

## Reformulative multiple accusative constructions as vacuous reformulative appositions

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### 1 Introduction

This paper examines one type of Multiple Accusative Construction (MAC) in Korean, exemplified by (1), where the outer accusative (e.g., *kwail-ul*) and the inner accusative (e.g., *sakwa-lul*) form a “reformulative” relationship in which the latter elaborates on the former by specifying it.<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, I will call this type of MAC a *reformulative* MAC (R-MAC).<sup>2</sup> The main objective of this study is to suggest that R-MACs can be treated on a par with Vacuous Reformulative Appositions (VRAs) in English like that in (2) (Griffiths 2015ab).

- (1) Kim-i kwail-ul sakwa-lul mek-ess-e.  
Kim-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
‘Kim ate some fruit, an apple.’

- (2) Kim ate the fruit – ate the apple.

According to Griffiths (2015b), the VRA in (2) is analyzed as involving a coordinate structure in which the VP apposition *ate the apple* is conjoined with the VP anchor *ate the fruit*, as represented in (3).<sup>3</sup>

- (3) Kim [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ate the fruit] &<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> – ate the apple]]

In terms of meaning, what he calls the “subapposition” (i.e., *the apple*)—the prosodically prominent element in the apposition—enters into a reformulative relationship with what he calls the “subanchor” (i.e., *the fruit*). Meantime, the deaccented rest of the apposition (i.e., *ate*)—the element that is repeated from the anchor—is merely

<sup>1</sup>The abbreviations used for the glosses are: NOM (nominative), TOP (topic), ACC (accusative), PST (past), PRES (present), DECL (declarative), QUE (question), and DAT (dative).

<sup>2</sup>The other type of MAC is exemplified in (i):

- (i) Kim-i Mary-lul son-ul ttayli-ess-ta.  
Kim-NOM Mary-ACC hand-ACC hit-PST-DECL  
‘Kim hit Mary on the hand.’

Unlike those in R-MACs, the two ACC-marked NPs here, *Mary-lul* and *son-ul*, have the “inalienable possession” relationship. Because of this reading, MACs like (i) have been called *inalienable possession* MACs in the literature (e.g., Sim 2004 and Yoon 2015). See, among others, Yoon (2015), which argues that inalienable possession MACs are taken to be licensed differently from R-MACs (“topic-type” MACs in his term) (cf. Park 2013).

<sup>3</sup>He notes that the reformulative &<sup>0</sup> does not have the same lexical semantics as the regular coordinator.

echoic, employed for its form alone, and vacuous with respect to illocutionary force (see Griffiths 2015b for details on vacuous appositions).

Here I argue that R-MACs syntactically and semantically resemble VRAs (specifically, those like (2)). I claim that (i) R-MACs involve remnant-VP coordination derived by overt across-the-board raising of the verb, (ii) the first conjunct functions as the anchor and the second one as the apposition, and (iii) a reformulative relationship holds only between the two accusative NPs. As I show later, this novel coordination approach to R-MACs can be extended to account for so-called Gapless Right Dislocation Constructions (GRDCs) like that in (4), where the postverbal accusative NP (e.g., *sakwa-lul*) forms a reformulative relationship with the preverbal accusative NP (e.g., *kwail-ul*). I argue that GRDCs are derived from R-MACs via rightward movement of &' (i.e., the coordinate head &<sup>0</sup> and the second VP conjunct that consists of the verbal trace and the inner accusative NP) (cf. Ko 2016).

- (4) Kim-i      kwail-ul mek-ess-e      sakwa-lul.  
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC eat-PST-DECL apple-ACC  
 'Kim ate some fruit, an apple.'

