

BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE FULL PRONOUNS IN OBJECT POSITION AND THE *v*P PHASE



Centre de
Lingüística
Teòrica

Workshop

*The Meaning of Functional Categories in the Verbal /
Sentential Domain*

(Neg / Asp / Voice / Deg / little v)

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OUTLINE

- 1- Anaphoric elements in object position in BP
- 2- Full pronouns in object position in BP: strong vs. weak distinction
- 3- Feature composition of full pronouns in BP
- 4- Phase theory: vP phase and the syntax of full pronouns in object position in BP
- 5- Conclusion

BP HAS LOST 3RD PERSON CLITICS

- It is well-known that **Brazilian Portuguese** (BP) has lost 3rd person object clitics, which were replaced either by [-animate] **null objects** (1) or by **full pronouns** *ele/ela* (Cyrino 1994), the latter being possible for both [\pm animate] antecedents (2):

(1) a. **A** *Lia comprou o(s) vestido(s) depois de experimentar Ø.* [-animate]

the Lia bought the(.PL). dress(.PL) after of try

'Lia bought the dress(es) after trying (it/them) on.'

b. ***A** *Lia chutou o(s) rapaz(es) depois de beijar Ø.* [+animate]

the Lia kicked the(.PL) boy(.PL) after of kiss

(2) a. A Lia comprou *o(s)* *vestido(s)* depois de experimentar *ele(s)*. [-animate]

the Lia bought the(.PL). dress(.PL) after of try

'Lia bought the dress(es) after trying (it/them) on.'

b. A Lia chutou *o(s)* *rapaz(es)* depois de beijar *ele(s)*. [+animate]

the Lia kicked the(.PL) boy(.PL). after of kiss them

'Lia kicked the boy(s) after kissing (him/them).'

Obs: The morphological form of object full pronouns in BP is the same as the form of nominative pronouns (*ele/ela*), but the latter usually have [+animate] antecedents.

(3) *Ele/ela viu o acidente.*

he she saw the accident

'He/she saw the accident.'

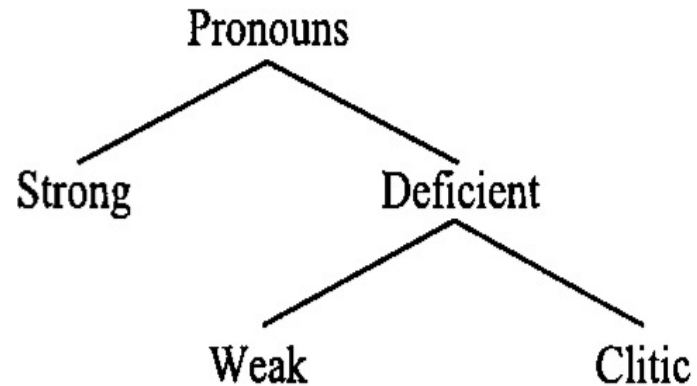
FULL PRONOUNS IN OBJECT POSITION

- In this talk, I concentrate on the occurrence of full pronouns **in object position** in BP
- Although these full pronouns may have either [+animate] or [-animate] antecedents, as seen in (2), there is a contrast related to **animacy** in certain constructions:
- **Only [+animate] full pronouns can be get (contrastive) focus**
- The aim of this talk is to investigate why full pronouns in object position show this distinction in BP

STRONG VS WEAK PRONOUNS

- Animacy seems to be a property certainly relevant for the strong/weak distinction pronouns

Tripartite division of pronouns proposed in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999):



STRONG VS WEAK PRONOUNS

- Cardinaletti & Starke (1999): **strong pronouns** cannot refer to [-animate] antecedents; **weak (deficient) pronouns can**; the latter need a prominent discourse antecedent (they are “referentially deficient”)

semantics

personal pronouns	must have D-antecedent (i.e. ostension, etc.)	expletive	impersonal	non-referential dative	possibly non-human
strong	–	–	–	–	–
deficient	+	+	+	+	+

- From Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:156)

[+ANIMATE] VS [-ANIMATE]

OBJECT FULL PRONOUNS IN BP

- In fact, **[+animate] full pronouns** in object position in **BP** have been considered 'strong pronouns' (Galves 2001): following C&S's typology, they pass test for "stronghood", as they **can** be contrastively focalized or coordinated:

- (4) a. **Eu vi ELE (e não ela).** (= o Pedro e não a Maria) [focalization]
I saw *e/e* and not *e/a* the Pedro and not the Maria
'I saw HIM (and not her)'
- b. **Eu encontrei ele e ela.** (o Pedro e a Maria) [coordination]
I met *e/e* and *e/a* the Pedro and the Maria
'I met him and her.'

