THE COMITATIVE-COPULAR BASIS OF POSSESSIVE-EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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This paper shows that some properties of possessive and existential sentences in Brazilian Portuguese can be properly explained if the possessive-existential verb *ter* 'have' is derived by the combination of the features associated *with* estar 'be' and the features corresponding to the comitative preposition *com* 'with'. I will concentrate on the following facts: (i) the thematic parallelism between *ter-* and *estar com*-clauses in possessive and existential domains; (ii) the restrict interpretation of null possessors in *ter*-constructions; and (iii) the emergence of *ter* as an existential verb in Brazilian Portuguese, but not in European Portuguese.

1. INTRODUCTION[*]

A very influential idea concerning the syntax of possession posits that an inherently possessive verb such as *have* in English or *avoir* in French is obtained through the fusion of a copular verb and an adpositional category (see Lyons, 1967; Bach, 1967; Freeze, 1992; Kayne, 1993; Belvin & den Dikken, 1997; Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau, 1998; Ouhalla, 2000; Torrego, 2002; Avelar, 2004; Levinson, 2004; and Reintges & Lipták, 2006, among others). Kayne (1993), for example, suggests that in the generation of the possessive sentence in (1a) below, an abstract copular verb BE takes a "possessive" DP as complement, as represented in (1b). Kayne's approach includes the combination of D and BE among the procedures necessary to derive the sentence, with the D+BE complex spelled out as the possessive *have*, as shown in (1c).

(1) a. John has a sister.
     b. BE [$_{DP}$ D^0 [$_{AgrP}$ John [$_{Agr'}$ Agr^0 [$_{DP}$ a sister]]]]
     c. John$_i$ ... [BE+D^0_j] = HAS ... [$_{DP}$ t$_i$ D^0 [$_{AgrP}$ t$_i$ [$_{Agr'}$ Agr^0 [$_{DP}$ a sister]]]]

   A relevant fact corroborating the link between copular and possessive expressions derives from languages in which the possessive verb overtly corresponds to a morphological amalgam involving a copular verb and an adposition. In Kamaiura and Coptic Egyptian sentences presented in (2)-(3) below, for example, the possessive

verb (*ereko* and *wɘnte*, respectively) morphologically exhibits the combination of a copular item and a comitative adposition.

(2)   Kamaiura (Seki, 2000: 304)
      je-r   -a'yr-a   w- **ereko**   ywyrapar-a.
      1SG-LINK son   3-be+with (=have) bow
      'My son has a bow.'

(3)   Coptic Egyptian (Reintges & Lipták, 2006: 111)
      ne-   **wɘnte**   p-ɘrro   salpigks   sɘnte
      PRET-   be+with (=have) DEF.M.SG-king trumpet   two
      ɘn-nuβ   ɘn-tšatšɘh.
      LINK-gold   LINK-refined
      'The King had two trumpets of refined gold.'

Concentrating on data derived from Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP) data, I will show that some properties of possessive and existential sentences in this language, exemplified in (4) below, can be properly explained if the possessive verb *ter* 'to have', also used in existential constructions, is treated as an element resulting from the fusion of features corresponding to the copula *estar* 'to be' and an abstract preposition.[1,2]

(4)   a. O   professor   tem   muitos   livros.
         the   professor   has   many   books
         'The teacher has many books.'
      b. Tem muitos   livros   na   biblioteca.
         has many   books   in-the   library
         'There are many books in the library.'

I will assume the general framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2001) from a non-lexicalist perspective, following the Late Insertion Hypothesis of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993, 1994). From this non-lexicalist perspective, there is no phonological matrix for *ter* along the syntactic computation, given that this item corresponds to a functional item (Embick & Noyer, 2001): it is only during vocabulary insertion in the PF branch that the phonological matrix of *ter* is inserted in the terminal node containing copular abstract features, in a way that I will clarify in the following sections.

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[1] See Avelar (forthcoming[a]) for a diachronic view on the emergence of the possessive verb *ter* in Brazilian Portuguese existential clauses.

[2] In European Portuguese, *ter* cannot be used in existential clauses, but only *haver* 'to exist', as in (i).

(i) **Há**   muitos   castelos   na   Europa.
    exist many   castles   in-the Europe
    'There are many castles in Europe'

There are a considerable number of studies that seek to describe the variation involving *ter* and *haver* in BP existential environments (see Callou & Avelar 2002, 2003; Eleutério, 2003; Leite & Callou, 2002; and Silva, 2004, among others), and all of them confirm that *ter* is much more frequent in spoken BP than *haver*. As pointed out in Avelar (2006a), *haver* is largely preferred in formal written language, but its frequency is extremely low in spontaneous spoken language, even among people with a high level of schooling.

