A Movement Analysis of Right Dislocation:
The Case of Mandarin Chinese

Yu-Chuan Lucy Chiang
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Right dislocation has been observed across various languages. However, there has not been detailed investigation of this phenomenon in Mandarin Chinese. This study identifies and analyzes the formal syntax of right dislocation in Mandarin Chinese, proposing a remnant movement analysis for the phenomenon in Minimalism. Unlike the previous movement analysis of right dislocation, the present analysis consists of overt topic movement and remnant focalization, capturing the discourse function of right dislocation and specifying the landing site for both right-dislocated phrases and the host clause. The present analysis can also account for the derivation of the other structures with topicalization and with sentence final particles in Mandarin Chinese.

0. Introduction[1]

This study explores the formal syntax of right dislocation (henceforth, RD) in Mandarin Chinese (henceforth, MC). RD has been widely investigated in the Romance languages (Cecchetto 1999, López 2009), Germanic languages (Ott & de Vries 2012, 2014, 2016), Japanese (Tanaka 2001) and Korean (Chung 2009, Lee 2009, Ko 2014). However, there have not been detailed studies on RD in MC under the generative framework, raising relevant questions about its properties and analysis in MC. Before moving to the analysis of RD in MC, I firstly describe the structure of RD. Descriptively RD consists of a host clause and a dislocated phrase, as in (1a). In the examples from Italian and MC, *Gianni* and *Lisi* are the dislocated (RD) phrases. In the host clause, there must be a co-indexed resumptive pronoun (*lo*, *ta*) as in (1b) and (1c). Importantly, MC RD as discussed in this study does not have a distinct pause between the host clause and the dislocated phrase, which is prosodically different from afterthought constructions.[2]

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[2] The difference between afterthought and right dislocation involves at least prosody and syntax (Averintseva-Klisch 2008). The prosodic difference will be addressed in section 1. The syntactic difference between these two constructions is essentially the following. For afterthought, the

(1)   a. [[host clause] [dislocated XP]]
        b. Italian (Cecchetto 1999)

           Io *(lo_i)   odio, **$Gianni_i$**.
           I   him   hate   Gianni
           'I hate him, Gianni.'

        c. Mandarin Chinese

           Mali yinggai   keneng   xihuan *(ta_i) ba   **$Lisi_i$**.
           Mary probably   maybe   like   he SFP   Lisi
           'Mary probably likes **him_i**, **$Lisi_i$**.'

There are two goals to the present study. First, it provides further insight onto the nature of the interface between syntax and discourse/information structure, which has not been extensively investigated. Second, analyses have been proposed for RD data in several languages. MC data exhibit some similarities to, but also differences from those data. Therefore, the analysis of the MC data shown in this study helps refine the analysis of this construction from a comparative perspective. In what follows, I firstly describe the relevant properties of RD in MC and then I argue for a two-operation movement analysis of RD in the language, specifying the landing site of the dislocated phrase and the proposed overall structure of RD in MC. This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 presents the RD data under consideration. Section 2 shows my proposal for the analysis of RD in MC. Section 3 discusses some consequences of the present proposal and presents a comparison to previous analyses. Section 4 concludes the paper.

1. Right dislocation in Mandarin Chinese

RD in MC exhibits several characteristics; nevertheless, only the ones that are relevant to this paper are shown in this section. First, the right dislocated NP can originate either from the subject or object position, as in (2). It is seen that both the RD subject, *Mali* (2a), and object, *Lisi* (2b), are in the rightmost position. Interestingly, there is an asymmetry between the resumptive pronoun for dislocated subject and dislocated object. For dislocated subject, the resumptive pronoun can be omitted while for the

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resumptive pronoun does not have to be co-referent with the right-dislocated phrase and island sensitivity does not hold, as shown in (1). Since the distinction between these two would require more extensive discussion, in the present study I focus only on right dislocation.

(1) Afterthought in *wh*-islands
   Zhangsan xiang zhidao shei xihuan ta ba,   wo   shi   shuo, Lisi?
   Zhangsan want know who like   he SFP I   SHI   say   Lisi
   'Zhangsan wants to know who likes him, I mean, Lisi?'

dislocated object, the resumptive pronoun is preferably not omitted.[3] The asymmetry also holds for pure A'-Topic movement cases, as in (3).