[+ANIMATE] VS [-ANIMATE]

OBJECT FULL PRONOUNS IN BP

- [-animate] full pronouns, in contrast, **cannot** receive contrastive **focus** and they cannot **be coordinated**, and have been considered '**weak pronouns**' by Galves (2001):

- (5) a. *Eu vi **ELE** (e não ela). (= o livro e não a revista) [focalization]
I saw *e/e* and not *e/a* the book and not the magazine
- b. *Eu li **ele e ela** (o livro e a revista) [coordination]
I read *e/e* and *e/a* the book and the magazine

- However, sentences in (5), with coordination are possible if there is **ostension**.
- Cetnarowska (2004) shows the same possibilities for Polish 'weak pronouns', claiming this follows from a pragmatic principle.
- Cardinaletti & Starke (1994: 49): *"the deficient elements are permissible with contrastive stress and ostension only if they refer to an entity which is already 'prominent in discourse'."*
- Therefore, I consider that the lack of coordination is **not a property** of **[-animate] BP object full pronouns**, since these may occur when ostension is used.
- Mazini (2014:175): *"Deictic reference must be available to weak pronouns and to clitics (...) so that a direct deixis-strong status correlation is too powerful."*

- Following the ideas in Manzini (2014), I will show that crossing **distribution + morphology** (ie, assuming the *weak* vs. *strong* divide) is not a viable account for full pronouns in object position in BP
- Consider that, in contrast to clitics in other Romance languages, full pronouns in object position in BP, although sharing the same morphological form, have a different distribution *wrt* focus, as seen above:
 - *Ele/ela* = [+animate] objects can be focalized
 - *Ele/ela* = [-animate] objects cannot be focalized
- The stipulation that [+animate] object full pronouns are strong pronouns does not *explain* this fact.

GOAL

- To show that we don't need the *weak* vs. *strong* divide for full pronouns (*ele/ela*) in object position in BP
 - Animacy ('semantic') features are encoded in a functional projection and are syntactically active.
- Manzini (2014: 173): "*independently motivated categories such as case, focus, etc. may be sufficient to capture the data, making the complex category weak pronoun unnecessary*".

QUESTION

Why is there a contrast between [+animate] and [-animate] full pronouns in object position in BP with respect to focalization?

ANSWER

The difference is related to the fact that whereas [+animate] object full pronouns undergo a syntactic operation of movement to check 'animacy features', [-animate] full pronouns remain *in situ* (internal to VP).

FEATURE COMPOSITION OF FULL PRONOUNS

- Assuming Richards (2008) 's analysis of the feature composition of pronouns, I have proposed the following (Cyrino 2016):
- **Object** [+animate] full pronouns in BP are different from [-animate] ones:
 - [+animate] full pronouns **have** a [Person] feature.
 - [-animate] full pronouns **lack** a [Person] feature
 - The deficiency of [-animate] pronouns in terms of referentiality follows from the fact that, they are **personless** and thus need an antecedent in discourse/context to get their reference (for example, ostension)

FEATURE COMPOSITION OF PRONOUNS

1 st . / 2 nd . person	[+person]
3 rd . person [+animate]	[-person]
3 rd . person [-animate]/ Bare plurals	‘person-less’

Table 1: [Person] and [animacy] (Adapted from Cyrino, 2016)

RICHARDS (2008)

- Richards (2008:140): **Person** is an exclusive (syntactic) property of *animate nominals*
 - a person specification on inanimates is redundant (it is always 3) and thus plausibly left unspecified.
- Inanimates will bear only number (and gender) features – they are thus ‘defective’ in the agreement system (in the sense of Chomsky 2001).
- Therefore, animacy in syntax is the result of [\pm Person] feature checking.

