

Post-verbal Negative Sentences in Paraná (Brazil)

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Abstract:

The paper describes post-verbal negation in the Brazilian Portuguese of Paraná, based on data from the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project (ALiB), as part of a broader effort to map sentential negation in dialects in the southern region of Brazil (and later from the midwestern and northern regions) in comparison to northeastern dialects and European Portuguese (EP). The work is justified by the evidence that such negatives have a restricted presence in southern dialects, possibly being much more recent variants in these dialects than in the Northeast and (parts of) the Southeast of the country. The results show an asymmetric geographic distribution of [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] in Paraná, with [VP neg] being absent in several dialects in which [neg VP neg] is already documented. Regarding the grammatical *status* of these variants, the findings provide that, despite the lower productivity, they are closer to the properties of post-verbal negatives in the Northeast than to those of the EP, as they are available in (polar) questions and in completive embedded sentences instead of being restricted to matrix declarative clauses.

Keywords:

Post-verbal negation. Linguistic Atlas of Brazil. Dialectal syntax.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the dialectal distribution and syntactic behavior of post-verbal sentential negatives in the Brazilian Portuguese dialects from Paraná state based on data from the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil Project (ALiB). It is part of a broader research on the dialectal profile and the linguistic properties of post-VP negation outside the Northeast-Southeast axis, starting with the southern region of the country (cf. CAVALCANTE, 2015, 2019).¹

In Brazilian Portuguese (PB), sentential negation can be expressed by the presence of a negative marker “*não*” either in a pre-verbal position as in (1a), in the final position of the verbal phrase as in (1c), or simultaneously in both pre-verbal and post-VP positions as in (1b).

- (1) a. Eu **não/num**² comprei aquele livro. [neg VP]³
I NEG bought.1sg that book
- b. Eu **não/num** comprei aquele livro **não**. [neg VP neg]
I NEG bought.1sg that book NEG
- c. Comprei aquele livro **não**. [VP neg]
bought.1sg that book NEG
‘I didn’t buy that book’

¹ As an extension of the same project, Anna Luisa Rocha Freire and Joás de Jesus Souza are describing the post-verbal negatives, respectively, in dialects in the North and Midwest regions of the country, more specifically in the states of Pará and Mato Grosso do Sul, also working with ALiB data.

² As widely documented in several studies (cf. CAVALCANTE, 2007; TEIXEIRA DE SOUZA, 2007), when in an immediately pre-verbal position, the negative marker can be pronounced as *num* or just *n*. In the post-verbal position or in non-sentential contexts, this phonetic variation is not possible.

³ Adverbs and negative quantifiers like *ninguém* (‘nobody’), *nada* (‘nothing’) and *nunca* (‘never’), when in a pre-verbal position, dispense and block the pre-verbal negative marker in Portuguese. Therefore, data like (i) can be considered as cases of [neg VP], and data like (ii) can be treated as cases of [neg VP neg].

(i) **Ninguém** viu isso. / **Nada** aconteceu. / Isso **nunca** foi assim.
nobody saw this nothing happened it never was as-such

(ii) **Ninguém** viu isso **não**. / **Nada** aconteceu **não**. / Isso **nunca** foi assim **não**.
nobody saw this NEG nothing happened NEG it never was as-such NEG
‘Nobody saw it’ ‘Nothing happened’ ‘It was never like that’

Previous works on the phenomenon have shown that the three structures are not in *strict variation* in BP. Cavalcante (2007, 2012) shows that [neg V] occurs in all types of sentence and clauses (see also TEIXEIRA DE SOUSA, 2008; HANSEN, 2009), [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] occur in declaratives (cf. (2a)), imperatives (cf. (2b)), and polar interrogatives (cf. (2c)), however they do not occur in WH interrogatives (cf. (3)) or in adverbial (cf. 4c)) and relative sentences (cf. (4d)).

- (2) a. A: Você convidou ele pra festa?
 you invited.3sg he to.the party
 ‘Did you invite him to the party?’
 B: (**Não**) convidei (ele) **não**.
 NEG invited.1sg he NEG
 ‘I didn’t invite him’
- b. (**Não**) convide ele pra festa **não**!
 NEG invited.1sg he to.the party NEG
 ‘Do not invite him to the party!’
- c. (Você) (**não**) convidou ele **não**?
 you NEG invited.3sg he NEG
 ‘Did you not invite him?’ / ‘You *didn’t* invite him?’
- (3) a. *Quem (**não**) convidou ele **não**?
 who NEG invited.3sg he NEG
 ‘Who didn’t invite him?’
- b. *Quem (você) (**não**) convidou **não**?
 who you NEG invited.3sg NEG
 ‘Who didn’t you invite?’
- c. *Por que (você) (**não**) convidou ele **não**?
 why you NEG invited.3sg him NEG
 ‘Why didn’t you invite him?’

Regarding the embedded sentences of the type completive, [neg VP neg] is perfectly acceptable in this context (cf. (4a)), but [VP neg] is marginal or unacceptable (cf. (4b)).

- (4) a. Ele disse que **não** conseguiu **não**.
 he said that NEG got NEG

- b. ?Ele disse que conseguiu **não**.
 he said that got NEG
 ‘He said that the didn’t got it’.
- c. *Se a banda (**não**) tocar **não**, o show vai ser cancelado.
 if the band NEG play NEG the show goes be canceled
 ‘The concert will be canceled if the band doesn’t play’
- d. *Ele já foi buscar o livro que Maria (**não**) trouxe não.
 he already went go.for the book that M. NEG brought NEG
 ‘He is already gone to get the book that Maria didn’t bring’

Cavalcante (2007, 2012) accounts for these properties assuming that the post-verbal “*não*” is an element with a grammatical *status* different from the pre-verbal “*não*”, having a semantic feature [+anaphoric]. Under this analysis, post-verbal “*não*” é generated in a syntactic category on the left periphery of sentence (in the sense of Generative Grammar), with its post-VP linear position being derived from the topicalization of the sentence to fulfill this anaphoric requirement. On the other hand, the pre-verbal “*não*” is a neutral negative element, generated in the IP system (internally to the sentence), responsible only for reversing the sentence’s truth value. Essentially, this proposal is equivalent to saying that the final “*não*” has the same properties as pre-sentential assertive markers like English *yes/no* (as opposed to *not*), Italian *sì/no* (as opposed to *non*), French *oui/non* (as opposed to *ne... pas*) and Russian *da/ne* (as opposed to *niel*), which do not act directly over the sentence where they occur, but over some proposition previously activated in the discursive context.

Regarding European Portuguese (EP), for a long time it was assumed that [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] were absent in this variety, being BP innovations (possibly, due to linguistic contact between Portuguese and the African languages spoken by the slaves during three centuries of colonization). However, Martins (2010, 2012) and Pinto (2010) show that both post-verbal negatives occur in the EP, although with a different behavior from that registered in the BP. In the EP, [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] only occur in declarative matrix sentences, as in (5) and (6), being unacceptable in imperatives, polar questions, WH questions and in all types of embedded sentences. According to these authors, this behavior of the post-verbal negatives of in EP is due to the fact that [neg VP neg] is an exclusively emphatic structure, while [VP neg] has actually a metalinguistic value, as in (6).