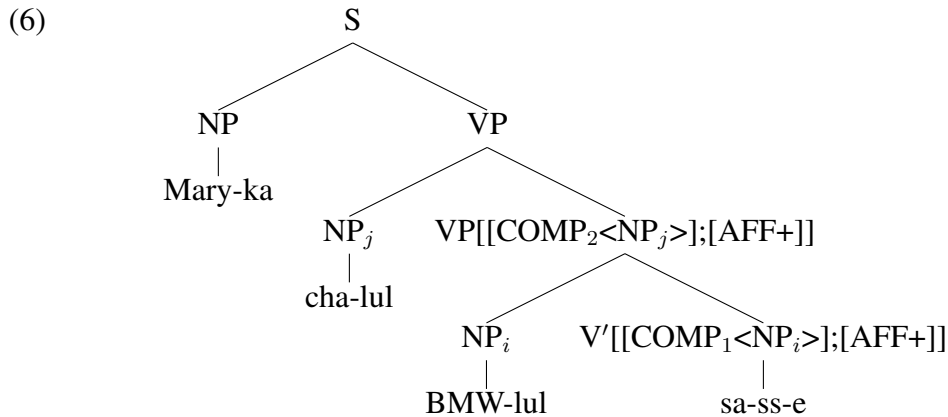
The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I present novel data which are problematic for the previous research on R-MACs. In Section 3, I propose a novel coordination approach and discuss its advantages. In Section 4, it is shown that the coordination approach to R-MACs can be extended to account for GRDCs. In Section 5, I conclude.

## 2 Previous work and undiscussed data

Chae & Kim (C&K) (2008) provide an HPSG-based unified approach to reformulative and inalienable possession MACs.<sup>4</sup> C&K observe that the predicates that are used in MACs have the meaning of "ACTION" in the sense of Jackendoff (2007), and they use the feature [AFF(ected)+] to refer to ACTION predicates such as *ilk* 'read', *sa* 'buy', and *cohaha* 'like'. In order to capture the multiplicity of accusative NPs in MACs, they introduce a Recursive Rule that states that when a VP with [AFF+] has an NP as its sister, the VP can have a new COMP feature with the NP as its value: i.e., the VP takes the NP as its complement (see C&K for details). This construction-specific syntactic mechanism therefore makes it possible for multiple accusative NPs to be licensed in a transitive construction just in case they are sisters of VPs with [AFF+]. On this analysis, the R-MAC in (5) is viewed as having the syntactic representation given in (6), in which the two accusative NPs do not form a syntactic constituent.

- (5) Mary-ka      cha-lul BMW-lul sa-ss-e.  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL  
 'Mary bought a car, a BMW.'

<sup>4</sup>HPSG stands for Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar, a framework developed by Carl Pollard, Ivan Sag and others.



C&K's analysis briefly described above has the advantage of accounting for the fact that a VP-modifying adverb can occur between the two accusative NPs, as shown in (7): under the analysis, the VP-adverb is taken to modify the lower VP *BMW-lul sa-ss-e*, as roughly represented in (8).

- (7) Mary-ka cha-lul molla BMW-lul sa-ss-e.  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC secretly BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL  
 'Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.'

- (8) Mary-ka [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul [<sub>VP</sub> molla [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul sa-ss-e]]]

While C&K's proposal provides a clear account of both the multiplicity and the non-constituency (as evidenced by (7)) of the accusative NPs, it encounters issues with hitherto undiscussed data: those where the coordinator *kuliko* 'and' intervenes between the accusative NPs, as in (9).

- (9) a. Mary-nun cha-lul kuliko thukhi BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL  
 'Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs.'
- b. Kim-i kwail-ul kuliko tewuki sakwa-lul mek-ess-e.  
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC and moreover apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
 'Kim ate some fruit, and moreover an apple.'

The above data are rather damaging for an analysis like that of C&K which does not assume a coordinate structure underlying R-MACs. As far as I am aware, such a structure has not been considered in the literature so far. In the following section, I present a novel coordination approach that solves the current issue.

### 3 Proposal: a coordination approach

As noted at the outset, I propose to treat R-MACs as analogous to VRAs. I argue that R-MACs involve remnant-VP coordination created by overt V-raising in an across-the-board (ATB) manner.<sup>5</sup> On this coordination approach, the R-MAC in

<sup>5</sup>For the structure of coordination, I assume binary branching, i.e., [<sub>&P</sub> XP [<sub>&'</sub> &<sup>0</sup> XP]].

