



# On Complex Predicates in Brazilian Portuguese<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** I analyze Romance syntactic complex predicates (faire-infinitive causatives, periphrastic tenses and restructuring), and propose the unification of these phenomena usually thought to stem from different structures by showing that one single analysis is possible: the non-finite verb phrase moves to the specifier of the upper V. This movement enables the verbs to be close enough to each other, and it allows for a configuration where clitics can climb and long object movement can occur. Crucial for this movement is either the presence of a defective C-T or its total absence. I account for the lack of Romance syntactic complex predicates in Brazilian Portuguese as well as for other phenomena in the language.

**Keywords:** complex predicates, clitic climbing, Romance languages, Brazilian Portuguese.

**Resumen:** Análisis predicados sintácticos complejos (estructuras causativas con infinitivo, tiempos perifrásticos y reestructuración) y propongo la unificación de estos fenómenos, que normalmente se asume que derivan de estructuras diferentes, demostrando que un único análisis sintáctico es posible: el sintagma verbal no finito se mueve al especificador del V superior. Este movimiento permite que los verbos estén lo suficientemente cerca el uno del otro para permitir una configuración en la que los clíticos pueden subir y se puede producir el movimiento de objeto a larga distancia. Para este movimiento es crucial tanto la presencia de un C-T defectivo como su ausencia total. Doy cuenta de la ausencia de predicados complejos sintácticos románicos en portugués brasileño además de otros fenómenos de esta lengua.

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*Palabras clave:* predicados complejos, subida de clíticos, lenguas románicas, portugués brasileño.

*Resumen:* Analiso predicados sintácticos complexos românicos (causativos de faire-infinitivo, tempos perifrásticos e reestruturação), e proponho a unificação destes fenómenos geralmente tomados como resultantes de estruturas diferentes demonstrando que uma análise única é possível: o verbo não-finito move-se para o especificador do V mais alto. Este movimento permite que os verbos se aproximem e admite uma configuração na qual os clíticos podem subir e o movimento longo de objecto pode ocorrer. Para este movimento é crucial a presença de um C-T defectivo ou a sua total ausência. Explico a ausência de predicados sintácticos complexos românicos em Português do Brasil assim como outros fenómenos na língua.

*Palavras chave:* predicados complexos, subida de clítico, línguas románicas, português do Brasil.

## 1. Introduction

Complex predicates occur in many languages and are of various types (lexical, morphological and syntactic complex predicates). In this paper, I focus on Romance Syntactic Complex Predicates (RSCPs) of the form [finite + non-finite verb]: restructuring, periphrastic tenses, and Faire+Infinitive (FI) causatives.

It has been proposed that in these structures the non-finite verb belongs to a clause “smaller” than a CP. However, I will present an analysis that shows that for RSCPs to be possible, it is necessary that an impoverished C-T system is present. I assume, following Chomsky (2005, 2006), that the presence of T implies the presence of C. The notion of phasehood is crucial in this proposal, and I will show that BP, although usually considered a Romance language, cannot have RSCPs, as it does not have the necessary context, ie, it does not have a C-T system that is completely impoverished, in terms of phi-features, in these constructions.

This will explain the absence of FIs, and the lack of clitic climbing (CC) and long object movement (LOM) in restructuring and periphrastic structures in BP. Since there are no RSCPs in BP, we expect that elements related to the presence of C-T, such as nominative subjects, focused subjects and sentential negation should be able to intervene between the two predicates. I will show that, indeed, that is possible in BP.

## 2. On Romance syntactic complex predicates (RSCP)

Complex predicates include those configurations whereby verb groups behave as a single locality domain. Therefore, we have a complex predicate where clitic climbing (CC), (1a), and long object movement (LOM), (1b) occur:



- (1) a. La volevo chiamare ieri. [Italian]  
Her-CL wanted call-INF yesterday  
'Yesterday I wanted to call her up'
- b. Na política, querem-se resolver os problemas. [EP]  
In politics want-PL-CL solve-INF the problems  
'In politics, one wants the country's problems to be solved'.

Sentences in (1) show the *restructuring* phenomena, whereby two clauses look like one with respect to clitic placement when the upper verb is either a *modal*, an *aspectual* or a *motion* verb and the complement is non-finite (cf. Rizzi 1982, Cinque 2004, Wurmbrand 2001).

Since CC and LOM are obligatory in periphrastic tenses (2a,b) and FI constructions (3a,b) in Romance<sup>2</sup>, I consider these structures complex predicates as well, along with restructuring:

- (2) a. O João não me tinha visto. [EP]  
The João not me-CL had see-PTCP  
'João had not seen me.'
- b. Os documentos estão-se a entregar. [EP]  
The documents are-CL to deliver-INF  
'The documents are being delivered'

In this paper, I propose a unified analysis for these phenomena<sup>3</sup>. By assuming Roberts (2008)'s theory of cliticization and the recent developments in generative syntax, especially phase theory, I advance an analysis that explains the lack of RSCPs in BP.

### 3. Theoretical background

I follow recent developments of generative syntax, in that phase heads (C, v\*) spread their features (if they have them) to lower non-phasal projections (cf. Chomsky 2005, 2006; Biberauer & Richards 2006, Richards 2007, Alboiu 2006). In the case of v-V, I assume these features may be phi-features and an EPP

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that there are some Romance varieties where *clitic climbing* is not found. Besides French, which does not have clitic climbing except in the periphrastic tenses, there are also varieties such as Piedmontese and Friulian, in which clitics remain enclitic to the lower infinitive in the typical clitic-climbing configuration. In some of these varieties, the clitic is enclitic to the past participle in periphrastic tenses. See Roberts (2008, Chapter 3, Note 73) for examples and references.

