

Chapter 3

The partial loss of free inversion and of referential null subjects in Brazilian Portuguese

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Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has been considered a *Partial Null Subject language* with the following properties: optional referential null subjects (RNS), null generic subjects, and null expletives. The aim of this paper is to discuss the nature of the optionality of RNSs. The case of the null generic subjects, partially attested in BP, and of null expletives are not under discussion. Using the macro-parametric view of the NS Parameter, we will make a joint discussion of both the possibility of RNSs and of free inversion in present BP. With regard to the latter, we will propose first that partial loss of free inversion has to be relativized in terms of prosodic weight. With regard to the former, we propose that optional RNS is felicitous when a sentence has a linear V2 (non-Germanic) pattern at PF, with the presence of a short cliticized element, which includes the subject pronoun. In both cases, we claim that BP has a filter at PF (Avoid V1).

1 Introduction

1.1 The problem

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has been known to have partially lost the properties of the Null Subject Parameter (NSP), as conceived in its macro-parametric view,¹

¹Cf. Rizzi (1982), Chomsky (1981)



since the middle of the 19th century.² Two major explanations can be given for this partiality:

a) the changes are still in progress, and the partiality has to do with the fact that the changes are not completed yet (see Figure 1).³

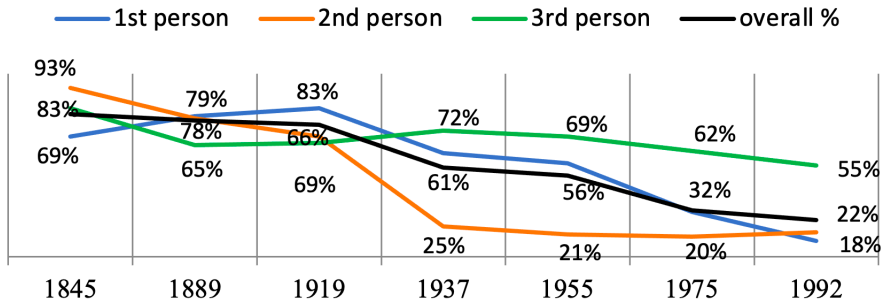


Figure 1: Null subjects (vs overt) in theater popular plays across two centuries (Duarte 1993)

b) the partial aspects of the change have to do with the fact that there are partial NS languages, among which BP,⁴ with *optional* referential human and non-human NSs (1a–1b and 2a–2b), null expletives (3a–3b) with existential and weather verbs, and, we add, free inversion restricted to unaccusative verbs (4a–4b) reanalyzed as existentials.⁵

- (1) a. Os pais_i passam aos filhos o que eles_i têm, né?
the parents pass to.the children that which they have right
‘The parents transmit to their children what they know, see?’
- b. Meu marido_i foi quase preso aí no fort porque Ø_i foi
my husband was almost arrested there in.the fort because went

²Cf. Tarallo (1993); Duarte (1995); Kato (1999, 2000a), Kato & Duarte (2017)

³Cf. Cyrino et al. (2000: 58–59) propose a referential hierarchy that guides changes concerning pronominalization. Under their hypothesis, [+N, + human] arguments, the speaker and the addressee, are the highest in the referential hierarchy, and a proposition, the lowest. [–human] entities are in between, with the [–animate] entity interacting with [+animate/+human] ones. The feature [+/-specific] interacts with all the other features. This explains why the change towards overt pronouns affects 1st and 2nd persons first, whereas 3rd person, exhibiting [+/-human] referents shows a slower increase of overt pronominal subjects, as shown in Figure 1

⁴Cf. Holmberg & Sheehan (2010).

⁵Cf. Kato & Tarallo (1993), Kato (2000b, 2002a). According to the latter, unaccusatives have been reanalyzed in BP as existentials, the reason why the verb is always in the 3rd person singular.

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mergulhar.

dive.

‘My husband was almost arrested at the fort because he went for a dive.’

