Free Small Clauses of Brazilian Portuguese as a TP-Phase

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the internal structure of an exclamative construction of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), which has scarcely been investigated despite its frequent use by Brazilian speakers. I will call this construction the Free Small Clause (FSC)[1] and define it as the juxtaposition of a predicate and its subject, in that fixed order, without any verb or morphological specification for tense on the surface:[2]

(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 sucks.'

Our interest in the syntactic structure of FSCs is mainly motivated by the fact that, superficially, such structures seem to be smaller than "ordinary" sentences. Thus, the key question that will guide our discussion is as follows: what is the structure of FSCs in BP? For the analysis, I will use the generative theory in its minimalist version (see Chomsky 2000 and subsequent works) as well as the theory of syntax of predication and phase extension outlined in Den Dikken (2006, 2007).

In this paper, I propose that FSCs are root sentences; more specifically, I argue in favor of the idea that they are TP-phases. Thus, unlike Chomsky (2001), I suggest that not only v*Ps[3] and CPs are "strong phases," but also TPs, proposing that FSCs are the result of *phase extension*, that is, the extension of syntactic domains due to the raising of the head of a functional projection, as proposed in Den Dikken (2006, 2007).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I present and discuss the syntactic and semantic constraints governing FSCs; in section 3, I show the internal FSC structure through syntactic diagnostics; in section 4, I summarize the theory of predication and phase extension developed by Den Dikken (2006, 2007); in section 5, I show how the FSC derivation is given under the phase extension notion; and finally, in section 6, I finish the paper with a summary of the key issues discussed.

[1] This term was first used in Kato (1988).
[2] According to Kato (2007), FSCs bring to BP what she called a "third BP copula," that is, a copula that is not realized phonetically. Thus, under this view, BP would have not only *ser* and *estar* as verbal copulas, but also a phonetically null feature (or bundle of features), as the "third copula" (also called zero copula).
[3] According to Chomsky (2001), only v*P, the maximal projection for intransitive and transitive verbs, is a strong phase, which differs from vP, the maximal projection for unaccusative and passive verbs, which is a "weak phase" in which the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), discussed in more detail in section 4, does not apply.

2. FSC syntactic-semantic constraints

2.1. Order constraint

(1) seems to be the "canonical" order for an FSC in BP, given that DP + predicate order (without the copula) is ungrammatical, as already noted by Kato (1988):

(2)   a. *_A sua roupa muito bonita!_
        the your outfit very   beautiful
    b. *_Aquele programa de televisão uma droga!_
        that   program of television a   drug

2.2. Subject constraints

The subjects of FSCs are always _specific_. Thus, there are no non-specific DPs, bare plurals, negative polarity items, or degree quantifiers (see (3)). Only _specific_ and _strongly referential_ DPs are the subjects of FSCs (see (4)):

(3)   a. *_Muito bonita   uma roupa qualquer!_
        very   beautiful a   outfit any
    b. *_Muito bonitas roupas!_
        very beautiful outfit
    c. *_Muito bonita(s) nenhuma roupa/poucas roupas!_
        very beautiful no   outfit/few   outfit

(4)   a. _Muito bonita   uma roupa que   eu vi no   shopping!_
        very   beautiful an   outfit which I saw at.the shopping.center
        'The outfit I saw at the shopping center is very beautiful!'
    b. _Uma droga aquele programa de televisão!_
        a   drug that   program of television
        'That TV program sucks!'

2.3. Constraints on the predicate

FSCs predicates can consist of just the adjectival category (see (5a)) and some constituents that appear similar to DPs at first glance, which I call here "evaluative DPs." These evaluative DPs differ from "ordinary" DPs when they are in FSCs in that the latter are discarded and the former are allowed (see (5b) _vs._ (5c)) because of their evaluative content. Moreover, others phrases such as PPs (see (5d)), AdvPs (see (5e)), and VPs (see (5f)), are also ungrammatical as FSC predicates:

(5)   a. _Linda a Maria!_   _APs_
        beautiful the Mary
        'Mary is beautiful!'
    b. _Um luxo   essa sua bolsa!_   _Evaluative DPs_
        a   luxury this your bag
        'Your bag is luxurious!'
    c. *_Médico esse cara!_   _DPs_
        doctor   this guy
    d. *_Na   Ponta Verde o   João!_   _PPs_
        in.the   Ponta Verde the João
    e. *_Bem a   Maria!_   _AdvPs_
        well the Maria
    f. *_Dançando os   meus alunos!_   _VPs_
        dancing   the my   students

It should be noted that not all types of adjectives can serve as predicates of FSCs, as the adjective must be gradable (usually requiring a maximum degree, such as "very beautiful" or "horrible"). Non-gradable adjectives are excluded:

(6)   a. *Disponíveis os bombeiros!   > *Muito disponível
           available   the firemen   > very   available
      b. *Grávida essa mulher!   > *Muito grávida
           pregnant this woman   > very   pregnant

Therefore, as first shown in Kato (1988), sentences such as those in (6) are ruled out because the predicates are *stage level* adjectives. Thus, as noted by Kato, the predicates of FSCs allow only the individual level kind of adjective. Thus, *evaluative* predicates in FSCs are predicates that, rather than pointing a fact, describe an impression or personal opinion of the speaker, who mentions something surprising or unusual, which is inherent for exclamative sentences (Zanuttini & Portner 2003). *Individual level* predicates must then express a consideration and cannot be referring expressions.

