Biclausal multidominant syntax of right dislocation in Chinese[*]

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Contents

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]

$$\overbrace{\qquad}^{main\ chunk} \quad \overbrace{\quad}^{RD\ chunk}$$

(2)   [... (XP$_i$) ... SFP]   XP$_i$
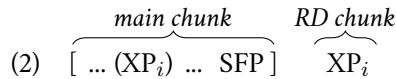
(3)   Gapped right dislocation (GRD)

   a.   [__ heoi-zo Meigwok laa3] **Aaming**.   [C(antonese)]

   b.   [__ qu-le   Meiguo   le]   **Xiaoming**.   [M(andarin)]

        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)

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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 deeper understanding on how syntactic structures can be unpronounced |

Two outstanding issues of Chinese RD

#1 | The **clausal structure** of RD in Chinese:

(i) whether GRD and RD should receive a *uniform* treatment, and

(ii) whether they are *monoclausal* or *biclausal*

  - Currently unsettled in the 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.*)
  - Recent *monoclausal* attempts of unification (Lai 2019; T. T.-M. Lee 2021)

#2 | The **non-pronunciation** of the materials in RD chunks

  - Different from *ellipsis* on the one hand
  - Also different from *movement* on the other hand (as we will see, also Cheung 2009, 2015)

Overview of the talk

- I argue that GRD and RD in Chinese have a **unified biclausal structure**.
  - The two clauses are coordinated and form **:**P (specifying coordination, after Ott and de Vries 2016)
  - GRD only differs from DC in the use of empty categories in the first clause
  - The second clause involves movement
- I propose that RD has a **multidominant** structure

  - The "non-pronunciation" in the RD chunk is a result of "node-sharing"/Parallel Merge (Wilder 1999; Citko 2005; Gračanin Yuksek 2007, *i.a.*)
  - Crucial evidence from focus/*wh*-association

(6)   Paths to non-pronunciation of syntactic structures
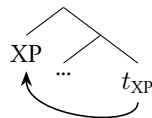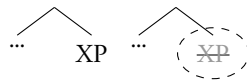
a. *Movement*   b. *Ellipsis*   c. ***Multidominance***
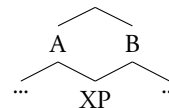
- I demonstrate that focus/*wh*-association serves as reliable **diagnostic tests** for multidominant structures

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- **Road map**

2   The (unsettled) clausal structure of right dislocation

2.1   Basic properties

2.1.1   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)   <u>RD of objects</u>

a.   [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.   [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)   <u>RD of verbs</u>

a.   [Zoengsaam gammaan **fan**   ni-zoeng cong aa3] **fan**.   *S-Adv-**V**-O-SFP-**V*** [C]
Zoengsaam tonight   sleep this-cl   bed   sfp   sfp
'Zoengsaam (will) sleep on this bed tonight.'   (Chan 2016:18 *via* T. T.-M. Lee 2022:38)

b.   [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)

(9)   <u>RD of adjuncts</u>

a.   [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.   [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)   <u>RD of non-constituents</u>

a.   [_ 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.   [**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)

2.1.2 Movement properties

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

(11) a. [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. [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; Y. Chen 2016; Chiang 2017; T. T.-M. Lee 2017; Lai 2019).

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

      a. *[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. *[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.'   (Y. Chen 2016:71, SFP *a* added)

- 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:

(14) Reconstruction for Binding Principle C in GRD
      *[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)

➜ taken to be obligatory reconstruction of the CP to the gap position ➜ Binding Principle C violation

2.2 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*)

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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).
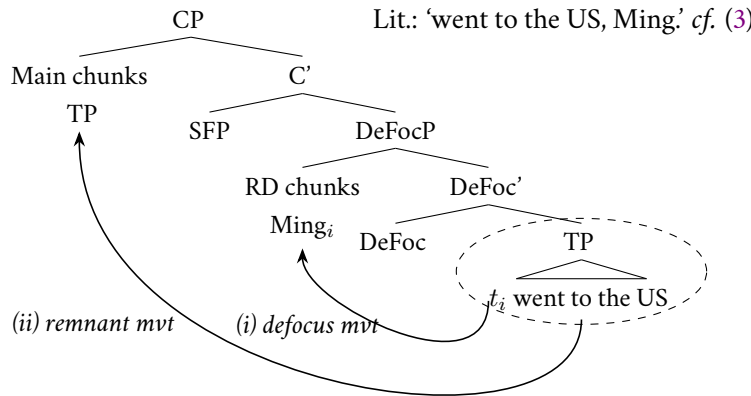
3. For Beijing Mandarin speakers, (11b) with a certain intonation means 'How the hell would I know what you have done?!'.

