# *Last but not least: Right dislocation in Mongolian*

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## Table of Contents

# Introduction - things for today

- The empirical goal of this talk is to report a less discussed property of right dislocation, w.r.t. **the information structural status of** $\alpha$

(1) <u>Right dislocation/dislocation copying in OV languages</u>

    a.   $[_{TP} \text{... ...} \Delta \text{... V}] \, \alpha$                               Right Dislocation (RD)

    b.   $[_{TP} \text{... ...} \alpha \text{... V}] \, \alpha$                             Dislocation Copying (DC)

- The discussion is based on the Alasha dialect of Mongolian (fieldwork, Spring 2022)

(2) <u>Findings and proposals</u>

    a.   Descriptively, I report that Mongolian RD can host focused elements, in addition to topics (contra, e.g., Cantonese, Mandarin)

    b.   Analytically, I propose a minimal revision to a bi-clausal (Move+Ellipsis) on Mongolian RD (Kuno 1973; Abe 1999; Tanaka 2001)
        ➜ **Focus movement** in the second clause

# Introduction - things for next time

- Only a subset of languages allow RD to target focused elements
- **What accounts for the variation in discourse functions in RD?**
- There appears to be **a focus-bi-clausal correlation**
  ➜ only RD involving a bi-clausal structure can host focus

(3)  a.  Languages allowing RD focus involve a bi-clausal structure

e.g., Mongolian, Japanese

  b.  Languages disallowing RD focus involve a mono-clausal structure

e.g., Cantonese, Mandarin

- Time permitting, I will speculate a *structural* account for the difference
  ➜ The variation lies in **how Focus Phrase is licensed in the CP**

Introduction
Right dislocation in Mongolian
Focused elements and RD
A bi-clausal analysis
Remarks
References

# Table of Contents

# Basic properties - types of elements

- RD in Mongolian is highly productive and can target different types of elements

(4)  $\alpha$ = Arguments

    a.   Δ tun-d     dzaxdl-ig   bic-we     **Baatar**          Subjects
            3SG-DAT letter-ACC write-PST Baatar
         'Batar wrote a letter to him.'

    b.   ter   Δ xa-sen-oo   **nam-ig**            Direct objects
            3SG     see-PST-Q   1SG-ACC
         'Did he see me?'

    c.   ter   Δ dzaxdl-ig   bic-we     **Baatar-t**        Inirect objects
            3SG     letter-ACC write-PST Baatar-DAT
         'He wrote a letter to Batar.'

- Δ indicates the canonical position of the right dislocated elements

## Basic properties - types of elements

- Adjuncts and adverbials can also be right dislocated

(5)  $\alpha$ = Adjuncts

    a.  bii  $\Delta$ talx-ig   xi-sen   **cam-te**  **xamt**
        1sg      bread-ACC make-PST 2sg-COM together
        'I made bread with you together.'

    b.  ter  $\Delta$ tuudurxor toglo-deg **ger-t-een**
        3sg      piano     play-HAB  home-LOC-REFL.POSS
        'S/he plays piano at home.'

(6)  $\alpha$ = Adverbials

    a.  ter  $\Delta$ gwe-sen-oo **utsugdur**
        3sg   run-PST-Q   yesterday
        'Did s/he run yesterday?'

    b.  Baatar $\Delta$ ons-sen **niginte**
        Baatar    sleep-PST already
        'Baatar already slept.'

# Basic properties - types of elements

- Clausal elements can be dislocated as well, suggesting that the possibility of RD is not affected by "heaviness"

(7)  $\alpha$ = Complement clauses

Baatar $\Delta$ utsugdur xel-sen **unuudur irx-guu gec**.
Baatar    yesterday say-PST today    come-not C
'Baatar said yesterday that (he would) not come today.'

(8)  $\alpha$ = Conditionals

a.  **buro orx-gu bol** ci   culang jewen-oo?                    baseline
    rain  fall-not COP you party  go-Q
    'If it does not rain, will you go to the party?'

b.  $\Delta$ ci   culang jewen-oo **buro orx-guu bol**?
       you party  go-Q    rain  fall-not  COP
    'Will you go to the party, if it does not rain?'

