

THE POSITION OF THE VERB WITH RESPECT TO THE
ADVERB *SEMPRE* OVER FOUR CENTURIES:
DIAGNOSIS FOR THE (LOSS OF HIGH) VERB
MOVEMENT IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE*

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ABSTRACT In the Generative Grammar literature, several works suggest that Brazilian Portuguese had lost some kind of verb movement by the end of the 19th century. The position of the adverb *sempre* in relation to V is commonly used as a diagnosis for the difference between European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP): while the former has a default order V_ *sempre*, where the verb is to the left of the adverb *sempre*, the latter has the order *sempre*_V. In this paper, I look into the history (18th to the 21st century) of the order of V in BP with respect to the different meanings of the adverb *sempre*. Results show that the confirmatory reading of *sempre* was once part of the BP system, but it disappeared by the end of the 19th century. For the temporal/aspectual interpretation of *sempre*, there are two paradigms throughout history: the first one, between the 18th and 19th century, has all kinds of verbal elements located to the left of *sempre*, and the second one, between the end of the 19th and the 21st century, has only functional verbs moving to a higher position than temporal/aspectual *sempre*. This changing pattern suggests loss of verb movement to a high position. I also argue that the loss of verb movement does not mean the verb in BP no longer moves; its position to the left of a pattern of behaviour/iterative *sempre*, an interpretation that has been increasing since its first occurrence in 1845, is evidence that the verb still moves. This paper provides evidence that BP verbs have lost movement to a high position but still move to a low position in the clausal spine.

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1 INTRODUCTION

One of the many differences between Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and European Portuguese (EP) concerns the position of the adverb *sempre* ‘always’ in relation to the verb (V). This is because this adverb in its primary reading, i.e., a temporal/aspectual one, can appear either preverbally or postverbally: BP has the former order as the default (*sempre_V*), whereas EP has the latter (*V_sempre*). Things become more complicated because *sempre* in synchrony has at least four interpretations (see §2 for details). Three of them are available for EP: the confirmatory reading (1-a)¹, the speech-act reading (1-b), and the temporal/aspectual reading (1-c). BP solely shares the temporal/aspectual reading (1-c) with EP, and has an ‘pattern of behaviour/iterative’ interpretation (1-d).

- (1) a. *O João sempre vai / foi a Paris de comboio.* (EP, *BP)
 the João really go.IND.PRS.3.SG / go.IND.PST.3.SG to Paris by train
 ‘J. really/indeed goes/went to Paris by train.’ (Ambar, Gonzaga & Negrão 2004: 2)
- b. *Sempre quero ver se tens coragem para isso!* (EP, *BP)
 really want.IND.PRS.1.SG see.INF if have.IND.PRS.2.SG courage to this
 ‘I do want to see if you are bold enough to do that.’ (Lopes 1998: 7)
- c. *O João sempre comprou livros na FNAC.* (EP, BP)
 the João always buy.IND.PST.3.SG books at FNAC
 ‘J. has always bought books at FNAC.’ (Ambar et al. 2004: 10)
- d. *Você vem sempre aqui?* (*EP, BP)
 you come.IND.PRS.2.SG frequently here
 ‘Do you come here often?’

It has been claimed that two factors trigger these readings and placements. The first is the tense on the verb: while the default order in EP is the postverbal position of *sempre* with a temporal/aspectual reading regardless of the verb tense (2-c), the preverbal position of the adverb is available only if the verb

¹ Abbreviations employed in the examples are: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; PL = plural; SG = singular; CL = clitic; RFL = reflexive; IND = indicative; IMP = imperative; SBJV = subjunctive; PRS = present; PST = past; FUT = future; PF = perfective; IPF = imperfective; INF = infinitive; GER = gerund; PTCP = participle; ACC = accusative; DAT = dative; AUX = auxiliary; F = feminine; M = masculine.

is in the past tense (Ambar et al. 2004: 3). Hence, example (2-a) is marked as ungrammatical in BP (*BP). Notably, this constraint is not a condition of licensing in BP: the lexical verb is, roughly speaking, always to the right of *sempre* (2-a)–(2-c). Thus, the order of *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} around V is summarised in (3) (see also Table 1).

- (2) a. *O João sempre compra livros na FNAC.* (*EP, ^{default}BP)
 the João always buy.IND.PRS.3.SG books at FNAC
 'J. always buys books at FNAC.' (Ambar et al. 2004: 10)
- b. *O João sempre comprou livros na FNAC.* (EP, ^{default}BP)
 the João always buy.IND.PST.3.SG books at FNAC
 'J. has always bought books at FNAC.' (Ambar et al. 2004: 10)
- c. *O João vai / foi sempre a Paris de comboio.* (^{default}EP, #/*BP)
 the J. go.IND.PRS.3.SG / go.IND.PST.3.SG always to Paris by train
 'J. always goes/went to Paris by train.' (Ambar et al. 2004: 3)
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>sempre_V</i> | <i>V_sempre</i> |
| (3) | Brazilian Portuguese default | marked |
| | European Portuguese past/*present | default |

Within GENERATIVE GRAMMAR, the second factor regards verb movement, a syntactic operation that yields the surface position of the verb. Roughly, the different readings of the adverb *sempre* depend on the ordering in relation to the verb: in line with the Cartographic approach (Cinque 1999), assuming *sempre* is unmovable and lexicalises different fixed positions (see §3 for details), the temporal/aspectual interpretation of the adverb is licensed by the postverbal position of *sempre* in EP. In BP, by contrast, the temporal/aspectual reading of *sempre* is only triggered by the preverbal position (considering lexical verbs). Thus, one way to derive that variation is to claim that the verb moves higher in EP than in BP. The basic idea is that temporal/aspectual *sempre* is base-generated in a position below the T(ense) functional projection; then the default order *sempre_V* in BP demonstrates that the verb moves to a position below T. In contrast, EP displays a default reading with the verb to the left of the adverb *V_sempre*, suggesting that V moves to T (or higher than the position *sempre* is base-merged) and consequently higher than in BP. This variation in the order of *sempre* was always an indication of higher/lower verb movement in these two varieties of Portuguese.

As indicated above, the topic of whether the verb is to the right or to the left of the adverb *sempre* in BP has striking syntactic consequences. Based on the *sempre_V* versus the *V_sempre* order, some syntactic proposals have been

put forward based on this lack/presence of high movement (Cyrino & Matos 2002, Cyrino 2013, Schifano 2018). Below, I illustrate some of them.

One proposal regarding verb movement is Cyrino's (2013). Assuming that the tense/inflection phrase has two projections (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997), TP₁ and TP₂, the former above the latter, Cyrino (2013) also proposes that the verb in BP moves lower than the verb in EP. Evidence for this claim, Cyrino (2013) shows, concerns the adverb *sempre* with a temporal/aspectual reading being adjoined to TP₂; thus, if the verb moves to T₁, the adverb is in postverbal position. This mimics the pattern of EP (see (4-b)) and is contrary to BP, where the verb moves as high as T₂ (see (4-a)).

- (4) a. [TP₁[TP₂ *sempre* [T₂ *comia* [vP <comia>]]]]] (BP) (Adapted from Cyrino's 2013 (20b) example)
 b. [TP₁ *comia* [TP₂ *sempre* [T₂ <comia> [vP <comia>]]]]] (EP) (Adapted from Cyrino's 2013 (20b) example)

Another syntactic proposal is presented in Cyrino & Matos' (2002), for whom verbal phrase (VP) ellipsis² is triggered in both varieties of Portuguese when the main verb leaves the VP (or *vP*) and moves to the TAM (tense, aspect and mode) field, leaving a copy and, later on, being deleted along with its complements and adjuncts. Observing that VP ellipsis is possible in EP and BP, albeit with some structural differences, it is proposed that the licenser of VP ellipsis in the former as being T, but in the latter as being a lower position, Asp(ectual)³. With several pieces of evidence on hand, they hypothesise that this difference is correlated to "the loss of unrestricted Generalised Verb Movement" (Cyrino & Matos 2002: 193) in the Brazilian variety.

Taking into consideration the syntax of the adverb *sempre*, one could see a correlation with Cyrino & Matos's (2002) account on VP ellipsis: Because the verb does not move to T, yielding the order *sempre_V*, it licenses VP ellipsis below T as in BP; in contrast, the movement of the verb to T triggers the default ordering of V_*sempre* and, accordingly, the licensing of VP ellipsis in T, as in EP (but see Schifano 2018).

2 From Cyrino & Matos' (2002: 181) (13) example:

- (i) *Ontem ele não tinha ainda lido esse artigo, mas hoje, quando telefonei, já tinha*
 Yesterday he not had yet read that paper, but today, when phoned, already had
 [VP *lido esse artigo*]
 [VP read that paper]
 'Yesterday he had not read that paper yet, but today, when I phoned, he already had.'

3 Considering a structure such the following:

- (i) [TP [T VP elision site in EP][AspP[Asp VP elision site in BP][v-VP]]].

An additional proposal that sharply separates BP from EP and considers the position of the verb regarding *sempre* to support its claim is Schifano's (2018). In her research, BP has everything a language needs to move its verb to T (and even higher); however, the order *sempre_V* is one big piece of evidence suggesting that BP verb movement is different and, owing to that, is outside the Romance verb movement hierarchy parameter. Schifano supports the fact that BP would be outside the verb movement hierarchy presenting some independent properties that also set it apart the Romance scenario, such as the reorganisation of the pronominal system, number of person/number distinction in the verbal paradigm reduction. In BP the finite indicative does not precede temporal/aspectual *sempre*, whereas the lexical infinitive, the subjunctive, and the auxiliary of the counterfactual conditional perfect do – patterns considered residual –; this pattern mimics “the behaviour of the low and very low-movement varieties investigated” (Schifano 2018: 250) among the Romance languages. Once again, the loss of verb movement and consequently the impossibility of the (default) order *V_sempre* in synchrony, Schifano (2018: 250) postulates, seems to be an account for the puzzle: “The diachronic perspective, however, can shed some light on this issue. [...] B. Portuguese has been undergoing dramatic morphosyntactic changes in the twentieth century, including the loss of verb movement [...]”

The placement of *sempre* in relation to the verb has led Generative Grammars to propose different approaches that have to do with verb movement in the two varieties of Portuguese in synchrony, even going as far as setting BP apart from the common Romance language parametric hierarchy (as Schifano does). However, it is not clear whether the ordering of *sempre* in BP has always been the default setting, since there is no work attesting to the loss of verb movement in BP concerning the adverb *sempre*, nor whether all four readings for *sempre* attested in synchrony apply to the diachrony. For instance, (Galves 1994: 45) suggests that both preverbal and postverbal positions of *sempre* are possible in BP; nonetheless, she does not consider the different readings associated with the adverb.

In investigating the order of *sempre* with respect to V over time, this paper offers empirical support for the statement that Brazilian Portuguese has lost (high) verb movement. Thus, I invite the readers to see this work as a diachronic analysis of the distribution and interpretation of the adverb *sempre* in BP: It will not be possible to address an extensive discussion of what triggers verb movement in BP, nor why some movement is retained since it will be outside the scope of this paper. My aim, as mentioned above, is to provide diachronic empirical evidence of the supposed difference in the verb placement regarding the adverb *sempre*, which supports the theoretical claim

of loss of (high) verb movement in the language. In summary, the present study aims to update the discussion on the verb movement in BP from a diachronic point of view, and to demonstrate that BP verbs have lost (high) verb movement using the adverb *sempre* as evidence. I hypothesise that, if BP has lost generalised verb movement, as suggested and assumed in several previous works (Cyrino 2013, Cyrino & Lopes 2016: a.o.), one could recognise a period in which V was located to the left of *sempre*, displaying a high movement (arguably to T), and another period in which V was to the right of the adverb, spelling out the loss of (high) movement.

To provide an empirical ground to that discussion, I analysed comedy plays from the 18th to the 21st century, focusing on the position of *sempre* in relation to the kind of verbal element it is merged to (a non-finite verb, an auxiliary, a lexical verb), since scholars have shown that lexical verbs, infinitives, gerunds, participles, subjunctives and auxiliary verb movement behave differently (see Pollock 1989, Cinque 1999, Schifano 2018, Ledgeway 2012, Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014). Additionally, I also focused my attention on the tense on the verb and the different interpretations associated with the adverb.

This diachronic work is organised as follows: in §2, I present the readings associated with the adverb *sempre* in BP and in EP and the restrictions related to the ordering in each case. In §3, I indicate the theoretical background adopted. The corpus data, results and discussion are in §4. Then, in §5, I suggest a tentative analysis that correlates the loss of verb movement evidenced by the position of the adverb *sempre* to the analyticisation process in BP. Finally, in §6, I draw some conclusions.

