

Post-nominal *lá* in the DP-structure: a specificity marker*

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This paper aims at analyzing structures with post-nominal *lá* in Brazilian Portuguese, such as *essa/a mulher lá* ('this/the woman there'). In these structures, *lá* is used to refer to a specific entity treating its identity as unimportant. In this case, we claim that *lá* belongs to the functional DP-hierarchy rather than to an adverbial IP-adjunct or to a VP circumstantial argument. Besides, we hypothesize that *lá* is a specificity marker, due to the fact that it performs pretty much the same role of English indefinite *this* (Marchant 1994), post-nominal Mauritian Creole *la* (Guillemin 2007) and other specificity particles (Lyons 1999). Therefore, we assume that *lá* is merged in the specifier position (Cinque 2005) of a functional category located immediately above the NP and below the modifiers in the DP. Following Guillemin's (2007) proposal for Mauritian Creole, this category might be a SpP (Specificity Phrase).

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes and analyzes structures like the ones in (2) with post-nominal *lá* in Brazilian Portuguese (BP).¹

- (1) O menino (que está) lá é meu filho.
'The boy (who is/lives) there is my son.'
- (2) (a) "Aí eu fico assistindo [...] um desenho que [o menino **lá**] gosta muito de esporte"
(Alkmin & Chaves 2009).
then I stay watching a cartoon that the boy lá like-3SG much of sport
'After that, I usually watch a cartoon where this boy likes sports very much.'
- (b) "eu tinha [um colega meu **lá**] que ele trabalhava com negócio de obra"
(Almeida & Carneiro 2008).
I had a colleague my lá who he worked with stuff of building
'I had a certain colleague who used to deal with building stuff.'
- (c) "tinha [aquela mulher **lá**] que veio aqui... éh: como é que chama?"
(Alkmin & Chaves 2009).
had that woman lá who came here ...[hesitation] how is that pro call-3SG
'There was that woman who came here... ah: I can not remember her name.'
- (d) "quando eu acabo o dever, é, eu vejo [desenho **lá**], eu vejo é as [...]"
(Alkmin & Chaves 2009).
when I finish the homework [hesitation] I watch cartoon lá, I watch [hesitation] the ...
'When I finish my homework, ah... I usually watch cartoons.'

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¹ This work belongs to a broader project which aims at: (i) cataloguing the different occurrences of *lá* in Brazilian Portuguese and (ii) analyzing them, preferably, in a unified fashion. We argue that *lá* is merged in spec of functional categories which make up the left peripheries of NP, VP and IP (Pereira 2010).

- (e) “brinco de casinha, pego [umas panelinha véia² lá], pego e brinco”
(Alkmin & Chaves 2009).
play-1SG of house-little, take-1SG some pots-little old lá, take-1SG and play-1SG
‘I usually play house (acting as if I were a housewife), I take some old little pots,
...’
- (f) “o Bastos, ao que parece morava, ainda no tempo da noiva viva, [...] com uma
mulher. E assim com esta continuou, pouco ligando. Bem. **Essa mulher lá** um dia
teve ciúmes”³.
.... *This woman lá one day had jealousies.*
‘Bastos, as it seems, used to live with another woman when her fiancée was still
alive. Over the time, he kept on an affair with this woman and did not care about
the consequences. Well. It happens that one day this woman (the latter) was
fiercely jealous...’

In (1), *lá* is a deictic locative and indicates that the boy (1) is far away both from speaker (1st person) and listener (2nd person). In contrast, *lá* in (2) is not a locative. As such, it does not mean that *um colega meu, o menino, aquela mulher, desenho* and *umas panelinhas velhas* are far from speaker and listener. *Lá* is used in (2) to indicate that the speaker does not want to (or cannot) identify (e.g., by name) the entity he is referring to.⁴

Regarding these issues, this paper is organized into three further sections.

The next section examines the semantic and syntactic properties of non-locative *lá*, being divided into three more subsections: (2.1) points out the differences between post-nominal non-locative *lá* and post-nominal locative *lá*; (2.2) compares non-locative *lá* and English indefinite *this* (Marchant 1994); (2.3) relates post-nominal non-locative *lá* to specificity markers available in many different languages (Lyons 1999).

The third section presents the theoretical background, which is based on Cinque (2005).⁵ Basically, he argues that the NP raises as a maximal projection to Spec, AgrP positions in the DP-hierarchy. This claim will be useful to explain why *lá* may either precede or follow post-nominal modifiers.

Finally, the fourth section hypothesizes that *lá* is merged in Spec, SpP, following Guillemin’s (2007) proposal for Mauritian Creole *la*, a specificity marker. In order to support this hypothesis, we set a parallel between post-nominal *lá* and post-nominal *qualquer* (‘certain’) showing that both are prevented from surfacing in generic contexts.

