

CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

By

QUINN MCCOY HANSEN

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2010

© 2010 Quinn McCoy Hansen

To my light and my flower  
Para Lúcia e Sienna Yasmin  
Amo-vos

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank Eric Potsdam, my supervisory committee chair, for teaching me the art and science of conducting and producing linguistic research.

Additionally, I thank Dr. Brent Henderson, Dr. Gary Miller, Dr. Elizabeth Ginway, and Dr. Benjamin Hebblethwaite for being part of my committee. I thank Dr. Henderson for his patience with my questions, most of which were elementary. Dr. Miller deserves thanks for always providing stimulating debate and conversation in and out of class. I thank Dr. Hebblethwaite for introducing me to the world of Creole Studies and showing me with concrete evidence how linguistics can have a direct impact on societies. Finally, I thank Dr. Ginway for allowing me to teach Portuguese, and allowing me the freedom to run the courses as best I saw fit.

I am extremely grateful to all my Brazilian Portuguese consultants, both here in the United States and in Brazil. Particularly, I thank Sharon Barkley and Andréa Ferreira for their judgments and comments about use. Also, here in the States, I thank Cilene Rodrigues and Ana Bastos for sending me articles in Portuguese and adding their grammaticality judgments. I thank Megan Armstrong and Scott Schwenter for their comments on my work. In Brazil, I want to thank Júlia Ramos, Florbela Silva, Divino, Ednilson, a Nordestina Valentona, José Fernandes and his employees at NorteSul, and Abílio Joaquim Fernandes. Also, I thank the producers of the show *Sem Meias-Palavras* for producing a terribly low-class show that provided several hundred examples of Clause-Final Negation.

I owe many thanks to all the people in the Linguistics Program that taught me in diverse ways, from formal classroom settings to informal chats.

I thank my parents for showing me that I can do whatever I want in life, and for teaching me that reading and learning are the keys to happiness.

I thank my daughter Sienna Yasmin for having patience with me, even when I had to stare at a book or a screen for several hours straight. I hope that someday she will understand the sacrifices that she has made for me.

I thank my wife Lúcia, without whom I would have never begun this journey. Also, I thank her for putting up with hours of questions about Brazilian Portuguese and negative sentences, all the while, smiling brightly.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	4
LIST OF TABLES.....	9
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	10
ABSTRACT.....	12
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	14
1.1 Research Questions.....	14
1.2 Domain of Investigation: Brazilian Portuguese.....	16
1.3 Three Types of Sentential Negation.....	17
1.4 Past Corpus Studies of Clause-Final Negation.....	20
1.4.1 Roncarti 1996.....	20
1.4.2 Da Cunha 1996, 2001, 2007.....	21
1.4.3 Alkmim 1999.....	21
1.4.4 Camargos 2000.....	22
1.4.5 Sousa 2004.....	23
1.4.6 Cavalcante 2007.....	23
1.4.7 Summary of Corpus Studies.....	24
1.5 Syntactic and Semantic/Pragmatic Restrictions in BP for T2 and T3.....	25
1.5.1 Discourse Requirements for T2 and T3.....	25
1.5.2 Embedded Clauses.....	26
1.5.3 Relative Clauses.....	28
1.5.4 Topics.....	31
1.5.5 Wh-Questions.....	32
1.5.6 N-Words and Negative Concord.....	33
1.5.7 Imperatives.....	36
1.5.8 NPI Idioms.....	37
1.5.9 Summary of the Data.....	38
1.6 Structure of the Study.....	39
2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS.....	42
2.1 Introduction.....	42
2.2 Minimalism.....	42
2.2.1 Fundamental Principles of Minimalism.....	42
2.2.2 Probe-Goal System and Feature Agreement.....	45
2.3 CP: The Left Periphery.....	47
2.3.1 Rizzi's Split CP.....	47
2.3.2 The Split CP and BP.....	49

2.4	Conclusion .....	53
3	THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE.....	54
3.1	Introduction .....	54
3.2	Subjects in BP .....	55
3.2.1	The Debate over the Romance Preverbal Subject Position.....	55
3.2.2	BP's Preverbal Subject.....	63
3.2.2.1	Temporal Adverbs .....	64
3.2.2.2	Weak Pronouns .....	65
3.2.2.3	Quantifiers .....	66
3.3	Verbs and Verb Movement.....	68
3.3.1	IP .....	69
3.3.2	Non-Split IP .....	72
3.3.3	AgrP in BP .....	74
3.4	Fronting in BP .....	84
3.5	Wh-Questions: Fronted and In-Situ.....	89
3.5.1	Types and Conditions for Wh-Words: Movement and In-Situ.....	89
3.5.2	Deriving Wh-Questions in BP .....	92
3.6	Conclusions.....	97
4	PREVERBAL NEGATION.....	100
4.1	Introduction .....	100
4.2	The Syntax of Negation.....	100
4.2.1	NegP .....	101
4.2.2	The Location of NegP .....	105
4.2.2.1	Laka.....	105
4.2.2.2	Zanuttini.....	108
4.3	Preverbal Negation in BP .....	111
4.3.1	The Phonology of the Preverbal Negative Marker .....	112
4.3.2	Mioto 1992 & 1998 .....	114
4.3.3	Martins 1994 and Namiuti 2008.....	117
4.3.4	The structural Position of NegP in BP .....	120
4.4	Conclusion .....	122
5	THE PRAGMATICS AND SEMANTICS OF CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION .....	124
5.1	Introduction .....	124
5.2	Previous Approaches to Clause-Final Negation: Semantics/Pragmatics .....	125
5.2.1	Emphasis.....	125
5.2.2	Presuppositional or Contrary-to-Fact.....	130
5.2.3	Discourse-Old.....	133
5.3	Applying the Theory .....	145
5.4	Conclusion .....	149

6	THE SYNTAX OF CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION .....	150
6.1	Introduction .....	150
6.2	Previous Accounts.....	150
6.2.1	Martins 1997.....	150
6.2.2	Fonseca 2004.....	158
6.2.3	Cavalcante 2007.....	161
6.3	A Proposal for Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese .....	166
6.3.1	Derivation of Clause-Final Negation .....	169
6.3.2	Wh-Words.....	175
6.3.3	Relative Clauses.....	178
6.3.4	Embedded Clauses .....	181
6.3.5	Topicalization.....	182
6.3.6	Imperatives .....	184
6.3.7	Semantic Interpretation of Clause-Final Negation .....	186
6.4	Conclusion .....	192
7	NEGATIVE CONCORD IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE .....	194
7.1	Introduction .....	194
7.2	Negative Concord.....	194
7.2.1	Definition and Types of Negative Concord .....	195
7.2.2	N-Words are Negative Quantifiers.....	200
7.2.3	N-Words are Non-Negative .....	204
7.2.4	Zeijlstra's Feature-Based Approach to Negative Concord .....	207
7.2.5	Summary .....	211
7.3	N-Words and Negative Concord in Brazilian Portuguese.....	211
7.3.1	BP N-Words.....	211
7.3.2	Feature Agreement and BP N-Words.....	215
7.4	Negative Concord and Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese .....	217
7.5	Conclusion .....	221
8	CONCLUSION.....	222
	LIST OF REFERENCES .....	224
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	238

## LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
1-1 Syntactic Restrictions for BP CFN .....	38
3-1 Loss of Verbal Morphology in BP .....	73
6-1 Syntactic Restrictions for BP CFN .....	168
7-1 N-Words and CFN .....	218

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*	Ungrammatical/Unacceptable
[*]	Strong Feature
?	Degraded Grammaticality
??	Highly Degraded Grammaticality
√	Grammatical
¬	Negative/Negation
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
AGR	Agreement
asp	Aspect Marker
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
CFN	Clause-final Negation
cl	Clitic
CLLD	Clitic Left Dislocation
comp	Complementizer
DenP	Denial Phrase
det	Determiner
DN	Double Negative
emph	Emphasis
f	Feminine
FQ	Floating Quantifier
Foc	Focus Phrase
fut	Future Tense

imp	Imperative
imper	Past Imperfect
[iNEG]	Interpretable negative feature
inf	Infinite
IP	Inflectional Phrase
JC	Jespersen Cycle
m	Masculine
NC	Negative Concord
neg	Negative Marker
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
NSL	Null Subject Language
Op	Syntactic operator
p	Plural
pos	Positive
prep	Preposition
pst	Past Tense
QP	Quantifier Phrase
s	Singular
sbj	Subjunctive
spec	Specifier
T	Tense
t	Trace
[uNEG]	Uninterpretable Negative Feature
VP	Verb Phrase
[WH]	Interrogative Feature

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

By

Quinn McCoy Hansen

August 2010

Chair: Eric Potsdam

Major: Linguistics

My study explores Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese, within a Minimalist Program framework. Brazilian Portuguese makes use of three types of sentential negation. In Type 1, the negative marker appears preverbally (i). Type 2 has both a preverbal marker and a clause-final marker (ii). Type 3 has only a clause final negative marker (iii).

- |      |                           |              |             |      |            |            |        |
|------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|------|------------|------------|--------|
| i.   | Eu                        | <b>não</b>   | quero       | o    | bolo       | TYPE 1     |        |
|      | 1S                        | NEG          | want.PRS.1S | DET  | cake       |            |        |
|      | 'I do not want the cake.' |              |             |      |            |            |        |
| ii.  | Eu                        | <b>não</b>   | quero       | o    | bolo       | <b>não</b> | TYPE 2 |
|      | 1S                        | NEG          | want.PRS.1S | DET  | cake       | NEG        |        |
|      | 'I do not want the cake.' |              |             |      |            |            |        |
| iii. | Eu                        | quero        | o           | bolo | <b>não</b> | TYPE 3     |        |
|      | 1S                        | want.PRS.1SG | the         | cake | NEG        |            |        |
|      | 'I do not want the cake.' |              |             |      |            |            |        |

In this work, I analyze preverbal negation as the head of a functional projection NegP within a split IP scenario (Pollock 1989, Costa and Galves 2002). I analyze Clause-Final Negation as resulting from leftward syntactic movement of the whole IP to the specifier of a Topic Phrase which is headed by *não*. Because the IP moves to the

left, *não* is clause-final. The movement of IP is motivated by the discourse status of the IP. Following Schwenter (2005), I propose that Clause-Final Negation is only licit when the proposition that it negates is discourse-old—when it is a kind of topic. The movement analysis accounts for both syntactic and semantic/pragmatic restrictions on clause-final negation.

# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Research Questions

The goal of this dissertation is to examine syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic issues surrounding the analysis of sentential negation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP henceforth). Specifically, this work explores Clause-Final Negation (CFN) in BP and gives a syntactic account within a minimalist framework. Negation and other topics related to polarity have been a part of linguistic study since well before the generative approach began (Jespersen 1917) because they aid in understanding syntactic structures, semantics, and scope (Lasnik 1972, Emonds 1978, Pollock 1989, Laka 1990, Zanuttini 1997, Zeijlstra 2004).

BP has three options for sentential negation. In what I call Type 1 (T1), the negative marker appears preverbally as seen in (1)a. Type 2 (T2) has both a preverbal marker and a postverbal marker that is clause-final, example (1)b. Type 3 (T3) only has a clause-final negative marker, example (1)c.

- (1) a. Eu    **não**   quero        o    bolo            TYPE 1 (T1)  
      1S    NEG   want.PRS.1S    DET    cake  
      'I do not want the cake.'
- b. Eu    **não**   quero        o    bolo    **não**    TYPE 2 (T2)  
      1S    NEG   want.PRS.1S    DET    cake    NEG  
      'I do not want the cake.'
- c. Eu    quero        o    bolo    **não**            TYPE 3 (T3)  
      1S    want.PRS.1S    DET    cake    NEG  
      'I do not want the cake.'

The existence of CFN seen in BP, as in T2 and T3, is not common for Romance languages. These patterns have not been widely discussed in the literature, and the fact

that all three types exist in a single language is also unusual (see Schwegler 1991b for other Romance languages with clause-final negation).

The two main goals of this dissertation are 1) to document the three types of negation in BP and 2) to understand the three types of negation with a minimalist syntactic framework.

This dissertation answers the following questions:

**Question 1:** What are the patterns of negation in BP and how do they differ from European Portuguese and other Romance languages?

**Question 2:** What is the syntactic analysis of the different sentential negation types?

- a. What is the syntactic status of *não* (i.e. head, phrase, or specifier)?
- b. How can a syntactic analysis of BP negation be understood within a minimalist framework?
- c. What is the distribution of negative words and how does negative concord work in BP?

The rest of this chapter answers *Question 1* by presenting the empirical domain of investigation. The subsequent chapters of this work answer *Question 2* and sub-questions (a), (b), and (c).

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1.2 addresses the domain of investigation, how data was collected and analyzed, and this section introduces Brazilian Portuguese generally. Section 1.3 discusses the different types of sentential negation crosslinguistically. Here I present examples of the three types of negation seen in BP that are used in other languages. Section 1.4 discusses previous corpus studies that have looked at CFN in BP. Section 1.5 lays out the principal data

for this dissertation. This section shows the syntactic structures that allow CFN in BP as well as the structures that prohibit it. Additionally, this section introduces the discourse situations where CFN is grammatical but infelicitous. The final section of this chapter summarizes the data and gives an overview of the structure of this dissertation.

## **1.2 Domain of Investigation: Brazilian Portuguese**

BP is a Romance language spoken by the majority of Brazilians, and government numbers estimate that there are more than 200 million speakers of BP ([www.brasil.gov.br](http://www.brasil.gov.br)). The number of varieties is undefined, but BP can roughly be broken up into 5 main dialects, northern, northeastern, central, southeastern, and southern (Azevedo 2005).

With respect to negation, I assume that all three types of negation are found among all dialects and socio-economic classes (Schwenter 2005). However, this fact is not overtly admitted by the upper-class because they see T3 as ‘caipira’ or ‘country bumpkin’ speech (Barne 2000). To counter this stereotype and to collect data for this study, I use naturalistic data from reality TV, popular talk shows, and internet chat rooms in addition to grammaticality judgments on elicited data and data from past corpus studies presented in this chapter. The grammaticality judgments were made principally by Portuguese speakers residing in Brazil, although Brazilians living in the United States also provided some data.

The history of T2 and T3, clause-final negation, is not well known. Because of the lack of written material that references this type of negation, I will not be concerned with the historical aspects. Furthermore, CFN in BP is relatively new as a topic of study evidenced by the fact that the first scientific attempt to understand this phenomenon in BP was Schwegler (1991a).

### 1.3 Three Types of Sentential Negation

The three types of sentential negation in BP are repeated below. By types of sentential negation I merely mean the linear position of the negative marker in relationship to the verb. Sentences in (1), repeated here, semantically represent the same propositional meaning (Schwenter 2005:1429).

- (2) a. Eu **não** quero o bolo T1  
 1S NEG want.PRS.1S DET cake  
 'I do not want the cake.'
- b. Eu **não** quero o bolo **não** T2  
 1S NEG want.PRS.1S DET cake NEG  
 'I do not want the cake.'
- c. Eu quero o bolo **não** T3  
 1S want.PRS.1S DET cake NEG  
 'I do not want the cake.'

T1, preverbal negation, is found in Spanish and other Romance languages and many researchers argue that these negative markers are syntactically similar (Miotto 1992, Zanuttini 1997, 2001, Zeijlstra 2004).

#### T1

- (3) Yo **no** quiero el libro Spanish  
 1S NEG want.PRS.1S DET book  
 'I do not want the book.'
- (4) Maria **non** studia. Italian  
 Maria NEG study.PRES.3SG  
 'Maria doesn't study'
- (5) Tu **não** fizeste o exame European Portuguese  
 2S NEG do.PST.2S DET test  
 'You didn't do the test'

T2 is not common in other Romance languages; however, it exists in some Portuguese Creoles, such as São Tomé Creole, as well as in some Spanish dialects of the Americas, for example Chocó Spanish of Columbia (Schwegler 1991a:95, 1991b).

## T2

(6) **No** me gustó eso allá **no** Chocó Spanish  
 NEG 1S please.PST.3S that there NEG  
 'I don't like that over there'

(7) A **na** kuvida **nõ fa** São Tomé Creole  
 IMPER NEG invite 1P NEG  
 'They didn't invite us' (Ferraz 1979:68)

Another Indo-European language, Afrikaans, has a T2 construction similar to BP (Biberauer 2009).

(8) Ek het **nie** boeke ge lees **nie** Afrikaans  
 1S have.PRS.1S NEG books read NEG  
 'I have not read books'

Negative constructions similar to T2 are found in other Romance languages, such as French, Northern Italian dialects, and Catalan. The difference is that the position of the second negative marker is postverbal and **not** clause-final, as in the French example with 'the meat' being clause final and the negative marker postverbal (Zanuttini 1997:17):

(9) Jean n'aime **pas** la viande French  
 Jean NEG-love.3S NEG DET meat  
 'Jean doesn't like the meat'

Berini & Remat (1996) shows that the position of the CFN marker in BP is indeed clause-final and not postverbal. The difference between the BP and most other Romance languages is that there is almost no limit to the length of material between the two instances of negation, as seen in (10).

- (10) A Sienna **não** quer saber como é que ele chegou a minha casa **não**.  
 DET Sienna NEG want.3S know.INF how is that he arrive.PST.3S PREP 1S house NEG  
 'Sienna doesn't want to know how he arrived at my house.'

T3 negation is rare; nonetheless, there are certain cases in Romance where it does appear, as in Milanese, a dialect of Italian, (11) (Zanuttini 1997:5). Also, it is found in some languages of West Africa such as Ewe and Fon (Dryer 2007). Example (12) is from the Nigerian language Birom (Bouquiaux (1970:386) cited in Dryer (2007)).

Example (13) shows T3 in Lung'iyé, a Portuguese Creole spoken on the island of São Tomé and Príncipe.

### T3

- (11) el l'ha scrivuu **no** Milanese  
 3S 3S.CL-has.3S written NEG  
 'He hasn't written'
- (12) yén a-tos nèy **wet** Birom  
 3P AORIST-bear children NEG  
 'They have not given birth to children'
- (13) na sa podi dá ci **fa** Lung'iyé  
 1S ASP able give 2S NEG  
 'I can't give it to you' (Günther 1973:78)

These examples help position BP within the spectrum of the different negation strategies types. Although no single negative type is extraordinary, the fact that all three currently exist in one language is rare. That is, some languages allow more than one negative type, but they do not synchronically allow the three types that exist in BP.

#### **1.4 Past Corpus Studies of Clause-Final Negation**

This section discusses some corpus studies of BP directly related to negation. These studies document the frequency of use for each negation type. It should be noted that in nearly all cases, T3 is the least frequently used type, followed by T2. T1 is *par excellence* the norm for negation in BP. Most researchers in these studies collected their data from the northeastern states of Brazil. Although the population of these states is generally *perceived* as using CFN more than other parts of Brazil, T2 and T3 negation takes place in all regions of Brazil (Scherre 2007, Schwegler 1991a, Schwenter 2005, and Cavalcante 2007). I conclude this section by commenting on the collective results of these studies.

##### **1.4.1 Roncarti 1996**

Roncarti (1996) is a spoken corpus study of the BP dialect in the northeastern city of Fortaleza. One of the main purposes of this work is to understand how the expression *sei não* 'I don't know (lit. I know not)' came about. Working within a functionalist perspective, Roncarti proposes that this expression came about either through de-grammaticalization of a syntactic element to a discourse element or through the lexicalization of a syntactic element to a lexical item. Her research studied the syntactic situations in which each type of negation is used, such as type of clause, null subject, verbal repetition etc.

Her corpus totaled 822 sentence, with nine of these unanalyzed. Her study points to an overall preference for T1 at 77%. Table (14) shows the division of frequency.

(14) Roncarti 1996:

	<b>T1</b>	<b>T2</b>	<b>T3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tokens</b>	625	149	39	813
<b>Frequency</b>	77%	18%	5%	100%

#### 1.4.2 Da Cunha 1996, 2001, 2007

Like Roncarti, Da Cunha uses functionalist paradigms to understand the rise of the clause-final negative marker and what she calls the ‘weakening’ of the preverbal marker in terms of phonology and semantics. Her corpus is from another northeastern city, Natal. She uses not only spoken data but also a written corpus from 12 consultants from three different levels of education in terms of highest level achieved: elementary, high school, and post-high school education. Da Cunha’s theoretical conclusions are presented in chapter five. As with the other studies, T1 is the dominant method for negation; Da Cunha tabulated a low T3 rate, merely 9 (.6%) out of 1465 total tokens.

(15) Da Cunha 1996:

	<b>T1</b>	<b>T2</b>	<b>T3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tokens</b>	1298	158	9	1465
<b>Frequency</b>	88.6%	10.8%	.6%	100%

#### 1.4.3 Alkmim 1999

Alkmim analyzes social factors that might influence the rise and use of clause-final negation, such as race, age, city of origin, etc. Her study took place in two rural towns,

Mariana and Pombal, both of which are located in the southwestern state Minas Gerais. Both are largely Afro-Brazilian towns populated by those that are ‘illiterate and in a lower social class.’ The idea that clause-final negation is related to Afro-Brazilians is central to her work. Alkmim postulates that linguistic contact between slaves from West Africa and the Portuguese during the slave period of Brazil produced a change in how to negate a sentence. The numbers in table (16) are similar to other studies.

(16) Alkmim 1999:

	<b>T1</b>	<b>T2</b>	<b>T3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tokens</b>	1791	491	40	2322
<b>Frequency</b>	77.1%	21.2%	1.7%	100%

#### 1.4.4 Camargos 2000

Camargos also works in Minas Gerais, although not as geographically specialized as Alkmim. He differs from some of the previous works because he also considers sentences with other preverbal negative elements as being instances of T2 negation (e.g. *nunca* ‘never’, *ninguém* ‘nobody’, etc). The other authors did not count these as part of their corpus because their main goal was to investigate the weakening of the preverbal marker.

Much like Roncarti, Camargos looks at the syntactic situations where each type of negation occurs. He also takes into account social factors to understand the use and function of clause-final negation.

(17) Camargos 2000:

	<b>T1</b>	<b>T2</b>	<b>T3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tokens</b>	687	265	28	980
<b>Frequency</b>	70%	27%	3%	100%

#### 1.4.5 Sousa 2004

Sousa (2004) studies the small Afro-Brazilian town of Helvicia in the state of Salvador in northeastern Brazil. In her study, following Schwegler's analysis for Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, she does not include T3 as a type in its own right. Instead, she claims that T3 is merely T2 with deletion of the preverbal marker. It is therefore difficult to make too many claims about her findings for the purposes of this dissertation. Nonetheless, it stills points to two-thirds majority of T1.

(18) Sousa 2004:

	<b>T1</b>	<b>T2 and T3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tokens</b>	943	465	1408
<b>Frequency</b>	67%	33%	100%

#### 1.4.6 Cavalcante 2007

Cavalcante's work is part of a larger effort to understand the connection of the creolization of Portuguese to the current state of BP. The Projeto Vertentes do Português Rural da Bahia out of the Federal University of Bahia analyzes rural dialects in the state of Salvador where there is a large Afro-Brazilian population. Cavalcante concentrated on three communities: Cinzento, Rio de Contas and Sapé. He conducted six interviews in each town with consultants who were not only born in the town, but

whose parents were born there as well. The consultants were also divided into three age groups: 20 to 40, 40 to 60, and 60 and above. Cavalcante's study makes some important contributions to this dissertation, and chapter six examines them extensively. Of all the studies presented, his is the study where T1 has the lowest frequency of 66%, much like Sousa's in Helvicia.

(19) Cavalcante 2007

	<b>T1</b>	<b>T2</b>	<b>T3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Tokens</b>	1343	568	115	2026
<b>Frequency</b>	66%	28%	6%	100%

#### 1.4.7 Summary of Corpus Studies

These sections briefly explained the purpose and results of six corpus studies that looked at CFN. In most cases, these authors did not attempt to make any specific syntactic hypotheses; however, they each have their conclusions, some of which I treat in chapters five and six. The data show considerable differences among the studies. These differences could be attributed to regional and socio-ethnic factors. For example, in the cases where clause-final negation is most prevalent, the main focus of the study was rural Afro-Brazilians (Sousa 2004, Cavalcante 2007). In other cases, the studies were more of a cross-section of the Brazilian population, which points to the depth of use of clause-final negation. Additionally, in some cases the studies limited themselves to typical *não...não* sentences, which could greatly reduce the numbers of occurrences (Cavalcante 2007).

From the data presented above, it is apparent that T1 is clearly the predominant form of sentential negation in BP. A conclusion from the next section is that T1 is

allowed in all contexts in which negation is used (Cavalcante 2007), and that T2 and T3 are marked forms (Schwenter 2005). As stated in the first section of this chapter, one goal is to understand the motivations for T2 and T3 both syntactically and semantic/pragmatically. This section has given quantitative evidence that a difference exists among the three types of negation, thus validating the reason for this study.

### **1.5 Syntactic and Semantic/Pragmatic Restrictions in BP for T2 and T3**

An important part of this work determines the syntactic and semantic differences between the types. As mentioned, T1 is allowed in all contexts in BP (Schwenter 2005), and in every case below, if the sentence is ungrammatical with CFN, its remedy is T1 negation (Biberauer & Cyrino 2009). Thus, the preverbal negative marker differs from the clause-final *não* (T2 and T3), which is restricted in its use. Below are instances where T2 and T3 are restricted. This section begins by discussing the semantic/pragmatic restrictions. Following that, I present several syntactic situations where the syntactic structure restricts the use of T2 and T3. This includes a brief discussion as to how these two types differ.

#### **1.5.1 Discourse Requirements for T2 and T3**

The main difference between T1 and the other two types is that T2 and T3 are linked to the discourse (Schwenter 2005). This means that for T2 and T3 to be pragmatically felicitous, the proposition must have already been introduced into the discourse. These topics are explained in greater detail in chapter five where I explain the discourse requirements for CFN. Simply put, if the information being negated is not already introduced into the discourse, then the clause-final negative marker is not licit. In questions like (20), often termed ‘out-of-the-blue questions’, what is being negated in

the answer has not been introduced into the discourse and therefore T2 and T3 are not felicitous

- (20) A. O que aconteceu?  
DET what happened  
'What happened?'  
B. Eu não terminei o trabalho (#não)  
1S NEG finish.PST.1S DET work NEG  
'I didn't finish the work'

If the negated information has been introduced into the discourse, then the use of clause-final negation becomes felicitous. In the following case the information 'finish the work' has been introduced in to the discourse.

- (21) A. Você terminou o trabalho?  
2S finish.PST.2S DET work  
'Did you finish the work?'  
B. Eu não terminei o trabalho (não)  
1S NEG finish.PST.1S DET work NEG  
'I didn't finish the work'

### 1.5.2 Embedded Clauses

Some researchers have stated that T2 and T3 behave differently in embedded clauses (Schwegler 1991a, Cavalcante 2007). These researchers claim that T2 is permitted in embedded clauses and T3 is not. (22) gives an example of T2 in an embedded clause.

- (22) A Lúcia pediu para os homens não fazerem o trabalho não.  
DET Lúcia ask.PST.3S PREP DET men NEG do.INF.3P DET work NEG  
'Lúcia asked for the men not to do the work'  
\*'Lucia didn't ask for the men not to do the work'

Example (23) is an attempt at placing T3 in an embedded clause. The interpretation of T3 in this case is that the negative marker has scope over the whole sentence and not just the embedded clause.

(23) A Lúcia          pediu          para os homens          fazerem          o trabalho **não**.  
 DET Lúcia          ask.PST.3S          PREP DET men          do.INF.3P          DET work NEG  
 'Lúcia **didn't** ask for the men to do the work'  
 \*'Lúcia asked for the men to **not** work'

While the interpretation of sentence (23) is of negation of the whole sentence, chapter six shows that this is deceptive because T3 is syntactically allowed in embedded clauses. Because previous researchers didn't address the discourse requirements, the next examples show that *if* all the discourse requirements necessary to license T3 are in place, then T3 is allowed. In the case below, the question introduces a direct activation of the information 'he finished the test', and in this case it is possible to use T3 in the embedded clause.

(24) César told Ana that he finished the test.

(25) Eu acho que ele terminou o exame **não**  
 1S think that 3S finish.PST.3S DET test NEG  
 'I think that he **didn't** finish the test'

(26) shows that if there is CFN and the main clause has T1, then the sentence final *não* is interpreted as part of the main clause. This is another reason why other researchers have claimed that T3 cannot be in complement clauses or in other embedded clauses (Schwegler 1991a, Cavalcante 2007). The interpretation of (26) is (b). The preference for this interpretation might be due to processing, where this

example would be interpreted as having one instance of T2 in the main clause instead of two instances of negation, one in each of the matrix and embedded clauses. To negate the embedded clause and the main clause then the final *não* must not be present.

- (26) A Sienna **não** ouviu que a Maria disse uma mentira **não**.  
 DET Sienna NEG heard.3S that DET Maria told.3S DET lie NEG  
 a. \*‘Sienna didn’t hear that Maria **didn’t** tell a lie’  
 b. ‘Sienna didn’t hear that Maria told a lie’

(27) has T1 in the main clause and T2 in the embedded clause.<sup>1</sup> This sentence is marginal. The remedy to this is given in (28), where the sentence final position is not used, i.e. T1 in both clauses.

- (27) ??A Lúcia **não** pediu para os homens **não** fazerem o trabalho **não**.  
 DET Lúcia NEG ask.PST.3S PREP DET men NEG do.INF.3P DET work NEG  
 ‘Lúcia didn’t ask for the men not to do the work’

- (28) A Lúcia **não** pediu para os homens **não** fazerem o trabalho.  
 DET Lúcia NEG ask.PST.3S PREP DET men NEG do.INF.3P DET work  
 ‘Lúcia didn’t ask for the men not to do the work’

### 1.5.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses place restrictions on the appearance of T2 and T3. In relative clauses in object position only T1 and T2 are grammatical, and T2 is only grammatical if the relative clause is sentence final. T1 and T2 negation of a relative clause in object position is given in (29) for T1, and (30) for T2 (Cavalcante 2007); additionally, (31) shows a sentence where the negative marker is not sentence final but is followed by a prepositional phrase ‘with the work’ and is therefore ungrammatical.

<sup>1</sup> Schwegler (1991a)’s data are similar to what I have here, in that when there are three *nãos*, then the sentence is difficult to understand. In some cases, my consultants reject it all together.

- (29) O João ajudou o menino que **não** usa óculos  
 DET João helped.3S DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses  
 'John helped the boy that doesn't wear glasses'
- (30) O João ajudou o menino que **não** usa óculos **não**  
 DET João helped.3S DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses NEG  
 'João helped the boy that doesn't wear glasses'
- (31) \*O João ajudou o menino que **não** usa óculos **não** com a tarefa.  
 DET João helped.3S DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses NEG PREP DET work  
 'João helped the boy that doesn't wear glasses with the work'

T3 is never allowed in relative clauses. When there is only a sentence final negative marker, then the scope of negation is over the whole sentence (i.e. it is interpreted at T1 in the main clause) and not the relative clause as exemplified in (33).

- (32) O João ajudou o menino que usa óculos **não**  
 DET João helped.3S DET boy that use.3S glasses NEG  
 \*'João helped the boy that doesn't wear glasses'  
 'João didn't help the boy that wears glasses'

(33) has the relative clause in an indirect object position negated using T3, and it is ungrammatical. (34) has the same sentence negated with T2, and again, it is ungrammatical. Finally, in (35), T1 is grammatical, as is expected from its unmarked nature. In each case, the relative clause is before the direct object and the sentence is ungrammatical. The brackets delineate the noun phrase containing the relative clause.

- (33) O João deu pro [menino que usa óculos **não**] o livro  
 DET João gave.3S PREP.DET boy that use.3S glasses NEG DET book  
 \*'João gave the boy that doesn't wear glasses the book'
- (34) O João deu pro [menino que **não** usa óculos **não**] o livro  
 DET João gave.3S PREP.DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses NEG DET book  
 \*'João gave the boy that doesn't wear glasses the book'

- (35) O João deu pro [menino que **não** usa óculos ] o livro  
 DET João gave.3S PREP.DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses DET book  
 'João gave the boy that doesn't wear glasses the book'

When a relative clause in subject position is negated with T2, then the sentence is ungrammatical, seen in (36). I bracket off the subject to show that the second *não* is within the relative clause and it is not negating the matrix verb *ajudar* 'to help'. As expected, T3 is not allowed in subject relative clauses either, as evidenced by (37). T1 would be grammatical.

- (36) [O menino que **não** usa óculos **não**] ajudou o João  
 DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses NEG helped.3S DET João  
 \*'The boy that doesn't wear glasses helped João'

- (37) [O menino que usa óculos **não**] ajudou o João  
 DET boy that use.3S glasses NEG helped.3S DET João  
 \*'The boy that **doesn't** wear glasses helped João'

BP allows subject doubling where the subject is repeated through the use of a pronoun. The subject is 'he' and 'the boy' is the doubled subject.

- (38) O menino, ele ajudou o João  
 DET boy 3S helped.3S DET João  
 'The boy, he helped John'

In these cases, T2 in the doubled subject is also ungrammatical, seen in (39).

- (39) \*[O menino que **não** usa óculos **não**] ele ajudou o João  
 DET boy that NEG use.3S glasses NEG 3S helped.3S DET João  
 'The boy that doesn't wear glasses, he helped João'

### 1.5.4 Topics

BP has topic-like expressions of various constituents (Martins & Nunes 2006; Galves 1998). A fronted topic object DP is given in (40).

- (40) Este filme,      você pode ver  
      DET movie,     2S     can.2S see.INF  
      ‘This movie, you should see’

Fronting is possible with T1, T2, and T3 in (41), (42), and (43) respectively.

Cavalcante (2007) claims that topicalization as a result of fronting in T3 sentences is not allowed, but I have found no evidence for this.

- (41) Este filme,      você **não** pode ver  
      DET movie,     2S     NEG can.2S see.INF  
      ‘This movie, you can’t see it’

- (42) Este filme,      você **não** pode ver           **não**  
      DET movie,     2S     NEG can.2S see.INF       NEG  
      ‘This movie, you can’t see it’

- (43) Este Filme,      você pode ver           **não.**  
      DET movie,     2S     can.2S see.INF       NEG  
      ‘This movie, you can’t see it’

BP also has verbal fronting. In these cases, the same types of restrictions hold, i.e. all types are grammatical. (44) gives an affirmative declarative sentence with verbal fronting, and the next three example show the three types of negation with fronted verb.

- (44) Falar,            ela    fala            Inglês  
      Speak.INF,     3SF   speak.3s     English  
      ‘As for speaking, she speaks English’

- (45) Falar,            ela    **não** fala            Inglês            **T1**  
      Speak.INF,     3SF   NEG speak. 3s     English  
      ‘As for speaking, she doesn’t speak English’

(46) Falar, ela **não** fala Inglês **não** T2  
 Speak.INF, 3SF NEG speak. 3S English NEG  
 'As for speaking, she doesn't speak English'

(47) Falar, ela fala Inglês **não** T3  
 Speak.INF, 3SF speak. 3S English NEG  
 'As for speaking, she doesn't speak English'

Sentence (48) illustrates that the topicalized VP cannot be negated (Bastos-Gee 2009).

(48) \***Não falar (não)**, ela **não** fala Inglês **(não)**  
 NEG Speak.INF NEG, 3SF NEG speak. 3S English NEG  
 'As for speaking, she doesn't speak English'

### 1.5.5 Wh-Questions

CFN (i.e. T2 and T3) is ungrammatical with wh-questions in which the wh-phrase is fronted, (49), (50) for T2, and for T3 (51), (52). All of the following examples can be made grammatical by eliminating the clause-final *não*. BP has several strategies for formulating wh-questions, and the examples below show that neither clefted questions nor non-clefted questions allow T2/T3 CFN.

#### T2

(49) \*Por que (é que) você **não** quis comer a pizza **não**?  
 Why is that 2S NEG want.PST.2S eat.INF DET pizza NEG  
 'Why don't you want to eat the pizza?'

(50) \*O que (é que) você **não** quer comer **não**?  
 What is that 2S NEG want.2S eat.INF NEG  
 'What is it that you don't want to eat?'

#### T3

(51) \*Por que (é que) você quis comer a pizza **não**?  
 Why is that 2S want.PST.2S eat.INF DET pizza NEG  
 'Why don't you want to eat the pizza?'

(52) \*O que (é que) você quer comer **não?**  
 What is that 2s want.2s eat.INF NEG  
 'What is it that you don't want to eat?'

BP also has wh-in-situ questions (Zocca 2008, Pires & Taylor 2007). (54) gives T1.

(53) Você comprou o que?  
 2s bought.PST.2s what  
 'What did you buy?'

(54) Você **não** comprou o que?  
 2s NEG bought.PST.2s what  
 'What didn't you buy?'

Examples (55) shows that T2 in wh-in-situ questions is highly degraded. (56) shows that T3 is ungrammatical.

(55) ??Você **não** comprou o que **não?**  
 2s NEG bought. PST.2s what NEG  
 'Which books didn't you buy?'

(56) \*Você comprou o que **não?**  
 2s bought. PST.2s what NEG  
 'Which books didn't you buy?'

### 1.5.6 N-Words and Negative Concord

In BP, so-called *n-words* (as in Laka 1990, Giannakidou 2006) follow similar patterns found in other Romance languages; however, some differences can be seen with T2 and T3. Chapter seven treats in detail the idea of Negative Concord (NC). For now, the term *n-words* are taken to be a theory-neutral term, meaning words with apparent negative morphology like *nobody* in English, *nessuno* in Italian, *niemand* in Dutch, etc.

NC is a situation where negation appears to have multiple surface manifestations (seen on the negative marker and an n-word), but is only interpreted once (Giannakidou

2006:328). BP, Spanish, Italian, and European Portuguese are considered non-strict NC languages. These languages do not allow negative markers (*non, no, não*) to be c-commanded by n-words. These languages require n-words to be c-commanded by negative markers in most cases, for example postverbal subject n-words or object n-words (Zanuttini 1997; Giannakidou 2000, 2006; Zeijlstra 2004).

First, I present the data with *n-words* as subjects. (57) and (59) illustrate the behavior of non-strict negative concord in Spanish and BP with T1. In these examples the subject n-word c-commands the negative marker and the sentence has a double negative reading, not a negative concord reading. To eliminate the double negative reading, one omits the negative markers *no* and *não* as in examples (58) and (60).

(57) **Nadie no** ayudó a Juan Diego Spanish  
 Nobody NEG helped PREP Juan Diego  
 ‘**Nobody didn’t** help Juan Diego’  
 \*‘Nobody helped Juan Diego’

(58) **Nadie** ayudó a Juan Diego  
 Nobody helped PREP Juan Diego  
 ‘**Nobody** help Juan Diego’

(59) **Ninguém não** ajudou o Abílio<sup>2</sup> BP  
 Nobody NEG help.PST.3S DET Abílio  
 ‘**Nobody didn’t** help Abílio’  
 \*‘Nobody helped Abílio’

---

<sup>2</sup> Martinez (2006) states that the following is allowed in Mineiro Portuguese (State of Minas Gerais)

- i. Ninguém não veio  
 Nobody NEG came  
 ‘nobody came’

While she points to other studies, Alkmim (2001), this is the only example of the n-word and the preverbal negative marker not invoking a negative reading. All the preliminary work suggests that this is dialectal and is not seen in most dialects of BP. If it turns out that this claim is false, then more analysis would be required.

(60) **Ninguém** ajudou o Abílio  
 Nobody help.PST.3S DET Abílio  
 ‘Nobody help Abílio’

T2 negation and subject n-words behave as expected, with a double negative reading due to the n-word c-commanding the negative marker.

(61) **Ninguém não** ajudou o Abílio **não** BP  
 Nobody NEG help.PST.3S DET Abílio NEG  
 ‘Nobody didn’t help Abílio’  
 \*‘Nobody helped Abílio’

The facts are different with T3. While the n-word appears to c-command the negative marker, (62), a double negative reading does not result, in contrast to T1 and T2, as seen above.

(62) **Ninguém** ajudou o Abílio **não**  
 Nobody help.PST.3S DET Abílio NEG  
 ‘Nobody helped Abílio’

Object n-words give grammatical NC readings with T1 (63) and T2 (64), but not with T3 (65). Independent of the clause-final negation in (65), the sentence is ungrammatical.

(63) O Abílio **não** ajudou **ninguém**  
 DET Abílio NEG help.PST.3S nobody  
 ‘Abílio didn’t help anyone’

(64) O Abílio **não** ajudou **ninguém não**  
 DET Abílio NEG help.PST.3S nobody NEG  
 ‘Abílio didn’t help anyone’

(65) \*O Abílio ajudou **ninguém não**  
 DET Abílio help.PST.3S nobody NEG  
 ‘Abílio didn’t help anyone’

### 1.5.7 Imperatives

BP allows all three types of negation in negative imperatives. BP has two types of imperatives: “true negative imperatives” and “suppletive imperatives”. True negative imperatives are formed from positive imperatives that are negated using the typical negative marker. Suppletive imperatives, found in some Romance languages like Spanish, are commands formed using non-imperative verbal morphology, such as the subjunctive. (66) illustrates a Spanish imperative. This clause cannot be negated directly, (67), rather a subjunctive verb form is used to negate an imperative, (68).

- |      |                   |      |         |
|------|-------------------|------|---------|
| (66) | Lee               | eso! | Spanish |
|      | Read.2S.IMP       | that |         |
|      | 'Read that!'      |      |         |
| (67) | *No lee           | eso! |         |
|      | NEG read.2S.IMP   | that |         |
|      | 'Read that!'      |      |         |
| (68) | No leas           | eso! |         |
|      | NEG read.2S.SBJ   | that |         |
|      | 'Don't read that' |      |         |

Like Spanish and European Portuguese (EP), suppletive negative imperatives are grammatical in BP. (71) shows that BP also allows true negative imperatives, although this is not the case in EP.<sup>3</sup> EP does not allow negative imperatives without use of the subjunctive.

- |      |              |       |           |
|------|--------------|-------|-----------|
| (69) | Lê           | isso! | EP and BP |
|      | Read.2S.IMP  | that  |           |
|      | 'Read that!' |       |           |

---

<sup>3</sup> This type of example would not be considered an imperative by Zanuttini (1994) and Postma & van der Wurff (2007). They require that imperatives have different morphology from the other verb types, i.e declarative or subjunctive. Since BP's imperatives are identical to declaratives, these researchers would not consider them to be true imperatives.

(70)	Não leias	isso	EP and BP
	NEG Read.2S.SBJ	that	
	'Don't read that!'		

(71)	Não lê	isso	*EP and BP
	NEG read.2S.IMP	that	
	'Don't read that!'		

(72) and (73) show that T2 and T3 are also allowed in imperatives (Postma & van der Wurff 2007, Schwegler 1991a).

(72)	Não lê	isso	não	BP
	NEG Read.2S.IMP	that	NEG	
	'Don't read that!'			

(73)	Lê	isso não	BP
	Read.2S.IMP	that NEG	
	'Don't read that!'		

### 1.5.8 NPI Idioms

NPI idioms are idioms that are felicitous only in the presence of an NPI licenser. In the case of BP the licenser is generally the preverbal negative marker. The three types of negation show a difference in their ability to license NPI idioms (Biberauer & Cyrino 2009). The following examples show that T2 allows the idiomatic meaning and T3 does not. The expression *não tem um chinelo pra botar um prego* literally means 'to not have a flip-flop to nail a nail with', seen in (74). As an idiomatic expression it means 'to not have anything'. This meaning is retained in the T2 sentence (75), but lost in (76) with T3.

(74)	Ele	<b>não</b> tem	um chinelo pra	botar	um prego	T1
	3S	NEG have	DET flip-flop	PREP.DET throw.INF	DET nail	
	'He doesn't have anything'					

- (75) Ele **não** tem um chinelo pra botar um prego **não** T2  
 3S NEG have DET flip-flop PREP.DET throw.INF DET nail NEG  
 'He doesn't have anything'
- (76) Ele tem um chinelo pra botar um prego **não** T3  
 3S have DET flip-flop PREP.DET throw.INF DET nail NEG  
 'He doesn't have a flip-flop to nail a nail with'  
 \*'He doesn't have anything'

### 1.5.9 Summary of the Data

The following table shows the situations where each type is used. Note that √ means grammatical and X means ungrammatical. For relative clauses, T2 is licit in object relative clauses, but only if they are sentence final, thus the \*.

Table 1-1. Syntactic Restrictions for BP CFN

Environment	T1	T2	T3
Discourse Requirements	X	√	√
Allowed in Relative Clauses in Subject Position	√	X	X
Allowed in Relative Clauses in Object Position	√	√*	X
Allowed in Fronted Wh-questions	√	X	X
Allowed in in-situ Wh-questions	√	X	X
Allowed with Subject N-words	X	X	√
Allowed with Object N-words	√	√	X
Licenses NPI Idiomatic Expressions	√	√	X
Allowed in Embedded Clauses	√	√	√
Allowed in Imperatives	√	√	√
Compatible with Topicalization	√	√	√

The data raise a number of questions that are the focus of the chapters that follow. I argue that the answers to these questions contribute to an explanation of the distributional differences and similarities presented above.

- i. What are the semantic and pragmatic differences between the three types of negation?
- ii. What is the analysis of the interaction of n-words and sentential negation in BP?
- iii. What is structural analysis of the three types of negation?

### **1.6 Structure of the Study**

The chapters of this work are organized as follows. Chapter two is a brief overview of the theoretical framework to which this study adheres. This chapter highlights the fundamental principles of minimalism and minimalist syntax. The main goal of this chapter is to set up the theoretical base from which I can properly explain sentential and clause-final negation in BP.

Chapter three provides an overview of the clause structure of BP. In this chapter, I discuss the syntactic positions of the subject, verb, topics, wh-words, and some adverbs. The conclusions of this chapter have several repercussions for the overall analysis of clause-final negation. First, I argue for a split IP in BP consisting of AgrP dominating TP. The subject is in spec,AgrP and the verb is in T (Costa & Galves 2002). I also argue for a split CP in BP as well. Fronted DP topics are shown to be base-generated in the specifier of a Topic Phrase and fronted wh-phrases are analyzed as occupying the specifier of a Focus Phrase, which occurs below TopicP. Wh-in-situ in BP is analyzed as not involving movement at all. Additionally, wh-in-situ has a

discourse-based restriction on it and it only occurs if elements of the question are part of the Common Ground (Pires & Taylor 2007).

