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論文集

Crossing-over:
New Insights
into the Dialects
of Guangdong

主編

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湯翠蘭　鄺耀基　主編

Right dislocation of verbs in Cantonese: A case of head movement to specifier

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Abstract: In this paper, I discuss an under-studied type of right dislocation, namely, right dislocation of verbs (RDV). RDV reveals typical A'-movement properties and interpretive effects (e.g. reducing focus set). The right-dislocated verbs are arguably defocus of the sentence, derived by defocalization. Based on a head-initial analysis of SP, I propose a two-step derivation. The first step is defocalization, a counterpart of focalization. An element that bears the feature [-Foc] moves to the Spec DefocusP immediately below SP projection (i.e. FP) for feature checking. The remnant TP then moves to a position above FP. RDV is argued to be an instance of syntactic head-spec movement under Gribanova & Harizanov's (2016) classification of head movement. I suggest that RDV is significant in the investigation of the possibility of a unified theory of head movement and phrasal movement in narrow syntax.

Keywords: Cantonese, right dislocation, verb movement, A'-movement, head-spec movement

1. Introduction

Right dislocation (RD) in Cantonese creates non-canonical (non-SVO) word order. [1]Instances of RD in (1) is regarded as leftward focus movement (e.g. Cheung 2005). The pre-SP part (i.e. the object in (1a) and VP in (1b)) is fronted for focus interpretation. This paper reports a variant of RD, as in (2). [2](2) shows that verbs (i.e. modal verb wui 'will') can also be right-dislocated. I refer this under-studied type of RD to right dislocation of verb (RDV).

> (1) a. [Object jat bou dinsigei] lo1 [Subject keoi] [V maai-zo]   (Cheung 2005:1)
>
>   one CL TV   SP   3SG   buy-PERF
>
>   'He bought a TV.'

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1   RD appears most naturally in colloquial context, almost non-existent in formal register and written languages. They may sound unnatural if uttered out of the blue. Throughout the paper, relevant contexts are supplied where necessary.

2   Cantonese data without indicated source are constructed by the author and confirmed by three native Cantonese informants.

b. [_{VP} maai-zo   jat   bou dinsigei] lo1 [_{Subject} keoi] (ibid:1)
   buy-PERF   one CL TV   SP   3SG
  'He bought a TV.'

(2) [_{Subject} Zoeng Saam] [_{VP} maai go   bou dinnou]   lo1 [_V wui]
   PN   buy that CL computer SP   will
  'ZS will buy that computer.'

This paper focuses on the syntax and derivation of (2). I argue that it is an instance of A'-movement (section 2) and involves a process of defocalization (section 3). I propose that the derivation of RDV involves two separate steps (section 4). First, the defocalized verb undergoes leftward movement to the specifier of DefocusP in the left periphery. Then the remnant TP moves to a higher position. I further argue that (2) is an instance of syntactic (long-distance) head movement (section 5).

2. Syntactic properties of RDV

2.1 Internal syntax

RDV and DFC share a surface ordering of (3):

(3) α SP β

In terms of constituency, the α part of RDV does not form a constituent and it is a discontinuous string while the β part is a verb, as in (2). However, in DFC, the α part is always a constituent, whereas the β part can be non-constituent (i.e. S + V), as in (1). It is argued that α is raised from a lower position and β the remnant of movement (Cheung 2005, 2009). The same does not apply to RDV since syntactic movement of discontinuous string (i.e. non-constituent) is theoretically problematic. Constituency status of α and β serves as the basic diagnostic test to separate RDV and DFC.

For the timing being, let us assume the verb in RDV undergoes movement. RDV is a root phenomenon. It is not allowed within an embedded clause.

(4) *ngo zi   [_{CP} ZS t_i heoi tai   hei   [_V soeng]_i] lo1
  1SG know   PN t go   watch movie   want   SP
  'I know ZS want to go to see a movie.'