- (2) a. Escola pública_i nunca é boa opção porque elas_i são ruins.
school public never is good option because they are bad
‘Public schools are never a good option because they are bad.’
- b. O sistema público_i é totalmente diferente de empresas privadas.
the system public is totally different of companies private
Ø_i não funciona da mesma maneira.
not works of.the same way
‘The public system is totally different from private companies. It does not work the same way.’
- (3) a. Quando eu cheguei aqui Ø_{exp} tinha uns tiros, por exemplo.
when I arrived here had some shotguns for instance
‘When I arrived here there were shotguns for instance.’
- b. Aqui Ø_{exp} não chove muito.
here not rains lot
‘It doesn’t rain very often here.’
- (4) a. Chegou os ovos.
arrived_{3ps} the eggs
‘There arrived the eggs.’
- b. *Riu a plateia.
laughed the audience
‘The audience laughed.’
- c. *Deu uma carta pra ela o Pedro
gave a letter to her the Pedro
‘Pedro gave her a letter.’

The optionality shown in (1) and (2) does not mean that NSs are frequent in spoken BP. Recent empirical research (Duarte 2020) shows that BP is losing crucial properties of Romance NS languages, such as anti-c-command relation and c-command relation between subjects, contexts where a null subject is categorical in European Portuguese (EP). In BP, the anti-c-command environment shows the lowest rates of null subjects in a postposed main clause (around 11% of the

data) whereas the latter, with a subordinate clause following its main clause, already reaches 40%, very distant rates from those attested for EP, 93% and 94% of null subjects, respectively. This gradual result for E-language confirms that the value of the NSP has already been reset in BP. As for restricted “free” inversion, we will show that, in spite of some possible contexts, it is restricted tothetic sentences with unaccusatives and that the variation SV/VS in the same context is in course, preferably with definite DPs with [+human] semantic feature, an important step in the change.

1.2 The Aim

The aim of this study is to show that variation/optionality in the properties of the NS parameter (NSP) in BP, attested today in writing and planned speech, has a stylistic or prosodic character (Kato 2013a), and does not constitute morphological or syntactic *doublets*, in the sense of Aronoff (1976) and Kroch (1994).⁶ §2 will discuss the optional character of free inversion, and §3 will discuss the optional possibility of Null Subjects (NSs). §4 will synthesize what was described in the previous sections to see if we can sketch a common explanation in terms of trigger or consequence(s) of the changes. In the last section we will draw the conclusions. Our diachronic data come from popular plays, written in Rio de Janeiro; synchronic data have been collected in recent interviews recorded in Rio de Janeiro between 2009–2010 (available at www.corporaport.letas.ufrj.br).

2 The partial loss of free inversion

2.1 Free inversion in Romance

Comparing BP with other NS Romance languages, Kato (2000a,b) noticed that free inversion is more easily found when the objects are clitics. First, according to Bentivoglio & Intronio (1978), inversion is easily found in Spanish when the complements are clitics. The same is found to be true in Italian by Benincà & Salvi (1988):

⁶“Syntactic heads, we believe, behave like morphological formatives generally in being subject to the well-known ‘Blocking Effect’ (Aronoff 1976), which excludes morphological doublets, and more generally, it seems, any coexisting formatives that are not functionally differentiated. This exclusion, however, does not mean, either for morphology or for syntax, that languages never exhibit doublets. Rather it means that doublets are always reflections of unstable competition between mutually exclusive grammatical options.” (Kroch 1994: 181)

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- (5) a. **Lo instaló Esteban.**
 it._{CL} installed Esteban
 ‘Esteban has installed it.’
- b. **Quería hacer=lo Juan.**
 wanted do=it John
 ‘John wanted to do it.’
- (6) a. **L’ ha mangiata la mamma.**
 it._{CL} has eaten the mommy
 ‘Mommy has eaten it.’
- b. **?Há mangiato la torta la mamma.**
 has eaten the pie the mommy
 ‘Mommy has eaten the pie.’

In BP, such constraint has been aggravated by the fact that it has lost part of its clitics, particularly those belonging to the 3rd person paradigm, which made the right side of the verb heavier. The examples in (7a, 7c and 7e) show that the sentences are ungrammatical in BP because this variety does not dispose of clitics, and in (7b, 7d and 7f), they are ill-formed because the right hand side of the verb is too heavy.

