

VERB RAISING, IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE VERBAL PARADIGM AND WEAKENING OF TENSE IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Aquiles TESCARI NETO¹

Abstract: The paper revisits the debate on verb raising in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as well as the discussion on the impoverishment of BP verbal inflectional paradigm. It suggests that the weakening of the Agr system in BP is not sufficient to explain why the verb raises less in BP than in other Romance languages, from both theoretical and empirical points of view. Rather, it suggests that the weakness of Tense in BP (AMBAR, 2008; CYRINO, 2011, 2013) would explain why the verb raises at most to a medial position in this language. To arrive at this conclusion, the first attempt is to revisit the literature on verb raising in Brazilian Portuguese. Two main competitive approaches to verb movement in Portuguese will be discussed as well as their interpretation of some traditional tests normally evoked to justify the presence or absence of verb raising. It will be shown that the verb leaves the VP in this language on the basis of traditional tests involving adverbs, as floating quantifiers are no useful diagnostics in BP. The second step is to bring pieces of evidence to suggest that it is not the impoverishment of the verbal paradigm that explains why the verb does not raise in BP as high as it does in other Romance languages, but rather the weakness of Tense in that language.

Keywords: Verb Movement. Agreement. Impoverishment of the Verbal Paradigm. Tense. Cartography. Generative Syntax.

Introduction

Three important “moments” characterize the Generative enterprise devoted to the description of the “IP” space or *Middlefield* or “INFL” (or “TP”, as in the Minimalist Program) in the last thirty years of the Principle and Parameters Theory. The

¹ UNICAMP – Universidade Estadual de Campinas – Departamento de Linguística. Campinas – São Paulo – Brasil. 13083-970 – tescari@iel.unicamp.br

<http://dx.doi.org/10.21165/gel.v13i3.395>

first is Chomsky's (1986)² attempt to extend the X-Bar Theory to functional categories. Chomsky explicitly recognized the IP as part of the clause. After that, Pollock (1989), with his "Split IP hypothesis", initiated a prolific line of research, which was the starting point for a number of works on the architecture of the clause and verb movement. In the wake of Pollock (1989), Cinque (1999)—here identified as the third moment—split the IP even more, in almost 40 functional projections (FP, from now on).

Cinque's (1999) work is part of a research program entitled "The Cartographic Project" (CINQUE, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009a,b, 2010; BELLETTI, 2004; RIZZI, 1997; 2001, 2004, 2006; BENINCÀ; POLETTI, 2005; BENINCÀ, 2006; CINQUE; RIZZI, 2010; LAENZLINGER, 2011; BENINCÀ; MUNARO, 2011; BRUGÈ et al., 2012; RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016; a.o.), which aims at drawing detailed and precise maps of syntactic configurations (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2010). In this paper, I draw on the cartographic approach to investigate the issue of verb raising in BP. The assumption of the cartographic framework helps to precisely pinpoint the position where the verb ends up in different languages. Hence, in assuming Cinque's hierarchy, one expects the existence of cross-linguistic variation regarding the landing site for the raising of the thematic verb (V) (to different positions in the hierarchy) in different languages. This is, indeed, what happens in Romance: the verb raises less in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), than in other Romance languages (European Portuguese (EP), Spanish and Italian).

The main goal of the paper is to explore an alternative answer to the following question: can the impoverishment of the verbal inflectional paradigm (GALVES, 1993; DUARTE, 1995) explain why the verb raises less in BP than in other Romance languages? In order to do so, previous works on V raising in BP will be reviewed in the next section. There are two main approaches to the V raising phenomenon in Portuguese. One argues in favor of a difference between BP and EP with respect to the height to which the thematic verb moves in each language. The other argues that there is no difference between these two varieties as far as V raising is concerned: there is only short V raising both in BP and EP. Traditional tests involving adverbs and floating

² Also relevant in this context are Stowell (1981), Safir (1982), a.o.

quantifiers will be presented to show the presence of verb raising to INFL³ in BP and how each theoretical analysis deals with the data. Next, the assumption of the Cinque (cartographic) hierarchy will aid in identifying the highest landing site for V movement in BP, namely T_{Anterior}, on the basis of the position of the lexical verb with respect to one specific value of the adverb *já* ‘already’. In other Romance languages (EP, Italian and Spanish), the V raises more. In order to explain why the V raises less in BP, two main hypotheses will be considered: the first turns to the weakening of the verbal inflectional paradigm (GALVES, 1993); the second, to the weakening of Tense (AMBAR, 2008; CYRINO, 2011, 2013). I will show, on the basis of the position of V relative to the T_{Anterior} adverb—as well as on the basis of the interpretation of the preterit in BP and EP (CYRINO, 2011, 2013)—, that the second hypothesis would better explain why the V raises less in BP.

Previous accounts on verb raising in BP

The idea that the thematic verb raises to inflection in BP is consensual among scholars working on this language (cf. AMBAR; GONZAGA; NEGRÃO, 2004; AMBAR; NEGRÃO; VELOSO; GRAÇA, 2009; COSTA; SILVA, 2006; CYRINO, 1999, 2011; CYRINO; MATOS, 2002; SILVA, 1996; GALVES, 1993, 1994; COSTA; GALVES, 2002; MATOS; CYRINO, 2002; MODESTO, 2000; OLIVEIRA E OLIVEIRA, 1999; PIRES, 2005; SILVA, 2001; SILVA, 2009; TESCARI NETO, 2013; VICENTE, 2006; a.o). These works can be grouped into two main approaches for the V raising phenomenon in Portuguese. The first argues in favor of a difference between BP and EP with respect to the height to which the thematic verb moves in each language. This approach has been mainly inspired by Galves's (1993, 1994, 2001) works. The second approach, mainly spread by the works of Costa and Galves (2002) and Costa and Silva (2006), argues that there is no difference between these two varieties of Portuguese as far as V raising is concerned: there is only “short V-raising”, in their own terms, in both languages.

Thinking of a (revisited) Pollockian representation for the IP like the one

³ Here V raising to INFL/I/T refers to the displacement of the V out of the VP to a dedicated position in the Middlefield, which corresponds to Chomsky's (1986) I, generally referred to as T in the Minimalist Program.

suggested in Belletti (1990) and Chomsky (1991), i.e. [AgrP ... [TP ... [...]]],⁴ it has been assumed since Galves's (1993, 1994) pioneering works on verb movement in BP, that the thematic V does not target the highest INFL node in this language. This is the main theoretical approach to V raising in BP. Galves's general insights on V raising in BP—namely, the idea that V would not move to a higher position (whatever it is), but would stop in a medial/lower position within the IP—remained almost unaltered in the analyses proposed since then. Hence, works after Galves (1993, 1994)—both those assuming a more ‘minimal’ representation for the clause⁵ and those which, in spite of Chomsky's (1995, chapter 4) severe restrictions on the representation of functional categories, assume a more articulated representation⁶—kept with Galves's idea that V would not target the highest INFL node in BP.

Galves (1994) takes INFL to be a “non-split category” in BP. According to her, BP would have a syncretic INFL, but would still exhibit V movement—see the arguments presented by the author in the discussion of the data in (1) below. In another paper (Galves, 1993), the author assumes a split version of Pollock's INFL, but suggests that BP would only have “short V-movement”, i.e. movement to a lower/medial position.

In both works, the fact that BP has an impoverished verbal inflectional paradigm (as shown by the loss of person distinctions)⁷ plays a crucial role, either by associating it to its syncretic nature (GALVES, 1994) or to short movement, i.e. movement of V to T but not to Agr (GALVES, 1993). In Galves (1993), for instance, the loss of verb movement in BP is explicitly associated with the weakening of the verbal inflectional paradigm in this language (see the table below), which would be seen as one property of

⁴ In Pollock (1989), the structure assumed for the IP is [TP ... [AgrP ... [...]]]. On the basis of the Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985), Belletti (1990) suggests that the order of the INFL projections would actually be [AgrP ... [TP ...]], given the belief that the V would first move to T to pick up the MTA (i.e. Modality, Tense and Aspect) morphology and then V-T would move and adjoin to Agr to pick up the agreement morphology. Chomsky (1991) adopts (and slightly modifies) Pollock-Belletti's structure, by assuming two Agr-related functional projections, namely, Agr_SP and Agr_OP, interspersed by TP, giving rise to the following hierarchy of INFL projections: [Agr_SP [TP [Agr_OP]]].

⁵ See, among others, Cyrino (1999), Modesto (2000); Pires (2005) and Vicente (2006).

⁶ See, for instance, Silva (1996), Silva (2001), Brito (1999, 2001), Silva (2001), Ambar; Gonzaga; Negrão (2004), Cyrino (2011, 2013), Cyrino; Matos (2002), Silva (2009), among others.