2. POST-NOMINAL *LÁ*: SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC PROPERTIES

So that we can understand the semantic and syntactic properties of structures with post-nominal non-locative *lá*, we will compare this item with: firstly, locative *lá*; secondly, indefinite *this*; and thirdly, specificity markers morphologically realized in different languages.

2.1. Non-locative *lá* versus locative *lá*

Roughly, the use of deictic locatives in the DP follows the pattern shown in (3).

² Standard BP: “umas panelinhas velhas”.

³ www.laderzi.com/claricelinspector/umcasocomplicado.htm. Accessed on: 29th June 2010.

⁴ According to Martellota & Rêgo (1996: 245, our translation), post-nominal *lá* conveys the idea that “the speaker does not want to (or cannot) *specify* the noun which it refers to”. However, the term “specify” is improper, because, in structures with post-nominal *lá*, the referent is actually specific.

⁵ I would like to thank both Prof. Ian Roberts (p.c.) and Prof. Giuseppe Longobardi (p.c.) for having brought to my attention, respectively, Cinque (2005) and Guillemin (2007).

- (3) (a) **Este menino aqui**
This-1SG boy here
 (b) **Esse menino aí**
This-2SG boy there
 (c) **Aquele menino lá**
That-3SG boy there

The pattern in (3) makes clear that, concerning DPs with pre-nominal demonstratives, *lá* is allowed to co-occur only with the third person demonstrative (‘that’), as in (3c). As a result, locative *lá* is prevented from co-occurring either with *este* (1st person demonstrative) (Table 1, (1g)) or with *esse* (2nd person demonstrative) (1f). Crucially, the incompatibility between locative *lá* and demonstratives *esse/este*, on the one hand, and the compatibility between non-locative *lá* and these same demonstratives (2f, g), on the other hand, is a very clear test to show that *lá* in (1) is different from *lá* in (2).

Furthermore, locative *lá* is prevented from co-occurring either with bare NPs (1d) or with indefinite articles (1b), which is allowed with non-locative *lá* (2d, b). A last striking difference is that, while locative *lá* is fully compatible with an embedded clause made up by a stative verb requiring a locative argument, such as ‘to live’ and ‘to be’ (1h), non-locative *lá* is not (2h). When an embedded clause is inserted between noun and non-locative *lá*, it results either in ungrammaticality (2d’) or in semantic changes (2h).

(Table 1) *Locative lá versus non-locative lá: tests for distinction*

	Locative <i>lá</i> (1)	Non-locative <i>lá</i> (2)
Definite article	a. O menino <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>The boy (who is) there is my son</i>	a. um desenho que [o menino <i>lá</i>] gosta ...
Indefinite article	b. *Um menino <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>A boy there is my son</i>	b. eu tinha [um colega meu <i>lá</i>] que ...
Demonstrative ‘aquele’ (that)	c. Aquele menino <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>That boy there is my son.</i>	c. tinha [aquela mulher <i>lá</i>] que veio ...
Bare NPs	d. *Menino <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>Boy there is my son</i>	d. eu vejo [desenho <i>lá</i>] ... d’. [*desenho que está <i>lá</i>]
Demonstrative ‘esse’ (2ndP)	f. *Esse menino <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>This-2SG boy there is my son</i>	f. [Essa mulher <i>lá</i>] um dia teve ciúmes.
Demonstrative ‘este’ (1stP)	g. *Este menino <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>This-1SG boy there is my son</i>	g. [Esta mulher <i>lá</i>] um dia teve ciúmes.
Embedded clause	h. Aquele menino (que está) <i>lá</i> é meu filho. <i>That boy (who is) there is my son.</i>	h. tinha [aquela mulher (≠que está) <i>lá</i>]

Considering these facts, we may conclude that (2) does not make available a deictic locative reading for *lá*. This reading would be feasible only if there were a clear indication of place, as in (4). However, this is not the case in (2).

- (4) (a) eu vejo desenho **lá** na sala ...
I see cartoon there in-the room
 ‘I watch cartoons there in the sitting room.’
 (b) o menino **lá** na cidade gosta muito de esporte ...
the boy there in-the city like-3SG much of sport
 ‘The boy (who is) there in the town likes sports very much.’

Despite this possibility, we should highlight that, in (4), *lá* does not belong to the nominal structure; rather, it belongs to a clause. For instance, in (4a), *lá* belongs to the IP as an IP-

