https://doi.org/10.35520/diadorim.2020.v22n3a37144 Recebido em: 04 de agosto de 2020 | Aceito em: 19 de outubro 2020



SOME NOTES ON POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS IN DECLARATIVE (AND OTHER NON WH-) SENTENCES ALGUMAS NOTAS SOBRE SUJEITOS PÓS-VERBAIS EM FRASES DECLARATIVAS (E OUTRAS NÃO *QU-*)

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the syntactic and interpretive properties of declarative sentences with immediately postverbal subjects in European Portuguese. The primary aim of this investigation is to examine whether the VSX constituent order corresponds to one or several syntactic structures with concomitant whether the VSX constituent order corresponds to one or several syntactic structures with concomitant interpretive effects. The conclusion is that VSX represents two main types of syntactic structures associated with different interpretive effects. The relevant data are described and analyzed within the generative framework. According to the proposed analysis, in one type of structure the verb and the postverbal subject stay inside the IP space, whereas in the other type the verb or both the verb and the subject move to positions in the CP space, i.e. the sentential left periphery (Rizzi, 1997, 2004, and subsequent cartographic approaches). The 'IP type' VSX sentences have a thetic, wide focus interpretation with no single constituent assigned any type of informational highlighting (Kuroda, 1972, 2005). It is suggested that theticity is a kind of sensory (especially visual) evidentiality. This motivates the presence of an Evidential head in the functional structure of the IP, which is targeted by verb movement. Sentences with the 'CP type' VSX order do not constitute a homogeneous group, but share an evaluative import, generally conveying criticism. Under the proposed analysis, those bearing focus on the subject are derived by movement of the subject DP to Spec,FocusP (Rizzi, 1997, 2004), which gives it the contrastive interpretation, and movement of the verb to a higher Evaluative head in the sentential left periphery (Ambar, 1999; Corr, 2016). Inverted conditionals (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) and coordinate non-degree exclamatives (Martins, 2013) share verb movement to Evaluative with subject-focus VSX sentences, but do not display contrastive or other highlighting of the subject, which signals that FocusP plays no role in their derivations. **KEYWORDS**: word order; subjects; thetic sentences; contrastive focus; coordinate exclamatives

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RESUMO

Este artigo discute as propriedades sintáticas e interpretativas de frases declarativas com sujeito imediatamente pós-verbal no português europeu. O principal objetivo da investigação é determinar se a ordem VSX corresponde a uma ou a diferentes estruturas sintáticas e quais as consequências no plano interpretativo. A conclusão é que VSX representa dois grandes tipos de estruturas sintáticas, associadas a diferentes efeitos interpretativos. Os dados relevantes são descritos e analisados no quadro teórico da gramática generativa. De acordo com a análise proposta, num tipo de estrutura sintática o verbo e o sujeito mantêm-se dentro do domínio de IP, enquanto no outro tipo o verbo e, em certos casos, o DP sujeito se movem para posições funcionais no domínio de CP, ou seja, a periferia esquerda da frase (Rizzi, 1997, 2004, e abordagens cartográficas subsequentes). As frases VSX internas ao IP têm uma interpretação tética, de foco largo, sem que nenhum dos seus constituintes receba proeminência informacional (Kuroda, 1972, 2005). Sugere-se que a teticidade é um tipo de evidencialidade sensorial (suroda, 1972, 2005). (especialmente visual). Desta forma, motiva-se a presença de um núcleo Evidencial na estrutura funcional do IP, que é alvo do movimento do verbo. As frases VSX alargadas ao CP não são uniformes, mas partilham uma componente avaliativa, que expressa a atitude crítica do falante. As que têm sujeito focalizado são derivadas com movimento do DP sujeito para Spec,FocusP (Rizzi, 1997, 2004), o que lhe dá a interpretação contrastiva, e movimento do verbo para um núcleo Avaliativo na periferia esquerda da frase. (Ambar, 1999; Corr, 2016). As condicionais invertidas (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) e as exclamativas coordenadas (Martins, 2013) têm em comum com as frases com sujeito focalizado o movimento do verbo para o núcleo Avaliativo. Mas nelas não há qualquer tipo de destaque (contrastivo por outro) sobre o sujeito, o que mostra que a sua derivação pão envolve FocusP. ou outro) sobre o sujeito, o que mostra que a sua derivação não envolve FocusP.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: ordem de palavras; sujeitos; frases téticas, foco contrastivo, exclamativas coordenadas

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1. Two types of VSX orders in declarative (and other non-wh-) sentences

This paper focuses on declarative sentences with VSX order in European Portuguese, which have received lesser attention in the literature than VXS sentences (with the informationally prominent subject in final position). The primary aim of the investigation is to examine whether the VSX constituent order corresponds to one or several syntactic structures with concomitant interpretive effects. Hence, two types of verb-initial sentences with immediately postverbal subjects will be examined: thetic sentences, in the sense of Kuroda (1972, 2005), like (1), and sentences with a focused 'internal' subject, as exemplified in (2).

- (1) Pousou uma águia no plátano.landed an eagle in the maple.tree'An eagle has landed in the maple tree.'[Situation: the speaker is watching the scene and reporting it to someone else]
- (2) [A] Convidamos os meus pais para jantar? invite.1PL the my parents for dinner? 'Should we invite my parents for dinner?'
 - [B] Fazes tu o jantar./!
 do.2SG you the dinner
 'You cook dinner.' (Implied: not me.)

