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Distribution of reduced pronominal forms in subject position: free variation and complementary distribution in the grammar of certain varieties of Brazilian Portuguese

Research has shown that, contrary to European Portuguese (EP), a new class of reduced pronouns has emerged in subject position in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Its nature is (almost) clitic (cf. Nunes 1990). According to Castilho (2010, 482), personal pronouns are changing to number-personal morphemes in vernacular BP and learned colloquial BP (e.g. {*noi-*}: *nós vamos* > *noivamo* ‘we go’, {*eis-/es-*}: *eles vão* > *eisvão/esvão* ‘they go’). However, the adjacency between these pronouns and the verb can be broken (e.g. *noi sempre vamos* ‘we always go’). I will defend that the subject pronouns are not adjunct to T, but to another syntactic position (against Kato/Duarte 2014a, 2014b). Furthermore, the tests for cliticization proposed by Kayne (1975) and double subject constructions reveal that reduced pronominal forms in BP are either in free variation (e.g. *eu/ô vou* ‘I go’) or in complementary distribution with their non-reduced pronominal forms (e.g. *eu/*ô e Maria vamos* ‘me and Mary go’).

1 Introduction

The nature of pronouns in subject position in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP) has been studied by many researchers (cf. Britto 2000; Duarte 2000; Kato 2000; Galves 2001; Kato/Duarte 2014a, 2014b). One observes, for example, the existence of two types of pronominal forms: a) a reduced form (e.g. *cê* ‘you’),² i.e., a reduced *resumptive pronoun*, and b) a non-reduced form (e.g. *você* ‘you’) in double subject constructions like

- (1) *Você* *cê* *estuda* *muito*.
 you.2SG you.2SG study-PRS.3SG a lot
 ‘(You,) you study a lot.’

Many researchers have defended that the sentence in (1) is very common in certain varieties of BP because the inflectional paradigm of BP is becoming poorer. As can be seen in Table 1, in some varieties of BP, there are only four morphological distinctions for person and number ({-o}, {-a}, {-mos} and {-m}), as opposed to five in European Portuguese (EP) ({-o}, {-s}, {-a}, {-mos} and {-m}):³

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² All translations in this paper are mine.

³ In this paper, I adopt this paradigm for the analysis.

Brazilian Portuguese	European Portuguese
(<i>eu</i>) <i>canto</i> ‘(I) sing’	(<i>eu</i>) <i>canto</i> ‘(I) sing’
	(<i>tu</i>) <i>cantas</i> ‘(you) sing’
<i>você canta</i> ‘you sing’ <i>ele canta</i> ‘he sings’	<i>você canta</i> ‘you sing’ <i>ele canta</i> ‘he sings’
(<i>nós</i>) <i>cantamos</i> ‘(we) sing’	(<i>nós</i>) <i>cantamos</i> ‘we sing’
(<i>vocês</i>) <i>cantam</i> ‘you sing’ (<i>eles</i>) <i>cantam</i> ‘they sing’	(<i>vocês</i>) <i>cantam</i> ‘you sing’ (<i>eles</i>) <i>cantam</i> ‘they sing’

Tab. 1: Inflectional paradigm of the verb in BP and EP according to Galves (2001, 103)⁴

With regard to the pronominal paradigm, several BP varieties (e.g. the dialects of São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Maceió and Recife), though preserving the original second person pronoun *tu* ‘you’, have lost the verbal morphology of the second-person singular (*-s*). In these varieties, such morphology is no longer acquired by means of a natural acquisition process.⁵ According to Figueiredo Silva (1996, 40), “[...] na maior parte dos dialetos onde *tu* sobrevive, a sua morfologia específica já está perdida; assim, é muito comum ouvir-se frases do tipo *tu vai?* ao lado de *você vai?*”.⁶ In other words, the second person in these dialects is specified by the verbal morpheme of the third person singular.

Duarte’s diachronic research (2000), based on theater plays written in the 19th and 20th century, observed a decrease of null subjects and an increase of full subject pronouns⁷ (cf. Figure 1) linked to the BP-inflectional morphology’s being unable to identify the features of all the persons in the paradigm. The first period (1845 to 1919) corresponds to the period in which the paradigm displayed six different inflectional endings (*Paradigm 1*), whereas in the second period (1937 to 1955) only four different inflectional endings were left (*Paradigm 2*). Finally, the third period (1975 to 1992) displayed three inflectional endings (*Paradigm 3*) (cf. Table 2):

⁴ Galves (2001, 124) furthermore states that some dialects of BP “mostram contraste apenas entre a primeira pessoa do singular e todas as outras: *eu canto/você, nós, eles canta*”, i.e., ‘show a contrast only between the first person singular as opposed to all the other persons: I sing/you, we, they sing’. Moreover, note that the paradigm of EP is based on the dialect of Lisbon.

⁵ However, Scherre et al. (2009) show that there are Brazilian cities where *tu* not only survives but where agreement by means of the inflectional morphology of the second-person singular (*-s*) is established more frequently (e.g. Florianópolis, São Luiz do Maranhão and Belém).

⁶ “[...] in most dialects where *tu* survives, its specific morphology has already been lost; so it is very common to hear sentences like *tu vai* besides *você vai?*’

⁷ Differentiating between grammatical persons and three age groups (group 1: > 46; group 2: 35–46; Group 3: 25–35), Duarte (2000, 21), based on spontaneous speech, observes that “in the speech of every group, the highest rates of expressed subjects are found for the second person (80%, 94% and 92%, respectively). This confirms diachronic results. The first person follows with 67% for Group 1 and 79% for Groups 2 and 3. Third person forms place last, with the lowest rates of 50%, 65%, and 71%, respectively.”