2 SYNCHRONY OF *SEMPRE*: MULTIPLE INTERPRETATIONS

Sempre triggers different interpretations in synchrony, including a (i) confirmatory, (ii) speech act, (iii) temporal/aspectual, and (iv) pattern of behaviour/iterative reading. In this section, we take a deeper look at each interpretation and feature some restrictions associated with this variable behaviour of the adverb, such as ordering with respect to the verb and tense on the verb.

The first interpretation is the confirmatory reading, which quantifies the point of view, reinforcing the speaker's confidence about what is being said (Lopes 1998, Ambar et al. 2004, Ambar 2008, Tescari Neto 2013). This interpretation is commonly associated with the English correspondent *truly, really, indeed, after all*, and is only available in EP in a preverbal position (Gonzaga 1997: 159), regardless of the tense on the verb, as the following examples show:

The position of the verb with respect to the adverb *sempre* over four centuries

- (5) a. *A: As nossas expectativas sobre o vencedor*
 A: the our expectations about the winner
confirmaram-se?
 confirm.IND.PST.3.PL=CL.RFL
 ‘Have our expectations about the winner been confirmed?’
B: Sim, a Patrícia sempre ganhou o prêmio.
 B: yes, the Patrícia always win.IND.PST.3.SG the award
 ‘Yes, P. has indeed won the award.’ (Tescari Neto 2013: 157)
- b. *O João sempre construiu a casa!*
 the João always build.IND.PST.3.SG the house!
 ‘J. indeed built the house.’ (Fiéis 2010: 77)
- c. *O João sempre vai / foi a Paris de comboio.*
 the João always go.IND.PRS.3.SG / go.IND.PST.3.SG to Paris of train
 ‘J. really/indeed goes/went to Paris by train.’ (Ambar et al. 2004: 2)

The second interpretation is the speech act or pragmatic reading which conveys a modal value, and is solely available in EP. It determines the illocutionary force of the sentence (see Lopes 1998, Tescari Neto 2013), establishing the relation between the speaker/hearer and the utterance in the propositional content. Typically, in this reading, the adverb is also in a preverbal position and is nearly equivalent to *really*, *honestly*, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. *Sempre me saíste um aldrabão!*
 really me leave.IND.PRS.2.SG a bullshitter
 ‘You are a real bullshitter.’ (Lopes 1998: 7)
- b. *Sempre quero ver se tens coragem para isso!*
 really want.IND.PRS.1.SG see.INF if have.IND.PRS.2.SG courage to this
 ‘I do want to see if you are bold enough to do that.’ (Lopes 1998: 7)

Third, shared by both varieties of Portuguese, the temporal/aspectual interpretation is the central interpretation conveyed by *sempre*. It triggers the quantification over the event (see Ambar et al. 2004, Tescari Neto 2013), as in (7), in which “In all the events of drinking that took place in his life, John drank in them” (Ambar et al. 2004: 3). In EP, the default order is *V_sempre*, regardless of the tense on the verb, whereas *sempre* in a preverbal position is possible, although receiving a focus reading, solely when V is in the past tense.

- (7) a. *O João bebe sempre (*bebe).*
 the João drink.IND.PRS.3.SG always (drink.IND.PRS.3.SG)
 'J. always drinks.'
- b. *O João bebeu sempre (bebeu).*
 the J. (drink.IND.PST.3.SG) always drink.IND.PST.3.SG
 'J. always drank.'
- (8) a. *O João compra sempre (*compra) livros na*
 the J. buy.IND.PRS.3.SG always (buy.IND.PRS.3.SG) books at
 FNAC
 FNAC
 'J. always buys books at FNAC.' (Ambar et al. 2004: 10)
- b. *O João comprou sempre (^{focus}comprou) livros na*
 the J. buy.IND.PST.3.SG always (buy.IND.PST.3.SG) books at
 FNAC.
 FNAC
 'J. always bought books at FNAC.' (Ambar et al. 2004: 10)

In BP, the picture is somewhat different because tense is not crucial to the placement of the adverb: the default order is *sempre_V* regardless of tense, while *V_sempre* is pragmatically marked for temporal/aspectual reading and favors a pattern of behaviour/iterative interpretation.

- (9) a. *João sempre correu / corre de casaco.*
 J. always run.IND.PST.3.SG / run.IND.PRS.3.SG of coat
 'J always ran/runs in his coat.'
- b. *#João corre / correu sempre de casaco.*
 J. run.IND.PRS.3.SG / run.IND.PST.3.SG always of coat
 'J. runs/ran always in his coat.'

Finally, *sempre* can be interpreted as a pattern of behaviour with an iterative reading, which seems to be available only in BP. English correlates to this interpretation of *sempre* are *regularly*, *frequently*. According to Ambar et al. (2004) and Tescari Neto (2013), this reading is conveyed when the adverb is in a postverbal position. Again, unlike the order, verbal tense seems not to be a variable playing any role in that.

- (10) a. *O João compra / comprou sempre livros na*
 the J. buy.IND.PRS.3.SG / buy.IND.PST.3.SG always books at
 FNAC.
 FNAC
 'J. always buys/bought books at FNAC.' (Ambar et al. 2004: 10)

The position of the verb with respect to the adverb *sempre* over four centuries

- b. *A Ana anda sempre de carro.*
 the A. walk.IND.PRS.3.SG always of car
 'A. gets around by car regularly.' (Tescari Neto 2013: 165)
- c. *Você vem sempre aqui?*
 you come.IND.PRS.2.SG always here
 'Do you come here often?'

In sum, some interpretations of *sempre* are available only in EP, such as the confirmatory and pragmatic reading, whereas the pattern of behaviour/iterative reading is available only in BP. Notwithstanding, both varieties share the temporal/aspectual interpretation.

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, I present the theoretical tools we adopted to analyse the position of the adverb *sempre* with respect to the verb throughout BP history. I demonstrate that the Cartographic framework (Cinque 1999) most accurately accounts for the verb movement.

Within GENERATIVE GRAMMAR, natural languages universally merge the verb with their complement to form the verb phrase (VP). Therefore, the fact that the verb in Romance and Germanic languages differs with respect to some fixed elements such as adverbs and negators, illustrated in (11), could be accounted for by the formal generative syntactic literature by pointing to the absence or presence of verb movement (Edmonds 1978, Pollock 1989, Cinque 1999, Belletti 1990). As argued by Pollock (1989), *often/souvent* are the adjunct of VP. Hence, the fact that the English finite lexical verb obligatorily follows the adverb *often* – unlike the French counterpart *souvent* where the verb must precede it – reveals that in Germanic Languages verbs do not leave VP under syntactic movement, whereas in Romance languages they do.

- (11) a. John (*sleeps) often sleeps early.
 b. Jean dort souvent (*dort) tôt.

Adopting Pollock's (1989) proposal, Cinque (1999) claims that there are approximately 40 fixed and ordered adverbs that semantically lexicalise different Functional Projections, as depicted in (12). Thus, the different order of the verb in relation to those adverbs among languages is taken as a cross-linguistic variation concerning the landing height of verb movement.

- (12) The Universal Hierarchy of Functional Projections of the IP (Cinque 1999, 2006, Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005)
HIGH: [frankly Mood_{SpeechAct} > [luckily Mood_{Evaluative} > [allegedly

Mood_{Evidential} > [probably Mod_{Epistemic} > [once T_{Past} > [then T_{Future}
 > [perhaps Mood_{Irrealis} > [necessarily Mod_{Necessity} > [possibly Mod_{possibility}
 > [usually Asp_{Habitual} > [finally Asp_{Delayed} > [tendentially Asp_{Predispositional}
 > [again Asp_{Repetitive(I)} > [often Asp_{Frequentative(I)} > [willingly Mod_{Volition}
 > [quickly Asp_{Celerative(I)} >
LOW: [already T_{Anterior} > [no longer Asp_{Terminative} > [still Asp_{Continuative}
 > [always Asp_{Perfect} > [just Asp_{Retrospective} > [soon Asp_{Proximative} >
 [briefly Asp_{Durative} > [(?) Asp_{Generic/Progressive} > [almost Asp_{Prospective}
 > [suddenly Asp_{Inceptive} > [obligatorily Mod_{Obligation} > [in vain Asp_{Frustrative}
 > [(?) Asp_{Conative} > [completely Asp_{SgCompleitive(I)} > [everything
 Asp_{PlCompleitive} > [well Voice > [early Asp_{Celerative(II)} > [? Asp_{Inceptive(II)}
 > [again Asp_{Repetitive(II)} > [often Asp_{Frequentative(II)} > ...

Before Cinque (1999), it was assumed that the finite verb in English did not move, given its position in (11). However, within the discipline of the Cartographic Program, this assumption has changed: the English finite lexical verb does move,⁴ but to a lower position in the hierarchy (Cinque 1999, Tescari Neto 2013, Schifano 2018). The following data suggest that the English verb has to move, given its placement to the left of the low adverb *well*, semantically associated with VoiceP (see (12)). Thus, inasmuch as adverbs seem to play an essential role in identifying a more accurate diagnosis of verb movement (Jones 1996, Roberts 2007, Tescari Neto 2013, 2012, Schifano 2018, Harwood 2014, Cinque 2006, Beninca 2001, Cinque & Rizzi 2008, Haeberli & Ihsane 2016), I adopt Cinque's (1999) proposal.

(13) John sings well (*sings).

Within the wealth of Cartographic literature on the Romance verb movement, Schifano (2018) summarises classic works and adds new evidence to the variation regarding verb placement/verb-movement across the (non)standard Romance varieties. Even though it was commonly assumed in the literature on verb-movement that the 'Germanic-versus-Romance' contrast was attributed to the lack and presence of verb movement, there is in fact a four macro-typology of verb-placement within Romance languages. For example, considering Cinque's (1999) hierarchy in (12), we find that while lexical verbs in French display high movement (given its mandatory position to the left of all adverbs below *déjà* 'already' (a examples below), in EP lexical verbs precede only adverbs below *always* (b examples below). For BP, lexical verbs move lower, given their placement to the right of *já* 'already', *ainda* 'still' and *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} 'always' (c examples below). This is different from EP,

⁴ See Roberts (2017) for a discussion.

where verbs have the default placement to the left of *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} ‘always’.

- (14) a. (FR) Marie connaît déjà (*connaît) cette histoire.
 b. (EP) Maria (*conhece) já conhece essa história.
 c. (BP) Maria (*conhece) já conhece essa história.
 M. knows already knows this story
 ‘M. already knows this story.’
- (15) a. (FR) Antoine dort encore (*dort).
 b. (EP) Antônio (*dorme) ainda dorme.
 c. (BP) Antônio (*dorme) ainda dorme.
 A. sleeps still sleeps
 ‘A. is still sleeping.’
- (16) a. (FR) Antoine oublie toujours (*oublie) les clés.
 b. (EP) Antônio esquece sempre (*esquece) as chaves.
 c. (BP) Antônio (*esquece) sempre esquece as chaves.
 A. forgets always forgets the keys
 ‘A. always forgets the keys.’
- (17) a. (FR) Antoine lit complètement (*lit) le livre.
 b. (EP) Antônio lê completamente (*lê) o livro.
 c. (BP) Antônio lê completamente (*lê) o livro.
 A. reads completely reads the book
 ‘A. completely reads the book.’

Regarding the different behaviours of *sempre* between BP and EP, several approaches have been suggested in the literature (see Brito 2001, Ambar et al. 2004, Ambar 2008, Ambar, Negrão, Veloso & Graça 2009). Under a cartographic-based approach, I adopt Tescari Neto’s (2013) proposal, which goes in the direction of considering *sempre* as a single lexical item with multiple interpretations, which can be merged into different functional projections. By presenting numerous tests evidencing the phrasal status of the adverb *sempre*, (Tescari Neto 2013: 177–181) claims *sempre* is a phrase, not a head, which enables this adverb to enter the derivation in Spec-like positions, fitting well with Cinque’s (1999) approach that constituents merged in a Spec position semantically match its related functional head.

Hence, quantifying over an event, *sempre* is, according to Tescari Neto (2013), in a higher position in the temporal/aspectual reading, licensing Asp_{CONTINUOUS} (see Cinque’s 1999 hierarchy in (12)). Concerning the confirmatory meaning, it is suggested that this is licensed by a position below Mod_{Epistemic}/ perhaps Mod_{Certainty}P. This is quite interesting because the con-

firmatory interpretation is available for all tenses, which, from a syntactic point of view, is triggered by this *sempre* c-commanding all Tense Projections (Vikner's proposal for tenses is assumed, redesigned by Cinque 1999).

