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The Syntax of Right Dislocation in Mandarin Chinese and Italian, a Comparative Study

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I adopt a Cartographic approach to analyze the syntactic phenomenon of Right Dislocation based on data from Mandarin Chinese and standard Italian. I point out that previous syntactic studies all suffer from drawbacks and Right Dislocation cases should be divided into two major types: the Focus-Fronting type and the Specificational type.

The Focus-Fronting type RD is frequently used in Mandarin. Essentially, it consists of the Focus movement of a lower portion of the clause to the Left Periphery, leaving behind the non-focused part which should be in the higher portion in the non-dislocated version of the same clause. As a consequence, what is left behind seems to have been dislocated to the right of the focused part. Different from the previous proposals similar to this one in the literature, I suggest that the role of Topic and Force in the Left Periphery must be taken into consideration in the derivation, to better interpret the possibility of the subject to appear either in the non-dislocated part or in the dislocated part. I also suggest to account for the interaction between Right Dislocation and Sentence Final Particles, which in recent years are proposed to be hierarchically ordered split-C heads in the Left Periphery.

The Specificational type RD presents in both languages consists of an element added at the end of the sentence to specify a less informative correlate in the original clause. In Italian, it is typically realized as the so-called Clitic Right Dislocation, in which a coreferential clitic pronoun appears in the non-dislocated part together with the right-dislocated phrase. I argue that, totally different from the Clitic Left Dislocation, this construction has a bi-clausal structure, with a complete first clause and a reduced second clause. In the second clause, the right-dislocated phrase merges in the IP copied from the first clause, and raises above the IP as an operator, triggering the IP-Ellipsis. Similar analysis can also be adopted to represent adjunct Right Dislocation cases and part of the adverb Right Dislocation in the two languages.

Therefore, strictly speaking, none of the so-called Right Dislocation cases in the two languages really involves rightward movements. In addition, this analysis also implies that Right Dislocation is not a kind of Topicalization, which explains the discrepancies between the Right Dislocation and the Left Dislocation/Topicalization.

List of Abbreviations

CL = (numeral) Classifier

CLLD = Clitic Left Dislocation

CLRD = Clitic Right Dislocation

CRS = Currently Relevant State

E = Ellipsis

ECM = Exceptional case-marking

EXP = Experiential Aspect

F = Feminine (gender)

LD = Left Dislocation

LE = Mandarin particle *le*

M = Masculine (gender)

1/2/3PL = first/second/third person plural form

PROG = Progressive aspect

Q = Question

RD = Right Dislocation

SFP = Sentence-final particle

1/2/3SG = first/second/third person singular form

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Question

“Right Dislocation” (RD) is not an unfamiliar notion to linguists of different research areas. It is famous for its being the “mirror image” of Left Dislocation (LD) in appearance, and for the rich data found in many languages, independently from their genealogical relationship.

- (1) a. Did you bring it, **the cake**?
(English)
- b. *Ni dai-lai le ma, dangao?*
you bring-come LE SFP cake
‘Did you bring it, the cake?’
(Mandarin)
- c. *La hai portata, la torta?*
it have.2SG brought the cake
‘Did you bring it, the cake?’
(standard Italian)

All these three sentences in the three different languages involve a “dislocation” of the direct object “the cake” to the final position of the sentence. The “separation” of these elements from the main clause can be inferred by the fact that: in English, there is a coreferential pronoun that occupies the direct object’s position; in Mandarin, “the cake” follows the Sentence Final Particle (SFP) *ma*, which normally marks the end of a clause; and in Italian, a coreferential clitic pronoun *la* is used to “anticipate” the presence of the direct object, and normally this kind of “clitic doubling” in standard Italian is allowed only in the case of Topicalization. Therefore, even though the direct object usually appears in the lower portion of the clause in these three SVO languages, we consider these sentences as marked word order.

However, can we be sure that we are dealing with the same syntactic phenomenon behind this apparent parallelism?

This doubt could already arise from the terminology used in the literature. For example, in Chinese linguistics, many labels have been given to this phenomenon other than the “Right Dislocation”, for instance: Afterthought (Chao 1968), inverted sentence (*yiwei ju*, Lu Jianming 1980), incremental sentence (*yanshen ju*, Luke Kang Kwong 2004), dislocation focus construction (Cheung 2009), etc. These names reflect different properties and functions of this phenomenon, and lead us to different research directions.

In this dissertation I will only use the name RD¹, which I think is the most neutral one for a syntactic study, to refer to the syntactic phenomenon that some elements leave their

¹Except the case of Marginalization, which I will discuss in Chapter 5 and argue that it is not a syntactic phenomenon on its own.

original place and appear in the right-most position of the clause, keeping the possibility to be reconstructed into the clause without changing the meaning of the clause. When these elements belong to the grammatical categories that can be pronominalized, they can have their coreferential full pronouns (like in (1-a)) or clitic pronouns (if they are available in a certain language, like in Italian in (1-c)) in the “non-dislocated” part of the clause. According to this stipulated definition, the three sentences in (1) should be treated equally as instances of RD.

Despite the vast research about the pragmatic functions of RD in various languages and the comparison between LD and RD, there is still no consensus on its underlying syntactic structure in recent Generative studies.

This kind of construction is mainly used in informal oral production, and its sentence-final property obscures a lot its exact syntactic status with respect to the other elements in the clause. As I will show later in Chapter 2, some proposals in the literature consider it in the Left Periphery of the clause, thus in the higher portion of the syntactic structure, and it results in the final position only because the rest of the sentence is moved beyond it; while some see it as a realization of Topic in the Low Periphery below the IP, and after the movement of the verb, it remains naturally in the final place. It can also be analyzed as a kind of external attachment to a complete clause, and in this case it is not “sentence-final” but rather another sentence that follows the previous one.

This dissertation aims to narrow down and refine the previous analyses of RD using comparative data in Mandarin Chinese and standard Italian. These two languages belong to different language families and they are almost free from linguistic contact with each other in history. Therefore, it is expected that the theoretical contradictions found in works concentrating on data from one language or closely related languages can be resolved by testing the proposals in another language equipped with different linguistic devices.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

My analyses and proposals in this dissertation fully follow the guideline of the Cartography of syntactic structures under the general framework of Generative Grammar.

According to Cinque and Rizzi (2010), the Cartographic approach assumes that all languages share the same principles of phrase and clause composition and the same functional make-up of the clause and its phrases. Languages are supposed to share the same inventory of functional categories, but they may choose how to realize a certain function. From this point of view, a comparative study would provide us strong evidence to understand to which extent languages can share the same basic structure and what may cause the differences on the surface.

The Left Periphery In this dissertation, the most important notion in Cartographic studies is the Left Periphery, first proposed and formalized by Rizzi (1997) and enriched by numerous subsequent works. It assumes that the area above IP/TP is filled with hierarchically organized functional projections that encode the information like Topic, Focus, clause type and finiteness, illocutionary force, speaker’s attitude etc. In other words, the so-called CP layer of a syntactic structure should be further divided into a group of functional projections with their own functions.

In the first version, Rizzi (1997) proposes the structure shown in Figure [1.1](#) based on evidence from standard Italian. A single Focus projection is surrounded by Topic projections which can be iterated (marked by the star). A finite complementizer position ForceP is distinguished from a non-finite complementizer position FinP, and they are hierarchically higher and lower than the Topic-Focus zone, respectively.

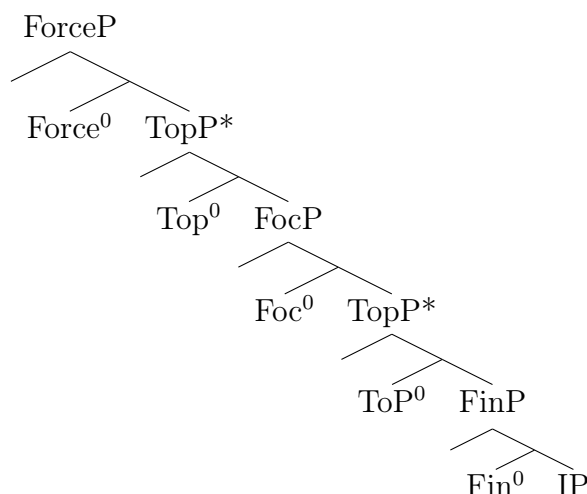


Figure 1.1: Rizzi 1997:297

Then, the Topic-Focus zone is further refined by many other subsequent works, such as Benincà and Poletto (2004):

- (2) [[Hanging Topic][[Scene Setting] [[Left Dislocation] [[List Interpretation] [[Contrastive Focus] [[Informational Focus]]]]]]]]

They hold the idea that different types of Topics and Foci can be identified in the Topic zone and the Focus zone, and these Topics and Foci with different functions are also arranged in a fixed order in the Left Periphery. Some of these notions in (2) will be mentioned in Chapter 5.

Not only in Italian, Mandarin Chinese also shows evidence that there exists a fine-grained structure of the Left Periphery (see, for example, Paul 2002, 2005, Badan 2007, Badan and Del Gobbo 2011, 2015), in line with that found in Italian, and in addition to that, a special *lian*-Focus (a kind of *even*-Focus in Mandarin) can be also identified immediately above the IP.

- (3) Aboutness Topic > Hanging Topic > Left Dislocation > *lian*-Focus > IP
(Badan and Del Gobbo 2011)

For this reason, in the discussion I will consider the structure of the Left Periphery to be a universal syntactic map, fully comparable between Mandarin and Italian.

1.3 Main Proposal and Organization of Chapters

After this chapter of introduction, in Chapter 2 I collect the main studies about RD that I take into consideration for this dissertation, grouping them by their object language(s) of research (Mandarin/Cantonese, Italian and other languages). After introducing the essential content of these studies, I sort out their syntactic proposals and categorize them into four macro-groups: single movement strategy, double movement in Left Periphery, double movement in Low Periphery, and bi-clausal analysis.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the classification of RD types. I start from the adverb RD in Mandarin, which is a frequent and quite flexible phenomenon, but has not attracted enough attention in the Generative studies of syntax. Based on data from Mandarin adverb RD, I point out that there is no previous proposal that can completely account for all adverb RD cases. This leads to the necessity of individuating different types of RD according to the syntactic potentials of these adverbs, and to analyze them with different strategies. Integrated with some observations from Italian CLRD, I propose that there are at least two types of RD: the Focus-

Fronting type, represented by the monosyllabic adverb RD in Mandarin, and the Specificational type, represented by CLRD in Italian. RD of other types of adverbs, adjuncts and arguments in the two languages will be accommodated into these two analyses afterwards.

Chapter 4 talks about the monosyllabic adverb RD in Mandarin that must be analyzed as instances of the Focus-Fronting type RD, which is mainly observed in Mandarin (and potentially in other Chinese languages as well) for the special requirement of the pied-piping type Focus movement. In this construction, a chunk of projection containing the Focus from the clausal spine is fronted to the Left Periphery to FocusP, leaving behind the higher portion of IP, which is usually occupied by the subject and some higher functional elements. In other words, it is the “non-dislocated” part that is moved to the left, but not the “right-dislocated” part that is moved to the right.

- (4) *Shang FEIJI *(le) wo kuai.*
 get.on airplane LE I soon
 ‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’

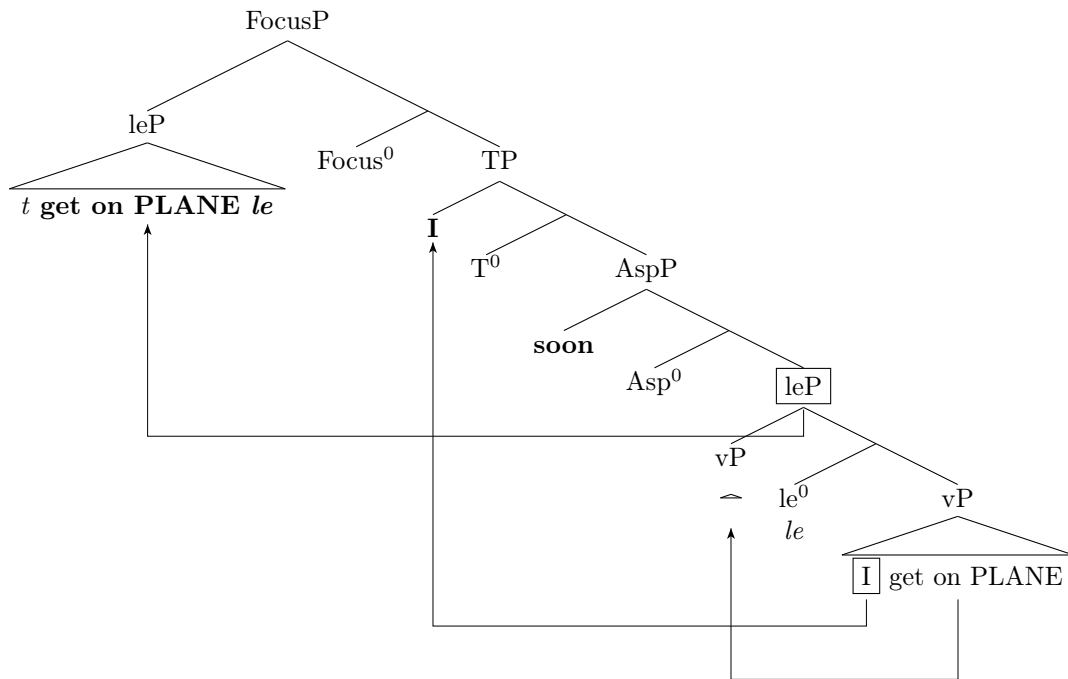


Figure 1.2: Derivation of subject and monosyllabic adverb RD without SFP in CP

This proposal is in line with Cheung (1997, 2009) who proposes a similar structure for Cantonese RD. However, different from him, I argue that Focus Fronting in RD is independent from the movement triggered by the SFPs. According to recent researches, SFPs are supposed to merge in the ForceP. In the derivation of this kind of RD, the whole portion left behind by Focus Fronting, i.e., the “right-dislocated” part, raises to a higher projection GroundP, activated together with the ForceP and situated immediately below it, to interpret that the information is given in the context and function as background to the sentential Force. Next, the FocusP containing the necessary information targeted by the SFP in ForceP raises again over GroundP and leads to the desired word order of RD:

- (5) *?Ta fa XINZHUANJI le ba, dou kuai?*
 She/he release new.album LE SFP already soon

This structure in Figure [L.3](#) seems much more complex than the proposals in the literature, but it guarantees the maximum flexibility of RD involving monosyllabic adverbs. Variations in-

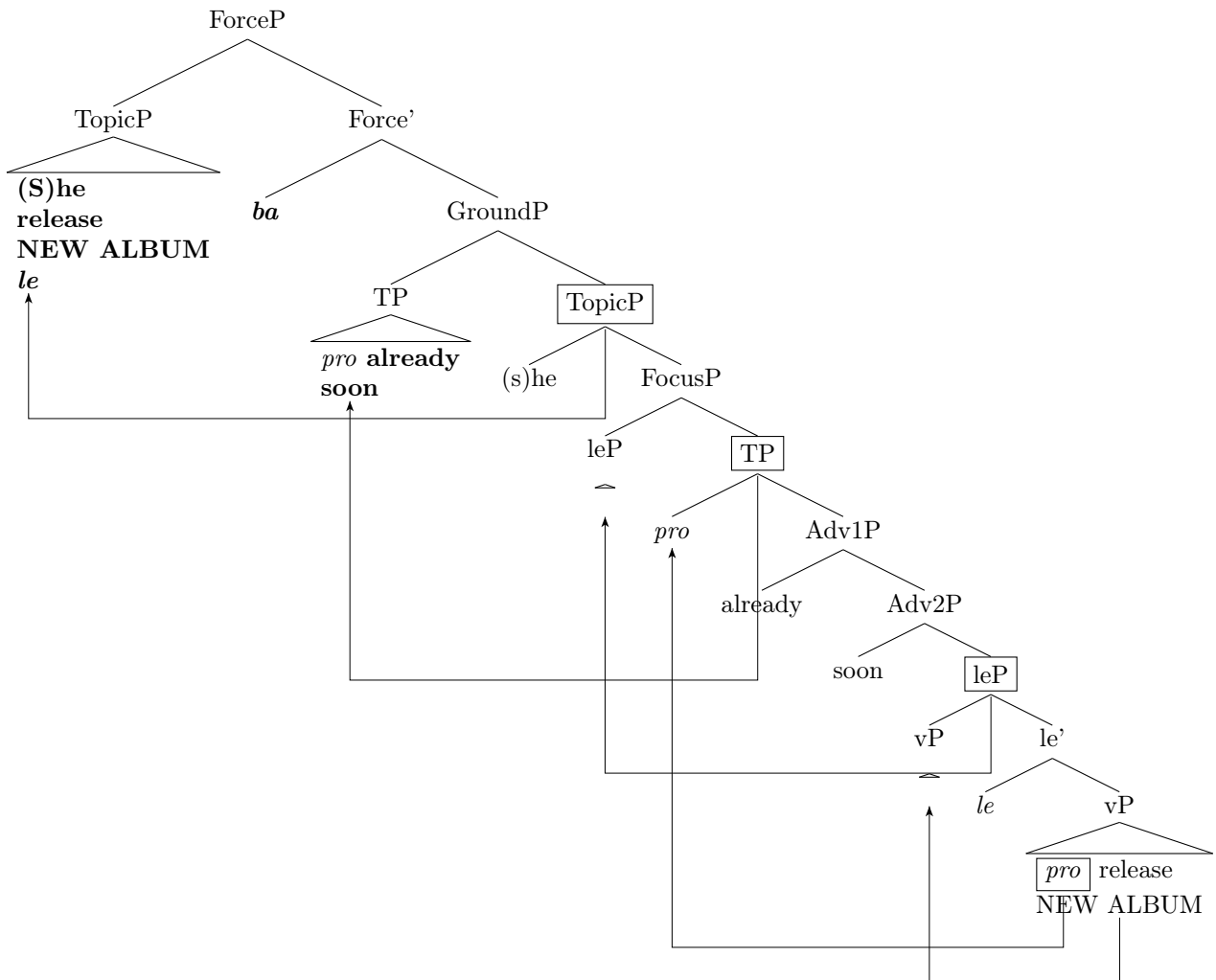


Figure 1.3: Derivation of double monosyllabic adverb RD with SFP in CP

cluding different subject positions, different numbers of monosyllabic adverbs, presence/absence of SFPs can all be accounted for by this underlying structure. I will show more technical details and extensions of this conclusion in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 focuses on the Italian CLRD, as well as the closely related phenomenon called Marginalization. There is a richer literature about this topic, but former studies seem to contradict with each other, and consequently their proposals vary a lot. I first demonstrate that Marginalization should not be considered as a syntactic phenomenon, but rather an epiphenomenon of other leftward movements; then, I review some observations about the comparison between CLLD (Clitic Left Dislocation) and CLRD in the literature, proposing that CLRD shows a Topic-*wh* duality and thus should not be analyzed as a Topic in any case. The duality can be explained only by a bi-clausal analysis of CLRD, which has been proposed by Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016) for Germanic languages. From this point of view, the “non-dislocated” part is always a complete and grammatical clause, while the “right-dislocated” part is a reduced clause, it consists of an operator-movement of an argument or an adjunct which specifies its correlate pronoun (whether silent, clitic or full) in the former clause, and the rest of the IP in this latter clause is deleted by Ellipsis. If this process is repeated, the free order of multiple RD clauses can be also correctly derived.

- (6) $[_P [_{CP1} \text{ Maria } lo_i \text{ ha comprato}] : [_{CP2} [_{OpP} \text{ il giornale}_i [_{IP} \text{ Maria ha } \cancel{\text{comprato}} t_i]]]]$
 ‘Maria bought it, the newspaper.’

This analysis can be also extended to the argument RD in Mandarin, as there is no language-

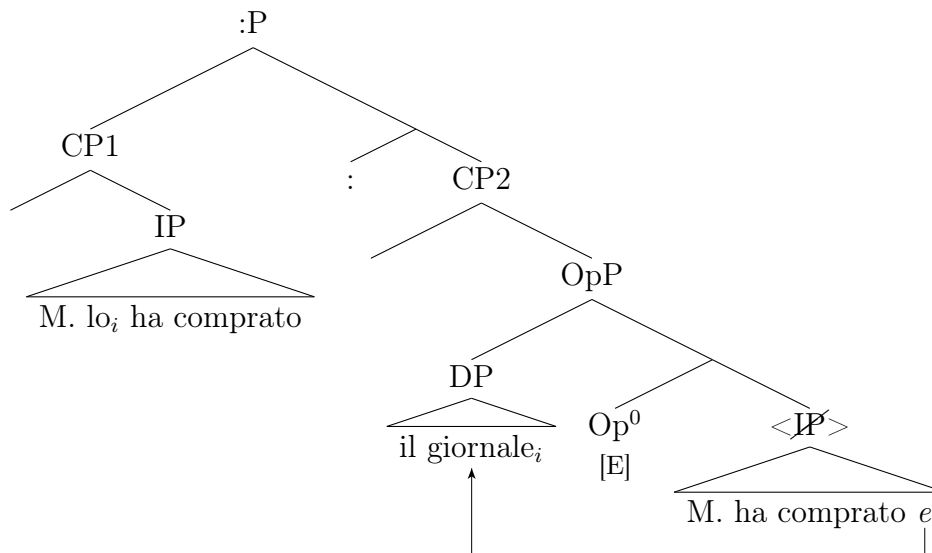


Figure 1.4: Bi-clausal Structure of Italian (CL)RD

specific requirement in the derivation. In addition, instead of the PF-deletion Ellipsis, another kind of Ellipsis, namely, the TP-proform Ellipsis, can also be used in the second clause, as long as there is an element that can license a TP-proform. Therefore, I will show that some kinds of adverb RD and adjunct RD in Mandarin and in Italian can be explained by a similar bi-clausal structure.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I will make a conclusion to these analyses and try to present some relevant topics that may be also inspired by my analysis of RD.

Chapter 2

Previous Studies of RD

2.1 Previous Studies about RD

The phenomenon of RD has been noticed by linguists of various research areas for a long time and they have contributed their precious descriptive study and syntactic analysis in different languages.

However, neither the discourse-functional descriptions nor the syntactic analyses proposed in the literature have found a single convincing version. Especially for the syntactic analysis, which is the main content of discussion in this dissertation, proposals drastically vary from each other, depending on the object language and the theoretical frameworks adopted in each study. Thus, in §2.1.2, §2.1.1 and §2.1.3 I will first list the most relevant researches for the purpose of this dissertation, grouping them by their object language (Italian, Chinese and other languages), then in §2.2 I will sort out the syntactic proposals mentioned in §2.1, adding some others mentioned in the literature but with minor emphasis on the issue of RD. Finally I will briefly comment on the advantages and disadvantages of these syntactic proposals, which will provide a basic guidance to my analysis with data from Italian and Mandarin.

2.1.1 RD in Italian

Antinucci and Cinque 1977

In this early study, the authors mainly focus on some marked word orders in Italian and discuss similarities and differences among the subgroups of these marked word orders. Importantly, it is the first time that the word “Marginalization” (the word *emarginazione* ‘marginalization’) is used to describe that some element in the clause is “extracted out of the clause” due to the leftward movement of some other elements.

They identify in particular two types of marked word orders among the “movement rules” investigated in the paper (Antinucci and Cinque 1977:137, originally in Italian): 1) in some rules, the movement of the constituent which is directly involved by the rule automatically affects the word order of the rest of the constituents; 2) in other rules, this effect on the word order is not obligatory, the constituent directly involved by the rule can move leaving all the other constituents in their own position. According to the authors, Group 1 includes Postposition of the Subject, Interrogative Movement and Exclamative Movement, while Group 2 contains LD, RD and Movement of Relative Clause.

Take Interrogative Movement for example (adapted from Antinucci and Cinque 1977:138):

- (1) a. *Carlo ha scritto la lettera a Maria.*
Carlo have.3SG written the letter to Maria
‘Carlo wrote a letter to Maria’

- b. **A chi Carlo ha scritto la lettera?*
to who Carlo have.3SG written the letter
- c. *A chi ha scritto, la lettera, Carlo?*
to who have.3SG written the letter Carlo
- d. *A chi ha scritto, Carlo, la lettera?*
to who have.3SG written Carlo the letter
'To whom did Carlo write the letter?'

As interpreted by the authors, in Italian when a movement of Group 1 occurs, the moved item (the indirect object in (1)) also automatically triggers the extraction of other constituents in the basic clause (see the ungrammaticality of (1-b)) and these constituents are said to be “marginalized” and attached outside the clause (see (1-c) and (1-d) with an indifferent order of the two marginalized constituents).

This interpretation of marginalization in their sense is supported by three pieces of evidence mentioned in this article: 1) the post-verbal constituents do not belong to the same intonation unit of the clause; 2) these constituents can appear in any order; 3) in the interrogative clauses, it is possible that a constituent of a higher clause is adjacent and precedes what seems to be a constituent of a lower clause (see (2), in which the subject of the matrix clause “Giorgio” is adjacent and precedes a complement of the relative clause “at the market” in the right “margin” of the whole clause).

- (2) *Che cosa ha detto che comprerò, Giorgio, al mercato?*
what thing have.3SG said that will.buy Giorgio at.the market
'What did Giorgio say that I would buy at the market?'
(Antinucci and Cinque 1977:142)

In Group 2, the term “Right Dislocation” in their study is restricted to the classic cases where the rightward moved element appears together with a resumptive clitic in the clause, see (3) for instance, and the clause does not involve other movements such as Interrogative (like in (2)) or Exclamative Movement that could change the unmarked SVO word order.

- (3) *Lo ho dato a Giorgio, un pugno.*
it have.1SG given to Giorgio a punch
'I gave it to Giorgio, a punch.'

This paper provides a first observation about the differences between movements “by rule” and movements “by consequence” in the same clause, insightfully catches the essential difference between Marginalization and CLRD in recent terms. It also raises some questions for the later generative studies: do these movement rules have the same structural properties? What is the difference between those with the resumptive clitics and those without them? Is Marginalization language-specific or universal?

Benincà 1988

Benincà (1988) keeps the use of the term “marginalization” (*emarginazione*) and “right dislocation” (*dislocazione a destra*) in Italian as it is defined in Antinucci and Cinque (1977), referring respectively to the phenomenon that some constituents systematically appear to the right because of certain constructions like Interrogatives or Topicalization, and the phenomenon that some elements, as given Topics in the discourse, are recalled at the end of the clause, together with an emphasis on the verb or another constituent (Benincà 1988:160).

As for RD, the author considers the resumptive clitic as **optional**, even though in some cases (e.g., right-dislocated object with an accented post-verbal subject) it is much preferred

to be used, and there is no clear diagnostic element to classify different types of RD (Benincà 1988:161).

- (4) a. *Lo porto domani, il dolce*
it bring.1SG tomorrow the dessert
b. *Porto domani, il dolce*
bring.1SG tomorrow the dessert
'I will bring it tomorrow, the dessert.'

She claims that between the dislocated element and the verb there can be a contrastive constituent that forms a single tone group with the verb. In this sense, RD is symmetric to the LD.

Meanwhile, importantly, the author also notices that the RD-LD symmetry is not absolute. For instance, a right-dislocated Topic cannot be a List Interpretation or a Contrastive Topic (in terms of Benincà and Poletto 2004, for simplicity). See the following example of List Interpretation, in which (5-a) is allowed with Left Dislocation while the RD version (5-b) is ungrammatical:

- (5) a. *Il dolce, lo porto io; il vino, lo porti tu.*
the dessert it bring.1SG I the wine it bring.2SG
'I bring the dessert while you bring the wine.'
b. **Lo porto io, il dolce; lo porti tu, il vino.*
it bring.1SG I the dessert it bring.2SG you the wine

Cecchetto 1999

Cecchetto (1999) proposes that in a CLRD construction, **the right-dislocated XP sits in a VP-peripheral Topic position**. He starts with the critique of the so-called "mirror hypothesis", according to which CLRD is just a *pendant* on the right of CLLD, with all the other aspects equal to CLLD. To refute this hypothesis, he provides a comparison between the syntactic properties of CLLD and CLRD in Romance languages by individuating 4 discrepancies:

- (6) Antireconstruction effects:
a. *L'annuncio che [un politico]_i dà alla stampa, pro_i lo smentisce*
the.announcement that a politician gives to.the press (he) it denies
sempre dopo poche ore.
always after few hours
'A few hours after he has given it to the press, a politician always denies his own statement.'
b. **pro_i Lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che [un*
(he) it denies always after few hours the.announcement that a
politico]_i dà alla stampa.
politician gives to.the press
(Cecchetto 1999:43-44, (7)-(8))

In the CLLD case (6-a), the R-expression *un politico* in the relative clause of the left-dislocated argument *l'annuncio* can co-refer to the null subject of the main clause; instead, the CLRD clause (6-b) with the same condition as (6-a) is ungrammatical if the null subject co-refers to the subject of the relative clause of the right-dislocated argument. The reconstruction effect is said to be prohibited in (6-a) due to the late-insertion of the R-expression as an adjunct (Cecchetto 1999:43), and there is no Principle C Violation in the CLLD clause, while the ungrammatical CLRD case in (6-b) suggests that the right dislocated XP must be hosted in a position lower

than the highest node in the IP domain, so that the Principle C Violation cannot be avoided (Cecchetto 1999:44).

(7) ECP effects (example in French):

- a. **Un homme qui, à Jean, pourrait lui parler comme ça (viendra demain)*
A man who to Jean can to.him speak this way will.come tomorrow
- b. ?*Un homme qui pourrait lui parler comme ça, à Jean, (viendra demain)*
A man who can to.him speak this way to.Jean will come tomorrow
'A man who could talk to Jean this way will come tomorrow'
(Cecchetto 1999:45)

The author explains that (7-a) as an instance of CLLD shows an ECP effect (in terms of Rizzi 1990), because of the fact that the extracted *wh*-word *qui* has crossed the left-dislocated *à Jean* in the relative clause. As a contrast, the CLRD counterpart (7-b) does not trigger the Relativized Minimality problem, though the grammatical judgement is slightly marginal. This observation again indicates that the syntactic position of the right-dislocated phrase is not in the CP area, but in a more embedded place (Cecchetto 1999:45).

(8) Right Roof Constraint:

- a. *Mi sembra strano che le presti la macchina.*
to-me seems weird that to.her (he).lends the car
- b. *La macchina, mi sembra strano che gliela presti.*
the car to-me seems weird that to-her.it lends
'That he lends his car to her sounds weird to me'
- c. **Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, la macchina.*
that to-her.it lends to-me seems weird the car
(Cecchetto 1999:46, (15), (16), (18))

The comparison between (8-b) and (8-c), which are both variations of (8-a) with the dislocated direct object *la macchina*, suggests that CLLD allows a long-distance dislocation, whereas a right-dislocated constituent can only move to the immediate periphery of the clause in which it originates. Ross's (1967) Right Roof Constraint is only observed in CLRD but not CLLD. The impossibility to have a clause like (8-c) is another evidence to support that structurally CLRD should be different from CLLD, so that the discrepancy about the Right Roof Constraint can be interpreted without postulating an *ad hoc* upward-boundedness property of CLRD.

(9) AUX-TO-COMP constructions:

- a. **Avendolo, il film, Gianni visto (non ci furono problemi).*
having-it the movie Gianni seen NEG there were problems
- b. *Avendolo Gianni visto, il film (non ci furono problemi).*
having-it Gianni seen the movie NEG there were problems
'Gianni having watched the movie, no problem arose'

The last discrepancy is about the gerundival adverbial clause. The author reports that according to Rizzi's (1982:83-87) analysis, (9-a) involves a raising of the gerundival auxiliary *avendolo* from AUX head to COMP head, and the leftward topicalized object *il film* intervenes between the auxiliary and the nominative Gianni and blocks the government configuration between the auxiliary in COMP and the subject in IP. On the contrary, the CLRD counterpart (9-b) is grammatical, this again indicates that the RD position must be distinct to and lower than the

LD one.

After excluding the “mirror hypothesis”, Cecchetto (1999) discusses another very intuitive and attractive syntactic interpretation of CLRD proposed by Kayne (1995), namely, the double Topicalization analysis (see Figure 2.1), different from his proposal in 1994, which will be mentioned later in §2.2.4

- (10) *L’ho visto, Gianni.*
 it-I.have seen Gianni

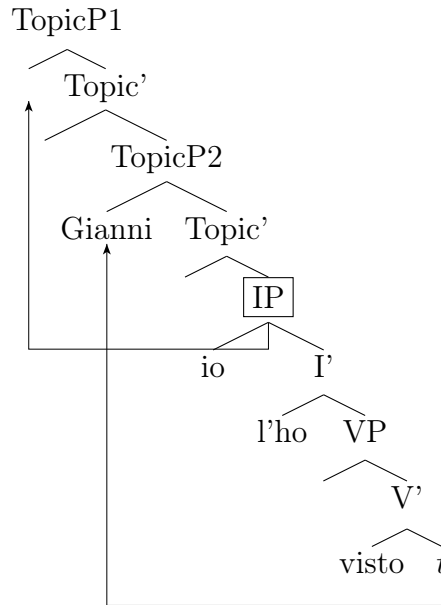


Figure 2.1: Kayne 1995

Cecchetto (1999) analyzes that this configuration of double Topicalization can correctly predict the discrepancies between CLLD and CLRD concerning ECP effects and AUX-TO-COMP, but cannot explain why does CLRD shows the antireconstruction effect ((11)-(12)) and the Right Roof Constraint ((13)|(14)):

- (11) **Credo che un critico d’arte non lo restituirebbe mai, al miliardario che gli presta [un quadro di valore]_i.*
 think.1SG that a critic of-art NEG it give.back never to-the millionaire that to.him lend.3SG a picture of value
 intended: ‘An art critic never wants to give back a precious picture to a millionaire who lends it to him.’
- (12) [_{TopicP} [_{IP} credo che un critico d’arte non **lo** restituirebbe mai t_i]_j Topic⁰ [_{TopicP} [_{PP} al miliardario che gli presta **un quadro di valore**]_i Topic⁰ t_j]]

(12) is the supposed underlying structure of (11) with the double Topicalization analysis. Since the coreferential clitic is deeply embedded in the topicalized IP, it does not hold any c-command relation to the DP “a precious picture” and thus this structure cannot predict the Principle C violation that causes the ungrammaticality of this clause.

As for the Right Roof Constraint, Cecchetto (1999) points out that the ungrammatical clause (13) can instead be derived by the double Topicalization hypothesis following the steps in (14), which is not an expected result:

- (13) **Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, la macchina.*
 that to-her.it lends to-me seems weird the car
 =(8)

- (14) a. Original clause:
Mi sembra strano che le presti la macchina.
 b. Topicalization of “the car”:
La macchina, mi sembra strano che gliela presti.
 c. Topicalization of the remnant IP of the clause:
Mi sembra strano che gliela presti, la macchina.
 d. Topicalization of the embedded CP:
Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, la macchina.

But here I shall point out that this derivation is problematic even if we hypothesize that RD is a double Topicalization construction. Leaving aside the fact that the “embedded clause” - “that you lend her it” - is actually the subject of the matrix clause, we can infer that the last grammatical step (14-c) has the following structure:

- (15) $[_{TopicP} [_{IP} mi\ sembra\ strano\ [_{CP} che\ gliela_i\ presti\ t_i]]_j\ Topic^0\ [_{TopicP} [_{DP} la\ macchina]_i]$
 $] Topic^0\ t_j]$

Notice that the highest Topic “*mi sembra strano che gliela presti*” (‘to me it seems strange that you lend her it’) is an IP instead of a CP, which means that it lacks the Left Periphery to hold the topicalized subject clause “*che gliela presti*” (‘that you lend her it’) inside it, and to form the last step of Topicalization (14-d) from (15) we are forced to extract the subject CP from the IP which is already in the specifier of a TopicP. But extracting a Topic from another topicalized phrase would certainly create a difficult interpretation, the ungrammaticality of (14-d) can be derived correctly. Therefore, I will not consider this point as a counterargument to the double Topicalization analysis.

In addition to the impossibility of explaining the Antireconstruction effects and the Right Roof Constraint, Cecchetto (1999) also claims that the Proper Binding Condition, which states that traces must be c-commanded, is perfectly operative in Romance dislocation constructions, but the double Topicalization analysis would lead to a violation to it: see Figure 2.1 above, for example, in the clause “*io l’ho visto t, Gianni*” (‘I saw him, Gianni’), the trace of “Gianni” is not c-commanded by “Gianni”.

Instead, Cecchetto (1999) proposes an alternative for the structure of CLRD: 1). the premise is that the dislocated constituent is merged in the argument position as a Big DP, composed by a clitic and a double; 2). the Big DP moves to AgroP by Spell Out; 3). the double moves to a VP-peripheral Topic position, as opposed to a IP-peripheral Topic position to which a left-dislocated constituent moves. The VP-peripheral Focus position, immediately dominate the VP-peripheral Topic position, hosts the post-verbal subject “Maria”.

- (16) *Lo odia Maria, Gianni.*
 him hate.3SG Maria Gianni
 ‘Maria hates him, Gianni.’

- (17) $[_{IP} pro\ lo\ odia\ [_{FocusP} Maria\ Focus^0\ [_{TopicP} Gianni\ Topic^0\ [_{AgroP} [_{BigDP} t_{Gianni}\ t_{lo}]\ Agr^0]$
 $]_{VP} t_{Maria} \dots t_{BigDP}]$

He argues that this postulation can explain the formerly mentioned 4 discrepancies and it does not create a Proper Binding issue.

This analysis is limited to simple CLRD of nominal constituents in Italian. The derivation of the other elements of the clause does not differ from a plain indicative clause, without any

IP movement or a movement of a massive portion of a constituent like the remnant movement.

This proposal is in line with Belletti (1999, 2004), which I will quickly mention in §2.2.2. They all make use of the Low Periphery to interpret the RD (or Marginalization according to Belletti 1999) construction.

Cardinaletti 2002

This paper proposes that in Italian when some constituents appear at the right periphery of the clause, the anticipatory pronoun (the resumptive clitic) is not optional, it is a crucial indication of two different syntactic structures: RD, with obligatory anticipatory pronoun, and Marginalization, which is only an instance of *in situ* destressed constituent.

- (18) a. *L'ho già comprato, il giornale*
 it-have.1SG already bought the newspaper
 b. *Ho già comprato, il giornale*
 have.1SG already bought the newspaper

The syntactic analyses of the two instances, i.e., RD (18-a) and Marginalization (18-b), are represented respectively in (19-a) and (19-b):

- (19) a. [XP [IP *pro* l'ho già comprato] X⁰ [DP il giornale]]
 (RD)
 b. [IP *pro* ho [FP già [AspP comprato_i [VP t_i il giornale]]]]
 (Marginalization)

The author's main claim about the representation of the two constructions in (19) is: RD happens IP-externally, while Marginalization is IP-internal. As for the structure of RD in (19-a), Cardinaletti (2002) adopts the proposal of Kayne (1994) regarding the English RD, and argues that the right-dislocated phrase is attached to the clause, while Marginalization in (19-b) is nothing else but an unmarked clause without any particular operations.

In the analysis, she first shows that RD and Marginalization in Italian differ in the following aspects:

1. A right-dislocated [+human] accusative object can be preceded by the Case-marking preposition *a*, but it is impossible in Marginalization;

- (20) a. *L'abbiamo invitato noi, a Gianni.*
 him-have.1PL invited we to Gianni
 'We invited him, Gianni.'
 (RD)
 b. *Abbiamo invitato noi, (*a) Gianni.*
 have.1PL invited we to Gianni
 (Marginalization)

2. RD allows a free order of the right-dislocated arguments, while in Marginalization when the order violates the unmarked order of arguments in a non-dislocation context, it gives rise to a much more marked interpretation;

- (21) RD:
 a. *Ce l'ha nascosto il bambino, il libro, sotto il letto.*
 there it-have.3SG hidden the child the book under the bed

- b. *Ce l'ha nascosto il bambino, sotto il letto, il libro.*
 there it-have.3SG hidden the child under the bed the book
 'The child hid the book under the bed.'

