

Syntactic Doubling in European Portuguese Dialects

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0. Syntactic Doubling in European Portuguese

➤ several instances of *doubling* in the standard language:

- resumption
- clitic doubling
- verb duplication (cf. Ana Maria Martins' talk)
- ...

➤ particularly abundant in non-standard varieties

e.g. resumptive relatives

(also frequent in non-controlled spoken language, even by educated speakers)

- (i) essa tal feiticeira que lhe chamam a pata-roxa (VPA11)
 that such 'witch'_[name of fish] that_[REL/Comp] to.it_{DAT.CL} call_{3PL} the pata-roxa
that witch[fish] which is called pata-roxa.

cf.

- (i') essa tal feiticeira (a) que chamam a pata-roxa
 that such 'witch' (to) which call_{3PL} the *pata-roxa*

1. Syntactic Doubling Phenomena in CORDIAL-SIN (overview)

a. Complementizer doubling

- (1) Eu sei que aquilo que não é por mal, sabe? (VPA15)

I know that that_[DEM] that not is for injury know_{3SG}

I know that that is not for injury, you know.

- (2) ... se me chegar a notícia que os meus filhos
 if to-me_{DAT.CL} arrive_{FUT.SBJ-3SG} the news that the my children

que gazearam a escola... (VPA15)

that missed_{3PL} the school

± ... *if I happen to know that my children missed the school...*

- (3) ... dizem que pôr assim nas casas que faz bem. (FIG12)

say_{3PL} that put_{INF} in.this.way in.the houses that makes good

± ... *people say that it is good to have [this] in the house.*

- (4) ...ouvámos falar que em Lisboa que as varinas apregoavam lá
 heard_{IMPERF1PL} speak_{INF} that in Lisbon that the fishsellers announce_{IMPERF3PL} there

carapau... (PAL09)

mackerel

± ... *we heard that in Lisbon the fishsellers announced mackerel...*

- (5) Os nossos velhos (...) diziam que de facto que havia aquilo. (CTL37)

the our old.people say_{IMPERF3PL} that in fact that have_{IMPERF3SG} that

Our parents said that in fact that existed.

- (6) ...eu tenho a impressão (...) que ele que havia ainda
 I have_{1SG} the impression that EXPL that have_{IMPERF3SG} still

lá disso. (AAL21)

there of.that

...I have the impression that there was some of that there.

- (7) Até penso que ele agora que até mudaram para o sábado. (MTM16)
 even think_{1SG}that EXPL now that even change_{PERF3PL} to the saturday

I think that now they have even changed to saturday.

b. Doubling of *ser* 'to be' in cleft constructions

- (8) Era assim é que se fazia. (TRC67)

be_{IMPERF3SG} in.this.way be_{PRES3SG} that SE made_{IMPERF3SG}

It was in this way that people made [that].

- (9) É assim é que eu faço queijo. (STJ18)

be_{PRES3SG} in.this.way be_{PRES3SG} thatI make_{PRES1SG} cheese

It is in this way that I make cheese.

- (10) Foi o nosso governo é que encheu aquilo tudo
 be_{PERF3SG} the our government be_{PRES3SG} that filled_{3SG} that all

de matas. (TRC67)

of thickets

- (11) É ele é que manda. (EXB35)

be_{PRES3SG} he be_{PRES3SG} that command_{3SG}

- (12) Era broa é que a gente fazia! (MIN19)

be_{IMPERF3SG} cornbread be_{PRES3SG} that the people make_{IMPERF3SG}

⇒ Cf. two different cleft constructions in EP:

- cleft:

- (13) Era assim que se fazia

be_{IMPERF3SG} in.this.way that SE made_{IMPERF3SG}

- *é que* inverted pseudocleft:

- (14) Assim é que se fazia

in.this.way be_{PRES3SG} that SE made_{IMPERF3SG}

Cleft constructions in EP (cf. Costa & Duarte 2001):

a. *wh-cleft*:

Foi a minha mulher quem disse isso.
 be_{PERF3SG} the my wife who said that

b. *cleft*:

Foi a minha mulher que disse isso.
 be_{PERF3SG} the my wife that said that

c. *basic pseudocleft*:

Quem disse isso foi a minha mulher.
 who said that be_{PERF3SG} the my wife

d. *inverted pseudocleft*:

A minha mulher foi quem disse isso.
the my wife be_{PERF3SG} who said that

e. *é que inverted pseudocleft*:

A minha mulher é que disse isso.
the my wife be_{PRES3SG} that said that

f. *basic semipseudocleft*:

Disse isso foi a minha mulher.
said that be_{PERF3SG} the my wife

c. Doubling of *é que* ‘is that’ in clefts and in interrogatives

- (15) Isso é que é que serve para chá. (CBV68)
that is that is that serves for tea
It is that that is good for tea.

- (16) Mas a minha mulher é que é que estava lá... (AAL33)
but the my wife is that is that was there
It was my wife who was there...

- (17) Agora como é que é que se chamava aquilo (...) não sei. (AAL19)
now how is that is that SE called that not know_{PRES1SG}
Now, I don't know how people called that.

- (18) Como é que é que vossemecê disse? (PVC20)
how is that is that you said
How did you say it?

d. Doubling of (focus-sensitive?) adverbs

- (19) Ainda no mar ainda às vezes se orientamos pela vaga. (MLD38)
still in.the sea still sometimes SE guide_{PRES1PL} by.the wave
At sea, sometimes we are still guided by the waves.

- (20) Hoje já certas espécies já se vão extinguindo. (AAL19)
today already certain species already SE go_{PRES3PL} disappear_{GERUND}
Nowadays, certain species are already disappearing.

- (21) Só uso só esse nome. (ALC32)
only use_{PRES1SG} only that name
I only use that name.

- (22) Mas também seca também fica boa. (CLC25)
but also dried also get_{PRES3SG} good
It is also good if it is dried.

e. Clitic duplication

Clitic placement in EP: some relevant data

- enclisis / proclisis complementary distribution in finite clauses:

- (23) a. O rapaz disse **que** lhe telefonou.
the boy said_{3SG} that him_{DAT.CL} phoned_{3SG}
b. O rapaz **não** lhe telefonou.
the boy not him_{DAT.CL} phoned_{3SG}
c. O rapaz **já** lhe telefonou.
the boy already him_{DAT.CL} phoned_{3PL}
d. **Quem** lhe telefonou?
who him_{DAT.CL} phoned_{3SG}
e. **Todos** lhe telefonaram.
all him_{DAT.CL} phoned_{3PL}
f. **Muitos rapazes** lhe telefonaram!
many boys him_{DAT.CL} phoned_{3PL}
- (24) O rapaz telefonou-lhe.
the boy phoned_{3SG}-him_{DAT.CL}

- interpolation structures:

- (25) a. o telefonema que lhe **ele** fez
the phone call that him_{DAT.CL} he did_{3SG}
b. O rapaz disse que lhe **não** telefonou.
the boy said_{3SG} that him_{DAT.CL} not phoned_{3SG}
c. O rapaz disse que lhe **já** telefonou.
the boy said_{3SG} that him_{DAT.CL} already phoned_{3SG}

- clitic climbing in restructuring contexts:

- (26) O rapaz quer-lhe telefonar.
the boy want_{3SG}-him_{DAT.CL} to-phone

The dialectal clitic duplication data

❖ doubling vs duplication

- (27) O rapaz telefonou-lhe **a ele**.
the boy phoned_{3SG}-him_{DAT.CL} tohe_{STRONG PRONOUN}
- (28) Também se faz-se chás.
also SE_{NOM.CL} do_{3SG}-SE_{NOM.CL} teas
One also makes tea.

❖ Three patterns of clitic duplication

- the proclisis / enclisis duplication:

(29) Uma vasilha que se chamava-se uma deca. (SRP17)
 a vessel that SE_{NOM,CL} call_{3SG}-SE_{NOM,CL} a deca
A vessel that was called a deca.

