DIADORIM

[DAR ruim] AND [DAR bom]: TWO IDIOSYNCRATIC IDIOMS FROM BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

[DAR ruim] E [DAR bombardeio]: DUAS EXPRESSÕES IDIOSSINCRÁTICAS DO PORTUGUÊS DO BRASIL

Monclar Guimarães Lopes[1]

Bárbara da Silva de Miranda[2]

RESUMO

Dar é um verbo usado prototipicamente na construção transitiva direta-indireta, e.g.: *ele deu um anel de diamantes para a noiva*. De acordo com Goldberg (1995), nesse tipo de construção, um sentido de transferência emerge da interação dos seguintes papeis semânticos e funções sintáticas: um agente como sujeito, um paciente como objeto direto e um beneficiário como objeto indireto. Embora *dar* normalmente recrute SNs e SPs como argumentos, ele tem sido amplamente empregado em uma construção bastante idiossincrática e idiomática no português brasileiro, em que o verbo é seguido dos adjetivos *ruim* ou *bom,* e.g.: **deu ruim**, *mas agora está tudo bem.* Neste artigo, temos como objetivo descrever essa construção, a qual representamos por meio da seguinte notação: [DAR ADJ]. Fundamentamos nossa análise na Linguística Funcional Centrada no Uso (cf. BYBEE, 2010; TRAUGOTT & TROUSDALE, 2013; ROSÁRIO & OLIVEIRA, 2016; entre outros), especialmente na noção de construção como pareamento simbólico de forma e conteúdo e no fator da composicionalidade construcional. Selecionamos 200 ocorrências de [DAR ruim] e [DAR bom] no *Corpus Now,* que foram analisadas sob uma metodologia quali-quantitativa. Os resultados mostram que a construção [DAR ADJ] tem sido usada em contextos argumentativos e intersubjetivos (cf. TANTUCCI, 2018) por razões avaliativas/apreciativas. Além disso, [DAR ruim] é uma construção mais produtiva do que [DAR bom]: enquanto a sequência de palavras *verbo + ruim* sempre instancia [DAR ADJ] no *corpus*, a sequência *verbo + bom* tende a instanciar uma outra construção – [DAR][SN] –, em que o adjetivo *bom* pertence a um SN: e.g., *o padre deveria dar [bom exemplo]*.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: [DAR bom]; [DAR ruim]; expressões idiomáticas; Linguística Funcional Centrada no Uso.

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1 Professor at the Department of Classical and Vernacular Letters (GLC) at Federal Fluminense University. E-mail: monclarlopes@id.uff.br.

2 Master's student in Letters at Federal Fluminense University. E-mail: barbara_miranda@id.uff.br.

ABSTRACT

Dar is a Portuguese verb used prototypically in the prepositional dative construction, e.g.: *ele deu um anel de diamantes para a noiva* (in English, *he gave a diamond ring to his bride*). According to Goldberg (1995), in this kind of construction, a transference meaning emerges from the interaction of the following semantic roles and syntactic functions: an agent as the subject, a patient as the direct object and a recipient as the indirect object. Although *dar* usually recruits NPs or PPs as arguments, likewise the English verb *to give*, it has been widely used in a very idiosyncratic and idiomatic construction in Brazilian Portuguese, where the verb is followed by the adjectives *ruim* or *bom,* e.g.: ***deu ruim, mas está tudo bem*** (in English, ***things went bad***, *but everything is fine*). In this paper, we aim to describe this construction, which we represent with the following notation: [DAR ADJ]. Our analysis is based on the theoretical assumptions of Usage-Based Linguistics (cf. BYBEE, 2010; TRAUGOTT & TROUSDALE, 2013; ROSÁRIO & OLIVEIRA, 2016; among others.), especially on the notion of construction as a symbolic form-meaning pairing and on the property of partial/non-compositionality. A total of 200 tokens of [DAR bom] and [DAR ruim] were selected from Corpus *Now* and analyzed through a quali-quantitative study. The results show that the construction [DAR ADJ] has been used in argumentative and intersubjective contexts (cf. TANTUCCI, 2018) for evaluative reasons. Moreover, [DAR ruim] is more productive than [DAR bom]: while the word string composed by *verb + ruim* always instantiate the construction [DAR ADJ] in the corpus, the string composed by *verb + bom* is more likely to instantiate a more compositional construction – [DAR][NP] –, where the adjective belongs to a NP: e.g., *o padre deveria dar* [*bom exemplo*] (in English, *the priest could give a* [*good example*]).

KEYWORDS: [DAR bom]; [DAR ruim]; Brazilian idioms; Usage-Based Linguistics.

Introduction

D*ar* is a Portuguese polysemic and polyfunctional verb. It is the prototypical verb of the prepositional dative construction[3] in Portuguese, carrying a very similar meaning to the English verb *to give*, as it can be seen in the following sentence:

a. *Ele deu um anel de diamantes para a noiva.*
    He gave a ring of diamonds to the bride.
    He gave a diamond ring to his bride.

According to Goldberg (1995), in this kind of construction – which can be formally represented as [SUBJ$_{AGENT}$ V OBJ $1_{PATIENT}$ OBJ $2_{RECIPIENT}$] – a transference meaning emerges from the interaction of the following semantic roles and syntactic functions: an agent as the subject, a patient as the direct object and a recipient as the indirect object. Although *dar* usually recruits NPs or PPs as arguments, likewise the English verb *to give*, it has been recruited by many other constructions. In the Grammatical Dictionary of Verbs (BORBA, 1990) for instance, there are 99 different entries for *dar*. Some of them can be interpreted as a kind of idiom, since *dar* and its following noun result in a non-compositional chunk:

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3 The prepositional dative construction is an expression adopted by English studies for the description of the following argument structure: [SUBJ $_{AGENT}$ V OBJ $1_{PATIENT}$ OBJ $2_{RECIPIENT}$] (cf. GOLDBERG, 1995; HILPERT, 2014; DIESSEL, 2019 for a review). As it is formally and functionally similar to the direct/indirect transitive construction, we adopted the well-known English expression in order to make it easier for English readers to understand it.

b. Ele saiu de casa atrás de emprego, e nunca mais [*deu* notícia][4].

