Structure and inference in Japanese right dislocation

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This paper explores the syntactic nature of Japanese Right Dislocation Constructions (RDCs) by illuminating the ellipsis sites in the postverbal domains of the constructions via pragmatic inference. Although the most prevailing bi-clausal analysis of RDCs adopts the perspective that the repetition of the antecedent clause occurs in collocation, this paper shows that the same surface strings are potentially ambiguous since right dislocation is a heterogeneous phenomenon. It proposes additional types of a bi-clausal structure and discusses evidence that suggests that even when the surface strings are the same the recovery of the ellipsis site is possibly derived in multiple ways through the use of distinct linguistic strategies.

Keywords: right dislocation, bi-clausal analyses, preposing, (pseudo-)clefts, coordination

1. Introduction

Japanese is a strict head-final language. Nevertheless, like other subject-object-verb languages such as Korean (e.g. Ko 2014, 2016; Furuya 2018) and Hindi (e.g. Bhatt & Dayal 2007; Manetta 2012), this language allows elements to occur after the verbs in colloquial speech and narrative written styles (Clancy 1982). This pattern is called right dislocation. Let us look at RDCs in (1), where accusative-Case marked DPs appear to the right of the verbs.

(1) Did Taro read the book$_i$ on the table?
   a. *Taro-wa* [e]$_i$ *yonda-yo*, *sono hon-o*$_i$.
      Taro-TOP read-PRT the book-ACC
      'Taro read [e]$_i$, the book$_i$.'
   b. *Taro-wa* *sono hon-o*$_i$ *yonda-yo*, *sono hon-o*$_i$.
      Taro-TOP the book-ACC read-PRT the book-ACC
      'Taro read the book$_i$, the book$_i$.'

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(1a) is missing the object in the preverbal domain (which is represented with [e]), as opposed to (1b) with the overt object. Regardless of whether the object position is empty (gapped RDC) or occupied with a DP (gapless RDC), however, both sentences have accusative-Case marked DPs postverbally (see also Abe 1999, 2015, 2017; Tanaka 2001; Furuya (forthcoming) for Japanese; Ko 2016; Lee & Lee 2018; Furuya 2018 for Korean). Moreover, as English glosses indicate, the RDCs (1a–b) have the same truth conditions. The most prevailing analysis assumes a bi-clausal structure. This analysis adopts the perspective that an RDC consists of two identical clauses in sequence, whose schema is illustrated in (2) (Kuno 1978; Endo 1996; Abe 1999, 2015, 2017; Tanaka 2001; Takita 2011; Yamashita 2011 for Japanese; Park & Kim 2009; Ko 2016; Ahn & Cho 2016, 2017 for Korean; Ott & de Vries 2016 for Dutch and German, among others).

(2) Antecedent Ellipsis site

[$_{S1}$ Sub *pro*$_i$ / Obj$_i$ Verb] [$_{S2}$ Obj$_i$ [$_{S2}$ ~~Sub *t*$_i$ Verb~~]]

Under the prevailing bi-clausal analysis, the second clause S_2 is a duplicate of the antecedent clause S_1. In S_1 the null argument is often taken as *pro* (e.g. Tanaka 2001). In S_2 the object undergoes leftward movement, and the remaining is deleted in PF under identity with S_1 and S_2. These operations are listed in (3) (e.g. Tanaka 2001; Takita 2011; Yamashita 2011, but see § 2, Abe 2015 for a bi-clausal analysis with no movement).

(3) a. Duplicating of the antecedent clause as the second clause in the postverbal domain
b. Raising of elements in the second clause
c. Deleting of the second clause under identity with its antecedent clause except the raised elements in PF

However, it is questionable whether the operations in (3) are the only options to derive the word order of the RDC (4), which constitutes a minimal pair with the RDCs in (1a–b).

(4) *Taro-wa pro*$_i$ / *sono hon-o*$_i$ ***yonda-yo***, [*sono hon-o*$_i$ (***yonda-yo***)].
Taro-TOP the book-ACC read-PRT the book-ACC read-PRT
'Taro read *pro*$_i$/the book$_i$, read the book$_i$.'

In (4), *yonda* 'read' optionally occurs twice along with *sono hon-o* [the book-ACC]. The repetition of these phrases is readily explained in a bi-clausal analysis since a bi-clausal structure accommodates the loci for two occurrences of the elements. Given (3), (4) results from duplicating the first clause with the overt object and raising the combination of the object and possibly the verb in the second clause,

followed by the deletion of the remaining of the second clause. However, the RDC (4) is also derived without the raising and the deleting process in (3b–c). Since Japanese is a *pro*-drop language, it is possible to assume *pro* in the subject position of the second clause to derive the word order of the construction in (4).

Moreover, it is also unclear whether right dislocation is always composed of two identical clauses in (3a). The RDC in (5) involves a conjunctive coordination, and it can be used to make a list. What is interesting in (5) is that the number of the verb *mita* 'watched' in the first clause differs from that in the second clause.

(5) What movies did Tomoki watch yesterday?
Tomoki-wa [$_{vP}$ *kono eiga-o* *mita*]*-si* [$_{vP}$ *sono eiga-o*
Tomoki-TOP this movie-ACC watched-and that movie-ACC
mita]*-yo*, [...]
watched-PRT
'Tomoki watched this movie and watched that movie [...]'
a. *[$_{DP}$ *kono eiga*]*-si* [$_{DP}$ *sono eiga*]*-o* (*mita-yo*).
this movie-and that movie-ACC watched-PRT
'(watched) this movie and that movie.'
b. [$_{DP}$ *kono eiga*]*-to* [$_{DP}$ *sono eiga*]*-o* (*mita-yo*).
this movie-and that movie-ACC watched-PRT
'(watched) this movie and that movie.'