This chapter is divided as follows. In section 2, I present a pattern of possessive structures in Portuguese constructed with the copula *estar* and the preposition *com* 'with', suggesting that it is derivationally linked to the pattern with *ter*. In section 3, I discuss a contrasting property of *ter*-constructions that can be associated with the presence of an abstract comitative category in its internal composition. In section 4, I show how the assumption that the possessive *ter* has a copular nature can explain its reanalysis as an existential verb in BP. In section 5, I consider some properties of *ter*-sentences that indicate the presence of a comitative preposition layer in existential structures with this verb. Finally, Section 6 concludes the chapter.
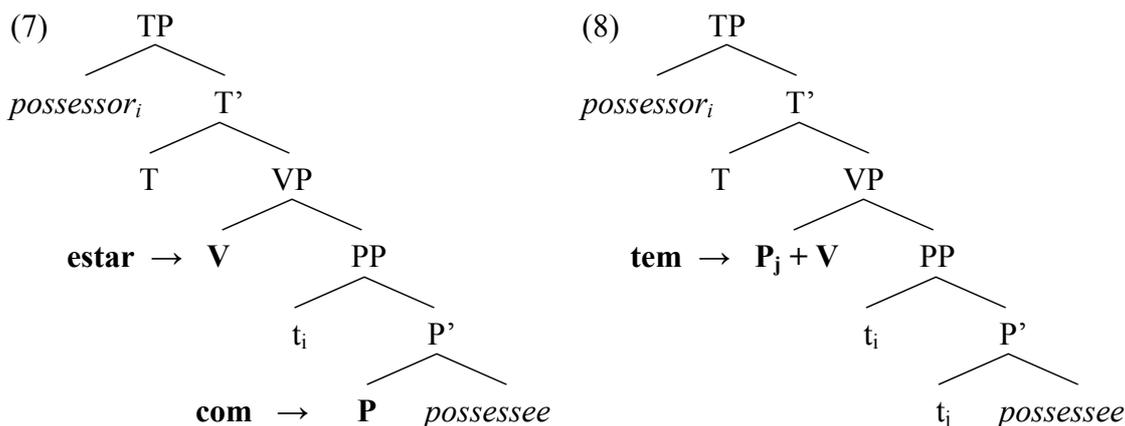
2. THE COPULAR BASIS OF POSSESSIVE SENTENCES

The basic premise behind the idea that there is a derivational link between *ter* and *estar* sentences comes from the existence of two types of possessive constructions in Portuguese, exemplified in (5) and (6). In (5a) and (6a), possession is expressed by the phrasal verb *estar com* (literally *to be with*); in (5b) and (6b), we have the pattern realized with *ter* (see Freeze, 1992 and Avelar, 2004).

(5) 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.'

(6) a. As   crianças   estavam com dificuldades   em   matemática.
        the   children   were with   difficulties   in   mathematics
        'The children had difficulties with mathematics.'
     b. As crianças   tinham   dificuldades   em   matemática.
        the children   had   difficulties   in   mathematics
        'The children had difficulties with mathematics.'

The semantic difference between *estar com* and *ter* can be characterized in aspectual terms: in (5a), for example, the relation between *Pedro* and *money* must be interpreted as a transitory or recently acquired possession, expressing the idea that Pedro has money now, at this moment. In (5b), by contrast, the relation between *Pedro* and *money* is normally taken as a more permanent or enduring possession. In other words, (5b) – but not (5a) – is easily interpreted as meaning that Pedro is rich.

Following Avelar (2004), I will explore the configurations in (7) and (8) below for both *estar com* and *ter* possessive constructions: in (7), the copula and the features of the preposition are not combined, which results in V and P receiving the phonological matrix of *estar* and *com*, respectively; in (8), the prepositional head moves to V, and the phonological matrix of *ter* is inserted in the node containing the P+V amalgam. In both cases, the element interpreted as *possessor* is inserted in [Spec,PP] and is then moved to [Spec,TP] in order to satisfy grammatical requirements (say, agreement and EPP). The aspectual difference between *ter* and *estar com* can be formally taken to result from the movement of P to V, with effects on the conceptual-intentional interface.

(7)
```
            TP
          /    \
possessor_i    T'
              /   \
             T     VP
                  /   \
estar →  V              PP
                      /    \
                     t_i    P'
                           /   \
            com →  P        possessee
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(8)
```
            TP
          /    \
possessor_i    T'
              /   \
             T     VP
                  /    \
tem →  P_j + V          PP
                      /    \
                     t_i    P'
                           /   \
                          t_j    possessee
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In these terms, the derivational steps which generate the possessive constructions in (5), for instance, are given in (9): the position initially occupied by the possessor and the possessee, respectively *Pedro* and *dinheiro* 'money', are the same in both *ter* and *estar com* structures; the only difference is the movement of P to V in (9b), whose result is spelled out as *ter*.

(9) a. $[_{TP}$ [o Pedro $]_i$ $[_{T'}$ T $[_{VP}$ V $[_{PP}$ t_i $[_{P'}$ P dinheiro]]]]]

         estar   com

    b. $[_{TP}$ [o Pedro$]_i$ $[_{T'}$ T $[_{VP}$ + [V+P_j] $[_{PP}$ t_i $[_{P'}$ t_j dinheiro]]]]]

            ter

Note that the architecture presented in (7)-(8) is different from the one presented in (1), suggested by Kayne (1993) for English possessive sentences. According to Kayne's approach, the complement of BE corresponds to a DP, and not a PP. Here I will adopt Torrego (2002)'s hypothesis that in the derivation of possessive sentences, natural languages are not uniform with respect to the nature of the functional category heading the complement of the copula; consequently, the category to be combined with the copula is not the same among the different languages. For instance, Irish resorts to a PP headed by the locative preposition *ag* 'at' within which the possessor occurs as complement (cf. (10) below), whereas Icelandic uses the comitative preposition *með* 'with' (cf. (11) below), similar to the preposition *com* that appears in the Portuguese pattern of transitory possession. In contrast, the item essential to the possessive predication in Yonomana is a genitive Case marker (cf. (12)), and not a locative or comitative preposition.

(10) Irish (Harley, 2002; example (34c))
      Tá   an   peann   **ag** Maire.
      be   the   pen   at Mary
      'Mary has the pen.'

(11) Icelandic (Levinson, 2004)
      Maðurinn   **er með** skegg.
      man-the.NOM   is with beard.ACC
      'The man has a beard.'

(12)   Yonomana (Heine, 1997)

    kama   e   şama   k\-a   k\ reh.
    he   GEN   tapir   there:is   Q
    'Does he have a tapir?'
    Lit.: 'Does his tapir exist?'

