UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA
FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS
DEPARTAMENTO DE LINGUÍSTICA

UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 8 – VINCENNES SAINT-DENIS
ECOLE DOCTORALE CLI (COGNITION LANGAGE INTERATION)
UMR 7023, CNRS / PARIS 8

ON POSSESSIVES IN PORTUGUESE

ANA CASTRO

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ON POSSESSIVES IN PORTUGUESE

ANA CASTRO

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Em memória de uma tia e três tios

Abstract

This dissertation addresses some aspects of the grammar of possessives in Portuguese, both simple forms and *de*-phrases. It is shown that simple possessives have two homophonous series in Portuguese: prenominal possessives occur in definite contexts (like French and English and unlike Catalan and Italian ones); postnominal possessives occur in non-definite contexts. It is assumed that the former are generated in D, the position in which definiteness is interpreted. This proposal captures the contrasts between the two positions with respect to modification by weak and strong adverbs, coordination and strategies of focus. It is also claimed that the variation observed in Portuguese in the constructions with prenominal possessives - presence of the definite article in European Portuguese (EP) versus its absence in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) - is due, not to differences in the grammar of possessives, but to differences in the determiner system. Since Portuguese displays the same variation in nominal constructions with proper names and generics, it is claimed that they all involve an expletive, i.e. a semantically vacuous definite article, which is phonetically overt in EP and phonetically null in BP.

In the 3rd person, Portuguese has two possessive forms: *seu* and *dele*. *Seu*, unlike *dele*, is an ambiguous form because it is not fully specified for phi-features (gender and number). Data from both spoken and written corpora show that *dele* is not replacing *seu*. In EP and BP, the two forms are not equivalent: *dele* only takes referential antecedents whereas *seu* may also be bound by non-referential expressions (generics and quantified).

Resumo

Esta dissertação estuda alguns aspectos da gramática dos possessivos em Português, que inclui formas simples e preposicionadas. Mostra-se que os possessivos simples em Português têm duas séries homófonas: os possessivos pré-nominais só ocorrem em contextos definidos (como em Francês e Inglês e ao contrário do Catalão e do Italiano); os possessivos pós-nominais ocorrem em contextos não definidos. Assume-se que os primeiros são gerados em D, a posição em que definitude é interpretada. Esta proposta permite explicar os contrastes observados relativamente aos possessivos simples pré e pós-nominais em contextos de modificação por advérbios fortes e fracos, de coordenação e de foco.

Propõe-se que a variação nas construções com possessivos pré-nominais em Português - presença do artigo definido em Português Europeu (PE) versus ausência em Português Brasileiro (PB) - se deve, não a diferenças na gramática dos possessivos, mas a diferenças no sistema dos determinantes. Uma vez que essa variação se estende a construções com nomes próprios e genéricos, propõe-se que todas estas construções envolvem um artigo definido expletivo (semanticamente vazio), foneticamente realizado em PE e nulo em PB.

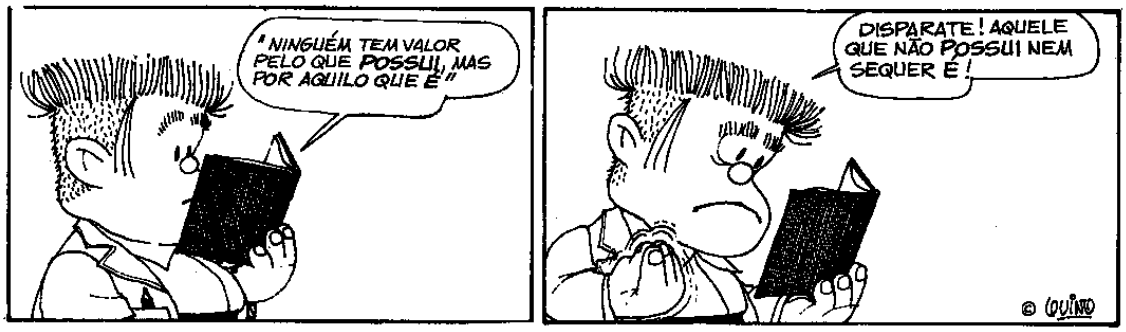
Na terceira pessoa, o Português apresenta dois tipos de formas possessivas: *seu* e *dele*. *Seu*, ao contrário de *dele*, é uma forma ambígua porque não especificada completamente com traços-phi (género e número). Dados de corpora de língua escrita e oral permitem-nos contrariar a ideia de que *dele* está a substituir *seu*. Em PE e em PB, as duas formas não são equivalentes: *dele* é um pronome que só ocorre com antecedentes referenciais enquanto *seu* pode ocorrer também com antecedentes não referenciais (quantificados e genéricos).

Resumé

Cette thèse explore quelques aspectes de la grammaire des possessifs en portugais, lesquels incluent des formes simples et des formes en *de*. Les possessifs simples ont deux séries homophones: les possessifs pré-nominaux, qui se trouvent toujours dans des syntagmes nominaux définis (comme en français et en anglais et contrairement au catalan et au italien); et les possessifs post-nominaux qui se trouvent dans des syntagmes nominaux non-définis. L'hypothèse défendue est que les possessifs pré-nominaux occupent la position D, position responsable de l'effet de définitude. Cette hypothèse explique les contrastes observables entre les deux séries de possessifs dans les contextes de modification par des adverbes faibles et forts, de coordination et de focus.

On propose aussi que la variation observée en portugais dans les constructions à possessif pré-nominal - présence de l'article défini en portugais européen (PE) versus son absence en portugais brésilien (PB) - s'explique par des différences dans la grammaire des déterminants. Observant la même variation dans les noms propres et les syntagmes nominaux génériques, on suppose que toutes ces constructions contiennent un article défini explétif (sémantiquement vide), phonétiquement réalisé en PE mais nul en PB.

À la 3ème personne, le portugais a deux formes possessives: *seu* et *dele*. *Seu*, contrairement à *dele*, est ambigu parce que sa spécification en traits-phi (gendre et nombre) est incomplète. Des données de corpus parlés et écrits conduisent à conclure que *dele* n'est pas en train de se substituer à *seu*. En PE comme en PB, les deux formes ne sont pas équivalentes: *dele* ne peut avoir qu'un antécédent référentiel alors que *seu* peut avoir aussi un antécédent non référentiel (générique ou quantifié).


"NINGUÉM TEM VALOR PELO QUE POSSUI, MAS POR AQUILO QUE É"
DISPARATE! AQUELE QUE NÃO POSSUI NEM SEQUER É!
© QUINO

List of Abbreviations

M = Masculine

F = Feminine

SG = Singular

PL = Plural

1 = 1st person

2 = 2nd person

3 = 3rd person

S = Speaker

A = Addressee

NOM = Nominative case

ACC = Accusative case

GEN = Genitive case

DAT = Dative case

OBL = Oblique case

AP = Adjective Phrase

AdvP = Adverb Phrase

DP = Determiner Phrase

IP = Inflection Phrase

NP = Noun Phrase

NumP = Number Phrase

PP = Preposition Phrase

VP = Verb Phrase

Agr = Agreement

SC = Small Clause

EP = European Portuguese

BP = Brazilian Portuguese

Ag = Agent

Exp = Experiencer

Th = Theme

Pos = Possessor

G = Goal

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Studies on the nominal domain suffered a major increase during the last decade of the 20th century. This is due to the seminal works of Szabolcsi (1983), Szabolcsi (1987) and Abney (1987), which develop the idea suggested in Chomsky (1970) that the nominal domain has a structure parallel to that of clauses. Their proposal is known as the DP-hypothesis and assumes that noun phrases[1] combine a lexical and a functional domain, projecting a Determiner Phrase (DP). This representation of noun phrases opened new perspectives for studies on the nominal domain. Many functional projections, such as Num(ber)P, Gen(der)P, Q(uantifier)P or Dem(onstrative)P, have been proposed and the structure of noun phrases was complexified in a parallel way to what has been done for the clausal domain. Genitives and possessors, including possessives, are a central topic in many of these studies, and are analysed as subjects in the nominal domain as already suggested in Chomsky (1970).

As regards European Portuguese, however, few studies on the syntax of noun phrases

[1] I will use the term *noun phrase* as Abney (1987) does, i.e. an expression consisting of a noun and its complements and modifiers introduced or not by a determiner. It is distinct from NP, the label used in the Generative Grammar framework for the syntactic projection of the noun with no additional functional structure.

were carried out in the last two or three decades[2], if compared with the variety of studies on the clausal domain dealing with, e.g. subject positions, verbal constructions, negation and clitics. This is probably why, in the Syntax courses I took during my *licenciatura*[3], we used to represent all the noun phrases as DPs without much developing its internal structure. We did not go farther than assuming that a determiner selects a noun phrase, relative clauses are adjoined to different levels of the DP, and nouns can combine with complements or adjuncts. And nothing special was said about the position of adjectives and other determiners or modifiers inside the noun phrase nor about a mechanism as productive in Portuguese (like in Romance in general) as DP-internal agreement. When I had to choose the topic of my dissertation, it was clear to me that I wanted to focus my investigation somewhere in the nominal domain.

My theoretical background is Generative Grammar, which bases the study of cross-linguistic variation on the central thesis that languages reflect a language faculty specific to the human species. Therefore, comparing languages had to be a methodology to use.

But why possessives anyway? In the literature on noun phrases, possessives (or possessors or genitives) emerge as a central element. In studies assuming the parallel between the nominal and the clausal domains, possessives are analysed as subjects in their noun phrases because, like clausal subjects, they establish a semantic (selectional) and an agreement relation with the noun they combine with.

[2]Assuming a transformational view of the grammar, there are the doctoral dissertations on adjectives (Casteleiro (1982)) and relatives (Brito (1988)); and the master dissertations on nominal elypsis (Martinho (1998)), deverbal nominals (Lopes (1996)), bare nominals (Soares (1997)) and dative possessives (Miguel (1992)). Besides these works, there are several studies by Ana Maria Brito: on the subject status of possessives (Brito (1984) and Brito (1990)) and nominalizations (Brito (1990) and Brito and Oliveira (1995)), among others.

[3]Undergraduate studies in Portugal.

Moreover, parameters and typologies have been proposed for the variation in the morpho-phonological and distributional properties of possessive elements of English *my/mine*-type across languages of different families (Romance, Germanic as well as Slavic languages). Most studies, however, overvalue these *my/mine*-type forms as well as their prenominal realisation.

With respect to Portuguese possessives, two interesting facts clearly arise. On the one hand, available typologies only cover a subset of the elements which can be called possessives in Portuguese. On the other hand, available possessive typologies and parameters do not account for some morpho-syntactic properties of possessives in Portuguese if we consider both the European and the Brazilian varieties. My interest in the comparison of different grammars of Portuguese is due to the fact that I have started working in Linguistics as a junior researcher of the project *Gramática do Português Medieval*[4]. My contact with written Portuguese texts of the 13th century stimulated my interest for microvariation. The choice of my topic was also much inspired by Anne Zribi-Hertz' work on possessives. It was while being her student at Université Paris 8 that I have become more insterested in possessives. The work I have presented at her seminar (a comparative study on French and Portuguese possessives[5]) was the embryo of this dissertation.

Let me now outline in more detail the topic of this dissertation.

1. The problem and goals

1.1. Particularities of possessives in Portuguese

Portuguese possessives present some particularities which, on the one hand, are not pointed out in studies concerning, at least, European Portuguese, and, on the other,

[4]This project built up a Dictionary of verbs in Medieval Portuguese based on corpus data from *Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval* under the coordination of Maria Francisca Xavier.

[5]A version of this study was published later as Castro (2002).

make it difficult to integrate this language to available typological studies. I will review these particularities since they are the starting point of the investigation which has resulted in the present dissertation.

In European and Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth EP and BP), two types of forms act as possessives: *meu* (1a) and *dele* (1b).

(1) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

Moreover, in the 3rd person both *seu* (2a) and *dele* (2b) can be used in the same contexts.

(2) a. O Quim deu-me (o) **seu** livro.
the Quim gave-1SGDAT the 3.MSG book

b. O Quim deu-me o livro **dele**.
the Vasco gave-1SGDAT the book DE.3MSG
'Quim gave me his book.'

In fact, at least in oral speech, the form *dele* is widely used and seems to be preferred to its counterpart *seu*, both in EP and BP. But in traditional grammars of Portuguese, only the elements in (1a) and (2a) (classified as pronouns, determiners or adjectives) are referred to as possessives and not much is said about the alternation between *seu* and *dele*.

Other differences between EP and BP, however, are better known and documented:

1. The *meu* paradigm can occur widely without the definite article in BP[6].

2. The *dele* paradigm is said to be more productive in BP than in EP[7], not

[6]See Silva (1982), Cerqueira (1996), Müller (1996), Brito (1999), among others.

[7]See Cerqueira (1993).

restricted to the 3rd person and to be replacing *seu*.

The first difference may lead us, on the basis of typological studies such as Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) for instance, to assume that EP and BP assign a different value to the Possessive Parameter, with EP having adjectival possessives and BP, determiner possessives[8]. A deeper analysis of EP and BP data, however, suggests that the difference may be located not in the possessive system but in the determiner system. EP and BP behave alike with respect to other properties of possessives and differ with respect to the realisation of the definite article in contexts in which it is semantically empty, i.e. expletive, as claimed by Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) and Longobardi (1994).

Concerning the second difference, Cerqueira's (1993) and Müller's (1996) works on BP possessives propose interesting hypotheses to account for the *seu*/*dele* alternation, and these can be assessed in a study complemented to EP data. Cerqueira (1993) claims that *dele* is replacing *seu* as an effect of the general weakening of agreement in BP, which also affects the clitic and verbal systems. Müller (1996), on the other hand, provides corpus data showing that the two forms are not competing. Rather, each is specialised with respect to the antecedents it takes: *seu* behaves as a variable which can be bound by a generic or quantified antecedent; *dele* is a referential pronoun coindexed with a referential antecedent.

This dissertation focuses on these main differences and aims at:

- characterising the behaviour of forms such as *meu* and *dele* in both EP and BP by comparing them with other typologically related languages;

- better understanding the relation between *seu* and *dele* in EP, assessing the hypotheses proposed for BP.

[8]The Possessive Parameter states that languages divide between having determiner or adjectival possessives depending on their ability of (not) combining with articles - see Chapter 5.

1.2. My possessives

As announced above, this dissertation will focus on the possessives in (1), here as (3).

(3) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

It is important, at this point, to justify why I consider both simple and *de*-possessives in (1) as *possessives*. These elements share two properties. First, they establish a relation with the noun they combine with: the noun phrase in (1a) refers to 'the book that *I* own or wrote' and the noun phrase in (1b) to 'the book that *he* owns or wrote'. Second, in both (1a) and (1b), the entity that is in relation with the noun *livro* 'book' is identified in terms of Person.

Appealing to the notion 'functional' as opposed to 'lexical'[9], it can be said that *meu* and *dele* are functional possessives[10]. Functional possessives can be thus defined as

[9]Functional elements belong to closed classes, such as determiners or pronouns, and do not have semantic descriptive content. Lexical elements, on the other hand, belong to open classes, such as nouns and verbs, and do have semantic descriptive content.

[10]Portuguese has also lexical possessives as in (1) but they are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

(1) a. o livro da professora de Fonética
the book of.the professor of Phonetics
'the professor of Phonetics' book'

b. o livro da Joana
the book of.the Joana
'Joana's book'

An interesting difference between Romance and Germanic languages is that, while in Germanic languages, functional and lexical possessives can occupy the prenominal position, as in English (2),

follows.

(4) A functional possessive:

(i) is morphologically specified for Person;

(ii) realises a genitive argument of the noun with which it establishes a semantic (thematic) relation.

Both *meu* and *dele* are functional possessives as defined in (4): they can be interpreted as the Possessor of the noun *livro* 'book' and they are both functional elements morphologically specified for Person. *Meu*, in (3a), is specified for 1st person singular, information encoded in the marker *m-*. *Dele*, in (3b), is specified for 3rd person singular, information encoded by the 3rd person singular masculine personal pronoun *ele* 'he' that follows the preposition *de* 'of'.

As lexical possessives in Portuguese are beyond the topic of this study, I will refer to elements as *meu* and *dele* simply as possessives. In order to distinguish between the two classes, I will call the *meu* class simple possessives and the *dele* class *de*-possessives[11].

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in Romance lexical possessives are excluded from this position, as in Portuguese (3) - see Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) and Alexiadou and Wilder (1998) a.o. for accounts for this difference.

(2) a. **my** book

b. **Mary's** book

c. **the professor of Phonetics'** book

(3) a. * **(d)a Joana** livro
(of.)the Joana book
'Joana's book'

b. * **(d)a professora de Fonética** livro
(of.)the professor of Phoneticcs book
'the professor of Phonetics' book'

[11]The equivalent of *dele* in English is well-formed as a possessive both pre- and postnominally.

Although I am considering both classes as functional possessives, simple possessives and *de*-possessives exhibit distinct morphological and syntactic behaviours as will be shown. Another reason to consider both forms as possessives is the fact that for 3rd person they are, at least in some contexts, semantically equivalent.

2. The data

The data collected in this dissertation come from several sources which are always identified. There are attested data (in corpora and bibliography) and non-attested data. For EP the starting point is my own competence (as a speaker of standard EP) but all the examples have been checked with many other native speakers of EP. Nonetheless, in some occasions I needed to use corpora data. In particular, in order to assess the use of *seu* versus *dele* in both written and spoken EP, the research is based upon the *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo*, *Corpus Informatizado de Composições Juvenis* and CETEMPúblico[12]. For the remaining languages, most of the data is based on the bibliography as cited. Moreover, the examples were also submitted to the judgements of various informants[13].

(1) a. **he's=his** book

b. a book **of him**

[12]All these corpora are available for linguistic studies at *Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa*, *Centro de Linguística da Universidade Nova de Lisboa* and *Linguateca*, respectively - see details in Chapter 6.

[13]I acknowledge again Eupremio Scarpa, Lino Mioni, Elena Guerzoni, Roberta D'Alessandro (for Italian), Francesc Roca, Jaume Mateu, Jordi Fortuny, Natalia Sanchez-Lefebvre, Montse (for Catalan), Ana Galvão, Andres Salanova, Cristina Cuervo (for Spanish), Anne Zribi-Hertz (for French), Tania Ionin, Ora Matushansky (for Russian), Josefa Gomes Cardoso (for Capeverdean), and so many Brazilians - Ana Müller, Irenilza, Maria Cristina Figueiredo Silva, Amélia Reis Silva, Sílvia Cavalcanti, Thaïs Chaves, Francisco Simões...

Old Portuguese data come from the bibliography but mainly from *CIPM - Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval*. Old Spanish data have been collected in *CORDE - Corpus Diacrónico de Español*[14].

3. Theoretical background

The theoretical framework of this dissertation is Generative Grammar theory, in particular the Principles and Parameters model (cf. Chomsky (1981)), the Minimalist model (cf. Chomsky (1993)) and the Distributed Morphology model (cf. Halle and Marantz (1993)). Theoretical notions and tools are presented when considered relevant for the description and analysis of the data.

4. The structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into two main parts which include 6 core chapters. Besides these, there is an Introduction, Final Conclusions and two Indices: an Index of Topics and an Index of Examples.

Part 1 includes Chapters 2 to 4 and is mainly descriptive. Part 2 includes Chapters 5 to 7 and provides an analysis for some of the particularities of Portuguese possessives.

In Part 1, the morphological, distributional and semantic properties of Portuguese possessives are described and compared with other Romance languages. Moreover, the similarities and differences between EP and BP are put in evidence.

Chapter 2 presents the paradigm of possessives of Portuguese and compares it with the standard paradigm (the one given in Portuguese grammars), showing that the differences between the two reflect a general restructuring of the Portuguese pronominal paradigm. The Modern Portuguese paradigm of possessives is moreover com-

[14]Both corpora are available online at http://cipm.fcsh.unl.pt and http://www.rae.es, respectively.

pared with the paradigms of possessives in Old Portuguese and other Romance languages.

In Chapter 3, Portuguese possessives are characterised with respect to their distributional properties, in particular the type of determiners they combine (or do not combine) with and the position in which possessives occur with respect to determiners, modifiers and the noun. *De*-possessives, like any PP in Portuguese, always occur postnominally. Simple possessives, however, can occur either pre- or postnominally and their different distribution is related to the determiners they cooccur with and thus correlate with the definite or non-definite interpretation of the possessivised noun phrase.

In Chapter 4, the thematic properties associated with possessives are illustrated with Portuguese data and the particularities of Portuguese possessives are presented.

Part 2 proposes an analysis for some aspects of Portuguese possessives.

In Chapter 5, Portuguese is shown not to fit available typologies of simple possessives since Portuguese simple possessives differ from both determiners and adjectives. Moreover, the variation between EP and BP simple possessives, in particular the presence versus absence of the definite article, is claimed to be related to the determiner system. Nominal constructions involving prenominal possessives, generics and proper names are analysed in parallel since they all exhibit the same variation with respect to the realisation of the (expletive) definite article.

Chapter 6 addresses the alternation between *seu* and *dele*. The hypotheses proposed for BP (substitution and complementarity) are examined with respect to EP corpus data. It is shown that EP confirms Müller's proposal that *seu* and *dele* are complementary forms.

Chapter 7 includes a proposal for the derivation of simple possessives in Portuguese. Several assumptions on the basis of classical generative proposals for possessives are discussed and an alternative view is proposed. The proposal outlined in this

chapter combine approaches such as the Principles and Parameters, the Minimalist framework and the Distributed Morphology model, and it accounts - I hope - for the differences and similarities between EP and BP and, , on the one hand, and, on the other, for the differences and similarities between Portuguese simple possessives and simple possessives in other Romance languages, in particular Italian, Catalan and French.

The conclusions reached in this study as well as some open questions are compiled in the Final Conclusions.

Part 1

Possessives in Portuguese

Chapter 2

The morphology of possessives in Portuguese

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I first present the paradigm of possessives of Portuguese, in both its European and Brazilian varieties[1] (section 2.). Since this paradigm is different from the one usually given in Portuguese grammars, the differences will be justified, and the morphological properties of simple and *de*-possessives will be described. I will show that these differences reflect a general restructuring of the Portuguese pronoun paradigm which is somehow related to pragmatic factors. Next, Modern Portuguese will be compared with Old Portuguese as well as with other Romance languages (section 3.). Finally, I will summarise the empirical facts about Portuguese which need to be addressed in more detail and accounted for (section 4.).

[1]European Portuguese (henceforth EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) are, in many respects, similar. When the data I am describing or the assumptions I am making are valid for both varieties of Portuguese, I will write simply 'Portuguese', and this should be read as 'both EP and BP'. Whenever they differ, I will make this explicit and write 'EP' or 'BP'.

2. The paradigm of possessives

As mentioned in the Introduction of this dissertation, under the label possessives, I am considering both simple possessives (5)[2] and *de*-possessives (6).

(5) (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

(6) o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

The paradigm of possessives I propose for Portuguese is thus that of (7). It includes simple possessives[3] and *de*-possessives for referents identified with the speaker (S), the addressee (A) (both informal and formal), and the so-called 3rd person (3)[4].

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[2]In BP, the definite article can be omitted as will be shown in Chapter 3.

[3]In table (7), the forms of simple possessives agree with masculine singular possessees. The full paradigm of simple possessives is presented in table (9) and will be discussed in the next section.

[4]These referents can be divided into persons participating in the discourse - speaker (1st person) and addressee (2nd person) - and non-persons (3rd person) (cf. Benveniste (1966a)). Each of them can be singular or plural. Since in Portuguese, as will be shown, there is no univocal correspondence between the referents of possessives (and pronouns more generally) and the grammatical features of possessive forms (or those triggering verbal agreement), the distinction between referents and person-number features is clearly made across this chapter.

(7) The paradigm of possessives in Portuguese

REFERENT	SIMPLE POSSESSIVES	*De*-POSSESSIVES
S SG	**meu**	-
A SG -FORMAL	**teu**	-
A SG +FORMAL	**seu**	de você
3 SG	**seu**	**dele**
S PL	**nosso**	da gente
A PL	**vosso**	de vocês
3 PL	**seu**	**deles**

There are several differences between the two types of possessives.

On the one hand, simple possessives are determiner or adjectival-type elements while *de*-possessives are complements or modifiers introduced by the preposition *de* 'of'. Due to their categorial status, simple possessives encode two types of grammatical information (or functional features): person-number of the possessor and gender and number of the possessee. *De*-possessives encode only grammatical information with respect to person-number of the possessor. Hence, simple possessives agree in gender and number with the possessee (5) while *de*-possessives do not display such agreement (6). The categorial status of possessives furthermore constrains their distribution: simple possessives may occur pre- and postnominally whereas *de*-possessives are restricted to postnominal positions, as will be described in detail in Chapter 3.

On the other hand, as shown in table (7), simple possessives present one form for each referent in the paradigm, while for *de*-possessives there are some gaps. Moreover, the forms in bold are commonly used in EP as well as in BP and have almost no restrictions with respect to their interpretation, as will be shown in Chapter 4[5].

[5]There are a few restrictions, however, on the occurrence of these elements: simple possessives are subject to the *Affectedness Constraint*, as will be discussed in Chapter 4; and *dele(s)* enters into complementary distribution with the form *seu(s)* in some contexts, as I will show in Chapter

De-possessives besides *dele(s)*, however, are not equally productive in the two varieties of Portuguese. *Da gente* and *de você(s)* seem to be more widely used in BP. In EP not all speakers produce and accept them.

The paradigm presented in (7) includes more elements than the one given in traditional grammars, which I will call from now on 'standard'. Next, I will present the standard paradigm and argue that it is insufficient for describing the system of possessives of colloquial Portuguese.

2.1. The standard paradigm of possessives

Portuguese grammars only include simple possessives in the paradigm of possessives. *De*-possessives are disregarded[6]. Nonetheless, some authors mention that forms such as *dele* may occur in the same contexts as simple possessives. For instance, Casteleiro (1976), who observes that *dele* behaves semantically as a possessive, claims that it does not behave syntactically as possessives since it occurs postnominally. This cannot be valid as an argument because, as will be shown, simple possessives may also be postnominal. Rather, the "semantic behaviour", which can be understood as "thematic interpretation", can be called upon as an argument for the possessive status of *de*-possessives. With respect to the interpretations they can have, as Casteleiro (1976) notes and I will show in Chapter 4, *de*-possessives do not differ from simple possessives in Portuguese. Taking this fact into consideration and also the wide use of *de*-possessives in Portuguese, I am considering these forms as possessives a pair with simple possessives. But since *de*-possessives are not included in the

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6.

[6] *De*-possessives have been almost ignored in the literature on EP possessives. For BP, however, many authors consider these forms in parallel with simple possessives - see Silva (1982), Perini (1985), Neves (1993), Cerqueira (1993, 1996) and Müller (1996), a.o..

standard paradigm, as the one given in (8) taken from Cunha and Cintra (1984)[7], they will from now on be left aside.

(8) The paradigm of possessives in Portuguese according to Cunha and Cintra (1984:319)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	meu	minha	meus	minhas
2SG	teu	tua	teus	tuas
3SG	seu	sua	seus	suas
1PL	nosso	nossa	nossos	nossas
2PL	vosso	vossa	vossos	vossas
3PL	seu	sua	seus	suas

(8) contains the paradigm in full: vertically, the forms vary with respect to possessor person-number; horizontally, the forms vary with respect to the gender and number of the possessee.

In table (9), I present the paradigm of simple possessives of colloquial Portuguese. It is that of table (7) without *de*-possessives, but here I included all possibilities of agreement in gender an number with the possessee.

[7]This paradigm includes the person-number features of the simple possessives forms as in Cunha and Cintra (1984:319).

(9) The paradigm of simple possessives in colloquial Portuguese

REFERENT	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
S SG	meu	minha	meus	minhas
A SG -FORMAL	teu	tua	teus	tuas
A SG +FORMAL	seu	sua	seus	suas
3 SG	seu	sua	seus	suas
S PL	nosso	nossa	nossos	nossas
A PL	vosso	vossa	vossos	vossas
3 PL	seu	sua	seus	suas

Observation and comparison of the paradigms in (8) and (9) reveal two differences.

1. In the colloquial paradigm, there is a partition of the addressee (informal and formal) corresponding to two different simple possessive forms.

2. *Seu* is, in the standard paradigm, the possessive form for two different referents (3rd person singular and 3rd person plural). In the colloquial paradigm, it also occupies the slot of formal singular addressee, increasing the ambiguity of its use.

Moreover, we observe that there is no univocal correspondance between referents and the grammatical person-number features of the possessor in the possessive forms in (8) and (9). This can be seen in the form *seu(s)*: the same grammatical person-number feature (spelt out by the marker *s*-) has two referents in the standard paradigm (3rd person singular and plural) and three in the colloquial paradigm (3rd person singular and plural plus formal singular addressee). This fact illustrates part of the complexity of the system of possessives in Portuguese. In this particular aspect, the paradigm of possessives of colloquial Portuguese reflects a more general process of restructuring that affects the pronominal paradigm: a system with

six grammatical person-number markers, corresponding to six personal pronouns, is both reduced (it has less grammatical person-number markers) and complexified (the same grammatical person-number marker can have several referents). The restructuring has affected both EP and BP varieties, although not to the same extent. Such restructuring has repercussions on the system of possessives affecting the use of simple and *de*-possessives.

In the next section, I will show what grammatical features are encoded in both simple and *de*-possessives and how they are morphologically expressed. Afterwards, I will argue that the feature properties of simple possessives, in particular of the form *seu(s)*, may justify the use of *de*-possessives in Portuguese.

2.2. Grammatical features and markers

Consider the following examples:

(10) a. (a) **tua** revista
theFSG 2SG.FSG magazineFSG
'your magazine'

b. (os) **nossos** livros
theMPL 1PL.MPL booksMPL
'our books'

In (10a), the possessive *tua* encodes the person-number features of the possessor (2nd person singular) and the gender and number features of the possessee *revista* (feminine singular). Similarly, in (10b), the possessive *nossos* encodes the person-number features of the possessor (1st person plural) and gender and number features of *livros* 'books' (masculine plural). Because of this morphological behaviour, Brito (2003b) describes simple possessives as having a dual categorial nature. They are simultaneously personal pronouns and determiners or adjectives. As personal pronouns, they refer independently to the possessor, expressing person-number features; as determiners or adjectives, they agree in gender and number with the possessee.

(11) illustrates the form *nossos* decomposed into markers, each one spelling out the different features.

(11) (os) nossos (livros)
noss-o-s
[[1PL]-[M-PL]]
POSSESSOR-POSSESSEE
'our books'

De-possessives, however, encode only grammatical information of possessor person-number, spelt out by the personal pronoun following *de*.

(12) (a revista) deles
d-el-e-s
DE-3-M-PL
de-POSSESSOR
'their magazines'

2.2.1. Gender and number nominal agreement

Agreeing in gender and number with a noun is a property that simple possessives share with other elements such as determiners - articles (13b) or demonstratives (13c) - and adjectives (13d).

(13) a. as minh**as** revistas
theFPL 1SG.FPL magazineFPL
'my magazines'

b. **as** revistas
theFPL magazineFPL
'the magazines'

c. est**as** revistas
theseFPL magazineFPL
'these magazines'

d. as revistas nov**as**
theFPL magazineFPL newFPL
'the new magazines'

The markers spelling out these features are, in the general case, *-o-* for masculine, *-a-* for feminine and *-s* for plural. However, gender markers show allomorphy in simple possessives: *-u-* is the masculine marker that combines with 1st person singular *m(e)-*, 2nd person singular *t(e)-* and and 3rd person *s(e)-*; the feminine marker is *-a-* with 1st person singular *m(inh)-*, 2nd person singular *t(u)-* and 3rd person *s(u)-*.

De-possessives encode neither gender nor number features of the possessee. As illustrated in (14), *deles* does not display the feminine singular features of the possessee *revista*.

(14) a revista **deles**
theFSG magazineFSG DE.3MPL
'their magazines'

"Concord" or "nominal agreement" is a grammatical operation internal to the nominal domain: the noun shares its gender and number features with the agreeing constituents (determiners and adjectives) within the noun phrase. In Portuguese, as is generally the case with other Romance languages, this agreement relation is morphologically overt. Simple possessives, as determiner or adjectives, agree with the noun they combine with (the possessee). *De*-possessives, as other adjuncts or complements introduced by a preposition, do not display such agreement.

With respect to nominal agreement, EP and BP exhibit remarkable differences. While in EP gender and plural markers are overtly spelt out on all agreeing constituents of the noun phrase, as seen above and in (15a) and (16a), in BP, plural markers are absent from some of the elements[8]. In BP plural marking can appear

[8]Moreover, there is dialectal variation within BP: some varieties of BP behave as EP, while other varieties of BP show different agreement patterns - see Scherre (1988), summarised in Scherre

only once within the noun phrase as in (15b) and (16b), examples taken from Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear).

(15) a. os primeiros filhos
theMPL firstMPL sonMPL

b. os primeiro filho
theM- firstM- sonM-
'first sons'

(16) a. os meus filhos
theMPL 1SG.MPL sonMPL

b. o meus filho
theM- 1SG.MPL sonM-
'my first sons/children'

An intringuing fact is that it is not always the same element that bears the plural marker in BP. The definite article can bear the plural marker if it is the first element of the noun phrase (15b). But when there is a prenominal possessive, even though the definite article is first, it is the possessive that bears the plural marker (16b). These data will be called upon in Chapter 5 as evidence in support of the expletive status of the definite article involved in this construction.

2.2.2. Person

As mentioned above, possessives refer independently to possessor by spelling out its person-number features. They can refer to the speaker (1st person), addressee (2nd person) and 3rd person. Each of them can be singular or plural which leaves us with a system of six possible referents. Nonetheless, there is no univocal correspondence between referents and person-number features in the system of possessives. Moreover, gender is not always morphologically specified in pronouns and possessive

(1994), and Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear).

forms. In Portuguese, in particular, 1st and 2nd personal pronouns are not specified for gender. 3rd person pronouns, however, are morphologically specified as masculine or feminine. This can be seen in table (17) which gives the nominative forms of personal pronouns together with simple and *de*-possessives.

(17) The paradigm of personal pronouns + the paradigm of possessives in Portuguese

Referent	Personal Pronouns	Simple Possessives	*De*-Possessives
S Sg	eu	meu	-
A Sg -formal	tu	teu	-
A Sg +formal	você	seu	de você
3 Sg	ele$_M$/ela$_F$	seu	dele$_M$/dela$_F$
S Pl	nós/a gente	nosso	da gente
A Pl	vocês	vosso	de vocês
3 Pl	eles$_M$/elas$_F$	seu	deles$_M$/delas$_F$

Regarding the person-number features of the possessor encoded in simple possessives, there is a clear difference between, on the one hand, 1st and 2nd person possessives and, on the other hand, 3rd person possessives. 1st and 2nd person simple possessives are fully specified for the person-number features of the possessor: there are four different possessive forms for 1st person singular (18a), 1st person plural (18b), 2nd person singular (19a) and 2nd person plural (19b)[9].

[9] *M-* and *t-* are markers also present in other pronominal forms such as the accusative and oblique personal 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns, respectively *me* and *mim* 'me', and *te* and *ti* 'you'. *Nos-* and *vos-* are the markers present in the nominative form of the 1st and 2nd person plural personal pronouns *nós* 'we' and *vós* 'you'.

(18) a. **m**-eu-s
1SG-M-PL
'my'

b. **noss**-o-s
1PL-M-PL
'our'

(19) a. **t**-eu-s
2SG-M-PL
'your'

b. **voss**-o-s
2PL-M-PL
'your'

The 3rd person marker *s-* is not specified for number and no other form is present in the paradigm to specify the 3rd person plural[10].

(20) **s**-eu-s
3-M-PL
'his/her/its/their'

As a consequence of this underspecification, *seu(s)* is ambiguous in its use as a possessive form. Portuguese contrasts in this respect with languages such as French or Italian, which morphologically distinguish between 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural simple possessive forms[11]. The sentence in (21) is thus ambiguous.

[10]The same is true for other pronominal forms composed with the same *s-* marker: the accusative clitic *se* and the oblique pronominal form *si*. They are all specified for 3rd person and unspecified for number.

[11]See section 3. for a comparison between Portuguese and other Romance languages paradigms of possessives.

(21) O Lobo Antunes$_i$ disse à Patrícia Melo$_j$ que (o) **seu**$_{i/j/i+j}$ livro
the Lobo Antunes said to.the Patrícia Melo that the 3.MSG book
era muito interessante.
was very interesting
'Lobo Antunes said to Patrícia Melo that his/her/their book was very interesting.'

(21) can have at least three readings: *seu* can refer to 3rd person singular masculine (*Lobo Antunes*) or feminine (*Patrícia Melo*), or to 3rd person plural (*Lobo Antunes and Patrícia Melo*). The different readings are overtly distinguished if *seu* is replaced by a *de*-possessive as in (22). The use of a *de*-possessive here thus avoids the ambiguity of the form *seu*. In colloquial Portuguese, *de*-possessives seem to be preferred in contexts such as this one. *Seu* and *dele*, however, do not always alternate freely as will be shown in Chapter 6.

(22) O Lobo Antunes$_i$ disse à Patrícia Melo$_j$ que o livro
the Lobo Antunes said to.the Patrícia Melo that the book
dele$_i$/**dela**$_j$/**deles**$_{i+j}$ era muito interessante.
DE.3MSG/DE.3FSG/DE.3MPL was very interesting
'Lobo Antunes said to Patrícia Melo that his/her/their book was very interesting.'

De-possessives are fully specified for the person-number features of the possessor: they identify not only the person and number but also the gender of the possessor. Unlike simple possessives, which are determiner or adjectival forms, *de*-possessives are prepositioned strong pronouns. They are composed of the preposition *de* followed by a strong personal pronoun. In the case of 3rd person *de*-possessives, the pronouns following *de* are *ele* 'he' (23a), *ela* 'she' (23b), *eles* 'they' masculine (23c), and *elas* 'they' feminine (23d). The preposition *de* here may be seen as the Genitive case marker. Under this assumption, simple possessives and *de*-possessives may be seen

as genitive forms of personal pronouns[12].

(23) a. o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

b. o livro **dela**
the book DE.3FSG
'her book'

c. o livro **deles**
the book DE.3MPL
'their book'

d. o livro **delas**
the book DE.3FPL
'their book'

Seu can furthermore refer to a formal addressee[13]. In a sentence such as (24) adressed to Lobo Antunes, *seu* can also be interpreted as referring formally to the 2nd person singular[14].

[12]From a diachronic point of view, simple possessives in Romance languages may be seen as personal pronouns in the genitive case, since as Ernout (1989) observes, the genitive form of the personal pronoun *mei* in Latin is taken from the paradigm of possessives (cf. Ernout (1989:101)).

[13]The same ambiguity in Galician (*seu(s)* and *súa(s)*) can refer to 2nd person singular formal and to 3rd person singular or plural, feminine or masculine, as observed in Álvarez and Xove (2002:470). Mattos e Silva (1989:177), however, mentions that such possibility is not available in Old Portuguese. For a possible explanation, see Chapter 6.

[14]In (24), *seu* can alternate with *de você*. However, a sentence such as (1) is strongly preferred in BP; in EP it is rejected by most speakers.

(1) Sr. Lobo Antunes, o livro **de você** é muito interessante.
Mr. Lobo Antunes, the book DE.VOCÊ is very interesting
'Mr. Lobo Antunes, your book is very interesting.'

(24) Sr. Lobo Antunes, o **seu** livro é muito interessante.
Mr. Lobo Antunes, the 3.MSG book is very interesting
'Mr. Lobo Antunes, your book is very interesting.'

Table (25) shows *seu* and the corresponding *de*-possessives, making it clear that the form *seu* can have five different referents as the corresponding *de*-possessives illustrate.

(25) *Seu* and corresponding *de*-possessives

A SG +FORMAL	3MSG	3FSG	3MPL	3FPL
seu	seu	seu	seu	seu
de você	dele	dela	deles	delas

This observation leads me to another particularity of colloquial Portuguese which is not always pointed out in grammars: the standard paradigm with six person-number combinations corresponding to six different personal pronouns and six different verbal agreeement person markers is not valid for today's colloquial Portuguese. Person distinctions are reduced and the personal pronoun paradigm is more complex. This affects all person marker paradigms, including possessives.

2.3. Restructuring in the pronoun paradigm

Table (26) shows the verbal inflection paradigm of EP in both its standard and colloquial versions. First column shows the referent and third column, the person-number features triggering verbal agreement in the colloquial paradigm. Subject pronouns are in bold.

(26) The paradigms of personal pronouns and verbal inflection in EP

REFERENT	STANDARD PARADIGM	FEATURES	COLLOQUIAL PARADIGM
S SG	**eu** canto	1SG	**eu** canto
A -FORMAL SG	**tu** cantas	2SG	**tu** cantas
A +FORMAL SG	-	3SG	**você** canta
3 SG	**ele** canta	3SG	**ele** canta
S PL	**nós** cantamos	1PL	**nós** cantamos
S PL	-	3SG	**a gente** canta
A PL	**vós** cantais	2PL	(vós cantais)
A PL	-	3PL	**vocês** cantam
3 PL	**eles** cantam	3PL	**eles** cantam

This table reveals differences between the standard and colloquial paradigms of verbal inflection which are similar to those observed for simple possessives in section 2.1..

First, 2nd person singular may be realised as the informal *tu*, with 2nd person singular verbal agreement (27a), but also as the "equality" form *você* or even the "courtesy" form *o senhor* (literally 'the sir'), with 3rd person singular verbal agreement (27b)[15] [16].

(27) a. Amália, (**tu**) **cantas-**nos um fado?
Amália, TU sing.2SG-1PLOBL a fado-song
'Amália, will you sing us a fado song?'

b. Senhora Dona Amália, (a senhora/**você**) **canta-**nos um
madam lady Amália, the madam/VOCÊ sing.3SG-1PLOBL a
fado?
fado-song
'Mrs. Amália, will you sing us a fado song?'

[15]This terminology is the translation of the terminology proposed in Cintra (1972) for the Portuguese forms of address (*formas de tratamento*): *forma de tratamento informal*, *forma de tratamento de igualdade* and *forma de tratamento de cortesia* (cf. Cintra (1972:14)).

[16]The subject pronoun is in brackets since Portuguese is a null subject language.

Second, 2nd person plural *vós* (28a) is no longer used, at least in Central and Southern Portugal, and has been replaced by *vocês* or other forms of address such as *os senhores* (literally 'the gentlemen'), with 3rd person plural agreement (28b)[17]. *Você* is a syncopated form derived from the nominal expression *vossa mercê* (literally 'your mercy'). This explains why it triggers 3rd person verbal agreement and shows singular/plural morphological opposition (with *-s* plural marker) like a lexical subject[18].

(28) a. Senhores fadistas, (**vós**) **cantais-**nos um fado?
gentlemen fado-singers, you sing.2PL-1PLOBL a fado-song
'Gentlemen fado-singers, would you sing us a fado song?'

b. Senhores fadistas, (os senhores/**vocês**) **cantam-**nos um fado?
gentlemen fado-singers, the gentlemen/VOCÊS sing.3PL-1PLOBL a fado-song
'Gentlemen fado-singers, would you sing us a fado song?'

Third, another form has been introduced in Portuguese. *A gente* (literally 'the people') refers to the 1st person (speaker) plural where it competes with *nós* (29a)[19].

[17]Meier (1948b:67) observes that in Portuguese the addressee is commonly specified as 3rd person either through lexicalised pronouns (*vocês*) or through lexical nominals (*a menina* 'the lady' or *a senhora* 'the madam').

[18]3rd person pronouns also have *-s* plural marking (*ele* 'he' vs. *eles* 'they'). In this respect, they behave like other nominals.

[19]It can also have arbitrary reference as English *one*. Colloquial French also has the (pronominal) form *on* which may refer either to 1st person (speaker) plural or have arbitrary reference, triggering 3rd person singular verbal agreement (1b). This form is historically derived from Latin *homo*. In standard French, however, *nous* (1a) is the only form allowed for 1st person plural.

(1) a. Nous **chantons**.
we sing.1PL
'We sing/are singing.'

b. On **chante**.
'on' sing.3SG
'One sings/is singing./We sing/are singing.'

A gente, exactly as *você*, triggers 3rd person singular verbal agreement (29b), as any singular lexical noun phrase. It may, however, display *ad sensum* (or semantic) verbal agreement which is 1st person plural (29c)[20].

(29) a. (Nós) **cantamos** um fado.
we sing.1PL a fado

b. A gente **canta** um fado.
the people sing.3SG a fado

c. A gente **cantamos** um fado.
the people sing.1PL a fado
'We sing a fado.'

I will now show how the above changes in the pronoun paradigm affect the possessive system[21].

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[20]With a nominal or adjectival predicate, agreement may be plural masculine (1a) or feminine (1b) depending on the gender of the referent (plural speaker). French *on* also triggers plural agreement on nominal or adjectival predicates when interpreted as 'we' - *On était fatigués/fatiguées.*

(1) a. A gente está/estamos cansados.
the people is.3SG/is.1PL tired.MPL

b. A gente está/estamos cansadas.
the people is.3SG/is.1PL tired.FPL
'We are tired.'

See Pereira (2003) for a detailed description and analysis of *a gente* patterns of verbal and nominal predicate agreement.

[21]Some authors assume that the forms *você(s)* and *a gente* are pronouns (cf. Cerqueira (1993), Müller (1996), a.o.). In fact, they appear in the contexts open to other pronouns, in particular the subject position and *de*-possessives, as will be shown. Even so, these forms may not be full pronouns. At least, they do not have the same status as 1st and 2nd person pronouns. They would be closer to 3rd person strong pronouns such as *ele(s)*. Notice, however, that these forms do not behave alike with respect to null subjects: *você(s)* can be omitted (27b) and (28b) whereas *a gente* cannot (29b) (cf. Chapter 6).

Table (30) repeats table (9) with some slight changes: it has only one form of simple possessives, since the complete paradigm is now irrelevant, and a column with the person-number features is included.

(30) The paradigm of simple possessives in Portuguese

REFERENT	FEATURES	SIMPLE POSSESSIVES	*De*-POSSESSIVES
S SG	1SG	meu	-
A SG -FORMAL	2SG	teu	-
A SG +FORMAL	3SG	seu	de você
3 SG	3SG	seu	dele/dela
S PL	1PL	nosso	da gente
A PL	3PL	vosso	de vocês
3 PL	3PL	seu	deles/delas

Comparing this paradigm with the standard paradigm of simple possessives in (8) we see that a simple possessive form has been introduced for the singular formal 2nd person (addressee), and the "new pronoun" *você* triggering 3rd person singular agreement preceded by *de* "competes" with the 3rd person singular agreement simple possessive *seu*, as seen in (24). Moreover, for those persons which now admit "new pronouns" with 3rd person agreement, *de*-possessives are also available. The forms that follow the preposition *de* 'of' can be, in addition to the 3rd person pronoun *ele(s)/ela(s)*, the "new pronouns", the forms of address *você(s)* (31a) and *a gente* (31b).

(31) a. o livro de **você(s)**
the book DE. VOCÊ(S)
'your book'

b. o livro d**a** **gente**
the book DE.the people
'our book'

In colloquial BP, the pronoun paradigm is even more reduced. Cerqueira (1993) gives a radically reduced paradigm in which person verbal agreement markers distinguish only 1st person singular and 3rd person singular. As a consequence, new pronouns are present in BP: in addition to the ones reported for EP (*você(s)* and *a gente*), there is *o pessoal* (literally 'the people') for 3rd person plural, which, like the other new pronouns, is a lexical nominal. Hence, it displays 3rd person singular agreement. Moreover, 2nd person singular informal *tu* is absent from many varieties of BP, with *você* being the only form used for 2nd person singular. Subjects are given in bold.

(32) The paradigm of subject pronouns and verbal inflection in BP adapted from Cerqueira (1993:138)

REFERENT	FEATURES	VERBAL FORMS
S SG	1SG	**eu** canto
A SG	3SG	**você** canta
3 SG	3SG	**ele** canta
S PL	3SG	**a gente** canta
A PL	3SG	**vocês** canta(m)
3 PL	3SG	**o pessoal** canta

Since the original six morphological oppositions now correspond to only two (or three)[22], the identification of person is dependent on the presence of a lexicalised subject rather than on morphology. The consequences are thus the loss of null subject properties in these varieties of BP and an increased frequency of overt subjects, aspects in which BP is diverging from EP. With respect to possessives, however, BP and EP do not exibit many differences, as shown in table (33).

[22]Past Tenses besides *Pretérito Perfeito Simples* (corresponding to Past Simple in English) show even fewer oppositions. In particular, 1st person singular is not distinct from 3rd person singular in the *Pretérito Imperfeito Simples* (Past Continuous) *cantava* 'I/he was singing'.

(33) The paradigm of possessives in BP adapted from Cerqueira (1993)

REFERENT	SIMPLE POSSESSIVES	*De*-POSSESSIVES
S SG	meu	-
A SG	seu	de você
3 SG	seu	dele
S PL	nosso	da gente
A PL	seu	de vocês
3 PL	seu	deles

The main differences between EP and BP are the non-distinction between formal and informal singular addressees, in many varieties of BP as well as the use of *seu* to refer to plural addresseees. The latter aspect may reflect differences in number specifications in EP and BP (cf. Cerqueira (1993)). As for similarities, both varieties have simple possessives and *de*-possessives. While simple possessives have forms for every person[23], *de*-possessives appear only for the persons which can display 3rd person agreement. Even if intuitively interpreted as genitive, *de*-possessives are not available for 1st (34a) or 2nd person (34b) in both EP and BP.

(34) a. *o livro **de nós**
the book DE. 1PL

b. *o livro **de ti**
the book DE. 2SGOBL

The contrast between the availability of *de*-possessives for 3rd person agreeing forms and its unavailability for 1st and 2nd person pronouns has, of course, to be accounted for.

[23]Cerqueira (1993) argues that, for 3rd person singular and plural, simple possessive *seu(s)* is not used, being replaced by *dele(s)*. Under this assumption, simple possessives would not have a full paradigm in BP. It has been shown by Müller (1996), however, that *seu(s)* had not disappeared in BP; rather, it is even obligatory in some contexts. For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 6.

2.4. Summary

This section has provided a description of the morphological properties of possessives in Portuguese (both EP and BP) integrating the paradigm of possessives in the pronoun paradigm. It was shown that the Portuguese paradigm of possessives includes two types of possessive forms: simple possessives and *de*-possessives. Simple possessives encode two types of features: person-number of the possessor and gender and number of the possessee. *De*-possessives, on the other hand, only encode the person-number of the possessor. Hence, simple possessives agree in gender and number with the possessee while *de*-possessives do not. The paradigm of simple possessives shows one form for every person, although the 3rd person singular form *seu* occupies several slots in the paradigm. This is due to a restructuring in the pronoun paradigm: 3rd person agreement is not restricted to 3rd person referents. For 3rd person, *de*-possessives are allowed, but not for 1st and 2nd person.
Moreover, one observes that Portuguese simple possessives only have one morphological set, as in Italian, Catalan and Galician and unlike in Spanish, French and English. In Old Portuguese, on the other hand, simple possessives have a bipartite system in feminine forms. The next section presents a comparison of the paradigms of possessives in these languages.

3. Portuguese among other languages

As have been shown, Portuguese has only one morphological set of simple possessives (cf. tables (7) and (9)). The same morphological form occurs in prenominal (35a) and postnominal positions (35b), with a gapped noun (35c)[24] and in predicative

[24]These constructions in which a noun is not present can be analysed as involving or not an empty noun. I assume the former view without discussing it.

contexts (35d)[25].

(35) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. um livro **meu**
the book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

c. (o) teu livro e o **meu**
the 2SG.MSG book and the 1SG.MSG
'my book and yours'

d. Este livro é **meu.**
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

The difference between EP and BP that has to be emphasised is that, in some varieties of BP, the definite determiner can be omitted. This fact may superficially be ascribed to EP and BP being typological different languages regarding the grammar of possessives with possessives being adjectives in the former and determiners in the latter. On the basis of the distributional properties of EP and BP possessives to be presented in Chapter 3, in Chapter 5 I will discuss whether these differences are indeed due to different grammars of possessives in the two varieties and I will claim that it is not the case. Instead, they rely on the determiner system. Nonetheless, and this is a fact to keep in mind, both EP and BP have only one morphological paradigm of simple possessives.

Moreover, 3rd person simple possessive *seu* can refer to both singular and plural possessors resulting into an ambiguous form. In these cases, Portuguese allows a *de*-possessive which is not ambiguous since it is fully specified with respect to phi-features (person, gender and number) of the possessor. *De*-possessives, however,

[25]A detailed description of the distribution of both simple and *de*-possessives will be given in Chapter 3.

cannot occur prenominally (36a), only in postnominal position (36b), with a gapped noun (36c) and in predicative contexts (36d) in both EP and BP.

(36) a. * o **dele** livro
the DE.3MSG book

b. um livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'a book of his'

c. (o) teu livro e o **dele**
the 2SG.MSG book and the DE.3MSG
'your book and his'

d. Este livro é **dele**.
this book is DE.3MSG
'This book is his.'

In the next subsections, the paradigm of possessives across Romance will be compared with the one presented for Portuguese. It will be shown that Romance languages differ, in particular, with respect to:

(i) having one or two morphological series of simple possessives;
(ii) distinguishing morphologically between 3rd person singular and plural possessors;
(iii) allowing *de*-possessives.

3.1. Romance languages

The paradigms of simple possessives in Romance languages may be divided into two sub-types: some languages have only one set of possessive forms while others have two different forms, under stress or elsewere, showing the distinction between stressed and unstressed forms. Portuguese is in the first group along with Italian, Catalan and Galician. French and Spanish are in the second group. With respect to *de*-possessives, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Spanish allow them while French

and Italian do not. However, there are some restrictions regarding their use and these will be leaven to Chapter 4.

I will now present the paradigm of simple possessives of the languages referred to as well as the contexts in which these forms are used. In Chapter 5, however, all these languages will be compared in more detail assessing the typologies proposed in the literature for simple possessives.

3.1.1. Italian

Italian shows only one set of simple possessive forms as shown in (37).

(37) The paradigm of simple possessives in Italian according to Cordin (1988:605-606)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	mio	mia	miei	mie
2SG	tuo	tua	tuoi	tue
3SG	suo	sua	suoi	sue
1PL	nostro	nostra	nostri	nostre
2PL	vostro	vostra	vostri	vostre
3PL	loro			

The same forms can occur pre- (38a) and postnominally (38b), with a gapped noun (38c) and in predicative contexts (38d).

(38) a. il **mio** libro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. un libro **mio**
the book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

c. il tuo libro e il **mio**
the 2SG.MSG book and the 1SG.MSG
'your book and mine'

d. Questo libro è **mio.**
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

Italian shows some differences with Portuguese. For 3rd person, there are two different forms: *suo* for 3rd person singular and *loro* for 3rd person plural. All forms show overt possessee gender and number markers, except the form *loro* which is unspecified for possessee gender and number.
Cordin (1988) mentions that *de*-possessives are possible in some contexts since a form such as *di lui* further specifies the gender of the possessor (39b), unlike the simple possessive (39a). However, Italian speakers consulted by me do not accept easily (39b).

(39) a. la **sua** casa
the 3SG.FSG house
'his/her home'

b. la casa **di lui**
the house DE.3MSG
'his home'

3.1.2. Catalan

The paradigm of simple possessives of Catalan has only one set of forms[26].

[26]Castanyer (2002:553-554) reports an unstressed set of simple possessives with a residual use in Catalan: it is restricted to kinship nouns and the word *casa* 'house'/'home'. In fact, these classes of nouns display particular behaviours as I will show in Chapter 3. Moreover, Castanyer (2002:552) mentions feminine variants as *meua, meues, teua, teues, seua, seues.*

(40) The paradigm of simple possessives in Catalan according to Castanyer (2002)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	meu	meva	meus	meves
2SG	teu	teva	teus	teves
3SG	seu	seva	seus	seves
1PL	nostre	nostra	nostres	nostres
2PL	vostre	vostra	vostres	vostres
3PL	seu(/llur)	seva(/llur)	seus(/llurs)	sevas(/llurs)

The same form can occur pre- (41a) and postnominally (41b), with a gapped noun (41c) and in predicative contexts (41d).

(41) a. el **meu** llibre
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. un llibre **meu**
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

c. el teu llibre i el **meu**
the 2SG.MSG book and the 1SG.MSG
'your book and mine'

d. Aquest llibre és **meu**.
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

Unlike in Portuguese, not all forms show overt gender agreement with the possessee: 1st person plural *nostres*, 2nd person plural *vostres* and 3rd person plural *llurs* are used for both masculine and feminine plural possessees. Therefore, they are only specified for plural. On the other hand, the paradigm shows that 3rd person singular and plural possessors have distinct morphological forms (*seu* for 3rd person singular and *llur* for 3rd person plural). But, as Castanyer (2002:552) claims, the opposition *seu*/*llur*, present in Old Catalan, is now being lost and *seu* is preferred

in both cases. Catalan thus behaves similarly to Portuguese in this respect. Moreover, Catalan exhibits *de*-possessives for 3rd person, according to Picallo (1994).

(42) els **seus** llibres
the 3SG.MPL books
'his/her books'

(43) els llibres **d'ella**
the books DE.3FSG
'her books'

3.1.3. Galician

Galician has a paradigm of possessives very similar to that of Portuguese[27].

(44) The paradigm of simple possessives in Galician according to Álvarez and Xove (2002:470)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	meu	miña	meus	miñas
2SG	teu	túa	teus	túas
3SG	seu	súa	seus	súas
1PL	noso	nosa	nosos	nosas
2PL	voso	vosa	vosos	vosas
3PL	seu	súa	seus	súas

Simple possessives display only one stressed form[28] occurring in all contexts: pre- (45a) and postnominally (45b), with a gapped noun (45c) and in predicative contexts

[27]Galician and Portuguese have the same close origin: *galaico-português*. According to Cintra (1971) on the basis of phonetic and phonological criteria, Portuguese and Galician are different dialects and not different languages.

[28]Álvarez and Xove (2002) observe that Galician still has unstressed forms such as *mi* 'my' (distinct from *meu* and *miña*), *tu* 'your' singular (distinct from *teu* and *túa*), and *su* 'his/her/its' (distinct from *seu* and *súa*); these unstressed forms are similar to those of Spanish. The authors call them *posesivos de respecto* 'possessives of respect' because they are used with the singular

(45d). Simple possessives encode the person-number features of the possessor as well as the gender and number features of the possessee.

(45) a. o **meu** libro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. un libro **meu**
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

c. o teu libro e o **meu**
the 2SG.MSG book and the 1SG.MSG
'my book and yours'

d. Este libro é **meu.**
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

Moreover, as observed by Álvarez and Xove (2002), 3rd person simple possessive *seu* also refers to singular and plural formal addressees, corresponding to the personal

forms of 'mother' and 'father' (*mi madre* and *tu padre*), as expressions of respect. More rarely they are also used with *tio* 'uncle', *señor* 'sir' and *amo* 'master' (cf. Álvarez and Xove (2002:478)). Calero (1979) refers to the present-day use of unstressed possessives as a "vulgarismo de uso muy restringido": this consists of the form *ña* for *miña* with some kinship nouns, such as *ña nai* 'my mom' and *ña filla* 'my daughter'. Note that with kinship nouns many languages that show obligatory simple possessives with the definite article admit a determiner-less possessive in front of the (kinship) noun. Sometimes even a reduced form is allowed, although not in the standard dialect. This is true for Italian (cf. Lyons (1985), a.o.) and also for Portuguese (cf. Meier (1948a) and Lapa (1973)).

(1) **mio** fratello
'my brother'

(2) **m(i)nha** mãe
'my mother'

pronoun *vostede(s)*. Galician is, in this latter aspect, similar to BP and differs from EP. As seen in section 2.3., *seu* is used in EP to refer to 2nd person singular but not to refer to 2nd person plural (cf. table (30)) whereas in BP it is used for both (cf. table (33)).

Álvarez and Xove (2002:471) also mention that Galician displays *de*-possessives for the same persons in which *seu(s)* is allowed: *de vostede(s)*, *del(es)* and *del(as)*.

3.1.4. Spanish

Unlike the languages previously presented, Spanish and French exhibit more than one set of simple possessives.

The paradigm of possessives in Spanish, with a stressed series and an unstressed series (although not for all forms), is that given in Picallo and Rigau (1999).

(46) The paradigm of simple possessives in Spanish according to Picallo and Rigau (1999:975:fn1)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	mi/mío	mi/mía	mis/míos	mis/mías
2SG	tu/tuyo	tu/tuya	tus/tuyos	tus/tuyas
3SG	su/suyo	su/suya	sus/suyos	sus/suyas
1PL	nuestro	nuestra	nuestros	nuestras
2PL	vuestro	vuestra	vuestros	vuestras
3PL	su/suyo	su/suya	sus/suyos	sus/suyas

Unstressed simple possessives are restricted to 1st person singular, 2nd person singular and 3rd person, which exhibits only one form not specified for possessor number as in Portuguese. However, unlike in Portuguese and Galician, a different form for 3rd person plural possessors (*lur/lures*) is attested in previous stages of Spanish (cf. Picallo and Rigau (1999:975:fn1) and Chapter 6). The unstressed forms do not agree in gender and number with the possessee and occur prenominally

(47a). Stressed forms are available for all persons, agree in gender and number with the possessee and occur postnominally (47b), with a gapped noun (47c) and in predicative contexts (47d).

(47) a. **mi** libro
1SG book
'my book'

b. un libro **mío**
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

c. tu libro y el **mío**
2SG book and the 1SG.MSG
'your book and mine'

d. Este libro es **mío**.
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

Moreover, Spanish also has forms of the type *de* + strong pronoun, as noticed by Meier (1948b).

3.1.5. French

The paradigm of simple possessives in French has two sets of forms.

(48) The paradigm of simple possessives in French according to Zribi-Hertz (1998b:150)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	mon/mien	ma/mienne	mes/miens	mes/miennes
2SG	ton/tien	ta/tienne	tes/tiens	tes/tiennes
3SG	son/sien	sa/sienne	ses/siens	ses/siennes
1PL	notre/nôtre		nos/nôtres	
2PL	votre/vôtre		vos/vôtres	
3PL	leur		leurs	

Besides these, French has another type of possessive: a prepositional form *à* + strong pronoun. In total, Modern French can be said to have three sets of possessives, as Zribi-Hertz (1998b) claims: determiner possessives (the *mon* type), adjectival possessives (the *mien* type) and dative possessives (the *à moi* type)[29]. The first type occurs prenominally (49a), the second only with a gapped noun (49c), and the third type postnominally (49b) and in predicative contexts (49d).

(49) a. **mon** livre
1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. un livre **à moi**
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

c. ton livre et le **mien**
2SG.MSG book and the 1SG.MSG
'your book and mine'

d. Ce livre est **à moi.**
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

There are several observations to be made concerning table (48). On the one hand, unstressed and stressed possessives in French display different forms for almost every possessor person, unlike Spanish. The only exception is 3rd person plural possessor *leur(s)*, the same form for both stressed and unstressed possessives. On the other hand, the paradigm of simple possessives in French reveals some gaps with respect to morphological overt agreement with the possessee (in gender and number): 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular unstressed and stressed possessives show overt possessee gender markers for singular possessees; for plural possessees, however, gender is morphologically distinguished only in the stressed paradigm. With

[29]These are Zribi-Hertz' *possessifs déterminatifs*, *possessifs adjectivaux* and *possessifs datifs*, respectively.

respect to 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural simple possessives, both paradigms do not morphologically distinguish possessee gender; only number is overt in the possessive forms. As regards 3rd person, French, like Italian and unlike Portuguese, Galician, Spanish and Catalan, distinguishes morphologically between 3rd person singular *son/sien* and 3rd person plural *leur*.

3.2. Old Portuguese

Now that Portuguese is positioned amongst other Modern Romance languages, I will briefly introduce the paradigm of possessives in Old Portuguese since it may help us to better understand the system of possessives in Modern Portuguese.
In Old Portuguese, the paradigm of possessives differs in some respects from that of Modern Portuguese. It is given in (50), taken from Mattos e Silva (1993).