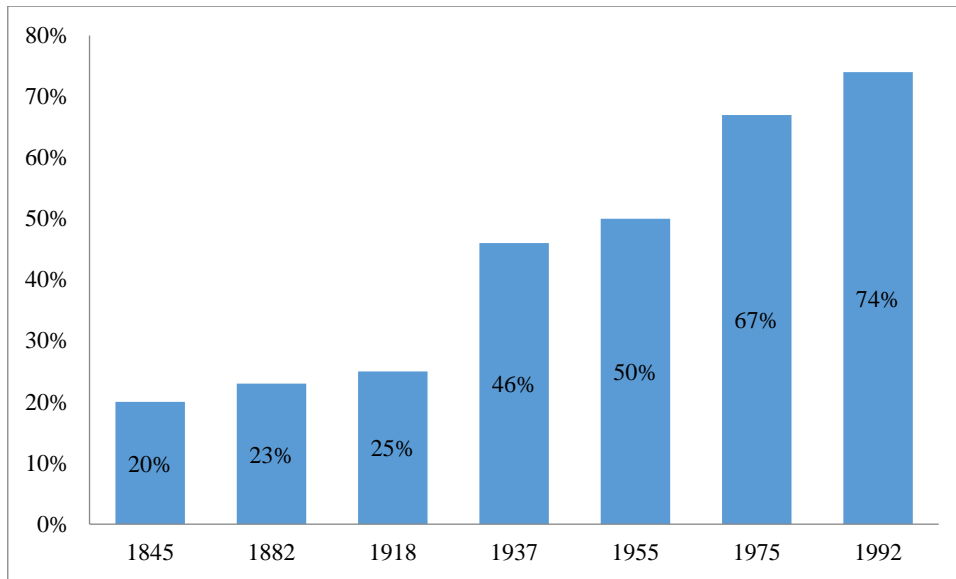


Fig. 1: Increase of full pronouns in subject position in BP according to Duarte (2000, 19)

Pers./Num.	Pronouns	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2	Paradigm 3
1 st sg.	<i>eu</i>	<i>am o</i>	<i>am o</i>	am o
2 nd sg.	<i>tu</i> <i>você</i>	<i>am a s</i> <i>am a</i>	- <i>am a</i>	- am a
3 rd sg.	<i>ele/ela</i>	<i>am a</i>	<i>am a</i>	am a
1 st pl.	<i>nós</i> <i>a gente</i>	<i>am a mos</i> -	<i>am a mos</i> <i>am a</i>	- am a
2 nd pl.	<i>vós</i> <i>vocês</i>	<i>am a is</i> <i>am a m</i>	- <i>am a m</i>	- am a m
3 rd pl.	<i>eles/elas</i>	<i>am a m</i>	<i>am a m</i>	am a m

Tab. 2: Pronominal and inflectional paradigms in BP according to Duarte (2000, 19)

Researchers argue that EP is a *consistent* null subject language (cf. Barbosa 1996; Barbosa/Duarte/Kato 2001), whereas BP is a *partial* null subject language (Holmberg/Nayudu/Sheehan 2009; Kato/Duarte 2014a, 2014b). Kato/Duarte (2014b, 8–10) show some contexts in which it is possible to still find null subjects in BP in embedded sentences (2a), where full pronouns are nevertheless also possible (2b):

- (2) a. *João_i disse que Ø_{i/*j} comprou um carro ontem.*
 John say-PST.3SG that \emptyset buy-PST.3SG a car yesterday
- b. *João_i disse que ele_{ij} comprou um carro ontem.*
 John say-PST.3SG that he.3SG buy-PST.3SG a car yesterday
 ‘John said that (he) bought a car yesterday.’

In (2a), the null subject in the embedded clause must be coreferential with the subject in the main clause. On the contrary, if the subject is expressed in the embedded clause, coreference with the subject in the main clause is optional. Note that in this respect, EP behaves differently in the same environments: In EP, the null subject in (2a) can be –but does not have to be– coreferential with the subject in the main clause. Analogously, and unlike in BP, if the subject is expressed in the

embedded clause in EP, coreference with the subject of the main clause is not possible, except if there is a contrastive reading.⁸

b) as generic subjects (3a), which are in variation with full subjects (3b–3c):

- (3) a. \emptyset_{gen} *não pode fumar aqui.*
 \emptyset NEG can-PRS.3SG smoke-INF here
 ‘No smoking allowed here.’ / ‘One/you must not smoke here.’
- b. *A gente não pode fumar aqui.*
 we.1PL NEG can-PRS.3SG smoke-INF here
 ‘One/you must not smoke here.’
- c. *Você não pode fumar aqui.*
 you.2SG NEG can-PRS.3SG smoke-INF here
 ‘One/you must not smoke here.’

In EP, on the other hand, the use of the impersonal clitic *se* is mandatory in order to obtain a generic reading (cf. Galves 2001). If the pronoun is not used, the reading is definite:

- (4) *Não se pode fumar aqui.*
 NEG CL.IMP.3SG can-PRS.3SG smoke-INF here.
 ‘No smoking allowed here.’ / ‘One/you must not smoke here.’

c) as expletives⁹ (5a), which are in variation with personal constructions (5b), the latter of which are not possible in EP:

⁸ As noted by a reviewer, the full subject in the embedded clause is coreferential with the subject in the main clause in EP if it has a contrastive reading:

- (i) a. *João disse que ele (próprio) comprou*
 John say-PST.3SG that he (himself) buy-PST.3SG
um carro ontem (e não outros).
 a car yesterday (and not others)
 ‘John said that he himself bought a car yesterday (and not someone else).’
- b. *João disse que ele (próprio) tem*
 John say-PST.3SG that he (himself) have-PRS.3SG
dúvidas (e não outros).
 doubts (and not others)
 ‘John said that he himself has doubts (and not someone else).’

