

PSEUDO-RIGHT DISLOCATION AND THE BARE-TOPIC CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE*

Kensuke Takita
JSPS/Tohoku University

1. Introduction

Although Japanese is a strict head-final SOV language, various kinds of constituents may appear in the post-verbal position. Some concrete examples of this construction, called right dislocation, are given in (1).¹

- (1) a. Taroo-ga Δ katta-yo, **ano hon-o**
Taroo-Nom bought-Prt that book-Acc
*'Lit. Taroo bought Δ, **that book**'*
- b. Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta-yo, **ano kooen-de**
Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up-Prt that park-in
*'Lit. Taroo picked up a dog Δ, **in that park***
- c. Taroo-ga Δ okane-o nusunda-yo, **ano sai-hu-kara**
Taroo-Nom money-Acc stole-Prt that wallet-from
*'Lit. Taroo stole money Δ, **from that wallet**'*

Dislocated phrases can be Case-marked NPs as in (1a) or PPs as in (1b–c).

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¹ Right dislocated constituents are given in boldface, and the symbol Δ indicates the gap corresponding to them. The particle -yo is attached to the verb to make the sentence more colloquial, as right dislocation is more natural in colloquial speech. Although various constituents including clausal arguments, adverbials, and pronominal modifiers can appear in the post-verbal position, I restrict myself to the cases where nominal elements are right dislocated, since pseudo-right dislocation counterparts (which are introduced below in the text) can be created only in these cases.

There is a version of right dislocation where dislocated phrases lack their Case-markers/postpositions, as in (2).²

- (2) a. Taroo-ga Δ katta-yo, **ano hon- \emptyset**
 Taroo-Nom bought-Prt that book
 ‘Lit. Taroo bought Δ , **that book**’
- b. Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta-yo, **ano kooen- \emptyset**
 Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up-Prt that park
 ‘Lit. Taroo picked up a dog Δ , **that park**’
- c. Taroo-ga Δ okane-o nusunda-yo, **ano sai-hu- \emptyset**
 Taroo-Nom money-Acc stole-Prt that wallet
 ‘Lit. Taroo stole money Δ , **that wallet**’

I call this version of right dislocation *pseudo-right dislocation* (PRD), as opposed to the “standard” right dislocation (SRD) in (1), where dislocated elements are Case-/postposition-marked. In the previous literature, PRD has been rarely studied in detail, and if any, it has been taken for granted that PRD is merely a sub-case of SRD (see, for instance, Endo 1996, Fukutomi 2007). The only exception I am aware of is Tanaka and Kizu (2006, 2007, henceforth T&K), who focus on right dislocations with Case-marked and Case-less NPs such as (1a) and (2a).³

This paper has the following goals: First, building on the data by T&K, I provide a novel set of observations regarding PRD, comparing it with SRD. Then, I propose an account of the properties of PRD, claiming that it is derived from the bare-topic construction discussed by Taguchi (2009) (see also Endo 2007). Second, I illustrate that the bare-topic construction is subsumed under Hanging Topic constructions found in various Romance and other languages (see, among many others, Cinque 1977, 1983, 1990, Vat 1981, Grohmann 2000a, b, Frey 2004, Benincà and Polleto 2004, Shaer and Frey 2004, Belletti 2008, Krapova and Cinque 2008 and the papers in Anagnostopoulou, van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997). Bringing these goals together, I argue that investigation of the properties of PRD allows us to contribute to a deeper understanding of the nature of the bare-topic construction, which in turn opens a novel way of comparing Japanese with other languages in terms of the syntax of topics.

² All instances of Case-marker/postposition do not appear to be able to be missing equally (see Endo 1996 and Fukutomi 2007). In particular, Case-markers can be missing more easily than postpositions. Furthermore, the fact that (2c) is degraded compared to (2b) for some speakers indicates that there are certain differences among postpositions. Hence, the examples presented in the rest of this paper are basically modeled on (2a-b).

³ I thank Hideaki Yamashita (p.c.) for reminding me the relevance of T&K. To be more precise, they also examine the behaviors of Case-marked and Case-less NPs in cleft and relative clauses, and argue that the three constructions behave in the same way.

This paper is organized as follows: In Section 2 I provide a set of data regarding PRD. Section 3 proposes an account of the properties of PRD, and compares it with some potential alternative analyses. In Section 4 I illustrate that the bare-topic construction is subsumed under Hanging Topic constructions, and discuss various implications arising from this perspective. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Observations

This section provides a set of data concerning PRD, comparing it with SRD. Although it is shown that there are some similarities between SRD and PRD in Section 2.1, we see that they do behave differently in a significant way in Section 2.2.

2.1. Similarities between SRD and PRD

It has been observed at least since Kuno (1978) and Inoue (1978) that SRD is insensitive to Ross' (1967) Right-Roof Constraint, which prohibits rightward movement from crossing a clausal boundary. That is, right dislocated phrases can participate in long-distance dependencies, as shown in (3). The fact that the examples in (3) are still grammatical even if the Case-makers/postpositions of the dislocated phrases are missing indicates that PRD is also insensitive to the constraint, on a par with SRD.

- (3) a. Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ katta to] itteita-yo, **ano hon- $\{o/\emptyset\}$**
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom bought C said-Prt that book-Acc
 'Lit. Hanako said [that Taroo bought Δ], **that book**'
- b. Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta to] itteita-yo, **ano kooen- $\{de/\emptyset\}$**
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up C said-Prt that park-in
 'Lit. Hanako said [that Taroo picked up a dog Δ], **(in) that park**'

The second similarity between SRD and PRD is illustrated by the examples in (4). As shown in (4), if the dislocated phrase appears on the right-periphery of the embedded clause, the sentence becomes ungrammatical no matter whether the complementizer precedes or follows it. That is, SRD is restricted to the root clause (see Haraguchi 1973, Kuno 1978, Saito 1985, Abe 1999, and Tanaka 2001), and the same holds for PRD.

- (4) a. *Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ katta (to) **ano hon- $\{o/\emptyset\}$** (to)] omotteiru-yo
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom bought C that book-Acc C think-Prt
 'Lit. Hanako thinks [that Taroo bought Δ , **that book**]'

- b. *Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta (to) **ano kooen-{de/Ø}** (to)]
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up C that park-in C
 omotteiru-yo
 think-Prt

‘*Lit.* Hanako thinks [that Taroo picked up a dog Δ, **(in) that park**]

2.2. Differences between SRD and PRD

Although SRD can participate in long-distance dependencies as shown in (3), it does exhibit island-sensitivity (see Simon 1989, Endo 1996, Abe 1999, and Tanaka 2001). T&K, however, observe that island-effects disappear when Case-markers of dislocated phrases are missing. For instance, the example in (5) indicates that a violation of the Complex NP Constraint is ameliorated if the dislocated phrase is not accompanied with the accusative Case-marker *-o* (based on Tanaka and Kizu 2007:221; judgments are theirs).