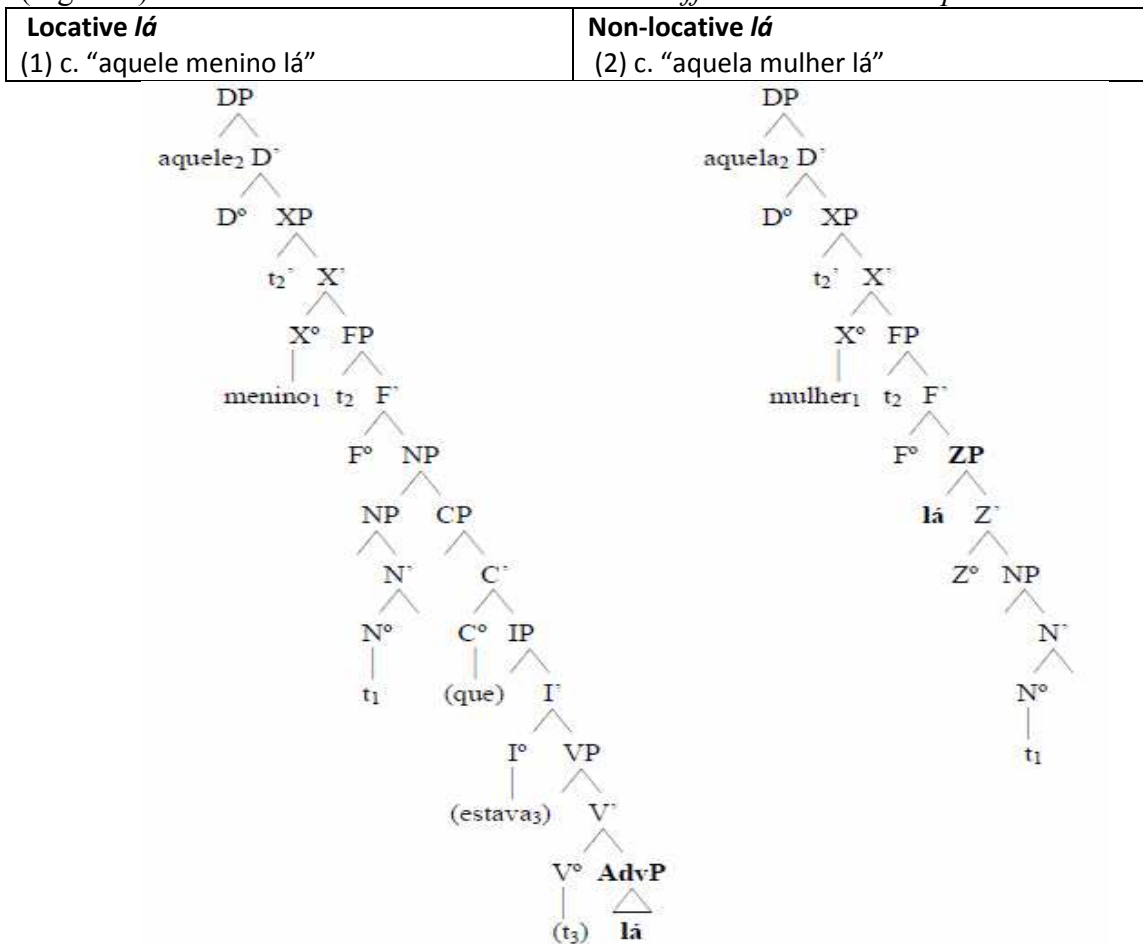
adjunct and, in (4b), *lá* belongs to an unexpressed VP ('the boy (who is) there') as a circumstantial argument of *está* ('is'). This verb makes up a reduced relative clause embedded in the DP. Regarding these facts, we can conclude that, when post-nominal *lá* bears locative reading, it does not belong directly to the DP, but to a clause (IP/VP) embedded in the DP structure.

Consequently, the positions occupied by *lá*, in (1c) and (2c), are definitely distinct, though these structures look as if they were the same.

- (1) (c) [Aquele menino *lá*] é meu filho.
That boy (who is) there is my son.
- (2) (c) “*tinha [aquela mulher *lá*] que veio aqui... éh: como é que chama?*”
(Alkmin & Chaves 2009).
had that woman lá who came here ... [hesitation] how is that pro call-3SG
'There was that woman who came here... ah: I can not remember her name.'

In (1c), on the one hand, *lá* is merged lower than the NP, due to the fact that *lá* belongs to a reduced relative clause embedded in the DP: 'That boy (who is/lives) there'. In (2c), on the other hand, *lá* is merged higher than the NP, according to the hierarchy roughly depicted in the diagrams⁶ below:

(Figure 1) *Locative lá versus non-locative lá: different hierarchical positions*



⁶ The derivation for (2c) is only provisional. Subsequently, it will have some amendments based on Cinque (2005).

To sum up, this section showed that, while locative *lá* belongs either to the IP or to the VP-domain, non-locative *lá* belongs to the DP. Therefore, despite being homonymous and post-nominal, non-locative *lá* and locative *lá* are completely different categories.

2.2. Non-locative *lá* and indefinite *this*

In (5), the use of *this* does not convey spatial deixis.

- (5) “There is **this** scene in, what was that movie, *The Adventures*, **this** lady – she wanted an escort man, you know, to take her places, you know, what do they call them, not gigolos, no, no-no, uh boy.” (Marchant 1994: 17).