(50) The paradigm of simple possessives in Old Portuguese according to Mattos e Silva (1993:27)

PERSON	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
1SG	meu	ma/mha/minha	meus	mas/mnhas/minhas
2SG	teu	ta/tua	teus	tas/tuas
3SG	seu	sa/sua	seus	sas/suas
1PL	nosso	nossa	nossos	nossas
2PL	vosso	vossa	vossos	vossas
3PL	seu	sa/sua	seus	sas/suas

Masculine forms have only one set in Old Portuguese, morphologically similar to that of Modern Portuguese[30].

[30]All Old Portuguese examples in this section are dated from the 13th century (the exact year is given for each example) and are taken from *CIPM - Corpus Informatizado de Textos Portugueses Medievais*, which can be accessed online at http://cipm.fcsh.unl.pt. HGP is the CIPM version of *História do Galego-Português*, originally edited by Clarinda de Azevedo Maia (cf. Maia (1986)). CA is the CIPM version of *Os documentos em Português da Chancelaria de D.Afonso III*, originally

(51) eu pusi **meus** preytos & myas cõuenẽzas cõuosco (CA03 1260)
I put 1SG.MPL pacts and 1SG.FPL agreements with.you

'I put my pacts and agreements with you'

Feminine forms, on the other hand, exhibit two morphological sets of simple possessives (unstressed and stressed forms) that are arguably used in different contexts. According to Mattos e Silva (1993), forms of the unstressed paradigm precede the noun and occur without the definite article (52a); forms of the stressed paradigm are postnominal (52b) or occur after the determiner, when the noun is elliptical (52c).

(52) a. & esta doazõ fazo por **ma** alma & de meu padre (HGP095 1271)
and this donation do by 1SG.FSG soul and of 1SG.MSG father

'And I do this donation by my soul and by the soul of my father'

b. pousẽ na stalaria **mya** (CA30 1278)
rest in.the inn 1SG.FSG

'Do rest in my inn'

c. aya a maldizõ de Dyos & a **mjna** (HGP026 1281)
have the malediction of God and the 1SG.FSG

'Be cursed by God and by me'

In spite of the described distinction, however, it is possible to find an unstressed form such as *ma* cooccurring with a definite article (53a). Moreover, a stressed form can occur determinerless in prenominal position (53b).

edited by Luiz Fagundes Duarte (cf. Duarte (1986)). TT is the CIPM version of the king Afonso II's will, originally edited by Avelino Jesus da Costa (cf. Costa (1979)).

(53) a. & quẽ contra doazõ quisser passar aya a **ma**
and who against donation wants pass have the 1SG.FSG
maldizõ & a de Deus (HGP095 1271)
malediction and the of God
'And whoever tries to do something against this donation be cursed by me and by God'

b. eu pusi meus preytos & **myas** cõuenẽzas cõuosco
I put 1SG.MPL pacts and 1SG.FPL agreements with.you
(CA03 1260)
'I presented my pacts and agreements with you'

The variation in the use of the unstressed and stressed feminine forms is observed by many authors and it is attested since the first Portuguese texts[31].

The facts in (53) prevent us from aligning Old Portuguese unstressed possessive forms with similar forms in other languages that display paradigms of stressed versus unstressed possessives. For instance, in Spanish and French (and English), unstressed possessives never cooccur with the definite article (nor the demonstrative), which have led these forms to be classified as determiner possessives in the literature. The forms combining with determiners, on the other hand, are claimed to be adjectives. As previously mentioned for Modern EP and BP varieties, Portuguese possessives are not easily accomodated in such a distinction. Indeed, neither Old Portuguese possessives nor EP and BP possessives show the behaviour predicted by proposals based on the distinction between determiners and adjectival possessives. The adequacy of such typological proposals to Portuguese possessives will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Another outstanding property of Old Portuguese possessives is that *seu(s)/sa/sua(s)* can refer to both singular and plural 3rd person possessors. Old Portuguese is similar to Modern Portuguese in this respect and differs from the majority of (other)

[31] See, among others, Maia (1986), Mattos e Silva (1993), Crispim (1995), Carvalho (1996) and Muidine (2000).

Romance languages. In fact, most of the Romance languages show (or have shown in their previous stages) the opposition between, on the one side, simple possessives referring to a singular possessor historically derived from Latin adjectival possessives *suus, sua, suum*, and, on the other, simple possessives referring to a plural possessor derived from Latin *illorum*, the genitive plural masculine or neuter of the demonstrative *ille, illa, illud*[32].

As regards *de*-possessives, forms such as *dele* are already found in Old Portuguese. In some contexts, they cooccur with *seu* (54). Such a construction is precluded in Modern Portuguese.

(54) & a **sua** morte **delles** q(ue) ficasse hu eu mandasse
and to 3.FSG death DE.3MPL that stayed where I ordered
'and, at the time of their death, it is to stay where I ordered.'

Mattos e Silva (1993:28-29) assumes thus that these forms cooccur with the simple possessive either to avoid the ambiguity of the referent or for emphasis purposes. The lack of distinct 3rd person possessive forms in the paradigm of possessives can be correlated with the availability of *de*-possessives for 3rd person.

3.3. Summary

In this section, the paradigm of possessives in Modern Portuguese (MP) was compared with the Old Portuguese one (OP) as well as with the paradigms of possessives in other Romance languages: Italian (IT), Catalan (CAT), Galician (GAL), Spanish (SP) and French (FR). These languages vary with respect to three proprieties:

(i) having one or two morphological series of simple possessives;
(ii) distinguishing morphologically between 3rd person singular and plural possessors;
(iii) allowing *de*-possessives.

[32]See Ernout and Thomas (1993), Ernout (1989), Meier (1948b), a.o.

The results achieved are compiled in the following chart:

(55) Properties of the paradigms of possessives across Romance

	MP	OP	IT	CAT	GAL	SP	FR
one (1) or two (2) series of simple possessives	1	2	1	1	1	2	2
distinct 3rd person SG and PL simple possessives	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
3rd person *de*-possessives	-	-	+	-	-	-	+

The first property is what motivates typological approaches to possessive systems. In short, such approaches imply that in languages displaying one series of possessive forms, these are adjectives; in languages displaying two, one of the series is classified as a determiner possessive. The adequacy of such typological proposals to Portuguese data will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The second and third properties seem to be related. Indeed, in the present-day stages of the Romance languages analysed, the following correlation holds: languages which do not exhibit morphologically distinct 3rd person singular and plural simple possessives allow 3rd person *de*-possessives. This is the case of Modern Portuguese, Galician, Catalan and Spanish. The converse correlation holds for Italian and French. The morphological opposition separates simple possessives referring to a singular possessor historically derived from Latin adjectival possessives *suus, sua, suum*, from simple possessives referring to a plural possessor derived from Latin *illorum*, the genitive plural masculine or neuter of the demonstrative *ille, illa, illud*. French and Italian still exhibit this opposition but Catalan and Spanish have shown it in their previous stages. Portuguese, on the contrary, has never distinguished morphologically simple 3rd person possessives. This categorical statement is based upon the literature (cf. Meier (1948b), Mattos e Silva (1993), a.o.) as well as upon the searches I have made in Old Portuguese *CIPM* corpus, since I have never found a form of the *lur* type. Significantly, *de*-possessives are already found in Old Portuguese, cooccurring in some cases with *seu*. Based upon this evidence, one may

infer that the lack of distinct 3rd person possessive forms in the paradigm of possessives can be correlated with the availability of *de*-possessives for 3rd person. This idea will be developed in Chapter 6, which addresses the relation between *seu* and *dele* possessive forms.

4. Summary and questions

In this chapter, the morphological properties of possessives in Portuguese were presented. Modern Portuguese, both EP and BP, use two different forms as possessives: simple and *de*-possessives. Each of these forms encodes different features: simple possessives encode the person-number features of the possessor as well as the gender and number features of the possessee; *de*-possessives encode only the person features of the possessor and do not agree with the possessee. Since simple possessives agree in gender and number with the possessee, in the literature, they are classified as determiners or adjectives.

Comparing Portuguese with other Romance languages as well as Old Portuguese, we may observe that simple possessives paradigms may have one morphological set or two, a fact which has implications in the distribution of the possessive forms. Therefore, Portuguese, Italian, Catalan and Galician have one morphological set of simple possessives whereas Spanish and French have two. Old Portuguese seems to have a mixed paradigm. Although it distinguishes stressed from unstressed feminine possessives, their distribution is freer than in Spanish and French.

On the other hand, Portuguese aligns with Modern Catalan, Galician and Modern Spanish since it does not exhibit distinct forms for 3rd person singular and plural possessors. Italian and French, on the contrary, distinguish them. This fact is claimed to have consequences in the allowance of *de*-possessives.

The exploration of the morphological properties of Portuguese possessives in this chapter enabled me to reveal the topics to be developed and discussed in the re-

maining chapters.

- Simple possessives and *de*-possessives occur in different positions within the noun phrase, and obey different constraints. This will be shown in Chapter 3.

- Possessives can occur with almost every noun. However, the semantic relation they establish with a noun is not always the same and depends on different factors. In Chapter 4, the thematic interpretations which a possessive may have will be shown as well as how these can be predicted.

- Simple possessives in Modern Portuguese form only one morphological set, as is the case with Galician, Catalan and Italian. Old Portuguese, Spanish and French, however, have two morphological sets of simple possessives. This property distinguishes two groups of languages. While the same possessive form occurs in all contexts in the languages in the first group, stressed and unstressed possessive forms are in complementary distribution in the second group of languages. Some typological studies have related the morphological forms to the categorial status and the distributional properties of such forms. The adequacy of such proposals for understanding the differences between languages, in particular the Portuguese internal variation, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

- Simple possessives *seu(s)* and *de*-possessives *dele(s)* are both available for 3rd person possessors in Portuguese. In other languages, *de*-possessives occur with restrictions, as will be shown in Chapter 4. Two questions then arise:

  (i) Why do Portuguese, Catalan and Spanish allow *dele* as a possessive while French and Italian do not?
  (ii) What is the relation between *seu* and *dele*, i.e. are these forms stylistic variants or are they in complementary distribution?

These questions will be addressed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3

The distribution of possessives in Portuguese

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the distribution of possessives in Portuguese, in particular the type of determiners they combine (or do not combine) with and the position in which possessives occur relative to determiners, modifiers and the noun.
De-possessives, like any PP in Portuguese, always occur postnominally. Simple possessives, however, can occur either pre- or postnominally and their different distribution is related to the determiners they cooccur with and the definite or non-definite interpretation of the possessivised noun phrase.
As I have pointed out in several papers (Castro (2001), Castro (2002) and Castro (to appearb), a.o.), simple possessives occur prenominally in noun phrases headed by the definite article, whereas they are postnominal within non-definite noun phrases. This observation is supported by the data I will present throughout this chapter.
In a nutshell, the minimal contrast found in Portuguese is the one illustrated in (56)[1].

[1]The definite article is in brackets in (56a) because it can be optional or even absent in BP as will be shown in section 4.1.2.1..

(56) a. Vou emprestar-te (**o**) **meu** livro de cozinha escandinava.
will lend-you (the) 1SG.MSG book of cooking Scandinavian
'I'm going to lend you my book on Scandinavian cooking.'

b. Levaste lá de casa **um** livro **meu** de cozinha
took there of house a book 1SG.MSG of cooking
escandinava?
Scandinavian
'Did you take a book of mine on Scandinavian cooking from my house?'

A postnominal simple possessive does not combine with the definite article as in (57a) and a simple prenominal possessive does not combine with the indefinite article (57b)[2].

(57) a. * Vou emprestar-te **o** livro **meu** de cozinha escandinava.
will lend-you the book 1SG.MSG of cooking Scandinavian

b. * Levaste lá de casa **um meu** livro de cozinha
took there of house a 1SG.MSG book of cooking
escandinava?
Scandinavian

Attested data further support the above observation. Web searches (Google searches at www.google.pt) reveal that, both in Portuguese (.pt) and Brazilian (.br) sites, when combined with the definite article, simple possessives tend to be prenominal whereas with the indefinite article they are mainly postnominal. The results do not show significant differences between the two varieties under discussion here (EP and BP). On the other hand, corpora of spoken Portuguese also attest these findings. In the *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo* (SCOE)[3], there are 151 occurrences of possessivised noun phrases. In 137 cases possessives are prenominal, 123 of them

[2]Neto (1978) observes the same contrast for BP: simple possessives are neither prenominal with the indefinite article nor postnominal with the definite article.

[3]This is the corpus I selected from *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo* available at http://www.clul.ul.pt/sectores/corpus_oral_pf_publicado.zip. Since the object of study in this dissertation is standard EP, usually identified with the Portuguese spoken in the region of Lisbon,

occurring within noun phrases headed by the definite article; 6 by a demonstrative; and 8 within determinerless noun phrases[4]. The 8 postnominal possessives found in the SCOE either combine with the indefinite article (6 occurrences) or occur in bare plural noun phrases with indefinite reference (2 occurrences)[5].

As regards BP, Neves (1993) finds 385 occurrences of prenominal simple possessives in her corpus. In 381 cases the possessivised noun phrase is definite: the definite article is present in 65.19% and absent in 33.7%. There are only 4 occurrences with other determiners, including the indefinite article. Franchi (1996), in a larger corpus, finds a total of 1604 occurrences of prenominal simple possessives in which 64.37% cooccur with the definite article while 33.89% appear without it. There is only one occurrence of a prenominal simple possessive combined with the indefinite article; prenominal possessives cooccur with a demonstrative 14 times.

Postnominal simple possessives occur in a smaller number in Neves' corpus: there are only 12 occurrences. In eight of them, the postnominal simple possessive is

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only the interviews with Lisbon informants were considered for the *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo*. These interviews were made in the seventies (1970-1974) and are transcribed in the *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo* texts numbered 53, 340, 356, 377, 426, 455, 467, 476, 479, 482, 485, 560, 653, 769, 776, 795, 883, 913, 920, 965, 990, 1009, 1166, 1201, 1212, 1230, 1232, 1248, 1250, 1253, 1264, 1292, 1269, 1308, 1325, 1333, 1338, 1367, 1383 and 1394. These are the same files used in Chapter 6 regarding the alternation of the forms *seu* and *dele*.

[4]Among these 8 occurrences, 4 are vocatives, which never occur with a determiner in Portuguese as well as in other languages; 1 occurs within a locative PP with the noun *casa* 'house'/'home' (an exceptional case to be addressed in section 4.1.2.3.); and 3 within a PP idiom introduced by *para* 'to' (also exceptional cases as will be shown in section 4.1.2.4.).

[5]The remaining 6 occurrences of simple possessives found in the SCOE are possessives alone in predicative position as the one below:

(1) temos o verdadeiro interesse por uma criança quando ela é **nossa** (SCOE455)
have the real concern by a child when it is 1PL.FSG
'We have real concern in a child when it is ours.'

combined with the indefinite article (or the cardinal); in 2, it cooccurs with the definite article; in 1, with a demonstrative; and, in the remaining one, the simple possessive cooccurs with *qualquer* 'any'. Franchi's corpus, on the other hand, has 72 postnominal simple possessives: 61.11% with the indefinite article and 27.77% with the definite article. In the remaining cases the noun phrases are determinerless and interpreted as indefinite[6].

From Franchi's findings one could conclude that postnominal possessives may combine with the definite article in BP. Hence, contrary to EP, a sentence such as (57a) would be allowed in BP. However, my Brazilian informants tend to reject this pattern. Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will assume that the grammatical pattern of Portuguese, with no differences between EP and BP, involves prenominal simple possessives in definite noun phrases and postnominal simple possessives in non-definite noun phrases, as illustrated in (56).

On the other hand, all the corpus studies above-mentioned reveal the outstanding difference between the two varieties of Portuguese: in definite noun phrases in argument position the definite article is obligatory in front of simple prenominal possessives in EP, whereas it may be omitted in the same contexts in BP.

This chapter provides a detailed description of the distribution of both simple and *de*-possessives in Portuguese, organising the data as follows. In Section 2. the working definitions of definiteness are briefly presented. Section 3. describes the behaviour of *de*-possessives in both argument and non-argument positions. Section 4. is devoted to simple possessives within prenominal and postnominal positions - sections 4.1. and 4.2., respectively. As demonstratives may cooccur with both pre- and postnominal possessives, they will be discussed in a separate section (section 5.). Finally, in section 6., I summarise the data to be accounted for.

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[6]The two studies on BP corpora are referred to apud Müller (1996:146-154).

2. A note on definiteness

Before presenting the syntactic behaviour of possessives in Portuguese, I will briefly introduce the basis of definiteness and definite marking used through this chapter. Most of the notions here are taken from Lyons (1999).

Definiteness has been associated with the notions of familiarity (speaker/hearer knowledge), identifiability, uniqueness or inclusiveness. Moreover, definites refer to previously-mentioned referents while indefinites introduce new referents in the discourse. On the other hand, some languages show overt definiteness markers while others do not. It is not true, however, that languages not realising definiteness morphologically do not convey the semantic-pragmatic interpretations usually associated with it. That is why Lyons (1999) claims that in some languages definiteness is not grammaticalised whereas in others it is. For this author, when definiteness is a grammatical category, it is the grammaticalisation of identifiability, with the definite marker contributing for the identification of the referent by the hearer. In these cases a DP is projected (D being the Definiteness, and not Determiner, category). Indefinite articles, on the other hand, do not contribute for the identification of the referent of the noun phrase, and are not located in the DP projection, according to Lyons. They may be located in Card(inal)P since they are usually derived from cardinality words.

With Lyons (1999), I assume that definiteness is a grammatical category in languages which show overt definiteness marking. In Portuguese, this marker is the definite article *o(s)/a(s)* introducing what Lyons calls simple definite noun phrases[7] and being located in the DP projection.

I will show that in Portuguese the position of simple possessives may also be associated with definiteness. Within definite noun phrases, simple possessives are

[7]Also genericity may take the form of a definite in many languages since definites convey the notions of inclusiveness and identifiability. However, generics may also take the form of indefinites.

prenominal even if a non-overt definite article is present, as is the case of BP argument nominals. In non-definite noun phrases (which may be associated with non-identifiable quantity, arbitrariness or imprecision encoded by different markers), however, simple possessives are postnominal.

As for demonstratives, Lyons (1999) claims that they are also definite in some sense. Although not specifically [+def], they convey a deictic interpretation making the referent identifiable and resorting thus to definiteness. Within possessivised noun phrases in Portuguese, however, we observe that simple possessives may be either pre- or postnominal with demonstratives. These contexts may thus allow us to decide if it is definiteness what contributes for the pre- and postnominal positions of possessives in Portuguese.

With these ideas in mind, I will now present the distribution of both *de*-possessives and simple possessives.

3. *De*-possessives

De-possessives are always postnominal regardless of the (in)definiteness of the noun phrase. (58) illustrates this for argument position: postnominal *dele* within a definite noun phrase (58a) and within an indefinite noun phrase (58b).

(58) a. Já conheces **o** livro **dele** de cozinha escandinava?...
already know the book DE.3MSG of cooking Scandinavian
'Have you already seen his book on Scandinavian cooking?...'

b. Já conheces **um** livro **dele** de cozinha escandinava?...
already know a book DE.3MSG of cooking Scandinavian
'Have you already seen a book of his on Scandinavian cooking?...'

They cannot occur prenominally (59) as this is a general property of PPs complements or adjuncts of noun phrases (60).

(59) * **o/um dele** livro
the DE.3MSG book

(60) a. a visita **à** **cidade**
the visit to.the city
'the visit to the city'

b. * a **à** **cidade** visita
the to.the city visit

De-possessives are also postnominal in non-argument noun phrases such as those in vocative (61a) or postcopular positions (61b). In the former case, a definite article cannot be inserted; in the latter, however, it can.

(61) a. Oh, (*a) tia **dela**, vem cá!
oh, aunt DE.3FSG, come here
'Oh, aunt of hers, come here!'

b. A Joaquinita é (a) tia **dela**.
the Joaquinita is aunt DE.3FSG
'Joaquinita is her aunt.'

In short, since *de*-possessives are PPs (noun phrases introduced by the preposition *de* 'of') the only position available for them in Portuguese, as is the case of all PPs, is the postnominal position.

4. Simple possessives

Pre- and postnominal simple possessives will be desbribed by examining in detail the determiners they combine or do not combine with. The data will be organised with respect to the following properties:

(i) pre- and postnominal position of simple possessives;
(ii) their occurring with overt or null article;
(iii) the argument or non-argument status of possessivised noun phrases.

4.1. Prenominal simple possessives

Since only simple possessives can occur prenominally in Portuguese, I will use the term *prenominal possessives* to refer to them from now on.

This section is organised as follows. I will first show prenominal possessives occurring with an overt definite article in argument position in EP (section 4.1.1.). Second, the contexts of prenominal possessives within determinerless noun phrases will be presented: these are argument positions in BP (section 4.1.2.1.); and, generally in Portuguese, non-argument positions (section 4.1.2.2.), locative PPs with the word *casa* 'house'/'home' (section 4.1.2.3.), and other prepositional contexts (section 4.1.2.4.).

4.1.1. Overt definite article

In standard EP[8] simple possessives are typically prenominal when the definite article occurs within a noun phrase in argument position. Within simple definites, noun phrases headed by the definite article combined with the universal quantifier *todo(s)* 'all' or with other prenominal elements such as numerals or cardinals, as well as partitive constructions in both subject and object position. These constructions, in which the definite article must be obligatorily overt in EP, are illustrated below[9]. Within a definite noun phrase headed by the definite article, the simple possessive must be prenominal.

[8]The variant I am describing throughout this dissertation is the standard dialect of EP. Brito (2001, 2003) and Miguel (2004) provide data from a conservative dialect of EP, which differs from the standard in many respects. Although I mention their data whenever they diverge from mine, they will not be integrated into the analysis proposed.

[9]Most of the examples in this section show the relevant noun phrases in object position. Since, with respect to both the obligatoriness of the definite article and the positioning of the simple possessive, facts are similar for subject position, I will not present parallel examples for subject and object positions.

(62) a. Vi **o** **meu** livro em cima da mesa.
saw the 1SG.MSG book on top of.the table
'I saw my book on top of the table.'

b. *Vi **o** livro **meu** em cima da mesa.
saw the book 1SG.MSG on top of.the table

The universal quantifier *todo(s)* 'all' selects a noun phrase obligatorily headed by the definite article in EP[10]. Correlatively, simple possessives are obligatorily prenominal in noun phrases quantified by *todo(s)*.

(63) a. Vi **todos os** **meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw all the 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table
'I saw all my books on top of the table.'

b. *Vi **todos os** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw all the books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table

In partitive constructions there is also a noun phrase headed by the definite article. Hence, when a possessive is present, it must be prenominal.

(64) a. Vi um d**os** **meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw one of.the 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table
'I saw one of my books on top of the table.'

[10]Haspelmath (1997) states that "universally quantified noun phrases are semantically definite, even when not marked as such in languages that have a definite article" (cf. Haspelmath (1997:12)). Portuguese illustrates the following variation: in EP, the universal quantifier is obligatorily followed by the definite article (1a), whereas in BP the definite article can be omitted (1b).

(1) a. Todos os alunos faltaram na semana da Páscoa.
all the students skipped-classes in.the week of Easter

b. Todos (os) alunos faltaram na semana da Páscoa.
all (the) students skipped-classes in.the week of Easter
'All students skipped classes during Easter week.'

b. *Vi um d**os** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw one of.the books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table

Furthermore, in any noun phrase headed by the definite article, simple possessives must be prenominal, regardless of modifiers such as numerals (65), cardinals (66) or *outro* 'other' (67) occurring within the noun phrase.

(65) a. Vi **os meus dois** livros em cima da mesa.
saw the 1SG.MPL two books on top of.the table
'I saw my two books on top of the table.'

b. *Vi **os dois** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw the two books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table

(66) a. Vi **os meus primeiros** livros em cima da mesa.
saw the 1SG.MPL first books on top of.the table
'I saw my first books on top of the table.'

b. *Vi **os primeiros** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw the first books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table

(67) a. Vi **os meus outros** livros em cima da mesa.
saw the 1SG.MPL other books on top of.the table
'I saw my other books on top of the table.'

b. *Vi **os outros** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw the other books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table

The same order is observed if an adjective occurs within a noun phrase headed by the definite article. An adjective such as *lindo* 'beautiful' can be pre- or postnominal; but, whatever the position of the adjective, the possessive must appear before the adjective and the noun (68).

(68) a. Vi **os teus lindos** filhos/filhos **lindos** na festa
saw the 1SG.MPL beautiful children/children beautiful in.the party
ontem.
yesterday
'I saw your beautiful children at the party yesterday.'

b. *Vi **os lindos** filhos/filhos **lindos teus** na festa
saw the beautiful children/children beautiful 1SG.MPL in.the party
ontem.
yesterday

c. *Vi **os lindos teus** filhos na festa ontem.
saw the beautiful 1SG.MPL children in.the party yesterday

Besides being obligatorily prenominal, possessives are strictly adjacent to the definite article in the contexts exemplified above. Hardly any other lexical material may occur between the definite article and the prenominal possessive. Neither numerals (69) nor cardinals (70) nor other modifiers such as *outro(s)* 'other' (71) can occur between the definite article and the prenominal possessive in the standard dialect of EP[11].

(69) *Vi **os dois meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw the two 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table

(70) *Vi **os primeiros meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw the first 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table

(71) *Vi **os outros meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw the other 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table

Prenominal possessives cannot be modified by most adverbs and adjectives, either. This fact is observed in Castro (2001) and Castro and Costa (2002, 2003)

[11] According to Brito (2001, 2003) and Miguel (2004), similar constructions are allowed in the conservative dialect of EP. (1) is given in Miguel (2004:402(99b)).

(1) ?**os outros três meus** livros
the other three 1SG.MPL books

In the *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo*, only one occurrence of the definite article non-adjacent to the prenominal possessive is attested.

(2) isto o meu tio a assistir e **a outra minha** prima (SCOE479)
this the 1SG.MSG uncle to attend and the other 1SG.FSG cousin
'when my uncle and my other cousin were attending this'

for both EP and BP. Simple possessives cannot be modified by an exclusion adverb such as *só* or *apenas* 'only' (72a), by a manner adverb in *-mente* '-ly' (72b) or by an adjective (72c)[12].

(72) a. *Vi **o só/apenas teu** aluno na manifestação.
saw the only/only 2SG.MSG student in.the demonstration

b. *O melhor é **o inteiramente teu** projecto.
the best is the entirely 2SG.MSG project

c. ***A linda tua** filha chegou.
the beautiful 2SG.FSG daughter arrived

Modification in (72) is an operation applying to POSSESSIVE-NOUN and such operation seems to be ruled out. When modified by the afore-mentioned adverbs, possessives are realised as postnominal (73), the modification being restricted to the possessive itself.

(73) a. ?Vi **o** aluno **só/apenas teu** na manifestação.
saw the student only/only 2SG.MSG in.the demonstration
'I saw the student (who is) just yours in the demonstration.'

b. ?O melhor é **o** projecto **inteiramente teu.**
the best is the project entirely 2SG.MSG
'The best is the project (which is) entirely yours.'

The sentences in (73), however, are not optimal, perhaps because, as the noun phrase is definite, a prenominal possessive would be preferred.
As regards prenominal adjectives, they must also occur after the prenominal possessive as illustrated in (74), a case parallel to that in (68a).

(74) **A tua linda** filha chegou.
the 2SG.FSG beautiful daughter arrived
'Your beautiful daughter has arrived.'

[12]Miguel (2004:400:(95)) shows prenominal possessives modified by *muito* 'very', *tão* 'so' and *exclusivamente* 'exclusively' in the conservative dialect of EP.

A remarkable fact is that prenominal possessives in Portuguese may be modified by certain adverbs. As shown in Castro and Costa (2002, 2003), adverbs such as *ainda* 'still' and *já* 'already' can intervene between the definite article and the prenominal possessive.

(75) a. **a ainda minha** mulher
the still 1SG.FSG woman
lit. 'the still-mine wife'

b. **o ainda meu** andar
the still 1SG.MSG flat
lit. 'the still-mine flat'

c. **a já sua** noiva
the already 3.FSG fiancée
lit. 'the already-mine fiancée'

Brito (2001) first brought up these data as counterexamples to the assumption that prenominal possessives could not be modified. Modification by these adverbs, however, does not constitute an exception. As will be argued in Chapter 5, it is possible because these adverbs, unlike those in (72), are weak adverbs. Therefore, the data presented in (75) are predicted and accounted for by the analysis proposed in the present dissertation.

In contrastive focus contexts, Portuguese prenominal possessives behave contrary to those of other Romance languages. Unlike in Italian and Catalan[13], the position of the simple possessive within a definite noun phrase is not changed in Portuguese under contrastive focus: the possessive must be kept prenominal (76a); postnominal possessives are not allowed (76b).

[13] In Italian and Catalan, possessives can be postnominal under focus within definite noun phrases - see Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Schoorlemmer (1998) and Cardinaletti (1998), and Chapter 5 for a discussion and analysis of these data.

(76) a. Vi **os MEUS** alunos, não (os) teus.
saw the 1SG.MPL student, not the 2SG.MPL
'I saw MY students, not yours.'

b. *Vi **os** alunos **meus**/**MEUS**, não (os) teus.
saw the student 1SG.MPL/1SG.MPL, not the 2SG.MPL

Miguel (2002b, 2002c, 2004) and Brito (2003) are in agreement with the data given in the present section. They notice that in standard EP (and in the most normative variety of BP, which is similar to standard EP) prenominal possessives are adjacent to the definite article[14].

At this point, the following generalisation may thus be drawn:

(77) In European Portuguese, within a definite possessivised noun phrase in argument position, the simple possessive is always prenominal and obeys a strict adjacency requirement with respect to the definite article.

However, some data have been given in the literature that may counter this generalisation. Schmitt (1996) and Cerqueira (1996) claim that if the noun phrase is modified by a relative, the simple possessive can be postnominal along with the definite article, as in (78c)[15]. Portuguese informants consulted by me (both Portuguese and Brazilian) tend to reject (78c), or at least they find it very odd. It is, however, slightly better than the alternative without the relative (78b).

(78) a. Chegaram (**os**) **meus** **dois** amigos.
arrived the 1SG.MPL two friends
'There arrived my two friends.'

[14]The conservative dialect of EP presented in Brito's and Miguel's studies, however, does not obey this adjacency restriction.

[15]Both Cerqueira and Schmitt focus on BP. (78) gives the contrast presented in Schmitt (1996:344:(95)). In her examples, the noun phrases are isolated and not included in a sentence. In (78), however, I give Schmitt's noun phrases included in a sentence and present the grammaticality judgements of my informants.

b. ??/* Chegaram **os dois** amigos **meus**.
arrived the two friends 1SG.MPL

c. ?? Chegaram **os dois** amigos **meus** que tu conheces.
arrived the two friends 1SG.MPL that you know
'There arrived my two friends that you know.'

If instead of a noun phrase including a numeral, there is a simple definite, the judgements are more categorical. (79a)[16] is almost bad or bad: the prenominal possessive is required and (79b) is its well-formed counterpart.

(79) a. ??/* Já conhecia **o** amigo **teu** **que** veio à festa
already knew the friend 2SG.MSG that came to.the party
ontem.
yesterday

b. Já conhecia **o** **teu** amigo **que** veio à festa
already knew the 2SG.MSG friend that came to.the party
ontem.
yesterday
'I already knew the friend of yours who came to the party yesterday.'

With *tal* following the definite determiner (80b), a sentence such as (80a) is much improved.

(80) a. ??/* Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** colega **meu** de que te
here are the pictures of.the colleague 1SG.MSG of that you
falei.
told

[16] Cerqueira (1996:6) presents *o livro meu que João me deu* 'my book given to me by João' as well-formed but he does not give this noun phrase in context. Hence, it is hard to known in which contexts it is possible according to this author.

b. ? Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** colega **meu** de que
here are the pictures of.the TAL colleague 1SG.MSG of that
te falei.
you told
'Here there are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

c. Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** **meu** colega de que
here are the pictures of.the TAL 1SG.MSG colleague of that
te falei.
you told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

It is argued in Costa (1997) that *tal* has a deictic meaning. If *o tal* (the definite article + *tal*) has the same deictic meaning as a demonstrative, a behaviour similar to demonstratives, as far as the position of simple possessives is concerned, is expected. As illustrated in (81), demonstratives allow a postnominal possessive. Similarly, thus, (80b) is better than (80a), although (80c) is strongly preferred[17].

(81) Aqui estão as fotografias d**aquele** colega **meu** de que te
here are the pictures of.that colleague 1SG.MSG of that you
falei.
told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

[17]The possessive is also postnominal if the definite article is followed by *mesmo* 'same', classified as an "identity pronoun/determiner", an item expressing "identity and non-identity" with no "affinity to indefiniteness at all" (cf. Haspelmath (1997:12)).

(1) a. **O** **mesmo** livro **meu** que tu viste, o João também viu.
the same book 1SG.MSG that you saw, the João also saw
'The same book of mine that you saw, João also saw.'

b. * **O** **mesmo** **meu** livro que tu viste, o João também viu.
the same 1SG.MSG book that you saw, the João also saw

Perhaps *o mesmo*, along with *o tal*, has a different meaning here than the simple definite alone.

The pre- and post-positioning of simple possessives with demonstratives will be addressed in section 5..

In sum, in possessivised noun phrases headed by the definite article in argument position, the definite article and the prenominal possessive must be adjacent, except when the possessive is followed by *tal* or modified by adverbs such as *ainda* and *já*. A noun phrase modified by a relative clause with a postnominal postnominal, although not out, is not fully grammatical.

4.1.2. No definite article

There are contexts in which Portuguese allows a prenominal possessive within determinerless noun phrases. As attested by the corpus studies mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, some dialects of BP drop the definite article in argument position, i.e. in the same contexts as EP described in the last section. On the other hand, in both EP and BP, possessivised noun phrases with prenominal possessives occur determinerless in non-argument position. Other contexts in which the definite article may be absent are within noun phrases complement of prepositions. These latter cases are usually considered idiomatic and involve locative PPs with the noun *casa* 'home/house' as well as other PPs. I will provide the relevant data now.

4.1.2.1. Argument positions in Brazilian Portuguese Unlike in EP, in BP (or in some variants of it) the definite article can be omitted with prenominal possessives in argument position. In the same examples given for EP in the previous section, BP can drop the definite article: with simple definites (82), with the universal quantifier (83), in partitive constructions (84) and with other prenominal modifiers such as numerals (85), *outro* 'other' (92) or cardinals (87).

(82) Vi **meu** livro em cima da mesa.
saw 1SG.MSG book on top of.the table
'I saw my book on top of the table.'

(83) Vi **todos meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw all 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table
'I saw all my books on top of the table.'

(84) Vi um de **meus** livros em cima da mesa.
saw one of 1SG.MPL books on top of.the table
'I saw one of my books on top of the table.'

(85) Vi **meus** **dois** livros em cima da mesa.
saw 1SG.MPL two books on top of.the table
'I saw my two books on top of the table.'

(86) Vi **meus** **outros** livros em cima da mesa.
saw 1SG.MPL other books on top of.the table
'I saw my other books on top of the table.'

(87) Vi **meus** **primeiros** livros em cima da mesa.
saw 1SG.MPL first books on top of.the table
'I saw my first books on top of the table.'

Under the DP-hypothesis[18], two assumptions are available for BP: either the possessive is heading the noun phrase, or there is a null counterpart of the definite article. In either case, however, the prenominal position of the simple possessive seems to be decisive for the definite interpretation of the noun phrase, since in a sentence such as (88), without an article and the possessive being postnominal, the noun phrase is interpreted as non-definite in Portuguese, both in EP and - crucially - in BP.

(88) Vi **dois** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw two books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table
'I saw two books of mine(/*my two books) on top of the table.'

[18]The DP-hypothesis proposes that argument noun phrases project a DP and not an NP (cf. Abney (1987), Longobardi (1994), a.o.).

Note that in those variants of BP in which possessivised noun phrases can occur determinerless, there exists a definite article that marks definiteness in simple noun phrases. This is illustrated by the contrast in (89).

(89) a. A Maria saía sempre com **as** colegas à sexta-feira.
the Maria went-out always with the colleagues on.the Friday
'Maria always went out with the colleagues on Friday night.'

b. A Maria saía sempre com colegas à sexta-feira.
the Maria went-out always with colleagues on.the Friday
'Maria always went out with colleagues on Friday night.'

In (89a), *as colegas* is a definite noun phrase, whereas, in (89b), *colegas* behaves as an indefinite noun phrase[19]. In (89a), the referent is identifiable, specific and definite; it is part of the shared knowledge by speaker and hearer. In (89b), it is non-identifiable and non-specific.

On the other hand, with *de*-possessives, in order to get the specific definite reading, BP obligatorily resorts to the definite article, as illustrated in (90). Without the definite article the noun phrase has the reading under which 'I saw an unspecified quantity of book(s)-of-his (on the table)', since BP bare singulars are claimed to be read as number-neutral by many authors (cf. Munn and Schmitt (2002), Dobrovie-Sorin and Laca (2003) and Müller and Oliveira (2004)).

(90) Vi *(o) livro **dele** em cima da mesa.
saw (the) book DE.3MSG on top of.the table
'I saw his book on top of the table.'

Moreover, if the definite article is omitted, the noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite, as in (91).

[19]See Müller and Oliveira (2004) for the claim that bare plurals in Portuguese are basically indefinites a la Heim (1982) and Correia (2002) for the several values the zero (or null) determiner can have in Portuguese. Dobrovie-Sorin and Laca (2003), however, claim that bare nouns are different from indefinite nominals in Romance.

(91) Vi **dois** livros **dele** em cima da mesa.
saw two books DE.3MSG on top of.the table
'I saw two books of his(/*his two books) on top of the table.'

(92) Vi **outros** livros **dele** em cima da mesa.
saw other books DE.3MSG on top of.the table
'I saw other books of his(/*his other books) on top of the table.'

One may conclude that the absence of the definite determiner in (82-87) is possible because the prenominal possessive is sufficient to induce the definite interpretation of these possessivised noun phrases in BP. The definite article is thus redundant in such cases and can be absent. An important question demanding an answer, however, is why the definite article is required in EP whereas it may be omitted in BP since in EP also the prenominal positioning of simple possessives correlates with definiteness. This question is left aside at this point but will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

The data presented throughout this section enable us to maintain for BP the generalisation proposed in (77) for EP, although slightly rephrased as stated in (93) in order to integrate the BP variants in which the definite article can be omitted.

(93) In Portuguese, within a definite noun phrase in argument position, the simple possessive is always prenominal. The definite article can be overt or null and, in the former case, the possessive obeys a strict adjacency requirement with respect to the definite article.

As regards the conditions under which the definite article is or is not present in BP, there have been no conclusive studies, as far as I know. Silva (1982) analyses EP and BP corpus data and observes a massive presence of the definite article in front of simple possessives in Modern EP contrasting with its "optionality" in BP. This study, however, does not provide robust answers to the question of which factors determine the presence or the absence of the definite article in front of simple

possessives[20]. A general belief among Brazilian speakers is that the variation is regional: roughly, Southern dialects require the presence of the definite article while Northern dialects do not use it[21]. It seems to me, however, that the level of education of the speaker, the language register and even the social relation with the addressee are factors to be taken into consideration in the study of variation in BP. Therefore, one may hypothesise that more educated speakers and more formal speech situations would tend to produce sentences closer to standard/normative Portuguese, which prescribes the use of the definite article in front of prenominal possessives[22]. This

[20]The factors considered by Silva (1982) are: the specificity of the possessivised noun phrase; the semantic relation the possessive establishes with the possessee; the number of the possessee noun; the syntactic function of the possessivised noun phrase; the phonological conditioning (previous break); as well as extralinguistic factors (such as education or speech situation) and the fact that possessives occur within idioms. For BP, Silva suggests that the specificity of the noun phrase, a break before the possessive, and higher education or formal speech situations favour the occurrence of the definite article. Intriguing, however, as the author notes herself, is the fact that in the absence of the same factors in EP (i.e. when the noun phrase is not specific and there is no break before the possessive, or in less formal speech situations involving less educated speakers) there is no absence of the definite article. It could be that the absence of the definite article in possessivised noun phrases is the preferred option in BP and, when the definite article is present, it is because of a normative imposition prescribing its use (note that the normative grammar is the same for EP and BP). This topic needs a more detailed study separating external from internal factors of the grammar.

[21]Silva (1982) does not take into consideration regional differences since her corpus is restricted to the Rio de Janeiro variety, considered as standard. Neves and Franchi's studies, mentioned at the beginning of section 4., do not consider any regional (or social) variables either.

[22]I can recount two different stories that may indicate that this idea is right. When asking Ana Müller for data with possessives, she told me that her dialect of BP (São Paulo dialect) always puts the definite article in front of simple possessives and that was, in fact, what she did in all sentences she judged for me. However, in her email messages, she used determinerless possessivised noun phrases several times. Even in the Introduction of her own dissertation, she starts a sentence by a determinerless simple possessive: "meu objetivo inicial foi..." 'my initial goal was...' (cf. Müller (1996:1)). As an example of individual variation constrained by the social relation involved in the

question, however, goes beyond the scope of this dissertation and requires a deeper sociolinguistic study in order to be understood.

4.1.2.2. Non-argument positions in Portuguese Both EP and BP allow determinerless possessivised noun phrases in non-argument positions[23]. One such case is the postcopular position where the possessive must be prenominal (94a) and cannot be postnominal (94b).

(94) a. Ele é **meu** tio.
he is 1SG.MSG uncle
'He's my uncle.'

b. *Ele é tio **meu.**
he is uncle 1SG.MSG

Note that in the same context a prenominal possessive can occur preceded by the definite article (95a), whereas a postnominal possessive is not allowed (95b). This is so since the definite article forces the prenominal positioning of the possessive.

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discourse situation, Cristina Figueiredo Silva reported to me the experience of the linguist from whom she collected the data on the parametric variation on plural agreement markers within the noun phrase in BP (see Chapter 2). The same man (the person in charge of a farm) uses full plural agreement markers when talking to his boss (the owner of the farm), fewer when talking to his colleagues and even fewer when talking to his employees (recall that, in standard Portuguese, there is full plural agreement within noun phrases).

[23]Arguments are considered here as opposed to predicates. With respect to the syntactic categories in which arguments and predicates are projected, there are two main views. Longobardi (1994), departing from Stowell (1989), proposes that "a nominal expression is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D" (cf. Longobardi (1994:620:(21))). Considering that D is the projection hosting the definite article, the absence of such an element in non-argument noun phrases is expected: if D is not projected the definite article has no position in which to appear. Chierchia (1998), however, claims that it is the Nominal Mapping Parameter which determines how the categories NP are mapped into their denotations. Therefore, NPs can be either arguments or predicates in different languages.

(95) a. Ele é **o** **meu** tio.
he is the 1SG.MSG uncle
'He's my uncle.'

b. *Ele é o tio **meu**.
he is uncle 1SG.MSG

It must be pointed out that (94a) and (95a) correspond to two different types of copular sentences, as argued in Tavares (2005)[24]: (94a) is a (canonical) predicative sentence (in which *ele* is referential and *meu tio* denotes a property) whereas (95a) is an identificational sentence (in which both *ele* and *o meu tio* are referential)[25]. In BP, since the definite article can be absent in (95a), a sentence such as (94a) is ambiguous between the predicative and the identificational readings. In EP, however, predicative copular sentences such as (94a) are restricted to relational nouns such as kinship nouns. With *livro* 'book' (96) or deverbal nominals such as *actuação* 'performance' (97) only an identificational sentence is possible.

(96) a. Este é o **meu** livro.
this is the 1SG.MSG book
'This is my book.'

b. *Este é **meu** livro.
this is 1SG.MSG livro

(97) a. Esta é a **minha** actuação.
this is the 1SG.FSG performance
'This is my performance.'

b. *Esta é **minha** actuação.
this is 1SG.FSG performance

[24]Tavares (2005) distinguishes three types of copular sentences in EP: predicatives which can be canonical (*copulativas predicativas canónicas*) or inverted (*copulativas predicativas invertidas*), and identificational (*copulativas identificacionais*).

[25]See Chierchia (1998) for the distinction between predicates, denoting properties, and arguments, denoting entities or kinds.

In vocatives, the possessive is always prenominal in Portuguese and no determiner is present (98a). The definite article is excluded (98b) as well as the postnominal possessive (98c)[26].

(98) a. Não está, não, **minha** senhora! (SCOE1383)
not is, not, 1SG.FSG lady
'No, it's not, my lady!'

b. * Não está, não, a **minha** senhora!
not is, not, the 1SG.FSG lady

c. * Não está, não, senhora **minha**!
not is, not, lady 1SG.FSG

4.1.2.3. Locative PPs with casa Possessivised noun phrases with *casa* 'house'/'home' complement of a locative preposition allow both an overt or a null definite article[27].

[26]There is one exception, although. With *Deus* 'God' in exclamatory contexts, the simple possessive can be postnominal:

(1) Deus **meu**!
God 1SG.MSG
'My God!'

[27]Within locative PPs *casa* behaves similarly to some nouns of cities and countries (1a-b). The difference, however, is that these lack the definite article even in subject and object positions (1c-d), in which contexts *casa* requires it.

(1) a. O Quim viveu com a Joaquinita em Lisboa.
the Quim lived with the Joaquinita in Lisbon
'Quim lived with Joaquinita in Lisbon.'

b. Vou a França.
go to France
'I'm going to France.'

c. Lisboa recebeu sempre bem o Raúl.
Lisbon welcomed always well the Raúl
'Lisbon always welcomed Raúl well.'

d. O Vasco gostava de Inglaterra.
the Vasco liked of England

The latter case is illustrated in (99).

(99) a. Foi a **minha casa.**
went to 1SG.FSG house
'He/She went to my house.'

b. O Raúl ficou em **tua casa.**
the Raúl stayed in 2SG.FSG house
'Raúl stayed in your house.'

c. Fomos de/desde **nossa casa** até casa do Vasco a pé.
went from/since 1PL.FSG house to house of.the Vasco on foot
'We went from our house to Vasco's house on foot.'

d. A escola fica a meio caminho entre **minha casa** e o
the school stays at half way between 1SG.FSG house and the
banco.
bank
'The school is half-way between my house and the bank.'

This possibility is restricted to locative PPs, however. As shown in (100), the non-locative preposition *sobre* 'about' requires the definite article in front of the prenominal possessive.

(100) Falei sobre *(**a**) **minha casa** com o Quim.
talked about the 1SG.FSG house with the Quim
'I talked about my house with Quim.'

Moreover, the noun *casa* follows the general pattern described in section 4.1.1.: the definite article is obligatory in argument positions such as sentential subject (101a) and object (101b).

(101) a. *(**A**) **minha casa** é solarenga.
the 1SG.FSG house is sunny
'My house is sunny.'

'Vasco liked England.'

b. Já conheces *(**a**) **minha casa**?
already know the 1SG.FSG house
'Do you already know my house?'

The simple possessive cannot be postnominal in Portuguese (102), unlike in Italian (103).

(102) * **Casa minha** é solarenga.
house 1SG.FSG is sunny

(103) **Casa mia** è bellissima.
house my is very beautiful
'My house is very beautiful.'

In Italian, this construction is also possible with proper names (*Gianni mio* 'my Gianni') and kinship nouns (*papà mio* 'my daddy') and is claimed by Longobardi (1996) to be evidence for N-to-D raising. In Portuguese, however, similar examples are not possible: **Vasco meu* and **papá meu*[28]. Therefore, the only contexts in which *casa* may occur determinerless is within locative PPs. But it is not forced to, since the definite article can also be present as illustrated in (104), which provides examples parallel to those of (99).

(104) a. Foi **à minha casa**.
went to.the 1SG.FSG house
'He/She went to my house.'

b. O Raúl ficou **na tua casa**.
the Raúl stayed in.the 2SG.FSG house
'Raúl stayed in your house.'

[28]There may be, however, a residual use of kinship nouns in determinerless possessivised noun phrases as *meu pai* (cf. Meier (1948a) and Lapa (1973)).

c. Fomos da/desde **a nossa casa** até casa do Vasco a
went from.the/since the 1PL.FSG house to house of.the Vasco on
pé.
foot
'We went from our house to Vasco's house on foot.'

d. A escola fica a meio caminho entre **a minha casa** e
the school stays at half way between the 1SG.FSG house and
o banco.
the bank
'The school is half-way between my house and the bank.'

One question that arises is whether the sentences in (99) and (104) are stylistic variants. It seems so, as the same speaker can produce the two constructions in the same conversation: (105) shows two sentences taken from the same interview of the *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo* (SCOE340).

(105) a. Eu gostava de estar na **minha casa**, com o meu
I liked of be in.the 1SG.FSG house, with the 1SG.MSG
filho...
son
'I would like to be in my house, with my son...'

b. Em **minha casa**, eu sou como o meu pai...
in 1SG.FSG house, I am like the 1SG.MSG father
'In my house, I'm like my father...'

The lack of the definite article in front of a possessive in locative PPs is not restricted to prenominal possessives, however. The same can happen with *de*-possessives (106a) or lexical genitive noun phrases (106b).

(106) a. Estou em **casa dela**.
am in house 3FSG
'I'm in her house.'

b. Estou em **casa da tia Joaquinita**.
am in house of.the aunt Joaquinita
'I'm in aunt Joaquinita's house.'

The determinerless noun phrases with *de*-possessives (106a) and lexical genitive noun phrases (106b) alternate with those in (107a) and (107b), in which the definite article is present. This pattern is thus similar to that of the prenominal possessive in (99) and (104).

(107) a. Estou na **casa dela.**
am in.the house 3FSG
'I'm in her house.'

b. Estou na **casa da tia Joaquinita.**
am in.the house of.the aunt Joaquinita
'I'm in aunt Joaquinita's house.'

The facts in (106) and (107) contrast with those of the preceding section in which only prenominal possessives allow the definite article to be absent from BP argument nominals. It was claimed there that the prenominal positioning of the possessive is sufficient for marking definiteness. In the remaining cases, however, in particular with *de*-possessives, the definite article is required in order to obtain the specific definite reading of the noun phrase. But in the constructions with *casa*, the definite article may be absent even in the context in which no overt element contributes to the definite interpretation of the noun phrase.

Casa enters in another interesting construction: when alone after the locative preposition, i.e. with neither the definite article nor the possessive, the noun phrase selected by the PP is read as if it indeed includes the possessive coreferent with the subject.

(108) a. Vou para **casa.**
go to house
'I'm going (to my) home.'

b. O Raúl vem de **casa.**
the Raúl comes from house
'Raúl is coming from (his) home.'

c. Eles passam antes por **casa**.
they pass before by house
'They'll first stop over at (their) home.'

Unlike in the cases discussed above, the presence or absence of the definite article is not free in (108), since the possessive reading is not available if the definite article is overt (109). The only reading available for these noun phrases is that the house in question is some previously mentioned house.

(109) a. Vou para **a casa**.
go to the house
'I'm going *home/to the house.'

b. O Raúl vem d**a** **casa.**
the Raúl come from.the house
'Raúl is coming from *home/the house.'

c. Eles passam antes pel**a** **casa.**
they pass before by.the house
'They'll pass by *their home/the house before.'

Jackendoff et al. (1993) argue that English *home* includes a hidden syntactic anaphor that must be bound locally, sharing some properties with reflexives. It is, however, freer than reflexives since the antecedent can be either on the left or on the right. Therefore, according to the authors, *home* conceals an empty preposition (*to* or *at*) + a bound pronoun (or PRO) as in the following example[29]:

[29]Romanian *acasă* behaves as English *home*.

(1) Tu mergi **acasă.**
you go home
'You go home.'

(110) Bill is **home.**

In Portuguese, one can argue that *casa* in (108) is also locally bound but the locative preposition must be present unlike in English[30]. A different approach is that under which the definite article conveys the possessive reading as in inalienable possession constructions (cf. Guéron (1985) and Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), a.o.). However, this proposal cannot apply to Portuguese locative PPs with *casa* since when the definite article is present the possession reading is lost (109). Longobardi (1996) investigates the constructions involving the words for 'house'/'home' in Romance languages. He remarks that these display some properties of the Construct State in Semitic languages[31], in particular the lack of the definite article that heads the noun phrase, the postpositioning of the possessive, and the impossibility

[30]French *chez*, however, behaves itself as a preposition including not only the locative preposition but also 'house', and it must combine with an overt possessor.

(1) Je vais **chez toi.**
I go CHEZ you
'I go to your place.'

[31]Semitic languages display two possible word orders for noun + adnominal genitive constructions: D+N(+AP)+P+DP (Absolute State), similar to those of Romance languages; and N+DP(+AP) (Construct State) with the following properties (Longobardi 1996:6-7):

(1) A. N in first position;
B. obligatory genitive;
C. lack of article;
D. lack of preposition;
E. strict adjacency between the noun and its genitive argument (no modifiers in the middle);
F. phonological reduction of the noun (the 'Construct State');
G. definiteness inheritance: the definiteness value of the head noun depends on the +/- definite status of the complement

of modifiers intervening, resulting in *casa* being in first position, as in the above-mentioned Italian example:

(111) **Casa mia** è bellissima.
house my is very beautiful
'My house is very beautiful.'

Although it may occur in all argument positions in languages such as Italian, Catalan or French[32], Longobardi (1996b:12:fn15) observes that locative contexts favour the Construct State construction with the word for *casa* 'house'/'home'. In addition, Longobardi (1996) provides data in which other Construct State properties are present in Romance, namely constructions with the sequence *'house' + family name* instead of *D + 'house' + 'of' + family name* (the general case in Romance). This is shown for Italian (112), Catalan (113) and French (114).

(112) a. **Casa Rossi** è qui vicina.
house Rossi is here neighbour
'Rossi's house is nearby.'

b. In **casa il conte...**
in house the count
'In the count's house...'

(113) **Casa/Ca'** meva no és lluny d' aquí.
house my not is far from here
'My home is not far from here.'

(114) Je suis/vais **chez mes parents.**
I am/go to-the-house-of my parents
'I am/am going to my parents' house.'

A similar construction is attested in Old Portuguese occurring within a locative PP and not in subject or object positions. There are two examples from the same

[32]English *home* can be seen as an instance of the Construct State as well.

text dated 1281 from the Galician region[33] showing lack of definite article, lack of *de* 'of' preposition and a phonological reduction of the noun (*cas* instead of *casa*) within a locative PP[34].

(115) a. deue o foreyro de Freaes j quarteyro de centeo **en cas**
owe the tributary of Freaes one quarter of rye in house
Munio Perez
Munio Perez
'Freaes' tributary owes one quarter of rye in Munio Perez' house.'

b. mando [...] a mias sobrinas Eluira Perez & Tereyga Perez [...]
send [...] to my nieces Eluira Perez and Tereyga Perez [...]
duas mesas de mantéés que seen **en cas Maria Fernandez**
two tables of altar-cloth which are in house Maria Fernandez
de Gimaraes
of Gimaraes
'I send two tables of altar cloths which are in Maria Fernandez de Gimaraes' house to my nieces Eluira Perez and Tereyga Perez.'

Longobardi (1996) outlines the descriptive generalisation in (116) for Italian, suggesting that it can be extended to the rest of Romance (cf. Longobardi (1996:6:(14))).

(116) Movement of a common noun to (an empty) D is licensed only if an overt or understood genitive argument is realised (in other words, if a corresponding argument role is somehow discharged).

From the facts presented throughout this section, it is clear that Portuguese does not fall under this generalisation. On the one hand, only within locative PPs (117a), and not in all argument positions (101), is *casa* 'house'/'home' allowed to enter into a special construction, unlike in Italian (112a) and Catalan (113). On the other

[33]It is HGP055 in the *CIPM - Corpus Informatizado de Textos Portugueses Medievais*, available online at http://cipm.fcsh.unl.pt. HGP is the CIPM version of the medieval texts in *História do Galego-Português*, originally edited by Clarinda de Azevedo Maia (cf. Maia (1986)).

[34]There is another occurrence of *cas* in the same text but with the overt preposition *de* 'of'.

hand, there is no evidence for N-raising in possessivised noun phrases in Portuguese since the order *casa*-POSSESSIVE is precluded (117b), unlike in Italian (111).

(117) a. Foi a **minha casa**.
went to 1SG.FSG house
'He/She went to my house.'

b. *Foi a **casa minha**.
went to house 1SG.FSG

Therefore, the descriptive generalisation for Portuguese, as far as the special construction with *casa* is concerned, is the following:

(118) *Casa* 'house'/'home' can occur determinerless within locative PPs with a Possessor either implicit or realised as a simple possessive, a *de*-possessive or a full genitive phrase. When the Possessor is realised, the definite article can be null or overt.

As stated above, lack of definite article with possessives cannot be analysed as the cases in the preceding section (lack of definite article in front of the prenominal possessive in BP argument nominals). Noun phrases with *casa* are always interpreted as specific definites even if no linguistic item which typically contributes for that in Portuguese (e.g. the definite article or the prenominal possessive) is overtly present. Moreover, only *casa* is allowed to enter into the construction described. It may thus be considered a grammaticalised expression. Indeed, in Castro (1999), I propose an analysis inspired by the Minimalist Program (cf. Chomsky (1995)) in which the different behaviours of *casa* are derived by postulating different lexical items available in the Lexicon with the same spell-out.

The absence of the definite article within possessivised noun phrases complement of prepositions is not exclusive of this word, however. Other PPs allowing the definite article to be absent in front of prenominal possessives will be addressed in the next section.

4.1.2.4. PPs with other nouns Other contexts in which the definite article can be omitted even in EP are those of adjunct PPs. Cunha and Cintra (1984:327) mention that in these cases the possessive is used instead of the oblique strong pronoun (119-121), and characterise these constructions as *locuções prepositivas*, i.e. idiomatic PP expressions[35].

(119) a. a**o** **meu** lado
to.the 1SG.MSG side

b. a**o** lado **de mim**
to.the side of 1SGOBL
'to/on my side'

(120) a. em **nosso** favor
in 1PL.MSG favour

b. em favor **de nós**
in favour of 1PLOBL
'for our benefit'

(121) a. por **sua** causa
by 3SG.MSG cause

b. por causa **de você**
by cause de VOCÊ
'because of you'

There are several prepositions heading these prepositional idioms and the constructions vary in two respects:

(i) the definite article may be present or not possibly depending on its morpho-phonological form (correlated with the gender of the noun);
(ii) the possessive may alternate or not with the oblique strong pronoun.

[35]See also Meier (1948a) and Lapa (1973) for this idea.

In PP headed by the preposition *a* 'to', a feminine noun obligatorily combines with the definite article resulting in *à* (the contraction of the preposition with the article), as in (122).

(122) a. Fazes tudo **à** **tua** maneira.
do everything to.the 2SG.FSG way
'You do everything in your way.'

b. Fazes tudo **à** **tua** vontade.
do everything to.the 2SG.FSG will
'You do everything according to your will.'

Determinerless noun phrases are not possible in these cases (123).

(123) a. * Fazes tudo a **tua** maneira.
do everything to 2SG.FSG way

b. * Fazes tudo a **tua** vontade.
do everything to 2SG.FSG will

With a feminine plural noun such as *custas* 'costs', the definite article is also required (124b).

(124) a. * Subiu na vida a **suas** próprias custas.
ascended in.the life to 3.FPL own costs

b. Subiu na vida **às** **suas** próprias custas.
ascended in.the life to.the 3.FPL own costs
'He/She ascended in life through his/her own efforts.'

If the noun is masculine, however, the definite article is optional, as in (125) and (126).

(125) a. Vou estar sempre a**o** **teu** lado.
go be always to.the 2SG.MSG side

b. Vou estar sempre a **teu** lado.
go be always to 2SG.MSG side
'I'll always be on your side.'

(126) a. Deixo isso a**o** **teu** critério.
leave that to.the 2SG.MSG criterion

b. Deixo isso a **teu** critério.
leave that to 2SG.MSG criterion
'I leave that to your criterion.'

The preposition *em* 'in', regardless of the gender of the noun, blocks the presence of the definite article in (127).

(127) a. * Fiz isso n**o** **teu** nome.
did that in.the 2SG.MSG name

b. * Fiz isso n**o** **teu** proveito.
did that in.the 2SG.MSG profit

c. * Fiz isso n**a** **tua** honra.
did that in.the 2SG.FSG honour

In these cases, a determinerless noun phrase is required (128).

(128) a. Fiz isso em **teu** nome.
did that in 2SG.MSG name
'I did that in your name.'

b. Fiz isso em **teu** proveito.
did that in 2SG.MSG profit
'I did that for your benefit.'

c. Fiz isso em **tua** honra.
did that in 2SG.FSG honour
'I did that in your honour.'

The definite article must be overt, however, with feminine nouns such as *frente* 'front' (129) and *costas* 'back' (130).

(129) a. Fiz isso n**a** **tua** frente.
did that in.the 2SG.FSG front
'I did that in front of you.'

b. * Fiz isso em **tua** frente.
did that in 2SG.FSG front

(130) a. Fiz isso **nas** **tuas** costas.
did that in.the 2SG.FPL back
'I did that behind your back.'

b. * Fiz isso em **tuas** costas.
did that in 2SG.FPL back

The data presented above are hard to fit into a descriptive generalisation. One could take the fact that the preposition *a* 'to' is homophonous with the feminine singular definite article *a* 'the' in order to explain the contrast between (122) and (123). In this way, the obligatoriness of the definite article with feminine singular nouns, resulting in the phonetically distinct *à*, would be justified as a strategy to distinguish the preposition from the definite article. However, these are the cases following the expected pattern: the general case of the definite article in front of prenominal possessives, described in section 4.1.1.. The exceptional cases are those of determinerless noun phrases[36].

It is not predictable as well if the definite article should be present or not in similar

[36] In French, a similar contrast is observed with the prepositions *en* and *à* followed by geographical place names: *en* appears without the definite article when the noun that follows is feminine singular (either consonant (1a) or vowel-initial (1b)) or a vowel-initial masculine singular noun (1c).

(1) a. Je suis en/*à la France.
I am in/in the France
'I'm in France.'

b. Je suis en/*à l'Amérique.
I am in/in the-America
'I'm in America.'

c. Je suis en/*à l'Iran.
I am in/in the-Iran
'I'm in Iran.'

Plural nouns (2a) and (2b) as well as consonant-initial masculine singular nouns (2c) occur with *à* + definite article.

constructions with other prepositions. With the preposition *por* 'by'/'because', for instance, the definite article is excluded in (131) and present in (132). And here it is not the gender of the noun that determines the absence or presence of the definite article, since the two nouns are feminine.

(131) a. Não fui ao cinema por **tua** causa.
not went to.the cinema by 2SG.FSG cause
'I didn't go to the movies because of you.'

b. * Não fui ao cinema pel**a** **tua** causa.
not went to.the cinema by.the 2SG.FSG cause

(132) a. * Não saias de casa com este frio, por **tua** saúde.
not go-out of home with this cold by 2SG.FSG health

b. Não saias de casa com este frio, pel**a** **tua** saúde.
not go-out of home with this cold by.the 2SG.FSG health
'Don't go out in this cold weather, because of your health.'

In the *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo* there are two cases of determinerless possessivised noun phrases within PPs introduced by the preposition *para* 'to' (133).

---

(2) a. Je suis *en/aux Philippines/Indes.
I am in/in.the Philippines/Indias
'I'm in the Philippines/Indias.'

b. Je suis *en/aux Pays-Bas/Etats-Unis.
I am in/in.the Netherlands/United-States
'I'm in the Netherlands/United States.'

c. Je suis *en/au Canada.
I am in/in.the Canada
'I'm in Canada.'

The same alternation occurs with the preposition *de*: *de* alone in the cases of *en* and *de* + definite article in the cases of *à*. Miller et al. (1997) propose that the alternation *en*/*à* is a case of allomorphic variation dependent on the phonological form of the noun following the preposition.

(133) a. O senhor vai à praça, não é, traz uma alcofa, é para
the sir goes to.the market, not is, bring one basket, is for
seu governo, é para **seu** governo, não é, é para
3.MSG management, is for 3.MSG management, not is, is for
gastar em casa (SCOE426)
spend in house
'You go to the market and bring a basket - it's for you, isn't it? It's for your own use at home.'

b. Peixe nunca entra cá, claro, porque eu abomino arranjar
fish never enters here, of-course, because I abominate prepare
peixe, nem sei - para **minha** vergonha (SCOE467)
fish, neither know - to 1SG.FSG shame
'Fish is never eaten here, of course, because I hate preparing fish, and don't know how - to my own shame.'