- the ‘sandwiching’ duplication:

(30) Ainda hoje se lá se conserva aquele bocadinho (LVR02)
 even today SE_{REFL,CL} there SE_{REFL,CL} stay_{3SG} that piece
Even today that piece stays there.

- the climbing duplication (cf. South American Spanish, North Italian, Catalan, Occitan):

(31) (...) se o for lá o caçador matá-lo. (ALC37)
 if it_{AC,CL} go_{3SG} there the hunter to-kill-it_{AC,CL}
If the hunter goes there to kill it.

f. Subject doubling

- indefinite nominative clitic *se* (cf. Raposo & Uriagereka 1996) + indefinite subject (cf. Martins 2000, 2003)

(32) Joanhinha é que é que se a gente emprega cá. (ALC41)
 ladybird is that is that SE THE PEOPLE uses here
Ladybird is what we use here.

(33) Chegando ao tempo da poda, a gente sega-se
 arriving to.the time of.the pruning THE PEOPLE cut.off_{3SG}
 esses olhos todos. (PST01)
 those sprouts all
When the time comes for the pruning, we remove all those sprouts.

(34) Cá nunca se usaram isso. (LVR29)
 here never SE use_{3PL} that
People would never use that here.

(35) Nunca se vimos esse peixe. (CLC18)
 never SE see_{1PL} that fish
We never saw that kind of fish.

- expletive *ele* + referential subject

(36) Ele a minha nora teve aquele miudito com quarenta anos. (COV01)
 EXPL the my daughter-in-law had that child with forty years
 ± *My daughter-in-law had that child when she was forty.*

- agreeing nominative pronoun + overt subject

(37) Elas as minhas filhas alguma vez souberam o que é que foi
 they_{FEM} the my daughters any time knew_{3PL} what is that was
 a vida! (EXB14)
 the life
 ± *My daughters never knew what life was like!*

2. “Subject doubling” in expletive constructions

2.0 Preliminaries

- EP is a null subject language (NSL). Standardly, EP does not allow for overt expletives.

(38) (O carteiro / ele) chegou atrasado.
 the postman he arrived late *The postman arrived late.*

(39) a. (*Ele) choveu. [standard EP]
 EXPL rained *It rained.*

b. (*Ele) está um desconhecido à porta.
 EXPL is a stranger at.the door *There is a stranger at the door.*

c. (*Ele) é óbvio que estás atrasado.
 EXPL is obvious that are_{2SG} late *It is obvious that you are late.*

- Non-standard EP varieties display an element *ele* (= nominative 3rd singular personal pronoun) which looks like an expletive subject.
 (examples from Mateus et al. 2003: 283, fn. 5)

(40) **Ele** choveu toda a noite.
 EXPL rained all the night *It has rained all night long.*

(41) **Ele** há cada uma!
 EXPL has such one *There are such things!*

(42) Tudo está mais caro: **ele** é o leite, **ele** é a fruta, **ele** é o peixe.
 everything is more expensive EXPL is the milk EXPL is the fruit EXPL is the fish
 ± *Everything is getting more expensive: milk, fruit, fish.*

- ❖ *ele* in sentences like (40)-(42) may appear in near-standard EP – colloquial / expressive flavour.
 (In most cases, *ele* may alternate with a neutral demonstrative pronoun *isto* ‘this’, *isso* and *aquilo* ‘that’.)

- ❖ *contra* the received view that NSLs lack overt expletives (Rizzi 1982, 1986, Jaeggli & Safir 1989, a.o.)
 cf. overt expletives in other NSLs, e.g., among Romance languages, Catalan, Galician, Spanish (in special, some varieties of American Spanish)
 Henríquez Ureña 1939, Spitzer 1945, Carballo Calero 1966, Álvarez 1981, 2001, 2002, Álvarez et al. 1986, Uriagereka 1995, 2004, Fernández Soriano 1999, Solà et al. 2002, Hinzelin 2004, a.o.