As regards the default order in BP, it is stated that the verb in this language only moves until T_{Anterior} , by having the adverb *sempre* base-merged in $\text{Asp}_{\text{Continuous}} / \text{Asp}_{\text{Perfect}}$, a position between $\text{Asp}_{\text{Repetitive}}$ and $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(I)}}$, the order *sempre_V* is derived. Note that a reading of a pattern of behaviour/iterative is also linked to *sempre*. Tescari Neto (2013) proposes that *sempre* in $\text{Asp}_{\text{Perfect}}$, a lower position than aspectual/temporal *sempre*, licenses the quantifying over a process. This would imply that in BP there could be more than one *sempre* in a sentence: one quantifying the event and the other the process. This is the case in (18), and although it is rarer, it is possible in BP, as Twitter examples in (19) also indicate.

- (18) *Eu sempre encaro sempre ele...*
 I always stare.IND.PRS.1.SG always he
 'I always stare at him regularly.' (Tescari Neto 2013: 196)
- (19) a. *Eu sempre deixo sempre o volume da TV em um*
 I always leave.IND.PRS.1.SG always the volume of TV in a
número redondo ou múltiplo de 5.
 number round or multiple of 5
 'I always leave the TV volume regularly at a round number or at a number multiple of 5.'⁵
- b. *Por que sempre tento sempre fazer todas as vontades*
 by that always try.IND.PRS.1.SG always do.INF all the will
das pessoas?
 of-the people
 'Why do I always try to regularly fulfil people's every wish?'⁶

Additionally, Schifano (2018) assumes the temporal/aspectual *sempre* is lexicalised in the prototypical position suggested by Cinque for the adverb *always*: $\text{Asp}_{\text{Perfect}}\text{P}$, a functional projection below $T_{\text{Anterior}}\text{P}$. As such, the examples support the view expressed in the literature, whereby the verb in BP does not raise past *sempre*, such that it should be analysed as a language where verbs move to a lower position. For the modal interpretations of *sempre*, speech act and confirmatory, Schifano (2018) assumes that they are codified higher up in the structure in $\text{Mood}_{\text{SpeechAct}}\text{P}$. Thus, she explains the difference between BP and EP regarding the position of *sempre* as follows: temporal/aspectual *sempre* has a V_sempre order in EP because its verb moves higher than $\text{Asp}_{\text{Perfect}}\text{P}$,

5 https://twitter.com/_amlima/status/25575273902645248?s=20

6 https://twitter.com/pamoliveiraa_/status/492569650107277312?s=20

different from BP, where the verb does not reach that position. Finally, concerning the pattern of behaviour/iterative interpretation, Schifano does not suggest any specific functional projection but takes it to lexicalise a position below the temporal/aspectual *sempre*, considering Tescari Neto's (2013) proposal.

In a Cinquean model, it is reasonable to assume that the position that would trigger this pattern of behaviour/iterative reading is the one below $\text{Asp}_{\text{Perfect}}\text{P}$, namely, $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}\text{P}$. We take $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}\text{P}$ as lexicalising iterative/pattern of behaviour in BP for its semantic similarity with the meaning of its representative adverb (see Cinque 1999), namely, *often*, which triggers a pattern of behaviour interpretation, that is, a quantification over the process⁷.

Moreover, by comparing this position to the adverbs that c-command $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}\text{P}$, such as *bem* 'well', *cedo* 'early', *de novo* 'again', projected by the ordered functional projections $\text{Voice} > \text{Asp}_{\text{Celerative(II)}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{Repetitive(II)}}$, we see that considering $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}\text{P}$ as lexicalising *sempre* with a pattern of behaviour/iterative reading is reasonable (see (20)). Note that *sempre* with this interpretation follows all those adverbs, which is evidence that all of them indeed c-command *sempre*. In other words, we expect the order *bem* 'well', *cedo* 'early', *de novo* 'again', $>$ *sempre* = 'often' / 'frequently', where $>$ means precedence, with the pattern of behaviour/iterative reading of *sempre*

⁷ Tescari Neto (2013: 113) notes that *com frequência* 'frequently', the adverb semantically associated with $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}$, can only be merged in the lowest position (two positions for frequentative adverbs, $\text{Frequentative}_{(I)}$, higher, and $\text{Frequentative}_{(II)}$, lower, in (12), where the former quantifies over the event and the latter over the process):

- (i) a. *A Mara limpa a casa com frequência.*
The Mara cleans the house with frequency
'Mara cleans the house frequently.'
- b. **/?/? A Mara com frequência limpa a casa.*
The Mara with frequency cleans the house
'Mara frequently cleans the house.'

If we are on the right track, the iterative/pattern of behaviour interpretation of *sempre* is indeed licensed in $\text{Asp}_{\text{Frequentative(II)}}$, given that the same pattern is found: the frequentative reading of *sempre* is only achieved in a postverbal position, as well as the typical $\text{Frequentative}_{(II)}$ adverb *com frequência* 'frequently'.

- (ii) a. *Você (*/?/? sempre) vem sempre aqui?*
you (frequently) come.IND.PRS.3.SG frequently here
'Do you come here frequently?'
- b. *Você (*/?/? com frequência) vem aqui com frequência?*
you (with frequency) come.IND.PRS.3.SG here with frequency
'Do you come here frequently?'

licensed in a very low position.

- (20) a. *Agora que comprei um carro, eu conseguiria te visitar de novo sempre.*
 now that buy.IND.PRS.1.SG a car I can.PST.FUT.3.SG you visit.INF again always(=regularly)
 ‘Now that I have bought a car, I could visit you regularly.’
- b. *João acorda cedo sempre.*
 João wake=up.IND.PRS.3.SG early always(=regularly)
 ‘J. wakes up early regularly.’
- c. *João canta bem sempre.*
 J. sing.IND.PRS.3.SG well always(=regularly)
 ‘J. sings well always.’
- d. *Eu e meu marido, a gente briga, briga, mas, no fim a gente fica bem de novo sempre.*
 I and my husband the people fight.IND.PRS.3.SG fight.IND.PRS.3.SG but in=the end the people stay.IND.PRS.3.SG well again always(=regularly)
 ‘Me and my husband, we fight and fight, but in the end we always get along well again.’

The fact that the pattern of behaviour/iterative *sempre* is always postverbal is evidence for the leaving of the verb from *v*-VP in BP. This obligatorily verb movement is also demonstrated by its position to some very low adverbs, such as *bem* ‘well’ and *completamente* ‘completely’ (see among others Galves 1994, Tescari Neto 2013, Schifano 2018), as the examples in (21) suggest.

- (21) a. *O bolo assou completamente (*assou).*
 the cake bake.IND.PST.3.SG completely (bake.IND.PST.3.SG)
 ‘The cake baked completely.’
- b. *João escreve bem (*escreve).*
 João write.IND.PRS.3.SG well (write.IND.PRS.3.SG)
 ‘J. writes well.’

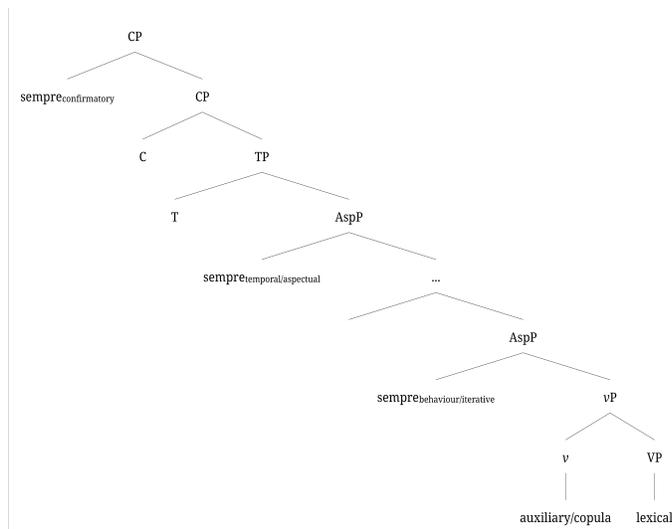
Table 1 synthesises the primary interpretations attributed to the adverb *sempre* and its prototypical variety. Moreover, it presents the central factors related to the syntax of this adverb, such as order and verbal tense, and sums up the functional projections in which *sempre* would lexicalise.

Interpretation of <i>sempre</i>	Variety of Portuguese	Order	Tense	Functional Projection
Confirmative	European	<i>sempre_V</i>	all	Mood _{SpeechAct} ^P
Speech Act	European	<i>sempre_V</i>	all	Mood _{SpeechAct} ^P
Temporal / aspectual	European	<i>V_sempre</i>	present	Asp _{Perfect} ^P
Temporal / aspectual	European	<i>sempre_V</i>	past	Asp _{Perfect} ^P
Temporal / aspectual	Brazilian	<i>sempre_V</i>	all	Asp _{Perfect} ^P
Behaviour / iterative	Brazilian	<i>V_sempre</i>	all	Asp _{Frequentative(II)} ^P

Table 1 Summary of order, tense restriction and functional projection associated with different interpretations of *sempre*

In light of this, we can interpret the composition of *sempre* in the clause structure exposed in Table 1 as lexicalising either the CP field (see Mood_{SpeechAct}^P for confirmative and speech act interpretations), a high AspP field (for the temporal/aspectual readings lexicalised in Asp_{Perfect}^P), or a very low AspP field (see Asp_{Frequentative(II)}^P for the pattern of behaviour / iterative reading). Thus, including TP in this spine, we would face a lean structure such as (22).

(22)



In the next section, we investigate the position of the verb in relation to the adverb *sempre* in the history of BP.

4 DIACHRONY OF *SEMPRE* WITH RESPECT TO THE VERB

4.1 What one knows from previous diachronic research (Fiéis 2010)

Investigating Medieval (12th to 15th century) and Classical Portuguese (16th to 19th century), Fiéis (2010) shows that *sempre* in the Medieval period had only the temporal/aspectual meaning, resembling BP currently, regardless of its syntactic position and verbal tense. Fiéis (2010) also states that *sempre_V* was the most frequent order during this period. Examples in (23) and (24) from Fiéis (2010) feature the ordering of *sempre* with V, in the present or even in the past tense.

- (23) a. *Ca pero que sse estes façã de fora eno*
 for but that REFL these make.SBJV.PRS.3.PL from outside in.the
corpo sempre fica a alma assinaada per
 body always remain.IND.PRS.3.SG the soul signal.PTCP.F.3.SG by
ells.
 them
 ‘For, despite they are made outside the body, the soul is always
 signaled by them.’ (1350?) (Fiéis 2010: 81)
- b. *E, depois que a o muy noble rey dom*
 and after that it.CL.ACC.F.SG the much noble king dom
Fernando ouve tomada, sempre
 Fernando have.AUX.IND.PF.3.SG take.PTCP.F.3.SG always
foy a frontaria muy bem defesa
 be.AUX.IND.PST.3SG the frontispiece very well defend.PTCP.F.3.SG
e segura.
 and secure.PTCP.F.3.SG
 ‘And after noble King Fernando has conquered the frontispiece,
 it was always very well defended and secured.’ (14th century)
 (Fiéis 2010: 81)
- (24) a. *Quando aquellerey of Persya auia de caualgar,*
 when that.king of Persia have.AUX.IND.PST.IPF.3.SG to ride.INF
logo Ualeriano se amergia, e tal guisa que
 then Ualeriano CL-RFL emerge.IND.PST.PF.3.SG in a way that
decima das costas delle caualgaua sempre aquel rey,
 from the back of.his ride.IND.PST.IPF.3.SG always that king
poendo os pee ecima delle.
 put.GER the feet on him
 ‘When the king of Persia had to ride, Valeriano emerged in a way
 that the king always used to ride on his back.’ (15th century)
 (Fiéis 2010: 84)

The position of the verb with respect to the adverb *sempre* over four centuries

- b. *seguro-o* *que se* *nom*
 assure.IND.PRS.1SG=HIM.CL.ACC.3.SG that CL.REFL not
garde *de mim, ante o* *guardarei* *eu*
 guard.IMP.3.SG from me rather him.CL.ACC keep.IND.FUT.1.SG I
sempre.
 always
 ‘I assure him that he must not protect himself from me rather
 that I will always protect him.’ (15th century) (Fiéis 2010: 83)

Fiéis (2010) claims that both orderings were observed for the temporal / aspectual meaning of *sempre* concerning the Classical period. Furthermore, *sempre* with a confirmatory reading appeared in the corpus in this period for the first time, as the following examples illustrate. Following Costa (2004), Fiéis (2010) assumes that some adverbs have unambiguous meaning and thus must be free in the sentence, while others are ambiguous, and the position in the sentence sets their interpretation⁸. Changing the order does not affect the meaning of temporal/aspectual *sempre* because this adverb in Medieval Portuguese was inherently temporal/aspectual; thus, its position was free.

