DOUBLE OBJECTS IN (DIALECTAL) BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE[1]

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The talk addresses the occurrence in Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese (DBP) of ditransitive constructions in which the GOAL argument is not introduced by a preposition, occurring either in first or in second position (cf. (1) and (2)/ data collected in corpora of speakers from the rural area of the Central region of Brazil, in Minas Gerais and Goiás states) – as discussed in Ramos 1992; Scher 1996; Lima-Salles (1997); Gomes (2003); Nascimento (2007), among others:

(1) mostrano **todo mundo** que eu queria robá um pedaço de terra dele (25TSM) 'showing <u>everyone</u> that I wanted...'
(2) aí tia pelejando: - Maria Lixande, vai dá mão **ela** (E19)

As for (1), we presently assume, following Pylkkänen (2002), and other analyses (cf. Baker 1988, Cuervo 2003, Torres Morais & Lima-Salles 2010), that they involve a (low) applicative head, thus implying a similarity with English Double Object Constructions (DOC).

As for the data in (2), we would like to suggest that the applicative configuration is not at stake. We propose that the applicative configuration has a requirement on word order, in the absence of oblique marking on the goal argument, namely its realization in the first position, exactly as in English (cf. Emonds 1993):

(3) Mary gave John a book
(4) *Mary gave a book John

Accordingly, in (2), the goal argument is projected in a (sort of) construct state configuration, which is constrained by morphosyntactic properties of the pronominal system in this dialect. In particular, we take the impossibility of reduced forms in second position, as well as the exclusion of the 1st person singular form to be a piece of evidence for a requirement on a (full) DP pronoun in this position, which in turn does not display oblique case morphology (contrary to English, in which the relevant forms are marked as oblique, being thus morphosyntactically dependent on the preposition).

(5) aí **ês** ficava dano consei **nóis** (E19) 'then they[reduced] were giving advise [to] us'
(6) os zôto pôis na cabeça da muié qu**eu** dei prejuizo **ela** (E28) 'the others put in the woman's mind that+I[reduced] gave a problem [to] her'

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[1] I would like to refer two co-authors in previous versions of this paper: Maria Aparecida Torres Morais and Jânia Ramos.