Picallo and Rigau (1999:976-977) observe that in Spanish prepositional or adverbial idioms such as *en su lugar* 'in his/her place' or *en su contra* 'against him/her' do not always alternate with an adnominal phrase[37]. In Portuguese, this is also true. In (134) and (135), an oblique strong pronoun is not allowed whereas a full noun phrase can be present. These examples should be compared with (122a) and (125), respectively.

[37] *En su vista*, *a su raíz* or *en su vez* are not possible in spite of the allowance of the corresponding *en vista de* 'in the view of', *a raíz de* 'in the root of' and *en vez de* 'in the place of'. Note that these idioms are not the same crosslinguistically. In Portuguese, a noun such as *vez* 'place' admits both the possessive and the adnominal strong pronoun, unlike in Spanish.

(1) a. Fui na **tua** vez.
went in.the 2SG.FSG view

b. Fui em vez **de ti.**
went in view of 2SGOBL
'I went instead of you.'

(134) a. * Fazes tudo **à** maneira **de ti**.
do everything to.the way of 2SGOBL

b. Fazes tudo **à** maneira do Raúl.
do everything to.the way of.the Raúl
'You do everything in Raúl's way.'

(135) a. * Vou estar sempre a**o** lado **de ti.**
go be always to.the side of 2SGOBL

b. Vou estar sempre a**o** lado do Quim.
go be always to.the side of.the Quim
'I'm always going to be on Quim's side.'

In (136), however, both the oblique strong pronoun and a full noun phrase are possible. This example is parallel to that in (131).

(136) a. Não fui ao cinema por causa **de ti**.
not went to.the cinema by cause of 2SGOBL
'I didn't go to the movies because of you.'

b. Não fui ao cinema por causa do Vasco.
not went to.the cinema by cause of.the Vasco
'I didn't go to the movies because of Vasco.'

In French, there are constructions similar to those described for Portuguese. The prenominal possessive never combines with the definite article, as is the general pattern in French, and an oblique strong pronoun seems to be usually not allowed (137-138)[38].

(137) a. Il a fait ça en **mon** honneur.
he has done it in 1SG.MSG honour
'He did it in my honour.'

b. * Il a fait ça en (**l'**) honneur **de moi**.
he has done it in the honour of 1SGOBL

[38]These judgements were given to me by Anne Zribi-Hertz.

c. *Il a fait ça en *(**l'**) honneur de François.
he has done it in the honour of François

(138) a. Il a fait ça à **ta** manière.
he has done it to 2SG.FSG way
'You did it in your way.'

b. *Il a fait ça à **la** manière **de toi.**
he has done it to the way of 2SGOBL

c. Il a fait ça à **la** manière de François.
he has done it to the way of François

However, in cases such as (139), the strong pronoun is allowed, although the noun phrase occurs determinerless.

(139) a. Il est à **ton** côté.
he is to 2SG.FSG side
'He is on your side.'

b. Marie is à/*au côté **de toi**.
Marie is to/to.the side of 2SGOBL
'He is on your side.'

c. Il est à/au côté de François.
he is to/to.the side of François
'He is on François' side.'

Zribi-Herts (p.c.) observes that the sentences in (139) are not used in the same contexts. *À côté de toi* is the most usual form used to convey the literal, locative meaning. *À ton côté* conveys a metaphorical meaning, e.g. expressing sympathy to someone by saying *sachez que nous sommes à vos/votre côté* meaning 'we are standing beside you in spirit, we support you morally'.

A way of dealing with the Portuguese constructions described through this section is to assume that, when the definite article is absent, the noun phrases are not referential. Hence, the noun phrases involved are not arguments, i.e. they do not

denote a kind but rather a property[39]. Considering the contrast in (131) and (132), repeated here as (140) and (141), *a tua saúde* is referential, i.e. it can be associated to a discourse referent as it can be anaphorised: *a tua saúde... (ela) está muito frágil. Tua causa*, on the contrary, does not refer to a specific 'cause'. Rather, the whole PP means 'because of you'.

(140) a. Não fui ao cinema por **tua** causa.
not went to.the cinema by 2SG.FSG cause
'I didn't go to the movies because of you.'

b. * Não fui ao cinema pel**a** **tua** causa.
not went to.the cinema by.the 2SG.FSG cause

(141) a. * Não saias de casa com este frio, por **tua** saúde.
not go-out of home with this cold by 2SG.FSG health

b. Não saias de casa com este frio, pel**a** **tua** saúde.
not go-out of home with this cold by.the 2SG.FSG health
'Don't go out in this cold weather, because of your health.'

In addition, these facts can be related to the presence of an oblique strong pronoun instead of the simple possessive: *por causa de ti* is possible in contrast with *por saúde de ti* which is ill-formed. The argument/non-argument status of the noun phrases involved here can be captured assuming that the former project a DP while the latter project an NP. The presence or absence of the definite article would thus follow from the availability of the category where it is projected, i.e. DP. However, what could be said for the cases in which the definite article is optional: would those noun phrases be ambiguous between predicates and arguments? Alternatively, we may assume that determinerless noun phrases are allowed because they occur in governed positions, as is the case of PPs[40].

[39] See Chierchia (1998) and section 4.1.2.2. for these notions.

[40] Governed positions are assumed to be subject to the Empty Category Principle (ECP) postulated in Chomsky (1981).

The discussion pursued in this section is a contribute for the understanding of what morpho-phonological, syntactic and semantic factors may be at work in these constructions but a systematic and detailed investigation on the behaviour of these PPs crosslinguistically is needed in order to achieve satisfactory conclusions, in particular, in order to prevent us to classify these constructions as idiomatic.

4.1.3. Summary

As regards the contexts in which prenominal possessives occur in Portuguese, some conclusions can be drawn. In EP possessivised noun phrases are headed by the definite article in argument positions. In addition, the definite article and the prenominal possessive obey an adjacency requirement. An exception to this generalisation happens when the definite article combines with some adverbs or with *tal* 'such'/'that'. The sequence *o tal* is equivalent to a demonstrative since it has a deictic meaning. Therefore, the simple possessive cannot intervene between *o* and *tal* and when prenominal it occurs right after *o tal*. The fact that the simple possessive can be postnominal in this case is also expected since, as will be shown in section 5., demonstratives can combine with both pre- and postnominal simple possessives. Some varieties of BP allow determinerless prenominal possessives even in argument positions, showing thus no differences between argument and non-argument positions. In non-argument positions, a definite article can or must be omitted both in EP and BP: the definite article can be present or absent in postcopular contexts and must be omitted in vocative contexts. Moreover, there are some particular cases in which EP determinerless possessivised noun phrases are allowed: with *casa* 'house'/'home' in locative PPs and in some prepositional idioms. To what extend these cases should be considered idiomatic is an open question.
I now turn to the behaviour of postnominal simple possessives.

4.2. Postnominal simple possessives

Simple postnominal possessives occur in non-definite noun phrases: these may be indefinite or express other values but crucially they are not definite. Many authors have discussed the topic of (in)definiteness and which markers languages make use of to express it. This study will not contribute for such a discussion and will simply assume some ideas by Lyons (1999) and Haspelmath (1997).

Lyons (1999) considers real indefinite determiners elements "expressing something like indefiniteness or arbitrariness (like English *any*, *some* or *other*) [...] and others indicating specific indefinite reference (Spanish *cierto* 'a certain')" (cf. Lyons (1999:89)). Under this view, real indefinite determiners are the elements which express the semantic values of non-definiteness and are in complementary distribution with (either the definite or) the indefinite article.

Besides the indefinite article, other elements are claimed to begin an indefinite noun phrase. In this section, I will consider the Portuguese words listed as 'indefinite pronouns' by Cunha and Cintra (1984:356) (*algum, nenhum, todo, outro, muito, pouco, certo, vário, tanto, quanto, qualquer, cada*)[41] and present an exhaustive description of their behaviour with simple possessives. Some of these elements cannot cooccur with an article whereas others can. I also include bare nominals in this section, considering with many authors that they behave as indefinites.

The position of possessives in Portuguese may indeed favour the view under which all the noun phrases in this section are interpreted as non-definite since, simple possessives must be postnominal in all them.

[41] Cunha and Cintra use the neutral term 'pronouns'. Some of these may be considered determiners, others adjectives. This classification depends on the possibility of their cooccurring with articles: determiners cannot cooccur with articles while adjectives can.

4.2.1. Indefinite article

The indefinite article *um* 'a' may not be a "real indefinite article" in Lyons' (1999:89) sense as it is derived from a cardinality word. Portuguese follows the Romance pattern: the word for the indefinite article is homophonous with the numeral 'one', although it may have a reduced morpho-phonological form. Lyons (1999:95) calls these words "quasi-indefinite articles". In simple indefinite possessivised noun phrases, the simple possessive is postnominal (142a).
In standard EP, the prenominal position is not allowed (142b)[42].

(142) a. Encontrei **um** livro **meu** na tua estante.
found a book 1SG.MSG in.the 2SG.FSG bookshelf
'I found a book of mine on your bookshelf.'

b. * Encontrei **um meu** livro na tua estante.
found a 1SG.MSG book in.the 2SG.FSG bookshelf

[42]Brito (2001, 2003) and Miguel (2004) claim that speakers of the conservative dialect of EP accept constructions with the indefinite article (1a), indefinites such as *algum* 'some' (1b) and bare numerals (1c) combined with a prenominal possessive. These sentences, taken from Miguel (2004:395:(90)), are not allowed in standard EP, though.

(1) a. **Um teu** discurso é sempre um acontecimento.
a 2SG.MSG discourse is always a event
'A speech of yours is always an event.'

b. **Algumas minhas** amigas foram ver a galeria de arte.
some 1SG.FPL friends went see the gallery of art
'Some (particular) friends of mine went to see the art gallery.'

c. Encontrei **dois teus** primos na praia.
met two 2SG.MPL cousins at.the beach
'I met two (particular) cousins of yours in the beach.'

4.2.2. Algum/nenhum

In Portuguese, *algum* 'any/some' and its negative counterpart *nenhum* 'no/none' are real indefinite determiners in Lyons' (1999) sense, since they cannot cooccur with the definite or the indefinite article and have indefinite reference.
Simple possessives are postnominal within a noun phrase introduced by *algum* (143b) and *nenhum* (144b); the same noun phrases are ungrammatical with prenominal possessives.

(143) a. Encontraste **algum** livro **meu** na tua estante?
found any book 1SG.MSG in.the 2SG.FSG bookshelf
'Did you find any book of mine on your bookshelf?'

b. * Encontraste **algum meu** livro na tua estante?
found any 1SG.MSG book in.the 2SG.FSG bookshelf

(144) a. Não encontraste **nenhum** livro **meu** na tua
not found no book 1SG.MSG in.the 2SG.FSG
estante, encontraste?...
bookshelf, found
'You didn't find any book of mine on your bookshelf, did you?...'

b. * Não encontraste **nenhum meu** livro na tua estante,
not found no 1SG.MSG book in.the your bookshelf,
encontraste?...
found

4.2.3. Qualquer

Qualquer 'any' has arbitrary reference and combines with a postnominal possessive (145a), not with a prenominal one (145b).

(145) a. Não encontrei **qualquer** livro **teu** na minha estante!
not found any book 2SG.MSG in.the 1SG.FSG bookshelf
'I didn't find any book of yours on my bookshelf!'

b. * Não encontrei **qualquer teu** livro na minha estante!
not found any 2SG.MSG book in.the 1SG.FSG bookshelf

4.2.4. Cada

Cada, which may be translated by the universal distributive quantifier 'every' or 'each'[43], can also be considered a determiner in Portuguese: it can be preceded neither by the definite nor by the indefinite article. When *cada* is included within a possessivised noun phrase, the possessive must be postnominal (146a), not prenominal (146b).

(146) a. Vi **cada** livro **meu** ser rasgado pela criança.
saw each/every book 1SG.MSG be ripped by.the child
'I saw each book of mine being ripped by the child.'

b. *Vi **cada** **meu** livro ser rasgado pela criança.
saw each/every 1SG.MSG book be ripped by.the child

4.2.5. Certo

The specific indefinite *certo* 'certain' can occur preceded by the indefinite article or determinerless in Portuguese. As claimed for Spanish *cierto* by Eguren and Sánchez (2004), the former is a prenominal predicative whereas the latter is a determiner. In both cases, however, *certo* conveys an idea of imprecision[44] (and is thus non-definite) and combines with the postnominal possessive (147a). The prenominal possessive is not possible whatever its position relatively to *certo* (147b).

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[43] "The collective universal quantifier 'all' is quite compatible with the definite article in many languages [...], and even the distributive universal quantifier 'every' can be combined with the definite article in some languages [...]. As a rule, universally quantified noun phrases are semantically definite, even when not marked as such in languages that have a definite article" (cf. Haspelmath (1997:12)).

[44] *Certo* can also be a qualifying adjective, occurring postnominally within a definite or an indefinite noun phrase as in *Conheço o/um actor certo para esse papel.* 'I know the/a right actor for that role'. However, *certo* here means 'suitable' and not 'certain'. *Certo* 'certain' may not occur within a definite possessivised noun phrase either: **Conheço o certo aluno teu.*.

(147) a. Vi (**um**) **certo** aluno **teu** na manifestação.
saw a certain student 2SG.MSG in.the demonstration
'I saw a certain student of yours in the demonstration.'

b. *Vi (**um**) **teu** **certo**/**certo** **teu** aluno na
saw a 2SG.MSG certain/certain 2SG.MSG student in.the
manifestação.
demonstration

4.2.6. Outro

Noun phrases with *outro* 'other' can also occur preceded by the indefinite article or without an article. These are interpreted as non-definite and the simple possessive is postnominal (148a), not prenominal (148b), as seen for *certo* 'certain' in (147).

(148) a. Vi (**um**) **outro** livro **meu** em cima da mesa.
saw a other book 1SG.MSG on top of.the table
'I saw another book of mine on top of the table.'

b. *Vi (**um**) **meu** **outro**/**outro** **meu** livro em cima da
saw a 1SG.MSG other/other 1SG.MSG book on top of.the
mesa.
table

4.2.7. Bare nominals

In section 4.1.2.1., it was shown that simple possessives can appear in first position in the BP varieties which drop the definite article with prenominal possessives. The noun phrase is there interpreted as definite, exactly as in the EP examples which require an overt definite article, and we may assume that they include a null counterpart of the definite article. Plural bare nominals combined with postnominal possessives, however, are interpreted as indefinites, as claimed Oliveira (1998), Correia (2002), Munn and Schmitt (2002), Müller and Oliveira (2004), among others. They cannot be interpreted as non-definite.

(149) a. Encontrei livros **meus** na tua estante.
found books 1SG.MPL in.the 2SG.FSG bookshelf
'I found books of mine on your bookshelf.'

b. Encontrei **dois** alunos **teus** na manifestação.
met two students 2SG.MPL in.the demonstration
'I met two students of yours in the demonstration.'

c. Vi **outros** livros **meus** em cima da mesa.
saw (some) other books 1SG.MPL on top of.the table
'I saw other books of mine on top of the table.'

Elements denoting quantity cooccur with a postnominal simple possessive in bare nominals: *poucos* 'few' (150), *vários* 'several' (151), *muitos* 'many' (152) and *tantos* 'many' (153)[45]. These words are considered by Cunha and Cintra (1984) as indefinite pronouns in Portuguese, but what forces the indefinite interpretation of these noun phrases is indeed the lack of a determiner.

(150) Encontrei **poucos** alunos **teus** na manifestação.
met few students 2SG.MPL in.the demonstration
'I met few students of yours in the demonstration.'

(151) Encontrei **vários** alunos **teus** na manifestação.
met several students 2SG.MPL in.the demonstration
'I met several students of yours in the demonstration.'

(152) Encontrei **muitos** alunos **teus** na manifestação.
met many students 2SG.MPL in.the demonstration
'I met many students of yours in the demonstration.'

[45]Hapelmath (1997:11) states that "these express quantity and have nothing to do with indefiniteness - many of them combine freely with the definite article [...] however, some mid-scalar quantifiers are incompatible with the definite article in various languages". Indeed, some of these words can occur within a noun phrase headed by the definite article in Portuguese: *os (teus) vários/poucos/muitos alunos.*

(153) Encontrei **tantos** alunos **teus** na manifestação!...
met so-many students 2SG.MPL in.the demonstration
'I met so many students of yours in the demonstration!...'

Also bare singulars interpreted as mass require the possessive to be postnominal.

(154) a. Vi café **teu** à venda no supermercado.
saw coffee 2SG.MSG to.the sale in.the supermarket
'I saw coffee of yours for sale in the supermarket.'

b. *Vi **teu** café à venda no supermercado.
saw coffee 2SG.MSG to.the sale in.the supermarket

4.2.8. Interrogatives

According to Cunha and Cintra (1984), interrogatives are strictly related to indefinites since with both interrogatives and indefinites the meaning is indeterminate, although in the case of interrogatives the answer usually clarifies what have been asked[46].

With interrogatives and other WH-words, the possessive must be postnominal (155a) and (156a), not prenominal (155b) and (156b).

(155) a. **Que** aluno **meu** encontraste na manifestação?
which student 1SG.MSG met in.the demonstration
'Which student of mine did you meet in the demonstration?'

b. ***Que meu** aluno encontraste na manifestação?
which 1SG.MSG student met in.the demonstration

[46]My translation from "estreitamente ligados aos indefinidos. Em uns e outros a significação é indeterminada, embora, no caso dos interrogativos, a resposta, em geral, venha esclarecer o que foi perguntado" (cf. Cunha and Cintra (1984:352)).

(156) a. Ela disse-me **quantos** alunos **meus** encontrou na
she said-me how-many students 1SG.MPL met in.the
manifestação.
demonstration
'She told me how many students of mine she met in the demonstration.'

b. * Ela disse-me **quantos** **meus** alunos encontrou na
she said-me how-many 1SG.MPL students met in.the
manifestação
demonstration

4.3. Summary

All the data presented in sections 4.1. and 4.2. shows that in Portuguese prenominal possessives occur in definite noun phrases while postnominal possessives occur in non-definite noun phrases. Therefore, I propose for standard Portuguese the descriptive generalisations given in (157) (repeated from (93)) and (158)[47].

(157) In Portuguese, within a definite noun phrase in argument position, the simple possessive is always prenominal. The definite article can be overt or null and, in the former case, the possessive obeys a strict adjacency requirement with respect to the definite article.

(158) In Portuguese, within a non-definite noun phrase in argument position, the simple possessive is always postnominal.

In English and French, as Zribi-Hertz (1998a) observes, prenominal possessives are also definite and postnominal ones indefinite: "en français comme en anglais, le PPR [possessif prénominal] est typiquement défini et le PPO [possessif postnominal],

[47]Data from the conservative dialect of EP, as given in Brito (2001, 2003) and Miguel (2004) are not covered by these generalisations: there is neither strict adjacency between the definite article and the prenominal possessive nor must the simple possessive be postnominal in non-definite noun phrases.

indéfini"[48] (cf. Zribi-Hertz (1998a:24)).

Moreover, it was shown that EP and BP diverge with respect to the realisation of the definite article in argument noun phrases: while in EP the definite article is always overt, it can be null in some varieties of BP.

Exceptions to the generalisation in (157) are noun phrases headed by the definite article and modified by some adverbs or by a relative clause.

The former cases are illustrated here in (159), which repeats (73).

(159) a. ?Vi **o** aluno **só/apenas teu** na manifestação.
saw the student only/only 2SG.MSG in.the demonstration
'I saw the student (who is) only yours in the demonstration.'

b. ?O melhor é **o** projecto **inteiramente teu.**
the best is the project entirely 2SG.MSG
'The best is the project (which is) entirely yours.'

(160), here repeating (80), illustrates the latter cases:

(160) a. ??/*Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told

b. ?Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the TAL colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

[48] In French and English, as I have shown in Chapter 2 for French and will show in more detail in Chapter 5, the prenominal possessive does not combine with the definite article. Furthermore, the postnominal possessive in both languages is a PP. Despite these apparent similarities, Zribi-Hertz (1997) argues that the two systems of possessives diverge in many respects.

c. Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** **meu** colega de que
here are the pictures of.the TAL 1SG.MSG colleague of that
te falei.
you told
'Here are the pictures of such a colleague of mine that I told you about.'

d. Aqui estão as fotografias d**aquele** colega **meu** de que te
here are the pictures of.that colleague 1SG.MSG of that you
falei.
told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

In (159) and (160), however, the postnominal positioning of the possessive does not result in an optimal sentence maybe because the generalisation in (157) still holds. Moreover, if *o tal* or a demonstrative introduces the noun phrase, the sentences are improved, as in (160b) and (160d), respectively.
The next section presents pre- and postnominal simple possessives with demonstratives.

5. Simple possessives with demonstratives

Portuguese allows either pre- (161a) or postnominal possessives (161b) within noun phrases introduced by demonstratives, as I observed in Castro (2001, 2002, to appearb)[49].

(161) a. Vou emprestar-te **este** **meu** livro de cozinha escandinava...
go lend-you this 1SG.MSG book of cooking Scandinavian

b. Vou emprestar-te **este** livro **meu** de cozinha escandinava...
go lend-you this book 1SG.MSG of cooking Scandinavian
'I'm going to lend you this book of mine on Scandinavian cooking...'

[49] See also Neves (1993), Cerqueira (1996) and Müller (1996) for BP, and Miguel (2002b, 2002c, 2004) and Gonzaga (2003) for EP, a.o..

Both sentences in (161) are accepted by most Portuguese speakers although (161a) is considered to be more natural, at least in an unmarked context. Indeed, when asked to produce sentences with demonstratives and simple possessives, speakers prefer the order DEMONSTRATIVE-POSSESSIVE-NOUN, i.e (161a). Therefore, one may conclude that this is the unmarked word order.

Data collected through Google searches also confirm that prenominal possessives are much more common than postnominal ones cooccurring with demonstratives. There seems to be no significant differences between EP and BP, since in both Portuguese (.pt) and Brazilian sites (.br), possessives are prenominal in a large majority of occurences. Postnominal possessives in similar cases are in small number and, interestingly, they do not combine with all the nouns I have searched[50]. Nouns such as *amigo* 'friend' or *colega* 'colleague' occur more frequently with postnominal possessives than others such as *casa* 'house', *mãe* 'mother' or *irmão* 'brother', with no occurrences at all. In the *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo*, however, simple possessives are always prenominal when combined with demonstratives (6 occurrences). Franchi's findings in BP corpora mentioned in the beginning of this chapter also confirm that demonstratives favour the prepositioning of the simple possessive: 14 cases in which the demonstrative combines with a prenominal possessive against 1 with the postnominal possessive.

The two positions do not seem to be optional though, since in some particular contexts only one position is allowed for the possessive, as will be shown.

In previous studies, I have suggested that a noun phrase introduced by a demonstrative with a prenominal possessive has a definite interpretation whereas with a

[50]I have searched for the sequences: *este teu livro*, *este livro teu*, *este meu livro*, *este livro meu* 'this book of mine/yours'; and also *este meu amigo*, *este amigo meu* 'this friend of mine', *este meu colega*, *este colega meu* 'this colleague of mine', *esta minha casa*, *esta casa minha* 'this house of mine' and also pre- and postnominal possessives with kinship nouns such as *mãe* 'mother' and *irmão* 'brother'.

postnominal possessive it does not, an hypothesis that has enabled me to maintain a parallel analysis for demonstratives and articles (definite and indefinite): in definite noun phrases the possessive is prenominal while in non-definite noun phrases the possessive is postnominal. Such a view, however, clashes with the current assumption that demonstratives are always definite. As claimed by Lyons (1999), their deictic meaning induces the identifiability of the noun phrase, a notion associated with definiteness. Schmitt (1996) also notes that demonstratives are disguised definite descriptions. As traditionally assumed in Fregian and Russellian terms, *this house* means 'the house here' and *that house* means 'the house there'. Demonstratives furthermore require demonstration, usually a pointing that specifies the place of the referent. So, the use of a demonstrative "demonstrates an object in place". This is supported by the fact that some languages can use a locative adverb to reinforce the demonstrative, as an alternative to pointing, as Schmitt (1996) notes. The examples below illustrate this for English (162a), French (162b), Portuguese (162c) and Capeverdean (162d).

(162) a. **this here** man

b. **cet** homme **là**
this man here

c. **este** homem **aqui**
this man here

d. **kel** ómi-**li**
this man-here

Supporting the idea that demonstratives are definite is the fact that the universal quantifier, which is incompatible with indefinite determiners (163a), can combine with both the definite article (163b) and a demonstrative (163c)[51].

[51] As mentioned in footnote 10, Haspelmath (1997:12) refers that "universally quantified noun phrases are semantically definite, even when not marked as such in languages that have a definite article".

(163) a. * **Todos uns/alguns** alunos faltaram na semana da
all a/some students skipped-classes in.the week of.the
Páscoa.
Easter

b. **Todos os** alunos faltaram na semana da Páscoa.
all the students skipped-classes in.the week of.the Easter
'All the students skiped classes in Easter week.'

c. **Todos estes** alunos faltaram na semana da Páscoa.
all these students skipped-classes in.the week of.the Easter
'All these students skiped classes in Easter week.'

Since it is desirable to propose a unified analysis for the position of simple possessives, and since demonstratives allow both possibilities, constructions such as the ones in (161) are crucial for investigating what constrains the pre- or postpositioning of simple possessives. One hypothesis is that the pre- or postnominal positioning of simple possessives results in different semantic interpretations of the noun phrase, these values being different from (in)definiteness. Another hypothesis is that the constraint is merely structural, i.e. the pre- or postposition of simple possessives is available or not in particular syntactic configurations.
I will now try to clarify the contexts in which possessives with demonstratives can be pre- and postnominal in Portuguese, comparing Portuguese with other languages.

In (164), the two orders are allowed, although, as above-mentioned, the unmarked order seems to be DEMONSTRATIVE-POSSESSIVE-NOUN (164a).

(164) a. Tinha **este teu** livro lá em casa há imenso tempo!
had this 2SG.MSG book there in home has vast time

b. Tinha **este** livro **teu** lá em casa há imenso tempo!
had this book 2SG.MSG there in home has vast time
'I have had this book of yours at home for a long time!'

Noun phrases denoting a unique referent do not allow the postnominal possessive combined with a demonstrative. This is the case with *mãe* 'mother'[52]: only the prenominal possessive is possible (165a).

(165) a. **Esta minha** mãe não tem emenda!
this 1SG.FSG mother not have correction
'This mother of mine is incorrigible!'

b. * **Esta** mãe **minha** não tem emenda!
this mother 1SG.FSG not have correction

It is argued in Castro (2001, 2002) that this difference follows from the fact that a noun phrase with the noun *mãe* denotes an unique referent, requiring the noun phrase to be definite and, correlatively, the prenominal positioning of the possessive in (165a). However, it is true that in a similar example with a noun such as *amigo*, that can have more than one referent, a postnominal possessive is out as well (166b).

(166) a. **Este meu** amigo não tem emenda!
this 1SG.MSG friend not have correction
'This friend of mine is incorrigible!'

b. * **Este** amigo **meu** não tem emenda!
this friend 1SG.MSG not have correction

This may lead us to conclude that the pre- or postnominal positioning of the simple possessive is not related to the (non-)uniqueness of the noun phrase. Rather, in this context the noun phrase has to be interpreted as specific definite (i.e. identifiable) and falls under the generalisation for unmarked contexts, requiring a prenominal possessive[53].

[52] One can easily imagine contexts in which *mother* is plural such as *(Some) mothers are always worried.*

[53] Italian and Catalan show two different patterns in similar contexts: Italian also requires a prenominal possessive (1a); Catalan requires a postnominal possessive (2b).

(1) a. **Questa mia** mamma è incorreggibile!
this 1SG.FSG mother is incorrigible

What is more, only the prenominal possessive in noun phrases with demonstratives passes the traditional definiteness tests exploited by Postal (1970) and Milsark (1979). These are constructions that "show how some 'definiteness effects' distinguish between simple definites and simple indefinites", as mentioned by Lyons (1999:16), and are presented below.

(167) a. Pequeno como **este meu** amigo é, não chega lá.
small as this 1SG.MSG friend is, not arrive there
'Small as this friend of mine is, he couldn't reach there.'

b. * Pequeno como **este** amigo **meu** é, não chega lá.
small as this friend 1SG.MSG is, not arrive there

Note that one of the tests for definiteness is precisely the use of the demonstrative.

(168) a. **Este meu** amigo é também teu.
this 1SG.MSG friend is also 2SG.MSG
'This friend of mine is also yours.'

b. * **Este** amigo **meu** é também teu.
this friend 1SG.MSG is also 2SG.MSG

(169) a. ?? Há **este meu** livro na biblioteca.
has this 1SG.MSG book in.the library

b. Há **este** livro **meu** na biblioteca.
has this book 1SG.MSG in.the library
'There is this book of mine in the library.'

'This mother of mine is incorrigible!'

b. * **Questa** mamma **mia** è incorreggibile!
this mother 1SG.FSG is incorrigible

(2) a. * **Aquesta meva** mare no té solució!
this 1SG.FSG mother not have solution

b. **Aquesta** mare **meva** no té solució!
this mother 1SG.FSG not have solution
'This mother of mine is incorrigible!'

One fact that seems to link demonstratives to definite articles is that, as definite articles, demonstratives seem to obey the adjacency condition with the prenominal possessive: neither an adverb nor an adjective[54] may intervene between the demonstrative and the possessive (170).

(170) a. *Vi **este só teu** livro na biblioteca.
saw this only 2SG.MSG book in.the library

b. *Vi **este interessante teu** livro na biblioteca.
saw this interesting 2SG.MSG book in.the library

In these contexts the possessive must occur postnominally with the adverb modifying it (171a). When combined with an adjective, the possessive may still be prenominal but adjacent to the demonstrative; the adjective follows the two (171b), as happens with the definite article in (74).

(171) a. Vi **este** livro **só teu** na biblioteca.
saw this book only 2SG.MSG in.the library
'I saw this book (that is) only yours in the library.'

b. Vi **este teu** **interessante** livro na biblioteca.
saw this 2SG.MSG interesting book in.the library
'I saw this interesting book of yours in the library.'

However, if we compare demonstratives with the definite article in these contexts, a clear difference arises: the postnominal positioning of the possessive is perfectly good with the demonstrative whereas it is felt as odd with the definite article. The same is true with the noun phrase modified by a relative clause as illustrated by the constrast in (172), repeating (80) and (160).

[54]Miguel (2004:395:(90d)) notes that an adjective may intervene between the demonstrative and the noun in the conservative dialect she describes.

(1) **Aquele simpático teu** amigo de Paris vem cá este ano?
that nice 2SG.MSG friend from Paris comes here this year
'Is that nice friend of yours coming here this year?'

(172) a. ??/* Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told

b. ? Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the TAL colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told

'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

c. Aqui estão as fotografias d**aquele** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.that colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told

'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

Although the simple possessive may be prenominal with both the demonstrative and the definite article in all these cases (173), the postpositioning of the simple possessive results in a(n almost) ungrammatical sentence with the definite article (172a). The sentence is improved with the sequence *o tal* (172c) and is well-formed with the demonstrative *aquele* 'that' (172c).

(173) a. Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **meu** colega de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the 1SG.MSG colleague of that you told

'Here are the pictures of my colleague that I told you about.'

b. Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** **meu** colega de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the TAL 1SG.MSG colleague of that you told

'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

c. Aqui estão as fotografias d**aquele meu** colega de que te
here are the pictures of.that 1SG.MSG colleague of that you
falei.
told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

The adjacency requirement between demonstratives and prenominal possessives is perhaps not so strict as the one holding between the definite article and prenominal possessives. Miguel (2004:407) claims that in the standard dialect of EP examples such as (174) are accepted. My informants seem to accept (174a). (174b), however, is felt to be degraded.

(174) a. **Essa tão tua** insuportável mania de criticar os outros
that so 2SG.FSG unbearable habit of criticise the others
afasta toda a gente!
put-away all the people
'That unbearable habit so typical of you to criticise the others drives everybody away.'

b. ?? Então, que é feito d**aquela tão bonita tua** amiga que
so, what is done of.that so beautiful 2SG.FSG friend who
estava contigo ontem?
was with.you yesterday
'What happened to that so beautiful friend of yours that was with you yesterday?'

Bernstein (1997) observes that prenominal possessives with demonstratives may only appear in restrictive relative clauses when they are [-definite] in Romance. When they are [+definite] deictics, prenominal possessives are precluded. This may be the case in (173c) since one may argue that in Portuguese the 3rd person demonstrative *aquele* behaves as a specific indefinite (cf. Oliveira (1988) and Móia (1992)), as English *this*[55]. In Portuguese, however, the pre- or postposition of the posses-

[55]English *this* can be a referential (specific) indefinite or a definite demonstrative. As a specific indefinite, *this* obligatorily takes wide scope over intensional verbs. On the other hand, it is

sive are allowed with demonstratives modified by a restrictive relative clause, as illustrated in (173c) and (172c) respectively. Móia (1993) claims that both demonstratives and relative clauses may act as restrictive modifiers. However, in (172c) and (173c), which are possible in Portuguese, it could be that only the demonstrative (or the relative clause) acts as a restrictive modifier, the other being inoperative as a restrictive modifier and having instead an explanatory value. Or these can be cases of recursive restrictive modification - note that the simple possessive acts as a restrictive modifier too.

In Google searches, I have tried to assess whether modification tends to favour the pre- or postnominal position of possessives in noun phrases with demonstratives. One contrast observed is that while nouns such as *colega* 'colleague' or *amigo* 'friend' seem to allow both positions for the simple possessive (regardless of a relative clause being present), kinship nouns headed by demonstratives seem to favour the prenominal position of the simple possessive. With nouns such as *tio* 'uncle' and *sobrinha* 'niece' the prenominal possessive is preferred but postnominal positioning of the possessive is not completely disallowed, as illustrated in (175) and (176). With *irmão* 'brother', however, only the prenominal possessive is allowed (177a). The relative clause modifying the noun phrases does not seem to make a difference in judgements of grammaticality.

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compatible with explicitly stated speaker knowledge by identifying the referent (1a). So it passes one of the diagnostics for referentiality provided in Fodor and Sag (1982) - see Heim (1991), Lyons (1999) and Ionin (2003) for a discussion on the values encoded in definites and indefinites.

(1) a. *specific indefinite, wide scope*
Sarah wants to meet this famous writer - J.K. Rowling.

b. *non-specific indefinite, narrow scope*
Sarah wants to meet this famous writer - any famous writer will do.

(175) a. Quero apresentar-te **este meu** tio (de que te falei).
want introduce-you this 1SG.MSG uncle of that you told
'I want to introduce this uncle of mine, the one that I told you about, to you.'

b. ?? Quero apresentar-te **este** tio **meu** (de que te falei).
want introduce-you this uncle 1SG.MSG of that you told

(176) a. Quero que me apresentes **essa tua** sobrinha (de que me
want that me introduce that 2SG.FSG niece of that me
falaste).
told
'I want you to introduce me to that niece of yours that you told me about.'

b. ? Quero que me apresentes **essa** sobrinha **tua** (de que me
want that me introduce that niece 2SG.FSG of that me
falaste).
told

(177) a. Gostava muito de conhecer **esse seu** irmão (que vive no
wanted a-lot of know that 3.MSG brother who lives in.the
Algarve)!
Algarve
'I really want to get to know that brother of yours who lives in Algarve!

b. * Gostava muito de conhecer **esse** irmão **seu** (que vive no
wanted a-lot of know that brother 3.MSG who lives in.the
Algarve)!
Algarve

In Catalan and Italian, both pre- and postnominal possessives can combine with demonstratives. Brucart (2002:1502) claims that the prenominal possessive is incompatible in Catalan with the non-specific reading of the noun phrase[56], though.

[56]Miguel (2004) argues that the indefinite noun phrase in (1) triggers a specific reading.

(1) **Um teu** discurso é sempre um acontecimento.
a 2SG.MSG discourse is always a event
'A speech of yours is always an event.'

A prenominal possessive embedded in a subjunctive clause (which excludes the specific reading of the subject) is not allowed in Catalan, as illustrated in (178a). The right order is DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN-POSSESSIVE (178b).

(178) a. * **Aquell teu** amic que sigui capaç d'ajudar-te es
that 2SG.MSG friend that should-be able of.help-you he
guanyarà el cel.
will-win the sky

b. **Aquell** amic **teu** que sigui capaç d'ajudar-te es
that friend 2SG.MSG that should-be able of.help-you he
guanyarà el cel.
will-win the sky
'The friend of yours that should be able to help you will have his/her reward (in heaven).'

In Portuguese the prenominal position is favoured (179), although still marginal, and the sentence has the following reading: 'if there is a friend of yours that helps you, that friend will have his/her reward (in heaven)'.

(179) a. ?? **Aquele teu** amigo que for capaz de te ajudar
that 2SG.MSG friend that would-be able of you help
ganhará o céu.
will-win the sky

However, the predicate of this sentence is incompatible with a specific reading. Rather, the aspectual adverb *sempre* 'always' forces the habitual or generic reading and thus the speaker cannot be intending to refer to a particular 'speech' of the hearer and the hearer cannot explicitly identify it. A context allowing a specific indefinite could be the following: *Ouvi um teu discurso na televisão um dias destes - o que proferiste na inauguração da nova biblioteca* 'I heard a speech of yours on television recently - the one you gave at the opening of the library', in which a particular 'speech' is pre-identified. Brucart (2002) also mentions that some varieties of Catalan accept *un meu company*. However, while the postnominal possessive (the "more habitual construction", as he notes) allows both interpretations (specific and non-specific), the prenominal possessive only allows the specific reading (cf. Brucart (2002:1502).

b. ??? **Aquele** amigo **teu** que for capaz de te ajudar
that friend 2SG.MSG that would-be able of you help
ganhará o céu.
will-win the sky

However, in this case, the possessive can be omitted. With no possessive present, we obtain a similar interpretation.

(180) ?? **Aquele** amigo que for capaz de te ajudar ganhará o céu.
that friend that would-be able of you help will-win the sky

With 1st and 2nd person demonstratives the sentence is degraded (181).

(181) * **Este**/**Esse** amigo que for capaz de te ajudar ganhará o céu.
this/that friend that would-be able of you help will-win the sky

The sentence is improved, however, if instead of the demonstrative the definite article heads the noun phrase[57].

(182) **O** (**meu**) amigo que for capaz de te ajudar ganhará o
the (1SG.MSG) friend that would-be able of you help will-win the
céu.
sky
'A friend of mine who would be able to help you will have his/her reward (in heaven).'

[57] A similar context is the one given by Miguel (2002c) which forces the non-specific reading.

(1) * Procuro **este** amigo **meu** que queira ir comigo a Paris.
look-for this friend 1SG.MSG who would go with.1SGOBL to Paris

The simple demonstrative is not allowed, which seems to show that the demonstrative itself is what inhibits the specific reading of the noun phrase. Replacing the demonstrative by the definite article makes the sentence good.

(2) Procuro **o** **meu** amigo que queira ir comigo a Paris.
look-for the 1SG.MSG friend who would go with.1SGOBL to Paris
'I'm looking for a friend of mine who wants to go with me to Paris.'

An explanation for this contrast is that the definite article may trigger a non-specific reading of the noun phrase, i.e. it can have an attributive reading: *I'm looking for a person that has the properties of 'being my friend' and 'being able to help me'*; the speaker may have no one in mind and it may be that such a person does not even exist. So, the noun phrase is not referential, i.e. it is not specific[58]. English and French, two languages in which prenominal possessives do not combine with the definite article, show different patterns with respect to demonstratives, as observed in Zribi-Hertz (1998a). In English, it is possible to have a prenominal possessive combined with a demonstrative. However, as Zribi-Hertz (1998a) notes, this construction is archaic[59].

(183) a. In **this her** last novel, Elizabeth Taylor examines blaming.

b. In **this** last novel **of hers**, Elizabeth Taylor examines blaming.

In French, on the contrary, the demonstrative cannot cooccur with a prenominal possessive (184), (22b) in Zribi-Hertz (1998a).

(184) * Dans **ce** **son** dernier roman, Elizabeth Taylor examine la notion de faute.
in this 3SG.MSG last novel, Elizabeth Taylor examines the notion of blamimg

In conclusion, Zribi-Hertz (1998a:29) proposes that the prenominal and postnominal positions of the possessives in French and in English have different motivations. In French, the postnominal position is restricted to focal interpretations. In English, it is motivated by the indefiniteness of the noun phrase and by the demonstrative, in the variant that does not allow prenominal possessives with demonstratives[60].

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[58] On attributive readings of definite descriptions, see Duarte and Oliveira (2003).

[59] American English speakers consulted by me only accept (183b). British English speakers allow both, although (183a) is felt as literary. (183) is (10) in Zribi-Hertz (1998a).

[60] Zribi-Hertz claims that "le contraste [entre l'anglais et le français] prend [...] sa source dans le fait que les PPR [possessifs prenominaux] du français sont des déterminants - des articles définis

Bernstein (2001) also claims that postnominal possessives are focused in Romance languages. However, as shown in section 4.1.1., Portuguese contrasts with other Romance languages in not allowing postnominal positioning of focused simple possessive in noun phrases headed by the definite article, as illustrated in (185a), repeated here from (76a).

(185) a. Vi **os MEUS** alunos, não (os) teus.
saw the 1SG.MPL students, not the 2SG.MPL
'I saw MY students, not yours.'

b. *Vi **os** alunos **meus**/**MEUS**, não (os) teus.
saw the students 1SG.MPL/1SG.MPL, not the 2SG.MPL

In a similar noun phrase introduced by a demonstrative, the prenominal possessive is preferred (186a) but what is being contrasted here is the whole noun phrase (cf. Móia (1993)).

(186) a. Já li **este teu** livro, não os outros.
already read this 2SG.MSG book, not the others

b. ?Já li **este** livro **teu**/**TEU**, não os outros.
already read this book 2SG.MSG/2SG.MSG, not the others
'I've read this book of yours, not the others.'

In short, noun phrases introduced by a demonstrative in Portuguese seem to allow both pre- and postnominal simple possessives, the unmarked order being DEMONSTRATIVE-POSSESSIVE-NOUN. Moreover, the same adjacency requirement

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personnels, générés dans la position D^{o}" (cf. Zribi-Hertz (1998a:25)). Thus, according to Zribi-Hertz, in French the demonstrative, as well as the definite article and the possessive determiner, are base-generated in the same position, the D^{o} head. Evidence in favour of this comes from the morphological similarities between those items (*ce/le*, *les/ces/mes*, *la/ma*) and their complementary distribution. In English, on the contrary, the author claims that *John's* and *his* are not determiners, but noun phrases generated lower in the structure, in a subject position of a nominal predication, and then moved higher. However, in footnote 11, the author leaves open the question why (183a) is no longer productive.

observed for the definite article and the prenominal possessive holds for demonstratives, although not so strictly. The postnominal position is available for a simple possessive modified by adverbs or when a relative clause modifies the noun phrase.

6. Summary and questions

This chapter has addressed the distribution of possessives (both simple and *de*-possessives) within noun phrases in Portuguese, underlining the similarities and the differences between EP and BP. The conclusions to be summarised here are drawn from both non-attested data, which were subject to the judgements of informants (Portuguese and Brazilian), and attested data, collected in different types of linguistic corpora and Google searches.

It has been shown that *de*-possessives are always postnominal while simple possessives may be pre- or postnominal. Since simple possessives may occur in two positions, most of this chapter has been devoted to characterise their behaviour.

De-POSSESSIVES are PPs and, therefore, the only position available for them in Portuguese is the postnominal position, as is the case of all PPs.

The main distributional properties of SIMPLE POSSESSIVES in Portuguese are the following:

- Within definite noun phrases simple possessives are obligatorily prenominal. If the simple possessive is modified, however, the prenominal position is generally not allowed. But the postnominal position is not optimal either.

- Within non-definite noun phrases (simple indefinites, bare plurals and noun phrases introduced by WH-words, indefinite or arbitrary elements) simple possessives are postnominal.

- Within noun phrases introduced by demonstratives the unmarked position for simple possessives is prenominal. Simple possessives are postnominal if

modified and may be postnominal with some nouns such as *amigo* 'friend' and *colega* 'colleague'.

The two descriptive generalisations drawn in (157) and (158) may be subsumed under the two properties below:

1. Simple possessives are prenominal within definite noun phrases and postnominal within non-definite noun phrases.

2. In definite noun phrases, there is strict adjacency between the prenominal possessive and the definite article.

However, the generalisation outlined is not always observed and other properties of simple possessives were highlighted through this chapter:

- Adverbs such as *ainda* 'still' and *já* 'already' may intervene between the definite article and the prenominal possessive breaking their adjacency.

- Also *tal* 'such'/'that' may intervene between the definite article and the prenominal possessive. It has been shown, however, that *o tal* is equivalent to a demonstrative.

- Unlike in other languages such as Catalan and Italian, simple possessives cannot be postnominal under focus.

- Locative PPs involving *casa* 'house'/'home' and other PPs allow determinerless possessivised noun phrases.

The foremost difference between European and Brazilian Portuguese has been also pointed out:

- In argument nominals, the definite article may be omitted in BP but it is required in EP.

From the data presented for both EP and BP prenominal possessives in argument position, we may conclude that the only difference between the two variants of Portuguese is the realisation of the definite article in front of prenominal possessives. This contrast may be explained by one of the hypotheses mentioned above and revisited here:

1. One can either assume that BP has a possessive determiner and is thus a language similar to English, French or Spanish, languages with two (or three) different series of possessives occurring in different contexts, as seen in Chapter 2. The particularity of BP is the homophony of the two series.

2. Or one can assume that there is a null counterpart of the definite article in the varieties of Portuguese in which possessives can be phrase-initial.

Hypothesis 1 leads us to assume that EP and BP are different languages with respect to the realisation of possessives. This difference can be stated as a parameter as proposed by Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) or Lyons (1985). Hypothesis 2 provides a uniform analysis for both EP and BP with respect to the grammar of possessives. Cerqueira (1996) presents an analysis along these lines, suggesting that, in determinerless possessivised noun phrases, there is a null affixal determiner which anchors on the possessive (cf. Cerqueira (1996:81)). I will adopt this hypothesis. As will be argued in Chapter 5, the same analysis applies to EP and BP simple possessives. What explains the difference between the two varieties is the different realisation of the definite article, which can be null in BP and must be overt in EP. An important question is then why the definite article is required in EP whereas it may be omitted in BP. Moreover, in Chapter 5, Portuguese will be compared with other languages, by examining typological studies which consider both the morphological and the distributional properties of simple possessives. It will become clear that Portuguese does not behave like other languages arguably in the same typological group.

The different behaviour of simple possessives in Portuguese to be explained has to do with:

- the pre- *versus* postnominal position of simple possessives;
- the freer behaviour of simple possessives with demonstratives;
- prenominal possessives modified by *ainda* and *já*;
- the non-allowance of focused postnominal simple possessives within definite noun phrases;
- the absence of the definite article in BP *versus* its presence in EP.

Before moving to the explanation of the syntactic behaviour of Portuguese possessives, however, I will examine their thematic properties in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The thematic properties of possessives in Portuguese

1. Introduction

As mentioned in the Introduction, functional possessives are linguistic items:

(i) morphologically specified for Person;
(ii) realising a genitive argument of the noun with which they establish a semantic (thematic) relation.

In Chapter 2, I presented the paradigm of possessives in Portuguese and which person-number features are spelt out by these items. The aim of the present Chapter is to bring out the thematic properties of simple and *de*-possessives in Portuguese[1]. As will be shown, Portuguese possessives exhibit most of the thematic properties of other Romance possessives. In particular, Portuguese simple possessives do not diverge much from simple possessives crosslinguistically. *De*-possessives, however, are not available in all person-number combinations for all interpretations in Portuguese. I will therefore present the thematic interpretations possessives can have,

[1]It is not among the aims of this dissertation to discuss the argument structure of nominals nor to assess the proposals available for Portuguese data, e.g. Brito and Oliveira (1995), Brito (1996), Lopes (1996) and Miguel (2004).

focusing on those which are specific of Portuguese possessives. The array of principles defined as the Possessivisation Principle(s) in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) will guide me in the description of the thematic properties of Portuguese possessives.
This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2. briefly presents the thematic interpretations of possessives proposed in the linguistic literature, the types of nouns possessives cooccur with (section 2.2.) and other linguistic items that may have the same thematic interpretations (section 2.3.). In section 3., the restrictions on the interpretation of Portuguese possessives are presented by examining the Possessivisation Principle(s) defined in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991). In particular, the principles which regulate the realisation of simple possessives and *de*-possessives are explored in sections 3.3. and 3.4., respectively.

2. Thematic Theory and predication

Within the framework of Generative Grammar, at least since Chomsky (1970), nouns are considered predicates. They are, as verbs, lexical items that can take arguments (or complements). For instance, the 'seer' and the 'seen' are the arguments of the verb *to see*: the 'seer' is the Agent of the 'act of seeing'; the 'seen' is the Theme. And both arguments must be expressed and interpreted in the linguistic structure in order to obtain a well-formed sentence.
Thematic Theory[2] regulates the semantic relations between predicates and their arguments, the assigment of theta-roles by predicates to their arguments as well as the articulation of thematic structure and syntactic structure In verbal predications, subject and objects realise theta-roles of the verbal predicate. In noun phrases, these

[2]The semantic interpretations or theta-roles are Theme, Agent, Experiencer, Source, Goal and Localisation - see Chomsky (1981), Gruber (1965), Jackendoff (1972), and Gruber (2001) for a summary of the literature.

theta-roles are realised by genitive phrases or possessives[3].

Many authors (Milner (1982c), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Zribi-Hertz (1998b), a.o.) defend the idea of a semantic and structural symmetry between finite predications and possessivised noun phrases, along the lines of Chomsky (1970), and much developed after Szabolcsi (1983) and Abney (1987). They assume that the relation between a possessive and its possessee is structured internally as a predication[4]. Zribi-Hertz (1998b), in particular, states that, only in noun phrases of the type *XP de YP* interpretable as predications, *de*-phrases are genitive complements and may be possessivised. Possessivised noun phrases are therefore the nominal counterparts of finite predications. Zribi-Hertz (1998b:132) formulates the following generalisation for French:

(187) Un syntagme nominal "possessif" est un DP prédicatif spécifié pour la Finitude.

According to the generalisation in (187), the author distinguishes two types of possessivised noun phrases:

1. possessivised noun phrases related to a verbal predication by a nominalisation process ;

[3]In the Government and Binding (GB) model of Generative Grammar, the arguments of a verb - and those of a noun - are projected in D(eep)-structure, "a pure representation of thematically relevant Grammatical Functions" in a fixed configuration related to the head they are arguments of - cf. Chomsky (1981:43). Theta-roles may be assigned by a lexical head (the predicate) to a complement of that head (the internal argument(s)) or they may be assigned compositionally by the head and its complements to the nearest subject position (Spec,IP or Spec,NP). Recent views, however, argue that the external argument is external to the predicate projection, and it is introduced by a v head (cf. Chomsky (1995)). Further movements can be motivated for Case or other feature checking requirements.

[4]See also Cinque (1980b), Milner (1982a), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Alexiadou and Wilder (1998), Brito (1984) and Miguel (2004) for Portuguese, among many others.

2. possessivised noun phrases that, in spite of being related to verbal predications, do not involve such a nominalisation process.

Portuguese data below illustrate 1 and 2. The first type of possessivised noun phrases, the ones involving a nominalisation process, can be related to active (188), passive (189) or copulative (190) finite predications[5].

(188) XP V YP > N_VP *de* XP/YP

a. *O Vasco* viu a casa. > a visão **do Vasco**/a **sua** visão
the Vasco saw the house > the sight of.the Vasco/the 3.FSG sight
'Vasco saw the house. > Vasco's sight/his sight'

b. O Vasco viu *a casa*. > a visão **da casa**/a **sua** visão
the Vasco saw the house > the sight of.the house/the 3.FSG sight
'Vasco saw the house. > the sight of the house/its sight'

(189) XP V_{pass} > N_VP *de* XP

O Raúl foi seleccionado. > a selecção **do Raúl**/a **sua**
the Raúl was selected. > the selection of.the Raúl/the 3.FSG
selecção
selection

'Raúl was selected. > Raúl's selection/his selection'

(190) XP *ser* AP > N_AP *de* XP

A Joaquinita é boa. > a bondade **da Joaquinita**/a **sua**
the Joaquinita is good. > the goodness of.the Joaquinita/the 3.FSG
bondade
goodness

'Joaquinita is good. > Joaquinita's goodness/her goodness'

[5]All the examples given in (188)-(190) are an adaptation of Zribi-Hertz' French examples.

In (188a), (189) and (190), the possessive or the genitive phrase has the same thematic interpretation as the corresponding subject noun phrase in the verbal predication. In (188b), the possessive is related to the object of the verb in its active form.

The second type of possessivised noun phrases simply expresses the relation between a subject and an object, not involving a nominalisation process.

(191) XP V YP > YP *de* XP

a. *O Quim* tem/possui um livro. > o livro **do Quim**/o **seu** livro
the Quim has/owns a book > the book of.the Quim/the 3.MSG book
'Quim has a book. > Quim's book/his book'

b. *O Quim* publicou um livro. > o livro **do Quim**/o **seu** livro
the Quim published a book > the book of.the Quim/the 3.MSG book
'Quim published a book. > Quim's book/his book'

In these cases, the possessive or the genitive phrase is identified with the subject and the possessee with the object of the predication.

2.1. Agent, Theme and Possessor

Let us consider the possessives occurring in the noun phrases below and the thematic interpretations they can have.

(192) a. (a) **sua** oferta do livro à Joaquinita
the 3.FSG offering of.the book to.the Joaquinita
'his/her/their offering of the book to Joaquinita'

b. (a) **tua** chegada
the 2SG.FSG arrival
'your arrival'

c. as fotografias **dela** do Rossio
the pictures DE.3FSG of.the Rossio
'her pictures of Rossio'

d. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

In (192a), *minha* is interpreted unambiguously as the external argument (Agent) of the noun *oferta*, meaning 'the offering of a book I made to Joaquinita'. In (192b), *tua* is also interpreted unambiguously as the internal argument (Theme) of *chegada* as in 'the arrival of you'. In (192c), the possessive can be interpreted either as 'the possessor of the objects *fotografias*' or as 'the person that took the pictures' - the external argument (Agent). And in (192d), *meu* can introduce a possession (or ownership) relation, although not necessarily: *o meu livro* can be 'the book I wrote' or 'the one that I chose from the ones on the table', among other interpretations.
Possessives are thus assumed to have three interpretations. When possessives realise arguments of nominalisations, they can be interpreted as the external argument (Agent or Experiencer) or the internal argument (Theme), as is the case in (192a) and (192b). When possessives occur with nominals denoting objects, they can have the interpretation of Possessor (see Milner (1982a), Cinque (1980a), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), a.o.).
It is the semantics of the noun itself that determines how many and what type of complements a noun can take. Independently from the thematic interpretation, however, these nominal arguments seem to be assigned genitive case crosslinguistically and are therefore referred to as *genitive constructions*.
As noted, possession or ownership is not the only relation expressed by possessives in (192d). Barker (1995) classifies it as Extrinsic Possession, a vague relation that encodes "ownership, creation, control, adjacency, and a variety of other distinct pragmatic relationships" (cf. Barker (1995:73)). Williams (1982) is more radical

and proposes the Det Rule:

(193) THE DET RULE - Williams (1982:283)
The relation between the possessive NP and the following N' can be any relation at all.

The three different thematic relations involved in possessivised noun phrases receive a distinct structural encoding. The external and internal arguments of noun phrases are projected as their correlates in sentences: the external argument is projected as Spec,NP or Spec,nP and the internal argument as a sister of N.
Possessor, on the other hand, is not unanimously considered an argument. There are two main views in the literature regarding its semantic-syntactic status[6]. According to one view, Possessor is similar to the external argument. Because it shows subject-like properties, i.e. it behaves as external arguments of the possessee noun[7]. Under this view, Possessor is also projected in the specifier position of a functional category[8]. According to a second view, Possession is a predication relation between the possessor and the possessee with the latter functioning as the nominal predicate and the former as the subject of the predication. Possession is thus treated in terms of a small clause structure and conceived as locational in nature[9].
Although the context of use may condition the interpretation of possessives, that interpretation seems to be, contrary to what the Det Rule predicts, somehow constrained by the lexical properties of the noun the possessive combines with. There-

[6]See Alexiadou (2003) for an overview.

[7]See Cinque (1980b), Cinque (1980a), Szabolcsi (1983), Abney (1987), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Zribi-Hertz (1998b), among many others.

[8]See Chapter 6 for details.

[9]See Benveniste (1966b), Lyons (1967), Freeze (1992), Kayne (1993), a.o. for this idea. Other authors propose a distinction between the argumenthood status of Agent (or Experiencer) and Theme and the non-argumenthood status of Possessor. In particular, Storto (2000) distinguishes between two basic relations - argumenthood and (restrictive) modification - which are differently encoded in syntax.

fore, the interpretation of possessives crucially depends on the semantics of the noun. When it is a nominal predicate, possessives realise one of its arguments; when it is not, the interpretation of a possessive is mainly inferred from the context[10]. In the next section, I will show that both simple and *de*-possessives combine with the same type of nouns allowing the same interpretation(s) in Portuguese.

2.2. Possessives

2.2.1. Deverbal nominals

Deverbal nominals[11] describe events, results or states and share with the verb they are related to their argument structure, i.e. they take arguments[12].
A ditransitive deverbal noun such as *oferta* 'offering' takes an external argument (Agent) and two internal arguments (Theme and Goal), as the corresponding verb *oferecer* 'to offer'. Within the noun phrase, simple possessives may realise the external (194a) or the internal argument (194b) of the noun.

[10]Barker (1995) distinguishes Lexical Possession from Extrinsic Possession. In Lexical Possession, the relation between the possessive (or the genitive phrase) and the noun is obtained directly from the lexical meaning of the possessee noun denoting "relations over pairs of entities" - Barker (1995:50). In Extrinsic Possession, however, the possession relation does not depend on any inherent qualities of the object described by the noun rather it resorts to some contextually determined relation. This is the type of possessives that can be subject to William's (193) Det Rule.

[11]These are nouns derived from verbs or those that, in some way, have a verbal corresponding. "Derived from" encodes the notion of morphological derivation. This is true for a nominal such as *apresentação* 'presentation': the root *apresenta-* is combined with the derivational nominal suffix *-ção*. Other nominals do not result from such a simple morphological process, e.g. *oferta* 'offering' or *encomenda* 'order'. However, these seem to be related to the verbs *oferecer* 'to offer' and *encomendar* 'to order'.

[12]For a description of these kinds of nominals, see Alexiadou (2001); for Portuguese, see Lopes (1996), Brito and Oliveira (1995) and Miguel (2004).

(194) a. (a) **sua**$_{Ag}$ oferta do livro ao Quim
the 3.FSG offering of.the book to.the Quim
'her offering of the book to Quim'

b. (a) **sua**$_{Th}$ oferta ao Quim pela Joaquinita
the 3.FSG offering to.the Quim by.the Joaquinita
'its offering to Quim by Joaquinita'

De-possessives may also realise the external argument as in (195)[13].

(195) a oferta **dela**$_{Ag}$ (do livro) ao Quim
the offering DE.3FSG (of.the book) to.the Quim
'her offering (of the book) to Quim'

Within a noun phrase with a transitive deverbal noun such as *destruição*, simple possessives can also realise either the external argument (Agent) (196a) or the internal argument (Theme) (196b).

(196) a. (a) **minha**$_{Ag}$ destruição do castelo de cartas
the 1SG.FSG destruction of.the castle of cards
'my destruction of the castle of cards'

b. (a) **sua**$_{Th}$ destruição (por mim)
the 3.FSG by me
'its destruction by me'

De-possessive (197) are also allowed if the external argument is 3rd person.

(197) a destruição **dele**$_{Ag}$ (do castelo de cartas)
the destruction DE.3MSG (of.the castle of cards)
'his destruction (of the castle of cards)'

With an unaccusative deverbal noun such as *chegada* 'arrival', the internal argument can be expressed by simple (198a) or *de*-possessives (198b).

[13]If the internal argument is non-animate, *dele* is not good. *Dele(s)/dela(s)* seem to be preferred when referring to animate entities.

(198) a. (a) **tua**$_{Th}$ chegada
the 2SG.FSG arrival
'your arrival'

b. a chegada **dele**$_{Th}$
the arrival DE.3MSG
'his arrival'

A deverbal inergative noun such as *telefonema* 'phone call' can have its external theta-role expressed by a simple possessive (199a) or by a *de*-possessive (199b).

(199) a. (o) **seu**$_{Ag}$ telefonema
the 3.MSG phone-call

b. o telefonema **dele**
the phone-call DE.3MSG
'his phone call'

2.2.2. Iconic nouns

Nouns such as 'picture', 'painting', 'drawing', can combine with three genitive phrases, with the interpretations of Agent, Theme and Possessor.
This is possible because a noun such as *fotografia* 'picture' denotes a process or event in which there is an Agent and a Theme (the 'photographer' and the 'photographee'), but it can also denote the object resulting from a process (a picture as a piece of paper, which can be "owned" by someone).
Both simple and *de*-possessives may express the same interpretations as a genitive phrase: Possessor (200a), Agent (200b), or Theme (200c)[14].

[14]In (200b), the simple possessive can also be interpreted as Possessor; in (200c), it can be interpreted as Agent or Possessor. This has to do with the fact that, if no other genitive phrase is present, the possessive can be interpreted as any argument, as we will see.

(200) a. (a) **minha**$_{P}$ fotografia do Sebastião Salgado dos
the 1SG.FSG picture of.the Sebastião Salgado of.the
flavelados
slum-dwellers
'my picture of the slum dwellers by Sebastião Salgado'

b. a **sua**$_{P/Ag}$ fotografia dos flavelados
the 3.FSG picture of.the slum-dwellers
'his picture of the slum dwellers'

c. (a) fotografia **dele**$_{P/Ag/T}$
the picture DE.3MSG
'his picture'

2.2.3. Relational nouns and body-part terms

Relational nouns establish a relation between a noun and another entity that cannot be stated as an event or a process. In the case of kinship nouns, such a relation can be expressed either by a simple possessive (201a) or by a *de*-possessive (201b).

(201) a. o **meu** pai
the 1SG.MSG father
'my father'

b. a tia **dela**
the aunt DE.3FSG
'her aunt'

With body-part nouns, the possessive denotes the whole and the possessee the part: a simple possessive (202a) and a *de*-possessive (202b) can occur.

(202) a. o **meu** nariz
the 1SG.MSG nose
'my nose'

b. as pernas **dele**
the legs DE.3MSG
'his legs'

In many languages, including Portuguese, body part nouns as well as kinship nouns enter into inalienable possession constructions which exhibit special semantic and syntactic properties[15].

In Portuguese, nouns involving inalienable possession can also occur in some contexts without a possessive with a possessive reading[16]. In definite noun phrases, the possessive reading is impossible with 1st and 2nd person (203a) and quantified noun phrases introduced by *cada* 'each' (203b) and it is possible only with 3rd person (230a).

(203) a. # Eu levei o amigo à festa.
I took the friend to.the party
'I took someone's friend (/*my friend) to the party.'

b. # Cada criança levou o amigo à festa.
each child took the friend to.the party
'Each child took someone's friend (/*his/*her friend) to the party.'

c. A Maria levou o amigo à festa.
the Maria took the friend to.the party
'Maria took her friend to the party.'

Within a noun phrase headed by the indefinite article, the possessive reading is possible with 1st and 2nd person (204a), quantified noun phrases (204b) or 3rd person (204c).

(204) a. Eu levei um amigo à festa.
I took a friend to.the party
'I took a friend of mine to the party.'

b. Cada criança levou um amigo à festa.
each child took a friend to.the party
'Each child took a friend of his/hers to the party.'

[15]See Guéron (1985), Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), Alexiadou (2003), a.o..

[16]See Meier (1948b) and Spanoghe (1995) for a comparative study of inalienable possession in Portuguese and other Romance languages.

c. O Raúl levou um amigo à festa.
the Raúl took a friend to.the party
'Raúl took a friend of his to the party.'

Similarly, if the possessive occurs within a bare plural, the possessive reading is possible with 1st and 2nd person (205a), quantified noun phrases (205b) or 3rd person (205c).