(5) European Portuguese

- A: O Pedro disse que vendeu o carro.
 the P. said that sold the car
 ‘Pedro said that he sold the car’

B: O Pedro **não** disse [que vendeu o carro] **não**.
the P. NEG said that sold the car NEG
'Pedro said that he didn't sell the car'

B': *O Pedro disse que [**não** vendeu o carro **não**].
the P. said that NEG sold the car NEG
'Pedro said that he didn't sell the car'

(from MARTINS, 2010, p. 572; adapted)

(6) European Portuguese

A: A criança comeu a sopa toda.
the child ate the soup all
'The child ate all the soup'

B: Não comeu a sopa toda, **não**. Deixou metade no prato.
NEG ate the soup all NEG Left half in.the plate
'She didn't eat all the soup. She left half of it in plate.'

B': Comeu a sopa toda, **não**. Deixou metade no prato.
ate the soup all NEG Left half in.the plate
'She didn't "*eat all the soup*". She left half of it in plate.'

(from PINTO, 2010, p. 50; adapted)

Being *metalinguistic* means that negation does not act on the truth value of the sentence, but on what Horn (1983, p. 362 on) calls *assertability*, *i.e.*, on other aspects of the statement such as the adequacy of its form, its pronunciation, some implicature triggered by it and so on so forth. In other words, in metalinguistic negation, the sentence is being quoted and not actually used, as is clear from the example in (7), in which the negation does not act on the veracity of the first sentence (it remains true that X is in fact meeting a woman), but acts instead on the adequacy of the sentence. In this case, due to the (intentional or unintentional) implicature that X is having a romantic encounter with someone that is not his wife.

(7) A: X is meeting a woman this evening.

B: No, he's not (meeting a woman this evening) – he's meeting his wife!

(HORN, 1989, p. 373)

Regardless of the theoretical explanation for such differences between the negatives, the fact remains that post-verbal negatives have (at least) two different types of behavior in Portuguese dialects: (i) either they are acceptable only in declarative matrix

sentences such as the case in EP (ii) or they are acceptable in (matrix) declarative, interrogative and polar interrogative sentences, not acceptable in WH interrogatives and restricted in embedded sentences with the exception of [neg VP neg] in completives. The labels *emphatic negation*, *metalinguistic negation* and *anaphoric negation* will be used in the paper in this specific sense, in reference to the syntactic behavior of such structures, regardless of the merits of the theoretical analysis offered by each author.

The current research is justified because most of the work on post-verbal negatives in Brazil has focused on the description of dialects from the Northeast and Southeast regions, with little focus on other regions of the country.⁴

In Fortaleza, capital of Ceará (CE) state, Roncarati (1996) found 18% and 5% occurrences of [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] respectively – in opposition to [neg VP]. Furtado da Cunha (1996), 10.8% and 0.6% in Natal, capital of Rio Grande do Norte (RN). Cavalcante (2007) found 28% and 6% in the rural Afro-descendant communities of Sapé, Rio de Contas and Cinzento in the interior of Bahia state. Sousa (2004), on the other hand, counting together the structures [neg VP neg] and [VP neg], found 33% of post-verbal negation in the Afro-descendent community of Helvécia in the extreme south of Bahia (BA). All of these cities/towns are in the Northeast region.

Regarding the Southeast region, Camargos (2000) found 27% and 3% in Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais (MG). Alkmin (1999) found 21.2% and 1.7% in Mariana and 31.3% and 4.3% in Pombal, both cities of Minas Gerais state. Rocha (2008), 5.8% and 0.2% in São Paulo, the capital of the homonymous state (SP). In the Southeast, Minas Gerais is the closest state to Northeast region of Brazil, with a wide border with Bahia. Moreover, São Paulo is the closest state to the South, but its capital is the city in the country that received the most immigrants from the Northeast in its industrial development during the twentieth century.

Dealing specifically with the *corpus* of ALiB Project (see section 1 for methodological information on the project), Araújo (2004), Lopes, Brito and Mota (2019), and Lopes and Pereira (2019) describe data from the Bahia, the southernmost state in the Northeast region. Araújo (2004) analysed a *corpus* of experimental surveys from ALiB, with informants from the capital Salvador, and found 40.35% of [neg VP neg] and 5.56% of [VP neg] in a context of interaction that favors the use of such negatives.

The work of Lopes, Brito and Mota (2019), as well as the one of Sousa (2004), does not distinguish [neg VP neg] and [VP neg], thus counting together the data of

⁴ Brazil is divided into five geographic regions: North (“Norte”), Northeast (“Nordeste”), Midwest (“Centro-Oeste”), Southeast (“Sudeste”) and South (“Sul”). See <https://bit.ly/31sSMeq> for a map display of this division. Another justification for this research is the fact that South region had a very different socio-history and demographics compared to the other parts of the country, specially in comparison to Northeast: for instance, its settlement was largely based on immigration from European countries like Germany, Italy and Poland in the ends of XIX century and beginnings of XX century.

both negatives. The authors found 31% of post-verbal negatives in Irecê (Bahia's northernmost region), 21.8% in Alagoinhas (northeast of Bahia), 22% in Barra (Vale do São Francisco region) and 12% in Barreiras (Bahia's westernmost region). The authors draw attention to the fact that the percentage of these negatives increases in the regions closest to the northeastern states (mesoregions of the extreme north and northeast Bahia) and decreases in the other two regions.

Lopes and Pereira (2019), in turn, following the same methodology as the previous study, found 16.9% of post-verbal negatives in Vitória da Conquista (mesoregion of south-central Bahia), 6.6% in Ilhéus (southern of Bahia). The authors call attention to the difference between these results and those of Lopes, Brito and Mota (2019), pointing out that the percentage of these negatives is reduced with the geographical proximity of the dialects of the Southeast.

Table 1 shows the numbers of the works cited.

Table 1 – Post-verbal Negatives in previous researches in Northeast and Southeast of Brazil

	Cities	[neg VP neg]	[VP neg]
Capitals of Northeast	Fortaleza (CE)	18%	5%
	Natal (RN)	10,8%	0,6%
	Salvador (BA)	40,35%	5,56%
Non-capitals of Bahia	Helvécia (BA)	33%	
	Sapé / Cinzento / Rio de Contas (BA)	28%	6%
	Irecê (BA)	31%	
	Alagoinhas (BA)	21,8%	
	Barra (BA)	22%	
	Barreiras (BA)	12%	
	Vitória da Conquista (BA)	16,9%	
	Ilhéus (BA)	6,6%	
Southeast	Belo Horizonte (MG)	27%	3%
	Mariana (MG)	21,2%	1,7%
	Pombal (MG)	31,3%	4,3%
	São Paulo (SP)	5,8%	0,2%

Source: Elaborated by the author with information from academic works previously mentioned.

This general picture shows the presence of both post-verbal negatives in the Northeast and in parts of the Southeast. However, it also raises the question about the

gradual reduction in the productivity of such constructions as we move away from the central parts of Northeast (and Bahia) towards the Southeast.

As stated earlier, most work on the phenomenon focused on northeastern and southeastern dialects. Only more recently some works such as Goldnadel *et al.* (2013) and Cavalcante (2015, 2019) have focused on the South, proving the previous suspicion (and sociolinguistic stereotype) that [VP neg] structure is absent in some southern dialects and it is very unproductive in others.

Goldnadel *et al.* (2013), for instance, dealing data from VARSUL (*Southern Brazil Urban Linguistic Variation Project*) from the 1980s and early 1990s, found no cases of [VP neg] in the three state capitals of the South. Regarding [neg VP neg], the authors found 0.6% in Porto Alegre (capital of Rio Grande do Sul), 2.6% in Curitiba (capital of Paraná) and 4.4% in Florianópolis (capital of Santa Catarina).

