

CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

On Right Dislocation in Cantonese and Italian

LIN4010 Comparative Grammar

by

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## **Romanization Scheme**

All romanized sentences are assumed to be in Cantonese, unless otherwise specified. This paper adopts the “Jyutping” Cantonese Romanization Scheme developed by Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. The tones are generally not specified, except for Sentence Final Particles, where the tone is essential in identifying the meaning.

## **Abbreviations and Symbols**

ASP	Aspectual Marker
CL	Classifier
CLRD	Clitic Right Dislocation
FOC	Focalization
GEN	Genitive Marker
GPRD	Gap Right Dislocation
LD	Left Dislocation
LOC	Locative Marker
MXRD	Mixed Right Dislocation
PNRD	Pronominal Right Dislocation
RCRD	Repeated Copy Right Dislocation
RD	Right Dislocation
SFP	Sentence Final Particle
TOP	Topicalization
TPRT	Topic Particle

## **ABSTRACT**

Cheung (1998) identified that Right Dislocation in Cantonese and that in European languages like Italian and English are vastly different. Despite the differences he pointed out, he did not proceed to conclude that what he regarded as the most common type of RD in Cantonese, namely Gap Right Dislocation, is an independent phenomenon. It should be separated with what we commonly refer to as RD, and be analyzed on its own right.

On the other hand, while Cheung regarded Pronominal Right Dislocation to be an equivalent of RD in European languages, I will show that although the two kinds of RD belong to the same phenomenon, Cantonese RD actually has its own specific behaviors, and is not an exact copy of RD in European languages. I will especially compare RD in Italian with that in Cantonese, because of their being pro-drop languages and because Italian RD is more extensively studied.

## Section 1. Overview

Right Dislocation is a displacement phenomenon which occurs in many languages, and is rather common in some languages, such as Cantonese. A RD sentence consists of two parts, an  $\alpha$ -string and a  $\beta$ -string. The  $\beta$ -string is a part of the  $\alpha$ -string, or shares the same referent with a constituent (usually a pronoun) in the  $\alpha$ -string. In Cantonese, the  $\alpha$ -string is almost obligatorily ended with a Sentence Final Particle<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, a general pattern of RD can be stated as:

(1)  $\alpha$  (SFP)  $\beta$

Traditionally, RD is regarded by functionalists as a mere afterthought repairing to ambiguous uttered sentences. A speaker may utter a sentence as in (2), and soon realizes that the hearer may not understand who *they* is referring to, thus immediately adds a supplement *the cops*.

(2) They<sub>i</sub> spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday, the cops<sub>i</sub>.

However, as Cheung (1998) has pointed out, if RD is only an afterthought, which is employed to further qualify or complete the meaning of an uttered sentence, and the  $\alpha$ -string and the  $\beta$ -string are only related by discourse, then there should be no theoretical constraints on the  $\beta$ -string. This is however in contrary to the fact. In English, for example, constituents in subordinate clauses cannot be right-dislocated, as shown in (3).

(3) \*That they<sub>i</sub> spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday is terrible, the cops<sub>i</sub>.

What this suggests is that RD is indeed a syntactic operation, and can therefore be analyzed syntactically.

Earlier syntactic researches, however, mostly focused on RD in European languages such as English and Italian. Analysis on RD in Cantonese emerged only much more recently. The most comprehensive study of Cantonese RD so far was done by Cheung (1998). In his paper, he contrasted Cantonese RD against RD in European languages, and pointed out the many differences between them. He further categorized RD in Cantonese into three different types, according to their syntactic structures, namely:

1. Pronominal RD (PNRD) and its variant Repeated Copy RD (RCRD);
2. Gap RD (GPRD);
3. Mixed RD (MXRD). (I will elaborate this in §2.2.)

Cheung noted that GPRD is by far the most common type of RD in Cantonese, which accounted by 91.6% of all RD occurrences in his statistics (1998: 10). In view of this, the majority of his analysis focused on GPRD. Subsequent researches on Cantonese RD also paid no particular attention to the other types. One possible reason for this is that while GPRD is usually perceived rather unique to Cantonese, PNRD generally resembles RD in European languages.

