

Defending a biclausal approach to right dislocation*

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at The 36th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics

Pomona College

March 23-24, 2024

Full paper on: <https://lingbuzz.net/lingbuzz/007912>



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*Acknowledgments: I would like to express my gratitude to Mitcho Erlewine for his invaluable feedback and suggestions. For discussion and comments, I thank Fulang Chen, Yoshiki Fujiwara, Tommy Tsz-Ming Lee, Richard Luo, Gary Thoms, Jim Wood, Xuetong Yuan, the classmates in the Syntax of Coordination seminar (Yale 23FA), and the audience at NYU. For judgment, I thank Tommy, Ka Wing Chan, Tsun Hei Choi, Mei-ying Ki, Jonathan Him Nok Lee, Ka Hin Ng, and Kam Pang Wong for Cantonese; Xuetong, Yuyang Liu, Richard Luo, Herbert Zhou, and Miranda Zhu for Mandarin. All errors remain the author's own responsibilities.

1 Introduction

Right dislocation (henceforth RD) refers to the phenomenon that some elements are displaced or “copied” to the right of a sentence, commonly found in colloquial speech.

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

In Chinese (including Cantonese and Mandarin), when sentence-final particles (SFPs) are present, the displaced/copied elements must follow the SFPs (Cheung 2009, 2015). RD may be gapped or gapless.¹

- (2) $\left[\overbrace{\dots (XP_i) \dots \text{SFP}}^{\text{main chunk}} \right] \overbrace{XP_i}^{\text{RD chunk}}$

(3) Gapped right dislocation (GRD)

- a. [_ heoi-zo Meigwok laa3] **Aaming**. [C(antonese)]
 b. [_ qu-le Meiguo le] **Xiaoming**. [M(andin)]
 go-PFV US SFP Ming
 ‘Ming went to the US.’

(4) Dislocation copying (DC)

- a. [**Aaming** heoi-zo Meigwok laa3] **Aaming!** [C]
 b. [**Xiaoming** qu-le Meiguo le] **Xiaoming!** [M]
 Ming go-PFV US SFP Ming
 ‘Ming went to the US!’

(5) A typological note on gapped argumental RD (subject/object)

- a. Languages that **disallow** null arguments also **disallow** argumental gaps in RD (e.g., Germanic languages like Dutch/German, Ott and de Vries 2016)
 b. Languages that **allow** null arguments also **allow** argumental gaps in RD (e.g., Japanese: Tanaka 2001, Korean: Park and Kim 2009, Chinese)

What makes right dislocation interesting?

- Issues of linearization: apparent *rightward* movement → inconsistent with the LCA (Kayne 1994)
 ← *biclausal* structure + some non-pronunciation/deletion? (e.g., Tanaka 2001; Ott and de Vries 2016, *i.a.*)
 ← *monoclausal* structure + *leftward* movement?
- The second line of research (monoclausal) opens up discussion in relation to a number of theoretical issues in Chinese and in general (e.g., (de)focus, linearization, head-directionality of SFPs; see Cheung 2009; T. T.-M. Lee 2017, 2021; Lai 2019)

1. RD is not the same as afterthoughts (Frey and Truckenbrodt 2015; Ott and de Vries 2016; Wei and Li 2018, *i.a.*). Different from RD, the afterthought elements may receive stress as well as allowing for an additional SFP (Wei and Li 2018).

(i) [Wo mai-le ding maozi], nizi-de (ne). (afterthought) [M]
 1SG buy-PFV CL hat woolen SFP
 Lit.: ‘I bought a hat, woolen.’ (adapted from Wei and Li 2018:274)

- Today, I will show that a pursuit along the *first* line (**biclausal**) allows us to have:
 - A simpler yet empirically more adequate grammar of RD in Chinese
 - A better understanding on cross-linguistic variations in relation to empty categories

Two outstanding issues of Chinese RD

#1 Whether GRD and RD should receive a **uniform** treatment.

#2 Whether they are **monoclausal** or **biclausal**.