Cavalcante (2019), in a preliminary work on ALiB data with younger informants (between 18 and 30 years old) from 34 locations spread across the three southern states, finds the double negative [neg VP neg] present in 28 locations, but absent in six cities. As for the final negative [VP neg], the dialectal distribution is even more restricted. The variant was found in only 10 out of 34 investigated locations. On the other hand, it was found in Curitiba, thus differing from the data by Goldnadel *et al.* (2013), a situation that may indicate a process of expansion of this variant in the South in the period between the beginning of the 1990s and the years 2005-2010.

In view of this general picture, which involves both evidence of a lower presence of post-VP negatives in the South of the country and evidence of a possible expansion of these negatives in this region, the present study aims to verify the following issues:

- A) What is the geographical distribution of post-verbal “não” in the Southern of Brazil? In what locations do [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] occur? More specifically, at what points in the territory does the [VP neg] structure emerge?
- B) What semantic or pragmatic values do the negatives [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] have in the places where they occur in the South? Are they emphatic, metalinguistic or anaphoric?
- C) What is the distribution of post-verbal negatives in the South by sentence type? Do they occur in interrogatives and imperatives or only declaratives?
- D) What is the syntactic pattern of post-verbal negatives in Southern of Brazil? Do they follow the same pattern as in Northeast (and part of the Southeast), the EP pattern or a third pattern to be identified?

The papers is organized as follows: in section 1, I present the methodology of ALiB Project and the present research; in section 2, I present the results on the geographic distribution of the negatives; in section 3, the results of the syntactic and discursive distribution. In the final section, I present some conclusions about the phenomenon.

METHODOLOGY

ALiB Project aims to make a geolinguistic description of the Portuguese spoken in Brazil. To this end, the project *Questionnaires* were applied through face-to-face linguistic surveys in 250 cities, distributed across all states in the country, being 25 state capitals and 225 non-capitals. The total number of informants is 1,110, distributed as below.⁵

In non-capitals, four informants were interviewed by location, distributed by both sexes and by two age groups (between 18 and 30 years old; and between 50 and 65 years old). All informants have, at most, elementary education (“*ensino fundamental*”). In the state capitals, in addition to these, four more informants of college education were added, equally distributed by both sexes and by two age groups.

To facilitate reference to surveys, each location receives a number ranging from 001 to 250. Similarly, each informant receives a number from 1 to 4, according to the following scheme: odd numbers are men, even numbers are women; 1 and 2 correspond to the youngest age group while 3 and 4 correspond to the oldest age group, always at the fundamental level. In the capitals, the numbers 5 to 8 repeats the pattern for informants with college education.

When ALiB net of points was established in 2000, the state of Paraná, where the present work focuses, had 399 cities/towns⁶ and was divided into ten mesoregions according to IBGE – *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). 17 cities spread out across the state were selected for the ALiB *corpus*. In Chart 1 (on the next page), one can see the list of all mesoregions, the ALiB points that are part of each mesoregion and the numbers that the point receives in the project identification.

The map in the Figure 1 shows the administrative division of Paraná in mesoregions (identified by letters corresponding to those used in Chart 1 above) and all its municipalities, among which are highlighted the 17 cities that are part of the ALiB net of points.

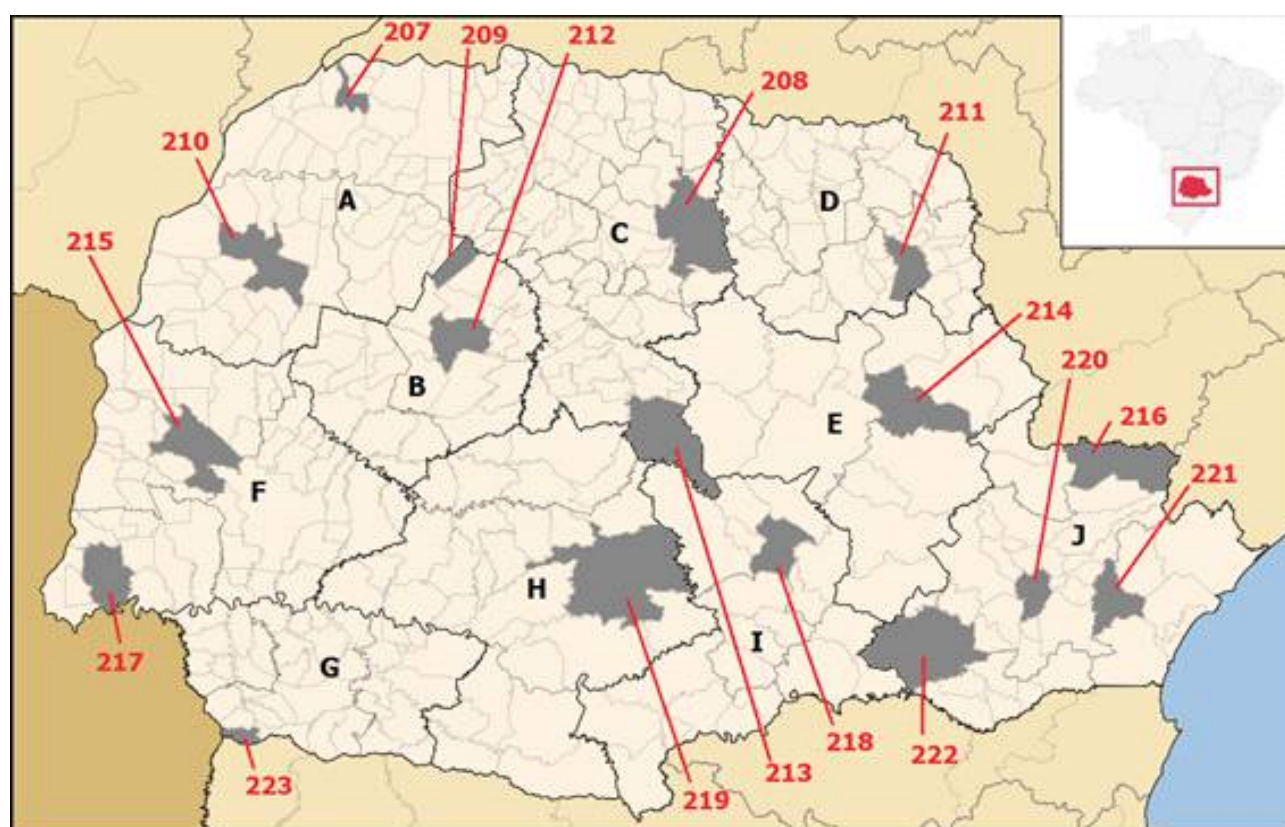
⁵ For additional information on ALiB Project, the reader may consult its website: www.alib.ufba.br.

⁶ Brazil's administrative division does not make difference between cities and towns. In this paper, I will use only the term “cities” for simplicity.

Chart 1 – Mesoregions of Paraná and points of ALiB

Mesoregions	ALiB points
A) Northwestern Paraná	Nova Londrina (207), Umuarama (210)
B) Central-western Paraná	Terra Boa (209), Campo Mourão (212)
C) North-central Paraná	Londrina (208), Cândido de Abreu (213)
D) Northern “Pioneer” Paraná	Tomazina (211)
E) Oriental-center Paraná	Piraí do Sul (214)
F) West Paraná	Toledo (215), São Miguel do Iguaçu (217).
G) Southwest Paraná	Barracão (223)
H) Center-South Paraná	Guarapuava (219)
I) Southeast Paraná	Imbituva (218)
J) Curitiba Metropolitan region	Adrianópolis (216), Curitiba (220), Morretes (221), Lapa (222).

