The syntax of (ditransitive) predicates of transference in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese

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Abstract:

This article examines the syntax of ditransitive predicates of transference in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese (DBP), as opposed to Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and European Portuguese (EP) as well as other Romance languages. It is shown that in DBP and BP the goal argument is realized by the dative preposition *para* 'to', instead of the dative preposition *a* 'to', and the dative clitic *lhe(s)* 'to him/her/them', both found in EP (and other Romance languages). DBP further has a Double Object Construction (DOC) that is argued to be of the English DOC type, although it allows both the goal-theme and the theme-goal word orders. We further take into consideration the presence of reduced and non-reduced pronominal forms in DBP, which are found in all syntactic positions (subject, V complement, P complement, and DOC), except in the theme-goal word order of DOC, in which reduced forms in the singular are not found.

Keywords: Dative, Ditransitive Predicate, Double Object: Clitic/Full Pronoun

1. *Introduction**

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has a dialect in the central region of Brazil which displays interesting properties in the grammatical expression of (ditransitive) predi-

icates of transference as compared to other dialects, particularly with respect to the morphosyntactic encoding of the goal argument. There are a number of reasons for distinguishing the dialect spoken in this region from the others in terms of its social and historical background. In particular, a relevant fact is the isolation that the population was faced with, during the colonial period, due to the economy of the region, based on extensive cattle farming, a situation that remained until the foundation of the new capital of Brazil, in 1960, when new roads and other economic and social perspectives attracted a new population to the region (Palacin 1972). We shall not go into the details of the historical facts, as it is not required for the present study, which considers the linguistic facts on a synchronic basis.

A crucial feature of this dialect of BP is that it displays a Double Object Construction (DOC), which may be compared to DOC in English, as illustrated in (1) and (2). The English example translates the dialectal BP one - here and throughout (unless glosses and translations are specifically provided, especially for dialectal data).

(1)   Maria deu o João o livro
(2)   Mary gave John a book

A great deal of research has been done on the syntax of the goal argument in predicates of transference in BP, due to its specific features as compared to European Portuguese (EP), including Ramos (1992), Berlinck (1996), Brito (2009), Scher (1996), Lima-Salles (1997), Gomes (2003), Lima-Salles and Scherre (2003), Torres de Morais (2006), Torres Morais and Lima-Salles (2010). Among them is the choice of the directional preposition *para* 'to' as a substitute for the dative preposition *a* 'to', as in (3), which interacts with the absence of the third person dative clitic *lhe(s)* 'to him/her/them'. As noted by Torres Morais (2006), in the absence of the third person dative clitic, the goal argument is pronominalized by a full pronoun in the configuration introduced by the preposition 'para', as in (4).

(3)   Maria deu o livro para João.
        Maria gave the book to   John.

(4)   a.   *Maria deu-lhe   o livro
             Maria gave-CL3P.Dat the book

       b.   Maria deu o livro para ele.
            Maria gave the book to him.

Brazilian Portuguese

In EP, the occurrence of a full pronoun is obligatorily doubled by the clitic, as in (5a), unless the pronoun is focused, as in (5b).

(5) a. A Maria deu-*(lhe) o livro a ele.
          the Maria gave-3Dat the book to him
     b. A Maria deu a ELE o livro
          The Maria gave to HIM the book

European Portuguese

In the spirit of Berlinck's (1996) analysis on the properties of the dative preposition in BP, Torres-Morais and Lima-Salles (2010) argue that (3)-(4) involve the directional preposition *para* 'to', which is not a dative marker, but a locative preposition (cf. Cuervo 2003 for Spanish).[1] Correspondingly in EP the preposition *a* 'to' is ambiguous, as it may be either a dative marker in predicates of transference or a lexical preposition introducing locative adjuncts. Lima-Salles (1997), Torres Morais and Salles (2010) further argue that the absence of third person dative clitic *lhe* (and of *a* 'to' as a dative marker) is a pre-condition for the rise of another strategy of encoding the goal argument, namely the double object construction, which is found in the dialect of BP spoken in the central region of Brazil (though not in other dialects of BP).