He left of home behind of job, and never more [*gave* news].

He left home looking for a job, and he [showed up] no more.

c. [Dá pena] a gente ver dinheiro público sendo desperdiçado assim[5]

[3s.give pity] we see money public be-*gerund* waste-*past* this way.

[It's a pity] to see public money being wasted this way.

In sentences *b* and *c*, the expressions *dar notícia* and *dar pena* could be translated respectively as *to show up* and *it's a pity.* Crucially, it is possible to observe that there are no transference meanings in those uses and that they form non-compositional chunks in the sense that they are idiomatic and automated processing units (cf. DIESSEL, 2019): it is not possible for an English speaker to translate those expressions using English correlated words, since they must be interpreted as a unit, i.e., as a dictionary entry like any other kind of lexeme. Moreover, the word-by-word translation of those expressions – i.e., *gave news* or *give pity* – results, respectively, in a distinct meaning and in an ungrammatical structure.

Although the use of *dar* is very common in Portuguese idioms – like the ones we have just mentioned –, there is often a productive grammatical pattern: the chunk is constituted by the verb and a noun phrase (NP): *dar meia-volta, dar as costas, dar desculpas[6],* just to mention some more examples. Besides this pattern, there are also other less productive ones, like verb + adjective phrase (AP) or even verb + prepositional phase (PP). Considering the former type, it was restricted to the Portuguese constructions *dar certo* and *dar errado[7]* for a long time, since other adjectives were not allowed by the construction [DAR ADJ].

d. Nossa estratégia [deu certo][8].

Our strategy [give-*past* right].

Our strategy [succeeded].

e. Seu plano de prejudicar a menina quase [deu errado][9].

Your plan to harm the girl almost [gave wrong].

Your plan to harm the girl almost [went wrong].

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4 Available at: https://www.terra.com.br/diversao/cinema/dira-paes-filma-pureza-a-lu-ta-de-uma-guerreira-contra-o-trabalho-escravo-no-brasil,1fab3f0ffe9b379e0c9805ea13f45a2fi3iamg-zk.html - Access on August 8th, 2021.

5 Available at: https://diariodonordeste.verdesmares.com.br/editorias/regiao/unidades-de-saude-re cem-construidas-no-interior-estao-abandonadas-1.2099626 - Access on August 8th, 2021.

6 In English, *to turn around, to turn someone's back, to excuse.*

7 In English, *to succeed* and *to go wrong*, respectively.

8 Available at: https://globoesporte.globo.com/futebol/selecao-brasileira/noticia/como-tite-orientou-e-seus-auxiliares-definiram-os-batedores-de-penalti-da-selecao-contra-o-paraguai.ghtml - Access on Au-gust 8th, 2021.

9 Available at: https://gshow.globo.com/novelas/orfaos-da-terra/noticia/miguel-faz-barraco-em-cassi-no-e-envergonha-camila.ghtml - Access on August 8th, 2021.

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Not with standing this fact, in Brazilian Portuguese, there is a construction where the ADJ is filled by the words *bom* and *ruim*, as it is possible to notice in the following sentences extracted from Corpus *Now*[10]:

(01)   [Deu   ruim], mas agora está tudo   bem. Graças a Deus![11]

        [gave-3s bad],   but now is   everything fine. Thank   God.

        [It didn't work out], but now everything is fine. Thank God!

(02)   Será   que [deu   bom][12]?

        Be-future that   [gave   good]

        I wonder if that [succeeded].

In order to describe the form and meaning properties of this idiomatic and idiosyncratic construction, formed by the verb *dar* and the adjectives *bom* and *ruim* – represented by the subschema[13] [DAR ADJ] –, 200 tokens of the word strings *dar bom, deu bom, dar ruim* and *deu ruim* were selected from *Corpus Now* (www.corpusdoportugues.org)[14], which were analyzed by a quali-quantitative methodology and interpreted by the light of the assumptions of Usage-Based Linguistics (cf.; BYBEE, 2010; TRAUGOTT & TROUSDALE, 2013; ROSÁRIO & OLIVEIRA, 2016; DIESSEL, 2019; among others). To achieve this goal, this text is divided in four parts. Beyond this introduction, there are the following sections: i) Idioms and Construction Grammar in Usage-Based Linguistics; ii) Methodological procedures and analysis; iii) Conclusions. In the end, we also include our references.

Idioms and Construction Grammar in Usage-Based Linguistics

In formal studies, there is a strict division between the lexicon and syntax. In this kind of approach, knowledge of vocabulary is rigidly split from knowledge of grammatical rules, what goes by the name of **the dictionary-and-grammar model**, according to Taylor (2012). In this kind of perspective, people know words (a lexicon) and rules (a grammar) to combine those words into phrases and sentences, so that people can use the same rules for different words and the same words for different rules, depending on their communicative intentions. As examples, we can think of an argument structure like [SUBJ V OBJ 1 OBJ2], which can recruit different verbs like *give, send, throw, bake,* etc., or even of a verb like *give* that can appear in more than

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10   Tokens of the constructions [DAR bom] and [DAR ruim] are numbered throughout this text.

11   Available at: https://www.bemparana.com.br/noticia/sheila-mello-e-internada-em-hospital-de-sp-apos-infeccao - Access on August 8th, 2021.

12   Available at: https://legadodamarvel.com.br/bom-ou-ruim-leia-as-primeiras-reacoes-da-critica-para-vingadores-ultimato/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.

13   According to Traugott & Trousdale (2013), a subschema is a construction with intermediate specificity, that is, there is a substantive form (DAR) and an abstract slot (ADJ).