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

(15)   The monoclasual + movement approach to RD (adopted from T. T.-M. Lee 2017)[4]
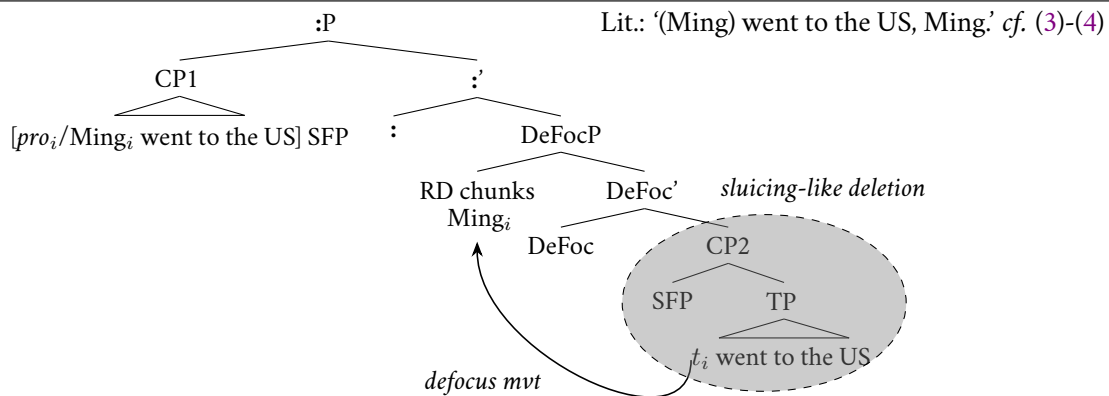
Lit.: 'went to the US, Ming.' *cf.* (3)

CP
Main chunks — C'
TP
SFP — DeFocP
RD chunks — DeFoc'
Ming$_i$
DeFoc — TP
t_i went to the US
(ii) remnant mvt   *(i) defocus mvt*

Biclausal approach

(Cheung 2015; Tang 2015a, 2018; Chan 2016; Y. 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

(16)   The biclausal + sluicing approach to RD (Yip 2024, inspired by Cheung 2015; Ott and de Vries 2016)[5]

Lit.: '(Ming) went to the US, Ming.' *cf.* (3)-(4)

:P
CP1 — :'
[pro_i/Ming$_i$ went to the US] SFP
: — DeFocP
RD chunks — DeFoc'   *sluicing-like deletion*
Ming$_i$
DeFoc — CP2
SFP — TP
t_i went to the US
defocus mvt

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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. 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)

3 Uniform biclausal syntax of right dislocation

I propose that RD in Chinese uniformly involves coordination of two clauses, with the second clauses involving movement and non-pronunciation (Cheung 2015, see also Ott and de Vries 2016 for Germanic languages). The two RD variants, GRD and DC, share the same basic structure with the minimal difference that only GRD contains empty categories in CP1.

(17)   The uniform biclausal syntax of right dislocation

      a.   **Empty categories**: The apparent gaps in the main chunks (CP1) are empty categories.

      b.   **Defocus movement**: The pronounced elements in the RD chunks undergo defocus movement to DeFocP (above CP2), leaving a remnant CP2.

      c.   **Non-pronunciation**: The remnant CP2 is not pronounced. ← will be addressed in §4

      d.   **Coordination**: CP1 and DeFocP are coordinated by a specifying conjunction **:**.

(18) $[_{:P} [_{main} \ldots \{e_i / XP_i\} \ldots SFP] [_{:'} : [_{RD} XP_i [\ldots t_{XP} \ldots]]]]]$

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

- Two arguments for a biclausal structure are presented below. See Yip (2024) for three more arguments, and how the constraints governing the use of empty categories rule out a range of illicit GRD cases.

- **Manuscript available on Lingbuzz: https://lingbuzz.net/lingbuzz/007912**

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):

(19)   Imperfect copying

      a.   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.   **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) $[_{CP} [_{TP} \textbf{<XP>} \ldots] [SFP [\textbf{<XP>} \ldots t_{TP}]]]$

➔ 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 [$_{NP}$ 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:

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

   a. [$_{DP}$ **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*
      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*
      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 monoclasual (Cheung 2009)?

← We will see below that even GRD is biclausal!

3.2 Argument #2: Absence of licensers

Analysis of the gaps in the main chunks in GRD:

(25) a. <u>Monoclausal analysis:</u>
     Movement *traces* (or deleted copies) ➡ reconstruction to the main chunk possible[6]

  b. <u>Biclausal analysis:</u>
     Empty categories (arguments/verbs)[7], or *genuinely absent* (adjuncts/functional heads)
     ➡ reconstruction to the main chunk ***im*possible**

The two analyses make opposite predictions on the licensing of non-interrogative *wh*-words and NPIs in GRD:[8]

(26) a. Monoclausal approach predicts that licenser can be right-dislocated with a gap
     [$_\text{CP}$ [$_\text{TP}$ ... $\boxed{t_i}$ ... <u>licensee</u> ...] [SFP [**licenser**$_i$ ... t_TP]]]   (licensers reconstruct to $\boxed{t_i}$)

  b. Biclausal approach predicts that licensers cannot be right-dislocated with a gap
     *[$_\text{CP1}$ ... <u>licensee</u> ... SFP] [$_\text{CP2}$ **licenser**$_i$ $\boxed{... t_i ...}$]   (no licensers in CP1)

<u>Universal *wh*-licensing</u>

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) <u>Universal *wh*-licensing by *dou*</u>

  a. Keoi <u>matje</u> ***(dou)** soeng sik gaa3.   [C]   b. <u>Shei</u> ***(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)![9]
➡ For the *wh*-phrase to be licensed, *dou* must also occur in the main chunks (=DC).