(205) a. Eu levei amigos à festa.
I took friends to.the party
'I took some friends of mine to the party.'

b. Cada criança levou amigos à festa.
each child took friends to.the party
'Each child took some friends of his/hers to the party.'

c. O Raúl levou amigos à festa.
the Raúl took friends to.the party
'Raúl took some friends of his to the party.'

This is not possible in Portuguese with other nouns such as *carro* 'car'. In (206), no possessive reading can be implied.

(206) O Vasco conduziu o carro de Lisboa a Setúbal.
the Vasco drove the car from Lisbon to Setúbal.
'Vasco drove the car from Lisbon to Setúbal.'

2.2.4. Other nouns

A noun such as *livro* 'book' does not take arguments such as Agent or Theme. It does not denote an event or a result, but rather it denotes an object. Nevertheless, it can combine with a simple or a *de*-possessive as in (207).

(207) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

The relation between the possessive and the noun here is not lexical, in Barker's (1995) sense. The book in (207) can be 'the book I/he own(s)', 'the book I/he wrote' or 'the book I/he am/is reading now', among other interpretations strongly dependent on the context in which this noun phrase is uttered.
Barker calls this relation Extrinsic Possession, and claims that it entails a notion of *proximity*[17]. Jackendoff (1977) states the relation between the possessive and the possessee as *intrinsic connection*, a notion similar to that of Barker's[18].
Under the Thematic Theory, this is usually called Possessor, a theta-role considered in nominal predications but not in verbal predications[19]. In a neutral context, ownership is the most likely extrinsic possession relation. This can be seen especially

[17]The use of an extrinsic possessive implies that the described entity is near the possessor entity. The way in which nearness is measured depends largely on pragmatic factors. It is, therefore, an ephemeral relation: it is "a relation that holds because of accidental facts about the world, rather than because of some inherent quality that follows from the properties entailed by the lexical meaning of the possessee nominal" - cf. Barker (1995:53).

[18]"Placing the burden of specifying intrinsic connection on the semantic component (or preferably on real-world knowledge) [...] explains the creativity in the use of the intrinsic connection: for example, *John's chair* may denote the chair that John owns (alienable possession), or, by intrinsic connection, the chair that John built, designed, or habitually sat in" - cf. Jackendoff (1977:13).

[19]den Dikken (1997) addresses this topic, raising some questions on the nature of the syntax of possession and the nature of the verb 'have':

(1) a. "Is possession a thematic notion, or is it configurationally encoded or both?"

b. "If possession is thematically encoded, in whose thematic grid should the 'possessor' and the 'possessum' roles be represented (a verb *have*, a preposition *to*, or something else)?"

c. "If possessive interpretation is read off a particular syntactic configuration, what does this configuration looks like, and why is it that this configuration gives rise to the semantics of possession?"

for classes of objects that are conventionally owned or possessed such as books, cars, cats, houses or pets. But, since other interpretations are available, the notion of Proximity, or better Localization, is more accurate, as stated by Freeze (1992). In (207), one can assume that the relation expressed by Possessor is locative.

2.3. Adjectives, genitive phrases and *by*-phrases

Possessives are not the only linguistic items that can express an Agent or Theme argument of a deverbal noun since, as stated by the Theta-criterion[20], an argument can be projected only once in the structure, although it can take different lexical forms. Genitive phrases (*of*-phrases), as seen, but also other lexical items such as some adjectives and *by*-phrases can realise these theta-roles.
In (208), the Agent external argument of the derived noun *invasão* 'invasion' can be expressed by a genitive phrase (208a), a simple possessive (208b), a *de*-possessive (208c), a *by*-phrase (208d) or a thematic adjective (208e)[21].

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d. "Are there differences in syntactic representation between the various types of possessive relationships that can exist between a 'possessor' and a 'possessum' (e.g. (in)alienable possession, temporary/transitory possession)?" - den Dikken (1997:130)

[20]The Theta-criterion, proposed in Chomsky (1981), establishes a biuniqueness condition on theta role assignment.

THETA-CRITERION - Chomsky (1981:36)
(i) Every argument must be assigned a theta-role.
(ii) Every theta-role is assigned to an argument.

[21]Grimshaw (1990) calls them *group adjectives*, Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) *referential adjectives*, Cinque (1994) *thematic adjectives* and Brito (1996) *adjectivos de nacionalidade* 'nationality adjectives'. Grimshaw (1990) points out an exception to the generalisation that these adjectives always realise the external theta-role of the noun: the noun *defeat*. Picallo (1991) also observes that in Catalan such an adjective with *derrota* realises not the external argument of the noun but

(208) a. a invasão **da** **América**$_{Ag}$
the invasion of.the America
'America's invasion'

b. (a) **sua**$_{Ag}$ invasão do Iraque$_{Th}$
the 3.FSG invasion of.the Iraq
'its invasion of Iraq'

c. a invasão **dela**$_{Ag}$ (do Iraque$_{Th}$)
the invasion DE.3FSG of.the Iraq
'its invasion of Iraq'

d. a invasão do Iraque$_{Th}$ **pela** **América**$_{Ag}$
the invasion of.the Iraq by.the America
'Iraq's invasion by America'

e. a invasão **americana**$_{Ag}$ do Iraque$_{Th}$
the invasion American of.the Iraq
'the American invasion of Iraq'

The internal argument (Theme) of the same noun can be realised by a simple possessive (209a), by a *de*-possessive (209b) or by a genitive phrase (209c).

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its internal argument (1).

(1) la derrota russa
the defeat Russian
'the Russian defeat'

The same is true for Portuguese. Moreover, this noun behaves differently from others: an external argument cannot be realised as an *of*-phrase (2a), as a *by*-phrase (2b) or as an Agent suffix (*-or* in Portuguese) (2c), since the adjective expresses the internal argument.

(2) a. *a derrota russa da Alemanha
the defeat Russian of.the Germany

b. *a derrota russa pela Alemanha
the defeat Russian by.the Germany

c. *o derrotad-or russo
the defeat-er Russian

(209) a. (a) **sua**$_{Th}$ invasão pela América$_{Ag}$
the 3.FSG invasion by.the America
'its invasion by America'

b. a invasão **deles**$_{Th}$ pela América$_{Ag}$
the invasion DE.3MPL by.the America
'their invasion by America'

c. a invasão **do Iraque**$_{Th}$ pela América$_{Ag}$
the invasion of.the Iraq by.the America
'Iraq's invasion by America'

Since all these linguistic items realise the same theta-roles as possessives, one may think that they are projected in the same position(s) in the syntactic structure. This is indeed the idea of many authors that follow the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)[22]. However, other authors propose that they may be generated in different positions. The way these linguistic items are projected in the syntactic structure and their articulation with possessives is addressed in Chapter 7.

[22]Baker (1988) proposes the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis, which states that all items bearing the same theta-role are projected in the same fixed positions in the syntactic D-structure.

(1) UNIFORMITY OF THETA ASSIGNMENT HYPOTHESIS (UTAH) - Baker (1988:46)
Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

Barker was inspired by the Unaccusative Hypothesis, proposed by Perlmutter (1978), which accounts for alternations such as the one below: the DP *the ice cream*, independently of its surfacing as a direct object or as a subject, has the same Theme interpretation and it is generated in both cases as the structural object, in complement position, at D-structure.

(2) a. Julia melted the ice cream into mush.

b. The ice cream melted into mush.

3. Restrictions on the interpretation of possessives

In this section, I present Portuguese data which illustrates the possessives Agent, Theme and Possessor interpretations[23], showing the restrictions on their expression. Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:66) delineate the crosslinguistical principles governing the realisation of simple possessives as arguments of a noun[24]. These authors only consider prenominal (simple) possessives and assume that Agent, Theme and Possessor are equally arguments of the possessee noun. The principles are the following:

(210) a. A non-genitive phrase may never be expressed as a possessive.

b. A genitive phrase bearing a Possessor role may be expressed as a possessive.

c. A genitive phrase bearing an external theta-role may be expressed as a possessive only if no Possessor is *overtly* present.

d. A genitive phrase bearing an internal theta-role may be expressed as a possessive only if no Possessor or external argument is *overtly* present.

e. No more than one phrase may appear as a possessive.

f. With some head Nouns (e.g. *desiderio* 'desire') no internal argument may ever be expressed as a possessive even if no other genitive phrase is overtly realised.

I will now consider, one by one, all these principles and their validity for Portuguese.

[23]I will maintain these three theta-roles in the description of the data and I will not discuss the argument status of the latter. I believe, however, with many authors (cf. the discussion in Storto (2000)) that the relation holding between Possessor and the noun is not an argumenthood relation.

[24]These principles are an elaboration on ideas already present in Cinque (1980a) and Milner (1982a), a.o..

3.1. Possessives and genitive phrases

Nominals may assign genitive case to their arguments (Chomsky (1970) a.o.)[25]. Consider the two noun phrases in (211).

(211) a. os livros **do Quim**
the books of.the Quim
'Quim's books'

b. a actuação **do tio**
the performance of.the uncle
'the uncle's performance'

The noun heading the construction - *livros* 'books' or *actuação* 'performance' - is followed by a noun phrase introduced by the preposition *de* 'of'. The preposition *de* is the spell-out of genitive case in Portuguese[26].

Likewise, functional possessives always realise a genitive complement. Hence, the complements *do Quim* and *do tio* in (211) can be realised as *de*-possessives (212) or as simple possessives (213)[27].

[25]Verbal complements are marked with accusative, dative or oblique case but never with genitive case.

[26]Genitive constructions can thus be marked with a preposition *de* 'of' in languages such as Portuguese (211), morphologically on the noun with genitive case in languages with morphological case-marking such as Latin (1a), or appear as a *'s* marker as in English (1b).

(1) a. libri **Ciceronis**
books CiceroGEN
'Cicero's books'

b. **David Lodge's** books
David Lodge'GEN books

[27]Müller (1996), adapting Milner (1982b) for French, defines the following array of properties of a genitive in Portuguese:

1. is introduced by *de* 'of';

(212) a. os livros **dele**
the books DE.3MSG
'his books'

b. a actuação **dele**
the performance DE.3MSG
'his performance'

(213) a. (os) **seus** livros
the 3.MPL book
'his books'

b. (a) **sua** actuação
the 3.FSG performance
'his performance'

As seen above, principle (210a) states that:

> A NON-GENITIVE PHRASE MAY NEVER BE EXPRESSED AS A POSSESSIVE.

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2. can be relativized by the relative pronoun *cujo* 'whose';

3. cannot accept pronouns, except *ele* 'he' or the treatment forms *você(s)* 'you' and *a gente* 'the people';

4. can be replaced by a (functional) simple possessive.

Properties 1, 3 and 4 are illustrated in (211), (212) and (213), respectively. Property 2 is illustrated in (1) with the genitive relative pronoun *cujo*.

(1) a. o Quim, **cujos** livros ocupam 3 estantes...
the Quim, GENMPL books occupy 3 bookcases
'Quim, whose books occupy 3 bookcases...'

b. o tio, **cuja** actuação o fez ganhar o concurso...
the uncle, GENFSG performance him made win the contest
'the uncle, whose performance made him win the contest...'

A ditransitive noun such as *oferta* 'offering' illustrates this restriction. *Oferta* takes three arguments as the corresponding verb *oferecer* 'to offer': an Agent external argument and two internal arguments, Theme and Goal.

(214) a oferta do livro$_{Th}$ pela Joaquinita$_{Ag}$ ao Quim$_{G}$
the offer of.the book by.the Joaquinita to.the Quim
'the offer of the book by Joaquinita to Quim'

Theme and Agent can be realised as a genitive phrase marked by *de*, as shown in (215a) and (215b), respectively. On the contrary, Goal is always realised as a PP introduced by the preposition *a* 'to' (214) and (215).

(215) a. a oferta **do** **livro**$_{Th}$ ao Quim$_{G}$
the offer of.the book to.the Quim
'the offer of the book to Quim'

b. a oferta **da** **Joaquinita**$_{Ag}$ ao Quim$_{G}$
the offer of.the Joaquinita to.the Quim
'Joaquinita's offer to Quim'

Therefore, in (216a), *sua* cannot realise Goal *ao Quim*. *Sua*, however, can realise Theme *do livro* or Agent *da Joaquinita* (216b).

(216) a. (a) **sua**$*_{G}$ oferta do livro$T$/da Joaquinita$_{Ag}$
the 3.FSG offer of.the book/of.the Joaquinita

b. (a) **sua**$_{Ag/T}$ oferta ao Quim$_{G}$
the 3.FSG offer to.the Quim
'her offer to Quim'

Notice that not all noun phrases introduced by *de* 'of' are genitive arguments. As observed by Godard (1986), in a French noun phrase of the type *XP de YP* not interpretable as a predication, the genitive phrase cannot be possessivised. Portuguese behaves alike.
Consider the noun phrases in (217).

(217) a. o jornal **de 1 de Janeiro**
the newspaper of 1 of january
'the newspaper of the 1st of january'

b. o regresso **do** **campo**
the return from.the country
'the return from the country'

In (217), *de 1 de Janeiro* and *do campo*, in spite of being introduced by *de*, are not genitive complements: they cannot be replaced by *cujo* (218a) and (219a), by *seu* (218b) and (219b), or by *dele* (218c) and (219c)[28].

(218) a. *o 1 de janeiro, **cujo** jornal esgotou...
the 1 of january, whose newspaper sold-out

b. #o **seu** jornal
the 3.MSG newspaper
'*(as regards the 1st of January,) its newspaper'
'OK (as regards Quim/Joaquinita,) his newspaper'

c. #o jornal **dele**
the newspaper DE.3MSG
'*(as regards the 1st of January,) its newspaper'
'OK(as regards Quim/Joaquinita,) his/her newspaper'

(219) a. *o campo, **cujo** regresso foi atrasado...
the field, whose return was delayed

b. #o **seu** regresso
the 3.MSG return
'*(as regards the field,) its return'
'OK (as regards Quim/Joaquinita,) his/her return'

[28](218b) and (219b) as well as (218c) and (219c) are well-formed expressions if they refer to 'someone's newspaper' or 'someone's return' but not acceptable expressions (marked by #) if *seu* and *dele* refer to *1 de janeiro* or *o campo*, respectively.

c. # o regresso **dele**
the return DE.3MSG
'*(as regards the field,) its return'
'OK (as regards Quim/Joaquinita,) his/her return'

The preposition *de* is not marking genitive case here. Notice that in English the complement in (217b) is not introduced by the genitive preposition *of* but by the preposition *from*, indicating the Source thematic-role.

3.2. Possessives and Thematic Hierarchy

Principles (210b-210d) describe the conditions under which a possessive can realise an argument of the noun when other lexical items are present to realise other arguments of the same noun. These three principles may be collapsed into one:

(220) THE POSSESSIVISATION PRINCIPLE - Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:68)
The unique phrase allowed to appear as a possessive is the hierarchically highest genitive argument of a NP.

with the hierarchy being[29]:

THEMATIC HIERARCHY
Possessor > Agent/Experiencer > Theme

Here I will briefly describe the relevant Portuguese data which does not diverge much from the Italian data given in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991). Brito (1984) and Miguel (2004), however, observe violations of the Thematic Hierarchy in Portuguese.

[29]This hierarchy is proposed for the arguments of the noun by several authors - Milner (1982a), Grimshaw (1990), Picallo (1991), a.o.. For verbal predications, the Thematic Hierarchy proposed by Jackendoff (1972), based on Gruber (1965) is: Agent/Experiencer > Goal/Source/Locative > Theme/Patient. Note that, for these authors, Locative (or Place) is hierarchically lower than Agent theta-role.

Their data will be presented as well as how account for them.

In (221b) the possessive *sua* realises the Possessor argument of *fotografia* 'picture'[30] - *o Museu do Chiado*.

(221) a. a fotografia **do Museu do Chiado**$_{Pos}$ do Sebastião
the picture of.the Museum of.the Chiado of.the Sebastião
Salgado$_{Ag}$ dos flavelados$_{Th}$
Salgado of.the slum-dwellers
'the Chiado Museum's picture of Sebastião Salgado of the slum dwellers'

b. (a) **sua**$_{Pos}$ fotografia do Sebastião Salgado$_{Ag}$ dos
the 3.FSG picture of.the Sebastião Salgado of.the
flavelados$_{Th}$
slum-dwellers
'its picture by Sebastião Salgado of the slum dwellers'

Principle (210c) describes the cooccurrence of an Agent/Experiencer possessive with a Possessor genitive phrase.

> A GENITIVE PHRASE BEARING AN [AGENT/EXPERIENCER] EXTERNAL THETA-ROLE MAY BE EXPRESSED AS A POSSESSIVE ONLY IF NO POSSESSOR IS *overtly* PRESENT.

In (222b), a possessive cannot be assigned the Agent theta-role since there is a genitive phrase that bears the Possessor theta-role. In (222c), however, with no Possessor phrase overtly present, the possessive *sua* can be assigned the external theta-role.

(222) a. a fotografia do Museu do Chiado$_{Pos}$ **do Sebastião**
the picture of.the Museum of.the Chiado of.the Sebastião
Salgado$_{Ag}$ dos flavelados$_{Th}$
Salgado of.the slum-dwellers
'the Chiado Museum's picture of Sebastião Salgado of the slum dwellers'

[30] To illustrate the principles with the three interpretations of the possessive, noun phrases with an iconic noun are needed, since these may denote simultaneously an event and an object.

b. (a) **sua**$*_{Ag}$ fotografia do Museu do Chiado$_{Pos}$ dos
the 3.FSG picture of.the Museum of.the Chiado of.the
flavelados$_{Th}$
slum-dwellers

c. (a) **sua**$_{Ag}$ fotografia dos flavelados$_{Th}$
the 3.FSG picture of.the slum-dwellers
'his picture of the slum dwellers'

Principle (210d) describes the cooccurrence of a Theme possessive with a Possessor or Agent genitive phrase.

> A GENITIVE PHRASE BEARING AN INTERNAL [THEME] THETA-ROLE MAY BE EXPRESSED AS A POSSESSIVE ONLY IF NO POSSESSOR OR [AGENT] EXTERNAL ARGUMENT IS *overtly* PRESENT.

In (223b), *sua* cannot receive the internal theta-role of *fotografia*. If no other genitive phrase is overtly present, however, it can (223c).

(223) a. a fotografia do Museu do Chiado$_{Pos}$ do Sebastião
the picture of.the Museum of.the Chiado of.the Sebastião
Salgado$_{Ag}$ **dos flavelados**$_{Th}$
Salgado of.the slum-dwellers
'the Chiado Museum's picture of Sebastião Salgado of the slum dwellers'

b. (a) **sua**$*_{Th}$ fotografia do Museu do Chiado$_{Pos}$ do
the 3.FSG picture of.the Museum of.the Chiado of.the
Sebastião Salgado$_{Ag}$
Sebastião Salgado

c. (a) **sua**$_{Th/Ag/Pos}$ fotografia
the 3.FSG picture
'their picture'

As observed for other languages, in (223c), the meaning of *sua* seems to be free, as it can be any of the interpretations available for a noun phrase that can occur

with *fotografia*: Agent, Theme or Possessor. In a neutral context, however, the most natural interpretation is Theme[31].

With respect to other items that can express the external argument of a noun phrase - adjectives and *by*-phrases - a possessive bearing Theme role cannot cooccur with an adjective bearing Agent role (224a), which can be seen as a violation of the Thematic Hierarchy[32]. The inverse happens, however, if Agent is realised as a *by*-phrase. As shown in (224b), a by-phrase can cooccur with a prenominal possessive Theme.

(224) a. (a) **sua**$*_{Th}$ invasão **americana**
the 3.FSG invasion American

b. (a) **sua**$_{Th}$ invasão **pela América**$_{Ag}$
the 3.FSG invasion by.the America
'its invasion by America'

[31]This is captured by the following generalisation drawn by Marantz and Miwagaya (2003):

(1) The external argument of transitive event nominalisation depends on expression of the internal argument.

While an internal argument is thematically identified without the presence of the external argument (2a), the opposite does not hold. A noun phrase receiving the external theta-role demands an either overt or understood internal argument. *John's destruction* in (2b) is thus out but it may be uttered in a context in which multiple events of destroying a specific object are under discussion. In the same way, in (2d) a specific Theme (destroyed argument) is required in the context.

(2) a. the city's$_{Th}$ destruction

b. John's$*_{Ag}$ destruction

c. John's$_{Ag}$ destruction of the city$_{Th}$

d. the destruction (of something) took three hours

[32]This is observed in Brito and Oliveira (1995).

The contrast in (224) thus suggests that, in spite of bearing the same theta-role, the adjective and the *by*-phrase do not occupy the same structural position. The adjective can be projected as the external argument of the noun phrase. Therefore, being higher in the hierarchy, it blocks the movement of Theme possessive. On the contrary, if the *by*-phrase is an adjunct, it is not hierarchically higher than the possessive and thus does not block the raising of the possessive. In this way, no violation of the Thematic Hierarchy happens since this only affects specifier and complement positions.

Brito (1984) and Miguel (2004), however, show that (at least) in Portuguese the Thematic Hierarchy can be violated. A Possessor *of*-phrase (*de um coleccionador holandês*) can occur on the right of both the Agent (*de Gageiro*) and the Theme arguments (*de duas mulheres vestidas de negro*).

(225) a. Na semana passada, comprei a fotografia **de duas mulheres vestidas de negro**$_{Th}$ **de Gageiro**$_{Ag}$ **de um coleccionador holandês**$_{Pos}$.
in.the week last, bought the picture of two women dressed of black of Gageiro of a collector Dutch
'Last week, I bought the picture of two women dressed in black taken by Gageiro belonging to a Dutch collector.'

b. Na semana passada, comprei a fotografia **de Gageiro**$_{Ag}$ **de duas mulheres vestidas de negro**$_{Th}$ **de um coleccionador holandês**$_{Pos}$.
in.the week last, bought the picture of Gageiro of two women dressed of black of a collector Dutch
'Last week, I bought the picture taken by Gageiro of two women dressed in black belonging to a Dutch collector.'

Moreover, Agent or Theme arguments can be possessivised with the Possessor genitive overtly present (*do coleccionador holandês*).

(226) a. As **minhas**$_{Ag/T}$ fotografias **do** **coleccionador holandês**$_{Pos}$
the 1SG.FPL pictures of.the collector Dutch
foram vendidas ontem num leilão.
were sold yesterday in.a auction
'My pictures of the Dutch collector were sold at an auction yesterday.'

b. Não sei se já te disse, mas os **meus**$_{Ag/T}$ quadros **do**
not know if yet you told, but the 1SG.MPL paintings of.the
negociante holandês$_{Pos}$ foram vendidos ontem!
merchant Dutch were sold yesterday
'I don't know if I told you this, but my paintings of the Dutch merchant were sold yesterday!'

Miguel (2004:305-309) explains this contrast by proposing that Possessor is generated as a predicative projection which selects the noun phrase, inside which Agent and Theme arguments are projected[33]. For her, Possessor is thus peripherical to the real arguments which explains why it can occur both on the left and on the right periphery of both Agent and Theme.

3.3. Simple possessives

In this section, I will describe the restrictions constraining simple possessives.

3.3.1. Cooccurrence of possessives

Principle (210e) says the following:

NO MORE THAN ONE PHRASE MAY APPEAR AS A POSSESSIVE.

In Portuguese, this principle is only valid for prenominal possessives. Two prenominal possessives in the same noun phrase are indeed not grammatical, regardless of the roles they bear, as illustrated in (227b)[34].

[33]Miguel's (2004) proposal is explained in more detail in Chapter 6.

[34]Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) account for this constraint by proposing a universal filter on syntactic representations - the Argument Uniqueness of Spec - formulated as follows:

(227) a. a fotografia **do Museu do Chiado**$_{Pos}$ **do Sebastião Salgado**$_{Ag}$ dos flavelados$_{Th}$
the picture of.the Museum of.the Chiado of.the Sebastião Salgado of.the slum-dwellers
'the Chiado Museum's picture of Sebastião Salgado of the slum dwellers'

b. *(a) **minha**$_{Pos}$ **tua**$_{Ag}$ fotografia dos flavelados$_{Th}$
the 1SG.FSG 2SG.FSG picture of.the slum-dwellers

In this respect, Portuguese behaves like Italian (228a). Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) also observe that if one of the arguments is realised postnominally the acceptability of the noun phrase substantially improves although it is not fully grammatical (228b) - a fact already noticed in Cinque (1980b).

(228) a. *i **miei** **suoi** quadri
the 1SG.MPL 3SG.MPL paintings

b. ??i **miei** quadri **suoi**
the 1SG.MPL paintings 3SG.MPL
'my paintings of theirs/his/hers'

In Portuguese, however, the equivalent to (228b) with two possessives - one prenominal and the other postnominal - is well formed if the Thematic Hierarchy is respected[35]. In the example below, the noun phrase is interpreted as 'the picture I

ARGUMENT UNIQUENESS OF SPEC - Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:133)

Only one argument may occur in each Spec position.

The authors assume that the prenominal possessive is in a specifier position which is a mono-argument position. Therefore, it cannot be filled by two arguments of the noun.

[35]Picallo (1994:fn16) also notes that, in Catalan, such an example is grammatical.

(1) la **seva** fotografia **teva**
the 1SG.FSG picture 2SG.FSG
'my picture of you'

Picallo and Rigau (1999:996) give a similar grammatical example for Spanish.

(2) **su** fotografía **mía**
3SG.SG picture 1SG.FSG

took (or own) of you on the beach'[36].

(229) (a) **minha**$_{Pos/Ag/*T}$ fotografia **tua**$_{Th}$ na praia
the 1SG.FSG picture 2SG.FSG on.the beach
'my picture of you on the beach'

Likewise, the cooccurrence of a *de*-possessive and a prenominal (230a) or a postnominal simple possessive (230b) is allowed.

(230) a. (a) **minha**$_{Pos/*T}$ fotografia **dele**$_{Th}$ na praia
the 1SG.FSG picture DE.3SG on.the beach
'my picture of him on the beach'

b. uma fotografia **minha**$_{Pos/Ag/*T}$ **dele**$_{Th}$ na praia
the picture 1SG.FSG DE.3SG on.the beach
'a picture of mine of him on the beach'

Old Portuguese furthermore allows a construction in which two 3rd person possessives - *seu* and *dele* - cooccur with the same thematic interpretation.

(231) & a **sua** morte **delles** q(ue) ficasse hu eu mandasse
and to 3.FSG death DE.3MPL that stayed where I ordered
'and, at the time of their death, it is to stay where I ordered.'

This construction *seu* N *dele* will be explored in Chapter 6.

3.3.2. The Affectedness Constraint

There are also restrictions on the occurrence of simple possessives described in the linguistic literature as the Affectedness Constraint proposed in Anderson (1977). Giorgi and Logobardi's (1991) principle (210f) is as follows:

'his/her picture of me'

[36]A locative PP such as *on the beach* increases the acceptability of such a noun phrase.

> WITH SOME HEAD NOUNS (E.G. *desiderio* 'DESIRE') NO INTERNAL ARGUMENT MAY EVER BE EXPRESSED AS A POSSESSIVE EVEN IF NO OTHER GENITIVE PHRASE IS OVERTLY REALISED.

Thus, nouns such as *desire*, *opinion* or *concept* are subject to a constraint defined in (232) apud Alexiadou (2001)[37]:

(232) AFFECTEDNESS CONSTRAINT
If the head noun does not express an action that affects, i.e. modifies, the state of the object, the latter cannot occur in the prenominal domain.

This constraint does not extend to the internal argument of the corresponding verb, a fact that has no satisfactory explanation in the literature (Alexiadou (2001), a.o.).
Consider the examples in (233).

(233) a. o desejo **do Vasco de/por laranjas**
the desire of.the Vasco of/by oranges
'Vasco's desire for oranges'

b. o **seu**$*_{Th/Exp}$ desejo do Vasco$_{Th}$
the 3.MSG desire of.the Vasco

c. o **seu**$_{Exp}$ desejo de/por laranjas$_{Th}$
the 3.MSG desire of/by oranges
'his desire for oranges'

(233b) cannot have the reading 'Vasco wants oranges'. The possessive can only be interpreted as the Experiencer of 'desire'. The same reading is available in (233c).

[37] Jaeggli (1986) presents it in slightly different terms:

> If a complement of X is unaffected, it is impossible to eliminate the external theta-role of X.

With a noun such as *opinião* 'opinion', however, judgements are different although they exhibit variation among speakers. A prenominal simple possessive cannot be interpreted as Theme (234b). For postnominal possessives, judgements are less clear (234c).

(234) a. a opinião da Joaquinita de ti
the opinion of.the Joaquinita of you
'Joaquinita's opinion about you'

b. * (a) **tua**$_{Th}$ opinião da Joaquinita
the 2SG.FSG opinion of.the Joaquinita

c. ?? uma opinião **tua**$_{Th}$ da Joaquinita
an opinion 2SG.FSG of.the Joaquinita

The above noun phrases considered in context make the judgements clearer. A prenominal possessive cannot be interpreted as Theme in Portuguese (235) and Italian (236).

(235) Eu dei-lhe (a) **tua**$*_{T/Exp}$ opinião, que não é a melhor.
I gave-him the 2SG.FSG opinion, that not is the best
'I told him your opinion (about something), which is rather unfavourable.'

(236) Io gli ho dato la **tua**$*_{T/Exp}$ opinione, che non è la migliore.
I him have given the 2SG.FSG opinion, that not is the best
'I told him your opinion (about something), which is rather unfavourable.'

In postnominal position, however, the simple possessive can bear the Theme role in Portuguese (237), but not in Italian (238).

(237) Ele tem uma opinião **tua**$_{Th}$, que não é a melhor.
he has an opinion 2SG.FSG, that not is the best
'He has an opinion of you which is rather unfavourable...'

(238) * Lui ha una opinione **tua**$_{Th}$ che non è la migliore.
He has an opinion 2SG.FSG that not is the best

Moreover, a postnominal possessive interpreted as Theme can occur with a prenominal possessive interpreted as Experiencer in Portuguese (239) but not in Italian (240a). In Italian, the internal argument has to be expressed by a PP (240b).

(239) Eu dei-lhe (a) **minha**$_{Exp}$ opinião **tua**$_{Th}$, que não é a melhor.
I gave-him the 1SG.FSG opinion 2SG.FSG, that not is the best
'I gave him my opinion about you which is rather unfavourable...'

(240) a. * Io gli ho dato la **mia**$_{Exp}$ opinione **tua**$_{Th}$ che non è la
I him have given the 1SG.FSG opinion 2SG.FSG that not is the
migliore.
best

b. Io gli ho dato la **mia**$_{Exp}$ opinione **su**/**di te**$_{Th}$ che non è
I him have given the 1SG.FSG opinion on/of you that not is
la migliore.
the best
'I gave him my opinion about you that is not the best.'

It has been noticed by several authors (Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Alexiadou (2001) a.o.) that nouns subject to the Affectedness Constraint vary cross-linguistically. This issue will be dealt with in Chapter 6 and the differences sketched here will be enlightened and explained.

3.4. *De*-possessives

The restrictions on the occurrence of *de*-possessives are related to the person-number of the strong pronoun combining with *de*.
A *de*-possessive *dele* may have the three interpretations, as illustrated in (241a) for Possessor, (241b) for Agent and (241c) for Theme.

(241) a. Conduzi o carro **dele**$_{Pos}$ ontem.
drove the car DE.3MSG yesterday
'I drove his car yesterday.'

b. Ouvi a opinião **dele**$_{Ag}$ atentamente.
listened the opinion DE.3MSG attentively
'I listened to his opinion attentively.'

c. Não tenho boa impressão **dele**$_{Th}$.
not have good impression DE.3MSG
'I don't have a good impression of him.

A *de*-possessive with a 1st and 2nd person pronoun is also allowed, although with restrictions: only if the pronoun is in the oblique form and if the possessive is interpreted as Theme (242c), and not if it is interpreted as Possessor (242a) or Agent (242b).

(242) a. * Conduzi o carro **de ti**$_{Pos}$ ontem.
drove the car of you yesterday

b. * Ouvi a opinião **de ti**$_{Ag}$ atentamente.
listened the opinion of you attentively

c. Não tenho boa impressão **de ti**$_{Th}$.
not have good impression of you
'I don't have a good impression of you.'

The availability of *de*-possessives seems to be independent of languages having one or more sets of simple possessives (cf. Chapters 2 and 5). Considering other Romance languages that have, on the one side, one set of simple possessives (Italian and Catalan) and, on the other, two or more sets of simple possessives (French and Spanish), we observe that, with respect to the availability of *de*-possessives, Catalan and Spanish align with Portuguese whereas Italian and French behave differently. Consider the relevant data from these languages.

Catalan behaves like Portuguese: *d'ell* is allowed for all the interpretations of the possessive - Possessor (243a), Agent (243b) or Theme (243c).

(243) a. Vaig conduir el cotxe **d'ell**$_{Pos}$ ahir.
PAST drive the car of'3MSG yesterday
'I drove his car yesterday.'

b. Vaig escoltar la opinió **d'ell**$_{Ag}$ atentament.
PAST listen the opinion of'3MSG attentively
'I listened to his opinion attentively.'

c. No tinc una bona opinió **d'ell**$_{Th}$.
not have a good opinion of'3MSG
'I don't have a good impression of him.'

De followed by a 1st and 2nd person pronoun is also allowed with the same restriction as in Portuguese: only when the possessive is interpreted as Theme (244c); not if it is interpreted as Possessor (244a) or Agent (244b).

(244) a. *Vaig conduir el cotxe **de tu**$_{Pos}$ ahir.
PAST drive the car of 2SG yesterday

b. *Vaig escoltar la opinió **de tu**$_{Ag}$ atentament.
PAST listen the opinion of 2SG attentively

c. No tinc una bona opinió **de tu**$_{Th}$.
not have a good opinion of 2SG
'I don't have a good impression of you.'

In Spanish, a 3rd person *de*-possessive is licensed regardless of its interpretation.

(245) a. Maneje el auto **de él**$_{Pos}$ ayer.
drove the car of 3MSG yesterday
'I drove his car yesterday.'

b. Lei el libro **de él**$_{Ag}$ en dos dias.
read the book of 3MSG in two days
'I read his book in two days.'

c. No tengo buena impresion **de él**$_{Th}$.
not have good impression of 3MSG
'I don't have a good impression of him.'

As for (1st and) 2nd person *de*-possessives, they are grammatical only when interpreted as Theme (246c).

(246) a. * Maneje el auto **de vos**$_{Pos}$ ayer.
drove the car of 2PL yesterday

b. * Lei el libro **de vos**$_{Ag}$ en dos dias.
read the book of 2PL in two days

c. No tengo buena impresion **de vos**$_{Th}$.
not have good impression of 2PL
'I don't have a good opinion of you.'

On the other hand, in Italian, a *de*-possessive can be interpreted only as Theme. *Di lui* 'of him' (3rd person) cannot be interpreted as Possessor (247a) or Agent (247b), only as Theme (247c).

(247) a. * Ho guidato la macchina **di lui**$_{Pos}$ ieri.
have drive the car of 3MSG yesterday

b. * Ho ascoltato l'opinione **di lui**$_{Ag}$ con attenzione.
have listen the.opinion of 3MSG with attention

c. Non ho una buona impressione **di lui**$_{Th}$.
not have a good impression of 3MSG
'I don't have a good impression of him.'

The same contrast holds for 1st and 2nd person: *di te* 'of you' (2rd person) cannot be interpreted as Possessor (248a) nor Agent (248b), only as Theme (248c).

(248) a. * Ho guidato la macchina **di te**$_{Pos}$ ieri.
have drive the car of 2SG yesterday

b. * Ho ascoltato l'opinione **di te** con attenzione.
have listen the.opinion of 2SG with attention

c. Non ho una buona impressione **di te**$_{Th}$.
not have a good impression of 2SG
'I don't have a good impression of you.'

French behaves like Italian: *de*-possessives are grammatical with 3rd (249c) and (1st and) 2nd person (250c) pronouns interpreted as Theme, and agrammatical if interpreted as Possessor (249a-250a) or Agent (249b-250b).

(249) a. * J'ai conduit la voiture **de lui**$_{Pos}$ hier.
I.have drive the car of 3MSG yesterday

b. * J'ai ecouté l'opinion **de lui**$_{Ag}$ attentivement.
I.have listen the.opinion of 3MSG attentively

c. Je n'ai pas une bonne impression **de lui**$_{Th}$.
I not.have PAS a good opinion of 3MSG
'I don't have a good impression of him.'

(250) a. * J'ai conduit la voiture **de toi**$_{Pos}$ hier.
I.have drive the car of 2SG yesterday

b. * J'ai ecouté l'opinion **de toi**$_{Ag}$ attentivement.
I.have listen the.opinion of 2SG attentively

c. Je n'ai pas une bonne impression **de toi**$_{Th}$.
I not.have PAS a good opinion of 2SG
'I don't have a good impression of you.'

From the data presented across this section, the generalisation that can be drawn is the following:

(251) In Portuguese, Catalan and Spanish a *de*-possessive ('of' + strong pronoun) can occur in the 3rd person under the Possessor reading while this is impossible in French and Italian.

The question to be answered is thus why only Portuguese, Catalan and Spanish allow *de*-possessives interpreted as Possessor. An answer will be provided in Chapter 6 since this fact seems to be related to the paradigm of possessives in these languages.

4. Summary and questions

This chapter has presented the thematic interpretation of possessives in Portuguese. It has been shown that these do not diverge much from what is stated for other languages. In particular, Portuguese possessives realise genitive phrases with three prototypical interpretations. Under the Thematic Theory, these are: Agent/Experiencer

and Theme, when possessives realise arguments of a noun; and Possessor, when possessives occur with non-argument taking nouns. Furthermore, the same interpretations can be expressed by other linguistic items such as adjectives, genitive phrases and *by*-phrases.

The Possessivisation Principles regulating the realisation of possessives have been assessed with respect to Portuguese data and the following observations were made:

- The same thematic interpretation is expressed by only one lexical item in Portuguese, although there is an Old Portuguese construction (*seu* N *dele*) that seems to violate this.

- The realisation of these lexical items seems to obey a hierarchy but Portuguese data provided by Brito (1984) and Miguel (2004) shows that Possessor may violate the hierarchy.

- With respect to the cooccurrence of possessives, there is only one prenominal position for simple possessives and two positions, at least, postnominally. Therefore, a prenominal simple possessive and a postnominal simple or *de*-possessive can cooccur.

- Simple prenominal possessives interpreted as Theme are also not allowed with some nouns in Portuguese - a confirmation of the Affectedness Constraint.

- *De*-possessives also show restrictions: they occur for 3rd person with all the interpretations (Possessor, Agent and Theme); 1st and 2nd persons *de*-possessives can only be interpreted as Theme. Portuguese aligns with Catalan and Spanish and behaves differently from Italian and French, in this respect.

Some data presented in this chapter will be revisited in Chapter 6 and integrated into the discussion pursued there, in particular regarding:

- the construction *seu* N *dele* in Old Portuguese;

- the Affectedness Constraint;
- the restrictions on the occurrence of *de*-possessives in Portuguese and other Romance languages.

Part 2

Special aspects of Portuguese possessives

Chapter 5

Simple possessives and categorial status

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on Portuguese simple possessives and addresses their categorial and syntactic status. Portuguese will be considered in its internal variation, both EP and BP, and will be compared with other languages described in typological studies on possessives.

In the Portuguese literature, simple possessives have been considered either as determiners or as adjectives due to the fact that they agree in gender and number with the possessee noun. Cunha and Cintra (1984:318-319) and Bechara (1999), following the Brazilian terminology[1], classify simple possessives as *pronomes possessivos* 'possessive pronouns', distinguishing between *pronomes adjectivos* 'adjectival pronouns', cooccurring with the noun, and *pronomes substantivos* 'nominal pronouns', occurring in isolation. These authors thus treat simple possessives as (a type of) adjectives. On the other hand, Casteleiro (1976), Raposo (1979) and

[1]Casteleiro (1976:458:fn4) explains the distinct terminologies of pronouns. The Brazilian terminology distinguishes between *pronomes adjectivos* 'adjectival pronouns' and *pronomes substantivos* 'nominal pronouns'. The Portuguese terminology distinguishes between *pronomes adjuntos* 'adjunct pronouns' and *pronomes absolutos* 'absolute pronouns'. The former type includes those elements that can combine with a noun; the latter corresponds to the elements traditionally called pronouns, i.e. linguistic forms that replace the noun.

Brito (2003b) include simple possessives among determiners. For Casteleiro (1976) and Raposo (1979) possessives are considered as post-articles (*pós-artigos*) or post-determiners (*pós-determinantes*) [2]. For Brito (2003:346-351) simple possessives are deictic determiners (*determinantes dêicticos*). According to her, they differ from regular determiners, since they express both thematic and determination values and show gender and number endings. Therefore, they have a dual nature, being simultaneously lexical and functional elements. Also the *Terminologia Gramatical Portuguesa* 'Portuguese Grammatical Terminology' classifies possessives as determiners. The view under which simple possessives are determiners only accounts for prenominal elements, excluding the postnominal position of simple possessives.

Outside the Portuguese grammatical tradition, however, several crosslinguistic studies can be subsumed under two main typological views with respect to the realisation of possessive forms. One view establishes a typology of languages. This is the po-

[2]Casteleiro distinguishes five positions for prenominal elements: Pre-articles (the universal quantifier *todos* and the dual marker *ambos*), Articles (the definite and the indefinite determiners as well as demonstratives, which are in complementary distribution), and Post-articles, subdivided into denotatives, numerals and possessives. Other indefinites and quantifiers belong to the post-articles class either. The table below shows the relative positions of all these determiner elements in Portuguese. Note that the position of some of these elements is not rigid and obligatory, since ordinals and cardinals, for instance, may switch their relative positions.

(1) The distribution of determiners in Portuguese adapted from Casteleiro (1976:422)

Pre-article	Article		Post-articles		Noun
Det 1	Det 2	Det 3	Det 4	Det 5	
todas	as	nossas	cinco	primeiras	experiências
todos	esses	outros	primeiros	cinco	alunos
	uns	outros	primeiros	cinco	alunos
ambas	as	nossas	duas	primeiras	casas

As Casteleiro (1976), Raposo divides the elements occurring prenominally into three groups: Pre-determiners, such as the quantifiers *algum*, *todo* and *qualquer*; Determiners, which include articles and demonstratives; and Post-determiners, which include possessives and numerals.

sition assumed in Lyons (1985), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) and Schoorlemmer (1998)[3]. Essentially, the three proposals state that languages divide into two groups: one group having determiner possessives and the other adjectival possessives. According to this partition, Portuguese possessives are adjectives. On the other view, the typology divides possessive forms and not necessarily languages. This is the position present in Cardinaletti (1998) who extends to possessive systems the deficient/strong typology proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for pronominal systems[4].

I will show that none of these proposals straightforwardly accounts for the properties of Portuguese simple possessives described in the first part of this dissertation, in particular in Chapters 2 and 3. Neither Portuguese simple possessives behave like adjectives or determiners nor do they fit in the weak/strong partition as proposed by Cardinaletti (1998). Therefore, a recast of the latter typology is proposed in order to account for Portuguese (prenominal) simple possessives data.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2. reviews Lyons', Giorgi and Longobardi's and Schoorlemmer's typologies of possessives. Furthermore, the categorial status of simple possessives in Portuguese is discussed providing morphological and distributional evidence against treating these forms as adjectives. Section 3. summarises the data of Portuguese simple possessives falling outside the proposed typologies of languages. Section 4. presents Cardinaletti's (1998) typology and shows that it is insufficient to explain the Portuguese data. A recast of this typology is then proposed in order to account for (prenominal) simple possessives in Portuguese. Finally, Section 5. deals with a difference between EP and BP which is not explained

[3]Lyons (1985), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) and Schoorlemmer (1998) only consider in their typologies the possessives I am calling *simple possessives*: Italian *mio*, English *my* and *mine*, and French *mon* and *mien*.

[4]This paper has been circulating since 1994, and it is, in fact, many times referred to as Cardinaletti and Starke (1994). It is thus previous to Cardinaletti (1998).

by the previous proposal: the presence versus the absence of the definite article in front of prenominal possessives.

2. A typology of languages

2.1. The Possessive Parameter

2.1.1. Lyons (1985)

Lyons (1985) proposes a typology of languages with respect to the realisation of their possessive elements[5] formulated as follows:

(252) Languages divide into *determiner-genitive* (DG) languages and *adjectival-genitive* (AG) languages.

English and Italian are prototypical examples of DG and AG languages, respectively. Other languages classified as DG are Russian, Danish, French and German. Portuguese, Catalan and Greek are classified as AG languages.
Adopting a pre-DP framework[6], Lyons (1985) proposes that DG possessives occupy a specifier position [Spec,NP] whereas AG possessives occupy a pre- or postnominal modifier position. Such a proposal is consistent with an analysis of DG possessives as determiners and AG possessives as adjectives. Furthermore, Lyons (1985) correlates the occurrence of a genitive in a given position with the definite interpretation of the whole noun phrase. Under his view, all noun phrases in (253) are definite, even the one including the indefinite genitive in (253c), because it is the filling of a particular position that generally produces definiteness: [Spec,NP] for Lyons (1985, 1986) or the DP projection for Lyons (1999)[7].

[5]See Lyons (1986) for a development of this topic.

[6]Lyons (1985) assumes that noun phrases are projected as NPs and determiners are located in [Spec,NP].

[7]For Lyons, it is crucial to assume that indefinite articles are not in the same position as definite ones. Lyons (1985,1986) proposes that the former are projected in a modifier position inside NP, a

(253) a. **my** book

b. **John's** book

c. **a teacher's** work

The partition stated in (252) predicts that languages are divided into two groups. However, Lyons (1985:101) observes that:

> "the distinction between DG and AG languages is not [...] a rigid one. It is possible for a language of one type to show traces of the other".

Italian and Catalan instantiate this variation since these languages allow a possessive occurring without determiner with, for instance, kinship nouns. Spanish and French, on the other hand, show two types of possessive elements: determiner and adjectival possessives. Portuguese, as I will show, can also be said to have a mixed pattern with respect to Lyons' proposal.

2.1.2. Giorgi and Longobardi (1991)

Along the same lines, Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) argue that there is a parameter of Universal Grammar which differentiates languages such as Italian from languages such as English and French. Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:155) formulate this parameter in the following terms[8]:

---

kind of adjectival position, whereas the latter are in [Spec,NP] (cf. Lyons (1986:3)). Lyons (1999), already adopting the DP-hypothesis, proposes that D is the locus of definiteness, the indefinite article being in the specifier of CardP, a category below DP (cf. Lyons (1999:301)).

[8]This proposal is built on the Principles and Parameters Theory (cf. Chomsky (1981)) which defends the idea that all human languages share structural principles and vary according to parameters. Every parameter must have, at least, two values and specific languages select one or the other. The different parameter settings are therefore responsible for language variation.

(254) POSSESSIVE PARAMETER

Possessive elements are syntactically specified to be realised on the surface either as Adjectives (as in Italian), or as Determiners (as in English or French).

The evidence provided in favour of such a partition is mainly distributional. These authors observe that in English and French, possessives are in complementary distribution with a whole class of items that they call determiners: the definite article, indefinites, quantifiers, demonstratives and numerals. (255) illustrates this for English[9].

(255) a. * the **my** book

b. * a **my** book

c. * each **my** book

d. * some **my** books

e. * this/that **my** book

f. * three **my** books

g. * many **my** books

(256) illustrates the same for French.

(256) a. * le **mon** livre
the 1SG.MSG book

b. * un **mon** livre
a 1SG.MSG book

c. * chaque **mon** livre
each 1SG.MSG book

d. * ce **mon** livre
this 1SG.MSG book

[9]All the examples in this section are taken from Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:153-155).

e. * quelques **mes** livres
some 1SG.MSG books

f. * trois **mes** livres
three 1SG.MSG books

g. * plusieurs **mes** livres
many may books

It is doubtful, however, that all the words introducing the noun phrases in (255) and (256) should be determiners occupying the same structural position. On the contrary, these prenominal elements belong to different sub-classes and may occupy more than one structural position (cf. e.g. Casteleiro (1976) mentioned in footnote 2). This explains why some of these elements can cooccur, in particular the definite article and the demonstrative may cooccur with numerals. Therefore, some of the noun phrases in (255) and (256) become good with the possessive in first position in both English (257) and French (258)[10].

(257) a. **my** one fatal mistake (was to ignore Mary)

b. **my** every attempt (to leave the room has failed)

c. in this **her** last novel (Elizabeth Taylor examines blaming)

d. **my** three books

e. **my** many books

(258) a. **mes** quelques livres
1SG.MPL some books
'some books of mine'

b. **mes** trois livres
1SG.MPL three books
'my three books'

Hence, the possessive determiner seems to be in complementary distribution with only some of the elements given in (255) and (256). Moreover, the possessive in first

[10]These examples were given to me by Anne Zribi-Hertz.

position constrains the noun phrases to be definite in English and French.
Italian shows the opposite pattern, however. As Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) observe, the possessive does not occur prenominally with the same elements.

(259) a. un **mio** libro
a 1SG.MSG book
'a book of mine'

b. ciascun **mio** libro
each 1SG.MSG book
'each book of mine'

c. questo/quel **mio** libro
this/that 1SG.MSG book
'this/that book of mine'

d. alcuni **miei** libri/qualche **mio** libro
some 1SG.MSG books/any 1SG.MSG book
'some books of mine/any of my books'

e. tre **miei** libri
three 1SG.MSG books
'my three books'

f. molti **miei** libri
many 1SG.MSG books
'many books of mine'

The comparison of adjectival possessives, such as Italian *mio*, with determiner possessives, such as English *my* and French *mon*, leads Giorgi and Longobardi to associate the Possessive Parameter with other properties:

1. In Italian, possessives may optionally occur in postnominal position, when focused or conveying contrastive information (260); but not in English (261) nor in French (262).

(260) il libro **mio**
the book 1SG.MSG
'MY book'

(261) * the book **my**

(262) * le livre **mon**
the book 1SG.MSG

2. In Italian, the same possessive may be used as a predicate in various constructions (263); not in English (264) nor in French (265).

(263) a. Questo libro è **mio.**
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

b. Questo libro sembra **mio.**
this book looks 1SG.MSG
'This book looks mine.'

c. Lo considero **mio.**
it consider 1SG.MSG
'I consider it mine.'

(264) a. * This book is **my.**

b. * This book seems **my.**

c. * I consider it **my.**

(265) a. * Ce livre est **mon.**
this book is 1SG.MSG

b. * Ce livre semble **mon.**
this book looks 1SG.MSG

c. * Je le considère **mon.**
I it consider 1SG.MSG

3. In Italian, simple possessives may occur with a gapped head noun (266); but not in English (267) nor in French (268).

(266) Metti i tuoi libri vicini ai **miei**.
put the 2SG.MPL books close to.the 1SG.MPL
'Put your books close to mine.'

(267) * Put your books next to **my**.

(268) * Mets tes livres près de **mes**.
put 2SG.MPL books close of 1SG.MPL

According to Giorgi and Longobardi, English and French align with German while Italian behaves like Latin, Portuguese and Catalan[11].

The above-mentioned properties of possessives do not give us the full picture of the possessive paradigms in English and French, since Giorgi and Longobardi are just considering a subset of the forms that can be taken as possessives in these languages: the English *my* and French *mon*-type possessives. As seen in Chapter 2, French has more than one morphological possessive form; the same is true for English. Italian, on the other hand, has only one morphological possessive form[12]. Consequently, while Italian uses the single morphological form in all contexts illustrated above, both English and French may choose between the different available possessive forms. *My* and *mon* are unstressed forms which can only occur in first position as in (257) and (258). When a possessive is required in a stressed position, English and French use the long or strong/stressed possessive form: English *(of) mine* (269) and French *à moi* or *mien* (270).

[11] A crucial difference is that in English and in German simple possessives alternate with lexical noun phrases in prenominal position as in (253), a possibility not available in Romance languages.

[12] The complete paradigms of possessives in French and Italian are given in Chapter 2.

(269) a. the book **of mine** which you just mentioned

b. This book is **mine**.

c. This book seems **mine**.

d. I consider it **mine**.

e. Put your books next to **mine**.

(270) a. le livre **à moi** que tu as vu
the book À 1SGOBL which you have seen
'the book of mine which you have seen'

b. Ce livre est **à moi**.
this book is À 1SGOBL
'This book is mine.'

c. Ce livre semble être **à moi**.
this book looks be À 1SGOBL
'This book seems to be mine.'

d. Je le considère **à moi**.
I it consider À 1SGOBL
'I consider it mine.'

e. Mets tes livres près des **miens**.
put 2SG.PL books close of.the 1SG.MPL
'Put your books next to mine.'

The assumption that follows from Lyons' (1985,1986) and Giordi and Longobardi's (1991) proposals is that Portuguese simple possessives are adjectives. Such a classification is based upon the fact that, like adjectives, simple possessives may combine with determiners. However, adjectives exhibit other properties that may (or not) be shared by simple possessives. This is what I will investigate in the next section.

2.1.3. Portuguese simple possessives: adjectives or determiners?

In the present section I will compare simple possessives with other adjectives in Portuguese in order to decide whether they can be included in this class. I will also compare them with determiners, in particular with the definite and the indefinite articles and demonstratives. I will use not only distributional but also morphological criteria.

2.1.3.1. Morphology Portuguese simple possessives do not exhibit adjectival morphology, contrarily to what is observed by Zribi-Hertz (1999) for French[13]. Portuguese 1st person simple possessives may only apparently exhibit adjectival morphology as the contrast between (271) and (272) shows[14].

(271) a. m-**eu**
1SG-MSG

b. europ-**eu**
european-MSG

(272) a. m-**inha**
1SG-FSG

[13](1) is taken as evidence for the adjectival nature of *mien/mienne* French possessives (cf. Zribi-Hertz (1999:150)). Nevertheless, this claim cannot be extended to plural possessives: *nôtre, vôtre, leur* do not show adjectival morphology.

(1) a. m-**ien** / m-**ienne**
1SG-MSG / 1SG-FSG
'my'

b. ind-**ien** / ind-**ienne**
indian-MSG / indian-FSG
'indian'

[14]2nd (or 3rd) possessives do not exhibit adjectival morphology either: *t-ua* 'your' versus *inóc-ua* 'inocuous' but *t-eu* versus **inóc-eu* or **t-uo* versus *inóc-uo*.

b. * europ-**inha**
european-FSG

c. * m-**eia**
1SG-FSG

d. europ-**eia**
european-FSG

On the other hand, Portuguese simple possessives (273a) do not exhibit the same morphological pattern as determiners: either the definite (273b), the indefinite article (273c) or demonstratives (273d).

(273) a. **meu**
1SG.MSG

b. **o**
theMSG

c. **um**
aMSG

d. **este**
thisMSG

Actually, unlike in languages such as French[15], determiners in Portuguese (273b-273d) do not show a uniform morphological pattern. The same observation holds for adjectives since several morphological patterns are found amongst the words belonging to this class. We may thus question whether (dis)similar morphology may be taken as relevant evidence for determining the categorial status of linguistic items in a language such as Portuguese.

Another morphological property of adjectives is the ability of showing inflection with respect to degree. The synthetic absolute superlative degree (*grau superlativo*

[15]French definite articles (*le, les*) and demonstratives (*ce, ces*) exhibit a similar morphological pattern for masculine singular and plural forms. As for feminine forms, this is not observed (cf. *la* and *cette*).

absoluto sintético) is derived by means of the affix *-íssim-*, as shown in (274a) for the adjective *lindo* 'beautiful'. Simple possessives, on the contrary, cannot bear the same affix.

(274) a. lind-**íssim**-o
beautiful-ÍSSIM-MSG
'very beautiful'

b. * noss-**íssim**-o
1PL-ÍSSIM-MSG

Also in French adjectival possessives fail to inflect for degree as the correspondent adjectives.

(275) a. * mien-**issime**
1SG-ISSIME

b. ? indien-**issime**
indian-ISSIME

If degree is spelt out by an adverbial modifier, it remains unavailable for possessives (276a), except if the possessive conveys a 'type' reading, as will be shown in the next section.

(276) a. ? um livro **tão/muito meu**
a book so/very 1SG.MSG

b. um livro **tão/muito lindo**
a book so/very beautiful
'a book so beautiful/such a beautiful book'

The oddness of (274b) and (276a) shows that a possessive does not accommodate easily the idea of intensity. Possessives do not express a gradable property, as does an adjective such as *lindo*. Therefore, possessives do not share with (some) adjectives this semantic and morphological property. Note, however, that gradability is not an exclusive property of adjectives; words belonging to other classes such as verbs or

nouns can be gradable.

Similarly, agreement patterns do not enable us to decide whether simple possessives are adjectives or determiners. Simple possessives agree in gender and number with the noun they combine with (277a), like the definite determiner (277b), the indefinite determiner (277c), demonstratives (277d) as well as some adjectives (277e)[16] and other elements within the noun phrase such as cardinals, numerals and quantifiers.

(277) a. as minh-**as** revistas
the-FPL 1SG-FPL magazines
'my magazines'

b. **as** revistas
the-FPL magazines
'the magazines'

c. um-**as** revistas
a-FPL magazines
'some magazines'

d. est-**as** revistas
these-FPL magazines
'these magazines'

e. as revistas nov-**as**
the-FPL magazines new-FPL
'the new magazines'

Therefore, morphology provides undecisive evidence as to whether simple possessives in Portuguese are closer to adjectives or determiners. Let us now investigate distributional criteria.

2.1.3.2. Distribution The major evidence provided by Lyons (1985,1986) and Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) in support of the adjectival status of possessives in

[16] Adjectives such as *débil* 'feeble' have the same form for masculine and feminine, although they may bear plural morphology.

languages such as Italian is distributional. I will present the Portuguese data that may be contrasted with those of Italian and show that the two languages do not behave alike.

2.1.3.2.1. Cooccurrence with determiners The main evidence supporting the adjectival or determiner status of simple possessives is whether or not they cooccur with (other) determiners. This argument is based upon the evidence that in many languages determiners do not cooccur with each other, as shown in (278) for Italian, (279) for Portuguese and (280) for French[17].

(278) a. * **il** **questo** libro
the this book

b. * **questo** **il** libro
this the book

(279) a. * **o** **este** livro
the this book

b. * **este** **o** livro
this the book

(280) a. * **le** **ce** livre
the this book

b. * **ce** **le** livre
this the book

[17]In a language such as Spanish, the definite article may cooccur with demonstratives. Therefore, they may be said to occupy different structural positions (see a.o. Roca (1996), Giusti (1997) and Bernstein (1997)). Note, however, that the indefinite article cooccurs neither with the definite article nor with demonstratives. Rather than a structural constraint, one may argue that there is a semantic incompatibility between the indefinite article, intrinsically indefinite, and the definite article and demonstratives, intrinsically definite. In English, both the definite article and demonstratives cooccur with *one* but not with *a* (cf. *the/this one book* and **the/this a book*. This contrast suggests that *a* is intrinsically indefinite while *one* is unspecified with respect to (in)definiteness.

Therefore, if possessives cooccur with determiners in the same languages, they are not determiners; if they are in complementary distribution with determiners, they can be considered as determiners. This is the line of reasoning present in Lyons (1985,1986,1999), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Cardinaletti (1998), Schoorlemmer (1998) among many others, which supports the claim that a possessive such as French *mon* occupies the same position as the determiner.
In EP, like in Italian and unlike in French, possessives cooccur with determiners (281a). The same pattern is observed with adjectives (281b).

(281) a. **o/este meu** livro
the/this 1SG.MSG book
'my book/this book of mine'

b. **o/este óptimo** livro
the/this great book
'the/this great book'

On the other hand, BP allows prenominal possessives to occur alone (282a). Portuguese thus exhibit a mixed pattern. One may conclude that possessives are adjectives in EP whereas they are determiners in BP. However, BP poses a problem to this two-way system: prenominal possessives may not cooccur with the definite article[18] but they do cooccur with demonstratives (282b), unlike languages such as French and (some dialects of) English which display postnominal possessives with demonstratives[19].

[18]Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) observe that Italian also allows determinerless prenominal possessives with kinship nouns and proper names in thematic positions as well as generally in non-thematic positions such as vocative, predicative and exclamatory contexts. Assuming with Longobardi (1994), following Stowell (1989), that a DP can be an argument, while an NP cannot (cf. Longobardi (1994:628)) this asymmetry can be explained: non-thematic positions do not project a DP but an NP. Kinship nouns may combine with a possessive determiner also available in Italian. And proper names may be assumed to raise to D (see Longobardi (1994) and Cardinaletti (1998)).

[19]The same pattern is exhibited by Capeverdean, as noted in Castro and Pratas (to appear).

(282) a. **meu** livro
1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. **esse meu** livro
that 1SG.MSG book
'that book of mine'

2.1.3.2.2. Pre- and postnominal distribution Another piece of evidence, presented in Possessive Parameter proposals, comes from the fact that simple possessives in languages such as Italian may occur on both sides of the head noun (283), like adjectives (284) and unlike determiners (285).

(283) a. il **mio** libro
the 1SG.MSG book

b. il libro **mio**
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

(284) a. un **ottimo** libro
a good book

b. un libro **ottimo**
a book good
'a good book'

(285) a. **ciascun** libro
each book
'each book'

b. * libro **ciascuno**
book each

---

(1) a. **nhas** livru bunitu
1SG.PL book beautiful

b. **kes** **nha** livru-li
thosePL 1SG book-there

The Portuguese pattern does not parallel the Italian one. It is true that simple possessives may occur on both sides of the head noun, but not with the same determiner: simple possessives are prenominal with the definite article (286) but they must be postnominal with the indefinite article (287).

(286) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. * o livro **meu**
the book 1SG.MSG

(287) a. * um **meu** livro
a 1SG.MSG book

b. um livro **meu**
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

Therefore, the position of simple possessives in Portuguese seems to be subject to a (in)definiteness constraint as already observed in Chapter 3.
In this respect, adjectives behave differently. Some classes of adjectives may occur on both sides of the head noun; others are restricted to the pre- or postnominal position. Taking the classes of adjectives considered in Casteleiro (1982)[20], one observes that predicative adjectives can occur pre- (288a) and postnominally (288b); they can be modified by *muito* in postnominal position, i.e. by a degree adverb (288c); and they can occur in predicative position (288d).

(288) a. Adoro as **calmas** paisagens.
love the quiet landscapes

b. Adoro as paisagens **calmas**.
love the landscapes quiet
'I love the quiet landscapes.'

[20]For other typologies of adjectives in Portuguese, see Miguel (2002a) and Brito (2003a).

c. Adoro as paisagens **muito calmas**.
love the landscapes very quiet
'I love the very quiet landscapes.'

d. Adoro as paisagens que são **calmas**.
love the landscapes that are quiet
'I love the landscapes that are quiet.'

Non-predicative adjectives, on the contrary, cannot occur prenominally (289a) and must occur postnominally (289b); they cannot be modified by *muito* (289c); and they cannot occur in predicative position (289d).

(289) a. * Adoro as **rurais** paisagens.
love the rural lanscapes

b. Adoro as paisagens **rurais**.
love the lanscapes rural
'I love the rural landscapes.'

c. * Adoro as paisagens **muito rurais**.
love the lanscapes very rural
'I love the very rural landscapes.'

d. * Adoro as paisagens que são **rurais**.
love the lanscapes that are rural
'I love the landscapes that are rural.'

Simple possessives, however, pattern neither with predicative adjectives nor with non-predicative adjectives. As predicative adjectives, they can occur pre- and post-nominally (although their position is constrained by (in)definiteness) and they can occur in predicative position.

(290) a. Adoro os **meus** livros.
love the 1SG.MPL books
'I love my books.'

b. Adoro alguns livros **meus**.
love some books 1SG.MPL
'I love some books of mine.'

c. Adoro os livros que são **meus**.
love the books that are 1SG.MPL
'I love the books that are mine.'

On the other hand, as non-predicative adjectives, they cannot be modified by *muito*.

(291) * Adoro os livros **muito meus**.
love the books very 1SG.MPL
'I love the very my books.'

As regards modification by an adverb of intensity such as *muito* or *tão*, both the adjective and the possessive are ungrammatical with the reading they would have without the modification because these cannot denote a gradable property, as noted in the previous section. However, there is a reading in which both are allowed - they can have a "type" reading.

(292) a. Estas casas são **rurais**.
these houses are rural
'These houses are so rural.'

b. Estas casas são **tão rurais**!...
these houses are so rural
'These houses are so rural!'

