

A Mono-Clausal Analysis of Afterthought Right Dislocation in Japanese

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1 Introduction

This study focuses on constructions known as specificational afterthought right dislocation (ARD) as illustrated in (1).^{1,2}

- (1) Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda yo, Barriers-o.
 Ken-NOM that book-ACC read PRT Barriers-ACC
 ‘Ken read that book, Barriers.’

In this construction, a constituent that could otherwise function as an argument of the clause is dislocated to the right and separated by a pause, whereas its position within the clause is often filled with a pronoun. The dislocated constituent serves as an afterthought to clarify the referent of the pronoun. As illustrated in (1), the dislocated constituent ‘Barriers’ clarifies what ‘that book’

¹ This paper does not consider repetitive right dislocation, which has an identical correlate and appendix.

- (i) Ken-ga Barriers-o yonda yo, Barriers-o
 Ken-NOM Barriers-ACC read PRT Barriers-ACC
 ‘Ken read Barriers, Barriers.’

For the derivation of this construction, please refer to Abe (2015) and Ko (2016).

² The abbreviation ‘PRT’ is used to refer to sentence-final discourse particles.

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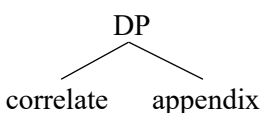
truly is, thus providing an afterthought. Throughout this study, the dislocated constituent is referred to as an ‘appendix’, whereas the constituent within the clause specified by the appendix is termed a ‘correlate’.

As Japanese is a strictly head-final language, with the basic word order being Subject-Object-Verb, a natural question arises as to how an appendix can appear after the verb. Most previous studies have attempted to address this question by focusing on gapped right dislocations, as in (2), where the correlate is absent in the clause.

- (2) Ken-wa e_i yonda yo, Barriers- o_i .
 Ken-TOP read PRT Barriers-ACC
 ‘(Lit.) Ken read, Barriers.’

The relationship between the appendix and the gap within the clause (notated as e in 2) has been captured in terms of movement. This includes rightward movement (Haraguchi 1973, Ko 2016), double preposing from the underlying SVO word order (Fukutomi 2006, Kurogi 2006), and scrambling and ellipsis in the second clause of the biclausal structure (Tanaka 2001, Abe 2004). Furthermore, Ott and de Vries (2016) applied the analyses of Tanaka (2001) and Abe (2004) to ARD constructions in Dutch and German, attempting to unify the analysis of ARD with that of gapped right dislocations. However, as Shimoyama et al. (2015) argued, doing so results in undesired outcomes.

This study is unique because it assumes double preposing from an underlying SOV structure and addresses previously unnoticed cases of multiple sentence-final discourse particles. It employs a cartographic approach that considers the positions of sentence-final discourse particles, such as yo in (1), which is deemed essential in ARD (see Endo 1996). In this approach, discourse particles are assumed to head their own projections. Since the appendix appears after the sentence-final discourse particles, their relative positions suggest a derivation of ARD at the right periphery. The derivation proposed in this study is as follows: Following Cecchetto (1999a) and Ko (2016), the correlate and the appendix are assumed to form a DP constituent in their base position, as shown in (3).