(1), repeated here in (10), is assumed to derive the syntactic structure presented in (11), where the verb *mek* ‘eat’ has undergone overt ATB raising into *v*, resulting in remnant-VP coordination.<sup>6</sup>

- (10) Kim-i kwail-ul sakwa-lul mek-ess-e.  
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
 ‘Kim ate some fruit, an apple.’

- (11) Kim-i [<sub>VP</sub> [&P [<sub>VP</sub> kwail-ul t<sub>v</sub> ] &<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> sakwa-lul t<sub>v</sub> ] ] mek ]-ess-e

In terms of semantics, I postulate that the first conjunct (e.g., [*kwail-ul t<sub>v</sub>*]) functions as the anchor and the second conjunct (e.g., [*sakwa-lul t<sub>v</sub>*]) as the apposition and that only the outer accusative (e.g., *kwail-ul*)—as the subanchor—and the inner accusative (e.g., *sakwa-lul*)—as the subapposition—form a reformulative relationship. That is, the subapposition provides more specific descriptive content for the subanchor, e.g., (10) can be paraphrased as *Kim ate some fruit x and x is an apple*.

### 3.1 Advantages of the coordination analysis

The coordination analysis proposed here can provide simple and straightforward answers to the following fundamental theoretical questions in the analysis of R-MACs (cf. Yoon 2001, 2015):

- How can a transitive verb license (more than) two object NPs?
- How can (more than) two object NPs bear accusative case in a transitive construction?

In the present system, R-MACs are assumed to involve underlying VP coordination in which there are two identical transitive verbs, each of which, before undergoing overt ATB-raising, takes its own object and assigns accusative case to it, whereby the two different accusatives are licensed. The same line of reasoning applies to R-MACs with more than two accusative NPs.

The coordination approach offers a natural explanation for the occurrence of the coordinator *kuliko* ‘and’ between the accusative NPs, since it posits an underlying coordinate structure. See (12), repeated from (9).

- (12) a. Mary-nun cha-lul kuliko thukhi BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta.  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL  
 ‘Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs.’  
 b. Kim-i kwail-ul kuliko tewuki sakwa-lul mek-ess-e.  
 Kim-NOM fruit-ACC and moreover apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
 ‘Kim ate some fruit, and moreover an apple.’

<sup>6</sup>Koizumi (2000) argues for the existence of overt V-raising in head-final languages such as Japanese and Korean. In particular, he argues that the verb raises all the way up to C. Building on a proposal of Koizumi (2000), I assume the overt V-raising to *v* for R-MACs, but avoid here discussing whether the verb raises all the way to C, since it is not crucial for the purpose of this paper. I leave open the issue of the exact final landing site of the raised verb, if the coordination analysis is correct.

By way of example, the current analysis takes (12a) to derive the syntactic structure given in (13), where the coordinator *kuliko* constitutes the phonological realization of  $\&^0$ .

- (13) Mary-nun [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub> ] [<sub>&'</sub> kuliko thukhi [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]]] cohaha-n-ta

Here I argue that the coordinator *kuliko* and the adverb *thukhiltewuki* used in R-MACs like (12) function as “reformulation markers” that explicitly express the semantic relationship between the accusative NPs (e.g., *kuliko thukhi* are used to denote a partial identification relationship). This claim is supported by their similarity with English reformulation markers used in VRAs, such as *and especially* in (14). In both constructions, the coordinator can act as a reformulation marker just in case it occurs in combination with the other marker (i.e., the adverb). If the adverb in question is absent, the result is semantically ill-formed, as in (15) (see Heringa 2012 and Griffiths 2015ab for details on reformulation markers).