- (5) *Taroo-ga [_{NP}[_{TP} Hanako-ga Δ ageta] hito]-o sagasiteita-yo, **ano**
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom gave person-Acc was.looking.for-Prt that
ronbun-{*o/Ø}
 paper-Acc

‘*Lit.* Taroo was looking for the person who Hanako gave Δ, **that paper**’

Similar effects are observed for examples like (6a), which involves an adjunct island, and (6b), where the postposition *-de* ‘in’ is intended to be missing.

- (6) a. [Taroo-ga Δ suteta kara] Hanako-ga totemo okotteiru-yo, **ano**
 Taroo-Nom discarded because Hanako-Nom very is.angry-Prt that
hon-{*o/Ø}
 book-Acc

‘*Lit.* [Because Taroo discarded Δ], Hanako is very angry, **that book**’

- b. Hanako-ga [[Δ inu-o hirotta] hito]-o sitteiru-yo, **ano kooen-{*de/Ø}**
 Hanako-Nom dog-Acc picked.up person-Acc know-Prt that park-in

‘*Lit.* Hanako knows [the person [who picked up a dog Δ]], **(in) that park**’

Thus, PRD behaves differently from SRD with respect to island-sensitivity.

The second difference has to do with reconstruction effects. Let us first consider the example in (7), adapted from Tanaka and Kizu (2007:222). T&K observe that the anaphor *zibun* ‘self’ within the dislocated element can be bound by either the matrix subject or the embedded subject in SRD, while it can only be bound by the matrix subject if the Case-marker is missing. Put differently, PRD exhibits “half-way” reconstruction (Tanaka and Kizu 2007:224).

- (7) Taroo-ga_i [Hanako-ga_j Ziroo-kara Δ moratta to] itteita-yo,
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom Ziroo-from received C said-Prt
{zibun-no_{i/j} ronbun-o/zibun-no_{i/*?j} ronbun-Ø}
 self-Gen paper-Acc self-Gen paper

‘*Lit.* Taroo said [that Hanako received Δ from Ziroo], **self’s paper**’

However, there are speakers including me who do not share their judgments: For them, neither of the subjects in (7) can antecede *zibun* ‘self’ if the Case-marker is absent. That is, SRD exhibits reconstruction effects, while PRD never does.

This pattern of judgments is confirmed by the examples in (8) and (9). The examples in (8) indicate that anaphors other than *zibun* ‘self’ within the dislocated phrases can be bound via reconstruction in SRD but not in PRD. Similarly, (9) shows that variable-binding is possible in SRD (see Abe 1999), while it is not in PRD.

- (8) a. Taroo-ga_i [Hanako-ga_j Δ semeta to] itteita-yo, **zibunzisin-{o/*Ø}_{i/j}**
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom blamed C said-Prt self-Acc

‘*Lit.* Taroo said [that Hanako blamed Δ], **self**’

- b. [Taroo to Hanako]-ga_i Δ uta-o utatta-yo, **otagai-no_i ie-{de/*Ø}**
 Taroo and Hanako-Nom song-Acc sang-Prt each.other-Gen house-in

‘*Lit.* Taroo and Hanako sang a song Δ, **(in) each other’s house**’

- (9) a. [Subete-no gaka]-ga_i Δ hometa-yo, **sono_i hito-no sakuhin-{o/*Ø}**
 all-Gen painter-Nom praised-Prt that person-Gen work-Acc

‘*Lit.* Every painter praised Δ, **his work**’

- b. [Subete-no kodomo]-ga_i Δ uta-o utatta-yo, **sono_i ko-no ie-{de/*Ø}**
 all-Gen child-Nom song-Acc sang-Prt that child-Gen house-in

‘*Lit.* Every child sang a song Δ, **(in) his house**’

In the rest of this paper, I focus on this type of speaker.

The final difference between SRD and PRD comes from the behaviors of the gap. Tanaka (2001) observes that in SRD, the gap can be overtly filled by an overt pronoun or a full-fledged phrase identical to the dislocated one (indicated by italics) as in (10).

- (10) a. Taroo-ga {*sore-o/LGB-o*} yonda-yo, **LGB-o**
 Taroo-Nom it-Acc LGB-Acc read-Prt LGB-Acc

‘*Lit.* Taroo read *it/LGB*, **LGB**’

- b. Taroo-ga {*soko-de/ano kooen-de*} inu-o hirotta-yo, **ano kooen-de**
 Taroo-Nom there.in that park-in dog-Acc picked.up-Prt that park-in
 ‘*Lit.* Taroo picked up a dog *there/in that park, (in) that park*’

The examples in (11) indicate that when the Case-marker/postposition is missing, such “doubling” is possible with overt pronouns but quite degraded with identical phrases.

- (11) a. Taroo-ga {*sore-o/??LGB-o*} yonda-yo, **LGB-Ø**
 Taroo-Nom it-Acc LGB-Acc read-Prt LGB-Acc
 ‘*Lit.* Taroo read *it/LGB, LGB*’
- b. Taroo-ga {*soko-de/??ano kooen-de*} inu-o hirotta-yo, **ano kooen-Ø**
 Taroo-Nom there.in that park-in dog-Acc picked.up-Prt that park-in
 ‘*Lit.* Taroo picked up a dog *in that park, (in) that park*’

That is, PRD resists doubling of identical phrases.

The table in (12) summarizes the observations made so far. In the next section, I propose an analysis that can capture these observations.

(12) Table 1: Data summary

	SRD	PRD	Ex.
Long-distance dependency	yes	yes	(3)
Root restriction	yes	yes	(4)
Island-sensitivity	yes	no	(5)/(6)
Reconstruction effects	yes	no	(8)/(9)
Doubling of identical phrases	yes	??	(10)/(11)

3. Proposals and Analysis

3.1. Proposals

Before making specific proposals, let us review some of the previous approaches to Japanese right dislocation, as they constitute the basis of the analysis to be proposed. There are at least two kinds of major approaches, schematically given in (13). Under the approach in (13a), which is called the double preposing approach (see Kurogi 2007, Fukutomi 2007; see also Abe 1999 for a discussion), the XP which ultimately appears in the post-verbal position first undergoes leftward movement, and then, the rest of the clause (labeled as α) undergoes remnant movement, yielding the XP-final order. On the other hand, the approach in (13b), which is called the repetition and deletion approach (see Abe 1999, Tanaka 2001; cf. Kuno 1978), assumes that a Japanese right dislocation sentence consists of two near-identical

clauses (S_1 and S_2). The surface string is argued to be derived via leftward movement of XP within S_2 followed by deletion of the rest of S_2 .⁴

