

The Main Varieties of Portuguese: an overview on word order^{1*}

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1. Introduction

The two main varieties of Portuguese are European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP), the official languages of Portugal and Brazil. With the advent of the Principles and Parameters theory and the revival of historical and comparative grammar in Portugal and in Brazil, linguists have started to reveal parametric differences between the two varieties, and not merely phonological and lexical distinctions, which would define the two varieties as merely two dialects of the same language.

According to Tarallo (1993) the main changes that gave rise to Brazilian Portuguese started to appear clearly by the end of the 19th century in written language, but were probably already there in the spoken modality since the end of the 18th century, when the social and historical factors were favorable to the changes.

This chapter will present a comparative description of word order in the two varieties, starting, in section 2, with the surface similarities which underlie most of the mutual comprehension between the Portuguese and the Brazilians. Section 3, will describe a major difference in the grammar of the two varieties, namely the placement of clitic pronouns. Section 4 will describe the particularities of word order in declarative sentences. Section 5 will deal with word order differences in *wh*-questions and contrastive focus structures. We will finish with some conclusions.

2. Surface similarities between the two varieties

When exposed to the first pages of a manual of Portuguese as a second language, the learner may not distinguish between EP and BP examples. In the two varieties, the unmarked order for simple declarative sentences is SV(O):

- (1) a. *O gato comeu o passarinho.* EP BP
the cat ate the bird
'The cat ate the bird.'
- b. *O dólar subiu.* EP BP
the dollar went up
'The dollar went up.'
- c. *A Maria recebeu flores do Pedro.* EP BP
the Mary received flowers from the Pedro
'Mary received flowers from Peter'

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Negative sentences are also equally identical in EP and BP, and so is the negative concord phenomenon:

- (2) a. *O gato não comeu nada.* EP BP
the cat not ate nothing
'The cat didn't eat anything.'
- b. *O dólar não subiu nada.* EP BP
the dollar not went-up nothing
'The dollar didn't go up a cent.'
- c. *A Maria não recebeu nada do Pedro.* EP BP
the Maria not received nothing from-the Pedro
'Maria didn't receive anything from Peter.'

In many languages *Yes/no* questions are either marked by a particle, like the Japanese *-ka* and the Bulgarian *-li*, or by a syntactic order distinct from the declarative one, as the English Aux-to-C pattern. In the two varieties of Portuguese, the distinction is, at least superficially, purely prosodic: while declaratives typically have a falling intonation (↘), interrogatives typically have a rising one (↗).

- (3) a. *O gato comeu o passarinho.* ↘ a. *'O gato comeu o passarinho?'* ↗ EP BP
b. *O dólar subiu.* ↘ b. *'O dólar subiu?'* (↗)

EP and BP also share a common *wh*-question pattern, with the sentential word order SV(X):

- (4) a. *Quem foi que o Garfield viu?* EP BP
who was that the Garfield saw
'Who did Garfield see?'
- b. *O que é que eles bebem?* EP BP
what is that they drink
'What do they drink?'

Despite the similarities seen above, deep structural differences underlie the grammars of EP and BP, some of which will be seen in detail below.

3. Two systems of clitic placement in Portuguese

Clitic placement offers a case of striking contrast in word order between BP and EP. Whereas BP displays generalized proclisis, EP displays enclisis and proclisis in both finite and non-finite domains. Other differences between BP and EP relative to clitic pronouns are also very clear. For example, the fact that clitics cannot cluster in BP and the 3rd person accusative clitic is not part of

the (colloquial) BP grammar or the fact that dative clitics are easily replaced by prepositional phrases with strong pronouns in BP. This strategy is also used to avoid a 3rd person accusative clitic, or else BP resorts to a null element. These differences between BP and EP are illustrated in (5)-(6) below, but in the remainder of this section we will concentrate on clitic placement since the main focus of this chapter is word order.

- (5) a. *O livro, eu já lho dei.* (EP *BP) *clitic cluster: dative+accusative*
the book I already him-it gave
- b. *O livro, eu já lhe dei.* (EP BP) *null 3rd person accusative*
the book I already him gave
- c. *O livro, eu já dei pra ele* (*EP BP) *non-clitic 3rd person pronoun*
the book I already gave for he
‘The book, I have already given it to him.’
- (6) a. *Essa menina, eu não a conheço.* (EP *BP) *3rd person accusative clitic*
that girl I not her know
- b. *Essa menina, eu não conheço__.* (EP BP) *null 3rd person accusative*
that girl I not know
- c. *Essa menina, eu não conheço ela.* (*EP BP) *non-clitic 3rd person pronoun*
that girl I not know she
‘That girl, I don’t know her.’

A distinct property of clitic placement in Portuguese, in comparison to the other Romance languages, is its independence with respect to verbal morphology. In fact, the opposition [±finite] does not lie behind the split between proclitic and enclitic placement, in contrast with Spanish, Catalan and Italian, nor does the opposition [±imperative], in contrast with French.

But while proclisis is general and exceptionless in Brazilian Portuguese, in European Portuguese enclisis and proclisis surface both in finite and non-finite domains, with a contextual distribution governed by grammatical factors that are quite complex.²

A detailed description of the distribution of proclisis and enclisis in EP is not our purpose here (see chapter 12, this volume, and Martins 2013), but we will underscore a few descriptive observations that indicate the particularity of EP among the Romance languages.³ We will then

² Verbal morphology plays a role in European Portuguese only with respect to *mesoclis*, which surfaces in enclitic contexts when the verb is inflected in the future or conditional forms. Mesoclis is the placement of the clitic pronoun before the sequence formed by the tense morpheme (present or past) plus the agreement morpheme, as exemplified in (i) below). In this chapter we will put aside mesoclis, which is nowadays restricted to formal EP.

(i) *Eu pagá-lo-ei.*

I pay-it-ACC-will-[T(present)+Agr morphemes]

‘I will pay for it.’

³ Only Galician (cf. Álvarez and Xove 2002) and Astur-Leonese (cf. González i Planas 2007; Fernández-Rubiera 2009) pattern with EP in clitic placement.

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suggest that the complexity of the EP system may have prompted the change that resulted in the generalized proclitic pattern that characterizes BP and is unique among the Romance languages.

