

# BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE *LÁ* IN THE CP-DOMAIN: A CARTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

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## RESUMO

*Neste artigo, desenvolvemos um estudo de 'lá' no PB em questões retóricas, imperativas, diretivas, assertivas enfáticas e predicativas. Propomos que, nessas estruturas, 'lá' ocuparia a posição de Spec em FocusP e ForceP na cartografia do CP. Esta proposta se fundamenta na teoria dos especificadores funcionais (CINQUE, 1999) e no projeto cartográfico (RIZZI, 1997; CINQUE & RIZZI, 2008). O primeiro propõe que AdvPs são inseridos por merge na posição de especificador de categorias funcionais. O segundo, por sua vez, identifica um domínio à esquerda do IP, composto por categorias que estão na interface do discurso e da sintaxe.*

## ABSTRACT

*This paper aims at investigating Brazilian Portuguese 'lá' ('there') in structures with rhetorical question, imperative, directive, emphatic assertion, and predicative. We argue that, in these constructions, 'lá' is merged in the specifier of FocusP and ForceP in the CP-cartography. This proposal is based both in the F-Spec Theory (CINQUE, 1999) and in the cartographic project (RIZZI, 1997; CINQUE & RIZZI, 2008). The former claims that AdvPs are merged in the specifier of functional categories. The latter identifies a domain to the left of the IP which is made up by a range of functional categories facing both discourse and syntax.*

## PALAVRAS-CHAVE

*Especificador funcional. 'Lá' no português brasileiro. Periferia esquerda.*

## KEYWORDS

*Brazilian Portuguese 'lá'. Functional Specifier. Left Periphery.*

## Introduction

Several researchers have observed that the adverb *lá*, both in BP (MARTELOTTA & REGO, 1996) and in EP (MARTINS, 2010), has shown non deictic properties which allow it to perform an “emphatic marker” function in many different syntactic structures. For a matter of clarification, we may divide these researches in at least two groups. Roughly, the first one is concerned with the semantic and discursive values conveyed by *lá*, without developing a syntactic analysis. The second one provides these realizations of *lá* with a syntactic analysis, but does not offer means of examining the restrictions and identity of each realization of *lá* in BP.

For instance, MARTINS (2010) claims that Spec,TP is the position where *lá* is merged in all the structures that she took into account in EP. Though this proposal is meant to be comprehensive, it seems to lack principles for explaining the singular syntactic and semantic features of each structure where *lá* occurs. Actually, this analysis puts together, in a sole category (Spec,TP), a bunch of different interface features, which seems to be problematic.

Therefore, a unified analysis is needed, but it also has to fit with the peculiar properties of *lá* in its many realizations. In order to meet these requirements, which are not mutually exclusive, the ensuing analysis will pursue the following assumptions. Firstly, AdvPs are functional

specifiers (CINQUE, 1999). As such, they are expected to have a rigid order determined by the Universal Grammar and to check head features. Secondly, the IP (RIZZI, 1997) projects a domain dedicated to elements of interface, that is, the ones which have syntactic and discourse import. In this way, the left periphery or CP bears a space rich in functional categories, such as focus, force, finiteness, and so forth. Thirdly, syntax is governed by elementary mechanisms, such as merge and move (CHOMSKY, 1995), that can generate highly complex hierarchical blocks.

Minimalism focuses on the elementary mechanisms which are involved in syntactic computations [...] and cartography focuses on the fine details of the generated structures, two research topics which can be pursued in parallel in a fully consistent manner (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2008: 49).

Based in these assumptions, we hypothesize that *lá* checks functional features in the IP periphery<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, this paper examines *lá* in rhetorical questions (1.1), imperatives (1.2), directives (2.1), emphatic assertions (2.2), and predicatives (2.3), arguing that, in these structures, *lá* would be merged in the specifier position of FocusP and ForceP.

## 1 *Lá* in Spec,FocusP

This section investigates *lá* in rhetorical questions (1.1) and in imperatives (1.2).

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<sup>1</sup> This proposal also applies to NP and VP peripheries covering other realizations of BP *lá* (PEREIRA, 2011).

## 1.1 Rhetorical questions

To study *lá* in these structures, we first give a brief explanation on the properties of rhetorical questions. Then, we argue for an analysis of *lá* as Spec,FocusP in the IP-periphery. Finally, we discuss MARTINS's (2010) proposal for EP. In the meantime, we also intend to clarify the difference between *lá* as a rhetorical question marker, on the one hand, and as a negative marker, on the other hand.

