Left and Right Peripheries: Asymmetries
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Goal
To discuss the syntactic status of right-peripheral material in European Portuguese (EP).

Problem
Structures with right-peripheral material in EP
(1) tem um cão # o pai.
   - has a dog the father.
   (2) aprendeste onde # a canção do peixinho?
   - learned_speaking where the song of the little fish?

Analyses:
- Movement analysis (Villaalba, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000); clitic-right dislocations in Catalan are analysed as a left dislocation to a lower Topic position. In this split-topic position, the dislocated element moves to a Topic position immediately dominating the vP – IntTopP –, followed by movement of the remnant to a low Spec,FocP.
- Merge analysis (De Cat, 2002, 2007); (clitic-)right dislocations in Spoken French do not involve movement. The dislocated elements are merged by adjacency to a Discharge Projection with root properties.
- Parenthetical Coordination+Move+Ellipsis analysis (de Vries, 2007, 2009a/b, 2013; Ott & de Vries, 2012, in preparation); right-peripheral constituents in Dutch and German are instances of parenthetical specifying coordination. Right-peripheral material is derived in biclausal structures, the peripheral constituent being a remnant of ellipsis (in the sense of Merchant, 2001, 2004) in CP, after A’-movement of the dislocated element to the left periphery of the coordinated clause.

Data
Spontaneous Data
Data: Manual annotation of a sample of spontaneous adult (child-directed) speech in a corpus of child and child-directed speech of EP (Santos, 2006; Santos et al., 2014); 5 adults, total of 29 398 utterances.

Results:
- Relevant frequency of structures with right-peripheral material (N = 190) and with left-peripheral material (N = 198);
  - Higher frequency of structures with right-peripheral subjects (N = 145) than with topicalized direct objects (left periphery) (N = 30);
  - Absence of clitic-right dislocations and of clitic-left dislocations.

Experimental Data (Abalada, 2011)
Task: Truth Value Judgment Task (Crain & Thornton, 1999)
- Topicalization of Direct Object (OSV);
- Structures with Post-focal Subjects on the Right Periphery (VO#s).

Subjects:
- 41 monolingual EP preschool children (between 3:5 and 6:3, mean: 5:1);
- 30 monolingual EP adults with no background in linguistics.

Results: Asymmetries between the comprehension of left- and right-peripheral material: preschool children and adults have a better performance in the comprehension of post-focal subjects on the right periphery than in the comprehension of topicalized direct objects on the left periphery.

Discussion: Right Periphery
- The fact that both right- and left-peripheral material are derived by movement provides a common explanation for the asymmetries found between the production and comprehension of right- and left-peripheral material.
- The possibility of why-questions with an in situ wh-element preceding a right-peripheral constituent (cf. (2) above) is a problem for a movement analysis to a lower Topic position: the wh-element and the remnant vP compete for the same landing site: low Spec,FocP.
- The possibility of structures with right-peripheral material that could not have been extracted is evidence against an A’-movement analysis: EP does not license (wh-)subjunction.

Problems for a Merge Analysis: (De Cat, 2002, 2007)
- The occurrence of connectivity effects, such as Case matching, and the possibility of licensing negative polarity items in right-peripheral constituents are evidence that right-peripheral material cannot be derived by direct merge in the right periphery.
- (5) Nunca disse isso nas aulas, pois não, a nenhum de vocês?
  never said that in-the classes TAG to any of you
  ‘I never said that to any of you in class, did I?’

Problems for a Movement Analysis:
- Cf. section A.
- The possibility of licensing negative polarity items in right-peripheral constituents is evidence that right-peripheral material cannot be derived by A’-movement: the negative polarity item must occur under the scope of negation.
- (6) ‘A nenhum de vocês, nunca disse isso nas aulas, pois não?
  to any of you never said in-the classes TAG
  ‘I never said that to any of you in class, did I?’
- Nunca disse isso nas aulas, pois não, a nenhum de vocês?

Arguments for Ellipsis:
- The occurrence of connectivity effects, such as Case matching, may be explained if we assume ellipsis for right-peripheral material: an XP on the right periphery has the same Case that it would have in a monoclusal sentence.
- (7) a. [CP, pro tem os livros da Maria,] [CP, eu nunca arrumei a casa ontem,]
  never cleaned, utter the house yesterday, never cleaned, utter the house yesterday
  ‘I didn’t clean the house yesterday, myself.’
  a’. Eu nunca arrumei a casa ontem.
  b. [CP, pro tem os livros da Maria,] [CP, a mim não arrumei a casa ontem.]
  never cleaned, utter the house yesterday
  ‘I never said that to any of you in class, did I?’
- (8) a. [CP, pro tem os livros da Maria,] [CP, ela tem os livros da Maria,]
  has the books of the Maria she, has the books of the Maria,
  ‘She has the books of Maria.’
  a’. Ela, tem os livros da Maria,
  b. [CP, pro tem os livros da Maria,] [CP, ela tem os livros da Maria,]
  has the books of the Maria she, has the books of the Maria,
  ‘Ela tem os livros da Maria.’

Conclusions
Empirical evidence argues against a derivation of right-peripheral material in EP as an instance of A’-movement, thus suggesting that analyses resorting to movement either to a low Topic position or to the left periphery of a parenthetical coordinated CP are not on the right track.

On the contrary, a derivation involving ellipsis without movement seems to be empirically motivated in EP, although presenting the theoretical problem of having to assume that UG has the possibility of PF-deletion of non-consituents.

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