In this paper, I will first give evidences to show that GPRD should be identified as a separate phenomenon, rather as RD. I will then show that despite surface similarity with European RD, upon closer inspection, PNRD in Cantonese is in fact different in many ways, and therefore deserves special attention. I will especially compare Cantonese RD with Italian RD, because both of them are pro-drop languages, they therefore share some resemblances which are not found in non-pro-drop languages like English. In addition, since Italian RD is relatively better studied, some of the analysis on Italian can be applied to or at least contrasted with Cantonese.

## Section 2. Previous Studies on Right Dislocation

Ross (1986: 257) suggested a transformation rule of RD, as shown in (4), such that the NP is copied to the end, leaving a corresponding pronoun in the original position.

$$(4) \quad X - \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ -Pro \end{bmatrix} - Y$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[ 1 \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ +Pro \end{bmatrix} 3 \right] \#2$$

In European languages like English and Italian, RD is generally only possible when the dislocated constituent is an NP, as shown in the English example in (2), repeated below as (5) and the Italian example in (6):

(5) They<sub>i</sub> spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday, the cops<sub>i</sub>.

(6) Lo<sub>i</sub> ha comprato Gianni, il giornale<sub>i</sub>.  
 it has bought Gianni the newspaper  
 “Gianni has bought the newspaper.”

However, the above rule is stated without explicitly specifying the syntactic operation undertaken. In analogy to Cheung’s analysis to Cantonese RD, this rule can also be understood as either a rightward movement of the NP, a leftward movement of the entire XP, or that the dislocated NP is actually base-generated.

Kayne (1994) supported the analysis that RD is a leftward movement. He proposed that a sentence like (7) is actually a reduced version of (8). The  $\alpha$ -string is moved from after the  $\beta$ -string to the initial position, giving the analysis in (9). His proposal is generally accepted as an analysis to RD of the European type.

(7) He’s real smart, John.

(8) He’s real smart, John is.

(9) [ [he’s real smart] [X<sup>0</sup> [John... ] ] ]

## 2.1 Right Dislocation in Italian

In Italian, a default surface word order is SVO. Therefore a normal sentence would be like:

(10) Gianni ha comprato il giornale.

Gianni has bought the newspaper

“Gianni has bought the newspaper.”

The word order of the sentence can be turned to either VSO or VOS, such that the constituent immediately following the verb is focused. Therefore, if a sentence has the word order VSO, as in (11) and (12), the subject is focused. Following the common convention, I will use a comma to represent a pause.

(11) Ha comprato Gianni, il giornale.

has bought Gianni the newspaper

“Gianni has bought the newspaper.”

(12) Lo ha comprato Gianni, il giornale. [CLRD]

it has bought Gianni the newspaper

“Gianni has bought the newspaper.”

Even though some previously supposed that (12), known as Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD), is an equivalent of (11), only differing in an optional clitic *lo*, Cinque (2001: 119) argued that the two sentences actually have different underlying structures. Since quantified objects cannot be right-dislocated, the following two examples show that (13) and thus also (11) are not dislocated sentences. In fact, it is argued that the underlying word order of Italian is VSO. In §3.1, I will show the parallelism of this in Cantonese.

(13) \*Non l’ha invitato Gianni, nessuno.

not him-has invited Gianni anybody

“Gianni has not invited anybody.”

- (14) Non ha invitato Gianni, nessuno.  
 not has invited Gianni anybody  
 “Gianni has not invited anybody.”

## 2.2 *Right Dislocation in Cantonese*

According to Cheung’s proposal, Cantonese RD can be classified into three types. In the first type of RD, namely Pronominal Right Dislocation, the  $\beta$ -string is an NP, the co-indexed constituent in the  $\alpha$ -string is replaced with a pronoun and remains in its position.

- (15) keoi<sub>i</sub> heoi zo leoi hang wo<sup>3</sup> Aaming<sub>i</sub>. [PNRD]  
 he go ASP picnic SFP Aaming  
 “Aaming has gone for a picnic.”

A variant of this type, called Repeated Copy Right Dislocation, is obtained if the  $\beta$ -string is the same as the co-indexed constituent.

