is syntactically independent of the host, no elements from the host are allowed to move to the vicinity of the elliptical sentence. In other words, under the mono-clausal rightward movement approach, (20d) would be derived as schematically shown in (21a), but the rightward movement of *ton-ul* seems very dubious. A more serious problem arises with examples like (21b). If the first and the third argument is derived from a single appendix sentence by ellipsis, the rightward movement of the second argument should target a position within the appendix clause, i.e. between the first and the third argument. This movement, however, seems really dubious.

- (21) a. ____ **Yenghi-ekey** ____ ponaysse, C.-Ka [**Yenghi-eykey**_i [---t_i---]] ton-ul

 b. **Chelswu-ka** ____ **pyenci-lul** ponaysse, **Chelswu-ka** Yenghi-ekey
 C.-Nom letter-Acc sent C.-Nom Y.-Dat
 pyenci-lul
 letter-Acc

‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

2.2 An outstanding puzzle

Given the discussion so far, the bi-clausal ellipsis approach to the RDC seems to be the most viable one. However, the mixed RDC also poses a non-trivial challenge for the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. Recall that in Section 2.1 we argued that case-markers/postpositions in the appendix can be stranded under ellipsis as long as the identical case-markers/postpositions are present in the host. This predicts that the mixed RDC (20a) should freely allow the Dat-marker drop, as the same Dat-marker is present in the host. The derivation is shown in (22). Contra the prediction, however, it can only be dropped at the final position as shown in (23). (The same restriction holds for the rest of the data in (20).)

(22) ..., Yenghi_i pyenci-lul_j [~~TP~~ Chelswu-ka ~~t_i-eykey~~ ~~t_j~~ ponaysse]

(23) Chelswu-ka **Yenghi-eykey** _____ ponaysse,
 C.-Nom Y.-Dat sent
 ①[Yenghi?*(-eykey) pyenci-lul] / ②²[pyenci-lul **Yenghi(-eykey)**]
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc letter-Acc Y.-Dat
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

In the following section, we will show that the restriction turns out not to be a real challenge, but something that is expected under the ellipsis approach. Specifically, we will argue that the impossibility of Dat-drop in (23①) is due to an independent reason arising from interactions between movement and ellipsis.

3 Case-drop and multiplicity of appendices

In the previous section, we have shown that only the final appendix in the mixed RDC can optionally drop its case-marker/postposition. Interestingly, as observed by Park (2013), fragment answers are subject to the same restriction. As exemplified in (24) and (25), only the final fragment in multiple fragments can optionally drop its

case-marker.

- (24) A: Chelswu-ka **nwukwu-eykey** **mwues-ul** ponayss-ni?
 C.-Nom who-Dat what-Acc sent-Q
 ‘What did Chelswu send whom?’

B: Yenghi^{*} (-eykey) pyenci(-lul)
 Y.(-Dat) letter(-Acc)
 ‘A letter to Yenghi.’

- (25) A: Chelswu-ka **mwues-ul** **nwukwu-eykey** ponayss-ni?
 C.-Nom what-Acc who-Dat sent-Q
 ‘What did Chelswu send whom?’

B: Pyenci^{?’} (-lul) Yenghi^{?’} (-eykey)
 letter(-Acc) Y.(-Dat)
 ‘A letter to Yenghi.’

Under the standard assumption, (multiple) fragments are derived via ellipsis (cf. Merchant 2004, Thoms 2014, Park and Oh 2014, Park and Kim 2015a,b). To our best knowledge, three ellipsis-based analyses have been proposed for the case/postposition-drop restriction in fragments: An (2015), Chung (2015), and Park and Kim (2014, 2015a,b). It is not our goal to review these, and for our current purposes, adopting any of these will suffice.¹¹ What is crucial here is that these analyses all adopt ellipsis approach and thus they will extend to the case-postposition-drop restriction in the RDC. For the sake of presentation, we will briefly introduce Park and Kim’s (2015b) analysis and see how it can extend to the restriction on the multiplicity of the appendices.

It has been widely assumed that certain illegitimate movement has an effect at PF and thus can in principle be repaired by PF-ellipsis. For instance, Chomsky (1972) argues that extraction out of an island induces a PF effect and the effect is encoded (with a #) on the island itself. On the other hand, Merchant (2008) argues that copies of the extracted element outside of the island induce the PF-effect (thereby capturing the well-known contrast between VP-ellipsis and TP-ellipsis in the

¹¹ Comparison of these analyses would be very interesting and revealing, but it is beyond the scope of this paper. We leave it for another occasion.

sluicing context.) Fox and Lasnik (2003) provide a different account. They argue that in sluicing a Parallelism condition induces locality-violating movement, forcing the *wh*-movement to skip the intermediate projections. This leaves a * on the skipped intermediate projections, which leads to a PF-crash unless eliminated via ellipsis.

