Introduction

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This volume brings together the selected papers on Iberian languages and related Creoles presented at the *18ᵗʰ Colloquium on Generative Grammar*, held at University of Lisbon, 17-19 April 2008, wich included Jairo Nunes and Jean-Yves Pollock as invited speakers. Besides the editors of this volume, the organizing committee of the colloquium consisted of Manuela Ambar and Maria Armanda Costa, booth of the University of Lisbon.

The Colloquium on Generative Grammar is an annual international event organized by the Iberian university community and involves researchers working on different fields of linguistics. As in the previous editions, the *18ᵗʰ Colloquium on Generative Grammar* has been a forum of discussion for theoretical research within the generative framework combined with empirical analyses on different languages.

However, despite the high quality of many other studies presented at the Colloquium, the current issue only includes selected papers dealing with Iberian languages and related Creoles, in accordance with the policy of the *Journal of Portuguese Luinguistics*.

Nélia Alexandre ("On the status of wh-questions with a spelled-out foot") discusses the properties of resumptive wh-questions in Cape Verdean Creole (variety of Santiago) arguing for a formal distinction between resumptive wh-chains and defective wh-chains. She shows that the latter, but not the former, license parasitic gaps, show principle C effects and are sensitive to (strong and weak) islands. Taking into account that the two types of chains are distinct and assuming Boeeckx's (2003) Theory of Resumption, she focuses on defective wh-chains and argues for a movement analysis. Thus, assuming that resumptive pronouns are stranded portions of the moved phrase they associate with (Boeckx, 2003), Nélia Alexandre claims that the specific properties of Cape Verdean Creole defective chains are due to the null gap – a variable – at the right of the D° *el*. So, defective wh-chains are in fact a type of resumption. She further suggests that the (apparent) spelling-out of the foot of the chain $wh_i...el_i$ is accounted for by assuming that *el* is an expletive pronoun inserted post-lexically that enters into a partial Agree relation with the head of the nontrivial chain.

António Fábregas and Isabel Pérez ("Gender agreement on adverbs in Spanish") focus on the exceptional gender agreement of the adverb *mucho* with prenominal comparative adjectives inside DPs containing abstract mass nouns. Fábregas & Perez show that this exceptional gender agreement cannot be accounted for in the framework of Distributed Morphology, since it is not a purely morphological phenomenon, involving post-syntactic operations; instead it requires a specific syntactic configuration and syntactic operations. On the basis of this evidence, they claim that agreement is not semantically motivated and is blindly triggered by certain formal configurations. Yet, they assume that gender information is interpreted in the semantic interface. This information is presented in two different positions in languages like Spanish: inside the NP as a lexical property of any nominal, and in GenP, as a property of the whole DP. Gender information in animate nouns (a substantive property) is interpreted inside the NP, gender information in abstract mass nouns (an arbitrary property) is interpreted in the DP domain, where it contributes to establish semantic relations between the DP and other elements in the discourse. The exceptional gender agreement is a consequence of gender interpretation: the lexical gender information expressed by the abstract mass noun is not interpretable in the nominal domain. Therefore, it has to move to the determiner domain, where it contributes to the referentiality of the whole DP. On its way to GenP, this gender information crosses over the adjective, triggering agreement of *mucho*.

Ángel Gallego ("Phase-level Minimality in Romance VOS") claims that VOS sentences in Iberian Romance languages derive through movement of the object to an outer-SPEC-v* position that c-commands the subject. Such a proposal faces the challenge of explaining why this movement does not induce a minimality violation. Gallego argues that the minimality configuration between C-T (the nominative Case Probe), the subject (the Goal), and the raised object (the intervener) is circumvented because in object shift sentences the post-verbal subject integrates a clitic doubling construction. The agreeing part of the subject, a null φ-bundle clitic (cf. Torrego 1998, Belletti 2005), moves to T for purposes of nominative case checking, yielding a configuration where the relevant part of the subject occupies a higher position than that of the shifted object. As Gallego emphasises, his analysis reinforces Chomsky's recent conception of the cycle, where (minimality) evaluation only takes place at the phase level.

Tjerk Hagemeijer ("Double-headed negation in Santome") deals with sentence negation in Santome, a Portuguese-related Creole that presents a discontinuous sentence negation pattern. Hagemeijer provides evidence that both *na*, the preverbal marker (Neg1), and *fa*, the VP-final marker (Neg2), are heads. He claims that they head independent NegPs and stand in a relation of long distance head agreement. He admits that while Neg1 originaly merges above T, Neg2 is merged low in the functional sentence structure, occurring between TP and AspP. Hagemeijer adduces empirical support in favour of his claims. In particular, he shows that Neg2 does not scope over the subject and that the arguments, the complement and the VP/AspP adjuncts precede Neg2 but fall within the scope of causal negation; by contrast, peripheral adjuncts

follow Neg2 and fall outside of the scope of sentence negation. To capture the final position of *fa* with respect to non-peripheral constituents, he admits that AspP raises to Spec, Neg2P.