ANIMACY IN SYNTAX

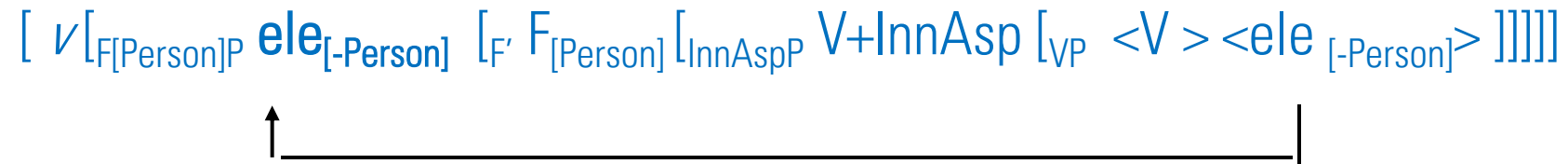
- Animacy is relevant for several syntactic phenomena: differential marking, agreement, order...:
 - DOM in several languages (Fábregas 2013, a. many o.): animates are not marked
 - Occurrence of verbal suffixes in Blackfoot (Bliss 2010): there is a dedicated order whereby transitive animates precede transitive inanimates
 - Double Object Constructions (Larson 1988, Levin 2008, Demuth et. al 2005): there is a specific order, whereby animates precede inanimates
 - Agreement (Baker 1996, Hualde 1989, Woolford 2000): in Mohawk and KiRimi, object agreement is only possible with animates (inanimates incorporate in Mohawk)
 - Person-Case Constraint (Ormazabal & Romero 2007, 2013):): in *leísta* dialects, the clitic /e/ is a marker of animacy, since it is used not only for dative arguments but also for accusative **animate** arguments), /o/ is used if the object is inanimate
 - Null objects in BP (Duarte 1986, Cyrino 1994, a.o.)
 - ...

ANIMACY IN BP OBJECTS

Cyrino (2016, to appear):

- animacy is the result of the movement of the object out of VP, as it has been proposed for DOM in other Romance languages such as Spanish (see Torrego 1998, Lopez 2012, Rodriguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Ordoñez & Roca 2015, among others)
- a functional head (call it $F_{[Person]}$) located **below νP and above InnAsp** (Travis 2010, MacDonald 2008).
 - (This head also has an EPP feature)
- Animacy in syntax is the result of movement of a **[+Person]** or a **[-Person]** DP to the specifier of the functional category that has [Person] and [EPP] features.
- This is a DOM-like effect, which is restricted, but still alive in BP (Cyrino & Irimia 2019)

- **[+animate]** (ie [+Person] or [-Person]) **DPs** move to the specifier of $F_{[Person]}$ triggered by its EPP feature



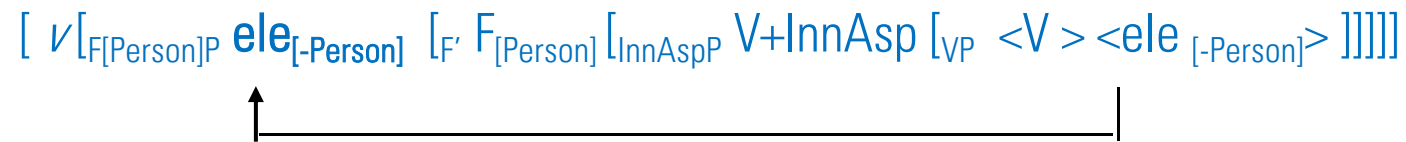
- **[-animate]** (ie, Person-less) **DPs** do not move out of VP



- DP ellipsis (Null objects) are possible, since the ν in InnAsp licenses it.

PROPOSAL

- In a nutshell:
- **[+animate]** full pronouns in BP move to a position outside **a relevant vP-phase** and can do escape Transfer and move to a higher position to check a focus feature.



- **[-animate]** full pronouns in BP stay *in situ* (Cyrino 2016), they cannot be focalized because they are trapped inside a **relevant vP-phase** and they cannot move further.
- A similar idea is advanced by Sheehan & Cyrino (2018): long passives are blocked in the complement of causatives and some perception verbs, since the internal argument cannot escape a v-related phase.

ASSUMPTIONS

- **InnAsp** (Travis 2010, MacDonald 2008)
- **Relativized approach to phases:** Carnie (2005) (see also Boskovic 2014)
- **PIC 2** (Chomsky 2001)
The domain of the phase head **H** becomes inaccessible at the point **the next phase head** is merged.
- **Relevant phase heads:** *v* and InnAsp
- **3rd person pronouns:** **[+ animate]** = [-person]
[- animate] = [] (person-less: absence of person features)

ASSUMPTIONS: INNER ASPECT *(TRAVIS 2010)*

- **Outer Aspect:** viewpoint aspect – morphological or grammatical aspect such as imperfective/perfective
- **Inner Aspect:** the aspect that determines the endpoint of an event
 - rarely realized morphologically and its interpretation depends on a number of elements such as the choice of verb, type of object, type of prepositional complement, etc.
- Both types of aspect are **syntactically encoded**, though by different means.
 - **Outer aspect:** realized as a functional head within the ‘inflectional’ domain of the clause (outside vP).
 - **Inner Aspect:** realized as a functional head within the ‘lexical’ domain of the clause (within vP).

