

Why right dislocation must be biclausal

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15 minutes in a nutshell

- **Why must right dislocation be biclausal?—because it is!**
- The biclausal approach covers *all* the empirical patterns a monoclausal approach can capture;¹ and
- *a number of* reported and unnoticed empirical patterns that a monoclausal approach *fails* to capture.

Properties of RD		Monoclausal				Biclausal		
		Cheung09/11	Lee17	Lee21	Lai19/24	Cheung15	Tang15/18	Yip24
Major	(Non-)constituency in RD chunks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	(Non-)constituency in main chunks	✗	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	(✓)	✓
	Movement properties	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓
	(De)focus	✓	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	(✓)	✓
	Root phenomenon	✓	✓	(✓)	✗	✓	✓	✓
Main-RD chunk relation	Imperfect copying	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
	Licensing/binding asymmetries	✗	✗	✗	✗	(✓)	(✓)	✓
	No polarity reversal	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	(✓)	✓
	SFP cluster ordering	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
Empty category	Typological correlation on GRD & <i>e</i>	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	(✓)	✓
	Restriction on subject GRD	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	(✓)	✓
	Restriction on object GRD	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	(✓)	✓
	Restriction on verb GRD	✗	✗	✓ _{partial}	✗	N/A	(✓)	✓
Other	'Only/the-hell' in RD chunks	✓ _{PF}	✗	✗	✗	✓ _{PF}	✗	✓ _{PF}
	Stranded adverbs in RD chunks	✓	✓	✓	✓ _{stipulate}	✗	✓	✓
	No SFPs in RD chunks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ _{partial}	✗	✓
	Post-subj. materials in DC chunks	N/A	N/A	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓
	DC: X-*(Y)-SFP-X (X=V/Obj)	N/A	N/A	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗

Table 1: Comparison of monoclausal and biclausal approaches to RD

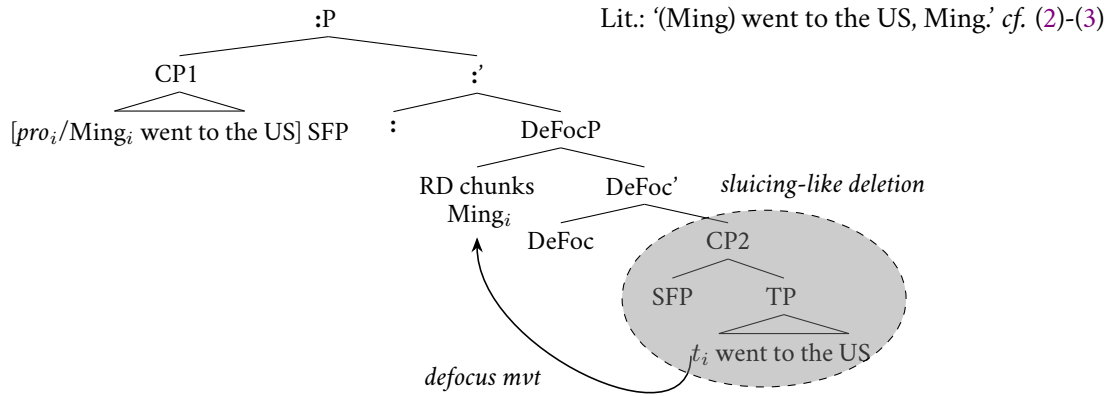
1. Except the linearization constraint in T. T.-M. Lee (2021a), the last property in the table.

Biclausal approach

(Cheung 2015; Tang 2015, 2018; Chan 2016; Chen 2016; Yip 2024)

- I advocate for the following biclausal structure (inspired by Cheung 2015; Ott and de Vries 2016)^{3,4}

(5) The biclausal + sluicing approach to RD



:P forms specifying coordination

→ captures a traditional idea that RD chunks are “extensions” of the main chunks (e.g., Shi 1992)

2 Typological correlation on GRD and empty categories

One key difference between the monoclausal and the biclausal approach is whether the *gaps* in GRD are **movement-derived** or **base-generated as empty categories**.