<sup>3</sup> Napoli (1981) proposed to conflate restructuring and Aux+Part under the same rule; Burzio (1986) proposed to conflate restructuring and faire-Inf causatives (arguing against Rizzi 1982). The approaches differed, though, because one proposed V movement, and the other VP movement. Guasti (1993) also proposes head incorporation in the case of causatives.



feature. According to Biberauer & Richards (2006) *v* may possess D-features that will attract a VP into its specifier in order to agree with the D-element contained in the VP and in order to satisfy its EPP- feature. I assume these features may spread to V, and then probe for a goal and trigger movement of the goal to the specifier of the lower non-phasal category (V) which has inherited the EPP-feature from the phase head (*v*).

Given this theoretical background, I propose that RSCPs are *v*\* phases<sup>4</sup>. This will be made explicit in the sections below.

#### 4. Romance syntactic complex predicates as *v*\* phases

##### 4.1. Faire+Infinitives (FI) as *v*\*phase RSCP

*Faire*+ Infinitives (FIs) are RSCPs (Kayne 1975; Burzio 1986; Guasti 1993; Gonçalves 1999, *i.a.*), possible with causatives (3a) and perception (3b) verbs<sup>5</sup>:

- (3) a. Jean fera laver la voiture à Marie. [French]  
 Jean make-FUT wash-INF the car to Marie  
 'Jean is going to make Marie wash the car.'
- b. A Maria viu sair o menino. [EP]  
 The Maria saw leave-INF the boy  
 'Maria saw the boy leave'.

If a clitic is present, CC is obligatory, be it the accusative argument (4a), or the dative subject of the infinitive (4b):

- (4) a. Jean la fera laver à Marie. [French]  
 Jean it-CL make wash-INF to Marie  
 'Jean made Marie wash it.'
- b. Maria gli fa riparare la macchina. [Italian]  
 Maria him-CL make repair-INF the car  
 'Maria makes him repair the car'.

Roberts (2008) analyzes FI, proposing that the VP containing the infinitive moves to a position adjacent to the causative/perception verb (cf. Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986), since these verbs select for a functional projection, whose head attracts the infinitive VP to its specifier.

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<sup>4</sup> A phase is a CP or *v*P, but not a TP or a verbal phrase headed by H lacking *phi*-features and not entering into Case/agreement checking (cf. Chomsky, 2000), but see also Legate (2003), den Dikken (2007), Biberauer & D'Alessandro (2006) for discussions on the notion of phase.

<sup>5</sup> There is a (semantic and structural) difference between these two classes of verbs (cf. Guasti 1993, Felser 1999), but this will not be developed here.



My analysis differs from Roberts' in that I propose that the Infinitive Phrase (InfP) moves to the [spec, VP] of the causative verb, so that the two predicates are "close enough" to form a complex predicate. In this configuration, CC and LOM are possible and necessary. The functional projection below the causative verb is CauseP, and the InfP movement is triggered by the EPP-feature on the functional causative  $v^*$ . CauseP (and V as well, as in Chomsky 2005, 2006) acts as proxy, that is, it inherits  $v^*$ 's EPP-feature, triggers the movement and Agrees with the InfP, whose head I assume has a D-feature, infinitives being nominal categories. This will be a case where the movement caused by a feature in the head pied pipes the whole category (cf. Biberauer & Richards (2006). Hence, a complex predicate is formed,  $v^*-V_{\text{non-finite}}$ . The EPP-feature can be thought of as a 'nominal deficiency' of the functional category<sup>6</sup> that will probe for a nominal. The lower  $v$  is defective (no phi-features, cf. Roberts 2008), hence, not a phase, and the InfP is able to move up.

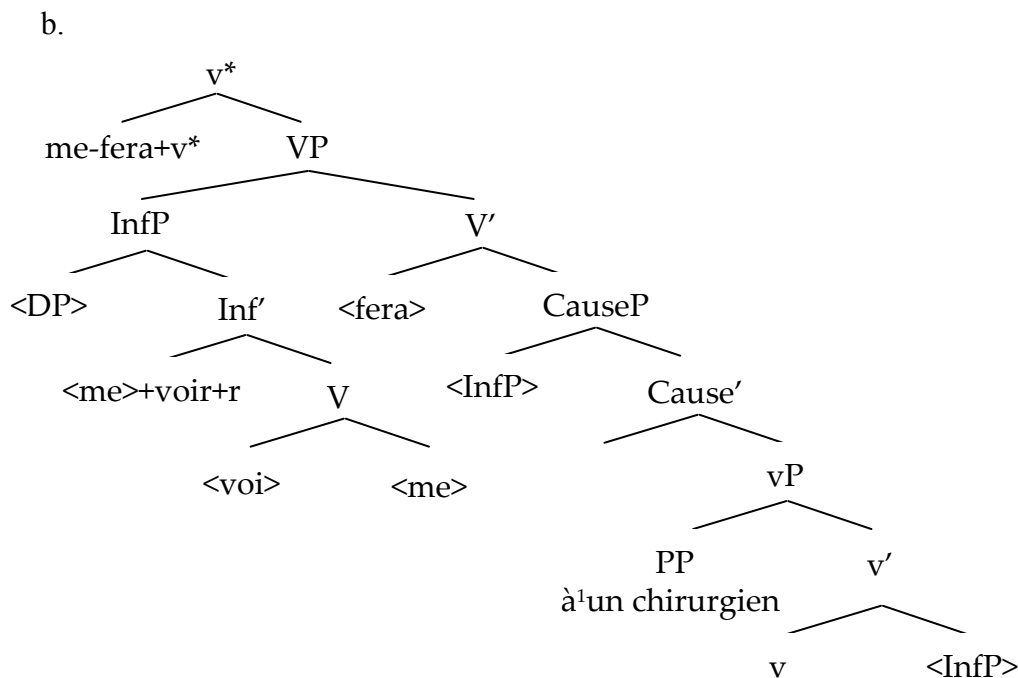
The derivation of a FI as (5a)<sup>7</sup> is shown in (5b), (cf. also Roberts 2008: 114, for a somewhat similar derivation, where CauseP is VoiceP):

