Sentential Negation in Brazilian Portuguese: Pragmatics and Syntax

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Abstract

*Brazilian Portuguese (BP) permits at least three kinds of sentential negation – Neg1 (*não *VP), Neg2 (*não *VP* não*) and Neg3 (VP* não*). The topic of this paper are the different interpretations of Neg2 and Neg3 in comparison to Neg1. I argue that Neg2 is a Negative Concord element that exhibits properties associated with presupposed denial, while Neg3 is interpreted as a kind of focus operator. Some contexts show the incompatibility between Neg2/Neg3 and Neg1. I believe that this incompatibility can be explained by presuppositional content and scope. The aim of this paper is to explain the relation between negation structures in BP and pragmatics.*

1   Introduction

Studies about sentential negation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) identify three kinds of structures by taking into account the number and position of negative particles in the sentence (Schwegler 1983; Careno & Peter 1994; Furtado da Cunha 1996; Roncarati 1997; Alkmim 2001; Ramos 2002; Sousa 2004, 2007). These three kinds of structures can be defined as follows:

(i)   A preverbal particle in the sequence [*não* VP], named Neg1

(1)   *Eu*   ***não/num[1]***   *saí.*
        I   not   leave.PAST

        'I didn't leave.'

(ii)   Two particles, one preverbal and the other post-VP, [*não* VP *não*], Neg2

(2)   *Agora*   ***não/num***   *entra*   *mais*   ***não***.
        now   not   enter.3SG   more   NEG

        'Nobody else enters anymore.'

(iii)   A post-verbal particle in the sequence [VP *não*], Neg3

(3)   *Tenho*   ***não***.
        have.1SG   NEG

        Literally: 'I don't have.'

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[1] In BP, the pre-verbal negative item can be verbalized by *não* or by the clitic *num*. The post-verbal negative element however can only take the form *não*.

Many studies (Jespersen 1917; Schwegler 1993; Lipski 2001) about variation in sentential negation across languages identify distinguished periods for each construction, as the languages change. This process of language change, called Jespersen's Cycle, shows that negative preverbal elements are reduced, being incorporated by the verb whereas other post-verbal elements historically acquire a negative value at the same time. In the same line, Vitral (1999) tries to explain the variation in Brazilian sentential negation through Jespersen's Cycle. Since the Cycle supports the idea of competition between forms with the same meaning and distribution, I argue in this paper that this variation does not represent stages of a unique process in BP, but it represents different strategies to express pragmatic contents. For this reason I will compare Neg1 and Neg2/Neg3, trying to show syntactic and pragmatic peculiarities of the constructions in an attempt to explain the variation in terms of information structure.

This paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I will focus on Neg2, presenting some aspects of French and West Flemish Bipartite Negation and Negative Concord, highlighting the differences exhibited by BP. In section 3, I will try to demonstrate that the basic differences between Neg2/Neg3 and the canonical negation (Neg1) are derived from information structure.

2   Aspects of Sentential Negation

2.1 Jespersen's Cycle

According to Zanuttini (1989), there are three strategies for marking sentential negation: pre-verbal, post-verbal, as well as pre- and post-verbal; and each one of these constitutes a stage in the historical development of a language. On the one hand, languages where negation is expressed in terms of a pre-verbal element, e.g. Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan or Standard Italian, are those where the head, but not the specifier of NegP, is lexically realised. On the other hand, languages where negation is expressed in terms of a post-verbal element, e.g. Occitan and Franco-Provençal dialects, are those where the specifier, but not the head of NegP, is lexically realised. Finally, languages where negation is expressed in terms of both a pre-verbal and a post-verbal element, e.g. Standard French and a specific variety of Piemontese, are those where both the specifier and the head of NegP are lexically realised. These differences are also likely to be the ones which characterise the three stages of the historical development in any Romance language. At some point, either the head or the specifier of NegP was realised lexically, with an intermediary stage where both elements were realised by a lexical item.

