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**Design e Diagramação:**

Rafael Laplace de Andrade, Agoobook, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

Rodrigo Pereira Martins, Agoobook, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

**Redação:**

Programa de Pós Graduação em Letras Vernáculas - Faculdade de Letras da UFRJ

Av. Horácio de Macedo, 2151 - sala F321, Ilha do Fundão, Cidade Universitária

CEP 21941-917 - Rio de Janeiro/RJ

E-mail: [posvernaculas@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:posvernaculas@letras.ufrj.br); [revdiadorim@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:revdiadorim@letras.ufrj.br)

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## PRESENTATION

In yet another volume linked to the Capes-PrInt/2021 Project Voices and writings in the different spaces of the Portuguese language, Diadorim: revista de estudos linguísticos e literários brings its readers two interviews, two classic articles, and three articles by researchers from different Brazilian universities: the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, the Federal Fluminense University and the Federal University of Pará.

The first classic article The existence/inexistence of orational subjects has as authors Mary A. Kato (Unicamp) and Carlos Miotto (UFSC). In this paper, the researchers aim at a new analysis of the traditionally called subjective clauses, according to the perspective of Generative Theory. For the authors, such structures “are selected as complements” in the deep structure (D-structure). This is evidenced by the fact that integral subordinates can be left topicalized with syntactic adjunct behavior, which explains “why the post-verbal order is not the unmarked one, as opposed to expected subject behavior.” In addition, Kato and Miotto present a new, simpler and more economical alternative about the “place of insertion of expletives in impersonal constructions.”

In the second classic article, Emilio Pagotto (UFSC) discusses “the epistemological problem of incorporating into the descriptive framework of variation processes hypotheses coming from” formalist theories such as Structuralism and Generativism, assuming that the theories do not compete with each other. Resuming, therefore, the discussions brought by Tarallo (1986), the author proposes that the way “consists in taking the portions of linguistic functioning that support the empirics of such theoretical frameworks [...] and re-signifying the relation proposed within the frameworks of origin (structuralist or generativist) not as the effect of a rule that responds to abstract concepts that only make sense within each framework, but as a force that acts within the functioning of language.

The first interviewee is Professor Uli Reich. Uli is Ordinary Professor at the Freie Universität Berlin. He has experience in Linguistics, with emphasis on Linguistic Theory and Analysis, working on pragmatics, prosody, syntax, sociolinguistics and multilingualism in Portuguese, Spanish and French. In his interview, the researcher presents that *In language, everything is connected*.

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The second interviewee is Professor Konrad Szcześniak. He discusses *Creative, variable and formulaic uses in construction grammar*. Szcześniak is Professor of Linguistics at Palacký University (Czech Republic) and University of Silesia (Poland). He is the author of several books and other texts, including papers about the Portuguese language. The present interview focuses on how people use language fluently and how they develop a solid command of their mother tongue.

In their article *[DAR ruim] and [DAR bom]: two idiosyncratic idioms from Brazilian Portuguese*, Monclar Lopes and Bárbara Miranda discuss the use of the verb *dar* followed by the adjectives *ruim* or *bom*. Such idiomatic constructions are described on the basis of Use-Centered Functional Linguistics, since the theory predicts the symbolic pairing of form and content, as well as on the factor of constructional compositionality. The authors demonstrate the productivity of each construction by looking at its use in argumentative and intersubjective contexts with evaluative character.

In the article *Future reference in Portuguese: the case for a volitive periphrasis*, Mariana Costa and Laís Souza investigate the occurrences of [querer + verb in the infinitive] in comparison to the expression [ir + verb in the infinitive]. Based on the theoretical perspective of Cognitive-Functional Linguistics and the Grammar of Constructions, the authors hypothesize that there is an association between volition and futurity made by Portuguese speakers. As a result, they conclude that the construction [querer + verb in the infinitive] licenses multiple uses that can be triggered by the speaker during the communicational situation.

The article entitled *Material processes in the news from newspapers in Pará about domestic violence from the perspective of ideational metafunction*, by Bárbara Pinheiro and Rosângela de Sousa, presents the material processes in journalistic texts about domestic violence, unveiling the representations of victims and aggressors conveyed by the written media. Using the theoretical and methodological assumptions of Systemic-Functional Linguistics, the results indicate that newspapers portray the main actors of domestic violence cases through linguistic choices that contribute to particular forms of representation.

We hope that this issue of Diadorim fulfills its function of disseminating linguistic knowledge developed within Brazilian universities beyond national borders, as well as contributing to reflections on the uses of language from different theoretical perspectives.

#### **Editor in Chief**

*Marcia dos Santos Machado Vieira*

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## APRESENTAÇÃO

Em mais um volume ligado ao Projeto Capes-PrInt/2021 *Vozes e escritas nos diferentes espaços da língua portuguesa*, a Diadorim: revista de estudos linguísticos e literários traz aos seus leitores duas entrevistas, dois artigos clássicos, além de três artigos de pesquisadores de diferentes universidades brasileiras: a Federal Fluminense, a Federal do Rio de Janeiro e a Federal do Pará.

O primeiro artigo clássico *A existência/inexistência de sujeitos oracionais* tem como autores Mary A. Kato (Unicamp) e Carlos Mioto (UFSC). Nele, os pesquisadores objetivam uma nova análise das tradicionalmente chamadas orações subjetivas, de acordo com a perspectiva da Teoria Gerativa. Para os autores, tais estruturas “são selecionadas como complementos” na estrutura profunda (estrutura-D). Isso se comprova pelo fato de que as subordinadas integrantes poderem ser topicalizadas à esquerda com comportamento de adjunto sintático, o que explica “o porquê de a ordem pós-verbal não ser a não-marcada, em oposição ao que se espera do comportamento de um sujeito”. Além disso, Kato e Mioto apresentam uma nova alternativa mais simples e econômica sobre o “lugar de inserção dos expletivos em construções impessoais”.

