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**Applicatives in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese**

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**Applicatives in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese**

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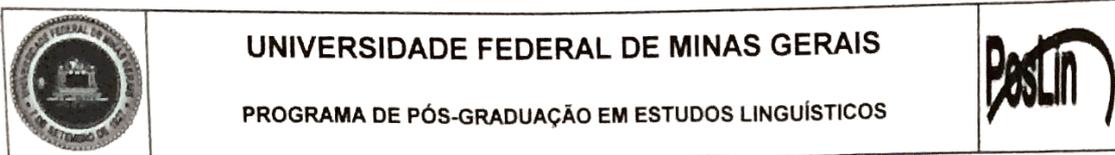
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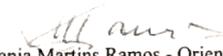
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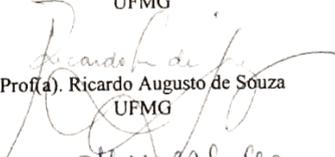
### **Applicatives in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese**

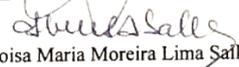
### **BÁRBARA GUIMARÃES ROCHA**

Dissertação submetida à Banca Examinadora designada pelo Colegiado do Programa de Pós-Graduação em ESTUDOS LINGÜÍSTICOS, como requisito para obtenção do grau de Mestre em ESTUDOS LINGÜÍSTICOS, área de concentração LINGÜÍSTICA TEÓRICA E DESCRITIVA, linha de pesquisa Estudos em Sintaxe Formal.

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*This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, who  
would be very proud to see it finished.*

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*"Language – human speech – is an inexhaustible abundance of manifold treasures. Language is inseparable from man and follows him in all his works. Language is the instrument with which man forms thought and feeling, mood, aspiration, will and act, the instrument by whose means he influences and is influenced, the ultimate and deepest foundation of human society. But it is also the ultimate, indispensable sustainer of the human individual, his refuge in hours of loneliness, when the mind wrestles with existence and the conflict is resolved in the monologue of the poet and the thinker. Before the first awakening of our consciousness language was echoing about us, ready to close around our first tender seed of thought and to accompany us inseparably through life, from the simple activities of everyday living to our most sublime and intimate moments – those moments from which we borrow warmth and strength for our daily life through that hold of memory that language itself gives us. But language is no external accompaniment. It lies deep in the mind of man, a wealth of memories inherited by individual and the tribe, a vigilant conscience that reminds and warns. And speech is the distinctive mark of the personality, for good and ill, the distinctive mark of home and nation, mankind's patent of nobility. So inextricably has language grown inside personality, home, nation, mankind, and life itself that we may sometimes be tempted to ask whether language is a mere reflection of, or simply is not all those things – the very seed leaf of their growth."*

HJELMSLEV, Louis. **Prolegomena to a theory of language**. The University of Wisconsin Press: 1969.

## Abstract

This dissertation aims to describe and analyze two constructions that occur in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese (DBP): double object constructions and the ethical dative. Double object constructions (DOC) consist in the form [V NP NP], generally with verbs that denote (transfer of) possession or movement. The ethical dative consists in a non-argument 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person dative clitic that is interpreted as in an indirect relation with the event.

The work begins with a review of literature on DOCs in BP, namely Scher (1996), Salles (1997), Torres Morais & Salles (2010), Moretti (2010) and Armelin (2011). No consensus is found in this bulk of research – even regarding the definition of DOC or dative shift.

After presenting the theoretical frameworks assumed in the present thesis – namely the Minimalist Program (MP), the interface between syntax and lexical semantics, and Distributed Morphology (DM) – we present a review of literature on the category Applicative, its definition and properties, namely Bresnan & Mchombo (1990), Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), McGinnis (2001, 2004, 2008), Jeong (2006) and Wood (2014, 2015).

Going further, we suggest that the constructions found in DBP can be accounted for as low applicative constructions, as proposed by Pylkkänen (op. cit.). Additionally, we relate the alternation between [V IO DO] and [V DO IO] to discursive factors, based on research on cartography/left periphery and informational structure.

We then presented an account of clitic datives, focusing on the ethical dative. Based on Pylkkänen's applicative tests and informational/discursive properties, we suggest that ethical datives can be analyzed as high applicative constructions, as proposed by Pylkkänen (op. cit.).

Keywords: Dative shift. Applicatives. Double object constructions. Ethical datives. Argument structure. Goals/recipients/benefactives. Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese. Formal syntax.

## Resumo

O objetivo desta dissertação é descrever e analisar duas construções que ocorrem no Português Brasileiro Dialetal (DBP): a construção de objeto duplo (DOC) e o dativo ético. Construções de objeto duplo são estruturas do tipo [V NP NP], geralmente com verbos que denotam (transferência de) posse ou movimento. O dativo ético consistem em um clítico dativo não-argumental de 1ª e 2ª pessoa que é interpretado como estando em uma relação indireta com o evento.

O texto se inicia com uma revisão de literatura sobre DOCS no BP, especificamente Scher (1996), Salles (1997), Torres Morais & Salles (2010), Moretti (2010) e Armelin (2011). Não se encontrou consenso entre os autores – nem mesmo sobre a definição de DOC ou alternância dativa.

Depois de apresentar os quadros teóricos assumidos na presente dissertação – o Programa Minimalista (MP), a interface entre sintaxe e semântica lexical, e a Morfologia Distribuída (DM) – apresentamos uma revisão da literatura sobre aplicativos: Bresnan & Mchombo (1990), Pykkänen (2002, 2008), McGinnis (2001, 2004, 2008), Jeong (2006) e Wood (2014, 2015).

Adiante, sugerimos que as construções encontradas no DBP podem ser entendidas como construções de aplicativo baixo, conforme proposto por Pykkänen (op. cit.). Além disso, relacionamos as alternâncias na ordem [V IO DO] e [V DO IO] a fatores discursivos, baseando-nos em estudos sobre cartografia/periferia esquerda e estrutura informacional.

Apresentamos, então, uma descrição dos clíticos dativos, focando no dativo ético. Baseando-nos nos testes propostos por Pykkänen (op. cit.) e propriedades discursivas/informacionais, sugerimos que dativos éticos podem ser analisados como construções de aplicativo alto.

Palavras-chave: Alternância dativa. Aplicativos. Construções de objeto duplo. Dativo ético. Estrutura argumental. Alvos/recipientes/beneficiários. Português Brasileiro Dialetal. Sintaxe Formal.

## List of symbols and abbreviations

?	sentence is degraded, less acceptable, but not necessarily ungrammatical
(D)BP	(Dialectal) Brazilian Portuguese
*	sentence is ungrammatical
#	sentence is inadequate in the context
1P	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural
1S	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular
ABL	Ablative Case
ACC	Accusative Case
ADJ	adjective
AGR	Agreement
AO	applied object
APPL(P)	Applicative (Phrase)
CL	clitic
CP	Complementiser Phrase
DAT	Dative Case / abstract dative uninterpretable Case-feature
DET	determinant
DO	direct object
DOC	Double Object Construction
EP	European Portuguese
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
FEM	feminine gender
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive Case
IO	indirect object
NACT	Non-active (voice)
NOM	Nominative Case
OM	object marker
PASS	passive morphology
PAST	Past tense
PP	(ad)positional Phrase

SM	Subject marker
TNS	Tense
UG	Universal Grammar
VP	Verbal Phrase

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## 1 Introduction

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is spoken by roughly 200 million speakers, in the 26 states of Brazil. Given the extension of the territory, it was natural that several dialects arose across the states and regions. They all have their intrinsic peculiarities due to specificities in their origin and development. The present work aims to shed light on two syntactic structures occurring in varieties of BP spoken in the Central, Southern and Southeastern regions of Brazil. The first construction in question is given below:

- (1) DBP DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION (DOC)
- a. Eu pedi meu vô um bombom.  
*'I asked my grandpa for a chocolate.'*
  - b. Eu pedi um bombom meu vô.  
*'I asked for a chocolate my grandpa.'*

The data in (1) exemplifies a transfer of possession event/predicate projected in the form [V NP NP], with possibility of order alternation. The standard form of this type of construction, [V NP PP/ V PP NP], is given in (2):

- (2) BP TRANSFER OF POSSESSION CONSTRUCTION
- a. Eu pedi ao/pro meu vô um bombom.  
*'I asked my grandpa for a chocolate.'*
  - b. Eu pedi um bombom ao/pro meu vô.  
*'I asked for a chocolate to my grandpa.'*

The two forms, (1) and (2), vary freely among speakers. The construction in (1) is reportedly found in the Brazilian states of MG, GO and RJ<sup>1</sup>. There are many different accounts of this construction inside the framework of generative studies. We aim to discuss these accounts

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Scher (1996), Torres Morais & Salles (2010), Gomes (2003), Lucchesi & Mello (2009a,b), among others. A member of the advisory committee referred to the work of Zara (2014), which revealed that the frequency of this construction is surprisingly low in the spontaneous speech corpora she analyzed.

and propose that this construction can be explained by the presence of a functional category known as Applicative. In section 1.1, we will provide a discussion about DOC in (D)BP, that will be resumed with the proposal in chapter 3.

The other structure in question is the ethical dative.

(3) DBP ETHICAL DATIVE

- a. Como que o Galo **me** perde esse jogo?  
*'How is it that Galo lost this game on me?'*
- b. Esse menino não **me** dorme.  
*'This boy doesn't sleep on me.'*
- c. E não **me** fique grávida!  
*'And don't you get pregnant on me!'*
- d. A Ana **me** fez aquela bobagem de comprar o vestido.  
*'Ana was foolish to buy that dress (and it affects me).'*

The sentences in (3) exemplify the ethical dative, a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitic that can be embedded into a sentence, normally interpreted as an indirect benefactive related to the event. We will discuss the literature about ethical datives in Romance languages and propose an account for it that includes the functional category Applicative in chapter 4.

The present work is organized as follows: chapter 1 presents the discussion on double object constructions in (D)BP. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical frameworks assumed in this work, and a literature review on prominent research on applicatives. Chapter 3 presents an account of DOC in DBP based on applicatives. Chapter 4 presents an account of ethical datives, also based on applicatives. Chapter 5 presents the final remarks

### 1.1 Is there a Brazilian DOC?

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is subject of much controversy regarding the occurrence of DOC. Some approaches, like Scher's (1996) and Armelin (2011), assume that the apparent construction with two complements is not really DOC, but derived from phonological and/or discursive factors. Other analyses, such as Salles (1997) and Torres Morais & Salles (2010), assume that there is an applicative head licensing "indirect" objects in ditransitive constructions without a preposition.

In the next sections, we will review different accounts of DOC in BP, in order to present the landscape of the issue, leading to our proposal in chapter 3. In the next section, we will see an account that classifies the verbs that can occur in DOC.

### 1.1.1 Classifying verbs

Lucchesi & Mello (2009) investigated the occurrence of DOC in Afro-Brazilian speech communities. They identified and classified the verbs that can occur in dative-shift<sup>2</sup> constructions (p. 171)<sup>3</sup>:

- **benefactives** (such as *dar* 'give', *pedir* 'ask', *emprestar* 'lend', *mostrar* 'show', *entregar* 'deliver' etc),
- **light verbs** (such as *dar aula* 'teach a class' etc),
- **discendi** (such as *dizer* 'say', *falar* 'speak', *contar* 'tell', *perguntar* 'ask' etc),
- **faciendi** (such as *fazer algo para alguém* 'do something for someone', *cuidar* 'take care of', *receber* 'receive', *tirar* 'take', *arrumar* 'arrange', *procurar* 'search for' etc),
- **verbs of existence** (such as *ter* 'have', *faltar* 'lack' etc),
- **transport** (such as *levar* 'take', *encaminhar* 'route', *despachar* 'dispatch', *trazer* 'bring' etc) and

---

<sup>2</sup> By *dative-shift* we mean the alternation of the projection of some verbs, mainly transference and/or possession verbs, between the syntactic structures [V NP PP] and [V NP NP]. The form [V NP NP] is called *dative construction* or, more often, double object construction [DOC].

<sup>3</sup> The authors present examples both with and without preposition, without any disclaimer or distinction. They also do not present examples without preposition for *faciendi*, existence, transport and transference verbs.

- **transference** (such as *deixar* 'let/allow', *ficar* 'stay', *caber* 'fit', *distribuir* 'distribute' etc).

The following data exemplify each type<sup>4</sup> (taken from Lucchesi & Mello):

(4) BENEFACTIVES

- a coisa **deu** *um terreno* pra ele  
'the thing gave a piece of land to him'
- deu** o japonês *vinte mil*  
'gave the Japanese man twenty thousand'

(5) LIGHT VERBS

- dá** *prejuízo* pa gente...  
'it makes loss for us...'

(6) DISCENDI

- eu vô **falá** *uma coisa* pa senhora  
'I will speak something to you ma'am'
- eu vou **dizer** o senhô *que nem Tereza mesmo tá capaz de informar*  
'I will tell you sir that not even Tereza can inform it'

(7) FACIENDI

- comprá** *remédio...* pos menino  
'buy medicines for the boys'
- fez** *um barraco* pr'ele  
'built him a shed'

(8) EXISTENCE

- num **tem** *uma menina* *miudinha* pra mim  
'there's no little girl for me'
- graças a Deus num **falta nada** pra mim

---

<sup>4</sup> The verb is **bold**, the IO is underlined, the DO is *italicized*.

*'thank God there's nothing lacking for me'*

(9) TRANSPORT

- a. mulé de tabinha **levô** água lá pra mim  
*'woman from tabinha brought water to me'*
- b. eu **mandava** pra essa mãe  
*'I used to send to that mother'*

(10) TRANSFERENCE

- a. o cacau **ia ficá** todo pa ela  
*'the cocoa was gonna stay all for her'*
- b. **distribuí** pra todo mundo  
*'I distributed it to everybody'*

There are other classifications of verbs that take different parameters into account. In section 1.1.2, Scher (1996) presents a group of verbs divided into four classes according to their preposition regency – if they take *a*, *para* or both as complement.

Analyzing BP verbs of movement according to the premises of the interface between syntax and lexical semantics (cf. 2.3), Meirelles (2015), following Beavers (2011), assumes the label "change of possession verbs" for the verbs whose "indirect" arguments are interpreted as *Goals*; when in the form V NP PP<sup>5</sup>, she uses the label "verbs of caused movement" (:105). They can be analyzed as the following lexical decomposition structure (cf. section 2.3.2):

(11) V NP NP (change of possession): [[X ACT] CAUSE [Y HAVE Z]]

V NP PP (caused movement): [[X ACT] CAUSE [Z GO TO Y]]

(Meirelles 2015:106-107)

The structures in (11) suggest that the change in the order of the arguments is related to changes in the meaning of the verb. This proposition is subject of debate between

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<sup>5</sup> Moretti (2010) uses a different terminology: verbs of transference/movement (*verbos de transferência/movimento*).

semanticists involved with the interface between lexical semantics and syntax (cf. section 2.3), and according to Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (2007:2), "the currently dominant *multiple meaning approach* [our emphasis], assumes a nonderivational relation between the variants: each is associated with its own meaning, though they are not always truth-conditionally distinguishable, and each gives rise to its own realization of arguments (e.g., Beck & K. Johnson 2004; Goldberg 1992, 1995; Hale & Keyser 2002; Harley 2003; Krifka 1999, 2004; Pinker 1989)." We will return to this question in chapter 3.

In the following section, we will see earlier accounts of DOC in BP.

### 1.1.2 The comparative analysis of Scher (1996a)

Scher (1996a) compares the BP DOC with the English dative shift constructions and argues that, despite the similarities, the BP DOC is different from the English one.

In DBP both the orders [V NP PP] and [V PP NP] are possible (the preposition can vary between *para* and *a*, both meaning "to/for"):

(12) DBP

- a. Ela deu o retrato pro/ao irmão.  
*'She gave the picture to her brother.'*
- b. Ela deu pro/ao irmão o retrato.  
*'\*She gave to her brother the picture.'*

(13) DBP

- a. A Maria mostrou o carro ao João.  
*'Mary showed the car to John.'*
- b. A Maria mostrou ao João o carro.  
*'\*Mary showed to John the car.'*

(SCHER 1996a:25)

Examples (12) and (13) show that, regarding word order, English is more restricted than DBP. Scher points to the possibility, raised by Arnold (1995), that the order [V PP NP] could be related to movement from V to I, which is more common in BP than modern English.

Scher (p. 26) points out that the order [V NP NP] only occurs in DBP if the preposition *a* "to" can be selected by the verb. If the verb only accepts *para* "for", the sentence becomes ungrammatical:

(14) DBP AND ENGLISH

- a. Ele deu o dinheiro (a/pr)o pai.

*'He gave the money (to) his father.'*

- b. Ele deu (a/pr)o pai o dinheiro.

*'\*He gave (to) his father the money.'*

- c. Ele pediu o dinheiro (a/pr)o pai.

*'\*He asked the money (to) his father.'*

- d. Ele pediu (a/pr)o pai o dinheiro.

*'?He asked \*(to) his father the money.'*

- e. Ele pediu (a/pr)o João pra sair.

*'He asked \*(to) John to leave.'*

- f. Ela comprou um presente (\*pr)a mãe.

*'She bought a present (\*for) her mother.'*

- g. Ela comprou (\*pr)a mãe um presente.

*'She bought \*(for) her mother a present.'*

(SCHER, 1996a:27)

Regarding passivization, Scher (p. 28) notes that the DBP paradigm is more restricted yet more regular than the English one:

## (15) DBP PASSIVIZATION

- a. A Maria deu um livro aos/pros meninos.

*'Mary gave a book to the boys.'*

- b. Um livro foi dado aos/pros meninos.

*'A book was given to the boys.'*

- c. \*Pros/Aos meninos foi dado um livro.

*'To the boys a book was given.'*

- d. \*Os meninos foram dados um livro.

*'The boys were given a book.'*

(SCHER, 1996a:28)

Scher notes that Fillmore (1965) and Kuroda (1968) argue that there are restrictions in English that do not allow relativization or WH-questioning of the indirect object in docs. But DBP allows for relativization and fronting of the relative pronoun:

## (16) DBP RELATIVIZATION AND FRONTING

- a. Eu dei (a/pr)o menino o caderno, mas ele não está aqui.<sup>6</sup>

*'I gave (to) the boy the notebook, but he is not here.'*

- b. O menino que eu dei o caderno não está aqui.

*'The boy I gave the notebook (to him) is not here.'*

- c. A Maria deu (a/pr)o Pedro este livro.

*'Mary gave (to) Peter this book.'*

- d. (para) Quem que a Maria deu este livro?

*'\*(to) Whom Mary gave this book?'*

---

<sup>6</sup> A member of the advisory comitee pointed that, in (16a), "the 3<sup>rd</sup> person referent is not 'the boy', but rather 'the notebook'".

e. Eu vou ver lá quem que eu posso pedir...

*'I will see there (to) whom I can ask...'*

(SCHER, 1996a:28-29)

Scher argues that the data in (16) is evidence that the DOC in English and DBP are different. Either DBP is subject to Fillmore's (op. cit.) and Kuroda's (op. cit.) restrictions, in which case the preposition should be erased before the movement of the WH element, indicating that the WH did not receive Case from the proposition – and thus the sentence should be ungrammatical; or the DBP construction is not the same as the English construction and therefore not subject to the same restrictions.

Scher (1996a:33) proceeds to present some peculiarities of DBP. She begins by providing the following lists of verbs that select the prepositions *a*, *para* or both (as mentioned before, her data shows that only verbs that can select the preposition *a* can display the form [V NP NP]. Verbs that only select *para* cannot occur in the form [V NP NP]). Scher comments that verbs of group A are omitting the proposition as a general rule, while verbs from groups B and C do not allow for proposition ellipsis. Verbs from group D also allow for preposition erasing. The groups of verbs are described below.

A – preposition *a*:

assistir (*watch*), atender (*attend*), obedecer (*obey*), recorrer (*resort to*), requisitar (*require*), sobreviver (*survive*)

B – preposition *para*:

buscar (*fetch*), cantar (*sing to*), comprar (*buy to*), conseguir (*obtain for*), desenhar (*draw to*), descrever (*describe to*), fazer (*make to*), ler (*read to*)

C – both prepositions / impossibility of ellipsis:

deixar (*leave to*), endereçar (*address to*), escrever (*write to*), insinuar (*insinuate to*), mentir (*lie to*), trazer (*bring*)

D – both prepositions / possibility of ellipsis:

anunciar (*announce to*), comunicar (*report*), contar (*tell to*), dar (*give*), dizer (*say*), emprestar (*lend to*), ensinar (*teach*), entregar (*deliver to*), enviar (*send to*), explicar (*explain to*), mandar (*send to*), mostrar (*show to*), oferecer (*offer to*), pedir (*ask*), recomendar (*recommend*)

Scher also observes the  $\theta$ -roles assigned by the verbs to their prepositioned complement in the four groups: verbs in group A assign Theme<sup>7</sup> and Source, whereas in group B the verbs assign Goal and Benefactive. Verbs in group C also assign Goal and Benefactive. Verbs in group D assign Goal or Source.

Scher (1996a:36) explains the differences between the behavior of verbs in group C and D by noting that verbs in group C do not always require their Goal argument, which suggests that this argument is not really a part of the lexical entry of the verb. This means that the preposition is not only licensing Case, but is in fact introducing the oblique argument. Because of this fact, the preposition cannot be erased in constructions with these verbs.

Scher then explains the possibility of erasing the preposition in constructions with verbs of groups A and D by following Larson's (1988) suggestion of redundancy of  $\theta$ -roles assigned by the verb and the preposition, which allows for the inactivity and ellipsis of the prepositional head.

Scher proposes that the DBP DOC is a result of syntactic and morphophonological processes that generate the form [PP NP] and erase the preposition *a*. One of her main arguments is the possibility of preposition erasing without movement, so that the resulting structure is V DO IO with both arguments realized as NPs. According to Chung (1976) the following sentences should be ungrammatical:

(17) DBP PREPOSITION ELLIPSIS WITHOUT MOVEMENT

- a. Eu entrego o livro o pai da Ana.  
*I deliver the book (to) Ana's father.*
- b. Ela deu o retrato o Pedro.

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<sup>7</sup> Scher assumes that Theme is the affected entity, following Haegman (1992).

*She gave the picture (to) Peter.*

- c. Mostra o carrinho os meninos!

*Show the little car (to) the boys!*

- d. Dá o recado o seu irmão.

*Give the message (to) your brother.*

Scher argues that these sentences are possible because, given that normal conditions determine the movement of the argument, there could be a special condition that determines the movement, alongside an independent morphophonological factor that allows for preposition erasing.

As for the special conditions, Scher contemplates three possibilities: movement motivated by prosody (based on Zubizarreta 1996), the similarity between indirect objects and adjuncts (based on Dillinger et al 1996) and the possibility of scrambling (based on the work of Demonte 1994).

Scher's proposal can be summarized as following: the author assumes (p. 106) two independent base structures for double object constructions in DBP, namely [V NP PP] and [V PP NP], the latter being a consequence of the topic<sup>8</sup> nature of the indirect object. She argues that the two structures are base-generated, the form [V (NP/PP) NP] being an underived topic construction, drawing from Creider's (1979) proposal that discursive factors influence movement rules in English. Scher (1996b) demonstrates the topic nature of the indirect object in immediate post-verbal positions in DBP.

Alongside the syntactic motivation, Scher (1996a:115) proposes a morphophonological factor that erases the preposition *a* in the appropriate morphophonological contexts, resulting in the form [V NP NP]. Scher proposes that this context in DBP is the position between the last syllable of the verb (normally ending in a vowel) and the proposition. This is a context that

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<sup>8</sup> That is, the nature of the complement as information that is given and fronted in the discourse. For more information regarding the discourse layer of syntactic structures, also called the left periphery, cf. Miyagawa (2009) and Rizzi (1997). Another field of studies, relating syntax, semantics and pragmatics, focuses in the informational structure. We will return to this subject in chapters 3 and 4.

favors syllabic restructuring and external vocalic sandhi (cf. Bisol 1993) and can easily lead to the erasing of the preposition. However, Ramos (1992: 302) presents evidence that preposition ellipsis is not always possible.

Scher's work is important for her exhaustive description of the DBP double object construction, particularly the comparison with the English double object constructions. But there are other descriptions, more recent and in tune with latter developments in the generative framework.

In the next section, we will see an approach based on aspectual properties (cf. section 2.3.3).

### **1.1.3 Salles' (1997) analysis based on lexical aspectual properties**

Building on Hale and Keyser's (1993) configurational approach to argument structure, and Tenny's (1994) and Borer's (1994, 1996) proposals, Salles developed an approach to the syntax of ditransitive constructions based on aspectual properties (cf. section 2.3.3).

The author (1997:48) assumes that ditransitive constructions are projections of P, V, and aspectual properties, namely Originator (OR), Event Measurer (EM) and Delimiter (DEL), which are licensed within the configuration projected by V and P. Following Tenny (op. cit.)<sup>9</sup>, she assumes that aspectual roles that determine the participation of the argument in the event are mapped onto the event structure, which is syntactically projected (p.50). Aspectual features are taken to be part of the inventory of interpretable features of the lexical head projecting the relevant configuration.

Salles argues (p.125-126) that the DOC is found only in languages that license null P, which can only arise in the context of loss of morphological distinction between accusative and dative. The null P is proposed as a necessary – but not sufficient – condition for the arising of DOC. She

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<sup>9</sup> The theory behind this assumption was developed by Pustejovsky (1991), as noted by Salles (p.50).

suggests (p.128-129) that there is no DOC in Romance languages, which lack a null P<sup>10</sup>. The DOC constructions that Scher (op. cit.) presents are interpreted by Salles as correlating with changes occurring in BP, especially the tendency to lose clitic pronouns. The interaction<sup>11</sup> between different processes inside the grammar of the language, namely the emergence of null P and the loss of distinction between accusative and dative clitics, results in the emergence of DOC. The replacement of *a* "for" with *para* "to" is another factor that restricts the occurrence of DOC in DBP.