- Currently unsettled in the generative literature, where GRD is usually treated as monoclausal (Cheung 2009; T. T.-M. Lee 2017, *i.a.*) and DC as biclausal (Cheung 2015; Tang 2018, *i.a.*)
- Despite the consensus on unification other frameworks (e.g., Shi 1992; Luke 2004)
- Recent *monoclausal* attempts of unification (Lai 2019; T. T.-M. Lee 2021)

Overview of the talk

- I argue that GRD and RD in Chinese have a **unified biclausal structure**.
 - Novel arguments from imperfect copying and asymmetries between the main and RD chunks
 - The two clauses are coordinated and form :P (specifying coordination, after Ott and de Vries 2016)
 - The second clause involves movement and deletion (Cheung 2015)
- I propose that GRD only differs from DC in the use of **empty categories** in the first clause.
 - GRD is constrained by the availability of empty categories
 - Captures the cross-linguistic variations: certain GRD variants are permitted only in Chinese due to the independently available empty categories, which are not available in some other languages

(6) [_{:P} [_{main} ... {*e*_{*i*} / XP_{*i*}} ... SFP] [_{:'} : [_{RD} XP_{*i*} [... *t*_{XP} ...]]]]] (e = empty category, shaded = non-pronunciation)

Road map

- §2: Basic properties of RD (handout only)
- §3: The monoclausal vs. biclausal debate
- §4: Novel arguments for a biclausal structure
- §5: Empty categories in GRD
- §6: Conclusion

2 Basic properties of right dislocation

2.1 The range of RD elements

- Various types of elements can undergo RD, including subjects (3)-(4), objects, verbs, modals, adjuncts, and even apparent non-constituents.

(7) RD of objects

- a. 佢有冇買 __ 啊架車?

[Keoi jau-mou maai _ aa3] **gaa ce?** *S-Asp-V-SFP-O* [C]

3SG have-not.have buy SFP CL car

‘Has s/he bought the car?’

(T. T.-M. Lee 2017:60)

- b. 瑪莉看到他_i了李四_i

[Mali kandao ta_i le a] **Lisi_i.** *S-V-O-SFP-O* [M]

Mary see 3SG SFP SFP Lisi

‘Mary saw him_i, Lisi_i’

(Chiang 2017:206)

(8) RD of verbs

- a. 我 __ 自己去一趟(啊), 準備

[Wo _ ziji qu yi-tang (a)] **zhunbei.** *S-O-(SFP)-V* [M]

1SG self go one-round SFP prepare

‘I plan to go there once by myself.’

(Lu 1980:58, SFP *a* added)

- b. 張三今晚瞓呢張床啊瞓

[Zoengsaam gammaan fan ni-zoeng cong aa3] **fan.** *S-Adv-V-O-SFP-V* [C]

Zoengsaam tonight sleep this-CL bed SFP sleep

‘Zoengsaam (will) sleep on this bed tonight.’

(Chan 2016:18 via T. T.-M. Lee 2022:38)

(9) RD of adjuncts

- a. 張三 __ 買咗部相機啊喺電腦節

[Zoengsaam _ maai-zo bou soenggei aa3] **hai dinnouzit.** *S-V-O-SFP-PP_{adjunct}* [C]

Zoengsaam buy-PFV CL camera SFP at computer.festival

‘Zoengsaam bought a camera at the Computer Festival.’

(T. T.-M. Lee 2022:62)

- b. 他其實不願意洗碗的其實

[Ta **qishi** bu yuanyi xi wan de] **qishi.** *S-Adv-V-O-SFP-Adv* [M]

3SG in.fact not want wash dish SFP in.fact

‘In fact, he does not want to wash the dishes.’

(Cheung 2015:228)

(10) RD of non-constituents

- a. __ 買一部電腦啊佢會

[_ maai jat-bou dinnou aa3] **keoi wui.** *V-O-SFP-S-Mod* [C]

buy one-CL computer SFP 3SG will

‘He will buy a computer.’