No segundo artigo clássico, Emilio Pagotto (UFSC) discute “o problema epistemológico de incorporar ao quadro descritivo dos processos de variação hipóteses oriundas” de teorias formalistas como o Estruturalismo e o Gerativismo, partindo do princípio de que as teorias não concorrem entre si. Retomando, portanto, as discussões trazidas por Tarallo (1986), o autor propõe o caminho que “consiste em tomar as porções do funcionamento linguístico que sustentam a empiria de tais quadros teóricos [...] e ressignificar a relação proposta no interior dos quadros de origem (estruturalista ou gerativista) não como o efeito de uma regra que responde a conceitos abstratos que só fazem sentido no interior de cada quadro, mas como força que age no âmbito do funcionamento da língua.”

O primeiro entrevistado é o Professor Uli Reich. Uli é Professor Ordinário pela Universidade Livre de Berlim. Tem experiência na área de Linguística, com ênfase em Teoria e Análise Linguística, trabalhando sobre pragmática, prosódia, sintaxe, sociolinguística e contato linguístico em português, espanhol e francês. Em sua entrevista, o pesquisador afirma que *Em linguagem, tudo está conectado*.

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O segundo entrevistado é o Professor Konrad Szcześniak. Ele discute *Usos criativos, variáveis e formulaicos em gramática de construções*. Szcześniak é Professor de Linguística na Universidade Palacký (República Tcheca) e na Universidade da Silesia (Polônia). É autor de uma série de livros e outros textos, inclusive de artigos sobre a língua portuguesa. A presente entrevista centra-se em como as pessoas usam a língua fluentemente e como desenvolvem um domínio sólido da sua língua materna.

Em seu artigo [DAR ruim] and [DAR bom]: two idiosyncratic idioms from Brazilian Portuguese, Monclar Lopes e Bárbara Miranda discutem o emprego do verbo *dar* seguido dos adjetivos *ruim* ou *bom*. Tais construções idiomáticas são descritas à luz da Linguística Funcional Centrada no Uso, uma vez que a teoria prevê o pareamento simbólico de forma e conteúdo, bem como no fator da composicionalidade construcional. Os autores demonstram a produtividade de cada construção, bem como observam seu uso em contextos argumentativos e intersubjetivos com caráter avaliativo.

No artigo *Future reference in portuguese: the case for a volitive periphrasis*, Mariana Costa e Laís Souza investigam as ocorrências de [querer + verbo no infinitivo] em comparação à expressão [ir + verbo no infinitivo]. Com base na perspectiva teórica da Linguística Funcional-Cognitiva e da Gramática de Construções, as autoras partem da hipótese de que existe uma associação entre volição e futuridade feita pelos falantes do português. Como resultado, concluem que a construção [querer + verbo no infinitivo] licencia múltiplos usos que podem ser acionados pelo falante durante a situação comunicacional.

O artigo intitulado *Processos materiais nas notícias de jornais paraenses sobre violência doméstica na perspectiva da metafunção ideacional*, de Bárbara Pinheiro e Rosângela de Sousa, apresenta os processos materiais dos textos jornalísticos sobre violência doméstica, desvelando as representações de vítimas e agressores veiculados pela mídia escrita. Utilizando-se dos pressupostos teóricos e metodológicos da Linguística Sistêmico-Funcional, os resultados indicam que os jornais retratam os principais atores dos casos de violência doméstica por meio de escolhas linguísticas que contribuem para formas particulares de representação.

Esperamos que esta edição da Diadorim cumpra a sua função de disseminação do conhecimento linguístico desenvolvido no âmbito das universidades brasileiras para além das fronteiras nacionais, bem como contribua para as reflexões acerca dos usos da língua em diferentes perspectivas teóricas.

#### **Editora-chefe**

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## THE NON-EXISTENCE OF FINITE SENTENTIAL SUBJECTS<sup>1</sup> A EXISTÊNCIA/INEXISTÊNCIA DE SUJEITOS ORACIONAIS

Mary A. Kato<sup>2</sup>

Carlos Miotto<sup>3</sup>

### ABSTRACT

Sentential subjects constitute a category in all traditional, Structuralist and recent Generative Grammar. Examples of such sentences are the constituents interpreted as arguments of verbs such as *parecer* [to seem], *acontecer* [to happen], *impressionar* [to impress]. The usual analysis in Generative Grammar is that such constituents are internal arguments of the verb in D-structure, and that they rise to subject position by movement. This article maintains the claim that they are D-structure internal arguments, but shows that the landing position of finite sentences is an A' position. The main evidence presented is that the so-called “sentential subjects” behave exactly like adjunct sentences for extraction. The analysis retains infinitive clauses as possible subject clauses.

