

# Deriving the double subject construction through anti-locality

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## 1 Problem: double subject construction in BP

- Consider the Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP) sentence in (1), referred to in the literature as a Double Subject (DS) (Kato and Negrão, 2000; Kato et al., 2015; Quarezemin, 2020).
- A DS is a construction in which the sentential subject is doubled by a resumptive pronoun.
- DSs are optional as shown in (1b)

(1) Double subjects (Kato and Negrão, 2000)

- a. A        Maria<sub>i</sub> **ela**<sub>i</sub> cozinha que é uma maravilha  
   DET.F Maria<sub>i</sub> she<sub>i</sub> cooks    that is a    wonder  
   "Maria cooks really well"
- b. A        Maria cozinha que é uma maravilha  
   DET.F Maria cooks    that is a    wonder  
   "Maria cooks really well"

- The pattern raises the following questions:<sup>1</sup>, namely:
  1. What is the position of the two subjects?
  2. Are the two subjects base generated? Moved?
  3. Why don't we see a condition B effect?
  4. What accounts for the apparent optionality?
- The pattern is also interesting from a cross-linguistic perspective.
- As Kato and Negrão (2000) notices, DSs are degraded in a close variety of Portuguese, European Portuguese (henceforth, EP).

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<sup>1</sup>For alternative approaches to the one I am proposing see Kato et al. (2015) and Quarezemin (2020)

- Speakers of EP report that the pronoun in (1) is "redundant".
- Can the contrast between EP and BP be tied to structural differences in these languages?
- I argue that (1) is the result from an anti-locality (Erlewine, 2020) violation which is repaired at spell-out through resumptive insertion (Grohmann, 2003).
- My proposal takes elements from two different approaches to anti-locality and puts them together to derive DS.
- The proposal in a nutshell:
  1. I argue that double subjects are derived by movement driven by topic properties of the of the clausal subject.
  2. Specifically, I follow Rodrigues (2004) in assuming the Left Periphery in BP contains an additional FiniteP (FP) projection between TP and CP. FP hosts moved topicalized elements.
  3. Double subjects are thus derived as subjects which move to SpecFP.
  4. I follow Erlewine (2020)'s proposal on Spec-to-Spec anti-locality to show that topicalization of a subject to SpecFP causes an anti-locality violation.
  5. I propose that a violation of anti-locality is repaired at spell-out by resumptive insertion.
- The proposal accounts for the problems mentioned while also straightforwardly accounting for the contrast between BP and EP concerning DSs.

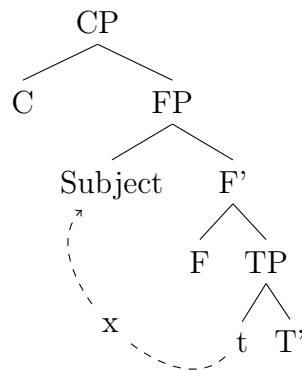
## 2 Proposal

- I assume the subject extraction anti-locality condition postulated in Erlewine (2020):
 

(2)     **Spec-to-spec Anti-Locality** (Erlewine, 2020)  
           Movement of a phrase from the Specifier of XP must cross a maximal projection other than XP.
- In short, subject extraction out of an XP which does not cross a maximal projection other than XP is predicted to be banned.
- Furthermore, I build on the literature on BP (Rodrigues, 2004; Nunes, 2014) in assuming that the language has a FiniteP (FP) in between CP and TP.
- FP hosts topics which are raised to this position in an instantiation of A'-movement available in BP.
- With these two assumptions we can formulate the basic mechanism for deriving DSs.

- What is a DS? A subject which has been moved from SpecTP<sup>2</sup> to SpecFP, as in (3).
- This movement is motivated by the topic property of the higher subject in DS.
- Assuming 2, the movement in (3) is predicted to be banned.
- I propose, following Grohmann (2003), that anti-locality violations can be repaired through resumptive insertion at PF.
- The structure in (3) is then spelled-out as a DS construction, where [Subject] is spelled-out as the R-expression and [t] as a resumptive pronoun.

