

# Portuguese Relative Clauses in Synchrony and Diachrony

---

ADRIANA } CARDOSO

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# Contents

<i>Series preface</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>List of figures and tables</i>	xvii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xix
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Overview of the book	1
1.2 Data and methods	5
1.2.1 Data collection	5
1.2.2 Formal analysis	7
1.2.3 Transcription and reference conventions	8
1.3 Theoretical framework	8
1.3.1 Theory of grammar	8
1.3.1.1 The architecture of grammar	8
1.3.1.2 Phrase structure	9
1.3.1.3 Linear order	10
1.3.1.4 Clause structure	10
1.3.1.5 Movement and features	11
1.3.2 Syntax of relative clauses	12
1.3.2.1 Preliminaries	12
1.3.2.2 Definition of <i>relative clause</i>	13
1.3.2.3 The restrictive/appositive dichotomy	13
1.3.2.4 Syntax of restrictive relative clauses	14
1.3.2.5 Syntax of appositive relative clauses	20
1.3.3 Information structure	38
1.3.3.1 Focus	38
1.3.3.2 Focus and prosody	42
1.3.3.3 Topic	45
1.3.3.4 Topicalization and focalization	47
1.3.4 Language change	48
2 Remnant-internal relativization	50
2.1 Introduction	50
2.2 Noun phrase discontinuity	52
2.2.1 Core properties	52
2.2.2 Empirical evidence from Latin and earlier stages of Portuguese	54

2.2.3	Competing analyses	57
2.2.3.1	Movement analyses	57
2.2.3.2	Base-generation analyses	64
2.3	Remnant-internal relativization	66
2.3.1	Core properties	67
2.3.2	Information structure	70
2.3.3	Word order	72
2.3.4	Competing analyses	73
2.3.4.1	Adjunction analysis of restrictives + movement analysis of discontinuous noun phrases	74
2.3.4.2	Adjunction analysis of restrictives + base- generation analysis of discontinuous noun phrases	74
2.3.4.3	Raising analysis of RRCs + movement analysis of discontinuous noun phrases	75
2.3.4.4	Raising analysis of RRCs + base-generation analysis of discontinuous noun phrases	76
2.3.5	Remaining problems	77
2.4	Analysis of remnant-internal relativization	78
2.4.1	On the copy theory of movement in the Phonological Form side	78
2.4.1.1	Bošković and Nunes (2007)	78
2.4.1.2	Stjepanović (2007)	80
2.4.2	The derivation of remnant-internal relativization	81
2.4.2.1	Pattern I	82
2.4.2.2	Pattern II	83
2.4.2.3	Pattern III	87
2.5	Diachronic path of remnant-internal relativization	89
2.6	Conclusion	94
3	Extraposition of restrictive relative clauses	96
3.1	Introduction	96
3.2	Competing analyses	98
3.2.1	Rightward adjunction analyses	98
3.2.2	Stranding analyses	99
3.2.3	Coordination analyses	100
3.2.4	Unitary vs. non-unitary approaches	101
3.3	Portuguese: Previous scholarship	103
3.4	Properties in contrast	106
3.4.1	Contemporary European Portuguese	106
3.4.1.1	The definiteness effect	106
3.4.1.2	Pre-verbal positions	108
3.4.1.3	Prepositional phrases	113
3.4.1.4	Summary	115

---

3.4.2	Cross-linguistic evidence	115
3.4.2.1	The definiteness effect	116
3.4.2.2	Pre-verbal positions	117
3.4.2.3	Prepositional phrases	119
3.4.2.4	Summary	120
3.4.3	Earlier stages of Portuguese	121
3.4.3.1	The definiteness effect	121
3.4.3.2	Pre-verbal positions	122
3.4.3.3	Prepositional phrases	127
3.4.3.4	Summary	128
3.5	A proposal for contemporary European Portuguese	129
3.5.1	The stranding analysis	129
3.5.1.1	Extraposition derived by movement to the left periphery	130
3.5.1.2	Extraposition derived from short scrambling	132
3.5.1.3	Deriving the intervening material	142
3.5.2	Deriving the relevant properties	156
3.5.2.1	The definiteness effect	156
3.5.2.2	Pre-verbal positions	158
3.5.2.3	Prepositional phrases	161
3.5.2.4	Summary	162
3.5.3	Problems	163
3.5.3.1	Summary	170
3.5.4	Conclusion	171
3.6	A proposal for earlier stages of Portuguese	172
3.6.1	The specifying coordination analysis	172
3.6.1.1	Koster (2000)	172
3.6.1.2	De Vries (2002)	177
3.6.2	Deriving the relevant properties	180
3.6.2.1	The definiteness effect	180
3.6.2.2	Pre-verbal positions	181
3.6.2.3	Prepositional phrases	183
3.6.2.4	Summary	183
3.6.3	Problems	184
3.6.4	Summary	186
3.7	Comparative perspective	187
3.7.1	Diachronic path	187
3.7.1.1	Hypothesis I	187
3.7.1.2	Hypothesis II	197
3.7.1.3	Hypothesis III	198
3.7.2	Cross-linguistic contrasts	199
3.8	Conclusion	202

4	Appositive relativization	204
4.1	Introduction	204
4.2	Unitary analyses vs. non-unitary analyses	205
4.2.1	Cinque (1982)	205
4.2.2	Smits (1988)	208
4.2.3	Bianchi (1999)	209
4.2.4	Cinque (2008)	210
4.3	Properties of <i>o qual</i> -appositive relatives	213
4.3.1	The relative pronoun <i>o qual</i>	214
4.3.2	Contemporary European Portuguese	214
4.3.3	Earlier stages of Portuguese	217
4.4	Contrasting properties of <i>o qual</i> -appositive relatives	219
4.4.1	Internal head	220
4.4.1.1	Contemporary European Portuguese	220
4.4.1.2	Cross-linguistic evidence	221
4.4.1.3	Earlier stages of Portuguese	223
4.4.2	Extraposition	231
4.4.2.1	Cross-linguistic evidence	231
4.4.2.2	Contemporary European Portuguese	232
4.4.2.3	Earlier stages of Portuguese	237
4.4.3	Pied-piping	244
4.4.4	Clausal antecedent	259
4.4.5	Split antecedents	263
4.4.6	Coordination of the <i>wh</i> -pronoun with another Determiner Phrase	265
4.4.7	Illocutionary force	267
4.4.8	Coordinator	270
4.4.9	Summary	273
4.5	Deriving the contrasting properties	273
4.5.1	Internal head	274
4.5.2	Extraposition	274
4.5.3	Pied-piping	281
4.5.4	Clausal antecedent	287
4.5.5	Split antecedents	288
4.5.6	Coordination of the <i>wh</i> -pronoun with another Determiner Phrase	289
4.5.7	Illocutionary force	291
4.5.8	Coordinator	293
4.5.9	Summary	294
4.6	Some comparative remarks	294
4.6.1	Diachronic path	295

4.6.1.1 Hypothesis I	295
4.6.1.2 Hypothesis II	300
4.6.2 Synchronic variation	300
4.6.2.1 Hypothesis I	304
4.6.2.2 Hypothesis II	305
4.6.3 Cross-linguistic contrasts	306
4.7 Conclusion	308
5 Conclusion	310
<i>References</i>	317
<i>Subject index</i>	335
<i>Language index</i>	342