In reply to the question written in English, the sentence in (5) is uttered followed by (5a) or (5b). The antecedent clause includes two coordinated vPs. In contrast, (5a–b) contain two coordinated DPs. These DPs in (5a) are connected by the coordinator *-si* 'and', whereas the same DPs in (5b) are coordinated by another coordinator *-to* 'and'. (5b) as well as (5a) does not seem to resemble its antecedent clause since the antecedent clause involves vP conjuncts whilst (5a–b) have DP conjuncts possibly followed by the single verb. Regardless of the presence or absence of the verb on the right periphery, however, the antecedent clause can be uttered followed by (5b), but it is unacceptable with (5a). If right dislocation involves the ellipsis of all but the raised phrases (i.e. the right-dislocated phrases) in the second sentence, because the coordinated DPs do not exist in the antecedent clause, (5b) should be unacceptable like (5a), contrary to what we observe. Questions arise about the legitimacy of the operations for RDCs in (3). Regarding (3a), should the second clause always be a repetition of an antecedent clause in right dislocation? Is the duplicating in (3a) held in terms of the content of the antecedent clause? Alternatively, is it a duplication of the syntactic structure? Put differently, what constituent could be elided relative to its antecedent clause in right dislocation? Relating to it, is there really any content besides overt elements in the postverbal domain? Moreover, is the movement operation in (3b)

necessarily applied? Is the deletion operation in (3c) held exclusively under the identity requirement between the first clause and the second clause?

This paper sheds light on the interaction between syntactic structure and pragmatic inference of the ellipsis sites, relative to their antecedent clauses in Japanese RDCs. It examines mainly gapless RDCs by adopting the perspective that gapped and gapless RDCs behave equally in syntax as in (1) (Abe 1999, 2017; Tanaka 2001; Furuya (forthcoming) for Japanese; Ahn & Cho 2016; Furuya 2018 for Korean, but Abe 2015 for Japanese; Ko 2016 for Korean). The paper explores the possibility of additional types of a bi-clausal structure that are understood as the use of distinct linguistic strategies. It is argued that some RDCs are derived from the combinations of clauses that are not identical to each other. The evidence for the proposed analysis is provided by the possibility of more than one interpretation of an RDC.

This paper is organized as follows. § 2 shows that the postverbal elements of Japanese RDCs will involve internal structures, based on the possibility of having more than one interpretation of the constructions. It also discusses the properties that the ellipsis sites with recovered elements will have in common. § 3 examines the nature of right dislocation by analyzing the structures of the ellipsis sites in relation to antecedent clauses and offers additional types of Japanese RDCs. § 4 is the conclusion of the paper.

2. Ellipsis sites of Japanese right dislocation

The main purpose of this paper is to investigate the nature of Japanese RDCs. In order to achieve this task, in this section I illuminate ellipsis sites of the constructions. In § 2.1, I show that the postverbal domains will involve internal structures in some cases. In § 2.2, I discuss the properties that the ellipsis sites with recovered elements involve in common. Particularly, I demonstrate that the recovered elements in the ellipsis sites will equally yield presuppositional readings even when ellipsis sites may be lexically and structurally dissimilar to their antecedent clauses.

2.1 Elements in the postverbal domains

The postverbal domain may contain lexical elements that do not exist in its antecedent clause, as shown in (6) (Abe 1999; Furuya (forthcoming) for Japanese; Ko 2016; Furuya 2018 for Korean for further observations).

(6) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo, Chomsky-no hon-o.*
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT Chomsky-GEN book-ACC
'John bought a book, (that is) a book by Chomsky.' (adapted from Abe 1999: 7)

(6) involves an accusative-Case marked DP pre- and postverbally. Nonetheless, these DPs are not lexically the same since *Chomsky-no* [Chomsky-GEN] in the postverbal DP does not exist in the object DP in the preverbal domain. The postverbal DP *Chomsky-no hon-o* [Chomsky-GEN book-ACC] semantically elaborates the book that is stated preverbally, and it is taken as an afterthought added later (Kuno 1978). This example shows that the postverbal domain is not obligatorily required to contain a faithful duplicate of the lexical elements from its antecedent clause.

Furthermore, it seems that the postverbal domain of an RDC does not always yield a single interpretation. Consider the RDC that bears two possible interpretations when the right dislocation sentence is uttered in the context where the English sentence is previously stated in (7).

(7) Yuuki gave something to Yukari$_i$ yesterday.
Yuuki-wa [e]$_i$ ***nani-o*** *ageta-no, Yukari-ni$_i$.*
Yuuki-TOP what-ACC gave-Q Yukari-DAT
a. 'What did Yuuki give to Yukari$_i$?'
b. 'What did Yuuki give [e]$_{i/j}$?; (is it really) to Yukari$_i$?'

The RDC in (7) has a *wh*-word preverbally and a definite DP postverbally. As the English glosses show, the construction can yield two interpretations with distinct markings of prosodic prominence. The first interpretation (7a) is possible when the speaker wonders about the item that is given to Yukari. The DP on the right periphery is interpreted as part of the single clause. In this case, the prosodic marking is placed on the *wh*-word followed by the deaccented DP in the postverbal domain (Simon 1989; Furuya (forthcoming) for Japanese). The second reading (7b) is also acceptable if a speaker questions whether it is really to Yukari that Yuuki gave an item along with the given item itself. The right-dislocated phrase is taken to express an afterthought added later for clarification of what the antecedent clause states. For this reading, the postverbal DP constitutes an independent prosodic prominence, apart from the one placed on the *wh*-word. Our observations suggest that the RDC with different prosodic structures is interpreted in two ways. One is that the RDC has a mono-clausal interpretation with a single prosodic unit. The postverbal element is taken as part of the one clause, and thus the postverbal domain should not contain any ellipsis site. The other is that the construction yields a bi-clausal interpretation with separate prosodic units, where because the first clause is semantically and prosodically complete by itself the postverbal element is taken to occur in the

second clause. This indicates that the second clause consists of the lexical item on the right periphery and the ellipsis site.

To uphold the existence of the ellipsis site, let us look closely at the postverbal domain of (7) with (7b) by paraphrasing the elliptical clause into (8a–b).

(8) a. *[$_{\text{Cleft}}$ [*Yuuki-ga* t_i ***nani-o*** *ageta*]-*no-wa*] (*hontouni*) *Yukari-ni*$_i$
Yuuki-NOM what-ACC gave-COMP-TOP really Yukari-DAT
na-no.
COP-Q
*'Is it (really) to Yukari that Yuuki gave what?'

b. [$_{\text{Cleft}}$ [*Yuuki-ga* t_i ***nanika-o*** *ageta*]-*no-wa*] (*hontouni*)
Yuuki-NOM something-ACC gave-COMP-TOP really
Yukari-ni$_i$ *na-no.*
Yukari-DAT COP-Q
'Is it (really) to Yukari that Yuuki gave something?'

