Janayna Carvalho
Universidade de São Paulo/ Universität Stuttgart

A recipe on how to save a derivation: The Locative Impersonal in Brazilian Portuguese
Keywords: locatives; arbitrary human reading; Brazilian Portuguese

i) **Locative Impersonals**: In Brazilian Portuguese (BP), we find locative impersonals, i.e. sentences in which an **arbitrary human reading** arises if: **a)** a locative PP is present; **b)** the locative is in complementary distribution with the external argument/impersonal morphology. (1) and (2) illustrate this phenomenon in BP. Crucially, this meaning will not arise if the locative is totally absent. It has to be at least implied.

1. *(Aqui) vende doce.
    Here sells sweet.
    'One sells sweets here.'

2. *(No Brasil) usa saia.
    In.the Brazil uses skirt.
    'People use skirts in Brazil.'

Differently from previous analyses that treated those sentences on a par with locative inversion (Avelar and Cyrino 2008) or claimed that there is a *pro* that generates an arbitrary human reading when anteceded by a locative (Barbosa 2010), my analysis for this phenomenon is that this locative is an overt existential closure element to the event variable, employed in absence of an alternative element that could do that (cf. Zimmermann (2007) for analysis of a locative expression in Bura with the same line of reasoning). The alternative element in question is the clitic *se,* which is in a process of disappearing of BP grammar in a variety of contexts, impersonal sentences included (cf. Nunes 1990; Galves 2001; Cyrino 2008; Ribeiro 2010, among many others).

ii) Locative impersonals are not locative inversion structures: Avelar and Cyrino (2008) develop an account in terms of locative inversion that treats alike the arbitrary human reading in sentences as (1) and (2) and the 'focus/presentational interpretation', commonly attributed to locative inversion. In other words, the arbitrary human arises in virtue of locative inversion. Hence, the ungrammaticality of the locative impersonal reading in (3) is attributed to the impossibility of a locative inversion with stative verbs.

3. *Na casa da Maria adora os livros do Harry Potter.
    * In house of the Maria adores the books of the Harry Potter.

Intended: *'One adores Harry Potter books in Maria's house.'*   (Cyrino and Avelar 2008:65)

However, if the issue reduces to locative inversion, the impossibility of an impersonal reading in (4) and (5) is left unexplained. Locative inversion can apply to light verbs (4) and non-alternating unaccusatives (5), but (4) will never mean that '*one grows mangos in my farm'*, nor will (5) mean that '*one swelled up my foot in the party.*' (locative inversion ~ non-locative inversion).

4. No meu sítio **dá** manga. ~ Manga **dá** no meu sítio.
    In my farm give.IMPERF mango.   *'Mangos grow in my farm.'*

5. Na festa **inchou** meu pé. ~ Meu pé **inchou** na festa.
    In the party swelled.up.PERF my foot   *'My foot swelled up in the party.'*

There are at least three more differences between locatives introducing an arbitrary human reading and locatives in focus/presentational interpretation. **First**, locatives giving rise to the arbitrary human reading always refer to a fixed location in respect to the event perspective (see (6)). This contrasts with real locative inversion structures, which express several different locative construals in respect to the event, as the origin of the event in the PP'*daquele banco'*, in sentence (7).

6. Em cada imobiliária/*De cada imobiliária   **vende/aluga/empresta**
    In each real state agency/*From each real state agency **sell/ rent/borrow.IMPERF**
    um tipo de casa diferente.
    one type of house different.
    'Types of different houses are sold/rented/borrowed in each real state agency.'

7. Naquele/Daquele banco **sai/**   **chega** muito dinheiro.
    In.that/From.that bank **get out.IMPERF / arrive.IMPERF** much money.

Janayna Carvalho

Universidade de São Paulo/ Universität Stuttgart

'A lot of money get in and out in that bank.'