- (14) Mary loves to buy cars, and especially buy BMWs.
- (15) a. #Mary-nun cha-lul kuliko BMW-lul cohaha-n-ta. (cf. (12a))  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and BMW-ACC like-PRES-DECL  
 ‘Mary likes cars, and BMWs.’  
 b. #Mary loves to buy cars, and buy BMWs.

The above brief discussion regarding reformulation markers allows us to maintain the view that R-MACs are parallel to VRAs.

The coordination-based analysis of R-MACs can readily explain both the non-constituency and multiplicity of the accusative NPs without positing any construction-specific rule or constraint (e.g., C&K’s Recursive Rule). As was already indicated in Section 2 in the example repeated here in (16), a VP-modifying adverb can stand between outer and inner accusative NPs, which supports the non-constituency of the two accusatives. On the present analysis, the R-MAC in (16) has the assumed structure presented in (17):

- (16) Mary-ka cha-lul mollay BMW-lul sa-ss-e.  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC secretly BMW-ACC buy-PST-DECL  
 ‘Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.’

- (17) Mary-ka [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub> ] &<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> mollay [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]]] sa-ss-e

As illustrated here, the two accusatives reside in different VP conjuncts from each other, which captures their non-constituency. The VP-adverb syntactically modifies the second VP conjunct that acts as the apposition.<sup>7</sup> As for the multiple occurrence of accusative NPs in R-MACs, it can be accounted for by assuming recursive iteration of VP conjuncts within the present system. The R-MAC in (18), with three accusative NPs involved, is predicted to have the syntactic structure given in (19), where there are three different remnant-VP conjuncts, each involving its own accusative object.

<sup>7</sup>The VP-adverb may semantically modify both the first and second VPs which predicate properties of the same event. I leave an account of this syntax/semantics mismatch for future research.

- (18) Mary-ka cha-lul BMW-lul i8-ul sa-ss-e.  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC BMW-ACC i8-ACC buy-PST-DECL  
 ‘Mary bought a car, a BMW, an i8.’
- (19) Mary-ka [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub> ] &<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub> ] &<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> i8-ul t<sub>v</sub> ] ] sa-ss-e<sup>8</sup>

Another empirical advantage of the coordination analysis of R-MACs is that it accounts for the fact that the outer accusative NP cannot be *wh*-questioned, whereas the inner accusative can, as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. \*Mary-ka mwues-ul BMW-lul sa-ss-ni?  
 Mary-NOM what-ACC BMW-ACC buy-PST-QUE  
 ‘(lit.) Mary bought what, a BMW?’
- b. Mary-ka cha-lul mwues-ul sa-ss-ni?  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC what-ACC buy-PST-QUE  
 ‘(lit.) Mary bought a car, what?’

Under the current approach, the outer accusative NP is assumed to be buried inside the first VP conjunct. Hence, if it is *wh*-questioned alone, the result is ungrammatical since LF-movement of the *wh*-phrase into C for feature checking (Chomsky 1995) violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint. Then, a question immediately arises as to why the inner accusative NP is allowed to be *wh*-questioned, which is embedded in the second VP conjunct. Although I cannot provide an answer to this question here, I would like to point out that canonical coordinate structures exhibit the same asymmetric pattern with regard to *wh*-questions, as given in (21).

- (21) a. \*Mary-nun mwues-ul kuliko sakwa-lul mek-ess-ni?  
 Mary-TOP what-ACC and apple-ACC eat-PST-QUE  
 ‘(lit.) Mary ate what and an apple?’
- b. Mary-nun sakwa-lul kuliko mwues-ul mek-ess-ni?  
 Mary-TOP apple-ACC and what-ACC eat-PST-QUE  
 ‘(lit.) Mary ate an apple and what?’

As shown in (21a), the direct object in the first conjunct cannot be *wh*-questioned alone, but that in the second conjunct can, as in (21b). The parallel between (20) and (21) allows us to maintain that R-MACs involve a VP coordinate structure in which two accusative NPs are embedded in different conjuncts from each other.

<sup>8</sup>In R-MACs like (18), reformulation markers like *kuliko thukhi* can appear between the first and second conjunct on the one hand, and between the second and third conjunct on the other, as in (i).