- (16) keoi<sub>i</sub> sik dim tung ngo dei kaau tung gaa<sup>3</sup> keoi<sub>i</sub>. [RCRD]  
 she know how with we communicate SFP she  
 “She knows how to communicate with us.”

In the second type, Gap Right Dislocation, the  $\beta$ -string is not contained overtly in the  $\alpha$ -string.

- (17) \_\_\_ m hai hou sik pou tung waa lo<sup>1</sup> zi gei. [GPRD]  
 not be very know Mandarin SFP self  
 “I myself do not know Mandarin very well.”

The third type is a mixture of the above two types, the  $\beta$ -string is composed of two parts, one is a PNRD or an RCRD, the other is a GPRD.

- (18) ngo<sub>i</sub> man soeng gaa<sup>3</sup> ngo<sub>i</sub> hai. [MXRD]  
 I arts-commerce SFP I be  
 “I belong to the arts-commerce stream.”

In his analysis of GPRD, Cheung proposed that the operation involved is a leftward movement of the VP to an anticipated adjunct position on the left of the original VP, as stated in the following structure (1998: 76):

(19) [IP Subj.NP [VP [VP  $\gamma$ ]<sub>i</sub> [VP  $\beta$   $t_i$  ] ] (Subj.NP +  $\gamma$  =  $\alpha$ -string)

### Section 3. Gap Right Dislocation

Before proceeding to a comparison of Cantonese and Italian RD, I would like to first further examine the classification of Cantonese RD as proposed by Cheung. Basing on the above background discussion, and the evidences given by Law (2003), I will propose that what is known as Gap Right Dislocation in Cheung's proposal is actually not a type of dislocation in its usual sense.

#### 3.1 Is Gap Right Dislocation with an NP $\beta$ -string an instance of RD?

In Cantonese, a GPRD sentence with an NP  $\beta$ -string usually has a corresponding PNRD or RCRD sentence, as illustrated in the following examples:

(20) — m hai hou sik pou tung waa lo1 Aaming [GPRD]

not be very know Mandarin SFP Aaming

“Aaming does not know Mandarin very well.”

(21) keoi<sub>i</sub> m hai hou sik pou tung waa lo1 Aaming<sub>i</sub> [PNRD]

he not be very know Mandarin SFP Aaming

“Aaming does not know Mandarin very well.”

(22) Aaming m hai hou sik pou tung waa lo1 Aaming. [RCRD]

Aaming not be very know Mandarin SFP Aaming

“Aaming does not know Mandarin very well.”

One is tempted to regard these instances as having the same underlying structure, but differing only in the presence of a pronoun or a copy of the dislocated NP in the  $\alpha$ -string. This analysis is even more appealing when considering that sentences like (20) usually only appear in pro-drop languages, such as Cantonese and Italian (Compare (11)), but not in languages like English, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (23).

(23) \*Does not know Mandarin very well, John.

However, if we adopt a similar test as illustrated in §2.1, we can see that GPRD and PNRD actually differ in their behavior. While a quantified subject can be dislocated in GPRD<sup>2</sup>, a PNRD sentence with a quantified subject is ill-formed, as is illustrated in the following sentences:

(24) gaau zo ng sap man aa3 mui go jan. [GPRD]

hand-in ASP fifty dollar SFP everyone

“Everyone has handed in fifty dollars.”

(25) \*keoi<sub>i</sub> gaau zo ng sap man aa3 mui go jan<sub>i</sub>. [PNRD]

he hand-in ASP fifty dollar SFP everyone

“Everyone has handed in fifty dollars.”

(26) ?mui go jan<sub>i</sub> gaau zo ng sap man aa3 mui go jan<sub>i</sub>. [RCRD]

everyone hand-in ASP fifty dollar SFP everyone

“Everyone has handed in fifty dollars.”

If we compare the above sentences with sentences of Topicalization and Left Dislocation in Cantonese, we can see that while quantifiers can be topicalized, they in general cannot be dislocated.

(27) mui go jan le1, \_\_ dou zung ji jue jin hok. [TOP]

everyone TPRT all like linguistics

“Everyone likes linguistics.”