(22) Marginalization:

- a. *Ha nascosto il bambino, il libro, sotto il letto.*
 have.3SG hidden the child the book under the bed
 b. ??*Ha nascosto il bambino, sotto il letto, il libro.*
 have.3SG hidden the child under the bed the book
 'The child hid the book under the bed.'

(Cardinaletti 2002:34)

3. An object can co-occur with a complement clauses in RD but not in Marginalization (first discussed in Calabrese 1982 with the verb *convincere* 'convince');

- (23) a. *Che cosa l'hai convinto [a fare], Mario?*
 what thing it-have.2SG convinced to do Mario?
 (RD)
 b. **Che cosa hai convinto [a fare], Mario?*
 what thing it-have.2SG convinced to do Mario?
 (Marginalization)

(Cardinaletti 2002:35)

4. When there is a left-dislocated past participle verb, only RD is admissible, the Marginalization counterpart is ungrammatical (Benincà 1988:205);

- (24) a. ***Finita***, non l'ha, la minestra.
 finished.F NEG it-have.3SG the soup.F
 'He/she didn't finished it, the soup.'
 (RD)
 b. ****Finito/finita***, non ha la minestra.
 finished.M/finished.F NEG have.3SG the soup
 (Marginalization)

5. Extraction (the quantitative clitic pronoun *ne* and *wh*-movement) from RD is prohibited but it is possible in Marginalization;

- (25) a. ****Ne lo/lo ne*** ha comprato Gianni, uno.
 of.them it/it of.them have.3SG bought Gianni one
 (RD)
 b. ***Ne*** ha comprato Gianni, uno.
 of.them have.3SG bought Gianni one
 'Gianni bought one of them.'
 (Marginalization)

6. Quantified objects (e.g., "nobody" and "every student") can only be marginalized but not right-dislocated;

- (26) a. **Non l'ha invitato Gianni, nessuno.*
 NEG him-have.3SG invited Gianni anybody
 (RD)

- b. *No, non ha invitato Gianni, nessuno.*
 no NEG have.3SG invited Gianni anybody
 ‘No, Gianni didn’t invite anyone.’
 (Marginalization)

7. The postverbal subject of the main clause c-commands the subject of the marginalized embedded clause (Calabrese 1992:100; 102, fn.14), but not in RD;

- (27) a. **Non l’ha detto nessuno_i, che pro_i avrebbe fatto queste cose.*
 NEG it-have.3SG said nobody that pro would-have.3SG done these things
 (RD)
- b. *Non ha detto nessuno_i, che pro_i avrebbe fatto queste cose.*
 NEG have.3SG said nobody that pro would-have.3SG done these things
 ‘Nobody said to have done these things.’
 (Marginalization)

8. The element that precedes a marginalized constituent is necessarily an instance of Contrastive Focus, thus when the sentence is uttered as an answer to a *wh*-question, i.e., as a non-Contrastive Focus, the use of Marginalization becomes very marginal; in the meantime, an instance of RD is not necessarily contrastive in the former part of the clause and it can be an answer to a *wh*-question.

- (28) **Who** will drive the car?
 a. *La porterà Mara, la macchina*
 it will-drive.3SG Mara the car
 ‘Mara will drive the car’
 (RD)
- b. **Porterà Mara, la macchina*
 will-drive.3SG Mara the car
 (Marginalization)

- (29) *No, non mi piace come guidi: porterà Mara, la macchina.*
 no NEG to.me like.3SG how drive.2SG will-drive.3SG Mara the car
 ‘No, I don’t like how you drive, Mara will drive the car.’
 (Marginalization)

According to the author, these contrasts can be explained by assuming that RD involves a clause-external part, as opposed to Marginalization which is a clause-internal phenomenon.

The syntactic representations in (19-b) and in (19-a) have left some imprecision for a further discussion. The interpretation of Marginalization in (19-b) cannot account for the distinction between an unmarked clause and a Marginalization case; and the RD analysis in (19-a) has no definition to the X^0 , which can be either a Topic head with a double-Topicalization structure, or some other kind of head whose nature has still to be established. I will return to her analysis in Chapter 5.

Cinque 2006

This monograph is not dedicated to the dislocation phenomena, but to the so-called “restructuring verbs”. However, the author mentions that Focus Movement and Topicalization of the complement of a restructuring verb are possible with or without clitic-climbing:

- (30) *PORTARE A CASA, lo voleva!*
take to home it wanted.3SG
‘He wanted to TAKE IT HOME!’
(Cinque 2006:14, (8b))

Though the author does not put in doubt the leftward movement of the complement vP, the Mandarin translation of the cases with Focus Movement like (30) can be well categorized into RD constructions, as indicated by the SFP in the left string, although it is not clear whether Mandarin has left-peripheral Focalization.

- (31) *DAI-HUI JIA (a), ta xiang!*
take-back home SFP she/he want
‘She/he wanted to TAKE IT HOME?!’

For this parallelism, here I also take restructuring verbs into consideration, as a special type of RD. I will discuss the possibility of Focalization and the parallelism between Italian and Mandarin version of this clause in Chapter 4.

Samek-Lodovici 2015

The core proposal of this monograph is that in Italian **the Contrastive/Corrective Focus always occurs *in situ***. The fact that Italian Contrastive Focus can appear in clause-initial, clause-middle or clause-final positions is not a result of Focus Fronting, but due to the following operations in his terms: i) Marginalization, ii) Left-shift, iii) Right Dislocation and iv) Focus evacuation.

Marginalization refers to discourse-given constituents merged lower than the focused constituent that are de-stressed *in situ*, thus to the right of the focused constituent; Left-shift always regards discourse-given constituents merged lower than the focused constituent, but when they are optionally moved above the focused constituent the option is called “Left-shift”; Right Dislocation, in his definition, indicates the operation that any discourse-given constituent, wherever it is merged, can be moved outside TP, followed by a remnant movement that carry the rest of the clause, containing the focused constituent, to the left of the discourse-given constituents.

Crucially, the author agrees with the difference between Marginalization and Right Dislocation discussed by Cardinaletti (2001, 2002), but he also proposes that in some cases Right Dislocation of objects can be not clitic-doubled. However, in Chapter 5 I will argue an alternative analysis to this optionality of clitic-doubling and exclude it from my discussion of RD.

To distinguish Marginalization from cases of Right Dislocation without the doubled clitics, the author proposes that negative phrases like *nessuno* ‘nobody/anybody’ and negative polarity items (NPIs) like *alcunché* ‘anything’ are allowed only for marginalization but resist Right Dislocation, thus when talking about Marginalization he always uses these items as de-stressed discourse-given elements. However, this method is not free from problems, I will illustrate this point in Chapter 5.

Different from Marginalization, Samek-Lodovici (2015) claims that Right Dislocation consists of a two-step leftward movement.

Supposing that Contrastive/Corrective Focus always occurs *in situ*, he proposes that the RD clause (32) is derived from the processes shown in Figure 2.2. “RP” stands for “Right Dislocation Phrase”, which is a projection above TP or CP; XP is a higher projection which hosts the remnant movement. This analysis of RD involves two projections which are specifically designed for the RD construction.

- (32) *Abbiamo parlato NOI_F, a Marco.*
 Have spoken we, to Mark
 ‘WE spoke to Mark.’

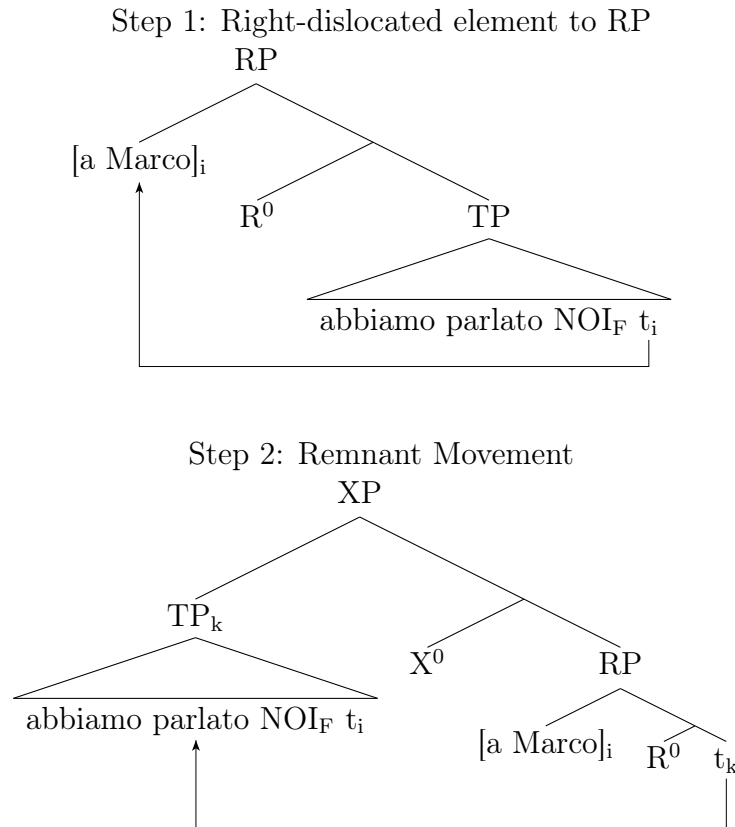


Figure 2.2: Samek-Lodovici 2015:21

As he assumes that the clitic-doubling is not obligatory in RD, a clitic-doubling case differs from a case without it only in the presence of the clitic that merges together with the DP and then moves to the AspP.

The author offers many more aspects to consider the phenomenon of RD and some related phenomena compared to the previous studies about Italian in this field. However, one may doubt the rationale of abandoning the idea that there is a FocusP in the Left Periphery in Italian, but instead assuming that a dedicated left-peripheral Right-dislocation Phrase and an anonymous functional projection are present in the structure. In Chapter 5, I will talk about some examples in this monograph in detail, and show that there are better alternative analyses other than the proposal made by the author.

2.1.2 RD in Chinese languages

Chao 1968

In this pioneer work of Chinese grammar, Chao (1968:154-155) mentions a form called “Afterthought”, which seems to include the RD construction. The author suggests that Af-

terthought means to an unplanned part to the completed sentence with a faster tempo, but what goes before an Afterthought can stand as a complete sentence without it.

- (33) *Ni jianzhi mei guiju, yue-lai-yue.*
you almost NEG manner more-and-more
'You are simply without manners, more and more.'
(Chao 1968:155, slightly modified)

In (33), the portion to the left of the comma is a complete sentence, while the additional Afterthought part, the adverbial "more and more" could not stand alone without the former part.

Other than this example, he also includes right-hand adverbial clauses of cause/reason ("I am not going to the show today, for the weather is too hot.") and concession ("I really have no way of helping him, although he is an old friend.") under the label of "Afterthought forms", which in Mandarin are normally at the left side of the clause. But this case should be distinguished from a planned sentence with the reason part is a predicate, for instance "that I am not going to the show is because the weather is hot."

Lu Jianming 1980

This paper is famous for its systematic description of this kind of construction in Mandarin, which is called the "inversion" phenomenon (*yi wei ju*, lit. 'change position clause') by the author. In terms of the author, the "preposed part" refers to the left part of the clause, while the "postposed" part is the RD portion. He summarizes that this construction presents the following four characteristics, which also function as the criteria to judge whether a clause is a real "inverted clause" or not:

1. The accent of the clause must fall in the preposed part, while **the postposed part can never be emphasized**;
2. The core semantics is always in the preposed part, while the postposed part can never be emphasized;
3. An inverted clause can always be reconstructed to the normal order without changing the meaning of the clause;
4. Sentence-final modal particles (i.e., "SFPs" in recent linguistic studies) can **never appear after the postposed part**.

These properties are in line with the Italian RD descriptions seen before, which suggests that there should be some syntactic connections between the two languages regarding this phenomenon.

The author also lists all the possible types of inverted clause in Mandarin. From the list we can easily tell that in Mandarin the usage of inverted clause, i.e., the RD construction, is far richer than it is in Italian or other languages that are well studied in this respect. For the purpose of this dissertation, here I report the macro-categorization of the author with one or two example(s) for each category in order to facilitate the comprehension:

1. Subject-predicate inversion

- (34) *Suan bu suan, zhe li?*
sour NEG sour this pear
'Is it sour, this pear?'

2. Inversion that has to do with *de*

- (35) *Shi wang-daifu ma, gang jinmen de?*
be Wang-doctor SFP just enter.door DE
'Is she/he doctor Wang, who just entered?'

3. Adverbial-predicate inversion

- (36) *Tamen zou le, dou.*
they go LE already
'They have already gone.'
- (37) *Daojia le ba, ta dagai.*
arrive.home LE SFP she/he probably
'Probably she/he has arrived home.'

4. Predicate-object inversion

- (38) *Pijiu ba, he dianr.*
beer SFP drink a.little.bit
'I would like to drink some beer.'
- (39) *Wo ziji qu yitang, zhunbei.*
I myself go one-round prepare
'I prepare to go there in person.'

5. Double-object construction inversion

- (40) *Yizhi gangbi, ta song wo.*
one-CL fountain.pen she/he give 1SG
'She/he gave me a fountain pen.'

6. Serial-verb/complex predicate construction inversion

- (41) *Liming jin cheng le, qi-zhe che.*
Liming enter city LE ride-PROG bike
'Liming went into the town, riding a bike.'

7. Causative pivotal construction inversion

- (42) *Dou huiqu ba, ni qing tamen.*
all go.back SFP you ask they
'Ask all of them to leave.'

8. Pivotal + serial-verb construction inversion

- (43) *Bang wo da ge xingli, wo qing ni.*
help I pack CL baggage I ask you
'I ask you to help me packing the baggage.'

9. Serial-verb + pivotal construction inversion

- (44) *Jiao xiaoli mai zhang chuanpiao, ni qu.*
 ask Xiaoli buy CL ferry.ticket you go
 ‘Go and ask Xiaoli to buy a ferry ticket.’

10. Predicate-complement construction inversion

- (45) *Wo daor dou zou-bu-dong le, lei de.*
 1SG road even walk-NEG-move LE tired DE
 ‘I’m so tired that I can’t even walk further.’

For the point [6](#) and [7](#), the author mentions that if the second verb of the verb chain is a bare one, i.e., a monosyllabic verb without any object, complement, aspectual marker or SFP, the inversion cannot be licit. Although the author has not explained why this should happen, generally in Mandarin a bare verb can stand alone as the predicate of a clause only if it bares the Verum Focus (in terms of Krifka 2008), which has to do with the truth value of an event, but normally it does not convey any other types of Focus, like the Corrective Focus, the New Information Focus or the Mirative Focus.

However, if we force a New Information Focus on a bare second verb of a verb chain, the RD clause can be also grammatical:

- (46) - (**What** did he tell us to do?)
 - *ZOU, ta rang women.*
 leave she/he let us
 ‘She/he told us to LEAVE.’

In Chapter 4, I will argue that, for this type of RD, what is important is that the “non-dislocated” part must bare a New Information Focus or a Mirative Focus, and for this reason a bare verb can be difficult to appear in the “non-dislocated” part, but it is not absolutely so.

The author’s summary is highly valuable for the fact that most of these inversion types are either not considered as RD constructions, such as [\(30\)](#) mentioned before, or not allowed at all in other languages. For example in Italian:

- (47) **Di tornare a casa, chiedigli.*
 of go.back to home ask.2SG-to.them
 intended: ‘Ask them to go home!’
 (compare to [\(42\)](#))

The comparison will be illustrated more in detail in the remainder of this dissertation. As for the question of whether there is a pause between the two strings, Lu Jianming claims that **actually the pause does not exist**, rather, the tempo is faster in the right string, consistent with the description of Chao (1968), though graphically he uses the comma to separate them in every case.

Cheung 1997, 2009

Cheung (1997) gives a thorough syntactic description of the RD issue in Cantonese and revises some former proposals (e.g., Siu 1992). He describes the basic structure of RD in Cantonese as:

- (48) α (SP) β

In his terms, α stands for the “ α -string”, which is the left part, or the “non-dislocated” part, while β or the “ β -string” is the right-dislocated part. “SP” is the abbreviation of “sentence

particle”, i.e., sentence-final particles (SFPs).

According to the author, RD in Cantonese can be divided in three macro types:

1. XP in Pre-clausal Position

The first type refers to case with the subject in the β -string, therefore XP in the α -string is said to be pre-clausal. The α -string can virtually be the predicate of any sentence type, like the second verb of a serial-verb construction, as also noticed in Lu Jianming (1980) for Mandarin.

- (49) a. ***Ngo hei mong** keoi wui lei lo1.*
 I hope s/he will come SP
 (unmarked order)
- b. *keoi wui lei lo1 **ngo hei mong.***
 s/he will come SP I hope
 ‘I hope that s/he will come.’
 (RD with a complement clause in the α -string, Cheung 1997:26)

2. Subj. + Pred_{rear} (+SP) + Pred_{front}

The second type gathers cases in which the subject remains in the α -string but a constituent preceding the predicate is dislocated to the right-most position after the sentence particle.

- (50) a. *Aaming **ji ging** zou jyun gung fo laa3.*
 Aaming already do finish homework SP
 (unmarked word order)
- b. *Aaming zou jyun gung fo laa3 **ji ging.***
 Aaming do finish homework SP already
 ‘Aaming has already finished doing the homework.’
 (adverb RD, Cheung 1997:30)

3. Sentence Fragment

The third type involves incomplete sentences with RD. Regardless the elliptical condition of the sentence, RD is still allowed for the constituents without Focus, such as prepositions, passive voice marker *bei*, etc.

- (51) A: *nei tung bin go maai ni bun syu aa3?*
 you for who buy this CL book SP
 ‘For whom did you buy this book?’
- B: ***Tung** Aafan zi maa3.*
 for Aafan SP
 (unmarked word order)
- B’: *Aafan zi maa3 **tung.***
 Aafan SP for
 ‘I bought this book for Aafan.’
 (RD of the preposition in a fragment answer, Cheung 1997:37)

The first two types have their correspondent version in Mandarin, as I will mention later. The third one, instead, is quite rare in Mandarin and thus I will not discuss it.

As for the sentence particles, he proposes that the use of SP in RD is identical to the normal use without dislocations, but importantly dual SPs is prohibited in Cantonese RD. Cases with

two elements as SP actually only involve a single syntactic unit. I hold a similar idea for Mandarin RD and I will illustrate its syntactic reason in Chapter 4.

He conducts various syntactic tests from which he concludes that the most suitable analysis consists of leftwards movements with an adjunction mechanism. The left part in the final surface word order (which he calls the α -string) simply moves from its merge position to an adjunct of the same projection where the right part (the β -string) merges. The following structures represents his proposals respectively to the above-mentioned three RD types:

- (52) a. $[IP [XP \alpha(+SP)]_i [IP \beta t_i]]$
 b. $[IP \delta [VP [VP \gamma (+SP)]_i [VP \beta t_i]]] (\delta+\gamma=\alpha\text{-string})$
 c. $[XP [YP \alpha (+SP)]_i [XP \beta t_i]]$

Here we notice that he supposes that a SFP is a certain kind of adjunct that directly attaches the last element it follows, which goes against the current analyses of SFPs in the literature, as I will discuss in Chapter 4.

The same author in Cheung (2009), instead, holds that SFPs are in the C-domain, in line with the recent studies about SFPs. In this paper, he claims that the leftward movement of the right-dislocated string¹ is a Focus movement to the FocusP headed by a SFP in the Left Periphery.

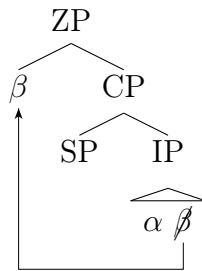


Figure 2.3: Cheung 2009:205

Since most of the Cantonese RD cases listed in Cheung (1997, 2009) have their Mandarin counterparts (except some third type sentences), his analysis is inspiring for my study in this dissertation.

However, Wei and Li (2018) challenge the analysis of Cheung (2009) arguing that at least three empirical problems can be found:

First, the structure in Figure 2.3 forces that there must be at least one SFP in the RD construction, even if there is not an overt one, a silent one should present. However, Wei and Li (2018) argue that the presence/absence of SFP makes a difference in the interpretation of the RD clause, thus the silent SFP proposal is not reliable.

Second, Cheung (2009) mainly tests the RD construction in response to *wh*-questions, which means that he considers RD only as the New Information Focus and excludes other uses of RD. On the contrary, Wei and Li (2018) point out that RD occurs more frequently in interrogative, imperative, negation and exclamative sentences, and can be even uttered in an out-of-blue context. Therefore, the trigger of RD should include more than the New Information Focus.

Third, according to the data in Mandarin of Wei and Li (2018), when RD functions as an answer to a *wh*-question, it is rather pragmatically marked and even redundant to some speakers.

¹Since in Cheung (2009) the author has exchanged the names of α -string and β -string, here I will call them “right-dislocated string” and “left string” to avoid ambiguity.

Therefore, instead of the Focus movement, they claim that the landing site of the dislocated part is the Discourse Projection proposed in Haegeman (2014), which interprets more than the alternativeness, and the exhaustiveness and includes more types of pragmatic “Focus”. In addition, although the SFP also plays an important role, but it should be independent from the landing site of the leftward moved element in DiscourseP.

(53) [*DiscourseP* O_i Discourse [*ForceP* SFP [*IP* S [*VP* V [O_i]]]]

However, the structure in (53) only fits when the unmarked sentence is perfectly cut into two parts and the lower part comes to the left of the higher part. Instead, a clause like (50-b), where the sentential subject - apparently higher than all other elements in the clause - appears in the leftward moved part instead of in the RD part, cannot be derived from it.

What is more, recent Cartographic studies about the sentence-final particles (SFPs) in Mandarin (which are not syntactically distant from those in Cantonese) reveal that these elements are heads in the split CP (see Chapter 4). In this point of view, the SFPs always target a sentential (or almost sentential) portion and it turns out to be problematic for the movement of the lower part together with SFPs proposed in (52) and in (53).

Guo 1999

This paper analyzes data from the speech of 7-year-old Mandarin-speaking children in semi-naturalistic interactions from a pragmatic-functional view. The author claims that RD always has an emphatic function, and when the clause is associated with the negative affect of the speaker, as it does in most of the time, it also assumes an intensifying function. He tentatively proposes that Mandarin RD has gone through a grammaticalization process: from a pure **repair device** (i.e., Afterthought), it has developed **Information**, **Emphatic** and **Intensifying function**. In this dissertation, I will propose that they are actually different types of RD: RD with the repair function belongs to the “specificational” type with a bi-clausal structure; Information, Emphatic and Intensifying functions are realized by the “Focus-Fronting” type of RD, in which the Focus part is preposed to the left of the clause, leaving the given information at the end.

To conduct a quantitative study, he categorizes the data both syntactically and discourse-functionally. The syntactic classification is based on the relation between the right-dislocated element and the correlated referent in the main clause. They are called:

1. Zero anaphoric: additional information about the identity of the referent.
2. Elaborations: elaboration of the briefer co-referent.
3. Reduplications: exactly the same as their co-referents in the main clause.

The discourse functions of RD, instead, are five (to facilitate the comprehension, one example translated in English is given to each category):

1. Statements: utterances that represent something in the external world. (“I haven’t finished tidying up yet, this place.”)
2. Questions: genuine questions for information. (“Where should the clock be hung, this clock?”)
3. Ridicules and reprimands: the function of the utterance is either to criticize the addressee’s behavior (or absence of behavior), or to ridicule the addressee’s behavior for its non-conformity with the usual way in which things are done. (“What are you laughing at, you?”)

4. Directives: imperatives and modalized indirect requests and prohibitions. (“You get lost right now, you.”)
5. Claims: claims for possession of properties and claims of reality by which the speaker claims something to be the case simply by virtue of saying that it is true. (“All of these are what we bought, these.”)

He adopts the concept of “Ideational” and “Interpersonal” macro-functions of language proposed by Halliday (1973) and considers Statements as an Ideational function, while Ridicules and reprimands, Directives and Claims as Interpersonal functions, and Question has both functions. From the data, he shows that Reduplication is significantly used to express the Interpersonal function, while Elaboration and Zero anaphoric are adopted in conveying both functions. In addition, in all contexts, 90% of the right-dislocated elements contain 2nd person or 3rd person objects, according to which the author argues that RD adds emphasis and intensity, thus “an explicit mention of the Focus of attention is made in the right-dislocated slot regardless of its information value in the discourse” (Guo 1999:1121).

Although this is not a syntactic study, the author’s claims can be translated into syntactic terms. The “intensifying” function added to the “emphatic” function can be understood as something additional to the sentential Focus, and the distribution of different syntactic structure types with different discourse functions may imply that there may exist more than one RD type from the theoretical syntactic point of view.

Other than the description, here I cite some interesting examples in this paper that are rarely reported in the other literature:

- (54) *Zhe li zhuang zhe liangge guoguo, shubao li.*
 this inside contain PART two fruit bag inside
 ‘Here there are two fruits, in the bag.’
 (Guo 1999:1113)

In (54), the right-dislocated adverbial “in the bag” co-refers to “here (this + inside)”, “bag” offers a precise information to the deixis word “this”, but *li* ‘inside’ in the right-dislocated phrase cannot be omitted, suggesting that the RD part is strictly connected to the whole adverbial phrase.

- (55) **Nin qing zuo, nin.*
 you-respect please sit you-respect
 intended ‘Please have a seat, you.’
 (Guo 1999:1124)

This example instead shows that if the main utterance is friendly and polite, the RD of the subject will be inappropriate, for which the author argues that the reduplication intensifies the emphasis with a negative tone.

2.1.3 RD in other languages

Villalba 2009

This monograph investigates the phenomena of CLLD and CLRD in Catalan comparing them with those in other languages. The author follows the Antisymmetry of Syntax proposed by Kayne (1994) as a basic theoretical assumption and the syntactic analysis is in line with the Split-CP hypothesis suggested by Rizzi (1997). After a thorough description of the syntactic behavior related to CLLD and CLRD in Catalan, and a revision of the former analyses, the author proposes the structure shown in Figure [2.4](#).

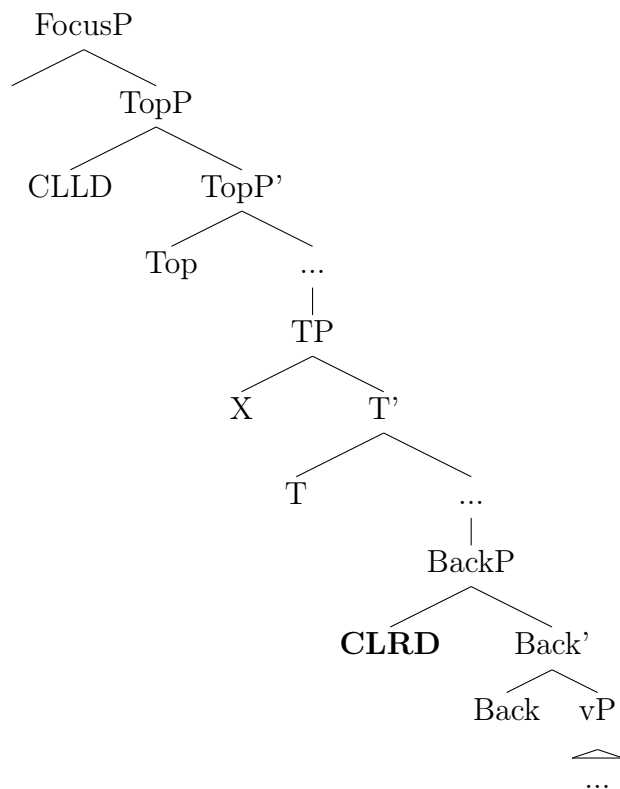


Figure 2.4: Villalba 2009:169

In this structure, CLLD and CLR D are both derived by mono-clausal syntactic movement; the landing site of CLLD is the Topic Phrase in the split-CP of the Left Periphery, while the right-dislocated phrase moves to the so-called Background Phrase (BackP) in the periphery of the vP area (which equals to the Low Periphery, in line with Cecchetto 1999 and Belletti 1999, 2004 that will be mentioned later). The right-dislocation movement is driven by feature checking of the [background] feature carried by the dislocated phrase, which is associated with background information of the discourse.

To illustrate this analysis, the author first systematically studies the syntactic properties of CLLD and CLR D as well as other related phenomena, e.g., Hanging Topic Left Dislocation, the As For Construction and Afterthoughts. Regarding the RD section, he clearly distinguishes CLR D from Afterthoughts, the latter is considered to be a supplementary information pronounced when the speaker realizes that the message can be ambiguous or inexact (Villalba 2009:121). Under this view, the comparison of the two is summarized in Table 2.1.

	Afterthoughts	CLR D
category neutral	yes	yes
iterative	yes	yes
non-root contexts	yes	yes
free ordering of the dislocates	no	yes
obligatory presumptive element	no	yes (clitic)
connectedness	yes	yes
boundedness	no	yes

Table 2.1: Villalba 2009

Notice that this definition of “Afterthoughts” is more restricted compared to the same term used in Chinese linguistics. He also mentions that different languages resort to different strategies to signal the Focus, including CLR D, deaccenting, and prosodic movement, but there is

still no conclusion about the correlation between the syntax of that language and the strategy it uses. The use of RD is also independent from the richness of the pronominal clitic system of the language, given that even SOV languages lacking pronominal clitics allow rightward scrambling and Mandarin Chinese licenses RD without any pronominal clitic resources.

Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes and Sleeman 2004

In this study about dislocations in French, the authors analyse RD from syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic aspects.

First, they compare RD with CLLD and propose that they are different in locality conditions and the “placeholder” for the dislocated constituent.

They report the claim of Larsson (1979) that in French the locality restrictions on RD are more restricted than CLLD, where a PP “*de* + NP” (‘of + NP’) is preferably and necessarily adjacent to the DP containing an empty pronoun. In this sense, **RD seems like a parenthetical construction**:

- (56) *Le sien, d’uniforme officiel, avait toujours été propre*
the his, of-uniform official, had always been clean
‘HIS official uniform had always been clean.’
(Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes and Sleeman 2004:522)

They hold that in a case like (56), the dislocated element is at the right edge of a DP or a PP, instead of the right edge of the sentence. For this reason, they call it “Middle Dislocation” (MD), but it shows the same prosodic and pragmatic properties as RD, thus they propose that MD and RD are actually the same phenomenon.

As for the “placeholder”, they notice that the resumptive pronoun of a RD constituent is **not necessarily a clitic**, but can also be a full pronoun:

- (57) *Je trouve ça écoeurant, la dénigration systématique*
I find that disgusting, the denigration systematic
(Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes and Sleeman 2004:522)

However, if the placeholder is part of the Focus, RD is not available.

The pragmatic function of RD, according to the authors, is “to foreground the new information in the sentence and to place the Theme or Topic at the background” (Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes and Sleeman 2004:524). They divide RD into two types, according to the discourse referent that can be given or textually/situationally evoked or inferred. I will argue for a similar categorization of RD that separates the Focus-Fronting type RD from the Specificational type RD.

Prosodically, they show that RD constituents are realized as a plateau (low or high), a copy of the boundary tone found at the end of the clause, which characterizes post-Focus and incidental sequences in general. In this dissertation, I will not investigate the prosodic features of RD, but I may take this observation as an evidence that supports the possibility to analyze at least one type of RD as a bi-clausal construction.

Ott and De Vries 2014, 2016

These two papers investigate RD in Germanic languages (English, German, and Dutch) and propose that RD constructions derive from **underlying bi-clausal structures**, in which the right hand clause is reduced by PF-deletion. The authors distinguish two types of RD, “Backgrounding” and “Afterthought”:

Backgrounding:

(58) Yes, I know him, Peter.

Afterthought:

(59) I met a star today: John Travolta!

(60) I met John Travolta today, a famous star! (specificational)

(61) He came in, pale white. (predicative)

Afterthought phrases constitute independent intonation phrases, while de-accented backgrounded *d*XP's ("dislocated XP's", which are surface remnants of "reformulations" of the host clause) are integrated into the intonation phrase defined by their host clause. Both of the RD types have the following schematic structure, where *d*XP is fronted to the left edge of CP2, and the remnant clause of CP2 is deleted:

- (62) a. $[_{CP1} \dots \text{correlate} \dots] [_{CP2} dXP_i [\dots t_i \dots]] \longrightarrow \text{PF-deletion}$
 b. $[_{CP1} \dots \text{correlate} \dots] [_{CP2} dXP_i [\dots \cancel{t_i} \dots]]$

What differentiates the two types is the connection between CP1 and CP2: in Afterthought the two clauses are loosely combined, while in Backgrounding RD the two clauses are connected by the so-called "colon phrase" (specifying coordination, in terms of Koster 2000, the basic structure is like $[_{;P} XP [: YP]]$).

(63) Backgrounding:

a. *Tasman heeft ze gezien, die Maori's.*

Tasman has them seen those Maoris

'Tasman saw them, those Maoris.'

(Ott and De Vries 2016:646)

b. $[_{;P} [_{CP1} \dots ze_i \dots] [: [_{CP2} \text{die Maori}'s_i \Delta]]]$ (' Δ ' = elided structure)

(64) Afterthought:

a. *Ich habe einen Star getroffen: DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA.*

I have a star met the John Travolta

'I met a star, John Travolta.'

(Ott and De Vries 2016:646)

b. $[_{CP1} \dots \text{einen Star}_i \dots] [_{CP2} \text{DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA}_i \Delta]$

As can be easily inferred from the structural representation, they propose that the host clause and the *d*XP are structurally independent from each other, but anaphorically linked by Ellipsis in CP2.

This bi-clausal analysis is very intuitive and attractive, and in this dissertation I will prove that it can explain the Specificational type of RD, where the right-dislocated element offers more information to the main clause.

However, considering RD cases in Mandarin and in Italian, it certainly cannot derive RD constructions where the right-dislocated part cannot be recognized as a CP on its own, such as a functional adverb that normally never appears in the Left Periphery preceding the subject, or an incomplete sequence like [subject + adverb] which would not survive VP or IP ellipsis (see Chapter 5). An alternative must be found to explain this kind of RD that is not considered by the two authors and I will discuss it in Chapter 4.

2.2 Summary of Syntactic Proposals

After a general introduction of the major studies about RD in the literature, in this section, I will make a little summary about the syntactic analyses proposed by the authors, with the addition of some other scattered syntactic proposals found in the studies not dedicated to RD. These analyses will be falsified or demonstrated to be (partially) valid through comparative data in the remainder of this dissertation.

According to the syntactic properties of the derivation, I divide the proposals into four groups:

- §2.2.1 Single movement to the Left Periphery;
- §2.2.2 Double movement to the Low Periphery;
- §2.2.3 Double movement to the Left Periphery;
- §2.2.4 Double clause analysis and Ellipsis.

2.2.1 Single Movement Analyses

Cheung (1997) gives a thorough syntactic description of the RD issue in Cantonese and argues that the most suitable analysis consists of leftwards movements with an adjunction mechanism. The left part of the final surface word order (which he calls the α -string) simply moves from its merge position to an adjunct of the same projection where the right part (the β -string) merges.

$$(65) \quad [IP \text{ Subj.NP } [VP [VP \gamma]_i [VP \beta t_i]]] \text{ (Subj.NP} + \gamma = \alpha\text{-string)}$$

In a more recent research, Cheung (2009) studies RD (or the “Dislocation Focus Construction” in terms of the author, since he holds the idea that the “non-dislocated” part always involves a Focus) in Mandarin and in Cantonese and proposes that the RD construction in Chinese is derived by the Focalization operation of the non-RD part to the specifier position of the SFP. As he also argued in Cheung (1997), he presents that in the *wh*-question/answer test, the answer, i.e., the focused element, is only allowed in the “non-dislocated” β -string, and cannot occur in the “dislocated” α -string. Note that in this structure, the β -string is focused while the α -string is non-focused, as shown in Figure 2.5

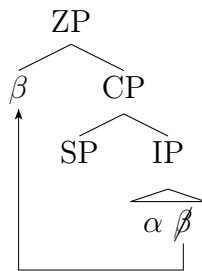


Figure 2.5: Cheung 2009:205

The author in both of his above-mentioned works states that RD follows the Spine Constraint that no XP that is on a left branch or is dominated by a node on a left branch can occur as the β -part of a RD structure (Cheung 2009:218). In Chapter 4, I will argue that this constraint is a general rule for Chinese Focus-Fronting which is allowed only in a pied-piping way.

Wei and Li (2018), as I mentioned before, revise this analysis and propose the following structure:

$$(66) \quad [DiscourseP O_i \text{ Discourse } [ForceP \text{ SFP } [IP \text{ S } [VP \text{ V } [O_i]]]]$$

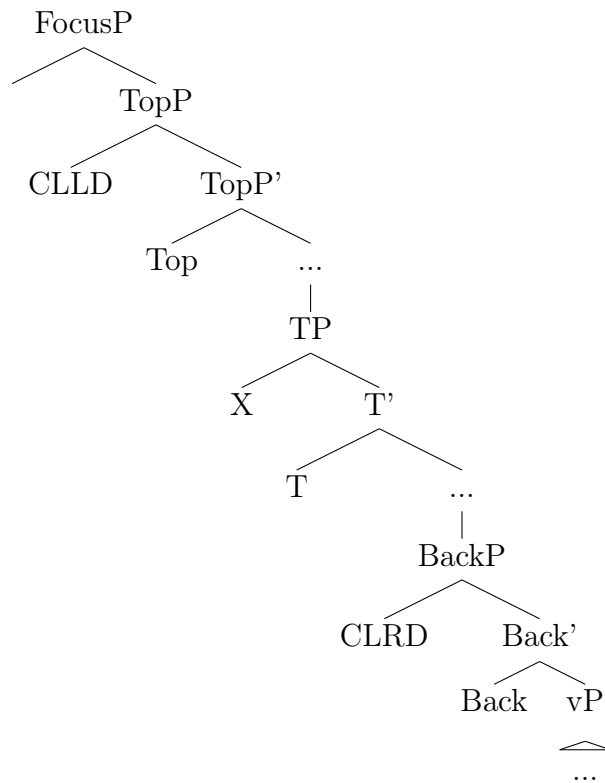


Figure 2.6: Villalba 2009:169

2.2.3 Double Movement to the Left Periphery

As also mentioned in the previous section, Cecchetto (1999) reports that Kayne (1995) revised his analysis in 1994 and proposes a double-Topicalization process to derive RD:

- (73) *L'ho visto, Gianni.*
 it-I.have seen Gianni

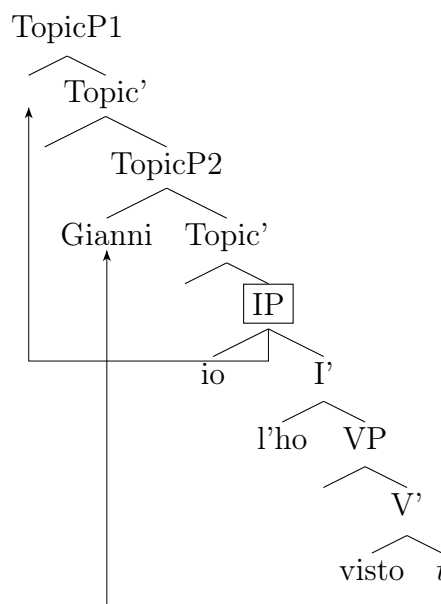


Figure 2.7: Kayne 1995

In addition, in §2.2.2 we see that Belletti (2004) treats RD and Marginalization differently.