- (7) a. **Comprou-lha o Pedro.**
 bought-her._{CL}-it._{CL} the Peter
 ‘Peter bought it.’ (EP BP 19th century; *BP 20th century)
- b. **Comprou ela para ele o Pedro.**
 bought it for him the Peter
 ‘Peter bought it for him.’ (*EP *BP 20th century)
- c. **Comprou-lhe um perfume o Pedro.**
 bought-3sg._{DAT} a perfume the Peter
 ‘Peter bought a perfume.’ (EP *BP 20th century)
- d. **Comprou pra ela um perfume o Pedro.**
 bought for her a perfume the Peter
 ‘Peter bought her a perfume.’ (*EP *BP 20th century)
- e. **Comprou-o para ela o Pedro.**
 bought for her the Peter
 ‘Peter bought it for her.’ (EP *BP 20th century)

- f. Comprou **ele pra ela** o Pedro.
 bought it for her the Peter
 ‘Peter bought it for her.’ (*EP *BP 20th century)

This shows that free inversion in Romance NS languages is constrained by phonological weight, a fact that made Zubizarreta (1998) propose that predicate inversion in Romance results from a general predicate movement, which is constrained by prosody, called *P-movement*. The existence of clitics and their light nature explains why predicates with clitics are found in Romance inversion. However in BP, such a constraint has been aggravated not only by the loss of 3rd person clitics, which are replaced by weak pronouns optionally null in anaphoric contexts (cf. Kato & Tarallo 1993), but also by the fact that 2nd person clitic *te* is in variation with the weak pronoun *ocê* ‘you’, which is originally an address form *Vossa Mercê* ‘Your Grace’, that fully grammaticalized as a pronoun in BP and used in nominative, accusative, and oblique functions (Lopes & Brocardo 2016). Since its implementation through the 20th century, there has been a competition with canonical 2nd person *tu* ‘you’ and the accusative and oblique forms associated with it. Today, although their distribution is mainly diatopic, *ocê* outnumbers *tu*. Table 1 shows the changes in the paradigm and in the placement of the remaining clitics (cf. Kato 1993).⁷

Table 1: 2nd and 3rd person accusative pronominal paradigms (clitics and weak pronouns)

BP 19th century	BP 20th century
a. A Maria ama-me. ‘Mary loves me.’	a’. A Maria me-ama
b. A Maria ama-te.	b’. A Maria te-ama A Maria ama <i>ocê</i> . ‘Mary loves you.’

2.2 V1 vs V2 in BP free inversion

As we realized that the partial loss of free inversion was triggered by the expressive loss of clitics, we considered the possibility that it was independent of the

⁷See Nunes (2019), for whom the null object in BP is an object agreement.

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loss of the NS. However, in a research project on spoken BP, Kato (2002b) and Kato & Duarte (2003) concluded that this variety of Portuguese rejects V1 structures in free inversion, with transitive and intransitive verbs filling the preverbal position, when possible, with a short (light) item, even a discursive one. The authors associated this restriction to the new prosodic rhythm of the language, a consequence of the resetting of the NSP.

- (8) a. Ali vai a Maria.
there goes the Maria
'There goes Maria.'
- b. *Vai ali a Maria.
goes there the Maria
'There goes Maria.'
- c. Lá vem o bonde.
there comes the tram
'There comes the tram.'
- d. ?Vem lá o bonde.
comes there the tram
'There comes the tram.'

Pilati (2006) proposed that inversion is obtained more easily in BP when a deictic or a locative element satisfies the EPP, occupying the verb initial position:

- (9) a. *Dormem aqui as crianças.
sleep here the children
'The children sleep here.'
- b. Aqui dormem as crianças.
here sleep the children
'The children sleep here.'

Buthers & Duarte (2012) proposed that, as BP has become *a partial NS language* with optional referential NSs, there has been an increasing tendency to avoid null expletives in VS structures, and locatives have become grammaticalized as lexical expletives, just like *there* in English, which licenses VS even with transitive verbs with lower frequency:

- (10) a. Lá vai o time de futebol.
there goes the team of soccer
'There goes the soccer team.'

- b. **Aqui** constrói **um país**.
 here builds a country
 ‘Here a country is built.’

As such a constraint increases, the pattern XP V (YP) also does, affecting especially impersonal constructions, which still allow null expletives:

- (11) a. \emptyset_{exp} Chove em São Paulo.
 rains in São Paulo
 ‘It rains in São Paulo.’
 b. **São Paulo** chove
 São Paulo rains
 ‘It rains in São Paulo.’
 c. \emptyset_{exp} Faz frio em Curitiba.
 does cold in Curitiba
 ‘It is cold in Curitiba.’
 d. **Curitiba** faz frio.
 Curitiba does cold
 ‘It is cold in Curitiba.’