Based on the hypothesis that DOC is projected by the V shell<sup>12</sup> and a null P<sub>WITH</sub>, Salles presents the following analysis of DBP DOC. The two possible word orders (18) are projected as (19):

(18) DBP DOC (EXAMPLES FROM SCHER 1996:30)

- a. Maria deu o João o livro.  
*Mary gave John the book.*
- b. Maria deu o livro o João.  
*Mary gave the book John.*

(19) DPB DOC PROJECTION

- a. ... de<sub>OR</sub> [VP o João [V<sub>EM</sub> [PP P<sub>WITH</sub> o livro]]]
- b. ... de<sub>OR</sub> [VP o livro [V<sub>EM</sub> [PP P<sub>WITH/DEL</sub> o João]]] (Salles 1997:137)

Salles (p. 138) proposes that the two orders are possible "due to a lexical property of (null) P<sub>WITH</sub>, namely that it gives rise to a comitative interpretation, allowing any of its arguments to license the EM (event measurer) feature". The difference lies in the distinct aspectual structures of the two constructions: in (15a) the argument *João* measures the event providing

<sup>10</sup> Salles assumes that null P is interpreted as WITH, following Hale and Keyser (1993).

<sup>11</sup> A member of the advisory comitee questioned if we have any hypotheses about the cause of such interaction. For now, we can only speculate that the features associated with accusative and dative marking in clitics change/ emerge/drop when the features of P license its ellipsis/ stranding.

<sup>12</sup> Larson (1988), Hale and Keyser (1993) among others proposed that the VP is projected in layers, one functional and one lexical. This proposal was revisited by Chomsky (1995), when he proposes the light v. Kratzer (1996) proposes the category VOICE as a layer above the lexical V that licenses the external argument. This structure in layers is generally called "VP shell".

both the scale and the endpoint of the path of the event; in (15b) the scale is provided by *o livro* and the endpoint is the PP, be it null or overt.

Salles argues that the differences between the English dative shift and BP DOC are due to idiosyncrasies of the P head in the inventory of each language: English has two noninterchangeable P heads, *to* and *for*, respectively associated with *Goal* and *Benefactive* interpretations; BP uses *para* "to" in both *Goal* and *Benefactive* constructions<sup>13</sup>, and DOC can only occur in sentences with a *Goal* interpretation<sup>14</sup>.

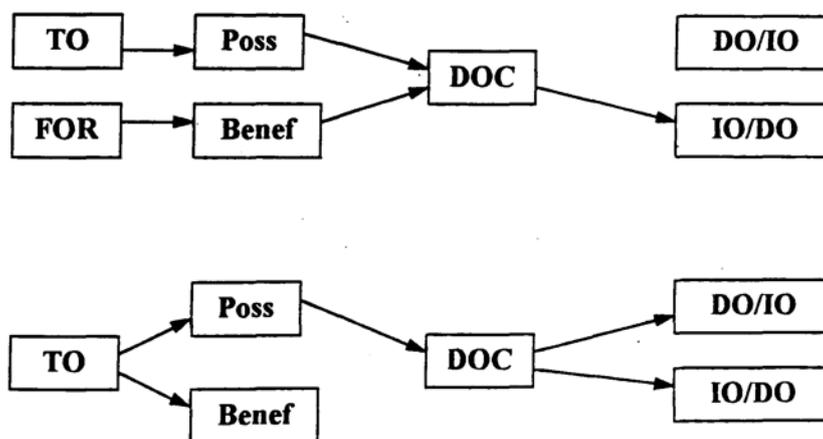


Figure 1: Distribution of DOC in English and BP, where IO = possessor, DO = possessee. Salles (1997:139)

Salles (p.140) proposes a correlation between the impossibility of Benefactive DOC in BP and the loss of *a* "to" and its replacement as *para* "for". This configuration favors the obligatory prepositioning of Benefactives, in order to distinguish them from Goals.

Some of Salles' observations were reanalyzed by Torres Morais & Salles (2010), which also incorporated more recent framework developments, such as the proposal of Applicative heads (cf. section 2.4 for details). In the next section, Torres Morais & Salles' approach will be summarized.

<sup>13</sup> In her diachronic analysis, Ramos (1992) concludes that the preposition *a* "to" is being replaced by *para* "for". Salles (p. 139) notes that the loss of *a* in the context *a+(acc)object* is due to "changes in the basic word order in BP, in particular in the subject-verb order".

<sup>14</sup> Scher (op. cit.) points that verbs that only select *para* "for" cannot occur in DOC (cf. previous section for examples).

#### 1.1.4 Torres Morais & Salles' (2010) account of indirect objects in DBP

Torres Morais & Salles (2010:200) also compare the English and DBP double objects. They note that the first DP complement asymmetrically c-commands the second DP, just as in English:

(20) ASYMMETRIC C-COMMAND IN DBP DOC

- a. Eu mostrei cada pai<sub>i</sub> seu<sub>i</sub> filho.  
*I showed each father his son*
- b. \*?Eu mostrei seu<sub>i</sub> pai cada filho<sub>i</sub>.  
*I showed his father each son*

(Torres Morais & Salles 2010:200)

Another parallel between English and DBP can be drawn from the historical development of the languages: in English, the rise of DOC follows a reanalysis in the system of object pronouns, in which the clitics cease to be found in object position and the morphological distinction between accusative and dative case is lost<sup>15</sup>. However, as previously noted by Scher (1996; cf. section 1.1.2), DOC in DBP is more restricted than its English counterpart:

- (21) a. \*Maria comprou **João / ele** um carro.  
 b. *Mary bought **John** a car.*

The contrast between English and DBP can be captured in their prepositional counterpart: in English, the benefactive argument is introduced by *for* and the goal/recipient argument by *to*; in DBP only the preposition *para* is used<sup>16</sup>. This suggests that in DBP the distinction between benefactives and goals/recipients is expressed through the obligatory occurrence of the benefactive in a prepositional configuration (cf. section 1.1.3).

Another difference between the languages, also highlighted by Scher (1996a), involves passivization: in DBP passivization of the first DP decreases the acceptability of the sentence,

<sup>15</sup> As discussed in the advisory committee, there is a difference between phonological clitics and syntactic clitics. The latter was lost; the former still occurs in some contexts.

<sup>16</sup> As already discussed by Ramos (1992), Scher (1996a) and Salles (1997).

contrary to English. In both languages, passivization of the second DP leads to ungrammaticality. However, some verbs, such as *dicendi* verbs, allow passivization. The authors assume that the similarities between DOC in English and DBP allow for a unified analysis in terms of the projection of the applicative functional head.

(22) PASSIVIZATION

- a. ?João / Ele foi dado um carro.
- b. John / He was given a car.
  
- c. \*O carro foi dado João.
- d. \*The car was given John.
  
- e. O professor foi solicitado entregar os resultados.  
*The professor was asked to give out the results*
- f. O empregado foi proposto um acordo.  
*The employee was proposed an agreement*
- g. O aluno foi perguntado sobre o que aconteceu.  
*The student was asked on what happened*

Observing the facts above, and following the ideas of Pykkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), Torres Morais & Salles (2010) propose that indirect objects may be realized by two different configurations, one of which is the low applicative structure; the other being the prepositional ditransitive construction (PDC), in which the object is licensed by a lexical<sup>17</sup> preposition.

The authors suggest that BP is losing the low applicative structure, which would remain solely in a small inventory of transfer of possession predicates. This can be related to a general loss of dative structures in BP: the restructuring of the pronominal system, the loss of the Romance causative (replaced by the accusative causative) and of the possessor dative (replaced by the genitive construction with the lexical preposition *de* "of/from", which is not ditransitive) and the source dative (also replaced by the lexical preposition *de*).

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<sup>17</sup> For a discussion on the status of the prepositions *a* and *para*, cf. section 3.2. Torres Morais and Salles (p. 185) assume that the preposition *a* "is a morphological realization of an abstract dative Case, akin to a Case suffix".

To explain the differences between the structures in English, EP and DBP, and based on Roberts' (2007) analysis, Salles & Torres Morais propose that the formal feature makeup of the low applicative head is under parametric variation: the abstract dative Case-feature DAT is active in Spanish, EP and historical BP, but lost in English and DBP. The loss of dative Case is associated with changes in the features that license the verb's arguments. The contrastive properties of the low applicative head are illustrated below:

(23) DBP AND EP LOW APPLICATIVE STRUCTURE

a. DBP

João deu Maria / ela um livro.

João gave Maria / 3SG a book

'John gave Mary/her a book.'

b. [<sub>VP</sub> João [<sub>V</sub> v\*<sub>[Uφ]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> deu [<sub>APPLP</sub> Maria/ela<sub>ACC</sub> [<sub>APPL'</sub> APPL<sub>[Uφ]</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> um livro<sub>ACC</sub> ]]]]]]]

c. EP

O João deu um livro à Maria / deu-lhe um livro.

The João gave a book to Maria / gave=3SG a book

'John gave a book to Mary.'

d. [<sub>VP</sub> O João [<sub>V</sub> v\*<sub>[Uφ]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> deu [<sub>APPLP</sub> à Maria/lhe<sub>DAT</sub> [<sub>APPL'</sub> APPL<sub>DAT</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> um livro<sub>ACC</sub> ]]]]]]]

(Torres Morais & Salles 2010:203-204)

In the derivation of (23a,b) the uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features of the upper v\* initiate an Agreement relation with the  $\phi$ -features of the recipient DP (*Maria/ela*), whose Case-feature is valued as accusative. The same Agreement relation is seen between the  $\phi$ -features of the applicative head and the theme DP (*um livro*). In the absence of DAT, the applicative head behaves like an active v\* with uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features.

In contrast, the derivation of (23c,d) shows that the applicative head does not have uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features. The recipient has a DAT feature, which is an interpretable Case feature that corresponds to morphological dative case and does not need to be valued under

Agree. The uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features in  $v^*$  initiate an Agree relation with the theme DP (*um livro*) which is valued as accusative.

Torres Morais & Salles' (205-206) summarize their proposal as follows:

*I. English and dialectal BP DOC/applicative construction:*

- The superficial word order is rigid.<sup>18</sup>
- The applied DP has (uninterpretable) accusative Case.
- The low applicative head has uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features.

*II. Romance DOC (Spanish, EP, Romanian)/applicative construction:*

- The superficial word order is not rigid.
- The applied DP has (interpretable) inherent dative Case.
- The low applicative head is responsible for the inherent Case of the dative DP.
- The IO is morphologically expressed by the dative clitic, and the preposition *a* is a dative case marker.

### 1.1.5 Moretti (2010) and the expression of IO in the Distributed Morphology framework

Moretti (op. cit.) investigates the properties of Verbs of Transference/Movement (VT/M) focusing on the properties/features of verb-forming roots and their influence in syntactic realization of argument structure (cf. section 2.2 for details).

The author discusses (p.74) the status of the IO: is it an argument or an adjunct? She disagrees with Dillinger (1991) and Dillinger et al (1996) and assumes that the IO is indeed an argument of constructions with VT/M in BP. In order to justify this claim, the author presents data that show the distinct behavior of adjuncts and arguments in sentences with VT/M:

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<sup>18</sup> They don't explain this claim, that is clearly contradicted by data in Scher (1996a). It probably refers to the evidence in (20) that there is asymmetric c-command between the objects in the DOC (which suggests that the goal/recipient/benefactive argument is probably higher in the structure than the theme – but does not exclude the possibility of raising).

## (24) VERBS OF TRANSFERENCE

- a. Nós vamos *entregar* os boletins (para os alunos) *esta semana*.  
*We will deliver the school report (to the students) this week.*
- b. Nós vamos *entregar* os boletins (para os alunos).  
*We will deliver the school report (to the students).*
- c. No *natal*, eu *sempre doo* o que não uso mais (para instituições de caridade).  
*In Christmas, I always donate what I don't use anymore (to charity).*
- d. Eu *doo* o que não uso mais (para instituições de caridade).  
*I donate what I don't use anymore (to charity).*

## (25) VERBS OF MOVEMENT

- a. O bandeirinha *arremessou* a bola (para o jogador) *com toda a força*.  
*The assistant referee threw the ball (to the player) with all his strength.*
- b. O bandeirinha *arremessou* a bola (para o jogador).  
*The assistant referee threw the ball (to the player).*
- c. Eu vou *encaminhar* a reclamação (para o gerente) *ainda hoje*.  
*I will forward the complaint (to the manager) today.*
- d. Eu vou *encaminhar* a reclamação (para o gerente).  
*I will forward the complaint (to the manager).*

(Moretti 2010:74-75)

The examples above show that both adjuncts and arguments can be erased in BP, but adjuncts do not occur in the syntactic structure when they are not phonetically realized, while arguments still remain implicit in the structure. Speakers will interpret the sentence as if the IO is there, that is, that there is a goal/recipient/endpoint in the subjacent structure.

Passivization also provides evidence that IO behaves as an argument and not an adjunct:

## (26) VERBS OF TRANSFERENCE

- a. Os boletins serão *entregues* (para os alunos) *esta semana*.  
*The school reports will be delivered (to the students) this week.*
- b. Os boletins serão *entregues* (para os alunos).

*The school reports will be delivered (to the students).*

- c. Os brinquedos em bom estado foram *doados* (para instituições de caridade) *no natal*.

*The toys that were in good condition were donated (to charity) in Christmas.*

- d. Os brinquedos em bom estado foram *doados* (para instituições de caridade).  
*The toys that were in good condition were donated (to charity).*

(27) VERBS OF MOVEMENT

- a. A bola foi *arremessada* (para o jogador) com toda a força.

*The ball was thrown (to the player) with all strength.*

- b. A bola foi *arremessada* (para o jogador).

*The ball was thrown (to the player).*

- c. A reclamação foi *encaminhada* (para o gerente) hoje.

*The complaint was forwarded (to the manager) today.*

- d. A reclamação foi *encaminhada* (para o gerente).

*The complaint was forwarded (to the manager).*

(p.76-77)

In the examples above, even when the IO is not realized, it is still implicit in the structure. Adjuncts, on the other hand, are not part of the syntactic structure when not realized phonetically.

The third test that Moretti provides is nominalization. The IO remains implicit in the structure even when the predicate is nominalized.

(28) NOMINALIZATION

- a. A *entrega* dos boletins (para os alunos) causou uma certa confusão.

*The delivery of the school reports (to the students) caused some confusion.*

- b. A *contação* de histórias (para as crianças) é uma prática nas escolas infantis.

*The telling of stories (to the children) is common practice in kindergarten schools.*

- c. A *exibição* das provas do crime (para o juiz) fez com que o advogado ganhasse a causa.

*The exhibition of the crime evidence (to the judge) caused the lawyer to win the case.*

- d. O encaminhamento da reclamação (para o gerente) foi importante.

*The forwarding of the complaint (to the manager) was important.*

- e. O envio do e-mail (para a diretoria) ocorreu com atraso.

*The sending of the e-mail (to the board) was delayed.*

(p.77)

Moretti assumes that the semantic interpretation of VT/M demands the IO, either phonetically realized or not: you cannot send something without a recipient, you cannot throw something to nobody/at nowhere. Their meaning requires an element that assumes the role of goal or recipient. All this leads to the conclusion that IO is indeed an argument of VT/M in BP.

Building up on this assumption and the work of Cyrino (1998), Moretti assumes that the IO of VT/M is not really indirect: it is an argument *of the verb*, required by the semantic composition of VT/M-forming roots. When the verb does not semantically require the IO, it occurs as an adjunct – adjoined to but not inside the VP projection. In this case, the element will be realized as a complement of a lexical preposition, and can be interpreted as goal/recipient or benefactive. Moretti (p. 83) assumes that the verbs of classes B and C, as classified by Scher (cf. section 1.1.2), do not have an argument IO. The IO that occurs with these verbs are assumed as adjuncts and not arguments.

- Group B: buscar *search*, comprar *buy*, conseguir *achieve*, desenhar *draw*, descrever *depict*, fazer *make/do*, ler *read*
- Group C: deixar *let*, descrever *depict*, endereçar *address*, escrever *write*, insinuar *insinuate*, mentir *lie*, trazer *bring*

Building on work by Torres Morais (2007) on European Portuguese (EP) ditransitive constructions, Moretti argues that *para*, just as *a*, is a dative Case marker in BP. She notes that, while EP speakers interpret the following sentences as benefactives/malefactives, BP speakers interpret them as goals/ recipients. She also notes that BP speakers use the

prepositions *para* and *de* in place of *a* (used in EP). Also, these elements can alternatively occur as a dative clitic.

(29) GOALS AND BENEFACTIVES

- a. O José enviou uma carta *para a Maria*.

*Joseph sent a letter to Mary.*

- b. O José roubou o relógio *do Pedro*.

*Joseph stole the watch from Peter/Peter's watch.*

(30) DATIVE CLITIC ALTERNATION<sup>19</sup>

- a. O José atribuiu uma tarefa *para os alunos/atribuiu-lhes* uma tarefa.

*'Joseph assigned a task to the students/assigned them a task'.*

- b. O José devolveu o dinheiro *para os clientes/devolve-lhes* o dinheiro.

*'Joseph returned the money to the clients/returned them the money'.*

- c. O José emprestou o carro *para o Pedro/emprestou-lhe* o carro.

*'Joseph lent the car to Peter/lent him the car'.*

(p. 85)

Moretti argues that "[...] in BP ditransitive constructions formed with VT/M *para* expresses the same set of semantic relations that *a* expresses in EP (recipient/goal) [...] we propose that *para*, just as *a*, is a dative Case marker in the aforementioned constructions" (p.85, our translation). This suggests that IO is a dative complement, not an oblique complement (as proposed by Torres Morais 2007). She also discusses Berlinck's (2001) work that shows that the completion between preposition and morphological Case marking of datives traces back to Latin, and that datives are in a notional field between benefactives and goals, functioning as a "directional locative" or "orientation pole". This "blurring" or "bleaching" of meanings is

<sup>19</sup> The data in (30) do not reflect current spoken BP: for instance, the clitic *lhe* is virtually lost.

what allows datives to be licensed by prepositions such as *para* or *de*, normally associated with locatives<sup>20</sup>.

Moretti then (p.106) analyzes the aforementioned assumptions in the light of Distributed Morphology (cf. section 2.2). She points out that in this non-lexicalist framework notions as theta-roles are not regarded as theoretical objects, but as being the result of structural configurations in which arguments occur<sup>21</sup>. However, an underlying semantic-syntactic pattern is found among VT/M in BP data. How to explain this pattern in a non-lexicalist approach? Is it related to the features of the roots that compound these verbs?

In order to answer these questions, Moretti (p.105) starts by defining roots. She assumes, following Acquaviva (2009), among others, that roots are "vocabulary items that index exponents to morphosyntactic information" and "these items have morphological diacritics that can, to some degree, presume a category, in order to restrict them to the contexts that define this category" (p.106, our translation). They correspond to the non-grammatically defined portion of a word. Lexical categories are assumed to be formed by the combination of non-categorical roots and category-defining heads (p.102).

She then cites Harley & Noyer's (2000) proposal that "the formal properties of vocabulary items determine their distribution in sentences" (p. 106). The insertion of items in determined structures will generate the semantic structure, the relationship between the predicate and its arguments. This means that the same root can be inserted in different structures/nodes, which leads to different semantic interpretations.

The possibilities of insertion are conditioned by appropriate licensing conditions; inappropriate conditions result ungrammatical sentences (p.110). Following Scher et al

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<sup>20</sup> The prepositions *para* and *de* are not associated only with locatives. *Para* is also associated with benefactives (cf. chapter 3; *ele fez isso pra mim* 'he did it for me'), while *de* can be associated with sources (*eu sou de Divinópolis* 'I am from Divinópolis').

<sup>21</sup> This proposal is somewhat similar to Hale and Keyser's (1993) approach to argument structure, since both assume that the structural configurations determine the relations between predicates and arguments. However, DM is non-lexicalist, while Hale and Keyser's Lexical Relational Structure (LRS) is, as the name indicates, a lexicalist approach (their idea is that lexical items project structures and can undergo syntactic processes inside the lexicon).

(2009), Moretti assumes that "roots are licensed in determined structures of events and negotiate their categorial and semantical properties with these structures. [...] argument roles are defined by their positions in relation to functional heads or in relation to the root inside the syntactic structure of the relevant vP" (p.115). This way, the distribution of roots is determined by the presence or absence of feature combinations, like [ $\pm$ CAUS], that associates with eventualities that are caused inside another event structure.

Roots can also be unspecified, in which case the context will determine the value of the feature. *Merge* restrictions will determine where this feature can be licensed. Surmising, "the syntax [component] generates the structures [projections] and the features of vocabulary items (roots) determine or restrict their occurrence in these structures" (p.132, our translation).

Building on the aforementioned framework, Moretti (p. 120) suggests that "the vocabulary items that form VT/M in BP can be specified for the syntactic features [ $\pm$ V], [ $\pm$ CAUSE] and [ $\pm$ DP<sub>2</sub>]. She proposes that IO occurring in VT/M context are specified as [ $\alpha$ SPECIFIC] and [ $\alpha$ ANIMATED]. The  $\alpha$  symbol means that the feature will be valued according to the context of insertion. When VT/M occur in a ditransitive structure with IO phonetically realized, the vocabulary item associated with the verb must be specified as [+V], [+CAUSE] and [+DP<sub>2</sub>], while the IO must be specified as [+SPECIFIC] and [ $\alpha$ ANIMATED]. When the IO is not realized phonetically, a  $\emptyset$  vocabulary item is inserted in the node – however, this phonetically empty item still has the same feature specification as the realized item.

Moretti (p.122) notes that the verb *dar* "give" can occur without its DO, and in causative alternations<sup>22</sup>:

(31) VERB *DAR*

- |    |  |            |     |         |            |
|----|--|------------|-----|---------|------------|
| a. | Minha pele                             | <i>deu</i> | uma | mancha  | esquisita. |
|    | my skin                                | gave       | a   | blemish | weird      |
|    | 'A weird blemish appeared on my skin.' |            |     |         |            |

<sup>22</sup> *Dar* is generally considered a light-verb (a verb with little to no semantic content). This explains its syntactic flexibility. (cf. Scher 2006)

b. Minha chácara está dando estas jabuticabas deliciosas.  
 my cottage is giving these jabuticabas delicious  
 'There are delicious jabuticabas<sup>23</sup> growing in my cottage.'

c. Ø está dando estas jabuticabas deliciosas na minha chácara  
 is giving these jabuticabas delicious in my cottage  
 'There are delicious jabuticabas growing in my cottage.'

d. Estas jabuticabas deliciosas estão dando na minha chácara.  
 these jabuticabas delicious are giving in my cottage  
 'There are delicious jabuticabas growing in my cottage.'

(Negrão & Viotti 2008:185 apud Moretti 2010:122)

To explain this phenomenon, Moretti proposes that the terminal node regarding the verb is specified as [+v], [-CAUSE] (which allows for it to occur without an agent) and [-DP<sub>2</sub>] (which allows for it to occur without a goal/recipient).

Moretti proposes that *dar* is not a VT/M, but a verb that undergoes causative-inchoative alternation, or what Avelar (2009, cited by Moretti op. cit.) calls *locative inversion*.

(32) LOCATIVE INVERSION

a. Aquela loja vende livro.  
 that store sells book  
 'That store sells books.'

b. Naquela loja vende livro.  
 in that store sells book  
 'One sells books in that store.'

c. Lá naquela loja vende livro.

---

<sup>23</sup> Brazilian small black fruit that resembles grapes.

there in that store sells book  
 'In that store there, one sells books.'

Moretti (p.130-131), following Avelar (op. cit.), proposes the following syntactic structure for verbs like *dar*.

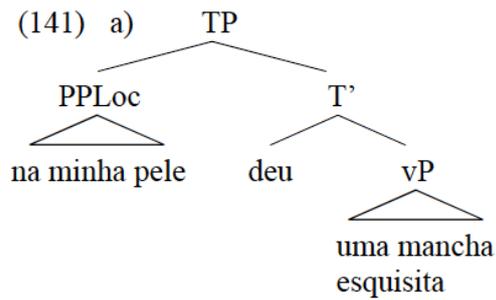


Figure 2: Syntactic structure of causative-inchoative verbs (p.130)

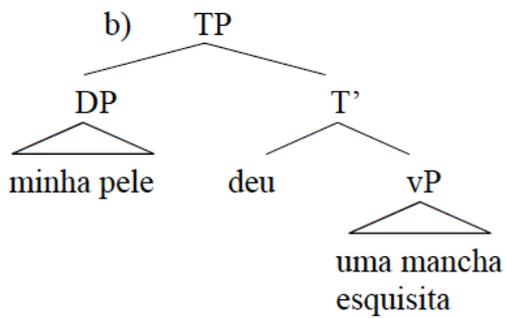


Figure 3: Syntactic structure of causative-inchoative verbs (p.131)

Moretti (p.124) propose the following structures to represent VT/M constructions.

## Transferência

a) Maria *entregou* os boletins para os pais.

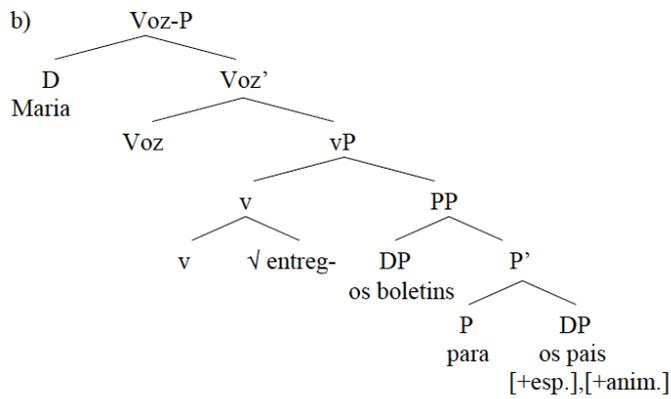


Figure 4: Syntactic structure of VT/M with phonetically realized IO (p.124)

## Movimento

a) Maria *arremessou* a bola para as crianças.

