THE STATUS OF THE (SUPPOSED) EXPLETIVE
IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES·

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This paper characterizes the occurrence of the pronoun *você* 'you' in Brazilian Portuguese existential clauses as an instance of an indeterminate pronoun, arguing against the idea that it corresponds to an expletive. I present some evidences that *você* is not directly merged in [Spec,TP], but in a thematic position within a locative predicate that is part of the existential coda.

1. *Introduction*

In Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP), existential clauses with *ter* 'to have, to exist' can bring the pronoun *você* 'you' in subject position, as exemplified in (1) to follow.[1] Although there is no systematic study on this matter in the literature on BP, *você* is commonly described as an expletive (Duarte 1999, Callou & Avelar 2001) when placed in contexts like these. The main substance of this idea derives from the fact that the occurrence of *você* would make the sentence unacceptable if it were not an expletive, given that existential clauses are impersonal, and as such cannot present an external argument.[2]

(1) a. *(Você)   tem   muitos   castelos na   Europa*
         you   exist many   castles in-the Europe
         'There are many castles in Europe.'

[1] In European Portuguese, the canonical existential verb is *haver*, which is treated along this paper.
[2] The data to be presented in this paper are in accord with judgments of speakers living in the metropolitan zone of Rio de Janeiro, in the South-Eastern Region of Brazil. However, evaluations of peoples from other Brazilian regions have shown that the use of *você* in existential contexts is generalized in the dialects in which this pronoun is largely used.

b. *(Você)   tinha   poucos   computadores na   década de sessenta*
   you   existed few   computers   in-the   decade of sixty
   'There were few computers in the sixties.'

Adopting the Minimalist Program framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001), I will argue against the idea that *você* is an expletive when it is realized in *ter* existential sentences. My proposal is that the relevant version of *você* corresponds to an indeterminate pronoun, identical to the cases presented in the non-existential context in (2) below.[3,4]

(2)   *Você pode encontrar roupas bem baratinhas no   centro*
      you   can   find   clothes very cheap   in-the   center
      'One can find very cheap clothes downtown.'

To deal with the question of how this pronoun is licensed as the subject of impersonal clauses, I will explore the hypothesis that *você* is initially inserted into a locative phrase (LocP) that is part of the existential coda, and then moves to [Spec,TP] in order to satisfy grammatical requirements. These procedures are represented in (3), in which *você* is inserted and thematically interpreted in [Spec,LocP].

(3)   [$_{TP}$ você$_i$ [$_{T'}$ tem ... [$_{XP}$ [$_{DP}$ muitos castelos] [$_{X'}$ [$_{LocP}$ t$_i$ na Europa]]]]]

The main reason to assume a link between the pronoun and the locative phrase is the fact that the supposed expletive is licensed only if the existential clause presents a locative anchorage, as seen in (4) and (5) to follow. Note that the (a) instances, which do not accept *você*, do not present a locative phrase.

(4)   a. *As   crianças   acreditam que (*você) tem   fantasma*
         the   children   believe   that you   exist ghost
         'Children believe that ghosts exist.'
      b. *As   crianças   acreditam que (você) tem   fantasma   dentro*
         the   children   believe   that you   exist ghost   within
         de   casa   velha
         of   house   old
         'Children believe that there are ghosts in ancient houses.'

(5)   a. *(*você) tem   E.T.*
         you   exist E.T.
         'E.T.'s exist'

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[3] See Cavalcante (1999) for a diachronic study on indeterminate pronouns in BP.
[4] Although the existential meaning is not altered by *você*, I think the pronoun triggers pragmatic effects. For example, if *você* is realized as in (1a), the sentence can express the content in (i).
(i) *Tem   muitos castelos   na   Europa   que   você pode ver   se você estiver lá*
    exist many castles   in-the Europe   that   you   can   see   if   you   is   there
    'There are many castles in Europe, and people can see them if they is there'

b. *(você) tem E.T. em diversos filmes americanos*
you exist E.T. in many movies Americans
'There are E.T.s in many American movies'

If this view is correct, the presence of *você* does not conflict with the impersonal character of the existential sentence, given that, as expected, there is no thematic relation between the existential verb and the pronoun, but between the pronoun and the predicative category heading the locative phrase.[5]

The paper is divided in the following way. In section 2, I concentrate on facts that cannot be appropriately explained if *você* is an expletive; in section 3, I present theoretical presuppositions on the structure of existential clauses in BP;

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[5] The reviewer of this paper affirms that the reasons for considering the sentences in (1) as existential are not clear. (S)he also enquires about the difference between those sentences and the ones with TER + indeterminate SE, commonly described as possessive, as exemplified below.