The sentence in (292a) means that the houses are rural, and not urban, for instance. In (292b), the adjective modified by *tão* emphasises this characteristic, meaning that the houses are prototypical of the "rural type". As for possessives, while (293a) can mean that the clothes belong to me or that they are designed by me, (293b) can only mean that they are my style. The notion of belonging or authorship is lost[21].

[21]Miguel (2002a) presents different judgments for sentences with simple possessives modified by an adverb of intensity. The examples in (1) (taken from Miguel (2002:194-195)) are argued to

(293) a. Essas roupas são **tuas.**
those clothes are 2SG.FPL
'Those clothes are yours.'

b. Essas roupas são **tão tuas**!...
those clothes are so 2SG.FPL
lit. 'Those clothes are so yours!'

However, simple possessives behave like non-predicative adjectives in some respects. Like non-predicative adjectives (294a), possessives, at least semantically[22], can commute with a nominal complement (294b). Predicative adjectives cannot (294c).

(294) a. ciências **naturais**/**da natureza**
sciences natural/of.the nature
lit. 'sciences of nature'

b. Tenho saudades **tuas**/**de ti.**
have saudades 2SG.FPL/of you
lit. 'I have regrets yours/of you.' = 'I miss you.'

c. comportamento **lindo**/***de lindeza**
behaviour beautiful/of beauty
'beautiful behaviour'

---

be possible with possessives modified by *tão* 'so' and still retaining the reading they would have without the modification - the belonging or authorship reading.

(1) a. Aquela representação **tão** tipicamente **tua** foi despachada em alguns segundos.
that performance so typically 2SG.FSG was done in some seconds
'That performance so typically yours was done in seconds!'

b. Felizmente, aquela roupa **tão** (tipicamente) **tua** deixou de se usar.
fortunately that clothe so typically 2SG.FSG left of SE use
'Fortunately, those clothes so typically yours are no longer in fashion.'

[22]On the restrictions of expressions such as *de mim/de ti* see Chapter 6.

Like non-predicative adjectives (295a), and unlike predicative adjectives (295b), possessives express a permanent relation and not an accidental relation with the noun (295c). Correlatively, they do not accept the copula *estar*, only *ser*[23]. Therefore, adjectives such as *calmo*, unlike adjectives such as *campestre*, may be predicates of either *ser* or *estar*, i.e. they can be either individual-level or stage-level predicates. Possessives can only be individual-level predicates.

(295) a. Esses livros **são**/***estão meus.**
those books are/are 1SG.MPL
'Those books are mine.'

b. Essas flores **são**/***estão campestres**.
those flowers are/are campestral
'Those flowers are campestral flowers.'

c. Essas paisagens **são**/**estão calmas**.
those landscapes are/are quiet
'Those landscapes are quiet.'

In short, if one accepts that possessives are adjectives in Portuguese, one has to conclude that they are a subset of adjectives, characterised by some peculiarities that make them different from the class as a whole. In particular, one must admit that adjectival possessives are subject to the (in)definiteness constraint[24].

2.1.3.2.3. Coordination Coordination facts seem to be inconsistent with the conclusion that possessives are adjectives in Italian. As noticed by Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:255-256:fn55), simple possessives cannot be coordinated with true adjectives (296a), only with *of*-phrases (296b).

(296) a. * la casa **mia** **e** **bella**
the house 1SG.FSG and beautiful

[23]Portuguese exhibits the opposition *ser* (permanent properties) and *estar* (transitory/accidental properties).

[24]For a proposal along these lines, see Gonzaga (2003).

b. la casa **mia e di Gianni**
the house 1SG.FSG and of Gianni
'my and Gianni's house'

Although this might suggest that possessives are always PPs or genitive DPs, the following examples show that the identity requirement on coordination is essentially semantic and not strictly categorial.

(297) a. il libro **mio e di Moravia**
the book 1SG.MSG and of Moravia
'my and Moravia's book'

b. un libro **bello e di valore**
a book beautiful and of value
'a beautiful and valuable book'

c. * l'annessione **tedesca e improvvisa** dell'Austria
the.annexation German and unexpected of.the.Austria

d. l'occupazione **nostra e tedesca** della Jugoslavia
the.occupation 1PL.FSG and German of.the Jugoslavia
'our and Germany's occupation of Jugoslavia'

(297a) shows that *mio* and *di Moravia* must have similar interpretations: if the possessive is interpreted as Agent, the PP must be interpreted in the same way. Instead, if the possessive is interpreted as Possessor, the PP is also interpreted as Possessor. Hence, strict semantic identity is required. Moreover, (297b) shows that once semantic identity is established, categorial identity is not necessary and a predicative adjective can be coordinated with an *of*-phrase. (297c) provides stronger evidence. In this example, there is categorial identity but no semantic identity and the result is ungrammatical: the thematic adjective (which bears the Agent theta-role of the noun) cannot be coordinated with a predicative adjective. Finally, (297d) shows that a possessive and an adjective can be coordinated under semantic identity. In this case, they are both interpreted as Agents.

Miguel (2002a) uses these same coordination facts to propose that Portuguese possessives are pronominal forms. She argues that postnominal possessives in Portuguese cannot be coordinated with adjectives, even under semantic identity, as in (298a). They can only be coordinated with genitive DPs as in (298b)[25]. Miguel thus concludes that possessives are part of the pronominal system and do not belong to any adjectival class[26].

(298) a. ?? uma invasão **nossa e espanhola** do continente americano
a invasion 1PL.FSG and Spanish of-the continent American

b. uma invasão **nossa e dos espanhóis** do continente americano
a invasion 1PL.FSG and of.the Spanish of-the continent American
lit. 'an invasion of the American continent ours and the Spaniards"

If, as pointed out by Giorgi and Longobardi, coordination seems to be more sensitive to semantic constraints, it cannot be a strong test for categorial status either. In fact, it is known that some (semantic) classes of adjectives cannot be

[25]The examples are taken from Miguel (2002:197).

[26]To me and to many informants consulted by me, (298a) is not clearly ungrammatical. In a sentence such as (1a), the same noun phrase becomes acceptable.

(1) a. Seria inconcebível uma invasão **nossa e espanhola** do continente americano.
would-be inconceivable a invasion 1PL.FSG and Spanish of-the continent American
lit. 'Would be inconceivable an invasion of the American continent ours and Spanish.'

b. Seria inconcebível uma invasão **nossa e dos espanhóis** do continente americano.
would-be inconceivable a invasion 1PL.FSG and of.the Spaniards of.the continent American
lit. 'Would be inconceivable an invasion of the American continent ours and the Spaniards'.'

coordinated - ??*uma casa azul e portuguesa* 'a blue and Portuguese house'.

2.1.4. Summary

Departing from the assumption that simple possessives are adjectives in Portuguese, as stated by the Possessive Parameter in Lyons (1985) and Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), I have explored morphological and distributional criteria in order to assess the adequacy of such a classification for Portuguese possessive forms. One concludes that morphological criteria can hardly be taken as evidence in support of either determiner or adjectival status in a language such as Portuguese, since neither class exhibits distinctive morphological properties. On the other hand, the only accurate distributional criterion seems to be the cooccurrence of possessives with determiners. Since in EP possessives cooccur with the definite article whereas in BP they do not, one has to assume that Portuguese distinguishes two varieties: EP displaying adjectival possessives and BP, determiner possessives. An alternative view is to say that Portuguese has a mixed pattern, as Lyons himself claims for other languages. Such a conclusion, however, makes the parametric approach vacuous.

The view on which EP and BP are typological different languages raises further problems. On the one hand, adjectival possessives exhibit a unique behaviour among adjectives in Portuguese. On the other hand, BP seems to diverge minimally with respect to EP. It allows determinerless prenominal possessives but the two varieties behave alike as far as other properties of possessives are concerned. Moreover, a parametric approach such as the ones formulated in (252) and (254) does not help us to fully understand possessive systems crosslinguistically since it is restricted to one type of possessive forms and reveals problems when extended to other languages. Recent approaches, such as Schoorlemmer's (1998), however, provide a more complete characterisation of possessive systems across languages. I will review her proposal in the next section and show that, although it does not solve the

above-mentioned problems, it enables us to characterise the particularities of the Portuguese system of possessives more precisely.

2.2. T1 languages versus T2 languages - Schoorlemmer (1998)

Schoorlemmer's (1998) language typology departs from the Possessive Parameter approaches but considers globally the morphological, distributional and semantic properties of possessives in prenominal and postnominal positions as well as in isolation (both in predicative and ellipsis contexts). She extends the comparison of possessive systems to other language families (not only Romance but also Germanic and Slavic languages) and proposes the following partition:

(299) Type 1 languages include Russian, Bulgarian and Italian;
Type 2 languages include English, German, Dutch and French.

Type 1 (T1) languages such as Russian and Bulgarian, like Italian, have only one possessive form for every person-number distinction occurring in all contexts: combined with articles (not only the definite article or a demonstrative but also the indefinite article) or in isolation (not combined with a noun). These facts are illustrated in (300) for Russian, in (301) for Bulgarian and in (302) for Italian[27].

(300) a. ėta **moja** kniga
this 1SG book
'this book of mine'

b. odna/takaja **moja** kniga
one/such 1SG book
'a book of mine'

c. ėto tvoja kniga, ne **moja**
this 2SG book, not 1SG
'this book of yours, not mine'

[27] All the examples presented in this section are taken from Schoorlemmer (1998:59-62).

(301) a. **tvojata** kniga
2SG.the book
'your book'

b. edin **negov** prijatel
a/one 3SG friend
'a friend of his'

c. Čija tetradka šte vzemeš? **- tvojata**
whose notebook will.you take? - 2SG.the
'Whose notebook will you take? Yours.'

(302) a. la **loro** casa
the 3PL house
'their house'

b. un **suo** amico
a/one 3SG.MSG friend
'a friend of his'

c. la mia casa e bella, la **loro** no
the 1SG.FSG house is nice, the 3Pl not
'My house is nice, theirs is not.'

Type 2 (T2) languages such as German and Dutch, like French and English, exhibit (at least) two different forms: one for definite contexts, which does not cooccur with determiners, and another for isolation contexts[28]. These facts are shown in (303) for French, in (304) for English, in (305) for German and in (306) for Dutch.

(303) a. **mon** livre
1SG.MSG book
'my book'

[28]The formulation *definite contexts* as opposed to *isolation contexts* suggests that the latter are not definite or can, at least, be not definite. However, French *mien* always occurs in definite contexts since it can only combine with the definite article.

b. ton livre à toi, pas le **mien**
2SG.MSG book to you, not the 1SG.MSG
'your book, not mine'

(304) a. **my** book

b. your book, not **mine**

(305) a. **mein** Buch
1SG book
'my book'

b. dein Buch, nicht **meins**/das **meinige**
2SG book not 1SG/the 1SG
'your book, not mine'

(306) a. **mijn** boek
1SG book
'my book'

b. jouwn boek, niet **mijnes**
2SG book not 1SG
'your book, not mine'

The proposed partition is built on three properties summarised in table (307). These are in part similar to those pointed out by Giorgi and Longobardi (1991)[29].

(307) The typology of languages with respect to possessives according to Schoorlemmer (1998:62:(19))

Properties	T1 languages	T2 languages
1. article in possessive constructions	+	-
2. a definite possessor occurs in indefinite DPs	+	-
3. special elliptical form of possessor	-	+

[29]Schoorlemmer (1998) does not mention focused postnominal possessives (property 1 in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991)), but observes that languages that have "determiner" possessives display a different possessive form in isolation (predicative and ellipsis) contexts.

Property 1 is illustrated by the (a) examples for both T1 (300-302) and T2 languages (303-306). Property 2 is illustrated by the (b) examples for T1 languages (300-302). Finally, property 3 is illustrated by the (c) examples for T1 languages (300-302) and by (b) examples for T2 languages (303-306).

Extrapolating from the aforementioned languages, Schoorlemmer (1998:62:(20)) draws the following generalisation[30]:

[30]The quotation I reproduce here is different from that in (1998:62:(20)) since there is a typo in the paper confirmed to me by the author. The right formulation is thus "no language combines properties a and c", as I write here, and not "a and b", as is written there. Note that the way this generalisation is written in the paper is not consistent with the data and the argumentation pursued there. First, both T1 languages and T2 languages described by the author have the same value for properties a and b and the opposite value for property c, as shown in table (307). Moreover, in footnote 12, Schoorlemmer points out that Paduan is an exception to the generalisation. The relevant data are given in (1), taken from Giorgi and Logobardi (1991:159).

(1) a. el **me** libro/*el **mio** libro
the 1SG book/the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. el **mio**/*el **me**
the 1SG.MSG/the 1SG
'mine'

c. sto libro ze **mio**/***me**
this book is 1SG.MSG/1SG
'This book is mine.'

Schoorlemmer further suggests that Paduan cannot be seen as a counterexample, and argues that "possibly the different forms in ellipsis and non-ellipsis can be analysed in terms of strong and weak possessors". This observation shows that what is at stake here is that Paduan, in spite of having a possessive cooccurring with (at least) the definite article (property a) also has a different form in ellipsis (and predicative) contexts (property c). Therefore, Paduan violates the generalisation since it combines a and c.

(308) POSSESSIVE GENERALISATION
No language combines properties a and c:
a. possessors freely cooccur with other articles;
b. a possessive construction with a definite possessor may be indefinite;
c. a special form of the possessor is used in elliptical DPs.

There is a contradiction in the way property b is formulated. Stating that a definite element can be indefinite is negating that it is (inherently) definite. It would be more accurate to say that (some) prenominal possessives occur in non-definite contexts. Hence, "a definite possessor" could be replaced by, for instance, *a prenominal possessive*. Such a terminology accounts in a neutral and more descriptive way for the data: T1 languages prenominal possessives, which cooccur with articles and may be said to be non-inherently definite (cf. (a) and (b) in (300-302)); and T2 languages prenominal possessives, which do not cooccur with the definite article and are thus inherently definite (cf. (a) in (303-306)). In Portuguese, however, there seems to exist a strict relation between the prenominal position of the possessive and the definite interpretation. As seen in Chapter 3, prenominal possessives in Portuguese cooccur with the definite article but cannot occur within an indefinite DP, i.e. they cannot combine with indefinite determiners.
Nonetheless, the generalisation in (308) predicts that no language has the same value for properties a and c, i.e. that the following types of languages should not be found amongst natural languages[31]:

[31] With respect to property b, it is not clear whether it can be correlated with the other properties. If we simply consider the languages studied by Schoorlemmer, the value of property b seems to be dependent on the value of property a, since in both T1 and T2 languages property b has the same value as property a. However, as I will show, Portuguese assigns a positive value to property a and a negative value to property b.

1. a language in which prenominal possessives do not cooccur with determiners[32] but uses the same possessive form in isolation contexts (predicative and ellipsis contexts);

2. a language in which prenominal possessives cooccur with determiners[33] and does not use the same possessive form in isolation contexts (predicative and ellipsis contexts).

It can be argued that these two different types of languages exist. On the one hand, BP (at least the dialects that differ from EP as shown in Chapter 3) seems to be a language of the type defined in 1. On the other hand, Paduan is a language as defined in 2, as Schoorlemmer herself recognises (cf. footnote 30). In addition, I will show that Southern dialects of EP (from the Alentejo and Algarve regions) exhibit the same pattern as Paduan.
Before presenting the data of Portuguese and other languages which provide counterevidences to Lyons', Giorgi and Longobardi's and Schoorlemmer's typological proposals, I will summarise these proposals and the data they provide. I will furthermore summarise the properties of possessives in some Romance languages.

2.3. Summary

Languages are claimed to divide into two groups with respect to the realisation of possessives:

[32] A *DG language* in Lyon's terms or a language with *possessive determiners* in Giorgi and Longobardi's terms.

[33] A *AG language* in Lyon's terms or a language with *possessive adjectives* in Giorgi and Longobardi's terms.

(i) languages such as English and French with, at least[34], two possessive forms - one for definite contexts, classified as determiner, and another for indefinite, elliptical and predicative contexts;
(ii) languages such as Italian with only one set of possessive forms used in definite, indefinite, elliptical and predicate contexts classified as adjectives.

These classifications are built upon distributional criteria: English *my* and French *mon* are said to be determiners because they do not cooccur with determiners, or, in particular, with the definite article. Lyons further argues that the fact that they occupy the same projection as the definite article constrains the definite interpretation of the whole noun phrase. Hence, determiner possessives are definite. Moreover, being unstressed forms like the definite article, determiner possessives do not occur in positions in which an article is precluded as in (264) and (265). Therefore, the languages displaying determiner possessives must exhibit (an)other possessive form(s) for indefinite and isolation contexts. Lyons claims that languages such as Spanish and French are both DG and AG languages. On the other hand, Italian adjectival possessives occur both in pre- and postnominal positions and may combine with articles and other determiners. Like adjectives in the same languages, their position is apparently not dependent on definiteness.
(Some) Romance languages are thus subdivided as follows. Spanish (309) and French (310) are T2 languages for Schoorlemmer's (1998) typology. According to Lyons' (1985) parameter, they are DG languages and according to Giorgi and Longobardi's (1991) Possessive Parameter, these languages realise (prenominal) possessives as Determiners.

[34]"At least" because, as seen in Chapter 2, languages such as French have 3 possessive forms.

(309) a. **mi** libro

b. un libro **mío**

c. **tu** libro y el **mío**

d. Este libro es **mío.**

(310) a. **mon** livre

b. un livre **à moi**

c. **ton** livre et le **mien**

d. Ce livre est **à moi.**

Catalan (311), Galician (312) and EP (313)[35] align with Italian (314), and are T1 languages. According to Lyons and Giorgi and Longobardi, they are AG languages and realise their simple possessives as Adjectives.

(311) a. el **meu** llibre

b. un llibre **meu**

c. el **teu** llibre i el **meu**

d. Aquest llibre és **meu.**

(312) a. o **meu** libro

b. un libro **meu**

c. o teu libro e o **meu**

d. Este libro é **meu.**

[35]As I will show in the next section, Portuguese does not show a uniform pattern. Only Standard European Portuguese fits in these typologies.

(313) a. o **meu** livro

b. um livro **meu**

c. o **teu** livro e o **meu**

d. Este livro é **meu.**

(314) a. il **mio** libro

b. un libro **mio**

c. il **tuo** libro e il **mio**

d. Questo libro è **mio.**

Although Portuguese is said to fit in Lyons', Giorgi and Longobardi's and Schoorlemmer's typologies, such is not the case. In the next section I will list in detail those properties of simple possessives which they fail to predict in both European and Brazilian varieties.

3. Portuguese does not fit in the typologies of languages

Modern Portuguese exhibits only one morphological form of simple possessive for each person-number feature combination, which can combine with determiners and can occur in isolation contexts. Under the Possessive Parameter, Portuguese possessives are adjectives and, according to Schoorlemmer (1998), Portuguese is a T1 language. However, the behaviour of Portuguese possessives diverges from the typologies just presented in four respects.

1. BP exhibits prenominal possessives occurring without the definite article. BP would thus have determiner possessives. However, the same form occurs in ellipsis contexts which turns BP into an exception to Schoorlemmer's (1998) Possessive Generalisation.

2. Southern EP dialects, like Paduan, are also an exception to the Possessive Generalisation: possessives cooccur with articles but a different possessive form is used in isolation contexts.

3. Focused possessives embedded in definite noun phrases cannot be postnominal in Portuguese, whereas they can be in Italian and Catalan, arguably two languages in the same group.

4. Portuguese prenominal possessives are disallowed in indefinite noun phrases, unlike their Italian and Catalan homologues.

1 and 2 state that two varieties of Portuguese - BP and Southern European Portuguese dialects - are examples of the languages that should not exist according to Schoorlemmer's Possessive Generalisation. 3 and 4 show that Standard Portuguese diverges from other languages (arguably) in the same group with respect to the behaviour of possessives within definite noun phrases.
I will now illustrate these properties with the relevant Portuguese data.

3.1. BP has 'possessive determiners'

In BP (or at least in some of its varieties) prenominal possessives do not combine with the definite article (315).

(315) Você viu **meu** livro em cima da mesa?
you saw 1SG.MSG book on top of-the table
'Did you see my book on the top of the table?'

As a consequence, BP prenominal possessives should be considered either as *determiners*, in Lyons' and Giorgi and Longobardi's terms, or as lacking Schoorlemmer's (1998) property a in (307). As seen above, Schoorlemmer formulates property a taking into consideration that possessives may or may not freely occur with "articles and other determiner-like elements" (cf. Schoorlemer (1998:58)). For the

languages she is considering, those elements can be the definite article (in Italian), demonstratives (in Russian) and the indefinite article (in Bulgarian and Italian), as well as another indefinite element translated as 'such' (in Russian) (cf. (300-302)). Note that Russian is a language that does not have articles (cf. a.o. Ionin (2003)). The examples given for Russian thus combine prenominal possessives with demonstratives or 'such'. BP, however, does have articles, both the definite and the indefinite articles (316).

(316) **Um** menino chegou n**a** aula perguntando para **o** professor se
a boy arrived in-the class asking to the professor if
tinha teste...
have test
'A boy arrived in the classroom and asked the teacher if there was going to be a test that day...'

Moreover, Schoorlemmer correlates property a, illustrated above, with property c. Since the behaviour shown in (315) suggests that BP aligns with English and French and differs from EP, one expects that BP displays a different possessive form in ellipsis contexts. But this prediction is not confirmed. In fact, apart from the above-mentioned difference, BP possessives behave like those of EP: prenominal possessives can occur with demonstratives (317b) and the same morphological form is used in postnominal position (317c) and in ellipsis (317d).

(317) a. **meu** livro
1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. esse **meu** livro
that 1SG.MSG book
'that book of mine/that my book'

c. um livro **meu**
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

d. É (o) seu livro ou (o) **meu**?
is the 2SG.MSG book or the 1SG.MSG
'Is this your book or mine?'

Interestingly, noun phrases with prenominal possessives are not the only case in which BP diverges from EP with respect to the realisation of the definite article. Noun phrases including proper names (of persons) and those with generic reading also lack the definite article in BP (318) whereas in EP the article must be present (319).

(318) a. **Joaquinita** faz anos amanhã.
Joaquinita makes years tomorrow
'Tomorrow it is Joaquinita's birthday.'

b. **Criança** é muito inteligente.
child is very intelligent
'Children are very intelligent.'

(319) a. **A Joaquinita** faz anos amanhã.
the Joaquinita makes years tomorrow
'Tomorrow it is Joaquinita's birthday.'

b. **As crianças** são muito inteligentes.
the child is very intelligent
'Children are very intelligent.'

What I propose is that the grammar of possessives is the same in EP and BP: prenominal possessives constrain the definite interpretation of the noun phrase because they occupy the D position (cf. Castro (2001) and Castro (2005)). The explanation for the difference between the two varieties must be looked for outside the possessive system. I claim that it lies in the determiner system: prenominal possessive constructions instantiate an "expletive" article as proposed for proper names and generic nominals by Longobardi (1994). An "expletive" article is a meaningless definite article (cf. a.o. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) and Longobardi (1994)).

It can be phonetically overt or null, like expletive subjects. Therefore, languages may vary regarding the phonetic realisation of expletives. In the present case, BP has a null expletive article while EP has an overt one. The definite article is meaningless because in noun phrases with proper names, generics and prenominal possessives, the interpretation of the noun phrase does not depend on the determiner itself. The details of this proposal will be elaborated in section 5..

3.2. Southern EP dialects are an exception to the Possessive Generalisation

Southern European Portuguese dialects such as the ones spoken in Alentejo and Algarve, are, like Paduan, a counterexample to Schoorlemmer's (1998) Possessive Generalisation since they combine properties a and c, i.e. in these varieties, articles cooccur with possessives but there is a different possessive form in isolation contexts.

The data from Paduan, given in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:159), are repeated here as (320).

(320) a. el **me** libro/*el **mio** libro
the 1SG? book/the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. el **mio**/*el **me**
the 1SG.MSG/the 1SG?
'mine'

c. sto libro ze **mio**/***me**
this book is 1SG.MSG/1SG?
'This book is mine.'

The same pattern is observed in Alentejo and Algarve dialects.

(321) a. Viste o **[me]**/***[mew]** filho chegar?
saw-2SG the 1SG.MSG/1SG.MSG son arrive
'Did you see my son when he arrived?'

b. Não vi o **[tew]**/*[te]; só vi o **[mew]**/*[me].
not saw-1SG the 2SG.MSG/2SG.MSG; only saw-2SG the 1SG.MSG/1SG.MSG.
'I didn't see yours; I just saw mine.'

Schoorlemmer (1998:82:fn12) argues that Paduan cannot be considered an exception to the Possessive Generalisation, because the data in (320) can be analysed in terms of the strong/deficient opposition in possessive forms. However, the same can be proposed for the different possessive forms of French, English or Spanish: *mon*, *my* and *mi* are weak forms whereas *mien*, *mine* and *mio* are strong forms. This is precisely the view assumed by Cardinaletti (1998) which I will show is an alternative way of accounting for possessive systems across languages. However, the problem raised by Paduan and Southern EP data still holds for the generalisation proposed by Schoorlemmer.

3.3. Focused possessive in definite noun phrases cannot be postnominal

As seen in Chapter 3, within definite noun phrases, i.e. noun phrases headed by the definite article, the unmarked position for simple possessives is prenominal in Portuguese (322a), as well as in Italian (322b) and Catalan (322c).

(322) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book

b. il **mio** libro
the 1SG.MSG book

c. el **meu** llibre
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

However, these languages do not behave alike if the possessive is focused or conveys contrastive information. In Italian (323) and Catalan (327)[36], focused definite possessives optionally occur in postnominal position, as stated by property 1 of Giorgi and Longobardi (1991).

(323) Ti ho chiesto il libro **MIO**, non il TUO.
2SGDAT have asked the book 1SG.MSG, not the 2SG.MSG
'I've asked you MY book, not yours.'

(324) T'he demanat el llibre **MEU**, no pas el TEU.
2SGDAT.have asked the book 1SG.MSG, not NEG the 2SG.MSG
'I've asked you MY book, not yours.'

On the contrary, in Portuguese, the focused possessive must be prenominal although it bears stress (325a)[37]. The postnominal position is thus excluded (325b)[38].

(325) a. Pedi-te (o) **MEU** livro, não o TEU.
asked-2SGDAT the 1SG.MSG book, not the 2SG.MSG
'I've asked you MY book, not yours.'

[36]According to the native speakers I consulted, contrastively focused postnominal possessives bear stress in both Italian and Catalan.

[37]Note that if the noun phrase is indefinite, the possessive is postnominal (and stressed) (1a), as in a neutral context (1b). Therefore, focusing a possessive does not have consequences for its basic position.

(1) a. Devo citar um artigo **TEU**, não um MEU.
must refer a paper 2SG.MSG, not 1SG.MSG
'I must refer a paper of yours, not one of mine.'

b. Li um artigo **teu** ontem.
read a paper 2SG.MSG yesterday
'I have read a paper of yours yesterday.'

[38]EP and BP behave alike regarding contrast under focus. Data provided by Brazilian informants further suggest that this fact is not dependent on the presence of the definite article. Informants of both varieties of BP consulted by me agree in the judgements.

b. * Pedi-te o livro **MEU**, não o TEU.
asked-2SGDAT the book 1SG.MSG, not the 2SG.MSG

Cardinaletti (1998) claims that prenominal possessives cannot be focused in Italian. Nonetheless, Italian informants consider (326) grammatical confirming Giorgi and Longobardi's (1991) observation that postpositioning the possessive is optional in these cases.

(326) Ti ho chiesto il **MIO** libro, non il TUO.
2SGDAT have asked the 1SG.MSG book, not the 2SG.MSG
'I've asked you MY book, not yours.'

Similarly, Catalan allows stressed prenominal possessives (327).

(327) T'he demanat el **MEU** llibre, no pas el TEU.
2SGDAT.have asked the 1SG.MSG book, not NEG the 2SG.MSG
'I've asked you MY book, not yours.'

Spanish, a language in the opposite group according to Schoorlemmer, also allows both pre- and postnominal possessives under contrastive focus (328).

(328) a. Te he pedido **MI** libro, no el TUYO.
2SGDAT have asked 1SG.MSG book, not the 2SG.MSG

b. Te he pedido el livro **MIO**, no el TUYO.
2SGDAT have asked the 1SG.MSG book, not the 2SG.MSG
'I've asked you MY book, not yours.'

Hence, Italian, Catalan and Spanish allow two strategies for focusing definite possessives: either stress the prenominal possessive or place the possessive in postnominal position[39]. Portuguese, on the contrary, only displays the first strategy, i.e. stressing the possessive in its unmarked position. A similar pattern is observed in English (329).

[39]Several informants I have consulted prefer the former strategy. However, all agree that the postpositioning strategy is only available for contrastive focus in all languages that allow this strategy, e.g. Italian, Catalan and Spanish. One may thus ask whether the two strategies are really optional.

(329) a. I've asked you **MY** book, not YOURS.

b. * I've asked you the book **of mine**, not of yours.

The crosslinguistic data presented in (323-329) suggest that the possibility of stressing prenominal forms or of using postnominal possessives for contrastive focus are not related to determiner versus adjectival properties of pre- and postnominal possessives. These may, however, be correlated with an independent factor: the strategies languages display for focus. Therefore, the focus strategy of Portuguese is probably different from the one used by Italian and Catalan, and similar to the one used by English. Consider the observation in Zribi-Hertz (1998a):

> "En anglais [...], la focalisation n'est pas corrélée à une position particulière (postnominale), mais à une accentuation marquée.[...] Les possessifs, qu'il s'agisse de PPR [possessifs prenominaux] ou de PPO [possessif postnominaux], peuvent de même être focalisés ou non focalisés, quelle que soit leur position de surface" (cf. Zribi-Hertz (1998a:29)).

For Castro and Costa (2003), the different patterns of focalisation are a result of a different categorial status of possessives in Portuguese and Italian: in Portuguese, possessives are heads while in Italian possessives are XPs. This proposal is built on the assumption that the position of heads cannot be modified for discourse matters (cf. Costa (1998)) and will become clear in section 4..

3.4. Prenominal possessives cannot occur within non-definite noun phrases

Standard Portuguese lacks Schoorlemmer's (1998) property 2 in (307): the prenominal possessive cannot cooccur with an indefinite determiner. Again, Portuguese (330) contrasts with Italian (331) and Catalan (332)[40].

[40] As mentioned in Chapter 3, the conservative dialect of EP described in both Miguel's and Brito's studies behaves like Italian and Catalan.

(330) a. * Fui tomar café com **um meu** amigo ontem.
went-1SG take coffee with a 1SG.MSG friend yesterday

b. Fui tomar café com **um** amigo **meu** ontem.
went-1SG take coffee with a friend 1SG.MSG yesterday
'I went out for a coffee with a friend of mine yesterday.'

(331) a. Sono andato a prendere un caffé con **un mio** amico
am gone to take a coffee with a 1SG.MSG friend
ieri.
yesterday

b. Sono andato a prendere un caffé con **un** amico **mio**
am gone to take a coffee with a friend 1SG.MSG
ieri.
yesterday
'I went out for a coffee with a friend of mine yesterday.'

(332) a. Vaig anar a fer un cafè amb **un meu** amic ahir.
went-1SG ? to take a coffee with a 1SG.MSG friend yesterday

b. Vaig anar a fer un cafè amb **un** amic **meu** ahir.
went-1SG ? to take a coffee with a 1SG.MSG friend yesterday
'I went out for a coffee with a friend of mine yesterday.'

This fact seems to be related to the rigid positions of Portuguese simple possessives: prenominal in definite contexts and postnominal in indefinite contexts. The same constrains are not observed in Italian and Catalan.

3.5. Summary

It has been shown that Portuguese fails to fit in the typologies of languages proposed by Lyons (1985), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) and Schoorlemmer (1998). Neither EP nor BP behave like Italian or Catalan, claimed to have adjectival possessives or be T1 languages as regards the realisation of possessives. In (333), I present the full range of properties of EP and BP, comparing these languages with a prototypical T1 language such as Italian.

(333) Languages with adjectival possessives or T1 languages

	Italian	EP	BP
definite article occurs with prenominal possessives	+	+	(+)/-
demonstratives occur with prenominal possessives	+	+	+
prenominal possessives occur with indefinites	+	-	-
special elliptical form of possessives	-	-	-
definite possessives occur in postnominal position if focused	+	-	-

The following properties of possessives in Portuguese must therefore be accounted for:

1. What excludes prenominal possessives within indefinite noun phrases?
2. What excludes focused possessives from the postnominal position within definite noun phrases?
3. Why may prenominal possessives be phonetically reduced in some Portuguese dialects?
4. Why is the definite article required with prenominal definite possessives in EP and not in BP?

I propose that an analysis considering prenominal and postnominal possessives as syntactically and categorially distinct elements is needed in order to account for the asymmetries brought out above. This proposal follows the basis of Cardinaletti's (1998) assumptions.

4. A typology of possessives

In this section I will start by reviewing Cardinaletti's (1998) theory of possessive forms, which is based on Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). I will next briefly recall the properties of Portuguese possessives which are problematic for such an account.

Finally, I will show that a slight recast of Cardinaletti's proposal allows a straightforward account of the Portuguese data[41].

4.1. Cardinaletti (1998)

Cardinaletti (1998) argues that the deficient/strong opposition found in pronominal systems, as proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), may be extended to the possessive system. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose that pronominal forms divide into two different types: strong and deficient, the latter dividing into weak forms and clitics. Categorially, the only difference between these forms is that clitics, unlike the others, are heads. According to these authors, strong pronouns display the following array of properties:

(i) they can be modified, coordinated, contrastively focused or used in isolation;
(ii) they can only refer to [+human] entities;
(iii) they have self reference and do not need to be associated with an antecedent in the discourse;
(iv) they are stressed forms;
(v) they are XPs, similar to full maximal DPs.

By contrast, deficient pronouns exhibit the following set of properties:

(i) they have phonetically reduced forms;
(ii) they cannot be modified, coordinated, contrastively focused or used in isolation;
(iii) they can refer to [-human] entities;
(iv) they are always anaphoric.

[41] A preliminary version of this section is found in Castro and Costa (2002,2003). See also Brito (2001) and Miguel (2002b) for a discussion on the deficient/strong opposition in Portuguese possessives.

The proposed split between weak forms and clitics is justified by their different behaviour. Weak forms can occur both in initial position (in German) and in positions non adjacent to the verb (in Italian). Moreover, they are stressed forms. On the contrary, clitics cannot occur in initial position, occur adjacent to the verb and are unstressed forms. They are thus X^o. It is claimed that weak forms are XPs although the structure they project is more reduced than the structure of full maximal projections. However, it is not clear in what way weak possessives are different XPs than strong possessives.

Cardinaletti (1998) extends this partition to possessive systems, showing that clitic, weak and strong forms exist in Romance and Germanic possessive systems. Evidence in support of this split comes from the observation that the contrast between pre- and postnominal possessives is similar to the contrast between clitics and strong personal pronouns. The properties of possessives relevant for this distinction co-vary with their position and, in this respect, prenominal possessives are deficient (weak forms or clitics), while postnominal possessives are strong forms.

The following data provide evidence from Italian in favour of this claim, according to Cardinalletti (1998). Prenominal possessives cannot be focused or contrasted (334a), coordinated (335a) or modified (336a). If the possessive is focused or contrasted (334b), coordinated (335b) or modified (336b), the postnominal form is used[42].

(334) a. * la **SUA** casa, non tua
the 3SG.FSG, not 2SG.FSG

b. la casa **SUA**, non tua
the house 3SG.FSG, not 2SG.FSG
'HIS/HER house, not yours'

[42] All examples in this section are taken from Cardinaletti (1998:19-21).

(335) a. * la **sua** e **tua/sua** e **di Maria** casa
the 3SG.FSG and 2SG.FSG/3SG.FSG and of Mary house

b. la casa **sua** e **tua/sua** e **di Maria**
the house 3SG.FSG and 2SG.FSG/3SG.FSG and of Mary
lit. 'the house hers/him and yours/Maria's'

(336) a. * la solo/propria **sua** casa
the only/really 3SG.FSG house

b. la casa solo/proprio **sua**
the house only/really 3SG.FSG
'the house only/really his/hers'

On the other hand, postnominal possessives are restricted to human referents (337b); prenominal ones are not (337a)[43].

(337) a. Il **suo**$_i$ coperchio è molto pratico. $_i$ = John/frying pan
the 3SG.MSG lid is very pratical

b. Il coperchio **SUO**$_i$ è molto pratico. $_i$ = John/*frying pan
the lid 3SG.MSG is very pratical
'His/Its lid is very pratical.'

Finally, prenominal possessives cannot introduce a new referent in the discourse (338a), while postnominal ones can do so (338b).

(338) (A: La macchina di chi ti ha investito?)
the car of whom you has run over

a. B: *La **sua** macchina.
the 3SG.FSG car

b. B: La macchina **sua**.
the car his/her
'A: Whose car has run over you?
'B: 3SG.FSG car.'

[43]Note that Zribi-Hertz (2001) provides counterevidence to the idea that strong forms cannot refer to [-human] entities while weak ones can.

Basing herself upon these similarities between post- and prenominal possessives and strong and weak forms, Cardinaletti (1998) proposes the typology of possessive forms presented in (339):

(339) The typology of possessive forms, as assumed in Cardinalletti (1998)

postnominal possessives	strong forms	postnominal XP
prenominal possessives	weak forms	XP in Spec,AgrSNP
	clitics	X^0 in D

The difference between possessive clitics and weak forms, when they occur prenominally, is that the former cannot cooccur with a determiner. Moreover, weak forms do not block N-movement, in the cases of N-to-D raisingstudied in Longobardi (1994) and illustrated in (340), nor do they cliticise on the noun as clitics would.

(340) a. Gianni$_i$ **mio** t_i
Gianni 1SG.MSG
'My Gianni'

b. casa$_i$ **mia** t_i
house 1SG.FSG
'my house'

Cardinaletti claims that languages can have clitic possessives, weak prenominal possessives and strong postnominal possessives. It is their position with respect to the noun that distinguishes weak from strong possessives, once the morphology of the forms is not a crucial criterion to distinguish between them. Therefore, within the same language weak and strong possessives may be morphologically identical. Such is the case in Standard Italian. Although it shows the contrasts surveyed above between pre- and postnominal possessives, this language exhibits only one possessive form in morphology. For this reason, Cardinaletti argues that weak and strong possessives are homophonous in Italian. This claim matches the observation made in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) that the morphological shape of the various types of forms does not need to be distinctive (which is exemplified by the case of

weak and strong personal pronouns in German). Nonetheless, several other Italian dialects, French, English and Spanish, show different morphological patterns for the clitic, weak and strong forms of possessives.

As regards the categorial status of these forms, it is claimed that only clitics are heads whereas both weak and strong possessives are XPs. However, the former are said to be deficient XPs, just like weak pronouns under Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) view, but the nature of their deficiency is not made explicit. Hence, if weak possessives are XPs in a specifier position it remains to be explained why these cannot be modified. I will now show that the Portuguese data provide evidence that weak forms may, in some cases, be heads and not XPs.

4.2. Portuguese weak and strong possessives

As argued in Castro and Costa (2002,2003), Portuguese does not behave exactly like Italian with respect to the properties that Cardinalletti (1998) points out for pre- and postnominal possessives. Unlike in Italian, prenominal possessives in Portuguese[44] behave like strong forms, in the terms of Cardinalletti (1998), since they can be focused (341a) ; they can be contrasted(342a); they can be coordinated (343a)[45]; they can introduce a new referent in the discourse (344a). In all these contexts, the possessive cannot be postnominal, as shown by the (b) examples in (341-344).

(341) a. O **MEU** problema é que não percebo nada disto.
the 1SG.MSG problem is that not understand nothing of this

b. * O problema **meu** é que não percebo nada disto.
the problem 1SG.MSG is that not understand nothing of this
'MY problem is that I don't understand any word of this.'

[44] With respect to these properties, there are no differences between EP and BP as seen in Chapter 3.

[45] Note that the second term of the coordination must be stressed.

(342) a. Esse é o **MEU** problema, não o TEU.
that is the 1SG.MSG problem, not the 2SG.MSG

b. * Esse é o problema **meu**, não o teu.
that is the problem 1SG.MSG, not the 2SG.MSG
'That is MY problem, not yours.'

(343) a. O **meu** e **VOSSO** problema é que vocês não estudam.
the 1SG.MSG and 2PL.MSG problem is that you not study

b. ?? O problema **meu** e **VOSSO** é que vocês não estudam.
the problem 1SG.MSG and 2PL.MSG is that you not study
'My and YOUR problem is that you do not study.'

(344) (A: O carro de quem é que está mal estacionado?)
A: the car of whom is that is badly parked

a. B: O **teu**/**TEU** carro.
B: the 2SG.MSG/2SG.MSG car

b. B: *O carro **teu**.
B: the car 2SG.MSG
'A: Whose car is badly parked?
B: Your/YOUR car.'

However, as shown in Castro (2001) and Castro and Costa (2002,2003), prenominal possessives also behave like weak forms. This is confirmed by the following facts, already mentioned above: they cannot be modified by exclusion adverbs (345a); they can refer to [-human] entities (346a); they can be phonetically reduced in some dialects of Portuguese, in particular in the Alentejo and Algarve varieties (347a). The same does not happen with postnominal possessives, as shown by the (b) examples in (345-347).

(345) a. *O só **meu** problema é que não percebo nada disto.
the only 1SG.MSG problem is that not understand nothing of.this

b. O problema só **meu** é que não percebo nada disto.
the problem only 1SG.MSG is that not understand nothing of.this
'The problem only mine is that I don't understand a word of this.'

(346) a. A **sua**$_i$ tampa é muito prática. $_i$ = Joaquinita/frying pan
the 3SG.FSG lid is very pratical
'Its/her lid is very practical.'

b. Encontrei uma tampa **sua**$_i$. $_i$ = Joaquinita/*frying pan
found a lid 3SG.FSG
'I found a lid of her.'

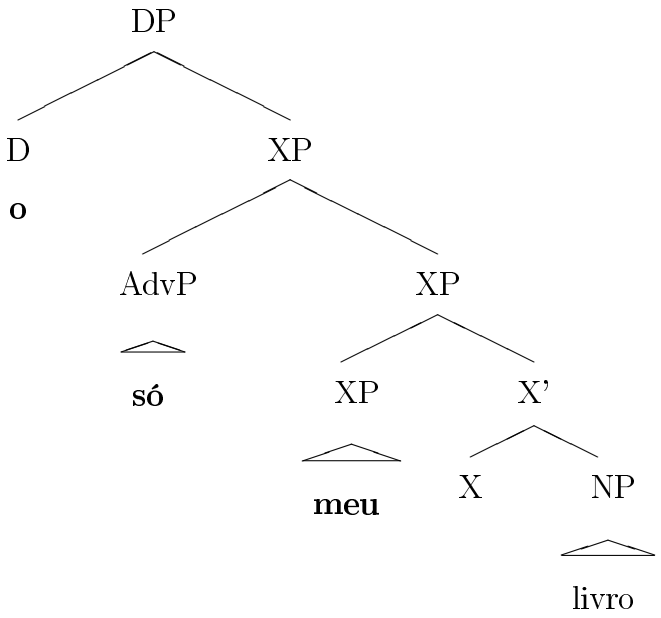
(347) a. o **[me]** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. um livro *[me]/[mew]
a book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

The facts that prenominal possessives cannot be modified by most adverbs and that they can be phonetically reduced are compatible with the idea that these elements in Portuguese are heads and not XPs occupying a specifier position. In fact, a syntactic configuration such as the one proposed by Cardinaletti (1998) for Italian and Schoorlemmer (1998) for T1 languages, which is shown in (348), does not prevent an adverb (nor an adjective) from modifying the XP containing the possessive[46]. Rather, the ban on modification has to be stipulated to account for the strict adjacency between the definite article and the possessive in Portuguese (cf. Brito (2001) and Miguel (2002b) a.o.).

[46]I am projecting adverbs as adjuncts here. However, since this is not crucial for my analysis I leave open the issue of their structural position: they may be either adjuncts or specifiers, as discussed in the literature. Moreover, I am abstracting away from other functional projections below DP such as Num(ber)P.

(348) prenominal possessives in Spec,XP



I therefore suggest that prenominal possessives are not in such a configuration. Instead, they are heads occupying the D position in a head-adjunction configuration with the definite article (cf. Castro (2001)). This proposal neatly accounts for several properties of prenominal possessives in Portuguese. First of all, it predicts that prenominal possessives can be modified by adverbs such as *ainda* and *já*, as seen in Chapter 3.

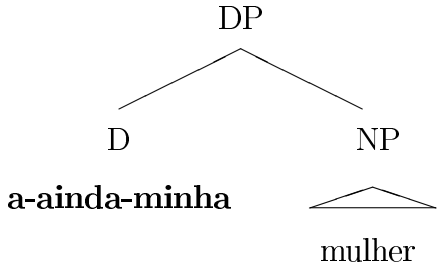
(349) a. **a ainda minha** mulher
the still 1SG.FSG woman
lit. 'the still-mine wife'

b. **o ainda meu** andar
the still 1SG.MSG flat
lit. 'the still-mine flat'

c. **a já sua** noiva
the already 3.FSG fiancée
lit. 'the already-mine fiancée'

As claimed in Castro and Costa (2002,2003), such adverbs behave like heads in some contexts (e.g. preverbally), confirming Cardinaletti and Starke's (1994) suggestion that the deficient/strong opposition is transcategorial. It is therefore argued that a weak adverb such as *ainda* is also in head adjunction with the determiner and the prenominal possessive as illustrated in (350).

(350) prenominal possessives in D



Moreover, analysing prenominal possessives as heads enables us to answer the questions left open in the previous section.

First, the inherently definite status of prenominal possessives is predicted by their occupying the D position. With Lyons (1985,1986,1999)[47], I assume that the filling of the D position triggers a definite interpretation of the noun phrase. That position may be occupied by several elements, in particular the definite article, demonstratives and possessives. What then excludes prenominal possessives within indefinite noun phrases? Prenominal possessives in Portuguese, unlike their Italian and Catalan homologues, surface in D. Therefore, they are incompatible with an element which confers non-definite reference to the noun phrase. Whether the definite semantic value is lexically encoded as a feature or is structurally encoded is an issue open to discussion.

The head status of prenominal possessives also explains why focused possessives cannot be postnominal within definite DPs. On the one hand, possessives surface

[47]For Lyons, it is the presence of a DP, with the filling of its specifier and/or head, that triggers definiteness.

prenominally if the noun phrase is interpreted as definite. This is the unmarked order. On the other hand, the position of prenominal possessives cannot be changed because of their head status. Hence, as proposed in Castro and Costa (2002,2003), the difference between Italian and Portuguese with respect to focalisation of prenominal possessives has to do with the different categorial status of these elements in the two languages. While in Portuguese, prenominal possessives may be heads, in Italian they are XPs. According to Costa (1998), the position of heads cannot be modified because of their informational status. On the contrary, XPs can. Following Costa (to appear), I assume that focus is not a syntactic feature, although the syntax (i.e. word order) of some languages can apparently be constrained by the informational status of sentential constituents. Focus does not constrain the syntax but can play a role in the choice of optional syntactic outputs. Costa's general hypothesis is the following: when the syntax generates more than one output, the remaining components may act as filters or simply select one of them, according to the internal principles defined within each of those components. Like in Italian, in Portuguese there are two different positions available for possessives: a prenominal one, adjacent to the definite determiner, and a postnominal one. However, the syntax of Portuguese generates only one output in definite contexts. That is why focus cannot be given by postpositioning the possessive. Instead, the definite prenominal possessive is stressed. In Italian, the two outputs are generated since possessives are not constrained by (non-)definiteness: one with the prenominal possessive and the other with the postnominal possessive. Both outputs are thus available in focused contexts.

The phonetical reduction of nuclear prenominal possessives is also easy to understand. Being deficient elements, with a less complex structure, they can be morphological and phonetically reduced, like e.g. deficient prenominal possessives in Spanish.

As regards the last question - why is there variation between EP and BP with respect to the realisation of the definite article? - something more has to be said. I claim that this fact is not directly related to the grammar of possessives. Thus, a typological approach such as the ones presented in the first section is left aside as irrelevant. EP and BP are not languages belonging to different groups or assigning opposite values to the Possessive Parameter. Rather, they diverge in the realisation of the expletive article. This issue will be addressed in the next section.

5. The presence versus absence of the definite article in EP and BP

5.1. The problem

The typologies exploited in section 2. suggest that BP has possessive determiners while in EP the same forms are adjectives[48]. This partition is based on the fact that, while BP prenominal possessives can be articleless in argument noun phrases, EP prenominal possessives require the definite article in the same contexts. It has been shown, however, that BP does not follow the expected pattern with respect to other properties of possessives claimed to be related to this one. In fact, BP does not exhibit a different possessive form in isolation contexts, as do the languages with possessive determiners, e.g. French, Spanish and English. Moreover, it has been shown that EP and BP exhibit the same grammar of possessives regarding pre- and postnominal positions, modification, coordination and focus. Hence, it has been proposed that in both varieties prenominal forms are weak nuclear elements and postnominal forms are strong XP elements. Such a proposal, however, does not account for the issue that will be addressed in the present section: what is the status of the definite article occurring with prenominal possessives and why is it required

[48]I am considering here the dialects of BP which lack the definite article in front of prenominal possessives, proper names of persons and generics. Recall that there are some dialects of BP which behave like EP (cf. Chapter 3).

in EP whereas it may be absent in BP?

Remarkably, this type of variation (obligatory overt definite article in EP alternating with optional definite article in BP) is not restricted to possessives. It is also found in nominal constructions involving proper names of persons and generics, which exhibit what Longobardi (1994) defines as an expletive article. Extending his analysis to prenominal possessives, I will provide a unified account of the presence versus absence of the definite article in BP and EP.

This section is organised as follows. In section 5.2. I present the bases of Longobardi's (1994) proposal. Section 5.3. examines dyachronic studies reporting the use of the definite article in front of prenominal possessives across the history of Portuguese. In section 5.4. the constructions instantiating variation in the realisation of the definite article in Portuguese are characterised, in particular noun phrases involving prenominal possessives, proper names of persons and generic bare nominals. Finally, section 5.5. provides a unified account of all constructions allowing the presence or absence of the definite article in EP and BP.

5.2. Longobardi's (1994) expletive article

Longobardi (1994) introduces the notion of *expletive article* to account for proper names and noun phrases with generic interpretation. Crosslinguistically, in argument position these noun phrases may be headed by an overt article or take the form of a bare nominal. Italian, for instance, arguably displays dialectal variation with respect to the presence (351a) or absence (351b) of the definite article with proper (first or last) names of human beings[49]. Other languages, however, require the definite article to be present or absent.

[49]These examples are taken from Longobardi (1994:622:(24).

(351) a. **Il Gianni** mi ha telefonato.
the Gianni me has called

b. **Gianni** mi ha telefonato.
Gianni me has called
'Gianni called me up.'

For instance, English proper names are always bare (352a). Noun phrases interpreted as generics also fail to include the definite article in English (352b)[50].

(352) a. I love (*__the__) **France**.

b. (*__The__) **beavers** are mammals.

On the contrary, in Italian, like in many Romance languages, generic bare nominals are not allowed in subject position. Instead, a definite article is required (353)[51].

(353) *(**I**) **castori** costruiscono dighe.
the beavers build dams
'Beavers build dams.'

These facts may be accounted for if one assumes that a DP is projected when the definite article is overt whereas, when it is absent, only a category below DP is projected, either NP or NumP. Such a view, however, clashes with some assumptions present in Longobardi and in a substantial part of the literature regarding the syntax and semantics of noun phrases. First, the idea that only a DP can be an argument, while an NP cannot (cf. Stowell (1989)). Second, the assumption that the D position determines the referential status of the whole noun phrase (cf. also Enç (1991) who argues that D is the head linking the DP to its LF-interpretation). On the contrary, the N position is interpreted as referring to universal concepts, i.e. to kinds.
Longobardi therefore assumes that all noun phrases in argument position are DPs, even the ones in which no overt determiner is present, the D position and the N

[50]These examples are taken from Longobardi (1994:631:(43)).

[51]This example is adapted from Longobardi (1994:63o:(40a)).

position forming a chain. The presence or the absence of the definite article must therefore be accounted for in a different way.
Longobardi proposes the following parameter (cf. Longobardi (1994:641:(67))):

(354) N raises to D (by substitution) in the Syntax in Italian but not in English.

The argument status of all the noun phrases in (351-353) requires a DP. The specific definite reading of determinerless proper names is obtained by raising the head noun to D at some level of representation and leaving the foot of the chain, i.e. the N position, uninterpreted. The semantic content of generics, on the other hand, boils down to the kind denotation of the noun[52]. In English both generics and proper names stay in N at S-structure raising to D at LF. In Italian generics must remain in N at S-structure whereas many proper names can raise, and actually must if no determiner is inserted. English generics create a chain between D and N at LF, but only the latter is interpreted. Therefore, in this case, it is D, the head of the chain, that is left uninterpreted. In Italian the D position cannot remain empty at S-Structure unless the existential reading is required and thus the definite article is inserted with generic nominals. Longobardi thus claims that the overt definite article heading generic noun phrases in Italian is an *expletive* in the sense of Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), apart from minor differences. It has no semantic content just like an expletive subject. Also with proper names, in spite of being in an interpreted position, the definite article simply fills the head of the chain position since the referentiality and specificity is given by the proper name in N position. The alternation in (351) is thus claimed to be similar to the following alternation in English in which an expletive pronoun forms a chain with the postverbal subject (355a) or the subject raises to the head of the chain position (355b).

[52]Longobardi assumes a Carlsonian view of generics: they are names of kinds (cf. Carlson (1977)), i.e. they designate the kind denoted to by the head noun. In N position, a head noun denotes a natural kind. Generics, being expressions for kinds, must occur in N.

(355) a. **There**$_i$ were **many people**$_i$ killed.

b. **Many people**$_i$ were t_i killed.

In sum, Longobardi proposes that definite articles may be of three types (cf. Longobardi (1994:655-656)):

> (i) they can contribute their own meaning (as operators) in the specific usages of common nouns;
> (ii) they can be expletives occupying an interpreted position in the normal reading of singular proper names;
> (iii) they can instantiate the case of expletives occupying a semantically uninterpreted position with generics.

The type in (i) is a substantive definite article whereas the types in (ii) and (iii) are expletive articles. Substantive definite articles contribute their own meaning in the specific usages of common nouns, acting as an operator (in D position) binding a variable (in N position). Expletive articles of proper names relate an interpretively relevant D position (the head of the chain) to an interpretively irrelevant N position (the foot of the chain). Expletive articles of generics simply introduce a semantically relevant N position, which refers to a kind, itself lying in an uninterpreted D.
Evidence in support of Longobardi's analysis comes from languages whose morphology distinguishes the different types of definite articles, in particular Romance and Germanic languages. In some varieties of Catalan, the masculine substantive article (356a) is morphologically different from the expletive occurring with proper names (356a)[53].

[53]These examples are taken from Longobardi (1994:656:(91)). In the Baleares Islands, however, different morphological forms exist for both masculine (1) and feminine (2).

(1) a. **el** moix
theMSG cat
'the cat'

(356) a. **el** gos
theMSG dog
'the dog'

b. **en** Pere
theMSG Pere
'Pere'

Frisian, as spoken in the island of Föhr, displays one article for definite specific nominals and other with proper names and generic noun phrases.
The difference between English and Italian generic noun phrases and proper names in argument position relies also on the morpho-phonology of the definite article(s). Both languages have phonetically overt definite articles. Regarding the expletive article, however, in English it is phonetically null whereas in Italian it is overt. That is why English has determinerless generic nominals and proper names. Italian requires these to be headed by the definite article; alternatively, proper names raise to D.

5.3. A little History...

It is well known that possessivised noun phrases are mostly determinerless in the beginnings of Portuguese. Through the history of Portuguese, the use of the definite article has increased until nowadays and EP requires the definite article in front of

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b. **en** Pere
theMSG Pere
'Pere'

(2) a. **sa** taula
theFSG table
'the table'

b. **na** Maria
theFSG Maria
'Maria'

I thank Jordi Fortuny for giving me these data.

simple possessives in argument position. In BP, however, there is still variation in the use of the definite article: some dialects behave like EP whereas others lack the definite article in front of prenominal possessives. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the nature of such a variation is not very well understood.

As far as the diachronic facts are concerned, various studies have contributed descriptions and quantitative data showing this increase process both in EP and BP. Said Ali (1964) reports the increase of the definite article in the Portuguese literature and dates back its generalised use to the 19th century[54]. This assumption is supported by statistical data from some of the major Portuguese writers: Fernão Lopes (15th century) has 5% of definite article in front of possessives, Camões (16th century) 30%, Vieira (17th century) 70% and Herculano (19th century) 90%[55]. Some authors, however, state that there is variation in all stages of Portuguese and relate this to particular constructions such as kinship nouns (cf. Meier (1948a) and Meier (1948b), a.o.).

I next summarise the results of more recent studies, regarding the variation in the use of the definite article within possessivised noun phrases in different stages of Portuguese.

In a 14th century text[56], Mattos e Silva (1989) finds 69% of determinerless possessivised noun phrases against 31% in which the definite article is present in front

[54]See also Mattos e Silva (2002).

[55]Fernão Lopes (1380/90-1479?) was a medieval chronicler and the author of the royal chronicles between 1419 and 1449 (15th century). Luiz Vaz de Camões (1524/25-1579/80) was the foremost epic and lyric poet of the Portuguese Renaissance (16th century). Padre António Vieira (1608-1697) wrote mostly sermons and letters (17th century). Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) was a romanticist writer (prose and poetry) and historian (19th century) (cf. Saraiva and Lopes (nd) and Prado Coelho (1992)).

[56]It is *(Quatro Livros dos) Diálogos de São Gregório* in the version edited in Mattos e Silva (1971).

of simple possessives. In a 15th century Portuguese text[57], Crispim (1995) finds 1406 simple possessive forms, of which 1300 occur determinerless and 62 with an overt definite article. Although Crispim does not distinguish argument from non-argument positions[58], the attested data show that the POSSESSIVE-NOUN pattern is dominant in argument position (cf. Crispim (1995:448-456)). Moreover, in noun phrases introduced by the universal quantifier *todo*, the definite article is absent.

Vianna (2004) investigates literary EP texts from the 16th to the 19th century[59], limiting her study to possessivised noun phrases in argument position: sentential subject and object positions (non-prepositioned noun phrases) and object of prepositions (prepositioned noun phrases). This author concludes that the generalised use of the definite article in non-prepositioned possessivised noun phrases occurs in the 18th century, one century earlier than what is reported by Said Ali. In prepositioned noun phrases, however, the results are different. From the 16th century until the middle of the 18th century possessivised noun phrases are predominantly used determinerless whithin PPs (around 90%) whereas after that there is variation, the definite article being present or absent. In the 19th century, Vianna (2004) finds that in 60% of contexts the definite article heads possessivised noun phrases.

A comparison of the evolution of EP and BP is provided in Silva (1982). Both written (for EP and BP) and spoken corpora and tests (for BP) are analysed covering a substantial period of the history of Portuguese: 15th to 20th century EP and 17th to 20th century BP[60]. Silva reports the increase of the definite article in EP from less than 10% in the 15th century to more than 90% in the 20th. In BP, however, the

[57]It is *Livro das Três Virtudes* edited in her doctoral dissertation.

[58]Only vocatives (17 occurrences) are considered apart.

[59]The texts studied by Vianna (2004) are taken from *Corpus Anotado Tycho Brahe* available online at http://www.ime.usp.br/ tycho/corpus/.

[60]Notice that the first known written texts of (European) Portuguese date from the 12th century while BP is regarded as beginning in the 16th century.

increase is subtler: from 25% in the 17th century to 40% in the 20th. Remarkably, in the 15th century, the use of the definite article in EP was less than 40% (cf. Silva (1982:357))[61].

From these studies, one observes that, although in the beginnings of Portuguese possessivised noun phrases were mainly determinerless, by the 18th century the preferred pattern in EP includes the definite article in front of the prenominal possessive. In BP, however, variation has been always present. These data have inspired many analyses that suggest that BP is closer to Old Portuguese and, hence, conservative (cf. Mattos e Silva (2002), Vianna (2004a) and Miguel (2004), a.o.). However, there is a contrast between possessives, on the one hand, and other grammatical aspects (e.g. pro-drop parameter, verbal and nominal agreement, clitic placement, a.o.) in which BP is diverging from EP in a so-called innovative way.

Now that we have briefly sketched the evolution of the definite article within possessivised noun phrases in Portuguese, we can draw the parallel between these constructions and others which in Modern Portuguese show the same variation.

5.4. Prenominal possessives, Proper Names and Bare Nominals

In this section, I will describe the behaviour of three nominal constructions exhibiting variation regarding the overt or null definite article in Portuguese. First, I will recall the relevant data of Portuguese prenominal possessives. Second, I will describe noun phrases including proper names (of persons). And, finally, constructions with generic bare nominals will be compared.

[61] These results do not distinguish between argument and non-argument positions. For a detailed study of the variation in various types of corpora and various contexts, I refer the reader to Silva (1982).

5.4.1. Prenominal possessives

The contrast to be explained is the following: the prenominal possessive may occur without the definite article in BP (357a) but not in EP (357b).

(357) a. **Meu** livro tem 100 páginas.
1SG.MSG book has 100 pages

b. **O meu** livro tem 100 páginas.
the 1SG.MSG book has 100 pages
'My book has 100 pages.'

Neither can the two varieties be considered the same type of language, nor can they be considered two different languages with respect to the possessive system. Furthermore, none of the correlations predicted by typological analyses holds in Portuguese.

First, as shown in Chapter 2, Portuguese has only one morphological set of simple possessives. Hence, the same morphological form occurs in prenominal (358a) and postnominal positions (358b), with a gapped noun (358c) and in predicative contexts (358d). This is true for EP and also for BP.

(358) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. um livro **meu**
a book 1SG.MSG
'this book of mine'

c. (o) teu livro e o **meu**
the 2SG.MSG book and the 1SG.MSG
'my book and yours'

d. Este livro é **meu**.
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

In post-copular position, the definite article must be overt in order to identify an argument in BP (359a).

(359) a. Este livro é **o meu**.
this book is the 1SG.MSG
'This book is my book.'

b. Este livro é **meu**.
this book is 1SG.MSG
'This book is mine.'

Second, in BP the "possessive determiner" may combine with demonstratives. If a demonstrative heads the noun phrase, the possessive is preferably prenominal (360)[62].

(360) Você leu **este meu** livro?
you read this book 1SG.MSG
'Did you read this book of mine?'

Third, the "adjectival possessive" is prenominal within definite noun phrases (358a) and (360) while it is postnominal within non-definite noun phrases. Moreover, the prenominal possessive never combines with non-definite determiners or modifiers (361a). Therefore, the prenominal possessive seems to be "definite" in some sense.

(361) a. *Você leu **algum meu** livro?
you read any 1SG.MSG book

b. Você leu **algum** livro **meu**?
you read any book 1SG.MSG
'Did you read any book of mine?'

In short, EP and BP seem not to diverge much as far as the grammar of possessives is concerned. The only difference between the two varieties regards the

[62]Other languages arguably belonging to the same group behave differently in this respect. French and Spanish use the postnominal possessive form with demonstratives while (some dialects of) English may also use the prenominal simple possessive (cf. Chapter 3).

(overt) realisation of the definite article combined with the prenominal possessive (cf. (357)). What I have suggested is that, in this case, it is not the definite article which triggers the definite interpretation of the noun phrase since the possessive occupying the D position triggers the same effect (cf. Lyons (1985,1986,1999)). The definite article may therefore be said to be expletive here.

5.4.2. Proper Names

BP, or arguably those varieties of BP which fail to exhibit the definite article with prenominal possessives, fail to show it also with proper names of persons (362a). In EP, however, its presence is obligatorily required (362b).

(362) a. **Joaquinita** fazia anos amanhã.
Joaquinita made years tomorrow

b. **A Joaquinita** fazia anos amanhã.
the Joaquinita made years tomorrow
'Tomorrow it was Joaquinita's birthday.'