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In terms of verb types, different kinds of verbs can be right-dislocated in RDV:

(5) Modal verbs

ZS jatzik   dou t$_i$ heoi duksyu ge2 [$_V$ soeng]$_i$
PN all.the.times all *t*   go   study SP   want
'ZS want to go to study all the times.'

(6) Verbs taking non-finite complement clause

ngodei *t$_i$* wan   sikmat lo1 [$_V$ citfaat]$_i$ (Cheung 1997:32)
1PL   *t*   find   food   SP   seek.to
'We seek to find food.'

(7) Matrix verbs in resultative construction

keoi *t$_i$* mit laan fung seon aa3 [$_V$ lau   dou]$_i$ (ibid:31)
3SG *t* tear break CL   letter SP   be.angry till
'He got so angry that he tore the letter.'

(8) Copula verbs

a. Q: nei   hai   bindou   jan   aa3
      2SG COP where   person SP
      'Where are you from?'
b. A: ngo *t$_i$* hoenggong   jan   aa3 [$_V$ hai]$_i$
       1SG *t* Hong Kong person SP COP
       'I am from Hong Kong.'

(9) Transitive verbs

ngo   haazau   *t$_i$* sing   so   jiu   aa3 [$_V$ sik-zo]$_i$
1SG   afternoon   *t* whole CL banana   SP eat-PERF
'I ate the whole bunch of bananas this afternoon.'

(10) Intranstive verbs

keoi zukzuk   *t$_i$* saam jat   aa3 [V haam-zo]$_i$
3SG full   *t* three day SP   cry-PERF
'He cried for three full days.'

Note that RDV does not apply to all ranges of verbs equally well. It is more restricted than the data presented here. However, in light of the fact that RDV is not consistently ruled out, RDV is not constrained by verb types.

2.2 Movement effects and constraints

RDV displays typical properties of A'-movement. Consider the interaction between RDV and idiom chunks. As widely assumed, an idiom has to be merged as a unit at some level during the derivation. Displacement of an idiom chunk is indicative of movement. (11) maintains the idiomatic reading even after RDV.

(11) ngo tong   keoi [$_{Idiom}$ ti ging noi   seoi] lo1 [$_V$ ceoi-zo]$_i$
      1SG with   3SG t very long water SP   blow-PERF
      'I chatted with him for a long time.'
       (*Lit.* I blew water with him for a long time.)

Furthermore, long distance dependency and locality constraints, which are typical to A'-movement, are attested in RDV. While CP boundary (e.g. (12) can intervene between α and β, island boundaries (e.g. (13) and (14)) cannot.

(12) Long distance dependency (CP boundary intervention)
      ngo zi   [$_{CP}$ ZS ti heoi duksyu] aa3 [$_V$ soeng]$_i$
      1SG know   PN t go   study   SP   want
      'I know ZS want to go to study.'

(13) NP complement island
      *ZS zipsau m   dou [$_{NP}$ LS ti gong sap zong jyujin   ge   sisak] aa3 [$_V$ sik]$_i$
        PN accept NEG able   PN t speak ten CL   language PRT   fact   SP know
      'ZS cannot accept the fact that LS can speak ten languages.'

(14) Adjunct island
      *ZS [$_{CP}$ janwai ti maai dinnou]   soji muijat   dou wui cou sap man lo1 [$_V$ soeng]$_i$
      PN   because t buy computer so   everyday all   will save ten dollar SP   want
      'Because ZS wants to buy a computer, he saves ten dollars everyday.'

If RDV is an instance of A'-movement, RDV may violate Head Movement Constraint (HMC, Travis 1984), informally stated as (15). In a configuration like (16), the right-dislocated verb 'go' is located between two other verbs. Movement of the verb 'go' must cross either one of the heads and hence violating HMC. However, (16) is perfectly good. We will return to this issue in section 5.

(15) Head Movement Constraint (Roberts 2001:113)
    Head movement of X to Y cannot 'skip' an intervening head Z.