- (5) a. Jean me fera voir à un chirurgien. [French]  
Jean me-CL make-FUT see-INF to a surgeon  
'Jean will have a surgeon see me'

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<sup>6</sup> Alboiu (2006) relates the EPP to a 'nominal deficiency',  $uD$ . I assume that due to the character of the probe here, the goal must have a nominal/verbal feature, since the probe/goal relation forms a complex predicate.

<sup>7</sup> My examples show CC to ensure we have a RSCP. Since LOM is dependent on the conditions for CC, as shown by Gonçalves (1999), I leave it aside. I assume the same structure for RSCPs with no clitics.



In (5b), the verb moves to the head *Inf* (represented here as *-r*) and the clitic moves to the edge of *Inf* – the remainings of the phase are transferred, shown in high relief font. However, the crucial movement here is the movement of the *InfP* to the [*spec*, *VP*]. The movement is cyclic, ie, the *InfP* moves from the embedded *vP* to *spec*, *CauseP*, then to *spec*, *V*<sup>8</sup> of *faire*.

According to Roberts (2008), whose analysis for cliticization I assume, clitics are phi-feature bundles<sup>9</sup>, and as such, they are defective goals<sup>10</sup> in relation to a probe, *v*<sup>\*</sup> (which contains phi-features and a *V* feature): the formal features of the clitic are properly included in those of the probe. Cliticization is, then, incorporation<sup>11</sup>, and, crucially for this paper, it is obligatory in the *v*<sup>\*</sup> phase, since only phase heads trigger movement (cf. Chomsky 2005).

In this way, FI as a complex predicate can be explained. Next, I will argue that both periphrastic tense and restructuring configurations are instances of XP-movement triggered by the EPP of the head *v*<sup>\*</sup>. I show that RSCPs can only be formed in a *v*<sup>\*</sup> phase.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Chomsky 2005 for the cyclic nature of this movement.

<sup>9</sup> That is, clitics are  $\phi$ Ps, lacking both D-features and Case features.

<sup>10</sup> Roberts (2008)'s formulation is:

(i) A goal *G* is defective iff *G*'s formal features are a proper subset of those of *G*'s Probe *P*

<sup>11</sup> Roberts (2008) assumes that incorporation is a regular instance of movement, but triggered by Agree instead of an EPP feature.



#### 4.2. Periphrastic tenses as v\* phase RSCP

In Romance periphrastic tenses, proclisis to the inflected auxiliary is obligatory, and adjacency between the auxiliary and participle cannot be broken (6c):

- (6) a. Gianni m' ha baciato. [Italian]  
Gianni me-CL has kissed  
'Gianni has kissed me.'  
b. \*Gianni ha baciatome.  
c. \*Gianni mi ha non baciato.

If we assume that this is due to a complex predicate structure, as (7b), CC is explained. In (7b), AspP is represented as TP<sub>2</sub> (cf. Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Julien 2001, for similar assumptions). The Participle Phrase (PartP) movement to [spec, V] is also triggered by the EPP feature of the auxiliary (functional) verb, v\*<sup>12</sup> (again, a “nominal deficiency”, which probes for a nominal/verbal feature), which is passed on to V. The subject is raised from its [spec, PartP] position, then to [spec, AspP], in a cyclic fashion, to the upper [spec, TP], triggered by the EPP of C-T, as usual.

- (7) a. O João não me tinha visto. [EP]  
The João not me-CL had see-PTCP  
'João had not seen me'.

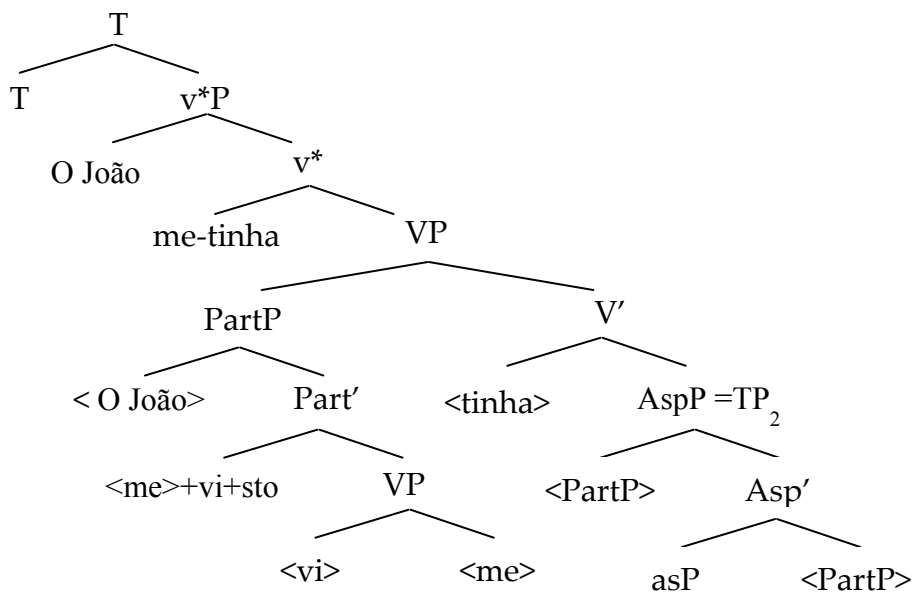
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<sup>12</sup> Both in Roberts' and in my account, the auxiliary is a probe for the clitic, hence, if “only phase heads can be targets for cliticization” (cf. above) the auxiliary has to be a phase head and have phi-features, although lacking an external argument, and not being responsible for Case (see definition of “phase” above). It is going to act as a “normal v\*” (in the case of have+aux), an assumption not at all implausible if we think of HAVE as being composed by BE+ a preposition, along the lines of Kayne (1993), where the preposition would bear the Case features which value accusative in the object of the transitive lexical verb in the PartP. This shows that the notion of “phase” has to be broadened to include auxiliaries (v) in periphrastic constructions (and passives), ie. to include complex predicates.





b.



