Introduction

Japanese has right-dislocation (RD), as in many other languages. Elements can appear to the rightmost position, as in (1). Previous studies of RD in Japanese can be classified into two groups: biclausal analyses (Kuno 1978, Tanaka 2001, and Takita 2011, among others) and a monoclausal analysis (Takano 2014). The biclausal analyses argue that RD consists of two CPs and is derived by two operations: a syntactic leftward movement of right-dislocated elements and a deletion of repeated materials in the second CP, as in (2). The monoclausal analysis argues that RD consists of a single CP and is derived by rightward movement in PF, as in (3). Takano (2014) observes that RD is insensitive to syntactic islands and only elements with [-Focus] can be RDeD (see Section 2 below).

A Puzzle

The main puzzle is that wh-phrases cannot be right-dislocated, as in (4) (see Kuno 1978, Tanaka 2001, Takano 2014, among others). Tanaka (2001) explains that (4b) is ungrammatical because pro cannot indicate wh-phrases. Takano (2014) explains that (4b) is ungrammatical because wh-phrases have [+Focus]. Both analyses, however, suffer from empirical problems. In (5), rokuna-XP and an NP with a focus-sensitive particle -dake can be right-dislocated, but they are wrongly predicted to be as degraded as (4b) under previous analyses because -dake is a focus-sensitive particle and should have [+Focus] (Hayashishita 2003, among others). Furthermore, according to Miyagawa et al (2016), (6) shows that rokuna-XP is an NPI and cannot be used as an elliptical answer. This means that a constituent containing negation cannot be deleted. The biclausal approach by Tanaka, however, assumes deletion of negation, as in (6A2). Hence, it wrongly predicts (5a) to be ungrammatical.

Proposal

I propose a double preposing approach, as in (7). RD in Japanese is derived by two syntactic leftward movements: movement of right-dislocated XP out of CP, then movement of remnant CP (see also Kayne 1994 and Ko 2015). My proposed analysis neither involves deletion nor limits RD to [-Focus] elements. It also predicts that RD is clearly sensitive to syntactic islands, because my analysis involves syntactic movements. This prediction is indeed borne out. As in (8), RD out of a relative clause is clearly ungrammatical.

Wh-phrases in RD and its Prosodic Constraints

Following Ishihara’s analysis of focus intonation prosody (Ishihara 2002, 2017), I argue that right-dislocated wh-phrases are prosodically ill-formed. Ishihara observes that prosody of wh-questions is conditioned by linear order between wh-phrases and its licensing complementizer, as in (9). Under my analysis, wh-phrases in RD appear to the right of its licensing complementizer, as in (4b). While (4a) conforms to Ishihara’s analysis in (9), (4b) does not, because F0-reduction fails to apply between the wh-phrase and the licensing complementizer: wh-phrases in RD appear to the right of its licensing complementizer, as in (10b). The biclausal approach cannot be maintained even if they adopt these prosodic constraints in (9), because wh-phrases in RD appear to the left of its licensing complementizer under the biclausal analyses. Furthermore, my analysis can also explain an interpretative asymmetry between (11) and (12). Example (11) is ambiguous between a wh-question reading and a yes-no question reading. If RD applies to the entire embedded clause as in (12), however, the sentence is unambiguously interpreted as a yes-no question reading. The wh-question interpretation in (12a) becomes unavailable because the dislocated embedded clause including wh-phrases appears to the right of its licensing matrix C under my proposed analysis in (7), while the yes-no question interpretation in (12b) is available because wh-phrases appear to the left of its licensing embedded C under my proposed analysis.
   Taro-Nom apple-Acc eat-Past Prt Taro-Nom eat-Past Prt apple-Acc
   ‘Taro ate apples.’

(2) A derivation of example (1b) under the biclausal approach in Tanaka (2001)
   \[ CP_1 \text{Taro-ga} pro_i \text{tabe-ta yo.} ] \[ CP_2 \text{ringo-o, [Taro-ga \(r\), tabe-ta yo].} \n
(3) A derivation of example (1b) under the monoclausal approach in Takano (2014)
   \[ \text{Taro-ga e_i tabe-ta yo,} ringo-o_{1[,]Focus}. \]

(4) a. Taro-ga nani-o tabe-ta no? b. *Taro-ga tabe-ta no, nani-o?
   Taro-Nom what-Acc eat-Past C Taro-Nom eat-Past C what-Acc
   ‘What did Taro eat?’ ‘What did Taro eat?’

(5) a. Taro-ga tabe-nakat-ya yo, rokuna-ringo-o.
   Taro-Nom eat-Neg-Past Particle decent-apple-Acc
   ‘Taro did not eat any decent apple.’

b. Taro-ga tabe-ta-yo, ringo-dake-o.
   Taro-Nom eat-Past Particle apple-only-Acc
   ‘Taro ate only apples.’

   you-Top who-apple-Acc see-Past C decent-apple-Acc eat-Neg-Past Prt
   ‘What apple did you eat?’ ‘I did not eat any decent student.’

   decent-ringo-o eat-Neg-Past Prt
   Int.: ‘No decent apple.’

(7) A monoclausal double leftward movement approach
   \[ [[\text{CP} \ldots \text{t}, \ldots] [\text{XP}, \text{t}_j]] \]
   ①: Leftward Movement of XP in syntax

   \[ \overset{\circ}\text{\uparrow} \]

   ②: Remnant Movement of CP in syntax

(8) *Hanako-wa [Ken-ga \(t\) katteage-ta doresu-o] korekara mi-ru yo, okusan-ni.
   Hanako-Top Ken-Nom buy-Past dress-Acc from.now see-Future Prt his.wife-for
   ‘Hanako sees the dress that Ken bought for his wife from now.’

   (i) F0-raise of wh-phrases
   (ii) F0-duction until its licensing complementizer

(10) a. Taro-wa nani-o tabe-ta no?
   (=4a) \[ [...wh-\ldots C] \]

b. *[[Taro-wa \(t_i\) tabe-ta no], [nani-o, \(t_j\)]]
   (=4b) *[[... \(t_i\), \ldots], [wh- \(t_j\)]]

(wh- and C indicate a wh-phrase and its licensing C respectively.)

(11) [ Taro-wa [ Jiro-ga nani-o kat-ta ka] it-ta no]?
   Taro-Top Jiro-Nom what-Acc buy-Past C say-Past C
   a. ‘Did Taro say that Jiro bought?’ [...[...wh-\ldots]...]
   b. ‘Did Taro say what Jiro bought?’ [...[...wh-\ldots]...]

(12) [[Taro-wa \(t_i\), it-ta no], [Jiro-ga nani-o kat-ta ka], \(t_j\)]?
   Taro-Top say-Past C Jiro-Nom what-Acc buy-Past C
   a. *‘What did Taro say that Jiro bought?’ *[[... \(t_i\), \ldots], [wh-...], \(t_j\)]
   b. ‘Did Taro say what Jiro bought?’ \[ [...[...], [wh-\ldots]...], \(t_j\)\]

Selected References