A Prosodic Approach to Multiple Right Dislocation in Japanese*

BRIAN AGBAYANI
California State University, Fresno

TORU ISHII
Meiji University

1 Introduction

Right Dislocation in Japanese such as (1), where the right dislocated phrase *sono kyaku-ni* 'that guest-DAT' appears post-verbally, has received considerable attention (Haraguchi 1973, Kuno 1978, Simon 1989, Rosen 1996, Tanaka 2001, *inter alia*). Although details differ among these analyses, they generally agree that Right Dislocation involves syntactic movement. (1) gives an example of single constituent Right Dislocation.

(1) Tentyô-ga [John-ga ***e*** yubiwa-o watasi wasureta to] omotteiru yo, **sono kyaku-ni**
manager-NOM John-NOM ring-ACC give forgot COMP think PRT **that guest-DAT**
'The manager thinks that John forgot to give the ring to that guest.'

* We thank the audience of JK 31 for helpful discussion and Tomoko Kozasa for assistance with the phonetic analysis. Abbreviations in the glosses adhere to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php), with the exception of PRT, which is used for the sentence final discourse particle *yo*.

Japanese/Korean Linguistics 31.
Edited by William Giang, Lucien Brown, Shimako Iwasaki, Satoshi Nambu, and Daniel Pieper.

We explore *multiple* Right Dislocation, which has previously received very little attention. We argue that multiple Right Dislocation, exemplified in (2), is derived not by syntactic movement but by Prosodic Right Dislocation in the phonological component, evidenced by multiple Right Dislocation's insensitivity to syntactic constraints, its lack of LF interpretive effects, and its prosodic properties.

(2) Tentyô-ga [John-ga ***e e*** watasi wasureta to] omotteiru yo, **sono kyaku-ni yubiwa-o**
manager-NOM John-NOM give forgot COMP think PRT **that guest-DAT ring-ACC**
'The manager thinks that John forgot to give the ring to that guest.'

We propose the Universal Uniqueness Principle, arguing that the Prosodic Right Dislocation analysis of multiple Right Dislocation straightforwardly follows from this principle. The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 presents evidence against a syntactic movement analysis of multiple Right Dislocation. Section 3 proposes a Prosodic Right Dislocation source for multiple Right Dislocation which, we argue, follows from the Universal Uniqueness Principle. Section 4 makes concluding remarks.

2 Multiple Right Dislocation is Not Syntactic

This section presents evidence against a syntactic movement analysis of multiple Right Dislocation. It is shown that unlike single Right Dislocation, multiple Right Dislocation neither obeys syntactic constraints nor exhibits LF interpretive effects.

2.1 Right Dislocation out of Islands

The first piece of evidence against a syntactic movement analysis of multiple Right Dislocation comes from syntactic island constraints. It has been pointed out by, among others, Simon (1989), Rosen (1996), and Tanaka (2001) that single Right Dislocation obeys syntactic island constraints as shown in (3).

(3) a. *? Tentyô-ga **[**$_{\textbf{Complex NP}}$ [John-ga ***e*** yubiwa-o watasiwasureta] nitizi**]**-o oboeteita yo,
manager-NOM John-NOM ring-ACC gave.forgot date-ACC remember PRT
sono kyaku-ni
that guest-DAT
'The manager remembers the date when John forgot to give that ring to the guest.'

b. *? Tentyô-ga **[**$_{\textbf{Adjunct}}$ John-ga ***e*** yubiwa-o watasiwasureta kara**]** totemo okotteiru yo,
manager-NOM John-NOM ring-ACC gave.forgot because very be.angry PRT
sono kyaku-ni
that guest-DAT
'The manager is angry because John forgot to give that ring to the guest.'

In (3a), *sono kyaku-ni* 'that guest-DAT' is right-dislocated out of a complex NP. In (3b), *sono kyaku-ni* 'that guest-DAT' is right-dislocated out of an adjunct. Both (3a) and (3b) are unacceptable. Multiple Right Dislocation, on the other hand, does not obey syntactic island constraints (4).