14   The selection of these word strings is associated to the data found in the corpus.

one argument structure: [SUBJ V OBJ 1 OBJ2] – *he gave a diamond ring to his bride* – or [SUBJ V] – *he gave up*.

Although this kind of perspective shall give some good explanation for compositional uses of grammar, when each word of the lexicon has an individual function or meaning in the sentence, it cannot do the same for an idiomatic expression, since its meanings are not the result of the sum of its parts, nor they are explained based on grammatical rules. In order to deal with idioms, formal approaches interpret them as complex lexemes, so that they are represented in dictionaries like lexical entries, as it is possible to see in the following example from Cambridge Online Dictionary[15]: "**Let the cat out of the bag:** to allow a secret to be known, usually without intending to: I was trying to keep the party a secret, but Mel went and let the cat out of the bag".

The problem to consider idioms as lexical entries is that not all idioms are fixed expressions. Some of them may be constituted by words that have inflectional (or derivational) properties – e.g., to get bent out of shape (to get upset): *you **will get** bent out of shape, you **got** bent out of shape* – or also by a slot – e.g., to drive someone ADJ*: she drives me crazy/nuts/bananas* (cf. BYBEE, 2010). Therefore, it is difficult to make a rigid association of idioms as vocabulary knowledge or as grammatical rules in the sense that they are formed by both features. The construction [DAR ADJ] is a good example of a not fixed idiom, since the verb can be inflected and there is a slot that can be filled by different adjectives. Regarding these mixed features (vocabulary + rules), Hilpert (2014, p. 8) claims that

> since idiomatic expressions accommodate different words and show structural variation, the tools for such an analysis will have to be sensitive to both lexical and grammatical distinctions. Hence, and this is the punchline of Fillmore et al.'s argument, these tools can just as well be used for the 'more familiar structures', that is, everything that used to be part of the grammar component of the dictionary-and-grammar model.

Berkeley Construction Grammar came up as a Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor's (1988) answer to the problem of the dictionary-and-grammar model. The basic tenet of Construction Grammar (CG) models is that constructions – i.e., form-meaning pairings – are the basic units of language. It is noteworthy to report that in this perspective constructions are not only the basic unit of language, but the only linguistic unit available, what took Goldberg to one of her most famous aphorisms: "constructions all way down" (GOLDBERG, 2006, p. 18). Moreover, also according to this scholar (GOLDBERG, 1995: 4), a distinct construction should be posited

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15 Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pt/dicionario/ingles/let-the-cat-out-of-the-bag - Access on August 7th, 2021.

when one or more of its properties are not strictly predictable from knowledge of other existing constructions:

> C is a construction iff$_{def}$ C is a form-meaning pair <F$_i$, S$_i$> such that some aspect of F, or some aspect of S, is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions.

Taking this principle into consideration, [DAR ADJ] must be seen as a distinct construction, since its meaning is non-compositional. There is no transfer meaning associated to the verb *dar*. Furthermore, the adjectives *bom* or *ruim* do not fill the basic function of object nor they modify the verb the way an adverb would do. In fact, verb and adjective work together with a brand-new meaning, just like it would happen with a simple lexeme.

In addition to this fact, it is also relevant to point that, since constructions are the only units available, they can have different dimensions. For a review, let's see the table 1, elaborated by Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 13):

Table 1. Dimensions of constructions

SIZE	Atomic	Complex	Intermediate
	Red, -s	*Pull strings, on top of*	*Bonfire*
SPECIFICITY	Substantive	Schematic	Intermediate
	Dropout, -dom	N, SAI	*V-ment*
CONCEPT	Contentful	Procedural	Intermediate
	Red, N	*-s*, SAI	*way*-construction

Source: TRAUGOTT & TROUSDALE (2013: 13)

Regarding the three different dimensions of constructions expressed above, [DAR ADJ] can be considered: a) complex in relation to its size; b) intermediate in relation to its specificity; c) contentful in relation to its concept. As we can see, unlike the dictionary-and-grammar model, which units tend to be atomic, i.e., words, in CG models units have very different extensions: a stem, a word, a complex clause or even a text genre can be seen as a linguistic unit, i.e., a construction.

According to Hilpert (2014), one of the most important features of constructions is that they are never fully compositional. Even a single noun phrase (NP) construction formed by a noun and an adjective – like *good friends* – can be partial/non-compositional in some extent:

f. Marcos and Bart are good friends (i.e., they are good friends to one another).

g. Marcos and Bart are nice friends (i.e., I consider they're nice friends to me).

As we can observe in the examples above, although the adjective *good* modifies the noun *friends* – as it happens in any NP constituted by a noun and an adjective –, the expression

evokes a semantic frame in which there is a reciprocal relationship between Marcos and Bart. Nonetheless, the same reciprocal relationship is not inferred from *nice friends*. In the latter, Marcos and Bart are considered nice to the speaker and, considering the states-of-affairs expressed in the sentence, it could be even possible that Marcos and Bart didn't know each other.

As we have already mentioned previously, non-compositionality (or even partial compositionality) is present in [DAR ADJ], like in any other construction. Besides the idiosyncrasies of its grammatical structures – as far as meaningful verbs are supposed to select NPs as arguments, not APs –, verb and adjective form a chunk and they can be paraphrased by a single lexeme, like *succeed* (for *dar bom*) and *fail* (for *dar ruim*).

Despite CGs models share (among them) all the ideas we introduced in this section, they are different in some extent. The type we adopt for this research is the Usage-Based Construction Grammar, which seeks to describe grammar from empirical data on linguistic usage. In this model, we try to reach linguistic generalizations by a multidimensional analysis of a great number of linguistic tokens. One model of description that is recurrently used in this approach was proposed by Croft, as we can see in figure 1.