- (3)
- 
- ```

 graph TD
 DP[DP] --- correlate[correlate]
 DP --- appendix[appendix]

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From (3), the appendix moves leftward to the specifier of the projection headed by the discourse particle  $yo$ , which is regarded as AssertionP, as illustrated in (4a).<sup>3</sup> This movement is understood as topic movement since the appendix is an afterthought. The remnant is then relocated to the specifier of a higher projection, which is considered a Speech Act Phrase (SAP), as illustrated in (4b). Example (4) outlines the derivation of the sentence in (1).

<sup>3</sup> In theory, it is possible to move the correlate instead of the appendix. However, this would result in a structure where the less specific noun ‘that book’ comes after the more specific noun ‘Barriers’, thus creating an infelicitous information structure. Such a derivation would be independently blocked at the information structure level.

- (4) a. [AssertionP Barriers-O<sub>i</sub> [Assertion' [TP Ken-ga [DP that book  $t_i$ ] read ] yo ]].
- b. [SAP [Assertion' [TP Ken-ga [DP that book  $t_i$ ] read ] yo ]], [AssertionP Barriers-O<sub>i</sub>  $t_j$  ]].

The remainder of this study demonstrates how the proposed analysis addresses cases that previous literature fails to capture.

## 2 Properties of ARD

This section presents five properties of ARD, which were initially observed for gapped right dislocations. First, ARD is sensitive to syntactic islands (Cecchetto 1999b, Ko 2016). Example (5a) is a violation of the complex NP constraint and (5b) the adjunct condition. This indicates that movement is involved in ARD.

- (5) a. ?\*Naomi-ga [ Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda tosi]-o oboeteita yo], Barriers-o.  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-NOM that book-ACC read year-ACC remembered PRT Barriers-ACC  
 'Naomi remembered the year Ken read that book, Barriers.'
- b. ?\*Naomi-ga [ Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda node] odoroteita yo], Barriers-o.  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-NOM that book-ACC read because was.surprised PRT Barriers-ACC  
 'Naomi was surprised because Ken read that book, Barriers.'

The second observation pertains to anaphor binding. As shown in (6a), the subject reciprocal anaphor *otagai* 'each other' cannot be bound by the object 'Ken and Naomi'. However, when the object 'Ken and Naomi' is scrambled to the sentence-initial position, as in (6b), the bound reading of 'each other' becomes available. This demonstrates that the reciprocal anaphor requires a c-commanding antecedent.

- (6) a. ??Otagai<sub>i</sub>-no sensei-ga Ken to Naomi<sub>i</sub>-o hometa.  
 Each.other-GEN teacher-NOM Ken and Naomi-ACC praised  
 'Each other<sub>i</sub>'s teachers praised Ken and Naomi<sub>i</sub>.'
- b. Ken to Naomi-o<sub>i</sub> otagai<sub>i</sub>-no sensei-ga  $t_i$  hometa.  
 Ken and Naomi-ACC each.other-GEN teacher-NOM praised  
 'Ken and Naomi<sub>i</sub>, each other<sub>i</sub>'s teachers praised  $t_i$ .'

Bearing this in mind, (7) shows that the appendix 'Ken and Naomi' can bind 'each other', indicating that it c-commands and binds the matrix subject at some point in the derivation.

- (7) Otagai<sub>i</sub>-no sensei-ga gakusei-o hometa yo, Ken to Naomi-o.  
 Each.other-GEN teacher-NOM student-ACC praised PRT Ken and Naomi-ACC  