(4) a. Tentyô-ga **[**$_{\text{Complex NP}}$ [John-ga ***e e*** watasiwasureta] nitizi**]**-o oboeteita yo,
manager-NOM John-NOM gave.forgot date-ACC remember PRT
sono kyaku-ni yubiwa-o
that guest-DAT ring-ACC
'The manager remembers the date when John forgot to give the ring to that guest.'

b. Tentyô-ga **[**$_{\text{Adjunct}}$ John-ga ***e e*** watasiwasureta kara**]** totemo okotteiru yo,
manager-NOM John-NOM gave.forgot because very be.angry PRT
sono kyaku-ni yubiwa-o
that guest-DAT ring-ACC
'The manager is very angry because John forgot to give the ring to that guest.'

In (4a), *sono kyaku-ni* 'that guest-DAT' and *yubiwa-o* 'that ring-ACC' undergo multiple Right Dislocation out of the complex NP. In (4b), they undergo multiple Right Dislocation out of the adjunct. Both (4a) and (4b) are acceptable. If multiple Right Dislocation were syntactic, (4) should be worse than, or at least just as bad as, (3), where only one constituent is right dislocated out of an opaque domain. The result, however, is the opposite of what any syntactic analysis of multiple right dislocation predicts.

2.2 Right Dislocation of a 'True Adjunct'

Second, single Right Dislocation of a 'true adjunct' is disallowed (see, among others, Tanaka 2001). In (5a), the 'true adjunct' *riyû-mo-naku* 'without any reason' undergoes single Right Dislocation, and the result is deviant. However, when the 'true adjunct' *riyû-mo-naku* 'without any reason' undergoes multiple Right Dislocation with *sono riron-o* 'that theory-ACC', the result is acceptable as shown in (5b).

(5) a. *?John-ga [Mary-ga ***e*** sono riron-o sinziteiru to] omotteiru yo, **riyû-mo-naku**
John-NOM Mary-NOM that theory-ACC believe COMP think PRT **reason-even-without**

b. John-ga [Mary-ga ***e e*** sinziteiru to] omotteiru yo, **riyû-mo-naku sono**
John-NOM Mary-NOM believe COMP think PRT **reason-even-without that**
riron-o
theory-ACC
'John thinks that Mary believes in that theory without any reason.'

Whatever LF interpretive constraint rules out single Right Dislocation of a 'true adjunct', the acceptability of (5b) indicates that multiple Right Dislocation is immune. This fact straightforwardly follows if multiple Right Dislocation is not syntactic.

2.3 No Reconstruction Asymmetry with Multiple Right Dislocation

The final evidence against a syntactic movement analysis of multiple Right Dislocation comes from an argument/adjunct reconstruction asymmetry with Principle C of the Binding Theory. It has been pointed out by, among others, van Riemsdijk and Williams (1981), Lebeaux (1988), Chomsky (1995), and Ishii (1997) that there is an argument/adjunct asymmetry for reconstruction effects with Principle C in English *wh*-movement. Although there are various approaches to this

argument/adjunct asymmetry with reconstruction effects, we assume a syntactic Late Merge approach to adjuncts advocated by, among others, Lebeaux (1988) and Ishii (1997). The argument/adjunct asymmetry with Principle C of the Binding Theory is also observed with single Right Dislocation in Japanese, as shown in (8).

(6) a. *?**Kare$_1$**-ga [Mary-ga ***e*** osietekurata to] itta yo, **[minna-no John$_1$-no hihan-o]**
he-NOM Mary-NOM told.him COMP said PRT **everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC**
'He$_1$ said that Mary told him about everyone's criticism of John$_1$.'

b. **Kare$_1$**-ga [Mary-ga ***e*** osietekurata to] itta yo, **[minna-no John$_1$-kara kakusiteita hihan-o]**
he-NOM Mary-NOM told.him COMP said PRT **everyone-GEN John-from was.hiding criticism-ACC**
'He$_1$ said that Mary told him about the criticism everyone was hiding from John$_1$.'

In (6a), the R-expression *John*, which is the complement of *hihan* 'criticism', cannot be coreferential with the pronoun *kare* 'he'. In (6b), on the other hand, *John*, which is within the adjunct, can be coreferential with *kare* 'he'. Again, this is available via Late Merge of the adjunct.