**KEYWORDS:** sentential subjects; islands; infinitive clauses; adjunct clauses; A/A'-movement.

### RESUMO

Os sujeitos oracionais constituem uma categoria em todas as gramáticas tradicionais, estruturalistas e gerativistas. Exemplos de tais orações são constituintes interpretados como argumentos de verbos como *parecer*, *acontecer*, *impressionar*. A análise gerativista usual considera tais constituintes como argumentos internos do verbo na estrutura D (profunda), que sobem para a posição de sujeito por movimento. Este artigo mantém a proposta de que eles são argumentos internos na estrutura-D, mas mostra que a posição de pouso das sentenças finitas é uma posição A' (não argumental). A principal evidência apresentada é a de que os chamados “sujeitos oracionais” se comportam exatamente como adjuntos oracionais nos casos de extração. A análise mantém as orações infinitivas como possíveis orações subjetivas.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** sujeitos oracionais. ilhas, orações infinitivas; orações adverbiais; movimento A/A'

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1 A preliminary version of this paper was published in Portuguese in *Laços, Revista da Associação de Estudos Linguísticos – ASSEL-RJ*, v. 1 (1), 63-2, 2000 in *Laços – Revista da Associação de Estudos da Linguagem* v. 1 (1), 49-62, Jan /Dec. 2000 (available in Portuguese at [www.nemp-rj.com](http://www.nemp-rj.com)).

2 Mary A. Kato is a retired professor from the State University of Campinas, e-mail: [mary.kato@gmail.com](mailto:mary.kato@gmail.com).

3 Carlos Miotto is a professor at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, e-mail: [miotto@cce.ufsc.br](mailto:miotto@cce.ufsc.br).

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Proposal: this paper presents an analysis of the status of the constituents in bold in (01), (02), (03) and (04):

- (01) a. *Que Maria esteja grávida é inconcebível.* [**That Maria be pregnant** is inconceivable.]  
 b. *Que chova tanto nesta época do ano* não agrada a ninguém. [**That it rains so much at this time of year** does not please anyone.]
- (02) a. *A Maria estar grávida é inconcebível.* [**Maria's being pregnant** is inconceivable.]  
 b. *Chover tanto nesta época do ano* não agrada a ninguém. [**That it rains so much at this time of the year** does not please anyone.]
- (03) a. É inconcebível *que Maria esteja grávida.* [It is inconceivable **that Maria is pregnant.**]  
 b. *Não agrada a ninguém que chova tanto nesta época do ano.* [It does not please anyone **that it rains so much at this time of year.**]
- (04) a. É inconcebível *a Maria estar grávida.* [It is inconceivable **that Maria is pregnant**]  
 b. *Não agrada a ninguém chover tanto nesta época do ano.* [It does not please anyone **to rain so much at this time of the year.**]

According to traditional grammars, the constituents in bold are clausal subjects. In (03) and (04), the clausal subject is placed after the predicate. Infinitives are regarded as reduced clauses. Mattoso Câmara also examines them as clausal subjects<sup>4</sup>. Even verbs that admit only one argument-clause that appears to the right, as is the case with the impersonal verbs such as *parecer* (to seem) and *acontecer* (to happen), are analysed as having a clausal subject:

- (05) a. *Parecia que o morro se tinha distanciado muito.* [It seemed **that the hill had receded a long way.**]

(Graciliano Ramos, cited in Rocha Lima, 1972)

- b. *Parece que da vida as fontes mais fáceis correm.* [It seems **that the springs of life flow easier.**]

(Dias, Obras, I, 314, cited in Mattoso Câmara, 1968)

The first author to contest the traditional analysis in Portuguese and consider such subordinates as subjects, was Quicoli (1972), working within the standard Generative Theory model<sup>5</sup> and drawing on the ideas of Emonds (1970) and his principle that changes preserve

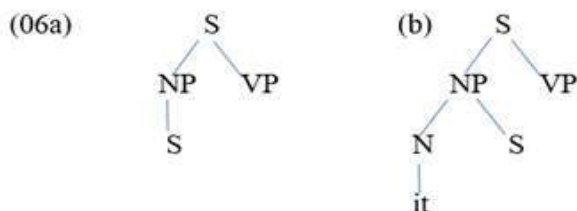
<sup>4</sup> “Subordinate conjunctive clauses can be integral (corresponding to the **subject**, complement or predicate of the main clause) or circumstantial (corresponding to circumstantial complements of the main clause).” (MATTOSO CÂMARA, 1968:291, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed). (our emphasis)

<sup>5</sup> For English and for Dutch, see similar proposal and arguments in Koster (1978).

structure<sup>6</sup>. The purpose of this study is to situate Quicoli's proposal within the current framework of Generative Theory, particularly as proposed by Kayne (1994), showing that these constituents are selected as complements in D-structure. It will be shown that these subordinate clauses can be topicalised to a position on the left periphery of the sentence, where they display a behaviour typical of a syntactic adjunct. This explains why the post-verbal order of these constituents is not at odds with how a subject is expected to behave. Contrary to Quicoli's hypothesis, however, it will be shown that infinitives are complements; and a new proposal will be presented regarding the place where expletives are inserted in impersonal constructions. The sections below will offer arguments in favour of this analysis.

### The endocentricity principle

The first study to note the problem of considering clauses as subjects was Jacobs & Rosenbaum (1968) (from here on, J&R). Ahead of the X-bar theory, they rejected the notion that a "Noun Phrase" (NP) could be rewritten as "Sentence" (S), as in (06a). Given the mandatory presence, in English, of the expletive pronoun *it*, which appears in impersonal sentences, they proposed that the nucleus of that subject is the expletive, categorised as "Noun" (N), and that the clause with subordinator is its complement, as in (06b).



Then the **extraposition** rule was proposed, resulting in the postponed subject. That rule would account for other constructions such as the extraposed relative in (07) and the extraposed completive in (08):

- (07) a. *Alguém que ninguém conhece acaba de entrar.* [Someone whom no-one knows has just entered.]  
b. *Alguém \_\_\_ acaba de entrar, que ninguém conhece.* [Someone has just come in whom no-one knows.]

