A structural account on the non-uniform information structure of right dislocation

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Introduction

- Right dislocation (RD) is used as a cover term to describe postposing effects on word order in matrix clauses.

(1) Right dislocation and Dislocation Copying

    a.   [$_{TP}$ ... Δ ...] SFP α Right Dislocation (RD)

    b.   [$_{TP}$ ... α ...] SFP α Dislocation Copying (DC)

- Both RD and DC are attested cross-linguistically.
- Despite surface similarities, the information structural status of α varies cross-linguistically.
- The following discussion is based on the Cantonese and Japanese RD.

Introduction

- α is typically less important, topicalized or defocused (Kuno 1978; Takami 1995; Takano 2014; Lee 2017, 2020)
- Language variation lies on whether α can also receive focus interpretation (Nakawaga, Asao, and Nagaya 2008; Ko 2015; Abe 2019; Lee 2022a).
- **What accounts for the variation of information structure in RD?**
- I pursue a structural account which rests on the parametric differences of the licensing condition of the Focus Projection.

(2) The licensing parameter of the Focus Projection

    a.   A FocusP is only licensed by *overt* complement   ➜ Cantonese

    b.   A FocusP is only licensed by *covert* complement   ➜ Japanese

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Two types of right dislocation

- Generally, the α-position in RD can host elements that indicate topics, old information, background materials, or defocused/de-emphasized elements.

  - East Asian languages (Kuno 1978; Takami 1995; Takano 2014; Lee 2017; 2020, i.a.)
  - South Asian languages (Butt and King 1996; Dayal 2003; Manetta 2012, i.a.)
  - Germanic languages (Ott and de Vries 2016, i.a.)

- But RD languages fall into two types when we consider whether RD in these languages can additionally host focused elements.

(3) a. Cantonese-type RD *cannot* target focused elements

  b. Japanese-type RD *can* target focused elements

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(i) Focus intonation

- Focus intonation

(4) <u>CRD resists focus intonation</u>   (Lee 2020, p.141)

  # keoi m geidak   gaau   Δ aa3 **FAAN BOUMENG BIU**
    3sɢ not remember submit   sꜰᴘ cʟ   application form
    'S/he forgot to submit the application form.'

(5) <u>JRD tolerates focus intonation</u>   (Endo 1996, p.2)

    Mukasi mukasi   aru mura-ni   imasita-yo, **MONOSUGOI BINJIN-GA**
    long long time ago a   village-ʟᴏc   was-sꜰᴘ   extremely   beautiful
    'Long long time ago, there was an extremely beautiful girl in a village.'

(ii) Focus particle ONLY

- Focus particles and their associates

(6)   CRD resists 'only'-focus

    a. ?? Δ maai-zo   ni-bun syu   zaa3 **zinghai ngo**
          buy-PERF this-CL book SFP   only   1SG
    'Only me bought this book.'

    b. ?? **hai ngo** maai-zo   ni-bun syu   ze1 **hai ngo**
        only 1SG buy-PERF this-CL book SFP only 1SG
    'Only me bought this book.'

(ii) Focus particle ONLY

- Japanese RD reveals a different pattern:

(7) a. <u>JRD can target *dake*-focus</u>   (Nakawaga, Asao, and Nagaya 2008, p.5)
Δ kaet-te   ki-ta   yo   **inu-dake**-wa
        return-and come-PAST PAR dog-only-TOP
     'Only the dog came back to us.'

    b. <u>JRD can target NPI 'sika'-focus</u>   (Takita 2011, p.4)
     Taroo-ga Δ yom-ana-katta-yo, **LGB-sika**
     Taroo-NOM   read-NEG-PST-SFP LGB-only
     '(lit.) Taroo read Δ_i, only LGB$_i$.'

(iii) Focus particle EVEN

- A similar pattern with EVEN:

(8) <u>CRD resists even-focus</u>

  a. ?? ngo dou m   wui tai gaa3 **lin bouzi**   (Lee 2020, p.141)
     1SG also not will read SFP even newspaper
     'I will not even read newspaper'

  b. ?? ngo **lin bouzi**   dou m wui tai gaa3 **lin bouzi**   dou
     1SG even newspaper also not will read SFP even newspaper also
     'I will not even read newspaper'

(9) <u>JRD allows even-focus</u>
   Aitsu-wa   yom-e-nai   yo **kono hon-sae**   (p.c. Yuta Tatsumi)
   That.guy-TOP read-able-NEG SFP this book-even
   'That guy can't even read THIS BOOK.'