- (i) Mary-ka cha-lul kuliko thukhi BMW-lul kuliko thukhi i8-ul  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC and especially BMW-ACC and especially i8-ACC  
 cohaha-n-ta.  
 like-PRES-DECL  
 ‘Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs, and especially i8s.’

#### 4 Implications for gapless right dislocation constructions

Korean employs so-called Gapless Right Dislocation Constructions (GRDCs), as illustrated in (22), where an object NP appears after the (matrix) verb despite the fact that the language has an SOV basic word order.

- (22) Mary-nun cha-lul cohaha-n-ta BMW-lul.  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC like-PRES-DECL BMW-ACC  
 ‘Mary likes cars, BMWs.’

Ko (2016) refers to that like (22) as a *specificational* GRDC in the sense that the postverbal accusative NP (e.g., *BMW-lul*), which I will call the *appendix*, functions to specify the meaning of the preverbal accusative NP (e.g., *cha-lul*), which I will call the *correlate*. That is, the two accusative NPs enter into a reformulative relationship, just as those in R-MACs do. Thus, for the sake of coherence, I will use the term *reformulative* GRDCs (R-GRDCs) in place of Ko’s term.<sup>9</sup>

In the analysis of R-GRDCs, Ko (2016) proposes that they are derived from mono-clausal structures underlying R-MACs through rightward movement of the inner accusative NP. On this view, for example, (22) is derived as follows:<sup>10</sup>

- (23) Mary-nun cha-lul t<sub>i</sub> cohaha-n-ta [<sub>NP</sub> BMW-lul]<sub>i</sub>

However, the challenge for her analysis comes from previously unexamined data like that in (24), where the coordinator *kuliko* and the adverb *thukhi/tewuki* occur after the verb, together with the appendix NP.

- (24) Mary-nun cha-lul cohaha-n-ta kuliko thukhi/tewuki  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC like-PRES-DECL and especially/moreover  
 BMW-lul.  
 BMW-ACC  
 ‘Mary likes cars, and especially/moreover BMWs.’

On Ko’s analysis—which does not posit an underlying coordinate structure for R-MACs—the putative source sentence for (24) should be the ill-formed one in (25) in which the coordinator and the adverb are base-generated after the verb.

- (25) \*Mary-nun cha-lul [<sub>NP</sub> BMW-lul] cohaha-n-ta kuliko thukhi/tewuki

<sup>9</sup>Ko (2016) also investigates another type of GRDC, called a *repetitive* GRDC, which is exemplified by (i).

- (i) Mary-nun cha-lul cohaha-n-ta cha-lul.  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC like-PRES-DECL car-ACC  
 ‘Mary likes a car, a car (and not something else).’

Unlike R-GRDCs, the appendix in repetitive GRDCs functions to put a strong emphasis on the correlate by repeating it. In this paper, I only concern myself with R-GRDCs.

<sup>10</sup>She proposes a different syntactic analysis for repetitive GRDCs by arguing that they are derived from a bi-clausal structure with ellipsis. See Ko (2016) for details on the analysis.

#### 4.1 An alternative approach: rightward movement of &'

Here I follow Ko (2016) in claiming that R-GRDCs are syntactically derived from R-MACs, but the analysis I shall propose diverges from hers: drawing on the coordination approach to R-MACs, I postulate that what undergoes rightward movement is not just the inner accusative NP, but the &' that contains it. Under this view, (22) and (24) are assumed to be derived like (26a) and (26b), respectively.

- (26) a. Mary-nun [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]  
           t<sub>1</sub> ] cohaha-n-ta [<sub>&'</sub> [<sub>&<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]]]<sub>1</sub>  
       b. Mary-nun [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]  
           t<sub>1</sub> ] cohaha-n-ta [<sub>&'</sub> kuliko thukhi [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]]]<sub>1</sub>

#### 4.2 Welcome consequences

An advantage of the analysis advocated here is that it explains how a VP-adverb can occur right before the appendix NP, as in (27) or after it, as in (28).