This argument/adjunct asymmetry with Principle C, however, disappears with multiple Right Dislocation as shown in (7).

(7) a.*? **Kare$_1$**-ga [Mary-ga ***e e*** barasita to] itta yo, **[ôkuno tomodati-ni] [minna-no John$_1$-no hihan-o]**
he-NOM Mary-NOM disclosed COMP said PRT **many friend-DAT everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC**
'He$_1$ said that Mary disclosed everyone's criticism of John$_1$ to many friends.'

b.*? **Kare$_1$**-ga [Mary-ga ***e e*** barasita to] itta yo, **[ôkuno tomodati-ni] [minna-no John$_1$-kara kakusiteita hihan-o]**
he-NOM Mary-NOM disclosed COMP said PRT **many friend-DAT everyone-GEN John-from was.hiding criticism-ACC**
'He$_1$ said that Mary disclosed the criticism everyone was hiding from John$_1$ to many friends.'

What is noteworthy is that although *John* is within the adjunct and thus may be late merged in (7a), *John* cannot be coreferential with *kare* 'he'. This indicates that the multiple right dislocated phrases are interpreted *in situ* at LF.

Although we can adduce two other arguments against a syntactic movement analysis of multiple Right Dislocation based on Right Dislocation of a *wh*-phrase, and Right Dislocation of a nominative phrase, they cannot be discussed here for lack of space.

3 Proposal

The last section argued against a syntactic movement analysis of multiple Right Dislocation by showing that multiple Right Dislocation does not obey syntactic constraints or LF interpretive

conditions. This section presents a Prosodic Right Dislocation analysis of multiple Right Dislocation, arguing that multiple Right Dislocation applies in the PF component. We argue that a Prosodic Right Dislocation analysis of multiple Right Dislocation naturally follows from what we call the Universal Uniqueness Principle.

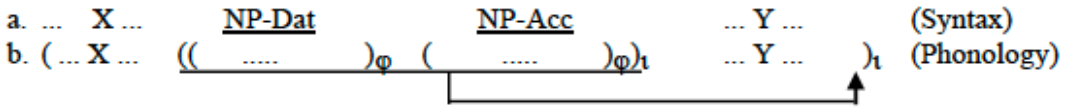
3.1 Prosodic Movement

Agbayani, Golston, and Ishii (2015) propose a Prosodic Scrambling analysis for multiple scrambling which makes use of conditions on targeting, arguing that multiple scrambling takes place in the phonological component. The Prosodic Scrambling analysis accounts for the lack of syntactic and LF interpretive constraint effects with multiple scrambling. Based on the Prosodic Scrambling analysis of multiple scrambling, multiple Right Dislocation would be analyzed as follows. Information Structure targets material to be right dislocated in the syntax, but the movement itself is induced in either syntax or phonology to ensure that only a single constituent is dislocated. If the targeted material is a single syntactic XP, it undergoes Right Dislocation in the syntax only. If the targeted material is not a single syntactic XP, then the multiple XPs, each mapped to a phonological phrase (φ), are packed into a Major Phrase which undergoes Prosodic Right Dislocation to the right edge of an intonational phrase (ι) in the phonology. Let us consider the multiple Right Dislocation in (2) (repeated here as (8)) again.

(8) Tentyô-ga [John-ga ***e e*** watasi wasureta to] omotteiru yo, **sono kyaku-ni yubiwa-o**
manager-NOM John-NOM give forgot COMP think PRT **that guest-DAT ring-ACC**
'The manager thinks that John forgot to give the ring to that guest.'

The derivation of (8) is schematically represented in (9). In (9a), the dative NP *sono kyaku-ni* 'that guest-DAT' and the accusative NP *yubiwa-o* 'ring-ACC' are targeted for Right Dislocation. Since the targeted material is not a single syntactic XP, the dative NP and the accusative NP are packed into a Major Phrase as shown in (9b). The Major Phrase—which is an intonational phrase (ι) incorporating multiple phonological phrases (φ) built from independent syntactic XPs (see Ishihara 2016 for this approach to Major Phrases)—then undergoes Prosodic Right Dislocation to the right edge of the superordinate intonational phrase (ι) in the phonological component. Since multiple Right Dislocation applies in the phonological component, it straightforwardly follows that multiple Right Dislocation does not obey syntactic or LF interpretive constraints.