The existence of an XP-movement can also be argued for restructuring, as I show in the next section.

#### 4.3. Restructuring as v\*phase RSCP

Restructuring has been argued to be similar to FI (cf. Roberts 2008 and Burzio 1986): there is InfP-movement to a position from where the v\* probe can incorporate the defective goal, the clitic. For Roberts (2008), there is VP movement to T, since he assumes restructuring verbs select for defective TPs. He proposes the following structure as the relevant configuration for restructuring and CC:

(8) ... v\* [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> V CL ]]]]

Contrary to Roberts, however, and following recent proposals (Chomsky 2005, 2006; Richards 2007; Alboiu 2006), I assume restructuring complements are not defective Ts, but defective C-Ts.

I propose the movement of the infinitive first to [spec, CP]. This movement is possible due to the prepositional/complementizer character of the infinitive marker (*to* in English, *e* in Italian, French, or  $\emptyset$  in Portuguese, Spanish). This analysis takes into account the fact that it has been long noticed that these elements have properties which relate them to C<sup>13</sup>. I assume that this element is a head (being dubbed here as *e*) to which the Inf and clitics have incorporated.

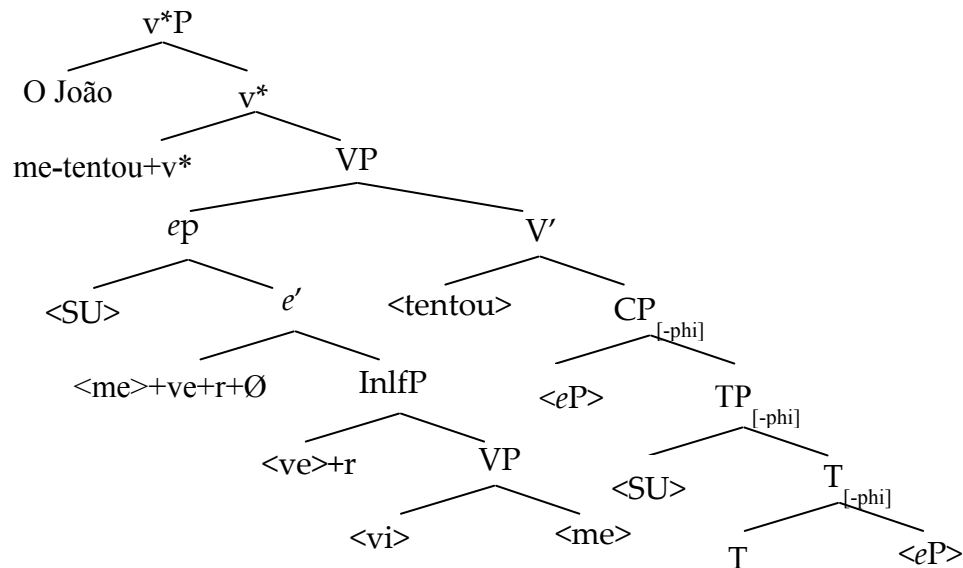
<sup>13</sup> Raposo (1986, 1989) treats *-r* as a true, displaced complementizer, in complementary distribution with *que*. Kayne (1999) also develops an analysis that expresses the relationship between infinitivals and the prepositions *de/di* via movement.





- (9) a. O João não me tentou ver. [EP]  
 The João not me-CL tried see-INF  
 'João did not try to see me'.

b.



In (9), movement of the *to*-infinitive (*eP*) is triggered by the EPP in C. C-T does not have phi-features, and hence, C is not a phase<sup>14</sup>, allowing the subsequent movement of *eP* to [spec, V], triggered by the EPP feature in v\*, the phase.

I assume that Infinitive Phrases in restructuring are not the bare infinitives found in FI. These Infinitive Phrases are below *e* (=to) and are not phases.

For that assumption, I rely on the fact that these infinitives come from a more 'nominal' element, being the complement of a prepositional/complementizer-like element, meaning purpose<sup>15</sup>. In fact, Wanner (1987) shows that the infinitive in Latin seems to have been an expression of purpose or goal (as in English, see Los 2005) which then spread to a verbal element.<sup>16</sup>

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(These prepositions will attract the infinitival to [spec, CP] in structures like *Jean a essai  de chanter*). Cf. also the 'prepositional complementizers' in Rizzi 1982, ch. 3.

<sup>14</sup> See Alboiu (2006) and references therein, for whom non-finite C lacks phi-features, but the unique A-related probe it passes on to T is the EPP (a 'nominal deficiency').

<sup>15</sup> Roberts (2008) also assumes this extra layer for infinitives in restructuring configurations, in order to explain the enclisis/proclisis possibilities.

<sup>16</sup> "The *-se/-re* ending derives from an old locative case form... from this situation of representing the goal in a goal oriented verbal meaning, the infinitive



In Portuguese, this element – now null ( $\emptyset$ ), since the original *-e* morpheme vowel was lost – is a phasal element, a functional projection. The infinitival *-r*, on the other hand, is the head of the InfP below, a nominal feature.