3 The partial loss of NSs in Brazilian Portuguese

3.1 The ongoing loss of referential NSs in BP and their recovery through instruction

While in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century BP, the data attested in the plays shows BP as a consistent NS language (see 12), from the decade of 1950 and on, BP has been described as having lost the referential NS in most contexts (see 13) and preserved the non-referential null expletive (see 14).⁸

- (12) a. Ontem $\emptyset_{1\text{ps}}$ comprei-**lhe**_i o hábito com que $\emptyset_{i\ 3\text{ps}}$ **andará**
 yesterday $\emptyset_{1\text{ps}}$ bought-**him**_i the costume with which $\emptyset_{i\ 3\text{ps}}$ be.FUT
 vestido.
 dressed
 ‘Yesterday I bought him the costume he will
 wear.’ (O noviço, Martins Pena, 1845)

⁸See Duarte (1995); Figueiredo Silva (1996); Modesto (2000) *inter alia*

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- b. \emptyset_{2ps} Terá o cavalo que \emptyset_{2ps} deseja.
 \emptyset_{2ps} have.FUT the horse that \emptyset_{2ps} wish
 ‘You will have the horse you wish.’

(*O simpatico Jeremias*, 1918, Gastão Tojeiro)

- (13) a. **Você** não entende meu coração porque **você** ‘tá sempre olhando
 you not understand my heart because you are always looking
 pro céu, procurando chuva.
 at.the sky looking_for rain
 ‘You don’t understand my heart because you’re always looking at the
 sky in search of rain.’

- b. Se **eu** ficasse aqui **eu** ia querer ser a madrinha.
 if I stayed here I would want be. the godmother
 ‘If I stayed here I would like to be the godmother.’

(*No coração do Brasil*, M. Falabella, 1992)

- c. Agora **ele** não vai mais poder dizer as coisas que **ele** queria dizer.
 now he NEG FUT NEG can say the things that he wanted say
 ‘Now he will no longer be able to say everything he would like to.’

(*No coração do Brasil*, M. Falabella, 1992)

- (14) a. O dia está bonito e \emptyset_{exp} **haverá** muita gente.
 the day is beautiful and EXIST.FUT much people
 ‘The day is fair and there will be a lot of people.’

(*Os irmãos das almas*, Martins Pena, 1845)

- b. E \emptyset_{exp} **tem** o quarto da empregada lá fora.⁹
 and has the room of.the maid outside
 ‘And there is a maid’s room outside.’

(*Um elefante no caos*, Millôr Fernandes, 1955)

⁹Existential *haver* ‘there is/are’ has been replaced in speech by the possessive *ter* ‘to have’, which keeps the possessive meaning and the innovative existential meaning, as in *Na esquina tem uma livraria* ‘On the corner has a bookstore’; *ter* has the advantage to allow the projection of Spec, TP, as in *Eu tenho uma livraria na esquina* ‘I have a bookstore on the corner’, which suits the change in progress (Duarte 2003).

Let us see what happens in the acquisition of BP considering such a change. As claimed by Lightfoot (1999), children’s core grammar does not have *doublets*, containing only the innovative form. Confirming this claim, Simões (2000) shows that Brazilian children do not have NSs for referential subjects as in (15), keeping them for expletives only as in (16).

- (15) a. **Eu** to botando Ø (null object).
 I am throwing
 ‘I am throwing it (out).’
 b. Não quer Ø, **tu** não quer Ø?
 NEG want YOU NEG want
 ‘She/he doesn’t want it, you dont’ want it?’
 c. **Ela** anda a cavalo, anda de moto, **ela** anda.
 she rides a horse rides of motorcycle she walks
 ‘She rides a horse, rides a motorcycle, she gets around.’
 (André, 2;4) (exs. from Simões 2000)
- (16) a. Ø_{expl} Tem dois aviões.
 have.3SG two airplanes
 ‘There are two planes.’
 b. Ø_{expl} É esse que cabe.
 is this that fits
 ‘This is the one that fits.’ (André, 2;4) (exs from Simões 2000)

In BP, however, NSs are shown to be recovered by instruction at school (Magalhães 2000) (See Table 2).

Table 2: Null subjects recovered through schooling (Magalhães 2000)

Referential Subjects	1st grade	3rd/4th grades	7th/8th grades
Overt Pronominal Subjects	97.89%	78.0%	50.38%
Null Subjects	2.11%	22.0%	49.62%

With only 2,11% of NSs in the first grade, Magalhães shows that optionality of NSs results from schooling. At the 7th grade, adolescents start behaving like literate adults.