(13) a. *Double preposing approach*

$$[\text{XP}_i [\alpha \dots t_i \dots \text{V}]] \rightarrow [[\alpha \dots t_i \dots \text{V}] [\text{XP}_i t_\alpha]]$$

b. *Repetition and deletion approach*

$$[S_1 \dots \Delta_i \dots \text{V}], [S_2 \text{XP}_i [\dots t_i \dots \text{V}]]$$

Although these approaches have certain advantages over the other, neither can successfully capture the observations made in Section 2, simply because they do not distinguish PRD from SRD (T&K's analysis is reviewed in Section 3.3).⁵

In this paper I assume without further discussion that the properties of SRD are best analyzed in terms of the repetition and deletion approach (see Takita 2011 and Yamashita 2011 for recent arguments). To capture the properties of PRD, then, I propose that their properties can be captured by the double preposing approach with a modification. Specifically, I claim that PRD is derived from the bare-topic construction (see Taguchi 2009), exemplified in (14), in the manner depicted in (15) (bare-topics are boxed).

- (14) a. Ano hon-Ø, Taroo-ga Δ katta-yo
 that book Taroo-Nom bought-Prt
 'Lit. That book, Taroo bought Δ'
- b. Ano kooen-Ø, Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta-yo
 that park Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up-Prt
 'Lit. That park, Taroo picked up a dog Δ'
- c. Ano saihi-Ø, Taroo-ga Δ okane-o nusunda-yo
 that wallet Taroo-Nom money-Acc stole-Prt
 'Lit. That wallet, Taroo stole money Δ'

⁴ See also Kayne (1994), Endo (1996) and Whitman (2000) for different implementations. Abe (1999) and Tanaka (2001) assume that the empty element within S_1 is *pro*, while Takita (2011) points out that it can be a result of ellipsis. I use Δ to suppress such analytical differences.

⁵ It is also proposed in the literature that the dislocated phrase undergoes rightward movement (see, for instance, Haraguchi 1973, Simon 1989, and Murayama 1999), or is base-generated in the right-edge of the clause (see, for instance, Sells 1999, Soshi and Hagiwara 2004). Takano (2010) proposes a PF-based analysis building on a different set of data (for instance, he assumes that SRD is *not* island-sensitive). Although I do not review these approaches for reasons of space, it is worth noting that they share with the approaches in (13) the same problem regarding PRD (but see Section 3.3 for a potential variant of the base-generation approach).

- (15) a. [_α bare-topic]_i [_β ... Δ_i ... V]] (cf. (14))
 b. [[_β ... Δ_i ... V] [_α bare-topic]_i t_β]] (cf. (2))
-

I assume, following Taguchi (2009), that bare-topics are base-generated in the left-periphery, and related to the gap via non-movement dependency (cf. Kuno's (1973) aboutness relation).⁶ Then, once the constituent labeled as β in (15a) undergoes movement across the bare-topic, the surface string of PRD results, as in (15b). In the next subsection, I illustrate how the proposed analysis can capture the properties of PRD.

3.2. Analysis

Let us start with the root restriction of PRD. As we have seen in (4) above, PRD is restricted root clauses. Taguchi (2009) observes that the bare-topics are also restricted to root clauses (see Taguchi 2009 for an account of the root restriction on bare-topics). For instance, the examples in (16) are ungrammatical, which are putative derivational sources of the examples in (4) under the proposed analysis.

- (16) a. *Hanako-ga [ano hon-Ø], Taroo-ga Δ katta to] omotteiru-yo
 Hanako-Nom that book Taroo-Nom bought C think-Prt
 'Lit. Hanako thinks [that that book, Taroo bought Δ]'
- b. *Hanako-ga [ano kooen-Ø], Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta to] omotteiru-yo
 Hanako-Nom that park Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up C think-Prt
 'Lit. Hanako thinks [that that park, Taroo picked up a dog Δ]'

Hence, the root restriction on PRD is readily captured.

By assumption, bare-topics and their corresponding gaps are related via non-movement dependency. Hence, they can participate in long-distance dependencies as shown in (17), and they are island-insensitive as the examples in (18) indicate.

- (17) a. [Ano hon-Ø], Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ katta to] itteita-yo
 that book Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom bought C said-Prt
 'Lit. That book, Hanako said [that Taroo bought Δ]'
- b. [Ano kooen-Ø], Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ inu-o hirotta to] itteita-yo
 that park Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom dog-Acc picked.up C said-Prt
 'Lit. In that park, Hanako said [that Taroo picked up a dog Δ]'

⁶ I leave open the precise status of the gap in the bare-topic construction, although Taguchi (2009) assumes that it is *pro*.

- (18) a. Ano hon-Ø, Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ suteta kara] totemo okotteiru-yo
 that book Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom discarded because very is.angry-Prt
 ‘Lit. That book, [because Taroo discarded Δ], Hanako is very angry’
- b. Ano kooen-Ø, Hanako-ga [[Δ inu-o hirotta] hito]-o sitteiru-yo
 that park Hanako-Nom dog-Acc picked.up person-Acc know-Prt
 ‘Lit. That park, Hanako knows [the person [who picked up a dog Δ]]’

Since the examples in (17) and (18) can serve as the derivational sources of the PRD examples in (3) and (5), respectively, the availability of long-distance dependency and the island-insensitivity of PRD automatically follows.

Let us now turn to the reconstruction effects. As shown in (19) and (20), bare-topics never exhibit reconstruction effects either for anaphors or for bound variables. Since bare-topics are base-generated in the left-periphery by assumption, the required c-command relations are never attested, hence the ungrammaticality of the relevant examples.

- (19) a. *Zibunzisin-Ø_{i/j}, Taroo-ga_i [Hanako-ga_j Δ semeta to] itteita-yo
 self Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom blamed C said-Prt
 ‘Lit. Self, Taroo said [that Hanako blamed Δ]’
- b. *Otagai-no_i ie-Ø, [Taroo to Hanako]-ga_i Δ uta-o utatta-yo
 each.other-Gen house Taroo and Hanako-Nom song-Acc sang-Prt
 ‘Lit. Each other’s house, Taroo and Hanako sang a song Δ’
- (20) a. *Sono_i hito-no sakuhin-Ø, [subete-no gaka]-ga_i Δ hometa-yo
 that person-Gen work all-Gen painter-Nom praised-Prt
 ‘Lit. His work, every painter praised Δ’
- b. *Sono_i ko-no ie-Ø, [subete-no kodomo]-ga_i Δ uta-o utatta-yo
 that child-Gen house all-Gen child-Nom song-Acc sang-Prt
 ‘Lit. His house, Every child sang a song Δ’

Under the proposed analysis, the PRD counterparts of (19) and (20) (see (8) and (9)) are derived by movement of the rest of the clause (namely the β-part of (15a–b)) across the bare-topics. The lack of reconstruction effects in PRD are then readily accommodated since such movement never establishes the required c-command relations. That is, the elements in the dislocated phrase are never bound because they are not c-commanded by the elements contained within the rest of the clause at any point of the derivation.