(i) ... *nas baixas latitudes tem-se o clima equatorial* ...
in-the low latitude have-SE the climate equatorial
'The equatorial climate appears in low latitude zones.'

The example above, given by the reviewer, was taken from the Corpus NILC/São Carlos (http://www.nilc.icmc.usp.br/), which stores data of written language. However, sentences with TER + indeterminate SE are realized only in a very polite register, and cannot be considered as part of the nuclear grammar of BP speakers. Moreover, recent variationist analyses have shown that the frequency of *se* as an indeterminate pronoun is decreasing. In this sense, I think that we cannot establish formal comparisons between VOCÊ+TER and TER+SE in BP, given that only the former can be considered a truly grammatical expression in this language.

The reviewer also present cases with TER + indeterminate SE in European Portuguese (EP), where the indeterminate SE is largely used, in contrast with BP. At a first glance, the TER sentences with *você* in (1) could correspond to the EP sentences with TER + indeterminate SE. This fact would pose a problem for my analysis: given that EP does not accept *ter* as an existential verb, we would be forced into characterizing the cases with VOCÊ+TER as instances of possessive, and not existential sentences.

However TER + indeterminate SE in EP is not used in the same contexts as VOCÊ+TER in BP. The contexts exemplified in (ii)-(iii) below, for example, reject the indeterminate SE in EP, but licenses VOCÊ in BP. The unacceptability of these cases in EP is probably due to the fact that it is pragmatically strange that planets or the bigger river of the world have an indeterminate owner; in other words, this sentences cannot be interpreted as possessive because of pragmatic restrictions that prohibit the insertion of an indeterminate possessor indicate by SE. In contrast, the use of *você* in these contexts is acceptable in BP because Brazilian speakers do not interpret these sentences as possessive, but as existential constructions. In this sense, there is no possessive relation between the indeterminate content of *você* and the complement of *ter*. I think this contrast is sufficient to assume that the BP instances presented in (1) are existential, and not possessive.

(ii) a. **Tem-se oito planetas no sistema solar* (EP)
have-SE eight planets in-the system solar
Lit.: 'One has eight planets in Solar System.'

b. *Você tem oito planetas no sistema solar* (BP)
you exist eight planets in-the system solar
'There are eight planets in Solar System.'

(iii) a. **Tem-se o maior rio do mundo no Brasil* (EP)
have-SE the bigger river of-the world in-the Brazil
Lit.: 'One has the bigger river of the world in Brazil.'

b. *Você tem o maior rio do mundo no Brasil* (BP)
you have the bigger river of-the world in-the Brazil
Lit.: 'There is the bigger river of world in Brazil.'

section 4 highlights pieces of evidence for the structural link between *você* and a locative phrase; in section 5, the present analysis is associated with Kayne's (2006a,b) view on categories commonly characterized as expletives; the paper is concluded in section 6.

2. *Arguments against* você *as an expletive*

The fact that the supposed expletive can bind null subjects in coordinated sentences is one of the points that cannot be clearly explained within the view that *você* is an expletive. For example, in (6) to follow, the verb *recorrer* 'to resort' in the coordinated sentence requires an agentive subject with a generic interpretation. In this sentence, the agentive subject is an empty category *ec* bound by the pronoun in the subject position of the preceding existential clause. The sentence is unacceptable if *você* is not realized in the existential, presumably because there will be no element to bind the null subject. Considering this fact, it is strange that an expletive can bind an element in need of a thematic role.

(6) **(Você$_i$) tinha   poucos   computadores na   década de sessenta*
     you   existed few   computers   in-the   decade of sixty
     e   por isso ec$_i$ recorria   a formas mais   rudimentares
     and   by   this   resorted   to ways   more   rudimentary
     para armazenar dados
     to   store   data
     'There were few computers in the sixties, and because of this people resorted
       to more rudimentary ways of storing data.'

