A structural account on

the non-uniform information structure in right dislocation

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1. Information structure in RD

- Right Dislocation allows elements to appear after SFPs.
- (1) a. $[Host clause \Delta ... V ...]$ SFP α right dislocation
 - b. [Host clause β ... γ ...] SFP α dislocation copying
- Consensus about RD α can host topics or old info.
- Variation in terms of whether α can host focus.

3. Two types of RD, but why?

- → These suggest that RD languages come in two types:
- (6) a. Cantonese-type RD cannot target focused elements. (also applies to Mandarin RD)
 - b. Japanese-type RD can target focused elements. (also applies to Mongolian RD)
- → But what is responsible for the variation?

2. Whether focused elements can be right dislocated

- Comparing (a) Cantonese vs. (b) Japanese: (2) Focus marking (3) Wh-expressions (4) Focus intonation, (5) Contrastive focus
- (2) Focus particles and their associates
 - a.* Δ Maai-zo ni-bun syu zaa3 **zinghai ngo**. buy-PERF this-CL book SFP only 1sG 'Only me bought this book.'
 - b. Taroo-ga Δ yom-ana-katta-yo, **LGB-sika**. Taroo-NOM read-NEG-PST-SFP LGB-only 'Taroo read Δ_i , only LGB_i.' (Takita 2011, p.4)

- (4) <u>Contrastive focus</u>
 - a.*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.'(Lee 2020, p.141)
 - b. Ken-wa Δ itta yo, **soko-e-wa**.

 Ken-TOP went SFP there-to-TOP

 'Ken went, THERE.' (Yamashita 2011, p.418)

- (3) Wh-expressions
 - a.* Matje haakcan nei aa3 matje? what scare 2sG sfp what 'What scares you, what?'
 - b. Hanako-wa **nani**-o katta no, **nani**-o? Hanako-TOP what-ACC bought Q what-ACC 'Hanako bought what, what?' (Takita 2011, p.10)

- (5) Focus intonation
 - a.*Keoi m geidak gaau Δ aa3 **FAN BIU**. 3sG not remember submit SFP CL form 'S/he forgot to submit the form.' (Lee 2020, p.141)
 - b. Mukashimukashi aru mura-ni Δ imasita-yo, MONOSUGOI BIJIN-GA. long.time.ago some village-Loc existed-SFP extremely beautiful girl-NOM 'Long time ago, there was an extremely beatiful girl in a village.' (Endo 1996, p.2)

4. A structural account: the licensing condition of Focus Phrase

- I assume a movement analysis on RD, defended independently in both languages.
- But I remain open to a mono- or bi-clausal account.
- (7) A mono-clausal analysis on Cantonese RD (L. Y.-L. Cheung 2009; Lee 2017, i.a.) $[ForceP [TP Subj V \Delta_i] SFP [TP Subj V \Delta_i]]]$
- (8) A bi-clausal analysis on Japanese RD

 (Abe 1999; Tanaka 2001; Takita 2011, i.a.)

 [TP Subj pro_i V] SFP [XP Obj_i [TP Subj Obj V]]

Proposal: a parametric difference of FocusP

- (9) The licensing parameter on the Focus Projection
 - a. A FocusP is only licensed by *overt* complement → Cantonese (& Mandarin)
 - b. A FocusP is only licensed by *covert* complement \rightarrow *Japanese* (& *Mongolian*)
- (10) 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
- •This explains why *Focus in RD in Cantonese.
- (11) An illicit configuration in Cantonese

 *[ForceP Force FocusP Obj [TP Subj Obj V]]]

★ The strength of this proposal builds on a three-way correlation between (i) RD, (ii) Sluicing, and (iii) Focus movement.

5.1. Predictions on Sluicing (10a)

- In **Cantonese**, sluicing-like constructions involve no (Focus) movement (Wei 2004, Adams & Tomioka 2012, Li & Wei 2014).
- Impossible fronting in some cases

 Keoi maai-zo bun syu, daan ngo m-zi **gei hau** (*bun syu Δ).

 3sG buy-PERF CL book, but 1sG not-know how thick (CL book).

 'S/he bought a book, but I don't know how think (it is).'
- Parallel to English pseudo-sluicing

 Keoi caau-zo go jan, daan ngo m-zi doudai hai bingo.

 3sG fire-PERF CL person but 1sG not-know on earth COP who 'S/he fired someone, but I don't know who on earth *(it was).'
- In **Japanese**, they *can* (if not must) involve Focus movement (Fukaya & Hoji 1999, Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002, 2012).
- The covert nature of Comp FocusP

 I heard that Naoya ate something,

 Boku-wa [FocusP nani-o [FocusP FinP da]] ka wakara-nai.

 1SG-TOP what-ACC COP Q know-not

 'I don't know what.' (Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012)

5.2. Predictions on Focus movement (10b)

- In **Japanese**, Focus movement is impossible in non-elliptical contexts (Ishihara 2001, Abe 2019).
- (15) No focus reading on scrambled elements

[TP Mary-ni [TP John-ga kinoo Δ atta yo]]. Mary-dat John-nom yesterday saw sfp]] 'Mary, John saw yesterday.' (Abe 2019, p.3)

- In **Cantonese**, it is possible in such contexts (C. C.-H. Cheung 2015, Lee 2022). Note the optional focus particle.
- (16) Focus reading on fronted elements

[FocusP (Lin) tai [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.' (Lee 2022, p.60)

Selected. references: **Abe**, Jun. 2019. "Focus Licensing at the Left Periphery in Japanese Right Dislocation." Syntax 22 (1): 1–23. • **Adams**, Perng Wang, and Satoshi **Tomioka**. 2012. "Sluicing in Mandarin Chinese: An instance of pseudo-sluicing." In Sluicing: Cross-linguistic perspectives, p.219–247. OUP. • **Hiraiwa**, Ken, and Shinichiro **Ishihara**. 2012. "Syntactic Metamorphosis: Clefts, Sluicing, and In-Situ Focus in Japanese." Syntax 15(2). • **Lee**, Tommy Tsz-Ming. 2022. Towards the unity of movement: implications from verb movement in Cantonese. USC diss.