As for Marginalization, she hypothesizes that it is the result of a series of movements from the IP to the Left Periphery, see (75) as the supposed underlying structure of (74):

(74) *Ha comprato MARIA, il giornale.*
has bought MARIA the newspaper

(75) $[[_{IP} e_i \text{ ha comprato } e_j]_k \text{ Top } [[\text{MARIA}]_i \text{ Foc}] [[\text{il giornale}]_j \text{ Top}] \dots \text{IP}_k$
(Belletti 2004:29)

The structure in (75) actually involves a triple movement: first, the marginalized phrase “*il giornale*” is topicalized in the Left Periphery; then, the subject of the clause “*Maria*”, as a Contrastive Focus in this case, is focalized above the marginalized Topic; at last, the remnant IP also goes through a Topicalization movement and lands in the Topic projection above the Focus. Here I gather it under the label of “double movement” for the reason that the essence of this analysis, as far as I think, consists in the “left-peripheral Topic + Focus” consideration of the construction.

2.2.4 Bi-clausal Analyses

Kayne (1994) distinguishes RD in English and RD in Romance languages, and he suggests that neither of the two involves Right-adjunction.

(76) He’s real smart, John is.
(Kayne 1994:78)

(77) *Lo porto domani, il dolce.*
it I-bring tomorrow the sweet
(Kayne 1994:79, cited from Benincà 1988:146)

He denies the possibility of a rightward adjunction and analyzes the case in English as a bi-clausal structure, where X^0 is an empty functional head mediating the adjunction of “John is”:

(78) [He’s real smart [X^0 [John is...]]]

While in Romance languages with the possibility of clitic-doubling, he suggests that RD is an instance of CLLD at the LF. The right-dislocated phrase is in the complement position of the clause and undergoes leftward movement at the LF.

Cardinaletti (2002) follows the idea of Kayne (1994) and argues that RD in Italian has a similar structure:

(79) [$_{XP}$ [$_{IP}$ *pro* l’ho già comprato] X^0 [$_{DP}$ il giornale]]

Different analyses related to Ellipsis are also proposed to account for the RD phenomenon. Among the proposals, Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016) systematically associate Ellipsis and RD. Recall that they distinguish two types of RD, Afterthought and Backgrounding. In Afterthought RD, the two clauses are loosely combined, while in Backgrounding RD the two clauses are connected by the so-called “colon phrase” (specifying coordination, in terms of Koster 2000, the basic structure is like [$_{:P}$ XP [: YP]]).

(80) a. [$_{CP1}$... correlate ...] [$_{CP2}$ dXP_i [... t_i ...]] \rightarrow PF-deletion
b. [$_{CP1}$... correlate ...] [$_{CP2}$ dXP_i [~~... t_i ...~~]]
(Afterthought)

- (81) $[_{CP} [_{CP1} \dots \text{correlate} \dots] : [_{CP2} dXP_i \text{ } \overline{t_i} \dots]]]$
 (Backgrounding)

2.3 Discussion

In this section, I will briefly comment on the advantages and disadvantages of the above-mentioned syntactic proposals. Specific remarks will be provided along with their corresponding argumentation in the dissertation.

The RD phenomenon in all languages mentioned above, except the “Afterthought” in Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016), has a similar surface structure and semantic-discourse function, in spite of many language-specific properties, e.g., SFPs in Chinese languages, clitics in Romance languages etc. Under the general framework of the Universal Grammar and the Cartographic approach, the main aim of this dissertation is to find a unified syntactic analysis for the phenomenon of RD that is at least valid for Italian and Mandarin Chinese. It is important to make sure that the analysis is “powerful” enough to interpret all the variants labeled as RD, and at the same time “reasonable” enough to avoid *ad hoc* postulations that immediately become scientifically meaningless out of this dissertation.

Therefore, I shall exam the previous proposals mainly by these two criteria: i) if the operations have an appropriate motivation; ii) if they have a reasonable derivation that is adapted to as many cases as possible in the two languages at issue.

Starting from the **single movement analyses**, Cheung (1997, 2009) considers the motivation of RD to be the Focus, while Wei and Li (2018) think that the motivation is apparently broader than the notion of Focus and propose that various discourse-pragmatic functions can also be the trigger, which are generalized as the function of a DiscourseP situated even higher than the ForceP in the syntactic structure. Both claims capture the reason to use RD, but why should one exclude the other? Both Focus and discourse-pragmatic functions are present in a RD construction. Their proposals share the same prediction that the RD part should be the initial portion in the canonical word order, but this is not always true, as some right-dislocated elements apparently merge in a low position (see Chapter 5). In addition, their analyses must be elaborated with more details to tolerate the current analysis of SFPs.

Double movement analyses employing the Low Periphery of Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (1999, 2004) imply that the motivation of forming a RD construction is low Topic + Focus. Although a broad or narrow Focus may be required in all RD cases, the right-dislocated elements can hardly be Topics, since normally they are not “what the sentence is about”, nor contrastive to other discourse elements, as already noticed by Benincà (1988). Villalba (2009), however, names this projection in the Low Periphery “Background Phrase”, which to some extent can capture the essential property of the right-dislocated element. As for the adaptability, this method cannot explain why in some cases the right-dislocated phrase actually merges above the Low Periphery in the canonical order (for instance, high adverbs, see discussion in the next chapter).

Analyses using **double movement to the Left Periphery** suffer the same critique of motivation: right-dislocated elements can hardly be considered as Topic, neither in the Low Periphery nor in the Left Periphery. However, as the derivation of RD happens above the entire IP, more possibilities of RD may be fit into it, such as the subject RD and the adverb RD. Thus, they can be partially kept but should be refined to justify the semantic-discourse function of RD.

Finally, **bi-clausal analyses** may interpret the motivation of RD with an additional information in the second clause that specifies the corresponding element in the first clause, i.e., “Afterthought” in terms of Chao (1968), but they cannot explain why sometimes the right-dislocated portion is only an unimportant remnant of the main clause (as proposed by Cheung

1997, 2009), instead of offering specificational new information. It is clearly insufficient to cover all cases of RD. Then, as for the derivation, none of the authors has given a specific analysis for the second clause: to which scale it is the same as the first clause and what can be different from it? Where does the right-dislocated element move to reach the edge of CP to resist the Ellipsis? What about the cases where the right-dislocated element cannot be preposed to CP for any reason? These analyses must be revised and these questions must be settled, and more importantly, we should explicitly figure out in which cases of RD the analysis of bi-clausal construction can be applied and in which it cannot.

As a conclusion, if we want to deal with RD data from two distant languages - Italian and Mandarin, there is the need for a careful categorization of RD cases, as well as a revision of these previous syntactic analyses, as no one seems to fully satisfy the linguistic restrictions of using RD in the two languages.

Chapter 3

The Necessity of Identifying Different RD Types

3.1 Introduction: The Necessity of Identifying Two Types of RD

In the last chapter, I have listed several major studies of RD that I take into consideration in this dissertation. Their syntactic analyses differ a lot, and the empirical evidence based on which each conclusion is drawn is not arranged under some basic criteria. The ambition of generalizing a unified analysis for both Mandarin RD and Italian RD requires extra care of the data from the very beginning. A direct way to detect whether we can treat RD in the two languages as a single syntactic phenomenon is to see if a RD clause in one language can be **translated** into a similar RD clause in the other language (possible sentential accent marked by capital letters):

- (1) Total correspondence: DP-argument RD
 - a. *Ni mai le ma, li?*
you buy LE SFP pear
(Mandarin)
 - b. *Le hai comprate, le pere?*
them.PL.F have.2SG bought the pear
'Did you buy the pears?'
(Italian)
- (2) Total correspondence: Modal Adverb RD
 - a. *Ta DAOJIA le ba, yexu.*
she/he arrive-home LE SFP probably
(Mandarin)
 - b. *È arrivato a CASA, probabilmente.*
be.3SG arrived.SG.M at home probably
'Probably she/he has arrived home.'
(Italian)
- (3) Impossible correspondence: Subject + Aspectual Adverb RD
 - a. *HUIJIA le (ba), tamen dou.*
go-back-home LE SFP they already
'They have already GONE HOME!'
(Mandarin)

- b. **(Sono) TORNATI A CASA, loro (sono) già!*
 be.3PL gone-back.PL.M to home they be.3PL already
 (Italian)

(4) Impossible correspondence: Subject + Serial-verb Construction RD

- a. *Jiao xiaoli mai zhang CHUANPIAO (ba), ni qu*
 ask Xiaoli buy CL ferry.ticket SFP you go
 ‘Go and ask Xiaoli to buy a ferry ticket.’
 (Mandarin)
- b. **A chiedere Gianni di comprare un biglietto di TRAGHETTO, (tu) vai.*
 to ask Gianni of buy a ticket of ferry you go.2SG
 (Italian)

The translation test seems to point to a constituent vs. non-constituent division of RD types: Italian finds its perfect counterpart when the right-dislocated part is a simple DP argument in (1) or an Epistemic adverb (2) but it becomes impossible when the right-dislocated part is a complex series of words, like in (3-a) and (4-a), which should appear to the left of the “non-dislocated” part in the unmarked word order, unlike, for example, (1) where the right-dislocated direct object comes from the middle of the clause.

To investigate what gathers (1) and (2) on one side and (3) and (4) on the other side, it is better starting from a study of the potentials/limits of these different “RDable” elements.

Nevertheless, this is by no means an easy work. Among the previous analyses listed in the last chapter, almost all the micro-/macro-syntactic positions are proposed to interpret RD in various languages, including TopicP, FocusP and even dedicated projections for RD in the Left Periphery, TopicP in the Low Periphery, as well as the Left Periphery of a second clause. In addition, as can be seen just in the four examples above, various grammatical categories are involved in RD, each with particular syntactic behaviors in its own language.

Therefore, to maximally narrow down the choices in this first stage, we shall start from the most “stable” category – the adverbs: they are arranged in a fixed order in the functional area virtually in all languages (Cinque 1999), they only have a limited movement potential (probably only to ModP, Rizzi 2013), and they usually do not interact much with other components of the clause, devoid of operations like inflection and agreement. This is especially true in Mandarin. I will shortly introduce them next.

3.2 Mandarin Adverbs and RD

Generally speaking, cross-linguistically, an adverb can be lexical or functional, derived or root, adjunctive or argumental. Some adverbs are clearly hierarchically arranged in the area between CP and vP (like those discussed in Cinque 1999), others are more or less free in the clausal structure.

- (5) (Already) the team (already) may (already) have (already) left for the game (already).
 (Ernst 2020: 95)

Nevertheless, Mandarin seems to disallow the multiple positions of many adverbs with respect to verbs and auxiliary or modal verbs, including time-reference adverbials like “once”. With an unmarked prosodic contour, it can appear before or after the subject, but not among the verbs or sentence-finally:

- (6) *(Cengjing) Zhangsan (cengjing) xiang (*cengjing) gei Lisi qian (*cengjing)*
 once Zhangsan once want once give Lisi money once
 ‘Once Zhangsan would like to give some money to Lisi.’

It is well known that Cinque (1999) proposes the pioneer idea that cross-linguistically adverbs (including Mood, Modal and Aspectual adverbs) are arranged in the functional area of the clause in a fixed hierarchy, and their relative order in the hierarchy is ideally supposed to be universal to all human languages. Mandarin adverbs provide positive evidence to this idea, as also mentioned by the author. See the following Table of Mandarin functional hierarchy of adverbs, which integrates the data in Cinque (1999) with the subsequent work Cinque (2006).

	Functional projections	Specifier (IT/EN)	Specifier (CH)
1	Mood speech act	frankly	<i>laoshishuo</i>
2	Mood evaluative	fortunately	<i>xinghao</i>
3	Mood evidential	allegedly	<i>jushuo</i>
4	Mod epistemic	probably	<i>dagai/keneng/yexu/yinggai</i>
5	T(PAST)	once	<i>cengjing</i>
6	T(FUTURE)	then	
7	Mood irrealis	perhaps	<i>dagai/keneng/yexu/yinggai</i>
8	Mod necessity	necessarily	<i>yiding</i>
9	Mod possibility	possibly	<i>dagai/keneng/yexu/yinggai</i>
10	Asp habitual	usually	<i>tongchang</i>
11	Asp delayed (or “finally”)	finally	<i>zhongyu</i>
12	Asp predispositional		
13	Asp repetitive (I)	again	<i>you/zai</i>
14	Asp frequentative (I)	often	<i>jingchang</i>
15	Mod volitional	intentionally	<i>guyi</i>
16	Asp celerative (I)	quickly	<i>gankuai</i>
17	T(ANTERIOR)	already	<i>yijing</i>
18	Asp terminative	no longer	<i>buzai</i>
19	Asp continuative	still	<i>rengran</i>
20	Asp perfect	<i>sempre</i> ‘always’	<i>zongshi</i>
21	Asp retrospective	just	<i>gang</i>
22	Asp proximative	soon	<i>jijiang</i>
23	Asp durative	briefly	<i>duanzan(de)</i>
24	Asp generic/progressive	typically	<i>yixiang</i>
25	Asp prospective	almost	<i>kuai</i>
26	Asp inceptive (I)		
27	Mod obligation	obligatorily	<i>bixu</i>
28	Mod ability	clumsily	
29	Asp frustrative/success	successfully	<i>chenggong(de)</i>
30	Mod permission		
31	Asp conative		
32	Asp SgCompletive (I)	completely	<i>wanquan</i>
33	Asp PlCompletive	<i>tutto</i> ‘all’	
34	Voice	well	<i>haohao</i>
35	Asp celerative (II)	fast/early	<i>zao</i>
36	Asp inceptive (II)		
37	Asp completive (II)	completely	<i>wanquan</i>
38	Asp repetitive (II)	again	<i>you</i>
39	Asp frequentative (II)	often	<i>jingchang</i>

Table 3.1: Hierarchy of Mandarin Adverbs

Naturally, these adverbs are only representative ones, and some of the functional adverbs and most of the manner adverbs, typically derived from adjectives like “genuinely”, “elegantly”, are not included in the study of the hierarchy. This latter group of adverbs are less “interesting” for the current discussion, for the fact that they behave more or less in the same way in the nearest position around the verb, and thus we can suppose that they are unified in a single functional position in the hierarchy in the lowest area.

Some empirical data can confirm the validity of this Mandarin adverb hierarchy: it is respected in the way that the higher adverbs always appear to the left of the lower ones.

- (7) Mod epistemic > Asp frequentative (I) > Voice > Manner adverb
- a. *Zhangsan dagai jingchang bu haohao renzhen-de nian shu*
 Zhangsan probably usually NEG well serious-ADV read book
 ‘Probably Zhangsan usually doesn’t study seriously in a good manner.’
 - b. **Jingchang Zhangsan dagai bu haohao renzhen-de nian shu*
 usually Zhangsan probably NEG well serious-ADV read book
 - c. **Zhangsan renzhen-de dagai jingchang bu haohao nian shu*
 Zhangsan serious-ADV probably usually NEG well read book
- ...

Now turn back to the topic of RD. When some adverbs are de-accented, however, together with a focalization in the previous part of the clause, the sentence-final adverb can be accepted as RD:

- (8) *Tangmu hui qu gen pengyou GUANGJIE (ba), mingtian*
 Tom will go with friend go.shopping SFP tomorrow
 ‘It is going for shopping that Tom will do tomorrow, (right)?’

This kind of adverb RD is not a rare phenomenon in Mandarin and involves many adverbs. Appearing to the right of the SFP (e.g., after *ba* in (8)) makes it difficult to be comparable with a parenthetical analysis. Furthermore, recall that in the examples of the last section, modal adverb RD is also legitimate in Italian in (2), but an aspectual adverb that can be also right-dislocated in Mandarin is banned in Italian in (3).

Thus, if we are on the right track, there must be a syntactic reason that distinguishes these two adverbs and leads them to different ways of derivation of RD.

In Mandarin, RD can involve a large range of adverbs. The next section aims to identify those adverbs, and to get a close look at their syntactic properties when they are dislocated, so that we could find if they can be analyzed in a unified way, or there is a need to treat them separately based on their different syntactic behaviors.

3.3 Adverbs that can be right-dislocated

To achieve this, the first step is to empirically sort out the adverbs that can appear as a right-dislocated element, on their own and/or together with the subject. I take Lü Shuxiang (1980) as the main reference, since it collects most of the functional words in Mandarin and properly defines the grammatical category of each word. Among all the adverbs, I filter out those that can appear after a SFP in a right context, but exclude those that potentially contain a verb (e.g., *jiushi*, lit. ‘then be’; *jinliang*, lit. ‘exhaust capacity’...) and those that in their unmarked position are not strictly pre-verbal (e.g., quantificational adverb *zonggong* ‘totally’) to avoid the residue of an incomplete grammaticalization process of these adverbials. The result of the selection is shown in Table 3.2 together with three criteria of classification that I will discuss in the next paragraph.

3.3.1 Classification

One of the major aims of this thesis is to find if there is any way to generalize the RD construction into movements or clause composition processes triggered by universal syntactic rules, without creating any *ad hoc* setting to explain this phenomenon.

As mentioned before, adverbs vary a lot in their syntactic properties. Thus, it is crucial to figure out what syntactically assembles these adverbs and what differentiates them, so that we can further talk about the feasibility of the previous studies of RD based on other evidence.

Recall the proposals of RD in the literature mentioned in Chapter 2, at least three factors that can potentially play a role in the realization of a RD construction.

1. Pre-subject:

For those that make use of the Left Periphery to interpret RD, the right-dislocated element must be able to appear in the Left Periphery. It should either merge in a pre-subject position or be able to move to the Left Periphery, or otherwise the derivation could crash from the very beginning;

- (9) a. *Ganggang Zhangsan dao le.*
just.now Zhangsan arrive LE
'Zhangsan just arrived.'
b. *(*Dou) wo dou chi-wan fan le.*
already I already eat-finish meal LE
'I have already finished the meal.'

2. Independence:

For the bi-clausal proposal, the RD part is a full CP with a great part deleted via Ellipsis. Thus, the right-dislocated element under this analysis should be able to stand alone as a reduced clause, independently from being dislocated or not. This may seem trivial for a DP, but adverbs as functional elements behave differently in this respect;

- (10) a. *Queshi!*
indeed
'Indeed!'
b. **Bijing!*
after.all

3. Fragment Answer:

If an adverb can stand alone as a clause, but cannot form a Fragment Answer to a *wh*-question (typically in the case of adverbs, to questions of “when”, “where” and “how”) as an independent piece of new information, it must require the existence of some other overt or covert syntactic portion in their scope (such as the IP or the VP) in order to be correctly interpreted.

- (11) When did you arrive?¹
a. *Gangcai.*
just.now
'Just now.'
b. **Huran.*
suddenly

¹Even when the question is asked with another *wh*-word, the adverb “suddenly” in Mandarin cannot form an answer on its own.

See Table 3.2 (“Y” stands for the positive result with the corresponding syntactic property and “N” for the negative result):

Adverbs in Mandarin	Meanings	Pre-subject	Independence	Fragment answer
<i>mashang</i>	‘immediately, soon’	Y	Y	Y
<i>suishi</i>	‘at any time’	Y	Y	Y
<i>ganggang/gangcai</i>	‘just now’	Y	Y	Y
<i>ganghao/zhenghao</i>	‘exactly, just, right’	Y	Y	N
<i>xingxu/yexu/huoxu/keneng</i>	‘probably’	Y	Y	N
<i>queshi</i>	‘indeed’	Y	Y	N
<i>wanyi</i>	‘in case’	Y	Y	N
<i>zhongyu</i>	‘finally’	Y	Y	N
<i>zaowan</i>	‘sooner or later’	Y	N	N
<i>haodai</i>	‘good and bad, in any case’	Y	N	N
<i>huran/turan</i>	‘suddenly’	Y	N	N
<i>yuanlai</i>	‘so it is that’	Y	N	N
<i>zhishao/qima</i>	‘at least’	Y	N	N
<i>fanzheng</i>	‘anyhow’	Y	N	N
<i>bijing</i>	‘after all’	Y	N	N
<i>haoxiang</i>	‘it seems that’	Y	N	N
<i>qishi/shijishang</i>	‘actually’	Y	N	N
<i>daodi</i>	‘on earth’	Y	N	N
<i>juran/jingran</i>	‘unexpectedly’	Y	N	N
<i>xingkui/xinghao</i>	‘fortunately’	Y	N	N
<i>zai</i>	‘for another time’	N	N	N
<i>you</i>	‘again’	N	N	N
<i>cai</i>	‘only’	N	N	N
<i>yijing</i>	‘already’	N	N	N
<i>zheng</i>	‘just (doing)’	N	N	N
<i>hai</i>	‘also, still’	N	N	N
<i>kuai</i>	‘soon’	N	N	N
<i>dou</i>	‘already, all’	N	N	N
<i>jiu</i>	‘then’	N	N	N
<i>ye</i>	SOFTEN TONE	N	N	N

Table 3.2: Adverbs that can appear in RD in Mandarin

Based on the distribution of the selected syntactic properties, we can categorize these adverbs in 4 groups:

A. YYY: Time-related adverbs.

(*mashang* ‘immediatly, soon’, *suishi* ‘at any time’, *ganggang/gangcai* ‘just now’);

B. YYN: Epistemic and Evaluative adverbs.

(*ganghao/zhenghao* ‘exactly, just, right’, *xingxu/yexu/dagai/ huoxu/keneng* ‘probably’, *queshi* ‘indeed’, *wanyi* ‘in case’, *zhongyu* ‘finally’);

C. YNN: Modal, Evaluative and Aspectual adverbs.

(*zaowan* ‘sooner or later’, *haodai* ‘good and bad, in any case’, *huran/turan* ‘suddenly’, *yuanlai* ‘so it is that’, *zhishao/qima* ‘at least’, *fanzheng* ‘anyhow’, *bijing* ‘after all’, *haoxiang* ‘it seems that’, *qishi/shijishang* ‘actually’, *daodi* ‘on earth’, *juran/jingran* ‘unexpectedly’, *xingkui/xinghao* ‘fortunately’);

D. NNN: Aspectual adverbs and pragmatic marker.

(*zai* ‘for another time’, *you* ‘again’, *cai* ‘only’, *yijing* ‘already’, *zheng* ‘just (doing)’, *hai* ‘also, still’, *kuai* ‘soon’, *dou* ‘already, dou’, *jiu* ‘then’, *ye* SOFTEN TONE).

3.3.2 Comments on the result

Table 3.2 is organized in the way that the higher an adverb appears, the more “potential” it is. Not by chance, the final distribution of these adverbs basically follows the hierarchy of functional projections shown in Table 3.1 which essentially reflects the scale of their scope.

Based on the different grades of potentiality of these adverbs, we can judge the feasibility of the proposals about RD structures in the literature, mentioned and grouped in the last chapter:

Single movement analyses basically interpret RD as the fronting of a lower portion of the clause leaving the “right-dislocated” phrase behind. They have been proposed for RD in Chinese languages and therefore seem to fit most of the cases. However, consider the fact that SFPs must appear to the left of the right-dislocated phrase, and the subject of the clause can optionally appear in the right-dislocated part or in the non-dislocated part, even for the D-group adverbs which cannot appear sentence-initially:

- (12) a. *Ni dou chi-wan wanfan le ba*
 you already eat-finish dinner LE SFP
 b. *Ni chi-wan wanfan le ba, dou*
 you eat-finish dinner LE SFP already
 c. *Chi-wan wanfan le ba, ni dou*
 eat-finish dinner LE SFP you already
 ‘You have already finished the dinner, right?’

The single-movement proposals mentioned in Chapter 2 are too simple to account for the two variations and the interaction between RD and left-peripheral SFPs under the current development of the syntax of SFPs (see discussion in the next chapter).

Double movement in the Low Periphery analyses are instead totally ruled out: again, suppose that the SFPs merge in the Left Periphery, even when an adverb is moved to the Low Periphery, which should be immediately above the VP, it cannot escape from the scope of the SFPs. Furthermore, at least Evaluative and Epistemic adverbs are believed to merge in an area higher than the Low Periphery, a theory of this kind will force a downward movement analysis of RD, which is not acceptable in the general framework of this dissertation.

Double movement Left Periphery analyses, just as we can tell from this label, require that the dislocated element has access to the Left Periphery. Therefore, RD of the D-group adverbs is improbable to be explained by one of these analyses making use of the Left Periphery.

Finally, as I have brought up before, the **Bi-clausal strategy** predicts that the right-dislocated portion is a clause in a reduced form. If an adverb cannot stand alone as a clause, it becomes *ad hoc* to propose that in RD constructions it forms a clause. This analysis does not fit C-group and D-group adverbs that do not have their independence to appear in a clause.

For completeness, I shall add a short comment about Italian CLRD, which will be extensively discussed in Chapter 5. Double movement analyses, whether in Low Periphery or in Left Periphery, are originally brought up based on Italian RD data, thus I consider them all possible for CLRD, with possible revisions, as I will mention in Chapter 5; the Bi-clausal strategy is not proposed for Italian, but nothing seems to get in the way of adopting such an analysis to CLRD; Single movement proposals, instead, should be excluded, since classical CLRD cases consist of a sentence-middle or a sentence-final phrase (for instance, a direct object) cliticized and dislocated to the rightmost position of the sentence:

- (13) a. *Ho portato il dolce.*
 have.1SG brought the dessert
 b. *Lo ho portato, il dolce.*
 it have.1SG brought the dessert
 ‘I brought the dessert.’

To derive a CLRD clause as in (13-b), there is no way to move any structure in front of the direct object, as it is already the last element in the clause.

In conclusion, none of the proposals listed in the last chapter can account for all possible RD cases discussed here. See Table 3.3 for a more direct view. The star means “possible with revision”.

	Single movement	Double movement Low Periphery	Double movement Left Periphery	Bi-clausal strategy
A.YYY	Yes*	No	Yes*	Yes
B.YYN	Yes*	No	Yes*	Yes
C.YNN	Yes*	No	Yes	No
D.NNN	Yes*	No	No	No
Italian CLRD	No	Yes*	Yes*	Yes

Table 3.3: Applicability of RD theories to the 4 groups of adverbs and Italian CLRD

Quite evidently, the D-group adverbs must be analyzed oppositely to the Italian CLRD. Other groups of adverbs leave us several options to choose, but with a large space for the revision.

In the remainder of this dissertation, I will concentrate on the two extreme cases, namely, the monosyllabic D-group adverb RD in Mandarin and the Italian CLRD, extending finally the conclusion to other cases of adverb RD in Mandarin and clitic-less RD in both languages.

Chapter 4

Focus-Fronting Type of RD: Evidence from Mandarin Monosyllabic Adverb Right Dislocation

This chapter focuses on the D-group adverbs mentioned in the last chapter, namely, the monosyllabic adverbs that can be right-dislocated¹ in Mandarin. These adverbs have the most restricted use in a clause, whether dislocated to the right or not, which distinguishes them from other adverbs: they cannot be in a pre-subject position, they cannot form an independent sentence, and they cannot form a fragment answer (see Table 3.2 in Chapter 3). These restrictions make it difficult to simply match them to the functional hierarchy of adverbs proposed by Cinque (1999), and urge us to find an exact interpretation of their syntactic status, as well as a proper motivation for their RD phenomenon.

Linguists who are familiar with the Chinese linguistics can perfectly understand that some (if not all) of these monosyllabic adverbs are notorious for their complex semantics and pragmatic effects, not to mention their erratic syntactic behaviours. For this reason, **I will identify them with their multiple meanings as homophones and confine myself to the meanings with which they can be right-dislocated.**

Furthermore, as a general constraint also mentioned in Chapter 2, the right-dislocated element cannot be accented in any context, so the monosyllabic adverbs here never bear a special prosodic contour like that of Focus, while another element in the clause takes this role. I will mark the word that bears the Focus prosodic contour with the capital letters.

This chapter is organized as follows: I will start from a general description of the selected monosyllabic adverbs that can be right-dislocated (§4.1); then, I will present their basic syntactic properties in a clause and their co-occurrence with SFPs (§4.2); in §4.3 as a preparation to the syntactic analysis of the RD construction of these monosyllabic adverbs, I will show that when these adverbs are right-dislocated, the clause always contains a New Information Focus or a Mirative Focus, then I will briefly illustrate that there can be a Focus position in the Left Periphery in Mandarin that interprets the New Information Focus and the Mirative Focus; as for the frequently present SFPs in these RD constructions, I hold that they are C-heads that attract a relevant portion from the clausal spine to their specifiers (§4.3.2), except the problematic sentence-final *le* in Mandarin, for which I will propose that it is in a TP/IP-internal position and attracts a vP-like portion to its specifier; these premises, however, are still insufficient to derive some variants of this type of RD, for this reason I will also introduce the notion of GroundP (§4.4.1) and briefly argue that a subject in Mandarin can be either a Topic and a regular TP subject as it is in other languages (§4.4.2); provided all this background information, my proposal of the RD construction of monosyllabic adverbs in Mandarin will be shown in §4.5.

¹Except *yijing* ‘already’ which can be considered as a synonym of *dou* in some contexts.

where I claim that there are two ways to realize them, depending on the presence/absence of an overt SFP in the C-domain; my analysis considers all possible variants of this RD type and shows obvious advantages compared to the other proposals in the literature, I will illustrate this point in §4.5.3. Finally, I will conclude all of my proposals discussed in this chapter in §4.6 and extend this conclusion to some other RD phenomena, mainly in Mandarin. Since I propose that this kind of RD is formed as a consequence of the Focus Fronting of the other elements, I will call it the **Focus-Fronting type RD**.

4.1 Introduction

According to Lu Jianming (1980), there are 7 “monosyllabic adverbs” (one of which is divided into two meanings) that can appear in the “inversion phenomenon”, which is equivalent to the definition of RD in this dissertation:

- (1) *dou, hai1, hai2, jiu, kuai, you, <zai>, zheng*
 ‘already’, ‘still’, ‘even’, ‘then’, ‘soon’, ‘again’, ‘be (doing)’, ‘right now’

Among these 8 words, *zai* (‘be (doing)’) is better categorized as an auxiliary verb (Chao 1968:329, “defective verb”, see also the test that distinguish auxiliary verbs from adverbs in Badan and Sun, under review). Thus, here I exclude it from the discussion.

Other than them, the following ones can also be dislocated to the right-most of the clause, but with a rarer use:

- (2) *ye, cai, zai*
 softened tone, ‘only’, ‘further/again’

It should be made clear that most of these adverbs are polysemous, but they can be right-dislocated only in a few limited contexts. For this reason, I will confine my discussion to their meanings here shown in the gloss and their uses in the following examples, with which it is possible to right-dislocate them.² For example, when *jiu* means ‘only’, it cannot be dislocated, as it must be accented with this use:

- (3) a. *Zheli wo JIU renshi Zhangsan*
 here I only know Zhangsan
 ‘I only know Zhangsan here.’
 b. **Zheli wo renshi Zhangsan, JIU*
 here I know Zhangsan only

The RD construction of these adverbs seems to show no difference from a classical RD construction of a nominal argument: they can be “extracted” from the clause and “put” after the SFP, which should be the last element of a clause with the unmarked word order:

- (4) a. *Shangdian guanmen le ba, dou!*
 store close LE SFP already
 b. *Shangdian dou guanmen le ba!*
 store already close LE SFP
 ‘The store is probably closed already!’

In (4), (4-a) is a RD version of (4-b) and (4-b) is the only possible reconstructed version (see §4.2.1) of (4-a). The adverb is away from its pre-verbal position and presents in the

²*Dou* as universal quantifier can be right-dislocated, too, but it is excluded from this chapter dedicated to adverbs.

sentence-final position, after the sentence-final *le* and the SFP.

As one can tell from their English translation, their semantics does not belong to a unique category, referring, in general terms, to Time (*dou* ‘already’, *kuai* ‘soon’, *zheng* ‘right now’), Aspect (*hai1* ‘still’, *you* ‘again’, *zai* ‘further/again’), Mood (*hai2* ‘even’, *ye* that softens the tune of a judgement that could be too direct without it), Degree (*cai* ‘only’) and Conjunction (*jiu* ‘then’). Li and Thompson (1981:328) classify this kind of adverbs as “nonmovable nonmanner adverbs”.

Some of these adverbs by nature can be focused in their canonical position, as the aspect of the verb can be also emphasized (like in English one can say “You have read it ALREADY?” or “He will come AGAIN?”). However, the focused adverb cannot be right-dislocated (see (5)), unlike in the case where the sentential accent is assigned somewhere else (see (6)).

- (5) a. *Wo YOU fan cuowu le*
 I again commit mistake LE
 ‘I made a mistake, AGAIN!’
 b. **Wo fan cuowu le YOU*
 I commit mistake LE again
- (6) a. *Wo you fan CUOWU le*
 I again commit mistake LE
 ‘I again made a MISTAKE!’
 b. *Wo fan CUOWU le you*
 I commit mistake LE again
 ‘I again made a MISTAKE!’

The RD of these monosyllabic adverbs is quite frequent in the oral production in Mandarin, but due to the structural simplicity of these adverbs and the absence of counterparts in other languages, this phenomenon is almost ignored in the literature. However, in this dissertation I will leave a significant space for this kind of RD, given that normally these adverbs are immune from left-peripheral movements, like Topicalization and Focalization, for their being functional, different from other linguistic elements like DPs or manner adverbs. I will present more syntactic properties that feature them in §4.2.

4.2 Description

This section aims to provide a possibly thorough description of the usage of the above-mentioned 10 monosyllabic adverbs when they are involved in the RD construction, which will greatly help us to determine the syntactic analysis in the following sections.

The phenomenon of adverb RD is seldom mentioned in the literature, not to mention the exact syntactic behaviors and semantic functions present in the construction. However, it is crucial to establish the basic syntactic settings of each member playing a role in the derivation, by looking closely at their linguistic properties in the clause and in the discourse.

Thus, before preceding to the syntactic analysis, I will first present some empirical evidence of their syntactic properties. In §4.2.1 I will begin with talking about their unmarked positions in the clauses, showing that they are sentence-middle, but higher than the modal/auxiliary verbs; then in §4.2.2 I will make clear of their interaction with SFPs and the sentence-final *le*, arguing that (at least) the appearance of SFPs and the sentence-final *le* is involved in a heterogeneous way, which suggests that the SFPs cannot be the (only) motivation of the RD phenomenon in Mandarin.

4.2.1 Unmarked position

As mentioned in the last chapter, in Mandarin, as in many other languages, adverbs can appear in more than one position in the sentence. Adverbs of A-, B- and C-groups in Table 3.2 can perfectly stay in a pre-subject sentence-initial position. However, the D-group adverbs, including the 10 monosyllabic adverbs and *yijing* ‘already’ discussed in this section, are allowed only in a sentence-middle or sentence-final (i.e., when they are right-dislocated) position, but they can never precede the subject:

- (7) = (6)
- a. *Wo you fan CUOWU le*
 I again commit mistake LE
 ‘I again made a MISTAKE!’
- b. *Wo fan CUOWU le you*
 I commit mistake LE again
 ‘I again made a MISTAKE!’
- (8) **You Wo fan CUOWU le*
 again I commit mistake LE

This suggests that they merge in an IP-internal position and cannot raise to the Mod(ifier)P in the Left Periphery, as some other adverbs do when they are “highlighted” (Rizzi 2004 and Rizzi and Bocci 2017).

However, although they appear mostly in a sentence-middle position, when these adverbs co-occur with functional verbs and adverbs, they stay higher than them. In (9), *hai* ‘still’ must precede the predispositional aspectual verb *hui* ‘tend to’ and the frequentative aspectual adverb *jingchang* ‘often’ (for the hierarchy of Mandarin functional verbs in terms of Cinque 2006, I adopt the analysis in Badan and Sun, under review):

- (9) (After such a scandal,)
- a. *Ni hai HUI jingchang guanzhu nage mingxing ma?*
 you still tend.to often follow that-CL star SFP
 ‘Will you still follow the news of that star frequently?’
- b. **Ni HUI hai jingchang guanzhu nage mingxing ma?*
 you tend.to still often follow that-CL star SFP
- c. **Ni HUI jingchang hai guanzhu nage mingxing ma?*
 you tend.to often still follow that-CL star SFP

The above evidence shows that the unmarked syntactic position of the monosyllabic adverbs under discussion is below the subject position,³ but ranks rather high with respect to the functional projections.⁴

In conclusion, the basic syntactic position of these monosyllabic adverbs is in a high portion of the IP area, below the subject and above most of the functional projection.

³For now I simply assume that TP hosts the subject, keeping the possibility of a SubjP immediately above TP, as proposed in Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006). In §4.4.2 I will argue that both Topic-subject and TP-subject exist in Mandarin. See also references I will mention in that paragraph.

⁴Yang (2020) in his dissertation about the adverb *ye* in Mandarin - including the modal *ye* that is marked as “softened tone” discussed in this chapter - suggests that the modal use of *ye* may have a similar syntactic status as the scalar *ye* used in *even*-construction, for which he proposes that it is linked to the evaluativeness and occupies a position in the CP above the ForceP, but at the same time it should always follow the subject. Since he does not conclusively propose the syntactic position of the modal *ye*, and my dissertation strictly follows the Cartographic approach, I will keep my claim that the monosyllabic adverbs under investigation here sit in a high portion of the IP area, leaving the scalar use of *ye* for the future research.

4.2.2 Co-occurrence with SFPs

The 10 monosyllabic adverbs discussed here show different sensitivity to SFPs and the sentence-*le* (I will argue in §4.3.2 that it is different from the real SFPs). Note that the description below is restricted to the non-accented version of the adverbs, considering that when they are accented the meaning could change and they cannot be right-dislocated anymore.

At the end, we will see that there is no fixed relation between RD of these adverbs and SFPs, some adverbs require a specific SFP, some are compatible with several SFPs but one must be present, and others only optionally appear with SFPs. This implies that the SFPs cannot be the main trigger of RD, but they are compatible or in favor of the derivation of RD.

Dou ‘already’, *kuai* ‘soon’ and *ye* (for a soften tone) require the presence of the sentence-final *le*, both when they are in their canonical position and when they are dislocated to the rightmost of the clause (see Lü Shuxiang 1980:178, 339, 597):

- (10) a. *Ni dou chiwan WANFAN *(le)!*
 you already eat-finish dinner LE
 b. *Ni chiwan WANFAN *(le) dou!*
 you eat-finish dinner LE already
 ‘You have already finished the dinner! (It’s too early to do that.)’
- (11) a. *Wo kuai shang FEIJI *(le)*
 I soon get.on airplane LE
 b. *Wo shang FEIJI *(le) kuai*
 I get.on airplane LE soon
 ‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’

With these two adverbs, after the sentence-final *le* it is free to add another SFP, including *ma* (yes-no question), *a* (softening) and *ba* (confirmation).

Ye (for a soften tone) can be used in many contexts (Lü Shuxiang 1980:597), but it is allowed to be right-dislocated only when the clause expresses a comment of the speaker about some target already mentioned or physically present in the context, and the comment is inappropriate according to the speaker (or the “criticism context” of the modal *ye* in terms of Yang 2020):

- (12) a. *Ni ye TAI xiangxin tade hua *(le)!*
 you SOFT.TONE too believe his/her word LE
 b. *Ni TAI xiangxin tade hua *(le) ye!*
 you too believe his/her word LE SOFT.TONE
 ‘(I think) You believe his/her words too much!’