ASSUMPTIONS: PHASE THEORY

- A dynamic definition of phase heads (Carnie 2005): phases must contain
 - (i) a sole argument;
 - (ii) a predicative element (either V or v) that introduces the argument;
 - (iii) a temporal operator (a functional category) that locates the predicate and the argument in time and space (that is, *Asp* or T).
- Phases are related to thematic roles in argumental structure;
 - (i) Theme Phase [*AspP* [*Asp'* *Asp* [*VP* theme *V*]]]
 - (ii) Goal Phase [*EndP* [*End'* *End* [*v* goal [*v'* *v*...]]]]
 - (iii) Agent Phase [*TP* [*T'* *T* [*vp* agent [*v'* *v*...]]]]

ASSUMPTIONS: PIC2

- Phase Impenetrability Condition 2 (PIC 2) (Chomsky 2001)

The domain of the phase head **H** becomes inaccessible at the point **the next phase head** is merged.

- OBS: **PIC2** differs from **PIC1** (Chomsky 2000) in providing a 'window of opportunity' for checking operations from the outside of a phase-head before the next phase head is merged.

FULL PRONOUNS AND THE vP PHASE

- Relevant phase heads: InnAsp and v

$$[_{vP} \text{ } v [_{F[\text{person}]P} F_{[\text{person}]} [_{\text{InnAsp}P} \text{InnAsp } [_{VP} V]]]]$$

ASSUMPTIONS: 3RD PERSON PRONOUNS

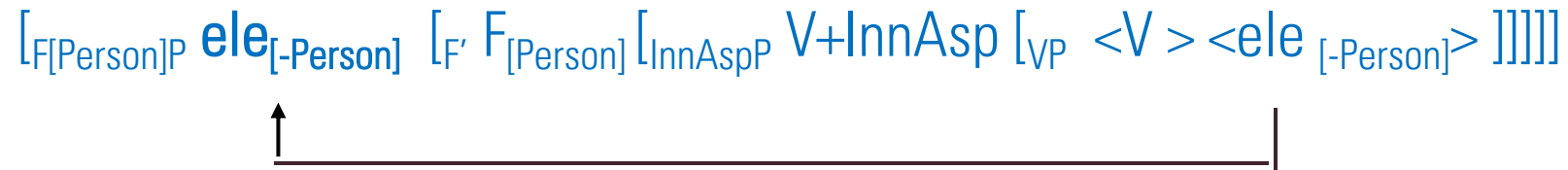
- 3rd person pronouns:

[+ animate] = [-person]

[- animate] = [] (person-less: absence of person features)