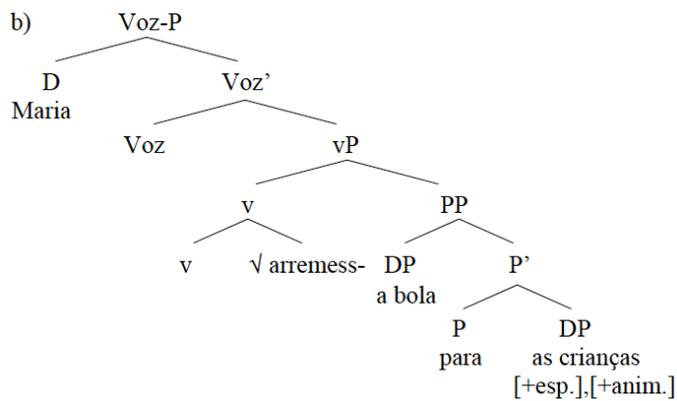


Figure 5: Syntactic structure of VT/M with phonetically realized IO (p.125)

## Transferência

a) Maria *entregou* os boletins ou as avaliações para os pais?  
**Maria entregou os boletins.**

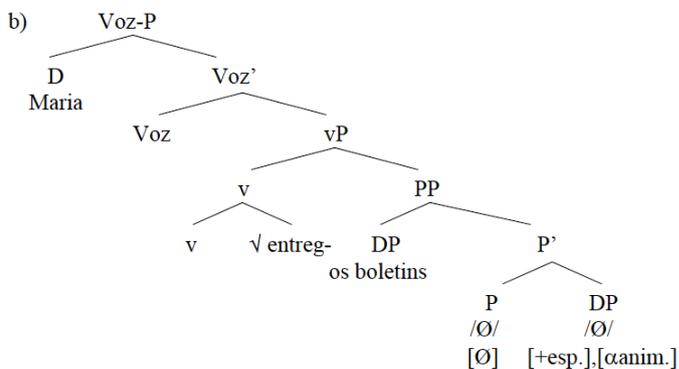


Figure 6: Syntactic structure of VT/M with null anaphoric IO (p.125)

Movimento

- a) Maria *arremessou* a bola ou a peteca para as crianças?  
**Maria arremessou a bola.**

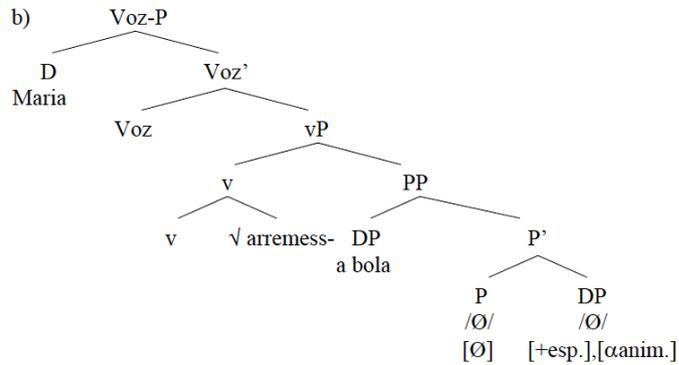


Figure 7: Syntactic structure of VT/M with null anaphoric IO (p.125)

Transferência

- a) Maria *entregou* os boletins.

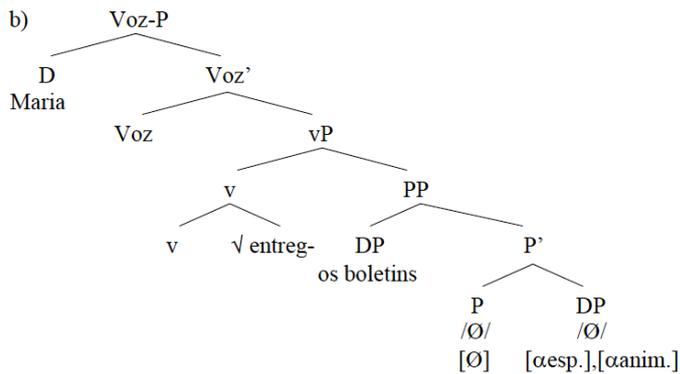


Figure 8: Syntactic structure of VT/M with null non-anaphoric IO (p.126)

Movimento

- a) Maria *arremessou* a bola.

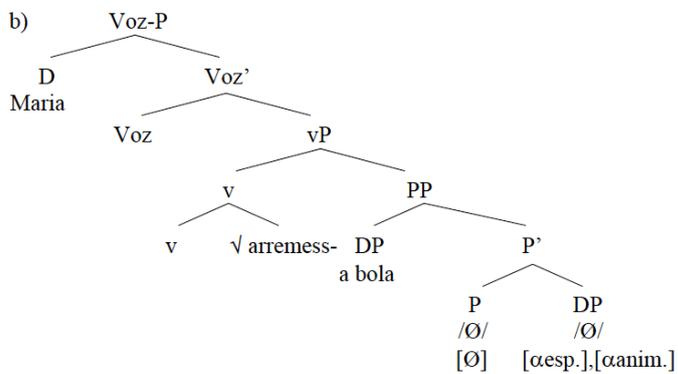


Figure 9: Syntactic structure of VT/M with null non-anaphoric IO (p. 127)

Moretti concludes that the features of the roots that form VT/M can explain the pattern of the class, because the features restrict their occurrence to (generally) ditransitive constructions. The (under)specification of the features will determine the contexts and be valued in the projection.

Moretti's work presents an interesting overview of ditransitive constructions, inside a morphosyntactic framework. However, there are some syntactic issues that are left unexplained. She argues that "syntax generates the structures and the features determine how the roots will be inserted", but does not explain how the generation/projection of structures occurs, or how it interacts with the bundles of features that will be inserted into it. What determines the projection of ditransitive structures into which the roots of VT/M and their arguments will be inserted according to the rules that match context and feature? All the syntactic part of the problem is left untouched. Moretti presents syntactic structures with the roots already inserted, but does not explain how they are generated. In chapter 3, we will try to address these issues.

In the next section, we will present an analysis that correlates the "flexible" complement order in BP ditransitives to informational aspects.

### **1.1.6 Armelin's (2011) ditransitive analysis**

The aim of Armelin's work is to try to define "a properly bitransitive [sic] sentence in BP" and to understand, explain and represent the syntactic constituents that occur in this context. She provides the answer to this problem (what a properly bitransitive sentence is) in two ways: descriptive and structural (p. 85). Descriptively, ditransitivity is defined as the possibility of the preposition *a* as the introducer of the so-called IO (p.142). Structurally, ditransitivity is defined by the presence of a functional Applicative head that relates semantically and syntactically the complements and other elements in a ditransitive construction (p.143).

The author substantiates her work with Pujalte's (2009) work with Spanish datives, which are divided into two classes: argument and non-argument datives. Armelin's proposal is that the

preposition *a* is the true IO argument introducer. In this view, only verbs that license IO through *a* consist in the properly categorized bitransitive verbs (p.85).

Following Bresnan et al (2007), Armelin (p.66-67) assumes that the dative shift does not involve differences in the core argument structure of verbal predicates, but is a process of syntactic flexibility, determined by factors such as animacy of goals/recipients and/or givenness in the discourse.

A preliminary analysis to identify dative shift processes, based on diagnostic tools from Barss & Lasnik (1986), is presented: *anaphors*, *possessor binding* and *weak crossover*. Comparing BP and DBP data with English, Spanish and EP, Armelin concludes that there is no dative shift in BP. However, she notes that "the comparison was mostly made with EP data, which can affect the results" (p. 76, our translation). She insists, nevertheless, that the tests reveal that BP does not present the asymmetries associated with dative shift.

(33) ASYMMETRIES IN DATIVE SHIFT<sup>24</sup>

a. ANAPHORS

i. I showed John to himself in the mirror.

\*I showed himself to John in the mirror.

ii. (EP – without PP):

O cabeleireiro revelou [<sub>DO</sub> a Maria<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>IO</sub> a si mesma<sub>i</sub>] no espelho  
'The hairdresser revealed [Mary] [to herself] in the mirror'

\*O cabeleireiro revelou [<sub>DO</sub> a si mesma<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>IO</sub> à Maria<sub>i</sub>] no espelho  
'The hairdresser revealed [to herself] [to Mary] in the mirror'

\*O cabeleireiro revelou [<sub>IO</sub> à Maria<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>DO</sub> a si mesma<sub>i</sub>] no espelho  
'The hairdresser revealed [to Mary] [to herself] in the mirror'

---

<sup>24</sup> A member of the advisory comitee pointed that all the examples in (33) contain a PP, which changes the test (because a PP works as a barrier). Testing DOCs – that is, sentences without preposition – would perhaps be more appropriate.

(EP – with PP):

O novo corte de cabelo devolveu à **Maria<sub>i</sub>** a estima **de si mesma<sub>i</sub>**

*'The new haircut gave back to Mary her self-esteem'*

O novo corte de cabelo devolveu-**lhe<sub>i</sub>** a estima **de si mesma<sub>i</sub>**

*'The new haircut gave her her self-esteem'*

\*O novo corte de cabelo devolveu a estima **de si mesma<sub>i</sub>** à

**Maria<sub>i</sub>**

*'The new haircut gave her self-esteem back to Maria'*

iii. (DBP):

O cabeleireiro mostrou [<sub>DO</sub> a Maria<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>IO</sub> pra ela mesma<sub>i</sub>] no espelho

*'The hairdresser showed Mary to herself in the mirror'*

\*O cabeleireiro mostrou [<sub>DO</sub> ela mesma<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>IO</sub> Maria<sub>i</sub>] no espelho

*'The hairdresser showed herself Mary in the mirror'*

O cabeleireiro mostrou [<sub>IO</sub> a Maria<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>DO</sub> ela mesma<sub>i</sub>] no espelho

*'The hairdresser showed Mary herself in the mirror'*

O novo corte de cabelo devolveu a **Maria<sub>i</sub>** a estima **de si mesma<sub>i</sub>**

*'The new haircut gave Mary her self-esteem back'*

O novo corte de cabelo devolveu a estima **de si mesma<sub>i</sub>** a **Maria<sub>i</sub>**

*'The new haircut gave her self-esteem back to Mary'*

(Armelin 2011:69-70)

b. POSSESSOR BINDING

i. (EP):

A polícia entregou os bebês<sub>i</sub> a seus<sub>i</sub> (respectivos) pais

*'The police delivered the babies to their (respective) parents'*

\*A polícia entregou os seus<sub>i</sub> bebês aos pais<sub>i</sub>

*'The police delivered their babies to the parents'*

A polícia devolveu aos pais<sub>i</sub> as suas<sub>i</sub> crianças.

*'The police delivered to the parents their children'*

Apresentamos o médico<sub>i</sub> a seu<sub>i</sub> paciente

*'We introduced the doctor to his patient'*

\*Apresentamos o seu<sub>i</sub> paciente ao médico<sub>i</sub>

*'We introduced his patient to the doctor'*

Apresentamos ao médico<sub>i</sub> o seu<sub>i</sub> paciente.

*'We introduced the doctor to his patient'*

Nós demos os cheques<sub>i</sub> a seus<sub>i</sub> donos

*'We gave the checks to their owners'*

\*Nós demos os seus<sub>i</sub> cheques aos trabalhadores<sub>i</sub>

*'We gave their checks to the workers'*

Nós demos aos trabalhadores<sub>i</sub> os seus<sub>i</sub> cheques

*'We gave the workers their checks'*

ii. (DBP):

A polícia entregou os bebês<sub>i</sub> os seus<sub>i</sub> (respectivos) pais

*'The police delivered the babies to their (respective) parents'*

\*A polícia entregou os seus<sub>i</sub> bebês os pais<sub>i</sub>

*'The police delivered their babies the parents'*

A polícia devolveu os pais<sub>i</sub> as suas<sub>i</sub> crianças

*'The police delivered the parents their children'*

Apresentamos o médico<sub>i</sub> o seu<sub>i</sub> paciente  
*'We introduced the doctor his patient'*

\*Apresentamos o seu<sub>i</sub> paciente o médico<sub>i</sub>  
*'We introduced his patient the doctor'*

Apresentamos o médico<sub>i</sub> o seu<sub>i</sub> paciente  
*'We introduced the doctor his patient'*

Nós demos os cheques<sub>i</sub> os seus<sub>i</sub> donos  
*'We gave the checks their owners'*

\*Nós demos os seus<sub>i</sub> cheques os trabalhadores<sub>i</sub>  
*'We gave their checks the workers'*

Nós demos os trabalhadores<sub>i</sub> os seus<sub>i</sub> cheques  
*'We gave the workers their checks'*

(Armelin, 2011:72-73)

c. WEAK CROSSOVER

i. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did Mary give his<sub>i</sub> check to t<sub>i</sub>?  
 What<sub>i</sub> did Mary give t<sub>i</sub> to its<sub>i</sub> owner?

\*What<sub>i</sub> did Mary give its<sub>i</sub> owner t<sub>i</sub>?  
 Who<sub>i</sub> did Mary give t<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> check?

ii. (Spanish):

\*¿A quién<sub>i</sub> entregamos su<sub>i</sub> cheque t<sub>i</sub>?  
*'To whom we delivered his check?'*

¿qué (libro) entregamos t<sub>i</sub> a su dueño<sub>i</sub>?  
*'What book did we deliver to his owner?'*

\*¿Qué<sub>i</sub> (libro) le entregamos a su<sub>i</sub> dueño?  
'What book did we deliver to his owner?'

¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le entregamos su<sub>i</sub> cheque?  
'To whom did we deliver his check?'

iii. (DBP):

\*Quem<sub>i</sub> entregamos seu<sub>i</sub> cheque t<sub>i</sub>?  
'To whom did we deliver his check?'

Que (livro) entregamos t<sub>i</sub> o seu dono<sub>i</sub>?  
'What book did we deliver his owner?'

(Armelin, 2011:74-75)

The data concerning anaphors is not conclusive, Armelin concludes (p. 70), since the asymmetry identified in EP and English is not found in DBP – the inversion of the order is *possible in some cases*.

Regarding possessor binding, Armelin finds that the same paradigm occurs in the languages in question. She notes that this parallelism "between the sentences in Portuguese as a whole and the sentences without a preposition seem to point to the unification of the syntactic structure" (p. 73, our translation).

As for weak crossover, Armelin notes that the DBP sentences behave more like what Cuervo (2003) calls applicative structures. Despite surmising that the test is inconclusive, Armelin insists that there is no alternation in the data analyzed.

Armelin (p. 77) goes back to Scher (1996; cf. section 1.1.2) in order to reiterate her hypothesis that there is no proper DOC in (D)BP.

Then (p. 81), Armelin considers the DBP data under Pujalte's (2009) analysis of Spanish datives. According to Armelin, Pujalte's work classifies Spanish datives into at least two

groups: argument datives, in which the dative DP is argument of the verb; and non-argument datives, in which the dative DP is added to the structure via an Applicative functional head. Pujalte presents four tests to diagnose the presence of the Applicative head: nominalizations, null objects, passivization and *hacer* 'make/do' constructions (p.88-89). According to Armelin, Pujalte concludes that Spanish dative alternations are not an instance of English dative shift, even though both are regarded as Applicative projections (p.91).

Armelin establishes her comparison between (D)BP and Spanish on the fact (p. 103) that Pujalte's argument datives are exactly those that appear with verbal predicates and allow for the preposition *a* to license IO in (D)BP. Based on this classification and analysis, with support of data from Scher (1996), the hypothesis held here is that, differently from Spanish and EP, DBP lost the Applicative head in its inventory of functional categories. The data below illustrates the tests applied to DBP by Armelin based on Pujalte's (2009).

The idea behind the nominalization test is based on Kayne's (1984) suggestion that in DOC the first DP after the verb is not an argument of the verbal predicate. Thus, in nominalization contexts only argument datives will be explicit.

- (34) NOMINALIZATION (ENGLISH)
- a. John examines the problem.
  - b. The examination of the problem.
  - c. The problem's examination.
  
  - d. John believes Thilo handsome.
  - e. \*the belief of Thilo handsome.
  - f. \*Thilo's belief handsome.

(Pujalte 2009:24; previously seen in Beck & Johnson, 2004)

- (35) NOMINALIZATION (SPANISH)
- a. la compra de los libros a Maria.  
*'the purchase of the books to Mary'*

- b. la comunicación de la noticia a sus ministros.  
*'the communication of the news to his ministers'*
- c. la venta de la casa a la pareja joven.  
*'the sale of the house to the young couple'*
- d. la construcción de la casa \*a Maria/para Maria.  
*'the construction of the house \*to Mary/for Mary'*
- e. la colocación de estantes à la habitación/en la habitación  
*'the placement of shelves to the room/in the room'*
- f. la rotura de la bicicleta \*a Maria/de Maria.  
*'the crack in the bike \*to Mary/of Mary'*

(Pujalte 2009:24 *apud* Armelin 2011:96)

(36) NOMINALIZATION (BP – FIRST GROUP)

- a. a comunicação da notícia aos ministros.  
*'The communication of the news to the ministers.'*
- b. a venda da casa ao jovem.  
*'The sale of the house to the young man.'*

(37) NOMINALIZATION (DBP – FIRST GROUP, ARGUMENT DATIVES)

- a. ?a comunicação da notícia os ministros.  
*'the communication of the news the ministers.'*
- b. ?a venda da casa o jovem.  
*'the sale of the house the young man'*

(38) NOMINALIZATION (BP – SECOND GROUP, NON-ARGUMENT DATIVES)

- a. a construção da casa \*a Maria/para a Maria

*'the building of the house \*to Mary/for Mary'*

- b. a colocação de estantes \*a casa/ para a Maria/na casa

*'the placement of shelves \*the house/for Mary/in the house'*

- c. a quebra da bicicleta \*a Maria/para a Maria/ da Maria

*'The bicycle crack \*to Mary/for Mary/of Mary'*

(Armelin 2011:96)

Following Pujalte, Armelin assumes that benefactives are never arguments<sup>25</sup>, since they have to be introduced by the preposition *para*, and the benefactive reading is lost in nominalization contexts. She notes that verbs of the second group do not select the preposition *a*, which suggests that *a* is the true introducer of arguments in (D)BP. Armelin argues (p.128) that the DPs in (38) are not applied arguments, but adjuncts.

According to Armelin (p.97), Pujalte argues that only arguments can be interpreted even when not phonetically realized. Thus, only verbs of the first group allow for the retrieval of an indirect object that is implicit. This retrieved element is interpreted as a Goal.

(39) NULL OBJECT (SPANISH – FIRST GROUP)

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| a. Juan entregó comida <i>e</i> en la casa de María          | ( <i>e</i> = a alguém)             |
| <i>'John delivered food e in Mary's house'</i>               | ( <i>e</i> = one, generic reading) |
| b. Juan donó los libros que había dejado su padre <i>e</i> . | ( <i>e</i> = a alguém)             |
| <i>'John donated the books that his father left e.'</i>      | ( <i>e</i> = one, generic reading) |
| c. El noticiero comunicó la lista de ganadores <i>e</i> .    | ( <i>e</i> = a alguém)             |
| <i>'the news broadcasted the list of winners e.'</i>         | ( <i>e</i> = one, generic reading) |

(40) NULL OBJECT (SPANISH – SECOND GROUP)

---

<sup>25</sup> Recall that Moretti (2010, cf. section 1.1.5) also assumes this premise.

a. Juan rompió la bicicleta.

*'John broke the bicycle.'*

b. Juan cortó el pasto.

*'John cut the pasture.'*

c. Juan construyó la casa.

*'John built the house.'*

(41) NULL OBJECT (DBP – FIRST GROUP)

a. João entregou comida *e* na casa da Maria. (e = a alguém)

*'John delivered food e in Mary's house.'* (e = one, generic reading)

b. João doou os livros *e*. (e = a alguém)

*'João donated the books e.'* (e = one, generic reading)

c. O noticiário comunicou a lista de ganhadores *e*. (e = a alguém)

*'The news broadcasted the list of winners e.'* (e = one, generic reading)

(42) NULL OBJECT (DBP – SECOND GROUP)

a. João quebrou a bicicleta.

*'John broke the bicycle.'*

b. João cortou o pasto.

*'John cut the pasture.'*

c. João construiu a casa.

*'John built the house.'*

As for passives, Pujalte also notes an asymmetry between verbs of group 1 and 2: passivization of DO is possible within the first group, but not the second<sup>26</sup>. It is interesting to note that for verbs in the second group the preposition *para* can be used (with animate elements), but not *a* – that is, only benefactives can occur in this position. As mentioned before, Armelin proposes that benefactives are inserted as adjuncts in the syntactic structure (p. 100).

(43) PASSIVES (SPANISH)

- a. El premio les fue entregado a los ganadores por la Presidente.

*'The prize was delivered to the winners by the President.'*

- b. El libro le fue enviado a María.

*'The book was sent to Mary.'*

- c. La noticia les fue comunicada a los ministros por el secretario presidencial.

*'The news was communicated to the ministers by the presidential secretary.'*

- d. \*Los libros le fueron destruidos a la biblioteca en tiempos de Alfonsim.

*'The books were destroyed for the library in the age of Alfonsim.'*

- e. \*Los estantes les fueron colocados a la habitación por Maria.

*'The shelves were put in the room by Mary.'*

- f. \*La bicicleta le fue rota a Maria por Juan.

*'The bicycle was broken for Mary by Juan.'*

(Pujalte, 2009:29, apud Armelin, 2011:98)

(44) PASSIVES (BP – FIRST GROUP)

- a. O prêmio foi entregue aos ganhadores pelo presidente.

*'The prize was delivered to the winners by the president.'*

---

<sup>26</sup> This pattern is analyzed by Anagnostopoulou (2001), where verbs are divided into two classes (with and without a  $\emptyset$  applicative head) based on properties diagnosed by nominalization and passivization tests.

- b. O prêmio foi entregue para os ganhadores pelo presidente.  
*'The prize was delivered for the winners by the president.'*
- c. O livro foi enviado ao Pedro.  
*'The book was sent to Pedro.'*
- d. O livro foi enviado para o Pedro.  
*'The book was sent for Pedro.'*
- e. A notícia foi comunicada ao ministro pelo presidente.  
*'The news was communicated to the minister by the president.'*
- f. A notícia foi comunicada para o ministro pelo presidente.  
*'The news was communicated for the minister by the president.'*

(45) PASSIVES (DBP – FIRST GROUP)

- a. O prêmio foi entregue os ganhadores pelo presidente.  
*'The prize was delivered the winners by the president.'*
- b. O livro foi enviado o Pedro.  
*'The book was sent Peter.'*
- c. A notícia foi comunicada o ministro pelo presidente.  
*'The news was communicated the minister by the president.'*

(46) PASSIVES (BP – SECOND GROUP)

- a. \*Os quadros foram destruídos ao museu.  
*'The paintings were destroyed to the museum.'*
- b. Os quadros foram destruídos para o Pedro.  
*'The paintings were destroyed for Peter.'*
- c. \*A bicicleta foi quebrada ao menino.

*'The bicycle was broken to the boy.'*

- d. A bicicleta foi quebrada para o menino.

*'The bicycle was broken for the boy.'*

(47) PASSIVES (DBP – SECOND GROUP)

- a. \*Os quadros foram destruídos o Pedro.

*'The paintings were destroyed Peter.'*

- b. \*A bicicleta foi quebrada o menino.

*'The bicycle was broken the boy.'*

(Armelin, 2011: 99)

The last test involves constructions with the verb *hacer*, which corresponds to *fazer* in Portuguese and *make* or *do* in English. According to Armelin (p. 100), Pujalte argues that the question *¿qué le hiciste a X?* 'what did you do to X?' makes reference to the benefactive/ malefactive and therefore cannot be answered by an argument of the verbal predicate.

(48) *HACER* TEST (SPANISH – FIRST GROUP)

- a. ¿Qué le hiciste a María?

\*Le di un libro.

*'What did you do to Mary? I gave her a book.'*

- b. ¿Qué le hiciste a Juan?

\*Le entregué los libros.

*'What did you do to John? I delivered him the books.'*

(49) *HACER* TEST (SPANISH)

- a. ¿Qué le hiciste a María?

Le construí una casa.

*'What did you do to Mary? I built her a house.'*

- b. ¿qué le hiciste a la habitación?

Le puse cortinas.

*'What did you do to the room? I put curtains in it.'*

(Pujalte, 2009:30 apud Armelin, 2011:100-101)

(50) *HACER TEST (DBP – FIRST GROUP)*

a. O que você fez para o Pedro?

Entreguei os livros.

*'What did you do to Peter? I delivered the books.'*

(51) *HACER TEST (DBP – SECOND GROUP)*

a. O que você fez para o Pedro?

Consertei a bicicleta.

*'What did you do to Peter? I fixed the bicycle.'*

(Armelin 2011:101)

Arguing that the tests show that the preposition *a* is the only one that can be erased, and that it cannot express the thematic relation of benefactive, Armelin uses the results above to form the basis of her proposal: that the preposition *a* is the true licenser of prepositioned arguments of ditransitive verbs in BP, and that the benefactive thematic relation does not have argument status<sup>27</sup> (p. 102). She presents two main arguments to support this view: in ditransitive predicates, goal seems to be the *default* interpretation, the benefactive reading being possible only when there is already a goal (explicit or not); and the possibility of adding benefactives via PP to all kinds of verbal predicates, such as unergatives, transitives etc. The author argues (p. 105) that the preposition *para* is ambiguous: it can express the goal relation conveyed normally by *a*, or it can express a benefactive reading<sup>28</sup>. When it expresses a goal relation, it introduces an argument; in benefactive readings the preposition introduces an adjunct. The arguments are outlined as follows (p. 106, our translation).

<sup>27</sup> In this proposal, benefactives are licensed as adjuncts, whereas goals occur as arguments.

<sup>28</sup> Armelin (p. 105) calls the goal interpretation "Low Applicative semantics" and the benefactive interpretation "High Applicative semantics", following Pylkkänen (2002, 2008; cf. section 2.4.2) and Pujalte (2009).

- I. Argument datives, according to Pujalte's (2009) classification, correspond in BP to verbal predicates that accept the preposition *a* as possible argument licenser.
- II. DBP allows for the erasing of the preposition only in constructions with verbs that probably can only occur with the preposition *a*.
- III. The preposition *a* does not express benefactive reading (which seems to have properties of adjuncts).
- IV. The *default* interpretation of a PP<sub>PARA</sub> corresponds to the semantic interpretation of a PP<sub>A</sub>.

(52) BP BENEFACTIVES

- a. A Maria dançou.  
*'Mary danced.'*
- b. \*A Maria dançou ao Pedro.  
*'Mary danced to Pedro.'*
- c. A Maria dançou para o Pedro.  
*'Mary danced for Pedro.'*
- d. A Ana cozinhou um bolo.  
*'Ann baked a cake.'*
- e. \* A Ana cozinhou um bolo aos meninos.  
*'Ann baked a cake to the boys.'*
- f. A Ana cozinhou um bolo para os meninos.  
*'Ann baked a cake for the boys.'*

(Armelin 2011: 104)

(53) INTERPRETATION OF DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BP

- a. O Pedro deu o livro [para a Maria] → *default* interpretation = goal  
*'Peter gave the book [to Mary]'*
- b. A Maria comprou um presente ao João, que estava fazendo aniversário, mas não pode ir a festa e pediu que o Pedro entregasse o presente ao João no lugar dela.

*'Mary bought a present to John, that was celebrating his birthday, but she could not go to the party and asked Peter to deliver the gift to John in her place.'*

(Armelin 2011: 104-105)

Constituent tests further show that goals seem to have argument status, whilst the benefactive does not.