 'Each other<sub>i</sub>'s teachers praised the students, Ken and Naomi<sub>i</sub>.'

Third, ARD is insensitive to the right roof constraint (Ross 1967), which prohibits rightward movement across a clause boundary.

- (8) Naomi-ga [ Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda to] sinziteiru yo, Barriers-o.  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-NOM that book-ACC read C believe C Barriers-ACC  
 ‘Naomi believes that Ken read that book, Barriers.’

Example (8) shows that the appendix ‘Barriers’ can be interpreted as coreferential with *sono hon* ‘that book’ across a clause boundary. This suggests that the movement involved in ARD is not rightward.

Fourth, the case or particle attached to the appendix must correspond to that attached to the correlate, as illustrated in (9) (Abe 2019).

- (9) a. Ken-wa kudamono-o tabeta yo, ringo-o/\*wa.  
 Ken-TOP fruit-ACC ate PRT apple-ACC/TOP  
 ‘Ken ate fruits, apples.’  
 b. Ken-wa kudamono-wa tabeta yo, ringo-wa.  
 Ken-TOP fruit-TOP ate PRT apple-TOP

In (9a), if the correlate is assigned an accusative case, the appendix must also be assigned an accusative case but not a topic particle. However, if the correlate is assigned a topic particle as in (9b), the appendix can also be assigned a topic particle.

The fifth property relates to scrambling. Subject scrambling is not permitted, as demonstrated in (10) (Saito 1985). However, the appendix of the ARD can refer to a subject, as illustrated in (11).


- (10) \* Naomi<sub>i</sub>-ga Ken-ga [ t<sub>i</sub> tesuto-de manten-o totta to] omotteiru.  
 Naomi-NOM Ken-NOM test-on full.mark-ACC got C believe  
 ‘(Lit.) Naomi<sub>i</sub>, Ken thinks that she<sub>i</sub> got full marks on her test.’  
 (11) Naomi-wa [sono hito<sub>i</sub>-ga Barriers-o yonda to] omotteiru yo, Ken<sub>i</sub>-ga.  
 Naomi-TOP that person-NOM Barriers-ACC read C think PRT Ken-NOM  
 ‘(Lit.) Naomi thinks that that person<sub>i</sub> read Barriers, Ken<sub>i</sub>.’

This indicates that the movement involved in ARD is not scrambling. In summary, ARD involves movement, but that movement is neither rightward nor scrambling. The appendix and the correlate show connectivity in that the former must c-command the latter at some point in the derivation, and they are marked with the same case marker or particle.

### 3 Three Previous Approaches

#### 3.1 Rightward Movement Approach

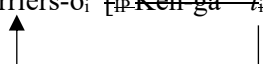
Haraguchi (1973) proposed that gapped right dislocation is derived from the rightward movement of the appendix to the end of the sentence. Ko (2016) applied this approach to Korean ARD. The following would be the derivation of the sentence in (1).

- (12) Ken-ga [DP that book  $t_i$ ] read yo, Barriers- $o_i$ .
- 

This rightward movement approach predicts that ARD is sensitive to syntactic islands and that the movement involved is not scrambling. Furthermore, because the correlate and appendix c-command each other within the DP in the base position, this setup explains anaphor binding. If the case/particle assigned to the DP percolates to the correlate and appendix, it also predicts why they share the same case/particle. However, this analysis fails to explain why rightward movement in ARD is exempt from the right roof constraint.