PROPOSAL

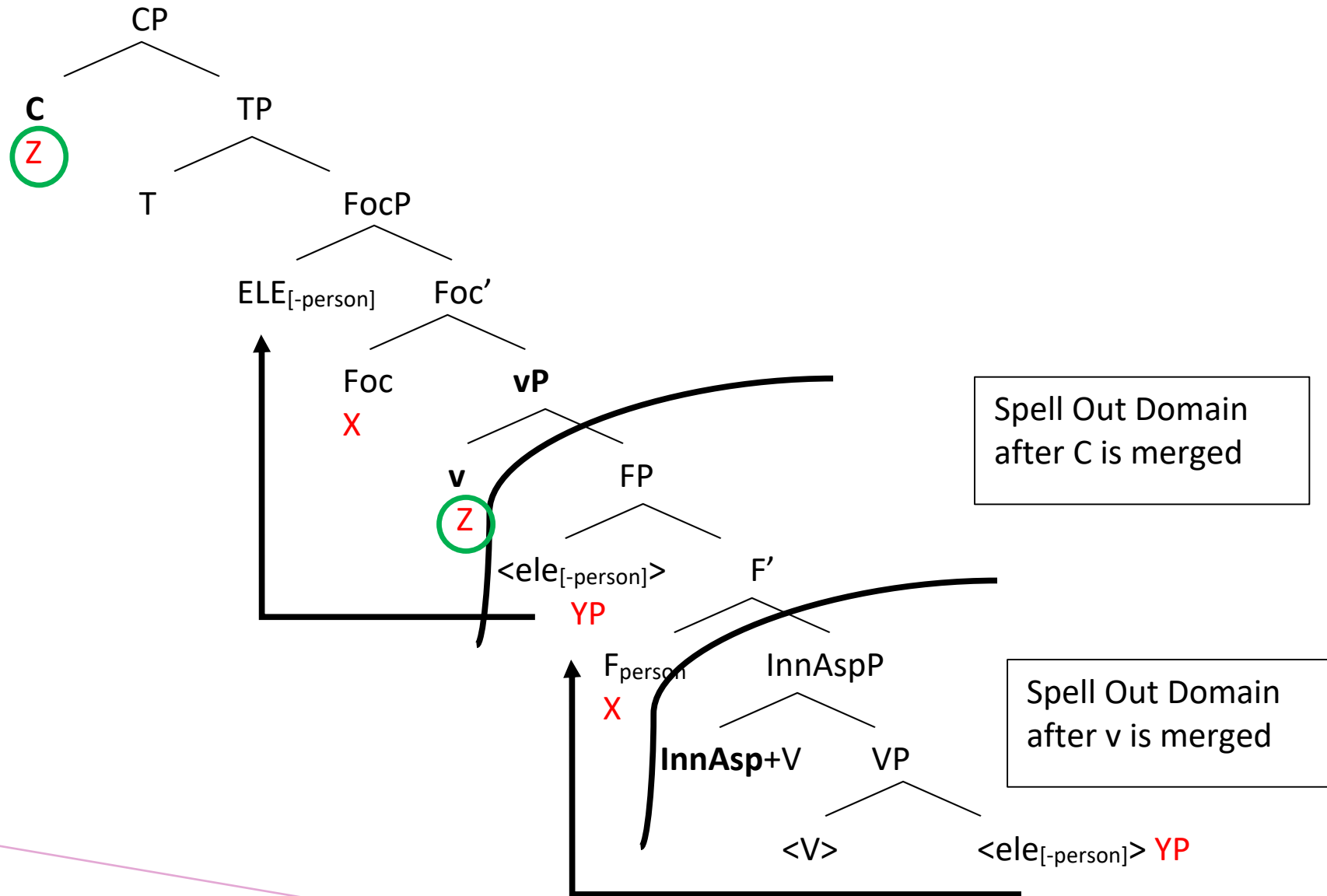
- By PIC2, before the next phase ν is merged, **InnAsp** is not yet a phase
- $F_{[person]}$ can probe to check its features and $e/e_{[+animate / -person]}$ raises.



- In other words, after the **InnAsp** phase is merged, the movement of $e/e_{[+animate]}$ can take place before the next potential phase head, ν , is merged.

- Crucially, according to PIC2, ν will only be a phase head after the next phase, C, is merged.
- Therefore, $e/e_{[+animate]}$ can be probed and move to a low Focus head (Belletti 2004, Lacerda 2020)
- This has the result that $e/e_{[+animate]}$ can be focalized (and even move further to C in cases of Shifting Topics, see Cyrino 2021a)

Under PIC₂, **X** can agree with **YP** since **YP** is not spelled out until **Z** is merged



- This analysis also explains why *ele*_[-animate] may be elided (as opposed to *ele*_[+animate])
 - *ele*_[-animate] does not raise, it may be elided, licensed by the phase head, InnAsp (null object) (Cyrino 2016, 2019, to appear)

... ν _{[InnAspP V+ InnAsp_{[VP <V> ele_[]]]]}}

- Additionally, this analysis explains why *ele*_[-animate] cannot be focalized
 - *ele*_[-animate] is trapped inside the phase: it cannot raise to the low FocP, since the complement of the *InnAsp* phase will have been transferred to the interfaces (Spell Out) at the relevant point of the derivation (after ν is merged).