⁷ But see Costa and Silva (2006), according to whom colloquial BP (their “BP₂”) only distinguishes [person] but not [number] features in its agreement system. See also the footnote 9 in the sequence and Galves (1994: 94, endnote 13). Galves (1994) mentions the existence of dialects of BP, where only the first person singular has a distinct verbal ending. In those varieties of colloquial BP, all the other persons have the third person singular ending.

a cluster of morphosyntactic properties generally linked to the loss of the second person singular pronouns in BP grammar in the 19th century (see the collection of works in Roberts and Kato (1993)). Pires (2005) also follows this direction in his attempt to explain why BP has lost clitic climbing (see also PAGOTTO, 1992 and CYRINO, 1993, 2010). These changes partially explain why BP and EP have different grammars.⁸

Person-number	Pronoun	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2	Paradigm 3 ⁹
1 st singular	Eu	am- o	am o	am o
2 nd singular	Tu	am a s	-	-
	Você	am a	am a	am a
3 rd singular	Ele/ela	am a	am a	am a
1 st plural	Nós	am a mos	am a mos	-
	A gente	-	am a	am a
2 nd plural	Vós	am a is	-	-
	Vocês	am a m	am a m	am a m
3 rd plural	Eles/elas	am a m	am a m	am a m

Table 1: Pronominal and Inflectional Paradigms in BP (Duarte, 1995: 40)

From the data shown in this table, the verbal paradigm has evolved from a system having six distinct inflectional endings (paradigm 1) to the present one that has only three distinct forms (see “paradigm 3” in the table, which represents the speech of the young speakers of current BP). As argued by Duarte (1993, 1995, 2000) and mentioned in the last paragraph, this change has been motivated by a change in the set of the pronominal subjects. Duarte (2000) reports that it starts by affecting the forms of the 2nd person, which were combined with verbal forms having exclusive endings (see paradigm 1), and were replaced by *você* (singular) and *vocês* (plural) which take the inflectional endings of the third person singular and plural (paradigm 3). The first

⁸ Naturally, the grammar of EP has also undergone a number of syntactic changes.

⁹ As Avelar (2009a: 161) points out, the only clear distinction in current BP is the first person singular to the effect that paradigm 3 would co-exist with a “paradigm 4”, where only the first person singular would have an exclusive ending. All the other persons would exhibit the zero morpheme (\emptyset): Eu am-o (first person sing.) vs. Você (2nd p. sing.) ama- \emptyset ; Ele/ela (3rd p. sing.) ama- \emptyset ; A gente/Nós (1st p. plur.) ama- \emptyset ; Vocês (2nd p. plur.) ama- \emptyset ; Eles/elas (3rd p. sing.) ama- \emptyset .

person plural *nós* (paradigms 1 and 2) has also been replaced by the pronominal expression *a gente* 'the people', which also takes the inflectional ending of the third person singular. All these changes explain why BP has an impoverished verbal inflectional paradigm (GALVES, 1994, 2001; RODRIGUES, 2004; DUARTE, 1995; SILVA, 1996; BRITO, 1999; FERREIRA, 2000; KATO; DUARTE; CYRINO, 2000; BARBOSA; DUARTE; KATO, 2005; AVELAR, 2009a, b, *a.o.*).

Several works followed Galves (1993, 1994) in associating V raising to verbal morphology. Hence, the attested poverty in the BP morphological paradigm would be directly linked to the quite limited low position (in the Middlefield) where the V stops in this language. The data presented below, from Galves (1994: 46), illustrates that the V must leave the VP in BP. The low adverb *cuidadosamente* ('carefully'), a manner adverb—which has been traditionally considered a VP adjunct—, must be found in the right of the thematic verb *acabaram* ('finished'), suggesting that the V has to leave the thematic field and raise to INFL:¹⁰

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| (1) | a. | *As crianças | <i>cuidadosamente</i> | acabaram | sua tarefa |
| | | The children | carefully | finished | their work |
| | | 'The children carefully finished their work' | | | |
| | b. | As crianças | acabaram | <i>cuidadosamente</i> | sua tarefa |
| | | The children | finished | carefully | their work |

Though the data in (1) is sufficient to show that the lexical verb has to leave the VP in BP, it tells nothing on the maximum height in the Middlefield where the verb can go. Some data have been presented in a number of papers to show that the thematic verb does not reach the highest INFL node in BP (see, among others, Modesto, 2000; Silva, 2001; Brito, 1999, 2001; Cyrino, 2013; Tescari Neto, 2013). Modesto (2000), Silva (2001) and Tescari Neto (2013), in particular, take the position of V relative to the medial adverb *já* ('already') to suggest that the thematic verb raises more in EP than in BP, as it cannot be found in the right of this adverb in BP.¹¹ The following data are

¹⁰ (1a) is ungrammatical only in the manner reading for the adverb, namely, in the reading it has scope over the VP ("they finished their work in a careful way"). The subject-oriented reading ("It was careful of the children to finish their work") is possible in the preverbal position (COSTA; GALVES, 2002: 112).

¹¹ In terms of Cinque's hierarchy, the Portuguese adverb *já* can overtly realize the content of, at least, three distinct functional projections, as shown above (in I, II and III):

(I) – **Asp_{Proximative}**: This aspect, which can be overtly lexicalized by the adverb *já* in BP and EP, expresses that “an event is going to take place a short while after some reference time” (Cinque, 1999: 97).

- (i) Voltamos *já*
 We-will-be-back soon (Lopes, 1999: 412)
 'We will be back soon'
 (ii) A: - O João está à espera que lhe telefonos
 The João is to-the waiting that him you-call
 'João is waiting you call him'
 B: - Telefono-lhe *já* (EP)
 I-call-him immediately
 'I call him immediately'
 B': - Ligo para ele *já* (BP)
 I-call to he immediately
 'I call him immediately'

The EP version of (ii) was pointed out to me by one of the two anonymous reviewers. Both in EP and in BP, the V raises past the proximative adverb. But see Garzonio & Poletto (2014), according to whom, in some Romance varieties, some scalar adverbs have to raise to the left-periphery of the sentence. This seems to be the case of the (ii.B") version of (B') above, in BP.

- (ii) B": - Já ligo para ele
 Immediately I-call to he
 'I call him immediately'

(i), above, is also grammatical in BP, suggesting that in both varieties the verb raises past the Asp_{Proximative}P, one of the lowest FPs of the Cinque hierarchy. This 'aspectual' use of *já* 'soon' is not of relevance here, as we are mainly concerned to the highest *já* 'already', which, judging by the data shown in (2) in the text, cannot be found to the right of the thematic verb in BP.

(II) - **T_{Anterior}**: Regarding this category, Cinque (1999: 94) states that: “[its] core meaning is one of temporal priority [...]; in fact, one of precedence with respect to a reference time”. The adverb *já* can also be used to express this (semantic) value, in which case it is translated as *already*. (iii.a, b), which illustrate this use of *já*, was kindly provided by one of the two reviewers.

- (iii) a. O bebê *já* tomou banho
 The baby already took shower
 'The baby has already taken a shower'
 b. O bebê *já* tinha tomado banho
 The baby already had taken shower
 'The baby had already taken a shower'

It is quite hard to get the contribution of *já* in the (a, b) examples above. Cinque (1999: 94) gives the following two examples where the adverb *already*, in the matrix sentence of (iv.b), forces the event described in the matrix to take place before the one described in the adverbial clause, which is characteristic of the *anterior* tense.

- (iv) a. John had gone surfing when Harry had gone swimming
 b. John had already gone surfing when Harry had gone swimming

Thus, compared to (a), the (b) sentence in the previous example shows us the precise contribution of *já*, which, as an anterior adverb, indicates that the event described in the *when*-clause takes place after the one described in the matrix. Hence, the use of *já* indicates that the event described takes place before a reference point, which, in the case of (iii.a.), for instance, is the moment of the speech.

For the purposes of the present paper, this is the relevant semantic value of *já*. So, whenever I mention the adverb *já*, from now on in the paper, I have this *anterior* value in mind.

(III) – **Asp_{Habitual}**: the habitual aspect expresses the occurrence of an event or state as characteristic of a period of time, thus differing from the iterative aspect that expresses the mere repetition of an event or state (see Comrie, 1976; Cinque, 1999).

The adverb *já* is ambiguous between two different aspectual values in (v), below, as pointed out to me by one of the reviewers (see the relevant paraphrases in (v.a) and (v.b)).

- (v) *já* toma banho O bebê
 The baby *já* takes showers
 a. The baby is going to take a shower soon/immediately/right now
 b. The baby is used to taking showers

Both readings are associated with (distinct) aspectual values. In the (a) reading, one has the “proximative”

presented and discussed in Modesto (2000: 27):

- (2) a. A Maria já não come nada, não devia fazer dieta (OKBP, OKEP).
 the Maria already not eats anything, not should do diet
 ‘Maria already doesn’t eat anything, she shouldn’t be in a diet’
- b. A Maria não come já nada, não devia fazer dieta (*BP; OKEP)
 the M. not eats already anything, not should do diet
 ‘ M. already doesn’t eat anything; she shouldn’t be in a diet’

Independently on the adjunction locus of the adverb *já*—see the “cartographic” discussion of the data in (2a,b) in the penultimate section; also see the discussion on the T_{Anterior} value of *já* in the footnote 11—, the data in (2) has been taken to suggest that the verb does not raise to a higher position in BP. This is due to the fact that the position of the verb relative to *já* is quite different from its position relative to left-edge adverbs like *cuidadosamente* ('carefully'), from the example (1), which cannot be found in the left of the thematic V.¹²

Besides these tests involving low adverbs, which can detect whether the lexical verb leaves the thematic field, another diagnosing test has been used, namely the position of the thematic V relative to floating quantifiers. The data in (3-4), involving the universal quantifier, from Silva (1996: 46), is not conclusive on whether or not the verb raises to INFL.