Notice that both *tai* ‘too’ and the sentence-final *le* are required in this construction and the usage of *tai* ‘too’ is often combined with the sentence-final *le* (Lü Shuxiang 1980:526), as *le* can be used “in reporting something unusual which has just happened” because “the state of affairs contradicts our normal expectations” (Li and Thompson 1981:268). But when *ye* is not present, the sentence is also fine without *le*.

- (13) *Ni tai wanpi!*
 you too naughty
 ‘You are too naughty!’

Thus, the sentence-final *le* should be a requirement of the adverb *ye*, similar to *dou* ‘already’ and *kuai* ‘soon’.

jiu (‘then’), *hai2* (‘even’) and *you* (‘again’) are also compatible with (but not require) the sentence-final *le*, and they can only take a SFP in order to be right-dislocated. But either

one of them must appear.⁵

- (14) a. *Wo jiu HE yibei *(ba).*
I then drink one-glass SFP
b. *Wo HE yibei *(ba) jiu.*
I drink one-glass SFP then
'I will then drink a glass (of some beverage) (as a compromise).'
- (15) a. *Wo jiu BU qu beijing *(le).*
I then NEG go Beijing LE
b. *Wo BU qu beijing *(le) jiu.*
I NEG go Beijing LE then
'Then I will not go to Beijing.'
- (16) a. *Hai SHAOXIANDUIYUAN *(ne)!*
even young.pioneer SFP
b. *SHAOXIANDUIYUAN *(ne) hai!*
young.pioneer SFP even
'You are even a member of young pioneer! (What you have done is not appropriate for such an identity).'
- (17) a. *Ni hai gei ta QIAN *(le)!*
you even give him/her money LE
b. *Ni gei ta QIAN *(le) hai!*
you give him/her money LE even
'You even gave him/her money? (While I imagined that you would not.)'
- (18) a. *Ni you gan SHENME *(ne)?*
you again do what SFP
b. *Ni gan SHENME *(ne) you?*
you do what SFP again
'Now what are you doing? (After that you have done so many stupid things!)
- (19) a. *Wo you fan CUOWU *(le).*
I again commit mistake LE
b. *Wo fan CUOWU *(le) you.*
I commit mistake LE again
'I made a mistake again!'

hai1 'still' and *zheng* 'right (be doing)' instead are not compatible with the sentence-final *le*, for the fact that they can be used only in an imperfective event. However, in order to be allowed in RD constructions, there should be at least one SFP in the non-RD clause. More precisely, *hai1* 'still' has to appear with *ne* (informative) or *ma* (yes-no question) while *zheng* 'right (be doing)' with *ne* (informative) and *laizhe* (recent past).

- (20) a. *Wo mingtian hai KAN *(ne)!*
I tomorrow still read SFP

⁵Without these adverbs, the sentence-final *le* and SFPs in these sentences are not required any more. For example if *jiu* is not present in (14-a)

- (i) *Wo HE yibei.*
I drink one-glass
'I will drink a glass (of some beverage).'

- b. *Wo mingtian KAN *(ne) hai*
 I tomorrow read SFP still
 ‘I will still read it tomorrow!’
- (21) a. *Wo zheng XIAQI *(ne)!*
 I right play.chess SFP
- b. *Wo XIAQI *(ne) zheng*
 I play.chess SFP right
 ‘I’m playing chess right now!’

cai ‘only’ and *zai* ‘further/again’, the last two adverbs mentioned in this chapter are not forced to appear with any SFP, and they are incompatible with the sentence-final *le*, since they always express an imperfective aspect. But one peculiar property of them among the adverbs is that, in order to be right-dislocated, they must be connected⁶ with a NumP in the VP:

- (22) a. *Ni cai SANSHIsui (a)!*
 you only thirty-year SFP
- b. *Ni SANSHIsui (a) cai!*
 you thirty-year SFP only
 ‘You are only thirty years old! (I expected more!’
- (23) a. *Ni zai DU liangbian (ba)!*
 you further read two-time SFP
- b. *Ni DU liangbian (ba) zai!*
 you read two-time SFP further
 ‘(You should better) read it two more times!’

In summary, the monosyllabic adverbs that can be right-dislocated in Mandarin show a heterogeneous pattern with respect to SFPs and the sentence-final *le*, which suggests that the derivation of the RD construction does not essentially depend on the presence of SFPs, although it may have an impact on the derivation.

4.3 Monosyllabic Adverb RD and the Left Periphery: Focus and SFPs

Above in §4.2 I have shown that the RD of these monosyllabic adverbs in Mandarin has two properties: 1) all cases involve an accented phrase; 2) most of them require at least one SFP (including sentence-final *le*) to be presented in the left string, except the two which are related to numbers, which means that SFPs can facilitate RD but cannot be the main trigger.

Intuitively, if we suppose that the accented constituents are actually Focus, this observation will suggest that this type of RD in Mandarin is strictly related to the Left Periphery where

⁶But notice that they are not operators that modifies the core semantics of the clause. The exhaustive reading of “thirty years old” in (22) is already known in the context, as well as the additive property of “two times” in (23). In these two examples, *cai* ‘only’ gives rise to the surprise of the speaker and *zai* ‘further/again’ softens the imperative tone.

When they are not used with a NumP in the VP, they cannot be dislocated, for the reason that they cannot be “redundant” to the sentential meaning. For example:

- (i) a. *Ta ZUOTIAN cai zou.*
 she/he yesterday only leave
 ‘She/he didn’t leave until yesterday.’
- b. **Ta ZUOTIAN zou cai.*
 she/he yesterday leave only

both discourse-pragmatic functions and SFPs are likely to be realized. However, the idea is not exempt from doubts. On the one hand, it is not clear whether the Focus in Mandarin is always realized *in situ* or can be optionally moved to the Left Periphery; on the other, the derivation of clauses with SFPs in various languages is still subject to discussion, especially the sentence-final *le* which presents some different properties from other SFPs.

The following paragraphs are mainly divided into two parts. The first part concentrates on the notion of Focus and the context in which the monosyllabic adverbs can be used. By providing a discourse analysis to some examples, I will first show that at the discourse level, a RD construction with these adverbs always involves a New Information Focus or a Mirative Focus; then I will argue that syntactically the Focus Fronting is possible in Mandarin, but must be realized in a pied-piping way, different from the Focus Fronting in Italian proposed in the literature. When the preposed portion is not the entire TP/IP, the product of this pied-piping Focus Fronting is RD; when the entire TP/IP is preposed to the Focus position, the surface word order of the clause is the same as the basic order and the clause is only prosodically marked as containing a Focus. Since the latter case logically shows no syntactic evidence to be distinguished from the *in situ* Focus, I will only discuss the former case which is the central topic of this dissertation.

The second part will dedicate to the SFPs in Mandarin, based on previous studies, I will support the idea that: 1) SFPs mentioned in this dissertation are split-C heads different from Focus, and they trigger the movement of a relevant portion from the clause to their specifiers, except the sentence-final *le*, for which I consider that 2) it is syntactically and semantically different from the verb-*le* (in terms of Sybesma 1999), and different from other SFPs in the sense that it merges in a TP-internal position and can only trigger the movement of a vP or a phrase of a similar size, while it can never scope over a functional element in TP/IP area higher than itself.

4.3.1 Focus

As we can see from the previous proposals in the literature listed in Chapter 2, the syntactic structure of RD is often linked to the Left Periphery in all investigated languages.

One of the consensus about RD in various languages is that it always involves a prosodically accented phrase (as I marked by capital letters in the examples) in the “non-dislocated” part. Some authors (Cheung 1997, 2009, Cardinaletti 2001, Belletti 2004, Samek-Lodovic 2015, Ott and De Vries 2016) assume that the RD structure implies a Focus component in the left string of the clause, while the de-accented right string can never be focused⁷

In addition, Hole (2004) treats *cai*, *jiu*, *dou*, *ye* four adverbs⁸ in Mandarin, which also take part in this chapter, as particles related to Focus.

Then it seems natural to think that RD involves a Focus Fronting of the main part, which leaves the RD part behind to the right, as proposed by Cheung (2009) for RD in Cantonese. However, this is far from clear. First, no direct evidence shows that Mandarin Chinese has the left-peripheral Focus position similar to the FocusP proposed by Rizzi (1997), where a Corrective Focus in Italian is supposed to be realized. A Corrective Focus in Mandarin must occur *in situ* ((24-b)) and it can never appear sentence-initially ((24-a)):

- (24) a. **Yi-shuang-XIE wo mai-le*, (*bu shi yi-tiao-kuzi*).
 one-pair-shoe I buy-LE not be one-CL-trousers
 b. *Wo mai-le yi-shuang-XIE*, (*bu shi yi-tiao-kuzi*).
 I buy-LE one-pair-shoe not be one-CL-trousers

⁷Except the “Afterthought” type described by Ott and De Vries 2016, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

⁸The translation is not provided considering the complexity of the semantics of these adverbs, see the classification of each adverb in Hole (2004).

‘I bought a pair of SHOES, not trousers!’

Second, at least some types of Focus do not trigger the Focus Fronting, as claimed by Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina (2013), they suggest that in Italian a Mirative Focus and a Corrective/Contrastive Focus can be expressed by Focus Fronting, while a “merely Contrastive Focus” (an “utterance-internal contrast”, e.g., “You’d better take [the TAXI], not [the underground]...”) is always *in situ*. Samek-Lodovici (2015) instead argues that in Italian the Focus is always realized *in situ* and the multiple positions for Focus-marking are exactly brought up by RD, instead of the other way round.

Therefore, before I precede to the syntactic analysis of the monosyllabic adverb RD and all types of RD investigated in this dissertation, it is important to make clear if there is really a Focus in the non-dislocated part, and if it is, which kind of Focus can it be and how it participates in licensing the RD.

To illustrate the idea that: i) a monosyllabic adverb RD always involves a Mirative Focus or a New Information Focus and ii) in Mandarin the Focus can be realized via Focus Fronting in a pied-piping way, as anticipated before, I will first discuss some examples of the context where a RD construction can be legitimately used, concluding that they all imply an intention of expressing Focus from the speaker; then I will provide some tests to argue that the Focus Fronting does exist in Mandarin, but it must be realized through pied-piping movements, i.e., movements of a bigger portion rather than the exact phrase carrying Focus.

Always Focus

In the next paragraphs I will show some examples of the context in which a monosyllabic adverb can be right-dislocated. On the basis of this evidence, I will argue that RD of monosyllabic adverbs always involves a Focus in the non-dislocated part, and the Focus can be a New Information Focus or a Mirative Focus. The definition of these two Foci adopted here is the following:

- (25) **New Information Focus:** expressions that use alternatives to indicate covert questions suggested by the context. (Krifka 2008)
Mirative Focus: the speaker expresses that the information she is asserting has been very recently acquired and is not yet integrated in her system of beliefs. (Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2013)

For demonstration purposes, I will only present examples of the following adverbs: *kuai* ‘soon’, as a representative to time and aspectual adverbs; *ye* (soften tone), on behalf of pure modal (expressive) particles; *cai* ‘only’, as it is connected to numerals; and *dou* ‘already’, as it is allowed to be used in questions. The relation between SFPs and Focus will not be considered for now. Let us call the interlocutors Ann and Ben.

kuai ‘soon’

- (26) *Wo shang FEIJI *(le) kuai*
I get.on airplane LE soon
‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’
(=(11-b))

A natural context in which (26) is pronounced could be that Ann calls Ben on the phone, and Ben is getting on the plane and he **hints the urgency** to Ann, so either she should hurry up or she must wait until Ben arrives. In this context, Ben is informing Ann that he will “get on the plane soon”, probably as an answer to an covert question like “do you have a minute” or

“what is your state now”. An alternative answer to (26) could be “I am waiting in no hurry (so go ahead)” or “I am off work (so call me back tomorrow)”, depending on the Common Ground shared by Ann and Ben. Now we can infer that this clause involves a **New Information Focus**, as there are alternatives (although as an open set) and a covert question.

Notice that the most restricted portion of the new information is “getting on the plane”, since the subject “I” is implied in the context and the adverb “soon” is only a **reinforcement** of the imminence of the event already expressed by the aspect of this clause. Not surprisingly, Ben can also choose to put the subject in the right-dislocated part:

- (27) *Shang FEIJI *(le) wo kuai*
 get.on airplane LE I soon
 ‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’

ye for a softened tone

- (28) *Ni TAI xiangxin tade hua *(le) ye!*
 you too believe his/her word LE SOFT.TONE
 ‘(I think) You believe his/her words too much!’
 (= (12-b))

This clause is an exclamation and thus definitely not a new information to the interlocutor. The situation could be that Ann has defended one of their friends, insisting that he/she was innocent because he/she said so. Ben expresses his attitude by uttering (28). The accented phrase is the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’, which indicates that the extent of “believing his/her words” has exceeded the normal level believed by Ben. This information comes from the former dialogue between them, and Ben is expressing his surprise that it results more than he thought. Recall the definition of **Mirative Focus** in (25) and it is exactly the case. *Ye* here is purely functional without an appropriate English translation, it turns an absolute judgement (“You are too...!”) into a personal comment (“I think you are too...”) and for this reason it is defined as a sign of “softened tone”. It does not contribute to the core semantics of the sentence and thus can naturally be out of the scope of the Focus. As an exclamation, the subject “you” can be inferred from the context, and again the subject can be put on the right of the clause:

- (29) *TAI xiangxin tade hua *(le) ni ye!*
 too believe his/her word LE you SOFT.TONE
 ‘(I think) You believe his/her words too much!’

cai ‘only’

- (30) *Ni SANSHI sui (a) cai!*
 you thirty-year SFP only
 ‘You are only thirty years old! (I expected more!)’
 (= (22-b))

Cai is translated as ‘only’ and it is natural to link it to the *only*-focus. But notice that in Mandarin the real *only*-focus is normally marked by *zhi(you)* (lit. ‘only there be’) and it cannot be dislocated to the right of its scope. *Cai* here gives rise to the additional meaning in brackets “I expected more”, which would not be implied only by using *zhi(you)*. A possible context could be that Ben has never met Ann before, and he thought that she was at her forty’s. When Ann tells him that she is only thirty years old, Ben is surprised and utters (30). Similar to (28), it is a recently acquired information and the speaker has difficulties in believing it. Therefore, this example is also a case of **Mirative Focus**.

Here the narrowest Focus is “thirty”, as opposed to “forty” as Ben believed. *Cai* ‘only’ does not add an exhaustiveness to the numeral, unlike *zhi(you)* that would turn the semantics into “thirty and not more than thirty”. We can then suppose that *cai* is not an operator that adds more information to the numeral, but an intensifier, again, reinforces the surprising property of the number.

The subject can be put on the right of the sentence, too:

- (31) *SANSHI*sui (a) *ni cai!*
 thirty-year SFP you only
 ‘You are only thirty years old! (I expected more!)’

dou ‘already’

- (32) *Ta fa XINZHUANJI le dou?*
 she/he release new.album LE already
 ‘She/he has already released a new album? (I can’t believe it!)’
- (33) *Ta fa XINZHUANJI le dou!*
 she/he release new.album LE already
 ‘She/he has already released a new album!’
- (34) *Ta fa XINZHUANJI le ba dou?*
 she/he release new.album LE SFP already
 ‘She/he has already released a new album, right?’

This group of examples is more curious than the former ones as it can be uttered in the form of a question and be modified by the SFP *ba*, which is claimed to mark the sentence as “doubtful posed statement” (Chao 1968).

Sentence (32) is likely to be used when Ben has just known from Ann that his favorite musician has recently released a new album, while Ben is still enjoying the one released last year without even thinking about it. It is clear that again there is a recently acquired information, and the speaker still has difficulty to believe in it, thus (32) expresses a **Mirative Focus**. Example (33) instead can be uttered when Ann has heard that Ben is still listening the last album without knowing that there is a new one. Here Ann wants to add this information into the Common Ground shared with Ben by answering the covert question “what is the latest news of this musician”, that Ben is supposed to be interested in, and there are implicit alternatives like “she/he did nothing recently”. Therefore, the case of (33) contains a **New Information Focus**. A formal difference between the two sentences is that (32) is realized as a question, though Ben has accepted that the proposition is true and thus he is not actually asking the truth value, otherwise he would use the yes-no question SFP *ma*.

Example (34) looks like a variant of (32) with the addition of the SFP *ba*. However, it requires a similar context as that of (33) in which Ann wants to inform Ben, the only thing changed is that Ann is less sure than she is in (33), and therefore she expresses her doubt by using the SFP, but the uncertainty is not as strong as using a modal adverb or a modal verb and can be paraphrased as “am I wrong” or “don’t you know it”. For this reason, it should have the same informative function as (33) has, and thus contains a **New Information Focus**.

Again, here in all three variants the subject must be given in the context and can appear in the right string together with the monosyllabic adverb:

- (35) *Fa XINZHUANJI le (ba), ta dou!/?*
 release new.album LE SFP she/he already

To sum up, I propose that the monosyllabic adverb RD always involves a Focus, and this

Focus can be either a New Information Focus or a Mirative Focus.

Focus Fronting in Mandarin and RD

Before preceding to the discussion of the syntactic structure of the monosyllabic adverb RD, let me insert an interlude slightly distracted from the main theme of this chapter, but crucial for the rest of the discussion.

The reason that the existence of a left-peripheral Focus position in Mandarin is doubted by many scholars (see, for example, Gao 1994, Badan 2007) is that the typical Corrective Focus, which according to Rizzi (1997) can be realized in the left-peripheral FocusP, cannot be realized by a simple movement of the focused element to the left of the clause in Mandarin (see (36-a)). Instead, the *in situ* Focus ((36-b)), the cleft constructions ((36-c)) and the pseudo-cleft (Cheng 2008, Paul and Whitman 2008) construction ((36-d)) are systematically used to mark a Corrective Focus:

- (36) *Ann mai-le yi-tai diannao*
 Ann buy-LE one-CL computer
 ‘Ann bought a computer.’
- a. **Bu, yi-tai DIANSHI ta mai-le, bu *(shi) yi-tai diannao*
 NEG one-CL television she buy-LE NEG be one-CL computer
 (Focus Fronting)
- b. *(Bu,) ta mai-le yi-tai DIANSHI, bu *(shi) yi-tai diannao*
 NEG she buy-LE one-CL television NEG be one-CL computer
 ‘No, she bought a television, not a computer.’
 (*in situ* Focus)
- c. *(Bu,) shi BEN mai-le yi-tai diannao, bu *(shi) Ann*
 NEG be Ben buy-LE one-CL computer NEG be Ann
 ‘No, it is Ben that bought a computer, not Ann.’
 (Cleft)
- d. *(Bu,) ta mai de shi yi-tai DIANSHI, bu *(shi) yi-tai diannao*
 NEG she buy DE be one-CL television NEG be one-CL computer
 ‘No, what she bought is a television, not a computer.’
 (Pseudo-cleft)

Notice that in the grammatical sentences (36-b), (36-c) and (36-d), independently from the presence/absence of the copula in the main clause, **the correction part must contain the copula *shi* after the negator *bu***, which is different from the Corrective Focus in English (see the translation) and in Italian:

- (37) *No, un TELEVISORE ha comprato, non un computer!*
 no a television have.3SG bought NEG a computer
 ‘No, she bought a television, not a computer!’

This evidence may suggest that in Mandarin the contrast between the correction and the correspondent wrong element cannot be simply sorted out and put into comparison, like in (37) where the focalized DP is claimed to be directly moved to the left-peripheral FocusP. It must be inserted in a bigger construction with the support of the copula.

In other words, **what is contrasted in Mandarin is not “a television” vs. “a computer”, but “be a television” vs. “be a computer”**. For this reason, in Mandarin the sentential structure must be changed⁹ in order to realize the Corrective Focus, and therefore the typical left-peripheral FocusP on its own cannot be used to mark it.

⁹Probably this also holds for the *in situ* Corrective Focus, but I will not go deeper into this topic.

Nevertheless, even a cleft or a pseudo-cleft construction can have a RD version. Compare (38) to (36-d):

- (38) *Yi-tai DIANSHI (ba), ta mai de shi. Bu *(shi) yi-tai diannao*
 one-CL television SFP she buy DE be NEG be one-CL computer
 ‘What she bought is a television, (right?) Not a computer.’

The “doubtful posed statement” SFP *ba* in the left part of the clause indicates that this must be a RD construction rather than other constructions, like a Topicalization which cannot give rise to the meaning of “...right?”. This example reminds us those RD constructions with the subject in the right string mentioned above (e.g. (35) (31) etc.).

Furthermore, the right string is not a meaningful clause. Even if Mandarin is a pro-drop language, in this context, the DP after the copula cannot be omitted:

- (39) **Ta mai de shi.*
 She buy DE be

Instead, in a Topicalization case, the non-topicalized part is always grammatical as an independent clause:

- (40) a. *Dianshi_{TOPIC}, wo mai le.*
 television I buy LE
 ‘As for the television, I bought it.’
 b. *Wo mai le.*
 I buy LE
 ‘I bought it.’

Thus, we have to conclude that the constituent containing the sentential Focus (“a TELEVISION”) is moved to the left. Notice that no Focus can be left in the right string, but the leftward moved part can be bigger than the strict Focus, similar to the observation of Cheung (2009) in Cantonese:

- (41) *Mai de shi yi-tai DIANSHI (ba), (ta), bu *(shi) yi-tai diannao*
 buy DE be one-CL television SFP she NEG be one-CL computer
 ‘What she bought is a television, (right?) Not a computer.’

Now the question is: to which position and for which reason can a constituent containing the New Information Focus, the Mirative Focus or the Corrective Focus move?

My solution to this is to assume that the left-peripheral FocusP position can be activated and host a constituent that contains the Focus in Mandarin. However, different from Italian, i) the moved constituent must be a projection from the clausal spine, thus from a complement position of a higher projection, instead of from a specifier position; ii) it must take all the lower projections and can optionally take some higher non-focused projections and move together with them in a pied-piping way (like in (41)), and iii) this FocusP cannot mark a Corrective Focus on its own, a Corrective Focus is instead realized by a cleft or a cleft-like construction.

The first two points predict that when the sentential subject is focused, lower projections like the VP or the object DP cannot be right-dislocated, because they must be moved together with the focused subject by pied-piping, whether the cleft construction is used or not. In other words, the effect of a subject Focalization movement will be “invisible”, since all the following projections must be moved with it keeping their original word order. This is borne out:

- (42) a. *ZHANGSAN da-le Lisi (ba). Bu shi Wangwu*
 Zhangsan hit-LE Lisi SFP NEG be Wangwu

- ‘Zhangsan hit Lisi, not Wangwu.’
(in situ Focus on subject)
- b. *ZHANGSAN (*ba*), *da-le* Lisi. *Bu shi* Wangwu
 Zhangsan SFP hit-LE Lisi NEG be Wangwu
 intended ‘Zhangsan hit Lisi, not Wangwu.’
(in situ Focus on subject with RD)
- c. *Shi* ZHANGSAN *da de* Lisi (*ba*). *Bu shi* Wangwu
 be Zhangsan hit DE Lisi SFP NEG be Wangwu
 ‘It is Zhangsan that hit Lisi, not Wangwu.’
 (Cleft Focus on subject)
- d. **Shi* ZHANGSAN (*ba*), *da de* Lisi. *Bu shi* Wangwu
 be Zhangsan SFP hit DE Lisi NEG be Wangwu
 intended ‘it is Zhangsan that hit Lisi, not Wangwu.’
 (Cleft Focus on subject with VP RD)
- e. **Shi* ZHANGSAN *da de* (*ba*), Lisi. *Bu shi* Wangwu
 be Zhangsan hit DE SFP Lisi NEG be Wangwu
 intended ‘it is Zhangsan that hit Lisi, not Wangwu.’
 (Cleft Focus on subject with DP RD)

Cheung (2009:199-200) also reports a similar phenomenon in Cantonese RD with the New Information Focus: when the focused constituent is a DP, the left string can be either the DP, the VP that contains the DP, or the IP that contains the VP; while the right string looks like a remnant. He proposes the following derivation for Cantonese RD, where the SFP is a Focus marker, and when there is no overt SFP, he assumes that there is a silent SFP (Cheng 2009, footnote 6). See Figure 4.1, where β stands for the focused part, α is the right-dislocated part, and “SP” refers to “sentential particles”, which is the same as “SFP” in this dissertation.

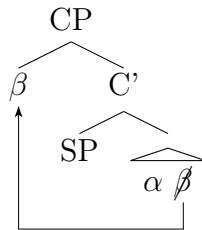


Figure 4.1: Cheung 2009:209

The structure is very intuitive, but if we adopt a Cartographic approach to analyze it, some flaws can be individuated: 1) SFPs are supposed to convey illocutionary Force, attitude and other functions related to the Information Structure, and they are organized in a fixed order in the syntactic structure, thus they should be differentiated from a simple Focus marker; 2) it does not consider other possible combinations with CP elements, like a sentential Topic and discourse markers.

The syntactic status of the SFPs seems crucial now to figure out the exact structural basis of the derivation of the monosyllabic adverb RD.

4.3.2 SFPs and Sentence-final *le*

The discussion of SFPs has always interested linguists of different fields since they present many particular syntactic properties and interact with other elements in the clause. Among recent syntactic researches, most of the scholars (Li 2006, Paul 2014, 2015, Pan and Paul 2016, Del Gobbo, Munaro and Poletto 2015, Paul and Pan 2016, Pan 2021) agree with the idea that SFPs

are C heads¹⁰ Other issues, like their head directionality and the syntactic status of the low SFPs are still under clamorous discussion. For this dissertation about RD, I will not go into much detail on this topic, but necessarily make clear the idea I take to guarantee the further analysis of the RD structure proposed in §4.5

SFPs in Mandarin

Although there is still no consensus on the exact number of SFPs in Mandarin, they can be clearly categorized in at least three different classes, as first proposed by Zhu Dexi (1982, reported by Paul 2015):

1. SFPs that occur nearest to the sentence (TP) and is said to express “tense” (e.g., *le*, *laizhe*);
2. SFPs that appear to the right of the first class and convey notions such as question (*ma*) and imperative (*ba*);
3. SFPs that involve the speaker’s attitude or feelings (e.g., *a*, *ei*).

As noticed by the scholars, SFPs of different categories can be stacked:

- (43) *Laowang zai xiaqi ne ba?*
 Laowang PROG play.chess SFP1 SFP2
 ‘Laowang is playing chess, right?’

Paul (2014, 2015) combines the categorization of Zhu Dexi (1982) and the recent syntactic proposal of the split-CP (which has motivated a large amount of researches since Rizzi 1997), arguing the following hierarchy of Mandarin SFPs:

- (44) (TP) < low C < medium C (force) < high C (attitude)

This hierarchy is further refined by Pan (2015)¹¹

- (45) (TP) < S.AspP (sentential aspect particles) < OnlyP (exclusive focus particle) < iFor-
 ceP (illocutionary Force) < SQP (special questions) < AttP1 < AttP2 (discourse par-
 ticles related to the speaker’s attitude)

For the fact that SFPs always function at the discourse level, despite the different terms that scholars use to call them, their C-head status is widely accepted in the literature, including cross-linguistic studies. For instance, Del Gobbo, Munaro and Poletto (2015) argue that the sentential particles found in some Northern Italian dialects and Chinese SFPs show similar properties and can be analyzed in a parallel way as C heads.

However, this kind of analysis is still unsatisfying. One of the major problems regards the head-final status of SFPs. The sentence-final position leads to two solutions of the syntactic representation: we can either allow right-hand heads in the CP that take their complement to their left¹² (as proposed by Pan 2015, Erlewine 2017 a.o.); or we can keep the C-heads on the

¹⁰Tang (2015) proposes that SFPs in Chinese are complements of functional categories, which may support the theory of Kayne (2015) that all the heads are silent. Though attractive, this would require a total revolution of the basic assumptions adopted in this dissertation, thus I will leave it for the future research.

¹¹For a similar hierarchical proposal see also Li (2006:64): Discourse > Degree > Force > Evaluative > Mood > Fin.

¹²Notice that this analysis would bring about an obvious violation of the Final-Over-Final Constraint, as discussed in a wide range of studies. This intriguing topic is beyond the aim of this dissertation, I would only suggest that FOFC may be not an absolute “constraint”, as other evidence of violation is also found in languages, though the cases are rare (see Cinque in prep.)

Sentence-final *le*

Another important disagreement among linguists is about the sentence-final *le*. *Le* is a notorious particle in the Chinese linguistics, it has several different functions and can appear in at least two positions in Mandarin.

- (46) *Wo chi-le liang-wan fan le.*
 I eat-LE two-bowl rice LE
 ‘I have eaten two bowls of rice.’

To make it clear, here I follow the claim of Chao (1968), Li and Thompson (1981) and Sybesma (1999) that there are two different *les* in Mandarin, the “verb-*le*” (the one after “eat” in (46)) and the “sentence-*le*” (the one after “rice” in (46)). With “sentence-final *le*” I refer to the one that always appears after the direct object (if there is a direct object) and other verb complements. Without special specification, in the following examples I will only use the sentence-final *le*.

This particle contains both an aspectual information and a discourse information, it appears sentence-finally, but it is always the closest to the sentence, i.e., **to the left of all the other SFPs when they co-occur**.

- (47) *Laowang bu chouyan le ma?*
 Laowang NEG smoke LE SFP
 ‘Laowang doesn’t smoke any longer?’

The most accepted definition of its semantics is that it denotes a “currently relevant state” (Li and Thompson 1981:238). Its sentence-final property renders it legitimate to be akin to other SFPs, as proposed by Li and Thompson (1981), Zhu Dexi (1982), Paul (2014, 2015), Pan and Paul (2016), Paul and Pan (2016) and Pan (2018, 2021). See, for instance, Figure 4.2 where it occupies the head of the S.AspP, higher than the TP. However, at the same time, it is also intuitive to argue that it is a TP/IP particle (see Li 1992, Tang 1998, Erlewine 2017), given that the sentence-final *le* has its aspectual meaning and it is lower than all the other SFPs. Figure 4.4 is a representation of a TP-internal sentence-final *le*.

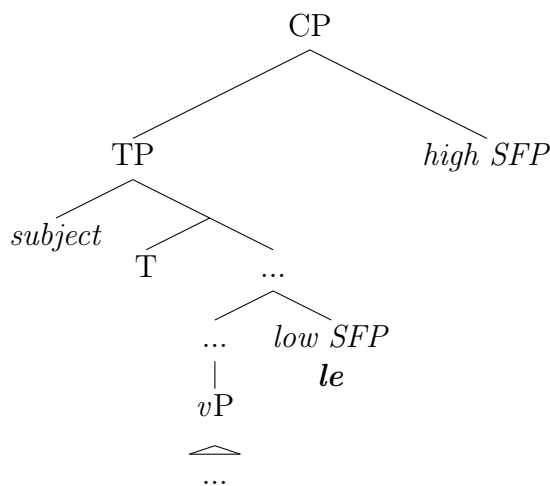


Figure 4.4: Erlewine 2017:39, slightly modified

Erlewine (2017) lists four topics in favor of a TP-internal-*le* proposal, which regards the negation, modals, *wh*-words and alternative questions. Pan (2018) in particular points out

that the evidence is defective and can be better captured by a CP-*le* account¹³ I will briefly illustrate the interaction of the sentence-final *le* and modals, including the claims of the two authors and an additional discussion which is in favor of Erlewine’s (2017) thesis.

- (48) a. *Wo mingtian xuyao qu chengdu le.*
 I tomorrow MUST go Chengdu LE
 ✓‘It’s now the case [change of state] that tomorrow, I must go to Chengdu.’
 Example context: An employee comes home to tell her husband that her boss is unexpectedly sending her on assignment to Chengdu the next day.
 *‘It will be the case that tomorrow, I must go to Chengdu.’
 Example context: An employee predicts that her employer will send her to Chengdu, even though she is currently not assigned to go.
- b. *Wo mingtian yao qu Chengdu le.*
 I tomorrow WILL go Chengdu LE
 *‘It is now the case [change of state] that tomorrow, I will go to Chengdu.’
 ✓‘Tomorrow, I will be going to Chengdu [as a new state].’

(Erlewine 2017:50, cited from Santana-LaBarge 2016:413)

In (48-a), the “currently relevant state” modified by the sentence-final *le* scopes over the deontic auxiliary verb *xuyao* ‘must’, while the other auxiliary verb *yao* in (48-b), glossed as ‘will’ in the example, should stay out of the scope of the sentence-final *le* to get the right interpretation. According to the hierarchy of functional verbs in Mandarin proposed by Badan and Sun (under review) which follows the terminology of Cinque (1999, 2006), *xuyao* is an Obligation Modal functional verb translated as ‘must’ and *yao* belongs to the projection of Prospective Aspect Phrase and is glossed as ‘be going to’. What is important here is that in the universal functional hierarchy of Cinque (1999, 2006), the Prospective Aspect is higher than the Obligation Modal, and the example (48) exactly shows that the sentence-final *le* can scope over the lower auxiliary verb but not the higher one¹⁴ This suggests that the sentence-final *le* should not be higher than the $Asp_{prospective}$ projection which is undoubtedly in the TP/IP area.

Pan (2018) also mentions the co-occurrence of *le* (and another low SFP *eryi* ‘only’) and “modal auxiliary verbs” in the section in which he shows that the *bu+shi* (NEG+be) construction cannot be analyzed as a simple negator, but involves two clauses, in which the lower clause under *shi* ‘be’ can have a sentence-final *le*. If the auxiliary appears in the higher clause, there should not be any problem of scope. As for modals and a construction without *bu+shi*, he argues that *yinggai* ‘should’ with its epistemic reading is located high in the clause, and can take a clausal complement, as shown in (49):

- (49) $[_{TP1} \textit{Yinggai} [_{S.AspP=CP} [_{TP2} \textit{zhe zhou bu hui zai xia xue} \textit{le}]]]$
 should this week NEG will again fall snow LE
 ‘It should be the case that it stops snowing this week.’
 (Pan 2019:106)

Badan and Sun (under review) argue that the epistemic *yinggai*, different from the deontic *yinggai* which means ‘should’, is not a modal auxiliary verb, and should be considered as

¹³Other discussions in Pan (2018), though correctly point out the insufficiency of Erlewine’s (2017) evidence, could all be explained in another way keeping the TP/IP-internal interpretation of the sentence-final *le*. I will leave it open for another occasion.

¹⁴Between the $Asp_{prospective}$ and the $Mod_{obligation}$, according to the hierarchy presented in Cinque (2006:175-176) there is an $Asp_{inceptive(I)}$ position. This could be a great candidate for the new-state-related sentence-final *le*. But the idea requires more supporting data and I will leave it for the future research.

an epistemic **adverb** ranking higher than the TP with the meaning ‘probably’, and the clause contains only one CP, i.e., it is a mono-clausal sentence. Following this idea, it is not problematic at all to claim that *le* is in an IP position:

- (50) $[_{ModP} \textit{Yinggai} [_{TP} \textit{zhe zhou bu hui zai} [_{leP} [\textit{xia xue}]_i \textit{le} \textit{t}_i]]]$
 probably this week NEG will again fall snow LE

There is another evidence that confirms that (49) is a mono-clausal structure: *zhe zhou* ‘this week’ as a time adverbial can even precede *yinggai* ‘probably’ as a Topic, without changing the meaning of the sentence:

- (51) $[_{TopicP} \textit{Zhe zhou} [_{ModP} \textit{yinggai} [_{TP} \textit{bu hui zai} [_{leP} [\textit{xia xue}]_i \textit{le} \textit{t}_i]]]]]$
 this week probably NEG will again fall snow LE

In other words, the analysis of Pan (2018) about the modals is not sufficient to invalidate a TP/IP-internal consideration of the sentence-final *le*.

Another evidence can be added to the current discussion. If the semantic explanation of the scope in (48) is not evident enough, consider the following example with the sentence-final *le*, in which the prospective aspectual functional verb *yao* ‘be going to’ differs from the ability modal verb *hui*, in this case ‘be able to’:

- (52) A: *Ni yao shang gaozhong le ma?*
 you be.going.to go high.school LE SFP
 ‘Are you going to frequent the high school?’
 B: **Yao le*
 be.going.to LE
 intended: ‘Yes, I am.’
 B’: ?*Yao shang le*
 be.going.to go LE
 B’’: *Yao shang gaozhong le*
 be.going.to go high.school LE
 ‘Yes, I am going to frequent the high school.’
- (53) A: *Ni hui tan gangqin le ma?*
 you be.able.to play piano LE SFP?
 ‘Are you able to play the piano now?’
 B: *Hui le.*
 be.able.to LE.
 B’: *Hui tan le.*
 be.able.to play LE
 B’’: *Hui tan gangqin le.*
 be.able.to play piano LE
 ‘Yes, I am.’

As well known to linguists, in the languages like Mandarin, one can answer a yes-no question by repeating the verb that bears the truth value asked by the interlocutor: this holds for (53), *le* indicates that the “currently relevant state” is that the speaker B at the time of the discourse is able to play the piano, while in the past she/he could not. The lexical verb “play” can be freely added after the modal verb, but the modal verb is enough to answer the truth value of the event in the question.

As a contrast, (52) does not allow the functional verb + *le* cluster as a legitimate positive answer, because the “currently relevant state” is whether the speaker B will start to go to the high school (from a middle school) or not, instead of asking when the event that B goes to

the high school will happen, in the near future (if *yao* ‘be going to’ has a positive value) or still too far to think about (if *yao* ‘be going to’ has a negative value). The answer must be integrated at least by the lexical verb ((52-B’)), or even better with the whole vP ((52-B’’)). In other words, in (52) the prospective aspect is the presupposition of the clause, and the event is potentially subject to change of state (denoted by the sentence-final *le*), while in (53) the event is the presupposition and the speaker A is asking to update her/his knowledge to the modal situation of the event.

In this sense, *le* scopes over the Mod_{ability} verb *hui* ‘be able to’ but not the Asp_{prospective} verb *yao* ‘be going to’, confirming the idea that sentence-final *le* is in a TP/IP internal position.¹⁵

Conclusion

For the above reasons, I will treat the sentence-final *le* as a TP/IP-internal particle instead of a C-head. The other SFPs in Mandarin not specifically mentioned will be considered in line with the previous studies. However, since the exact semantic and syntactic function of the sentence-final *le* seems not perfectly comparable to the well-known functional heads studied in other languages, for now I shall call the projection “leP” to avoid possible theoretical incongruity.

Combined with the previous proposal of the syntactic status of the monosyllabic adverbs (here simply labeled as “AspP” as most of them have an aspectual meaning. However, we shall keep in mind that this should be differentiated from the common adverbs and auxiliary verbs of aspect) and the existence of FocusP in Mandarin, the first approximation of the basic syntactic structure of RD I assume in this chapter is shown in Figure 4.5

¹⁵As for the verb-*le* mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, a particle which always attaches to the verb and precedes the object, in Sun (2018) I have tentatively treated it as a vP-internal particle which has to do with the resultativity of the verbal phrase, but not as an aspectual particle to the whole event. Alternatively, one can assume that it is in one of the lowest functional projections under VoiceP in Cinque’s (1999, 2006) functional hierarchy, together with other similar verbal particles like the progressive *-zhe* and the experiential *-guo*, and the verb in Mandarin can raise to get these particles but cannot exceed VoiceP. In any analysis, the verb-*le* is apparently lower than the sentence-*le*, even if I consider the latter to be TP/IP-internal. The sentence-*le* always scopes over the verb-*le*.