(2) a. Right dislocated subject   b. Right dislocated object
    (Ta$_i$) kandao Lisi le *(a) Mali$_i$!   Mali kandao *(ta$_i$) le *(a) Lisi$_i$.
    She see   Lisi Asp SFP Mary   Mary see   he Asp SFP Lisi
    'She$_i$ saw Lisi, Mary$_i$!'   'Mary saw him$_i$, Lisi$_i$.'

(3) a. Topicalized subject   b. Topicalized object
    Mali$_i$ a,   (ta$_i$)   xihuan Lisi   Lisi$_i$ a,   Mali xihuan*(ta$_i$)
    Mary TOP she   like   Lisi   Lisi TOP Mary like   he
    'Mary, she likes Lisi.'   'Lisi, Mary likes him.'

      Second, sentence final particles (SFPs) are obligatory in RD (Cheung 2009). It is also illustrated in (2) that for both dislocated subject and dislocated object, the sentence final particle, *a*, cannot be omitted. Importantly, SFPs in RD always end up in a position preceding the RD phrase, as opposed to appearing in sentence-final position in other clauses (4). The SFP is not allowed after the RD phrase (5), which I will account for in the analysis I develop below, in which the host clause and the RD move to the left periphery separately.

(4) Mali   bu   xihuan   Lisi   ma?
    Mary   not   like   Lisi   SFP
    'Doesn't Mary like Lisi?'

(5) *Mali   bu   xihuan ta$_i$ *(ma) Lisi$_i$ (*ma)?
    Mary   not   like   him   SFP Lisi   SFP
    'Intended: Did Mary not like him, Lisi?'

      Third, RD does not have a distinct pause between the dislocated phrase and the SFPs, unlike afterthoughts. As in the contrast shown in (6), an afterthought construction (6a) can have a distinct pause or a phrase between the right-dislocated phrase and the host clause. In right dislocation (6b) this is not allowed.

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[3] The omission of a resumptive object would cause confusion between a normal sentence and a right-dislocated sentence such as (1). In other words, the interpretation of (2) could be the same as the RD where the meaning of it is *Mary saw Lisi*. It could also be that Mary saw something which was mentioned in the previous context and Lisi is used as a vocative.

(2) Mali   kandao le   a   Lisi.
    Mary   see   Asp   SFP Lisi
    'Mary saw Lisi.'

(6)
a. Afterthought

Mali	bu	xihuan	ta	ma?	*wo*	*shi*	*shuo,*	Lisi.
Mali	not	like	he	SFP	I	SHI	say	Lisi

'Doesn't Mary like him, I mean, Lisi?'

b. Right dislocation

*Mali	bu	xihuan	ta	ma	*wo*	*shi*	*shuo*	Lisi?
Mary	not	like	he	SFP	I	SHI	say	Lisi

Finally and most crucially, RD exhibits island sensitivity. The following islands, Complex NP islands (7), *wh*-islands (8) and Adjunct islands (9) all illustrate the violation in RD in MC. The following examples show that both right-dislocated subjects and objects cannot be moved out of an island. As shown in (7a), when the dislocated subject, *Liuyong*, correfers with the pronoun in the complex NP condition, moving *Liuyong* to the right-dislocated position causes an island violation. The dislocated object, *Lisi*, in (7b) exhibits the same violation. Similarly, when *Lisi* is originally generated in the *wh*-island (8), no matter whether it is generated in a subject position or an object position, *Lisi* cannot be moved to the rightmost position. Lastly, in the adjunct condition (9), *Lisi* cannot undergo a movement to the rightmost position of the sentence.

(7) Complex NP condition

a. *Lisi zhidao ta_i xie-guo de shu dou hen changshiao

Lisi	know	he	write-Asp	DE	book	dou	very	best selling

ma $Liuyong_i$?
SFP Liuyong

'Intended: Does Lisi know that the books that he has written are bestsellers, Liuyong?'

b. *Ni kan-guo xihuan ta_i changge de ren ma $Lisi_i$?

you	see-Asp	like	he	sing	DE	people	SFP	Lisi

'Intended: Have you seen the people who like that he sings(,) Lisi?'

(8) *Wh*-islands

a. *Zhangsan xiang zhidao ta_i xihuan shenme a $Lisi_i$?

