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More on the diachrony of *não* in Brazilian Portuguese

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Introduction

- In BP the negative word **não** ‘not’ has a new position: it is now possible in the slot in (AUX ____ V_[-finite]), as seen in (1), data from the internet:

(1) **Progressive** and **perfect** periphrases

a. *minha conexão é discada e eu **estou não trabalhando** com meu servidor.*

my connection is dialed and I am not working with my server

‘My connection is dialed and I am not working with my server.’

b. *eu posso almoçar mais tarde, **tenho não feito** as refeições estes dias.*

I can have-lunch more late have not done the meals these days

‘I can have lunch later, (I) have not had my meals these days.’

- Questions:

- What is the syntactic position of this new type of negation?
- Why/how has it emerged?

Roadmap

- Data on the new forms of negation with ‘low *nãõ*’
- On ‘inhibited eventuality’ readings
- On ‘*low nãõ*’ properties *in perfect* and *progressive* periphrases
- Potential position for ‘*low nãõ*’ in the clausal spine
- Diachronic facts
- Remaining questions

Some data

Perfect periphrases: *ter* 'have' NÃO + *V*_{participle}

(5) *Tenho não vivido* minha melhor versão há alguns dias.
have not lived my best version have some days
'I have not lived the best version of myself these days.'

(<https://www.obvious.cc/autocuidado/pelo-direito-de-nao-ser-minha-melhor-versao/>)

(6) *ele está fazendo o que tinha não feito* antes
he is doing the what had not done before
'He is doing what he had not done before.'

(<http://www.notariado.org.br/blog/registral/nome-familiar-do-padrasto-e-o-direito-sucessorio>)

Progressive periphrases: *estar* 'be' NÃO + *V_{gerund}*

(7) *estou não vendo resposta e terei que acionar os meios judiciais.*
am not seeing answer and will-have that trigger the means judicial
'I can't see an answer and I will have to move judicial means'

(https://www.reclameaqui.com.br/enel-distribuicao-rio/valor-alto-de-consumo_53WImUVyCqCTXFcL/)

(8) *não solicitei a troca porque já estava não gostando do atendimento.*
not asked the replacement because already was not liking of-the service
'I did not ask for a replacement because I already was not appreciating the service.'

(<https://restaurantguru.com.br/Ganache-Salvador>)

On 'inhibited eventualities'

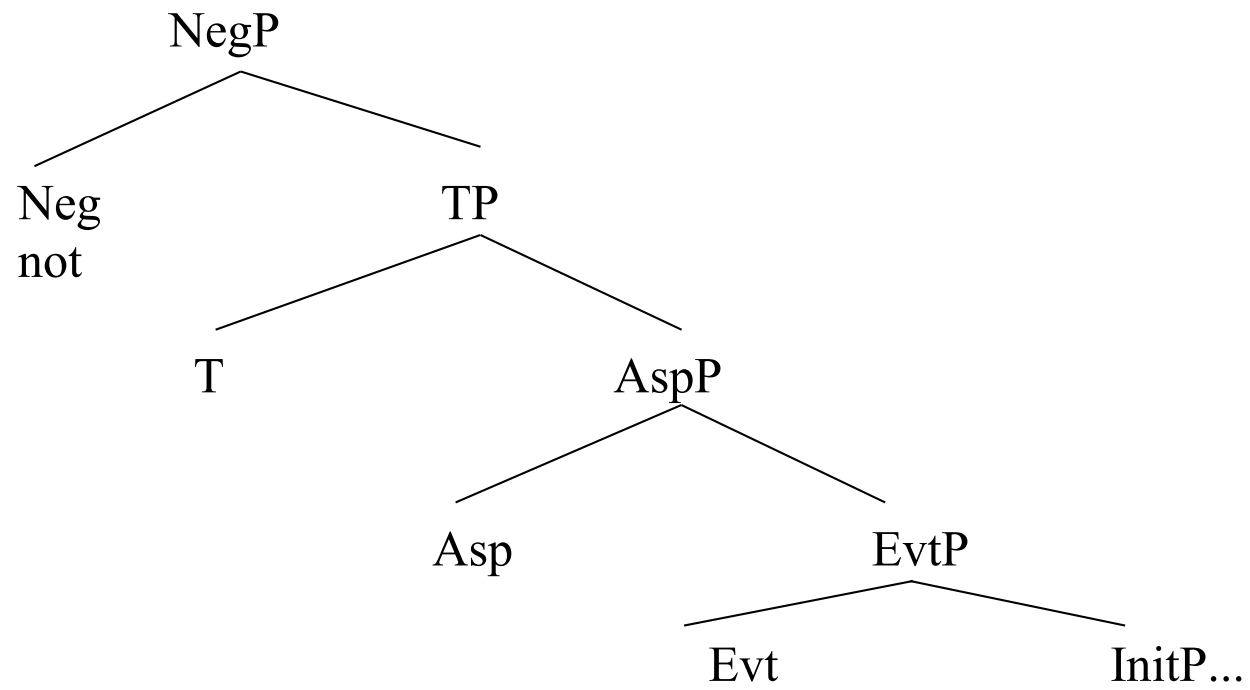
(Fábregas & González-Rodríguez 2019, 2020, 2021): 'low negation'

