

THE PARTIAL PRO-DROP NATURE AND THE RESTRICTED VS ORDER IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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0. The aims of this paper

The null subject (NS) parameter has been proposed to be a cluster of properties², including:

- [a] the possibility of null subjects
- [b] free inversion / postposed subjects (cf. Chomsky 1981; Rizzi 1982).

Adams (1983) and Roberts (1993a) showed that the loss of null subjects and of VSX (or long verb movement) are related in a diachronic study of Old French. Kato & Duarte (1998) showed, however, that BP maintained the null subject after the loss of long verb movement in interrogatives and that the loss of the null subject correlates with the loss of VOS, or free inversion.

However, the correlation between NS and free inversion has been challenged by Safir (1982), who found out that Northern Italian dialects, while disallowing the former, license the latter. Brazilian Portuguese (BP), on the other hand, has been exhibiting a change in progress in both properties, a fact that can be used in favor of a single parameter (cf. Tarallo & Kato 1989; Duarte 1993; Roberts 1993b). Curiously, though Duarte's (1993, 1995) studies show a significant decrease in the use of null subjects³, they show that the change affected mainly the first and second persons, leaving a still reasonably stable use of null subjects for the third person. Andrade Berlinck's (1988, 1995) studies show, on the other hand, that free inversion is being lost, but that VS is still productive with the copula and with unaccusative verbs.

The still licensed null subjects and VS forms could be viewed as residual products of the former setting of the parameter. But, if one uses Borer's (1984) view that parameters are related to morphology, apparent residual phenomena can be

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² See the complete list in the Preface of this volume.

³ See also Tarallo (1983).

accommodated as part of a stable grammar, given the fact that morphology is not necessarily regular.

The aim of this paper is to first present a theory of the NS parameter, based on Kato (1999), which shows that both the possibility of null subjects and the possibility of free inversion can be derived from the same morphological property of the agreement system. I will then show the changes that occurred in BP, regarding the parameter in question, and the nature of the apparent “residual” phenomena.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 will present Kato’s (1999) theory of the null subject, which is based on Rizzi’s (1982) and Burzio’s (1986) original insight that INFL in NS-languages is a sort of pronominal or clitic, and on Everett’s (1996) claim that agreement affixes, clitics and pronouns are “allomorphic” realizations of ϕ -features. The proposal extends this view to crosslinguistic variation: for the same function, languages optimally choose one of these forms for the nominative pronominal – free weak⁴ pronouns, subject clitics or pronominal Agr. The analysis eliminates referential *pro* as a descriptive category.

Section 2 will show how subject inversion (I-subjects) can be derived in languages that choose subject clitics and pronominal agreement (Agr), but not in languages that choose free nominative pronouns. Indefinite and definite VOS constructions are claimed to have differences in their derivations. The former involve only movements for feature checking; the latter derive from the order SVO, with a prosodically-motivated movement of VO, exhibiting weight constraints.

Section 3 analyzes existential constructions with and without agreement and it shows that agreement patterns are a function of the Case of the associate and of the way in which the D-feature of T is checked. For languages like Spanish and Portuguese, it is proposed that the postverbal nominal of existential constructions checks accusative case, and a \emptyset -neuter affix checks the D- and the Case feature of T. The locative elements (*there*, *ci* and *y*) are claimed to distribute like the personal pronouns into: weak pronouns, clitics and affixes and to appear in doubling constructions with PPs. Such elements are seen as meaningful and as requiring raising to check some abstract feature of V+T.

Section 4 analyzes the nature of the changes that occurred in BP. The appearance of a free nominative pronoun paradigm led to the reanalysis of agreement affixes as non-pronominal. The appearance of the weak free nominative paradigm forces the projection of Spec of TP. The loss of inversion properties are shown to be merely a consequence of this. The chapter then analyzes the unaccusative and existential constructions, both of which still exhibit VS constructions. It is shown that BP

⁴ Pronominals are assumed to be strong or weak as in Cardinaletti & Starke (1994), but the split in Kato (1999) is different: weak pronominals are further divided into: free, clitic or affixal. Strong pronouns are the ones that appear in predicative and left-dislocated position.

conforms to the requirements of a language like French, with a null agreement expletive of the *il*-type.

1. The nature of the agreement system and the null subject parameter

1.1. Agreement as D-arguments

The decrease of null subjects in BP was shown by Duarte (1993) to have been triggered by the replacement of the second person “tu” by the addressee form “Vossa Mercê” (=Your Grace) in its reduced form “você”, which triggers third person agreement (cf. Table I).

[1] (Adapted from Duarte 1993: p.109)

Number	Person	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2
Sg	1st	canta-o	canta-o
Sg	2nd direct (tu)	canta-s	-----
Sg	2nd indirect (você)	canta-Ø	canta-Ø
Sg	3rd	canta-Ø	canta-Ø
Pl	1st	canta-mos	canta-mos
Pl	2nd direct (vós)	canta-is	-----
Pl	2nd indirect (vocês)	canta-m	canta-m
Pl	3rd	canta-m	canta-m

The development of a poorer agreement paradigm thus provides support for the hypothesis of “rich” morphology as the determiner of the *pro*-drop parameter (cf. Taraldsen 1980; Borer 1989; and others). But the intriguing fact is that the first person, which is the only form still marked with a distinct morphology, was the first subject to become more frequently expressed⁵. Moreover, though the indirect second person “*você*” and the third person (“*ele/ela*”) have the same Ø-inflection, the former spells-out the pronoun more often than the third person (cf. Duarte, this volume).

Galves (1993) interprets Duarte’s empirical facts as a change in the agreement system. In the same line as Rohrbacher (1992) and Speas (1994), she uses AGR as a

⁵ The loss of morphological uniformity (Jaeggli and Safir’s (1989) hypothesis) could be claimed to have triggered the loss of null subjects, but it does not explain why in the third person, and especially with expletives, the subject is still null. Moreover, the BP expletive, which is obligatorily null, cannot be accounted for in terms of “formal licensing” (Rizzi 1986), like the expletive in German, which may be null in certain contexts.

clause head and a general Principle of Economy, claiming that AGR⁶ is projected only when a language has a strong (rich) agreement morphology:

[a] languages like Japanese would have no AGRP;

[b] languages with a strong (rich) agreement paradigm would have a projection between CP and TP is still necessary to account for cross-linguistic differences and proposes that her former AGR head is a projection of the category Person, a deictic category like Tense.

Kato's (1999) analysis retains Galves' idea that agreement in NS-languages does not form a syncretic category with Tense. But instead of proposing that it is the head of a clause projection, it proposes that agreement inflection is the head of a DP, which merges with the verb as its argument. Any determiner ϕ -feature carrier, be it a free pronoun, a clitic or a pronominal affix, appears as an item in the numeration and starts the derivation in a similar manner, by being merged in D position. Pronominal Agr is thus syntactically defined as the agreement inflection that appears in the numeration as an independent item from the verb, which appears inflected only for tense.

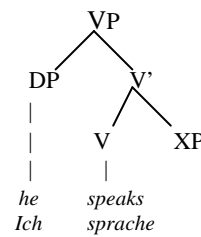
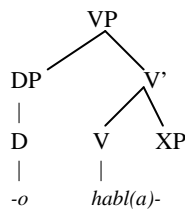
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Compare the first stage of the derivation of [2]a., a language that has pronominal Agr(eement) like Spanish, with [2]b., languages that have free subject pronouns like English and German, and [2]c., languages that have subject clitics like Trentino and Fiorentino:

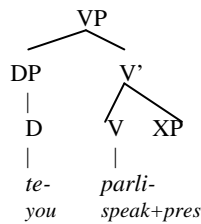
⁶ We are using: [a] AGR for clause head and [b] Agr for pronominal agreement affixes. When agreement is not independent from the verb and tense entry, it will not be represented.

⁷ Functional categories in the minimalist work are reduced to only those that have interpretation. Agreement for Chomsky (1995) is a relation and has no independent meaning and, therefore, should not constitute a clausal head.