Let's observe (1a).

(1)

- a. Isso **lá** é atitude de um homem?  
*This lá is attitude of a man*  
 'Is this a man's behavior?'
- b. This is not a man's behavior.

In (1a), *lá* belongs to a rhetorical question which, by definition, (i) "does not expect to elicit an answer" (HAN, 1998: 1) and (ii) has the capacity of inverting the polarity of a sentence. That is why (1b), a negative sentence, may be a paraphrase of (1a).

In rhetorical questions, *lá* can be either pre-verbal (1c) or post-verbal (1d) and can be omitted, without changing the propositional content of a sentence, as follows:

(1)

- c. Isso (**lá**) é atitude de um homem?
- d. Isso é (**lá**) atitude de um homem?  
*This is lá attitude of a man*  
 'Is this a man's behavior?'

Due to the fact that *lá* can be pre-verbal, it is situated higher than the position where the verb is located, that is, higher than IP, probably in the left periphery because *lá* conveys information with emphatic import. As a consequence, post-verbal position of *lá* would be explained by

V-raising to a position higher than the one where *lá* is located.

For these reasons, we presume that in (1a) *lá* is merged in the CP-domain, specifically in Spec,FocusP. This position seems to be suitable because *lá* is usually pronounced with an emphatic intonation, is not compatible with focalized items (2), and allows topic recursion higher (3b, d) and lower (3c) than its position.

(2)

- a. TUDO, o João comprou. Não faltou nada.  
*Everything, the João bought. Not lacked nothing*  
'João bought EVERYTHING. Nothing is missing'.
- b. \*TUDO, o João lá comprou?  
*EVERYTHING, the João lá bought*

(3)

A: O João comprou um carro recentemente.  
'João has bought a car recently'.

B:

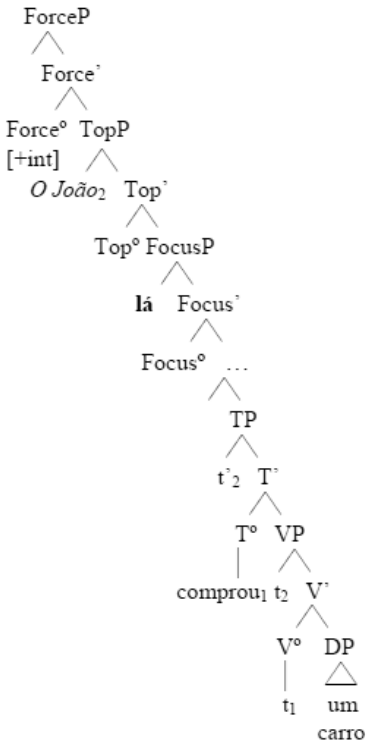
- a. Você quis dizer: O PAI DO JOÃO comprou um carro recentemente.  
'You mean: João's father has bought a car recently'.
- b. O João lá comprou um carro? Foi o pai dele.  
*The João lá bought a car? Was the father of-him*  
'Has João bought a car? It was his father who did it'.
- c. Lá um carro o João comprou? Aquilo é uma lata velha.  
*Lá a car the João bought? That is an iron old.*  
'Has João bought a car? That looks like scrap iron'.
- d. O João comprou lá um carro? Aquilo é uma lata velha.  
*The João bought lá a car? That is an iron old.*  
'Has João bought a car? That looks like scrap iron'.

The underlined items, in contrast to what happens to *o pai do João* in (3Ba), carry given information, which means that they are available

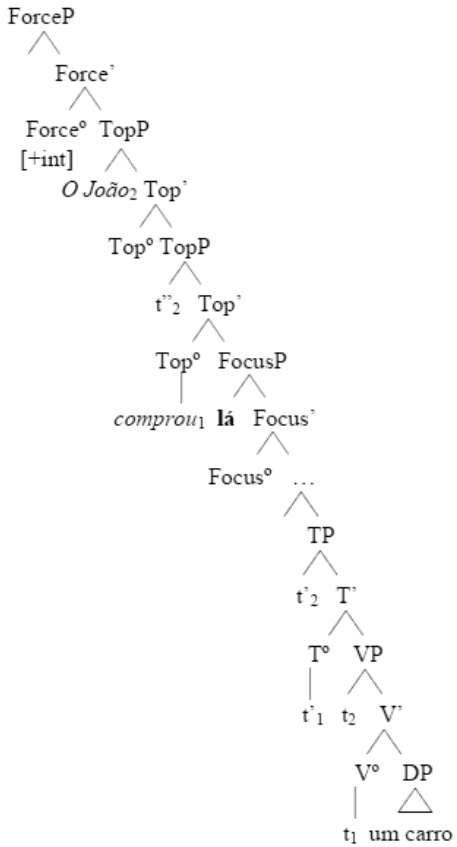
in the discourse. That is why they can be interpreted as topics. We claim that *o João* (3b), *um carro* (3c), *o João* (3d) and *comprou*<sup>2</sup> (3d) move to topic positions either higher or lower than the one where *lá* is situated, according to the derivations shown below.

