

A tale of two types of exclusive doubling in Vietnamese*

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1 Introduction

Exclusive doubling: Co-occurrence of two exclusive particles with the **same focus association**

Not allowed in English:

- (1) a. Mary **only** read ONE_F book. (Advverbial/sentential)
 b. Mary read **only** ONE_F book. (Adfocal/constituent)
 c. # Mary **only** read **only** ONE_F book.

But widely found in other languages!

- (2) a. Akan (C. Ahenkorah p.c.)
 b. Bangla (U. Banerjee p.c.)
 c. Cantonese
 (Law 2004; P. P.-I. Lee 2019; Yip 2023)
 d. Dutch (Barbiers 2014)
 e. Ga (Renans 2017)
 f. German (Hole 2015; J. Bayer 2020)
 g. German sign language (Herrmann 2013)
 h. Hindi (Bajaj 2016)
 i. Japanese (Erlewine 2012)
 j. Kasem (Aremu 2024)
 k. Korean (Y. Lee 2005)
 l. Mandarin Chinese (Hole 2017; Sun 2021)
 m. **Vietnamese** ← **Today's focus**
 (see citations below)
 n. Yoruba (Yip and Adedeji 2024)
 o. ...

Adfocal doubling

Vietnamese is famously known to allow exclusive doubling (Hole 2008, 2013, 2017; Erlewine 2017; Quek and Hirsch 2017; Sun 2020, 2021):

- (3) Doubling of exclusive adverbial and adfocal particles in Vietnamese
 Nam **chỉ** ăn **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F (Single-‘only’/‘concord’ reading)
 Nam only eat PRT.only beef
 ‘Nam eats only beef.’ (Hole 2017, 394)
 (NOT multiple-‘only’: ‘what Nam only does is to eat only beef’)

→ Apparent **form-meaning mismatch**: only one particle is interpreted as the exclusive operator and gives the “doubled/concord” reading

The **operator-particle** approach (S. Bayer 1996; J. Bayer 2020; Y. Lee 2005; Barbiers 2014; Quek and Hirsch 2017; Bassi, Hirsch, and Trinh 2022; Sun 2021; Branagan and Erlewine 2023; *i.a.*)

- Adfocal particles are *semantically vacuous* concord markers,
- which establish a *syntactic dependency* with an exclusive operator (either null or realized as the adverbial particles)

- (4) [_{TP} Subj [**OP-EXCL** [_{VP} V [**Prt-only** [_{DP} Focused element]]]]]

→ The nature of the dependency is subject to debate:

- (5) Syntactic dependency:
- Agree (Quek and Hirsch 2017; Hole 2017; Hirsch 2022)¹
 - Covert movement (S. Bayer 1996; Y. Lee 2005; Barbiers 2014; cf. Erlewine and Kotek 2018)
 - Overt movement (Hole 2017; Sun 2021)

SFP doubling

Relatively less discussed: doubling of **sentence-final particles (SFPs)** with adverbial particles (Hole 2008)

- (6) Doubling of exclusive adverbial and sentence-final particles in Vietnamese

Hôm qua Nam **chỉ** ăn [thịt bò]_F **thôi**. (Single-‘only’/“concord” reading)
 yesterday Nam only eat beef SFP.only.
 ‘Nam only ate BEEF yesterday.’ (Hole 2008, 21)
 (NOT multiple-‘only’: ‘what Nam only did was to eat only BEEF.’)

→ Understudied empirical properties

→ **No formal analysis yet**, to the best of my knowledge

- (7) Overview of the talk

- Empirically, I provide novel data to show that adfocal doubling and SFP doubling in Vietnamese are not uniform:
They **contrast** in (i) scopal behavior and (ii) locality constraints
- I propose that adfocal doubling involves **covert movement** dependency triggered by a **focus** feature
- I propose that SFP doubling involves **Agree** dependency triggered by an exclusive [**EXCL**] feature

A note on the data

The data (not cited from the literature) come from elicitation sessions with two Northern Vietnamese speakers and two Southern Vietnamese speakers (2023-2024).

