

**On romance syntactic complex predicates:
why Brazilian Portuguese is different¹**

**Sobre predicados complexos sintáticos nas línguas românicas:
por que o português brasileiro é diferente²**

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RESUMO

Proponho que a subida de clítico é efeito da formação de predicados complexos sintáticos nas línguas românicas, pois o sintagma do verbo não-finito se move para o especificador

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do V mais alto nessas construções. Esse movimento forma um predicado complexo, propiciando a subida do clítico. É crucial para tal movimento que haja um sistema C-T defectivo. A falta de subida de clítico no português brasileiro, portanto, é uma consequência de um sistema C-T não-defectivo nessas estruturas. Como decorrência, temos a possibilidade de certas construções na língua, que são apresentadas como evidência adicional para a proposta.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Subida de clítico. Predicados complexos sintáticos. ECM. Infinitivo flexionado. Português Brasileiro. Teoria de Princípios e Parâmetros.

ABSTRACT

I analyze clitic climbing as the effect of Romance syntactic complex predicate formation: the non-finite verb phrase moves to the specifier of the upper V. This movement forms a complex predicate so as to allow for a configuration where clitics can climb. Crucial for this movement is the presence of a defective C-T. The lack of clitic climbing in Brazilian Portuguese is but one consequence of a non-defective C-T system in these structures. As a consequence, we have the possibility for certain constructions to occur in the language; in fact, they are presented as additional evidence for the proposal.

KEYWORDS

Clitic climbing. Syntactic complex predicates. ECM. Inflected infinitives. Brazilian Portuguese. Principles & Parameters Theory.

1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that Romance languages have the phenomenon called “clitic climbing” whereby clitics associated to a lower verb in a two or more verb complex (1a) can occur adjacent to the upper verb (1b):

- (1) a. **Volevo chiamarti** ieri. [Italian]
I-wanted call-INF.you-CL yesterday
 ‘I wanted to call you up yesterday’

- b. **tivolevo chiamare** ieri
 you.CL.I-wanted call-INF yesterday
 I wanted to call you up yesterday'

Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP), although being considered Romance language, does not allow clitic climbing, as we can see in (2) – compare to (1b):

- (2) *Me quis telefonar ontem.
 He me.CL wanted visit-INF yesterday
 He wanted to visit me yesterday?.

In this paper, I argue that BP does not allow clitic climbing because the language does not have the Romance type of complex predicate formation. In other words, lack of clitic climbing is only one of the effects of the lack of complex predicates in BP, as I will show. I, then, propose an explanation for this fact and I show that my proposal also explains why BP lacks other structures that have been considered complex predicates.

This paper is organized as follows. I first focus on clitic climbing, and, based on recent literature, I propose an analysis for the phenomena in three structures: *Faire*+Infinitive causatives, auxiliary+participle constructions and restructuring configurations. After that, I focus on BP and show why the language does not have clitic climbing – it does not allow for the complex predicate formation that exists in other Romance languages. I propose that nonfinite T in BP is non-defective, and thus we do not have the complex predicate formation in the configurations where it happens in Romance. This proposal has some predictions which I show are borne out in BP.

2 On clitic climbing

Clitic climbing occurs with three types of constructions, which I call syntactic Romance complex predicates, and it is obligatory only

in the first two: (a) synthetic causatives (*Faire*+Infinitive) (3)-(5); (b) auxiliary+participle constructions (“periphrastic tenses”) (6)-(8); and (c) restructuring configurations (9)-(10):

- (3) a. O João **mandou comer** a sopa à Maria. [European Portuguese, EP]
The João ordered eat.INF the soup to Maria
 ‘João made Maria eat the soup’.
- b. O João **a mandou comer** à Maria.
The João it.CL ordered eat to Maria
 ‘João made Maria eat it.’
- (4) a. Maria **ha fatto riparare** la macchina a Gianni. [Italian]
Maria FAIRE repair.INF the car to Gianni.
 ‘Maria made Gianni repair the car’
- b. Maria **l’ha fatto riparare** a Gianni
Maria it.CL has made repair to Gianni
 ‘Maria made Gianni repair it.’
- (5) a. Jean a **fait rire** son ami. [French]
Jean has FAIRE laugh.INF his friend
 ‘Jean made his friend laugh’.
- b. Jean **l’a fait rire**.
Jean him.CL has FAIRE laugh.INF
 ‘Jean made him laugh’.
- (6) a. O João não me tinha visto. [EP]
The João not me had seen
 ‘John had not seen me.’
- b. *O João não tinha visto-me.
 c. *O João não tinha me visto.
- (7) a. Gianni lo ha fatto. [Italian]
Gianni it has done
 ‘Gianni has done it’
- b. *Gianni ha fatto lo.
 c. *Gianni ha lo fatto.

- (8) a. Jean l'a lu. [French]
Jean it has read
 'Jean has read it.'
 b. *Jean a lu le.
 c. *Jean a le lu.
- (9) a. O João me quis visitar. [EP]
The João me.CL want visit.INF
 'João wanted to visit me'.
 b. O João quis-me visitar
 c. O João quis visitar-me.
- (10) a. Gianni vuole leggerlo. [Italian]
Gianni wants read.INF.it.CL
 'Gianni wants to read it.'
 b. Gianni lo vuole leggere.

Below I provide an analysis for clitic climbing which unifies these three constructions: in all of them, a complex predicate is formed by the movement of an XP, which will then provide the necessary condition for the clitic to climb to the upper verb. The analysis is presented for each construction separately.

(a) *Faire*+Infinitive causatives

Faire+Infinitive causatives are possible with causatives (11a) and perception (11b) verbs³:

- (11) a. Jean fera laver la voiture à Marie. [French]
Jean make-FUT wash-INF the car to Marie
 'Jean is going to make Marie wash the car.'
- b. Maria viu sair o menino. [European Portuguese, EP]
Maria saw leave-INF the boy
 'Maria saw the boy leave'.

³There is a (semantic and structural) difference between these two classes of verbs (cf. GUASTI, 1993; FELSER, 1999), but this will not be capitalized here.

Faire+ Infinitives are syntactic complex predicates, since they ‘force’ clitic climbing: the clitic which is related to the lower verb must appear cliticized to the upper verb (cf. KAYNE, 1975; BURZIO, 1986; GUASTI, 1993; GONÇALVES, 1999, among others). Thus, if a clitic is present, clitic climbing is obligatory, be it the accusative argument (12a), or the dative subject of the infinitive (12b):

- (12) a. Jean la fera laver à Marie. [French]
Jean it-CL make wash-INF to Marie
 ‘Jean made Marie wash it.’
- b. Maria gli fa riparare la macchina. [Italian]
Maria him-CL make repair-INF the car
 ‘Maria makes him repair the car.’