- The structure with the BP ‘new’ *não*, henceforth, ‘**low não**’, resembles what Fábregas & González-Rodríguez (2020:750) (henceforth, F&G-R) have been studying: ‘*inhibited eventualities*’
- “...negation does not scope over the event as an object with time and world parameters, but **over the description denoted by the lexical predicate which is conveyed in the event.**” (see also F&G-R 2019, 2021).
- The authors propose that inhibited eventuality readings are different from negated event reading, ‘standard sentential negation’
 - the ‘standard sentential negation’ **denies the existence of an eventuality** and would have a structure as (11b) for a sentence as (11a):

(11) a. *No puedes hablar*
neg can.2sg to.talk
'You cannot talk.'

Standard sentential negation

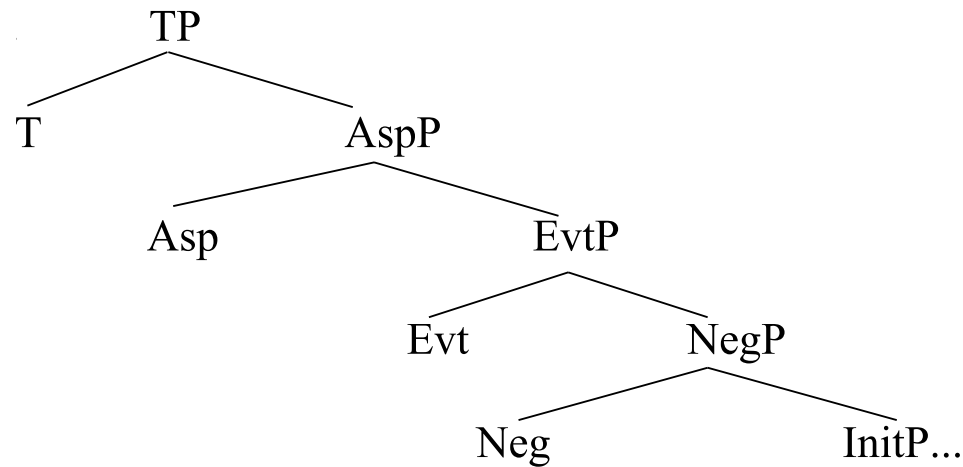
b.



- In ‘inhibited eventualities’, on the other hand, negation is introduced below vP, or EventP (see Ramchand 2008, 2018, a.o.) and operates **on the descriptive content of the event**, thus, a structure as (12b) for a sentence as (12a):

(12) a. *Puedes **no** hablar* inhibited eventuality
 can.2sg neg to.talk
 ‘(You) can not-talk

b.



- The authors concentrate on Spanish and show that ‘inhibited eventualities’ are possible in [neg + V_[infinitive]], in certain structures, for example, as in the (a) sentences below

(Notice that all of these examples are grammatical in Brazilian Portuguese (b))

- Modal + V_[infinitive]

(13) a. [*puedes no pagar*]/[*puede no llover*]/ [*no puedes no pagar impuestos*]

b. [*pode não pagar*]/[*pode não chover*]/ [*não pode não pagar impostos*]

‘may not pay/may not rain/ may not not pay taxes’

- Aspectual periphrasis [*empezar a* + V_[infinitive]]

(14) a. *Empezó [a no fumar]*

b. *Começou [a não fumar]*

‘started not to smoke’