- (3) a. Todos os caras viajaram (BP)
 All the guys traveled
 'All the guys have traveled'

aspect, already described above; in the (b) sentence, one gets the habitual aspect reading of the adverb *já*. Needless to say, though important, a description of the uses of *já* is far beyond the scope of the present paper. The relevant use of *já*, which concerns us here directly, is the “ T_{Anterior} ” use. On the semantic values of *já* in EP, see Lopes (2003) and Martins (2007). The fact that *já* (i) drives obligatory proclisis in EP (Martins, 2007) and (iii) blocks verb reduplication in that language (Martins, 2007) may be due to its obligatory movement to the left-periphery, in the spirit of Garzonio & Poletto (2014).

¹² As the data in (1), already given above, show, the V has to be found on the left of *bem* 'well'. This fact *per se* would be sufficient to suggest that *bem* and *já* have distinct adjunction sites. Were both adverbs adjoined on the left edge of the lower phase, one should not expect this different behavior relative to the thematic verb. According to Cinque's hierarchy, *já* occupies the Spec of T_{Anterior} . When *já* cooccurs with *bem* or other adverbs it c-commands, it must precede the other adverb, unless movement of larger pieces of the structure places the c-commanded adverb before *já*.

- b. Os caras todos viajaram
The guys all traveled
- c. Os caras tinham todos viajado
The guys had all traveled
'All the guys had traveled'

One could take (3b) to say that, as in English (which has the Subject-quantifier-VP order), the V does not leave the VP in BP. Silva (1996: 46) also presents the data in (4), having a transitive V, which seem to favor such an analysis:

- (4) a. Todos os caras amam a Maria
All the guys love the Maria
'All the guys love Maria'
- b. Os caras todos amam a Maria
The guys all love the Maria
- c. *Os caras amam todos a Maria (SILVA, 2006: 46)¹³
The guys love all the Maria

For Galves (1994), Silva (1996) and Modesto (2000), the fact that a universal quantifier can be found in the object position (see (5) below) would lead one to think that this conclusion is only premature. Thus, it would not be correct to think that (3b) is derived by raising the DP “os caras” to the Subject position, leaving the verb in its “base-generated” position. (3b) is actually grammatical given the existence of the order DP/NP-quantifier within the extended projection of the N in BP (GALVES, 1994; SILVA, 1996).

- (5) a. Eu vou convidar os caras todos
I will invite the guys all
'I will invite all the guys'

¹³ This sentence is grammatical for me, nonetheless. Galves's (1994) informants consider a sentence with the universal quantifier between a transitive verb and its complement only marginal:

(i) ?Os alunos fizeram todos a tarefa (GALVES, 1994: 43)
The students did all the homework
'All the students did the homework'

- b. Eu vou convidar todos os caras
 I will invite all the guys

Galves (1994) and Silva (1996) suggest that (5a,b) actually involve two different structures: in (5a), one gets the structure (i) “[NP XP todos]”, where *todos* is an attribute, whereas in (5b), the structure is (ii) “[QP todos XP]”. The different judgments of the speakers for (4c) would depend on whether they have the structure in (ii) available in their grammar. Only the speakers having the structure (ii) would allow the quantifier to float between the auxiliary and the past participle (see (3c)). The speakers whose grammar only allows the structure in (i) would not accept that the quantifier float, given that, in these structures, it cannot stay alone. All in all, (3b) would have no strict relation with V raising, since one could derive it without turning to the absence of V raising to inflection. The conclusion Galves (1994) and Silva (1996) draw from the data on floating quantifiers presented so far, is that they cannot be taken as reliable diagnostics for V raising in BP.^{14,15}

Even though floating quantifiers are not of help as diagnostics for V raising in BP, the data presented above on low and medial adverbs have been largely used by scholars who defend a strict relation between V raising to INFL and rich inflection: while in EP the V targets a higher node (it can raise past *já* 'already'), in BP it can only go to a medial position (as movement past *já* is not possible)—see the data in (2).

Two important facts would lead one to conclude that there is indeed a systematic link between rich verbal morphology and verb raising in Romance. First, Italian, (European) Spanish and EP have a quite rich inflectional paradigm: EP has five inflectional distinctions, whereas the other two get six distinctions each (see table 2 below). (Standard) BP has at most 4 distinctions (see table 1). Second, EP (cf. (2) repeated below), Italian (6) and Spanish (7) behave differently from BP (see (2), repeated below) with respect to the position of *already* relative to the thematic verb. While the V must raise past it in EP (2), Italian (6) and Spanish (7), that is not the case

¹⁴ The same conclusion is reached if one assumes, with Vicente (2006) that the order NP/DP-*todos* obtains by moving the NP/DP across the quantifier.

¹⁵ Tescari Neto (forthcoming) presents independent evidence, on the basis of English data on floating quantifiers and adverbs, to suggest that the position of merge of the universal quantifier is actually higher than the maximum height to which the V moves in BP. Thus, floating quantifiers cannot be considered diagnostics for V raising. For limitations of space, I will not go through the data presented by the author.

in BP, where V raising gives rise to ungrammatical results (cf. (2)). This amounts to saying that the data on V raising relative to *already* meet the one in tables 1 and 2 on the inflectional verbal paradigm. This seems to suggest a strict relation between V raising and the inflectional morphology of verbs: the richer the paradigm, the higher the thematic V goes in the inflectional domain.

Person-Number	Italian	Spanish	EP
1 st sing	am- o	am- o	am- o
2 nd sing	am- i	am- as	am- as
3 rd sing	am- a	am- a	am- a
1 st plur	am- iamo	am- amos	am- amos
2 nd plur	am- ate	am- ais	am- am
3 rd plur	am- ano	am- an	am- am

Table 2: The verbal paradigm in Italian, Spanish and EP

- (2) a. A Maria já não come nada, não devia fazer dieta (^{OK}BP, ^{OK}EP)
 The Maria already not eats anything, not should do diet
 ‘Maria already doesn’t eat anything; she shouldn’t be in a diet’
- b. A Maria não come já nada, não devia fazer dieta (*BP; ^{OK}EP)
 The Maria not eats already anything, not should do diet
 ‘Maria already doesn’t eat anything; she shouldn’t be in a diet’
- (6) *Italian* (SILVA, 2001: 33)
- a. Io so **già** l’italiano
 I know already Italian
 ‘I already know Italian’
- b. Io **già** so l’italiano
 I already know Italian
- (7) *Spanish* (SILVA, 2001: 33)
- a. Yo **ya** sé español
 I already know Spanish
 ‘I already know Spanish’
- b. Yo sé español **ya**

- I know Spanish already
 c. ?Yo sé **ya** español
 I know already Spanish

All in all, the first approach to V raising—mainly spread by the works of Galves (1993, 1994)—associates it to the richness of the verbal paradigm (ROHRBACHER, 1999; KOENEMAN; ZEIJLSTRA, 2014). Applied to BP syntax, it claims that the V does not target the highest INFL position in BP due to the weakening of the verbal inflectional paradigm. The V raises less in BP than in EP, Italian and Spanish. The position of V relative to the adverb corresponding to *already* in each language, which occupies a “medial” position in the inflectional domain, is often taken (MODESTO 2000; SILVA 2001) to show whether the thematic V raises to the higher portion of the IP (as in EP, Italian and Spanish) or not (as in BP). This systematic relation of Agr and verb raising will be revisited under a cartographic lens in the end of the paper.

The second approach to V raising in Portuguese assumes that BP and EP have only “short-V movement” (cf. COSTA; GALVES, 2002; COSTA; SILVA, 2006). By assuming a Pollockian IP, these analyses defend that the thematic verb would raise to T but not to AgrS in these two varieties of Portuguese (AgrS being the highest INFL node in a Pollockian-like system).

Costa and Galves (2002) interpret the relative position of V to adverbs and floating quantifiers in BP and EP as a result of the short movement of the verb in these languages: the V would raise to T but not to Agr in both languages. BP and EP contrast with French (POLLOCK, 1989), in allowing the adjacency between the subject and the verb to be broken by adverbs and floating quantifiers. The data in (8), from Costa and Galves (2002: 111), show that an adverb (8b) or a floating quantifier (8d) can intervene between the subject and the V:

- (8) a. O João beija frequentemente a Maria
 The João kisses often the Maria
 ‘João often kisses Maria’
 b. O João frequentemente beija a Maria.
 The João often kisses the Maria

- c . As crianças beijam todas a Maria
 The children kiss all the Maria
 ‘The children all kiss Maria’
- d . As crianças todas beijam a Maria.
 The children all kiss the Maria

(8) would lead one to think that V raising is optional in Portuguese, if they take the aspectual adverb *frequentemente* and the floating quantifier *todos* to be VP adjuncts (as in Pollock’s (1989) analysis¹⁶): the verb can be found in the left of *frequentemente* (8a) and *todos* (8c), or in the right of the adverb (8b) and the floating quantifier (8d). However, Costa and Galves suggest that this is not the case. Let us present two of their arguments. First, they take relatively low adverbs to argue that V raising past them is obligatory, thus arguing against the idea of its optionality:

- (9) a . O Pedro leu bem/atentamente o livro
 The Pedro read well the book
 ‘Pedro read the book well’
- b. *O Pedro bem/atentamente leu o livro
 The Pedro well read the book

(9b) shows that the verb cannot be found in the right of *bem/atentamente* ‘well’. Coupled with (8), (9b) suggests that the V must leave the VP.