→ Note that there are certain amount of variations with SFP *thôi* among the Southern speakers, in which case I will base the relevant claims largely on Northern Vietnamese.

• Road map

§2: Basic properties

§4: Proposal

§3: Contrasting scopal behavior

§5: Concluding remarks

2 Basic properties of the three exclusive particles

I will first introduce the (i) syntactic position and (ii) basic focus association patterns of:

1. Note that Hole (2017) takes the adfocus particle to agree with a scalar projection (and move to there in ex-situ cases), instead of the operator EXCL.

- (8) a. Adverbial particle *chỉ*
 b. Adfocal particle *mỗi*
 c. Sentence-final particle *thôi*

2.1 Adverbial particle *chỉ*

Like English adverbial *only*, *chỉ* is an adverb and may associate with **any constituent within its scope**.

(9) Flexible focus association of adverbial *chỉ*

Nam **chỉ** [[tặng]_{F1} [Minh]_{F2} [hoa hồng]_{F3}]_{F4}. (Possible associates: V/IO/DO/VP)

Nam only give Minh rose

Verb: 'Nam only GAVE (but not other actions) Minh rose.'

Indirect object: 'Nam only give MINH (but not other people) rose.'

Direct object: 'Nam only give Minh ROSE (but not other flowers).'

VP: 'Nam only give Minh rose (and didn't do any other things).'

Subject focus is achieved by placing *chỉ* before the subject, serving as a sentential adverb. (Some speakers prefer adding *có* 'have'.)

(10) Subject focus with adverbial *chỉ*

Chỉ ^{%(có)} [Nam]_F mua cuốn sách.

only have Nam buy CL book.

'Only NAM bought the book.'

(Erlewine 2017, 326, with *có* added)

→ In this case, *chỉ* cannot associate with other constituents at a distance (e.g., no object focus association; see Erlewine 2017 for an explanation based on Adjoin As Soon As Possible).

2.2 Adfocal particle *mỗi*

Adfocal *mỗi* always attaches **immediately before** the focus associate. It generally attaches to **nominals**, but not verbs. (To be distinguished from the universal quantifier use *mỗi* 'every, each')

(11) Flexible attachment site of adfocal *mỗi*

(**mỗi**) [Nam]_{F1} (***mỗi**) tặng (**mỗi**) [Minh]_{F2} (**mỗi**) [hoa hồng]_{F3}.

PRT.only Nam PRT.only give PRT.only Minh PRT.only rose

Subject: 'Only NAM (but not other people) gave Minh rose.'

Indirect object: 'Nam only gave MINH (but not other people) rose.'

Direct object: 'Nam only gave Minh ROSE (but not other flowers).'

Attachment to **prepositional phrases (PPs)** is in principle possible, but there is some variability regarding the choice of prepositions.

(12) Adfocal *mỗi* may associate with some PPs

- a. Only allowing [
- mỗi*
- [PP P NP]]

Hôm qua Lan (chỉ) làm bài tập (mỗi) [PP lúc (*mỗi) [9 giờ sáng]_F].
 yesterday Lan only do homework PRT.only at PRT.only 9 o'clock morning
 'Yesterday, Lan did homework only at NINE O'CLOCK (AM).'

- b. Only allowing [PP P
- mỗi*
- NP]

Lan (chỉ) đưa một cuốn sách (*mỗi) [PP cho (mỗi) [Nam]_F].
 Lan only give one CL book PRT.only to PRT.only Nam
 'Lan gave a book to only NAM.'

→ Other prepositions like ở 'at' (locative) and trong 'in' (locative & temporal) allow both [*mỗi*-[PP P NP]] and [PP P *mỗi*-NP].

mỗi **cannot** attach to **clauses** (CPs).

(13) Adfocal *mỗi* cannot associate with CPs

- a. Lan {
- ^{OK}
- chi} biết {*mỗi} [CP là Nam sẽ không đến]
- _F
- .

Lan only know PRT.only COMP[_Q] NAM FUT not come
 'Lan only knows that Nam will not come (and Lan knows nothing else).'