Zhangsan	want	know	he	like	what		SFP	Lisi

'Intended: Zhangsan wants to know what he likes(,) Lisi?'

b. *Zhangsan xiang zhidao shei xihuan ta_i a $Lisi_i$?

Zhangsan	want	know	who	like	he	SFP	Lisi

'Intended: Zhangsan wants to know who likes him, Lisi?'

(9) Adjunct Condition

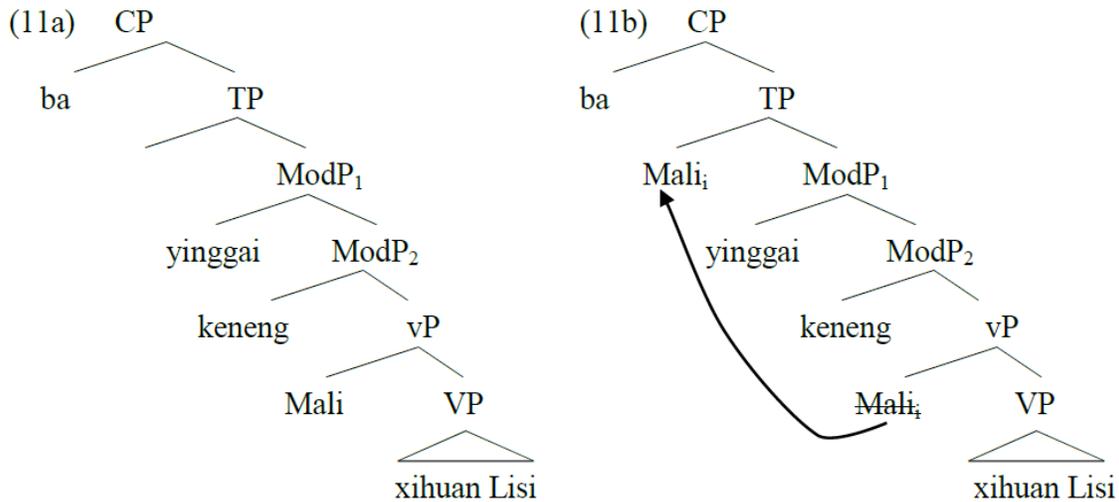   *Ta_i huilai   zhiqian ni   buneng   zou a $Lisi_i$!

    He   come back   before you   cannot   leave SFP Lisi

    'Intended: Before he came back, you cannot leave(,) Lisi!'