Bare infinitives are different from *to*-infinitives, since the former are eventives (cf. Fábregas & Varela 2006, for eventive nominal infinitives, Felser 1999 for infinitival verb complements). They derived from the *AcI* ('Accusative and Infinitive') in Latin<sup>17</sup>, as many authors have pointed out (Wanner 1987, Los 2005, Felser 1999), and, thus, it is plausible that they should have a different structure.

In summary, my analysis is based on an extension of Collins' (2005) "smuggling" derivation for passives and on the approach to clitic-climbing in Roberts (2008). The crucial element is that there is XP-movement of a non-finite phrase containing a lexical verb, and this movement allows for CC and LOM<sup>18</sup>.

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would have spread to the expression of pure verbal content due to its lack of person, number, case, tense, and voice marking in the form of an object to  $V_1$ ." (Wanner 1987: 302).

<sup>17</sup> As pointed out by Wanner (1987: 308).

<sup>18</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that it looks like adjacency between the finite and the non-finite verb should be obligatory, as shown by (5b), (7b) and (9b). The reviewer observes that this prediction is not confirmed by empirical evidence since postverbal main subjects (focused or not), floating quantifiers and different types of adverbs may intervene between the two verbs, so disrupting adjacency in European Portuguese:

- (i) a. Eu mandei-as eu mesmo cortar.
- b. Eu mando-as frequentemente podar.
- c. Eles querem-lhas {sempre/seguramente/sem dúvida} comprar.
- d. Os pais querem-lhe {provavelmente/com certeza} oferecer a viagem a Londres.
- e. Podem-lhes {sempre/até/amanhã} os alunos mais velhos dar uma ajuda.
- f. Eu vejo-os {a todos/todos os dias} entrar em casa.
- g. Eles têm todos chegado tarde a casa.
- h. Têm só as noivas chegado tarde, os noivos não.

Strict adjacency in these cases may be not required, since what counts for cliticization is that the probe search for a defective goal (see note 11 above). Besides that, in some of the sentences in (i), the "intervening" elements are adverbs which can be adjuncts to the Infinitive/Participle Phrase, and thus part of the whole structure which raises to the spec,VP, being pied piped in the XP movement. In other sentences, we see focused intervening elements, and the sentences may be thought of as the result of further movement of the clitic+verb complex. Another point in consideration is the enclisis present in the examples, which I did not treat in this paper, and may itself be the result of further verb movement. I leave these issues for further investigation.



Having argued for a  $v^*$  phase in RSCPs, it is possible to show, now, why BP is different from other Romance languages in that respect.

## 5. Brazilian Portuguese

Recall that the movement to [spec, V] is triggered by an EPP feature of the  $v^*$  phase which is passed on (spread) to its proxy non-phase head V and then to the next non-phasal functional head below the  $v^*$  phase. The embedded functional domain (C-T) is not a phase when it has no independent tense. This will be the case either when there is no C-T, in the case of FIs, or when there is a defective C-T. This configuration, where either we have no C-T or we have a defective one, allows the XP-movement in the complex predicate formation, since this movement occurs inside a phase, the upper  $v^*$  phase, and it positions the non-finite phrase close enough to the upper finite verb so that a RSCP is formed.

Accordingly, in FIs, there is no C-T. In periphrastic tenses, there is no C-T, although there is Asp, and I assume that can be considered a non-finite T, as in Julien (2001), for whom the morphological marking of the main verb in periphrastic tense constructions is taken to represent the syntactic category T. In restructuring, there is C-T, but, as we saw, these are defective functional categories, since they are [-phi], and hence, not phases. So, it is clear that the fact that there is no phasal category intervening between the verbs enables the complex predicate formation and the “clause union” effect we find in all of these configurations.

Now, BP lost FIs, probably due to the existence of another alternative with inflected infinitives, the *make*-causatives, as I argue elsewhere (Cyrino 2010) – inflected infinitives allow for nominative subjects in causatives.

This loss happened in conjunction with another change in BP, the reduction of the phi-feature set of C-T in *finite* sentences. As argued by Galves 1993<sup>19</sup>, BP lost [person] features in finite T. Nunes (2007), based on the work of Ferreira (2000) and Rodrigues (2002), proposes BP’s finite T has now only [number]. I propose the same happened to inflected infinitives in BP. The morphology marking in inflected infinitives has also been reduced: only the inflected form for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, *-rem* remains, as we will see below.

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<sup>19</sup> This morphological impoverishment is triggered, according to Galves (1993) by the lack of contrast between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in the verbal paradigm. According to Galves, [person] is a formal, not a semantic, feature. It has only two values: + and -. In BP, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular is [-person, -number], and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural is [+number].



I propose that not only the finite T and inflected infinitive T<sup>20</sup>, but also all non-finite Ts (in the case of active participles) have changed in BP (as Cyrino 2010 shows). The evidence for that claim is provided by the fact that BP allows for nominative subjects (10-11) and intervening elements in an embedded non-finite domain (sentential negation, (12) and focused nominative subjects, (13):

- (10) João me mandou eu comer sopa. (“clitic doubling”)  
 João me-CL ordered I-NOM eat-INF soup  
 ‘João ordered me to eat soup.’
- (11) João mandou eu comer sopa. (no ECM)  
 João ordered I-NOM eat-INF soup  
 ‘João ordered me to eat soup.’
- (12) Condenada recentemente por ter agredido duas manicures em  
 Condemned recently for have mugged two manicures in  
 2004, Foxy Brown parece ter não aprendido sua lição.  
 2004 Foxy Brown seem have-INF not learned her lesson.