(9)



It should be noted that although the dative NP and the accusative NP here form a VP under the Larsonian analysis of double objects, Right Dislocation can apply only to a non-predicative XP. VP, being predicative, is not eligible for Right Dislocation.

In a single Right Dislocation case like (1), a single syntactic XP is targeted for dislocation and undergoes syntactic Right Dislocation; it thereby obeys syntactic constraints and exhibits LF interpretive effects. It is crucial in this analysis that a single syntactic XP never undergoes Prosodic Right Dislocation. Agbayani, Golston, and Ishii (2015) argue (for multiple scrambling) that this

naturally follows in a model where syntax feeds phonology, that is, syntax receives no feedback from phonology, and all operations are subject to the derivational principle of Earliness (10), modified from Pesetsky (1989):

(10) Earliness Principle
Satisfy principles as early as possible.[1]

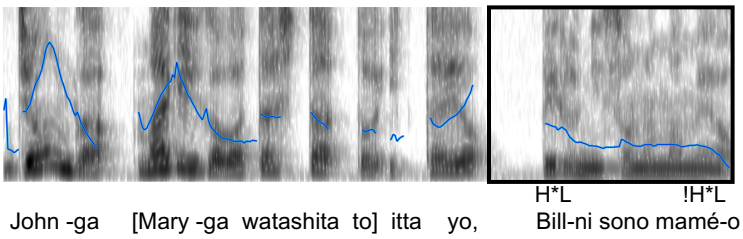
The Earliness Principle permits only the derivation that satisfies the structural description of an operation (i.e. the input requirement of the operation) earlier than other derivations. We posit that the structural description of Right Dislocation dictates that it should target a single constituent (at the relevant level; see Section 3.2). It then follows that when we are to apply Right Dislocation, the operation applies in syntax (which is derivationally *earlier* than phonology) if the target of the operation is a single syntactic constituent, in which case the derivation that satisfies the structural description of the operation in phonology (i.e. where the target of the operation is a single prosodic constituent) is blocked. If the structural description of the operation is not met in syntax, then the operation may apply in phonology (which is derivationally later than syntax) if the structural description of the operation can be met there by phonological means (e.g. the formation of a major phrase out of multiple XPs that do not form a single syntactic XP).

The Prosodic Right Dislocation analysis receives further support from the pitch contour associated with multiple Right Dislocation. Consider the multiple Right Dislocation case in (11).

(11) John-ga [Mary-ga watasita to] itta yo, **Bill-ni sono mamé-o**
John-NOM Mary-NOM handed COMP said PRT **Bill-DAT that bean-ACC**
'John said that Mary handed that bean to Bill.'

(12) gives the pitch track of (11), from a recording of an adult female speaker of Tokyo Japanese.

(12)



[1] The original formulation of the Earliness Principle in Pesetsky (1989) is as follows:
(i) Earliness Principle
Satisfy principles as early as possible on the hierarchy of levels (DS) > SS > LF > LP.
Here, DS = D-Structure, SS = S-Structure, LF = Logical Form, and LP = Language Particular processes. Within the Minimalist Framework, the levels of DS and SS are eliminated, and we do not assume them here. Our primary interest is in the derivational order between syntax and prosodic phonology, in which there is a one way mapping relation from syntax to phonology. The simplified version is meant to capture the notion that an operation (movement in this case) applies at the earliest point in the derivation in which its structural description is met. If it is met in syntax, then the application of movement in syntax will bleed its phonological counterpart; if its structural description is not met in syntax, then the operation may apply in phonology if the structural description of the operation can be met there by phonological means.