FIGURE 1: *Lá* in Spec,FocusP of rhetorical questions

- (3) b. O João lá comprou um carro?  
Foi o pai dele.



- (3) d. O João comprou lá um carro?  
Aquilo é uma lata velha.



<sup>2</sup> V to C movement may raise some questions that we leave for future stages of this investigation.

According to MARTINS (2010), in European Portuguese (EP), *lá* is post-verbal, as given in the examples (4a, b).

(4)

- a. “Eu doente? Ora essa! Eu sou **lá** criatura que adoeça!”  
*Me sick? Now that! I am lá creature that gets-sick!*  
 ‘Me sick? What a silly idea! I’m not someone to fall sick’  
 (MARTINS, 2010: 12).
- b. “Há **lá** coisa melhor que estar na praia?”  
*Is lá thing better than be-INFIN in-the beach?*  
 ‘Could anything be better than staying in the beach?’  
 (MARTINS, 2010: 16).

Surfacing in this position, *lá* is lower than the verb: while the latter is situated in  $\Sigma P$ , the former is in TP.

Spec,TP in European Portuguese is a dedicated Utterance Time position [...] non-argumental deictic locatives may give content to Spec,TP by external merge, in which case they act as emphatic markers devoid of locative meaning (MARTINS, 2010: 18).

Nevertheless, in BP, *lá* in rhetorical questions can be pre-verbal, as seen in the example (1a), repeated below, which means that it is in fact higher than the verb.

(1)

- a. Isso **lá** é atitude de um homem?  
*This lá is attitude of a man*  
 ‘Is this a man’s behavior?’

Besides, according to the author, *lá* in (4a) is different from *lá* in (4b). The former is a negation marker while the latter is a rhetorical question

marker. This difference, however, does not apply to BP. In BP, (4a) is grammatical only if it is pronounced with an intonation of questions. It means that (4a) would be in fact a rhetorical question just like (4b).

We still need to know, however, why both (1a) and (4a, b) are understood as negation in BP. It follows probably from a peculiar property of rhetorical questions which is the reversal polarity, that is, “a rhetorical positive question has the illocutionary force of a negative assertion” (HAN, 1998: 1) and other way round. As a matter of fact, if *lá* is left out, the sentence will still keep its negative interpretation. Therefore, a straightforward conclusion from this fact is that *lá*, in rhetorical questions, is not a negation marker. Negation derives purely from illocutionary force.

Nonetheless, it turns out that, in sentences like (5a) and (5b) below, *lá* can be analyzed as a negation marker. In this case, there is no question intonation, *lá* is post-verbal<sup>3</sup> only and can not be left out otherwise the negative interpretation is lost. In addition, *lá*, as a negation marker in BP, has some restrictions to be met, for instance, it has to appear with the verbs *saber* (‘to know’), as in (5a), and *importar* (‘to mind’), as in (5b). When it occurs with *saber*, it is also restricted either to 1<sup>st</sup> singular person (5a) or to 3<sup>rd</sup> singular plus arbitrary *-se*, as in (5c).

(5)

- a. Sei *lá*!  
     *Know lá*  
     ‘I don’t know!’
- b. Importa-me *lá*!  
     *Mind me lá!*  
     I don’t care!
- c. Sabe-se *lá* se ela casou.  
     *Know-se lá if she married*  
     It is not known if she has got married.

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<sup>3</sup> Taking into account its post-verbal position and other properties, Pereira (2011) suggests that *lá* as a negation marker, unlike *lá* in rhetorical questions, is rather in the low periphery, which means that the verb does not move all the way up to the CP-domain.