(28) <u>Failure of universal *wh*-licensing in GRD</u>

  a. *Keoi <u>matje</u> soeng sik gaa3 **dou**.   [C] b. *<u>Shei</u> 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?'

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6. 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), *v*/VP fronting in Mandarin (Huang 1993) and participle preposing in English (Thoms and Walkden 2019), also allow reconstruction.

7. For empty verbs in Chinese, see Tang (2001a, 2001b).

8. I do *not* assume that CP1 involves backward deletion of elements that are pronounced in CP2 like [$_\text{CP1}$ X̶P̶ YP SFP] [$_\text{CP2}$ XP Y̶P̶ S̶F̶P̶] (*cf.* Shi 1992), which would make the same prediction as the monoclausal analysis does.

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. <u>Matje je</u>   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. <u>Shei</u> wo xiangxin Lisi **dou** hen xihuan.   [M]
     who 1sg believe   Lisi dou very like
     'Everyone, I believe Lisi likes.'   (Wu 1999:145)

(29) Universal *wh*-licensing in DC

    a. 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.'

    b. <u>Shei</u> **dou** hui lai   ma <u>shei</u> **dou**?   [M]
         who dou will come sfp who dou
         '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):

(30) a. <u>Keoidei</u> wui lai   gaa3 **dou**.   [C]   b. <u>Tamen</u> hui lai   ma **dou**?   [M]
         3pl   will come sfp dou   3pl   will come sfp dou
         'They will all come.'   'Will they all come?'

- *dou* is movable, under both monoclausal and biclausal approaches
- *dou*, as a distributor, needs to find its restrictor to quantify over (i.e., a plural DP)
- ➜ (30) requires reconstruction in the *RD* chunk for quantification
- ➜ (28) requires reconstruction in the *main* chunk so as to license the *wh*-word
- ➜ which however fails, since there is no *dou* in the main chunk to begin with

(31) Asymmetries in reconstruction

    a. *$[_{CP1}$ ... <u>*wh*</u> ... SFP] $[_{CP2}$ ***dou***$_k$ [... <u>*wh*</u> $\boxed{t_k}$ ...]]   (No licensers in CP1)

    b. $[_{CP1}$ ... $\underline{DP_{plural}}$ ... SFP] $[_{CP2}$ ***dou***$_k$ [... DP_{plural} $\boxed{t_k}$ ...]]   (*dou* reconstructs in CP2)

Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing

Cungloi 'ever' in Cantonese is licensed by a following negation (*conglai* 'ever' in Mandarin, Progovac 1988):

(32) Mou-di   muitai <u>cungloi</u> ***(m-wui)** boudou sisat ge cyunbou.   [C]
      certain-cl.pl media ever   not-will report fact ge all.part
      'Some media will never report the whole truth.'   (adapted from an Internet example)

While *cungloi* can be right-dislocated as reported in Cheung (2009), its licensing negation cannot.
➜ Again suggests that the negation cannot be "reconstructed" to the main chunk[10]

(33) Asymmetry in 'ever' NPI licensing in GRD   [C]

    a. Mou-di   muitai **m-wui** boudou sisat ge cyunbou gaa3 <u>cungloi</u>.   (GRD of NPI)
        certain-cl.pl media not-will report fact ge all.part sfp ever
        'Some media will never report the whole truth.'

    b. *Mou-di   muitai <u>cungloi</u> boudou sisat ge cyunbou gaa3 **m-wui**.   (GRD of negation)
        certain-cl.pl media ever   report fact ge all.part sfp not-will

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10. Indeed, the ban on negation GRD is not limited to NPI licensing cases. Under a biclausal structure, the polarity of the main and the RD chunks must match and cannot be "reversed", otherwise a contradiction would arise. See Yip (2024) for a detailed argument.

3.3   Against other monoclausal alternatives

I have argued that a leftward monoclausal account is untenable for both GRD and DC. Below, I extend the arguments to argue against other monoclausal alternatives.

Rightward movement

- *What you see is what you get*:
  One may posit that SFPs are head-final, and RD is simply rightward movement
- E.g., Bhatt and Dayal (2007) on Hindi-Urdu/Bangla (but see Simpson and Choudhury 2015), or Simon (1989) on Japanese (but see Tanaka 2001 and many others), etc.

(34)   Monoclausal + rightward movement of RD   *to be rejected*
$[_{CP} [_{C'} [_{TP} t_{XP} \text{ YP}] \text{ SFP}] \textbf{XP}]$

- ← Theory-internal consideration: LCA (Kayne 1994)
- ← Empirically: fails to derive "imperfect copying"
- ← Empirically: fails to derive the asymmetry in reconstruction:
  XP should be able to be reconstructed to the gap position
- ← Treating Chinese SFPs as head-final would also violate the Final-over-Final Condition, since Chinese verbal domains are head-initial (see also Simpson and Wu 2002 for empirical evidence that SFPs are head-initial)

Right-adjunction

- Or one can say the RD element is right-adjoined to the CP in the main chunk, which easily captures "imperfect copying"
- Tradition idea of afterthought "fragments" (Luke 2004)

(35)   Monoclausal + right-adjunction of RD   *to be rejected*
$[_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} e_i \text{ YP}] \text{ SFP}] \textbf{XP}_i]$

- ← General absence of right-adjunction in Chinese
- ← Empirically: wrongly predicts a total absence of reconstruction
- ← Empirically: fails to capture island effects