The five characteristic features of the EP system identified below contribute to what Costa, Fiéis and Lobo (2013) refer to as “input variability” and show to result in clitic misplacement and late acquisition of the adult grammar by Portuguese children.

(i) In EP there is a correlation between sentential polarity and clitic placement. The dichotomy affirmation/negation brings about the opposition enclisis/proclisis:

- (7) a. *Hoje ele falou-me.*
today he spoke-me
‘Today he spoke to me.’
b. *Hoje ele não me falou.*
today he not me spoke
‘Today he didn’t speak to me.’

(ii) In EP the dichotomy between root and subordinate finite clauses gives rise to the opposition between enclisis and proclisis, which applies to all types of finite subordinate clauses:

- (8) a. *Evidentemente o coronel suicidou-se*
evidently the coronel killed-himself
‘Evidently the coronel killed himself.’
b. *Dizem que o coronel se suicidou.*
say-3PL that the coronel himself killed
‘People say that the coronel killed himself.’

(iii) In EP some syntactic contexts allow variation between enclisis and proclisis. The variable pattern of clitic placement exhibited by the prepositional infinitival clauses in (9) is part of both standard and dialectal EP.

- (9) a. *Pensou em suicidar-se.*
thought-3SG in kill-himself
b. *Pensou em se suicidar.*
he thought about himself kill
‘He thought about killing himself.’

(iv) In sharp contrast with Spanish, Catalan and Italian, the opposition finite/non finite does not govern the alternation between proclisis and enclisis in EP. As exemplified in (10) both enclisis and proclisis can be found in finite and non finite domains. In the b. and d. examples, it is the presence of the adverb *também* that induces proclisis.

- (10) a. *Ele aposentou-se cedo*,
he retired-himself early
'He retired early.'
- b. *Ele também se aposentou cedo*.
he also himself retired early
'He also retired early.'
- c. *Esperava aposentar-se cedo*.
wished retire-INFIN-himself early
'He wished to retire early.'
- d. *Esperava também se aposentar cedo*.
wished also himself retire-INFIN early
'He wished to also retire early.'

(v) The concept of “proclisis trigger” is descriptively useful to handle clitic placement in EP, but not in BP, Spanish, Catalan, Italian or French. Only in EP, proclisis in affirmative root sentences depends on the presence in preverbal position of one of a set of apparently heterogeneous elements, not easily reducible to a class or type (independently of the chosen ontology). A few examples are given in (11)b.-e., which instantiate respectively the aspectual adverb *já*, the quantifier *todos*, the wh- phrase *onde* and the fronted focalized phrase *de notícias* as proclisis triggers.⁴

- (11) a. *Ele casou-se*.
he married-himself
'He got married.'
- b. *Ele já se casou*.
he already himself married
'He has got married already.'
- c. *Todos se casaram*.
all themselves married
'All of them got married.'
- d. *Onde se casaram?*
where themselves married
'Where did they get married?'
- e. *De notícias se faz o nosso mundo*. (TV-channel slogan)
of news itself makes the our world
'It's the news that make up our world.'

⁴ A detailed identification and description of the different elements that trigger proclisis in EP affirmative root sentences is provided in Martins (2013).

The complexity of the EP system of clitic placement leads not only to late acquisition, as mentioned above, but also to a residual amount of marginal variability in the adult grammar, across geolinguistic varieties and across time (cf. Martins 2012). This is shown in (12)-(13) with examples that represent literary/journalistic EP, EP dialects and the African varieties of Portuguese, which all share with EP the same pattern of clitic placement. Because examples of enclisis in proclitic contexts have been largely referred in the literature (e.g. Duarte and Matos 2000), we give here instead an illustration of the opposite situation, with proclisis emerging in enclitic contexts. All the sentences below have a correlate with enclisis in the same dialect or Portuguese variety, which represents the ordinary pattern.

- (12) a. *Isto que digo, Miguel Torga o disse, a seu modo, antes de mim.*
 this that I-say Miguel Torga it said in his way before of me
 ‘What I am saying, Miguel Toga has said it before, in its own way.’
 (António Lobo Antunes, Magazine *Visão*)
- b. *Me enganaste?! (CORDIAL-SIN: Melides, Alentejo)*
 me tricked
 ‘Did you trick me?!’
- c. *Às vezes me junto com os meus amigos (CORDIAL-SIN: Santo André, Vila Real)*
 at times me gather with the my friends
 ‘Sometimes I get together with my friends.’
- d. *Homem, tu o viste no outro dia (CORDIAL-SIN: Pico, Azores)*
 man you him saw in-the other day
 ‘Man, you have seen him the other day’
- e. *Eles se encontram marginalizados. (Portuguese of Mozambique. Mapasse 2005:67)*
 they themselves find marginalized
 ‘They find themselves marginalized.’
- f. *Mano, ela me cansou. (Portuguese of Mozambique. Justino 2010)*
 brother she me tired
 ‘Brother, I got tired of her.’
- g. *Me disseste que era segredo, não meterias a foto dele no facebook, me mentiste (Portuguese of Angola. Domingos 2010)*
 me said that was a-secretm not would-put the photo of-him in-the facebbok me lied
 ‘You told me that it was a secret, that you would not post his photo in facebook, you lied to me.’
- (13) a. *Não quero me gabar, mas li todo o Ulysses do Joyce*
 not want myself praise-INFIN but read all the *Ulysses* of Joyce
 ‘I don’t wish to praise myself, but I have read the whole *Ulysses* by Joyce.’
 (Newspaper *Público*. In Rodygina 2009:71)

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- b. *Não sei porquê. Não posso então **lhe** explicar.* (CORDIAL-SIN: Pico, Azores)
not know why not can then you explain-INFIN
'I don't know why. So I can't explain to you.'
- c. *Não querendo **se** dedicar aos estudos*
not wanting themselves apply-INFIN to-the studies
'Not wishing to apply themselves to study...'
(Portuguese of Mozambique. Mapasse 2005:74)

Interestingly, written BP also displays variation between proclisis and enclisis in the same syntactic configurations, as illustrated in (14), with finite verbs, and (15), with infinitives.⁵

- (14) a. *O jesuíta **se** acomodou num caixote de vinhos.* (Pessotti 1997:20)
the Jesuit himself accommodated in-a box of wines
'The Jesuit sat on a box of wine bottles.'
- b. *O padre apresentou-**se**.* (Pessotti 1997:17)
the priest introduced-himself
'The priest introduced himself.'
- (15) a. *Pode **me** chamar por meu nome.* (Pessotti 1997:16)
can me call-INFIN by my name
'Please, call me by my first name.'
- b. *Resolvi render-**me**.* (Pessotti 1997:22)
decided-1SG surrender-INFIN
'I decided to surrender.'