(16) ngo [$_V$ soeng] t_i [$_V$ sik] syutgou   aa3 [$_V$ heoi]$_i$
    1SG   want t eat   ice-cream SP   go
    'I want to go to eat ice-cream.'

3. Interpretive effects of RDV: Defocalization

3.1 Focus-resistant nature of right-dislocated verbs

As far as interpretive effects are concerned, I suggest that RDV is a process of defocalization. It follows that the dislocated verbs are focus-resistant. They cannot be associated with focus interpretation.

First, when the verb is assigned focus reading, it cannot be right-dislocated (and vice versa). We can apply the question-answer test to check. Since the answer to a question bears informational focus (cf. Cheung 2005), we predict that the answer part in a sentence cannot be right-dislocated. This is borne out. (17b) is infelicitous.

(17) a. Q: ZS soeng m   soeng heoi duksyu aa3
           PN   want   NEG want   go   study   SP
           'Does ZS want to go to study?'

    b. A: #ZS t_i heoi duksyu aa3 [$_V$ soeng]$_i$
           PN t go   study SP   want
           'ZS wants to go to study.'

Second, stressed verbs cannot be right-dislocated. In Cantonese, prosodic stress can be adopted to denote focus. While it is felicitous to stress a verb in canonical word order as in (18a), it is not so if the verb is right-dislocated, as in (18b). The asymmetry can be explained if the right-dislocated elements resist focus interpretation because of its status as defocus.

(18) a. ZS [$_V$ soeng] cizik   aa3
          PN   want   resign SP
          'ZS wants to resign.'
      b. *ZS t_i cizik aa3 [$_V$ soeng]$_i$ [3]

Arguably, the post-SP position cannot be reduced to a non-focused position, as this would allow for the possibility for being focused. I suggest that this position is a designated position for defocus.

3.2 Defocus as reducing possible focus set

Defocus not only resists focus interpretation, but also reduces possible focus set. Since defocus cannot be focused, the elements in the defocus position cannot be included in any focus set. Consider the focus construction in the form 'mai…lo1' (see Tang 2008). Elements within the scope of the adverb mai and SP lo1 can receive focus interpretation, exemplified in (19). The focus interpretation is ambiguous because of different possible focus sets. However, RD of the verb ze-jo 'borrowed' in (20) reduces possible focus sets. The right-dislocated verb is excluded from the computation of focus set.

(19) ZS mai [$_{VP}$ ze-zo   go bun syu] *lo*1
         PN mai   borrow-PERF that CL book SP
         'ZS borrowed that book.'   *Possible focus set: {NP object, VP, V}*[4]

(20) ZS mai [$_{VP}$ t_i go bun syu] lo1 [$_V$ ze-jo]$_i$ *Possible focus set: {NP object}*

An alternative is that the right-dislocated verbs fall outside the c-commanding scope of focus operator and are thus excluded from the computation of focus set. However, as shown in

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3 Lengthening of the verb 'want' improves the acceptability for reasons unknown to the author. However, the stress in (18a) does not involve any lengthening.
4 Tang (2008) suggests that the subject can also be the contrastive focus. For simplicity, I do not include it into the focus set.

section 2, RDV is by nature A'-movement, which typically displays reconstruction effects. [5]If so, the right-dislocated verb can be reconstructed back to the focus scope at LF. The exclusion from the possible focus set is surprising. Evidence from Japanese scrambling also suggests that computation of focus set is not mediated by reconstruction. Japanese scrambling displays reconstruction effects (Saito 1985). However, Ishihara (2001:181) illustrates with the following examples that 'scrambling induces a difference in the focus set, creating potential focus domain that would not be available in the non-scrambled word order'. In other words, despite reconstruction of the scrambled elements at LF, the original focus set cannot be retrieved, same as our case in RDV. Accordingly, the exclusion is independently triggered by the incompatibility of focus interpretation and the defocus marking.