- V_[infinitive] denoting *events* as complement of *perception verbs*

(15) a. *Juan la vio [no obedecer]*

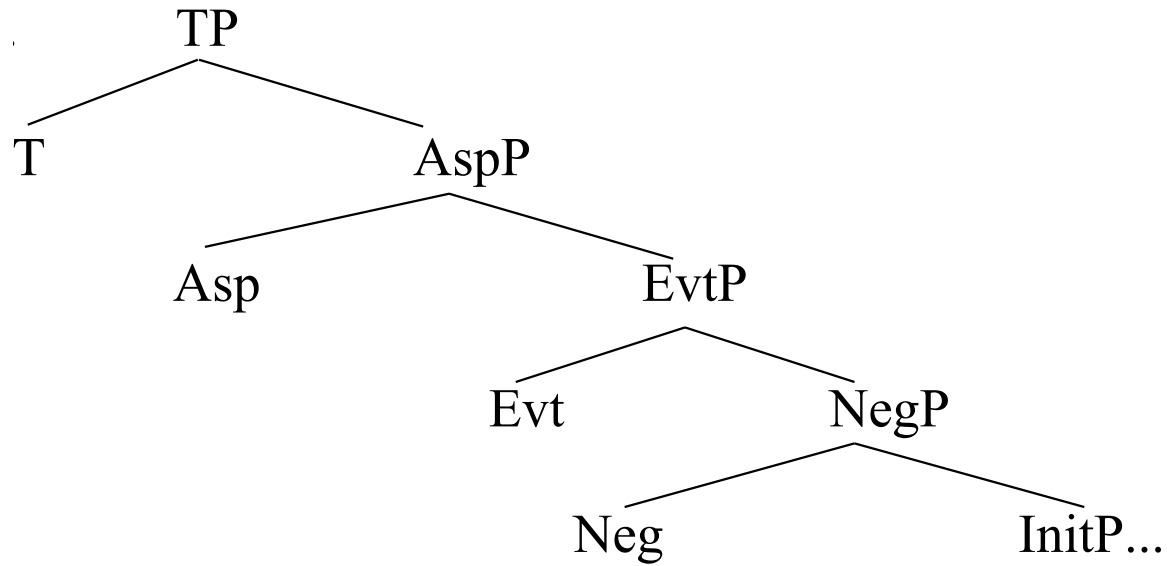
b. *João viu ela [não obedecer]*

Lit. ‘J. saw her not to obey.’

- F & G-R assume an Event Semantics account (Ramchand & Svenonius 2014 and Ramchand 2018), whereby the clausal spine is divided in three domains:

(17) [_C propositions [_T situations [_V events]]]

- The lower domain is where the EventP is built, corresponding to the vP
- It is crucial for F & G-R's analysis of inhibited eventualities, that any event description **that lacks an Initiator** will **not be able to trigger the negative-event reading** (that is, the 'inhibited eventuality' reading).



Inhibited eventuality reading: negation is introduced below EventP and operates on the descriptive content of the event

In “inhibited eventualities”, negation operates **over the head Init**, reversing the **cause relation**, which becomes an inhibited relation.

Denying the head Init produces an entailment that the **Init** subevent (identified by the lexical verb) **is not an initiating verb-event**, but an inhibiting-verb event.

- Therefore, in Spanish sentences with verbs which allow causativization are ungrammatical in the inchoative reading (F & G-R 2020:747, ex. (18):

(18) a. **Vi (a) la leche no hervir.*

Intended: 'I saw that the milk did not boil.'

b. *Vi (a) la matrona no hervir la leche.*

'I saw the midwife not boil the milk.'

- The inhibited eventuality reading in (18a) is impossible, since there is no Initiator.

- However, in BP sentences as (19) – which correspond to Spanish sentence (20) – are **good**
- This indicates that negation can also appear when there is no Initiator (differently from Spanish)

(19) *Vi o leite **não** ferver (e ficar talhado).* [BP]

‘I saw that the milk did not boil (and get curdled).’

(20) **Vi (a) la leche **no** hervir.* [Spanish]

Intended: ‘I saw that the milk did not boil.’

Brazilian Portuguese...

- In fact, there are several examples of the ‘low *não*’ with unaccusative verbs, that is, **with no Initiator**.
 - This means that ‘low *não*’ seems to appear with any kind of predicate
- Some examples:

- *ter*+V_{participle} (unaccusative V)

(21) *Assim o site da Total Acesso ter não caído ainda.*

thus the siteof-the Total Acesso have not fallen yet

‘Thus, (the reason why) the site of Total Acess has not crashed yet.’

https://twitter.com/search?q=%22ter%20n%C3%A3o%20ca%C3%ADdo%22&src=typed_query&f=top

(22) *Não teve um dia que eu não tenha não chegado atrasado nessa aula*

not had a day that I not had not arrived late in-that class

‘There was not a day in which I had not arrived late to that class.’

https://twitter.com/search?q=%22n%C3%A3o%20chegado%22&src=typed_query&f=top

- *estar*+ V_{gerund} (unaccusative V)

(23) *Naquela hora você disse: Mamãe, estou não morrendo agora!*”

in-that hour you said mummy am not dying now

‘In that hour you said: Mom I am not dying now.’

<https://www.passeidireto.com/arquivo/106489343/a-gloria-de-deus-1/2>

(24) ... *a corrupção praticada por gestores municipais*

the corruption practiced by managers municipal

no Estado do Ceará, está não chegando ao fim,

in-the state of-the Ceará is not arriving at-the end

‘The corruption practiced by municipal managers in the state of Ceará is not coming to an end.’

