Feature interpretability and the positions of 2nd person possessives in dialectal Brazilian Portuguese*

Interpretabilidade de traços e as posições do possessivo de 2.ª pessoa em português brasileiro dialetal

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Abstract: Interpretability and valuation of φ-features (Chomsky, 2001; Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007) have played a central role in the investigation of language universals. With regard to that, in standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as well as in other Romance languages, possessives have uninterpretable number features, which are valued via nominal agreement. However, dialects of BP, especially the one spoken in Minas Gerais, have shown that 2nd person possessives, in postnominal position, do not have number agreement with the noun. In order to account for these facts, I will argue that, in this grammar, number features on 2nd person possessives are reanalyzed as being: (i) associated with the person (rather than the noun) and (ii) interpretable. From the first postulation, 'seu' is expected to be the possessive for 2nd person singular, and 'seus' for 2nd person

plural. From the second postulation, no number concord is expected to be triggered on the possessive. In addition, based on Danon (2011) and Norris (2014), I will argue that cardinals divide BP DPs into two domains in that phrases located above NumP are marked with the plural morpheme, while phrases below it are unmarked. In this sense, because prenominal possessives precede cardinals (NumP), they must be marked with the plural morpheme for nominal agreement; whereas postnominal possessives, which follow NumP, must be unmarked. Free from the plural marking associated with nominal agreement, postnominal 2nd person possessives favor the reanalysis of the morpheme '-s' as indicating the number associated with person features.

Keywords: 2nd person possessives. DP Concord. Number features. Syntactic position. Cardinals. NumP.

Resumo: Conceitos como interpretabilidade e valoração de traços-φ (Chomsky, 2001; Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007) têm desempenhado um papel central no estudo dos universais linguísticos. Neste respeito, em português padrão, assim como em outras línguas românicas, os pronomes possessivos carregam traços não interpretáveis de número, que são valorados via concordância nominal. No entanto, certos dialetos do português do Brasil (PB) mostram que o possessivo de 2.ª pessoa, principalmente em posição posposta, não concorda em número com o nome. Por exemplo, no dialeto mineiro, um N no singular pode coocorrer com possessivo no plural, que se refere à 2.ª pessoa do plural ('de vocês'). Do mesmo modo, um N no plural pode coocorrer com possessivo no singular, que se refere à 2.ª pessoa do singular. Para explicar esses fatos, argumentarei que, nesta gramática, os traços de número no possessivo de 2.ª pessoa são (i) traços da pessoa e não do nome e são (ii) interpretáveis. Com base na primeira formulação, prediz-se que 'seu' seja o possessivo de 2.ª pessoa do singular, e 'seus' do plural. Com base na segunda formulação, não se desencadeia concordância em número no possessivo. Além disso, seguindo Danon (2011) e Norris (2014), argumentarei que os cardinais dividem DPs do PB em dois domínios, sendo que os sintagmas situados acima de NumP são marcados com o morfema de plural em concordância nominal, enquanto os situados abaixo de NumP são impedidos de terem esta marca. Assim, pelo fato de o possessivo pré-nominal estar antes

do cardinal, ele é obrigatoriamente marcado com o morfema de plural, enquanto o possessivo pós-nominal não tem esta marca. Livre da marca morfológica de concordância nominal, o possessivo pós-nominal de 2.ª pessoa favorece a reanálise do '-s' como indicador do número da pessoa.

Palavras-chave: Possessivos de 2.ª pessoa. Concordância no DP. Traços de número. Posição sintática. Cardinais. NumP.

1 INTRODUCTION

In standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and in other Romance languages, the possessive pronoun agrees in number with the noun and the determiner. However, dialects of BP, especially the one spoken in Minas Gerais, show a different pattern of number agreement with regard to DPs with 2nd person possessives. In this pattern, there is no agreement in number between the possessive and the noun. As observed in (1), the noun and the determiner are singular, whereas the possessive is marked with the plural morpheme '-s'. In (2), it is the other way round: the possessive is singular, whereas the noun is marked with the plural morpheme. This paper presents a proposal to explain why and how this occurs.

(1) [A gerência **suas**] só atende clientes grandes[1] (Belo Horizonte, June 2016).

[The-FEM-SG management-FEM-SG your-FEM-PL] only serve-3rdSG customer-PL big-PL

'Your department works only with large business customers'.

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[1] Data from real speech situations are referred throughout this paper with place (city) and date (month and year) of utterance. I have been collecting them, since 2012 or a little before that, in the state of Minas Gerais (MG), as part of this research. They have been registered by writing them down or typing them right after every single occasion when they were heard, such as: academic events, classes, business meetings, counter service utterances, spontaneous conversations, and so forth. After that, each occurrence is added to a file containing a list of other data as well as information about place and date of utterance. I wish to thank Marcus Vinícius for sending so many nice data he had the chance to collect in Belo Horizonte and cities nearby.

(2) Ana, preciso de [fotos **sua**] para colocar no site do meu casamento (Lavras, April 2016).

Ana, need-1stSG of [picture-FEM-PL your-FEM-SG] to put in-the website of my wedding.

'Ana, I need some of your pictures so that I can post them in my wedding website'.

In order to account for these structures, this paper is organized as follows: firstly, section 2 shows the possessive paradigms in Brazilian Portuguese (2.1) and then the specificities in the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais (2.2). Secondly, section 3 presents the theoretical background on (3.1) valuation and interpretability of features and on (3.2) cardinals viewed as a boundary for the DP-internal distribution of the plural morpheme. Finally, section 4 argues that the number feature on 2nd person possessives, is reanalyzed as an interpretable feature associated with the person rather than the noun (4.1); and explains why this reanalysis is much more frequent in postnominal position (4.2).

2 THE POSSESSIVE SYSTEM IN BP

This section presents an overview of the possessive paradigm in Brazilian Portuguese (2.1) and then the specificities shown by the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais (2.2).

