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By

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the classic analysis of *pronomen*, many *accidentia* of pronouns are identified. For example, in the most ancient text of the eastern tradition, the *Tékhne Grammatiké* by Dionysius Thrax, 'person, gender, number, case, form, and species' are mentioned as possible pronoun attributes. Many slightly different versions of these attributes can be found in the literature on the classics: the characteristics are an assorted list of features which are equally relevant for pronoun analysis.

The term *pronoun* is usually used to refer to different sets of items, such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and relative pronouns. Defining and detailing these items in a single word class, however, has been considerably problematic. Traditionally, pronouns are defined as words that 'replace' nouns, but most linguists consider this definition unsatisfactory. This definition is problematic, for example, for personal pronouns that do not properly correspond to any noun, as well as in cases of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns which can correspond to adjectives, adverbs, and even verbs. On the other hand, the attempt to establish alternative definitions for pronouns has not been wholly satisfactory.

Bhat (2004:273), for instance, proposes that pronouns are bundled into two categories:

Personal pronouns – Single-element expressions which function primarily to denote speech roles.

Proforms – Two-element expressions which indicate a general concept and function, such as (i) locating an entity, (ii) denoting one's lack of knowledge about an entity, (iii) obtaining information about an entity, (iv) identifying an entity as the same as the one denoted by another expression, and (v) associating an entity with some other entity within which that general concept is employed.

Cardinaletti and Stake (1999) argue that the morphosyntax of a pronoun is established by the composition of the element as a syntactic projection, which generates several types of pronouns: strong pronouns, which are complete nominal projections; weak pronouns, which lack the higher functional layer; and clitics, which do not project higher functional layers.

Examining pronoun elements as primitive forms, Harley and Ritter (2002) suggest that decomposition of these elements occurs. According to the authors, pronouns are composed of features that are more elementary and displaced geometrically. In other words, a pronoun is the result of feature geometry, which allows for the generation of all kinds of pronouns in any natural language through their grammatical relations. This view of a pronoun is justified by the fact that, from this perspective, recursion would enable a language would to generate all types of pronominal elements from a limited source of features available in the lexicon.

In the case of pronoun distribution, it is assumed that their syntactic positions are determined by their forms, which are historically defined by Case.[1] Though pronouns bear a series of features, such as gender and number, which determine their forms, Case is usually understood as that which defines the final form of a pronoun and its position in a sentence. In English, for instance, the pronoun 'he' (third-person singular masculine nominative) has this form because it typically occupies the subject position, whilst 'him' (third-person singular masculine accusative) has this form because it usually occupies the object position. This is the traditional understanding of how pronouns are organised throughout languages (particularly the most common ones). As is frequently seen in these languages, such 'rules' for defining pronouns cannot be generalised.

In addition to these issues regarding the nature and distribution of pronouns, other problems have arisen during the interpretation, acquisition, and processing of these elements; though frequently studied, they are not firmly established within the theoretical framework of generative grammar.

Evidence of these issues can be found in several studies published on this topic (see BÜRING, 2005; CARDINALETTI & STARKE, 1999; CHOMSKY, 1981; DÉCHAINE & WITSCHKO, 2002; FORCHHEIMER,

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[1] 'Case' with a capital *C* represents abstract Case, whilst 'case' with a lowercase *c* represents both morphological case and any other instance of this word.

1953; GALVES, 2001; HARBOUR, 2006; HARLEY & RITTER, 2002; KATO, 1999; KATO & DUARTE, 2005; MENUZZI, 2000; MOURA, 2006; NUNES, 1996; RITTER, 1995; ROORYCK & WYNGAERD, 1997, 2011; RULLMANN, 2005; among many others).

The pronominal paradigm in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) has raised a considerable number of problems for several modules of the Grammar, including agreement and Case. In recent decades, some pronouns have become extinct (*vós* – you.pl), others have taken on another role (*você(s)* - you.sing(pl)), some are still used in some varieties of BP, but have adopted a different agreement pattern (*tu* – you.sing), and others have arisen from the grammaticalisation of a noun. An important example of the latter phenomenon is the lexical item *a gente* 'the folk', a collective noun which agrees with the third-person singular and which has come to mean 'we'. All of these changes have occurred alongside syntactic adjustments: the rise in all of this novelty has resulted in a systematic reduction of the agreement pattern in BP. The second-person agreement pattern no longer exists, at least in vernacular BP; it has been replaced by the third-person agreement pattern. Even the first-person plural has adopted the third-person singular agreement pattern. Based on data from Brazilians of African descent who speak the rural BP spoken in the state of Bahia, Ribeiro (2008) shows that even the first-person singular has surrendered to the third-person singular agreement pattern.

(1) a. Eu **ficô**   assim… oiano!
          I   stayed.3.sg. like.this watching
          'I just sat there watching'

(RIBEIRO, 2008:6)

Apparently, another sort of variation has occurred among the first-person singular pronouns: there has been syncretism with the first-person singular pronoun. The nominative pronoun *eu* 'I' can be found in all argument positions in some varieties of BP. On the other hand, the dative pronoun *mim* 'me' can be used as the embedded subject of prepositioned infinitives, which traditionally accepted only the normative pronoun.