‘Being condemned recently for having mugged two manicures in 2004, Foxy Brown seems not to have learned her lesson’.

- (13) roberto, eu tentei EU enviar meu convite à você  
 roberto I-NOM tried I-NOM send-INF my invitation to you  
 ‘Roberto, I myself tried to send my invitation to you.’

These sentences can only be possible if we postulate the presence of C-T<sub>[+phi]</sub> since Nominative Case, NegP and FocusP (see Cyrino 2010) are involved. This non-defectiveness, however, as seen above, is restricted to the presence of only one feature, [number], as also proposed by Nunes (2007) for finite T in BP.

This proposal predicts that if *non-finite* T is no different from *finite* T in its phi-feature make-up in BP, it can also value Nominative Case and, hence, control infinitives should also show these effects. The prediction is borne out.

Obligatory control and volitional structures forbid the inflected infinitive (cf. Sitaridou 2002, among others), which usually occurs in non-obligatory control structures in (European) Portuguese. However, in BP, since the lower T has a different nature, we may find both obligatory and non-obligatory control structures with inflected infinitives<sup>21</sup>:

- (14) E a gente fica tentando eles fazerem as pazes...  
 <[videolog.uol.com.br/video.php?id=116886](http://videolog.uol.com.br/video.php?id=116886)>

<sup>20</sup> See Pires (2002) for a similar observation regarding inflected infinitives in non-ECM contexts in BP.

<sup>21</sup> These and the other sentences in this paper are taken from internet blogs in order to show their availability in BP, which is in accordance with native (ie, my own) intuitions.



and the people stay trying they make-INFL the peace  
'And we keep trying to make them make peace'

- (15) ok eu sei que podem estar *tentando você* a forçar a comprar o de 3 anos,  
*ok I know that can be trying you to force to buy the of 3 years, but*  
mais fica estranho ter a opção de 2 anos né ?  
*stay strange have the option of 2 years, isn't it?*  
<[www.kadu.com.br/node/2760](http://www.kadu.com.br/node/2760)>  
'Ok, I know that they may be trying to force you to buy the one which is 3 years old, but it is strange to have the option of a 2 year-old one, isn't it?'
- (16) Seguinte eu tenho um servidor aqui que controla várias redes via pppoe,  
*following I have a server here that controls various nets via pppoe,*  
funciona tranquilo sem problema nenhum (depois de muito sufoco  
*works tranquil without problem any (after a lot of gasping*  
aprendendo a configurar) Só que tenho que colocar ips públicos junto  
*learning to configurate) Only that have that put ips public together of-that*  
dessa rede, eu consegui ele fazer isso sem problemas, só que tem  
*net, I managed it that without problems only that have*  
máquinas que o público não funciona...  
*machines that the ip ips public not work*  
<[under-linux.org/forums/proxy-nat-firewall/75693-netmask-no-pppoe-server.html](http://under-linux.org/forums/proxy-nat-firewall/75693-netmask-no-pppoe-server.html)>  
'It's the following: I have a server here which controls several nets via pppoe, and it works very well with no problems (after a lot of effort put in learning how to configurate it) . I only have to put public IPs in that net, I managed it to do it with no problems, except that there are some machines in which the public IP does not work'.

As expected, we also find inflected infinitives with obligatory control verbs:

- (17) O Brasil não é apenas futebol, Rio de Janeiro, e agora o mais novo ....  
*The Brasil not is only football, Rio de Janeiro, and now the more new*  
tópico que comprou almas, ou vidas, que tentam não serem vendidas por  
dinheiro. ...  
*topic ...that buy souls, or lives, that try.PRES.3.PL. not be.INF.3.PL by money*  
<[lise.weblogger.com.br/-22k](http://lise.weblogger.com.br/-22k)>  
'Brasil is not only football, Rio de Janeiro, and now the newest topic: (people) that buy souls, or lives, who try not to be sold by money'
- (18) Não há genéricos para o VIH, embora alguns países, como o Brasil e a  
*Not have generics for the HIV although some countries as the Brasil and*  
Índia, não sabem do que falam devem pelo menos não comentarem pois  
*the India not know of what talk must.3PL at least no comment.INF.3.PL*  
só ficam mal,  
*for only stay bad*  
<[blogspot.com/2007/10/podemos-mesmo-confiar-nos-genericos.html](http://blogspot.com/2007/10/podemos-mesmo-confiar-nos-genericos.html)>



'There are no generic medicine for the HIV virus, although in some countries as Brasil, India, they don't know what they are talking about – they should at least not make any comments on it, because they will only look bad'

- (19) Amigo Verardi, você sabe muito bem, que no Brasil, os direitos ...  
*Friend Verardi, you know very well, that, in-the Brasil, the rights*  
 segurança pública, pessoas somente querem levarem vantagens e  
*security public, people only want.PRES.3PL take.INF.3.PL advantage and*  
 fazerem show  
*do.INF.3PL show*  
[www.via6.com/topico.php?tid=67830](http://www.via6.com/topico.php?tid=67830)

'My friend Verardi, you know very well that in Brasil the rights, the public security... people only want to take advantage for themselves and show off'.