4   Right dislocation as multidominance

I propose that RD consists of a ***multidominant*** structure:

(36)   <u>A schematic multidominant structure of RD</u>
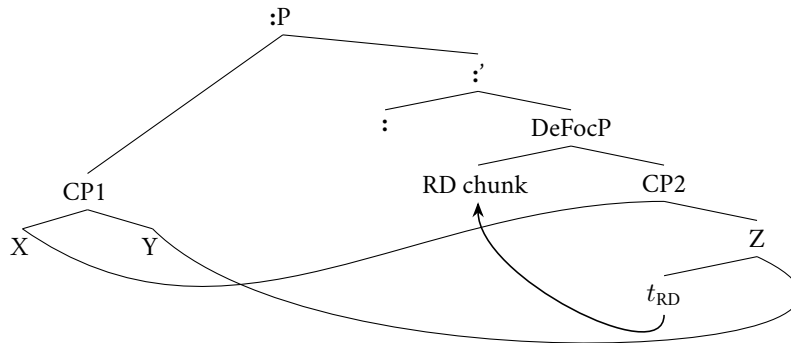
- The crucial support comes from the following focus/*wh*-association pattern.
- **Exclusive adverb 'only'** must c-command its focus associate;
  Adverb *doudai/daodi* '(wh-)the-hell' must c-command its *wh*-associate (Huang and Ochi [2004]):[11]

(37)   <u>Association of exclusive particles ('only') with focused elements</u>   [C, same in M]
     (**Zinghai**) <u>Aaming</u>[F] (***zinghai**) wui lai   zaa3.
      only   Ming   only   will come SFP
      'Only *Ming* will come.'

(38)   <u>Association of *doudai* ('the-hell/on-earth') with *wh*-words</u>   [C, same in M]
     (**Doudai**) <u>bingo</u> (***doudai**) wui lai   aa3?
      the.hell   who   the.hell   will come SFP
      'Who the hell will come?'

- Important observation by Cheung ([2009], [2015]): 'only' and 'the-hell' adverbs **can be right-dislocated**!

➡ Challenge to proposals with movement and/or ellipsis of the associates (as we will see)

(39)   <u>Focus association with Cantonese *zinghai* 'only' right-dislocated</u>[12]   [C]

   a.   [{ _GRD/ zinghai_DC} <u>Aaming</u>[F] wui lai   zaa3] **zinghai**.   (Subj focus)
               only   Ming   will come SFP   only
        '(Only) *Ming* will come, only'

   b.   [Aaming { _GRD/ zinghai_DC} zungji [<u>nibun syu</u>][F] zaa3] **zinghai**.   (Obj focus)
        Ming   only   like   this book   SFP   only
        'Ming (only) likes *this book*, only'

---

11. *Doudai/daodi*, together with a *wh*-word, expresses a meaning like English '*wh* the hell', though it does not have the anti-D-linking effect and may associate with 'which'.

12. Cheung ([2009]) observes that Mandarin RD does not readily allow 'only' to be right-dislocated. While RD of 'only' alone is generally marked, some cases with the subject RD-ed together are judged acceptable by my Mandarin consultants:

(i)   [Ta _ kan-le   yi-ben shu[F] a] **ta   zhishi**.   [M]
      3SG read-PFV one-CL book SFP 3SG only
      Lit.: 'S/he read one book, s/he only.'

(40)   *Wh* association with *doudai/daodi* right-dislocated

    a.   [{ _GRD/ daodi_DC} <u>shui</u> hui lai   a] **daodi**?   (*Wh*-Subj) [M]

                the.hell   who   will   come   SFP   the.hell

        'Who the hell will come?'

    b.   [Aaming { _GRD/ doudai_DC} zungji [<u>binbun syu</u>]_[F] aa3] **doudai**?   (*Wh*-Obj) [C]

        Ming   the.hell   like   which book   SFP   the.hell

        'After all, which book does Ming like?'

4.1   The c-command requirement of focus and *wh* association

What we will see is that 'only' and 'the-hell' require an overt associate in their c-command domain:

(41)   The licensing conditions of the focus and *wh*-associations

    a.   *Zinghai* 'only', when pronounced, must c-command the pronounced copy of its focus associate.

    b.   *Doudai/daodi* 'the-hell', when pronounced, must c-command the pronounced copy of its *wh*-associate.

4.1.1   Movement of the associates fails

- As a cross-linguistically robust phenomenon, 'only' must c-command its focus associates (Jackendoff 1972; Tancredi 1990; Aoun and Li 1993; Beaver and Clark 2008; Erlewine 2014).
- When the focused element moves out, 'only' cannot associate with it.

(42)   Focus association fails with movement   [C]

    a.   *Topicalization*

       *[Ni zek gau]_[F], Aaming **zinghai** m-zungji _.

       this CL   dog   Ming   only   not-like _

       Int.: 'Ming only doesn't like this dog.' (ONLY: 'This dog, Ming only doesn't like.')

    b.   *Relativization*

       *[Aaming_k **zinghai** m-zungji _ ge] [ni zek gau]_[F]

       Ming   only   not-like _ GE this CL   dog

       Int.: 'The dog x such that Ming only doesn't like x' (ONLY: 'The dog that Ming only doesn't like')

- Moving out the *wh*-associate of 'the-hell' yields ungrammaticality (Huang and Ochi 2004; Cheung 2009, 2015).