#### 3.2 Biclausal Approach

Tanaka (2001) and Abe (2004) proposed that gapped right dislocation has a biclausal structure, in which identical clauses are juxtaposed. In the second clause, there is a scrambling of the appendix and the ellipsis of the remaining clause. Ott and de Vries (2016) applied this analysis to ARD in Dutch and German. According to this analysis, the sentence in (1) can be derived as follows.

- (13) [CP<sub>1</sub> Ken-ga that book read yo] [CP<sub>2</sub> Barriers- $o_i$  [~~CP Ken-ga  $t_i$  read~~]].
- 

The biclausal approach explains the involvement of leftward movement but fails to clarify that this movement is not scrambling. Furthermore, because the correlate and appendix reside in two separate clauses, the analysis cannot guarantee that they share the same case or particle. In addition, because the appendix does not c-command the correlate, it does not allow anaphor binding. Finally, Shimoyama et al. (2015) highlighted a problem with the biclausal approach related to scope ambiguity.

To understand this, it is necessary to consider the differences in scope reading between Japanese and English. In sentences such as (14a), English exhibits scope ambiguity, allowing ‘someone’ to take either wide or narrow scope. However, Japanese is rigid in scope, as only the surface-scope reading is available (Hoji 1985).

- (14) a. Dareka-ga daremo-o aisiteiru. ( $\exists > \forall$ ,  $*\forall > \exists$ )  
 Someone-NOM everyone-ACC love  
 ‘Someone loves everyone.’  
 b. Daremo- $o_i$  dareka-ga  $t_i$  aisiteiru. ( $\exists > \forall$ ,  $\forall > \exists$ )  
 Everyone-ACC someone-NOM love  
 ‘Everyone<sub>i</sub>, someone loves  $t_i$ .’

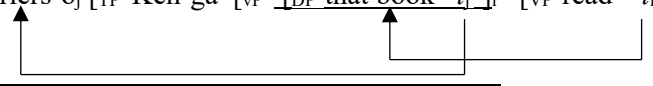
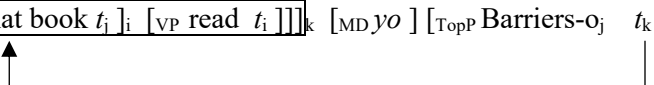
Example (14a) has a wide scope reading of ‘someone’, according to which ‘there is a person who loves everyone’. In contrast, (14a) lacks a wide scope reading of ‘everyone’, in which ‘for everyone, there is a person who loves him/her’. The latter reading becomes available if ‘everyone’ is scrambled to the presubject position, as in (14b) (Kuroda 1970). In the first clause of (15), as discussed by Shimoyama et al. (2015), the quantified object is scrambled over the quantified subject, whereas in the second clause, the subject is an appendix after the ellipsis.

- (15) [<sub>CP1</sub> QP<sub>2</sub> [ QP<sub>1</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> ... ] ] [<sub>CP2</sub> QP<sub>1</sub> [~~*t*<sub>1</sub> QP<sub>2</sub> ...~~ ]].  
 Dono hon-mo<sub>i</sub> san-nin-no gakusei-ga *t*<sub>i</sub> yonda yo, san-nin-no  
 which book-every 3-CL-GEN student-NOM read PRT 3-CL-GEN  
 gakubusei-ga.  
 undergrad.student-NOM  
 ‘Every book, three students read, three undergraduate students.’  
 a. ?There are three undergraduate students who read every book. (3>∀)  
 b. For every book, there are three different undergraduate students who read it. (∀>3)

In the second clause of (15), the subject is vacuously scrambled, and the rest of the clause is elided. At no point in the derivation is QP<sub>1</sub> c-commanded by QP<sub>2</sub>. Therefore, the situation is similar to that in (14a) and no inverse scope reading is expected. Contrary to this prediction, however, there is an inverse scope reading of (15b) where ‘three undergrad students’ takes narrow scope. In the proposed analysis, this issue does not arise because the correlate and appendix form a DP; consequently, the appendix or its trace is c-commanded by the universal quantifier.