- (6) a. [CP [TP t_{XP}] YP] [SFP [XP_{RD} ... t_{TP}]] Monoclausal: YP-SFP-XP
 b. [CP₁ [e_i] YP SFP] [CP₂ XP_{RD*i*} [... t_{XP} YP SFP]] Biclausal: YP-SFP-XP

- Different prediction on the correlation between *the type of GRD* and *the inventory of empty categories*:
- Monoclausal: no correlation!**
 → GRD of X should be possible as long as movement of X is independently available (say, *wh*-movement or topicalization)
- Biclausal: Correlated!**
 → GRD of X should only be possible if base-generated *empty* X is possible

3. Cheung (2015)'s sluicing proposal of DC involves four steps:

- (i) Cheung (2015)'s biclausal approach S-VP-SFP-S
- a. [CP₁ SFP [TP₁ S VP]], [CP₂ SFP [TP₂ S VP]] juxtaposition of 2 “parallel” CPs
 b. [CP₁ SFP [TP₁ S VP]], [CP₂ SFP [TP₂ S ~~VP~~]] VP ellipsis in TP₂
 c. [CP_a [TP₁ S VP] [CP₁ SFP t_{TP1}], [CP_b [TP₂ S ~~VP~~] [CP₂ SFP t_{TP2}]] TP mvt. in both CPs
 d. [CP_a S VP SFP], [CP_b [TP S ~~VP~~] [CP₂ SFP t_{TP2}]] CP₂ deletion, i.e., sluicing

4. Ott and de Vries (2016) propose that RD involves a specifying coordination : (colon) (Koster 2000), with the second clause “specifying the first by adding relevant information to it” (p.649). The information can be discourse-given. Afterthought clauses, in contrast, involve simple juxtaposition. The two clauses are independent of the first one and usually introduce new information.

- (i) a. [_P [CP₁ ... correlate_i ...] [: [CP₂ dXP_i [...]]] (RD)
 E.g., (Q: Do you know Peter?) Yes, I know him_i, Peter_i. (Ott and de Vries 2016:643)
 b. [CP₁ ... correlate_i ...] [CP₂ dXP_i [...]] (afterthoughts)
 E.g., I met a star_i today: John Travolta_i! (Ibid:643)

Moment of truth—there **is** a very strong correlation cross-linguistically!

Languages	Empty category inventory			Gapped right dislocation		
	Subject drop	Object drop	Empty verb ⁵	Subject GRD	Object GRD	Verb GRD
Cantonese, Mandarin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Japanese, Korean	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗
Catalan, Spanish	✓	✗	?	✓	✗	?
Dutch, English	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗

Table 2: Correlation between GRD and empty categories

❶ **The Chinese type:** subjects, objects, verbs may be dropped (Huang 1982; Li 2005; Tang 2001b)

→ subjects (see (1)), objects, and verbs may be gapped

(7) ✓ Empty objects, ✓ object GRD [Cantonese, same in Mandarin]

[Context: Tommy is showing off his new MacBook. You say:]

- a. 我都有啦
Ngo dou jau e_O laa1.
1SG also have SFP
'I also have (a Mac).'
- b. 我都有啦mac機
[CP₁ Ngo dou jau e_O laa1] [CP₂ mek1 gei1]. (GRD)
1SG also have SFP Mac computer
'I also have a Mac.'

(8) ✓ Empty copular verb, ✓ copular verb GRD [Cantonese, same in Mandarin]

- a. 今日星期日咁嘛
Gamjat e_{COP} singkeijat aa3.
today Sunday SFP
'Today is Sunday.'
- b. 今日星期日咁嘛係
[CP₁ Gamjat e_{COP} singkeijat aa3] [CP₂ hai]. (GRD)
today Sunday SFP COP
'Today is Sunday.'

Non-copular verbs may also be empty and gapped in GRD (Tang 1999, 2001b, 2001a).

(9) ✓ Empty verb, ✓ verb GRD [M, same in C]

- a. 張三三個蘋果，李四四個橘子
Zhangsan e_V san-ge pingguo, Lisi e_V si-ge juzi.
Zhangsan three-CL apple Lisi four-CL orange
'Zhangsan (bought, ate, etc.) three apples, and Lisi four oranges.' (Tang 2001b:205)
- b. 張三三個蘋果嗎{要/有/買了}?
[CP₁ Zhangsan e_V SAN-ge pingguo ma] [CP₂ {yao/ you/ mai-le...}]? (GRD)
Zhangsan three-CL apple SFP want have buy-PFV
'Does/did Zhangsan {want/ have/ buy} three apples?'

Note that the object must be **focalized** to license an empty verb (Tang 1999)

→ Captures the observation in T. T.-M. Lee (2021a) that only verb GRD, but not DC, requires contrastive focus on the objects (which Lee proposes to be due to object movement for cyclic linearization purposes).

→ which is *unexpected* and *underivable* under Lai (2019)'s monoclausal parallel copying (and got completely *ignored* in his 2024 reply to T. T.-M. Lee 2021a).

5. Gapping as in *John talked about Bill and Mary ~~talked~~ about Susan*, which arguably is a elliptical phenomenon (as opposed to "born empty" elements), should not be considered.