Jespersen (1965) already discussed the position of negation with respect to the verb. From his point of view, the position of negation can indicate different stages of a specific language. Based on French and English historical data he presented the following cycle:

	English	**French**
1º	*Ic ne secge*	*Jeo ne di*
2 º	*I ne seye not*	*Je ne dis pas*
3 º	*I say not*	*Je dis pas*
4 º	*I do not say*	
5 º	*I don't say*	

Table 1: Jespersen's Cycle for English and French

Like contemporary French and West Flemish (WF), Brazilian Portuguese has two negative items to express a single negation (*num/não…não*), and the pre-verbal item can be considered a clitic[2], like French *ne* and West Flemish *en*. Based on this fact, some scholars (Vitral 1999; Martins 1997) have been arguing in favor of a bipartite negation in BP[3], which would be located in an intermediary stage in the change process. But there are important differences between French and West Flemish on the one side, and BP on the other.

In BP, the post-verbal element actually is post-VP, unlike in French and WF:

(4) a. *Eu num [VP gosto de doces] **não**.*

   b. *Je ne [V mange] **pas** de chocolat.*

   c. *Valère [V (en)-eet] **nie** s'oavends.*

In Standard French and West Flemish, sentential negation without negative post-verbal item is ungrammatical. On the contrary, in BP this kind of construction is possible:

(5) *O João num vai ao cinema (não).*
  the João not go.PRE to the cinema NEG
  'João won't go to the cinema.'

While Neg1 in BP is possible in all contexts, as canonical structure, Neg2 necessarily contributes a particular interpretive effect when it occurs. It cannot occur in simple, unmarked declaratives (cf. Schwenter 2005; Cavalcante 2007; Biberauer & Cyrino 2009).

As Jespersen, Zanuttini and Ouhalla have argued, Bipartite Negation is an intermediate stage in language development, where the final stage is supposed to be the post-verbal negation, as in Colloquial French. However, in some dialects of BP the three stages of sentential negation can still be observed. Accordingly, based on the distribution of sentence negation, Sousa (2007) states that they are not competing forms. She argues that the canonical construction is more frequent in the analyzed corpus (Table 2).

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[2] Sousa (2007); Ramos (2002); Alkmim (2001); Furtado da Cunha (1996, 2000).
[3] These studies do not refer to the term "Bipartite Negation", but only to "Negation Doubling", yet with the same meaning.

	No.	**%**
[*não* **VP**]	785	84
[*não* **VP** *não*]	134	14
[**VP** *não*]	17	2
Total	931	100

Table 2: Frequencies of stages of sentential negation
in BP (cf. Sousa 2007)

Another argument against *change in progress* as an explanation for the variation in sentential negation in BP are the syntactic restrictions on Neg3. As the following example shows, Neg3 is ungrammatical in embedded sentences, in sentences with a subject and in interrogative sentences:

(6)   a.   *Eu*   *sei*   *que*   *livro*   *é*   *esse*   *não.*
           I   know   which   book   is   this   not

       b.   *O*   *João*   *acha*   *que*   *você*   *deve*   *viajar*   *não.*
           the   João   think   that   you   should   travel.INF   not

       c.   *O*   *João*   *comprou*   *cigarro*   *não*
           the   João   buy.PAST   cigarette   not

       d.   *Quem*   *você*   *conheceu*   *não?*
           who   you   know   not

Neg3 can only be used as an answer to yes/no questions or for contrasting a presupposition (*focus*), as is demonstrated in the following examples:

(7)   A: *Você comprou biscoitos?*
          'Did you buy cookies?'

       B: *Comprei*   *não*
          buy.PAST   not
          'I didn't.'

(8)   A: *Tá chovendo o dia todo!*
          'It's raining the whole day!'

       B: *Ta*   *chovendo*   *agora*   *não!*
          is   rain:GER   now   not
          'Now it's not raining!'

The differences between French and West Flemish Bipartite Negation versus Negation Doubling in BP shown in this section indicate different kinds of phenomena.

As mentioned before, BP shows, in the same way as French, a dichotomy between full and reduced forms. *Não* and *num*, like *non* and *ne*, are in complementary distribution in a focus context, the first one being post-verbal, or without a host.

