Implications of Constraints on Null Constituents for Analyses of the Right Dislocation Construction

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1 Introduction*

The construction known most commonly as the Right Dislocation Construction (RD, hereafter) shown in (1) below has come into the

theoretical spotlight in recent years, due in part to the surge of interest in different types of elliptical constructions in natural languages.

(1) Cheli-ka **pro/kyay-lul** ecey mannass-e, **Tongswu-lul**
C-nom him-acc yesterday met-decl T-acc
'Cheli met him yesterday, namely, Tongswu.'

Before we proceed, it is useful to fix some terminology. We shall refer to the dislocated constituent (*Tongswu-lul*) as the **Appendix**, and the clause that precedes it as the **Host**. The gap or the overt constituent within the Host that is linked interpretively to the Appendix (*pro/kyay-lul*) shall be called the **Target**.

Most recent analyses of RD in Korean and Japanese are based on Tanaka (2001), which takes RD to be a bi-clausal, paratactic collocation of clauses, as shown in (2) below. In the input to RD, the second clause (=CP2, TP2) must be identical to the first, and the Appendix (=XP below) must be matched (that is, coindexed with) to a Target (=YP) within the Host clause.

(2) $[_{CP1} [_{TP1} .. \begin{bmatrix} e_i \\ YP_i \end{bmatrix} ... V]_k]$ $[_{CP2} XP_i [_{TP2} ... \quad t_i \quad ... V]_k]$
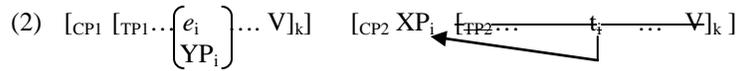
RD arises when the Appendix undergoes leftward movement/Scrambling in the second clause and the remainder of the clause is deleted, under some algorithm that determines identity of the second clause with respect to the preceding one (cf. Merchant 2001 for a detailed analysis of Sluicing along these lines as well as a specific algorithm for computing identity that allows deletion).

This analysis differs substantially from earlier analyses which took RD to be derived by rightward movement/Scrambling of the Appendix from a within a single-rooted clause.

There is good evidence that RD consists of two separate root clauses. For example, there must be two rising intonational contours at the right edge of the Host clause and the Appendix when the Host is a Yes-No question. This clearly indicates the presence of two distinct clauses.

(3) a. __ ecey Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni?↗ Cheli-ka?↗
yesterday Y-acc meet-pst-Q C-nom

   b. *__ ecey Yenghi-lul manna-ss-ni Cheli-ka? ↗
yesterday Y-acc meet-pst-Q C-nom
'Did Yenghi meet Cheli yesterday?'

Another salient property of RD is that it is restricted to root domains. Embedded RD is not possible (cf. 4a), but when an embedded constituent occurs at the root level as an Appendix, the structure is fine (cf. 4b).

(4) a. *Cheli-ka   [Yenghi-ka __   mannassta-ko **Tongswu-lul**]
        C-nom   Y-nom   met-comp   T-acc
        malhayss-e
        said-decl
        'Cheli said that Yenghi met him, namely, Tongswu.'

   b. Cheli-ka   [Yenghi-ka __   mannassta-ko]   malhayss-e,
      C-nom   Y-nom   met-comp   said-decl
      Tongswu-lul
      T-acc

Scrambling from an embedded clause is not similarly restricted, as it need not displace the moved constituent to the root domain (cf. 5a).

(5) a. Cheli-ka [**Tongswu-lul**   Yenghi-ka __   mannassta-ko]
        C-nom   T-acc   Y-nom   met-comp
        malhayss-e
        said-decl
        'Cheli said Yenghi met Tongswu.'

   b. **Tongswu-lul**   Cheli-ka   [Yenghi-ka __ mannassta-ko]
      T-acc   C-nom   Y-nom   met-comp
      malhayss-e
      said-decl

Since paratactic structures are concatenations of root clauses, the root-only restriction of RD, coupled with the prosodic evidence indicating multiple root clauses, favors the Tanaka-style analysis of RD.