2. Proposal

    Based on the investigation of new MC data, I argue in favor of a movement analysis of RD that consists of two operations, i.e., overt topic movement of the dislocated RD phrase followed by remnant focalization movement of the TP to a Specifier of Focus position that is part of the split CP domain in MC (see Paul 2014, Erlewine 2016, Pan & Paul 2016, for the position of SFPs in MC). The step-by-step derivation of (10) is shown in (11).
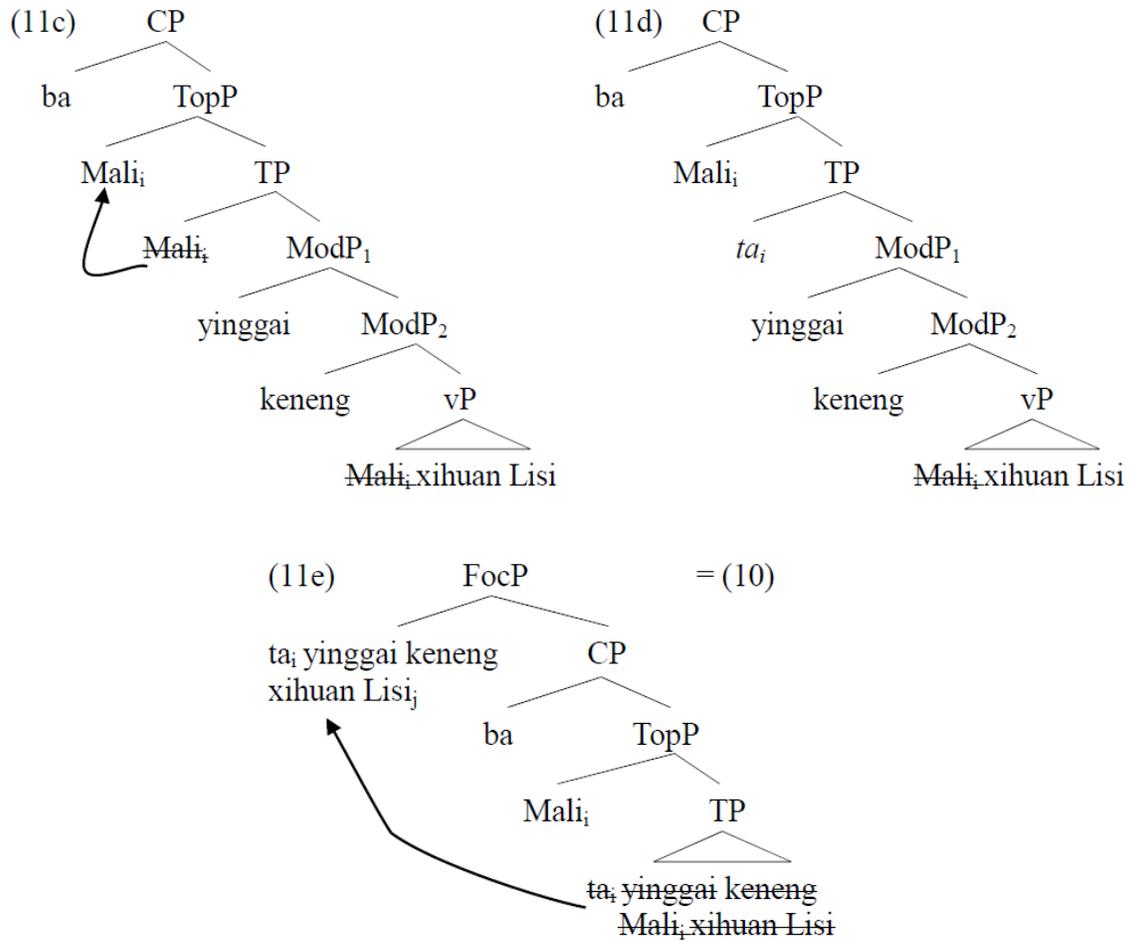
(10) Ta_i yinggai   keneng   xihuan Lisi ba $Mali_i$.

    she probably   maybe   like   Lisi SFP   Mary

    'She probably likes Lisi, Mary.'

    The underlying structure is shown in (11a), where the sentence final particle is base generated at the C position. The first step of the derivation is A-movement of the subject from Spec of vP to Spec of TP, as illustrated in (11b), namely, *Mali* moves to the Spec TP position. The derivation cannot end here; the sentence final particle cannot remain in the sentence initial position as shown in (12). The sentence final particle requires moving the full TP to the Spec of CP position. However, in order to account for right dislocation, TP movement to Spec of CP alone will not account for why the right-dislocated phrase surfaces in the sentence final position. I show below the additional steps I argue for, before TP-movement to Spec, CP applies.

(11a) CP
- ba
- TP
  - ModP₁
    - yinggai
    - ModP₂
      - keneng
      - vP
        - Mali
        - VP
          - xihuan Lisi

(11b) CP
- ba
- TP
  - Mali$_i$
  - ModP₁
    - yinggai
    - ModP₂
      - keneng
      - vP
        - ~~Mali$_i$~~
        - VP
          - xihuan Lisi

(12)

*ba	Mali	yinggai	keneng	xihuan	Lisi$_i$.
SFP	Mary	probably	maybe	like	Lisi

'Intended: Mary probably likes Lisi.'

After subject movement to Spec, TP, the next step is moving the subject *Mali* to Spec of TopP position (11c). This A'-movement is crucial in the derivation of right dislocation since it not only separates the dislocated phrase from the host clause but it also captures the fact that the dislocated phrase is the old information, a Topic. After A'-topic-movement, the resumptive pronoun can be argued to be a consequence of remnant movement (11d) (see e.g. Aoun et al. 2001 for arguments for resumption as movement). The last step is remnant movement of the whole TP to Spec of FocP position (11e), which also generates the correct surface word order of right dislocation. Meanwhile, the pragmatic function of the remnant TP is also captured in its behavior as a Focus element, representing new discourse information in the discourse. The present analysis also independently captures the exceptional clause-final position of SFPs in MC.