② **The Japanese-Korean type:** subjects and objects may be dropped, but not verbs

→ subjects and objects may be gapped (Tanaka 2001; Park and Kim 2009; Takano 2014), but not verbs (for Japanese, Yusuke Yagi p.c.)

(10) ✓ Subject & Object GRD [Japanese]

- a. [e_S Masao-ni hon-o ageta yo] **Ken-ga**. b. [John-ga e_O yonda yo] **LGB-o**. (GRD)
 Masao-DAT book-ACC gave PRT Ken-NOM John-NOM read PRT LGB-ACC
 ‘Ken gave a book to Masao.’ (Takano 2014:139) ‘John read (it), LGB.’ (Tanaka 2001:551)

(11) ✗ Empty verb, ✗ verb GRD [Japanese]

[Context: Who did you give the book to?]

- a. Watashi-wa Tanaka-ni hon-o *(**age-ta**) yo.
 1SG-TOP Tanaka-DAT book-ACC give-PST PRT
 ‘I gave Tanaka a book.’
 b. *[Watashi-wa Tanaka-ni hon-o e_V yo] **age-ta**. (GRD)
 1SG-TOP Tanaka-DAT book-ACC PRT give-PST
 ‘I gave Tanaka a book.’

③ **The Catalan-Spanish type:** subjects may be dropped, but not objects

→ subjects may be gapped, but not objects (Fernández-Sánchez 2017)

(12) ✓ Empty subjects, ✓ subject GRD [Catalan]

- a. e_S és molt maco. b. [e_S és molt maco], **en Joan**. (GRD)
 is very nice is very nice the Joan
 ‘He is very nice.’ ‘He is very nice, Joan.’ (Fernández-Sánchez 2017:91)

(13) ✗ Empty objects, ✗ object GRD [Spanish]

- a. *(**Lo**) hemos visto. b. [*(**Lo**) hemos visto], **a Guille**. (GRD)
 him have seen him have seen to Guille
 ‘We’ve seen Guille.’ ‘We’ve seen Guille.’ (adapted from Fernández-Sánchez 2017:93)

④ **The Dutch-English type:** none of subjects, objects, and verbs can be dropped

→ no subject and object GRD (Ott and de Vries 2016), nor verb GRD

(14) ✗ Empty subject, ✗ subject GRD [English]

- a. Apparently *(**he**) is very nice. b. Apparently *(**he**) is very nice, **John**.

(15) ✗ Empty objects, ✗ object GRD [Dutch]

- a. Ik heb *(**m**) gezien. b. [Ik heb *(**m**) gezien, **die man**. (GRD)
 I have him seen I have him seen that man
 ‘I saw him.’ ‘I saw him, that man.’ (adapted from Ott and de Vries 2016:656)

(16) ✗ Empty verb, ✗ verb GRD [English]

- a. John *(**is**) real smart.⁶ b.*John real smart, **is**.
 c. cf. He’s real smart, **John is**. (Kayne 1994:78)

6. Though, null copula is possible in African American English (AAE). Whether copula GRD is possible in AAE awaits future work.

3 Language-internal arguments for a biclausal structure

Five *novel* arguments (some data were observed before but never explained under the monoclausal approach):

- ① Imperfect copying (**today**)
- ② Asymmetries in licensing/binding (some on handout but not today)
- ③ No polarity reversal (**today**)
- ④ Parallel referential potential to *pro* (not today)
- ⑤ SFP cluster ordering (not today)
 - All the arguments can be found in my manuscript available on Lingbuzz: <https://lingbuzz.net/lingbuzz/007912> (Yip 2024)

3.1 Argument #1: Imperfect copying

“Imperfect copying” is a variant of DC in which the RD chunk is distinct from its corresponding materials in the main chunk (Cheung 2015):

(17) Imperfect copying

- a. 噉佢_k走唔走好呢法國佬_k?
 Gam **keoi**_k zau-m-zau hou ne **Faatgwok-lou**_k? [C]
 so 3SG leave-not-leave good SFP France-man
 ‘So is it better for him to retreat, the French guy?’ (Cheung 2015:230)
- b. 他_k來了嗎他_k現在?
Ta_k lai-le ma **ta**_k **xianzai**? [M]
 3SG arrive-PFV SFP 3SG now
 ‘Has he arrived, (he) now?’ (Shi 1992:176)

- These cases are unexpected from a monoclausal structure even with multiple copy realization of a movement chain (T. T.-M. Lee 2021a; also parallel chains in Lai 2019), since both copies are identical:

(18) [CP [TP <XP> ...] [SFP [<XP> ... t_{TP}]]]