- [2] a. Spec of VP in languages with pronominal Agr like Spanish b. Spec of VP in languages with free pronouns like English and German



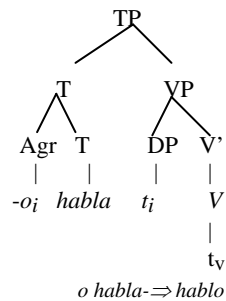
- c. Spec of VP in languages with clitic subjects like Trentino and Fiorentino



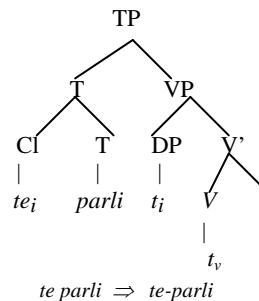
Like free weak pronouns and clitics, these affixes have Case and Φ -features. If T has strong V-features, it attracts the tensed V or the Auxiliary in order to have its features checked. If T has strong D-features, it will attract the free pronoun, the clitic or the pronominal affix. Pronouns, clitics and pronominal affixes are minimal and maximal categories, but pronouns land in Spec of T and clitics and affixes move as heads. Spec of T is projected in the former case, but not in the latter case.

- [3] Languages with and without projection of Spec of TP:

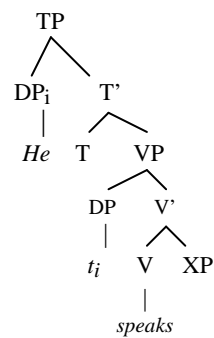
Type a. Spanish



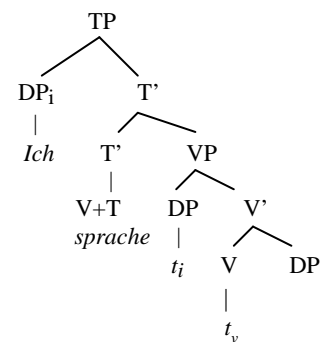
Type c. Fiorentino



Type b1. English



Type b2. German



Thus, in both languages of Type b, the free pronoun raises to [Spec,TP]. The difference between them is overt V-to-T movement, as in German, and covert movement (or movement of only the Formal Features), as in English.

In languages of Type a., like Spanish, and Type c., like Fiorentino, the subject clitics and pronominal affixes are attracted and adjoined to T. T has its nominative case eliminated after checking, but the ϕ -features of the pronominal Agr are retained⁸, as with free pronouns⁹, and Spec of T is not projected¹⁰. The difference between clitics and affixes lies only in the order they appear morphologically realized.

The Agr chain and the Clitic chain, with their heads in INFL and tails in SPEC of VP, are interpreted at LF as the syntactic subject of the clause. Agr and the subject clitic can thus be interpreted at LF as the external argument of the verb.

For Nunes (1998a), checking through adjunction to the head is the optimal configuration and specifiers are only projected if the morphology does not tolerate adjunction to the head. NS languages would be, in his conception, the optimal case, though he does not deal specifically with this problem.

⁸ Recall that, in NS languages, the agreement affix is an independent item in the numeration as in Galves', Rohrbacher's & Speas' proposals. So the verb appears inflected only for tense.

⁹ According to Chomsky (1995), "some features remain visible at LF even after they are checked: for example phi-features of nouns, which are interpreted" (p. 279).

¹⁰ Under Chomsky (1993), the EPP is reduced to the conception that the N feature of T be checked in overt syntax. In our analysis, what moves is visible morphology and not only Formal Features and this is taken to satisfy the EPP.

1.2. The “default” nominative case of lexical “Subjects”

Following Kato (1999), it will be assumed that in NS languages, both lexical pronouns and ordinary DP subjects are external to TP¹¹. Partially following Martins (1996), it will be assumed that the external position is Spec of Σ P, interpreted as the “subject” of a categorical¹² sentence¹³. The difference between Martins and the present analysis is that the former assumes the Specifier of Σ to co-exist with *pro*, like Soriano (1989) for Spanish and Barbosa (1997) for European Portuguese, while here *pro* is excluded as a descriptive category as in Kato’s (1999) analysis. Also, Martins postulates AGRP as an intermediate projection between TP and Σ P, the latter a root category. In the present analysis, both root and embedded sentences can be either Σ P or TP, depending on the presence or absence of a full DP doubling the Agreement affix.

Kato’s (1999) analysis proposes that strong pronouns can double any weak ϕ -feature form: weak pronouns, clitics or even Agreement affixes when these are [+pronominal]¹⁴. Thus, subject doubling in NS languages is not a phenomenon that involves a silent *pro*, as proposed by the above mentioned authors, but the Agreement affix itself. Thus, while French doubles the subject clitic and English the weak pronoun, Spanish doubles the agreement itself.

- [4] a. **Me_i, I_i ...**
 b. **Moi_i, je_i ...**
 c. **Yo_i, V+ Agr_i**

Comparing the three, Kato (1999) proposes that the strong pronoun has a “default” case, nominative being the “default” in Romance NS languages. It could be argued that [4]c. is actually the configuration of nominative case by agreement, in terms of a Spec-head relation. However, the same contrast found in [4] can also be found in other configurations, like [5] and [6], which are not environments of nominative checking.

¹¹ The same claim is made by Soriano (1989) for Spanish, and by Raposo (1994) and Barbosa (1996) for European Portuguese. Others claim that subjects are internal to TP (Zubizarreta 1998, for Spanish; Costa 1998, for European Portuguese).

¹² Thethetic *vs.* categorical judgement of classical philosophy was used in Kuroda (1972) to distinguish sentences with *-wa* and *-ga* in Japanese, and by Kato (1989) and Martins (1996) to distinguish SV and VS in Romance. The opposition is similar to that given by terms like predication *vs.* presentational sentences (cf. Guéron 1980; Nascimento 1984; Franchi et al. 1998).

¹³ See Britto (this volume) for a proposal on the categorical/thetic sentences in BP, coherent with the proposal presented here.

¹⁴ As in Speas (1994), agreement was considered [+pronominal] when the verb incorporated the pronoun, though such incorporation is not always transparent.

- [5] a. It is **me**.
 b. C'est **moi**.
 c. Soy **yo**.

- [6] a. There is **me**.
 b. Il y a **moi**.
 c. Estoy **yo**.

In Nunes (1998b), the concept of “default” case has been used to deal with the accusative case of an English sentence similar to [6]. He proposes that “nominal elements in English (including pronouns) are underspecified with respect to the type of Case they bear, and that a default morphological rule realizes pronouns with unchecked Case-features as accusative” (p.36).

For Kato, NS languages have two types of nominative: the “default” nominative of lexical DPs, which is not checked, and the nominative feature of pronominal Agr, which has to be checked against T. Checking eliminates all non-interpretable features, which means that only in [4]c. are the D and ϕ -features of the verb agreement retained¹⁵ because the agreement is a pronominal with interpretable features.

The analysis there extends the “default” case for the doubled DP subjects, as they can appear in coordination with strong pronouns (*Juan y yo*). The representation of sentences containing a strong pronoun or a DP in pre-verbal position, as in [7]a. and [b.], are shown in [7]' below:

- [7] a. **Yo** lo comí.
 I it ate+1pSg ('I ate it')
 b. **Juan** lo comió.
 Juan it ate+3pSg ('Juan ate it')

- [7]' a'. [_{SP} **Yo**_i [TP lo com-í_i [VP]]]
 b'. [_{SP} **Juan**_i [TP lo comi-ó_i [VP]]]

Since the pronominal agreement performs all the necessary checking operations within TP, the lexical elements (*yo*, *Juan*) are merged with a head above TP like the normal cases of Left-Dislocation (LD), as in [8]¹⁶:

- [8] **John**, **he** ate the cake.

¹⁵ We may suggest that the “default” case is not a feature since it is not “selected” in the numeration. It is visible at PF, but not at LF.