⁹ Following Chomsky (1986) and Burzio (1986), I assume that in (5a), there is a relation of co-indexing between the expletive and the argument in the postverbal position through a CHAIN in which nominative case is transmitted from the expletive to the postverbal argument.

- (5) a. \emptyset_{expl} *está* *entrando* *água* *por*
 \emptyset be-AUX.PRS.3SG enter-PROG water through
essas janelas.
 these windows.
 ‘Water is getting in through these windows.’
- b. *Essas janelas_i* *estão* *entrando* *água* [t]_i.
 these windows be-PRS.3PL enter-PROG water
 ‘Water is getting in through these windows.’

Although there are asymmetries between BP and EP as noted in examples (2) – (5), it is mostly assumed that double subject constructions like (1) are instances of *Left Dislocation* (LD), much like what is proposed for French (cf. De Cat 2002, 2003, 2004). Accordingly, the full pronoun, which is a topic, and the reduced resumptive pronoun are usually assumed to be in distinct syntactic positions (e.g. *Você cê estuda muito* ‘(You,) you study a lot’). Contrary to this proposal, Silva (2004) and Costa/Duarte/Silva (2006), based on intuitive data from the dialect of Maceió, argue that double subject constructions in BP cannot be LDs and are not necessarily related to the loss of the *Avoid Pronoun Principle*¹⁰ proposed by Duarte (1995). Furthermore, the constructions in BP are different from apparently similar constructions in French, a non-null subject language. There exists, for instance, a double subject construction in BP with a quantified subject (6a) or a specific indefinite subject¹¹ (6g), contrary to French (6c). Although there is asymmetry between the two languages, they both avoid LDs of quantified DPs (6b–6c). It is possible, too, that non-reduced pronominal forms are resumptive in double subject constructions in BP, like *ela* ‘she’ in (6a) and *eles* ‘they’ in (6g):

- (6) a. *Cada criança ela* *leva* *seu livro para a* *escola.*
 each child she.3SGtake-PRS.3SG her book to the school
 ‘Each child takes her/his book to school.’

¹⁰ As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the expression *loss of the Avoid Pronoun Principle* adopted by Duarte (1995, 2000) needs to be reviewed because a principle cannot be lost: only its parametric values can be changed.

¹¹ I consider (6g), repeated in (i), to contain a specific indefinite subject based on Enç’s (1991) proposal. According to this author, an indefinite subject is specific if it has a partitive reading. Observe the partitive interpretations of (i) as illustrated in (ii) and (iii):

- (i) *Alguns* *meninos* *eles* *levam* *um* *livro* *pra* *escola.*
 some children they.3PL take-PRS.3PL a book to school
 ‘Some children take a book to school.’
- (ii) *Cada um* *dos* *meninos* *leva* *um* *livro* *pra* *escola.*
 each one of-the children take-PRS.3SG a book to school
 ‘Each of the children takes a book to school.’
- (iii) *Alguns* *dos* *meninos* *levam* *um* *livro* *pra* *escola.*
 some of-the children take-PRS.3PL a book to school.
 ‘Some of the children take a book to school.’
 (Costa/Duarte/Silva 2006, 143)

- b.¹² **Cada criança, eu vi em sua escola.*
 each child I.1SG see-PST.1SG in her school
 ‘I saw each child in her/his school.’
- c. **Chaque enfant, je l’ai vu à son école.*
 each child I.1SG her-AUX.PRS.1SG see-PTCP at her school
 ‘I saw each child at his/her school.’
- d. ^{??}*Um menino ele chegou.*
 a boy he.3SG arrive-PST.3SG
 ‘A boy arrived.’
- e. **Gatos eles são felinos.*
 cats they.3PL be.PRS.3PL felines
 ‘Cats are felines.’
- f. **Brasileiro, ele vive grudado no samba.*
 Brazilian he.3SG live- PRS.3SG stick-PTCP on-the samba.
 ‘Samba is a deep-rooted part of Brazilians’ lives.’
- g. *Alguns meninos eles levam um livro para a escola.*
 some children they.3PL take-PRS.3PL a book to the school
 ‘Some children take a book to school.’

(Costa/Duarte/Silva 2006, 139–140)

¹² As noted by a reviewer, the sentences from (ib) to (ie) are possible in EP when the quantified DP is a direct object and establishes agreement with a possessive pronoun:

- (i) a. **Eu pus cada livro nesta prateleira.*
 I.1SG put-PST.1SG each book on-that shelf
 ‘I put each book on this shelf.’
- b. *Eu pus cada livro na sua prateleira.*
 I.1SG put-PST.1SG each book on-the its shelf
 ‘I put each book on its shelf.’
- c. *Eu vi cada criança no seu balanço.*
 I.1SG see-PST.1SG each child on-the its swing
 ‘I saw each child on its swing.’
- d. *Cada criança, eu vi (ela/-a) no seu balanço.*
 each child I.1SG see-PST.1SG (she/her) on-the its swing
 ‘I saw each child on the swing.’
- e. *Cada parafuso, o carpinteiro colocava cuidadosamente no seu lugar.*
 each screw the carpenter put-IMPF.3SG carefully in-the its place
 ‘The carpenter put each screw carefully in its place.’