Chapter four concerns itself with the preverbal negative marker. I present the main theoretical approaches to understanding the syntax of the preverbal marker in Romance languages. The chapter extends the clause structure from chapter three and proposes a position for the preverbal negative marker as the head of NegP between AgrP and TP.

Chapter five discusses one of the main topics of this dissertation, the semantic/pragmatic status of clause-final negation. Here, I discuss previous attempts at understanding CFN in terms of semantics and pragmatics. I reject several previous analyses of CFN as insufficient to explain the data (Schwegler 1991a, Da Cunha 2007). Instead, I follow Schwenter's interpretation of Prince's (1992) Discourse-Information Status theory. Roughly, what is negated with CFN must have been introduced into the discourse for it to be felicitous.

Chapter six discusses the second main topic of this dissertation, the syntactic status of clause-final negation. This chapter discusses past attempts to understand the syntax of CFN. I argue that previous accounts do not fully capture the requirements and restrictions on CFN. The final part of chapter six introduces my proposal for CFN in BP. I propose that CFN is phrasal movement of the whole AgrP to a specifier position of a lower TopicP phrase in the left periphery. The head of this lower topic phrase is a *não* for negative sentence and a *sim* for some positive sentences.

Chapter seven tests the syntactic proposals made in chapters five and six using Negative Concord and n-words. In this chapter, I discuss the status of n-words in BP.

From there, I combine the analysis from chapter six with the analysis of Negative Concord to argue for the existence of three negative formatives in BP. The three markers are: a preverbal *não* with an interpretable negative feature, a clause-final *não* with an uninterpretable negative feature, and a clause-final *não* with an interpretable negative feature. The first marker appears in T1 and T2, the second appears in T2 only, and the third appears exclusively in T3.

Chapter eight is a summary and a conclusion. It summarizes the findings of the dissertation and highlights the major theoretical implications.

## CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter's main goal is to present and explain the theoretical assumptions used in this dissertation. A main purpose of this chapter is to describe the linguistic tools that will be used to understand negation in Brazilian Portuguese, both preverbal and clause-final. Two areas of linguistic theory are covered: certain aspects of minimalist syntax and the left periphery. Section 2.2 covers the Minimalist Program and some aspects of minimalism that will be relevant in the analyses in later chapters. Section 2.3 discusses the left periphery, making specific use of the proposals from Rizzi (1997).

### **2.2 Minimalism**

This work assumes a rather conservative version of minimalist syntax from the 1990's and early 2000's (Adger 2003, Radford 2004), which includes X-bar theory (Carnie 2002) and certain mechanisms that are used to drive movement in the syntax (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, Hornstein 2001, Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005, Bošković & Lasnik 2007). Section 2.2.1 presents the main theoretical ideas and motivations behind a minimalist syntax. Section 2.2.2 presents my assumptions about the Probe-Goal system and Feature Checking.

#### **2.2.1 Fundamental Principles of Minimalism**

The minimalist program has as a research goal “simplicity, elegance, parsimony, and naturalness” (Hornstein 2001:4). These somewhat abstract terms are concretely defined by Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann (2005:ch 1) (Haddad 2007:24):

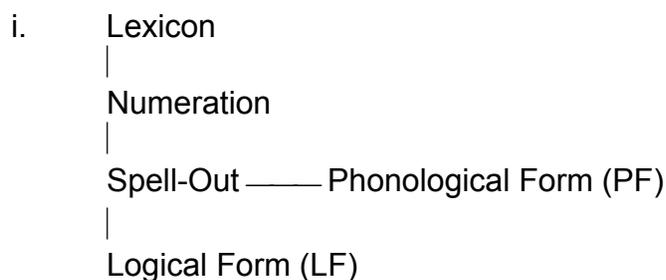
- i. *Naturalness* implies that only notions that correspond to self-evident facts about language should be preserved.
- ii. *Simplicity* follows from naturalness. If only natural notions are preserved and all other theory internal notions are removed, the grammar becomes simpler. Further, given two theories A and B that are equal in every way except that A has fewer rules than B, A is considered superior.
- iii. *Economy* is pertinent to derivations and derivational rules. Everything else being equal, a derivational step that requires the least effort (e.g., fewer steps) and that happens only when necessary is optimal.

Coupled with these goals and definitions, the minimalist program assumes some important ideas about language. Hornstein (2001) presents these ideas as follows:

- i. sentences are the basic linguistic units
- ii. sentences are pairings of sounds and meaning
- iii. there is no upper bound to the number of sentences in any given [Natural Language]
- iv. sentences show displacement properties in the sense that expressions pronounced in one position are interpreted in another
- v. sentences are composed of words organized into larger units with hierarchical structure, i.e. phrases.

Chomsky and others propose that the Language Faculty (FL) of the mind generates sentences or linguistic expressions. FL has interfaces with the articulatory-perceptual (AP) system and the Conceptual-Intentional (CI) system. Phonological Form (PF) is the representation at the interface between the FL and the Articulatory-perceptual system and Logical Form (LF) is the representation at the interface between the Language Faculty and the Conceptual-Intentional system. These two representations yield the pronounced form and meaning of a sentence, and these are

the only two levels of representation in the theory. Many visual models attempt to show the relationships just mentioned, and the model that is assumed generally by those working in a minimalist framework is as follows (Chomsky 1995, Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann 2005):



Chomsky explains that lexical items (LIs) bundle three types of features: phonological, semantic, and formal and the lexicon is the storage of these lexical items. Phonological features include the information needed to be interpreted at PF, i.e. roughly what would be considered the sounds of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Semantic features are features, such as [+animate], which are interpreted at LF. Finally, formal features are things to which the computation system is sensitive, and they can be interpretable or uninterpretable (see section 2.2.2 for more details). It is important to note that the lexicon of a language may have lexical entries that are phonologically null. These null elements are interpreted at LF even though they have no pronounced form.

The numeration is a selection of elements from the lexicon selected to take part in the derivation. Structure building operations apply to elements in the numeration, after which the sentence is Spelled-out, i.e. sent to the interfaces. Spell-out is where the phonological features are mapped onto PF and the other features continue towards LF. Syntactic operations that occur before Spell-out are considered overt operations

because they are visible through the phonology, and operations after Spell-out are covert because they are not visible to the phonology. At Logical Form the system determines whether a sentence is well-formed or not, including whether all the uninterpretable formal features have been checked.

I assume four main computational or syntactic operations: *Select*, *Merge*, *Agree*, and *Copy*. *Select* essentially picks something from the lexicon. *Merge* takes two syntactic objects and combines them into one. *Merge* is the operation that builds syntactic trees. The operation *Agree* “establishes a relation (agreement, Case-checking) between an LI and a feature F in some restricted search space (its domain)” (Chomsky 2000:100). Finally, *Copy* duplicates a linguistic object and makes it available for *Merge*. Movement in the syntax is a result of *Copy* plus *Merge*. I will leave aside any technical discussion of *Select*, *Merge*, and *Copy* and return to *Agree* below.

Another main idea relevant to this current work is that a clause is divided into three domains: the left periphery, or CP, the inflectional domain, or IP, and the verb phrase domain, or vP (Chomsky 2000, Grohmann 2003). These categories have been shown to be made up of subparts. The representative works for each are: Rizzi (1997) for the CP, Pollock (1989) for IP, and Larson (1988) for VP. I discuss the left periphery in BP in section 2.3 of this chapter.

### **2.2.2 Probe-Goal System and Feature Agreement**

An important aspect of syntactic representations is formal features and agreement among these features. Features on lexical items can be of two kinds: interpretable, represented by [iF], or uninterpretable, represented as [uF], where F is some morphosyntactic feature such as person, number, negation, topic, focus, question, etc. An interpretable feature is one that has an interpretation at LF and an uninterpretable

feature is one that does not. For example, phi-features (person, number) are interpretable on DPs but uninterpretable on agreeing heads such as adjectives and verbs. An uninterpretable feature is illegitimate at LF and violates what is called the *Principle of Full Interpretation*, which states that all syntactic objects should be fully interpretable at the interfaces (PF and LF) (Chomsky 1995). To avoid a violation of Full Interpretation, uninterpretable features must be eliminated in the syntax before they reach LF. The mechanism that removes uninterpretable features is called *Feature Agreement*. Informally, Feature Agreement, or Agree, allows an uninterpretable feature to check itself against an interpretable counterpart and thus become invisible. Agree is accomplished through a system of *probes* and *goals*. A probe is a feature that is uninterpretable [uF]. The probe searches its syntactic domain to find a corresponding interpretable feature [iF], which is called the goal. If the probe finds a goal and the two features match, the uninterpretable [uF] is checked and deleted.

The syntactic domain in which a probe searches for a goal is its c-command domain; a probe looks down to find a goal. In addition, I adopt a proposal put forth in Rizac (2003) which argues that although probes normally look within their c-command domain to find a goal, if no goal is found, then the probe can wait for additional material to be merged into the derivation. This means that the field of search ultimately available to a probe includes elements higher in the structure, outside its c-command domain. This upward search possibility for probes will be employed to understand Negative Concord (see section 7.2.4), following work by Zeijlstra (2004).

Since Agree can happen at a distance and doesn't require movement to result in feature checking, something additional must cause elements to move. For the

purposes here, I claim that what forces movement is that a feature on a probe can be strong, which requires that it be checked in a more local configuration than with Agree alone. A strong uninterpretable feature triggers movement of something lower in the structure to the specifier position of the probe carrying the strong feature. A strong feature is represented as [F\*] and must be checked in a specifier-head configuration.

In this section I have briefly discussed the major framework and linguistic tools that this dissertation employs. Additional syntactic machinery will be presented as necessary.

### **2.3 CP: The Left Periphery**

This section presents the theoretical assumptions about the left periphery that have risen due, in part, to Rizzi (1997). Section 2.3.1 introduces Rizzi's theory. Then, I take the idea of an expanded CP and apply it to BP in section 2.3.2. By doing this, I show that Rizzi's proposal is compatible with BP. In fact, as later chapters show, an expanded CP is fundamental to a proper understanding of BP clause structure and CFN.

#### **2.3.1 Rizzi's Split CP**

CP is taken to be the region of the clause where certain grammatical notions such as topic, focus, clause type, etc. are expressed (Chomsky 1995). Chomsky, referring to Cheng (1991, 1997), states that C serves as a "force indicator", where force is understood to mean clause type, such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc. (Chomsky 1995:69). Rizzi's (1997) work develops this idea by showing that CP actually consists of a number of functional projections, each of which independently hosts elements related to topic, focus, clause type, etc.

Before Rizzi's work, for example in *Lectures on Government and Binding* (Chomsky 1981), the left periphery was a single CP projection that housed a host of different elements, including wh-phrases, complementizers of varying types, topics, and focused elements. In the early 1990s Lasnik & Saito (1992) and McCloskey (1991) proposed that topics and sentential adverbs adjoin to the main clause. However, in light of cross-linguistic evidence, this adjunction that some proposed for topics and sentential adverbs was not very constrained, and as such, behavior of this type seemed fit to be eliminated from the grammar. Rizzi (1997) and others after him (Benincá 2001, Benincá & Polleto 2004, Cinque 1999, 2002, Rizzi 2004, Polleto 2000) proposed that CP be split into several X-bar compatible projections, such as TopicP, FocusP, and ForceP, among others. This split created dedicated head and specifier positions for elements commonly found in the CP region.

The Force projection is what determines the type of clause. The Topic projection hosts topics of the sentence and what follows is assumed to be the *comment*. The Focus projection hosts focused elements and what follows is assumed to be the presupposition. Finally, the Finite projection determines the (non-)finiteness of the TP. Rizzi's structure looks like (1) (see Rizzi 2001:289 for the inclusion of an Int(errogative) Phrase). The \* indicates that TopicPs can iterate (but see Benincá & Polleto 2004 for evidence against this).

(1) ForceP – TopicP\* – IntP – TopicP\* – FocusP – TopicP\* – FinP

Rizzi assumes that not all projections in the split CP are necessarily present in all clauses. "It is reasonable to assume that the topic-focus system is present in a structure

only ‘if needed’ (Rizzi 1997: 288)”. Rizzi relies on Agree to fill these positions. If the topic position is filled, for example, then a strong uninterpretable topic feature [uTop\*] must exist on the head of TopicP to drive movement to this position, as discussed above.

### 2.3.2 The Split CP and BP

This section provides evidence for Rizzi’s various projections in BP. In Rizzi’s approach, finite complementizers are inserted into Force. The Italian sentence (2) and the BP sentence (4) have the complementizers *che* and *que*, respectively, in Force, which causes the embedded clause to be finite. Rizzi contrasts these complementizers with prepositional complementizers, such as Italian *di*, which introduce non-finite clauses. While BP does not have a construction exactly like the Italian example (3), it does use a preposition-like complementizer to introduce non-finite clauses as in (5). Rizzi claims that *di* in Italian is Fin; however, I suggest below that this is not the case for BP *para*.

(2) Credo            **che**   loro   apprezzerebbero   molto il        tuo libro.  
 Believe.1S        COMP 3P   appreciate.FUT.3P   much DET        2S book  
 ‘I believe that they will appreciate your book very much’

(3) Credo            **di**    loro   apprezzare            molto il        tuo libro.  
 Believe.1S        PREP 3P   appreciate.INF        much DET        2S book  
 ‘I believe that they appreciate your book very much’

(4) A Sienna        pediu            **que**    eles    trabalhassem.  
 DET Sienna        ask.PST.3S        COMP 3p    work.SBJ.PST.3P  
 ‘Sienna asked that they work’

(5) A Sienna        pediu            **para**    eles    trabalharem.  
 DET Sienna        ask.PST.3S        PREP 3P    work.INF.3P  
 ‘Sienna asked that they work’

Rizzi's claim is that the Italian complementizers *che* and *di* cannot be the head of the same projection because of how they interact with topics and focused elements. In the case of finite complementizer *che*, topics must necessarily follow *che*. With the non-finite complementizer *di*, topics must necessarily precede *di*. The topics are underlined and the complementizer is bolded in the following examples. Notice that in (6) *che* precedes the topic; whereas, in (7) and (8) the *di* must follow the topic.

(6) Credo            **che**    il tuo libro    loro    lo    apprezzerebbero    molto.  
 Believe.1S    COMP    DET 2S book    3P    CL.3S    appreciate.FUT.3P    much  
 'I believe that your book, they will appreciate it a lot.'

(7) \*Credo            **di**    il tuo libro                    apprezzarlo            molto.  
 Believe.1S    PREP    DET 2S book                    appreciate.INF-CL    much  
 'I believe that your book, they will appreciate it a lot.'

(8) Credo            il tuo libro    **di**    apprezzarlo            molto  
 Believe.1S    DET 2S book    PREP    appreciate.INF-CL    much  
 'I believe that your book, they will appreciate it a lot.'

In the case of the BP finite complementizer *que*, BP behaves like Italian in that topics cannot precede *que*. Assuming that *que* is the head of ForceP, this shows that the order of the functional heads is Force – Topic, as Rizzi proposes.

(9) Acho            **que**    os meninos    o João            viu            no    mercado.  
 Believe.1S    COMP    DET boys    DET John    saw.PST.3S    PREP.DET market  
 'I believe that the boys John saw them in the market'

(10) \*Acho            os meninos    **que**    o João            viu            no    mercado.  
 Believe.1S    DET boys    COMP    DET John    saw.PST.3S    PREP.DET market'

Based on examples such as (7) and (8), Rizzi argues for a head called FinP, which is where he places the prepositional complementizer *di* in Italian. BP does not seem to have any overt evidence of this. The interaction of topics with BP *para* is the

same as with *que* in that topics cannot precede *para*. The examples below are ungrammatical on the interpretation where the topic preceding the complementizer is associated with the embedded clause.

(11) \*A Sienna      pediu      no mercado      **que**      eles      trabalhassem.  
 DET Sienna      ask.PST.3S      PREP.DET market      that      3p      work.SUBJ.PST.3P  
 ‘Sienna asked that in the market they work’ (They work in the market)

(12) \*A Sienna      pediu      no mercado      **para**      eles      trabalharem.  
 DET Sienna      ask.PST.3S      PREP.DET market      PREP      3P      work.INF.3P  
 ‘Sienna asked that in the market they work’(They work in the market)

From this, I assume that both *para* and *que* in BP realize Force and Fin is not overtly realized in BP.

Rizzi (1997, 2001) also shows that topics can precede fronted wh-words. Again, the same can be said of BP. In the Italian example in (13) *a Gianni* ‘to Gianni’ is fronted to the left of the wh-word. The same happens in the BP example in (14), with *pra Lú* ‘to Lú’ to the left of the wh-phrase.

(13) A Gianni,      che cosa      gli      hai      ditto?  
 PREP Gianni,      what thing      DAT.3S      have.2S      said  
 ‘To Gianni, what did you say’

(14) Pra      Lú,      o que que      você      deu?  
 PREP.DET      Lú,      what that      2S      gave.PST.2S  
 ‘To Lú, what did you give?’

Rizzi assumes that the landing site of wh-phrases is the specifier of a focus phrase, FocusP, below TopicP and I will follow his conclusion.<sup>4</sup> Evidence for this claim comes from the incompatibility of wh-phrases with a fronted focused phrase.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Section 3.5 will explain that the *que* in example (14) is not the same as *que* the complementizer. Rather this is a Q operator.

(15) \*PRO ZE o que que você deu (não pro Lionel)  
 PREP.DET Ze what that 2S give.PST.2S (NEG PREP.DET Lionel)  
 'TO ZE what did you give (not to Lionel)'

(16) \* o que que PRO ZE você deu (não pro Lionel)  
 what that PREP.DET Ze 2S give.PST.2S (NEG PREP.DET Lionel)  
 'TO ZE what did you give (not to Lionel)'

(15) has the focused PP before the wh-word, and (16) has it following the wh-word. In both cases, the result ungrammatical. Rizzi takes this fact to mean that the target for wh-fronting is also FocusP, thus the mutually exclusive nature of these two items. In addition, only one focused phrase is allowed, confirming that FocusP cannot iterate:

(17) \*PRO CESAR O LIVRO eu vou dar (não pra Sienna o caderno)  
 PREP.DET Cesar DET book 1S go.1S give.INF (NEG PREP.DET Sienna DET folder)  
 'The book, to Cesar, tomorrow, I will give (not to Sienna the folder)'

In contrast, a clause may contain multiple topics, indicating that TopicP does iterate. (18) has two topics, 'the book' and 'to Cesar'.

(18) O livro pro César amanhã eu vou dar  
 DET book PREP.DET Cesar tomorrow 1S go.1S give.INF  
 'The book, to Cesar, tomorrow, I will give'

These data support the claim that fronted topics and focus elements are located in distinct positions in BP, much like in Italian. Ordering these XPs, we observe ForceP – TopP\* - WH/FocusP. Chapter six will discuss a second topic position below FocusP. The fact that there are two topic positions is predicted in Rizzi's work, and it is

---

<sup>5</sup> Ambar (1999) explains how focus works in European Portuguese, and the results are similar for BP. The meaning of focus for our purpose here is 'new information', as opposed to 'old information'.

something that will aid in explaining CFN. The topics presented in this chapter are related to topics discussed further in chapter three. There, I give evidence to show that the higher topics are base-generated. Chapter six explains that the lower topics are cases of movement of AgrP to the specifier of the lower TopP. To distinguish the two topic positions, I will label them Topic1 and Topic2. This gives following the structure for BP:

(19) ForceP – Topic1P\* – WH/FocusP – Topic2P

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This chapter's goal was to present the theoretical base for the discussion of negation in Brazilian Portuguese. I have presented some assumptions regarding Agree that will be useful in what follows. The second half of this chapter dedicated itself to Rizzi's expanded CP (1997). Section 2.3.2 showed that Brazilian Portuguese, much like its cousins in the Romance family, is compatible with Rizzi's theory. This is important because the idea of an expanded CP is central to the proposals that this dissertation makes.

CHAPTER 3  
THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

**3.1 Introduction**

The main goal of this chapter is to examine some elements of the clause structure of Brazilian Portuguese (BP). A proper understanding of Portuguese clause structure is imperative for a complete analysis of the negative marker and to understand the syntactic proposals in later chapters. I discuss the syntactic positions of the subject, verb, adverbs, topics, and *wh*-words, and the structures I present are assumed throughout this dissertation. The structures presented build upon the existing work related to Portuguese clause structure, and are aligned to the theories discussed in chapter two (Galves 1989, Mito 1992, Kato 1999, Costa & Galves 2002, Silva 2004, Rodrigues 2004, Kato 2009, Nunes 2009).

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.2 deals with the subject and its positions. In section 3.2.1, I consider the option debated in the literature regarding the preverbal subject position as either an A- or A'- position and argue that it is an A-position. Section 3.2.2 uses adverbs and floating quantifiers to further investigate the A-position. Section 3.3 investigates Portuguese verb movement and the position of the verb. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 discuss the syntax of topics and *wh*-questions, respectively. The concluding section of this chapter summarizes the results. As a way of anticipating the conclusions that come out during this chapter, the clause-structure that I propose for BP is represented by the basic schematic in (i).

- i. [ForceP Complementizer [Top1P topic-phrase [ FocusP *wh*-phrase [Top2P<sup>6</sup> topic-phrase [AgrP subject<sub>k</sub> [NegP *não* [TP V<sub>i</sub> [vP subject<sub>k</sub> [VP V<sub>i</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]]]]

---

<sup>6</sup> This lower topic position will be discussed in chapter six. The higher topic position is the main focus of the topics discussed in this chapter.

Wh-phrases and topics occupy A' positions in the left periphery of the clause. The inflectional layer below these projections consists of at least two projections, AgrP and TP. The preverbal subject occupies the specifier of the higher projection, spec,AgrP, which is an A-position. The verb raises from V to the head of the lower projection, T, but no higher (i.e. not to Agr). The inflectional layer dominates vP and VP, where the external argument, the verb, and verbal complements originate.

### **3.2 Subjects in BP**

This section addresses the theoretical debate surrounding the preverbal subject position in Romance generally and BP specifically. For other Romance languages, recent works suggest that the preverbal subject is an A- position or an A' topic position. From this perspective, I analyze the preverbal subject position in BP. I reject the A' position analysis for BP, however, and conclude that the BP preverbal subject position is a canonical A-position.

#### **3.2.1 The Debate over the Romance Preverbal Subject Position**

Many suggest that BP is transforming from a null subject language to a non-null subject language (see all the articles in Kato & Negrão 2001 and Rodrigues 2004). As such, BP finds itself in the middle of an interesting debate among linguists as to the position of preverbal subjects in null subject languages (NSL) (Belletti 1990 for Italian, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 for Greek, Barbosa 1995, 2004 for European Portuguese, Ordóñez 1997, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999 for Spanish, Cardinaletti 2004 for an extended discussion on the various subject positions that possibly exist in natural

language<sup>7</sup>). The canonical word order for Romance Languages in general is SVO, and the debate centers around whether the preverbal subject position is an A- or and A'-position. This debate is useful in the case of BP because it helps inform the possible subject positions. I discuss the two main analyses below, first A'-position and then A-position.

Researchers have argued that the preverbal subject occupies an A' topic position in the left periphery of the clause, outside of the inflectional domain (Zubizarreta 1998, Ordóñez 1997, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, and others). Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) give a theoretical argument in favor of the preverbal subject being in an A' position. They argue that in NSLs like Greek and Spanish, the EPP is satisfied by movement of the verb to T. That is, verbal agreement morphology in such languages “includes a nominal element” which satisfies the EPP (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998:516). DP movement to spec,IP is thus unnecessary for EPP satisfaction. Further, they propose that subjects can check their Case features in their base position inside vP. Thus, subjects also do not need to move to spec,TP for Case reasons. Given that there is no motivation for A-movement of the subject to spec,TP, it must be the case that the preverbal subject is not in an A-position. Rather, they conclude, it is in an A' topic position (see also Ordóñez 1997, Ordóñez & Trevino 1999). Movement to this A' position is motivated by discourse considerations, perhaps a topic feature on the subject (Costa 2004:13).

---

<sup>7</sup> Cardinaletti (2004) discusses several subject positions. She bases this on data from comparing the Romance languages to things like double subject constructions in Icelandic. While it might be true that several subject positions are reserved for different types of subjects, as far as I can tell these are all in the same spot in BP, which is above TP. Essentially a subject in BP could move to spec of TP and move again to some other subject position higher up, which is essentially what AgrP does. I will not pursue this line of thought in this work, rather see the facts presented in Kato (2000) and Rodrigues (2004).

Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) provide an empirical argument for this conclusion based on ellipsis data in Spanish. In each of the following examples, the second conjunct contains a stranded constituent and the polarity item *también*, 'also'. According to the authors, in (1) the stranded phrase is the subject, in (2) it is an object, and in (3) it is an indirect object.

- (1) El le dio            unos libros    a Pia y Pepe también [le dio unos libros a Pia]  
 3S CL-gave.3S    some books    PREP Pia and Pepe also [CL-gave.3S some books PREP Pia]  
 'He gave some books to Pia and Pepe also [gave some books to Pia]'
- (2) Unos libros le dio    a Pia    y unos            cuadros            también [le dio            a Pia]  
 Some books CL-gave.3S PREP Pia            and some paintings    too    [CL-gave.3S PREP Pia]  
 'He gave some books to Pia and some paintings also [he gave to Pia]'
- (3) A Pia    le dio            unos libros    y a    Sara también [le dio unos libros]  
 PREP Pia CL-gave.3S            some books and PREP Sara too [CL-gave.3S some books]  
 'To Pia, he gave some books and to Sara also [he gave some books]'

Ordóñez & Treviño 1999 argue that in (2) and (3) a phrase has been fronted followed by ellipsis of the constituent following that phrase. More specifically, they assume that the (in)direct object has been topicalized to spec,TopP and the elided constituent is TP (following Lobeck 1995), the complement to Top:

- (4) ... [TopP unos cuadros<sub>i</sub> [Top' Top [TP le dio t<sub>i</sub> a Pia]]]

In order to give the same analysis to (1), they claim that the subject must also be in an A' position, as it appears to occur in the same position as the other verbal elements in (2) and (3). If the subject were lower, in IP, it would be included in the ellipsis site. Their claim is also crucially dependent on an analysis of null-subject languages, where the subject need not necessarily move to spec, IP. As such, if there is anything in a preverbal position, they claim that element has been fronted, even the subject.

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998:503) provide another argument from Spanish, based on the complementary distribution of preverbal subjects with some preverbal adverbs. (5) shows that when the adverb *temprano* and the subject *Julia* are both to the left of the verb the sentence is ungrammatical. When just one precedes the verb however, the result is grammatical, (6).

- (5) \*Temprano Julia salía de casa  
 early Julia leave.IMP.3S PREP house
- (6) Temprano salía Julia de casa  
 Early leave.IMP.3S Julia PREP house  
 'Julia used to leave/was leaving early from the house'

Ordóñez (1997) shows that the same type of asymmetry also exists with negative quantifiers and subjects. (7) demonstrates that Spanish allows negative quantifiers in a preverbal subject position. They can also be fronted from object position, as in (8), where the object *nada* has been fronted. If both a negative quantifier and the subject are to the left of the verb, however, the sentence is ungrammatical, (9)

- (7) Nadie le debe la renta a María.  
 nobody CL-owes.3S DET rent PREP Maria  
 'Nobody owes Maria the rent'
- (8) Nada le debe Juan a sus amigos  
 nothing CL-owes.3S Juan PREP his friends  
 'Juan owes nothing to his friends'
- (9) \*Nada Juan le debe a sus amigos  
 nothing Juan CL-owes.3S PREP 3S friends  
 'Juan owes nothing to his friends'

Such data can be accounted for if there is one A'-position before the verb and it can be occupied by a fronted element (temporal adverb or negative quantifier) or by the

subject but not both. If the subject had its own A-position, such complementary distribution would be unexpected.

Following Uribe-Echevarria (1992)'s original observations for Spanish, Ordóñez (1997) also argues that the subject is an A'-position based on scope. According to him, if the preverbal subject were in an A' position, then its scope would freeze (c.f. Barss 1986). By this he claims that when moved to an A'-position, a quantificational element is no longer in a position where it scopally interacts with another quantificational element in the sentence. Thus, in example (10) where the subject is postverbal, scopal ambiguity arises due to the possibility of the subject raising at LF above *aquíén*. In this case, the universal quantifier has both wide and narrow scope. The wide scope meaning is that each senator loves a different person. In the narrow scope meaning, all senators love the same person.

(10) *Aquíén*        *dices que amaba*        *cada senador?*  
PREP.whom    say.2S that    loved.3S        each senator  
'Who did you say each senator loved?'

Whom > each  
Each > whom

(11) no longer has a scopal ambiguity because the subject has moved to the left of the verb. In this case the only reading is one where *cada senador* loves the same person, i.e. narrow scope reading of the universal quantifier, whom > each. Ordóñez claims that this is more evidence in favor of the preverbal subject being in an A'-position.

(11) *Aquíén*        *dices que cada senador*        *amaba?*  
PREP.whom    say.2S that    each senator        loved.3S  
'Who did you say each senator loved?'

Whom > Each  
\*Each > Whom

Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) continue Ordóñez's line of thinking and claim that multiple quantifiers also are evidence for an A'-position. Under their analysis, when a quantifier moves to an A-position its position allows it to interact with other quantificational elements in the sentence and as such creates scopal ambiguities (e.g. van Riemsdijk & Williams 1986, May 1985). The relationship that allows ambiguity does not exist when the quantifier is realized in an A'-position. If the preverbal subject in Greek is an A'-position, then this explains why 'some' can only have wide scope in (12), but not in (13) where scopal ambiguity remains (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).

- |      |   |                           |
|------|---|---------------------------|
| (12) | Kapios fititis stihiothetise kathe arthro<br>Some student filed every article<br>'Some student filed every article'<br>*For every article, there is some student that filed it' | some>every<br>*every>some |
| (13) | Stihiothetise kapios fititis kathe arthro<br>filed some student every article<br>'Some student filed every article'<br>'For every article, there is some student that filed it' | some>every<br>every>some  |

Based on these pieces of evidence and others, Ordóñez & Trevino, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, and others conclude that the subject in Spanish is in the left periphery using Rizzi's (1997) terminology, and thus the subject position is an A'-position. This type of argument is the reason that many believe that a preverbal subject is in an A'-position in the CP domain.

Although there are many arguments in favor of an A' subject position, they are not universally accepted (Costa 2004, Holmberg 2005, Roberts 2004). Rizzi (1982) first proposed a traditional analysis in which he argues that subjects in Italian are in an A-

position, and often spec,IP is considered an A-position. More recently, Goodall (2001) for Spanish and Costa (2004) for European Portuguese have defended this claim, arguing against the evidence presented above. One piece of evidence for the A-position analysis comes from "neutral" word order. Adragão & Costa (2004:1) claim that in EP the neutral word order is SV(O) (see Cardinaletti 1997 for similar facts in Italian). Out-of-the-blue and all-focus questions demonstrate this, where the entire answer is new information. SV(O) word order is obligatory in such situations. Any word order but SV(O) is infelicitous:

(14) O que é que aconteceu?  
 'What happened?'

(15) O Pedro        partiu        o braço  
 DET Pedro     broke.3S     DET arm  
 'Pedro broke his arm'

(16) #Partiu        o Pedro        o braço  
 Broke.3S        DET Pedro     DET arm  
 'Broke Pedro his arm'

(17) #O braço,        o Pedro        partiu-o  
 DET arm        DET Pedro     broke.3S-CL  
 'His arm, Pedro broke it'

The infelicity of (16) and (17) suggests that these are not neutral word orders and that some constituent is inappropriately marked as new or old information here. SVO order in (15), in contrast, is acceptable because no constituent has been singled out with special discourse status. If this is correct, then the preverbal subject position cannot be a discourse-oriented A'-position. Instead, it is an ordinary A-position which generally carries no discourse restrictions.

Following Rizzi (1997), Goodall (2001) argues that bare quantifiers are not able to be topics, as in (18). In this example, the fronted PP ‘to nobody’ is clearly in an A'-position and is ungrammatical.

- (18) \*A nadie, Juan lo ha visto  
 PREP nobody, Juan CL has.3s seen  
 ‘No one, Juan has seen’

However, bare quantifiers can be subjects. If the subject were left-dislocated, then sentence (19) would be ungrammatical. Since, the subject is in spec,IP, the sentence is grammatical.

- (19) Nadie ha visto a Juan  
 nobody has.3s seen PREP Juan  
 ‘No one has seen Juan’

Additionally, Casielles (1997) shows that bare nouns, such as *niños* ‘children’ in Spanish can appear postverbally as subject, but they cannot be preverbal subjects.

- (20) Jugaban **niños** en el parque  
 Play.IMP.3P children PREP DET park  
 ‘Children were playing in the park’

- (21) \*Niños jugaban en el parque  
 children play.IMP.3P PREP DET park

Bare nouns are also allowed in topic positions. In this example the bare noun *libros* ‘books’ is topicalized.

- (22) Yo a él **libros** no le dejo  
 1s PREP 3s book NEG CL-lend.1s  
 ‘as for me, books I don’t lend him’

Casielles concludes that it is unlikely that preverbal subjects and topics share the same syntactic position in Spanish because bare nouns can be topics, but cannot be preverbal subjects.

In summary, the issue of whether the preverbal position in NSLs like Spanish and EP is an A- or A'-position has not been decided. In the next section, I examine BP in this light. I argue that the facts are clearer for BP and the preverbal subject position is an A-position.

### 3.2.2 BP's Preverbal Subject<sup>8</sup>

The position of the subject in BP is fixed and only a preverbal position is allowed (Costa 1998, Kato 2000, Silva 2001, Silva 2004):

(23) a. SVO

O César	consertou	o carro
DET César	fixed	DET car
'César fixed the car'		

b. \*VSO

*Consertou	o César	o carro
fixed	DET César	DET car
'César fixed the car'		

---

<sup>8</sup> I will not discuss postverbal subjects in the work. Briefly, BP subjects can be to the right of the verb; however, VS order is restricted, for the most part, to unaccusative verbs (Silva 2001, Silva 2004). Since these are objects of the verb, it is assumed that they are allowed to stay in-situ.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| i) A água congelou<br>det water froze.3sg<br>'The water froze.' | ii) Congelou a água.<br>det water froze.3sg<br>'The water froze' |
|---|--|

BP does not allow postverbal subjects with transitive or unergative verbs (Silva 2001:84).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| iii) *Leu a revista a Bia<br>Read the magazine the Bia | iv) *Leu a Bia a revista<br>Read the Bia the magazine   |
| v) *Brinca a criança em casa<br>Plays a child in house | vi) *Brinca em casa a criança<br>Plays in house a child |

c. \*VOS

\*Consertou o carro o César  
fixed DET car DET César  
'César fixed the car'

In what follows I claim that for BP the subject position is unambiguously an A-position, spec,IP, in agreement with Silva (2004), Barbosa (2004), Martins & Nunes (2006), Pires (2007), and others. The arguments come from non-complementarity between preverbal subjects and temporal adverbs, doubled subjects, and preverbal quantifiers.

### 3.2.2.1 Temporal Adverbs

Recall that Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) claim that complementarity between preverbal subjects and temporal adverbs in Spanish points toward the preverbal subject and adverb both occupying an A'-position in the left periphery. This same complementarity does not exist in BP as example (24)b shows. This sentence is similar to the Spanish example (5), repeated as (24)a from above, that dealt with temporal adverbs like *temprano*, 'early'. In Spanish, the temporal adverb and the subject can not both be to the left of the verb. BP does allow both a temporal adverb and the subject to appear left of the verb, as in (24)b (Pires 2007).

- (24) a. \*Temprano Julia salía de casa Spanish  
early Julia leave PREP house  
'Early, Julia left from home'
- b. Hoje cedo a Júlia saiu de carro BP  
Today early DET Julia left.3SG PREP car  
'Early today, Julia left by car'

This suggests that the temporal adverb and the subject do not compete for the same structural position, which is compatible with the subject being in an A position.

### 3.2.2.2 Weak Pronouns

Weak Pronouns also point to an A position for the subject. Phonologically reduced pronouns are referred to as weak pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). Weak pronouns are subject to syntactic restrictions whereas full pronouns are not, and this is the case for BP. An example of a phonologically reduced pronoun is *cê*, which cannot occur in isolation, (25).

- (25) A. Quem fez o trabalho?  
Who did.3S DET work  
'Who did the work'
- B. \*Cê / Você  
2s  
'You'

This pronoun cannot occur in the left periphery as (26) and (28) show. The full form *você* can occur in any position, seen in (27). This phonologically reduced pronoun can occur in the subject position as a doubled subject, example (27) (Kato 1999:28 for reference to phonologically-reduced pronouns in spec TP, Pires (2007:132) for the examples below).

- (26) \*Cê / Você, eu vi  
2s 1s saw.1s  
'you, I saw'

- (27) Você, o seu pai cê pode convidar  
2s, DET your father 2s AUX invite.INF  
'As for you, your father, you can invite'

- (28) \*Cê, o seu pai cê pode convidar  
2s, DET your father 2s AUX invite.INF

The phonologically reduced pronouns do not have to occur in conjunction with some full pronoun or NP in the left periphery, as example (29) shows. Here the pronoun is the subject and appears alone.

(29) *cê*      *pode*            *convidar*      *ele*  
 2s      CAN.2S      invite.INF      3s  
 'You can invite him'

This evidence suggests that a phonologically reduced subject pronoun is in an A position. While this does not guarantee that full pronouns and other NPs are also in an A position, it confirms that an A-subject position exists and this position is filled at least regularly by phonologically-reduced pronouns.

### 3.2.2.3 Quantifiers

Much like the phonologically-reduced pronouns, bare quantifiers cannot be left-dislocated in BP. In fact, it is well known that non-referential expressions like quantifiers and n-words cannot be left-dislocated in many languages. Take the examples from French. French allows doubled subjects much like Portuguese. The examples here show that the doubled subjects *quelqu'un* and *personne* cannot be in the left periphery, (30) and (32), but they can be in the subject position, (31) and (33).

(30) \**Quelqu'un*    *il*      *vient.*  
 someone      he      comes

(31) *Quelqu'un*      *vient.*  
 someone      comes  
 'Someone is coming.'

(32) \**Personne*      *il*      *n'a*            *rien*            *dit.*  
 no-one      he      not-has      nothing      said

(33) *Personne n'a rien dit.*  
 no-one not-has nothing said  
 'No one said anything.'

The same can be said of quantifiers in BP (Pires 2007:126). They are grammatical in subject position, (34) and (36), but not fronted (35) and (37):<sup>9</sup>

(34) *Alguém pintou esse quadro*  
 Someone painted.3s that painting  
 'Someone painted that painting'

(35) ??*Alguém, o João não ajudou*  
 Someone, DET John NEG helped.3s  
 'Someone, John didn't help.'

(36) *Ninguém viu o João.*  
 Nobody saw. 3s DET John  
 'Nobody saw John'

(37) \**Ninguém, o João (não) viu.*  
 Nobody, DET John (NEG) saw.3s  
 'Nobody, John saw'

These examples verify that while an A'-position in the left periphery is not open for quantifiers, the subject position is. This data argues that BP subjects are not in an A'-position, but in an A-position.

Related to quantified expressions is Anagnostopoulou & Alexiadou (1998)'s claim that, in Greek, preverbal subject QPs have unambiguous scope, and postverbal QPs have ambiguous scope. This was presented in examples (12) for a preverbal subject, repeated in (38), and (13) for a postverbal subject. Different from Greek, BP maintains a scopal ambiguity when the subject is preverbal, which supports the claim that the

<sup>9</sup> Belletti claims that Italian indefinite quantifiers need to receive emphatic stress to be grammatical in subject position; however, this has been shown to not be the case for BP (Costa and Galves 2002).

subject is in an A-position because it is believed that an A-position allows for scopal ambiguity.

- (38) Kapios fititis stihiothetise kathe arthro  
 Some student filed every article  
 'Some student filed every article' some>every  
 '\*For every article, there is some student that filed it' \*every>some
- (39) Alguns estudantes leram todos os artigos  
 Some students read.3P all DET articles  
 'Some students read all the articles' some>all  
 'For all the articles, there is some student that read them' all>some

This section has demonstrated that the preverbal subject in BP is an A-position. The evidence for this included the possibility of weak pronouns and quantifiers, neither of which can appear in A'-positions.

### 3.3 Verbs and Verb Movement

This section addresses more precisely the position of the verb in BP. A discussion about verb movement in BP must include a discussion about the internal structure of IP which is subject to debate. This section discusses that debate and locates BP within that context. For Romance languages, the debate is over Pollock (1989)'s split IP. Specifically, Pollock claims that IP is broken up into different functional heads such as AgrP and TP, where AgrP is higher in the derivation than TP. With regards to the ideas for BP, researchers argue two proposals:

- i) BP's IP is **not** split into T(ense)P and Agr(eement)P, there is a single TP projection, the verb moves to T°, and the subject moves to spec,TP (Kato 1999, Rodrigues 2004);

- ii) IP **is** split into TP and AgrP, with AgrP above TP, and the verb moves to T° and the subject moves to spec,AgrP (Costa & Galves 2002, Silva 2004).

I follow (ii) and conclude that the subject in BP is in spec,AgrP. To do this, I explain the debate and its consequences for understanding BP. Section two of this discussion looks at the evidence for a Split IP. First, I discuss floating quantifiers as a diagnostic for a split IP. Then I discuss some adverbs and their relationship to the verb's movement.

### 3.3.1 IP

Pollock (1989)'s argument for split IP was based on word order differences between English and French. Pollock argues that the English negative marker *not* and the French marker *pas* indicate that the verbs for each language are in a different positions in finite sentences. In French, the verb moves above the negative marker, whereas in English the verb does not move. Instead, English uses an auxiliary verb *do* to occupy the position occupied by *aime* in French.

(40) Jean n'aime **pas** Marie  
John NEG-loves **NEG** Mary  
'John doesn't love Mary'

(41) \*John likes **not** Mary

(42) John does **not** like Mary

(43) \*Jean ne **pas** aime Marie  
John NEG **NEG** loves Mary  
'John doesn't love Mary'

Pollock explains using adverbs that the verbs in each language are in different structural positions (examples from Belletti 2004). Examples (44), (45), and (46) show

that some adverbs and the negative marker are to the right of finite verbs and to the left of non-finite verbs. Example (47) confirms that the adverb can be to right of the non-finite verb, but the negative marker cannot, as in (48). Pollock claims French verbs can occupy at least two positions in IP: a higher position for finite verbs; and a lower position for non-finite verbs.

- |      |               |                       |                         |  |
|------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|
| (44) | Jean<br>John  | recontre<br>meets     | <b>souvent</b><br>often | Marie<br>Mary                            |
| (45) | Jean<br>John  | essaye de<br>tries    | <b>souvent</b><br>often | recontrer<br>to meet<br>Marie<br>Mary    |
| (46) | Jean<br>John  | essaye de<br>tries    | ne <b>pas</b><br>not    | recontrer<br>to meet<br>Marie<br>Mary    |
| (47) | Jean<br>John  | essaye de<br>tries    | recontrer<br>to meet    | <b>souvent</b><br>often<br>Marie<br>Mary |
| (48) | *Jean<br>John | essaye de ne<br>tries | recontrer<br>to meet    | <b>pas</b> Marie<br>not Mary.            |

The contrasts with English are clear. The English examples show that English verbs do not move to either of the positions suggested for French. Notice that in cases (50), (52), and (54) the adverb or the negative marker must precede the verb.

- (49) John often meets Mary
- (50) \*John meets **often** Mary
- (51) John tries to **often** meet Mary
- (52) \*John tries to meet **often** Mary
- (53) John tries not to meet Mary
- (54) \*John tries to meet not Mary.

Based on these and other pieces of data, Pollock concludes:

- (55) English: lexical verbs do not move to either inflectional position, these positions are filled by modal and auxiliary verbs
- (56) French: lexical verbs must move to the higher inflectional position in finite clauses, and nonfinite verbs optionally move to the lower inflectional position only.

Thus, in French finite clauses it is claimed that the verb undergoes long movement to the highest projection in IP, and in non-finite clauses, the verb moves to a lower projection or doesn't move at all. For example, contrasting example (40) with (57), in the first case the verb moves past the negative marker, and in the second the verb does not move past the negative marker. However, again contrasting (47) and (57), the first allows the non-finite verb appear to the left of the adverb, but not the negative marker. This movement above the adverb but below the negative marker could be considered short-movement.

- (57) Ne pas sembler heureux est une condition pour écrire des romans.  
 NEG NEG seem.INF happy is DET condition PREP write.INF DET novels'  
 Not to seem happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.'

Generally for Romance, the two main projections posited as making up IP are TenseP and Agr(eement)P. This is based on the make-up of Romance verbs because they, in most cases, overtly exhibit these two functional morphemes. The Italian example and the Spanish show the morphemic breakdown of the verb, separating tense and person/number agreement.

- (58) Canta-va-no Italian  
 Root-Tense-Person  
 Sing-IMP-3P  
 'They were singing'

(59) Llegaba-n  
Root-Tense-Person  
Arrive-IMP-3P  
'They were arriving'

Spanish

While there is evidence for split IP in French, some authors do not believe that the split necessarily exists in all languages (Iatridou 1990, Thráinsson 1996, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998). Iatridou suggests that while some languages may have TP and AgrP, there needs to be evidence in each language for such a split (Iatridou 1990:553). Thráinsson agrees by positing *The Real Minimalist Principle*: Assume only those functional categories that you have evidence for (1996:261). Because of objections raised by these linguists and others that have come about since Pollock's paper, linguists debate about the make up of IP for BP.