¹⁶ A doubling structure like [8] was analyzed by Kato (1998) as the left-dislocation (LD) of a secondary predicate, of which the subject was a weak pronominal: [DP he [DP John]]. However, this analysis cannot prevent resumptive pronouns from appearing inside islands, the reason why it had to be abandoned. I thank Joseph Aoun for pointing this problem out to me.

In Spanish, a NS language, the weak pronominal is the agreement itself, and in [7] it appears as the resumptive pronominal of the lexical element in ΣP . This lexical DP has the properties of a dislocated nominal: it is definite or specific, has the “default” nominative case, which needs no checking, and is interpreted as the “subject” of the assertion contained in TP.

1.3. Evidence of the complementary distribution of weak pronominal forms in Old French

To provide empirical support for the theory proposed, Kato reports to Dufresne and Dupuis’s (D&D)(1996) analysis of pronouns in Old French. As is well known, since the pioneering work of Adams (1983), Old French has been analyzed as a null subject language which lost this property along with the VS order.

For D&D, pronouns in OF were generated as full NPs/DPs, while in Modern French (MF), they are pure Ds¹⁷. Their study is relevant for the present analysis, since the form of the ϕ -feature carriers present during and after the NS-period is crucial for the hypothesis that is entertained here. D&D show that personal pronouns in OF appeared separated from the verb by intervening elements and could also be conjoined with full NPs, both situations impossible in Modern French.

- [9] a. **Elle** colpes non avet.
 she sinned never had
 b. **Je** meisme cil Yvain sui.
 I myself this Yvain am
 c. Mais si **tu** é li tuns lignages se tresturned de mei.
 but if you and the your family turn away from me

From the end of the 15th century on, the pronoun has always been adjacent to the verb. Doubling was sometimes possible, as can be seen in the examples by Foulet (apud Roberts 1993a: 112):

- [10] a. Renars respond: “**Jou, je** n’irai”
 R answers “I I won’t go”
 (Coronnement Renart, A. Foulet (ed.) 1929: 598)
 b. Et **jou je** cuit...
 and I I believe... (ibid, 1616)

The strong nominative pronoun paradigm in OF was replaced by the objective case paradigm, which seems to have already been in competition with the strong nominative forms in OF, as in the examples of Moignet’s (apud Dufresne & Dupuis).

¹⁷ The authors also assume that after the pronouns become a pure functional D, they also become candidates for phonological clitics.

- [11] a. Et lors en irons **moi** et **vos** après le chevalier.
 and then shall go me and you after the horseman
 b. dist li rois à Boort qu'il venist a cort, **lui** et sa compaignie.
 aid the king to Boort that he should come to court, him and his courtship

In OF, the strong dative pronouns seem to occur in dislocations to the right, while the strong nominative paradigm seems to occur to the left. In MF, the dative form has become generalized as the strong form on both sides.

The initial hypothesis in Kato (1996a) was that when the strong form was nominative, the language was a NSL. But languages like German and the facts of BP presented here have shown that the hypothesis was too strong. In both languages, the strong pronouns are nominative and yet German is a non-NSL and BPis on its way to becoming a non-NSL language. What can be maintained is that if the strong form is not nominative, then the language is [-NS]; the inverse not necessarily being true.

The interpretation now given to the facts in French is the following: when strong nominative pronouns co-existed with pronominal Agr, the null subject was possible. When a weak quasi-homophonous nominative paradigm appeared, Agr ceased to be pronominal, the null subject disappeared and the dative form took over the function of the strong pronouns¹⁸. This confirms the present hypothesis that pronominal Agr and weak subject pronouns are morphological doublets in the sense of Kroch (1994) and that both can co-occur with strong pronouns.

- [12] a. **Jou**, Agr+pronominal] {OF}
 b. **Jou**, **je** agr[-pronominal] {between OF and MF}
 c. **Moi**, **je** agr[-pronominal] ... {MF}

Below, we will show how the present theory of weak pronominals explains the possibility of free inversion in NS languages in a natural manner.

2. The nature of agreement and the possibility of free inversion

2.1. Defining free inversion

Postverbal subjects can appear in two positions in Spanish: a) immediately after the verb and before the object as in [13]b.; or after the whole predicate, as in [13]c.

- [13] a. **Juan** comió la torta.

¹⁸ We may also entertain the hypothesis that the opposite was the case: when Agr ceased to be pronominal, a weak pronoun paradigm was created.

- Juan ate+3pSg the cake ('John ate the cake')
- b. Comió **Juan** la torta.
ate+3pSg Juan the cake ('John ate the cake')
- c. Comió la torta **Juan**.
ate+3pSg the cake Juan ('JOHN ate the cake')

Though Adams (1983) relates the loss of NS in Old French to the loss of its VSO order, the pattern that appears more generalized in NS languages is VOS. The former is found in Romance languages of the Germanic type, like Spanish (Sp) and European Portuguese (EP) (cf. Zubizarreta 1998), but not in other Romance languages, like Italian.

In Zubizarreta's (1998) analysis of Spanish and Italian, one of the most extensive studies on word order, it is claimed that:

- a) the basic order in SP is [VP VSO];
- b) surface VSO results from raising of V-to-T and the Formal Features (FF) of S to T;
- c) SVO is derived by raising S to Spec of TP, where other constituents (adverbs, complements) can appear;
- d) VOS is derived from VSO by movement of VP2, which after V-movement to T contains only O:
[TP V+T [VP2 O_o [VP1 S [VP2 t_v t_o]]]];
- e) the basic order in Italian is [VP SVO];
- f) Italian VOS results from SVO, by movement of VP2 over S, which occupies a TP external position:
[FP S [TP V+T [...O]]] → [[TP V+T [...O]]]_o [FP S [TP t_i]]];
- g) in both languages the VOS forms are derived by a prosodically-motivated movement (P-movement)¹⁹, which places the subject in a position to receive nuclear stress and, thus, be interpreted as the focus of the sentence²⁰;
- h) Spanish has no weight constraint like Italian because VOS is obtained by moving a VP that contains only O, while Italian moves the TP, which contains V+T+O.

¹⁹ Inspired by earlier work by Chomsky (1971) and Jackendoff (1972), Zubizarreta postulates the Focus Prosody Correspondence Principle (FPCP), which states that "the focused constituent (or F-marked constituent) of a phrase must contain the intonation nucleus of that phrase" (p. 38). The effect of P-movement is to have the focalized subject in a position where it can get nuclear stress. According to Zubizarreta, P-movement is not constrained by economy principles like greed.

²⁰ Formally, Zubizarreta defines the place of nuclear stress in terms of Kayne's (1994) LCA (Linear Correspondence Axiom), which correlates linearization with asymmetric c-command. Her definition of the Nuclear Stress Rule, which applies to the syntactic tree that is the input to Spell-out, is: "Given two nodes C_i and C_j that are metrical sisters, the one lower in the syntactic asymmetric c-command ordering is more prominent" (p. 40).

Contrary to Zubizarreta's positions, this study will assume that:

- a) Romance NS languages (RNSL) have uniformly an [_{VP} SVO] order in the base (Kayne 1994);
- b) the surface SVO order results from the visible movement of AGR to T to check nominative Case and by merging a DP (a strong pronoun or definite/specific DP) with TP (see section 2.4), (Kato 1999).

Also contrary to Zubizarreta's analysis, it will be proposed that:

- b) the derivation of VOS and of VSO are independent of each other;
- c) VOS with definite subjects is uniformly derived in NS languages from [_{EP}S[_{TP}V[_{VP}...O]]], by moving TP, which contains VO, an analysis proposed by Zubizarreta only for Italian; a different derivation is proposed for indefinite postverbal subjects;
- e) Iberian NSLs (Spanish and European Portuguese) will be proposed to have VSO because they have an extra V- movement to a higher projection, a movement not available for Italian.