2.4. Constraints on "tense"

As pointed out earlier, FSCs do not show tense morphology on the surface. However, they can be paraphrased as if the copula were in the present tense (uttered in out-of-the-blue contexts), which is the only possible reading, as shown in the data of (7):[4, 5]

(7)   a. *Lindo o dia!*
          OK 'The day is beautiful!'
          *'The day was beautiful!'
          *'The day will be beautiful!'
      b. *Bonita a sua roupa!*
          OK 'Your outfit is pretty!'
          *'Your outfit was pretty!'
          *'Your outfit will be pretty!'

In addition to the present tense being subjacent in FSCs, it is interesting to point out that the predicate of these sentences is interpreted as a stative; that is, the tense is "understood" to be the present tense, and the predicate cannot be understood as (or cannot be (see (5f)) a verb in gerundive form. This corroborates the observation that the predicate of an FSC is always stative. Examples are shown in (8):

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[4] Such data are similar to the data of Russian provided by Soschen (2002). According to her (p. 68), a verbal copula in the present tense *est'* 'be' is not allowed in nominal sentences of modern Russian. Instead, it can be represented by a null pronoun, orally represented by a pause (-) or its absence (no pause), as illustrated in (i):

(i)   a. *Marija*   (-)   *krasivaja.*
          Marija-FEM N-PRON beautiful.
          'Marija is beautiful.'
      b. *Ona* *(byla)*   *krasivoj.*
          she   be-FEM.SG.PASS beautiful
          'She is beautiful.'
      c. *Ona* *(budet)*   *krasivoj.*
          she   be-3ª.SG.FUT. beautiful-FEM.SG
          "She will be beautiful."

(Soschen 2002, 68–69)

[5] Even though FSCs do not show tense morphologically, as described in section 3.3, they use adverbs or adverb phrases as a means of expressing it.

(8)   a. *Lindo   o   dia!*   >   **O dia **está sendo** lindo!*
          beautiful the day
          'The day is beautiful!'   *'The day is being beautiful!'
    b. *Bonita a sua   roupa!*   >   **'A sua roupa **está sendo** bonita!'*
          pretty the your outfit
          'Your outfit is pretty!'   *'Your outfit is being pretty!'

To summarize the contents of this section, I conclude that FSCs of BP are governed by the algorithms described in (i):

(i)   a. The subjects of BP FSCs must be specific;
             b. The predicates of BP FSCs must be individual level evaluative predicates;
             c. The (no morphological) tense of BP FSCs must be interpreted as present.

3. A structure for the FSC of BP
3.1. FSC: Subject adjunction to the right or predicate A'-movement?[6]

To answer the question of whether FSCs display subject adjunction to the right or predicate A'-movement, firstly, I will use the test with adverbs and locative PPs, because it is known that adverbs and locative PPs mark the limit of a nuclear sentence; then, what comes after these elements is considered to occupy the A'-position. The contrast between (9) and (10) below seems to corroborate the idea that the subject of FSCs does not suffer right adjunction; that is, it is not in the A'-position, since neither the adverb nor the locative can intervene between the predicate and the subject of FSCs:[7, 8]

(9)   a. **Muito lindas   na   igreja/ontem   as flores*
            very beautiful in.the church/yesterday the flowers
      b. **Bonito   na   festa/ ontem   o seu vestido*
            beautiful at.the party/yesterday the your dress

(10)   a. *Muito lindas   as flores na   igreja/ ontem!*
           very   beautiful the flowers in.the church/yesterday
           'These flowers were very beautiful in the church/yesterday!'
      b. *Bonito   o seu vestido na   festa/ontem!*
          beautiful the your dress   at.the party/yesterday
          'Your dress was beautiful at the party/yesterday!'

Further, quantifiers can be in the subject position of FSCs, but, as it is known, quantifiers cannot occupy an A'-position, as illustrated in (11):

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[6] I will assume the classical test for A/A' movement and I will put many discussions about the difference between other Romance languages under the rug. For a detailed vision, see Gupton (2010).