# Basic properties - "gap-less" RD

- RD does not always involve a "gap" in the host clause, i.e., Dislocation Copying

(9)   $\alpha$ = an identical copy of arguments

    a.  **bi**  Baatar-t    nom  og-sen  **bi**
          1SG  Baatar-DAT  book  1SG
          'I gave (a) book to Baatar.'

    b.  ter  **Baatar-t**    nom  og-wa    **Baatar-t**
          3SG  Baatar-DAT  book  write-PST  Baatar-DAT
          'S/he gave (a) book to Baatar.'

    c.  ter  **Travis-te**  xamt    talx  xi-be    **Travis-te**
          3SG  Travis-COM  together  bread  make-PST  Travis-COM
          'S/he made bread with Travis together.'

## Basic properties - "gap-less" RD

- The same can be said to adjuncts/adverbials

(10)  $\alpha$ = an identical copy of adjuncts/adverbials

    a.  Baatar **niginte** ont-sen  **niginte**
        Baatar already  sleep-PST already
        'Baatar already slept'

    b.  ter **labte/gexet** Baatar-t    nom  og-sen  **labte/gexet**
        3SG surely/again Baatar-DAT book give-PST surely/again
        'S/he surely gave (a) book to Baatar.'

    c.  ter **ger-t-een**          tuudurxor toglo-deg **ger-t-een**
        3SG home-LOC-REFL.POSS piano     play-HAB home-LOC-REFL.POSS
        'S/he plays piano at home.'

    d.  ter **goron tsag-t**   nom  ons-sen  **goron tsag-t**
        3SG three  hour-DAT book read-PST three   hour-DAT
        'S/he read (a) book at 3am/pm.'

# Table of Contents

# Topics and RD

- Cross linguistically, $\alpha$ in RD can host topics, old information or defocused/back-grounded elements (Kuno 1973; Takano 2014; Lee 2017; 2020, i.a.)

- Mongolian is no exception in this regard

(11)    $\alpha$ = Topics

    a.  $\Delta$ bii on-sen **in nom-ig bol**
           1sg read-pst this book-acc cop
        'This book, I read.'

    b.  $\Delta$ bii asmel dorte **jimsem bol**
           1sg apple like fruits cop
        'As for fruits, I like apples.'

- The copula verb *bol* has acquired the usage a topic marker ('if it is...' / 'as for') (Janhunen 2012)

## Focus and RD

- The $\alpha$ position in Mongolian is more liberal, as it can also host **focused elements**

- $\alpha$ can receive focus intonation

(12)    a.    Baatar   SORGOOLI-d   jav-san
            Baatar   school-DAT      go-PST
            'Baatar went to SCHOOL (not other places).'

        b.    Baatar   jav-san   **SORGOOLI-d**
            Baatar   go-PST    school-DAT
            'Baatar went to SCHOOL (not other places).'

# Focus and RD

- $\alpha$ = Specific indefinites (new, remarkable information)　　(cf. Endo 1996)

(13)　ert　urdiin　tsagat,　neg-en　　tusgan-d　**mash udzesgelente busgui** baij
　　　early ancient time　one–ATTR village-in very　beautiful　　　lady　　be

　　　　genee
　　　　GENEE

　　　'Long long time ago, there was a very beautiful lady in a village.'

- There is a specificity contrast in RD

(14)　a.　... neg-en　　tusgan-d　Δ baij genee **mash udzesgelente busgui**
　　　　　... one-ATTR village-in　　be　GENEE very　beautiful　　　lady
　　　　　'... there was a very beautiful lady in a village.'

　　b. # ... neg-en　　tusgan-d　Δ baij genee **busgui**
　　　　　one–ATTR village-in　　be　GENEE lady
　　　　　'... there was a lady in a village.'

## Focus and RD

- $\alpha$ can host focus particles and focused elements
- ❶ 'Only'-focus can be marked by a preceding *dzoxung* or the suffix *-l*.

(15) a. △ Baatar-t    nom  og-sen  **dzoxung bii**/ **bii-l**
     Baatar-DAT  book  give-PST  only    1SG/ 1SG-only
     'Only me gave (a) book to Baatar.'

   b. **bii-l**    Baatar-t   nom   og-sen   **bii-l**
     1SG-only  Baatar-DAT  book  give-PST  only-1SG
     'Only me gave (a) book to Baatar.'

