

## Word Order in Brazilian Portuguese



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*by*

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This work investigates the restrictions on clausal word order in the Brazilian variant of the Portuguese language. The goal of this study is to provide an analysis of word order in Brazilian Portuguese under the Minimalist Program framework.

This chapter introduces the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995b), the framework that guides this study, and reviews a few analyses of word order in Spanish and in Portuguese. The chapter begins with the parameters for word order found in Brazilian Portuguese, showing the motivation for a study such as the one presented here. Then, an overview of the Minimalist Program is provided, in order to lay the foundations for the study. Following this overview, some analyses of word order are reviewed, starting with those put forth before Minimalism, and including analyses of declaratives and of *wh*-questions. The implications of those studies for Brazilian Portuguese are discussed before introducing a few analyses provided within the Minimalist framework. We will then see that those accounts also do not explain satisfactorily the phenomena found in Brazilian Portuguese, a fact that motivates the study in this book.

### 1. Word order in Brazilian Portuguese

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) exhibits some unexpected facts regarding word order. It does not allow for a postverbal<sup>1</sup> subject in interrogatives, contrary to what one might expect, given the facts in other closely related languages. This is interesting from a theoretical point of view, since most analyses of other Romance languages assume an obligatory ‘subject-verb inversion’ in questions (cf. Rizzi 1991, Zubizarreta 1992 among others). In Brazilian Portuguese, such inversion yields ungrammaticality, and we find SVO to be the order used in interrogatives as well as in declaratives. In other related languages (Spanish, Italian, and even European Portuguese) there are other or-

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ders possible in affirmative sentences – i.e., in these languages a postverbal subject may also be found in declaratives. Within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993), it is very important to account for word order facts: since movement before Spell-out is reflected in the output, this “unexpected” order in Brazilian Portuguese happens because there is more or less overt movement required in this language (compared to the other Romance languages).

For the most part, declaratives in Brazilian Portuguese exhibit SVO order. This is the default order for sentences involving transitive and unergative<sup>2</sup> verbs:

- (1) a. *A Ana comprou muita coisa nesta loja.*  
‘Ana bought much stuff at this store’  
b. *\*Comprou a Ana muita coisa nesta loja.*  
Bought Ana much stuff at this store  
c. *\*Comprou muita coisa a Ana.*  
Bought much stuff Ana
- (2) a. *O Ivo trabalha todo dia.*  
‘Ivo works every day’  
b. *\*Trabalha todo dia o Ivo.*  
Works every day Ivo  
c. *\*Todo dia trabalha o Ivo.*  
Every day works Ivo

As we can see in (1) and (2), declaratives involving transitives or unergatives show the order subject-verb. As a rule, a postverbal subject yields ungrammaticality. This is not true, however, of sentences that contain unaccusative verbs, where the order verb-subject is also possible:

- (3) a. *A Maria chegou.*  
‘Maria arrived’  
b. *Chegou a Maria.*  
Arrived Maria



Sentences with *ser/estar* 'to be' may also contain VS in declaratives:

- (4) a. *Os meninos são impossíveis.*  
'The boys are impossible'
- b. *São impossíveis os meninos.*<sup>3</sup>  
Are impossible the boys

In interrogatives, the order found with transitives and unergatives is again SV:

- (5) a. *O que o Paulo comprou?*  
What Paulo bought?  
'What did Paulo buy?'
- b. *\*O que comprou o Paulo?*  
What bought Paulo?
- (6) a. *Quando a Bia trabalha?*  
When Bia works?  
'When does Bia work?'
- b. *\*Quando trabalha a Bia?*  
When works Bia

The examples in (5) and (6) contrast with their counterpart in most dialects of Spanish, one closely related language, which allows only postverbal subjects in most *wh*-questions:

- (7) a. *\*¿Qué Pablo compró?*  
What Pablo bought?
- b. *¿Qué compró Pablo?*  
What bought Pablo?  
'What did Pablo buy?'
- c. *\*¿Cuándo Ana trabaja?*  
When Ana works?
- d. *¿Cuándo trabaja Ana?*  
When works Ana?  
'When does Ana work?'