(43)   Focus association fails with movement (Topicalization)   [C]

    *[Bin   zek gau]_[F], Aaming **doudai** m-zungji _?

    which CL   dog   Ming   the.hell not-like _

    Int.:'Which dog does Ming not like?'

- This shows a sharp contrast with reflexive binding
- A'-movement like topicalization reconstructs the moved reflexives to the gap position

(44)   <u>Reconstruction for reflexive binding</u>   [C]

    a.   *Reconstruction possible with a movement-derived topic*
      [keoizigei$_k$ zek gau]$_i$, Aaming$_k$ hou zungji __$_i$ gaa3
      3SG.self   CL dog   Ming   very like   _   SFP
      Lit.:'Himself$_k$'s dog, Ming$_k$ only likes.' (i.e. Ming$_k$ likes his$_k$ dog.)

    b.   *Reconstruction possible with a movement-derived wh-topic*
      [Bin   zek keoizigei$_k$ ge gau]$_i$, Aaming$_k$ zeoi zungji __$_i$ aa3?
      which CL 3SG.self   GE dog   Ming   most like   _   SFP
      'Which dog of himself$_k$ Ming$_k$ likes the most?'

    c.   *Reconstruction impossible with a base-generated topic*
      *[(nei waa) keoizigei$_k$ zek gau (aa4)]$_i$, Aaming$_k$ hou zungji keoi$_i$ ge cinzyujan   gaa3
      2SG say 3SG.self   CL dog TOP   Ming   very like   3SG GE former.owner SFP
      Lit.: 'As for the dog$_i$ of himself$_k$, Ming$_k$ likes its$_i$ former owner.'

- When the focus/*wh*-associates contain a reflexive, it is still ungrammatical to move the associates out:

(45)   <u>Focus association fails with reconstruction</u>   [C]

    a.   *[Keoizigei$_k$ zek gau]$_{[F]i}$, Aaming$_k$ **zinghai** zungji __$_i$ gaa3
      3SG.self   CL dog   Ming   only   like   _   SFP
      Lit.:'Himself$_k$'s dog, Ming$_k$ only likes.'

    b.   Aaming$_k$ **zinghai** zungji [keoizigei$_k$ zek gau]$_{[F]i}$ gaa3
      Ming   only   like 3SG.self   CL dog   SFP
      'Ming$_k$ only likes his$_k$ dog (lit.: himself$_k$'s dog).'

(46)   <u>*Wh* association fails with reconstruction</u>   [C]

    a.   *[Bin   zek keoizigei$_k$ ge gau]$_i$, Aaming$_k$ **doudai** zeoi zungji __$_i$ aa3?
      which CL 3SG.self   GE dog   Ming   the.hell most like   _   SFP
      Int.: '(After all,) which dog of himself$_k$ Ming$_k$ likes the most?'

    b.   Aaming$_k$ **doudai** zeoi zungji [bin   zek keoizigei$_k$ ge gau]$_i$ aa3?
      Ming   the.hell most like   which CL 3SG.self   GE dog SFP
      '(After all,) which dog of himself$_k$ Ming$_k$ likes the most?'

➜ The mechanism responsible for reconstruction for binding, standardly assumed as LF interpretation of the lower copy created from movement, fails to license the focus and *wh*-association.

➜ If right dislocation were derived by the same *syntactic* movement mechanism (as Cheung 2009; T. T.-M. Lee 2017; Lai 2019 argues), movement of the focus and *wh*- associates across 'only' and 'the hell' (*via* the remnant movement) should have been disallowed - contrary to the facts!

PF movement?

- Cheung (2011): a post-syntactic PF movement alternative

- While this alternative is insightful, to the best of my knowledge, however, there is no comparable PF phrasal movement in Chinese to test this claim.[13]

- If extraposition in English like (47) is PF phrasal movement but not A'/*wh*-movement (Göbbel, Bainbridge, and Agbayani 2007) - which is also controversial - we can use it to test "PF-movement" of focus out of *only*'s domain.

- However, it does not license focus association.

(47)   a.   [A man with blond hair] came into the room.

        b.   [A man $\_\_i$] came into the room [with blond hair]$_i$.

        c.   *[With what color hair]$_i$ did [a man $\_\_i$] come into the room?

                                                                            (Göbbel, Bainbridge, and Agbayani 2007, ex. 10a-b)

(48)   a.   [**Only** a man *with blond hair*$_{[F]}$] came into the room.

        b.   *[**Only** a man $\_\_i$] came into the room *with blond hair*$_{[F]i}$. (Intended reading = (a))

4.1.2   Ellipsis/sluicing of the associates fails

The biclausal + sluicing approach is no better than the monoclausal + movement approach.