(8a–b) are both a cleft construction, and *Yukari-ni* [Yukari-DAT] is focused. In (8a), the presuppositional subject contains the *wh*-word *nani* 'what' that also occurs in the antecedent clause of the RDC in (7). In contrast, in (8b) the same position is occupied with the indefinite pronoun *nanika* 'something' even though no such word exists in the antecedent clause in (7). Interestingly, even though the presuppositional clause in (8a) appears to be more lexically similar to the antecedent clause than that of (8b), the former is ungrammatical unlike the latter. If the clefted clause contains the *wh*-word, it would not yield the intended reading (7b). This contrast suggests that the ellipsis site should contain an internal structure in syntax. What is also emphasized here is that even though the antecedent clause is not a cleft the ellipsis site can be paraphrased into a cleft with lexical elements that do not exist in its antecedent clause as observed in (8b). Note that the same phenomenon is observed when the RDC in (7) switches the loci of the *wh*-word and the postposed DP contain.[1] Based on this observation, I claim that

1. When the RDC in (7) switches the loci of the *wh*-word and the postposed DP, it bears a bi-clausal interpretation in (i.a) but fails to yield a mono-clausal interpretation that the *wh*-word on the postverbal domain is taken as part of the single clause in (i.b) (cf. Kuno 1978). What is relevant here is that as the English glosses (i.a) show, the second clause is a *wh*-question and contains the *wh*-word, unlike the first clause (that is a *yes-no* question), in favor of the claim for the existence of an internal structure in the ellipsis site.

(i) *Yuuki-wa* (*hontouni*) *Yukari-ni* *ageta-no*, ***nani-o***.
Yuuki-TOP really Yukari-DAT gave-Q what-ACC
a. 'Did Yuuki (really) give something to Yukari? What did he give to her?'
b. *'What did Yuuki give to Yukari?'

the ellipsis site possibly contains its own structure that is not necessarily a duplicate of its antecedent clause. The ellipsis sites may be not only lexically but also structurally dissimilar from antecedent clauses in some RDCs (see also Furuya (forthcoming)).

The argument for the existence of an internal structure of the ellipsis site lends support from a complex RDC that contains a conjunction consisting of the same verbs in (9) (cf. (5)).

(9) RDCs with vP + vP (same verbs)
What movies did Tomoki watch yesterday?
Tomoki-wa [$_{vP}$ *kono eiga-o* *mita*]*-si* [$_{vP}$ *sono eiga-o*
Tomoki-TOP this movie-ACC watched-and that movie-ACC
mita]*-yo*, [...]
watched-PRT
'Tomoki watched this movie and watched that movie, [...]'
a. **kono eiga*(*-o*)(*-si*) *sono eiga-o* (*mita-yo*).
this movie-ACC-and that movie-ACC watched-PRT
'*(*watched) this movie (and) that movie.'
b. *kono eiga-to* *sono eiga-o* (*mita-yo*).
this movie-and that movie-ACC watched-PRT
'(watched) this movie and that movie.'

(9) with (9a) contains a vP conjunction preverbally and a DP conjunction postverbally, both of which contain the same coordinator *-si* 'and'. By contrast, the construction (9) with (9b) includes the DP conjuncts conjoined by the coordinator *-to* 'and' postverbally. (9a–b) are syntactically different from their antecedent clauses while maintaining the same meanings as them. Although (9a) is lexically more comparable to its antecedent than (9b), however, the former is ungrammatical unlike the latter, regardless of the presence or absence of a duplicated verb and the particle (i.e. *miru* 'to watch' and *-yo*) postverbally. This contrast is compatible with the claim that the postverbal domain of an RDC projects its own internal structure.

We observed that the postverbal domains may have lexical elements that do not occur in antecedent clauses in some RDCs. Other RDCs may yield different interpretations accompanied by corresponding prosodic prominences despite the same surface strings. Particularly, RDCs that bear bi-clausal interpretations possibly contain the second clauses that are lexically and syntactically different from antecedent clauses in the ellipsis sites. These observations suggest that duplicating of the antecedent clause in (3a) may not always hold true in some RDCs.

In the following subsection, I show the property that ellipsis sites share in common when they includes recovered elements via pragmatic inference.

2.2 Syntactic properties of ellipsis sites in RDCs

In light of possible interpretations of the ellipsis sites, I examine the postverbal domains of a simplex RDC without a conjunction and a complex RDC with a conjunction, and illuminate the ellipsis sites further. Let us consider the simplex RDC without a Caseless DP postverbally in (10). This RDC can be paraphrased into (at least) three sentences (11)–(13), where recovered elements are parenthesized in the postverbal domains.

(10) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo, Chomsky-no hon.* cf. (6)
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT Chomsky-GEN book
'John bought a book, (that is) a book by Chomsky.'

Let us consider the first paraphrased sentence (11) with the ellipsis site that contains a duplicate of its antecedent clause in (10) except the preposed object.

(11) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo, Chomsky-no hon*(*-o*) (*John-ga* [e]
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT Chomsky-GEN book-ACC John-NOM
katta-yo).
bought-PRT
'John bought a book, a book by Chomsky (John bought).'

The postverbal domain involves a duplicate of the antecedent clause occurring right after the preposed object *Chomsky-no hon*(*-o*) [Chomsky-GEN book(-ACC)]. This duplicate is more syntactically faithful to its antecedent clause than lexically. In order to derive the word order of (10), the duplication of the structure of the first clause in (11) is followed by raising the right-dislocated phrase. Under the structural identity requirement with its antecedent clause, the second clause optionally along with the accusative-Case marker *-o* on the preposed DP is deleted except the preposed phrase in PF. Thus, one could state that the antecedent clause and the second clause are *structurally* identical to each other in Japanese RDCs even when they do not involve exactly identical lexical elements.

However, the ellipsis site does not always involve a syntactically exact duplicate of its antecedent clause. As already observed in (8), the second clause can be a cleft for (10) in (12).