[7] The substitution test indicates that the PPs and adverbs are not in the same DP subject (see (i)):

(i)   a. *Muito lindas elas   na   igreja/ ontem!*
            very   beautiful they.FEM in.the church/yesterday
          'They were very beautiful in the church/yesterday!'
        b. *Bonito ele na   festa/ontem!*
          beautiful he at.the party/yesterday
          'He was beautiful at the party/yesterday!'

[8] I will assume that the adverb is adjoined to TP and that it seems to be left-dislocated, result of remnant movement (Kayne 1994), with no more complications, leaving more details for future work only.

(11)   a. *Um amor cada um de vocês!*
        a   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 your shoes are very beautiful!'

Given the arguments above, it is tempting to assert that BP FSCs are the result of predicate A'-movement to the left over its subject. However, as (12) shows, Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) are accepted in FSC predicates, and, like quantifiers, NPIs are not usually accepted in A'-position:

(12)   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 even a little bit pretty!'

The data presented in this section suggest that both the subject and predicate of BP FSCs appear to occupy an A-position and not an A'-position.

3.2. VP adverbs: Where are the FSCs?

As known, VP adverbs (e.g., *always*) occupy an adjunction position to VP. By observing the contrast between (13) and (14) below, one can be infer that the predicate of FSCs does not seem to have been moved to a position above the SC, since a structure in which the adverb is between the subject and the predicate is ungrammatical (see (14)). On the other hand, (13) shows that the structures in which the adverb is in the initial position are grammatical, suggesting that BP FSCs are actually *in situ*:

(13)   a. [$_{SC}$ *Sempre* [$_{SC}$ *bonita   a   sua   roupa*]]
          always   beautiful the your outfit
        'Your outfit is always beautiful!'
    b. [$_{SC}$ *Sempre* [$_{SC}$ *muito chata essa aula*]]
          always   very boring this class
        'This class is always very boring!'

(14)   a. **Bonita   sempre a sua roupa*
        beautiful always the your outfit
    b. **Muito   chata sempre essa aula*
        very boring always this class

3.3. Functional projections: Does the FSC have TP and CP?

To support the idea that ordinary SCs do not have a tense phrase (TP) projection, Cardinaletti and Guasti (1995) use the tests of TP adverbs and of negation:

(15)   a. *Hoje eu acho* [$_{CP}$ *que* [$_{TP}$ *a Maria estava bonita ontem*]].   *Adverbs*
        today I think   that   the Mary was   beautiful yesterday
        'Today I think that Mary was beautiful yesterday.'
    b. *Hoje   eu acho [$_{SC}$ *a   Maria bonita   ontem*].
        today I think   the Mary beautiful yesterday

    a'. *Eu acho* [$_{CP}$ *que* [$_{TP}$ *a   Maria **não** está triste*]].   *Negation*
        I think   that   the Mary not is   sad
        'I think that Mary is not sad.'

b'. *Eu acho [_SC a   Maria **não** triste].
   I   think   the Mary not sad

FSCs in BP, unlike ordinary SCs, seem to have a TP projection because TP adverbs can be adjoined to them (see (16)):

(16)　　a. *Bonita   a   sua   roupa **ontem**!*
　　　　　beautiful the your outfit yesterday
　　　　　'Your outfit was beautiful yesterday!'
　　　　b. *Muito lindo   o   dia **hoje**!*
　　　　　very   beautiful the day today
　　　　　'The day is very beautiful today!'

The negation test shows that FSCs do not have a negative counterpart, as illustrated in (17):

(17)　　　(*Não*) bonita (*não*) a   Maria (*não*)!
　　　　　(*not) beautiful (*not) the Mary (*not)

However, this characteristic is not surprising, as it holds for any exclamative sentence[9] (Zanuttini & Portner 2003; Villalba 2004). Nonetheless, a piece of evidence that can be given, in the sense that negation can occur in FSCs, is example (12) above, for, as already pointed out by Zanuttini (1991), an inherent relation between negation (including NPIs) and T(ense) can be established. It is assumed in cases like (12) that a category NegP is added to TP. Therefore, I think it is reasonable to assume that there is a TP projection in sentences with NPIs, such as (12).

All tests carried out in this section support the idea that BP FSCs, different from ordinary SCs, have a TP projection. However, the data in (18) below seem to show evidence that they do not have a CP node.

(18)　　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

Example (2) shows that the order *Subject + Predicate* (S-P) is always ruled out. Nevertheless, the contrast between (18a) and (18b) seems to suggest that, embedded under the exceptional case-marking (ECM) verb *achar* 'think,' both order (S-P and P-S) can be found. Verbs such as *achar* 'think' in BP select a common SC (see (18a)) or a CP (see (18c)). Therefore, *[Muito bonita a sua roupa ontem]* 'Very beautiful your clothes yesterday' in (18d) is excluded as an FSC (= TP). Then, (18d) seems to be the key evidence to assume that FSCs in BP are root TPs; that is, FSCs are, as they are named, "free" and cannot be embedded. Moreover, if the analysis undertaken here is to be taken into account, one can easily explain why there may be switching in the order S-P / P-S after ECM verbs in (18a) and (18b): These examples have a Small Clause complement, and its order can be switched, in opposition to FSCs, which have a fixed order.