So, in BP, it is possible to find the inflected infinitive in sentences that do not present the "canonical" structure that would allow it. This fact shows that Nominative Case is being assigned/checked, since, as I propose, non-finite T is non-defective in BP. As a consequence, we also find inflected infinitives in raising structures (20-22):

- (20) pede para matarem os integrantes do MST e do PT e ateus e  
*Ask to kill the members of-the MST and of-the PT and atheists and*  
 humanistas ..... não parecem verem problema na questão  
*humanists...not seem.PRES.3PL see.INF.3PL problem in-the question*  
[br.groups.yahoo.com/group/ceticismoaberto/message/](http://br.groups.yahoo.com/group/ceticismoaberto/message/)  
 '... they ask that the MST and PT members be killed and the atheists and humanists... (they) seem not to see any problems in the issue'
- (21) Para tal dizer que elas parecem gostarem de brigar mais por questões  
*For such tell.INF that they seem.PRES.3.PL like.INF.3.PL of fight more for*  
 questões de amigas  
*of friends*  
[br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070627034441AANeL3t](http://br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070627034441AANeL3t)  
 'so to speak, they seem to like most to fight about questions of friendship'.
- (22) muitos parecem amarem mais o demonio q Deus, pois vivem  
*Many seem.PRES. 3.PL Love.INF.3.PL more the devil than God, for live*  
 chamando por ele  
*calling for him*  
[br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20060829054817AAEC9EF](http://br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20060829054817AAEC9EF) >  
 'Many seem to love the devil more than they love God, because they keep calling him'

For the same reason, we find inflected infinitives with factives (23-25) and with epistemic predicates (26-27), even when there is co-reference between the embedded and the matrix subject:

- (23) Durante o casamento de Lino e Lina, Inocência e Zoraide  
*During the wedding of Lino and Lina, Inocência and Zoraide*  
 lamentam, em pensamento, perderem ele para outra.



*regret.PRES.3.PL in thought, lose.INF.3.PL him to other*

<[www.94fm.com.br/saiba\\_o\\_que\\_vai\\_acontecer\\_nas\\_novelas\\_destas\\_ter\\_3](http://www.94fm.com.br/saiba_o_que_vai_acontecer_nas_novelas_destas_ter_3)>

'During the Lino and Lina's wedding, Inocência and Zoraide regret, in thought, having lost him to another girl'

- (24) Palmeirenses lamentam não terem definido placar no primeiro tempo ...

*Palmeirenses regret.PRES.3.PL not have.INF.3.PL defined score in the first half*

<[www.palmeirasonline.com/](http://www.palmeirasonline.com/)>

'Palmeiras fans regret not having settled the score in the first half of the game.'

- (25) querem um baile no aniversário de quinze anos ou lamentam

*want.PRES.3.PL a ball in-the birthday of fifteen years or regret.PRES.3.PL*

*não terem tido um....*

*not have.INF.3.PL had one*

<[nobreordinario.blogspot.com/feeds/posts/default/145962659292079418](http://nobreordinario.blogspot.com/feeds/posts/default/145962659292079418)>

'(they) want a sweet fifteen ball or (they) regret not having had one.'

- (26) Muitos pensam nunca terem tido condições de criar,

*Many think.PRES.3.PL never have.INF.3.PL had conditions to create*

<[www.casadavovoza.bigblogger.com.br/index.php?mes=2&ano=2005](http://www.casadavovoza.bigblogger.com.br/index.php?mes=2&ano=2005)>

'Many think they have never had conditions to raise (them)'

- (27) Educados ... por aqueles que pensam não terem nada a dizer...

*Educated by those who think.PRES.3.PL not have.INF.3.PL nothing to say*

<[www.nofronte.blogspot.com.br/2006\\_06\\_18\\_archive.html](http://www.nofronte.blogspot.com.br/2006_06_18_archive.html)>

'raised by those who think they have nothing to say'

Nunes (2007) argues for the existence of hyper-raising structures in BP, whereby null subjects in embedded clauses are instances of raising (28). Hyper-raising with either a resumptive pronoun or a matrix subject with topic properties (cf. Martins & Nunes, to appear) are also possible (29):

- (28) [O João]<sub>i</sub> disse [que *ec<sub>i</sub>/r<sub>j</sub>* comprou um carro novo]

the João<sub>i</sub> said that bought.3SG a car new

'João<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub>/<sub>r<sub>j</sub></sub> bought a new car.'

- (29) [As crianças]<sub>i</sub> parecem que elas<sub>i</sub> gostam da babá.

the children seem-3PL that they like-3PL of-the baby-sitter

'The children seem to like the baby-sitter.'

Nunes (2007) proposes (30), for *finite* Ts in BP due to the impoverished verbal agreement paradigm found in BP, as seen in (31):

- (30) phi-complete finite T → T<sub>[number, person]</sub> (T in matrix clauses)

phi-incomplete finite T → T<sub>[number]</sub> (lower T in raising structures)

- (31) Verbal agreement paradigm in (Colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese

*cantar* 'to sing': indicative present

eu 'I'	canto	P:1; N:SG
você 'you (SG)'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ele 'he'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ela 'she'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
a gente 'we'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)





vocês 'you (PL)'	<i>cantam</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
eles 'they (MASC)'	<i>cantam</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
elas 'they (FEM)'	<i>cantam</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)

The verbal forms above may be associated with a T specified only for number, with the person information being provided in the morphological component by redundancy rules, as illustrated below.

(32) *cantar* 'to sing': indicative present

Valuation of T in the syntactic component	Addition of [person] in the morphological component	Surface form of the verb
N:SG	N:SG; <i>P:1</i>	Canto
N:default	N:default; <i>P:default</i>	Canta
N:PL	N:PL; <i>P:default</i>	Cantam

In other words, person features in BP may be dissociated features in the sense of Embick (1997). If T has only a [number] feature and it is valued as singular in the syntactic component, it will later be associated with first person in the morphological component; if the number feature receives any other value in the syntactic component (default or plural), it will later be associated with a default value for person (third) (cf. Nunes, 2007).