Second, the arbitrary human reading just arises in presence of imperfective aspect. In several works, imperfective aspect is argued to be the licensor of an arbitrary human reading (Cinque (1990); Lekakou (2005), among many others). Thus, the ungrammaticality of (8b). Note, however, that the examples we argue to be real instances of locative inversion, (4), (5) and (7), are grammatical either in perfective or imperfective aspect.

8. a. Nas cidades do   interior não **sequestra**   tanto como nas capitais.
    In.the cities of.the country not **kidnap.3sg.IMPERF** so much as in the capitals.
    'People do not kidnap city citizens in villages so much as they do in big cities.'
    b. *Nas cidades do interior não **sequestrou**   tanto como nas capitais.
    In.the cities of.the country not **kidnap.3sg.PERF** so much as in the capitals.

Third, the arbitrary human reading only arises if the verb can have an agent as external argument. In other words, the verb must be either unergative or an accomplishment. Therefore, if the locative is combined with verbs as '*pular*' (to jump), '*dormir*' (to sleep), '*cozinhar*'(to cook), *'construir'* (to build), the arbitrary human reading will arise, but not with '*saber*' (to know), '*chover*' (to rain), '*crescer*' (to grow). The comparison of the verbs in (1), (2), (6) and (8a) to the verbs in (3), (4), (5) and (7) exemplify that. The crucial difference between the two groups is the classification of the external argument that can be projected from these verbs. The verbs in sentences (1), (2), (6) and (8) would project agents as external arguments, while the verbs in the second set are part of three groups: light verbs (4), unaccusatives (5 and 7), that do not project external argument (cf. Marelj 2004), or statives (3), whose external argument is not an agent, but a holder (cf. Kratzer 1996). Although similar, the partition does not overlap with the distinction between stage and inherent level predicates. It is more fine-grained, given the fact that only a subpart of stage level verbs are eligible to form a locative impersonal.

iii. *pro*: Likewise, an account where *pro* enters in an anaphoric relation with the locative to derive an arbitrary human reading (Tomioka 2003; Barbosa 2010) do not capture the conditions in which the relevant reading arises. In this account, it is left unexplained why this *pro* would be dependent on constrains such as type of the verb, aspect and a specific locative relation.

iv. Locatives close the event variable: The phenomenon of locatives licensing post-verbal bare nouns and indefinite DPs is well-known (Dobrovie-Sorin 1996; Borer 2005; Alexiadou 2011, for recent accounts). Implementations for this phenomenon differ drastically, but Borer (2005, 2010) offers an interesting approach to this data that links to the problem addressed here. For Borer, cases in which locatives license post-verbal bare nouns and indefinites are not treated as instances of locatives existentially closing DPs, but, rather, closing the event variable on vPs. More specifically, the author argues that, in the absence of definite expressions (strong DPs and pronouns), which are argued to be inherent existentially closed, the locative binds the locus of existential closure (e), which, in turn, binds the DP. See representation adapted below:

9. $\exists_{locative}$ e [$_{vP}$ V   DP]   (Borer 2010:336, adapted)

This analysis can be extended to the BP locative impersonals. A piece of evidence for the assumption that locatives existentially close the event variable on vP in BP locative impersonals is the fact that they are excluded from contexts either where other sources would give rise to existential closure, as tense in (8b), or where no event variable is introduced, as in (3) with stative verbs (cf. Kratzer 1995). Finally yet importantly, the case in study here adds support for Borer's (2005) claim that existential closure happens in syntax. Given the loss of impersonal morphology, the se-clitic, locatives are an alternative strategy to existentially close the event variable.

Selected references: ● Avelar, J., & Cyrino, S. (2008). Locativos preposicionados em posição de sujeito: uma possível contribuição das línguas Bantu à sintaxe do português brasileiro. ● Barbosa, P. (2010). *Partial pro-drop as null NP anaphora.* Manuscript.● Borer, H. (2005). *The normal course of events* (Vol. 2).