Finally, the pattern of doubling in PRD follows from the fact that the bare-topic construction allows the gap to be realized as an overt pronoun while it results in marginality with an identical full-fledged phrase, as shown in (21).

- (21) a. $\boxed{\text{LGB-}\emptyset}$, Taroo-ga {*sore-o*/?*LGB-o*} yonda-yo
 LGB Taroo-Nom it-Acc LGB-Acc read-Prt
 ‘Lit. $\boxed{\text{LGB}}$, Taroo read *it/LGB*’
- b. $\boxed{\text{Ano kooen-}\emptyset}$, Taroo-ga {*soko-de*/?*ano kooen-de*} inu-o hirotta-yo
 that park Taroo-Nom there-in that park-in dog-Acc picked.up-Prt
 ‘Lit. $\boxed{\text{That park}}$, Taroo picked up a dog *there/in that park*’

Since the examples in (21) are the putative source of the PRD examples in (10), their ungrammaticality can be captured.⁷

3.3. Notes on (Potential) Alternatives

Having established the close connection between PRD and the bare-topic construction, this subsection examines some potential alternative analyses.

As a first hypothetical alternative, suppose that PRD has a schematic structure given in (22), where a bare-NP (namely a nominal without a Case-marker or postposition) is directly base-generated in the *right*-periphery of the sentence.

- (22) [... Δ_i ... V] NP- \emptyset_i

Assuming that the NP is related to the gap via non-movement dependency, this analysis can achieve essentially the same results that the proposed analysis does for island-insensitivity and lack of reconstruction effects.

Nonetheless, the proposed analysis is superior to this alternative in the following respects. First, given the strict head-finality of Japanese, this alternative should stipulate that rightward base-generation is somehow restricted to root clauses. Second, this alternative must attribute all the properties of PRD to the fact that the “dislocated” element is indeed base-generated in the right-periphery. It seems, however, hard to test such a claim on independent grounds. On the other hand, the proposed analysis clearly predicts that PRD and the bare-topic construction behave exactly in the same way: For instance, it is predicted that when Case-markers/postpositions on right dislocated phrases fail to be missing (see footnote 2), such Case-markers/postpositions are also fail to be missing in the corresponding bare-topic construction counterparts, while such predictions are never available for the alternative in question. Hence, pursuing this alternative does not seem promising.

⁷ At this point I have no concrete account for why the bare-topic construction resists doubling of identical phrases. I leave it for future research (but see Section 4.1).

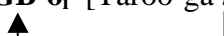
The second hypothetical alternative is a combination of the repetition and deletion approach and the idea that PRD is derived from the bare-topic construction.⁸ (23) illustrates a schematic structure of PRD under this analysis. In (23), the bare-topic construction is repeated as S_2 , and everything except the bare-topic is deleted, yielding the desired word order of PRD.

(23) $[S_1 \dots \Delta_i \dots V], [S_2 \boxed{\text{bare-topic}}_i \{ \dots \Delta_i \dots V \}]$

Since the bare-topic construction is involved, this analysis can capture the following three properties of PRD in the same way as the proposed analysis does: the root restriction, island-insensitivity, and the lack of reconstruction. This analysis cannot accommodate the pattern of doubling, however. To see this point, let us consider how the original repetition and deletion approach captures the fact about the full possibility of doubling in SRD. As we have seen in (10), SRD allows the gap to be overtly filled by an overt pronoun or a full-fledged phrase identical to the dislocated one (the relevant example is repeated as (24a)). According to Tanaka (2001), this is possible because (24a) can have something like (24b) as its underlying source under the repetition and deletion approach. In (24b), S_1 contains a pronoun/full-fledged phrase instead of a gap, and this is possible because S_1 and S_2 are independent from each other. Then, the alternative under discussion wrongly predicts that PRD parallels SRD, because nothing prevents the gap within S_1 in (23) from being overtly realized as in (24c), which is as acceptable as (24b).

(24) a. Taroo-ga $\{sore-o/LGB-o\}$ yonda-yo, **LGB-o**
 Taroo-Nom it-Acc LGB-Acc read-Prt LGB-Acc

‘*Lit.* Taroo read *LGB*, **LGB**’

b. $[S_1 \text{ Taroo-ga } \{sore-o/LGB-o\} \text{ yonda-yo}], [S_2 \text{ LGB-o}_i \text{ [Taroo-ga } t_i \text{ yonda-yo]]$


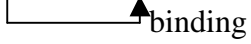
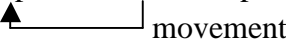
c. $[S_1 \text{ Taroo-ga } \{sore-o/LGB-o\} \text{ yonda-yo}], [S_2 \text{ LGB-}\emptyset_i \text{ [Taroo-ga } \Delta_i \text{ yonda-yo]]$

Hence, this alternative is not adequate at least empirically.⁹

⁸ I thank Chizuru Nakao (p.c.) for pointing out this possibility.

⁹ A deeper question is why the structure in (23) is not available. One potential answer is that deletion within S_2 fails to be licensed. There are at least two possible ways of achieving this result. The first one is to attribute the impossibility of deletion to the fact that clausal ellipsis requires some focalized elements to be remnants in many cases (see Merchant 2001, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006, among many others). Since bare-topics cannot be focused, ellipsis cannot be licensed. The other is to relate it to the fact that bare-topics are base-generated elements; they cannot license ellipsis because they are base-generated so that they fail to establish an agreement relation with a functional head, which has been considered to be one of the crucial requirements for ellipsis licensing (see Lobeck 1990, Saito and Murasugi 1990). Although this is an important issue, addressing it is beyond the scope of this paper.

The final alternative to be discussed is the analysis proposed by T&K. They argue that a sentence of long-distance Case-less right dislocation (namely our PRD) should involve what they call mixed A'-chains. In particular, they propose a schematic derivation in (25). In this approach, the thematic position is occupied by *pro*, and a null operator is base-generated in the adjoined position of embedded CP, binding *pro*, as in (25a). Then, the null operator undergoes movement to an appropriate position in order to be licensed.

- (25) a. [... [CP Op_i [CP ...pro_i ...]] ...] NP_i

 b. Op_i [... [CP t_i [CP ...pro_i ...]] ...] NP_i


The resulting chain is called “mixed” because it consists of a binding relation and a movement relation (see also Kizu 2005 and references cited therein).