(28) \*mui go jan<sub>i</sub>, keoi<sub>i</sub> dou zung ji jyu jin hok. [LD]

everyone he all like linguistics

“Everyone likes linguistics.”

This therefore supports the proposal that GPRD with an NP  $\beta$ -string is actually different from what we commonly consider to be RD. Despite some differences, it is instead more similar to Topicalization in their syntactic behaviors. In fact, Law suggests that GPRD is closer to what she calls Focalization. I will discuss on this in the following section.

### 3.2 Is Gap Right Dislocation an instance of RD?

While GPRD with an NP  $\beta$ -string is superficially similar to PNRD, a general GPRD sentence is in many ways different from a PNRD sentence. Notably, except in the case when the  $\beta$ -string is an NP, it is usually not possible to repeat the  $\beta$ -string in the  $\alpha$ -string in GPRD, as shown in (29).

- (29) \*Billy zing hai zung ji tai      zuk kau lo1 Billy zing hai zung ji tai.  
Billy only like watch football SFP Billy only like watch

In addition, both Cheung and Law observed that, while the  $\beta$ -string can be a non-constituent, as is illustrated by “Billy zinghai zungji tai” in (30), it is impossible in RD in European languages such as English and Italian.

- (30) zuk kau lo1 Billy zing hai zung ji tai.  
football SFP Billy only like watch

“Billy likes to watch football only.”

- (31) \*Il calcio, a Billy piace solo guardare \_\_\_\_.  
the football to Billy please only watch

- (32) \*Football, Billy only likes to watch \_\_\_\_.

Law (2003) proposed that Cantonese GPRD is more similar to the focus movement in Italian, or Focalization, in which a focused constituent is fronted in the sentence. She suggested that the  $\alpha$ -string is moved to the [Spec,FocusP] position in the split-CP system, instead of to [Spec,VP] as was suggested by Cheung.

- (33) IL TUO LIBRO ho      letto.      [FOC]  
the your book have-1sg read

“I have read your book (not his).”

Additional evidence supporting that GPRD and PNRD do not constitute one and the same phenomenon is given by the existence of MXRD. In Cantonese, RD cannot be applied multiple times on the same sentence.

- (34) \*keoi dei dou hou zung ji keoi gaa3, di sing san, Aaming  
 they all very like him SFP CL teacher Aaming  
 “The teachers all like Aaming.”

However, since the  $\beta$ -string of MXRD is composed of two separate parts, one resembles that in GPRD and one in PNRD, it is likely that the operation generating an MXRD sentence like (35) is composed of two steps, one generating the GPRD part, and another the PNRD part.

- (35) Aaming<sub>i</sub> zou jyun gung fo laa3 keoi<sub>i</sub> ji ging.  
 Aaming<sub>i</sub> do ASP homework SFP he already  
 “Aaming has already finished doing homework.”

There are two ways in which an MXRD sentence can be generated: either a GPRD is undertaken first, and then a PNRD is performed on the  $\alpha$ -string; or a PNRD is undertaken first, and then a GPRD. Combining Kayne’s proposal for RD in European languages (which I regard as having the same structure with PNRD in Cantonese, See (9)) and Cheung’s proposal for GPRD in Cantonese (19), I propose two possible solutions below.