Roberts (2008) proposes that the VP containing the infinitive moves to a position adjacent to the causative/perception verb (cf. KAYNE, 1975, BURZIO, 1986), since these verbs select for a functional projection, whose head attracts the infinitive VP to its specifier. I follow recent developments of generative syntax, in that phase heads (C, v*) spread their Edge Features (EF) (along with their φ -features, if they have them) to lower non-phasal projections (cf. CHOMSKY, 2005, 2006; RICHARDS, 2007). These features will probe for a goal, and will trigger movement of the goal to the specifier of the lower non-phasal category which has inherited the EF from the phase head.

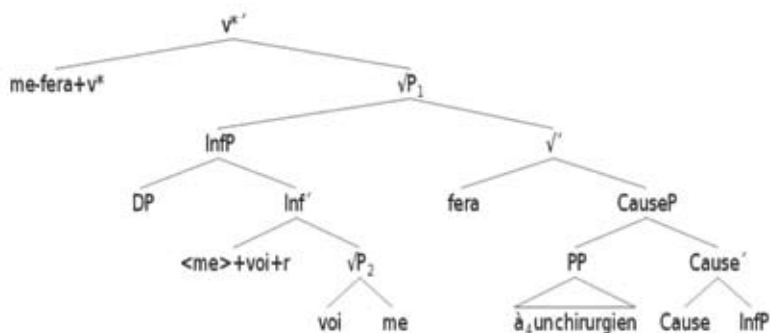
I propose that Romance syntactic complex predicates form one v* phase⁴. The functional projection below a causative verb like *faire* is CauseP, and the InfP movement is triggered by the Edge Feature (EF) on the functional upper v*. The upper head V (or root $\sqrt{\quad}$, as in CHOMSKY, 2005, 2006) inherits v*’s EF, and Agrees with the nominal/verbal InfP head. This EF can be thought of as a ‘nominal deficiency’ of

⁴ A phase is CP or *v*P, but not a TP or a verbal phrase headed by H lacking φ -features and not entering into Case/agreement checking (cf. CHOMSKY, 2000), but see also Legate (2003), den Dikken (2007), Biberauer & D’Alessandro (2006) for discussions on the notion of phase.

the functional category⁵ that will probe for a nominal. Since the lower *v* is defective (i.e., it has no φ -features, cf. ROBERTS, 2008) it is not a phase, and the InfP is able to move up:

- (13) a. Jean me fera voir à⁶ un chirurgien. [French]
 Jean me-CL make-FUT see-INF to a surgeon
 'Jean will have a surgeon see me'

b.



A sentence as (13a) containing a *Faire*+Infinitive structure has the structure in (13b), (cf. also ROBERTS, 2008, p. 114, for a somewhat similar derivation, where CauseP is VoiceP). In (13b), the verb moves to the head Inf (represented here as *-r*) and the clitic moves to the edge of Inf. However, the crucial movement here is the movement of the InfP to the [spec, \sqrt{P}].

My analysis differs from Roberts' in that I propose that the Infinitive Phrase (InfP) in *Faire*+Infinitives moves to the [spec, VP] of the causative verb, so that the two predicates are "close enough" to form a complex predicate. In this configuration, clitic climbing is possible and necessary.

⁵ Alboiu (2006) relates the EF to a 'nominal deficiency', *nD*. I assume that due to the character of the probe here, the goal must have a nominal/verbal feature and the probe/goal relation forms a complex predicate.

⁶ *à* is inserted as a Case licenser (cf. ROBERTS, 2008).

According to Roberts (2008), whose analysis for cliticization I assume, clitics are φ -feature bundles⁷, and as such, they are defective goals⁸ in relation to a probe, v^* (which contains φ -features and a V feature): the formal features of the clitic are properly included in those of the probe. Cliticization is, then, incorporation⁹, and, crucially for this paper, it is obligatory in the v^* phase, since only phase heads trigger movement (cf. CHOMSKY, 2005).

In this way, *Faire*+Infinitives as complex predicates can be explained.

(b) Auxiliary+participle constructions

In Romance periphrastic tenses, proclisis to the inflected auxiliary is obligatory, and adjacency between the auxiliary and participle cannot be broken (14c):

- (14) a. Gianni m'ha baciato. [Italian]
 Gianni me-CL has kissed
 'Gianni has kissed me.'
 b. *Gianni ha baciatome.
 c. *Gianni mi ha non baciato.

If we assume that this is due to a complex predicate structure as (14b), clitic climbing is explained. In (14b), Participle Phrase (PartP) movement to [spec, V] is also triggered by the EF feature of the auxiliary (functional) verb, v^{*10} (again, a “nominal deficiency”, which probes for

⁷ That is, clitics are φ Ps, lacking both D-features and Case features.

⁸ Roberts (2008)'s formulation is:

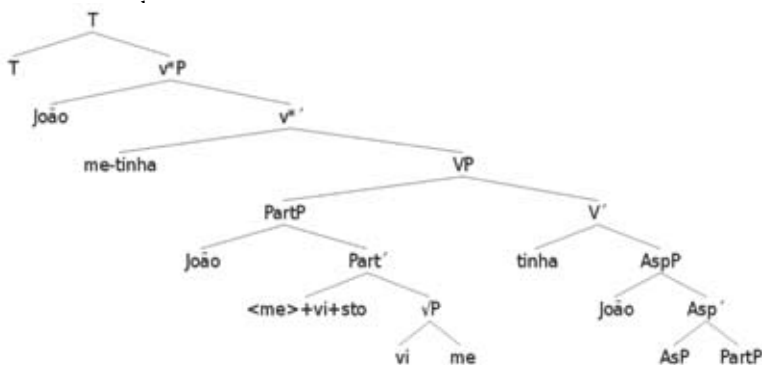
(i) A goal G is defective iff G's formal features are a proper subset of those of G's Probe P.

⁹ Roberts (2008) assumes that incorporation is a regular instance of movement, but triggered by Agree instead of EPP or an EF.

¹⁰ Both in Roberts' and in my account, the auxiliary is a probe for the clitic, hence, if “only phase heads can be targets for cliticization” (cf. above) the auxiliary has to be a phase head and have phi-features, although lacking an external argument, and not being responsible for Case (see definition of “phase” above). It acts as a “normal v^* ” (in the case of have+aux), an assumption not at all implausible if we think of HAVE as being composed by BE+ a preposition, in the lines of Kayne (1993), where the preposition would bear the Case features which values accusative in the object of the transitive lexical verb in the PartP. This shows that the notion of “phase” has to be broadened to include auxiliaries (v) in periphrastic constructions (and passives), ie. to include complex predicates. See also Cyrino (2009).

a nominal/verbal feature), which is passed on to V.

- (15) a. João não me tinha visto. [EP]
 João not me-CL had seen
 'João had not seen me'.