(21) Non-scrambled word order (Ishihara 2001:168, with adaptions)

[$_{TP}$ Taro-ga [$_{VP2}$ kyoo [$_{VP1}$ [$_{DP}$ hón-o] katta]]]

Taro-NOM today book-ACC bought

'Taro bought a book today.' *Possible focus set: {NP object, VP1, VP2, TP}*

(22) Scrambled word order (ibid:168, with adaptions)

[$_{TP2}$ hon-o [$_{TP1}$ Taro-ga [$_{VP2}$ [$_{ADV}$ kyóo] [$_{VP1}$ t_{hon-o} katta]]]

book-ACC Taro-NOM today bought

'Taro bought a book today.' *Possible focus set:{ADV, VP2, TP1, TP2}*

4. The proposal

4.1 A detour: Dislocation Focus Construction (Cheung 2005, 2009)

Assuming that SP is a head of a head-initial functional projection (FP) in the CP domain, Cheung proposes that focus undergoes leftward movement to the Spec(ifier) of Focus head, a projection higher than FP, illustrated in (23). DFC captures the fact that the α part in the configuration 'α SP β' is always a constituent and the β part is the remnant that can be, and usually is, a non-constituent.

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5 Note that head movement is also assumed to be reconstructed at LF.

(23)
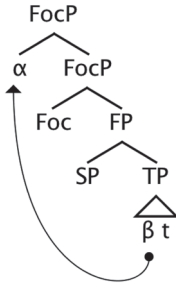
The DFC analysis hints at the possibility that the 'right-dislocated' verb is indeed in-situ in RDV. Instead, all other parts move to the Spec Foc. I illustrate this possibility with example (2) and the corresponding structure is (24). The NP subject and the VP undergo leftward movement, while the modal verb wui 'will' is in-situ.

(24) $[_{Subject}$ ZS $]_i$ $[_{VP}$ maai go   bou dinnou $]_k$ $[_{FP}$ lo1 t_i wui t_k]
              PN   buy that CL computer   SP   will
       'ZS will buy that computer.'

This analysis faces challenge when applied to long distance cases of RDV. For example, in order to generate the correct word order in (12), we need to assume multiple applications of leftward movement to Spec Foc, as shown in (25).

(25) $[_{DP}$ ngo $]_i$ $[_V$ zi $]_j$ $[_{DP}$ ZS $]_k$ $[_{VP}$ heoi duksyu $]_l$ $[_{FP}$ aa3 t_i t_j t_k soeng t_l]
          1SG   know PN   go study   SP   want
       'I know ZS wants to go to study.'

However, as Cheung proposes, DFC is constrained by the Generalized Left-Branch Condition (GLBC), which forbids any left-branching element to be fronted (e.g. subject and verbs). The movements of NP subject ngo 'I' and the verb zi 'know' are illicit under Cheung's proposal. Also, if the defocus (i.e. the verb soeng 'want') is in-situ, it is surprising to detect island effects since there is no movement at all (cf. section 2.2). So the DFC analysis is not applicable to RDV.

4.2 A two-step derivation

The proposal consists of two parts. First, I propose the notion of defocus is a syntactic feature assigned to any lexical items, which trigger defocus movement (= defocalization). Second, RDV involves a combination of two independent operations, that is, defocalization followed by remnant TP-raising. The analysis assumes without discussion that SP is a head-initial functional projection in the CP domain. This assumption is argued for in Sybesma (1999), Simpson & Wu (2002), Cheung (2005, 2008, 2009), Hsieh & Sybesma (2008), among others. The exact position of SP is a matter of debate, but will not concern us here.

4.2.1 Defocus as a syntactic feature

The idea that defocus is a syntactic feature draws on the parallelism with the Focus Criterion in Chinese (Ernst & Wang 1995). I propose an anti-thesis of focus, namely, Defocus Criterion.