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In Brazilian Portuguese, a different order with a transitive verb may yield a different meaning, whereas in other languages we may find ambiguity: the Spanish example (8a) and the Italian example (8b) are ambiguous, while Brazilian Portuguese (8c) and (d) are not:

- (8) a. *¿Qué contiene la caja?* (Spanish)  
       ‘What does the box contain?’/‘What contains the box?’  
       b. *Chi ama Maria?* (Italian)  
       ‘Who loves Maria?’/‘Who does Maria love?’  
       c. *Quem ama Maria?* (Brazilian Portuguese)  
       ‘Who loves Maria?’/\*Who does M. love?  
       d. *Quem Maria ama?* (Brazilian Portuguese)  
       ‘Who does Maria love?’

Although SV is the obligatory order with transitives and unergatives (with the exception noted in endnote 2), VS as well as SV is found in *wh*-questions with unaccusatives<sup>4</sup>, both with inanimate and with animate subjects:

- (9) a. *Por onde passa o ônibus?*  
       By where passes the bus  
       ‘Where does the bus go by?’  
       a’. *Por onde o ônibus passa?*  
       By where the bus passes  
       b. *Quando sai o jornal?*  
       When comes out the newspaper  
       ‘When does the newspaper come out?’  
       b’. *Quando o jornal sai?*  
       When the newspaper comes out  
       c. *A que horas sai a Bia?*  
       At what time leaves Bia  
       c’. *A que horas a Bia sai?*  
       At what time Bia leaves  
       ‘What time does Bia leave?’

As we can see from the examples in (9), with unaccusative verbs VS yields grammatical results, just as SV does. That does not happen with transitives or unergatives, as was shown before.

These preliminary data already show that word order in Brazilian Portuguese is an intriguing topic: for the most part, BP does not accept subject-verb inversion, not even in interrogatives, where inversion is found in so many languages (including European Portuguese, though not obligatorily). Nevertheless, inversion is perfectly acceptable with unaccusatives and the copular verbs *ser/estar* ‘to be’, both in interrogatives and in affirmatives. Therefore, we ought to investigate why it is that clauses – both declarative and interrogative – in Brazilian Portuguese with transitives and unergatives cannot exhibit inversion, and also why unaccusatives may yield inversion in both kinds of clauses.

An account of the facts in Brazilian Portuguese raises important questions for recent theoretical accounts of ‘inversion’ and word order in general. The next section sketches an overview of the framework under which the analyses here are carried out.

## 2. Overview of the Minimalist Program

According to the Principles and Parameters approach to linguistic theory, the variations found among languages can be derived from a highly constrained set of parameters which interact with universal principles of language. The Minimalist Program is a particular variant of the Principles and Parameters framework, based on principles of economy. Within this framework, developed in Chomsky (1991, 1993, 1995b), invariant principles determine what counts as a possible derivation; a derivation converges at one of the interfaces (PF and LF) if it yields a representation satisfying FI (Full Interpretation) at this level; otherwise it crashes. Chomsky argues that multiple levels of representation can raise empirical problems; thus it is best to dispense with them in a representation of the language system. There are, for example, instances of expressions interpretable at LF that are not interpretable in their D-structure positions, which make special assumptions for postulating a D-structure lose

credibility. Chomsky (1993) dispenses with this level of representation and relies on Generalized Transformations for lexical access. Without D-S, the computational system selects an item from the lexicon and projects it to an X' structure (but cf. Chomsky 1995a, 1995b (Chapter 4), where X' Theory is eliminated as a template on phrase structures). S-structure is also dispensed with, since it interferes with optimality and increases complications in the derivation (a linguistic expression is an optimal realization of interface conditions).