The idea that *você* has emerged as an expletive because of morphological innovations in the BP inflectional paradigm is another problematic point. As BP has lost typical properties of null subject languages due to the impoverishment of its inflectional paradigm, Duarte (1999) and Callou & Avelar (2001) argue for the existence of a possible link between the emergence of an existential expletive and the loss of a rigidly pro-drop condition .[6] However, there are pro-drop languages that present expletives in existential clauses. In Italian, for example, the item *ci* is realized in existential sentences, as exemplified in (7) below. If *ci* functions as *there* in English existential sentences, occurring as expletives in the terms proposed in Burzio (1986),[7] then there can be no relation between being or not being a pro-drop grammar and rejecting or not rejecting expletives. In other words, if the non-pro-drop status were a precondition for expletives, Italian would not present this type of category.

(7) *C'e   un libro sul   tavolo*
     there-is a book on-the   table
     'There is a book on the table.'

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[6] For BP innovations in inflectional paradigms, see Duarte (1995), Galves (1996), Figueiredo Silva (1996), Ferreira (2000), Kato (2000), Kato, Duarte and Barbosa (2005), Rodrigues (2002).
[7] Kayne (2006) proposes that categories like *ci* and *there* are not real expletives (see section 5).

Another fact without a clear explanation is the impossibility of inserting *você* in sentences with *haver* 'to exist', which is concurrent with *ter* in BP existential clauses. Given that *haver* is also impersonal, it would be expected that sentences with this verb could license an expletive. Contrary to expectations, sentences like (8) to follow show that *você* is not licensed in *haver* existential clauses.

(8) *(*Você) há   muitos   castelos na   Europa*
     you   exist many   castles in-the   Europe
     'There are many castles in Europe.'

As we can see, there are facts that cannot be satisfactorily explained within the view that *você* is an expletive. Taking these into account, I will propose that there is no difference between the version of *você* in the possessive *ter* sentence in (9) and the version in the existential *ter* sentence in (10). In (9), the sentence shows an indeterminate possessor expressed by *você*. The same *ter* sentence is realized in (10), but in a context that receives an existential interpretation; in this context, *você* cannot be interpreted as a possessor, but its indeterminate interpretation is maintained.   In the next sections, I will argue for the idea that the crucial difference between the sentences in (9) and (10) has to do with the locus in which *você* is inserted: particularly in the existential version, the pronoun is initially merged in a point without relation with the thematic interpretation of possessor provided by *ter*. I will identify this point as a locus within the domain of a locative phrase that is part of the existential coda.

(9) <u>*Se você tem   castelos na   Europa*</u>, *então   é porque você é rico*
     if you has   castles in-the   Europe, then   is why   you is rich
     'If one has castles in Europe, then it is because this one is rich.'

(10) <u>*Se você tem   castelos na   Europa*</u>, *é porque os   europeus*
     If you exist castles in-the   Europe, is because the   Europeans
     se   interessam por   preservar sua   história
     self   interests   by   preserving their   history
     'If there are castles in Europe, it is because the Europeans are interested in preserving their history'

3. *Theoretical pressupositions*

3.1 *Existential coda with locative PP in Brazilian Portuguese*
I will explore two assumptions from the previous analysis for *ter* existential sentences in BP. First, following Viotti (1999), I will assume that the existential *ter* takes a DP/NumP as complement, as represented in (11) below; second, adopting Avelar (2004), I will consider that this DP is structured in the following way: the complement of D/NumP is an XP, and the complement of X is a PredP. Pred can be any category that functions as a predicative head within the existential coda (adjectives, verbs, prepositions, adverbials).

(11)   [$_{VP}$ ter [$_{DP/NumP}$ D^0/Num^0 [$_{XP}$ X^0 [$_{PredP}$ Pred^0]]]]

The exact nature of X is not a crucial point for the aims of this paper, but I will assume that XP is capable of supporting a noun in its specifier, following Avelar (2004). Thus, the structure of the existential sentence exemplified in (a) to follow must be represented as in (b): the complement of *ter* is the DP *muitos castelos* 'many castles', with PredP corresponding to the locative PP *na Europa* 'in Europe'. Henceforth, phrases headed by locative prepositions will be called LocP.

(12) a. *Tem muitos   castelos na   Europa.*
           exist many   castles   in-the   Europe
       b. tem [$_{NumP}$ muitos [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ castelos] [$_{X'}$ X^0 [$_{LocP}$ na Europa]]]

The derivational steps to generate an existential sentence with *você* are given in (13) and (14) to follow. The pronoun is initially merged into [Spec,LocP], as indicated in (13). Considering that [Spec,LocP] is a Caseless position, *você* moves to [Spec,TP], as represented in (14), in order to satisfy formal requirements related with Case and T's EPP feature.