(c) Restructuring

Rizzi (1982)'s seminal work proposed three classes of restructuring verbs: (a) modal verbs – in BP, *poder*, *dever*, *querer*; (b)- aspectual verbs: in BP, *começar*, *terminar/acabar*, *continuar*...; (c) motion verbs: in BP, *vir*, *ir*... In the literature, clitic climbing has been seen as a diagnostic for the complex predicate formation, since in this case, it looks like there is just one clause involve ('clause union effect'), an apparent universal phenomena (cf. CINQUE, 2004, p. 20), since other phenomena of clause union have been observed with the same set of verbs.

There have been two types of explanation for the phenomena of clause union: the biclausal analysis and the monoclausal analysis.

Rizzi (1982) proposed a biclausal analysis, in which, a restructuring rule would account for *clitic climbing* and the other properties presented by the restructuring verbs. Restructuring was considered to optional: if there was not *clitic climbing*, we would have two sentences:

- (16) Anna vuole [_S comprarlo]
Anna wants buy-CL
 ‘Anna wants to buy it’.

With *clitic climbing*, only one sentence with the two verbs analyzed as a verbal complex:

- (17) Anna [_V lo vuole comprare]

Much work has been done on the subject since then, and other languages have been studied.

More recently Wurmbrand (2001, 2003) argues that restructuring is not an operation, but the ability of some verbs to select *bare VP complements*, as in (18):

- (18) [TP SUJ [_{vP} v [_{VP} V_{restructuring verb} [_{VP} V_{head of the restructured complement}]]]]

The consequence is that in languages in which there is clear evidence of restructuring, the bare VP complements are *spelled out* as infinitive morphology.

Likewise, assuming the hierarchy of functional projections in Cinque (1999), Cinque (2004) tries to answer why restructuring verbs are always Modal, Aspectual and Motion verbs. He proposes that restructuring verbs correspond to distinct heads in the hierarchy and they lexicalize the contents of the functional heads. The hypothesis is that only those verbs which have the semantic contents of a certain functional head admit two distinct possibilities: lexical verbs (heads of VP, which selects a regular CP complement), as in (19a), and functional verbs, which are inserted directly (merged directly) in the position of the corresponding functional projection (19b):

- (19) a. [_{CP}... [_{FP}... [_{FP}... [_{VP} V_{restr} [_{CP}... [_{FP}... [_{FP}... [_{VP} V]]]]]]]]]]
 b. [_{CP}... [_{FP}... [_{FP} V_{restr} [_{FP}... [_{VP} V]]]]]]

In monoclausal structures as (19b) there is the obligatory presence of transparency effect such as *clitic climbing*; in structures as (19a) we do not find these effects.

Cinque (2004) argues that restructuring verbs are always *functional verbs* even when there are no transparency effects and are, therefore, in a monoclausal configuration (20):

(20) [_{CP} io [_{AndativeP} **ti** verrò [_{VP} a parlare [di questi problemi]]]]

On the other hand, Roberts (1997) assumes a biclausal analysis and proposes that in a restructuring configuration, the lower V moves overtly to the higher clause restructuring V and forms a complex head – overt incorporation. The derived complex head will be spelled out at the ‘highest L-related position in its chain’.

Gonçalves (1999) also assumes, for European Portuguese (EP), a biclausal analysis for restructuring and proposes that in EP the infinitive complement of restructuring verbs depends for Tense on the main clause. This infinitive is defective (ie, it contains a defective T), with no AgrS or C projection. This triggers, thus, the formation of a complex predicate.

For Roberts (2008), there is VP movement to T, since he assumes restructuring verbs select for defective TPs. He proposes the following structure as the relevant configuration for restructuring and clitic climbing:

(21) ... v* [_{VP} V [_{TP} T [_{VP} v [_{VP} V CL]]]]

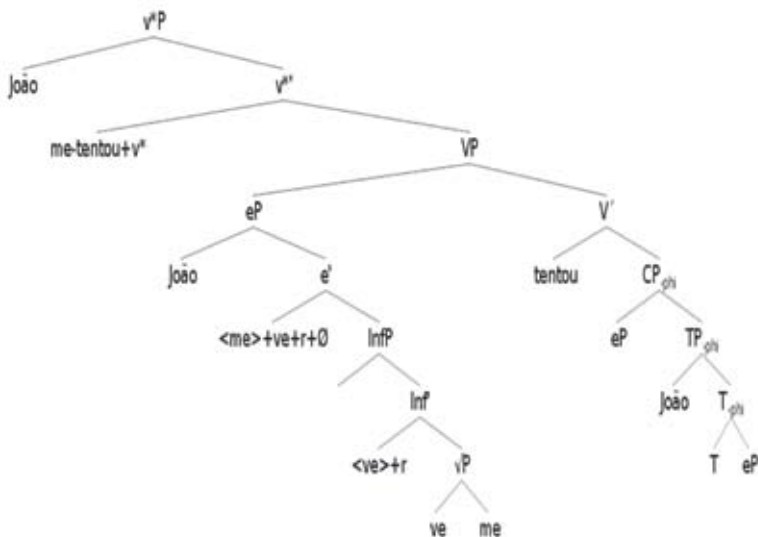
Contrary to Roberts, however, and following recent proposals (CHOMSKY, 2005, 2006, RICHARDS, 2007, ALBOIU, 2006), I assume restructuring complements are not defective Ts, but defective C-Ts.

I propose the movement of the infinitive first to [spec, CP], triggered by the EF. This movement is possible due to the prepositional/

complementizer character of the infinitive marker (*to* in English, *e* in Italian, French, or \emptyset in Portuguese, Spanish). This analysis takes into account the fact that it has been long noticed that these elements have properties which relate them to C¹¹. I assume this element is a head (being dubbed here as **e**, due to the infinitive final ending in Italian and French) to which the Infinitive and clitics have incorporated.

- (22) a. João não me tentou ver.
João not me-CL tried see-INF
 ‘João did not try to see me’.

b.



In (22), movement of the *to*-infinitive (*eP*) is triggered by the EF in C. C-T does not have phi-features, and hence, C is not a phase¹², allowing the subsequent movement of *eP* to [spec, V], triggered by the

¹¹ Raposo (1986, 1989) treat *-r* as a true, displaced complementizer, in complementary distribution with *que*. Kayne (1999) also develops an analysis that expresses the relationship between infinitivals and the prepositions *de/di* via movement. (These prepositions will attract the infinitival to [spec, CP] in structures like *Jean a essayé de chanter*). Cf. also the ‘prepositional complementizers’ in Rizzi (1982, ch. 3).

¹² See Alboiu (2006) and references therein, for whom non-finite C lacks phi-features, but the unique A-related probe it passes on to T is the EF (a ‘nominal deficiency’).

EF feature in v^* , the phase.