(26) Defocus Criterion
      a.The defocalized element must be checked with a head bearing [-Foc];
      b.A Defocus head of DefocusP must be in a Spec-head configuration with the
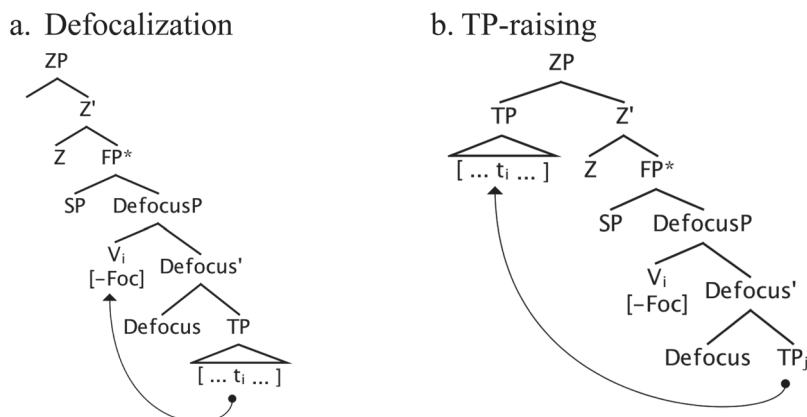   defocalized element.

Both focus-related features ([+Foc] and [-Foc]) trigger movement. Also, a [-Foc] feature is semantically incompatible with [+Foc] feature, deriving the focus-resistant nature of defocus. The idea that defocus is a syntactic feature is not a novel one. Zubizarreta (1998) argues for a syntactic defocus feature in Spanish and Italian, which motivate movement in narrow syntax. Takano (2014) also argues for a defocus feature in Japanese, driving the formation of RD.

4.2.2 A two-step derivation

I assume with Cheung (2009) the structure in CP-domain, i.e. the order of FocP > FP* > IP[6] . In light of the fact that defocus (i.e. the right-dislocated verb) in RDV always follows SP, whereas focus in DFC always precedes SP, I propose a DefocusP immediately below FP*, attracting elements bearing the feature [-Foc]. RDV is derived via defocalization in the first place, followed by TP-raising (to ZP).

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6   FP is the projection headed by SP. The asterisk on FP indicates this projection can iterate. Since SPs are
    allowed to cluster, multiple FP projections are assumed to be possible.

(27) RDV derivation

    a. Defocalization   b. TP-raising

```
        ZP                                    ZP
        |                                    /  \
        Z'                                 TP    Z'
       /  \                              [... t_i ...]
      Z   FP*                                  /  \
          /  \                                Z   FP*
        SP   DefocusP                              /  \
             /  \                                SP   DefocusP
           V_i   Defocus'                             /  \
          [−Foc]  /  \                              V_i   Defocus'
              Defocus  TP                          [−Foc]  /  \
                   [... t_i ...]                      Defocus  TP_j
```

In (27a), according to the Defocus Criterion in (26), the defocalized verb (with the [-Foc] feature) moves to Spec DefocusP in the CP domain for feature checking. As an instance of A'-movement, defocalization is allowed as long as locality constraint is observed. Also, DefocusP is a matrix projection in the CP domain that is unavailable in the embedded clause. RDV results in a root phenomenon. Since defocalization occurs within narrow syntax, the structure is read off at LF and the element in the DefocusP is excluded from the computation of focus set (see section 3). Concerning the legitimacy of the TP-raising operation in (27b), I assume, without going into details, with Sybesma (1999), Simpson & Wu (2002), Hsieh & Sybesma (2008) and Cheung (2008, 2009) that TP-raising is an independently motivated operation. The proposal of a two-step derivation in deriving right dislocation is not a peculiar one. A similar proposal for RD has been made in Ko (2015) in his discussion on Korean RD, the details of which I will not examine here.