So, maybe written BP is not merely an artificial system (as has been usually thought of) but an elaboration of some earlier stage of historical development that precedes the emergence of generalized proclisis (cf. Pagotto 1992; Carneiro 2005). In fact, the stable low level of variability that seems to be intrinsic to the EP system could have risen significantly in a historical situation favoring incomplete acquisition due to particular social conditions and broad language contact (see chapter 3, this volume). The rise of "input variability" beyond a certain threshold for learnability would then prompt the emergence of a new system of clitic placement. This is not the place to follow or explore this line of reasoning, but it suggests an avenue for further inquiry. We will now focus on the description of clitic placement in (colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese.

In BP object clitics are proclitic to the verb selecting them, irrespective of verbal morphology and type of clause:

⁵ The examples are taken from the late 20th century novel by Isaias Pessotti, *A Lua da Verdade* (São Paulo: Editora 34. 1997). Similar examples could be easily extracted from newspapers.

- (16) a. *(Maria,) me dá um beijo.*
 Maria, me give a kiss
 ‘(Maria,) give me a kiss.’
- b. *A Maria me viu.*
 the Maria me saw
 ‘Mary saw me.’
- c. *A Maria pode/quer sempre me ver.*
 the Maria can/wants always me see-INFIN
 ‘Mary can always see me/Mary always wants to see me.’
- d. *A Maria está sempre me olhando.*
 the Maria is always me looking
 ‘Mary is always looking at me.’
- e. *Você já tinha me dado um beijo.*
 you already had me given a kiss
 ‘You had kissed me already.’

As shown in (16), Brazilian Portuguese clitics show no restrictions with respect to being initial nor to cliticizing to nominal forms of the verb, including infinitival complements of restructuring verbs, gerunds and past participles. In fact, clitic climbing associated with restructuring verbal complexes, which is a grammatical option in EP, is not allowed in BP, where proclisis to the thematic verb is general:

- (17) a. *Você não pode me despedir.* BP *EP
 you not can me fire-INFIN
- b. *Você não me pode despedir.* *BP EP
 you not me can fire-INFIN
 ‘You can’t fire me.’
- (18) a. *Ele está me provocando.* BP *EP
 he is me provoking
- b. *Ele me está provocando.* *BP EP
 he me is provoking
 ‘He is provoking me.’
- (19) a. *Você não tinha ainda me contado.* BP *EP
 you not had yet me told
- b. *Você não me tinha ainda contado.* *BP EP
 you yet not me had told
 ‘You hadn’t told me that yet.’

Clitic placement is thus invariant in BP. Object clitics behave as elements akin to verbal prefixes, as far as they always occur at the left-edge of the thematic verb.⁶ But the relevant comparison to establish seems to be with stressed prefixes. In this respect it is worth noting the similarity between the distribution of BP clitics and the distribution of the prefix *recém*. Both left-adjoin to the verb and cannot precede an auxiliary except in passives, possibly because in passives the past participle can incorporate in the auxiliary (cf. Campos 1999):

- (20) a. *Nós (recém) casamos (*recém).*
we just married just
'We have just married.'
- b. *Nós (*recém) tínhamos (recém) casado.*
we just had married
'We had just married.'
- (21) a. *Ele foi recém contratado.* (Google search)
he was just hired/elected
- b. *Ele recém foi contratado.* (*idem*)
he just was hired/elected
'He had just been hired/elected.'
- (22) a. *Ele foi me apresentado.* (*idem*)
he was me introduced
- b. *Ele me foi apresentado.* (*idem*)
he me was introduced
'He was introduced to me.'

Stressed prefixes are modifiers that left-adjoin to a word (not to the verbal root), giving rise to a complex prosodic word (Villalva 2000; Vigário 2003; Newell 2005). Adjunct modifiers are non-category changing entities as they do not project category features. If clitics in BP are like stressed

⁶ On the prefixal properties of PB clitics, see Nunes (2007:28). The author shows that BP allows nouns to be derived from a string of proclitic and verb (respectively, *se* and *toca/manca* in (i)a below), as shown in (i)b-c, where the nouns in italics are derived from the idiomatic verbal expressions in (i)a, that include the reflexive clitic *se*.

- (i) a. *O João não se toca/se manca.*
the João not SE touch/SE see
'João is not aware of how inconvenient he is.'
- b. *O João precisa de um setocômetro.*
the João needs of a setocômetro
'João needs an instrument to measure how inconvenient he is.'
- c. *O João tá precisando tomar semancol.*
the João is needing to-take semancol
'João needs to take a medicine against being inconvenient.'

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prefixes in being non-category changing entities that left adjoin to the verbal head, we expect that clitics and the prefix *recém* can alternate in their relative positions. This is in fact so:

- (23) a. *Recém nos conhecemos.* (Luís Fernando Veríssimo)⁷
 just us know
 b. *Nós nos recém conhecemos.*
 we us just know
 ‘We only recently know/met each other.’

Although stressed prefixes have a certain degree of independence in EP as well, there are no cases of the kind of word order variation attested in (23), which signals that clitics are entities of a different nature in Brazilian and European Portuguese.⁸

4. Divergencies in the word order of declarative sentences⁹

4.1. The “categorical” and “thetic” distinction¹⁰

Sentences can express a “categorical” judgment, namely they can attribute a property to an entity, which may be codified as **the subject** or **the topic** of a sentence. In the two varieties, the unmarked order for simple declarative sentences of the *categorical*, or predicational type, is SV(X)¹¹:

- (24) a. *O Santos venceu o Corinthians.* EP BP
 the Santos beat the Corinthians
 ‘Santos has beaten Corinthians’.
 b. *Em Paris, os turistas comem bem.* EP BP
 in Paris the tourists eat well
 ‘In Paris, tourists eat well.’
 c. *O dólar subiu.* EP BP
 the dollar went up
 ‘The dollar went up.’
 d. *O euro, esse caiu muito.* EP BP
 the euro this fell a lot
 ‘The euro, this one fell a lot.’