(11c) Tree:
```
              CP
          ____|____
        ba        TopP
              _____|_____
          Mali_i         TP
                     _____|_____
                 Mali_i        ModP_1
                            _____|_____
                        yinggai      ModP_2
                                  _____|_____
                              keneng         vP
                                         ____|____
                                    Mali_i xihuan Lisi
```
(arrow from Mali_i in vP/TP up to Mali_i in TopP)

(11d) Tree:
```
              CP
          ____|____
        ba        TopP
              _____|_____
          Mali_i         TP
                     _____|_____
                   ta_i         ModP_1
                            _____|_____
                        yinggai      ModP_2
                                  _____|_____
                              keneng         vP
                                         ____|____
                                    Mali_i xihuan Lisi
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(11e)   = (10)
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              FocP
          _____|_____
  ta_i yinggai keneng       CP
  xihuan Lisi_j         ____|____
                      ba        TopP
                            _____|_____
                        Mali_i         TP
                                   _____|_____
                                 ta_i yinggai keneng
                                 Mali_i xihuan Lisi
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(arrow from TP string up to FocP specifier)

This proposal is also supported by the following contrast between topic and focus (13). From the question and answer pair, it can be seen that right-dislocated phrases serve as old information (topic) and cannot be focused. Hence, using right dislocation for the answer (A) is felicitous in (13a), but not in (13b) where the focus of the question is the right-dislocated phrase.

(13) a. Focus on host clause   b. #Focus on the right-dislocated phrase

Q: Mali   shi   zhaodao   shei?   Q: Shi shei   zhaodao   Lisi?
   Mary   Foc   find   who   Foc who   find   Lisi
   'Who did Mary find?'   'Who found Lisi?'

A: Ta$_i$ shi zhaodao Lisi   a   Mali$_i$ A: #Shi ta$_i$ zhaodao Lisi a   Mali$_i$
   she Foc find   Lisi   SFP   Mary   Foc she   find   Lisi SFP Mary
   'It was Lisi that she found, Mary.'   'It was her who found Lisi, Mary.'

3. Consequences

3.1. Topic movement and sentence final particles

3.1.1. Derivation of basic SFP cases

An additional consequence of the present proposal is the derivation of sentences with SFPs but without right-dislocated phrases, as in (14). The derivation of (14) under the present proposal is illustrated in (15). (15a) is the same derivational step as in (11b); that is, moving the subject NP to Spec of TP position. Unlike the case of right dislocation, if we want to derive this basic sentence with SFP, we just directly move the whole TP to the Spec of CP position, as illustrated in (14b).

(14) Mali   yinggai   keneng   xihuan Lisi   ba
     Mary   probably   maybe   like   Lisi   SFP
     'Mary probably likes Lisi.'

(15)

a. CP tree: [CP [ba] [TP [Mali$_i$] [ModP$_1$ [yinggai] [ModP$_2$ [keneng] [vP [Mali$_i$] [VP xihuan Lisi]]]]]], with movement arrow from VP-internal Mali$_i$ to Spec of TP.