The paper is organized in five sections. Section 2. discusses thetic sentences, analyzing which factors facilitate or instead hinder the VSX order (apart from the well known unaccusative/ (in)transitive divide), and which interpretive effects it has. It will be suggested that theticity and evidentiality are related notions and proposed that thetic sentences involve the activation of an Evid(ential) functional head within the IP area, above TP. This proposal will be compared with Cardinalletti's (2004) analysis of thetic sentences with the aim to demonstrate that the EvidP hypothesis accords better with the described European Portuguese data. Section 3 deals with focused 'internal' subjects. This kind of VSX sentences shows evidence of activation of the sentential left periphery with both the verb and the subject moving to functional positions in the CP space. Concretely, I will propose that the verb moves to the functional head Eval(uative) (Ambar, 1999; Corr, 2016), and the subject to Spec, FocP. The derived word order differs from the usual XVS of contrastive focus-movement (Rizzi, 1997, 2004; Costa and Martins, 2011; Martins and Costa, 2016) because the verb moves higher, to Eval, above FocP, whereas in contrastive focus-movement it presumably does not move beyond Fin(iteness) (Rizzi 1997), which is lower than FocP. In section 3, I will briefly introduce VSX non-degree exclamatives with coordinate syntax (Martins, 2013) and inverted conditionals. These other kinds of VSX

sentences also display verb movement to C. In fact, I will propose, they specifically involve verb movement to Eval, which explains some common interpretive effects of VSX subject-focus, non-degree exclamative and inverted conditional sentences, while activation/non activation of FocP and other ingredients account for their differences. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Thetic sentences: Evid(ential)P in the IP space

The term *thetic sentence* is here used as a shorthand for 'sentence that conveys a thetic judgment'. A *thetic sentence* describes a situation in which no single entity is assigned a topic status or given any type of informational highlighting (cf. Kuroda, 1972, 1992, 2005; Cardinalletti, 2004; Leonetti, 2014; among others), thus Kuroda (1972, 2005) also refers to thetic sentences as non-topicalized sentences. Syntactically, SVX sentences are ambiguous between conveying a categorical judgment, i.e. being topicalized sentences, or a thetic one. The word order VSX undoes the ambiguity, only allowing the thetic interpretation.

VSX is interpreted as a single informational unit, without internal partitions (topic-comment, focus-background); this typically results in a thetic, wide focus interpretation, related to a stage topic. Languages like Italian and Catalan reject the processing of marked orders as non-partitioned units, which rules out VSX. More permissive languages, like Spanish, allow for the absence of partitions in marked orders. (Leonetti, 2014, p. 37)

VSX thetic sentences are naturally produced when the speaker describes a situation she is directly observing, as when looking through the window into the garden the speaker sees an eagle landing in the maple-tree and utters (3). Or suppose the utterer sees a dog (familiar or not) entering the garden and reports this happening so that the addressee does not let the cat out, as in (4).

- (3) Pousou uma águia no plátano.landed an eagle in the maple.tree'An eagle has landed in the maple tree.'
- (4) Não deixes sair o gato. {Está/entrou} {o/um} cão no jardim. not let.2SG go.out the cat. is/entered the/a dog in.the garden 'Don't let the cat out. The/a dog has come into the garden.'

The basic relation between visual (or auditory/sensory) perception and theticity connects it to evidentiality. In fact, a thetic judgement as defined by Kuroda (2005) is rooted in *(non-)visual sensory evidentiality* (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004, 2015; De Haan, 2005; Peterson and Sauerland, 2010; among others).²

² The utterer of (4) could have heard or sensed the dog in the garden, without seeing it.

A thetic judgment is a representation of a perceptually apprehended real, recalled, or imagined situation. A thetic judgment is thus by its nature dependent on another form of cognitive act, the perception of a real or imagined situation. By making a thetic judgment, one commits oneself to the truth of a proposition by describing a perceived situation, real or imagined. (Kuroda, 2005, 29-30)

The function of a non-topicalized sentence is characterized as a description of a situation. A description affirms the cognitive presence of a conceptually or perceptually given situation. (Kuroda, 2005, 37-38)

Some specificities of VSX thetic sentences are described in 2.1 and 2.2, which further strengthen the view that theticity is a kind of evidentiality and the specific VSX word order an option for their syntactic expression. Cardinalletti's (2004) syntactic analysis of thetic sentences is summarized in section 2.3 and identified what remains unexplained by it. In section 2.4, I will put forward the EvidP hypothesis.

2.1. Directionality relative to the speaker's location

Thetic sentences with a postverbal subject are speaker-oriented as they imply the notion of the speaker's 'perceptual field'. This was already noted by Cardinalletti (2004), who quotes Tortora (1997, 2001), with respect to motion verbs:

The structural difference between [É arrivato Gianni] and [Gianni é arrivato / É arrivato Gianni] correlates with a different interpretation of the two sets of sentences. Tortora (1997: 4.2.1.1 and 2001) points out that in [É arrivato Gianni], the goal of the motion is necessarily speaker-oriented ("Gianni has arrived where the speaker is", while it is free in reference in [Gianni é arrivato / É arrivato Gianni] ("Gianni has arrived somewhere, even if the speaker was not in that place at the time of arrival"). (Cardinalletti 2004, p.153).

The examples in (5), with the motion verb *chegar* 'arrive' show exactly the same situation in European Portuguese as in Italian. Whereas the SV sentence (5b) allows two possible interpretations for the place of arrival, either within or outside the speaker's perceptual field, the VS sentence (5a) only allows the former. This is because the VS order makes the sentence unambiguously thetic (hence, speaker-oriented), blocking the categorical/topicalized interpretation. The motion is toward the speaker and places the motioned entity within the speaker's perceptual field.

