

## MORE ON THE DIACHRONY OF NEGATION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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As shown in Cyrino (2022a, b, 2023), there is an innovative use for the negation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Accordingly, the negative marker *não* ‘no’ (henceforth, ‘low *não*’) is possible in a position between the auxiliary and the uninflected verb in periphrases. In this presentation, I concentrate in the periphrases in (1):

- (1) a. ...*Tenho não vivido* todo esse tempo...  
have not lived all this time  
‘I have not lived all this time.’  
b. ... *estou não fazendo* nada, escolhendo não fazer nada...  
am not doing anything choosing not do anything  
‘(I) am not doing anything, choosing not to do anything’

Since negation cannot appear in that position in other Romance languages, I discuss a possible analysis for this construction and the diachronic change that might have made it possible in BP.

First, I discuss the properties of ‘inhibited eventualities’ (Fábregas & González-Rodríguez 2019, 2020, 2021) to check their similarities and differences with BP ‘low *não*’. Second, I look at what could qualify as a syntactic position for ‘low *não*’ given its properties and considering the literature on multiple positions for negation (especially, DeClercq 2013). Then, I briefly discuss the syntax of perfect and progressive periphrases in BP advancing that, if we assume Ramchand (2018)’s proposal, differently from English, the auxiliary verbs of both these periphrases are generated inside vP. This is because, differently from English, in BP both periphrases convey iterative (2) and durative (3) values when the auxiliary is in the present tense (see Mendes 2005: 121):

- (2) a. ... *sei lá estão falando* muito nisso viu?  
know there are talking much on-that see  
‘I don’t know, they have been talking a lot about that, see?’  
b. (o pessoal) *tem dito* ... que ... a televisão *está* muito ruim  
the people have said that the television is very bad  
‘(People) have said [...] that [...] the television is very bad.’

- (3) a. eu *estou procurando* encaminhá-la para outra coisa.  
I am trying forward-her to other thing  
‘I have been trying to forward her to other things.’  
b. vocês *acham* então que o *noticiário* em TV *tem melhorado* bastante?  
you think then that the news on TV have improved a lot  
‘Do you think, then, that news programs on TV have improved a lot?’

Finally, I explore the syntactic-semantic changes that might have given rise to this new form of negation: (i) there was a change in the aspectual values of both periphrases: from conveying a clear distinction in the past, they now show identity in their aspectual values (Mendes 2005); (ii) there was a loss of lexical verb movement to a high functional category that enabled the lexical verb to stay at a lower (aspectual) projection, whereas the auxiliary separately moves up to a higher position (Cyrino 2013, Cyrino & Araújo-Adriano, in progress), as in the structure in (4) for the sentences in (1):

- (4) [TP *tenho/estou* [<sub>Neg</sub> *não*] [<sub>AspP</sub> *vivido/fazendo*] [<sub>vP</sub> *t<sub>tenho/estou</sub> t<sub>vivido/fazendo</sub>]]]*

These concomitant changes in the diachrony of BP paved the way for the appearance of ‘low *não*’.