Furthermore, there is additional evidence that quantified DPs can be dislocated in EP when the DP is a direct object:

- (ii) *Cada pessoa, eu convenço de maneira diferente a ajudar-me.*
 each person I.1SG convince-PRS.1SG of manner different to help-INF-me
 ‘I convince each person to help me in a different manner.’

As (6b) and (6c) are not possible, I argue that quantified DPs in subject position always occupy an A-position as proposed by Costa/Duarte/Silva (2006). So, when there are double subject constructions, the subject and the resumptive pronoun are in the internal domain of the sentence.

Furthermore, there is a definiteness effect in sentences (6d–6f) in that double subject constructions avoid indefinite nominals: The sentence in (6d) is marginal with the indefinite *um menino* ‘a boy’ and the other sentences are ungrammatical with the bare nouns *gatos* ‘cats’ and *brasileiro* ‘Brazilian’. Contrary to these sentences, Costa/Duarte/Silva (2006) observe that it is possible that the indefinite *alguns meninos* ‘some children’ in (6g) be doubled by a resumptive pronoun. This is due to its being a Quantifier Phrase (QP) with partitive reading.¹³

Another difference relates to the prosodic domain: An intonation contour (specifically, an independent intonational phrase signaled graphically by the comma)¹⁴ between the subject and the resumptive pronoun in BP is optional (7a–7b). In French (7c) and EP (7b), however, this intonational phrase is obligatory in these contexts since the dislocated subjects are always in a non-A-position (namely, Spec,TopP):

(7) a. *O Pedro, ele acabou de telefonar.*
 the Peter he.3SG have.just-PST.3SG call-INF
 ‘Peter just called.’ (OK BP/EP)

b. *O Pedro ele acabou de telefonar.*
 the Peter he.3SG have.just-PST.3SG call-INF
 ‘Peter just called.’ (OK BP; *EP)

(Costa/Galves 2002, 136)

c. *Kester_i, il_i dit qu’ il_i aime bien les poissons.*
 Kester he.3SG say-PRS.3SG that he.3SG like-PRS.3SG a lot
 the fish
 ‘Kester says he likes fish a lot.’

(De Cat 2003, 11)

Furthermore, double subjects in French are very common in first, second and third person (Costa/Duarte/Silva 2006), contrary to what happens in BP, where double subjects show a strong bias to appear with the third but not with the other persons (cf. Silva 2013).

¹³ See footnote 11 in this paper.

¹⁴ In prosodic phonology, the intonation contour is “a constituent called Intonational Phrase (I) which took its place in a hierarchy of other prosodic constituents (Selkirk 1981; Nespor/Vogel 1986)” (Gussenhoven/Rietveld 1992, 284). In this paper, I only analyze the intonational phrase formed by topics (specifically, dislocated subjects), which constitute an external sequence to the main clause (Frota 2000; Mira Mateus/Frota/Vigário 2003). So, it is an independent intonational phrase (Nespor/Vogel 1986). The comma in (7a) and (7c) is a graphematic means signaling the boundary between two intonational phrases.

Following Cardinaletti/Starke's (1994), several scholars defend that the reduced resumptive pronoun (e.g. *você cê vai...* 'you you go...') in double subject constructions is not a clitic (X^0), but always a weak pronoun (cf. Duarte 2000; Kato 2000; Costa/Galves 2002; Pires 2007). In the next section, however, I will show that it is possible to adopt the view of Costa/Duarte/Silva (2006), who argue that the reduced resumptive pronoun can indeed be in an X^0 position, a result derived from the impoverishment of inflectional morphology in BP. To that aim, I analyze different syntactic contexts from intuitive data in BP.

In summary, the aims of this paper are: a) to describe the nature of reduced resumptive pronouns in BP based on the tests for cliticization (Kayne 1975) and b) to provide evidence from syntactic contexts in which the reduced and non-reduced pronominal forms in subject position are either in free variation or in complementary distribution.¹⁵ In the analysis, I will show that Castilho's (2010) and Kato/Duarte's (2014a, 2014b) proposal on the nature of resumptive pronouns (Section 2) and the tests for cliticization by Kayne (1975) reveal that the reduced resumptive pronoun is not a syntactic clitic because it is possible to break its adjacency to the verb (Subsection 3.1). In Subsection 3.2, I will propose that the reduced resumptive pronoun can occupy the domain of DP in Spec,TP. Section 4 contains some final remarks.

2 On the nature of reduced resumptive pronouns in BP: Castilho's (2010) and Kato/Duarte's (2014a, 2014b) proposal

As mentioned in Section 1, double subject constructions in BP have been studied by many researchers. Nunes (1990) and Kato/Duarte (2014a, 2014b) argue that the reduced pronominal forms *eu* [*ô*] 'I', *você* [*cê*] 'you', *ele* [*ei*] 'he', *vocês* [*cês*] 'you' and *eles* [*eis*] 'they' are *almost-clitics*.

In their analysis, Kato/Duarte (2014a, 2014b) propose that reduced resumptive pronouns like clitics (X^0) do not raise to Spec,TP but adjoin to T, contrary to EP, in which the number-person morpheme adjoins to T and the subject is left dislocated. Cf. the following sentences in BP:

- (8) a. *Ô* *vou*.
 I.1SG go-PRS.1SG
 'I go.'
- b. *Cê* *entra*.
 you.2SG enter-PRS.3SG
 'You enter.'
- c. *Ei* *chegou* *agora*.
 he.3SG arrive-PST.3SG now
 'He arrived now.'