    Another point to be highlighted is that the coexistence of two or more ways of expressing possession, with different aspectual effects, is very common in natural languages. In Toba, for example, the copular verb *weto* can combine with the locative adpositions *–ot* and *–asop*, as in (13) below, indicating permanent and transitory possession, respectively (Messineo, 2004). In Moroccan Arabic, a similar opposition is established by means of a definiteness mark on the complement of the possessive verb: (14a), in which the possessee *ktab* 'book' is interpreted as an indefinite phrase, corresponds to a true possession (Ouhalla, 2000); by contrast, the occurrence of the definite phrase *l-ktab* 'the book' in (14b) leads to the interpretation of transitory possession.

(13)   Toba (Messineo, 2004)

    a.)i Romualdo weto-?ot   ha-da   taGaki
       D Romualdo be-LOC   fem-D   pot
       'Romualdo has the pot.' (permanent possession)
    b. ayem weta-?asop   da pá
       pro1 be-LOC   D spade
       'I have the spade.' (transitory possession)

(14)   Moroccan Arabic (Ouhalla, 2000: 228)

    a. Nadia   'nd-ha   ktab.
       Nadia   with-3F.SG   book
       'Nadia has a book.'
    b. Nadia   'nd-ha   l-ktab.
       Nadia   with-3F.SG   the-book
       'Nadia has the book.'

    Given that the Portuguese possessive verb does not overtly reveal the combination of the copula and an adpositional element, in contrast with Coptic Egyptian and Kamaiura (see (2)-(3)), the key exercise throughout the next sections will be the presentation of non-morphological evidence to sustain the hypothesis regarding the comitative-copular nature of *ter*. In brief, I will show that some syntactic and semantic properties exhibited by possessive-existential domains in BP can be straightforwardly explained if we assume the existence of a prepositional layer and a copular layer in the underlying structure of *ter*-constructions.

3. EVIDENCE FOR THE PRESENCE OF *COM* WITHIN THE POSSESSIVE *TER*

The idea that there are invisible features of the preposition *com* within the structure of *ter*-constructions can account for a contrasting property of the possessive verb. Let us consider the sentences in (15) and (16) below. The meaning of the *ter*-construction in (15) presupposes that Pedro owns the wallet. Following Avelar (2004), this property

will be represented by an empty category *ec* necessarily coindexed to Pedro within the DP *a carteira* 'the wallet', as indicated in (15b). By contrast, this interpretation is not obligatory in sentences constructed with verbs like *ver* 'see', exemplified in (16).

(15) a. O   Pedro   tem   vários   documentos   da   Maria   na   carteira.
         the   Pedro   has   several documents   of-the Maria   in-the   wallet
         'Pedro has Maria's several documents in his wallet.'
     b. [o Pedro]$_i$ tem vários documentos da Maria n[a carteira *ec*$_{i/*j}$]

(16) a. O   Pedro   viu   vários   documentos   da   Maria   na   carteira.
         the   Pedro   saw   several documents   of-the   Maria   in-thewallet
         'Pedro saw Maria's several documents in his wallet.'
     b. [o Pedro]$_i$ viu vários documentos da Maria n[a carteira *ec*$_{i/j}$]

The same contrast is observed if we indicate the possessor of *carteira* within the adverbial locative phrase, but not the possessor of *documentos* 'documents', as in (17)-(18) below: in these constructions, the grammatical subject *Pedro* is necessarily the possessor of *documentos* in the sentence with *ter*, but not with *ver*.[3]

(17) a. O   Pedro   tem   vários   documentos   na   carteira da   Maria.
         the   Pedro   has   several documents   in-the   wallet   of-the   Maria
         'Pedro has several documents in Maria's wallet.'
     b. [o Pedro]$_i$ tem [vários documentos *ec*$_{i/*j}$] na carteira da Maria

(18) a. O   Pedro   viu   vários   documentos   na   carteira da   Maria.
         the   Pedro   saw   several documents   in-the   wallet   of-the   Maria
         'Pedro saw several documents in Maria's wallet.'
     b. [o Pedro]$_i$ viu [vários documentos *ec*$_{i/j}$] na carteira da Maria

Interestingly, sentences constructed with different verbs (including *estar* 'to be') exhibit the same property found in *ter*-constructions when they have a comitative phrase. In (19) below, for instance, the subject *Pedro* must be interpreted as the possessor of *carteira* 'wallet', which is within the comitative PP headed by *com*. This fact suggests that features of *com* are the responsible for this same property in *ter*-constructions.

(19) O   Pedro   dormiu / viajou   / chegou / veio / foi   roubado
     the   Pedro   slept   / traveled/ arrived / came / was   mugged
     com   vários documentos   da   Maria   na   carteira.
     with   several documents   of-the   Maria   in-the   wallet

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[3] At first glance, one could take this property of *ter*-constructions to be derived from its possessive status. That is, if the subject of *ter* needs to be interpreted as possessor, then there would be a phrase that could be interpreted as a possessee. However, this view is invalidated by sentences such as (i), where the subject *Pedro* can be interpreted as the controller of the situation in which Ana's several documents is in Maria's bag. This indicates that the contrasts between (15) and (16) and between (17) and (18) do not follow directly from a required possessive interpretation by *ter*.

(i) O Pedro tem/está com   vários   documentos   da   Ana   na   mochila da   Maria.
    the Pedro has/is with   several   documents   of-the   Ana   in-the bag   of-the Maria.
   Lit.: 'Pedro has Ana's several documents within Maria's bag.'

'Pedro slept / traveled / arrived / came / was mugged with several Maria's document in his wallet.'