Nonetheless, the idea that the Appendix results from deletion subsequent to movement has been the subject of intense scrutiny. This is because the movement derivation of the Appendix predicts that it should be constrained by properties of movement, in particular, movement locality. However, data that appear problematic for the movement derivation of the Appendix have been identified in earlier work (Yoon 2009, Lee 2009, *inter alia*). This paper focuses on the type of Appendices that have been claimed to be problematic for the dominant account of RD, and show that constraints on ellipsis, together with a particular understanding of Sprouting

(based on Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (CLM) 2011), can provide an account of these Appendices within an approach that is largely similar to the dominant account of RDs.

2   Adnominal and Conjunct Appendices

The type of constituents that can occur as Appendices in RD include Left Branch constituents—such as demonstratives and relative clauses, as shown in (6a). We also find conjuncts occurring as Appendices, as seen (6b).

(6)   a.   na-nun   [__   John]-ul   mannass-e
              I-top   J-acc   met-decl
              wuli-thim-ey   saylo   haplyuha-n
              our-team-loc   newly   joined-rel
              'I met John, who recently joined our team.'

       b.   Cheli-ka phathi-eyse [__   Yenghi]-lul mannasse-e,
              C-nom   party-loc   Y-acc   met–decl
              Tongswu-hako
              T-conj
              'Cheli met Yenghi at the party, and Tongswu as well.'

Yoon (2009) and Lee (2009) rightly take these data to be problematic for the reigning analysis of RDs. The specific challenge is how an Appendix can be related to a position within an island (Left Branches and Coordinate Structures) if movement is responsible for its licensing in (6a,b).

A possible response to the insensitivity of adnominal/Left Branch and conjunct Appendices to movement locality might be to invoke the island-repairing power of ellipsis, an idea that is widely adopted in the literature. However, the generality of such an account is immediately compromised by the following fact. Though adnominal modifiers and demonstratives can occur as Appendices, nominal Heads (and their projections) modified by them cannot (Baker 2007, Sells 1999, Yoon 2009, and Lee 2009) (cf. 7a). And conjuncts that occur as Appendices are limited to non-final conjuncts (cf. 6b). A final conjunct cannot occur as Appendix with a non-final conjunct stranded in the Host clause (cf. 7b).

(7)   a.   *na-nun [wuli-thim-ey   saylo   haplyuha-n __]
              I-top   our-team-loc   newly   joined-rel
              mannass-e   **John-ul**
              met-decl   J-acc
              'I met John, who recently joined our team.'

    b. *Cheli-ka   phathi-eyse   [Tongswu-hako __]
        Cheli-nom   party-loc   T-conj
        mannass-e, **Yenghi-lul**
        met-decl   Y-acc
        'Cheli met Tongswu at the party, and Yenghi as well.'

Therefore, any account of (6a,b) that appeals to the island-repairing power of ellipsis must ensure that the power is curtailed so as to distinguish between the movements of Left Branches and nominal Head projections (6a vs. 7a) and between movements of non-final and final Conjuncts (6b vs. 7b) in their ability to amnesty island violations, even though the Complex NP Constraint and the Coordinate Structure Constraint (specifically, the Conjunct Condition) are violated in both cases.

A further indication that the island repair account is doomed to failure comes from the fact that islands cannot be seemingly repaired in other RDs. The following RDs show that Appendices cannot be related to a null Target contained within islands (Adjunct and Complex NP/Subject Island, respectively).

(8) a. *Cheli-ka   [Swuni-ka __   mannaki   ttaymwuney]
        C-nom   S-nom   meet   because
        hwa-ka   nass-tay,   **Tongswu-lul**
        anger-nom   came-I.hear T-acc
        '(I hear that) Cheli got upset because Swuni is going out with
         him (=Tongswu).'

    b. *[[Cheli-ka   __   mannanta]-nun   sasil]-i   wuli-lul
         C-nom   meet-rel   fact-nom   we-acc
        nollakay   hayss-e,   **Yenghi-lul**
        surprise   did-decl   Y-acc
        'The fact that Cheli is going out with her(=Yenghi) surprised
        us.'

Since we are unlikely to find a principled account that permits island repair in (6) but not in (7) or (8), we should look elsewhere for a possible explanation.

Our search for a solution will unfold in two stages. In the first stage, we shall look for the cause underlying the contrast between (6) and (7) (section 2.1). In the second, we seek to understand why islands can be apparently disregarded in (6), but not in (8) (section 3).