(Kato/Duarte 2014b, 16)

¹⁵ By *free variation* I refer to the phenomenon that two (or more) forms are interchangeable in the same environment without causing a change in meaning.

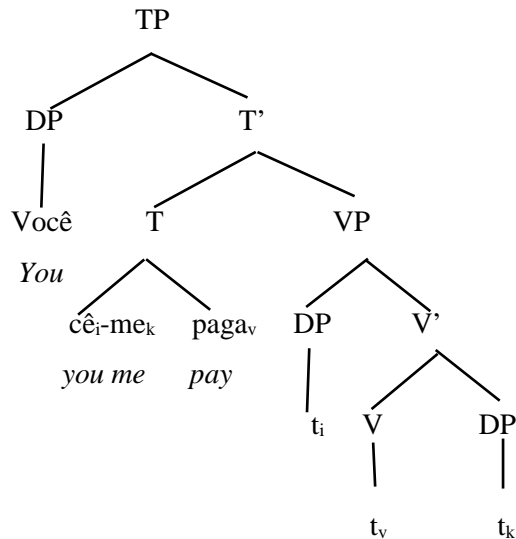
- (9) *O Pedro, [ei] vem amanhã.*
 the Peter he.3SG come-PRS.3SG tomorrow
 ‘Peter, he is coming tomorrow.’

(Kato/Duarte 2014b, 17)

The authors only consider sentences in which the reduced resumptive pronoun and the verb are strictly adjacent. As presented in their paper, the subject raises to Spec,TP and the reduced resumptive pronoun adjoins to the verb in T like a clitic:

- (10) *Você, [cê] me paga.*
 you.2SG you.2SG me pay-PRS.3SG
 ‘You owe me big time.’

(Kato/Duarte 2014b, 17)



Like Kato/Duarte (2014a, 2014b), Castilho (2010) argues that nominative personal pronouns are changing into verbal morphemes in vernacular BP and learned colloquial BP. In this sense, what both Kato/Duarte and Castilho seem to suggest is that adjacency is obligatory between these pronouns and the verb. As the following examples from Castilho (2010) show, reduced pronominal forms are considered verbal morphemes:

- (11) {e-}: *eu vou* > *evô* ('I go')
 {noi-} *nós vamos* > *noivamo* ('we go')
 {cê-}: *você vai* > *cevai* ('you go')
 {ceis-}: *vocês vão* > *ceisvão* ('you go')
 {ei-}: *ele vai* > *eivai* ('he goes')
 {eis-/ es-}: *eles vão* > *eisvão/esvão* ('they go')

When analyzing sentences like (12), however, a question arises: How to explain the sentences in which adverbs adjoined to TP break the adjacency between the reduced resumptive pronoun and the verb?

- (12) a. *Você* *cê* *intencionalmente* *quebrou* *o* *copo*.
 you.2SG you.2SG intentionally break-PST.3SG the glass
 ‘You intentionally broke the glass.’
- b. *João* *ei* *sempre vai* *ao* *cinema*.
 John he.3SG always go-PRS.3SG to-the cinema
 ‘John always goes to the cinema.’

Based on the examples in (12), it is not plausible to assume, as implicitly suggested by Kato/Duarte (2014a, 2014b) and Castilho (2010), that the adjacency between the reduced resumptive pronoun and the verb is obligatory. As a direct consequence, this pronoun cannot be a syntactic clitic, contrary to what happens in other languages, e.g. in Capeverdean (Pratas 2002, 2007) or Fiorentino and Trentino (Brandi/Cordin 1989). Additional evidence will be adduced in the next section.

3 Distribution and syntactic position of reduced pronominal forms in BP

3.1 Tests for cliticization (Kayne 1975): the case of BP¹⁶

In this subsection, I will follow Kayne (1975) and show five tests in order to assess the nature of the reduced resumptive pronoun, i.e., whether it is an XP or an X^o, following the terminology of Cardinaletti/Starke (1994), and to describe the contexts in which it is in free variation or complementary distribution with the non-reduced pronominal form. The five tests for clitic-hood are as follows:

a) If an element is a clitic no element must be able to break the adjacency between this element and the verb. Reduced resumptive pronouns in BP show the following behavior:

- (13)¹⁷ a. *??*Você intencionalmente/sempre* *cê* *lê* *livros românticos*.

(Costa/Duarte/Silva 2006)

- b. *Você* *cê* *intencionalmente/sempre* *lê* *livros românticos*.

¹⁶ The data described in this section is based on intuitive data from the dialects of Minas Gerais, Alagoas and Pernambuco, Brazil.

¹⁷ Vitral/Ramos (2008) argue that the reduced resumptive BP-pronoun *cê(s)* ‘you’ is undergoing a process of cliticization. The pronominal form is frequent in the dialect of Minas Gerais, Brazil. According to these authors, quantitative studies reveal that “os casos de não adjacência correspondem a, no máximo, 5%.”, i.e., ‘the cases of non-adjacency correspond to, at most, 5%.’

(Silva 2004, 432)

- c. *Você, cê intencionalmente/semprê lê livros românticos.*
- d. *Você intencionalmente/semprê você lê livros românticos.*
- e. **Você você intencionalmente/semprê lê livros românticos.*
- f. *Você, você intencionalmente/semprê lê livros românticos.*
'You intentionally/always read romantic books.'

Conclusion 1: The reduced pronominal form *cê* 'you' can be placed before the adverb *intentionally/always* and can optionally be separated from the subject by a comma, signaling the boundary between two intonational phrases (13b–13c).

Conclusion 2: The non-reduced pronominal form *você* 'you' is in complementary distribution with the reduced form *cê* 'you' in contexts in which there is no independent intonational phrase ((13b) vs. (13e)).