- (25) a. *Esperamos* *que com tantos desenganos* *se*
 hope.IND.PRS.1PL that with many enlightenings CL-RFL
lhe *abram* *os olhos e* *que*
 him.CL.DAT open.SBJV.PRS.3.PL the eyes and that
acabem *de vir* *em algum acomodamento, que*
 finish.SBJV.PRS.3.PL to come.INF in some settlement that
sempre *será* *melhor que a continuação da*
 after all/always be.IND.FUT.3.SG better than the continuation of
guerra.
 war
 ‘We hope that they become enlightened and settle down. After
 all, that will be better than continuing this war.’ / ‘We hope that
 they become enlightened and settle down. That will always be
 better than continuing this war.’ (1608) (Fiéis 2010: 91)
- b. *Minhas tias, que sempre* *conservaram* *a casa*
 my aunts that always/after all keep.IND.PST.3.PL the house

⁸ The example given is the difference between *ontem* ‘yesterday’, which is inherently interpreted as ‘the day before today’, and *estupidamente* ‘stupidly’, of which the meaning is ambiguous: it has either a manner-reading (‘in a stupid manner’) or a subject-oriented reading (‘it was stupid of X to do Y’). As a result, Costa (2004) says that the first adverb is free in the sentence, while the latter has a fixed position: the manner interpretation cannot be to the left of finite V, contrary to the subject-oriented reading, which is only grammatically positioned to its left.

da Cordoaria, de D. Joaquim=de=Saldanha
of-the Cordoaria of D. Joaquim=de=Saldanha
fizeram, com que de novo para ali fossemos
make.IND.PST.3.PL with that once again to there go.SBJV.IPF.1.PL
residir.
live.INF
‘My aunts, who after all/always kept the house of the Cordoaria
of D. Joaquim de Saldanha, made us go live there again.’ (1861)
(Fiéis 2010: 92)

The rigid order of *sempre* in relation to V starts in the Classical Period, where the adverb becomes ambiguous. Then, the different interpretation would be derived by its position in the sentence: “Somewhere during the history of Portuguese there was a specialisation of the adverb *sempre*, which led to its syntactic placement deriving its meaning” (Fiéis 2010: 102).

4.2 The Corpus

I analysed Brazilian Portuguese plays⁹ published from the 18th century to the 21st century. They come from a morphologically annotated subcorpus (size: 233,183 words) included in the Tycho Brahe Corpus (Galves, Andrade & Faria 2017). My sample comprises 13 plays written between 1737 and 2007 by authors born in Brazil. The authors are mainly from the Rio de Janeiro state region, and are considered by plays scholars as popular authors who tried to represent people’s everyday conversation.

4.3 Criteria for data collection

I searched for the word *sempre* in 13 plays, which produced some undesired results. In some cases, *sempre* was used not as a single item but as an adverbial expression, such as *para sempre* ‘forever’, *nem sempre* ‘not always’ or *como sempre* ‘as always’, *desde sempre* ‘since forever’. These cases were manually removed from the data set, since these expressions with *sempre* are not

⁹ The authors and texts are the following (the date refers to the publication year of the texts): Antonio José da Silva (1737) ‘Guerra do Alecrim e da Manjerona’; Antonio José da Silva (1759) ‘Vida de Dom Quixote de la Mancha’; Domingos Caldas Barbosa (1798) ‘Viola de Lerenó’; Martins Pena (1845) ‘O noviço’; José de Alencar (1857) ‘O demônio familiar’; França Junior (1883) ‘Caiu o ministério’; Artur de Azevedo (1891) ‘O tribofe’; Gastão Tojeiro (1920) ‘Onde canta o sabiá’; Gianfrancisco Guarnieri (1957) ‘Eles não usam blak-tie’; Miguel Falabella (1990) ‘A partilha’; Paulo Gustavo (2006) ‘Minha mãe é uma peça’; Paulo Sacaldassy (2007) ‘Fulana, Sicrana e Beltrana’. For full references on each text, please see <http://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/~tycho/corpus/en/index.html>

equivalent to *sempre* alone.

The automatic search also yielded some cases of *sempre* modifying neither an event nor a process, but a noun/adjective phrase (e.g., *A mesma implicante de sempre!* (2007) ‘The same tease as always!’). Additionally, it was impossible to verify the adverb position in cases where there was no verb in the sentence (e.g., *hoje em dia não, sempre!* (2007) ‘Not today, always!’). Such cases were excluded in my analysis.

In the Romance verb-movement literature, scholars attest to differences regarding verb placement depending on the kind of verb. For instance, Pollock’s (1989) classic work shows in French variation of this sort, where finite verbs target a high position while infinitives remain low. In the same vein, subjunctives, copulas, lexical verbs and auxiliaries seem to display different patterns of verb placement (see Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014, Schifano 2018). To capture this possible behaviour difference throughout the BP verb movement history, we specified the kind of verb, when relevant, as infinitive, gerund, participle, subjunctive, copulas, auxiliary and lexical verb¹⁰. We only considered non-finite verbs when selected by a functional verb, but not their independent use as subject clauses, for instance. Finally, since one finds micro-variation as for the temporal specification of the verb not only regarding verb movement (see Schifano 2018) but also regarding the reading triggered by the adverb *sempre* (see §2), we also included this distinction in my analysis.

4.4 Results and discussion

Contemporary BP has the default order *sempre_V* in the temporal/aspectual meaning. At the same time, this variety of Portuguese, contrary to EP, does not have a confirmatory/speech act interpretation. Remember that the interpretation of *sempre* is strikingly dependent on its syntactic position. The aim of this paper is to observe the ordering of *sempre* along BP’s history. To do that, we present general results and factors that seem to play a role in this configuration, such as verbal tense and kind of verb.

As a general result, including all the readings associated with *sempre* and all kinds of verb, we found 145 occurrences of the adverb, of which 86 preceded the verb, while 59 followed it. Figure 1 illustrates the general results of the preverbal or postverbal placement of *sempre* from the 18th century to the 21st century. The graph makes it clear that from the end of the 19th century (1883), the order *V_sempre* started to decline – this order had ups and downs

¹⁰ We included verbs considered “semi-functional”, such as *querer* ‘to want’, and the aspectual *andar* ‘to walk’ in the group of lexical verbs, for they have a mixed behaviour, even though they display some functional properties.

along the 20th and 21st centuries but remained the default.

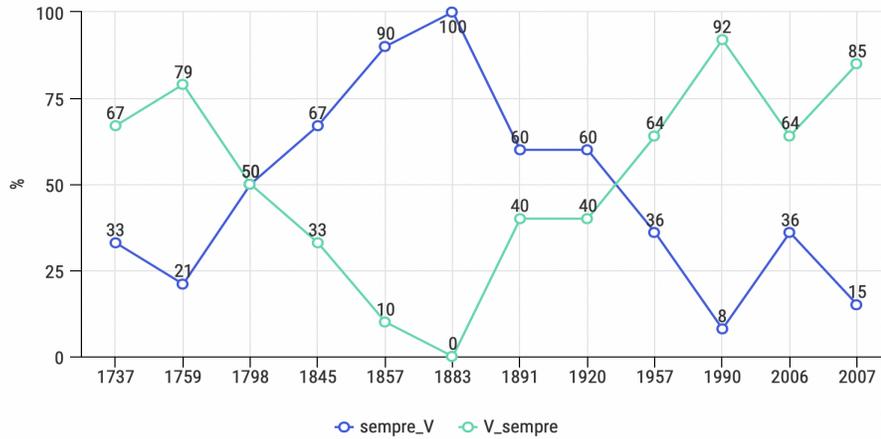


Figure 1 % of *sempre* placement in relation to the verb from the 18th to the 21st century

From a syntactic point of view, if, in general, the *V_sempre* order is a consequence of verb movement, the general results support that Brazilian Portuguese started to lose some sort of verb movement from the end of the 19th century, in 1883, decreasing sharply from 1920. By the 20th and 21st centuries, the placement *V_sempre*, illustrated in Figure 1, is a consequence of a lower verb movement, where the verb still moves, but to a lower position where *sempre* lexicalises the pattern of behaviour/iterative interpretation, as seen in section 2. Of course, these general results exclude essential variables such as verbal tense and the ambiguous meaning of the adverb.

4.4.1 Results concerning the confirmatory/assertive interpretation of *sempre*

Confirmatory/assertive interpretation of *sempre* is conveyed by the lexicalisation of the highest functional projection in the syntactic tree, namely, CP (see also (22)). Therefore, we would expect that its position would always precede the verb (*sempre_V*), as in European Portuguese. Indeed, in all the results of this reading, the adverb was preverbal. The sample in the corpus is in (26), where assertive/confirmatory reading of *sempre* can be attested by the context: in all cases, it means essentially *truly, really, indeed* or *after all*.

- (26) a. *mas para que tudo não sejam ossos,*
 but for that everything not be.SUB.PRS.3.PL bones
vamos levando esta escada, que sempre valerá
 go.IND.PRS.3.PL take.GER this ladder that indeed COST.IND.FUT.3.SG
alguma cousa.
 some thing
 ‘but so that everything is not bones, we will take this ladder,
 which will indeed be worth something.’ (1737)
- b. *e assim sempre te venho a matar.*
 and thus indeed CL come.IND.PRS.1.SG to kill.INF
 ‘and so I indeed come to kill you.’ (1759)
- c. *Eu enfim sempre sou homem / Ela enfim sempre*
 I finally really be.IND.PRS.1.SG man / she finally really
é mulher.
 be.IND.PRS.3.SG woman
 ‘I am really a man at last / She is really a woman at last.’ (1798)
- d. *Seu=Gouveia sempre apareceu?*
 Seu=Gouveia indeed appear.IND.PST.3.SG
 ‘Has Seu Gouveia indeed appeared?’ (1891)
- e. (Context: Eduardo and Azevedo are talking about Azevedo’s marriage. Eduardo does not believe his friend will get married since he is a celibacy enthusiast. Eduardo says: *Ora quem diria que aquele Azevedo, que eu conheci tão volúvel, tão apologista do celibato...* ‘Who would say that Azevedo that I knew so light-minded, so apologist for celibacy’. Next, Azevedo replies: *E ainda sou, meu amigo; dou-te de conselho que não te cases. O celibato é o verdadeiro estado!* ‘And I still am, my friend; I advise you: do not get married. Celibacy is the true spirit’. Then, Eduardo asks him if he really decided to get marry, given the absence of enthusiasm:)
Mas enfim sempre te resolveste a casar?
 but anyway really CL decide.IND.PST.3.SG to marry.INF
 ‘But did you really decide to get married?’¹¹ (1857)

11 The dialogue that follows Eduardo’s question clarifies that this *sempre* has a confirmatory reading. Azevedo answers him that he has some reasons to get married (*Certas razões!* ‘I have some reasons!’), which is not for love since he claims it is impossible to love someone, let alone his future wife. One more time, Eduardo asks if his friend is getting married for money, receiving a no as an answer. Again, Eduardo seems to be interested in the certainty of the marriage, saying, *porém não compreendo o motivo* ‘However, I do not understand the reason’. Finally, Azevedo explains that he is getting married to ease his public career. Hence, it is clear that Eduardo in (26-e) is interested in knowing if his friend is truly decided to get married, with the confirmatory reading of *sempre*.

Figure 2 shows that confirmatory reading already existed in the Brazilian variety but only as far as 1891. This observation is in line with Fiéis's (2010) analysis, who attests this reading of *sempre* as emerging only in the Classical Period of EP (1550–1850), the same period that existed in BP and surviving in modern days in the European variety. Hence, it seems that the BP plays written in 1737, 1759, 1798, 1857, and 1891 had some European properties (as in the case of clitic placement discussed in Pagotto 1998) regarding the confirmatory usage of *sempre*. I found 15 (out of 145) occurrences in the corpus with this meaning. The examples uses of this kind of *sempre* (10%), as mentioned, were always to the left of the verb and disappeared by the end of the 19th century: no examples are attested of this interpretation from 1920–2007 in the sample.

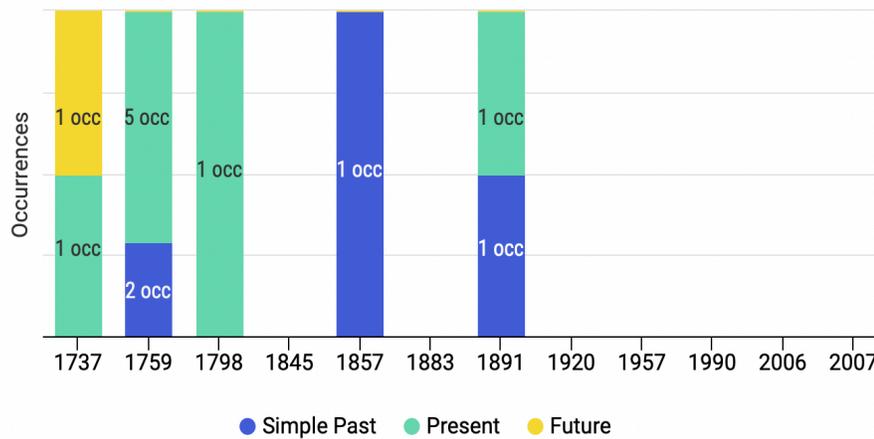


Figure 2 Occurrences of *sempre*_{confirmatory} in BP over time per verbal tense

As for the verbal tense, the verb in the present was the most used tense form with confirmatory interpretation (10 out of 15), with only one in the future tense and four in the past. In (27)–(29), this variation is illustrated regarding verbal tense in the future, present and simple past tense, respectively.