2.1 Illegitimate Ellipsis

Note that island violations are incurred by the movement of the Appendix in both (6) and (7) under the current account of RD. Therefore, island violations cannot be the culprit behind the difference in acceptability of (6) and (7).

We suspect that the real culprit is the **Target** within the Host clause. That is, while (6) has a legitimate null Target in the Host clause, (7) does not. The rationale behind this idea is that the contrast between (6) and (7) is reminiscent of what D-H Chung (2009, 2011) discovered about predicates and dependents in RD.

Chung found that predicates (and projections of predicates) cannot occur as Appendices in RDs while stranding the dependents (arguments and adjuncts) associated with the predicate (cf. 9b,c). By contrast, dependents can occur as Appendices without the accompanying predicate (cf. 9a).

(9) a. Cheli-nun   [nay-ka __ cikcep   mannassta-ko]
         C-top   I-nom   in.person   met-comp
         sayngkakhay,   **Tongswu-lul**
         thinks   T-acc
         'Cheli thinks that I met him in person, namely, Tongswu.'

    b. *Cheli-nun   [nay-ka Tongswu-lul   cikcep   ___]
         C-top   I-nom T-acc   in.person
         sayngkakhay,   **mannassta-ko**
         thinks   met-comp

    c. *Cheli-nun   [nay-ka ___]   sayngkakhay
         C-top   I-nom   thinks
         Tongswu-lul   **cikcep**   **mannassta-ko**
         T-acc   in.person   met-comp

D-H Chung (2009, 2011) proposed that the reason why predicates (and their projections) cannot occur in RD is because a verb and the attendant functional projections (that is, the sequence V-*v*-T-C that underlie the string *manna-ss-ta-ko* in 9b,c above) do not form a constituent in Korean, due to the lack of verb raising in syntax (Yoon 1994). If we assume that a null Target is licensed via ellipsis, since constituency is a pre-condition for ellipsis (or pro-formation), the RD's in (9b,c) are illegitimate because ellipsis has targeted a non-constituent string in the Host clause.

Confirmation that the ill-formedness of (9b,c) stems from the null Target comes from the fact that the sentences become well-formed when the Target is not null.[1]

(10)a.　Cheli-nun　　[nay-ka Tongswu-lul cikcep　**mannassta-ko]**
　　　　　C-top　　　　I-nom　T-acc　　　in.person met-comp
　　　　　sayngkakhay,　**mannassta-ko**　(cf. 9b)
　　　　　thinks　　　　　met-comp

　　　b.　Cheli-nun　　[nay-ka **kulayssta-ko**]　sayngkakhay
　　　　　C-top　　　　I-nom　did.so-comp　thinks
　　　　　Tongswu-lul　cikcep　　mannassta-ko　(cf. 9c)
　　　　　T-acc　　　　　in.person　met-comp

The idea we are pursuing is that the contrast between (6) and (7) also boils down to the difference between legitimate and illegitimate null Targets. That is, ellipsis yielding a null Target is allowed in (11a) (=6a) but not in (11b) (=7a).

(11)a. ^ok na-nun　[[~~wuli-thim-ey　　saylo　　haplyuha~~] n John]-ul
　　　　　I-top　　our-team-loc　newly　joined-rel　J-acc
　　　　　mannass-e, **wuli-thim-ey　saylo　　haplyuha-n**
　　　　　met-decl　　our-team-loc newly　joined-real

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[1] Now, if Chung is correct that the inflected verb string is not a constituent that can undergo ellipsis yielding a null Target in (9b,c), the same string should be impermissible as Appendix, since the Appendix is derived by movement, and movement, like ellipsis, is constrained by constituency. Thus, his account predicts that even when the Target has not undergone ellipsis, the resulting RD should still be bad, because a non-constituent string has undergone movement in the Appendix. However, (10a,b) is well-formed, falsifying this prediction.

　　In order to get out of this impasse, Chung hypothesizes that for (10a,b), the Target is the entire embedded CP within the Host clause. Correspondingly, the Appendix is also a constituent CP containing empty categories that are coindexed with the matched constituents within the Target CP. That is, the structure of (10a) is as follows.