b. CP tree: [CP [Mali$_i$ yinggai keneng xihuan Lisi$_j$] [C' [ba] [TP Mali$_i$ yinggai keneng Mali$_i$ xihuan Lisi]]], with movement arrow from TP to Spec of CP.
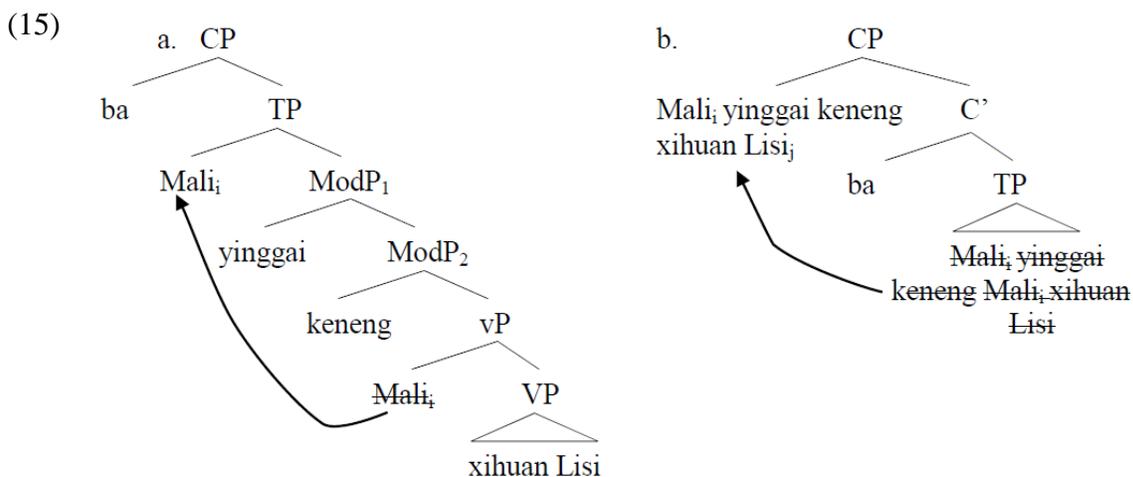
3.1.2. Derivation of Topic-movement only cases

The other consequence of the present proposal is that it can also capture the derivation of topic movement in Mandarin Chinese. (16) is an instance of subject topicalization in Mandarin Chinese, where the topic marker is optional. The topic marker here overtly identifies the subject, *Mali* as occurring in the topic position, and not in the Spec of TP position.

(16) Mali   (a),   yinggai   keneng   xihuan   Lisi   ba
     Mary   TOP probably maybe   like   Lisi   SFP
     'Mary, she probably likes Lisi'

The derivation of topicalization in Mandarin Chinese under the present proposal is illustrated in the following. The two steps are identical to (11a) and (11b). After movement of the subject, *Mali*, to Spec, TP, it further moves to the Spec of TopP position, generating the structure with topicalization as in (17a), which is identical to the step in (11c), except for the fact that the topic head *a* is overtly realized in (17a).

Unlike the derivation of right dislocation, in cases of topic-movement with SFP such as (16), the whole TopP then moves to the Spec of CP position as in (17b), generating the overt structure with the SFP in final position.

(17)
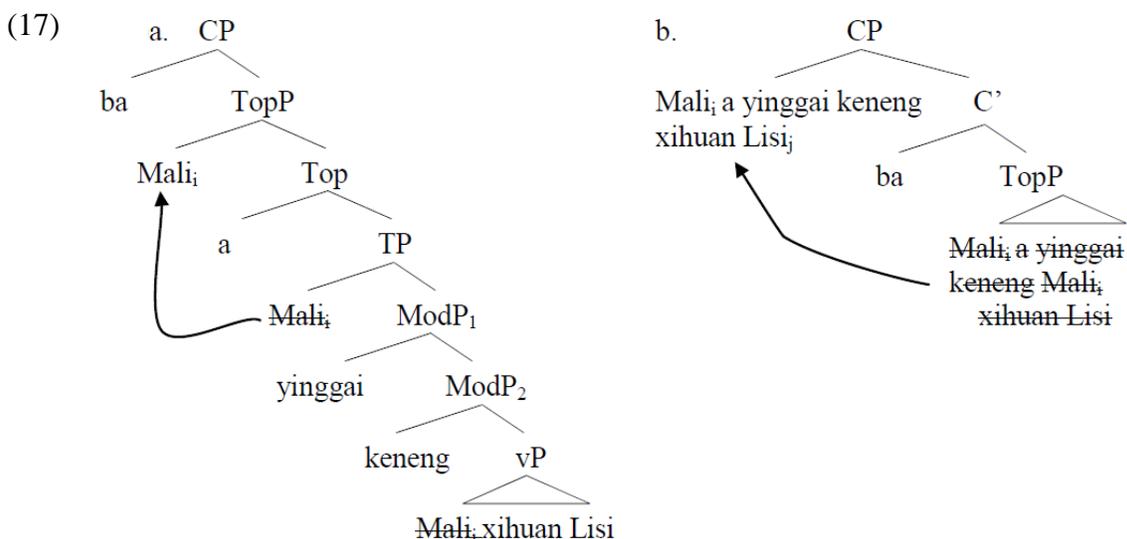
3.2. Comparison with previous analyses

3.2.1. (Remnant) movement analysis

In this section, I briefly review some of the analyses of right dislocation proposed in the literature. One of them is a competing remnant movement approach in the literature, which can capture the fact that RD is sensitive to islands. This analysis also contends that

the right dislocated phrase undergoes a leftward movement, but it is followed by remnant movement of the vP (Cechetto 1999, Frascarelli 2000, Villalba 2000, Belletti 2004), as illustrated in (18) in Catalan.

(18) Steps for movement analysis for RD (López 2009: 102)

(i) Jo	**els**$_i$	he	llegit	**els**	**llibres**$_i$	
I	them	have	read	the	books	

(ii) Jo [els llibres]$_i$ els he llegit t_i (object raising)

(iii) Jo [els he llegit t_i]$_k$ [els llibres]$_i$ t_k (VP raising)

However, there are some limitations of this analysis. First, the motivation for the right-dislocated phrase leftward movement is not explicitly spelled out. Second, the landing site of the right-dislocated phrase and of the remnant vP are not specified. The Chinese data raises additional questions for this analysis, such as the generation of sentence final particles and the specification of the constituent that remnant movement applies to, which I accounted for in sections 2 and 3.2. In addition, the Chinese data may also raises questions about the generation of RD structures with modals, which I illustrated in (14). I explore this issue in detail in other work in preparation.

3.2.2. Base generation analysis (with only one movement step)

There is also a competing base-generation approach that has only one relevant movement operation (other than movement operations that take place for other reasons). This approach assumes that the dislocated phrase (referred to as background in Zwart 2001), is base-generated in a high specifier position. The host clause then undergoes leftward movement (therefore, no remnant movement is involved), as in (19). The Dutch example from Zwart (2001) is provided in (19b).