In the spirit of Fox and Lasnik (2003), in Park and Kim (2015b) we propose that being illegitimate, case/postposition-stranding movement has an effect on the intervening element at PF since the intervener breaks the ‘dependency relation’ between the moved element and its stranded case-marker/postposition. This gives rise to a certain asymmetry of the repair effect. If all of the interveners are eliminated by ellipsis, the structure is repaired. If an intervener survives ellipsis the structure induces a PF-crash. Let us consider how it works with the singleton fragment answer in (14c), repeated as (26). A derivational step of the bare NP fragment in (26B) is shown in (27), where the Dat-marker is stranded within TP. When TP-ellipsis does not take place as in (27a), it is unacceptable since there are two troublemakers at PF: the stranded Dat-marker, and the intervening subject, *Chelswu-ka*, located between fronted NP and the Dat-marker. Subsequent TP-ellipsis will get rid of the troublemakers, giving rise to a repair effect, as shown in (27b).¹²

- (26) A: Chelswu-ka nwukwu-eykey pyenci-lul ponayss-ni?
 C.-Nom who-Dat letter-Acc sent-Q
 ‘Who did Chelswu send a letter to?’

- B: Yenghi(-eykey)
 Y.(-Dat)
 ‘Yenghi.’

- (27) a. *Yenghi_i [_{TP} Chelswu-ka t_i-eykey pyenci-lul ponasse]
 b. Yenghi_i [_{TP} ~~Chelswu-ka~~ ~~t_i-eykey~~ pyenci-lul ponasse]

¹² As is pointed out by a reviewer, the dependency relation between the fronted NP and its stranded Dat-marker could be taken to mean the adjacency between them. Then what is broken by the intervener would be the adjacency. In Park and Kim (2015a), we refer to this as PF-dependency. As an alternative, one could assume that certain illegitimate movement like case/postposition-stranding movement leaves the PF-uninterpretable feature “*” on the intervener (cf. Fox and Lasnik 2003; Bošković 2011, 2013). See Park and Kim (2014, 2015a) for this line of analysis of the restriction on multiple fragments in Korean.

The analysis predicts that if an intervener survives TP-ellipsis, the structure remains unacceptable. This is exactly what happens with unacceptable multiple fragments. For instance, in (24B) both *Yenghi* and *pyenci-lul* are fronted before TP-ellipsis takes place. Given that *Yenghi* strands its Dat-marker within TP, this will induce two interveners, *Chelswu-ka* and *pyenci-lul*, at PF. Unlike (26B), however, subsequent TP-ellipsis leaves *pyenci-lul* uneliminated, as in (28).¹³

(28) *Yenghi*_i *pyenci-lul*_j [_{TP} *Chelswu-ka* — *t_i*-Dat — *t_j* — sent]

As is clearer now, this analysis can straightforwardly extend to the case/postposition-drop restriction in the mixed RDC in (23), repeated as (29). In (29 ㉑), when *Yenghi* strands its Dat-marker within TP it renders *pyenci-lul* a surviving intervener.¹⁴

(29) *Chelswu-ka* ***Yenghi-eykey*** ____ *ponaysse*,
C.-Nom Y.-Dat sent

¹³ Note that under Park and Kim's (2015b) analysis, the order of movement of the two fragments immaterial, since checking the intervener takes place representationally at PF. In other words, whatever intervenes between the case-stranding element and the stranded case at PF counts as the intervener. Alternatively one might assume with Park and Kim (2014, 2015a) that a * is left on the intervener in syntax, with the assumption that the lower fragment always moves first, followed by the higher one, extending the structure. Then the lower fragment, but not the higher one, can be a potential intervener. In (28), this means that movement of *Yenghi* crosses *pyenci-lul*, rendering the latter an intervener.

¹⁴ Note that in contrast to (29 ㉑), the Acc-maker drop in (29 ㉒) seems possible, as shown in (i). Given the discussion above, the Acc-drop in (29 ㉒) cannot be taken as an instance of case-drop under ellipsis since there being no corresponding Acc-marker in the host, it cannot be stranded and elided.

- (i) *Chelswu-ka* ***Yenghi-eykey*** ____ *ponaysse*,
C.-Nom Y.-Dat sent
㉑[***Yenghi-eykey*** *pyenci(-lul)*] / ㉒[*pyenci*-[?] (lul) ***Yenghi-eykey***]

We assume that the contrast arises since the appendices without Acc-marker in (i ㉑) and (i ㉒) are derived from the following underlying sources, respectively, where only in (iia) can the fronted object drop its Acc-marker.

- (ii) a. (?)*Yenghi-eykey pyenci* <[*Chelswu-ka* ____ ____ *ponaysse*]>
b. ?**pyenci Yenghi-eykey* <[*Chelswu-ka* ____ ____ *ponaysse*]>

- ①[Yenghi?*(-eykey) pyenci-lul] / ②?[pyenci-lul Yenghi(-eykey)]
 Y.-Dat letter-Acc letter-Acc Y.-Dat
 ‘Chelswu sent Yenghi a letter.’