C.... ν _{[InnAspP V+ InnAsp_{[VP <V> ele_[]]]]}}

- *e/e*_[+animate], on the other hand, escapes this situation since it raises to spec, F_[person] and it is sitting at a phase edge (that is, it is outside the complement of the phase head (InnAsp) that is transferred to the interfaces- Spell Out)

CONCLUSION

- Cardinaletti and Starke (1999): what appears to be a single lexical element (for ex., Italian *loro* 'they/them'), has in fact two different **distributions**: weak and strong
- In this talk, however, I show that, what appears to be a single lexical element (**ele/ela**), undergo, in fact, different **syntactic** operations according to their different feature make up
 - (see also Manzini 2014 for syntactic arguments against the strong/weak divide)

CONCLUSION

- I advanced an explanation for this difference in terms of **phase theory**
 - Given that νP is only a phase after C is merged, **[+animate]** full pronouns in object position in BP first move up to a functional category below vP to check their [Person] features, escaping the lower phase, InnAsp; from there they can move to FocP to check focus features.
 - In contrast, **[-animate]** full pronouns are “trapped” inside the **InnAsp-phase** and cannot move further as they are inaccessible to operations from the outside of the phase; as a result, they cannot be focalized.

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APPENDIX 1: RESIDUAL DOM IN BP

- BP seems not to have DOM as Spanish (and other languages).
- But there is **residual DOM** marking in BP:

- coordinated structures: the presence of *a* signals [+ animacy] (Cyrino 2017b):

(1) a. *Eu vi o menino e o professor também.*

I saw the boy and the teacher too

'I saw the boy and the teacher did too.'

'I saw the boy and (I saw) the teacher too.'

[gapping ellipsis reading]

b. *Eu vi o menino e ao professor também.*

I saw the boy and DOM-the teacher too

'I saw the boy and (I saw) the teacher too.'

[coordinate object reading]

- Now, *a* is impossible when the object is [-animate]:

(2) a. *Eu vi o menino e ao professor também.*

I saw the boy and DOM-the teacher too

'I saw the boy and (I saw) the teacher too.'

b. *Eu vi o livro e (*a)o caderno também.*

I saw the. book and DOM-the notebook too

'I saw the book and (I saw) the notebook too.'

- Additionally, and interestingly, there is yet another context where DOM *a* is necessary.
- This is represented by animate quantifiers, as seen in (3) (see also Fábregas 2013:12 for Spanish)

(3) a. *Ele visitou todos.* (*todos* = [± animate])

he visited all

'He visited everyone/everything.'

b. *Ele visitou a todos.* (*todos* = [+animate])

he visited DOM all

'He visited everyone.'

c. *Ele viu (a) alguns homens/*a algumas escolas.*

he saw DOM some men DOM some schools

'He saw some men/ some schools.'

- The same pattern arises with comparatives: the non-*a* marked (4a) means Pedro loves Rita as a woman does; the *a*-marked (4b) allows the comparative direct object reading in which Pedro loves Rita in the same way as he loves a woman:

(4) a. Pedro ama Rita como uma mulher.

Pedro loves Rita as a woman

'Pedro loves Rita as a woman does.'

b. Pedro ama Rita como **a** uma mulher.

Pedro loves Rita as DOM a woman

'Pedro loves Rita as he does a woman.'

c. Pedro destruiu Rita como um trator.

Pedro destroyed Rita as a bulldozer.

'Pedro destroyed Rita as a bulldozer does.'

d. *Pedro destroyed Rita como um trator.

intended: 'Pedro destroyed Rita in the way/as he destroyed a bulldozer.'

- Cyrino & Ordóñez (2018) conjecture that there must be a parametric choice for the insertion of *a*.
 - In both BP and Spanish, animates move out of the vP.
 - However, Case is realized differently in BP and Spanish.
 - In Spanish an overt preposition must be inserted for Case purposes (Ordóñez and Roca, 2018; Zdrojewski 2013).
 - In BP, there was a general loss of the preposition *a*, and *a*-marking in direct objects is very restricted
- Analysis of DOM facts in BP: Cyrino & Irimia 2019, in preparation: *a* is an extra-licenser, related to checking of

- Cyrino & Irimia (2019):
- “a lowTopic head can serve as a licenser for DOM (apart from animacy).
- TheTopic head contains discourse specifications: this captures a long-standing intuition at the core of most accounts on DOM (formal or descriptive), namely the interaction with discourse specifications.
- Our intuition: *discourse-related heads* can license Case in the absence of relevant formal *phi*-licensing heads (like T, ν , etc.). See a correlate in recent discussions by Miyagawa (2010, 2017).
- The Case licensing strategy we have made use of here is similar to his *̰-licensing*. Agreement with heads which do not contain phi-features, but rather discourse features (related to information structure processes)
- A crucial insight in Miyagawa is that the *̰*-strategy can co-occur with the phi-strategy (even in the same language), and they basically have the same role. In more informal terms they can also be taken to encode two modalities to license Case.”