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[9] Except in cases of expletive negation and others of standard negation, which require appropriate context; see Villalba (2004).

## 4. Predication and phase extension

According to Den Dikken (2007: 1), predication "in semantics is property ascription, and in syntax involves an asymmetrical structure including the predicate, its subject, and a functional element (the RELATOR) mediating the uniformly asymmetrical (but non-directional) relationship between the predicate and its subject." So, for this author, in a predication, there will always be a RELATOR (R), head of the predication projection, RP, which is why it is *configurational*. Differently from Bowers (1993), who assumes a functional head Pr ("a mnemonic for predication," p. 595) and explicitly recognizes it as "a new functional category" (p. 593), Den Dikken considers the RELATOR to be functional and abstract, acting as a placeholder for any functional head in a relation of predication between two terms. According to this perspective, the RELATOR can be a copula, a preposition, or tense, for instance.

Therefore, all relations of predication are syntactically represented by the structure in which constituents denoting the predicate and the subject are dependent on a connective (the RELATOR) establishing the (syntactic and semantic) connection between the two constituents. The hierarchical structure is asymmetrical, as in (19) below:

(19)
```
        RP
       /  \
  Subject   R'
           /  \
      RELATOR  Predicate
```
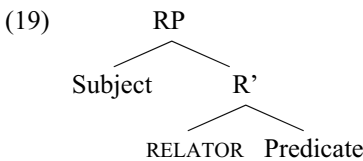
Since the RELATOR connects the predicate and its subject, the approach illustrated in (19) "gives syntactic, configurational expression to perspectives on syntactic predication that appeal to 'predicate linking' […] the idea that 'predicates appear in positions where they can be linked to their subjects" (Heycock 1991: 21; see also Den Dikken 2006: 12); that is, the predicate must be one of the two dependents of the RELATOR, exactly as in (19). This framework captures the *locality* of a predication relation because the RELATOR accommodates both the predicate and the subject in its minimal domain (roughly, the specifier and complement position in a given head).[10]

It is interesting to note that the notion of locality set out above does not impose any directionality on the relations of predication; that is to say, these relations can also be non-directional. By "non-directional" or "reverse" predication, I refer to situations where the predicate is in the specifier, with the configuration shown in (20):[11]

(20)
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         RP
        /  \
  Predicate  R'
            /  \
       RELATOR  Subject
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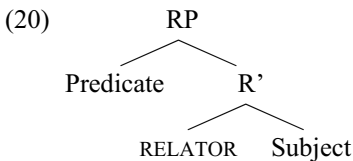
[10] It is worth noting that the RELATOR head is *never* lexical, for being a functional head, RELATOR is not a θ-role assigner. From the perspective outlined here, a head H is either *θ-assigner* or *the mediator of a predication*, but never both at the same time; that is, there is a division of labor in θ-assignment and mediation of the relationship of predication. Another assumption of this approach is that lexical projections do not have a specifier, while all RELATOR projections do.

[11] As Den Dikken (2006: 13) proposes, the structure in (20) has an essential role in the syntax of nominal, adjectival, and adverbial predication. See Den Dikken (2006, 2007) for many cases explained by reverse predication, such as those in (i) below, in which "like" appears as the lexicalization of the RELATOR:

(i)   John is [RP [DP an idiot [R' RELATOR = like [DP the father]]]]]

Passives, to name just one of many examples in which (20) acts, are also explained by reverse predication: The DP [Mary] is raised to [Spec, TP], rather than [John], which is "frozen" within the domain of the RP phase, due to the PIC (explained below), exactly as in (ii):

(ii)   a. [RP [VP kissed Mary] [R' [p by] (= RELATOR) [DP John]]]
         b. [TP Mary$_i$ [T' was [RP [VP kissed t_i] [R' [p by] (= RELATOR) [DP John]]]]

According to Den Dikken (2006: 251), the RELATOR "is a cover for anything that may be used to connect a predicate to its subject […]. It is explicitly not proposed to represent a syntactic category."

In relation to Chomsky's proposal about phases, Den Dikken (2006, 2007) suggests that phases can be defined as predications. Thus, RP is a phase because, like v*P, it is a Complete Functional Complex. Den Dikken's argument is based on Chomsky's (2001: 12) explicit assumption in that he states (21) is the defining property of phases, and thus, according to Den Dikken, the Small Clause could certainly be classified as a phase. The property described in (22) and Phase Impenetrability Condition in (23) require that only constituents on the edge of Small Clauses are accessible to the probes above it.