2.2. The constrained nature of free inversion with definite postverbal nominals

Sentences with overt "subjects" in NS languages were shown above to place such "subjects" outside TP, doubling Agr, and having "default" nominative case. Let us compare the representation of sentences [7], repeated here as [14], with those of [15]:

- [14] a. **Yo** lo comí.
I it ate+1pS ('I ate it')
- b. **Juan** lo comió.
 Juan it ate+3psg ('Juan ate it')
- [14]' a'. [_{SP} **Yo**_i [_{TP} lo com-**í**_i [_{VP}]]]
- b'. [_{SP} **Juan**_i [_{TP} lo comi-**ó**_i [_{VP}]]]
- [15] a. Lo comí **yo**.
 it ate+1pS I ('I ate it')
- b. Lo comió **Juan**.
 it ate+3pSg Juan ('JUAN ate it')

Free inversion with strong pronouns and definite DPs²¹ adjoins the maximal projection TP to Σ P, a prosodically-motivated movement in the sense of Zubizarreta (1998), so that the nuclear stress falls on Spec of Σ , as it becomes the rightmost element, or the deepest, in Cinque's (1993) terms. The DP in Spec of Σ remains *in-situ* and encodes the "default" nominative case. P-movement is applied when the subject is focalized in NS languages. Thus the V(O)S pattern has the subject marked [+F]. In order to get the V (O) S order in [15], NSLs can move TP upwards, adjoining it to Σ P²²:

- [15] a''. $[_{\Sigma P} [_{TP} \text{lo com-í} [_{VP} \dots]] [_{\Sigma P} \text{yo}_{[+F]} [_{t_{TP}}]$
 b''. $[_{\Sigma P} [_{TP} \text{lo comi-ó} [_{VP} \dots]] [_{\Sigma P} \text{Juan}_{[+F]} [_{t_{TP}}]$

English, and also other NS languages, have no VOS form because, in order to leave the subject in the canonic nuclear stress position at the end of the sentence, T', a non-maximal projection, has to move as can be seen in [16]':

- [16] a. John can speak Tagalog.
 b.* Can speak Tagalog John.
- [16]' a. $[_{TP} \text{John} [_{T'} \text{can} [_{VP} \text{speak Tagalog}]]]$
 b.* $[_{T'} [\text{can speak Tagalog} [_{TP} \text{John} [_{T'} t_i]]]$

English has a different strategy to focalize the subject, which is internal to TP: focalization *in-situ*. This is possible because, according to Zubizarreta (1998:46): "defocalized constituents are metrically invisible for the NSR (Nuclear stress rule) in German and English".

- [17] JOHN can speak Tagalog.

This section showed that VOS can be naturally derived in NS languages, but not in non-NS languages. It is also the order uniformly distributed in NS languages, contrary to the VSO order, which is a property of the Iberian Romance, but not of NS languages in general. Therefore, the claim that the structure of VOS in Spanish is derived from VSO structure seems difficult to accept.

Zubizarreta's strongest argument to claim that VOS in Spanish is not derived in the same fashion as in Italian has to do with the fact that the latter, but not the former, has weight constraints on the VOS order. In favor of the uniform derivation for the VOS order in Italian and Spanish, we will present below some facts attested to in empirical studies of Spanish, which show that Spanish is also subject to weight

²¹ We will see in the next section that free inversion with indefinite nominals has this nominal *in-situ*.

²² We assume with Kayne (1994) that movement is always to the left. But in the GB framework, when there was no such assumption, many interesting proposals were made for the position and case of postposed subjects in Romance. For Portuguese, in particular, see Raposo (1988).

constraints in its VOS order. Speaking of VS orders in Spanish, Bentivoglio and Intronò (1978: 10) say that they occur mainly with intransitive verbs or with transitive verbs when the object is a clitic. Terker (1984:276) finds the same sort of facts, saying that: “in fact, any transitive verb with two arguments will freely occur in sentences with VS order as long as the object is a clitic, as in 3) and 4)” ([18] a. and b., in the text):

- [18] a. **Lo** instaló Esteban.
it installed Esteban (‘Esteban installed it’)
- b. Quería hacer**lo** Juan.
wanted do-it Juan (‘Juan wanted to do it’)

For Terker, even verbs with three arguments readily permit VS order if all the objects are clitics, as in [19]:

- [19] **Se lo** iba a decir el estudiante.
him it went to say the student (‘The student was going to tell it to him’)

As the effect of the use of clitics is to reduce lexical arguments, it becomes clear that Spanish is also sensitive to weight constraints. Studying word order in Italian, Benincà & Salvi (1988: 125) also show that the presence of clitics favors inversion (see also Rizzi 1991).

- [20] a. **L’ha** mangiata la mamma.
it has eaten the mother (The mother has eaten it)
- b. ?**Ha** mangiato la torta la mamma.
has eaten the pie the mother (The mother has eaten the cake)
- [21] a. **L’ha** letto mio fratello.
it has read my brother (My brother has read it)
- b. ?**Ha** letto il libro mio fratello.
has read the book my brother (My brother has read it).

As in both languages the presence of clitics, which makes the clause lighter, facilitates P-movement, we claim that VOS can have a uniform derivation in NS languages.

2.3 The unconstrained nature of free inversion with indefinite nominals

It has often been pointed out that unaccusative constructions with post-verbal arguments are constrained by a definiteness effect. But a definiteness effect does not seem to be a privileged property of unaccusatives. Benincà & Salvi (1988) show that in Italian, if the subject is indefinite in transitive constructions, the VOS sentences are unmarked. In other words, for Benincà & Salvi, inversion is

unmarked if the sentence has a presentational function, or a thetic nature in Kuroda's (1972) sense.

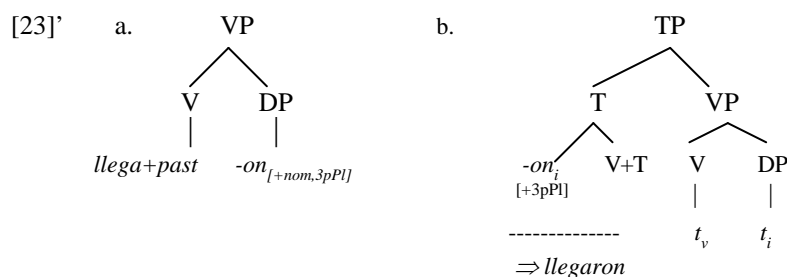
- [22] a. *Ha mangiato la torta un gatto.*
 has eaten the pie a cat (a cat has eaten a cake)
 b. *Ha letto il libro un bidello.*
 has read the book a janitor (a janitor has read a book)

This shows that either the weight constraint is not operative when the subject is indefinite or that there is no P-movement in these cases. The first hypothesis would weaken Zubizarreta's proposal considerably. Instead, the latter will be proposed to be the case. Thus, we will be distinguishing

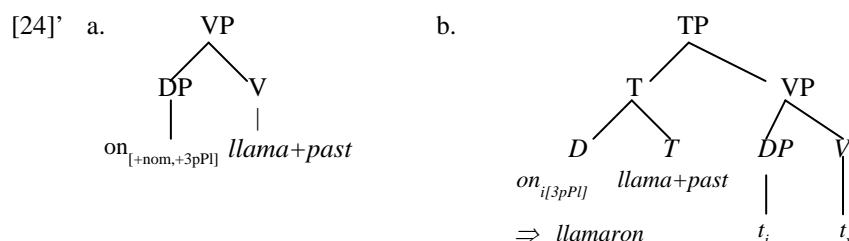
- a) free inversion derived by P-movement
 b) free inversion without P-movement.

We will be also claiming that unaccusative verbs can have both kinds of inversion in NS-languages. The only difference between unaccusative and unergative verbs is VP internal: the unaccusative has its Agr morpheme merged as its internal argument and the unergative has it as its external argument. In both cases, this affixal argument undergoes head movement to T, where it checks the non-interpretable Case feature of T, which is then erased.