Combined with the discussion in the previous sections, the fact that the same restriction holds for fragment answers and the mixed RDC strongly supports the bi-clausal ellipsis approach, and seems very hard to be captured by the other approaches. For instance, the restriction observed in (29) constitutes a problem for the bi-clausal base-generation approach. This approach assumes that the case-marker/postposition of the appendix plays a crucial role in selecting the correct predicate from the host clause. For example, in the gapped RDC in (30), the dative object appendix is not allowed since the dative marker does not require transitive verbal predicates like *mannasse* ‘met’. Given that the gapped, gapless and mixed RDCs are all be treated uniformly under this approach, the contrast between (29①) and (29②) would remain mysterious.

- (30) Chelswu-ka mannasse, Yenghi-lul/*Yenghi-eykey
 C.-Nom met Y.-Acc/Y-Dat
 ‘Chelswu met Yenghi/*to Yenghi.’

The restriction witnessed in (29) also poses a potential problem for the rest of the approaches. Recall that under the mono-clausal rightward movement approach and the hybrid approach, the best way of deriving (29①) would be to assume that the first dative appendix is derived via ellipsis (Section 2.2). However it would remain obscure why the Dat-marker cannot be dropped, which otherwise is possible when the number of appendix is just one as in (9c). A similar problem arises for the mono-clausal base-generation approach. Under this approach, case-drop could be analyzed as partial deletion of case-marker (Section 2.1). However it is unclear why it cannot apply to an argument in a non-final position.

4. Interim summary

So far we have discussed the variability of case/postposition-drop in the RDC

and showed that it can be best captured by the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. In particular, we have shown that the strong parallelism between the mixed RDC and fragment answers regarding the restriction on case/postposition-drop strongly argues for the bi-clause ellipsis approach and against the other approaches. In the following section, we will discuss a certain restriction on the Left-Branch Extraction in the RDC and show that it also constitutes an argument for the bi-clausal ellipsis approach.

5. Multiple left-branch extraction

The RDC in Korean allows an adjunct appendix that appears to undergo Left-Branch Extraction (LBE) (Choe 2009, Lee 2010, Kim 2011, cf. Kato 2007, among others). As shown in (31), various types of LBEed appendices can appear in the RDC.

- (31) a. Chelswu-ka [__ sonyen-ul] mannasse, acwu ttokttokha-n [AP/Reduced RC]
 C.-Nom boy-Acc met very smart-Adn
 ‘Chelswu met a boy who is very smart.’
 b. Chelswu-ka [__ sonyen-ul] mannasse, Yenghi-ka coaha-nun [RC]
 C.-Nom boy-Acc met Y.-Nom like-Rel
 ‘Chelswu met a boy who Yenghi likes.’
 c. Chelswu-ka [__ cacenke-lul] pilyesse, Yenghi-uy [Possessor]
 C.-Nom bicycle-Acc borrowed Y.-Gen
 ‘Chelswu borrowed Yenghi's bicycle.’

Examples in (31) are interesting since Korean does not allow LBE under normal contexts as shown in (32). Given the contrast between (31) and (32), some have argued that the LBEed appendices are derived via ellipsis with the assumption that ellipsis can repair the otherwise illegitimate structure induced by the Left Branch Condition (LBC) as shown in (33) (cf. Choe 2009, Kim 2011). The repair effect is also observed in English sluicing as shown in (34) (Merchant 2001, Kennedy and Merchant 2000).

- (32) a. *acwu ttoktokha-n_i [Chelswu-ka [t_i sonyen-ul] mannasse]
 b. *Yenghi-ka coaha-nun_i [Chelswu-ka [t_i sonyen-ul] mannasse]

- (33) ?*Yenghi-uy_i [~~Chelswu-ka [t_icacenke-lul]~~ pilyesse] → (31c)

- (34) He wants a detailed list, but I don't know [how detailed]_i <*he
 wants a t_i list> (Merchant 2001; 167)

Given the standard assumption that fragments are derived by ellipsis, we predict the same repair effect to be observed with fragments. The prediction is borne out as shown in fragment answers in (35). This parallelism is straightforwardly accounted for under the bi-clausal ellipsis approach.

- (35) a. A: Chelswu-ka **etten** **sonyen-ul** mannass-ni?
 C.-Nom which boy-Acc met-Q
 'Which boy did Chelswu meet?'
 B: acwu ttoktokha-n / Yenghi-ka coaha-nun.
 very smart-Adn Y.-Nom like-Rel
 'Very Smart (boy) / (a boy) Yenghi likes.'
 b. A: Chelswu-ka **nwukwu-uy** **cacenke-lul** pilyess-ni?
 C.-Nom who-Gen bicycle-Acc borrowed-Q
 'Whose bicycle did Chelswu borrow?'
 B: Yenghi-uy
 Y.-Gen
 'Yenghi's'

There is another parallelism between the RDC and fragments, regarding the restriction on the LBEed element in the multiple appendices and multiple fragments context. As shown in the gapped RDC in (36), LBEed appendix can only appear in the final position.¹⁵

¹⁵ A reviewer claims that in (36c) the Acc-marker from the first appendix can optionally be dropped and that this is problematic for the proposed analysis of the case/postposition-drop restriction (Section 3). The judgments are subtle and seem diverge among speakers. We speculate that in the RD context, those who agree with the reviewer's judgment may allow (i) as the underlying source, which does not involve Acc-stranding to begin with.