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- (17) a. \emptyset_{1ps} vou pedir uma ordem ao médico porque eu_1 não
 (I) FUT ask a prescription to.the doctor because I not
 aguento ver você sofrer mais.
 stand to.see you suffer anymore
 ‘I’m going to ask the doctor for a prescription because I can’t stand to
 see you suffer anymore.’ (7th grade)
- b. Eu_1 estou de castigo, porque \emptyset_{1ps} briguei com minha irmã e
 I am of punishment because (I) argued with my sister and
 \emptyset_{1ps} não vou poder jogar futebol hoje
 (I) not FUT can play soccer today.
 ‘I’m have been punished because I argued with my sister and won’t
 be able to play soccer today.’ (7th grade)

The NS acquired through schooling is not part of the child’s core grammar, and it can be said that NS in the writing of literate adults is part of a second grammar in *the periphery* of his/her I-language.¹⁰ The variation/optionality that we find in students’ and literate Brazilians’¹¹ writing is like the phenomenon of code-switching, and the effect is stylistic. Looking at Table 2, at the distribution of 3rd person NSs in the speech of Brazilian adults, we can see that it is much below what we have with Europeans, which shows a decline in progress. But in writing, Brazilians show a recovery of more than 20% in the use of NSs, compared to their speech.

Table 3: Null subjects recovered through schooling (Magalhães 2000)

Speech		Writing	
EP (1980)	BP (2010)	EP (2000)	BP (2000)
303/417	331/1179	227/244	119/241
73%	28%	93%	49%

Notice that the variation between NSs and pronominal subjects in the Brazilian adult is very similar to that of 7th graders, whereas NSs are frequent in speech,

¹⁰According to Chomsky (1988), the adult’s I-language may contain an extended periphery, with old forms, or even a mixture with a second language, like what heritage speakers tend to do.

¹¹Research on the speech of literate adults show that acquired/learned null subjects, 3rd person clitics, existential *haver* ‘there is/are’, and so many other features that are not in the primary acquisition data are not carried over to their spontaneous speech (Duarte 1995; Freire 2000; Duarte 2003, among many others).

as well as, in writing in spoken and written EP. Considering that the overall rate of null subjects in BP is around 28%, we can say that schooling shows a relative “success” by reaching about half of what EP writing reveals. The optionality is illustrated in BP standard writing.

- (18) a. Durante a solenidade, [o prefeito]_i anunciou um pacote de
during the ceremony the mayor announced a package of
obras que Ø_i autorizou para a cidade.
works that authorized for the city
‘During the ceremony, the mayor announced a package of works he
authorized for the city.’
- b. Ele_i explicou que à tarde ele_i vai avaliar todas as
he explained that at afternoon he FUT evaluate all the
alternativas.
alternatives
‘He explained that he would evaluate all the alternatives in the
afternoon.’
- c. A França_i se prepara para o ataque ao inimigo₂. Ø_i Sabe
the France itself prepares for the attack to.the enemy knows
que ele₂ se aproxima, mas Ø_i não sabe exatamente quando Ø₂
that 3SG itself approaches but not knows exactly when
aparecerá.
appear.FUT
‘France is getting ready for the attack to the enemy, but does not
know when it will appear.’
- d. O governo_i não considera o fato de que os possíveis
the government not considers the fact of that the possible
desvios e exageros de que ele_i tanto se
misappropriations and exaggerations of which 3SG so_much REFL
queixa são criticados na própria imprensa.
complains are criticized in.the very press
‘The government does not consider the fact that possible
misappropriations and exaggerations about which it so often
complains are criticized by the press itself.’

Concluding this section, we can say that NSs in the I-language of literate Brazilians is a function of stylistic prescriptions imposed by instruction.

3.2 Optionality cases independent of competing grammars

With the ongoing change from [+NS] to [-NS], Duarte (1995) found out that when the finite verb was preceded by a short item, the subject pronoun could be *optionally* null, although overt pronouns are preferred.

- (19) a. (Eu) **Já** trabalhava naquela época.
 (I) already worked.1SG at.that time
 ‘I already worked at that time.’
- b. (Cê) **Nunca** ouviu falar nele?¹²
 (You) never heard.2SG talk about.him
 ‘You never head talk about him.’
- c. (Ele) **Não** aguentou o tranco.
 (He) Not stood.3SG the pressure
 ‘He didn’t stand the pressure.’
- d. (Eu) **Me** tornei independente.
 (I) REFL.CL became.1sg independent
 ‘I became independent.’