(3) Anti-local movement from SpecTP to SpecFP



- The derivation of DS in BP can then be accounted through generalized locality conditions and a PF repair mechanism.
- This proposal answers all questions listed at the beginning of this handout
  1. What is the position of the two subjects? SpecTP and SpecFP.
  2. Is the higher subject base generated or moved? The higher subjects is moved to SpecFP.
  3. Why don't we see a condition B effect? The pronoun is inserted only at PF, within narrow syntax the pronoun and the R-expression are the same underlying element.
  4. What accounts for apparent optionality? There is no optionality, we have two different structures. DS = movement to FP, no DS = subject stays at SpecTP.
- Moreover, the proposal accounts for DSs being degraded in EP.
- In EP subjects never land on SpecTP (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998; Barbosa et al., 2005; Kato and Negrão, 2000; Barbosa, 2009).
- No antilocal violation, nothing to repair with a resumptive.
- The resumptive is then not ungrammatical but "redundant".

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<sup>2</sup>Following current literature (Barbosa et al., 2005; Barbosa, 2009; Holmberg, 2005; Ferreira, 2009) I assume subjects in BP raise to SpecTP through EPP-driven movement

### 3 Predictions

#### 3.1 Embedded clauses

- We expect the same mechanism to apply to embedded clauses, where the higher subject must always be below C, this prediction is borne out:

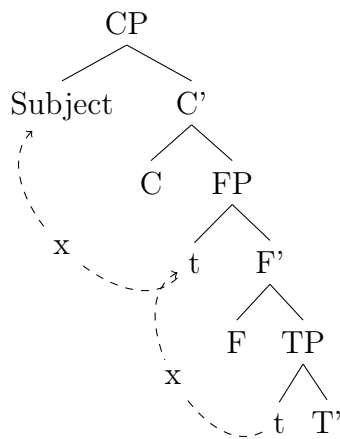
(4) Eu acredito que a Maria ela desenha muito bem  
 I believe that DET.F Maria she draws very well  
 "I believe that when it comes to Maria, she draws very well."

- Since we are dealing with A'-movement to the left periphery, we also expect the mechanism to be cyclic, this prediction is also borne out:

(5) A Maria ela disse que ela desenha muito bem  
 DET.F Maria she said that she draws very well

- In my analysis, (5) involves two movement steps at the embedded clause:
  1. "A Maria" moves from SpecTP to SpecFP (antilocal violation)
  2. "A Maria" moves from SpecFP to SpecCP (second antilocal violation)
  3. "A Maria" moves from the Phase Edge of embedded CP to SpecTP of the matrix clause<sup>3</sup>
  4. "A Maria" moves from matrix SpecTP to matrix SpecFP (antilocal violation)
- The movement steps at the embedded CP are illustrated below in (6)

(6) Movement at the embedded CP




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<sup>3</sup>I assume this movement is motivated by the insertion of an Edge Feature at the Phase Edge

- In my analysis, the chain of anti-local movement at the embedded level is repaired at spell-out of the embedded CP by resumptive insertion at the position of the lowest trace.

## 3.2 Other topicalized elements

- We predict that topicalization to FP of elements other than subjects do not render resumptive insertion.
- This prediction is borne out:

(7) O Marcos<sub>i</sub> a Maria beijou t<sub>i</sub>  
 DET.M Marcos<sub>i</sub> DET.F Maria kissed t<sub>i</sub>  
 "Marcos, Maria kissed."

- Interestingly, adding a resumptive in (7) degrades the sentence, the speakers' judgement being that the pronoun is redundant:

(8) ?O Marcos a Maria beijou ele  
 DET.M Marcos DET.F Maria kissed him  
 "Marcos, Maria kissed him."

- As expected, the same does not apply if we move the subject to SpecFP.

(9) A Maria ela beijou o Marcos  
 DET.F Maria she kissed DET.M Marcos  
 "Maria, she kissed Marcos."