The correlation between the absence of the definite article in possessivised noun phrases and its absence with proper names is suggested in Castro (2001). Vianna (2004), following this hint, investigates the use of the definite article in front of proper names in the same corpus of EP texts from the 16th to the 19th century. Significantly, her findings for proper names match with those for possessives: determinerless noun phrases with proper names decrease from the 16th century until being very rare in the 19th century[63].

[63]Vianna observes that in determinerless possessivised noun phrases there is usually some element before the possessive. In subject position, possessives are preceded by either a conjunction or a complementiser. In object position, they are preceded by the verb. In the case of prepositioned noun phrases, there is, of course, the preposition. This constraint may be related to the use of bare nouns in Portuguese. Notice that bare nouns are excluded from subject position and may generally occur in object position in Romance languages, a behaviour usually derived from a lexical

Longobardi (1994:622) reports that several varieties of Romance display alternations between the presence and the absence of the definite article with proper (first or last) names of human beings. Italian shows the same variation as Portuguese (cf. (351)). The examples in (362) and (351) are those in which the definite article has no semantic content. As argued in Longobardi (1994), proper names are referential by themselves, denoting a single individual. However, when they occur in the plural, they lose this interpretative peculiarity and behave like common nouns[64]. Crucially, when proper names of persons occur as count nouns, the definite article is required in BP.

(363) a. * (Doce) **Joaquinita** que eu conhecia já não existe.
(sweet) Joaquinita that I knew already not exists

b. **A** doce **Joaquinita** que eu conhecia já não existe.
the (sweet) Joaquinita that I knew already not exists
'Joaquinita that I used to know no loger exists.'

In (363b), the noun phrase refers to one of all possible stages of the relevant individual named 'Joaquinita'. The difference between (362) and (363) is thus that

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government condition (cf. ECP in Chomsky (1991)).

[64]The following examples show that proper names are not intrinsically unique. They may be quantified (1a) and occur as bare plurals. In (1b) and (1b) proper names denote the kind of all possible individuals named 'Joaquinita' (cf. Longobardi (1994:647)).

(1) a. Conheci **uma** (**certa**) **Joaquinita.**
met a certain Joaquinita
'I met a certain Joaquinita.'

b. (**As**) **Joaquinitas** são normalmente boas pessoas.
the Joaquinitas are usually good people
'Joaquinitas are usually nice people.' (generic reading)

c. A semana passada, conheci Joaquinitas todos os dias.
the last week, met Joaquinitas all the days
'Last week, I met **Joaquinitas** every day.' (existential reading)

the first seems to always refer to an entity intrinsically conceptualised as unique in the domain of discourse while the latter needs to be delimited from a range, an effect triggered by the definite article. Longobardi (1994) argues that proper names functioning as arguments without any overt determiner (like in BP) have undergone raising from N^o to D^o in Italian. The provided evidence shows that the order PROPER NAME-POSSESSIVE (*Gianni mio*) is possible in Italian. In this case, the postnominal positioning of the possessive does not result in a contrastive interpretation, the usual interpretation of postnominal possessives in Italian[65]. He therefore assumes that it is the proper name which raises, crossing the possessive in [Spec,NP].
When a definite article is overt (like in EP), it is an expletive, i.e. it has no semantic content. An N-raising analysis does not apply to BP since the sequence *Joaquinita minha* is not possible. One therefore has to assume that the expletive article occupying the D position is phonetically null in BP.

5.4.3. Bare nominals

Romance and Germanic languages allow bare plurals in argument positions with either a generic or an existential reading. In Romance, however, their distribution is more restricted (cf. Chierchia (1998), Longobardi (1994), Longobardi (2001), Dobrovie-Sorin and Laca (2003), a.o.). With respect to Portuguese, while EP behaves mostly like other Romance languages, BP also allows count bare singulars in argument positions[66]. Several authors have investigated this topic and both seman-

[65]Longobardi notes that "contrastiveness is uniformly required of posthead possessives but not of those in Spec NP [the prenominal ones]" (cf. Longobardi (1994:623-624)).

[66]BP is claimed not to fit Chierchia's (1998) Nominal Mapping Parameter (see Schmitt and Munn (1999), Munn and Schmitt (2002) and Müller and Oliveira (2004)). Chierchia (1998) argues that languages vary with respect to what they allow their noun phrases to denote. He proposes a semantic parameter which determines whether noun phrases denote names of kinds (and are therefore arguments) [+arg, -pred] (as in Chinese); predicates (and therefore require a determiner when in an argument position) [-arg, +pred] (as in French); or both [+arg, +pred] (as in English).

tic and morpho-syntatic accounts have been provided (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin and Laca (2003), Müller and Oliveira (2004) and Schmitt and Munn (1999) and Munn and Schmitt (2002)[67]).

I will describe the behaviour of both bare plurals and bare singulars in EP and BP with respect to the generic interpretation, basing myself on Müller and Oliveira's and Schmitt and Munn's descriptions. I will also present Munn and Schmitt's (2002) morpho-syntactic account of BP data.

5.4.3.1. Bare plurals In EP bare plurals are ungrammatical in subject position of episodic (364a), habitual (364b), individual level (364c) and kind level predicates (364d)[68] (except if 'made heavy', i.e. modified).

(364) a. ?/* **Amigos** partiram ontem.
friends left yesterday
'Friends left yesteday.'

b. ?/* **Professores** trabalham muito.
teachers work a-lot
'Teachers work a lot.'

c. * **Elefantes** são inteligentes.
elephants are inteligent
'Elephants are inteligent.'

d. * **Elefantes** estão extintos.
elephants are extinct
'Elephants are extinct.'

BP seems to fit none of the three types. It does not behave as predicted since its bare singulars appear in argument positions, in spite of the availability of the plural/singular distinction. For a detailed argumentation, I refer the reader to Schmitt and Munn (1999), Munn and Schmitt (2002) and Müller and Oliveira (2004).

[67]Part of this work has also been published as Schmitt and Munn (2003).

[68]These examples are taken from Müller and Oliveira (2004:16:(16-19)).

They are grammatical in object position in all contexts (365a-365c), although they cannot have a kind reading (365d)[69].

(365) a. A Maria comprou **livros** ontem.
the Maria bought books yesterday
'Maria bought books yesterday.'

b. A Maria compra **livros** todos os dias.
the Maria buy books all the days
'Maria buys books everyday.'

c. A Maria lê **livros**.
the Maria reads books
'Maria reads books.'

d. # Os americanos inventaram **transistores**.
the Americans invented transistors
'Americans invented transistors.'

Therefore, EP bare plurals behave like bare plurals in other Romance languages (e.g. Italian). They are only allowed as bare arguments in governed positions[70], EP displaying mass/count distinction and plural morphology for count nouns. Müller and Oliveira (2004) claim that bare plurals in EP are indefinites a la Heim (1982). In BP, on the other hand, bare plurals may occur almost freely as arguments, unlike in EP and other Romance languages. Hence, the examples in (364a-365c) are perfect in BP. Moreover, in object position BP bare plurals can have a taxonomic reading, unlike in EP[71].

The following contrast must be emphasised: in subject position a definite article is required in EP for individual and kind level predicates (366) whereas in BP the

[69]These examples are taken from Müller and Oliveira (2004:17:(20-23)).

[70]See Contreras (1986) for the relation between bare nominals and (un)governed positions.

[71]Müller and Oliveira (2004:20) claim that in colloquial BP this is even the preferred reading for bare singulars in object position. The bare plural *livros* 'books' in (365a-365d) is preferably read as 'different kinds of books'.

noun phrases may occur determinerless in the same contexts (367).

(366) a. **Os elefantes** são inteligentes.
the elephants are intelligent
'Elephants are intelligent.'

b. **Os elefantes** estão extintos.
the elephants are extinct
'Elephants are extinct.'

(367) a. **Elefantes** são inteligentes.
elephants are intelligent
'Elephants are intelligent.'

b. **Elefantes** estão extintos.
elephants are extinct
'Elephants are extinct.'

5.4.3.2. Bare singulars As already mentioned, EP does not allow bare singulars with count nouns in argument position. In this respect, it behaves like other Romance languages. BP, on the contrary, allows bare singulars with count nouns in argument position with generic readings in subject (368a) and object positions (369a). In these contexts, bare plurals may also be used (368b) and (369b)[72].

(368) a. **Criança** lê revistinha.
child read comic-book

[72]Examples (368) and (369) are taken from Schmitt and Munn (1999:4:(8-9)). Bare singulars are also allowed with existential reading (1a). In these cases bare singulars also alternate with bare plurals (1b) - Schmitt and Munn (1999:4:(7)).

(1) a. Chegou **criança**.
arrived child

b. Chegaram **crianças**.
arrived children
'Children arrived.'

b. **Crianças** lêem revistinhas.
children read comic-books
'Children read comic books.'

(369) a. Beija-flor é **ave**.
hummingbird is bird

b. Beija-flores são **aves**.
hummingbirds are birds
'The hummingbird is a bird.'

In EP, on the contrary, the correlate of (368) requires an overt definite article (370).

(370) **As crianças** lêem revistinhas.
the children read comic-books
'Children read comic books.'

Schmitt and Munn (1999) show that, although bare singulars share some properties with bare plurals, as seen in the examples above, they do not behave exactly as bare plurals. They are ungrammatical as subjects of episodic (371a) and kind-level predicates (371b)[73].

(371) a. * **Amigo** partiu ontem.
friend left yesterday

b. * **Elefante** está extinto.
elephant is extinct

In spite of these differences, it is claimed by Munn and Schmitt (2002) that BP bare singulars in argument position behave almost like bare plurals in English and Portuguese (both EP and BP). Their properties are summarised in (372)[74].

[73]Examples (371) are taken from Müller and Oliveira (2004:22-23:(48-49)).

[74]This is (21) in Munn and Schmitt (2002).

(372) Properties of bare singulars in argument position

a. Existential readings allowed (subject and object)

b. Generic readings allowed (subject and object)

c. Always narrowest scope

d. Not restricted to canonical types

e. Not interpreted as mass nouns

In short, the authors show that bare singulars in BP do not behave like regular indefinite noun phrases as far as their scope interactions are concerned. Moreover, they are never specific and are not ambiguous between a generic and an existential reading. Their readings are rather dependent on the predicate they are part of. Moreover, Munn and Schmitt (2002) provide evidence for lack of number in BP bare singulars[75]. What is claimed is that BP bare singulars are semantically unspecified for number[76]. Schmitt and Munn claim that bare singulars are names of kinds[77]. They may thus be assigned the structure proposed by Longobardi for generic nom-

[75]Evidence is of two sorts. First, bare singulars force durative aspect on predicates sensitive to whether their objects are quantized or not (e.g. *escrever* 'write'). The claim is that if bare singulars were specified for number, they should force a terminative reading of the VP, but they do not. Second, in existential readings a bare singular can be the antecedent for either a singular or a plural pronoun in discourse. In contrast, only a plural pronoun can be used with a bare plural antecedent.

[76]Müller and Oliveira (2004) restate the 'unspecification for number' of bare singulars in BP as their denoting unsorted mass. Therefore, their denotations are not only number neutral (they contain both atomic and plural entities in their denotation) but also pre-sortal (they do not encompass only full-fledged individuals) (cf. Müller and Oliveira (2004:29)).

[77]Although Müller and Oliveira (2004) agree with most of the data presented by Schmitt and Munn, they argue against an analysis of bare singulars as names of kinds. Instead, they claim that BP bare singulars are predicates and have a mass denotation. They furthermore argue that BP bare singulars are indefinites introducing a variable in the logical form of the sentences they belong to, similarly to English bare plurals.

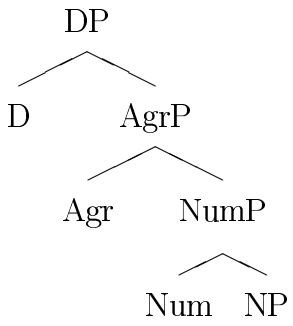
inals: the noun is left in N and an expletive article is inserted in the head of the chain. Also in this case the expletive article in BP is phonetically null, like in English, whereas in EP it is overt, like in Italian.

However, how can the allowance of bare singulars be accounted for? Munn and Schmitt (2002) claim that BP is like English in allowing empty determiners, but is also like other Romance languages in allowing interpretable number to be absent when not otherwise required. The combination of these two properties is what allows BP but not English or other Romance languages to license bare singulars in argument position. According to Munn and Schmitt (2002), BP bare singulars provide evidence against treating restrictions on bare singulars in any deep semantic way. Instead, the locus of crosslinguistic variation is assumed to lie in the interaction between the determiner system and the morpho-syntax of Number. The Number unspecification of BP bare singulars is claimed to stem from the structure of the DP. Extending the Free Agr Parameter[78] to the nominal domain, Munn and Schmitt (2002) assume that in BP, as in EP and other Romance languages, Agreement and Number are projected as separate syntactic heads (373a), whereas English realises them as a fused head (373b)[79].

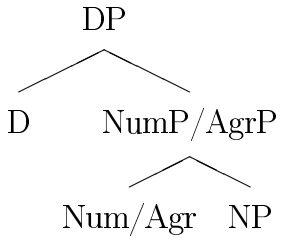
[78]The Free Agr Parameter is proposed in Bobaljik (1995) and states that languages can vary as to whether Tense and Agreement are projected as separate syntactic heads or as a single fused head. Since T and Agr never cooccur morphologically in English, they are assumed to be in the same head. In Romance, however, Agr and T are both present and are thus projected as independent heads. In Minimalist terms, one can interpret the Free Agr Parameter as encoding whether interpretable and uninterpretable features are merged in the same head or not.

[79]Note that alternative views have been proposed to account for this constrast, e.g. Bouchard (2002) who states that languages vary in encoding Number on different heads - D in French (or Romance in general) and N in English.

(373) a. ROMANCE



b. ENGLISH



Bare singulars in BP are thus analysed by Munn and Schmitt as DPs with a null D and without the Number projection.

In short, the authors claim, with Longobardi (1994), that the difference between English, on the one hand, and (most of) Romance, on the other, lies in the morpho-syntactic properties of D. Language variation is thus described as allowing or disallowing an empty D. English allows empty Ds while Spanish, French and Italian do not. BP patterns with English rather than with the rest of Romance in this respect. This is the reason why BP allows bare plurals with no interpretive or syntactic restrictions.

5.5. One (possible) solution

Here I will briefly summarise the proposal that has been sketched across the last sections (cf. Castro (2005)). Departing from the proposal in Longobardi (1994), one can explain the variation in EP and BP. I recall here the constrasts observed between these two varieties of Portuguese: BP may lack the definite article whereas

EP requires it with prenominal possessives (374), proper names of persons (375) and generic bare nominals (376-377).

(374) a. **Meu** livro tem 100 páginas.
1SG.MSG book has 100 pages

b. **O meu** livro tem 100 páginas.
the 1SG.MSG book has 100 pages
'My book has 100 pages.'

(375) a. **Joaquinita** fazia anos amanhã.
Joaquinita made years tomorrow

b. **A Joaquinita** fazia anos amanhã.
the Joaquinita made years tomorrow
'Tomorrow it was Joaquinita's birthday.'

(376) a. **Criança** lê revistinha.
child read comic-book

b. **Crianças** lêem revistinhas.
children read comic-books
'Children read comic books.'

(377) **As crianças** lêem revistinhas.
the children read comic-books
'Children read comic books.'

Assuming that all argument noun phrases are DPs, Longobardi (1994:655:(89)) proposes for Italian that:

(378) The phonetic realisation of the D position is licensed only if it expresses semantic content or grammatical features, or as a last resort.

In the former case, a substantive definite article contributes its own meaning in the specific usages of common nouns, acting as an operator (in D position) binding a variable (in N position). In the latter case, there is an expletive article. *Last resort*

means, in Longobardi's words, "if no synonymous raising derivation is available". The expletive article of proper names relates an interpretively relevant D position (the head of the chain) to an interpretively irrelevant N position (the foot of the chain). When the proper name raises to D, on the contrary, no definite article surfaces. The expletive article of generics simply introduces a semantically relevant N position, which refers to a kind, itself lying in an uninterpreted D.

As for Portuguese, one cannot claim that the D position must be phonetically realised in all cases. The substantive article is phonetically overt in both EP and BP. The two varieties diverge, however, with respect to the morpho-phonology of the expletive article. In EP substantive and expletive articles are homophonous. Therefore, since no overt N-raising operation is allowed in Portuguese, EP has an overt expletive determiner in last resort contexts, i.e. proper names and generics according to Longobardi. In the variety of BP described in this chapter, the substantive definite article is overt while the expletive is phonetically null. That is why BP allows bare nominals with proper names of persons and generics. In this variety of BP, like in English, the D position is occupied by a null article.

Extending Longobardi's proposal, I claim that the definite article occurring with prenominal possessives in EP is similar to that occurring with proper names of persons. Diachronic facts support this claim since, as above-mentioned, Vianna (2004) finds a parallel increase of the definite article with proper names and prenominal possessives in the history of EP. This article occupies an interpreted D position. In the latter case, D is also occupied by the prenominal possessive. The possessive is sufficient for encoding both the semantic content, i.e. definiteness and specificity, and grammatical features such as Number. As in the cases described above, in EP this expletive article is overt and in certain varieties of BP it is null.

Other varieties of BP, however, behave like EP in having homophonous substantive and expletive articles. Nominal agreement data from one of these varieties provide

strong evidence in favour of the expletive article proposal: recall the data presented in Chapter 2 showing that while in EP gender and plural markers are overtly spelt out on all agreeing constituents of the noun phrase (467a) and (380a), in the varieties of BP which realise the article in front of prenominal possessives, plural markers can appear only once within the noun phrase as in (467b) and (380b)[80].

(379) a. os primeiros filhos
theMPL firstMPL sonMPL

b. os primeiro filho
theMPL firstM- sonM-
'first sons'

(380) a. os meus filhos
theMPL 1SG.MPL sonMPL

b. o meus filho
theM- 1SG.MPL sonM-
'my first sons/children'

As shown by (467b) and (380b), it is not always the same element that bears the plural marker in BP: in (467b), it is the definite article, the first element of the noun phrase. However, when there is a prenominal possessive, even if the definite article is present, it is the possessive that bears the plural marker. I assume Costa and Figueiredo Silva's (to appear) analysis for EP and BP micro-parametric variation[81]. This analysis is cast in the Distributed Morphology framework. With Halle and Marantz (1993), Bobaljik (1995) and Embick and Noyer (2001), a.o., it is assumed that specific inflectional morphemes may surface on a lexical element as a

[80]With respect to number nominal agreement, the situation is not as neat as it is suggested here. There is variation within BP and different agreement patterns arise. I refer the reader to Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear) for an analysis of this phenomenon. Nonetheless, the other facts do not clash with the proposal presented here.

[81]This analysis is adapted to Capeverdean DP-internal agreement in Castro and Pratas (to appear).

consequence of syntactic head-movement, or as the result of a morphological process. Moreover, morphemes may be realised as singletons or as dissociated morphemes . According to Embick (1997) and Embick and Noyer (2001), a dissociated morpheme does not figure in Syntax proper. Another crucial assumption is that semantically relevant number is encoded in only one position in the Syntax, this position being D, at least in Romance (cf. Enç (1991), Longobardi (1994), Bouchard (2002), a.o.). As a consequence of this, the plural morpheme is realised on D.

Adopting for EP the idea that the proliferation of a given morpheme may be interpreted as a consequence of it being dissociated, Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear) propose the following hypothesis:

(381) Type of [plural] morphology in Portuguese:
plural is a singleton in Brazilian Portuguese.
plural is a dissociated morpheme in European Portuguese.

Under this assumption, the difference between EP and BP derives from the type of morpheme associated with plurality. It is a dissociated morpheme in EP. Hence, all elements able to bear (subject-agreeing) plural morphology actually carry such markers, independently of the existence of movement and spec-head configurations. In BP, however, [plural] is a singleton. It thus attaches to D, the element supporting the information concerning Number.

The contrast between (379) and (380) can be explained under the assumption that the two definite articles are (semantically) different (cf. Castro (2001)). (379) instantiates a substantive article encoding semantic content as well as the Number. (380), however, instantiates an expletive article. If only one of the prenominal elements is marked as plural, as in BP, it must be the determiner in D-ADJECTIVE-N sequences, since [plural] attaches to the D head, the anchor to LF. But if the sequence is D-POSSESSIVE-N, the element bearing the plural morpheme is the possessive, since the prenominal possessive is the element coding the semantic content and grammatical

features.

6. Summary and conclusions

This chapter has addressed the categorial status of Portuguese simple possessives. Typological proposals suggest that EP simple possessives should be adjectives whereas those of BP should be determiners. However, a deeper analysis of the Portuguese data reveals that Portuguese does not behave as predicted by such proposals. A systematic comparison with adjectives has shown that possessives do not behave like any class of adjectives, in particular because the distribution of possessives is sensitive to (in)definiteness. Moreover, simple possessives are functional elements in the sense that they make part of a closed class. Furthermore, BP possessives do not behave like the determiner possessives of languages such as French and English. Portuguese simple possessives thus behave neither like adjectives nor like determiners (cf. Lyons (1985), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991)) and do not fit the typology of languages proposed in Schoorlemmer (1998).
The properties of Portuguese possessives which fail to be predicted by these proposals are the following:

1. BP exhibits prenominal possessives occurring without the definite article. BP may thus be said to have determiner possessives. However, possessives have the same form in ellipsis contexts, which would make BP an exception to Schoorlemmer's (1998) Possessive Generalisation.

2. Southern EP dialects, like Paduan, are also an exception to the Possessive Generalisation: possessives cooccur with articles but a different possessive form is used in isolation contexts.

3. Focused possessives in definite noun phrases cannot be postnominal in Portuguese, whereas they can be in Italian and Catalan, arguably two languages

in the same group.

4. Portuguese prenominal possessives are disallowed in indefinite noun phrases, unlike their Italian and Catalan homologues.

An alternative analysis is the deficient/strong partition as formulated by Cardinaletti (1998). One advantage of her proposal is that it does not rely on the morphology of possessive forms. Morphological criteria has been shown to fail when called upon to decide on the determiner or adjectival status of possessives in Portuguese. On the other hand, Cardinaletti's theory states the categorial status of possessive forms in terms of functional *versus* lexical categories and head *versus* XP.

The analysis of Portuguese simple possessives developed in this chapter follows the basis of Cardinaletti's typology but recasts it in order to integrate the Portuguese (prenominal) simple possessives data. In particular, I claim that weak prenominal possessives are heads and not XPs in Portuguese. Portuguese thus exhibits homophonous weak and strong simple possessives. The former are heads whereas the latter are XPs. Portuguese prenominal possessives occupy the D position, a fact which explains their peculiarities with respect to other languages:

(i) they can be modified by weak adverbs but not by XP adverbs (in a head-adjuntion configuration);
(ii) they can only be focused *in situ* via the stress strategy (the only one available for heads);
(iii) they are responsible for the definite interpretation of the noun phrase; therefore, they must surface in D when the noun phrase is definite;
(iv) being deficient elements, they can be phonetically reduced.

One may conclude that prenominal possessives in Portuguese are closer to the so-called possessive determiners of English for instance. They are definite, they are

focused via stress and cannot be modified. The only fact that may make us cautious about saying that they are in fact determiners is their cooccurrence with the definite article in EP and in some dialects of BP: this seems to be the strongest evidence for the determiner-adjective partition in all previous analyses.

In this chapter, the Portuguese variation with respect to the cooccurrence of possessives with the definite article, but not in the remaining aspects of the grammar of possessives, was taken as evidence showing that the difference between EP and BP, namely the presence of the definite article with prenominal possessives in EP versus its absence in BP, is not internal to the possessives grammar. Possessivised noun phrases instantiate an expletive article in Portuguese. As with proper names and generics, it does not mark definiteness, referentiality or number. Prenominal possessives in D are responsible for the definite interpretation of the DP. Proper names are themselves referential (raising or not to D). Generics do not require an interpreted D (cf. Longobardi (1994)). All these constructions therefore require, not a substantive, but an expletive article. EP has an overt expletive article (like Italian) while BP has a null expletive article (like English). In referential (specific) noun phrases the definite article is substantive and overt both in EP and BP.

Additionally, this proposal accounts for the different patterns of DP-internal number agreement in EP and BP. Costa and Figueiredo Silva (2003) account for this distinction by claiming that the morphology of number differs in Portuguese: plural is a singleton morpheme in BP and a dissociated morpheme in EP. The plural morpheme attaches to the head responsible for establishing the link with semantic interpretation (D). In a variety of BP which has an expletive article in front of simple possessives, the plural singleton morpheme anchors on the possessive rather than on the expletive, since the possessive is the relevant element for the semantic component.

The facts calling for an explanation in Chapter 3 were thus accounted for:

- the pre- *versus* postnominal position of simple possessives;
- prenominal possessives modified by *ainda* and *já*;
- the non-allowance of focused postnominal simple possessives within definite noun phrases;
- the absence of the definite article in BP *versus* its presence in EP.

One fact that has not been addressed yet is the freer behaviour of simple possessives with demonstratives. Unlike noun phrases headed by the definite article, these allow pre- and postnominal possessives although the noun phrases are always interpreted as definite. Demonstrative are not expletive. Hence, the demonstrative triggers the definite interpretation of the noun phrase by occupying the D position. The prenominal possessive, on the contrary, may be located in a different position. In Chapter 7, I will provide a full picture of how both pre- and postnominal possessives are derived. Before that, however, the relation between 3rd person possessives *seu* and *dele* is addressed as well as the status of *de*-possessives in Portuguese.

Chapter 6

3rd person possessives in Portuguese: *seu* and *dele*

1. Introduction

As presented in the Introduction, Portuguese has two different functional possessives for 3rd person: *seu* (382a) and *dele* (382b)[1].

(382) a. (o) **seu** livro
the 3.MSG book
'his/her/their book'

b. o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

In the first part of this dissertation, I described the morphological, distributional and thematic properties of these forms, pointing out their differences and similarities. In Chapter 2, it was shown that *seu* and *dele* differ with respect to the features they encode. *Seu* is less specified for possessor features than *dele* and, consequently, the use of the former is ambiguous. Moreover, these forms have a different distribution, as seen in Chapter 3. *Seu* can occur pre- or postnominally while *dele* is restricted to

[1]In this chapter, I will refer to *seu* and *dele* as prototypical forms for 3rd person simple and *de*-possessives, respectively. These two forms stand for their entire paradigm: *seu*, *sua*, *seus*, *suas* and *dele*, *dela*, *deles*, *delas*.

the postnominal position. Regarding their thematic interpretation, however, there are no significant differences: both *seu* and *dele* can be interpreted as Possessor, Agent and Theme, as shown in Chapter 4. In this latter respect, Portuguese patterns like Spanish and Catalan and differs from French and Italian, languages in which *de* + strong pronouns are not allowed for the Possessor interpretation.
In this chapter, I aim at answering the two questions raised in Chapters 2 and 4:

1. Why do Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan allow *de*-possessives interpreted as Possessor while French and Italian do not?

2. Are *seu* and *dele* stylistic variants or are they in complementary distribution?

With respect to the first question, it will be argued that the availability of fully productive *de*-possessives correlates with the paradigm of 3rd person simple possessives in Romance. In particular, it will be shown that languages which do not morphologically distinguish the 3rd person singular from the 3rd person plural on simple possessives include *de*-possessives in their paradigm. On the contrary, languages which distinguish the 3rd person singular from the 3rd person plural on simple possessives do not allow *de*-possessives.
With respect to the second question, the two alternatives correspond to the proposals made by studies which have compared the use of *seu* and *dele* in BP. Cerqueira (1993) argues that *dele* is replacing *seu* whereas Müller (1996) claims that each form is grammatically constrained. I have examined these two proposals by testing their accuracy to EP corpora data. The results obtained support Müller's view: the two forms are specialised with respect to the antecedents they take. However, in those cases where the two possessives are possible (when they take referential antecedents), there seems to be a preference for *seu* in written and more formal speech and for *dele* in oral or informal speech.
This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2. briefly revisits the morphological

and referential properties of *seu* and *dele* showing that *seu* is ambiguous when referring to the possessor while *dele* is not. Moreover, a productive construction in Old Portuguese (*seu* N *dele*) is compared with both clitic doubling and a similar construction in Spanish (*su* N *de usted/de él*). Section 3. discusses the availability of *de*-possessives in Romance and proposes an analysis for these forms. Section 4. addresses the relation between *seu* and *dele* in Modern Portuguese. Finally, section 5. provides a summary of the analysis and some concluding remarks.

2. The ambiguity of *seu* versus the unambiguity of *dele*

As seen in Chapter 2, *seu* and *dele* display different morphological properties related to different possibilities of their referring to the possessor. In Modern Portuguese, it is claimed that the use of *dele*, instead of *seu*, is preferred since the former solves the ambiguity of the latter. In Old Portuguese, however, the two forms could cooccur - *seu* prenominally and *dele* postnominally.

In this section, it will be shown that this *seu* N *dele* construction is closer to a similar possessive doubling construction in Modern Spanish rather than to possessive clitic doubling in Modern French, in particular because it is restricted to the 3rd person and is thus used as a disambiguation strategy.

2.1. Grammatical features and markers

Dele is fully specified for the person-number features of the possessor but encodes neither gender nor number features for the possessee. In (383) all markers in the form *eles* express the possessor features: person (3rd), number (plural) and gender (masculine).

(383) **d-el-e-s**
DE-3-M-PL
DE-POSSESSOR

'their'

On the other hand, *seu*, as any simple possessive, combines two types of features in its synthetic form: person-number features of the possessor, and gender and number features of the possessee. *Seu* is not fully specified with respect to the features of the possessor: it encodes the person feature (3rd) but not number. It thus differs not only from *dele* but also from 1st and 2nd person simple possessives (*meu* versus *nosso* and *teu* versus *vosso*)[2]. (384) shows the morphological specifications of *seus*: 3rd person is a feature of the possessor whereas masculine and plural are features of the possessee obtained by nominal agreement[3].

(384) **s-eu-s**
3-M-PL
POSSESSOR-POSSESSEE
'it/her/his/their'

As shown by the English gloss in (384), *seu* is the only simple possessive form to refer to both 3rd singular masculine and feminine ('his', 'her', 'its') and 3rd plural masculine and feminine possessors ('their').
The pair of sentences in (385), repeating here (21) and (22), shows the ambiguity of *seu* (385a) and the non-ambiguity of *dele* (385b).

(385) a. O Lobo Antunes$_i$ disse à Patrícia Melo$_j$ que o **seu**$_{i/j/i+j}$
the Lobo Antunes said to.the Patrícia Melo that the 3.MSG
livro era muito interessante.
book was very interesting

[2]For a detailed description of the morphological properties of both simple and *de*-possessives, see Chapter 2.

[3]As seen in Chapter 2, simple possessives, as determiners or adjectives, agree in gender and number with the noun they combine with. Contrastively, *de*-possessives behave as PPs: they do not exhibit agree in gender or number with the noun they combine with.

b. O Lobo Antunes$_i$ disse à Patrícia Melo$_j$ que o livro
the Lobo Antunes said to.the Patrícia Melo that the book
dele$_i$/**dela**$_j$/**deles**$_{i+j}$ era muito interessante.
DE.3MSG/DE.3FSG/DE.3MPL was very interesting
'Lobo Antunes said to Patrícia Melo that his/her/their book was very interesting.'

Portuguese diverges from some Romance languages (e.g. French and Italian) in this respect: it does not exhibit the opposition *suus/illorum* distinguishing singular from plural 3rd person possessives. Moreover, *seu* can also be used to refer to 2nd person singular formal possessors, contrasting with *teu* which refers to 2nd person singular informal possessors[4].
Table (386), repeating here table (25) of Chapter 2, shows the morphological specifications of *seu* and *dele*.

(386) *Seu* and corresponding *de*-possessives

A (2ND) SG +FORMAL	3MSG	3FSG	3MPL	3FPL
seu	**seu**	**seu**	**seu**	**seu**
(de você)	**dele**	**dela**	**deles**	**delas**

As summarised in table (386), *seu* can have five types of referents:

1. Addressee (or 2nd person) singular corresponding to *de você*;
2. 3rd person singular masculine corresponding to *dele* 'he';
3. 3rd person singular feminine corresponding to *dela* 'she';
4. 3rd person plural masculine corresponding to *deles* 'they';
5. 3rd person plural feminine corresponding to *delas* 'they'.

[4]As shown in Chapter 2, in BP *seu* can furthermore refer to plural addressee (cf. table (33)).

Seu is therefore a very ambiguous form. *Dele*, however, is not ambiguous at all: it has only one possible referent since it exhibits different morphological specifications for number and gender.

As the use of *seu* is highly ambiguous, its reference must be determined by other means than grammatical specification, namely pragmatic factors[5].

One question that can be asked is whether Portuguese has strategies to avoid this ambiguity in its Syntax. Are there specific syntactic constructions allowing Portuguese speakers to solve the ambiguity or is this ambiguity always solved pragmatically? Cunha and Cintra (1984:322) mention that Portuguese uses *de*-possessives as a strategy to avoid the ambiguity of *seu*. The same is argued for BP by Cerqueira (1993). Moreover, in previous stages of Portuguese there is evidence of a construction in which the ambiguity is overtly avoided: the construction *seu* N *dele*. I will show its properties in the next section.

2.2. The construction *seu* N *dele*

The construction *seu* N *dele* is characterised by the cooccurrence, within the same noun phrase, of *seu* and a coreferring *dele*[6]. Although ungrammatical in Modern

[5]The sentence in (1), taken from a daily newspaper (in the CETEMPúblico corpus), shows the ambiguity of *seu* in Modern Portuguese. In this case, its reference is clarified by a *de*-phrase including a proper name.

(1) O "**seu**" ministro (**seu**, **de Lello**), Jaime Gama é que fez questão de provar
the 3.MSG minister (3.MSG, DE Lello), Jaime Gama is that did question of prove
que o "gamismo" sempre bebeu a sua influência no "soarismo" (do
that the "gamism" always drank the 3.FSG influence in-the "soarism" (of.the
pai Mário).
father Mário)
'It was his minister (Lello's minister), Jaime Gama, that wanted to prove that "Gamism" always took its influence from "Soarism" (of the father Mário).'

[6]In Chapter 4, it is said that two overt possessives cannot cooccur within a noun phrase with the same interpretation in Portuguese. This generalisation is correct for Modern Portuguese since the

Portuguese, the construction *seu* N *dele* is attested in the history of Portuguese. Cunha and Cintra (1984:322) give examples from two 19th century writers: Machado de Assis, Brazilian (387), and Camilo Castelo Branco, Portuguese (388).

(387) Montaigne explica pelo **seu** modo **dele** a variedade
Montaigne explains by.the 3.MSG way DE.3MSG the variety
desse livro.
of.that book
lit. 'Montaigne explains the variety of that book in his way of him.'

(388) Domingos Botelho, avisado da rejeição do filho, respondeu que
Domingos Botelho, aware of.the rejection of.the son, answered that
fizesse ele a sua vontade; mas que a **sua** vitória **dele**,
did he the 3.FSG will; but that the 3.FSG victory DE.3MSG,
sobre os protectores e os corrompidos pelo ouro do fidalgo
over the protectors and the corrupted by.the gold of.the nobleman
de Viseu, estava plenamente obtida.
of Viseu, was fully obtained
lit. 'Domingos Botelho, aware of his son's rejection, answered that he would do what he wanted to do; nonetheless, his victory of him over the protectors and those corrupted by the gold of the nobleman of Viseu was fully realised.'

The authors claim that this construction is used as a reinforcement strategy either for clarifying or emphasising the referent[7].

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seu N *dele* construction is not productive nowadays, neither in EP nor in BP, as Silva (1982:203) shows.

[7]Cunha and Cintra (1984:322-323) describe the construction *seu* N *dele* along with the use of *próprio* 'own' (1a) and *mesmo* 'same' (1b) with the possessive: "quando há necessidade de realçar a ideia de posse - quer visando à clareza, quer à ênfase - costuma-se reforçá-los com a palavra *próprio* ou *mesmo*; com as expressões *dele(s)* ou *dela(s)*, no caso do possessivo da 3ª pessoa". It is thus not clear which is the value the authors assign to each construction. However, since *próprio* 'own' acts emphatically, one can infer that it is stated that the construction *seu* N *dele* is used for the purpose of clarification.

On the other hand, Mattos e Silva (1989, 1993) documents attested examples of *seu* N *dele* in Old Portuguese[8] and it seems to be during this period that this construction is more productive.

(389) En tempo dos godos, acaeceu que hũũ **seu** rei **deles** que
in times of.the goths, happened that a 3.MSG king DE.3MPL that
avia nome Totila...
had name Totila...
'In the time of the Goths, there was a king of theirs named Totila...'

(390) Foi depois abade de muitos monges mais morou con muitas monjas
was after priest of many monks more lived with many nuns
e foi **seu** abade **delas**
and was 3.MSG priest DE.3FPL
'After that, he was the priest of many monks; furthermore, he lived with many nuns and was their priest.'

(391) E hũa **sa** ama **delas** que as criara vira-as cada
and one 3.FSG nanny DE.3FPL who them nurse have-seen-them each
dia sair dos seus moimentos
day get-out of.the 3.MPL graves
'And a nanny of theirs who has raised them have seen them leave their graves every day.'

---

(1) a. a **tua própria** morte
the 2SG.FSG own death
'your own death'

b. os **teus mesmos** braços
the 2SG.MPL same arms
'your own/very arms'

[8]The examples are taken from the 14th century Portuguese text studied in Mattos e Silva (1989): *(Quatro Livros dos) Diálogos de São Gregório.*

In Mattos e Silva (1993:28-29), it is said that the use of *dele* either disambiguates the referent of the possessor or is emphatic[9] (cf. also Meier (1948b)[10]). Miguel (2004:390-393), on the other hand, describes this construction as possessive clitic doubling. She takes the doubling character of this construction combined with the fact that possessives may occur without the definite article as evidence in support of the clitic status of (some) possessive forms in Old Portuguese. Knowing that clitic doubling in Portuguese and in other languages may be used contrastively, we should thus expect the *seu* N *dele* construction to be used in contrastive/identificational focus contexts in Old Portuguese as well.

Two questions may then be asked, one regarding the syntax of this construction, the other its interpretation:

1. Is the *seu* N *dele* construction an instance of doubling, arguably possessive clitic doubling?

2. Is it used as a disambiguation or as a reinforcement/contrast strategy?

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[9]In Mattos e Silva (1989:176-177), however, the same construction is simply said to be used with disambiguation purposes. Besides the examples reproduced in (389-391), the author gives the following example as illustrating the construction *seu* N *dele*:

(1) [um monge] depois que preegou tomou hũas toalhas que lhi elas deron a **seu**
a monk after that preached took some towels that him they gave to 3.MSG
rogo **delas** en seu sẽo.
request DE.3FPL in his core
'[A monk] after preaching he took some towels with him, given to him by them upon his own request of them (towels).'

However, Brenda Laca (p.c.) rightly observed that *delas* in bold is the object of *rogo* (his request of the towels). Hence, (1) is not an instance of *seu* N *dele* construction.

[10]Meier (1948b:65) provides two attested examples from Old Portuguese (collected in 12th to 14th century Portuguese texts in Nunes (1943)) arguing that *dele* insures the unambiguity of the possessor referent.

It is clear that the answer to the first question is *yes*, *seu* N *dele* is a doubling construction. I will, however, argue that doubling does not necessarily imply that we have a clitic in the construction, and that we may assume that possessives in Old Portuguese have a weak form status. The fact that *seu* N *dele* occurs within noun phrases introduced by the definite or the indefinite articles in Old Portuguese counters the idea that prenominal possessives are clitics in Old Portuguese, if we assume Giorgi and Longobardi's, Cardinaletti's and Schoorlemmer's views, as seen in Chapter 5. Considering the proposal outlined for EP and BP variation in the realisation of the definite article with prenominal possessives (which I am not completely sure can be extended to Old Portuguese), one may take the Old Portuguese (weak) prenominal possessive to be in the DP domain. leaving aside the clitic or weak status of *seu*, *dele* seems to be indeed doubling it, maybe for the purpose of disambiguation. What we may thus conclude is that deficient possessives (clitics or weak forms) can be doubled.

I will now compare attested examples of the construction *seu* N *dele* in Old Portuguese with, on the one hand, the cases I will take as prototypical instances of clitic doubling - object clitic doubling in Modern Portuguese and possessive clitic doubling in French - and, on the other hand, the Spanish construction *su* N *de usted/de él*. Perhaps one should not compare different constructions of clitic doubling in languages with non-obligatory clitic doubling, as is the case of Portuguese and French, since doubling may take different forms and serve different purposes[11]. I nevertheless consider this comparison useful because it enables me to bring out some properties of the construction *seu* N *dele* which make it similar to the analogous Spanish construction rather than to possessive clitic doubling in French.

[11]Inês Duarte (p.c.) made this observation.

2.2.1. Clitic doubling?

Clitic doubling is a widespread phenomenon in languages with clitics, in particular in Romance languages. In the constructions I am considering as prototypical, a clitic form is doubled by a strong pronoun and the two elements are coindexed. In Portuguese, clitic doubling, although not obligatory, is possible with object clitics, as illustrated in (392), where accusative (392a) and dative clitics (392b) can be doubled. The preposition or case marker introducing both doubled constituents is *a*[12]

(392) a. Eu vi-**o** **a ele**.
I saw-3MSGACC A 3MSG
'I saw HIM.'

b. Eu dei-**lhe** o livro **a ele**.
I gave-3SGDAT the book A 3MSG
'I gave HIM the book.'

As for possessives, languages such as French, which is considered to have possessive clitic forms[13], also show doubling constructions inside the noun phrase. As illustrated in (393), a simple possessive may be doubled by a strong pronoun headed by *à*.

(393) J'ai vu **son** livre **à lui.**
I.have seen 3SG.MSG book A 3MSG
'I saw HIS (own) book.'

According to Miguel (2004:392), the French example in (393) is parallel to the Old Portuguese examples in (389-391). One clear difference, however, has already been pointed out: while in French the possessive does not cooccur with any article,

[12]There is discussion in the literature concerning the prepositional or case marker status of this *a* (cf. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), a.o.).

[13]This is the view assumed in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Cardinaletti (1998) and Schoorlemmer (1998), a.o., as seen in Chapter 5.

in Old Portuguese it may combine with the definite or the indefinite articles[14], even in the doubling construction, as shown by the examples (389) and (391). Since (doubled) clitic forms are expected to occur with no determiner, the assumption that Old Portuguese simple possessives are clitics must be discarded, as seen in Chapter 5. We must thus either consider that doubling is independent from the clitic status of the possessive or treat as clitics deficient forms, which include clitic and weak possessives under Cardinaletti's view. As argued in Chapter 5, weak prenominal possessives in Modern Portuguese, although they may combine with an expletive article, behave as heads and are located in D. There are therefore no significant differences between these and possessive clitics in French or English. We may thus assume that deficient possessives may be doubled.

Nonetheless, *seu* N *dele* construction differs in several aspects from both object clitic doubling in Portuguese and possessive clitic doubling in French, in particular regarding:

(i) the person of the doubled "clitic";
(ii) the preposition/marker introducing the doubled constituent;
(iii) the functional versus lexical status of the doubled constituent;
(iv) the interpretation of the doubling construction.

These differences will be illustrated below.

First, the cases of clitic doubling considered as prototypical show no restrictions on the person feature of the doubled clitic. In Portuguese, not only 3rd person object clitics can be doubled (392), but also 1st and 2nd person direct (394a) and indirect object clitics (394b). In fact, clitic doubling is fully productive across the person paradigm[15].

[14]See Chapter 2 for examples.

[15]The paradigm is completed below: 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural in (1a-1c).

(394) a. Ele viu-**me**/**te** **a mim**/**ti**.
he saw-1SgAcc/2SgAcc a 1SgObl/2SgObl
'He saw ME/YOU.'

b. Ele deu-**me**/**te** o livro **a mim**/**ti**.
he gave-1SgDat/2SgDat the book a 1SgObl/2SgObl
'He gave ME/YOU the book.'

The same is true for French possessive clitic doubling: 1st person singular and plural (395a) and 2nd person singular and plural (395b) possessives can be doubled.

(395) a. J'ai vu **mon**/**notre** livre **à moi**/**nous**.
I.have saw 1Sg.MSg/1Pl.Sg book a 1Sg/1Pl
'I saw MY/OUR (own) book.'

b. J'ai vu **ton**/**votre** livre **à toi**/**vous**.
I.have saw 2Sg.MSg/2Pl.MSg book a 2Sg/2Pl
'I saw YOUR (own) book.'

In Old Portuguese possessives, however, possessive doubling is restricted to 3rd person, since no attestations as the ones in (396) are found in Old Portuguese texts. Examples such as these are not reported in the literature (cf. Meier (1948b), Mattos e Silva (1993), a.o.) nor can be found in Old Portuguese corpus *CIPM*.

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(1) a. Ele viu-**nos** **a nós**.
he saw-1PlAcc a 1Pl
'He saw US.'

b. Ele viu-**vos** **a vós**/**vocês**.
he saw-2PlAcc a 2Pl
'He gave YOU (both) the book.'

c. Ele viu-**os** **a eles**.
he saw-3MPlAcc a 3MPl
'He saw THEM.'

(396) a. *(o) **meu/nosso** livro **de mim/nós**
the 1SG.MSG/1PL.SG book DE.1SGOBL/1PL

b. *(o) **teu/vosso** livro **de ti/vocês**
the 2SG.MSG/2PL.MSG book DE.2SGOBL/2PL

Note, however, that *o livro de mim/de nós* is also ungrammatical in Modern Portuguese.

Second, the preposition or case marker spelt out in the prototypical cases of clitic doubling is *a* in Portuguese and *à* in French. In Portuguese, strong pronouns doubling accusative and dative clitics (identified with the direct and indirect objects) are both marked by *a*, as seen in (394)[16]. French, which allows doubling with both object and genitive (possessive) clitics, marks direct object directly (397b), and indirect object (397b) and possessives (397c) by *à*[17].

[16]It is observed that, for 1st and 2nd person direct and indirect objects, only one clitic form is licensed. One may thus consider that (any) Object is marked with Objective case, the Object marking preposition being *a*. However, third person clitics exhibit the opposition between Accusative *o* and Dative *lhe* and the doubled form is marked with *a* in the two cases.

[17]Some varieties of French, however, mark all doubled strong pronouns in the same way. Regardless of their case and grammatical function, direct object and indirect object as well as possessives show the overt marker *à*, as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. Je **l**'ai vu **à lui.**
I 3SGACC.have seen A 3SG
'I saw HIM.'

b. Je **lui** ai donné le livre **à lui.**
I 3SGDAT.have given the book A 3SG
'I gave HIM the book.'

c. C'est **son** livre **à lui.**
it'is 3SG.MSG book A 3SG
'It's HIS book.'

(397) a. Je **l'**ai vu **lui**.
I 3SgAcc.have seen 3Sg
'I saw HIM.'

b. Je **lui** ai donné le livre **à lui**.
I 3SgDat have given the book A 3Sg
'I gave HIM the book.'

c. C'est **son** livre **à lui**.
it'is 3Sg.MSg book A 3Sg
'It's HIS book.'

Old Portuguese (3rd person) possessive doubling, on the contrary, is marked with *de*, unlike Object doubling in the same period which is marked with *a*[18].

(398) a. asi como **les** **a elles** semellaua
as-well as 3PlDat A 3MPl had-resembled
'in the way it resembled them'

b. vícente de maffara Porteíro dEl Rey **lh**as uẽdera
vícente de maffara doorkeeper of.the king 3Dat.3FPlAcc had-sold
a eles (CHP124 1342)
A 3MPl
'Vícente de Maffara, doorkeeper of the king, had sold them to them'

c. Aqueste **mi** contou **a min**
this 1SgDat told A 1SgObl
'This one told me'

Third, in Portuguese and French, clitic doubling is restricted to strong pronouns, unlike in languages such as Spanish, for instance. In Portuguese, no clitic can be doubled by a lexical nominal expression, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (399), sentences parallel to those in (392)[19].

[18]The examples reported here are dated from the 14th century and were collected in Martins (1994:178) (398a), CIPM (398b) and Mattos e Silva (1989:229) (398c).

[19]The lexical nominal expression with no clitic in object position is grammatical (1a). But if a strong pronoun is used in the constrastive sentence, the whole clause has to be repeated and the

(399) a. * Eu vi-**o** **ao** **Vasco**, não a ti.
I saw-3MSGACC A-the Vasco, not A 2SGOBL
lit. 'I saw him Vasco, not you.'

b. * Eu dei-**lhes** o livro **aos** **tios**, não a ti.
I gave-3SGDAT the book A-the uncles, not A 2SGOBL
lit. 'I gave the book to them my uncles, not to you.'

Similarly, French possessives cannot be doubled by lexical nominal expressions (400).

(400) * J'ai vu **son** livre **à Pierre**, pas le tien.
I-have seen 3SG.MSG book A Pierre, non the 2SG.MSG

Unlike (400), however, Old Portuguese *seu* may cooccur with a lexical nominal expression. This is shown in (401), an attested example given in Mattos e Silva (1989:177).

(401) este foi Isaac, **seu** filho **d'Abrão**.
this was Isaac, 3.MSG son DE.Abrão
'This was Isaac, his son/son of Abraham.'

Finally, Portuguese clitic doubling is used as a reinforcement strategy. Since clitics cannot bear stress, clitic doubling can be used in contrastive focus contexts (402) where the strong pronoun bears (contrastive) stress.

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clitic to be doubled must be present and associated with its verbal form. (1a) shows that a PP headed by *a* cannot be used unless it is doubling an accusative clitic. On the contrary, in (1b), a PP headed by *a* can introduce the indirect object argument regardless of the presence of a clitic in the structure.

(1) a. Eu vi **o** **Vasco**; não *(te vi) a ti.
I saw the Vasco, not (2SGACC saw) A 2SGOBL
'I saw Vasco; I didn't see you.'

b. Eu dei o livro **aos** **tios**, não a ti.
I gave the book A-the uncles, not A 2SGOBL
'I gave the book to the uncles, not to you.'

(402) a. Eu vi-o a **ELE**, não a ti.
I saw-3MSGACC A 3MSG, not A 2SGOBL
'I saw HIM, not you.'

b. Eu dei-lhe o livro a **ELE**, não a ti.
I gave-3SGDAT the book A 3MSG, not A 2SGOBL
'I gave the book to HIM, not to you.'

French possessive clitic doubling also occurrs in contrastive focus constructions such as (403).

(403) J'ai vu **son** livre **à lui**, pas le tien.
I-have seen 3SG.MSG book A 3MSG, not the 2SG.MSG
'I saw HIS book, not yours.'

Contrastively, doubled 3rd person possessives in Old Portuguese do not seem to imply a constrastive reading. Rather, they seem to be used for disambiguation purposes as in (404).

(404) o qual casal de mj̃ ten Ffernã Nunez d'Aldáán [...] & donna
the which farm of me has Fernão Nunes d.Aldáán [...] and Mrs.
Mayor Perez, sua moller, ĩ **sua** vida **d'anbos** & de hũ fillo
Maior Peres, 3.FSG wife, in 3.FSG life DE.both and of one son
barõ se o ouuerẽ de consúú & a **sua** morte **delles** que
male if him have of ensemble and to 3.FSG death DE.3MPL that
ficasse hu eu mandasse & eu Johan Martinz ia dito
stayed where I ordered and I João Martins already told
'Fernão Nunes Martins and his wife, Mrs. Maior Peres, keep my farm for their life time and that of their male son, if they have one; and, at the time of their death, it is to stay where I, aforementioned João Martins, ordered.'

This example is taken from a 13th century testament which aims at determining, with no ambiguities, the heir of the lands and other properties of João Martins[20].

[20]It is dated from 1299 and was selected from the CIPM corpus (HGP114).

As all legal documents it has to be perfectly explicit. Therefore, simple 3rd person possessives are doubled by *de*-possessives: *sua* is disambiguated by the strong pronoun *deles* 'of them' and by *dambos* 'of both'[21].

One may conclude that in general doubling with 3rd person possessives in Old Portuguese has as its sole or main purpose the disambiguation of the referent. This purpose can be fulfilled by a strong pronoun or by a lexical nominal expression. It is rather different from prototypical instances of clitic doubling (either Portuguese object clitic doubling or French possessive clitic doubling) which seem to be related to contrastive reinforcement and not to disambiguation[22]. As will be shown next, *seu* N *dele* shares these properties with Modern Spanish construction *su* N *de usted/de él*.

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[21]Meier (1948b:65) reports that he found more occurrences of *dele* in Old Portuguese legal and historical texts than in literary texts. Since the former need to be clearer than the latter, this may provide evidence that (*seu* N) *dele* is used in order to disambiguate the referent.

[22]Note that even if the clitic bears some ambiguity, as does *-lhe(s)* (it does not distinguish masculine from feminine referents (1a) and (1b)), the use of a lexical nominal expression is not allowed, as shown in (399b), a contrastive focused construction. Only a strong pronoun can be used (1).

(1) a. Eu dei-*lhe* o livro a **ELE**/**ELA**.
I gave-3SgDat the book a 3MSg/3FSg

'I gave the book to HIM/HER.'

b. Eu dei-*lhes* o livro a **ELES**/**ELAS**.
I gave-3PlDat the book a 3MPl/3FPl

'I gave the book to THEM (boys/girls).'

2.2.2. Spanish su N de usted/de él

Modern Spanish exhibits a construction *su* N *de usted/de él* (405) which behaves, in some respects, similarly to Old Portuguese *seu* N *dele*[23].

(405) a. **su** libro **de ustedes**
3.SG book DE USTEDES.2PL
lit. 'your book of you'

b. **su** abuelo **de ellas**
3.SG grandfather DE.3FPL
lit. 'their grandfather of them'

First, *su* N *de usted/de él* exhibits the same restrictions on person: only the 3rd person possessive (*su*) can be doubled, although it can also be doubled by the strong addressee form *usted*, a possibility not found in Portuguese[24]. Picallo and Rigau (1999) report that in European Spanish doubling is becoming restricted to addressee *de usted* (409c) whereas South American Spanish allows doubling by 3rd person *de él* (410a). Second, *su* can also be doubled by a lexical expression in South American Spanish, in particular in Mexico (406a) and Andes (406b)[25].

[23]For this construction in Spanish, see Picallo and Rigau (1999), Bernstein (2003) and Bernstein (2005), from whose works some of the examples of this section were taken.

[24]Note, however, that the pronoun *você* emerges in Portuguese in the 18th-19th century (cf. Silva (1991)). During this period, the construction *seu* N *dele* was no longer fully productive, in spite of the examples given by Cunha and Cintra (1984). Therefore, *seu* became the preferred possessive for addressee and *dele* for 3rd person, as argued in Meier (1948b).

[25]Picallo and Rigau (1999:981) mention that also in Old Spanish *su* could be doubled by lexical noun phrases (*su ossadía desse atrevido* 'that saucy's boldness'). Moreover, in Andean Spanish the doubled constituent can be prenominal:

(1) **De ese** chiquito **su** perro diferente es.
of that boy 3 dog different is
'That boy's dog is different.'

For an analysis of these constructions, see Bernstein (2003).

(406) a. **su** novio **de Juana**
3.SG friend DE Juana
'Juana's friend'

b. **su** amigo **de María**
3.SG friend DE María
'María's friend'

Finally, this construction seems to be used as a disambiguation strategy rather than contrastively. This fact explains why it is restricted to the 3rd person possessive. Like its Old Portuguese counterpart, *su* may refer not only to singular and plural 3rd person possessors but also to Adressees. *Su* N *de usted/de él* and *seu* N *dele* are also similar in being used only for the Possessor interpretation, in particular alienable possession and with relational nouns. However, unlike Old Portuguese *seu*, *su* does not combine with determiners and is thus considered a clitic under Cardinaletti's proposal. Since this construction in Spanish is very similar to the Old Portuguese one in many respects, one may conclude that the "clitic" status of the possessive is not relevant. The doubled possessive may be characterised as a deficient form, either a clitic or a weak possessive.

2.3. Conclusions

I have shown that Old Portuguese *seu* N *dele* exhibits different properties than both object clitic doubling in Modern Portuguese and possessive clitic doubling in French and is similar to Spanish *su* N *de usted/de él*. Moreover, doubling with possessives in Old Portuguese is allowed regardless of the clitic status of the possessive. Like Spanish *su* N *de usted/de él*, it is used as a disambiguation strategy (and not necessarily for contrastive focus). That is why such a construction is restricted to the persons where number (and gender) fail to be morphologically specified, i.e. 3rd person, unlike prototypical clitic doubling.

We may furthermore correlate the availability of such a construction in Portuguese

and Spanish with the paradigm of simple possessives in (the history of) Romance languages.

3. The availability of *dele* and the paradigm of simple possessives across Romance

3.1. A little History...

We know that in Latin possessors were expressed by both the possessive adjective *suus, sua, suum* and the genitive form of the pronouns *is, ea, id* (anaphoric) or *ille, illa, illud* (demonstrative)[26]. *Suus* was a reflexive possessive, i.e. correferent with the subject, while the genitive form of demonstratives was not. *Suus* and *eius/illius* could refer to both singular and plural possessors. Romance languages inherited these forms integrating them into their possessive systems. In general, a partition occurred: 3rd person singular possessors took the *suus* form while 3rd person plural ones took the genitive *illui/illorum* form. Most of the languages (e.g. French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Roumanian), at least in their previous stages, exhibited both forms as determiners or adjectives observing the above-mentioned partition, as seen in Chapter 2. However, there are no attestations of a 3rd person plural determiner or adjective-like possessive derived from *illui/illorum* in the history of Portuguese and Galician[27]. Instead, in Old Portuguese, Mattos e Silva (1989:28-29) and Meier (1948b:63-65) report the use of *dele* interpreted as Possessor. *De*-possessives are also attested in *CIPM - Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval*, as exemplified in (407).

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[26] See Ernout (1989) and Meier (1948b), a.o..

[27] I am assuming, with many authors, that Old Portuguese stands for *galaico-português*, the common origin of both Portuguese and Galician.

(407) a. E eu Infante don Affonso [...] saluo que no dou nen
and I prince DON Affonso [...] except that not give neither
outorgo aos sobredictos poder de fazer nulha rẽ [...]
consent to.the above-mentioned power of to-do none thing [...]
sobrelos derectos **deles** (CA020 1273)
on.the possessions DE.3SGPL

'I, prince Affonso, exempt me from allowing the above-mentioned persons to have any power on their possessions.'

b. e caeu en partiçõ deposs Morte **deles** (DN045 1294)
and fell in partition after death DE.3SGPL

'And it was shared after their death.'

c. defende nosso Senhor el Rej que Caualejros nẽ outros
forbids 1PL.MSG lord the king that knights nor other
homées nõ façã Çeleyros nẽ adegas en Moesteiros nẽ en Ejgreias
men not do barns nor cellars in monastries nor in churchs
nẽ en seus Adros senõ Abbades ou clerigos **delas**
nor in 3.MPL churchyards unless abbots or clerics DE.3FPL
(CHP068 1261)

lit. 'The king prevents knights and other men from building barns or cellars in monastries or churchs or churchyards, unless they are abbots or clerics of them.'

Note that these cases are found in the same period as those with *dele* doubling *seu* shown in the previous section. *Dele* is formed by *de*, the genitive case marker, plus the 3rd person strong pronoun derived from the demonstrative *ille, illa, illud*. One may therefore argue that a 3rd person possessive derived from *illui/illorum* exists in Portuguese as it exists in Italian or French. Instead of a synthetic form, however, Portuguese has an analytical genitive that takes the form of a PP. The paradigm of possessives in Portuguese thus includes the *dele(s)* forms, as illustrated in (408).

(408) The paradigm of possessives in Modern Portuguese

PERSON	GENITIVE
1 SG	meu
2 SG	teu
3 SG	seu/dele
1 PL	nosso
2 PL	vosso
3 PL	seu/deles

We observe that two constructions not ambiguous with respect to 3rd person possessors were available in Old Portuguese: one with overt doubling (the *seu* N *dele* construction), described in the previous section, and one with *dele* only. Whether *dele* originated in *seu* N *dele* is an issue that I cannot do more than speculate about at this point. It is possible that the two 3rd person possessives first cooccurred within the same noun phrase, and that *seu* was later dropped in this construction. This is indeed an interesting issue and a deeper study on the emergence of the two constructions must be pursued. It should furthermore be correlated with the emergence of *você* referring to formal addressees (2nd person), arguably in the 18th or 19th century (cf. Silva (1991)). Since this pronoun triggers 3rd person agreement, its emergence increased the ambiguity of *seu*. It is possible that, as *de*-possessives were used for 3rd person by the time *você* appeared, *seu* became preferred in reference to formal addressees (2nd person)[28] while *dele* could be used solely for 3rd person possessors.

The emergence of Spanish *de*-possessives may have been slightly different. The hypothesis outlined above would actually predict that 3rd person *de*-possessive should have been introduced later. As Meier (1948b) notes, the history of Spanish shows the opposite evolution to Portuguese: *su* is reserved for 3rd person referents whereas *su*

[28] Arguably it was also the only 3rd person possessive for the contexts in which *dele* is excluded nowadays, as will be shown in section 4..

N *de usted* or only *de usted* is used for addressees (2nd person) in European Spanish. If the hypothesis I propose for Portuguese is correct, Spanish differs from Portuguese since it used to have two distinct simple possessives for 3rd person singular and plural (*su/suyo* and *lur*). *Usted* possibly emerged in Spanish when the two forms were still productive in the language. This fact activated the ambiguity of *su* and thus *de usted* with overt doubling emerged. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed by a research based on corpus data, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation but may be pursued in future work. Nevertheless, the preliminary searches I made in *CORDE - Corpus Diacrónico de Español*[29] show that *lur(es)* is found until the beginnings of the 16th century (409a); the first occurrences of *usted(es)* are dated from 1572-74 (409b) and *su* N *de usted* from 1640[30].

(409) a. qui eran pueblo de **lures** amigos (1500)
which were people of 3PL.PL friends
'which were people of their friends'

b. y **usted** la ha de favorecer (1572-74)
and USTED 3FSGACC have of favour
'and you'll favour her'

c. estando **su** esposo **de vusted** comigo hablando le
being 3 husband DE USTED with.1SGOBL talking 3SGDAT
dio un mal de repente (1640)
gave a ill of outburst
lit. 'when your husband of you was talking to me, something bad happened to him suddenly'

[29]Online searches are available at http://www.rae.es.

[30](409a) is taken from a military text (*Strategematon de Sexto Julio Frontino*, possibly a translation from Latin), (409b) from a legal text (*Proceso de Pedro de Ocharte*) and (409c) from a profane text *El comilón*.

Su N *de él*, however, is already attested in a period in which *lur(es)* is still productive in Spanish (410)[31].

(410) a. en esse mismo dia sexto formo la muger de **su** lado **de el**,
in that same day sixth shaped the woman of 3 side DE 3MSG,
de la costilla (1437)
from the rib

lit. 'in that same sixth day, he shaped the woman, on his side of him, from his rib'

b. mas que segunt **lur** poder ali alguna cosa li
but that according-to 3PL.SG power there some thing 3SGDAT
lexen a su buen plazer (1421)
leave to 3 good pleasure

'but, according to their power, leave him something for its pleasure'

Based upon these data, we may correlate the decrease of *lur(es)* with the emergence of the construction *su* N *de él*. In a later period, *su* N *de usted* became preferred for the formal 2nd person whereas *su* or *de él* only became specialised 3rd person forms.

Although additional diachronic research is needed, the hypothesis sketched in this section seems to explain not only why Portuguese and Spanish allow(ed) doubling constructions with *seu* and *su* but also the differences across Romance languages mentioned in Chapter 4 with respect to the thematic interpretation of *de*-possessives. I will now turn to this latter aspect.

[31](410a) is taken from a parable text (*El Tostado* in *Libro de las paradojas*; (410b) from a legal text (*Testamento de Francisco de Villaespesa*). This latter example, however, is from Pamplona in Navarra region. Since CORDE includes texts written not only in Spanish (also in Catalan and others), these examples have to be considered carefully.

3.2. Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan versus French and Italian 3rd person possessives

3.2.1. Possessor de-possessives

I recall here as (488) the descriptive generalisation given in Chapter 4 as (251).

(411) In Portuguese, Catalan and Spanish a *de*-possessive ('of' + strong pronoun) can occur in the 3rd person under the Possessor reading while this is impossible in French and Italian.