(2) a. Minha mãe mandou *eu / me*   mandou   pra escola.
          My   mother sent   I.acc/CL.acc.1sg sent   to school
          'My mother sent me to school'

    b. Maria   deu um presente pra *eu/mim*.
      Maria   gave a   present   to I.dat/me.dat
           'Maria gave a present to me'
    c. Ela nunca falou   com *eu/comigo*.
      She never spoke   with I.abl/with.me.abl
           'She never spoke to me'
    d. Ela puxou na   cabeça d*eu / minha* cabeça.
      She pulled in.the head   of.I.gen/my head
           'She pulled on my head'

(3) a. Ela deu o livro para *eu*   ler.
       She gave the book for   I.nom read.Inf
      'She offered the book for me to read'
    b. Ela deu o   livro para *mim*   ler.
       She gave the book for   me.dat read.Inf
      'She offered the book for me to read'

The syncretism that occurs with the other pronominal persons seems to be a more stabilised phenomenon in BP. In this language, for instance, the nominative forms for the rest of the personal pronouns (*você, ele, ela, nós, a gente, vocês, eles, elas*) also act as the dative oblique forms with no marginality of acceptance.

(4) Maria deu o   livro para *você/ele/ela/nós/a gente/vocês/eles/elas*
      Maria gave the book to   you/he/she/we/we/you.pl/they.m/they.f

These pronominal forms are also found in the same contexts as the ones in the sentences in (2) above.

(5) a. Minha mãe   mandou *você/ele/ela/nós/a gente/vocês/eles/elas*
       My   mother sent   you/he/she/we/we/you.pl/they.m/they.f
       pra   escola.
       to.the school.
    b. Maria deu um presente pra
      Mary gave a   present to
      você/ele/ela/nós/a gente/vocês/eles/elas.
      you/he/she/we/we/you.pl/they.m/they.f
    c. Ela nunca falou com *você/ele/ela/nós/a gente/vocês/eles/elas*.
      She never spoke with you/he/she/we/we/you.pl/they.m/they.f

> d. Ela puxou na   cabeça de
>   She pulled on.the head   of
>   *você/*d*ele/*d*ela/*de *nós/*d*a gente/*de *vocês/*d*eles/*d*elas*.
>   you/he/she/we/we/you.pl/they.m/they.f

The agreement rearrangement of all pronominal persons (with the exception of the first-person singular) and the syncretism found with the first-person singular pronoun seem to be connected. The former phenomenon is likely caused by the replacement of certain pronouns and the consequent reduction in the person paradigm (cf. DUARTE, 1993; GALVES, 1993; SOTO, 2001, among others). Whilst the latter phenomenon does not bring about any changes in agreement patterns, it produces a similar rearrangement in the paradigm, as there will not be a single pronoun form for a single Case function, as expected.[2]

The main goal of this book is to offer a unified analysis of the syncretism among pronominal forms in BP, especially with regard to the first-person singular. This analysis will consider their feature compositionality and valuation mechanisms. Empirically, this book describes the internal structure of personal pronouns in BP in order to justify their distribution, as the current proposals do not satisfactorily represent some data from certain variants of BP. Thus, this pronoun description is motivated by the fact that the traditional take on pronouns fails to explain the wide distribution observed in the data. As for theory, this book aims to investigate which features contribute to pronoun composition in BP, how these pronouns are composed, and what their syntactic reflexes are.

Based on the internal structure of pronouns, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose the notion of a deficiency in pronominal systems across languages. This notion is interpreted here as underspecification and is one of the main pillars of this book. This book also addresses the traditional set of φ-features (person, number, and gender as atomic features), as they are not sufficient to support the distributional mechanism of the personal pronouns in BP (or in other languages). This book therefore treats these features are categories which are made of more elementary elements, such as speaker and addressee, rather than by the *person* label, as Harley and Ritter (2002) have proposed. However, the decomposition the authors present fails to capture some

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[2] Traditionally, every Case (nominative, accusative etc.) is assumed to be assigned through a single form—either as a morpheme in languages with a rich Case paradigm, or pronominally in poorly Cased languages whose pronouns are the only evidence of Case.

characteristics of certain pronouns, such as the arbitrary and defining reading of a singular pronoun form. This book agrees, in part, with Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), who argue that pronouns do not make up a homogenic class, as they present different internal structures. This book also assumes that the elements which compose these structures are made up only of features and are not necessarily full lexical items, as traditionally assumed.

The following chapters are organised as follows: chapter 2 provides the data used as evidence for the development of the analysis in the subsequent chapters. This analysis is based on feature compositionality and its effects on agreement relations, and it links phenomena which occur in the personal pronoun paradigm in BP. This chapter also includes a review of about the most relevant literature on variations between the pronouns *eu* and *mim* in the types of structures shown previously in (3). This review is used to justify the alternative proposal presented in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 offers an argument for the compositionality of φ-features, which could be responsible for the distribution of the personal pronouns. This hypothesis is supported by recent studies (CARDINALETTI & STARKE, 1999; DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO, 2002; HARLEY & RITTER, 2002). I assume that φ categories are representative labels of more elementary elements, which are combined in order to form a pronominal element. This decomposition is able to describe pronoun distribution from the inside out, with no need to refer to pronoun morphology to do so.

Chapter 4 presents an agreement theory which is compatible with the feature approach developed for the pronouns in chapter 3. I show that this agreement theory, which is based on Béjar (2003), can handle feature mismatch during the agreement process in BP.