## 3.3 Fronted locative PPs

- BP has two types of fronted locative PPs.
- Type I: presumably movement to the left periphery, does not trigger agreement<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>While the structure where we see plural agreement on the verb is grammatical this encompasses necessarily a different interpretation:

(i) Naqueles bares tocam jazz  
 At-those bars play.3P jazz  
 "Some non-specific group plays jazz at that bar"

In the example above the clausal subject is arbitrary *pro* (Barbosa, 2019), which always triggers 3rd person plural agreement. Notice that we can have 3P with a singular fronted PP as well:

- (10) Locative fronting in BP, type I
- a. Toca jazz naqueles bares  
Play.**3S** jazz **at**-those bar
  - b. Naqueles bares toca jazz  
**At**-those bars play.**3S** jazz  
"Jazz is played at those bar"

- In (10) the locative is moved from its base generated position in (a) to the front of the clause in (b)<sup>5</sup>.
- Type II: moves to SpecTP, behaves like a subject, P-head is deleted<sup>6</sup>.

- (11) Locative fronting in BP, type II
- a. Aquele bar toca jazz  
**that** bar play.**3S** jazz  
"At that bar jazz is played"
  - b. Aqueles bares tocam jazz  
**those** bars play.**3P** jazz  
"At those bars jazz is played"

- In short: type I locative fronting does not involve movement to SpecTP, while type II does.
- Prediction: we should see resumptive insertion only for type II
- This prediction is borne out:

- (12) Type I locatives, no resumptive insertion
- a. \*Naquele bar ele toca jazz  
**At**-that bar **he** play.**3S** jazz  
Intended: "Jazz is played at that bar."
  - b. \*Naqueles bares eles toca jazz  
**At**-those bars **they.M** play.**3S** jazz

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- (ii) Naquele bar tocam jazz  
At-that bar play.**3P** jazz  
"Some non-specific group plays jazz at that bar"

<sup>5</sup>The semantic interpretation of both sentences is that jazz is played at the bar, but no specificity is attributed to the agent of playing jazz (i.e., jazz could be played by the bar's sound system for example, or a jazz band). Crucially, this does not trigger plural agreement. I assume the type I locatives do not land at SpecTP.

<sup>6</sup>The exact mechanism that derives type II locatives in BP is still an open problem

Intended: "Jazz is played at those bars."

- In (12) the sentences can not be interpreted as "Jazz is played at the bar". The only available interpretation is that a specific individual or group plays jazz at the bar(s).
- (12) contrasts with (13)

(13) Type II locatives, resumptive insertion is fine

- a. Aquele bar ele toca jazz  
**that** bar **he** play.**3S** jazz  
"At that bar jazz is played."
- b. Aqueles bares eles tocam jazz  
**those** bars **they**.M play.**3P** jazz  
"At those bars jazz is played"

## 4 Summary and open questions

- I have argued for a proposal where DSs are derived through movement
- The proposal combined two elements from two different approaches to anti-locality:
  1. Erlewine (2020)'s ban on spec-to-spec subject extraction
  2. Grohmann (2003)'s resumptive insertion mechanism for repairing anti-locality violations
- My proposal builds on previous work on BP and assumes i) a specific structure for the Left Periphery ii) the availability of topic movement to SpecFP
- Advantages of my analysis: DS follows from generalized locality conditions combined with an interface mechanism
- There is nothing "unique" about DS, no language-specific mechanism or exception has to be postulated
- Open questions:
  1. The exact timing where resumption insertion occurs: can resumptives be used as a diagnostic for specific points in the derivation (e.g., spell-out of the CP phase)?
  2. Crosslinguistic evidence?
  3. Do we find empirical evidence of anti-locality violations which can not be repaired?

4. Following Erlewine (2020) we should be able to find diagnostics for avoiding anti-local movement through insertion of XPs in between FP and TP (e.g., high adverbs).
5. Crosslinguistic prediction: no DS in pro-drop languages.

## References

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