T&K’s analysis is especially designed to capture their judgments about reconstruction found in (26a) (see (7)). Recall that for them the anaphor within the dislocated element can be bound by the matrix subject but not by the embedded subject. They try to capture this observation by assigning a partial structure like (26b) to (26a) (the mixed A'-chain relation among Op, the trace of Op, and *pro* are indicated by the superscripted numeral).

- (26) a. Taroo-ga_i [Hanako-ga_j Ziroo-kara Δ moratta to] itteita-yo, **zibun-no**_{i/*?j}
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom Ziroo-from received C said-Prt self-Gen
ronbun-Ø
 paper
 ‘Lit. Taroo said [that Hanako received Δ from Ziroo], **self’s paper**’
 b. [CP₁ Op¹ [TP₁ Taroo_i ... [CP₂ t¹ [CP₂ [TP₂ Hanako_j ... pro¹ ...]]]]] **self’s**_{i/*?j} **paper**

In (26b), the null operator moves from the embedded CP-adjoined position, so that reconstruction can take place to the position below *Taroo*, but not to the position below *Hanako*. In this way their analysis captures the “half-way” reconstruction pattern found in (26a).

Recall that this paper focuses on the speakers who do not share the crucial judgments for the relevant cases with T&K (see (8) and (9)). Hence, it is not possible to evaluate their analysis on this point. Instead, I point out some potential problems of their analysis. First, although they are not explicit about it, they seem to assume that the bare-NP in (25) is base-generated in the right-periphery. Hence, their analysis carries over the problems of the direct rightward generation approach discussed above.

A more important problem has to do with the root restriction of PRD. T&K indeed argue that the schematic derivation in (25) is available not only for right dislocation with Case-less NPs but also for cleft constructions with bare-NP pivots and relative clauses (see footnote 3). As shown in (27), the latter two constructions are not restricted to root clauses (the NPs which structurally correspond to the ones in Case-less right dislocation are given in boldface).

- (27) a. Taroo-ga [[Hanako-ga [Ziroo-ga Δ yonda to] omottieru no]-ga **kono**
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom Ziroo-Nom read C think C-Nom this
hon da to] itta
 book Cop C said
 ‘Taroo said that [it is **this book** [that Hanako thinks [that Ziroo bought]]]’
- b. Taroo-ga [[Hanako-ga [Ziroo-ga Δ yonda to] omotteiru] **hon**]-o katta
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom Ziroo-Nom read C think book-Acc bought
 ‘Taroo bought [the **book** [that Hanako thinks [Ziroo read]]]’

Then, it becomes unclear how their analysis prevents PRD from being embedded on a par with these two constructions.

To summarize this section, I proposed an analysis of PRD which closely relates it to the bare-topic construction. I also examined three potential alternatives to the proposed analysis, and pointed out that all of them have certain conceptual and empirical problems. In the next section, I argue that the proposed analysis can offer interesting implications if we turn our attention to the relation between the bare-topic construction and Hanging Topic constructions.

4. The Relation between Bare-Topics and Hanging Topics and Its Implications

4.1. Bare-Topics as Hanging Topics

Hanging Topic constructions are found in various Romance and other languages, where a topic phrase appears in the sentence initial position and is resumed by a certain kind of element such as pronouns within the sentence following it. Some concrete examples are given in (28).¹⁰

- (28) a. *Italian* (based on Cinque 1983, his (1))
Tuo fratello, invece, *lui* si che aveva sempre fame
 your brother however him yes that (he) was always hungry

¹⁰ Hanging Topics are boxed, and the elements resuming them are given in italics. The symbol # in (28c) and the examples to be provided in the text indicates an intonational break. Almost all the authors I am relying on for the data to be presented in this section explicitly note that such a phonological break is observed between a Hanging Topic and the rest of the sentence in the languages under discussion, which is also observed for the bare-topic construction.

- b. *Colloquial Bulgarian* (based on Krapova and Cinque 2008: 257)
Tja i bez tova ne moga da ja nakaram
 she.Nom and without that not can.1sg Mod.Prt her.Cl.Acc make.1sg
 da jade
 Mod.Prt eat.3sg
 ‘Her, anyway, I cannot make *her* eat’
- c. *German* (based on Grohmann 2000a:140)
Deiser Satz, # ich mag *ihn* besonders
 this.Nom sentence I like him especially
 ‘This sentence, I like *it* especially’

In Hanging Topic constructions, only NPs (or more precisely DPs) are allowed to be dislocated, unlike other kinds of left-dislocation constructions such as Clitic Left-Dislocation (see Cinque 1977, 1990, to name a few), where various XPs including PPs can be dislocated (as long as appropriate resumptive elements can resume them). In the rest of this subsection, I substantiate the claim that the bare-topic construction is subsumed under Hanging Topic constructions by showing that the properties of the former discussed in the previous sections are also found in the latter.¹¹

The first property to be discussed is the root restriction (see (16)). Just like bare-topics, Hanging Topics are restricted to root clauses, as in (29).

- (29) a. *Italian* (based on Cinque 1983, his (11))
 *Credo che Mario, *lui* non venga
 I.think that Mario he won't come
- b. *Colloquial Bulgarian* (base on Krapova and Cinque 2008:259)
 (*Ivan kaza če) Toj ne mogat da go prikrepjat
 Ivan said that he.Nom not can.3pl Mod.Prt him.Cl.Acc attach.3pl
 kam nikogo
 to nobody
 ‘(Ivan said that) him, they cannot attach *him* to anyone’
- c. *German* (based on Grohmann 2000a:145)
 *Ich glaube, dieser Satz, wir haben *ihn* nun alle satt
 I believe this sentence we have it now all enough
 ‘I believe this sentence, we’ve all had enough of *it* by now’

¹¹ In fact, Endo (2007) has already suggested a similarity between bare-topics in Japanese and Hanging Topics in Italian. Thus, the attempts to be made in the text can be conceived as a concrete extension of his idea.

Second, Hanging Topics do not exhibit reconstruction effects, as the examples in (30) and (31) indicate. The a-examples in (30) and (31) indicate that anaphors within the Hanging Topics cannot be licensed. In the b-examples in (30) and (31), the intended bound variable readings are not available.