(21)   Phases (Φ) are propositional.

(22)   Small Clauses are phases.

(23)   *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (Chomsky 2001: 14)
        The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.[12]

        Therefore, Den Dikken (2007: 1) assumes (24):

(24)   *Inherent Phase*
        An *inherent* phase is a *predication* (subject-predicate structure)
                                                (Den Dikken 2007: 1, ex. (2); italics in original)

Assuming with Moro (1997) his theory of inversion of predicates in sentences like the pair in (25), Den Dikken (2006, 2007) wonders how, in (25b), the predicate *[the # 1 best-seller in the country]* is moved over the subject *[this book]*, given the condition in (23), which ensures that the domain of a phase is sent to *Spell-Out* and can no longer be accessible to the upper phase.

(25)   a. This book is the #1 best-seller in the country.
        b. The #1 best-seller in the country is this book.

                                                (Den Dikken 2007: 2, ex. (4))

Den Dikken (2006, 2007) suggests that (25b) is derived from (25a) via raising of the predicate of "this book" to the specifier A-position, namely, subject position, in the course of the syntactic derivation, as shown in (26):

(26)   a. [$_{RP}$ SUBJECT [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]]
        b. [$_{FP}$ PREDICATE$_i$ [F [$_{RP}$ SUBJECT [RELATOR t_i]]]]

                                                (Den Dikken 2007: 2, ex. (7))

Although, as noted above, step (26b), that is, the raising of a predicate over its subject to a specifier position of a functional category, is blocked due to condition (23). This is because the head of a phase P in (26b) cannot access the predicate in a complement position of RELATOR, as this position is part of the domain of the phase RP and is thus an inaccessible position because it has already been sent to Spell-Out.

Den Dikken's (2006, 2007) solution to this problem comprises his theory of phase extension, a proposal that I adopt in this paper to explain the FSCs of BP, as will be seen in section 5. The theory of phase extension is supported by Chomsky's original (1993) proposal that head movement extends syntactic domains. Reinterpreting this proposal according to phase extension theory, if the head of RP,

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[12] In (i) below, we call ZP-H the edge of the phase HP, and YP its domain. Chomsky proposes that only YP, the domain of a phase, must be expelled in a phase, but not its edge, ZP and H, respectively:

(i) [$_{HP}$ ZP [H YP]]

RELATOR, moves to an outer head, phase dependencies are redefined by means of an operation of phase extension, and then no problem of locality arises.

According to the scenario outlined above, one can infer that the predicate raising in (26b) is excluded because the RELATOR is *in situ*, and thus, the syntactic domains were not extended. Otherwise, in (27), when RELATOR is raised, the domain of a phase is extended to FP (= any functional category); that is, phase properties of RP are pushed to FP (see (27b)). Therefore, F becomes the head of the phase, and as such, it can probe the predicate in [Compl, R] and move it to its Spec (see (27c)), as shown in the step-by-step phase extension derivation in (27), where Φ is the limit of a phase, and its definition in (28).

(27)   a. [$_{RP}$ SUBJECT [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]]
         Φ

    b. [$_{FP}$ F+R$_i$ [$_{RP}$ SUBJECT [t_i [PREDICATE]]]]
        Φ ⟵ (Φ̸)

    c. [$_{FP}$ PREDICATE$_j$ [F+R$_i$ [$_{RP}$ SUBJECT [t_i t_j]]]]
        Φ

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

(28)   *Phase Extension*
    Syntactic movement of the *head* H of a phase α up to the head X of the node β dominating α *extends* the phase up from α to β; α loses its phasehood in the process, and any constituent on the edge of α ends up in the domain of the derived phase β as a result of Phase Extension.
                                (Den Dikken 2007: 1, ex. (3); italics in original)

Thus, (27) and (28) are the solution found by Den Dikken (2006, 2007) to derive predicate inversion in (25b), as well as a wide range of linguistic phenomena (see Den Dikken 2006, 2007 for an overview).

It is worth noting that only subject-predicate structures are inherent phases; other nodes can acquire phase status only as a result of the head movement of an inherent phase, via *phase extension*. Thus, differently of Chomsky (2000 *et passim*), who only assumes *v**P and CP as phases, Den Dikken in his proposal of phase extension states that, as a result of *v* raising to T, "TP becomes a derived phase"[13] (Den Dikken 2007: 14).