(12) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo,* [$_{\text{Cleft}}$ (*John-ga* [e] *katta-no-wa*)
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT John-NOM bought-COMP-TOP
Chomsky-no hon(*-o*) (*da-yo*)].
Chomsky-GEN book-ACC COP-PRT
'John bought a book, (it is) a book by Chomsky (that John bought).'

(12) has a cleft construction as the second clause. In this clause, a duplicate of its antecedent clause appears to occur as the presuppositional clause whereas the right-dislocated element is the focus constituent. Once the presuppositional clause and the copula are deleted (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2012), the word order of (10) is derived. What is significant here is that the second clause recovered in the postverbal domain via pragmatic inference does not seem to be syntactically identical to its antecedent clause. Thus, the deletion of the presuppositional clause and the copula does not result from the structural identity requirement with the first clause and the second clause, contra (3c).

I now offer one more paraphrased sentence with a Caseless DP postverbally in (13), which semantically and syntactically resembles (12), except that the former involves a pseudo-cleft in place of a cleft in the postverbal domain.

(13) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo*, [$_{\text{Pseudo-cleft}}$ (*John-ga* [e] *katta-no-wa*)
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT John-NOM bought-COMP-TOP
Chomsky-no hon (*da-yo*)].
Chomsky-GEN book COP-PRT
'John bought a book, (the one that John bought is) a book by Chomsky.'

As the English glosses show, the postposed DP is a nominal predicate and thus it is not Case-marked in the second clause (but Takita 2014 for a mono-clausal analysis with base-generation for RDCs with Caseless DPs postverbally). Again, the recovered second clause in (13) is not syntactically the same as its antecedent clause as well although the RDCs with different recovered elements in the ellipsis sites of (11)–(13) share the same truth conditions as (10).

What is striking with the recovered sides of these examples is that they are equally interpreted in (14).

(14) ∃x [John bought *x*]

(14) has the meaning that the reconverted clauses share in common, which is also the same as that of the antecedent clauses. This indicates that the duplication of the first clause is held in light of the content in (3a).

The same phenomenon is also observed in a complex RDC with a vP conjunction containing two distinct verbs in (15).

(15) RDCs with vP + vP (different verbs)
What did Satoko do yesterday? Go to a movie or something?
Satoko-wa [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ *hon-o yonda*]-*si* [$_{vP}$ *niwa-de hana-o*
Satoko-TOP book-ACC reading-and garden-at flowers-ACC
ueta]]-*yo*, [...]
planted-PRT
'Satoko read a book and planted flowers in the garden, [...]'

a. **hon-to hana(-o).*
book-and flower-ACC
'a book and flowers.'
b. *dokusyo-to gaadeningu(-o).*
reading-and gardening-ACC
'reading and gardening.'
c. *sono hutatu(-o).*
those two-ACC
'those two.'

The antecedent clause in (15) involves two vP conjuncts filled with distinct lexical elements, and one of (15a–c) follows in the postverbal domain. (15a) has DPs conjuncts that are identical to the objects of the two vP conjuncts in the antecedent clause, optionally accompanied by the accusative Case-marker. This DP conjunction supplied by copying out of its antecedent clause in (15a) is analogous to that in (9b), and yet the former is not acceptable unlike the latter. (15b) also involves a DP conjunction optionally attached by the accusative Case-marker. The DPs in the conjuncts are verbal nouns and semantically associated with the events that the vP conjuncts express in the antecedent clause. Remarkably, although these DPs are not a duplicate out of the antecedent clause, the combination of the verbal nouns is grammatical. (15c) includes a demonstrative and a numeral expression, again, optionally followed by the accusative Case-marker. In (15c), although no copy from the antecedent clause exists, it is also grammatical. Our observations suggest that a duplicate of lexical items from the antecedent clause is not always grammatical as shown in (15a). What is also confirmed here is that lexical elements that do not exist in the antecedent clause of an RDC can exist in the postverbal domains.

What parallels between (10) and (15) is that the ellipsis sites of (15b–c) can each be recovered in multiple ways from the same surface strings. For instance, (15b) can also be paraphrased into three sentences in (16).

(16) a. *Dokusyo-to gaadeningu(-o)* (*Satoko-wa* [e] *sita-yo*).
reading-and gardening-ACC Satoko-TOP did-PRT
'Reading and gardening (Satoko did).'
b. (*Satoko-ga* [e] *sita-no-wa*) *dokusyo-to gaadeningu(-o)* (*da-yo).*
Satoko-NOM did-COMP-TOP reading-and gardening-ACC COP-PRT
'(It is) reading and gardening (that Satoko did).'
c. (*Satoko-ga* [e] *sita-no-wa*) *dokusyo-to gaadeningu* (*da-yo*).
Satoko-NOM did-COMP-TOP reading-and gardening COP-PRT
'(What Satoko did is) reading and gardening.'

(16a) is a clause with preposing, and (16b–c) are a cleft and a pseudo-cleft respectively. Crucially, none of these sentences are lexically and syntactically identical to

the antecedent clause in (15). Yet, the recovered clauses in the parentheses in (16) are uniformly interpreted in (17).

(17) [Satoko did *x*]

(17) represents the interpretations of the recovered clauses in (16). This meaning is not semantically identical to that of the antecedent clause in (15). Rather, it is presuppositional. Likewise, (15c) can also be paraphrased in multiple ways, and yet the recovered clauses are uniformly interpreted to be presuppositional clauses that have the reading (17). Our observations of the ellipsis sites in RDCs via pragmatic inference are generalized in (18).

(18) A condition for deletion in RDCs (First version)
Clauses that carry presuppositional information may be elided postverbally.

This condition states that a clause with presuppositional information does not necessarily overtly exist in the postverbal domain of an RDC.[2] Apparently, this statement subsumes the identity requirement in (3c) since the recovery site in an RDC is not always identical to its antecedent clause. I shall return to issues on the identity requirement in § 3.1.

In this subsection, I showed that the elliptical clauses recovered via pragmatic inference are paraphrased into more than one way in both a simplex RDC and a complex RDC. Regardless of these variations, however, I demonstrated that the recovered clauses uniformly yield presuppositional interpretations. In the following section, I look into the syntax of the ellipsis sites in the constructions.