The relevant data are those illustrated below: (412) for Portuguese, (413) for Spanish, (414) for Catalan, (415) for French and (416) for Italian.

(412) o carro **dele/dela/deles/delas**$_{Pos}$
the car DE.3MSG/3FSG/3MPL/3FPL
'his/her/their car'

(413) el auto **de él/ella/ellos/ellas**$_{Pos}$
the car of 3MSG/3FSG/3MPL/3FPL
'his/her/their car'

(414) el cotxe **d'ell/ella/ells/ellas**$_{Pos}$
the car of.3MSG/3FSG/3MPL/3FPL
'his/her/their car'

(415) * la voiture **de lui/elle/eux**$_{Pos}$
the car of 3MSG/3FSG/3PL
'his/her/their car'

(416) * la macchina **di lui/lei/loro**$_{Pos}$
the car of 3MSG/3FSG/3PL
'his/her/their car'

The question to be answered now is why only Portuguese, Catalan and Spanish allow *de*-possessives interpreted as Possessor. As seen in Chapter 2, these languages are precisely those in which 3rd person simple possessives do not have nowadays

distinct morphological forms for the singular and plural. Portuguese has never distinguished them, since *seu* is the only 3rd person possessive form (417).

(417) (o) **seu** carro
the 3.MSG car
'his/her/their car'

Spanish used to distinguish the singular forms *su/suyo* from plural *lur*, but nowadays simple possessives are restricted to *su/suyo* (418).

(418) a. **su** auto
3 car

b. el auto **suyo**
the car 3.MSG
'his/her/their car'

Similarly, Modern Catalan does not distinguish *seu* from *llur* anymore (419).

(419) el **seu** cotxe
the 3.MSG car
'his/her/their car'

On the contrary, in French and Italian the singular/plural contrast is still overt on 3rd person possessives. French distinguishes *son/sien* from *leur* (420) and Italian *suo* from *loro* (421)[32].

(420) a. **sa** voiture
3SG.FSG car
'his/her car'

b. **leur** voiture
3PL.SG car
'their car'

[32]Meier (1948b:69-70) mentions that in the central and Sardinian Italian dialects, *suus* is used along with *de illu* and *de ipsu* possessive forms. The research investigating the relation between the two types of possessive forms would be more conclusive if it were extended to Italian dialects.

(421) a. la **sua** macchina
the 3SG.FSG car
'his/her car'

b. la **loro** macchina
the 3PL car
'their car'

I therefore propose to extend to Spanish *de él* and Catalan *d'ell* the claim that Portuguese *dele* is actually the 3rd person possessive derived from *illui/illorum*. These languages exhibit an analytical genitive. *De* is merely the inflectional genitive marker and not a full preposition. This claim is based upon the proposal in Milner (1982b):

> "Dans les génitifs non possessifs, *de* est une préposition introduisant un Groupe prépositionnel; dans les génitifs possessifs, *de* est une marque casuelle affectant un N"[33]" (Milner (1982b:84(35))).

Under this assumption, I propose to analyse Portuguese *dele* (like its Spanish and Catalan correlates) as the genitive form of the 3rd person pronoun corresponding to French *leur* and Italian *loro*.

As suggested in Milner (1982b), a preposition may combine with both lexical noun phrases and pronouns whereas a case marker may not combine with pronouns in French. This is so because French already displays a genitive form of the pronoun - *leur*. Possessor *de lui* is thus excluded in French (422a). In this case, *de* is an inflectional genitive marker which can only combine with lexical noun phrases (422b)[34].

[33]N" instanciates the maximal/extended projection of a noun phrase which may be read, in more recent terms, as DP or QP.

[34]On the contrary, *à* is a preposition (or the oblique case marker) which may combine with both strong pronouns (1a) and lexical noun phrases (1b). Recall that the same marker is used to double accusative and dative clitics.

(422) a. * la voiture **de lui**
the car DE 3MSG

b. la voiture **de Pierre**
the car DE Pierre
'Pierre's car'

Milner (1982b:83) himself claims that the absence of a pronominal genitive in French is related to the existence of possessive forms[35]. In fact, one may argue that *leur(s)* is the genitive 3rd person pronominal in French, as *loro* is the genitive 3rd person pronominal in Italian[36]. This may also explain why these forms diverge from

(1) a. une voiture **à moi/lui**
a car A 1SG/3MSG
'a car of me/his'

b. une voiture **à Pierre**
a car A Pierre
'a car of Pierre's'

[35]From the original: "l'absence de génitif casuel pronominal est vraisemblablement liée à l'existence même des formes possessives".

[36]Meier (1948b:61) further correlates the possessive systems with only one form for 3rd person possessives to the use of the dative possessive: "talvez não seja simples acaso o facto de a substituição de SUUS com possuidores no plural por ILLORUM (it. *loro*, fr. *leur*) não se ter dado ou se ter realizado mais lentamente na área do uso mais frequente do dativo simpatético" (Meier (1948b:61)). Thus, languages like Portuguese in which *seu* is ambiguous between singular and plural possessors allow the construction with dative possessives which unable us to distinguish singular from plural possessors.

(1) a. Agora adoece-**lhe** o filho mais velho.
now fell-sick-3SGDAT the son more old

b. Agora adoece o filho mais velho **dele/dela.**
now fell-sick the son more old DE.3MSG/3FSG
'And now his/her older son fell sick.'

See Miguel (1992) and Miguel (1996) for a comparison between these constructions in Portuguese and French.

other simple possessives in the same languages with respect to nominal agreement. *Leur(s)* shows no agreement with the possessee noun (423), unlike singular possessives (*mon, ton, son*)[37]: note that *-s* on *leurs* only orthographically marks agreement since it is not pronounced; but no gender specification is present in morphology.

(423) a. **leur** voiture
3PL.SG car
'their car'

b. **leurs** voitures
3PL.PL cars
'their cars'

In Italian *loro* shows a unique behaviour regarding nominal agreement. Unlike all possessive forms, it does not agree in gender nor number with the possessee noun (424). Moreover, the possessive *loro* displays the same morphological form as the strong pronoun *loro*.

(424) a. la **loro** macchina
the 3PL car
'their car'

b. le **loro** macchine
the 3PL cars
'their cars'

In sum, in all Romance languages under survey, Possessor noun phrases can surface as genitive pronominals (simple possessives or *de*-possessives in some languages) and as genitive phrases always marked by *de*[38].
Agent and Theme arguments of the noun can be introduced by various prepositions.

[37]The other plural possessives (*notre, votre*) behave like *leur*, though. This also have to be explained.

[38]French also allows a noun phrase introduced by *à*, arguably a preposition assigning oblique case to its complement.

As illustrated in Chapter 4, *de* + strong pronoun is available for the Theme interpretation in all Romance languages under survey. As regards the Agent interpretation, French allows *de*-phrases while other Romance languages do not.
I will now summarise the properties of noun phrases interpreted as Agent and Theme, illustrating these for Portuguese.

3.2.2. Agent de-possessives

The Agent argument can be realised by a possessive, either a simple (425a) or a *de*-possessive (425b), or by a *de*-phrase (425c).

(425) a. (a) **minha**$_{Ag}$ destruição
the 1SG.FSG destruction
'my destruction (of something)'

b. a destruição **dele**/***de** **mim**$_{Ag}$
the destruction DE.3MSG/DE 1SGOBL
'his/my destruction (of something)'

c. a destruição **do** **Quim**$_{Ag}$
the destruction DE.the Quim
'Quim's destruction (of something)'

In (425b-425c) *de* is the genitive marker. It is not a full preposition assigning oblique case as shown by the ungrammaticality of the 1st person oblique pronoun *mim* in (425b)[39].
Agent can also be introduced by the preposition *por* which assigns oblique case to

[39]The paradigm of person pronouns in Portuguese is the following:

a pronoun (426a) or a full noun phrase (426b)[40].

(426) a. a destruição **por ele**/**mim**$_{Ag}$ (de alguma coisa)
the destruction by 3MSG/1SGOBL of some thing
'the destruction (of something)by him/me'

b. a destruição **pelo Quim**$_{Ag}$ (de alguma coisa)
the destruction by.the Quim of some thing
'the destruction (of something) by Quim'

3.2.3. Theme de-possessives

Theme arguments may be realised in several ways. With a noun such as *destruição* 'destruction', the Theme may be realised either as a simple possessive (427a) or as a *de*-possessive. *De* is not a full preposition assigning oblique case here since a (2nd person) oblique pronoun is not allowed (427b). In (427c), the lexical noun phrase is also introduced by the genitive marker *de*.

(427) a. (a) **minha**$_{Th}$ destruição
the 1SG.FSG destruction
'my destruction (by something)'

(1) The paradigm of personal pronouns in Portuguese

PERSON	NOMINATIVE	ACCUSATIVE	DATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1 SG	eu	me	me	meu	mim/(co)migo
2 SG	tu	te	te	teu	ti/(con)tigo
3 SG	ele	o	lhe	seu/dele	ele
1 PL	nós	nos	nos	nosso	nós
2 PL	vós/vocês	vos	vos	vosso	vós/vocês
3 PL	eles	os	lhes	seu/deles	eles

[40]In French *le portrait de lui*, *de* is also a full preposition assigning oblique case to Agent arguments, like a passivised subject.

b. a destruição **dele**/***de** **mim**$_{Th}$
the destruction DE.3MSG/DE 1SGOBL
'his/my destruction (by something)'

c. a destruição **do** **Quim**$_{Th}$
the destruction DE.the Quim
'Quim's destruction (of something)'

Perseguição, a noun that allows an animate Theme argument more easily than *destruição*, behaves alike.

(428) a. (a) **minha**$_{Th}$ perseguição pela guarda$_{Ag}$
the 1SG.FSG pursuit by.the guard
'the pursuit of me by the guard'

b. a perseguição **dele**/***de** **mim**$_{Th}$ pela guarda$_{Ag}$
the destruction DE.3MSG/DE 1SGOBL by.the guard
'the pursuit of me/him by the guard'

c. a perseguição **do** **Quim**$_{Th}$ pela guarda$_{Ag}$
the pursuit DE.the Quim by.the guard
'the pursuit of Quim by the guard'

The Theme argument can also be realised as a PP introduced by *por* assigning oblique case to its pronominal (429a) or nominal complement (429b).

(429) a. o desejo/amor **por ela**/**ti**$_{Th}$
the desire/love for 3FSG/2SGOBL
'the desire/love for her/you'

b. o desejo/amor **pela** **Joaquinita**$_{Th}$
the desire/love for.the Joaquinita
'the desire/love for Joaquinita'

The assumption that Theme arguments may bear genitive case or be introduced by real prepositions assigning oblique case accounts for the affectedness effects de-

scribed in Chapter 4[41]. According to this constraint, the Theme argument does not surface as a possessive (nor is it preposed) if the head noun denotes an action which does affect the state of the Theme object (cf. Anderson (1977) and Jaeggli (1986)). It has been observed that there is cross-linguistic variation with respect to the nouns (not) allowing NP preposing or possessivisation of the Theme argument. In particular, Cinque (1980a) notes that in Italian possessivisation of the object (Theme) is possible with nouns which do not allow NP preposing in English. Such is the case of *conoscenza* 'knowledge', *descrizione* 'description', *discussione* 'discussion' and *pereguimento* 'pursuit'. Portuguese patterns like Italian in this respect, as shown in (428). In fact, as noticed in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:140-145), there seems to be a partition between Romance, on the one side, and English and other Germanic languages, on the other: the former are not subject to the Affectedness Constraint with the referred class of nouns while the latter are subject to it.

If affectedness is a semantic notion, it cannot suffice to explain the cross-linguistic differences, since variation resides in the syntax of such constructions. Giorgi and Longobardi thus rephrase the constraint, claiming that what is at stake is not the impossibility of moving the object, but the impossibility of obliterating the subject. They account for the cross-linguistic differences with respect to these types of nominals[42] claiming that in Romance the subject can be present as a pronominal empty category on the right side of the noun whereas in Germanic it competes with the position of the moved object, an effect of the Head-Subject parameter[43].

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[41]See Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) and Alexiadou (2001) for a summary of the literature and Cerqueira (1986:159-162) for a discussion of the *Affectedness Constraint* in (Brazilian) Portuguese.

[42]Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:141-142) provide an extra list to Cinque's: *vista* 'sight', *avvenimenti* 'recollection', *percezione* 'perception', *osservazione* 'observation', *comprensione* 'understanding', *godimento* 'enjoyment'. With all these nouns, Portuguese behaves similarly to Italian in allowing the possessivisation of the internal argument.

[43]Giorgi and Longobardi's (1991) formulation of the Affectedness Constraint is similar to that in Jaeggli (1986).

Another apparent effect of the Affectedness Constraint has been approached in syntactic terms: not all objects (Theme arguments) realised as *de*-phrases can be possessivised. This fact is been noticed in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) for several Romance and Germanic languages. I will recall it here, providing Portuguese data as a typological contribution.

In Portuguese, nominals derived from psychological verbs realise the unaffected Theme argument as a PP[44]. In general, the Theme is marked by the preposition *por* which assigns oblique case to its complement, as shown by the oblique form of the pronoun (430a), whereas the Experiencer bears genitive case, surfacing either as a possessive (430a) or as a *de* form (430b)[45]

(430) a. (o) **teu**$_{Exp}$ amor **por ela/mim**$_{Th}$
the 2SG.MSG love for 3FSG/1SGOBL
'your love by her/me'

b. o amor **do** **Raúl**$_{Exp}$ **por ela/mim**$_{Th}$
the love DE.the Raúl for 3FSG/1SGOBL
'Raúl's love by her/me'

A noun such as *desejo* 'desire' in Portuguese, however, may realise Theme as a *de*-phrase if the Experiencer argument is realised otherwise, e.g. by the possessive (431a). When both are present as PPs, the Experiencer is realised by *de* (431b), Theme being obligatorily introduced by *por*.

(431) a. (o) **teu**$_{Exp}$ desejo **de/por ela/mim**$_{Th}$
the 2SG.MSG desire DE/by 3FSG/1SGOBL
'your desire for her/me'

[44]See Miguel (2004:185-186) for the thematic and syntactic properties of these nouns in Portuguese.

[45]Other nouns following the same pattern are *medo* 'fear', *temor* 'fear', *gosto* 'fondness', *susto* 'scare', *espanto* 'astonishment', *ódio* 'hate', *desprezo* 'contempt', *preocupação* 'worry'. The preposition introducing the internal argument can be either *por* or *com* which can trigger a Theme or Cause reading.

b. o desejo **do** **Raúl**$_{Exp}$ **por ela/ti**$_{Th}$
the desire DE.the Raúl by 3FSG/2SGOBL
'Raúl's desire for her/you'

Being neither genitive nor even realised by *de*, the Theme argument therefore cannot be possessivised (432a) and (432b).

(432) a. *o **seu**$_{Th}$ amor
the 3.MSG love

b. *o **seu**$_{Th}$ desejo
the 3.MSG desire

Giorgi and Longobardi (1991:145) argue that those cases in which *de* marks Theme arguments do not involve an inherent genitive case marker (cf. Chomsky (1986)). Rather, *de* is a full-fledged preposition assigning structural oblique case as the oblique form of the pronoun shows[46]. Therefore, if these Theme arguments are not genitive marked, they cannot surface as possessives, regarded as genitive pronouns.

Some Portuguese contexts, however, allow both a possessive interpreted as Theme and an oblique pronoun selected by *de*.

(433) a. Tenho muitas saudades **tuas**$_{Th}$.
have many SAUDADES 2SG.FPL
lit. 'I have many regrets yours.'

b. Tenho muitas saudades **de ti/dele**$_{Th}$.
have many SAUDADES DE 2SGOBL/DE.3MSG
lit. 'I have many regrets of you/him.'

Saudade takes an Experiencer and a non-affected Theme argument. It is a psychological nominal although it does not have a verbal counterpart[47]. Unlike with

[46]See also Chapter 5 of Müller (1996).

[47]Actually, *saudade* is derived from the verb *saudar* 'to greet' but its meaning is different: *saudade* denotes a typically Portuguese feeling involving 'longing'. Its verbal correlate is *ter/sentir*

other psychological nominals, the Theme can be realised by *de*, or *por*, even if the Experiencer argument is realised by *de*.

(434) as saudades **do** **Raúl**$_{Exp}$ **dela**/?**por** **ela**$_{Th}$.
the SAUDADES DE.the Raúl DE.3FSG/by 3FSG
lit. 'the longing of Raúl for her'

However, the possessive cannot occur prenominally. If the Theme were a genitive argument in this case, one would expect (435) to be well-formed as (427a) is.

(435) * Eu senti (as) **tuas**$_{Th}$ saudades com muita intensidade.
I felt the 2SG.FPL SAUDADES with great intensity

Saudade is thus a counterexample to Giorgi and Longobardi's assumption. One may hypothesise that this case instantiates an ongoing change in the assigning of case to complements: the Theme argument is a PP introduced by *de*, which assigns it oblique case, or it may be assigned genitive case. That is why the possessive in complement position is allowed (cf. (427) and (428)).
We can also see effects of this changing process in constructions with picture nouns such as *fotografia* 'picture' or *retrato* 'portrait'. The Theme is realised as a pre- (436a) or postnominally (436b) simple possessive, which indicates that it is a real genitive argument. It can, however, be realised as an oblique pronoun (436c) under certain conditions: it must be the subject of a small clause and even so it is felt as degraded. Here *de* is taken as a full-fledged preposition assigning Oblique case.

---

saudade(s) de 'to have/feel SAUDADES (of something/someone)' similar to *ter/sentir medo de* 'to have/feel fear (of something/someone)'. *De* thus seems to be a preposition selecting the internal argument.

(436) a. Tenho (a) **tua**$_{Th}$ fotografia a nadar na praia.
have the 2SG.FPL picture to swim at.the beach
lit. 'I have your picture/the picture of you swimming at the beach.'

b. Tenho uma fotografia **tua**$_{Th}$ (a nadar na praia).
have a picture 2SG.FPL to swim at.the beach
lit. 'I have a picture yours/a picture of you (swimming at the beach).'

c. ? Tenho uma/a fotografia **de ti**$_{Th}$ a nadar na praia.
have a/the picture DE 2SGOBL to swim at.the beach

In sum, Theme arguments of a noun may be DPs with genitive case realised either as possessives or as *de*-phrases. Or they may be PPs introduced by a full-fledged preposition assigning oblique case to its complement. When *de* is the preposition selecting the Theme argument, the Theme argument surfaces as a *de*-phrase as well. We must therefore assume that *de* can be either the genitive case marker or a full-fledged preposition assigning oblique case, a fact that seems to be dependent on the lexical properties of nouns[48].

3.2.4. Summary

I propose the following generalisations regarding Portuguese:

(437) a. In Possessor DPs *de* is a genitive marker.

b. In Agent DPs *de* is a genitive marker.

c. In Theme DPs *de* is a genitive marker or a full-fledged preposition assigning oblique case to its complement.

I assume that *dele* is a genitive pronoun which may express possession or bear the Agent theta-role. The issue of the morpho-syntactic structure of Possessor *dele*, however, remains open and will be addressed in the next section. As claimed by many authors, Theme and Agent may involve a different syntactic structure from

[48]Another noun instantiating the Affectedness Constraint is *opinião* 'opinion'. Here again the preposition realising the theme is not *de* but *sobre* - *a opinião dele*$_{Ag}$ ***sobre*** *ti*$_{Th}$.

Possessor. The Theme role is assigned to an internal argument of the noun. The Agent role is assigned to an external argument which in languages such as French may be assigned to a demoted (passivised) subject. The status of *de* in Theme and Agent *de*-phrases is therefore different from the status of *de* in Possessor *de*-phrases[49].

3.3. The syntactic status of *dele*

As argued in Chapter 4, Theme and Agent/Experiencer may be considered arguments of the noun whereas Possessor may not[50]. Theme arguments are uncontroversially generated as complements of the noun, i.e. directly merged on the right of the noun. Agent and other external arguments are assumed to be generated/merged in [Spec,NP] or [Spec,n/vP].

Two main views are put forward in the linguistic literature regarding the semantic and syntactic status of Possessor phrases. Under one view, Possession is a property of a functional head; Possessors are thus generated as specifiers of this functional head, in a configuration similar to that of Agent nominal arguments. Under the other view, Possession establishes a predication between a subject (the possessor) and its predicate (the possessee). Under this view, the predicative structure can take one of two forms: either a structure inspired by Kayne's (1994) predicative structures[51]; or a structure assigning the predication role to a copular or prepositional element, such as the dative marker *to* or the genitive marker *of*[52].

As shown in the previous section, *de*-possessives interpreted as Possessors are allowed in Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan but not in French and Italian. Agent arguments

[49] See Milner (1982b) and Miguel (2004), a.o..

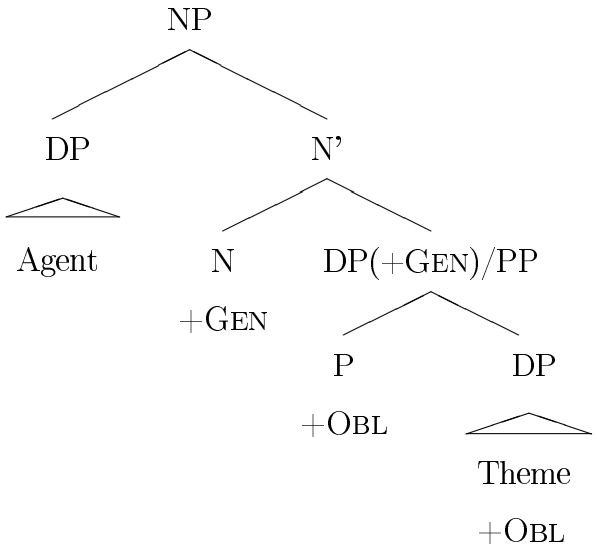
[50] See, for instance, Storto (2000) for a discussion on the argumental status of Theme and Agent versus the non-argumental status of Possessor.

[51] See Zribi-Hertz (1998b), Miguel (2004), Bernstein (2003), Bernstein (2005), a.o..

[52] See Cerqueira (1996) for Portuguese.

may, on the other hand, be assigned genitive case, while Theme arguments exhibit either genitive or oblique case. One way to account for this is to assume that Theme *de*-possessives are either generated as PP complements of the noun or as nominal arguments of the noun. In one case, they are PPs, i.e. introduced by a preposition *de* or other; in the other, they are DPs assigned with genitive case. I assume their structure to be the one in (438).

(438) Agent and Theme arguments



As we saw in the previous section, Agent arguments may take the form of a PP standing as a demoted subject, introduced by *por* assigning Oblique case to its pronominal or nominal complement. In French, they can be introduced by the preposition *de* as well, and they are thus similar to *de*-possessives. Demoted subjects are assumed to be projected not as specifiers of NP but as adjuncts.

Contrastively, Possessor *dele* in Portuguese (and Spanish and Catalan) is a pronoun with genitive case. Thus, *de* is a case marker in Milner's terms. What syntactic structure should we assign to Possessor *dele*?

Miguel (2004) proposes that Possessor *de*-phrases in Portuguese, as well as *dele*, have a predicative structure. They are generated as Gen(itive)Ps along the lines

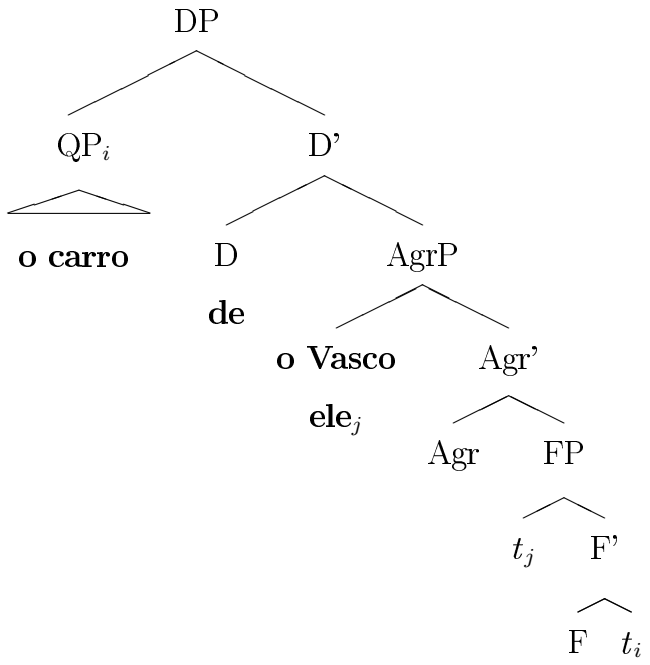
of Kayne (1994). *De* is the head of the construction selecting a DP in which the possessee noun is included. (439) illustrates the derivation of a Possessor genitive phrase according to Miguel (2004)[53].

(439) a. o carro do Vasco

b. $_{GenP}$ **o carro** $_i$ [**de** [$_{DP}$ t_i [$_D$ **o** [$_{NumP}$ [**Vasco**$_j$ [$_{NP}$ t_j t_i]]]]]]

Bernstein (2003), Bernstein and Tortora (2005) and Bernstein (2005) propose a similar structure for postnominal possessives in English, Spanish and French. For them, however, the projection is a DP[54]. Following their proposal, we may generate *dele* in a predicative structure like the following:

(440) o carro dele/do Vasco



[53]It is assumed that N overtly moves to NumP, a movement which relates to number morphology. The two movements undergone by the possessee noun phrase have distinct motivations: (i) to [Spec,DP] in order to check the [+/-definite] features of the Possessor; (ii) to [Spec,GenP] in order to check the EPP feature of GenP.

[54]In English *friends of Mary's*, *'s* instantiates overt Agr. See also Zribi-Hertz (1998a) for a similar derivation for French postnominal possessives.

The Possessor *o Vasco* is generated in the specifier of the projection establishing the predicative relation. Contrastively, *ele* is generated, as other possessive forms, as the specifier of FP and then moved to [Spec,AgrP]. The possessee is thus the complement of FP.

Cerqueira (1996) alternatively assigns to all Portuguese possessors a small clause structure which is slightly different from the above structures: the possessor is the predicate while the possessee is the subject (cf. Cerqueira (1986:48)). His view is similar to those which represent the Possession relation via a copula in which the Possessor surfaces as genitive (441b) or dative (441c) (cf. Kayne (1993), Hoekstra (1994), a.o.).

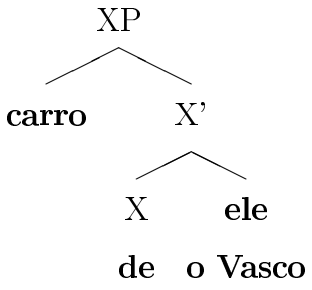
(441) a. O carro é **do Vasco/dele/meu.**
the car is DE Vasco/DE.3MSG/1SG.MSG
'The car is of Vasco's/his/mine.'

b. Libri **Ciceronis** sunt.
bookNOMPL CiceroGENSG are
'The books belong to Cicero.'

c. Libri **mihi** sunt.
bookNOMPL 1SGDAT are
'The books are mine.'

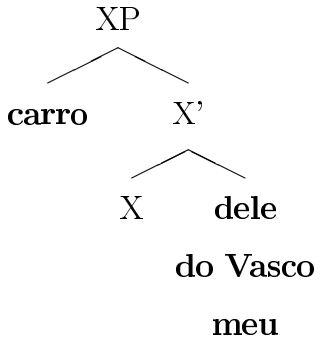
If we assume that *dele* is the genitive form of the strong pronoun *ele*, one may hypothesise that the structure of *o carro dele* is the one in (442).

(442) o carro dele/do Vasco



As regards the category of the XP projection, we may call it GenitiveP or PP if we consider that *de* surfaces in its head. Otherwise, we may assume that *de* is realised as the genitive marker of the DP, exactly as the possessive form *meu* which realises the genitive case, and in this case *de* does not surface in the X head.

(443) o carro dele/do Vasco/meu



This analysis matches Milner's (1982b) proposal that Possessor genitives are in fact not prepositional but nominal.

Most analyses claim that the predicate and the subject, i.e. the possessor and the possessee, further raise to the functional domain of the noun phrase in order to check/verify several features and, therefore, additional structure has to be projected: AgrP, NumP or other functional categories (cf. Ritter (1991), Cinque (1994), among many others) to whose head the possessee noun raises and to whose specifier (some) possessors raise - prenominal possessives in Romance languages and some lexical noun phrases in English and Germanic languages (cf. Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), Cardinaletti (1998), Schoorlemmer (1998), a.o.). A discussion of some assumptions on the basis of these proposals will be presented in Chapter 7.

3.4. Conclusions

I have claimed that Possessor *dele* in Portuguese (and Spanish and Catalan) is the 3rd person genitive pronoun. It belongs to the Portuguese paradigm of genitive pronominals, i.e. it is a functional possessive, as *leur* and *loro* belong to the posses-

sives paradigm in French and Italian. The Portuguese possessives paradigm is thus the one given in Chapter 2 table (7) reproduced below as (444).

(444) The paradigm of possessives in Portuguese

REFERENT	SIMPLE POSSESSIVES	*De*-POSSESSIVES
S SG	**meu**	-
A SG -FORMAL	**teu**	-
A SG +FORMAL	**seu**	de você
3 SG	**seu**	**dele**
S PL	**nosso**	da gente
A PL	**vosso**	de vocês
3 PL	**seu**	**deles**

The forms *de você(s)* and *da gente* are also genitive phrases. As far as the present proposal is concerned, the pronominal or lexical status of such forms is irrelevant since, as proposed by Milner (1982b), all Possessor *de*-phrases are DPs with genitive case. Contrastively, *de*-phrases interpreted as Theme may be PPs, whose preposition (e.g. *de*) is a full-fledged semantic and syntactic preposition which assigns (Oblique) case and a theta-role to the DP complement. I have argued that in Portuguese, the Agent may also be realised as genitive. Under the assumption that *você* and *a gente* are pronouns, they exhibit the same morphological forms in the genitive and oblique cases, like *ele* and unlike *meu/mim*. Their pronominal or nominal status therefore cannot be distinguished by morphological case. Pronouns or full DPs, they can occur with the genitive marker *de* or the preposition *de*.
Table (444) reminds us of the question raised in Chapter 2 and still expecting an answer: since both *seu* and *dele* possessive forms are available for 3rd person referents, what is the relation between them? This issue will be explored in the next section.

4. *Seu* versus *dele*: stylistic variants or complementary forms?

In this section the relation between *seu* and *dele* in Modern Portuguese will be addressed departing from the hypotheses that have been proposed for BP data: *seu* and *dele* are free variants or grammatically constrained forms.

4.1. *Seu* and *dele* in BP

With respect to the relation between *seu* and *dele* in BP the main view assumed in the literature is that *dele* replaces *seu* since *de*-possessives are more specified for person-number features of the possessor[55]. Cerqueira (1993), in particular, relates this replacing process to other properties of the grammar of BP. Müller (1996), however, shows, based on corpora data, that both *seu* and *dele* are productive in BP: they are not free variants but are complementary forms. I will summarise Cequeira's (1993) and Müller's (1996) proposals in the next sections.

4.1.1. Dele is replacing seu

Cerqueira (1993) claims that in BP oral speech *dele* is replacing *seu*. He proposes that this change is due to a restructuring of the pronominal system in BP which is affecting not only the possessive system but also the verbal inflections paradigm as well as the clitic system. According to Silva (1991), the reduction in the pronominal system starts off in the eighteenth century with the emergence of *você(s)*, a pronoun for 2nd person also available in EP [56]. The paradigm of verbal inflections in colloquial BP is thus the one given in (445).

[55]See, among others, Meier (1948b), the debate between Perini (1985) and Kato (1985), Silva (1982, 1991, 1996) and Cerqueira (1993).

[56]It was shown in Chapter 2 that other nominal expressions, displaying 3rd person agreement, are used instead of subject pronouns: *a gente* (literally 'the people') for *nós* 'we', and *o pessoal* (literally 'the people') for *eles* 'they'.

(445) The paradigm of subject pronouns and verbal inflections in BP adapted from Cerqueira (1993:138)

REFERENT	FEATURES	VERBAL FORMS
S SG	1SG	eu canto
A SG	3SG	você canta
3 SG	3SG	ele canta
S PL	3SG	a gente canta
A PL	3SG	vocês canta(m)
3 PL	3SG	o pessoal canta

This paradigm presents only two or three distinct inflected verbal forms. It is the colloquial BP equivalent to the standard paradigm with six inflections presented in Chapter 2. In Modern BP, the singular/plural opposition is therefore dependent not on morphological markers but on the presence of a lexicalised subject. These facts are evidence supporting the loss of pro-drop properties in BP and the consequent increase in the use of lexical subjects[57]. We may however bserves some similarities between the BP (445) and EP (446) paradigms:

(446) The paradigm of personal pronouns and verbal inflections in EP

REFERENT	FEATURES	VERBAL FORMS
S SG	1SG	eu canto
A -FORMAL SG	2SG	tu cantas
A +FORMAL SG	3SG	você canta
3 SG	3SG	ele canta
S PL	1PL	nós cantamos
S PL	3SG	a gente canta
A PL	3PL	vocês cantam
3 PL	3PL	eles cantam

[57]On this topic, see Kato and Negrão (2000) and Galves (2001), a.o..

Apart from the difference regarding singular addressees[58], *você(s)* and *a gente* are also very productive in EP. As in BP they display 3rd person verbal agreement. One could then expect similar correlations with the null subject properties of EP. It indeed turns out that, when these nominal expressions are used instead of the corresponding pronouns, null subject are not optimal since only lexicalised subjects clearly identify the subject referent. *Você(s)* and *a gente* differ in this respect, however. As illustrated in (447) for both EP and BP, repeated here from (29), if the verbal marker is specified for 1st person plural, the subject pronoun *nós* can be null (447a). On the contrary, the expression *a gente* cannot be ommitted (447b).

(447) a. (Nós) **cantamos** um fado.
(we) sing.1PL a fado

b. *(A gente) **canta** um fado.
(the people) sing.3SG a fado
'We sing a fado.'

Você(s), like the pronominal form *tu*, may be absent and this is in fact the more polite strategy in EP (see (448b) repeating here (27b))[59]. In BP, on the contrary, *você(s)* is overt[60].

(448) a. Amália, (tu) **cantas**-nos um fado?
Amália, TU sing.2SG a fado-song
'Amália, do you sing us a fado song?'

b. Senhora Dona Amália, (você) **canta**-nos um fado?
madam lady Amália, VOCÊ sing.3SG-1PLOBL a fado-song
'Mrs. Amália, do you sing us a fado song?'

[58] As shown in Chapter 2, EP has two pronominal forms (*tu* and *você*) corresponding to different registers of language (informal and formal) and to different agreements (2SG and 3SG, respectively).

[59] Overt *você(s)* is felt as socially marked in EP.

[60] Pereira (2003) notes these facts and argues that they show that Agr is non-pronominal in Portuguese, which have no consequences for the pro-drop properties in this language.

As regards the clitic system, Cerqueira claims that in BP 3rd person clitics are disappearing and being replaced by strong pronouns. This claim is based on sociolinguistic and diachronic studies. The availability of null objects is a consequence of the same process according to the author. Under this view, the change in the BP clitic system involved 3 steps, as proposed in Kato (1991): (i) from enclisis (as EP) to proclisis; (ii) loss of 3rd person clitic and emergence of null object; and (iii) loss of all clitics and use of strong pronouns or null object instead.

Some EP data may indicate that the clitic system is also being reduced in EP although not as much as in BP. Constructions such as (449b) and (450b), in which strong pronouns occur instead of clitics, are more and more common in colloquial EP[61]. This phenomenon is not restricted to 3rd person accusative clitics (449b) but extends to dative clitics (450b)[62].

(449) a. Eu vi-**o**.
I saw-3MSGACC

b. Eu vi **ele**.
I saw 3MSG
'I saw him.'

(450) a. Eu dei-**lhe** o livro.
I gave-3SGDAT the book

b. Eu dei o livro a **ele**.
I gave the book to 3MSG
'I gave him the book.'

If one assumes that these data illustrate a changing process, this change is not following Kato's steps, since in EP there is no evidence of an intermediate proclisis

[61]This fact is well known but, to my knowledge, studies on this phenomenon, concerning both the frequency and the conditions of occurrence in EP, were not pursued yet.

[62]Interestingly, similar examples are found in Old Portuguese - *nẽ den* ***a eles*** *nẽhũa cousá* (CIPM CHP068 1261) 'nor give anything to them'.

step. In fact, changes in clitic placement seem to go in the opposite direction in EP: enclisis (451a) is spreading to traditional proclisis contexts (451b) and not the reverse[63].

(451) a. Eu disse-te porque telefonei-**lhe** ontem?
I told-you why called-3SGDAT yesterday

b. Eu disse-te porque **lhe** telefonei ontem?
I told-you why 3SGDAT called yesterday
'Did I tell you why I called him/her yesterday?

According to Cerqueira, the weakening of Agr is responsible for the ongoing change in the grammar of BP. This weakening of Agr has repercussions on subject agreement, affecting sentential subjects and possessives, and also on object agreement, affecting object clitics. As regards possessives and the relation between *seu* and *dele*, the weakening of Agr in the nominal domain is explained in the following way. Cerqueira assumes with Szabolcsi (1987) a DP structure parallel to CP in which D selects an Agr projection whose head selects the NP projection.

(452) $_{DP}$ D [$_{AgrP}$ Agr [NP]]

Agr is the projection responsible for case assignment. It assigns genitive case to the element in its specifier by Spec-head agreement, a mechanism similar to the one involving nominative case assignment to a sentential subject in [Spec,IP][64]. *Seu* involves an Agr node specified as [+person] while *dele* involves a defective Agr,

[63]See Duarte and Matos (2000) and Costa and Martins (2003), a.o. on this phenomenon in EP.

[64]Cerqueira's main assumption is that, like subjects in the sentential domain, prenominal possessives are base-generated in a theta-marked position and later moved to a Case position. A form such as *seu* is therefore base-generated inside the NP projection, where it gets its theta-role from the noun, and then moved to [Spec,AgrP], where it gets genitive case from Agr, by spec-head agreement. This is the transformational analysis of possessives that I will argue against in Chapter 7.

specified as [-person][65]. Agr specified as [+person] is able to assign case; thus, *seu* moves to [Spec,AgrP] where it gets genitive case. When Agr is specified as [-person], it is not able to assign case to its specifier. That is when *dele* is selected, remaining in the postnominal position[66]. According to Cerqueira (1993), in the derivation of *seu*, Agr is sufficiently specified for Person whereas in the derivation of *dele*, it is not. The substitution of *seu* by *dele* is then the consequence of the weakening of Agr spreading from the verbal to the nominal domain. In sum, the same grammatical change (the weakening of Agr in BP) provides an explanation in this language for: (i) the loss of pro-drop properties and the development of lexical sentential subjects; (ii) the replacing of *seu* by *dele*; (iii) the loss of clitics and their replacement by (strong) pronouns, and the development of null objects.

It has been shown that the facts described for BP by Cerqueira are also present in EP. In colloquial EP, nominal expressions are also used instead of pronouns. The consequence is a reduction of verbal inflections and the absence of null subjects. 3rd person clitics are also often replaced by strong pronouns. Moreover, *dele* seems to be preferred to *seu* in oral speech. Following Cerqueira's proposal, we might want to argue that *seu* is being replaced by *dele* in EP as a consequence of the loss of Agr. Müller (1996), however, disagrees with this proposal and shows, basing herself on corpora studies, that *seu* and *dele* are both productive in BP and *dele* is not replacing *seu*.

[65]Cerqueira rejects the idea that in the derivation of *dele* there is no Agr projection since [person] is not the only feature Agr can bear: it is also the locus of [number] and perhaps [gender]. Cerqueira thus diverges from many studies on Romance languages which assume a Num(ber)P projection, the locus of Number and the projection whose head the noun moves to in order to check its number feature - for EP, see Brito's works, Martinho (1998) and Miguel (2004).

[66]Cerqueira (1993) claims that the syntax of *dele* is identical to the syntax of a full DP in the scope of *de*. For a similar idea, see Miguel (2004).

4.1.2. Seu and dele are in complementary distribution

Müller (1996) provides a different account for the relation between *seu* and *dele* in BP. Basing herself on four studies of spoken BP corpora[67], Müller concludes that both *seu* and *dele* are productive possessive forms. The very high percentages of occurrences of *seu* in several spoken BP corpora[68] lead her to discard the replacement hypothesis suggested by many authors including Cerqueira. Observing that *seu* and *dele* coexist, Müller (1996) focuses her investigation on the type of antecedents with which these forms occur. She concludes thus that *seu* and *dele* are specialised forms with respect to the antecedent they take: *seu* is a bound variable and *dele* expresses coreference.

As illustrated by the data in (453), taken from Müller (1996:59-63), the italicised antecedents of *seu* may be generic (453a) or quantified expressions (453b).

(453) a. *O telégrafo* vai até perdendo **sua** importância.
the telegraph goes even losing 3.MSG importance
'The telegraph is losing its importance.'

b. *Cada indivíduo* realiza o **seu** teste.
each individual realises the 3.MSG test
'Each individual realises his/her (own) test.'

On the other hand, *dele* very rarely takes generic antecedents, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (454a). In the majority of cases, *seu* is the possessive form which occurs with a generic antecedent[69]. Furthermore, *dele* never takes a quantified

[67] The studies presented in Müller's (1996) Chapter 3 are those of Almeida (1993), Neves (1993) and Silva (1982, 1991). The first two are not published and I refer to them apud Müller. I have, on the other hand, had access to Silva's (1982) doctoral dissertation.

[68] Almeida (1993) found 73 occurrences of *seu* and 92 of *dele*; Neves (1993) found 142 forms of *seu* and 66 of *dele*; and Silva (1982) found 25% of of *seu*. Müller does not provide the comparative results of *seu* and *dele* in Silva (1991).

[69] Müller (1996:59) reports that *dele* takes generic antecedents in 6% of the cases but she does not provide the relevant examples.

antecedent, as shown by the ungramaticality of the example in (454b)[70].

(454) a. * *O telégrafo* vai até perdendo a importância **dele**.
the telegraph goes even losing the importance DE.3MSG

b. * *Cada indivíduo* realiza o teste **dele**.
each individual performs the test DE.3MSG

Müller therefore suggests that quantified and generic expressions share the property of denoting non-specific entities[71]. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that *dele* is the preferred possessive form when the antecedent is referential, thus, specific, e.g. a proper name (455a)[72] or a definite specific nominal (455b).

(455) a. Foi a primeira peça que o *Ziembinski* apresentou em
was the first play/piece that the Ziembinski presented in
toda a vida **dele**.
all the life DE.3MSG
'It was the first play/piece Ziembinski presented in his entire life.'

b. *a pagem* [...] a única função **dela** é me ajudar com eles
the maid [...] the only function DE.3FSG is me help with them
'The maid... her only function is to help me with them.'

Müller phrases the complementarity between *seu* and *dele* in the following terms: *seu* refers to non-specific entities and *dele* to specific or, rather, referential entities. *Seu* is an anaphor[73] and *dele* is a pronoun. Following Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) theory, Müller proposes that *seu* is an SE-type anaphor: it does not have a reflexive

[70]In the corpora, noun phrases headed by the universal quantifier *todo(s)* 'all' and by numerals can also be antecedents of *seu*.

[71]The author assumes that generic nominals are universally quantified, a view discarded by Carlson (1977) and Heim (1982).

[72]Müller (1996:58) notes that proper names of institutions differ from proper names of persons: they act as antecedents of *seu* and not of *dele*. In EP corpora the same happens as will be shown in section 4.2..

[73]As an anaphor, *seu* is not subject to Principle A of Binding Theory. The Binding Theory is proposed by Chomsky (1981) as a sub-theory of grammar regulating the conditions of anaphoric relations between nominal expressions (anaphors, pronouns and R(eferential)-expressions). These

function and is not referentially independent. With this proposal, Müller puts aside two hypotheses: that *seu* is a pronoun or that it is a SELF-type anaphor. It is not a pronoun because it does not behave as a deictic, i.e. it cannot take an antecendent freely from the context. For instance, in the case of a girl who goes out of the room where she forgot her purse, (456a) cannot be uttered by whoever stays in the room. However, (456b) can:

(456) a. * A **sua** bolsa!... Vamos avisá-la!
the 3.FSG purse!... go warn-3FSGACC

b. A bolsa **dela!...** Vamos avisá-la!
the purse DE.3FSG!... go warn-3FSGACC
'Her purse!... Let's warn her!'

Moreover, *seu* is not a SELF-anaphor because it cannot transform a nominal predicate into a reflexive predicate.

Seu is thus not fully specified for possessor phi-features (person, number and gender). As seen in section 2.1., it fails to be specified for possessor number (and gender). Hence, it can be a bound variable, and its phi-features interpretation is given by the antecedent. When *seu* has a quantified antecedent, this determines which referent fills the value of *seu*, the variable. In this sense, generic and quantified antecedents

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are regulated by the following principles:

- Principle A: an anaphor must be bound in its binding domain;

- Principle B: a pronoun must be free in its binding domain;

- Principle C: an R-expression must be free.

X bounds Y iff (i) X c-commands Y and (ii) X and Y are co-indexed. The binding domain has been defined in many ways (cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986)). Reinhart and Reuland (1993) reclassify anaphors and pronouns according to two properties: reflexive function (the ability to transform transitive predicates into reflexive predicates) and referential independence (full specification for phi-features - gender, number and person - and structural case). They thus distinguish pronouns (which are referentially independent and do not have reflexive function), SE-anaphors (which are non-referentially independent and do not have reflexive function) and SELF-anaphors (which are not referentially independent and have reflexive function).

act as operators which have scope over a variable: for whoever/whatever x denotes, x is the reference of *seu*.

Under the same theory, *dele* is a pronoun, a lexical item with referential content which may or may not establish a referential relation with an antecedent. Being fully specified for possessor phi-features, *dele* is a referential expression and can either refer independently or enter into a coreference relation with other referential expressions. In this latter case, we have two nominal expressions referring to the same entity in the world[74].

In short, attested BP data show that *seu* and *dele* are complementary forms specialised with respect to the antecedents they take.

4.2. *Seu* and *dele* in EP

As shown in the previous sections, two proposals for the relation between *seu* and *dele* in BP are found in the linguistic literature:

- *seu* and *dele* are competing forms, with *dele* replacing *seu* as a possible consequence of the weakening of Agr (Cerqueira (1993));
- *seu* and *dele* are in complementary distribution - *dele* is a pronoun specialised for referential antecendents while *seu* is a variable specialised for generic and quantified antecedents (Müller (1996)).

The aim of this section is to assess these two hypotheses with respect to EP by analysing the occurrences of *seu* and *dele* in different spoken and written corpora. As I have shown, EP shows evidence for the phenomena that Cerqueira claims to

[74]Similar facts occur in Catalan as shown in Picallo (1994): the 3rd person possessive *seu* cannot act as a deictic. As is the case of its correlate in Portuguese, it takes non-referential antecedents since it is not fully specified: it only bears a [3] person feature and it is not specified for number and gender of the possessor. Picallo states the preference for such a form is explained by an economy principle - the *Avoid Pronoun Principle* (Chomsky (1981)).

be related to the weakening of Agr. However, the changes are not operating in the same way in EP and BP: the verbal paradigm is not as radically reduced in EP, and the changes in the clitic system do not follow the same steps in EP and BP. In particular, EP clitic placement is changing towards enclisis and not towards proclisis, as is the case in BP. Moreover, *seu* is not an extinct possessive form in BP, as proved by Müller's study, and it is not likely to be disappearing in EP. This is what I will consider in the next section.

4.2.1. Hypotheses

From Müller's study, it can be concluded that *dele* is excluded from the contexts in which *seu* has generic or quantified antecedents as in (453), as shown by the ungramaticalicality of the BP examples in (454). However, the reverse is not true: *seu* can occur in such *dele* contexts as (455), as illustrated in (457).

(457) a. Foi a primeira peça que o *Ziembinski* apresentou em
was the first play/piece that the Ziembinski presented in
toda a **sua** vida.
all the 3.FSG life
'It was the first play/piece Ziembinski presented in his entire life.'

b. *a pagem* [...] a **sua** única função é me ajudar com eles
the maid [...] the 3.FSG only function is me help with them
'The maid... her only function is to help me with them.'

Both *seu* and *dele* are thus available in BP with referential antecedents. It may be the case that the replacement of *seu* by *dele* is taking place in such contexts. As noted by Cerqueira, it is in oral (and informal) speech that *dele* is preferred to *seu*. The following hypotheses will therefore be considered:

1. The choice of the possessive is constrained by its antecedent: *dele* can only have referential antecedents while *seu* can have referential, generic and quantified antecedents.

2. With referential antecedents, when *seu* and *dele* seem to be free variants:

   (a) In oral (informal) speech, the use of *dele* is preferred.

   (b) In written and formal speech, the use of *seu* is favoured.

The selection of the analysed EP data took into account the hypotheses to be assessed: oral speech and written speech as well as formal and informal registers of language are represented in the selected data.

The oral speech corpus - *Sub-Corpus Oral Espontâneo* (SCOE) - integrates the interviews from the Lisbon area in *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo*[75]. For written speech, three different corpora were considered. The first two are composed of letters written by children and teenagers collected in *Corpus Informatizado de Composições Juvenis*[76]: an informal letter written to an imaginary friend of their age living in East-Timor (CICJ-cT)[77] and a formal letter written to the School director (CICJ-cD)[78]. The third written corpus is CETEMPúblico (Publ)[79]. The first two written corpora illustrate informal and formal types of speech, respectively. In CICJ-cT *tu* ('you' informal) is the form used for the addressee (with

[75]This corpus is available at http://www.clul.ul.pt/sectores/corpus_oral_pf_publicado.zip. The selected interviews are the texts numbered 53, 340, 356, 377, 426, 455, 467, 476, 479, 482, 485, 560, 653, 769, 776, 795, 883, 913, 920, 965, 990, 1009, 1166, 1201, 1212, 1230, 1232, 1248, 1250, 1253, 1264, 1292, 1269, 1308, 1325, 1333, 1338, 1367, 1383 and 1394. Since the object of study in this dissertation is Standard EP, usually identified with the Portuguese spoken in Lisbon, interviews from other regions were excluded. All the interviews were made in the seventies (1970-1974), the same decade of the interviews of the BP corpora studied in Müller (1996).

[76]This is a project of *Linha de Investigação 1* of *Centro de Linguística da Universidade Nova de Lisboa*.

[77]These texts were written by children and teenagers between 11 and 15 in 7th to 9th grade at *Escola C+S da Benedita* in September 1999 during the East Timor self-determination.

[78]These texts were written by teenagers and young adults between 16 and 21 in 11th grade at *Escola Secundária de Camarate* in February of 2002.

[79]CETEMPúblico corpus is a selection of texts published in the daily Portuguese newspaper *Público* available at http://www.linguateca.pt.

the corresponding possessive *teu*) whereas in CICJ-cD it is *você* ('you' formal) and the corresponding possessive *seu*. One can thus expect more occurrences of *dele* in CICJ-cT than in CICJ-cD. On the other hand, CETEMPúblico is arguably closer to normative Portuguese and we therefore expect that *seu* should occur more often than *dele* as the 3rd person possessive form. Newspaper style is mainly descriptive, which favours reported speech sentences and 3rd person *seu* possessive forms. This corpus, however, also contains parts of interviews and transcriptions of people's speech. Hence, 2nd person *seu* also occurs.

The methodology I used in this study is the following. All *seu* and *dele* forms were picked considering all the possibilities of their paradigms. But only 3rd person possessive forms *seu* and *dele* were analysed with respect to the type of antecedent they take[80]. The types of antecedents considered were referential and non-referential antecedents. Following Müller's criteria, referential expressions refer to specific entities in the world while non-referential expressions do not. Amongst non-specific antecedents, I included generic and quantified nominals, such as noun phrases with *cada*, expressions which behave as operators, i.e. taking scope over variables.

Assuming that EP behaves similarly to BP with respect to the relation between *seu* and *dele* and their antecedents, I draw the following predictions:

[80]I excluded 2nd person *seu* contexts as well as one occurrence of *seu* with the 1st person plural reading *a gente*, a form displaying 3rd person singular agreement, with arbitrary reference - *a gente pode ter a sua formação política* (SCOE1394) 'you/one can have your/one's political instruction'.

(458) PREDICTION 1 - *Dele* should not occur with generic or quantified antecedents in any corpus.
PREDICTION 2 - *Dele* should be more used than *seu* with referential antecedents in the oral speech corpus (SCOE) and in the informal written speech corpus (CICJ-cT).
PREDICTION 3 - *Seu* should be more used than *dele* in the written speech corpora and even more in CICJ-cD and Publ than in CICJ-cT which is less formal.

4.2.2. Results

A first observation, which confirms Müller's results, is that *seu* is far from being a rare form in the four corpora. It is therefore possible to discard Cerqueira's hypothesis that *dele* is replacing *seu* in EP.
Moreover, PREDICTION 1 is confirmed. On the one hand, there are no occurrences of *dele* with generic or quantified antecedents in any of the corpora. *Dele* always has a referential antecedent (given in italic), as illustrated by the examples from SCOE340 (459a), CICJ-cT (459b), CICJ-cD (459c) and Publ (459d).

(459) a. *o meu pai* às vezes não queria ir trabalhar, gostava
the 1SG.MSG father to.the times not wanted go work, liked
de trabalhar nas terras **dele**
of work in.the lands DE.3MSG
'My father sometimes didn't want to go to work; he liked to work on his own lands.'

b. *A minha terra* é muito pequenina, mas pelo menos o ar é
the 1SG.FSG village is very tiny, but at least the air is
puro, pois a maior parte **dela** é mato.
pure because the major part DE.3FSG is brushwood
'My town is very little but at least the air is pure since most of it is full of brushwood.'

c. *os pais* não acham e foi por causa **deles** que foi
the parents not think and was by cause DE.3MPL that was
aceite esta proposta
accepted this proposal
'Parents do not think so and it was thanks to them that this proposal was accepted.'

d. "Depois, *este senhor gordito* colou-me na blusa a cara
after, this man fat stuck-1SGDAT on the blouse the
dele".
face DE.3MSG
'After that, this fat man stuck his face on my blouse.'

Seu, on the other hand, takes non-specific antecedents as predicted: SCOE883 (460a), CICJ-cT (460b), CICJ-cD (460c) and Publ (460d).

(460) a. *todo o artista* conhece o **seu** instrumento
all the artist knows the 3.MSG instrument
'Every artist know their (own) instruments.'

b. *Cada coisa* tem a **sua** beleza
each/every thing has the 3.FSG beauty
'Every thing has its (own) beauty.'

c. *Cada pessoa* tem a **sua** liberdade
each/every person have the 3.FSG freedom
'Every person has their (own) freedom.'

d. Seria perigoso para *um governo* conceber e aplicar uma
would-be dangerous to a government conceive and apply a
política ambiental global no **seu** país.
policy environmental global in.the 3.MSG country
'It would be dangerous for any government to conceive and apply a global environmental policy in its country.'

Seu can also have a specific referent. In this respect, PREDICTION 2 is confirmed: in the letters to the School director and in the newspaper - the two written corpora

expected to be more formal - *seu* almost always has a referential antecedent, as shown in (461a) for CICJcD and in (461b) for Publ.

(461) a. *os alunos* têm o direito de namorar assim como os **seus** pais já o fizeram em tempos.
the students have the right to date as that the 3.MPL parents already 3MSGACC did in times
'The students have the right to date as their parents did at other times.'

b. Foi por raiva ao lugar em que nasceu que *Geoff Barlow* o escolheu para dar nome à **sua** banda.
was by anger to.the place in which was-born that Geoff Barlow 3MSGACC chose to gve name to.the 3.FPL band
'Anger was the reason why Geoff Barlow chose to give the name of his home town to his band.'

On the other hand, in the oral speech corpus (SCOELx) and in the letters to the imaginary East-Timor friend (CICJ-cT) there is a very high frequency of *dele* with referential antecedents[81]. Furthermore, in the newspaper corpus (Publ) it is in the interview excerpts and quotations of other people's speech that *dele* occurs, as illustrated in (459d) and (462).

[81]Proper names of institutions are an exception to this, as Müller notes. In contrast with other proper names, they occur with *seu* rather than with *dele*, as illustrated in (1a) taken from SCOE1338, and (1b) from Publ.

(1) a. *a United Press* tinha as **suas** janelas sobre a praça onde estava o centro da revolta
the United Press had the 3.FPL windows over the square where was the center of.the rebellion
'United Press windows looked onto the square where the centre of the rebellion was.'

b. O Benfica apresentou o **seu** esquema habitual.
the Benfica presented the 3.MSG scheme habitual
'Benfica presented its usual strategy.'

(462) "Então, sr. presidente, se *ele* não deixa mexer na terra **dele**,
so mr. president if he not allow trouble in.the town DE.3MPL
eu cá não deixo mexer na minha."
I here not allow trouble in.the 1SG.FSG
'So, Mr. President, if he doesn't allow to trouble in his town, I don't allow to trouble in mine.'

These facts confirm PREDICTION 3 and may suggest that in less formal registers *dele* might be replacing *seu*.

5. Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, the 3rd person possessives *seu* and *dele* were studied in order to answer two main questions:

1. Why does Portuguese have *dele* in its possessive paradigm?
2. What is the relation between *seu* and *dele*?

First, the ambiguity of *seu* and the unambiguity of *dele* were explored, and the results are summarised as follows.

- Since Portuguese 3rd person possessive *seu* is not specified for possessor number, it may have 4 interpretations: 3rd person singular or plural, masculine or feminine possessor. It can also refer to singular addressees (2nd person) in BP and EP and to plural addressees (2nd person) in BP. *Seu* is thus ambiguous contrarily to *dele* which is fully specified for possessor person, number and gender.

- In the history of Portuguese, there is no evidence of a distinct morphological form for 3rd person plural possessors, similar to French *leur*, Italian *loro*, Catalan *llur* or Old Spanish *lur*. This means that the ambiguity of *seu* has

existed in this language since at least the 12th or 13th century[82].

- The construction *seu* N *dele*, restricted to the 3rd person, existed in Old Portuguese for disambiguating the possessor referent. I showed that the construction *seu* N *dele* is closer to the Spanish construction *su* N *de usted/de él* than to the French possessive clitic doubling construction. On the one hand, the simple possessive *seu* may cooccur with a determiner. On the other hand, the construction is restricted to 3rd person possessives and the doubling element can be either a strong pronoun or a lexical noun phrase. Since only *seu* is unspecified for possessor number, not 1st or 2nd person simple possessives, we expect doubling to be restricted to this case.

- I have suggested that the construction *seu* N *dele* is the source of possessive *dele*, the genitive analytical form of the personal pronoun in Portuguese.

- I have thus claimed that *dele* in Portuguese (and Spanish and Catalan) is a 3rd person genitive pronoun. It belongs to the paradigm of Portuguese genitive pronominals in Portuguese, i.e. the paradigm of functional possessives, just as *leur* and *loro* belong to the paradigm of possessives in French and Italian.

- As regards the morpho-syntactic status of *de* introducing Possessor, Agent and Theme *de*-phrases, I have argued that:

  - in Possessor DPs *de* is a genitive marker;
  - in Agent DPs *de* is a genitive marker;
  - in Theme DPs *de* is a genitive marker or a full preposition assigning oblique case to its complement.

[82]The first known texts of Portuguese are dated from late 12th and early 13th centuries (cf. Costa (1979) and Martins (1999)).

- The syntactic structure assigned to each type of *de*-phrases is thus different.
  - Theme is generated either as a PP or DP complement of the noun: the P-governed DP bears the Oblique case assigned by the preposition, which may be *de*; the Theme DP bears the genitive case assigned configurationally.
  - Agent is introduced as an external argument and is assigned genitive case configurationally. Alternatively, it could be projected as an adjunct PP, like a passivised subject, which in languages such as French can be introduced by *de*.
  - Possessor is projected as subject or predicate of a small clause structure.
- The fact that *de* can be either a genitive marker or a full preposition combined with Theme arguments accounts for the apparent effects of *The Affectedness Constraint* in Romance. However, some nominal constructions show a variation suggesting that an ongoing change: they allow Theme arguments to bear Oblique or genitive case.

As regards the relation between *seu* and *dele* in EP, the results are as follows.

- The two hypotheses proposed for BP are:

  (i) *dele* is replacing *seu* due to the ambiguity of *seu* as opposed to the unambiguity of *dele*;
  (ii) the two forms are complementary with respect to the antecedents they take.

- The EP corpora data which were considered corroborate Müller's (1996) proposal for BP that *seu* and *dele* are specialised with respect to the antecedent they take.

  The following hypotheses were confirmed by spoken and written EP data.

1. The choice of the possessive is constrained by its antecedent: *dele* can only have referential antecedents while *seu* can have either referential antecedents or non-referential antecedents.

2. With referential antecedents, whenever *seu* and *dele* seem to be free variants:

   (a) In oral and informal speech, *dele* is preferred.

   (b) In written and formal speech, *seu* is preferred.

- *Seu* is preferred in written and formal registers even in those contexts where *dele* or even a null element can be used[83].

- Müller's proposal for BP can thus be maintained for EP.

1. Possessive *dele*, being fully specified, is a referential expression and can enter into a coreference relation with other referential expressions, which are also fully specified.

2. Possessive *seu*, not being fully specified, behaves as a variable and its reference is fixed by its antecedent. It can be thus under the scope of either a quantified or generic antecedent or a referential expression.

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[83]In Publ, the possessive is used with relational nouns (1a), with which there may be no overt possessive in EP (1b).

(1) a. Leopoldo José Mourão [...] exercia advocacia no escritório do **seu** pai, Leopoldo Mourão.
Leopoldo José Mourão [...] pratised advocacy in-the office of-the 3.MSG father, Leopoldo Mourão
'Leopoldo José Mourão was a lawyer in the office of his father, Leopoldo Mourão.'

b. A Joaquinita brincava com o pai.
the Joaquinita played with the father
lit. 'Joaquinita played with the father.'

- In colloquial EP, *dele* is preferred to *seu*.

Does this latter fact lead to the conclusion that Agr is weaker in EP, as Cerqueira (1993) proposes for BP, a change which further gets verbal and clitic systems?
I showed that, as regards the verbal paradigm and the clitic system, changes similar to those observed in BP are also occurring in EP, to some extent. We may further extrapolate that the weakening of Agr is responsible for other BP facts: the loss of (number) DP-internal agreement and the licensing of generic bare singulars. If the weakening of Agr is the source of all these changes, we may expect that in colloquial EP DP-internal agreement should be being lost and generic bare singulars should be available. This expectation, however, is not confirmed: EP holds on to number DP-internal agreement and singular bare nouns are disallowed. Furthermore, there is no evidence of loss of number agreement in the verbal paradigm. It therefore seems to me that it is not Agr in general which is responsible for the differences between the two varieties, but Number specifications.

Chapter 7

The derivation of simple possessives in Portuguese

1. Introduction

In Chapter 5 was sketched an analysis for prenominal possessives within definite noun phrases, in particular noun phrases headed by the definite article. I proposed that prenominal possessives in such cases are heads located in D and that their very position triggers the definite interpretation of the noun phrase. The definite article combining with prenominal possessives is not semantically full: it is an expletive and thus does not contribute in marking definiteness. The expletive article is overt in EP and null in BP. This assumption explains why prenominal possessives can occur determinerless in BP, as well as proper names and generic nominals. Contrastively, the article is overt in EP in similar contexts.

In Chapter 6, the structural configurations involved in the different thematic interpretations of possessives were presented. Agent and Theme, on the one hand, are projected in an argument structure; Possessor, on the other hand, involves a predicative structure.

Some issues, however, have been left unaddressed:

(i) how are the pre- and postnominal positions of possessives derived if both have the same (thematic) underlying structure?
(ii) what is the syntactic structure of pre- and postnominal possessives combined with demonstratives?

Question (i) boils down to whether we should assume a derivational analysis, as proposed by the classical analyses of possessives relating the prenominal position (regarded as derived) to the postnominal position (regarded as basic). If this assumption is correct, we must explain what triggers the movement of simple possessives. In the present chapter, I will integrate the so far unaddressed issues into the general proposal sketched in the previous chapters.
This chapter is thus organised as follows. The classical analyses for simple possessives are presented in section 2., with their assumptions and problems. In section 3., I provide an alternative analysis for Portuguese possessives, which accounts for prenominal and postnominal possessives in both EP and BP. The details of the analysis presented above will be revisited and the remaining issues will be integrated into this account.