2.1 The possessive paradigm in BP

The possessive system in Brazilian Portuguese has pronominal and prepositional forms, according to Table 1.

Table 1 – The possessive system in BP

	Nominative pronouns	Possessive pronouns	Prepositional forms
1 SG	eu 'I'	meu 'my'	
2 SG	você 'you'	seu 'your'	de você '*of-you-SG*' 'your'
3 SG	ele 'he'	seu 'his'	dele '*of-he*' 'his'
1 PL	nós 'we'	nosso 'our'	da gente '*of-the folks*' 'our'
2 PL	vocês 'you'	seu 'your'	de vocês '*of-you-PL*' 'your'
3 PL	eles 'they'	seu 'their'	deles '*of-they*' 'their'

Pronominal forms can be either prenominal or postnominal[2] and trigger nominal agreement in gender and in number. In contrast, prepositional forms are strictly postnominal and do not have nominal agreement, but work as follows: 3rd person prepositional forms share the same gender and number features of their co-referent (whether it is overt in the sentence or indexed in the context); 2nd person prepositional forms do not inflect in gender, but share the same number features of their co-referent (which may be overt in the sentence – ex.: in vocative position - or reached in the context); and the 1st person plural prepositional form inflects neither in gender nor in number, as shown in Table 2.

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2   That prenominal and postnominal positions are syntactically available (ia, ib) for pronominal possessives is a fact. In certain cases, postnominal position may convey a different interpretation (iia,b).

(i) a. Este meu livro veio dos EUA.

This my book came of-the-PL USA

'This book of mine came from the USA.'

   b. Este livro meu veio dos EUA.

This book my came of-the-PL USA

'This book of mine came from the USA.'

(ii) a. Filho meu não vai brincar na rua.

Son my not go-FUT play in-the street.

'(In case I have children,) I will not allow them to play in the streets'.

   b. Meu filho não vai brincar na rua.

My son not go-FUT play in-the street.

'I will not allow my son to play in the streets'.

Table 2 – The possessive system in BP with number
and gender inflection

	Nominative pronouns	Possessive pronouns	Prepositional forms
1 SG	eu 'I'	**minha(s)** 'my'	
2 SG	você 'you'	**sua(s)** 'your'	de você '*of-you-SG*' 'your'
3 SG	ela 'she'	**sua(s)** 'her'	**dela** '*of-she*' 'her'
1 PL	nós 'we'	**nossa(s)** 'our'	da gente '*of-the folks*' 'our'
2 PL	vocês 'you'	**sua(s)** 'your'	de vocês '*of-you-PL*' 'your'
3 PL	elas 'they'	**sua(s)** 'their'	**delas** '*of-they-FEM*' 'their

Tables 1 and 2 roughly summarize what is described by Perini (1985), Kato (1985), Cerqueira (1993), Silva (1996), Müller (1997) and Castro (2001), and do not intend to represent all the views of these authors. For instance, Perini (1985) considers 'de você' ungrammatical, which is not correct (cf. Kato, 1985, p. 115; Neves, 2000, p. 473)[3]. However, for some reason, 'de vocês' is more common than 'de você'. Besides, the tables do not show possessive forms like 'teu'[4] (2nd person singular for the nominative 'tu'), which is uncommon in certain regions, though frequent in others.

Therefore, in standard BP, the possessive 'seu' agrees in number and gender with the noun and may refer to either 2nd person plural or 2nd person

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[3]   Besides the examples of possessive forms with 'de você' shown in the mentioned references, another piece of data is the following: "Eu sempre vou ser de você" (I always go-FUT be of you-SG/'I will always be yours') is found in the chorus of a song, which is avalable at: <https://cifraclub.com.br/adalberto-adriano/culpados/>. Accessed on: December 5th, 2016.

[4]   In the sentence (i) below (found in a video which went viral on the internet), the possessive 'teu' receives a plural morpheme while the noun is singular. The structure "o teus imposto" looks at least ambiguous. In a reading, the whole DP is plural, and '-s' marks the DP-internal nominal agreement. In another reading, the whole DP is singular, and '-s' does not mark DP-internal nominal agreement, but makes reference to 2nd person plural. If this last reading is correct, the split agreement that happens with 'seu' would also happen with 'teu', but this goes beyond the scope of this paper.

(i) "(...) o governo não tem nada para dar. Quem dá é eu, é você. É o meu imposto, [é o <u>teus</u> imposto...]" (Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=roOkuT9Jb8M. Accessed on: February 19th 2016).

is the-MASC-**SG** your-MASC-**PL** tax-MASC-**SG**

'The government does not have anything to give. The ones who contributes are me and you. It is all about my taxes and your taxes'.

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singular, as shown in (3), resulting in ambiguity. As such, the two possible readings allowed in (3) may be seen in (4a, b).

(3) Preciso   de dois favores   seus ('seus' = 'de você' or 'de vocês').

   Need-1SG of   two favor-MASC-PL   your-MASC-PL (your = 'of you-SG' or 'of you-PL')

   'I need two favors from you'.

(4) a. **Amigo**$_i$, preciso de dois favores   seus$_i$!   ('seus' = 'de **você**')

   Friend,   need-1SG of   two favor-MASC-PL your-MASC-PL (your = 'of you-**SG**')

   'My friend, I need two favors from you'.

   b. **Amigos**$_i$, preciso   de dois favores   seus$_i$! ('seus' = 'de **vocês**')

   Friends,   need-1SG   of   two favor-MASC-PL your-MASC-PL (your = 'of you-**PL**')

   'My friends, I need two favors from you (guys)'.

   In sum, 'seu', in standard Brazilian Portuguese, is isomorphic for: 2nd person singular and 2nd person plural[5].