Jairo Nunes ("Inherent case as a licensing condition for A-movement: the case of hyper-raising constructions in Brazilian Portuguese") argues that the availability of hyper-raising constructions in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) correlates with another property: BP is not a typical-pro-drop language and referential null subjects in embedded finite CP complements of impersonal predicates may be analysed as traces of A-movement. Based on work by Ferreira (2000, 2004) and Rodrigues (2002, 2004), he claims that finite Ts in PB are ambiguous between a φ-complete and a φ-incomplete specification and that this ambiguity is a consequence of the derivational timing at which person and number features are combined: in the numeration or in the morphological component. Hyper-raising constructions occur whenever the embedded subject remains active by agreeing with its local φ-incomplete T. However, for hyper-rasing to arise, an additional property must be met: the embedded clause must receive inherent case in order to become inactive for A-movement purposes, freeing A-movement from it. In these circumstances, the embedded subject (or an embedded topic), raises to the matrix [Spec,TP], triggering agreement with the matrix T.

Joana Rosselló's paper ("Some arguments against some prevalent ideas on specificational sentences") analyses canonical and "inverted" copular sentences with two DPs (DP *copula* DP). She argues that the partition between predicational and specificational sentences is real and syntactically motivated, since it arises from different structural possibilities that yield different convergent outputs at the Conceptual-Intentional interface. The paper presents several arguments against the transformational approach (Moro 1997, *a.o.*) that sustains that a specificational sentence (SS) is the result of predicate raising, which means that SSs are underlyingly predicational. Assuming Pred as a functional category that can be phonetically empty (Bowers 2001), the differences between specificational and predicational copular sentences lie on the fact that in the former, PredP has no external argument, DP_1 being directly merged in [Spec, TP], whereas the latter is the outcome of a PredP with an external argument. Moreover, SSs have a quantificational structure, where DP_1 is a variable for which DP_2 is the value. Moreover, the author claims that, while predicational sentences can carry focus on either DP, SSs admit it only on the postcopular DP.

Xavier Villalba's paper ("The focus-background articulation in Spanish qualitative binominal NPs") provides an analysis of Spanish comparative qualitative binominal noun phrases (QBNPs) of the form *N of a N*, such as *el idiota del médico* 'that idiot of a doctor'. The author reviews den Dikken's (2006) analysis of Germanic QBNPs and shows that extending this analysis to Spanish is too strong a proposal. Along with den Dikken (1998, 2006) and den Dikken & Singhapreecha (2004), he assumes the existence of a Relator Phrase that articulates the basic subject-predicate structure (*el médico-idiota*). The predicate-subject final word order results from the A-bar predicate movement

to a DP internal Focus Phrase, distinct from Predicate Inversion (Moro 1997). Fronting the predicate renders the subject of Spanish QBNPs a background topic, which explains the syntactic restrictions on the size of the nominals occurring in this position, namely, its specificity. Xavier Villalba also claims that the definite article is not a spurious determiner (den Dikken 2006), but a fully-fledged one; it is a D head, which probes and attracts the uninterpretable phi-features of the predicate NP, triggering number and gender agreement. Finally, the author extends his proposals to the Spanish *lo-de* construction, discussing the role of focus in DP structure.

Ricard Viñas-de-Puig ("Agentivity and experiencer verbs in Catalan and Mayangna and the role of 'little v'") claims for a universal experiencer structure building on data from Catalan and Mayangna. His main proposal is that this universal structure is headed by the functional projection $v_{EXP}P$, which means that a light verb construction, such as *fer mal* 'to hurt' or *fer por* 'to fear' in Catalan, results in experience predicates, obtained by merging an experience-denoting N with a V-head; the semantic incorporation of the former into the latter provides the relevant semantic information of the whole predicate. The source of experience phrase is generated as the specifier of the experiencer predication, that is as [Spec, VP], establishing a small-clause-like relation with the light verb-experience phrase compound. In order to account for the 'parasitic' possession relationship between the experiencer dative, generated in a position external to VP, and the source of experience, the author claims that the latter is an internal argument (as proposed in Landau 1999, Kempchinsky 1992 and Borer & Grodzinsky 1986) whose D is co-indexed with the experiencer dative. The agentive interpretation allowed by a subset of experiencer phrases results from the merging in the structure of an agentive functional head v_{AG}, above $v_{EXP}P$, which licenses the agentive external argument.

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