In Minimalism, a lexical item enters the derivation already equipped with all the features necessary. Taking a verb as an example, it is assumed to have inflectional features in the lexicon as an intrinsic property. These features are checked against I(nflection). If the features of I and the verb match, the strong features of I disappear and the verb enters the PF component under Spell-out: the derivation converges. If those features do not match, the derivation crashes at PF, because the strong features cannot be eliminated and are uninterpretable at PF. This checking procedure may *a priori* take place at any point in the derivation, before or after Spell-out, depending on feature strength (so, feature checking is important for reasons other than preventing crashing at PF).

Following Chomsky (1993), the functional elements Tense and Agr both have nominal and verb features (D/N- and V-features). (Chomsky 1995b revises this system by eliminating Agr as a functional head. I will treat this point in more detail in the next chapter.) These features may be parameterized with either a *strong* or a *weak* value. Strong features are required to be checked in the derivation by Spell-out (i.e., in the overt syntax), whereas weak features are checked after Spell-out. The morphological features of Tense and Agr have two functions: first, to check properties of the DP that raises to their specifier position; and second, to assure that DP and V are properly paired. The interaction of these features with principles such as Procrastinate (which states that if movement is not required to be overt, then it will be covert) will determine whether certain steps of the derivation occur before Spell-out (overtly) or at LF (covertly). The D-features correlate with the Spec positions, ruling DP movement, and the V-features with the functional heads, ruling

head movement. The Case Filter is recast as an interface condition, the condition that all morphological features must be checked somewhere, for convergence.

French and English, for example, have strong D- features of Tense, which means that in these languages a DP argument must raise overtly to check its features. French also has strong V-features of Tense. Thus, Chomsky (1991) argues that V in French moves overtly to T, and the V+T complex head then raises to AgrS. In English, however, the V-features of Agr are weak and are not checked overtly. Following Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991, 1993) this difference between strong and weak features accounts for observed contrasts in word order between the two languages. The only relevant difference between them, therefore, is the specification for the V-features of Agr. Thus, within Minimalism, word order has to be accounted for in terms of the distinction between strong/weak features, which correlates with whether movement happens overtly or covertly.

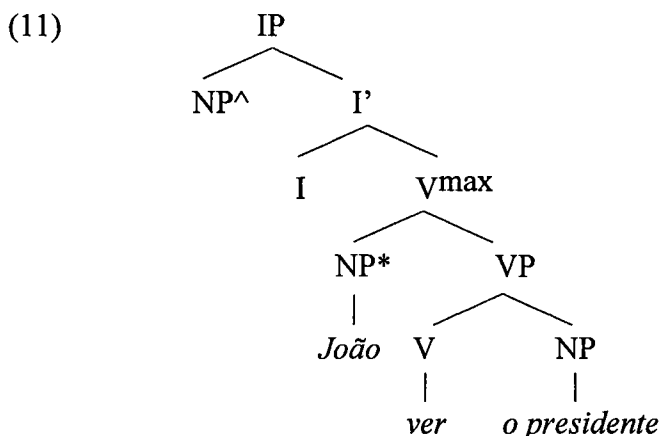
In the next section we will discuss a few accounts of word order undertaken within the Government and Binding theory framework, prior to Minimalism. We will also briefly introduce analyses based on the Minimalism framework. Here, our goal is to verify what insights can be derived from these analyses independently of the particular theoretical assumptions on which they are based.

### 3. Analyses before Minimalism

#### 3.1. *Declaratives*

As we have seen, word order is predominantly SV in Brazilian Portuguese. In a work that has been taken as departure for many others, Koopman and Sportiche (1991) propose that subjects do not originate in [Spec, IP], but rather move to this position for Case reasons. At D-Structure, subjects are found adjoined to  $V^{\max}$  (alternatively, in [Spec, VP], as in Contreras 1991). This idea is quite well motivated in their work, and here it is assumed to be correct. Thus, a simple declarative such as (10) would have (11) as its D-Structure (in pre-Minimalism terms):

- (10) *João viu o presidente.*  
 'João saw the president'



NP^ receives Structural Case from I. This is an instance of Case assignment by agreement, where a head assigns Case to an NP in its specifier position (or, in Minimalism terms, Case is checked in the Spec position).