Regarding this property triggered by *com*, Avelar (2006b) proposed that in certain non-verbal predicative domains, this preposition may correspond to the counterpart of a sentential complementizer. Concentrating on the cases in (20) below, we are then able to explore the idea that *com* takes a locative PP as complement, in the same way the sentential C takes a TP as complement. Observe that the DP preceding *com* must be interpreted in some position inside the locative domain. In (20a), for example, the DP *aquele armário* 'this closet' must correspond to the element interpreted as ground in the complement position of the adverbial preposition *dentro* 'within'; in (20b), the DP *aquele rapaz* 'that guy', interpreted as a possessor, corresponds to the adnominal modifier of *o carro* 'the car'. In this sense, we may assume that the syntactic relation between a DP and its *com*-phrase modifier is similar to the one established between a DP and the relative or interrogative clause in (21), in which the DP must be interpreted in some position within the CP domain.

(20) a. aquele armário$_i$ com várias calças (lá) dentro (dele$_{i/*j}$)
       this closet with several pants there inside of-it
       'this closet with several dirty pants in it.'
    b. o rapaz$_i$ com o carro (dele$_{i/*j}$) (aí) em frente de casa
       the guy with the car (of-he) there in front of house
       'that guy with his car there in front of my house'

(21) a. Qual professor$_i$ (que) você sempre vê (ele$_{i/*j}$)?
       which professor COMP you always see he
       'Which professor do you always see?'
    b. Aquele professor$_i$ que você sempre vê (ele$_{i/*j}$) é estrangeiro.
       that professor COMP you always see he is foreign
       'That professor who you always see is foreign.'

Returning to possessive sentences, the contrasting property of *ter* presented in (15)-(18) can be straightforwardly explained if we assume that there is a layer headed by an abstract *com* in the configuration of *ter*-constructions. In other words, the need for the grammatical subject of possessive sentences to be interpreted as the possessor of some element that is within the possessive predicate is due to its presence in the Spec of the PP headed by *com*. As we can see in the *ter*- and *estar com*-constructions in (22) below, the correference between the grammatical subject *o Pedro* and the possessor of *carteira* is required in both patterns by the merger of the subject in the specifier of a PP headed by features associated with *com*, as illustrated in (23).

(22) a. O Pedro tinha documentos da Maria na carteira.
       the Pedro had documents of-the Maria in-the wallet
    b. O Pedro estava com documentos da Maria na carteira.
       the Pedro was with documents of-the Maria in-the wallet
       'Peter had Maria's documents in his wallet.'

(23)

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                    VP
                  /    \
                 V      PP
                       /  \
              o Pedroᵢ     P'
                          /  \
                         P    XP
                               |
                      documentos da Maria
                        [na carteira ecᵢ]
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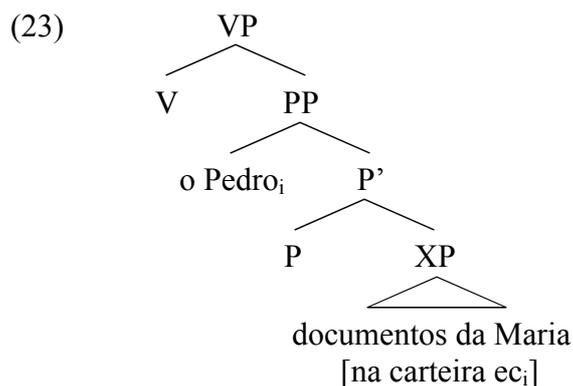
4. *TER* AS AN EXISTENTIAL VERB

Some facts involved in the emergence of *ter* as an impersonal verb in BP corroborate the idea that there is a comitative-copular structure in the basis of *ter* possessive constructions. Consider the sentences in (24) and (25) below. As pointed out in Avelar (forthcoming$_a$), *ter*-constructions such as (24) are interpreted as possessive sentences with a null referential subject in European Portuguese (EP), but not in BP: in out-of-the-blue contexts, a BP speaker interprets them as existential. To obtain a possessive interpretation in BP, it is necessary to realize phonologically the possessor subject, as *ele/ela* 'he/she' in (25).

(24) Dentro do   armário tem   várias calças.
      *inside of-thecloset **has**   several pants*
       EP: '(S)he has several pants inside the closet.'
       BP: 'There are several pants inside the closet.'

(25) Dentro do   armário ele/ela tem várias calças.
      inside of-the closet   he/she   has several pants
       EP/BP: '(S)he has several pants inside the closet.'

Callou & Avelar (2002) and Avelar (forthcoming$_a$) speculate that the reanalysis of *ter* as existential in BP results from the gradual impoverishment of its inflectional verbal paradigm, which became sharply reduced in comparison with the paradigm in EP. For example, the only clear distinction in the BP inflection of the present tense is in the singular first person, as seen in (27); in contrast, EP has morphologically rich inflection, with clear distinctions for the six different persons.

(27) **Brazilian Portuguese**   **European Portuguese**
      eu **fal-o**   eu **fal-o**   'I speak'
      você **fala-Ø**   tu **fala-s**   'you speak'
      ele/ela **fala-Ø**   ele/ela **fala-Ø**   'he/she/it speaks'
      nós **fala-Ø** / **fala-mos**   nós **fala-mos**   'We speak'
      a gente **fala-Ø**
      vocês **fala-Ø** / **fala-m**   vós **fala-is**   'you speak'
                                       vocês **fala-m**
      eles **fala-Ø** / **fala-m**   eles **fala-m**   'they speak'

As pointed out in different analyses (cf. Duarte, 1995; Tarallo, 1996; Figueiredo Silva, 1996; Galves, 1996, 2001; Ferreira, 2000, this volume; Rodrigues, 2002; and Kato, 2000, 2004 among others), this inflectional impoverishment makes the licensing of referential null subjects in BP very restricted, as we can see in (28).