5. Right dislocation of verb and head movement

5.1 Theoretical legitimacy

In the two-step derivation of RDV, verbs move to Spec DefocusP under the Defocus Criterion in the first step of the derivation (i.e. Defocalization). This is by nature head-spec movement. If RDV is an instance of head movement, it is surprising that RDV is not constrained by HMC (see example (16) in section 2.2.). [7]

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7   Another relevant challenge is that RDV, or head-spec movement in general, is not constrained by Chain Uniformity Condition (CUC, Chomsky 1995) either, where CUC requires that a chain uniform with regard to phrase structure status. Apparently, head-spec movement necessarily violates CUC. However, the presence of CUC is challenged. See Fukui & Takano (1998), Toyoshima (2001), Vicente (2009), among others.

A reasonable response is that HMC is just too restrictive. It does not apply to all instances of head movement. It may seem to be an ad hoc stipulation to exclude RDV from HMC. However, many cases have been reported to be exceptions to HMC, such as the so-called 'long head movement' in Modern Greek and Bulgarian (Lema and Rivero 1990) and Mainland Scandinavian and Yiddish (Toyoshima 2001). In particular, Cheng & Vicente (2013) also reported an instance of long distance head-spec movement in Chinese verb doubling. I present one line of reasoning for the inactivity of HMC in RDV/ head-spec movement here. Since HMC is subject to the same locality constraint as c-selection, HMC can indeed be derived from subcategorization (or c-selection) (cf. Svenonius 1994 and Pesetsky & Torrego 2001). Following this line, we have no a priori reason to rule out the possibility that head movement can also be triggered by non-categorical feature. Cheng & Vicente (2013) suggests that a discourse-related feature like [topic] or [focus] can serve as a trigger for head movement. Nothing should block such long distance movement since locality (i.e. HMC) follows from the requirement of subcategorization. A head, like a phrase, is allowed to move to the left periphery for feature checking, in the exact way as A'-movement. In sum, HMC only constrains a subset of head movement. RDV here is free from HMC because it is driven by [defocus] feature.

5.2 Right dislocation of verb as head-spec movement

The status of RDV as an instance of head movement deserves a second-thought. At least three points should be made clear: (i) only the verb undergoes movement, (ii) its landing site is Spec and, (iii) it occurs within narrow syntax.

5.2.1 Verb movement, not remnant VP movement

A famous alternative to verb movement is remnant VP movement. The idea is that, prior to VP movement, all other elements except the verb in the VP has been extracted out of VP, leaving a remnant VP behind. Then, when this remnant VP is moved, it appears that the verb has moved alone. Consider the remnant VP topicalization in German, where the underlying structure of (28) is (29) (Besten & Webelhuth 1990:77-78).

(28) [Gelesen] hat   Hans das Buch nicht

       read   has Hans the book not

     'Hans has not read the book.'

(29) [$_{VP}$ t_i gelesen] hat Hans [$_{I'}$ das Buch$_i$ [$_{I'}$ nicht t_{VP}]]

In (29), *das Buch* is first moved out from VP via scrambling. The remnant VP then moves to the left periphery. The surface head movement is indeed a phrasal movement in disguise. The key element of this analysis is a productive mechanism that can evacuate all constituents, except the verb, from VP. It is possible in German, because it is a scrambling language. Remnant VP containing only the verb can be routinely created.

Whether the same can apply to RDV is doubtful. Soh (1998) argues that the Chinese object shift rule (i.e. object scrambling) has a very limited domain of application, applying only to DPs around low (VP-level) adverbs. An example of Mandarin scrambling is given in (30). Although the object and frequency phrase can be scrambled, they are still kept within VP. They cannot move to the left of the verb. Therefore, object scrambling cannot create a remnant VP.