Conclusion 3: The non-reduced pronominal form *você* 'you' is in complementary distribution with the reduced pronominal form *cê* 'you' when preceded by the adverbs *intentionally/always* ((13a) vs. (13d)).

Conclusion 4: The non-reduced pronominal form *você* 'you' is in free variation with the reduced pronominal form *cê* 'you' when followed by the adverbs *intentionally/always* and separated from the subject by a comma, signaling the boundary between two intonational phrases ((13c); (13f)).

b) If an element is a clitic it must not be possible for it to be coordinated with a DP. Reduced resumptive pronouns in BP show the following behavior:

- (14)¹⁸ a. *Eu e Maria vamos à praia.*
- a'. **Ô e Maria vamos à praia.*
- b. *Eu e Maria, nós vamos à praia.*
- b'. **Ô e Maria, noi vamos à praia.*
- c. **Ô e Maria, nós vamos à praia.*
- c'. **Ô e Maria, noi vamos à praia.*
- d. *Maria e eu vamos à praia.*

¹⁸ The pronouns *nós/noi* 'we' and *ele(s)/ei(s)* 'they' have a similar behavior as the pronoun *eu/ô* 'I' in these contexts.

- d'. **Maria e ô vamos à praia.*
- e. *Maria e eu, nós vamos à praia.*
- e'. **Maria e ô, noi vamos à praia.*
- f. *Maria e eu, noi vamos à praia.*
'Mary and I go to the beach.'

- (15)¹⁹ a. *Você e Maria vão à praia.*
- a' *Cê e Maria vão à praia.*
 - b. *Você e Maria, vocês vão à praia*
 - b'. *Cê e Maria, cês vão à praia.*
 - c. *Cê e Maria, vocês vão à praia.*
 - c'. *Cê e Maria, cês vão à praia.*
 - d. *Maria e você vão à praia*
 - d'. **Maria e cê vão à praia.*
 - e. *Maria e você, vocês vão à praia.*
 - e'. **Maria e cê, cês vão à praia.*
 - f. *Maria e você, cês vão à praia.*
'You and Mary go to the beach.'

Conclusion 1: The second person (singular or plural) reduced for *cê(s)* 'you' can be coordinated with a DP ((15a'), (15b'), (15c) and (15c')), differently from what is the case of reduced forms in other persons ((14a'), (14b'), (14c), (14c'), (14d') and (14e')),).

Conclusion 2: The reduced form of the second person *cê(s)* 'you' is in free variation with the non-reduced form when the reduced form is the first constituent in the coordination ((15a), (15a'), (15b) and (15b')). According to Othero (2013, 144), "[...] *cê* é um pronome especializado de função de sujeito gramatical que, prosodicamente, *não tem força acentual suficiente* para aparecer à direita de um agrupamento prosódico."²⁰

¹⁹ I am grateful to a speaker of the dialect of Minas Gerais, Brazil for the judgements of these sentences.

²⁰ '[...] *cê* is a specialized subject pronoun that *does not have sufficient accentual strength* to appear to the right of a prosodic group.'

Conclusion 3: The reduced pronoun *cê(s)* ‘you’ and the non-reduced pronoun *você* ‘you’ are in complementary distribution when the reduced form is the second constituent in the coordination ((15d), (15d’), (15e), (15e’) and (15f)).

c) If an element is a clitic it must not be possible to modify it. Reduced resumptive pronouns in BP show the following behavior:

- (16) a. *Eu sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 a’. *Ô sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 b. **Eu eu sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 b’. *Eu, eu sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 c. *Eu ô sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 c’. *Eu, ô sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 d. **Eu eu ô sozinho ganho muito dinheiro*
 d’. **Eu, eu ô sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 e. **Eu, ô ô sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 e’. **Eu, eu eu sozinho ganho muito dinheiro.*
 ‘I alone make a lot of money.’
- (17)²¹ a. *Você(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 a’. *Cê(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 b. **Você(s) você(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 b’. *Você(s), você(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 c. **Você(s) cê(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 c’. *Você(s), cê(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 d. **Você(s) você(s) cê(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 d’. **Você(s), você(s) cê(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 e. **Você(s), cê(s) cê(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 e’. **Você(s), você(s) você(s) sozinho(s) ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*

²¹ The pronouns *nós/oi* ‘we’ and *ele(s)/ei(s)* ‘they’ have a similar behavior to the pronoun *você(s)/cê(s)* in these contexts.

‘You alone make a lot of money.’

Conclusion 1: A reduced resumptive pronoun can be modified ((16a’), (16c), (16c’), (17a’) and (17c’)).

Conclusion 2: The sequence XP + XP + modified reduced resumptive pronoun cannot exist in the above contexts ((16d), (16d’), (17d) and (17d’)).

Conclusion 3: The sequence XP + modified XP only exists if there is an independent intonational phrase ((16b), (17b) vs. (16b’), (17b’)).

Conclusion 4: The sequence XP + modified reduced resumptive pronoun is only available if there is an independent intonational phrase ((17c) vs. (17c’)), except in the first-person singular ((16c), (16c’)).

Conclusion 5: A modified XP and a modified reduced resumptive pronoun are in free variation when there are no other pronouns preceding them ((16a), (16a’), (17a) and (17a’))

d) If an element is a clitic it must not be possible to focalize it. Reduced resumptive pronouns in BP show the following behavior:

(18) *Quem é que ganha muito dinheiro?*

‘Who makes a lot of money?’

a. *Eu ganho.*

a’. *Ô ganho.*

b. *??Eu eu ganho.*

b’. *Eu, eu ganho.*

c. *Eu ô ganho.*

c’. *Eu, ô ganho.*

d. **Eu eu ô ganho.*

d’. *Eu, eu ô ganho.*

e. **Eu, ô ô ganho.*

e’. **Eu, eu eu ganho.*

‘I do.’