- (5) a. Já chegou o teu pai. non-ambiguous: SPEAKER-ORIENTED already arrived the your father 'Your father has arrived already.'
 - (i) 'here, at us, for dinner.' OK
 - (ii) 'back at his home/to Paris by now.' OUT

b. O teu pai já chegou.

- ambiguous
- 'Your father has arrived already.'
- (i) here, at us, for dinner.' OK
- (ii) back at his home/to Paris by now.' OK

This kind of directionality relative to the speaker's location can be attested with some other verbs besides motion verbs, as is the case of *telefonar* 'call'. The examples in (6) show that *telefonar* smoothly allows variation between the SV and the VS orders, (6a) and (6b) respectively. Nevertheless, as the paradigm in (7) attests, VS blocks the interpretation in which the receiver of the phone call is not the speaker (or someone staying in the same location as the speaker). Thus (7Bb) is not an appropriate answer to (7A), in contrast to (7Ba).

- (6) a. A mãe telefonou. Queria falar contigo. the mother called wanted talk.INF with-you
 - b. Telefonou a mãe. Queria falar.INF contigo.called the mother wanted talk with-you'Mother called. She wanted to talk with you.'
- (7) A: A mãe ainda não telefonou para a clínica? the mother yet not called to the clinic 'Hasn't mother called the medical center yet?'
 - B: a. A mãe telefonou mas ainda não tinham o resultado dos exames. the mother called but yet not had.3PL the result of the exams
 - b. #Telefonou a mãe mas ainda não tinham o resultado dos exames. called the mother but yet not had.3PL the result of the exams 'Mother called, but they haven't got the results of the (medical) exams yet.'

2.2. Interaction with negation and Tense-aspect

Thetic sentences with postverbal subjects show some restrictions relative to polarity and tense-aspect. If theticity is a kind of evidentiality, as here proposed, this is not surprising. In fact, such interactions have been widely attested in languages that display morphological marking of evidentiality (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004, 2015; Brown, 2010; Peterson and Sauerland, 2010; Chung, 1999, 2012; Kalsang, Garfield and Speas, 2013; Forker, 2018, among others). I will first exemplify how negation may block the thetic interpretation, thus making VS negative sentences awkward.

The choices available in a combined Tense/Aspect system may depend on the choice that is made in the Evidentiality system.(...) In some languages there are fewer evidentiality choices in negative clauses than in positive ones; that is, certain Evidentiality contrasts may be neutralized in negative, just as certain Tense and Aspect choices are, in some languages. (Aikhenvald, 2015)

The sentences in (8a-c) and (9a-c) are natural as broad information focus sentences uttered out-of-the-blue, but the negative VS sentences in (8d) and (9d) are not. The contrast between the (d) sentences and both the sentences with the same polarity (i.e. the (c) ones) and the sentences with the same word order (i.e. (the (b) ones) shows that VS thetic sentences and negation may be mutually exclusive.

- (8) a. O Presidente morreu.
 - the President died
 - b. Morreu o Presidente. died the President
 - 'The president died.'
 - c. O Presidente não morreu. [situation: the President's life was at risk] the president not died
 - d. #Não morreu o Presidente. not died the president 'The president did not die.'
- (9) a. A Maria telefonou.

the Maria called

- b. Telefonou a Maria.called the Maria'Maria called.'
- c. A Maria não telefonou. [situation: Maria was expected to call] the Maria not called
- d. #Não telefonou a Maria. not called the Maria

'Maria did not call.'

If we now turn our attention to contrasts relative to Tense-Aspect, it can be observed that root sentences with the verb in the past imperfect indicative facilitate postverbal subjects, e.g. when articulated with an adverbial subordinate clause that (possibly) locates the situation described in the speaker's perceptual field. This is illustrated in (10a-c).

- (10) a. Subia o bombeiro as escadas quando o homem se atirou da janela.

 climbed.IMPERF the firefighter the stairs when the man REFL threw from the window

 'The firefighter was climbing the stairs when the man threw himself out of the window.'
 - b. Estava a primeira-dama francesa a fazer furor em França quando o passado rebelde was the first.lady French doing furor in France when the past rebellious a voltou a ensombrar. (*Flash*, 12-05-2009)

her.ACC came.back to overshadow

'The French first lady was enchanting in Spain when the rebellious past once again overshadowed her.'

c. Diz que não dorme, mas ontem quando cheguei a casa *dormia ele a bom dormir*. says that not sleeps but yesterday when arrived.1sG at home slept he to good sleep 'He says that he doesn't sleep, but yesterday when I arrived home he was lying fast asleep.'

On the other hand, future tense seems to be incompatible with VS thetic sentences, as exemlified in (11). Crucially, the contrast would not occur with the verb in the past tense (cf. (8) above).

(11) A: 'What's the matter?'

B: a O presidente morrerá/vai morrer. the president will.die/goes die.INF

b. #{Morrerá/vai morrer} o presidente.³ (ok iff the subject is narrow focus) will-die/goes die.INF the president

'The president will die/is going to die.'

This is again what has been observed in languages with grammatical marking of evidentiality distinctions. Aikhenvald (2015) observes that "evidentiality may be expressed in the past tense and in the present tense, but not in the future". Moreover, it is in past tenses that evidential specifications are more widely attested across languages (Aikhenvald, 2015; Forker, 2016). Within past tenses, evidential constructions are compatible with both the imperfective and the perfective aspect but can be restricted to one or the other value in individual languages. Relevantly, the imperfective aspect often expresses direct visual evidentiality (Forker 2016).