⁷ Luís Fernando Veríssimo, *Novas Comédias da Vida Privada*. Porto Alegre: L&PM. 1997 [13^a ed.]. 176.

⁸ This is so even for the EP dialects that allow interpolation, which Magro (2007) analyzes as *metathesis*, in the sense of Harris and Halle 2005.

⁹ On word order in European Portuguese, see Ambar (1992), Barbosa (1995, 2006, 2009), Costa (1998, 2001, 2004), Duarte (1987, 1997), Martins (1994, 2010), among others; for Brazilian Portuguese, see Kato and Tarallo (1993), Berlink (2000), Kato (2000), Viotti (2007), Pilati (2007), among others; for a comparative approach, see Barbosa, Duarte and Kato (2005).

¹⁰ These notions are borrowed from Kuroda (1965, 1972, 1992, 2005), who uses these notions to distinguish the morphemes *-wa* and *-ga* in Japanese.

¹¹ Cf. Martins (1994) on the categorical and thetic distinction in EP, and Kato (1989) and Britto (1998) in BP.

A “thetic” sentence, on the other hand, describes a situation in which no single entity is assigned a topic status. In the two varieties the unmarked order **can** be VS (X):

- (25) a. *Chegou a primavera.* EP BP
 arrived the Spring
 ‘The Spring arrived.’
- b. *Há prédios lindos em São Paulo.* EP BP
 have buildings beautiful in São Paulo
 ‘There are beautiful buildings in São Paulo.’
- c. *Desapareceu o iPhone da minha bolsa.* EP BP
 disappeared the iPhone from my purse
 ‘My iPhone disappeared from my purse.’
- d. *Passaram poucos alunos no exame.* EP BP
 passed few students in the exam
 ‘Few students passed in the exam.’
- e. *Viajou comigo um cantor de rock.* EP EP
 travelled with me a singer of rock
 ‘A rock singer travelled with me.’

In EP, the unmarked pattern for categorical sentences is SV(X), with the subject being assigned a property of the predicate. In BP spoken language a common pattern is a construction where the subject pronoun doubles the topic, constituting a left dislocation pattern (cf. (26b) and (27b)). This variety has also a categorical sentence with what is called a topic-subject¹², where a noun argument raises to the subject position as in (28c), which is not possible in EP:

- (26) a. *O Paulo chega hoje.* EP BP
 the Paulo arrives today
 ‘Paulo arrives today.’
- b. *O Paulo, ele chega hoje.* *EP BP
 the Paulo he arrives today
 ‘Paulo, (he) arrives today.’
- (27) a. *O meu carro está na oficina.* EP BP
 my car is in the mechanic
 ‘My car is at the mechanic.’
- b. *O meu carro, ele está na oficina.* *EP BP
 the my car it is at-the mechanic
 ‘My car is at the mechanic.’

¹² See Kato (1989), Lunguinho (2006), Duarte and Kato (2013) on these constructions.

- (28) a. O telhado da casa caiu.
 the roof of the house fell ‘The roof of the house fell.’
 b. A casa caiu o telhado.
 the house fell the roof ‘The roof of the house collapsed.’

As forthetic sentences, EP is less restrictive than BP in the availability of the order VS with verbs that are not of the monoargumental type, in which case BP generally resorts to the unmarked order SV(X), as in (29) to (31). EP disallows VSO with direct transitive verbs. But VSO is permitted when the verb is accompanied by an auxiliary, as in (32), the verb selects an indirect or oblique object, as in (33)-(34), or if the complement is a dative clitic, as in (34)-(35):

- (29) a. *Chega o Paulo hoje.* EP BP
 arrives the Paul today ‘Paul arrives today.’
 b. *O Paulo chega hoje.* #EP BP (categorical reading favored in EP)
 the Paul arrives today
 ‘Paul arrives today.’ (thetic/descriptive Reading in BP)
- (30) a. *Moram muitos imigrantes na periferia de São Paulo.* EP BP(written)
 live many immigrants in-the outskirts of SP
 b. *Muitos imigrantes moram na periferia de São Paulo.* #EP BP (categorical reading
 Many immigrants live in-the outskirts of SP favored in EP)
 ‘There live many immigrants in the outskirts of SP’
- (31) *Correram 100 atletas a maratona,* EP *BP
 ran 100 athletes the marathon
 ‘There were 100 athletes running the marathon.’
- (32) a. *Está um gato a dormir no jardim.* EP *BP
 is a cat to sleep in the garden
 ‘There is a cat sleeping in the garden.’
 b. *Um gato está a dormir/dormindo no jardim.* #EP BP (EP favors categorical reading)
 a cat is sleeping in-the garden.
 ‘There is a cat sleeping in the garden.’
- (33) *Chama uma ambulância. Picou uma abelha ao João e ele é alérgico.* EP *BP
 call an ambulance. stung a bee to-the João and he is allergic
 ‘Call an ambulance. João was stung by a bee and he is allergic.’
- (34) a. *Mordeu um cão ao gato.* ?EP *BP (intonation is relevant for acceptability in EP)
 bit a dog to-the cat
 ‘A dog bit the cat.’

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- b. *Mordeu-lhe um cão.* EP *BP
 Bit-it a dog
- c. *Um cão mordeu ele.* *EP BP (cf. section 3. above: EP excludes the strong
 a dog bit he pronoun *ele* in object position)

- (35) *Picou-lhe uma abelha na cara.* PE *PB
 stung him a bee in-the face
 ‘A bee stung him in his face.’

4.2. Word order and focus

Another relevant notion for word order issues is the notion of “focus”. Here we distinguish two types of focus: “informational” focus and contrastive (or emphatic) focus. In this section we will deal only with informational focus. Contrastive focus will be dealt with in section 5.