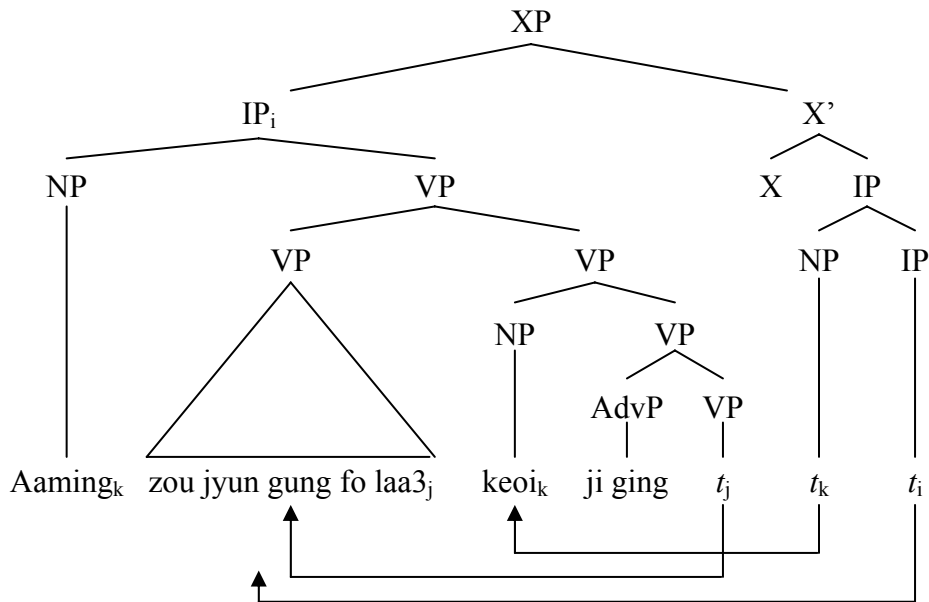


Figure 1 PNRD first, GPRD next

*PNRD first, GPRD next*: In this proposal, a PNRD is performed first. It is assumed that *keoi* is base generated at  $t_k$ , the whole sister IP is then moved to [Spec,XP]. Within the moved IP, a GPRD is

then performed so the VP *zou jyun gung fo laa3* is moved. Finally, in order to account for the word order *keoi ji ging*, I assume that an adjunct position is anticipated so that *keoi* can move into it. Apart from the rather *ad hoc* assumption of the NP movement, this proposal also suffers from the fact that [Spec,IP] actually c-commands the moved NP. This means that the binding principles will be violated if the two NPs are co-indexed.

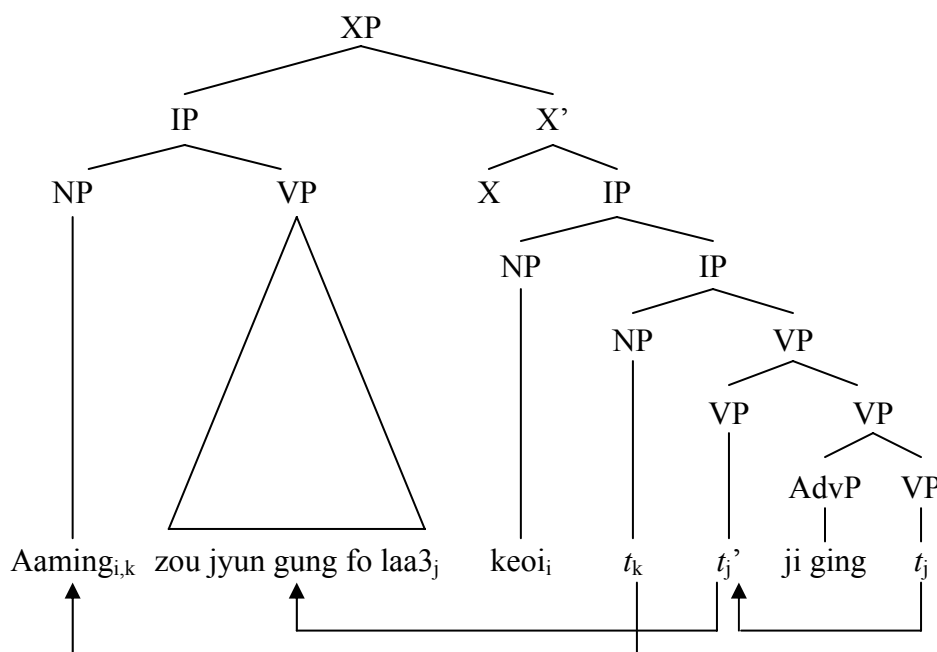


Figure 2 GPRD first, PNRD next

*GPRD first, PNRD next*: In this proposal, a GPRD is performed first, the VP *zou jyun gung fo laa3* is moved as usual to  $t_j'$ . *keoi* is anticipated and base-generated at [Spec,IP]. The subject and the VP then move to nodes under [Spec,XP]. In this proposal, since *Aaming* and *keoi* does not c-commands each other, the binding principles are not violated. It therefore appears to be a better option to me.