2.3. Cardinalletti (2004)

In her influential article "Toward a cartography of subject positions", Cardinalletti (2004) analyzes categorical, thetic and VXS sentences with narrow focus on the subject as shown in (11), (12) and (13) respectively. In categorical sentences, the subject moves to Spec,SubjP, where it is interpreted as the aboutness topic of sentences with a topic-comment articulation. In subject-focus VXS sentences the subject is left alone inside VP and linearized in the sentence-final position to which prosodic stress is assigned. Finally, thetic sentences either display subject movement to Spec,EPPP, the position associated with the EPP-feature, or maintain the subject inside the VP while a null locative argument occupies Spec,EPPP and induces the speaker-oriented effect described above: "Following Tortora, the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal implies the presence of a locative argument". (Cardinalletti, 2004, p.153-54).⁴

³ This sentence would be perfectly fine as an answer to Who will die? / Who is going to die?, in which case the subject would bear narrow focus.

⁴ According to Cardinalletti (2004), English SV thetic sentences differ from their Italian correlates because the subject moves to a lower position, which allows the null locative argument to cooccur with it:

⁽i) $\begin{bmatrix} S_{\text{SubiP}} & C_{\text{EPPP}} & C_{\text{LOC}} \end{bmatrix}$ there $\begin{bmatrix} S_{\text{AgrSP}} & ... & C_{\text{VP}} & C_{\text{Arrived}} \end{bmatrix}$ Thetic sentence (VS)

(12) a.
$$\begin{bmatrix} S_{\text{SubjP}} & G_{\text{ianni}_k} & G_{\text{eppP}} & G_{\text{epp$$

Inspiring as it might be, Cardinalletti's (2004) analysis seems to have some drawbacks. Thetic sentences are derived in different ways in SV transitive/intransitive structures and VS unaccusative structures. Only the latter include the null locative argument. In SV (in)transitive sentences the thetic interpretation arises just because the subject does not move beyond spec, EPPP, i.e. there is no "subject-of predication" feature attracting the subject to spec, SubjP. This approach raises the following questions:

- (i) "the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal" is possible, though not necessary, in SV sentences (see above Cardinalletti's (2004, p. 153) quotation, and example (5b)), but this is not predicted by Cardinalletti's (2004) analysis, because only VS sentences have the null locative argument;
- (ii) if the speaker-oriented interpretation of VS thetic sentences was determined by the null locative argument associated with unaccusative verbs, it should not be found with intransitive verbs – but example (7) above, with the verb telefonar 'call', shows that this is not the case;
- (iii) Cardinalletti's (2014) analysis gives us no cues on the interaction between theticity and polarity or theticity and tense-aspect.

2.4. An alternative proposal: Evid(ential)P

Alternatively to adopting Cardinalletti's (2004) proposal, I tentatively suggest that an Evid(ential) Projection within the IP space is the specific functional component of European Portuguese VSX thetic sentences, distinguishing them from categorical sentences. The relevant structure that I have mind is (15)/(16), which supposes the existence besides the left peripheral Evidential head originally proposed by Cinque (1999) of a lower EvidP, directly above TP, as

⁽ii) $[S_{SubjP}]_{EPPP} \varnothing_{LOC} [S_{AgrSP}]_{LOC} [S_{AgrSP}]_{VP}$ arrived S_{k} Thetic sentence (SV) "English also allows for the subject of a thetic sentence to move to a preverbal position [...]. Example [ii], with a rising intonation on John – signaled here by italics to distinguish it from contrastive focus – expectedly has the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. Since in English, the overt movement of the subject to the preverbal position can only be triggered by the need to check nominative case and ϕ -features, I take *John* to occupy specAgrSP, which must therefore be located below the EPP-related position." (Cardinalletti 2004:153-54). Cardinalletti (2004) further explains that "Italian does not allow a sentence like [ii] [...] presumably because case and ϕ -features can be checked covertly (or long distance). In Italian, overt DP movement to the preverbal position can only be motivated by the need to check either the EPP or the subject-of-predication feature". (Cardinalletti, 2004: 154).

part of the clausal functional structure.⁵ The availability of the lower IP-based Evidential head is hypothetically a matter of parametric variation across languages. In regard to word order in European Portuguese, variation between VS and SV thetic sentences may then reduce to whether the subject moves to Spec,EvidP or stays in a lower position (within the complement of the Evid head), whereas the verb always moves to Evid⁰, as schematically shown in (16).⁶

$$(15) \left[_{\text{CP}} \ldots \right]_{\text{PolP}} \text{Pol}_{\text{[+aff]}}^{0} \left[_{\text{EvidP}} \text{Evid}^{0} \left[_{\text{TP}} \ldots \right]_{\text{VP}} \ldots \right] \right] \right]$$

$$(16) \text{ a. } \left[_{\text{PolP}} \text{Pol}_{\text{[+aff]}}^{0} \left[_{\text{EvidP}} \left[_{\text{EvidP}} \text{Pousou}_{j} \left[_{\text{TP}} t_{j} \left[_{\text{VP}} \right]_{\text{uma águia } t_{j}} \right] \text{ no plátano} \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\text{landed} \qquad \text{an eagle in the maple tree}$$

$$\text{b. } \left[_{\text{PolP}} \text{Pol}_{\text{[+aff]}}^{0} \left[_{\text{EvidP}} \text{Uma águia}_{j} \left[_{\text{EvidP}} \text{pousou}_{j} \left[_{\text{TP}} t_{j} \left[_{\text{VP}} t_{j} \right]_{\text{t}} \right] \text{ no plátano} \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\text{an eagle landed} \qquad \text{in the maple tree}$$