## Focus and RD

- ❷ 'Even'-focus can be marked by a following *xurtil* or the suffix *-c*

(16)  a.  Δ Baatar Δ utsugdur ap-pa  **in  nom-ig  xurtil**
          Baatar    yesterday buy-PST this book-ACC even
          'Even this book, Baatar bought yesterday.'

   b.  bii **nom-on-c**     gesen Baatar-t   og-sen **nom-on-c**
       1SG **book-REFL-even** GESEN Baatar-DAT give-PST **book-REFL-even**
       'Even my book, I gave (it) to Baatar.'

# Focus and RD

- Two verb doubling constructions - Dislocation Copying of verbs
- In the first one, the verb receives a contrastive interpretation

(17)   a.   bii nom-ig   **av-ün**   **bol** av-sen
             1SG book-ACC buy-NMLZ COP buy-PST
             'As for buying, I have BOUGHT this book (but I didn't READ it).'

       b.   **av-ün**   **bol** bii nom-ig   Δ av-sen
             buy-NMLZ COP 1SG book-ACC     buy-PST
             'As for buying, I have BOUGHT this book (but I didn't READ it).'

       c.   bii nom-ig   Δ av-sen, **av-ün**   **bol**
             1SG book-ACC   buy-PST buy-NMLZ COP
             'As for buying, I have BOUGHT this book (but I didn't READ it).'

## Focus and RD

- The second one involves a verb associated with *xurtil* 'even'

(18)  a.  **avx-ig**    **xurtil** Baatar in nom-ig avx dor-gu
      buy.INF-ACC even   Baatar this book-ACC buy.INF like-not
      'Baatar didn't even want to BUY this book.'

     b.  Δ Baatar in nom-ig avx dor-guu **avx-ig**    **xurtil**
      Baatar this book-ACC buy like-not buy.INF-ACC even
      'Baatar didn't even want to BUY this book.'

## Not all focused elements can be targeted by RD

- ❶ $\alpha$ cannot host *wh*-expressions

(19) #Δ Baatar-t    nom   og-sen    be   **xen**
       Baatar-DAT book   give-PST   Q   who
    'Who gave (a) book to Baatar?'

- ❷ $\alpha$ cannot host informational focus (as in Q-A pairs)

(20)    In response to "Who gave a book to Baatar?"
    #Δ Baatar-t    nom   og-sen    **Erdin**
       Baatar-DAT book   give-PST   Erdin
     'Erdin gave (a) book to Baatar.'

- These observations are often taken as evidence for the topichood or defocused status of $\alpha$ (Kuno 1973; Takami 1995; Takano 2014; Lee 2017, 2020)
- But as we will see, these observations receives an alternative explanation under a bi-clausal analysis of RD

# Interim summary

- RD in Mongolian can host both topics and **focused elements**
- It is in sharp contrast with languages like Cantonese (Lee 2017, 2020; Lai 2019) and Mandarin (Chiang 2017)
- Note that Mongolian is not unique in this regard

(21) Sporadic discussions in Japanese and Korean w.r.t. the focus nature of $\alpha$

    a. Specificational focus (Ko 2015)

    b. Focus intonation (Endo 1996)

    c. Contrastive focus (Yamashita 2011)

    d. NPI *shika*-focus (Takita 2011)

(22) Two types of RD languages

    a. $\alpha$ ➜ topics/defocused elements only          e.g., *Cantonese, Mandarin*

    b. $\alpha$ ➜ focused elements, in addition to topics/defocused elements

                                       e.g., *Mongolian, Japanese, Korean*

# Table of Contents

## Components

A minimal revision to a bi-clausal analysis (Movement + Ellipsis):

- A bi-clausal structure, with clausal repetition based on proposition identity (Abe 1999)

- A pro-form may appear in the first clause (Kuno 1973; Tanaka 2001)

- Topic movement or **Focus movement** occurs in the second clause (cf. Abe 2019)

