

The mirror asymmetry in SFP formation

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This paper discusses the mirror asymmetry seen in creating sentence final particles (SFPs), where *a*-topics in Italian and SFPs in Japanese are compared.

Belletti (2019) states that in Southern Italian when a topic element is prefixed by the morpheme *a*, an affective meaning arises, as in (1). Here, *a* is in the clausal spine (Rizzi 2019), as shown by the fact that coordinated topic phrases can be prefixed by *a* only once. (cf. Djamouri, Paul and Whitman (2013))

- (1) **A** me/*?Me non mi si inganna.
To me/me one does not me-CL cheat.
'Nobody cheats me!'

In parallel to this, the Japanese subject case particle (SCP) *ga* is also in the clausal spine, where coordinated subject can be suffixed by the SCP *ga* only once, as in (2).

- (2) John-(***ga**) to Bill-**ga**...
John-(*SCP) and Bill-SCP
'John and Bill...'

Diachronically, the SCP *ga* came to be used as a SFP with an affective meaning while the object case particle (OCP) *o* has never been used to create a SFP, as in (3).

- (3) Soo it tei ru daroo ga/*o!
so say Asp Pres mood SFP(SCP/*OCP)
'I am telling you so!'

I propose that the SFP *ga* is created by head movement of the SCP *ga* to Speech-actP, where it acquires an affective meaning, while the OCP *o* cannot undergo head movement because there are intervening heads on the way to Speech-actP, causing a violation of relativized minimality (RM) (Rizzi 1990). Note that even the SCP *ga* cannot be created by a long distance head movement due to RM. This is a case of the mirror asymmetry where local subject dependencies are less problematic than local object dependencies, but that the reverse holds for non-local dependencies.

In the Italian case, the topic element acquires an affective meaning through an Agree relationship with Spech-actP. (300 words)