

Japanese Right Dislocation and Discourse Particles at the Right Periphery

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This paper argues that a right-dislocated phrase in Japanese is located within a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) and that Japanese right dislocation (JRD) is derived by double preposing of a focused phrase and the remnant. JRD such as in (1) has attracted much attention because it places a constituent to the right of a predicate in a strictly head-final language like Japanese.

- (1) Naomi-ga Ken-ni e_i ageta yo, sono hon-o_i.
Naomi-NOM Ken-DAT gave Prt that book-ACC
'Naomi gave it to Ken, that book.'

Three different approaches have been proposed to explain the peculiar behaviors of this construction: (a) right movement approach (Haraguchi 1973, Simon 1989), (b) double preposing approach (Kurogi 2007, Fukutomi 2007) and (c) bi-clausal approach (Tanaka 2001, Abe 2004, 2019, a.o.). The bi-clausal approach assumes repetition of the same clause and scrambling and deletion within the second clause.

- (2) [_{CP} Naomi Ken pro_i gave] [_{CP} that book_i [~~Naomi Ken t_i gave~~]]
(bi-clausal approach)

The bi-clausal approach explains the fact that JRD is island sensitive (except for left branch condition) but is exempt from the Right Roof Constraint of Ross (1967). It also accounts for the fact that JRD is a main clause phenomenon because two juxtaposed clauses cannot be embedded. However, some have opposed the bi-clausal approach (e.g. Ko 2014) because RD and scrambling have different properties. In this paper, following the line of double preposing approach, I propose that JRD involves preposing a focus phrase into the Spec of SAP and the remnant movement as shown in (3).

- (3) a. [_{SAP} that book_i [_{sap} [_{CP} [_{TP} Naomi Ken t_i gave]] yo(Prt)]] (preposing of *that book*)
b. [_{sap} [_{CP} [_{TP} Naomi Ken t_i gave]] yo(Prt)]_j [_{SAP} that book t_j] (remnant movement)

The reason for postulating a Speech Act Phrase is related to the discourse particle *yo*, which according to Endo (1996) is always present in JRD. Saito and Haraguchi (2012) note that *yo* conveys strong assertion and means 'I'm telling you that..' (see also Endo 2010). So (1) means 'I'm telling you that it is this book that Naomi gave to Ken', with the RD having a focus interpretation and the remnant presupposition.

I suggest that JRD can only occur in root clauses in the sense of Emonds (1970) (or Class A complements of Hooper & Thompson 1973). This is illustrated in the following.

- (4) a. Naomi-ga [Ken-ga kaita yo, sono hon-o to] itta. (Class A)
'Naomi said that it is Ken who wrote that book.'

- b. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ga kaita yo, sono hon-o to] sinziteiru. (Class B) (sinziteiru ‘believe’)
- c. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ga kaita yo, sono hon-o koto]-o hiteisita. (Class C) (hiteisita ‘denied’)
- d. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ga kaita yo, sono hon-o koto]-ni odoroiita. (Class D) (odoroiita ‘was surprised’)
- e. *Naomi-ga [Ken-ga kaita yo, sono hon-o koto]-o siranakatta (Class E) (siranakatta ‘didn’t know’)

On independent grounds, Saito (2012) suggests that the hierarchical ordering of the complementizers at the right periphery is as follows: *to* is a complementizer for paraphrases or reports of direct discourse, and *ka* the complementizer for questions.

(5) [... [... [... [... Finite (*no*)] Force (*ka*)] Report (*to*)]

The discourse particle *yo* is located between *ka* and *to*. First, *yo* can attach to a complement headed by *ka* and gives rise to rhetorical questions but the opposite order is not possible.

(6) [Kyo-mo ame ka]-yo. (*yo-ka)
 Today-also rain Q]-Prt
 ‘It is raining again today’

Second, *Yo* can appear in the direct discourse headed by *to*.

(7) [Kyo-mo ame da yo]-to Naomi-ga itta. (*to-yo)
 Today-also rain be Prt-C Naomi-NOM said
 ‘It’s raining again today, Naomi said.’

Accordingly, by identifying the location of the discourse particle *yo*, the present paper opposes the bi-clausal approach to JRD and paves the way to analyze it as a phenomenon at the right periphery.

Keywords: Right Dislocation, Discourse Particles, Speech Act, Right Periphery

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