Thus, it seems to me that a proposal based on the notion of *phase extension*, to the extent it best accommodates the results of our empirical data presented in the previous sections, formulates a theory of phases that, despite being distant in the sense of Chomsky's current proposal, "rescues" the dynamics of Chomsky's (1986) barriers: "the idea that constituents can inherit barrierhood (or phasehood) from categories they dominate" (see Den Dikken 2007: 1). In addition, it explains a considerable range of syntactic phenomena, as shown in Den Dikken (2006, 2007 *et passim*). Moreover, the four main criteria that characterize a phase as listed in Chomsky (2000) have been discussed in several recent works (Boeckx & Grohmann 2004; Den Dikken 2007; Epstein & Seely 2002; just to name a few),[14] which at least gives us reason to rethink the assumption that only CP and *v**P are phases.[15]

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[13] Actually, according to this dynamic approach to phases, C can only become a phase when the *v*-T complex moves to C. Thus, differently from described by Chomsky (2000), CP will *never* be an "inherent" phase; it can only acquire phase status via *phase extension*.

[14] According to Den Dikken (2006: 15), for Chomsky (2000 *et passim*), CP and *v**P are strong phases because they are (i) semantically independent (propositional), (ii) phonologically independent (prosodically isolable, movable), (iii) potential probes (loci of uninterpretable formal features), and (iv) the locus of EPP. However all these criteria can be arguably found in TP, too, and, in some contexts, cannot be found in CP and *v**P, as noted in the works cited above. Due to the limitation of space, I will not address these issues in this paper. I will explore them in future work only.

[15] See also Legate (2003), who argues convincingly that, besides *v**P, (unaccusative and passive) *v*P can also be a phase.

5. FSC as an extended TP-phase

Adopting a nondirectional RP configuration for SCs, as seen in (20), and bearing in mind the results of the tests applied earlier, I proposed the structure in (29) for FSCs of BP. It is important to notice that this outcome was possible based on the assumptions that FSCs of BP: (i) are not the result of left movement of the predicate, nor of adjunction to the right of the subject (see section 3.1.); (ii) are *in situ* (see section 3.2.); and (iii) have only a TP projection in their internal structure (and, of course, RP) (see section 3.3).

(29)   [$_{TP}$ T [$_{RP}$ PREDICATE [RELATOR [SUBJECT]]]]

As previously discussed, the tests in section 3.3 suggest that FSCs are root TPs; that is, they are autonomous sentences that neither embed nor can be embedded. They also do not have a CP projection. In sum, they are actually "free." However, this idea does not seem to be compatible with what is suggested in Chomsky (2000 *et passim*), whose proposal is that only CP and *v**P can be considered phases (small "chunks" of syntactic structure, which are cyclically sent to *Spell-Out* during any syntactic derivation). Since Den Dikken's framework (i) does not understand C-T as a set (see Chomsky 2004), allowing non-defective T to contain its own Φ-features, with no inheritance from C, and (ii) assumes that TP can be considered a phase via *phase extension*, the idea proposed here seems to be a more adequate account of the data, as shown in sections 2 and 3 above. In particular, it provides a more adequate explanation of (29).

Den Dikken's (2007: 16) account of TP as a (strong) phase is based on the statement that "it is by no means self-evident that TP should not be a phase." He provides counterarguments to Chomsky's (2000) set of criteria (listed in note 14) for a given category to be or not be considered a phase. These counterarguments are the following: (i) *semantically*, it is not clear why TP should not be propositional; (ii) *phonologically*, TP can be independent in some way, as it can undergo *Right Node Raising* (*I can tell you when, but I can't tell you why*, [$_{TP}$ *he left me*], p. 17); (iii) T is typically the probe that checks its uninterpretable features with the DP subject; and (iv) it seems to be undeniable that T can have an EPP property.[16]

Based on these arguments, I will assume Den Dikken's (2006, 2007) proposal that any primary predication can be considered a phase. Thus, RPs (the Small Clause phrases) are *inherent phases,* and TP can be a derived phase. To derive (29), I have to deal with the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC): according to this condition, a phase domain (the DP subject in (29)) must be immediately sent to Spell-Out, right at the moment the phase RP is formed, being no more accessible within the derivation, which could cause it to crash, since some uninterpretable features (Φ-features of T and Case feature of a subject DP) would still be present in the derivation. In order to solve this issue, I assume Den Dikken's (2006, 2007) theory of *phase extension*, sketched above. As we saw, this theory adopts Chomsky's (1993) proposal that head movement extends syntactic domains. Consequently, if the RP head, RELATOR, moves right up to an external head, phase dependencies are redefined by a *phase extension* operation, and, as a result, no locality issue arises. Thus, the rising of RELATOR, the head of this RP phase, to an outer RP functional category, extends the phase from RP to FP, as in (27), repeated below as (30):[17]

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[16] See Den Dikken (2007) for the whole argumentation.