Figure 1. The symbolic structure of a construction
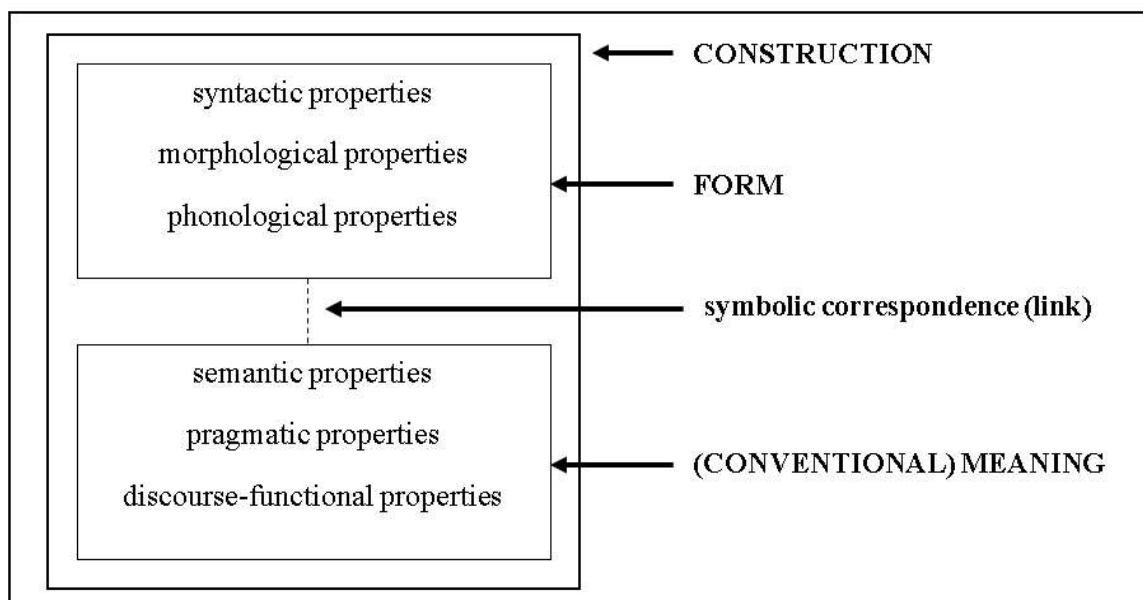
Source: Croft (2001: 18)

As it is possible to observe, each of the construction counterpart is constituted by a set of three properties. In the formal pole, there are syntactic, morphological and phonological

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properties; in the functional pole, semantic, pragmatic and discourse-functional properties. In this perspective, a wide description of linguistic constructions, in the search for generalizations, must predict a fine-grained study of all those features.

To end this section, there is a cognitive phenomenon predicted by Usage-Based Linguistic models that is fundamental for the analysis we propose: intersubjectivity. According to Traugott (2010), intersubjectivity can be understood as: i) "the relationship to the addressee and addressee's face" (2010:1); ii) the 'invited inferences' that are chosen to "elide the complexities of communication in which the speaker/writer evokes implicatures and invites the addressee/reader to infer them" (2010: 3); iii) "the ambient context in which linguistic change takes place and to which linguistic change contributes" (2010:3).

With a more refined look at intersubjectivity, Tantucci (2018) associates this phenomenon to a theory of mind development. According to the scholar, intersubjectivity is perceived when there is a shift (2018:2) "from mere co-actional joint attention to more inferential construing or specific and/or general personas' minds". It means that, on one side, speakers/writers say things that they "find necessary to encode his/her awareness of addressee/readers' as a distinctive effort or 'surplus' over mere target-oriented meaning" (TANTUCCI, 2018: 7); on the other side, it means that addressees/readers base their interpretations not exclusively on linguistic signs, but mainly in what they believe their interlocutors intend to mean by what they say. The main difference between Traugott's and Tantucci's point of view is that for the latter there are two stages of intersubjectivity. The first one – which he names immediate intersubjectivity – is associated to linguistic *ad hoc* production/interpretations during the ongoing speech event. The last one– which he names extended intersubjectivity – is associated to a semantic and/or grammatical reanalysis stage, prior to semanticization.

Methodological procedures and analysis

For this research, we collected data of the string of the verb *DAR* (in varied inflected forms) + the adjectives *bom/ruim* from Now database, available at the platform *Corpus do Português* (www.corpusdoportugues.org). It is a contemporary and quite extensive corpus (since it contains approximately 1.1 billion words) that consists of texts from the journalistic sphere from 2012 to 2019. At first, we verified the verb inflections combined with *bom* and *ruim* that were available in the corpus, as we can see in table 2.

Table 2. String frequency of verb *DAR* + adjectives *bom/ruim* in Now database

STRING FREQUENCY *V + bom*	FREQUENCY	STRING FREQUENCY *V + ruim*	FREQUENCY
Dar bom	209	Deu ruim	177
Deu bom	184	Dar ruim	55
Dá bom	122	Dado ruim	11
Dando bom	44	Dá ruim	8
Dão bom	36	Der ruim	7
Deram bom	21	Deram ruim	1
Dado bom	19	Dê ruim	1
Dou bom	17	Dava ruim	1
Dava bom	13	Dando ruim	1
Dê bom	12		
Dará bom	9		
Daria bom	7		
Davam bom	5		
Dei bom	5		
Darem bom	3		
Der bom	3		
Dessem bom	1		
Derem bom	1		
Demos bom	1		
Daremos bom	1		
Darei bom	1		
Darão bom	1		
Damos bom	1		
TOTAL	**716**	**TOTAL**	**262**

Source: self-elaboration.

Thereafter, we selected 50 tokens of the two more frequent types of each word string: *dar bom, deu bom, deu ruim, dar ruim* – 200 tokens in total – and checked whether they made part of the idiomatic construction under analysis [DAR ADJ] or of a more compositional construction [DAR] [NP]. To understand the difference between the two constructions, let's observe two tokens:

(03)   Assim é mais seguro transitar pela Virada, até por conta de sua programação avançando a madrugada. Se **deu ruim...** mantenha a calma[16].
*This way it is safer to travel through Virada, even because of its schedule advancing into the night. If it **failed…** keep calm.*

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16 Available at: https://entretenimento.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2019/05/18/guia-de-sobreviven-cia-veja-dicas-para-aproveitar-a-virada-cultural-sem-perrengue.htm - Access on August 8th, 2021.