(Cheung 2009:200)

- b. 您大概不到五十吧您大概？

[**Nin dagai** bu-dao wushi ba] **nin dagai?** *S-Adv-V-O-SFP-S-Adv* [M]
 2SG probably not-reach 50 SFP 2SG probably
 ‘I guess you probably haven’t reached age 50?’ (Shi 1992:168)

2.2 Movement properties

- First, the gap/correlate can be embedded (T. T.-M. Lee 2017):^{2,3}

- (11) a. 我知[張三 __ 買咗部相機]啊喺電腦節

[ngo zi [CP ZS _ maai-zo bou soenggei] aa3] **hai dinnouzit.** (GRD) [C]
 1SG know ZS buy-PFV CL camera SFP at computer.festival
 ‘I know ZS bought a/the camera at the Computer Festival.’ (T. T.-M. Lee 2017:64)

- b. 我知道[你幹嘛]哪你！

[Wo zhidao [CP **ni** gan-ma] ne] **ni!** (DC) [M]
 1SG know 2SG do-what SFP 2SG
 Lit.: ‘I know what you have done, you!’ (Meng 1982:175)

- Nonetheless, the gap/correlate cannot be contained in an island, as schematized in (12):

- (12) *_{[main ... [island ... { _i/ XP_i } ...] ... SFP]} _[RD XP_i]

→ General to all kinds of islands, including complex NP islands, adjunct islands, subject islands, coordinated structures, etc. (Cheung 2015; Chen 2016; Chiang 2017; T. T.-M. Lee 2017; Lai 2019).

- (13) The gap/correlate of RD chunks cannot be in an island

- a. *張三[因為 __ 買咗電腦]所以無錢食飯囉用現金。

*[ZS [CP janwai _ maai-zo dinnou] soji mou cin sikfaan lo1] **jung jingam.**
 ZS because buy-PFV computer so no money eat SFP with cash
 Int.: ‘Because ZS bought a computer with cash, he has no money for meal.’

(GRD, Adjunct island; T. T.-M. Lee 2017:65) [C]

- b. *我們聽說了[[他逃跑]的消息(啊)]他！

*[Women tingshuo-le [DP [CP **ta** taopao] de xiaoxi] (a)] **ta!** (DC, CNPI) [M]
 1PL hear-PFV 3SG escape DE news SFP 3SG
 Int.: ‘We hear the news that he escaped.’ (Chen 2016:71, SFP *a* added)

2. Both SFPs in (11) are non-embeddable and belong to the matrix clauses (Cantonese *aa3*: Sybesma and Li 2007; Tang 2015b; Lau 2019; Mandarin *ne* (attitude): Paul 2014; Pan 2019).

3. For Beijing Mandarin speakers, (11b) with a certain intonation means ‘How the hell would I know what you have done?!’. (11b) also challenges Lai (2019)’s claim that Cantonese DC of embedded subjects is not possible. Notice that examples similar to (11b) are also judged as acceptable by my four Cantonese consultants:

- (i) 阿明覺得[阿芬唔會嚟]囉阿芬

Aaming gokdak [**Aafan** m-wui lai] lo1 **Aafan.** [C]
 Ming think Fan not-will come SFP Fan
 ‘Ming thinks Fan will not come.’

- Apart from island effects, reconstruction effects are also found in GRD (e.g., T. T.-M. Lee 2017).
- A CP complement containing an R-expression bound by the matrix subject cannot do RD:
 → taken to be obligatory reconstruction of the CP to the gap position → Binding Principle C violation

(14) Reconstruction for Binding Principle C in GRD

*佢_i唔信 __ 囉[張三_i病咗] ◦

*[Keoi_i m-seon __ lo1] [CP ZS_i beng-zo]. [C]

3SG not-believe SFP ZS be.sick-PFV

Int.: 'ZS_i doesn't believe that he_i is sick.'

(T. T.-M. Lee 2017:66)