Now, let us consider the personal infinitive paradigm in BP in (33):

(33) Verbal agreement paradigm in (Colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese infinitives

*cantar* 'to sing': inflected infinitive

eu 'I'	<i>cantar</i>	P: default; N:default (= 3SG)
você 'you (SG)'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ele 'he'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ela 'she'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
a gente 'we'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
Nós 'we'	<i>cantarmos</i>	<i>P: 1; N:PL</i>
vocês 'you (PL)'	<i>cantarem</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
eles 'they (MASC)'	<i>cantarem</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
elas 'they (FEM)'	<i>cantarem</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)

It seems that, in terms of features, the personal infinitive is like the finite T in BP, in which post-syntactic rules will work:

(34) *cantar* 'to sing': inflected infinitive

Valuation of T in the syntactic component	Addition of [person] in the morphological component	Surface form of the verb
N:PL	N:PL; <i>P:1</i>	Cantarmos
N:default	N:default; <i>P:default</i>	Cantar
N:PL	N:PL; <i>P:default</i>	Cantarem

As we saw above, inflected infinitives can occur with raising predicates in BP, This is possible even with overt (focalized subjects):

- (35) as maquinonas parecem elas mesmas terem adquirido propriedades ...  
*the machines seem.PRES.3.PL they themselves have.INF.3.PL acquired properties*  
[omnilandia.blogspot.com/2006/12/cine-iberto-pulse.html](http://omnilandia.blogspot.com/2006/12/cine-iberto-pulse.html)  
 'the big machines seem to have acquired properties themselves'
- (36) Pareciam eles mesmos estarem dentro de uma coisa estranha  
*seem.PAST.3.PL they themselves be.INF.3.PL inside of a thing strange*  
[diversoeavesso.blogspot.com/2006\\_08\\_01\\_archive.html](http://diversoeavesso.blogspot.com/2006_08_01_archive.html)  
 'They seem to be inside a strange thing themselves'

Szabolsci (2008) argues that Nominative overt subjects are possible both in raising and control clauses in some languages, and she argues that such DPs need not be rescued by some kind of default case or by infinitival inflection in the Portuguese sense. She proposes a "multiagreement parameter", whereby, similarly to cross-linguistic variation in negative concord, languages vary as to whether a single finite inflection may share features with more than one nominative DP.

Although she cites Brazilian Portuguese, her analyzes does not fit the data, since, as we saw, infinitives which are embedded in control structures can be inflected and disjoint in reference with respect to the upper subject. However, this matter deserves further investigation.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper I propose a structure for BP's RSCP which will also explain why there is no CC (or LOM) in the language: RSCPs cannot be formed, since the EPP of the  $v^*$  phase cannot probe across the  $C-T_{[+phi]}$  a phase. The XP-movement I propose for RSCPs simply cannot occur in BP in periphrastic tenses and restructuring, as can be seen below in (38-39). Since there is a complete absence of FI causatives in BP, the only possible causatives are of the ECM-type, although no ECM can take place either (see (11) above), since the subject can be nominative due to the presence of the  $C-T_{[+phi]}$ . The structure of these sentences is proposed as follows:

### a) Causatives

(37)

a. João me mandou comer sopa.

$[_{v^*} me+mandou+v^* [_{VP} <mandou> <me> [_{CP(+phi)} [_{TP(+phi)} pro [_{T'} [_{vP} <pro> [_{VP} comer\ sopa]]]]]]]$

b. João me mandou eu comer sopa.

$[_{v^*} me+mandou+v^* [_{VP} <mandou> <me> [_{CP(+phi)} [_{TP(+phi)} eu [_{T'} [_{vP} <eu> [_{VP} comer\ sopa]]]]]]]$



c. João mandou eu comer sopa.

$[_{VP} \text{mandou} [_{CP(+phi)} [_{TP(+phi)} \text{eu} [_{T'} [_{VP} <\text{eu}> [_{VP} \text{comer sopa}]]]]]]]$

b) “Restructuring”

(38) João tentou me ver.

$[_{VP} \text{tentou} [_{CP(+phi)} [_{TP(+phi)} \text{pro} [_{T'} [_{VP} <\text{pro}> [_{V'} \text{me+ver} [_{VP} <\text{ve}> <\text{me}>]]]]]]]]]$

c) *Periphrastic tenses*<sup>22</sup>

(39) João tinha me visto.

$[_{T'} \text{tinha} [_{TP(+phi)} \text{João} [_{VP} <\text{João}> [_{V'} \text{me+visto} [_{PartP} <\text{vi+sto}> [_{VP} <\text{vi}> <\text{me}>]]]]]]]]]$

These structures can explain the presence of interveners, negation and (focused) nominative subjects, in both aux+V and  $V_{\text{Restructuring}} + V$  contexts, seen in (12-13), since those elements are related to the presence of  $C-T_{[+phi: \text{number}]}$ . The lack of ECM (11) can be accounted for as well, since this is a consequence of the  $C-T_{[+phi: \text{number}]}$  present in these structures in BP.

In this paper, we have seen that the analysis I propose for RSCPs can account for the lack of such constructions in BP, once we acknowledge BP’s peculiar non-finite structures and T’s phi-feature makeup. I argued that in BP, now, uninflected infinitives and inflected infinitives are alike. This predicts that in a *canonical* Romance uninflected infinitive context, the restructuring infinitive, we should be able to find embedded inflected infinitives in BP. Indeed, we do, as we saw above.

This paper is, then, a contribution for the study of Romance languages as it shows that variation may be the result of a difference in the feature make-up of functional elements.

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<sup>22</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that in Piedmontese one can find lack of clitic climbing in periphrastic tenses, in which case the clitic will be enclitic to the participle. I will leave for further study whether the structure proposed for BP, ie the lack of RSCP, can also explain those Italian dialects that lack clitic climbing.



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