(19) *Quem é que ganha muito dinheiro?*

‘Who makes a lot of money?’

- a. *Você(s) ganha(m).*
 - a' *Cê(s) ganha(m).*
 - b. **Você(s) você(s) ganha(m).*
 - b'. *Você(s), você(s) ganha(m).*
 - c. *Você(s) cê(s) ganha(m).*
 - c'. *Você(s), cê(s) ganha(m).*
 - d. **Você(s) você(s) cê(s) ganha(m).*
 - d'. *??Você(s), você(s) cê(s) ganha(m).*
 - e. **Você(s), cê(s) cê(s) ganha(m).*
 - e'. **Você(s), você(s) você(s) ganha(m).*
- 'You do.'**

(20)²² *Quem é que ganha muito dinheiro?*

'Who makes a lot of money?'

- a. *Ele(s) ganha(m).*
 - a'. *Ei(s) ganha(m).*
 - b. **Ele(s) ele(s) ganha(m).*
 - b'. *Ele(s), ele(s) ganha(m).*
 - c. **Ele(s) ei(s) ganha(m).*
 - c'. *Ele(s), ei(s) ganha(m).*
 - d. **Ele(s) ele(s) ei(s) ganha(m).*
 - d'. **Ele(s), ele(s) ei(s) ganha(m).*
 - e. **Ele(s), ei(s) ei(s) ganha(m).*
 - e'. **Ele(s), ele (s) ele(s) ganha(m).*
- 'He does/They do.'**

(21) a. *Eu/Ô sou/é quem ganho muito dinheiro.*

'I am the one who makes a lot of money.'

b. *Você(s)/Cê(s) é/são quem ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*

'You are the one/ones who makes/make a lot of money.'

²² The pronoun *nós/noi* 'we' has a similar behavior to the pronoun *ele(s)/ei(s)* in these contexts.

- c. *Ele(s)/Ei(s) é/são quem ganha(m) muito dinheiro.*
 ‘He/They is/are the one/ones who makes/make a lot of money.’
- d. *Nós/Noi é/somos quem ganha(mos) muito dinheiro.*
 ‘We are the ones who make a lot of money.’
- (22) a. *Quem ganha muito dinheiro sou eu/*ô.*
 ‘Who makes a lot of money is me.’
- b. *Quem ganha muito dinheiro é/são você(s)/*cê(s).*
 ‘Who makes a lot of money is you.’
- c. *Quem ganha muito dinheiro é/são ele(a)(s)/*ei(s).*
 ‘Who makes a lot of money is him/her/them.’
- d. *Quem ganha muito dinheiro é somos nós/*noi.*
 ‘Who makes a lot of money is us.’

The data in (18–20) with focalized subjects bring about the following conclusions:

Conclusion 1: A reduced resumptive pronoun can be focalized ((18a’), (18c), (18c’), (18d’), (19a’), (19c), (19c’), (20a’), (20c’)).

Conclusion 2: In the first-person singular and the second-person (singular and plural) focalized XP + reduced resumptive pronoun are possible regardless of the presence of an independent intonational phrase ((18c), (18c’), (19c), (19c’)), contrary to other persons where focalized XP + reduced resumptive pronoun requires this phrase ((20c) vs. (20c’)).

Conclusion 3: The focalized sequence XP + XP + reduced resumptive pronoun is only possible with the first-person singular ((18d’) vs. (19d’) and (20d’) and requires an independent intonational phrase (cf. (18d)).

Conclusion 4: Focalized XPs and focalized reduced resumptive pronouns are in free variation when there are no other pronouns preceding them ((18a), (18a’), (19a), (19a’), (20a), (20a’)).

The cleft sentences (21–22) lead to the following conclusions:²³

²³ I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for the observations about the cleft sentences. In fact, there is a difference between these sentences and questions with focalized subjects like (18–20). Reduced resumptive pronominal forms cannot occur with another pronoun in cleft sentences:

**Eu ô sou/é quem ganho muito dinheiro.*
 ‘I am the one who makes a lot of money.’
 **Você cê é quem ganha muito dinheiro.*

Conclusion 1: Focalized XPs and focalized reduced resumptive pronouns are in free variation in preverbal subject position (21).

Conclusion 2: Only XPs can be sentence final foci in a cleft sentence (22).

e) If an element is a clitic it needs a host. Reduced resumptive pronouns in BP show the following behavior:

(23) *Quem é que ganha muito dinheiro?*

‘Who makes a lot of money?’

a. *Eu/*Ô*

‘I do.’

b. *V(ocê)/*Cê*

‘You do.’

c. *Ele/*Ei*

‘He does.’

d. *Nós/*Nói*

‘We do.’

e. *Vocês/*Cê(s)*

‘You do.’

f. *Eles/*Eis*

‘They do.’

Conclusion: Reduced pronouns need a host.

Intermediate Summary

The adjacency (13), coordination (14–15), modification (16–17) and the focalization (18–22) test show that it is not possible to argue that the reduced pronominal form in subject position is a syntactic clitic. The last test (23), however, shows that the reduced pronominal form needs a host and can be characterized as an X⁰. In other words, my hypothesis is that the reduced form has a hybrid nature:

‘You are the one who makes a lot of money.’