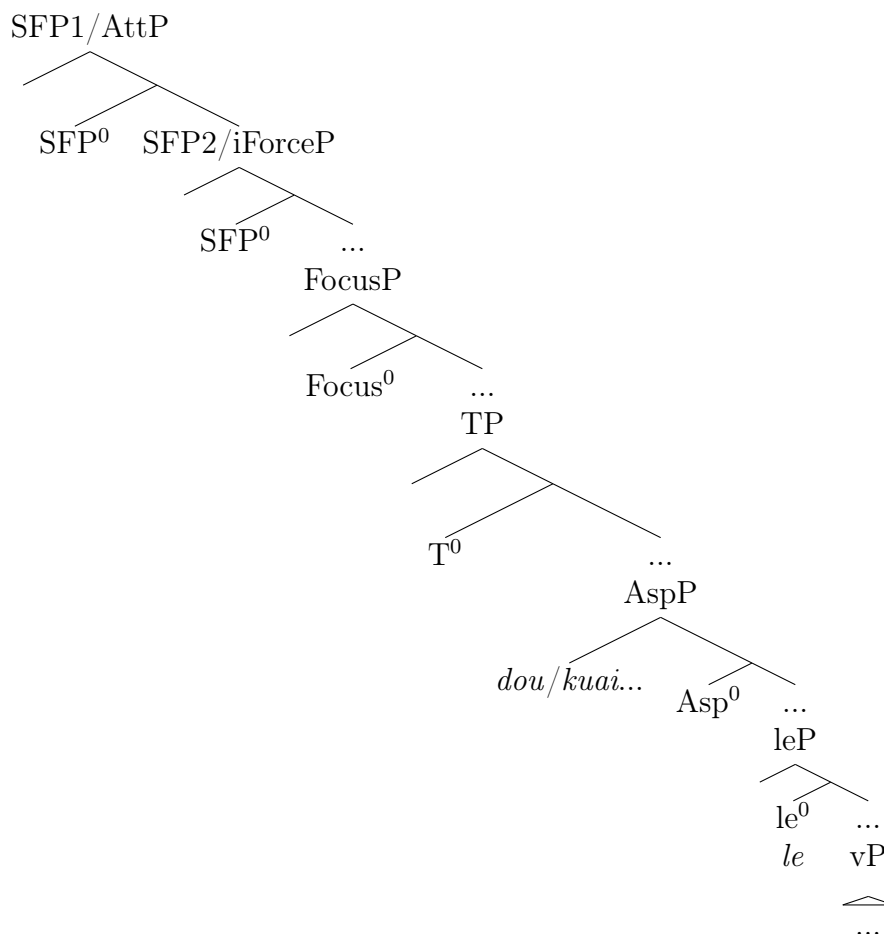


Figure 4.5: Basic structure of monosyllabic adverbs and SFPs: first approximation

4.4 Last Missing Pieces

In the previous sections, I present that these adverbs occupy a TP-internal position, lower than the subject but higher than the sentence-final *le*. Normally they cannot be moved to the Left Periphery to be highlighted or to form the Topic. The RD constructions with these monosyllabic adverbs always encode Focus, and the Focus Fronting should be possible in Mandarin in a pied-piping way. They frequently, but not necessarily, appear together with SFPs. The SFPs, except the sentence-final *le*, head projections in the higher portion of the CP.

With these premises discussed, clearly shown in Figure 4.5 it is already enough to derive a RD case like (27), repeated in (54):

- (54) *Shang FEIJI *(le) wo kuai*
 get.on airplane LE I soon
 ‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’

The derivation, as represented in Figure 4.6 consists of the following processes:

1. Merge all elements in TP;
2. Raise the subject from SpecvP to SpecTP;
3. Sentence-final *le* attracts vP to its specifier;
4. Merge FocusP;
5. Front leP to FocusP as it contains the focused element.

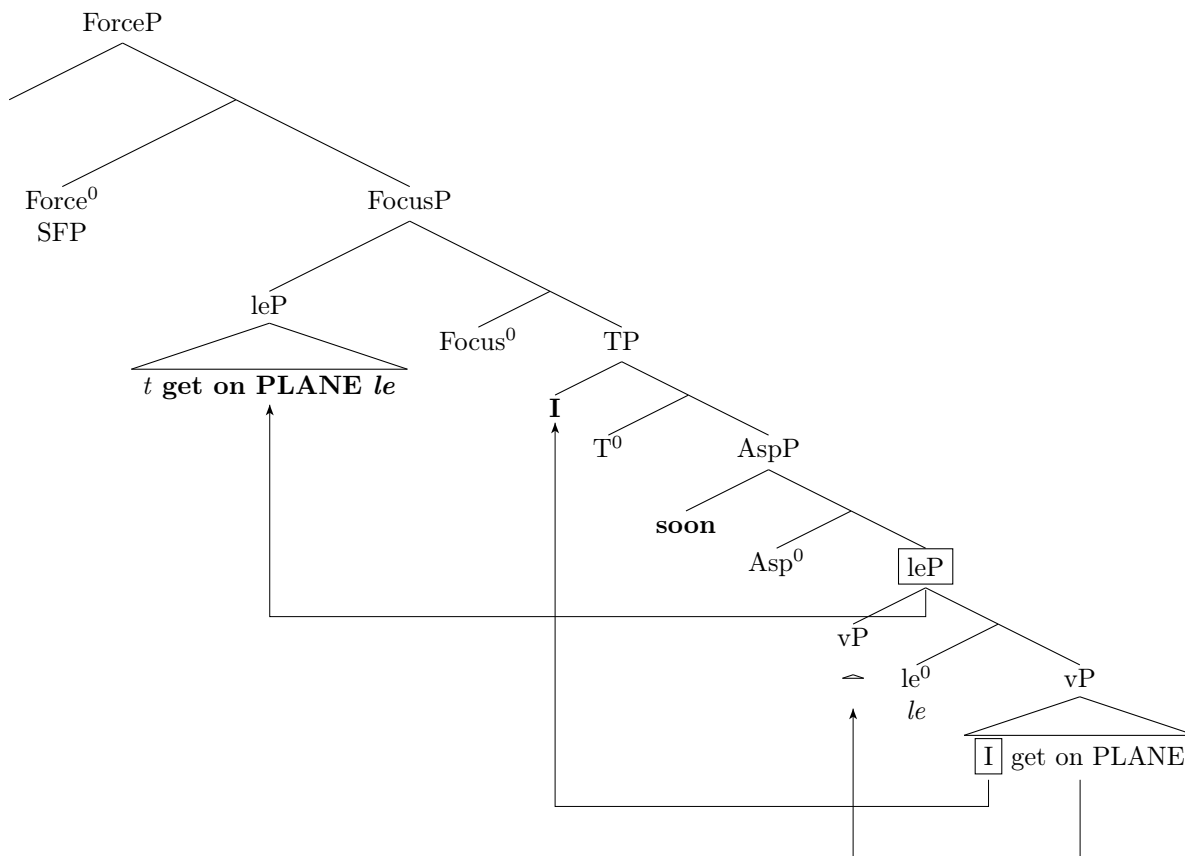


Figure 4.6: Derivation of subject and monosyllabic adverb RD without SFP in CP

What happens when there is a SFP in the C-domain, higher than the FocusP? Since in RD a SFP can only appear before the right-dislocated element, with the structure in Figure 4.6 we will be forced to say that the leP in Spec FocusP is attracted to the specifier of the high SFP to derive the right word order. However, the extraction from FocusP faces the problem of Criterial Freezing as proposed by Rizzi (2012), and it goes against the intuition that SFPs only attract a relevant portion from the clausal spine, as in all proposals about SFPs I have presented in §4.3.2

Moreover, here I take it for granted that the subject in Mandarin raises from vP to TP, as it is supposed to be in many languages. Then, how can we interpret a case with the subject in the “non-dislocated” part, like in (26)?

Some last premises must be made clear before we precede to the proposal and analysis of the monosyllabic adverb RD. In this section, I will introduce the notion of GroundP and the co-existence of Topic and Subject in Mandarin proposed in the literature, to give a firm theoretical support to my proposal that can interpret all the variants of this kind of RD, as well as a part of other RD types which I will mention after the analysis.

4.4.1 GroundP

One of the difficulties in explaining RD is that the notion of “givenness” does not seem sufficient to describe the right-dislocated element. This may be better captured by the RD of the monosyllabic adverbs in Mandarin discussed in this chapter: these adverbs do not possess a full semantic function in the clause and it is tough to claim that they are “given information” in the discourse.

What we are sure about is that they are not crucial to decode the clause semantically (with lexical words) and discourse-functionally (with SFPs and prosodic clues). This distinguishes

them from other types of adverbs. For instance, with or without the adverb *dou* ‘already’ in (55), the semantics of the sentence does not change much, but in (56) with a manner adverb and in (57) with an evaluative adverb, we cannot say that the meaning and/or the intention of the two clauses is more or less the same:

- (55) a. *Wo dao le.*
 I arrive LE
 ‘I arrived.’
 ≈
 b. *Wo dou dao le.*
 I already arrive LE
 ‘I already arrived.’
- (56) a. *Wo dao le.*
 I arrive LE
 ‘I arrived.’
 ≠
 b. *Wo qiaoqiao-de dao le.*
 I quietly arrive LE
 ‘I quietly arrived.’
- (57) a. *Wo dao le.*
 I arrive LE
 ‘I arrived.’
 ≠
 b. *Xingkuai wo dao le.*
 fortunately I arrive LE
 ‘Fortunately I arrived.’

However, if they are not important at all, the speaker can choose to not use them since they do not contribute to the grammaticality of the clause. It rather seems like that the adverbs are “left behind” as a consequence of the promotion of the information in the rest of the clause. This promotion can be the Focus Fronting, as I just argued, or a movement triggered by SFPs in the CP domain, or roughly speaking, in the ForceP.

Poletto and Pollock (2004) introduce the concept of “GroundP” investigating the syntax of *wh*-questions in French, Bellunese and Italian. They argue that the GroundP is obligatorily present in the Left Periphery of Romance (*wh*-)questions and attracts an XP with the [+ground] feature (Poletto and Pollock 2004:283). Elements that bear the [+ground] feature can be considered as the background¹⁶ information as opposed to the new information. The XP can be a D-linked (complex) *wh*-phrase, a (remnant) IP, or an overt/covert subject clitic. The basic structure is presented in (58):

- (58) [_{Op2P} Op2⁰ [_{ForceP} Force⁰ [_{GroundP} Ground⁰ [_{TopP} Top⁰ [_{Op1} Op1⁰ [_{IP}...]]]]]]]

The GroundP immediately follows the ForceP. Here is an example of the derivation of a *wh*-question in French with “stylistic inversion”:

- (59) *Où est allé Jean?*
 where is gone Jean
 ‘Where did Jean go?’

¹⁶But the left-peripheral FocusP is not necessarily activated.

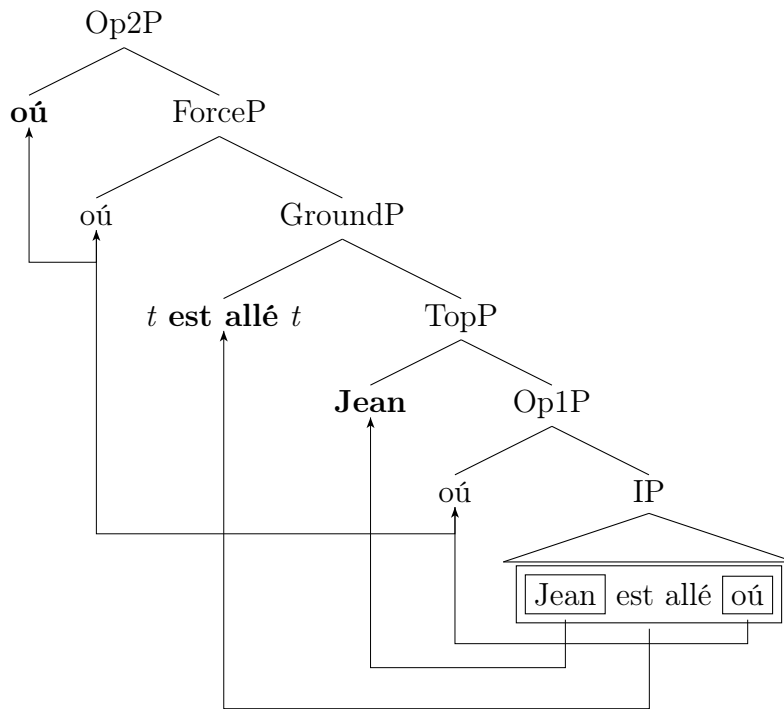


Figure 4.7: Poletto and Pollock 2004:269, adapted

In Figure 4.7, Op1P and Op2P are two positions which host the *wh*-words¹⁷; since the postverbal subject shows similar properties of a Topic (Kayne and Pollock 1978, 2001), it is supposed to be dislocated to a left-peripheral Topic position; the elements remaining in the IP (the auxiliary and the verb in this case) can all bear the [+ground] feature and thus the remnant IP is attracted by the Ground⁰ to its specifier.

This kind of derivation makes use of left-peripheral dislocations and remnant movements and keeps in line with the “no covert movement” principle of Kayne (1998) and at the same time correctly interprets the information structure of a *wh*-question.

Following this method, I will illustrate in the next section that the idea can be also used to RD constructions with monosyllabic adverbs in Mandarin when the Force projection is activated for the high SFPs.

4.4.2 Topic and Subject

Another brief note worth to be made before we see the proposal is the position of Topics in Mandarin (and other Chinese languages). Earliest works like Li and Thompson (1976, 1989) have already mentioned that Mandarin is a “topic-prominent” language, which contrasts with “subject-prominent” languages like English (see discussion in Badan 2015). In recent years, many linguists have explored the Left Periphery in Mandarin and suggest that different types of Topic have their dedicated position in the Left Periphery (see, for example, Paul 2002, 2005, Badan and Del Gobbo 2011, 2015).

- (60) Aboutness Topic > Hanging Topic > Left Dislocation > *lian*-Focus > IP
(Badan and Del Gobbo 2011)

Evidence clearly shows that Topic and subject can co-exist in a single clause, with the Topic preceding the subject¹⁸

¹⁷The authors propose that there are two Op positions considering the possible doubling phenomenon of *wh*-words in some other Romance languages, like in Bellunese: *Cossa ha-lo fat che?* (what have-he done what).

¹⁸In the gloss, “EXP” means “experiential aspect” and “CRS” stands for “Currently Relevant State”.

- (61) *Nei-zhi gou wo yijing kan-guo le*
 that-CL dog I already see-EXP CRS
 ‘That dog I have already seen.’
 (Li and Thompson 1981:86)

In (61), “that dog” as the direct object of the verb “see” appears to the left of the sentential subject “I”, just like the left-peripheral Topics found in other languages. Badan (2007) argues that a Topic in Mandarin can be derived from movement, or directly merge in the Left Periphery. From this we can infer that, when a Topic directly merges in the Left Periphery, nothing would prevent that its corresponding argument also appears *in situ*:

- (62) *Zhangsan_i (a), ta_i yijing zou-le*
 Zhangsan TOPIC he already go-LE
 ‘Zhangsan, he has already gone.’

This example in (62) involves two “subjects”, one is the referential expression “Zhangsan”, as a Topic optionally marked by the Topic marker *a*, and another is the pronoun “he” in its canonical position. Crucially, if the Topic is a pronoun, the real subject cannot be a referential expression. Compare (62) and (63) to (64).

- (63) *Ta_i (a), ta_i yijing zou-le*
 he TOPIC he already go-LE
 ‘Zhangsan, he has already gone.’
- (64) **Ta_i (a), Zhangsan_i yijing zou-le*
 he TOPIC Zhangsan already go-LE

This may lead to the hypothesis that a proper noun subject should always be a Topic if it is overtly expressed.

Not by chance, this asymmetry between a pronoun and a proper noun can be also observed in RD: a pronoun can appear both in the left string and the right string, while a full noun is much preferred to be only used in the left string, compare (65-b) to (66-b):

- (65) a. *Ta fa XINZHUANJI le, dou?*
 she/he release new.album LE already
 b. *Fa XINZHUANJI le, ta dou?*
 release new.album LE she/he already
 ‘She/he has already released a NEW ALBUM?’
- (66) a. *Zhangsan fa XINZHUANJI le, dou?*
 Zhangsan release new.album LE already
 ‘Zhangsan has already released a NEW ALBUM?’
 b. **Fa XINZHUANJI le, Zhangsan dou?*
 release new.album LE Zhangsan already

If we are on the right track, the referential expression in (66-a) can be analyzed as an instance of Topic that co-refers to an empty subject in the right-dislocated portion. The RD of [subject + adverb] is allowed with a non-Topic pronominal subject in (65-b), but not with a Topic referential subject in (66-b).

In the analysis that follows, I will show that this kind of RD consists of a Focus-Fronting operation that anticipate a lower part of the clause. Therefore, a Topic subject that precedes the Focus position can never appear in the right-dislocated part.

Given this premise that a Topic can co-occur with its correlate in the same clause,¹⁹ in the

¹⁹Obviously this use of Topic is subject to other syntactic restrictions, for instance see the discussion in

following analysis, I will consider the sentential subject as either a Topic or a subject in TP, according to its position in the RD construction.

4.5 Proposal and Analysis

Now that the last necessary pieces have been gathered for the basic syntactic structure of this kind of RD, the integrated tree diagram is presented in Figure 4.8.

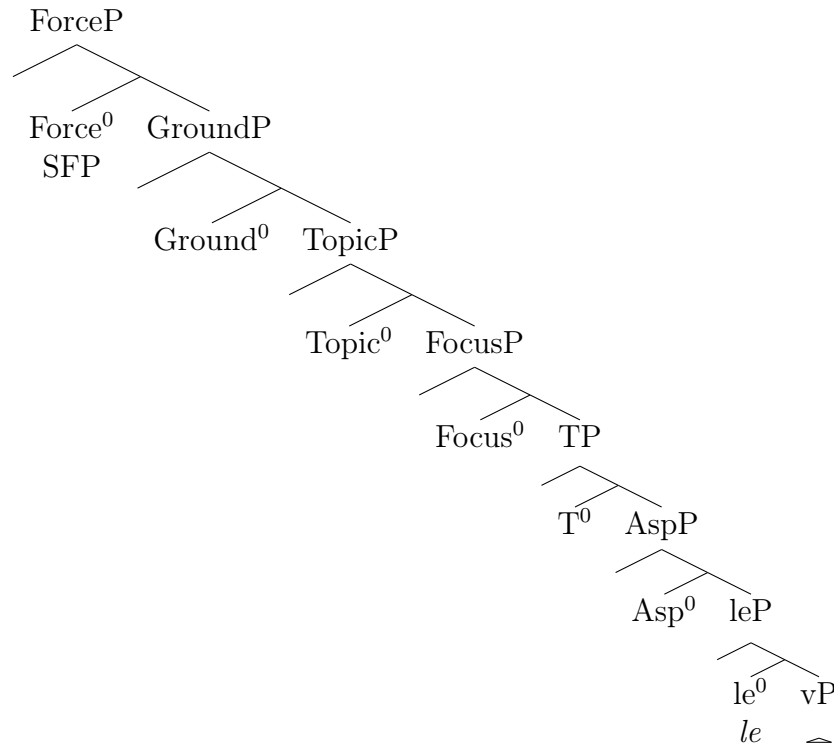


Figure 4.8: Basic structure of monosyllabic adverb RD

With the structure in Figure 4.8 for the monosyllabic adverb RD discussed in this chapter, I propose that:

1. The structure is mono-clausal and only leftward movements are involved;
2. There are two ways to realize this kind of RD:
 - (i). when there is no overt SFP (excluding the sentence-final *le*), Focus Fronting of a sentential portion containing the Focus is the main trigger of the formation of RD;
 - (ii). when an overt SFP (excluding the sentence-final *le*) is present, after the Focus Fronting as indicated in (i), all the elements remaining in the TP are of minor prominence, thus the whole TP moves to the specifier of the GroundP, then the ForceP targets the portion from TopicP in the clausal spine and attracts the whole remnant to SpecForce.

In this section, I will first summarize all the possible variants of this kind of RD, with different word orders or elements present in the clause (§4.5.1), then in §4.5.2 I will argue that the basic structure in Figure 4.8 is able to interpret all the variants I list in §4.5.1, which is impossible if we adopt any of the previous analyses. I will discuss this last point in §4.5.3

Huang, Li and Li (2009:202-211).

4.5.1 Summary of Possible RD Forms taken into consideration

I have mentioned several times that in a RD construction the adverb can appear on the right of the clause alone or together with the sentential subject:

(67) *Wo shang FEIJI *(le) kuai*
 I get.on airplane LE soon
 ‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’
 (= (26))

(68) *Shang FEIJI *(le) wo kuai*
 get.on airplane LE I soon
 ‘I’m getting on the plane soon.’
 (= (27))

Except for these two forms, this kind of RD can also involve two monosyllabic adverbs, although these cases are semantically rare:

(69) a. *Ta dou kuai fa XINZHUANJI le ba?*
 she/he already soon release new.album LE SFP
 b. *?Ta fa XINZHUANJI le ba, dou kuai?*
 she/he release new.album LE SFP already soon
 c. *?Ta kuai fa XINZHUANJI le ba, dou?*
 she/he soon release new.album LE SFP already
 d. *?Fa XINZHUANJI le ba, ta dou kuai?*
 release new.album LE SFP she/he already soon
 e. *?Kuai fa XINZHUANJI le ba, ta dou?*
 soon release new.album LE SFP she/he already
 ‘It is already the time that she/he is about to release the new album, right?’

Despite all these acceptable variants, the following two conditions are totally unacceptable: i) when the relative order of the two adverbs in (69-a) is inverted; ii) when the latter adverb (*kuai* ‘soon’ here) is dislocated to right without the former one:

(70) **Ta fa XINZHUANJI le ba, kuai dou?*
 she/he release new.album LE SFP soon already

(71) **Ta dou fa XINZHUANJI le ba, kuai*
 she/he already release new.album LE SFP soon

In other words, the options lie in the following three aspects:

1. Position of the overt subject: in the main string (for which I argue that it is an instance of Topic), or in the right-dislocated string (an instance of regular TP subject);
2. Presence of the non-*le* SFP: present (ForceP and GroundP are activated) or not present (only Focus Fronting happens in the CP);
3. Number of dislocated adverb(s) when there are two of them in the canonical order: only the higher one (Focus Fronting from the node of the lower adverb) or both (Focus Fronting from the node lower than the last adverb).

Next, I will show that my proposal is able to derive all these different forms, while the previous studies listed in Chapter 2 fail to fully capture them.

4.5.2 Derivation

The simplest example (subject in the right string, no SFP in CP, only one adverb) is already discussed in §4.4 and the derivation does not need to be revised (Figure 4.6).

Now suppose that the subject presents in the left string, like the case of (67). I propose to analyze the overt subject as an instance of Topic merged in the TopicP which precedes the FocusP, while the TP subject is occupied by a *pro* as an instance of null-subject. Nothing else is changed, see Figure 4.9 (empty head positions are omitted for a clearer representation). The right word order is correctly derived.

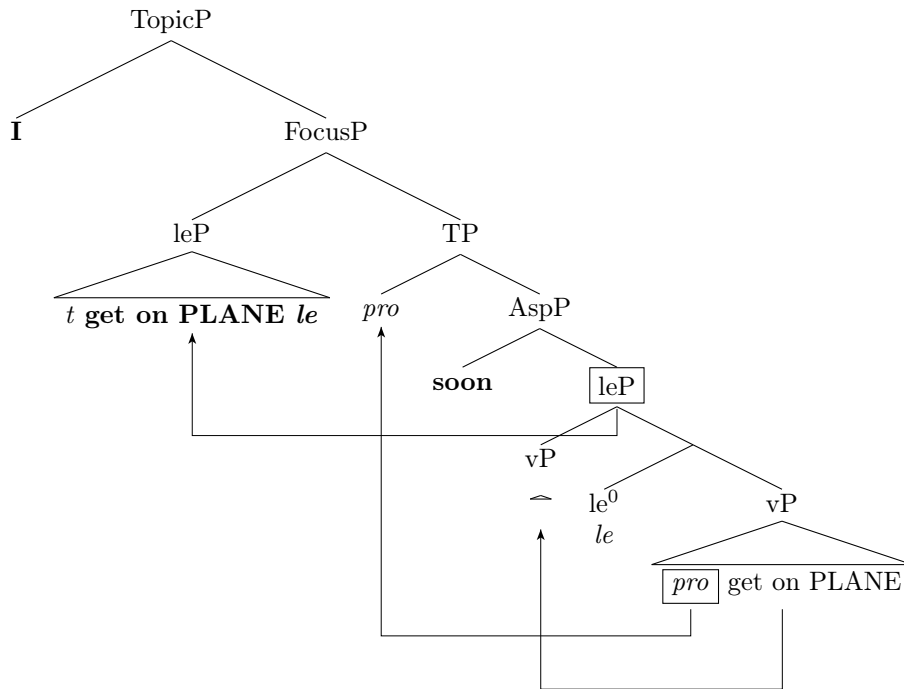


Figure 4.9: “I get on PLANE *le* soon”

More ingredients can be added to the derivation in Figure 4.9. Consider the clause in (69-b). This clause involves the high SFP *ba* that here functions as request for the confirmation from the interlocutor, and two monosyllabic adverbs *dou* ‘already’ and *kuai* ‘soon’, which are both dislocated to the end of the clause after the SFP *ba*, keeping their original order.

As I have anticipated before, when the ForceP is activated, the GroundP is also activated to mark the prominence of the information contained in different parts of the clause. When the Focus Fronting is completed, the whole TP becomes the “background information” and thus moves to the GroundP. Below the GroundP, a TopicP is activated for the subject in the left string. Here we can find the core information of which the speaker is asking for a confirmation, and thus the whole remnant from the TopicP moves to the ForceP headed by the SFP *ba*. In this way, in the right string we find the two adverbs with their unchanged original order. This derivation is shown in Figure 4.10.

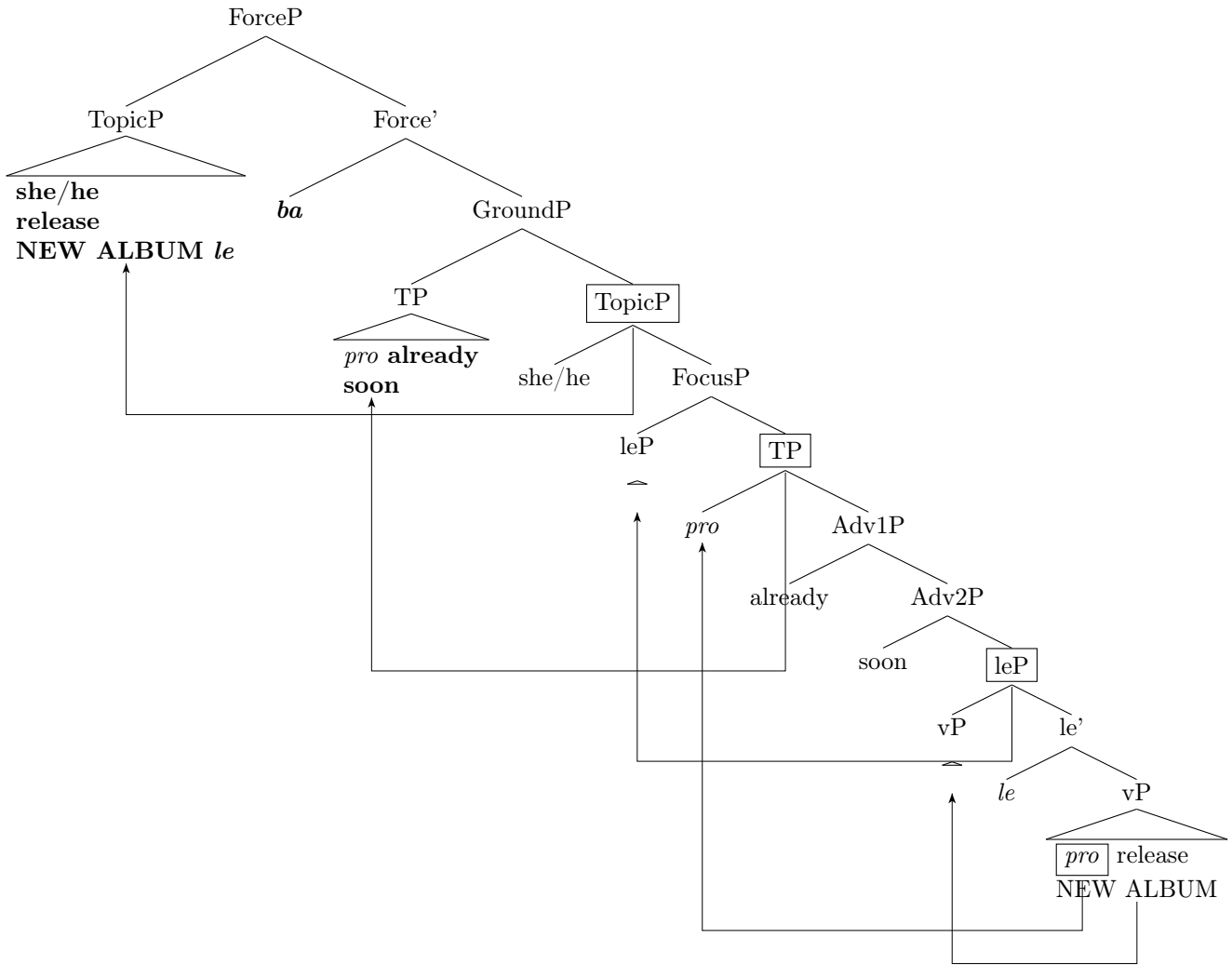


Figure 4.10: “she/he release NEW ALBUM *le ba*, already soon?”

Respectively, with the same structure in Figure 4.10, if the subject is a regular subject merging in vP instead of a Topic, we can derive the right word order of (69-d); if the Focus targets Adv2P instead of leP, as it also contains the Focus, we get the order in (69-c) if the overt subject is not a Topic and the Focus targets Adv2P, we derive (69-e). All possible variants are accounted for by the basic structure in Figure 4.8.

4.5.3 Comparison with previous proposals

This analysis seems more complicated compared to the previous analyses mentioned in Chapter 2, but it also gains an advantage over them.

First of all, compared to a bi-clausal analysis, I present in §4.2 that these monosyllabic adverbs can only appear in a sentence-middle position after the subject, unless they are right-dislocated. If we adopt a bi-clausal + Ellipsis method to treat the derivation of this kind of RD (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5), in the second copy of the clause, we are forced to raise the two adverbs, keeping their relative order, to a higher position, while the rest of the sentence remains in the clausal structure, ready to be elided, according to the most popular researches about ellipsis (see Merchant 1999, 2004, 2012, Van Craenenbroeck 2010 a.o.). At least two problems arise at this point: one is that we must decide which projection can host the moved adverbs, given that syntactically and semantically they cannot be a Focus nor a Topic. If we argue that there is a dedicated projection for the RD element, say, a kind of “GroundP”, a mono-clausal analysis would be equally feasible and even more economical. Another problem

regards the unchanged relative order: we should either move them one by one or together via remnant movement, as I suppose that they situate separately in two projections between the subject position and the vP, and the cannot be attracted without moving the other syntactic elements. The one-by-one choice would cause a serious Relativized Minimality violation (in terms of Rizzi 1990), see Figure 4.11.

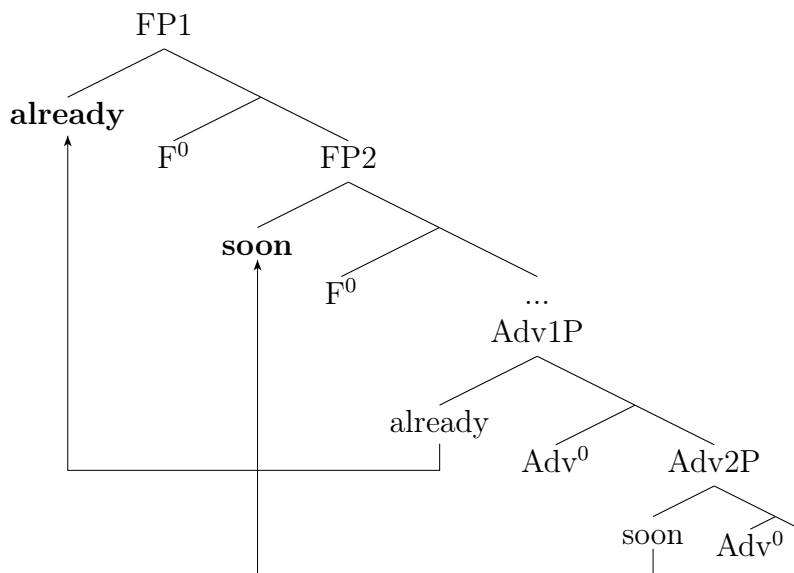


Figure 4.11: Relativized Minimality violation of a one-by-one movement of two adverbs

In Figure 4.11, both of the adverbs are of the same syntactic type and would bear the same features. In the first step when *soon* raises to the FP2, *already* in its merging position would be an intervener of this movement; the same for the second step, the moved *soon* in SpecFP2 would prevent the raising of *already*.

Instead, if we choose the remnant movement method, again it would lead to the same derivation of the mono-clausal analysis, which would be more economical. Therefore, a mono-clausal analysis as I propose here is more advantageous than the bi-clausal analysis.

The Focus Fronting method adopted in my analysis is also used in the single-movement analysis of Cheung (1997, 2009). However, I have mentioned before that the appearance of SFPs are not totally free, and they add some discourse information like the Illocutionary Force or the Attitude to the clause, instead of expressing the Focus. A Cartographic approach would lead us to separate the positions of SFPs from the FocusP. Given this, a single leftward movement of Focus Fronting fails to capture the structure of a RD clause with both the Focus and a SFP in the CP domain. Moreover, a single movement analysis does not consider the impossibility of having a full DP in the right string, ignoring the contrast between a Topic-like subject and a regular TP subject. My proposal explicitly indicates that a TopicP over the FocusP plays a crucial role in the derivation of cases with the subject appearing in the left-string.

Analyses making use of double movement in the Low Periphery can be easily ruled out for the monosyllabic adverb RD, as all elements that can appear in the right string here are structurally higher than the Low Periphery above the vP, there is no chance that these movements happen, except for the rightward movements which would go against the hypothesis of the antisymmetry of syntax.

Proposals that in favor of a double movement to the Left Periphery fail to capture the “remnant” property of the right string, like “he already soon”, which cannot be extracted as a whole to be Topicalized or via other types of movement to the Left Periphery which, in addition, need to be justified.

4.6 Conclusion and Final Remarks

In this chapter, I treat the 10 monosyllabic adverbs in Mandarin that can appear in the right-most position after SFPs as one special group of adverbs, and according to their syntactic/discourse-functional properties and their behavior in RD, I propose that the RD structure for them is essentially derived by two ways, depending on the absence or the presence of SFPs in the CP domain: 1) Focus Fronting; 2) Focus Fronting, leftward movement triggered by the SFP in the C domain and remnant movement of the less prominent part to the GroundP.

To reach this conclusion, I have also argued that: 1) the Focus Fronting exists in Mandarin for the New Information Focus and the Mirative Focus, and its consequence is exactly a RD clause of this type; 2) sentence-final *le* is a special type of SFP that heads a functional projection in a TP/IP internal position and only scopes over the projections lower than it; 3) SFPs in the C-domain head their functional projection and attract the relevant clausal portion to their specifier, but not necessarily by the Last Resort movement.

As one may have noticed in the derivation of Figure 4.10, all the movements involved in my proposal are movements of a whole chunk of some remnant part, although not necessarily the whole complement. One consequence of this method is that there can be only one SFP in the ForceP, since either the GroundP will block a second remnant movement triggered by a second SFP, or the second SFP ends up with attaching to the right-dislocated element, which is not possible. Not surprisingly, Cheung (1997) for RD in Cantonese has proposed a “Prohibition of Dual SPs in Dislocation”, which states that there is never a second SFP after the right-dislocated part (he does not count the counterpart of the sentence-final *le* in Cantonese as a SFP). This also holds for Mandarin, if there is a SFP attached to the right string, the right string must be analysed as a second clause.

In addition, this method predicts that all “remnant-like” RD cases can be derived with the same structure. Next, I will illustrate that indeed this kind of derivation can be extended to more RD constructions other than the monosyllabic adverb RD.

4.6.1 Focus-Fronting Type RD of Other Elements

In this chapter, I have mainly analyzed the monosyllabic adverbs that can be right-dislocated in RD, for the fact that they are the most stable elements in the TP/IP area, devoid of any potential to be moved. According to the final analysis of this kind of RD, it requires a New Information Focus in the lower part of a clause, and the possibility to front the Focus in a pied-piping way. Therefore, this kind of RD should not be confined only to the D-group adverbs, but can be extended to any other IP-internal element as long as they precede the Focus in the clause in Mandarin.

Recall that Lu Jianming (1980) lists a series of RD cases in Mandarin that have to do with the serial verb construction and the pivotal construction:

(72) Serial-verb/complex predicate construction inversion

- a. *Liming qi-zhe che jin cheng le.*
Liming ride-PROG bike enter city LE
(unmarked order)
- b. *Liming jin cheng le, qi-zhe che.*
Liming enter city LE ride-PROG bike
'Liming went into the town, riding a bike.'
(RD)

The RD clause in (72-b) can be well interpreted by the proposal in this chapter: if “went into the town” can bear a New Information Focus, then it can be fronted to the left of the first

unfocused verbal construction “riding a bike”, leaving it behind; Liming is a proper noun and should be analyzed as an instance of Topic subject, thus it remains in the position higher than the Focus. The RD structure of (72-b) can be represented as (73):

(73) $[_{CP} [_{TopicP} \text{Liming}_i [_{FocusP} \text{jin cheng le}]_j [_{IP} t_i \text{qi-zhe che } t_j]]]$

Similarly, it can also explain RD cases of the C-group adverbs, as they normally stay in a post-subject position and thus merge IP-internally, and RD cases of pronominal subject alone, if they appear together with a Focus in the lower part of the clause.

In addition, it also explains the parallelism between a case of Italian VP-Focalization and a Mandarin RD clause, as I mentioned in Chapter 2:

(74) *PORTARE A CASA, lo voleva!*
 take to home it wanted.3SG
 ‘He wanted to TAKE IT HOME!’
 (Cinque 2006:14, (8b))

(75) *DAI-HUI JIA (a), ta xiang!*
 take-back home SFP she/he want
 ‘She/he wanted to TAKE IT HOME?!’

If we follow Cinque (2006) and consider the verb “want” in the two clauses as a restructuring verb, then the real VP “take home” becomes an argumental complement to it. As a consequence, when the VP is focused, in Italian it can be fronted as an argument of the restructuring verb to the FocusP, while in Mandarin it can also be fronted as a node in the clausal spine in the pied-piping way. In other words, the two clauses share the same Focus Fronting process in their derivation in this case.

Chapter 5

Specificational Type of RD: Evidence from Italian (Clitic) Right Dislocation

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will mainly analyze the more frequent RD type, namely, the RD of DP/PP arguments. I will show that this type of RD - which I will call the Specificational type RD - is the real “Afterthought” construction, with the right-dislocated phrase specifying a correlate pronoun in the non-dislocated part. In Italian, it usually appears as CLRD, since a “missing” argument should always (in the case of direct objects) or optionally (in the case of indirect objects, locative arguments and adjuncts) be resumed by a clitic pronoun. Many scholars have done precious researches on this topic, and I will review the significant ones and point out that their analyses are not flawless. Alternatively, I will propose that a bi-clausal analysis of CLRD is better than the mono-clausal analyses, contrary to the intuition that CLRD is a mirror image of CLLD, which is proposed to be a kind of Topicalization. The grammatical judgements in my original examples all come from Italian native speakers of different regions. When there is a conflict among them, I will mark the clause as “marginally acceptable” with one question mark.