According to Marchant (1994), indefinite *this* can be identified, among other tests, by replacing *this* with an indefinite article. However, “Unlike the indefinite article, indefinite *this* is necessarily specific, which is to say, the speaker must have a particular individual in mind in order to use it felicitously” (Marchant 1994: 17-18).

Considering this claim, we should highlight some similarities between non-locative *lá* and indefinite *this*. Basically, *this* is *a priori* a demonstrative which points out to something close to speaker and listener, while *lá* is *a priori* an adverb which points out to a place far from speaker and listener. Nevertheless, both of them have this deictic function replaced in the examples (5) and (2) with another function which conveys a “vague” identification of the referent. Therefore, both indefinite *this* (Ionin 2006) and post-nominal non-locative *lá* act as specificity markers, due to the fact that they indicate that the speaker has a specific entity in mind, though s/he does not identify it clearly.

2.3. Non-locative *lá* and the notion of specificity

According to Lyons (1999: 165), indefinite NPs can be specific or non-specific. For instance, while in (6a) the speaker has a specific referent in mind for the DP ‘a business partner’, in (6b), there is no specific referent for the same DP.

- (6) (a) “Liz is looking for **a business partner**—the poor fellow disappeared last month and she suspects he’s been kidnapped.” (Lyons 1999: 168).
 (b) “Liz is looking for **a business partner**—but it will have to be someone with plenty of experience in catering.” (Lyons 1999: 168).

In other words, “In the specific reading the speaker has a particular one in mind, and the hearer is given to understand that the speaker has one in mind. In the non-specific reading the identity of the singular referent is unknown to both speaker and hearer.” (Hawkins 1978: 211).

Again, according to Lyons (1999: 57), specificity refers to “the phenomenon of a language encoding something which resembles definiteness, but not very closely”. Therefore, there is not a very well shaped and delimited concept for this category, but the fact is that “articles marking specificity, or something close to specificity, rather than definiteness are fairly widespread” (Lyons 1999: 59).

For instance, “Samoan distinguishes a ‘specific’ article *le* and a ‘non-specific’ article *se*” (Lyons 1999: 57). However, *se* (7) “is also used where there is a particular referent but the identity of this is either not known exactly to the speaker or considered unimportant or uninteresting” (Lyons 1999: 58).

- (7) Sa fesili mai se tamaitai p^o-o ai l-o ma tama
 PAST ask DIR ART lady WH PRT who ART POSS 1EXCDU⁷ father
 ‘A lady asked us who our father was’ (Lyons 1999: 58).

Analogously, in Maori, the item *teetahi* (made up of *te* and *tahi* ‘one’) is a specific indefinite differing from *te* which is a definite article and from *he* which is a non-specific indefinite marker. In Shuswap, the article *k* “indicates that the referent is ‘uniquely determined for the speaker’” (Lyons 1999: 59). In Sango, the particle *ní* “is used to ‘identify or single out a particular object’” (Lyons 1998: 59). In Sissala, *bál ré* means ‘a man’ (non-specific) while *bááló né* means ‘a man’ (specific). (Lyons 1999: 177). Finally, Lyons (1999: 176) also mentions English indefinite *this* as a specificity marker.

To conclude, specificity markers “embrace instances where the speaker may be in a position to identify the referent of the noun phrase but chooses to treat its identity as significant or not” (Lyons 1998: 178). Because this is the role played by post-nominal non-locative *lá*, we claim that it may be described as a specificity marker in BP.

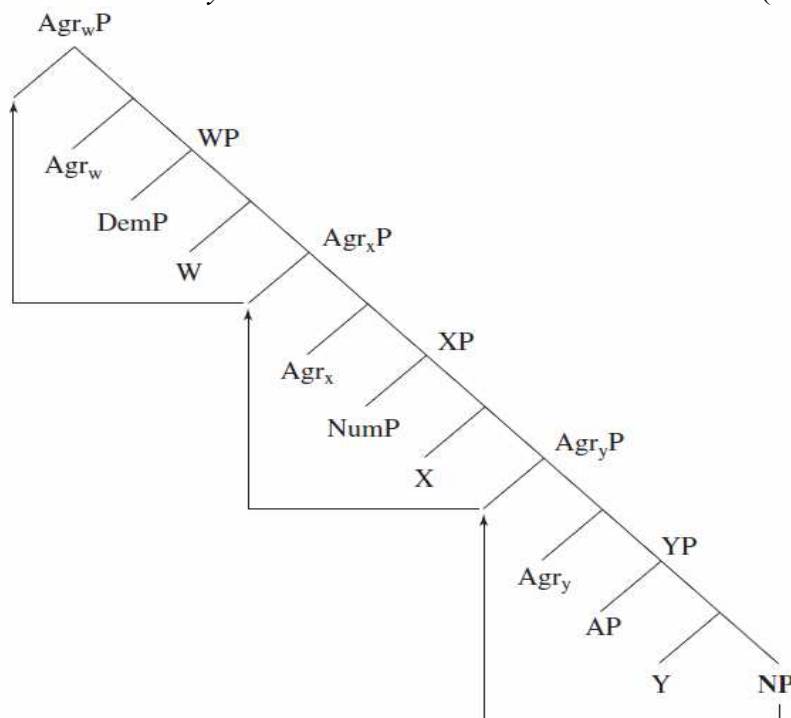
3. NP AND MODIFIERS IN THE DP-HIERARCHY (CINQUE 2005)