- (27) Future tense and *sempre*_{confirmatory}-V
- a. *mas para que tudo não sejam ossos,*
 but for that everything not be.SBJV.PRS.3.PL bones
vamos levando esta escada, que sempre valerá
 go.IND.PRS.3.PL take.GER this ladder that indeed COST.IND.FUT.3.SG
alguma coisa.
 some thing
 'but so that everything is not bones, we will take this ladder,

which will indeed be worth something.’ (1737)

(28) Present simple tense and *sempre*_{confirmatory}-V

- a. *e assim sempre te venho a matar.*
and thus indeed CL come.IND.PRS.1.SG to kill.INF
‘and so I indeed come to kill you.’ (1759)
- b. *pois sempre estou em segredo.*
because indeed be.IND.PRS.1.SG in secret
‘because I am indeed in secret.’ (1759)
- c. (Context: After spending the entire day looking for a new place to move to, Eusébio asks Quinota to go home. She complains saying that the place is extremely hot, and then Eusebio tries to calm her down, claiming that the place she is at is certainly better than a tenement. Eusebio says: *Tem paciência, Quinota. Enquanto não se acha casa, a gente deve se contentá c’aquele sote que Seu Gouveia arranhou...* ‘Be patient, Quinota. Whilst one does not find a home, we must be satisfied with that “sote” Mr. Gouveia got us...’ Then, Eusébio says:)
Aquilo sempre é melhor que o cortiço.
that really be.IND.PRS.1.SG better than the tenement
‘That (“sote”) is really better than the tenement.’ (1891)

(29) Simple past tense and *sempre*_{confirmatory}-V

- a. (Context: Quixote and Carrasco discussed the veracity of Carrasco’s victory in a fight against Quixote. Quixote claims that Carrasco could not have won a fight against him since it was not against the real Quixote but against someone who impersonated Quixote. Quixote says: *Senhor, entendei, que não vencestes a D. Quixote verdadeiro. [...], pois D. Quixote é este, que vedes presente; vede como o podíeis vencer.* ‘Sir, understand that you did not beat the true Don Quixote, because Don Quixote is this, whom you see present; see how you could win it.’ Then Carrasco says:)
Pois verdadeiro, ou fingido, sempre o venci.
for true or pretend.PTCP.M.SG certainly him win.IND.PST.1SG
‘For true, or pretended, I have certainly beaten him.’ (1759)
- b. *Mas enfim sempre te resolveste a casar?*
but anyway really CL decide.IND.PST.3.SG to marry.INF
‘But did you really decide to get married?’ (1857)

In the time window I analysed, the verbs co-occurring with confirmatory *sempre* were of three sorts: auxiliaries, copular verbs, and lexical verbs. Since there are few results concerning this interpretation, there is not much to say

about how the kind-of-verb variable is a determining factor:

- (30) Auxiliary verb and *sempre*_{confirmatory-V}
- a. *Valha-te o diabo, mofino, que sempre*
 worth.IND.PRS.1.SG-CL.2 the devil mofino that really
hás=de estar de pachorra!
 have.IND.PRS.2.SG=OF be.INF of bold-faced
 ‘For Good’s sake, wretched, you really are bold-faced.’ (1759)
- (31) Copular verb and *sempre*_{confirmatory-V}
- a. (Context: Dom Fuas, after an episode with his beloved Dona Nize, is left alone in the scene and saddened due to the jealousy of Dona Nize. Then, Dona Fagundes, upon entering the scene, asks him about his sad state, warning him that it is still daylight. Dona Fagundes says: *Senhor, que temeridade é esta? Vossa mercê não vê que ainda é lusquefusque? Como sem deixar anoitecer penetra estas paredes, aonde até o Sol entra às furtadelas?* ‘Sir, what recklessness is this? Cannot you see that it is still sunset time? How, without allowing nightfall, penetrates these walls, where even the sun enters furtively?’ After that, Dom Fuas tells Dona Fagundes he is so jealous that he is in the dark and did not notice that it was still daylight:)
Não reparei que ainda era dia pois no abismo de meu
 not noticed that still was day because in-the abyss of my
ciúme sempre estou às escuras.
 jealousy really be.IND.PRS.1.SG in-the dark
 ‘I didn’t notice that it was daylight, for I am really in the dark in the abyss of my jealousy.’ (1737)
- b. *Aquilo sempre é melhor que o cortiço.*
 that really be.IND.PRS.1.SG better that the tenement
 ‘That (“sote”) is really better than the tenement.’ (1891)
- (32) Lexical verb and *sempre*_{confirmatory-V}
- a. *Pois verdadeiro, ou fingido, sempre o venci.*
 for true or pretend.PTCP.M.SG certainly him win.IND.PST.1SG
 ‘For true, or pretended, I have certainly beaten him.’ (1759)

4.5 Results concerning the temporal/aspectual interpretation of *sempre*

Figure 3 presents the behaviour of temporal/aspectual *sempre* throughout time. This was the most frequent interpretation (81%) in the corpus, with 117 occurrences out of 145. From this figure, it can be said that *sempre* quantifying

over an event from 1798 to 1920 was mainly postponed to the verb. Note that in the middle of the 19th century, the order *V_sempre* was categorical. The picture changed from the end of the 19th century, when the order *sempre_V* started to increase, overlapping the ante position of the verb. As we will see below, it will be necessary to verify which class of verbs does still move to set the residual order *V_sempre*.

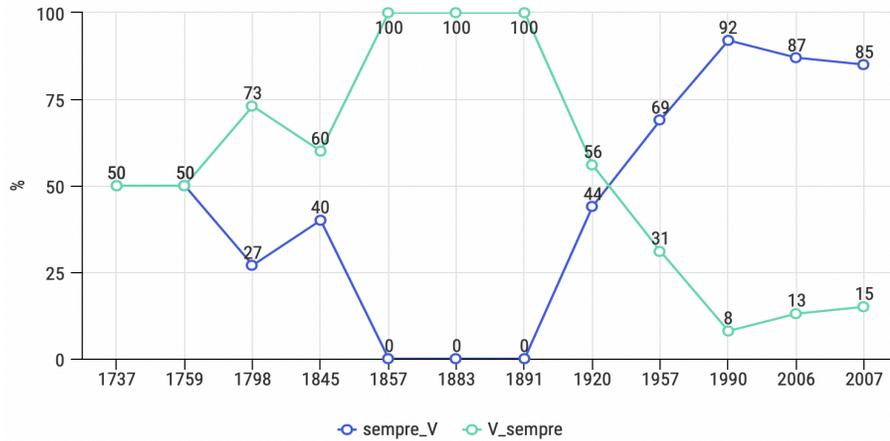


Figure 3 % of the position of *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} with respect to the verb along the diachrony

If we assume temporal/aspectual *sempre* as lexicalising a higher AspP position but lower than T, it is reasonable to claim that BP started to lose verb movement to a higher position, arguably to T, by the end of the 19th century. This ordering is essential to verify the setting of verb movement in the diachrony of BP. The following examples illustrate both orders.

- (33) *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}-V
- Não sabe, que a irmã gazua sempre me acompanha?*
not know.IND.PRS.3.SG that the sister pickpocket always me follow.IND.PRS.3SG
'Don't you know, that the pickpocket sister always accompanies me?' (1737)
 - Filena, pois sempre amou a Periandro, casem, que eu serei o padrinho, já que fui o*
Filena because always love.IND.PST.3.SG to Periandro, marry.IMP that I be.IND.FUT.1.SG the best-man yet that be.IND.PST.1.SG the

medianeiro.

mediator

'Filena, because she always loved Periandro, get married, for I will be the best man, since I was the mediator.' (1759)

- c. *mas agora que me acho casada contigo,*
but now that me find.IND.PRS.1SG marry.PT.FEM.SG with-you
é de meu dever zelar essa fortuna que sempre
be.IND.PRS.1.SG of my duty keep.INF this fortune that always
desprezei.

despise.IND.PST.1.SG

'but now that I am married to you, it is my duty to keep this fortune that I have always despised.' (1845)

- d. *Os meus casamentos sempre acabaram, por um único*
the my weddings always end.IND.PST.3.PL by one only
motivo.

reason

'My weddings have always ended, for a single reason.' (2007)

(34) V_*sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}

- a. *Senhor, é pouca fortuna de minha firmeza encontrar*
sir be.IND.PRS.3.SG little fortune of my firmness find.INF
sempre com acidentes de falsidade.

always with accidents of falsehood

'Sir, it is a small fortune of my firmness to always encounter false accidents.' (1737)

- b. *Se eu soubesse que havia=de ser sempre tão*
if I know.SBJV.PST.1.SG that have.IND.PST.1.SG be.INF always so
feliz casar-me-ia cinquenta.

happy marry.INF=ME.CL fifty

'If I knew that I would always be so happy, I would marry fifty.' (1845)

- c. *Você tem sempre uma desculpa pronta.*

you have.IND.PRS.2.SG always a excuse ready

'You always have a excuse ready.' (1920)

- d. *essas relações familiares são sempre um tédio.*

these relation family be.IND.PRS.3.PL always a boring

'these family relationships are always boring.' (1990)

- e. *Ela está sempre preparada pra arrumar um*
she be.IND.PRS.3.SG always prepare.PTCP.F.SG to get a
outro!

other

'She is always prepared to get another one!' (2007)

Focusing on the verbal tense that occurs with temporal/semantic *sempre*, we first present the verbal tense following the order *sempre_V* and later *V_sempre* for better exposure. As a standard condition in EP, adverb *sempre* in a preverbal position is always in the past tense, as we saw in section 2. The results presented in Figure 4 show that before 1857, there was a blend of verbal tense options after *sempre*, such as the past simple, simple present, and the non-finite infinitive/gerund form. During this period, if we ignore 1759, the verbal tenses were balanced. After that, there is variation between simple present and simple past.

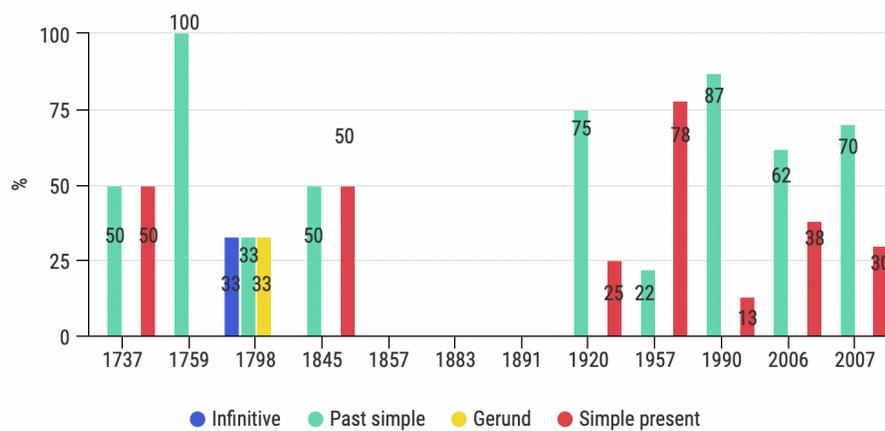


Figure 4 % of *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}-V order, verbal tense and non-finite verb forms

In Figure 5, we see that infinitives were generally located to the left of the adverb *sempre*. Considering the (synthetic) future tense, it is possible to claim that its position was also ante positioned to temporal/aspectual *sempre*. The distribution of simple past is also balanced over time; clearly, simple present is the tense appearing more to the left of *sempre*. Again, verifying what kind of verb this is in the present tense will be more straightforward.

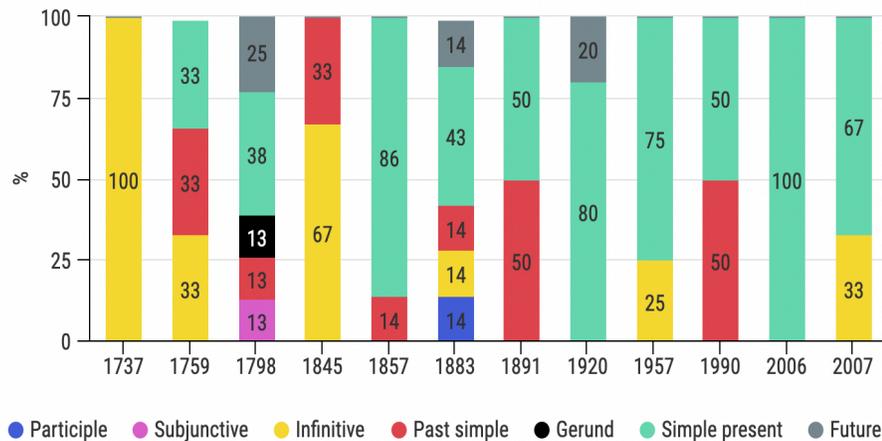


Figure 5 % of $V_sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$ order, verbal tense and non-finite verb forms

The following examples illustrate the adverb preceding ((35) and (36)) and following the verb ((37)–(40)), considering the verbal tense.