- The focus association fails in VP ellipsis with the associate elided, as already noted in Cheung (2009)[14]

- Only when 'only' is pronounced - fine if 'only' is elided all together![15]

(49)   Focus association fails in VP ellipsis   [C]

        a.   Aaming **zinghai** wui maai siusyut$_{[F]}$. *Aafan dou **zinghai** wui [$_{VP}$ ~~maai siusyut$_{[F]}$~~]
              Ming   only   will buy novel   Fan   also only   will
              Int.: 'Ming will only buy novels. Fan as well.'

        b.   Aaming wui **zinghai** maai siusyut$_{[F]}$. Aafan dou wui [$_{VP}$ ~~zinghai maai siusyut$_{[F]}$~~]
              Ming   will   only   buy novel   Fan   also will
              'Ming will only buy novels. Fan as well.'

PF sluicing?

- Cheung (2015) suggests that the focus and *wh* association in RD is exceptionally licensed by "PF sluicing" (as opposed to ellipsis)

- Interrogative *wh*-words can be elided in fragment questions (*cf.* Li 2015 for Mandarin)

- The fragment consists of a contrastive topic, and optionally an adverbial

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13. In Cheung's proposal, this movement is the same as the Comp-to-Spec movement proposed for SFPs, which are head-initial with the sentence-final word order derived by the movement of their complement (Pan 2022). This Comp-to-Spec movement is argued to take place in the PF by Simpson and Wu (2002) with compelling evidence from tone sandhi in Taiwanese. Unfortunately, the Comp-to-Spec movement does not provide a configuration with the 'only' adverbs and *doudai* below their (moved) associates.
14. Note that (interrogative) *wh*-words cannot be elided in VP ellipsis, independently.
15. I thank Mitcho Erlewine for pointing this out.

(50)   Interrogative *wh*-words elided in fragment questions   [C]

    Q1. Aaming tingjat   wui heoi **bindou**?   A1. Tousyugun.
        Ming   tomorrow will go   where   library
        'Where will Ming go tomorrow?'   'Library.'

    Q2. Gam **Aafan (tingjat)**   ne?   A2. Hokhaau.
        then Fan   tomorrow TOP   school
        'What about Fan (tomorrow)?'   'School.'
        (i.e. Where will Fan go tomorrow?)

- Wei (2018): fragment questions in Chinese are derived by movement + deletion (=sluicing)

- Importantly, fragment questions, unlike regular movement, have selective island repair effects, supporting the sluicing approach (see Wei 2018 for a pied-piping explanation on the island repair effects)

(51)   Sluicing in question fragments repairs islands selectively

    a.   [$_{CP}$ Question fragment [$_{TP}$ [Left-branch/Sent.-Subj. ▢ ···]]]]

    b. *[$_{CP}$ Question fragment [$_{TP}$ [CNPI/Adjunct ▢ ···]]]]

- Now, we have a construction comparable to the biclausal+sluicing approach of RD to test whether the focus and *wh* association survives in sluicing - and the answer is no.

(52)   *Wh* association fails in fragment questions   [C]

    Q1. Aaming **doudai** wui heoi **bindou**?   A1. Tousyugun.
        Ming   the.hell will go   where   library
        'Where the hell will Ming go?'   'Library.'

    Q2.*Gam Aafan **doudai** ne?
        then Fan   the.hell TOP
        Int.: 'What about Fan?'

- The same for focus associates of 'only', tested by fragment polar questions

(53)   Fragment polar questions   (baseline) [C]

    Q1. Aaming tingjat wui heoi **tousyugun** aa4?   A1. Wui.
        Ming   tmr.   will go   library   SFP   will
        'Will Ming go to the library tomorrow?'   'He will.'

    Q2. Gam **Aafan (tingjat)**   ne?   A2. Dou wui.
        then Fan   tomorrow TOP   also will
        'What about Fan (tomorrow)?'   'She will as well.'
        (i.e. Will Fan go to the library tomorrow?)

(54) Focus association fails in fragment questions   [C]

    Q1. Aaming **zinghai** wui heoi **tousyugun** aa4?   A1. Wui.

        Ming   only   will go library SFP   will

        'Will Ming only go to the library?'   'He will.'

    Q2.*Gam Aafan **zinghai** ne?

        then Fan   only   TOP

        Int.: 'What about Fan?'

- One more test for focus association from verbal echo answers containing an adverbial, which is again argued to be derived by movement + deletion (Simpson 2014; Z. Chen 2022)

- Again, focus association fails in verbal echo answers!

(55) Verbal echo answers

    Q. Aaming sengjat tai   nibun syu   gaa4?

       Ming   often read this   book SFP

       'Does Ming often read this book?'

    A. Sengjat tai.

       often   read

       'Ming often reads this book.'

(56) Focus association fails in verbal echo answers

    Q. Aaming **zinghai** tai   [nibun syu]_[F] gaa4?

       Ming   only   read this   book SFP

       'Does Ming only read this book?'

    A. ***Zinghai** tai.

       only   read

       'Ming only reads this book.'   [C]

➜ Cheung (2015)'s suggestion that RD involves "PF sluicing" cannot explain the exceptional licensing of focus and *wh* associations in RD

- Just to complete the pattern, English sluicing, which has been argued extensively as PF sluicing (e.g., Merchant 2001, 2004), also fails the test of focus association

(57) Baseline: Focus association without sluicing

    a. They **only** don't know that John took FRENCH. (but know whether he took German)

    b. They **only** don't know that some specific person took FRENCH. (but know whether that person took German)

    c. They **only** don't know who took FRENCH. (but know who took GERMAN)
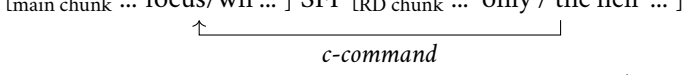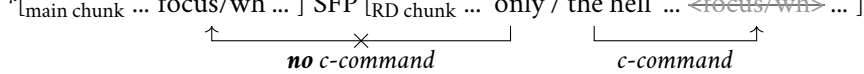
(58) Test case: Focus association with sluicing

Someone took French. ...

    a. ... I don't know which person took FRENCH, though I know who took GERMAN.

    b. ... I don't know which person ~~took FRENCH~~, though I know who took GERMAN.

    c. *... I **only** don't know which person ~~took FRENCH~~, though I know who took GERMAN.