### 3.3.2 Non-Split IP

One of the goals of Chomsky (1995) is to eliminate AgrP as a functional clausal head as it has no interpretation, and only things that receive interpretation can be clausal heads. Following Chomsky (1995), Kato (2000) argues that AgrP is not part of BP and the subject is realized in spec,TP. Her argument is based on the changes in verbal morphology that have been observed in the last one hundred years. Duarte (1995), among many others, shows that BP verbal morphology has weakened to the point where it is changing BP from a null subject language to a non-null subject language. Since this change, a more rigid order of SVO is observed, as seen in section two. The next chart, table 3-1 shows the weakening of agreement morphology in BP over time where paradigm one indicates the colonial period (1500-1820s), paradigm two is the post-colonial period (1820s-1900s), and finally paradigm three represents the

present day (Duarte 2000:19). BP goes from having six agreement conjugations to three. Notice that ----- means the form is no longer in use.

Table 3-1 Loss of Verbal Morphology in BP

Person/Number	Pronouns	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2	Paradigm 3
1 <sup>st</sup> singular	Eu	am <b>o</b>	am <b>o</b>	am <b>o</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> singular	Tu	ama <b>s</b>	-----	-----
	Você	ama	ama	ama
3 <sup>rd</sup> singular	Ela/ele	ama	ama	ama
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	Nós	ama <b>mos</b>	ama <b>mos</b>	-----
	A gente		ama	ama
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	Vós	ama <b>is</b>	-----	-----
	Vocês	ama <b>m</b>	ama <b>m</b>	ama <b>m</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	Eles/Elas	ama <b>m</b>	ama <b>m</b>	ama <b>m</b>

Since the weakening began, weak pronouns have begun to develop (Galves 1998, Kato 1999). According to Kato, both of these factors lead to the reinterpretation of Agr as a lexical item having lost syntactic independence, i.e. it is no longer an independent projection like TP (Kato 2000). Thus, IP is not split along the AgrP – TP distinction.

Additionally, as some have noted Agr is relational, not functional, and therefore does not head its own projection. Chomsky (1995: 240, 349–55) and others argue that Agr is fundamentally different from such functional categories as Tense and Negation. He argues that, unlike T, C, and D, which have [+interpretable] features, Agr has no semantic properties but consists of [–interpretable] formal features only. Moreover, “Agr exists only when it has strong features. Agr is nothing more than an indication of a position that must be occupied at once by overt operations” (Chomsky 1995: 351).

### 3.3.3 AgrP in BP

While some argue in favor of an unsplit IP, based on empirical evidence, I assume that despite significant change in the verbal morphology, the change did not cause AgrP to be eliminated from the grammar. Here I follow Galves (1998) and Costa & Galves (2002) who propose that there is still a projection between CP and TP necessary to account for cross-linguistic differences. In fact, BP needs a projection like AgrP to understand certain facts about the position of the verb, the subject, floating quantifiers, and adverbs. The BP facts parallel the facts in French non-finite clauses, which showed short verb movement (Costa and Galves 2002). This contrasts with languages such as French finite clauses, which have long verb movement, or English, which has no overt verb movement.

A diagnostic tool used to determine the structure of IP is the presence of floating quantifiers (FQ) such as BP *todo* 'all' (see Vicente 2006 for a complete discussion of FQs in BP). I follow Vicente (2006) and Muller et al. (2007) who convincingly argue for FQ as a diagnostic tool to understand BP structure. Sportiche (1988) proposes that FQs initially form a constituent with the DP they modify. When the DP moves, the FQ can be "stranded" in positions that the DP moves through. The stranding results when a subconstituent of the DP moves further. FQs thus mark positions through which a DP has moved.

Sportiche's analysis is based on a series of conclusions from the 80's (Bobaljik 2003:6):

(60) Floating Quantifiers:

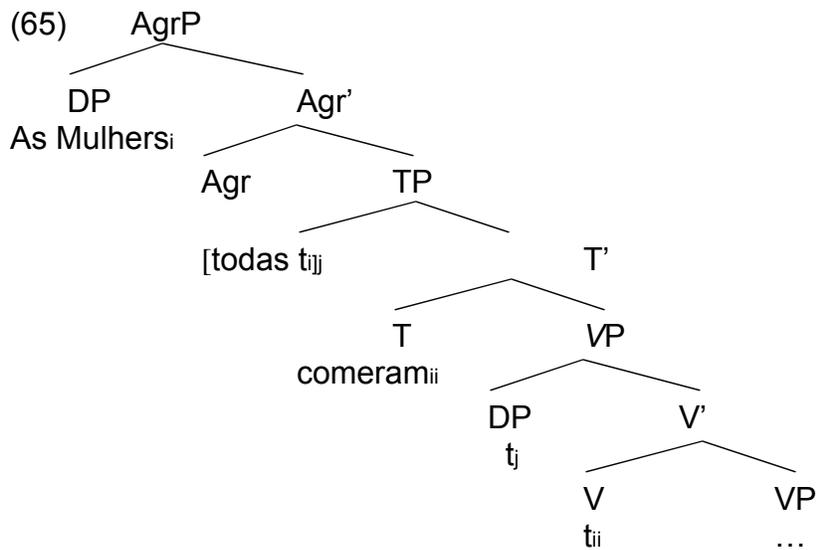
- (i) FQs appeared to modify DPs in the same way as DP-initial Qs;
- (ii) FQs in some languages display determiner-like agreement with the DP they modify;
- (iii) FQs surface in the left periphery of (certain) maximal projections, especially VP;
- (iv) the relationship between an FQ and the DP it modifies obeys an anaphor-like locality condition.

Assuming the Predicate-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche 1991), then a quantifier should be allowed to be stranded in positions below the surface position of the subject. This is what we see in the BP examples below from Brito (2001:78). The lowest position in which the FQ can appear is to the right of the main verb, in (63). The FQ is stranded in the subject's base position, spec,vP. Both the subject and verb start inside vP but move out above spec,vP, as I explain below. (64) is ungrammatical with *todas* to the right of the object.

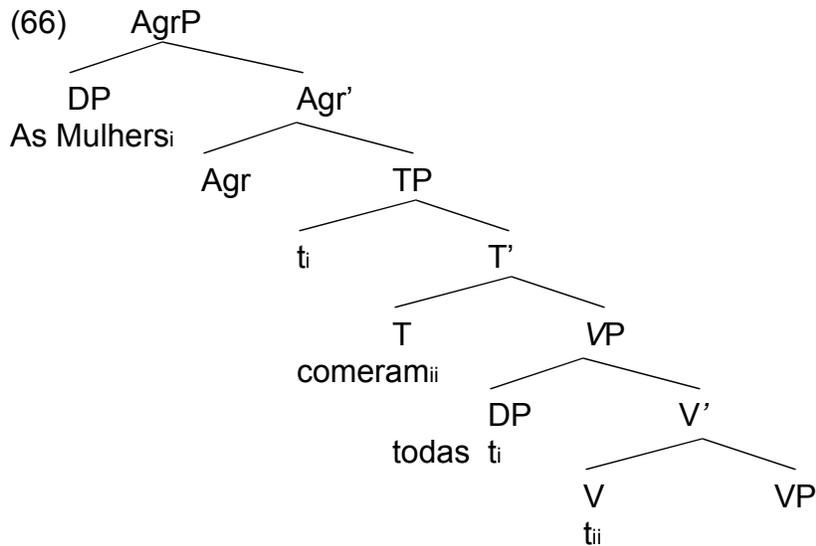
(61) **Todas** as mulhers comeram a lagosta  
All DET women eat.PST.3P DET lobster  
'All of the women ate the lobster with their hands'

- (62) As mulhers **todas** comeram a lagosta
- (63) As mulhers comeram **todas** a lagosta
- (64) \*As mulhers comeram a lagosta **todas**

The crucial example in support of a split IP is (62), where the verb and the subject are separated by the FQ. As Costa & Galves (2002) suggest, if IP is split into at least AgrP and TP, then the grammaticality of (62) is predicted. I argue that the verb moves to T and the subject moves to the spec,TP. After that, the subject moves up to spec,AgrP, and the FQ is stranded in spec,TP, with the verb remaining in T, hence the separation of the verb from the subject.



This example contrasts with (63), where the FQ is to the right of the verb. This example and the tree in (66) show that if the subject is generated in *vP*, then for the FQ to be to the right of the verb, the verb must move outside of *vP*. In this case, I have argued that it does move, and it moves to T.



These facts about FQs support a split IP in BP. If the floating quantifier is between the subject and the verb and both are outside *vP*, then there must be a position between the subject and the verb where a DP can land. I claim that this position is *spec,TP* in a split IP scenario.

One could argue that the FQ is merely in *spec,vP*, the original position of the subject, and the subject is in the specifier of a non-split IP; however, this analysis runs into problems with (63). (63) provides evidence that the verb moves to a position higher than the FQ, which is no lower than *spec,vP*, meaning that the verb moves out of *vP*. For there to be a specifier position for the FQ and a head position for the verb above *vP* but below the surface position of the subject requires another projection, as provided in a split IP scenario.

Adverbs further support the claim that the verb moves to T, necessitating a split IP. Galves (1994) and Costa & Galves (2002) show that there are at least two adverb positions in a simple BP clause, preverbal and postverbal:

- (67) a. O João beija **frequentemente** a Maria.  
 DET João kiss.3S frequently DET Maria  
 'João kisses often Maria'
- b. O João **frequentemente** beija a Maria.  
 DET João frequently kiss.3S DET Maria  
 'João often kisses Maria'

This pattern is different from what was observed for French and English in section 3.3.1. Recall that the English adverb must be to the left of the verb and the French adverb to the right.

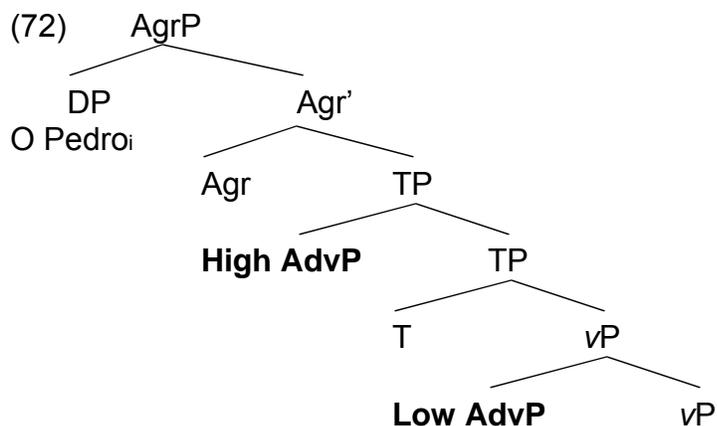
- (68) Jean rencontre **souvent** Marie  
 John meets often Mary  
 'John often meets Mary'

(69) \*Jean **souvent** rencontre Marie  
 John often meets Mary  
 'John often meets Mary'

(70) John often meets Mary

(71) \*John meets often Mary

Costa (2004) argued that this difference between Portuguese and French and English is due to short verb movement in Portuguese. Verb movement according to Costa is short in this case because IP is split into more than one functional projection. Portuguese verbs move to the lower head position in a split IP, hence short verb movement. His analysis claims that the subject is in spec,AgrP, and the verb moves only to T, which is below AgrP. The difference between sentences (a) and (b) in (67) is that the adverb adjoins in two different places. In the case of sentence (a) the adverb is in a low position, and for (b) the adverb is in a high position. The structure below represents the syntactic positions referred to as 'high' and 'low'.

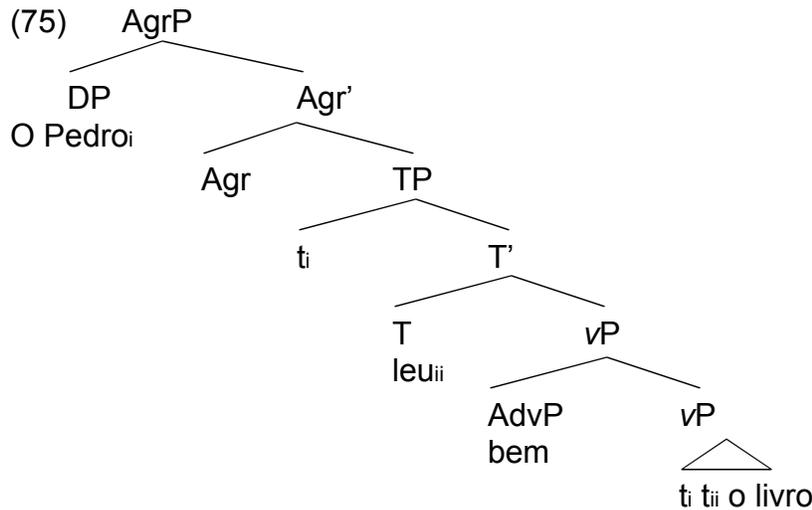


Costa & Galves (2002) use high and low adverbs to show that the verb is in T. In Portuguese a low adverb is an adverb that surfaces only postverbally. Some examples

of these are *bem* 'well' and *atentamente* 'carefully'. As they can only appear postverbally, Costa & Galves claim that the verb must move above these low adverbs, which is the case in (73). Notice that (74)<sup>10</sup> is ungrammatical with the verb to the right of the low adverb. Thus, the verb must move past these low adverbs in sentences like (73). Sentence (73) is represented in (75) where the low adverb adjoins to vP.

(73) O Pedro        leu                **bem/atentamente**    o livro  
 DET Peter        read.3S            well/carefully        DET book  
 'Peter read well/carefully the book'

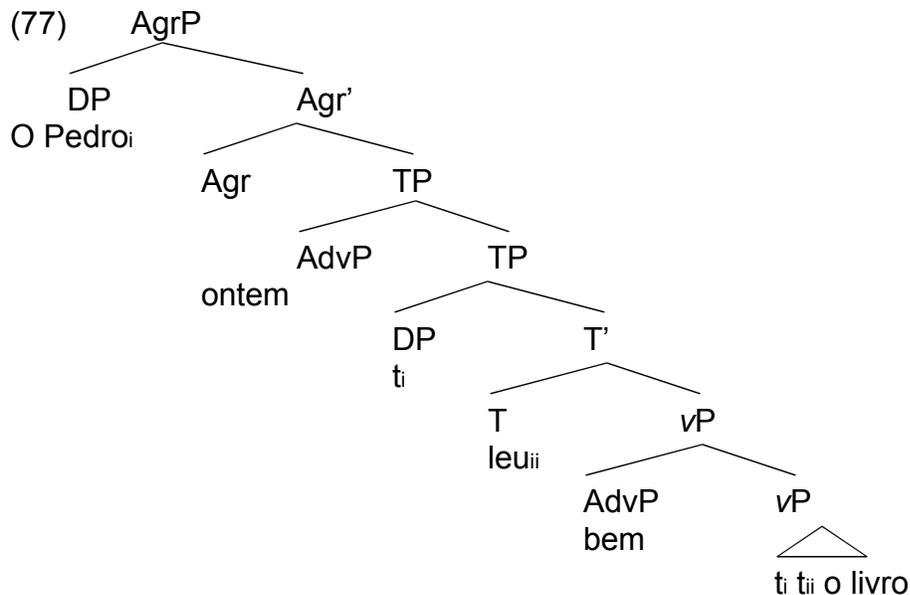
(74) \*O Pedro **bem/atentamente** leu o livro



Next, Costa & Galves show that the verb can appear between two adverbs. The case of (76) has the low adverb *bem* 'well' and what they call a high adverb, *ontem* 'yesterday'. Different from the low adverb, the high adverb adjoins to TP seen in (77), causing the verb to be to its right.

<sup>10</sup> In the case of example (74), the sentence would be grammatical if there was a pause. Costa & Galves are assuming no pause.

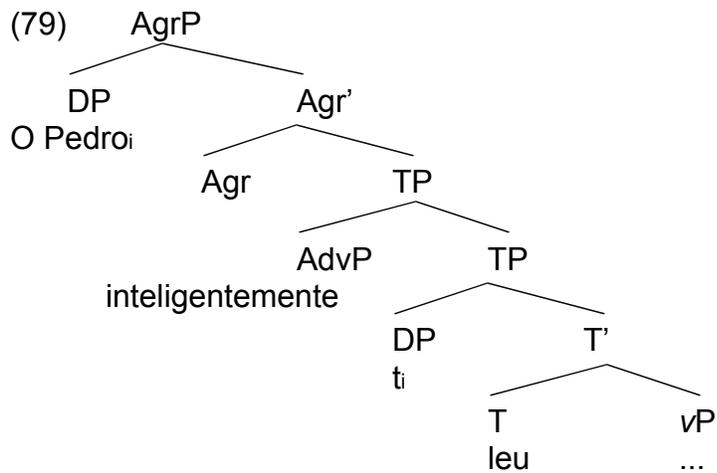
(76) Os meninos **ontem** leram **bem** o livro  
 DET children yesterday read.PST.3P well DET book  
 'Yesterday the children read well the book'



Finally, Costa & Galves show that certain adverbs can adjoin either high or low and, depending on their position of adjunction, they can yield a subject-oriented reading or a manner reading (Jackendoff 1972). A subject-oriented meaning refers to the subject having the quality that the adverbs suggest. A manner-oriented meaning is one where the adverb is more closely linked to the meaning of the action that the verb conveys. A subject oriented reading corresponds to a high adverb and TP adjunction.

The adverb *inteligentemente* in (78) adjoins to TP.

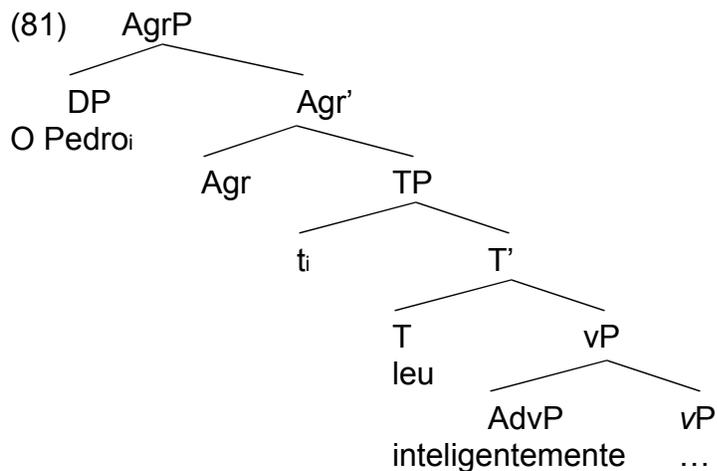
(78) O Pedro **inteligentemente** leu o livro (Subject-oriented/\*manner)  
 DET Peter intelligently read.3SG DET book  
 'It is clever of Pedro to read the book'



A manner-oriented reading results from a low adverb that is adjoined to vP.

Sentence (80) has the same adverb *inteligentemente* but in this case it adjoins to vP.

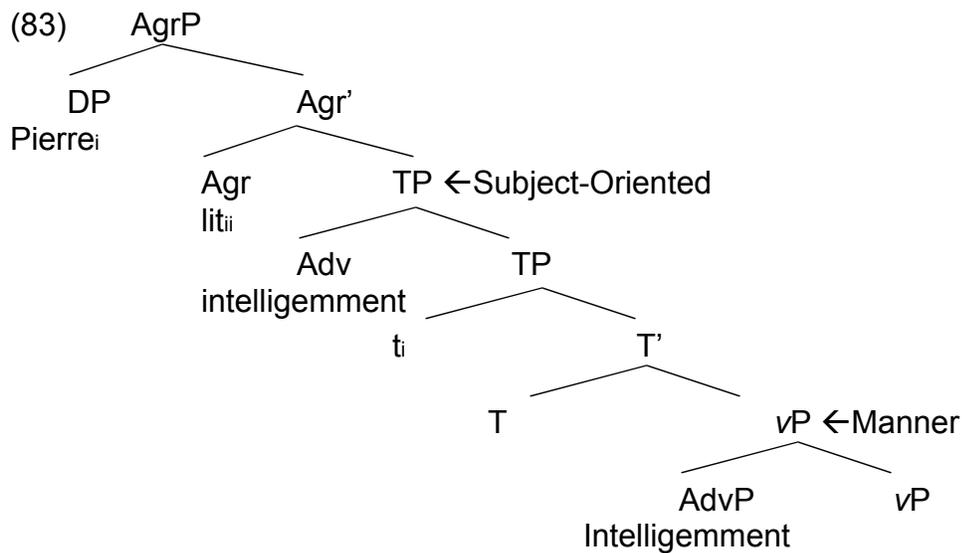
(80) O Pedro leu **inteligentemente** o livro (\*Subject-oriented/Manner)  
 DET Peter read.3SG intelligently DET book  
 'Pedro reads the book in a clever manner'



Given these data, Costa & Galves (2002) claim that the verb must move outside the vP in BP. Not only must it move outside the vP, but it must move to a position that is not high in the IP domain. To show that the movement must be to a landing site low in the

IP domain, they contrast the Portuguese data with French. In French, the verb always precedes the adverb regardless of the adverb's interpretation, as in (82). This is possible because in French the verb must move all the way to Agr. The ambiguity between the readings can arise because the verb is obligatorily in a higher projection above both the TP-adjoined and vP-adjoined positions.

(82) Pierre lit intelligemment le livre (Subject-oriented/Manner)  
 Peter read.3s intelligently DET book  
 'Peter intelligently reads the book.'



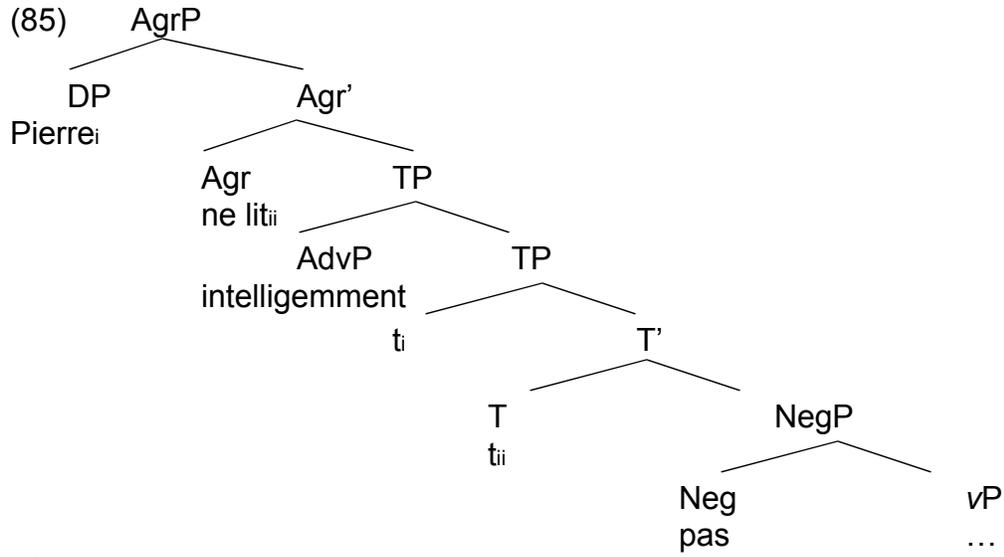
If one assumes that the adjunction positions of the adverb is the same for French as it is in Portuguese, i.e. TP for subject-oriented and vP for manner, then the cross-linguistic differences follow from differences in verb movement in French versus BP.

The picture is further supported by the interaction of adverbs like 'intelligently' with negation, which is below TP and above vP. Here the negative marker *pas* distinguishes the two adjunction sites. (84) has the adverb adjoined to TP and negation

follows the adverb. In (86) the adverb is adjoined to the vP and negation precedes the adverb.

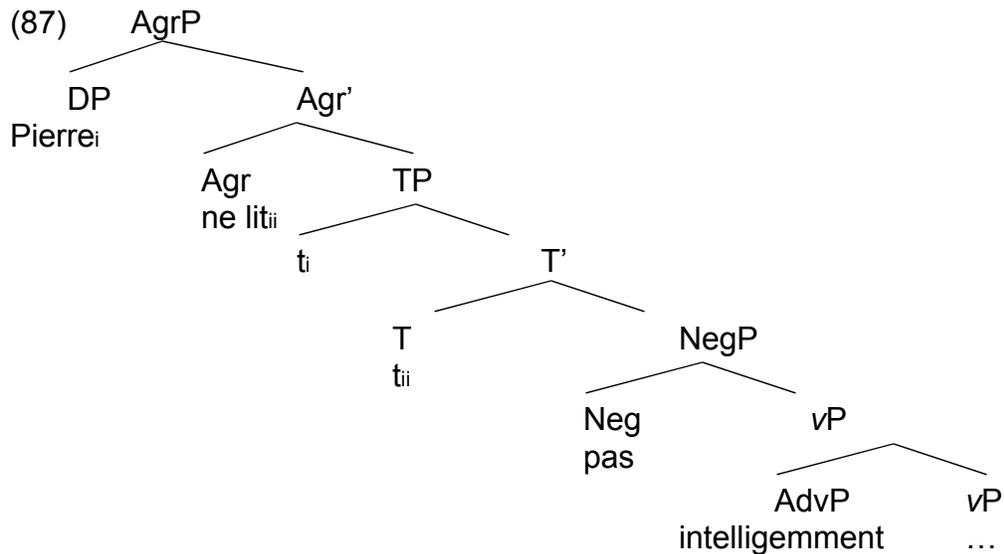
**Subject-oriented/\*manner**

(84) Pierre ne lit intelligemment **pas** le livre  
 Pierre NEG reads intelligently NEG DET book  
 'Pierre doesn't read intelligently the book'



**\*Subject-oriented/Manner**

(86) Pierre ne lit **pas** intelligemment le livre  
 Pierre NEG reads NEG intelligently DET book  
 'Pierre doesn't read intelligently the book'



Given these facts and those from the previous two sections, I have argued that IP is split in BP, following Pollock (1989), into at least AgrP and TP. The subject moves to the specifier of the higher projection, spec,AgrP, and the verb exhibits short movement to T, the head of the lower projection. Adverb placement data supported this picture.

### 3.4 Fronting in BP

Fronting in Portuguese differs from other languages in the Romance family and languages such as English. I show that BP uses base-generated topics. This can be contrasted with English, which uses movement topicalization, and Spanish, which uses Clitic-Left Dislocation (CLLD). Base-generated topics are merged into the derivation in the higher topic position discussed in chapter two.

Below is an English sentence where a DP is fronted and leaves behind a trace.. I call such a derivation topicalization.

(88) This book<sub>i</sub>, I like t<sub>i</sub>

CLLD occurs when a DP is fronted and subsequently a pronominal clitic marker appears. This is seen in Spanish (89), where *este libro* is fronted and a clitic *lo* appears. Notice that if the sentence does not have a clitic, it is ungrammatical, as in (90). This shows that Spanish does not allow topicalization as English does, where only a null trace is left behind.

(89)	Este libro, this book, 'This book I read it'	yo 1s	lo leí CL read.1s	Spanish
------	--	----------	----------------------	---------

(90)	*Este libro, this book, 'This book, I read'	yo 1s	leí read.1s
------	---	----------	----------------

It has been claimed that fronting in BP involves left dislocation. Different from Spanish, a clitic does not appear but a resumptive pronoun does, (91).

(91) Este livro, eu li ele BP  
this book, 1s read.1s 3s  
'This book I read it'

However, in BP the resumptive pronoun is not necessary, seen in example (92), and it is here that Portuguese differs from other Romance languages. Cases like (92) suggest that BP has topicalization much like English.

(92) Este livro, eu li  
this book 1s read.1s  
'This book, I read'

BP topicalization not only occurs with DPs but also with VPs, which is another area that differentiates Portuguese from the many other Romance languages. When a V/VP is topicalized, it is in the infinitive form as in (93). The topicalized VP can also contain complements of the verb.

(93) Dormir ele dorme  
sleep.INF, 3s sleep.3s  
'As for sleeping, he sleeps'

(94) Cantar fado ele canta  
sing.INF fado 3s sings.3s  
'As for singing fado, he sings'

I only treat fronting of DPs and dispense with discussing VP fronting<sup>11</sup> because both cases are allowed with CFN sentences.

---

<sup>11</sup> For a complete analysis of VP fronting in BP, see Bastos (2001, 2009).

Two analyses for BP fronting are: movement or base-generation. Both English Topicalization and CLLD make use of a movement solution. I briefly discuss the movement analyses, and from there I present the base-generated analysis. The facts about base-generated topics become useful in understanding my analysis of clause-final negation presented in chapter six.

Kato (2003) and Kato & Raposo (2007) (K&R) argue for a traditional movement analysis for fronting constructions in BP. K&R propose that DP fronting in BP is really CLLD, much like Spanish, but in this case the clitic is null. They claim this in order to fill out the apparently defective clitic paradigm. Third person clitics exist but are null. Their analysis originates with Uriagereka's (1995) work on Spanish Clitic Doubling. He proposes that the clitic and the associated NP start in a spec-head relation in DP. From there, the NP moves to a position higher in the derivation, and the clitic is stranded somewhere along the way. The derivation for a Spanish sentence like (95), is given in (96).

(95) A        Juan, le        doy                un libro  
           PREP    John   CL.3S   give.1S        DET book  
           'I give the book to John'

(96) a. doy un libro [Juan le]  
       b. [Juan le]<sub>i</sub> doy un libro t<sub>i</sub>  
       c. Juan<sub>j</sub> [t<sub>j</sub> le]<sub>i</sub> doy un libro t<sub>i</sub> {merge of a}  
       d. a Juan<sub>j</sub> [t<sub>j</sub> le]<sub>i</sub> doy un libro t<sub>i</sub>

K & R claim that BP is different from Spanish in that the DP moves to the left but the clitic stays in-situ. It is stranded in the DP's base position, not in a preverbal position.

(97) O João,        eu        vi        \_\_\_\_\_        ontem  
       DET John        1S        saw        CL        yesterday  
       'John, I saw (him) yesterday'

- (98) a. eu vi [João Ø] ontem  
 b. [João]<sub>i</sub> eu vi [DP t<sub>i</sub> Ø]

Kato & Raposo (2007) proposes that such dislocation that leaves behind a resumptive pronominal clitic is not subject to island constraints (Ross 1967), thus the BP topic construction is insensitive to islands. (99) shows a topic that appears to have moved from inside a complex subject (Kato & Raposo 2007:208).

- (99) Esse bolo<sub>i</sub> o rapaz [que trouxe \_\_ agora mesmo da pastelaria] era teu afilhado  
 this cake, DET boy [COMP brought CL now EMPH PREP.DET bakery] was your godson  
 'this cake, the boy who brought (it) just now from the bakery was your godson.'

Although K & R claim that the resumptive clitic rescues the structure from an island violation, Cinque (1990) points out that pronominal clitics do not save sentences from island effects. Furthermore, it is not clear what would be meant by a null clitic. Traditionally, clitics are phonologically dependent, and it is difficult to understand how a null clitic could exist because it has no phonology. Also, it is never quite clear why in the case of Spanish the clitic moves with the NP, but in Portuguese the clitic stays in-situ.

For these reasons, I move away from a movement analysis of BP fronting and propose that BP fronting is an instance of a base-generated topic in spec,TopP, with a resumptive pronoun, sometimes null, generated in the argument position. One reason to think that a movement analysis is incorrect for BP comes from the same example that K & R used in (99). The DP moves out of an island but does not violate Ross's island constraints. This fact follows if fronted DPs are base-generated. Additional evidence for this analysis comes from the absence of third person clitic pronouns for both the accusative or dative case noted by K&R. Recall from section 3.2, that BP has

developed weak pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) (Galves 1998). The examples for second person *você, cé*, were given above. In the case of third person, both plural and singular, weak pronouns exist but have no phonological realization (Galves 1989, Schwenter & Silva 2002, Kato 2003). Evidence for the null third person object pronouns comes not only from topic structures, but many other types of sentences. For example, the following sentences are an exchange between two people. Notice that in (101) there is no overt object nor is there a topicalized DP. In this case, a null pronoun is in the object position. Although, John is the topic of the exchange, there is no DP in sentence in the topic position, and the sentence is still grammatical because of the null pronoun (Galves 1989).

(100) João vem?  
 John comes  
 'Is John coming'

(101) Ninguém convidou *pro*.  
 n-body invited pro  
 "Nobody invited him"

The behavior of *wh*-movement in BP also supports a base-generation analysis of fronting. In BP, *wh*-movement is not allowed out of island, different from what has been just seen for BP topics. Compare (102) and (103). In the first case, a null pronoun is generated in the argument position and the topic is generated in the left periphery. Because there is no movement, there is no island violation. The second case has *wh*-movement, leaving a trace, which results in an island violation.

(102) Estes CDs, vocês encontraram uma loja que vende *pro*  
 These CDs, 2P find.pst.2P DET store that sell.3s pro  
 'These CDs, y'all found a store that sells them'

(103)\*Que CD<sub>1</sub>      vocês encontraram uma loja      que vende *t*<sub>1</sub>?  
 Which CD      2P      find.pst.2P      DET store      that sell.3S  
 “Which CD have you found a shop that sells it?”

The evidence given suggests that topics in BP are based-generated and a resumptive pronominal element, either null or not, is in the argument position.

### 3.5 Wh-Questions: Fronted and In-Situ

BP makes use of both fronted and in-situ wh-questions. In this section, I discuss the derivations for both types of questions. There have been several different opinions through the more recent years of generative grammar as to the nature of wh-questions in BP. Kato & Raposo (1996) claim that all fronted wh-questions are clefted expressions. Kato & Mito (2005), Pires & Taylor (2007), Zocca (2007) argue for understanding them as feature agreement (although the mechanics of each of these differ), and in this work, I follow the claims made by Pires & Taylor and Kato & Mito. I first give a brief outline of the different types of wh-questions in BP. After that, I explain the derivation for both movement and in-situ questions.

#### 3.5.1 Types and Conditions for Wh-Words: Movement and In-Situ

Not only does BP have fronted and in-situ wh-questions, the fronted questions come in four versions. The examples below illustrate both fronted and in-situ questions. The first set has fronted wh-words, (104) - (107), and the question is ‘what did you eat?’. The second set is a BP sentence with a wh-in-situ, (108), which is ‘you ate what?’. The first version is a fronted wh-question with no complementizer or copula. The second version has the complementizer *que* following the wh-phrase. The third version has the wh-word fronted with a clefted construction involving *é que* ‘is that’. The fourth version combines the second and third. Examples (106) and (107) both appear to be clefted

constructions, and I do not treat them here (see Kato & Mioto 2005a,b for an analysis of these constructions).

(104) O que            você    comeu?  
       DET what        2S     ate.2S

(105) O que            que    você    comeu?  
       DET what        COMP 2S     ate. 2S

(106) O que            é que            você    comeu?  
       DET what        is COMP        2S     ate. 2S

(107) O que            que    é que            você    comeu?  
       DET What        COMP is COMP        2S     ate. 2S

‘What did you eat?’

(108) Você    comeu            o que?  
       2s     ate. 2s            DET what  
       ‘You ate what?’

Some additional facts are important to note. First, the interrogative complementizer *que* is optional with fronted wh-words, (109) and (110), but impossible with wh-in-situ, (111) and (112) (Hornstein et al. 2005).

(109) Como    você    fez    isso?  
       how    2S     do.PST that  
       ‘How did you do that?’

(110) Você    fez            isso    como?  
       2s     do.PST            that    how  
       ‘How did you do that?’

(111) Como    que    você    fez            isso?  
       how    that    2s     do.PST        that  
       ‘How did you do that?’

(112)\* Que você fez isso como?  
 that 2S do.PST that how  
 'How did you do that?'

Second, it has been noted that whether the complementizer is null or overt, wh-movement within embedded interrogative clauses is obligatory (Zocca 2007). The examples below illustrate this with the interrogative verb *perguntar* 'to ask'. This verb forces wh-movement in its complement, which is why (114) is ungrammatical, as the wh-phrase stays in-situ.

(113) Eu perguntei como (que) você fez isso.  
 1S ask.PST.1S how (that) 2S did that  
 'I asked how you did that.'

(114)\* Eu perguntei você fez isso como.  
 1S ask.PST.1S 2S did that how  
 \*'I asked you did that how.'

Third, BP wh-movement is sensitive to islands while wh-in-situ is not. Thus, sentence (117) where the wh-phrase moved out of an island is ungrammatical. However, if the wh-word does not move, then it is licit even in island contexts. (118) has *que livro* 'which book' in a complex NP island and is still grammatical.

(115) Que livro você disse que ela comprou?  
 which book 2S said that 3SF bought  
 'Which book did you say that she bought?'

(116) Você disse que ela comprou que livro?  
 2S said that 3SF bought which book  
 'Which book did you say that she bought?'

(117)\* Que livro você conversou com o autor [que escreveu]?  
 which book 2S talked PREP DET author that wrote  
 'Which book did you converse with the author that wrote?'

(118) Você conversou com o autor [que escreveu que livro]?  
 2s talked PREP DET author that wrote which book  
 'Which book did you converse with the author that wrote?'

Finally, unlike other Romance languages, there is no subject-verb inversion in main or embedded clauses with wh-movement. This type of inversion is seen in European Portuguese; however, in BP the meaning changes completely, as seen in sentence (120).

(119) O que comeu a Lúcia? European Portuguese  
 What comeu. 3S DET Lúcia  
 'What did Lúcia eat?'

(120) O que comeu a Lúcia BP  
 what ate.3S DET Lúcia  
 'What ate Lúcia?'  
 \*'What did Lúcia eat?'

### 3.5.2 Deriving Wh-Questions in BP

In this section I outline an approach to wh-words, both fronted and in-situ. The main conclusions for both types of wh-questions are as follows.

For fronted wh-questions, I claim that:

- i) an element in Foc with a strong, uninterpretable wh-feature [uWH\*] triggers movement;
- ii) the wh-word with a [iWH] feature must move to a position where it satisfies the strong features of the element in Foc.

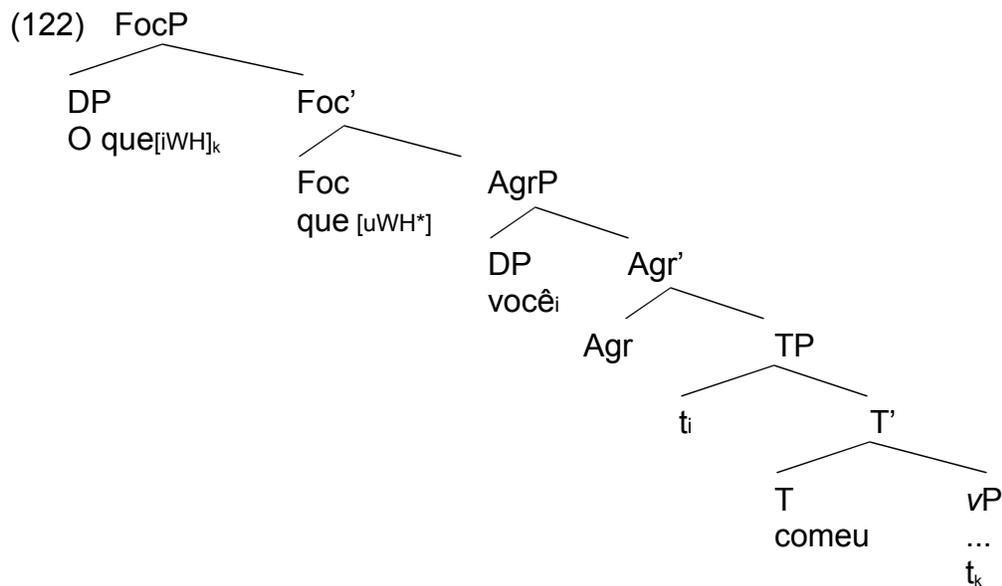
For Wh-in-situ in BP:

- i) Wh-in-situ in BP has a null Q element inserted into TopP;
- ii) the wh-word has an [iWH] feature;
- iii) Q unselectively binds with the wh-word;
- iv) the null Q in TopP has some discourse features indicating that the question is part of the Common Ground.

Point iv) for the in-situ question requires special attention. I discuss the notion of Common Ground (Stalnaker 1978), which is used by Pires & Taylor (2007) to understand the seeming optionality of wh-in-situ. I follow their proposal that the null Q carries a discourse feature that allows wh-in-situ, and if the null Q is present, then movement is not allowed.

First, to explain fronted wh-expressions in BP, I use feature checking and Agree outlined in chapter two. I begin here with an overt focus head *que*. Example (105), repeated here with a derivation in (122), contains this head, which has an [uWH\*] which triggers movement of the wh-word with an [iWH] feature to spec,Foc(us)P.

(121) O que [iWH]    que [uWH\*]    você    comeu?  
           DET what    COMP            2S     ate.2S  
           'What did you eat?'



This overt head must check its strong feature, and therefore, if there is no movement the derivation crashes:

(123)\*que você        comeu        o que?  
           COMP 2S        ate.2S        DET what  
           You ate what?

Like example 0, there are cases where there is no overt complementizer and yet the wh-phrase is fronted. In these cases, the overt Focus head is deleted after movement of the wh-phrase (Kato & Mito 2005); however, the same mechanisms motivate fronting, i.e. the [uWH\*] feature of the deleted head.

(124)O que                que    você    comeu?  
           DET what        comp 2S    ate.2s  
           'What did you eat?

In addition to the Focus head that forces movement, I claim that BP has a null head with [uWH] which is not strong (see Pires & Taylor 2007, Zocca 2007 for a similar account for BP). This is similar to what was proposed for French, Chinese and other wh-in-situ languages (Bošković 1999, Aoun & Li 2000). The null head does not require movement, evidenced by the fact that wh-in-situ interrogatives can evade island violations. What differentiates the null head that does not cause movement and the overt *que* which does is their discourse contributions. The null head associated with wh-in-situ, as mentioned, is related to Common Ground and discourse-old status.

Pires & Taylor (P & T) (2007) proposes that single wh-questions can have the wh-phrase in-situ, provided that semantic and pragmatic requirements are met. If these semantic and pragmatic requirements are not met, then, the wh-expression must be

fronted. P & T's analysis depends upon Stalnaker's (1978, 2002) Common Ground, which they define as "information that was previously given in the discourse or in the extralinguistic context ... and which is shared (or assumed by the speaker to be shared) by speaker and hearer" (P & T 2007:5). For BP, "wh-in-situ is possible if the information that is being requested is expected by the speaker to be part of the Common Ground" (2007:6). When talking about the Common Ground, Stalnaker states that "the presuppositions of a speaker are the propositions whose truth he takes for granted as part of the background of the conversation" (1978:149). This means that for in-situ questions in BP there is an answer to the question. Thus, in the example below, '*you know who in São Paulo*', is similar to 'you know someone in São Paulo' as there exists a person that you know in São Paulo. In both cases the answer is non-null, and the speaker presupposes the existence of a person that the addressee knows in São Paulo.

P & L give the following interaction as an example. The infelicity of this example stems from the fact the information being requested (i.e. knowing someone in São Paulo) is not part of the Common Ground, having not been overtly introduced into the discourse.

*[You approach a colleague at work and ask, out of the blue:]*

(125) #Você            conhece        quem em São Paulo?  
       2s                know.2s        who    PREP São Paulo  
       'You know who in São Paulo'

This same interaction can be made felicitous in two ways, by fronting the wh-word or by giving a discourse context shared by both the speaker and the hearer. Importantly, the same sentence with a fronted wh-word is grammatical and felicitous,

although my consultants all commented that this would mostly likely result in a question such as: Are you going to São Paulo?

[*You approach a colleague at work and ask, out of the blue:*]

(126) Quem você conhece em São Paulo?  
who 2s know.2s PREP São Paulo  
'You know who in São Paulo'

The following exchange shows how the discourse requirement affects the felicity of the sentence. In this instance, the Common Ground is contains information that allows the use of in-situ wh-words; namely, it is part of the Common Ground that 'you visited São Paulo', and the information requested by the speaker is presupposed to already exist and be implied in the discourse.

[*You approach a colleague at work and comment:*]

(127) A. Eu visitei São Paulo este fim de semana  
1s visited.1s São Paulo this end PREP week  
'I visited São Paulo this weekend'

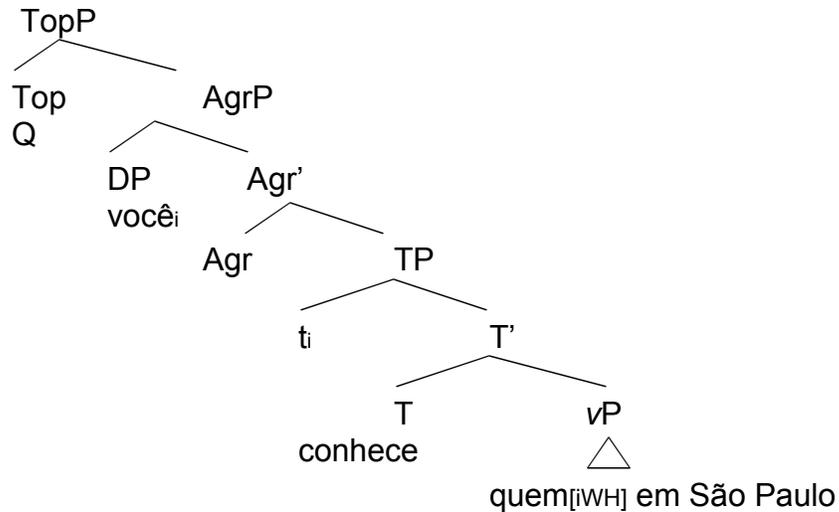
(128) B. Você conhece quem em São Paulo?  
2s know.2s who PREP São Paulo  
'You know who in São Paulo?'

The analysis that I assign to such examples is given in (129). The connection to the Common Ground is represented by a null question operator Q in the Top head which encapsulates this restriction.<sup>12</sup> Although I do not develop this connection, the givenness requirement on parts of the wh-question are somehow related to topicality. This Q operator binds the in-situ wh-phrase. Since no strong feature is present, the wh-phrase does not move.

---

<sup>12</sup> In chapter six, I will revise this analysis somewhat and claim that the Q operator is actually located in the specifier of a lower topic phrase, Top2P.

(129)



*Que* cannot occur in this structure with *wh*-in-situ, (112), because that head has a strong feature which would force movement. I account for the fact that *wh*-in-situ is impossible in embedded clauses by simply stipulating that the Q Top head is unavailable in selected contexts.

To summarize, BP has two interrogative heads in the left periphery: one overt one in Foc that forces movement for feature checking and a second that is covert, related to the discourse structure, which does not allow movement.