(30) a. wo   [$_{VP}$ qing-guo   [na   ge ren]   [liang ci]]
        1SG   invite-EXP that CL person two   time
        'I invited that person twice.'
    b. wo [$_{VP}$ qing-guo [liang ci] [na ge ren]]

Alternatively, contrastive focus construction can fronts the object before the verb in Chinese (cf. Ernst & Wang 1995). Consider (31). The object 'this book' is fronted to a post-subject and pre-verbal position. (32) show that this position is higher than VP since it must precede the VP adverb jiging 'already'.

(31) [$_S$ ZS] [$_O$ ni   bun syu] [$_V$ tai-gwo] $_i$ t_i laa3
        PN   this CL book   read-EXP t SP
      'ZS read this book.'

(32) a. ZS [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ ni   bun syu]$_i$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{Adv}$ jiging]   tai-gwo t_i]] laa3
        PN   this CL book   already   read-EXP t SP
      'ZS has already read this book.'
    b. *ZS [$_{VP}$ [$_{Adv}$ jiging] [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ ni bun syu]$_i$ [VP tai-gwo t_i]] laa3

However, adverbs cannot move to the same position as objects. Adverbial ordering is highly restricted (Mui & Chao 2000). In the absence of adverb movement, although a remnant low-VP can still be created via object fronting, this remnant VP cannot ensure the correct word order in RDV via remnant VP movement. Consider deriving (33) with the steps in (34):

(33) [$_S$ ZS] jiging　[$_O$ seng so　jiu]　　laa3 [$_V$ sik-saai]
　　　　PN　already　　all　CL banana　SP　　　eat-all
　　　'ZS has already eaten the whole bunch of bananas.'

(34)　Attempted (halfway) derivation [8]
　　　a. Base order:
　　　　[$_S$ ZS] jiging [$_{VP}$ [$_V$ sik-saai] [$_O$ seng so　jiu]]
　　　b. Object fronting for contrastive focus
　　　　[$_S$ ZS] [$_O$ seng so　jiu] jiging [$_{VP}$ [$_V$ sik-saai] t_O]
　　　c. Defocalization (remnant VP fronting)
　　　　[$_{VP}$ [$_V$ sik-saai] t_O] [$_S$ ZS] [$_O$ seng so　jiu] jiging t_{VP}

In step (34c), we need to stipulate another operation to insert the adverbs between the subject and the object to acquire the word order in (33). It is unclear how this analysis could win over the straightforward head movement approach.

5.2.2　Specifier as the landing site

The next question is where this single head lands. We have seen in previous examples that the verb is usually adjacent to SP. Also, SP is sometimes regarded as a 'phonologically deficient' head, which may require phonologically support. The conventional approach of head-head adjunction seems to be at play here, where the moved verb in RDV adjoins to SP, instead of occupying a Spec position. However, the adjacency between the verb and SP is not a must. The verb and SP can be separated by some elements, as in (35):

(35) ngo　t_i　t_j　ceng　　gaa　　lo1 [$_{Adv}$ tingjat]$_i$　[V soeng]$_j$
　　　1SG　t　t　ask.for　leave　SP　　　tomorrow　　　want
　　　'I want to ask for leave tomorrow.'

8　SP *laa3* is omitted for simplicity. Assuming SP is merged after DefocusP is created, the first step of RDV (i.e. defocalization) does not involve any interaction with the SP.

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The adverb *tingjat* 'tomorrow' intervenes between the SP and the verb. It is unlikely both a phrasal category and a head adjoin to the same head (i.e. SP). Rather, on the specifier alternative, we may assume there are multiple Spec positions for both the adverb and the verb in DefocusP. Both of them, with their [-Foc] feature, check feature with the Defocus head. On the other hand, RDV to a large extent patterns with A'-movement (see section 2.2.) Since Spec is regarded as the landing site of A'-movement, the assumption that the verb in RDV also lands here requires no further stipulation; or we will need to explain why A'-movement has different landing sites.