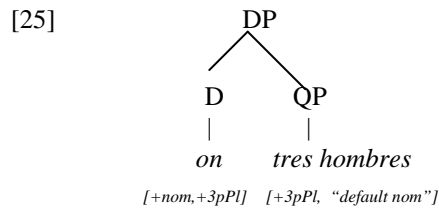
- [23] Llegaron.
 arrived+3pPl ('They arrived')



- [24] Llamaron.
 called+3pPl ('They called')



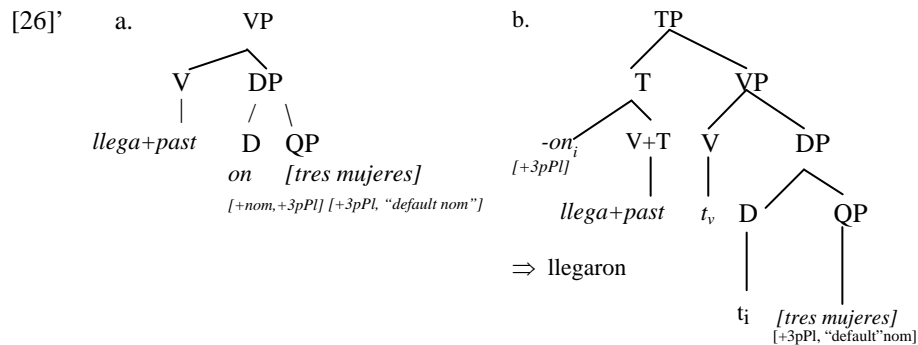
In the previous example Agr was the DP acting as the internal or the external argument of the verb. We may assume that the internal structure of this DP can but need not be more complex. Using Postal's (1969) old idea that pronouns are articles, some linguists assume that Romance accusative clitics take an empty Noun as their complement (Corver and Delfito 1993; Uriagereka 1995; Raposo 1996, 1997). The analysis for subject Agreement adopted here goes in the same direction: the pronominal Agr is the head of a DP with a QP as its complement. While the pronominal affix has a nominative feature that has to be checked, the QP has the "default" nominative case, which does not require checking and is only relevant at PF. Both have interpretable ϕ -features. The representation of this DP can be seen in [25]:



The DPs in non-null subject languages can only have ordinary determiners in D. But NS languages, for example, can have this structure as the argument of the verbs *llegar* ("arrive"):

[26] Llegaron tres mujeres.
arrived+3pPl three women ('There arrived three women')

The derivation of [26] is illustrated in [26]':



The indefinite QP is assumed to start with "default" nominative case and interpretable ϕ -features as in [25]. The whole DP [*DP -on [QP tres mujeres]*] merges with the verb as its internal argument (fig. [26]b.). Attracted by the strong

definite/specific subjects cannot appear as complements of Agr, like the indefinites, as they already contain D. They can only merge as Spec of Σ as a full DP.

Following Raposo (1994) and Uriagereka (1995), FP (Focus Phrase) is proposed above Σ P as a position to host quantified/indefinite nominals in its Spec or the verb in its head. Let us compare [29]a. and b.:

- [29] a. **Muchas mujeres_i** me llamaron_i.
 many women me called ('Many women called me')
 b. **Muchas mujeres** amó_i **Juan_i**.
 many women loved +3pSg Juan ('Many women John loved')

- [29]' a. [_{FP} **Muchas mujeres_i**] [me llamaro-**n_i** [_{TP} t_{V+T}. [VP [t_i t_j]]]
 b. [_{FP} Muchas mujeres [amó_i [_{ΣP} **Juan_i** [_{TP}

When a quantified object is preposed, the verb is attracted to the head of F and the subject stays below. If the subject is definite, it is in Spec of Σ . This shows that FP is above Σ P. For the quantified subject in [29] a, the same position is proposed. It starts as the complement of Agr. Agr raises to check the nominative feature of V+T, and V+T also raises to F. Such movements are of the same nature as those in WH-movement²⁴.

- [30] A quién amó Juan?
 To whom loved Juan ('Who did John love')

- [30]' [_{CP} a quién [amó [_{ΣP} Juan [_{TP}]

In Raposo (1994), the order VSO results from movement of V+T to the F head, and this is the derivation that will be assumed here:

- [31] Comió Juan la torta.
 Ate+3pSg Juan the cake ('John ate the cake')

- [31]' [_{FP} comió [_{ΣP} **Juan** [_{TP} T_{agr+} V+_t [_{VP} la torta [_{VP} t_{Ag}.....

Like languages that have WH-movement but no movement of the inflected verb, Italian has weak V features in F but has strong D-features, yielding the following structures involving FP:

- [32] a. Molte ragazze Gianni ha amato.
 Many women Gianni has loved

²⁴ Following Rizzi's (1991) wh-criterion, the verb can be assumed to have the [+F] feature, which is checked against the head F. The quantified nominal raises to its Spec, complying with the F-criterion.

- b. Molte ragazze hanno amato Gianni.
Many women have loved Gianni
- c.* Molte ragazze ha amato Gianni.
- d.* Ha amato Gianni molte ragazze.

The structures for [32]a. and b. are:

- [32]' a. $[_{FP} \text{ Molte ragazze}_i \ [_{\Sigma P} \text{ Gianni} \ [_{TP} \text{ ha} + \emptyset_j \text{ amato} \ [_{VP} \text{ t}_i \ [\text{ t}_i \dots\dots$
 b. $[_{FP} \text{ Molte ragazze}_i \ [_{TP} \text{ hanno}_j \text{ amato} \ [_{VP} \text{ Gianni} \ [_{VP} \text{ t}_i \dots$

Summing up, the following differences were proposed in the derivation of definite and indefinite VOS sentences:

- a) In NS languages, full definite/specific DPs merge as Spec of Σ , doubling pronominal Agr; indefinite nominals merge with Agr as its complement, forming the subject-argument of the verb;
- b) In both indefinite and definite VOS, Agr raises to check nominative in T;
- c) P-movement of TP over Spec of ΣP , in order to make the nuclear stress fall on the subject, is subject to weight constraints; VOS, which results from checking operations only, namely movement of Agr to T, is an unmarked construction;
- d) Both the DP in Spec of Σ and the QP as complement of Agr have “default” nominative case.

The difference in the derivation of definite and indefinite free inversion proposed here can explain why free inversion with indefinite nominals is unconstrained with regard to weight in Italian and Spanish and also why VOS in the latter is also an unmarked construction. It also explains why free inversion with definite I-subjects is often analyzed as being marked. This is due to the fact that markedness has to do with P-movement and not with checking movement.

We have shown in this section that unaccusative constructions in Romance NS languages result from the same sort of derivation that is proposed for free inversion with inergative and transitive verbs. The section also analyzed indefinite free inversion as derivationally distinct from free inversion with definite DPs. In the next section we will analyze existential sentences, which present a different pattern from free inversion in Spanish and Portuguese.

3. Existential constructions in NS languages

3.1. Existentials and unaccusative constructions: differences and similarities

Unaccusatives and existentials pattern together in many languages. Thus, in English, a non NS-language, unaccusative constructions with presentative verbs (*arrive, appear, etc.*) and existential constructions with *be* exhibit similar behavior with regard to agreement: the inflected verb agrees with the postverbal nominal, referred to in the generative literature as the expletive associate.

- [33] a. There **are** cats under the table.
b. There **have** arrived many letters.

Italian, a NS language, behaves like English: the inflected verb agrees with the associate, both in existential and in unaccusative constructions.

- [34] a. Ci **sono** dei gatti sotto il tavolo.
there are of cats under the table ('There are cats under the table')
b. **Sono** arrivati alcuni uomini.
are arrived some men ('There arrived some men')

French unaccusatives and existentials also exhibit similar behavior where agreement is concerned, but, contrary to English and Italian, there is no agreement relation between the verb and the postverbal nominal. What the verb agrees with is the expletive *il*.

- [35] a. Il y **a** des chats sous la table.
expl loc-cl has of cats under the table ('There are cats under the table')
b. Il **est** arrivé plusieurs des lettres.
expl is arrived many of letters ('There arrived many letters')

Iberian NS languages, on the other hand, present an asymmetry in agreement behavior in these constructions: the unaccusatives are more like English, with agreement holding between the verb and the postverbal nominal, and the existentials are more like French, without agreement between the verb and the postverbal NP/DP.

