

Inflection of wh-determiners and wh-quantifiers in dialectal Brazilian Portuguese

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This paper analyses structures with wh-items that, despite not being inflected in standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP) (1b, 2b), show plural marking in some varieties of BP. For instance, in the dialect spoken in Minas Gerais, ‘que’ (1a) and ‘quanto’ (2a) are marked for plural. In view of these facts, this paper examines the CP and the DP/QP syntactic hierarchy as well as the consequences of this configuration for the DP/QP-internal distribution of the plural morpheme in (1a, c) and (2a, c).

- (1) a. [CP[DP D**Ques** [NPferramenta]]_i C (que) [IP você usou *t_i*?]]
 Which-PL tool that you used
 ‘Which tools did you use?’
 b. Que ferramentas você usou?
 Which tool-PL you used
 ‘Which tools did you use?’
 c. [CP[DP D**Ques** [Num**três** [NPferramenta]]]_i C (que) [IP você usou *t_i*?]]
 Which-PL three tool that you used
 ‘Which two tools did you use?’
- (2) a. [CP[QP**Quantos** [NP ϕ]]_i C(que) [IP _icusta_v [VP _{tv} esse *t_i*?]]]
 How-much-PL that cost this?
 ‘How much does this one cost?’
 b. Quanto custa esse?
 How-much cost this?
 ‘How much does this one cost?’
 c. ***Quantos** três reais ...
 How-many-PL three real-PL

As for the plural marking, according to Danon (2011) and Norris (2014), in several languages, the DP-internal plural marking is determined by the position of cardinals. Therefore, cardinals block the constituents under its c-command to be marked for plural and require the constituents above it to do so. This prediction applies to (1a). In fact, when the cardinal is overt (1c), it is possible to observe that ‘ques’ (wh-D) is the only item that: (i) appears to the left of the cardinal and (ii) is marked for plural. Likewise, in (2a), ‘quantos’ (wh-Q) is the only item marked for plural, but it is not compatible with cardinals (2c). In this case, the quantifier itself is the item valued with number features; as a result, the quantifier, instead of cardinals, blocks the realization of the plural morpheme to its right.

As for the syntactic configuration, in (2a), ‘quantos’ is a Q (Giusti, 1996), which belongs to a QP that contains a covert NP-complement and undergoes wh-movement to the CP. In (1a), ‘ques’ is a D (Vidor; Menuzzi, 2004; Nunes, 2007) in that it occupies the same position for (in)definite articles. In addition, ‘ques’ belongs to a DP that moves from the VP-internal argument position to the CP in order to check interrogative illocutionary force. It can also undergo movement from the predicate position of a small clause (SC) (Kato, 2007) to the CP in exclamatives, as shown in (3). In both cases, either the VP or the SC are inside a relative clause, which forces the DP-raising. Moreover, it is worthy pointing out that the form ‘ques’, also attested in Old Portuguese (4), is probably an archaism retained in dialectal contemporary BP, despite the following contrast: in OP, ‘ques’ may appear as an NP (4); whereas, in contemporary dialectal BP, the inflected form ‘ques’ exists only as a D (1a, 1c, 3).

- (3) [CP[DP **Ques** prédio colorido!]_i C(que)[IP (\acute{e} _v) [VP _{tv} [SC (esses) *t_i*]]]]
 What-PL building colorful (that) (is) (these)
 How colorful these buildings are!

- (4) nos outros generos de eloquencia, nos **ques** a escôlha do assumpto não depende ...
 (18th Century - *Corpus do Português* – Davies; Ferreira)
 In-the-PL other-PL genre-PL of eloquence in-the-PL that-PL the choice of-the subject not depend
 ‘in other genres of eloquence, in those where the subject choice does not depend ...’

To conclude, this paper carried out an analysis that accounts for: firstly, the CP-internal hierarchy to which the DP containing ‘ques’ and the QP containing ‘quantos’ belong; secondly, the DP/QP-internal constituency; and finally, the DP/QP-internal distribution of the plural morpheme.

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