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[5]   Another very well known fact is that, in standard BP, the possessive 'seu' is isomorphic for reference to 3rd person plural and 3rd person singular (ib).

(i)   a. Os moradores$_i$ viram suas$_i$ casas inundadas.

   The-PL resident-PL saw-3rdPL their houses flooded

   'The residents saw their houses flooded out'.

b. O morador$_k$ viu suas$_k$ casas inundadas.

The-SG resident-SG saw-3rdSG his houses flooded

   'The resident saw his houses flooded out'.

In addition, in standard BP, 'seu' is ambiguous for reference to 2nd and 3rd person:

(ii) "Joana$_i$, vi   Stella$_j$ beijando seu$_{i/j}$ namorado" (Silva, 1996, p. 172).

Joana, saw-1stSG Stella kissing   your/her boyfriend

'Joana, I saw Stella kissing your/her boyfriend'.

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2.2 The 2nd person possessive in the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais

In order to make clear the reference to 2nd person plural, two different structures may be used: the first and more common one in Brazilian Portuguese is the prepositional form 'de vocês' (5a); the second one, restricted to some BP dialects, is the addition of an '-s' to the possessive pronoun (5b)[6], no matter which number the DP-internal phrases are inflected for.

(5) a. um   favor   de vocês

a-MASC-SG favor-MASC-SG of you-PL

'a favor from you (guys)'

b.   um   favor   seus

a-MASC-SG favor-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL

'a favor from you (guys)'

Likewise, in this dialect, 'seu', without the plural morpheme, is interpreted as referring to 2nd person singular, and it is not sensitive to nominal concord either, as seen in (2) and also in (6).

(6) Amanhã,   ele verá   dois serviços   **seu** (Belo Horizonte, September, 2015).

Tomorrow he see-FUT-3SG two task-MASC-**PL** your-MASC-**SG**

'Tomorrow, he is coming to see your two works'.

This is in fact the only specificity of the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais with respect to the possessive paradigm: the postnominal 2nd person possessive does not agree in number with the noun. As a result, when marked with '-s', it refers to 2nd person plural; whereas, when unmarked, it refers to 2nd person singular, which is illustrated in Table 3.

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6   Similarly, in some dialects, English 2nd person plural may have forms other than 'you': 'yous', 'you-uns', 'you-all', 'you-guys', 'y'all' (Maynor, 2000). As for the 2nd person possessive pronoun, the forms 'your guys's' and 'your guyses' are also attested.

Table 3 – The 2nd person possessive pronoun in the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais

	Nominative pronouns	Possessive pronouns	Prepositional forms
1 SG	eu 'I'	meu(s) 'my'	
2 SG	você 'you'	**seu** 'your'	de você '*of-you-SG*' your'
3 SG	ele 'he'	seu(s) 'his'	dele '*of-he*' 'his'
1 PL	nós 'we'	nosso(s) 'our'	da gente '*of-the folks*' 'our'
2 PL	vocês 'you'	**seus** 'your'	de vocês '*of-you-PL*' 'your'
3 PL	eles 'they'	seu(s) 'their'	deles '*of-they*' 'their'

This reanalysis is mandatory, in this grammar, when the possessive is postnominal. In contrast, prenominal position does not make it often available. In the several data that I have been collecting over the past years, I found only two examples in which the reanalysis happens with prenominal possessives, as follows:

(7) O seus carro não pode ficar estacionado aqui[7] (Ouro Preto, June 2015).

The-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL car-MASC-SG not may stay parked here

'Your (guys's) car is not allowed to be parked here'.

(8) Vou ficar parado do seus lado, porque não quero ninguém colando (Betim, July 2015).

Go-1stSG stay stopped of-the-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL side-MASC-SG, because …

'I will stand on your (guys's) side, because I want to prevent you from cheating in this exam'.

Except by this restriction, the possessive occurs inside the DP, in the several syntactic positions where a DP may appear, such as: specifier

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[7]   This sentence was addressed to the passengers of only one car.

of IP (11), complement of verbs (10), complement of prepositions (12), predicative position (9); embedded clauses (10), questions (11), and so forth. Additionally, the DP may contain definite (11, 12, 17) or indefinite articles (16), indefinite pronouns (13), nominal ellipsis (14), and nouns without determiners (15, 2).

(9)   "A decisão final é suas" (Belo Horizonte, February 2014).

The-FEM-SG decision-FEM-SG final is your-FEM-PL

'The final decision is yours'.

(10) O João disse que espera um favor seus.

The João said that ₚᵣₒwait-3SG a-MASC-SG favor-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL

'João said that he is waiting for a favor from you'.

(11) "O projeto seus prevê aplicação no ensino?"(Diamantina, June 2013).

The-MASC-SG project-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL predict-3SG application in-the teaching

'Does your project predict any application in teaching?'

(12) a. "Para a sorte suas, eu não vou estar aqui na próxima votação" (Belo Horizonte, December 2015).

For the-FEM-SG luck-FEM-SG your-FEM-PL, I not go-FUT be here in-the next election

'For your (guys's) luck, I will not be here in the next elections'.

(13) "Eu não quero nada seus" (Belo Horizonte, March 2014).

I not want-1stSG anything your-PL

'I do not want anything from you (guys)'.

(14) "O meu olhar é diferente do seus" (Belo Horizonte, November 2014).

The-MASC-SG my-MASC-SG view-MASC-SG is different of-the-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL

'My view is different from yours'.

(15) "É interesse seus aprovar a proposta" (Belo Horizonte, December 2015).

Is interest-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL approve the proposal

'It is in your interest to approve the proposal'.

(16) "Gostaria de uma informação suas" (Belo Horizonte, January 2016).

Like-TENSE-1SG of a-FEM-SG information-FEM-SG your-FEM-PL

'I would like to get a piece of information from you (guys)'.