- [36] a. **Hay** gatos debajo de la mesa.
has cats under the table ('There are cats under the table')
b. **Llegaron** muchas cartas.
Arrived+3pPl many letters ('There arrived many letters')

- [37] a. **Há** gatos embaixo da mesa. European Portuguese (EP)
has cats under the table ('There are cats under the table')
b. **Chegaram** muitas cartas.
arrived+3pPl many letters ('There arrived many letters')

3.2. The case of the expletive and of the associate

In Chomsky (1995), we find a theory that accounts for the variation found between English and Italian, on the one hand, and French, on the other. According to his theory:

- a) the verb agrees with the associate if the expletive lacks Case and ϕ -features²⁵ (*there* in English, *pro* in Italian), but not if the expletive has its own case and ϕ -features (*il* in French);
- b) in the case of English and Italian, since the expletive has no case and ϕ -features, the features of the verbal complex adjoined to T are checked by the features of the associate;
- c) Spec of TP is projected in the three languages to satisfy the EPP, being occupied by the expletive *there* in English, by *pro* in Italian, and by *il* in French;
- d) the FF of the associate adjoins to *there* in English and to the expletive *pro* in Italian, checking their case and ϕ -features against V+T²⁶;
- e) in French, *il* (+nominative, +3S) checks all the relevant features of the complex V+T.

As for the case of the postverbal nominal of existentials, many linguists claim that the *have*-type auxiliary attributes case (see Roberts 1987; Nunes 1995; Kayne 1993), and Nunes (1995) proposes that it is the accusative case for the expletive of the *il* type²⁷. Cardinaletti (1997) shows, however, that, when the same overt neuter form can be used for both the nominative and the accusative, as in Galician, the verb exhibits agreement *with* the associate, and, in this case, its case cannot be claimed to be accusative.

The solution for the unaccusative cases is not so clear either. First, it is paradoxical to say that the complement of the unaccusative verb has accusative case. Secondly, the auxiliary is of the *be*-type in French. One way out would be the partitive case proposed by Belletti (1988) and adopted by Lasnik (1995). The other possibility is to say that the case for both the existential and the unaccusative constructions is the “default” dative case, as both constructions admit a strong dative pronoun when the associate is definite.

- [38] a. Il y a *lui*.
 Expl loc-cl has him+dat (‘There is him’)
 b. Il est arrivé *lui*.
 Expl is arrived him+dat (‘There arrived him’)

²⁵ See Lasnik (1995a and b), for whom *there* has case, but no ϕ -features.

²⁶ This is also the analysis proposed by Zubizarreta (1998).

²⁷ It should be observed, however, that, if the auxiliary is of the *be*-type, there is no guarantee that the associate will be nominative, as French has no agreement with unaccusatives and its auxiliary with these verbs is the verb *être*.

We would, in this case, abandon the theory that for *have*-type constructions the case is accusative. The “default” alternative will be assumed here²⁸.

In the analysis presented here for NS languages, instead of raising the abstract FFs, what is raised is the pronominal Agr itself. Thus, what happens in an invisible manner in English happens visibly, before spell-out, in NS languages. Checking is obtained, therefore, without the projection of Spec of TP.

The existential constructions of NS languages like Spanish and Portuguese are more similar to French existentials and unaccusatives in that the verb lacks agreement with the associate and the auxiliary is of the *have*-type in the former. However, as Spanish and Portuguese may have the accusative clitic with the existential verb, the Case of the associate in these languages will be assumed to be accusative.

- [39] a. Yo no creo en brujas, pero que los hay hay.
 I not believe in witches but that them have have (‘I do not believe in witches, but they do exist’)
 b. Eu não acredito em bruxas, mas que as há, há.

Instead of postulating a *pro*, it is the third person \emptyset -affix itself that is claimed to play the role of *il*. But though part of the numeration, this affix has no argument role. The third person \emptyset -affix adjoins directly to *hay/tem* (V+T) to check its Case and ϕ -features.

Though the agreement pattern is different, existential constructions in Spanish and European Portuguese resemble indefinite free inversion with a singular associate in that the nominal stays *in-situ*. What distinguishes them is that the element that checks the features of V+T is, for free inversion, a \emptyset affixal-D that raises from an argument position, and for the existential construction, it is a \emptyset affixal-D directly adjoined to T.

Both are third person singular \emptyset -suffixes bearing nominative Case, but the argumental affix $-\emptyset_1$ also has a [\pm human] component (like in *he and she*), while the expletive $-\emptyset_2$ is neuter (like *it*). If agreement affixes are pronominal in NS languages, such a distinction is conceivable. As the difference between \emptyset_1 and \emptyset_2 can be the manifestation of gender features, the corresponding FF can be [\pm masc] for the former and [\emptyset masc] for the latter²⁹. Thus the PF is the same, but the ϕ -

²⁸ Of the languages discussed, the only one that cannot be treated uniformly is English, which resorts to the “default” case only when the associate is definite, in which case there is no agreement. I thank Hagit Borer for having pointed out this to me.

(i) There is *him*. (i') *There has arrived *him*.
 (ii) There are *them*. (ii) *There have arrived *them*.
 (iii) There is/are a man/some men (iii) There has/have arrived a man/some men.

²⁹ I thank Jairo Nunes for this suggestion.

features are not. Notice that when the gender feature is involved, its contrast becomes visible if there is a predicative adjective.

- [40] a. *Maria llegó cansada.*
 Maria arrived tired+fem. ('Maria arrived tired')
 b. *Llegó cansada.*
 arrived+3pSg tired+fem. ('She arrived tired')
 c. *Mario llegó cansado.*
 Mario arrived tired+masc. ('Mario arrived tired')
 d. *Llegó cansado.*
 arrived+3pSg tired+masc. ('He arrived tired')

The contrast at the checking point between an existential sentence and an unaccusative construction with a singular associate of the type seen in [36] above, and repeated here as [41], can be seen in [41]':

- [41] a. *Hay un gato debajo de la mesa.*
 has a cat under the table ('There is a cat under the table')
 b. *Llegó una carta.*
 arrived +3pSg a letter ('There arrived a letter')
- [41]' a [TP \emptyset [+nom, +3pSg]-hay[+nom,] [tv [DP un gato [+accus]] [...]]]
 b. TP \emptyset i [+nom, +3pSg, -masc] llegó+past[+nom,] [tv [DP t_i una carta["default"nom]]]

3.3. The role of the locative

We are now left with the question about the locative *there*: if all features are checked by the FF of the associate, why do we need *there*? In French, the expletive *il* is inserted and, therefore, Spec of T is projected, but its insertion has to do with feature checking. According to Chomsky (1995), *there*-insertion would be necessary only to satisfy the EPP in English, which seems in this view to be independently necessary for feature checking.

The claim in this paper is that the locative is a meaningful expression³⁰ and that it requires checking.

Existential constructions exhibit, in general, a weak locative element even when a language has no strong D-feature in T, as is the case of Italian. Thus, Italian has the clitic *ci*, and Spanish has the locative incorporated as an affix in the verb *haber*

³⁰ This is the core of Nascimento & Kato's (1995) analysis, but this paper modifies their analysis of Case and function of the associate, claimed to be the predicate of the locative in a small clause relation. The associate is proposed to have no case.

(*ha+y*)³¹. Old Portuguese used to have a locative pronoun *hi/i*, but today there is no overt clitic or affix with that function.

The proposal in this paper is that weak locatives distribute across languages like the weak personal pronominals. It was seen that weak personal pronouns can be a) free (*I* in English), b) a clitic (*te* in Fiorentino); or c) an affix (*-o* in Spanish). Likewise, weak locatives are claimed to be: a) a free form (*there* in English); b) a clitic (*y* in French); or an affix (*-y* in Spanish). These weak forms can be doubled by PPs. The weak locative forms either raise to Spec of TP (*there* in English) or adjoin to T as clitics or affixes (*y and -y* in French and Spanish, respectively). Similarly to the doubling structures involving personal pronominals, we can claim that locative pronominals form a DP with the PP complement. What moves to TP is the weak form, leaving the lexical PP *in-situ*.