Informational focus can be better understood in contrast to the notion of *presupposition* or *background*. If a sentence is an answer to a question like (36Q) or (37Q), which provides the discourse context of the answer, it has a part that is presupposed and one which is the informational focus (in bold):

- (36) Q: *Who does John love?*
 A: *He loves **Mary**.*
- (37) Q: *Where did John arrive yesterday?*
 A: *Yesterday, he arrived **in Paris**.*

In (36A) the presupposition part is *John loves x*, and the informational focus is *Mary*. In (37A) the presupposed part is *John arrived yesterday at x*, and the informational focus is *in Paris*.

Informational focus has always the nuclear stress of the sentence, which is sentence-final in English. In Portuguese, in the two varieties, the nuclear stress is also sentence-final. This makes the prediction that answers like (38A) and (39A) in Portuguese will have similar syntactic patterns, and also similar to English:

- (38) A: *Ele ama **a Maria**.*
 He loves the Maria
- (39) A: *Ontem, **ele chegou em Paris**.*
 yesterday he arrived in Paris

However the same word order pattern can have a distinct presuppositional part, and consequently a distinct focus depending on the context. A similar answer can be given to different questions, but depending on the question the focus is a different portion of the answer (in bold):

(40) Q: *O que foi que a Maria cozinhou?* EP BP

what was that the Maria cooked

‘What has Maria cooked?’

A: *(Ela) cozinhou batatas.*

she cooked potatoes

(41) Q: *O que foi que a Maria fez?* EP BP

what was that the Maria did

‘What did Maria do?’

A: *(Ela) cozinhou batatas* EP BP

she cooked potatoes

‘She cooked potatoes.’

(42) Q: *Quem foi que cozinhou batatas?* EP BP

who was that cooked potatoes

‘Who cooked potatoes?’

A: *Foi a Maria.* EP BP

(was) **the Maria**

‘It was Mary.’

(43) Q: *Quem cozinhou batatas?* EP BP

who cooked potatoes

‘Who cooked potatoes?’

A1: *Cozinhou (batatas) a Maria.* EP *BP

When the *wh*-question focuses on the subject, EP has the order V(X)S so that the nuclear stress falls on the subject. As BP has strong restrictions regarding the type of verb to license this type of word order, what we have is an answer adjusted to the cleft-type of question (cf. (42Q)). Here the copula can be deleted as will be seen in section 5. Otherwise, BP may block VS, as in (43).

However, if the verb is of the unaccusative type the answer using the order VS is perfectly natural in BP, as the contrast between (44) with the unaccusative verb *cair* and (45) with the transitive *ver* shows:

(44) Q: *Quem caiu?* EP BP

who fell

‘Who fell?’

A1: *Caiu uma criança.* EP BP

fell a child

‘A child fell.’

- (45) Q: *Quem foi que viu um gato?* EP BP
 who was that saw a cat?
 ‘Who saw a cat?’
 A1: *Viu uma criança.* EP *BP
 saw a child
 A2: *(Foi) uma criança.* EP BP
 was a child
 ‘It was a child.’

On the other hand, there is no restriction as to the length of the predicate that is preposed to the subject in EP, though inversion is more easily found when one or more complements exhibit clitic forms:

- (46) Q: *Quem encontrou ontem a Maria no shopping?* EP BP
 who was that met yesterday the Maria in-the mall
 ‘Who met Mary yesterday at the mall?’
 A1: *Encontrou ontem a Maria no shopping a Joana.* EP *BP
 met yesterday the Maria in the mall the Joan
 It was Joana who met Mary in the mall’.
 A2: *Encontrou(-a) (ontem no shopping) a Joana.* EP *BP

- (47) Q: *Quem foi que deu um Ipod à/para a Maria?* BP BP
 who was that gave an Ipod to the Mary
 ‘Who gave an iPod to Mary?’
 A1: *Deu(-lho) o Pedro.* EP *BP (cf. section 3: BP also excludes clitic clusters)
 gave-her-it the Peter
 ‘Peter gave it to her.’
 A2: *Foi o Pedro.* EP BP
 was the Peter ‘It was Peter.’

Information focus does not have to single out a constituent of a sentence, in which case we would have a *narrow* focus. It can be the whole sentence, a case often referred to as *wide/broad* focus interpretation.

- (48) Q: *O que se passa?*
 what happens
 ‘What is the matter?’
 A: *A Maria está a cozinhar/cozinhando batatas.* EP BP
 the Maria is to cook/cooking potatoes
 ‘Mary is cooking potatoes.’

Notice that the answer in (48)A is athetic sentence, as the answer describes a situation. In conclusion, we can say that thetic sentences have always wide focus interpretation and allow both VS and SV orders. Categorical sentences on the other hand are always SV. Hence word order (concretely, the subject position) can be used as a discourse strategy to disambiguate between a categorical/predicative interpretation and a thetic/presentative interpretation. EP uses this strategy more extensively than BP because the latter imposes stronger restrictions to subject-verb inversion, which will be further confirmed in the next sections.

4.3. Word order and agreement

Though both EP and BP can have the order VS in thetic and subject-focus sentences when the verb is of the monoargument type (and the verb is unaccusative or existential), there is a further difference where agreement with the postposed subject is involved. In EP agreement with the postposed subject is the norm (but see Costa 2001, Carrilho 2003, who describe dialectal EP varieties without agreement), while in spoken BP the structure merges a null expletive, and the agreement is with the third person, like with the existential verb *haver*. In the written style of BP, however, agreement is found in both orders.

- (49) a. *Os ovos chegaram.* EP BP
 the eggs arrived-3PPL
 ‘The eggs arrived.’
- b. *Chegaram os ovos.* EP BP(written)
 arrived-3PPL the eggs
- c. *Chegou os ovos.* *EP BP(spoken) (but also found in dialectal EP)
 arrived+3pSG
- (50) a. *Alguns clientes telefonaram.* EP BP
 some clients called-3PPL
- b. *Telefonaram alguns clientes.* EP BP(written)
 called-3PPL some clients
- c. *Telefonou uns clientes.* *EP BP(spoken) (also found in dialectal EP)
 called-3PSG some clients

4.4. Favorable exceptional contexts for subject-verb inversion

Though in ordinary informational subject focus contexts, the availability of VS order in BP is limited, it has been noted that there are certain contexts where such order is favored.