(17) "O sensor de rotação seus raspa na roda fônica do motor"[8] (Belo Horizonte, July 2016).

The-MASC-SG sensor-MASC-SG of rotation-FEM-SG your-MASC-PL scratches in-the wheel phonic of-the engine

'Your rotation sensor scratches in the engine phonic wheel'.

To sum up, in the type of structures presented so far, the possessive: (i) refers to 2nd person plural, when it has the plural morpheme '-s'; and to 2nd person singular, when it does not have '-s'; (ii) agrees only in gender with the noun; and (iii) is highly more common in postnominal position.

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section presents the theoretical background on valuation and interpretability of features (3.1) as well as on the position of cardinals as a boundary for the DP-internal plural marking (3.2).

3.1 The valuation and interpretability of features

Phi-feature is a term used to cover broadly the three main categories that involve agreement, that is: person, gender and number, which are analyzed under the concepts of valuation and interpretability.

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8   This data, which was recorded in Belo Horizonte, can be heard at the minute 1'50" of the video (Canal High Torque) available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0yzIdIydmo>. Accessed on: July 31st, 2016.

Concerning valuation, according to Pesetsky and Torrego (2007, p. 263), "Certain features on lexical items appear to come from the lexicon unvalued, and receive their value from a valued instance of the same feature, present on another lexical item". For instance, gender is a property of the noun, and comes valued with the noun from the lexicon. However, D and A are lexically unvalued for gender, but they get "valued as a consequence of a syntactic process of agreement with the gender feature of N" (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 263). The same is true for number, which is lexically unvalued in D and A, though they "get valued as a result of agreement with N" (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 263).

Concerning interpretability, the distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable is related to "whether or not a feature of a particular lexical item makes a semantic contribution to the interpretation of that item" (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 264). For instance, the number feature of A does not make any contribution to its meaning, while number and person contribute to the interpretation on the DP.

Chomsky (2001) assumes that a "feature is uninterpretable iff F is unvalued". In this assumption, a feature can be either interpretable and valued or uninterpretable and unvalued. In contrast, Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) assume that there is an independence between valuation and interpretability. Therefore, the lexicon is expected to have four types of features, as follows:

uF val	uninterpretable, valued	iF val	interpretable, valued
uF [ ]	uninterpretable, unvalued	iF [ ]	interpretable, unvalued

(Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 269)

In that sense, agreement is understood as feature sharing, being described as follows:

Agree (Feature sharing version)

(i) An unvalued feature F (a probe) on a head H at syntactic location α (F_α) scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a goal) at location β (F_β) with which to agree.

(i) Replace F_α with F_β, so that the same feature is present in both locations (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 268).

Having made this brief summary on the concepts of valuation and interpretability, it is important to inquire how one can tell that the noun is lexically valued for number and also how is number agreement triggered inside the DP.

As for the first question, one explanation, according to Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), is related to *pluralia tantum* nouns, as 'scissors' in English[9]. These nouns are always plural, which indicates that nouns come lexically valued for number in the derivation; whereas there is no *pluralia tantum* D or A, which means that they cannot be lexically valued for number. However, not every language has *pluraria tantum* nouns. According to Pesetsky and Torrego (2007 and refences therein), in Spanish, for instance, genuine *pluralia tantum* nouns do not exist, and this entails a different understanding on the source of number features in this language. That is why the authors suggest that Spanish falls under the proposal made by Picallo (1991) and Ritter (1991), among others, that number is in fact a feature of NumP, a category between D and N. Furthermore, Blühdorn et al. (2008) assume

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[9] In English, *pluralia tantum* nouns like 'scissors' and 'pants' are used in the plural only, which is reflected not only in the presence of '-s', but also in nominal and verbal agreement: "These scissors are new". In Portuguese, 'óculos' ('glasses'), though ends in '-s', is not always understood as plural. In fact, against what is prescribed in traditional grammars, it is often used with modifiers in the singular, as in (ia). In addition, most speakers understand that (ia) refers to only one pair of glasses, while (ib) refers to more than one pair. In this sense, 'férias' ('vacation') can also occur with modifiers in the singular (ii), which signalizes that it is not always clearly understood as plural either.

(i) a. Limpei meu óculos hoje.

   Cleaned-1stSG my-SG glasses today

   'I cleaned my glasses today'.

  b. Limpei meus óculos hoje (o de sol e o de grau).

   Cleaned-1stSG my-PL glasses today (the of sun and the of grade)

   'I cleaned my glasses today (the sunglasses and the prescription ones)'.

(ii) a. Feliz férias!

   Happy-SG vacation

   'Happy vacation!'

that BP does not have genuine[10] *pluralia tantum*, which means that BP nouns are not lexically valued for number. From these facts, I assume that the *locus* of number in BP is not the noun, but NumP[11], as in Spanish.

As for the second question, under the assignment view, agreement takes place when a probe with uninterpretable features seeks its goal with interpretable features, in order to become valued. Once uninterpretable features have been assigned a value, they must be deleted:

> Suppose that L has generated the syntactic object K with label LB(K). On minimalist assumptions, LB(K) is the only element of K that is immediately accessible to L, so LB(K) must be the element that activates Agree, by virtue of its uninterpretable features: it is these that constitute the probe that seeks a matching *goal* – another collection of features – within the domain of LB(K) [...] Interpretability of features is determined in the lexicon, by Universal Grammar (UG) we assume, and the distinction must be indicated not only at that stage but throughout the derivation. The natural principle is that the uninterpretable features, and only these, enter the derivation without values, and are distinguished from interpretable features by virtue of this property. Their values are determined by Agree, at which point the features must be deleted from the narrow syntax [...] The conclusion is appropriate in other respects: the values of uninterpretable features are redundant (Chomsky, 2001, p. 5).