Chapter 5 proposes a Case feature theory analogous to the theory provided for φ-features in chapter 3. A mechanism for providing value for the Case features is also offered, and it is consistent with the proposal presented for φ-features. This mechanism addresses the syncretism found with the first-person singular pronouns in BP.

Chapter 6 concludes this book.

CHAPTER TWO

PERSONAL PRONOUNS
IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE:
AN OVERVIEW

2.1 The Basics of Pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese

This chapter provides the data used as evidence to develop the analysis in the following chapters, which consists of developing pronoun feature compositionality and its effect on agreement relations. Thus, the main goal is to connect the phenomena shown in (1) and (2) below to other phenomena within the Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) pronoun system. This chapter will therefore fit this innovation into a broader picture of the pronominal paradigm changes in this language, which have been brought to light by several studies in the literature (KATO, 1993, 1999, 2002; CERQUEIRA, 1993; CYRINO, 1993; DUARTE, 1993; GALVES, 1993; NUNES, 1993; MOURA, 2006; NASCIMENTO, 2001; SOTO, 2001; KATO and DUARTE, 2005, among others).

(1) a. Minha mãe   mandou *eu / me*   mandou   pra escola.
    My   mother sent   I.acc/CL.acc.1sg sent   to   school
   'My mother sent me to school'
  b. Maria deu um presente pra *eu/mim*.
     Maria gave a   present   to I.dat/me.dat
     'Maria gave a present to me'
  c. Ela nunca falou com *eu/comigo*.
    She never spoke with I.abl/with.me.abl
    'She never spoke to me'
  d. Ela puxou na   cabeça d*eu/minha* cabeça.
    She pulled in.the head   of.I.gen/my head
     'She pulled on my head'

(2) a. Ela deu o livro para *eu*   ler.
         She gave the book for   I.nom read.Inf
         'She offered the book for me to read'
    b. Ela deu o livro para *mim* ler.
         She gave the book for me.dat read.Inf
         'She offered the book for me to read'

I argue that this alternation is a straightforward effect of a rearrangement in the pronoun system in this language (cf. GALVES, 2000). I will show evidence that this rearrangement is internally motivated and is reflected onto the sentence by an agreement effect. The core idea argued here is that pronouns are not a crystallised lexical items, but are instead made of different sorts of features which characterise them according to their grammatical functions.

The chapter is organised as follows: section 2.2 describes the pronominal paradigm in BP from the data provided in the section, showing that a (traditional) Case-based pronoun system is not likely in BP. Section 2.3 shows that, contrary to the non-first-person pronouns, the first-person singular pronouns exhibit syntactic constraints which indicate that the innovations seen in (1) and (2) above are not a superficial phenomenon; they require an explanation from within the derivation. This behaviour occurs in other languages, such as English, whose examples show similar constraints. Section 2.4 summarises the most relevant studies on the innovation in (2) (BOTELHO-PEREIRA & RONCARATTI, 1993; SALLES, 2000), all of which are based on the case filter (ROUVERET & VERGNAUD, 1980; CHOMSKY, 1981), and also discusses their shortcomings. Section 2.5 concludes the chapter.

2.2 Personal Pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese

The so-called personal pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) are traditionally understood to have a trivial one-to-one distribution according to their morphological case reflex. The examples in (3) illustrates nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, and genitive (possessive)[1] cases, which are traditionally reflected to different pronominal forms.[2]

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[1] *Ablative* here is understood as the oblique pronouns which have combined with the preposition *com, -migo, -tigo, -sigo, -nosco, -vosco*, and which are the result of the ablative pronominal form (*me, te, se, nos, vos*) plus the postposition *cum* (with) in Latin. In the evolution from Latin to Portuguese, the preposition *cum* combined with the composed ablative form, resulting in the Portuguese pronominal forms

(3) a. *Nós   nos*   presenteamos   com uma viagem.
    We.nom us.acc give.present.1.pl with a.fem trip
    'We gave ourselves a trip as a present'

  b. *Eu* dei   o livro a *você*.
     I gave the book to you.dat
     'I gave the book to you'

   c. *Elas   lhe*   falaram a verdade.
     They.fem CL.3.sing.dat told   the truth
      'They told him/her the truth'

  d. *Eu*   deixei *meu*   livro *contigo*.
     I.nom   left   my.masc.gen book with.you.abl
      'I left my book with you'

In (3a), *nós* 'we' is the nominative form of the first-person plural, whilst *nos* 'us' represents the clitic form for this person; in (3b), *eu* 'I' is the nominative form for the first-person singular and *você* 'you' is the oblique form of the second-person singular;[3] in (3c), *elas* 'they' is the nominative form of the third-person feminine plural, whilst *lhe* 'him/her' is the dative clitic form of the third-person singular; and in (3d), *eu* 'I' is the nominative form of the first-person singular (as in (3b)), whilst *meu* 'my' is the possessive form for this person and *contigo* 'with you' is the ablative form of the second-person singular.[3]

In several dialects in non-standard BP, this relationship between pronouns and case differs. For instance, *lhe*, the third-person dative clitic, is also

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comigo, contigo, consigo, conosco, and *convosco* (cf. COUTINHO, 1976). With all of the BP pronoun forms except the first-person singular, the ablative can also be constructed by simply adding the preposition *com* (with), the heir of *cum*, to the so-called nominative forms. All of these possibilities will be referred to as *ablative* in this book. However, as I will show in a following section, there is no Case distinction between the dative case and that which I am describing as ablative; the difference in form is merely a matter of agreement. Additionally, in the absence of a better label, I also classify the Case of the possessive form as genitive.