(54) TOPICALIZATION

- a. João entregou o livro o Paulo. → unambiguous  
*'John delivered the book Paul/Paul the book.'*
- b. [O Paulo], o João entregou o livro.  
*'[Paul], John delivered the book.'*
- c. [O livro o Paulo], o João entregou.  
*'[The book Paul], John delivered.'*
- d. O João entregou o livro pro Paulo. → ambiguous  
*'John delivered the book into Paul's possession.'*  
*'John delivered the book in the place of Paul/ because Paul asked John to.'*
- e. [Pro Paulo], o João entregou o livro.  
*'[To/for Paul], John delivered the book.'*
- f. [O livro pro Paulo], o João entregou.  
*'[The book to/for Paul], John delivered.'*
- g. [O livro] [pro Paulo], o João entregou.  
*'[The book] [to/for Paul], John delivered.'*

(Armelin 2011:107-108)

(55) CLEFTING

- a. A Maria enviou a carta o pai. → unambiguous  
*'Mary sent the letter father/father the letter.'*
- b. Foi [o pai] que a Maria enviou a carta.  
*'It was [the father] that Mary sent the letter.'*
- c. Foi [a carta o pai] que a Maria enviou.  
*'It was [the letter the father] that Mary sent.'*
- d. A Maria enviou a carta pro pai. → ambiguous  
*'Mary sent the letter to/for the father.'*
- e. Foi [pro pai] que a Maria enviou a carta.  
*'It was [to/for the father] that Mary sent the letter.'*
- f. Foi [a carta pro pai] que a Maria enviou.  
*'It was [the letter to/for the father] that Mary sent.'*
- g. Foi [a carta] [pro pai] que a Maria enviou.  
*'It was [the letter] [to/for the father] that Mary sent.'*

(Armelin 2011:109-110)

(56) ANSWER FRAGMENTS

- a. A diretora comunicou a notícia o professor.  
*'The principal communicated the news the teacher.'*
- b. O que a diretora comunicou?  
*'What did the principal communicate?'*  
[a notícia o professor]  
*[the news the teacher]*
- c. A diretora comunicou a notícia pro professor. → ambiguous

'The principal communicated the news to/for the teacher.'

d. O que a diretora comunicou?

'What did the principal communicate?'

[a notícia pro professor] → non-ambiguous

[the news to the teacher]

(Armelin 2011: 111-112)

Armelin argues that the tests show that benefactives do not form syntactic constituents with the DO. She also argues that, while sentences with *para* are ambiguous, the benefactive reading disappears in the tests, leaving only the goal reading.

Finally, Armelin proposes that, in ditransitive constructions with IO<sub>GOAL</sub>, the functional projection that licenses the internal argument is the Low Applicative head, implemented by the preposition *a*. The applicative projection is licensed in the specifier of v<sub>DO</sub>, according to Borer's (1994) proposal that arguments are semantically interpreted in the specifier of aspectual projections (cf. subsections 1.1.3, 2.3.3). The following figures illustrate the syntactic structures proposed by Armelin (p.139)

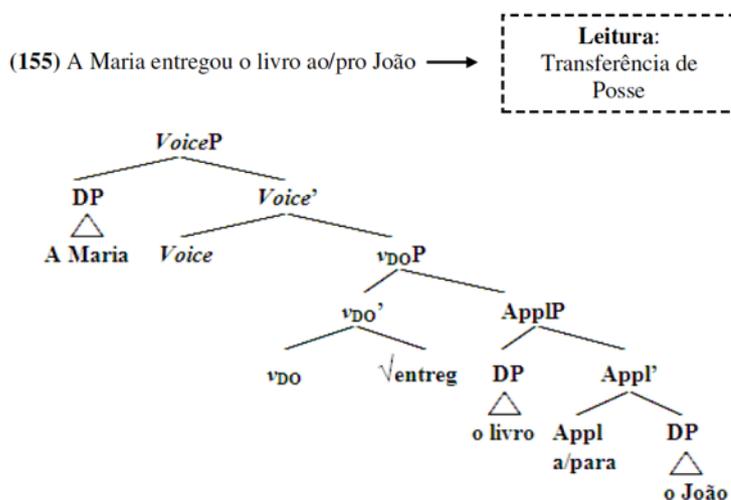


Figure 10: Syntactic structure of a ditransitive construction with transference of possession interpretation

(157) A empresa construiu a casa para o João.



Semântica:  
Beneficiário do evento

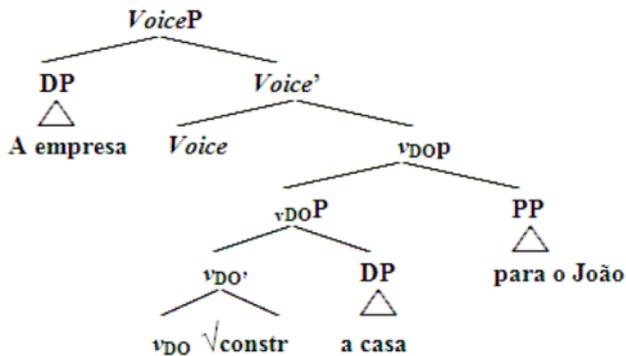


Figure 11: Syntactic structure of a ditransitive construction with benefactive interpretation

(158) A empresa construiu a casa para o João.



Leitura:  
Beneficiário do tema

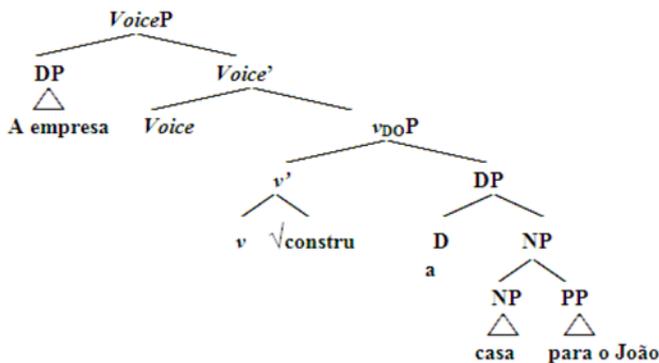


Figure 12: Syntactic structure of a ditransitive construction with benefactive interpretation

Finally, Armelin argues that the seemingly free order found in DBP is a result of informational processes: following Scher (1996), the PP element between the verb and the NP is analyzed as a Topic (cf. section 3.4). The author bases her proposal in the framework developed by authors such as Rizzi (1997) and Belletti (2002), who describe the syntactic projections into which the elements to be interpreted as Topic and Focus will be merged. The split CP proposal allows for the syntactic projection of informational elements, such as FORCE, FINITUDE, FOCUS and TOPIC. These projections are associated with adequate intonations and interpretations. According to Armelin (p. 153), Quarezemin (2005) proposes that the interpretation of a focus-like or topic-like element must happen in a spec-head relation inside a split-CP or split-IP projection. After analyzing focus structures (questions, clefting, pseudoclefting etc),

Quarezemin proposes that there are two types of focalized objects: internal focus, and adjunct focus. The notions of topic and focus will be explored in chapter 3 and 4.

Building on the aforementioned work, Armelin proposes (p. 155) the following syntactic structure for the projection of ditransitives in BP. In this view, the DP *um livro* occupies the position of internal focus, inside the IP, while the PP *pro Pedro* occupies the focus position immediately above.

- (168) a. O que a Maria deu ao Pedro?  
b. A Maria deu ao Pedro um livro

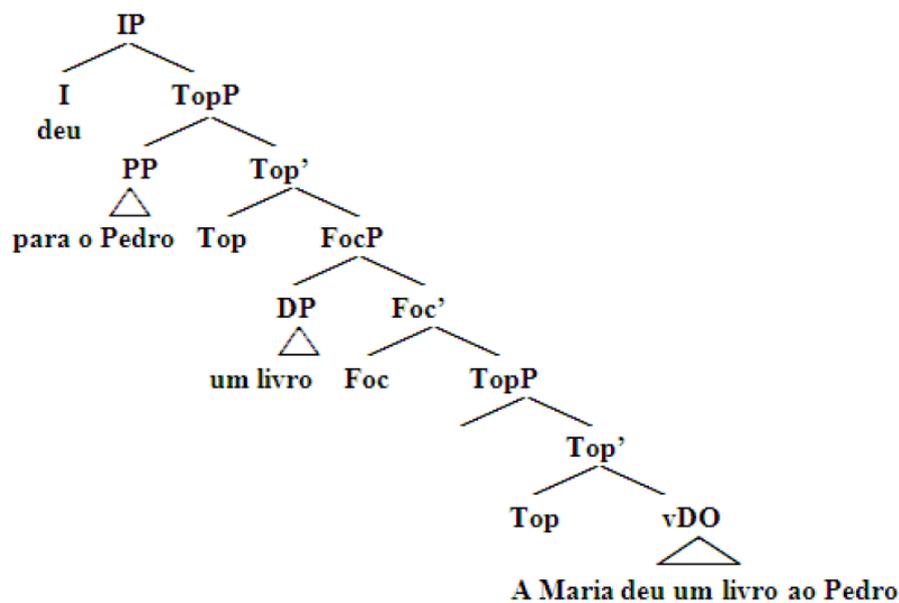


Figure 13: Syntactic and informational structure of a BP ditransitive construction

Surmising, Armelin (op. cit.) proposes that a bitransitive sentence in BP is a sentence that allows the introduction of IO via preposition *a*, and in DBP allows the absence of a preposition. Also, these sentences are projections of a functional Applicative head that occupies the specifier of a categorizer like  $v_{DO}$ . The possibility of change in word order is explained by informational reasons, namely the topic status of the element moved next to the verb.

This proposal brings very interesting data, but the lack of conclusiveness of tests, and use of questionable data and theoretical support leaves open the affirmation of the non-existence of the dative shift in (D)BP. This assumption shall be challenged in chapter 3.

In this chapter, we have seen different accounts for constructions like (1). Scher (1996) proposes that there is no dative shift in DBP, and that the forms [V NP NP] are generated by phonological and discursive reasons. Salles (1997) proposes that dative-shift-like double objects are licensed by a null P and aspectual nodes inside the V-shell. Torres Morais & Salles (2010) propose the presence of an applicative head to introduce the IO in ditransitive constructions. Moretti (2010), from the perspective of Distributed Morphology, proposes that the class of verbs she calls Verbs of Transference/Movement (VT/M) is actually a group of roots with diacritics that can restrict their occurrence to a specific kind of structure projected by the syntax. Finally, Armelin (2011) assumes that there is no dative shift in BP; however, constructions in which the preposition *a* introduces a goal are deemed to be projected by a Low Applicative head. Alternations in word order are explained by the author as result of the informational status of the objects.

We will return to this discussion in chapter 3, in which we argue that there are applicative constructions in BP. Before this discussion, we will present in chapter 2 the theoretical framework adopted in the present work.

## 2 Theoretical frameworks

The present thesis is built inside the framework of the Principles and Parameters Theory (Chomsky 1981), specifically the model of Derivation by Phases (Chomsky 2008). However, part of the analysis follows Jeong (2006), which builds on a slightly different version of Chomsky's Minimalist Program that doesn't involve phases and locality. The work of Moretti (2010) is developed inside the framework of Distributed Morphology. Finally, we will present the basics of the framework of the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface, since working with argument structure involves dealing with theoretical objects such as thematic roles, predicate and event structure, and lexical aspect/aktionsart. We will provide a brief account of these frameworks in order to establish the landscape in which applicatives can be discussed.

### 2.1 The generative program

Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1972 [1957]) inaugurated a whole new referential in linguistic research, of formalist aspect, called The Generative Program. The inner bases of this framework are the innateness hypothesis of language and universal grammar (UG). Chomsky and his followers understand that language is innate and inherent to all human beings (Chomsky 1965). The latter would be, then, endowed with a mental device – UG, also called Language Acquisition Device – that contains everything that is generic and universal about all the languages in the world, as well as the mechanisms that permit the "acquisition" or "maturation" of one or more natural languages through processing of input data.

The Principles and Parameters Theory (P&P), developed by Chomsky in *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa Lectures* (1981), seeks to outline the principles that constitute the UG and the differences between the many languages. Principles are invariable universals across languages, such as the hierarchic sentence structure and recursion. Parameters are principles that are not specified *a priori* and that have to be fixed during acquisition according to particular language evidence, such as the realization of subjects. It is

assumed that parametric variation is restricted to functional categories (such as tense, determinant, complementiser and so forth).

*The Minimalist Program* (Chomsky 1995) starts a revision of the *Government and Binding* framework, as a subdiscipline of P&P, aiming to simplify the model. Computation is restricted to one operation, MERGE, and two syntactic levels (the overt syntax and an interface level called spell-out that is accessible to the articulatory-perceptual/sensorimotor system and the conceptual-intentional system), preceded by numeration. Lexical items have properties, or *features*, that allow them to undergo computation: the edge-feature triggers MERGE, for instance. Features must be valued during the derivation in probe-goal relations (Chomsky 2008).

The figure (14) below illustrates the basic computational derivation of syntactic structures:

(14)  $N = \{A_i, B_j, C_k \dots\}$

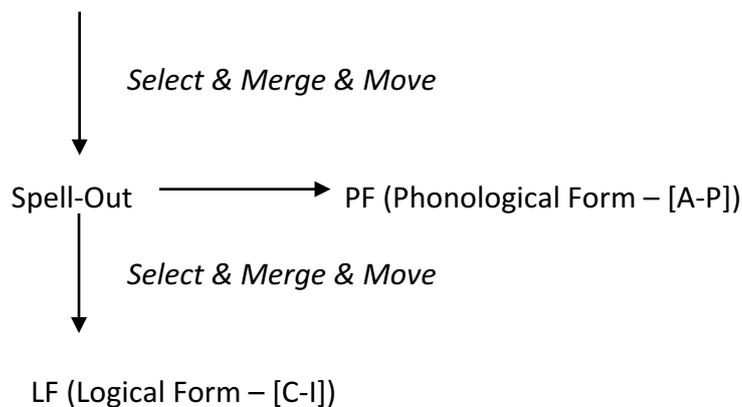


Figure 14: Minimalist model of the computational system

The derivation occurs in phases – cyclical, closed and impenetrable stages (Chomsky 2008), according to the *Strict Cycle Principle* (Chomsky 1973). Phases are basically chunks of derivation that go directly to spell-out after closing, and its information is thus inaccessible to subsequent derivation stages (except for the edge, that remains available). Chomsky proposes that only C (complementiser) and  $v^*$  (light verb) head phases, but is open to the possibility that D (determinant) – which bears similarities with C (Svenonius 2003, Hiraiwa 2005 *apud* Chomsky 2008) – could also head phases. All these operations are understood to be head-

driven. Furthermore, all operations only apply in phase level, following the *Principle of Earliness* (Pesetsky 1989). The information is deleted after being moved to subsequent stages of derivation, according to the *Strict Cycle Principle*. If all the features of all lexical items are properly valued the derivation is said to *converge*, otherwise it is said to *crash*.

This is, fundamentally, the syntactic framework in which the present thesis will be developed. In the next section, we will see the basic minimalist positions assumed by Jeong (2006).

### 2.1.1 Jeong's (2006) minimalist assumptions

Jeong's theoretical framework assumes the following five hypotheses (2006:2-3):

- (i) The language faculty contains only two levels of representation, Logical Form (LF) and Phonetic Form (PF). LF and PF are interface levels, i.e., points of contact between language and systems of thought (LF) and articulation (PF).
- (ii) In the absence of traditional levels of representation such as D-Structure and S-Structure, all move operations – overt and covert – are subject to the same syntactic principles. Also, in the absence of the theta-criterion, movement into theta-position is licit.
- (iii) Linguistic representations are the result of Merge and Move. Merge (i.e. external merge) takes previously unconnected syntactic objects and puts them together under a labeled node. Move (a.k.a. internal merge) essentially recombines, or rearranges previously merged elements.
- (iv) The operation Move in particular is subject to locality principles such as Relativized Minimality, which prohibits the formation of long syntactic dependencies if shorter dependencies could be established.
- (v) Move operations are subject to Last Resort and must result in feature-checking.

Jeong dispenses with the notion of phases, arguing that it is at the same time too rigid and too permissive. She instead adopts the idea of anti-locality of Murasugi & Saito (1995), with support from Bošković (1994) and subsequently refined by Abels (2003). The idea is that movements that are too short are blocked by an economy principle. Abels (op. cit.) proposes that complements of phrases cannot move, because they cannot reach the edge of phases<sup>29</sup>. Murasugi and Saito's anti-locality condition is stated as follows (Jeong 2006:69):

(57) A chain link must be at least of length 1

A chain link from A to B is of length  $n$  iff there are  $n$  "nodes" ( $X$ ,  $X'$ , or  $XP$ , but not segments of these) that dominate A and exclude B.

Jeong also incorporates Bošković's (2005) idea of early successive cyclic movement, in which movement begins even before the final goal enters the structure. This author also assumes that EPP<sup>30</sup> only exists to indicate if an element takes place overtly or not, and tries to reduce the broad use of the feature. Bošković brings back, in a way, the idea of greedy movement (Chomsky 1993) through the Activation Condition (Chomsky 2000) to implement successive cyclical movement. This way, an element can move to whatever position, independently of phases, only to participate in more operations that benefit it, inasmuch as it does not violate the anti-locality condition.

Finally, Jeong also adopts Franks & Levine (2004) idea of agnostic movement, in which an element only moves as a last resort, to avoid crashes in derivation.

Moretti (2010) develops her account of what she calls "verbs of transfer/movement" (VT/M) inside the framework of the Distributed Morphology. The basic assumptions of this approach will be detailed in the next section.

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<sup>29</sup> The author only uses this proposal as support for Murasugi and Saito's proposal, since she does not assume phases in her system.

<sup>30</sup> EPP (Extended Projection Principle) is the principle that requires that the specifier position of T (tense) must be projected and occupied. The EPP-feature must be somehow checked (via *pro*, full movement or feature-movement) to satisfy this requirement. The EPP feature is used throughout the Minimalist Program as a way to explain or justify movement.

## 2.2 Distributed Morphology

Halle & Marantz (1993), based on the Principles & Parameters approach to grammar<sup>31</sup> (cf. section The generative program 2.1), develop a new level that is in interface with syntax and PF – morphological structure (MS). This level is a syntactic representation that is part of the phonological component, which realizes syntactic representations phonologically. The computational system is then represented as the following figure<sup>32</sup>:

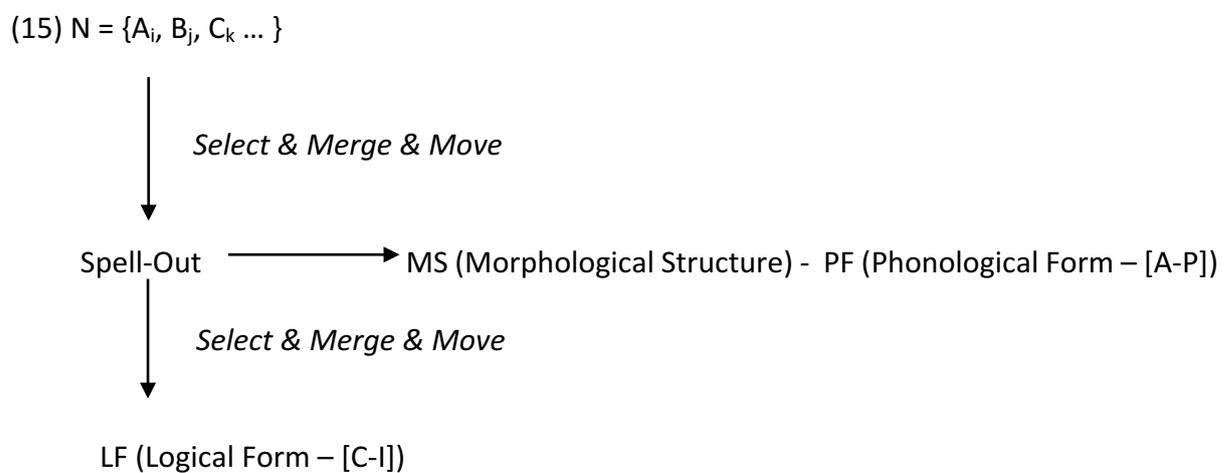


Figure 15: Distributed Morphology model of the computational system

Halle & Marantz (op. cit.) assume that the syntactic levels prior to spell-out consist exclusively of morphosyntactic and semantic features, deprived of phonological material. These bundles of features are mapped onto nodes (C, AGR, TNS, ADJ, DET etc) in MS. The inventory of features is given by UG and can vary crosslinguistically; the bundles of features that constitute morphemes are somewhat freely formed. UG and the grammar of specific languages provide constrictions and requirements that the combination of bundles of features must satisfy. The authors assume that the status of an affix as a prefix, suffix or infix "is in principle independent on its syntactic role" (p. 115). They also assume that the features of a terminal node (such as  $[\pm\text{past}]$  on a TENSE node) may affect the choice of a stem allomorph or trigger a readjustment

<sup>31</sup>Their work was developed in the early P&P framework, also called "government and binding (GB)" (Chomsky (1981, 1986)).

<sup>32</sup>The original scheme still retains DS and SS levels of representation (p.114). Since these levels were deprecated in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) and subsequent studies, the scheme was adapted to reflect the most recent approaches to the model of grammar structure.

rule, in addition to serving as a crucial feature for the insertion of a vocabulary item at the node (p. 132).

A basic point of Halle & Marantz's (p. 139) approach is the "strong claim that many terminal nodes that find phonological realization in affixes are syntactic heads<sup>33</sup>; the rest are added or created at MS in principled and predictable ways", operations such as:

- *vocabulary insertion* (that supplies phonetic features to different morphemes);
- *fusion* (that takes two terminal nodes that are sisters under a single category node and fuses them into a single terminal node; only one word can be inserted via vocabulary insertion this way);
- *fission* (a process in which a node is split – *fissions* – in two);
- *merge* (that typically joins a head with the head of its complement XP; more than one word can be inserted this way);
- *impoverishment* (process of *feature* deletion at MS to avoid mismatches between the syntax and the phonological affixes);
- *readjustment* (a set of phonological rules that apply to morphemes after vocabulary insertion).

"Fusion and fission of morphemes affect the correspondence between pieces at SS<sup>34</sup> and pieces in the phonology" (p. 120). Also, "impoverishment and other rules of the morphology are subjected to locality constraints; they involve structurally adjacent morphemes (i.e., a morpheme may act as the context for the impoverishment of another morpheme if it governs<sup>35</sup> the latter morpheme)" (p. 162).

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<sup>33</sup> However, they also note (p. 120): "What is crucial here is that in the syntax we are dealing with bundles of morphosyntactic features, which *are not from* the Vocabulary in any important sense, and that for their phonological realization the Vocabulary must be searched for the underspecified entry that best matches the morphosyntactic features supplied by the syntax. Once that entry is found, its phonological and other idiosyncratic features are copied into the morpheme."

<sup>34</sup> In a minimalist framework, it would roughly mean that these morphological processes affect the correspondence between the derivation in (or right before) the spell-out and in the PF level.

<sup>35</sup> Government is defined by Ouhalla (1994:169) as:

- a) X governs Y if and only if:
  - I. X is a governor (a lexical head)
  - II. X m-commands Y (i.e. they are in a relation inside the same maximum projection)

Related vocabulary items that realize the same features are ordered together in a block as opposed to items that realize different features. Within each block, the specificity of the environment determines relative ordering. Vocabulary items have the following properties (1994:275):

- *Late Insertion*: terminal nodes that systematically lack only phonological features – but not syntactic or semantic features. Phonological features (and only them) must then be provided by Vocabulary Insertion;
- *Underspecification*: Vocabulary Items are characteristically underspecified with respect to the features of nodes they are inserted in, which avoids mismatches between the features of the node and the item inserted into it;
- and *Syntactic Hierarchical Structure All the Way Down*: the structure into which the item is inserted is constrained by locality restrictions and syntactic hierarchical principles.

The following figure details the hierarchy of the operations involved in vocabulary insertion (the results of operations in MS):

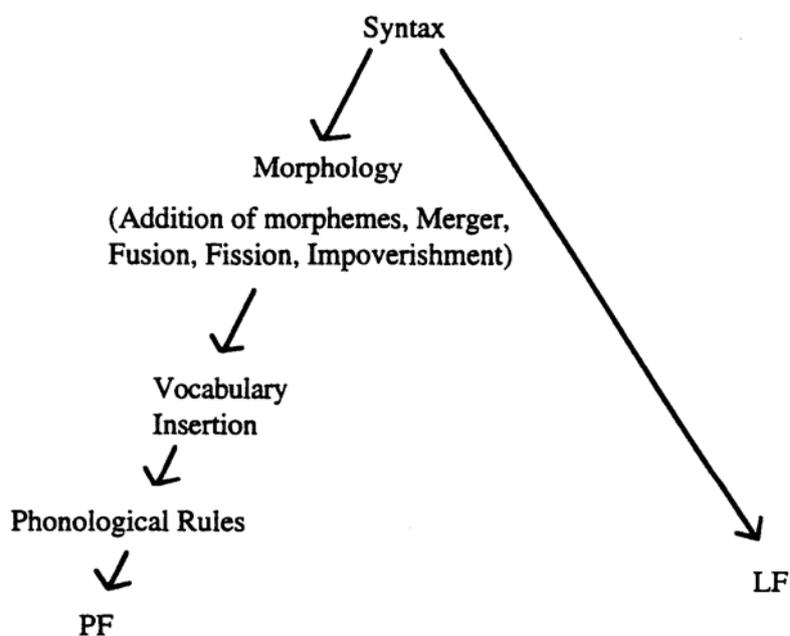


Figure 16: Hierarchical structure of word/sentence processing in DM (Halle and Marantz 1994:277)

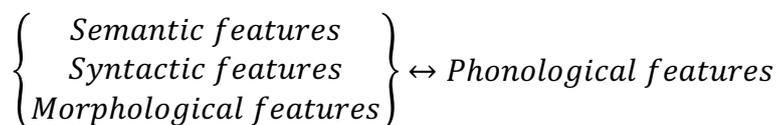
- 
- III. No barrier intervenes between X and Y (i.e. they are inside the same maximum projection, or the intervenient projection is transparent (cf. Chomsky 1986, Baker 1988 for more details.)

It is interesting to note that Halle & Marantz (1993) claim that "in general [...] inflectional features are picked up in prepackaged morpheme bundles in the grammar, not in the 'lexicon' or Vocabulary, and that word formation is syntactic and postsyntactic, not lexical" (p. 166). Distributed Morphology accounts for the distribution and correlation of syntactic/ semantic/ phonological information in words and sentences by the mediation of Vocabulary entries – since all terminal nodes – whether lexical or functional, present in syntax or added at MS – they all obey the same structural principles and undergo the same Vocabulary insertion.