(13) [$_{NumP}$ muitos [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ castelos] [$_{X'}$ X^0 [$_{LocP}$ ***você*** [$_{Loc'}$ na Europa]]]

(14) [$_{TP}$ ***você****$_i$* [$_{T'}$ tem ... [$_{NumP}$ muitos [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ castelos] [$_{X'}$ X^0 [$_{LocP}$ t$_i$ na Europa]]]

3.2 *Structural correlations between possession and existence*

I also adopt the proposal I have developed in Avelar (2004) for structural correlations between possessive and existential sentences with *ter*. Following the non-lexicalist view from the Distributed Morphology framework (Halle & Marantz 1993), I explore the hypothesis that there is a derivational link between possessive and copular verbs (Lyons 1967, Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993), as indicated in the equation in (15) to follow: the possessive verb *ter* is formed from features corresponding to the copular item *estar* 'to be', amalgamated with features corresponding to the preposition *com* 'with'.

(15) TER = ESTAR + COM
        have   be   with

This idea is sustained by the existence of two types of possessive construction in Portuguese, exemplified in (16): in (a), the possession is expressed by the phrasal verb *estar com* (literally *to be with*); in (b), the possessive expression presents the verb *ter*.[8]

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[8] The difference between *estar com* and *ter* can be characterized in aspectual terms: in (16a), for instance, the relation between *Pedro* and *money* must be taken as a transitory or recently acquired possession, expressing that *Pedro has money now, at this moment*; in (16b), by contrast, the relation between *Pedro* and *money* is normally taken as a more permanent or enduring possession. In other words, (16b) is easily interpreted as *Pedro is rich*, but not (16a).

(16) a. *O   Pedro   está com dinheiro*
      the   Pedro   is   with money
      'Pedro has money.'
   b. *O   Pedro   tem   dinheiro*
      the   Pedro   has   money
      'Pedro has money.'

The structures in (17) to follow show the configurations for both *ter* and *estar com* possession: in (a), the copula and the prepositional features are not combined, which results in V and P being fed by the phonological matrix respectively of *estar* and *com*; in (b), the prepositional features are moved to V, and the phonological matrix of *ter* is inserted in the node containing P+V.

(17) a.
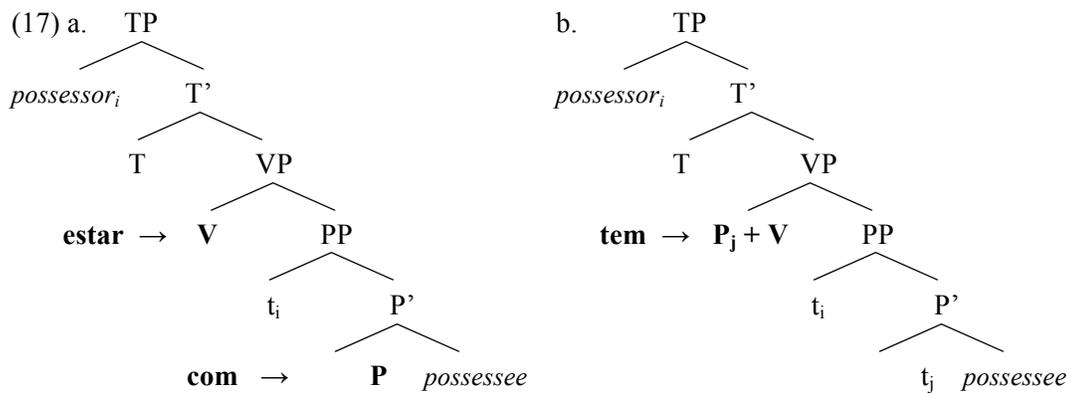
In Avelar (2008), this is the starting-point for my argument that the combination of a copular verb and a preposition also occurs in the existential version of *ter*. As exemplified in (18) to follow, BP presents impersonal clauses with *estar com* (cf. (a)) that are semantically parallel to *ter* existential sentences (cf. (b)).[9] This fact suggests to us that, in existential contexts, *ter* is also obtained from *estar com* features. If this idea is correct, the existential structure presented in (11) must be reanalyzed as the one in (19), which combines the configuration assumed in 3.1 with the preposition layer I am assuming for *ter* possessive sentences in this section.