[2] The contrasts presented herein are based on the Case notion presented in case theory (ROUVERET and VERGNAUD, 1980; CHOMSKY, 1981): a DP must satisfy the case filter—a DP must include the Case assigned to be legible at the interfaces, must comply with the Visibility Condition at LF, and must be accurately phonetically realised (cf. HORNSTEIN et al., 2005: 111).

[3] I consider *você* 'you.sg' to be the standard second-person pronoun in Brazilian Portuguese. The pronoun *tu* 'you.sg' is considered the standard form in some varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, but it almost always triggers third-person singular inflection and therefore follows the same patterns as *você*.

used as the second-person accusative (cf. NASCIMENTO, 2001), as illustrated in (4).

(4) a. Eu *lhe*   vi   ontem.
        I   CL.2sing.acc saw yesterday
        'I saw you yesterday'

In BP, some nominative forms have already replaced other case forms. Coutinho (1976) notes that the third-person pronouns *ele* and *ela* evolved directly from the Latin nominative forms *ĭlle* and *ĭlla*, respectively, and preserved their grammatical functions as subject and complement of prepositions. Now, however, these pronouns assume all grammatical functions which can be assumed by an NP. *Você*, on the other hand, has evolved from the title *vossa mercê*, and only later assumed a nominative role in parallel to *tu* 'you'. Similar to the third person, however, *você* also occasionally functions as the accusative and the dative pronoun, parallel to *te* and *ti*, respectively, which are derived from *tu*.

(5) a. Eu vi   *você* no   trabalho.
        I   saw you at.the work
        'I saw you at work'
    b. Ele deu o   livro para *elas*.
        She gave the book to   they.fem.dat
        'She gave the book to them'
    c. Ela comprou o   livro com   *vocês*/*eles*
        She bought   the book with you.pl.abl/they.mas.abl
        'She bought the book with you all/them'

In several dialects in BP, the generalised nominative form is not limited to the persons above, but includes the first-person singular and plural, as shown in (6):

(6) a. Minha mãe   mandou   *nós/ eu*   pra escola.
        My   mother sent   we.acc/I.acc to   school
      'My mother sent us/me to school'
    b. Maria deu um presente pra *nós /eu*.
        Maria gave a   present   to we.dat/I.dat
        'Maria gave a present to us/me'
    c. Ela nunca falou   com *nós /eu*.
        She never spoke with we.abl/I.abl
        'She never spoke to us/me'

d. Ela puxou na   cabeça de *nós /d*eu.
   She pulled in.the head   of we.gen/of.I.gen
   'She pulled on our/my head'

The generalisation shown in the data allows for the following paradigm for BP1 and BP2 pronouns.

(7) **Table 1 - *Pronoun paradigm for Brazilian Portuguese[4]***

	NOM	**AC**	**DAT**	**ABL[5]**	**GEN**
1sg	*Eu*	*Me/eu*	*Me/mim[7]/eu*	*Comigo/ eu*	*Meu[s] (minha[s]) /deu/de mim*
2sg	*Você/ tu*	*Você/tu/te/ lhe*	*Lhe/você/te/ ti*	*Contigo /você*	*Seu[s]/(sua[s]) /teu[s]/(tua[s])*
3sg	*Ele(ela)*	*Ele(ela)/se[6]*	*Ele(ela)/lhe*	*Ele(ela)*	*Dele(dela)*
1pl	*Nós /a gente*	*Nós /a gente*	*Nos/ nós /a gente*	*Conosco/ nós /a gente*	*De nós /da gente*
2pl	*Vocês*	*Vocês*	*Vocês*	*Vocês*	*De vocês*
3pl	*Eles(elas)*	*Eles(elas)/ se*	*Eles(elas)/ lhe*	*Eles(elas)*	*Deles(delas)*

This table shows that, in BP, the 'nominative' form has a wider range of use, as it can surface in all Case positions. This provides evidence that the hypothesis of Case as determiner of position in the BP pronoun system is not absolute. Sigurðsson (2002), for instance, claims that Case is conceptually insufficient to account for dative case distribution in Icelandic. McFadden (2002:3) shows that 'in languages like Icelandic, Japanese, and Hindi, although the normal subject case is nominative, some structural subjects are dative. Furthermore, nominative case can mark certain structural objects.'

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[4] The pronominal forms that come in parenthesess are feminine forms of the pronouns; the –s in square brackets is a plural suffix (some possessive pronouns agree with their complement in BP); *a gente* (literally 'the folk' but now 'we') is a grammaticalised form of the first-person plural and co-occurs with *nós* 'we'. For a deeper look at the latter phenomenon and its syntactic consequences in BP and European Portuguese, see Moura (2006) and Pereira (2003), respectively.

[5] See footnote 3.

[6] The third-person clitic *se* is only used in reflexive contexts. Brito (2004) points out that *se* may be used as the reflexive form for all persons in Brazilian Portuguese.

[7] *Me* is the dative clitic form for the first person, whilst *mim* is the prepositional dependent oblique form.

McFadden (2004) has a more radical view of Case, claiming that it is a superfluous module of universal grammar. As the data below shows, other pronoun constituents, including some semantic and pragmatic features, are also responsible for the distributions of the personal pronouns.