Summarizing, Halle & Marantz (op. cit., p. 169) assume that "[...] the central claim of DM: that terminal nodes mediate the connection between syntactic/semantic information and phonological information in a uniform manner, regardless of the source or identity of the terminal node [...]". The following diagram illustrates the structure of the connections<sup>36</sup>:

(58) BASIC UNIT OF MORPHOLOGY IN DM (Halle and Marantz, 1994:275)

*The vocabulary item:*



In the next section, we will outline the framework of the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface.

### 2.3 The Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface

The Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface is a field of semantic research that started with Fillmore's (1968, 1970, 1971) work on which semantic properties influence/determine sentential syntax. The main subject of study are predicates, particularly verbs, under three major perspectives: thematic roles, lexical aspect (also known as *aktionsart*) and lexical decomposition structures. Together, the three perspectives provide data on the semantic

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<sup>36</sup> The authors note (1994:275) that "in DM these connections are implemented by means of units or atoms, which are assigned the structure [...]" represented in diagram (58).

properties that are relevant to syntax and allow grouping verbs in classes that show similar behavior. The next subsections will provide a summary of this view on thematic roles, lexical decomposition structures and lexical aspect.

### 2.3.1 Thematic roles

Thematic roles are very important, although problematic, notions widely used in Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface works. The label Thematic Relation (and later Thematic Role) was introduced by Gruber (1965) and popularized by Jackendoff (1972). The idea was to formalize relations between participants of an event described by related sentences:

- (59) a. John baked a cake.  
 b. A cake was baked (by John).

Despite different syntactic structures, some structural and semantic relations pervade (59a) and (59b): *John* is the participant that acts and consequently triggers the event of baking, *cake* is the participant affected by the event. The first studies tried to convey this kind of information through lists of relations or roles that are assigned by events (verbs) to participants (arguments). It is not easy, though. Cruse (1973) shows, for example, that the notion/thematic-role *agent* can be split into four different properties that may optionally co-occur. Other authors, like Chafe (1970) or Halliday (1967) analyze *agent* through other properties.

Thematic roles are also involved in the notion of *Thematic Hierarchy Principle* – a tendency of natural languages to interpret the higher argument in the structure as an agent. Some authors try to propose hierarchies based on data from different languages. Others such as Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) assume that underlying thematic roles and hierarchies are "useless" and that the semantic role of the argument is determined by its syntactic position in the structure. For more detailed information, see Fillmore (1968), Perlmutter & Postal (1984), Baker (1988), Jackendoff (1972), Foley & Van Valin (1984), Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) among many many others.

Many authors delved into the thematic-roles problem. In this work, we will assume Caçado's (1995, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2009) account, which partially follows Dowty's (1989, 1991) proposal of Proto-Theta Roles.

Proto-Theta Roles are prototypes (cf. Rosch & Mervis 1975) that constitute a fuzzy category with different "degrees" based on properties that the predicate entails. Dowty (1991:571-575) proposes two Proto-Roles: Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient. The author also proposes some contributing properties that would characterize the Proto-Roles.

Caçado's proposal differs from Dowty's in the way that the latter emphasizes the category while the former emphasizes the properties and entailments that characterize the category. For example, she observes that in Brazilian Portuguese a benefactive can be extracted to the subject position, demoting the agent to ellipsis or adjunction. As a result, the sentence is ambiguous. This is an apparent violation of the thematic hierarchy principle.

(60) BP benefactive raising

a. O cabeleireiro cortou o cabelo do João. (=benefactive/patient)

*The hairdresser cut John's hair.*

b. O João cortou o cabelo (com o cabeleireiro).

*= John had his hair cut (by the hairdresser) (=benefactive)*

*= John cut his hair himself (=agent)*

The author argues that this is evidence that thematic roles do not comprise a list of roles, but can only be understood as a set of properties entailed by a relation between lexical items. The information that matters is in the properties, not the role *per se*.

### 2.3.2 Lexical decomposition structures<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> This subsection is based on Caçado, Godoy and Amaral (2013) and Caçado & Amaral (2017).

The linguists involved with Generative Semantics (Lakoff 1970; Ross 1969, 1972; McCawley 1968, 1971) were the first to describe the parts of the meaning of verbs through a formal language, using the notions of arguments and predicates. Despite criticism and deflation, the idea lingered and many linguists, lexicalists, cognitivists and generativists continue to explore the idea of decomposing verbal meanings and argument structure into formal representations.

Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2005:69) describe predicate decomposition as "a representation of meaning formulated in terms of one or more primitive predicates chosen to represent components of meaning that recur across a significant set of verbs". It can also make explicit the component parts of *location* and *locatum* verbs (cf. Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005, among others), which seem to be verbalizations of nominals.

- (61) a. John saddled the horse.  
b. John put the saddle on the horse.

There is a widely-used test in the literature (Morgan 1969; Dowty 1979; Stechow 1995, 1996) that uses the adverb *almost* as a way to show ambiguity and the decompositional nature of verbs. The idea of the test is that some verbs can be decomposed into subevents and the adverb can have scope over any of them, thus resulting in ambiguity.

- (62) I almost killed John.  
a. What I *almost* did was kill John.  
b. What I did was *almost* kill John.  
c. What I did to John was *almost* kill him.

(Morgan 1969:62-63)

In (62) there are three possible ways of reading the sentence; in each of them *almost* has a different scope over the parts of the meaning of *kill*.

Lexical semanticists assume that this structure is part of the lexical entry of verbal items, and this information is used to group verbs into classes based on their semantic properties that

are relevant in syntax. In this perspective, verbs are represented by a complex structure, formed by primitive predicates, arguments and modifiers. Primitives like CAUSE and BECOME, proposed by McCawley (1968b) or INCHOATIVE and CAUSATIVE (Lakoff 1970) are predicate elements that cannot be decomposed and constitute part of the meaning of the verbs. Cançado and Amaral (2017) present the following list of predicates: ACT, DO, CAUSE, BECOME, MOVE, AFFECT, GO, BE, STATE, HAVE, LOC and POSS.

As predicates, verbs require arguments to saturate their meanings. There are three kinds of arguments: variables (represented by uppercase letters X, Y, Z), the root of the verb (represented by the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb or the ontological category in uppercase letters, italic and between angle brackets), or complex structures with other saturated predicates.

Some roots can be idiosyncratic, or can belong to some ontological category. The most assumed categories in the literature, according to Cançado and Amaral are: STATE, EVENT, THING, MANNER, INSTRUMENT and PLACE. These categories can be predicates, arguments and modifiers. For instance, EVENT is an argument of a predicate, while MANNER is a modifier and STATE is a predicate.

The following examples illustrate decomposition structures:

- (63) a. To open: [[X ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [Y <OPEN>]]]  
 b. To write: [X ACT <WRITE>]

We see in (63) that the verb *to open* can be decomposed into three parts: one event of acting causes the second event of change-of-state, in which the root of the verb enters as a STATE predicate. In a similar way, the verb *to write* can be decomposed as a manner of acting, thus the root of the verb belongs to the ontological category MANNER and enters as a modifier.

The structures presented above are based in semantic and syntactic properties that are verb-specific. They obey well-formedness restrictions: each structure can only contain one root and

each predicate must be saturated by semantically and syntactically compatible arguments if they so require.

### 2.3.3 Lexical aspect

Consider the following examples:

- (64)
- a. I see/I can see.
  - b. \*I am seeing.
  - c. John is eating an apple.
  - d. John ate an apple in 5 minutes / \*for 5 minutes.

The differences in the data above can be explained by aspectual properties, that is, how the event is measured/structured in time. The classic Vendler & Dowty classification distinguishes four classes of verbs:

- (65) ASPECTUAL CLASSES (VENDLER 1957; DOWTY 1979)
- a. states: *know, see, believe, love, have*
  - b. activities: *walk, run, read*
  - c. accomplishments: *build a house, play a sonata, write a book*
  - d. achievements: *find, reach, open*

This classification, however, does not work effectively because lexical aspect does not seem to be a property of the predicate; it is better analyzed as a bundle of properties that are set *compositionally*. Arguments can change the aspectual properties of a predicate:

- (66)
- a. Leandro ate a mango in 5 minutes / \*for 5 minutes.
  - b. Leandro ate mangoes \*in 5 minutes / for 5 minutes.

(Salles 1997:39)

- (67)
- a. I ran for one hour / \*in one hour.
  - b. I ran a *marathon* \*for one hour / in one hour.

The asymmetry between internal and external arguments is taken as evidence that only the argument occurring as the prototypical *Theme* (internal argument) can measure the event.

- (68) a. Mary killed the rosebush (by overwatering) in a day / \*for a day.  
 b. Snow killed the rosebush in a day / \*for a day.

(Tenny 1994:28)

The aspectual differences can be described by aspectual properties. The first is the distinction between events that have internal structure (activities, accomplishments and achievements) and events that do not have internal structure (states). Another aspectual property is delimitedness/telicity: activities and states are not delimited (atelic), whereas accomplishments and achievements can be described as having an endpoint (telic). Finally, some verbs describe a process that occurs incrementally until it reaches the endpoint (accomplishments), while others describe an event that takes place immediately (achievements). The following table, based on Comrie (1976), summarizes such properties.

	<b>no duration</b>	<b>has duration</b>
<b>telic</b>	achievement	accomplishment
<b>atelic</b>	semelfactive <sup>38</sup>	activity
<b>changeless</b>		state

Table 1: Classification of aspectual properties

Tenny (1994, cited by Salles 1997), analyzing incremental-theme (cf. Dowty 1991) and change-of-state verbs, proposes aspectual roles that arguments play in the event: a) a *measure*, the participant/argument that measures the event; b) a *path*, a defective measure role that provides a scale along which the event is measured out, but not necessarily the endpoint; c) a *terminus*, the event participant that marks the temporal endpoint on the scale provided by the *path* participant. These roles are mapped into the syntactic structure in three positions:

<sup>38</sup> Comrie proposed the class "semelfactive" to describe verbs that are generally iterative, punctual and atelic, such as: *sneeze, blink, knock*.



Mukasa 3SG.PAST-speak-APPL-FV Katonga  
'Mukasa spoke for Katonga.' (benefactive reading)

(Pylkkänen 2008:2)

The examples in (69) show that Venda allows for the introduction of an "extra" object that is licensed by the morpheme *-el-* and is affected by the event. If the verb bearing the morpheme is intransitive, it becomes transitive. If it is already transitive, it becomes ditransitive.

The double object construction, or dative shift, resembles the Bantu construction in which it also licenses an oblique object that normally would not be considered an argument (cf. Baker 1988; Marantz 1993, among others).

(70) ENGLISH

- a I baked a cake.
- b I baked *John* a cake.

There are, notwithstanding, distributional differences between the Bantu and the English structures: for instance, only the Bantu construction allows adding the extra object to unergative verbs.

(71) CHAGA

- a. N-ä-i-zrìc-í-à mbùyà.  
FOC-1SG-PRES-run-APPL-FV 9-friend  
'He is running for a friend.'

(Bresnan & Moshi 1993:49-50)

(72) ENGLISH

- a. I ran.
- b. \*I ran *John*. (intended meaning: I ran for John.)

There are many studies analyzing these structures (cf. Baker 1988, 1996; Marantz 1984, 1993; Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Jeong 2006, among many others). Most of them focus on either the syntactic properties of applied objects (cf. Bresnan & Moshi 1990, McGinnis 2001, 2004; Jeong

2006, Ngonyani & Githinji 2006, among others), while others focus on the semantic properties of affectedness and the relation between the applied argument and the verb or the "basic" (direct) object (cf. Pylkkänen 2008). Rocha (2014, 2015) aimed to synthesize the properties found in the literature.

In the next section, we will present some properties of applicatives.

#### **2.4.2 Applicatives and their properties**

Baker (1988) proposes that applicatives are an instance of incorporation, namely preposition incorporation. He noted that, in many languages, the preposition and the applicative affix resemble each other, are in complementary distribution, and assign the same theta-roles. Baker proposes three types of language: languages that show, at the same time, preposition and applicative affix, such as Chichewa, a Bantu language spoken in Malawi, Mozambique Zimbabwe and Zambia; languages that just display prepositions, such as European languages; and languages that only have the verbal affix, such as Tzotzil, an Aztecan language spoken in south Mexico.

Analyzing syntactic structures of the applied object, Baker (1988:246) recognizes a paradoxical pattern he calls *Marantz's Generalization*: the applied object behaves more canonically than the basic/direct object of the verb, that is, it displays more properties such as object marking than the direct object.

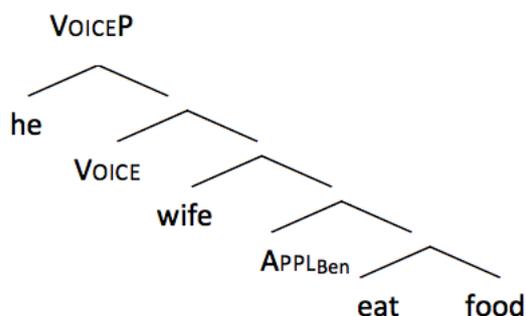
The Marantz's Generalization is revisited by Bresnan & Moshi (1990) when they propose a typology of object behavior in applicative languages: they identified symmetrical and asymmetrical languages. Three tests were used: a) object order, b) passivization and c) object marking. In symmetrical languages both the applied (AO) and basic (DO) objects display the same behavior, whereas in asymmetrical languages the applied object behaves differently from the basic object. The following table details this typology:

	Symmetrical object languages	Asymmetrical object languages
Object order	(i) AO DO (ii) DO AO	(i) AO DO (ii) *DO AO
Passivization	(i) AO (ii) DO	(i) AO (ii) *DO
Object marking	(i) AO (ii) DO	(i) AO (ii) *DO

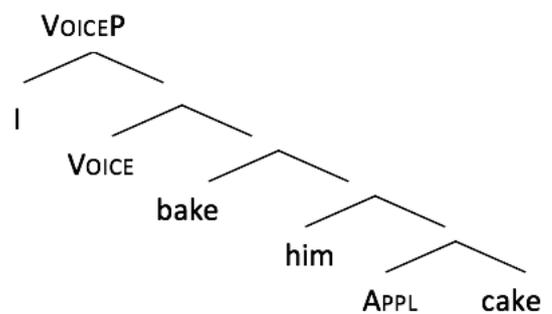
Table 2: Bresnan &amp; Moshi's typology tests

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) proposes another typology of applicatives, based on semantic and syntactic properties. She noted that Bantu-like structures thematically relate an event described by the verb and the applied argument, while English-like (i.e. dative shift) structures describe a transfer of possession relation between two individuals, the applied argument being the goal or source of the possession of the theme (basic/direct object). Pylkkänen then proposes two applicative heads: HIGH APPL, that selects an event as its complement, relating the applied argument to the event; and LOW APPL, which in turn is subdivided into two types, LOW SOURCE APPL and LOW GOAL APPL, that relates two individuals in a transfer of possession event. The labels indicate where the head attaches in derivation, higher or lower than the verb root. HIGH APPL roughly displays symmetrical properties, while LOW APPL displays asymmetrical properties.

## (73) HIGH APPL (CHAGA)



## (74) LOW APPL (ENGLISH)



(Pylkkänen 2008:14)

Pylkkänen proposes some tests to diagnose HIGH and LOW APPL, summarized in the following table:



man SM-die-APPL-FV Kondwane  
'The man died for Kondwane.'

- b. Mwamuna wa-gw-el-a Kondwane  
man SM-fall-APPL-FV Kondwane  
'The man fell on top of Kondwane.'

(77) TRANSITIVES

a. Kondwane wa-gwil-il-a Mingas t<sup>h</sup>umba.  
Kondwane SM-hold-APPL-FV Mingas purse  
'Kondwane held the purse for Mingas.'

b. Kondwane wa-tumiz-il-a Mingas kalata  
Kondwane SM-send-APPL-FV Mingas letter  
'Kondwane sent the letter for Mingas.' (benefactive reading)

Nyanja shows some restrictions in word order. Examples in (78) show that the sentence is not well received by the speaker when the basic object is higher than the applied object (**bold**) and there is no object marking attached to the verb:

(78) OBJECT ORDER RESTRICTIONS

a. ?Kondwane wa-gwil-il-a t<sup>h</sup>umba **Mingas.**  
Kondwane SM-hold-APPL-FV purse **Mingas**  
'Kondwane held the purse for Mingas.'

b. ?Kondwane wa-tumiz-il-a kalata **Mingas.**  
Kondwane SM-send-APPL-FV letter **Mingas**  
'Kondwane sent the letter for Mingas.' (benefactive reading)

Nyanja only allows object marking of the applied object (79). In the presence of object marking in the verb the applied object can be implicit, i.e. it is presupposed in the discourse, or appear lower than the direct object.

## (79) OBJECT ORDER AND OBJECT MARKING RESTRICTIONS

- a. Kondwane wa-**mu**-gwil-il-a      (**Mingas**)      t<sup>h</sup>umba  
 Kondwane SM-**om**-hold-APPL-FV      **Mingas**      purse  
 'Kondwane held the purse for Mingas.'
- b. Kondwane wa-**mu**-gwil-il-a      t<sup>h</sup>umba      (**Mingas**)  
 Kondwane SM-**om**-hold-APPL-FV      purse      **Mingas**  
 'Kondwane held the purse for Mingas.'
- c. \*Kondwane      wa-**li**-gwil-il-a      Mingas      t<sup>h</sup>umba  
 Kondwane      SM-**om**-hold-APPL-FV      Mingas      **purse**  
 'Kondwane held the purse for Mingas.'

As for passivization, in Nyanja both the objects can be subject of passives:

## (80) PASSIVIZATION

- a. **Mingas**      wa-yend-el-a      (ndi      Kondwane)  
**Mingas**      SM-walk-APPL-PASS-FV      by      Kondwane  
 'Mingas was walked for (by Kondwane).'
- b. **Mingas**      wa-gwil-il-idw-a      t<sup>h</sup>umba      (ndi      Kondwane)  
**Mingas**      SM-hold-APPL-PASS-FV      purse      by      Kondwane  
 'For Mingas the purse was held (by Kondwane).'
- c. **T<sup>h</sup>umba**      la-gwil-il-idw-a      Mingas      (ndi      Kondwane)  
**purse**      SM-hold-APPL-PASS-FV      Mingas      by      Kondwane  
 'The purse was held for Mingas (by Kondwane).'

The examples above suggest that, according to Bresnan & Moshi's (1990) typology, Nyanja behaves as a symmetrical language regarding passivization, but present properties of an

asymmetrical language regarding object marking and word order. How, then, classify Nyanja according to this typology? For now, we will label it *partially asymmetrical language*.

The analysis of Nyanja applicative shows that the classical applicative typologies are still imperfect and should be revisited. Indeed, many authors developed further research into applicative structures. In the next section, we will see how Pylkkänen's typology can be explored in terms of phases (cf. section 2.1 for details on Phase structure).

### 2.4.3 McGinnis' (2001, 2004, 2008) account based on phases

McGinnis (2001, 2004, 2008) argues that the variation in the grammatical properties of applicatives can be explained in terms of phase structure, that is, to assume that HIGH APPL heads a phase, whereas LOW APPL does not, can explain the different properties of the structures. The author independently argues that HIGH APPL is a phase because of Minimal Link Condition (MLC)<sup>43</sup> effects.

According to this proposal, the asymmetries between the applied and basic objects in LOW APPL are due to the fact that it does not constitute a phase. This way both objects are embedded within the vP phase and any A-movement of the lower (basic/theme) object across the higher (applied) would be a locality violation. Likewise, the symmetry found in HIGH APPL is due to the fact that the objects do not compete for the same position in the structure, since they are in different phases.

Phase-based analysis makes strong predictions that have some supporting evidence, such as the prediction that high applicatives share key properties with the head that projects the external argument (=VOICE, cf. Kratzer 1996 for details). Indeed, Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and Wood (2015; cf. section 2.4.5) both argue for similarities between VOICE and HIGH APPL: a causative head that cannot attach to VOICE also cannot attach to HIGH APPL (Pylkkänen 2008, chapters 3-4).

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<sup>43</sup> That is, that shorter movements are preferred, which accounts for wh-islands, superiority condition effects among others. (cf. Chomsky 1995).

McGinnis' proposal can be summarized as follows: in HIGH APPL structures only the lower object (theme/basic/direct object) is embedded within the domain of the phase, so it can move to the edge of the phase to check EPP-features. In a LOW APPL structure both objects are within the domain of vP, so any of them can move to the edge. However, if there is only one phase-EPP feature, only the higher object (the applied object) can undergo A-movement. The result is that the applied object in HIGH APPL constructions cannot A-move, while the **basic** object can, and in LOW APPL constructions the applied object can A-move, but the **direct** cannot.

Also, as Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) argue, in some cases phase-EPP can be checked via feature-movement. If the phi-features of the object move to check a phase-EPP feature on HIGH APPL, this will appear as object pronoun incorporation or agreement. In LOW APPL, only the applied object can check EPP via feature-movement, since it blocks *v* from attracting features from the lower object.

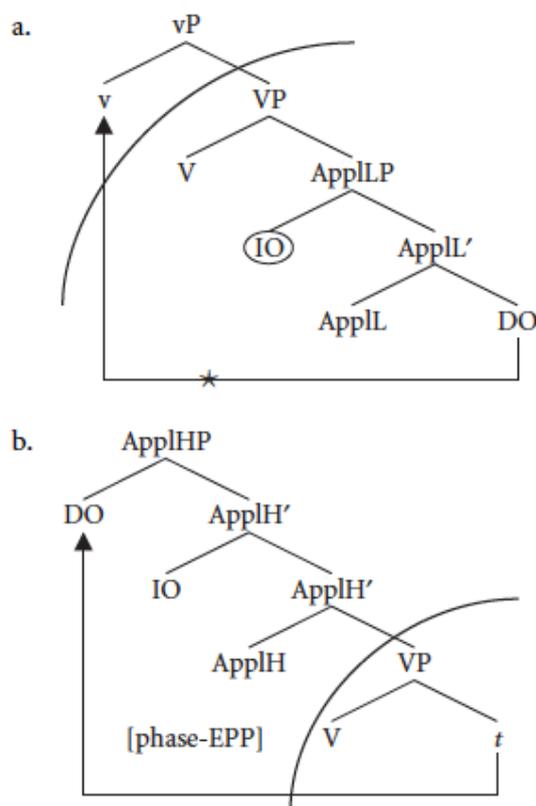


Figure 17: Model of High and Low Applicatives in the Derivation by Phase framework

McGinnis' approach is important for its great explanatory and predictive power. Her work is heavily focused on the syntax and syntactic properties – not the semantics – of applicatives, whereas other analyses mix syntax and semantics. In the next subsection, we present an approach, partially based on McGinnis' work, that dispenses with phases and the MLC in dealing with applicative structures.

#### 2.4.4 Jeong's landscape of applicatives

Jeong (2006, 2007) aims to propose a more flexible account of applicatives, building up on previous work of Ura (1996), Anagnostopoulou (2003) and specially Pylkkänen's (2008) and McGinnis' (2001, 2004) proposals. She notes some issues with preceding analyses: some instances of low applicatives that display symmetric passivization; there are inconsistencies in semantic-syntax mapping; there is no place for Case in the theory. In order to solve these problems, Jeong assumes a slightly different theoretical framework that dispenses with phases and locality (cf. section 2.1.1). Jeong, then, uses this approach to posit several variables that control the syntax of applicative structures: the semantic nature of the applicative head (high or low), the nature of the categories involved (DP/PP), the nature of the Cases involved (structural/inherent), and the possibility or not of scrambling.

As for English ditransitives (LOW APPL), Jeong aims to capture a richer interpretation, relating low applicatives to serial verb and resultative constructions via object-sharing, the result of movement driven by the checking of a theta-feature, where PRO and its controller are the same element, that is, PRO is indeed a trace/copy left behind after movement.

Jeong's most relevant proposal regarding the present work is including category among the variables that control the syntax of applicative structures. McGinnis (2004) and McGinnis and Gerds (2003) argue that some semantically high applicatives must merge below theme objects:

(81) KINYARWANDA

a. N-a-fúngul-ish-ije buri muryango úrufunguzo rwáwo

I-PST-open-INST-ASP each door key its  
 'I opened each door<sub>i</sub> with its<sub>i</sub> key.'

- b. N-a-fúngul-ish-ije umuryango wáyo buri rufunguzo  
 I-PST-open-INST-ASP door its each key  
 'I opened its<sub>i</sub> door with each key<sub>j/\*i</sub>.' (McGinnis & Gerdts, 2003:156)

In (81) we see that the quantified theme c-commands and binds the possessive pronoun in the instrumental argument (81a), but the instrument does not c-command the possessive pronoun in the theme (81b). This fact is interpreted by McGinnis & Gerdts as evidence that the instrument is merged below the theme in Kinyarwanda. Jeong challenges their solution and proposes an alternative based on the categorical information of applied arguments: they can be either DPs/NPs or PPs. Consider the examples from English:

(82) ENGLISH

- a. John baked **Mary** a cake.  
 b. John baked a cake **for Mary**.

The consensus in the literature, based on evidence from binding asymmetries (cf. Barss and Lasnik 1986, Larson 1988) is that DP-dative arguments (goal and benefactive) are higher than themes, and PP-datives are lower. However, Jeong points out that Anagnostopoulou (2005) argues that this is not always true. She notes that whereas the prepositional dative goal may bind into the theme in prepositional dative constructions, the theme can never bind into dative DP in dative constructions:

(83) ENGLISH PREPOSITIONAL DATIVE CONSTRUCTION

- a. Sue showed [John and Mary]<sub>i</sub> to each other<sub>i</sub>'s friends.  
 b. Sue showed each other<sub>i</sub>'s friend to [John and Mary]<sub>i</sub>.

(84) ENGLISH DATIVE CONSTRUCTION

- a. Sue showed [John and Mary]<sub>i</sub> each other<sub>i</sub>'s friends.  
 b. \*Sue showed each other<sub>i</sub>'s friends [John and Mary]<sub>i</sub>.

Greek displays a dative shift similar to the one found in English, in which the goal can appear as a DP bearing Genitive Case or as PP bearing Accusative.

(85) GREEK DATIVE SHIFT (ANAGNOSTOPOLOU 2005)

a. O Jianis estile **tis** **Marias** to grama  
 the John.NOM sent.3SG the Mary.GEN the letter.ACC  
 'John sent Mary the letter.'