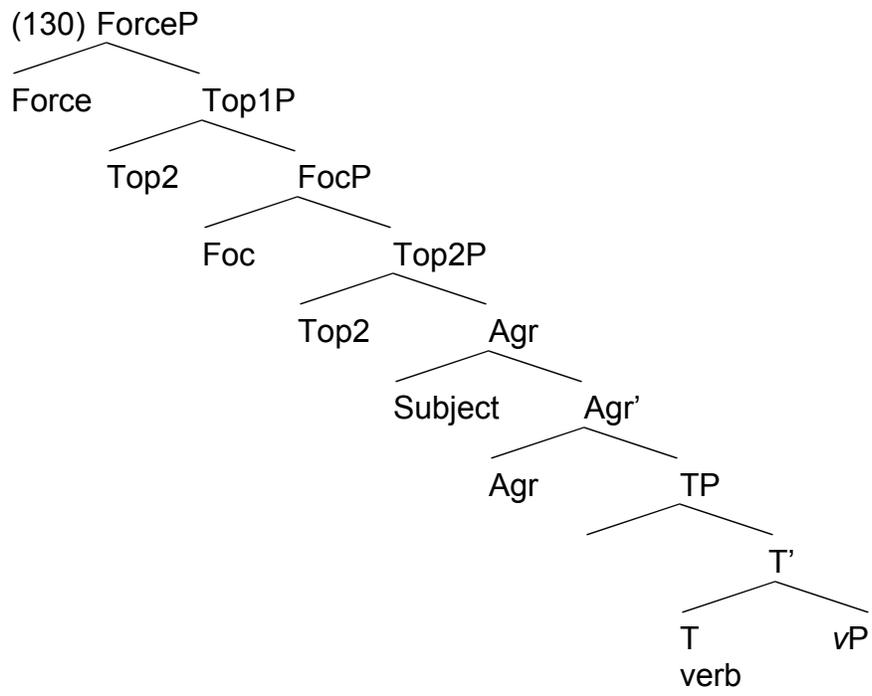
### 3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has addressed the clause structure for BP. This chapter focused principally on the CP and IP domains. The topics addressed here were presented to understand five sub-questions related to BP clause structure.

- i. What is the subject position?
- ii. What is the position of the finite verb? Is there any verb movement?
- iii. What is/are the structural position(s) of topics?
- iv. What is the structure of *wh*-movement?
- v. What is the structure of *wh*-in-situ

I have argued that BP employs a split IP (Pollock 1989). I claimed that the subject is the specifier of AgrP. I showed that these elements cannot be in an A'-position in the left periphery, which has been suggested by some to be the location where preverbal subject resides in null-subject languages. Section three shows that the verb starts inside VP and moves up to T. I argued for short movement of the verb to T (Costa & Galves 2002). Floating quantifiers as well as adverbs showed that this is the case. Section four discussed BP's system of topicalization. I proposed that topic structures in BP are base-generated with the topic phrase in spec,TopP binding a resumptive pronoun, which may be null in the third person. Finally, I gave an overview of wh-words and questions in BP. The distinction was made between fronted and in-situ questions. In the case of fronted wh-words, the fronted word moves to the specifier of FocP, which is headed by *que* with a strong [uWH\*] feature. When *que* is not present in wh-questions with a fronted wh-phrase, it has been deleted. In wh-in-situ questions, this head does not appear. Instead, there is a null operator in Top which binds the in-situ wh-phrase.

This chapter has been developed to show the basic clause structure of Brazilian Portuguese. Below is a tree structure that gives a basic map of the structural position of the phrases discussed in this chapter. Notice here again that there are two topic positions: one above FocP and one below. The Top1P above FocP is the position discussed in this chapter. The other Top2P, mentioned in chapter two, is discussed in detail in chapters six and seven, and it relates the CFN.



## CHAPTER 4 PREVERBAL NEGATION

### 4.1 Introduction

As this work compares the differences between preverbal and postverbal negative markers, I begin with an analysis of preverbal negation. Several linguists have examined negation through the lens of generative grammar, especially since Pollock's work on IP (Pollock 1989, Iatridou 1990, Laka 1990, Belletti 1990, Zanuttini 1991, Miotto 1992, among many others). In this chapter, I discuss negation in general and BP specifically. Section 4.2 discusses negation and the different approaches to understanding syntactic issues concerning negation. Part of this section reviews some ideas regarding negation in Romance languages. Because the topic of negation is larger than the scope of this work, I omit discussion on the semantics of negation. Therefore, I focus solely on some of the more common syntactic analyses of negation. Section 4.3 moves the discussion to Brazilian Portuguese and the preverbal negative marker. I leave the clause-final negative marker for chapters five and six and negative concord and n-words for chapter seven. Other negative elements such as NPIs and semi-negatives, words like *sem* 'without', are not discussed here.

### 4.2 The Syntax of Negation

The main goal of this section is to introduce sentential negation and briefly discuss how sentential negation is understood in generative syntax. Section 4.2.1 discusses the functional projection NegP. Here I discuss the status of certain preverbal negative markers such as *não* for BP, *no* in Spanish, and *non* for Italian. To do this, I continue the discussion from chapter three about Pollock's (1989) work. Section 4.2.2 presents overviews of the theories related to the location of NegP in Romance languages.

### 4.2.1 NegP

While many works predate Pollock (1989), such as Jackendoff (1972), Lasnik (1972), Emonds (1978), he provides evidence that negation is a separate functional category, NegP. Pollock expanded IP and posited a syntactic location for NegP. In chapter three, I mentioned his (1989) work as an argument for separating IP into AgrP and TP projections. Here I extend that discussion to include the data that he provided with regards to negation.

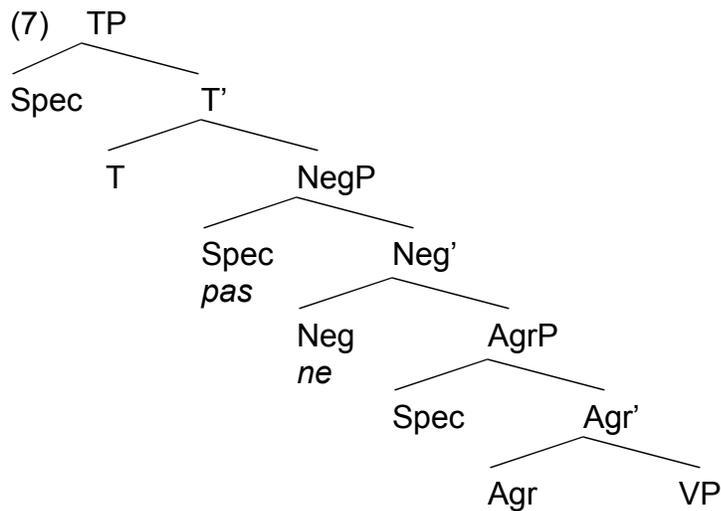
Building on Chomsky (1976) and Emonds (1978), Pollock observes the differences between the position of negative markers in English and French, much like he does with adverbs. In English, the negative marker must precede a lexical verb, whereas in French it follows the verb.

- (1) John doesn't likes Mary
- (2) \*John likes not Mary
  
- (3) \*Jean (ne) pas aime Marie  
'John doesn't love Mary'
  
- (4) Jean (ne) aime pas Marie  
'John doesn't love Mary'

In English, the negative marker must come after auxiliary verbs and before lexical verbs. This differs from French where the negative marker must come to the right of both auxiliary and finite lexical verbs. To understand this difference and to keep in line with linguistic universals, Pollock proposes that the negative marker for English and French are in a similar position, and the verb's movement differs. His conclusion is that in English auxiliary verbs are in a position similar to that of lexical verbs in French, seen in a comparison of (5) and (6) with (4).

- (5) He *is* **not** coming  
 (6) He *must* **not** come

He also proposes that Neg houses preverbal negative markers, such as *ne* in French, and spec,NegP is the locus for negative adverbs, *pas* in French. This line of reasoning and his analysis were adopted by several linguists (Laka 1990, Chomsky 1995, Lasnik 1999).



Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese all have obligatory preverbal negative markers, and based on Pollock's arguments, the negative marker for each of these should be in Neg. In addition to that, Haegeman (1995) claims that negative markers such as *no* and *não* are not only in Neg, but they are also generated there. Zanuttini<sup>13</sup> (2001) claims that the preverbal negative marker is a head and that it is the head of NegP. Following Kayne (1989), she assumes that syntactic heads interfere with movement of other heads. This is based on what is known as the *Head Movement Constraint* which is formalized by Travis as follows:

<sup>13</sup> For arguments against having the preverbal negative marker be a head see Rowlett (1998) who gives evidence from French against some of Zanuttini's claims.

**(8) Head Movement Constraint**

An  $X_0$  may only move into the  $Y_0$  which properly governs it. (Travis 1984:131)

Thus, head movement is strictly local and always moves one head to the closest head.

If the preverbal negative marker blocks head movement, then it is the head of NegP.

Kayne showed that French pronominal clitics that correspond to arguments of an embedded clause cliticize to the matrix verb in causative constructions. This is seen in example (9), where the clitic *la* cliticizes to the matrix verb *fait* of the main clause (Zanuttini 2001:524).

- (9) Jean la fait manger à Paul  
John 3s makes eat.INF PREP Paul  
'John makes Paul eat it'

The clitic is not allowed to cliticize to the matrix verb if there is a negative marker, in this case *ne*, blocking the movement.

- (10) \*Jean l'a fait ne pas manger à l'enfant  
John CL-has made NEG NEG eat.INF PREP DET-child  
'John made the child not eat it'

Zanuttini also bases her evidence for the head status of the preverbal markers in Italian and Spanish on clitic climbing. She shows with Italian data that a clitic pronoun can climb to the matrix clause if it is not blocked by the negative marker. I give similar evidence from Spanish. Example (11) shows that the clitic may cliticize to the verb of the infinitival clause. (12) shows the clitic pronoun climbing to the matrix verb. (13) introduces the negative marker *no* which causes the clitic to remain in the infinitival clause. (14) is the key to Zanuttini's argument because here the clitic is not allowed to

climb to the matrix clause as in (12). She claims that the reason for the ungrammaticality of (14) is the head status of *no* which blocks the clitic.

- (11) Juan quiere verlo  
 John wants see.INF-CL  
 'John wants to see it'
- (12) Juan lo quiere ver  
 John CL wants see.INF
- (13) Juan quiere no verlo  
 John wants NEG see.INF-CL  
 'John wants to not see it'
- (14) \* Juan lo quiere no ver  
 John CL wants NEG see.INF  
 'John wants to not see it'

Clitic climbing can also be used to argue that BP *não* is a base-generated head of

NegP:

- (15) João quer te ver  
 John wants CL.2S see.INFL  
 'John wants to see you'
- (16) João te quer ver  
 John CL wants see.INF  
 'John wants to see you'
- (17) João quer *não* te ver  
 John wants NEG CL.2S see.INFL  
 'John wants to not see you'
- (18) \* João te quer *não* ver  
 John CL.2S wants NEG see.INF  
 'John wants to not see you'

This section has shown that the preverbal negative markers *no*, *não*, and *non* block clitic climbing, and this blockage is related to head movement. This implies that these preverbal negative markers occupy a head position.

#### **4.2.2 The Location of NegP**

While Pollock's work was a success in that it highlighted the importance of a functional projection specifically for negation, problems began to arise as to the actual syntactic location of NegP. While his claims seemed strong when comparing two languages like French and English, cross-linguistic evidence suggested that NegP could possibly be in different positions in different languages. Some researchers continued this line of reasoning and claimed that NegP was not the only functional projection responsible for negation. This section discusses two works related to these ideas. Section 4.2.2.1 presents Laka (1990) and discusses her arguments for the addition of  $\Sigma$ P, which is a projection responsible for polarity. 4.2.2.2 discusses Zanuttini's work on negation in Romance. Both of these researchers present theories that linguists debating negation in Brazilian Portuguese have turned to.

##### **4.2.2.1 Laka**

Laka (1990) continues along the same lines as Pollock, and she looks to account for the differences between English and Basque. She claims that while there is a category responsible for negation, it is not fixed and it is not solely for negation. Consequently, NegP, which she renames  $\Sigma$ P, does not necessarily have to be within IP, but can be above it or below it (Ouhalla 1990). This can first be seen in the variation that exists among languages with regards to the syntactic position of negation markers, but as Laka argues, also with regards to positive/emphatic markers because there exists a certain parallel between negative constructions and emphatic affirmative ones.

The first set of English sentences shows that an emphatic positive DID appears to be in the same structural position as negation.

(19) He DID come (Emphatic)

(20) He didn't come.

Laka then gives more complex evidence that negation and emphatic verbal markers are syntactically similar. She shows that in affirmative sentences in Basque the auxiliary verb always follows the main verb, (21), and never the reverse (22), and no element can intervene between the verbal elements (23).

(21) Etxea erori da  
House fallen has  
'The house has fallen'

(22) \*Etxea da erori  
House has fallen

(23) \*Erori etxea da  
Fallen house has

(Laka 1990: 14, 18-19)

Nevertheless, the presence of the negative sentential marker *ez* alters this order. The auxiliary and the negative marker both precede the verb (24) and the necessity of the auxiliary and the verb to be adjacent is lost (25). In negative sentences, the negative marker and the auxiliary must be adjacent (26) and (27).

(24) Etxea EZ da erori  
house NEG has fallen  
'The house hasn't fallen'

(25) EZ da etxea erori  
NEG has house fallen

(26) \*EZ etxea erori da  
NEG house fallen has

(27) \*EZ etxea da erori  
NEG house has fallen

(Laka 1990: 25-26)

Examples (28), (29), and (30) show that the same mechanism that causes the negative marker and the auxiliary verb to be adjacent applies to emphatic elements. If the preverbal subject is adjacent to the auxiliary verb, it must be emphatic, as in (30) or the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (29).

(28) Mari ez da joan.  
Maria NEG has left  
'Maria hasn't left'

(29) \*Mari da joan  
Maria has left  
'Maria has left'

(30) MARI da joan  
Maria has left  
'MARIA has left'

Given this similarity, Laka proposes that both are instances of a specific functional category  $\Sigma$ P (SigmaP) which represents some sort of "Speech Act". She claims that  $\Sigma$ P's position is language specific, contrary to Pollock's claims of a universal negative locus. Laka presents evidence from English and Basque that argues for two different positions for  $\Sigma$ P. She notes that in Basque where ellipsis occurs, only the negative marker remains and the auxiliary is deleted (Laka 1990:33).

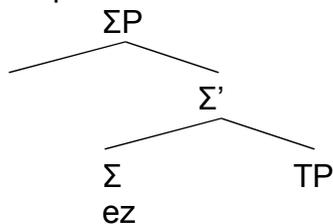
(31) Marik liburua erosi du eta Peruk ez  
Maria book bought has and Peter NEG  
'Maria bought the book but Peter didn't'

English does not allow the negative marker to remain alone, and must be accompanied by the auxiliary verb *do* (Laka 1990:32). In example (32), everything to the right of the auxiliary is elided. In (33), everything to the right of the negative marker is elided as well, but in (34), English does not allow ellipsis with just the negative marker.

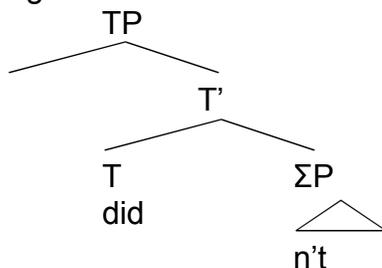
- (32) Mary didn't buy a book, but Peter did
- (33) Mary bought a book and Peter didn't
- (34) \* Mary bought a book and Peter not

Laka argues that this shows a difference in the structural positions of Basque's  $\Sigma$ P and English's  $\Sigma$ P. Basque's  $\Sigma$ P is above TP, (35), and in English,  $\Sigma$ P is below TP, (36).

(35) Basque



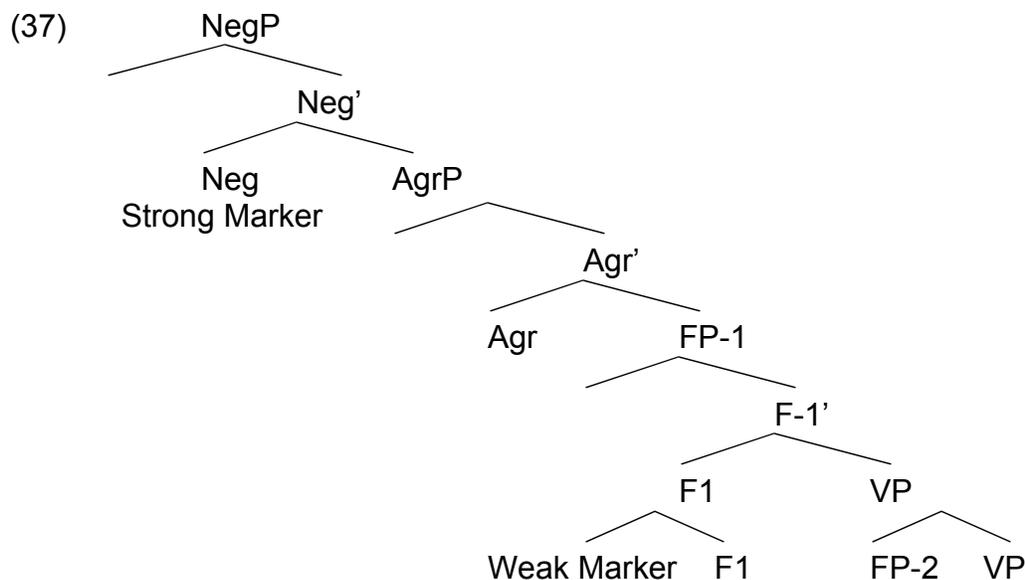
(36) English



#### 4.2.2.2 Zanuttini

Zanuttini (1997, 2001) continues along similar lines as Laka by arguing that the location of NegP is not as rigid as Pollock originally proposed. Her proposal for NegP

takes into account the different types of negative markers that exist. Through a typological approach, she determines that there are four classes of negative markers: (i) negative adverbs, (ii) strong preverbal negative markers, (iii) weak preverbal negative markers, and (iv) negative markers that are part of the verbal morphology. She is principally concerned with the distinction between strong and weak negative markers, noting that several Romance languages have two negative markers in a sentence. In the cases of two negative markers, one of the markers is strong and the other is weak. For her, a strong negative marker is one that can negate the sentence independent of any other negative element. The weak negative markers must be in conjunction with some other negative marker. More than one position needs to be posited because there are two elements. For her, a strong marker is the head of a NegP which she refers to as Pol(arity)P because the “label PolP suggests that the projection contains not only negative elements but also markers of emphatic affirmation, which in some cases can be shown to be in complementary distributions with sentential negative markers” (Zanuttini (1997:22). The weak negative marker is similar to the position that Pollock (1989) proposes for *pas* in NegP. Her analysis involves several factors including cliticization of the weak preverbal negative marker to the verb; however, If the preverbal element is weak then it is adjoined to the VP and cliticizes to the verb. If the negative marker is strong, then it is generated in Neg :



Furthermore, Zanuttini extends the number of possible positions for negative markers. Not only can NegP dominate IP or be dominated by IP as Laka proposes, but as Pollock suggests, it can be within a split IP, and IP can be split into more than just two categories. Zanuttini claims, based on adverbs and Cinque's hierarchy (1999), there are at least four positions for negative markers in relation to IP, i.e. one above IP, two within IP and one below IP.

(38) [NegP1 [TP1 [NegP2 [TP2 [NegP3 [AspPperf [Aspgen/prog [NegP4 ]]]]]]]]]]

Two of the positions are seen when looking at standard Italian and Romagnolo, a dialect of Italian. Standard Italian has a strong negative marker, *non*, that is generated in NegP1 (just like Spanish *no*). Romagnolo has a weak preverbal clitic negative marker that generated below the verb and moves up to the verb and cliticizes to it. The postverbal negative marker is in one of the other NegP and the verb with the negative clitic move past it to render the Neg-V Neg order (example (40) from Zanuttini 1997:17).

(39) Maria non studia  
 Mary NEG studies.3S  
 'Mary doesn't study'

(40) An's dis brisa aksì  
 SUBJ.CL-NEG.CL say NEG like-that  
 'one doesn't say it that way'

### 4.3 Preverbal Negation in BP

The negative marker *não* is similar to other preverbal negative markers in Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish (Belletti 1990, Laka 1990, Mioto 1992, Zanuttini 1997, Zeijlstra 2004). Following Belletti (1990), Mioto (1992) points out three options for the structural position of negation in BP: NegP dominates IP (i); NegP is somewhere within the IP, between flexional nodes (ii); IP dominates NegP (iii).

- (41) i. CP [**NEGP**] [AgrP] [TP] [VP]  
 ii. CP [AgrP] [**NEGP**] [TP] [VP]  
 iii. CP [AgrP] [TP] [**NEGP**] [VP]

This section looks at these positions and determines where negation falls in BP. Section 4.3.1 discusses the different phonological forms of the negative marker. This becomes relevant in chapter five when discussing the rise and reason for clause-final negation. Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 discuss two previous studies of BP negation. The proposals of this chapter are merely for preverbal negation. Chapter six continues the discussion of sentential negation and CFN, combining the information from each chapter. Following the review of past accounts, I lay out evidence which shows that the preverbal negative marker in BP is the head of NegP, which is between AgrP and TP (ii from (41)). To do that I follow some of the previous authors' claims. Namely, as Pollock

shows, the NegP is within the IP domain; however, that does not mean that there are not other syntactic positions for NegP, much like Zanuttini (1997) and Zeijlstra (2004) show. Rather, BP's negative marker is generated within IP.

#### **4.3.1 The Phonology of the Preverbal Negative Marker**

The phonological weight of the negative marker has come into question in BP. Specifically, some claim that the marker has weakened semantically as well as phonologically, like the French preverbal negative marker, to the point of needing postverbal negative emphasis (Schwegler 1991a, da Cunha 1996, Vitral 1999, Martins 1997, Fonseca 2002). In chapter five, I show that although there is phonological reduction, this has not resulted in any syntactic change in sentential negation. This section addresses the issue of phonological reduction and presents the relevant data. This is important because as chapter six shows, only the preverbal negative marker allows phonological reduction, and the clause-final marker is always the full form *não*.

As mentioned, other Romance languages have weak negative markers, usually clitics, in addition to strong ones. Generally, a language has either a strong negative marker or a strong and weak negative marker. However, *não* in BP has a certain duplicity about it. For example, Sousa (2007) and Namiuti (2008) both suggest independently that *não* is a clitic, suggesting that it is a weak negative marker like *ne*. In spite of its clitic nature, it can negate the sentence by itself much like Spanish and Italian. Namiuti (2008), in looking at the history of the negative marker in BP, reflects and discusses the non-clitic/clitic nature of the negative marker in BP. Sousa (2007) uses a corpus study to examine the different phonological forms of *não*. She concludes

that there are essentially five forms with the reduced form *nu* [nu] and *num* [nu], both clitics being the most common:

(42) Sousa (2007:57)

Não	Num	Nu	u	N'	Total
130	301	454	15	18	918

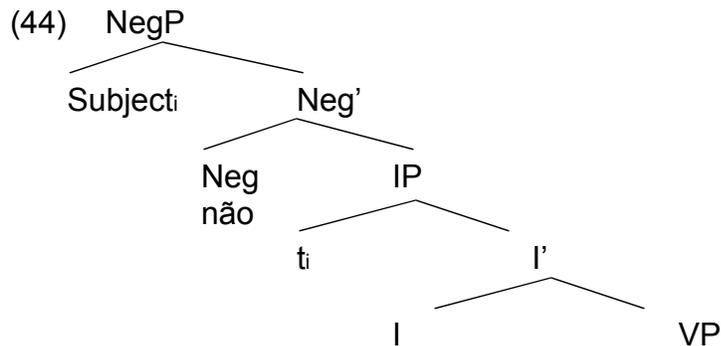
*Não* is often considered a strong negative marker, meaning that it is not a clitic (Miotto 1992, Martins 1994, Sousa 2007). The other variants of the negative marker are assumed to be clitics. Miotto claims that the clitic variants are not allowed to stand alone, as in the response to a direction question, in example (43).

- (43) Q:        O João        agrediu        o Pedro?  
                  DET John        attacked        DET Peter  
                  'Did John attack Peter'
- A:            Não/\*num, nu, u, n'

The idea that the preverbal marker is a 'weak' clitic supports many linguists' claims about the status of the preverbal marker and CFN. However, recall from chapter one that T1 negation is the overwhelming preferred choice for negation. Combine that information with the data from Sousa which shows that the clitic negative markers are the most common forms for the preverbal negative marker, and an argument against the 'weak' preverbal negative marker can be made. Namely, although there has been phonological reduction, the preverbal negative marker still carries the syntactic and semantic properties to negate a sentence. This topic is continued in chapters five and six where I discuss previous theories of CFN.

### 4.3.2 Mioto 1992 & 1998

Mioto claims that NegP is above the IP domain. Before giving linguistic evidence for his claim, he begins by asserting that NegP is a [+I]nflexional because of its relationship to IP which is not split according to him. This relationship is based on the fact that *não* has the ability to change the truth value of a sentence, i.e. cause a proposition  $p$  to become  $\sim p$ . He also claims that the unbreakable *não+clitic+verb* order is based on movement of lower inflectional items to Neg. Thus, the structure that he proposes is:



Mioto argues that his structure comes from three principal pieces of evidence. The first piece of evidence is related to what Laka (1990) claimed for Basque and Spanish, i.e. these languages license a null IP in coordinated sentences such as (45). In this example, *nãõ* is the head of a phrase, and everything below is deleted. Given this example, Mioto claims that NegP is a functional category, as it allows ellipsis (Lobeck 1995). Recall that he claims that IP is not split as Pollock claims.

(45) A Sienna viu a Júlia mas a Lúcia nãõ [viu a Júlia]  
 DET Sienna saw.3S DET Julia but DET Lucia NEG [saw. 3S DET Julia]  
 'Sienna saw Julia but Lucia didn't [see Julia]

The second reason for placing NegP above IP is to properly understand the clitic nature of the negative marker. Mioto claims that only the structure NegP dominating IP is descriptively accurate in capturing the duplicity of the clitic nature of *não*. He continues and claims that if NegP were within IP, “the behavior of *não* in BP would not permit placement of it into the class of clitics that can take care of an empty IP” (Namiuti 2008:167). Therefore, BP allows sentences where *não* is not deleted in the TP.<sup>14</sup> Where the clitic *não* is ‘attached’ to the verb in a lower position, then a sentence like (46) would not be allowed because in this sentence the negative marker would have to be deleted along with the verb.

(46) A Sienna viu a Júlia mas não o Abílio  
 DET Sienna saw.3S DET Julia but NEG DET Ablílio  
 ‘Sienna saw Julia but didn’t (see) Ablílio’

The third reason that Mioto claims NegP is above IP is because of the difficulty of inserting a negative adverb into the structure, since the verb moves at least to TP. According to him, if NegP is above IP, then it becomes easier to understand why a sentence like (47) is grammatical. In this sentence, he claims that the negative *nunca* ‘never’ is above IP and is allowed. This is because, if the negative adverbial *nunca* is to the right of the verb the sentence becomes degraded, as seen in example (48).

(47) A Sienna nunca chora  
 DET Sienna never cries.3S  
 ‘Sienna never cries’

(48) ??A Sienna come nunca cenouras  
 DET Sienna eat.3S never carrots  
 ‘Sienna never eats carrots’

<sup>14</sup> This is allowed presumably because movement is adjunction, and the adjoined verb would be deleted leaving the object, below, intact.

A problem with Miotto's proposal is the subject position. According to him, the subject in affirmative and negative sentences has two different positions. In the affirmative sentence it is in spec,IP, and in negative sentences, the subject is in spec,NegP. However, this problem could be resolved by using Laka's  $\Sigma$ P which houses both negative and in most cases, abstract positive markers.

Another problem with his analysis comes with sentences that make use of modal auxiliary verb *poder* 'to can/be able to/might'. The auxiliary is often overlooked in its dual role. This is seen in the examples below. The positive sentences appear the same, but do have different meanings depending on the context.

(49) Ele        pode fazer            o trabalho  
       3S        can do.INF            DET work.  
       'He can/is able do the work'

(50) Ele        pode fazer            o trabalho  
       3S        can do.INF            DET work.  
       'He might do the work'

The difference of syntax and meaning is clearer when the negative marker is added to the sentences. In the first case, the sentence is stating that the person is not capable of doing the work. The second sentence by having the modal verb to the left of the negative marker means that the person might not do the work, although it might be the case that he is capable of doing the work. In fact, as example (53) shows, the auxiliary *poder* can be combined with *poder* 'to be able to'.

(51) Ele        não pode fazer            o trabalho  
       3S        NEG can do.INF            DET work.  
       'He can't/ is unable do the work'

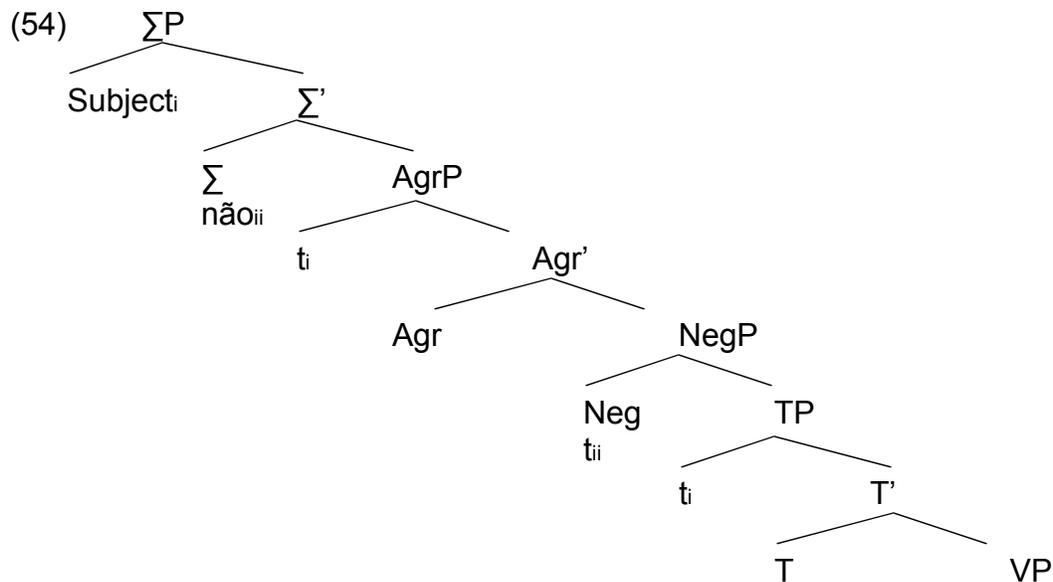
(52) Ele     pode não    fazer o trabalho  
      3S     can  NEG  do.INF DET work.  
      'He might not do the work'

(53) Ele     pode não    poder            fazer o trabalho  
      3S     can  NEG  BE.ABLE.INF do.INF DET work.  
      'He might not be able to do the work'

The examples show that it is not always the case that the negative marker precedes the verb and its auxiliaries. Thus, although it was not mentioned in chapter three, IP supposedly can be split into several projections. If this is the case and if NegP is within the IP, then sentences like (52) exist where the negative marker is not directly after the subject, as Mito claims, but is split by the insertion of a auxiliary.

#### **4.3.3 Martins 1994 and Namiuti 2008**

Martins (1994) and Namiuti (2008) follow Mito in stating that negation is above IP. However, Martins claims that NegP is not a correct denomination for what happens in BP. Rather, she chooses to follow Laka (1990), and concludes that  $\Sigma$ P is the correct nomenclature for BP. Her main objection, much like an objection in the previous section is what to do with the subject. Mito's proposal argues for two different subject positions, and for Laka and Martins, this is undesirable. Martins' basic structure is seen in example (54). Notice that in her structure, as well as Namiuti's, the negative marker is generated in NegP, which is in the IP domain. The negative marker then moves to  $\Sigma$ P to check its 'strong negative feature' (more on this in chapter six).



By having the negative marker originate in NegP, within the IP domain, Martins (1994) and Namiuti (2008) claim the structure and movement are able to properly account for the clitic nature of the negative marker and its interaction with pronominal clitics. By way of example, Martins (55) shows the order of neg-clitic-verb, and (56) shows that that pronominal clitics must be adjacent to the verb. If, as Martins claims, the negative marker must move to  $\Sigma$ , then this would always prevent the pronominal clitic from being separated from the verb.

(55) A Sienna      não              te              viu.  
 DET Sienna    NEG              CL.2S        saw.3S  
 'Sienna didn't see you'

(56) \*A Sienna    te              não              viu  
 DET Sienna    CL.2S        NEG              saw.3S  
 'Sienna didn't see you'

Additionally, the movement of the negative marker explains the ungrammaticality of sentences like (58). (57) shows that a negative marker must be adjacent to the verb

and that nothing else besides clitic pronouns can intervene. The adverbial expression *na noite passada* ‘last night’ is not allowed to intervene, (58).

(57) A Sienna      na              noite passada      não quis              dormir  
 DET Sienna    PREP.DET    night last            NEG wanted.3S      sleep.INF  
 ‘Sienna last night didn’t want to sleep.’

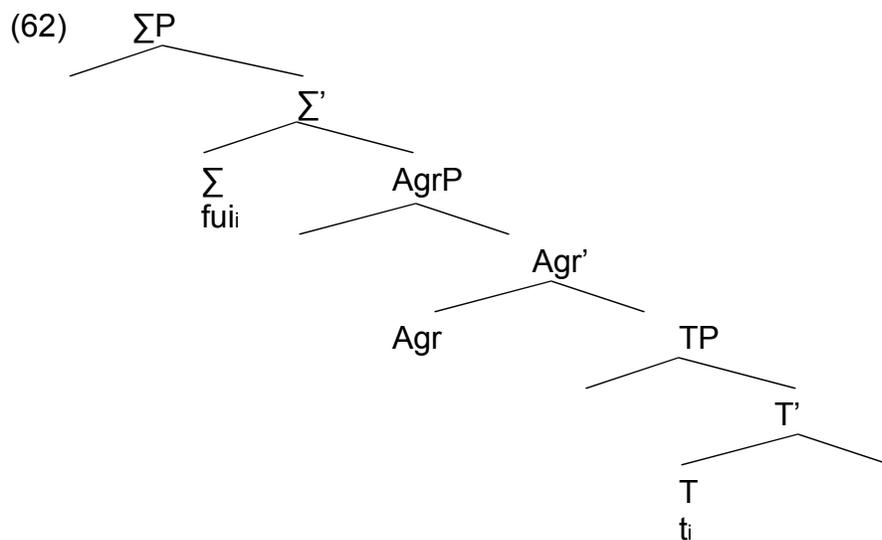
(58) \*A Sienna      não    na              noite passada      quis              dormir  
 NEG Sienna    NEG    PREP.DET    night last            wanted.3S      sleep. INF  
 ‘Sienna last night didn’t want to sleep.’

Much like Laka’s claims for English and Basque, Martins claims that there is evidence for a positive-type marker in Portuguese. In Portuguese the affirmation or positive indicator of the existence of  $\Sigma$  comes from verbal responses to direct questions. Martins argues that in English *did* in an emphatic sentence is the head of  $\Sigma$ P. She then continues by positing verb movement from I to  $\Sigma$ . This supposedly always occurs, but is more apparent, according to the author, with direct questions. To answer a direct question in Portuguese affirmatively, *sim* ‘yes’ is **not** used; instead, the verb is used. Martins says that this behavior supports the idea of the verb rising to the head of  $\Sigma$ P to check its positive features. As an example, (59) is asked. The felicitous responses to this are (60) and (61). (62) has the representative tree for (60).

(59) Did you go?

(60) Fui  
 Went.1s  
 ‘I went’/‘yes’

(61) Não fui.  
 NEG went.1s  
 ‘I didn’t go’



However, it has been shown elsewhere that this type of answer is not necessarily related to  $\Sigma P$  (Santos 2004), but rather to some topic position in the CP or deletion of VP (Schwenter 2005). Martins (1997) bases her arguments on evidence from post-clausal negation in BP that the verb moves from V to Top.

While Martins might be right in her objections to Mito's multiple subject positions, there does not seem to be any reason to not allow more than one subject position in BP (Costa 2001 posits several positions for the subject in European Portuguese). In addition to this, as shown in the previous section, there are cases where the negative marker appears to not move to  $\Sigma$  because the subject and the negative marker can be separated by a modal auxiliary like *poder*.

#### 4.3.4 The structural Position of NegP in BP

I now take the information given in the previous sections and apply it to the facts concerning BP negation. It is crucial that I lay out the exact position of the negative marker in a BP sentence because the subsequent chapters use this information as a

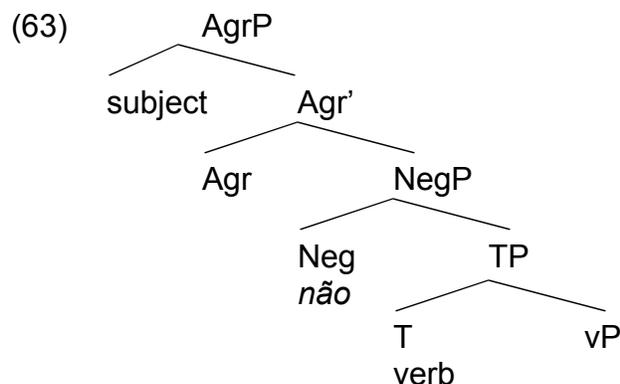
basis for understanding clause-final negation and negative concord. Below is a review of the facts from above. The negative marker in BP is:

- i. preverbal
- ii. adjacent to the verb and only separated by pronominal clitics
- iii. a functional category that allows ellipsis

Other relevant facts discussed in chapter three are:

- iv. the subject is in spec,AgrP
- v. the verb only moves to T (i.e. short movement)

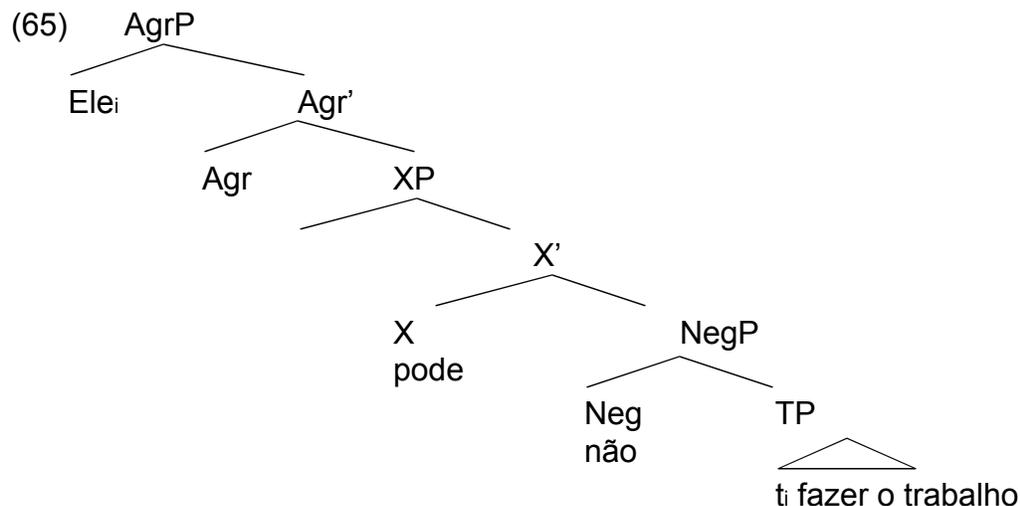
First, as mentioned, Mioto's structure is problematic due to two subject positions. This is remedied by Martins' proposal to use  $\Sigma P$ , which simplifies the grammar by postulating a single subject position; however, Martins then proposes two negation positions. So, although the subject has been simplified, negation requires movement. Given these considerations and iv and v above, I conclude that *não* is the head of NegP, which appears between AgrP and TP:



This structure correctly places negation in a preverbal position without any movement of the negative element. It will license ellipsis by having TP elide.

This structure can also account for the data with modal auxiliaries and the negative marker seen above. Example (64) is a repeat from above and this example has the modal to the left of the negative marker. This sentence has the meaning of ‘might not’, and it is not an example of constituent negation. Constituent negation in this case would require stressing the negative marker and would render the meaning ‘he can NOT do the work’. The syntactic tree structure is given in (65).

(64) Ele     pode   não   fazer o trabalho  
       3s     can   NEG   do.INF DET work.  
       ‘He might not do the work’



Assuming a functional head position for the modal above TP and NegP but below AgrP within a split IP (Costa & Galves 2002) correctly allows this sentence.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

The principal goal of this chapter was to review some ideas about syntactic negation and to examine the preverbal negative marker in BP. I discussed general accounts to understanding the syntax of negation, and the syntax of negation in BP. I have shown that *não* is a syntactic head that is generated as the head of NegP and that NegP is between AgrP and TP in BP. Much like Zeijlstra (2004), Laka (1990), and

others, I am not claiming the NegP must necessarily be the same in all languages, but rather, there are language specific positions.

CHAPTER 5  
THE PRAGMATICS AND SEMANTICS OF CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION

**5.1 Introduction**

This chapter analyzes semantic and pragmatic restrictions on the use of clause-final negation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). The goal is to properly account for the felicity of sentences that contain clause-final negation (CFN) within a semantic/pragmatic framework. Ideally, this chapter sets up a theoretical base from which to understand the syntactic structural facts of CFN in BP.

As mentioned in chapter one, the following examples are instances of CFN.<sup>15</sup> (1) shows that the clause-final *não* can cooccur with the preverbal negative marker *não*. This type of construction is referred to in the literature as T2. (2), also a version of T2, has some other negative item, a so-called n-word, in a preverbal position. Finally, different from the first two examples is (3) T3, where there is no preverbal negative marker.

- |     |                                |              |         |            |              |              |     |    |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------|---------|------------|--------------|--------------|-----|----|
| (1) | A Lú                           | <b>não</b>   | come    | almoço em  | casa         | <b>não</b> . |     | T2 |
|     | DET Lu                         | NEG          | eat.3S  | lunch      | PREP         | house        | NEG |    |
|     | 'Lu doesn't eat lunch at home' |              |         |            |              |              |     |    |
|     |                                |              |         |            |              |              |     |    |
| (2) | O César                        | <b>nunca</b> | faz     | o trabalho | <b>não</b> . |              |     | T2 |
|     | DET Cesar                      | never        | do.3S   | DET work   | NEG          |              |     |    |
|     | 'Cesar never does the work'    |              |         |            |              |              |     |    |
|     |                                |              |         |            |              |              |     |    |
| (3) | A Sienna                       | quer         | comer   | <b>não</b> |              |              |     | T3 |
|     | DET Sienna                     | want.3S      | eat.INF | NEG        |              |              |     |    |
|     | 'Sienna doesn't want to eat'   |              |         |            |              |              |     |    |

Section 5.2 discusses three previous approaches to understanding the semantic and pragmatic restrictions on CFN: section 5.2.1 looks at emphasis (Roncarti 1996,

---

<sup>15</sup> Because preverbal negation was treated in chapter four, I do not specifically address it here; however it does play a role in understanding CFN. This idea is pursued in chapter six.

Barme 2000); section 5.2.2 investigates presupposition or contrary to fact (Schwegler 1991a, 1996; da Cunha 1996, 2001, 2007), and Section 5.2.3 looks at discourse status (Prince 1992, Schwenter 2005, 2006, Armstrong 2008). In each case, I present a theory and show how it has been applied to BP. I ultimately choose Schwenter's (2005) discourse status or discourse-old proposal for CFN in BP, and I show in section 5.3 that this accounts for several un-elicited sentences, as well as ruling out infelicitous sentences.

## **5.2 Previous Approaches to Clause-Final Negation: Semantics/Pragmatics**

### **5.2.1 Emphasis**

The idea that the CFN is emphatic comes from relating BP to the process known as the Jespersen Cycle (JC) (Roncarti 1996). Simply put, the JC is a cycle that involves a change that takes place with the sentential negative marker changing its syntactic position, usually from a preverbal to a postverbal position, or vice versa. In many cases, JC is observed when a preverbal negative marker loses its inherent negative semantic force, and often this loss of negative force is related to phonological reduction. This loss of force motivates the rise of a postverbal negative element to reemphasize negation in the sentence. French is a classic example of this, in which the postverbal emphatic marker becomes the sole negative element in the sentence, and the original preverbal maker disappears. Below, each French<sup>16</sup> example is followed by a BP

---

<sup>16</sup> Zeijlstra (2004) gives a more complete breakdown of the stages that make up the Jespersen Cycle:

Phase I: Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

Phase II: The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes phonologically too weak to express negation by itself and a second negative adverb becomes optionally available.

Phase III: Sentential negation is obligatory expressed by the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb and the adverbial negative marker.

sentence that is assumed to show the JC in BP (Vital 1999). The sentences all mean: 'I don't know'.

- (4) a. je ne sais                      stage 1: verbal negative marker (NM)  
      a'. eu não sei
- b. je ne sais pas                stage 2: preverbal NM & postverbal emphatic adverb  
      b'. eu num sei não
- c. je ne sais pas                stage 3: preverbal NM & obligatory postverbal NM  
      c'. eu num sei não
- d. je sais pas                    stage 4: lost of preverbal NM & only postverbal NM  
      d'. eu sei não

Recall from chapter four, the preverbal NM has weakened phonologically from [nãw] to [nu]/[nũ]/[n] (Roncarti 1996, Vital 1999, Sousa 2007). Roncarti claims that this weakening, as in French, has caused the addition of a postverbal negative marker to appear (see Lobato 1986 for an early discussion of this). Roncarti claims that CFN is emphatic because it does not cause a double negation reading, just as the addition of *pas* in French does not give a double negation reading. That is, CFN does not appear to interact semantically with the preverbal negative marker. As such, the sentence *e/e não comeu o pão não* does NOT mean that 'he didn't **not** eat the bread'. Taking the example sentences from (4), according to those that take BP negation to be changing

---

Phase IV: The negative adverb is the obligatory marker for negation and the use of the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes optional.

Phase V: The negative adverb is the only available negative marker. The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb is no longer available.