- (35) $Sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$ -V: V in the simple present
- a. *Alguém sempre aparece pra prestar uma última homenagem.*
 someone always appear.IND.PRS.3.SG to pay a last
 homage
 ‘Someone always shows up to pay a last respect.’
- (36) $Sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$ -V: V in the simple past
- a. *Maria Lúcia sempre quis se exhibir.*
 Maria=Lúcia always want.IND.PST.3.SG CL.RFL exhibit.INF
 ‘M.C always wanted to show off.’ (1990)
- (37) $V_sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$: V as an infinitive
- a. *Se você gosta mesmo do seu homem, tem que estar sempre disposta!*
 if you like.IND.PRS.3.SG really of=the your man
 have.IND.PRS.3.SG that be.INF always available
 ‘If you really like your man, you have to be always available.’
 (2007)
- (38) $V_sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$: V in the past simple
- a. *Escrever para o público, ver o meu nome em letra*
 write.INF to the public see.INF the my name in letter

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redonda, o senhor sabe, foi sempre a
 round the sir know.IND.PRS.3.SG be.IND.PST.3.SG always the
minha cachaça.
 my liquor
 'Writing to the public, seeing my name in round letter, you know,
 it was always what motivated me.' (1883)

(39) V_*sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}: V in the present simple

a. *Tão sempre na foto, a mãe, a criança*
 be.IND.PRS.3.PL always in=the picture the mother the child
e a babá do lado
 and the nanny from beside
 'They are always in the photo, the mother, the child and the
 nanny on the side.' (2006)

(40) V_*sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}: V in the future tense

a. *sabe que sou, fui e*
 know.IND.PRS.3.SG that be.IND.PRS.1.SG be.IND.PST.1.SG and
serei sempre sua amiga.
 be.IND.FUT.1.SG always your friend
 'You know that I am, I was and I will always be your friend.'
 (1883)

The comparison between both orders tells us that as a gerund, participle and subjunctive V, the verb moved higher than temporal/aspectual *sempre*, as also indicated in [Schifano \(2018\)](#). For instance, in 1798, gerunds were found either to the left or to the right of *sempre*. For infinitives, one sees a more balanced distribution throughout the period analysed, giving some support for the claim that infinitives in BP have permanently moved higher than temporal/aspectual *sempre* (on the position of non-finite verbs, see [Groothuis 2022](#)). There was only one period – 1798 – in which the infinitive was postponed to the adverb. However, there were few cases where the adverb *sempre* co-occurred with some non-finite verb in the corpus.

Synthetic future tense was always found in the diachrony of BP before the adverb, which is in line with [Araújo-Adriano \(2020\)](#), who found that the synthetic future, once part of the language system, was significantly ante positioned to *sempre*, with some residue of its postposition. For the simple past, this verb tense was clearly found more often to the right of the adverb: in 53 occurrences of this tense with the temporal/aspectual adverb, 46 were in a *sempre_V* construction against 7 in V_*sempre*, as Table 2 indicates. From the end of the 19th century, there was only one case of simple past in the second configuration, leading us to state that V in the past tense used to move higher

than temporal/aspectual *sempre* more frequently, but not currently.

Year	<i>sempre_V</i>				V_ <i>sempre</i>			
	Kind of verb				Kind of verb			
	V		Copular verb		V		Copular verb	
	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
1737	0	-	1	100%	0	-	0	-
1759	3	100%	0	-	0	-	1	100%
1798	1	100%	0	-	0	-	1	100%
1845	1	100%	0	-	0	-	1	100%
1857	0	-	0	-	1	100%	0	-
1883	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	100%
1891	0	-	1	100%	0	-	1	100%
1920	2	67%	1	33%	0	-	0	-
1957	2	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-
1990	14	70%	6	30%	0	-	1	100%
2006	4	50%	4	50%	0	-	0	-
2007	2	29%	5	71%	0	-	0	-

Table 2 Order of *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} in relation to the kind of verb in the past tense

Finally, the results from the present tense over time are quite interesting. They show that moving to a higher/lower position than temporal/aspectual *sempre* was always an option. If we take a deeper look at the kind of verb that in the present tense could precede *sempre*, we understand that not all [+V] elements stopped moving higher than *sempre*. Table 3 shows that, from 1920, in the present tense, only lexical verbs, but not copular or auxiliary verbs, were attested to the right of *sempre*(_V).

The 12 lexical verbs that moved higher than temporal/aspectual *sempre* (represented in Figure 3 as V) also show interesting patterns. It seems that between 1759 and 1920, all kinds of lexical verbs could pass by the higher Asp, such as *andar* ‘to walk’, *saber* ‘to know’, *fazer* ‘to do’, *respeitar* ‘to respect’, and *dar* ‘to give’ ((41)). However, from 1920, only a few “lexical verbs” occurred to the left of temporal/aspectual *sempre*, such as *ter* ‘to have’ and some “semi-functional” verbs, such as *querer* ‘to want’, respectively, in (42). Additionally, we also see from Table 3 that copular simple present verbs still move to the left of *sempre*, as illustrated in (43).

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Year	<i>sempre_V</i>		<i>V_sempre</i>					
	Kind of verb		Kind of verb					
	V		Auxiliary		Copular		V	
	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%	Occ.	%
1737	1	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-
1759	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	100%
1798	0	-	0	-	1	33%	2	67%
1845	1	100%	0	-	0	-	0	-
1857	0	-	0	-	4	67%	2	33%
1883	0	-	0	-	2	67%	1	33%
1891	0	-	1	100%	0	-	0	-
1920	1	100%	0	-	0	-	4	100%
1957	7	100%	0	-	2	67%	1	33%
1990	3	100%	0	-	1	100%	0	-
2006	5	100%	0	-	1	50%	1	50%
2007	4	100%	0	-	1	100%	0	-

Table 3 *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} in relation to the kind of verb in the present tense

- (41) a. *por isso vós, minha filha, andais sempre contando*
 by this you my daughter walk.IND.PRS.2.PL always count.GER
os buracos às rótulas, porque todo o fogo
 the roles to-the kneecaps because all the fire
tendes no peito.
 have.IND.PRS.2.PL in-the chest
 'so you, my daughter, always keep counting the holes in your
 kneecaps, because you have all the fire in your chest.' (1759)
- b. *As ternuras desta terra/ Sabem sempre a pão*
 the tenderness of-this land know.IND.PRS.3.PL always to bread
e queijo,/ Não são como no Brasil/ Que até
 and cheese not be.IND.PRS.3.PL like in Brazil that even
é doce o desejo.
 be.IND.PRS.3.SG sweet the desire
 'The tenderness of this land / They always taste like bread and
 cheese, / They are not like in Brazil / That even the desire is
 sweet.' (1798)
- c. *Fez ver a seus pés prostrado/ O que as idades*
 make.IND.PST.3.SG see.INF at his feet prostrate what the ages
consome,/ De voz em voz o seu nome/
 consume.IND.PRS.3.SG from voice in voice the your name

- faz sempre e sempre soar.*
 make.IND.PRS.3.SG always and always sound.INF
 'It made him see at his feet prostrated / What the ages consume,
 / Voice over voice your name / Always make and always sound.'
 (1798)
- d. *Quando nos habituamos a venerar um objeto por*
 when us get-used.IND.PRS.1.PL to worship.INF an object by
muito tempo, podemos odiá-lo um dia, porém o
 much time can.IND.PRS.1.PL hate.INF=CL a day however him
respeitamos sempre!
 respect.IND.PRS.1.PL always
 'When we get used to worshipping an object for a long time, we
 may hate it one day, but we always respect it!' (1857)
- e. *O senhor nunca nos incomoda, dá-nos*
 the sir never CL bother.IND.PRS.3.SG give.IND.PRS.3.SG=CL
sempre muito prazer.
 always very pleasure
 'You never bother us, you always give us great pleasure.' (1883)
- (42) a. *Você tem sempre uma desculpa pronta.*
 you have.IND.PRS.3.SG always a excuse ready
 'You always have an excuse ready.' (1920)
- b. *Então há=de ser por isso que todos os*
 so have.IND.PRS.3.SG=OF be.INF by this that all the
maridos tem sempre cuidado com os primos da
 husbands have.IND.PRS.3.SG always care with the cousins of
mulher...
 wife
 'So that must be the reason why all husbands are always careful
 with their wife's cousins...' (1920)
- c. *Quer sempre tê razão.*
 want.IND.PRS.3.SG always have.INF reason
 'You always want to be right.' (1957)
- d. *É estatística, em qualquer lugar do mundo*
 be.IND.PRS.3.SG statistics in any where of-the world
tem sempre alguém do Brasil por perto.
 have.IND.PRS.3.SG always someone from Brazil around
 'It's statistics, anywhere in the world there is always someone
 from Brazil around.' (2006)
- (43) a. *Ela está sempre preparada pra arrumar um*
 she be.IND.PRS.3.SG always prepare.PTCP.F.SG to get a

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- outro!*
 other
 ‘She is always prepared to get another one!’ (2007)
- b. *essas relações familiares são sempre um tédio.*
 these relation family be.IND.PRS.3.PL always a boring
 ‘these family relationships are always boring.’ (1990)
- c. *Tu tá sempre com a corda no pescoço...*
 you be.IND.PRS.3.SG always with the rope in-the neck
 ‘You are always in dire straits ...’ (1957)

4.6 Results concerning the pattern of behaviour/iterative interpretation of *sempre*

Finally, the innovative use of *sempre* in BP concerns the pattern of behaviour/iterative interpretation. There were only few attestations in the corpus, 13 out of 145 (9%), and at least apparently, it emerged around 1845. As we can see from Table 4, there is only one occurrence of a pattern of behaviour/iterative *sempre* preceding the verb (44-f). The examples are illustrated in (44).

Year	<i>sempre_V</i>	<i>V_sempre</i>
1737	0	0
1759	0	0
1798	0	0
1845	0	1
1857	0	2
1883	0	0
1891	0	1
1920	0	1
1957	0	1
1990	0	0
2006	1	6
2007	0	0

Table 4 Order of *sempre*_{pattern of behaviour/iterative} over time

- (44) a. *Escrevi-lhe sempre, mas nada de receber*
 write.IND.PST.1.SG=CL regularly but nothing of receive.INF
resposta.
 reply
 ‘I regularly wrote to him, but never received a reply.’ (1845)
- b. *Está sempre a torcer o bigode!*
 be.IND.PRS.3.SG often to twist.INF the mustache

- 'He is often twisting his mustache!' (1857)
- c. *Ele vem sempre aqui...*
 he come.IND.PRS.3.SG often here
 'He often comes here...' (1891)
- d. *Eu queria que a=gente fosse que=nem*
 I want.IND.PST.1.SG that we be.SUB.PST.3.SG like
nos filmes! Que tu risse sempre!
 in=the movies that you smile.SBJV.PST.3.SG regularly
 'I wanted us to be like in the movies, that you regularly smile!' (1957)
- e. *E o tablet era pra ele lembrar sempre*
 and the tablet be.IND.PST.3.SG to he remember.INF regularly
também, porque tá o tempo todo com aquele
 too because be.IND.PRS.3.SG the whole time with that
troço na mão.
 thing in-the hand
 'And the tablet was for him to regularly remember, because he's always with that thing in his hand.' (2006)
- f. *Quem é que tem coragem aqui*
 who be.IND.PRS.3.SG that have.IND.PRS.3.SG courage here
no prédio de falar o que tem que falar?
 in=the building of talk.INF what have.IND.PRS.3.SG that talk.INF
Eu, claro! É como sempre digo: eu
 I sure be.IND.PRS.3.SG how regularly say.IND.PRS.1.SG I
mato um mas não morro.
 kill.IND.PRS.1.SG one but not die.IND.PRS.1.SG
 'Who has the courage here in this building to say what has to be said? Me, of course! It's like I regularly say: I kill one, but I don't die.' (2006)

The data presented above show that the verb in BP still show that the verb in BP still moves outside vP (see also (21)), landing on a lower position. As such, loss of verb movement is only to a high position in the clause structure (see also Cyrino 2013, Araújo-Adriano 2020), arguably TP, no longer yielding the order *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}-V. Therefore, V-*sempre*_{pattern of behaviour/iterative} is generated by verb movement to a low Aspectual position.