(30) *German* (based on Grohmann 2000a:141-142)

- a. *Freunde von einander, Herforder erzählen *ihnen* selten Lügen
 friend of each.other Herfordians tell them rarely lies

‘Friend of each other, Herfordians rarely tell *them* lies’

- b. *Sein Vorgarten, jeder Herforder Bürger mag *ihn*
 his front.lawn every Herfordian dweller like it

‘His front lawn, every Herfordian likes *it*’

(31) *Greek* (based on Anagnostopoulou 1997:155)

- a. *O eaftos tu # o Jannis den *ton* frontizi
 the self.Nom his the John.Nom not Cl.Acc take.care.3sg

‘Himself, John doesn’t take care of’

- b. I mitera tu_{*j/i} # kathenas_j *tin* agapai
 the mother.Nom his everyone Cl.Acc love.3sg

‘His mother, everyone loves’

In this respect, too, the bare-topic construction patterns with Hanging Topic constructions (see (19) and (20)).

Third, recall that the bare-topic construction is island-insensitive (see (18)). Hanging Topics constructions are also known to be island-insensitive cross-linguistically, as indicated by the grammaticality of the examples in (32).¹²

(32) a. *Italian* (based on Cinque 1983, his (13))

- Giorgio, non conosco la ragazza che *lui* vuole sposare
 Giorgio I don't know the girl that he wants to marry

b. *Colloquial Bulgarian* (base on Krapova and Cinque 2008:263)

- Ivan # Marija izbjaga, kato *mu* dade rozata
 Ivan Maria ran.away.3sg when him.Cl.Dat gave.3sg rose.art

‘[As for] Ivan, Maria ran away after giving *him* the rose’

¹² Shaer and Frey (2004) use the symbol ↓ in (32c) to indicate a prosodic break, which I believe corresponds to the one indicated by #.

- c. *German* (based on Shaer and Frey 2004:472)

Peter, ↓ Maria hasst das Gerücht, dass die Maffia ihm geholfen hat
 Peter Maria hates the rumor that the Mafia him helped has

‘Peter, Maria hates the rumor that the Mafia helped *him*’

Let us now consider the patterns of doubling in Hanging Topic constructions. In the examples discussed so far, Hanging Topics are resumed by pronouns or clitics. As shown in (33), even epithets can resume them. However, the phrases identical to Hanging Topics are not appropriate as resuming elements, as the degraded status of (34) indicates.¹³

- (33) a. *Italian* (based on Benincà and Poletto 2004:65)

Mario, non daro piu soldi a *quell’imbecille*
 Mario, not give anymore money to that idiot

‘Mario, I won’t give more money to *that idiot*’

- b. *Colloquial Bulgarian* (based on Krapova and Cinque 2008:261)

Maria az izobšto njama da govorja s *taja patka* večē
 Maria I at.all will.not Mod.Prt talk.1sg with this fool already

‘[As for] Maria, I will not talk to *this fool* any more’

- (34) *Italian* (Giuliano Bocci, p.c.)

?Mario, non daro piu soldi a *Mario*
 Mario, not give anymore money to Mario

‘Mario, I won’t give more money to *Mario*’

As we have seen above, the bare-topic construction allows the gap to be realized as pronouns but not as full-fledged phrases. The example in (35) confirms this observation, further showing that the gap can be realized as an epithet.¹⁴

- (35) **Taroo-Ø**, boku-wa mou {Δ/*kare-ni/ano baka-ni*?[?]*Taroo-ni*} okane-o
 Taroo I-Top anymore him-to that idiot-to Taroo-to money-Acc
 age-nai
 give-Neg

‘*Lit. Taroo*, I won’t give more money Δ/*to him/to that idiot/to Taroo*’

¹³ I thank Giuliano Bocci (p.c.) for making judgments on this example.

¹⁴ One may wonder whether there is a significant difference between the status of (34) and that of (35) (namely, “?” vs. “??”). I assume that there is no significant difference, because even in Japanese, the marginality of the relevant examples shows much individual variation. Nonetheless, none of my informants accepts doubling of identical phrases as equally as that of pronouns/epithets. I believe the situation is similar for Italian (or other languages).

Therefore, the bare-topic construction again behaves like Hanging Topic constructions with respect to the patterns of doubling.

The final property examined here is the fact that a part of idiom chunks cannot be a Hanging Topic. Some concrete examples are given in (36).

(36) a. *German* (based on Grohmann 2000a:144)

*Der Kopf, der Alex hat *ihn* gestern der Maria verdreht
 the head the Alex has it yesterday the Maria twisted
 ‘Maria’s head, Alex turned it yesterday’

b. *Greek* (based on Anagnostopoulou 1997:155)

*I tixi tu # *kathe ftochos tin ekane pigenontas stin Ameriki*
 the luck.Nom his.Gen every poor Cl.Acc made going to.the States
 ‘The poor made their luck/fortune by going to the States’

As is expected, a part of idiom chunks cannot be bare-topics as well, as in (37). The grammaticality of (37a) indicates that the idiom *kimo-o hiyas-* can be split up by scrambling. On the other hand, its bare-topic construction counterpart is ungrammatical as in (37b).¹⁵

¹⁵ As shown in (i), a contrast similar to the one found in (37) is also observed between SRD and PRD. That is, SRD is grammatical with a part of idiom chunks while PRD is not (I thank Keiko Murasugi for raising this issue).

(i) Minna-ga sono ziko-ni Δ *hiyasita-yo*, **kimo-{o/*Ø}**
 all-Nom that accident-Dat chilled-Prt chlokyst-Acc
 ‘(intended) Everyone was frightened at the accident’

One complication arises from Tanaka’s (2001) observation given in (ii) (adapted from Tanaka 2001:575 with his judgment). He observes that SRD with a part of idiom chunks is possible only if the gap is realized as a full-fledged phrase.

(ii) John-ga {*hara-o*?Δ} *tateta-yo*, **hara-o**
 John-Nom stomach-Acc set.up-Prt stomach-Acc
 ‘(intended) John got upset’

According to Tanaka (2001), this is because something like (iiia) underlies (ii) with the gap, where *pro* and the verb in S_1 do not constitute a complete idiom. On the other hand, (ii) with the full-fledged phrase has (iiib) as its underlying form, where both S_1 and S_2 contain a complete idiom.

(iii) a. [S_1 John-ga *pro* *tateta-yo*], [S_2 *hara-o*_i [John-ga t_i *tateta-yo*]]
 b. [S_1 John-ga *hara-o* *tateta-yo*], [S_2 *hara-o*_i [John-ga t_i *tateta-yo*]]

Although Tanaka’s (2001) argument is sound, it is not compatible with the high acceptability of the SRD version of (i). Meanwhile, Takita (2011) argues that the gap may be derived via ellipsis. Then, if ellipsis can target a part of an idiom within S_1 (such as *hara-o* in (iiib)), nothing seems to prevent the

- (37) a. Kimo-o_i, minna-ga sono ziko-ni t_i hiyasita-yo
 liver-Acc all-Nom that accident-Dat chilled-Prt
 ‘(intended) Everyone was frightened at the accident’
- b. *Kimo-Ø, minna-ga sono ziko-ni Δ hiyasita-yo
 liver all-Nom that accident-Dat chilled-Prt

To sum up, all the properties of the bare-topic construction are also found in Hanging Topic constructions, supporting the idea that the former is subsumed under the latter. Putting aside the root restriction (but see footnote 17) and the marginality of doubling with identical phrases, the other properties straightforwardly follow from the idea that bare-topics and Hanging Topics are both base-generated in the left-periphery and related to the gap via non-movement dependency.