Conversely, the subject position of embedded infinitival clauses represents the only alternation found in the first-person singular, which is between *eu* 'I.nom' and *mim* 'me.dative',[8] as illustrated in (8).

(8) a. Ela deu o   livro para *eu*   ler.
        She gave the book for I.nom read.Inf
        'She offered the book for me to read'
    b. Ela deu o   livro para *mim*   ler.
        She gave the book for   me.dat read.Inf
         'She offered the book for me to read'

This alternation differentiates the first-person singular from the others, which do not show any alternations, as there is only one case form for both the prepositional pronoun and the subject pronoun. This alternation is traditionally linked to Case assignment (BOTELHO-PEREIRA and RONCARATTI, 1993; SALLES, 2000, 2001). The idea that Case should reflect a one-to-one relation between Case and the pronominal DP has been controversial since its foundation (VERGNAUD, 1977; ROUVERET & VERGNAUD, 1980; cf. SIGURÐSSON, 2002; MCFADDEN, 2004). The basic principles and parameters idea of Case as a module is that

> Case theory should apply at S[urface] S[tructure] […] based on (i) the
> empirical fact that DPs may have different phonetic shapes depending on
> the type of Case they bear […]; and (iii) the technical assumption that DPs
> are not inherently specified with respect to Case at D[eep] S[tructure][9].
>
>   (HORNSTEIN at al., 2005:11)

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[8] See Botelho-Pereira and Roncaratti (1993) for details on this phenomenon in a dialect spoken in Rio de Janeiro (southeastern Brazil); Figueiredo Silva (1996) for the dialect of Santa Catarina (southern Brazil); Monteiro (1996) for the dialects found in Recife and Salvador (northeastern Brazil), in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (southeastern Brazil), and in Porto Alegre (southern Brazil); Carvalho (2004) and Albuquerque (2006) for the dialect in Alagoas (northeastern Brazil); and Rossato (2005) for the dialect in Mato Grosso do Sul (the center-west region of Brazil).

[9] We will put aside for the moment the consequences of case theory for the null pronominal forms (*pro* and *PRO*). See Brito and Carvalho (2014) and Carvalho (2015) for a deeper look at *pro* in BP.

In the earlier minimalist perspective (CHOMSKY, 1995), and with the dissolution of the SS and DS, case theory was designed in such a way that lexical items enter the derivation with their Case features (and φ-features) already specified, and the system determines whether an expression is allowed in a given derivation by checking the features of the aforementioned expression against the feature of an appropriate head. That is to say, for example, that *eu* should enter the derivation already bearing nominative Case feature (specified by its form) and move to the specifier position of Tense (or Inflection) to check its Case, assuming that only this position allows for nominative Case checking (cf. HORNSTEIN et al., 2005: 112). Even in more recent versions of the minimalist programme, the case theory configuration remains (cf. CHOMSKY, 1999a).

Both perspectives fail to account for the pronoun distribution in BP, as it is not clear whether the pronominal DP enters the derivation structurally defined by Case. The BP data suggests that pronominal insertion into the derivation does not function this way; instead, another mechanism needs to be included (or an existing mechanism needs to be improved) in order to identify the pronominal forms throughout the derivation and, in doing so, to define their position.

The examples from BP lead us to a simpler pronominal paradigm based only in its φ -feature reflex (person, number, and gender), as Case is no longer sufficient to make this differentiation.[10]

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[10] The paradigm in (9) also creates a problem for argumentation and pronoun distribution, as clitics in BP always occupy the object position and non-clitics occupy both subject and object positions. Interestingly, although BP is a proclitic language, enclisis is still a possibility in Standard Brazilian Portuguese, or BP1 (distinct from colloquial Portuguese, or BP2). The non-clitics, however, exhibit a more restricted distribution: each time they appear proclitically, they occupy the subject position, and when they appear enclitically, they are in the object position:

(i) Ela *me*   viu na   rua / Ela viu-me   na   rua (OK in BP1)
    She me.CL saw on.the street / She saw-me.CL on.the street
    'She saw me on the street'

(ii) Eu (*ela*) mandei (ela) comprar pão
     I   she ordered she to.buy bread
     'I had her buy bread'

Still, clitics obey certain verb adjacency, whilst non-clitics in object position do not.

(9) **Table 2-*Pronouns available in Brazilian Portuguese***

	CLITIC	NON-CLITIC
1sg	*Me*	*Eu/mim/migo*
2sg	-	*Você*
3sg	-	*Ele(ela)*
1pl	*Nos*	*Nós(a gente)*
2pl	-	*Vocês*
3pl	-	*Eles(elas)*

Although there are two pronominal forms for the non-clitic first-person plural, there is no restriction in the use of *nós* 'we' and *a gente* 'we', so they seem to be in free variation in BP2, as shown in (10) and (11).

(10)   a. Ela falou d*a gente*/de *nós* – com *a gente*/com *nós* –
        She spoke of.we/of we – with we/with we –
        pr*a gente*/para *nós*
        for.we/for we
          'She spoke about/with/to us'
     b.   Ela viu *a gente*/*nós*
        She saw we/we
          'She saw us'

   (11)   *A gente/Nós* é/somos   Brasileiro/Brasileiros
          We/We   is/are.1pl Brazilian/Brazilian.pl
          'We are Brazilian'

Even though φ-features are understood to be responsible for the agreement mechanism (CHOMSKY, 1995; 1998; 1999), they seem insufficient for tackling the interpretation of the pronouns for the syntax: the two forms in (11) can trigger different agreement markings on the verb (*nós*, first-person plural agreement and *a gente*, third-person singular), but they also show lack of agreement marking.

