Introduction

This volume collects the papers on Portuguese selected for presentation at the *XII Colloquium on Generative Grammar*, held in Lisbon in April 2002.

All the studies adopt the comparative approach to grammatical facts and assume the view that differences and similarities amongst languages are derivable in a principled way from Universal Grammar.

João Costa and Inês Duarte, in their article "Preverbal subjects in null subject languages are not necessarily dislocated", discuss the properties of preverbal subjects in European Portuguese and provide empirical evidence to argue against the claim that they behave like (clitic-)left dislocated topics. Their account of the SVO and VSO orders displayed in European Portuguese relies on the locality constraint *Attract closest X*, on a specific formulation of the *EPP parameter* and on the independently motivated claim that V-movement targets T in European Portuguese. The data presented strongly suggest that a uniform account of preverbal subjects in pro-drop languages based on the pronominal nature of *Agr* cannot be generalized to every Romance null subject language.

Sonia Cyrino and Gabriela Matos, in their article "VP ellipsis in European and Brazilian Portuguese – a comparative analysis", address the problem of characterizing *VP ellipsis* in two varieties of a language which also allow for *Stripping* and Chinese-like *Null Object*. They argue that *VP ellipsis* in both varieties of Portuguese is licensed under local c-command by the lexically filled functional head with V-features that merges with the elliptical constituent. They observe that European and Brazilian Portuguese show some differences with respect to the licensing and identification of the elliptical comstituent whenever sequences of verbs including the main verb are involved, and suggest that such differences are mainly derivable from the functional projections which count as legitimate licensers of the elliptical VP in each of the two varieties: T°, in European Portuguese, any functional head below T°, in Brazilian Portuguese.

Anabela Gonçalves, in her article "The causee in the *faire*-Inf construction", discusses the properties and the structural position of the causee in this Romance construction. Based on data from European Portuguese (contrary to grammatical subjects, the causee cannot bind anaphoric expressions, control PRO, be associated with a floating quantifier, bind possessives in the embed-

ded direct object), she argues against the widely accepted analysis of the causee as the grammatical subject of the embedded domain across Romance. She claims that, in European Portuguese, this domain is the projection of a null affix that incausativizes the embedded verb and, consequentently, suspends the assignment of its external θ-role, thus predicting that the causee is merged in positions typically associated to objects. Her analysis raises theoretical questions concerning the relationship between θ-properties and syntactic derivations, namely, the suggestion that Merge is sensitive only to the n-arity of the verb, which entails that θ-roles may be discharged in the course of the derivation.

Matilde Miguel, in her article "Possessive pronouns in European Portuguese and Old French", argues that in Old Portuguese and Old French possessives behaved alike. She observes that word order in the sentential domain, when compared with the DP domain, shows that D-linked speaker oriented constructions in the IP and DP domains were alike, respectively, with the subject in [Spec, TP] and a possessive in [Spec, NumbP]. However, European Portuguese and Modern French display different patterns for possessive pronouns. She claims that, whereas the syntactic behavior of possessives across EP dialects provides evidence for a tripartite possessive system (X° and XP weak pronouns, and strong pronouns), occuring in syntactic positions – [Spec, AgrsNP], [Spec, NumbP] and [Spec, NP] – that parallel the ones available for subjects in the IP domain – [Spec, AgrsP], [Spec, TP] and [Spec, VP] –, Modern French generalizes the X° weak forms, specializes the weak XP forms for ellipsis and looses the strong postnominal forms. She further suggests that the loss of weak XP weak possessives in prenominal position in Modern French is related to the loss of the [Spec, TP] position for subjects in the IP domain.

Marina Vigário and Sónia Frota, in their article "Prosodic word deletion in coordinate structures", present new data contributing to a cross-linguistic understanding of the *Deletion under identity* process, which operates in partially identical coordinate structures. Based on an array of prosodic requirements on the deleted unit, the counterpart, the remnant, and the prosodic phrasing of the sequence – both the deleted unit and the remnant must be prosodic words; the counterpart must be phonologically identical to the deleted unit; the remnant suffers prominence promotion; prosodic phrasing is relevant and phonological distance counts –, they argue for the phonological nature of the process and against a pure morphosyntactic account of it. They discuss cross-linguistic differences of *Deletion under identity* and conclude that such differences are derivable from (independent) prosodic properties of the languages. They further claim that, in spite of the fact that it is submitted to syntactic constraints – it is restricted to coordinated sequences –, *Deletion under identity* is fundamentally different from syntactic ellipsis phenomena. Finally, their account of *Deletion under identity* as a syntactically constrained phonological process places it in the syntax-phonology interface.

I want to thank the editors of the *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* for inviting me as guest editor of this volume. It is my hope that the articles collected here contribute to a better understanding of the grammar of Portuguese and support the view that comparative work, even when based on genetically related languages, (i) leads to the establishment of yet unnoticed similarities; (ii) provides additional arguments to claims previously made in the literature; (iii) forces one to conclude that some widely accepted generalizations need to be worked on in order to accommodate new complex data.

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