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<sup>6</sup> To Emonds, that principle may be violated only in the root sentence, where he distinguished root rules and structure-preserving rules.

- (08) a. *A conclusão (de) que Maria está grávida chocou a todos.* [The conclusion that Maria is pregnant shocked everyone.]  
 b. *A conclusão \_\_\_ chocou a todos, que Maria está grávida.* [The conclusion shocked everyone that Maria is pregnant.]

Jacobs & Rosenbaum (1968) saw a parallel between this type of phenomenon and what occurs in impersonal sentences in English, leading them to propose (09), where the *it* acts as a nucleus of what is between square brackets and where (09b) derives from (09a):

- (09) a. \*[It that Betty is pregnant] has shocked everyone.  
 b. It \_\_\_ has shocked everyone that Betty is pregnant.  
 c. That Betty is pregnant has shocked everyone.

English also offers the possibility of having the subordinate clause in sentence-initial position, as in (09c), but in that case the *it* is necessarily elided. J&R offered no explanation for this. They extended this approach to clauses with sentential complements, where the complement may appear with or without the expletive *it*.

- (10) I hate (it) that Bill knows her better than me.

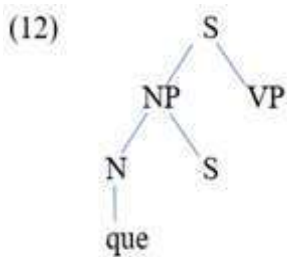
The same representation was proposed for cases where the form corresponding to (09c) does not exist – that is, impersonal constructions, where extraposition is considered mandatory:

- (11) a. \*[It that Betty is pregnant] seems.  
 b. It \_\_\_ seems that Betty is pregnant.  
 c. \* That Betty is pregnant seems.

As Portuguese permits non-referential null subjects (cf. DUARTE, 1995; CYRINO, DUARTE e KATO, 1996; NEGRÃO e MÜLLER, 1996), a null subject (*pro*) can be postulated in the sentences in (03) and (04). In both English and Portuguese, the subject is regarded as a pronominal element and not a subordinate sentence.

- (09) b. It \_\_\_\_ has shocked everyone that Betty is pregnant  
 (03) b' *pro \_\_\_ não agrada a ninguém que chova tanto.* (It does not please anyone that it rains so much.)

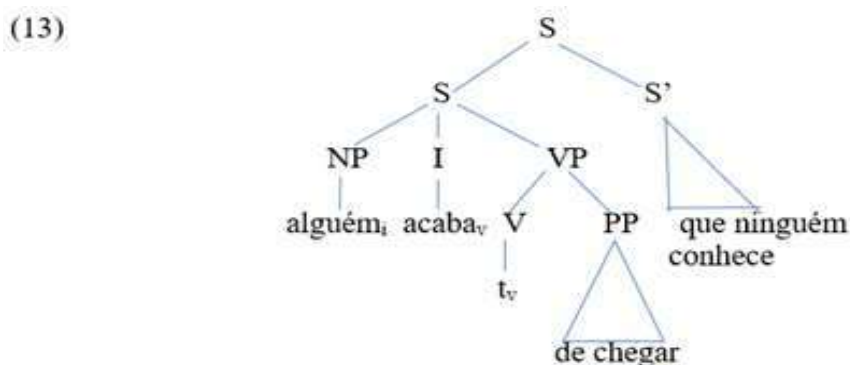
Perini (1995) offered an interesting alternative solution so that representation of impersonal sentences would meet the endocentricity requirement. He considered the conjunction *que* (that) to be a nominaliser of the sentence. Although he does not offer the X-bar representation of his conception, it can be visualized as [12]:



In today's terms, however, that analysis poses a problem for case theory. If *que* is a noun or if the sentence is a Noun, it should satisfy the nominative case in the subject position. Why then would the subordinate sentence move right, optionally in the cases seen in (01) to (04) and mandatorily in the case of *parecer*? In the now classic analysis by Stowell (1981), it is clear that nouns demand case, but sentences do not.

Meanwhile, the analyses by both J&R and Perini – representation (12) is used for the latter's ideas – are situated at a stage in the theory when movements could occur to both left and right<sup>7</sup>.

In Baltin (1981) also, movement is conceived as displacement to the right in the cases (of extraposition) of relatives. To Baltin, the issue is the landing place of these constituents extraposed out of the subject. His proposal is that they adjoin to S.



### Extraposition re-interpreted as movement to the left

Since the late 1970s, when it was first being postulated that movements leave vestiges (traces) and that traces need to be c-commanded by their antecedent<sup>8</sup>, movements came to be seen as being to a higher position in the structure, to the functional skeleton to the left. Accordingly, instead of talking about, for instance, subject postponement in the case of ergative/unaccusative verbs, it was proposed that the sole argument of such verbs arises from their complement, to the right, where it receives a  $\theta$  role, then rising to the position of subject of I (Inflection = Tense

7 With the exception of infinitive clauses, as will be shown below.

8 The first to propose the existence of traces was Lightfoot (1976).



+ Agreement) to be assigned the nominative case. In that way, the trace left by the NP forms a chain with it in which the NP with case c-commands its trace with  $\theta$  role, as represented in (14b). In the postponement version, in representation (14a), it is the trace that c-commands its antecedent, which would be contrary in principle to the nature of chains. Using t (trace) for the gap left by the movement gives:

- (14) a. [<sub>IP</sub> \_\_ INFL [<sub>VP</sub> cozinhar a batata]]  
 b. [<sub>IP</sub> A batata<sub>i</sub> cozinhou [<sub>t<sub>v</sub></sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]

Kayne (1994) made a radical proposal: to restrict to the left the direction of all and any movement, and he also postulated that the linear order mirrors the asymmetrical c-command relationship. Accordingly, if an item A c-commands an item B asymmetrically, then A must precede B in linear order. On that theory, which he called the Linear Correspondence Axiom, Kayne endeavoured to reanalyse the apparent cases of movement to the right (as is the case with extraposition and also displacement to the right). As regards extraposition, Kayne addresses only extraposition of relatives.