- [42] a.[DP **there** [PP under the table]]
 b.[DP **y** [PP sous la table]]
 c.[DP **-y** [PP debajo de la mesa]]

The locative element is also proposed to check some abstract feature of the existential verb in V+T. In order to check the formal features of V+T, some feature-carrying element has to be raised. Portuguese has no weak locative, and, therefore, no raising of any type occurs. The result of the derivations can be seen in [43]:

- [43] a.[_{TP} **FF**_i [_{+nom,+3pPl}]+**there**_j [_{T'} are+T [_{DP} cats _i [_{DPt}_j [PP under the table]]]]]
 b.[_{TP} **II**_i [_{+nom,+3pSg}] [_{T'} **y**_j + a+T [_{DP} des chats [_{DPt}_i [PP sous la table]]]]]
 c.[_{TP} **Ø**_i [_{+nom,+3pSg}] + **hay**_j +T [_{DP} gatos [_{DP} _t_i [PP debajo de la mesa]]]]]
 d.[_{TP} **Ø**_i [_{+nom,+3pSg}] + **há** +T [_{DP} gatos [PP embaixo da mesa]]]

In the next section the changes that occurred in BP will be seen against the theory of the NS and inversion proposed so far.

4. The change(s) in Brazilian Portuguese

According to Kato's (1999) analysis, BP lost the referential null subject³², and a weak nominative pronoun appeared in place of the pronominal Agr system, which used to be identified as the grammatical subject.

- [44] *fala-* = present tense stem of the verb "speak"

EP and BP before the change	after the change
-----------------------------	------------------

³¹ I thank Evani Viotti for bringing this fact to my attention. However, Zubizarreta pointed out to me that the *-y* appears only with this form and not with other persons and tense. Spanish could, thus, be proposed to have a null locative as in Portuguese.

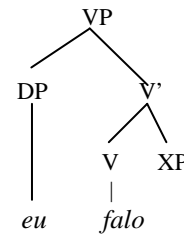
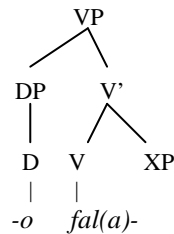
³² I am assuming that what remains of these referential null subjects is the result of schooling or is data connected to older generations (cf. Duarte 1995).

1pS	fal-o	eu	falo
2pS	fala-s	cê	fala
3pSg	fala-Ø	ele/ela	fala
1pPl	fala-mos	nós	falamos
2pPl	fala-is	cês	falam
3pPl	fala-m	ele/elas	falam

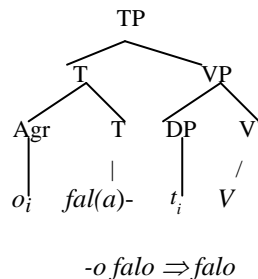
The third person is shown by Duarte (1993, 1995) as still productively null, but Negrão & Müller (1996), Figueiredo e Silva (1994) and Modesto (this volume) show that many instances of the third person null subject should be analyzed as bound pronouns or variables. What actually remains, then, is the null expletive, analyzed above as the neuter \emptyset_2 . The non-argumental \emptyset_2 is the only affix that can still appear as an independent item in the numeration and be merged with V+T to check its D-features. All the other agreement affixes are now part of the V entry and, in their place, the weak pronouns appear. We will now see how this relates to the loss of inversion.

As agreement is no longer analyzed as [+pronominal], it cannot appear as an independent item from the verb in the numeration. The categories that can check the case and ϕ -features of V+T are the newly formed weak nominative pronouns or a full DP. The weak subject pronouns, similar to the nominative pronouns in English, require not only the projection of Spec of TP, but a strong D-feature in T, yielding the order SVO.

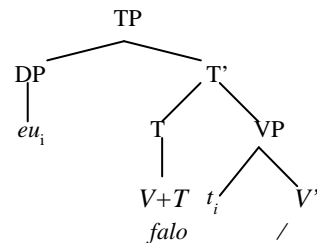
[45] a. Spec of VP before the change b. Spec of VP after the change



a'. Output of the derivation
Before the change



b'. Output of the derivation
After the change



Spoken Brazilian Portuguese (BP) retains a productive VS order in unaccusative and existential constructions (examples in [46]), despite its increasing loss of free inversion (examples in [47])³³.

- [46] a. Tem um gato embaixo da mesa.
has a cat under the table ('There is a cat under the table')
- b. Tinha chegado muitas cartas.
had+3pSg arrived many letters ('There arrived many letters')
- [47] a. Respondeu-a/ a pergunta a Maria. *BP Ok EP
answered+3pSg clitic/the question the Maria ('Mary answered the question')
- b. Respondeu a pergunta uma aluna. *BP Ok EP
answered+3pSg the question a student ('A student answered the question')
- c. Cantam os pássaros/ muitos pássaros. *BP Ok EP
sing the birds / many birds ('The birds/ many birds sing')

In present-day BP, unaccusative constructions exhibit unified behavior with existentials where agreement is concerned, as can be seen in [46]b.³⁴, in which the associate does not agree with the verb.

Free inversion with definite subjects was shown to be impossible in English because Spec of TP is projected. Movement of the predicate, or the TP, would constitute an illegal operation, since it would move an intermediate projection. The same can be shown to be the case in BP.

- [48] Os pássaros cantam. Ok EP Ok BP
the birds sing+3pPl ('The birds sing')
- [49] Cantam os pássaros. Ok EP *BP
sing+3pPl the birds ('THE BIRDS sing')

[48]' European Portuguese

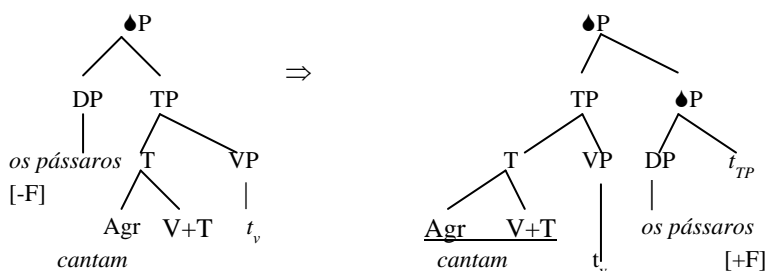
[49]' European Portuguese

³³ We exclude here the conservative forms with *haver found* in written language, where old forms are used for stylistic reasons:

- (i) Há gatos embaixo da mesa.
has cats under the table ('There are cats under the table')
- (ii) Haviam chegado muitas cartas.
have+3pPl arrived many letters ('There have arrived many letters')

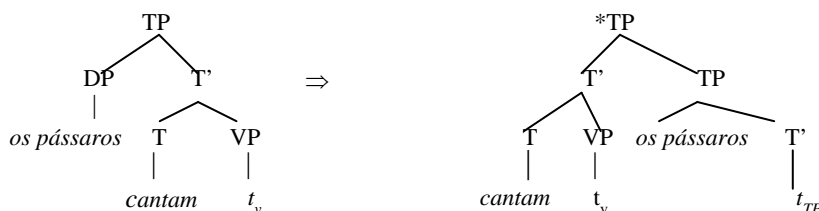
Kato (1996 b) assigns such language fossils the status of stylistic morphology.

³⁴ Franchi et al. (1998) show that even in data taken from interviews with educated Brazilians, agreement may be absent. In colloquial popular BP, lack of agreement seems to be the norm. They also show that *ter*, compared to *haver* and *existir*, is by far the most frequent (50% of the total).