Since my purpose of suggesting these proposals is to illustrate that MXRD can be a result of two different operations, I will not concern too much on the details here. It suffices to note that in Cantonese, PNRD or GPRD alone cannot be performed multiple times on the same sentence, therefore MXRD is a combination of two different operations. I will leave the exact structure of MXRD open for future research.

#### Section 4. Comparison of Right Dislocation in Cantonese and Italian

Cheung (1998) identified a distinction between Pronominal Right Dislocation and Repeated Copy Right Dislocation in Cantonese, which I will refer to collectively as Cantonese RD. The most notable difference between RD in Cantonese and Italian, or in other European languages, lies in the relationship between the  $\beta$ -string and its co-indexed NP in the  $\alpha$ -string. Therefore, I have found a need to further identify four sub-types in Cantonese RD before proceeding.

(36) keoi<sub>i</sub> lai zo laa3 Aaming<sub>i</sub>. [Pro-NP RD]

he come ASP SFP Aaming

“Aaming has already come.”

(37) Aaming<sub>i</sub> lai zo laa3 keoi<sub>i</sub>. [NP-Pro RD]

Aaming come ASP SFP he

“Aaming has already come.”

(38) Aaming lai zo laa3 Aaming. [NP-NP RD]

Aaming come ASP SFP Aaming

“Aaming has already come.”

(39) keoi<sub>i</sub> lai zo laa3 keoi<sub>i</sub>. [Pro-Pro RD]

he come ASP SFP he

“He has already come.”

It is quite unique that Cantonese actually allows all four types of RD. Romance languages such as Italian and Germanic languages such as English, for instance, allow only Pro-NP RD. Sentences (40) to (43) are therefore bad.

(40) \*Gianni è venuto, lui.

Gianni is come he

“Gianni has come.”

(41) \*John has come, he.

(42) \*Gianni è venuto, Gianni.

Gianni is come Gianni

“Gianni has come.”

(43) \*John has come, John.

Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, also allow NP-Pro RD. The following example is in Norwegian:

(44) Iskremen har jeg kjøpt, den.

the.ice.cream have I bought it

“I have bought ice cream.”

#### **4.1 NP-NP RD and Pro-Pro RD**

NP-NP RD and Pro-Pro RD are actually similar in nature. They both are uncommon in languages other than Cantonese, except in some restricted sense, as in (45).

(45) Noi lo facciamo insieme, tu e io.

We it do together you and I

“We’ll do it together, you and me.”

Ross (1986: 259) noted that while the Pro-Pro construction is in general prohibited in English RD, it is not the case in LD (46). The same phenomenon also occurs in French.

(46) Me, I like beer.

(47) Moi, j'aime la bière.

me I-like the beer

“Me, I like beer.”

In Italian, it is usually not allowed, unless the subject is made a topic.

(48) Per me/\*me/\*io, io amo la birra.

for-me/\*me/\*I I love the beer

“As for me, I love beer.”

Semantically, it appears that in Cantonese, by repeating the NP in NP-NP RD or the Pro in Pro-Pro RD, the NP or Pro is made a topic. Even though the difference between Pro-NP RD and NP-NP RD is rather subtle and not always contrastive, it can be illustrated by the following situations:

Q: Which year is Aaming now in (in university)?

(49) Aaming bat zo jip laa3 Aaming.

Aaming finish ASP work SFP Aaming

“As for Aaming, he has already graduated.”

Q: Has Aaming graduated already?

(50) keoi bat zo jip laa3 Aaming.

he finish ASP work SFP Aaming

“He has already graduated (not hasn’t).”

This echoes with the observation that the pronoun *me* also functions like a topic in the English and French LD sentences (46) and (47) above, in which it is also repeated.

In addition, I have observed that there is also a length effect in determining the grammaticality of an NP-NP RD sentence. Generally speaking, the longer the NP, the less acceptable the sentence is, as demonstrated in (51) to (53).

(51) Aaming lai zo laa3 Aaming.

Aaming come ASP SFP Aaming

“Aaming has already come.”