        (with FRENCH as the intended associate)

4.1.3   Interim summary

➔ 'Only' and 'the-hell' in the RD chunk need to **c-command their overt focus associate** in the main chunk

➔ Neither the monoclausal+movement approach nor biclausal+sluicing approach can capture this c-command relationship

➔ Rightward movement/right-adjunction can, but we have seen that these analyses are untenable

(59)   a.   The required licensing configuration in RD

[main chunk ... focus/wh ...] SFP [RD chunk ... 'only'/'the hell' ...]

c-command

b.   The illicit configuration created by current movement/sluicing approaches

*[main chunk ... focus/wh ...] SFP [RD chunk ... 'only'/'the hell' ... ~~focus/wh~~ ...]

no *c-command*   *c-command*

4.2   A multidominant analysis

The required c-command configuration directly follows from a multidominant analysis of RD.

(60)   Multidominance in right dislocation

CP2 shares every node with CP1 except for the defocused element(s) that undergo(es) movement.

- "Node sharing"/Parallel Merge in a coordinated structure:
    - Right Node Raising (Wilder 1999; Belk, Neeleman, and Philip 2023, *i.a.*)
    - ATB *wh*-movement (Citko 2005; de Vries 2009, *i.a.*)
    - Conjoined *wh*-question (Gračanin Yuksek 2007; Citko and Gračanin-Yuksek 2013, *i.a.*)

- I set aside the (non-trivial) linearization issue for now

(61)   A sample derivation of right dislocation of adverb 'only'   Lit.: 'Ming likes *this book*, only.' *cf.* (39b)
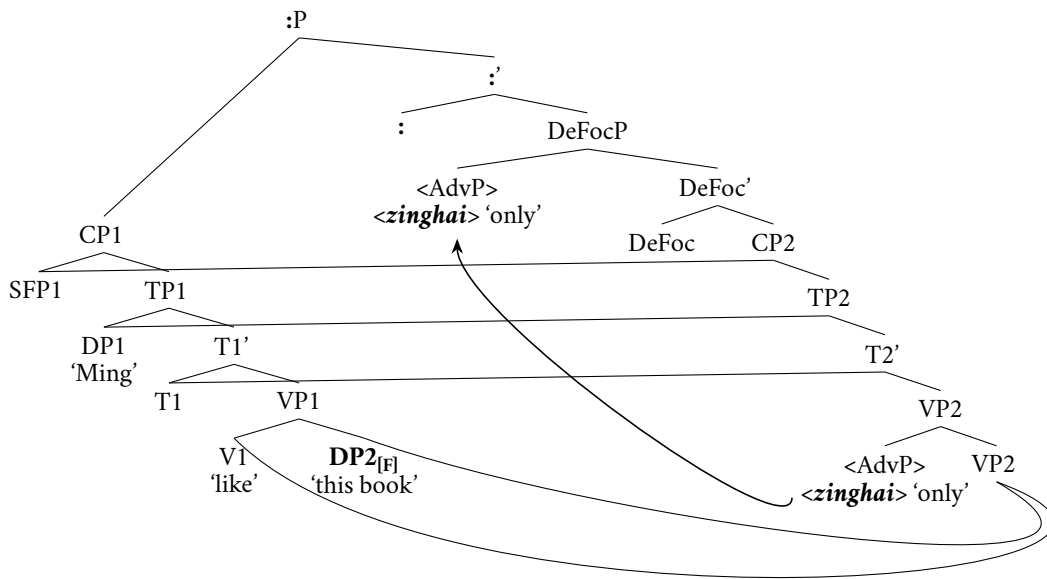
- Under Wilder ([1999])'s definition of c-command, the pronounced copy of *zinghai* c-commands DP2 [16]

- Delivers the required licensing configuration:

(62)   The required licensing configuration in RD achieved by multidominance
       [_main chunk_ ... focus/wh ...] SFP [_RD chunk_ ... 'only'/*doudai* ...]
                               ↑_____|
                                          c-command
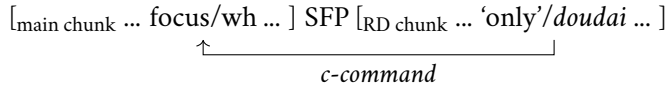
5   Focus/*wh*-association in Right Node Raising

How about other multidominant structures? Guess what, **RNR also licenses** focus and *wh*-association!