Regarding the studies on adverbial syntax, Cinque (1999) argues that adverbs are merged in the specifiers of different functional projections where they check head-features of these projections. As such, AdvPs are rigidly ordered according to the universal hierarchy of functional categories which make up the sentence, such as modality, mood, aspect, tense, negation, and so forth.

The nominal structure, as well as the sentence, also makes available a hierarchy of functional projections, which is determined by Universal Grammar. According to Cinque (2005), modifiers follow a fixed pre-nominal order which is Dem > Num > A > N. Being so, the different orders attested cross-linguistically result from NP-raising as a maximal projection (rather than a head) to specifiers of different AgrP positions licensed in the DP-domain, as shown in the figure (2).

(Figure 2) *The DP-hierarchy*

(Cinque 2005: 317)



⁷ DIR=direction; PRT=particle; 1EXC=1st person exclusive; DU=dual number.

According to Cinque (2005), AgrP categories are justified because:

- (8) “each phrase (the one containing an Adjective Phrase, the one containing the Number Phrase, the one containing the Demonstrative Phrase, etc.) needs to be endowed with a nominal feature to be licensed (i.e., to count as part of the extended projection of NP), and [...] this can be brought about by merging above it an Agr(eement) head whose Spec ultimately comes to have such a nominal feature” (Cinque 2005: 325-326).

In addition, he claims that NP-raising can be done in two different ways: either the NP may raise alone, deriving the orders in (9a-c), or the NP may pied-pipe modifiers, deriving the orders in (9d-f).

(Table 2) *NP-raising in the DP*

Dem > Num > A > N	
(9) a. Dem Num N A	(9) d. A N Dem Num
b. Dem N Num A	e. N A Dem Num
c. N Dem Num A	f. Dem A N Num

In (9a), the NP moves past one notch; in (9b), it moves past two notches; and, in (9c), it moves past three notches, without *pied-piping*. Contrastively, in (9d), the NP pied-pipes the AP and they move past two notches together [AP [NP]]; in (9e), the NP raises firstly to Spec,Agr_yP, right above the AP, and then the NP pied-pipes the AP; subsequently, both NP and AP [NP [AP]] raise to Spec,Agr_xP, moving past the NumP, and then to Spec,Agr_wP, moving past the DemP; in (9f), [AP [NP]] raise together to Agr_xP moving past only one notch: NumP.

To sum up, the different orders of modifiers in the DP structure are due to NP-raising, as an XP, to Spec,AgrP. Besides, each functional projection in the DP is licensed by an AgrP which endows them with nominal features.

4. ANALYSIS: *LÁ* AS A SPECIFICITY MARKER IN SPEC,SPP

From now on, we will show how the phenomenon depicted in (2) may be analyzed. We hypothesize that *lá*, as a specificity marker, is merged in Spec,SpP, which is probably situated below modifiers in BP. In order to clarify this claim, we firstly make a comparison between BP post-nominal *lá* and MC post-nominal *lá*. Secondly, we make a parallel between post-nominal *lá* and post-nominal *qualquer*. Finally, we describe the position of BP *lá* in the DP-structure.

4.1. The particle *la* in Mauritian Creole

Guillemin (2007) looks at the expression of specificity in MC and argues that *la* is a specificity marker in definite noun phrases. According to Guillemin (2007),

- (10) “Early in the stages of creolization, the French definite articles and partitive determiners incorporated into a large number of the nouns that they modified, leaving the emergent creole without the means of expressing the contrasts of (in)definiteness and singular vs. plural” (Guillemin 2007: 64).

The determiners of the lexifier were taken in the Creole as an integral part of the nouns that they modified. Therefore, while French has dedicated morphemes to signal the contrasts mentioned above, MC did not have those determiners, resulting in ambiguous interpretation, as shown in table (3):

(Table 3) *Determiners in French and in early Mauritian Creole*

Adapted from Guillemin (2007: 65)

Features	French	English	Mauritian Creole
singular [-def]	<i>une table</i>	<i>a table</i>	<i>latab</i>
plural [-def]	<i>des tables</i>	<i>tables</i>	
singular [+def]	<i>la table</i>	<i>the table</i>	
plural [+def]	<i>les tables</i>	<i>the tables</i>	

Due to this problem, several new functional items emerged in the MC determiner system. One of these items is the specificity marker *la* (11) which may have derived from either the demonstrative reinforcer *là*, in ‘*ce ... là*’, or the adverbial locative.