- (36) a. [__ [__ cacenke-lul] pilyesse], Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy
 bicycle-Acc borrowed C.-Nom Y.-Gen
 ‘Chelswu borrowed Yenghi’s bicycle.’
 b. *[[__ cacenke-lul] __ pilyesse], Yenghi-uy Chelswu-ka
 bicycle-Acc borrowed Y.-Gen Chelswu-Nom
 ‘Chelswu borrowed Yenghi’s bicycle.’
 (c. [[__ cacenke-lul] __ pilyesse], [Yenghi-uy cacenke-lul]
 bicycle-Acc borrowed Y.-Gen bicycle-Acc
 Chelswu-ka)
 C.-Nom
 ‘Chelswu borrowed Yenghi’s bicycle.’

Note also that the same restriction also holds for the corresponding mixed RDC as shown in (37).

- (37) a. [__ [Yenghi-uy cacenke-lul] pilyesse], **Chelswu-ka** Yenghi-uy
 b. *[[**Yenghi-uy** cacenke-lul] __ pilyesse], **Yenghi-uy** Chelswu-ka

Not surprisingly, the same pattern is also observed in multiple fragment answers as shown in (38) (An 2015, Chung 2015, Park and Kim 2015a, Park and Oh 2015, 2016).

- (38) a. A: **nwu-ka nwukwu-uy cacenke-lul** pilyess-ni?
 who-Nom who-Gen bicycle-Acc borrowed-Q
 ‘Who borrowed whose bicycle?’
 B: Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy
 C.-Nom Y.-Gen
 ‘Chelswu borrowed Yenghi’s bicycle.’
 b. A: **nwukwu-uy cacenke-lul nwu-ka** pilyess-ni?
 who-Gen bicycle-Acc who-Nomborrowed-Q
 ‘Who borrowed whose bicycle?’

(i) [[__cacenke-lul] __pilyesse], [Yenghi-uy cacenke-∅]j Chelswu-kai [t_i t_j pilyesse]

B: *Yenghi-uy Chelswu-ka
 Y.-Gen C.-Nom
 ‘Yenghi’s bicycle, Chelswu borrowed.’

As is obvious by now, the restriction is virtually identical to the case/postposition-drop restriction, which states that only the final appendix can drop its case-maker/postposition (Section 3). As Park and Oh (2015, 2016) suggest, the analysis adopted for the case/postposition-drop restriction can naturally extend to the LBE restriction in the RDC and fragments.¹⁶ Under the current context, this means that the contrast in the above examples is ascribed to the absence/presence of interveners outside the elliptical site at PF. Let us consider (38). With the assumption that Left-Branch Island (LBI)-violating movement also makes any intervening elements the intervener, the derivations of (38aB) and (38bB) are represented as (39a) and (39b), respectively. Whereas there is no intervener in (39a), in (39b) *Chelswu-ka* is the surviving intervener between the LBEed element and LBI, and thus renders the structure illegitimate at PF. The same analysis applies to the RDC.

- (39) a. Chelswu-ka_i Yenghi-uy_j {t_i—[LBI t_j-cacenke-lul]—pilyesse}
 b. Yenghi-uy_i Chelswu-ka_j {[LBI t_i-cacenke-lul]—t_j—pilyesse}

The strong parallelism between the RDC and fragments further strengthens our claim that the RDC is best derived by the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. Even if we put aside the parallelism, capturing the LBE restriction in the RDC alone also seems to be a very hard task for the other four approaches. Recall that the mixed RDC constitutes a general problem for the mono-clausal rightward movement approach (Section 2.2 and Section 3). The problem is further confounded by the restriction on the mixed RDC in (37). As far as we can see, the restriction would also remain obscure under the mono-clausal base-generation approach. The bi-clausal base-generation approach also faces a problem. The approach assumes that an LBEed appendix is followed by the null noun that needs to be matched with an appropriate noun in the host. However, it is unclear why the matching is only permitted for the

¹⁶ An (2015) and Chung (2015) also propose an analysis of the LBE restriction in fragments, which differs from Park and Oh’s (2015, 2016). Adopting and extending any of these will not affect our discussion as they all assume the ellipsis approach.

shown in (42). Likewise concatenating two LBEed adjuncts is also subject to the same restriction as shown in (43).

- (42) Chelswu-ka cacenke-lul pilyesse,
 C.-Nom bicycle-Acc borrowed
 ecey Yenghi-uy / *Yenghi-uy ecey
 yesterday Y.-Gen Y.-Gen yesterday
 ‘Chelswu borrowed Yenghi’s bicycle yesterday.’
- (43) *[enu paywu-ka ecey cha-lul sasse],
 some actor-Nom yesterday car-Acc bought
 [acwu yumyengha-n] [acwu pissa-n]
 very famous-Adn very expensive-Adn
 Intended: ‘A very famous actor bought a very expensive car
 yesterday.’

While examples in (42) and (43) are problematic for the hybrid approach, they can be straightforwardly accounted for under the ellipsis approach. In these examples, the final appendix is the surviving intervener, leading to a PF-crash.