- In RNR, an object is apparently missing in the first conjunct

(63)   [Subj V __] & [Subj V XP]   (an RNR configuration)

(64)   Right Node Raising in Cantonese   [C]
       [Aaming jatzik   zungji] ji [Aafan jatzik   toujim **nibun syu**]
       Ming   all.the.time like   but Fan   all.the.time hate   this   book
       'Ming always likes, but Fan always hates, this book.'
       (i.e. Ming likes this book all the time and Fan hates this book all the time)

- Importantly, *zinghai* 'only' and *doudai* can survive in the first conjunct with their associate gapped[17]

(65)   ['only'/*doudai* ... __] & ['only'/*doudai* ... overt associate]

(66)   Focus association is licensed in RNR   [C, same in M]
       [Aaming **zinghai** zungji] ji   [Aafan **zinghai** toujim [**nibun syu**]_[F]_]
       Ming   only   like   but Fan   only   hate   this   book
       'Ming only likes, but Fan only hates, *this book*.'

(67)   *Wh* association is licensed in RNR   [C]
       [Aaming **doudai** zungji] tungmaai [Aafan **doudai** toujim [**binbun syu**]] aa3?
       Ming   the.hell like   and   Fan   the.hell hate   which   book   SFP
       'After all, which is the book x is such that Ming likes x and Fan hates x?'

- Some (but not all) English speakers I consulted accept focus association in RNR as well:
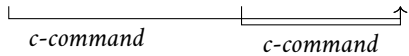
(68)   %He **only** likes, and she **only** hates, *this book*_F_.

16. Wilder ([1999], ex. 18-21)'s definition of c-command:

   (i) a. <u>Sharing</u>: α is shared by X and Y iff (i) neither of X and Y dominates the other, and (ii) both X and Y dominate α
       b. <u>Full dominance</u>: X fully dominates α iff X dominates α and X does not share α
       c. <u>Wilder's version of c-command</u>: X c-commands α iff (i) X $\neq \alpha$, (ii) X does not *fully* dominate α, (iii) α does not dominate X, and (iv) all categories that dominate X dominate α

17. My Mandarin consultants reported that focus association in RNR is possible, but *wh*-association in RNR is quite degraded.

- We thus need the following licensing configuration in RNR, where 'only' and 'the hell' in the first conjunct also c-command the overt object which is (at least apparently) located in the second conjunct.

- Possible with a multidominance approach (e.g., Wilder 1999)!

(69)   The licensing configuration in RNR
['only'/*doudai* ...] & ['only'/*doudai* ... focus/wh]
      c-command   *c-command*

(70)   The multidominance approach to RNR
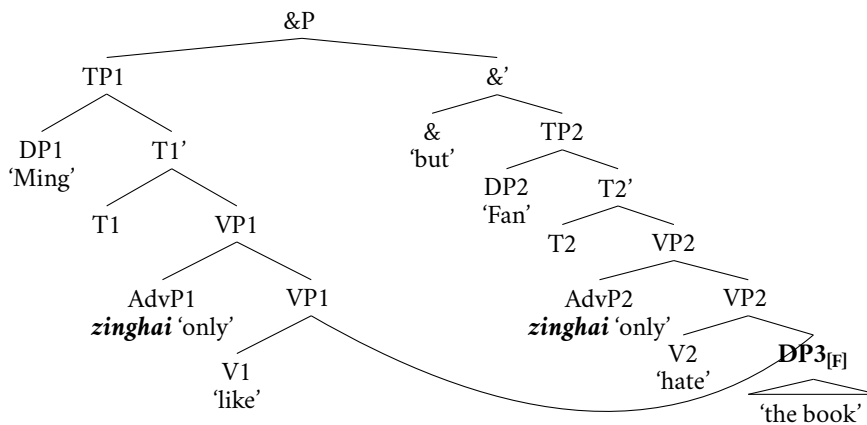
- Other multidominant structures like transparent free relatives (van Riemsdijk 1998) also allow focus association with 'only'

(71)   a.   They served me (what they euphemistically referred to as) a steak.
     b.   They served me (what they could **only** referred to as) a *steak*.

➜ Focus/*wh*-association diagnose multi-dominant structures

6   Conclusion

Summary of the talk

- I have argued that GRD and RD in Chinese have a **unified biclausal structure**.
  - The two clauses are coordinated and form **:**P (specifying coordination, after Ott and de Vries 2016)
  - GRD only differs from DC in the use of empty categories in the first clause
  - The second clause involves movement
- I have proposed that RD has a **multidominant** structure
  - The "non-pronunciation" in the RD chunk is a result of "node-sharing"/Parallel Merge (Wilder 1999; Citko 2005; Gračanin Yuksek 2007, *i.a.*)
  - Crucial evidence from focus/*wh*-association

(72)   Paths to non-pronunciation of syntactic structures
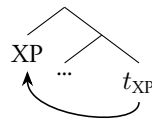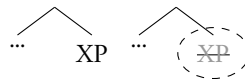
a. *Movement*   b. *Ellipsis*   c. ***Multidominance***
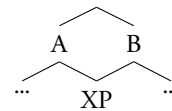
- I have demonstrated that focus/*wh*-association serves as reliable **diagnostic tests** for multidominant structures

(73)   Further issues to explore

a.   How to linearize the RD multidominant structure?

b.   Does RD in other languages also have a multidominant structure? If not, what is the explanation of the variation?

c.   How to derive the c-command requirement of focus/*wh*-association?

d.   ...

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