(i) Cheli-nun [$_{CP}$ **nay-ka$_1$ Tongswu-lul$_2$ cikcep$_3$　mannassta-ko**] sayngkakhay,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　TARGET
　　[$_{CP}$ **e$_1$　e$_2$　e$_3$ mannassta-ko**]
　　　　　APPENDIX

This alternative parse is not available for (9b), as one can tell, where only the string *mannassta-ko* is deleted (as Target) within the Host clause.

　There are a few questionable aspects of the analysis shown in (i), but we shall not address them here.

b. *na-nun [_DP_ [wuli-thim-ey   saylo   haplyuha]-n ~~John]~~ ul
   I-top   our-team-loc   newly   joined-rel   J-acc
   mannass-e,   **John-ul**
   met-decl   J-acc

What could be the reason why ellipsis fails to target the string *John-ul* in (11b) but not the string *wuli-thim-ey saylo haplyuha-n* in (11a)?

If we apply Chung's logic regarding the inability of predicate (projections) to occur as null Targets, we can hypothesize that since the case-marker (=*lul*) combines with the entire phrase (=DP) as indicated (cf. Yoon 1995, who argues that case-markers are enclitics/ad-phrasal suffixes), ellipsis of the case-marker plus the Head noun alone without its dependents effects a non-constituent substring. By contrast, the adnominal modifier is a constituent that can undergo ellipsis without effecting the rest of the phrase in (11a).[2]

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[2] Alternatively, one might hypothesize that when a Head (Noun, in this case) undergoes deletion, all of its dependents must be affected as well. Such a constraint is appealed to in J-M Jo's (2013) analysis of the (Contrastive) Predicate Topic construction in Korean, though for overt pro-forms.

As we see below, the Predicate portion of the Predicate Topic construction can contain a copy of constituents (=*pap-ul*) that occur within the Topic constituent (cf. i). However, when the pro-verb *ha-* is employed, only the verb, but not its dependents, is permitted in the Predicate portion of the construction (cf. ii).

(i) Cheli-ka   pap-ul   mek-ki-nun   (pap-ul)   mek-ess-ta
    C-nom   meal-acc   eat-nml-top   (meal-acc)   eat-pst-decl
    'As for eating his meal, Cheli did.'

(ii) Cheli-ka   pap-ul   mek-ki-nun   (*pap-ul)   hay-ss-ta
     C-nom   meal-acc   eat-nml-top   (*meal-acc)   do-pst-decl

J-M Jo (2013) proposes that the Predicate Topic construction with a reduplicated predicate (cf. i) and that with the pro-verb *ha-* (cf. ii) arise from the same underlying structure, where a vP occurs as both the Subject/Topic and the Predicate. Deletion of dependents applies freely within the Topic and the Predicate constituents (up to recoverability).

(iii) [_vP_ Cheli-ka pap-ul mek]-ki-nun   [_vP_ ~~Cheli-ka~~ (~~pap-ul~~) mek]-ess-ta   (= i)
           TOPIC   PREDICATE

(iv) [_vP_ Cheli-ka pap-ul mek]-ki-nun   [_vP_ ~~Cheli-ka pap-ul mek~~]-ess-ta   (= ii)
           TOPIC   → *ha*-replacement
   PREDICATE

This accounts for the fact that the Predicate constituent can contain more than just the verb (a fatal problem for analyses that take the construction to involve reduplication of the verb alone, such as K-Y Choi 2001). However, the Predicate constituent cannot contain any stranded

2.2   The Host Lacks Null Targets

If the preceding discussion is on the right track, the ill-formedness of (7) is attributable to the illegitimate ellipsis of the null Target string.[3]

However, as noted earlier, the well-formedness of (6) is still without an explanation. This is so since locality is violated by the putative movement of the Appendix in (6). The Appendix in (6a), for example, would be derived as follows, where the movement violates the Left Branch Condition. But (12), without ellipsis of the clause from which the adnominal modifier has moved out, is ill-formed.

(12) **[[wuli-thim-ey … haplyuha-n]$_i$ [na-nun [$_{DP}$ t$_i$ [John]]-ul mannass-e**
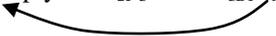
Recall that we cannot invoke repair by ellipsis in RDs in our answer since, as (8) shows, island violations in other RDs cannot be repaired. This is the first problem with (6)

The second problem with (6) is the following. The assumption we made that the Host clause of (6) contains a null Target that has undergone ellipsis (in the manner sketched in 11a above) is suspect. This is so because this assumption is at odds with the fact that adnominal modifiers cannot be licensed under ellipsis in other contexts. Consider the following.