In addition, the binding requirements of *a gente* do not follow its grammatical definition, as the anaphoric forms of this pronoun include

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   (iii) *Ela *me*   sempre vê na   rua
         She me.CL always see on.the street
   (iv) Ela vê   sempre *eu* na   rua
        She saw always I   on.the street
          'She always sees me on the street'

either a third-person singular clitic or a first-person plural clitic, which is constrained by locality:

(12) a. *A gente*ᵢ já   *se*ᵢ/*nos*ᵢ   viu na   TV.
          We   already CL.refl.3sing/*CL.1pl saw on.the TV
          'We have seen ourselves on TV'
     b. *A gente*ᵢ soube que o Paulo *se*ᵢ/*nos*ᵢ   viu no
          We   knew that the Paulo CL.refl.3sing/CL.1pl saw at.the
          Giovannetti ontem
          Giovannetti yesterday
          'We heard that Paul saw us at Giovannetti yesterday'
                                              (MENUZZI, 2004:109)

The first and second persons seem to lack gender, as it is not reflected in their forms. Nonetheless, in copulative clauses, these pronouns reflect gender on the predicative, as shown in (13) (cf. MOURA, 2004).

(13) *Eu/você* sou/é   bonit*o* /bonit*a*
     I/You   am/are.2sing beautiful.masc/beautiful.fem
     'I am/you are handsome/pretty'

The same occurs in the case of *a gente*, a semantic first-person plural pronoun form which requires grammatical third-person singular agreement.

(14) *A   gente* está cansad*a*/cansad*o*
     We are.3sing. tired.f/tired.m
     'We are tired'

A gente does not show all the features for the third-person pronoun (as it lacks gender), but it triggers gender agreement. In European Portuguese (henceforth EP), the same pronominal form also triggers number agreement, as seen in (15) and taken from Pereira (2003):

(15) *A gente* está   cansad*as*/cansad*os*
      We   are.3sing. tired.f.pl/tired.m.pl
     'We are tired'

Examples (13), (14), and (15) suggest that a given φ-feature, such as gender, can be detached from the whole set of features and therefore fail to enter the derivation amalgamated from the lexicon (cf. EVERETT, 1996;

D'ALESSANDRO, 2004). However, this solution seems empirically controversial, as there is no reason for only one feature to be detached from the φ-set.

Other evidence that the traditional assumption of φ-features cannot codify the syntax of the pronouns is that the detachment feature seen in the impersonal form of *a gente* also appears in other features. *Você*, the second-person singular pronoun in BP, also possesses an impersonal reading.

> (16) *Você*   pensa que tá fazendo a   coisa certa, mas no   fim
>   You/Impers think that is doing   the thing right   but in.the end
>   *você*   não está
>   you   not is

'One imagines one is doing the right thing but, in the end, one is not'
'You think you are doing the right thing but, in the end, you are not'

The two readings of *você* in (16) show that the second-person singular pronoun may be unspecified for the person feature, thus allowing for the impersonal reading.

Even in the same pronominal form, then, φ-features seem to behave differently. In (11) and (13) to (15), the person feature of *a gente* 'we' and *você* 'you' does not seem to be enough to differentiate meaning, whilst in (12), this feature seems crucial to binding.

These examples reveal how pronominal variation in BP exhibits restrictions which can be tracked in order to uncover their mechanisms and regularities, which is one of the aims of this book and which will be explored in the next chapter.

2.3 Syntactic Constraints on First-Person Pronoun Alternations

In the case of the first-person singular, *eu/mim* and -*migo* also find constraints in their distribution. -*Migo* only appears after the preposition *com* 'with', which may be understood as the ablative assigner in BP:

> (17) Maria e Pedro   saíram   co*migo* (*com* + *migo*)/**com mim/com eu*
>   Maria and Pedro went.out with.me.abl/with me.dat /with I.nom
>   'Maria and Pedro went out with me'

Mim is allowed only after prepositions, with the exception of *com* 'with' (cf. (17) and (18)). Here, *-migo* and *mim* occur in complementary distribution and seemed to be controlled by the nature of the preposition. The same constraint, however, is not placed upon *eu*, as it can come after any preposition in BP:[11]

(18) a. Ela bateu   em *mim/neu*
          She spanked in me.dat/in.I
          'She spanked me'
      b. Pedro falou de *mim/deu*
          Pedro spoke of *mim*.dat/of.I
          'Pedro talked about me'

Mim is not allowed to fill the subject position of finite clauses (cf. (19a)) nor double preverbal subject (cf. (19b)):

(19) a. *Eu/*mim* comi.
          I/me.dat   ate.1sing
          'I ate'
      b. *Eu/*mim*, uma vez eu/*mim convidei ela.
          I/me.dat   once   I/me.dat invited   her
          'As for me, I invited her once'

Mim requires the presence of the preposition in coordination in benefactive constructions, which require the preposition *para* (for) in BP (cf. (20a)). Nevertheless, with psych verbs, such as *gostar* 'like', the preposition is required on both conjuncts even when *eu* is used (cf. (20b)).