I assume that Infinitive Phrases in restructuring are not the bare infinitives found in *Faire*+Infinitives seen above (or in ECM causative/perception verbs structure). These Infinitive Phrases are below e ($=to$) and are not phases. For that assumption, I rely on the fact that these infinitives come from a more ‘nominal’ element, being the complement of a prepositional/complementizer-like element, meaning purpose¹³. In fact, Wanner (1987) shows that the infinitive in Latin seems to have been an expression of purpose or goal (as in English, see LOS, 2005) which then spread to a verbal element.¹⁴

In Portuguese, this element – now null (\emptyset), since the original *-e* morpheme vowel was lost – is a phasal element, a functional projection. The infinitival *-r*, on the other hand, is the head of the InfP below $\bar{e}P$, and it has a nominal feature. Thus, bare infinitives are different from *to*-infinitives, since the former are eventives (cf. FÁBREGAS; VARELA, 2006, for eventive nominal infinitives, FELSER, 1999 for infinitival verb complements). They derived from the *AccI* (‘Accusative and Infinitive’) in Latin¹⁵, as many authors have pointed out (WANNER, 1987, LOS, 2005, FELSER, 1999), and, thus, it is plausible that they should have a different structure.

3 On Brazilian Portuguese

As pointed out above, clitic climbing is optional in Romance but for one construction, the auxiliary+participle periphrastic tense. Brazilian Portuguese (BP) behaves differently from all these Romance languages because it does not allow clitic climbing in any of the constructions above, not even in the auxiliary+participle structure.

In Cyrino (2008, 2009) I claim that this is due to the fact that

¹³ Roberts (2008) also assumes this extra layer for infinitives in restructuring configurations, in order to explain the enclisis/proclisis possibilities. He follows Cardinaletti & Schlosky (2006), by assuming that Italian infinitives have an *-e* in complementary distribution with enclitics.

¹⁴ “The *-se/-re* ending derives from an old locative case form... from this situation of representing the goal in a goal oriented verbal meaning, the infinitive would have spread to the expression of pure verbal content due to its lack of person, number, case, tense, and voice marking in the form of an object to V_i .” (Wanner, 1987, p. 302).

¹⁵ As pointed out by Wanner (1987, p. 308).

BP has undergone a diachronic change whereby it lost the possibility for forming complex predicates. In other words, in BP, there are no transparency effects in these structures, because lower functional heads possess phi-features which prevent the upper v^* to probe the nominal features in the nonfinite heads. Therefore, besides the fact that we do not have *faire*+Infinitive causatives, other structures which are ungrammatical in Romance, are possible in BP. Below, I will argue that is the case.

1. In BP there is no clitic climbing (as noted by CYRINO, 1993, PAGOTTO, 1992) with “restructuring” verbs (modal, aspectual, motion verbs):

- (23) João **pode/quer/vai te ver.** [BP]
João can/ wants/goes you-CL see-INF
 ‘João can/wants to/is going to see you’.

2. In BP, there is no clitic climbing in compound/periphrastic tenses¹⁶

- (24) a. João **está provavelmente te telefonando.** [BP]
João is probably you-CL call-PresPart
 ‘João is always calling you.’
 b. João **tinha possivelmente me visto.** [BP]
João had possibly you-CL see-PastPart
 ‘João had possibly seen you’.

3. In BP there is no *faire*+Infinitive causatives. The sentences below, good in EP because the language has complex predicates with both causative and perceptive verbs, are ungrammatical in BP:

- (25) a. *O João **mandou comer** a sopa à Ana. [BP]
The João ordered eat-INF the soup to Ana
 ‘João had Ana to eat the soup’

¹⁶ Galves (2002) and Galves, Torres-Morais and Ribeiro (2005) point out that this is evidence that BP are V-clitics.

- b. *O João **mandou-lhe** comer a sopa. [BP]
The João ordered-CLdat eat-INF the soup
 'João had her eat the soup'
- c. *O João **viu sair** a Maria. [BP]
The João saw leave-INF the Maria
 'João saw Maria leave'
- d. *O João **viu-a sair**. [BP]
The João saw-CLacc leave
 'João saw her leave'
- e. *O João **mandou-a comer** à Ana. [BP]
The João ordered-CLacc eat to Ana
 'João had Ana eat it'.

4. In BP, there is an extra reading in *easy-to-please*-constructions: the interpretation where the gap refers to the subject of the upper clause is possible, as is well-known (cf. GALVES, 2001):

- (26) João_i é fácil de [*João_i agradar*] [√BP/*EP]
João is easy of please
 'João is easy to please people'

Roberts (1997) assumes the adjective triggers restructuring in *easy-to-please* constructions, thus creating an extended projection involving the two clauses and accounting for the clause union effect:

- (27) John_i is please_v+easy [*ec t_v t_i*]

If there is a complex predicate here, the interpretation where the gap refers to a subject is not possible, since there is a kind of “restructuring”. But, given (26) and (28-29) below in BP, we see that the language does not have restructuring in these contexts either:

- (28) Primeiramente, percebi que ainda **sou difícil de falar** abertamente,
Firstly noticed that still am difficult of speak openly
 especialmente depois que perdi minhas habilidades no inglês.
specially after that lost my skills in-the English
 (nowherelander.blogspot.com/2007/04/burocratizacao-do-meu-vcio.html)
 'Firstly, I noticed that it is hard for me to speak openly, specially after I have lost my English skills'

- (29) Quando Miguel Sanches escreveu a apresentação de *Entre Quatro Paredes*, *when Miguel Sanches wrote the presentation of Entre Quatro Paredes* ele estava inspirado. **Sou difícil de ler** o prólogo/prefácio. *he was inspired. Am difficult of read the prologue/preface.*
 Não tenho esse costume.
Not have this habit.
 (www.leialivro.sp.gov.br/texto.php?uid=17075)
 ‘When Miguel Sanches wrote the presentation of *Entre Quatro Paredes* he was inspired. It is unusual for me to read the preface. I don’t have the habit’.

4 An analysis for Brazilian Portuguese

As we saw above, the condition for Romance syntactic complex predicates: lower T is defective (ie, inactive for feature valuing).

What feature of T acts as a probe/EPP trigger in the minimalist approach? *i*T co-occurs with $\mu\Phi$ -features. It must be $\mu\Phi$ that probes Φ -features of DP. EPP is associated with $\mu\Phi$. Chomsky (2001)’s proposal for defectiveness is stated in (30):

- (30) A category is *defective* if it lacks **one or more** of its Φ -features.

T_{def} in raising/ECM, for example, matches the subject in some of its features (to implement raising) but not all (to preclude inactivation). T_{def} has only [person] features. Hence,

- A Φ -bundle is *non-defective* if it has **all** of its features.
- A Φ -bundle is *defective* if it lacks **all** of its features.
- A Φ -bundle is *incomplete* if it lacks **some** of its features.