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dependents (cf. ii) if, instead of the reduplicated verb, the pro-verb *ha-* is employed in the construction.

He takes this to imply that *ha-* replaces the entire Predicate constituent (=vP), and when it does so, the dependents of the verb that heads the Predicate constituent (*mek-*) cannot escape the replacement by the pro-form *ha-*. A constraint like this (extended to ellipsis yielding the null Target) will account for why, when the Head nominal (projection) is deleted, all of the dependents must be deleted as well.

Note also that this line of reasoning implies that Coordinate Structures in Korean are asymmetrical in Headedness. That is, the final Conjunct must count as the unique Head. This is not an unusual position to take about coordination in Head-final languages, as is well-known.

[3] Confirmation that the null Target is the culprit comes from the fact that when the Target is not null, the RD is well-formed. Cf.

(i) na-nun	[[wuli-thim-ey	saylo	haplyuha]-n	**ku**	**salam**]-ul
I-top	our-team-loc	newly	joined-rel	that	person-acc
mannass-e,	**John-ul**				
met-decl	J-acc				

(13)
A: Cheli-nun   [[_RelC_ **acwu pissa]-n**   cha]-lul
    C-top   very   expensive-rel   car-acc
    kacko   iss-ta
    possess   is-decl
    'Cheli has a very expensive car.'

B: Yenghi-nun kapang-ul   kacko   iss-ta
    Y-top   handbag-acc   possess   is-decl
    =   (i) Yenghi has a handbag
    =/= (ii) Yenghi has a very expensive handbag

B': Yenghi-to   kacko   iss-ta
    Y-also   possess   is-decl
    = Yenghi has an expensive car too.

If adnominal modifiers could be licensed under ellipsis, (13B) should allow the interpretation indicated in B(ii), but it does not. (13B') on the other hand has an intepretation where the null Object NP includes the meaning of the modifier. If an adnominal modifier could be licensed under ellipsis (or as a null proform), the reading indicated in B(ii) should be possible. What this implies is that a null (deleted) adnominal modifier cannot be licensed by an anaphoric antecedent, unlike null Objects. Since the direction of licensing in RD is cataphoric, and cataphora is more restricted than anaphora, we have no reason to believe that ellipsis of an adnominal modifier Target can happen under cataphora.[4]

    Therefore, in (6a), the Appendix must have been **Sprouted**, rather than moved (to use terminology from the literature on Sluicing). Thus, the proper analysis of (6a) is as follows, rather than as in (11a), where the Host clause does not contain a null adnominal modifier functioning as Target:

(14) na-nun John-ul mannass-e, **[wuli-thim-ey   saylo   haplyuha-n]**
      I-top   J-acc   met-decl   our-team-loc   newly   joined-rel
      'I met John, who recently joined our team.'

    Now, does the fact that the Appendices in (6a,b) are Sprouted (rather than moved) help with the problem of island violations incurred by the Appendix? Only if Sprouting is insensitive to islands in general.

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[4] The same holds for (6b). (Initial) conjuncts cannot be licensed under ellipsis by anaphoric antecedents, which leads us to conclude that there is no Conjunct Target in (6b) that is licensed by the Appendix.

Unfortunately, this is the exact opposite of the consensus on Sprouting in Sluicing. While non-Sprouting (or 'Merger' type, in the terminology of CLM 1995, 2011) Sluicing with indefinite Targets is known to repair islands, Sprouting-type Sluicing is generally assumed to be strictly island-sensitive (though see Kim and Kuno 2012 for exceptions). Consider the following.

(15)a. Bill met a person who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.

b. Tony sent Mo a picture that he painted, but it's not clear why.

(15b), which instantiates a Sprouting-type Sluicing, does not allow *why* to modify the embedded verb *painted* that is within an island, while *which* in (15a), an example of a Merger-type Sluicing, can be related to the Target *a Balkan language* within an island.