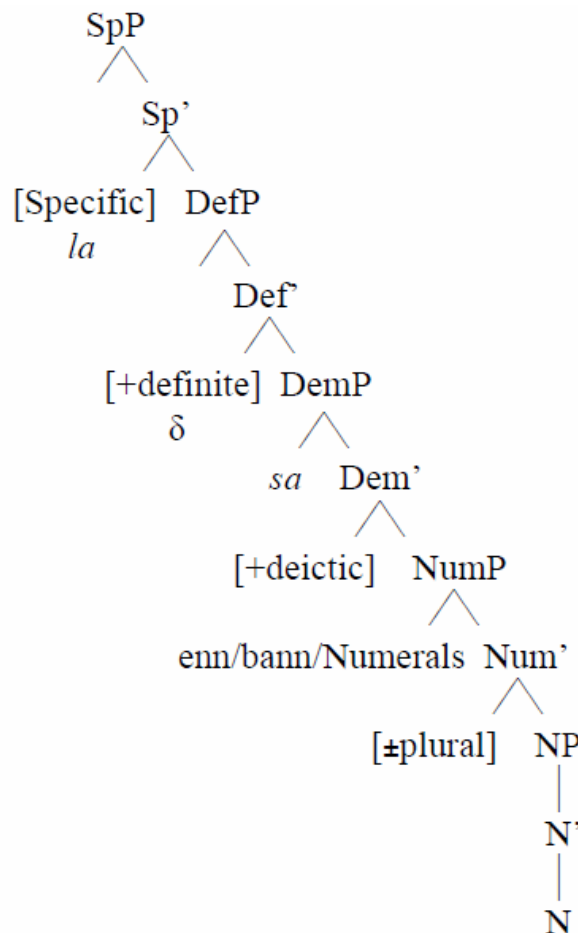
- (11) (a) “Problem *la* poze dan enn leta miltileng ...”
 problem SP pose in a state multilingual
 ‘That problem arises in a multilingual state’ (Guillemin 2007: 76).

In addition, according to Guillemin (2007: 75), MC *la* can be translated into a definite article or into a demonstrative pronoun, indicating that the NP has somehow a specific antecedent in the discourse. Therefore, “It is not possible to use *la* on its own to introduce a new discourse referent” (Guillemin 2007: 77).

Regarding the DP-structure, Guillemin (2007: 85) proposes for “MC a highly articulated noun phrase structure” which contains projections with functional features, such as definiteness, specificity, number, and so on, as drawn below:

(Figure 3) *The DP-hierarchy and the position of SpP in Mauritian Creole*

Guillemin (2007: 86)



Considering the facts discussed so far, we observe that, although MC *la* differs from BP *lá* in that the former is restricted to definite DPs, there are still some amazing coincidences between them. The first one is obviously the idea of specificity; the second one is the fact that both of them derive from deictic locative particles; and the third one is their post-nominal position.

Furthermore, in the same way that MC *la* differs from French demonstrative reinforcer *là*, BP *lá* differs from other Romance locatives including European Portuguese *lá* which apparently is not used as a specificity marker at all in contrast to the several BP examples shown in (2).

A final comment on Guillemin's (2007) work should emphasize its analytical contribution for the studies on specificity. She proposes a dedicated label and a dedicated syntactic position in the DP for specificity. We will pursue her analysis, arguing that, like MC *la*, BP *lá* belongs to a functional category labeled SpP.

4.2. Post-nominal *lá* and post-nominal *qualquer*

Lá and *qualquer* (12) have at least three important features in common which will be discussed below: inaccurate identification of the referent, incompatibility with generic contexts and post-nominal position.

- (12) “Houve um terramoto num país **qualquer** da Ásia” (Móia 1992: 38).
There-was an earthquake in-a country certain of Asia.
 ‘There was an earthquake in a certain country of Asia.’

Firstly, according to Móia (1992), in (12), the speaker

- (13) “refers to a particular country, but, in the utterance time, he does not know accurately how to identify this country or how to name it (hence no proper name is used [...]). *Qualquer* conveys a semantic value which yields a vague identification of the referent [...] and which corresponds to a speaker's partial state of information”⁸ (Móia 1992: 38, our translation).

Accordingly, post-nominal *qualquer* is prevented from co-occurring with proper nouns (14). However, this property is not so straightforward with post-nominal *lá* which may (15) or may not (16) co-occur with proper nouns.

- (14) *Vi o Márcio Garcia qualquer no shopping.
Saw-1SG the Márcio Garcia certain in-the shopping-centre
 ‘I saw Márcio Garcia in the shopping centre.’
- (15) O João *lá*⁹ é bem folgado.
The João lá is very lazy.
 ‘That João is very lazy.’