2.1 Multiple subject constructions?

In dialectal EP, expletive *ele* may co-occur with an (unrestricted) argumental subject:

indefinite non-specific

(43) ..ele ninguém me era capaz de abrir a cabeça para meter aquilo cá
 EXPL nobody me_{DAT,CL} was able of open_{INF} the mind to put_{INF} that here
 na cabeça dentro, dentro da cabeça... (LVR23)
 in.to.the mind inside inside of.the mind
 ± *... actually nobody could open my mind to convince me of that ...*

- (44) Se ele alguém disser alguma coisa, (...) diga-lhe que foi à minha ordem. (COV13)
 if EXPL anybody say_{FUT.SBJ.3SG} anything tell- him that wastomy order
 ± *If anybody says anything, you tell him that it was done under my orders.*

- (45) Ele uns precisam de milho, outros precisam de centeio, outros precisam de
 EXPL some need of corn others need of rye others need of
 vinho... (COV40)
 wine
 ± *Some people need corn, others need rye, others need wine...*

generic DP

- (46) Ele a folha do pinheiro é em bico. (ALC19)
 EXPL the leaf of.the pine-tree is in point
 ± *Pine tree leaves are pointed.*

- (47) E ele o lagarto, em bem se vendo apertado, volta-se contra a gente. (CBV73)
 and EXPL the lizard in FP SE see_{GER} hurted turns-SE against the people
 ± *And when the lizard is hurted, he turns on us...*

definite description

- (48) Mas ele o nosso governo não protege nada a agricultura. (COV14)
 but EXPL the our government not protects nothing the agriculture
 ± *But our government doesn't really protect agriculture.*

- (49) E ele foi, (...) ele o Atalarico começou para o meu pai: "Ó Astrigildo"... (COV29)
 and he went EXPL the Atalarico began to the my father hey Astrigildo
 ± *And he went, Atalarico began to say to my father: "Hey Astrigildo"...*

overt pronoun

- (50) Que ele eu gosto de socorrer (...) as pessoas, homem! (COV23)
 QUE EXPL I like of help_{INF} the people man
 ± *I like to help people, man!*

- (51) Ele ele disse que era (...) de São João da Madeira, homem! (COV21)
 EXPL he said that was from São João da Madeira man
 ± *Actually, he said that he was from São João da Madeira, man!*

- (52) Parece impossível, (...) mas ele aquilo lá foi feito e ninguém deu por isso. (AAL34)
 seems impossible but EXPL that there was done and nobody perceived that
 ± *It seems impossible but that was really done and nobody perceived that.*

null subject

- (53) Ele nunca me olhava a nada, nunca tinha medo nenhum! (ALV25)
 EXPL never me ± was.frightened_{1SG} to nothing never had_{1SG} fear none
 ± *I was never frightened by anything, I was never afraid of anything!*

- (54) Ele voltámos lá todos a ver ... (COV32)
 EXPL went.back_{1PL} there all A see_{INF}
 ± *We all went back there to see...*

- (55) ... ele não se acreditavam! (COV29)
 EXPL not SE believed_{3PL}
 ± *...they didn't believe!*

- (56) ... esses não morreram. Ele escaparam. (COV32)
 those not died_{3PL} 3PL EXPL escaped_{3PL}
 ± *Those didn't die. In fact, they escaped.*

- (57) E ele sabe o que nós cá também fazemos? (COV07)
 and EXPL know_{3SG} what we here also do
 ± *And do you know what we also do here?*

- ❖ “multiple subject” conditions
 - nominative expletive: seemingly, candidate for the subject position
 - referential subject: preverbal >> VP-external position

- ❖ expletive *ele* and subject properties:
 - ✗ no number agreement
 - ✗ no person agreement
 - ✓ nominative case
 - > not necessarily a subject property: cf. *nominativus pendens*
- (i) Eu parece-me que isto está certo.
{I{NOM} seems-me_{DAT.CL} that this is right}

2.2 Expletive *ele* in the left periphery

Expletive *ele* may precede several types of elements occurring in the left periphery of the sentence (hence, above the canonical preverbal subject position):

initial adverbs

- (58) Ele agora já ninguém costuma cozer. (OUT32)
 EXPL now already nobody uses bake.bread_{INF}
 ± *Now nobody uses to bake bread anymore.*