(04)   Obviamente que tem razão em imensas coisas, mas a 'hiperbolização' nunca **deu bom resultado** e vou contar somente uma história para amenizar a sua visão pessimista[17].

*Obviously you're right about a lot of things, but 'hyperbolization' has never **given a good result** and I'm just going to tell you a story to soften your pessimistic view.*

In (03), *deu ruim* is an instantiation of the construction [DAR ADJ], since verb and adjective form a non-compositional chunk. However, in (04), *deu bom* makes part of another structure [DAR][NP]. That is a more compositional construction where the verb selects a noun phrase as its argument. In this case, the noun phrase is constituted by *bom resultado* (in English, *a good result*). It is noteworthy that, in these two notations – [DAR ADJ] and [DAR][NP] –, the square brackets aim to represent the degree of fusion between verb and adjective. So, as we can see, the degree of fusion between verb and adjective is high in [DAR ADJ], but loose in [DAR][NP], since in the latter the adjective is more integrated to the NP's core (the noun *resultado*).

Moreover, it is also important to explain that the use of caps in notations is related to abstraction. Therefore, on the one hand, when we use DAR in caps, we want to represent any verb inflection possibility for the verb (tense, person or number); when we use ADJ in caps, the different adjectives that can fill this slot. On the other hand, when we use lowercase, we refer to a specific word form. That is why, throughout this text, there are different representations for [DAR ADJ]: [DAR bom], [DAR ruim], [dar bom], [deu bom], [dar ruim] and [deu ruim]. In parallel, when we use no square brackets – *dar bom, deu bom, dar ruim* and *deu ruim* – we refer to word strings irrespectively of the construction they instantiate, whether [DAR ADJ] or [DAR][NP].

Through the association of each token of the word strings *dar bom, deu bom, dar ruim* and *deu ruim* to its respective construction – [DAR ADJ] or [DAR][NP] –, it is possible to measure constructional productivity in relation to token frequency. As we will see in the next section, [DAR ruim] is much more frequent in relation to [DAR bom]. The former occurs in informal contexts and in tense colloquial context[18], with high token frequency. In contrast, the latter is almost restricted to informal contexts and has very little token frequency. To give readers an idea, [DAR bom] is very common in Twitter (where most of texts are little monitored regarding linguistic formality), but it is very unusual in Corpus Now (where most of texts are of a relatively monitored written modality): there was only one single use among the 100 analyzed tokens.

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17 Available at: https://www.publico.pt/2019/06/11/opiniao/opiniao/cartas-director-1875969 - Access on August 8th, 2021.

18 Tense colloquial context is a Portuguese expression to refer to intermediate contexts of language use, something between informal and formal ones.

Besides this action, we also sought to describe the constructional properties of [DAR ADJ], especially pragmatic and discourse-functional properties, since this construction occurs in intersubjective and argumentative contexts, where speakers make an evaluation about what is being said.

To ensure intelligibility, the remainder of this section is divided into four parts: A) The constructions [DAR ADJ] and [DAR][NP]; B) Productivity of [DAR bom] and [DAR ruim]; C) Stronger sequential and taxonomic relations as the result of extended intersubjectivity and semanticization; and D) Constructional properties of [DAR ADJ].

A) The constructions [DAR ADJ] and [DAR][NP]

As we have already mentioned in the previous section, the 200 tokens of the word strings collected for our analysis – *dar bom, deu bom, dar ruim* and *deu ruim* – belong to the construction [DAR ADJ] or to the construction [DAR][NP]. In the former, verb and adjective result in an idiosyncratic and non-compositional chunk. It is idiosyncratic in the sense that a transitive verb usually recruits a NP, and not an AP, and it is non-compositional in the sense that constructional meaning is not strictly predictable from the construction's components. Let's see some examples.

(05)   **Deu ruim:** abordado pela PM, motorista deixa latinha de cerveja cair no chão e é preso[19].
       Things went bad: *approached by the police, the driver drops a can of beer on the ground and is arrested.*

(06)   Quando Joel [Silver] pediu para eu pular, eu sabia que **ia dar ruim**[20].
       When Joel [Silver] asked me to jump, I knew (things) ***would fail***.

(07)   É a culminação de 11 anos de histórias, juntas em um só filme. Será que **deu bom**[21]?
       It is the culmination of 11 years of storytelling in one film. Did (it) ***succeed***?

(08)   A história se repete, dessa vez **vai dar bom**[22].
       History repeats itself, this time it ***will succeed***.

Token (05) represents the most frequent context in which [DAR ADJ] occurs: it is a syntactic isolated structure that represents the speaker/writer bad evaluation of the state-of-

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19   Available at: http://www.alagoas24horas.com.br/1213236/medico-de-upa-chama-paciente-de-bur-ro-e-cobra-consulta/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.

20   Available at: https://cinepop.com.br/predador-jean-claude-van-damme-revela-o-motivo-de-ter-aba ndonado-o-projeto-203777 - Access on August 8th, 2021.

21   Available at: https://legadodamarvel.com.br/bom-ou-ruim-leia-as-primeiras-reacoes-da-critica-pa-ra-vingadores-ultimato/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.

22   Available at: https://twitter.com/anantunell/status/1424239719144112128 - Access on August 8th, 2021.

affairs (situation). As we can see in (05), **deu ruim** is a juxtaposed clause in the sentence and it makes us understand the speaker's point of view about the scene being described. It is worth noting that the uses of [DAR ADJ] as a syntactically isolated expression are quite recurrent in the corpus, mainly as an absolute clause, as we can also see in: *Triste enredo para o sujeito que até já bordava a toga para o STF – ou a faixa de presidente do país²³*. **Deu ruim**. – in English, *sad plot for the guy who was already embroidering a toga for the STF – or the country's presidency's sash.* ***It failed.***

From (06) to (08) the construction is not syntactically isolated, but it also represents an evaluation concerning a state-of-affairs. In (06) and (07), [DAR ADJ] refers to whole predications – *quando Joel [Silver] pediu pare eu pular* and *é a culminação de 11 anos de histórias, juntas em um só filme,* respectively. In (08), although [DAR ADJ] refers to a previous syntactic subject (*história*), it is an abstract noun that is also related to a state-of-affairs.