In BP, I propose that the lower T in the non-finite clauses in the constructions which allow complex predicates in Romance languages has a different configuration. Nonfinite T in BP is *incomplete*. It only has [number] features (see also NUNES, 2007 for a proposal for finite T in BP), hence its different behavior *wrt* to Romance languages non-finite Ts, where it is *defective* (= it has no

features whatsoever)¹⁷.

This proposal predicts that if *non-finite* T is no different from the *finite* T in its phi-feature make-up in BP, it can value Nominative Case, and TP should be a “normal” TP. As we will see below, the prediction is borne out, since there is a lot of evidence that in BP, the lower *non-finite* T in BP has a different nature if we compare it to other Romance languages, especially EP. Below I present this evidence:

1. Possibility for nominative (focused) subjects in the lower clause:

- In “restructuring” configurations:

- (31) roberto, eu **tentei eu** enviar meu convite à vc
 (rvsants.multiply.com/)
Roberto I tried I send-INF my invitation to you
 ‘Roberto, I myself tried to send my invitation to you’
- (32) os capitalistas **tentam eles** moldar o sindicalismo para que seja flexível
the capitalist try they molde the syndicalism to that be flexible
 (www.bergmann.ppg.br/?m=200505)
 ‘The capitalists try to molde (by themselves) the syndicalism so that it be flexible’
- (33) Bom, como voce entrou no mérito de descência, acho que voce **deveria voce**
Well, as you entered in-the merits of decency think that you should you
rever o conceito antes de anunciar um produto por quase 3 vezes
review the concept before of announce a product for almost 3 times
 (produto.mercadolivre.com.br/MLB-67299273-monitores-ativos-de-audiodynaudio-bm5a-novos-na-caixa_)]
 ‘Well, as you got into the descency merit of the question, I think that you should reconsider the concept before announcing a product for almost three times...’
- (34) Pára com essa coisa de deixar ser humilhada, pára de pedi-lo em casamento
Stop with that thing of let-INF be humiliated stop of ask-CL in marriage
 e pára de querer casar. O dia que você relaxar ele vai começar a ficar
and stop of want marry. The day that you relax he go begin to stay

¹⁷This proposal goes in the direction of some recent proposals for T in some Romance languages: cf. Mensching & Remberger (2005)’s proposal for both finite and infinitive T’s in some old and present Romance languages.

preocupado e **vai ELE começar** a querer casar, você vai ver só...
worried and go HE begin to want marry you go see only. (br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070927171739AADt6MQ)
 ‘Stop with this thing of letting him humiliate you, stop proposing to him and stop longing to marry. The day you relax he will begin to worry and HE will begin to want to marry, you will see’

- In compound tense configurations:

- (35) Desde já admito, posso perfeitamente **ter eu percebido** a conversa assim,...
 (http://bp3.blogger.com/_2PH0Em0ew3A/..kimangola.blogspot.com/feeds/posts/default/311125885720052829)
Since already admit-1st can perfectly have I notice the conversation so.
 ‘Right now I admit, I may have perfectly noticed the conversation like that...’

We can understand these examples if we propose a lower T which is capable of valuing Nominative Case. Whether we assume a PRO or a Movement account for control structures, the facts in (31) to (35) have to be explained.

These facts argue, in my view, in favor of the presence of a TP which is related to the CP system, because of the contrastive focus reading of the lower nominative subjects, assuming that is the position for contrastive and identificational (ZUBIZARRETA, 1998, MIOTO, 2003, BELLETTI, 2001)¹⁸:

- (36) a. [_{TP}tentei [_{TP} eu [_{TP} <eu> [_{CP} <eu> enviar meu convite a você...]]]
 b. o governo Lula [_{TP} está [_{TP} ele mesmo [_{TP} <ele> [_{CP} <ele> fazendo ...]]]

2. Presence of negation between the verbs

We can have sentence negation occurring not only before the upper TP (as in some Romance languages, e.g. EP, Italian, Spanish), but also before the lower TP. The latter position of negation is possible in English, but not in Romance languages.

¹⁸ In EP we can have a focus *pronoun+mesmo* (‘he himself’):

(i) lá levou o Porsche direito até final, onde mais tarde **tentou ele mesmo** solucionar o problema. (www.velocidade.online.pt/noticias2002/montanha/24062002_1.htm)

Crucially, the construction with focus is impossible if there is a complex predicate = clitic climbing):

- In “restructuring” configurations:

(37) E EU VOU ESTAR DIZENDO QUE EU **VOU NÃO ESTAR INDO**

and I go be saying that I go not be going

(tonygoes.blogspot.com/2007/06/e-eu-vou-estar-dizendo-que-eu-vou-no.html)

‘And I am going to be saying that I am not going to be going’

(38) Não só mais um blog, não só as mesmas coisas de sempre, não só... não só...

Not only more one blog not only the same things of always not only not only

não só. hoje eu vou não rimar nada com nada, e não estou nem ligando...

not only today I go not rhyme nothing with nothing and not am not caring

(eunamultidao.blogspot.com/)

‘not one more blog, not only the same things, not only... not only...’

‘Today I am not going to make any rhymes, and I could care less’

(39) Ao contrário, as opiniões são super bem vindas a esse blog.. só tenho a dizer

at-the contrary the opinions are super well come to this blog only have to say

que antes eu não via a tv aberta e agora vou não ver a tv digital aberta.

that before I not saw the tv open and now go not see the tv digital open

(tvdigitalbr.wordpress.com/2007/11/30/de-zero-a-dez/)

‘On the contrary, opinions are very welcome to this blog, I only have

to say that I didn’t watch open tv and now I’m not going to watch

digital open tv’

- In compound tense configuration:

(40) Posso lhe dar mais informações e fazer o upload, mas só amanhã pois, pasme,

Can CL give more information and do the upload but only tomorrow for amaze

(ii) a. *O João quis-me ele visitar.

[EP]

b. *O João pode-te ele dizer a verdade.

c. *O João vai-te ele dizer a verdade.

According to Gonçalves (1999) and Gonçalves & Costa (2002), it is possible to have a focalized pronoun only with some verbs. However, this pronoun comes after the lower verb. If the contrastive focus projection is to the left of TP, we see that the whole verbal group moves to Spec FP in EP::

(iii) a. Os jornalistas querem entrevistar eles o Ministro. (G&C 2002, (39a), p. 25)

b. O João ousou fazer ele o trabalho da Marta. (G&C 2002, (173), p. 67)

c. *O João tinha comprado ele o jornal. (G&C 2002, (39b), p. 25)

d. *O João vai fazer ele o jantar. (G&C 2002, (174a), p. 67)

e. *O João pode fazer ele o jantar. (G&C 2002, (174b), p. 67)

f. *O João está a fazer ele o jantar. (G&C 2002, (174c), p. 67)

Notice that *ousar*, in (iii) is one of the verbs that do not allow restructuring (complex predicate).

minha conexão é discada e eu **estou não trabalhando** com meu servidor
my connection is dialed and I am not working with my server
 (xoops.eti.br/newbb+viewpost.uid+2077.htm)
 'I can give you more information and upload, but only tomorrow,
 for, surprise, my connection is a dialed one and I am not working
 with my server'.