<http://ipuorai.blogspot.com/2012/01/justica-foi-feita-em-pacajus.html>

- Additionally, ‘low *não*’ is also possible with *passives* (*ser+ V_{participle}*):

(25) *Os patologistas usam a palavra 'negativo' para significar*

the pathologist use the word negative to mean
que algo *foi não visto* na amostra de tecido.

that something was not seen in-the sample of tissue

‘The pathologists use the word ‘negative’ to mean that something was not seen in the tissue sample.’

(<https://www.mypathologyreport.ca/pt/perguntas-frequentes-sobre-relat%C3%B3rios-de-patologia/>)

- And in a mix of periphrases and passives as well:

(26) *Não entendo por que o Gustavo está sendo não punido.*

not understand why the Gustavo is being not punished

‘I don’t understand why Gustavo is not being punished.’

(https://twitter.com/search?q=%22est%C3%A1%20sendo%20n%C3%A3o%22&src=typed_query&f=top)

- *não* may also appear between the two auxiliaries:

(27) *E está não sendo decidida em parlamento também não acho...*

and is not being decided in parliament too not think

'... and it is not being decided in the parliament either, I don't think'

(https://twitter.com/search?q=%22est%C3%A1%20n%C3%A3o%20sendo%22&src=typed_query&f=top)

- F & G-R (2019) analyze Spanish *inhibited eventualities* which may occur with aspectual periphrastic structures containing gerunds and a negative trigger, such as (28a,b)

- (28) a. *Comenzó no respondiendo.* (Spa) a'.*Começou não respondendo.* (BP)
Lit. '(He) started not answering.'
- b. *Terminó no votando en contra.* (Spa) b'.*Terminou não votando contra.* (BP)
Lit. '(He) ended not voting against.'

- However, *no* 'not' in [*estar*+ ___ + *V_{gerund}*] structures is **ungrammatical in Spanish:**

- (29) **Está no comiendo.*
 is not eating
 '(He) is not eating.' (F&G-R 2019, ex. (21e))

- Additionally, *no* ‘not’ is also ungrammatical in [*haber*+____+V_{participle}] structures in Spanish (30b):

(30) a. *No he estado em casa.* b. **He no estado em casa.*
 not have been at home have not been at home
 ‘(I) have not been at home’

- So, *inhibited eventualities* are *restricted* to certain non-finite periphrasis contexts in Spanish.
- But, as seen before, the ungrammatical sentences in Spanish are *grammatical* with ‘*low não*’ in BP:

(31) a. *Pedro está não comendo bem.* [*estar*+____+V_{gerund}]
 b. *Pedro tem não estado em casa.* [*ter*+____+V_{participle}]

Interim Conclusion

- In BP [*ter* + *não* + $V_{\text{participle}}$] and [*estar* + *não* + V_{gerund}] periphrases

a) Does ‘low *não*’ require an Initiator?

- **No.** ‘low *não*’ is possible with unaccusative verbs and in passives

b) Is ‘low *não*’ inside EventP?

- Probably **not**. It is probably above EventP since it is not restricted to structures where *Event* has *Init*

- BP ‘low *não*’ does not seem to constitute the same kind of phenomenon that has been known as “Inhibited Eventualities” in the literature
 - but prospective and aspectual periphrases may do so – their interaction with ‘low negation’ is under investigation (Cyrino 2023, in progress)

- QUESTION:

What is the syntactic position for ‘low *não*’, in *perfect* and *progressive* periphrases in BP?

'low *nãõ*' properties *in perfect*
and *progressive* periphrases

1. 'low *não*' does not correspond to sentential negation

- 'low *não*' does not seem to convey the same meaning as sentential negation – it requires emphasis on the participle:
 - Negative clitic form *num* is not possible with 'low *não*'

(32) a. *Ela não tem vivido bem ultimamente.* (simple negation, *✓num*)

'She has not lived well recently.'

b. *Ela tem não vivido bem ultimamente.* ('low *não*', **num*)

Intended: 'She has not-lived well recently'

2. Co-occurrence with sentential negation is possible

(33) a. *eu tb não tenho não concordado com nada*

I too not have not agreed with anything

Lit. 'I have also not not agreed with anything'

Intended: It's not the case that I have also not agreed with anything

https://twitter.com/search?q=%22n%C3%A3o%20tenho%20n%C3%A3o%20concordado%22&src=typed_query&f=live)

b. *não diria gostar mas não estou não gostando dele...*

not would-say like but not am not liking of-him

Lit. 'I would not say like but I am not not-liking him.'