(iv) Contrastive focus

- Furthermore,

(10) <u>CRD disallows contrastive focus</u>　　　　　　　　(Lee 2020, p.141, adapted)
　#Ngo heoi-gwo Δ aa3 **Hoenggong**. Daan mou　heoi-gwo Δ aa3 **Oumum**
　　1SG go-EXP　　SFP Hong Kong but　not.have go-EXP　　SFP Macau
　　'I have been to Hong Kong. But (I) have not been to Macau.'

(11) <u>JRD allows contrastive focus</u>　　　　　　　　　　(Yamashita 2011, p.418)
　　Ken-wa　Δ itta　yo, **soko**-e-wa
　　Ken-TOP　　went SFP there-to-TOP/CON
　　'Ken went THERE.'

- Note the the topic marker *-wa* in Japanese can contribute a topic reading or a contrastive reading, regulated on independent grounds (Kuno 1978; Yamashita 2011)

(v) *Wh*-expressions

- A potential challenge

(12) CRD resists *wh*-expressions   (Lee 2020, p.141)

   #keoi m   geidak   gaau   Δ aa3 **matje**
    3SG   not remember   submit   SFP what
    'What did s/he forget to submit?'

(13) JRD resists *wh*-expressions   (Takita 2011, p.9)

   *Hanako-wa   Δ   katta no,   **nani**-o?
    Hanako-TOP bought Q   what-ACC
    '(lit.) Hanako bought i, whati?'

- Takita (2011) attributes the unacceptability of (13) to the failure of Argument Ellipsis on *wh*-expressions, instead of their focus nature (Rochemont 1986; Horvath 1986; Shi 1994)

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(v) *Wh*-expressions

- If we look at DC, we obtain a contrast between Cantonese and Japanese.

(14)   DC is not possible with *wh*-expressions in Cantonese

    a. *__Bin-bun syu__ nei mei   tai aa3 __bin-bun syu__
       which-CL book 2SG not.yet read SFP which-CL book
       'Which book haven't you read?'

    b. *__Matje__ haakcan nei aa3 __matje__?
       what   scare   2SG SFP what
       'What scares you?'

(15)   DC is possible with *wh*-expressions in Japanese   (Takita 2011, p.10)
    Hanako-wa __nani__-o   katta   no, __nani__-o?
    Hanako-TOP what-ACC bought Q   what-ACC
    '(lit.) Hanako bought what, what?'

Interim summary

- We obtain the following empirical landscape:

α-position	Cantonese RD	Japanese RD
(i) Focus intonation	✘ (4)	✔ (5)
(ii) 'Only'-focus	✘ (6)	✔ (7)
(iii) 'Even'-focus	✘ (8)	✔ (9)
(iv) Contrastive focus	✘ (10)	✔ (11)
(v) *Wh*-expressions in DC	✘ (12)	✔ (13)

Table 1: A summary of the comparison between CRD and JRD

(16) a. Cantonese-type RD *cannot* target focused elements

b. Japanese-type RD *can* target focused elements

A cross linguistic note

- The two types of RD languages are replicated in Mandarin and Mongolian (Alasha)

(17)   <u>Mandarin RD resists *shi*-focus</u>

    a. #Shi **ta**$_i$ zhaodao Lisi a **Mali**$_i$ (Chiang 2017, p.310)
        FOC she find   Lisi SFP Mary
        'It was her$_i$ who found Lisi, Mary$_i$.'

    b. *Ta$_i$ yinggai keneng xihuan Lisi ba **shi Mali**$_i$.   (Chiang 2022, p.4)
        She probably maybe like   Lisi SFP FOC Mary
        'She$_i$ probably likes Lisi, Mary$_i$.'

(18)   <u>Alasha RD can target 'only'-focus</u>   (Lee 2022a)

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

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

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A structural account

- I attempt a structural, syntactic account on the variation
- The two types of RD languages do not differ in terms of, for example, the processing of the right periphery or discourse principles.
- I propose that the variation in RD is directly related to **how a language licenses its Focus Projection (FocusP)** in the CP periphery (Rizzi 1997).

(19)   The licensing parameter on the Focus Projection

    a.   A FocusP is only licensed by *overt* complement   ➜ Cantonese

    b.   A FocusP is only licensed by *covert* complement   ➜ Japanese

(20)   The licit and illicit FocusP in Cantonese and Japanese

    a.   ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec [FOC ~~[$_{TP}$ ...]~~]] : *Cantonese, ^{OK}Japanese

   b.   ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec [FOC [$_{TP}$ ...]]] : ^{OK}Cantonese, *Japanese

Assumptions

- The analysis makes two assumptions:

(21)   Two crucial assumptions in the analysis

    a.   RD sentences (at least in argument cases) involve movement.
       (Abe 1999; Tanaka 2001; L. Y.-L. Cheung 2009; Lee 2017, i.a.)

    b.   Focused elements move into Spec FocusP for feature checking.
       (Chomsky 1995, *et seq.*)

- The analysis does not, however, rely on a particular movement analysis on RD, e.g.,:

  - a mono-clausal, double preposing analysis
  - a bi-clausal, move-and-delete analysis

- The proposal goes through independently of the precise movement analysis of RD.