- (41) E eu **tenho não vivido** todos esse anos, em que de forma sistemática fomos
and have not lived all these years in that of form systematic were
 separados pelas circunstâncias...
separated by circumstances
 (ocioquasecriativo.zip.net/arch2006-03-01_2006-03-15.html)
 'And I have not lived all these years in which we have been separated
 in a systematic way due to the circumstances'

- (42) Condenada recentemente por ter agredido duas manicures em 2004,
Condemned recently for have mugged two manicures in 2004,
 Foxy Brown parece **ter não aprendido** sua lição.
Foxy Brown seem have-INF not learned her lesson.
 (http://territorio.terra.com.br/canais/canalpop/noticias/ultimas.
 asp?noticiaID=11967)
 'Being condemned recently for having mugged two manicures in
 2004, Foxy Brown seems not to have learned her lesson'

- (43) 15 abr. 2006... Você reza e não sabe onde está Jesus, e ainda mais porque
15 apr 2006... you pray and not know where is Jesus and still more because
 parece que Jesus está **não** fazendo nada. Não temos resposta para
 estemistério
seems that Jesus is not doing anything.
 (www.cancaonova.com/.../cobeturaphp?cod=58&pre=196&tit=)
 'You pray and you don't know where Jesus is, and even more,
 because it seems that Jesus is not doing anything.'

- (44) O diretor argumentou que a empresa estava crescendo, o volume de vendas
The director argued that the firm was growing the volume of sales
 tinha aumentado, o número de funcionários cresceu, e neste período a área
had increased the number of workers grew and in this period the area
 de TI **tinha não feito** nada para acompanhar esta evolução.
of TI had not done nothing to accompany this evolution
 (http://www.ead.fea.usp.br/Semead/8semead/resultado/trabalhosPDF/9.pdf)
 'The director argued that the firm was growing, the sales volume
 had increased, the number of workers had increased and, in that

period the TI area had not done anything to keep up with this evolution'

3. lack of ECM

We saw that we have no *faire*+Infinitive causatives in BP. Causatives, then, are always analytical (*make* causatives, like in English) as well as perceptive reports:

- (45) a. João mandou a filha comer a sopa.
b. João viu a filha comer a sopa.

The interesting fact is that, contrary to other Romance languages that have that causative (EP, for example) and to English, BP does not have ECM in these constructions either¹⁹.

- (46) Naquela corrida que a equipe **mandou ele dar** a posição,
In that race that the team ordered he give the position,
tinha que mandar mesmo,
had that order indeed...
(blog.estadao.com.br/.../?title=briga_que_vira_ate_comercial_de_televisa&more=1&c=1&tb=1)
'In that race in which the team had him give up his position, they had to do it indeed'
- (47) Sejam Bem-Vindos ao Big Blogger Brasil ! **Deixa eu te levar** pra ver
Be welcom to Bib Blogger Brasil Let I you-CL take to see
o mundo, Baby. Deixa eu te mostrar o melhor que eu posso ser
the world baby. Let I you-CL show the Best that I can be
(www.virtuasys.com.br/blog/index.php?cat=28-21k)
'Welcome to Big Blogger Brasil! Let me take you to see the world, baby. Let me show you the best I can be...'
- (48) vcs não acreditam o que ela **viu eu fazer** e ta imitando igualzinho! ...
you not believe the what she saw I do and is imitating alike
(luanaminhvida.weblogger.terra.com.br/200406_luanaminhvida_arquivo.htm)
'You won't believe what she saw me do and is imitating perfectly'

Moreover, the sentences below show that the lower T behaves as if it is an *inflected* T, in that it allow nominative subjects even with

ECM verbs:

- (49) - E então Marcião? O que vc está achando daquela "discussão" no Orkut no
And then Marcião? What you is finding of-that discussion in-the Orkut in-the
 tópico, sobre a divulgação da MATILDE?
topic about the divulgation of-the Matilde?
 - Então, ronaldo. **Acredito ela ser** contundente, mas o jeito que está sendo
Then, Ronaldo. Believe she be strong but the way that is being
 levada, eu desconfio...
taken I suspect
 (escolalivredeteatro.blogspot.com/2006/10/novos-autores-tm-
 leitura-na-elt.html)
 ˘ - How about it, Marcião. What do you think of that discussion
 in the Orkut under the heading 'about the publicization of
 Matilde'?
 - So, Ronaldo. I believe it to be strong, but the way it is being led,
 I suspect (it)...

ECM causative/perceptive constructions in EP can occur with inflected, or with uninflected infinitive.

- (50) a. O João **mandou/viu** a Maria **sair**. (Un/inflected infinitive)
 Ok PB, OK PE
 b. O João **mandou/viu-a** **sair**. (uninflected infinitive) *PB, ok PE
 c. O João **mandou/viu** ela **sair**. (inflected infinitive) ok PB, ok PE
 d. O João **mandou/viu** os policiais **sair/saírem**. (Un/inflected
 infinitive) ok/ok PB; ok/ok EP.
 e. O João **mandou/viu-os** **sair**. (uninflected infinitive) *PB, ok PE
 f. O João **mandou/viu** eles **sair**. (uninflected infinitive) okPB,*PE
 g. O João **mandou/viu** eles **saírem**. (inflected infinitive) okPB,okPE

In BP, although it is possible with the morphologically uninflected infinitive (50d), the morphologically uninflected is also possible, (50f). See also:

- (51) Jesus perguntou: 'O que é que Moises **mandou vocês fazer**?'
Jesus asked: What is that Moses ordered you do

¹⁹ Gonçalves (1999) states that ECM verbs do not form complex predicates in EP. Therefore, we could not expect them to form complex predicates in BP. But the fact is that in BP there is no ECM constructions has to be explained.

(expressa.com.br/edicoes/2007/maio/230507/opiniaophp?=&home.opiniaio)
 `Jesus asked: What is it that Moses ordered you to do?´

Again, this shows that the lower non-finite T is close to the inflected infinitive in BP²⁰. This is not an unwelcome result, since it looks like we have a CP-system related non-finite T in embedded clauses in BP, just like the inflected infinitive in EP (see, for example, the proposal in SITARIDOU, 2002).