3. An analysis of elided sites in RDCs

I analyze the syntax of the ellipsis sites in simplex RDCs in § 3.1 and complex RDCs in § 3.2. I examine the structures in the postverbal domains with recovered syntactic objects and elucidate the interaction between syntactic structure and pragmatic inference of the ellipsis sites relative to their antecedent clauses in Japanese RDCs.

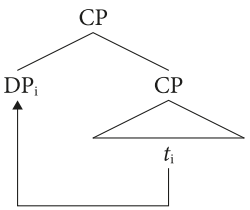
3.1 Simplex RDCs

In order to analyze the elliptical clauses in the postverbal domains of the constructions, I adopt the structures of preposing, clefting, and pseudo-clefting in (19a–c)

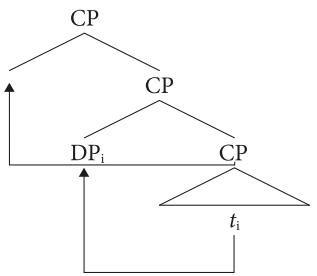
2. This perspective is not new in studies of clefts and sluices (e.g. Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2012). See also Footnote 4.

respectively. I assume CP adjunction in (19a) (e.g. Yamashita 2011 for Japanese; Ott & de Vries 2016 for Germanic languages), even though some researchers assume that the duplicate of an antecedent clause is adjoined to TP (Tanaka 2001; Abe 2015). For the structure of a cleft, following Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2012), I assume (19b), in which the focus DP is Case-marked in Spec, vP and undergoes focus movement to Spec, CP, followed by further movement of the lowest CP (I refer the reader to their work for a more detailed discussion). In pseudo-clefting, the DP in (19c) is a nominal predicate, and thus it is Caseless (e.g. Harada 2016). This DP does not move.

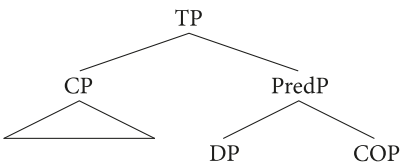
(19) a. Preposing



b. Clefting

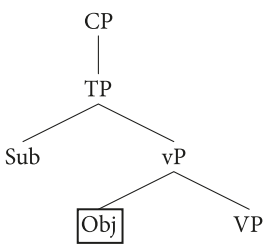


c. Pseudo-clefting



I also assume the structure of the antecedent clause of a simplex RDC in (20).

(20)



Given (19) and (20), I examine the internal structure of the ellipsis site when an accusative-Case marked DP appears postverbally in the RDC (21). As observed in § 2.2, this simplex RDC may have a clause with preposing, a cleft, or a pseudo-cleft postverbally. I look into the schemas of the RDCs with these clauses as the second clauses respectively.

(21) *John-ga hon-o katta*, *Chomsky-no hon*(*-o*). cf. (6)
John-NOM book-ACC bought Chomsky-GEN book-ACC
'John bought a book, (that is) a book by Chomsky.'

I employ the prevailing bi-clausal analysis of the RDC that contains a clause with preposing postverbally in (22). The schema is illustrated in (23).

(22) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo*, *Chomsky-no hon-o* (*John-ga* [e]
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT Chomsky-GEN book-ACC John-NOM
katta-yo). (=(11))
bought-PRT
'John bought a book, a book by Chomsky (John bought).'

(23) [$_{CP1}$ *John-ga hon-o katta-yo*]

[$_{CP2}$ *Chomsky-no hon-o*$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ ~~*John-ga* t_i *katta-yo*~~]]

In (23), the lower CP_2 is a duplicate of its antecedent clause CP_1 (except that the lexical item *hon* 'a book' in the object position is replaced with *Chomsky-no hon* 'a book by Chomsky') since the elliptical clause contains the sentence-final particle *-yo*. One might object that the elliptical clause could be TP rather than CP_2 in (23). However, researchers recently propose that the verb is overtly raised out of vP in overt syntax although this is a string-vacuous movement in Japanese (Funakoshi 2012, 2016; Sato & Hayashi 2018; Abe 2019). Moreover, it is often argued that the sentence-final particle is projected as C (e.g. Saito 2013).[3] Given the assumption that Japanese is equipped with V-T-C movement in narrow syntax, the deletion of the verb with the sentence-final particle in (23) exhibits that the elliptical clause is CP_2 rather than TP. In order to derive the word order of (21), the object in the lower CP_2 undergoes movement to Spec of the higher CP_2 while the lower CP_2 is deleted in the prevailing bi-clausal analysis (e.g. Tanaka 2001; Takita 2011; Yamashita 2011, among others).

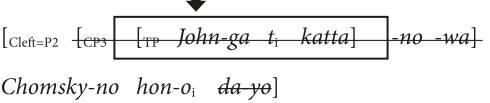
3. Saito (2013) argues that the particle *-yo* is associated with a specific speech act as assertion and is located higher than the discourse particle *-wa* that takes TP as its complement and the complementizer *-no*. Although Saito does not explicitly claim that *-yo* is the C head, these facts suggest that *-yo* is the head of CP.

Let us consider the RDC with a cleft in (24) (=(12)).

(24) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo*, [$_{\text{Cleft}}$ (*John-ga* t_i *katta-no-wa*)
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT John-NOM bought-COMP-TOP
Chomsky-no hon-o$_i$ (*da-yo*)].
Chomsky-GEN book-ACC COP-PRT
'John bought a book, (it is) a book by Chomsky (that John bought).'

I suggest (25) for (24) with a cleft as the second clause of the construction.

(25) [$_{\text{CP1}}$ [$_{\text{TP1}}$ *John-ga hon-o katta*] *-yo*]



[$_{\text{Cleft=P2}}$ ~~[$_{\text{CP3}}$~~ ~~[$_{\text{TP}}$ *John-ga* t_i *katta*]~~ ~~*-no -wa*]~~
Chomsky-no hon-o$_i$ ~~*da-yo*~~]

The duplicated clause within the second clause is TP_1, rather than CP_1 (except the object) because the clause cannot contain the sentence-final particle, as opposed to the case of (23). In order to derive the word order of (21), the presuppositional clause is deleted (Ross 1969; Takahashi 1994, 2006; Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2012) along with the copula in PF.[4] Even though the surface strings of (25) is the same as those of the second clause in (23), *Chomsky-no hon* in the former always receives a focus reading, and it is marked with prosodic prominence, unlike the same DP in the latter case (which may or may not be focused).