Prosodically, the multiple, right dislocated XPs *Bill-ni* 'Bill-DAT' and *sono mamé-o* 'that bean-ACC' form a single constituent. *Bill-ni* 'Bill-DAT' and *sono mamé-o* 'that bean-ACC', preceded by a pause, both have H tones. The lexical H tone on *mamé-o* 'that bean-ACC' is lowered, however, as it is downstepped (!H*L) in relation to the H boundary tone on *Bill-ni* 'Bill-DAT'. This is indicated in the highlighted section of the pitch track in (14). Here, we can see that the right dislocated elements are phrased together prosodically by the effects of tonal downstep: The right dislocated Major Phrase is the domain of tonal downstep in Japanese (Itô & Mester 2012, 2013, Ishihara 2016).

3.2 The Universal Uniqueness Principle

Although Agbayani, Golston, and Ishii's (2015) analysis for multiple scrambling in terms of Prosodic Scrambling can be extended to accommodate multiple Right Dislocation, the notion of targeting in their analysis remains obscure. In particular, it remains unclear why the targeted material must be a single constituent in syntax or phonology, and why the information about targeting is available in both syntax and phonology, even though targeting applies in syntax. We therefore propose an analysis which does not rely on the notion of targeting. We seek to recast their analysis in more general terms and assume the Free Merge hypothesis advocated by Chomsky (2013, 2015, 2021), which claims that movement operations involve the free application of Merge. Furthermore, we propose the Universal Uniqueness Principle (13):

(13) Universal Uniqueness Principle
All applications of movement are unique in that the movement operation involves only a single application on a single constituent to a landing site at the edge of a domain.

The Universal Uniqueness Principle rules out multiple applications of a movement operation in a particular domain: A movement operation of a specific kind (e.g. Scrambling, Right Dislocation) applies only once to a single constituent (i.e. a single syntactic constituent in syntax and a single phonological constituent in phonology), displacing the constituent to the edge of the domain. We argue that the relevant domain where uniqueness is enforced is a CP phase in syntax and an intonational phrase (ι) in phonology.

The notion of 'uniqueness' in the comparative syntax of Japanese and English is also explored by Fukui (1999), but the Universal Uniqueness Principle is a strong departure from Fukui's approach. Fukui claims that what he calls 'the uniqueness effects' are observed in languages like English but not in languages like Japanese. Languages like Japanese lack the uniqueness effects, allowing relatively free word order, that is, Multiple Scrambling, Multiple Cleft, Multiple Sluicing, multiple occurrences of Case (e.g. multiple nominative Case), and multiply headed relative clauses. Languages like English, on the other hand, show the uniqueness effects, disallowing such multiple phenomena. Fukui first assumes Chomsky's (1995) view of language as a generative procedure for providing a solution to legibility conditions (such as conditions at the interfaces) and argues that although UG assures the existence of a solution, it does not guarantee the 'uniqueness' of a solution. In line with this reasoning, Fukui proposes the Uniqueness Parameter, a macroparameter whose setting determines whether a language will enforce a unique solution or allow nonunique solutions to legibility conditions.

(14) Uniqueness Parameter
Languages like English guarantee a unique solution to legibility conditions while languages like Japanese do not. (adapted from Fukui 1999: 27)

Thus, the existence of Multiple Scrambling, Multiple Cleft and Multiple Sluicing, multiple occurrences of Case, and multiply headed relative clauses in Japanese, and their impossibility in English, would fall out via variable settings for the Uniqueness Parameter. In contrast with Fukui's (1999) view, we argue that 'universal uniqueness' applies to all movement operations in both syntax (applied to syntactic constituents) and phonology (applied to prosodic constituents) in all languages. This approach is a departure from Fukui's conception of 'uniqueness' in that it is not a parameterized property—in other words, uniqueness is *exceptionless*. This is a more restrictive approach, and it is the one we take here.