### 3.3 Antisymmetric Approach

Kugori (2006) and Fukutomi (2006) propose an antisymmetric approach for gapped right dislocation. Following Kayne (1994), it is assumed that Japanese has an underlying Subject-Verb-Object word order and that double preposing derives the surface word order. Applying this analysis to ARD, the sentence in (1) can be derived as follows:

- (16) a. [<sub>TopP</sub> Barriers-o<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Ken-ga [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> that book *t*<sub>i</sub> ]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> read *t*<sub>i</sub> ] ] ] ] ]. (topic movement)  
  
 b. [<sub>MdP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Ken-ga [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> that book *t*<sub>i</sub> ]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> read *t*<sub>i</sub> ] ] ] ]<sub>k</sub> [<sub>MD</sub> yo ] [<sub>TopP</sub> Barriers-o<sub>j</sub> *t*<sub>k</sub> ] ].  


As shown in (16a), the object DP is initially moved to Spec, vP to derive a Subject-Object-Verb order. Subsequently, the appendix *Barriers-o* is moved to Spec, TopP through topic movement. In (16b), the sentence-final discourse particle *yo* is added, which heads Mood Phrase (MdP). The remnant TP is moved to Spec, MdP, leaving the appendix *Barriers-o* to the right of the particle *yo*. It accounts for leftward movement, anaphor binding, and the sharing of case or particles. Table 1 summarises the three approaches and their explanations.

|                        | Rightward movement | Bi-clausal | Antisymmetric |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------|---------------|
| Syntactic islands      | ✓                  | ✓          | ✓             |
| Right roof constraint  | X                  | ✓          | ✓             |
| Anaphor binding        | ✓                  | X          | ✓             |
| Case/particle matching | ✓                  | X          | ✓             |
| Subject scrambling     | ✓                  | X          | ✓             |

Table 1: Summary of Three Previous Approaches

#### 4 The Ordering of Sentence-Final Discourse Particles

As seen in the previous section, the antisymmetric approach appears to be the most suitable for ARD. However, there are situations in which the antisymmetric approach leads to incorrect predictions, specifically in cases where there are more than two sentence-final discourse particles such as *wa*, *yo*, and *ne*, as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda yo ne, Barriers-o.  
 Ken-NOM that book-ACC read PRT PRT Barriers-ACC  
 b. Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda wa ne, Barriers-o.  
 c. Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda wa yo, Barriers-o.  
 d. Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda wa yo ne, Barriers-o.

In (17a), there are two sentence-final discourse particles, *yo* and *ne*. In (17b), there are two: *wa* and *ne*; and in (17c), there are two as well: *wa* and *yo*. In (17d), there are three particles: *wa*, *yo*, and *ne*. According to Saito and Haraguchi (2012), the ordering between these three sentence-final discourse particles is fixed as *wa* > *yo* > *ne*, because combinations of other orderings are not possible, as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *yo-ne, wa-ne, wa-yo, \*yo-wa, \*ne-wa, \*ne-yo*  