6. Clause-mate condition

In this section, we discuss a certain variability of the Clause-Mate Condition (CMC) effect in the RDC. The CMC is generally known as a constraint on certain syntactic operations to be initiated within the same clause boundary (cf. Kuno and Robinson 1972; Takahashi 1994; Cecchetto 1999; Lasnik 2002, 2013; Abe 2004). As pointed out by Choi (2006) and Lee (2010), the Korean gapped RDC also exhibits the CMC effect as shown in (44).

- (44) a. Chelswu-ka [___ mekessta-ko] malhaysse, Yenghi-ka ppang-ul.
 C.-Nom ate-C said Y.-Nom bread-Acc
 ‘Chelswu said that Yenghi ate bread.’

- b. *[__ [Yenghi-ka__ mekessta-ko] malhaysse], Chelswu-ka ppang-ul.
 Y.-Nom ate-C said C.-Nom bread-Acc
 ‘Chelswu said that Yenghi ate bread.’

As predicted by the bi-clausal ellipsis approach, the corresponding fragment answers exhibit the same pattern as shown in (45).

- (45) a. A: Chelswu-ka [**nwu-ka** **mwues-ul** mekessta ko] malhayss-ni?
 C.-Nom who-Nom what-Acc ate-C said-Q
 ‘Who did Chelswu said ate what?’
 B: Yenghi-ka ppang-ul
 Y.-Nom bread-Acc
 ‘Yenghi bread.’
 b. A: **nwu-ka** [Yenghi-ka **mwues-ul** mekessta ko] malhayss-ni?
 who-Nom Y.-Nom what-Acc ate-C said-Q
 ‘Who said that Yenghi ate what?’
 B: *Chelswu-ka ppang-ul
 C.-Nom bread-Acc
 ‘Chelswu bread.’

However, as Park (2005b) points out, in some contexts the CMC effect is obviated in fragment answers like (46).

- (46) A: Chelswu-ka **nwukwu-eykey** [**nwu-ka** olkela-ko] malhass-ni?
 C.-Nom who-Dat who-Nom will.com-C said-Q
 ‘Who did Chelswu tell that who will com?’
 B: Minswu-eykey Yenghi-ka
 M.-Dat Y.-Nom

The same CMC-obviation effect is also observed for the RDC as shown in (47), further tightening the parallelism between fragments and the RDC.

- (47) Chelswu-ka ____ [____ olkela-ko] malhaysse, Minswu-eykey Yenghi-ka
 C.-Nom will.com said M.-Dat Y.-Nom
 ‘Chelswu told Minswu that Yenghi will com.’

The parallelism between the RDC and fragments supports the ellipsis approach for the RDC if we adopt the standard assumption that fragments are derived via ellipsis.¹⁷

By contrast, the parallelism is not so straightforward under the other approaches to the RDC. Let us first consider the bi-clausal base-generation approach. Lee (2010) argues that the CMC effect is captured with the assumption that the multiple appendices combine with each other first and match the null verbal predicate with the correct type of verbal predicate in the host. Under this approach, the acceptability of (44a) is correctly captured since the multiple appendices that bear the Nom-marker and Acc-marker, respectively, require a transitive verb for the null predicate and there is a matching predicate in the host, i.e., *mekessta* ‘ate’. However, a problem arises regarding the acceptable RDC in (47), where the CMC effect is obviated. The appendices [*Yenghi-eykey Minswu-ka*] would require verbs like *insahata* ‘greet’, *malhata* ‘say’ or *cwuta* ‘give’. Then the only candidate in the host is *malhaysse* ‘said’ but selecting this predicate will not yield the desired interpretation, conflicting with the host in meaning.¹⁸

On the other hand, the contrast between (44b) and (47) seems to pose a

¹⁷ Bae and Park (2014) attempt to derive the variability of CMC effect in fragments under the ellipsis approach. They argue that the variability arises due to interactions of ellipsis and processing. It seems to us that the analysis will straightforwardly extend to the RDC in question, which we will not attempt to elaborate in this paper, due to space limitation.

¹⁸ Note that the example Lee (2010) provides that is claimed to show the CMC effect and to be captured by this approach is reproduced in (i). Lee argues that (i) is judged unacceptable since the appendices require verbs like *cwuta* ‘give’ but is not available in the host. However, if the order of the appendices is reversed, it seems much improved as shown in (ii).

- (i) *Cheli-ka ____ [Yenghi-ka ____ mannass-ta]-ko malhayss-eyo,
 C.-Nom Y.-Nom met-Dec-C said-Dec
 Tongswu-lul Suni-eykey
 T.-Acc S.-Dat
 ‘Cheli told Suni that Yenghi met Tongswu.’ (Lee 2010: (15))

- (ii) ?(?)...., Suni-eykey Tongswu-lul
 S.-Dat T.-Acc

non-trivial problem for the mono-clausal base-generation approach. These examples share the property that the first appendix is a matrix element and the second one is an embedded element. Thus on the surface, it would be very hard to rule out one example while ruling in the other under this approach.