This proposal has the following advantages over adopting Cardinalletti's (2004):

- (i) theticity is grammatically encoded in a similar way in (in)transitive and unaccusative structures (as well as in SV and VS sentences);
- (ii) thetic sentences are speaker-oriented as an effect of the type of evidentiality codified by the Evid(ential) head;
- (iii) the fact that theticity seems to interact with polarity and tense-aspect becomes expected, because such interactions have been widely attested in languages that display grammatical marking of evidentiality (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004, 2015; Peterson and Sauerland, 2010; Chung, 2012; Kalsang, Garfield and Speas, 2013; Forker, 2018, among others).

3. Clause-internal contrastive focus: Foc(us)P and Eval(uative)P in the CP area

Contrastive focus-movement usually places the focused constituent in initial position (unless it is preceded by a topicalized phrase), deriving the order OVS in object-focus sentences and the order SVO in subject-focus sentences, as exemplified in (17) and (18) respectively.

(17) *De notícias* se faz o nosso mundo. (TV-channel slogan) of news SE makes the our world 'It's the news that make up our world.'

⁵ The data discussed by Etxepare (2016), on the Basque hearsay evidential particle *omen*, or by Ince (2006), on pseudo-sluicing in Turkish, may give further empirical support to this proposal.

⁶ Whereas VSX sentences can be unambiguously interpreted as thetic, SVX sentences are ambiguous between a thetic and a categorical interpretation. This interpretive ambiguity has a structural basis, because in SVX categorical sentences the subject moves higher than in thetic sentences, as proposed by Cardinalletti (2004) and Martins (1994), among others. Considering (16), in a categorical sentence the subject would be in Spec,PolP, or in a Topic positions above it. I am assuming, as in earlier work, that Spec,TP is not a subject position in European Portuguese (Costa and Martin, 2010; Martins, 2012). Note however that the order VSX would be derived in (16a) even if the subject would move to Spec,TP.

(18) *Ele* o disse, quinta-feira, na breve declaração à imprensa (*Expresso*, 20.02.2010) he it.ACC said Thursday in the brief declaration to the press 'He said it himself, last Thursday, in his brief declaration to the press.'

However, European Portuguese also allows VSX sentences with the subject bearing a contrastive focus interpretation. Like in the more usual pattern of contrastive-focus movement, these sentences display wide information focus interpretation coupled with contrastive focus on the subject (cf. Costa and Martins, 2011; Martins and Costa, 2016). The VSX pattern with 'internal' contrastive focus is found in declaratives, like (19)-(20), and *yes/no* interrogatives, like (21). It may also have an exclamative flavor, as exemplified in (22). It is perfectly compatible with negation, as shown in (19), contrasting with the thetic sentences discussed in section 2. above.

(19) Não fez o João o jantar, fiz eu.not did João the dinner, did I.It wasn't João who cooked dinner, it was me.'[Situation: uttered as a reaction to someone gesturing to João that the food is excellent]

(20) Compra o João o vinho para o jantar.

buys João the wine for the dinner 'João will buy the wine for dinner.'

- (21) Compra o João o vinho para o jantar? buys João the wine for the dinner 'Is it João who will buy the wine for dinner?'
- (22) Contas tu (a história) ou conto eu!/.

 tell you (the story) or tell I

 'Either it is you who tells the story or I do!/.'

 [Possible continuation: It can't be both at the same time!]

That the subject bears contrastive focus in these sentences is shown by the fact that they are easily paraphrased by clefts, like in (23). Moreover, the focused subject can be associated with exclusive/inclusive focus markers like só 'only', também 'also' or sempre 'always', as exemplified in (24).

- (23) a. Ou és tu que contas a história ou sou eu! Não os dois ao mesmo tempo. or is you that tell the story or is I! not the two at.the same time 'Either it is you who tells the story or it is me! Not both at the same time.'
 - Não foi o João que fez o jantar, fui eu.
 not was the João that did the dinner, was I
 'It wasn't João who cooked dinner, it was me.'

- c. É o João que compra o vinho para o jantar? is the João that buys the wine for the dinner 'Is it João who will buy the wine for dinner?'
- (24) A: Vou convidar os meus pais para passarem uma semana connosco. go.1SG invite my parents to spend one week with.us 'I'm going to invite my parents to spend one week with us.'
 - B: E fazes [só/sempre/também tu] o jantar! and do only/always/also you the dinner 'And you only/always/also do the dinner!'

On the other hand, the fact that VXS is excluded in the relevant contexts constitutes evidence that the subject is not assigned narrow information focus, as shown in (25) and (26). In the paradigm (26) the manner adverb *bem* 'well' signals the border of the VP, so it is clear that differently from narrow information focus subjects (cf. (14) above), the sentential subject in (26) cannot stay inside the VP. Thus sentences (26a-b) with the subject preceding the adverb *bem* are acceptable whereas sentences (26c-d) with the subject following *bem* are excluded.