As opposed to the assignment view just described, one of the

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[10]   "o PB não possui [...] *pluralia tantum* propriamente ditos" (Blühdorn et al., 2008, p. 15).

[11]   Augusto et al. (2006, p. 261) conclude that number is semantically interpreted in NumP. They argue that, even trought the plural morpheme often occurs in D, the *locus* of feature interpretability is not likely to be determined by the *locus* of its morphological realization: "o local da interpretabilidade do traço de número no DP não é uma questão passível de ser decidida em função do local de onde essa informação é extraída na morfologia" (Augusto et al., 2006, p. 261). In fact, BP have bare nouns, wich convey plural interpretation, in the absence of plural marking or determiners.

consequences of adopting a feature sharing approach is that, after valuation takes place, the feature is not deleted, but is still available for another probe:

> If the goal is valued for F, replacing the probe with the goal results in an instance of valued F occupying the location previously occupied by the unvalued probe. In this respect, the output of the feature sharing version of Agree […] is the same as the output of the assignment version of Agree […] H now contains valued F. Of course, F on H may now serve as the goal for some later operation of Agree triggered by an unvalued, higher instance of F serving as a new probe. The result will be a single feature F shared by three positions, as the process could iterate further (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 268).

Danon (2011) explains and exemplifies this reasoning:

> Consider, for instance, the derivation of the following French sentence:
>
> […] La   fille   a   parlé.
>
>   the.F.SG girl.F.SG has.3SG spoken
>
>   'The girl spoke'.
>
> Putting aside Move operations, the two relevant steps in the derivation are:
>
> 1.   The unvalued gender and number features of the D *la* probe for those of the N *fille*; following Agree, the valued gender and number features have two instances each, on D and on N.
>
> 2.   The unvalued φ-features of the T *a* probe for those of the D *la*.
>
> […]
>
> Finally, interface conditions, such as the lexical category of each head, determine where each of these features should be interpreted: person on D, number on N (or Num), and gender on N (Danon, 2011, p. 308-309).

Another interesting consequence of the feature sharing approach is that two unvalued features may also participate in agreement as long as they target a goal containing that set of features valued:

> If a later operation of Agree applies between one of the instances of unvalued F just discussed and a distinct valued occurrence of F at location γ, the result will be a valued feature F present at three locations:
>
> [...] . . . F_α [3] . . . F_β [3] . . . F_γ val [ ] $\rightarrow$ . . . F_α [3] . . . F_β [3] . . . F_γ val [3] ...
>
> Crucially, F has been valued at *both* of its previous locations α and β as a consequence of an application of Agree that involves only one of these locations (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2007, p. 269).

In sum, D and A probe NumP (in some languages or NP in others) as the goal for number feature valuation. The next section will show how this mechanism applies to BP. However, before reaching the data, some theoretical issues on the relation between the position of numerals and the DP-internal plural marking still need to be addressed.

3.2 Cardinals and the DP-internal distribution of the plural morpheme

According to Danon (2011) and Norris (2014), in several languages, such as Finish (18) and Estonian (19), cardinals work as a boundary dividing the DP into two domains in which phrases preceding the cardinal are marked for plural, while phrases following it are unmarked.

(18) "Ne   kaksi   pien-tä   auto-a   seiso-ivat   tiellä.

those.PL two.SG small-PART.SG car-PART.SG stand-PAST.3PL road. ADESS

'Those two small cars stood at the road' (Brattico 2010)" (Danon, 2011, p. 301).

(19) "nee-d   viis   ilusa-t   maja

  this-PL.NOM   5.NOM beautiful-PAR house.PAR

  'these five beautiful houses' (Erelt et al. 1993b, p. 143)" (Norris, 2014, p. 144).

In Pereira (2016b), I argue that this prediction applies to non-standard BP. For instance, in (20), the position of NumP in the DP functions clearly as a boundary in that phrases above it are marked with plural, while phrases under its c-command domain are unmarked, as represented in (21).
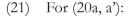
(20)

a. Os   único   balde vermelho

The-PL only-φ[12] bucket-φ red-φ

'The only red buckets'

b. Os   únicos balde vermelho

The-PL only-PL bucket-φ red-φ

'The only red buckets'

c. *O   únicos baldes   vermelho

The-φ only-PL bucket-PL red-φ

'The only red buckets'

d. *O   único baldes   vermelhos

The-φ only-φ   bucket-PL red-PL

'The only red buckets'

a'. Os   **dois** único balde vermelho

The-PL   two only-φ bucket-φ red-φ

'The only two red buckets'

b'. Os únicos **dois** balde vermelho

The-PL only-PL two bucket-φ red-φ

'The only two red buckets'

c'. *O únicos **dois** baldes vermelho

The-φ only-PL two bucket-PL red-φ

'The only two red buckets'

d'. *O único **dois** baldes   vermelhos

The-φ only-φ two bucket-PL red-PL
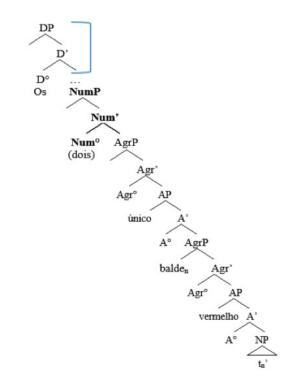
'The only two red buckets'

In (20a, a'), the cardinal numeral 'dois' is right after D; as a result, only D is marked for plural with the morpheme '-s', whereas nothing to the right of the cardinal is marked for this feature. In (20b, b'), the numeral is after D 'os' plus the adjective 'únicos', which explains the fact

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[12] In order to distinguish words unmarked for plural *vs.* words in singular, which are orthographically the same, this paper glosses unmarked plurals with the symbol 'φ'.

that both of them are marked for plural. In contrast, (20c, c') and (20d, d') are ruled out either because phrases located to the left of the cardinal are not marked with the plural morpheme when they should be or because phrases located to the right of the cardinal are marked with the plural morpheme when they should not be.