(20) a. Maria deu um livro para ele e ?*eu/*mim*/para *mim/eu.*
          Maria gave a   book to him and I.nom/me.dat/to me.dat/I
          'Maria gave a book to him and to me'
      b. Maria gosta dele   e   de mim /deu/ *eu.
          Maria like   of.him and of me.dat/of.I.dat/I.nom
          'Maria likes him and me'

---

[11] Simple tests with BP native speakers show that after prepositions like *entre* 'between', *até* 'until', and *sobre* 'about', *eu* is preferred; however, some speakers consciously mention that grammarians prescribe *mim* 'me.dat' after prepositions. The tests consisted of the speaker being given the two pronominal forms and choosing which one 'best fits' after those prepositions.

In a prepositional embedded infinitive, the insertion of an element (e.g. certain adverbs) between the preposition and the embedded subject pronoun causes ungrammaticality when *mim* occupies such position, whilst *eu* can occur with no grammatical damage.

    (21) a. *Maria pediu para amanhã   *mim*   sair.
               Maria asked for   tomorrow me.dat go.Inf
         b. Maria pediu para amanhã   *eu* sair.
            Maria asked for tomorrow I go.Inf
            'Maria asked me to go out tomorrow'

This constraint is thought to be caused by an agreement relation between the infinitive and its supposed subject (*eu*), as in BP, as well as in EP, infinitives can be inflected (cf. RAPOSO, 1987; FIGUEIREDO SILVA, 1996; MENSCHING, 2000; SITARIDOU, 2002). Spanish data provides cross-linguistic evidence that the presence of a DP in the subject position of embedded infinitives is not necessarily linked to agreement. This language allows pre- and post-verbal nominative subject of infinitives, but no agreement between them (cf. SITARIDOU, 2004; PÖLL, 2007):

    (22) Sin   saberlo   yo/yo   saberlo Pedro se compró
        Without to.know-CL I.nom/I.nom to.know-CL Pedro CL bought
        un coche.
        a   car
        'Pedro bought a car without my knowing'

                                        (PÖLL, 2007:95)

The almost unrestricted distribution of *eu*, on the one hand, and the restriction of *mim/-migo*, on the other, indicate that, although they are often interchangeable, these pronouns are restricted by syntactic constraints. In other words, *eu* seems to be the most unmarked form and consequently exhibits fewer restrictions. Furthermore, only the first-perosn (singular and plural) and the second-person singular pronouns preserve a specific possessive form, but only the first-person singular permits alternation with the nominative form preceded by the preposition *de* 'of', in accordance with the rest of the persons (cf. the paradigm in (7) and (23)).

    (23) a. Ela bateu na   *minha* cabeça/na cabeça *deu*
            She hit   in.the my.f   head/in.the head   of.I
            'She hit me on the head'

b. Ela bateu na   *sua*   cabeça/*na cabeça *de você*
    She hit   in.the   your.sing head /in.the head of you.sing
    'She hit you on the head'
c. Ela bateu na(s)   **suas* cabeças/na(s)   cabeça(s) *de vocês*
    She hit   in.the   your.pl heads /in.the(pl) head(s)   of you.pl
    'She hit you all on the head'

Some of these variant forms can also be found in languages other than BP, such as English. In English, the ablative is marked by a preposition (*with*).

(24) They spoke *with* me/you/us…

In addition to the specific pronoun form, the genitive is also marked with the preposition *of* in English.

(25) *your* friends/those friends of *yours*

In addition, in infinitival embedded clauses, English allows for the object form of the pronoun as the embedded subject (an example of exceptional case marking, or ECM), never allowing the nominative form.[12]

(26) She bought the book for me to read/*for I to read

These similarities between these two different languages (BP is a Romance language whilst English is Germanic) indicate that what happens with the pronouns in BP2 cannot be seen as a mere idiosyncrasy.

The data provided thus far poses an additional problem for how the features which compose pronouns are determined within the syntax. The examples above provide evidence that one cannot take for granted the traditional assumption that pronouns are primitives in the sense that they cannot be decomposed into smaller parts and thus assume only a case-based distinction from the lexicon to describe the grammatical patterns of personal pronouns in BP. A pre-defined structured bundle of features inserted into the syntax is also unlikely, as a single pronoun may manifest

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[12] Contrary to what happens to BP, the accusative/dative pronoun form is the only one allowed in the highest position in pre-verbal double subject position in English; see (19b) for BP:

(i) *I/*Me*,   I love Paris in the springtime.
     Eu/Mim, eu amo Paris na   primavera

a feature in one context but not in others (the person feature in *a gente* 'we' and in *você* 'you.sg', for example). Pronouns should therefore be understood as internally structured instead (CARDINALETTI & STARKE, 1998; HARLEY & RITTER, 2002; DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO, 2002).

This twofold way of looking at the phenomena above—pronoun-internally and based on syntactic relations—has some theoretical consequences. First, and as mentioned previously, this data poses problems for Case theory. Following a principles and parameters point of view (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986a), the pronoun system of a case-poor language (cf. SIGURÐSSON, 2002) should reflect its abstract Case system (thus satisfying case filter). On the one hand, this data shows that this symmetry is not obeyed in BP, as the pronoun distribution in this language rarely looks to Case for a solution.[13] On the other hand, some alternative forms (ablative, prepositional possessive, and all contexts where *mim* appears) require a preposition as an external case-support, meaning these forms are necessarily preceded by a preposition.

