

SYNTACTIC DOUBLING IN EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE DIALECTS ERNESTINA CARRILHO, CATARINA MAGRO & SANDRA PAREIRA

This talk provides an overview of the main syntactic doubling phenomena occurring in European Portuguese dialects, on the basis of data drawn from a syntax-oriented corpus of Portuguese dialects (CORDIAL-SIN). The last part of the talk focus on two cases of pronominal subject doubling found in these dialects.

Although the standard language presents some doubling phenomena (one of which will be the topic of Ana Maria Martins' talk at this workshop), these are particularly abundant in non-standard European Portuguese varieties. We will consider the following phenomena appearing in CORDIAL-SIN, which are in general not found in the standard language:

i. doubling of an inflected form of ser 'to be' in cleft constructions:

- (1) **Era** assim **é** que se fazia. (Terceira, Azores)
was in.this.way is that SE made-3SG
'It was in this way that people made [that].'

ii. doubling of é que 'lit., is that' in cleft and interrogative constructions:

- (2) a. Isso **é que é** que serve para chá. (Cabeço de Vide)
that is that is that serves for tea
'It is that that is good for tea.'
b. Agora, como **é que é** que se chamava aquilo [...] não sei. (Alto Alentejo)
now how is that is that SE called-3SG that not know
'Now, I don't know how people called that.'

iii. doubling of some adverbs:

- (3) a. **Ainda** no mar **ainda** às vezes se orientamos pela vaga. (Melides)
still in-the sea till sometimes SE guide-1PL by-the wave
'At sea, sometimes we are still guided by the waves.'
b. Hoje, **já** certas espécies **já** se vão extinguindo. (Vila Praia de Âncora)
today already certain species already SE go-3PL disappearing
'Nowadays, certain species are already disappearing.'
c. **Só** uso **só** esse nome. (Alcochete)
only use-1SG only that name
'I only use that name.'

iv. complementizer doubling:

- (4) Eu sei **que** aquilo **que** não é pormal, sabe? (Vila Praia de Âncora)
I know-1SG that that[DEM] that not is for injury know-3SG
'I know that it is not for injury, you know.'

v. clitic duplication:

- (5) Também se faz -se chás. (Ponta Garça, Azores)
also SE make-3SG.SE teas
'One also makes teas.'

vi. several types of subject doubling, which may involve:

a) indefinite (nominative clitic) se and an indefinite or arbitrary subject:

- (6) a. Joanhinha **é** que **é** que se a gente emprega cá. (Alcochete)
ladybird is that is that SE the people uses here
'Ladybird is what we use here.'

- b. Cá [-] nunca **se** usaram isso (Lavre)
 here never SE use-3PL that
 ‘People would never use that here.’
- c. Não sabem o que **a gente se** passámos aí (Câmara de Lobos, Madeira)
 not know-3PL the what the people SE went.through-1 PL there
 ‘You don’t know all we’ve been through.’

b) an expletive and a referential subject:

- (7) a. **Ele** vem **a chuva**... (Outeiro)
 EXPL comes the rain(FEM)
 ± ‘The rain comes...’
- b. Ele a minha nora teve aquele miudito com quarenta anos. (Covo)
 EXPL the my daughter-in-law had that child with forty years
 ± ‘In fact, my daughter-in-law had that child when she was forty.’
- c. **Ele** [-] voltámos lá todos a ver... (Covo)
 EXPL went.back-1PL there all A see-INF
 ± ‘We all went back there to see...’

c) an agreeing nominative pronoun and an overt subject:

- (8) a. **Elas** **as minhas filhas** alguma vez souberam o que é que foi
 They(FEM) the my daughters any time knew what is that was
 a vida! (Enxara do Bispo)
 the life
 ± ‘My daughters never knew what life was like!’
- b. **Ela** depois a broinha ficava assim. (Gião)
 It(FEM) after the cake was like.this
 ± ‘Then, the cake was like this.’

The coordinates of the data found in CORDIAL-SIN will permit us to outline the geographical spread of these phenomena in European Portuguese.

The second part of the talk deals with the cases of only apparent subject doubling illustrated by examples (7) and (8). Although sentences like these remind us of the so-called Multiple Subject Construction found in some Germanic languages (cf. Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Chomsky 1995, a.o.), it will be argued that the nominative pronouns in such European Portuguese constructions do not occupy the subject position but a higher position within the left periphery of the sentence. Evidence for this will be provided by (i) the distribution of these pronouns w.r.t. other elements in the left periphery (e.g. topics, dislocated wh-phrases); (ii) the discourse effects displayed by these constructions. Such cases of non-standard “doubling” will therefore give us some significant clues about the structure of the sentential left periphery (with special reference to work in line with Rizzi 1997).

REFERENCES:

- Bobaljik, J. and D. Jonas. 1996. Subject Positions and the Roles of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.) *Elements of Grammar. Handbook in Generative Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.