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For Belletti (2001: 70-71), though Italian has restrictions similar to BP, V(X)S can be easily found in particular registers as in TV soccer reports, where the predicate describes a predictable situation:

- (55) *Mette la palla sul dischetto del rigore Ronaldo.*
 puts the ball on the penalty point Ronaldo

Pillati (2007) shows that BP has sentences similar to the Italian ones, which she calls “concomitant narrative” sentences, but she analyzes them using Pinto’s frame. According to the latter author deictic locatives can trigger inversion even when they are covert. Thus, in the contrast below, the inverted type is interpreted as having a deictic locative *here*, or a deictic temporal *now*, while in the non-inverted sentence the locative has indefinite interpretation.

- (56) a. È entrato Dante (here)
 b. Dante è entrato (somewhere).

Actually, in many examples given by Pilati, the deictic expression seems to be the temporal *agora*.

- (57) a. (Agora) *Tem a palavra a senadora Heloísa Helena.* EP BP
now has the word the senator Heloisa Helena
 ‘The senator H.H. has the word.’
 b. (Agora) *Abre o placar o time do Palmeiras.* EP BP
Now opens the match the team of-the Palm.
 ‘The Palmeiras team opens the match.’
 c. (Agora) *Ergue o braço o juiz.* EP BP
now raises the arm the judge
 ‘The judge raises the arm.’

The generalization seems to be that inversion is possible in the two varieties if some XP precedes the verb, even if this XP is a covert deictic expression. Still this grammatical option is subject to certain constraints in BP that are not found in EP. Verb type/class, discourse context and syntactic conditions such as the need to fill in the canonical subject position in BP seem to be relevant factors.

5. Word order in contrastive (or emphatic) focus constructions

5.1. Stress in *informational focus* and in *contrastive focus*¹⁴

As was seen above, informational focus is the constituent that receives the nuclear stress in a sentence, the reason why the order V(X)S obtains when the subject is the focus of the sentence in Romance languages that dispose of subject-inversion, like EP and Spanish (SP)¹⁵:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|--|----|-----|
| (58) | Q: a. <i>Quem levou o meu laptop?</i> | A. a. <i>Levou</i> [_F <i>O LADRÃO</i>] | EP | *BP |
| | who took the my lap-top | took-it the thief | | |
| | ‘Who took my lap-top?’ | ‘The THIEF took it.’ | | |
| | b. <i>Quién llevó mi laptop?</i> | b. <i>Lo llevó</i> [_F <i>EL LADRÓN</i>] | SP | |

BP, on the other hand, is similar to English when the informational focus is the subject. While in the case of non-subjects, it is always the rightmost element that receives the nuclear stress, here the primary stress is on the subject in pre-verbal position, the leftmost element in TP. According to Zubizarreta (1998:20), this is due to the way English, French and German, and we can add BP, assign the nuclear stress. In these languages, defocalized and functional categories are “metrically invisible” in the application of the nuclear stress rule (*NSR*), while in other Romance languages, like Spanish and *EP*, all phonologically specified elements are “metrically visible”.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------|---|
| (59) | a. <i>Who</i> took my laptop? | (58) | a. [_F <i>THE THIEF</i>] took it. |
| | b. <i>Quem</i> levou o meu laptop? | | b. [_F <i>O LADRÃO</i>] levou ele. *EP BP |

Contrary to what happens in English and BP, when the stress falls on the preverbal subject in EP and Spanish, the interpretation is that of a contrastive focus. This is also true in BP and English. This means that in English and in BP, without a clear context, focalization on the subject can be ambiguous between informational and contrastive focus. The case below provides ‘a corrective context’¹⁶, which makes the sentence unambiguous, with *O LADRÃO* a contrastive focus.

- | | | |
|------|---|-------|
| (60) | a. <i>O LADRÃO</i> levou o seu laptop, e não o seu vizinho. | EP BP |
| | the thief took the your laptop and not the your neighbor | |
| | ‘The THIEF took your laptop, and not your neighbor.’ | |
| | b. <i>O MIGUEL</i> adormeceu no carro, e não o Lucas. | EP BP |
| | The Mike fell-asleep in-the car and not the Lucas | |
| | ‘Mike fell asleep in the car, and not Lucas.’ | |

¹⁴ For contrastive focus in EP see Costa & Martins (2011) and for BP see Kato (2006) and Kato & Ribeiro (2009).

¹⁵ Examples from Kato & Ribeiro (2009).

¹⁶ For Bianch, Boscci and Cruscina (2013) contrastive focus’ involves different notions depending on the context: a) corrective context, b) mirative context (unexpected or surprising, c) contrastive context, which is not a sufficient contexto for projecting a FocusP.

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5.2. Focus movement and prosodic prominence

While in the previous sub-section we saw cases of prosodic prominence alone to mark contrastive focus, in this section we are going to see cases of movement of a constituent to the left periphery of the sentence, a position where the focus also obtains prosodic prominence in both EP and BP.¹⁷ With regard to the position of the subject, EP has obligatorily the order VS, except in cases like (64), where a negative element is part of the focus, **and when the fronted constituent includes a focus marker like *só* ‘only’ or *até* ‘even’**. In BP, on the other hand, VS can occur optionally with preposed Focus.

- (61) a. *DE NOTÍCIAS se faz o nosso mundo.* EP BP
of news SE makes the our world
b. **DE NOTÍCIAS o nosso mundo se faz.* *EP BP
of news the our world SE makes
‘It’s news that make up our world.’
- (62) a. *UMA MELANCIA INTEIRA me comeu aquele bruto.* EP BP
a watermelon entire me-DAT ate that brute
b. *UMA MELANCIA INTEIRA aquele bruto me comeu.* *EP BP
a watermelon entire that brute me-DAT ate
‘A whole watermelon, that’s what that beast ate!’
- (63) a. *UMA FORTUNA faturou a nossa barraca.* EP BP
a fortune made the our tent
b. *UMA FORTUNA a nossa barraca faturou.* *EP BP
a fortune the our tent made
‘A fortune our tent made.’
- (64) a. *NEM SEMPRE ganha o favorito.* EP BP
not always wins the favourite
b. *NEM SEMPRE o favorito ganha.* EP BP
not always the favourite wins
‘It is not always that the favourite one wins.’

