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. 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.

(1) a. (Você) tem muitos castelos na Europa
‘There are many castles in Europe.’

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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. *(Vocé) 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.4

(2) *Vocé 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)  

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 de casa velha*
   the children believe that you exist ghost within 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. *Vocé 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. *Vocé 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) tinha poucos computadores na década de sessenta
you existed few computers in-the decade of sixty
e por isso ec₁ 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. 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), 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’è un libro sul tavolo
there-is a book on-the table
‘There is a book on the table.’

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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) hâ 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) Se você tem castelos na Europa, 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) Se você tem castelos na Europa, 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 presuppositions

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).
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: X0 [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.


(14) [TP você [T tem ... [NumP muitos [XP [NP castelos ] [X: X0 [LocP t₁ 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

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.

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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).
The status of the (supposed) expletive

(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. TP
    possessor, T'
    T
    VP
    estar → V PP
    ti P' com → P possesee

b. TP
    possessor, T'
    T
    VP
    tem → P_j + V PP
    ti P' t_j possessee

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*  
‘There was a big traffic jam in downtown’ or  
‘There were big traffic jams in downtown’

\[
(19) \quad \text{[VP estar+comj [PP tj [DP/NumP D^0/Num^0 [XP X^0 [PredP Pred^0 ]]]]]}
\]

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.

\[
(20) \quad \text{Se você tem castelos na Europa, ...}
\]

\[\text{if you has/exist castles in-the Europe}
\]

‘If you has castles in Europe…’ or ‘If there are castles in Europe…’

\[
(21) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a. POSSESSIVE STRUCTURE} \\
\quad &\quad \text{[TP vocêi [T-T^0 [VP V^0+P^0]j=TER [PP tj [DP castelos na Europa ]]]]]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. EXISTENTIAL STRUCTURE} \\
\quad &\quad \text{[TP vocêi [T-T^0 [VP V^0+P^0]j=TER [PP tj [DP castelos ... [LocP tj na Europa ]]]]]}
\end{align*}
\]

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.\(^{10}\)

\[^{10}\text{The reviewer of this paper points out that it is important to verify the possible existence of differences in intonation contour and in the interpretability of the sentences used as evidence in (22)-(23). Although I have not done systematic tests to verify these aspects at this point, I think that alterations in contour patterns can affect the (un)grammaticality of some of these sentences. For example, a strong pause in the limits of the locative phrase, providing it with the typical contour of contrastive focus, can rescue the sentence in (22a) from ungrammaticality, as expressed in (i) to follow. This matter certainly deserves a detailed discussion that cannot be developed within the limits of this paper.}\]
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, parece [TP [LocP t lá / na Europa t_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], 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.’
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) receive their semantic role, in the same way that the indeterminate *você* must obtain its interpretation.\footnote{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 $\phi$-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 feature 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 vocêi ... [VP V0+P0=TER [PP t; [Pj [DP castelos [ t 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 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 ficou *(com) um livro em cima ec
the table remained PL with a book on top
‘The table ended up with a book on it.’

c. [TP [DP a mesa], [T ficou ... [PP t; [P com [DP um livro [LocP em cima t; ]]]]]]

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. Vêo 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. Vêo 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. *Vêo 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’è 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.
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.

References


THE STATUS OF THE (SUPPOSED) EXPLETIVE

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