Vitral (1999) adopts the theory of feature checking in a minimalist framework to address the same issue. Just like Pollock, he assumes *não* to be the head of a functional category, thus being subject to the minimality condition. Further, he claims, based on the occurrence of the negative particle before a deverbal inside a nominal clause, that NegP has in fact scope over lexical categories (VP, AP, NP…). His proposal is presented in the following way:

(9)   *A negative item must c-command a lexical head in the overt syntax.*

However, this proposal lacks universality because in languages such as Colloquial French, Swedish and Icelandic, the negative particle can occur in a post-verbal position[4]. To solve this issue Vitral (1999) makes use of the checking theory. His analysis is as follows: the presence of the particle *não* or a noun head (N) in the numeration, with the formal feature [+Neg], leads to the instantiation of a category also defined by this strong[5] feature; *não* is inserted by *merge* into Neg thus checking the feature [+Neg]. N(ominal) items, like *nada* ('nothing') and *ninguém* ('nobody'), in object position, or *nunca* ('never') and *jamais* ('never/ever') in an adverbial phrase adjoined to VP, are displaced by *move* to the specifier of NegP, either remaining there or just passing by. Both operations allow checking of the [+Neg] feature; whenever noun displacement occurs in overt syntax, the negative particle needs not be inserted; but if it is inserted, the N items need not be moved.

Returning to the case of post-verbal negation, Vitral presents a hypothesis in which the negative markers of the corresponding languages fill an adjunct position in VP before *spell-out*, leaving the necessary movements for checking Neg features to be carried out in covert syntax. According to the author, this proposal leads to the conclusion that the Neg feature is weak in these languages.

Trying to understand what determines the strong/weak status of Neg, Vitral invokes certain diachronic phenomena defined as *grammaticalization.* The negation cycle proposed by Jespersen shows that negative preverbal elements are reduced, being incorporated by the verb, whereas other post-verbal elements historically acquire a negative value at the same time. In this way, Jespersen's Cycle could be reduced to a grammaticalization process showing the following steps, according to Hopper & Traugott (1993):

(10)   *(a) lexical item > (b) grammatical item > (c) clitic > (d) affix.*

The disappearance of the preverbal particles could be seen as step Ø, after step (d). In BP, as they argue, one could identify (b) and (c) in the variation involving the pair

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[4] Taking the linear order as a necessary condition for a c-command relation, the problem is that if the verb is in C, the lexical head cannot be c-commanded by the negative element.

[5] A strong feature must be checked before *spell-out*.

não/num. For Vitral, the operation *move* places the N (noun) items in Spec of Neg, while clitics check their features by this same operation, occupying the head of NegP.

The form *não* would be a head, while *num* would represent a later stage in the cline; this characterises BP as being at a stage at which the Neg category is strong. According to Vitral (1999: 77), the computational component does not "recognise" the grammaticalization process in itself, but the steps predicted by it, leading to distinct by-products.

Vitral's work is interesting to the extent that it presents diachronic facts (based on the notion of grammaticalization) that support the Checking Theory for negation. But there are certain peculiarities of BP that need to be addressed in the final formulation of the hypothesis. In his analysis, BP is a language with a strong Neg feature; in some dialects, however, sentence-final negation is very productive. Besides, it is noticeable that the post-verbal negative item always occurs in the final position of the sentence and is never followed by complements, as it does in French and Italian.

I propose, in the same line of Biberauer & Cyrino (2009), that there are two different negative items in clause-final position, one an NPI item, an effect of Negative Concord (NC) and another a focus operator.

2.2 Negative Concord

The term was first mentioned by Baker (1970) and Labov (1972), but Negative Concord (NC) Theory was only proposed in Zanuttini (1989) to explain sentences in which there are two negative constituents that do not cancel each other out. NC is based on the notion of absorption (May 1995), a phenomenon in which one x operator binds n variables, i.e. the x operator ranges over a number of constituents; in the case of NC, one negative operator ranges over a number of variables. The French sentence (11) illustrates this case:

(11) *Personne   ne   disait   rien.*
      no one   *ne*   said   nothing
      'No one said anything.'
      No x, y [x: a person; y: a thing] [x said y] (Haegeman 1995: ex. 25b)

In (11) there are two negative constituents, *personne* ('(no) one') and *rien* ('nothing'), but they do not cancel each other out. In fact, they enter into a NC relation as they jointly express a single negation.