Let us take the relatives in (07), repeated here as (15):

- (15) a. *Alguém que ninguém conhece acaba de entrar.* [Someone whom no-one knows has just come in.]  
 b. *Alguém \_\_ acaba de entrar, que ninguém conhece.* [Someone has just come in whom no-one knows.]

The derivation proposed by Kayne (1994) takes as its starting point a form in which the relativised NP arises to the right of the verb and can move in full to the subject position or merely to the head of the relative *alguém* (someone), because it is that word that satisfies the nominative case in that position. Instead of (15), this then gives (16):

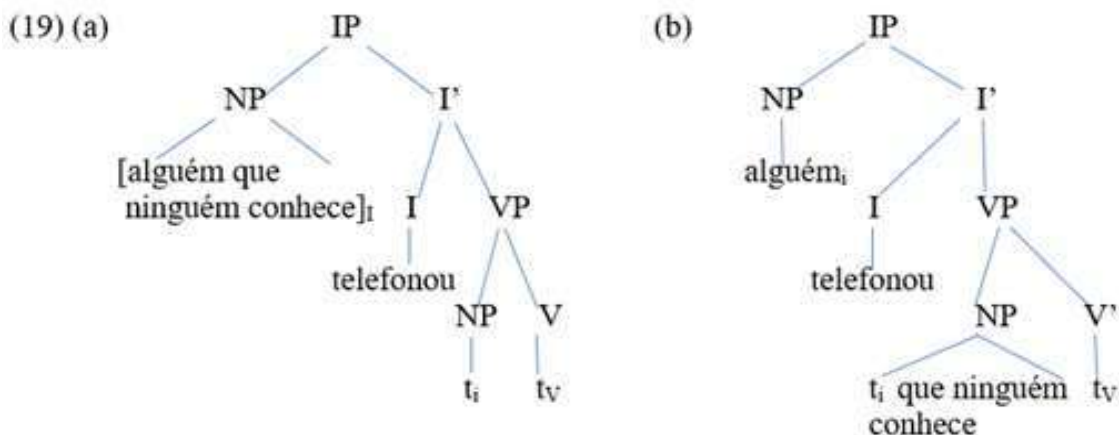
- (16) a. *Acaba de entrar alguém que ninguém conhece.* [has just come in someone whom no-one knows.]  
 b. [*Alguém que ninguém conhece*]<sub>i</sub> *acaba de entrar* t<sub>i</sub>. [someone whom no-one knows has just come in.]  
 c. [*Alguém*]<sub>i</sub> *acaba de entrar* [t<sub>i</sub> *que ninguém conhece*] [someone has just come in whom no-one knows.]

These constructions seem to be possible whenever the subject is postponed, which is not the case with transitive constructions in Brazilian Portuguese, in which the postponed subject is blocked<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> See below what the position of this postponed subject is postulated to be.

- (17) a. *Telefonou alguém que ninguém conhece.* [telephoned someone whom no-one knows.]  
 b. [*Alguém que ninguém conhece*]<sub>i</sub> telefonou t<sub>i</sub>. [someone whom no-one knows telephoned.]  
 c. *Alguém<sub>i</sub> telefonou* [t<sub>i</sub> *que ninguém conhece*] [someone telephoned whom no-one knows.]
- (18) a.?? *Comeu o bolo hoje alguém que ninguém conhece.* [ate the cake today someone whom no-one knows.]  
 b. [*Alguém que ninguém conhece*]<sub>i</sub> *comeu o bolo hoje* t<sub>i</sub> [someone whom no-one knows ate the cake today.]  
 c.\* *Alguém<sub>i</sub> comeu o bolo hoje* [t<sub>i</sub> *que ninguém conhece*]. [someone ate the cake today whom no-one knows.]

The extraposed position may at first be supposed to originate at the moment the verb and the subject generated within the VP rise to the functional skeleton. The subject as a whole may rise (19a) or only the head of the relative (19b).



In the case of compound tenses, as with the auxiliary that appears in I to produce inflection<sup>10</sup>, the main verb should appear after the extraposed relative, which does not occur.

- (20) a. [<sub>IP</sub> *tinha* [*alguém que ninguém conhecia telefonado*]] [had [someone whom no-one knew telephoned]]  
 b. \* [<sub>IP</sub> *Alguém<sub>i</sub> tinha* [t<sub>i</sub> *que ninguém conhecia telefonado*]] [someone had [whom no-one knew telephoned]]

<sup>10</sup> This article will not go into discussing where the auxiliary originates. There are two possible alternatives: a) it appears as an unaccusative verb or b) it is inserted as inflection.

If, however, an Aspectual projection (ASPP) is inserted for aspect, the movement can start from the position of the subject internal to the VP<sup>11</sup>

(20) b'. [<sub>IP</sub> *tinha* [ASPP *alguém<sub>i</sub> telefonado* [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> *que ninguém conhecia t<sub>i</sub>*]]] [had [someone telephoned [whom no-one knew]]]

The next section will propose a new analysis for clausal subjects, following Kayne's proposal for extraposition. First, however, it will present the proposal by Kato (1998) for pronouns and their doubling, which will help in understanding the relationship between the expletive and the subordinate clause.