- Subsequent deletion targets Comp of TopicP or FocusP in the second clause

(23)   A schematic representation of the proposed analysis for object RD

    a.    [$_{CP}$ Subj Obj/*pro* V ] [$_{TopicP}$ Obj   [ Subj Obj V ]  ]        Topic movement

    b.    [$_{CP}$ Subj Obj/*pro* V ] [$_{\textbf{FocusP}}$ Obj   [ Subj Obj V ]  ]        **Focus movement**

# Evidence for movement

- Island sensitivity in **argument RD**

(24)   <u>Relative clause islands</u>

    a.   Baatar [Tsetsege **Erdin-t**   og-sen] nom-ig    xulgail-sen.
         Baatar Tsetsege Erdin-DAT give-PST book-ACC steal-PST
         'Baatar stole the book that Tsetsege gave to Erdin.'

    b.  *Baatar [Tsetsege Δ og-sen]  nom-ig    xulgail-sen **Erdin-t**.
         Baatar Tsetsege    give-PST book-ACC steal-PST    Erdin-DAT
         'Baatar stole the book that Tsetsege gave to Erdin.'

- (Note: adjunct RD is island-insensitive; cf. Ko (2015) for discussions on two types of RD in Korean)

# Evidence for movement

- Island sensitivity in **verb doubling constructions**

(25)  <u>NP complement islands</u>

    a.   bii  [tun-ii    in    nom-ig   **onsx-ig**     **xurtil**  unsh-sen-gui]  baidl-ig
         1SG  3SG-GEN  this  book-ACC  read.INF-ACC  even    read-PST-not  fact

         xulaan  av-gui
         accept  get-not

    'I cannot accept the fact that he did not even READ this book.'

    b. *bii  [tun-ii    in    nom-ig    Δ  ons-sen-gui]  baidl-ig  xulaan  av-gui,
        1SG  3SG-GEN  this  book-ACC     read-PST-not  fact     accept  get-not

        **onsx-ig**     **xurtil**
        read.INF-ACC  even

# Evidence for movement

- Long distance dependency across CP boundaries

(26)    Long distance RD

    a.    Baatar [Δ nom-ig   og-sen   gec] xel-sen **Tsetsege-t**
            Baatar      book-ACC give-PST C    say-PST Tsetsege-DAT
            'Baatar said that (he) gave the book to Tsetsege.'

    b.    [Baatar in   nom-ig    Δ **avx** dor-guu] Erdin bodxoor, **avx-ig**   **xurtil**
            Baatar this book-ACC    buy want-not Erdin think    buy-ACC even
            'Erdin thinks that Baatar doesn't even want to BUY this book (let alone to READ it).'

- Caveat: these cases do *not* distinguish a bi-clausal analysis from a mono-clausal one

## Evidence for a bi-clausal analysis

- ❶ Dislocation Copying ("gap"-less type) and imperfect copying (Tanaka 2001)

(27)  a.  Baatar  **Huh Sudar**-ig    ons-sen,  **Huh Sudar**-ig
          Baatar  "Blue Book"-ACC  read-PST  "Blue Book"-ACC
          'Baatar read "Blue Book".'

   b.  Baatar  **ter**-ig  ons-sen,  **Huh Sudar**-ig
       Baatar  it-ACC  read-PST  "Blue Book"-ACC
       'Baatar read it, "Blue Book".'

- However, **copies** (Nunes 2004; Lee 2021) might still involve movement when a chain member escapes Copy Deletion

- ... and so might **resumptive pronouns** (Urk 2018; Georgi and Amaechi 2022; Scott 2021; Yip and Ahenkorah 2022) when Copy Deletion applies partially

# Evidence for a bi-clausal analysis

- **Demonstratives** in DC provides stronger evidence for a bi-clausal structure

(28)  Baatar **ter-nom-ig**   ons-sen,  **Huh Sudar-ig**
      Baatar that-book-ACC read-PST "Blue Book"-ACC
      'Baatar read that book, "Blue Book".'