Source: Elaborated by the author (with information from ALiB Project and IBGE).



Source: Adapted from a map by Raphael Lorenzeto de Abreu, authorized to use and modification.⁷

Figure 1 – Cities and mesoregions of Paraná and point of ALiB.

⁷ Available at: <http://bit.ly/2R9QCLfMpPR>.

For the present work, data were collected from 70 surveys out of a total of 72 carried out by ALiB in Paraná state.⁸

Readers familiar with ALiB *Questionnaires* may know that they have three questions aimed at capturing negative answers from the informants: questions number 47, 48 and 49 of the Morphosyntactic Questionnaire: 47 - “*Do you know if there is life on another planet/on the moon?*”; 48 - “*You have seen a UFO, haven’t you?*”; 49 - “*Have you ever traveled by plane? Are you afraid of traveling by plane?*”. Unfortunately, as I have already pointed out in Cavalcante (2019), these questions often fail to obtain answers of a sentential type (fragments of sentences without the verb are common) or to obtain effectively negative answers (often, the answer is affirmative) or to obtain the variety of alternatives really available in the informants’ dialect.

To circumvent this problem, the data recollection for this research was made by hearing the entire content of the 70 interviews (whose duration usually varies from two and a half hours to three and a half hours, and can reach four hours, depending on each informant).⁹

The first goal of the research was to identify the geographical distribution of post-verbal negatives [neg VP neg] and [VP neg]. Little attention was paid to the form [neg VP] precisely because it is the structure present in all dialects and syntactic structures of BP.

This goal is based on the assumption that [VP neg] occurs mainly in dialects in (in parts of) Northeast and in Southeast of the country, and has a more restricted behavior in the South, to the point of being absent (or at least perceived as absent by most speakers) in several southern dialects, especially in Rio Grande do Sul (Brazilian southernmost state), as set out in the Introduction. Therefore, the research aims to identify in which part of the territory [VP neg] appears; additionally, in the dialects where this structure is present, whether it has the same properties as in other (Brazilian or European) Portuguese dialects.

The structure [neg VP neg] enters this investigation because it has a strong relationship with [VP neg]. Both structures share syntactic properties as opposed to [neg VP]. Furthermore, as hypothesized by some authors (see RONCARATI, 1996), the structure [VP neg] developed from [neg VP neg], with each structure corresponding to different stages of the same grammaticalization process. Thus, we assume the hypothesis that the presence or absence of [VP neg] in a given dialect may be accompanied by different syntactic and pragmatic properties associated with [neg VP neg]. In other

⁸ The exceptions were surveys number 216/4 (woman, age grup 2, city of Adrianópolis) and 217/3 (man, age group 2, city of São Miguel do Iguaçu), which were not available in the archives of the Federal University of Bahia, where the main collection of ALiB from all the country is stored.

⁹ Of that total of surveys, four were heard by Hanna Santos.

words, linguistic changes in the functions and syntactic/ discursive behavior of [neg VP neg] may precede or be simultaneous with the appearance of [VP neg].

Other hypothesis underlying this work is that, within the Southern region, post-verbal negatives become more frequent and productive as the dialect gets closer to the Southeast region and become less frequent and less productive as it approaches the country's southern border (as part of a large Northeast-South continuum). Therefore, they are less productive in Rio Grande do Sul and in parts of Santa Catarina and more productive in parts of Paraná. To verify this hypothesis, the present work is only the first step, to be continued with the description of the behavior of the other two southern states.

The second goal was to identify syntactic-semantic properties of these negatives. More specifically, check if they occur in all sentence types (in declaratives, imperatives, polar and WH questions) and in all clause types (matrix, completive, adverbial and relative sentences).

The third goal was to identify the pragmatic *status* of post-verbal negatives in relation to being emphatic or metalinguistic (in the sense of MARTINS, 2020) or anaphoric (in the sense of CAVALCANTE, 2012, see Introduction).

The fulfillment of these goals came up against some intrinsic difficulties in the format of geolinguistic surveys such as those of ALiB, namely: the format of questions-and-answers, with few moments of spontaneous speech by the informants, does not favor the use of (affirmative or negative) imperative sentences or questions by the informants. This general picture needs to be taken into account when interpreting the results.

In the next section, I present the results regarding the geographic distribution of the syntactic variants under study. In section 4, I present the results regarding linguistic distribution.

GEOLINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION OF POST-VERBAL NEGATIVES

In this section, I describe the distribution of post-verbal negatives of Paraná, starting with the geographical distribution of [neg neg VP].

Geolinguistic Distribution of [neg VP neg]

In the ALiB surveys in Paraná, 592 double negative sentences with [neg VP neg] were found, distributed among the informants according to information in Chart 2. The first reading of the Chart, according to the goals of this research, should be regarding the contrast between presence and absence of the variant in localities and informants.

Chart 2 – Distribution of [neg VP neg] in Paraná [Curitiba universitários]¹⁰

City/town	[Neg VP neg] by informant				
	Inf 1	Inf 2	Inf 3	Inf 4	Total
207 – Nova Londrina	8	25	7	15	55
208 – Londrina	0	10	5	73	88
209 - Terra Boa	0	6	16	65	87
210 – Umuarama	86	8	17	16	127
211 – Tomazina	0	1	0	7	8
212 – Campo Mourão	21	11	18	21	71
213 – Cândido de Abreu	1	2	6	0	9
214 – Piraí do Sul	7	1	8	5	21
215 – Toledo	9	3	28	5	45
216 – Adrianópolis	1	0	4	SD	5
217 – São Miguel do Iguaçu	2	1	SD	1	4
218 – Imbituva	1	0	1	1	3
219 – Guarapuava	2	1	0	4	7
220 – Curitiba (fundamental)	6	2	6	4	25
220 – Curitiba (universitários) ¹⁰	3	0	2	2	
221 – Morretes	0	2	12	3	17
222 – Lapa	6	1	5	0	12
223 – Barracão	0	1	7	0	8
TOTAL	153	75	142	222	592

Source: Elaborated with information from the *corpus* of ALiB Project.

As one can see, this negative pattern is present in all 17 surveyed points of Paraná as is the case for the **pre-verbal** negation [neg VP]. We will see in 3.2 that the case is different for the **final negative** [VP neg].

However, in 11 out of 17 points of Paraná, [neg VP neg] is absent in at least one of the informants, namely: in Londrina, Terra Boa, Tomazina, Cândido de Abreu, Adrianópolis, Imbituva, Guarapuava, Curitiba, Morretes, Lapa, and Barracão. In Barracão and in Tomazina, the variant is absent in two informants. Moreover, even among the 57 informants who use the variant, only one occurrence of [neg VP neg] is registered in 12 of them.

¹⁰ To make easy the view of the table, information about informants from Curitiba with college degree were put an additional line instead of expanding the table sideways as four additional columns, which would be underused. The reader should be aware, however, that the official numbers of this informants in Curitiba ranges from 5 to 8, as described in the methodology section.

Londrina, Terra Boa and Umuarama have the three informants who use this negative in more abundance: 73, 65 and 86 sentences with double negation, respectively.

Specifically regarding Curitiba, the only local for which eight surveys were conducted, the negative [neg VP neg] is present in almost all informants: it is present in all of those with only basic level of education and absent in only one informant with higher education.

How important is this information about the absence of [neg VP neg] in specific informants? This shows that, although present in Paraná state, the productivity of this structure still differs from the productivity of pre-verbal negation [neg VP], which appears not only in all points, but also in each of the 70 informants from the *corpus* without exception.