(52) ?Aaming ge pang jau lai zo laa3 Aaming ge pang jau

Aaming GEN friend come ASP SFP Aaming GEN friend

“The friend of Aaming has come.”

(53) ??Aaming ge pang jau ge mui lai zo laa3 Aaming ge pang jau ge mui

Aaming GEN friend GEN sister come ASP SFP Aaming GEN friend GEN sister

“The sister of the friend of Aaming has come.”

## 4.2 What Can Be Dislocated?

Typically, only NP and locative phrase can be right-dislocated. I will examine each of them below.

### 4.2.1 Subject

Subject can be right-dislocated both in Cantonese and in Italian. However they differ in that the subject must not be overtly spelled in the  $\alpha$ -string in Italian. It is usually assumed that a covert *pro* occupies the subject position in the  $\alpha$ -string.

(54) keoi<sub>i</sub>      maai    zo      bou zi      laa3    Aaming<sub>i</sub>.

He            buy    ASP newspaper    SFP    Aaming

“Aaming has already bought the newspaper.”

(55) *pro*<sub>i</sub>/\*Lui<sub>i</sub> l’ha    comprato    il    giornale,    Gianni<sub>i</sub>.

ø/\*He      it-has bought      the newspaper Gianni

“Gianni has already bought the newspaper.”

### 4.2.2 Direct Object

Right-dislocating a direct object is marginally acceptable in Cantonese, whereas it is perfectly grammatical in Italian.

(56) ?ngo    gin    m    dou    keoi<sub>i</sub>    wo3    zi    bat<sub>i</sub>.

I      see not ASP it      SFP CL pen

“I cannot find the pen.”

In a ditransitive sentence in Italian, it is possible to right-dislocate a direct object to a position preceding the indirect object, while it is not possible in Cantonese.

(57) L<sub>i</sub>’ho    venuto    io    il    cane<sub>i</sub>    a    Gianni

it-have sold    I    the dog    to Gianni

“I have sold the dog to Gianni.”

(58) \*ngo maai zo keoi<sub>i</sub> laa3 zek gau<sub>i</sub> bei Aaming.

I sell ASP it SFP CL dog to Aaming

“I have sold the dog to Aaming.”

#### 4.2.3 Indirect Object

It is possible to right-dislocate an indirect object in Italian, but impossible in Cantonese.

(59) Ho venuto il cane a lui<sub>i</sub>, a/?ø Gianni<sub>i</sub>

I-have sold the dog to him to/ø Gianni

“I have sold the dog to Gianni.”

(60) ngo maai zo zek gau<sub>i</sub> bei keoi<sub>i</sub> laa3 \*Aaming/\*bei Aaming

I-have sold ASP CL dog to him SFP Aaming/to Aaming

“I have sold the dog to Gianni.”

#### 4.2.4 Locative Phrase

Locative NP can be right-dislocated in both Italian and Chinese, but a preposition or a locative marker is usually required to support the NP.

(61) Ho messo la mela là, sul/\*il tavolo.

I-have put the apple there on-the/the table

“I have put the apple on the table.”

(62) ngo baai zo go ping gwo hai go dou aa3 hai/?ø toi soeng min

I put ASP CL apple LOC there SFP LOC/ø table above

“I have put the apple on the table.”

#### 4.3 Sentence Final Particle

Cheung himself has admitted that his treatment of RD could not take the status of SFP into account properly. In his analysis, SFP is always attached to the VP and moves with it. In most situations, however, SFP is analyzed either as C<sup>0</sup> or [Spec,CP].

Law speculated that the occurrence of SFP between the two strings in a RD is for a phonological reason. She observed that SFP occurs at the end of an intonational phrase. The medial position of SFP in an RD sentence divides the sentence into two intonational phrases, thus the  $\beta$ -string in Cantonese has a low and level intonation, which resembles Romance and Germanic languages.

Basically I agree with Law's speculation. It is commonly acknowledged that due to Cantonese's intensive use of tone to differentiate meanings, the use of intonation to mark mood and focus is less flexible. Therefore, Cantonese has to resort to other means to achieve these functions, one of which is the use of SFP. While in Italian, a short pause between the  $\alpha$ -string and the  $\beta$ -string is more or less obligatory, it appears that such a pause is usually not required in Cantonese. The use of SFP in Cantonese thus perhaps performs the same function as intonation and pause do in Italian.