To sum up, we have pointed out that *lá* is not a negation marker in (1a), but only in specific contexts where the sentence does not have interrogative intonation and shows lexical and grammatical restrictions. In addition, at least in BP rhetorical questions, *lá* can be preverbal, which means that it is probably higher than Spec,IP.

## 1.2 Imperatives

This subsection is concerned with *lá* in imperatives (6).

(6)

- a. Olha lá, hein? Pare de acusar os outros.  
*Look lá, huh? Stop of accuse-INF the others*  
 ‘Be aware of it, huh? Stop accusing people.’

In (6), *lá* can only be post-verbal and, as expected for imperatives, it is incompatible with conditionals (6b), embedded clauses (6c) and non-finite clauses (6d).

(6)

- b. \*Se você olha lá, as pessoas não vão ficar bravas.  
*If you look lá, the people not go-FUT stay-INF angry*
- c. \*Eu disse que olha lá.  
*I said that look lá*
- d. \*Olhar lá é a chave para as pessoas não ficarem bravas.  
*To-look lá is the key to the people not stay angry*

According to MARTINS (2010: 13), *lá* expresses “vehement requests, by which the speaker intends to grant a positive response from the interlocutor”, as in (7).

- (7) A: Dá-me um beijo.  
 ‘Give me a Kiss!’

B: Não.

‘No.’

A: Dá *lá*.

‘Please!’ (MARTINS, 2010, p. 13-14).

Contrastively, in BP imperatives<sup>4</sup>, *lá*, besides indicating a kind request, as given in (8a), may also be used to indicate a threat, as given in (6a).

(8)

- a. “Avisa *lá* que eu vou chegar mais tarde”

*Tell lá that I will arrive more late*

‘Tell them please that I will arrive later’.

According to MARTINS (2010), *lá* is situated in Spec,TP due to its post-verbal position. In our view, however, *lá* belongs to the IP-periphery, being merged probably in Spec,FocusP. This hypothesis takes into account that: firstly, *lá* does not seem to be compatible with focalized items (8b); secondly, *lá* is post-verbal (8c), which follows from the fact that V raises to Force in imperatives (PLATZACK & ROSENGREN, 1998); thirdly, *lá* is not only post-verbal but also adjacent to the verb (8d). That is why *lá* may be merged immediately below ForceP.

(8)

- b. \*Avisa VOCÊ *lá*.

*Tell YOU lá*

- c. \**Lá* avisa!

*Lá tell*

- d. \*Avisa com atenção *lá*.

*Tell with attention lá*

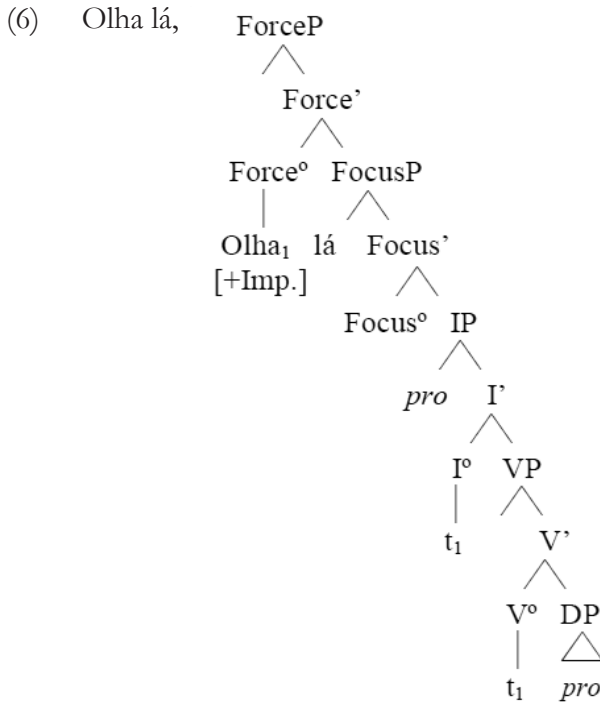
Therefore, even though *lá* is merged in Spec, FocusP and act as a kind of ‘emphatic’ marker both in rhetorical questions and in imperatives, it belongs to two different structures. In rhetorical questions, there is no

<sup>4</sup> Other examples of *lá* in imperatives are found in Pereira (2011).

V-raising to Force, contrary to what happens in imperatives. Furthermore, Force, in rhetorical questions, bears [+Interrogative] features, while in imperatives, Force is [+Imperative].

