

Referential relations between subjects in coordinate and adverbial clauses

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This study is exploratory and its aim is to analyze the referential relations established between subjects in finite coordinate and adverbial (integrated and non-integrated) clauses. The observation of the behavior of these elements will provide clues regarding the properties that characterize the omitted subjects in these constructions and the syntactic structures of these sentences.

According to some authors, both coordinate and adverbial structures can be analyzed as a Specifier-Head-Complement structure (Kayne 1994, Johannessen 1998, Matos 1995, Colaço 1998, for coordination; Kayne 1994, Cinque 1999, for adverbials) or as adjunction (Munn 1993, for coordination; Chomsky 1981, 2004, Ernest 2002, Lobo 2002, for adverbials).

The classical analysis proposes that *pro* occurs as the omitted subject in null subject languages, as European Portuguese (=EP) (see (1) and (2)), both in the second term of sentential coordination and in adverbial subordination. However in what concerns coordination some authors assumed that, instead of *pro*, Across-the-board (ATB) extraction may take place (Costa et al. 1998, Pollard and Sag 1994, Colaço 2005). A similar proposal has been made by Hornstein (1999), who argues for a movement analysis of obligatory control in adjunct adverbial clauses. This approach to control contrasts with the one proposed by Landau, who assumes the existence of PRO and the control module of grammar.

- (1) O filho da Maria gosta de futebol e [-] joga basketball.
The son of Maria likes football and [-] plays basketball.
- (2) O filho da Maria chega atrasado porque [-] sai tarde.
The son of Maria comes late because [-] leaves late.

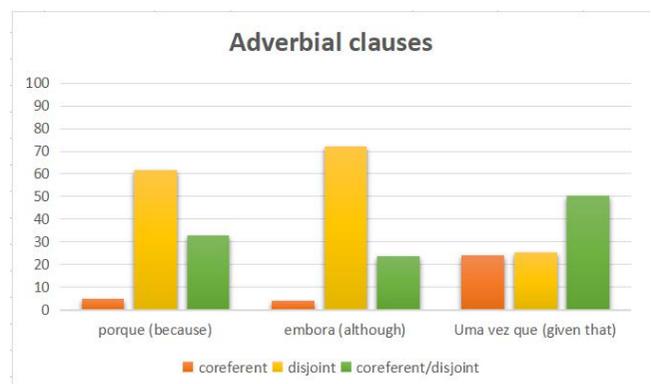
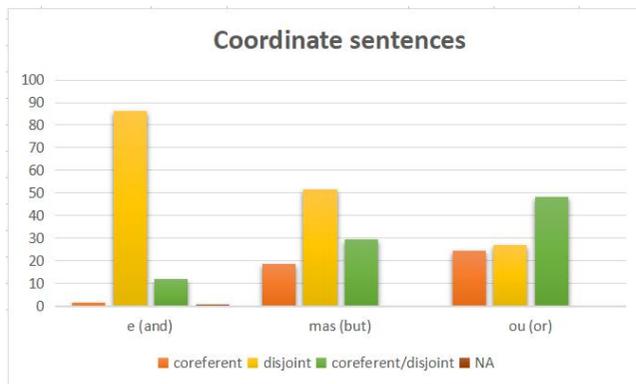
For this study, we considered three hypotheses: (i) the distinction between coordination and subordination is clear but the different types of coordinate and adverbial clauses present similar properties; (ii) coordinate and adverbial clauses have similar structures, therefore their differences are not structural; (iii) the distinction between coordination and subordination in structural terms is not clear so their differences might be related to other factors.

As a way of complementing the theoretical approach, we built an experimental task based on the Reference Judgment Task, whose objective is to access the mental grammar of the informants and obtain all of the interpretations associated to each sentence. The sentences tested to better understand the c-commanding relations in these constructions had a pronoun in the first term of the coordinate sentence, or in the matrix subordinate clause (except for left non-integrated adverbials), and a referential expression in the second term of the coordinate, or in the adverbial clause, as in the examples below:

- (3) Ela aprendeu Inglês mas a Maria tirou um curso de Geologia.
She learned English but Maria took a Geology course.
Quem aprendeu Inglês?
Who learned English?
 - a. A Maria
Maria
 - b. Outra pessoa
Another person

- c. As respostas a. e b. são ambas possíveis
Answers a. and b. are both possible
- (4) Ela podia comer um bolo porque a Rita foi à padaria.
She could eat a cake because Rita went to the bakery.
Quem foi à padaria?
Who went to the bakery?
- a. A Rita
Rita
- b. Outra pessoa
Another person
- c. As respostas a. e b. são ambas possíveis
Answers a. and b. are both possible

The results obtained showed that, in general, the adverbial clauses referential behavior is as described in the literature. However, the coordinate sentences exhibit differences amongst the three types that were tested: copulative, adversative and disjunctive.



Therefore, this study allowed us to understand that the c-commanding relations established between the elements in subject position, the crucial aspect of this study, can be analyzed in terms of Specifier-Head-Complement or Adjunction.

Furthermore, this work showed that the barrier between coordination and adverbial subordination goes beyond what is traditionally proposed, due to the differences found amongst coordinate sentences and also to the fact that some coordinate and adverbial sentences behave in the same way. These differences, which confirm hypothesis (iii) may be due to their degree of integration and to the level of articulation shared between both coordinated terms or between the matrix and adverbial clauses.

Selected references:

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