## Section 5. Conclusion

There are various evidences supporting the proposal that GPRD and PNRD do not belong to the same phenomenon. Firstly, they behave differently with quantified subjects. Secondly, while the  $\beta$ -string can be a non-constituent in GPRD, it is not possible in PNRD. Thirdly, while MXRD should be seen as a combined operation of GPRD and PNRD, it is evident that GPRD or PNRD alone cannot be performed multiple times on the same sentence. With all these reasons, it is necessary to separate the discussion of GPRD and PNRD. Only in this way can we identify the parallelism of Cantonese RD with RD in other languages such as Italian and English, and gain insight of the characteristics of RD in general.

In the analysis of Cantonese RD sentences, I categorized them into four types, namely Pro-NP RD, NP-Pro RD, NP-NP RD and Pro-Pro RD. Pro-NP RD is most commonly found in other languages, and is the only possible type in Romance and Germanic languages (except for sentences like (45)). NP-NP RD and Pro-Pro RD, what Cheung referred to as RCRD, are similar to the other types, but appear to be able to topicalize or focus on the repeated NP.

Despite their superficial resemblances, Cantonese and Italian RD differ in more specific behaviors. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that Cantonese and Italian RD (excluding GPRD) constitute one and the same phenomenon, but only differ in minor parameters.

Sentence Final Particle is a puzzling element in RD. While it certainly plays an essential role in Cantonese, its status in the syntactic structure is still controversial. Because of the resemblance of the functions and behaviors of SFP with those of intonation in European languages, I personally favor the idea that it is a phonologically motivated element. However, it is far from being conclusive at the moment, much research is still needed.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Cheung (1998: 7) notes that the SFP “is not obligatory; but it is employed in the majority of Cantonese RDs found in the corpus.” Personally I disagree with him on this point. According to my observation, the SFP is obligatory in all RD sentences. If SFP is omitted from a RD sentence, it will sound very odd and is usually perceived as ill-formed. In the rare cases where SFP might be dropped, the speaker probably has to apply a dramatic intonation on the sentence, or an abrupt pause between the  $\alpha$  string and the  $\beta$  string.

<sup>2</sup> Law gave the following example in the discussion of pronoun binding (2003: 251).

- (a) ??dou hou gwaan sam keoi<sub>i</sub> di hok saang gaa3 mui go sin saang<sub>i</sub>.  
also very care-about his GEN student SFP every teacher  
“Every teacher cares about his students.”

Although she regarded this sentence as grammatical, personally I would judge it ill-formed or rather marginally accepted. Subsequently I made up a few more examples, and conducted an informal survey.

- (b) ??dou lai zo laa3 mui go jan.  
also come ASP SFP everyone  
“Everyone has come.”
- (c) ??dou zung ji keoi gaa3 mui go jan.  
also like he SFP everyone  
“Everyone likes him.”
- (d) gaau zo ng sap man aa3 mui go jan.  
hand-in ASP fifty dollar SFP everyone  
“Everyone has handed in fifty dollars.”
- (e) gyun zo jat bun syu lo1 mui go jan.  
donate ASP one CL book SFP everyone  
“Everyone has donated a book.”

All informants replied that (a) to (c) are somewhat odd or ill-formed, while (d) and (e) are well-formed. So I suspect that the word *dou* is what casts the sentences (a) to (c) ill-formed. Interestingly, I observed that an RD sentence fronted with *dou* sounds much better if the dislocated NP is not a quantifier, as in (f) to (h). It is unclear to me what contributes to this difference.

- (f) dou hou gwaan sam keoi<sub>i</sub> di hok saang gaa3 Ho lo si<sub>i</sub>.  
also very care-about his GEN student SFP Mr Ho  
“Mr Ho also cares about his students.”
- (g) dou lai zo laa3 Aaming.  
also come ASP SFP Aaming  
“Aaming has also come.”
- (h) dou zung ji keoi gaa3 Aaming.  
also like he SFP Aaming  
“Aaming also likes him.”

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