5.3. Cleft sentences: a multi-functional strategy to codify focus¹⁸

There is a strategy in Portuguese, and in other Romance languages¹⁹, which marks the Focus syntactically, through the copula, namely the so-called cleft (or *that*-cleft) constructions and

¹⁷ Examples from Costa & Martins (2011), except (63a), from Naro and Votre (1999).

¹⁸ Examples based on Kato and Ribeiro (2009) and on Kato (2010). See also Modesto (2001), Miotto (2006, 2008) and Resenes (2009) on clefts in Brazilian Portuguese.

¹⁹ *Wh*-clefts are more widely found in languages than *it*-clefts. (cf. Lambrecht 2001)

pseudo-cleft (or *wh*-clefts) constructions. Both types can convey informational and contrastive focus.

- Informational focus

(65) Q: *O que é que o ladrão levou?*

what is that the thief took

‘What did the thief take?’

A1: *O ladrão levou [FP O MEU LAPTOP].* EP BP

the thief took the my laptop

‘The thief took my lap-top.’

A2: *O que o ladrão levou foi [FO MEU LAPTOP].(wh-cleft)* EP BP

what the thief took was the my laptop

‘What the thief took was my lap-top.’

A3: *Foi [F O MEU LAPTOP] que o ladrão levou. (that-cleft)* EP BP

was the my laptop **that** the thief took

‘It was my laptop that the thief took.’

- Contrastive focus

(66) a. *Foi [FO MEU LAPTOP] o que o ladrão levou, não o teu. (wh-cleft)* EP BP

was the my laptop **what** the thief took not the yours

‘It was my laptop what the thief took, not yours.’

b. *Foi [F O JOÃO] quem falou, não o Pedro. (wh-cleft)* EP BP

it was the John **who** spoke not the Pedro

‘It was John ho spoke, not Peter.’

(67) a. *Foi [FO MEU LAPTOP] que o ladrão levou, não o teu. (that-cleft)* EP BP

was the my laptop **that** the thief took not the yours

‘It was my laptop that the thief took, not yours.’

b. *Foi [F O JOÃO] que falou, não o Pedro. (that-cleft)* EP BP

was the John **that** spoke not the Peter

‘It was John who spoke, not Peter.’

In the examples above, the copula is always in initial position, but we can also have other positions for the copula. With *wh*-clefts, we can have: a) the copula in initial position, b) the copula in second position preceded by the focus and c) the copula in second position preceded by the *wh*-clause. With *that*-clefts we can have: a) the copula in initial position and b) the copula in second position preceded by the focalized element.

(68) a. *Sou [F EU] quem mais trabalha na empresa.* EP BP

am I who more Works in the company

b. *[FEU] sou quem mais trabalha na empresa.* EP BP

I am who more works in-the company

‘I am who works the most in the company.’

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- c. *Quem mais trabalha nesta empresa sou* [_FEU]. EP BP
 who more works in-this company am I
 ‘The one who works more in the company is me’.
- (69) a. *Sou* [_FEU] *que* *trabalho mais nesta empresa*. EP BP
 am I that works ore in-this company
- b. [_FEU] *é* *que* *trabalho mais nesta empresa*. EP BP
 I is that works more in-this company
- c. *É* [_FEU] *que* *trabalho mais nesta empresa*. *EP BP
 is I that works more in-this company
 ‘It is me that works the most in this company.’

While the copula agrees with the focus in all varieties of *wh*-clefts, with *that*-clefts, there is agreement with the focus only in (69a), but agreement is optional in BP. In the case of inverse clefts (69b), the copula is invariable in both EP and BP.

Form (69c) is an innovation in BP. The copula underwent grammaticalization in all *that*-clefts, not only in person agreement, but also in tense agreement (*consecutio temporum*). This is further followed by the deletion of the copula, as a new step in grammaticalization, as in (70c).

- (70) a. *Foram* [OS MENINOS] *que saíram*.
 were the boys that left-3PPI
- b. *É* [OS MENINOS] *que saíram*.
 is the boys that left-3PPI
- c. [OS MENINOS] *que saíram*.
 the boys that left-3PPI
 ‘ [THE BOYS] left.’

6. Word order in Wh-questions

6.1. The *wh*-parameter

The first issue concerning word order in *wh*-questions is the so-called *wh*-parameter, proposed in Huang (1982), according to which languages are of two types: a) those that move the *wh*-word or expression to the sentential periphery (ex. English), and those that leave the *wh*-element *in-situ* (ex. Japanese). Cheng and Roorick (2000) shows, however, that there are languages with optional *wh*-movement like French, and Kato (2013) shows that *wh*-movement in BP is also optional.

What is important here is to point out that BP has been showing a great increase in *wh-in-situ* cases since the 19th century²⁰, and, contrary to French it is free of restrictions.

The description of *wh-in-situ* cases in BP will be left out of the present chapter, and we refer the reader to Kato (2013), in which she proposes that the apparent *wh-in-situ* constructions do

²⁰ See Lopes-Rossi (1996) and Kato and Mito (2008) for quantitative data.

have actual *wh-movement* of a short type.

6.2. Main assumption of this section and the data

It is a strong assumption in this chapter that *wh*-questions are contrastive focalization structures, with the *wh*-constituent the focus of the sentence, and should, thus, exhibit a parallel behavior with declarative contrastive focalization sentences²¹.