APPENDIX 2: SHIFTING AND FAMILIAR TOPICS IN NON-CLLD BP

- Animate null objects are possible in certain topic fronting structures. Notice that the sentence in (5B) is also possible with a full pronoun in object position:

(5) A: *Hoje eu levei a Maria no médico.*

today I took the Maria in-the doctor

‘Today I took Maria to the doctor.’

B: *A Maria, (ela) sempre reclama quando eu levo Ø/ela no médico.*

the Maria she always complains when I take her in-the doctor

‘Maria always complains when I take her to the doctor.’

- However, an apparently similar sentence as (6B), in which the null object has an animate antecedent, is not possible in BP:

(6) A: *Hoje eu trouxe as garotas na festa.*

today I brought the girls in-the party.

‘Today I brought the girls to the party.’

B: *A Lia, o Ivo sempre reclama quando eu levo *Ø/√ela na festa.*

the Lia the Ivo always complains when I take her in-the party.

Lit. ‘Lia, Ivo always complains when I take her to the party.’

- I propose (Cyrino 2019b) that the gap in (8B) is not a “null object” in BP.
- Assuming that there are different types of topics (Frascarelli & Hinterhölz 2007, Erteschik-Shir et al., 2013; among others):
 - (5B) is the result of (**Familiar Topic**) **Fronting**: **there is no DP ellipsis**, the gap is the result of movement of the topic to a left-periphery position.
 - (6) is the result of the merge of a Shifting Topic in the left periphery.

FAMILIAR TOPICS AND NULL OBJECTS IN BP

++ In order to explain the contrast in animacy, Cyrino (2019b) proposes that BP, like Italian, realizes Familiar Topics in two ways:

- (i) movement of the Topic DP to the specifier of Familiar Topic Phrase (FamP) and reconstruction in the original IP position for interpretation
- (ii) merge of Familiar Topics in the specifier of FamP. There is no clitic resumption in BP, but, as seen a full pronoun or null object may occur in object position.

FAMILIAR TOPICS AND NULL OBJECTS IN BP

:: **Non-pronoun resumed DPs:** Movement through “vP remnant movement” in BP

Kato (2003) argues extensively that BP always moves the largest constituent in topicalization, namely, the whole vP, and whatever remains inside it (as opposed to EP, where there is VP remnant movement)

Hence, both animate and inanimate objects move to [spec, FamP].

- (7) a. *A Maria, (ela) sempre reclama quando eu levo \emptyset no médico.*
the Maria she always complains when I take in-the doctor
'Maria always complains when I take her to the doctor.'

b. $[_{FamP} [_{vP} a \text{ Maria } t_V t_i]_j] \dots <[_{vP} a \text{ Maria}_i [_{VP} t_V t_i]]_j > \dots$

- (8) a. *O casaco, ele sempre deixa \emptyset no carro.*
the coat he always leaves it in-the car
Lit. 'The coat, he always leaves in the car.'
'The coat, he always leaves it in the car.'

b. $[_{FamP} [_{VP} t_V o \text{ casaco}]_j] \dots <[_{VP} t_V o \text{ casaco}]_j > \dots$

FAMILIAR TOPICS AND OBJECT FULL PRONOUNS IN BP

:: **Pronoun resumed [+animate] DP:** base generation of Familiar Topic in the LP, pronoun resumption

- (9) *A Maria, (ela) sempre reclama quando eu levo ela no médico.*
the Maria she always complains when I take her in-the doctor
'Maria always complains when I take her to the doctor.'

b. [_{FamP} *a Maria*]...[_{VP} *ela* [_{InnAsp} <leva> [_{VP} <leva> <ela>]...]

:: **pronoun resumed [-animate] DP:** base generation of Familiar Topic in the LP, pronoun resumption

- (10) 1. *O casaco, ele sempre deixa ele no carro.*
the coat he always leaves it in-the car
Lit. 'The coat, he always leaves in the car.'
'The coat, he always leaves it in the car.'

b. [_{FamP} *o casaco*]... [_{InnAsp} *deixa* [_{VP} <deixa> *ele*]...]

SHIFTING TOPICS AND NULL OBJECTS IN BP

:: Shifting-topics in BP, like in Italian, are always merged directly in the specifier of Shifting Topic Phrase (ShiftP): there are no reconstruction effects; a full pronoun/null object occurs in object position

:: [+animate] DP moves out of VP and cannot be elided/licensed. The Shifting Topic can only be resumed by a full pronoun:

- (11) a. *A Lia, o Ivo sempre reclama quando eu levo *Ø/ vela na festa.*
the Lia the Ivo always complains when I take her in-the party.
Lit. 'Lia, Ivo always complains when I take her to the party.'

b. [ShiftP *a Lia*]... [*ela* [InnAsp <leva> [VP <leva> <ela>]]...