Intended: 'I wouldn't say "like", but I am not disliking him'

https://twitter.com/search?q=%22n%C3%A3o%20estou%20n%C3%A3o%20gostando%22&src=typed_query&f=live)

3. Modification or contrast

- ‘low’ *não* does not deny a proposition previously asserted (as Polarity^{Neg} does), but it ‘modifies’ (34a) or contrasts (34b) it:

(34) a. *Tenho tentado a todo custo não pensar no futuro, fingir que vai continuar tudo mesmo, ignorar o que está por vir. Tenho não vivido todo esse tempo.*

Int. ‘(I) have tried at all costs not to think about the future, pretend that everything is going to stay the same, ignore what is to come. (I) have not lived all this time.’

(<https://saidomeurefrao.wordpress.com/>)

b. *Mas de qualquer forma assim, eu não poderia fazer o que eu estou não fazendo se eu não tivesse tido a formação que eu tive.*

‘But anyway I could not do what I am not doing if I did not have the formation I did.’

(<https://moodle.ufsc.br/mod/resource/view.php?id=427986>)

- These properties have been associated with Foc^{Neg} markers (DeClercq 2013)
- Foc^{Neg} markers take scope in a low Focus Phrase, a projection dominating vP.
- “Consequently, they do not take scope over the tensed predicate and their scope is restricted to the untensed predicate”. (DeClercq 2013:30)
- My proposal: ‘low *não*’ is an instance of Foc^{Neg} in BP

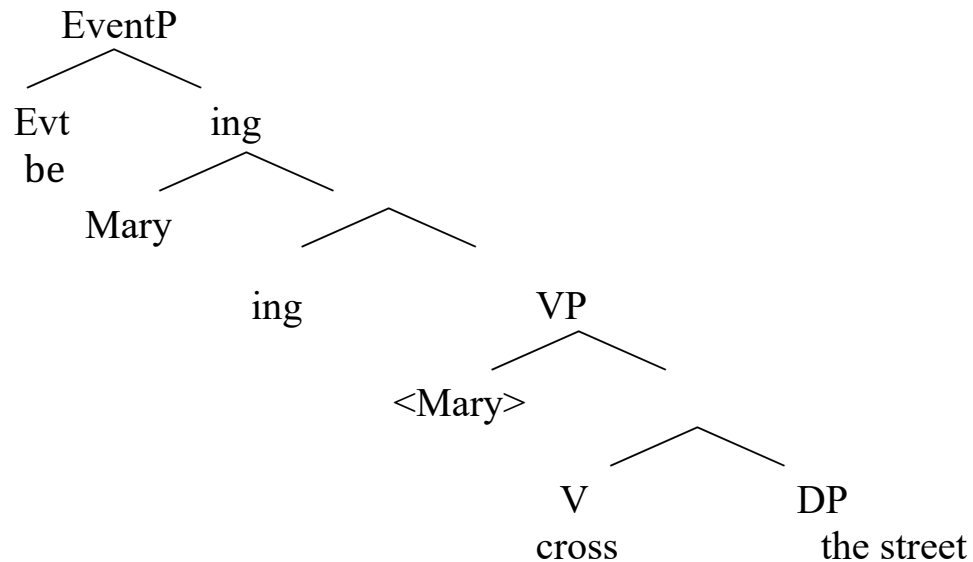
On the syntactic position of ‘low *nãõ*’ (Foc^{Neg}) in BP

If it is not below EventP, what is the syntactic position of Foc^{Neg} (‘low *nãõ*’) in *perfect* and *progressive* periphrases in BP?

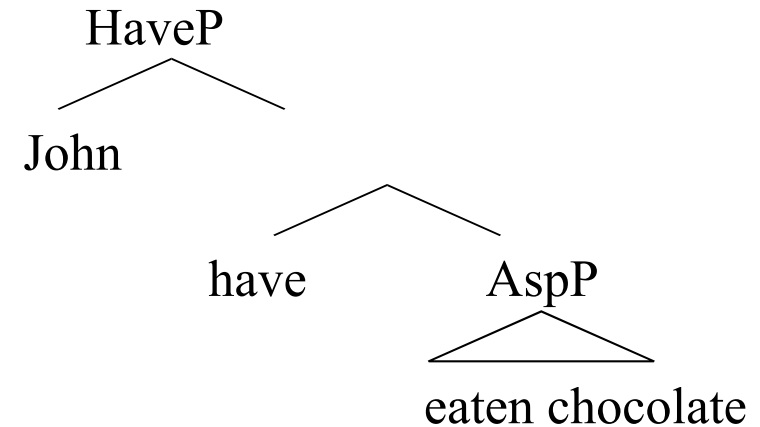
- For **English**, Ramchand (2018), following an Event Semantics account, proposes the following structures for *progressive* (35a) and *perfect periphrases* (35b):

(35)

a. Progressive (be+ *-ing*)



b. perfect (have + *-ed*)



- In **BP**, perfect tenses are not as in English: besides not imposing semantic restrictions on its complement, the meaning of *ter+V_{participle}* is restricted.
- As Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) shows, a sentence as (36) cannot have a literal English translation meaning:

(36) *Pedro tem comido muita fruta desde o ano passado.*

Pedro has eaten much fruit since the last year

Lit. 'Pedro has eaten a lot of fruit since last year.'