(28) a. Bebe   cerveja.   (EP: OK / BP: *)
       drinks   beer
       'He/She drinks beer.'
   b. Ele   bebe   cerveja.   (EP: OK / BP: OK)
       he   drinks beer
       'He drinks beer.'

This contrast between BP and EP suggests that the existential interpretation for *ter* in (24) above is an extension of the innovation involving the inflectional paradigm in BP. In other words, the reanalysis of *ter* as an existential verb can be viewed as a solution found by the grammatical system to deal with the loss of referential null subjects in the domain of possessive constructions. But, returning to a question raised in Avelar (forthcoming$_a$), why exactly did *ter*-constructions without a realized subject acquire an existential meaning in BP? The restrictions on **referential null subjects** can only explain why null subject sentences with *ter* cannot be possessive, but do not account for why they must receive an existential meaning.

The constructions presented in (29) below, which reveal another innovation in BP, can shed some light on this question. In BP, many transitive verbs, like *vender* 'to sell' and *roubar* 'to steal', can dispense with a referential subject when a locative PP (or a locative deictic adverb) is present in the sentence. In EP, by contrast, these same constructions are taken to have a **referential null** subject (necessarily *human* in these cases).

(29) a. (Ali)   naquela loja vende muitos livros.
       there in-that shop sells   many   books
       EP: 'In that shop, (s)he sells many books.'
       BP: 'That shop sells many books.' or
               'In that shop, many books are sold.'
   b. (Aqui) nessa   rua   rouba muito   carro.
       *here   in-this street steal**s** *many   car*
       EP: '(S)he steals many cars in this street.'
       BP: 'Many cars are stolen in this street.'

In order to characterize this innovation, Avelar (2006b) and Avelar & Cyrino (2007) propose that locative PPs can occupy the subject position of sentences with verbs like *vender* and *roubar* in BP, but not in EP.[4] Evidence for this proposal comes

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[4] In Avelar (2006b), this opposition between BP and EP is associated with differences in the properties of T(ense)'s ɸ-features: the inflectional impoverishment in BP conditioned the emergence of a defective version of ɸ-features in finite T (see Ferreira, 2000, this volume). In this situation, elements without accessible interpretable ɸ-features (and auto-sufficient for Case) are largely licensed in subject position when T is defective. By contrast, finite T in EP always displays complete ɸ-features, which requires the presence of an element with interpretable ɸ-features (and an unvalued Case feature) to properly interact with the complete set **of** uninterpretable ɸ-features of T. In other words, EP rejects locative PPs as subjects in the relevant sentences due to its need to satisfy morphological requirements resulting from its rich inflectional paradigm. If this view is correct, the relevant contrasts between EP

from the facts observed in (30)-(31) below. The embedded clause in (30) exhibits a null subject coindexed with the main subject; however, the interpretation with a null subject is unacceptable in BP (but the only reading available in EP) if a locative phrase is realized in preverbal position within the embedded clause, as in (31).[5] The only alternative with a preverbal locative PP in BP is given in (32), where there is no null category coindexed with the main subject. These facts can be straightforwardly explained by the premise that locative PPs can occupy the subject position in BP sentences, blocking the presence of another element at the same position, in contrast to EP.

(30) O   rapaz$_i$ disse que ec_i vende   livros
     the   man   *said that*   *sells   books*
     EP/BP: 'The man$_i$ said that he$_i$ sells books.'

(31) O   rapaz$_i$ disse   que (lá)   naquela loja ec_i vende   livros
     the   man   *said   that there in-that   shop   sells   books*
     EP/*BP: 'The man said that, in that shop, he sells books.'

(32) O   rapaz   disse que   (lá)   naquela loja   vende   livros
     the   man   *said that   there in-that   shop   sells   books*
     *EP/BP: 'The man said that that shop sells books' or
                'The man said that books are sold in that shop'

Ter-constructions are subject to the same restrictions: as seen in (33) below, the presence of a locative phrase rescues *ter*-constructions without a realized referential subject from being ill-formed in BP. Furthermore, a **referential null subject** is also blocked within embedded *ter*-constructions if a preverbal locative phrase is realized, as shown by the contrast between (34a) and (34b). In this light, we need to explain why a sentence with *ter* is interpreted as existential when a locative PP appears in the subject position. Recall that verbs like *vender* 'to sell' or *roubar* 'to steal', exemplified in (29), maintain their essential meaning when they co-occur with locative subjects, but *ter* loses its possessive value and acquires an existential sense.

(33) *(Na   bolsa)   tem   livros.
      in-the   bag   has   books
          BP: 'There are books in the bag.'

(34) a. O   rapaz   disse que   tem   livros.
        the   man   *said that has   books*
        EP/BP: 'The man$_i$ said that he$_i$ has books.'
     b. O   rapaz   disse que   naquela loja   tem   livros.
        the   man   *said that in-that shop   has   books*

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and BP concerning the licensing of subject locative PPs can be explained within the same picture explored to account for differences in the licensing of referential null subjects.

[5] The context in (30) is one of the rare environments in which **null referential** subjects are accepted in BP. Exploring the possibility of movement to thematic positions, Ferreira (2000, this volume) argues that the empty category in the subject position of these BP embedded clauses is not a null pronoun, but a deleted copy of the subject DP appearing in the main clause.

EP: 'The man$_i$ said that he$_i$ has books in that shop.'
BP: 'The man said that there are books in that shop.'

We can account for these facts by exploring Freeze's (1992) proposal that copular sentences with locative elements in subject position yield an expression of existence. (35) below presents sentences from Hindi, Chamorro, Tagalog, and Finnish that show that the existential interpretation is linked to the realization of a locative phrase in the canonical subject position of copular structures.