SHIFTING TOPICS AND OBJECT FULL PRONOUNS IN BP

:: [-animate] DPs stays *in situ*, and the DP ellipsis may be licensed by the verb as it moves up to Inner Aspect (12b) or a resumptive pronoun is possible (12c)

- (12) a. *O ipad, a professora sempre reclama quando eu levo Ø/ele na escola.*
the ipad the teacher always complains when I take it in-the school.
'The ipad, the teacher always complains when I take it to school.'

b. [ShiftP *o ipad*]... [InnAsp *levo* [VP <*levo*> ~~*o ipad*~~]]...
|_____|
ellipsis licensing

c. [ShiftP *o ipad*]... [InnAsp *levo* [VP <*levo*> *ele*]]...

OBJECT FULL PRONOUNS IN TOP POSITION IN BP

- Notice that only **ele**_{+animate} may move further to CP:
- Familiar Topics (13B): Topicalization (movement of the topic to a left periphery position, see Frascarelli & Hinterhölz 2007, Cyrino 2019b)

(13) A: Hoje eu levei o Pedro e a Maria no médico.

today I took the Pedro and the Maria in-the doctor.

'Today, I took Pedro and Maria to the doctor's.'

B: **Ele**, eu nunca vi você levar <ele> no médico.

him I never saw you. take in-the doctor

'As for him, I've never seen you take (him) to the doctor's.'

- Shifting Topics (16B): merge of a Topic in the left periphery (see Frascarelli & Hinterhölz 2007, Cyrino 2019b).

(14) A: Eu trouxe o Pedro e a Maria para a festa.

I brought the Pedro and the Maria to the party

‘I brought Pedro and Maria to the party.’

B: **Ele**, minha filha sempre reclama quando você leva * \emptyset / $\sqrt{\text{ele}}$ nas festas.

him my daughter always complains when you bring him in-the.PL party.PL

‘As for him, my daughter always complains when you bring him to parties.’

- However, **ele**_{-animate} may not move out of VP in Familiar (15B) or Shifting (16B) topics:

(15) A: Eu comprei o livro e a revista hoje.

I bought the book and the magazine today

'I bought the book and the magazine today.'

B: ***Ele**, você vai ler <ele> hoje? (ele = o livro 'the book')

him you go read today

(16) A: Eu trouxe o livro e a revista para a aula.

I brought the book and the magazine to the class.

'I brought the book and the magazine to class.'

B: ***Ele**, eu sempre vejo <ele> nas aulas. (ele = o livro 'the book')

him I always see in-the.PL class.PL

APPENDIX 3: STRICT VS SLOPPY READINGS FOR FULL PRONOUNS IN BP

- Differently from null objects **object full pronouns** in **BP** do not allow strict/sloppy readings, **regardless of their animacy feature specification** (Cyrino 2021b).

(17) **O Ivo viu sua professora** no cinema, mas a **Lia viu ela** no mercado. [+animate]

the Ivo saw the teacher in-the cinema but the Lia saw her in-the market.

‘Ivo saw his teacher at the cinema but Lia saw her at the market.’

Strict = Ivo’s teacher

*Sloppy = Lia’s teacher

(18) O Ivo pôs o anel/no cofre, mas o Pedro guardou *ele* na gaveta. [-animate]

the Ivo put the ring in-the safe but the Pedro kept it. in-the drawer

'Ivo put the ring in the safe, but Pedro kept it in the drawer.'

Strict = Ivo's ring

*Sloppy = Pedro's ring

- This is an interesting property if we compared them to elements that allow strict/sloppy readings:
 - null objects in BP: [-animate] antecedents (Cyrino 1994)
 - 3rd person clitics in languages like Spanish (Cyrino & Ordoñez 2018, Ruas & Ordoñez, 2021): preference for [-animate] antecedents
- I hypothesize that both [+animate] and [-animate] full pronouns in BP have more structure than 3rd person clitics (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Deschaine & Wiltschko 2002): they both have a D layer (*e/(l)e*, *e/(l)a*), which provides a [+definite] feature that precludes them from allowing strict/sloppy readings. (Cyrino 2021b)