- It is less likely that the two NPs are related by movement
- Under the bi-clausal analysis (that requires proposition identity), the two NPs are co-indexed, but not syntactically dependent

(29)  [$_{CP1}$ ... **ter-nom-ig**$_i$ ... ] [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ **Huh Sudar-ig**$_i$   [ ... Huh Sudar ... ]   ]

# Evidence for a bi-clausal analysis

- ❷ Island sensitivity remains in DC (Tanaka 2001)
  cf. No rescue effects by resumptions

(30)  <u>DC and relative clause islands</u>

    a. ??Baatar [Tsetsege **tuun-d** og-sen] nom-ig    xulgail-sen **Erdin-t**
        Baatar Tsetsege her-DAT give-PST book-ACC steal-PST    Erdin-DAT
        'Baatar stolee the book that Tsetsege gave to her, Erdin.'

    b. *Baatar [Tsetsege **ter-xun-d**       og-sen] nom-ig     xulgail-sen
        Baatar Tsetsege that-person-DAT give-PST book-ACC steal-PST
        **Erdin-t**
        Erdin-DAT
        'Baatar stolee the book that Tsetsege gave to that person, Erdin.'

# Evidence for a bi-clausal analysis

- ❸ Lack of idiomatic meaning in RD of a subpart of an idiom (Tanaka 2001)

(31)  a.  Baatar  **mori**  xar-waa
          Baatar  horse  watch-PST
          Idiomatic meaning: 'Baatar went to the bathroom.'

      b.  Baatar  Δ  xar-waa      **mori**
          Baatar      watch-PST  horse
          *Idiomatic meaning: 'Baatar went to the bathroom.'

- The first clause with a pro-form involves an incomplete idiom

## Going back to the illicit cases of RD

- ❶ *Wh*-expressions

(32) # Δ Baatar-t      nom    og-sen    be   **xen**
        Baatar-DAT  book   give-PST  Q    who
    'Who gave (a) book to Baatar?'

- No corresponding pro-forms for interrogative *wh*-expressions (Takita 2011)

(33) # **ter** Baatar-t      nom    og-sen    be   **xen**
        3SG Baatar-DAT   book  give-PST   Q    who
        'He gave (a) book to Baatar, who?'

- It is predicted that the sentence improves in "gap"-less type, without a pro-form

(34)   **xen** Baatar-t      nom    og-sen    be   **xen**
        who  Baatar-DAT   book  give-PST   Q    who
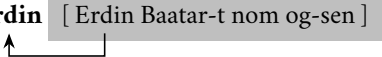        'Who gave (a) book to Baatar?'

## Going back to the illicit cases of RD

- ❷ Informational focus (as in Q-A pairs)

(35)   <u>In response to "Who gave a book to Baatar?"</u>
   #△ Baatar-t      nom   og-sen    **Erdin**
        Baatar-DAT  book  give-PST  Erdin
      'Erdin gave (a) book to Baatar.'

- Under a bi-clausal analysis, Abe (2019) suggests that sentences like (35) are interpreted as (36b)

(36)   a.   [$_{CP1}$ pro Baatar-t nom og-sen ] [$_{CP2}$ **Erdin**   [ Erdin Baatar-t nom og-sen ]   ]

Focus movement

   b.   $\exists$x [x gave a book to Baatar] & it was Erdin that gave a book to Baatar.

- RD fails to serve as an answer because "it asserts what the question presupposes, namely the first part of the interpretation just given" (p.4)

# The status of the Focus Phrase

- Focus Projection is not always available in Mongolian
- Leftward movement in matrix clause (i.e., scrambling) does not give rise to a focus interpretation

(37)　Scrambling in Mongolian (no focus interpretation on the object)
　　　**nam-ig**　ter　Δ　xa-sen-oo
　　　1sg-acc　3sg　　see-pst-q
　　　'Did he see me?'

- This is unexpected if Focus movement is available in the language
- (See, e.g., Ishihara (2001) for the discourse functions of scrambling)

## The status of the Focus Phrase

- I follow Abe (2019) and suggest that **Focus Phrase in Mongolian is only activated when its complement is elided**
- This is supported by the availability of (embedded) sluicing in the language, where Focus movement is followed by CP/TP ellipsis

(38)   <u>Sluicing is possible</u>

    a.   Baatar in   nom-ig    neg xen-d      og-sen,
         Baatar this book-ACC one person-DAT give-PST
         'Baatar gave this some to a person.'

    b.   gevech **xen-ig**   medx-guu                   Focus movement + TP ellipsis
         but     who-ACC know-not
         'but (I) don't know (to) who.'