As for the mono-clausal rightward movement approach and the hybrid approach, we need to consider how the mixed RDC behaves since as discussed before the mixed RDC in general poses problems for these approaches (Section 2.2). As shown in (48), the mixed RDC exhibits the same pattern regarding the CMC effect. The variability of the CMC effect in (48) further confounds the already existing problems for the two approaches.

- (48) a. Chelswu-ka [Yenghi-ka __ mekessta-ko] malhaysse,
 C.-Nom Y.-Nom ate-C said
 Yenghi-ka ppang-ul
 Y.-Nom bread-Acc
 ‘Chelswu said that Yenghi ate bread.’
- b. *Chelswu-ka [Yenghi-ka __ mekessta-ko] malhaysse,
 C.-Nom Y.-Nom ate-C said
 Chelswu-ka ppang-ul.
 C.-Nom bread-Acc
 ‘Chelswu said that Yenghi ate bread.’
- c. Chelswu-ka Minswu-eykey [__ olkela-ko] malhaysse,
 C.-Nom M.-Date will.come-C said
 Minswu-eykey Yenghi-ka
 M.-Dat Y.-Nom
 ‘Chelswu told Minswu that Yenghi would come.’

Before leaving this section, we will briefly discuss an alternative analysis. So far, we have assumed that multiple appendices are derived from a single sentential source via ellipsis. However, there is an alternative possibility. One might assume that multiple appendices are derived via ellipsis but from multiple sentences. For instance the multiple appendices in (44a) and (44b) are derived from the underlying sources in (49a) and (49b), respectively, where the constituent that is to be elided is underscored. However, not only would this alternative lose the contrast between

(44a) and (44b) and presumably the parallelism with fragments,¹⁹ but it also seems dubious for other reasons. First, without ellipsis the underlying sources are very complicated as shown in (49a) and (49b), respectively, and thus hard to process. Moreover, it seems that of the two, (49b) sounds, if not natural, a little better. Second, if there were two underlying sentential sources, it would be natural to put some pause between the appendices. But it seems more natural not to put any noticeable pause between the appendices.

- (49) a. Chelswu-ka [___ ___ mekess-tako] malhaysse,
 C.-Nom ate-C said,
 Yenghi-ka_i [Chelswu-ka [t_i --- mekessta-ko malhaysse]],
 Y.-Nom C.-Nom ate-C said,
 ppang-ul_i [Chelswu-ka [Yenghi-ka t_i mekessta-ko] malhaysse]
 bread-Acc C.-Nom Y.-Nom ate-C said
 ‘Chelswu said that Yenghi ate bread.’
- b. [___ [Yenghi-ka ___ mekess-tako] malhaysse],
 Y.-Nom ate-C said
 Chelswu-ka_i [t_i Yenghi-ka --- mekess-tako malhaysse],
 C.-Nom Y.-Nom ate-C said
 ppang-ul_i [Chelswu-ka [Yenghi-ka t_i mekessta-ko] malhaysse]]
 bread-Acc ate-C said
 ‘Chelswu said that Yenghi ate bread.’

However, there seems to be a context where multiple underlying sources must be chosen. As a reviewer points out, multiple appendices like (50) cannot be derived from a single underlying sentence.

- (50) Chelswu-ka ___ malhasse, Yenghi-ka ___ mekessta-ko, ppang-ul
 C.-ka said Y.-Nom ate-C bread-Acc
 ‘Chelswu said Yenghi ate bread.’

Given that the gap that corresponds to the second appendix is not (obviously)

¹⁹ See Park and Oh (2014) for arguments for the claim that multiple fragments are derived from a single underlying source.

present in the host, the second appendix should be derived from an independent sentence. Under the ellipsis approach, this means that two underlying sentences are involved. This is supported by the fact that a pause between the appendices seem required. Thus only in contexts where a single source is not available, multiple sources are forced to be chosen despite the processing difficulties.^{20,21}

7. Notes on island-(in)sensitivity

In this section we discuss the island-(in)sensitivity in the RDC. Choe (1987) observes that RDC is island-sensitive as shown in (51)-(52) (See also Lee 2010 and Ko 2015).

- (51) Condition on Extraction Domain (CED) (Choe 1987: 43)
 *[t₁ oki ceney] Chelswu-ka konghang-ey tochakhayssta, Yenghi-ka₁
 come before C.-Nom airport-at arrived, Y.-Nom
 ‘Chelswu arrived at the airport before Yenghi came.’

²⁰ Note however that the potential processing difficulties seems not so severe for (50). Instead of (50), (i) can be uttered with the same meaning.

(i) Chelswu-ka __ malhasse,
C.-Nom said
Yenghi-ka __ mekessta-ko, [ppang-ul_i Yenghi-ka t_i mekessta-ko]
Y.-Nom ate-C bread-Acc Y.-Nom ate-C

If (i) is an intermediate underlying source for (50), the acceptability of (50) can be accounted for. Note that a similar intermediate source for (44a) would be (ii), where only the first appendix is derived via ellipsis. But (ii) still sounds pretty unnatural. This suggests that (44a) is derived from a single source.