(18) a. *Tava com um   engarrafamento enorme no   centro*
      was with   a   traffic jam   big   in-the   center
      'There was a big traffic jam in downtown.'

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[9]As observed in possessive expressions, *estar com* in these contexts also involves a transitory condition: the DP *um engarrafamento enorme* '*a big traffic jam*' in (18) is necessarily interpreted as a temporary episode in the sentence with *estar com*, but not with *ter*. Interestingly, impersonal sentences with *estar com* are pragmatically unacceptable if their content reports an enduring or permanent condition, as in the sentence exemplified below. The (i) sentence would be acceptable only if Brazil has recently acquired beaches, which corresponds to a pragmatically strange context.

(i) *Tem   / # Tá com   muitas praias   no   Brasil*
   exist /   is with   many beaches   in-the Brazil
   'There are many beaches in Brazil.'

b. *Tinha*   *um*   *engarrafamento enorme no*   *centro*
   existed a   traffic jam   big   in-the   center
   'There was a big traffic jam in downtown' or
   'There were big traffic jams in downtown'

(19) [$_{VP}$ estar+com$_j$ [$_{PP}$ t$_j$ [$_{DP/NumP}$ D^0/Num^0 [$_{XP}$ X^0 [$_{PredP}$ Pred^0]]]]

ter

From this perspective, the difference between possessive and existential structures with *ter* is that, in the former, a DP/NP must be initially merged as the specifier of the abstract preposition in order to receive the interpretation of possessor, whereas in the latter there is no element to be interpreted as possessor. Concerning the use of the indeterminate *você*, the locus of insertion depends on whether the sentence receives a possessive or existential interpretation. If possessive, the pronoun is inserted in the domain of the abstract preposition, where it receives the semantic interpretation associated with the notion of *possessor*; if existential, the pronoun is inserted in LocP, where it is interpreted as the indeterminate subject of the locative predication. Thus, the *ter* sentence with *você* in (9)-(10), repeated in (20) below, presents one of the two structures in (21), depending on whether the clause is possessive or existential.

(20) *Se você tem*   *castelos na*   *Europa, ...*
      if you   has/exist   castles   in-the   Europe
      'If you has castles in Europe…' or 'If there are castles in Europe…'

(21) a. POSSESSIVE STRUCTURE
      [$_{TP}$ você$_i$ [$_{T'}$ T^0 [$_{VP}$ V^0+P^0_j=TER [$_{PP}$ t$_i$ t$_j$ [$_{DP}$ castelos na Europa]]]]]

      b. EXISTENTIAL STRUCTURE
      [$_{TP}$ você$_i$ [$_{T'}$ T^0 [$_{VP}$ V^0+P^0_j=TER [$_{PP}$ t$_j$ [$_{DP}$ castelos ... [$_{LocP}$ t$_i$ na Europa]]]]]]

4. *Pieces of evidence*

A piece of evidence for the present analysis comes from raising constructions, exemplified in (22)-(23) below. Note that *você* cannot appear in the subject position if LocP is realized between the raising verb and *ter*, as shown in (a), unless the sentence receives a possessive interpretation. In contrast, if the locative is realized immediately adjacent to the raised pronoun, as in (b), the sentence is acceptable.[10]

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[10] The reviewer of this paper points out that it is important to verify the possible existence of differences in intonation contour and in the interpretability of the sentences used as evidence in (22)-(23). Although I have not done systematic tests to verify these aspects at this point, I think that alterations in contour patterns can affect the (un)grammaticality of some of these sentences. For example, a strong pause in the limits of the locative phrase, providing it with the typical contour of contrastive focus, can rescue the sentence in (22a) from ungrammaticality, as expressed in (i) to follow. This matter certainly deserves a detailed discussion that cannot be developed within the limits of this paper.

(22) a. * _Você parece lá_ / _na Europa_ ter muitos castelos
     you seem there / in-the Europe exist many castles
     'There seems to be many castles in Europe'

    b. _Você lá_ / _na Europa_ parece ter muitos castelos
     you there / in-the Europe seem exist many castles
     'There seems to be many castles in Europe'

(23) a. * _Você parece aqui_ / _na biblioteca_ ter livros bons
     you seem here / in-the library exist books good
     'There seems to be good books in the library'

    b. _Você aqui_ / _na biblioteca_ parece ter livros bons
     you here in-the library seem exist books good
     'There seems to be good books in the library'

The above facts can be straightforwardly explained if the pronoun and the locative phrase are part of the same constituent in some point of the derivation. The representation of (22a), for example, can be sketched as in (24) to follow: the entire locative phrase _você na Europa_ 'you in the Europe' is moved from within the post-verbal DP to the [Spec,TP] of the embedded _ter_ sentence, and then _você_ moves to the main [Spec,TP], leaving the locative phrase behind. The resultant structure is ill-formed because the pronoun is extracted from a phrase in subject position, which is an island context.