In an update of their earlier work, CLM (2011) propose to capture the island-sensitive nature of Sprouting-type Sluicing by proposing that the mechanism behind Sprouting is none other than (the top-down/left-to-right version of) Internal Merge (movement), defined on the 're-used' copy of the Host clause. Since Sprouting is movement, it follows that it will be sensitive to islands.

3   Sprouting and Island Sensitivity

In the previous section we concluded that Adnominal and Conjunct Appendices in RD (cf. 6a,b) are Sprouted. But they can seemingly be related to positions within islands (specifically, to Left Branches and initial conjuncts in coordinate structures). In this they seem different from Sprouting in Sluicing. If the island-sensitivity of Sprouting in Sluicing owes to the fact that it is derived by top-down Internal Merge (as CLM 2011 argue), does it suggest that a non-movement mechanism is responsible for licensing Sprouting in RDs?

If that were the case, we expect that Sprouted Appendices in RDs to be insensitive to the presence of additional islands. However, this is not so.

(16) *[[nay-ka   **cha-lul** sassta]-nun sasil]-i   Yenghi-lul
     I-top   car-acc   bought-rel   fact-nom   Y-acc
     hwa-ka   nakey   hayssta, [**acwu pissa**]-n
     anger-nom   cause   did   very   expensive-rel
     Intended: 'The fact that I bought a very expensive car angered Yenghi.'

In (16) the Sprouted Appendix *acwu pissa-n* ('very expensive') cannot be construed as modifying *cha-lul* ('the car') contained within a Subject Island, to yield the intended interpretation. This suggests that locality still matters in the type of Sprouting involved in RD, but that somehow an adnominal Appendix is allowed to be interpretively connected to a nominal as long as no other islands intervene.

The key to resolving this problem lies in the realization that Sprouting/top-down Internal Merge in (6a) (and 14) does not reach **into** a Left Branch constituent (or a conjunct) or extract a Left Branch out of a DP (like bottom-up Internal Merge). Rather, a Left Branch modifier copy is **created** via adjunction to the modified phrase. By contrast, in (8) (and 16), Sprouting that creates/adjoins a Left Branch (of the DP *cha-lul*) must clearly reach into an island (Complex NP/Subject Island). We submit that this is why Sprouting in RD can seemingly disregard at most one island boundary.

Let's work out the details of this idea in terms of the mechanics of Sprouting proposed in CLM (2011). Assume first that the Appendix is base-generated/Sprouted in a Specifier position of a projection on the left periphery of a clause (indicated below as FP). (6a) then starts out as (17):

(17) Na-n John-ul mannass-e.
    [_FP_ [wuli-thim … haplyuha-n] F [   ]]

F, as a left-peripheral Head, selects a clause. The empty Complement of F is then filled by a re-used copy of the Host clause, resulting in (18).[5]

(18) Na-n John-ul mannass-e.
    [_FP_ [wuli-thim … haplyuha-n] F [na-n John-ul mannass-e]]

The next step is for the base-generated/Sprouted constituent in SpFP to initiate a Chain Formation (top-down Internal Merge) process with respect to a suitable constituent (i) that is within its c-command domain, (ii) is

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[5] This is the mechanism of LF-copying. In the representations, LF-copied material is indicated by outlining. Lack of outlining indicates the presence of both phonological and LF-features.

CLM (2011) are not specific about the nature of the copied material, but it seems they are assuming that it is an LF representation, that is, a structured P-marker with interpretable (LF) features (since the structure must supply an interpretation that is 're-used'), but not phonological features. The relevance of viewing the re-cycled material as consisting only of LF-interpretable features will become apparent shortly.

local/accessible to it, and (iii) meets conditions to count as its (lowest) Occurrence.[6] Specifically, the fact that the constituent in SpFP is marked as an adnominal modifier (as indicated by the ending –*n*) means that the lowest Occurrence (or Tail) of the Chain that is created by the top-down Internal Merge process must satisfy the following conditions.

(19) The lowest Occurrence/Tail of [*wuli-thim-ey saylo haplyuha-**n***]:
→ Must modify a nominal projection
→ Must be dominated by a nominal phrase

Since the DP *John-ul* is not separated from the constituent in SpFP (technically, the head F which Probes it) by any island/phase boundary (see 18), it is accessible to it.