- In English the perfect periphrasis means that 'since that point in time the amount of eating fruit is a lot',
- In BP it means that '*the habit of eating a lot of fruit started last year.*' (G&P 1997:123), a 'durative' meaning.

- In fact, Mendes (2005) observes that in contemporary BP not only *perfect* but also *progressive* periphrases convey **durative values** (37)-(38) when the auxiliary is in the present tense. The periphrases are equivalent (either one can be used in these contexts):

(37) [**ter**+V_{participle}]/ [**estar**+V_{gerund}]

Eu acho que o noticiário em TV tem melhorado/está melhorando bastante.

I think that the news on TV has improved/is improving a lot

‘I think that news programs on TV have improved a lot.’

(38) [**estar**+V_{gerund}]/ [**ter**+V_{participle}]

Eu estou procurando/tenho procurado encaminhá-la para outra coisa.

I am searching have searched forward-her to other thing

‘I have been trying to forward her to other things.’

- Additionally, both periphrases may convey **iterative aspectual value (39)-(40)**:

(39) [**ter**+V_{participle}]/ [**estar**+V_{gerund}]

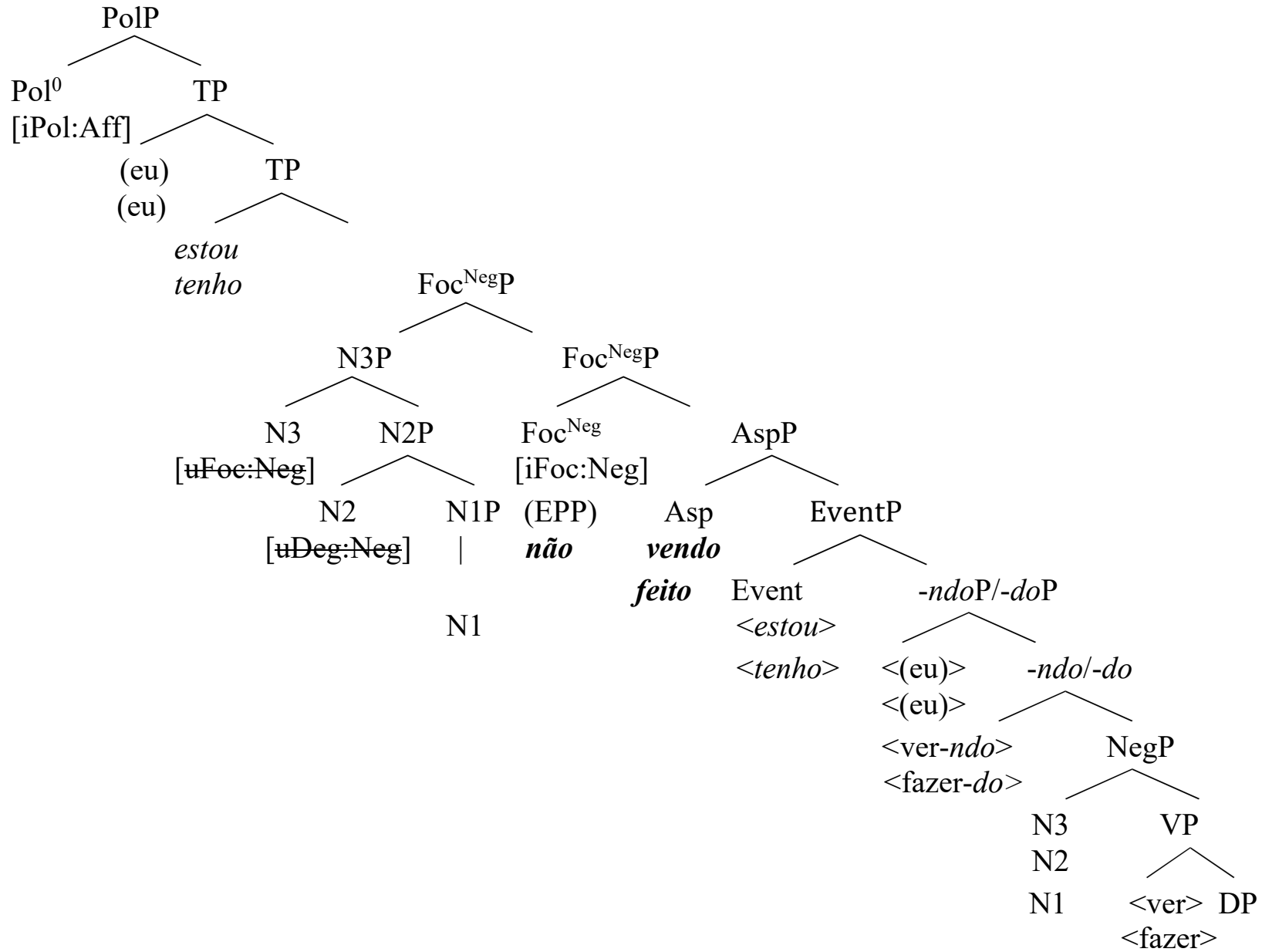
*O pessoal **tem dito/está dizendo** que a televisão está muito ruim*
the people have said/is saying that the television is very bad
'People has been saying that the television is very bad.'