Furthermore, reduced resumptive pronominal forms cannot occupy the final position in cleft sentences like (22).

a) It can be an XP when occupying the A-position Spec,TP and the subject is in a topic position (as, e.g., in (16c'), (17c'), (19c')) and when it can be coordinated (as, e.g., in (15b'), (15c), (15c')), modified (as, e.g., in (16a') (17a')) and focalized (as, e.g., in (18a'), (19a'), (20a'), (21a), (21b), (21c), (21d)) or

b) It can be an X^o when it is in head position and there is no independent intonational phrase between it and XP (as, e.g., in (16c), (18c), (18d'), (19c)). As a consequence, another question arises: If the reduced form is an X^o that cannot be adjoined to the verb (cf., e.g. (13b)), what is its syntactic position? I propose an answer to this question in the next subsection.

3.2 The analysis: a syntactic position for the resumptive pronoun in BP

Based on the data presented in the previous sections, it is possible to argue that double subjects can occupy two syntactic positions: a) an A-bar position (Spec,TopP) when the reduced pronominal form is an XP in Spec,TP or b) an A-position (Spec,TP) when the reduced pronominal form is an X^o.

In the first case, the structure is similar to the structure proposed by De Cat (2003) for French and by Britto (2000) for BP double subject constructions with an independent intonational phrase. In both languages, the left dislocated subject is a topic that is coreferential with the resumptive pronoun:

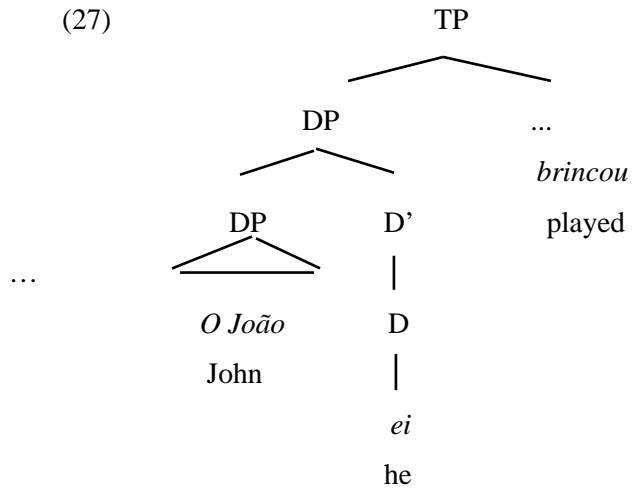
(24) [_{TopP} João_i [_{TP} ele_i [_{T'} V (...)]]] (BP)
 [_{TopP} John_i [_{TP} he_i [_{T'} V (...)]]]
 '(John,) he...'

(25) [_{TopP} Jean_i [_{TP} il_i [_{T'} V (...)]]] (French)
 [_{TopP} John_i [_{TP} he_i [_{T'} V (...)]]]
 '(John,) he...'

I will now come to the second case. I have so far defended the idea that the reduced pronominal form is not a syntactic clitic (against Castilho (2010) and Kato/Duarte (2014a, 2014b)). However, I agree with Silva (2004) and Costa/Duarte/Silva (2006, 142) that this form can be an X^o, which is, however special in that it is in D in order to lexicalize the features of person of the subject DP in Spec,TP. This lexicalization is post-syntactic and can be explained by the impoverishment of the inflectional paradigm of the verb in BP, in particular, by the deficit of the second person.²⁴ In this regard, Costa/Duarte/Silva argue that the reduced pronominal form is a post-syntactic lexicalization of the value of the person feature whose specification depends on the syntactic operation *Agree* that occurs between the D-head and its specifier merged in Spec,DP. See the sentence in (26) and its syntactic configuration in (27):

²⁴ See the paradigms in Section 1 of this paper.

- (26) *João ei brincou.*
 John he.3SG play-PST.3SG
 ‘John played.’



Costa/Duarte/Silva (2006, 143) defend that the syntactic configuration above is more complex in BP than in French. This is why the acquisition of double subjects in BP is late (Grolla 2000; Gonçalves 2004).

Although inflectional morphology is weak in French, too, many asymmetries have been shown with regard to double subjects as compared to BP, whose inflectional morphology is weakening (cf. Section 1). The crucial conclusion therefore is that there is no direct link between the Null Subject Parameter and double subjects: BP is a partial-null subject language and French a non-null subject language. Neither of them has strong inflectional morphology but both languages nevertheless display important differences.

In French double subject constructions, the resumptive pronoun is a weak pronoun (XP) and the subject is in a topicalized position. In BP, too, the subject can be in this position. In such cases, a separate intonational contour is, however, obligatory. Just like in French, such resumptive pronouns in BP are XPs. Importantly though, BP also has double subject constructions without separate intonational contours. In such cases, the subject and the (reduced) resumptive pronoun are in Spec,TP and the (reduced) resumptive form is an X°.

4 Final remarks

The distribution of reduced and non-reduced pronominal forms in subject position in BP reveals that

the reduced pronominal form is either in free variation or in complementary distribution with the non-reduced form according to different factors such as the person feature of the pronoun, the position of the pronoun in the sentence and the existence of an independent intonational phrase;

the reduced pronominal form can be an XP or an X°. Both are in the domain of DP in Spec, TP: XP in Spec,DP and X° in D. In the latter case, X° is not a number-person morpheme, since its adjacency to the verb can be broken (against Castilho (2010) and Kato/Duarte (2014a, 2014b));

double subject constructions are not necessarily associated with the loss of the *Avoid Pronoun Principle*, but rather with the impoverishment of the inflectional paradigm of the verb in BP.

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