This information is even more important if we consider that previous sociolinguistic and dialectological studies on negatives (cf. SOUSA, 2004; CAVALCANTE, 2007) have shown that the context of direct responses is one of the main factors that favor the occurrence of post-verbal negatives. Since this is the most recurrent context of speech by the informants in these surveys, the absence of [neg VP neg] is not expected.

Future steps of this research will require the analysis of data from the other two states of the South region, where it is expected the distribution of [neg VP neg] by location and by informant to be even more restricted.

In the next subsection, I show that the case of [VP neg] is even more marked. In section 3, I return to [neg VP neg] and analyze the syntactic distribution of this structure.

Geolinguistic Distribution of [VP neg]

The structure [VP neg] in the *corpus* was considerably less frequent than [neg VP neg]: only 27 sentences against 592. Counting only these two variants, since [neg VP] was not quantified, the *corpus* displays 4.36 % of the final negative and 95.63% of the double negative. This was partially expected, since previous studies have already shown that the final negative is the least used variant in all dialects where it occurs. Even so, considering the format of the interviews, which favors direct short answers, including the use of the almost idiom “sei não” (literally, ‘(I) know not’), it was expected a much smaller difference between [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] numbers.

Chart 3 shows that the geographic distribution of [VP neg] in the *corpus* (by location and by informant) in Paraná is also considerably smaller than that of [neg VP neg]. The final negative is present in only eight out of 17 cities (while the other variant is present in all of them): in Londrina, Nova Londrina, Umuarama, Campo Mourão, Toledo, Guarapuava, Curitiba and Morretes.

Chart 3 – Distribution of [VP neg] in Paraná

City/town	[Neg VP neg] by informant				
	Inf 1	Inf 2	Inf 3	Inf 4	Total
207 – Nova Londrina	1	1	0	2	4
208 – Londrina	0	0	2	4	6
209 - Terra Boa	0	0	0	0	0
210 – Umuarama	4	0	0	0	4
211 – Tomazina	0	0	0	0	0
212 – Campo Mourão	3	0	0	1	4
213 – Cândido de Abreu	0	0	0	0	0
214 – Piraí do Sul	0	0	0	0	0
215 – Toledo	2	0	0	0	2
216 – Adrianópolis	0	0	0	NDA ¹¹	0
217 – São Miguel do Iguaçu	0	0	NDA	0	0
218 – Imbituva	0	0	0	0	0
219 – Guarapuava	0	1	1	1	3
220 – Curitiba (fundamental)	1	0	0	0	1
220 – Curitiba (universitários) ¹²	1	0	0	0	1
221 – Morretes	0	0	1	0	1
222 – Lapa	0	0	0	0	0
223 – Barracão	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL					27

Source: elaborated with information from the *corpus* of ALiB Project.

Chart 3 also shows that in no city [VP neg] is present in all informants. Only in two points, Nova Londrina and Guarapuava, this structure occurs in three of the four informants. In two other cities, [VP neg] is present in the speech of two informants: Londrina and Campo Mourão. In all other cases, except Curitiba, [VP neg] is present in only one informant. In the whole *corpus*, only 15 out of 70 informants from the *corpus* exhibit [VP neg] in their speech, which is equivalent to only 21.4% of the universe surveyed. For [neg VP neg], the result was quite different: 57 out of 70 informants exhibited the structure, 81.42% of them.

Of the 15 informants who use [VP neg], eight of them used the form only once. Of the 57 informants with [neg VP neg], 12 used this negative only once.

¹¹ NDA = “no data available”. These are the cases of the two surveys that were not available for study, as previously mentioned.

¹² See notefoot 10.

The case of the capital, Curitiba, the only point in the state where eight informants were interviewed, is noteworthy. In the capital, the structure [VP neg] occurs in two out of eight informants, specifically in the two young men (the one with elementary level of education and the one with college education). It is totally absent among women and older informants.

As pointed out in the Introduction, the research carried out by Goldnadel *et al.* (2013), using VARSUL data from the three southern capitals in the late 1980s and early 1990s, found no cases of [VP neg] (“NEG3”) in Curitiba, as shown in Table 2.¹³

Table 2 – Sentential negation in the state capital from South of Brasil

	NEG1	NEG2	NEG3	TOTAL
Porto Alegre	1402 / 99,4%	8 / 0,6%	0	1410
Curitiba	1371 / 97,4%	37 / 2,6%	0	1408
Florianópolis	1018 / 95,6%	47 / 4,4%	0	1065

Source: Goldnadel *et al.* (2013, p. 50) with information from VARSUL Project.

The occurrence of this negative structure in two informants from Curitiba in the ALiB *corpus* shows a slight change over time in comparison to the VARSUL data. Additionally, it is possible that young male speakers are the introducers of the new variant in the dialect.

On the other hand, being the state capital and allowing more contact with people from other parts of the country, it was expected that Curitiba were one of the points of diffusion of post-verbal negatives (especially the negative [VP neg]) for the rest of the state, having a wider distribution among different informants (not just in two of them) and also a higher productivity in terms of frequency (instead of just one data per informant).

We will see later that this expectation, however, was not entirely frustrated.

Counting only presence *versus* absence of [VP neg] at ALiB points in Paraná, it is possible to identify three dialectal areas regarding this phenomenon (illustrated by the map in Figure 2):

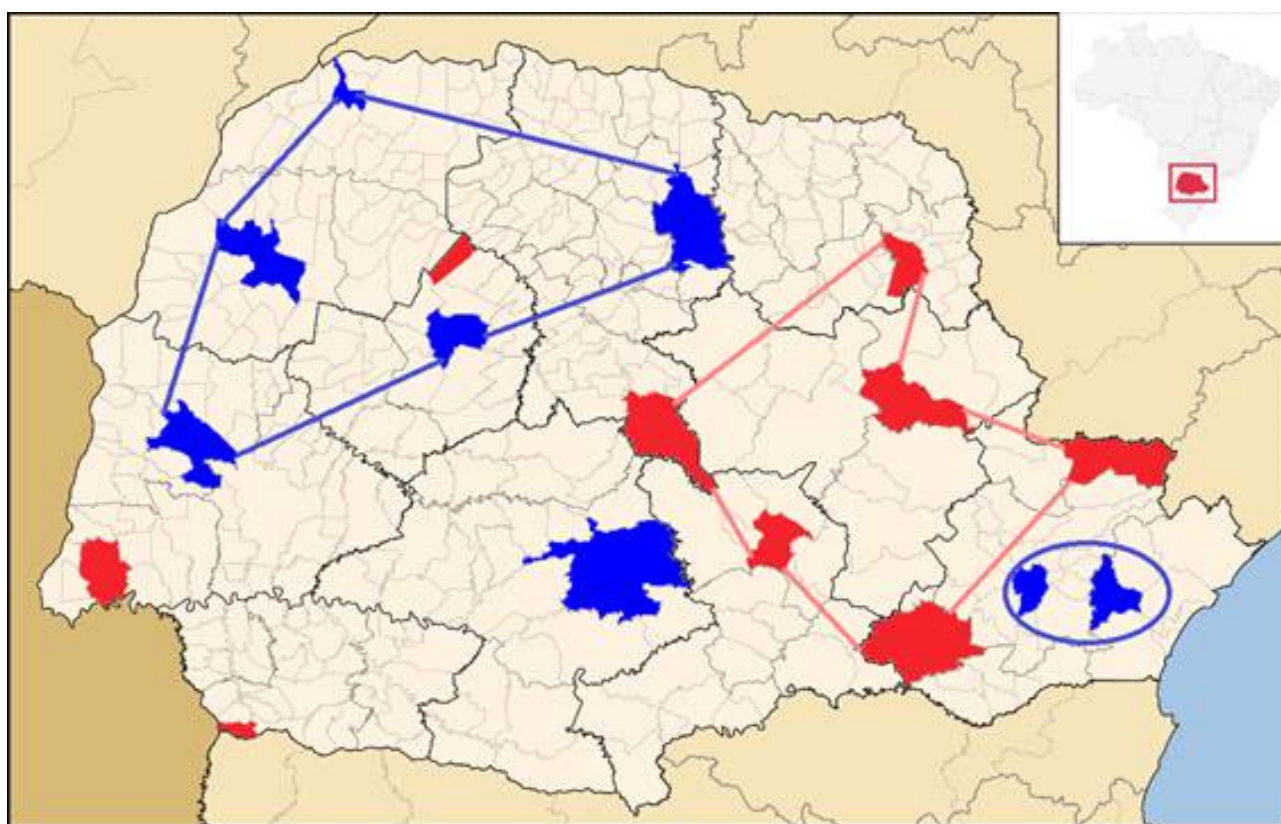
- (i) The first dialectal area corresponds to the north-central, northwest, central-west and part of the west of Paraná, where the negative of **[VP neg] is mostly present**. It includes the cities of Nova Londrina, Londrina, Umuarama, Campo Mourão and Toledo. And the exception is the city of Terra Boa.¹⁴