[17] One might ask about the possibility of using the structure (30c) instead of that in (20), with reverse predication, to explain the FSC of BP, since the linear order Predicate-Subject is also attested. However, if one adopts (30c) to account for FSCs, at least two possibilities emerge: (a) interpreting the functional category FP as TP, as in (i) below, and (b) interpreting FP as any functional category (possibly some category of VP periphery à la Belletti 2004) and, in addition, adding TP, resulting in a structure like (ii) below. Structure (a) would be ruled out because, according to the VP adverb test (see section 3.2.), the predicate seems to be below T. Actually, as I see it, possibility (b) would also be ruled out, since, although derivation (ii) seems to converge, it is known that "[l]ess economical computations are blocked even if they converge" (Chomsky 1995: 220). Thus, (29) seems to be more economical than (ii). Hence, in the latter derivation, one must postulate (1) another functional category besides TP, namely, FP; (2) an EPP feature to F in order to trigger movement of the subject to its Spec; and (3) predicate

(30) a. [$_{RP}$ Subject [RELATOR [Predicate]]]
         Φ
      b. [$_{FP}$ F+R$_i$ [$_{RP}$ Subject [t_i [Predicate]]]]
         Φ ⟵ (𝕮)
      c. [$_{FP}$ Predicate$_j$ [F+R$_i$ [$_{RP}$ Subject [t_i t_j]]]]
         Φ

<div align="right">(Den Dikken 2006: 115, ex. (80))</div>

Before moving to the derivation itself, I would like to highlight other idiosyncrasies of the FSC in respect to its constituents and configuration. In summary, I would like to suggest that, in BP, the deletion of the copula is allowed in configurational cases similar to those in (29). Specifically, the context of an SC that has emerged from reverse predication (in predicate-subject order), selected by a functional category—a root TP, with no CP selecting it—is the context in which this "deletion" is allowed in BP. In other words, this is the configuration in which the "third copula" (see Kato 1988, 2007) emerges.

Another peculiarity of the FSC, which also triggers the third copula, is the fact that for the selected predicate to be in [Spec, RP], it has to be a Degree Phrase (DegP). As we have seen, FSCs are ungrammatical with predicates that do not have degree in some sense (see (31)), and evaluative DPs are structures whose nominal head N usually derives evaluative adjectives. Both these DPs and adjectives somehow capture the idea of degree (see 32):

(31) a. *Russa essa vodca.   Compare: *Muito russa
         Russian this vodka   very Russian
      b. *Grávida   a Maria.   Compare: *Muito grávida
          pregnant the Maria   very   pregnant
      c. *Inumeráveis os artigos do Chomsky.   Compare:*Muito inumeráveis
          innumerable the articles of.the Chomsky   very innumerable

(32) a. *Um luxo o seu apartamento!*   > *Muito luxuoso o seu apartamento!*
         a   luxurious the your apartment   very   luxurious the your apartment
                        'Your apartment is very luxurious!'
      b. *Uma maravilha essa cerveja!*   > *Extremamente maravilhosa essa cerveja!*
         a   wonderful this beer   extremely   wonderful   this beer
                        'This beer is extremely wonderful!'

      c. *Um amor essa sua filha!*   > *Muito amorosa essa sua filha!*
         a   lovely this your daughter   very   lovely   this your daughter
                        'Your daughter is very lovely!'

FSCs of BP are exclamative sentences and, according to Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008: 118), exclamative sentences are closely associated with certain denotational properties that do not exist in most interrogative sentences, such as reference degrees, for example. Additionally, recent studies point out the fact that exclamative sentences are actually degree constructions (see Castroviejo 2007; Gutiérrez-Rexach 2008). Therefore, it seems reasonable to propose that FSC of BP have a degree phrase associated with its predicate.
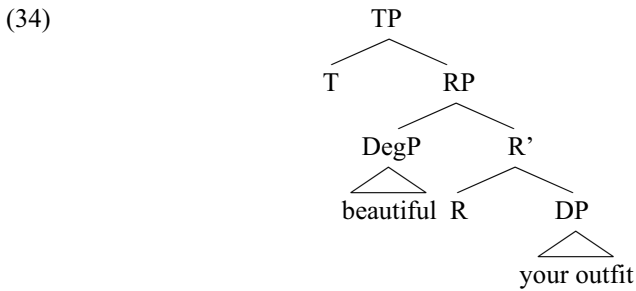
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raising to [Spec, FP]. Then, if my analysis is on the right track, (29) seems to be the more coherent option for the structure of FSCs of BP, since reverse predication is a legitimate operation in Universal Grammar, as outlined in the last section and as proposed in Den Dikken (2006, 2007).