As for the DP-structure presented in (21), according to Cinque (2005), the universal order of the DP-internal functional projections is as follows: [DP NumP AP NP]. Other possible linear word orders are explained by movement of the NP as an XP to the Spec of AgrP positions, which are merged with each functional projection in the structure of the DP. For instance, in (20), the postnominal position of 'vermelho' is derived by moving the NP to Spec,AgrP, a position higher than the AP.

(21)   For (20a, a'):

In addition, assuming the concepts described in section (3.1), the valuation of number features in an example such as (20a,a'), repeated below, can be described as in (22), which means that number features come lexically valued neither with D nor with N, but with Num. Moreover, overt morphology is not required in all the DP-internal phrases to show valuation, as discussed above.

(20) a'. Os   (dois) único balde vermelho

The-PL (two) only-   bucket-φ red-φ

'The only (two) red buckets'

(22) a. D, A, and N are lexically uninterpretable and unvalued for number;

b. Num has interpretable and valued number features;

c. D probes NumP, the closest in its c-command domain, and gets valued;

d. A and N are under the c-command domain of NumP and constitute a chain sharing the same unvalued number features;

e. A probes Num and gets its number features valued;

f. As a consequence of being in a chain with A, N and the lowest A get their number features valued as well.

Therefore, (20) complies with the assumption made by Danon (2011) and Norris (2014) that the cardinal numeral divides the DP into two domains, such that phrases on its left are marked for plural while phrases on its right are unmarked.

This assumption challenges current proposals, which argue for an "autonomous morphological component" (Costa, Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 44) and claim that BP would have a "singleton" plural morpheme (23a) to be contrasted with a "dissociated" one (23b) in European Portuguese (EP). As pointed out by Castro and Pratas (2006, p. 18), this proposal does not account for the facts: "In most cases the plural marker seems to surface as a singleton, but in others the plural is marked in two different positions […] these patterns must be subject to further investigation".

(23) a. "Os primeiro livro   da   biblioteca" (Costa e Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 28).

The-PL first-φ[13] book-φ of-the library

'The first books of the library'.

b. "Todos os meus primeiros livros bonitos." (Costa e Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 28).

All-PL the-PL my-PL first-PL book-PL pretty-PL

'All my first pretty books'.

To sum up, the 'singleton' approach (Costa e Figueiredo Silva, 2006) does not account for the fact that the plural morpheme may be marked in more than one element of the DP nor does it explain the syntactic reasons why some elements are marked, while others cannot be. Moreover, in this approach, D is assumed to be the nominal head linked to LF for number interpretation, with no discussion about the role of Num in this issue.

4 ANALYSIS

In this section, I explain: firstly, how the mentioned analysis happens, in terms of φ-feature interpretability and valuation (4.1); and secondly, why the postnominal position is more suitable for this, in terms of the DP- internal distribution of the plural morpheme (4.2).

4.1 Possessive number features in dialectal BP

Possessives "combine two independent features for number: the first

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[13] The gloss given bt Costa and Figueiredo Silva (2006, p. 28) for the words 'primeiro' and 'livro', in this example, is with '-SG': "The-pl first-sg book-sg of-the library". However, throughout this paper, elements that are unmarked for plural, in plural DPs, are not glossed with '-SG', but with 'φ'. Glossing them with '-SG' is incorrect, because these elements are not inflected for singular, they are just not marked/specified morphologically for plural.

one is related to person, the other one is related to the DP"[14] (Zribi-Herts, 1998, p. 151, my translation). For instance, 1st person possessive pronouns have two number layers (Table 4): the number associated with the person ('meu' *versus* 'nosso') is interpretable, while the number associated with the noun ('meu' *versus* 'meus' and 'nosso' *versus* 'nossos') is uninterpretable.

Table 4 – Combination of number features on 1st person possessives

1st person		Person number	Noun number
meu	*my-MASC-SG* 'my'	SG	SG
meus	*my-MASC-PL* 'my'	SG	PL
nosso	*our-MASC-SG* 'our'	PL	SG
nossos	*our-MASC-PL* 'our'	PL	PL

These two layers are not so distinctively marked with the 2nd person possessives (Table 5). In standard BP, the layer on person features is unspecified for number, which means that 'seu(s)' is ambiguous between 2nd person plural and 2nd person singular.

Table 5 – Number features on 2nd person possessives in standard BP

2nd person		Person number	Noun number
seu	*your-MASC-SG* 'your'	-	SG
seus	*your-MASC-PL* 'your'	-	PL

In contrast, the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais inverts this pattern (Table 6), which means that 'seu' is specified for 2nd person singular, and 'seus' for 2nd person plural.

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[14]   "les possessifs (...) combinent deux traits de nombre indépendants, le premier, solidaire de la marque de personne, l'autre étant celui du DP" (Zribi-Herts, 1998, p. 151).

Table 6 – Number features on 2nd person possessives in dialectal BP

2nd person		Person number	Noun number
seu	*your-MASC-SG* 'your'	SG	-
seus	*your-MASC-PL* 'your'	PL	-

To sum up, dialectal Brazilian Portuguese reanalyzes number features on the 2nd person possessive as being interpretable and associated with the person. In this sense, the plural morpheme '-s', on postnominal 2nd person possessives, does not indicate number agreement with the DP-internal phrases.

4.2 2nd person possessives in the DP-hierarchy: prenominal *vs.* postnominal positions

This section is concerned with the following question: why does the postnominal position favor the reanalysis above mentioned, while the prenominal position does not? I will show that this is explained by the fact that prenominal possessives precede cardinals and then must be marked for plural in nominal agreement, whereas prenominal possessives follow cardinals and then are free from this mark, which favors the reanalysis.