(10) is also provided by Costa and Galves to argue against the idea that the verb raises only optionally in Portuguese. The verb can be found between the universal quantifier and the adverb, suggesting that it has to leave the VP.

- (10) a . Os meninos todos beijam frequentemente a Maria
 (OK_{EP}; ??_{BP})¹⁷

¹⁶ See Sportiche (1988) for a different analysis of the phenomenon of floating quantification. On the syntax of the floating quantification in BP, see Vicente (2006), Lacerda (2012) and Tescari Neto (2013, forthcoming). For reasons of space, these works are not reviewed here.

¹⁷ According to the authors (10a) is only possible in EP. For me (10a) is also possible in BP. The different judgments have to do with the different status of the quantifier in the two varieties of Portuguese (Ambar, 1987; Galves, 1994; Costa and Galves, 2002)—also see the fn. 13 and related text. What is important in

- The children all kiss often the Maria
 ‘The children kiss all often Maria’
- b. Os meninos frequentemente beijam todos a Maria
 (EP)
- The children frequently kiss all the Maria
- c. Os meninos ontem leram bem o livro (EP/BP)
 The children yesterday read well the book
 ‘Yesterday, the children read well the book’

Hence, rather than proposing that the thematic verb raises only optionally to inflection in Portuguese, Costa and Galves argue that it raises to a relatively low functional projection, namely T – in a revisited Pollockian system (where Agr is above T).

In the wake of Costa and Galves (2002), Costa and Silva (2006) argue that there is no difference between BP and EP with respect to the height the V raises in these languages. As in Costa and Galves (2002), the authors take relatively low adverbs into account. These adverbs are no useful in diagnosing the different heights in the structure where the verb can go in different languages. A cartographic enterprise is thus called to show whether one can detect cross-linguistic differences with respect to the different heights where the verb raises in different languages. This will be the task of the penultimate section.

Summing up, the second theoretical approach to V raising—inspired in Costa and Galves's (2002) ideas—proposes that there is no difference between BP and EP as far as the height of V raising in these two varieties is concerned. Nevertheless, scholars working on Portuguese syntax tend to keep with Galves's previous ideas (GALVES, 1993, 1994) that, in BP, V would raise to a lower/medial position in the inflectional domain. In EP, they assume that V raises to a higher position (see, among others, Silva (2001), Brito (2001), Ambar et al. (2004), Ambar et al. (2009), Cyrino; Matos (2002),

the present context is that (10a-c) show that the V obligatorily leaves the VP, as it is found between two adverbs or between the quantifier and the adverb. Notice, however, that one would present a sentence like (i) if they want to insist that the V only optionally raises to inflection in Portuguese.

(i) Os meninos todos frequentemente beijam a Maria
 The boys all often kisses the Maria
 'All the boys often kisses Maria'

Cyrino (2011, 2013), Tescari Neto (2013), a.o.). I will return to this in the end of the paper, and confirm these achievements from a cartographic perspective.

The two approaches to V raising: their advantages and drawbacks

No one would deny the impact of Galves's (1993, 1994) ideas on V raising—here referred to as the first approach to V movement in BP—which not only paid attention to an important feature of BP syntax, namely the impoverishment of its verbal inflectional paradigm, but also considered the theoretical-conceptual machinery of the Principles and Parameters Theory of that time. As already mentioned in the paper, Galves's (1993, 1994) approach to V raising has been assumed by many scholars in their attempt to capture cross-linguistic differences between BP and EP.

Modesto (2000), Brito (1999, 2001), Silva (2001), Cyrino and Mattos (2002), Ambar et al. (2004), among others, have also assumed that the V in BP and EP raise to different sites. The idea that the simplification of the inflectional paradigm in BP would be behind this difference is present in the assumption of these authors. They follow, with Galves (1993, 1994), Rorhacher (1999) and Koeneman and Zeijlstra (2014), the idea that rich agreement is directly connected to V raising. Nevertheless, once AgrP is excluded from the set of functional projections of the clausal structure (CHOMSKY, 1995, chapter 4), associating the loss of V movement in BP with the weakening of the verbal inflectional paradigm would be obsolete nowadays, in its lack of theoretical-conceptual motivation.¹⁸

Cinque (1999, chapter 5) suggests that agreement could be generated on the left-edge of each IP-related functional projection of his hierarchy, which corresponds to what he calls “DP-related functional projections”. If these DP-related functional projections can be generated on top of each FP of Cinque’s hierarchy, there is no empirical motivation, as well, for associating the loss of V movement in BP with the

¹⁸ This correlation could be kept nonetheless, if one assumes, in the spirit of Nunes (2008), that the relevant phi-features associated with the inflectional head are added in the morphological component, as dissociated features. However, besides this theoretical-conceptual motivation related to the exclusion of Agr by Chomsky (1995, chapter 4), there are empirical reasons related to the position of the V with respect to medial adverbs and the semantic values expressed by the morphological form of the syncretic preterit in BP, to believe that the inflectional morphology—which has been associated with Agr in pre-Minimalist approaches—should not be taken as the reason for the limitations on V raising to higher positions in the Middlefield in BP. See the discussion in the next section.

weakening of the verbal inflectional paradigm. In the best of possible worlds, the only way to keep this idea would be by suggesting that some languages, in addition to V raising to each head of the Middlefield, would have a further displacement of the verb to an Agr above it (much in the spirit of Poletto (1992)). Italian and EP would be examples of these languages. The problem is how one could explain the BP system where the inflectional morphology goes from one extreme (e.g. in Standard BP which clearly has four morphological distinctions for the V (*amo* ‘I-love’ (first person singular), *ama* ‘you-love’ (second and third person singular), *amamos* (first person plural), *amam* (second and third person plural)) to the other (e.g. in some (colloquial) BP—see the footnotes 7 and 9—where normally only the first person gets inflected (*amo* (first person sing.) vs. *ama* (all the other persons) (see GALVES, 2001: 94, endnote 13; AVELAR, 2009a: 161)). Nonetheless, even in this colloquial variety of BP, sometimes the verb is inflected for tense and number/person (at least in the first person plural), e.g. in the simple past: *Nó(i)s fizemu* ‘we did’, *Nó(i)s compremu* ‘we bought’, *Nó(i)s limpemu* ‘we cleaned’, *Nó(i)s vencemu* ‘we won’, *Nó(i)s falemu* ‘we spoke’. These forms are clearly distinct from the aforementioned third person form of the verbs just cited, which respectively are: *fez*, *comprou*, *limpou*, *venceu*, *falou*.¹⁹ All things considered, it seems that associating the loss of V movement in BP (i.e. its raising up to T_{Anterior} but not any higher—see the discussion in the next section) with the weakening of the inflectional paradigm would not be accurate.

Yet, Galves’s (1993, 1994, 2001) intriguing ideas should not be completely abandoned. Apart from the theoretical-conceptual reasons which would favor the contention that V does not target a higher INFL node in BP (namely, the weakening of the verbal inflectional paradigm), there is also independent empirical evidence to propose that V raises to a low/medial projection in the structure of the clause. Remember from the last section that Galves argued that V does not raise to a higher position of the IP on the basis of the position of the thematic verb relative to VP adverbs. This empirical evidence should not be dispensed. Thus, one should try to explain how current theories on the representation of the clausal structure could capture Galves’s empirical evidence. This is one of the tasks of the next section. By assuming

¹⁹ Moreover, as pointed out to me by one of the anonymous reviewers, those dialects presenting “fizemu” (‘we did’) and “compremu” (‘we bought’) as part of their paradigm, also have these same forms for the second and third person plural: “Vocês (You)/Eles (They) fizeru/compraru (‘did/bought’).

Cinque's cartographic approach, it will be shown that Galves's ideas can be maintained if one associates the attested difference found between BP and EP (see the discussion of (2), above) with the weakening of Tense in BP.

As shown in the previous section, Costa and Galves (2002) and Costa and Silva (2006)—here referred to as the second approach to V raising in Portuguese—state that there is no difference in BP and EP as far as V raising is concerned. They believe that the microparametric differences should be related to the position that the subject comes to occupy in each language. The subject would raise more in EP than in BP. However, one could take Modesto's data discussed in (2), coupled with Cinque's hierarchy, whereby the adverb *já* occupies a medial position in the Middlefield, to suggest that there would be some difference in the grammars of BP and EP with respect to the height the verb raises in each language. Actually, the thematic verb raises more in EP than in BP. I take the position of the lexical V and the auxiliary in (2) to suggest that V cannot raise past *já* in BP. The opposite behavior is observed in EP.