[48]'' Brazilian Portuguese

[49]'' Brazilian Portuguese



Notice that the VS order in EP has a representation in which a maximal projection TP is adjoined to ΣP . Since agreement is pronominal, it is an affixal argument, which adjoins to T to check its nominative and ϕ -features. As the verb that raises to T has only tense features, the agreement features are retained in Agr, since they are interpretable features. Spec of T is not projected and movement of TP is possible. In BP, agreement is not pronominal and is part of the verb inflection in the numeration. What is merged as the argument of the verb is the DP “*os pássaros*”, which raises to Spec of T to check its nominative and ϕ -features. The nominative case of the lexical DP here is not a “default” case as in EP, and needs checking. The inflected verb raises to T to check its strong V-features. The constituent that needs movement to yield the VS order is an intermediate projection in this case, and, therefore, the VS order is ruled out.

Thus, lack of free inversion with definite DPs can be derived from the fact that weak nominative pronouns were created, and they have to occupy Spec of T. Since Spec of TP is projected, subject focalization cannot be obtained by subject inversion. Instead, what we have is the process found in English and Germanic languages: focalization *in-situ*³⁵:

- [50] a. JOHN ate an apple.
- b. O JOÃO *comeu* uma maçã.

³⁵ This means, following Zubizarreta (1998), that in BP constituents that are [-F] became metrically invisible for the assignment of nuclear stress.

The examples in [51] show that current BP has a pattern for subject doubling similar to French in its [12]b.stage³⁶. The dissimilarity with English is in the fact that strong and weak pronouns in BP are quasi-homophonous because the “default” case in the latter is nominative, while in the former it is accusative.

- [51] a. Ele, ele é meu amigo.
 He he is my friend (‘Him, he is my friend’)
 b. Você, você é meu amigo.
 you you are my friend
 c. João, ele comprou um carro.
 John he bought a car

Though BP lost VOS order, there is nothing to prevent movement of the whole TP over Spec of Σ , yielding the right-dislocation pattern, which is also found in French and especially in the Northern Italian dialects. But in the same way that P-movement in free inversion has weight constraints, right dislocation is also more natural with mono-argumental verbs, as noted in Kato & Tarallo (1988):

- [52] ? a. Ele comprou um carro, o João.
 he bought a car the John (‘He bought a car, John’)
 ? b. Il a acheté une voiture, Jean.
 he has bought a car, John
- [53] a. Ele telefonou, o João.
 he telephoned the John (‘He telephoned, John’)
 b. Il a téléphoné, Jean.
 he has telephoned, Jean

What happened to the indefinite free inversion is different. They were reanalyzed as expletive constructions, their derivation being similar to those of unaccusatives and existentials in French.

- [54] a. Tinha gatos de todos os tipos.
 had+3pSg cats of all sorts. (‘There were cats of all sorts’)
 b. Chegou uns ovos.
 arrived+3pSg some eggs (‘There arrived some eggs’)

Existentials were retained as they were, namely with the existential verb invariably in the singular. The *have*-type verb was proposed to assign (check) the accusative Case. If the only argument is accusative, it cannot check the nominative feature of V+T. What is merged with V+T at the checking point is the neuter \emptyset_2 affix. Thus, existential VS was retained because the neuter affix is still pronominal, due to the

³⁶ There is no reason to believe that BP will replace the strong nominative pronouns with the dative ones like *mim*, as the strong form and the weak ones are only partially homophonous, not constituting perfect doublets.

fact that no weak lexical expletive appeared. The associate in unaccusative constructions is proposed to have the “default” nominative case.

Both English and BP have strong D-features in T, which requires projection of Spec of TP. In English, the locative satisfies the EPP. However, Case and ϕ -features in V+T cannot be checked. English resorts to raising of the FF of the associate, triggering number agreement. This is possible because the associate is nominative. In BP, the associate is assumed to be the “default” case like in French. As was proposed before, the “default” case is by definition the “unchecked” case. Therefore, the neuter \emptyset affix is necessary to eliminate the Case and ϕ -features of T. The result is a lack of agreement.

Chomsky (1995, 274)³⁷ shows that the associate has binding and control properties when there is agreement between the verb and the associate.

- [55] a. There arrived three men (last night) without identifying themselves.
 b. Sono entrati tre uomini senza identificarsi.
 are entered three men without identifying themselves

If there is no agreement, there is no such effect:

- [56] *Il est entré trois hommes sans s’annoncer.
 there is entered three men without identifying themselves

Before BP lost agreement in inversion, it patterned with Italian. Thus, the associate in [57]a. has binding and control properties regarding the embedded clause. With the loss of agreement, these properties are also lost and BP now patterns with French, as can be seen in [57]b.

- [57] a. Entraram três homens sem se identificar.
 entered+3pPl three men without identifying themselves
 b. ?? Entrou três homens sem se identificar.
 entered+3pSg three men without identifying themselves

Roberts (1993b) compares the changes that are occurring in BP with those that occurred in Old French, namely loss of null subjects and VS order. Here we detected another similarity, namely the unaccusative VS in BP has also become similar to the unaccusative construction in French in that both lack agreement. There is, however, a noticeable difference between the two. French has an overt clitic, *il*, and BP has a null affix. French has an overt locative, *y*, in existentials, but no locative in unaccusatives. BP has no weak locative pronominal in either construction. French has the auxiliary *être* with the unaccusative verb and the verb *avoir* with the existential one. BP uses *ter* as the existential verb and also as the auxiliary in periphrastic forms of unaccusative verbs.

³⁷ Chomsky (1995: footnote 45) attributes the data to Anna Cardinaletti and Michal Starke.

- [58] a. *Tem* gatos abandonados nesta cidade.
 has cats abandoned in this city ('There are abandoned cats in this city')
- b. *Tinha* chegado muitas cartas esta manhã.
 had+3pSg arrived many letters this morning ('There arrived many letters this morning')

It seems, therefore, that, though in many respects the changes in BP resemble those of Old French, three aspects of their grammar keep them apart, namely the profuse use of clitics in French, the lexicalization of the expletive, and the use of *avoir* for the existentials only. BP may still acquire the lexical expletive, but the preference to lexicalize the position of the subject has chosen a different route, as Duarte (this volume) and Viotti (1999) show. Viotti considers the transitive *ter* and the existential one as the same lexical item and shows that the preference for the verb *ter* instead of *haver* allows a personal construction as in [59], with the raising of the locative to subject position, an operation not available for *haver*.

- [59] Esta cidade **tem** gatos abandonados.
 this city has cats abandoned ('This city has abandoned cats')
- [60] a. **Há** gatos abandonados nesta cidade.
 b.* esta cidade **há** gatos abandonados

5. Conclusion

The work presented here shows that a theory of NS based on the nature of the agreement system allows us to derive two properties of the NS parameter, namely null subjects and free inversion. It also shows that the derivation of free inversion with definite nominals has to be partially different from VOS with indefinite nominals.

The facts of BP confirm the predictions of the proposed theory. Since BP underwent an innovation in its pronominal paradigm, creating a free weak pronominal paradigm, it now has to project its Spec of T. As a consequence it lost definite free inversion and the form that replaced it was SVO with *in-situ* focus, like English, a non-NS language. BP also lost indefinite free inversion with agreement and the VSO order, which require that agreement be pronominal, and now all types of indefinite I-subjects conform to the existential VS without agreement. The assumption of a still existing 3rd person neuter zero-affix explains why BP has VS without agreement. The analysis also suggests that, by choosing *ter* as the existential verb, BP not only reanalyzed unaccusative constructions as existential constructions in its VS order, but also that, by giving preference to *ter*, it allows existential constructions to appear in SV order like the unaccusative verbs.

The main theoretical conclusion of this paper is that the obligatory projection of Spec of T, or the EPP, is an epiphenomenon; it results from the existence of weak free pronominal forms. In typical NS languages, there are no weak free forms either in the personal pronoun paradigm or as a locative pronoun. The consequence is that

it never projects Spec of TP. In French, there is no weak free locative, but there is a paradigm of weak free personal pronouns. Therefore, French always projects Spec of TP. English has only free weak forms (locative and personal) and as a consequence, it necessarily projects Spec of TP. Summing up, Spec of T is projected in English and French, and currently in BP, because there is nowhere else where weak free forms can go, as morphology does not tolerate their adjunction to the head (cf. Nunes 1998b).

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