

## 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. [Adult, file tom-1-7-14]  
has a dog the father  
'He has a dog, the father.'

(2) aprendeste onde # a canção do peixinho? [Adult, file tom-2-8-9]  
learned.<sub>2stSING</sub> where the song of+the little+fish  
'Where did you learn it, the little fish song?'

## Analyses:

Movement analysis (Villalba, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000): clitic-right dislocations in Catalan are analysed as a left dislocation to a lower Topic position. In this split-topic analysis, 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 adjunction to a Discourse 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

### A: Problems for a Movement Analysis (Villalba, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000)

- The fact that both right- and left-peripheral material are derived by movement does not provide an explanation for the asymmetries found between the production and comprehension of right- and left-peripheral material.

- The possibility of *wh*-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*-)subextraction.

(3) a. para não cair o sumo., não é # do pêssego? [Adult, file tom-2-6-6]  
for not fall the juice not is of peach  
'In order for the peach juice not to fall, isn't it?'  
b. \*para, do pêssego, não cair o sumo, não é?  
b'. \*do pêssego, para não cair o sumo, não é?

- The fact that non-Pro-Drop Languages do not allow gap in structures with right-peripheral material, as opposed to what happens in structures with left-peripheral material, is evidence against a movement analysis: no A'-variable occurs on the sentence.

- (4) a. \*I spoke to about the war yesterday that guy who's always following us.  
a'. I spoke to him about the war yesterday, that guy who's always following us. [Ross, 1967: 238, (6.153)]  
b. That guy who's always following us, I spoke to about the war yesterday.  
b'. That guy who's always following us, I spoke to him about the war yesterday.

### B: 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?'

### C: Parenthetical Coordination+Move+Ellipsis Analysis (de Vries, 2007, 2009a/b, 2013; Ott & de Vries, 2012, in preparation)

#### 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. \*A nenhum de vocês, nunca disse isso nas aulas, pois não?  
to any of you never said that in+the classes TAG  
'I never said that to any of you in class, did I?'  
b. 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 monoclausal sentence.

- (7) a. [<sub>CP1</sub> pro não arrumei a casa ontem,] [<sub>CP2</sub> eu<sub>NOM</sub> não arrumei a casa ontem].  
not cleaned.<sub>1stSING</sub> the house yesterday I<sub>NOM</sub> not cleaned.<sub>1stSING</sub> the house yesterday  
'I didn't clean the house yesterday, myself.'  
a'. eu<sub>NOM</sub> não arrumei a casa ontem.  
b. \* [<sub>CP1</sub> pro não arrumei a casa ontem,] [<sub>CP2</sub> (a) mim<sub>OBL</sub> não arrumei a casa ontem].  
b'. \*(A) Mim<sub>OBL</sub> não arrumei a casa ontem.

- The occurrence of connectivity effects associated with the principles of the Binding Theory, namely the Principle C, may be explained if we assume ellipsis for right-peripheral material: a right-peripheral constituent cannot take a co-indexed DP as its antecedent just as in a monoclausal sentence.

- (8) a. \* [<sub>CP1</sub> pro tem os livros da Maria,] [<sub>CP2</sub> ela<sub>i</sub> tem os livros da Maria<sub>i</sub>].  
has the books of+the Maria she<sub>i</sub> has the books of+the Maria<sub>i</sub>  
'She has the books of Maria.'  
a'. \*Ela<sub>i</sub> tem os livros da Maria<sub>i</sub>.  
b. [<sub>CP1</sub> pro tem os livros da Maria,] [<sub>CP2</sub> (a) ela<sub>i</sub> tem os livros da Maria<sub>k</sub>].  
b'. Ela<sub>i</sub> tem os livros da Maria<sub>k</sub>.

## 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-constituents.

## Acknowledgements

The work developed by Silvana Abalada is part of her Ph.D. project, entitled *Acquisition of the Left and Right Peripheries in European Portuguese*, and it is supported by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia Grant FCT/SFRH/BD/80331/2011.

The work developed by Inês Duarte and Ana Lúcia Santos was done within the project *Contrast and Parallelism in Speech* (PTDC/CLE-LIN/120017/2010) funded by Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.