(40) [**estar**+V_{gerund}]/ [**ter**+V_{participle}]

*Eles **estão falando/têm falado** muito nisso!*
They are talking have talked much on-that
'They have been talking a lot about that!'

- I propose that, differently from English (Ramchand 2018),
 - in BP both *estar* ‘be’ and *ter* ‘have’ are merged in the lower domain:
 - these auxiliary verbs are **inside EventP**
 - lexical verbs get their suffix *-ndo* ‘-ing’ and *-do* ‘-ed’ **inside the EventP**
 - ‘low *não*’ is an instance of **Foc^{Neg}**
 - FocNegP is merged **above EventP**, in the low left periphery (Belletti 2004)

- If Foc^{Neg} is merged **above EventP** in BP, where is it merged in the low left periphery?
- I assume:
 - Foc^{Neg} is merged **above AspP**
 - It has been argued in the literature that FocP (and TopP) in the low left periphery are merged **above AspP in some languages** (see for example Ouwayda & Shlonsky 2016 and Jarrah & Abusalim 2021).
 - In periphrastic verbal structures in BP, both **auxiliaries** and **lexical verbs** are merged **inside** the verbal domain
 - Both verbs move out of vP, but only the lexical verb stays in Asp; the auxiliary goes up to T (Cyrino & Matos 2005, Araújo-Adriano 2023, Araújo-Adriano & Cyrino in preparation)



- In BP, both auxiliaries (*ter/estar*) and the main verb are merged inside EventP
 - Auxiliaries move up to T to check temporal features
 - Main verbs move up to Asp
- Since Foc^{Neg} is merged **above AspP** in BP, ‘low *não*’ remains between the auxiliary and the lexical verb both in perfect and progressive periphrases.

[_{TP} *tenho/estou* [_{Neg} *não* [_{AspP} *vivido/fazendo* [_{vP} t_{tenho/estou} t_{vivido/fazendo}]]]