We take the Universal Uniqueness Principle as ultimately a reflection of Chomsky's (2019, 2021) Resource Restriction, a general property of brain computation. Resource Restriction reduces resources available to computational operations—that is, the set of elements accessible to computational operations—to the minimum, thereby contributing to Optimal Computation. The Universal Uniqueness Principle forces unique application of a movement operation and excludes its multiple applications, thereby reducing the set of elements available to the movement operation. This means that for Right Dislocation, the operation applies only once to a single constituent within a CP phase in syntax or an intonational phrase in phonology. This excludes multiple applications of Right Dislocation to separate XPs within a CP phase in syntax. Since movement occurs within phonology as well to affect a prosodic constituent, we argue that Resource Restriction regulates phonological movement too.[2] Therefore, prosodic movement, like syntactic movement (both conceived of as generalized Merge), is restricted by uniqueness as well, applicable to only one constituent—in this case a Major Phrase—within an intonational phrase. This gives the appearance of multiple applications of syntactic Right Dislocation, and hence the appearance of non-uniqueness in Japanese (cf. Fukui 1999), though in reality it is a single unique application of Prosodic Right Dislocation affecting a single Major Phrase, which may be composed of multiple (nonconstituent) XPs and constitutes a domain for downstep.

In addition, the Earliness Principle (10), coupled with the grammatical model, in which syntax feeds phonology and operates in only one direction with no phonological influence on syntax (Zwicky & Pullum 1986a, 1986b), yields the observed pattern wherein syntactic Right Dislocation 'bleeds' Prosodic Right Dislocation: If Right Dislocation can apply to a single XP in the syntax, then the single application applies in syntax and not phonology (and consequently will be subject to syntactic islands and interpretive effects at LF). The universal uniqueness principle blocks Right Dislocation of multiple XPs in syntax, but these elements (or more accurately their phonological

[2] We conjecture that Resource Restriction regulates any application of MERGE, whether it applies in the syntax over syntactically constructed objects, or in the phonology over prosodic constituents; these are partially mapped from syntactic constituency but may also involve structural aggregations of elements which do not form syntactic constituents, for example, cases of prosodic words formed from functional elements and subsequent lexical words that participate in 'hyperbaton' (i.e. Det + Adj or P (+ Det) + Adj, which prosodically move in Latin and Classical Greek; see Agbayani & Golston 2010, 2016). The extension of MERGE to prosodic structure in the phonological component essentially recasts the phonological movement hypothesis of Agbayani and Golston (2010, 2016) and Agbayani, Golston, and Ishii (2015).

exponence) can be aggregated into a phonological Major Phrase in Japanese so that a single application in accordance with the Universal Uniqueness Principle can apply in phonology (and consequently will be immune to syntactic islands and invisible to LF interpretive effects).[3]

If the construction of such a Major Phrase is generally available in the phonology of Japanese (Martin 1952, McCawley 1968, Poser 1984, Selkirk and Tateishi 1988, Itô and Mester 2013, Ishihara 2016), but not in English, we can account for the possibility of apparent 'multiple movement' in Japanese, and its general impossibility in English. More than one syntactic XP can be packed into a Major Phrase in the phonology of Japanese, which creates the apparent nonuniqueness effect when this special prosodic constituent is moved in the phonology, that is, what appears to be the result of multiple applications of movement. In languages like English, on the other hand, such phonological phrasing is not available: Selkirk (1984) shows that the existence of a level of prosodic phrasing equivalent to the Major Phrase is not motivated in English. If there is no prosodic parallel to the Japanese Major Phrase in English, then what appears to be a core syntactic distinction between English-type and Japanese-type languages boils down to differences in their prosodic structures. This view is compatible with Uniformity and the Externalization Parameter (Berwick & Chomsky 2011, 2016; Chomsky 2001, 2010), which claims that languages are uniform within the computational system and parameterization is restricted to the externalization process.

4 Conclusion

We have explored multiple Right Dislocation in Japanese, which has previously received very little attention, and argued that it is derived not by syntactic movement but by Prosodic Right Dislocation in the phonological component. Evidence comes from multiple Right Dislocation's insensitivity to syntactic constraints, its lack of LF interpretive effects, and its prosodic properties. We have proposed the Universal Uniqueness Principle, arguing that phonological movement (Agbayani, Golston, & Ishii 2015) derives multiple movement constructions in Japanese. The presence of the so-called 'uniqueness effects' in some languages and their absence in others (Fukui 1999) may fall out from differences in their prosodic structures.

References

Agbayani, B. and C. Golston. 2010. Phonological movement in Classical Greek. *Language* 86(1): 133–67.