(24) * [$_{TP}$ você$_i$ parece [$_{TP}$ [$_{LocP}$ t$_i$ lá / na Europa]$_i$ [$_{T'}$ter ... [$_{DP}$ muitos castelos t$_i$]]

By contrast, the well-formed construction in (22b) shows the raising of the entire LocP (including _você_) to the subject position of the main clause, as indicated in (25).

(25) [$_{TP}$ [$_{LocP}$ você na Europa]$_i$ parece [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ [$_{T'}$ ter ... [$_{DP}$ muitos castelos t$_i$]]

This approach can shed light on the behavior of _ter_ sentences that can be considered false possessive constructions. The sentence in (26) to follow, for example, can receive at least two interpretations – one is truly possessive, with the DP _o João_ in subject position being interpreted as the possessor of _uma escola_ 'a school', the complement of _ter_; the other is not truly possessive, given that _João_ is not interpreted as the owner of a school, but as someone who establishes some relation with the street indicated in the locative phrase. The false possessive can be paraphrased, for example, by the existential construction in (27).

(i) _Você parece, LÁ / NA EUROPA, ter muitos castelos_
    you seems there / in-the Europe exist many castles
    'It is there / in Europe that there are many castles.'

(26) *O   João tem   uma escola   no   final   da   rua*
       the   João has   a   school in-the   end   of-the   street
       'João is owner of a school situated in the end of the street.'

(27) *Tem uma escola   no   final   da   rua   em   que   João mora*
       exist a   school in-the   end   of-the   street in   which   João lives
       'There is a school in the end of the street in which John lives.'

If the *ter* sentence in (26) is realized in a raising construction, the false possessive interpretation is not attained when the locative occurs between the raising and the existential verb, as in (28a); in contrast, the relevant interpretation is attained if *João* and the locative PP are put together before the raising verb, as in (28b). This contrast indicates that the subject of false possessives is like the supposed expletive of existential sentences: it is within the locative PP that constituents like *João* in (26) receives their semantic role, in the same way that the indeterminate *você* must obtain its interpretation.[11]

(28) a. * *O   João parece no   final da   rua   ter   uma escola*
             the   João seems   in-the   final of-the   street have   a   scholl
         b. *O   João no   final da   rua   parece ter   uma escola*
             the   João in-the   final of-the   street seems   have   a   school
             'There is a school in the end of the street in which John lives'

Another fact revealing a link between the supposed expletive and the locative phrase has to do with the sentences in (29)-(30) below. The insertion of *você* is rejected if the existential clause expresses a fact simultaneous with its enunciation. I will designate these existential clauses as *simultaneous-with-the-fact*. For example, if the speaker enunciates the existential sentence in (29a) at the moment that the cockroach is seen by him, the pronoun is not licensed, although a locative phrase is realized in the construction. In contrast, if the existential sentence is not

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[11] If this view is on the right track, we have to assume that the Case feature of the pronoun can be valued/checked by the connection of the locative phrase to T. It is worth pointing out that the same situation is observed in other sentential patterns of BP, although there is no systematic approach for this matter in the literature on this language. The constructions presented in (i) are instances in which a DP structurally linked with an adverbial locative PP needs to interact with the φ-features of T. There are interesting facts, until now without a proper explanation, showing that the adverbial locative phrase and the subject DP are in a constituency relation in constructions as the one in (a) below. For example, in (b), the subject and the adverbial are cleft together, which shows that the DP and the PP are in a constituency relation. Taking these data into account, and without a satisfactory explanation for the moment, I am assuming that a DP in [Spec,PP] can have its Case feature checked/valued by an agreement relation with Infl/T.