→ An alternative: *partial* Copy Deletion

- Deleting only part of the lower copy (=trace) (Nunes 2004)
- In the case of resumptive pronouns, phonological features are Late Inserted (in a Distributed Morphology framework), and that the D head surviving deletion is spelt out as a pronoun (see, e.g., van Urk 2018; Yip and Ahenkorah 2023)

- (19) a. [CP [TP <[DP D [~~NP French guy~~]]>=S/he ...] [SFP [<[DP D [NP French guy]]> ... t_{TP}]]]
 b. [CP [TP <S/he ~~now~~> has arrived] [SFP [<s/he now> ... t_{TP}]]]

← Problem: there are cases involving non-identical RD chunks that cannot be “put back” to the main chunks, such as the epithet below:

(20) Imperfect copying that lacks a monoclausal source [C, same in M]

a. 嗰架紅色嘅跑車死咗火咁嘛嗰架野

[_{DP} **Go-gaa** [_{NP} **hungsik-ge paauce**]]_i sei-zo fo aa1maa3 [_{DP} **go-gaa** [_{NP} **je**]]_i!
 that-CL red-GE sport.car die-PFV fire SFP that-CL thing

Lit.: 'That red sport car stalled, that thing!'

b. * [_{DP} **Go-gaa** [_{NP} **hungsik-ge (je) paauce (je)**]]

that-CL red-GE thing sport.car thing

→ Only a biclausal structure can capture (20).

(21) [_{CP1} That red sport car_i stalled SFP] [_{CP2} that thing_i [...]]

- Naturally occurring examples in spontaneous speech:

(22) Naturally occurring examples of DC that lack a monoclausal source

a. *Change in the choice of classifiers*

嗰套都好勁㗎，嗰部戲。

Go-tou dou hou ging gaa, **go-bou hei**. [C]

that-CL also very awesome SFP that-CL movie

'The movie is also awesome.'

(Cheung 2015:272)

b. *Change in degree modification*

好似好悶啊嗰齣愈睇愈

Houci **hou mun** aa3, **go-ceon jyut tai jyut**. [C]

seem very boring SFP that-CL more watch more

Lit.: '(It) seems very boring, the more I watch the show.'

(Daily conversation)

← How about a non-uniform approach that treats DC as biclausal (Cheung 2015) and GRD as monoclausal (Cheung 2009)?

← We will see below that even GRD is biclausal!

3.2 Argument #2: Asymmetries in licensing/binding

Analysis of the gaps in the main chunks in GRD:

(23) a. Monoclausal analysis:

Movement *traces* (or deleted copies) → reconstruction to the main chunk possible⁷

b. Biclausal analysis:

Empty categories (arguments/verbs), or *genuinely absent* (adjuncts/functional heads)

→ reconstruction to the main chunk *impossible*

The two analyses make opposite predictions on the licensing of non-interrogative *wh* and NPIs in GRD:

7. This is a reasonable prediction since other constructions that have been argued to involve remnant movement, such as *v*/VP topicalization in German (Besten and Webelhuth 1987; Ott 2018) and *v*/VP fronting in Mandarin (Huang 1993), also allow reconstruction.

- (24) a. Monoclausal approach predicts that licenser can be right-dislocated with a gap

$$\frac{[CP [TP \dots t_i \dots \text{licensee} \dots] [SFP [\text{licenser}_i \dots t_{TP}]]]}{\text{(licensers reconstruct to } t_i)}$$
- b. Biclausal approach predicts that licensers cannot be right-dislocated with a gap

$$* [CP_1 \dots \text{licensee} \dots SFP] [CP_2 \text{ licenser}_i [\dots t_i \dots]] \quad \text{(no licensers in CP1)}$$

Universal *wh*-licensing

Wh-phrases in Chinese obtain universal-like force when licensed by the distributive adverb *dou* ‘all, each’ leftward (T. H.-t. Lee 1986; Cheng 1995; Lin 1996, *i.a.*). Assuming that there are no (base-generated) empty adverbs, this case serves as a testing ground.

(25) Universal *wh*-licensing by *dou*

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| a. 佢乜野*(都)想食架 | b. 誰*(都)會來嗎? |
| Keoi matje *(dou) soeng sik gaa3. [C] | Shei *(dou) hui lai ma? [M] |
| 3SG what DOU want eat SFP | who DOU will come SFP |
| ‘S/he wants to eat everything.’ | ‘Will everyone come?’ |

→ The universal *wh*-licensing **fails** when *dou* is right-dislocated with a gap (GRD)!⁸

→ For the *wh*-phrase to be licensed, *dou* must also occur in the main chunks (=DC).