- b. Lan {
- ^{OK}
- chi} không biết {*mỗi} [CP liệu Nam đã đi Paris chưa]
- _F
- .

Lan only not know PRT.only COMP[_Q] NAM ANT go Paris not.yet
 'Lan only doesn't know whether Nam went to Paris or not (and Lan knows everything else).'

2.3 **Sentence-final particle *thôi***

Like *chỉ*, *thôi* may associate with a focus associate at a distance. (To be distinguished from the imperative/suggestive use of *thôi*, see, e.g., Vo 2012)

(14) Flexible association of SFP *thôi*

Nam [[tặng]_{F1} [Minh]_{F2} [hoa hồng]_{F3}]_{F4} **thôi**. (Possible associates: V/IO/DO/VP)

Nam give Minh rose SFP.only

Verb: 'Nam only GAVE (but not other actions) Minh rose.'

Indirect object: 'Nam only give MINH (but not other people) rose.'

Direct object: 'Nam only give Minh ROSE (but not other flowers).'

VP: 'Nam only give Minh rose (and didn't do any other things).'

However, *thôi* generally does **not** associate with **subjects** alone, unless with *chỉ* or *mỗi*.

(15) Restricted subject association of SFP *thôi*

Context: You invited 5 friends to party. However, only Nam responded. You say: 'Only Nam comes. We should cancel the party!'

- a. # [Nam]_{F1} đến **thôi**.
 Nam come SFP.only
 Int.: ‘Only Nam comes. (We should cancel the party!)’
 ONLY: ‘# Nam only comes.’ (Infelicitous in the given context)
- b. **chỉ/ mỗi/ chỉ mỗi** [Nam]_{F1} đến **thôi**.
 only/ PRT.only/ only PRT.only Nam come SFP.only
 ‘Only Nam comes. (We should cancel the party!)’

→ Same pattern applies to other preverbal materials (e.g., moved objects)

→ Nevertheless, I suggest that *thôi*, is syntactically on the **clausal/sentential level** and **higher** than the subjects (i.e., Spec TP).

Evidence #1: Embeddability

thôi resists standard CP embedding contexts. In (b), *thôi* can only be parsed as in the **matrix clause** but *not* in the embedded **relative clause**.

(16) SFP *thôi* cannot be embedded in relative clauses (modifying objects)

- a. Giáo viên đó thích [học sinh [_{RC} mà **chỉ** đọc sách [tiếng Anh]_F]].
 teacher that like student REL only read book English
 ‘The teacher likes students who only read ENGLISH books.’
- b. Giáo viên đó thích [học sinh [_{RC} mà đọc sách [tiếng Anh]_F]] **thôi**.
 teacher that like student REL read book English SFP.only
 ONLY: ‘The teacher only LIKES students who read English books.’ (V/VP/matrix Obj)
 NOT: ‘The teacher likes students who only read ENGLISH books.’ (embedded Obj in RC)

→ No parsing as *[DP [_{RC} ... F ... *thôi*]]

When *thôi* is unambiguously embedded in a relative clause, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(17) SFP *thôi* cannot be embedded in relative clauses (modifying subjects)

- a. [Học sinh [_{RC} mà **chỉ** đọc sách [tiếng Anh]_F]] không thích giáo viên đó.
 student REL only read book English not like teacher that
 ‘The students who only read ENGLISH books don’t like the teacher.’
- b. *[Học sinh [_{RC} mà đọc sách [tiếng Anh]_F]] **thôi**] không thích giáo viên đó.
 student REL read book English SFP.only not like teacher that
 Int.: ‘The students who only read ENGLISH books don’t like the teacher.’

The same resistance to embedding of *thôi* is found in **adverbial clauses**.

(18) SFP *thôi* cannot be embedded in adverbial clauses

- a. [Nếu con **chỉ** ăn [thịt bò]_F], thì mẹ sẽ đánh con.
 If you only eat beef then mum will beat you
 ‘If you only eat beef, mum will beat you up.’

- b. *[Nếu con ăn [thịt bò]_F **thôi**], thì mẹ sẽ đánh con.
 If you eat beef SFP.only then mum will beat you
 Int.: 'If you only eat beef, mum will beat you up.'