In this article, we consider DOC in dialectal BP in more detail, specifically in so far as it differs from DOC in English, with the aim to provide a description of the phenomenon as well as a crosslinguistic analysis of the facts within the minimalist framework of generative grammar (Chomsky 1995). The article is organized as follows. In Section 2, we present the dialectal BP data. In Section 3, we provide a brief review of the analyses of DOC in English and an analysis of DOC in DBP. In Section 4, we propose an analysis of the remaining facts, concerning pronouns. In Section 5, we provide the final considerations.

2. *Double objects in predicates of transference in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese*

In dialectal BP (of the Central region of Brazil) the goal argument in ditransitive constructions is not introduced by an overt preposition, paralleling the English double object construction (DOC). The relevant dialect includes

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[1] As shown in various studies there is variation between the preposition *para* and *a* 'to' in DBP (and BP). The important point is that in DBP (and BP) the relevant property of introducing the full pronoun without clitic doubling is found with both *a* and *para*. In Gomes (2003) and Lima-Salles and Scherre (2003), it is shown that *para* tends to be found with predicates denoting concrete transference, while *a* is generally found with predicates such as *dar apoio* 'to give support', *dar conselho* 'to give advice', in which the noun is not a concrete entity.

the Mineiro variety, spoken in the Minas Gerais state, as outlined in the map in Figure 1 (from Nascentes 1953). It also includes an area corresponding to the territory of the Goiás state -- roughly of the same shape and size as the Mineiro dialect and situated on its western side border.[2]

Figure 1. Linguistic map of Brasil
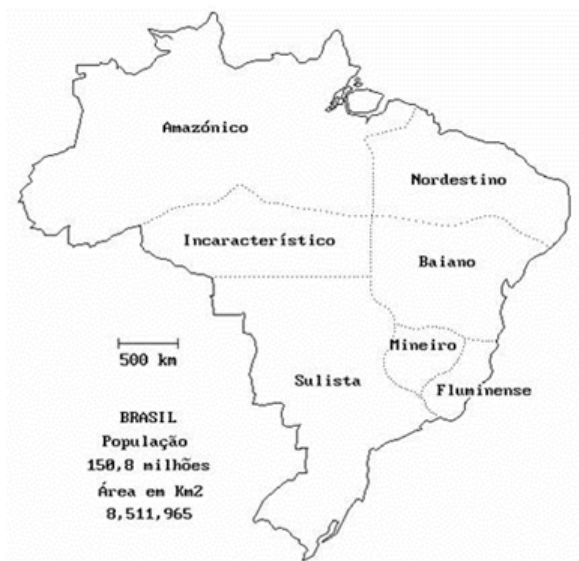
Source: <http://a-lingua-do-brasil.blogspot.it/2013/06/variacoes-da-lingua-no-brasil-do-seculo.html> (05/2016)

Differently from the English DOC, two word orders are found in DBP, namely the goal-theme order in (6)-(7) and the theme-goal order in (8)-(9). Data are collected from real speech. Minas dialectal data are extracted from the 'Mineirês' corpus (kindly made available by Jânia Ramos); Goiás dialectal data are extracted from Nascimento (2010) and from the corpus *Fala Rural - GO* (kindly made available by Tania Rezende Santos).[3]

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[2] The combination of the two above-mentioned areas of Minas Gerais and Goiás states as corresponding to the territory of a single dialect is quite informal, as it is not based on a specific method for drawing the limits of isoglosses. In fact, the proposal of establishing this area as corresponding to a single dialect is based on the results of sociolinguistics studies which point out similar patterns at both the phonological and the (morpho)syntactic level (cf. Ramos 2002; Nascimento 2008; among others).

[3] The numbers and the capital letters on the right side of the dialectal examples are identification codes within the corpora.

(6)   pediu eu   <u>voto</u>   (25TSM)
      [he]   asked 1s vote
      'he asked me a vote.'

(7)   mostrano todo mundo <u>que eu queria</u>...   (25TSM)
      showing   everyone   that <u>I wanted</u>…
      'they were showing everyone that I wanted…'

(8)   nói pidino <u>força</u> Nossa Senhora   (19CLA)
      we [were] asking strength Our Lady
      'We asked Our Lady strength.'

(9)   Aí   ês   ficava dano consei nóis   (E19)
      then they were giving advise 1pl
      'they were giving us advise.'

                                                    Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese

   Where the word order is theme-goal in dialectal BP, the English sentence requires either the word order goal-theme, as in (10a), or the construction with the preposition *to*, as in (10b).