(35) a. kamree-mẽẽ   aadmii   hai.   (Hindi – SOV)
        room-in   man   COP.3SG.MASC.PRES
        'There is a man in the room.'
     b. guäha   lahi   gi gima.   (Chamorro – VOS)
        be   man   P house
        'There is a man in the house.'
     c. may gera as ewropa.   (Tagalog – VOS)
        COP war   in Europa
        'There is a war in Europe.'
     d. huonee-ssa   on   mies.   (Finnish – SVO)
        room-INESSIVE   is   man.NOM
        'There is a man in the room.'

                                                      (Freeze, 1992: 555-556)

From this perspective, it should come as no surprise that sentences with a verb like *ter* exhibiting a locative PP as subject receives an existential interpretation, given that in the light of the assumptions I am adopting, the possessive sentence is a version of the copular structure. In other words, impersonal *ter*-constructions became existential in BP because they have a copular structure that allows a locative PP to occur as the subject. This reanalysis of *ter* as existential was arguably the natural solution found by learners of BP when dealing with constructions without an overt subject.[6]

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[6] For the sake of completeness, let me add a few words on existential *ter*-constructions in which the locative phrase is not preverbal, as illustrated in (i) below, given that BP is an SVO language. If it is assumed that the existential interpretation is conditioned by the presence of a locative element in the copular subject position, it would be expected that sentences with a locative in final position were ill-formed as existential, contrary to fact.

(i) a. Tinha muitos   livros   <u>na   biblioteca.</u>
       had   many   books   in-the library
       'There were many books in the library.'
    b. Tem   bastante gente   <u>dentro desse avião.</u>
       has   many   people   inside of-this airplane
       'There are many people inside of this airplane'

However, BP allows final position subjects (the so-called anti-topics) in specific pragmatic situations. The constructions in (ii) below, for instance, are cases in which the subject is placed in final position, with an optional pronoun in preverbal position co-indexed with it. In (iii), the locative PP I am analyzing as subject also appears in the final position, optionally co-indexed with a locative pronominal deictic in the preverbal position. In (iv), *ter* existential sentences show this same property: their preverbal position can be occupied by a deictic pronominal element co-indexed with the locative phrase on the right. Thus, I will assume that locative PPs occurring in the final position of *ter*-existential sentences can preserve their subject status, given the possibilities of subject placement observed in BP.

5. A PREPOSITIONAL LAYER IN EXISTENTIAL STRUCTURES

If the analysis in the previous section is on the right track, one of its consequences is that there must be a prepositional layer in the underlying structure of existential *ter*-constructions, for the structural configuration that yields the possessive meaning is also the one that yields the existential meaning. A piece of evidence for this comes from the fact that BP presents impersonal clauses with *estar com*, as exemplified in (36a) and (37a) below, which are unacceptable in EP (see Avelar, forthcoming$_a$) This type of construction with *estar com* is semantically parallel to the existential *ter*-constructions in (36b) and (37b). As we observed in the case of possessive expressions (see section 2), the existential version of *estar com* also involves a transitory condition: *um grande engarrafamento* 'a big traffic jam' and *filmes excelentes em promoção* 'excellent movies on sale' in (36) and (37), respectively, are necessarily interpreted as temporary episodes in the sentences with *estar com*, but this same interpretation is not necessary with *ter*.[7] Such contrast indicates that: (i) *ter* is

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 (ii)   (ele$_i$) não   almoçou,   o Roberto$_i$.
          he   *not*   *have lunch*   *the Roberto*
          'Roberto doesn't have lunch.'

(iii)   a. (Lá$_i$) vende muitas   calças,   naquela loja$_i$.
            there sells many   pants   in-that   shop
            'That shop sells many pants.'
       b. (Aí$_i$) grava   todo tipo   de filme, nesse meu   DVD$_i$.
            there records all   type   of movie in-this my   DVD
            'My DVD records any kind of movie.'

(iv)   a. (Lá$_i$) tinha muitos   livros, na   biblioteca$_i$.
            there had   many   books in-the library
            'There were many books in the library.'
       b. (Aqui$_i$)   tem   bastante gente, dentro desse avião$_i$.
            here   has   many   people inside of-this airplane
            'There are many people inside of this airplane.'

Concerning intonational properties of the sentences above, the existence of an intonational pause before sentence-final subjects is not clear. I think that the presence of commas results, in fact, from the perception that a constituent is not in its canonic position, and not because there is a pause preceding it. The insertion of comma in these BP sentences is conventional, and not a strategy based on facts linked with intonational structures. In the *ter* sentences below, for example, I do not see any intonational differences between (a), with a sentence-final PP, and (b), with a sentence-final DP, although it is common to insert a comma only in the latter case.

(v)   a. Tem muito livro naquela biblioteca.
        have many book in-that library
        'There are many books in that library.'
      b. Tem muito livro, **a**quela biblioteca.
        have many book, that library
        'That library has many books.'

[7] Interestingly, impersonal sentences with *estar com* are pragmatically unacceptable if their content reports an enduring or permanent condition, as in the sentences exemplified below. (ia) would be acceptable only if Brazil has recently acquired beaches, which corresponds to a pragmatically strange context.

(i) a. #Tá com muitas   praias   no   Brasil.
     is with many   beaches in-the Brazil
   b. Tem muitas   praias   no   Brasil.

also obtained from features associated with *estar com* in existential contexts, and (ii) EP has no *estar com* existential sentences due to a general restriction on the occurrence of locative PPs in subject position, which is in turn linked to the fact that it has no *ter*-existential sentences (see section 3).