We will show, indeed, that what we saw about word order in declarative sentences in the previous sections is mirrored in the word order of *wh*-questions in contemporary EP and BP²²:

- a) unambiguous VSX order with fronted *wh*- is found productively in EP (cf. ex. (71)), but not in BP;
- b) WhV(X)S with inergatives and transitives are found only in EP (cf. exs (72));
- c) WHVS order with unaccusative verbs or the copula is found in both varieties (cf. (73));
- d) strict SV is found only in BP (cf (74)).²³

- | | | |
|------|--|----|
| (71) | a. <i>Que trouxe ele de novo para a construção romanesca?</i> | EP |
| | what brought he of new for the romance construction | |
| | ‘What did he bring as novelty for the romance construction?’ | |
| | b. <i>Como consegue ele isto?</i> | EP |
| (72) | a. <i>De que ri o Diamantino?</i> | EP |
| | Of what laughs the Diamantino | |
| | ‘What does Diamantino laugh at?’ | |
| | b. <i>O que fará o terceiro?</i> | EP |
| | what do+fut+3sg the third | |
| | ‘what will the third one do?’ | |
| (73) | a. <i>Onde morreram as esperanças e as ilusões?</i> | EP |
| | where died the hopes and the illusions | |
| | ‘Where have the hopes and the illusions died?’ | |
| | b. <i>Onde estariam forma e teoria?</i> | EP |
| | where would-be-3pl form and theory | |
| | ‘Where would form and theory be?’ | |
| | c. <i>Com quem surgiu esse conceito?</i> | BP |
| | with whom appeared this concept | |
| | ‘With whom did this concept appear?’ | |

²¹ This hypothesis was raised and confirmed in Kato & Ribeiro (2009) through diachronic facts.

²² The empirical description and the examples on contemporary EP and BP are from Kato & Mioto (2007), who used the corpora <http://acdc.linguatca.pt/acesso/> for EP, the *subcorpus* Natura-Público and for BP the NILC-São Carlos. See also Ambar (1992) for an exhaustive description of EP.

²³ Ambar (1992) predicts, however, that d-linked *wh*-expressions may have SV order.

- d. *Quando entra o Real?* BP
 when enters the Real
 ‘When does the Real enter?’
- (74) a. *Com quem ele governará?* BP
 with whom he will govern
 ‘Who will he govern with?’
- b. *Em quem eu devo acreditar?* BP
 in whom I should believe
 ‘Who should I believe in?’

6.3. *Wh*-questions from cleft structures

In the same way that focalization can be obtained by complex cleft structures, *wh*-questions can also be derived as cleft sentences²⁴ in both varieties since the beginning of the 19th century²⁵.

- (75) a. *Quando é que falas comigo?* EP (19th)
 when is that speaks with-me
 ‘When is it that you speak with me?’
- b. *O que é que tu fizeste?* EP (20th)
 what is that you did
 ‘What is it that you did?’
- (76) a. *Onde foi que ouvi este nome?* BP (19th)
 where was that heard-1stSg this name?
 ‘Where is it that I heard this name?’
- b. *Como é que chama isso?* BP (20th)
 how is that call this ‘How is this called?’

With the copula in initial position, like in declarative clauses, *wh*-questions are found only in BP children speech and in motherese:

- (77) a. *É quem que ta tocano o violão ?* (Luana 2;3.22)
 is who that is playing the guitar?
 ‘Who is playing theguitar?’
- b. *É quem que tá tomano banho?* (motherese)
 is who that is taking bath
 ‘Who is taking bath?’

²⁴ Lopes-Rossi (1996) and Kato & Ribeiro (2009) show that *wh*-clefts as *wh*-questions are older, and that *that*-clefts appear only in the late 18th century, and are part of the vernacular in both varieties today.

²⁵ The diachronic facts and examples are from E.Duarte (1987), Lopes-Rossi (1996) , Kato and Duarte (2002) and Kato & Ribeiro (2009). The contemporary facts on EP are confirmed in Ambar (1988), Ambar and Veloso (1999) , Barbosa (2001) and I.Duarte (2000).

The *wh*-questions in (75) and (76), however, when converted to (78), with the copula in initial position, and with necessary pronominal adjustments, are easily accepted by adult Brazilians²⁶, but not by European speakers.

- (78)
- | | | |
|----|--|---------|
| a. | <i>É quando que você fala comigo?</i> | *?EP BP |
| | is when that you speak with-me | |
| | ‘When is it that you speak with me?’ | |
| b. | <i>É o que que você fez?</i> | *EP BP |
| | is what that you did | |
| | ‘What is it that you did?’ | |
| c. | <i>Foi onde que ouvi este nome?</i> | *?EP BP |
| | was where that heard-1stpSg this name? | |
| d. | <i>É como que chama isso?</i> | *EP BP |
| | is how that call this | |

Finally, we will claim, that a pattern like (79b), and those in (80), without the copula, are in fact “*in-situ*” clefts, an idea defended by Noonan’s (1992) for Quebec French. We just have to add that the (78) examples, which are canonic clefts, undergo copula deletion, a common phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese when the copula is in initial position²⁷.

- (79)
- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| a. | <i>(C’est) où que t’ás mis les oranges?</i> | |
| b. | <i>Où que t’á mis les oranges?</i> (Noonan 1992) | |
- (80)
- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| a. | <i>(É) quando que você fala comigo?</i> | *EP BP |
| | is when that you speak with-me | |
| | ‘When is it that you speak with me?’ | |
| b. | <i>(É) o que que você fez?</i> | *EP BP |
| | is what that you did | |
| | ‘What is it that you did?’ | |
| c. | <i>(Foi) onde que eu ouvi este nome?</i> | *EP BP |
| | was where that I heard this name? | |
| d. | <i>(É) como que chama isso?</i> | *EP BP |
| | is how that call this | |

²⁶ Such patterns are not found in the written corpus used by Kato & Miotto (2008). It may be present, however, in more recent spoken corpora.

²⁷ See, for instance, (i) *(É) lindo o seu cabelo.* (ii) *(É) um gênio o seu filho.*
 is beautiful the your hair is a genius the your son.
 (apud Kato 2007)

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7. Conclusion

In this chapter we have chosen constituent order to illustrate important differences between EP and BP, as word order is central to grammatical systems. We have shown that the two main varieties of Portuguese may radically diverge in word order as is the case with clitic placement. In other instances, both varieties use the alternation between unmarked (SVO) and marked constituent orders as a means to signal semantic or pragmatic distinctions (predicative/descriptive sentences; narrow/broad focus; information/contrastive focus). But BP is more restrictive than EP as for the availability of subject-verb inversion (VS) and may use instead strategies that are compatible with the unmarked SVO order. Some of these strategies are innovations that are presumably parametrically related and put BP in a diverging path from EP.

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