Agbayani, B. and C. Golston. 2016. Phonological constituents and their movement in Latin. *Phonology* 33(1): 1–42.

Agbayani, B., C. Golston, and T. Ishii. 2015. Syntactic and prosodic scrambling in Japanese. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33: 47–77.

Berwick, R. and N. Chomsky. 2011. The biolinguistic program: The current state of its development. *The biolinguistic enterprise: New perspectives on the evolution and nature of the human language faculty*, eds. A. M. Di Sciullo and C. Boeckx, 19–41, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berwick, R. and N. Chomsky. 2016. *Why only us: Language and evolution*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[3] The Prosodic Scrambling analysis of multiple scrambling proposed by Agbayani, Golston, and Ishii (2015) also follows from the Universal Uniqueness Principle without recourse to the notion of targeting.

Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. M. Kenstowicz, 1–52, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 2010. Some simple evo devo theses: How true might they be for language? *The evolution of human language: Biolinguistic perspectives*, eds. R. Larson, V. Déprez, and H. Yamakido, 45–62, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky, N. 2013. Problems of projection. *Lingua* 130: 33–49.

Chomsky, N. 2015. Problems of projection: Extensions. *Structures, strategies and beyond: Studies in honour of Adriana Belletti*, eds. E. Di Domenico, C. Hamann, and S. Matteini, 3–16. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chomsky, N. 2019. *UCLA lectures*. Lectures presented at University of California, Los Angeles, April 29–30 and May 1–2, 2019. Manuscript by R. Friedin (ed.) accessed January 3, 2020, from https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/005485

Chomsky, N. 2021. Minimalism: Where are we now, and where can we hope to go. *Gengo Kenkyu* 160: 1–41.

Fukui, N. 1999. The uniqueness parameter. *Glot International* 4(9/10): 26–7. Reprinted in 2006 in *Theoretical comparative syntax: Studies in macroparameters*, eds. N. Fukui. Oxon: Routledge.

Fukutomi, Y. 2007. Japanese right dislocation: A preliminary study. Paper presented at the *On Linguistic Interfaces (OnLI) Conference*, Northern Ireland, June 2007.

Haraguchi, S. 1973. *Remarks on right dislocation in Japanese*. Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Ishihara, S. 2016. Japanese downstep revisited. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 34: 1389–443.

Ishii, T. 1997. *An asymmetry in the composition of phrase structure and its consequences*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Irvine.

Itô, J. and A. Mester. 2013. Prosodic Subcategories in Japanese. *Lingua* 124(1): 20–40.

Kuno, S. 1978. Japanese: A characteristic OV language. *Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language*, ed. W. P. Lehmann, 57–138. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Lebeaux, D. 1988. *Language acquisition and the form of the grammar*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Martin, S. E. 1952. *Morphophonemics of standard colloquial Japanese*. Baltimore, MD: Linguistic Society of America.

McCawley, J. D. 1968. *The phonological component of a grammar of Japanese*. The Hague: Mouton.

Pesetsky, D. 1989. *Language-particular processes and the earliness principle*. Unpublished manuscript, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Poser, W. 1984. *The phonetics and phonology of tone and intonation in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Rosen, E. R. 1996. *The postposing construction in Japanese*. Master's thesis, The University of British Columbia.

Selkirk, E. 1984. *Phonology and syntax: The relation between sound and structure.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Selkirk, E. and K. Tateishi. 1988. Constraints on minor phrase formation in Japanese. *CLS vol. 24 Part One: The General Session*, eds. L. MacLeod, G. Larson, and D. Brentari, 316–36, Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Simon, M. E. 1989. *An analysis of the postposing construction in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.

Tanaka, H. 2001. Right-dislocation as scrambling, *Journal of Linguistics* 37(3): 551–79.

Van Riemsdijk, H. and E. Williams. 1981. NP structure, *The Linguistic Review* 1: 171–217.

Zwicky, A. and G. Pullum. 1986a. The principle of phonology-free syntax: Introductory remarks. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics* 32: 63–91.

Zwicky, A. and G. Pullum. 1986b. Two spurious counterexamples to the principle of phonology-free syntax. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics* 32: 92–9.