The expressions involved in NC are often called n-words, because in most Romance languages those words start with the phoneme /n/. Others call them (negative) concord items, as opposed to (negative) polarity items. According to Vallduví (1994), the negative concord item cannot appear in non-negative contexts, but it can appear in the preverbal subject position above negation, it can be modified by expressions like *almost* and it can be used as an elliptical answer. Negative polarity items display the opposite behavior.

In BP, Negative Concord is expressed through negative quantifiers (NQ), like *ninguém, nada, nunca.* If those items are in post-verbal position, they need to be licensed by a negative operator:

(12) a. *(Não) foi ninguém à festa.*
      not go.PAST nobody to the party

      'Nobody went to the party.'

   b. *O médico *(não) tem nenhum paciente.*
      the doctor not have no patient

      'The doctor has no patient.'

   c. *Eu *(não) vou nunca à academia.*
      I not go never to the gym

      'I never go to the gym.'

   d. *O João *(não) comprou nada em Miami.*
      the João not buy:past nothing in Miami

      'João bought nothing in Miami.'

But in pre-verbal position NQ can bear sentential negation, as the following examples show:

(13) a. *Ninguém conseguiu vencer a competição.*
      no one can win:INF the competition

      'No one was able to win the competition.'

   b. *Nada foi roubado.*
      nothing be.past stolen

      'Nothing has been stolen.'

It is difficult to compare the NQ that exhibits negative concord to the post-VP item *não*, not only because it is a different word, but because it may have the same form as the NegP head. In addition, as mentioned earlier, this item is post-VP, not post-verbal like negative quantifiers in an NC relation. Nevertheless, Biberauer & Cyrino (2009) affirm that Neg2 is a kind of Negative Concord, since this construction necessarily contributes a particular interpretative effect when it occurs. It cannot surface in simple, unmarked declaratives – this is the domain of *não₁* (14) (cf. Schwenter 2005; Cavalcante 2007; Biberauer & Cyrino 2009).

(14) a. *A Maria não₁/num vai no teatro.*   [= simple declarative]

   b. *#A Maria não₁/num vai no teatro não₂.*   [≠ simple declarative]

   c. *#A Maria vai no teatro não₂.*   [≠ simple declarative]
      the Mary not not.CL go in the theatre not

      'Mary is not going to the theatre'

According to Biberauer and Cyrino, the "extra" interpretation added by *não₂* is different, depending on whether *não₂* co-occurs with *não₁*, as in (14b), or whether it appears on its own, as in (14c). In (14b)-type structures, *não₂* fulfills a reinforcing function, parallel to that expressed by additional *nie₂* in Afrikaans.

(15) *Ek   ken   **nie**   daar die   man   **nie***
      I   know   not   that   man   not
      'I don't know that man.' (Biberauer (2008: ex. 1)

This reinforcing interpretation is not available when *não₂* surfaces independently from the "real" negator. As in (14c)-type structures, *não₂* necessarily negates a presupposition (16):

(16) Q: *Ah   você   não₁   /num   vai   no   teatro   (não₂)?*
           ah   you   not   /not.CL   go   in the   theatre   NEG

           'Ah, aren't you going to the theatre (after all)?'
           (Literally: 'I expected you to go to the theatre')

      A: *Não, eu   num   /não₁   vou.   Já   vi   a   peça.*
      A′:   *Não, eu   num   /não₁   vou   não₂.   Já   vi   a   peça.*
      A″:   *Eu   num   /não₁   vou   não₂.   Já   vi   a   peça.*
      A‴:   *Não,   vou   não₂.   Já   vi   a   peça.*
      A⁗:   *Vou   não₂.   Já   vi   a   peça.*
            No, I   not.CL   not   go   not   already   saw   the   play

            'No (I'm not going). I have already seen that play.'
            (Biberauer & Cyrino 2009: ex. 8)

According to these authors, *não₂* is a genuine concord element, lexicalising a Pol-head, i.e. it is fully integrated with the clausal spine (cf. Laka 1994), whereas *não₃* is not a concord element; it is related to the anaphoric negator, which is not fully integrated with the clausal spine (cf. Zanuttini's (1997) NO). Assuming a structure like (i) ForceP > TopicP > FocP > FinP > PolP >TP, they propose the following derivation:

(17) Q: *O João   comprou   a   casa?*
           the John   bought   the   house
           'Has John bought the house?'