 b. *wa-yo-ne, \*wa-ne-yo, \*yo-wa-ne, \*yo-ne-wa, \*ne-wa-yo, \*ne-yo-wa*

In recent studies on syntactic cartography, these three sentence-final discourse particles are considered to be heads of distinct projections, as they have different functions and selectional restrictions (Endo 2010; Miyagawa 2022; Saito and Haraguchi 2012; Saito 2015). Specifically, *wa* is a mild assertion that selects TP directly. This is because it allows for both the present and past tense (19a) and does not follow epistemic modals (19b) or imperatives (19c).

- (19) a. Watasi-ga soko-ni ik-u wa/ it-ta wa.  
 I-NOM there-to go-PRS PRT go-PAST PRT  
 ‘I will go there/I went there.’  
 b. Ken-wa kuru daroo (\*wa) (with epistemic modal *daroo*)  
 Ken-TOP come will PRT  
 ‘Ken will come.’  
 c. Ken-ga soko-ni ik-e (\*wa) (with imperative)  
 Ken-NOM there-to go-IMP PRT  
 ‘Ken, you go there.’

*Yo* is an assertion meaning, ‘I’m telling you’ (Tenny 2006), and does not select a particular category, as it allows for both the present and past tense (20a), follows epistemic modals (20b), and permits the imperative (20c).

- (20) a. Watasi-ga soko-ni ik-u / it-ta yo.  
 I-NOM there-to go-PRT go-PAST PRT  
 ‘I will go there/I went there.’
- b. Ken-wa kuru daroo yo. (with epistemic modal *daroo*)  
 Ken-TOP come will PRT  
 ‘I guess Ken will come.’
- c. Ken-wa soko-ni ik-e yo. (with imperative)  
 Ken-TOP there-to go-IMP PRT  
 ‘Ken, you go there.’

*Ne* solicits a response from the addressee and does not select a particular category. It allows both the present and past tense (21a), follows epistemic modals (21b), and follows the question marker (21c).

- (21) a. Ken-wa soko-ni ir-u ne / i-ta ne.  
 Ken-TOP there-to be-PRS PRT be-PAST PRT  
 ‘Ken is there, isn’t he? / Ken was there, wasn’t he?’
- b. Ken-wa kuru daroo ne. (with epistemic modal *daroo*)  
 Ken-TOP come will PRT  
 ‘I guess Ken will come. Don’t you agree?’
- c. Ken-wa okotteiru ka ne. (with question *ka*)  
 Ken-TOP be.angry Q PRT  
 ‘Is Ken angry? What do you think?’

Following Endo (2010), Miyagawa (2022), Saito and Haraguchi (2012), and Saito (2015), I assume a structure where *wa* heads a lower AssertionP that directly selects TP, *yo* heads a higher AssertionP, and *ne* heads a Speech Act Phrase (SAP), as shown in (22).

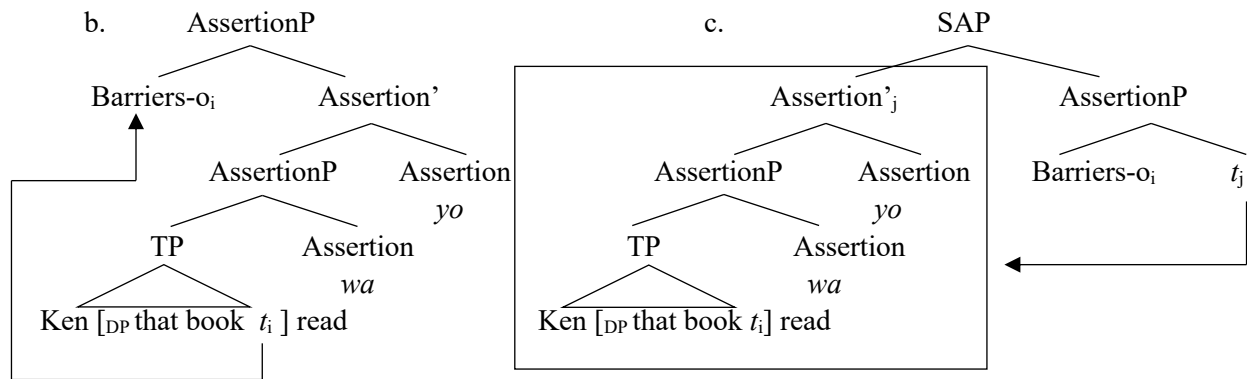
- (22) [<sub>SAP</sub> [<sub>AssertionP</sub> [<sub>AssertionP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> ... ] Assertion (*wa*) ] Assertion (*yo*) ] Speech-Act (*ne*) ]

(22) poses a problem for the antisymmetric approach because it assumes a head-initial structure. In the head-initial structure, the positions of the discourse particles in (22) are reversed, producing the ordering of *ne-yo-wa*. As illustrated in (18), this ordering is impossible.

## 5 Derivation of ARD with Multiple Sentence-Final Discourse Particles

Owing to space constraints, it is impossible to cover all combinations of particles. Here, I limit myself to explaining the cases with two and three particles, respectively. Example (23a) is an ARD with *wa* and *yo*. The derivation is illustrated in (23b) and (23c).

- (23) a. Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda wa yo, Barriers-o.  
 Ken-NOM that book-ACC read PRT PRT Barriers-ACC  
 ‘Ken read that book, Barriers.’