3 The monoclausal vs. biclausal debate

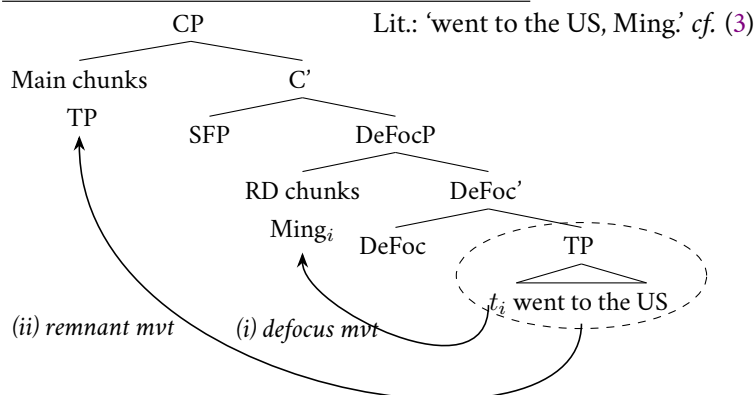
- Previous proposals of Chinese RD disagree on the assumed clausal structure: *monoclausal* vs. *biclausal*
 → The **derivation relationship** between main & RD chunks (*movement* vs. *juxtaposition/coordination*)
 → The **nature of the non-pronunciation** in RD chunks (*trace/Copy Deletion* vs. *ellipsis*)

Monoclausal approach

(Packard 1986; Siu 1986; Cheung 1997, 2005, 2009; Law 2003; Chiang 2017, 2022; T. T.-M. Lee 2017, 2021, 2023; Wei and Li 2018; Lai 2019; Yip 2020)

- RD consists of **one** clause
- The two chunks are *derivationally related*:
 Either main chunks are moved out from RD chunks, or both chunks involve movement
- Head-initial SFP (Simpson and Wu 2002; Paul 2014; Pan 2022) + **leftward** movement
- As shown in (15), based on T. T.-M. Lee (2017)'s two-step movement account

(15) The monoclausal + movement approach to RD (adopted from T. T.-M. Lee 2017)⁴



T. T.-M. Lee 2017's analysis (coupled with T. T.-M. Lee 2021) is chosen because it has the maximal derivative power among the monoclausal approaches.⁵

4. DeFocP is a projection for defocus/anti-focus [-Foc], elements that resist alternative-based focus (e.g., contrastive, exclusive, *wh*-question-answer). See Zubizarreta (1998), Molnárfi (2002), Zeller (2008), and T. T.-M. Lee (2017, 2020).

5. For example, other variants cannot derive verb GRD (e.g., Cheung 2009 in (i)) or verb DC (e.g., Lai 2019 in (ii)).

Biclausal approach

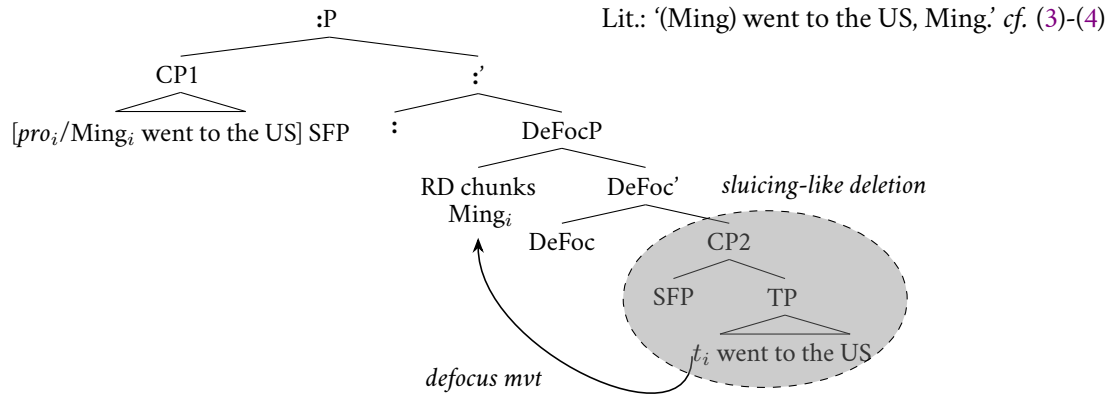
(Cheung 2015; Tang 2015a, 2018; Chan 2016; Chen 2016; Yip 2024)

- The two chunks are *two* clauses, which are *base-generated* on their own
- SFPs can underlyingly be either head-initial or head-final
- There is no “cross-chunk” movement, though the RD chunk may involve movement internally
- I advocate for the following biclausal structure (inspired by Cheung 2015; Ott and de Vries 2016)^{6,7}

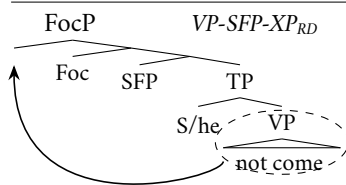
(16) The uniform biclausal syntax of right dislocation

- Empty categories:** The apparent gaps in the main chunks (CP1) are empty categories.
- Defocus movement:** The pronounced elements in the RD chunks undergo defocus movement to DeFocP (above CP2), leaving a remnant CP2.
- Non-pronunciation:** The remnant CP2 is not pronounced.
- Coordination:** CP1 and DeFocP are coordinated by a specifying conjunction **:**.