(36) a. Na   cidade   **tava com**   um   engarrafamento enorme.
      in-the   city   was with   a   traffic jam   big
      'There was a big traffic jam in downtown.'
   b. Na   cidade   **tinha**   um   engarrafamento   enorme.
      in-the   center   had   a   traffic jam   big
      'There was a big traffic jam in downtown' or
      'There were big traffic jams in downtown'

(37) a. Na   locadora   **tá com** filmes   ótimos   em promoção.
      in-the   movie store   is with movies excellent   on sale
      'There are excellent movies on sale in the movie store.'
   b. Na   locadora   **tem**   filmes   ótimos   em promoção.
      in-the   movie store   has   movies excellent   on sale
      'There are excellent movies on sale in the movie store'

The paradigm in (38)-(39) below, with *estar*, *ter* and *estar com*, provides additional evidence supporting the idea that there is a prepositional layer in existential *ter*-constructions. The grammatical sentences of this paradigm can receive an interpretation corresponding to *there is a movie being broadcasted by the TV this afternoon*, regardless of the verb being used. In (38), the gerund *passando* 'broadcasting' occurs between the verb and the DP *um filme* 'a movie'; in this situation, we can use *estar*, but not *ter* or *estar com*. By contrast, the gerund appears after the post-verbal DP in (39), and *ter* and *estar com* are licensed in this case, but not *estar*.

(38) a. Na TV   agora à   tarde   **tá** passando   um   filme.
      in-theTV   now to-the   afternoon is broadcasting a   movie
   b. * Na TV   agora à   tarde   **tem** passando   um   filme.
      in-theTV   now to-the   afternoon has broadcasting a   movie
   c. * Na TV   agora à   tarde   **tá com** passando   um   filme.
      in-theTV   now to-the   afternoon is with broadcasting a   movie
      'There is a movie being broadcasted by the TV this afternoon.'

(39) a. * Na TV   agora à   tarde   **tá** um   filme   passando.
      in-theTV   now to-the   afternoon is a   movie   broadcasting
   b. Na TV   agora à   tarde   **tem** um filme   passando.
      in-theTV   now to-the   afternoon has a   movie   broadcasting

   c. Na TV   agora à   tarde   **tá com** um   filme   passando.
      in-theTV   now to-the   afternoon is with a   movie   broadcasting
      'There is a movie being broadcasted by the TV this afternoon.'

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     had   many   beaches   in-the Brazil
     'There are many beaches in Brazil.'

Through the comparison between (38) and (39), we can see that *ter* is only accepted if *estar* and *com* can co-occur; conversely, if the context prevents the realization of *com*, the verb *ter* is not licensed. This fact can be straightforwardly accounted for if the existential version of *ter* is necessarily obtained by the fusion of the abstract features corresponding to *estar* and *com*. From this perspective, the unacceptability of (38b)-(38c) is formally explained by the idea that the preposition *com* has to interact with a DP in order to provide it with Case (say, via probe-goal agreement in Chomsky's (2000, 2001) sense); such a condition is not satisfied because the only available DP interacts with the gerund (or with some category within the embedded clause introduced by the gerund) for the same purpose, which blocks the agreement relation between the preposition and the DP. Note that the DP immediately follows the preposition in the well-formed example in (39c), satisfying the structural conditions for the required relation.

The possessive sentences in (40)-(41) below, constructed from the same constituents of (38)-(39), confirm the relevant link between *ter* and *estar com*. In (40), the DP *o filme* 'the movie' appears in subject position, yielding a context where *ter* and *com* are rejected, as shown respectively in (40b) and (40c). In (41), it is the DP *a TV* 'the TV' that appears in subject position, and both *ter* and *estar com* are licensed in this context. These facts reinforce the idea that the same comitative prepositional layer is shared by both possessive and existential sentences with *ter*.

(40) a. O   filme   tá passando   na   TV agora à   tarde.
        the   movie   is broadcasting in-theTV   now   to-the   afternoon
     b. *O   filme   tem passando   na   TV   agora à   tarde.
         the   movie   has broadcasting in-the   TV   now to-the afternoon
     c. *O   filme   tá com passando   na   TV agora à   tarde.
         the   movie   is with broadcasting in-the   TVnow to-the   afternoon
        'That movie is being broadcasting by the TV this afternoon.'

(41) a. *A   TV   tá um   filme   passando   agora à   tarde.
         the   TV is a   movie   broadcasting now   to-the   afternoon
     b. A   TV   tem um   filme   passando   agora à   tarde.
        the   TV   has a   movie   broadcasting now   to-the   afternoon
     c. A   TV   tá com um   filme   passando   agora à   tarde.
        the   TV   is with a   movie   broadcasting now to-the   afternoon
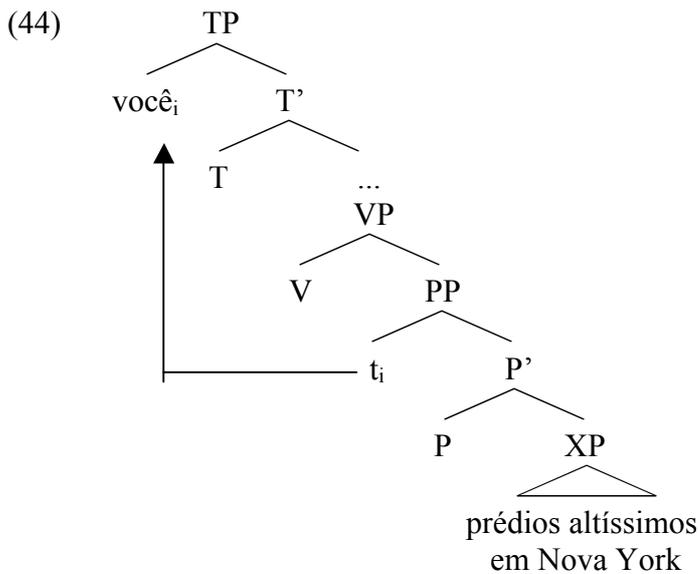   'The TV is broadcasting an excellent movie this afternoon.'