Assumptions

- Two variants of a movement analysis on RD
- On independent grounds, Cantonese RD is argued to involved a mono-clausal analysis,

(22) A mono-clausal analysis on Cantonese RD (e.g. L. Y.-L. Cheung 2009; Lee 2017; Lai 2019)

[$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TP}$ Subj V] SFP [$_{XP}$ Obj [$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V]]]
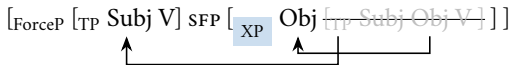
- ... whereas Japanese RD is argued to involved a bi-clausal one.

(23) A bi-clausal analysis on Japanese RD   (e.g. Abe 1999; Tanaka 2001; Takita 2011)

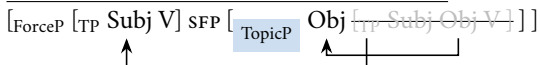[$_{TP}$ Subj *pro$_i$* V] SFP [$_{XP}$ Obj$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V]]
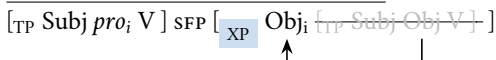
- In either analysis, the complement of XP is covert (i.e., deleted).

Deriving the variation - the topic case

- Both analyses can handle the topic/defocus nature of RD-ed elements by suggesting that XP is Topic Projection (or the like).
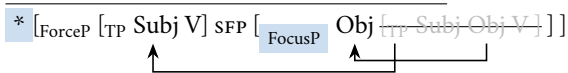
(24)   A mono-clausal analysis on Cantonese RD

[$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TP}$ Subj V] SFP [$_{TopicP}$ Obj [$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V]]]

(25)   A bi-clausal analysis on Japanese RD

[$_{TP}$ Subj *pro*$_i$ V] SFP [$_{TopicP}$ Obj$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V]]
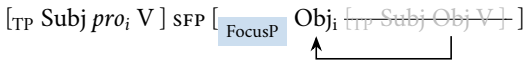
Deriving the variation - the focus case

- When it comes to the focus case, the two languages differ.

- Only Japanese RD can target focused elements, but not Cantonese RD.

- This implies:

(26)   A mono-clausal analysis on Cantonese RD

  * [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TP}$ Subj V] SFP [$_{FocusP}$ Obj ~~[$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V]~~]]

(27)   A bi-clausal analysis on Japanese RD   (also suggested in Abe 2019)

  [$_{TP}$ Subj *pro*$_i$ V] SFP [$_{FocusP}$ Obj$_i$ ~~[$_{TP}$ Subj Obj V]~~]

- If (26) were acceptable, we would expect focused elements could be right-dislocated in Cantonese as well.

Deriving the variation - the focus case

- Here is where the proposed parameter comes into play.

(28) The licensing parameter on the Focus Projection

     a.   A FocusP is only licensed by *overt* complement   ➜ Cantonese

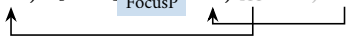   b.   A FocusP is only licensed by *covert* complement   ➜ Japanese

(29) The licit and illicit FocusP in Cantonese and Japanese

     a.   ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec FOC $\overline{[_{TP} \; ...]}$] : *Cantonese, [OK]Japanese

     b.   ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec FOC   [$_{TP}$ ...]] : [OK]Cantonese, *Japanese

(30) $*$ [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TP}$ Subj V] SFP [$_{FocusP}$ Obj $\overline{[_{TP} \; Subj \; Obj \; V]}$]]   Cantonese

(31) [$_{TP}$ Subj *pro*$_i$ V] SFP [$_{FocusP}$ Obj$_i$ $\overline{[_{TP} \; Subj \; Obj \; V]}$]   Japanese

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Two predictions - sluicing

(32) The licit and illicit FocusP in Cantonese and Japanese

    a. ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec [FOC ~~[$_{TP}$ ...]~~] : *Cantonese, [OK]Japanese

- (32a) is precisely the reduced cleft analysis of sluicing configurations, which involves Focus/*wh* movement followed by TP deletion (Merchant 2001, i.a.).