- Note: there is DAT-ACC case mismatch
also reported in Chakhar Mongolian (see Xue 2022, WAFL 16 talk on Oct 2)
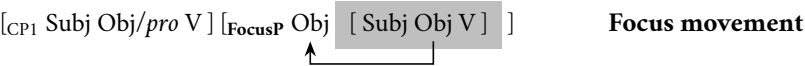
# Table of Contents

1. Introduction

2. Right dislocation in Mongolian

3. Focused elements and RD

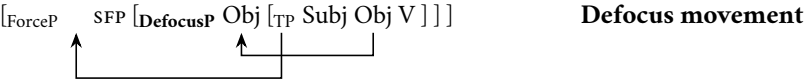4. A bi-clausal analysis

5. **Remarks**

# Why variation?

- Arguably, languages like Cantonese and Mandarin involve a mono-clausal structure (Cheung 1997, 2009; Lee 2017; Wei and Li 2018; Lai 2019)
- There appears to be a **focus-bi-clausal correlation**

(39)   Mongolian/Japanese vs. Cantonese/Mandarin

    a.   Languages **allowing RD focus** involve a **bi-clausal** structure
       [$_{CP1}$ Subj Obj/*pro* V ] [$_{FocusP}$ Obj  [ Subj Obj V ]  ]      **Focus movement**

    b.   Languages **disallowing RD focus** involve a **mono-clausal** structure
       [$_{ForceP}$   SFP [$_{DefocusP}$ Obj [$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V ] ] ]    **Defocus movement**
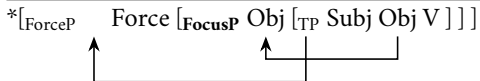
- For ongoing debates in Korean RD, see an overview in Ko (2022)

# Why variation?

- In other words, this configuration is disallowed Cantonese and Mandarin:

(40)  An illicit configuration in Cantonese and Mandarin

$*[_{ForceP}$  Force $[_{\textbf{FocusP}}$ Obj $[_{TP}$ Subj Obj V ] ] ]  **Focus movement**

(i.e., the FocusP must move together with the TP)

- I speculate that this is because Focus Phrase is licensed under different conditions across languages:

(41)  Parameters on the Focus Phrase licensing

    a.   A Focus Phrase is licensed by eliding its complement

    b.   A Focus Phrase is licensed by escaping dominance of ForceP (or the like)

- I leave this to future research

# Two differences between Mongolian and Japanese

- Mongolian RD differs from Japanese RD in disallowing NPI licensing

(42) *Juu-c* 'what-even' can be fronted but not right dislocated

     a.   **juu-c**     bii utsugdur △ id-sen-gui
         what-even 1SG yesterday    eat-PST-not
         'I didn't eat anything yesterday.'

     b.   *bii utsugdur △ id-sen-gui **juu-c**
         1SG yesterday     eat-PST-not what-even
         Int.: 'I didn't eat anything.'

(43)   Japanese allows NPI licensing in RD
     △ kaw-anai yo **dono-hon-mo**                  p.c. Yuta Tatsumi
        buy-not   SFP   which-book-MO
     '(I) won't buy any books.'

## Two differences between Mongolian and Japanese

- Verbs in Japanese resist Dislocation Copying

(44)  a.  Taroo-wa      kono-hon-o      **yomi-sae**  si-ta    yo              p.c. Yuta Tatsumi
          Taroo-TOP   this-book-ACC   read-even  do-PST  SFP
          'Tarou even READ this book.'

    b. \*Taroo-wa      kono-hon-o      Δ   si-ta    yo   **yomi-sae**
          Taroo-TOP   this-book-ACC          do-PST  SFP  read-even
          'Tarou even READ this book.'

- Recall, in Mongolian:

(45)  a.  **avx-ig**        **xurtil**  Baatar  in    nom-ig    avx      dor-gu
          buy.INF-ACC   even    Baatar  this  book-ACC  buy.INF  like-not
          'Baatar didn't even want to BUY this book.'

    b.  Δ Baatar  in    nom-ig    avx  dor-guu  **avx-ig**        **xurtil**
          Baatar  this  book-ACC  buy  like-not  buy.INF-ACC   even
          'Baatar didn't even want to BUY this book.'

# Acknowledgments

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