Therefore lowest Copy of the modifier can be created through adjunction to this DP. This will result in the following structure, which will also yield the requisite interpretation for the Sprouted Chain:

(20) [FP [wuli-thim … haplyuha-n] F ….
[na-n [DP [wuli-thim … haplyuha-n] [DP John]]-ul mannass-e]]

By contrast, in (16), top-down Internal Merge initiated by the Sprouted adnominal modifier *acwu pissa-n* in SpFP must transgress an island boundary (Subject Island), and that is why the creation of the Tail/lowest Occurrence at the DP *cha-lul* is not successful.

This analysis makes a prediction. Not all adnominal modifiers should be allowed as Appendices in RDs, but only those that can be adjoined to entire DPs. Such modifiers will of course be initial with respect to the modified phrase. Now, if an adnominal modifier is not the left-most constituent within a DP, then Sprouting/adjunction that creates a lower Copy of the modifier must reach **into** a DP, and in so doing, transgresses an island/DP boundary. In this case, it is predicted that the adnominal modifier should not be allowed as an Appendix. This prediction is borne out.

Though word order in DPs is quite flexible in Korean, the Possessor must precede the numeral modifier of the Noun in (21) below.

(21) a.　[Nay tongsayng　Cheli]-uy [yele-myeng]-uy　chinkwutul
　　　　My　brother　　C-gen　several-cl-gen　　friends

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[6] I am adopting the analysis of Chain links due to Chomsky (2001), where links are defined as Occurrences, which are the structural contexts of a particular Copy in a Chain. In the case at hand, since the Sprouted Copy is an adnominal constituent, the lowest link/Copy/Occurrence must be sister to a nominal phrase and also be dominated by a nominal projection.

  b. *[Yele-myeng]-uy [nay tongsayng Cheli]-uy chinkwutul
    several-cl-gen   my brother C-gen friends
    'Several friends of my brother Cheli'

Of the two adnominal modifiers of the Head noun, only the Possessor can occur as Appendix in an RD, as shown below.

 (22)a. ?Yenghi-nun yele-myeng-uy chinkwutul-ul
     Y-top   several-cl-gen friends-acc
     mannass-ta, **[nay tongsayng Cheli]-uy**
     met-decl   my brother C-gen
     'Yenghi met several of my brother Cheli's friends.'

  b. *Yenghi-nun nay tongsayng Cheli-uy chinkwutul-ul
    Y-top   my friend C-gen   friends-acc
    mannass-ta, **[yele-myeng]-uy**
    met-decl several-cl-gen

The reason for the ill-formedness of (22b) is that the lowest Copy of the Sprouted modifier *yele-myeng-uy* must be created inside the DP *Cheli-uy chinkwutul-i*, in a position lower than the Possessor, whereas in (22a), the Copy can be adjoined to the entire DP *yele-myeng-uy chinkwutul-i*.

  The idea that apparent violations of locality can be allowed in Sprouting as long as the creation of the lowest Occurrence of the Sprouted XP is not inside an island seems to cut the pie in the right places, so far. However, there is a significant problem facing the analysis. This is because adnominal modifiers in apparent violation of movement locality are allowed only when they are fragments (i.e., the Appendix in an RD in 23b or a Fragment Answer in 23c). Adnominals cannot be extracted when the clausal source from which they have been moved remains intact (cf. 23a). In other words, though we have argued against the generality of island repair by ellipsis in RDs (because of facts like 8 and 16), it seems that there is a repair-like effect that is dependent on ellipsis of the clausal source from which the fragments have been putatively extracted.[7]

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[7] Of course, an alternative to pursue is to question whether the Appendix in RDs and Fragment Answers derive from a clausal source. If they don't, there's nothing to delete and no violations to repair. But then this alternative will have to explain the fact that these fragments do seem to be constrained by islands in other cases (cf. 8). We will not explore this alternative further.

(23) a. *[**acwu pissa**]**-n**,   na-n [__ hwacangphum]-ul coahan-ta
         very   expensive-rel I-top   cosmetics-acc   like-decl
         'I like very expensive cosmetics.'

   b. na-n hwacangphum-ul coahanta, [**acwu   pissa**]**-n**
       I-top cosmetics-acc   like   very   expensive-rel

   c. Q: Ne-n   etten   hwacangphum-ul   coaha-ni?
           You-top   which   cosmetics-acc   like-inter
           'What kind of cosmetics do you like?'