The tenses and non-finite forms that appear with the pattern of behaviour / iterative interpretation are not restricted to only one, as we can see in Table 5: we found verbs in the past simple, present simple, infinitive and subjunctive. In the 21st century, in regard to the kind of verb and tense, there was a lexical verb in the present tense to the right of *sempre* (*dizer* 'say' (45-a)); to the left

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of the adverb, there was an auxiliary verb in the past (45-b) and a lexical verb not only in the past but also in the present tense (45-c)–(45-d).

Year	<i>sempre_V</i>		<i>V_sempre</i>						
	Kind of verb		Auxiliary			V			
	V	Present	Aux-Inf.	Present	Past	Present	Past	Subj.	Inf.
1737	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1759	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1798	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1845	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1857	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1883	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1891	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1920	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1957	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1990	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2006	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
2007	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5 Order of the iterative/pattern of behaviour *sempre* in relation to verb tense and kind of verb

- (45) a. *Eu, claro! É como sempre digo: eu*
 I sure be.IND.PRS.3.SG how always say.IND.PRS.1.SG I
mato um, mas não morro.
 kill.IND.PRS.1.SG one but not die.IND.PRS.1.SG
 'Me, of course! It's like I always say: I kill one, but I don't die.'
 (2006)
- b. *la sempre fazer a conexão, tablet, tabefe,*
 go.IND.PST.3.SG always make.INF the connection tablet slap
tablef, entende?
 slap understand.IND.PRS.3.SG
 'He would always make the connection, tablet, slap, slap, you know?' (2006)
- c. *E tinha sempre esses distribuidores de papel me*
 and have.IND.PST.3.SG always these distributors of paper me
dando propaganda de empréstimo...
 give.GER advertising of loan
 'And there were always these leaflet distributors giving me loan advertising...' (2006)

- d. *Ele diz sempre que mãe é culpada*
 he say.IND.PRS.3.SG always that mom be.IND.PRS.3.SG guilty
disso, que é culpada daquilo. Ridículo!
 of-this, that be.IND.PRS.3.SG guilty of-that ridiculous
 'He always says that moms are guilty of this, and guilty of that.
 That's ridiculous!' (2006)

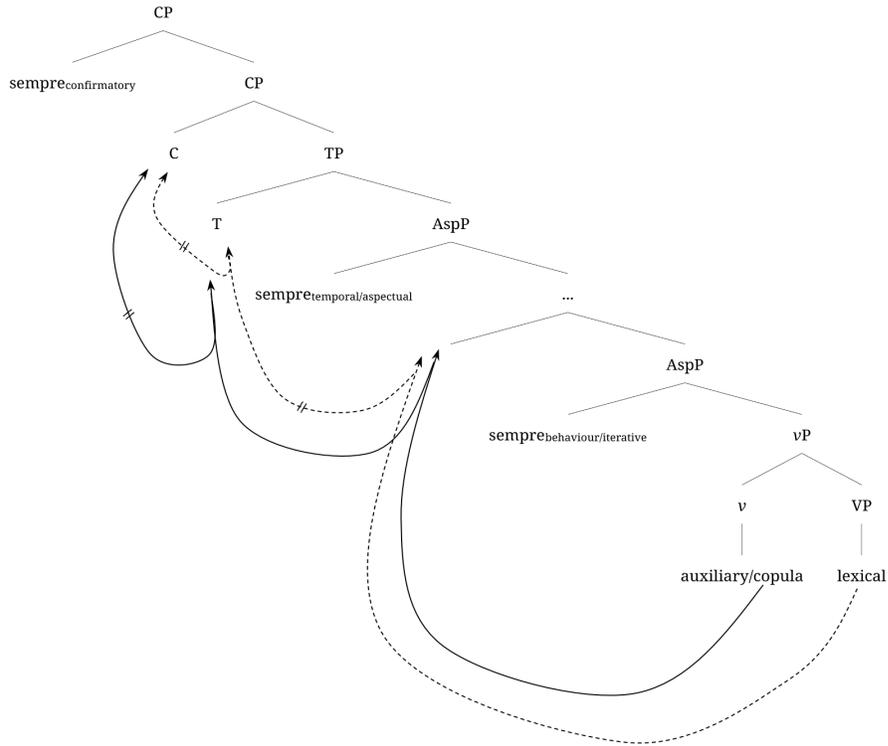
Considering the lean structure in (22) summarising the different positions of *sempre*, this section has shown that the BP verb moving to the CP field was once an option to trigger the confirmatory reading of *sempre*. Nevertheless, this movement has totally disappeared (this loss is represented in (46) by ||), which might have been a remnant of the V2 effect from the Classical Portuguese (for analysis claiming that Classical Portuguese behaved as a V-2 type grammar, see Antonelli 2011, Galves & Paixão de Sousa 2017, Gibrail 2010).

With regard to temporal / aspectual *sempre*, it is reasonable to claim that before the end of the 19th century all kinds of verbal elements were able to move to a higher position than the higher Asp, consequently passing by the temporal/aspectual *sempre*, deriving the order $V_sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$, as represented in (46). However, after the end of the 19th century, BP started to lose verb movement to a high position (arguably T), perhaps due to the emergence of a more analytic system (as I suggest in the following section), and the verb placement in relation to the temporal/aspectual *sempre* became *sempre_V*. Interestingly, not all verbal elements have lost this movement: I observed in the corpus that copular, *estar* auxiliary (and every auxiliary verb in BP, as I show in §5), and a few “lexical” verbs do still trigger a higher position, deriving $V_sempre_{temporal/aspectual}$. If we assume with Kayne (1993), Freeze (1992), Avelar (2004, 2009) that *ter* ‘have’ is not a lexical verb but a result from the combination of a copular verb and an abstract preposition either in a possessive, existential, or auxiliary reading, we can claim that solely functional verbs, i.e., *ter* ‘have’, copular, and auxiliary verbs (along with *querer* ‘want’ as a semi-functional verb), were found to the left of temporal / aspectual *sempre*. Therefore, those functional verbs did not follow the “natural” path of change and still move to a high position, opposing the generalised loss of high verb movement found for lexical verbs.

Finally, it is worth noting that the verbs that did follow this change – all lexical verbs – still leave *vP* given that they are ordered to the left of the adverb *sempre* that started to convey a pattern of behaviour / iterative reading, after a process of grammaticalisation, in a lower aspectual projection.

(46)

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5 EXPLOITING NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE DISCUSSION ON VERB MOVEMENT IN BP

In this section, I will tentatively correlate the different verb placements in the history of BP, as evidenced in the last section, to the analyticisation process. Even though addressing all the puzzles that surround verb movement in BP is outside the scope of the paper, I suggest that the analyticisation process in this language is related to the (partial) loss of lexical verb movement and to the reason why some movement retained, more specifically, copular and auxiliary verb movement.¹²

I understand verbal analyticisation as a preference of an analytic tense (*eu vou comer* ‘I will eat’) over a synthetic one (*eu comerei* ‘I will eat’), where there is an inclination of verb-related inflection as being realised in auxiliary

¹² See [Tescari Neto, Forero Pataquiva & Wechsler \(2021\)](#) for a discussion on the hypothesis of the triggering of verb movement, considering [Rohrbacher’s \(1999, 1994\)](#) and [Koeneman & Zeijlstra’s \(2014\)](#) proposal of the relation between richness/poorness of the verbal paradigm and verb movement, and an alternative proposal of verb movement as being triggered by the richness/poorness of functional categories, as suggested by [Cyrino \(2013\)](#), [Tescari Neto \(2013\)](#). See also [Galves \(1994\)](#) for a proposal that accounts for the loss of (long) verb movement in BP from the impoverishment of the agreement paradigm due to the loss of the 2nd person.

structures (Ledgeway 2012, 2017, Reintges & Cyrino 2016, 2018). Under the Generative Grammar approach, Reintges & Cyrino (2018) correlate analytification to verb movement, claiming that, since auxiliaries are raised to the Tense head (or directly inserted to this functional position), lexical verbs are prevented from moving to T; in this way, “analytification severely restricts the scope of verb movement operations” (Reintges & Cyrino 2018: 183).

Armed with those assumptions, I can establish a relation between the loss of verb movement and the impoverishment of the verbal morphological paradigm. Currently, verbal analytic preference is advanced in BP (Reintges & Cyrino 2018, 2016, Araújo-Adriano 2019), where synthetic verbs are in a decreased productivity and are being vastly replaced by their equivalent auxiliary verb construction in the spoken language. When we observe the history of this preference, as depicted in Figure 6, we see that analytification preference increased substantially by the end of the 19th century, as BP started to rely on auxiliary structures more frequently (e.g. *vou comer* ‘I will eat’, *estou comendo* ‘I am eating’ and *tinha comido* ‘I had eaten’, *estava comendo* ‘I was eating’¹³) instead of their respective synthetic equivalent *comerei* ‘I will eat’, *como* ‘I eat’ and *comera* ‘I had eaten’, *comia* ‘I was eating’.

Morphologically speaking, BP is a language where TAM (temporal, aspectual, mode) morphemes are attached to the verb. This is evidenced by the speakers’ recovery of the root and verbal tense, such as the morpheme *-rei* (future) attached to the verbal root *com-* (‘eat’) and *est-* (‘be’/‘essere’) yielding *come-rei* ‘I will eat’ or *esta-rei* ‘I will be’. It is thus reasonable to assume that in BP, an inflected [+V] category must move to T to be attached to TAM morphemes. However, Figure 6 clearly shows that BP started to use a new setting in relation to what kind of [+V] category was merged to T, namely, auxiliaries.

Assuming that auxiliaries are base-merged in v_{aux} and lexical verbs in V (Harwood 2015), the partial loss of verb movement in BP could be explained as a matter of the lexical verb not receiving TAM morphemes anymore; instead, this is achieved by auxiliaries. This pattern seems to follow the fact that analytification is not a *tout court* process (see Ledgeway 2017) since TAM morphemes are still attached to the [+V]-root; that is, the analytification process in BP did not trigger a completely impoverished temporal system with stranded morphemes, for instance.

13 Note that the synthetic form *comia* ‘ate’ is still used, but solely with the past habitual interpretation (*Eu comia* (**estava comendo*) *banana quando criança* ‘I ate bananas as a child’); however, the past progressive reading (*Eu já estava comendo* (**comia*) *a banana, quando minha mãe disse que ela estava mofada* ‘I was already eating the banana when my mom said it was mouldy’) has increased significantly with the analytic form.

The position of the verb with respect to the adverb *sempre* over four centuries

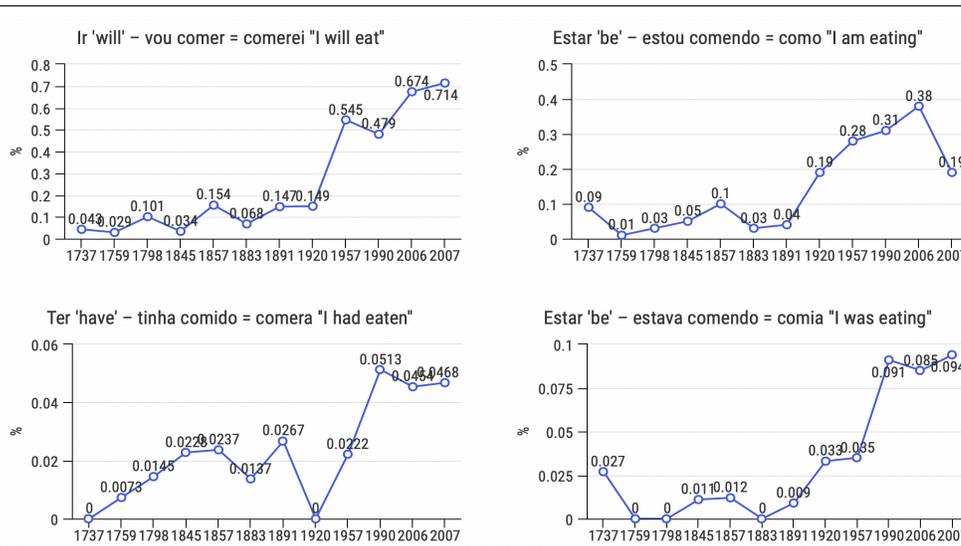


Figure 6 % of occurrences of auxiliaries (by number of words) from the 18th to the 21st century plays/Source: Araújo-Adriano (2021)

With the Generalised loss of movement in Brazilian Portuguese (Cyrino 2013, Cyrino & Lopes 2016), the lexical verb movement was (partially) lost, and since the child is now analysing whether T triggers head movement of [+V] in their input, that generalised loss makes them consider that not all [+V] verb is in T, that is, not all [+V] verb has a TAM attached to it. Furthermore, this generalised loss of movement restricted the elements that move to T to v_{aux} only, which has already been in the system (see Figure 6), raising only auxiliary/functional verbs to the Tense position.