¹³ See Cavalcante (2019) for a comparison between the three southern capitals based on the Varsul data and from ALiB *corpus* involving only informants from the youngest age group (18 to 30 years old).

¹⁴ It is an interesting fact that, in this region are located the cities that have the three informants that use [neg VP neg] with the highest frequency, Londrina, Terra Boa and Umuarama, as already pointed out.

- (ii) The second dialectal area corresponds to the central-eastern region, the southeast and to the so-called north pioneer, where **[VP neg] is absent**. It includes the cities of Tomazina, Piraí do Sul, Imbituva, but also reaches Cândido de Abreu, in the southernmost part of the north-central region, compressed among four mesoregions, and also Adrianópolis¹⁵ and Lapa, respectively, in the north and south of the metropolitan region of Curitiba.
- (iii) The third dialectal area is practically an island embedded in area (ii) and corresponds to the Metropolitan region of Curitiba, including the capital itself and the city of Morretes. **It is a [VP neg] area.**

Figure 2 illustrates this proposal of dialectal division of Paraná.



Source: Adapted from a map by Raphael Lorenzeto de Abreu, authorized to use and modification.

Figure 2 – Presence (blue) *versus* absence (red) of [VP neg] in Paraná

Guarapuava, in the center-south of Paraná, is outside these isoglosses. Other exceptions are Barracão and São Miguel do Iguçu, respectively in the in southeast of

¹⁵ The reader should keep in mind that one of surveys from Adrianópolis is missing from the *corpus* analyzed, as mentioned before.

Paraná and in the south part of West Paraná. Both cities could, perhaps, be seen as a fourth dialectal division of Paraná.

Guarapuava's *status* in this dialectal division is more complex and allows for different interpretations. The first possibility is to consider Guarapuava as part of the dialectal area (ii), however as an exception to the typical behavior of that area, since [VP neg] is present in the city. In this sense, Guarapuava would be an exception for area (ii) just as Terra Boa is an exception for area (i), but with the clear difference that Terra Boa is right in the middle of a dialectal area (i), while Guarapuava is on the outer edge of the dialect area (ii). This peripheral *status* of Guarapuava regarding to area (ii) leads me to discard this interpretive option.

The second option is to consider Guarapuava as an extension of the dialectal area (i), as an advance of this dialectal area (*i.e.*, of the final negative) over the center of the state, towards area (ii).

This second interpretative option also opens the possibility of reducing the scheme of three (or four) dialect areas to a scheme of two larger regions, dividing the state in the middle, longitudinally, into:

- (a) a **western (macro-)region**, which covers area (i) plus the cities of Guarapuava, São Miguel do Iguaçu and Barracão, and it is an area of majority presence of [VP neg], with the exceptions of Terra Boa, São Miguel do Iguaçu and Barracão.
- (b) an **eastern (macro-)region**, which includes area (ii) plus area (iii), as the region with the majority absence of [VP neg], with Curitiba and Morretes as exceptions.

Despite tempting, this binary dialectal division of Paraná does not seem adequate, if it is taken as a replacement for the previous proposal of three or four smaller dialectal areas, as it includes many more exceptions to what would be the typical behavior of each part of the state. However, if both proposals are seen as complementary, with the regions defined in (a) and (b) being macro-regions in relation to areas (i), (ii) and (iii) and to the hypothetical fourth area, the situation seems more compatible with what the data actually shows.

Thus, the western and eastern macroregions of Paraná can be defined not in terms of the presence or absence of [VP neg], but in terms of a greater or lesser diffusion of this variant. In the western macroregion, there is a greater diffusion of the final negative. On the other hand, there is a lesser diffusion in the eastern macroregion, beginning from the Metropolitan mesoregion of Curitiba, according to the hypothesis expressed earlier in this same subsection of the paper.

In the next section, I deal with the linguistic aspects of the data collected in more details, considering the distribution of negatives by different syntactic and discursive contexts.

THE SYNTACTIC-PRAGMATIC BEHAVIOR OF POST-VERBAL NEGATIVES

Since this is a work based on syntactic dialectology, the goal is not only to verify the geographical distribution of post-verbal negations, its presence or absence in each dialect, but also to verify whether such negatives constitute, in fact, the same grammatical phenomenon where they are found (for a broader discussion on syntactic dialectology, see Cavalcante, 2018a, 2018b), in other words, to verify if they have the same linguistic restrictions. In terms of generative grammar, whether negatives are generated by the same underlying (internalized) grammar or by different grammars.

As pointed out in the Introduction, there are at least two types of grammatical behavior of post-verbal negation in the different dialects of Portuguese:

- (i) in the **grammar of PB northeastern dialects**, [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] are acceptable in declaratives, polar questions and imperatives, but unacceptable in WH questions; [VP neg] is unacceptable in all types of embedded sentences, while [neg VP neg] is acceptable in completive embedded sentences, but unacceptable or marginal in other types of embedded clauses.
- (ii) in the **grammar of EP**, the behavior is much more restricted: [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] are acceptable only in declarative matrix sentences, being excluded in all other sentence types and in all embedded clauses.

In this section, the goal is to verify how post-verbal negatives behave syntactically. Based on the hypothesis that these variants are much more recent in the South than in the Northeast of the country (hypothesis reinforced by the data described in the previous section), it is possible that their grammatical properties are not the same in the two regions. And it is also possible that the grammatical stage of negatives in the Southern dialects is closer to the situation of the EP, despite the geographical distance.

Let's see what the results have to say about this point.

Linguistic Behavior of [neg VP neg]

Regarding subordination, 21 out of 592 occurrences of [neg VP neg] are found in embedded sentences, all of them in declarative completives. The data are presented in (8). There is no data in other types of embedded clauses, whether in adverbial, subjective, relative or in interrogative (indirect questions) sentences. In this respect, Paraná dialects behave like the Brazilian Northeastern dialects and differ from EP.