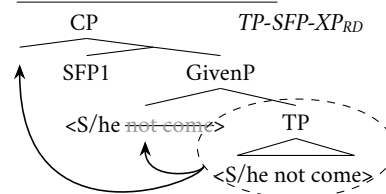
(17) The biclausal + sluicing approach to RD



(i) Cheung (2009)'s one-step focus movement



(ii) Lai (2019)'s parallel copying



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

(i) Cheung (2015)'s biclausal approach

- [CP₁ SFP [TP₁ S VP]], [CP₂ SFP [TP₂ S VP]]
 - [CP₁ SFP [TP₁ S VP]], [CP₂ SFP [TP₂ S ~~VP~~]]
 - [CP_a [TP₁ S VP] [CP₁ SFP t_{TP1}], [CP_b [TP₂ S ~~VP~~] [CP₂ SFP t_{TP2}]]
 - [CP_a S VP SFP], [CP_b [TP S ~~VP~~] [CP₂ SFP t_{TP2}]]
- S-VP-SFP-S
juxtaposition of 2 “parallel” CPs
VP ellipsis in TP2
TP mvt. in both CPs
CP2 deletion, i.e., sluicing

7. 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.

- [_{iP} [CP₁ ... correlate_i ...] [_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)
- [CP₁ ... correlate_i ...] [CP₂ dXP_i [...]] (afterthoughts)
E.g., I met a star_i today: John Travolta_i! (Ibid:643)

4 Novel arguments for a biclausal structure

I present three novel arguments for a biclausal analysis and against a monoclausal analysis. The completing structures are represented below:

- (18) a. $[_{CP} [_{TP} t_{XP} YP] [SFP [XP_{RD} \dots t_{TP}]]]$ Monoclausal: $(XP-)YP-SFP-XP$
 b. $[_{CP1} (XP1) YP SFP] [_{CP2} XP2_{RD} [\dots t_{XP2} YP SFP]]$ Biclausal: $(XP-)YP-SFP-XP$

- Two more arguments can be found in my manuscript available on Lingbuzz: <https://lingbuzz.net/lingbuzz/007912> (Yip 2024)

4.1 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):

- (19) 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 2021; also parallel chains in Lai 2019), since both copies are identical:

- (20) $[_{CP} [_{TP} <XP> \dots] [SFP [<XP> \dots t_{TP}]]]$

→ 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)

- (21) a. $[_{CP} [_{TP} <[_{DP} D [_{NP} \text{French guy}]]>=S/he \dots] [SFP [<[_{DP} D [_{NP} \text{French guy}]]> \dots t_{TP}]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} [_{TP} <S/he \text{ now}> \text{ has arrived}] [SFP [<s/he now> \dots t_{TP}]]]$

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

(22) 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 (22).

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

- Naturally occurring examples in spontaneous speech:

(24) 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!

4.2 Argument #2: Absence of licensers

Analysis of the gaps in the main chunks in GRD:

(25) a. Monoclausal analysis:

Movement *traces* (or deleted copies) → reconstruction to the main chunk possible⁸

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:

8. 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.

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

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

$$* [CP_1 \dots \text{licensee} \dots SFP] [CP_2 \text{licenser}_i [\dots t_i \dots]]$$
 (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.

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

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

→ The universal *wh*-licensing **fails** when *dou* is right-dislocated with a gap (GRD)!⁹

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

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

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

(29) Universal *wh*-licensing in DC

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

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):

9. As shown in (i), the *wh*-licensing by *dou* can be long-distance (Wu 1999). The failure of *wh*-licensing in (28), 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

- (34) 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, and must occur twice

(35) Negation cannot be right-dislocated in GRD

- 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.'
- 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.'