### Clausal subjects as secondary predicates raised to an A' position

#### Weak pronouns and their doubling by strong pronouns or displaced DPs

Many languages display the phenomenon of clitic doubling/reduplication before a strong pronoun, which Kato (op. cit.) considers essentially of the same kind as the phenomenon of DP displacement<sup>12</sup> to the right or to the left. Take the first and second examples from Spanish in (21):

(21) a. *Lo<sub>i</sub> vi a el<sub>i</sub>.*

b. *Lo<sub>i</sub> vi a Juan<sub>i</sub>.*

Soriano (1989) argued that the subject pronoun can also be doubled in Spanish, except that, in this case, the weak pronoun is null:

(22) *Yo<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>i</sub> comi la torta.*

Kato (1998) showed that subject pronoun doubling is more visible in non-null subject languages, because the weak nominative pronoun appears mandatorily and the strong pronoun that doubles it is not nominative:

(23) a. *Mo<sub>i</sub>, je partirai demain.*

b. Me, I will leave tomorrow.

Brazilian Portuguese, which is losing the referential null subject (cf. DUARTE, 1993, 1995), ceases to have *pro* and, since its strong pronoun is nominative, the doubling sounds like repetition. In displacement, meanwhile, the weak pronoun necessarily appears.

(24) a. *Eu, eu já vou.* [Me, I am going now.]

b. *O Pedro, ele já foi.* [Pedro, he has already gone.]

<sup>11</sup> We thank Jairo Nunes for pointing out this possibility.

<sup>12</sup> Kato (1998) gives arguments for considering it the same phenomenon, although Cinque (1990) considers them different.

In the same study, it is proposed that the element displaced originates in a secondary equational predication of the type [ele o Pedro], [eu EU]<sup>13</sup> with no copula. In other words, the strong pronoun and the displaced DP are, in fact, secondary predicates removed from their place. Together with its trace, it forms a chain that maintains the predication relationship with the pronoun that appears in the body of the sentence, as shown in (25).

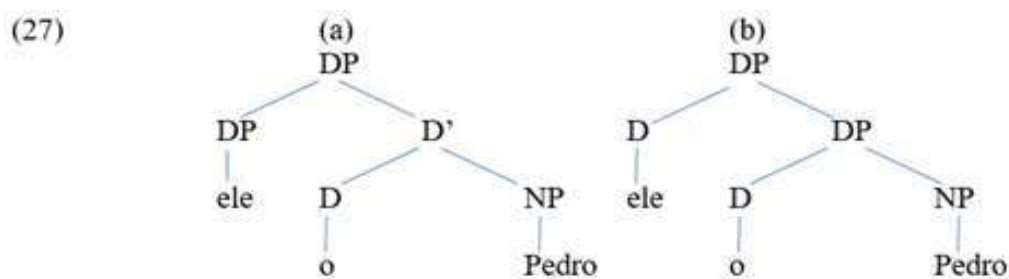
- (25) a. [IP [DP *elei o Pedroi*] *já foi*]  
 b. *O Pedro*, [IP [DP *elei ti*] *já foi*]

### The form of equational predication

Let us look at the internal structure of the small clause [DP *elei o Pedroi*], which also underlies a full equational clause with copula, of the type in (26) a<sup>14</sup>:

- (26) a. *Ele é o Pedro*. [He is Pedro.]  
 b. [IP *é* [DP *elei o Pedroi*]]

In the same way that V ceased to be seen as the sentential nucleus, with that role passing to the functional category, I, which has features of tense, the nominal arguments cease to have N as nucleus, with that function passing to D (determinant). Therefore, in the mini-clause above, *o Pedro* is a DP, whose nucleus is the article. If [*elei o Pedro*] is also a DP, what would its place be? There are two possibilities: (a) *ele* is a specifier of the article (27a) or (b) *ele* is a nucleus D with the DP [DP *o Pedro*] as complement (27b).



Note that it would be syntactically impossible to move *o Pedro* from (27a), because it does not constitute a maximal projection, though the same restriction is not incurred in (27b), where it constitutes an XP. In addition, in (27a) *o Pedro* is interpreted syntactically as an unsaturated expression, which is typical of predicates. Although *o Pedro* is syntactically a predicate, it is a referential element, unlike *um poeta* in *Ele é um poeta*. From both syntactic and semantic standpoints, then, alternative (27b) is the most appropriate to represent an equational

13 The pronoun in lower case is weak; the one in upper case is strong. When the equational clause is full, it is the strong pronoun that appears as predicative (*eu sou EU*), with primary stress. Note that only the post-verbal pronoun, like any strong pronoun, can be focalized.

14 Note that the mini-clause has no copula. This is a verb outside the mini-clause.

predication. The proposal must also assume that, in (26), *ele* is a minimal non-maximal category before the movement and that, after the movement, it becomes a minimal maximal category<sup>15</sup>.

In a rather different sense from that proposed by Kato, but with similar presuppositions as to DP composition, Kayne (1998) argues that the DP can be structured as [DP [Spec O João] [D *ele*]]. In binding contexts, *o João* shifts to an A position, from which it c-commands *ele*:

- (28) a. — *disse que* [DP *o João ele*] *gosta de Maria*  
 b. *O João*<sub>i</sub> *disse que* [DP *t<sub>i</sub> ele*] *gosta de Maria*

Note that Kato's proposal is to treat the pronoun-DP relationship as predication, while Kayne's is to treat it as a binding relationship with, more specifically, the possibility of a pronoun in the subordinate clause being a constituent in the matrix. The representation proposed by Kayne can be derived from Kato's proposal by moving the DP to the SpecD position. Accordingly, for configurations of type (28), the DP could be after the pronoun before being moved, as seen in the representation [DP *João*<sub>i</sub> [D' *ele*[*t<sub>i</sub>*]]].