(i) a. *O Pedro, na   casa da   Maria, comeu alguns docinhos*
          the Pedro at-the house of-the Maria ate   some   candy
          'Pedro ate some candy when he was at Maria's house.'
     b. *Foi   o Pedro, na   casa da   Maria, que   comeu alguns docinhos*
          was   the Pedro at-the house of-the Maria   that   ate   some   candy
          'It was Peter that ate some candy at Maria's house.'

simultaneous-with-the-fact, expressing a more general or recurrent situation (indicated by the use of *sempre* 'always' in (29b)), the pronoun is accepted.

(29) a. * *Você tem uma barata   no banheiro*   (simultaneous-with-the-fact)
          you exist a   cockroach in-the bathroom
          'There is a cockroach in the bathroom.'
     b. *Você sempre tem uma barata   no   banheiro*
          you always exist a   cockroach in-the bathroom
          'There is always a cockroach in the bathroom.'

(30) a. **Você   tem um carro buzinando lá   na rua* (simultaneous-with-the-fact)
          you   exist a car   honking   there in-the street
          'There is a car honking in the street.'
     b. *Toda noite você tem um   carro buzinando lá   na   rua*
          every night you has a   car   honking   there in-the street
          'Every night there is a car honking in the street.'

The locative phrase presents a behavior similar to *você*: it can be realized as a nominal in subject position only if the existential clause does not correspond to a simultaneous-with-the-fact enunciation, as shown in (31)-(32) below. In (31), for example, the DP *o banheiro* 'the bathroom' cannot appear in subject position (with *ter* being interpreted as possessive) if the sentence is simultaneous-with-the-fact, but the same DP can be realized as a subject in a sentence whose enunciation indicates a generic or recurrent situation.

(31) a. * *O banheiro   tem   uma   barata*   (simultaneous-with-the-fact)
          the bathroom   has   a   cockroach
          'There is a cockroach in the bathroom.'
     b. *O   banheiro sempre tem uma barata*
          the bathroom always has a   cockroach
          'There is always a cockroach in the bathroom.'

(32) a. * *A   rua   tem um   carro buzinando* (simultaneous-with-the-fact)
            the   street has a   car   honking
          'There is a car honking in the street.'
     b. *Toda noite a   rua   tem um   carro buzinando*
          every night the   street has a   car   honking
          'Every night there is a car honking in the street.'

These contrasts show that the indeterminate *você* is only licensed if a locative constituent can also appear in subject position. For the moment, I do not have a formal explanation to characterize this generalization properly, but I will take it as a sign of a structural relation established between the locative phrase and the pronoun. In other words, the merger of *você* with the locative creates a link that determines the relevant contrasts between simultaneous and non-simultaneous-with-the-fact existential sentences.

The rejection of *você* in existential sentences with *haver*, as shown in (33) to follow, provides us another piece of evidence for the present approach. As commented on in section 2, this rejection is unexpected within the view that *você* is an expletive, given that, because of the impersonal character, *haver* existential sentences should accept a semantically empty category in subject position.

(33) *(* você) há   castelos na   Europa*
         you   exist castles in-the   Europe
      'There are many castles in Europe.'

The configuration assumed for the existential coda in 3.2 can explain why *você* is rejected in *haver* sentences. In Avelar (2006), I show that the specifier of the prepositional layer headed by the *com* features is an escape-hatch position. This implies that, in *ter* sentences, *você* has to stop in this position along of its movement from [Spec,LocP] to [Spec,TP], as in (34) to follow.

(34) $[_{TP}$ você$_i$ ... $[_{VP}$ V^0+P^0_j=TER $[_{PP}$ t$_i$ $[_{P'}$ t$_j$ $[_{DP}$ castelos $[$ t$_i$ na Europa $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

In Avelar (2008), I argue for the idea that the presence of a prepositional layer in *ter* existential sentences results from the possessive status of *ter*. In these terms, the preposition must be absent in *haver* existential sentences because *haver* is not a possessive verb in Portuguese. Consequently, there can be no escape-hatch position in *haver* structures, which explains the impossibility of inserting *você* in existential sentences with this verb.

Related to this topic, there are sentential patterns in which the preposition *com* is required in order to allow a constituent with locative interpretation to occur in subject position. In (35) to follow, for example, the sentence in (a) has an inverted subject – the postverbal DP *um monte de papel* 'a lot of paper', and a locative phrase in final position – the PP *em cima da mesa* 'on the table'; (b) reveals that the internal content of the locative phrase – the DP *a mesa* 'the table' – can occur in subject position if the preposition *com* is inserted immediately after the verb. The need of *com* in (b) can be straightforwardly explained if this preposition provides an escape-hatch position to the locative constituent when it moves from the locative PP to TP, as represented in (c). I am taking into consideration that, as in the existential coda, LocP is also within the post-verbal DP when the preposition *com* is realized.