       A: **Acwu   pissa-n**
           Very   expensive-rel
           '(I like the) very expensive (kind).'

Specifically, if we assume that the adnominal fragments (in 23b, and possibly in 23c as well) are Sprouted and licensed via creation of a lower Copy (Tail) in the manner sketched earlier, what prevents a similar analysis of (23a)? That is, instead of being extracted out of the DP by bottom-up Internal Merge (a derivation that incurs an island violation), why can't the adnominal modifier be base-generated/Sprouted in the clause periphery and initiate a top-down Internal Merge process and create a lower Copy adjoined to the DP *hwacangphum-ul*? Since this operation does not intrude into the DP, no islands are transgressed and (23a) is predicted to be well-formed on this derivational option.

Without attempting to resolve the issue fully, I will offer two tentative suggestions that may get us out of this impasse. One is to invoke some kind of priority ranking between regular, bottom-up application of Internal Merge/movement and the top-down application that is presumably at work in Sprouting, so that the former trumps the latter when both options are possible. This reasoning assumes that Internal Merge normally works bottom-up, and that the top-down implementation is a Last Resort, employed when a fragment generated in a clause periphery needs to be accomodated with respect to the interpretation of a nearby clause.

The other is to capitalize on the fact that in the analysis of Sprouting derived from CLM (2011), the clause that is copied/re-used to provide the interpretation of the Sprouted constituent consists of only LF-interpretable features, not phonological features (cf. footnote 5). We take this to mean that the Copy of the Sprouted XP that is created within this re-used/copied clause also consists of LF-interpretable features only (cf. 20).

By contrast, let's assume that in (23a), the Copy of the adnominal XP that is created by Internal Merge (whether top-down or bottom-up) has both

phonological and LF-interpretable features, because the P-marker into which it is being inserted (or from within which it moves) has both types of features. Because of linearization requirements of Chains (Nunes 1995), the phonological features of all but the highest Copy must be deleted. We have seen earlier that adnominal modifiers cannot undergo deletion, even when suitable antecedents exist (cf. 13). If this is true in general for such modifiers, deletion of the phonological features from the lowest Copy of the adnominal modifier will not be possible in (23a) as well. And this may be the reason why (23a) is ill-formed. (23a) is ill-formed if bottom-up Internal Merge applies because extraction takes place out of islands and because the phonological features of the lower Copy cannot be deleted. If, on the other hand, top-down Internal Merge applies and creates a lower Copy adjoined to the DP, no island boundaries are transgressed, but the phonological features of the lower Copy cannot be deleted, which leads to ungrammaticality.

This line of speculation predicts that when the phonological features of the lowest Copy have not undergone deletion, the structure should be fine. Indeed, it is, when a resumptive pro-form instead of a gap fills the adnominal position.

(24) **[acwu   pissa]-n**,   na-n **[kulen** hwacangphum]-ul coahan-ta
     very   expensive-rel I-top dem cosmetics-acc   like-decl
     'I like very expensive cosmetics.'

4   Conclusion

The focus of this paper was an apparent challenge for the reigning analysis of RD coming from the fact that adnominal modifiers and initial conjuncts that cannot be extracted in non-elliptical contexts are allowed as Appendices in RDs, but not because islands are repaired under ellipsis in RDs in general. A further challenge came from the fact that while adnominal modifiers and initial conjuncts are possible as Appendices, head nominal projections modified by the adnominal constituents and final conjunct cannot.

The strategy adopted in the paper was to view the latter restriction as stemming from an illegitimate ellipsis taking place within the Host clause. Adoption of this answer in turn led us to the conclusion that adnominal and initial conjunct Appendices in well-formed RDs are Sprouted, rather than moved. A particular implementation of Sprouting under the updated LF-copying approach of CLM (2011) allowed us to make sense of the fact that while apparent Left Branch (and Conjunct Condition) violations are allowed

in RDs, such violations become unacceptable when additional islands intervene.

While the conclusions we reached are tentative, they serve to highlight yet another area of the intricate interplay between ellipsis and locality in a construction that manifests 'syntax in silence' (Merchant 2001). They also point to LF-copying as a viable mechanism of modeling that silent syntax, at least in elliptical structures manifesting Sprouting.

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