We have tested the following group of sentences, and noticed that they are all well-formed except for (20a).

- (20) a. ? Ø Como cenouras orgânicas.
 eat.1SG carrots organic
 ‘I eat organic carrots.’
- b. **Eu** como cenouras orgânicas.
 I eat.1SG carrots organic
 ‘I eat organic carrots.’
- c. Ø **Não** como cenouras orgânicas.
 not eat.1SG carrots organic
 ‘I don’t eat organic carrots.’
- d. Ø **Só** como cenouras orgânicas.
 only eat.1SG carrots organic
 ‘I only eat organic carrots.’

¹²The short or light elements we refer to are clitics, negation, light adverbs, located inside the TP, usually between Spec,TP and V. Adverbs and other elements located in the left periphery of the sentence, like interrogative and relative pronouns are contexts where null subjects are almost completely lost.

The only difference between (20a) and the others is that the former starts with the main verb while others are introduced by a short element (cf. Duarte 1995), avoiding a V1 sentence pattern. Just as we showed a prosodic constraint disfavoring V1 in free inversion, we can say here that ordinary affirmative sentences in BP favor V2¹³ as a general pattern. But it seems that in BP the first sentential element does not have to be the subject pronoun, but, as seen in (20), it can be some short element that cliticizes to the verb.

The usual cases of verb in initial position are in answers, but the derivation of such answers have to do with movement of the verb to the Focus initial position, followed by remnant erasure of the predicate (cf. Kato 2013b):

- (21) – Você come cenouras cruas?
you eat carrots raw
'Do you eat raw carrots?'
– [_{Focus} Como [_{TP} eu [~~como cenouras cruas~~]]]
eat
'I do.'

- (22) – O avião chegou no horário?
the plane arrived on time?
'Has the plane arrived on time?'
– [_{Focus} Chegou [_{TP} ele chegou no horario]
arrived
'It has.'

Traditionally, when the notion of the NS Parameter was introduced, it was conceived that the NS was a *pro*, which had to be licensed and identified (Rizzi 1982). More recently, inspired by an old idea of Perlmutter's (1971), who conceived NSs as resulting from a pronominal deletion process, Holmberg (2005) and Roberts (2010) adhered to this idea. In this paper, borrowing ideas from Kato & Duarte (2014, 2018), we will also conceive the referential NSs of prototypical NS languages as deleted *weak* pronouns.¹⁴ The notion of licensing, required by the concept of *pro*, does not allow the idea of optionality. But the notion of deletion can place the phenomenon at PF, the level that defines stylistic rules according to Chomsky & Lasnik (1977).

¹³This "linear" V2 order should not be confused with the structural Germanic V2.

¹⁴Kato (1999) used the idea of weak vs. strong pronouns from Cardinaletti & Starke (1999).

4 From triggers to consequences

4.1 The role of rich morphology as the licensing condition (the trigger) for the referential NS

That rich morphology is a licensing condition for the null subject in “consistent” NS languages (Roberts & Holmberg 2010) has been one of the most prevalent hypotheses, with diachronic evidence to support it. The changes that occurred in Old French (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993) and in BP (Duarte 1993, Kato 1999) support the rich Agr hypothesis, as it was the reduction of the Agr paradigm that led to the general loss of *pro* in the former and the loss of referential *pro* in the latter. Similar facts have been attested for Caribbean Spanish, which lost the NS in all contexts, like Dominican Spanish (Toribio 1993), or in referential contexts like Puerto Rican Spanish.

The empirical facts that support the Agr identification hypothesis come from Duarte (1993), who shows that in the main dialects of BP the grammaticalization of the old address form *você* (from *Vossa Mercê* = ‘Your Grace’), which is associated with the 3rd person verb form, led to an inflectional paradigm in which the three-person distinction was lost. *Você* is now in competition with 2nd person pronoun *tu* ‘you’, which also lost its canonical distinctive ending in speech. The inflectional reduction has been aggravated by the grammaticalization of another nominal expression *a gente* ‘the people’, which entered the BP pronominal system in competition with *nós* ‘we’, very similar to French *on/nous*, and also requires 3rd person singular agreement (see Lopes & Brocardo 2016).