      A: *Ele disse   que   [PolP não₂].*
           he said   that   no
           'He said he didn't.'

      A′:   *Ele disse que   [PolP [TP num /não₁ comprou]].*   simple negative
            he said that   not.CL   not   bought
            'He said he didn't.'

A´´:   *Ele disse que* $[_{PolP}$ $[_{TP}$ *num /não$_1$ comprou]* *não$_2$ $<TP>$].*   emphatic negative
he   said that   not.CL   not   bought   NEG

'He said he did not.'

I also support that *não$_2$* contributes to sentence meaning. The derivation as I understand it is illustrated in Figure 1 below:
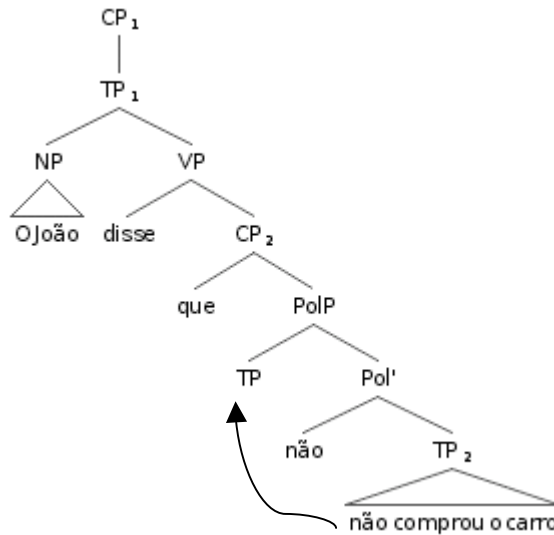

Figure 1: Derivation proposal for *não$_2$* structures

3   The pragmatics of negative sentences

In this section, I will pay more attention to Neg2 distribution, in comparison with Neg1 and Neg3. This preference comes from the interpretation of this structure described above and its implications for the analysis of *não$_{2/3}$*. As assumed earlier, the canonical negation has no syntactic restrictions, but it is not felicitous in some contexts. Neg2 has no syntactic restriction (unlike Neg3) either; however, its occurrence depends on some factors, such as common ground and inferable contexts.

The following examples show some instances of Neg2.

(18)   [Speaker sees interlocutor blowing on some soup]

Não está quente não!

'It's not hot!'

In (18), the speaker sees the interlocutor blowing on the soup and infers that the interlocutor assumes the soup to be hot, but s/he knows that it is not hot and tells the

interlocutor so. Using Neg2, the speaker is correcting a presupposition and introducing new information at the same time.

Now consider the example below. In this case, the whole sentence presents the new information, there is no common ground and no presupposition being denied, and therefore Neg2 is not suitable.

(19)   [Speaker is going to school; she suddenly remembers she forgot to do her homework]

  Nossa! Eu não fiz os exercícios (#não)!
  'Oh My! I didn't do the (PL) homework (#not)!'

An example that shows the emphatic value of Neg2 is given below:

(20)   E– *[...] E o samba lá embaixo? Pelo menos o pessoal gosta, não é?*
  'And the samba party down there. At least people enjoyed it, right?'

  F– *É, muita gente vai. Agora eu não vou não. Tem uns dois ou três anos que eu não entro naquela quadra da Vila para nada. Eu saí foi em oitenta. Em oitenta eu desfilei na Vila.*
  'Well, many people go. (but) Now I don't go (not). It's been two or three years since I've been to that part of the Vila at all. I left in 1980. In 1980 I was in the parade in the Vila.' (Schwenter (2005: ex. 4)

Here, the speaker says that many people go to the samba party. From this, someone can infer that s/he goes to the party, too. Using the Neg2 right away, s/he emphasises the information that s/he does not go to the samba party – 'agora eu não vou não' (Now I don't go). Again, in this case, both factors, common ground and inferable context, motivate the use of Neg2.