That the verb raises more in EP than in BP is also mentioned in Cyrino and Matos (2002). They argue that V raises to T in EP. In BP, it would stop in a(ny) functional head lower than (their) T₂, which corresponds to Asp, if one assumes an enriched structure. This difference concerning V raising would find an explanation by means of the different behavior of VP ellipsis of verbal sequences in these languages (see CYRINO; MATOS, 2002; MATOS; CYRINO, 2001). Ambar, Negrão and Gonzaga (2004) also suggest that the V stops in T_{Object} (a lower functional projection in their system) in BP, while it raises to an FP above it, namely, AgrS, in EP. Assuming that the V would stop in the same position in the two varieties of Portuguese considered here—as suggested by the second approach to V raising (COSTA; GALVES, 2002; COSTA; SILVA, 2006)—would thus be problematic if one takes the different positions in the hierarchy to which the verb can go in order to explain the VP-ellipsis phenomenon in Portuguese.

All things considered, there are reasons to partially abandon the two approaches to V raising reviewed here. Galves's (1993, 1994, 2001) ideas on the necessary link between V raising and verbal inflection should not be completely abandoned, though. Apart from the theoretical-conceptual reasons which would favor the contention that V does not target a higher INFL node in BP (namely, the weakening of the verbal

inflectional paradigm), there is also independent empirical evidence to propose that V raises to a lower/medial projection in the structure of the clause. Recall from the last section that Galves argued that V does not raise to a higher position of the IP on the basis of its position relative to VP-adverbs. This empirical evidence should not be dispensed. One should try to explain how current theories on the representation of the clausal structure could capture Galves's empirical evidence. This is the goal in the next section.

V raising and weakening of Tense: a change of perspective

As mentioned in the previous sections, a plethora of works in the last twenty years has shown that from the 19th century on, the grammar of BP has undergone a number of changes. One such change is the attested poverty in the BP verbal paradigm. Once AgrP is excluded from the set of functional projections of the clausal structure (CHOMSKY, 1995, chapter 4), two important questions should be asked in the present context. The first has to do with the evaluation of Chomsky's phi-features, once checked/assigned in Agr. With the exclusion of this functional head, Chomsky's solution was to make T a syncretic category, having uninterpretable phi-features, which would be valued by moving a category having their interpretable counterparts to its Spec. However, if one assumes Kayne's (2005) "One Feature, One Head Principle", they should expect that the features associated with Mood, Tense, Aspect and the phi-features be realized each one in a distinct head. Concerning the cross-linguistic differences between BP and EP on the height to which the verb raises in each variety, one should ask which functional projection of the clause would correspond to Galves's (1993) T, namely, the position where the V stops in BP.

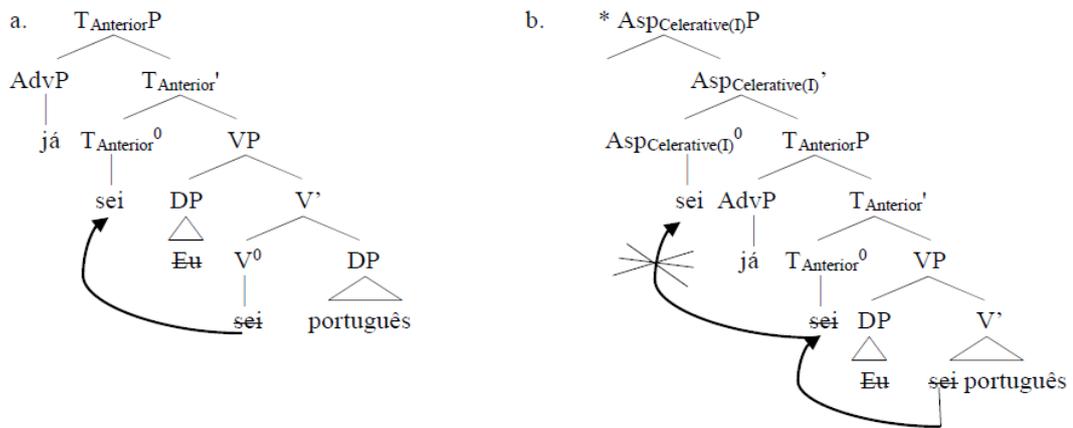
We have seen that V cannot move past *já* 'already' in BP. In terms of Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, one of the positions where the adverb *já* 'already' can be merged, whenever it has a temporal value, is the specifier of T_{Anterior}, a medial position in INFL. Silva (2001: 33) shows that V cannot raise past *já* 'already' in this language. (11a) is grammatical as the thematic V has not raised past *já* 'already' (see the representation of (11a) given in (11'a)). (11b), on the other hand, is ungrammatical, as V movement past *já* 'already' is not permitted in BP (see (11'b)).

(11) BP (SILVA, 2001: 33)

a. Eu **já** sei português
 I already know Portuguese
 ‘I already know Portuguese’

b. *Eu sei **já** português
 I know already Portuguese

(11')



Thus, it seems that Galves’s “T” (1993, 1994, 2001) corresponds to Cinque’s T_{Anterior}. But before deciding whether Galves’s T would actually be identified with T_{Anterior}, i.e. the lowest T-related functional projection of Cinque’s Hierarchy, let us explore the position of the V relative to *já* ‘already’ in closely-related languages. The position of V relative to *já* ‘already’ would be a good indicator of microparametric variation, as parameters have been identified with properties of functional heads (KAYNE, 2005; MOURA, 2005). Many scholars working on Portuguese have proposed that V raises more in EP than in BP (MODESTO, 2000, AMBAR, NEGRÃO; GONZAGA, 2004; MATOS; CYRINO, 2001; CYRINO; MATOS, 2002; CYRINO, 2011; TESCARI NETO, 2013; a.o.). Judging from Modesto (2000: 27), not only the lexical V (see (2), repeated below) but also the auxiliary *tinha* ‘had’ raise past *já* (‘already’) in EP. In BP, on the other hand, neither the thematic V nor the auxiliary can raise past *já*—see (2), repeated below, and (12). The data is from Modesto (2000: 27).

- (2) a. A Maria já não come nada, não devia fazer dieta (OKBP, OKEP)
 The M. already not eats anything, not should do diet
 ‘Maria already doesn’t eat anything, she shouldn’t be in a diet’
- b. A Maria já tinha comido. (OKBP; OKEP)
 The Maria already had eaten
 ‘Maria had already eaten’
- (12) a. A Maria não come já nada, não devia fazer dieta. (*BP; OKEP)
 The Maria not eats already anything, not should do diet.
 ‘Maria already doesn’t eat anything; she shouldn’t be in a diet’
- b. A Maria tinha já comido. (*BP; OK EP)
 The Maria had already eaten
 ‘Maria had already eaten’

As shown in the previous section, Costa and Galves (2002) state that there is no difference in BP and EP as far as V raising is concerned. They believe that the microparametric differences should be related to the position that the subject comes to occupy in each language. The subject would raise more in EP than in BP. However, one could take Modesto’s data in (2, 12) coupled with Cinque’s hierarchy, whereby the adverb *já* occupies a medial position in the Middlefield, to suggest the existence of cross-linguistic variation between the grammars of BP and EP concerning the height to which the V raises in each language. V would raise more in EP than in BP. I take the position of the lexical V and the auxiliary in (2, 12) to suggest that V cannot raise past *já* in BP, though it can in EP.

Hence, assuming Cinque’s (1999) representation of the Middlefield, we could say that the thematic verb stops in T_{Anterior} or even lower in BP, since it cannot raise past *já* ‘already’. Modesto’s (2000) data on the placement of *já* in BP and EP (2, 12) would suggest that T_{Anterior} is the locus of the (micro) parametric variation concerning V raising in BP and EP.

An interesting suggestion is put forth in Cyrino (2011, 2013) for the richness of T in BP and EP. The author proposes that T is rich in EP but not in BP—the same suggestion made in Ambar et al. (2009) and Ambar (2008)—, in spite of being

morphologically marked in both. Cyrino associates the absence of V raising to T to the weakness of tense in this language. According to her, V does not move to the highest T in the clause, but to a lower aspectual projection, which she identifies as T₂ (based on Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997).

The data shown in (13-14), from BP and EP, are crucial for Cyrino's contention that T is not rich in BP. The synthetic form of the past tense is neutralized in BP, since it can be used in reference to a past situation or, depending on the context, even in reference to the moment of speech.²⁰

- (13) a. *Só falta* *cerveja* *nessa festa!*
 Only lacks beer in-this party

'Only beer is missing in this party!' (^{OK}EP, ^{OK}BP = there is still the possibility that someone will buy beer)

- b. *Só faltou* *cerveja* *nessa festa!*
 Only lacked beer in-this party

'Only beer was missing in this party!'