- (25) A: Vou convidar os meus pais para passarem uma semana connosco. go.1sG invite my parents to spend one week with.us 'I'm going to invite my parents to spend one week with us.'
 - B: a. E fazes tu todos os dias o jantar!

 and do you all the days the dinner
 b.*E fazes todos os dias o jantar tu!

 and do all the days the dinner you
 'And you cook dinner every day!'
- (26) a. Contas tu a história bem ou conto(-a) eu (bem)! [short-scrambling of *a história*] tell you the story well or tell-it I well
 - b. ?Contas tu bem a história ou conto(-a) eu (bem)! tell you well the story or tell-it I well
 - c. *Contas bem tu a história ou conto bem eu! tell well you the story or tell well I
 - d. *Contas bem a história tu ou conto bem eu! (*VOS) tell well the story you or tell well I
 'Either you tell the story properly or I do!'

Since in the VSX sentences under discussion the subject DP bears contrastive focus, the null hypothesis is that there is focus-movement to the sentential left periphery, targeting

Spec,FocP, like in the verb-second pattern of focalization (XVS/SVX).⁷ If this hypothesis is on the right track, then VSX is derived with the verb also moving to the CP area and targeting a left-peripheral position above FocP. Let us start with providing some evidence supporting both claims.

-ly adverbs like *rapidamente* 'frequently' may regularly appear in postverbal or preverbal position (in between the subject and the verb) in declarative sentences in European Portuguese, adjoining respectively to VP or TP (Costa, 1998). Assuming that the verb and the subject are in the CP area in the VSX sentences under discussion, it comes as no surprise that the adverb must follow the verb and the subject, be the adverb adjoined to VP or TP. Hence, (27a) is a grammatical option, but (27b) and (27c) are not.

- (27) a. Contas tu rapidamente a história ou conto-a eu! tell you rapidly the story or tell-it I
 - b. *?Contas rapidamente tu a história ou conto-a eu! tell rapidly you the story or tell-it I
 - c. *Rapidamente contas tu a história ou conto-a eu! rapidly tell you the story or tell-it I
 'Either you tell the story at once or I do!'

In independent work on the syntax of unambiguous metalinguistic negation (MN) markers in European Portuguese (Martins, 2014, 2020), I have shown that the MN marker *agora* (literally, 'now'), like unambiguous MN markers in general, realizes a functional position in the CP field. Besides, the MN marker *agora*, which usually surfaces in sentence-final position, admits overt material to its right if some constituent is moved to Spec,FocP, as exemplified in (28).

- (28) [A] a. O João deu um carro à Maria. the João gave a car to.the Maria. 'John gave Mary a car.'
 - [B] a. Deu *agora*. gave MN-marker
 - b. Deu *agora um carro*.gave MN-marker a car'Like hell/no way (João gave Mary *a car*).'

On apparently similar structures in BP, cf. Araújo and Simioni (2015). The Brazilian Portuguese VSX sentences with contrastive focus on the subject are restricted to imperatives. The authors show that in VSX imperatives the subject is in the low FocP position in the left-periphery of ν P and there is no V-to-C. Cf. Rizzi (1997, 2016) on the uniqueness of left peripheral FocP, and Belletti (2004); Collins and Essizewa (2007); Bocci (2008) on the fact that only one FocP can be instantiated per clause: either the low FocP above ν P or the high FocP in the clausal left-periphery.

We may thus test whether the contrastive postverbal subject is allowed to follow the MN marker *agora*, as we would expect if it occupies the same structural position as the material surfacing to the right of the MN marker, namely Spec,FocP. Sentence (29), with *agora* intervening between the verb and the subject, shows this is indeed so.

```
(29) [A] Não contas tu a história, conto eu!
not tell you the story, tell I!
'It won't be you but me who will tell the story!'
[B] Não conto agora eu (e contas tu)!
not tell MN-marker I (and tell you)
```

'Like hell, it's not me (but you) who will tell it!'

At this point we will have to ask to which functional position is the verb moving in the sentential left periphery. A good candidate is the Eval(uative) head proposed, among others, by Ambar (1999) and Corr (2016). In the last decades, Rizzi's (1997, 2004) cartography of the left periphery, initially proposed as shown in Figure 1, has been enriched by further splitting some of the categories of the CP space and adding pragmatically motivated structure above CP. Many different proposals appeared in the literature. Corr's (2016) expanded left periphery incorporates a UtteranceP (UP) space above CP and splits Rizzi's Force into three different categories, as represented in Figure 2.

Rizzi's LEFT PERIPHERY (C-system/CP space)