4.2. Some Implications

Having substantiated the perspective that equates the bare-topic construction in Japanese with Hanging Topic constructions found in various other languages, I discuss some implications of the current perspective.

The first implication has to do with the lack of Case-connectivity in Hanging Topic constructions. Let us consider the examples in (38), repeated from (28b–c).

- (38) a. Tja i bez tova ne moga da *ja* nakaram
 she.Nom and without that not can.1sg Mod.Prt her.Cl.Acc make.1sg
 da jade
 Mod.Prt eat.3sg
 ‘Her, anyway, I cannot make *her* eat’
- b. Deiser Satz, # ich mag *ihn* besonders
 this.Nom sentence I like him especially
 ‘This sentence, I like *it* especially’

In Hanging Topic constructions, the Case of the topic can differ from that of its corresponding element within the clause. For instance, in (38a), the topic *tja* is marked as nominative, while the corresponding clitic *ja* is marked as accusative. Given that Hanging Topics tend to bear the default (or, unmarked) Case of the language (see, for instance, Boeckx and Grohmann 2005, Krapova and Cinque 2008), our claim that equates bare-topics with Hanging Topics implies that no-marking is the default option in Japanese.

part of the idiom from appearing in SRD. In fact, the contrast in (ii) is much weaker than the one found in (i). Hence, I assume that the derivation employing ellipsis sketched above is indeed available, and the reported contrast in (ii) is due to some independent factors.

The second implication concerns the word order restriction found in Hanging Topics constructions. As shown by the examples in (39), Hanging Topics must precede the elements that have been moved from within the clause.

- (39) a. *Italian* (based on Benincà and Poletto 2004:65)
 ([Giorgio]_i) ai nostri amici, (*[Giorgio]_i) non parlo mai di *lui*
 Giorgio to the our friends Giorgio not talk never of him
- b. *Colloquial Bulgarian* (based on Krapova and Cinque 2008:263)
 ([Az]_i) mene (*[az]_i) ošte *me* e jad, če togava ne te
 I.Nom me.Acc I.Nom still me.Cl.Acc is anger that then not you.Cl.Acc
 poslušax
 listened.1sg
 '[Me]_i, I am still angry that you didn't listen to me'
- c. *German* (based on Grohmann 2000a:146)
 *[Der Alex]_i, den Wagen_j, [die Mutter]_k, den_j hat *sie*_k *ihm*_i geschenkt
 the Alex the car the mother it has she him given
 '[Alex]_i, the car, [the mother]_k, she gave it to *him*'

In (39a–b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical if the Hanging Topics *Giorgio* and *az* 'I' are preceded by the elements that have undergone Clitic Left Dislocation. The ungrammaticality of (39c) is due to the fact that the second Hanging Topic (namely *die Mutter* 'the mother') is preceded by *den Wagen* 'the car', which has undergone Contrastive Left Dislocation (Thráinsson 1979, Zaenen 1980, Altmann 1981; see also Anagnostopoulou 1997, Grohmann 2000a, b and references cited therein, among many others). Based on these observations, it has been proposed that nothing can be moved to a position higher than the position for Hanging Topics (see, for instance, Benincà and Poletto 2004).

Recall at this point that the proposed analysis of PRD requires a movement across a bare-topic, which is now regarded as an instance of a Hanging Topic under the current perspective (see (15b) above). Suppose that such a movement is possible in Japanese because it has scrambling. Then, it is predicted that in the languages discussed so far (which arguably lack Japanese-style scrambling) never allow Hanging Topics to appear in the right-periphery. Furthermore, if this prediction is shown to be borne out, the availability of Hanging Topics on the right periphery in turn can be conceived as a new diagnostic test for the availability of Japanese-style scrambling, in addition to the radical reconstruction property (Saito 1989).¹⁶

¹⁶ Yuji Takano (p.c.) points out that scrambling across a bare-topic is not allowed, as shown in (i), a fact which appears to be not compatible with the idea discussed in the text.

- (i) *[?]Inu-o_i [ano kooen-Ø]_i, Taroo-ga Δ *t_i* hirotta-yo
 dog-Acc that park Taroo-Nom picked.up-Prt
 'Lit. A dog_i, [that park]_i, Taroo picked up *t_i* Δ'

That is, we can address whether Japanese-style scrambling is available for languages where its existence is highly controversial by examining whether Hanging Topics can appear in the right periphery in such languages.

Another implication, related but independent, also comes from the word order restriction illustrated in (39). Based on these and other observations, Benincà and Poletto (2004) propose that there are two kinds of “topic” positions in the left periphery. To be more specific, they argue that the highest position in the left periphery is reserved exclusively for base-generated topics (namely Hanging Topics), while the lower topic position functions as a landing site for elements that have undergone movement (for instance, Clitic Left Dislocation), as schematically shown in (40).¹⁷



That is, languages like Italian allow two strategies for topic-related elements, and correspondingly there are two positions for them depending on which strategy is taken.

As for Japanese, many researchers have argued that topics marked with *-wa* can appear in the sentence-initial position via movement or base-generation (see Saito 1985, Hoji 1985, among many others). The fact that *-wa*-marked topics are island-insensitive (Kuno 1973) as shown in (41a) has been taken as evidence for the claim that they can be base-generated and related to the gap via non-movement dependency. On the other hand, Hoji (1985) observes that *-wa*-marked topics exhibit reconstruction effects, indicating that they can undergo movement. For instance, (41b) allows the intended bound-variable reading (cf. (20a)).¹⁸

However, the degraded status of (i) does not necessarily indicate the impossibility of such scrambling. As briefly mentioned in footnote 10, there is a phonological break between a bare-topic and the rest of the sentence. Suppose that while scrambling in (i) blocks a proper assignment of the phonological break, movement across a bare-topic in PRD does not because the bare-topic ultimately appears in the sentence-final position, which is followed by a break by definition. If this account can be maintained, the degraded status of (i) ceases to be a problem for our approach.

¹⁷ Benincà and Poletto (2004) suggest relating the root restriction on Hanging Topics to the fact that they are base-generated in the highest position in the left-periphery.