As such, it is not surprising that lexical verbs stopped figuring to the right of the temporal/aspectual *sempre* – that is, it stopped moving to a higher position if the analyticisation process really constrains/blocks the moving of the lexical verb to a higher position. With the temporal/aspectual reading of *sempre*, we saw that all verbal elements were to the left of this adverb until the end of the 19th century, when BP was still very synthetic, with a few usages of analytic construction, suggesting that lexical verbs could move to T, passing by (the higher) Asp where *sempre* is base-merged. After that period, lexical verbs stopped moving to that higher position (but instead to a lower position in which *sempre* with a pattern of behaviour reading is licensed): from 1920, only lexical verbs, but neither copula nor auxiliary verbs, were attested to the right of the temporal/aspectual adverb in a *sempre*(_V) template, mimicking a lower movement. However, not all [+V] elements stopped moving

higher than this adverb, given that copular verbs still move to the left of temporal/aspectual *sempre*.

Even though I have not found many auxiliary verbs either in a pre- or in postposition with respect to *sempre* in the diachronic corpus, there is evidence for the higher movement of the auxiliary considering its placement regarding some fixed adverbs: *ter* 'to have', *ir* 'to go', and *estar* 'to be' auxiliaries only do not pass by the adverb *já* 'already' (47), but do pass by *não ... mais* 'no longer' (48) and *ainda* 'still' (49):

(47) *já* 'already'

- a. *Pedro (já) tinha (*já) feito (*já)*
 P. already have.IND.PST.3.SG (already) do.PTCP (already)
curso de inglês.
 course of English
 'P. had already taken an English course.'
- b. *Pedro (já) vai (*já) fazer (*já) curso*
 P. already go.IND.PRS.3.SG (already) do.INF (already) course
de inglês.
 of English
 'P. will already take an English course.'
- c. *Pedro (já) está (*já) fazendo (*já)*
 P. already be.IND.PRS.3.SG (already) do.GER (already)
curso de inglês.
 course of English
 'P. is already taking an English course.'

(48) *não ... mais* 'no longer'

- a. **Maria não mais tem falado com o Pedro.*
 M. no more have.IND.PRS.3.SG talk.PTCP with the P.
- b. *Maria não tem mais falado com o Pedro.*
 M. no have.IND.PRS.3.SG more talk.PTCP with the P.
 'M. has no longer talked to P.'
- c. *Maria não tem falado mais com o Pedro.*
 M. no have.IND.PRS.3.SG talk.PTCP more with the P.
 'M. has no longer talked to P.'
- d. *O João não vai mais tirar o aparelho da boca.*
 The J. not go.IND.PRS.3.SG more take.INF off the braces from
 mouth
 'J. will no longer take the braces off.'
- e. **O João não mais vai tirar o aparelho da boca.*
 The J. not more go.IND.PRS.3.SG take.INF off the braces from

The position of the verb with respect to the adverb *sempre* over four centuries

boca.
mouth

- f. *O bebê não está mais chorando.*
the baby not be.IND.PRS.3.SG more cry.GER
'The baby is no longer crying.'
- g. **O bebê não mais está chorando.*
the baby not more be.IND.PRS.3.SG cry.GER

(49) *ainda* 'still'

- a. **José não ainda tinha chegado no serviço.*
J. not yet have.IND.PST.3.SG arrive.PTCP at work
'J. had not arrived yet at work.'
- b. *José não tinha ainda chegado no serviço.*
J. not have.IND.PST.3.SG yet arrive.PTCP at work
'J. not yet had arrived at work' (Adapted from [Tescari Neto 2013: 48](#))
- c. **O presidente Jair Bolsonaro afirmou nesta segunda-feira que não ainda vai entrar na corrida pela reeleição.*
the president J. B. affirm.IND.PST.3.SG ON=this
monday that no yet go.IND.PRS.3.SG enter.INF into run
by=the reelection
- d. *O presidente Jair Bolsonaro afirmou nesta segunda-feira que não vai ainda entrar na corrida pela reeleição.*
the president J. B. affirm.IND.PST.3.SG ON=this
monday that no go.IND.PRS.3.SG yet enter.INF into run
by=the reelection
'The president J. B. affirmed this Monday that he will not yet enter in the run to the reelection.'¹⁴
- e. **José não ainda está brincando no parquinho.*
J. no yet be.IND.PRS.3.SG play.GER on=the playground
'J. is not playing yet on the playground.'
- f. *José não está ainda brincando no parquinho.*
J. no be.IND.PRS.3.SG yet play.GER on=the playground

Inasmuch as *não ... mais* 'no longer', *ainda* 'still' are placed above *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} 'always' (see (12)), the mandatory placement of auxiliaries to their left sug-

¹⁴ <https://www.istoedinheiro.com.br/bolsonaro-diz-que-ainda/>

gests, given Head Movement Constraint (see Travis 1984), that auxiliaries pass by *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} ‘always’ as well (see also (52)):

- (50) *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} ‘always’
- a. Molly (#*sempre*) *tinha* (sempre) *tomado*
 M. (always) have.IND.PST.3.SG (always) take.PTCP
anticoncepcional desde quando era adolescente por causa
 birth control since when be.IND.PST.3.SG teenager because
do seu problema hormonal.
 of her problem hormonal
 ‘Molly had always taken birth control since she was a teenager because of her hormonal problem.’
- b. *Aconteça o que acontecer eu (#sempre) vou*
 happen.SBJV.3.SG what happen.INF I (always) go.IND.PRS.1.SG
 (sempre) *te amar do jeito que você é.*
 (always) you love.INF the way that you be.IND.PRS.3.SG
 ‘No matter what happens, I will always love you the way you are.’
- c. *É fácil saber se está passando jogo:*
 be.IND.PRS.3.SG easy know.INF if be.IND.PRS.3.SG pass.GER game
meu vizinho (#sempre) está (sempre) berrando
 my neighbour (always) be.IND.PRS.3.SG (always) scream.GER
quando tem jogo do Vasco.
 when have.IND.PRS.3.SG game of Vasco.
 ‘It’s easy to know if there’s a game on: my neighbour is always screaming when Vasco is playing.’

Along with the evidence presented above, remember that Tescari Neto (2013) argued that the evidence supporting the existence of two types of *sempre* for BP – the temporal/aspectual and the pattern of behaviour – was that the two of them can coexist in a sentence, as in (18) and (19), exemplified again in (51): the first (and the higher) *sempre* c-commands the second (and the lower) *sempre*.

- (51) a. *Eu sempre₁ encaro sempre₂ ele...*
 I always stare.IND.PRS.1.SG always he
 ‘I always stare at him regularly.’
- b. *Eu sempre₁ deixo sempre₂ o volume da TV em um*
 I always leave.IND.PRS.1.SG often the volume of TV in a
número redondo ou múltiplo de 5.
 number round or multiple of 5
 ‘I always leave the TV volume at a round number or at a number

- multiple of 5 regularly.¹⁵
- c. *Por que sempre₁ tento sempre₂ fazer todas as*
 by what always try.IND.PRS.1.SG often do.INF every the
vontades das pessoas?
 will of-the people
 ‘Why do I always try to regularly fulfil people’s every wish?’¹⁶

I also found the coexistence of these two *sempre* with auxiliaries ((52)). Even though the existence of both in the same sentence is rare, the following examples support the movement of auxiliaries to a higher position (along with the diachronic data in Table 3).

- (52) a. *Uma pessoa super carismática, educada, esforçada, dedicada*
 a person very charismatic polite hardworking dedicated
ao que faz, inteligente, e que está
 to=the that do.IND.PRS.3.SG intelligent and that be.IND.PRS.3.SG
sempre₁ fazendo sempre₂ o bem ao próximo, excelente
 always do.GER frequently the good to=the others excellent
profissional.
 professional
 ‘A very charismatic person, polite, hardworking, dedicated to what she does, intelligent, and who is always doing often good to others, excellent professional.’¹⁷
- b. *Eu tô sempre₁ querendo sempre₂ entender*
 I be.IND.PRS.1.SG always want.GER always understand.INF
todo mundo, aí quando chega na minha vez
 everybody then when come.IND.PRS.3.SG in=the my turn
é tudo grande foda-se.
 be.IND.PRS.3.SG everything big bullshit
 ‘I am always trying to often understand people, but when my turn comes it is a big bullshit.’¹⁸
- c. *Meninas, não esqueça da importância de estar sempre₁*
 Ladies, not forget.IMP of=the importance of be.INF always
fazendo sempre₂ o autoexame.
 do.GER always the self-exame.
 ‘Ladies, do not forget the importance of always doing regularly

15 https://twitter.com/_amlima/status/25575273902645248?s=20

16 https://twitter.com/pamoliveiraa_/status/492569650107277312?s=20

17 <https://www.superprof.pt/aulas-para-fortalecimento-atencao-memoria-estrategias-memorizacao-foco-planejamento-pessoal-profissional.html>

18 <https://twitter.com/MillySouza013/status/1309611248309473286?s=20>

the breast self-exam.¹⁹

As scholars have already noticed (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, Cinque 1999, Ledgeway 2012, Schifano 2018), these data presented corroborate the claim that functional and lexical verbs exhibit different patterns regarding verb movement.

In summary, this section argued that, when the BP system was highly synthetic (see Figure 6), before the 19th century, all kinds of verbs –lexical and functional–passed by the higher Asp (moving arguably to T), given their placement regarding the temporal/aspectual *sempre* (see §4). Notwithstanding, when BP leaned towards an analytic system after the 19th century, lexical verbs stopped moving to a higher position. This suggests that, in fact, analyticisation reduces lexical verb movement. With the system more analytic from 1920, we detected that only *ter* ‘have’, copular, and auxiliary verbs (and the semi-functional *querer* ‘want’) –all functional verbs–still move higher, given their anteposition with respect to temporal/aspectual *sempre*.

6 FINAL REMARKS

This paper looked into the history of the order of *sempre* with respect to the verb in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) from the 18th to the 21st century. Casting the difference between the default order for temporal / aspectual *sempre* in Brazilian versus European Portuguese (EP) as a matter of high/low verb movement, I drew on numerous works suggesting that BP has lost generalised (verb) movement and hypothesised that the order *sempre_V*, where the verb moves lower in BP, is the result of diachronic change. This hypothesis was confirmed: the data revealed a period in which lexical verbs were mainly located to the left of the higher *sempre*, displaying a high movement, and another period in which the verb was to the right of the adverb, spelling out the loss of (high) movement.

Considering the position of the adverb *sempre* in its temporal/aspectual interpretation, the results showed that lexical verbs lost verb movement to a high position: before the end of the 19th century, there was a tendency for all lexical verbs to be found to the left of the higher temporal/aspectual *sempre*, but after that, the majority of lexical verbs had the default order to the right of this high adverb, generated by a lower movement. Contrarily, functional verbs keep moving to a high position, being located to the left of temporal/aspectual *sempre*. I attested a different behaviour for lexical and functional verbs: the latter (still) moves higher, while the former lost movement

¹⁹ <https://estilopati.wordpress.com/2015/10/15/outubro-rosa-prevencao-e-o-melhor-remedio/>

to a high position over time. However, this loss of verb movement does not mean the lexical verb in BP does not move. The results featured that the verb still moves outside *vP*²⁰, given that we saw a post-verbal pattern of the lower *sempre*_{pattern of behaviour/iterative} innovative use of the adverb that has been increasing in frequency since its first occurrence in the middle of the 19th century (1845). Furthermore, the confirmatory/speech act *sempre* was once in the BP system, but it had disappeared entirely by the end of the 19th century.

As I tentatively suggested, if verb movement is related to the analyticity, the different placement of the verb regarding the adverb *sempre* throughout the history of BP is accounted for straightforwardly. As a synthetic system until the end of the 19th century, all kinds of verbs were attracted to T, hence the default order *V_sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}. Nevertheless, from the end of the 19th century, the BP system started to become more analytic and, given that analyticisation disables lexical verb movement in reducing the elements attracted by T, the default order for lexical verbs became *sempre*_{temporal/aspectual}-V. The remaining high movement of functional verbs is attested because they have not undergone analyticisation; that is, they are still attracted by T, which is attested by their *V_sempre*_{temporal/aspectual} order. Thus, in a nutshell, this paper offered diachronic data to support the idea that BP has lost verb movement but also empirical grounds to update proposals regarding verb movement.

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²⁰ Galves (1994: 45–46) already claimed, as mentioned, that BP does not have a strict postverbal or preverbal restriction for adverbs, including *sempre*. For Galves, the moving of V from *vP* is evidenced by the obligatory postverbal position of some adverbs such as *completamente* 'completely' and *cuidadosamente* 'carefully', which emphasises the moving of the verb out of the verbal phrase.

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