As way of attentive to (25) for an RDC with a focused element postverbally, however, based on the observation that RDCs with focused elements postverbally are immune to island effects as in (26a), Abe (2015) proposes a bi-clausal analysis without movement as shown in (26b).

(26) a. *Mary-ga* [*John-ga Barriers-o yonda node*] *odoroiteita yo*,
Mary-NOM John-NOM Barriers-ACC read because was-surprised
Barriers-o.
Barriers-ACC
'Lit. Mary was surprised because John read *Barriers*, *Barriers*.' (Abe 2015)

---

4. The process of eliding a clause and a copula is not exclusively observed in right dislocation since sluicing (that occurs in interrogative clauses) also involves ellipsis in PF, as in (i) (Ross 1969; Merchant 2001 and his subsequent work; Chung et. al. 2011; Vicente 2019, among others).

(i) a. Someone just left, but I do not know [who ~~[t_i just left]~~.
b. Someone just left, but I do not know who [~~it is (that just left)~~].
c. Someone just left, but I do not know who [it is ~~(that just left)~~].

b. [$_{TP}$…], [~~*Mary-ga*~~ [~~*John-ga*~~ *Barriers-o* ~~*yonda node*~~] ~~*odoroiteita yo*~~]

According to Abe, under the assumption that the second occurrence of *Barriers-o* bears a [Focus] feature, deletion applies to a given constituent except a phrase bearing a [Focus] feature. However, Abe's analysis with a focus feature fails to explain the ungrammaticality in (27), in which a duplicate of the verb in the embedded clause is focused postverbally.

(27) *Mary-*ga* [[*John-ga* *Barriers-o* *yonda node*] *odoroiteita-yo*]
Mary-ACC John-NOM Barriers-ACC read because was.surprised-PRT
YONDA-YO.
read-PRT
'Lit. Mary was surprised because John read Barriers, READ.'

The verb in the postverbal domain is a copy of the verb in the adjunct clause, and it yields a focus reading. In Abe's analysis, everything in (27) is deleted in PF except the postverbal element with a focus feature, and no violation is observed. Yet, (27) is ungrammatical. This weakens Abe's analysis with no movement.

Given the proposed analysis with a cleft in the postverbal domain, the verb cannot be a focus constituent occurring with the copula in syntax even if the copula is omitted in PF in (27). Moreover, if the lack of island sensitivities in (26) comes from duplicating TP in the adjunct clause rather than the whole antecedent clause, (26) does not show island sensitivities, shown in (28) (see Furuya 2018 for a similar argument for Korean).

(28) [$_{CP1}$…] [$_{Cleft=P2}$ [~~$_{CP3}$~~ [~~$_{TP}$~~ ~~*John-ga* t_i *yonda*]-*no-wa*~~]
Barrier-o$_i$ ~~*da-yo*~~]

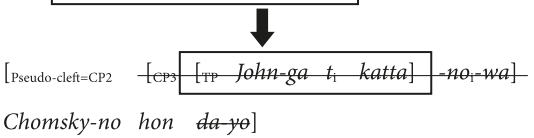
In (28), the presuppositional clause inside the second clause contains a copy of TP within the adjunct clause of the first clause. The rest of the derivation is analogous to that of (25), and the DP with the accusative-Case marker does not cross islands. Thus, the proposed analysis correctly explains the grammaticality of (26).

Let us consider the RDC with a Caseless DP postverbally in (29).

(29) *John-ga* *hon-o* *katta-yo*, [$_{Pseudo\text{-}cleft}$ (*John-ga* [e] *katta-no-wa*)
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT John-NOM bought-COMP-TOP
Chomsky-no *hon* (*da-yo*)].
Chomsky-GEN book COP-PRT
'John bought a book, (the one that John bought is) a book by Chomsky.'

I propose (30) for (29).

(30) [$_{CP1}$ [$_{TP1}$ *John-ga hon-o katta*] *-yo*]



[$_{Pseudo\text{-}cleft=CP2}$ ~~[$_{CP3}$ [$_{TP}$ *John-ga* t_i *katta*]~~ ~~*-no*$_i$*-wa*]~~

Chomsky-no hon ~~*da-yo*~~]

The second clause contains the presuppositional clause CP_2 with a copy of TP_1. The postverbal DP as part of a predicate is Caseless and base-generated in the focus position. Once the presuppositional clause and the copula are deleted in PF, the word order of (21) is derived. Significantly, the proposed analysis shows that (30) does not employ the raising operation in (3b). This suggests that (3b) does not always hold in the second clause.

What is also significant with an RDC that involves a Caseless DP postverbally is that a pseudo-cleft is not the only possibility to derive a Caseless DP postverbally in (29). It is known that the subject of the pseudo-cleft is substituted with a DP (e.g. Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2012). As such, the subject of the second clause in (29) can be *sono hon* 'the book' or *sore* 'it, that', as shown in (31). The schema is illustrated in (32).

(31) *John-ga hon-o katta-yo*, [(*sore-wa*) *Chomsky-no sakuhin* (*da-yo*)].
John-NOM book-ACC bought-PRT that-TOP Chomsky-GEN work COP-PRT
'John bought a book, (the book/that is) a work by Chomsky.'

(32) [$_{CP1}$ [$_{TP1}$ *John-ga* *hon-o* *katta*]*-yo*]

[$_{CP2}$ ~~[*sore-wa*]~~ *Chomsky-no sakuhin* ~~*da-yo*~~]

CP_2 does not include a duplicate of any elements from CP_1. This exhibits that (32) does not employ the duplication operation of (3a). That is, CP_2 is not syntactically and semantically identical to its antecedent, and thus it is not a copy of the structure or the content of CP_1. Moreover, (32) involves no movement in CP_2, and thus it does not employ the raising operation in (3b), either. Additionally, it is not under the structural identity requirements between CP_1 and CP_2 that the deletion of the subject and the copula is held in (32), contra (3c). What is relevant to deletion is that the nominal subject in (32) holds old information, as is the case with presuppositional clauses observed in § 2.2. This requires a minor modification of (18) to allow non-clausal categories with old information to be also elidable in (33).

(33) A condition for deletion in RDCs (Second and final version)
A syntactic object that carries presuppositional information may be elided postverbally.