→ Note: a Southern speaker judged the above embedding data as only slightly unnatural but possible (4, on 1-5)
 → Also note: embedding under complement clauses of attitude verbs is possible, probably due to their larger clause size).

Evidence #2: SFP ordering

thôi may follow other SFPs, taking clear sentential scope (see Dinh 1963; Vo 2012; Tran 2015). The SFP *đấy*, according to Nguyen (2021), emphatically asserts the proposition and brings out a sense of “persuading” the addressee (see also Le 2014).

(19) SFP *thôi* follows SFP *đấy*

Ây tôi chỉ được có bốn sóc cua hai xu với một mẻ tôm riu năm xu là bảy **đấy thôi**.

'I only earned two cents for four crabs, five cents for a bunch of shrimps, and in total just seven cents.'
 (Vo 2012, 129)

Note that *thôi* may also precede *đấy* and takes narrow scope under it.

(20) SFP *thôi* precedes SFP *đấy*

Đến tôi đây quần quật suốt ngày, đã ốm cả xác mà cũng chỉ được có ba lúng **thôi đấy** ...

'Even if I worked hard for a whole day and ruined my body, I only got three bowls.'

(Vo 2012, 129)

(21) SFPs that may be followed by *thôi* (Tran 2015, 42-44)

đấy thôi, đấy thôi, thế thôi, vậy thôi, mà thôi, mất thôi, đi thôi

→ We may conclude that *thôi* is on the clausal level. Specifically, it is higher than CPs.

3 Differential scopal behavior of the two types of doubling

I contrast adfocal doubling and SFP doubling with regard to:

- (22) a. Scopal ambiguity
 b. Locality constraints

3.1 Adfocal doubling

Scopal ambiguity

As reported in Sun (2020, 2021), adfocal *mỗi* with an in-situ focus associate is **scopally ambiguous**, parallel to English adfocal *only*.

- (23) Adfocal doubling with modals (Sun 2020, ex.16)
 Nam có thể ăn **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F. (only > ◇, ◇ > only)

Nam may eat PRT.only beef

‘Nam may eat only BEEF.’

(i) Wide scope ‘only’: ‘Nam is only allowed to eat BEEF (no other meat allowed).’

(ii) Narrow scope ‘only’: ‘Nam is allowed to only eat BEEF (but he could also eat other meat).’

The scope can be disambiguated by the placement of *chi*.

- (24) Adfocal doubling with modals (Sun 2020, ex.17-18)

a. Nam **chỉ** có thể ăn **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F. (only > ◇, *◇ > only)

Nam only may eat PRT.only beef

Wide scope ‘only’: ‘Nam is only allowed to eat BEEF (no other meat allowed).’

b. Nam có thể **chỉ** ăn **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F. (*only > ◇, ◇ > only)

Nam may only eat PRT.only beef

Narrow scope ‘only’: ‘Nam is allowed to only eat BEEF (but he could also eat other meat).’

→ Scope is **determined by *chi*** in adfocal doubling, suggesting that *chi* rather than *mỗi* is interpreted as the exclusive operator

A similar pattern is found with negation.

- (25) Adfocal doubling with negation

a. Nam **chỉ** không học **mỗi** [tiếng Pháp]_F. (only > NEG, *NEG > only)

Nam only not learn PRT.only French

Wide scope ‘only’: ‘Nam only does not learn French (i.e., French is not learnt).’

b. Nam không **chỉ** ăn **mỗi** [tiếng Pháp]_F. (*only > NEG, NEG > only)

Nam not only learn PRT.only French

Narrow scope ‘only’: ‘Nam does not only learn French (i.e., French is learnt).’

Locality constraints on the wide scope readings

Observe that such wide scope readings with doubling may apply across both **non-finite** and **finite** clausal boundaries:

- (26) Adfocal doubling applies across non-finite clausal boundaries

a. Thầy giáo **chỉ** bắt Nam [TP học **mỗi** tiếng Pháp]_F (không bắt Nam học
 teacher only force Nam study PRT.only French not force Nam study
 tiếng Anh.)