Phase VI: The negative marker is available in two forms: it can appear either as negative adverb or as a negative marker that is attached on the finite verb, though sometimes simultaneously.

Phase VII: Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

within the context of the JC, BP is moving from stage 2, where the clause-final *não* is emphatic, to stage 3, where the *não* is obligatory (Schwegler 1988, 1991a). Not only does this appear to be the JC, there is evidence from the positive marker that this is a case of an emphatic element. Example (5) shows that the positive marker *sim* may appear in the same clause-final position as the negative marker. The argument here is that this clause-final position in Portuguese is used for emphasis (Barme 2000).

(5) Ele            comeu            o pão            *sim*  
       3S            eat.PST.3S    DET bread     yes  
       ‘He did eat the bread’

In addition to this, CFN is seen as emphatic or intensifying because of its ability to occur with preverbal negative words like *nunca* ‘never’ (Barme 2000). *Nunca* is sufficient to negate a sentence without additional support, as (6) shows.

(6) Ela            *nunca* come            pão  
       3s.F           never eat.3s       bread  
       ‘She never eats bread’

The argument is that *nunca* is **not** phonetically weak and, by extension, not semantically or syntactically weak, and therefore needs no reinforcement. Yet, CFN is allowed in situations with *nunca*. This follows from Schwegler’s claim that there is a “constant and universal psycholinguistic need for negative emphasizees” (1988: 36), which is why example (7) has CFN.

(7) Ela            *nunca*            come pão     *não*.  
       3s.F           never            eat.3s bread NEG  
       ‘She never eats bread’

There are problems with this analysis, however. First, this line of thinking hinges on the idea that the preverbal negative marker is weakening to the point of needing some sort of support, as in French. The data reviewed in chapter one regarding usages of the preverbal marker suggest that the preverbal marker is not weak, i.e. roughly 75% of negative sentence rely solely on preverbal negation. If the preverbal negative marker were weak, then the use of type one negation would most likely be lower because it would need to be supported by some emphatic negative element.

Second, in previous attempts to understand CFN in terms of emphasis, researchers have failed to define the term adequately. As Schwenter notes, emphasis is not properly defined by those (i.e. Barne, Roncarti) that use it to describe BP negation (Schwenter 2005, 2006). In many cases, there are two types of emphasis that are being discussed: i) reinforcement a weak negative marker; ii) intensification of the negative force of the sentence.

On the one hand, emphasis is used as a reinforcing tool for negative markers that have phonologically or semantically weakened. This view stems from a particular conception of the Jespersen Cycle and the desire to assimilate the BP data with previously studied cases of negation within the Romance family. However, since it has been shown in chapter one that T1 is still overwhelmingly the strategy used for negation, it is difficult to argue that the postverbal negative marker is needed to negate a sentence. The purported necessity of a postverbal marker entails that preverbal negative markers are no longer strong enough to negate a sentence on their own, which is not the case (Cavalcante 2007).

The other use of the term is a more traditional one adopted by Schwenter, following Israel (1998): emphasis in language is “informative because it exceeds what one would normally expect to be asserted” (1998: 47). This means that a sentence like *he didn't do a lick of work* could entail that *he didn't do work* but not vice versa. This is because *a lick of* exceeds the normal expectations of *not working* in this case. A typical strategy used for emphasis in Portuguese is through the use of *mesmo* ‘same’. In the sentence below, *mesmo* indicates an emphatic meaning towards the positive or negative semantic meaning. Notice that in both cases, the emphasis adds to the meaning and suggests that the person worked (or didn't work) beyond the normal expectations i.e. in the first case she did all the work, even though she didn't have to, and in the second case, she didn't do anything, not even pick up one piece of trash from the ground.

(8) Ela            trabalhou    mesmo.  
       3s.F            work.PST.3S    EMPH  
       ‘She REALLY worked’

(9) Ela            não    trabalhou    mesmo.  
       3s.F            NEG    work.PST.3S    EMPH  
       ‘She didn't work AT ALL’

By taking the definition that Israel gives and applying it to CFN, one can see that CFN is not a case of emphasis. See example (10) below. In this example, B is negating the accusation, and B goes one step farther to emphasize the fact that he didn't even break the cup. Use of the CFN is not felicitous in this instance. Also, the negative markers in both parts of the sentence could have an emphatic stress, but the

clause-final negative marker can neither be stressed nor can it even appear in this situation.

- (10) A. Você derrubou a água.  
2S spill.PST.2S DET water  
'You spilled the water'
- B. Eu não derrubei a água, e não quebrei o copo (#não)  
1 S NEG spill.PST.1S DET water and NEG break.PST.1S DET cup NEG  
'I didn't spill the water, and I didn't break the cup'

Finally, as Schwenter notes, even accepting that T2 negation is emphatic, there still exists the problem of T3 negation. In this case, there is no preverbal negative marker, as such it is difficult to understand how this type of negation is emphasizing the sentential negation, because this is not present.

### 5.2.2 Presuppositional or Contrary-to-Fact

Another approach to BP negation is one that takes CFN to be linked to presuppositions. This claim originally comes from Schwegler (1991a) and is similar to what da Cunha currently proposes (1996, 2007). Schwegler argues that CFN is used in sentences that “presuppose a previous affirmative assertion or assumption which [it] seek[s] to contradict.”<sup>17</sup> (1991a: 194) That is to say, BP speakers use CFN when they want to contradict some presupposition. For the purposes here, to presuppose something means to assume something (Saeed 1997), or a presupposition is a set of assumptions made by participants in conversation (Stalnaker 1978). Accordingly, a sentence ‘your son is funny’ presupposes that you have a son. Similarly, if (11) below is

---

<sup>17</sup> This is also the analysis that Zanuttini (1997) gives for several marked negative forms in some Italian dialects.

uttered, Schwegler’s claim argues that there is a presupposition ‘He lies to his parents’ that this sentence looks to deny or contradict.

- (11) Ele não mentiu para os pais dele não.  
 3S NEG lie.PST.3S PREP DET parents prep.3S NEG  
 ‘He didn’t lie to his parents’

Schwegler gives two examples to show how CFN is used to contradict a presupposition. He claims that the *A* sentences below do not presuppose and therefore “do not challenge – any previous statement assumption or implication on the matter involved, they simply assert a proposition”, and the *B* sentences “presuppose a previous affirmative assertion or assumption which they seek to contradict”(1991a: 194).

- (12) A. Quando estive no Rio, não fui na praia.  
 When was.1sg PREP.DET Rio, NEG went.1S PREP.DET beach  
 ‘When I was in Rio, I didn’t go to the beach’
- B. Quando estive no Rio, não fui na praia não.  
 When was.1sg PREP.DET Rio, NEG went.1S PREP.DET beach NEG  
 ‘When I was in Rio, I didn’t go to the beach  
 (contrary to others or my own beliefs)’
- (13) A. O Brasil não é um país rico  
 DET Brasil NEG is DET country NEG  
 ‘Brazil isn’t a rich country’
- B. O Brasil não é um país rico não.  
 DET Brasil NEG is DET country rich NEG  
 ‘Brazil isn’t a rich country (contrary to others or my own beliefs)’

This analysis is weak for two reasons. First, if the presupposition is already negative, then the use of CFN yield a double negation reading according to Schwegler’s own explanation. In the example below, A gives her beliefs that B didn’t do the work. According to Schwegler, if CFN were to be used, it would try to contradict the

presupposition, i.e. that B didn't do it. This is not the case, however. Instead, CFN is used in sentences that agree with the presupposition, and with the sentence in general.

- (14) A. Eu sei que você não fez o trabalho  
 1s know.1s COMP 2s NEG do.PST.2S DET work  
 'I know that you didn't do the work'
- B. Eu não fiz o trabalho não  
 1s NEG do.PST.1S DET work NEG  
 'I didn't do the work'

The second problem with this analysis, as mentioned in Schwenter (2005), is that there are cases of where the use of CFN does not contradict an assumption or presupposition. One case where presupposition does not work is in presuppositional denials. Presuppositional denials are denials where negation is interpreted as applying to some presupposition of a prior utterance, not to its asserted content. In these cases, CFN is not possible. The examples below show this to be the case (Schwenter 2005). The presupposition of the A example is that 'John smoked in the past', and this is contrasted with the assertion, that 'John has stopped smoking' (Stalnaker 1978, 2002). According to Schwegler's analysis, CFN should be licit in the B example because it negates the presupposition 'John smoked'. This is not the case, as CFN is not allowed.

- (15) A: O João já deixou de fumar.  
 DET João already stop.PST.3S PREP smoke.INF  
 'John has stopped smoking'
- B: Ele nunca fumou (#não).  
 3s never smoke.PST.3S NEG  
 'He never smoked'

This pair of sentences contrasts with the pair in (16). CFN is not negating the presupposition but rather the assertion that John has stopped smoking. Evidence that the sentence is not negating the presupposition is seen in the second half of the sentence, where B agrees with A by claiming that ‘John still smokes’ which also has as a presupposition ‘John smoked in the past’.

- (16) A: O João já deixou de fumar.  
 DET João already stop.PST.3S PREP smoke.INF  
 ‘John has stopped smoking’
- B: Ele não deixou de fumar (não), ele ainda fuma.  
 3S NEG stopped PREP smoke.INF (NEG), 3S still smokes.  
 ‘He hasn’t stopped smoking, he still smokes’

This section has shown that although there are claims that CFN is used to contradict a presupposition, this is not what allows CFN to be licit in BP. Rather, the data given has shown that CFN is related to what is asserted in the discourse and not necessarily to what is presupposed.

### 5.2.3 Discourse-Old

I now lay out the discourse theory that is assumed throughout the remainder of this work. Schwenter’s 2005 proposal claims that the discourse information structure developed by Prince (1981, 1992) is sufficient to explain the data for BP CFN. After presenting Prince’s ideas, I present Schwenter’s analysis of CFN in BP. I show that his application of Prince’s theory more broadly captures the semantic/pragmatic restrictions on CFN in BP.

Prince’s goal is to properly describe the information structure of discourse. She has a far reaching definition of discourse that not only refers to the things said but also to the extra-linguistic elements, such as the context (Prince 1981). This means that

discourse can be interpreted very broadly and include many facts and ideas that aid in the interpretation of the linguistic utterances. Prince also separates discourse into two categories: new information and old information (Prince 1981, Horn 1989). She takes this separation one step further and distinguishes between hearer information and discourse information. That is to say, something can be old/new with regards to the hearer, and something can be old/new in relationship to the discourse. As for the status of the information with relationship to the hearer, Prince states that “information, by which is here generally meant entities/referents, may be old/new with respect to (*the speaker's beliefs about*) *the hearer's beliefs*” (1992:5 emphasis mine).<sup>18</sup> Essentially, Prince tries to show that hearer-status (i.e. the hearer’s beliefs, etc.) can be “partially” independent from the discourse-status; however, the inverse is not true. If an entity is in the discourse, then it is necessarily within the realm of the hearer’s knowledge, belief, etc. To explain the point, Prince gives the following examples with an accompanying chart in (19) (Prince 1992:12).

- (17) a. I'm waiting for it to be noon so I can call *someone in California*.  
b. I figure *she*'ll be up by 9, her time.
- (18) a. I'm waiting for it to be noon so I can call *Sandy Thompson*.  
a. I figure *Sandy/she*'ll be up by 9, her time.

In (17), *someone* is a new entity to the discourse and it is new to the hearer; however, in the case of (18), *Sandy Thompson* is new to the discourse, but it is not new to the hearer, as it is assumed from this example that the hearer knows who Sandy Thompson is. (17) and (18) both have *she*, which in these sentences is now old to the

---

<sup>18</sup> The hearer’s beliefs might differ from what the speaker believes about the hearer’s beliefs, but this is not relevant for BP CFN, as such this will not be pursued.

discourse and old to the hearer. The chart in (19) shows Prince's organization of discourse information. Notice that if something is discourse old it would be impossible for it to be new to the hearer; thus, the Hearer New/Discourse Old cell of the table is blank.

(19) **Hearer- and Discourse-status of a discourse entity:**

	Discourse New	Discourse Old
Hearer New	Brand new: (17)a. <i>someone</i>	
Hearer Old	Unused (18)a. <i>Sandy Thompson</i>	Evoked: (17)b. <i>she</i> (18)b. <i>Sandy/she</i>

In addition to things mentioned in the discourse, Prince claims that NPs can be discourse old if they are inferable from the context. She gives the following example which mentions the Bastille. Because the Bastille is an edifice, then it is inferable that the Bastille has a door. Therefore, B is felicitous because the context lets the hearer infer *the door* (Prince 1992:8).

- (20) A. He passed by the door of the Bastille and the door was painted purple.  
 B. He passed by the Bastille and the door was painted purple.

By the same token, example (21) is not felicitous because it is not inferable from mentioning the Bastille that there is *the trunk*. This example shows that the discourse-old requirement is not activated because *the trunk* is neither old to the hearer nor old to the discourse.

- (21) #He passed by the Bastille and the trunk was painted purple.

It is important that the ideas of presupposed information and discourse-information are distinct, even though they might at times intersect. The question can be asked: How is discourse-old different from presupposed information? To answer this, recall from the previous section what a presupposition is. Presupposition is related to the beliefs or assumptions related to assertions. The crucial point is that a presupposition may or may not enter the discourse. If it does not enter the discourse, it cannot be discourse-old according to Prince's definition. Example (22), repeated from above, shows the difference between presupposition and discourse-old. In case of sentence A, the presupposition is 'John smoked in the past' and the discourse-old assertion is 'John has stopped smoking'. Sentence B denies the presupposition 'John smoked in the past', but it does not deny the discourse-old assertion that 'John stopped smoking'. Sentence B' denies the discourse-old assertion 'John stopped smoking' and makes no direct claim about the presupposition 'John smoked in the past'.

- (22) A: O João já deixou de fumar.  
 DET João already stop.PST.3S PREP smoke.INF  
 'John has stopped smoking'
- B: Ele nunca fumou  
 3S never smoke.PST.3S  
 'He never smoked.'
- B'. Ele não deixou de fumar  
 3S NEG stop.PST.3S PREP smoke.INF  
 'He didn't stop smoking'

There is still another problem that lingers. Prince mentions the fact that discourse-information can be old if it is inferable. If something is inferable, then most likely that inference is due to assumptions that the speakers hold. In the case above, people presuppose that Bastilles have doors, and this presupposition is based on the fact that

people assume that buildings have doors. This is where the discussion encounters problems with inferable information, or better yet some presuppositions. CFN allows some inferable information to be negated using CFN, but there are instances where CFN is not allowed. The reason for this is related to a quasi-scale of grading for how readily inferable the information is. If the information is readily inferable, doors on a building, then it is allowed. However, if the information is not readily inferable, like chairs in a house, then CFN is not allowed. More on this is seen in examples (39) and (40). For now, it is sufficient to say that CFN is used to deny or negate presuppositions, but it is not allowed with all presupposition, thus giving the advantage to the discourse-information theory outlined for BP in the following paragraphs.

Schwenter attempts to extend Prince's analysis of NPs to whole propositions that are negated. He claims that CFN is licit when what is being negated is discourse-old, as in Prince's examples (17) and (18). Additionally, the discourse-old 'feature' can be on any part of the sentence. Part of Schwenter's goal is to show that emphasis and presupposition are not proper descriptions of CFN in BP. He separates his proposal from Schwegler and da Cunha's proposals by separating out hearer-old information and discourse-old information. Recall that discourse-old and hearer-old do not mean the same thing. That is, a proposition can be hearer-old, this is like a presupposition, but not discourse-old, i.e. present in the current discourse. It is the discourse-old status of/within the proposition that licenses the felicity of a sentence with CFN. For a proposition to be discourse-old, it would necessarily need to be uttered or inferred from the context, such as a Bastille having a door given in Prince's examples above.

Schwenter extends Prince's examples, which generally include only NPs, to larger pieces of the sentence. However, he doesn't fully define what a discourse-old proposition is. As such, for the purposes of this work, I define a proposition somewhat broadly because it has to include unspoken discourse as well as larger phrases such as VP/AgrP/etc... To give a complete definition of proposition for this work, I use the sentence below as an example:

(23) Sienna ate bean soup.

For a sentence like the one above, the proposition is *Sienna ate bean soup*. It is a proposition because it has a truth-value that can be calculated. Following Prince's proposals, if *Sienna ate bean soup* is uttered then it, the whole proposition, is discourse-old. Consequently, I call these propositions *discourse-old propositions*. Also, if the proposition (23) is uttered, then it has been directly activated in the discourse and it is discourse-old.

BP CFN extends the meaning of discourse-old propositions to include phrases and sentences inferred from the initial proposition. Inferred is the word that Prince uses but here I also say that BP CFN is connected to propositions that are entailed from the initial proposition. Propositions that are inferred or entailed from the initial proposition are considered to be indirectly activated in the discourse. However, although not directly activated in the discourse, they are discourse-old, much like the *door* in Prince's *Bastille* example.

Indirectly activated discourse-old propositions, as mentioned above, are related to what can be entailed from the initial proposition. Below are examples of inferred

discourse-old propositions. First, sentence (23) above entails sentences (24) and (25), and in an even more abstract way (26) :

(24) Sienna ate something

(25) Someone ate bean soup.

(26) Someone ate something.

Using a quantifier like *something* potentially raises the number of possibilities almost infinitely. Thus, for a discourse-old proposition, the something must be 'related' to the original lexical idea. For example, it would not be possible to infer that *Sienna ate a kitchen table*, but this is not related to *bean soup* or even *food*. Again, this is much like Prince's example of *the Bastille door*, which is inferable from the discourse-old NP *the Bastille*. That is, something is 'related' if it is interpreted as part of some item in the proposition. The door on the Bastille is related because it is interpreted that a Bastille has door, i.e. it is an inherent quality of Bastilles to have doors. The idea of *a chest in a Bastille* cannot be inferred from the *Bastille* because a *chest* is not interpreted as part of the *Bastille*.

Also, much like Prince's theory, other variables, especially the postverbal ones, if not explicitly stated can be inferable. One can infer from the proposition that not only *Sienna ate soup* but also:

(27) *Sienna ate soup with a spoon.*

Other prepositional phrases or adverbial phrases 'related' to the original proposition are also inferable propositions that originated from the discourse-old proposition.

Schwenter illustrates the discourse-old requirement for CFN in BP with examples (28) and (29) (2005:1434). (28) shows that if the proposition, ‘ Someone turn off the stove’, has not been introduced into the discourse, then the final *não* is infelicitous.

*[A speaker is walking down the street talking to her friend about a recent soccer game. Suddenly she remembers that she forgot to turn off the stove and says:]*

(28) Nossa! Eu não desliguei o fogão (#nãõ)!  
 Ours! 1S NEG turn.off.PST.1S DET stove (#NEG)  
 ‘Damn! I didn’t turn off the stove!’

Notice the difference in the next example where the proposition ‘you turn off the stove’ is introduced into the discourse through a simple dialogue.

*[same situation as (28), the friend (a) asks (b):]*

(29) a. Você desligou o fogão, né?  
 2SG turned.off.2S DET stove, right  
 ‘You turned off the stove, right?’  
 b. Nossa! (Nãõ) desliguei não!  
 Ours! NEG turn.off.PST.1S NEG  
 ‘Damn! I didn’t turn it off!’

Recall that according to Prince’s definition of discourse that the information does not necessarily have to be introduced verbally. If there is something in the conversation that has been introduced either verbally or not, then CFN is felicitous. In this case, the idea of ‘dropping the papers’ or ‘that you dropped the papers’, which is reduced to the pro-from *isso*, is what activates the CFN. It can be inferred that dropping the papers or doing something wrong or bad is generally not good, and when people do something bad they feel bad. Again, this is like Prince’s Bastille-door example. The same can be

said with doing an act that is bad, where it can be inferred that people feel bad because of a certain act.

*[A Woman drops a stack of papers while working with her friend. The women, referring to the event (dropping the papers) says:]*

- (30) Esquenta                    por causa        disso                não<sup>19</sup>  
 Heat.up.IMP.2S        PREP cause    PREP.DEM        NEG  
 'Don't worry about it'

Now note, example (31) shows that even if the discourse is in progress, if the information is not present (discourse-old), then CFN is not felicitous. This is because in this case the proposition of 'going to the beach' is not introduced into the discourse, and as such is not discourse-old.

*[A conversation about a recent trip to Rio de Janeiro]*

- (31) A.    O que            você não        fez    no                    Rio que queria        fazer?  
 DET what        2S NEG        did.2S PREP.DET        Rio that want.IMP.2S do.INF  
 'What didn't you do in Rio that you wanted to do?'  
 B.    Eu não fui                à                    praia (#não).  
 1S NEG went.1S        PREP.DET        beach (NEG)  
 'I didn't go to the beach.'

This conversation could be imagined in a different way, where the two friends spoke before the trip about the plans that B has made, one of which was going to a beach like Copacabana. Now that the trip is over, A asks the question. Even though the information is hearer-old, it is not licit to use CFN because it is not discourse-old, i.e. not present in the discourse.

---

<sup>19</sup> i.e. i.        Esquenta por causa do fato de você ter deixado cair a folhas **não**.  
 'Don't worry about the fact that you let the papers fall'

Schwenter also makes a distinction between T2 and T3, however in both cases, the motivation for CFN is related the discourse-information status of the proposition. His initial questions about this arise due to the actual percentage of usage found in corpus studies. For example, in da Cunha's study and spoken corpus from northeastern Brazil, there are only nine examples of T3 out of a total of 1465 negatives, a mere .6% (1996, 2001, 2007). Keep in mind that generally it is assumed that the dialects of northeastern Brazil are where CFN occurs most (Schwenter 2005). Roncarti's (1996) corpus had only 39 tokens out of 813, 4.7%. In each case, T2 has much higher rates of use, 10.8% in da Cunha and 17.9% in Roncarti; although, these pale in comparison to T1, which is always about or above 75%. Additionally, these low numbers for T3 almost always included repetition of the same verb previously mentioned in the discourse with no object present. Roncarti's study shows that 72%, 28/39 of all the T3 sentences, were similar to the next example, where T3 occurs in response to a direct question and the same verb is used. Roncarti also states that the other tokens, 11/39, were the expression *sei não* 'I don't know' which is considered by the author to be a lexicalized form due to its similarity with another lexicalized form *sei lá* 'I don't know (literally I know there)'.<sup>20</sup>

- (32) A.    Você gostou da                    palestra        da        Maria?  
           2S    liked    PREP.DET    presentation    PREP.DET    Maria  
           'Did you like Maria's presentation?'  
       B.    gostei não  
           liked.1S NEG  
           'I didn't like it'

---

<sup>20</sup> This form should not be confused with CFN in BP. The expression *sei lá* only means 'I don't know'. The adverb *lá* 'there' is only valid as a negative item in this context. Interestingly, *quero lá saber* 'I don't want to know' is also grammatical. This is related to chapter three where the position of the verb was discussed and adverbs helped show verb movement to T.

Schwenter shows that if the verb is different in examples like (32) then T3 is not licit; however, T2 is. The author shows this in (33) where it is inferable that A believes (i.e. pragmatically presupposes) that B went to Maria's talk (2005:1449). The proposition that is being negated is *X went to Maria's presentation*, and because of this Schwenter claims that T2 is allowed.

- (33) A. Você gostou da palestra da Maria?  
 2S liked PREP.DET presentation PREP.DET Maria  
 'Did you like Maria's presentation?'  
 B. # fui não **T3**  
 Went.1S NEG  
 'I didn't go'  
 C. Não fui não **T2**  
 NEG went.1S NEG  
 'I didn't go'

Because T3 is not allowed in these situations, Schwenter claims that T3 is a subset of T2 in that it is discourse linked but it can only be used when the discourse old proposition is directly activated, meaning it must be used with a repetition of the verb in the proposition.

Biberauer & Cyrino (2009) also notice difference between T2 and T3. Although they do make not mention of the semantic/pragmatic mechanics that allow CFN, they show that T3 can only be used in the context of a presupposition denial. T2 does not have this restriction, as Schwenter states, and it can be inferred from the context. In the example sentences from Biberauer & Cyrino, a question is asked that allows inferred information to become discourse-old (Schwenter's term, not theirs), and therefore, T2 is

licit. For the examples below, the response ‘I cannot find my cat’ infers that people normally feel emotional when they lose a pet. This type of context inference is not available in T3 CFN. This suggests that T2 and T3 are different and it is another example that T3 is limited in its discourse function to directly activated discourse information. In the case of this situation, it must be mentioned that for B to be felicitous, it must be the case that A knows that B has a cat, and that the cat is loved by B. If A is not aware of these facts, then in neither case is CFN licit. However, if A knows this then B can use T2 CFN because it can be inferred that sadness and a certain desperation might accompany the loss of a pet. Again, even knowing the facts of this exchange, it is not licit to use T3 because the discourse information has not been directly activated.

- (34) A. Por que você está desesperada? O que aconteceu?  
 why 2S ARE.2 desperate.F? what happen.PST.3S  
 ‘Why are you desperate? What’s happened?’
- B. Eu não tô achando minha gatinha não T2  
 1S NEG am finding 1S pussycat NEG  
 ‘I cannot find my pussycat’
- B’. \*Tô achando minha gatinha não T3  
 am finding 1s pussycat NEG  
 ‘I cannot find my pussycat’

One question for Schwenter’s proposal remains. He cites the example, seen above in (15), as a reason to favor discourse-old over presupposition. What is presupposed in A’s sentence is that ‘John smoked in the past’. Because the negation in the second clause applies to the presupposed content and not the proposition ‘John has stopped smoking’, the use of CFN is not felicitous. Thus, in this case the presuppositional aspect of the sentence does not license CFN.

- (35) A: O João já deixou de fumar.  
 DET João already stop.PST.3S PREP smoke.INF  
 'John has stopped smoking'
- B: Ele nunca fumou (#não).  
 3SG never smoke.PST.3S NEG  
 'He never smoked.'

Schwenter's proposal accounts for when CFN is felicitous and explains when it is not. However, it does not explain why T3 is allowed to negate a sentence on its own or why T2 is not a double negative. For the purposes of his proposal it is not necessary to explain these ideas (see section 6.3.7).

### 5.3 Applying the Theory

This section presents additional evidence to show that Schwenter's discourse-old model for BP negation is correct. Although I have explained Schwenter's proposal, here I add to his examples to show that the discourse-old proposal captures all sorts of different BP data. I will be using data from previous researchers as well as data that I collected through the use of reality TV shows and data I gathered and tested through grammaticality judgments from my consultants both in Brazil and in the US. Additionally, while I reject the claims that emphasis and presupposition/contrary-to-fact are the primary motivations for CFN, I do not claim that the CFN cannot be used with these intended meanings. Rather, I claim that Schwenter's use of Prince's theory is a more precise use of linguistic tools to account for more data and it can also be implemented to give a greater understanding of the syntactic forces behind these structures.

The first example comes from a television program where the reporter is asking the woman if her ex-husband's wife is going to get custody of the child. Notice that here

the direct question is answered, and then the women claims that the child will not be taken away. In this case, the CFN is licensed because ‘she take-away your son’ is discourse-old. While this might be an emphatic use of CFN, it is not contrary to fact or presupposition on the part of the reporter. His question is related to the ex-husband’s wife wanting to take away the child, and the women responds by stating what she thinks will happen, although, she acknowledges that the ex-husband’s wife wants to gain custody.

- (36) A. Ela tá quereno tirá o seu filho, num é isso?<sup>21</sup>  
 3S.F is wanting take.INF DET 2S son, NEG is that?  
 ‘She wants to take your son, isn’t that right?’
- B. é, é isso, mai ela **num** tirá **não** porque...  
 is, is that, but 3S.F NEG take NEG because...  
 ‘It is, that’s it, but she won’t take him because...’

Another example comes from a monologue, where a wife is yelling at her husband. Here she is explaining that he is always following her around and is getting into her business. She introduces proposition ‘you look for me’ which entails the proposition ‘someone look for someone’, and later is able to use CFN because this has already been activated in the discourse.

---

<sup>21</sup> Taken from youtube.com on April 23, 2009  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PMKRWOxzSdg=1&playnext\\_from=PL&index=5](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PMKRWOxzSdg=1&playnext_from=PL&index=5)

(37) Tu me tiraste... porque eu tava numa boa e eu não queria que ...  
 2S 1S took.2S because 1S was PREP.DET good and 1S NEG wanted that

andar de madrugada atrás de mim porque  
 ...walk.INF PREP early.morning PREP PREP 1S because

eu **nunca** andei atrás de tu **não**.<sup>22</sup>  
 1S never walked.1S PREP PREP 2S NEG

'You took me...because I was doing great, and I didn't want you to look for me in the early morning because I never was looking for you.'

Finally, I present one more instance of CFN captured in writing. On an informal blog, a woman discusses a breakup that she recently suffered. She is able to use CFN because the discourse-old proposition 'he to speak with me' is mentioned, and thus activates CFN through the inferred proposition 'someone to speak with someone'.

(38) ...e teve um dia q fui em uma pagode perto  
 and have.PST DET day that was.1S PREP DET pagode close

da minha casa ne, q ele esperou acabar p/ tentar  
 PREP. DET 1S house NEG.is, that 3S waited finish.INF PREP try.INF

falar comigo, e ai eu **não** falei com ele **não**.<sup>23</sup>  
 talk.INF PREP.1S and there 1S NEG speak.1S PREP 3S NEG

'And there was a day that I went to a Pagode close to my house, right, and he waited until the party finished to talk to me, and so I didn't talk to him'

I now give some examples where the discourse-old status is not activated and as such, the CFN is not felicitous. (39) introduces 'painting the house' into the discourse; however, nothing about painting chairs was mentioned, therefore the CFN is not

<sup>22</sup> Taken from youtube.com on April 29, 2009  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JeDRh2YF5E&feature=related>

<sup>23</sup> Taken from yahoo brazil on April 29, 2009  
<http://br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090324060211AAmhc3>

felicitous in B. That is, although the discourse-old proposition ‘they paint the house’ was introduced, ‘paint the chairs’ cannot be inferred because *chairs* is not an inherent property of a house, as walls, doors, and windows are.

- (39) A. Eu passei                    pela                    casa e pintaram                    a parede?  
 1S passed.1S                    PREP. DET                    house and painted.3P                    DET wall  
 ‘I went by the house, and did they paint the walls?’
- B. Pintaram,                    mas não pintaram                    as cadeiras (#não.)  
 Painted.3P,                    but NEG painted.3P                    DET chairs                    NEG  
 ‘They did, but they didn’t paint the chairs’

Prince predicts that inferred discourse items can be negated which means that sentence (40) is allowed because a door is inferred to be part of a house. This is different from example (39) above, where painting chairs cannot be inferred from painting a house. That is, chairs are not directly relevant to painting a house, unless they were mentioned in the discourse, which is not the case here. Painting a door or walls is directly related to painting a house as each of the make-up part of the house, i.e. the physical structure.

- (40) A. Eu passei                    pela                    casa e pintaram                    a parede?  
 1S passed.1S                    PREP. DET                    house and painted.3P                    DET wall  
 ‘I went by the house, and did they paint the walls?’
- C. Pintaram,                    mas **não** pintaram                    a porta                    **não**.  
 Painted.3P,                    but NEG painted.3P                    DET door                    NEG  
 ‘They did, but they didn’t paint the door’

This section explained the different analysis used to explain the semantic/pragmatic reasons for CFN. It was shown that neither the emphasis nor the presupposition claims are sufficient to capture all of the data. Schwenter’s discourse-old application of

Prince's information structure theory is able to account for BP and CFN. The section also argues that T2 and T3 differ. That is, T3 appears to be a subset of T2 that is limited to directly activated proposition.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This chapter's goal was to give an explanation to the discourse restrictions that affect the felicity of CFN sentence in BP. I have shown that previous attempts to understand CFN in terms semantics/pragmatics have not been able to fully capture the meaning and use of CFN. I presented Schwenter's (2005) use of Prince's Discourse-Information theory. His results were that CFN in BP is licensed if what is being negated is discourse-old information. Discourse-old information was defined as a proposition that had been previously introduced into the discourse, either verbally or non-verbally. After presenting his theories, I applied the discourse-old theory to several new sentences of BP and showed that this theory is capable of explaining the felicitous as well as the infelicitous sentences.

## CHAPTER 6 THE SYNTAX OF CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION

### 6.1 Introduction

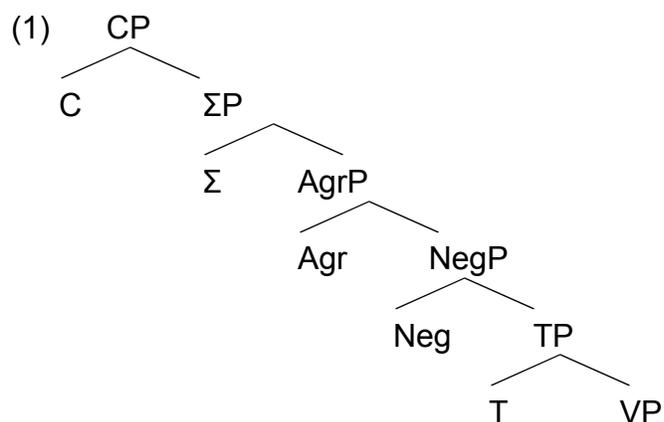
An analysis of BP negation should account for the semantic/pragmatic restrictions presented in chapter five as well as the syntactic restrictions presented in chapter one. A syntactic theory should account for the fact that CFN is not allowed in *wh*-questions, relative clauses. It should also account for the licensing of *n*-words. Finally, an analysis should account for the acceptability of CFN in topic structures, imperatives, direct questions, and embedded clauses. Section 6.2 discusses previous analyses of BP CFN and the extent to which they capture the syntactic patterns from BP data. In section 6.3, I introduce my own analysis of CFN which builds on these earlier proposals and the semantic/pragmatic theory argued for in chapter five.

### 6.2 Previous Accounts

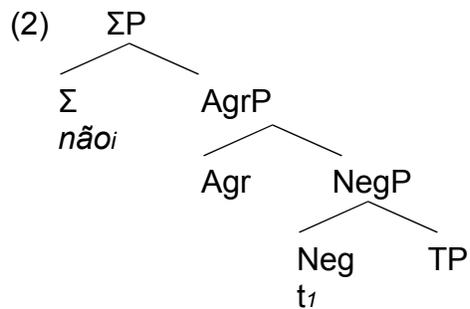
#### 6.2.1 Martins 1997

Martins (1997) discusses sentential negation in BP within a minimalist framework. She, like those who propose an emphasis explanation, assumes that the change that has taken place in BP negation is directly related to the Jespersen Cycle. She agrees with those in the emphatic camp, discussed in section 5.2.1, that the postverbal negative maker is an emphatic negative marker that came about due to the preverbal marker weakening to the point of not negating a sentence on its own because of the weakened negative feature (Zanuttini 1997). In fact, Martins claims that preverbal negation is not sufficient to negate a sentence, which equates BP with modern French (1997:24).

To structurally explain CFN in BP, Martins discusses European Portuguese and what she labels Standard BP. She assumes that European Portuguese and Standard BP have the following clause structure:



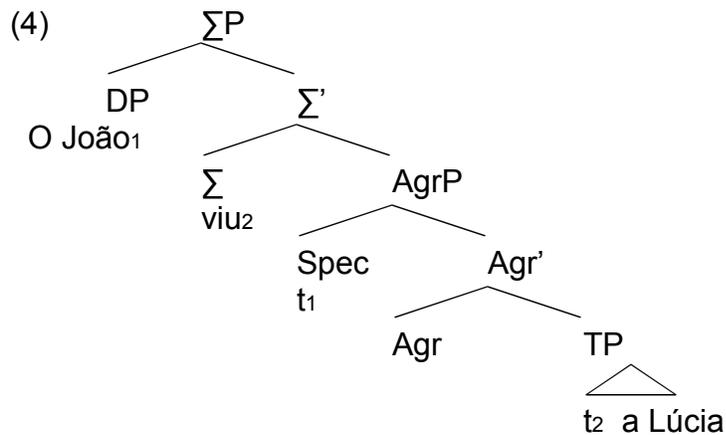
She claims that two XPs are responsible for negation: NegP (Pollock 1989), where the negative markers are inserted, and  $\Sigma$ P, similar to Laka (1990), where the negative markers check their negative features. The negative marker is inserted in NegP and subsequently moves to  $\Sigma$ P to check its strong negative feature. For Martins, feature checking describes certain strong morpho-syntactic features on heads and phrases (like [+neg] on *não*) that need to be checked against some matching feature elsewhere in the structure in order to license the derivation. This is done through movement of a lexical item that carries a feature to some position in the syntactic derivation where it can check that feature. Feature checking forces the item to move to a position that is structurally local, and the tree in (2) shows the movement of the negative marker in a European Portuguese or Standard BP sentence.



For a positive sentence, Martins proposes movement of the verb, with a [+pos] feature, to  $\Sigma$  to check the [+pos] feature on  $\Sigma$ . The subject moves to spec, $\Sigma$ P. All of this happens, according to Martins, because the verb needs to check its positive feature.

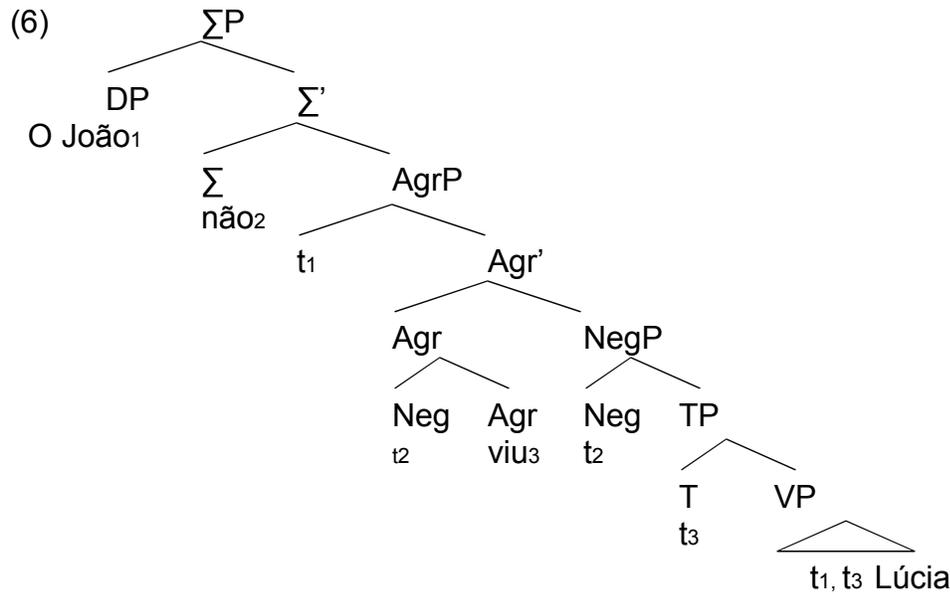
(3) gives a positive declarative sentence where the verb moves to  $\Sigma$  and then the subject moves to spec, $\Sigma$ P.

(3) João viu a Lúcia  
 John saw DET Lúcia  
 'John saw Lúcia'

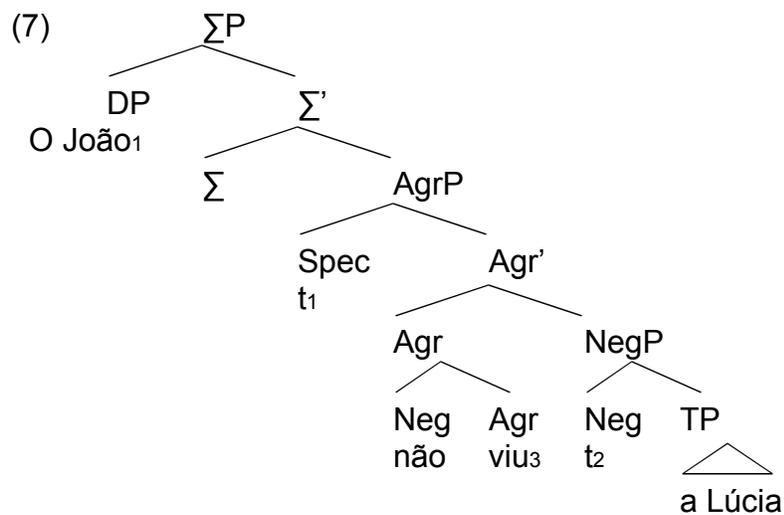


A negative version of the sentence has *não* moving from the inserted position, NegP, to an adjoined position in AgrP. From there, the negative marker moves to the head of  $\Sigma$ P, and the subject also moves to spec, $\Sigma$ P.

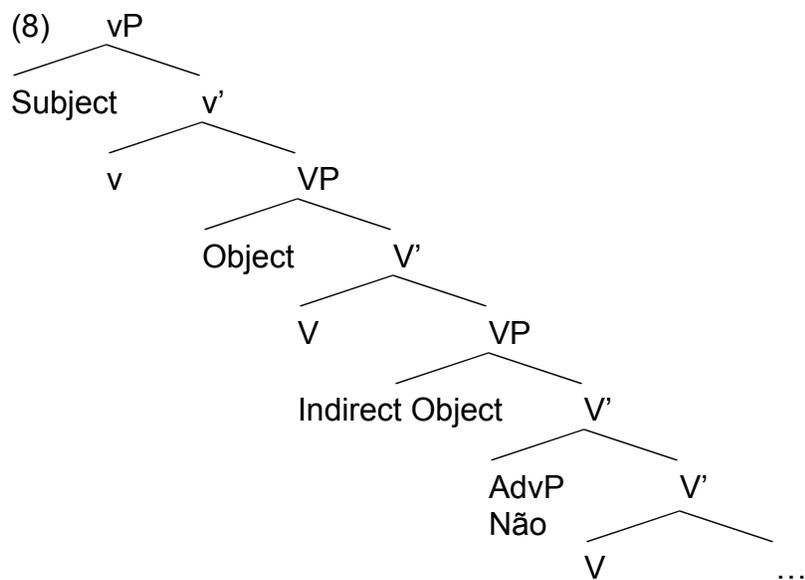
- (5) João não viu a Lúcia  
 John NEG saw.3S DET Lúcia  
 John didn't see Lucia'



According to Martins, BP is different from European Portuguese and Standard BP. She claims that the phonological weakening of the negative marker from *não* [nãw] to *num* [nu], mentioned in chapter four, indicates that there has been a loss of strong features, therefore *num* (the phonologically weak form) does not move to  $\Sigma$  before the sentence is pronounced. The derivation of a BP sentence (5) is (7) where the negative marker does not move to  $\Sigma$ . Although she does not mention this, she assumes that the verb in positive sentences still moves to  $\Sigma$ , as this is present in all derivations, and the subject likewise moves to the specifier position. At LF the negative marker moves to  $\Sigma$  to check its negative features.

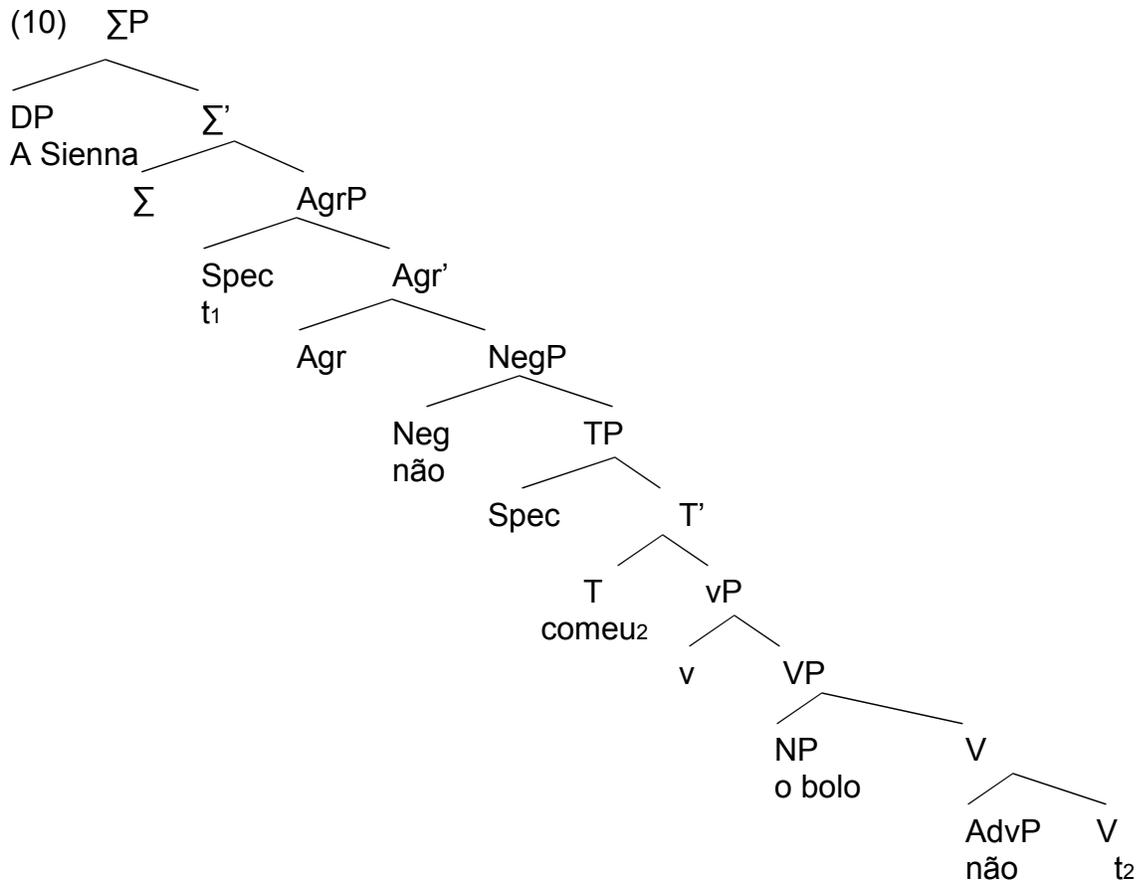


Martins proposes a second instance of *não* that corresponds to the emphatic postverbal *não* which is what gives rise to T2. This second *não* is not in NegP, where the weakened *não* resides, but rather in some adverbial position that is part of the VP shell. She claims the postverbal *não* is clause-final because of the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) developed by Kayne (1994). The *não* needs to be in the lowest position that is c-commanded by everything else because the sentence precedes the clause-final *não*. She claims that BP has a complex VP with several XPs or multiple VPs as Larson (1988) suggests seen in (8) (1997:34).