- (59) Ele aqui nem se diz “nublado”. (AAL69)
 EXPL here not.even SE says “nublado”
 ± *We do not even call it “nublado” here.*

topics

- (60) Olhe que aquilo no livro! E ele eu, o homem leu aquilo diante[de mim]! (COV18)
 look that that in.the book and EXPL I_{NOM} the man read that before of me
 ± *Look, that was in the book! And me, the man read that before me!*

- (61) Ele [a fome], não havia [-].! (VPA06)
 EXPL the hunger not had
 ± *The hunger didn't exist!*

dislocated “affective” phrases (cf. Raposo 1995, after Klima 1964)

- (62) Que ele até com um pau se malha. (MST37)
 QUE EXPL even with a stick SE threshs
 ± *Actually we thresh even with a stick.*

dislocated wh-phrases

- (63) Não sendo no Natal, ele quem é que os come?! Ninguém. (OUT50)
 not be_{GER} in.the Christmas EXPL who is that them eat nobody
 ± *If it is not by Christmas, who will eat them?! Nobody.*

- ❖ expletive *ele* occupies a high position in the left-periphery of the sentence, above topics, dislocated wh-phrases and dislocated affective phrases, sentence-initial adverbs
 - >> it does not occupy a canonical subject position

2.3 Discourse effect(s) of “expletive” *ele*

⇒ Expletive *ele* does not relate to information distribution patterns (topic/focus):
it appears both in marked topic sentences and in sentences where there is no topic marking
– contrast (60) or (61) with (43) above, for instance.
[thus, different from other “discourse-related” expletives, e.g. Finnish *sitä* – cf. Holmberg & Nikanne 2002]

⇒ Expletive *ele* has a generalized emphatic/expressive effect relating to the illocutionary force of sentences

❖ Exclamatives: emphasis on expressive value

(64) **Ele** ele disse que era (...) de São João da Madeira, homem! (COV21)
EXPL he said that was from São João da Madeira man
± *Actually, he said that he was from São João da Madeira, man!*

(65) Que **ele** eu gosto de socorrer (...) as pessoas, homem! (COV23)
QUE EXPL I like of help_{INF} the people man
I like to help people, man!

(66) **Ele** nunca me olhava a nada, nunca tinha medo nenhum! (ALV25)
EXPL never me ±was.frightened_{1SG} to nothing never had_{1SG} fear none
± *I was never frightened by anything, I was never afraid of anything!*

cf. near-standard impersonal examples:

(67) **Ele** é tanta a fita que tem de se ouvir que...eh pá!... [newspaper, 25.10.2003]
EXPL is so.much the tape that has of SE listen that INTJ...
± *There are so many tapes that we have to listen to that... well...*

❖ Questions: expressive value

Expletive questions have an expressive value – “non-standard questions”, i.e. questions which do not truly request for information

(cf. Obenauer 2004: rhetorical questions; surprise/disapproval questions; “I-can’t-find-the-value-of-x” questions)

(68) Não sendo no Natal, **ele** quem é que os come?! Ninguém. (OUT50)
not be_{GER} in.the Christmas EXPL who is that them eat nobody
If it is not by Christmas, who will eat them?! Nobody.

Cf.

Questions including “aggressively non-D-linked” *wh*-phrases (*que raio/que diabo*) allow for both a standard and a rhetorical interpretation:

(69) - Que raio de gente come estes bolos?
what “the hell” people eat these cakes
Who the hell eats these cakes?
A. - As crianças. *standard question*
the children
Children do.
B. - Ninguém. *rhetorical question*
nobody
Nobody does.

The expletive has however the effect of blocking the standard question interpretation:

(70) - **Ele** que raio de gente come estes bolos?
EXPL what “the hell” people eat these cakes
Who the hell eats these cakes?
A. # - As crianças. *standard*
B. ^{OK} - Ninguém. *rhetorical*

❖ Imperatives: emphasis on directive value

(71) Ó senhora Gabriela, **ele** desculpe de lhe eu dizer. (COV35)
INTJ MsGabriela EXPL forgive_{PRES.SBJ.3SG} of to.you I say
Ms Gabriela, please forgive that I say it to you.