English

‘The teacher only forced Nam to take French. (and didn’t force Nam to take English)’

b. [CP ... [only_{adv} ... [‘force’ [TP-non-finite ... [PRT_{adfoc}-DP] ...

(27) Adfocal doubling applies across finite clausal boundaries

- a. Thầy giáo **chỉ** biết [CP là Nam học **mỗi** tiếng Pháp_F] (không biết Nam có
teacher only know COMP Nam study PRT.only French not know Nam have
học tiếng Anh.)
study English
'The teacher only knows that Nam took French. (and didn't know that Nam took English)'
- b. [CP ... [only_{adv} ... ['know' [CP [TP-finite ... [PRT_{adfoc}-DP] ...]]]]

Crucially, such a wide scope doubling with **mỗi** is **blocked** across a **syntactic island**, such as a complex DP.

(28) Adfocus doubling banned across complex DP islands

- a. Thầy giáo **chỉ** biết [DP tin [CP Nam học **mỗi** tiếng Pháp]]. (# không biết
teacher only know news Nam study PRT.only French not know
Nam có học tiếng Anh)
Nam have study English
ONLY: 'The teacher only knows the news that Nam only took French (# but doesn't know whether
Nam took English).' (multiple-'only' reading)
BUT NOT: 'The teacher only knows the news that Nam took French (but doesn't know whether Nam
took English).' (doubling reading)
- b. *[CP ... [only_{adv} ... ['know' [DP 'news' [CP [TP-finite ... [PRT_{adfoc}-DP] ...]]]]]

→ Only the multiple-'only' reading is available → **mỗi**'s scope is limited inside the island.

→ The same pattern applies to other types of islands, including adjunct islands and coordinated structures.

→ Adfocal doubling is not clause-bounded but **island-bounded**

3.2 SFP doubling

Lack of scopal ambiguity

Different from adfocal doubling, the SFP **thôi** always has **wide scope** over **modals**. **chỉ** can only be placed above the modal.

(29) SFP doubling with modals

- a. Nam có thể học [tiếng Pháp]_F **thôi** (only > ◇, *◇ > only)
Nam may learn French SFP.only
ONLY: 'Nam is only allowed to learn French (no German is allowed).'
BUT NOT: 'Nam is allowed to only learn French (though he could also learn German)'
- b. Nam {a. **chỉ**} có thể {b. ??**chỉ**} học [tiếng Pháp]_F **thôi** (only > ◇, *◇ > only)
Nam only may only learn French SFP.only
ONLY: 'Nam is only allowed to learn French (no German is allowed).'
BUT NOT: 'Nam is allowed to only learn French (though he could also learn German)'

The same pattern is also found with **negation**.

(30) SFP doubling with negation

Nam {a. **chỉ**} không {b. ***chỉ**} ăn [thịt bò]_F **thôi** (only > NEG, *NEG > only)

Nam only not only eat beef SFP.only

ONLY: 'Nam only does not eat beef. (he does not eat beef)'

BUT NOT: 'Nam does not only eat beef. (he eats beef and other meat)'

→ Unlike adfocal doubling, SFP doubling is not possible across negation and modals

The obligatory wide scope interpretation is:

- (31) a. Not surprising, if *thôi* (rather than *chỉ*) is the exclusive operator, given that *thôi* is syntactically higher
 b. **Surprising, if *thôi* is not the exclusive operator** ← this is indeed the case!

Dependent focus association

Recall two patterns:

- (32) a. Pre-subject *chỉ* associates with subjects but not objects
 b. *thôi* cannot associate with subjects alone

When *chỉ* associates with the subject, it is **impossible** for a clause-mate *thôi* to associate with another constituent to yield a multiple-'only' reading.

(33) SFP doubling with negation

chỉ [Nam]_{F1} ăn [thịt bò]_{*F2} **thôi** (Focus asso.: Subj, *Obj)

only Nam eat beef SFP.only

ONLY: 'Only Nam eats beef. (no one else eats beef)'

BUT NOT: 'Nam is the only person who only eats beef. (other people eat both beef and lamb)'

- (34) Only Nam only eats beef. (Multiple-'only' reading)

→ It is *chỉ* that determines the focus association

Another example indicating the lack of multiple-'only' reading in SFP doubling.