That being the case, (9) has the structure in (10), where the CFN is an adverb adjoined to VP.

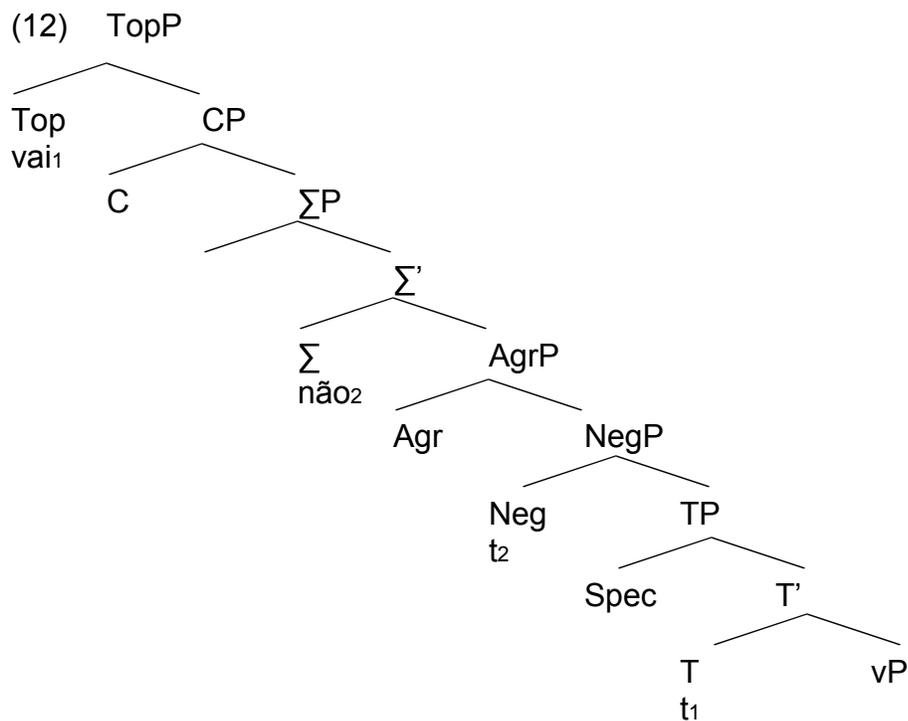
- (9) A Sienna não comeu o bolo não  
 DET Sienna NEG eat.PAST.3S DET cake NEG  
 'Sienna didn't eat the cake.'



While assuming that T1 and T2 are essentially the same in function, the author notes that T3 is generally an answer to direct yes/no questions; therefore, it needs to be treated differently. (11) includes direct yes/no question and a T3 answer.

- (11) a. O João vai?  
 DET John go.3S  
 'Is John going?'
- b. Vai não  
 go.3S NEG  
 'No'

Martins sees this type of structure as a topic/comment structure where the verb is the topic and the negation is the commentary on the topic (Barme 2000). To syntactically explain this, as well as to differentiate it from T2 in the syntax, she proposes movement of T to a topic phrase above CP.<sup>24</sup> According to Martins, the verb acts as the topic of the sentence in answers to BP direct questions. In this case, *não* is generated in NegP, but *now* it has a strong feature, and so moves to  $\Sigma$ P to check its strong feature.



<sup>24</sup> Martins wrote around the same time as Rizzi (1997) so the fact that the TopP is above CP might be merely the fact that Rizzi's proposals hadn't made it to her paper. The fact that TopP is above CP means little for her analysis here.

Martins makes three essential claims about CFN in BP:

- i) the negative marker has weakened (with regards to her claims about the JC) to the point that it needs reinforcement
- ii) a postverbal AdvP is generated to reinforce the weakened negative marker. This adjunct is a strong *não*, similar to other adverbials seen in languages that undergo the JC
- iii) T3 is a case of topicalization (making it different from T2), where the verb moves to a topic position (TopP) and the negative marker moves to  $\Sigma$ .

Martins' distinction between T2 and T3 is important because it highlights the difference in the contexts that these generally occur; nonetheless, she does run into some problems with her proposal. Recall that the two kinds of restrictions on BP CFN: semantic/pragmatic and syntactic. First, Martins does not fully explain why in normal cases *não* has weak features and does not move to  $\Sigma$ P, but in cases of T3, it does. Second, she assumes that T2 can occur in all syntactic contexts just like T1 and, consequently, her analysis does not explain why CFN is not allowed in wh-questions. With other emphatic markers in BP, the emphatic marker is allowed in wh-questions. The question remains: why do wh-questions not permit her emphatic negative marker? Third, Martins' analysis does not take into account the semantic/pragmatic restrictions on CFN; they are not captured. T2 negation might be an instance of adverbial adjunction, but she does not explain why in some cases the postverbal *não* is not allowed depending on the discourse conditions.

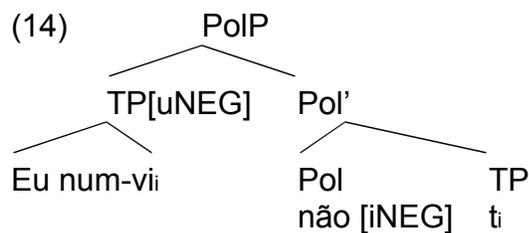
### 6.2.2 Fonseca 2004

Fonseca (2004) analyzes negation within a minimalist framework. Much like Martins, she assumes two projections that deal with negative markers, PolarityP (PolP) and NegP. PolP is similar to Martins'  $\Sigma$ P in that it is a functional projection with polarity

values, i.e. negative or positive, and NegP is similar to that in Pollock (1989). Fonseca claims that features need to be checked before Spell-Out, and the need to check features is what causes movement visible at PF. For her, weak features do not move at PF, but rather at LF.

Fonseca claims that the BP preverbal *não* is weak in two regards. First, based on phonological weakening and the Jespersen Cycle, *não* is weak, it is a clitic that attaches to the verb (comparable to what happens in French), and it is generated in Neg. Second, and related to the first according to Fonseca, the clitic negative marker has weak negative features, akin to [uNEG] features, that must be checked before Spell-Out. To check its negative feature, the negative marker moves from Neg to the specifier of PolP. According to her, the only way to do this for BP is TP movement to spec,PolP where it forms a spec-head relationship with another negative marker. The head of PolP is the second negative marker *não* that needs to form a checking relationship, but this marker has strong features ([iNEG]), which allows it and the clitic negative marker to match their negative features (Fonseca 2004:16). This is seen in the simple derivation below of sentence (14). While the preverbal negative marker is the element that carries the [uNEG] feature, the whole verbal complex must move to match this feature because the negative marker cliticizes to the verb. However, she extends this further and claims that TP has the negative feature, and this is the reason the entire clause to move to spec,PolP.

(13) Eu num        vi                não.  
       1S NEG        saw.1S            NEG  
       'I didn't see (it)'



To account for T3 negation, Fonseca posits deletion of the preverbal *não*, based on Jespersen Cycle weakening, which means that T2 and T3 are essentially the same according to her. Fonseca's main claims include the idea that the preverbal marker is weakened and therefore is unable to negate a sentence by itself, again like in French, and the postverbal negative marker takes over as the semantically negative element in the sentence. Her main claims are summarized as follows:

- i) The preverbal marker is too weak to negate the sentence on its own, i.e. it has a [uNEG] feature.
- ii) The preverbal *não* cliticizes to the verb
- iii) A strong marker with [iNEG] feature is generated in Pol.
- iv) The entire TP moves to spec,PolP in order to check the negative feature in TP

I believe that Fonseca is right in trying to align BP with what is known about other Romance languages in that she claims that the preverbal marker is weak and unable to negate a sentence on its own. However, her proposal runs into technical and theoretical problems and inconsistencies. Syntactically, she claims that the weak marker moves at LF and that the same space reserved for LF movement is occupied by the postverbal *não*. More important however, is the claim that the preverbal marker is weak. This on its own is difficult to defend because all the corpus studies related to negation in BP show that T1, preverbal only, is the overwhelming choice for negation.

Even though there are problems with the syntactic development, a larger problem is her lack of pragmatic/semantic discussion. She does not give any explanation of the pragmatic restrictions on T2 and T3. However, she does identify the need to have movement of a large part of the structure to a higher position in the tree. Although she doesn't mention the syntactic environments that block CFN, namely wh-questions and relative clauses, Fonseca's structure does block the A'-movements involved in these constructions. The TP movement that she argues for creates an island out of which additional movement is prohibited. This last observation, although not made directly by Fonseca, is part of the analysis I ultimately propose for BP CFN.

### **6.2.3 Cavalcante 2007**

More recently, Cavalcante (2007) continues with Martins' claim that T2 and T3 are syntactically different. Cavalcante uses several different corpus studies to determine where all three types occur. From there, within a minimalist framework, he proposes structural positions for the postverbal *não*. The author determines, based on the different corpus studies, that T2 occurs in main clauses and in embedded clauses, and T3 cannot occur in embedded clauses or with topic constructions. To account for the different types of CFN in BP, he proposes the use of a new type of XP, a Denial Phrase (DenP). For Cavalcante, DenP accounts for T2 and T3 in main clauses, but it doesn't resolve the issue of T2 in embedded clauses. He proposes that for T2 in embedded clauses, there is *não* that adjoins to TP following which TP moves to the specifier of TopP. I explain his mechanisms below.

Following Rizzi's (1997) idea of an expanded CP, Cavalcante positions DenP above ForceP and assumes NegP to be below TP and above VP. His structure for BP is (15).

(15) DenP – ForceP – FinP – IP/TP – NegP -VP

Crucial for Cavalcante's proposal is the existence of a Denial Phrase above ForceP. The head of DenP is filled by an abstract phonologically null element that has some denial feature checked by the insertion of *não* in to the specifier. He explains that DenP is a category responsible for codifying discourse information that "refers to a confirmation or a denial of a previous presupposition" (Cavalcante 2007:129).<sup>25</sup> He claims that *não* in the following sentences is in DenP. **Não** in this sentence denies the previous presupposition.

- (16) A. E mora aqui ou a senhora mora em outro lugar?  
And lives here or DET lady lives PREP other place  
And does she live here or does she live in another place'
- B. **Não**, ela mora... ela morava... depois desse home daí...  
NEG, 3S.F lives 3S.F live.IMP after PREP.DEM man PREP.ADV  
'**No**, she lives...she used to live...after that man from over there'

Because DenP is above CP, he states that DenP cannot be selected which means, according to him, that DenP does not have scope over the sentence, and therefore, it does not change the polarity of the sentence (2007:129). As DenP is above ForceP, T3 does not occur in embedded clauses because then the negative marker would be outside the clause. He continues by stating that DenP does not change the polarity of a sentence, but rather denies the previous presupposition, which could be positive or negative. This means that in the case of T2, there is no semantic

---

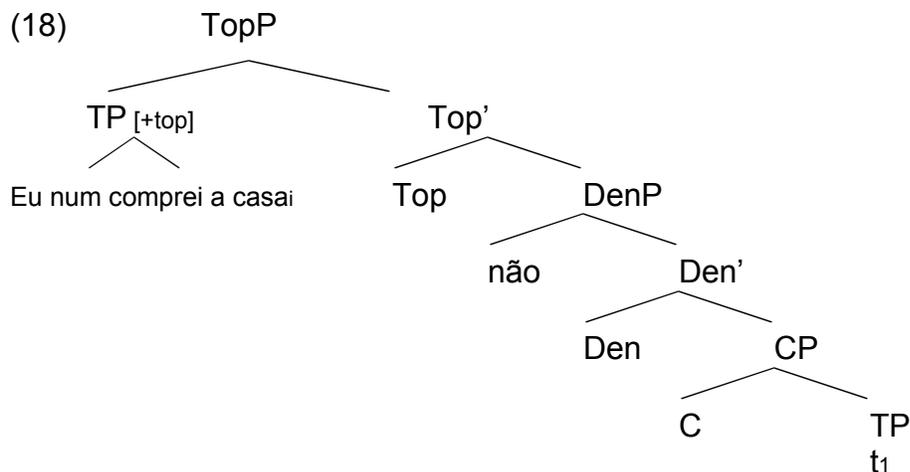
<sup>25</sup> "DenP é a categoria que aloja as profrases afirmativas e negativas (como SIM, É e NÃO) utilizadas em contextos de resposta a uma pergunta direta ou de assentimento ou denegação de uma declaração realizada anteriormente" (Cavalcante 2007:129)

"DenP is a category that houses affirmative and negative profrases (such as YES, IS, and NO) used in the context where they are the response to a direct question or assertion, or denial of a previous declaration."

confusion because the postverbal negative marker is there only to *confirm* the presupposition. The wording of his definition prevents a double negative interpretation in T2 contexts.

Cavalcante gives sentence (17) as an example of T2 in the main clause. To generate a typical T2 sentence, BP uses a DenP to insert the denial marker *não* as the specifier. Recall that the Den is filled by what Cavalcante calls an abstract element. Above the DenP is a TopicP, also outside of CP. His TopP above CP is also headed by an abstract head that is phonologically null. TP moves to the specifier of TopP where TP checks some topic feature with the abstract element in the head (Cavalcante 2007:149). Note that Cavalcante does not mention what a sentence like (17) would mean. His only claim about T2 is that the final *não* does not change the polarity of the sentence. Based on his comments about T3, given with the next set of examples, I assume that a sentence like this means: *I confirm the presupposition that I didn't buy the house.*

(17) Eu num comprei a casa não  
 1s NEG bought.1s DET house NEG  
 'I didn't buy the house'



Different from T2, DenP does not confirm a phrase in T3, but rather denies it. Specifically he claims that “final negation in [V não] as a predication that does not have the function of altering the truth value of a proposition, but to express a denial of the presupposition (Cavalcante 2007:140).<sup>26</sup> Thus, in T3 sentences, NegP, which hosts preverbal negation, is not present. Under this assumption, the clause-final negative marker denies a presupposition. Example (19) means something like ‘I bought the house. That is not a true statement’, which is different from what he claims for T2.

- (19) Eu comprei                    a casa                    não  
       1s bought.1s                DET house                NEG  
       ‘I didn’t buy the house’

Cavalcante claims that DenP and his derivation are able to account for all instances of negation in BP except for T2 in embedded clauses, because DenP is outside the main clause, i.e. above it. Recall, Cavalcante states that the DenP cannot be selected, and therefore according to him, is unavailable for embedded clauses, and this rules out T3 in embedded clauses (Cavalcante 2007:141).

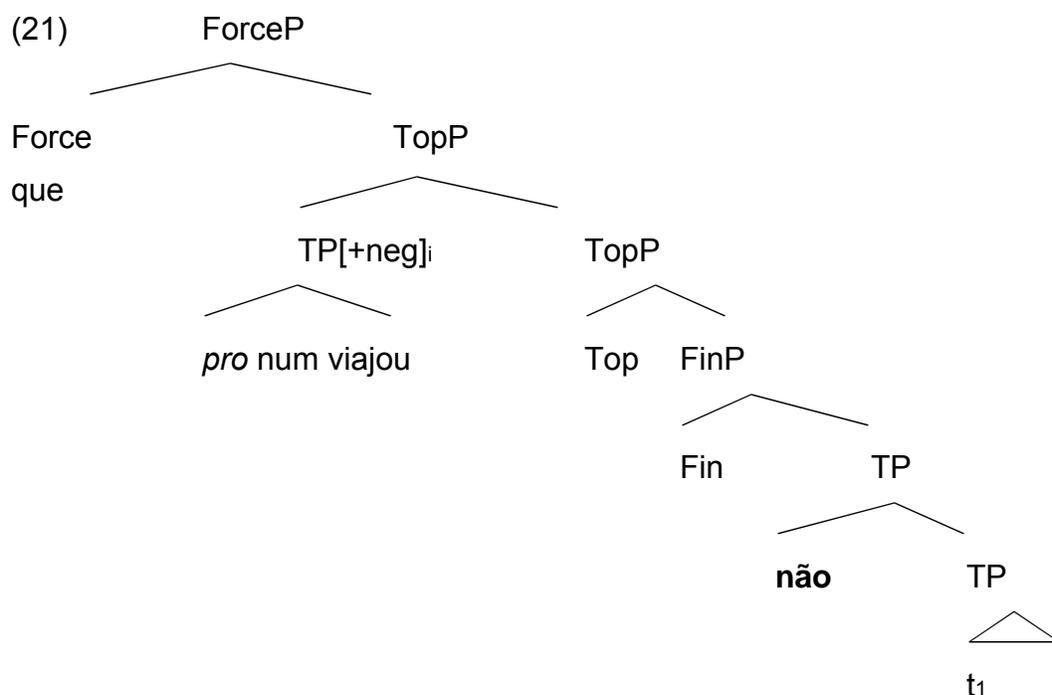
- (20) ?\*Ele disse                que    conseguiu                não  
       3s    said.3s                that    able.to.PST.3s                NEG  
       ‘He said that he wasn’t able to.’

To get around the problem of T2 negation in embedded clauses, he suggests that a second *não* adjoins above TP and below FinP and then the TP raises to Topic

---

<sup>26</sup> “Isso implica que, até a ativação do nível DenP, acima de ForceP, o sistema computacional realiza uma derivação em tudo semelhante à de uma sentença afirmativa, o que é compatível com a intuição de que a sentença funciona como um tópico e a negação final em [V não] como uma predicação que não tem a função de alterar o valor de verdade da proposição, mas expressar uma denegação sobre uma presuposição.” (Cavalcante 2007:140)

Phrases above FinP (Cavalcante 2007:149). He never explains why this mechanism is not available in main clauses for T2.



Cavalcante's study is helpful because he begins by systematically looking at where each type occurs. As such, he is able to separate out the occurrences of T2 and T3, and identify, through corpus studies, the syntactic situations that allow these types of negation. By doing this, he concludes that BP syntax generates T2 and T3 in the same manner in main clauses. Cavalcante also recognizes the fact that T2 and T3 seem to be linked to discourse, and so he developed DenP, which is a projection high in the derivation. His claims have their problems, however. Namely, his introduction of DenialP to the derivation is difficult to follow. He explains what it means to be a denial and not a negation, but is not consistent in using his own definition. In the case of T2, he states that the denial acts as affirmation of a negative sentence. In contrast, DenP is used as a denial of a positive sentence for T3. So while these positions, lexical items,

and discourse functions are the same, the semantic meaning changes to the point of being opposites. Additionally, the evidence that DenP cannot be selected is based solely on T3 data, i.e. T3 cannot be in embedded clauses. Stating that DenP is not selected does not seem to be compatible with what he states about it not having scope. Generally scope is seen to be related to syntactic hierarchy. As DenP is higher up in the derivation, it would then have scope over the whole sentence, contrary to what Cavalcante claims.

The fact that T2 has two different manifestations is also problematic. Cavalcante never answers the questions: what does the CFN contribute in embedded clauses? Does it have the same affirmation of negative presupposition? If the answer is yes, why doesn't this *não* appear in the denial phrase as is the case in main clauses. If the answer is no, what semantic information does CFN carry, if any, in embedded clauses. By separating T2 into two different derivations he causes confusion.

Finally, Cavalcante argues that topics are not licit in T3, but are in T2. His argument suffers because he also claims that T2 and T3 are syntactically identical in main clauses. This is a problem for his analysis, which he admits he cannot solve (2007:144).

### **6.3 A Proposal for Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese**

My proposal builds on these previous analyses coupled with the information presented in chapter five. I assume like Cavalcante that T2 and T3 are related to the discourse (Schwenter 2005). Also, I follow Martins and Cavalcante in that T3 sentences should involve topicalization, although I extend Martins' analysis to include topicalization of propositions and not just the verb, as in Cavalcante's analysis. The principal advantages of my analysis over the previously discussed ones are:

- i) All of the syntactic restrictions are accounted for
- ii) It provides a unified account of T2, which differs from Cavalcante who separates T2 into main and embedded clauses, and Martins who also suggests topicalization only for T3
- iii) The semantics of T2 and T3 are dealt with in a way that permits both types to occur motivated by the same semantic/pragmatic theory
- iv) It provides a more complete analysis of the semantic values of both negative markers in relationship to n-words

To support these claims, I give a structural analysis that is in line with what I accept from Schwenter (2005) as presented in section 5.2.3, and I account for the facts presented in chapter one. As a reminder, I present below a list of the syntactic environments relevant to CFN and whether they are grammatical or not. This table assumes that the discourse requirements are met. A  $\checkmark$  represents grammatical, and X represents ungrammatical. For T2 under Allowed in Object Relative Clauses, I put  $\checkmark^*$ , which refers to the obligatory sentence final position of the postverbal negative marker; however, half of my consultants indicate that these sentences are ungrammatical. Nonetheless, similar to previous authors, I treat them as grammatical.

Table 6-1. Syntactic Restrictions for BP CFN

Environment	T1	T2	T3
Discourse Requirements	<b>X</b>	√	√
Allowed in Relative Clauses in Subject Position	√	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>
Allowed in Relative Clauses in Object Position	√	√*	<b>X</b>
Allowed in Fronted Wh-questions	√	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>
Allowed in in-situ Wh-questions	√	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>
Allowed with Subject N-words	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	√
Allowed with Object N-words	√	√	<b>X</b>
Licenses NPI Idiomatic Expressions	√	√	<b>X</b>
Allowed in Embedded Clauses	√	√	√
Allowed in Imperatives	√	√	√
Compatible with Topicalization	√	√	√

The structural analysis specifically addresses the ban on T2 and T3 with wh-questions and relative clauses. It also addresses the differences between T2 and T3 in their interpretation and their licensing of NPI idiomatic expressions. Finally, these structures need to be checked against the facts related to n-words, which I discuss in chapter seven.

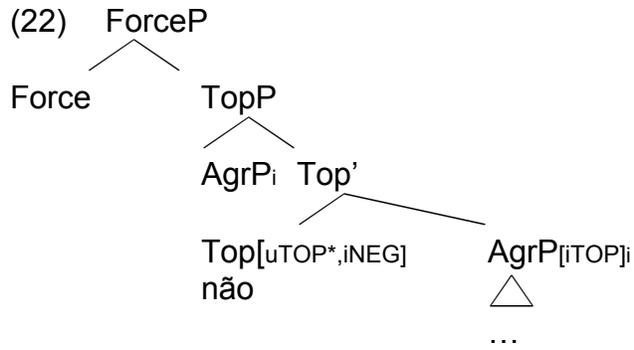
The syntactic proposal is that there is an XP below ForceP and above AgrP which houses a clause-final *não*. *Não* is the head of this phrase, and I call it a Top(ic) Phrase. This *não* ends up in a clause-final position when the entire clause, AgrP, moves to the specifier of TopP. In the case of T3, the head has an [iNeg] feature that negates the sentence it is in. With T2, this head has an [uNeg] feature that must be licensed by another negative element in the sentence.

The rest of this section is divided as follows. First I give the derivations of basic clauses containing CFN. From there, I show how my proposal accounts for the data represented by the table above. Principally, I discuss *wh*-words, relative clauses, topicalization, and imperatives. I hold off on *n*-words and discuss these in chapter seven. Section 6.3.7 ends by explaining the semantic differences between T2 and T3, and this section includes data regarding the licensing of idiomatic expressions by CFN.

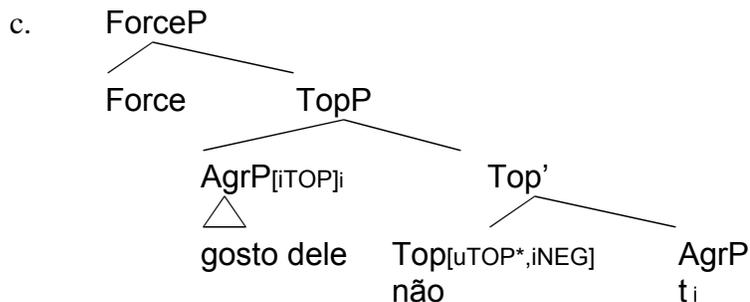
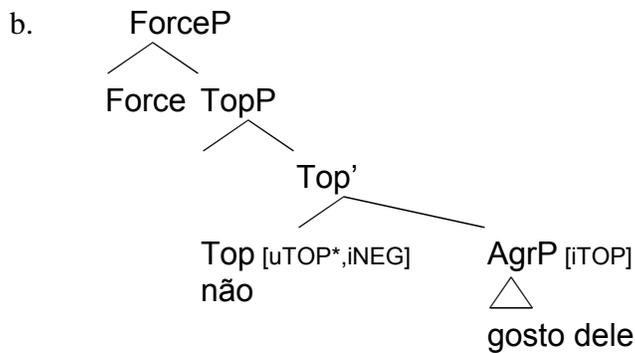
### 6.3.1 Derivation of Clause-Final Negation

I argue that T3 is formed by moving AgrP to the specifier of a lower TopP. This relates to the discussion in section 5.2.3 where I claimed that CFN is used when the proposition is discourse-old. It is this proposition that is being moved. Recall also, as laid out in chapter two, the use of strong features to drive movement. If an uninterpretable feature [*uF*\*] is strong, it must be checked by an interpretable instance of the feature in a spec-head configuration. If [*uF*] is weak, the feature can check against [*iF*] if it c-commands [*iF*].

In BP's CFN sentence, the head of TopP is *não*, which is a topic marker that has a [*iNEG*] feature and a strong [*uTOP*\*] feature. This TopP is the lower topic phrase briefly introduced in chapter two. The reason that this must be a lower topic phrase will be discussed in section 6.3.5. I assume that in derivations involving CFN, AgrP has a [*iTOP*] feature that checks the [*uTOP*\*] feature on Top. AgrP has the [*iTOP*] feature because this is the discourse-old proposition. In the derivation, AgrP[*iTOP*] moves to the specifier of TopP to satisfy the strong feature [*uTOP*\*] on *não* in Top. (22) gives a generic blue-print of a T3 structure, and (23) gives a T3 sentence and its derivation.



(23) a. Gosto dele não  
 Like.1s PREP.3s NEG  
 'I don't like him'



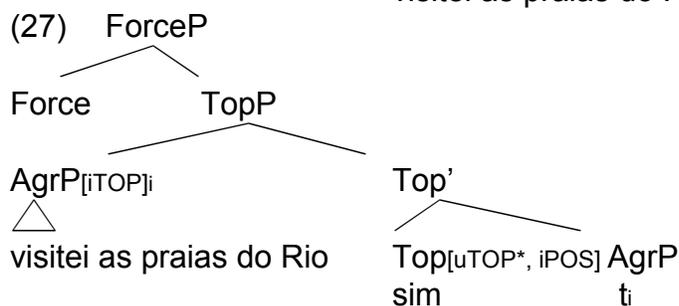
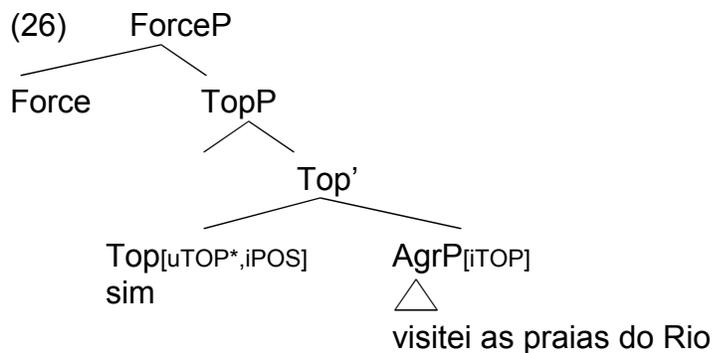
The basic idea, in line with the discourse-old hypothesis, is that if an AgrP contains discourse-old information then it can be topicalized in BP. By stating this, I am claiming that CFN is a case of proposition topicalization, where the topic marker has two features, a polarity feature that can be either negative [NEG] or positive [POS], and a strong uninterpretable topic feature [uTOP\*] that triggers movement. The polarity

feature on the discourse-old topic marker is not only seen with negative sentences, but also with positive sentences that make use of *sim* 'yes'. The same type of discourse requirements apply for the positive marker as they do for the negative marker. If the proposition is not discourse-old then it is infelicitous to use *sim*, as in (24). Note that there is no pause preceding *sim*. (25) would then take the entire sentence as the topic and move it to the specifier of this topic phrase with *sim* as the head. A full translation would be something like 'as for me visiting the beaches of Rio, that is a true statement'.

(24) Visitei as praias (#sim)  
 Visit.PST.1S DET beaches (yes)  
 'I visited the beaches'

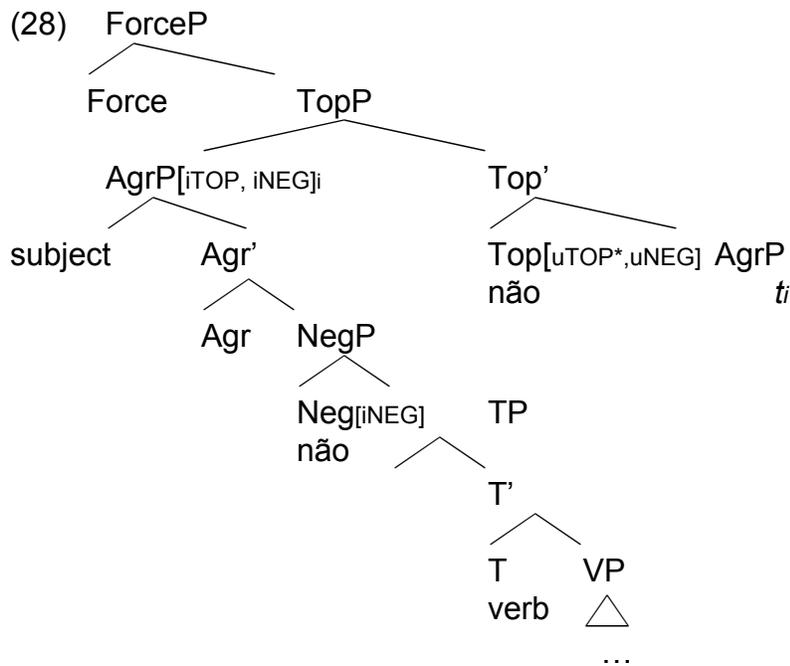
(25) a. Você viu as praias do Rio?  
 2S visit.PST.2S DET beaches PREP.DET Rio  
 'Did you visit the beaches of Rio'

b. Visitei as praias do Rio sim.  
 Visit.PST.1S DET beaches PREP.DET Rio yes  
 'I visited the beaches'



This *sim* is only allowed in contexts where the proposition is the topic, as in ‘visit the beaches of Rio’. If this proposition is not the topic, but a focused or new element, then the sentence becomes infelicitous with *sim* or *não*. Syntactically this means that the feature [iTOP] is not present on AgrP and therefore there is nothing to check the uninterpretable [uTOP\*] on Top, which can then not be present.

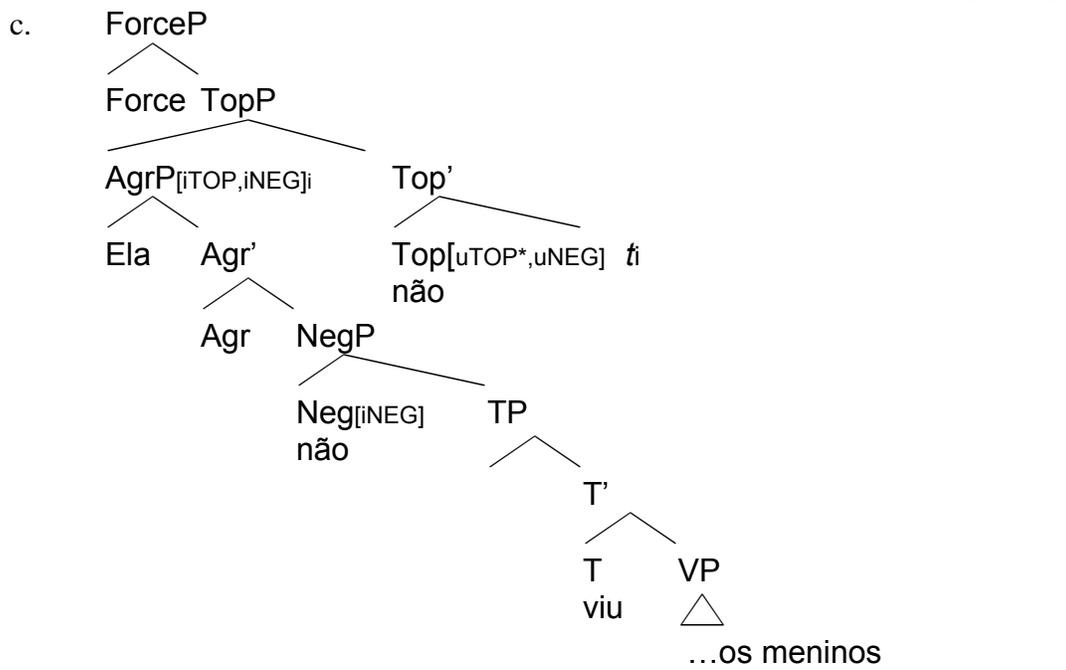
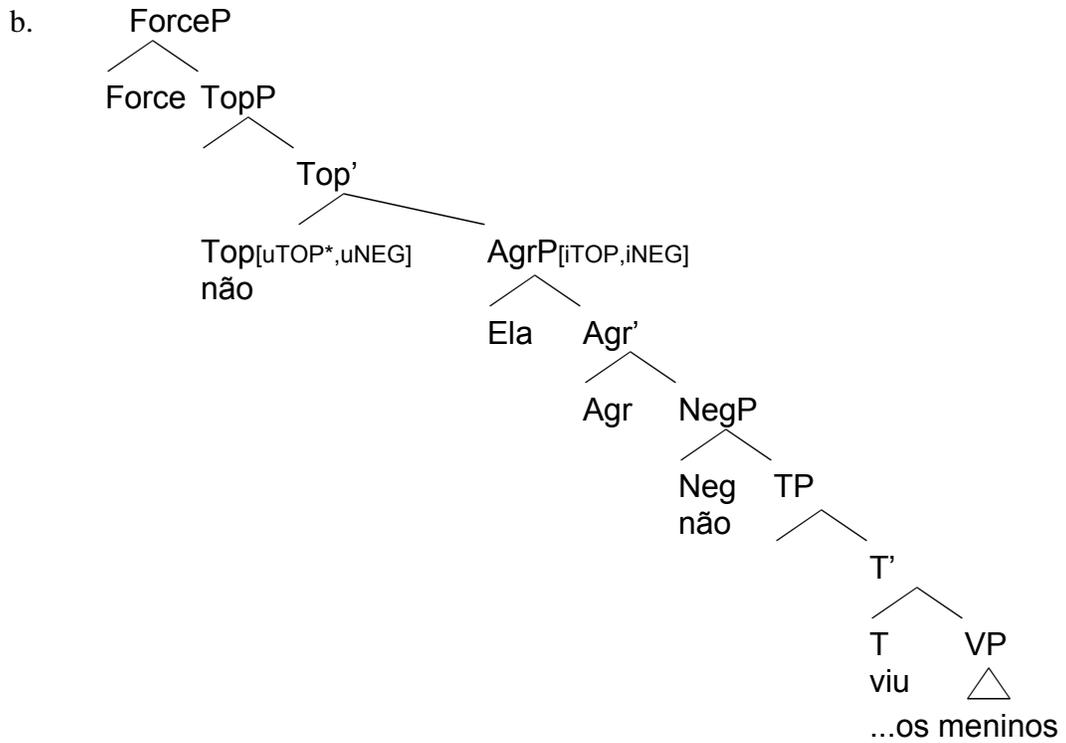
T2 is a combination of T1, discussed in chapter four, and the movement operation seen in T3. The preverbal marker is generated in its usual position, Neg, and the CFN marker is in Top. Unlike with T3, however, the CFN marker in this case does not have a [iNEG] feature but rather a [uNEG] feature. This means that the CFN marker in T2 is *not* sufficient to negate a sentence on its own (for a similar claim about Afrikaans see Biberauer 2009). I discuss the semantic issues related to the two negative markers further in section 6.3.7. Because the feature is uninterpretable, it must be checked by a semantically contentful [iNEG] elsewhere in the structure. The movement of AgrP is still motivated by a strong feature [uTOP\*] on the CFN marker. Again, I point out here that AgrP has a [iTOP] feature, but additionally, it also contains the [iNEG] feature from the preverbal negative marker. I propose that [iNEG] percolates from Neg to AgrP because the proposition as a whole is negative. It is this instance of [iNEG] that will check the uninterpretable [uNEG] feature on Top. (28) is a basic blue-print of a clause with T2:



The blue-print shows that after movement, AgrP c-commands the CFN marker. This position is what allows the [uNEG] feature to be checked. As chapter seven will show, for negative elements in BP to check their features, the [iNEG] feature must c-command the [uNEG] feature (Zeijlstra 2004, 2008). Thus, feature checking of the negative features must take place after Spell-Out and cannot take place prior to movement or under reconstruction.

Example (29) is a sentence that contains T2: Top is filled by *não*, the discourse requirement is met, and AgrP moves to spec,TopP.

- (29) a. Ela não viu os meninos não  
 3S NEG see.PST.3S DET kids NEG  
 'She didn't see the kids'



Now that the derivations have been given, I explain how my proposal accounts for the syntactic restrictions observed in BP CFN.

### 6.3.2 Wh-Words

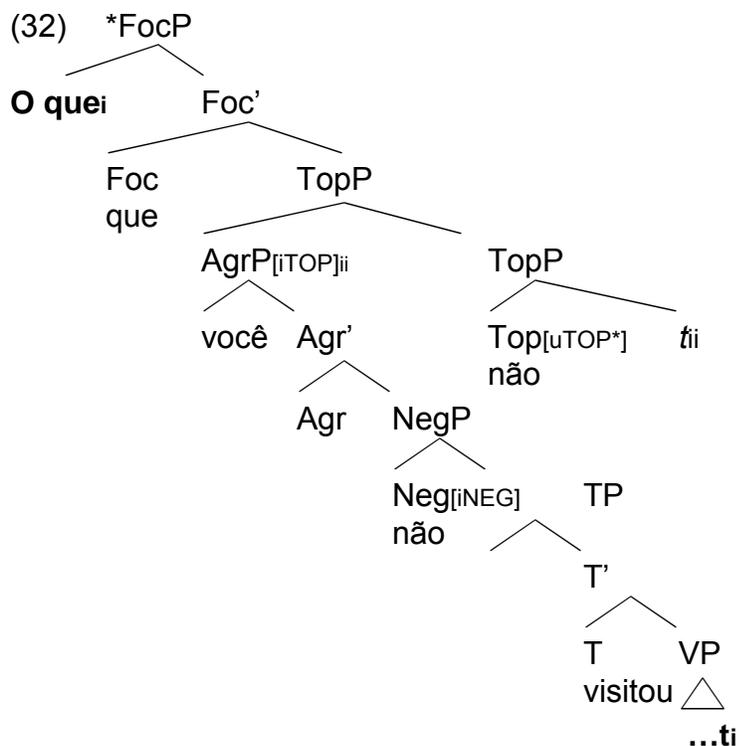
The analysis I propose prevents T2 and T3 with wh-questions. I first discuss fronted wh-questions and then in-situ wh-questions. Fronted wh-words with CFN are ungrammatical because my proposal has AgrP move to the specifier of the lower TopP, which creates an island (Ross 1967, Szabolcsi 2006). Specifically, the ungrammaticality of CFN in sentences with wh-words follows from Huang's (1982) Condition on Extraction Domain (CED) defined in 0. Properly governed means governed by a lexical head.

(30) **CED**

A phrase A may be extracted out of a domain B only if B is properly governed

The CED means that extraction out of complements is allowed, but not out of adjuncts and phrases in specifier positions because these positions are not properly governed. The movement of AgrP to the specifier position of TopicP thus creates a specifier island and the wh-phrase inside of AgrP cannot be extracted to a higher position. Example (31) shows a sentence that is ungrammatical and (32) shows the derivation. Notice that the moved AgrP creates a specifier island that prevents extraction to the landing site for wh-words, which is spec,FocusP, above TopP. The bolded, fronted wh-word is co-indexed with the trace that it leaves behind in the fronted AgrP.

- (31) \*O que que você (não) visitou não?  
What that 2S (NEG) visited NEG  
'What didn't you visit?'



This analysis thus correctly predicts that T2 and T3 are incompatible with wh-movement.

Chapter 3 showed that wh-in-situ does not obey islands and does not involve movement:

- (33) Você conversou com o autor [que escreveu que livro]?  
 2S talk.PST.2S PREP DET author that write.PST.3S which book  
 'Which book did you talk to the author who wrote?'

It was also pointed out that wh-in-situ in BP is constrained by semantic/pragmatic restrictions. BP wh-in-situ is only allowed if certain discourse requirements are met. Much like Schwenter's (2005) proposal for BP CFN, Pires & Taylor (2007) proposed the use of discourse to understand syntax. They claimed that the in-situ situations are licensed by information in the Common Ground. They define Common Ground as

“information that was previously given in the discourse or in the extralinguistic context...and which is shared (or assumed by the speaker to be shared) by speaker and hearer” (2007:5). This means that in-situ wh-questions are only felicitous when the proposition being questioned is discourse-old. For example, in a sentence such as, ‘I made dessert’, the discourse-old proposition is ‘I made X’. From this one could question:

- (34) Você fez            que tipo de sobremesa?  
 2s    do.PST.3s    what type    PREP    dessert  
 ‘You made what kind of dessert?’

The felicity changes when what is being questioned is not discourse-old, as in (35). The example is grammatical, but infelicitous. It can be made felicitous by fronting the wh-word.

*[You approach a colleague at work and ask, out of the blue:]*

- (35) #Você            conhece        quem em        São Paulo?  
 2s                    know.2s        who    PREP    São Paulo  
 ‘You know who in São Paulo?’

The following exchanges shows how the discourse requirements affect the felicity of the sentence. With the appropriate context, the above example becomes felicitous:

*[You approach a colleague at work and comment A, to which the colleague responds with B:]*

- (36) A.    Eu visitei                    São Paulo    este fim    de    semana  
           1s visit.PST.1s            São Paulo    DET    end    PREP    week  
           ‘I visited São Paulo this weekend’

- B. Você conhece quem em São Paulo?  
 2s know.2s who PREP São Paulo  
 'You know who in São Paulo?'

The example below shows that the discourse restriction on the use of CFN is similar.

- (37) A. Você conheceu alguém em São Paulo este fim de semana  
 2s know.PST.2s somebody prep São Paulo DET end PREP week  
 'Did you meet anybody in São Paulo this weekend'
- B. Eu não conheci ninguém em São Paulo este fim de semana não.  
 1s NEG know.PST.1s nobody PREP São Paulo DET end PREP week NEG  
 'I didn't meet anybody in São Paulo this week end'

The similarities between the discourse restrictions on *wh-in-situ* and CFN suggest that these two constructions make use of the same mechanisms and by extension the same structural position. I propose that CFN and *wh-in-situ* make use of a single syntactic position in the left periphery, the specifier of the lower TopP. I previously argued that there is no movement for *wh-in-situ*; rather, there is a Q operator linked to the discourse in a similar way that the CFN is linked. I propose that there is complementary distribution between AgrP topicalization and the Q operator because both are located in the specifier of the lower TopP, which I called Top2P in chapter two.<sup>27</sup> There can be one or the other, but not both. Thus, CFN and *wh-in-situ* are incompatible.

### 6.3.3 Relative Clauses

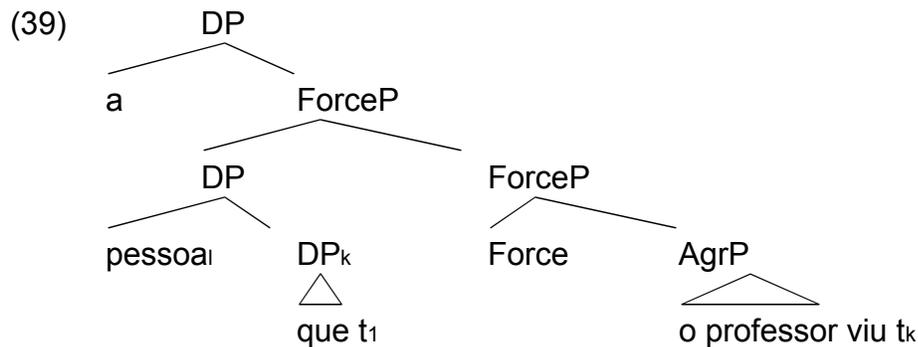
BP prohibits relative clauses containing T2 and T3 with the exception that T2 is possible in relative clauses if the relative clause is in a sentence final position. The derivation argued for here does ban the use of CFN in relatives, and this makes relative

<sup>27</sup> This is an updating of the analysis in chapter 3 where I tentatively proposed that the Q operator was in the head position of the higher Top1P. This change does not affect the results.

clauses in object position with T2 a mystery. Before addressing the problem with object relatives, I give a current account of relative clauses in BP and show that the analysis in this chapter account for the ban on relative clauses with CFN.

Lessa de Oliveira (2008) and Nunes & Kato (2009) give an account of BP relative clauses within a minimalist framework where they propose a raising analysis for relative clauses<sup>28</sup> (Kayne 1994). A structure based on their analysis is:

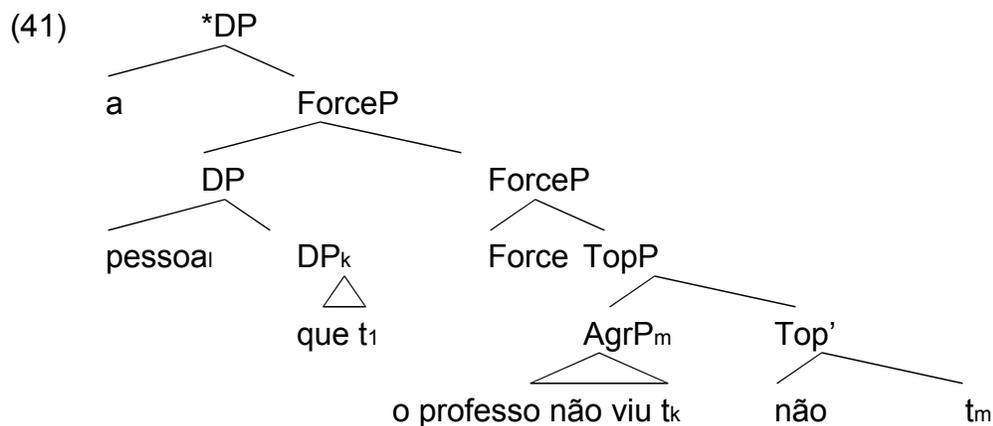
(38) a pessoa que o professor viu  
 DET person that DET professor see.PST.3S  
 'The person that the professor saw'



Again, much like *wh*-phrases, relative clauses involve a type of movement that is blocked once AgrP moves to spec,TopP with CFN. This is seen in example (41). AgrP moves to a specifier position which gives rise to CFN. The DP *pessoa* cannot be extracted out of this AgrP due to the same CED violation seen in *wh*-movement.