(ii) ?*Chelswu-ka [__ __ mekessa-ko] malhasse,
C.-Nom ate-C said
Yenghi-ka, ppang-uli [Chelswu-ka [Yenghi-ka t_i mekessa-ko] malhasse]
Y.-Nom bread-Acc C.-Nom Y.-Nom ate-C said

²¹ As suggested by a reviewer, an Economy principle might also capture the contrast among (44a)/(44b) and (50). As one way of fleshing it out, one could assume that deriving multiple appendices from a single source is always preferred as in (44) (due to a certain concept of Economy of derivation) unless forced otherwise as in (50). We leave for a future occasion exploring the possibility in more detail.

(52) *wh*-island

*[t1 mwues-ulsassnun-ci] Chelswu-ka molunta, Yenghi-ka1
 what-Acc bought-CI C.-Nom don't.know, Y.-Nom
 'Chelswu doesn't know what Yenghi bought.'

Ko (2015) notes that the island-sensitivity in examples like (51) and (52) poses a problem for the bi-clausal ellipsis approach, given that in contrast to the RDC, island-violations can be repaired by ellipsis in fragments as in (53) (cf. Park 2005a).

- (53) A: Cheli-nun [[nwu-ka sacwu-n] mukkeli-lul peliess-ni?
 C.-Top who-Nom bought-Rel necklace-Acc threw.away-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.'

(from Ko 2015: (16))

Ko (2015) takes the contrast between the RDC and fragments regarding island-(in)sensitivity as an argument for her hybrid approach. She provides an island sensitive RDC that is comparable to (53) as in (54).²²

- (54) *Cheli-nun [_ sacwu-n] mukkeli-lul peliess-, emma(-ka)
 C.-Top bought-RC necklace-Acc threw.way mommy-Nom
 'Cheli threw away the necklace that his mother bought for him.'

(from Ko 2015: (17))

We agree that the contrast between (53) and (54) is real. But note that certain RDCs seem island-insensitive, as shown in (55).²³

²² See also Ahn and Cho (2015) for related discussion. In defense of the bi-clausal ellipsis approach, they suggest that the contrast between (53) and (54) arises due to the difference between the antecedent in (53) and the host in (54): while the former contains a *wh*-phrase, the latter a gap.

²³ We are grateful to Sunjoo Choi for pointing out examples like (55a) to us. A reviewer claims that the examples in (55) are all unacceptable. By contrast, all of our informants find them (almost) perfect, except one who reports that (55b) is somewhat degraded compared to (55a) and (55c).

(55) *Lack of Relative Clause Island Violation*

- a. Chelswu-nun [NP_{[RC} ___ yenkwuha-nun] saram-ul] mannasse,
 C.-Top study.do-Rel person-Acc met,
 thongsalon-ul
 syntax-Acc
 ‘Chelswu met a person who studies syntax.’
- b. Chelswu-nun [NP_{[RC} ___ chayk-ul ponay-n] saram-ul] mannasse,
 C.-Top book-Acc sent-Rel person-Acc met
 Yenghi-eykey
 Y.-Dat
 ‘Chelswu met a person who sent a book to Yenghi.’
- c. na-nun [NP_{[RC} ___ calsayngki-n] saram-i] coa, elkwul-i
 I-Top handsome-Rel person-Nom like face-Nom
 ‘I like the person whose face is good-looking.’

If it is true that examples in (55) are acceptable, the island-sensitivity cannot be taken as a conclusive argument against the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. And note also that if real, the contrast between (54) and (55) is something that remains to be accounted for under any approaches to the RD.

In what follows we attempt to show that the contrast can be captured under the bi-clausal ellipsis approach. If we assume that island-violations in principle can be repaired by ellipsis, the task of the ellipsis approach is to provide an account for the unacceptability of examples like (54). Let us consider (54) again. Under the ellipsis approach, the gap in the host can be taken to be a *pro*, as represented in (56):

(56) *Cheli-nun [*pro* sacwu-n] mukkeli-lul peliesse, emma(-ka)

Suppose that the appendix (clause) plays a role as an afterthought, merely adding/specifying some information to the host. This means that the host is ‘independent’ of the appendix. If we take the host alone and think about it in out-of-blue context, the host seems sound unnatural for some reason (at least for some speakers). This might be one of the reasons for the degradedness of (54), independently of the appendix. One could control for this and make it sound better by adding some element within the island, as in (57), where the dative object

Yenghi-ekey is added within the island. Taken alone, the host sounds better. However, with the appendix followed, it seems hard make clear judgments. If one finds it much improved compared to (54), this confirms that the degradedness of (54) cannot be due to the island violation: The degradedness of (54) arises independently of the appendix. Then, our discussion ends here. On the other hand, if one still finds (57) as degraded as (54), we will still need to provide an account. Note here that in out-of-blue context, the most prominent referent of the *pro* in the host seems only to be the matrix subject, *Cheli-nun* (or, marginally the speaker). If true, it follows that the appendix, *emma-ka*, cannot be added, due to meaning conflictions between the host and the appendix (sentence). In other words, the potential degradedness of (57) would be due to the same meaning conflictions observed in (58).