(i) ^{OK}EP, ^{OK}BP = the party is over, the speaker has accepted the situation, that there was no beer and that the situation didn't change

(ii) *EP; ^{OK}BP²¹ = the party is not over, the speaker has accepted the

²⁰ As pointed out to me by one of the anonymous reviewers, one would argue that the morphology of the past in BP, which can be used not only in reference to an event in the past but also to an event in the present (see the discussion of 13-14) and the examples given in the next footnote), would actually be taken to suggest that "the features of T are strong in this language and weak in European Portuguese". Though interesting, this conclusion does not seem to be supported by the facts. As shown above and discussed in the sequence, movement of the verb past *já*—which occupies the specifier of T_{Anterior}—is not allowed in BP, though it is in EP. If one wants to keep a strict relation between morphology and V raising, the very fact that the movement of the verb across the lowest functional head related to T is limited in BP would favor an analysis which associates the weakness of T with the impossibility of V raising any higher than the lowest T-related head. Were the features of T strong in BP, one would expect the thematic V to move at least across the lowest T-related projection, contrary to facts.

²¹ The ambiguity of the BP (13b) sentence would have us asking how these two distinct readings could be interpreted by the conceptual system. One should expect that it involves two different derivations, one similar to EP—the one referred to in (13b.i.)—, and the other exclusive of BP (13b.ii.). In the (13b.i.) case, the verb (or the whole VP) raises to the lowest T-head (or to [Spec,T_{Anterior}]) in both varieties to value its (= of V) uninterpretable T-related features. In the (13b.ii.) case, which is grammatical only in BP, once there is no uninterpretable T-Past feature to check in that projection, the V raises only to lower Asp heads, given that the T-Present situation conveyed by the morphology of Past in the BP version is the default case or T-zero (Ambar et al., 2008), which can be obtained by the unmarked features of the three T-related functional projections of Cinque's system. This case seems to be different from those involving two inceptive, frequentative, habitual aspect and other aspectual heads which are duplicated in Cinque's system, where one finds not only two functional, "restructuring" verbs but also two AdvPs having different and specific featural make-up for each FP.

situation that there is no beer and that the situation is not going to change.

- (14) a. *Você vira na High Street, e chega na universidade.* (OK_{EP}; OK_{BP})
 You turn in-the High Street and arrive in-the university
 ‘Turn on High Street and then you arrive at the university’
- b. *Você virou na High Street, e chegou na universidade.* (*EP; OK_{BP})
 You turned in-the High Street and arrived in-the university
 ‘Turn on High Street and then you arrive at the university’
- (CYRINO, 2011: 58)

(13-14) would suggest that T is weak in BP and that, for that reason, this language lacks V raising to a higher INFL node.²² Since there is independent evidence for V raising in BP (GALVES, 1993, 1994; SILVA, 1996; CYRINO and MATOS, 2002), Cyrino suggests that V raising is limited to Asp (or T₂) in this language.²³

²² An additional example suggesting that the synthetic preterit form could also refer to the moment of speech in BP is illustrated by (i) below. Consider the context of a soccer game in which the score is a tie and the winner has to be decided in the penalties. The local team’s fans could all shout something like (i) whenever an adversary player was about to kick:

(i) – Errou! Errou! Errou! Errou! ...
 Failed! Failed! Failed! Failed!
 ‘(I hope you) get it wrong! Get it wrong! Get it wrong!’

It is important to have in mind that (i) can be uttered even if an adversary player has not kicked. This example can be used to illustrate the use of the preterit for the moment of the speech, in this particular context to curse at the opponent team. The use of the preterit for the moment of the speech is only possible because Tense is weak in BP. In the wake of Cyrino (2011, 2013), I argue that this is so because V movement is quite limited in BP. Of course, one would alternatively argue, judging by the data in (13-14) and (i) that the verbal morphology in BP—at least the morphology of the preterit—is underspecified. I have not assumed this through the paper, given that it deserves careful investigation with other tenses besides the Past. The only assumption made here follows Ambar's (2008) and Cyrino's (2011, 2013) in that the features of T in BP are weak, at least for the Past.

²³ The ban on the movement of the thematic V past *já* ('already') in BP, as shown in (2), (11) and (12), above, is taken here to be a consequence of the weakening of Tense in this language. As we have seen, movement of V past the corresponding adverb in EP, Spanish and Italian is allowed. Recall that in Cinque's cartographic system there are three functional projections related to Tense: T_{Anterior}, the lowest one, T_{Future} and T_{Past}. Being the default tense, the Present has no dedicated functional projection in the hierarchy, being derived through the assignment of the default values to each T-related functional head. It makes sense that the thematic verb cannot raise past *já* in BP if one understands that T is weak in BP: once T is weak, there is no need for the V to cross the T_{Anterior} adverb, which sits on the left edge of the lowest T-related FP. Furthermore, the very fact that the synthetic form of the past tense is neutralized only in BP, but not in EP, as shown in the examples in (13-14) would be a consequence of the fact that the V cannot raise to higher FPs in the latter.

One of the anonymous reviewers has correctly pointed out that one should expect that, once T is weak in BP, the same behavior observed for the preterit (see the discussion on (13-14) above) should also be observed in other tenses. Were this behavior seen only in the syncretic form of the Preterit, one would argue that it is an idiosyncrasy of this tense. It has been shown by Sociolinguistics work that the synthetic form of the Future in BP is rarely used in the oral language, being restricted to the written language

If we assume Cinque’s (1999) cartographic representation of the Middlefield, Cyrino’s Asp/T₂ would correspond to T_{Anterior}, the lowest Tense-related node in Cinque’s hierarchy. V cannot move past *já* ‘already’ in BP (as we have seen in (2, 12)). *Já* ‘already’ sits on the specifier of T_{Anterior}. Thus, the idea that V cannot leave the T_{Anterior}P because tense is weak in BP makes sense, as long as leaving the T_{Anterior}P, in the present context, would mean moving past *já*. All this amounts to saying that the data given in (2), (11) and (12), from Silva (2001) and Modesto (2000), presented above, would meet Cyrino’s contention that V does not raise to a higher projection in BP.

All in all, it seems that the fact that V does not move any higher than T_{Anterior} in BP should be attributed to the weakness of Tense in this language (CYRINO, 2011, 2013; AMBAR, 2008).²⁴ This proposal still adheres to Galves’s (1993, 1994) idea that V does not move to a higher INFL node in BP. The tests applied by Galves (1993, 1994, 2001), Modesto (2000), Silva (2001) and Costa and Galves (2002) – see (1), (2) and (9) – also suggest that V to INFL is limited, in BP, to a medial position. Viewed from this perspective, although the weakening of the inflectional verbal paradigm is crucial to explain many changes that took place in the grammar of BP in the 19th century—e.g. the

(CAMPOS; RODRIGUES et al., 1996; 2002; ARAUJO ADRIANO, 2014). If one assumes that having syncretic forms is directly related to richness they will find in the quite restricted use of the syncretic form of the Future in BP a piece of evidence for the conjecture that T is weak in BP. Nevertheless, the very fact that auxiliaries bear the T-morphology which, in Romance languages—BP included—, would otherwise remain stranded would have us saying that this correlation would actually be poor. As I have no other interesting answer to provide, I leave this interesting question open to future investigation.

²⁴The quite restricted maximum height to which the verb moves in BP and its relation with the weakening of Tense in BP raises the following question by one of the reviewers: “How can we relate the weakening of T (which has a purely interpretive impact if we assume Cyrino’s proposal) with verb raising, which is an operation activated by purely formal features and, therefore, has no semantic content (the movement)?”

It is likely that the idea underlying the reviewer’s question is Chomsky’s (2001) contention that, being an instance of head movement, V raising may not be part of narrow syntax and thus should be taken to be a PF operation, given its apparent lack of semantic effects. One could then either say that (i) V raising to T_{Anterior} is actually an instance of VP movement, as in Tescari Neto (2013), or that (ii) V raising to INFL can be an instance of head movement, in spite of its apparent lack of semantic effect. Cinque (1999: 184, n. 8) gives the following pair of sentences, from Italian, where “the different location of the past participle among the AdvPs has often semantic consequences (...).”:

- (i) a. Gianni ha sempre avuto i capelli lunghi.
 Gianni has always had the hair long
 'Ganni has always had long hair.'
 b. Gianni ha avuto sempre i capelli lunghi.
 Gianni has had always the hair long

The difference in meaning between (ia) and (ib) is related to the raising of the participle across *sempre* ‘always’: while in (ia) the participle to the right of *sempre* implies that Gianni still has long hair (a non-perfect reading), (ib) is compatible both with the same non-perfect reading and with a “perfect” one. Thus, even if one keeps with the idea that V (head-)raises to INFL, they can also keep with the idea that it has semantic effects.

loss of referential null subjects in BP (DUARTE, 1995), the loss of VS inversion in *wh*-interrogatives (LOPES ROSSI, 1993), the loss of clitic climbing (PIRES, 2005), etc.—, it seems that it is not the reason for the loss of V-movement in declaratives.