(40) a pessoa que o professor não viu (\*não)  
 DET person that DET professor NEG see.PST.3S NEG  
 'the person that the professor didn't see'

<sup>28</sup> Both works also deal with non-standard and free relative clauses, but the idea that there is raising out CP to a higher projection is present. As such, I only present what they call standard relative clauses.



The prediction that CFN is impossible in relative clauses is largely correct. The table introduced earlier showed that T3 is completely impossible in relative clauses and T2 is impossible, except if the relative clause happens to be at the end of the clause:

(42) Todo mundo gosta de morangos  
 All world like.3s PREP strawberries  
 'Everybody like strawberries'

(43) Eu ensinei português para uma pessoa que não gosta de morangos não  
 1s taught.1s Portuguese PREP DET person that NEG likes PREP strawberries NEG  
 'I taught Portuguese to a person that doesn't like strawberries'

I do not have an explanation for the why this example is grammatical. The theory introduced above predicts that it should be not be. Note that if the object is not the last element in the sentence, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical. I leave the explanation of this contrast for future work.

(44) \*Eu ensinei português para uma pessoa que **não** gosta  
 1s taught.1s Portuguese PREP DET person that NEG likes

de morangos **não** ontem  
 PREP strawberries NEG yesterday

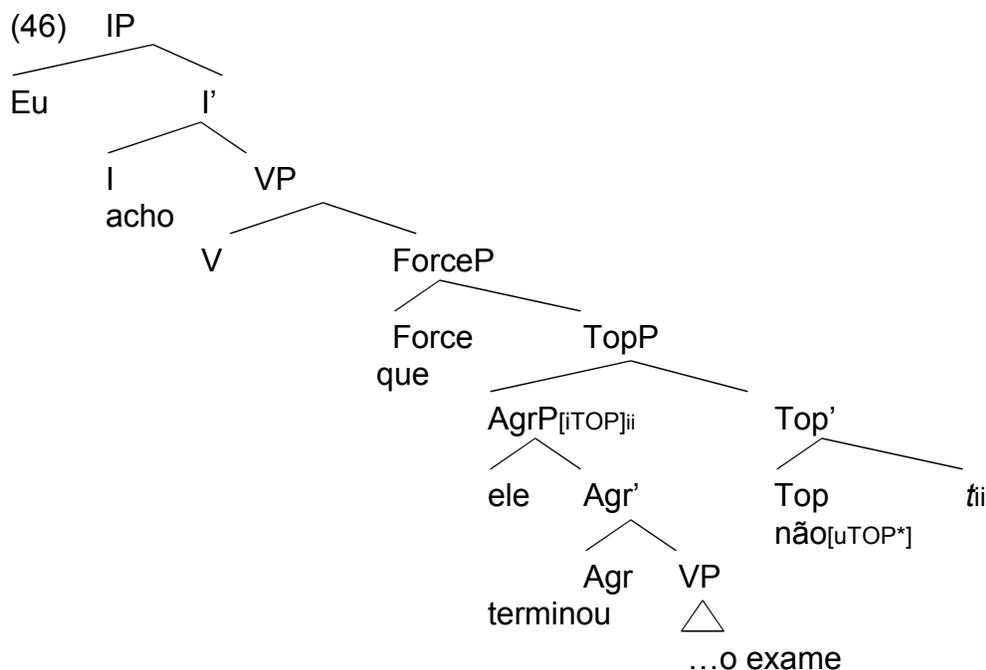
'I taught Portuguese yesterday to a person that doesn't like strawberries'

### 6.3.4 Embedded Clauses

Others before this work have claimed that T3 does not exist in embedded clauses (Cavalcante 2007). Recall that in chapter one I have shown that T3 does exist in embedded clauses if the discourse requirement is met. The problem here is that although T3 can exist in embedded clauses, there are no cases of them occurring in natural speech. The sentences that I presented were created in conjunction with a scenario that would permit the discourse-old information to be in the embedded clause. After creating such a scenario, my consultants generally agreed that T3 is allowed in embedded clauses. This situation points to a possible difference between T2 and T3. As stated in section 5.2.3, T3 is restricted to directly activated discourse-information. This seems difficult to occur naturally, and generally if there is CFN in an embedded clause, it is T2.

Although not naturally occurring, T3 can exist, and my proposal predicts that this structure is syntactically possible, because nothing prevents topics in embedded clauses. Below is an example where the discourse requirement is met and the sentence is grammatical. As expected from the discussion, AgrP moves to a Topic position, and negative marker is in the clause-final position.

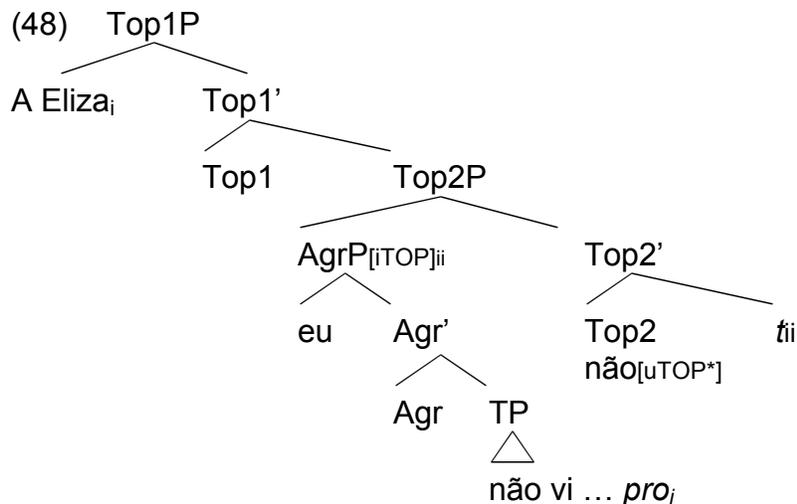
(45) Eu acho      que    ele    terminou      o exame      **não**  
1s think      that    3s    finished      DET test      NEG  
'I think that he didn't finish the test'



### 6.3.5 Topicalization

Another area in which this dissertation differs from previous analyses is in allowing topic constructions with CFN. In chapter 3 I argued that topics in BP are base-generated in the specifier of the higher spec,Top1P and co-indexed with a resumptive pronoun, null or overt. Different from *wh*-movement, topic fronting with CFN is grammatical because no movement is involved. This requires that at least two topic positions exist in BP: a lower one used for CFN and a higher one for ‘typical’ topicalization. The following examples show the derivation of a sentence that contains both a topicalized DP and CFN. In this case, the CED is not violated because there is no movement of the topic out of AgrP.

- (47) A Eliza, eu não vi não  
 DET Eliza, 1S NEG saw.1S NEG  
 ‘As for Eliza, I didn’t she her’



Separation of the two kinds of topic phrases, Top1P versus Top2P, is necessary to avoid generating ungrammatical word orders. In particular, the position for base-generated topics must be above the position to which AgrP moves in order avoid getting the two topics in the wrong order:

- (49) \*Eu não vi não a Eliza  
 1s NEG saw.1s NEG DET Eliza  
 'As for Eliza, I didn't see her'

Rizzi proposed that there is potentially more than one topic position; however, the above structure does not instantiate TopP recursion in the sense he describes. Rather, different kinds of topics must be ordered in the left periphery (Benincá & Poletto 2004). In the case of BP, the data shows that fronted AgrPs are lower topics and base-generated DPs are higher topics. I have encoded this observation by simply labeling the two kinds of topic phrases as Top1P and Top2P. Even before this, Aissen (1992) argued for an ordering of topics in Mayan Tzotzil, and this has been shown to work in other Mayan languages (Hansen 2005). As seen earlier, these topic phrases are also separated by FocusP.

### 6.3.6 Imperatives

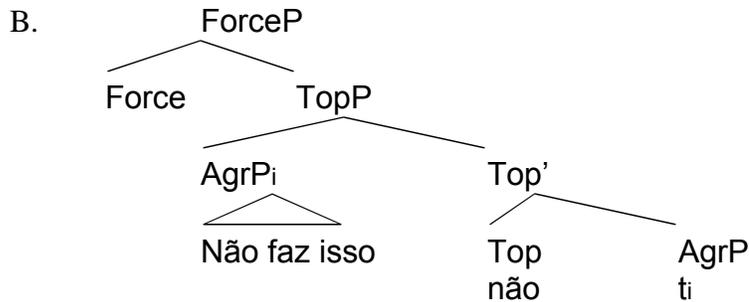
BP allows all three types of negation in imperatives. Two verb forms are used in BP (negative) imperatives: subjunctive or bare verb (Scherre 2007). I repeat some examples from chapter one. Dialectal differences exist between the use of the two types of imperatives; however, this does not influence the outcome, and as such I use the bare verb form.

<b>A. Bare Verb</b>	<b>B. Subjunctive</b>	
(50) Não Faz isso NEG do that	Não faça isso NEG do.SUBJ that	T1
(51) Não faz isso não NEG do that NEG	Não faça isso não NEG do.SUBJ that NEG	T2
(52) Faz isso não Do that NEG 'Don't do that'	Faça isso não do.SUBJ that NEG 'Don't do that'	T3

I only illustrate imperatives with T2, but the same results apply to T3. The same discourse restrictions apply, and the next examples show this. This first example shows that inferred discourse information is allowed, as seen in declarative sentences. B is the derivation, again similar to declaratives.

*[A mother to a young daughter who is writing on the walls with new crayons]*

(53) A.	Não	faz	isso	não
	NEG	do	that	NEG
	'Don't do that'			



If there is nothing in the conversation that triggers the discourse-old information then CFN is not licit (Schwenter 2005).

(54) Ano que vem a gente vai viajar a Salvador  
 Year that comes DET people go travel.INF PREP Salvador  
 'Next year we are going travel to Salvador'

(55) Quando vocês chegarem lá, não vão ao Restaurante Irina (#não)  
 When 2P arrive.FUT.SUBJ there NEG GO.2P PREP.DET Restaurant Irina NEG  
 'When y'all get there, don't go to Restaurant Irina'

The syntax of BP imperatives is similar to what has been proposed for the Slavic languages (Han 2001). Unlike other Romance languages which are assumed to have I-to-C movement in imperative clauses (Rivero & Terzi 1995, Han 2001, Zeijlstra 2006), BP verbs do not move in imperative clauses, and this is based on the evidence from object clitics. In Spanish, the object clitic is to the right of the verb with positive imperatives (57), unlike a declarative sentence, when it is to the left (56).

(56) Maria lo leyó. Declarative  
 Maria CL.M READ.3SG  
 'Mary read it'

(57) Leelo! Imperative  
 Read.2S.IMP-CL.M  
 'Read it!'

In order for the verb to be on the left of the clitic, it must move to some position higher in the tree that deals with (imperative) mood, generally considered to be C. BP clitics are

always to the left of the verb suggesting that there is no movement of the verb to a higher spot in the derivation.

- |      |    |  |             |
|------|----|--|-------------|
| (58) | A  | Me dá o livro.<br>DET Maria CL.1s gives DET book<br>'Mary gives me the book' | Declarative |
| (59) | A. | Me dá!<br>CL.1s gives<br>'Give me!'  | Imperative  |
|      | B. | Me dá ele!<br>CL.1s gives<br>'Give me it!'                                   | Imperative  |

Because the verb stays in its position in IP, as in a normal declarative, CFN is licit in imperative sentences.

### 6.3.7 Semantic Interpretation of Clause-Final Negation

The previous sections showed how the current proposal accounts for the syntactic restrictions related to CFN, and in most cases, T2 and T3 are identical. They differ syntactically in two areas: negative concord and idiomatic expressions. Negative concord is the topic of chapter seven and is treated there. Here I discuss idiomatic expressions and how they further our understanding of the semantic interpretation of T2 and T3. Before discussing idiomatic expressions, I explain the theoretical problems related to the interpretation of sentences containing CFN. From there, I show how idioms help delineate the differences between T2 and T3, but how this separation creates a problem related to double negation.

T1 is the unmarked strategy and T3 is the marked strategy, and in both cases, there is only one negative marker for the sentence. A problem arises with T2, as this structure contains two negative markers, leading researchers to question how these

sentences do not evoke a double negative reading (Schwegler 1991a, da Cunha 2007). One claim is that BP is traveling through the Jespersen Cycle, and the preverbal negative marker no longer has a negative feature strong enough to negate a sentence on its own. It is well documented fact that negative markers lose their negative force. However, in the case of BP, this seems unlikely because in all corpus studies T1 is still the main method of negation (Cavalcante 2007), suggesting that the preverbal has not lost its semantically strong negative feature.

Another attempt to understand the lack of double negation in T2 comes from Cavalcante (2007). First, he attempts to explain T3 by claiming the clause-final is a denial of the asserted positive sentence. This line of thinking follows what Horn has called metalinguistic negation (Horn 1989), and Cavalcante takes the topic *não* as some sort of metalinguistic negation. Metalinguistic negation usually suggests the denial of an assertion or the refusal to accept as assertion. The classic example reused by Horn (1989) is 'The king of France is not bald – (because) there is no king of France'. Essentially, negation in this sense is not about a part of the sentence but rather the whole utterance, i.e. the king is not bald not because he doesn't have hair, but he is not bald because he doesn't exist, and therefore cannot be either bald nor have a head full of hair. While not exactly like metalinguistic negation as defined by Horn, this type of interpretation comes close to what T3 means. Example (60) explains what Cavalcante means when he uses denial in BP CFN. This sentence has T3 CFN, and the positive sentence is 'John ran two miles'. If we take the CFN to be a denial, the meaning of this sentence is: 'John ran two miles, that is not true', or 'John ran two miles, I deny that fact'.

(60) O João correu duas milhas não  
 DET João ran.3S two miles NEG  
 'John didn't run two miles.'

The major problem with this hypothesis, as noted by Cavalcante himself, comes with T2 and its meaning. If T3 is metalinguistic negation, where the utterance as a whole is negated or denied then his analysis leads to an incorrect interpretation. Sentence (61)a involves T2, and (b) translates the sentence to a possible interpretation. Notice that the possible interpretation gives a double negative, meaning that 'John did run two miles', when (a) clearly states that he didn't.

(61) a. O João não correu duas milhas não  
 DET João NEG ran.3S two miles NEG  
 'John didn't run two miles.'

b. John didn't run two miles. That is not true (that John didn't run 2 miles)

Though Cavalcante mentions this fact, he doesn't pursue a solution. To explain this, I propose taking T2 to be a case of negative spread (Den Besten 1986, Giannakidou 2006). Negative spread is where the negative feature of some items, like n-words and negative markers, spreads over the whole sentence. For example, in non-strict negative concord languages, the negative marker must c-command the n-word, unless the n-word is in the subject position, as in (62) (see chapter seven for more discussion).

(62) O Abílio não ajudou ninguém  
 DET Abílio NEG helped nobody  
 'Abílio didn't help anyone'

However, the n-word can be c-commanded by another n-word.

- (63) Ninguém ajudou ninguém  
nobody helped nobody  
'Nobody helped anyone'

These examples illustrate the idea that the features spread to the rest of the sentence without causing a double negation reading. T2 seems to be a situation similar to this, where the first negative marker spreads its negative meaning to the rest of the negative items in the sentence, because these items are not by themselves inherently negative. Thus in the previous sections I claimed that the CFN maker in T2 carries an [uNEG] feature and must be c-commanded by some element with a [iNEG] feature. In the case of CFN AgrP carries the [iNEG] feature as the feature is able to percolate up from the preverbal negative marker. I continue with this line of reasoning in chapter seven, and now I focus on NPI idiomatic expressions and T3.

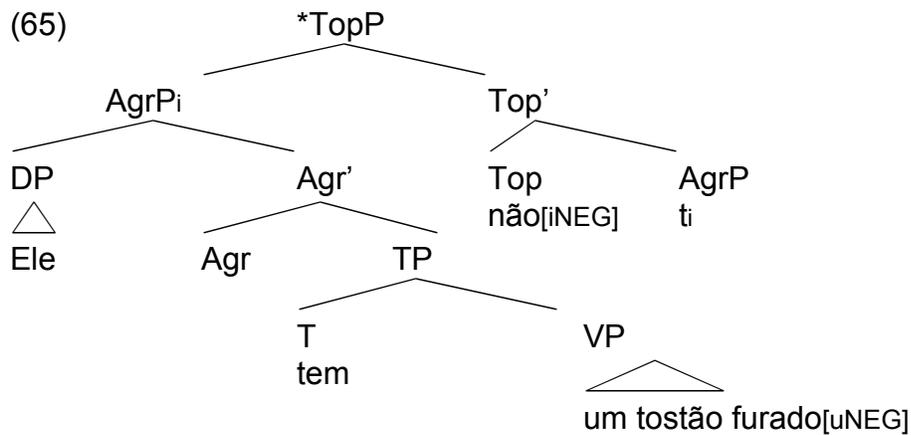
Biberauer & Cyrino (2009) notes that T3 does not license NPI idiomatic expressions whereas T2 does, and I believe that this observation is related to the semantic meaning of the negative markers. This is important because it is one area that demonstrates that T1 and T3 are not only different in terms of discourse, but also in terms of inherent semantic meaning and semantic contribution to a sentence. This also shows that the semantics of T3 and T2 are not equal. They give the following example. *A* utters the sentence 'John is rich'. *B* disagrees with *A* and uses an NPI idiom to express the fact that 'John is not rich'. The expression in Portuguese literally translates to 'He doesn't have a cent/penny with a hole in it' which means 'he doesn't have any money'. The translation that Biberauer & Cyrino give is 'he doesn't have a red-cent'.

Notice that in the case of T1, B, the sentence maintains its idiomatic meaning. The same can be said about T2, B', but in B'', the situation is different because of the use of T3. In the case of B'', the figurative meaning is lost, and only a literal meaning remains. Notice C, a sentence containing T3, and how it would most likely have to finish for it to be grammatical in this situation, albeit perhaps not pragmatically felicitous.

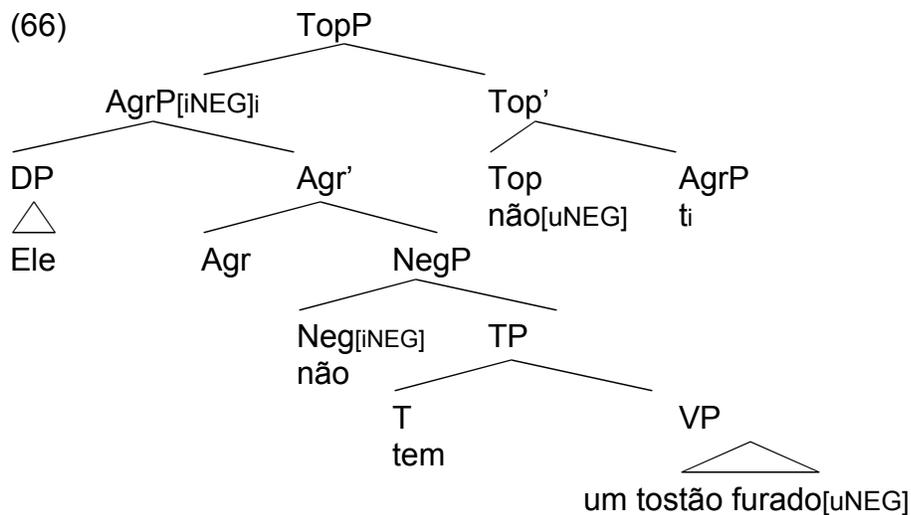
- (64) A. O João é rico!  
 DET John is rich  
 "John is rich!"
- B. O que? ele **não** tem um tostão furado! **T1**  
 what 3S NEG has DET cent with-a-hole  
 'What? He doesn't have red-cent' (i.e. he doesn't have anything)
- B'. O que? ele **não** tem um tostão furado **não!** **T2**  
 what 3S NEG has DET cent with-a-hole NEG  
 'What? He doesn't have a red-cent'(i.e. he doesn't have anything)
- B''. \*O que? ele tem um tostão furado **não!** **T3**  
 what 3S has DET cent with-a-hole NEG  
 'What? He doesn't have a red-cent. (i.e. he doesn't have anything)
- C. Ele tem um tostão furado **não**, ele tem um inteiro! **T3**  
 3S has DET cent with-a-hole NEG, 3S has DET whole  
 'He doesn't have a red cent; he has a BLUE one' (i.e. literal meaning)

The fact that T3 does not license NPI idioms in the way that T1/2 do suggests that it is different. For it to negate a sentence on its own, as T1 does, it needs to have an interpretable negative feature, which I propose it does. Like T1, T3 has a [iNEG] feature, but in the case of NPI idioms the [iNEG] feature is apparently not in an appropriate structure position to license the idiom chunk. Thus, the idiom loses its idiomatic meaning and has only a literal meaning. As discussed above, negative elements with an [uNEG] feature must be licensed by a negative element with an [iNEG]

feature. I follow Zeijlstra 2004, 2008 and assume that [iNEG] must c-command [uNEG] in order for [uNEG] to be checked. Since in the case of T3, the NPI idiom is not c-commanded by the CFN marker, the NPI interpretation is not available. This state of affairs is seen below:



T2 two is different because the licensing of the NPI is done by the preverbal negative marker, which has an [iNEG] feature. The CFN marker in Top is irrelevant for the licensing of the NPI but is itself licensed by the same interpretable negative feature on AgrP. In the following structure, [iNEG] c-commands and checks both instances of [uNEG].



Because of the facts presented in this section, I argue that T3 and T2 participate in the same derivation but differ in their morphosyntactic features. The *não* in T2 is a negative item that is similar to an n-word and cannot negate a sentence on its own; it is [uNEG]. The *não* in T3 is a negative item that can negate a sentence on its own—it is [iNEG]—but is highly restricted to a sub-set of discourse linked information and is not in a position to license NPI idioms. These claims and the claims about the [NEG] feature that the negative markers have are further explored with respect to n-words in chapter seven. The behavior n-word licensing supports the current proposal.

There is one problem with this arrangement, however. The theoretical possibility exists for a T1 negative marker, [iNEG], and a T3 negative marker, [iNEG], to be in the same structure. Such a sentence should then have a double negation reading. A double negation reading for the purposes here and in chapter seven refers to the idea that two [iNEG] features in the same sentence would cancel each other out causing the sentence to receive a positive interpretation. Below is a hypothetical illustration:

(67) O João        não[iNEG]    correu        duas milhas        não[iNEG]  
       DET João    NEG            ran.3S        two miles        NEG  
       ‘John didn’t not run two miles’ i.e. he did run two miles.

Native speakers indicate that such sentences never have a double negation interpretation however and this is problematic for my proposal. I will need to leave this issue unresolved in hopes that it can be solved later.

## 6.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided a syntactic analysis of Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese. Section 6.2 presented some previous attempts to understand CFN syntactically. I then claimed that CFN in BP is derived through fronting AgrP to the specifier of a lower Topic Phrase in the left periphery. The head of the topic phrase is

either the negative marker *não* or the positive marker *sim*. I concluded this chapter by proposing that this head can be realized by *não*[uNEG] or *não*[iNEG]. The former is found in T2 and the latter in T3. It remains a problem why the latter cannot also be used in T2.

In order to account for the BP data, I relied on both syntactic mechanisms and the semantic/pragmatic restriction from chapter five. We saw that the analysis accounts for the syntactic restrictions from chapter one. In contrast to Cavalcante's approach, there was no need to provide different analyses for CFN in main and embedded clauses. In agreement with others, however, I am forced to claim that there are two CFN markers which differ in the interpretability of their negative feature.

## CHAPTER 7 NEGATIVE CONCORD IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

### 7.1 Introduction

The principal goal of this chapter is to discuss the concepts of Negative Concord (NC), N-words, NC in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), and how NC and Clause-final Negation (CFN) interact. I divide this chapter into three main sections. Section 7.2 discusses the general ideas surrounding NC, n-words, and the differences between strict and non-strict NC Languages. I also discuss the debate regarding the semantic and syntactic nature of n-words and negative concord. Section 7.3 shows that BP is a non-strict NC language and makes explicit which words are n-words in BP. Section 7.4 addresses the nature of the CFN marker and its relationship to n-words. This is a continuation of the discussion in chapters five and six, and here I finalize my discussion of CFN, semantics, and syntax.

### 7.2 Negative Concord

Negative Concord (NC) is a highly studied phenomenon, and this fact is especially true within the field of Romance Linguistics. The intense study of NC has led to several theoretical disputes. This section addresses these debates. First, I define and give examples of the different two types of NC, i.e. strict and non-strict. From there, I lay out the principal analyses for a general understanding of NC both semantically and syntactically.

The main issue concerning n-words is whether they are negative or not. In some languages, such as the Germanic languages, n-words are in fact negative. This is the reason that, in all cases, an n-word in Standard English and a sentential marker give rise to a Double Negation (DN) reading. However, it has been more difficult to decide

whether n-words in NC languages are inherently negative. There are essentially two main options: either n-words are negative (Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman 1995, Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996, De Swart & Sag 2002); or n-words are non-negative (Laka 1990, Ladusaw 1992, Giannakidou 2000, Zeijlstra 2004, 2008). A third option claims that n-words are ambiguous, however this is not treated here<sup>29</sup> (Van der Wouden & Zwarts 1993, Van der Wouden 1997, Herburger 2001). For this dissertation, I follow Zeijlstra (2004), who proposes a version of the non-negative option based more on syntax and feature agreement than semantics. I present Zeijlstra's claims that NC involves an Agree relationship. According to him n-words in NC languages have an [uNEG] feature while in DN languages they have an [iNEG] feature.

### 7.2.1 Definition and Types of Negative Concord

Early in the study of Portuguese and negation, Dias (1917) (cf. Pereira 2000) explained what NC is stating that, 'From the co-occurrence of two negatives a positive does not result' (Dias 1917:308). This occurs in many languages, such as the Slavic languages where n-words (defined below) require the presence of some negative marker in order for them to be negative. In the case of (1), the n-word *nikomu* must be accompanied by the negative marker on the verb, *ne-*. Romance languages are also known for having NC, seen in example (2), where the n-word *nadie* requires the presences of the preverbal negative marker *no*.

- |     |  |                           |                                   |
|-----|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) | Milan nikomu<br>Milan nobody<br>'Milan doesn't call anybody' | <i>nevolá</i><br>NEG-call | Czech<br><br>(Zeijlstra 2004:121) |
|-----|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|

---

<sup>29</sup> See Zeijlstra 2004 for a presentation of the ambiguity analysis and the reasons that it cannot be cross-linguistically applicable.

- (2) Juan no llamó a nadie Spanish  
 Juan NEG called.3SG PREP nobody  
 'Juan didn't call anybody'

N-words are words that enter into a relationship, to be discussed below, with a negative marker in NC situations (Laka 1990, Giannakidou 2000, 2006, Zeijlstra 2008).

Giannakidou gives a more formal definition that I follow here (2006:328):

### (3) N-word

An expression  $\alpha$  is an n-word **iff**:

- a.  $\alpha$  can be used in structures containing sentential negation or another  $\alpha$ -expression yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation; and
- b.  $\alpha$  can provide a negative fragment answer

Giannakidou then defines a fragment answer as the following:

### (4) Fragment Answer

An answer  $\alpha$  to a wh-question Q is a fragment answer iff:

- c.  $\alpha$  corresponds in form to the wh-XP constituent in Q; and
- d.  $\alpha$  is interpreted as a proposition

An example of a fragment answer from Spanish is (5). The question's answer is an n-word fragment.

- (5) a. Quien hizo la tarea?  
 Who did.3S DET homework  
 'who did the homework?'
- b. Nadie  
 'nobody'

In addition, n-words can often be identified by what appears to be negative morphology, such as the *nie-* in *niemand* ‘nobody’ in Dutch, or the *ni-* in *ningún* ‘none’ for Spanish; however, this is not strictly necessary. French has several n-words with no apparent negative morphology, such as *personne* ‘nobody’.

The debate surrounding NC is: if an n-word is negative, then two negative items appear in a sentence, the n-word and the sentential negative marker. That being the case, sentences with an n-word and a negative marker should yield a double negation (DN) reading. The interpretation in NC is that of only one negative operator in the sentence, however. This is not what happens in many Germanic languages evidenced by Standard English. If the negative marker and an n-word are both present, then DN arises. (6) gives an English sentence with an n-word and a negative marker, and (7) gives a logical representation. Notice that in this case, there are two negative elements, hence DN. DN means that two negatives are independent of each other and as such, they cancel each other out, which is why a double negative gives a positive reading in some dialects of English (Horn 2002:296 for a definition of double negatives).

(6) Maria doesn't see nobody (i.e. Maria sees somebody)

(7)  $\neg \neg \exists x \text{ SEE}(m,x)$ <sup>30</sup> Double Negation

NC does not have the same logical structure as a DN sentence does. The logical representation for the NC sentence (2) is given below, and even though there are (apparently) two negative elements in the sentence, only one negative operator is interpreted semantically.

---

<sup>30</sup> There are other ways to represent this; however they are not relevant here.

(8)  $\neg \exists x \text{ CALL}(j,x)$  Negative Concord

This is NC, i.e. two negative elements coalescing to yield only one semantic negation (Giannakidou 2000, 2006, Zeijlstra 2008).

NC languages are divided into two types based on empirical patterns: strict NC language and non-strict NC languages. The same two languages from above, Czech and Spanish, serve as examples of each type of NC. Strict NC languages are languages that always require a sentential negative marker to be present when the sentence contains an n-word (Giannakidou 2006:352). In (9), if the negative marker is not present, then the sentence is ungrammatical.

(9)	Dnes nikdo Today nobody 'Today nobody is calling'	*(ne)volá NEG.calls	Czech  (Zeijlstra 2008:3)
-----	---	------------------------	---------------------------------

In many Romance language however, this generalization does not hold, and these languages are known as non-strict NC languages. This is because the n-word does not always require the presence of a negative marker. In Italian for example, if the n-word is the subject, then the negative marker is not needed, as in example (10). In fact in these cases, if the negative marker and a preverbal n-word appear, then the DN reading arises, (11).

(10)	Nessuno nobody 'Nobody arrived'	ha has.3s	arrivato arrived	Italian
------	---------------------------------------	--------------	---------------------	---------

(11)	Nessuno nobody 'Nobody arrived'	no NEG	ha has.3s	arrivato arrived	(i.e. everybody did arrive)
------	---------------------------------------	-----------	--------------	---------------------	-----------------------------



- (15) Nie pracuj!  
 NEG work.2S.IMP  
 'Don't work!'

While strict NC languages allow true negative imperatives, non-strict languages do not have true negative imperatives in (17) (Zeijlstra 2008). Instead of true negative imperatives, suppletive imperatives are formed using non-imperative morphology, generally the subjunctive form of the verb, as seen in the Spanish example in (18).

- |      |   |         |
|------|---|---------|
| (16) | Lee eso<br>Read.IMP.2S that<br>'Read that!'               | Spanish |
| (17) | *No lee eso!<br>NEG read.IMP.2SG that                     |         |
| (18) | No leas eso<br>NEG read.SUB.2S that<br>'Don't read that!' |         |

This section has shown two types of NC languages: strict and non-strict.

Following traditional definitions I have shown that strict NC languages must always have a negative marker present when an n-word is used. Additionally, strict NC languages allow true negative imperatives. Non-strict NC languages allow subject n-words to exist without the presence of a negative marker. Negative imperatives in non-strict languages are formed using suppletive morphology instead of imperative morphology.

### 7.2.2 N-Words are Negative Quantifiers

As mentioned above, there are two main claims about the inherent negativity of n-words. The first hypothesis claims that n-words are negative. A principal proponent of this idea is Zanuttini (1991), supported by Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996), who claims

that n-words works much like wh-words. First, much like NC, multiple wh-words are interpreted as one question where each wh-word binds a different variable. These two wh-binders become one in the syntax, much like the interpretation of one negative operator in NC. Second, like wh-movement, movement of a negative operator to the left periphery causes subject-auxiliary inversion, such as *never had I been so scared*. Third, both wh-words and n-words license negative polarity items (NPI), such as *anybody* in examples (19) and (20).

(19) Who loves anybody?

(20) Nobody saw anybody.

Based on this evidence, Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996) determine that the interpretation of n-words is like that of wh-words. They propose a negative absorption rule based on Higginbotham & May's (1981) wh-absorption rule (Giannakidou 2006:334). This rule is (21) and states that every instance of negation coalesces to one instance of negation at LF. Thus, for Zanuttini (1991), n-words are negative quantifiers that go through a process of neg-absorption<sup>31</sup> in a NC situation. Example (22) has the neg-absorption rule where there is one n-word and a negative operator, i.e. a sentential negative marker.

(21)  $[\forall x \neg][\forall y \neg][\forall z \neg] = [\forall x, y, z] \neg$

(22)  $[\forall x \neg] \neg = [\forall x] \neg$

---

<sup>31</sup> Another part of this is factorization. Factorization is what “happens when two quantifying elements raise to the same projection under [quantifier raising] in order to turn from monadic quantifiers into one n-ary polyadic quantifier. In the case of WH, polyadic quantification take place after factorization, whereby the interrogative operator of the second wh-element is transmitted into the first wh-operator (Zeijlstra 2004:193). This process for Haegemann & Zanuttini (1996) would be the same for negative operators.

For the syntax, they posit a Neg-Criterion for n-words, similar to Rizzi's (1991) Wh-Criterion for wh-phrases.

(23) *Neg-Criterion*

- a. A NEG-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with X [NEG]
- b. An X [NEG] must be in Spec-head configuration with a NEG-operator

Whereby the following definitions hold:

NEG-operator: a negative phrase in scope position

Scope position: left-peripheral A'-position [Spec,XP] or [YP,XP].

What the Neg-Criterion does is force all n-words to the specifier of some negative head. Notice that the sentential negative marker, in many cases, is the head of NegP (see chapter four, Namiuti 2008, and Miotto 1992 for the position of *não* in BP). Under this analysis, an n-word is a negative quantificational operator and it moves to spec,NegP to form a spec-head relationship with Neg.<sup>32</sup> This is done so that the negative quantifiers have scope over the sentence and negation. By moving all the n-words to spec,NegP, the result is essentially (21), at which point neg-absorption can take place over the syntactic representation.

N-words contrast with negative polarity items like *any-* in English. N-words are allowed to be fragment answers, as stated above (Zanuttini 1991, Giannakidou 2006), but NPIs are not. Example (24) shows that the NPI *anybody* is not licit as a fragment answer, whereas, the negative *nobody* is. Rather, polarity items like *any* must be licensed by some operator (Moscati 2006).

---

<sup>32</sup> If there are no n-words in a negative clause, a sentential negative marker would be the head of NegP and this means that for the Neg-Criterion to be satisfied, some null negative operator must be in spec, NegP.

- (24) a. Who came to the party?  
b. \*anybody/nobody

Some problems arise with Zanuttini's analysis. First, Giannakidou (1997) shows that the relationship between wh-words and n-words is not as uniform as Zanuttini claims. She explains that there are also empirical problems equating subject-auxiliary inversion in these two instances. For example, not every language has subject-auxiliary inversion in negative fronting, such as Spanish and Portuguese, even though it is still used with wh-questions.

Zeijlstra (2004) points out other problems related to the the law of DN. Recall that one of the reasons that Zanuttini & Haegeman argue for the negative quantifier account of n-words is because of their similarities to wh-phenomena. Zeijlstra explains that while multiple wh-words cross-linguistically are interpreted at LF as a single wh-operator, there is a great deal of variation with regards to multiple negative operators. Because n-words are negative quantifiers, the law of DN *should* apply to all n-words as it does in English. Zeijlstra states that "negative quantifiers" obey the law of DN only in a restricted set of languages; this is an indicator that n-words in NC languages are not semantically negative in the same way that they are in DN languages (2004:199).

Finally, as Pereira (2000) points out, there are instances where n-words are not negative, and vice versa, where non-n-words are negative. Herburger (2001) gives (25) as an example where an n-word is interpreted as positive. If the n-word was a negative quantifier, then it should have a negative interpretation, contrary to fact.. At the same time, there are examples as in (26) (Bosque 1980 and Herburger 2001) where non-negative phrases are interpreted as negative.

(25) Antes de hacer **nada**, debes lavarle las manos  
 before PREP do.INF n-thing must.2S wash.INF.CL DET hands  
 'Before doing anything, you should wash his hands.'  
 (Herburger 2001:297)

(26) **En modo alguno** se puede tolerar tal actitud!  
 in manner some CL AUX.3S tolerate.INF such attitude  
 'Under no circumstances can one tolerate such an attitude!'  
 (Herburger 2001:293)

Herburger also points out that in many cases n-words serve as negative polarity items (NPI). She gives example (27) using *sin* 'without', a downward entailing preposition, to show n-words behave like NPIs. This behavior of NC n-words is similar to the behavior of the English word *any*, assumed to be a negative polarity item, and not similar to negative quantifiers. Notice that *sin* has a different interaction with the sentential negative marker *no* because these two together cause a double negative reading, (28) (Herburger 2001:297).

(27) Pedro compró el terreno sin contárselo a **nadie**  
 Pedro buy.PST.3S DET land without tell.INF.CL.CL PREP n-body  
 'Peter bought the land without telling anybody'

(28) Pedro compró el terreno sin no contárselo a **nadie**  
 Pedro buy.PST.3S DET land without NEG tell.INF.CL.CL PREP n-body  
 'Peter bought the land without not telling anybody'  
 i.e. Peter bought the land, and told everyone.

### 7.2.3 N-Words are Non-Negative

Ladusaw (1992) is a strong proponent of a second hypothesis concerning the negativity of n-words. In response to Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991), he claims that n-words are non-negative indefinites, and he argues that Haegeman & Zanuttini do not have enough semantic support for a negative quantifier account of n-words.

Furthermore, he claims that n-words do not have any quantificational force in their own right. Ladusaw concludes that n-words are unbound variables, equating them to NPIs. While Ladusaw admits that n-words and NPIs are different, the principles that govern each are similar.

Ladusaw claims that n-words are only licensed if the specifier position or the head position of NegP is filled. In the case of strict NC languages, this requirement is always satisfied by the sentential negative marker. For non-strict NC languages, this requirement is satisfied by a sentential negative marker, most likely in Neg, or by some n-word in the specifier position of NegP. An abstract element appears in non-strict NC languages when an n-word is preverbal.

(29) Non ha telefonato a nessuno  
[NegP [ Neg non ]][TP ha telefonato a nessuno]  
'Nobody has called'

(30) Nessuno ha telefonato a nessuno  
[NegP Nessuno [ Neg OP ]][TP ha telefonato a nessuno]  
'Nobody called anyone'

Another approach to n-words as non-negatives comes from Giannakidou's (1998, 2000) work. She makes similar claims to Ladusaw's in that she takes n-words in NC languages to be non-negative. Her approach differs in that she claims that n-words are NPIs. This helps distinguish between DN languages and NC languages. Giannakidou's (2006) approach is different from her previous works in that she does not claim that n-words are necessarily indefinites. Rather, she believes that in some NC languages n-words are existential quantifiers and in others they can be universal quantifiers. She

also concludes that within a language n-words might be ambiguous between universal readings and existential readings (Giannakidou 2006).

An apparent problem with this approach is that preverbal n-words and n-word fragment answers in non-strict languages have a negative meaning. In both of these cases, there is no negative operator to license the negative meaning. Take the Spanish example repeated from above:

- (31) a. Quien hizo la tarea?  
who did.3s DET homework  
'Who did the homework?'
- b. Nadie  
'nobody'

Giannakidou (2000) claims that looking at fragment answers in this way is deceptive. She proposes that these are really instances of ellipsis, similar to conjunctions or disjunctions. Take the Spanish sentence from Zeijlstra (2004:212) where the disjunct is negative but doesn't have sentential negative marker to license it. In this case, what has happened, according to Zeijlstra, is that part of the elided material is the negative marker. Thus, the sentence in (32) comes from (33). The possibility of fragment answers would follow from the same logic.

- (32) Me caso contigo o con nadie  
1s marry.1s PREP.2s or PREP nobody  
'I marry you or nobody'
- (33) Me caso contigo o no me caso con nadie  
1s marry.1SG PREP.2s or NEG 1s marry.1s PREP nobody  
'I marry you or I marry nobody'

Despite this explanation, Zeijlstra (2006) concludes that, based on Wantabe (2005), this kind of ellipsis is not allowed because the elided material does not have the same semantic identity. That is, the elided XP contains a negative marker that is not present in the first part of the sentence. Giannakidou (2006) explains that this isn't a problem for her analysis, citing Merchant (2001).

#### **7.2.4 Zeijlstra's Feature-Based Approach to Negative Concord**

Continuing in the spirit of Ladusaw and Giannakidou, Zeijlstra (2004, 2006, 2008) claims that n-words are non-negative in a traditional sense but that this claim should be viewed within a minimalist perspective and understood syntactically. I follow Zeijlstra's analysis of n-words and NC. First, I lay out some general assumptions that Zeijlstra makes. As a way of showing how his theories work, I proceed to apply his analysis to a non-strict NC language.

Zeijlstra's goal is to show that NC can be more easily understood if it is seen through the lens of minimalist feature agreement. He claims that both n-words and sentential negative markers have some [NEG] feature (Chomsky 2000) that needs to be checked/matched by something in the syntax with the same feature. Recall Chomsky's claim (2000:3):

(34) *'We therefore have a relation Agree holding between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , where  $\alpha$  has interpretable inflectional features and  $\beta$  has uninterpretable ones, which delete under Agree.'*

Zeijlstra sees the benefit of feature agreement for the semantic properties of person and number that are both on the subject and the verb. Therefore, he applies the same principle of Agree to negation, and he subsequently formulates a theory for NC based on the agreement of interpretable and uninterpretable features (2008:20):

(35) *'NC is an Agree relation between a single feature [iNEG] and one or more features [uNEG].'*

(35) is based on three critical assumptions about feature agreement and NC. First, certain elements of NC languages are only 'formally' negative, and although they share some of the morpho-syntactic properties of negation, they themselves are not negative (Ladusaw 1992). These n-words carry an [uNEG] feature that must be checked. Syntactically, they introduce a free variable, making them indefinites (Heim 1982).

Second, Zeijlstra follows the proposal of Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001). Multiple Agree is where a single interpretable feature may establish an Agree relationship with multiple elements with the same uninterpretable feature. The same conditions on Agree must still be met; however, Zeijlstra departs from the standard version of Agree introduced in chapter two in one notable way. In contrast to the claim from chapter two that the uninterpretable probe must c-command an interpretable goal, feature checking for NC works in a top-down manner, and the element with the [iNEG] feature must c-command the [uNEG] elements in the derivation (Adger 2003).

Third, the element with the [iNEG] feature may be covert. If some overt element with an [uNEG] feature is present, there must be a corresponding element with [iNEG] even if it is not phonologically realized. In Zeijlstra's analysis, this element is a negative operator, whose position can vary across languages.

Based on these assumptions, Zeijlstra proceeds to show how this application of Agree can account for not only strict and non-strict NC languages, but also for DN languages, such as Standard English. Because BP is a non-strict NC language, I do not treat strict NC languages nor DN languages here. However, where DN arises, both

the negative marker and the n-words have [iNEG] features. Hence, the DN reading in English is due to the fact that both the n-word and the negative marker are interpretable and no feature checking is involved. Likewise, strict NC languages are languages whose sentential negative marker and n-words all carry an [uNEG] feature and all sentences with negation require an abstract negative operator with an [iNEG] feature.

Zeijlstra explains that non-strict NC languages have an [uNEG] feature on n-words and that the sentential negative marker has an [iNEG] feature. To obtain a DN reading with subject n-words, he posits an abstract negative operator with an [iNEG] feature in sentences containing a preverbal n-word. The position of the abstract negative operator is not in spec,NegP but rather some position above AgrP.

Italian serves as a proto-typical non-strict language. *Non* is sufficient to provide semantic negation because it has an [iNEG] feature. In (36) the [iNEG] feature c-commands and checks the [uNEG] feature of the n-word, resulting in a grammatical sentence.

(36) a. Gianni *non* telefona                      *a nessuno*                      Italian  
          Gianni NEG call.3SG PREP              nobody  
          ‘Gianni doesn’t call anybody’

b. [IP Gianni [NegP non[iNEG] telefona [vP a nessuno[uNEG]]]]

With preverbal n-words, a negative operator with an [iNEG] feature is present and checks the [uNEG] features of the subject n-word. The merger of the null operator only occurs in sentences with a subject n-word—an important stipulation that I adopt without comment.

- (37) A. Nessuno ha arrivato  
 n-body has.3s arrived  
 'Nobody arrived'
- B. [IP  $Op\bar{\neg}$  [iNEG] [IP nessuno [uNEG] [I' ha arrivato [VP...]]]]

The position of the negative operator is not fully defined in Zeijlstra's work. Crucially, it must be above IP so that it can check an [uNEG] feature on subject n-words. In what follows, I show it adjoined to IP/AgrP.

The null operator appears in sentences with a subject n-word and sentential negation, (38). In this case, both the null operator and the negative marker have an [iNEG] feature, and the two interpretable negative features in the sentence lead to a double negation reading.

- (38)  $Op\bar{\neg}$  Nessuno no ha arrivato  
 n-body NEG has.3s arrived  
 \*'Nobody arrived'  
 'Nobody didn't arrive' (i.e. everybody did arrive)

Finally, as noted above, there are cases where an n-word in non-strict NC language is apparently not licensed by anything. In Zeijlstra's model, this means that the [uNEG] feature is not getting checked. Recall the Spanish example from above:

- (39) Antes de hacer **nada**, debes lavarle las manos  
 before PREP do.INF n-thing must.2S wash.INF.CL DET hands  
 'Before doing anything, you should wash his hands.'