(72) INF2 Quer passar por lá (para ver)?
Informant2: Do you want to go there (to see it)?
INF1 **Ele** vamos embora! (FIG27)
EXPL go_{PRES.SBJ.1PL} away
± *Informant1: Let’s go!*

Cf.

The expletive may co-occur with words which strengthen the value of the imperative (*já, mesmo, lá*):

(73) **Ele** vamos {*já, lá, mesmo*} embora!

On the contrary, the result is non-felicitous when we try to combine the expletive with expressions which weaken the directive force of the imperative:

(74) #**Ele** vamos embora {*se não se importam, por favor*}!
if you don’t mind, please

❖ Declaratives: emphasis on assertive value (strong evidentiality marker)

(75) INQ1 Mas e comem-se, também?
Interviewer1: But you also eat them?
INF1 Comem.
Informant1: Yes, you do.
INF2 Comem. Dantes... **Ele** antigamente, comiam. (OUT04)
eat_{3PL} long.ago EXPL in.the.past ate_{3PL}
Informant2: You do. Long ago... In fact in the past, you ate them.

(75’) {**De facto, realmente...**} antigamente, comiam.
in fact indeed in.the.past ate_{3PL}

⇒ Cf. overt expletives in other Romance NSLs

Catalan: exclamative *ell*

Galician: *el* – exclamative, non-standard interrogative, assertive

Spanish: *ello* – expressive

2.4 Expletive constructions in EP: a “double” of doubling...

⇒ the so-considered “doubling structure” is not identical/equivalent to its non-doubling counterpart in the dialects displaying this type of expletive constructions

>> the so-considered “doubling element” is not strictly meaningless, since it plays a role on the discourse level

⇒ Expletive constructions

- no *subject doubling* << expletive *ele* is not a subject
- clues about the structure of the left periphery:
 - > availability of a high position above topics, wh, affective phrases which relates to the illocutionary force of the sentence, *ForceP* (cf. Rizzi 1997, Haegeman 2002)
 - > expletives in the left periphery, in [Spec, ForceP], in EP dialects (Carrilho 2005)

2.5 Additional remarks: expletive *ele* vs. agreeing pronoun

❖ Ambiguity: expletive *ele* / agreeing pronoun

- (76) E ele foi, (...) ele o Atalarico começou para o meu pai: "Ó Astrigildo"... (COV29)
and he went EXPL the Atalarico began to the my fatherhey Astrigildo
And he went, Atalarico began to say to my father: "Hey Astrigildo"...

Cf. "subject doubling" in agreeing nominative pronoun + overt subject:

- (77) Ela depois a broinha ficava assim.
she after the cake_{FEM} was like.this
± *Then, the cake was like this.*
- (78) Elas as minhas filhas alguma vez souberam o que é que foi a vida! (EXB14)
they_{FEM} the my daughters anytime knew_{3PL} what is that was the life
± *My daughters never knew what life was like!*
- (79) E a gente foi obrigados a matá-los; porque eles esses os garnisés,
and THE PEOPLE was obliged A kill-them_{ACC.CL} because they those the *garnisés* [a bird]
podem mais que estes grandes. (COV36)
have_{3PL}.power more than these big
± *We were forced to kill them; because those – the garnisés – are stronger than the big ones here.*
- (80) São grijós, que eles os porcos são doidos por eles. (OUT11)
are *grijós* QUE they the pigs are crazy by them
± *These are grijós; pigs are crazy about them.*

Important differences:

- limited to 3rd person subjects
 - number agreement
 - the agreeing pronoun in such constructions may not precede peripheral elements such as topics, dislocated wh- or affective phrases, in contrast with (77) above
- (81) a. * Elas [a vida]_{TOP} as minhas filhas não sabem o que é.
they_{FEM} the life the my daughters not know_{3PL} what is
- b. Ele [a vida]_{TOP} as minhas filhas não sabem o que é.
EXPL the life the my daughters not know_{3PL} what is
- discourse effect

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