### Derivation of the expletive subject<sup>16</sup>

In this section, an analysis parallel to that of displacement and doubling will be performed for impersonal sentences. The expletive *it* is conceived as a weak pronoun whose predicate is a sentence, both forming a secondary predication, a mini-clause, parallel to the equational predication that holds between *o Pedro* and the pronoun *ele*. The difference is that, in this case, one has a third-person pronoun element as the nucleus of the DP and a CP as predicative complement, as in (29). In English, this element is the neutral pronoun *it*; in Portuguese, it is the *pro* null pronoun.

- (29) a. [DP *it<sub>i</sub>* [CP *that IP*]<sub>i</sub>]  
 b. [DP *pro<sub>i</sub>* [CP *que IP*]<sub>i</sub>]

The proposal by J&R for extraposition of the subject can now be re-examined using Kayne's theory and the theory for the expletive set out above. Let us start with English, a language where the expletive is explicit:

- (30) a. It seems that Betty is pregnant.  
 b. [<sub>IP</sub> \_\_\_\_ [<sub>VP</sub> seems [<sub>DP</sub> *it<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *that Betty is pregnant*]<sub>i</sub> ] ] ]  
 c. [<sub>IP</sub> *It<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> seems [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *that Betty is pregnant*]<sub>i</sub> ] ] ]

15 This now assumes the Minimalist proposal that an element can be minimal and maximal at the same time. Thanks to Jairo Nunes for this observation.

16 A preliminary version of these ideas was presented in M. A. Kato's communication "Uma tipologia de pronomes nulos na Gramática do Português falado" [A typology of null pronouns in the grammar of spoken Portuguese"], Campos de Jordão, 1995.

Unlike the conventional analysis, in which the expletive is inserted directly in SpecI, in the analysis proposed here, it is raised within the complement of seems. The  $\theta$ -role of the verb is assigned to the DP as a whole, whose substantive content is given by the mini-clause and whose referential content is given by the nucleus, which is the neutral pronoun. The latter's role is similar to that of the article of a DP or a pronoun in an equational mini-clause<sup>17</sup>. The verb to seem is considered an unaccusative verb and thus lacks the capacity to assign accusative case to its complement. The DP requires case. The pronoun it rises from the nucleus of the lower DP to the nucleus of the upper DP, where it receives the I case.

The following statements hold for Portuguese: (a) the V rises to the I, unlike English, whose verb remains in V; and (b) the null expletive rises to the subject position of I.

- (31) a. *Parece que a Betty está grávida.* [It seems that Betty is pregnant.]  
 b. [<sub>IP</sub> \_\_\_\_ I [<sub>VP</sub> *parecer* [<sub>DP</sub> *pro* [<sub>CP</sub> *que a Betty está grávida*]]]]  
 c. [<sub>IP</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *parece* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>v</sub>* [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *que a Betty está grávida*]<sub>i</sub> ]]]]

Note that the analysis with the expletive subject is identical in motivation to that given to personal sentences with **parecer**, as in (32): the AP subject rises to the SpecI position to obtain case.

- (32) a. *Ela parece triste.* [She seems sad.]  
 b. [<sub>IP</sub> \_\_\_\_ I [<sub>VP</sub> *parecer* [<sub>AP</sub> *ela* [<sub>A'</sub> *triste*]]]]  
 c. [<sub>IP</sub> *Ela*<sub>i</sub> *parece* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>v</sub>* [<sub>AP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>A'</sub> *triste*]]]]]

Note that the subject of the AP mini-clause in turn can be an equational DP mini-clause of the type [*ela a Joana*]. In that case, it rises to the position of subject of **parecer** and **Joana**, as the predicate of the mini-clause, goes to the displaced position<sup>18</sup>:

- (33) a. [<sub>IP</sub> \_\_\_\_ *parece* [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *ela*<sub>i</sub> *a Joana*]<sub>i</sub> *triste*]]]  
 b. *A Joana* [<sub>IP</sub> *ela* *parece* [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>t<sub>ela</sub></sub> *t<sub>Joana</sub>*]] *triste*]]]

17 An interesting study of the null expletive in Catalanian is presented in Picallo (1998), to whom the null expletive should not enter into the numeration, because it has no effect on either phonetic output or logical form. Her proposal is that sentences with null expletives do not project the SpecIP. In this study, it is assumed nonetheless that the expletive is interpreted in the logical form.

18 Note that, in the cases below, *parecer* can also have a clause to the left, as with psychological verbs, providing that the clause is the argument of another predicate. As predicate, it will also appear in position A'. It can be assumed that predicates do not have the same boundary constraints as arguments.

[i] a. *Parece um ato de justiça [que Pinochet seja extraditado]* [It seems an act of justice [that Pinochet be extradited]]

b. [*que Pinochet seja extraditado*] *parece um ato de justiça.* [that Pinochet be extradited] seems an act of justice]

c. [<sub>CP</sub> *que Pinochet seja extraditado*] [<sub>IP</sub> *proi* *parece* [[<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> *t<sub>CP</sub>*]] *um ato de justiça*].