(10) a.   They were giving us advice.
      b.   They showed something to everybody.

   The configuration with the preposition is also found in dialectal BP, in both the DP-PP word order, as in (11), and the PP-DP word order, as in (12). BP in turn only displays the construction with the PP complement.

(11) da aula pra   nos uai   (21MLB)
      [he] gives classes to   us…
      'He gives classes to us.'

(12) cêis   tá   dano muito apoio pa pra ele ai uai   (29JMR)
      you.pl are giving lots of support to him…
      'You are giving him lots of support.'

                                                    Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese

3. *Double Object Constructions: previous analyses*

   DOC in English has been widely investigated within the generativist framework in relation to its alternate, namely the PP construction (Kayne

1984; Larson 1988; Emonds 1993; Hale and Keyser 1993; Pesetsky 1995; among many others). A significant turn in the study of the crosslinguistic manifestation of DOC is Demonte (1995), in which it is proposed that dative clitic doubling in Spanish is a type of DOC, a hypothesis that is also investigated by Anagnostopoulou (2003) for Greek, and further developed by Cuervo (2003) for Spanish. These latter authors argue that a clitic doubled dative is a projection of an Applicative functional head, as proposed by Pylkkänen (2002), for English DOC (but see Manzini and Franco 2016 and references quoted there for a non-Appl, Romance-based analysis of ditransitives).

According to Pylkkänen (2002), datives are applied arguments; and they have two positions of Merge, as in (14).[4]

(14)   i.   The high Applicative: above VP - the Applied DP modifies the event;

       ii. The low Applicative: the Applied phrase is *merged* inside the VP - introducing a (possessive) relation between two entities; an individual and a direct object.

DOC in English involves a low Applicative, given that it is obligatorily associated with a possessive interpretation and cannot have a locative interpretation, as illustrated by the impossibility of DOC with locatives in (15).

(14)   a.   John brought flowers to Mary

       b.   John brought Mary flowers

(15)   a.   Mary brought flowers to the table

       b.   *Mary brought the table flowers

(Green 1974: 103)

The structure for DOC proposed by Pylkkänen (2002) is illustrated in (16). A similar structure in which goal and theme occur in the specifier and complement positions, respectively, of a relational head, is also proposed in a number of analyses adopting a non-derivational approach to the dative alternation (cf. Kayne 1984; Hale and Keyser 1993; Pesetsky 1995; Lima-Salles 1997; Harley 2003).

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[4] According to Pylkkänen (2002), Chaga and Luganda benefactives illustrate the high Applicative construction. English benefactive is a low Applicative because it necessarily involves a transfer of possession. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for having remarked the need for clarification.

(16) a.   He baked Bill a cake

b.   …[$_{VoiceP}$ He [$_{Voice'}$ Voice [$_{VP}$ baked [$_{ApplP}$ Bill [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [a cake]]]]]]

These analyses account for the fact that the DP-*to*-DP structure and the DOC structure denote different interpretations, which may arise with certain verbs and not with others, also depending on the argument they take. The relevant properties may be expressed in terms of lexical decomposition, as originally proposed by Jackendoff (1990) and in other studies, with different refinements and implementations (Harley 2003; Levin 2004; Rappaport-Hovav and Levin 2008). Under this view, it is possible to account for the contrasting interpretations and the (un)grammaticality of pairs such as *John threw the ball to Mary* vs *John threw Mary the ball*; and *John pushed the box to Mary* vs **John pushed Mary the box*, see also examples (14)-(15) above. As noted by Pinker (1989: 103):

[…] verbs that denote instantaneous impart of force to an object causing ballistic physical motion - *throw, kick, slide, roll, bounce* - can be given a new meaning, roughly to cause someone to possess an object by means of instantaneously imparting force to it. Thus an argument that is ordinarily a goal of location change can now also be assigned the role of patient of a possession change […] However, this lexical rule does not Apply to similar verbs, such as those whose definitions involve continuous exertion of force resulting in the guided motion of a theme, such as *carry, pull, push*.

Accordingly, the verb *throw* has two different event structures, corresponding to two interpretations, one denoting an external causative change involving a goal of location, as in (17), and the other denoting a causative change of possession, as in (18). The verb *push* only displays the first one, namely (17).