5.2.3 Syntactic movement in narrow syntax

The major argument for the PF-analysis of head movement is its lack of interpretive effects. Chomsky (2001:137) points out that 'the semantic effects of head-raising in the core inflectional system are slight or nonexistent, as contrasted with XP-movement'. However, Lechner (2005) argues that some cases of head movement show semantic effects. Although RDV in Cantonese does not alter scope or c-command possibilities, alternation in focus set is illustrated in (20). Platzack (2013) suggests that if head movement has interpretive effects, we would expect to find different readings within one language when a constituent has the option to move or not to move to a higher position. This is exactly the case that we found in RDV. RDV is optional in Cantonese and if it occurs, it imposes interpretive effects on the computation of focus set. Together with the syntactic constraints observed in section 2.2, RDV should be regarded as syntactic movement.

5.3 Types of head movement

Among other alternatives, RDV is best captured under a head-spec movement approach, where the trigger is a discourse-related feature, i.e. [-Foc]. As suggested, RDV bears tremendous resemblance to the usual phrasal A'-movement. The study of RDV opens up the possibility of a united treatment of head and phrasal movement. Following Gribanova & Harizanov (2016), head movement can be classified as 'syntactic' or 'post-syntactic'. The corresponding properties are listed in Table 1.

Table 1-Two types of head movement (Gribanova & Harizanov 2016:2)

Syntactic head movement	Post-syntactic head movement
i. Does not form words	i. Forms words
ii. Can 'skip heads'	ii. Affects structurally adjacent heads
iii. Can have interpretive effects	iii. Does not have interpretive effects

If this proposal is on the right track, RDV falls nicely into the syntactic head movement type. Not only does it 'skip heads' (e.g. (16) and have interpretive effects, it also observes all sorts of syntactic constraints. This proposal is indeed suggestive to a united treatment of head movement and phrasal movement (see also Matushansky 2006, among others). Many instances of long head movement are arguably head-spec movement (i.e. A'-movement) and they are linked to the left-periphery, exhibiting the same pattern as phrasal movement. RDV discussed in this paper supplies another piece of evidence to the united treatment of head and phrasal movement.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I reported a particular type of right dislocation, namely, RDV. RDV reveals typical A'-movement properties and interpretive effects. The right-dislocated verbs are arguably defocus of the sentence. Based on a head-initial analysis of SP, I proposed a two-step derivation. The first step is defocalization, a counterpart of focalization. An element that bears the feature [-Foc] moves to the Spec DefocusP immediately below SP projection (i.e. FP) for feature checking. The remnant TP then moves to a position above FP, which is independently motivated. RDV is argued to be an instance of syntactic head-spec movement. Following Gribanova & Harizanov's (2016) classification of head movement, I suggest that RDV is significant in the investigation of the possibility of a unified theory of head movement and phrasal movement in narrow syntax.

Gloss

1 – First person	COP – Copula	SP – Sentence particles
2 – Second person	EXP – Experiential	PERF – Perfective
3 – Third person	NEG – Negation	PN – Proper noun
ACC – Accusative	NOM – Nominative	PRT – Particle
CL – Classifier	SG – Singular	

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粵語中的倒裝句：主要部移動到指定部的個案研究

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摘　要：本文討論動詞的倒裝句（right dislocation of verbs, RDV）。RDV 體現 A'- 移動的特性，並以減少焦點集合作為其語意功能。倒裝的動詞被視為非焦點，經由非焦點化產生。本文假設句末助詞均屬主要部前置，並提出衍生 RDV 的兩個步驟。首先是非焦點化，擁有 [-Foc] 特徵的動詞移位到 DefocusP 的指定部進行特徵核查。其後，殘餘成份 TP 進行移位，移到 FP 之上的位置。本文認為 RDV 應被認定為主要部到指定部移動（head-spec movement）。按 Gribanova & Harizanov's（2016）對主要部移動的分類，屬於句法類型的主要部移動。最後，本文指出 RDV 為探討主要部移動與句移動的統一分析的重要現象。

關鍵詞：粵語　倒裝句　動詞移詞　A'- 移動　主要部移動