In contrast, in the construction [DAR][NP], syntax is not idiosyncratic as far as *dar* generally selects a NP as argument and meanings tend to be more compositional. Let's see some examples:

(09)   A jogada do primeiro gol começou nos pés de Andrei, que **deu bom passe** para o lateral-direito²⁴.

*The play for the first goal started at the feet of Andrei, who **gave a good pass** to the right-back.*

(10)   Não é normal, não é aceitável que vivamos sempre no limite, extenuados, pressionados por um sistema de exploração intensiva, desmedida e desrespeitosa, totalmente impensado, que nunca poderá **dar bom resultado²⁵.**

*It is not normal, it is not acceptable that we always live on the edge, exhausted, pressured by a system of intensive, excessive, and disrespectful exploitation, totally thoughtless, which can never **give good results**.*

In (09), dar bom makes part of the prototypical prepositional dative construction [SUBJ$_{AGENT}$ V OBJ 1P$_{ATIENT}$ OBJ 2$_{RECIPIENT}$]. From this point of view, verb and noun phrase are less

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23 Available at: https://www.cadaminuto.com.br/noticia/341119/2019/06/21/as-mentiras-pornografica s-de-sergio-moro - Access on August 8th, 2021.
24 Available at: https://www.aprovincia.com.br/vida-provinciana/esporte/xv-luta-ate-o-fim-e-alcanca--resultado-que-o-mantem-na-vice-lideranca-28718/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.
25 Available at: https://www.jm-madeira.pt/opinioes/ver/2467/O_cansaco_como___validacao_de_si - Access on August 8th, 2021.

integrated – that is why we represent the construction in separate square brackets [DAR][NP] – and meaning is more compositional, in the sense that it can be inferred from the components of the construction. Nonetheless, in (10), verb and noun phrase are a little more integrated in the sense that NP is not individuated, i.e., it is semantically attached to the verb to express a process. The English expression *give good results*, for example, could be replaced by the verb *succeed*, keeping the same truth conditions. Despite this relative semantic integration, it is still very compositional so that we can infer the construction meaning from its components. Also note that this relative transparency makes it possible to translate the token to English, replacing each element for their respective English correspondences.

B) Productivity of [DAR bom] and [DAR ruim]

As we investigated the two most frequent patterns of the word strings *verb + adjective – dar bom, deu bom, dar ruim* and *deu ruim –*, we observed that they are completely different in token frequency[26]. As we can see in table 3, *ruim* is tied to [DAR ADJ], while *bom* is very loosely tied to the same construction. In contrast, *ruim* doesn't seem to be tied to [DAR][NP], since we could not find a single example, neither in the *corpus* nor in the free web[27], while *bom* is tied to [DAR][NP].

Table 3. Distribution of strings of verb + adjective in the constructions

	[DAR ADJ]	[DAR][NP]
DAR BOM	0	50
DEU BOM	01	49
DAR RUIM	50	0
DEU RUIM	50	0
TOTAL	**101**	**99**

Source: self-elaboration

It is noteworthy to remember that Corpus Now is constituted by texts from the journalistic sphere. Many of those texts belong to formal contexts and some of them to what we call *colloquial tense variety*. The constructions [dar ruim] and [deu ruim] occur in this last kind of context, especially in sports news, movie and TV reviews, or sometimes, in general news media aimed at a more popular audience. They are also very common in informal contexts, as we can easily find them on Twitter posts, as we can see on images 1 and 2 below.

Image 1. Token #1 extracted from Twitter

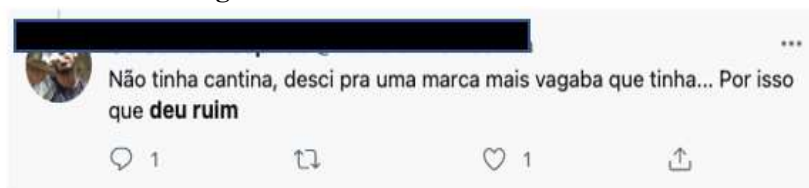baixei o app da shopee vai **dar ruim**

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26 We have Strong evidence that there are also differences regarding type frequency, but its proof depends on further investigation as we restricted our analysis for the most frequent patterns of the strings of verb + adjective.

27 For web search, we looked up the first 20 pages results for "dar ruim" and "deu ruim". Every token found were instances of [DAR ADJ].

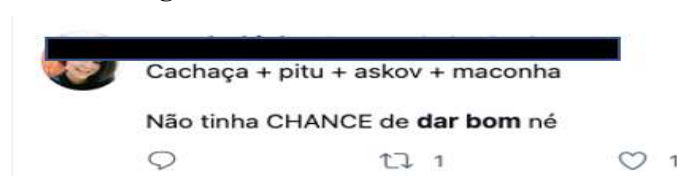**Image 2**. Token #2 extracted from Twitter

Não tinha cantina, desci pra uma marca mais vagaba que tinha... Por isso que **deu ruim**

Source: Twitter[29]

Although [dar bom] and [deu bom] are not frequent in Corpus Now, they can also be easily and recurrently found in Twitter. Let's see some examples:

Image 3. Token #3 extracted from Twitter.

Cachaça + pitu + askov + maconha

Não tinha CHANCE de **dar bom** né

Source: Twitter[30]

Image 4. Token #4 extracted from Twitter.