(35) a. *Ficou   um   livro   em   cima da   mesa*
             remained   a   book   on   top   of-the   table
          'A book remained on the table.'
       b. *A   mesa$_i$ ficou   *(com)   um   livro   em   cima ec$_i$*
             the   table remained-PL   with   a   book   on   top
          'The table ended up with a book on it.'
       c. $[_{TP}$ $[_{DP}$ a mesa$]_i$ $[_{T'}$ ficou ... $[_{PP}$ t$_i$ $[_{P'}$ com $[_{DP}$ um livro $[_{LocP}$ em cima t$_i$ $]]]]]]$

In fact, (pro)nominal categories in general can also occur in the subject position of sentences like above if *com* is present. In (36a) below, *você* (with referential or

indeterminate interpretation) is realized in subject position, and *com* must appear to guarantee that the sentence is well-formed; in (36b), *você* and LocP appears together in preverbal position; in (36c), the sentence is degraded because LocP appears dislocated, but not adjacent to *você* in subject position. This paradigm indicates a structural relation identical to the one I am assuming for *ter* existential clauses, revealing us a derivational dynamic that is not reserved for *ter* sentences, but extends to a larger set of constructions in BP.

(36) a. *Você vai   ficar   *(com) um   monte   de papel*
         you   go   remain with   a   lot   of paper
         em   cima da   sua   mesa
         on   top of-the your table
     b. *Você em   cima da   sua mesa vai   ficar*
         you   on   top of-the your table go   remain
         (com) um   monte   de papel
         with   a   lot   of paper
     c. *Você   vai ficar   em   cima da   sua   mesa*
         you   go   remain on   top of-the your table
         (com) um   monte   de papel
         with   a   lot   of paper
     'You will have a lot of paper on your table.' or
     'There will be a lot of paper on your table.'

5. *Possibly false expletives in other languages*

The relevant properties involving *você* in BP existential clauses reinforce Kayne's (2006) view concerning the nature of existential expletives in languages like English, French and Italian. According to Kayne, the version of *there* in English existential clauses is not a true expletive. The same idea includes the categories *il* and *y* in French, italicized in (37), and *ci* in Italian, italicized in (38).

(37) ***Il y***   *a   un   livre sur la   table*
     it there has   a   book on   the   table
     'There is a book on the table.'
(38) ***C'e***   *un libro sul   tavolo*
     there-is a   book on-the   table
     'There is a book on the table.'

Taking English facts into account, Kayne argues for the idea that the expletive *there* is in fact a deictic originating within the so-called associate. In his analysis, the existential in (39) to follow must be derived by the steps in (40). *There* and *a book* are initially within the same phrase. The constituent *a book* is raised along the derivation, which is followed by a remnant movement of the whole nominal constituent containing the deictic and the trace of *a book*.

(39) There is a book on the table.

(40)   ... [there a book] ...   →   raising of 'a book'
       ... a book$_i$ ... [there t$_i$] ...   →   merger of V
       ... is a book$_i$ ... [there t$_i$] ...   →   remnant movement
       ... [there t$_i$]$_j$ is a book ... t$_j$ ...

The status of *você* I have suggested is similar to the one proposed by Kayne for supposed expletives in other languages, in the sense that *você* does not correspond to a semantically empty pronoun directly merged in [Spec,TP]. However, there is a specific difference: *você* is part of the locative phrase within the existential coda, and not of the post-verbal DP traditionally considered as *associate*. This difference implies that the real associate in BP is not the post-verbal DP, but the locative phrase within the existential coda. This view can help us, in future research, to understand the parallelism between *você* and locative constituents shown in the previous section (see (29)-(32)).

6. Conclusion

I have shown that the properties of *você* exhibited in existential clauses are incompatible with some expletive characteristics. The analysis I have provided assumes that *você* is an indeterminate pronoun initially merged into a locative PP, where it is thematically marked. This approach allows a proper explanation as to (a) why the insertion of the pronoun does not conflict with the impersonal character of the existential clause, (b) why the pronoun cannot be realized if there is no locative phrase in the existential sentence, and (c) why there are constituency effects involving *você* and locative phrases.

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