5 Control structures

Obligatory control and volitional structures forbid the inflected infinitive (cf. SITARIDOU, 2002, among others), which occurs usually in non-obligatory control structures. However, in BP, since the lower T is of a different nature, we may find both obligatory, but also non-obligatory control structures – also that is reminiscent of a *kind* of inflected T (but with different properties than the usual EP-type of inflected infinitives):

- (52) E a gente fica **tentando eles** fazerem as pazes...
and the people stay trying they make-INFL the peace
 (videolog.uol.com.br/video.php?id=116886)
 `And we keep trying to make them make peace´
- (53) ok eu sei que podem estar **tentando você** a forçar a comprar o de 3 anos, mais
ok I know that can be trying you to force to buy the of 3 years, but
fica estranho ter a opção de 2 anos né ?
stay strange have the option of 2 years, isn't it?
 (www.kadu.com.br/node/2760)
 `Ok, I know that they may be trying to force you to buy the one
 which is 3 years old, but it is strange to have the option of a 2
 year-old one, isn't it?´
- (54) Seguinte eu tenho um servidor aqui que controla várias redes via pppoe,
Following I have a server here that controls various nets via pppoe,
funciona tranquilo sem problema nenhum (depois de muito sufoco
works tranquil without problem any (after a lot of gasping

aprendendo a configurar) Só que tenho que colocar ips públicos junto
learning to configurate) Only that have that put ips public together
 dessa rede, eu **consegui ele fazer** isso sem problemas, só que tem máquinas
of-that net, I managed it do that without problems only that have machines
 que o ip público não funciona...
that the ips public not work.
 (under-linux.org/forums/proxy-nat-firewall/75693-netmask-no-
 pppoe-server.html)
 'It's the following: I have a server here which controls several nets via
 pppoe, and it works very well with no problems (after a lot of effort
 put in learning how to configurate it) . I only have to put public IPs in
 that net, I managed it to do it with no problems, except that there are
 some machines in which the public IP does not work'.

As expected, we also find inflected infinitives with obligatory control verbs:

- (55) pessoas que compram almas, ou vidas, que **tentam não serem** vendidas
people that sell souls, or lives, that try not to be.3pl sold.3pl
 por dinheiro. ... (lise.weblogger.com.br/ - 22k)
for money
 '...people who sell souls, or lives, that try not to be sold for
 money'
- (56) não sabem do que falam **devem pelo menos não comentarem**
not know of-the what talk.3pl must.3pl at least not to coment.3pl
 (blogspot.com/2007/10/podemos-mesmo-confiar-nos-gernicos.html)
 '(they) don't know about what they talk, (they) should at least not
 comment on...'
- (57) pessoas somente **querem levarem vantagens e fazerem** show
people only want.3pl to take.3pl advantages and to make.3pl show

²⁰ My proposal is close, in essence, to what has been advance for BP in Pires (2002) for infinitives in BP and Pires (2001) for TP-defective and clausal gerunds in English.

Pires (2002) observes that (inflected and non-inflected) infinitive clauses need to occur in a Case-checking position in dialects with inflected infinitives (EP, see RAPOSO, 1987). That requirement also holds for the now uninflected infinitives of ColBP, where the relevant distinction is only that an overt non-ECM subject can occur without overt morphology in the infinitive.

Pires (2001, 2007) identifies a class of TP defective gerunds which with respect to their tense properties are very similar to ECM infinitives, and hence he proposes that the null subject with obligatory control properties of clausal gerunds can be analyzed as the result of A-movement. In these clausal gerunds, T⁰ is phi-defective, but it can still attract its subject DP to satisfy its EPP requirement, as in instances of T_{def} (phi-defective T) in infinitives.

para se aparecer ... (www.via6.com/topico.php?tid=67830)
to himself appear
 ‘...people only want to take advantages and put on a show to show off’

6 Other possibilities for inflected infinitives

In BP, it is possible to find the inflected infinitive in sentences which do not present the “canonical” structure which would allow it. This fact shows that Nominative Case is being assigned. In other words, although the “canonical inflected infinitive structure” is lacking, non-finite T is non-defective in BP, and thus it is responsible for nominative case in those structures. As a consequence, we find inflected infinitives in raising structures (58-60):

- (58) pede para matarem os integrantes do MST e do PT e ateus e humanistas ...
ask to kill.3pl the members of-the MST and of-the and atheists and humanists
 não **parecem verem** problema na questão...
not seem.3pl see.3pl problem in-the question
 (br.groups.yahoo.com/group/ceticismoaberto/message/)
 ‘...(some) ask that the members of MST and PT and atheists and humanists be killed... (they) do not seem to see a problem in this’
- (59) ...elas **parecem gostarem** de brigar mais por questoes de amigas...
they seem.3pl like.3pl of fight more for questions of friends
 (br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070627034441AANeL3t)
 ‘they seem to like to fight more for questions of girl-friends’
- (60) até pq eles ã se suportam,mas muitos **parecem amarem**
even because they don't stand each other, but many seem.3pl to love.3pl
 mais o demonio q Deus, pois vivem chamamdo p/ ele,
more the demon than God, because live.3pl calling for him
 (br.answers.yahoo.com/questionindex?qid=20060829054817AAEC9EF)
 ‘also because they can't stand each other, but many seem to love the devil more than than they love God, since they keep calling him’

For the same reason, we find inflected infinitives with factives (61-63) and with epistemic predicates (64-65), even when there is disjoint reading, ie, where there is co-reference between the embedded and the

matrix subject:

- (61) Durante o casamento de Lino e Lina, Inocência e Zoraide
During the wedding of Lino and Lina, Inocência and Zoraide
lamentam, em pensamento, perderem ele para outra.
lament.3pl in thought to lose.3pl him for other
 (www.94fm.com.br/saiba_0_que_vai_acontecer_nas_novelas_desta_tec_3)
 ‘During Lin and Lina’s wedding, Inocência and Zoraide, in thought, regret for having lost him to another’
- (62) Palmeirenses **lamentam não terem** definido placar no primeiro tempo ...
Palmeirenses lament.3pl not to have.3pl defined score in-the first time
 ‘Palmeirenses regret not having defined the scores in the first half’
 (www.palmeirasonline.com/)
- (63) querem um baile no aniversário de quinze anos ou
Want.3pl a ball in-the birthday of fifteen years or
lamentam não terem tido um....
lament.3pl not to have.3pl had one...
 (nobreordinario.blogspot.com/feeds/posts/default/145962659292079418)
 ‘(they) want to have a sweet fifteen birthday ball or (they) regret not having had one’
- (64) Muitos **pensam nunca terem** tido condições de criar ...
many think.3pl never to have.3pl had conditons to create
 (www.casadaovoza.bigblogger.com.br/index.php?mes=2&ano=2005)
 ‘Many think they have never had the chance to create...’
- (65) Educados por aqueles que educamos, por aqueles que
Educated.pl by those that educate.1pl by those that
pensam não terem nada a dizer,
think.3pl not to have.3pl nothing to say
 (www.nofronte.blogger.com.br/2006_06_18_archive.html)
 ‘(being) brought up by those who we bring up, by those who think they have nothing to say’

These facts suggest that obligatory control is, after all, movement (see HORNSTEIN, 2003), but I will not investigate this evidence in this paper (however, see CYRINO, 2008a).