(33) states that not only presuppositional clauses but also presuppositional DPs in the second clauses of Japanese RDCs are deletable in PF. This generalization allows to derive some RDCs without appealing to the deletion operation under the identity requirement between the first clause and the second clause in (3c).

To summarize this subsection, I schematized the internal structures of the ellipsis sites in simplex RDCs and exhibited that the ellipsis sites are not always syntactically identical to antecedent clauses. The ellipsis sites are a duplicate of CP in a clause with preposing or contain a duplicate of TP in the presuppositional clause of a cleft or a pseudo-cleft in an RDC. Other ellipsis sites are DPs that are used anaphorically. When PF deletion is applied, the identity requirement with an antecedent clause is not obligatorily necessary to derive the word order of a Japanese RDC. Rather, syntactic objects that are associated with old information do not need to appear in the postverbal domain of an RDC, and thus are deletable in PF. If this is on the right track, supplying the content of the ellipsis site involves recovery of suitable syntactic objects from the discourse context (e.g. presuppositional information). Depending on discourse contexts, the recovery of the ellipsis site will possibly result in multiple forms. This indicates that presupposition is prerequisite for deletion in RDCs.

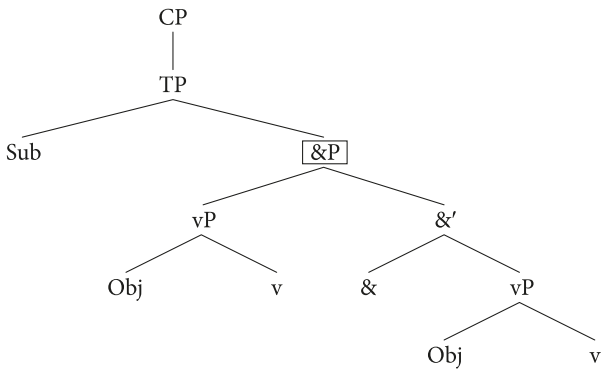
In the following subsection, I will examine complex RDCs that contain a conjunctive coordination for further clarification of the clause-internal nature of the ellipsis sites in right-dislocation in light of the relation between syntax and pragmatics.

3.2 Complex RDCs with conjunctive coordination

I assume the structure with a vP conjunction in (34) for the antecedent clause of a complex RDC (35) and show that the recovery of suitable syntactic objects in the postverbal domain is syntactically constrained.[5]

5. For the sake of simplicity, I do not examine RDCs with a cleft and a pseudo-cleft as the second clause in the rest of this subsection though those constructions are possible to be created as already examined in the previous sections.

(34)



Consider the RDC with different sets of coordination pre- and postverbally in (35) (cf. (9)).

(35) RDCs with vP + vP (same verbs)
What movies did Tomoki watch yesterday?
Tomoki-wa [$_{vP}$ *kono eiga-o* *mita*]*-si* [$_{vP}$ *sono eiga-o*
Tomoki-TOP this movie-ACC watched-and that movie-ACC
mita]*-yo*, [...]
watched-PRT
'Tomoki watched this movie and watched that movie, [...]'

a. **kono eiga*(*-o*)(*-si*) *sono eiga-o* (*Tomoki-wa* (*mita*)(*-si*)
this movie-ACC-and that movie-ACC Tomoki-TOP watched-and
mita-yo).
watched-PRT
'*this movie (and) that movie (Tomoki (watched and) watched)'.

b. *kono eiga-to* *sono eiga-o* (*Tomoki-wa* *mita-yo*).
this movie-and that movie-ACC Tomoki-TOP watched-PRT
'this movie and that movie (Tomoki watched).'

In (35a–b), a copy of the objects in the preverbal domain exists, coordinated by *-si* 'and' and *-to* 'and' respectively. I assume (36) for (35) with (35a) with a copy of CP_1 postverbally.

(36) * [$_{CP1}$ Sub [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ Obj V]-& [Obj V]]]

⬇

[$_{CP2}$ Obj$_i$(-&) [$_{CP2}$ Obj

~~[$_{CP2}$ Sub [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ t_i (V)] (&) [$_{vP}$ t_j (V)]]]~~]]

The lowest CP_2 is a copy of CP_1. In CP_2 the two objects (possibly with the coordinator) are moved out of the vP conjunction to the left periphery to derive the

word order of (35a). However, this movement is ungrammatical because it violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) (which states that a conjunct or any element contained in a conjunct may not be moved out of the coordinate structure or the conjunct) (Ross 1969). Thus, (35a) is ungrammatical.

Alternatively, let us assume (37) for (35) with (35a) without applying a movement operation.

(37) $[_{CP1}$ Sub $[_{\&P}$ $[_{vP}$ Obj V]-& $[_{vP}$ Obj V]]]

⬇

$[_{CP2}$ Sub $[_{\&P}$ $[_{vP}$ Obj V]-& $[_{vP}$ Obj (V)]]]

CP_2 in (37) involves a duplicate of CP_1. Yet, no element undergoes movement. Instead, the subject and the verb in the first conjunct of CP_2 (optionally along with the accusative Case-marker and the coordinator) are deleted in PF to derive the word order of (34) with (34a), schematized in (38) (cf. see (27), Abe 2015).

(38) * $[_{CP2}$ ~~Sub~~ $[_{\&P}$ $[_{vP}$ Obj ~~V~~](-&)$[_{vP}$ Obj]] (V)]

In (38), the subject and the verb are deleted in PF. However, they do not form a constituent, nor are they (linearly) located next to each other. Thus, the deletion of the non-constituent elements is unlikely to be possible in PF. Moreover, while the deletion of arguments is possible because Japanese is a *pro*-drop language, the deletion of a single verb in a vP conjunction is ungrammatical even in non-RDCs, as shown in (39).

(39) *Mari-wa* $[_{vP}$ *yasai-o* *(*tabete*)] $[_{vP}$ *pan-o* *tabeta*].
Mari-TOP vegetable-ACC eating bread-ACC ate
'Mari (*ate) vegetables and ate bread.'

The deletion of the first verb in the vP conjuncts as part of a single constituent is impossible, inducing ungrammaticality. Likewise, the deletion of the verb in (39) is also illegitimate in syntax. This shows that syntactic objects recovered via pragmatic inference in the postverbal domain are syntactically constrained.