- (8) a. Acho que **num** acredito **não.** (207/3)
 think.1sg that NEG believe.1sg NEG
 'I think that I don't believe (it)'

- b. Acho que **num** tenho medo **não**. (207/3)
 think.1sg that NEG have.1sg fear NEG
 'I think that I am not afraid (of it)'
- c. Num conheço, aqui acho que **num** tem **não**. (207/4)
 NEG know.1sg here think.1sg that NEG have NEG
 'I don't know. I think that there is none (of this) here.'
- d. Eu acho que eu **não** fiz nada de diferente **não**. (207/4)
 I think.1sg that I NEG did nothing of different NEG
 'I think that I haven't done anything different.'
- e. Acho que eu **num** lembro **não**. (208/4)
 think.1sg that I NEG remember.1sg NEG
 'I think that I don't remember it.'
- f. Não, acho que **não** tem **não**. (208/4)
 no think.1sg that NEG have.3sg NEG
 'No, I think that there isn't' (= '... there is no other name for it')
- g. Acho que **num** é do meu tempo **não**. (208/4)
 think.1sg that NEG is of.the my time NEG
 'I think that it is not from my days'
- h. Acho que **não** tem **não**. (208/4)
 think.1sg that NEG have.3sg NEG
 'I think that there isn't'
- i. Acho que **num** tem outro nome **não**. (208/4)
 think.1sg that NEG have.3sg other name NEG
 'I think that there is no other name (for it)'
- j. Na lua acho que **num** acredito **não**, viu? (208/4)
 on.the moon think.1sg that NEG believe.3sg NEG see
 'I don't believe (that there is life) on the moon'
- k. Ah, acho que **não** aconteceu nada **não**. (209/2)
 think.1sg that NEG happened.3sg nothing NEG
 'Ah! I think that nothing happened'

- l. Acho que **né não.** (210/1)
 think.1sg that NEG-is NEG
 ‘I think that it isn’t’
- m. Eu sei, mas acho que **num lembro não.** (210/1)
 I know.1sg but think.1sg that NEG remember.3sg NEG
 ‘I know, but I think that I don’t remember it’
- n. Acho que **né não.** (210/1)
 think.1sg that NEG-is NEG
 ‘I think that it isn’t’
- o. Acho que **num coloca não.** (210/1)
 think.1sg that NEG put.3sg NEG
 ‘I think that it doesn’t put it’
- p. Eu acho que na nossa região **não tem isso não.** (210/3)
 I think.1sg that in.the our region NEG have this NEG
 ‘I think that there is none (of it) in our region’
- q. É, me parece que **não vende não.** (210/4)
 is me seems that NEG sell.3sg NEG
 ‘Yeah, it seems to me that it doesn’t sell’
- r. porque eu acho que **num existe não.** (212/4)
 because I think.1sg that NEG exist NEG
 ‘because I think that it doesn’t exist’
- s. Essa aí... Acho que **num sei o nome não.** (214/1)
 this there think.1sg that NEG know.1sg the name NEG
 ‘This one... I think that I don’t know the name’
- t. Ai... Esse aí eu acho que eu **não ouvi falar não.** (217/2)
 this there I think.1sg that I NEG heard speak NEG
 ‘This... This one, I think that I never heard about it’
- u. Hoje eu acho que **não chama assim não.** (217/4)
 today I think.1sg that NEG call this.way NEG
 ‘I think that nobody call it this nowadays’

As one can see, almost all cases of [neg VP neg] in embedded sentences happened in clauses that were complements of the verb *achar* ('think, guess, suppose'). The type of inquiry must have favored these lexical choices, since the speaker is constantly being asked what name he uses for certain objects and actions. When the speaker does not know or is not sure about the correct name, it is common to use epistemic verbs such as *saber* ('know') and *achar* ('think').

The data for [neg VP neg] in completive sentences occurred in seven out of 17 locations in the *corpus*, distributed over five mesoregions of the state, namely, in:

- i) Nova Londrina and Umuarama in Northwestern Paraná.
- ii) Londrina in North-central Paraná.
- iii) Terra Boa and Campo Mourão in Central-western Paraná.
- iv) Piraí do Sul in Oriental-center Paraná.
- v) São Miguel do Iguaçu in West Paraná.

One should consider the hypothesis of a correlation between the expansion of [neg VP neg] to other syntactic contexts (in this case, for non-matrix sentences) and the raising of [VP neg] in the same dialect. However, crossing information about the presence of [neg VP neg] in completive sentences and the geographic distribution of [VP neg] does not support this hypothesis: of the seven points where the double negative occurs in completive clauses, four are points of use for [VP neg], but three had no record of this variant.

Regarding age group, there are 14 occurrences among the older informants and seven occurrences among the younger ones. I consider its productive occurrence among the older informants as an indication that the expansion of this negative to completive contexts is not so recent in the dialects of Paraná, however it is not possible to distinguish whether this means that [neg VP neg] was introduced/developed recently in the dialect already with the property of occurring in completive sentences, without ever having passed through a purely matrix stage (as is the case with the EP), or if this "only matrix" stage existed in fact, but in a period further away in time.

Regarding [neg VP neg] in non-declarative sentences, eight occurrences of polar interrogative sentences with this structure were found in the *corpus*, all presented in (9). Therefore, also in this aspect, despite the difference in productivity of this negative in comparison to the pre-verbal one, the dialects of Paraná are more similar to the syntactic profile of the post-verbal negation in the Northeast and distant from EP.

- (9) a. **Né** brasa o nome **não?** (220/1)
 NEG -is ember the name NEG
 'Isn't its name *ember*?'

- b. Num quer fazer perguntas sobre investimento,
 NEG want.3sg do questions about investment
 sobre transações financeiras algo parecido assim **não?** (220/5)
 about transactions financial something similar such NEG
 ‘Don’t you prefer to ask (me) about investments, about financial
 transactions or something like that?’
- c. **Num** é cidra **não?** (221/3)
 NEG is cider NEG
 ‘Isn’t it cider?’
- d. **Num** é abóbora **não?** (221/3)
 NEG is pumpkin NEG
 ‘Isn’t it pumpkin?’
- e. Pois é... mas... **Num** é o sol **não?** (221/3)
 well is but NEG is the sun NEG
 ‘Yeah... but... Isn’t it the sun?’
- f. **Num** é galinha de Angola **não?** (221/3)
 NEG is chicken of Angola NEG
 ‘Isn’t it guinea fowl?’
- g. Mas **num** é papagaio **não?** (221/3)
 but NEG is parrot NEG
 ‘Isn’t it parrot?’
- h. **Num** é a raposa **não?** (221/3)
 NEG is the fox NEG
 ‘Isn’t it the fox?’

The [neg VP neg] data in polar questions are concentrated in two locations: Curitiba and Morretes. Crossing it with the geographic distribution of [VP neg] brings a possible correlation. These two cities correspond to the dialectal area number (iii) in the proposal outlined in subsection ‘Geolinguistic distribution of [VP neg]’, an area characterized by the use of final negation [VP neg].

These data reveal the existence of double negatives in interrogative sentences in some dialects of Paraná. However, its absence in surveys from other locations is not a

reliable source to state (or deny) that such syntactic behavior is exclusive to Curitiba and Morretes. As noted earlier, this type of survey disfavors (but doesn't exclude) the use of questions by the informants. It is possible that polar questions with [neg VP neg] already occur in other locations, but the surveys did not capture the phenomenon. On the other hand, the data allows us to hypothesize that the metropolitan mesoregion of Curitiba (including the capital and Morretes) is the point of spreading double negatives in polar questions context.