Given the Brazilian Portuguese example above, it would appear that movement to NP^ is necessary in Brazilian Portuguese. Unlike in Spanish (as [13]), postverbal subjects are not found in matrix declaratives:

- (12) a. *Paulo deu um presente ao amigo dele.*  
 Paulo gave a gift to his friend  
 b. \**Deu Paulo um presente ao amigo dele.*  
 Gave Paulo a gift to his friend
- (13) a. *Pablo le regaló el violín a su amigo.*  
 Pablo him-gave the violin to his friend  
 b. *Le regaló Pablo el violín a su amigo.*  
 To-him Pablo gave the violin to his friend

Consider how Koopman and Sportiche (1991) would deal with Spanish. NP^ in this language is not necessary, because Infl seems to be able to govern NP\*<sup>5</sup>. This is explicitly assumed by Contreras

(1991) to account for VSO order in Spanish. He further argues that a preverbal subject in Spanish is adjoined to IP, a defective category in Spanish that lacks an intermediate projection. Thus, SVO order arises from adjunction rather than movement to [Spec, IP]. Unlike Spanish, preverbal subjects in Brazilian Portuguese are not only an option; they are not adjoined, but rather move to [Spec, IP] for Case checking reasons. Thus, Contreras's account would analyze Brazilian Portuguese as English, in which IP is not a defective category. Furthermore, his account relies on the notion of government, which is not available in the Minimalism framework.

For Italian VOS, under the Principles and Parameter framework it was generally assumed that there the subject moved from a preverbal position to a right-adjoined position (as in Rizzi 1982). Lack of VSO in Italian was accounted for with the impossibility for the subject to be governed and Case-marked in its base position. Again, the Principles and Parameters accounts deal with ideas that are not part of the Minimalism framework, and thus would need to be reformulated. For example, the Minimalist Program does not include the notion of government, although it does keep Case, even if now it is no longer "assigned", but rather "checked". However, we can derive the insight that Case needs drive movement to NP<sup>+</sup>. Later it will be seen that these Case needs have different realizations in Brazilian Portuguese vs. Spanish.

### 3.2. *Wh-questions*

In questions, as observed above, preverbal subjects are also the rule for transitive and intransitive verbs in Brazilian Portuguese. Some languages, however, do not accept this type of order in interrogatives.

The accounts of word order put forth before Minimalism, as we see, rested crucially on where subjects can be governed and Case-marked. Furthermore, those analyses generally did not take into account movement of the verb (although the general assumption is that the verb moves to Infl by S-S in Romance, as opposed to English). Here I outline a few of those analyses.

## 3.2.1. Analyses assuming V-to-C movement

Rizzi (1991) accounts for inversion in *wh*-questions in English and Italian by proposing the *Wh*-Criterion:

- (14) The *Wh*-Criterion
- a. A *Wh*-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an  $X^0_{[+WH]}$ .
  - b. An  $X^0_{[+WH]}$  must be in a Spec-head configuration with a *Wh*-operator.

According to Rizzi, English and Italian exhibit I to C movement: the verb, either the main verb (in Italian) or an auxiliary (in English), first moves to Infl, and then to C in questions, in order to satisfy the *Wh*-Criterion. He claims that this criterion is responsible for the S-Structure distribution and the LF interpretation of *wh*-operators. The *Wh*-Criterion, according to him, expresses the fact that interrogative operators must be in the spec of CPs which are interpreted as questions, and, conversely, CPs interpreted as questions must have interrogative operators as specifiers. Rizzi argues that the criterion is met in English and Italian *wh*-questions because Infl carrying [+Wh] moves to C, and the *wh*-operator moves to its Spec:

- (15)  $[_{CP}[_{C'}\text{what}[_{C^0}\text{has}_{[+WH]} [_{\text{Mary t said t}}]]]$

This same account is used to explain the data in Italian: *Wh* is licensed in main clauses under I, the inflected verb moves to C and the *Wh*-Criterion is met. This is supported by hypothetical clauses in Italian, where I to C movement is also found (parallel to English): the hypothetical complementizer *se* 'if' can be dropped only with a post-verbal or null subject, as in (16) from Rizzi (1991):

- (16) a. *\*(Se) Gianni fosse arrivato, tutti sarebbero stati contenti.*  
           'If Gianni had arrived, everybody would have been happy'  
       b. *(Se) fosse arrivato Gianni, ...*



- c. *(Se) fosse arrivato in tempo, Gianni sarebbe stato contento.*  
(If) had arrived in time, G. would have been happy.

In Rizzi's analysis, *se* can be replaced with the inflected verb under I to C movement. The non-application of this movement requires *se* to be in the sentence, its absence yielding ungrammaticality as in (16a). Rizzi's approach is explicitly adopted for Spanish *wh*-structures by Zubizarreta (1992) with little further argument.

Mallén (1994) also proposes that V moves to C in Spanish *wh*-structures, triggered by a mechanism similar to that in V2 languages, i.e. the necessity for a constituent to comply with a Case requirement, which in Spanish is expressed as a requirement that a variable or the head of the movement chain containing a variable must be properly governed by a Case assigner<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, evidence for V-to-C is not provided in his work.

### 3.2.2. Analyses assuming no V-to-C

Contra the analyses arguing for V to C movement, other analyses take as their starting point the idea that 'inversion' is due to the subject not moving to [Spec, IP]. Suñer (1994) argues that V in Spanish does not move to C, and the empirical validity of her argument needs to be emphasized. In her analysis, she uses the position of phrasal adverbs as tests: if V moved to C in questions, these adverbials would necessarily follow V when a *wh*-phrase is in [Spec, CP]. However, this is not the case in either Spanish (17a, b) or Brazilian Portuguese (17c, d) (in BP, the very position of the subject would indicate lack of V-to-C):

- (17) a. ¿A **quién jamás** ofenderías tú con tus acciones?  
Whom never would-you offend with your actions  
b. ¿**Qué idioma todavía** estudia Pepita en su tiempo libre?  
What language still studies Pepita in her free time  
(Suñer 1994: [21a] and [21c])

- c. *Que idioma o Ivo **ainda** estuda no seu tempo livre?*  
What language Ivo still studies in his free time
- d. *\*/?Que idioma o Ivo estuda **ainda** no seu tempo livre?*  
What language Ivo studies still in his free time

As Suñer points out, in English either Aux or do moves to C, leaving the adverb behind:

- (18) a. *Which student do you still tutor?*
- b. *\*Which student still do you tutor?*

Another piece of evidence for the claim that V does not move to C in Spanish is given by sentential negation when combined with adverbials like those in (17). When negation occurs together with VP-external adverbs, the adverbials and the negation word *no* (or *não* in Portuguese, [19c]) should follow the verb if it were in C. Again, (19) shows the opposite:

- (19) a. *¿Qué aún no le dio Mafalda a su mamá?*  
'What has Mafalda not given her mother yet?'
- b. *¿A quién ya casi no le escribes tú carta?*  
'To whom don't you write letters hardly anymore?'  
(Suñer 1994: [25a] and [25b])
- c. *A quem você já quase não escreve?*  
'To whom don't you hardly write anymore?'