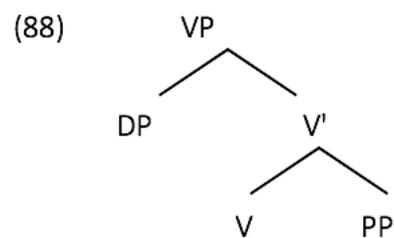
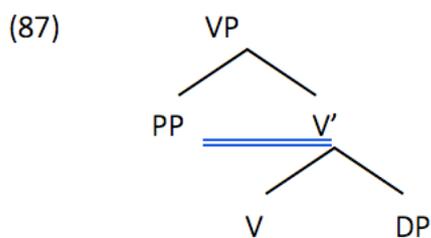
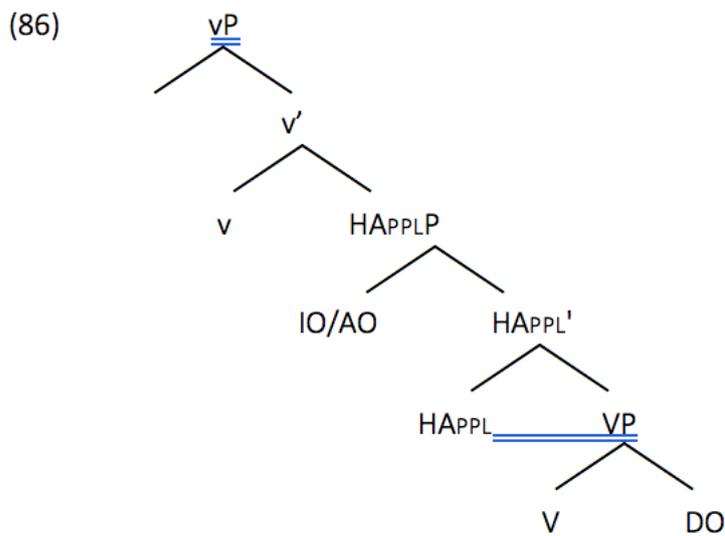
b. O Jianis estile to grama **sti** **Maria**  
 the John.NOM sent.3SG the letter.ACC to.the Mary.ACC  
 'John sent the letter to Mary.'

c. O Jianis estile **sti** **Maria** to grama  
 the John.nom sent.3SG to.the Mary.acc the letter.acc  
 'John sent to Mary the letter.'

Anagnostopoulou presents a number of diagnostics (cf. chapter 3) and concludes that Greek is just like English regarding datives. However, there is another construction, the *se*-datives, which are PPs that behave more like genitive DPs. Anagnostopoulou calls them benefactives, not goals. The conclusion of this discussion is that Greek provides evidence that semantically high applicatives behave like low applicatives when they are PPs. Jeong then concludes that applied arguments can come in two kinds: DPs or PPs. As previously mentioned, Baker already linked applicatives to prepositions in 1988. Other authors, such as Harley (2002) and Pesetsky (1995) also argued that the applicative head is simply  $P^{\circ}$ <sup>44</sup>. Building on this relation, Jeong proposes that arguments can be applied via a semantically high<sup>45</sup> applicative PP, resulting in three different possibilities of applicative structures:

<sup>44</sup> Salles (1997) also relates  $P^{\circ}$  to ditransitive constructions.

<sup>45</sup> Pykkänen (2002) named the heads "high" and "low" because of their attaching site in the derivation. However, as the research evolved, the labels became more associated with their semantic interpretation than syntactic structure. This is why we see "high" applicatives that are syntactically low but interpreted as benefactives related to an event, exactly like Pykkänen describes high applicatives. In section 2.4.5 we will see Wood making use of this terminology as well.



(Jeong 2007:61-62)

By assuming this analysis, Jeong reconciles the thematic properties of instrumentals (which are semantically high applicatives) with the pronominal binding facts discussed above.

The importance of Jeong's analysis resides in its flexibility, due to the many parameters that can enter into the syntactic derivation of applicatives. This provides for a more diversified account of structures that can be associated with applicatives throughout different languages.

In the next section, we will see another account of applicatives, based on data from Icelandic, which also challenges Pylkkänen's typology.

### 2.4.5 Wood's high-low applicatives

Wood's (2014, 2015) analysis of Icelandic sheds light on many interesting applicative structures, such as the HIGH-LOW APPL. His most interesting contribution comes from the adoption of Marantz's (2009a,b) idea of coercion to explain the interpretation of the datives, in which DPs can and sometimes must be interpreted as stative eventualities.

Wood (2015) presents the following basic semantic account of applicatives:

$$(89) \quad [ \text{APPL}_{\text{RELATION}} ] = \lambda x_e \lambda e_s. \text{RELATION}(x, e) \quad (\text{Wood, 2015:208})$$

Which means that applicatives convey a relation between entity arguments and events.

The semantics of the low applicative are stated as:

$$(90) \quad [ \text{APPL}_{\text{LOW}} ] = \lambda x_e \lambda y_e \lambda s_s. \text{POSS}(x, y, s) \quad (\text{Wood, 2015:214})$$

POSS indicates the possessive relation between two entities. Transfer of possession is the intuitive interpretation behind low applicatives, as proposed by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), despite the fact that physical possession is not entailed. One can say "I baked John a cake but he did not get it", and John could even say "it is my cake" even though he never had the possession of it.

Wood notes that, at least in Icelandic, APPL is very similar to VOICE (which conveys a relation between an entity argument that is an agent, and an event that is somehow triggered or caused by the agentive-argument; cf. Kratzer (1996) for details), the difference being the requirement of APPL of dative Case in its specifier. Also, he notes that applied datives behave differently from direct object datives: applied datives are retained in syntactic contexts in which direct object datives are lost. Direct object datives are dependent on the interaction of the verb with VOICE, whereas applied datives are dependent only on APPL.

$$(91) \quad \text{APPL DATIVE IS RETAINED}$$

a. Fólk                    leyfði            þeim            alla            hluti.  
 people.NOM            allowed            them.DAT            all            things.ACC  
 'People allowed them all things.'

b. Þeim            leyfðust            allir            hlutir.  
 them.DAT            allowed-ST            all            things.NOM  
 'They were allowed all things.'

(92) DIRECT OBJECT IS LOST

a. Ásta            splundraði            rúðunni.  
 Ásta.NOM            shattered            window.the.DAT  
 'Ásta shattered the window.'

b. Rúðan                    splundraðist.  
 window.the.NOM            shattered-ST  
 'The window shattered.'

(Wood 2015:226)

According to Wood, Icelandic only has syntactically low applicatives (cf. Wood (2013) for a proposal on the lack of high applicatives in Icelandic)<sup>46</sup>.

(93) ICELANDIC LOW APPL

a. Jón            gaf            mér            bókina.  
 John.NOM            gave            me.DAT            book.the.ACC  
 'John gave the book.'

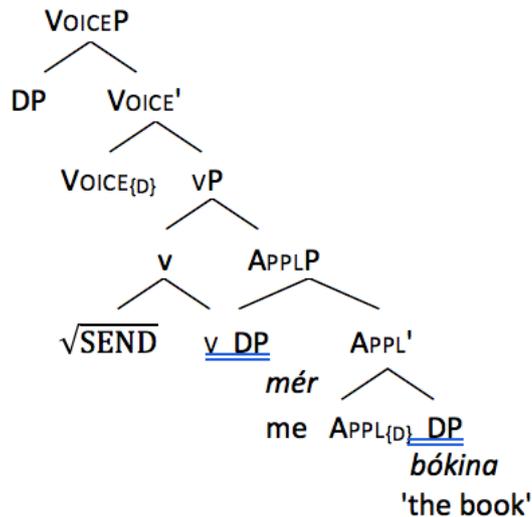
b. Jón            sendi            mér            bókina.  
 John.NOM            sent            me.DAT            book.the.ACC  
 'John sent me the book.'

(Wood, 2015:213)

Wood (2015:213) proposes the following structure for low applicatives:

<sup>46</sup> One of the evidences of the lack of high applicatives in Icelandic cited by Wood is the restricted nature of Icelandic datives when compared to other languages that have attested high applicatives, such as German.

## (94) ICELANDIC LOW APPL



In this structure APPL takes two DPs, a specifier and a complement<sup>47</sup>, and semantically introduces a possessive relation between them. The strongest evidence that the applied object is generated higher than the direct object comes from the fact that the applied object scopes over the direct object when both are quantifiers:

## (95) QUANTIFIER SCOPE IN ICELANDIC LOW APPL (WOOD 2015:215)

a. Kennarinn      sýndi      öllum börnunum      einhverja mynd.  
 teacher.the      showed      all      children.the.DAT      some picture.ACC

'The teacher showed all the children some picture.'       $(\forall > \exists / * \exists > \forall)$

b. Kennarinn      sýndi      einhverju barni      allar myndirnar.  
 teacher.the      showed      some      child.DAT      all pictures.the.ACC

'The teacher showed some child all the pictures.'       $(* \forall > \exists / \exists > \forall)$

<sup>47</sup> Prof. Anders Holmberg (personal communication) asked me how to conciliate this view of LOW APPL with the vast literature on the close relation between the verb and its internal argument (for details, cf. Marantz (1984), Kratzer (1996)). Unfortunately, I still don't have an answer to this question. But one suggestion, mentioned in McGinnis (2008), is that both the direct and applied objects are generated within a small clause. I will leave this open to further research.

Despite the lack of "true" HIGH APPL, some applicative structures in Icelandic can be interpreted as high when DPs are interpreted as events. Wood calls this "high-low applicatives".

(96) ICELANDIC HIGH-LOW APPL

a. Ég            bakaði mér            köku.  
 I.NOM        baked me.DAT        cake.ACC  
 'I baked myself a cake.' (Wood 2015:216)

b. Jón            blandaði        Maríu            drykk.  
 John        mixed            Mary.DAT        drink.ACC  
 'John mixed Mary a drink.' (Wood 2015:217)

c. Þetta        tæki        auðveldar        okkur        störfín.  
 this        tool        facilitates        us.DAT        jobs.the.ACC  
 'This tool makes the jobs easier for us.' (Jónsson 2000:70 *apud* Wood 2015)

d. Við        gerðum        henni            grikk.  
 we.nom    did            her.dat        trick.acc  
 'We played a trick on her.' (Thráinsson 2007:219 *apud* Wood 2015)

As seen in (96), Wood (2015) points to different kinds of benefactives and malefactives in Icelandic. They are more restricted than high applicatives in German or English. Some verbs just allow for benefactive datives that are coreferential with the subject (96a). Others allow for non-subject-coreferential benefactives (96b). Some are "disjointed" and do not correspond to a ditransitive in English (96c). Finally, some involve eventive or event-like themes or are idiomatic (96d). Nevertheless, they have properties of high applicatives: the thematic interpretation is like the interpretation of high applicatives, and they are often non-obligatory, that is, in an intuitive sense they are not part of the "core" arguments of the verb. Wood adopts Marantz's (2009a,b) idea that in certain configurations DPs can be "coerced" to be interpreted as eventualities (states or events). The applicative takes this DP as complement and relates its second argument (in specifier position) to that event. Syntactically, it is a low

applicative that merges below the VP. Semantically, it has the interpretation of a high applicative: a benefactive/malefactive relation between the event and an individual.

Wood mentions two types of eventive DPs proposed in the literature: morphologically simple ones such as *party* or *trip*, and other more complex – and arguably derived from verbs such as *attainment* and *removal* (2015:217). This is similar to coercions with verbs such as *begin*, where "*begin a book*" means "begin an event having to do with the book" (e.g. writing it, reading it, etc.).

(97) DP COERCION

- a. The trip only took 10 minutes. → eventive "trip" = the event of a trip
- b. The shirt only took 10 minutes. → eventive "shirt" = an event having to do with the shirt (e.g. making it, cleaning it, etc.)
- c. John built a house. → engage in a building activity, causing a house to exist (Wood, 2015:218)
- d. John cleaned the wall. → engage in some activity, causing the state of the wall to be a clean state (op. cit.)

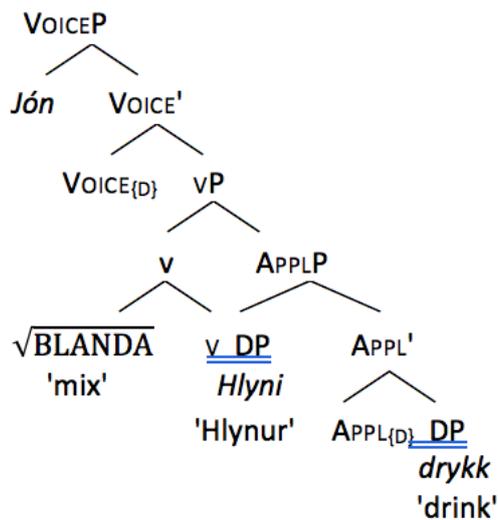
Wood assumes that "DPs generally have the option of being interpreted as states (or perhaps dynamic events, in some cases), and that whether or not this applies depends on the semantic properties of the elements around them". He assumes the following rule applied to a DP:

$$(98) \quad [DP] \rightarrow \text{state}([DP]) = \lambda s_s. \text{STATE}(s, DP)$$

≈ 'the set of states s such that the state of DP is s'

This allows for a syntactically low applicative structure to have the same semantics of high applicatives: a relation between an entity and an eventuality.

## (99) ICELANDIC LOW-HIGH APPLICATIVE



- (100) [ APPLP ] =  $\lambda s_s. \text{BENEFACTIVE}(\text{Hlynur}, s) \wedge \text{state}(s, \text{drink})$   
 ≈ 'Hlynur is the benefactive of the state of the drink'

The "state of the drink" can be thought of being the state of existing, or as being in a drinkable state, as in "John mixed and made a drink exist, to Hlynur's benefit" or "John mixed and changed the drink to a drinkable state, to Hlynur's benefit".

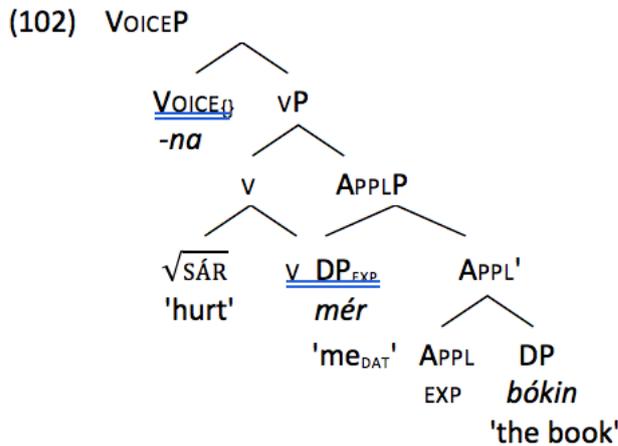
Another instance of high-low applicative structure in Icelandic regards psycho-verbs with dative subjects:

- (101) Ég gat fyrirgefið honum þó að hann skrifaði um  
 I could forgive him though that he wrote about  
 þetta nokkrar blaðgreinar og færi líka með það  
 this several newspaper.articles and moved also with it  
 í útvarpið, en mér sárnaði bókina.  
 in radio.the but me.DAT hurt book.the.NOM

'I could forgive him for writing several newspaper articles about this, and even for talking about it on the radio, but I was hurt by the book.'

(Maling and Jónsson, 1995:75 *apud* Wood, 2015:243. Attributed to Helgi Skúli Kjartansson.)

In (102) the APPL of *sárna* 'hurt' introduces the experiencer of some event, resulting in the argument in SPEC/APPLP experiencing hurt with respect to the event denoted by the complement of APPL, which is the eventive-DP 'the book'.



(103) [ APPLP ] =  $\lambda e_s \exists e'_s. \text{STATE}(e', \text{the book}) \wedge \text{EXPERIENCE}(e)$   
 $\wedge \text{EXPERIENCER}(me, e) \wedge \text{SOURCE}(e, e)$   
 $\approx$  'the state of the book is the source of my experience'

(Wood, 2015:244)

In (102) we see the syntactic structure of the high-low experiencer applicative in Icelandic. In (103) we see the final semantic interpretation of the structure, in which the complement DP *bókin* is interpreted as a state to derive the correct semantics of high APPL.

## 2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented the theoretical frameworks that guide this work. We began by presenting the development of the Generative Studies from the Government and Binding, then to the Minimalist Program, and finally the Derivation by Phases. The basic functioning of Distributed Morphology was presented. Finally, we showed the basics of the Interface between Syntax and Lexical Semantics, specifically thematic roles, predicate decomposition and lexical aspect/ aktionsart.

Then, we presented what applicatives are and some accounts of their mapping and properties. We saw the typologies proposed by Bresnan & Mchombo (1990) and Pylkkänen (2008). We analyzed some data from Bantu language Nyanja based on the typologies presented. Then, some works that build upon or challenge these typologies: McGinnis (2001, 2004, 2008) dealt with applicatives in terms of phase structure; then we surmised Jeong's (2006, 2007) flexible account of applicatives; finally, we presented Wood's (2014, 2015) account of Icelandic applicatives.

In the next chapter, we will discuss DOC constructions in DBP, arguing that they consist of dative-shift constructions, and as such can be accounted for as low applicative structures that result from dative shift.

### 3 Accounting for DBP doc as an applicative construction

Consider the following data:

(104) DBP

- a. Eu pedi um bombom pro meu avô.  
*'I asked a chocolate for my grandfather.'*
- b. Eu pedi um bombom meu avô.  
*'I asked a chocolate my grandfather.'*
- c. Eu pedi meu avô um bombom.  
*'I asked my grandfather a chocolate.'*
- d. Eu pedi pro meu avô um bombom.  
*'I asked for my grandfather a chocolate.'*

Scher (1996) reports that the structures in (104b,c) are productive in a Brazilian region called Zona da Mata Mineira and in the state of Goiás. Gomes (2003) reports its occurrence in Rio de Janeiro. Lucchesi & Mello (2009a&b) report and describe its occurrence in Afro-Brazilian communities. Torres Morais & Salles (2010) report its occurrence in the Central region of Brazil.

In this chapter, following Jeong's (2006) inspiration, we will adopt Anagnostopoulou's (2005) criteria to determine if there is dative shift in DBP. We also take into account Jeong's (op. cit.) proposal regarding applicative structures and the different parameters associated with them. We adopt Torres Morais & Salles' (2010) proposal of derivation of applicative constructions in a minimalist computational system. Finally, we adopt Armelin's (2011) proposal of topic/focus motivation for word order alternations.

### 3.1 Dative shift in DBP?

In generative literature, many phenomena are described as dative shift: alternation between constructions with and without a preposition (cf. Larson 1988 among others); clitic doubling (cf. Cuervo 2003, Torres Morais 2006); alternation between dative constructions with and without agreement (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2017); alternation between constructions with Genitive DP and Accusative PP<sup>48</sup> (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2005). Following the insight of Pylkkänen (2008), these phenomena are all currently regarded as Low Applicative constructions, with different implementations depending on the language being analyzed.

Moretti (2010) and Armelin (2011) both test if there is dative shift in (D)BP, but their results are inconclusive (and their BP data are questionable). Looking from a different perspective, we will adopt Anagnostopoulou's (2005) criteria, as suggested by Jeong (2006; cf. section 2.4.4).

Investigating the alternation between DOC with genitive DP and dative PP, Anagnostopoulou (2005) presents four criteria to determine if the alternation between the forms [V DP DP] and [V DP PP] is a dative shift: animacy, predicate restrictions, passivization and nominalization. Nominalization tests do not seem to be conclusive for BP (cf. section 1.1.5 for nominalization tests provided by Moretti (2010); cf. section 1.1.6 for nominalization tests provided by Armelin (2011); for more information on nominalization in BP, see, among others, Basílio (2008), Scher (2006), de Paiva et al. (2014), Medeiros (2010), and Oliveira (2006)).

- I. **Animacy:** prepositional constructions accept inanimate goals, but not the DOC (105).
- II. **Predicate restrictions**<sup>49</sup>: as previously shown, not all verbs can occur in the DOC (106).

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<sup>48</sup> Greek has lost the distinction between Dative and Genitive, according to Anagnostopoulou (2005). This explains why its instance of dative shift actually involves Accusative and Genitive – not Dative.

<sup>49</sup> This restriction seems to correlate with the semantics of the verb: only verbs that convey some interpretation of possession or movement can undergo dative shift alternations. Also, at least in English, verbs of latin origin in general do not undergo dative shift (cf. Levin 1993 for more information on the properties of verbs in English; cf. Cançado, M. , Godoy, L., Amaral, L. 2017 for properties of verbs in Brazilian Portuguese).

- III. **Passivization:** passivization is more restricted in DBP, as already mentioned by Scher (1996) and Torres Morais & Salles (2010) (107).

(105) ANIMACY (GREEK)

- a. \*I Ilektra estile tis Galias  
 the Ilektra.NOM sent.3s the France.GEN  
 'Ilektra sent France a parcel.'
- b. I Ilektra estile ena ðema stin Galia  
 the Ilektra sent.3s a parcel.ACC to-the France  
 'Ilektra sent a parcel to France.'

(Anagnostopoulou 2005:4-5)

(106) ANIMACY (DBP)

- a. Eu pedi meu vô um bombom.  
 I asked my grandfather a chocolate  
 'I asked my grandfather for a chocolate.'
- b. Eu pedi um bombom pro meu vô.  
 I asked a chocolate for/to my grandfather  
 'I asked my grandfather for a chocolate.'
- c. \*Eu dei a biblioteca um livro.  
 I gave the library a book  
 'I gave a book for/to the library.'
- d. Eu dei um livro pra biblioteca.  
 I gave a book for/to the library  
 'I gave the library a book.'

(107) PREDICATE RESTRICTIONS (ENGLISH)

- a. \*John washed Mary the dishes.  
 b. John washed the dishes for Mary.

- c. John bought Mary a car.
- d. John bought a car for Mary.
- e. \*John acquired Mary a new car.
- f. John acquired a new car for Mary.

## (108) PREDICATE RESTRICTIONS (DBP)

a. Eu        busquei        um livro        pro João.  
 I        fetched        a book        for/to John  
 'I fetched a book for/to John.'

b. \*Eu        busquei        João    um livro.  
 I        fetched        John    a book  
 'I fetched John a book.'

c. Eu        ofereci        um livro        pro João.  
 I        offered        a book        for/to John  
 'I offered a book for/to John.'

d. Eu        ofereci        João    um livro.  
 I        offered        John    a book  
 'I offered John a book.'

## (109) PASSIVIZATION (GREEK)

a. ?\*To        vivlio        xaristice        tis    Marias    apo    ton    Petro  
 The    book.NOM    award.NACT    the    Maria.GEN    from    the    Peter  
 'The book was awarded Mary by Peter.'

b. ?\*To        γrama        ταçìðromiθice        tu    Petru        apo    tin    llektra  
 the    letter.NOM    mailed.NACT.3S    the    Peter.GEN    from    the    llektra  
 'The letter was mailed Peter by llektra.'

c. To        vivlio        ðoθice        stin    Maria    apo    ton    Petro  
 the    book.NOM    gave.NACT    to-the    Mary    from    the    Peter

'The book was given to Mary by Peter.'

(Anagnostopoulou 2005:5)

(110) PASSIVIZATION (DBP)

a. Eu     dei     um carro     pra ele.  
 I       gave    a car         for/to him  
 'I gave a car to him.'

b. Pra    ele    foi    dado   um carro.  
 For/To he    was   given   a car  
 'A car was given for/to him.'

c. Um carro    foi    dado   pra ele.  
 A car         was   given   for/to him  
 'A car was given for/to him.'

d. Eu     dei    ele    um carro.  
 I       gave   him    a car  
 'I gave him a car.'

e. ?Ele   foi    dado   um carro.  
 He     was   given   a car  
 'He was given a car.'

f. \*Um carro   foi    dado   ele.  
 A car         was   given   he  
 'A car was given him.'

The results above demonstrate the asymmetry between the forms with and without the preposition *para*. This, added to the fact that the tests applied by Moretti (2010) and Armelin (2011), as seen in chapter 1, were inconclusive, led us to assume that, contrary to previous proposals, the alternation seen in (104) is an instance of dative shift.

Moreover, the results are coherent with McGinnis' (2001, 2004, 2008; cf. 2.4.3) account of applicatives, in which the DO is more restricted than AO because of the structure of the phase (assuming that in DBP phases only have one specifier/EPP position available). As seen in (110), both objects can be passivized in the form [V NP PP], but in the form [V NP NP] the DO cannot be passivized, while the passivization of the AO is less degraded.

The next section provides a discussion about the status of the prepositions *a* and *para*.

### 3.2 The prepositions *para* and *a*

As already noted by Ramos (1992) and Salles (1997), in BP the preposition *a* 'to' is being replaced by *para* 'for',  $\emptyset$ , or even other prepositions like *em* 'in'. This change spreads to verbal predicates, and not only ditransitives. Consider the following data:

#### (111) DBP PREPOSITION ALTERNATIONS

- a. Luís vai **ao** cinema. (decreased usage in BP; required by traditional grammars<sup>50</sup> (TG))

Luís goes **to** the movies

*'Louis goes to the movies.'*

- b. Luís vai **no** cinema. (popular usage; denounced by traditional grammars)

Luís goes **in** the movies

*'Louis goes to the movies.'*

---

<sup>50</sup> From the grammar of Faraco & Moura (1992:378, our translation): "Many verbs present regency issues because there is a gap between the grammar inherited from Portugal (considered the standard language) and the language that is actually spoken by Brazilians." The authors proceed to list and explain some verbs, including *obedecer* "obey" ("this verb is an indirect transitive and requires the preposition *a*" (op. cit. p. 381)).

- c. Carlos      chegou      **a** Belo Horizonte.      (= TG)  
 Charles      arrived      **to** Belo Horizonte  
*'Charles arrived in Belo Horizonte.'*
- d. Carlos      chegou      **em** Belo Horizonte.      (= popular)  
 Charles      arrived      **in** Belo Horizonte  
*'Charles arrived in Belo Horizonte.'*
- e. O filho      obedece      **ao** pai.      (= TG)  
 The son      obeys      **to** his father  
*'The son obeys his father.'*
- f. O filho      obedece      **o** pai.      (= popular)  
 The son      obeys      **Ø** his father  
*'The son obeys his father.'*

Other facts indicate that the preposition *para* is undergoing grammaticalization. It is losing phonetic material, being pronounced as [pɾɐ] or [pɾɐ]<sup>51</sup> by many speakers. Weidemer (2014) speaks of "semantic bleaching" as proposed by Sweetser (1990). The former author argues that the preposition *para* is "combining itself with new syntactic constituents, not just names, but infinitive verbs for instance (...). Thus, this preposition's functional domain becomes more abstract (...)." In this way, the semantic and syntactic structure of the preposition *para* is developed and leads to "the introduction of new complements, to the generalization of its meaning with consequent selection restriction" (p.111). Salles (2007) presents one of these innovations: the use of *para* to introduce infinitival complement clauses (112a), a construction that replaces another, which consists of a complementiser and a finite complement clause in subjunctive mood (the preferred form in EP) (112b):

(112) CLAUSE COMPLEMENTATION IN PORTUGUESE

- a. A Maria disse [<sub>INF.CL.</sub> para eu/mim varrer a casa].