- (35) a. Q: Nam gave what to whom?

b. A: Nam **chỉ** tặng Minh_{F1} **hoa hồng**_{F2} **thôi**.

Nam only give Minh rose SFP.only

ONLY: 'Minh is the only one who Nam gave *rose* to; *rose* is the only thing that Nam gave to Minh.'

NOT: 'Minh is the only person who Nam gave only *rose* to (i.e., other people receive *rose* and *Lavender* from Nam)'

Locality constraints

thôi cannot be doubled with *chỉ* across a syntactic island. The two sentences below do not share the same truth conditions.

(36) Failure of SFP doubling across a complex DP island

- a. Giáo viên đó thích [học sinh [RC mà **chỉ** đọc sách [tiếng Anh]_F]].
 teacher that like student REL only read book English
 ‘The teacher likes students who only read ENGLISH books.’
- b. Giáo viên đó thích [học sinh [RC mà **chỉ** đọc sách [tiếng Anh]_F]] **thôi**.
 teacher that like student REL only read book English SFP.only
 ‘The teacher only LIKES students who only read ENGLISH books.’ (multiple-‘only’ reading)

However, it is indeed possible for SFP doubling to apply across coordinated structures.

(37) SFP doubling across coordinated structures

- a. Nam [[VP **chỉ** ăn gà rán_F]] và [VP **chỉ** uống cô ca_F]] **thôi**
 Nam only eat fried.chicken and only drink coke SFP.only
 ‘Nam only ate fried chicken and only drank coke.’
- b. Nam [[VP ăn gà rán_F]] và [VP **chỉ** uống cô ca_F]] **thôi**
 Nam eat fried.chicken and only drink coke SFP.only
 ‘Nam ate fried chicken and only drank coke.’

→ The difference is that the complex DP island additionally involves a clausal boundary

→ SFP doubling is **clause-bounded** but not island-bounded

Contrasting adfocus doubling and SFP doubling in Vietnamese

Properties	Afocal doubling	SFP doubling
Narrow scope under negation	✓	✗
Narrow scope under modals	✓	✗
Across clauses	✓	✗
Across (non-clausal) islands	✗	✓

4 Proposal

I propose that the two types of exclusive doubling involves different syntactic dependencies with different features.

- (38) a. Adfocal doubling: **covert focus movement**
 b. SFP doubling: **Agree** with exclusive [EXCL] features

4.1 Adfocal doubling as covert movement

I suggest that the syntactic dependency involved in adfocal doubling (with in-situ focus) is covert movement, rather than Agree (against Hole 2017; Quek and Hirsch 2017). This is consistent with Sun (2020, 2021)’s approach for ex-situ cases (see below).

(39) Adfocal doubling as covert focus movement

[... **chi**_[QU:EXCL:+,FOC:+] [VP ... **mõi**_[FOC:]-DP_F ...]

↑-----↓

Following the operator-particle approach, the scope is always determined by *chi*, or a null exclusive operator. Covert movement is long-distance in the case of wide scope reading.

(40) Scopal ambiguity

- a. [CP₁ ... **EXCL/chi** [VP₁ ... [CP₂ ... [VP₂ **mõi**-DP_F ...] ...] ...] *Wide scope*
- ↑-----↓
- b. [CP₁ ... [VP₁ ... [CP₂ ... **EXCL/chi** [VP₂ ... **mõi**-DP_F ...] ...] ...] *Narrow scope*
- ↑-----↓

The movement is blocked by islands.

(41) No wide scope reading across islands

[CP₁ ... **EXCL/chi** [VP₁ ... [island ... [VP₂ **mõi**-DP_F]] ...] ...] **Wide scope*

↑-----↓

I suggest that the movement is triggered by a focus feature.