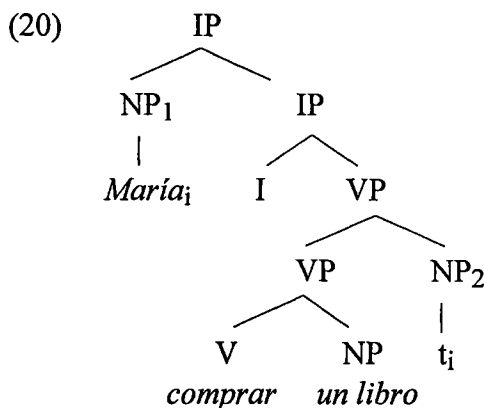
The sentential negator and the adverbials are placed before the verb, showing that V is not in C, but rather within IP. Therefore, like Spanish (assuming Suñer to be correct), Brazilian Portuguese does not have movement of V into C. In the case of verb movement, then, Brazilian Portuguese parallels Spanish, a parallelism which is not found with the position of the subject.

As we have seen, SV is the preferred order in Brazilian Portuguese. For Spanish, there are several analyses that propose an account for the obligatory postverbal subject in *wh*-questions. Ideally, an account of postverbal subjects in Spanish should also be able to account for the lack thereof in Brazilian Portuguese. Suñer (1994) proposes a

condition to account for obligatory inversion, the so-called Argumental Agreement Licensing (AAL). Suñer postulates that *wh*-phrases have the feature [+Argumental], which means that by Spec-Head agreement,  $C^0$  also has the same feature. Then, the head and its Spec have to match in being [+*wh*, +Arg]. However, Suñer continues, this selected feature seems to need licensing by the predicate in I (or T). She considers selection to involve feature matching or checking between the verb and its argumental elements. Thus, her Argumental Agreement Licensing requires that [Spec, CP] and C agree with respect to the feature [ $\pm$  Argumental]. As a consequence, a subject cannot raise to [Spec, IP] when an argumental *wh*-phrase is in [Spec, CP], and subject-verb 'inversion' obtains. Since the subject in Brazilian Portuguese does move to [Spec, IP] even in *wh*-questions, a condition such as the AAL would be particular to Spanish. Nevertheless, there are varieties of Spanish which this condition does not account for, as is the case with Puerto Rican Spanish, which allows for preverbal subjects in *wh*-questions. Suñer suggests that the AAL is simply not part of the grammar of Puerto Rican Spanish.

A different analysis is given by Goodall (1993), who argues that in *wh*-clauses in Spanish, the *wh*-phrase must move into [Spec, IP] before moving into [Spec, CP], preventing the subject NP from landing in [Spec, IP]. This would mean that [Spec, IP] is a potential A'-position in Spanish. Koopman and Sportiche (1991) suggest that for English the status of NP<sup>^</sup> depends on how to account for the distribution of *do*. In Spanish, where the subject may remain in situ, NP<sup>^</sup> can plausibly be an A'-position.

Finally, Contreras's (1991) explanation of Spanish word order in questions rests crucially on his idea that a preverbal subject in Spanish is adjoined to IP. This is seen in (20), the structure for *María compró un libro*:



(20) could be generated by movement or by base-adjunction<sup>7</sup>. If generated by movement, NP<sub>2</sub> dominates a variable, and NP<sub>1</sub> is licensed at S-structure by binding the variable. This derivation would then allow a preverbal subject in a *wh*-question. Nevertheless, Contreras proposes that a closed domain cannot contain any unlicensed elements (Closed Domain Condition, CDC).

(21) \*¿*Qué<sub>i</sub> María<sub>j</sub> compró t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>* ?

The A'-chain consisting of *qué* and its trace constitutes a closed domain, since it contains all that is necessary for its interpretation. Violation of the CDC thus yields the ungrammaticality in (21). A base-adjoined preverbal subject is equally ungrammatical in a *wh*-movement structure, since preverbal subjects, by his analysis, are not licensed until LF. Because *wh*-movement creates a chain at S-structure, the CDC must be met at that level, hence the ungrammaticality.