(i)   [$_{TP}$ Predicate$_j$ [T+R$_i$ [$_{RP}$ Subject [t_i t_j]]]]
(ii)   [$_{TP}$ T [$_{FP}$ Predicate$_j$ [F+R$_i$ [$_{RP}$ Subject [t_i t_j]]]]]

This line of reasoning offers a straightforward explanation for the restriction observed in (31), namely, the non-selection of predicates without degree by FSC. Furthermore, it can also account for the data in (33), wherein non-stative predicates (with no degree) are not allowed: As only DegPs are possible as FSC predicates, other types of predicates, which do not introduce a variable degree, are ruled out. I am also assuming, along with Villalba (2003), that when the intensifier degree is not "visible" in the derivation, its position is being occupied by a null intensifier "ø," as is commonly assumed in the literature for these expressions.[18]

(33)   a. *Falando a   Maria.
             talking   the Maria
         b. *Dirigindo o   Paulo.
             driving   the Paulo
         c. *Vendendo o   livro.
             selling   the book

Taking into account the above analysis, let us consider (34) as the internal structure of the FSC of BP.

(34)

```
                        TP
                      /    \
                    T        RP
                           /    \
                       DegP      R'
                       /  \     /  \
              beautiful  R  R    DP
                                  /\
                              your outfit
```

It is interesting to notice that, even if the predicate of the FSC is an evaluative DP, as with adjectives, I assume that the only Φ-features that can enter the computation, given a DegP node, are number and gender features, for the following two reasons: (i) degree does not seem to contain the person feature,[19] and (ii) Case feature is not available for predicates because Case and person features are closely linked (see Chomsky 2001).

Returning to the derivation of (29)/(34), to derive RP, firstly, the head R must select the subject as its complement and subsequently the predicate as its specifier. TP enters the derivation, and then the head of RP is raised to T. This movement triggers *phase extension* from RP to TP, following Den Dikken's (2006) proposal. It accounts for the issues related to PIC already mentioned, since without phase extension, the DP subject (phase domain) should go immediately to *Spell-Out*, freezing and becoming no more accessible to the derivation. Then, since the (uninterpretable) Case feature of DP and Φ-features of T would still be present in the derivation, it would crash.

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[18] The difference between FSCs with an intensifier and without an intensifier can be thought of as shown in (i):

(i)   a. [RP [DegP ø [AP Rápido] [R' R [DP esse carro]]]
                      fast   this car
            'This car is fast!'
         b. [RP [DegP **Muito** [AP rápido] [R' R [DP esse carro]]]
                      very   fast   this car
            'This car is very fast!'

For a detailed study on internal structure of DegPs, see Neeleman, van de Koot, & Doetjes (2004).

[19] It does not matter here if gender and number features are in a degree morpheme or an adjective.

After phase extension, T is now the phase head, and it accounts for locality issues. However, another problem arises: There is a DegP intervening between T and DP, and it has Φ-features,[20] which would block the probe T from going "lower" (up to DP, in this case) to check its Φ-features and the Case feature of the subject. However, adopting Chomsky's (2001: 15) *Maximization Principle*, we see that this ceases to be a problem because, according to this principle, an element containing a defective set of Φ-features[21] does not account for intervention effects and, since DegP does not have the uninterpretable [person] feature, the probe can just "skip" this phrase. In other words, as the predicate does not have the uninterpretable [person] feature to be checked, the probe T can go down up to the DP subject and value its Case feature, beside the uninterpretable Φ-features of T, as shown in (35):[22]

(35)
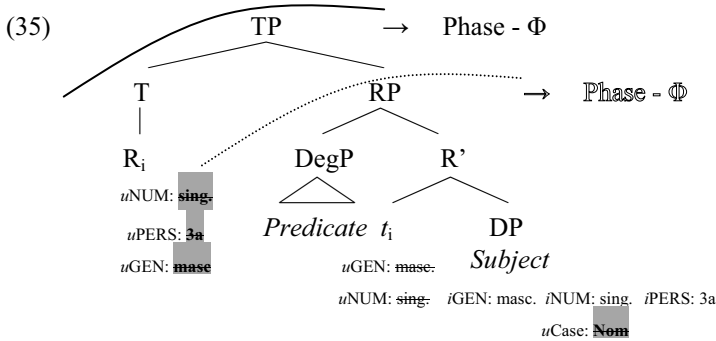
Once the EPP feature is optional in Romance (see Nunes 2007), more specifically, in BP (see Viotti 1999, 2007), derivation stops in (35) with all uninterpretable features properly valued and checked; then, it is sent to *Spell-Out*.

6. Conclusion

Based on the discussion, I conclude that FSCs in BP are root TPs, that is, TP-phases. 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 v*P, against Chomsky 2000 *et passim*), as already proposed—however, in a different and independent way, as suggested by Gallego (2007) and Gallego and Uriagereka (2006), among many others.

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[20] I would like to highlight that before T reaches the DP subject, the Agree operation between DegP and the DP subject must already have occurred in order to check the uninterpretable gender and number features of DegP. Due to the limitation of space, I will not discuss how this is done here. For details, see Sibaldo (2009).

[21] That is, an incomplete Φ-set, that is, without an uninterpretable [person] feature.

[22] The relevant features valued and checked are represented by a highlighted font.

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