· 6 min

eu ri pena q n **deu bom**

Source: Twitter[31]

We believe that this fact is a piece of evidence that [dar bom] and [deu bom] are still very restricted to informal contexts, while [dar ruim] and [deu ruim] occur in wider contexts. It can be a clue of conventionality and contextual expansion (cf. HIMMELMANN, 2004) of [dar ruim] and [deu ruim] since linguistic change tends to occur first in informal contexts and spread to more formal ones as the new use becomes more conventional among a community of speakers.

C) Stronger sequential and taxonomic relations as the result of extended intersubjectivity and semanticization

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28 Available at: http://twitter.com/usemylies/status/1424382218449956874 - Access on August 8th, 2021. Translation: I downloaded Shopee app, I will have problems with that.
29 Available at: https://twitter.com/LeandroMh3/status/1424369918984720395 - Access on August 8th, 2021. Translation: There was no cantina (a wine brand), so I chose a poorer one that was available… That's why things went bad.
30 Available at: https://twitter.com/t_wondrak/status/1424380477008453637 - Access on August 8th, 2021. Translation: cachaça + pitu + askov + hemp. There was no chance it would succeed.
31 Available at: https://twitter.com/cabaceirah/status/1424382007698726916- Access on August 8th, 2021. Translation: I laughed; it is a pity it failed.

According to Diessel (2019), conventionalization of a construction is the result of frequency. The more speakers use a construction, the more it becomes entrenched, which can be interpreted as a consequence of automatization. Automatization, in its turn, is a cognitive process related to memory, so that "items that are frequently used together become associated with each other, they often develop into automated processing units, also known as chunks" (DIESSEL, 2019: 15).

Although chunks are the result of automatization, is does not mean that all of them should be interpreted as a homogeneous sequential relation. There are some chunks where items are more strongly tied to each other and there are others in which items are loosely tied. Taking that into consideration, we can infer that [dar ruim] and [deu ruim] have stronger sequential relations in comparison to [dar bom] and [deu bom]. The piece of evidence for that comes from the difference in token frequency: while every string of *dar ruim* or *deu ruim* is an instantiation of [DAR ADJ] in the corpus, the strings *dar bom* and *deu bom* rarely instantiate the same construction. As we have seen, they rather instantiate [DAR][NP]. Moreover, stronger sequential relations also result in stronger taxonomic relations. Figure 4 shows the strength of these relations:

Figure 4. Strength of sequential and taxonomic relations of [DAR][NP] and [DAR ADJ]
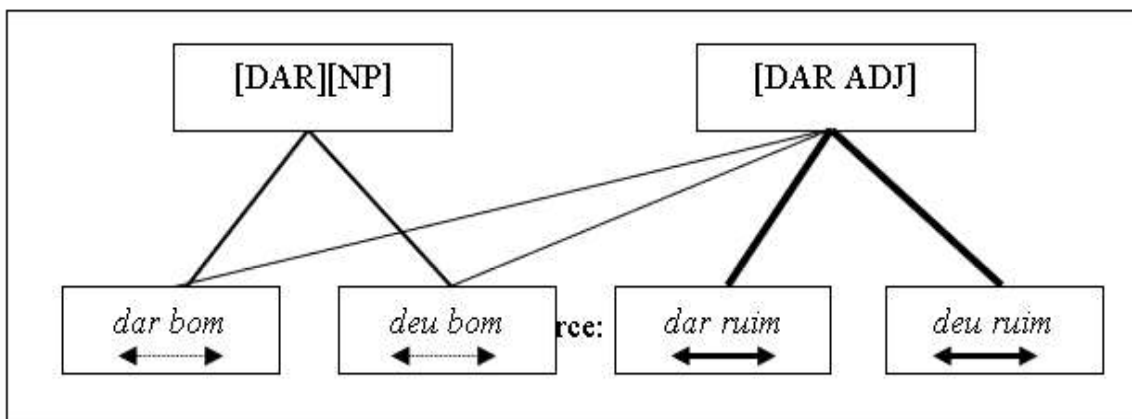
Source: self-elaboration

In figure 4, the thickness of the lines represents the strength of the sequential and taxonomic links. As we can see, the more we use *dar ruim* and *deu ruim* as an instance of [DAR ADJ], the more the components become tied and the more the construction becomes entrenched. It is also important to note that, in figure 4, *dar ruim* and *deu ruim* are not even linked to [DAR][NP] since we found no token related to that use, not only in Corpus Now, but also in the free web (including Twitter). Differently, *dar bom* and *deu bom* are linked to both constructions, but it is more strongly linked to [DAR][NP] than to [DAR ADJ].

To be conventional a construction needs to be shared among a community of speakers. However, it is important to highlight that there are also different degrees of conventionality. A construction can be conventional because it is semanticized. In short, it means that constructional meaning is easily accessed, since it is strongly stored in language users' minds.

That kind of access happens with very frequent constructions, like English *but* and *nonetheless*, for example, which contrastive meaning is highly entrenched in every English speaker's mind.

Another degree of conventionality, however, can be related to extended intersubjectivity (cf. TANTUCCI, 2018). In those cases, the meaning is shared among a community of speakers, but not yet semanticized. Constructions that are not yet semanticized need more context to be interpreted as their meaning still depends more on pragmatics. In this case, it is necessary for addressees and readers to make inferences about their interlocutors' intentions to interpret what is being said.

From this point of view, regarding the construction [DAR ADJ], we can say that all the types investigated in this paper are cases of extended intersubjectivity, since meanings depend still a lot on pragmatic content (i.e., they are not semanticized), especially on what addressees and readers think about their interlocutors' intentions. Nonetheless, it is also important to mention that as times goes by, as constructions become more frequent and, therefore, entrenched, constructional status may change, especially for [dar ruim] and [deu ruim], given their stronger sequential and taxonomic relations.

D) Constructional properties of [DAR ADJ]

To finish this paper, let's explore the constructional properties of [DAR ADJ]. For that, let's see table 4.