(17)   [[X ACT <THROW>] CAUSE [y GO [PATH z]]]

(18)   [[X ACT <THROW>] CAUSE [y HAVE z]]

Building on Pilkkänen's (2002) analysis of the English DOC, reproduced here in (16), and following Demonte's (1995) idea that dative clitic doubling in Spanish is a type of DOC, Cuervo (2003) proposes that dative clitic doubling in Spanish involves a low Applicative. In this approach, the contrastive meanings are stated in terms of verbalizer heads encoding event-type within the applicative projection, namely vDO; vGO; vBE, which are associated with the transfer of possession interpretation (not with the transfer of location one). The crucial difference between DOC in English and Spanish is that in English the Appl head is null, while in Spanish it is realized by the dative clitic *le* (see also Diaconescu and Rivero 2007 for Romanian; but see Pineda 2016 for a criticism regarding this correlation).

Torres Morais (2006) proposes that dative clitic doubling in EP also involves an applicative projection, also drawing a parallel with DOC in English (for a different view, see Brito 2008). However, due to the specificities of dative clitic doubling in EP (in particular the fact that the clitic cannot be doubled by a full DP, as illustrated in (19)), the Appl head remains null, and the dative clitic is realized in a complex DP projection that includes the doubled DP (following Uriagereka's (1995) analysis of clitic-doubling in Galician). Both in EP and Spanish the dative morpheme is syntactically projected within the Applicative Phrase. However in Spanish it is merged as the Appl head, while in EP it is hosted by Spec,ApplP together with its doubling DP, as in (20). The appropriate word order is then obtained by movement of the verb and of the clitic *lhe* to functional projections above vP-VP.

(19)   a.   A Maria entregou-(*lhe) o livro   ao   Pedro
            The Maria gave=CL$_{3s}$ the book to-the Pedro

       b.   A Maria entreogou-lhe   o livro   a   ele
            The Maria gave=CL$_{3s}$ the book to-the him
            'Maria gave him the book.'

European Portuguese

(20)   [$_{vP}$ Maria [$_{v'}$ v [$_{root}$ entregou [$_{ApplP}$ [$_{DP}$ a-ele [lhe]] [$_{Appl'}$ Appl$_{\emptyset}$ [$_{DP}$ o livro]]

Going back to dialectal Brazilian Portuguese, Torres Morais and Salles (2010) adopt the applicative analysis that was proposed by Pilkkänen's (2002) for English DOC, based on the following similarities between these languages:

i. The internal arguments obligatorily denote a (transference of) possession relation, as in (20), transference of location being excluded, as in (21)-(22).

(20)   Maria pôs o livro na estante.
       'Mary put the book on the shelf.'
(21)   *Maria pôs a estante o livro/*Maria pôs o livro a estante

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(22)   *Mary put the table the book

ii. DOC is not restricted to predicates denoting a change of state, but it is also found with stative predicates, as in *Maria deve o João dinheiro/Mary owes John money*.

iii. As for binding tests involving quantifiers and anaphors (Barss and Lasnik 1986), in DOC, the goal argument in the first position scopes over the theme, the reverse being ungrammatical, as shown in (23)-(26). In the P-construction the theme argument scopes over the goal argument, as it is in the first position, the reverse being also ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (27)-(30).

(23)   A professora mostrou [$_{GOAL}$ cada pai] [seu filho]

(24)   The teacher showed [$_{GOAL}$ each father] [his son]

(25)   * A professora mostrou [seu filho] [$_{GOAL}$ cada pai]

(26)   * The teacher showed [his son] [$_{GOAL}$ each father]

(27)   A professora mostrou [$_{THEME}$ cada filho] [para seu pai]

(28)   The teacher showed [$_{THEME}$ each son] [to his father]

(29)   *Maria mostrou [$_{THEME}$ seu filho] [para cada pai]

(30)   *Mary showed [$_{THEME}$ his son] [to each father]

<div align="right">

Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese

(data adapted from Scher 1996, Minas dialect)

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However there are differences between English and dialectal BP, recurrently referred to in the literature (Scher 1996; Lima-Salles 1997; Torres Morais and Lima-Salles 2010). They include the fact that the DP goal argument cannot be passivized in dialectal BP, while in English it can, as seen in (31) and (32).