For Galves (1993), the consequence of such changes in the BP inflectional paradigm was a change in the strength of the AGR head, making it [-person]. One possible assumption regarding the partial loss of referential null subjects in BP was that the change was triggered by the loss of its rich inflectional morphology (Duarte 1995, 2018) and the acquisition of new free weak pronouns instead of a regular pronominal inflection (Kato 1999). See Table 5 for the inflections in contemporary paradigm and the reduction in the realization of the personal pronouns.

4.2 The loss of the rich inflection paradigm in BP and its new linear V2 sentential pattern

Until the 19th century, BP had a rich inflectional paradigm with one ending for each person, which qualified it as a type of *weak* pronominal-like clitic (cf. Kato 1999). We propose that, as a consequence of the loss of some of the bound person

Table 4: Evolution of the pronominal and inflectional paradigm in BP in two centuries (Duarte 2018)

	Nominative Pronouns	Paradigm 1 19th C.	Paradigm 2 20th C./1	Paradigm 3 20th C./2
1PS	eu	canto	canto	canto
1PP	nós <i>a gente</i>	cantamos –	cantamos cantaØ	cantamos cantaØ
2PS	tu você	cantas –	cantas cantaØ	cantas cantaØ
2PP	vós vocês	cantais cantam	– cantam	– canta(<i>m</i>)
3PS	ele, ela	cantaØ	cantaØ	cantaØ
3PP	eles, elas	cantam	cantam	canta(<i>m</i>)

Table 5: Personal pronoun contemporary paradigm reductions

1. Corr- o _{1PS}	eu _{1PS}	[ô]	corro
2. Corr-Ø _{2PS}	você _{2PS}	[cê]	corre
3. Corr-Ø _{3PS}	ele _{3PS}	[ei]	corre
4. Corr-Ø _{1PP}	a gente _{1PP}	–	corre
5. Corr- m _{2PP}	vocês _{2PP}	[ceis]	correm
6. Corr- m _{3PP}	eles _{3PP}	[eis]	correm

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inflection, we started having the spell-out of free weak pronouns in sentence initial position. As a consequence, we had a parallel *change in terms of sentential prosody*. While, before the change, examples with NSs exhibited a V1 sentential pattern, they now appeared as a V2 pattern with overt subject pronouns.

Table 6: Changes in BP sentential patterns

19th c. BP: [V1]	20th c. BP: [V2]
a. Comi maçã ontem ate.1SG apples yesterday	a.' Eu comi maçã ontem I ate apples yesterday
b. Fala.2SG francês? speak French	b.' Você/tu fala francês? you speak French?
c. Vamos viajar amanhã go.1PL travel.INF tomorrow 'We are travelling tomorrow'	c.' A gente vai viajar amanhã the people go travel.INF tomorrow 'We are travelling tomorrow'

The same happened with free inversion, which is more acceptable when the first position is occupied by some constituent, resulting in a linear V2 pattern (Kato & Duarte 2018).

Table 7: V1 and V2 with free inversion

V1	V2
a.* Dormiram as crianças aqui. slept the children here	a.' Aqui dormiram as crianças. here slept the children
b.* Vai lá a Maria. goes there the Mary	b.' Lá vai a Maria. there goes the Mary
c.? Chove em São Paulo. rains in São Paulo	c.' São Paulo chove. São Paulo rains

We can conclude that BP is a sort of partial NS language with remaining NSs and free inversion, both strongly constrained by prosodic factors in both cases. Regarding the changes that BP underwent, we can say that morphology was the trigger to change the value of the parameter, but prosody was the consequence.

5 Conclusions

In this work, we proposed that a stylistic prosodic rule affected both free inversion and NS constructions in BP.

- (23) a. Lá vem a Maria. (V2)
there comes the Mary
'There comes Mary.'
- b. *Vem lá a Maria. (V1)
comes there the Mary
'There comes Mary.'
- c. Você é americano? (V2)
you are American
'Are you American?'
- d. *É americano? (V1)
are American
'Are you American?'

We may consider that, at the PF interface, languages have filters regarding their rhythm. To account for the preference for certain forms at this stage of the change in course in PB, a constraint of the form "Avoid V1" will be proposed. This constraint has nothing to do with an XP constituent in Spec of C with the verb in C, as in V2 Germanic languages, but with a prosodic requirement. This means that the initial element can be a head or an XP.

We may conjecture that the rhythmic pattern acts as a sort of parameter, just like morphology. The child would probably be more sensitive to prosody (first) than to morphology.

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