

# EMPHATIC VERB REDUPLICATION IN EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

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This paper deals with sentences with verb reduplication which express emphatic affirmation. Verb reduplication is interpreted as a case of double phonetic realization of copies of a chain, in line with Nunes (2004). The availability of emphatic verb reduplication extends across all the varieties of European Portuguese (EP), being a case of non splitting between the standard variety and the different dialects of the same language with respect to a structure displaying “syntactic doubling”. Evidence that emphatic verb reduplication is a common feature of EP dialects comes from the corpus under development CORDIAL-SIN (*Syntactically annotated corpus of Portuguese dialects* – <http://www.clul.ul.pt>) and will be presented at the talk.

## 1. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

The data in (1) below illustrate emphatic affirmative answers to yes/no questions, which are felicitous in the context of a tag question presupposing a negative answer. The data in (2) illustrate emphatic affirmative declaratives, which are felicitous as assertions of the untruth of a preceding negative statement. The right column in (1)-(2) below indicates the grammaticality status of the sentences (b), or their equivalents, in respectively (standard and dialectal) European Portuguese, (standard) Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and (standard and presumably also dialectal)<sup>1</sup> Spanish. In addition, the data in (3) show that the availability of the verb reduplication strategy does not correlate with the availability of non emphatic verbal answers to yes/no questions, as BP disallows the former (see 1b) but allows the latter (see 3c). EP, BP and Spanish are closely related Romance linguistic varieties. Comparison between them will be shown to shed light on the nature of the verb reduplication structure which only EP allows.

- (1)[A] a. Aqui nunca chove muito, pois não?  
here never rains much, *POIS* not – ‘It never rains a lot here, does it?’  
[B] b. Chove, chove. [with no pause and overall rising intonation] EP: OK / BP: \* / Sp: \*  
rains rains – ‘It DOES’
- (2)[A] a. Estou a ver que ele não gosta de animais.  
(I) am to see that he not likes of animals – ‘I can see that he doesn’t like animals’  
[B] b. Ele gosta de animais, gosta. [with overall rising intonation] EP: OK / BP: \* / Sp: \*  
he likes of animals, likes – ‘He does like animals’
- (3)[A] a. Ele gosta de animais?  
he likes of animals – ‘Does he likes animals?’  
[B] b. Sim / Sí EP: OK / BP: OK / Sp: OK  
yes – ‘Yes(,he does)’  
c. Gosta. EP: OK / BP: OK / Sp: \*  
Likes – ‘Yes(, he does)’

## 2. BACKGROUND

I adopt the proposals of Nunes (2004) on the Linearization of chains. In particular I follow Nunes’ idea that the phonetic realization of multiple links of a chain is permitted as far as the LCA (Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom) can still operate. This is what happens when morphological reanalysis makes some copy invisible for the LCA, as the LCA does not apply below the word level.

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<sup>1</sup> I am not aware of the existence of any variety of Spanish where emphatic affirmation can be (syntactically) expressed through verb reduplication. Galician is similar to EP in allowing emphatic verb reduplication.

### 3. ANALYSIS

EP *emphatic answers* activate the domains of  $\Sigma$  and C.  $\Sigma$  encodes affirmative features; C encodes emphatic features. In the verb reduplication pattern, two copies of the verb are phonetically realized, giving lexical content to the two functional heads  $\Sigma$  and C. The double phonetic realization of V is possible because the higher copy may undergo morphological reanalysis with C (resulting in a  $C^0$  category) and so become invisible to the LCA (see Nunes 2004 for details). Sentences like (1c) are not an option in Spanish because V does not move to  $\Sigma$ ; such sentences cannot be derived in BP either because verb movement to C is not available. The unavailability of verbal answers to yes/no questions in Spanish (see (3) above), shows that Spanish, in contrast to EP and BP, lacks verb movement to  $\Sigma$ . As for BP, the absence of verb movement to C has been extensively discussed in the literature; it is the source for the word order facts illustrated by (4). In contrast with EP, BP systematically disallows subject-verb inversion when the order VS is the outcome of V movement to C. For the sake of exemplification, root wh- interrogatives are relevant structures.

- (4) a. Quem disse a Maria que telefonou? EP: OK / BP: \*  
who said the M. that called – ‘Who did Mary tell that called’  
b. Quem a Maria disse que telefonou? EP: \* / BP: OK  
who the M. said that called – ‘Who did Mary tell that called’

EP *emphatic declaratives*, like emphatic answers, activate the domains of  $\Sigma$  and C. But in emphatic declaratives the clausal constituent is a Topic in the CP domain. Sentences like (2b) above are derived in EP with movement of V to C, followed by movement of the remnant to Spec,CP. The double phonetic realization of V is possible because there is morphological reanalysis between C and V as said before. The contrasts between EP and BP, on the one hand, and EP and Spanish, on the other, parallel what was observed for emphatic answers: the unavailability of verb movement to  $\Sigma$  or verb movement to C makes (2b) non derivable in Spanish and BP respectively. As far as the available range of verb movement is what determines whether emphatic verb reduplication is allowed or blocked, verb movement appears to be a unifying factor among EP dialects (including the standard dialect).

### 4. MORPHOLOGICAL REANALYSIS OF C

Nunes (2004) shows that morphological reanalysis in C (interpreted as *fusion* in the terms of Halle and Marantz (1993)) may be blocked when complex heads are involved. This ‘blocking effect’ is gradual: the more complex is a head more constrained is the availability of morphological reanalysis. If the analysis proposed in section 3 above is on the right track, we expect to find restrictions to the grammaticality of the EP verb reduplication structures. This is in fact the case as will be discussed in the paper. I give here a short illustration of the facts. Example (6) shows that a clitic+V head cannot fuse with C. Example (7) shows that compound verbs make morphological reanalysis less smooth although still possible. Future or conditional forms of the verb have a similar effect (see (8)). Note that futures and conditionals are the only verbal forms that allow mesoclisism in EP, which indicates that futures and conditionals have a particular morphological structure among inflected verbal forms. When a compound verb is inflected in the future or conditional, a cumulative effect arises with the result that verb reduplication becomes ungrammatical.

- (6) Eu devolvi-lhe o livro, devolvi / \*devolvi-lhe  
I returned-him the book, returned / returned-him – ‘I did return him the book’  
(7) Ele não (contra-)atacou o candidato pois não?  
‘He didn’t (contra-)attack the candidate, did he?’  
Atacou, atacou / ??Contra-atacou, contra-atacou  
attacked, attacked / contra-attacked, contra-attacked – ‘Yes, he did’  
(8) Ele não atacará o candidato, pois não? – ‘He will not attack the candidate, will he?’

??Atacará, atacará

will attack, will-attack – ‘Yes, he will’

(9) O candidato não contra-atacará, pois não?

‘The candidate will not contra-attack, will he?’

\*Contra-atacará, contra-atacará – will contra-attack, will contra-attack – ‘Yes, he will’

#### REFERENCES

Nunes, J. 2004 *Linearization of Chains and Sideward Movement*. The MIT Press.

Halle, M. and A. Marantz 1993. “Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection”. *The View from Building 20*, ed. by K. Hale and S. J. Keyser. 111-176.