2. Classical analyses of possessives

Among the analyses proposed in the literature that I will discuss are those of Cardinaletti (1998) for Italian, Picallo (1994) for Catalan, Schoorlemmer (1998) for T1 languages (like Italian) and T2 languages (like French and English), and Brito (1996)[1] and Miguel (2004) for Portuguese. Although they assume that the pre- and postnominal positions of possessives are transformationally related, these analyses propose that these two elements are licensed in different ways.

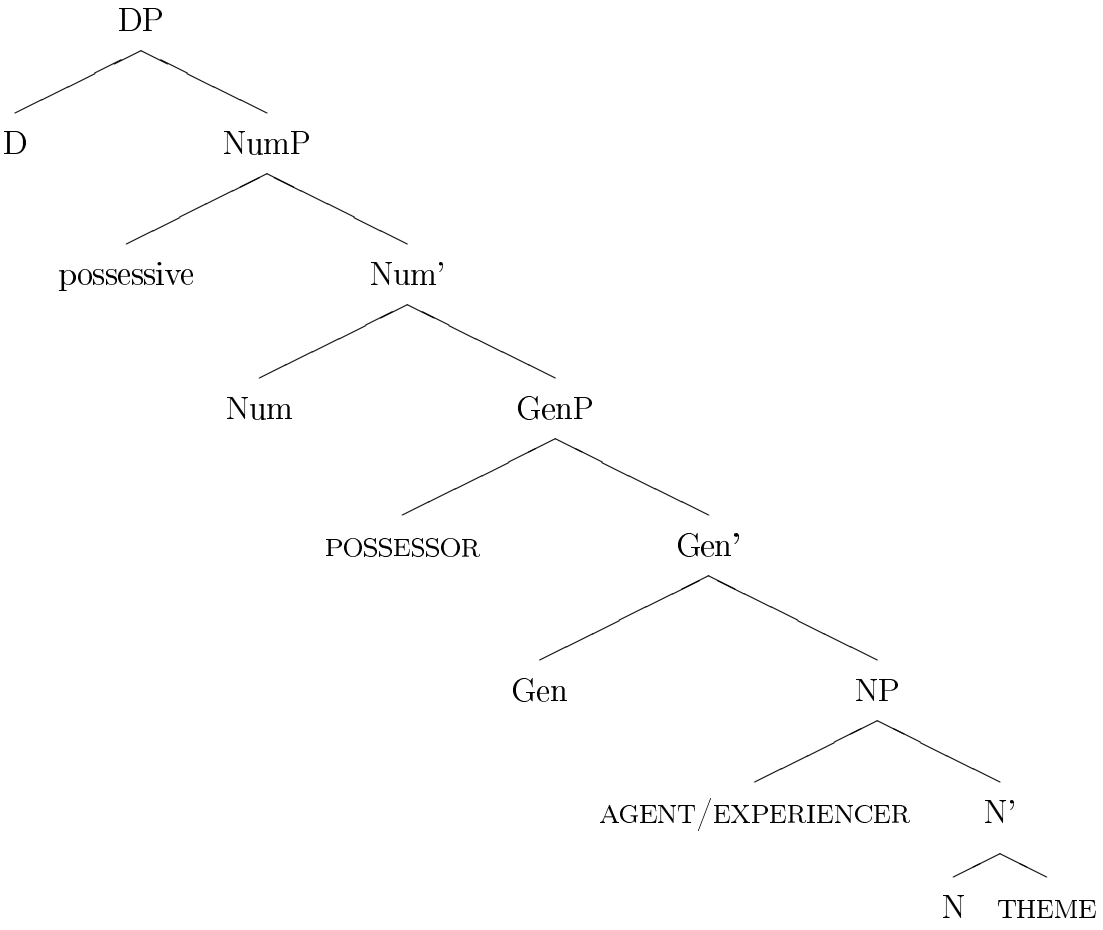
[1]This is the written version of a talk held at *Congresso Internacional sobre o Português* in April of 1994.

2.1. Assumptions

2.1.1. Pre- and postnominal possessives are transformationally related

All these analyses are based on the general assumption that the prenominal and the thematic position of possessives are transformationally related (cf. Langacker (1968), Kayne (1975), a.o.). As any argument of a noun, a possessive is base-generated in a fixed thematic configuration, e.g. the one proposed by Picallo (1991) and given in (463), and then moves (or not) to the prenominal position. This movement is triggered by a formal licensing requirement.

(463) Projection of theta-roles within the DP according to Picallo (1991)



Possessor, the highest role in the Thematic Hierarchy, is generated in Spec,GenP[2]. The arguments of the noun are generated inside the NP projection: the external theta role (Agent/Experiencer) in Spec,NP and the internal theta role (Theme/Patient) as a complement of N. It is in its base position that the possessive gets a theta-role according to the Theta Criterion of Chomsky (1981).

I proposed in Chapter 6 that the external and internal arguments are generated in a structure equivalent to Picallo's (1994). Possessor, however, is introduced in a small clause structure.

2.1.2. (Prenominal) possessives are subjects of the DP

Another crucial assumption for the classical analyses is that possessives behave as subjects of the DP, as proposed by Cinque (1980a). Moreover, prenominal possessives are considered as deficient elements under Cardinalletti and Starke's typology. They can be either clitic or weak depending on the language (cf. Cardinaletti (1998) and Schoorlemmer (1998)). Postnominal possessives, however, are strong elements. Therefore, once projected in a thematic position, the possessive has two options: either it remains in its base position, if it is a strong form, or it moves to the prenominal position before spell-out, if it is a deficient element. In the latter case, its landing site depends on whether the deficient possessive is a clitic or a weak form. It is claimed that, like any deficient element, the deficient possessive must be licensed in a specifier position since licensing of prenominal possessives is similar to structural case-assignment to an argument, in this case, a subject (cf. Picallo (1994)).

So, what is the licensing position for deficient possessives? It is assumed to be Spec,XP, the prenominal subject position, a specifier position corresponding to the

[2]Picallo (1994) observes that, although it is not semantically selected, Possessor is licensed by an object-denoting noun. It is therefore located in a syntactic position external to the NP projection, where it can m-command and be m-commanded by its NP licenser.

position of sentential subjects in the clausal domain[3]. Therefore, once raised to Spec,XP, weak possessives are licensed. Clitic possessives, however, undergo an extra movement. According to Cardinaletti (1998), clitic possessives in Spanish and French are moved from the head of the (deficient) maximal projection (XP) to D. This is an instance of excorporation also proposed for verbal object clitics.

Schoorlemmer (1998), in her analysis of possessivised noun phrases, accounts for the relation between definiteness and ellipsis crosslinguistically. Recall that, in languages in which possessives cannot cooccur with articles, the noun phrase has a definite interpretation and the possessive does not occur with the same form in ellipsis contexts. Schoorlemmer claims that the head of PosP (her XP) can have a strong variable feature [def]. This feature forces movement of Pos to D unless the empty head of an elliptical noun phrase raises to Pos. In this case we have the ellipsis context. The different morphology found in ellipsis and non-ellipsis contexts can thus be related to whether the possessive is sister to Pos or just the trace of Pos. The obligatory checking of this feature is argued to be blocked by the occurrence of an overt (definite) article which furthermore forces the definite interpretation of these possessive constructions. In the absence of [def] on Pos, movement to D does not take place and a weak possessive occurs. None of the mechanisms resulting in definiteness obtains and the form of the possessor is independent from ellipsis.

As shown extensively through this dissertation, in particular in Chapter 3, Portuguese prenominal possessives, although they cooccur with a definite article in EP, they contribute themselves to the definite interpretation of the noun phrase and furthermore present a syntactic behaviour typical of heads. Portuguese should be, under Schoorlemmer's system, a language in which possessives are never raised to

[3]I call it XP here but different labels have been proposed in the literature: AgrSNP for Cardinaletti (1998), PosP for Cinque (1994) and Schoorlemmer (1998), IP for Zribi-Hertz (1998b), a.o., and for Portuguese, PosP in Brito (1999), ConcP (=AgrP) in Brito (2001) and Brito (2003b), and AgrS_NP in Miguel (2002b).

D, thus quite independent from definiteness. Since the data do not confirm this prediction, I have proposed that prenominal possessives are located inside the DP and that the definite article is expletive in such cases.

2.1.3. N-movement

An additional assumption classical analyses of possessives make is that there is overt movement of the noun to a functional head located between N and D (but lower than XP). This functional head can be NumP, as proposed by Ritter (1991) for Hebrew, or one of the functional projections proposed by Cinque (1994), and this type of movement is claimed to be morphologically-driven since it has consequences the DP-internal overt agreement. N-movement is an assumption shared by a substantial number of works on noun phrases following the DP-hypothesis and it neatly explains word order variation inside the noun phrases.

2.2. Problems

I will now list and discuss some problems raised by the classical analyses, which motivate the alternative analysis I propose.

2.2.1. Lack of evidence for the transformational analysis

The only evidence for the transformational relation between pre- and postnominal possessives is the fact that pre- and postnominal possessives can have the same interpretations, as shown in Chapter 4: Possessor, Agent and Theme. Data illustrating the effects of the so-called Affectedness Constraint, however, can be claimed to be a counterexample to this assumption. I repeat in (464) the examples given in (235) and (237).

(464) a. Eu dei-lhe (a) **tua**$_{*Th/Exp}$ opinião, que não é a melhor.
I gave-him the 2SG.FSG opinion, that not is the best
'I told him your opinion (about something), which is rather unfavourable...'

b. Ele tem uma opinião **tua**$_{Th}$, que não é a melhor.
he has an opinion 2SG.FSG, that not is the best
'He has an opinion of you which is rather unfavourable...'

In (464a), the prenominal possessive can only be interpreted as Experiencer, it cannot be interpreted as Theme. In (464b) the postnominal possessive can be interpreted as Theme. If we assume that the possessive already has a theta-role before moving to prenominal position, how can we explain the ungrammatically of (464a) under the Theme interpretation? A mere licensing movement is not expected to result in restrictions on the interpretation of the possessive.
Moreover, as seen in Chapter 4, the same interpretation may be triggered by different morpho-syntactic strategies. In (465) the external argument (Agent) of the derived noun *invasão* can be expressed by a genitive phrase (465a), a simple possessive (465b), a *de*-possessive (465c), a *by*-phrase (465d) or an adjective (465e).

(465) a. a invasão **da** **América**$_{Ag}$
the invasion of.the America
'America's invasion'

b. a **sua**$_{Ag}$ invasão do Iraque$_{Th}$
the 3.FSG invasion of.the Iraq
'its invasion of Iraq'

c. a invasão **dela**$_{Ag}$ (do Iraque$_{Th}$)
the invasion DE.3FSG of.the Iraq
'its invasion of Iraq'

d. a invasão do Iraque$_{Th}$ **pela** **América**$_{Ag}$
the invasion of.the Iraq by.the America
'Iraq's invasion by America'

e. a invasão **americana**$_{Ag}$ do Iraque
the invasion American of.the Iraq
'the American invasion of Iraq'

Similarly, the internal argument (Theme) of the same noun may be realised by a simple possessive (466a), a *de*-possessive (466b) or a genitive phrase (466c).

(466) a. (a) **sua**$_{Th}$ invasão pela América$_{Ag}$
the 3.FSG invasion by.the America
'its invasion by America'

b. a invasão **deles**$_{Th}$ pela América$_{Ag}$
the invasion DE.3MPL by.the America
'their invasion by America'

c. a invasão **do Iraque**$_{Th}$ pela América$_{Ag}$
the invasion of.the Iraq by.the America
'Iraq's invasion by America'

Two views have been proposed in the literature with respect to the projection of these linguistic items in the syntactic structure. One view follows Baker's (1998) the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis. According to it, in (465) the genitive phrase, the possessives, the *by*-phrase and the adjective are projected in the same position, the position of the external argument of the noun *invasão* 'invasion'. And, in the same way, both the possessives and the genitive phrase in (466) would be projected in the same position, the position of internal argument of the noun. This is indeed the position assumed Brito (1996)[4], who proposes that the external argument of an eventive noun, with the interpretation of Agent, is always generated in Spec,NP, regardless of its being a *by*-phrase, an adjective or a possessive. The internal argument, interpreted as Theme, is generated as a complement of N.
Brito and Oliveira (1995), however, propose a different analysis for nominals derived

[4]This is the written text of a paper presented at *Congresso Internacional sobre o Português*, in April 1994. It is, then, previous to Brito and Oliveira (1995).

from accomplishment verbs. When the external argument is expressed by referential adjectives and possessives it is projected in [Spec,NP]. The Theme internal argument is also projected as complement of the noun, where it receives genitive case from the noun. But when the external argument is expressed as a *by*-phrase, it is projected as an adjunct[5].

Since there is no compelling evidence to postulate that pre- and postnominal possessives have to be projected in the same thematic position, I will put this assumption aside and simply assume that prenominal possessives do not undergo movement. They are therefore generated in their surface position. Their thematic interpretation is not obtained by base-generating the possessive in the position where the theta-role is assigned.

2.2.2. Asymmetry in the licensing of pre- and postnominal simple possessives

If possessives are D-subjects and have to be formally licensed, exactly as clausal subjects, this licensing should apply to both pre- and postnominal possessives. But this is not the case with possessives. According to Picallo (1994), postnominal possessives are pseudo-adjectives in Catalan, and are thus not subject to the formal licensing that is obligatory for prenominal possessives. Likewise, Cardinaletti (1998) assumes that postnominal possessives stay *in situ*, arguably in their theta-marked position, and are not licensed in a functional category as their prenominal counterparts. For Portuguese, Brito and Miguel also propose that prenominal but not postnominal possessives are formally licensed. Postnominal possessives are adjectival elements and, therefore, do not move from their basic argument position.

At least two problems may be pointed out here. On the one hand, the formal licensing of sentential subjects in Spec,IP is obligatory, as a result of EPP (Extended

[5]This analysis follows the lines of Picallo (1991) and Grimshaw (1990) in stating non-uniform analysis of *by*-phrases, genitive phrases and possessives.

Projection Principle)[6]. In a DP, however, the licensing of a subject is not obligatory, since not all subjects "raise" to the equivalent of Spec,IP in the DP. In particular, postnominal possessives are claimed not to undergo this licensing movement. On the other hand, if, as claimed by Schorlemmer and Picallo, the possessive form is the reflex of the formal licensing possessives undergo, as an instance of structural case marking, why do postnominal possessives exhibit the same forms in languages such as Italian, Catalan and Portuguese?

One way of solving this problem is to assume that postnominal possessives are licensed in the same way as subjects *in situ* are (cf. Miguel (2004)). However, in Portuguese the crucial distinction between pre- and postnominal possessives is related to the definiteness effect triggered by prenominal possessives. Therefore, it does not seem plausible to defend the claim that the subject status of (prenominal) possessives depends on definiteness, since within the clausal domain preverbal subjects may be definite or non-definite. I will thus claim that the prenominal position of possessives is a structural requirement related with definiteness only.

2.2.3. N-movement and overt morphology within the DP

Before presenting the alternative analysis I propose for simple possessives in Portuguese, I will briefly discuss another general assumption on the basis of many studies on the internal structure of DP: the idea that in some languages, among which Romance languages, there is overt movement of the noun to a functional head intermediate between N and D, while in others, e.g. Germanic languages, there is not. As regards Romance languages, there are at least two main proposals for the landing site projection of the noun: NumP (cf. Picallo (1994), a.o.) or one of the functional projections proposed by Cinque (1994). Similarly, many studies

[6]It can be formalised either as a principle of the grammar (in the Principles and Parameters model) or as a feature (in the Minimalist model).

on the syntax of noun phrases in Portuguese assume that N raises to a functional projection, in particular works by Brito, Martinho (1998) and Miguel (2004).

In Castro (2004a) and Castro (to appeara), I argue against Cinque's (1994) proposal that (overt) morphological agreement within the DP can be explained in terms of N-movement alone[7]. Cinque claims that N-movement is overt in Romance in order to check number (and gender) features on adjectives, in a spec-head configuration, a mechanism similar to that of subject-verb agreement. An effect of N-movement is overt number morphology. On the contrary, in Germanic languages, there is no N-movement and, therefore, no overt number morphology. This proposal furthermore derives an outstanding difference between these two groups of languages: the position of adjectives with respect to the noun. In Romance adjectives tend to be postnominal whereas in Germanic languages they tend to be prenominal. This suggests that the noun moves further up in Romance than in Germanic languages.

Although this proposal accounts for the contrast between Romance and Germanic, several languages may be seen as counterevidence. As Haegeman (2003) notes, in German, in spite of lack of evidence for N-movement in Cinque's terms, both determiners and adjectives show overt agreement with the noun. Modern Greek also exhibits rich nominal inflection (richer than French, for instance) while N-movement is excluded.

Portuguese also provides counterexamples to Cinque's proposal. EP and BP have the same adjective-noun order, thus indicating, according to Cinque, that the noun moves to the same position. The two varieties, however, exhibit different nominal agreement patterns, as shown in Chapter 2. In EP all the elements within the DP are morphologically specified for number and gender (467a) whereas in BP, or in some of its varieties, the number marker shows up only in the determiner (467b).

[7]The same idea is found in Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear) for verbal agreement: although there is no evidence to posit different landing sites for the verb in EP and BP, these varieties exhibit different agreement patterns.

(467) a. o**s** primeiro**s** filho**s**
theMPL firstMPL sonMPL

b. o**s** primeiro filho
theMPL firstM- sonM-
'first sons'

Another problem raised by Cinque's proposal is that the mechanism involved in subject-verb agreement is not parallel to that of adjective-noun agreement since, in the latter case, the spec-head agreement relation is "inverted". Haegeman (2003) notes this as a conceptual problem. In subject-verb agreement, it is the subject (in spec position) that triggers the agreement in the verb (in head position) and it is thus the moved element that shows inflection. As regards DP-internal agreement, it is the opposite: the head (noun) triggers agreement on its specifiers (the adjectives) so that they are the inflected elements.

Moreover, under Cinque's proposal, the pattern of agreement in adjectives is not the expected one. If feature checking takes place in overt Syntax, only postnominal adjectives and prenominal adjectives occurring immediately before the noun should show agreement morphology, as illustrated in (468) for Portuguese. However, in Portuguese, as more generally in Romance, prenominal and postnominal agreeing words all bear plural morphology (469).

(468) * o meu primeiro**s** donut**s** saboroso**s**, grande**s**, redondo**s**,
the 1SG.MSG firstPL donutPL tastyPL, bigPL, roundPL,
branco**s** e american**os**
whitePL and americanPL

(469) o**s** meu**s** primeiro**s** donut**s** saboroso**s**, grande**s**, redondo**s**,
thePL 1SG.MPL firstPL donutPL tastyPL, bigPL, roundPL,
branco**s** e american**os**
whitePL and americanPL

We may thus assume that the rest of feature checking (triggering overt morphology on the topmost elements of the DP) is made covertly. But in this case,

overt morphological number (and gender) agreement cannot be used to identify the position the noun moves to, and all feature checking may thus be assumed to apply covertly. On the other hand, we should expect that covert feature checking, which occurs at LF, has no consequences at PF, so that different morphological patterns should not arise.

One last remark about Cinque's proposal concerns the structural spec-head configuration in which agreement obtains. We know that spec-head configurations are not necessary for agreement since some agreement contexts do not involve spec-head configurations. One such case is 3rd person singular subjects in English. They are not in a spec-head relation with the verb, since the latter does not move to I, but there is overt agreement morphology. Another case is that of past participles and predicates of small clauses in EP, as argued by Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear). An account of these data was proposed under the Distributed Morphology framework (cf. Halle and Marantz (1993), Bobaljik (1995), Embick and Noyer (2001), a.o.).

Alternative proposals to Cinque's are available. For instance, the different position of adjectives in French (and Romance in general) and English as well as the morphological variation in these languages are explained by Bouchard (2002) with no need for N-movement. The author claims that languages may grammaticalise Number on different heads (contra Ritter's NumP) - D in French (or Romance in general) and N in English. In Bouchard's system, this derives not only the afore-mentioned differences but also the the differences between English and French with respect to bare noun phrases and ellipsis.

3. An alternative analysis for simple possessives

In Chapter 5, I sketched an alternative proposal for simple possessives in Portuguese along the lines of Cardinaletti (1998), claiming that Portuguese exhibits

homophonous weak and strong simple possessives, like Italian. However, and unlike Cardinaletti, I propose that weak prenominal possessives are heads and not XPs in Portuguese and occupy the D position. This assumption explains the different behaviour of Portuguese prenominal possessives when compared to those of other languages. In particular, I pointed out that:

> (i) prenominal possessives can be modified by weak adverbs but not by XP adverbs (in a head-adjuntion configuration);
> (ii) they can only be focused *in situ* by means of the stress strategy (the only one available for heads);
> (iii) they are related to the definite interpretation of the noun phrase; I therefore assume that they are in D;
> (iv) being deficient elements, they can be phonetically reduced.

Portuguese variation with respect to the cooccurrence of possessives with the definite article, in particular the presence of the definite article with prenominal possessives in EP versus its absence in BP, is claimed not to proceed from the grammar of possessives proper, since EP and BP behave alike in all other aspects arguably related to this one. I, therefore, proposed that possessivised noun phrases instantiate an expletive article in Portuguese. As those combining with proper names and generic nominals (cf. Longobardi (1994)), the article does not mark definiteness, referentiality nor number; rather, it is semantically empty. It is the positioning of prenominal possessives in D which accounts for the definite interpretation of the DP. The facts in need of an explanation in Portuguese which were in Chapter 3 were thus accounted for:

- the pre- *versus* postnominal position of simple possessives;
- the modification of prenominal possessives by *ainda* and *já*;

- the ungrammaticality of focused postnominal simple possessives within definite noun phrases;
- the absence of the definite article in BP *versus* its presence in EP.

An issue which has not been addressed yet is the behaviour of simple possessives with demonstratives. Unlike the definite article, demonstratives allow possessives to occur pre- or postnominally with a definite reading. Furthermore, nothing has been said about the relation between the structure in which possessives are thematically interpreted and their surface structure. These issues will now be addressed and connected to the general analysis of possessives I propose. My claims are the following:

1. prenominal possessives are not moved elements;
2. pre- and postnominal possessives are distinct elements of the grammar;
3. prenominal possessives are heads while postnominal possessives are XPs;
4. EP and BP share the same grammar of possessives;
5. the definite article combining with prenominal possessives is expletive.

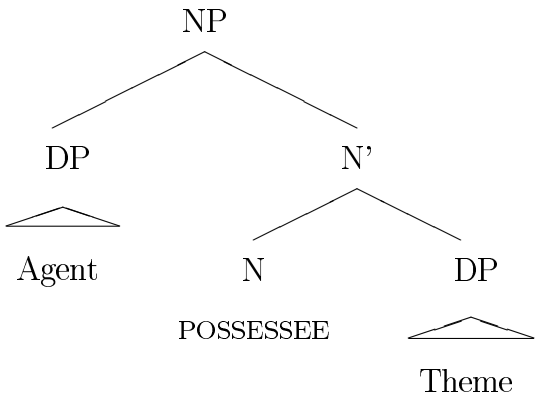
I will now discuss each of these assumptions in detail and show how they contribute to the general analysis.

3.1. Prenominal possessives are not moved elements

I claim that simple possessives are not moved elements, i.e. they are base-generated either in their prenominal or in their postnominal position. A question that arises is: how is the thematic interpretation of the possessive obtained?
I recall here the syntactic configurations proposed in Chapter 6. The external and internal arguments of the noun are projected in an argument structure as in (470):

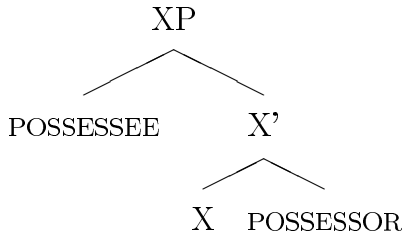
the internal argument is generated as a sister of the noun and the external argument as its specifier, as in (470) (cf. Picallo (1994) and Brito (1996), a.o.). This is the simplest structure but the external argument could also be projected as the specifier of an nP projection, equivalent to vP hosting the external argument in the clausal domain (cf. Valois (1991), Alexiadou (2001), a.o.).

(470) Nominal argument structure (Agent and Theme)

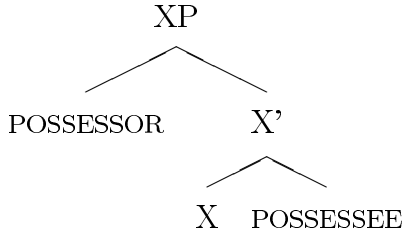


Possessor, on the other hand, is projected in a predicative structures, either (471a) or (471b).

(471) a. Predicative structure (Possessor as predicate)



b. Predicative structure (Possessor as subject)



Postnominal possessives, either simple possessives or *de*-possessives are projected in their thematic position. Prenominal possessives, on the contrary, are base-generated in their surface (prenominal) position, e.g. D, as argued for definite noun phrases, and a null element occupies the thematic position. The prenominal possessive is thus coindexed with the null element and the chain is assigned a theta-role (in its foot position). Evidence for such a structure comes from the construction *seu* N *dele* found in Old Portuguese. In this construction, as shown in Chapter 6, both the head and the foot of the chain may be lexicalised (472)[8].

(472) **sua**$_{(Pos)}$ morte **delles**$_{Pos}$ (HGP114)
3.FSG death DE.3MPL
'their death'

3.2. Pre- and postnominal possessives are distinct elements of the grammar

3.2.1. Definiteness and the functional structure of noun phrases

In Chapter 5, I have proposed that the prenominal positioning of possessives triggers the definite interpretation of the noun phrase in which it occurs. The set of assumptions which motivate this proposal are the following, along the lines of Lyons (1999):

(i) definiteness correlates with the DP projection, not with determiners as a class; definiteness is thus obtained by projecting - and filling a particular position in - DP;
(ii) demonstratives may be located in Spec,DP;

[8]An alternative is that the assignment of theta-roles is not configurational, but independent from syntactic structure. Under this hypothesis, one might assume that a theta-role is a feature, following Hornstein (?), or that semantic interpretation can be obtained in another module of the Grammar, LF perhaps.

(iii) cardinals, indefinite articles and quasi-indefinite determiners are not located in DP but in some lower projection.

Assumption (i) is consistent with the fact that most functional projections correspond to grammatical or semantic categories rather than word classes (cf. Num(ber)P, Card(inality)P, Q(uantity)P, T(ense)P, Asp(ect)P, a.o.). Assuming (i), I discard a feature-based approach in which the [+def] feature is part of a lexical item and thus has to be checked in a position hosting a matching feature[9]. Since demonstratives are substantive determiners - recall that their intrinsic deictic meaning involves identifiability, the pragmatic concept underlying definiteness, according to Lyons -, it naturally follows that they occupy a position in DP. I assume that demonstratives are in Spec,DP in Portuguese[10]. Under this view, it is clear that non-definite elements such as cardinals and the indefinite article, which is itself a cardinal article, as well as other indefinite determiners (e.g. Portuguese *algum* ou *nenhum*), cannot be in DP. They are projected lower, arguably in a Card(inality)P phrase.

Moreover, Lyons (1999:310-320) argues that definiteness and person are one and the same category[11], suggesting that, within the DP category, there are a bunch of properties hierachically organised that may be embraced by person-definiteness: specific, general definite (i.e. identifiable), ostensive (textual-situational), anaphoric, participant and speaker. Therefore, the idea that an item encoding person information (a possessive) occupies the DP projection when the noun phrase it occurs within is furthermore interpreted as definite is reasonable enough.

I, however, propose to slightly amond Lyons' (1999) DP structure proposal. Lyons

[9]The feature checking approach, formulated as in the Minimalist framework for instance, is a possible way of dealing with the position of possessives. That is the view assumed in Schoorlemmer (1998) for T1 and T2 languages, and adapted for Portuguese by Miguel (2004).

[10]See Giusti (1997) for a similar proposal and Roca (1996) for the idea that demonstratives in Spanish are heads of DemPs.

[11]Lyons (1999:313) observes two crosslinguistic facts supporting this view: (i) person is incompatible with indefiniteness and (ii) there is complementarity between person and definiteness.

(1999:228-299) argues that free-form definite articles are not heads but XP located in Spec,DP, the head of DP being usually null like the heads in Cinque's functional projections. Lyons also assumes determiner possessives (DG in Lyons' terms - cf. Chapter 5) to be specifiers of DP (like the Saxon genitive), which explains why they do not cooccur with definite articles. Unlike Lyons (1999:229), however, I propose that prenominal possessives are, at least in Portuguese, heads located in D. They are therefore responsible for the definite interpretation of the noun phrase. This proposal does not depart from Lyons' general idea that, although not inherently definite, either grammatically or pragmatically, possessives are in DP (either in its head or its specifier), yielding the DG phenomenon by which possessives have the appearance of definite determiners. Noun phrases containing a prenominal possessive are thus interpreted as definite because, since the possessive occupies the D head, DP has been projected - and D is definiteness.

As regards the definite article, although I have proposed that it is in head-adjunction with prenominal possessives, it may well be the case that it is in Spec,DP. According to Lyons, articles may be either heads or specifiers (of DP in the case of definite articles and of CardP in the case of cardinal articles). While head articles are typically bound forms and directly express the category (D or Card), specifier articles are typically free forms and pleonastic, lexically empty fillers of a position that would otherwise be empty, indicating by their mere presence that the category is projected. This difference seems to reflect the substantive/expletive article opposition proposed in Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) and Longobardi (1994). Lyons (1999:301), however, claims that this analysis of articles is incompatible with his view, since, according to him, "free-form definite articles [specifier ones] are always expletive, but they can only appear in DP, of which the head is definiteness, so they always signal definiteness while not encoding this". On the other hand, Longobardi's (1994) expletive article is needed under the assumption that argument noun phrases

project DP. Lyons, on the contrary, argues that DP plays no role in the argument status of noun phrases and transfers this function to a higher projection, KP. This can be identified with Case since argument noun phrases must have Case. K can select DP, in the case of definite noun phrases, CardP, in the case of non-definite noun phrases, or none of these, in the case of bare nominals. Neverthless, because of the EP/BP contrasts with respect to proper names, generics, and prenominal possessives, I still find the substantive/expletive opposition relevant. Demonstratives are further evidence in support of this view. Since demonstratives are substantive determiners, as Lyons himself claims, they are responsible for the definite interpretation of the noun phrase by occupying Spec,DP. They suffice to trigger the definite interpretation of the noun phrase and the prenominal positioning of possessives is thus not required: possessives must occur in D or lower in the structure when noun phrases are modified. The contrast shown in Chapter 3 and reproduced in (473) can now be explained.

(473) a. ??/* Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told

b. ? Aqui estão as fotografias d**o** **tal** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.the TAL colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

c. Aqui estão as fotografias d**aquele** colega **meu** de que te falei.
here are the pictures of.that colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told
'Here are the pictures of that colleague of mine that I told you about.'

In (473c), the demonstrative in Spec,DP triggers the definite interpretation of the noun phrase and the possessive is postnominal, arguably in its base position;

the D head is empty. In (473b), it is *o tal* that occupies Spec,DP, filling the DP projection. Recall that *o tal* conveys a deictic meaning and is thus equivalent to demonstratives. If we adopt the proposal under which in definite noun phrases it is the prenominal positioning of possessives what triggers the definite interpretation since the definite article is expletive, (473a) is ill-formed since definiteness is not encoded properly.

3.2.2. Weak versus strong possessives

I depart from classical analyses of possessives by claiming that prenominal possessives are heads and are not located in the specifier of a functional projection equivalent to Spec,IP in the DP. Moreover, I argue that these elements do not have to be formally identified as subjects, neither do postnominal possessives. Evidence was provided in Chapter 3 showing that prenominal possessives exhibit a behaviour typical of heads. I recall here the empirical facts and argumentation.

First, there is strict adjacency between the definite article, when present, and prenominal possessives. Second, prenominal possessives cannot be modified by adverbs (474) but they can be modified by weak adverbs such as *ainda* and *já* (478).

(474) * o **inteiramente teu** projecto
the entirely 2SG.MSG project

(475) a. **a ainda minha** mulher
the still 1SG.FSG woman
lit. 'the still-mine wife'

b. **o ainda meu** andar
the still 1SG.MSG flat
lit. 'the still-mine flat'

c. **a já sua** noiva
the already 3.FSG fiancée
lit. 'the already-mine fiancée'

These facts are not accounted for under the assumption that prenominal possessives are in Spec,IP. Indeed, in a configuration such as $[_{DP}$ D $[_{XP}$ Pos ...]] nothing prevents an adverb (nor an adjective) from modifying the XP containing the possessive. Assuming a parallel with the clause, and that D is C (cf. Szabolcsi (1987)), an adverb should be able to occur between the determiner and the prenominal possessive (476a) in the same way as an adverb occurs between the complementiser and I, as illustrated in (476b).

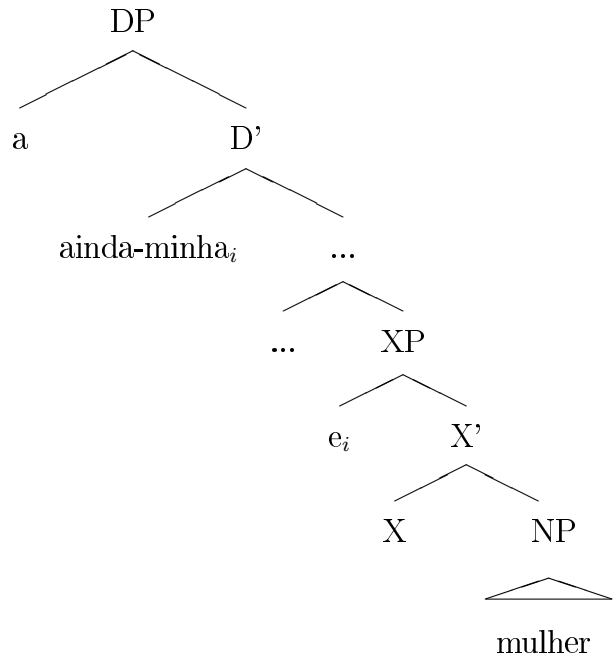
(476) a. * A **ontem** **minha** partida foi adiada.
the yesterday 1SG.FSG departure was postponed

b. Eu disse-lhe $[_{CP}$ que **ontem** $[_{IP}$ eu estive lá]].
I told-him $[_{CP}$ that yesterday $[_{IP}$ I was there
'I told him that I was there yesterday.'

Since adverbs are generally disallowed between D and Poss, I claim that prenominal possessives are not in Spec,IP.

I further argued that prenominal possessives are in head adjunction with the definite article, both occupying the D head. A possible alternative, along the lines of Lyons (1999), would be that the expletive article combining with prenominal possessives is located in Spec,DP. The structure in (477) would thus neatly capture the fact that the article and possessive are strictly adjacent, which is predicted by a spec-head configuration. No XP adverb may therefore modify the latter. As regards the weak adverbs *ainda* and *já*, Castro and Costa (2003) claimed that they have a nuclear status. I therefore assume that in such examples as (478) they are head-adjoined to the possessive in D.

(477)



The second piece of evidence showing that prenominal possessives are heads comes from focus contexts. As seen in Chapters 3 and 5, Portuguese prenominal possessives, when focalised or contrasted, cannot occur in postnominal position. Rather, they receive stress in their prenominal position.

(478) a. É o **MEU** problema, não o teu.
is the 1SG.MSG problem, not the 2SG.MSG
'It's MY problem, not yours.'

b. * É o problema **MEU**, não o teu.
is the problem 1SG.MSG, not the 2SG.MSG

Assuming with Costa (1998) that movement (or absence of movement) can only affect XPs for discourse reasons, if prenominal possessives were XPs (located in a specifier), their position should be able to be changed for focus purposes.
Coordination provides additional evidence for an analysis of prenominal possessives as heads and postnominal ones as XPs.

(479) a. * Já li o **teu** **e** **dele** livro
already read the 2SG.MSG and DE.3MSG book

b. ? Já li o livro **teu** **e** **dele**
already read the book 2SG.MSG and DE.3MSG
lit. 'I've already read your book and of him.'

c. Já li o **teu** **e** **MEU** livro
already read the 2SG.MSG and 1SG.MSG book
lit. 'I've already read the book yours and mine.'

d. Já li um livro **meu** **e** **dele**
already read a book 1SG.MSG and DE.3MSG
lit. 'I've already read a book of mine and of him.'

In (479a), we observe that the prenominal possessive cannot be conjoined with a *de*-possessive. Conjoining the simple possessive with the *de*-possessive postnominally (479b) is, however, not optimal. One may suppose that a problem similar to that of (473a) is at stake here: no element encodes definiteness properly. On the other hand, a prenominal possessive can be coordinated with another prenominal possessive (479c). And if the noun phrase is non-definite as in (479d), a postnominal possessive may be conjoined with a *de*-possessive. We know that the ban on conjoining XPs with heads may explain the ungrammaticality of (479a). If the prenominal possessive is a head, it cannot be conjoined with a phrasal expression such as *de*-possessives, but it can be conjoined with another head. An optimal alternative to (479a) is projecting the postnominal XP possessive. However, it violates the structural encoding of definiteness.

The fact that in Southern EP dialects, prenominal possessives can be phonetically reduced, while postnominal possessives cannot, further supports their analysis as heads rather than XPs.

3.3. EP and BP share the same grammar of possessives

As argued in Chapter 5, EP and BP behave similarly with respect to the grammar of possessives. Simple possessive elements have the same properties in the two varieties: their position is the same with respect to focus or definiteness, and they show the same restrictions on modification and coordination. The only facts that seem to separate EP from BP concerns the behaviour of the definite determiner and the nominal agreement patterns. These properties have effects on the grammar of possessives, to some extent.

3.3.1. The morpho-syntax of definite articles

The first difference is already addressed in Chapter 5. Extending Longobardi's (1994) assumption that an expletive article occurs with proper names (480) and generics (481), I propose that the (definite) article combining with prenominal possessives (482) is also an expletive. EP has an overt definite in all these contexts - (480a), (481a) and (482a) - whereas (some varieties of) BP have bare nominals - (480b), (481b), (481c) and (482b).

(480) a. **A Joaquinita** fazia anos amanhã.
the Joaquinita made years tomorrow

b. **Joaquinita** fazia anos amanhã.
Joaquinita made years tomorrow
'Tomorrow it was Joaquinita's birthday.'

(481) a. **As crianças** lêem revistinhas.
the children read comic-books

b. **Criança** lê revistinha.
child read comic-book

c. **Crianças** lêem revistinhas.
children read comic-books
'Children read comic books.'

(482) a. **O meu** livro tem 100 páginas.
the 1SG.MSG book has 100 pages

b. **Meu** livro tem 100 páginas.
1SG.MSG book has 100 pages
'My book has 100 pages.'

An expletive article, contrary to a substantive article, is a semantically empty element: it does not trigger definiteness nor convey number information; rather it is a mere position filler, while other elements are responsible for the interpretation of the noun phrase. The expletive article may have different morphological forms, like in Catalan or Frisian, or be lexically null, like in English, as shown in Longobardi (1994). I claim that the substantive (definite) article is overt in both EP and BP whereas the expletive article is overt in EP (and homophonous of the substantive article) and lexically null in BP.

3.3.2. DP-internal agreement

The assumption an expletive article combines with prenominal possessives accounts for the different patterns of DP-internal number agreement in EP and BP. In a variety of BP which has expletive articles in front of simple possessives, the singleton plural morpheme anchors on the possessive rather than on the expletive, since the possessive is the relevant element for the interpretational component. This was suggested in Costa and Figueiredo Silva's (to appear) analysis for EP and BP micro-parametric variation. Assuming for EP the assumption that the proliferation of a given morpheme may be interpreted as a consequence of its being dissociated, Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear) make the following proposal:

(483) Type of [plural] morphology in Portuguese:
plural is a singleton in Brazilian Portuguese.
plural is a dissociated morpheme in European Portuguese.

The contrast between EP and BP therefore derives from the type of morpheme associated with plurality. Since it is a dissociated morpheme in EP, all elements able to bear (subject-agreeing) plural morphology actually carry such markers, independently of the existence of movement and spec-head configurations (484a). In BP, however, [plural] is a singleton and attaches to D, the anchor of number information. If only one prenominal element is marked with plurality, it must be the determiner in D-ADJECTIVE-N sequences, since [plural] attaches to the D head. But if the sequence is D-POSSESSIVE-N, the element bearing the plural morpheme is the possessive (484b).

(484) a. a**s** minha**s** casa**s**
theFPL 1SG.FPL houseFPL

b. a minha**s** casa**s**
theF- 1SG.FPL houseFPL

Costa and Figueiredo Silva (to appear) follow the idea, already suggested in Castro (2001), that the definite article is expletive in the context above, as well as with proper names and generics, and is located in D.

4. Summary

The proposal outlined in Chapter 5 and summarised here accounts for the behaviour of simple possessives in Portuguese. Contrarily to what is predicted by the typological proposals of possessives, EP and BP do not differ with respect to the syntax of possessives. They both exhibit nuclear prenominal simple possessives located in D triggering the definite interpretation of the noun phrase, as well as XP postnominal possessives. EP and BP vary, however, with respect to the realisation of the definite article with prenominal simple possessives. It is an expletive, which is overt in EP and null in BP. The same variation is observed in other instances of this expletive article, in particular with proper names and generic nominals.

Martins (1994)

verificar outros :

In the turn of the century, possessives have assumed more interest in the Portuguese syntax studies. Similar and different facts are present in studies by Ana Maria Brito, Matilde Miguel, Manuela Gonzaga and in my own work[12]. What is true is that we know much more about Portuguese possessives and their micro-variation today than we knew when I first decided to work on this topic. It is, however, far from being exhausted, a natural consequence - I suppose - of starting to investigate any topic: we have now a general but out of focus picture. Therefore, we know better now which details need to be put in focus - and there are many!... I hope that the work on possessives will be pursued and that we can enlighten interesting facts such as the ones referred above, as well as inalienable possession[13], the range of variation in BP and EP dialects, the articulation of the noun phrase structure, and - crucially - how children acquire nominal structures.

[12]See Brito (1999), Brito (2001), Brito (2003b), Miguel (2002a), Miguel (2002b), Miguel (2002c), Miguel (2003), Miguel (2004), Gonzaga (2003), Castro (1999), Castro (2001), Castro (2002), Castro (2004a), Castro (2004b), Castro (2005), Castro (to appeara), Castro (to appearb), Castro and Costa (2002), Castro and Costa (2003) and Castro and Pratas (to appear).

[13]Portuguese exhibits interesting constructions in which possessive readings are allowed even without a lexical possessive. These constructions involve relational nouns (see Chapter 4 section 2.2.3.) and the noun *casa* 'house'/'home' (see Chapter 3 section 4.1.2.3.). Spanoghe (1995), in a comparative corpora study on Portuguese, Spanish and French alienable possession, concludes that Portuguese allows the construction DEFINITE ARTICLE+NOUN with a possessive reading more than French and Spanish.

Final conclusions

This dissertation has focused on functional possessives in Portuguese by comparing EP and BP varieties. Functional possessives were defined as linguistic items morphologically specified for Person, and realising a genitive argument of the noun with which they establish a semantic (thematic) relation: Agent/Experiencer, Theme or Possessor.

The starting point observations were the following:

- Portuguese displays two types of possessives: simple (485a) and *de*-possessives (485b).

(485) a. (o) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. o livro **dele**
the book DE.3MSG
'his book'

- Simple possessives may occur widely without the definite article within argument noun phrases in BP, a possibility rejected in EP (485a).

- For 3rd person both *seu* (486a) and *dele* (486b) can be used in the same contexts.

(486) a. O Quim deu-me (o) **seu** livro.
the Quim gave-1SGACC the 3.MSG book

b. O Quim deu-me o livro **dele**.
the Quim gave-1SGACC the book DE.3MSG
'Quim gave me his book.'

Studies on the alternation between *seu* and *dele* claim that *dele* is more productive in BP than in EP, being not restricted to 3rd person and replacing the form *seu*.

Therefore, the main goals defined in the Introduction were:

- to characterise the behaviour of functional possessives such as *meu* and *dele*, in both EP and BP by comparing them with other typologically related languages;

- to understand better the relation between *seu* and *dele* in EP, assessing the hypotheses proposed for BP.

As regards *de*-POSSESSIVES, it was shown that they only encode the person-number features of the possessor and do not agree with the possessee. Moreover, they are *of*-phrases in which a 3rd person pronominal follows *de*. As any PP, *de*-possessives are always postnominal in Portuguese (487b).

(487) a. * **o/um dele** livro
the/a DE.3MSG book

b. **o/um** livro **dele**
the/a book DE.3MSG
lit. 'the/a book of him'

With respect to the thematic interpretation of *de*-possessives, a generalisation was drawn in Chapter 4:

(488) In Portuguese, Catalan and Spanish a *de*-possessive ('of' + strong pronoun) can occur in the 3rd person under the Possessor reading while this is impossible in French and Italian.

Therefore, the questions raised were:

1. Why does Portuguese have *dele* in its possessive paradigm?
2. What is the relation between *seu* and *dele*?

It was shown that *seu* is not specified for possessor number, it may have 4 interpretations: 3rd person singular or plural, masculine or feminine possessor. It can also refer to singular addressees (2nd person) in BP and EP and to plural addressees (2nd person) in BP. *Seu* is thus ambiguous contrarily to *dele* which is fully specified for possessor person, number and gender.
Investigation of these forms across the history of Portuguese revealed that:

- there is no evidence of a distinct morphological form for 3rd person plural possessors, similar to French *leur*, Italian *loro*, Catalan *llur* or Old Spanish *lur*, meaning that the ambiguity of *seu* has existed in Portuguese since at least the 12th or 13th century;

- the construction *seu* N *dele*, restricted to the 3rd person, existed in Old Portuguese for disambiguating the possessor referent.

It was argued that the construction *seu* N *dele* is closer to the Spanish construction *su* N *de usted/de él* than to the French possessive clitic doubling construction for two main reasons. First, *seu* may cooccur with a determiner. Second, the construction is restricted to 3rd person possessives and the doubling element can be

either a strong pronoun or a lexical noun phrase. Since only *seu* is unspecified for possessor number, not 1st or 2nd person simple possessives, we expect doubling to be restricted to this case.

It was therefore suggested that the construction *seu* N *dele* is the source of possessive *dele*, the genitive analytical form of the personal pronoun in Portuguese. It was thus claimed that *dele* in Portuguese (and Spanish and Catalan) is a 3rd person genitive pronoun. It belongs to the paradigm of Portuguese genitive pronominals in Portuguese, i.e. the paradigm of functional possessives, just as *leur* and *loro* belong to the paradigm of possessives in French and Italian.

As regards the relation between *seu* and *dele*, in Chapter 6, it was shown based on EP corpora data that:

- The two possessive forms are productive in the language.
- The choice of the possessive is constrained by its antecedent: *dele* can only have referential antecedents while *seu* can have either referential or non-referential antecedents.
- With referential antecedents, where *seu* and *dele* seem to be free variants:
  - In oral and informal speech, the use of *dele*, instead of *seu*, is preferred.
  - In written and formal speech, the use of *seu* is preferred.

Müller's proposal for BP can be maintained for EP. Possessive *dele*, being fully specified, is a referential expression and can thus enter in a coreference relation with other referential expressions, also fully specified. Possessive *seu*, being not fully specified, behaves as a variable and its reference is fixed by its antecedent, a quantified or generic antecedent or a referential expression.

As regards SIMPLE POSSESSIVES, I showed that, within definite possessivised noun phrases the simple possessive is obligatorily prenominal (489a). If the simple

possessive is modified, however, the prenominal position is generally not allowed (489b). But the postnominal position is not optimal either (489c). Modifying possessives is thus a very restricted option.

(489) a. (**o**) **meu** livro
the 1SG.MSG book
'my book'

b. * **o** **só**/**apenas** **teu** aluno
the only/only 2SG.MSG student

c. ? **o** aluno **só**/**apenas** **teu**
the student only/only 2SG.MSG
'the student (who is) just yours'

Within non-definite possessivised noun phrases - simple indefinites (490a), bare plurals (490b) and noun phrases introduced by WH-words (490c) or indefinite elements (490d) - simple possessives are postnominal.

(490) a. **um** livro **meu**
a/any book 1SG.MSG
'a book of mine'

b. livros **meus**
books 1SG.MPL
'books of mine'

c. **que** aluno **meu**
which student 1SG.MSG
'which student of mine'

d. **algum** livro **meu**
any book 1SG.MPL
'any book of mine'

Within possessivised noun phrases headed by demonstratives, the unmarked position for simple possessives is prenominal (491a). Simple possessives are obligatorily

postnominal if they are modified (491c) and may also be postnominal with some relational nouns such as *amigo* 'friend' and *colega* 'colleague'. However, no context forces the postnominal position of simple possessives within a noun phrase headed by a demonstrative.

(491) a. **este meu** livro
this 1SG.MSG book

b. **este** livro **meu**
this book 1SG.MSG
'this book of mine'

c. **este** livro **só teu**
this book only 2SG.MSG
'this book (that is) only yours'

The descriptive results were subsumed under the two generalisations below:

1. Simple possessives are prenominal within definite noun phrases and postnominal within non-definite noun phrases.

2. In the former case, there is strict adjacency between the prenominal possessive and the definite article.

However, it was shown that these two constraints may be violated in some cases and other properties of simple possessives were highlighted in Chapter 3.

- Adverbs such as *ainda* 'still' and *já* 'already' may intervene between the definite article and the prenominal possessive, breaking the adjacency condition.

(492) a. **a ainda minha** mulher
the still 1SG.FSG woman
lit. 'the still-mine wife'

b. **o ainda meu** andar
the still 1SG.MSG flat
lit. 'the still-mine flat'

c. **a já sua** noiva
the already 3.FSG fiancée
lit. 'the already-mine fiancée'

- *Tal* 'such'/'that' may also intervene between the definite article and the prenominal possessive. The sequence *o tal* was, however, shown to be equivalent to a demonstrative.

(493) **o tal meu** colega
the TAL 1SG.MSG colleague
'that colleague of mine'

- Locative PPs involving *casa* 'house'/'home' (494a) and other PP idioms (494b) allow determinerless possessivised noun phrases.

(494) a. em **minha casa**
in 1SG.FSG house
'in my house'

b. em **nosso** favor
in 1PL.MSG favour
'for our benefit'

Moreover, the main contrast between EP and BP was assumed to be the following:

- The definite article may be omitted in argument positions contexts in BP but it is required in EP.

From the data presented for EP and BP prenominal possessives in argument positions, we furthermore concluded that the only difference between the two Portuguese varieties is the occurrence of the definite article in front of the prenominal

possessive.

According to typological proposals (Lyons (1985), Giorgi and Longobardi (1991)), EP simple possessives should be adjectives whereas those of BP should be determiners. However, a deeper analysis of the Portuguese data reveals that Portuguese does not behave as predicted by such proposals. A systematic comparison with adjectives has shown that possessives do not behave like any class of adjectives, in particular because the distribution of possessives is sensitive to (in)definiteness. On the other hand, BP possessives do not behave like the determiner possessives of languages such as French and English. Portuguese simple possessives thus behave neither like adjectives nor like determiners and do not fit the typology of languages proposed in Schoorlemmer (1998).

The properties of Portuguese possessives which fail to be predicted by these proposals are the following:

1. BP exhibits prenominal possessives occurring without the definite article: BP may be assumed to have determiner possessives. However, possessives have the same form in ellipsis contexts, which would make BP an exception to Schoorlemmer's (1998) Possessive Generalisation.

2. Southern EP dialects, like Paduan, are also an exception to the Possessive Generalisation: possessives cooccur with articles but a different possessive form is used in isolation contexts.

3. Focused possessives in definite noun phrases cannot be postnominal in Portuguese, whereas they can be in Italian and Catalan, arguably two languages in the same group.

4. Portuguese prenominal possessives are disallowed in indefinite noun phrases, unlike their Italian and Catalan homologues.

The analysis of Portuguese simple possessives developed in Chapter 5 followed the basis of Cardinaletti's (1998) deficient/strong typology but recasted it in order to integrate the Portuguese (prenominal) simple possessives data. In particular, it was claimed that weak prenominal possessives are heads and not XPs in Portuguese. Portuguese thus exhibits homophonous weak and strong simple possessives; the former are heads whereas the latter are XPs. Portuguese prenominal possessives occupy the D position, a fact which explains their peculiarities with respect to other languages, in particular that:

(i) they can be modified by weak adverbs but not by XP adverbs (in a head-adjuntion configuration);
(ii) they can only be focused *in situ* via the stress strategy (the only one available for heads);
(iii) they are responsible for the definite interpretation of the noun phrase; therefore, they must surface in D when the noun phrase is definite;
(iv) being deficient elements, they can be phonetically reduced.

As regards Portuguese variation with respect to the cooccurrence of possessives with the definite article, but not in the remaining aspects of the grammar of possessives, it was argued that the presence of the definite article with prenominal possessives in EP versus its absence in BP, is not internal to the possessives grammar. Possessivised noun phrases were claimed to instantiate an expletive article in Portuguese. As with proper names and generics, it does not mark definiteness, referentiality or number: prenominal possessives in D are responsible for the definite interpretation of the DP; proper names are themselves referential (raising or not to D); and generics do not require an interpreted D (cf. Longobardi (1994)). All these constructions therefore require, not a substantive, but an expletive article. EP has an overt expletive article (like Italian) while BP has a null expletive article (like English).

Additionally, this proposal accounts for the different patterns of DP-internal number agreement in EP and BP. Costa and Figueiredo Silva (2003) account for this distinction by claiming that the morphology of number differs in Portuguese: plural is a singleton morpheme in BP and a dissociated morpheme in EP. The plural morpheme attaches to the head responsible for establishing the link with semantic interpretation (D). I showed that a variety of BP which has an expletive article in front of simple possessives provides evidence that favours the proposal: the plural singleton morpheme anchors on the possessive rather than on the expletive. This is expected if the possessive is in fact in D, the relevant head for the semantic component.

These are the main results of this dissertation. I would like to present, however, some topics that I think need further investigation and leave them here as open questions.

It was observed that a simple possessive can occur postnominally within a noun phrase headed by the definite article when a strong adverb modifies the possessive (495a) or when a relative clause is present (495b).

(495) a. ? **o** projecto **inteiramente teu**
the best is the project entirely 2SG.MSG
'the project (which is) entirely yours.'

b. ??/* as fotografias d**o** colega **meu** de que te falei.
the pictures of.the colleague 1SG.MSG of that you told

These noun phrases are not optimal, though. One may assume that they are allowed because a substantive definite article is projected in the structure in the absence of a prenominal possessive in D. The possessive is located lower in the structure, as an XP, in the only position where it can be modified. However, since the adjacency requirement between the definite article and the prenominal posses-

sive is violated, such structures are felt as odd[14]. As for relative clauses, if one assumes a predicate structure a la Kayne (1994), the postnominal positioning of the possessive is not problematic.

Although it was not amongst the aims of this work to discuss the thematic properties of nominals which possessives combine with, basic configurations were proposed assuming that the theta roles assignment is made in specific positions in the synctactic structure. As regards the morpho-syntactic status of *de* introducing Possessor, Agent and Theme *de*-phrases, I have suggested that:

- in Possessor DPs *de* is a genitive marker;
- in Agent DPs *de* is a genitive marker;
- in Theme DPs *de* is a genitive marker or a full preposition assigning oblique case to its complement.

The syntactic structure assigned to each type of *de*-phrases is thus different.

- Theme is generated either as a PP or DP complement of the noun: the P-governed DP bears the Oblique case assigned by the preposition, which may be *de*; the Theme DP bears the genitive case assigned configurationally.
- Agent is introduced as an external argument and is assigned genitive case configurationally. Alternatively, it could be projected as an adjunct PP, like a passivised subject, which in languages such as French can be introduced by *de*.
- Possessor is projected as subject or predicate of a small clause structure.

[14]Giuseppe Longobardi (p.c.) suggested that *o-meu* could be the complex possessive determiner in EP corresponding to simple *meu* in BP.

The fact that *de* can be either a genitive marker or a full preposition combined with Theme arguments accounts for the apparent effects of *The Affectedness Constraint* in Romance. However, some nominal constructions show a variation suggesting an ongoing change: they allow Theme arguments to bear Oblique or genitive case.

Other proposals are available for Portuguese, in particular those of Brito (1996), Brito and Oliveira (1995) and Miguel (2004). I have also claimed that the assignment of theta roles to simple possessives is made in the same configurations but these are not necessarily base-generated in those positions. In particular, simple possessives are not moved elements, rather thay are base-generated in their surface (prenominal) position, e.g. D, and a null element occupies the thematic position. The prenominal possessive is thus coindexed with the null element and the chain is assigned a theta-role (in its foot position). The evidence provided was of two sources: first, the Portuguese contrast illustrating the so-called Affectedness Constraint (496); second, the construction *seu* N *dele* found in Old Portuguese in which both the head and the foot of the chain may be lexicalised (497).

(496) a. Eu dei-lhe (a) **tua**$_{*Th/Exp}$ opinião, que não é a melhor.
I gave-him the 2SG.FSG opinion, that not is the best
'I told him your opinion (about something), which is rather unfavourable...'

b. Ele tem uma opinião **tua**$_{Th}$, que não é a melhor.
he has an opinion 2SG.FSG, that not is the best
'He has an opinion of you which is rather unfavourable...'

(497) **sua**$_{(Pos)}$ morte **delles**$_{Pos}$ (HGP114)
3.FSG death DE.3MPL
'their death'

If one assumes that the possessive already has a theta-role before moving to prenominal position, the ungrammatically of (496a) under the Theme interpreta-

tion is not accounted for since a mere licensing movement is not expected to result in restrictions on the interpretation of the possessive. Under my proposal, however, the contrast shown in (496) remains unexplained.

Another open question concerns the structure of non-argument noun phrases. Recall that the prenominal possessive is always prenominal and may only combine with relational nouns, in such case interpreted as Possessor.

(498) a. Ele é **meu** tio.
he is 1SG.MSG uncle
'He's my uncle.'

b. * Ele é tio **meu.**
he is uncle 1SG.MSG

(499) a. Este é o **meu** livro.
this is the 1SG.MSG book
'This is my book.'

b. * Este é **meu** livro.
this is 1SG.MSG livro

(500) a. Esta é a **minha** actuação.
this is the 1SG.FSG performance
'This is my performance.'

b. * Esta é **minha** actuação.
this is 1SG.FSG performance

If we assume that non-argument nominals project no DP (no KP under Lyons' phrasing), only lexical structure is projected. The basic order of the predicate structure therefore has to be POSSESSOR-POSSESSEE when a simple possessive is projected and POSSESSEE-POSSESSOR when a *de*-possessive is projected. These constructions indeed need a deeper investigation.

Moreover, it was observed that, in colloquial EP, *dele* is preferred to *seu*. A question is thus whether this means that the same Agr weakening process which Cerqueira (1993) assumes for BP is occurring in EP, with the expected consequences in the verbal and clitic systems. It was shown that changes similar to those going on in BP are occurring in EP with respect to the verbal paradigm and, to a certain extent, to the clitic system. We could further extrapolate that the weakening of Agr is responsible for other properties of BP: the loss of (number) DP-internal agrement and the licensing of generic bare singulars. But if the weakening of Agr is the source of all these changes, we should expect colloquial EP to lose DP-internal agreement and to allow generic bare singulars. Such is not the case, however: EP holds on to number DP-internal agreement and singular bare nouns are disallowed. Furthermore, there is no evidence of loss of number agreement in the verbal paradigm. It seems therefore that is not Agr in general that is responsible for the EP/BP contrasts under discussion but the morpho-syntax of Number. A topic which surely must be investigated in the future.

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This dissertation addresses some aspects of the grammar of possessives in Portuguese, both simple forms and *de*-phrases. It is shown that simple possessives have two homophonous series in Portuguese: prenominal possessives occur in definite contexts (like French and English and unlike Catalan and Italian ones); postnominal possessives occur in non-definite contexts. It is assumed that the former are generated in D, the position in which definiteness is interpreted. This proposal captures the contrasts between the two positions with respect to modification by weak and strong adverbs, coordination and strategies of focus.
It is also claimed that the variation observed in Portuguese in the constructions with prenominal possessives - presence of the definite article in European Portuguese (EP) versus its absence in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) - is due, not to differences in the grammar of possessives, but to differences in the determiner system. Since Portuguese displays the same variation in nominal constructions with proper names and generics, it is claimed that they all involve an expletive, i.e. a semantically vacuous definite article, which is phonetically overt in EP and phonetically null in BP.
In the 3rd person, Portuguese has two possessive forms: *seu* and *dele*. *Seu*, unlike *dele*, is an ambiguous form because it is not fully specified for phi-features (gender and number). Data from both spoken and written corpora show that *dele* is not replacing *seu*. In EP and BP, the two forms are not equivalent: *dele* only takes referential antecedents whereas *seu* may also be bound by non-referential expressions (generics and quantified).

SOBRE POSSESSIVOS EM PORTUGUÊS

Esta dissertação estuda alguns aspectos da gramática dos possessivos em Português, tanto das formas simples como das formas introduzidas por *de.* Mostra-se que os possessivos simples têm duas séries homófonas em Português: os possessivos pré-nominais só ocorrem em contextos definidos (como em Francês e Inglês e ao contrário do Catalão e do Italiano); os possessivos pós-nominais ocorrem em contextos não definidos. Assume-se que os primeiros são gerados em D, a posição em que definitude é interpretada. Esta proposta permite explicar os contrastes observados relativamente aos possessivos simples pré e pós-nominais em contextos de modificação por advérbios fortes e fracos, de coordenação e de foco.
Propõe-se que a variação observada nas construções com possessivos pré-nominais em Português – presença de artigo definido em Português Europeu (PE) versus ausência do mesmo em Português Brasileiro (PB) – se deve, não a diferenças na gramática dos possessivos, mas a diferenças no sistema de determinantes. Uma vez que essa variação se estende a construções com nomes próprios e genéricos, propõe-se que todas estas construções envolvem um artigo definido expletivo (semanticamente vazio), foneticamente realizado em PE e nulo em PB.
Na 3ª pessoa, o Português apresenta dois tipos de formas possessivas: *seu* e *dele*. *Seu*, ao contrário de *dele*, é uma forma ambígua porque não especificada completamente com traços-phi (género e número). Dados de corpora oral e escrito permitem-nos contrariar a ideia de que *dele* está a substituir *seu*. Em PE e PB, as duas formas não são equivalentes: *dele* é um pronome que só ocorre com antecedentes referenciais enquanto *seu* pode ocorrer também com referentes não referenciais (quantificados e genéricos).

LES POSSESSIFS EN PORTUGAIS

Cette thèse explore quelques aspectes de la grammaire des possessifs en portugais, lesquels incluent des formes simples et des formes en *de*. Les possessifs simples ont deux séries homophones: les possessifs pré-nominaux, qui se trouvent toujours dans des syntagmes nominaux définis (comme en français et en anglais et contrairement au catalan et au italien); et les possessifs post-nominaux qui se trouvent dans des syntagmes nominaux non-définis. L'hypothèse défendue est que les possessifs pré-nominaux occupent la position D, position responsable de l'effet de définitude. Cette hypothèse explique les contrastes observables entre les deux séries de possessifs dans les contextes de modification par des adverbes faibles et forts, de coordination et de focus.
On propose aussi que la variation observée en portugais dans les constructions à possessif pré-nominal - présence de l'article défini en portugais européen (PE) versus son absence en portugais brésilien (PB) – s'explique par des différences dans la grammaire des déterminants. Observant la même variation dans les noms propres et les syntagmes nominaux génériques, on suppose que toutes ces constructions contiennent un article défini explétif (sémantiquement vide), phonétiquement réalisé en PE mais nul en PB.
À la 3ème personne, le portugais a deux formes possessives: *seu* et *dele*. *Seu*, contrairement à *dele*, est ambigu parce que sa spécification en traits-phi (gendre et nombre) est incomplète. Des données de corpus parlés et écrits conduisent à conclure que *dele* n'est pas en train de se substituer à *seu*. En PE comme en PB, les deux formes ne sont pas équivalentes: *dele* ne peut avoir qu'un antécédent référentiel alors que *seu* peut avoir aussi un antécédent non référentiel (générique ou quantifié).

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