Considering these facts, a derivation for (6a) would be as follows:

FIGURE 2: *Lá* in Spec,ForceP of imperatives



## 2 *Lá* in Spec,ForceP

This section deals with sentences having the following types of illocutionary force: directive (2.1), assertive (2.2) and conditional (2.3). The hypothesis we have for them is that *lá* is merged in Spec,ForceP.

## 2.1 Directives

In order to analyze directive sentences, this subsection comprises a description of expressions such as French *voilà/ci* and English *t/here you go/are*, comparing them with BP *lá vai* (9).

- (9) *Lá vai!*  
*Lá goes!*  
 ‘There you go!’

Comparing *voilà* and *lá vai*, we will be interested in what they are similar and what they are different in relation to the following properties: (i) syntactic function of the post-verbal NP; (ii) possibility to appear in embedded clauses; (iii) replacement of the NP for an embedded clause and (iv) replacement of *lá* by *ai*.

Firstly, starting from the syntactic function of the post-verbal NP, in French (10a), the NP is an internal argument of *voir* (‘to see’), while in BP, the NP is an external argument of *ir* (‘to go’) (10b).

- (10)
- a. **Voilà son sac** (internal argument).  
 ‘There is his bag’.
  - b. **Lá vai a bolsa** (external argument).  
 ‘There is the bag’.

Secondly, while *voilà* may appear in embedded clauses, as in relatives (11a), *lá vai* seems to be restricted to main clauses (11b).

- (11)
- a. “L’homme **que voilà** est mon amant” (BERGEN; PLAUCHÉ, 2001: 7).  
 ‘The man (who is) there is my lover’ (BERGEN; PLAUCHÉ, 2001: 7).
  - b. \*Esta é a bolsa **que lá vai**.  
*This is the bag that lá goes*

Thirdly, the realization of an embedded clause in the position of the NP is allowed with *voilà* (12a), but not with *lá vai* (12b).

(12)

- a. Voilà que Marie part. (BERGEN; PLAUCHÉ, 2001: 8).  
‘There is Marie leaving’ (BERGEN; PLAUCHÉ, 2001: 8).
- b. \*Lá vai que a Maria desaparece.  
*Lá goes that the Maria disappears*

Having pointed out the features which distinguish *voilà* and *lá vai*, we will show now the features which make them alike. Firstly, locative *là* may be replaced with *ci* (13a) in *voilà* and with *aí* (13b) in *lá vai* without changing the propositional content of the sentence. According to Bergen & Plauché (2001: 2), “*voilà* and *voici* were historically used to differentiate between proximal and distal relations, as *ci* and *là* still do [...]. At present, *voilà* and *voici* are mostly interchangeable without semantic effect”.

(13)

- a. Voilà/**ci** son sac. (Bergen; Plauché, 2001: 1).  
‘There/Here is his bag’.
- b. **Lá/aí** vai a chave que você pediu.  
*There/Here goes the key that you asked*  
‘There/Here is the key that you asked me’.

Another common feature between *voilà* and *lá vai* is the realization of a speech act which results in an action from the listener. Following Bergen & Plauché (2001: 2), “*Voilà* and *voici* derive historically from imperative forms of the verb ‘to see’”, i.e., there is a request saying “look at that thing there” (BERGEN; PLAUCHÉ, 2001: 6). Similarly, directive *lá vai* is usually uttered in a context where the speaker gives or sends something to his interlocutor, as in (14).

(14) Scene: a girl replies to an e-mail message of her brother.

- a. Lá vai: Rua da Bahia, n. 16, CEP ...  
*There goes: Street of Bahia, number 16, Postal Code ...*  
‘T/here is my address: 16, Bahia Street, Postal Code ...’

Scene: a woman throws a key to her husband.

- b. *Lá vai!*  
There goes  
‘T/here is the key!’

To sum up, on the one hand, (i) the syntactic function of the post-verbal NP, (ii) the insertion into an embedded clause; and (iii) the replacement of the NP for an embedded clause establish a contrast between French *voilà* and BP *lá vai*. On the other hand, (iv) locative interchangeability makes them look alike. The comparison between BP *lá vai* and French *voilà* is aimed at showing that like *voilà*, *lá vai* performs a presentative function.

So far, we investigated the similarities and differences between French *voilà* and BP *lá vai*. From now on, we will try to make a parallel between BP *lá vai* and English *t/here you go/are*. These expressions are “used when you are giving something to someone, or showing something to them”<sup>5</sup>, as in (15) and (16).