- (27) a. Mary-ka cha-lul sa-ss-tay mollay BMW-lul.  
       Mary-NOM car-ACC buy-PST-hearsay secretly BMW-ACC  
       ‘Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.’  
       b. Mary-ka cha-lul sa-ss-tay kuliko thukhi mollay  
       Mary-NOM car-ACC buy-PST-hearsay and especially secretly  
       BMW-lul.  
       BMW-ACC  
       ‘Mary bought cars, and especially secretly a BMW.’
- (28) a. Mary-ka cha-lul sa-ss-tay BMW-lul mollay.  
       Mary-NOM car-ACC buy-PST-hearsay BMW-ACC secretly  
       ‘Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.’  
       b. Mary-ka cha-lul sa-ss-tay kuliko thukhi BMW-lul  
       Mary-NOM car-ACC buy-PST-hearsay and especially BMW-ACC  
       mollay.  
       secretly  
       ‘Mary bought cars, and especially secretly a BMW.’

The present analysis, for instance, assumes the R-GRDCs in (27a) and (27b) to be derived from the R-MACs in (29a) and (29b), respectively. These assumed derivations are detailed in (30).

- (29) a. Mary-ka cha-lul mollay BMW-lul sa-ss-tay.  
       Mary-NOM car-ACC secretly BMW-ACC buy-PST-hearsay  
       ‘Mary secretly bought a car, a BMW.’



- b. Mary-ka cha-lul kuliko thukhi mollay BMW-lul  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC and especially secretly BMW-ACC  
 sa-ss-tay.  
 buy-PST-hearsay  
 ‘Mary bought cars, and especially secretly a BMW.’

- (30) a. Mary-ka [ $\&P$  [ $VP$  cha-lul  $t_v$  ]  
 $t_1$  ] sa-ss-tay [ $\&'$  [ $\&'^0$  [ $VP$  mollay [ $VP$  BMW-lul  $t_v$  ]]]]<sub>1</sub>  
 b. Mary-ka [ $\&P$  [ $VP$  cha-lul  $t_v$  ]  
 $t_1$  ] sa-ss-tay [ $\&'$  kuliko thukhi [ $VP$  mollay [ $VP$  BMW-lul  $t_v$  ]]]]<sub>1</sub>

As illustrated in (30), what has been right-dislocated is the  $\&'$  in which the VP-adverb modifies the second VP conjunct in which the appendix NP is embedded. That is, although on the surface the VP-adverb appears to be adjacent to the appendix NP, it in fact is the sister of the VP as its modifiee. If the VP-adverb post-modifies the second VP conjunct, then we obtain the R-GRDCs in (28).

As we have seen from the examples so far, the derivation of R-GRDCs from R-MACs requires that the coordinate head undergo rightward movement along with the second VP conjunct. I suggest that such a requirement is necessary to void the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) effect, specifically the islandhood of  $\&P$ . This suggestion rests on Bošković's (2011, 2017) cross-linguistic observation that movement of the head of an island  $\alpha$  voids islandhood of  $\alpha$ , which leads him to establish the generalization that traces do not head islands. To illustrate this, see the Japanese sentence in (31): the extraction of the first conjunct *Kyooda* out of an island  $\&P$  is possible since the movement of the enclitic conjunction head *to* along with the first conjunct voids the islandhood of  $\&P$ .

- (31) Kyooda<sub>1</sub>-to kanojo-wa [<sub>1</sub> Toodai]-ni akogareteiru  
 Kyoto.University-and she-TOP Tokyo.University-DAT admire  
 ‘She admires Kyoto University and Tokyo University.’ (Bošković 2017)

By appealing to Bošković's generalization, I argue that in order to properly generate R-GRDCs from R-MACs, the coordinate head must undergo rightward movement along with the second conjunct so as to avoid violating the CSC. This is evidenced by the fact that if only the second conjunct is right-dislocated, leaving the conjunction head in its base position, the result is infelicitous since it violates the CSC. This is illustrated in (32).