Regarding imperative clauses, there was no data of [neg VP neg] in this context. This is the only aspect where the syntactic behavior of this variant in Paraná differs from the behavior of the Northeast of the country, but, again, the question remains whether this is in fact due to the complete absence of double negative imperatives in Paraná or if it results from the type of survey does not favor the use of (negative or affirmative) imperatives by the informants.

There was also no data on QU questions with this type of negative.

Goldnadel *et al.* (2013) found 37 double negative data in Curitiba in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, unfortunately, their work does not reveal whether any of these data were from non-declarative sentences (either interrogative or imperative). This information would be useful for comparison with the results of the present research.

Next, I will describe the syntactic behavior of the final negative.

Linguistic Behavior of [VP neg]

The syntactic behavior of [VP neg] is a very relevant aspect in this work, considering that this negative has more syntactic restrictions than [neg VP neg] in both the Northeastern BP and EP, and that this structure is much less spreaded in the South region than the other variants.

Regarding subordination, all 27 occurrences of [VP neg] in the *corpus* happen in matrix sentences. There were no cases in embedded clauses of any kind. This behavior was expected based on what is known about other dialects. Both in Northeast Brazil (where it has anaphoric value) and in EP (where it has only metalinguistic value), [VP neg] is restricted to matrix sentences.

All data of [VP neg] from Paraná are reproduced in (10) and (11). As one can see in the examples, despite being restricted to matrix sentences, the final negation is not restricted to metalinguistic uses. The data in (10) and (11) display a conventional negation, with truth-functional value, inverting as true conditions of the sentences. The dialects of Paraná deviate from EP also in this aspect.

- (10) a. Sei **não.** (207/1)
 know.1sg NEG
 'I don't know'

- b. Sei **não.** (207/2)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- c. Não. Sei **não.** (207/4)
 no know.1sg NEG
 ‘No, I don’t know’
- d. Fiz nada de diferente ontem **não.** (207/4)
 did.1sg nothing of different yesterday NEG
 ‘I didn’t do anything different yesterday’
- e. Sei **não.** (208/3)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- f. Sei **não.** (208/3)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- g. Vou saber **não.** (208/4)
 go.1sg know NEG
 ‘I wouldn’t know’
- h. Vou lembrar **não.** (208/4)
 go.1sg remember NEG
 ‘I won’t remember’
- i. Não. Costumo **não.** (208/4)
 no get-used.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t have this habit’
- j. Ai meu Deus, vou saber **não.** (208/4)
 oh my God go.1sg know.1sg NEG
 ‘Oh, my God! I won’t know it (right now)’
- k. Sei **não.** (210/1)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’

- l. Sei **não.** (210/1)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- m. Não. Tenho medo **não.** (210/1)
 no have.1sg fear NEG
 ‘I am afraid (of it)’
- (11) a. Tem problema **não?** (212/1)
 have.3sg problem NEG
 ‘There is no problem’
- b. Sei **não.** (207/2)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- c. Eu vi **não.** (212/1)
 I saw.1sg NEG
 ‘I didn’t see (it)’
- d. Sei **não,** hein. (212/1)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- e. Tô **não.** (212/3)
 be.1sg NEG
 ‘I am not’
- f. Ah, eu lembro **não.** (212/4)
 ah I remember.1sg NEG
 ‘Ah! I don’t remember’
- g. Lembro **não.** (215/1)
 remember.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t remember’
- h. Pega mais nada de peixe **não.** (215/1)
 get.3sg more nothing of fish NEG
 ‘One doesn’t get any fish (there anymore)’

- i. Sei **não.** (219/2)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- j. Tô... tô lembrando **não.** (219/3)
 be.1sg be.1sg remembering NEG
 ‘I don’t remember it (right now)’
- k. Sei **não.** (219/4)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- l. Sei **não.** (220/1)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- m. Sei **não.** (220/5)
 know.1sg NEG
 ‘I don’t know’
- n. Tô morando em Morretes **não.** (221/3)
 be.1sg living in M. NEG
 ‘I am not living in Morretes (currently)’

As for the sentence types, there is a single case of this negative in a polar question in the entire *corpus*, reproduced above in (11a), which occurs in the city of Campo Mourão. There is no data on final negation in imperative sentences.

Again, the record of [VP neg] in polar questions in just one location is not enough to lead to the conclusion of its absence in the other dialects of Paraná, due to the fact that this may have resulted from the nature of the surveys, which does not favor the natural use of questions by the informants. On the other hand, this may be a further indication of a much more restricted distribution (and of a possible much more recent emergence) of this variant in southern dialects.

Despite this, the polar interrogative data in Campo Mourão shows that this syntactic property is available in at least one of the southern dialects.

Chart 4 summarizes the syntactic behavior of both post-verbal negatives in northeastern BP, EP and in the dialects of Paraná.

Chart 4 – Linguistic behavior of [neg VP neg] e [VP neg] in three linguistic varieties

Syntactic context	Northeastern BP	PE	Paranaense BP
Matrix declaratives	OK	OK	OK
Polar questions	OK	---	OK
WH questions	---	---	---
Imperatives	OK	---	---
Completives	OK	---	OK / ---
Other embedded clauses	---	---	

Source: Elaborated by the author.

As one can see, with the exception of the absence of post-verbal negatives in imperatives, the dialects of Paraná are closer to the syntactic behavior of Brazilian northeastern dialects than to the behavior of the EP despite the fact that productivity and geographic distribution is much more restricted in Paraná than in the Northeast.

CONCLUSÕES

The results seen throughout this paper allow the following conclusions:

In response to question A, formulated in the Introduction, the negatives [neg VP neg] and [VP neg] have an asymmetric geographic and social distribution in Paraná dialects. The double negative [neg VP neg] occurs in all locations of the *corpus* and in 81.42% of the informants while [VP neg] appears only in eight out of 17 locations and in 21.4% of the informants. On the other side, it seems to be the case that [VP neg] is spreading in Paraná. It is possible to clearly identify two dialectal areas of predominance of [VP neg] in the state.

In response to question B, the data found do not allow to consider the negatives in discussion as exclusively emphatic or metalinguistic. On the one hand, most of the [neg VP neg] data are neutral responses, without emphasis, in which the only contextual element required is that the proposition to be denied has been pronounced before or is inferable from the context (an anaphoric requirement). On the other hand, [VP neg] data involve normal negation of sentences, with the inversion of the proposition's truth value and not with rejection of its assertability. Therefore, I assume that the value of such negatives is anaphoric (in the sense of CAVALCANTE, 2012), not metalinguistic or emphatic.

As for question C, which is related to question A, we saw that both post-verbal negatives occur in interrogative sentences, although [neg VP neg] has a much higher productivity. Only [neg VP neg] occurs in subordinate sentences, exclusively in completives.

No data from any of the negatives was found in imperative sentences (which was unexpected from a syntactic point of view) or in WH questions (which was expected).

As for question D, the answers given to the two previous questions allow us to consider that the post-verbal negatives of Paraná dialects are closer to the Brazilian northeastern pattern than to the EP pattern, despite the socio-historical differences in the period of settlement in South region. The only point of (apparent?) divergence is the absence of imperative data with these negatives in the *corpus*.

This research will continue with the description of the behavior of post-verbal negatives in the other southern states of Brazil again with data from ALiB Project. There are also two works in progress on the phenomenon in the Midwest and North regions of the country, more specifically in Mato Grosso do Sul and Pará states, being conducted by Joás de Jesus Souza and Anna Luisa Rocha Freire, respectively.

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