→ [Foc] is not quantificational: its semantic function is merely to trigger a set of alternatives (after Rooth 1992)

→ movement is *not* blocked by quantificational elements like negation or modals (see also T. T.-M. Lee 2022 for independent evidence in Cantonese verb doubling that [Foc] is different from quantificational features [QU])

(42) No intervention effects by quantificational elements

[... **EXCL/chi**_[QU:EXCL:+,FOC:+] [NEG/MOD_[QU:NEG/MOD] ... [VP₂ **mõi**_[FOC:]-DP_F ...] ...] *Wide scope over NEG/MOD*

↑-----↓

Evidence from ex-situ cases

mõi may also front along with the focus associate, which is accompanied by a preverbal particle *mói* ‘just/only if’ (Hole 2017; Sun 2020, 2021).

(43) Adfocal doubling with ex-situ focus

Nam **chi** [**mõi** [thịt bò]_F] *mói* ăn _ .

Nam only PRT.only beef eat

‘It’s only beef that Nam eats.’

(Hole 2017, 394)

#1: *mõi* must be lower than *chi*

While *mõi* attaches to the focus, the association is determined by *chi*. Evidence comes from the fact that the focus association fails when *mõi*+focus moves across *chi*.

- (44) a. *Nam [m^hoi [thit bò]_F] (m^hoi) chi (m^hoi) ăn __ . (Object focus)
 Nam PRT.only beef just only just eat
 Int.: 'It's only beef that Nam eats.'
- b. *Nam [thit bò]_F chi ăn __ .
 Nam beef only eat
 Int.: 'It's only beef that Nam eats.'

→ Cross-linguistically, exclusive operators cannot associate with (overt) elements outside their scope. They fail to associate with traces (Jackendoff 1972; Beaver and Clark 2008; Erlewine 2014; but see Yip and Adedeji 2024 for counter-examples in Yoruba.)

→ *chi* is the exclusive operator

#2: Movement of *m^hoi* disambiguate its scope

In ex-situ cases, the scope of *m^hoi* is determined by the landing site (Sun 2020).

- (45) Ambiguous scope of adfocal *m^hoi* (Sun 2020, ex.24-25)
- a. Nam m^hoi [thit bò]_F m^hoi có thể ăn __ . (only > ◊, *◊ > only)
 Nam PRT.only beef just may eat
 Wide scope 'only': 'Nam is only allowed to eat BEEF (no other meat allowed).'
- b. Nam có thể m^hoi [thit bò]_F m^hoi ăn __ . (*only > ◊, ◊ > only)
 Nam may PRT.only beef just eat
 Narrow scope 'only': 'Nam is allowed to only eat BEEF (but he could also eat other meat).'

4.2 SFP doubling as syntactic Agree

I propose that SFP doubling involves syntactic Agree relations. Following Quek and Hirsch (2017), Sun (2021), and Yip (2023), I suggest the agreeing feature is designated for exclusive operators, labeled as [EXCL].

- (46) [CP th^hoi_[QU:EXCL:]] ... [chi_{adv[QU:EXCL+, FOC:+]}] ... DP_F ...

Minimality: The lack of narrow scope under quantificational elements like modals and negation is a result of intervention effects, formulated in the sense of Rizzi (2001, 2004)'s feature-based Relativized Minimality.

- (47) *[CP th^hoi_[QU:EXCL:]] ... [TP ... Neg/Mod_[QU] ... [chi_{adv[iQU:EXCL]}] ...]

Locality: The Agree relation is also subject to PIC and cannot apply across *phases* (finite clauses), but crucially may apply across a *non-phasal island* boundary. This sets Agree apart from (c)overt movement.

- (48) *[CP th^hoi_[uQU:EXCL]] ... [CP=phase ... [chi_{adv[iQU:EXCL]}] ...]

5 Conclusion

(49) Summary of the talk

- a. Empricially, I provided novel data to show that adfocal doubling and SFP doubling in Vietnamese are not uniform:
They **contrast** in (i) scopal behavior and (ii) locality constraints
- b. I proposed that adfocal doubling involves **covert movement** dependency triggered by a **focus** feature
- c. I proposed that SFP doubling involves **Agree** dependency triggered by an exclusive [**EXCL**] feature

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