Further evidence for the view I am arguing for here involves the use of an expletive-like version of the pronoun *você* in BP. As seen in (42)-(43) below, *você* is licensed in the subject position of existential sentences with *ter*, but not with *haver* (see notes 2 and 3).[8]

(42) a. (Você) tem   prédios   altíssimos em   Nova York.
        you   has   buildings   very high   in   New York
        'There are huge buildings in New York.'
     b. (Você) tem muitos jogadores brasileiros em   times   europeus.
        you   has many players   Brazilians in   teams   Europeans
        'There are many Brazilian soccer players in European football teams.'

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[8] See Duarte (1999) and Avelar (2004, forthcoming_b) for discussions on this specific use of *você*.

(43) a. (*Você) há   prédios   altíssimos em   Nova York.
          you   exists buildings very high   in   New York
          'There are huge buildings in New York.'
      b. (*Você) há   muitos jogadores brasileiros em   times   europeus.
          you   exists many   players   Brazilians in   teams   Europeans
          'There are many Brazilian soccer players in European football teams.'

Following Avelar (2004, forthcoming$_b$), I take this expletive-like category to be not a true expletive, but a version of *você* with a generic reference. This implies that, in order to be properly licensed, *você* in these contexts must first be inserted in a thematic position and not directly in [Spec,TP]. If we assume an abstract prepositional head in the existential construction with *ter*, the required thematic position can be identified as the specifier of its projection. As illustrated in (44), the fake expletive must be initially merged in [Spec,PP], and then moved to [Spec,TP]. If this approach is correct, the pronoun does not co-occur with *haver* because there is no PP inside *haver*-constructions to properly license the pronoun, given that *haver* does not function as possessive verb in contemporary (Brazilian and European) Portuguese. In other words, there is no proper thematic locus to host the generic pronoun in sentences with *haver*.

(44)

```
              TP
            /    \
       vocêᵢ      T'
                /    \
               T      ...
                      VP
                    /    \
                   V      PP
                        /    \
                      tᵢ      P'
                            /    \
                           P      XP
                                 /  \
                             prédios altíssimos
                               em Nova York
```

Finally, I would like to mention a fact noted by Viotti (1999, 2002) involving the weakness of the definiteness effect in BP. As generally observed in the literature, existential clauses are subject to the so-called definiteness effect, which bars the occurrence of definite DP as complements of existential verbs. However, existential *ter*-constructions in BP are not so rigid with respect to this property: the sentences in (45) below, which present definite DPs as complements, can be realized regardless of any contextual anchorage.

(45) a. Naquela loja tem o   livro novo do   Saramago.
          in-that store has the book new of-the Saramago
          Lit.: 'There is the new book of Saramago in that store.'

b. Hoje   tem o   jogo   do   Brasil.
   today   has the game   of-the Brazil
   Lit.: 'There is the game of Brazil today.'
c. No   Rio de Janeiro   tem a   Praia de Copacabana.
   in-the   Rio de Janeiro   have the   beach of Copacabana
   Lit.: 'There is Copacabana beach in Rio de Janeiro.'

In fact, definiteness restrictions on complements in existential structures can not be taken as a universal property. In languages such as Japanese and Catalan, for example, there is no restriction on definite DPs in existential environments, as shown in (46)-(47) below. Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau (1997) suggest that the relevant contrast in Catalan is related with Case: if the Case available for the complement of the existential verb is partitive, then it must be an indefinite DP; if not, there is no requirement involving the (in)definiteness of the complement. As the existential *haber*-constructions in Catalan have the same internal structure of possessive sentences with this verb (as Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau argue for), the existential version of *haber* must have prepositional features in its composition; in this type of situation, it is the abstract preposition that provides Case to the DP, and not the verb. Under the assumption that this preposition is not associated with partitive Case, the existential *haber*-constructions in Catalan dispense with the requirement of indefiniteness, which explains the well-formed nature of the Catalan *haber*-construction in (47).

(46)   Japanese (Kishimoto, 2000)
        Koko-ni-wa   hotondo-no / subete-no / korera-no   hon-ga   aru.
        here-DAT-TOP   most-GEN / all-GEN   / those-GEN book-NOM be-IN
        Lit.: 'There are most/all/those books here.'

(47)   Catalan (Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau, 1998)
        Hi   ha   el   meu pare.
        CL   has   the   my father
        'My father is there.'

This idea can be extended to the relevant facts in BP: the definiteness restriction in existential *ter*-constructions is weak because it is the comitative preposition, which is not related to partitive Case, that assigns Case to the complement DP. In sum, although this topic deserves a more detailed discussion, the weakness of the definiteness effect in BP can also be seen as a clue to the existence of a preposition layer in its existential domains.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter concentrates on three particular aspects of the possessive-existential domain in Brazilian Portuguese: (i) the thematic parallelism between *ter* and *estar com* in both possessive and existential clauses; (ii) the obligatory co-reference involving the grammatical subject of possessive expressions and the possessor of an element in possessive *ter*-constructions; and (iii) the emergence of the possessive as an existential verb in BP, but not in EP. Although there is no overt morphological indication of the fusion involving the features of *estar* and *com* to form the possessive

verb, these three aspects are straightforwardly explained within the view that copular and comitative features underlie possessive and existential constructions with *ter*.

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