Further interesting data are shown below.

(21)   [same situation as (19)]

  A: *Você fez os exercícios, né?*
   'You did the homework, right?

  B1: *Não fiz não!*
   'No, I didn't!'

  B2: *(Não) eu não consegui (#não).*
   '(No.) I couldn't.'

In these data, there are two distinct answers to the question "Você fez os exercícios, né?" ("You did the homework, right?"). In B1, the presupposition that she did the homework is denied, and Neg2 is acceptable. In B2, new information is introduced by the sentence "Eu não consegui", in this case only Neg1 is available.

Schwenter (2005) provides data in which Neg1 and Neg2 can be used, but with different interpretations:

(22)   A: *O João votou no Lula?*

             'Did João vote for Lula?'

       B1: *(Não.) Não votou não.*

             '(No.) He didn't vote (not)'

       B2: *(Não.) Ele não votou.*

             '(No.) He didn't vote (for anyone)'

For Schwenter (2005), the use of Neg2 as in B1 would be understood as denying the truth of the proposition explicitly activated by A's question, leading to the interpretation that speaker B did not vote for Lula, but for some other candidate instead. In contrast, the use of Neg1 as in B2 would be understood as asserting that the speaker did not vote for anyone. By testing these two interpretations with native speakers, one can notice that the use of Neg2 means exactly that 'João didn't vote for Lula', but the use of Neg1 seems ambiguous: Some people understood (B2) as 'João didn't vote for Lula' and others as 'João didn't vote for anyone'. This means that *não₂*, unlike *não₁*, is directly connected with the previous utterance; it denies the truth of the proposition activated by the question.

    As I have been arguing, *não₃* is possible if there is also a previous presuppositional context. Nonetheless, Neg3 seems to represent contrast rather than negation. I state that *não₃*, unlike *não₂*, does not deny the truth of a proposition. I will come back to this explanation. Let us first take a closer look at this element.

    Não₃ occurs frequently as an answer to yes-no questions[6], as shown in the examples in (23) below:

(23)   a.   A: *Você   comprou   arroz?*

                 you   bought   rice

                 'Did you buy rice?'

           B: *Comprei   não.*

                 bought   not

                 'No, I didn't.'

    b.   A: *A   Ana   quebrou   o   pé?*

                 the   Ana   broke   the   foot

                 'Did Ana break her foot?

           B: *Quebrou   não.*

                 broke   not

                 'No, she didn't.'

Since the questions in (23a-b) exhibit common ground, it is possible to affirm that they can only be pronounced if there is a context legitimating them. In the first question, the speaker expects the interlocutor to have bought rice, while the second question is only

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[6] In BP, positive answers to yes-no questions are stated by the anaphoric use of the inflected verb.

possible if Ana exists and she has hurt her foot. Both answers do not actually deny the respective questions, but put some pieces of information in a contrast relation. Those answers could be also followed by an adversative sentence: *Comprei não, vou comprar* (I didn't buy, but I will), *Quebrou não, só torceu* (she didn't break her ankle, she just sprained it).

Although *não₃* occurs rather as answer to yes-no questions, it is not restricted to this context, as indicated in example (8), repeated below for convenience:

(24)   A: *Tá chovendo o dia todo!*
            'It's raining the whole day!'

        B: *Ta   chovendo   agora   não!*
              is   rain:GER   now   not
              'Now it's not raining!'

The example shows that the presence of *não₃* is connected with both presupposition and contrast. The sentence in (24B) corrects part of the assertion in (24A). The contexts where *não₃* occurs permit its interpretation as a metalinguistic negation. According to Horn (2001), metalinguistic negation is a device for objecting to a previous utterance on any ground, as it "[…] focuses not on the truth or falsity of a proposition, but on the assertability of an utterance" (Horn, 2001: 363).

Horn (2001) indicates three tests to distinguish descriptive negation from metalinguistic negation. According to him, (i) metalinguistic negation objects to a previous utterance, (ii) is incapable of triggering negative polarity items (NPIs) and (iii) is compatible with positive polarity items (PPIs).