Instead of a full copy of CP for the second clause, I suggest a DP conjunction in the object position of the second clause in (40) for (35) with (35b).

(40) $[_{CP1}$ Sub $[_{\&P}$ $[_{vP}$ Obj V]-& $[_{vP}$ Obj V]]]

⬇

$[_{CP2}$ $[_{\&P}$ $[_{DP}$ Obj]-& $[_{DP}$ Obj $]]_i$ $[_{CP2}$ ~~Sub t_i V]~~]

CP_2 is not an exact duplicate of CP_1 with a vP conjunction; rather CP_2 has a DP conjunction supplied by copying the objects from the vP conjuncts inside CP_1. Once this conjunction is preposed to the left periphery, the remaining is deleted to derive the word order of (35) with (35b). What is assured here is that a full copy of an antecedent is not always required in (35). Moreover, even though the recovery of the minimal pair in (35a–b) is equally semantically suitable from discourse interpretation, these two differ in grammaticality; (40) for (35) with (35b) that does not violate the CSC is legitimate, unlike (36) and (38) for (35) with (35a). This suggests that the ellipsis sites discussed here show sensitivity to syntactic properties (as well as PF properties) that are difficult to integrate into the mechanism of pragmatic inference.

To support the proposed analysis, let us consider one more complex RDC with a conjugation in (41) (cf. (15)). I suggest (42) for (41) with (41a) that contains a copy of the objects from the antecedent clause postverbally.

(41) RDCs with vP + vP (different verbs)
What did Satoko do yesterday? Go to a movie or something?
Satoko-wa [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ *hon-o yonda*]-*si* [$_{vP}$ *niwa-de hana-o*
Satoko-TOP book-ACC read-and garden-at flowers-ACC
ueta]]-*yo*, [...]
planted-PRT
'Satoko watched a movie and planted flowers at the garden, [...]'
a. **hon-to hana*(*-o*) (*Satoko-wa sita-yo*).
book-and flower-ACC Satoko-TOP did-PRT
'*a book and flowers (Satoko did).'
b. *dokusyo-to gaadeningu-o* (*Satoko-wa sita-yo*).
reading-and gardening-ACC Satoko-TOP did-PRT
'reading and gardening Satoko did.'

(42) * [$_{CP1}$ *Satoko-wa* [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ *hon-o yonda*]-*si* [$_{vP}$ *niwa-de hana-o ueta*]]-*yo*]

⬇

[$_{CP2}$ [$_{\&P}$ [$_{DP}$ *hon*]-*to* [$_{DP}$ *hana*]]-o_i ~~[$_{CP2}$ *Satoko-wa* t_i *sita-yo*]~~]

(42) is structurally analogous to (40) in that CP_2 is a copy of CP_1 while replacing vP conjuncts with the DP conjuncts duplicated out of the antecedent clause. One difference between (40) and (42) is that the verb in the latter involves the verb *suru* 'to do', as opposed to the former (which has a copy of the verb from its antecedent clause). Yet, this verb cannot select the copy of lexical items in the object position in (41), leading to ungrammaticality.

I assume (43) for (41) with (41b) that includes verbal nouns in the second clause.

(43) [$_{CP1}$ *Satoko-wa* [$_{\&P}$ [$_{vP}$ *hon-o yonda*]-*si* [$_{vP}$ *niwa-de hana-o ueta*]]-*yo*]

⬇

[$_{CP2}$ [$_{\&P}$ [$_{DP}$ *dokusyo*]-*to* [$_{DP}$ *gaadeningu*]]-o_i

~~[$_{CP2}$ *Satoko-wa* t_i *sita yo*]~~]

CP_1 and CP_2 have the same truth conditions regarding Satoko's activities. Nevertheless, CP_2 contains verbal nouns as new syntactic objects although the events expressed by these verbal nouns are not pragmatically new. The DP conjunction with these syntactic objects is fine as an argument of the verb *suru* 'to do' in (43), and thus (41) is grammatical. This example supports the claim that the ellipsis sites discussed here show also sensitivity to the semantic relation of a verb, whose property is also difficult to integrate into the mechanism of pragmatic inference. Thus, the use of a variety of syntactic objects that may or may not exist in its antecedent clause results from employing syntactic strategies that are independently available in the language. As such, it is not surprising that the postverbal domain is not always uniformly derived from duplication of its antecedent clause followed by a movement operation and PF deletion (see Furuya (forthcoming) for other types of RDCs).

In this subsection, I analyzed the structures of the postverbal domains relative to antecedent clauses in complex RDCs with conjunctions. I showed that the second clauses of complex RDCs may contain new syntactic objects supplied by copying them out of antecedent clauses or new syntactic objects introduced via pragmatic inference even when they are not pragmatically new. These syntactic objects in the second clauses show sensitivity to syntactic properties that are difficult to integrate into the mechanism of pragmatic inference.

4. Conclusion

I examined the ellipsis sites of Japanese RDCs, grounded on the recovery of the ellipsis sites via pragmatic inference. I showed that the ellipsis sites of RDCs contain their own internal structures possibly different from antecedent clauses in some cases. I argued that an RDC is not always uniformly derived from the duplication of its antecedent clause. Rather, it results from employing syntactic strategies that are independently available in the language. Thus, the surface strings are possibly ambiguous since the ellipsis site with recovered elements may possibly be

different types of clauses including a cleft and a pseudo-cleft besides a duplicate of its antecedent clause. In other cases, it does not include a duplicate of any lexical element from its antecedent clause. I also demonstrated that right-dislocation is the ellipsis of syntactic objects that convey old information in the second clause. Consequently, operations including duplicating followed by movement and PF deletion in (3a–c) are not obligatorily applied to derive a Japanese RDC.

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Abbreviations

&P	conjunction phrase	PF	Phonological Form
ACC	accusative case	PredP	Predicate Phrase
COMP	complementizer	PRT	particle
COP	copula	Q	question marker
CP	Complementizer Phrase	RDC(s)	Right-Dislocation Construction(s)
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint	Spec	Specifier
DP	Determiner Phrase	Sub	Subject
GEN	genitive case	TOP	topic marker
NOM	nominative case	vP	verb phrase
Obj	object		

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