The structure of an exclamative construction in Brazilian Portuguese

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Goals
- To shed some light to new data of Brazilian Portuguese’s (henceforth BP) Free Small Clauses, presenting the internal structure of these structures.
- To argue that TP could also be considered a strong phase (in Chomsky’s 2000 sense), based on Free Small Clauses structure.

Background
- Presenting Free Small Clauses

(1) a. Muito bonita a sua roupa! very beautiful the your outfit
   “Your outfit is very beautiful!”
   b. Uma droga aquele programa de televisão! a drug that program of TV
   “That TV program is awful!”

Key questions: Since in the surface such structures seem to be smaller than an “ordinary” sentence, then what is the structure of the FSCs of BP?

Functional projections: Does FSC have TP and CP?

TP
(2) a. Bonita a sua roupa ontem beautiful the your outfit yesterday
   “Your outfit was beautiful yesterday!”
   b. Muito lindo a dia hoje very beautiful the day today
   “The day is very beautiful today!”

CP
(3) a. A Maria achou a sua roupa muito bonita the Mary found the your outfit very beautiful
   “Mary found your outfit very beautiful!”
   b. A Maria achou muito bonita a sua roupa! the Mary found very beautiful the your outfit
   “Mary found very beautiful your outfit!”
   c. Hoje a Maria achou que a sua roupa estava muito bonita ontem! today the Mary found that the your outfit was very beautiful yesterday
   “Today Mary found that your outfit was very beautiful yesterday!”
   d. Hoje a Maria achou muito bonita a sua roupa ontem! today the Mary found very beautiful the your outfit yesterday

An structure for the FSC of PB
- FSC: subject adjunction to the right or predicate A'-raising?

Locative PP and adverbs
(4) a. *Muito lindas na igreja/ ontem as flores!
   very beautiful in the church/yesterday the flowers
   “These flowers were very beautiful in the church/yesterday!”
   b. Bonito o seu vestido na festa/ ontem!
   very beautiful the your dress in the party/yesterday
   “Your dress was beautiful in the party/yesterday!”

Quantifiers in subject position
(5) a. Um amor cada um de vocês!
   love each one of you
   “Each one of you is lovely!”
   b. Muito lindos todos esses seus sapatos!
   very beautiful all these your shoes
   “All of your shoes are very beautiful!”

Negative Polarity Items
(6) a. Nem um pouco bonita! a Maria!
   even a little beautiful the Mary
   “Mary is not even a little beautiful!”
   b. Nada bonita a sua irmã!
   nothing pretty the your sister
   “Your sister is not pretty at all!”

Data presented here seem to suggest that both the subject and the predicate of the FSCs of PB appear to occupy an A'-position over an A-position.

VP adverbs: where’s the FSC?
- VP adverb test
(8) a. [c. Sempre [c. bonita a sua roupa]]
   always beautiful the your outfit
   “Your outfit is always beautiful!”
   b. [c. Sempre [c. muito chata essa aula]]
   always very boring this class
   “This class is always boring!”
(9) a. Bonita sempre a sua roupa beautiful always the your outfit
   b. “Muito chata sempre essa aula
   always very boring this class

Both the predicate and the subject of FSC seem to be in situ.

Ingredients: Predication and Phase Extension
- Predication
(10) a. Configurational b. Nondirectional

Phase Extension
(12) a. [µ [SUBJECT [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]]]
   b. [µ F+R] [µ [SUBJECT [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]]]
   c. [µ [PREDICATE, F+R, [µ SUBJECT [RELATOR]]]]

(Den Dikken 2006, 115, ex. (80))

FSC as an extended TP-Phase
(13)

Conclusion
- FSC of PB are root TP, that is, a TP-phase. If the analysis proposed here is on the right track, these constructions could reinforce the evidence that TP can also be considered a phase (and not only CP and vP, against Chomsky 2000 et passum), as already proposed, in a different and independent way, in Gallego (2007) and Gallego and Uriagereka (2006), between many others.

References

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