Concerning the first test, examples (25) and (26) exhibit contradiction of a previous utterance. The second test has already been confirmed by Biberauer & Cyrino (2009), who show the incompatibility of *não₃* and NPIs:

(25)   a. A: *O João é rico!*
                'João is rich!'

           B: *O quê?!   Ele   tem   um   tostão   furado   não₃*
                 what   he   has   a   cent   with a hole   not
                 What?? He doesn't have a red cent! (Biberauer & Cyrino 2009: ex. 16)

        b. A: *Você vai comigo na festa hoje, né?*
                'You are going to the party with me today, aren't you?'

           B: *vou   na   festa   nem   morta   não₃.*
                 go.FUT in the party even   dead   not
                 'By no means will I go to this party.' (elicited)

With respect to the co-occurrence of strong IPPs with *não₃*, some speakers do not consider the result as a well-formed sentence, as illustrated in (26). However, I believe that this effect is connected to the derivation of this kind of structure, which only permits the contrasted element in the scope of *não₃* (B´´):

(26) A: *Você   teve   uma   sorte   dos   infernos!*
          you   had   a   luck   from   hell:PL

      'You're really lucky!'

      B: **Eu   não   tive   uma   sorte   dos   infernos.*
          I   not   had   a   luck   from   hell:PL

      B′: *?Tive   uma   sorte   dos   infernos   não₃.*
          had.1PS   a   luck   from   hell:PL   not

      B′′: *Sorte   dos   infernos não₃. Sorte   dos   céus!*
          luck   from   hell:PL not.   luck   from   heaven:PL

According to Martins (2010), metalinguistic negation, unlike descriptive negation, does not occur in embedded clauses. As mentioned before, *não₃* is not acceptable in embedded clauses:

(27) A: *O   Pedro   disse   que   vendeu   o   carro.*
          the Pedro   said   that   sold:3PS the   car

      'Pedro said that he sold the car.'

      B: *O   Pedro   disse   que   não   vendeu   o   carro.*
          the Pedro   said   that   not   sold:3PS the   car

      'Pedro said that he sold the car.'

      B′: **O   Pedro   disse   que   vendeu   o   carro   não₃*
          the Pedro   said   that   sold:3PS the   car   not

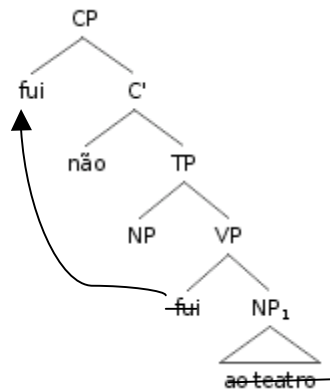Considering the interpretation and syntactic distribution of *não₃*, I propose the following derivation:

Figure 2: Derivation proposal for *não₃* structures

4 Outlook

In this paper, I have tried to demonstrate that there are some pragmatic differences between Neg1, Neg2 and Neg3. Neg1 is the BP canonical negation, whereas Neg2 and Neg3 have their use limited to specific contexts, specially related to common ground and presupposition. As Biberauer & Cyrino, I believe that the *não* final-clause can be an effect of Negative Concord. Furthermore, according to these authors, the two *nãos* that may surface clause-finally in BP are distinct lexical elements with distinct origins, and they are consequently merged in distinct syntactic positions, what is perfectly justified by most of my data.

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Abbreviations

1	First person	NegP	Negative Phrase
2	Second person	NPI	Negative Polarity Item
3	Third person	NQ	Negative Quantifier
AP	Adjective Phrase	PAST	Past
BP	Brazilian Portuguese	PL	Plural
CL	Clitic	PolP	Polarity Phrase
FinP	Finite Phrase	PPI	Positive Polarity Item
FocP	Focus Phrase	PRE	Present
ForceP	Force Phrase	SG	Singular
GER	Gerund	TP	Tense Phrase
INF	Infinitive	TopP	Topic Phrase
NC	Negative Concord	VP	Verbal Phrase
Neg	Negation Marker		

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