Unlike the antisymmetric approach, the proposed analysis assumes that the basic word order is head-final. Therefore, the ordering of the particles *wa* > *yo* is properly captured. In (23b), the appendix *Barriers-o* is moved to Spec, AssertionP through topic movement. Subsequently, in (23c), the remnant is moved to Spec, SAP, leaving behind the appendix *Barriers-o*. This yields the correct word order in (23a).

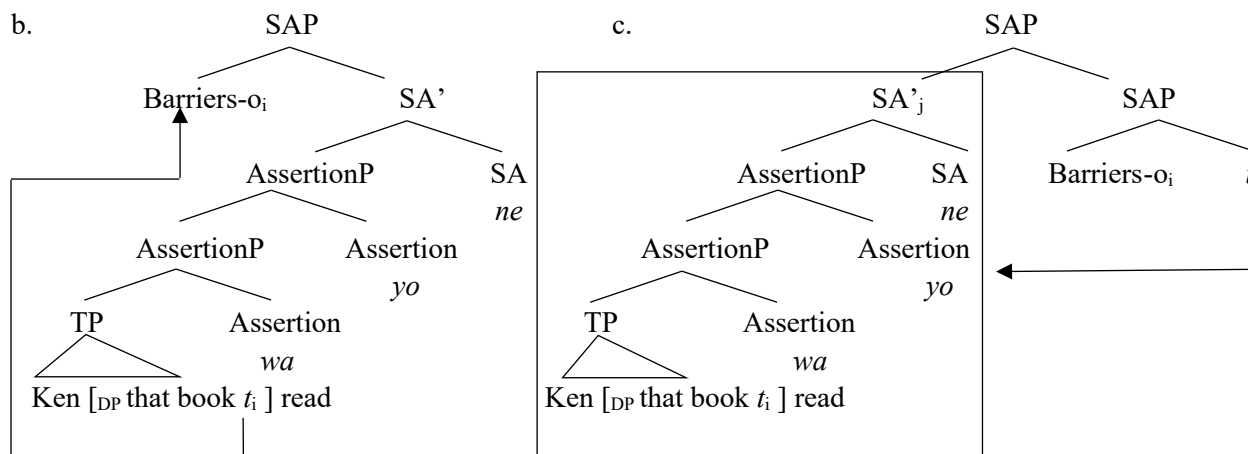
One may wonder whether it is possible to move the lower Assertion P alone from the structure in (23b). If so, the following structure would be yielded.

- (24) a. [<sub>SAP</sub> [<sub>AssertionP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Ken [<sub>DP</sub> that book *t<sub>i</sub>] read ] *wa* ] [<sub>AssertionP</sub> Barriers-O<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Assertion'</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* *yo* ]]]  
 b. \* Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda *wa*, Barriers-o *yo*.*

As shown in (24a), this leaves the particle *yo* after the appendix *Barriers-o*, resulting in the infelicitous structure in (24b). I assume that, for economic reasons, it would not be possible to move just the lower AssertionP. As both *wa* and *yo* are assertions sharing the same feature, it would be more economical to move both in one fell swoop rather than moving them separately. Another question may arise regarding the trace within the remnant in (23c). Because this trace is not bound, it violates the Proper Binding Condition (PBC) (Fiengo 1977). However, as Müller (1993) noted, the PBC applies only when the two movements are of the same type. Here, I assume that the two movements are different, with the movement of the appendix being topic movement. Thus, the derivation in (23) is exempt from the PBC.

Let us now consider the case in (25), in which there are three sentence-final discourse particles.

- (25) a. Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda wa yo ne, Barriers-o.  
 Ken-NOM that book-ACC read PRT PRT PRT Barriers-ACC  
 '(Lit.) Ken read that book, Barriers, didn't he?'



In the derivation of (25a), the appendix *Barriers-o* is moved to Spec, SAP by focus movement. It is focus movement because the appendix is the focus of the question prompted by the particle *ne*. Subsequently, the remnant is moved to the specifier of a higher projection, which is assumed to be SAP.<sup>4</sup>

## 6 Summary

This study proposes an analysis of ARD by focusing on cases in which multiple sentence-final discourse particles occur. Despite adopting the double preposing of topic/focus and remnant movement, this analysis differs from the antisymmetric approach in that the base word order is head final. This allows it to capture the ordering of multiple sentence-final discourse particles adequately. Additionally, it can explain that the movement involved in ARD is leftward. Moreover, anaphor binding and the sharing of case/particles are also expected, as the correlate and appendix constitute a DP in the base structure.

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<sup>4</sup> It is possible to move AssertionP instead of SA' from the structure in (25b). If so, the particle *ne* is left behind after the appendix *Barriers-o*, yielding a structure: Ken-ga sono hon-o yonda *wa yo*, *Barriers-o ne*. This is a felicitous structure.

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