(26) Failure of universal *wh*-licensing in GRD

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| a. *佢乜野想食架都 | b. *誰會來嗎都? |
| *Keoi matje soeng sik gaa3 dou . [C] | *Shei hui lai ma dou ? [M] |
| 3SG what want eat SFP DOU | who will come SFP DOU |
| Int.: ‘S/he wants to eat everything.’ | ‘Will everyone come?’ |

(27) Universal *wh*-licensing in DC

- | | | |
|---|--|-----|
| a. 佢乜野都想食架乜野都 | [C] b. 誰都會來嗎誰都? | [M] |
| Keoi matje dou soeng sik gaa3 matje dou . | Shei dou hui lai ma shei dou ? | |
| 3SG what DOU want eat SFP what DOU | who DOU will come SFP who DOU | |
| Int.: ‘S/he wants to eat everything.’ | ‘Will everyone come?’ | |

Note that *dou* itself can be right-dislocated when its restrictor is a non-*wh*-nominal, such as a plural pronoun (see also Lu 1980:51 for Mandarin):

8. As shown in (i), the *wh*-licensing by *dou* can be long-distance (Wu 1999). The failure of *wh*-licensing in (26), thus, cannot be attributed to some sort of locality constraints.

- (i) a. 乜野野我覺得[佢都唔會食]架
 Matje je ngo gokdak keoi **dou** m-wui sik gaa3. [C]
 what thing 1SG think 3SG DOU not-will eat SFP
 ‘I think s/he won’t eat anything.’ (lit.: Everything, I think he s/he won’t eat.) (∇ > ¬)
- b. 誰我相信[李四都很喜歡]
 Shei wo xiangxin Lisi **dou** hen xihuan. [M]
 who 1SG believe Lisi DOU very like
 ‘Everyone, I believe Lisi likes.’ (Wu 1999:145)

- CP1 thus denotes an affirmative proposition
- contradicts CP2 that has a negative polarity → unnaturalness

- (32) a. Monoclausal approach predicts that negation can be right-dislocated with a gap
 [CP [TP ... t_i ...] [SFP [**negation**_{*i*} ... t_{TP}]]] (head movement of negation)
- b. Biclausal approach predicts that negation cannot be right-dislocated with a gap
 *[CP1 ... (affirmative) ... SFP] [CP2 **negation**_{*i*} [... t_i ...]] (contradiction)

The prediction by the biclausal approach is borne out:

- Negation cannot leave a gap in the main chunk (first mentioned by Cheung 1997:108), and must occur twice

(33) Negation cannot be right-dislocated in GRD

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. *佢去過美國架仲未
 *Keoi _ heoi-gwo Meigwok gaa3 zung mei[C]
 3SG go-EXP US SFP still not.yet
 Int.: 'S/he hasn't been to the US yet.'</p> | <p>b. *他去美國啊不會
 *Ta _ qu Meiguo a bu hui. [M]
 3SG go US SFP not will
 Int.: 'S/he won't go to the US.'</p> |
|---|--|

(34) Negation can be right-dislocated in DC

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. 佢仲未去過美國架仲未
 Keoi zung mei heoi-gwo Meigwok gaa3 zung mei[C]
 3SG still not.yet go-EXP US SFP still not.yet
 'S/he hasn't been to the US yet.'</p> | <p>b. 他不會去美國啊不會
 Ta bu hui qu Meiguo a bu hui. [M]
 3SG not will go US SFP not will
 'S/he won't go to the US.'</p> |
|---|---|

The oddness of (33) is comparable to that of juxtaposing two contradicting propositions:

(35) 佢去過美國架。#佢仲未去過美國架。

- Keoi heoi-gwo Meigwok gaa3. #Keoi **zung mei** heoi-gwo Meigwok gaa3. [C]
 3SG go-EXP US SFP 3SG still not.yet go-EXP US SFP
 'S/he has been to the US. #S/he hasn't been to the US yet.'

- Recall that with NPI licensing, the negation cannot be right-dislocated (=31)
- Even more telling: the main chunk contains an NPI that *requires* negative polarity, but the attempted reconstruction of negation still fails → **no negation** in the main chunk in the first place
- Not limited to syntactic negation: any expression that conveys semantic negation cannot be right-dislocated (see my manuscript)

4 Conclusion

- **Right dislocation must be, and indeed is, biclausal.**
- The monoclausal approach *misses* an important generalization: correlation between empty category and GRD; and also *fails* to capture a number of empirical patterns: imperfect copying, asymmetry in reconstruction, no polarity reversal ...
- The biclausal approach captures the above generalization and patterns, **and** other patterns previously captured by the monoclausal approach.

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