5.1.1 Proposals about Italian RD in the Literature and Remaining Problems

Among the previous studies about RD in Italian, I mainly take the following three works as reference: Cecchetto (1999), Cardinaletti (2002) and Samek-Lodovici (2015), among which Cecchetto (1999) specifically concentrates on the phenomenon of CLRD, while Cardinaletti (2002) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) talk about both Marginalization and RD, agreeing that in Italian they are two different constructions (about which I will discuss in §5.2). Their conclusions about the syntactic status of Marginalization and/or RD vary a lot, as I have mentioned in Chapter 2, minimally repeated here for convenience.

Cecchetto 1999 (CLRD):

- (1) *Lo odia Maria, Gianni.*
CL.3SG.M hate.3SG Maria Gianni
'Maria hates him, Gianni.'
- (2) $[_{IP} \textit{pro} \textit{lo} \textit{odia} [_{FocusP} \textit{Maria} \textit{Focus}^0] [_{TopicP} \textit{Gianni} \textit{Topic}^0] [_{AgroP} [_{BigDP} \textit{t}_{Gianni} \textit{t}_{lo}] \textit{Agr}^0] [_{VP} \textit{t}_{Maria} \dots \textit{t}_{BigDP}]$

Cecchetto (1999) presents 4 discrepancies between CLLD and CLRD in Italian (see Chapter 2) and suggests that a right-dislocated phrase must be in a low position in the clause, which is considered as the TopicP in the VP periphery of the clause.

Since his focus of discussion is on the “Clitic” RD, the subject RD is barely mentioned in this work, since there is no resumptive clitic for the subject in standard Italian. However, consider the following clause:

- (3) *Ha dato il libro a Gianni, Maria.*
 have.3SG given the book to Gianni Maria
 ‘She gave the book to Gianni, Maria.’

Following his method, supposing that in Italian the subject merges higher than the objects, if we try to analyze the right-hand subject as an instance of RD, the Low-Topic-proposal will force us to topicalize or focalize not only the subject “Maria”, but also the direct object “the book” and the indirect object “to Gianni”, to derive the desired word order:

- (4) $[_{IP} pro \text{ ha dato } [_{TopicP} \text{ il libro Topic}^0 [_{TopicP} \text{ a Gianni Topic}^0 [_{TopicP} \text{ Maria Topic}^0 [_{AgroP} \text{ t}_{il \text{ libro}}] Agr^0 [_{AgroP} \text{ t}_a \text{ Gianni}] Agr^0 [_{VP} \text{ t}_{Maria} \dots \text{ t}_{il \text{ libro}} \dots \text{ t}_a \text{ Gianni} \dots$

In this case, we cannot explain why the same topicalized direct object and indirect object do not merge as a Big DP with their clitics as in (2)

Moreover, if we try to fit this structure in Mandarin adopting the analysis of SFP discussed in the last chapter, the “right-dislocated” low Topic would always precede the SFP, which is not the case, see for example a syntactically and pragmatically perfect counterpart of (2)¹

- (5) a. *Mali taoyan ta_i (ba), Jiani_i.*
 Maria dislike him SFP Gianni
 ‘Maria hates him, Gianni.’
 b. $*[_{CP} [_{IP} \text{ Maria } [_{TopicP} \text{ Gianni Topic}^0 [_{VP} \text{ t}_{Maria} \text{ dislike } [_{BigDP?} \text{ t}_{Gianni} \text{ him }]]]] \text{ SFP}$
 t_{IP}

Ignoring the problem of the syntactic position of the tonic pronoun “him”, with this analysis, there is no chance that the SFP would appear to the left of the dislocated DP. Thus, it forces us to propose that this analysis is specific to the Italian RD, while the Mandarin RD (and potentially the English RD as well, as the translation of (5) shows) of this type should have a totally different syntactic structure, even though they only minimally differ in the presence/absence of SFPs and Clitics.

Cardinaletti 2002:

- (6) a. $[_{XP} [_{IP} \text{ pro } l'ho \quad \quad \quad \text{già} \quad \text{comprato}] X^0 [_{DP} \text{ il giornale}]]$
 pro it-have.1SG already bought the newspaper
 (CLRD)
 b. $[_{IP} \text{ pro } ho \quad \quad \quad [_{FP} \text{ già} \quad \quad \quad [_{AspP} \text{ comprato}_i [_{VP} \text{ t}_i \text{ il giornale}]]]]$
 pro have.1SG already bought the newspaper
 (Marginalization)

Cardinaletti (2002) concludes that in Italian CLRD with the presence of a coreferential clitic is IP-external, while Marginalization without any coreferential clitic is IP-internal. From the two structural representations in (6) we can see that the right-dislocated phrase in CLRD is

¹The subject “Maria” can be optionally accented, depending on its Focus status.

a mere adjunction of the IP, connected with an undefined projection, and the phenomenon of Marginalization is actually an unmarked structure of a normal clause.

This proposal may capture various behaviors of RD and Marginalization, but at the same time it is too general to explain the constraints in using them. There is a need to specify what is the exact connection between the dislocated phrase and the clitic present in the IP, and what makes Marginalization as a special syntactic phenomenon observed in the literature.

Samek-Lodovici 2015:

- Marginalization: *in situ*
- RD: (assuming that a Focus always occurs *in situ*)

- (7) *Abbiamo parlato NOI_F, a Marco.*
 Have spoken we, to Mark
 ‘WE spoke to Mark.’

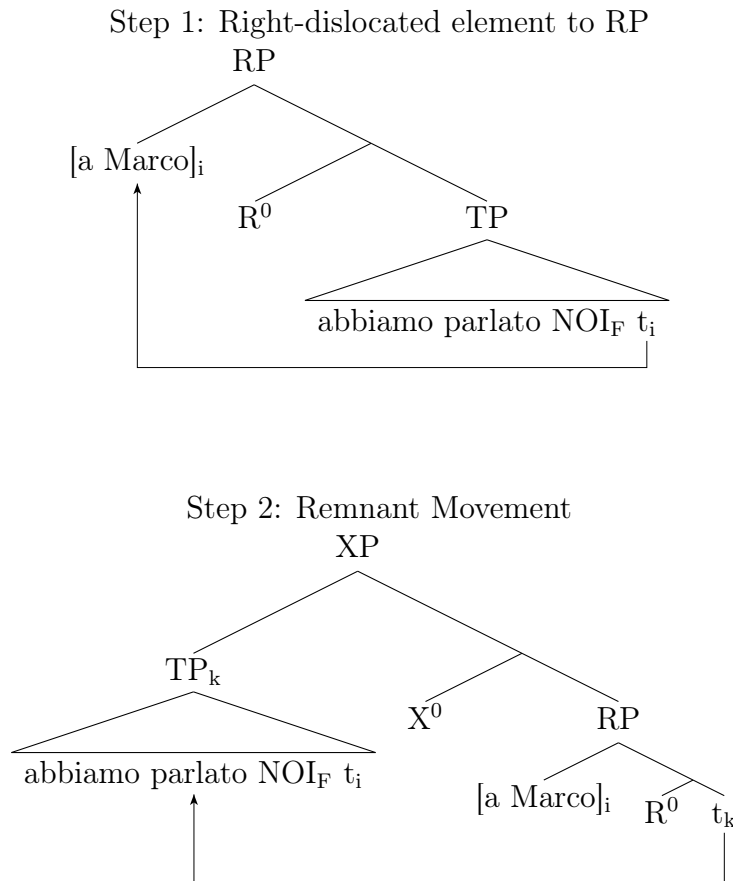


Figure 5.1: Samek-Lodovici 2015: 21

Samek-Lodovici (2015) agrees with Cardinaletti (2002) that Marginalization and (CL)RD are two different phenomena, and Marginalization occurs *in situ*, while (CL)RD occurs TP-externally²

However, he also claims that (CL)RD is not always accompanied with the resumptive clitic of the right-dislocated phrase. Therefore, to distinguish the two constructions, he makes use

²Samek-Lodovici (2015) uses the term “clause-external” to refer to “TP-external”. In this dissertation, the syntactic structure of a “clause” also includes the area of CP. For this reason I will define “clause-external” as “CP-external” and keep the “TP-external” proposal as one of the “clause-internal” analyses.

of negative phrases and NPIs on the right of the clause, as they can only be marginalized but not right-dislocated. In the following sections, I will point out that this method is not exempt from theoretical problems and this leads to flaws in the syntactic analyses in this work.

Additionally, RP and XP we see here, responsible for the derivation of RD, are not clear in their syntactic nature and they seem *ad hoc* for this topic.

5.1.2 Proposal

I propose that in Italian Marginalization is indeed *in situ* but must be captured as an epiphenomenon of Focalization in the Low Periphery; (CL)RD instead is a bi-clausal structure and the “right-dislocated” phrase only merges in the the second clause. It is connected to the first clause only through the coreference to the corresponding clitic (in the case of direct objects, indirect objects and PP complements), *pro* (in the case of subjects) or null adjunct (in the case of adjunct PPs or Adverbs). The “right-dislocated” phrase then moves to the Left Periphery of the second clause and triggers the Ellipsis of the IP of the second clause.

This analysis of (CL)RD is in line with the proposal of Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016) about RD in Germanic languages (see also Chapter 2):

- (8) Backgrounding:
- a. *Tasman heeft ze gezien, die Maori's.*
Tasman has them seen those Maoris
'Tasman saw them, those Maoris.'
(Ott and De Vries 2016:646)
 - b. $[_P [_{CP1} \dots ze_i \dots] [_{CP2} \textit{die Maori's}_i \Delta]]$ (' Δ ' = elided structure)
- (9) Afterthought:
- a. *Ich habe einen Star getroffen: DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA.*
I have a star met the John Travolta
'I met a star, John Travolta.'
(Ott and De Vries 2016:646)
 - b. $[_{CP1} \dots \textit{einen Star}_i \dots] [_{CP2} \textit{DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA}_i \Delta]$

In the case of Italian, the “correlate” (like “them” in (8) and “a star” in (9)) in CP1 can be a clitic pronoun, which is obligatory when the object DP is absent in Italian. In other words, the clitic in the “non-dislocated” part is not a resumptive clitic, unlike in the case of CLLD as many scholars suppose. Instead, the obligatory appearance of the clitic is due to the fact that the “non-dislocated” part is a full clause, and a null object DP must be substituted by a clitic pronoun.

- (10) *Lo porto domani, il dolce.*
it bring.1SG tomorrow the dessert
'I will bring it tomorrow, the dessert.'
(Benincà 1988:146)
- (11) $[_P [_{CP1} \textit{lo}_i \textit{porto domani}] [_{CP2} \textit{il dolce}_i \Delta]]$ (' Δ ' = elided structure)

In other words, this type of RD is not a real instance “Right Dislocation”, but rather an asymmetric coordination of two independent clauses.

In this chapter, I will show that this proposal can well explain the observations of the above-mentioned works, as well as resolve the remaining problems of these analyses.

5.1.3 Organization of this Chapter

In this chapter, in §5.2 I will first systematically compare Marginalization to CLRD from the Referentiality of the marginalized/right-dislocated elements, the relative word order and the linguistic contexts in which they are used, confirming the idea that Marginalization occurs *in situ*, but also pointing out that there should always be other leftward movements; then in §5.3 I will dedicate to the phenomenon of CLRD and compare the mono-clausal analyses to the bi-clausal analysis by testing the similarities/differences between CLRD and CLLD, as well as between CLRD and Wh-Movements, concluding that CLRD shows a Topic-wh duality sensitive to the left/right part distinction, which can be only explained by a bi-clausal analysis. After that I will show that the same bi-clausal analysis can be extended to the argument RD in Mandarin as well, and some non-argument RD in Italian and in Mandarin can be also represented by such a structure (§5.4). A conclusion of the solutions for various RD elements is drawn in §5.5

5.2 Marginalization vs. CLRD

The discussion about the distinction between Marginalization and CLRD comes from the description of Benincà (1988) that in Italian a RD construction can optionally take a resumptive clitic of the right-dislocated phrase. However, Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) shows that factors like quantifiers, embedded clauses, and the sentence-internal Focus can affect the “optionality”, thus the presence/absence of the clitic must separate “Right Dislocation” into two different constructions.

Dating back to the first time that the term “Marginalization” (*emarginazione*) is used, Antinucci and Cinque (1977) observe that some element in the clause is “extracted out of the clause” due to the leftward movement of some other elements.

However, Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) do not agree with this “leftward movement” in the new notion of Marginalization, namely “RD without a coreferential clitic and compatible with negative phrases and NPIs”. They propose that both the postverbal Focus and the marginalized phrases occur *in situ*.

Belletti (2004), instead, suggests that a combination of a postverbal subject and a marginalized object will force a Contrastive/Corrective reading of the subject:

- (12) A. *Chi ha comprato il giornale?*
Who have.3SG bought the newspaper
B. a. *L'ha comprato Maria, il giornale.*
it-have.3SG bought Maria the newspaper
b. **Ha comprato MARIA, il giornale.*
have.3SG bought MARIA the newspaper
(Belletti 2004:28)
- (13) *Ha comprato MARIA, il giornale, (non Gianni).*
have.3SG bought Maria the newspaper NEG Gianni
'It is Maria that bought the newspaper, not Gianni.'

To explain this contrast, Belletti (2004) proposes that the Focus position in the Low Periphery can be only occupied by a New Information Focus, while the Contrastive/Corrective Focus must be realized in the Left Periphery. Thus, a construction like (12-B-a) consists of a Low Focus (the postverbal subject) and a Low Topic (the right-dislocated object), while (13) involves a Focus (the “postverbal” subject) in the Left Periphery and the consequent Topicalizations of the other constituents.

(14) $[_{IP} l'ha [_{AspP} comprato_i [_{FocusP} Maria_j [_{TopicP} il\ giornale_k [_{VP} t_j t_i t_k]]]]]$
 (RD)

(15) $[[_{IP} e_i ha comprato e_j]_k Top [[MARIA]_i Foc] [[il\ giornale]_j Top] \dots IP_k]$
 (Marginalization)
 (Belletti 2004:29)

This means that Belletti (2004) holds the idea that RD (the case in (14)) occurs IP-internally, while Marginalization (the case in (15)) happens IP-externally, opposite to the opinion of Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) and Samek-Lodovici (2015).

5.2.1 Referentiality

Samek-Lodovici (2015) points out that in Italian, negative phrases (e.g., *nessuno* ‘nobody’) and NPIs (e.g., *alcunché* ‘anything’) can be only marginalized but not right-dislocated. He proposes that RD is TP-external and thus the neg-marker would fail to licence the negative phrase or NPIs dislocated to a position higher than the TP.³

(16) $*[Non\ lo\ abbiamo\ VISTO]_{NewF},\ alcunché_R/nessuno_R.$
 not it have.1PL seen anything/anybody

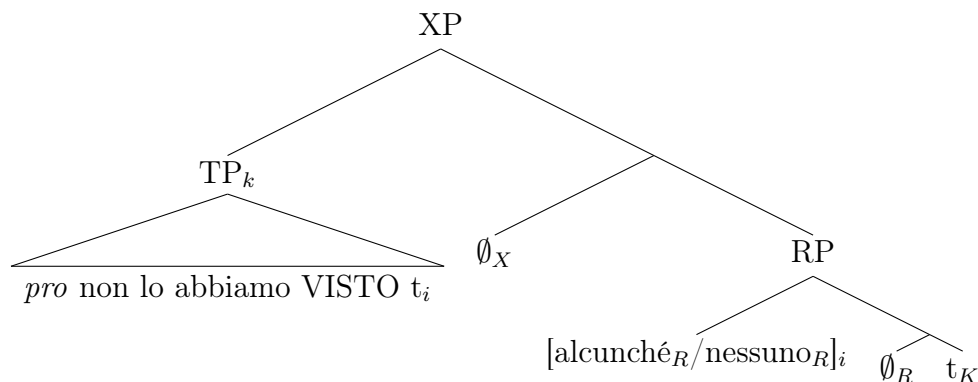


Figure 5.2: Samek-Lodovici 2015:97

However, negative phrases and NPIs are clearly non-referential, according to the definition of “Referentiality” given by Cinque (1990:16) – the ability to refer to specific members of a set in the mind of the speaker or preestablished in discourse.⁴ With the negation of the existence of relevant entities, *alcunché/nessuno* cannot refer to any specific member in the discourse. A natural conclusion that follows it is that **non-referential phrases cannot be pronominalized in any pronominal form, including clitic pronouns, regardless of the syntactic movements they may go through.**

(17) $*Lui\ vorrebbe\ pesare\ [cento\ chili]_i\ perché\ t_i\ pesa\ il\ suo\ attore\ preferito$
 he would.like.to weigh one.hundred kilos since them weighs the his actor
preferito
 favorite
 intended: ‘He would like to weigh one hundred kilos, since his favorite actor weighs one hundred kilos.’
 (modified from Cinque 1990:117)

³In his notation in the examples, NewF = New Information Focus, R = RD, M = Marginalization.

⁴The author mentions that the notion of Referentiality subsumes that of D-linking of Pesetsky (1987). Since the RD does not affect *wh*-elements, I will use the term “referential” to refer to this property.

In (17), the simple anaphoric clitic *li* fails to corefer to “hundred kilos” because the DP is quantified and non-referential. Among the indefinite DPs, some kinds of bare quantifiers or quantified DPs can be forced a referential reading when they corresponds to specific entities in the speaker’s mind, for instance *qualcuno* ‘someone’, indefinite article + NP, universal quantifiers (*tutti/tutte* ‘all’) and distributive quantifiers that can have a universal reading (*ogni* ‘each, every’) + NP; other types are instead strongly nonreferential, such as negative QPs, bare negative phrases or NPIs mentioned before, strictly distributive quantifiers *ciascuno* ‘each one’, and counting quantifiers (modified numerals like “fewer than...”, “at least...” in the sense of Beghelli and Stowell 1997) + NP.

Thus, we expect that: i) a weakly referential DP can be dislocated with a clitic, maybe not as good as a strongly referential DP (e.g., a proper name); ii) a strongly non-referential DP always resists Clitic Dislocation, whether it is to the left or to the right; iii) Marginalization is always possible to all types of DP, as all above-mentioned works suggest that Marginalization does not involve the cliticization. These predictions are borne out, see the following examples, each of which is composed of an unmarked clause (a), a CLLD version (b), a CLRD version (c), and a Marginalization version (d).

Indefinite article + NP:

- (18) a. *Gianni ha regalato un quaderno ad uno studente.*
Gianni have.3SG given a notebook to a student
- b. *Ad uno studente, Gianni gli ha regalato un quaderno.*
to a student Gianni to.him have.3SG given a notebook
- c. *?Gianni gli ha regalato un quaderno, ad uno studente.*
Gianni to.him have.3SG given a notebook to a student
- d. *Gianni ha regalato un QUADERNO, ad uno studente.*
Gianni have.3SG given a notebook to a student
'Gianni gave a notebook to a student.'

Universal and distributive QPs:

- (19) a. *Il professor Rossi adora tutti gli studenti (di questa classe).*
the professor Rossi love.3SG all the student of this class
- b. *?Tutti gli studenti, il professor Rossi li adora.*
all the student the professor Rossi them love.3SG
- c. *?Il professor Rossi li adora, tutti gli studenti (di questa classe).*
the professor Rossi them love.3SG, all the student of this class
- d. *Il professor Rossi ADORA, tutti gli studenti (di questa classe).*
the professor Rossi love.3SG all the student of this class
'Professor Rossi loves all the students (of this class).'

(20) (Weak Distributive)

- a. *Il professor Rossi ha dato un foglio ad ogni studente.*
the professor Rossi have.3SG given a paper to every student
- b. *?Ad ogni studente, il professor Rossi gli ha dato un foglio.*
to every student the professor Rossi to.them have.3SG given a paper
- c. *?Il professor Rossi gli ha dato un foglio, ad ogni studente.*
the professor Rossi to.them have.3SG given a paper to every student
- d. *Il professor Rossi ha dato un FOGLIO, ad ogni studente.*
the professor Rossi have.3SG given a paper to every student

‘Professor Rossi gave a paper to every student.’

(21) (Strong Distributive)

- a. *Ha presentato ciascuno ad un tutor.*
have.3SG presented each.one to a tutor
 - b. **Ciascuno_i, lo_i ha presentato ad un tutor.*
each.one he have.3SG presented to a tutor
 - c. **Lo_i ha presentato ad un tutor, ciascuno_i.*
he have.3SG presented to a tutor each.one
 - d. *Ha PRESENTATO, ciascuno ad un tutor.*
have.3SG presented each.one to a tutor
- ‘He/she presented each person to a tutor.’

Counting QPs:

- (22)
- a. *Il professor Rossi ha rimproverato almeno tre studenti.*
the professor Rossi have.3SG scolded at.least three student
 - b. **[Almeno tre studenti]_i, il professor Rossi li_i ha rimproverati.*
at.least three student the professor Rossi them have.3SG scolded
 - c. **Il professor Rossi li_i ha rimproverati, [almeno tre studenti]_i.*
the professor Rossi them have.3SG scolded at.least three student
 - d. *Il professor Rossi ha RIMPROVERATI, almeno tre studenti*
the professor Rossi have.3SG scolded at.least three student
- ‘Professor Rossi scolded at least three students.’

Negative QPs:

- (23)
- a. *Gianni non ha visto nessun ragazzo.*
Gianni NEG have.3SG seen any boy
 - b. **[Nessun ragazzo]_i, Gianni lo_i ha visto.*
any boy Gianni him have.3SG seen
 - c. **Gianni non lo_i ha visto, [nessun ragazzo]_i.*
Gianni NEG him have.3SG seen any boy
 - d. *Gianni non ha VISTO, nessun ragazzo.*
Gianni NEG have.3SG seen any boy
- ‘Gianni didn’t see any boy.’

These examples clearly show that CLLD and CLRD are equally sensitive to the Referentiality of the dislocated DP, as it should be pronominalizable to have a coreferential clitic. Marginalization is allowed regardless of the Referentiality of the marginalized DP.

Crucially, this observation reveals that the impossibility to right-dislocate a certain kind of phrase is not due to the problem of “licensing”, as claimed by Samek-Lodovici (2015), but due to the necessary pronominalization process that happens together with the CLRD.

A more complicated picture is the sentence-final unstressed subject. They can be conceived as both Marginalization and RD, since standard Italian does not have subject clitics. However, if the right-most non-focalized subject DPs also obey the Referentiality constraints as CLLD and CLRD cases in the former examples, we can infer that they are instances of RD instead of Marginalization, although there is no clitic that corefers to them. Data show that right-most unstressed subjects indeed must be referential, pattern with CLLD and CLRD:

- (24) a. *pro_i Ha pianto, Gianni_i.*
 pro have.3SG cried Gianni
 ‘He cried, Gianni.’
- b. *?pro_i Ha pianto, [un ragazzo]_i.*
 pro have.3SG cried a boy
 ‘He cried, a boy.’
- c. *?pro_i Adora il professor Rossi, [ogni studente]_i.*
 pro love.3SG the professor Rossi every student
 ‘Every student loves professor Rossi.’
- d. **pro_i Adorano il professor Rossi, [almeno tre studenti]_i.*
 pro love.3PL the professor Rossi at.least three students
 intended: ‘At least three students love professor Rossi.’
- e. **pro_i (Non) ha visto la notizia, [nessun ragazzo]_i*
 pro NEG have.3SG seen the news any boy
 intended: ‘No boy has seen the news.’

Therefore, a sentence-final unstressed subject should be treated as RD instead of Marginalization⁵

To sum up, Marginalization is radically different from (CL)RD as the former can be all types of DPs, while the latter should be referential as CLLD (Topicalization) requests, which implicates that Marginalization should not be a form of Topicalization, at least distinct from CLLD, while (CL)RD always involves a process of pronominalization, even when the clitic pronoun is not grammatically available, e.g. in the case of subject RD.

5.2.2 Word Order

Among Marginalized Phrases

As already mentioned in Cardinaletti (2001, 2002), a crucial difference between non-Clitic RD (Marginalization) and CLRD is that when there is more than one right-dislocated element, Marginalization does not allow any change in the basic word order. In (25), the post-verbal subject is focalized, the marginalized phrases after it must respect the order [direct object > PP complement], as they are in the unmarked order in (26):

- (25) a. *Ha nascosto il bambino, il libro, sotto il letto.*
 have.3SG hidden the child the book under the bed
- b. *??Ha nascosto il bambino, sotto il letto, il libro.*
 have.3SG hidden the child under the bed the book
 ‘The child hid the book under the bed.’

(Cardinaletti 2002:34)

- (26) *Il bambino ha nascosto (*sotto il letto) il libro sotto il letto.*
 the child have.3SG hidden under the bed the book under the bed
 ‘The child hid the book under the bed.’

A different picture is described by Antinucci and Cinque (1977), they present that the *wh*-movement, the post-position of the subject and the exclamatory dislocation can trigger Marginalization of the other elements, but their relative word order is totally free. See, for example,

⁵At the end of this section I will conclude that Marginalization is an epiphenomenon of leftward movements of other elements in the clause. This explains why a sentence-final unstressed subject is always an instance of RD instead of Marginalization: if the subject is not focused, it is not allowed to occur *in situ*; if the subject is focused, other Foci will be blocked and Marginalization cannot be formed either.

the clauses in (27) with a post-verbal subject “your brother”, a direct object “the recorder”, an indirect object “to Giorgio” and an adverb of time “this morning”:

- (27) a. *Ha portato tuo fratello, il registratore, a Giorgio, stamattina.*
 have.3SG brought your brother the recorder to Giorgio this.morning
 b. *Ha portato tuo fratello, a Giorgio, il registratore, stamattina.*
 have.3SG brought your brother to Giorgio the recorder this.morning
 c. *Ha portato tuo fratello, il registratore, stamattina, a Giorgio.*
 have.3SG brought your brother the recorder this.morning to Giorgio
 d. *Ha portato tuo fratello, a Giorgio, stamattina, il registratore.*
 have.3SG brought your brother to Giorgio this.morning the recorder
 e. *Ha portato tuo fratello, stamattina, il registratore, a Giorgio.*
 have.3SG brought your brother this.morning the recorder to Giorgio
 f. *Ha portato tuo fratello, stamattina, a Giorgio, il registratore.*
 have.3SG brought your brother this.morning to Giorgio the recorder
 ‘Your brother brought the recorder to Giorgio this morning.’
 (Antinucci and Cinque 1977:142)

However, the contrast between the two clauses without the post-verbal subject Focalization clearly shows the different syntactic status of a PP complement (“under the bed” in (25)) and an adjunct (“this morning” in (27)): while a PP complement must appear after the overt direct object, a time adverb adjunct can be parenthetical and appear in many positions in the sentence. In addition, in Italian a ditransitive verb allows both [direct object > indirect object] and [indirect > direct object] order, although with different nuances. The 6 possible orders in (27) are all grammatical in the non-marginalized version in (28)

- (28) *(Stamattina) tuo fratello (stamattina) ha portato (a Giorgio) (stamattina)*
 this.morning your brother this.morning have.3SG brought to Giorgio this.morning
il registratore (stamattina) (a Giorgio) (stamattina).
 the recorder this.morning to Giorgio this.morning
 ‘Your brother brought the recorder to Giorgio this morning.’

Thus, we can conclude that the relative word order of marginalized phrases depends on their non-marginalized counterparts. This evidence strongly suggests that the relative syntactic relation among the marginalized elements is not interrupted.

Among (Clitic) Right-dislocated Phrases

Different from the case of Marginalization, CLRD tolerates any order of the dislocated phrases (e.g., in (29-b) the PP complement “under the bed” can precede the direct object “the book”).

- (29) a. *Ce l’ha nascosto il bambino, il libro, sotto il letto.*
 there it-have.3SG hidden the child the book under the bed
 b. *Ce l’ha nascosto il bambino, sotto il letto, il libro.*
 there it-have.3SG hidden the child under the bed the book
 ‘The child hid the book under the bed.’
 (Cardinaletti 2002:34)

Following the conclusion above, the flexibility of word order among CLRD elements implicates that their syntactic relation is interrupted, i.e., they are individually “dislocated” instead of “dislocated” as a whole.

It is worth mentioning here that Samek-Lodovici (2015) also proposes that even object RD

can be clitic-less in Italian in some cases. In (30), the last direct or indirect object of the two clauses has no coreferential clitic in the left part that bears a New Information Focus:

- (30) a. *[Gianni non gli ha più PORTATO]_{NewF}, a Marco_R, i fiori_R.*
 Gianni NEG to-him have.3SG any-longer brought, to Marco, the flowers
- b. *[Gianni non li ha più PORTATI]_{NewF}, i fiori_R, a Marco_R.*
 Gianni NEG them have.3SG any-longer brought, the flowers, to Marco
 ‘Gianni no longer BROUGHT flowers to Marco.’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:81)

“The flower” in (30-a) and “to Marco” in (30-b) cannot be substituted by a negative phrase or a NPI like “nothing/anything” or “to nobody/anyone”, thus he claims that they must also be instances of RD instead of Marginalization.

However, this may be not as evident as he describes. First, if the left part gets the reading of the New Information Focus, a negative phrase or a NPI cannot be excluded from the scope of the new information, since it always operates on the existential quantification of an entity which cannot be inferred from the context, unlike the case of a Contrastive/Corrective Focus of the verb (‘...BROUGHT, not SOLD, ...’). With an intonation of the New Information Focus over the whole clause, according to my informants, the counterpart of (30) with the last clitic-less argument substituted with a negative phrase or a NPI becomes equally acceptable:

- (31) a. *Gianni non gli ha più portato, a Marco, nessun fiore.*
 Gianni NEG to-him have.3SG any-longer brought to Marco any flower
- b. *Gianni non li ha più portati, i fiori, a nessuno.*
 Gianni NEG them have.3SG any-longer brought the flowers to anyone
 ‘Gianni no longer brought flowers to anyone.’

Second, if the verb is a strictly ditransitive verb that always requires the appearance of both the direct object and the indirect object, the clitic-less argument cannot be omitted, contrary to the other argument with the coreferential clitic:

- (32) a. *Gianni non gli ha più dato, (a Marco), *(i fiori).*
 Gianni NEG to-him have.3SG any-longer give to Marco the flowers
- b. *Gianni non li ha più dati, (i fiori), *(a Marco).*
 Gianni NEG them have.3SG any-longer give the flowers to Marco
 ‘Gianni no longer brought flowers to Marco.’

Based on the observation in (31) and in (32), the two post-verbal arguments in (30) should be considered as instances of two different syntactic phenomena, instead of two right-dislocated arguments. I will return to the interpretation of these two examples in the next paragraph.

Among Marginalized and Right-dislocated Phrases

Samek-Lodovici (2015) further claims that if both Marginalization and (CL)RD occur in the same clause, the relative order must be Marginalization > (CL)RD:

- (33) a. *No. Non li ha VISTI_F nessun inquilino_M, i ladri_R.*
 No. NEG them has.3SG seen any tenant the burglars
 ‘No. No tenant SAW the burglars. (But all tenants HEARD them.)’

- b. **No. Non li ha VISTI_F, i ladri_R, nessun inquilino_M.*
 No. NEG them has.3SG seen the burglars any tenant
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:95)

However, a fundamental problem of this example is that we cannot syntactically tell how the verb is contrastively focused: unlike a post-verbal focused subject which is proposed to be focalized in the Low Periphery, no sign of movement of the focused verb can be found and the Low Focus position should be lower than the past participle form of the verb, which will give rise to the ungrammaticality of the clause because the verb will be criterial-frozen in the Focus position before going to the AspP to get the perfective aspect. Consequently, no “Marginalization” should happen since it is defined as a result of other preposed elements.

Moreover, previously in §5.2.1 I argue that a post-verbal destressed subject has the same referentiality requirements as CLLD and CLRD have, which implies that subject Marginalization does not exist. From this point of view, (33-a) should be better considered as containing only a RD of the direct object “the burglars”, while the subject “no tenant”, an existentially quantified DP, is in its post-verbal position of merge, i.e., (33-a) is directly derived from (34), adding a contrastive reading on the verb and right-dislocating the given information “the burglars”:

- (34) *Non ha visto i ladri nessun inquilino.*
 NEG have.3SG seen the burglar no tenant
 ‘No tenant saw the burglars.’

Thus, (33) is invalid to test the relative order between Marginalization and RD.

In addition, the last two examples (31) and (32) in the previous paragraph seem to suggest that RD elements can appear before the marginalized ones.

Here what may have complicated the situation is the so-called “Middle Dislocation” discussed by Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes and Sleeman (2004) mentioned in Chapter 2:

- (35) *Le sien, d’uniforme officiel, avait toujours été propre*
 the his, of-uniform official, had always been clean
 ‘HIS official uniform had always been clean.’
 (Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes and Sleeman 2004:522)

The Middle Dislocation can be seen as a parenthetical phrase⁶ that specifies the adjacent phrase. Naturally, when it occurs with the pre-verbal subject of the clause, as in (35), it is clearly a parenthetical construction; but regarding the post-verbal arguments, it becomes difficult to distinguish it from Marginalization and RD.

If this is a legitimate hypothesis, supposing that in Italian a dropped argument (including subject) leaves an empty *pro in situ*, even when the clitic is present, a parenthetical DP should be (marginally) allowed to specify the empty pronoun. See (36) and (37):

- (36) a. *Gli_i ha dato GIANNI pro_i, i fiori, a Marco_i.*
 to.them have.3SG given Gianni pro the flowers to Marco
 b. ?*Gli ha dato GIANNI [pro_i, a Marco_i,] i fiori.*
 to.them have.3SG given Gianni pro to Marco the flowers
 ‘It was Gianni who gave the flowers to Marco.’
- (37) a. ?*pro_i NON gli_j ha più portato, [pro_i Gianni_i,] [pro_j a Marco_j,]*
 pro NEG to.them have.3SG any.longer brought pro Gianni pro to Marco
i fiori.
 the flowers

⁶I will not go deeper into details of this topic. For recent studies on Parenthesis I consider Giorgi (2014) and Kluck, Ott and De Vries (2014) as reference.

- ‘Gianni didn’t bring the flowers to Marco any more.’
- b. ?**pro_i NON gli_j ha più portato pro_i [pro_j, a Marco_j,] Gianni_i,*
 pro NEG to.them have.3SG any.longer brought pro pro to Marco Gianni
i fiori.
 the flowers

In (36), the post-verbal focused subject guarantees the environment of Marginalization. If the clitic-less direct object “the flowers” is analyzed as Marginalization, then both [Marginalization > RD] ((36-a)) and [Parenthesis > Marginalization] ((36-b)) are acceptable, the latter being weaker than the former. When there are three destressed post-verbal arguments, the acceptability becomes worse, as (37-a) must be analyzed as containing two parenthetical phrases while in (37-b) the subject cannot be analyzed neither as Parenthesis nor as RD.

Given all these complicated cases, what we can be sure about is that [Marginalization > RD] order is always acceptable, the same as the conclusion of Samek-Lodovici (2015). However, at the same time, parenthetical elements can also play a role in the possible word order and I will avoid them in the coming discussion.

5.2.3 Linguistic Contexts

Marginalization and RD seem to appear in contexts with different Focus types. As mentioned before in §5.2, Belletti (2004) claims that a post-verbal subject can be a New Information Focus in a clause of CLRD, while it must be a Contrastive/Corrective Focus in a clause of Marginalization (see example (12)).

More fundamentally than that, RD can appear in any context even without a (narrow) Focus ((38-a)), but Marginalization cannot ((38-b)):

- (38) a. *Gianni l’ha messo sul tavolo, il libro, ed è andato via.*
 Gianni it-have.3SG. put on-the table the book and be.3SG gone away
 ‘Gianni put it on the table, the book, and went away.’
- b. ?**Gianni ha messo sul tavolo, il libro, ed è andato via.*
 Gianni have.3SG. put on-the table the book and be.3SG gone away

This means that RD should be an independent syntactic phenomenon while Marginalization is only a consequence of other syntactic operations.

At the same time, Marginalization appears not only after a post-verbal focused subject, but also in *wh*-questions, yes-no questions and exclamative clauses, according to Antinucci and Cinque (1977):

- (39) *A chi ha dato, Carlo, ieri sera, i cioccolatini?*
 to who have.3SG given Carlo yesterday evening the chocolates
 ‘To whom did Carlo give the chocolates yesterday evening?’
 (Antinucci and Cinque 1977:141)

(39) is a normal *wh*-question in Italian. The clitic-less argument “the chocolates” must be analyzed as an instance of Marginalization following the discussion made in the previous sections.

All of these contexts have been proposed to have different syntactic realizations in recent studies using the Cartographic approach (e.g. Benincà 2001, Belletti 2004, Rizzi and Bocci 2017). What they have in common is their relation to Focus in a very broad sense.

5.2.4 Conclusion: Marginalization is not a Syntactic Phenomenon

In this section, I have compared Marginalization to (CL)RD. In particular, Marginalization presents the following properties:

1. A marginalized DP/PP is not restricted by any Referentiality constraint;
2. The original syntactic relation among marginalized DPs/PPs must be maintained;
3. A marginalized DP/PP can appear after a parenthetical element and must appear before a right-dislocated phrase;
4. Various types of linguistic contexts can trigger Marginalization, what they have in common is that they are all related to Focus but only in a broad sense.

These observations, I think, all point to the simple fact that Marginalization does not exist as a syntactic phenomenon: they do not move or change their form to accomplish certain functions. Just as the initial definition of Marginalization proposed in Antinucci and Cinque (1977), it is an epiphenomenon of some preposing operations of other elements, instead of a particular syntactic phenomenon that has its own discourse function.

In the next section, I will argue that RD is a real syntactic operation, but it does not consist of movements to the Left Periphery or to the Low Periphery of the same clause, but rather a bi-clausal structure with the Ellipsis in the second clause.

5.3 CLRD: “Clitic Right Dislocation” Involves Neither Resumptive Clitics Nor “Right Dislocation”

5.3.1 Mono-clausal Hypothesis vs. Bi-clausal Hypothesis

The three proposals listed in §5.1.1, as well as the analysis of Belletti (2004) making use of the Low Periphery, consider Italian RD as a mono-clausal construction, whether TP/IP-internal (Cecchetto 1999 and Belletti 2004) or TP/IP-external (Cardinaletti 2002⁷ and Samek-Lodovici 2015). Kayne (1994) also separates English RD from Romance RD claiming that in English a right-dislocated phrase is attached to the clause IP-externally, while in Romance languages RD is a kind of Topicalization in the LF. The apparent parallelism between CLRD and CLLD in Italian guides us to deem CLRD as a special variation of CLLD, and the discrepancies found so far are only brought up by the asymmetry between the Left Periphery and the Right Periphery (or something equivalent to it).

On the other hand, in languages without clitic pronouns, the option of a bi-clausal analysis seems more plausible, since a full pronoun can (in pro-drop languages) or must (in non-pro-drop languages) occupy the original position of the right-dislocated phrase. Moreover, in Mandarin, for instance, all the SFPs, including those proposed to be the Force type in the high portion of CP, must appear before the right-dislocated phrase:

- (40) *Ni jianguo (ta) le ma, Lisi?*
you meet-PERF him LE SFP Lisi
'Have you met **him**, Lisi?'

⁷It is not clear whether the proposal of Cardinaletti (2002) is bi-clausal or TP/IP-externally mono-clausal, as the author essentially adopts the analysis of Kayne (1994) for English RD and does not extend the discussion into detail. Here I assume that it is a mono-clausal approach, since there is no sign to show that the right-dislocated phrase is a CP-like construction.