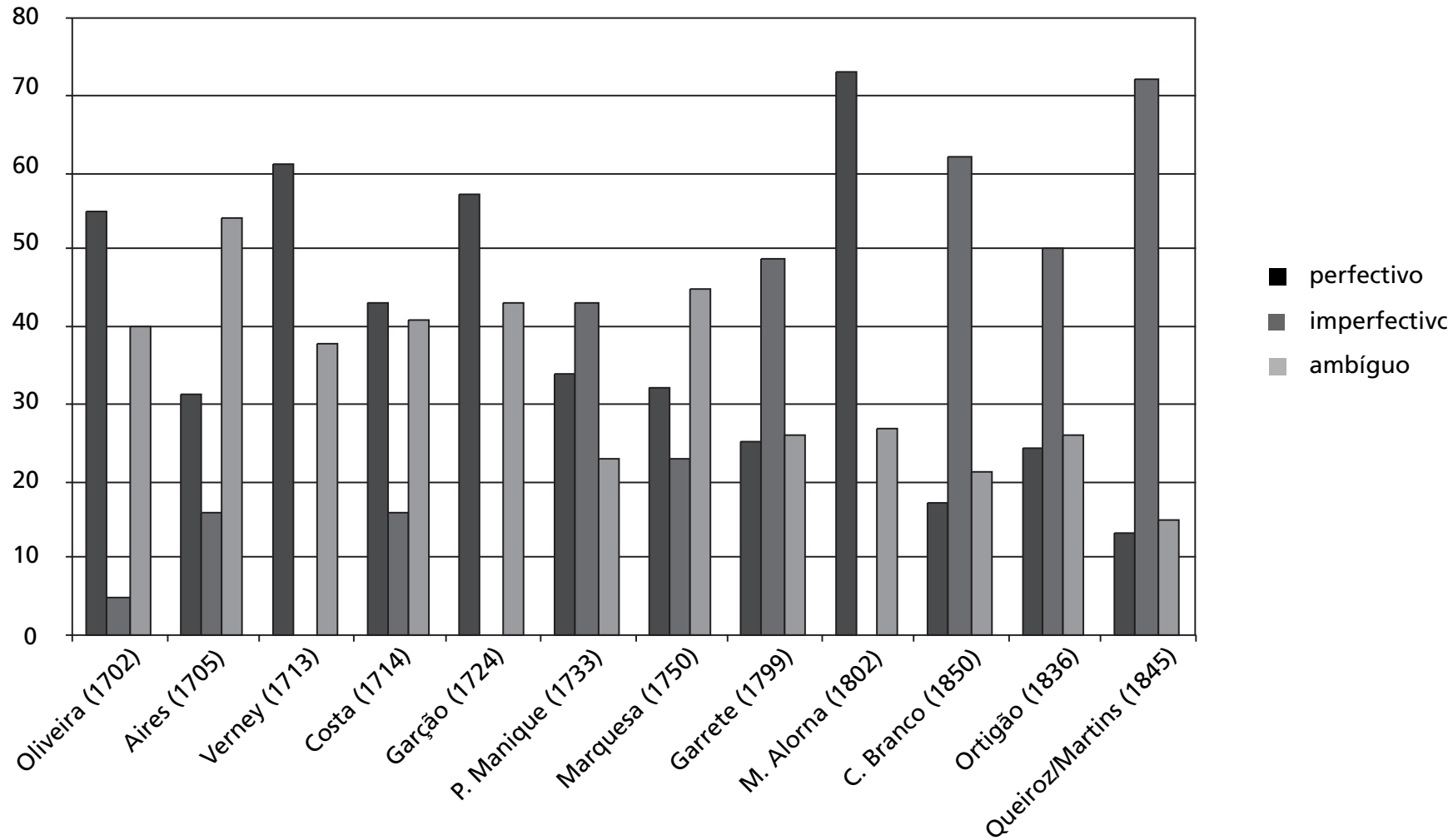
On the emergence of 'low *nãõ*'

On the emergence of ‘low *não*’

- If both *ter* ‘have’ and *estar* ‘be’ are merged inside the EventP, the semantic properties of these two periphrases should be similar in BP (cf. Ramchand 2018)
- As aforementioned, that seems to be the case:
 - Beline Mendes (2005) compare these two periphrases, *estar*+ V_{gerund} and *ter*+ $V_{\text{participle}}$ in contemporary BP and proposes that they can be analyzed as ‘variants of a variable’ in Labovian terms.
 - He has also tracked their diachronic path:

$ter+V_{participle}$ gradually lost **perfective value** (resultative) and came to express only **imperfective value** (duration and iteration), becoming a variant of $estar+V_{gerund}$ (Beline Mendes 2005b)

$ter+V_{participle}$ from 1702 to 1845



Concomitant changes > possibility for ‘low *não*’

(i) 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) loss of the lexical verb movement to a high functional category (Cyrino & Matos 2005):

- Analyticization: the lexical verb now stays at a lower (aspectual) projection, whereas the auxiliary separately moves up to a higher position (Cyrino 2013, Araújo-Adriano 2023, a.o.), as in the structure presented above, here repeated in (41):

(41) [_{TP} *tenho/estou* [_{Neg} *não* [_{AspP} *vivido/fazendo* [_{VP} *t*_{tenho/estou} *t*_{vivido/fazendo}]]]

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

Remaining questions

- **Theoretical questions (under investigation)**
 - Is the *Aktionsart* of lexical verbs relevant for the possibility of ‘low *não*’ (cp. with inhibited eventualities)?
 - In BP, is there an interaction of this type/position of negation with the other three positions of negation (*Não-V*, *Não-V-Não*, *V Não*)?
 - How can progressive and aspectual periphrases (with infinitives) that allow ‘low *não*’ be analyzed for BP?
- **Diachronic questions (under investigation):**
 - Is there a time period correlation between the loss of complex predicates and the emergence of ‘low *não*’?
 - Is there a diachronic relationship between the emergence of ‘low *não*’ and the possible occurrences of *inhibited eventualities* in diachronic data?
 - What is the relationship between the possibility of ‘low *não*’ and the findings in Beline Mendes 2005 (that is, *estar*+ *gerundio* and *ter*+ *particípio* in contemporary BP analyzed as ‘variants of a variable’ in Labovian terms)?

THANK YOU!!!

Selected References

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