¹⁸ Hoji (1985) notes that reconstruction effects are observed for *contrastive* topics but not for *thematic* topics. Based on this observation, he suggests that thematic topics are base-generated in the sentence-initial position while contrastive topics are moved to that position. In this respect, Hoji’s (1985) dichotomy nicely corresponds to the one made by Benincà and Poletto (2004). However, Saito (2010), building on Kuroda (1988), observes that in certain cases the *-wa*-marked topics that have clearly undergone movement can be interpreted as thematic topics, obscuring Hoji’s (1985) dichotomy. Hence, I gloss over these two interpretations of *-wa*-marked topics.

- (41) a. Ano sinshi-wa_i [[Δ_i kiteiru] yoohuku]-ga yogoreteiru]
 that gentleman-Top is.wearing suit-Nom dirty
 ‘*Lit.* That gentleman_i, the suit that Δ is wearing is dirty’
- b. Sono_i hito-no sakuhin-wa_j, [subete-no gaka]-ga_i Δ_j hometa
 that person-Gen work all-Gen painter-Nom praised
 ‘*Lit.* His work, every painter praised Δ ’

Taken together with Benincà and Poletto’s (2004) proposal, one novel question arises: *-wa*-marked topics are located in the same position, no matter whether it is base-generated or moved, or, they are in different positions depending on the ways by which they are introduced to the structure, just like Italian. If we are looking at topics marked with *-wa* only, it is not easy to tease apart these two possibilities. On the other hand, it becomes much easier to approach this question under the current perspective that equates bare-topics with Hanging Topics. Specifically, the properties of bare-topics discussed so far indicate that even in Japanese there is a position exclusively reserved for base-generated topics. Then, I suggest that even for *-wa*-marked topics, base-generated ones and moved ones occupy different positions.¹⁹

Finally, let us consider the cases of PRD and the bare-topic construction with multiple elements. (42) illustrates their schematic structures.

¹⁹ It is then further implied that right dislocation of *-wa*-marked NPs is structurally ambiguous between SRD and PRD. Therefore, it is predicted that it obeys the root restriction, exhibits island-insensitivity and reconstruction effects, and allows doubling. The following examples indicate that these predictions are borne out.

- (i) a. *Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga Δ katta (to) **ano hon-wa** (to)] omotteiru-yo
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-Nom bought C that book-Top C think-Prt
 ‘*Lit.* Hanako thinks [that Taroo bought Δ , **that book**]’
- b. [Taroo-ga Δ suteta kara] Hanako-ga totemo okotteiru-yo, **ano hon-wa**
 Taroo-Nom discarded because Hanako-Nom very is.angry-Prt that book-Top
 ‘*Lit.* [Because Taroo discarded Δ], Hanako is very angry, **that book**’
- c. [Subete-no gaka]-ga_i Δ hometa-yo, **sono_i hito-no sakuhin-wa**
 all-Gen painter-Nom praised-Prt that person-Gen work
 ‘*Lit.* every painter praised Δ , **his work**’
- d. Taroo-ga {*sore-wa/LGB-wa*} yonda-yo, **LGB-wa**
 Taroo-Nom it-Top LGB-Top read-Prt LGB-Top
 ‘*Lit.* Taroo read *it/LGB*, **LGB**’

See also Yamashita (2011) for other properties of right dislocation of *-wa*-marked elements.

- (42) a. [... Δ_i ... Δ_j ... V], $\boxed{\text{NP-}\emptyset_i}$, $\boxed{\text{NP-}\emptyset_j}$
 b. [$_{\alpha}$ $\boxed{\text{NP-}\emptyset_i}$, $\boxed{\text{NP-}\emptyset_j}$, [$_{\beta}$... Δ_i ... Δ_j ... V]

Although SRD with multiple elements is indeed attested and investigated in the literature (see, for instance, Abe 1999), it is not an easy task to construct a clear paradigm of PRD with multiple elements (see footnote 16 for a potential source of complications). Similarly, it is not clear at this point whether multiple bare-topics are possible, because the relevant judgments are quite subtle and vary from example to example.

Under the proposed analysis, PRD examples of the form in (42a) is derived from their bare-topic construction counterparts of the form in (42b). Given the claim that the bare-topic construction is subsumed under Hanging Topic constructions, we can tackle the issue concerning PRD and the bare-topic construction with multiple elements by looking at whether multiple Hanging Topics are allowed.

Indeed, there is an interesting cross-linguistic variation regarding Hanging Topic constructions. As shown in (43), Italian disallows multiple Hanging Topics (Krapova and Cinque 2008:263 note that the same holds for Bulgarian).

- (43) a. * $\boxed{\text{Tuo fratello}}$, $\boxed{\text{Mario}}$, *lei ama lui*
 your brother Mario she loves him (based on Cinque 1983, his (10))
 b. * $\boxed{\text{Gianni}}$, $\boxed{\text{questo libro}}$, *non ne hanno parlato a lui*
 Gianni, this book, they of-it haven't talked to him
 (based on Benincà and Poletto 2004:64)

On the other hand, German allows multiple Hanging Topics, as the examples in (44) indicate.

- (44) a. $\boxed{\text{Alex}_i}$, $\boxed{\text{der Wagen}_j}$, $\boxed{\text{die Mutter}_k}$, *gestern hat sie_k ihm_i den_j geschenkt*
 Alex the car the mother yesterday has she him it given
 ‘ $\boxed{\text{Alex}}$, $\boxed{\text{the car}}$, $\boxed{\text{the mother}}$, yesterday *she gave it to him*’
 (based on Grohmann 2000:145)
 b. $\boxed{\text{Dem Alex}}$, $\boxed{\text{das Geld}}$, *du hättest es ihm nicht wegnehmen dürfen*
 the Alex the money you would.have it to.him not take.away from
 ‘ $\boxed{\text{To Alex}}$, $\boxed{\text{the money}}$, you should not have taken it away from him’
 (based on Shaer and Frey 2004:490)

Given this cross-linguistic variation, it seems helpful to examine first whether Japanese belongs to the Italian/Bulgarian type or the German type in this respect, in order to investigate PRD and the bare-topic constructions with multiple elements on more solid grounds. Meanwhile, such attempts should provide a key in elucidating the source of the cross-linguistic variation. Although addressing these issues is beyond the scope of this paper and

deserves separate research, it is worth emphasizing that these research topics are achieved by the perspective that the bare-topic construction is subsumed under Hanging Topic constructions.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I first provided several properties of PRD, comparing it with SRD. Then, I argued that the properties of PRD can be captured by proposing that it is derived from the bare-topic construction. Second, illustrating that the bare-topic construction can be equated with Hanging Topic constructions found in various Romance and other languages, I pointed out that the current perspective offers a number of novel implications. Although more detailed investigations of these implications are necessary, this paper provides a fresh view to cross-linguistic studies of the syntax of topics.

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