(31)   *O menino foi dado o livro

(32)   The boy was given a book

In spite of the possibility of having the goal argument as the subject of the passive sentence as in (32), there are reasons to believe that the first object in English DOC does not show the same properties as the direct object (Levin 2006 for a survey). The impossibility that the goal argument be the subject in dialectal BP (31) leads us to postulate that this argument is an oblique, being even more restrictive than English in this respect. Moreover, differently from English, the theme argument can raise to subject position in the passive construction, as illustrated in (31') and (32').[5]

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[5] The restriction on passivization affecting the *theme* object of DOC in English is widely discussed in the literature (Kayne 1984; Whitney 1986; Pesestsky 1995). I shall not go into this matter.

(31')   O livro foi dado o menino.

(32')   ?*The book was given the boy

This discussion also subsumes verbs such as *ensinar* 'to teach', which are shown by Lima-Salles (1997) and Torres Morais and Lima-Salles (2010) to allow for passivization, as illustrated in (33). The same is however true in English (34). This may be attributed to the fact that this verb also occur as a monotransitive verb (*Mary taught her children/Mary teaches French*), which does not apply to other ditransitive verbs such as *dar* 'to give'.

(33)   O menino foi ensinado inglês/a falar inglês

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(34)   The boy was taught English/to speak English

Passivization with predicates of saying is also possible in dialectal BP and generally in BP, suggesting that in this case passivization is determined by the clausal status of the direct object, a type of complement that is also available for *ensinar* 'to teach'. In this instance the clausal object, being a CP, does not requires Case, and the goal argument may be assigned structural Case dispensing with the oblique marker. Indeed passivization of the goal argument with these predicates is possible in EP, English and many other languages.

(35)   O menino foi perguntado por que chegou atrasado.

'The boy was asked why he arrived late.'

(36)   O menino foi solicitado sair.

'The boy was requested to leave.'

Brazilian Portuguese

Other verbs of saying such as *informar* 'to inform', *avisar* 'to announce' can be found in two structures in Brazilian Portuguese generally. The first one is a ditransitive structure, with the theme argument realized as the direct object, and the goal argument introduced by the preposition *para* 'to', as in (37). The second is a monotransitive structure, in which the internal argument (interpreted as the goal) is the direct object, further including the subject matter of the information as a PP (or a DP), as illustrated in (38). Both the theme and the goal arguments can be passivized: *João foi informado/John was informed*; *O horário da festa foi informado/The time of the party was informed*.

(37)   Maria informou o   horário da festa para o João.

Maria informed the time   of the party to John.

(38)   Maria informou João (sobre) o   horário da festa.

          Maria informed John (about) the time of the party.

Brazilian Portuguese

Another difference is that DOC is found in English with both 'true' di-transitives and benefactive phrases, as in (40), but benefactives are not found in dialectal BP, as in (39). Constructions with the overt preposition are found both in DBP and English, as in (39')-(40'). Descriptively, then, languages differ as to whether DOC is found with both 'true' ditransitives and benefactives or not, a fact that points to an inclusion relation between these grammatical functions. As pointed out in Lima-Salles (1997), the oblique marking by the null preposition is restricted to 'true' ditransitives in dialectal BP due to the impossibility of distinguishing them from benefactives through the preposition, since *para* 'to' introduces both the goal and the benefactive argument, contrary to English, in which *to* is used for the former, and *for* for the latter.

(39)   *Maria fez os filhos um bolo/*Maria fez um bolo os filhos.

(40)   Mary baked her children a cake.

(39')   Maria fez um bolo <u>para</u> seus filhos.

(40')   Mary baked a cake <u>for</u> her children.

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In spite of the differences in (31)-(32) and in (39)-(40), and taking the similarities listed in (i)-(iii) above to be conclusive from the syntactic point of view, Torres Morais and Lima-Salles (2010) propose that double objects in DBP in the Goal-Theme word order are projected by an Applicative phrase exactly as proposed by Pilkkänen's (2002) for English DOC, as illustrated in (41).