(57) (?*)*Cheli-nun* [*pro* *Yenghi-ekey sacwu-n*] *mokkeli-lul peliesse*,
emma(-ka)

(58) **Cheli-nun*_i [*caki-ka*_i/*ku-ka*_i *Yenghi-ekey sacwu-n*] *mokkeli-lul*
 C.-Top self-ka/he-Nom Y.-Dat bought-Rel necklace-Acc
peliesse, *emma-ka*
 threw.away mommy-Nom
 ‘*Cheli*_i threw away the necklace that *he*_i bought for *Yenghi*.’

Given that in principle, the referent of the *pro* can vary depending on context, we should be able to provide a context where the meaning conflictions are avoided. If this is possible the context will constitute an interesting test ground to check the island-sensitivity. One such context involves a question-answer pair, as shown below.

(59) A: *Cheli-ka* [*emma-ka*_i/*Minswu-ka*_j *Yenghi-ekey sacwu-n*]
 C.-Nom mommy-Nom/M.-Nom Y.-Dat bought-Rel
mokkeli-lul peliess-ni?
 necklace-Acc threw.away
 ‘Did *Cheli* threw away the necklace that *mommy/minswu* bought
 for *Yenghi*?’

- B: ung, Cheli-nun [*pro_{ij}* Yenghi-ekey sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul
 yes C.-Top Y-Dat bought-Rel necklace-Acc
 peliesse.
 threw.away
 ‘Yes, Cheli threw away the necklace that mommy/Minswu bought
 for Yenghi.’
- B’: ?ung, Cheli-nun [*pro_{ij}* Yenghi-ekey sacwu-n] mokkeli-lul
 yes C.-Top Y-Dat bought-Rel necklace-Acc
 peliesse, emma-ka_i/Minswu-ka_j (RDC)
 threw.away mommy-Nom/M.-Nom

Unlike (57), the *pro* in the answer (59B) can only refer to *emma-ka* or *minswu-ka* in the question. In this context, we can make (59B) an RDC by adding *emman-ka/minswu-ka* as an appendix, as shown in (59B’). Compared to (54), (59B’) seems much better, (especially with a strong focus on the appendix). Likewise, examples like (60) seem (almost) perfect.

- (60) A: ne-nun [Chomsky-ka_i ssu-n] chayk-ul ilkess-ni?
 You-Top C.-Nom wrote-Rel book-Acc read-Q
 ‘Did you read a book that Chomsky wrote?’
- B: (ani,) na-nun [*pro_i* cikcep chwuchenha-n] chayk-ul ilkesse,
 no, I-Top directly recommend-Rel book-Acc read,
 C.-Nom
 Chomsky-ka_i
 ‘No, I read a book that Chomsky recommended (to me) in person.’

In short, if the contrast between (54) and (59)/(60) is real, the degradedness of (54) is not due to an island violation. Note also that if our reasoning holds, *pro* needs to be assumed in the host (at least in these contexts), and this is exactly what is expected under the ellipsis approach.

The same improvement effect also seems observed with (51) and (52). For instance, a slight modification of (52) as in (61) seems to obviate the *wh*-island effect.²⁴

- (61) A: (ne-nun) Chelswu-ka_i mwues-ul sassnun-ci ala?
 You-Top C.-Nom what-Acc bought-CI know?
 ‘Do you know what Chelswu bought?’
 B: (?)ani, na-nun [*pro*_i mwues-ul sassnun-ci] mola, Chelswu-ka_i
 no I-Top what-Acc bought-CI not.know C.-Nom
 ‘No, I don’t know what Chelswu bought.’

Likewise, compared to (51), the examples in (62) seem better (even without a question).

- (62) a. (A: ne-nun Yenghi-ka_i konghang-ey tochakhaki ceney ttenass-ni?)
 You-Top Y.-Nom airport-in arrive before left-Q
 ‘Did you leave before Yenghi arrived at the airport?’
 B: ?(ung.) na-nun [*pro*_i konghang-ey tochakhaki 30 pwun ceney]
 yes I-Top airport-in arrived 30 min. before
 left Yenghi-ka_i
 ttenasse, Y.-Nom
 ‘Yes, I left 30 min. before Yenghi arrived at the airport.’
 b. ?na-nun [*pro*_i cenhoahan hwuey] cipecy oasses, Yenghi-ekey_i
 I-Top phoned after house come, Y.-Dat.
 ‘I got home after I had called Yenghi.’

8. Conclusion

In this paper, we have provided various arguments in favor of the bi-clausal ellipsis approach to the RDC. The main arguments come from the multiplicity of appendices and the restrictions imposed on their distribution. It was shown that case/postposition drop, LBE, and (a version of) the CMC restrict the distribution of the multiple appendices. We have shown that the restrictions can straightforwardly be captured by the ellipsis approach, but not by the other approaches to the RDC. We have also shown that the ellipsis approach also uniformly captures the relevant facts in the gapped, gapless and mixed RDC. Finally, we have discussed a certain

²⁴ We are grateful to Sei-Rang Oh for providing the examples in (59) to us.

variability of island-(in)sensitivity in the RDC and attempted to show that the ellipsis approach can provide an account for it.

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