It is observed in the literature that, while "prenominal possessives show number agreement in BP1, postnominal ones do not" (24) (Costa, Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 42-43), though no consistent explanation is given for the reason why it happens.

(24) a. "o   meus livro" (Costa e Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 43).

the-φ[15] my-PL book-φ

'my books'

b. "uns livro   meu" (Costa e Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 43).

some-PL book-φ my-φ

'some books of mine'

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[15]   The gloss given by Costa and Figueirdo Silva (2006, p. 28) for the words 'o' and 'livro' as well as the postnominal 'meu', in the examples above, is with '-SG': "the-sg my-pl book-sg" and "some-pl book-sg my-sg". However, glossing them with '-SG' is incorrect. Please, see comments on footnote 12.

In order to account for these facts, in section 3.2, I assume that cardinals function as a boundary which divides the DP into two domains: the one above NumP is marked with the plural morpheme, whereas the one below NumP is unmarked. This prediction applies straightforwardly to possessives in plural DPs, in non-standard BP. As shown in (25a), the article 'os' and the possessive 'seus', which precede the cardinal numeral, are marked for plural; whereas the noun 'carro' and the adjective 'novo', which follow the cardinal, are unmarked.

(25) a. Não vi os seus (dois) carro novo.

Not saw the-MASC-PL your-MASC-PL two car-φ new-φ

'I did not see your two new cars'.

In prenominal position, the possessive is always marked with the plural morpheme, in plural DPs. In fact, the article is allowed to be unspecified for plural marking (25b), but never is the possessive (25c). As a result, (25b) may apparently represent a problem for the analysis I am assuming, because, as the article is located to the left of NumP, it should be marked for plural as well as the possessive.

(25) b. Não vi o seus (dois) carro novo.

Not saw the-MASC-φ your-MASC-PL (two) car-φ new-φ

'I did not see your new cars'.

c. *Não vi os dois seu (dois) carro novo.

Not saw the-MASC-PL your-MASC-φ (two) car-φ new-φ

'I did not see your new cars'.

However, it has been observed that, when the definite article co-occurs with prenominal possessives, "the definite article […] is not the marker of definiteness, and is just an expletive" (Costa, Figueiredo Silva, 2006, p. 40). According to this view, being an expletive determiner, the definite article is allowed to be dropped or to appear without plural marking.

My analysis of these facts is that the definite article, when co-occurring with prenominal possessives, forms, with the prenominal possessive, only one phrase (DP), in which the article is the specifier (Spec,DP)[16], while the possessive is the head (D). The strongest evidence for this is the adjacency between the article and the prenominal possessive, which has already been observed in the literature (Castro, 2001, p. 611). For instance, in (25d), the cardinal is not allowed to intervene between the article and the possessive, nor is an adjective (25e). As the definite article and the prenominal possessive form together a single phrase, the specifier (the article) is optionally marked with the plural morpheme, while the head (possessive) is mandatorily marked.

(25) d. *Não vi os dois seu carro novo.

   Not saw the-MASC-PL two your-MASC-φ car-φ new-φ

   'I did not see your two new cars'.

   e. *Não vi os único seu carro novo.

   Not saw the-MASC-PL only-φ your-MASC-φ car-φ new-φ

   'I did not see your unique new cars'.

In view of these facts, the prediction (in which phrases higher than NumP must be marked while the ones below it must not) applies straightforwardly: the DP (containing the article and the possessive) is just above NumP, as shown in (30a) below, which makes it get the plural marking. The fact that the article may be optionally marked does not cause any problem for this proposal, because it is inside a phrase whose head is already marked for plural.

To sum up, in (25b), the 2nd person possessive: (i) is in a plural DP; (ii) is prenominal; (iii) is a determiner; (iv) is a D head; (v) has uninterpretable number features; (vi) has its number features valued by NumP; (vii) must be marked with the plural morpheme, which represents

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[16] I disagree with an anonymoys reviewer who claims that Spec,DP is the position for quantifiers. In a classical paper by Giusti (1991, p. 438), it is assumed that "Quantified nominals are of category QP, namely that Q […] is a functional category that selects a definite nominal (DP) or an indefinite one (NP)".

nominal number features; (viii) has agreement in nominal concord; and (ix) may refer to either 2nd person singular or 2nd person plural.

Having said that, I will compare (25b) with (7), both repeated below. In these data, the DP-internal distribution of the plural morpheme '-s' looks the same (26).

(25) b. Não vi [o seus carro] novo.

Not saw the-MASC-φ your-MAS-PL car-MASC- new-φ MASC-φ

'I did not see your new cars.'

(7)   [O seus carro] não pode ficar estacionado aqui (Ouro Preto, June 2015).

The-MASC-SG your-MASC-PL car-MASC-SG not may stay parked here

'Your (guys's) car is not allowed to be parked here'.

(26) D[--] Poss[-s] Noun[--]

However, as discussed in previous sections, in (7), although the possessive is equally prenominal, it: (i) is in a singular DP; (ii) has interpretable number features associated with the person; (iii) does not have its number features valued by NumP; (iv) does not trigger nominal agreement; and (v) refers to 2nd person plural only.

Therefore, the structure in (26), for "o seus carro", is syncretic for two readings (27). Due to this syncretism, the formula in (26) should represent in fact two possible different structures, as drafted in (28) where (28a) refers to the reading in (27a), whereas (28b) refers to the reading in (27b).

(27) a. The DP is plural, and the '-s' on the possessive indicates DP-internal agreement.

b. The DP is singular, and the '-s' on the possessive indicates 2nd person plural.

(28) a. D[-φ] Poss[-s] Noun[-φ]

b. D[-SG] Poss[-s] Noun[-SG]

This structural syncretism explains why sentences like (7) are so uncommon, though not impossible. The possessive in prenominal position is mandatorily marked with the plural morpheme for nominal concord, which makes it resistant to the reanalysis. A sharp contrast is shown by the postnominal possessive. It is prevented from being marked with the plural morpheme for nominal concord, which makes it free for the reanalysis to occur.