(19) a. (i) [*background* [**main clause**]]   (ii) [[**main clause**]$_i$ [*background* t$_i$]]

b. **Ik**	**heb**	**hem**$_i$	**verteld**	**dat**	**ik**	**het**	**betreurde**	*die* *jongen*$_i$
I	have	him	told	that	I	it	regretted	that guy

'That guy, I have told him that I regretted it.'

Nevertheless, there are limitations for this approach as well. First, it does not specify the position of the base-generated RD phrase nor the exact landing site of the host clause. Second, assuming the data from Zwart and MC in fact correspond to the same grammatical phenomenon, it is unclear how Zwart's base-generation analysis would account for the position of the RD phrase in Mandarin Chinese. Particularly, the position of SFPs in Mandarin Chinese indicates that the dislocated phrase needs to be placed in a position higher than TP, which challenges the base generation analysis of the right-dislocated phrase. If we apply Zwart's base generation analysis to MC cases such as (10)

(with or without the overt realization of a topic marker), there would be two possible outcomes, but neither one would generate the correct structure, as shown in (20) and (21). In (20a), it would be assumed the dislocated phrase is base-generated at the Spec, CP position and SFP is not part of the host clause (it is rather the C head, as I argued for e.g. in (11)). After the remnant movement takes place in (20b), it does not generate the correct RD order. Similarly, in (21a), the dislocated phrase would be base-generated at the Spec, CP position but SFP would be part of the host clause. This structure also does not capture the correct RD order in MC as in (21b), since the SFP would end up in clause initial position after remnant movement took place. Last and most important, the base-generation analysis cannot account for the island sensitivity of RD in MC (section 1).

(20) Possibility 1
   a. [*Mali* (*a*)] ba [**Lisi xihuan ta**]
      Mary TOP SFP Lisi   like   her
   b. *[**Lisi xihuan ta**]$_i$ [*Mali* (*a*)] ba t$_i$

(21) Possibility 2
   a. [*Mali*   *a*] [**ba Lisi** **xihuan ta**]
      Mary TOP SFP Lisi like   her
   b. *[**ba Lisi xihuan ta**]$_i$[*Mali a*] t$_i$

4. Conclusion

Previous analyses of right dislocation (RD) proposed for languages other than Mandarin Chinese (MC) did not specify the landing site of the dislocated phrase and the host clause. Crucially, those analyses are not able to account for the surface placement of sentence final particles in MC. Base-generation analyses also fail to derive the island sensitivity of RD in MC. Considering understudied cases of RD in Mandarin Chinese, I proposed a movement analysis containing two operations, topicalization and focalization, and specified precisely the landing site of the dislocated phrases. This analysis can account not only for the correct surface (phonological) representation but also for the discourse function of RD structures in MC. In addition, my proposed analysis can derive independent cases of basic clauses with SFP and topicalization without RD structures.

<div align="center">REFERENCES</div>

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