(41) $[_{vP}$ Maria $[_{v'}$ v $[_{root}$ deu $[_{ApplP}$ $[_{DP}$ o menino] $[_{Appl'}$ Appl$_\emptyset$ $[_{DP}$ o livro]]

Nevertheless the difference between dialectal BP and English regarding word order remains unaccounted for. With respect to the possibility of having both the goal-theme and the theme-goal word order, dialectal BP in (41) is consistent with BP in (42), EP and other Romance languages, which allow both word orders with the DP-*a*-DP construction. The only difference is that the dative argument may be prepositionless in dialectal BP, while in these other languages it is obligatorily realized by the dative preposition *a* or *para* 'to'. English, in turn, has a rigid word order, as in (43).

(41)　Maria deu o João o livro/Maria deu o livro o João

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(42)　A Maria deu pro João o livro/A Maria deu o livro pro João

Brazilian Portuguese/Dialectal

(43)　a.　Mary gave John the book/*Mary gave the book John

　　　 b.　Mary gave the book to John/*Mary gave to John the book

Apparently, in a broad focus interpretation there are no interpretive differences between the two word orders. A preliminary search of DOC in the database of dialectal BP shows that the goal-theme word order is the overall preference. We are also aware that informational concerns interact with heaviness of the object as well as verb type, requiring a more detailed analysis. We shall leave this topic for future research.

In the following section, we will look at the pronominal system of dialectal BP.

4. *On the pronominal system of Dialectal BP*

As pointed out in various studies, the pronominal system of dialectal BP has both reduced and non-reduced forms (Corrêa 2002; Souza 2011; Salles and Ramos 2012), as in Table 1.

Table 1. Pronouns in DBP - reduced and non-reduced forms

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Reduced	Non-reduced	Reduced	Non-reduced
First person			*Noi*	*nois*
Second person	*cê~ ocê*	*você*	*côs~ocês*	*vocês*
Third person masculine	Ê	*ele*	*ês~eis*	*eles*
Second person feminine	Éa	*ela*	*Eas*	*elas*

Taking into consideration third person pronouns only, we notice that reduced and non-reduced pronouns are found as subjects in (44), as V complements in (45), as P complements in (46), and in DOC, as in (47)-(48). However, in DOC, only the goal-theme word order allows both types of pronouns, as in (47), while the theme-goal only allows non-reduced forms, as in (48). In spite of the reduced number of examples, the generalization that emerges is that the reduced pronoun is not found in the theme-goal word order; thus all the examples with theme-goal order involve non-reduced pronouns,

namely *ela* 'she' in (48). On the contrary, in the examples in (47), we have both the forms *ele* 'he' and *ês* 'they'. Note that there is no phonological ban on a reduced pronoun in sentence-final position, as shown by (45a).

(44) a. amanhã **ê** já faiz de novo
          tomorrow he already do [it] again

      b. **ele** vei[o]   levô o engenho prá lá
          he came over [and] took the engine away

(45) a. Não sinhora ess'aí   num cheguei vê não. Só via **eis** (...)
          No madam this one there not happen see not. Only saw them
          'No madam that one I didn't happen to see. I only saw them.'

      b. ocê   que vai buscá **ele** prá mim
          [it's] you that will get him for me

(46) a. pegô   o carro na casa   **dê**
          [he] took the car in-the house of.him
          'He took the car in his house.'

      b. queu   dei ele... ila   mula **pêle** í na iscola
          because gave him   him.the horse for.him go in.the school
          'Because I gave him the horse for him to go to school.'

(47) a. queu dei **ele** ila mula pêle í na iscola
          'Because I gave him the horse for him to go to school.'

      b. vão   lá   e dão **ês** atendimento fora
          [they] go there and give them appointment outside
          'They go there and give them an appointment outside.'

(48) a. Maria Lixande, vai   dá mão **ela**
          Maria Lixande, go [and] give hand her
          'Maria Lixande, go and give her a hand.'

      b. os zôto pôis na cabeça queu   dei   pejuizo **ela**
          the other put in.the head that I.gave damage her
          'The others put it in their mind that I caused her damage.'

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A way to look at the (morpho)syntactic status of reduced and non-reduced forms of dialectal BP pronominal system is in terms of Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) theory distinguishing strong and weak/clitic pronouns.