According to Zeijlstra's proposal, the only way that this could be allowed is if something was checking the [uNEG] feature of *nada*. He claims that in these situations, the null negative operator is again inserted.

- (40) [[NegP Op¬[iNEG][PP Antes de hacer **nada**,]][TP debes lavarle las manos]]  
 NEG before PREP do.INF n-thing must.2S wash.INF.CL DET hands  
 ‘Before doing anything, you should wash his hands.’

### 7.2.5 Summary

This section has discussed two main approaches to understanding what n-words are. The first hypothesis is that n-words are negative universal quantifiers; this is Zanuttini’s (1991) approach. The second hypothesis is the one in Ladusaw (1992), Giannakidou (1998, 2000), and Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), which claims that n-words are non-negative existential or universal quantifiers. I presented Zeijlstra’s implementation of this hypothesis in which n-words are non-negative but have an uninterpretable [uNEG] feature that must be checked under Agree against an interpretable [iNEG] feature.

## 7.3 N-Words and Negative Concord in Brazilian Portuguese

I now discuss n-words and NC in BP. Section 7.3.1 argues that BP is a non-strict NC language. Section 7.3.2 applies Zeijlstra’s theory to BP.

### 7.3.1 BP N-Words

Following Giannakidou’s formal definition of n-words, given in (3), the following BP words are n-words: *ninguém* ‘nobody’, *nada* ‘nothing’, *nunca* ‘never’, *nenhum* ‘no/any’, *nenhuma* pessoa ‘nobody’ (Peres 2000). Based on examples (41) through (43), this chapter assumes that BP is a non-strict NC language as defined in section 7.2.1. Example (41) shows the non-strict nature of BP n-words where a single n-word can occur preverbally as the subject and carry a negative meaning without the presence of a sentential negative marker.

- (41) a. **Ninguém** veio  
 Nobody came.3s  
 'nobody came'
- b. **Nada** conseguia resolver o problema  
 Nothing was.capable.IMPERF.3S resolve.INF DET problem  
 'Nothing was able to solve the problem'
- c. Ela **nunca** me liga  
 3sF never 1s calls.3s  
 'She never calls me'
- d. **Nenhum** remedio curou o doente  
 No medicine healed.3s DET sick.person  
 'No medicine healed the patient.'

As with Spanish and Italian, if there is a preverbal negative marker, a DN reading arises.<sup>33</sup>

- (42) **Ninguém** **não** ajudou a Sienna  
 Nobody NEG helped.3s DET Sienna  
 'Nobody didn't helped Sienna (i.e. everybody helped Sienna)'

The examples in (43) show that there must be a preverbal sentential negative marker when BP n-words are in a postverbal position.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Martinez (2006) states that the following is allowed in Mineiro Portuguese (State of Minas Gerais)

- i. Ninguém não veio  
 Nobody neg came  
 'Nobody came'

While she points to other studies, Alkmim (2001), this is the only example of the n-word and the preverbal negative marker not invoking a double negative reading. All the preliminary work suggests that this is dialectal and is not seen in most dialects of BP. If it turns out that this claim is false, then more analysis would be required.

<sup>34</sup> Cavalcante (2007) suggests that there are instances where the postverbal n-word does not co-occur with a preverbal negative marker. This appears to be dialectal and restricted to the northeast of Brazil. This could be due to BP n-words being inherently negative, contrary to what I assume above (Pereira 2000, Peres 2000, Matos 2003, Giannakidou 2006).

- (43) a. A Lúcia \*(não) viu **ninguém**  
 DET Lúcia NEG saw.3s nobody  
 'Lúcia didn't see anybody'
- b. A Lúcia \*(não) leu **nada**  
 DET Lúcia NEG read.3s nothing  
 'Lúcia didn't read anything'
- c. A Lúcia \*(não) leu **nenhum** livro  
 DET Lúcia NEG read.3s no book  
 'Lúcia didn't read any books'
- d. A Lúcia \*(não) me liga **nunca**  
 DET Lúcia NEG 1s read.3s never  
 'Lúcia doesn't ever call me'

Like other non-strict NC languages, a preverbal n-word is sufficient to license postverbal n-words, as in (44). Like NC languages in general, BP allows several n-words to be present in the sentence without any double negation reading, (45).

- (44) **Ninguém** leu **nenhum** livro  
 Nobody read.3SG none book  
 'Nobody read any books'
- (45) **Ninguém nunca** deu **nada** para **ninguém** em lado **nenhum**.  
 Nobody never gave.3SG nothing PREP nobody PREP side none  
 'Nobody ever gave anything to anybody anywhere.'

The second part of Giannakidou's definition deals with fragment answers.

Although I give only two examples, all of the words just given are valid fragment answers in BP.

- (46) a. Quem fez o trabalho?  
 who did.3s DET work  
 'who did the work'
- b. **Ninguém**  
 'Nobody'

(47) a. O que            que    você   fez?  
 What            that    2s    did.2s  
 'What did you do?'

b.    **Nada**  
 'Nothing'

BP departs from the behavior of traditional non-strict languages, such as Spanish and European Portuguese, in imperatives. Recall that according to Zeijlstra, strict NC allows true negative imperatives, while non-strict languages do not. Although BP clearly patterns with non-strict languages in other ways, it does allow true negative imperatives. Example (48) has an imperative, and the next example, (49), negates the imperative by simply adding the negative marker. Note however, that BP has both true negative imperatives and suppletive imperatives, example (50) (Scherre 2007).

(48) Lê                            isso  
 Read.2SG.IMP            that  
 'Read that!'

(49) Não lê                        isso  
 NEG Read.2SG.IMP    that  
 'Don't read that!'

(50) Não leia                    isso  
 NEG Read.2SG.SUBJ    that  
 'Don't read that!'

Another place where BP differs from other non-strict NC languages is if the n-word is part of a DP constituent. For other languages in this group, these types of sentences are not grammatical, as shown in example (13) for Italian. BP has no problem with these types of sentences, and in each case a NC reading is available.

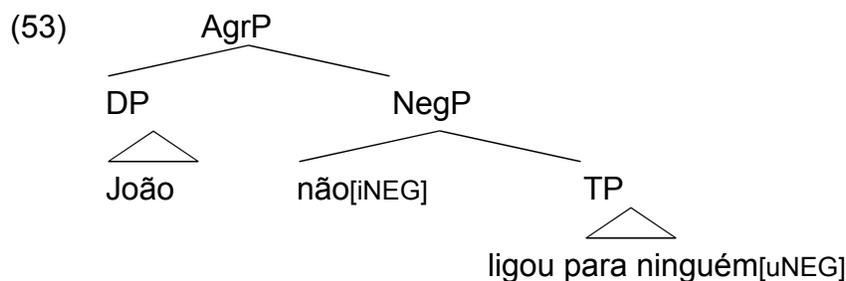
- (51) **Nenhum** estudante leu **nenhum** livro  
 no student read.3SG no book  
 'No student read any book'

Even though the evidence appears to leave the status of BP as a non-strict NC language open to debate, I will assume that it is a non-strict NC language. My reason is that preverbal n-words in BP cannot co-occur with the sentential negative marker without yielding a DN reading. This seems to be the most important criterion and it suggests that n-words in BP behave much like those in other Romance languages (Pereira 2000, Zeijlstra 2008).

### 7.3.2 Feature Agreement and BP N-Words

In this section I apply Zeijlstra's analysis to BP.<sup>35</sup> Following his analysis of non-strict NC languages, I assume that BP n-words have an [uNEG] feature. BP works the same as Italian, described above in (36) and (37). In (52), the negative marker has an [iNEG] feature which checks the [uNEG] feature on the n-word *ninguém*. (53) gives a syntactic representation.

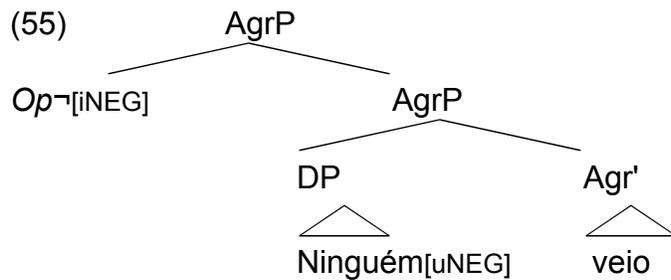
- (52) João não ligou para ninguém  
 John NEG calls PREP nobody  
 'John doesn't call anybody'



<sup>35</sup> Zeijlstra, Giannakidou, Zanuttini all analyze Romance languages but in most cases their discussions of Portuguese are based on European Portuguese. As such, some of the conclusions that they come up with do not directly apply to Brazilian Portuguese.

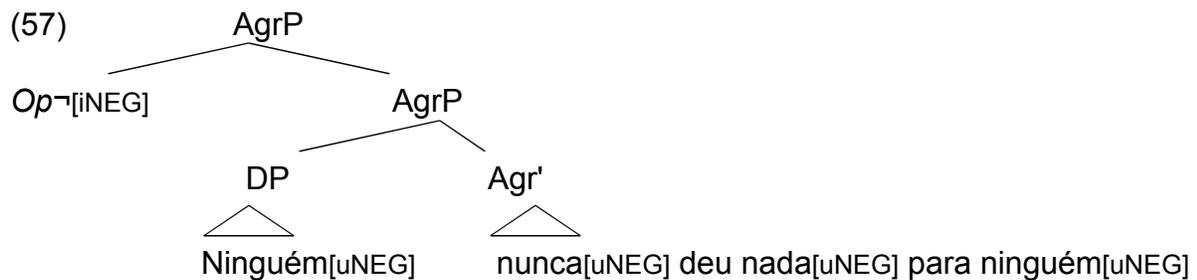
The following example show that preverbal n-words in BP behave like n-words in Italian, triggering the introduction of a null negative operator that carries an [iNEG] feature.

(54) a. **Ninguém** veio  
 Nobody came.3S  
 'nobody came'



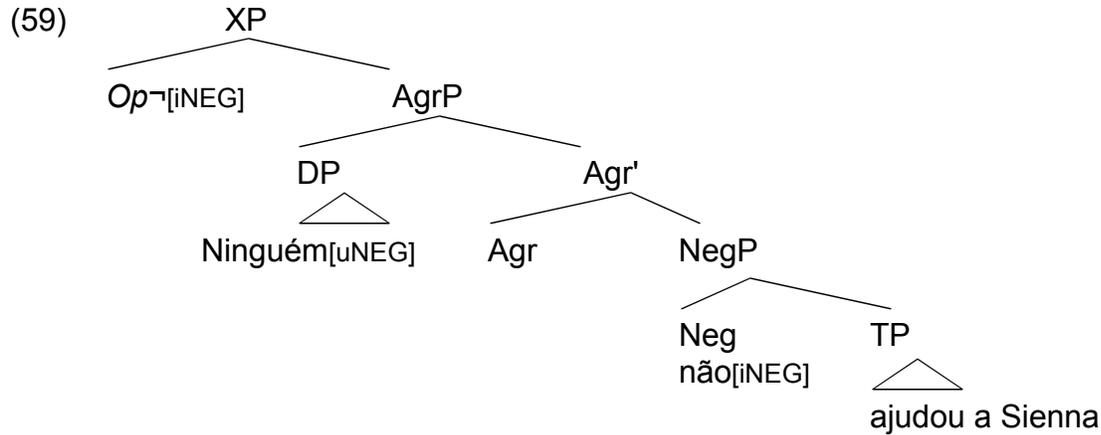
As in other non-strict languages, the phenomenon of negative spread is also captured in BP through Zeijlstra's adoption of Multiple Agree. The next sentence has several n-words, all of which check their uninterpretable feature with the null operator.

(56) **Ninguém** **nunca** deu **nada** para **ninguém**.  
 Nobody never gave.3SG nothing PREP nobody  
 'Nobody ever gave anything to anybody.'



The co-occurrence of the null operator and the sentential negative operator in BP causes a double negation reading. This is due to the presence of two [iNEG] features in the sentence.

- (58) **Ninguém** **não** ajudou a Sienna  
 Nobody NEG helped.3s DET Sienna  
 'Nobody didn't helped Sienna (i.e. everybody helped Sienna)'



#### 7.4 Negative Concord and Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese

This section returns to the discussion that began at the end of chapter six where questions arose regarding the semantic contributions of CFN and the different clause-final *nãos* in T2 and T3. Specifically, I argued that the CFN marker in T2 has a [uNEG] feature, which equates it with n-words. Given Zeijlstra's system, this [uNEG] feature is checked when AgrP bearing an interpretable [iNEG] moves to spec,TopP and c-commands the Top head. The T3 *não* is used as a negative element in denials which can negate a sentence without any support. Here the negative marker has an [iNEG] feature, much like the preverbal negative marker, and does not need to be checked.

My analysis of BP NC supports the claims of chapter six. Recall the syntactic environments in which CFN licenses an n-word:

Table 7-1. N-Words and CFN

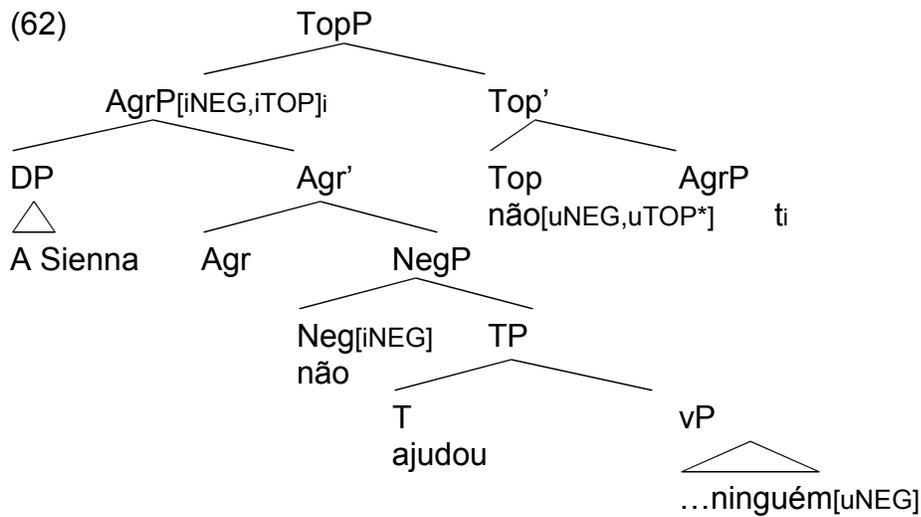
Environment	T1	T2	T3
Allowed with Subject N-words	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	√
Allowed with Object N-words	√	√	<b>X</b>
Compatible with NPI Idiomatic Expressions	√	√	<b>X</b>

The table above indicates that CFN has no effect on the licensing of n-words. The licensing picture is the same whether CFN is present or not. If the n-word is postverbal, then preverbal negation must be present and CFN can be present or not, i.e. an object n-word is licensed by T1 or T2 but not T3. When the n-word is the subject, preverbal negation cannot be present and CFN can be present or not, i.e. a subject n-word cannot appear with T1 and T2, only with T3. These patterns are illustrated by the following examples:

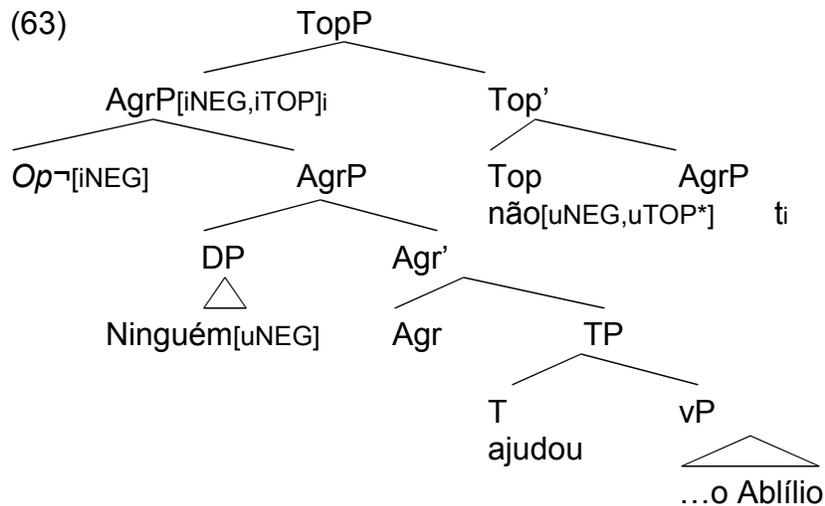
(60) A Sienna não ajudou ninguém (não)  
 DET Sienna NEG helped.3S nobody NEG  
 'Sienna didn't help anyone'

(61) Ninguém ajudou o Abílio (não)  
 Nobody helped.3S DET Ablílio NEG  
 'Nobody helped Ablílio'

In the structure in (62), corresponding to (60), the [iNEG] feature of preverbal *não* in Neg checks the [uNEG] feature on the postverbal n-word. The [iNEG] feature that percolated to AgrP checks the [uNEG] on the CFN in Top.



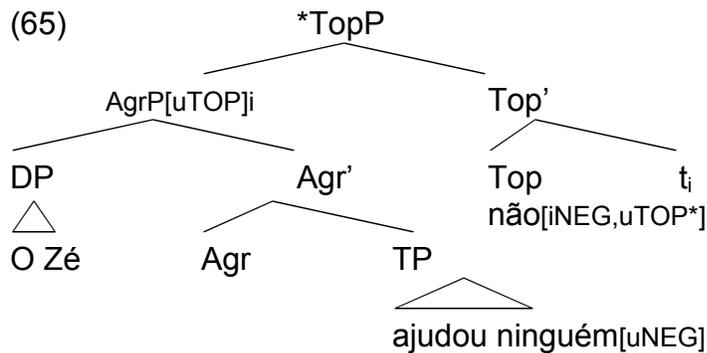
In (63), corresponding to (61), the subject n-word's [uNEG] feature is checked by the null operator. The CFN's [uNEG] feature is again checked by the [iNEG] feature on AgrP.



This analysis equates n-words and T2 CFN by suggesting that both have an [uNEG] feature that must be checked by an [iNEG] feature elsewhere in the structure. As such T2 is a case of negative concord.

The theory also correctly predicts that T3, with [iNEG] in Top, will not license an object n-word. After AgrP moves, the Top head, even though it has an [iNEG] feature, does not c-command any n-words inside AgrP. Consequently, their [uNEG] features will remain unchecked. I demonstrate this claim by showing how it blocks the ungrammatical example in (64). As can be seen in the structure below, Top does not c-command and therefore does not check the n-word's [uNEG] feature.

(64) \*O Zé ajudou ninguém não  
 DET Zé helped.3s nobody NEG  
 'Zé helped nobody'



The ungrammaticality of (64) thus has the same explanation as T3's inability to license an NPI idiom that we saw in chapter six.

Unfortunately, the same DN problem from chapter six arises in these structures. Because there are two CFN markers, either one could be inserted into the derivation. However, if the T3 negative marker, which is [iNEG], were inserted into the derivations in (62) and (63), then a double negative reading would incorrectly result as the clause would have two [iNEG] features. This is the same problem from chapter six which I have not solved. Nevertheless, it seems necessary to keep T2 and T3 distinct analytically because we saw that T3 is subject to a stricter discourse restriction than T2.

## 7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed NC in BP. The data show that BP is a non-strict NC language similar to Spanish and Italian (Zeijlstra 2004). I followed Zeijlstra in analyzing the licensing of n-words as an instance of syntactic Agree in which an [iNEG] must c-command and check any n-word's [uNEG] feature. Three interpretable elements are in principle available to do this checking: preverbal negation, a null negative operator which is present just in case an n-word is preverbal, and CFN *não*[iNEG] in Top. In practice however, CFN cannot license an n-word on its own because it does not c-command into AgrP once AgrP has moved to spec,TopP. The analysis of CFN from chapter six thus correctly accounts for the interaction of CFN and n-word licensing. CFN has no affect on n-word licensing.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Of particular interest to future work is question of diachronic change of n-words. Some BP dialects vary on the level of Negative Concord. Consider the following examples from Cavalcante (2007) where the n-word is not licensed by any c-commanding negative element:

(i) Fui                    cobrar            nada    dele  
Went.1s            charge. INF    nothing PREP.3S.M  
'I went to get nothing'

(ii) Veio                ninguém  
Came.3s            nobody  
'Nobody came'

(iii) Tou sabendo    de            nada  
Am knowing    PREP    nothing  
'I know nothing'

Since some languages change from strict negative concord languages to double negation languages, it is interesting to understand this process in more detail and make some cross-dialectal comparisons within BP. Also of interest is the frequency of clause-final negation in dialects with different types of n-words. This work claims that clause-final negation is found in all sectors of Brazil; however, there are definite regional differences concerning n-words that should be examined. Specifically, the relationship between n-words and clause-final negation in northern and northeastern dialects appear to suggest a relationship between frequency of clause-final negation and [iNEG] carrying n-words.

## CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

In this work, I sought to understand Clause-Final Negation in Brazilian Portuguese within the Minimalist Program. Clause-Final Negation (CFN) is a somewhat rare form of negation, and this is especially so within the Indo-European family of languages.

Brazilian Portuguese has three types of negation and two of these include clause-final negative markers. CFN is thus a part of Brazilian Portuguese that is in need of study.

The work began in chapter one by laying out the data and setting the stage for a discussion that involved both syntactic as well as semantic/pragmatic elements.

Chapters two, three, and four furthered the discussion by implementing a theoretical framework and clause structure for BP. In these chapters I gave evidence for the clause structure of BP that is needed to understand negation generally and CFN in particular.

Chapter five discussed the semantic and pragmatic restrictions on the use of CFN. I showed, following Schwenter, that CFN can only be fully understood through a proper delineation of the discourse factors that influence the felicity of CFN sentences.

Chapter six offered a syntactic analysis of CFN. I argued that the negative marker *não* comes to be clause-final when the entire clause, AgrP, fronts to the left *não*, which is a topic head in the left periphery. The movement of AgrP yields a topic interpretation for the clause. The analysis opens the door to further examination of topicalization in BP. In particular, this work provides evidence that large phrases can be topicalized. This discussion of clause topicalization promises to be an area which will show an even tighter link between discourse and syntax.

Chapter six posited two CFN markers. One is interpretable, bearing an [iNEG] feature, and the other is uninterpretable, being specified as [uNEG]. The need for two heads motivated three observations: 1) partially distinct discourse licensing restrictions on T2 versus T3, 2) the need to have a semantically negative interpretation in T3 sentences, and 3) the need to avoid a Double Negation reading in T2 sentences. An interpretable head with [iNEG] is used in T3 environments in order to give such sentences a negative interpretation. On the other hand, the uninterpretable head with [uNEG] was required in order to prevent double negation readings with T2. Unfortunately, this picture could still not prevent the T3 head from also being used in combination with preverbal negation, resulting in a double negation reading. I left this problem for future work.

Chapter seven closed the discussion by testing the theory from chapter six in the domain of Negative Concord (NC). I applied Zeijlstra's theory of NC to BP and the theory in conjunction with the analysis of CFN from chapter six was able to explain why CFN does not have any influence on the licensing of n-words in BP.

## LIST OF REFERENCES

- Adger, David. 2003. *Core syntax: A Minimalist approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Adragão, Maria do Mar and João Costa. 2004. On the Status of Preverbal Subjects in Null Subject Languages: Evidence from Acquisition. In *Proceedings of GALA 2003*, ed. Jacqueline van Kampen and Sergio Baauw, 69–80. The Hague: Utrecht University, Lot Publications.
- Aissen, Judith. 1992. Topics and Mayan. *Language* 68, 1:43–80.
- Alexiadou, Artemis and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parametrizing Agr: Word order, Verb-Movement and EPP-checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16:491–539.
- Alkmim, Monica. 2001. As negativas sentenciales no dialeto mineiro: uma abordagem varacionista. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.
- Ambar, Manuela. 1999. Aspects of the Syntax of Focus in Portuguese. In *The Grammar of Focus*, eds. Georges Rebuschi and Laurice Tuller, 23–53. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Aoun, Joseph and Audrey Li .2000. Scope, structure, and expert systems: A reply to Kuno et al. *Language* 76:133–55.
- Armstrong, Meghan E. 2008. Pragmatic Restrictions on Affirmative Response Choice in Brazilian Portuguese. In *Selected Proceedings of the 10th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, ed. Joyce Bruhn de Garavito and Elena Valenzuela, 288–299. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Azevedo, Milton. 2005. *Portuguese. A linguistic introduction*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Barbosa, Pilar. 1995. Null Subjects. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Barbosa, Pilar. 2004. Two Kinds of Subject *pro*. Paper presented at the 14<sup>th</sup> Colloquium of Generative Linguistics, University of Oporto.
- Barme, Stefan. 2000. Negação (e afirmação) no português brasileiro falado informal. ms., University of Mainz.
- Barss, Andrew. 1986. Chains and anaphoric dependence. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

- Bastos, Ana. 2001. Fazer, eu faço! Topicalização de Constituintes Verbais em Português Brasileiro. Master Thesis, Universidade de Campinas.
- Bastos-Gee, Ana. 2009. Topicalization of Verbal Projections in Brazilian Portuguese. In *Minimalist Essays on Brazilian Syntax*, ed. Jairo Nunes, 161–190. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Belletti, Adriana. 1990. *Generalized Verb Movement*. Turin: Rosenberg e Sellier.
- Belletti, Adriana. 2004. Aspects of the Low IP Area. In *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 2*, ed. Luigi Rizzi, 16–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benincà, Paola, 2001. The position of topic and focus in the left periphery. In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, ed. Cinque, Guglielmo and Giampaolo Salvi, 39–64. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Benincà, Paola and Cecilia Poletto. 2004. Topic, Focus and V2. Defining the CP sublayers, In *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 2*, ed. Luigi Rizzi, 52–75. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bernini, Giuliano and Paolo Ramat. 1996. *Negative Sentences in the Languages of Europe: A Typological Approach (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 16)*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Besten, Hans den. 1986. Double Negation and the Genesis of Afrikaans. In *Substrata versus Universals in Creole Languages*, ed. Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith, 185–230. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2009. Jespersen off course? The case of contemporary Afrikaans negation. In *Cyclical Change*, ed. Elly Van Gelderen, 91–132. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Biberauer, Theresa and Sonia Cyrino. 2009. Negative developments in Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese, paper presented at the 19th Colloquium on Generative Grammar, University of the Basque Country, Vitoria-Gasteiz.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2003. Floating Quantifiers: Handle With Care. In *The Second Glot International State-of-The-Article Book*, eds. Lisa Cheng and Rint Sybesma, 107–148. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 1998. ‘Two Heads Aren’t Always Better than One’, *Syntax* 1.1:37–71.

- Bošković, Željko. 1999. On multiple feature checking: multiple Wh-fronting and multiple head-movement. In *Working Minimalism*, ed. Samuel Epstein and Norbert Hornstein, 159–87. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Bošković, Željko and Howard. Lasnik. 2007. *Minimalist Syntax: The Essential Readings*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bosque, Ignacio. 1980. *Sobre la Negación*. Madrid: Catedra.
- Bouquiaux, Luc. 1970. *La Langue Birom*. Paris: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège.
- Brito, Ana Maria. 2001. Clause Structure, Subject Positions and Verb Movement. In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*. ed. D'Hulst et al., 63–86. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Camargos, Marcelo Luiz de. 2002. Teoria de Cópia e Negação. Masters thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.  
<http://www.ufop.br/ichs/conifes/anais/LCA/clca03.htm>
- Cardinaletti, Anna. 1997. Subjects and Clause Structure. In *The New Comparative Syntax* ed, Liliane Haegeman . London: Longman.
- Cardinaletti, Anna. 2004. Towards a cartography of subject positions. In *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. 2, ed. Luigi Rizzi. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Michal Starke. 1999. The Typology of Structural Deficiency: A Case Study of the Three Classes of Pronouns. In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, ed. Henk van Riemsdijk, 145–234. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Carnie, Andrew. 2006. *Syntax: A Generative Introduction*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell Publishers.
- Casielles, Eugenia. 1997. *Topic, Focus, and Bare Nominals in Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Cavalcante, Rerisson. 2007. A negação pós-verbal no português brasileiro: análise descritiva e teórica de dialetos rurais de afro-descendentes. Master thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia.
- Cinque, Guglielmo, 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (Ed.), 2002. *Functional Structure in DP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 1*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Cheng, Lisa L.-S. 1991. *On the Typology of Wh-questions*, Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Cheng, Lisa L.-S. 1997. *On the Typology of Wh-Questions*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1976. *Essays on Form and Interpretation*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries: the Framework. In *Step by Step. Essays in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A'-Dependencies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Costa, João. 1998. *Word order variation : a constraint-based approach*. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.
- Costa, João. 2000. (ed.). *Portuguese syntax – New comparative studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Costa, João. 2001. Spec, IP ou Deslocado? Prós e contras das duas análises dos sujeitos pré-verbais. *DELTA*, 17:283–304.
- Costa, João. 2004. *Subject Positions and Interfaces: The Case of European Portuguese*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Costa, João and Charlotte Galves. 2002. External subjects in two varieties of Portuguese: evidence for a non-unified analysis. In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2000*, ed. Claire Beyssade et al., 109–125. Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins.
- Da Cunha, Maria. 1996. Gramaticalização dos Mecanismos de Negação em Natal. In *Gramaticalização no Português do Brasil*, ed. Maria Martelotta et al., 167–189. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro.
- Da Cunha, Maria. 2001. O Modelo das Motivações Competidoras no Domínio Funcional da Negação. *DELTA* 17:1–30.

- Da Cunha, Maria. 2007. Grammaticalization of the strategies of negation in Brazilian Portuguese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39:1638–1653.
- Den Besten, H. 1986. Double negation and the genesis of Afrikaans. In *Substrata versus universals in Creole languages. Papers from the Amsterdam Creole workshop, April 1985*, ed. Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith, 185–230. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- De Swart, Henriette and Ivan Sag. 2002. Negative Concord in France. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 25: 373–417.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. Verb-Object-Negative Order in Central Africa. In *Negation Patterns in West Africa*, ed. Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann, and Georg Ziegelmeyer. Ms.
- Duarte, Maria. 1995. A Perda do Princípio “Evite pronome” no Português Brasileiro. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Campinas.
- Duarte, Maria. 2000. The loss of the ‘avoid pronoun’ principle in Brazilian Portuguese. In *Brazilian Portuguese and the Null Subject Parameter*, ed. Mary Kato et. al., 17–36. Frankfurt-Madrid: Vervuert-Iberoamericana.
- Emonds, Joseph. 1978. The verbal complex V'–V in French. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9:151–75.
- Ferraz, Luiz Ivens. 1979. *The Creole of São Tomé*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Fonseca, Helena. 2004. Marcador negativo final no Português Brasileiro. *Cadernos de estudos lingüísticos*. 46: 5–19.
- Galves, Charlotte. 1989. O objeto nulo no português brasileiro: percurso de uma pesquisa. *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos* 17:65–90.
- Galves, Charlotte. 1998. Tópicos e sujeitos, Pronomes e Concordância no Português Brasileiro. *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos*, 34:19–31.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1998. *Polarity sensitivity as (non)veridical dependency*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2000. Negative ... Concord? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18:457–523.

- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2006. N-words and negative concord. In *The Linguistics Companion vol. III*, ed. Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk. 327–391. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goodall, Grant. 2001. The EPP in Spanish. *Objects and Other Subjects*, eds. William Davies and Stanley Dubinsky, 193–223. Amsterdam:Kluwer.
- Grohmann, Kleanthes. 2003. *Prolific Domains: On the Anti-Locality of Movement Dependencies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Günther, Wilfried. 1973. *Das Portugiesische Kreolisch der Ilha do Príncipe*. Marburg an der Lahn: Marburger Studien zur Afrika und Asienkunde.
- Haddad, Youssef. 2007. Adjunct Control in Telegu and Assamese. Doctoral dissertation. University of Florida.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1995. *The syntax of negation*. *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics* 75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Raffaella Zanuttini. 1991. Negative Heads and the Neg-Criterion. *The Linguistic Review* 8:233–251.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Raffaella Zanuttini. 1996. Negative Concord in West Flemish. In *Parameters and Functional Heads*, eds. Belletti Adriana and Luigi Rizzi, 117–180. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Han, C-H. 2001. Force, negation and imperatives. *The Linguistic Review* 18, 289–325.
- Hansen, Quinn. 2005. Basic Word Order: Kaqchikel Mayan. Masters thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. Multiple Agreement and the Defective Intervention Effect, Ms. MIT.
- Heim, Irene. 1982. The semantics of definite and indefinite noun phrases. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Herburger, Elena. 2001. The negative concord puzzle revisited. *Natural Language Semantics* 9:289–333.
- Higginbotham, James and Robert May. 1981. Questions, Quantifiers, and Crossing. *The Linguistic Review* 1, 41–80.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2005. Is there a little pro? Evidence from Finnish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33, 533–64.

- Horn, Laurence. 1989. *A Natural History of Negation*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Horn, Laurence. 2002. Assertoric inertia and NPI licensing. *CLS* 38: 55–82.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 2001. *Move! A Minimalist theory of construal: Generative syntax*. United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Hornstein, Norbert; Jairo Nunes and Kleantes Grohmann. 2005. *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, C.-T. J. 1982. Logical Relations in Chinese and the Theory of Grammar. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Iatridou, Sabine. 1990. About Agr(P). *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 551–577.
- Israel, Michael. 1998. The rhetoric of grammar: scalar reasoning and polarity sensitivity. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, San Diego.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1917. *Negation in English and other Languages*. Copenhagen: A.F.Høst.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kato, Mary. 1999. Strong and Weak pronominals in the Null Subject Parameter. *Probus* 11: 1–37.
- Kato, Mary. 2000. The partial pro-drop nature and the restricted VS order in Brazilian Portuguese. In *Brazilian Portuguese and the Null Subject Parameter*, ed. Mary Kato et. al., 207–240. Frankfurt-Madrid: Vervuert-Iberoamericana.
- Kato, Mary. 2003. Null objects and VP ellipsis in European and Brazilian Portuguese. In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2001*, ed. Josep Quer et al., 131–154. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kato, Mary. 2009. Mudança de ordem e gramaticalização na evolução das estruturas de foco no Português Brasileiro. *Estudos Lingüísticos* 38: 375–385.
- Kato, Mary and Carlos Mito. 2005. A multi-evidence analysis of European and Brazilian Portuguese Wh-questions. In *Linguistic evidence: empirical, theoretical and computational perspectives*, ed. S Kepser and Marcelo Reis, 307–328. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Kato, Mary and Eduardo Raposo. 1996. European and Brazilian Portuguese word order: questions, focus and topic constructions. In *Aspects of Romance Linguistics*, eds. C. Parodi et. al., 267–77. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Kato, Mary and Eduardo Raposo. 2007. Topicalization in European and Brazilian Portuguese. In *Romance Linguistics 2006*. ed. Jose Camacho et. al., 205-218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard. 1989. Notes on English Agreement. *CIEFL* 1: 40-67.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994: *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Koopman, Hilda. And Dominique Sportiche. 1991. The position of subjects. *Lingua* 85.1:211–258.
- Ladusaw, William A. 1992. Expressing negation. In *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory*, ed. Chris Barker and David Dowty, 237–259. Columbus: Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University.
- Laka, Itziar. 1990. Negation in Syntax: on the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- Larson, Richard .1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:335–391
- Lasnik, Howard. 1972. *Analyses of negation in English*. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1999. *Minimalist Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lasnik, Howard and Mamoru Saito. 1992. *Move  $\alpha$  : Conditions on its application and output*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Lessa de Oliveira, Ana. 2008. Orações Relativas do Português: questões teóricas e fatos de aquisição. Doctoral Dissertation, Universidade de Campinas.
- Lobato, Lúcia Maria Pinheiro. 1986. *Sintaxe gerativa do português. Da teoria padrão à teoria da regência e ligação*. Belo Horizonte:Vigília.
- Lobeck, Anne, 1995. *Ellipsis: Functional Heads, Licensing, and Identification*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Martins, Eneida. 1997. *Sentential negation in spoken Brazilian Portuguese*. Washington: Georgetown University.

- Martins, Ana. 1994. Clíticos na história do português. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa.
- Martins, Ana and Jairo Nunes. 2006. Raising Issues in Brazilian and European Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 4: 53–77.
- Martins, Ana and Jairo Nunes. 2008. Apparent Hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese: Base-Generation of Topics and Long Distance Agreement. In *Selected papers from Edges in Syntax, Cyprus 2006*, ed. Phoevos Panagiotidis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martínez, Cristina. 2005. Concordancia de negación en el portugués minero. *Pterodáctilo: Revista de Arte, Literatura y Lingüística* 3:26–35.
- Matos, Gabriela. 2003. Aspectos sintáticos da negação. In *Gramática da língua portuguesa*. ed. Maria Helena Mira Mateus, 767–793. Lisboa: Caminho.
- May, Robert. 1985. *Logical Form: Its Structure and Derivation*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McCloskey, James. 1991. Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish. *Lingua* 85:259–302.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mioto, Carlos. 1992. Negação Sentential no Português Brasileiro. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Campinas.
- Mioto, Carlos. 1998. Preposições: Núcleos lexicais ou funcionais? In *Lingüística e Ensino*, eds. Luis Cabral et al., 165–179. Florianópolis, Editora Insular.
- Moscati, Vincenzo. 2006. The Scope of Negation. Doctoral dissertation, University of Siena.
- Muller, Ana, et. al. 2007. The Brazilian Portuguese Quantifier "Todo" in Distributive and in Collective Contexts. *DELTA* 23:71–95.
- Namiuti, Cristiane. 2008. Aspectos da história gramatical do português: Interpolação, negação e mudança. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Campinas.
- Nunes, Jairo (ed). 2009. *Minimalist Essays on Brazilian Portuguese Syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Nunes, Jairo and Mary Kato. 2009. A Uniform Raising Analysis for Standard and Non-Standard Relative Clauses. In *Minimalist Essays on Brazilian Syntax*, ed. Jairo Nunes, 93–120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ordóñez, Francisco. 1997. *Word Order and Clause Structure in Spanish and other Romance Languages*. Doctoral dissertation CUNY.
- Ordóñez, Francisco and Eduardo Treviño. 1999. Left-dislocated subjects and the pro-drop parameter: A case study of Spanish. *Lingua*, 107: 39–68.
- Ouhalla, Jamal. 1990. Sentential negation, Relativised minimality, and the aspectual status of auxiliaries. *The Linguistic Review* 7: 183–231.
- Pereira, Iris. 2000. Para uma definição do processo de concordância negativa em português europeu. In *XV Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística : actas*, ed. Rui Castro and Pilar Barbosa, 125–149. Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.
- Peres, João. 2000. Towards a Comprehensive View of Negative Concord. In *Meaning Through Language Contrast*, ed. K.M Jaszczolt and Ken Turner, 29–44. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pires, Acrisio. 2007. The subject, it is here! The Varying Structural Positions of Preverbal Subjects. *DELTA* 23:113–147.
- Pires, Acrisio and Heather Taylor. 2007. The Syntax of Wh-in-situ and Common Ground. Paper presentation Penn Linguistics Colloquium 31, University of Pennsylvania, Feb 23-25.
- Poletto, Cecilia, 2000. *The Higher Functional Field. Evidence from Northern Italian Dialects*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365–424.
- Postma, Gertjan, and Wim van der Wurff. 2007. How to say No and Don't: Negative Imperatives in Romance and Germanic. In *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar: Studies Offered to Frits Beukema*, ed. Wim van der Wurff 73–110. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Prince, Ellen. 1981. Toward a taxonomy of given-new information. In *Radical Pragmatics*, ed. Peter Cole, 223–255. New York: Academic Press.
- Prince, Ellen. 1992. The ZPG letter: subjects, definiteness, and information-Status. In *Discourse Description: Diverse Analyses of a Fundraising Text*, eds. Sally Thompson and W. Mann, 295–325. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Radford, Andrew. 2004. *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the structure of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rezac, Milan. 2003. The Fine Structure of Cyclic Agree. *Syntax* 6: 156–82.
- Rivero, María-Luisa and Arhonto Terzi. 1995. Imperatives, V-movement, and Logical Mood. *Journal of Linguistics*, 31:301–332.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281–338. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rizzi, Luigi, 2001. On the position “Int(errogative)” in the left periphery of the clause. In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. ed. Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi, 287–296. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Rizzi, Luigi (Ed). 2004. *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 2*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Ian. 2004. The C-System in Brythonic Celtic Languages, V2, and the EPP. In *The Structure of IP and CP*, ed. Luigi Rizzi, 297–328. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rodrigues, Cilene. 2004. Loss of Morphology and A-Movement out of Case Domains. Doctoral dissertation. University of Maryland.
- Roncarti, Cláudia. 1996. A Negação no Português Falado. In *Variação e Discurso* ed. Alzira Tavares de Macedo et al., 97–112. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro.
- Ross, John. 1967. Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Rowlett, Paul. 1998. *Sentential Negation in French*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Saeed, John. 1997. *Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Santos, Ana Lúcia. 2004. How do children say ‘Yes’ in European Portuguese?. In Proceedings of GALA 2003 Jacqueline, eds, van Kampen and Sergio Baauw. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- Scherre, Maria Marta Pereira. 2007. Aspectos sincrônicos e diacrônicos do imperativo gramatical no português brasileiro. *Alfa*, 51:189–222.

- Schwegler, Armin. 1988. Word-order Changes in Predicate Negation Strategies in Romance Languages. *Diachronica* 2:21–58.
- Schwegler, Armin. 1991a. Predicate Negation in Contemporary Brazilian Portuguese—a Change in Progress. *Orbis* 34:187–214.
- Schwegler, Armin. 1991b. Negation in Palenquero. Synchrony. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 6:165–214.
- Schwenter, Scott. 2005. The pragmatics of negation in Brazilian Portuguese. *Lingua* 115:1427–1456.
- Schwenter, Scott. 2006. Fine-Tuning Jespersen’s Cycle. In *Drawing the Boundaries of Meaning: Neo-Gricean Studies in Pragmatics and Semantics in Honor of Laurence R. Horn*, ed. Betty J. Birner and Gregory Ward. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schwenter, Scott and Gláucia Silva. 2002. Overt vs. null direct objects in spoken Brazilian Portuguese: a semantic/pragmatic account. *Hispania*, 85:577–586.
- Silva, Gláucia. 2001. *Word order in Brazilian Portuguese : a minimalist analysis*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Silva, Claudia. 2004. A natureza de AGR e suas implicações na ordem VS: um estudo comparativo entre o português brasileiro e o português europeu. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade Federal de Alagoas.
- Sportiche, Dominique. 1988. A theory of floating quantifiers and its corollaries for constituent structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 425–449.
- Sousa, Arivaldo Sacramento. 2004. As estruturas de negação em uma comunidade rural afro-brasileira: Helvécia - BA. <http://www.vertentes.ufba.br/souza.doc>
- Sousa, Liliana. 2007. Formas Reduzidas de Itens Negativos no Português Brasileiro. Masters thesis. Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 1978. Assertion. In *Pragmatics: Syntax and Semantics Volume 9*. ed. P.Cole. New York: Academic Press.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 2002. Common Ground. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25: 701–21.

- Szabolcsi, Anna. 2006. Strong vs. weak islands. In *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, ed. Everaert and van Riemsdijk. 4:479–532.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1996. On the (non)-universality of functional projections. In *Minimal ideas*, ed. W. Abraham et. al., 253–81. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Travis, Lisa. 1984. Parameters and Effects of Word Order Variation. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 26: 79–123.
- Uribe-Echevarria, María. 1992. On the Structural Positions of Subjects in Spanish, and their Consequences for Quantification. In *Syntactic Theory and Basque Syntax eds.* José Lakarra and Julio de Urbina, 447–493, San Sebastian: ASJU.
- van Riemsdijk, Henk and Edwin Williams. 1986. *Introduction to the Theory of Grammar. Current Studies in Linguistics.* Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Vicente, Helena. 2006. O Quantificador Flutuante *Todos* no Português Brasileiro e no Inglês: Uma Abordagem Gerativa. Universidade de Brasília.
- Vitral, Lorenzo. 1999. A negação: teoria da checagem e mudança lingüística. *DELTA*, 15:1.
- Wouden, Ton, van der and Frans Zwarts. 1993. A Semantic Analysis of Negative Concord. In *Semantics and Linguistic Theory III*, 202–219. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wouden, Ton, van der. 1997. *Negative Contexts.* London: Routledge.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1991. Syntactic properties of sentential negation. A comparative study of Romance languages. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure. A Comparative Study of Romance languages.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 2001. Sentential Negation. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, 511–535. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2004. Sentential Negation and Negative Concord. Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2006. The Ban on True Negative Imperatives *Empirical Issues in Formal Syntax and Semantics* 6: 405–424

Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2008. *Negative Concord in Syntactic Agreement*. Ms.

Zocca, Cynthia. 2007. And the wh goes where. Ms. University of Connecticut.

Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, Focus, and Word Order*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Quinn McCoy Hansen was born in Salt Lake City, Utah. Before graduating from the University of Texas at Austin, he studied at universities in Hawaii, Mexico, Portugal and Spain. In May 2003, he graduated with honors with a degree in Spanish and Portuguese languages and literatures from the University of Texas at Austin, College of Liberal Arts. He subsequently studied at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal where in 2005 he received the Grau de Mestre in linguistics for his work *Basic Word Order in Kaqchikel* which received the highest mark of  *muito bom*. After studying in Lisbon, Quinn moved to Aleppo, Syria where he was employed as a first grade teacher at the National School of Aleppo. He began his journey towards earning a Doctorate degree in linguistics at the University of Florida in August 2006. Since arriving at the University of Florida, he has taught Portuguese in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Quinn has also taught linguistics for the Program in Linguistics. In 2009, he received the award for outstanding Portuguese Teaching Assistant. In 2010, Quinn received a prestigious Graduate Student Teaching Award from the University of Florida and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. In the Fall of 2010, he will teach Portuguese at the University of Florida.