<sup>51</sup> The last vowel can also drop if the next word starts in a different vowel: *pra você ~ procê* [pro'se]. Section 1.1.1 provides some examples of the loss of phonetic material of *para*.

*'Mary told me to sweep the house.'*

- b. Maria disse-me [<sub>SUBJ.CL.</sub> que varresse a casa].

*'Mary told me I should sweep the house.'*

(Salles 2007:403)

Another example of semantic bleaching of *para* is that the difference between constructions with the verb *ir* 'to go'+ *a* and *ir* + *para* is blurring. Up to some decades ago, constructions *ir* + *a* meant temporary trips to someplace, while *ir* + *para* meant moving to someplace. This distinction does not exist in currently spoken BP.

(113) VERB *IR*

- a. O João vai **a** São Paulo.

*'John goes to São Paulo.'*

- b. O João vai **a** São Paulo e volta hoje ainda. (current BP/old BP)

*'John goes to São Paulo and comes back today.'*

- c. O João vai **a** São Paulo e vem visitar no Natal. (current BP/\*old BP)

*'John goes to São Paulo and comes visiting in Christmas.'*

- d. O João vai **para** São Paulo.

*'John goes to São Paulo.'*

- e. O João vai **para** São Paulo e volta hoje ainda. (current BP/\*old BP)

*'John goes to São Paulo and comes back today.'*

- f. O João vai **para** São Paulo e vem visitar no Natal. (current BP/old BP)

*'John goes to São Paulo and comes visiting in Christmas.'*

Surmising, all the evidence – loss of phonetic material, semantic bleaching, and changes in its subcategorization properties – suggest that the preposition *para* is becoming a functional category. As seen in chapter 1, previous accounts understand that the replacement of *a* by *para* does imply in loss of the functional properties of *a*; however, this is not necessarily the case, since *para* can absorb the functional properties of *a*.

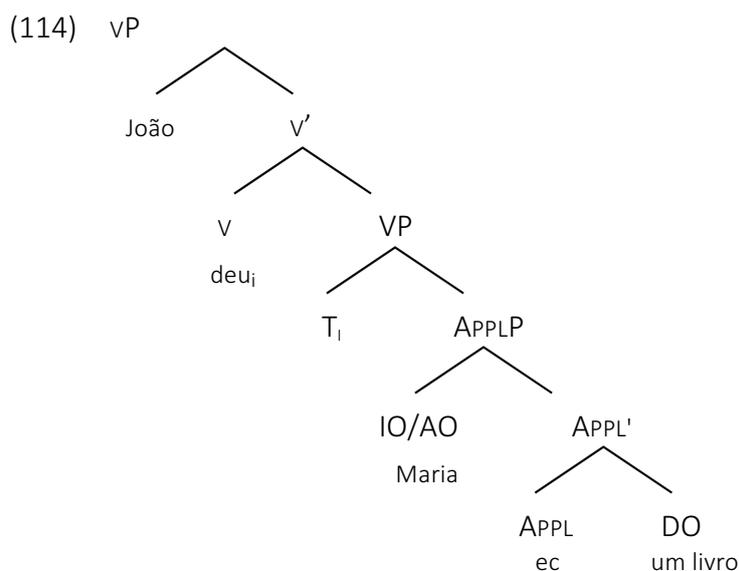
Based on the discussion above, we cannot agree with Armelin (2011) that the preposition *a* is the true introducer of IO in (D)BP. Current (D)BP is undergoing – or already went through —

syntactic reanalysis of relations between predicates and arguments. Thus, we can assume that *para* can introduce both Goals and Benefactives, and that the  $IO_{GOAL}$  can be realized without a preposition.

In order to accommodate the facts just presented, we will assume that there are  $DOCS$  in DBP. In the next section, we will analyze this construction as a Low Applicative structure.

### 3.3 The dative shift as a Low Applicative Construction

Pylkänen (2002, 2008) and later studies, following Marantz's (1993) insight, correlate dative(-shift) constructions with Low Applicatives<sup>52</sup>. Differences in distribution and properties can be explained by Jeong's insight that the category is an important variable in the syntax of applicatives, as seen in section 2.4.4. On this account, the goal can be introduced by a low applicative head, as proposed by Anagnostopoulou (2005) and described by Torres Morais & Salles (2010; cf. section 1.1.4). We will assume the following structure for the Brazilian  $DOC$ :



<sup>52</sup> Actually, the implementation of the current proposal is not different from the implementation of Armelin's (2010) Low Applicative/Goal constructions. However, she assumes that the applicative construction is not an instance of dative shift, whereas this hypothesis is sustained here.

The derivation proposed by Torres Morais & Salles (2010) is repeated here:

(115) DBP LOW APPLICATIVE STRUCTURE

- a. João deu Maria / ela um livro.  
 João gave Maria / 3SG a book  
 'John gave Mary/her a book.'

- b. [<sub>VP</sub> João [<sub>V'</sub> v\*<sub>[uφ]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> deu [<sub>APPLP</sub> Maria/ela<sub>ACC</sub> [<sub>APPL'</sub> APPL<sub>[uφ]</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> um livro<sub>ACC</sub> ]]]]]]]

We assume that APPL<sub>GOAL</sub> merges below the VP-shell, relating the two arguments in a kind of small-clause<sup>53</sup>, as mentioned in McGinnis (2008)<sup>54</sup>. The uninterpretable φ-features of the upper v\* initiate an Agree relation with the φ-features of the goal/recipient DP (*Maria/ela*), whose Case-feature is valued as accusative. The same Agree relation is seen between the φ-features of the applicative head and the theme DP (*um livro*). The applicative head behaves like an active v\* with uninterpretable φ-features.

### 3.4 Alternation due to discursive factors: informational structure<sup>55</sup>

Sentences convey information in a structured way. Informational structure consists on the analysis of how information is organized; it is in the interface between semantics, syntax and pragmatics. The way sentences are structured is related to how information is transmitted to the hearer.

A first distinction that can be made distinguishes *new information vs old information*; old information corresponds to information already shared between speaker and hearer; new

<sup>53</sup> It could be argued, based on Hale and Keyser (1993), that this is the projection that leads to the (transfer of) possession/goal/recipient meaning in low applicative constructions.

<sup>54</sup> Also cf. footnote 47, in section 2.4.5).

<sup>55</sup> This section is based on Roisenberg & Menuzzi (2009). There are other approaches to informational structure (cf. Vallduví, 1993; Cinque, G.; Rizzi, L. 2008; Givón 1979, 1987, 1993, among others).

information tends to be more prominent in the sentence. There are other ways to distinguish between pieces of information. One was proposed by Chomsky (1971) and popularized by Jackendoff (1972): *focus* (new information) and *presupposition* (old information). Another, found in Gundel & Fretheim (2004), distinguishes between *topic* (old information) vs *commentary* (new information). Following Quarezemin (2005) and Pereira (2011), we will assume the terminology of *Topic* and *Focus*, which convey different kinds of information, projected by different heads in the CP/VP system.

*Focus* is defined by Quarezemin (p. 1) as "the constituent that conveys the non-presupposed information in the sentence." As such, it always bears the accent of the sentence. Rooth's (1992, 1996, 1999) alternative semantics deals with focus as defined formally as a set of possible referents, just as the truth-value of a question is formally defined as the set of possible answers.

(116) QUESTION-ANSWER CONGRUENCE

A sentence  $R$  is an adequate answer to a question  $P$  iff  $|P|^{\circ} \supseteq |R|^F$ .

= The set of alternatives  $R$  that answer a question  $P$  (= focal value) must contain the ordinary semantic value of the question

(117) FORMAL DEFINITION OF A QUESTION

Who voted for Trump?

$|P|^{\circ} = \{\{w \in W: x \text{ voted for Trump in } w\}: x \in U' \supseteq D\}$

= in a given world  $w$  out of  $W$  possible worlds, the set  $\{x \text{ voted for Trump} : x \text{ is a person}\}$ ,

$D$  is the set of referents in the discourse

(118) FORMAL DEFINITION OF CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

Peter voted for TRUMP.

$|R|^F = \text{Peter voted for } [TRUMP]_F^{56}$ .

= in a given world  $w$  out of  $W$  possible worlds, the set  $\{w \in W: \{x \text{ voted for Trump} : x \text{ is Peter}\}: x \in U' \supseteq D\}$ ,  $D$  is the set of referents in the discourse

---

<sup>56</sup> [small caps] indicate prosodic focus.

This means that focused elements will be interpreted as conveying information such as "THIS, not that", which restricts the meaning of the focused element the way a question restricts its possibility of answers. Thus, the sentence "who voted for TRUMP?" presupposes that "he didn't vote for anybody else".

On the other hand, *topic* is defined by Quarezemin (p. 4) as "the constituent that corresponds to the information shared between the participants in the discourse". Roisenberg & Menuzzi (2009) speak of "highly active referent", a referent that the participants share and intuitively consider as more important. Givón (1993) argues that topics have a prominent role in organizing information in the discourse. He notes that topics can also be contrastive, as in (119)<sup>57</sup>:

(119) Sara has two sons, Jacob and Isaac. *Jacob* she HATES, *Isaac* she ADORES.

Topics tend to move to the left periphery of the sentence.

(120) *The kids*, Mary gave *them* ICE CREAM.

Thus, we assume that the information is organized inside sentences according to their status as topic or focus. Topics tend to move to the left periphery; focus bear prominent accent.

Based on Quarezemin's (2005) cartographic account of the left periphery of BP sentences and focalization, Armelin uses the following pair of question-answer as an argument that the OD bears discursive information FOCUS, and the IO is interpreted as a TOPIC – and as such is merged into a higher (= towards the left) TOPP position.

(121) DBP

a. O que a Maria deu o Pedro?

*'What did Mary give Peter?'*

b. A Maria deu o Pedro um livro.

---

<sup>57</sup> *Topics* are italicized, FOCUS are in small caps.

*'Mary gave Peter a book.'*

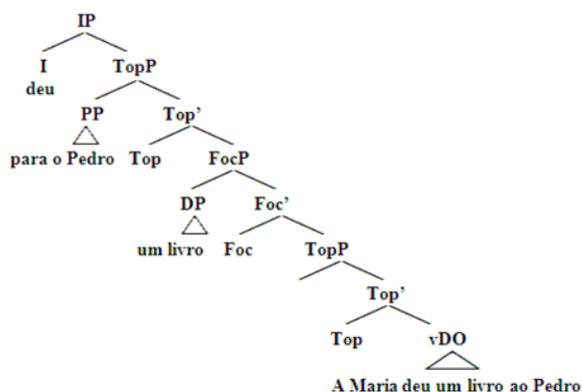


Figure 18: Cartographic structure of the discursive layer of BP ditransitive constructions (Armelin 2011:155)

Following Armelin (2011), we will assume that the DO and IO can merge into the relevant FOCUS/TOPIC projections to satisfy discursive needs of the speaker, leading to different possible word orders.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented our proposal regarding DBP DOC. We proposed, following Anagnostopoulou (2005), Jeong (2006) and Torres Morais & Salles (2010), that the alternation between DOC with and without preposition consists of an instance of dative shift and, consequently, can be analyzed as a low applicative construction in DBP. We assumed that the low applicative head merges below the VP-shell and licenses both objects in a small-clause-like structure. We also assumed, following Armelin (2011), that object order is motivated by discursive factors, namely the status as topic (old/shared information) or focus (new information) of the objects.

In the next chapter, we will investigate the ethical dative.

## 4 The ethical dative

Consider the following examples:

(122) BP ETHICAL DATIVE

- a. Não **me** fique grávida!  
*'Don't you get pregnant on me!'*
- b. Ele ligou-**me** amavelmente a luz.  
*'He lovely turned the lights on for me.'*
- c. Eu não gosto que **me** buzinem.  
*'I don't like it when they honk at me.'*
- d. Como é que o Grêmio **me** perde esse gol?!  
*'How is it that Grêmio missed the goal on me?!'*
- e. Não **me** reprovem estas ideias!  
*'Do not rebuke this ideas on me!'*

In all the sentences in (122), the clitic *me* is interpreted as being affected in a benefactive or malefactive way by the event. Recall that this is the same interpretation of an argument introduced by a High Applicative head, as described by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008). In this chapter, we will argue that, in these constructions, the clitic is introduced as an Applicative head that conveys a benefactive/malefactive interpretation.

### 4.1 Pronouns and clitics in BP

BP is undergoing a change in its pronoun paradigm. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular *tu* 'thou'<sup>58</sup> is being replaced by *você/ocê/cê* 'you' in most dialects<sup>59</sup>. Also, as already mentioned in chapter 1, most

<sup>58</sup> *Thou* is not used anymore in English – *you* is a more direct/modern equivalent. However, *you* agrees with 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular/plural  $\phi$ -features, exactly like *você* in BP. On the other hand, both *tu* and the archaic *thou* agree with 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular  $\phi$ -features.

<sup>59</sup> *Tu* is still used in some dialects spoken in RJ, RS and the northern region. In some dialects, it is used with 2<sup>nd</sup> person inflection, whereas in others it is used with 3<sup>rd</sup> person inflection, just as *você*.

BP dialects are losing the distinction between accusative and dative clitics. Moreover, BP is replacing DO clitics with the corresponding strong form.

(123) BP CLITICS AND PRONOUNS<sup>60</sup>

- a. Aí maluco, **tu** chegou e nem deu sinal de vida, vacilão. [RJ]  
 hey bro **thou** arrived.3s and didn't show up, dumbass  
 'Hey bro, you arrived and didn't show up, dumbass.'
- b. Olha ele tá falando com **tu**. [PE]  
 look he is speaking with **thou**  
 'Look, he's speaking to you.'
- c. **Tu** é forte mas num é dois. [PE]  
**thou** is strong but not is two  
 'You are strong but just one person.'
- d. Eu vou **te** falar com **cê**<sup>61</sup>, esse jogo ta perdido<sup>62</sup>. [MG]  
 I will.1s **2s** speak with **you**, this game is lost  
 'I'll tell you, this game is lost.'
- e. Encontrei (com) **ela** na porta do shopping. [MG]  
 met.1s (with) **she** in front of the mall  
 'I met her in front of the mall.'
- f. A professora falou com **a gente** sobre a prova. [MG]  
 the.FEM teacher.FEM spoke.3s with **the people** about the exam  
 'The teacher spoke to us about the exam.'

<sup>60</sup> These examples were all collected from spontaneous speech in conversations with speakers from the states of Rio de Janeiro [RJ], Minas Gerais [MG] {Southeast region}; Pará [PA] {North region}; Rio Grande do Sul [RS] {Southern region}; and Pernambuco [PE] {Northeast region}.

<sup>61</sup> in some dialects, *você* is losing phonetic material and becoming *ocê* or *cê*. When they follow the preposition *com* 'with', phonological processes may result in a portmanteau.

<sup>62</sup> This specific phenomenon, clitic doubling, is analyzed in depth by Machado-Rocha (2016).

g. **Tu** vais para Gramado amanhã? [RS]

**Thou** go.2s.FUT to Gramado tomorrow

'Will you go to Gramado tomorrow?'

h. **Tu** vais na festa amanhã? [PA]

**thou** go.2s.FUT in the party tomorrow

'Will you go to the party tomorrow?'

The data above show that, despite variation among dialects, strong pronouns are replacing clitics in object position, and verbal inflection is becoming more restricted to 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> grammatical persons. The following table, proposed by Carvalho (2008), shows the current paradigm of BP pronouns:

	<i>Nom</i>	<i>Acus</i>	<i>Dat</i>	<i>Abl</i>	<i>Gen</i>
1sg	Eu	me/eu	me/mim/eu	comigo/eu	meu(s)/minha(s)/ deu/ de mim
2sg	você/tu	você/tu/te/lhe	lhe/você/te/ti	contigo/você	seu(s)/sua(s)/ teu(s)/ tua(s)
3sg	ele/ela	ele/ela/se	ele/ela/lhe	ele/ela	dele/dela
1pl	nós/ a gente	nos/nós/ a gente	nos/nós/ a gente	conosco/nós/ a gente	de nós / da gente
2pl	vocês	vocês	vocês	vocês	de vocês
3pl	eles/elas	eles/elas/se	eles/elas/lhe	eles/elas	deles/delas

(Carvalho, 2008:30)

Table 4: Current BP pronoun paradigm

As noted by Scherre et al (2007), BP is a proclitic language; clitics always<sup>63</sup> occur before the main verb and even in the absolute initial position:

<sup>63</sup> There are still some dialects, specially in the Southern region, that are enclitics. Moreover, traditional grammars still prescribe enclisis, that is still the default in EP and the standard for writing (cf. footnote 50).

## (124) CLITICS IN BP

- a. Deixa disso camarada / **me** dá um cigarro. (Oswald de Andrade)  
*'Come on man / gimme a cigarette.'*
- b. **Te** falar uma coisa, toma cuidado.  
*'To tell you something, be careful.'*
- c. Ele vai **me** deixar em casa.  
*'He will take me home.'*

Surmising, the status of pronouns, strong and clitics, in BP is as follows: there is variation between *tu* and *você* to refer to the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular grammatical person (and, consequently, variation in verbal inflection); clitics are being replaced with strong pronouns in object position; finally, in most dialects of spoken BP clitics always occur before the verb.

Given this account of BP clitics, in the next section we will focus on the characteristics and properties of dative clitics.

#### 4.2 Characterizing dative clitics in (D)BP

Paviani (2004), analyzing the distribution of the dative clitic *me*, divides clitic datives into four distinct classes, namely *dativo de interesse* 'interest dative', *dativo de posse* 'possessive dative', *dativo ético* 'ethical dative', and others. The data below illustrate each type<sup>64</sup>.

## (125) DATIVO DE INTERESSE

- a. Você **me** troca uma nota de cinco?  
*'Can you make change for a five-dollar bill for me?'*
- b. A uva, quando não tô boa, eles vêm **me** tirar na safra.  
*'When I'm not feeling well, they pick the grapes for me.'*

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<sup>64</sup> The following data was reproduced from Paviani (2004: 38-42). The author does not present data on "other" types of datives, just the three main groups she identified.

## (126) DATIVO DE POSSE

- a. Esse cachorro sempre **me** leva embora os chinelo.  
*'This dog always takes my flip-flops away from me.'*
- b. Alguém veio **me** roubá as galinha essa noite.  
*'Someone came to steal my hens from me this night.'*

## (127) DATIVO ÉTICO

- a. Ele **me** foi embora.  
*'He left (and it affected me).'*
- b. O nenê não **me** dorme bem.  
*'The baby doesn't sleep well (and it affects me).'*

In order to assess the properties of the datives, Paviani (p. 38) applies some tests. She identifies the first type of dative (interest) by replacing *me* with *para mim* 'for me' or *de mim* 'from me'. This points to the fuzzy nature of goal/recipient/benefactive/source of the interest dative.

## (128) ME = PARA MIM/DE MIM IN INTEREST DATIVES

- a. Meu marido **me** comprou um vestido.  
*'My husband bought me a dress.'*
- b. Meu marido comprou um vestido **para mim**.  
*'My husband bought a dress for me.'*
- c. Ele **me** comprou vários porco<sup>65</sup>.  
*'He bought me many pigs.'*
- d. Ele comprou vários porco **de mim**.  
*'He bought many pigs from me.'*

Paviani also notes that this type of dative allows for movement of the object to the left.

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<sup>65</sup> This sentence is ambiguous: it can be interpreted as "he bought many pigs **from** me" or "he bought many pigs **for** me", depending on the context.

## (129) OBJECT FRONTING IN INTEREST DATIVES

- a. Se precisar, **me** compro a roupa.  
*'If I need it I'll buy the clothes for myself.'*
- b. A roupa, se precisar **me** compro.  
*'The clothes, if I need I'll buy them for myself.'*

Finally, Paviani notes that in interest dative constructions the subject and object are not co-referential.

## (130) REFERENCE IN INTEREST DATIVES

- a. Ele<sub>i</sub> **me** comprou vários porcos<sub>j</sub>.  
*'He bought me many pigs.'*
- b. Tu<sub>i</sub> **me** costura ele<sub>j/\*i</sub>?  
*'Can you sew it for me?'*

Regarding possessive datives, Paviani notes (p. 40-41) that it also allows fronting of the object:

## (131) OBJECT FRONTING IN POSSESSIVE DATIVES

- a. Ele **me** critica os penteado.  
*'He criticizes my hairstyle.'*
- b. Os penteado, ele **me** critica.  
*'My hairstyle, he criticizes it.'*

Possessive datives cannot be replaced by *para mim*, yet they can be replaced by a possessive pronoun, pointing to the fact that these constructions are not exactly benefactives, but a kind of possessor raising.

## (132) ME ≠ PARA MIM IN POSSESSIVE DATIVES

- a. Ele **me** critica os penteados.  
*'He criticizes my hairstyles.'*

- b. #Ele critica os penteados **para mim**<sup>66</sup>.  
*'He criticizes the (my) hairstyles (for me).'*
- c. Ele critica **meus** penteado.  
*'He criticizes my hairstyles.'*

Finally, Paviani (p. 41-42) characterizes the ethical dative by the following criteria: it can be replaced by a negative-exclamation (133), the clitic can be erased without changing the meaning of the sentence (134), and the object can be dislocated to the left (135).

(133) NEGATIVE EXCLAMATION

- a. Meu filho não **me** come feijão.  
*'My son does not eat beans (and it affects me).'*
- b. Não é que meu filho não come feijão!  
*'It is that my son does not eat beans.'*

(134) ETHICAL DATIVE ERASING

- a. Meu filho não **me** come feijão.  
*'My son does not eat beans (and it affects me).'*
- b. Meu filho não  $\emptyset$  come feijão.  
*'My son does not eat beans.'*

(135) OBJECT FRONTING IN ETHICAL DATIVES

- a. Meu filho não **me** come feijão.  
*'My son does not eat beans (and it affects me).'*
- b. Feijão, meu filho não **me** come.  
*'Beans, my son does not eat them (and it affects me).'*

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<sup>66</sup> This sentence is grammatical if *para mim* is interpreted as a recipient or benefactive and not a possessor.

The other types of datives described by Paviani cannot be erased without changing the interpretation of the sentence. This fact points to the argument status of interest and possessive datives – and the seemingly non-argument status of ethical datives<sup>67</sup>.

(136) DATIVE ERASING

- a. Ele **me** critica os penteado.  
*'He criticizes my hairstyles.'*
- b. #Ele  $\emptyset$  critica os penteado.  
*'He criticizes hairstyles.'*
- c. Ele **me** comprou vários porco.  
*'He bought me many pigs.'*
- d. #Ele  $\emptyset$  comprou vários porco.  
*'He bought many pigs.'*

Ethical datives also cannot be replaced by a PP.

(137) ETHICAL DATIVES AND PP

- a. Meu filho não **me** come feijão.  
*'My son does not eat beans (and it affects me).'*
- b. #Meu filho não come feijão **para mim**.  
*'My son does not eat beans for me.'*
- c. Ele **me** foi embora.  
*'He went away (and it affects me).'*
- d. #Ele foi embora **pra mim**.  
*'He went away for me.'*

---

<sup>67</sup> Recall that Moretti (2011, cf. section 1.1.5) uses the erasing of elements to identify arguments and adjuncts: the former are still interpreted implicitly when not phonetically realized, whereas the latter do not change the meaning of the sentence, nor are interpreted implicitly.

Sentences (137b,d) are grammatical, but their meaning is not the same as (137a,c). The clitic is interpreted as someone affected by the event, but not directly related to it as implied in the sentences with the PP.

Menon (2006) show that ethical datives are vernacular in BP, not restricted to Italian descendants as generally thought, but found even in texts from a contemporary of Camões:

(138) Almeida. Tírrão à janela. DONO. Dá-me cá ãa rodela, / verás como **tos enxoto**; inda usas de mais tretas? (Chiado, ANI, p.28/50-52) (Menon, 2006:160)

The example in (138) was taken from the comedy *Auto da natural invençám*, written by Antônio Ribeiro Chiado in the XV Century. Menon explains (our translation): "the ethical dative is well evident in the example, since it is the house owner that tells his servant '*tos enxoto*', that is 'I will brush aside (*enxotar*) the thieves for you (*para ti*)'. (...) The authors of the edition explain in note 51 '**tos**: *te* is an ethical dative'." (Menon 2006:161)

Menon focuses her research on relating what grammarians have written about the ethical dative regarding both Latin and Portuguese. She points to the problem of *the lack of explicit Case marking in Romance languages* as the origin of the "syntactic problem" (2006:164).

In her final remarks, Menon (2006:169) notes that the ethical dative can be semantically regarded as a benefactive. Torres Morais & Salles (2010) point in a footnote<sup>68</sup> that this could be an example of a semantically high applicative, as described by Pylkkänen. As previously mentioned, this chapter's argumentation will also head in this direction.

Surmising, DBP clitic datives can be classified into three types: *interest datives*, *possessive datives*, and *ethical datives*. Interest dative clitics are benefactives/malefactives that can

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<sup>68</sup> Footnote number 3, page 187: "An anonymous reviewer suggests that, instead of (5), a better example would be: *lavei-lhe a loiça e nem me agradeceu* 'I washed him/her the dishes and he/she didn't thank me'. In our terms this example is better analyzed as a 'normal' high applicative (cf. Pylkkänen (2002), which relates an individual to the event described by the VP, in a benefactive relation to the event of 'washing the dishes'. Moreover in the above example the dative may be expressed by a full DP: *lavei a loiça ao José e nem me agradeceu* 'I washed the dishes for José and he didn't thank me', which is not expected for ethical datives."

alternate with a PP<sub>PARA/DE</sub>. They are part of the subcategorization frame of the verb, and thus the meaning of the sentence changes if the clitic is not phonetically realized.

Possessive dative clitics express a relation of possession with the object of the sentence. Torres Morais (2007) provided an account of possessive datives in written EP as licensed by a Low Applicative head, just like other double object constructions. Lamiroy & Delbecque (1998) investigated the relation between possessive datives and the ethical dative in Romance and Germanic languages. Noting that syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties are shared between the datives, such as the impossibility of being replaced by a PP, they regard the possessive dative as a mid-term between lexical interest datives and non-lexical ethical datives.