Final remarks

The main goal of the paper was to present two main theoretical approaches to V raising in Portuguese and their interpretation of some diagnosing tests involving adverbs and floating quantifiers. One of these approaches connects the impoverishment of the verbal inflectional paradigm in BP (GALVES, 1993; DUARTE, 1995; *a.o.*) to the quite limited height to which the verb raises in this language (as opposed to EP and the other Romance languages). The other approach states that there is no such connection: both BP and EP have “short V-movement” and the cross-linguistic differences between the two are related to the position of the external subject in each variety (COSTA; GALVES, 2002). In the wake of the first approach, many authors have assumed that the weakening of Agr in the grammar of BP would explain why the verb raises less in this language than in EP and the other Romance languages.

EP, Spanish and Italian exhibit V movement past the T_{Anterior} adverb corresponding to ‘already’. Recent developments in the cartographic version of the Principles and Parameters theory (CINQUE, 1999)—also see Kayne (2005) and Moura (2005)—would explain this cross-linguistic variation by linking it to distinct derivational options associated with different functional distinctions. Hence, on the one side, languages would have to decide whether they have a lexical item to (external) Merge in a dedicated position matching its semantics or whether the relevant functional category remains silent (KAYNE, 2005). On the other side, different parametric options would be determined by the height, in the structure, to which each language would displace its constituents. In the case under examination here, this second option is related to the availability of raising the thematic verb past *já* ‘already’. This movement is only possible in EP, Italian and Spanish but not in BP, given the weakness of T in the latter language.

Since AgrP became obsolete in the current version of the Principles and Parameters Theory (CHOMSKY, 1995, chapter 4), there is no reason to link the

impossibility of V raising past *já* ‘already’ in BP to the weakness of Agr in this language. Furthermore, as I have shown, colloquial varieties of BP sometimes have the verb inflected for tense and number/person (at least in the first person plural), e.g. in the simple past: *Nó(i)s fizemu* ‘we did’, *Nó(i)s compramu* ‘we bought’, etc. Being clearly distinct from the third person form of the corresponding verbs in the past (which are, respectively, *fez* and *comprou*), the morphology of these forms of the first person plural *fizemu*, *compramu*, etc. would question the hypothesis drawn on the impoverishment of Agr.

All things considered, it seems that associating the limitation on the height to which the verb raises in BP (i.e. its raising up to T_{Anterior} but not any higher) to the weakening of the inflectional paradigm would not be accurate. To solve the problem, I assumed Ambar’s (2008) and Cyrino’s (2011, 2013) contention that T is weak in BP. To do that, I have shown some sentences, mainly from Cyrino’s (2011, 2013) work, where the preterit is used for the moment of speech.

Clearly, it is still necessary to investigate the movement of different verbal forms among the IP-related functional projections, as well as the syntax of other Tenses besides the preterit in BP, two issues that, in addition to their importance, have not been completed thus far and still deserve an in-depth investigation.

Acknowledgments: Many thanks to Livia Oushiro and the two anonymous reviewers of *Revista do GEL*, for their valuable comments, questions and suggestions that have undoubtedly improved the manuscript significantly. A special thanks also goes to the editors of *Revista do GEL*.

TESCARI NETO, Aquiles. Movimento do verbo, empobrecimento do paradigma flexional verbal, enfraquecimento de Tempo em português brasileiro. **Revista do Gel**, São Paulo, v. 13, n. 3, p. 75-106, 2016.

Resumo: *O trabalho revisita o debate sobre o movimento do verbo em português brasileiro (PB) bem como as discussões gerais acerca do empobrecimento do paradigma flexional verbal nesta língua. Sugere-se que o empobrecimento do sistema flexional no PB não é suficiente, quer do ponto de vista teórico-conceitual, quer do ponto de vista empírico, para explicar por que o V sobe menos em PB do que nas outras línguas românicas. É o empobrecimento do Tempo, em PB (AMBAR, 2008; CYRINO, 2011), que explica por que o verbo sobe menos nesta língua. Para chegar a*

tal conclusão, primeiramente é feita uma revisão da literatura sobre o movimento do verbo em PB. São apresentadas duas abordagens competitivas sobre o fenômeno do movimento do verbo em português e a interpretação, por cada uma delas, de alguns testes tradicionais geralmente utilizados para detectar a ausência ou presença do movimento do verbo. Mostra-se que há movimento do verbo nessa língua, com base em testes tradicionais envolvendo advérbios e quantificadores flutuantes. O segundo passo consiste em apresentar evidência de que não é o empobrecimento da flexão que explica por que o verbo sobe menos, mas o enfraquecimento de Tempo nesta língua.

Palavras-chave: Movimento do verbo. Concordância. Empobrecimento da flexão. Tempo. Cartografia. Sintaxe Gerativa.

Submetido em: 09/03/2015.

Aceito em: 21/05/2015.

References

AMBAR, M. Flutuação do quantificador e subida da flexão. **Actas do III Encontro da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística**. Lisboa: APL, 1987. p. 17-38.

_____. On some special adverbs, word order, and CP: variation vs. micro-variation. **Canadian Journal of Linguistics**, 53(2/3), p. 143-179, 2008.

AMBAR, M.; GONZAGA, M.; NEGRÃO, E. V. Tense, quantification and clause structure in EP and BP: evidence from a comparative study on sempre. In: BOK-BENNEMA, R. *et al.* (Eds.). **Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2002**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004. p. 1-16.

AMBAR, M.; NEGRÃO, E. V.; VELOSO, R.; GRAÇA, L. Tense domains in BP and EP – vP, CP and phases. In: ABOH, E. *et al.* (Eds.). **Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009. p. 1-24.

ARAÚJO ADRIANO, P. A. Análise da expressão do futuro em textos argumentativos do ProFIS. **Língua, Literatura e Ensino**, vol. XI, p. 21-34, 2014.

AVELAR, J. On the emergence of *ter* as an existential verb in Brazilian Portuguese. In: CRISMA, P.; LONGOBARBI, G. (Eds.). **Historical Syntax and Linguistic Theory**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009a. p. 158-175.

_____. Inversão locativa e sintaxe de concordância no português brasileiro. **Matraga**, 16, n. 24, p. 212-252, 2009b.

BAKER, M. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. **Linguistic Inquiry**, 16, p. 373-415, 1985.

BARBOSA, P.; DUARTE, M. E.; KATO, M. Null subjects in European and Brazilian Portuguese. **Journal of Portuguese Linguistics**, 4, p. 11-52, 2005.

BELLETTI, A. **Generalized Verb Movement**. Turim: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990.

_____. Introduction. In: BELLETTI, A. (Ed.). **Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures**. vol. 3. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. p. 3-14.

BENINCÀ, P. A detailed map of the left periphery of medieval Romance. In: ZANUTTINI, R. *et alii* (Eds.). **Negation, Tense and Clausal Architecture: Cross-linguistic Investigations**. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2006. p. 53-86.

BENINCÀ, P.; POLETTI, C. Topic, Focus and V2: defining the CP sublayers. In: RIZZI, L. (Ed.). **The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures**. vol. 2. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. p. 52-76.

BENINCÀ, P.; MUNARO, N. Introduction. In: _____. (Eds.). **Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures**. vol. 5. Oxford: OUP, 2011.

BRITO, A. M. Concordância, estrutura de frase e movimento do verbo no Português Europeu, no Português Brasileiro e no Português de Moçambique. In: FARIA, I. H. (Org.). **Lindley Cintra: homenagem ao homem, ao mestre e ao cidadão**. Lisboa: Cosmos, 1999. p. 332-365.

_____. Clause Structure, Subject Positions and Verb Movement. About the position of *sempre* in European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese. In: D'HULST, Y.; ROORYCK, J.; SCHROTEN, J. (Eds.). **Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 1999: Selected papers from 'Going Romance 1999'**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001. p. 63-86.

BRUGÈ, L. Introduction. In: BRUGÈ, L. et al. (Eds.). **Functional Heads: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures**. vol. 7. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. p. 3-12.

CAMPOS, O. G. L. A. S., RODRIGUES, A. C. S. *et al.* A flexão verbal modo-temporal no português culto do Brasil. In: BASÍLIO, M. (Org.). **Gramática do português falado, vol. III**. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1996.

CAMPOS, O. G. L. A. S.; RODRIGUES, A. C. S.; GALEMBECK, P. T. A flexão modo-temporal no português culto do Brasil: formas de pretérito perfeito e imperfeito do indicativo. In: CASTILHO, A. T.; BASÍLIO, M. (Org.). **Gramática do Português Falado – vol. IV**. 2. ed. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 2002. p. 31-72.

CHOMSKY, N. **Barriers**. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1986.

_____. Some notes on economy of derivation and representation. In: FREIDIN, R. (Ed.). **Principles and Parameters in Comparative Grammar**. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991. p. 417-454.

_____. **The Minimalist Program**. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.

_____. Derivation by phase. In: KENSTOWICZ, M. **Ken Hale: a life in language**. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001. p. 1-52.

CINQUE, G. On the evidence for partial N movement in the Romance DP. In: CINQUE, G. *et al.* (Eds.). **Path Towards Universal Grammar: Studies in Honour of Richard S. Kayne**. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1994. p. 85-110.