(15)

- a. “There you are. I’ll just wrap it up for you”<sup>6</sup>.
- b. “Here you are. A box full of tools”<sup>7</sup>.

(16)

- a. A cashier gives a customer the shopping already packed, saying: “T/here you go!”.
- b. “‘Here you go’. Callum handed her a glass of orange juice”<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Available in: <<http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/here>>. Accessed in: 15th March, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Available in: <[http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/there\\_2](http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/there_2)>. Accessed in: 15th March, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Available in: <<http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/here>>. Accessed in: 15th March, 2011.

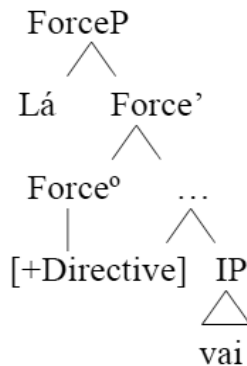
<sup>8</sup> Available in: <<http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/here>>. Accessed in: 15th March, 2011.

We may observe that, in each of the examples above, *lá vai* may be replaced with a verb in the imperative form, such as *tome* ('take'), *receba* ('receive') or *pegue* ('hold'). Therefore, *lá vai*, just like *voilà*, conveys a directive speech act, because it elicits a reaction from the speaker. For example, in (14b), the husband is expected to be prepared to hold the key which will be thrown in his direction. This is the most striking similarity between *there you go* and *lá vai*: both has what we may call directive illocutionary force. In the examples above, we may also notice that *there*, as in (15a) and (16a), and *here*, as in (15b) and (16b), are sometimes interchangeable like *là* and *ci* in *voilà*.

All of this means that, far beyond a locative import, the comparison with *voilà*, on the one hand, allows us to identify a presentative function in *lá vai*. On the other hand, the comparison with *there you go* allows us to identify a directive illocutionary force in the Brazilian Portuguese expression. Therefore, because there is a relevant matter of illocutionary force in the expression *lá vai*, and because *lá* is pre-verbal, we hypothesize that this adverb is merged in Spec,ForceP, in order to check [+directive] feature in Force, according to the following derivation.

FIGURE 3: Directive *lá* in Spec,ForceP

(9) *Lá vai!*



## 2.2 Emphatic assertions

In this subsection, we will examine the properties of *lá* in emphatic assertions (17B).

(17)

- A: *\_A vida não tem sentido sem trabalho e fé.*  
 ‘Life is not worthy without work and faith’.
- B: ***\_Lá** isso é verdade.*  
*There this is true*  
 ‘This is definitely true’.

Firstly, the fact that *lá* is fully compatible with *aqui* (‘here’), as showed in (18a), supports the idea that it is not deictic locative. Secondly, *lá* is rigidly pre-sentential (18b), which results in its high position in the syntactic hierarchy. Thirdly, *lá* is restricted to root clauses, which might be determined by the illocutionary force of emphatic assertions. As such, tests seem to confirm that *lá* is prevented from occurring in conditional (18c), embedded (18d) and non-finite (18e) clauses. Fourthly, *lá* may co-occur with positive polarity items (18f), which indicates that it does not belong to PolP. In addition, *lá* is not allowed to follow these items (18g), which confirms that this adverb is high, specifically, higher than PolP and, hence, situated in the CP-domain. Fifthly, *lá* may occur with topicalized (*ficamos*) and focalized (*nós*) items. In this case, *lá* precedes them (18h).

(18)

- a. ***Lá** isso é bem verdade **aqui** na região.*  
*Lá this is well true here in-the region*  
 ‘This is definitely true here in this area’.
- b. *≠Isso lá é bem verdade.*  
*This lá is well true*
- c. *\*Se lá isso é verdade, ...*  
*If lá this is true, ...*

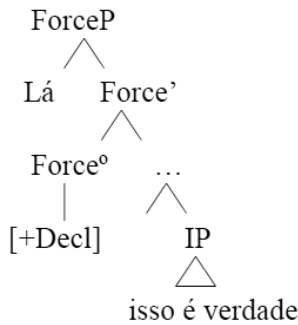


- d. \*Eu disse que lá isso é verdade.  
I said that lá this is true.
- e. \*Lá isso ser verdade é a condição para o acordo.  
*Lá this to-be true is the condition to the agreement*
- f. Lá isso *sim* é verdade.  
*Lá this yes is true.*  
'Yes, this is definitely true'.
- g. ≠Isso *sim* lá (em São Paulo) é verdade.  
This yes there (in São Paulo) is true.  
Yes, this is true there (in São Paulo).
- h. Lá *ficamos* *NÓS* sem almoço.  
*Lá stayed we without lunch*  
'We finished by not having lunch'.