Secondly, under standard minimalist assumptions, the traditional claim of *eu* as the authentic subject of embedded infinitives poses a problem for the nominative Case-licensing mechanism, as only a full set of φ-features in T can licence the nominative Case (cf. CHOMSKY, 1999; SITARIDOU, 2004). This argument is contrary to what previous analyses have proposed (cf. BOTELHO-PEREIRA AND RONCARATTI, 1993; SALLES, 2000).

2.4 The Pronominal Subject of Embedded Infinitives

As the precious sections have discussed, a traditional case-based approach to pronoun distribution in BP is untenable, as there seems to be no one-to-one correlation between pronouns and Case. The known studies on BP pronouns show pronoun variation as a consequence of a possible change in the agreement mechanism (cf. CERQUEIRA, 1993; GALVES, 1993; MOURA, 2006, among others), and never the other way around, or a possible internal motivation as the locus of pronoun variation. Contrary data has somehow been ignored.[14] This section will summarise the most

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[13] One can claim that the constraint in the subject position of finite clauses—that only *eu* 'I' can fill this position—is due to case requirements. The data, however, shows that this may simply be sorted out using agreement.

[14] Most studies on generative grammar in BP only considered standard BP (BP1) and would argue that some of the data in this book is extremely marginal or even ungrammatical. However, these examples are largely accepted as grammatical for

relevant case-based approaches which have so far analysed the alternation of the first-person singular pronouns in BP, and will then discuss their shortcomings.

Botelho-Pereira and Roncaratti (1993) (henceforth BP&R) propose an analysis based on the principle and parameters framework for the alternation between *eu* 'I.nom' and *mim* 'me.dat' in the subject position of prepositional embedded infinitive clauses, as illustrated in (27).

(27) a. Isto é para eu   fazer
         This is for   I.nom to.do
     b. Isto é para mim   fazer
         This is for   me.dat to.do
        'This is for me to do'

<div align="right">(BP&R, 1993:15)</div>

In their analysis, the authors suggest two syntactic configurations for the alternation depending on the Case the pronoun bears:
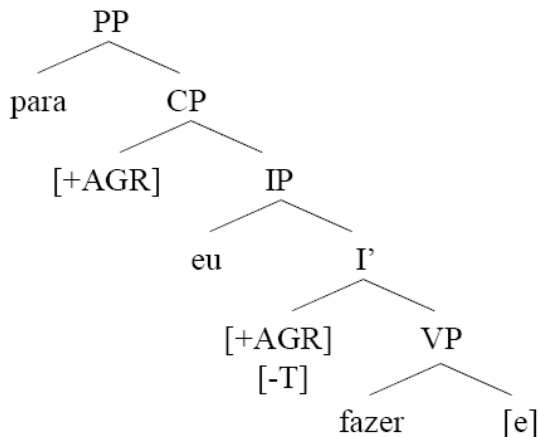
> […] [27]b is a construction in which the subject receives oblique case by means of exceptional case marking by the preposition *para* 'for', resulting from a reanalysis of *para* as a complementiser, but keeping its case-licensing properties […]. In [27a], the infinitive clause is within a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *para*; [+AGR] is present in the head of INFL, agreeing with [+INFL] in C. The subject of the infinitive clause receives the nominative case due to INFL government, which is its closest governor. The preposition *para* cannot govern in the clause as per the minimality condition.[15]   (BP&R, 1993:16/20)

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a large number of BP speakers. In addition, some data is borrowed from quantitative studies on BP dialects showing the productivity of such uses (cf. NASCIMENTO, 2001; ALBUQUERQUE, 2006).

[15] Free translation into English from the original in Portuguese: '[…] 1b [27b] é uma construção onde o sujeito recebe caso obliquo por atribuição excepcional de caso da preposição <u>para</u>, decorrente de uma reanálise de <u>para</u> como comlementizador, mas guardando suas propriedades atribuidoras de caso [...]. Em 1a (27a) a oração infinitiva está contida em um sintagma preposicional encabeçado pela preposição <u>para</u>; [CONC] está presente no núcleo de FLEX, concordando com [+CONC] em COMP. O sujeito da oração infinitiva recebe o caso nominativo devido a regência por FLEX, que é seu regente mais próximo. A preposição <u>para</u> não pode reger dentro da oração pelo princípio da minimaldade.' Some expressions have been adapted from Portuguese: in the original, [AGR] is [CONC] and [INFL] is [FLEX].

The syntactic configuration generated from the analysis of (27a) is shown in (28).

(28)

```
                              PP
                         _____
                       para        CP
                              _____
                           [+AGR]      IP
                                    _____
                                  eu        I'
                                        _____
                                     [+AGR]     VP
                                     [-T]     _____
                                          fazer     [e]
```

BP&R appeal for an infinitive which projects [AGR] based on Raposo's (1987) proposal that infinitives project agreement based on inflected infinitives in EP. Thus, the infinitive's AGR assigns nominative case to *eu* 'I' as the preposition *para* finds a barrier (CP) to assign oblique case to (cf. CHOMSKY, 1986).[16]

On the other hand, *mim* appears in the following configuration:

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[16]In the government and binding theory, Case is traditionally assigned via government (CHOMSKY, 1981; LASNIK; SAITO, 1984). For the definition of CP as a blocking category, see Chomsky (1986:15-16).