To account for a clause like (40) with a mono-clausal approach, one is forced to assume that the right-dislocated object is dislocated to/merges in a position out of the scope of the SFP, to finally survive from the pied-piping type movement of a clausal or quasi-clausal portion triggered by the SFP (see Chapter 4). This directly excludes the Low Periphery analysis proposed by Cecchetto (1999), as the Low Topic is too low to help the right-dislocated DP escape from the SFP movement; TP/IP-external solutions, instead, must admit that the landing site of RD (the XP of Cardinaletti 2002, and the RP of Samek-Lodovici 2015) must be higher than the SFP in the C-domain, thus higher than the Illocutionary Force layer, and there should be another projection even higher than that to hold the finally moved remnant TP/IP, for which we could hardly find a motivation.

In other words, the analyses for the Italian RD could hardly fit RD constructions in a language like Mandarin.

In Chapter 2 I report that Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016) propose a bi-clausal + Ellipsis analysis for the RD in Germanic languages, dividing the phenomenon into Backgrounding and Afterthought, briefly repeated here for convenience:

- (41) Backgrounding:
 $[_{:P} [_{CP1} \dots ze_i \dots] [_{:} [_{CP2} \textit{die Maori's}_i \Delta]]]$ (' Δ ' = elided structure)
- (42) Afterthought:
 $[_{CP1} \dots \textit{einen Star}_i \dots] [_{CP2} \textit{DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA}_i \Delta]$

There seems no obvious reason to reject this analysis for Italian RD.

In this section, I will try to compare the mono-clausal analyses and the bi-clausal analysis for the Italian RD, examining the status of the coreferential clitic pronoun in the clause and the topicality of the right-dislocated phrase. To further reveal the nature of CLRD, I will discuss the similarities and differences between CLRD and CLLD, and between CLRD and Wh-Movements, whether they are already argued in the literature or not. Then I will show that with a bi-clausal analysis, the Ellipsis of the repeated IP can be appropriately licensed, after which the correct word order can be derived. Thus, the conclusion will be that the bi-clausal analysis can also account for the Italian RD, and it is even better than the previous analyses of mono-clausal interpretation.

Resumptive Clitic or not?

Suppose we adopt a mono-clausal approach, then the coreferential clitic in a RD clause should be analyzed as a resumptive clitic of the dislocated phrase, parallel to the construction of CLLD, while it is not necessarily so if the clause is analyzed bi-clausally: the clitic in the non-dislocated part is a normal pronoun that substitute a full DP argument, since its appearance is obligatory for a null direct object and almost obligatory for a null indirect object in standard Italian.

Either way involves the cliticization process. Following the widely accepted Big DP hypothesis⁸ (Kayne 1975, Torrego 1995, Uriagereka 1995, 2005, Poletto 2008 a.o.), the difference between the two methods can be represented as follows:

- (43) *Maria lo_i ha comprato [BigDP t_{CL} t_{DP}], il giornale_i.*
 Maria it have.3SG bought the newspaper
 (Mono-clausal Analysis)
- (44) *Maria lo_i ha comprato [BigDP t_{CL} pro_i], il giornale_i.*
 Maria it have.3SG bought pro the newspaper
 (Bi-clausal Analysis)

⁸Here I simply adopt the idea that the DP and its coreferential clitic merge in the same projection BigDP. The details of the internal structure of BigDP are not relevant to the current discussion.

In a mono-clausal analysis (in (43)), the right-dislocated DP must be assumed to merge together with the clitic, then they move separately to different positions for different reasons; while a bi-clausal analysis as in (44) supposes that an empty pronoun merges with the clitic, the right-dislocated DP corefers to both, but it does not hold any strict syntactic relation to them.

In the case of the subject RD, in the absence of subject clitics in standard Italian, we expect the following syntactic analyses:

(45) *pro_i Ha comprato t_{Maria} il giornale, Maria_i.*
 pro have.3SG bought the newspaper Maria
 (Mono-clausal Analysis)

(46) *pro_i Ha comprato t_{pro} il giornale, Maria_i.*
 pro have.3SG bought the newspaper Maria
 (Bi-clausal Analysis)

Either seems equally plausible. However, an essential difference between the two analyses is that in a mono-clausal construction, the right-dislocated DP must merge in its canonical position, while in a bi-clausal construction it is attached to the first clause and does not contribute to the grammaticality of the first clause. When there is an overt tonic pronoun (thus a full DP) occupies the argument position, a coreferential DP could not merge and RD should be banned according to the mono-clausal analysis, but this is not the case⁹

(47) *[Loro due]_i lavorano qui, [Gianni e Marco]_i.*
 they two work.3PL here Gianni and Marco
 ‘They work here, Gianni and Marco.’

This is exactly the “Germanic type” RD, a tonic pronoun corefers to the right-dislocated DP. A bi-clausal analysis can also account for this case, while a mono-clausal analysis should exclude it.

Another piece of evidence comes from the partitive clitic *ne* in Italian. Literally it substitutes a construction of [*di* + DP/NP] (‘of + DP/NP’). It is widely used when there is a [Quantifier + NP] construction, which I will discuss below in §5.3.1, and with [DP/NP + attributive adjective] constructions. In the latter case, however, no perfect reconstructed clause can be obtained from CLLD or CLRD clauses, for example:

(48) a. *Ho comprato una macchina rossa.*
 have.1SG bought a car red
 ‘I bought a red car.’
 b. *[Di macchina]_i, ne_i ho comprato una rossa.*
 of car of.it have.1SG bought a red
 ‘About the car, I bought a red one.’
 c. *Ne_i ho comprato una rossa, [di macchina]_i.*
 of.it have.1SG bought a red of car
 ‘I bought a red one, a red car.’
 d. *??Ho comprato [una rossa di macchina].*
 have.1SG bought one red of car

In this example, (48-a) without the overt “of” is identified as the unmarked version of CLLD

⁹One may think of merging an appositive phrase in the argument position (“[*DP* they two] - [*DP* Gianni and Marco]”), and extracting only one element from it to form RD. But this will lead to the discussion of Middle Dislocation/Paraphrase construction again, as I discussed before. If Middle Dislocation/Paraphrase is itself a “mini-RD” at a phrasal level, since it holds some similar properties as RD but apparently not at a clausal level, this solution becomes logically trivial.

in (48-b) and CLRD in (48-c), while the literal reconstruction of them in (48-d) is disallowed. A mono-clausal account must find a proper explanation to the fact that (48-c) is derived from the impossible construction (48-d).

In conclusion, it is better analyzing the coreferential clitic in the non-dislocated part as a cataphoric pronoun rather than a resumptive pronoun that merges together with the DP.

Topic or not?

Needless to say, it is crucial to figure out the syntactic function for a phenomenon defined as “dislocation”. In the broadest sense, the options include Topic and Focus, whether in the Left Periphery or in the Low Periphery. Intuitively, RD elements are given information in the discourse and are always de-accented, thus similar to a Topic. However, the difficulty of proposing so lies in the discrepancies between the Topicalization and RD, as argued in many previous works.

According to Benincà and Poletto (2004), in the Left Periphery the Topic field contains several types of Topic. RD is a “Theme”, which belongs to the Topic field but encodes a dislocated element that can be recovered from the immediate context, instead of a left-dislocated Topic that is present in the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer but is not accessible in the immediate context so that it cannot be recovered (Benincà and Poletto 2004:68). In this sense, the elements appearing in RD should always be optional to the integrity of the clause, while a real Topic has its exact discourse function and may not be freely omitted. This is clear with the Topic of List Interpretation: the topicalized DP forms a pair with the post-verbal subject (“the wine - I” and “the cake - you” in (49)), the topicalized DP must be realized as CLLD instead of CLRD, and neither of the elements in the pair can be absent (see (50)).

- (49) a. *Il vino lo porto io, la torta lo porti tu.*
 the wine it take.1SG I the cake it take.2SG you
 ‘You take the wine, I’ll take the cake.’
 b. **Lo porto io il vino, la porti tu la torta.*
 it take.1SG I the wine it take.2SG you the cake
 (Benincà and Poletto 2004:69)

- (50) a. **Lo porto io, la porti tu.*
 it take.1SG I it take.2SG you
 b. **Il vino lo porto, la torta lo porti*
 the wine it take.1SG the cake it take.2SG

Other than the Topic of List Interpretation, nor can RD be a so-called Hanging Topic, which is argued to be the highest Topic in the Left Periphery. Hanging Topic is different compared to other Topics due to the fact that even when the corresponding internal element is a PP, it can be realized as the DP without the preposition. RD does not allow this loose correspondence: it must be exactly what should be reconstructed into the clause. The clause in (51) contains both a Hanging Topic DP (“Gianni”) and a right-dislocated DP (“Marco”), but only the Hanging Topic can be interpreted as the PP indirect object:

- (51) ?*Gianni_{HT}, non gli presta più la macchina, Marco_{RD}.*
 Gianni NEG to.him lend.3SG any.longer the car Marco
 a. ?‘Marco doesn’t lend the car to Gianni any more.’
 b. *‘Gianni doesn’t lend the car to Marco any more.’

RD: Topic-Wh Duality

After excluding these two “particular” types of Topic, it seems that the canonical CLLD Topic is the best candidate. Thus, the discrepancies between CLLD and CLRD proposed in the previous studies should be crucial to make a final judgement about whether RD can be considered as a Topic. I will mainly discuss the analyses of Cecchetto (1999) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) and show that their conclusions may not be valid, and at the same time a bi-clausal hypothesis of RD would explain all.

Before the discussion, I shall remind the reader about some basic assumptions I argued for in the previous sections to interpret the data in the previous studies:

1. Middle Dislocation exists and is realized as a Parenthetical construction. Even a silent *pro* can take an overt phrase of the same type and form a Middle Dislocation construction;
2. As a consequence, the evidence of RD without clitic proposed by Samek-Lodovici (2015) (“He gave it_i, the flower_i, to Mary.”) should be interpreted as instances of Marginalization (“to Mary”) after Middle Dislocation (“the flower”);
3. Instead, when a right-dislocated phrase has no correspondent clitic, or when the appearance of the clitic is not required by the grammar, it should be a clitic-less RD (e.g., the subject RD);
4. A post-verbal destressed subject is always RD instead of Marginalization.

These points change the way of interpreting the data and the conclusion about the syntactic structure of RD.

NE-cliticization In standard Italian, the clitic pronoun “*ne*” is used to substitute non-possessive “*di* + DP/NP” (lit. ‘of + DP/NP’), “*da* + DP/NP” (lit. ‘from + DP/NP’) and partitive “*di* + DP/NP” (lit. ‘of + DP/NP’ but with partitive meaning) (Cordin 1988). Cinque (1990) shows that *ne*-cliticization is obligatory when the NP in a [Quantifier + NP] construction is covert in object position (52-a), in subject position of a passive clause (52-b) and in the subject position of a clause with an unaccusative verb (52-c).

- (52) a. **(Ne_i) ho smarrite [NP quattro t_i] (di quelle lettere)*
of-them have.1SG lost.PL.F four of those letters
‘I lost four of those letters.’
- b. **(Ne_i) sono andate smarrite [NP quattro t_i]*
of-them be.3PL gone.PL.F lost.PL.F four
‘Four of them are lost.’
(Cinque 1990:69)
- c. **(Ne_i) sono cadute cinquanta t_i nel pozzo*
of-them be.3PL fallen.PL.F fifty in-the well
‘Fifty of them fell into the well.’
(Samek-Lodovici 2015:112)

When the quantifier is Topicalized via CLLD and the quantified DP is unexpressed, the quantifier behaves as if it were the complete DP and only the clitic for DP is required in the case of object CLLD, while the partitive clitic *ne* is unavailable:

- (53) *[Quattro PRO]_i, credo che le_i/(**ne*) abbiano smarrite.*
four PRO believe.1SG that them.PL.F/of.them have.3PL lost.PL.F
‘I think that they lost four (of those letters).’

Samek-Lodovici (2015:125-126) presents that, contrary to the case of CLLD, CLRD requires the *ne*-cliticization and rejects the DP clitic:

- (54) CONTEXT: ‘On Monday, we will receive fifty cars.’
- a. **No. Le riceveremo OGGI_F, cinquanta_R.*
 No them.PL.F will-receive.1PL today fifty
 ‘No. We will receive fifty (of them) TODAY.’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:125)
- b. *No. Ne riceveremo OGGI_F, cinquanta_R.*
 No of-them will-receive.1PL today fifty
 ‘No. We will received fifty (of them) TODAY.’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:126)

He concludes that this is one of the proofs to show that CLRD is movement-based, different from CLLD which merges *in situ*.

However, we should be more cautious in interpreting the data with *ne*-cliticization: this partitive clitic substitutes a construction of “*di* + DP” (‘of + DP’) instead of a full DP. Therefore, putting back the clitic *ne* in (54-b), we get the following reconstructed clause:

- (55) *Riceveremo OGGI, cinquanta [di quelle auto].*
 will-receive.1PL today fifty of those cars
 ‘We will received fifty of those cars TODAY.’

No CLRD is involved in (54-b), as there is no doubled element (i.e., both the coreferential clitic and the dislocated phrase appear in one clause) at all, otherwise (55) should be ungrammatical.

Following this way of thinking, the ungrammaticality of (54-a) appears more meaningful than the availability of (54-b): CLRD does not allow a “partial” correspondence, i.e., RD phrases must fully correspond to the phrase substituted by the clitic, while CLLD allows it (see for example (53)). The grammatical version of the “*le*-cliticization” and *ne*-cliticization RD clause of (54) is shown in (56).

- (56) a. *Le_i riceveremo OGGI, [cinquanta auto/*PRO]_i.*
 them.PL.F will-receive.1PL today fifty cars/PRO
 ‘We will receive them TODAY, fifty cars.’
- b. *Ne_i riceveremo cinquanta OGGI, [di quelle auto]_i.*
 of-them will-receive.1PL fifty today of those cars
 ‘We will receive fifty of them TODAY, of those cars.’

This property resembles Wh-Movements (following Cinque 1990, e.g., the movement of a *wh*-word in a question and the Focalization) which require *ne*-cliticization when only the quantifier is expressed and thus PRO is not allowed to occupy the covert DP/PP position inside the moved quantified phrase. For instance, when the quantifier is focalized:

- (57) *No, QUATTRO pare che *(ne) siano arrivate, (non DIECI).*
 no four appear.3SG that of.them be.3PL arrived.PL.F NEG ten
 ‘No, it appears that FOUR of them have arrived, not TEN.’
 (Cinque 1990:70)

In conclusion, the data of *ne*-cliticization provided by Samek-Lodovici (2015) are not sufficient to prove that RD is movement-based, although CLRD does differ from CLLD in this aspect. Instead, from the observation that CLRD does not allow “partial” correspondence between the clitic and the right-dislocated element, just like in the case of Focalization, I think it is better to conclude that the property of the right-dislocated phrase resembles a moved *wh*-/Focus phrase.

Reconstruction Both Cecchetto (1999) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) compare CLRD with CLLD in terms of the Reconstruction effect. In CLLD cases, Cecchetto (1999) observes that a Principle C violation is detected when a R-expression in the argument position of the left-dislocated phrase is forced to corefer to a null subject pronoun in the clause ((58-a)), while when the R-expression is in the adjunct of the left-dislocated phrase, the Principle C violation does not happen ((58-b)) even if the R-expression corefers to the null subject pronoun. Therefore, the Reconstruction effect is detected only in the case of arguments, where the empty pronoun c-commands the R-expression, but not in the case of adjuncts, which is said to be late-inserted into the structure:

- (58) a. **L'annuncio che [un politico]_i viene arrestato, pro_i lo smentisce*
 the.announcement that a politician come.3SG arrested pro it deny.3SG
sempre dopo poche ore.
 always after few hours
 'The announcement that a politician is arrested, he always denies it after few hours'
- b. *L'annuncio che [un politico]_i dà alla stampa, pro_i lo smentisce*
 the.announcement that a politician give.3SG to.the press pro it deny.3SG
sempre dopo poche ore.
 always after few hours
 'A few hours after he has given it to the press, a politician always denies his own statement.'
- (Cecchetto 1999:43)

Samek-Lodovici (2015) claims that this argument-adjunct asymmetry is also present in CLRD cases (different from Cecchetto 1999 who bases his claim upon clauses in the present tense with indefinite DPs which could create further problems of interpretation):

- (59) a. **pro_k Le_i ha smentite SUBITO_F, [le voci che Gianni_k ha*
 pro them have.3SG denied immediately the rumours that Gianni have.3SG
corrotto un giudice]_i.
 bribed a judge
- b. *pro_k Le_i ha smentite SUBITO_F, [le voci]_i che Gianni_k ha*
 pro them have.3SG denied immediately the rumours that Gianni have.3SG
letto sui giornali.
 read on-the newspapers
 'He denied them IMMEDIATELY, the rumours that Gianni read in the newspapers.'
- (Samek-Lodovici 2015:128)

Samek-Lodovici (2015) explains that in the case of argument (or complement in his words) in (59-a), the whole dislocated DP is reconstructed into the clause, and as a consequence the null subject pronoun c-commands the R-expression, which causes the Principle C violation; in the case of an adjunct in (59-b), only the dislocated DP "the rumours" without the relative clause is reconstructed and thus no Principle C violation is detected. This leads him to propose that CLRD happens TP/IP-externally, otherwise the asymmetry should not be observed in CLRD.

In any case, the evidence of Reconstruction shows a parallelism between CLRD and CLLD.

Right Roof Constraint The behavior of CLRD about Subjacency/Right Roof Constraint is not as obvious as CLLD is, as in most of the cases the RD phrase always appears sentence-finally, whether it comes from the matrix or from an embedded clause. However, Cecchetto

(1999) shows the following data to argue that CLRD ((60-c)) is subject to the Right Roof Constraint (Ross 1967), unlike CLLD ((60-b)):

- (60) a. *Mi sembra strano che le presti la macchina.*
 to.me seems weird that to.her (he).lends the car
 (Unmarked word order)
- b. *La macchina, mi sembra strano che gliela presti.*
 the car to.me seems weird that to-her.it lends
 ‘That he lends his car to her sounds weird to me’
 (CLLD)
- c. **Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, la macchina.*
 That to-her.it lends to.me seems weird the car
 (CLRD)
- (Cecchetto 1999: 46, (15), (16), (18))

However, to some speakers, (60-c) is marginally acceptable. Furthermore, Samek-Lodovici (2015) argues that Cecchetto’s (1999) IP-internal Topic analysis of CLRD could not hold, considering the possibility of (61), where the right-dislocated phrase from a non-finite embedded clause clearly follows the focused subject of the matrix clause:

- (61) *Ci ha obbligato a portar-le MARCO_F, le pistole.*
 to-us have.3SG forced to bring-them Marco the guns
 ‘MARCO forced us to bring the guns.’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:106)

While CLRD is impossible from a finite embedded clause:

- (62) **Si compiace che li hai pescati MARCO_F, [pesci enormi]_R.*
 PRO.REFL.3 please.3SG that them have.2SG fished Marco fish enormous
 ‘MARK is pleased that you caught enormous fish.’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:128)

The author suggests that this proves that CLRD is derived by movements, since even a Wh-Movement is possible from a non-finite embedded clause to the matrix clause in (63), while it is impossible from a finite one in (64):

- (63) *Chi si compiace di aiutare?*
 Whom PRO.REFL.3 please.3SG of help
 ‘Whom is s/he pleased to help?’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:119)
- (64) **Chi si compiace che hai aiutato?*
 Whom PRO.REFL.3 please.3SG that have.2SG helped
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:119)

To better explain the finite-non-finite contrast, we may have two ways to analyze verbs that can take a non-finite clause headed by a preposition, like “force” in (61) and “please (oneself)” in (63): one is to consider them as “restructuring” verbs (Cinque 2006) which are proposed to be functional heads in the functional area instead of the vP in the clause, and (61) and (63) become a simple clause containing no subordinates; alternatively, maybe it is more plausible to analyze the non-finite embedded clauses as a dramatically reduced CP starting from FinP (Rizzi 1997). Either way will lead us to the conclusion that RD is related only to the higher portion of the CP of a clause.

To the fact that a sentence-final RD is impossible from a finite embedded clause to a position

in the matrix, I shall also add that an internal RD in an adverbial clause is “blind” to the matrix. Compare (65-b) to (65-a) and (65-c):

- (65) a. *Se pro_i presenterà il film, pro_{i/j} sarà contenta.*
 if pro will-present.3SG the film pro will-be.3SG happy.SG.F
 ‘If she can present the film, she will be happy.’
 (Unmarked word order)
- b. *Se pro_i presenterà il film, Giovanna_i, pro_{*i/j} sarà contenta.*
 if pro will-present.3SG the film Giovanna pro will-be.3SG happy.SG.F
 ‘If she can present the film, Giovanna, she will be happy.’ (Cordin 1988:562)
 (Internal RD)¹⁰
- c. *Se pro_{i/j} presenterà il film, pro_{i/?j} sarà contenta, Giovanna_i.*
 if pro will-present.3SG the film pro will-be.3SG happy.SG.F Giovanna
 ‘If she can present the film, she will be happy.’
 (External RD)

The right-dislocated subject “Giovanna” in (65-b) is confined to the conditional adverbial clause headed by *se* ‘if’, and thus cannot corefer to the null subject of the matrix. Differently, in (65-c), the right-dislocated subject appears adjacent to the matrix, it must be the subject of the matrix and can optionally corefer to the null subject in the adverbial clause.

Additionally, with multiple embedded clauses, if the sentence-final RD element belongs to the matrix, even when the grammatical case is not the same, we may force a coreferential reading of this element to the lower null arguments ((66-a)); but when it belongs to the lowest embedded clause, it becomes blind to the higher clauses ((66-b)).

- (66) a. *?Non gli_i dico quando pro_i saprà se pro_i sia stato scelto per quel lavoro, a Gianni_i.*
 NEG to.him say.1SG when pro will-know.3SG if pro is.3SG been.SG.M
 chosen for that work to Gianni
 ‘I won’t tell him when he will know if he is chosen for that work, to Gianni.’
 (CLRD of the indirect object in the main clause)
- b. **pro_i Non sa quando pro_i deve comunicare se gli_i abbiano dato il premio o meno, a Gianni_i.*
 pro NEG know.3SG when pro should.3SG communicate if to.him have.3PL
 given the prize or not to Gianni
 intended: ‘Gianni, he doesn’t know when he should communicate whether they have awarded the prize or not.’
 (CLRD of the indirect object in the last embedded clause)

All the discussions above point to the same property of RD: it is (finite-)clause-bounded, dissimilar to CLLD but similar to Focus/Wh-movement.

Parasitic Gaps Cinque (1990) discusses that CLLD in Italian cannot license Parasitic Gaps ((67-a)), while phrases that go through Wh-Movements can ((67-b)):

- (67) a. **Gianni, l’ho cercato per mesi, senza trovare [e].*
 Gianni him-have.1SG looked.for for months without find
 (Cinque 1990:62)

¹⁰To some speakers it is grammatical to have the coreferential reading between the right-dislocated subject in the subordinate clause and the subject of the matrix. As I will argue that there is no direct syntactic relation between the right-dislocated phrase and other elements of the clause, it also makes sense that the referential expression is free to corefer to a *pro* out of its domain, but without any binding relation.

- b. *GIANNI_F ho cercato per mesi senza mai trovare!*
 Gianni have.1SG looked.for for months without ever find
 ‘Gianni, I sought for months without ever finding!’
 (Samek-Lodovici 2015:124)

The CLRD version of (67-a) is equally ungrammatical, as also pointed out by Samek-Lodovici (2015):

- (68) **L’ho cercato per mesi senza trovare [e], Gianni.*
 have-have.1SG looked.for for months without find Gianni

The grammatical way to use CLRD is to retrieve the object clitic in the “gap” (i.e., the empty category in (68)):

- (69) *L’ho cercato per mesi senza trovarlo, Gianni.*
 him-have.1SG looked.for for months without find.him Gianni
 ‘I looked for him for months without finding him, Gianni.’

Whatever may be the difference between the movements of Topicalization and the movements of Focus/Wh-element in respect of licensing parasitic gaps, the data sharply distinguish CLRD from Wh-Movements and assimilate it to CLLD.

AUX-TO-COMP constructions

- (70) a. **Avendolo, il film, Gianni visto (non ci furono problemi)*
 having-it the movie Gianni seen NEG there were problems
 b. *Avendolo Gianni visto, il film (non ci furono problemi)*
 having-it Gianni seen the movie NEG there were problems
 ‘Gianni having watched the movie, no problem arose’
 (Cecchetto 1999:47)

Cecchetto (1999) reports that according to Rizzi’s (1982:83-87) analysis, (70-a) involves a raising of the gerundival auxiliary *avendolo* from the AUX head to the COMP head. Therefore, it is ungrammatical because the leftward topicalized object *il film* would intervene between the auxiliary and the nominative Gianni, and block the government configuration between the auxiliary in COMP and the subject in IP. As a consequence, the direct object *il film* cannot be topicalized to the Left Periphery anymore. As a contrast, an internal RD is possible in (70-b), which predicts that the landing site of CLRD should not be in the Left Periphery¹¹

In addition to what is described by the author, this construction with a gerundival auxiliary tolerates an *in situ wh*-word, but it cannot raise to the Left Periphery of the adverbial clause, in line with the analysis of Aux-to-Comp of Rizzi (1982):

- (71) *Avendo Gianni visto [cosa] Maria si è arrabbiata?*
 having Gianni seen what Maria PRO.REFL be.3SG angry.SG.F
 ‘What did Gianni saw, after which Maria got angry?’

This piece of evidence conveys the fact that the appearance of the operator-like element itself (the interrogative *wh*-word in this case) is not banned by the construction, unlike CLLD which cannot be realized at all, but neither the operator-like element would go through a leftward movement in this case. Although it is not perfectly matching, I conclude that the data from

¹¹To Samek-Lodovici (2015) it is irrelevant, for the fact that it can be solved by the remnant movement of the IP in the gerundival adverbial clause to a higher projection in the Left Periphery. I will leave this point suspended.

Aux-to-Comp constructions suggest that CLRD has the similar behavior as Wh-Movements instead of CLLD.

Other Arguments In addition to the above-mentioned discussion about the comparison between CLLD and CLRD, there are some other syntactic properties of CLLD mentioned in Cinque (1990) but not discussed by the two works or considered uninformative, which could also support my proposal in the following sections.

First, in some cases, negation can facilitate the dislocation of complicated phrases like an adjectival phrase functioning as the predicate or the VP of a passive construction. These elements, being non-argumental, can be optionally resumed by a clitic of the third person singular form in (CL)LD. What is observed is that while the leftward dislocation, i.e., Topicalization is well accepted, the judgement degrades in the CLRD version:

(72) AP LD-RD Under Negation:

- a. *Bella, pare che non (lo) sia mai stata.*
 beautiful.SG.F appear.3SG that NEG it be.3SG never been.SG.F.
 ‘It seems that she has never been beautiful.’ (Cinque 1990:71)
 (LD)
- b. *?Pare che non (lo) sia mai stata, bella.*
 appear.3SG that NEG it be.3SG never been.3SG beautiful.SG.F
 ‘It seems that she has never been beautiful.’
 (RD)

(73) Passive VP LD-RD Under Negation:

- a. *Influenzato dalla pittura fiamminga, non (lo) è mai stato.*
 influenced.SG.M by-the painting Flemish NEG it be.3SG never been.SG.M
 ‘He has never been influenced by the Flemish painting.’ (Cinque 1990:71)
 (LD)
- b. *??Non (lo) è mai stato, influenzato dalla pittura fiamminga.*
 NEG it be.3SG never been.SG.M influenced.SG.M by-the painting Flemish
 ‘He has never been influenced by the Flemish painting.’
 (RD)

If the two LD clauses (72-a) and (73-a) can be paraphrased like “about the property X, Y has/seems to have never been like that”, then the unnaturalness of the two RD clauses (72-b) and (73-b) provides an argument to confute the idea that RD is an “Aboutness” Topic as in their LD version. Although it is admitted by the grammar, RD does not make much sense if it is the predicate – the core information (but not always the Focus) of the clause. This strongly recalls the Negative Island that successive cyclic Wh-Movements should respect (“*How has he never been?”) while it would not affect, for example, a moved argument.

Second, the impossibility of successive cyclic movements of the adjunct LD does not appear to be a problem of RD.¹² the Right Roof Constraint discussed above forces RD to occur locally, and thus it always appears at the end of the complex clause, whether it should merge in the matrix or in the subordinate clause. Compare (74-b) to (74-a):

(74) Successive Cyclicity 1:

¹²Certain types of adjuncts cannot be cliticized and therefore when they occur sentence-finally it is difficult to tell whether it is an instance of Marginalization or RD. Since in (74-b) no evident Focus is forced in the clause, according to the discussion about Marginalization before, I suppose that it is an instance of RD instead of Marginalization.

- a. **Per questa ragione_i, ha detto che se ne andrà t_i*
 for this reason have.3SG said that PRO.REFL.3 ne will-go.3SG
 (Cinque 1990:66)
 (LD)
- b. *Ha detto che se ne andrà t_i, (prima o poi), per questa*
 have.3SG said that PRO.REFL.3 ne will-go.3SG earlier or later for this
ragione_i.
 reason
 ‘(S)he said that (s)he will leave for this reason, earlier or later.’
 (RD)

Similar to what is talked about in the paragraph of the Right Roof Constraint, Samek-Lodovici (2015) raises the question of why a focused subject of the matrix would block RD of an adjunct from a finite clause, while under the same condition RD from a non-finite clause is possible:

- (75) a. **Ha detto che verrete t_i MARCO_F, [per questa ragione_i]_R.*
 have.3SG said that will-come.2PL Marco, for this reason
 Intended ‘MARCO has said that you will come, for this reason.’ (Samek-Lodovici 2015:123)
 (RD from Finite Embedded Clause)
- b. *Ci obbligherà a venire t_i MARCO_F, [per questa ragione_i]_R.*
 us will-force.3SG to come Marco, for this reason
 ‘MARCO will force us to come, for this reason.’ (Samek-Lodovici 2015:123)
 (RD from Non-Finite Clause)

I think this observation again underlines the (high CP) clause-bounded property of RD, as I pointed out before, whether we analyze the main verb in (75-b) as a restructuring verb, or we treat the subordinate clause in (75-b) as a reduced CP, namely, an incomplete clause. The right-dislocated phrase is always connected to a high portion of the CP, thus (75-a) is impossible because the adjunct RD is confined in the embedded CP and cannot escape from it to the right of the matrix subject; (75-b) is possible because the adjunct RD directly occurs with the matrix, appears to the right of all other elements.

Lastly, another evidence of the absence of the successive cyclicity of CLLD proposed by Cinque (1990) regards the construction of “consider him (to be) intelligent”: the overt infinitival copula *essere* is totally acceptable only with Wh-Movements ((76-b)), while marginal with CLLD ((76-e)) and CLRD ((76-d)), and ungrammatical with the overt subject of the subordinate ((76-a)) and the Topicalization of it ((76-c)):

- (76) Successive Cyclicity 2:
- a. *Riteniamo Gianni (*essere) intelligente.*
 consider.PL Gianni be intelligent
 ‘We consider Gianni to be intelligent.’
- b. *GIANNI riteniamo essere intelligente, (non Carlo).*
 Gianni consider.2PL be intelligent NEG Carlo
 ‘We consider GIANNI to be intelligent, not Carlo.’
- c. **Gianni, invece, riteniamo essere intelligente.*
 Gianni instead consider.2PL be intelligent
 (Cinque 1990:67)
 (LD)
- d. *Lo riteniamo ?(essere) intelligente, Gianni.*
 he consider.2PL be intelligent Gianni

- ‘We consider him smart, Gianni.’
 (CLRD)
- e. *Gianni, lo riteniamo ?(essere) intelligente.*
 Gianni he consider.2PL be intelligent
 ‘We consider him smart.’
 (CLLD)

Notice that the two marginal clauses (76-d) and (76-e) contain the object clitic *lo* that corefers to Gianni, which means that it is the covert object Gianni in the matrix that is cliticized, instead of the subject of the subordinate, and they are not derived from (76-a) which is ungrammatical with the infinitival “be”. I will not attempt to discuss the divergence of Topicalization and Wh-Movement, what is informative here is that in this aspect, CLRD behaves similarly to CLLD.

Analysis

Above, I have reviewed the data about the similarities/differences of CLRD with respect to CLLD and Wh-Movements proposed and not proposed in the literature, with some additional evidence that could further reveal the syntactic nature of RD. Table 5.1 has summarized the conclusion of each test discussed.

Test	Property Similar to
Ne-Cliticization	Wh
Reconstruction	CLLD
Right Roof Constraint	Wh
Parasitic Gaps	CLLD
Aux-to-Comp	Wh
Predicate under negation	Wh
Successive Cyclicity 1 - Adjunct	Wh
Successive Cyclicity 2 - “consider intelligent”	CLLD

Table 5.1: Syntactic properties of RD revealed by the tests

Obviously enough, RD shows no clear-cut tendency to Wh-Movements or to CLLD. However, this is not out of reason.

The “similarities” actually can be further divided into two categories: those that have to do with the supposed “merge” position of the RD element (i.e., the left part), and those related to the RD position and the right-dislocated phrase itself (i.e., the right part). Here I shortly summarize the analyses in the previous subsection considering the division of left-part-relevant vs. right-part-relevant:

NE-Cliticization When only the quantifier (e.g., “fifty”) of a quantified DP [$_{DP}$ quantifier + NP] (“fifty cars”) is overt in the clause, the clitic *ne* (“of the cars”) is obligatory in the case of CLRD and Wh-Movements, but not in CLLD where DP clitics (= “fifty cars”) can be used. According to the big PRO explanation, it should be analyzed that CLRD and Wh-Movements are not able to license a PRO in **the dislocated DP** (* $_{DP}$ fifty PRO).
 (RIGHT)

Reconstruction When a dislocated complex DP is reconstructed into the clause, regarding the coreferential relation between the subject of the matrix and an embedded DP in the dislocated phrase, an complement/argument-adjunct asymmetry can be observed in both CLRD

and CLLD data. The Reconstruction effect, just as what it is called, is about the interpretation of DP-references in and out of the RD phrase after it is reconstructed into **the main clause**.
(LEFT)

Right Roof Constraint Data show that a right-dislocated phrase is confined to its own relevant finite clause and cannot surpass the CP of it, similar to Wh-Movements and dissimilar to CLLD. This test only inspects the **possible position of the right-dislocated phrase** with respect to the whole clause and has nothing to do with the interpretation of the reconstructed clause meaning.
(RIGHT)

Parasitic Gaps Neither CLLD nor CLRD can license the “existence” of a totally covert argument that could be controlled by a precedent DP, while a Wh-Movement can do so. Due to the different nature of the movement, the empty category left in **the merge place** decides whether the parasitic gap can be interpreted or not, independently from the phrasal structure of the moved phrase or the relevant position between the moved phrase and the main clause.
(LEFT)

Aux-to-Comp **The landing site of CLRD** does not seem to be blocked by the Aux-to-Comp movement in a gerundival adverbial clause, while Topicalization is banned by the unavailability of the Left Periphery in it. Interrogative *wh*-word is allowed *in situ* and does not bring about any interpretation problem.
(RIGHT)

Predicate under Negation An AP predicate and the VP of a passive construction can also be dislocated, facilitated by the negation of the clause, but RD shows a minor acceptance than the Topicalization in this case, similar to the sensitivity to the negative island of successive cyclic Wh-Movements. No other component in the clause can affect the interpretation, like in the Reconstruction test, it is only **the predicate status of the dislocated phrase** that makes the clause less interpretable, whether it is right-dislocated or *wh*-moved.
(RIGHT)

Successive Cyclicity 1 - Adjunct Suppose an adjunct can be right-dislocated, it must respect the Right Roof Constraint and **the landing site** of an adjunct RD cannot exceed a finite clause, just like the argument RD.
(RIGHT)

Successive Cyclicity 2 - “consider intelligent” In the embedded clause of the construction “consider be intelligent”, an overt embedded subject is admitted only when it is *wh*-moved. Neither LD nor RD of the subject could happen, but with the embedded subject interpreted as the matrix object, CLLD and CLRD become marginally possible. **The supposed merge position** influences the grammaticality judgement.
(LEFT)

Now that the tests are grouped in right-part-relevant ones and left-part-relevant ones, Table 5.1 is revised as follows:

Test	Property Similar to	Relevant Part of a RD Clause
Ne-Cliticization	Wh	Right
Reconstruction	CLLD	Left
Right Roof Constraint	Wh	Right
Parasitic Gaps	CLLD	Left
Aux-to-Comp	Wh	Right
Predicate under negation	Wh	Right
Successive Cyclicity 1 - Adjunct	Wh	Right
Successive Cyclicity 2 - “consider intelligent”	CLLD	Left

Table 5.2: Revised syntactic properties of RD revealed by the tests

It appears that all right-relevant tests provide the result that RD is *wh*-like, while the left-relevant tests predict that RD is LD-Like. The conflict must be resolved by an analysis that treats a right-dislocated phrase itself as a *wh*-like element and the empty position that is supposed to be the merge place of it the same as the one left by LD.

5.3.2 Bi-clausal Structure of (CL)RD

Therefore, I propose that a bi-clausal structure is the best interpretation of the syntactic of this type of RD: the left part (the clause) and the right part (the right-dislocated phrase) are two independent CPs connected by an inter-clausal projection similar to a coordination construction, similar to the proposal of Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016) for Germanic languages mentioned before. However, more technical details need to be specified.

In this subsection, I will analyze the classical (CL)RD cases, where the components involved in RD have a clearer syntactic status thanks to the numerous studies in history. The general proposal is that a clause like (77) has an underlying structure demonstrated in (78), see also Figure 5.3

For continuity purposes, I will mainly rely on the evidence in Italian for now, but in §5.3.3 I will show that this analysis fits the specificational type of RD in Mandarin as well. For this reason, scattered Mandarin examples will also be mentioned next to support the hypothesis.

- (77) *Maria lo_i ha comprato, il giornale_i.*
 Maria it have.3SG bought the newspaper
 ‘Maria bought it, the newspaper.’

- (78) [_{:P} [_{CP1} Maria lo_i ha comprato] : [_{CP2} [_{OpP} il giornale_i [_{IP} ~~Maria ha comprato t_i~~]]]]

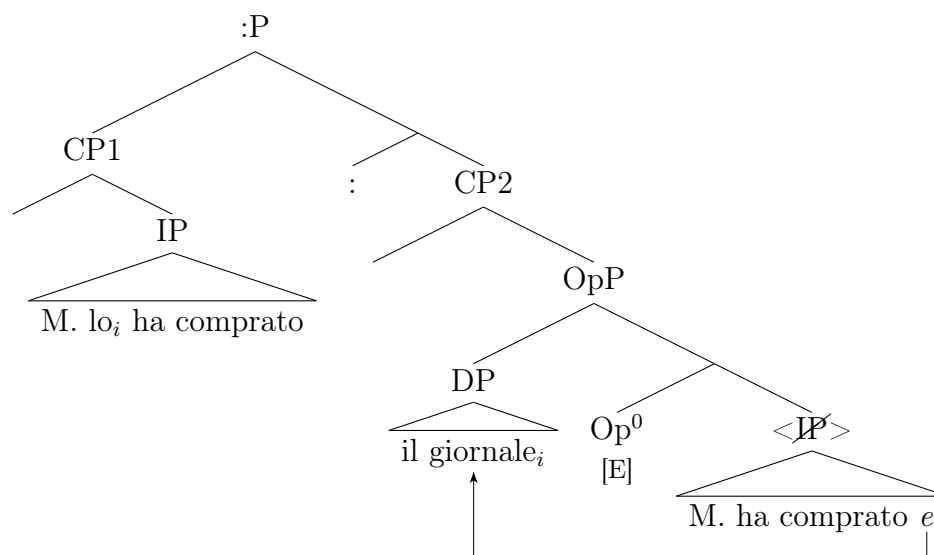


Figure 5.3: Bi-clausal Structure of Italian (CL)RD

CP1: Normal Clause with Cliticized Argument

With a bi-clausal hypothesis, we are forced to argue that the first clause (i.e., the left part) is a complete and grammatical CP clause. The argument claimed to be right-dislocated is simply pronominalized/cliticized as a given information judged by the speaker.