In sum, *lá* precedes the whole sentence, positive polarity items, topic and focus and is restricted to root clauses. Therefore, there are at least five reasons to support the analysis of *lá* in Spec,ForceP. We claim that *lá*, in emphatic assertions, is directly merged in Spec,ForceP in order to check [+Declarative] features, according to the derivation below.

FIGURE 4: *Lá* in Spec,ForceP of emphatic assertions

(17) B: \_ Lá isso é verdade.



## 2.3 Predicatives

The data in 19 (a - d) show that *lá* may appear in a predicative structure which is made up by different heads.

(19)

- a. Seja *lá* qualquer pessoa que for, comporte-se.  
*Be-PRES.SUBJ. lá any person that be-FUT.SUBJ., behave-yourself*  
 ‘No matter who s/he is, behave yourself’.
- b. Seja *lá* que pessoa/quem/qual livro for, aceite.  
*Be-PRES.SUBJ. lá any person/who/any book be-FUT.SUBJ, accept-IMPER.*  
 ‘No matter who s/he is, accept her/him’.  
 ‘No matter which book it is, accept it’.
- c. Seja *lá* como/onde/por que razão/de que direção for, prossiga.  
*Be-PRES.SUBJ. lá how/where/for any reason/from any direction be-FUT.SUBJ, go-IMPER.*  
 ‘Never mind how/why/where/which direction they will travel, just go’.
- d. Seja *lá* bonito como for, não compre.  
*Be-PRES.SUBJ. lá beautiful how be-FUT.SUBJ, not buy*  
 ‘No matter how beautiful it is, don’t buy it’.
- d’. Seja *lá* quão bonito for, não compre.  
*Be-PRES.SUBJ. lá how beautiful be-FUT.SUBJ, not buy*  
 ‘No matter how beautiful it is, don’t buy it’.

The predicative structures in (19) belong to a complex wh-item made up by **X + be-SUBJUNCTIVE** such that **X** may be a DP, PP, NP, AP, QP, AdvP, and so forth. An evidence for claiming that this phrase is a functional wh-item comes from the fact that *quem for*, *o que for*, *por que for*, *como for*, *onde for* and *bonito como for* may be translated into English by wh-items, such as *whoever*, *whatever/whichever*, *why*, *however*, *wherever* and *how*

*beautiful*. Moreover, even in BP, (19d) may be paraphrased by (19d') with a *wh*-item (*quão bonito*), though in a very literary style.

Additionally, the predicative clauses in (19) can be compared with a subordinate clause like (20a).

(20)

- a. Diga quem<sub>i</sub> ele é t<sub>i</sub>.  
*Say-IMPER. who he is*  
 Tell me who he is.
- b. \*Diga ele é quem.  
*Say-IMPER he is who*
- c. \*Seja lá for quem, aceite.  
*Be-PRES.SUBJ. lá be-FUT.SUBJ who, accept-IMPER.*