The analyses put forth by Suñer, Goodall and Contreras may give us a few insights regarding the impossibility of SV in Spanish *wh*-questions. The essential idea in Suñer's account is related to agreement between [Spec, CP] and C. The fact that feature mismatch yields ungrammaticality is in tune with the basic idea in the Minimalist Program. This approach (feature mismatch) is taken up again in Ordóñez (1997) to account for the same phenomenon, but now under a more current framework (I will return to Ordóñez's analysis in

Chapter 4). In Contreras's work we find the idea that preverbal subjects in Spanish occupy a more peripheral position, a concept that has been argued for in the work of several other researchers, and for languages other than Spanish as well (for Spanish, this idea is present in Zubizarreta 1994; Ordóñez 1997). If updated to the Minimalism framework, Goodall's account may be related to (possibly EPP) feature checking by the *wh*-word in [Spec, TP], which would prevent the subject from moving to that position overtly. The insight that feature checking prevents further overt movement of the subject is explored in more detail in Chapter 3 of this study, to account for postverbal subjects in the locative inversion construction and for inversion with unaccusatives. Therefore, we see that all three analyses contain ideas that can be helpful if refined and updated.

### 3.2.3. Implications for Brazilian Portuguese

These previous analyses of word order present shortcomings regarding Brazilian Portuguese, as we shall see. In justifying the *Wh*-Criterion, Rizzi (1991) takes some examples from French: he observes that along with having Subject-Aux inversion, French also has SV order, which, as we have seen, is the usual order for Brazilian Portuguese (examples from Rizzi 1991):

- (22) a. *Elle a rencontré qui?*  
       She has met who?  
       b. *Qui<sub>i</sub> elle a rencontré t<sub>i</sub> ?*  
       Who she has met?  
       c. *Qui<sub>i</sub> a<sub>j</sub>-t-elle t<sub>j</sub> rencontré t<sub>i</sub> ?*  
       Who has she met?

(22c) looks like its English counterpart, and is analyzed in the same way, i.e., the object and the inflected verb move in order to meet the *Wh*-Criterion. According to Rizzi, the *Wh*-Criterion is normally met by means of *static* agreement: I contains the Wh feature, and the Criterion is satisfied at S-structure and at LF, given that I moves to C. This leaves (22a) and (b) to be explained. Rizzi's account for these

sentences rests on the notion of *dynamic* agreement: a *wh*-operator is able to confer the Wh feature to a clausal head under agreement. He formalizes this as in (23):

$$(23) \quad \text{Wh-Op } X^o \Rightarrow \text{Wh-Op } X^o_{[+WH]}$$

In (23), the specifier (i.e., [Spec, CP]) can pass the relevant feature specification to the head C. At D-structure in (22b), no clausal head contains the feature [+WH]. *Wh*-movement applies in the syntax, and C can get the feature through dynamic agreement. Thus, besides static agreement, French is also endowed with dynamic agreement, which applies freely in the syntax or at LF. Now, the Brazilian Portuguese counterparts to (22a)<sup>8</sup> and (b) are also well-formed, whereas the sentence corresponding to (22c) would not be found:

- (24) a. *Ela tinha encontrado quem?*  
           She had met who?  
       b. *Quem ela tinha encontrado?*  
           Who she had met?  
       c. \**Quem tinha ela encontrado?*  
           Who had she met?

Brazilian Portuguese patterns with French in having in situ *wh*-elements and preverbal subjects in questions. Furthermore, as in French and in English, in subcategorized questions only the structure resulting from the simple movement of the *wh*-element to [Spec, CP] is well-formed. This would lead us to reject a simpler account of (22) and (24) that might state that the *Wh*-Criterion does not apply at S-S (or before Spell-out) – in other words, it does not drive overt movement:

- (25) a. \**Eu não sei [(que)[ela encontrou quem]]*  
           I don't know she met who  
       b. *Eu não sei [quem<sub>i</sub> [ela encontrou t<sub>i</sub>]]*  
           I don't know who she met  
       c. \**Eu não sei [quem<sub>i</sub> tinha<sub>j</sub> [ela t<sub>j</sub> encontrado t<sub>i</sub>]]*  
           I don't know who had she met