⁸ “refere-se a um país [...] determinado, mas que, no momento da enunciação, não sabe com precisão identificar ou designar (daí não usar um nome próprio [...]). Trata-se [...] de um valor de identificação vaga—específico do operador *qualquer*—correspondente a um estado de informação parcial do falante” (Móia 1992: 38).

⁹ We suggest that, in this case, even though *lá* is still a specificity marker, because this sentence conveys the idea that the speaker has a particular João in mind, *lá* is not used to imply that the identity of the referent is irrelevant for the communicative purposes; instead it implies that the referent, fully identified by name, is irrelevant itself, that is, João is an unworthy man in the speaker's view. Therefore, with proper nouns, besides being a specificity marker, *lá* is a belittlement modifier (15) rather than a ‘vague’ identification one (2). That is why *lá* in (15) accepts proper nouns, while *lá* in (16) does not.

- (16) *Vi o Márcio Garcia **lá** que sempre assiste TV na sala de espera do aeroporto.
Saw-1SG the Márcio Garcia lá who always watches TV in-the room of
 ‘I saw Márcio Garcia who always watches TV in the lounge of the airport.’

Secondly, still according to Mória (1992: 38, our translation), “[N qualquer] (or [certo N]) always refers to a specific entity”.¹⁰ Consequently, when a speaker uses either *qualquer* or *lá*, s/he refers to a specific referent or to a specific subset of referents. That is why both of them are prevented from co-occurring with generic contexts (17).

- (17) (a) *Gatos lá são mamíferos./*Um gato lá é mamífero.
Cats lá are mammals/ A cat lá is mammal
 ‘Cats are mammals.’
- (b) *Gatos quaisquer são mamíferos./*Um gato qualquer é mamífero.
Cats certain-PL are mammals/ A cat certain is mammal
 ‘Certain cats are mammals.’/‘A certain cat is mammal.’

Thirdly, both *lá* and *qualquer* are post-nominal and may either precede or follow modifiers, such as adjectives, possessives and genitives, as shown in (18).

(Table 4) *Distribution of post-nominal lá and qualquer*

(18)	<i>lá</i>	‘qualquer’
a. adjectives	“pego umas panelinhas (lá) velhas (lá)”. <i>take-1SG some pots (lá) old (lá)</i> ‘I take some old pots.’	Aconteceu um terremoto num país (qualquer) asiático (qualquer). <i>Happened an earthquake in-a country (certain) Asian (certain).</i> ‘There was an earthquake in a certain Asian country.’
b. possessives	“Eu tinha um colega (lá) meu (lá)”. <i>I had a colleague (lá) my (lá)</i> ‘I had a certain colleague.’	Aconteceu tumulto em uma aula (qualquer) minha (qualquer). <i>Happened tumult in a class (certain) my (certain)</i> ‘There was tumult in a certain class.’
c. genitives	Ele usou uma panela (lá) de ferro (lá). <i>He used a pot (lá) of iron (lá)</i> ‘He used a certain pot made of iron.’	Ele usou uma panela (qualquer) de ferro (qualquer). <i>He used a pot (certain) of iron (certain)</i> ‘He used a certain pot made of iron.’

Summarizing, both *lá* and *qualquer* share the following properties: unclear identification of the referent, incompatibility with generic contexts and post-nominal¹¹ position. However, *lá* and *qualquer* differ from each other in respect to the fact that the latter is restricted to NPs preceded by an indefinite article.

¹⁰ “[N qualquer] (ou [certo N]) remete sempre para uma única entidade do conjunto denotado por N” (Mória 1992: 38).

¹¹ Here, we highlight that pre-nominal *qualquer* (‘any’), which is a quantifier, is head of a QP (ia), while post-nominal *qualquer* (‘certain’), which is a modifier, is specifier of an AP (iia). *Lá* is interchangeable only with post-nominal *qualquer* (ib vs. iib). This arises from the fact that BP *lá* is specifier rather than head. Note that this analysis differs from the one given to MC *lá* in head position.

- (i) (a) Qualquer bolo de coco me agrada.
 ‘Any cake having coconut taste pleases me’.
- (b) *Lá bolo de coco me agrada.
- (ii) (a) Elisa experimentou um bolo qualquer de Minas e adorou.
 ‘Elisa tried a certain cake from Minas and loved it’.
- (b) Elisa experimentou um bolo lá de Minas e adorou.
 ‘Elisa tried a certain cake from Minas and loved it’.