This is not a problem at all. Actually, all grammatical RD clauses mentioned in this chapter have their left part as a complete clause, except those based on which Samek-Lodovici (2015) claims that the argument RD can be clitic-less, but I have shown an alternative analysis and excluded them from RD. The ungrammaticality of the first clause will certainly cause the ungrammaticality of its RD clause.

- (79) a. **L'ho cercato per mesi senza trovare [e].*
 have-have.1SG looked.for for months without find
 (Ungrammatical non-RD)
- b. **L'ho cercato per mesi senza trovare [e], Gianni.*
 have-have.1SG looked.for for months without find Gianni
 (Ungrammatical RD)
- c. *L'ho cercato per mesi senza trovarlo.*
 him-have.1SG looked.for for months without find.him
 'I looked for him for months without finding him.'
 (Grammatical non-RD)
- d. *L'ho cercato per mesi senza trovarlo, Gianni.*
 him-have.1SG looked.for for months without find.him Gianni
 'I looked for him for months without finding him, Gianni.'
 (Grammatical RD)

Under this analysis, the right-dislocated phrases are always optional for the grammaticality of the clause, similar to CLLD (but not the List Interpretation type Topicalization, as I have argued before) but definitely diverted from Wh-Movements in the same clause.

CP2: Moved RD Phrase + IP-Ellipsis

The second clause CP2 may be the less explained part in the literature. Previously in Table 5.2 I suggest that the right-dislocated phrases present properties of *wh*-moved elements. To get

a reasonable interpretation, I propose that the derivation consists of three steps:

1. Copy the IP from CP1 with all the elements merged but unmoved there, substitute the unspecified argument position with an overt DP/PP;
2. Move the integrated DP/PP to the Left Periphery as an operator;
3. Elide the IP which now contains the same basic information as the IP in CP1.

Step 1 is the basic operation that guarantees the correct interpretation of a RD construction, namely, the right-dislocated phrase always integrates a missing part of CP1 but not extraneous to it. Furthermore, the copy of the IP instead of the CP limits the CP area of CP2, which is virtually vacant at this point, independently from the poorness or richness of the Left Periphery in CP1, thus it leaves CP1 free to have all kinds of left-peripheral operations, such as imperative constructions in Italian (80), or multiple SFPs in Mandarin (81):

- (80) *Passamelo, il sale!*
 give.2SG.IMP-to.me-it the salt
 ‘Give it to me, the salt!’
- (81) *Zhangsan zheng yong-zhe ne ba, diannao.*
 Zhangsan right(doing) use-PROG SFP SFP computer
 ‘(I think that) Zhangsan is using it, the computer.’

A mono-clausal analysis should always find a way to reconcile the normal left-peripheral elements and the RD movement.

Step 2 may be the most distinctive point compared to the previous studies. There are two main motivations to hypothesize that the right-dislocated phrase goes through an operator movement: one is that the right-dislocated phrase presents similar properties as *wh*-moved phrases, for instance the necessity of *ne*-cliticization and the sensitivity to the negative island as I have discussed in §5.3.1; another is that operators are argued to be able to license the IP-Ellipsis, which facilitates the next step.

Step 3 derives the isolated RD phrase and makes it look like a phrase attached to the former clause: the repeated information in the IP is elided in CP2 with only the licenser - the operator-moved RD phrase - left in the Left Periphery. Intuitively, it is nearly parallel to a Fragment Answer to a *wh*-question. See the following pair of Fragment Answer (82) and RD (83):

- (82) Ann: *L’ho comprato.*
 it-have.1SG bought
 ‘I bought it.’
 Ben: *Cosa hai comprato?*
 what have.2SG bought
 ‘What did you buy?’
 Ann: *Il giornale!*
 the newspaper
 ‘The newspaper!’
- (83) *L’ho comprato, il giornale.*
 it-have.1SG bought the newspaper
 ‘I bought it, the newspaper.’

The RD clause (83) can be considered as another version of what is uttered by Ann in (82): she has thought that Ben knew what she would have bought, but then she realizes that it is better specifying it and she corrects the sentence by adding the missing unspecified information “the

newspaper”. In this way of thinking, this kind of RD is a real instance of “Afterthought” – the term used by many scholars in the literature.

It is widely accepted that a Fragment Answer to a *wh*-question can be analyzed as underlyingly a Focus Fronting¹³ + IP-Ellipsis (Sluicing) construction (e.g., Merchant 2004, Botteri 2015 for Italian, Wei 2016 for Mandarin).

- (84) A: What did she see?
 B: John.
 (Merchant 2004:673)

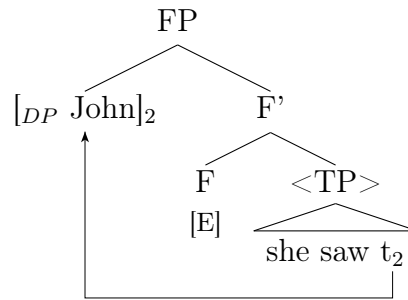


Figure 5.4: Fragment Answer as Focus Fronting + IP-Ellipsis (Merchant 2004:675)

What I am arguing here for the syntax of this kind of RD is that it has a similar structure in the second clause: the new information to the former clause is added and raised, and the repetition of the IP is elided. Different from a Fragment Answer, a right-dislocated phrase certainly does not bare a Focus prosody, and for this reason I propose that the landing site of the RD element is the specifier of a general Operator Phrase (OpP), similar but not necessarily identical to FocusP¹⁴

IP-Ellipsis

Some precision regarding the operation of IP-Ellipsis should be mentioned here, but since the topic of Ellipsis covers a wide range of researches and it is still in a heated discussion, I will only consider the proposals of Merchant (2001, 2004) and Van Craenenbroeck (2010) as my main references. These works can be best adapted into the general theoretical framework of the Cartographic Syntax of this dissertation. Although they have not studied RD as a possible piece of evidence of Ellipsis, I suggest that the specificational type of RD provides similar conditions that license the IP/TP-Ellipsis.

Two methods of Ellipsis According to Van Craenenbroeck (2010), two main methods are proposed to realize the Ellipsis: the PF-deletion theory and the *pro*-theory. Briefly speaking, the PF-deletion analysis treats the unexpressed portion in a clause (usually the IP or the VP) as containing a full-fledged syntactic structure of which the phonological content is deleted at PF; the *pro*-theory instead analyze that a structureless non-DP proform (whether silent or not) takes the place of the Ellipsis site. The author claims that the two analyses are not conflicting

¹³Merchant (2004) does not assert that the movement to Left Periphery of the fragment answer XP is an instance of Focus Fronting. But given that he “suspects” that the functional projection FP in Figure 5.4 is equivalent to FocusP of Rizzi (1997), and based on the discussion about Focus in this dissertation in the previous sections and chapters, a Fragment Answer is undoubtedly a piece of New Information Focus. Therefore, I simply consider this operation the same as Focus Fronting.

¹⁴In this system other narrow Foci are banned, otherwise the Ellipsis cannot be realized (see the following discussion in this subsection). In other words, nothing else can occupy the position of FocusP in CP2. Therefore, it is also reasonable to consider this OpP identical to FocusP.

with each other, and different analyses fit different cases. See, for example, the following two constructions from Dutch varieties and their syntactic derivations proposed by the author:

PF-deletion - Stranding under Sluicing:

- (85) A: *Jef eid iemand gezien.*
 Jeff has someone seen
 ‘Jeff has seen someone.’
 B: ***Wou da?***
 who that_{DEM}
 ‘Who?’

Underlying Structure of (85-B):

- (86) *Wou is da da Jef gezien eit?*
 who is that_{DEM} that_{COMP} Jeff seen has

Derivation of (85-B):

- (87) [_{CP1} **wou**_i [_{C1'} C1⁰ [_{CP2} **da**_j [_{CP2} ~~wou~~_i [_{C2'} C2⁰ [_{IP} ~~da~~_j is ~~wou~~_i da Jef gezien eit]]]]]]]]
 (simplified from Van Craenenbroeck 2010:49-51)

In (85), the sluiced *wh*-phrase *wou* ‘who’ is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* ‘that’. The author argues that the derivation of a construction like this consists of movements of the *wh*-phrase and the demonstrative pronoun from IP to CP of the clause, and the IP goes through PF-deletion, as shown in (87).

TP-proform - Short Do Replies:

- (88) A: *Marie zie Pierre geirn.*
 Mary sees Peter gladly
 ‘Mary loves Peter.’
 B: ***Jou z'en duut.***
 yes she.NEG does
 ‘No, she doesn’t.’

Derivation of (88-B):

- (89) [_{VFocP} **jou** [_{CP} **ze** [_{C'} **en+duut** [_{AgrsP} t_{ze} [_{Agrs'} t_{en+duut} [_{PolP} t_{en+duut} **pro**_{TP}]]]]]]]]]
 (simplified from Van Craenenbroeck 2010:175)

In (89), VFocP is the Verum-Focus Phrase and PolP stands for Polarity Phrase. The unexpressed IP/TP is licensed by the head of PolP and pronominalized to a voiceless *pro*. The author claims that different from the English VP-ellipsis with do-support, the Dutch Short Do Replies can only occur in short contradictory replies to declarative clauses as in (88), while in English the use is much wider (e.g., in coordinations “Ed loves Julia, and Freddy does too”). I would only point out that what is important for my interest is that in the case of TP-proform Ellipsis, all the survived elements merge in the CP area instead of merging within IP/TP and raising to the Left Periphery, as in the case of PF-deletion in (85).

Licensing IP-Ellipsis Naturally, no matter which method or which theoretical framework we adopt, Ellipsis must be subject to strict licensing conditions. In short, an elided structure should find: i) an appropriate antecedent (syntactically overt or semantically/pragmatically recoverable from the context) and ii) a “licensor” which is traditionally thought to be a head and

in general a Focus-marked head in either way mentioned before. Merchant (2001, 2004) supposes that a PF-deletion type Ellipsis head is [E]-marked, and the [E]-feature is itself endowed with [+wh, +Q]-features, while Van Craenenbroeck (2010) revises the [E]-feature to be [+Op, +Q]. A TP-proform instead is licensed by a [F(ocus)]-marked head that merges together with the TP, similar to what licenses an object *pro* proposed by Rizzi (1986).

For instance, the PF-deletion case in (85) is claimed to be licensed by the [+Op, +Q]-features of the moved *wh*-phrase “who” and the demonstrative pronoun “that”. The antecedent in this case is clearly recoverable from the context, as shown in the underlying structure in (86).

In the TP-proform Ellipsis in (88), the author argues that the pro_{TP} is licensed by the morphologically realized, [F]-marked C^0 *en duwt*. The antecedent of the pro_{TP} can be undoubtedly inferred, which is the TP of the former clause. In some other Dutch varieties, this TP-proform can even be phonologically realized.

Ellipsis in CLRD - PF-deletion I have argued that, on the one hand, CLRD involves Wh-Movements and thus the right-dislocated phrase is supposed to be endowed with the [+Op]-feature, say, a “secondary Focus” feature, which greatly favors the IP-Ellipsis condition of the PF-deletion type. On the other hand, however, unlike the PF-deletion example of Stranding under Sluicing in (85) CLRD has nothing to do with the [+Q]-feature; on the contrary, I have demonstrated that a right-dislocated phrase must be referential.

This should not be an obstacle to the licensing of Ellipsis, considering the case of Fragment Answer mentioned before, which is licensed by the only [F]-feature of the moved phrase. IP-Ellipsis in RD can be equally licensed by the [+Op]-feature.

As for the deleted IP, I propose that it is a copy of the IP in CP1, with only the phrase to be dislocated substituting the clitic pronoun in its merge position. In this way, the IP in CP1 becomes an appropriate antecedent of IP in CP2, given the fact that they are identical in all the non-Focus-marked positions¹⁵ In this sense, the underlying structure of CP2 is essentially the same as that of a Fragment Answer: fronting of the [+Op/+F]-marked element and Ellipsis of the IP/TP. See Figure 5.5.

¹⁵The formal schematization of this condition proposed by Merchant (2001), reported by Van Craenenbroeck (2010) is as follows:

- (i) e-GIVENNESS (Merchant 2001:31):
An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting,
 - (i) A entails the F-closure of E, and
 - (ii) E entails the F-closure of A.
- (ii) F-closure (Merchant 2001:14):
The F-closure of α , written $F\text{-clo}(\alpha)$, is the result of replacing F-marked parts of α with \exists -bound variables of the appropriate type (modulo \exists -type shifting).
- (iii) \exists -type shifting (Merchant 2001:14n3):
 \exists -type shifting is a type-shifting operation that raises expressions to type $\langle t \rangle$ and existentially binds unfilled arguments.

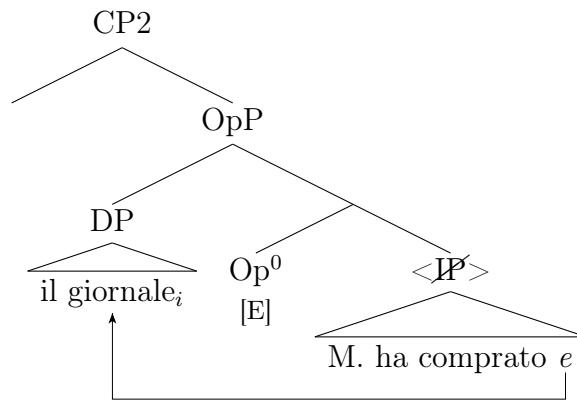


Figure 5.5: CP2 of bi-clausal CLRD structure

This structure correctly predicts that CP2 does not have a rich Left Periphery: extra [Topic], [Focus]-features are disallowed, or otherwise the IP in CP1 would fail to be an appropriate antecedent of IP in CP2; in addition, with the Ellipsis of the IP, all the left-peripheral elements that require an overt realization of the IP (e.g., all the SFPs, some discourse markers) cannot appear anymore.

Connection of the two CPs

Now consider the fact that a subordinate clause can also be a RD construction which is subject to the Right Roof Constraint, as I argue in §5.3.1. For a RD clause like the following one:

- (90) *Se pro_i presenterà il film, Giovanna_i, pro_{*i/j} sarà contenta.*
 if pro will-present.3SG the film Giovanna pro will-be.3SG happy.SG.F
 ‘If she can present the film, Giovanna, she will be happy.’ (Cordin 1988:562)
 = (65)

If the right-dislocated subject of the conditional clause “Giovanna” is a CP following the current proposal, it must be linked to its antecedent CP, namely the conditional clause (‘if she can present the film’) and not penetrate to the matrix, or else it would be intrusive between the two asymmetrically organized clauses.

Furthermore, the interpretation of the RD element cannot be totally free: it must corefers to an empty position or a position occupied by a less informative element of the same category in the antecedent clause CP1. Therefore, the RD clause CP2 is supposed to have a syntactic relation to CP1.

The idea of discourse-linking syntactic projections is not odd at all. See for example Giorgi (2014) who makes use of the notion of Comma Phrase (KP) to interpret the connection between parentheticals (or supplements) and the main clause; Cinque (2008) who proposes that an empty head H connects a CP with a DP or another CP to form a construction like “[a pink shirt]_i? I will never wear any [such thing]_i in my life!”

To interpret the link between CP1 and CP2, following Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016), I borrow the notion of Colon Phrase (“:P”) proposed by Koster (2000) who claims that it relates the two parts of a parallel construal, such as an instance of Equitives discussed by Ross (1969), which count as “Afterthought” - a subcategory of RD - in terms of Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016):

- (91) *Jan heeft [[AgrOP iets moois [VP gebouwd]]] [: [een gouden igloo]]*
 John has something beautiful built a golden igloo
 ‘John built something beautiful: a golden igloo.’

The colon head leads an additional property to the former phrase, which in (91) functions much like the word “namely” (‘John built something beautiful, namely, a golden igloo.’).

This is exactly what we need for RD: a syntactic instrument that attaches a non-adjacent phrase of specification to a larger structure. Different from the original proposal of the author, however, I have shown that the right-dislocated phrase presents some properties that typically belong to an element gone through Wh-Movement. A natural way to interpret this in syntax is to suppose that the attached part actually merges as a full CP, with the irrelevant portion deleted afterwards. This means that the Colon Phrase can be considered as a type of coordination: two structurally equivalent phrases convey the same semantic content, but they are asymmetrically organized, with the latter one specifying part of the former one, without any overt coordinator.

- (92) a. He refused it. He refused my proposal.
 b. He refused it, my proposal.

Therefore, combining with the analysis of Ellipsis above, I propose that the structure of CLRD represented in Figure 5.3 repeated below in Figure 5.6, fits all the properties and requirements described in this section.

- (93) *Maria lo_i ha comprato, il giornale_i.*
 Maria it have.3SG bought the newspaper
 ‘Maria bought it, the newspaper.’

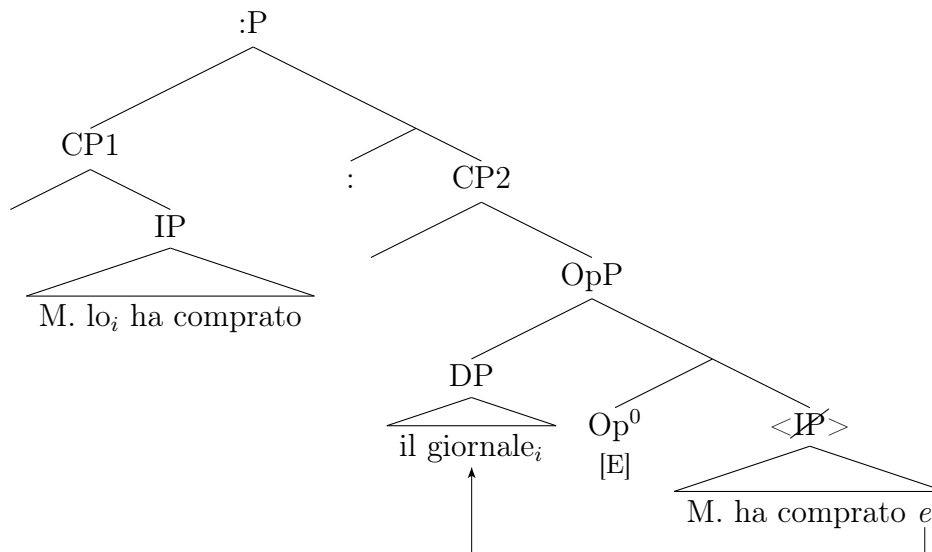


Figure 5.6: Bi-clausal Structure of Italian (CL)RD

The structure of (CL)RD presented in Figure 5.6 consists of two clauses, CP1 and CP2, which are linked by a Colon Phrase. The former clause CP1 is a normal clause with at least one argument expressed by a pronoun, including the *pro* in the case of subjects, the clitic pronoun in the case of objects and eventually locative complements. CP2 takes CP1 as its antecedent and copies its IP, with the pronominal argument position substituted by a phrase (in most of the cases, DP or PP) that can specify the pronoun. This substitute then raises to the OpP in the Left Periphery, the head of which is endowed with the Ellipsis feature [E]. The IP in CP2 is identical to the IP in CP1 except the substituted element, i.e., the right-dislocated phrase. As a consequence, the IP in CP2 is well licensed to be elided, leaving the right-dislocated phrase still present in CP2. The connector Colon head functions like an asymmetrical coordinator, the possible overt form of which is “namely” (or *cioè* in Italian).

Possibility of Multiple RD

Recall that one of the important properties that distinguish RD from Marginalization is that RD allows freely ordered multiple elements to appear at the right-most position, while in Marginalization they must obey their relative order of merge.

The syntactic analysis of RD proposed above can also account for this potential of free multiple right-dislocated elements. Given that a coordination construction can be iterated (from “Mary and John” to “Mary, Jane and John”), this asymmetric coordination construction should be able to iterate itself, too. For example:

- (94) *Maria gli lo ha portato, il dolce, a Gianni.*
 Maria to.him it have.3SG brought the dessert to Gianni
 “Maria brought the dessert to Gianni.”

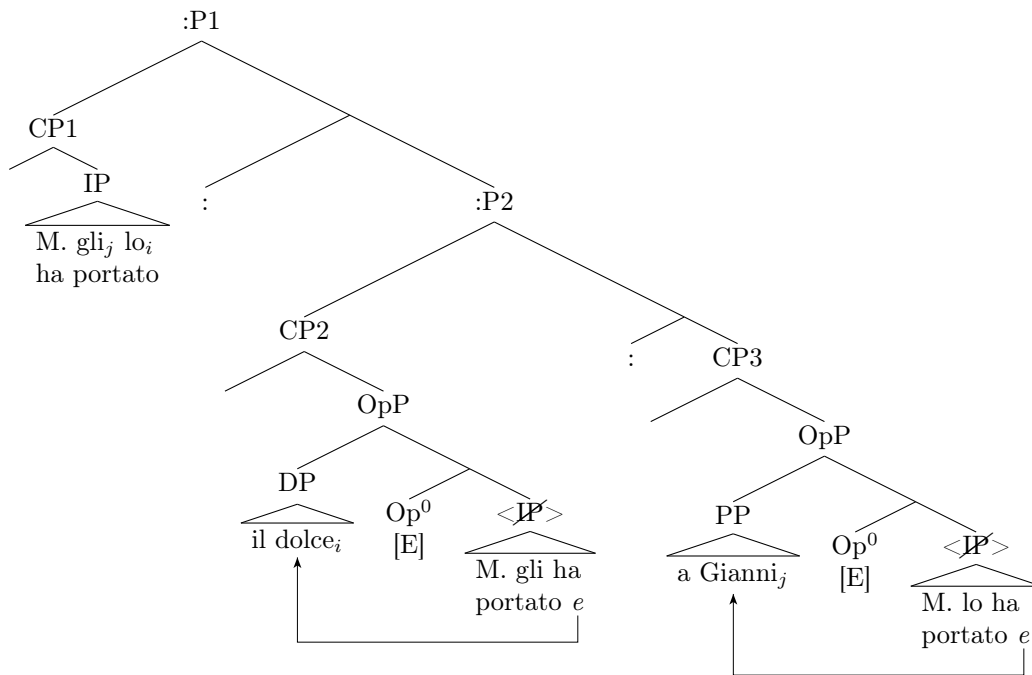


Figure 5.7: Bi-clausal Structure of Italian (CL)RD with multiple right-dislocated elements

Since CP1 c-commands both CP2 and CP3, the antecedent IP can always be identified as that in CP1 and thus appropriate to both of the elided IPs. If we suppose that every RD clause only specifies one correlate in the main clause, then as we can see in Figure 5.7, each copied IP only substitutes one underspecified phrase and raises it to the Left Periphery as an operator. In this sense, CP2 and CP3 have the same level of specification to CP1, thus the Spec-Comp asymmetry of the :P2 becomes trivial, which means that the relative order between the two dislocated phrases is free.

5.3.3 Mandarin Argument RD

As one can tell from this analysis, no language-specific constraints could block the formation of a bi-clausal + PF-deletion Ellipsis construction, as long as the argument has the potential to be operator-moved to the Left Periphery (that allows it to become a Focus or a Fragment Answer, for instance).

That is to say, Mandarin counterparts of CLRD cases in Italian should also be possible to fit into this analysis. Even the SFPs are not a problem in this case, as they do not participate in the derivation of the second clause.

- (95) *Mali mai le ba, baozhi*
 Mary buy LE SFP newspaper
 ‘(Probably) Mary has bought it, the newspaper.’

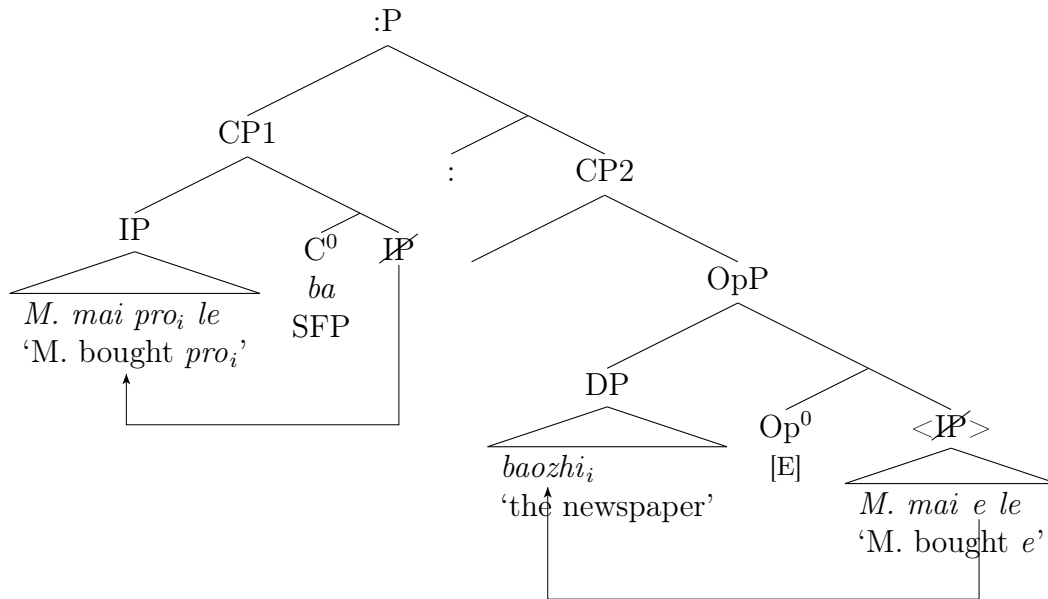


Figure 5.8: Bi-clausal Structure of Mandarin argument RD

In Figure 5.8, one difference compared to its Italian CLRD version shown in Figure 5.6 is that Mandarin is a pro-drop language and an unpronounced null object *pro* takes the empty object position; another difference is that the IP in CP1 is attracted by the SFP *ba* and raises to SpecCP1. The SFP *ba* merges in the CP area of CP1 and therefore is not copied to CP2 which involves only the IP-copying. The rest is identical to Italian CLRD.

In conclusion, I propose that Mandarin argument RD cases can also be explained by the bi-clausal + PF-deletion Ellipsis analysis.

5.4 Non-argument RD: Adjuncts and Adverbs

When RD does not have an overt pronominal correlate in the clause, it becomes problematic to decide which RD analysis should be its underlying structure. For example, adjuncts can also be uttered at last with a pause that separates them from the main clause:

- (96) Adjunct RD:
- È tornato a casa, per questo motivo.*
 be.3SG returned.SG.M to home for this reason
 ‘He went back home, for this reason.’
 (Italian)
 - Ta hui-jia le (a), yinwei zhege yuanyin*
 she/he return-home LE SFP because this-CL reason
 ‘She/he went back home, for this reason.’
 (Mandarin)

Or as I mentioned in Chapter 3, various types of adverbs can be right-dislocated, except for the D-group adverbs for which I have argued that they can only be right-dislocated through the preposing of the rest of the sentence:

- (97) A-group Adverb/Adverbial:

- a. *È tornato a casa, poco fa.*
 be.3SG returned.SG.M to home probably just.now
 ‘He went back home, just now.’
 (Italian)
- b. *Ta hui-jia le (a), gangcai.*
 she/he return-home LE SFP just.now
 ‘She/he went back home, just now.’
 (Mandarin)
- (98) B-group Adverb:
- a. *È tornato a casa, probabilmente.*
 be.3SG returned.SG.M to home probably
 ‘He went back home, probably.’
 (Italian)
- b. *Ta hui-jia le (ba), dagai.*
 she/he return-home LE SFP probably
 ‘She/he went back home, probably.’
 (Mandarin)
- (99) C-group Adverb:
- a. *È tornato a casa, fortunatamente.*
 be.3SG returned.SG.M to home fortunately
 ‘He went back home, fortunately.’
 (Italian)
- b. *Ta hui-jia le (a), xingkui.*
 she/he return-home LE SFP fortunately
 ‘She/he went back home, fortunately.’
 (Mandarin)

The parallelism between the Italian non-argument RD constructions and the Mandarin ones is clear, and given that in Mandarin the dislocated words should always follow the SFP, as in argument RD or the Focus Fronting type RD discussed in Chapter 4, it is legitimate to consider their Italian counterparts as RD, too (instead of, for example, a parenthetical construction).

Different from the CLR D in Italian discussed above and the RD of strictly sentence-middle adverbs talked in Chapter 4, the adjunct RD and the RD of other adverbs may have more than one way to be realized in syntax.

Recall that in Chapter 3 I proposed three criteria to categorize the Mandarin adverbs that can be dislocated:

1. “Pre-subject”: if the adverb can merge or be moved to the Left Periphery to the left of the subject (A-, B- and C-groups);
2. “Independence”: if the adverb can form a clause on its own without an overt predicate (A- and B-groups);
3. “Fragment Answer”: if the adverb can be the answer of a *wh*-question (A-group).

If we apply these criteria to adjuncts like that in (96), we can easily group them together with the A-group adverbs, namely those that can appear to the left of the subject, can be an independent clause and can be a Fragment Answer to a *wh*-question.

According to what I have argued in this chapter and in the last one, the possible RD methods and their relevant minimal requirements in a nutshell are as follows:

1. Focus Fronting Method: a Focus in the clause and the pied-piping type Focus Fronting;

2. Bi-clausal + PF-deletion Ellipsis: a correlate in the former clause and the RD element merged in TP/IP that is able to offer a new information and be an operator;
3. Bi-clausal + TP-proform Ellipsis (possible but not discussed yet): the [F]-marked RD element merging in the Left Periphery and a complete TP/IP copy.

Italian does not show clear signs of the existence of the pied-piping type Focus Fronting, and therefore I exclude the **Focus Fronting Method** for all the Italian RD cases for now. On the contrary, as I argued in the last chapter, Mandarin regularly allows this kind of Focus movement, and therefore RD of all the IP-internal elements which precede a Focus in the lower part of the clause can be derived in this methods.¹⁶

Bi-clausal + PF-deletion Ellipsis analysis requires that the RD element specifies a correlate in the former clause and thus offers a new information to the whole construction. Among those non-argument components of a clause, adjuncts and time adverbials of the A-group can be the Fragment Answer to “how”, “when” and “why” questions, and they are supposed to be explained by this analysis, similar to the argument RD cases.

I have left the **Bi-clausal + TP-proform Ellipsis** method until now, because it seems that only innate TP/IP-external elements can license a TP-proform. Moreover, the licenser is supposed to be [F(ocus)]-marked. From another point of view, these conditions predict that these elements do not contribute to the core information of the clause (because they are TP/IP-external), but they can stand alone without the TP/IP (because they are [F]-marked). This is exactly the B-group adverbs: they are epistemic and evaluative adverbs that can unmarkedly appear to the left of the subject and stand alone as an independent clause. Their function is to confirm, negate or mitigate the truth value of the clause, similar to the Short Do Replies in Dutch varieties. For example, the underlying structure of (100-a) can be analyzed as (100-b):

- (100) a. *Queshi.*
indeed
'Indeed.'
- b. [_{CP} indeed *pro*_{TP}]

If this hypothesis is reasonable, then the RD case of (101-b) can be analyzed as Figure 5.9.

- (101) a. *Zhangsan queshi shi yi-ge haoren*
Zhangsan indeed be one-CL good.guy
- b. *Zhangsan shi yi-ge haoren, queshi.*
Zhangsan be one-CL good.guy indeed
'Zhangsan is indeed a good guy.'

¹⁶It is worth noticing that my basic assumption is that the FocusP is higher than the highest adverb in issue. Given the fact that in a language like Italian, a left-peripheral Corrective Focus can precede an adverb like “fortunately”, I take this for granted. But if some new evidence is provided to confute this assumption, I am open to revise the analysis.

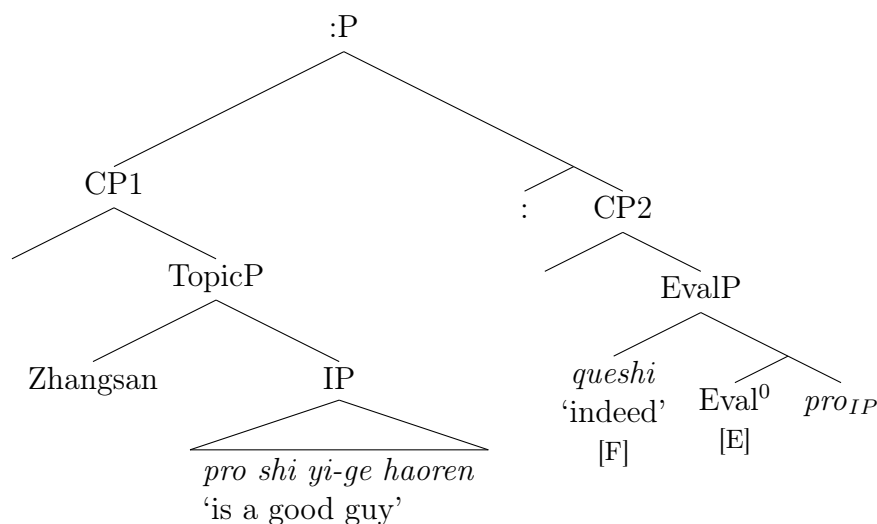


Figure 5.9: Bi-clausal Structure of Mandarin argument RD

In this case, no movement is involved. The IP/TP of CP2 appears in the pronominal form, and this kind of Ellipsis is licensed by the focused evaluative adverb “indeed”, which confirms the truth value of the IP/TP copied from CP1. This analysis can be possibly applied to their Italian counterparts, too, since no language-specific condition is required here.

In conclusion, the possible syntactic analyses that can be applied to the non-argument RD cases in Italian and in Mandarin are summarized in Table 5.3.

	Focus Fronting	Bi-clausal PF-deletion	Bi-clausal TP-proform
Italian Adjunct	No	Yes	No
A-group Adverbs Mandarin adjunct	Yes	Yes	No
B-group Adverbs	Yes	No	Yes
C-group Adverbs	Yes	No	No
D-group Adverbs (see Chapter 3)	Yes	No	No

Table 5.3: Applicability of RD theories to Italian and Mandarin non-argument RD

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I mainly discussed about Marginalization and CLRD in Italian. I compared the two phenomena from the Referentiality of the “dislocated” phrase, the relative word order and their respective linguistic contexts. From this evidence, I propose that Marginalization is an epiphenomenon of other preposing movements, instead of a syntactic phenomenon itself.

As for the polemic construction of CLRD, I compared the mono-clausal hypothesis, that is proposed by various authors of the Italian linguistics, to the bi-clausal hypothesis, which is proposed for other languages in the literature, and concluded that the syntactic properties of Italian CLRD can be better captured by a bi-clausal analysis. There is no movement in the first clause and the coreferential clitic cataphorically refers to the right-dislocated element in the second clause. More precisely, CLRD consists of two clauses with the PF-deletion-type Ellipsis in the second clause. The IP of the second clause is copied from the first one, and the pronominal position is substituted by a DP/PP that specifies this correlate pronoun. This new

DP/PP then moves to the Left Periphery of the second clause as an operator (a “secondary Focus” to the construction) and triggers the Ellipsis of the remnant IP.

Given that in this derivation of the Italian CLRD, no language-specific condition is required, I hold the idea that the argument RD in Mandarin can be also accounted for by this analysis.

I also argued that non-Argument RD cases in the two languages can fit into the analyses proposed for the two main types of RD (the Focus Fronting type and the Specificational type), of which the result is summarized in Table [5.3](#)

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Discussion

6.1 Main Proposal

In this dissertation, I adopt a Cartographic approach to analyze the syntactic phenomenon of RD based on data from Mandarin Chinese and standard Italian. Comparative data show that the previous syntactic studies suffer from drawbacks: they are either too general to be well motivated, or too specific that can only account for a part of the cases in a single language.

Since RD is not limited to arguments, I start with collecting all the adverbs in Mandarin that can be right-dislocated, for their being more “stable” in syntax, and being hierarchically organized in the functional area. According to their different basic syntactic properties and combining with the observations of the Italian CLRD in the literature, I propose that cases of RD should be divided into two major types. Based on their syntactic derivation that I present in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I call the two types the Focus-Fronting type RD and the Specificational type RD.

Monosyllabic adverbs that can be right-dislocated in Mandarin are the most limited ones in terms of syntactic potentials. They cannot be moved and they are purely functional. They stay in an IP-internal position but higher than most of the modal/auxiliary verbs. The only way to make them appear on the right-most position of the clause is to move the syntactic portion lower than them to their left via Focus Fronting. The Focus-Fronting type RD is frequently used in Mandarin, and essentially it consists of the Focus movement of a lower portion of the clause to the Left Periphery, leaving behind the non-focused part which should be in the higher portion in the non-dislocated version of the same clause. As a consequence, what is left behind seems to be dislocated to the right of the focused part. Different from the previous proposals similar to this in the literature like Cheung (1997, 2009), I suggest that the role of Topic and Force in the Left Periphery must be considered in the derivation to better interpret the possibility of the subject to appear in the non-dislocated part and in the dislocated part, and to account for the interaction between RD and SFPs, which in recent years are analyzed as hierarchically ordered split-C heads in the Left Periphery.

Then, I argue that Italian CLRD should be better analyzed as a bi-clausal structure with the Ellipsis of the repeated IP in the second clause, similar to the analysis of Ott and De Vries (2014, 2016) for RD in some Germanic languages. In this case, the right-dislocated phrase functions as a specification to the missing or less specified correlate in the original clause. The Ellipsis is properly licensed by the IP-copying operation and the operator-movement of the right-dislocated phrase to the Left Periphery of the second clause. In this sense, CLRD should be treated differently from CLLD.

The Specificational type RD presents in both languages, as it does not require any language-specific device. Other than the most frequent argument RD, a similar analysis can also be adopted to represent the adjunct RD and part of the adverb RD in the two languages.

In conclusion, strictly speaking, none of the so-called “Right Dislocation” cases in the two languages really involves rightward movements. Instead, it is created either by the leftward movement of the lower portion of the clause, or by the combination of two clauses connected by a inter-clausal projection. In addition, this analysis also implies that RD is not a kind of Topicalization, which explains the discrepancies between RD and LD/Topicalization.

6.2 Future Research

This research about RD has involved many other interesting topics in syntax, and most of them have not been studied with RD data. Therefore, I think that reversing the research direction in this dissertation, we may get many more inspirations about other syntactic phenomena by observing their interactions with RD.

For instance, the possibility to have a RD version of a cleft clause in Mandarin suggests that the cleft construction itself does not block the leftward movement (or the Focus Fronting, according to my hypothesis) of the focused part. This double-Focalization system may reveal a further division of labor of different kinds of Focus that possibly co-occur in the same clause.

The discussion about SFPs and my no-Last-Resort-movement proposal made to explain RD can be also extended as independent topics. The RD constructions demonstrate that the “Sentence-Final” Particles are not necessarily sentence-final, and this may suggest that SFPs only target a restricted portion of the clause, even if they are said to have their scope over the whole clause.

Then, as for the bi-clausal structure of RD, I think that it can lead to a more general investigation of the asymmetric coordination, whether between smaller constituents or between CP clauses. Equally relevant is the Parenthetical construction: should the sentence-final parenthetical element be analyzed as the same of the non-argument RD? And if so, is there any difference between the sentence-middle parenthetical constructions and the sentence-final ones? I shall leave it for the future research.

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