_____. **Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-linguistic Perspective**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

_____. Issues in adverbial syntax. **Lingua**, 114, p. 683-710, 2004.

_____. Deriving Greenberg's universal 20 and Its exceptions. **Linguistic Inquiry**, 36, p. 315-332, 2005.

_____. **Restructuring and Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures**. vol. 4. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

_____. More on the Indefinite Character of the Head of Restrictive Relatives. **Rivista di Grammatica Generativa**, 33, p. 3-4, 2008.

_____. Again on Tense, Aspect, Mood morpheme order and the 'Mirror Principle'. In: SVENONIUS, P. (Ed.). **Functional Structure from Top to Toe**. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009a.

_____. The fundamental left-right asymmetry of natural languages. In: SCALISE, S. *et al.* (Eds.). **Universals of Language Today**, Springer, 2009b. p. 165-184.

_____. **The Syntax of Adjectives: A comparative study**. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010.

CINQUE, G.; RIZZI, L. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. In: HEINE, B.; NARROG, H. (Eds.). **The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. p. 51-65.

COMRIE, B. **Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

COSTA, J.; GALVES, C. External Subjects in Two Varieties of Portuguese: Evidence for a Non-Unified Analysis. In: BEYSSADE, C. *et al.* (Eds.). **Proceedings of Going Romance 2000**. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002. p. 109-125.

COSTA, J.; SILVA, M. C. F. Notas sobre a concordância verbal e nominal em português. **Estudos Linguísticos**, XXXV, p. 95-109, 2006.

CYRINO, S. M. L. Observações sobre a mudança diacrônica no português do Brasil: o objeto nulo e clíticos. In: ROBERTS, I.; KATO, M. (Eds.). **Português Brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica**. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1993. p. 163-184.

_____. A categoria 'INFL' no português brasileiro. **Estudos Linguísticos**, XXVIII, p. 449-454, 1999.

_____. On Complex Predicates in Brazilian Portuguese. **Iberia**, 2 (2), p. 1-21, 2010.

_____. On richness of tense and verb movement in Brazilian Portuguese. **21st Colloquium on Generative Grammar**. Sevilla, April 7-9, p. 56-59, 2011.

_____. On Richness of Tense and Verb Movement in Brazilian Portuguese. In: CAMACHO-TABOADA, V. *et al.* (Eds.). **Information Structure and Agreement**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013. p. 297-318.

CYRINO, S. M. L.; MATOS, G. VP ellipsis in European and Brazilian Portuguese – a comparative analysis. **Journal of Portuguese Linguistics**, 1(2), p. 177-195, 2002.

DUARTE, M. E. L. Do pronome nulo ao pronome pleno. In: ROBERTS, I.; KATO, M. (Eds.). **Português Brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica**. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1993. p. 107-128.

_____. **A Perda do Princípio "Evite Pronome" no Português Brasileiro**. 1995. 300 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, 1995.

_____. The Loss of the 'Avoid Pronoun' Principle in Brazilian Portuguese. In: KATO, M.; NEGRÃO, E. (Eds.). **Brazilian Portuguese and the Null Subject Parameter**. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2000, p. 17-36.

FERREIRA, M. **Argumentos nulos em português brasileiro**. 2000. 113 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, 2000.

GALVES, C. O Enfraquecimento da Concordância no Português Brasileiro. In: ROBERTS, I.; KATO, M. **Português Brasileiro: Uma Viagem Diacrônica**. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1993. p. 387-408.

_____. V-movement, levels of representation and the Structure of S. **Letras de Hoje**, 96, p. 35-58, 1994.

_____. **Ensaio sobre as gramáticas do português**. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2001.

GARZONIO, J.; POLETO, C. When low adverbs are high. On adverb movement in Abruzzese. **Quaderni di lavoro ASIIt**, 17, p. 19-34, 2014.

KATO, M.; NEGRÃO, E. (Eds.). **Brazilian Portuguese and the Null Subject Parameter**. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2000.

KATO, M.; DUARTE, M. E. L.; CYRINO, S. M. L. Visible Subjects and Invisible Clitics in Brazilian Portuguese. In: KATO, M.; NEGRÃO, E. (Eds.). **Brazilian Portuguese and the Null Subject Parameter**. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, p. 55-73, 2000.

KAYNE, R. S. **Movement and Silence**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

KOENEMAN, O.; ZEIJLSTRA, H. The Rich Agreement Hypothesis Rehabilitated. **Linguistic Inquiry**, 45, n. 4, p. 571-615, 2014.

LACERDA, R. **Quantificadores flutuantes no português brasileiro**. 2012. 137 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2012.

LAENZLINGER, C. **Elements of Comparative Generative Grammar: a Cartographic Approach**. Padova: Unipress, 2011.

LOPES ROSSI, M. A. G. Estudo diacrônico sobre as interrogativas do português do Brasil. In: ROBERTS, I.; KATO, M. (Eds.). **Português Brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica**. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1993. p. 307-342.

LOPES, A. C. M. Elementos para uma análise semântica das construções com *já*. In: CASTRO, I.; DUARTE, I. (Org.). **Razões e Emoção. Miscelânea de estudos em homenagem a Maria Helena Mira Mateus**. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2003. p. 411-428.

MARTINS, A. M. Double realization of verbal copies in European Portuguese emphatic affirmation. In: CORVER, N.; NUNES, J. (Eds.). **The Copy Theory of Movement**. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007. p. 77-118.

MATOS, G.; CYRINO, S. M. L. Elipse de VP no Português Europeu e no Português Brasileiro. **Boletim da ABRALIN**, 26, special issue, p. 386-390, 2001.

MODESTO, M. **On the Identification of Null Arguments**. 2000. 191 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Universidade Sagrado Coração, Bauru, 2000.

MOURA, M. D. Variação em Sintaxe. In: MOURA, M. D.; FARIAS, J. (Org.). **Reflexões sobre a sintaxe do português**. Maceió: EDUFAL, 2005. p. 47-71.

NUNES, J. Inherent case as a licensing condition for A-movement: The case of hyper-raising constructions in Brazilian Portuguese. **Journal of Portuguese Linguistics**, 7-2, p. 83-108, 2008.

OLIVEIRA E OLIVEIRA, I. **Aquisição do português brasileiro como língua estrangeira: o movimento do verbo.** 1999. 137 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1999.

PAGOTTO, E. G. **A posição dos clíticos em Português: um estudo diacrônico.** 1992. 179 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1992.

PIRES, A. Verb movement and clitics: variation and change in Portuguese. In: BATLLORI, M. *et al.* (Eds.). **Grammaticalization and Parametric Variation.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. p. 48-59.

POLETO, C. The analysis of the passé surcomposé: a hypothesis on sentence structure formation. **University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics**, 2, p. 1-24, 1992.

POLLOCK, J.-Y. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. **Linguistic Inquiry**, 20(3), p. 365-474, 1989.

RIZZI, L. The fine structure of left periphery. In: HAEGMAN, L. (Ed.). **Elements of Grammar.** Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 1997. p. 282-337.

_____. Relativized minimality effects. In: BALTIN, M.; COLLINS, C. (Eds.). **The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory.** Oxford: Blackwell, 2001. p. 89-110.

_____. Locality and Left Periphery. In: BELLETTI, A. (Ed.). **Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures**, v.3. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. p. 223-251.

_____. On the Form of Chains: Criterial Positions and ECP Effects. In: CHENG, L.; CORVER, N. (Eds.). **Wh-Movement: Moving on.** Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006. p. 97-133.

RIZZI, L.; CINQUE, G. Functional Categories and Syntactic Theory. **Annu. Rev. Linguist.**, p. 139-163, 2016.

ROBERTS, I.; KATO, M. (Org.). **Português Brasileiro: Uma Viagem Diacrônica.** Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1993.

RODRIGUES, C. Morphology and Null Subjects in Brazilian Portuguese. In: LIGHTFOOT, D. (Ed.). **Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change.** New York: OUP, 2002. p. 160-178.

ROHRBACHER, B. **Morphology-driven Syntax: A Theory of V to I Raising and Pro-drop.** Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999.

SAFIR, K. Inflection-government and Inversion. **The Linguistic Review** 1, p. 417-467, 1982.

SILVA, C. R. T. Morfologia flexional e movimento do verbo em português: por uma análise unificada a partir da proposta vickneriana. **Revista do GELNE**, v. 11, p. 1-18, 2009.

SILVA, G. V. **Word order in Brazilian Portuguese**. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001.

SILVA, M. C. F. **A posição sujeito no português brasileiro: frases finitas e infinitivas**. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 1996.

SPORTICHE, D. A Theory of Floating Quantifiers and Its Corollaries for Constituent Structure. **Linguistic Inquiry**, 19 (3), p. 425-449, 1988.

STOWELL, T. **Origins of Phrase Structure**. PhD Dissertation, MIT, 1981.

TESCARI NETO, A. **On Verb Movement in Brazilian Portuguese: A Cartographic Study**. PhD Dissertation, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, 2013.

_____. O quantificador universal *todos* e o movimento do verbo. To be published by DELTA. [forthcoming]

VICENTE, H. S. G. **O Quantificador Flutuante ‘Todos’ no Português Brasileiro e no Inglês: uma Abordagem Gerativa**. PhD Dissertation, University of Brasília.