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Figure 1: Rizzi's (1997, 2004) Left Periphery (Top – Topic, Int – Interrogative, Foc -Focus, Mod – (Adverbial) Modifier, Fin – Finiteness)
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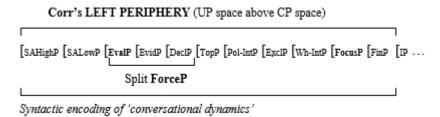
```
Rizzi's LEFT PERIPHERY (C-system/CP space)

Force Top* Int Top* Foc Mod* Top* Fin IP ...

Discourse-oriented layer Propositional layer
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Figure 2: Corr's (2016) Left Periphery

(SA – Speech Act; Eval – Evaluative, Evid – Evidential, Decl – Declarative, Pol-Int – Polar-Interrogative, Excl – Exclamative, Wh-Int – wh-Interrogative)



Adopting Corr's (2016) cartography of the left periphery, if the subject moves to Spec,FocP and the verb moves to Eval, the right VSX order is derived (whereas in the XVS/

SVX pattern of contrastive focalization the verb moves only to Fin, not higher). The contrastive focus interpretation of the subject trivially follows. Verb movement to Eval gives the sentences the 'evaluative' meaning. These evaluative sentences denote the speaker's attitude towards the uttered proposition, adding a comment on top of the mere assertion of the proposition. The speaker's attitude is usually negative, in a clear or subtle way, as respectively exemplified in (30) and (31).

- (30) A: Não compramos filetes, compramos antes o peixe inteiro. not buy.1PL fish-filets, buy.1PL rather the fish whole 'Let's not buy fish filets, but a whole fish.'
 - B: Cozinhas tu (o peixe inteiro)!/.
 cook.2SG you the fish whole
 'You cook it!' (Implied: 'I won't')
- (31) Amanhã escrevo aos organizadores. Há uns tempos ficaram de me dizer se tomorrow write.1SG to the organizers. there is some time stayed of me tell if *comprava eu* o bilhete ou *compravam eles*.

 bought I the ticket or bought them

 'Tomorrow I will write to the conference organizers. They were supposed to let me know whether I will buy the ticket or THEY will. / They were supposed to let me know whether it is me or them who will buy the tickets.'

In section 4. brief notice will be given of two other kinds of VSX structures that presumably involve verb movement to Eval (but not focus-movement). They share with subject-focus VSX sentences the negatively marked evaluative component.

4. Coordinate non-degree exclamatives and inverted conditionals

Coordinate non-degree exclamatives and inverted conditionals are verb-initial structures with immediately postverbal subjects. Like contrastive subject-focus sentences, they seem to activate EvalP in the left periphery, but do not display focused subjects. The two instances of movement are thus independent from each other.

4.1. Coordinate non-degree exclamatives

VSX coordinate exclamatives are indicative structures displaying non-recursive coordination by the additive conjunction e 'and'. The VS order in the first conjunct introduces a counterexpectational flavor and anticipates the contrast between the two propositions. These sentences show the characteristic properties of *non-degree* exclamatives (Andueza, 2011; Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza, 2011; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 1996) and add to the propositional content of the sentence an implicit comment conveying a speaker's attitude of disapproval

towards the described state of affairs, as exemplified in (32) to (34). The implicit evaluative/emotive reaction disappears in the absence of subject-verb inversion.

- (32) Convidei eu a Maria para jantar e ela não apareceu! invited I the Maria for dinner and she not showed.up 'I invited Maria for dinner and she didn't show up!' [*Implied*: She should have shown up! *or* I shouldn't have invited her!]
- (33) Leu o miúdo os livros todos e o professor dá-lhe esta nota! read the kid the books all and the professor gives-him this grade 'The kid read everything and the teacher gave him this (low) grade!' [Implied: The teacher should have given the kid a better grade! or There was no need for reading everything after all!]
- (34) Não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico e esteve um dia de sol! not went we to-the garden zoological and was a day of sun 'We didn't go to the zoo and/but after all it was a sunny day!' [*Implied*: We should have gone to the zoo!]

The application of standard tests for verb movement shows that the verb moves to C in coordinate non-degree exclamatives, as exemplified by the (im)possible positions of *-ly* adverbs in (36b-c). Although adverbs like *frequentemente* 'frequently' may regularly appear in postverbal position or preverbal position, in between the subject and the verb, in regular declarative sentences in European Portuguese (see (35a-b), adjoining respectively to VP or TP, in coordinate VSX exclamatives there is only one position available for the adverb, namely after the verb and the postverbal subject, as shown in (35).8

- (35) a. Eu convido frequentemente a Maria mas ela nunca aparece. I invite frequently the Maria but she never appears
 - b. Eu frequentemente convido a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.I frequently invite the Maria but she never appears
 - c. Frequentemente eu convido a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.frequently I invite Maria but she never appears'I often invite Maria but she never shows up.'

⁸ The European Portuguese expletive *ele*, which belongs to the CP area (Carrilho, 2005), can intervene between the verb and the subject in coordinate VSX exclamatives. I thank Ernestina Carrilho (whose dialect allows postverbal expletive *ele*) for the data in (i).

⁽i) Não fomos *ele* nós ao jardim zoológico e esteve um dia de sol! not went EXPL we to the garden zoological and was a day of sun 'We didn't go to the zoo and/but after all it was a sunny day!' (*Implied:* We should have gone to the zoo!)

- (36) a. Convido eu frequentemente a Maria e ela nunca aparece! invite I frequently the Maria but she never appears
 - b. *Convido frequentemente eu a Maria e ela nunca aparece! invite frequently I the Maria but she never appears
 - c. *Frequentemente convido eu Maria e ela nunca aparece! frequently invite I the Maria but she never appears 'I often invite Maria and/but she never shows up!'