Table 4. Constructional properties of [DAR ADJ]

FORM	Phonological properties	1) Formation of a phonological word.
	Morphological properties	2) Loss of morphological inflection properties of the adjective. 3) Reduced verb inflections. **4) Fusion of verb and adjective as a unit.**
	Syntactic properties	**5) Construction as a predication of a state-of-affairs.**
FUNCTION	Semantic properties	**6) Loss of semantic compositionality of the verb and the adjective, resulting in a new meaning.**
	Pragmatic properties	7) Use of the construction to express speakers' point of view of a state-of-affairs.
	Discourse-functional properties	8) Insertion in argumentative text sequences.

Source: self-elaboration.

Since properties 4, 5 and 6 (in bold) were already exploited in the previous sections, in the remainder of this paper, we will deal with the other properties: 1, 2, 3 and 7.

• *Formation of a phonological word*

Mattoso Câmara Jr (1967:34) distinguishes two types of units under the name *word*: the phonological word, which corresponds to a "spontaneous division in the vocal emission chain"

Diadorim, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 23, n. 3, Especial, p. 55 - 73, jul. - dez. 2021.

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and the formal or morphic word, "when a phonic segment is individualized due to a specific meaning attributed to it in the language". It is important to say that these entities may not match, i.e., sometimes a phonological word will be constituted by two or more formal words.

Besides this famous linguistic principle from Mattoso Câmara Jr (1967), Usage-based approaches share the idea that one of the consequences of the emergence of new constructions is the loss of semantic and syntactic composition (cf. TRAUGOTT & TROUSDALE, 2013). Regarding [DAR ADJ], we can verify, in the corpus, the high attachment among components and the loss of categorical boundaries. As we have been arguing during this paper, there is a fusion between verb and adjective that results in a unit in [DAR ADJ].

- *Loss of inflectional properties*

As we know, in Portuguese, adjectives can have inflection. In the case of the adjectives *bom* and *ruim,* the former can be inflected in both gender and number while the latter only in number. Nonetheless, as the adjective refers to a verb, it becomes invariant, functioning as an adverb.

(11)   Vou respirar o mesmo ar que Lily, que eu ouvia no 'Top 10' da MTV e tem uma narrativa parecida com a minha: histórias que **deram ruim**, e depois bom, e depois ruim de novo[32].

      *I'm going to breathe the same air as Lily, who I heard on MTV's 'TOP 10' and has a narrative similar to mine: stories that **went bad**, then good, and then bad again.*

As we have already mentioned during this text, [DAR ADJ] is always used to assign a speaker's point of view in relation to a state-of-affairs. That is why all the uses of [DAR ADJ] are impersonal ones, inflected in the 3rd person or even in a nominal form: *dar ruim, deu ruim, dê ruim, dava ruim, deram ruim, etc*. That means that uses of inflected forms in the 1st or 2nd person (singular or plural) for [DAR ADJ] are blocked in this construction, like: **dei ruim, *deste ruim, *demos ruim, etc.*

- *Evaluative modality and argumentative contexts*

Speakers make use of [DAR ADJ] in argumentative text sequences to express their evaluation about a state-of-affairs, as we can see in (12) and (13):

(12)   Até outro dia a turma da Lava-jato também tinha seu próprio joystick, e parecia se divertir às pampas com ele. Mas, como se diz, uma hora **pode dar ruim**[33].
      Until the other day, The Lava-jato crew also had their own joystick, and they

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32 Available at: https://www.tnh1.com.br/noticia/nid/duda-beat-e-prova-de-que-existe-vida-depois-da--sofrencia/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.
33 Available at: https://www.poder360.com.br/opiniao/governo/o-governo-faz-inimigos-de-graca-nas--vacas-gordas-analisa-alon-feuerwerker/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.

*seemed to have great fun with it. But, as they say, on hour **it can be bad**.*

(13)   A gente já sabe no que deu a criação da ANTT e da Antaq. A própria gíria já diz, **deu ruim**[34].

*We already know what led to the creation of ANTT and Antaq. The slang says itself, **it was bad**.*

In (12) and (13), [DAR ADJ] appears in argumentative contexts and its use represent the speaker's point of view over the situation, that is, the articulated manipulation of processes by Lava-Jato in (12) and the criticism about the creation of two new national agencies in (13).

Conclusion

In contemporary Brazilian Portuguese, there is an intersubjective construction whose function is to show the speaker's point of view of a state-of-affairs in argumentative contexts, which can be represented by the following subschema: [DAR ADJ]. For this paper, we investigated four specific types of this construction: [dar bom], [deu bom], [dar ruim] and [deu ruim].

As we have seen, the word strings *dar bom, deu bom, dar ruim* and *deu ruim* can instantiate more than one construction: [DAR ADJ] or [DAR][NP]. The differences between both constructions are related to: a) distinct degrees of compositionality – the first is less compositional in relation to the last one; b) idiosyncratic morphosyntax – the former is idiosyncratic in the sense that a transitive verb usually selects a NP as argument, not a AP. About this last feature, it is important to say that adjective and verbs present reduced inflections, since adjective does not agree in gender nor number and verbs are restricted to impersonal uses.

The constructions [dar ruim] and [deu ruim] are much more frequent in relation to [dar bom] and [deu bom]. The former occurs both in the Portuguese colloquial tense variety and in informal contexts, while the latter is restricted to informal ones. We believe that this difference is associated with automatization and entrenchment, being [dar ruim] and [deu ruim] more entrenched and automated than [dar bom] and [deu bom]. Consequently, the former also present stronger taxonomic and sequential relations in comparison to the last two types. Finally, regarding pragmatic and discourse-functional properties, all [DAR ADJ] types are used in argumentative contexts to express speakers' point of view about a previous state-of-affairs.

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34 Available at: https://paraibaonline.com.br/2019/01/governo-preve-contratar-r-100-bi-de-investimentos-em-rodovias/ - Access on August 8th, 2021.

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