- (32) a. \*Mary-nun cha-lul kuliko thukhi cohaha-n-ta BMW-lul.  
 Mary-TOP car-ACC and especially like-PRES-DECL BMW-ACC  
 ‘(int.) Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs.’  
 b. \*Mary-nun [ $\&P$  [ $VP$  cha-lul  $t_v$  ] [ $\&'$  kuliko thukhi  
 $t_1$  ]] cohaha-n-ta [ $VP$  BMW-lul  $t_v$  ]]<sub>1</sub>

Likewise, the extraction of only the first conjunct out of &P in R-MACs is in violation of the CSC effect, regardless of whether the coordinate head is covert, as in (33a) or overt, as in (34a).<sup>11</sup>

- (33) a. \*Mary-ka BMW-lul coha-hay cha-lul.  
Mary-NOM BMW-ACC like-DECL car-ACC  
'(int.) Mary likes cars, BMWs.'
- b. \*Mary-ka [<sub>&P</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>&'&<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub>]]] coha-hay [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub>]<sub>1</sub>
- (34) a. \*Mary-ka kuliko thukhi BMW-lul coha-hay cha-lul.  
Mary-NOM and especially BMW-ACC like-DECL car-ACC  
'(int.) Mary likes cars, and especially BMWs.'
- b. \*Mary-ka  
[<sub>&P</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>&'</sub> kuliko thukhi [<sub>VP</sub> BMW-lul t<sub>v</sub>]]] coha-hay [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub>]<sub>1</sub>

(35) illustrates that canonical coordinate structures exhibit the same pattern concerning rightward extraction: the right dislocation of &' is allowed, as in (35b), but that of only the conjunct is disallowed, as in (35c) and (35d). This gives credence to the claim that R-GRDCs are derived from coordinate structures underlying R-MACs via rightward movement of &'.

- (35) a. Mary-ka sakwa-lul kuliko panana-lul mek-ess-e.  
Mary-NOM apple-ACC and banana-ACC eat-PST-DECL  
'Mary ate an apple and a banana.'
- b. Mary-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-e kuliko panana-lul.  
Mary-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-DECL and banana-ACC  
'Mary ate an apple and a banana.'
- c. \*Mary-ka kuliko panana-lul mek-ess-e sakwa-lul.  
Mary-NOM and banana-ACC eat-PST-DECL apple-ACC  
'(int.) Mary ate an apple and a banana.'
- d. \*Mary-ka sakwa-lul kuliko mek-ess-e panana-lul.  
Mary-NOM apple-ACC and eat-PST-DECL banana-ACC  
'(int.) Mary ate an apple and a banana.'

<sup>11</sup>I suggest that (33a) is acceptable only when it is construed as "attributive/predicational" GRDCs, where the appendix describes a property of the correlate. On this view, the sentence under consideration is interpreted like 'Mary likes BMWs, which are cars' and is most appropriate in a context where the addressee does not know that BMWs are cars. Example (i) is another naturally occurring example of attributive GRDCs.

- (i) Mary-ka John-ul manna-ss-e pyenhosa-lul.  
Mary-NOM John-ACC meet-PST-DECL lawyer-ACC  
'Mary met John, who is a lawyer.'

Note that it is possible for both the appendix and its correlate, which do not form a constituent, to occur after the verb, as illustrated below.

- (36) Mary-ka coha-hay cha-lul BMW-lul.  
 Mary-NOM like-DECL car-ACC BMW-ACC  
 ‘Mary likes cars, BMWs.’

The data like (36) can be easily accounted for by the current approach: what has undergone rightward movement is the whole VP coordination, as illustrated in (37).

- (37) Mary-ka  $t_1$  coha-hay  $\left[ \&P \left[ \text{VP } \text{cha-lul } t_v \right] \&^0 \left[ \text{VP } \text{BMW-lul } t_v \right] \right]$

A strong source of support for this idea comes from the overt occurrence of coordinator between the appendix and the correlate, as shown in (38).