In Martins (2013), I proposed that an evaluative feature in the CP field triggers V-to-C movement (cf. Ambar 1999; Ono 2006), which is restricted to the first member of the coordinate structure while the head of the structure itself (i.e. the coordinate conjunction) satisfies the evaluative feature of the second conjunct, so only the first conjunct displays subject-verb inversion. This is possible because the head of the coordinate structure inherits the evaluative feature of its specifier and projects it to Co(ordination)P (Johannessen, 1998). When an evaluative feature is independently associated with the second conjunct, the head of the coordinate structure satisfies $C_{[+\text{eval}]}$ and dispenses with V-to-C. In other words, the head of CoP inherits the evaluative feature of the first conjunct through Spec-Head agreement and can then license the evaluative feature of its complement. Some interpretative and syntactic contrasts between what I have called 'concessive' and adversative' non-degree exclamatives depends on whether each conjunct bears an evaluative feature of its own or only the conjunct displaying subject-verb inversion does, as exemplified in (37) and (38) respectively.

'I invited Maria for dinner and she didn't show up!'
(*Implied*: She should have shown up! *or* I shouldn't have invited her!)

'We didn't go to the zoo and after all it's a sunny day!'

(*Implied*: We should have gone to the zoo!)

Although in Martins (2013) I referred to the functional head that carries the evaluative feature as $C_{\text{[+eval]}}$, I could as well have named it *Evaluative* (Ambar 1999). Hence, I now slightly rephrase the above analysis by saying that verb movement to C is specifically verb movement to Eval.

4.2. Inverted conditionals

Inverted conditionals are derived by verb movement to C (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) and involve coordination in European Portuguese (see (39)), differently from English or Spanish (see (40) and (41)). In inverted conditionals, "non-canonical word-order encodes extra-information regarding the discourse status of constituents" (Biezma, 2011). Inverted conditionals are often reproaches, thus negatively-marked like coordinate non-degree exclamatives.

- (39) a. Tivesse o rato fugido ??(e) o gato não o tinha comido.
 had.SUBJUNCTIVE the mouse run.away and the cat not it.ACC had eaten
 'If the mouse had run away, the cat wouldn't have eaten it.'
 - b. Não comesse ele tanto *?(e) não engordava. not eat.subjunctive he so.much (and) not fattened 'If he didn't eat so much, he would not get fat.'
- (40) English: Had I been offered the job, I would have brought champagne.

 (Biezma 2011, p. 552)
- (41) Spanish: Me hubieran ofrecido el trabajo, habría traído champán.

 me had.SUBJUNCTIVE offered the job would.have.1SG brought champagne

 'Had they offered me the job, I would have brought champagne.'

 (Biezma 2011, p. 552)

European Portuguese inverted conditionals may display a single-conjunct structure like in (42), which is also a feature shared with coordinate non-degree exclamatives, like (43). Sentences (44a-b) display the alternative double conjunct structures relative to (43).

- (42) Desse-me vocemecê presuntos, em vez de rezas! (Fernando Namora, *O Trigo e o Joio*) give.SUBJUNCTIVE me you hams in turn of prays 'If you would give me provisions instead of prayers (you would do better)!'
- (43) (E) quer ela ser escritora!

 (and) wants she be writer

 'How come she wants to be a writer?!'

 [Situation: the speaker is reading a poorly written paper by someone who wishes to be a writer]
 - (44) a. Quer ela ser escritora e escreve desta maneira! wants she be writer and writes of this manner
 - b. Escreve desta maneira e quer ela ser escritora! writes of.this manner and wants she be writer

 She wants to be a writer and/but writes like this?!'

The functional head Eval is again a good candidate to be the target of verb movement in inverted conditionals. Why coordination plays a role in European Portuguese inverted conditionals, in contrast to Spanish and English, remains an open question for future research.

5. Conclusion

This paper discusses the understudied VSX constituent order of declarative (and some non-degree exclamative) sentences in European Portuguese and shows that it can be the outcome of different syntactic derivations with interesting consequences for semantic interpretation. Two main types of VSX structures were investigated. One type in which the verb and the immediately postverbal subject stay inside the IP space and one type in which the verb or both the verb and the subject move to positions in the CP space, i.e. the sentential left periphery. Simplified structural representations of each type are shown in (45) and (46).

(45) a. Pousou uma/a águia no plátano.
landed a/the eagle in.the maple.tree
'An/The eagle landed in the maple tree.'
[Possible continuation of: 'Come here quietly. Look...']

b. $[P_{OIP} Pol_{[+aff]}^0 [P_{EvidP} Pousou_j] [P_{TP} t_j [P_{VP} uma/a águia t_j no plátano]]]]$

(46) a. Comprei eu os bilhetes.

bought I the tickets

'It was me who bought the tickets.'

[Possible reply to: 'It was nice of him to invite us to the premiere of his new play.']

b. $[E_{EvalP} \ Comprei_i \ ... \ [E_{FocusP} \ eu_i \ [E_{FinP} \ t_i \ [I_{IP} \ t_i \ t_i \ os \ bilhetes ... \]$

The 'IP type' VSX sentences have a thetic, wide focus interpretation with no single constituent assigned any type of informational highlighting. I have proposed that theticity is a kind of sensory (especially visual) evidentiality, hence the presence of an Evidential head targeted by verb movement in the functional structure of the clause, as in (45). An issue left for future research is how the IP-internal Evid head connects with the left peripheral one (cf. Figure 2) – there is no evidence of verb movement to C in VSX thetic sentences, a consensual matter in the literature (cf. (13) above). The 'CP type' VSX order covers sentences that have in common an evaluative import, generally conveying criticism, but may differ in other respects. 'Internal' subject-focus structures display movement of the subject DP to Spec,FocP, which gives it the contrastive interpretation, and movement of the verb to the Evaluative head in the sentential left periphery. Inverted conditionals (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) and coordinate non-degree exclamatives (Martins, 2013) share with sentences like (46a) verb movement to Eval, but do not display contrastive or other highlighting of the subject, which signals that FocP plays no role in their derivations. As for contrastive subject-focus sentences with SVX order, they differ from sentences like (46a) in that the verb only reaches Fin, with the interpretative consequence that

they do not have an evaluative meaning, in the relevant sense.

Acknowledgements

This investigation was partially funded by *Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia* (FCT), through the projects UIDB/00214/2020 and SynAPse, PTDC/LLT-LIN/32086/2017.

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