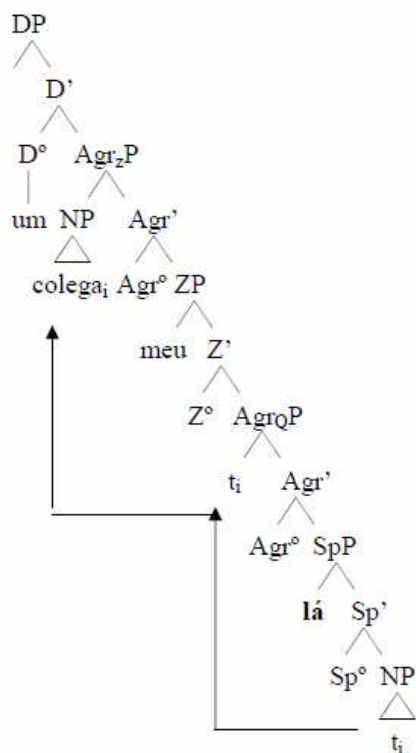
4.3. *Lá* as a specificity marker in Spec,SpP

We suggested above that post-nominal *lá* would be merged in a low position labeled SpP¹² (Specificity Phrase), according to Guillemín's (2007) proposal for MC *la*. This projection would be probably the first one above the NP and below the modifiers. That would explain why *lá* can follow modifiers. In addition, its post-nominal position would be derived by the movement of the NP (Cinque 2005) to SpecAgr_ZP, according to the derivation for (2b), shown at figure (4).

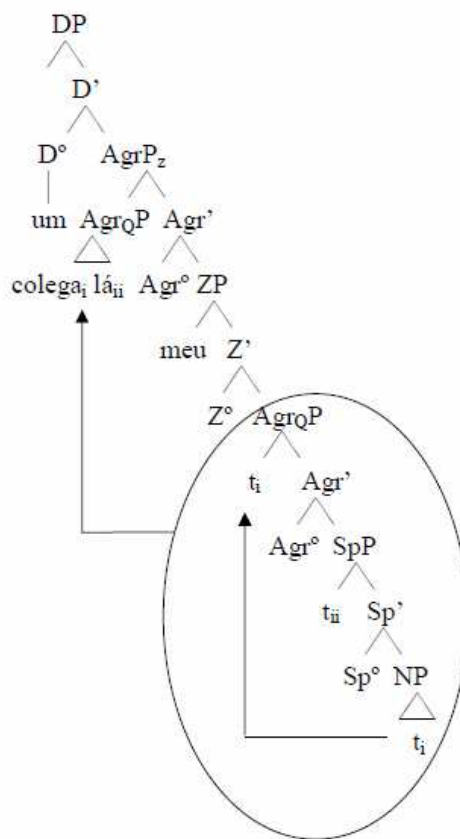
Additionally, the fact that *lá* can precede post-nominal modifiers would be explained, based on Cinque (2005)'s proposal, by the movement of the NP which pied-pipes *lá*, as we can see in the derivation for (2b'), shown at figure (4).

(Figure 4) *The position of lá as a specificity marker in the DP-domain*

(2) b. "um colega meu *lá*"



(2) b'. "um colega *lá* meu"



5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this article, we investigated structures with post-nominal *lá* in BP. Basically, we argued for an analysis of non-locative *lá* as a specificity marker merged in Spec of a Specificity Phrase (SpP). In order to support this hypothesis, we tried to pursue empirical and theoretical methods which will be summarized below.

Firstly, we worked on tests so that we could distinguish post-nominal locative *lá* and post-nominal non-locative *lá*. We concluded that, while the former conveys deictic locative interpretation, being incompatible with 1st and 2nd person demonstratives, the latter is not a deictic locative. Furthermore, we showed that an embedded clause is compatible with locative *lá*, but not with non-locative *lá*. This arises from the fact that while post-nominal locative *lá*

¹² Here, we revise the analysis in Pereira (2011) by replacing QP with SpP.

belongs either to the IP, as an adjunct, or to the VP, as a circumstantial argument, post-nominal locative *lá* belongs to the DP-domain.

Secondly, we compared *lá* with specificity markers in a range of different languages in order to check if *lá* could be described like them. According to Lyons (1999), many languages codify specificity morphologically. Basically, specificity means that the speaker has a particular entity in mind, whose identity is not considered relevant or important. Analogously, when the speaker uses post-nominal non-locative *lá*, the referent is specific, but is not properly identified. This is one of the reasons why *lá* can be viewed as a specificity marker. Another reason is that non-locative *lá* is prevented from co-occurring with generic contexts.

Thirdly, we looked at Guillemín's (2007) proposal for MC *la* which shares some common properties with BP *lá*, such as post-nominal position, specificity and origin in deictic items. Guillemín (2007) claims that MC *la* is a specificity marker merged in SpP. This claim turns out to be an interesting solution that we pursued to account for BP *lá* as well.

Finally, following Cinque (2005), we explained the different orders which BP *lá* may assume in the DP-architecture. We argued that *lá* is merged in a projection located immediately above the NP and below the modifiers. This would explain why *lá* can follow modifiers. However, *lá* may also precede them. This is due to the fact that the NP pied-pipes *lá* to a higher AgrP position.

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