Finally, ethical datives are benefactives/malefactives that cannot be replaced by a PP and can be erased without change in the interpretation of the sentence. This chapter will focus on this type of dative. The next section presents a review of the properties of ethical dative clitics cross-linguistically.

### 4.3 Other accounts of ethical datives

Ethical dative clitics are found in other languages, such as French and Spanish. Consider the following data:

(139) FRENCH ETHICAL DATIVE CLITIC

- a. Et un sourire que Moller te vous **lui** aurait bien refile une baffe  
 (\*à toi/\*à nous)

and a smile that Moller 2s 2P 3s.DAT would good given a smack  
 (to you/to us)

'And a smile such that M would have really given him a smack in the face.'

(Jouitteau & Rezac 2008:97)

## (140) SPANISH ETHICAL DATIVE CLITIC

- a. A mi primo **me** lo llevaron preso ayer  
 to my cousin CL.DAT-me CL.ACC-it took prisoner yesterday  
 'My cousin was taken prisoner.'

(Franco &amp; Huidobro 2008:218)

Jouitteau & Rezac (2008:98) present some properties of the so-called "extended datives", in opposition to lexical datives, a group that includes the ethical dative. The properties are:

- I. **Form:** extended datives resist assuming certain forms like non-clitic, contrastively focused strong pronoun, complex reflexive, with great variability among contexts where this property holds and among speakers (Kayne 1975, Rouveret and Vergnaud 1980 Rooryck 1988, Postal 1990 *apud* Jouitteau & Rezac 2008)
- II. **Transitivity:** many extended datives are restricted to transitive-like VPs, with variation on passives (Rooryck 1988, Authier and Reed 1991 *apud* Jouitteau & Rezac 2008)
- III. **Idioms:** affected and ethical datives may be added to idioms without affecting their meaning [...] (Borer & Grodzinsky 1986:206-7, Authier and Reed 1991:31 *apud* Jouitteau & Rezac 2008)

Jouitteau & Rozac assume (p.98) that "ED [ethical datives] are not arguments, in contrast to lexical, possessor and P-stranding datives. They do not affect the truth conditional meaning of the sentence and, as is often the case, not easily translatable: they invoke the speaker or addressee as witness or vaguely affected party." Franco & Huidobro (2008) argue (p.218-220) that "ethical dative clitics are adjunct particles that are not part of the composition of the subcategorization frame of the verb and are not linked to any A-position in syntax either. [...] In fact, ethical datives only contribute to the meaning of the sentence by adding point of view in terms of malefactive or benefactive semantic roles."

The distribution of ethical datives seems to vary cross-linguistically: as seen above in property (II), Jouitteau & Razac assume that ethical datives occur preferably in transitive constructions; Franco & Ruidobro argue in footnote 7 (p.220) that "a simple but straightforward argument in favor of the non-argument status of ethical dative clitics is that they can occur with both intransitive and transitive verbs."

A number of diagnostics were proposed to assess the status of ethical datives. One of them is the invisibility to the Person Case Constraint (PCC): lexical datives cannot co-occur with a dative clitic except the ethical dative.

(141) PCC INVISIBILITY (FRENCH)

- a. Demain je (me) **vous** (me) emmène en vacances  
 tomorrow I 1s 2P.ACC 1s take in vacations  
 'Tomorrow I will take you on vacation.' (ethical dative)
- b. \*Elle **vous m'** a trouvé.  
 she 2P 1s has found  
 'She has found you for me/me for you.' (benefactive/interest dative)

It is difficult to apply this test to DBP because of its tendency to proclisis and loss of accusative clitics (replaced by strong pronouns). Thus, in the pair of sentences below, (a) is the preferred form in BP, while (b) is decreasing in usage.

(142) DBP PRONOUN REANALYSIS

- a. E você acha que empresa de telefone está preocupada em ajudar **ele**?  
 and you think that company of telephone is worried in help **he**  
 'And you think that the telephone company is worried about helping him?'  
 (Machado-Rocha 2010:105)
- b. E você acha que empresa de telefone está preocupada em ajudá-lo?  
 and you think that company of telephone is worried in help-**him**  
 'And you think that the telephone company is worried about helping him?'

This tendency could explain why a sentence like (143b) is not accepted:

(143) PCC INVISIBILITY (DBP)

- a. Meu filho não **me** come feijão.  
'My son doesn't eat beans (and it affects me).'
- b. \*Meu filho não **me** come-o/o come.  
'My son doesn't eat it (and it affects me).'

Ethical datives also cannot control PRO, as noted by Jaeggli (1986 *apud* Jouitteau & Rezac *op.cit.*).

(144) PRO CONTROL (SPANISH)

- a. [PRO\*<sub>i/ARB</sub> cuidarla tanto] me<sub>i</sub> le arruino la vida a mi hija  
look.after.her so.much 1s 3s.DAT ruined the life to my daughter  
= 'The fact that one (PRO-ARB) took so much care of her ruined my daughter's life.'  
= \*'I taking so much care of her ruined my daughter's life.'

(145) PRO CONTROL (FRENCH)

- a. [PRO\*<sub>ARB/\*i/\*j/\*k/l</sub> trop se protéger] te<sub>i</sub> je<sub>j</sub> nous<sub>k</sub> **lui**<sub>i</sub> a ruiné le caractère.  
too much 3SE protect 2s 1s 2P 3s.DAT has ruined the nature  
'Protecting herself too much ruined her character.'
- b. [PRO<sub>ARB/\*i/\*j/\*k/\*l</sub> trop la protéger] te<sub>i</sub> me<sub>j</sub> nous<sub>k</sub> **lui**<sub>i</sub> a  
ruiné le caractère  
too much 3SF.ACC protect 2s 1s 2P 3s.DAT has  
ruined the nature  
= 'The fact that one (PRO-ARB) protected her so much has ruined her nature.'  
= \*'You/I/Us protecting her so much ruined her nature.'

(Jouitteau & Rezac 2008:103)

(146) PRO CONTROL (DBP)

- a. Cuidar demais da menina<sub>i</sub> me arruinou a vida dela<sub>i</sub>.  
 take care too much of.the girl me.DAT ruined the life of.her  
 = 'One (arbitrary) taking too much care of the girl ruined her life and it affects me.'  
 = ?'Me taking too much care of the girl ruined her life and it affects me.'<sup>69</sup>

Jouitteau and Rezac also note (p. 103) that ethical datives are independent from CP/Mood system: they can occur in embedded clauses (finite and infinitival), questions and imperatives.

(147) INDEPENDENCE FROM CP/MOOD (DBP)

- a. Eu falei pra ela não **me** ficar grávida.  
*'I told her not to get pregnant on me.'*
- b. Eu só contei que ele **me** foi embora ontem.  
*'I just told them that he went away on me yesterday.'*
- c. Não **me** faça isso!  
*'Don't do it on me!'*
- d. Quem que vai **me** justificar esse crime?  
*'Who is gonna right this crime on me?'*

In this section, we characterized the status of ethical datives. In the next section, we will propose an account of ethical datives in DBP as high applied objects.

#### 4.4 Ethical datives as high applied objects

Consider again the examples in (122), repeated below:

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<sup>69</sup> One speaker from Rio Grande do Norte (Northeast) Brazil and another from the central region of Minas Gerais accept this interpretation as possible. Another speaker from the central region of MG prefers the arbitrary interpretation.

## (148) BP ETHICAL DATIVE

- a. Não **me** fique grávida!  
*'Don't you get pregnant on me!'*
- b. Ele ligou-**me** amavelmente a luz.  
*'He lovely turned the lights on for me.'*
- c. Eu não gosto que **me** buzinem.  
*'I don't like it when they honk at me.'*
- d. Não **me** reprovem estas ideias!  
*'Do not rebuke this ideas on me!'*

As earlier noted, ethical datives only occur with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics and cannot be replaced by a corresponding PP or DP. They are not arguments of verbs, since they can be erased without changing the meaning of the sentence. Semantically, ethical datives are interpreted as a person in a benefactive/malefactive relation with the event. As noted in section 2.4.2, Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) proposed that elements that are not part of the subcategorization frame of the verb can be introduced into the argument structure of a sentence by specialized heads, that convey specific relations between the element and the event or between participants of the event. One of the seven argument introducers proposed by the author licenses an element that is interpreted as being in a relation with the event; she called it "High Applicative" because it takes a vP or a causative VP as its complement. In order to diagnose HAPPL constructions, Pylkkänen proposed the following tests (reproduced from section 2.4.2):

Test	HIGH APPL	LOW APPL
Can unergatives be applicativized?	Yes	No
Can static verbs be applicativized?	Yes	No
If a language has a depictive secondary predicate with the English distribution, is the applied argument available for depictive modification? (Example: I gave Mary <i>the meat raw</i> . / *I gave <i>Mary</i> the meat <i>hungry</i> . [Baker, 1997:23c,d <i>apud</i> Pylkkänen, 2008])	Yes	No

Table 5: Pylkkänen's applicative tests

Since ethical datives present the same semantic interpretation of high applied objects, they might be licensed by HAPPL. In order to test this hypothesis, we will apply the diagnostic tools proposed by Pylkkänen. The first test is the possibility of applicativizing an unergative verb.

(149) DBP UNERGATIVES

- a. Não corre desse jeito, menino!  
*'Don't run like this, boy!'*
- b. Não **me** corre desse jeito, menino!  
*'Don't run like this on me, boy!'*
- c. Meu filho tá tossindo demais.  
*'My son is coughing too much.'*
- d. Meu filho tá **me** tossindo demais.  
*'My son is coughing too much on me.'*
- e. Como que você viaja pra Amazônia e não avisa?!  
*'How is it that you to travel to Amazônia and don't tell anyone?!'*
- f. Como que você **me** viaja pra Amazônia e não avisa?!  
*'How is it that you to travel to Amazônia on me and don't tell anyone?!'*

As seen in (149), the ethical dative can occur with unergative verbs such as *correr* 'run', *tossir* 'cough', *viajar* 'travel'. Notice that the addition of the clitic does not change the meaning of the sentence – the clitic is just interpreted as being (indirectly) affected by the event.

The second test proposed by Pylkkänen is the possibility of applicativizing static verbs.

(150) DBP STATIC VERBS

- a. Como você fica uma hora parado na fila e não consegue o ingresso?  
*'How do you stay an hour in the line and don't get the ticket?'*
- b. Como você **me** fica uma hora parado na fila e não consegue o ingresso?  
*'How do you stay an hour in the line on me and don't get the ticket?'*

- c. Nossa, tá fazendo muito frio em BH.  
*'Ouch, it's too cold in BH.'*
- d. Nossa, tá **me** fazendo muito frio em BH.  
*'Ouch, it's too cold on me in BH.'*
- e. João segurou a mão da minha vó a noite toda.  
*'John held my grandma's hand the whole night.'*
- f. João **me** segurou a mão da minha vó a noite toda.  
*'John held my grandma's hand the whole night on me.'*
- g. Ele mora lá em São Paulo.  
*'He lives there in São Paulo.'*
- h. Ele **me** mora lá em São Paulo.  
*'He lives there in São Paulo on me.'*

DBP also allows ethical datives with static verbs such as *ficar parado* 'stay', *fazer frio* 'be cold', *morar* 'live (in a place/building)'. Again, the clitic does not change the meaning of the sentence, but is nevertheless interpreted as an individual affected by the event.

The third test proposed by Pylkkänen is depictive modification. Many authors, such as Kratzer (2005), assume that Romance languages (including BP) do not allow depictive modification or resultative constructions, perhaps because of adjective inflection. Oliveira (2016) presents a good review of accounts of the so-called "pseudo-resultative" in BP, citing Foltran, 1999; Marcelino, 2000; 2007; 2014; Lobato, 2004; Rech, 2007; Oliveira, 2013; Oliveira; Marcelino, 2014; Bertucci, 2014. He points (p. 51) that "although some of these studies have some divergent opinions about the presence of the resultative construction in BP, *it seems to be a unanimous view that the true resultative is not licensed in BP with the same syntactic-semantic patterns found in English*". For this reason, the third test proposed by Pylkkänen cannot be applied to BP.

The properties that characterize the applicative heads as proposed by Pylkkänen lead to some predictions: high applicatives can theoretically attach to virtually any verb (hence the first and

second tests seen above), while low applicatives are restricted to verbs that have an internal argument and denote some kind of possession/movement/transference interpretation. Additionally, high applicatives should be able to attach to VPs that contain a low applicative embedded into it. The following data shows how DBP follows this pattern, assuming that docs are low applicatives, as discussed in chapter 3.

(151) DBP ETHICAL DATIVE + DOC

- a. João pediu Maria um bombom.  
*'John asked Mary for a chocolate.'*
- b. \*João **me** pediu Maria um bombom.  
= *'John asked Mary for a chocolate on me.'*  
= *'John asked me, Mary, for a chocolate.'*  
= *'John asked me for a chocolate to Mary.'*
- c. Envia ela essa carta hoje mesmo!  
*'Send her this letter today!'*
- d. **Me** envia ela essa carta hoje mesmo!  
*'Send her this letter today (on me)!'*
- e. Como que o João oferece Maria a bicicleta nova?  
*'How is it that John offers Mary a new bike?'*
- f. Como que o João **me** oferece Maria a bicicleta nova?  
*'How is it that John offers Mary a new bike on me?'*

The occurrence of the ethical dative with docs is restricted because, among other factors, the addition of a new element leads to ambiguity: the clitic is interpreted not as an indirect benefactive/malefactive, but a participant of the event, be it agent or goal/recipient/source.

However, ethical datives can be inserted in contexts such as imperatives (151d) and interrogation/focus constructions (151f), which suggests that the ethical dative is indeed related to informational structure. We will investigate this from two perspectives: the kind of

sentence ethical datives can be embedded into, and the discursive nature of the clitic. We will begin with the latter.

#### 4.4.1 The discursive nature of the ethical dative clitic

In DBP, ethical datives only occur with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics *me* 'me' and *te* 'you.ACC/DAT'. An important distinction between the three grammatical persons is that 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are directly involved in the discourse, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is only mentioned in it. Machado-Rocha (2010: 105), based on work by Kerstens (1993), Koeneman (2000), Harley & Ritter (2002), among others, proposes the following feature specification:

1 <sup>st</sup> person	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	3 <sup>rd</sup> person
[+ speaker]	[- speaker]	[- speaker]
[- hearer]	[+ hearer]	[- hearer]

Table 6: Feature specification of grammatical persons

Moreover, following Adger's (2006) proposal of ambivalent features, Machado-Rocha assumes that the relevant feature that distinguishes the 3<sup>rd</sup> person from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> is [<sub>u</sub>author±]: the speaker is associated with [+author], the hearer with [-author]. That is, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are participants of the discourse; the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is only referential. This suggests that ethical datives can only assume 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms because they are *inherently related to discourse and how information is conveyed*.

In the next section, we will see how informational structure influences the distribution of ethical datives.

#### 4.4.2 Informational structure of sentences

In section 3.4, we laid down definitions of how information is organized in sentences and the discourse. The important notions in question are: *new information vs old information; focus vs topic*. Reconsider their definitions below.

Focus is defined by Quarezemin (p. 1) as "the constituent that conveys the non-presupposed information in the sentence." As such, it always bears the accent of the sentence. Rooth's (1992, 1996, 1999) alternative semantics deals with focus by defining it formally as a set of possible referents, just as the truth-value of a question is formally defined as the set of possible answers.

On the other hand, TOPIC is defined by Quarezemin (p. 4) as "the constituent that corresponds to the information shared between the participants in the discourse". Roisenberg & Menuzzi (2009) speak of "highly active referent", a referent that the participants share and intuitively consider as more important. Givón (1993) argues that topics have a prominent role in organizing information in the discourse. He notes that topics can also be contrastive.

Thus, we assume that the information is organized inside sentences according to their status as TOPIC or FOCUS. Topics tend to move to the left periphery; foci bear prominent accent.

Given these definitions, reconsider the following data:

(152) DBP ETHICAL DATIVES

- a. Como que o Galo **me** perde esse jogo?  
*'How is it that Galo missed that game on me?'*
- b. E não **me** fique grávida!  
*'And don't you get pregnant on me!'*

Many examples of ethical datives occur in sentences like (152), a seemingly rhetorical question (152a) and imperatives (152b). Han (1998) defines rhetorical questions as having two properties: "while an ordinary question seeks information [...] from the hearer, a rhetorical question does not expect to elicit an answer" (p. 1); and "a rhetorical positive question has the illocutionary force of a negative assertion and a rhetorical negative question has the

illocutionary force of a positive assertion" (p. 1). That is, a rhetorical question can invert the polarity of the assertion. Consider the following examples, in which the rhetorical question comes with its corresponding assertive paraphrase:

(153) RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

- a. Did I tell you that writing a dissertation was easy??

I didn't tell you that writing a dissertation was easy..

- b. Didn't I tell you that writing a dissertation was easy??

I told you that writing a dissertation was easy.

(Han 1998:2)

*Como que?* 'how is it that' constructions like (152a) do present the property of not expecting to elicit an answer from the hearer. However, the polarity inversion effect is not found in these constructions.

(154) *COMO QUE* CONSTRUCTIONS

- a. Como que o Galo **me** perde esse gol?

*'How is it that Galo missed that goal on me?'*

= Galo missed the goal

= #Galo didn't miss the goal

- b. Como que o Galo não **me** perde esse jogo feio?

*'How is it that Galo didn't lose this boring game on me?'*

= Galo didn't lose the boring game

= #Galo lost the boring game

- c. Como que o João **me** oferece Maria a bicicleta nova??

*'How is it that John offers Mary a new bike on me?'*

== João offeredoffered Maria the new bikebike

= #João didn't offer Maria the new bike

- d. Como que o João não **me** oferece Maria a bicicleta nova??

*'How is it that John didn't offer Mary a new bike on me?'*

== João didn't offeroffer Maria the new bikebike

= #João offered Maria the new bike.

*Como que?* questions normally convey feelings of indignation, annoyance, dismay; they can be roughly paraphrased as "how is it possible that such a thing happened?". They have this specific illocutionary force and the correspondent prosody. For the present purposes, we will call them "PSEUDO-RHETORICAL QUESTIONS".

Imperatives are described by Hare (1949) as sentences that are more expressive, or (intend to) evoke emotion – in comparison with plain declarative sentences; they normally elicit or ask something from the hearer. Imperatives also have a characteristic illocutionary force and prosody. Consider the examples below (= paraphrase):

(155) IMPERATIVE

Do not walk on the grass.

= No walking on the grass (by anyone ever), please.

(156) DECLARATIVE

Nobody ever walks on the grass.

= No walking on the grass by anyone ever, yes.

(Hare 1949:30)

Surmising, ethical datives occur mostly in sentences that bear more illocutionary force, are more expressive, and have characteristic prosody. Given that ethical datives are, essentially, the expression of the (indirect) relation between a participant of the discourse and the denoted event, this pattern should not be surprising. Ethical datives are deeply related to the organization of information and pragmatics.

The next section will provide a syntactic account of ethical datives as applicatives.

#### 4.5 Mapping ethical datives

In previous sections, we characterized the ethical dative as a clitic that can occur with most verbs – preferably in sentences with stronger illocutionary force; is a participant of the discourse – preferably [+ AUTHOR]; is not part of the subcategorization frame of the verb; conveys a relation between the participant and the event. Based on these properties, we account for the ethical dative as a high applicative head – as proposed by Pylkkänen and formally presented by Wood (cf. section 2.4.5) as follows:

(157) [ APPL<sub>RELATION</sub> ] =  $\lambda x_e \lambda e_s. \text{RELATION}(x, e)$  (Wood 2015:208)

The interpretation of the formal semantic relation in (157) corresponds to the interpretation of ethical datives in sentences like (152a), repeated here:

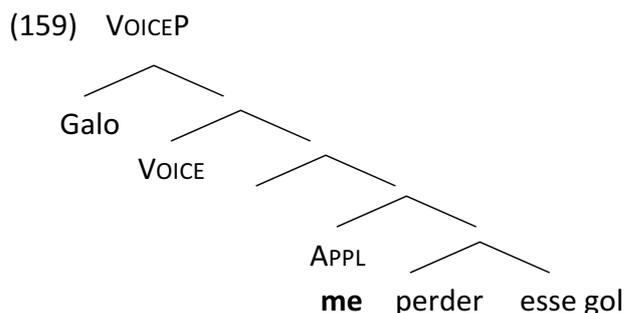
(158) Como que o Galo **me** perde esse gol?

*'How is it that Galo missed that gol on me?'*

= I (the speaker) feel affected by the event of Galo missing the goal

=  $\lambda x \lambda e. \text{missed}(e) \ \& \ \text{AGENT}(e, \text{Galo}) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(e, \text{gol}) \ \& \ \text{MALEFACTIVE}(e, \text{me})$

That is, a new malefactive individual/referent is embedded into the semantic structure of the sentence. Following Pylkkänen's proposal and according to the proclitic tendency of the language, we propose that the ethical dative heads a High Applicative construction. APPLP attaches itself to the vP/VOICEP via Event Identification (cf. Heim & Kratzer 1998).



Since it is above the vP/VOICEP phase, the ethical dative can interact via merge or feature-checking with the appropriate CP/IP projection (topic, focus, illocutionary force, mood).

Ethical dative clitics always occurs immediately before the verb, below pre-verbal elements such as adverbs and negation:

(160) CLITIC MAPPING

- a. Cê não **me** fica grávida!  
*'You don't get pregnant on me!'*
- b. \*Cê **me** não fica grávida!  
*'You on me don't get pregnant!'*
- c. \*Cê não fica-**me** grávida!  
*'You don't on me get pregnant.'*
- d. Esse menino todo dia **me** arruma uma encrenca nova.  
*'This boy everyday gets in new trouble on me.'*
- e. \*Esse menino **me** todo dia arruma uma encrenca nova.  
*'This boy on me everyday gets in new trouble.'*
- f. \*Esse menino todo dia arruma-**me** uma encrenca nova.  
*'This boy everyday gets on me new trouble.'*

The clitic position would probably be more flexible if it were an adjunct – supposed to fluctuate along the sentence. Instead, the ethical dative clitic adjoins to the verb and establishes the relation with the event. Moreover, the fact that the clitic cannot move reflects McGinnis' (op. cit.) prediction that the applied object in high applicative constructions cannot A-move if the language set its phase parameter to only one specifier/EPP position (cf. section 2.1).

In this chapter, we investigated and accounted for ethical dative clitics in DBP. The advantage of the present account lies on the relation between formal syntax, formal semantics and informational structure studies; the relation between discourse participants, event structure

and syntactic mapping of ethical datives and the constructions in which they occur. We presented that ethical datives occur preferably in sentences with strong illocutionary force, such as contrastive focus structures, imperatives, and pseudo-rhetoric questions. We tried to present an elegant and minimalist account, based on a functional head that relates a participant of the discourse to the event.

## 5 Final remarks

In this thesis, we aimed to investigate, inside the theoretical framework of current generative studies, two constructions that occur in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese: the double object construction and the ethical dative.

We approached the problem in steps. The first step consisted in providing different accounts of DOC in BP:

- Scher (1996) proposed that there is no dative shift in DBP, and that the forms [V NP NP] are generated by phonological and discursive reasons.
- Salles (1997) proposed that dative-shift-like double objects are licensed by a null P and aspectual nodes inside the V-shell.
- Torres Morais & Salles (2010) proposed the presence of an applicative head to introduce the IO in ditransitive constructions.
- Moretti (2010), under the perspective of Distributed Morphology, proposed that the class of verbs she calls Verbs of Transference/Movement (VT/M) is actually a group of roots with diacritics that can restrict their occurrence to a specific kind of structure projected by the syntax.
- Armelin (2011) assumed that there is no dative shift in BP; however, constructions in which the preposition *a* introduce a goal are deemed to be projected by a Low Applicative head. Alternations in word order are explained by the author as result of the informational status of the objects.

In chapter 2, we temporarily put aside the DOC issue and presented the theoretical frameworks assumed in this thesis:

- The development of the Generative Studies, inside the Principles and Parameters model, in which a minimalist approach led to the development of, in chronological order, the Minimalist Program (MP) and the Derivation by Phase.
- The version of MP assumed by Jeong (2006), that dispenses with phases.

- The basic functioning of Distributed Morphology.
- The basics of the Interface between Syntax and Lexical Semantics, specifically thematic roles, predicate decomposition and lexical aspect/aktionsart.

The second part of chapter 2 was dedicated to present and characterize the Applicative category, its properties, distribution and different accounts of their mapping and properties:

- The typologies proposed by Bresnan & Moshi (1990) and Pylkkänen (2008).
- Analysis of data from the Bantu language Nyanja based on the aforementioned typologies.
- McGinnis' (2001, 2004, 2008) approach of applicatives in terms of phase structure.
- Jeong's (2006, 2007) flexible account of applicatives.
- Wood's (2014, 2015) account of Icelandic applicatives.

We returned to the double object construction in chapter 3, and presented our proposal:

- Based on Anagnostopoulou (2005), Jeong (2006) and Torres Morais & Salles (2010), we proposed that the alternance between DOCS with and without preposition consists of an instance of dative shift.
- We proposed that the DOC can be accounted for as a low applicative construction in DBP.
- We assumed that the low applicative head merges below the VP-shell and licenses both objects in a small-clause-like structure.
- Based on Armelin (2011), we proposed that object order is motivated by discursive factors, namely the status as topic (old/shared information) or focus (new information) of the objects.

In chapter 4, we investigated and accounted for ethical dative clitics in DBP. We suggested that the ethical dative clitics head a high applicative phrase that takes the  $vP/VOICEP$  as its complement.

The advantage of the present account lies on:

- We established a relation between formal syntax, formal semantics and informational structure studies;
- We established a relation between discourse participants, event structure and syntactic mapping of DOC and ethical datives, and the constructions in which they occur.
- We noted that ethical datives occur preferably in sentences with strong illocutionary force, such as contrastive focus structures, imperatives, and pseudo-rhetoric questions.
- We noted that ethical dative restrictions and DOC alternations are related to illocutionary force and informational structure.
- We attempted to present an elegant and minimalist account, based on a functional head that either relates a participant of the discourse to the event or relates two participants in a (transfer of) possession relation.

In this thesis, we argued that there are two applicative heads in DBP: a LOW APPL head that licenses double object constructions, and a HIGH APPL head that conveys an indirect benefactive/malefactive relation between a participant of the discourse and the event denoted. We also provided an account that takes informational/pragmatic aspects of the constructions in question, along with formal definitions and syntactic mapping.

We hope this dissertation contributed to the development of research in generative studies and the syntax of Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese.

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