(33) Predictions on sluicing
Japanese allows sluicing, whereas Cantonese disallows sluicing.

- Fukaya and Hoji (1999) and Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002, 2012), among others, argue for a reduced cleft analysis on embedded sluicing in Japanese.

(34)   a. John-wa dareka-ni atta rasii ga,   (Fukaya and Hoji 1999)
         TOP   someone-DAT met seem but
         'It seems that John met someone, but, '

    b. boku-wa **dare(-ni)** ka wakara-nai.
       1SG-TOP who-DAT Q know-not
       'I don't know who'

Two predictions - sluicing

- Meanwhile, (32a) predicts **the lack of (Japanese-style) sluicing in Cantonese**
- Wei (2004, 2011), Li and Wei (2014, 2022), and Adams and Tomioka (2012) defended the base generation analysis of sluicing-like constructions in Chinese.

(35)   Sluicing-like constructions in Mandarin and Cantonese

    a.   Zhangsan kandao mouren, danshi wo bu zhidao shi **shei**. Mandarin
        Zhangsan saw   someone but   I   not know cop who
        'Zhangsan saw somebody, but I dont know **who**.'   (Li and Wei 2014, p.296)

    b.   Aaming maai-zo di je,   daan ngo m-zi   hai **mat**.   Cantonese
        Aaming buy-PERF CL thing but   I   not-know cop what
        'Aaming bought some thing, but I don't know **what**.'

- The parameter provides an explanation on *why* a reduced cleft analysis of sluicing is unavailable in Cantonese.

Two predictions - scrambling

(36) The licit and illicit FocusP in Cantonese and Japanese

    b. ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec [FOC   [$_{TP}$ ...]] : ^{OK}Cantonese, *Japanese

- (36b) predicts the **lack of focus reading in Japanese scrambling**.
  FocusP cannot be licensed without TP deletion.

- Abe (2019) suggests that Japanese scrambling cannot be Focus movement, given its
  semantic vacuity (instead, it involves adjunction (Saito 1985)).

(37) Scrambling in Alasha and Japanese (no focus interpretation)

    a. [$_{TP}$ **Mary-ni** [$_{TP}$ John-ga   kinoo Δ atta yo]].
        Mary-DAT   John-NOM yesterday   saw SFP]]
        'Mary, John saw yesterday.'   Japanese (Abe 2019, p.3)

    b. [$_{XP}$ **nam-ig** [$_{TP}$ ter Δ xar-sen]]   Alasha
        1SG-ACC   3SG   see-PST
        'He saw me.'

Two predictions - scrambling

- While there is no similar scrambling in Cantonese/Mandarin, focus movement is available without TP deletion.

(38) <u>Focus movement in Cantonese</u>

    a.   [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ (Hai) **bingo** [$_{\text{TP}}$ Siufan zeoi zungji]] aa?
              HAI   who   Siufan most like   Q
           'Who is it that Siufan likes most?'   (C. C.-H. Cheung 2015, p.76)

    b.   [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ (Lin) **tai** [$_{\text{TP}}$ Aaming dou m-**tai**   ni-bun syu]] wo4
              even read   Aaming also not-read this-CL book SFP
           'Aaming didn't even READ this book (to my surprise).'   (Lee 2022b, p.60)

- In both cases, the focus particles, namely, *hai* and *lin*, are optional
  ➜ the focus interpretation remains in their absence
- Thus it should be attributed to the availability of FocusP instead of to the presence of focus particles

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Concluding remarks

- RD should be classified based on the effects on information structure.

(39) a. Cantonese-type RD *cannot* target focused elements

  b. Japanese-type RD *can* target focused elements

- The findings strengthen a non-uniform approach to RD in natural languages, despite their surface similarities

- To the extent the variation can be handled by the proposed parameter, a movement analysis of RD seems to allow more analytical flexibility than a base generation analysis.

Concluding remarks

- What about languages without the need of licensing of FocusP?

(40) The licensing parameter on the Focus Projection

     a.   A FocusP is only licensed by *overt* complement   ➜ Cantonese

     b.   A FocusP is only licensed by *covert* complement   ➜ Japanese

     c.   **A FocusP can be licensed by either overt or covert complement**

(41) The licit and illicit FocusP in Cantonese and Japanese

     a.   ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec FOC   ~~[$_{TP}$ ...]~~] : *Cantonese, [OK]Japanese

     b.   ... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec FOC   [$_{TP}$ ...]] : [OK]Cantonese, *Japanese

     c.   **... [$_{FocusP}$ Spec FOC   ([$_{TP}$ ...])] : Bangla, Hindi (potentially)**

- What about TopicP licensing? To be continued...

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