Nunes (2007) argues for the existence of hiper- raising structures in

BP, whereby null subjects in embedded clauses are instances of raising:

- (66) [O João]_i disse [que *ec*_{i,j/3S} comprou um carro novo]
the João_i said that bought.3SG a car new
 'João_i said that he_{i,j/3S} bought a new car.'

Hiper-raising with either a resumptive pronoun or with a matrix subject with topic properties (cf. MARTINS; NUNES, to appear), are also possible:

- (67) [As crianças]_i parecem que elas_i gostam da babá.
the children seem-3PL that they like-3PL of-the baby-sitter
 'The children seem to like the baby-sitter.'

Nunes (2007) proposes (68), for *finite* T's in BP due to the verbal agreement paradigm found in BP, as seen in (69):

- (68) φ -complete finite T \rightarrow T_[number, person] (T in matrix clauses)
 φ -incomplete finite T \rightarrow T_[number] (lower T in raising structures)

- (69) *Verbal agreement paradigm in (Colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese cantar* 'to sing': indicative present

eu 'I'	canto	P:1; N:SG
você 'you (SG)'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ele 'he'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ela 'she'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
a gente 'we'	canta	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
vocês 'you (PL)'	cantam	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
Eles 'they (MASC)'	cantam	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)

The verbal forms above may be associated with a T specified only for number, with the person information being provided in the morphological component by redundancy rules, as illustrated below.

- (70) *cantar* 'to sing': indicative present

Valuation of T in the syntactic component	Addition of [person] in the morphological component	Surface form of the verb
N:SG	N:SG; P:1	canto
N:default	N:default; P:default	Canta
N:PL	N:PL; P:default	Cantam

In other words, person features in BP may be dissociated features in the sense of Embick (1997).

If T has only a [number] feature and it is valued as singular in the syntactic component, it will later be associated with first person in the morphological component; if the number feature receives any other value in the syntactic component (default or plural), it will later be associated with a default value for person (third) (cf. NUNES, 2007).

Now, let us consider the personal infinitive paradigm in BP in (71):

(71) *Verbal agreement paradigm in (Colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese infinitives (cantar)*

eu 'I'	<i>cantar</i>	P: default; N:default (= 3SG)
você 'you (SG)'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ele 'he'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
ela 'she'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
a gente 'we'	<i>cantar</i>	P:default; N:default (= 3SG)
Nós 'we'	<i>cantamos</i>	P: 1; N:PL
vocês 'you (PL)'	<i>cantarem</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
Eles 'they (MASC)'	<i>cantarem</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)
Elas 'they (FEM)'	<i>cantarem</i>	P:default; N:PL (= 3PL)

It seems that, in terms of features, the personal infinitive is like the finite T in BP, in which post-syntactic rules will work:

(72) *cantar* 'to sing': infinitive

Valuation of T in the syntactic component	Addition of [person] in the morphological component	Surface form of the verb
N:PL	N:PL; P:1	cantamos
N:default	N:default; P:default	cantar
N:PL	N:PL; P:default	cantarem

As we saw above, inflected infinitives can occur with raising predicates in:

(73) e as maquinaonas **parecem elas mesmas terem** adquirido propriedades...
and the machine.pl seem.3pl they themselves to have.3pl acquired properties
 (omnilandia.blogspot.com/2006/12/cine-lberto-pulse.html)
 ‘...and the big machines themselves seem to have acquired properties..’

(74) **Pareciam eles mesmos** estarem dentro de uma, coisa estranha ...
Seem.3pl they themselves to be.3pl inside of one thing strange
 (diversoeavesso.blogspot.com/2006_08_01_archive.html)
 ‘(they) themselves seem to be inside one, what a strange thing..’

Szabolsci (2008) argues that Nominative overt subjects are possible both in raising and control clauses in some languages, with the following distribution:

	overt nominative subjects in infinitival raising complements			overt nominative subjects in infinitival control complements		
	yes	possibly	no	yes	possibly	no
Hungarian	*			*		
Italian	*			*		
Spanish	*				*	
Br. Portuguese	*				*	
Romanian	*				*	
M. Hebrew	*				*	
Russian		*				*
Finnish		*				*
English			*			*
French			*			*
German			*			*
Dutch			*			*

Quadro 1: overt nominative subjects in infinitival raising/control complements

She argues that such DPs need not be rescued by some kind of default case or by infinitival inflection in the Portuguese sense.

Based on the availability, in some languages, of lower readings for the controller in control and raising structures, for example in sentences as in (75)-(76), which shows that the DP is in the infinitival complement, she proposes a *multi-agreement parameter* (77):

(75) Ha iniziato a ricevere buoni incarichi solo lei / solo Maria.

began.3sg prep receive-inf good roles only she / only Maria

*HIGH reading `Only she/Maria went from not getting good roles to getting good roles"

LOW reading `It began to be the case that only she/Maria was getting good roles"

(76) Non vuole andare solo lui a Milano. (no pause before a Milano)

not wants go-inf only he to Milan

*HIGH reading 1 `Only he doesn't want to go to Milano"

*HIGH reading 2 `Not only he wants to go to Milano" `

LOW reading: He doesn't want it to be the case that only he goes to Milano"

(77) Multi-agreement parameter (SZABOLSCI, 2008, p.5)

Similarly to cross-linguistic variation in negative concord, languages vary as to whether a single finite inflection may share features with more than one nominative DP.

- (78) a. (...) Raising-V_{finite} [DP_{nom} V_{infinitive} ...
- b. DP_{nom} Raising-V_{finite} [DP_{nom} V_{infinitive} ...
- c. DP_{nom} Control-V_{finite} [DP_{nom} V_{infinitive} ...

Although she cites Brazilian Portuguese in the table above, the data I have demonstrate that this cannot be the case for BP, since, as we saw, infinitives which are embedded in control structures can be inflected, besides being disjoint in reference with respect to the upper subject.

However, this matter deserves further investigation.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that BP's lack of clitic climbing is due to the fact that the language does not have the Romance syntactic complex predicate evidenced by constructions as *Faire*+Infinitive structures, compound tense periphrases and restructuring in the other Romance languages.

As a consequence, BP not only lacks clitic climbing but also allows

other phenomena: the presence of focused subject pronoun and the presence of negation between verbs in restructuring and compound/periphrastic tenses. Besides that, BP lacks ECM, and allows for the presence of nominative subjects+inflected infinitives in control (and volitional) structures, and in factive and epistemic structures where there is disjoint reference.

My analysis focuses on the feature make-up of the non-finite C-T system in these structures, which will disallow (or allow) complex predicate formation, as a way of explaining why Brazilian Portuguese is different from the other Romance languages in this respect.

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