This contrast is also evident in the DP-hierarchy. In (25a), the prenominal possessive is a D-head[17] (30a); whereas, in (1), repeated below as (29), the postnominal possessive is the specifier of a functional projection (PossP), which is merged lower in the DP (30b) with an AgrP. Spec, AgrP is the *locus* for NP movement, which derives the possessive postnominal position, as shown in (30b).

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[17]   Brito (2007) explains that European Portuguese (EP) has three grammars for possessives, which can be categorially D (clitic), AgrP (weak pronoun) or PossP (strong pronoun). Firstly, a prenominal possessive can be D (clitics adjoined to the determiners), in varieties of EP in which the possessive has a reduced form (i) and is adjacent to determiners. Secondly, a prenominal possessive can be XP in a AgrP position lower than D, in varieties that accept interpolation between determiners and possessives (ii). In this case, possessive movement to AgrP is assumed. Thirdly, a postnominal possessive can be XP in PossP (iii). In this case, N movement to a higher position than the PossP is assumed.

> (i) "os me livros" (Brito, 2007, p. 45)
>   The-PL my(reduced) book-PL
> (ii) "a ainda minha mulher" (Brito, 2007, p. 45)
>   the still my wife
> (iii) "uma casa minha" (Brito, 2007, p. 46)
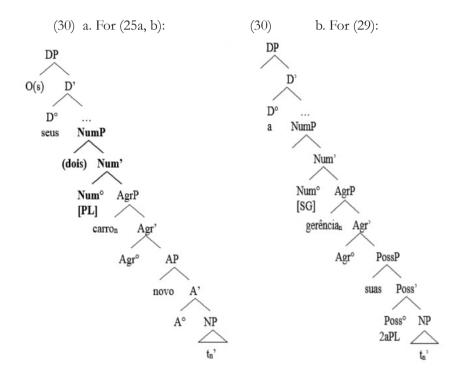>   the house my

The analysis given to (i), for prenominal possessives in EP as D, is the closest to the one I am assuming for prenominal possessives in BP, due to adjacency facts. However, in BP, no phonological reduction of the type given in (i) happens, which means that prenominal possessives in BP cannot be analyzed as clitics. In fact, Castro and Costa (2001, p. 109) have already pointed out that pre-nominal possessives are weak but not clitic forms, which exhibit typical behavior of X°: "Sendo formas fracas não-clíticas, espera-se que exibam um comportamento típico de X°, mas não idêntico ao dos clíticos". In addition, as opposed to movement of possessives or of N as a head, I am adopting Cinque's (2005) proposal for movement of the NP (as an XP) only or conjoined with another phrase by pied-pipe, which does not allow for the possessive to move alone.

(29) A gerência **suas** só atende clientes grandes (Belo Horizonte, June, 2016).

The-FEM-SG management-FEM-SG your-FEM-PL only serve-3rdSG customer-PL big-PL

'Your department works only with large business customers'.

(30) a. For (25a, b):   (30)   b. For (29):

In sum, this section began with the following question: why does the postnominal position favor the reanalysis, while the prenominal position does not? The answer is the following: prenominal possessives are in a phrase located above NumP; as such, they must receive the plural marking associated with nominal agreement. In contrast, postnominal possessives are in a phrase located below NumP; as such, they must not receive the plural marking associated with nominal agreement. Being free from this mark, the latter is more suitable for the mentioned reanalysis to take place.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as well as in other Romance languages, possessives have uninterpretable number features, which are valued via nominal agreement. However, dialects of BP, especially the one spoken in Minas Gerais, have shown that 2nd person possessives do not have number agreement with the noun.

As observed in this paper, a singular noun co-occurs with the 2nd person possessive, which is morphologically marked for plural and refers to 2nd person plural (your guys's); the opposite is also true: a plural noun co-occurs with the 2nd person possessive, which is not morphologically marked for plural and refers to 2nd person singular (your). In addition to that, it was observed that this happens rarely when the possessive is prenominal. In order to explain these facts, I analyzed the interpretability of number features and the positions of the possessive in the DP-hierarchy.

With respect to the interpretability of features, I have argued that, in this grammar, number features on 2nd person possessives are reanalyzed as being (i) associated with the person (rather than the noun) and (ii) interpretable. From the first postulation, 'seu' is expected to be the possessive for 2nd person singular, and 'seus' for 2nd person plural. From the second postulation, no number concord is expected to be triggered on the possessive, which shows that there is neither "mismatch" of agreement in the DP structure, as one could presume, nor even agreement with something else, such as the "addressee" or the "possessor"[18].

With respect to the DP-hierarchy, I have argued that cardinals divide BP DPs into two domains in that phrases preceding NumP are marked with the plural morpheme, while phrases following it are unmarked. Prenominal possessives precede cardinals and hence must be marked; whereas postnominal possessives follows cardinals and hence must be unmarked. That is why the latter, instead of the former, is free for the reanalysis to take place.

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[18]   As such, the analysis carried out in this paper reformulates and prevails over other hypotheses proposed in previous stages of this research (Pereira, 2015, 2016a). Concerning Pereira (2016a), it is reasonable to assume, in terms of co-reference instead of agreement, that the 2nd person possessive shares the same number feature of its co-referent (which may be overt, as a vocative (in the SaP).

To conclude, assuming that the postnominal 2nd person possessive has its number features reanalyzed explain why they are independent on the number for which the DP-internal phrases are inflected. Above all, assuming that the DP is divided into two domains with regard to the DP-internal plural marking, provides the data with a comprehensive account to explain why the postnominal position favors the mentioned reanalysis.

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