Following Kayne's (1975) distinction between full and clitic pronouns, the authors propose a tripartite typology, which distinguishes strong and weak pronouns, the latter further distinguishing weak and clitic forms. Strong pronouns are found in theta positions, are inherently Case marked, bear independent reference and contrastive focus, allow clefting, and ostensive use; weak pronouns, as opposed to clitics, have word stress, and undergo deletion under ellipsis (but see Manzini 2014 for counterarguments).

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose that these contrasting properties are captured by a notion of deficiency, which is expressed in terms of syntactic simplification (Zribi-Hertz 1999), i.e. of different syntactic projections, which imply complementary distribution. Applying some of the above tests to the reduced and non-reduced forms of dialectal BP, we observe that the reduced forms can be coordinated, as in (49), and modified as in (50).[6] It is true however, that only plural reduced forms may be focused, not singular ones, as in (51). The conclusion seems to be that there is no clear-cut distinction between reduced and non-reduced forms in terms of the typology opposing strong and weak forms.

(49)   Pedi   ês e meu filho para me levar
       [I] asked he and my son to take me

(50)   Êl sozinho é capaz disso
       She only   is capable of.this

(51)   (Quem chegou?) *Ê/*Éa/Éas/Eis
       Who arrived?   Her/him/they

Let us then go back to nonoccurrence of reduced forms as the goal argument in the theme-goal word order, as in (48). Considering that only singular reduced forms are impossible under focus, we wonder whether the plural reduced forms are in fact found as goals in the theme-goal word order. In fact, this seems to be the case according to the judgements of native speakers.

(48)   vai   dá mão **eis/eas**
       [you] go give hand $3pl_{masc}$/$3pl_{fem}$

We then conclude that the reduced singular forms are syntactically deficient in some respect to be clarified, and other forms are not. On the assumption that clitics/deficient forms only attach to Case assigning/licensing positions, it is perhaps possible to account for the absence of the singular

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[6] I am grateful do Walkiria Praça, a native speaker of DBP, for providing the judgements.

reduced forms as the goal argument in the theme-goal word order position. For instance, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), Manzini (2014) discuss the special distribution of Italian pronoun *loro* - which uncharacteristically appears as the goal argument of ditransitives without need for an *a* 'to' preposition. Not unlike the reduced singular forms of dialectal BP, *loro* cannot occur right-peripherally in ditransitives (though it can occur sentence-finally in monotransitives). The authors quoted (though within different frameworks) propose that this is due to the fact that *loro* is really moved to the left edge of the v/V system (AgrOP for Cardinaletti and Starke). Possibly a solution along these lines will work for dialectal BP.

5. *Final considerations*

In this paper, we have discussed the syntax of ditransitive predicates in a dialect of Brazilian Portuguese, as opposed to other dialects of Brazilian Portuguese, on the one hand, and to European Portuguese (and other Romance languages), on the other hand. It was shown that in dialectal BP the goal argument of ditransitive predicates is found in a type of Double Object Construction (DOC), which may be compared to English DOC, although both the goal-theme and the theme-goal word orders are allowed (while only the goal-theme one is allowed in English). It was argued that DOC in dialectal BP is in complementary distribution with the absence of the third person dative clitic *lhe*, as well as the dative preposition *a* 'to'. Following Pilkännen's (2003) analysis for English DOC, it was assumed that DOC in dialectal BP is a projection of a null Applicative head. Dealing with the similarities and the distinctions between dialectal BP and English DOC, it was shown that they share the restriction on possession interpretation, the possibility of having it in both eventive and stative predicates, as well as the absence of a dative pronoun and dative marking on the goal argument. The difference with respect to passivization of the goal argument (possible in English, but not in dialectal BP) was taken to indicate that the goal argument in DOC is more restrictive than English with respect to raising to the EPP position (although passives are possible with verbs of saying). The absence of DOC with benefactives in dialectal BP was related to the absence of a dedicated preposition in this context, as *para* 'to' is used with both the benefactive and the goal-argument, contrary to English, which uses *for* in the former, and *to* in the latter. As for word order, it was suggested that dialectal BP patterns like the other dialects of BP which allow for a flexible word order between the internal arguments. Looking at the occurrence of reduced and non-reduced pronouns in dialectal BP it was shown that they are full forms, except for the (third person) reduced forms in the singular, which are disallowed as the goal argument in the theme-goal word order of DOC, pointing to a correlation with the distribution of the pronoun *loro* in Italian.

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