- (38) Mary-ka coha-hay cha-lul kuliko thukhi (mopsi) BMW-lul.  
 Mary-NOM like-DECL car-ACC and especially awfully BMW-ACC  
 ‘Mary likes cars, and especially awfully BMWs.’

Another virtue of the present proposal is that it explains why the correlate in R-GRDCs is disallowed to be *wh*-questioned, as given in (39).

- (39) \*Mary-ka mwues-ul cohaha-ni (kuliko thukhi) BMW-lul?  
 Mary-NOM what-ACC like-QUE and especially BMW-ACC  
 ‘(lit.) Mary likes what, (and especially) BMWs?’

Since the *wh*-correlate is buried inside the first VP conjunct, its LF-movement to C for feature checking violates the CSC.

Note also that a *wh*-appendix is not permitted in R-GRDCs (Ko 2016):

- (40) \*Mary-ka cha-ul cohaha-ni (kuliko thukhi) mwues-ul?  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC like-QUE and especially what-ACC  
 ‘(lit.) Mary likes cars, (and especially) what?’

This fact can be also dealt with by the current approach. To explain the ill-formedness of (40), let us first consider the following ordinary coordination examples:

- (41) a. Mary-ka sakwa-lul kuliko mwues-ul mek-ess-ni?  
 Mary-NOM apple-ACC and what-ACC eat-PST-QUE  
 ‘(lit.) Mary ate an apple and what?’  
 b. \*Mary-ka sakwa-lul kuliko mek-ess-ni mwues-ul?  
 Mary-NOM apple-ACC and eat-PST-QUE what-ACC  
 ‘(lit.) Mary ate an apple and, what?’  
 c. \*Mary-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-ni kuliko mwues-ul?  
 Mary-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-QUE and what-ACC  
 ‘(lit.) Mary ate an apple, and what?’

(41a) shows that the direct object in the second conjunct can be *wh*-questioned alone. (41b) and (41c) illustrate that the *wh*-object in the second conjunct cannot be right-dislocated either alone or in company with the coordinator.

With this paradigm in mind, let us examine what makes it illicit for the R-GRDC in (40) to be derived from its grammatical putative source MAC in (42a) in which the inner accusative is *wh*-questioned.

- (42) a. Mary-ka cha-lul (kuliko thukhi) mwues-ul cohaha-ni?  
 Mary-NOM car-ACC and especially what-ACC like-QUE  
 ‘(lit.) Mary likes cars, (and especially) what?’
- b. \*Mary-ka [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> cha-lul t<sub>v</sub> ]  
 t<sub>1</sub> ] cohaha-ni [<sub>&'</sub> (kuliko thukhi) [<sub>VP</sub> mwues-ul t<sub>v</sub> ]]<sub>1</sub>

As illustrated in (42b), in order to void the islandhood of &P, the coordinate head must undergo rightward movement along with the second VP conjunct that contains the *wh*-object. However, such movement is not allowed as we have seen from the canonical coordination example in (41c). This may be why the R-GRDC in (40) is ruled out. The observations we have made in terms of *wh*-appendix and *wh*-correlate lend credence to the proposal that R-GRDCs are derived from remnant-VP coordination underlying R-MACs via rightward movement of &'.

## 5 Concluding remarks

I have proposed a novel coordination approach to R-MACs, according to which they, as a type of VRA, involve remnant-VP coordination in which multiple accusative NPs are embedded in different VP conjuncts. This simple coordination approach has accounted for both regularities as well as idiosyncrasies of R-MACs. Furthermore, I have suggested that the coordination analysis of R-MACs can be extended to account for R-GRDCs. Specifically, I have proposed the syntactic derivation of R-GRDCs from R-MACs via rightward movement of &'. I believe that the novel proposals presented in this paper contribute to a better understanding of the syntax (and other grammatical aspects) of both R-MACs and R-GRDCs.

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