(36) Negation can be right-dislocated in DC

- 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.'
- 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.'

The oddness of (35) is comparable to that of juxtaposing two contradicting propositions:

- (37) 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 (=33)
- 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)

An apparent counter-example

When the main chunk consists of only a nominal, the RD chunk here allows negation (*cf.* Cheung 1997:113):

(38) Nominal main chunks [C, same in M]

<p>Q. 小明唔會去邊度? Siuming m-wui heoi bindou? Ming not-will go where 'Where will Ming not go?'</p>	<p>A. 美國囉小明唔會去 <u>Meigwok</u> lo1 Siuming m-wui heoi. US SFP Ming not-will go 'Ming will not go to the US.'</p>
---	--

- Notice that these cases are often unnatural *unless* in a question/answer pair, an observation that dates back to Lu (1980, p.56) as well as Cheung (2009, p.200, fn.4)
- Note also that the nominal constituent can serve as a fragment answer:

(39) 美國囉

Meigwok lo1. Answer to (38-Q) [C]
US SFP
'The US.'

- Following Wei (2016), fragment answers to *wh*-questions in Chinese are derived by focus movement (to SpecFocP) followed by TP ellipsis.
- I suggest that (38-A) involves forward deletion licensed by the preceding question in (38-Q), which contains a negation → no polarity reversal between the main chunk and RD chunk

(40) A biclausal analysis of RD with nominal main chunks

[_{CP1} [_{FocP} Meigwok [_{TP} Aaming m-wui heoi]] lo1] : [_{DeFocP} Aaming m-wui heoi [_{CP2} ...]]

↑

5 Empty categories in GRD

I propose that CP1 allows three types of (base-generated) empty elements that correspond to the pronounced elements in CP2/DeFocP, all of them are *independently motivated* in Chinese:

#1 Null **subjects** (i.e., *pro*) (Huang 1982, 1989, *et seq.*)

#2 Null **objects** (Li 2005; Aoun and Li 2008)

(41) Empty objects

[C, same in M]

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

<p>a. 我都有啦 Ngo dou jau e_O laa1. 1SG also have SFP 'I also have (a Mac).'</p>	<p>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.'</p>
---	--

#3 Empty **verbs** (copular and non-copular verbs) (Tang 1999, 2001b, 2001a)(42) Empty copula [C, same in M]

- 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.'

(43) Non-copular empty verbs [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?'

- No other empty categories are allowed in CP1: in the case of GRD of adjuncts, CP1 simply lacks the adjuncts. The same applies to functional heads like negation and modals.

(44) Four types of GRD classified by empty categories in CP1

- a. [CP1 e_{S} V O SFP] [CP2 S [...]] (Empty subject)
- b. [CP1 S V e_{O} SFP] [CP2 O [...]] (Empty object)
- c. [CP1 S e_{V} O SFP] [CP2 V [...]] (Empty verb)
- d. [CP1 S V O SFP] [CP2 X(P) [...]] (No empty categories)

(45) Support from two types of correlations

- a. *Language-internal*
GRD is subject to the same constraints that govern the distribution of empty categories (see my manuscript)
- b. *Cross-linguistic*
- The availability of argumental GRD correlates with that of null arguments
- Verb GRD is cross-linguistically rare but is available in Chinese due to empty verbs

6 Conclusion

Summary of the talk

- A simpler yet empirically more adequate grammar of RD in Chinese :

I have argued that GRD and RD in Chinese have a **unified biclausal structure**.

- Novel arguments from imperfect copying and asymmetries between the main and RD chunks
- The two clauses are coordinated and form :P (specifying coordination, after Ott and de Vries 2016)
- The second clause involves movement and deletion (Cheung 2015)

- A better understanding on cross-linguistic variations in relation to empty categories :

I have proposed that GRD only differs from DC in the use of *empty categories* in the first clause.

- GRD is constrained by the availability of empty categories
- Captures the cross-linguistic variations: certain GRD variants are permitted only in Chinese due to the independently available empty categories, which are not available in some other languages

(46) [_{IP} [_{main} ... {*e*_i / XP_i} ... SFP] [_{RD} XP_i [... *t*_{XP} ...]]]



(*e* = empty category, shaded = non-pronunciation)

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