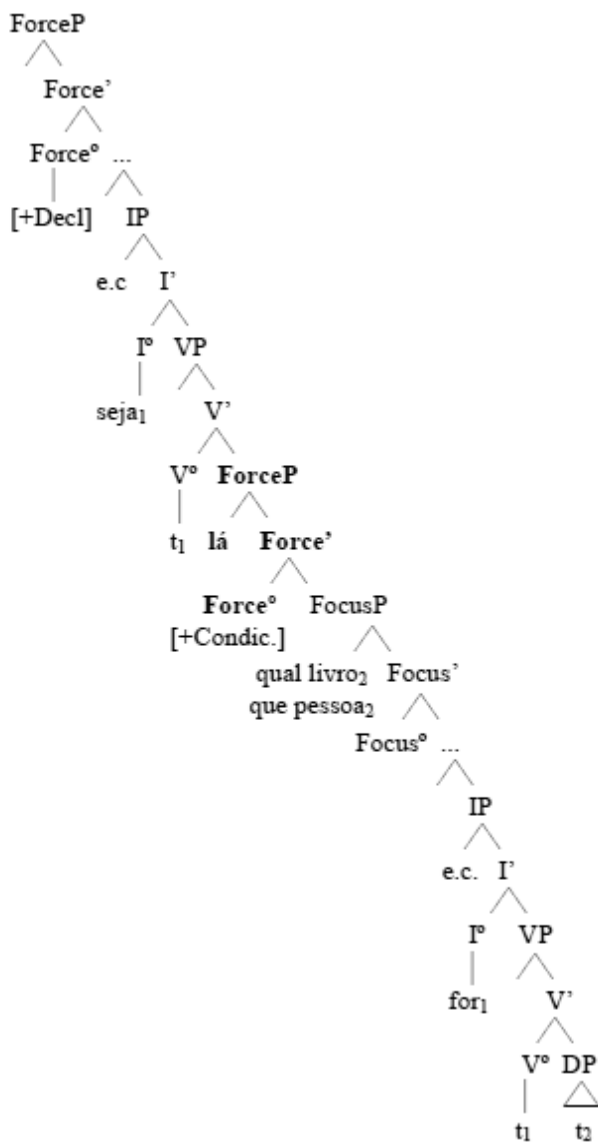
In (20a), “quem ele é” is a subordinate clause. It has the feature [+interrogative] in Force<sup>o</sup> and requires *wh*-raising (20b). In (19), although there is also a requirement for *wh*-raising (20c), Force is [+conditional]. In order to illustrate this assumption, we may take a look in the example (19b). In this case, the root clause *seja* and the embedded one *lá quem for* together may be paraphrased by conditional clauses with *se* (‘if’) (21), a conjunction which is usually described in ForceP. Of course, *lá quem for* does not have *se*, but it also bears conditional force because *seja* and *for* are in the subjunctive, which is a Mood dedicated to hypothetical situations.

- (21) Se for a Maria/o João/uma empregada/um palhaço,  
 cumprimente.  
 ‘If Mary/John/a servant/a clown appears, greet her/him!’

In sum, we suggest that *lá* is merged in Spec,ForceP, higher than *wh*-items. The latter raises from IP/VP to Spec,FocusP. Therefore, in these structures, *wh*-items, constituted by a diverse range of categories such as APs, AdvPs, PPs, and so forth, are moved to Spec,FocusP. Also, regarding *lá*, instead of being in the Spec of each one of these projections, it is in fact the Spec of a sole category, as follows:

FIGURE 5: *Lá* in Spec,ForceP [+conditional]

- (19) b. Seja lá que pessoa/qual livro for, aceite.



## Final remarks

In this paper, we worked on a formal analysis of BP sentences with *lá*. Following the cartographic approach, this research made it possible to recognize and to identify functional projections in the left periphery. Accordingly, the properties of *lá* so far considered as an “emphatic” marker were “syntacticized” (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2008: 52) in a way that this adverb was classified as specifier of FocusP and ForceP.

In Spec,FocusP, *lá* belongs to rhetorical questions and imperatives. In this case, *lá* is usually high pitch accented and is prevented from occurring with focalized items, which indicates a possible dispute for the same position. However, these structures are clearly different. In rhetorical questions, Force° is [+interrogative] and there is no V-raising to Force°. In imperatives, V raises to Force° which is [+imperative]. Moreover, in contrast to what is observed in EP, in BP there is a striking distinction between *lá* as a rhetorical question marker and *lá* as a negation marker. The latter can be neither pre-verbal nor omitted, besides being restricted in many other ways.

In Spec,ForceP, *lá* belongs to directives, emphatic assertions and predicatives. In directives, *lá vai* looks like *voilà* and *there you go*, in that while *lá* may be replaced by *ai*, *lá vai* may be replaced by a verb in the imperative. In emphatic assertions, *lá* precedes focus, topic and positive polarity items. That is why it is situated in a high position in the hierarchical structure. In predicatives, we compared the complex structure *lá X for* with English wh-items. From this comparison, we concluded that, even though X may be categorically diverse (D, A, Adv, N, Q, etc.), it moves to Spec,FocusP. As *lá* precedes these items, we hypothesized that *lá* is merged in Spec,ForceP just above them and that Force would be [+conditional] for two reasons mainly: on the one hand, *seja lá X for* is paraphrased by a subordinate clause with *se* (‘if’); on the other hand, *seja* and *for* in the subjunctive, like conditionals, represent *irrealis* Mood.

In sum, this research has shown that it is possible to provide different realizations of *lá* with a relatively unified analysis, as this adverb seems to match properties of left periphery projections.

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