[ii] a. *Parece justo [que Pinochet seja extraditado]* [It seems just [that Pinochet be extradited]]

b. [*que Pinochet seja extraditado*] *parece justo* [[that Pinochet be extradited] seems just]

However, as shown, there are sentences in both English and Portuguese in which the subordinate clause can appear in the sentence-initial position<sup>13</sup>:

- (34) a. It annoys me that Bill is late.  
 b. That Bill is late annoys me.
- (35) a. *Me aborrece que o Pedro esteja atrasado.* [It annoys me that Pedro is late.]  
 b. *Que o Pedro esteja atrasado me aborrece.* [That Pedro is late annoys me.]

Verbs such as *aborrecer* [annoy], *impressionar* [impress] and *divertir* [entertain] are called psychological and the conventional analysis is that they are double-object ergatives (cf. RIZZI e BELLETTI, 1988), that is, both a internal arguments of the verb, at the start of the derivation. The subject of the annoyance or entertainment can be a nominal phrase , such as a *notícia* [the news] in (36), or a clause, such as [*que o Pedro esteja atrasado*] [that Pedro is late], in (35)<sup>19</sup>.

- (36) a. *Me aborreceu a notícia.* [It annoyed me the news]  
 b. *A notícia me aborreceu.* [The news annoyed me.]

Leaving aside the representation of the experiencer, which in (36) appears as clitic, it can be said that the the English sentences (34) can be analyzed in the same terms as the sentence with **seem** in (30).

- (37) a. [IP \_\_\_ [VP annoys me [DP it i [CP that Bill is late]i ] ]]  
 b. [IP It [VP annoys me [DP t it [CP that Bill is late]i ] ]]

In the same way, the Portuguese sentences in (35) align in analysis with the sentences with *parecer*, and admit the null expletive:

- (38) a. [IP \_\_\_ *me aborrece* [DP proi [CP *que o Pedro esteja atrasado*]i ] ]  
 b. [IP *pro me aborrece* [DP t pro [CP *que o Pedro esteja atrasado*]i ] ]

How then is one to explain the case where the subordinate clause appears in the initial position? Let us begin with the case in Portuguese. It can be assumed that the subordinate clause rises to a displaced position to the left, in the same way as a DP predicate rises, as in (25), repeated here as (39). The difference is that in (40) there is a **pro** instead of the pronoun *ele*.

- (39) a. [IP [DP *ele o Pedro*] [*já foi*] ] [He Pedro has already gone]  
 b. *O Pedro*i [IP [DP *ele t*] [*já foi*] ] [Pedro he has already gone]

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<sup>19</sup> Note that the stressed order is that in [35b], in line with what is being asserted here.  
*Diadorim*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 23, n. 3, Especial, p. 12 - 32, jul. - dez. 2021.

(40) [CP *Que o Pedro esteja atrasado*] [IP [DP pro tCP] *me aborrece* [tDP]]

How is one then to explain the case in English, which so far has been assumed to have a mandatory subject? Note, however, that English admits a sentence of the type (41a), while (41b) is not possible, with an expletive:

- (41) a. Under the bed is the best place to hide the money.  
b.\* Under the bed **it** is the best place to hide the money.

Let us admit that, in very special contexts, English can have an expletive deleted, possibly as a vestige of its Germanic origin and its old V2 structure. Remember that German admits the null expletive when the impersonal sentence has some constituent that can start the sentence. To summarise, the analysis that will be applied to sentences with an apparent clausal subject in English will be the same as assumed for Portuguese.

One case that may be suggested, contrary to the hypothesis advanced here, is that the subordinate sentence is actually the subject in passives with a clausal complement.

- (42) a. *Foi confirmada a notícia*. [It was confirmed the news.]  
b. *A notícia foi confirmada*. [The news was confirmed.]  
c. *Foi confirmado que houve falcatruas na negociação*. [It was confirmed that there was cheating in the negotiation.]  
d. *Que houve falcatruas na negociação foi confirmado*. [That there was cheating in the negotiation was confirmed.]

Given the parallel between (42a/b) and (42c/d), the subordinate clause in (42d) can be said to be in subject position. Quicoli (1972) argued that, even in these cases, the subordinate clause cannot be said to be in subject position, and contrasted (43a) and (43b)<sup>20</sup>:

- (43) a. *Eu disse que a notícia foi confirmada*. [I said that the news was confirmed.]  
b. \**Eu disse que que houve falcatruas na negociação foi confirmado*. [I said that that there was cheating in the negotiation was confirmed.]

Quicoli regards clause movement as a root rule, not as structure-preserving. Generally, this type of operation results in a prosodic change or in marked prosody. Therefore, (43b) would be malformed, because the clause-movement operation occurred within the subordinate clause, where changes must be structure-preserving. In (43a), meanwhile, what moved within the subordinate clause was a nominal phrase. Accordingly, its movement to subject of the subordinate clause preserves the structure, and its prosodic contour is unmarked.

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<sup>20</sup> The examples here belong to the authors.



If, however, the subordinate sentence is complement to a noun within a DP, the prediction is that the two positions are possible, because the movement is structure-preserving. This can be seen below:

- (44) a. *Eu disse que foi confirmada a suspeita de que houve falcatruas na negociação.* [I said that it was confirmed the suspicion that there was cheating in the negotiation.]  
 b. *Eu disse que a suspeita de que houve falcatruas na negociação foi confirmada.* [I said that the suspicion that there was cheating in the negotiation was confirmed.]

A more recent formulation of this constraint appears in *Barriers* (CHOMSKY, 1986), where adjunction to the IP is excluded. Note, however, that if the nominal phrase is moved to the position between the complementiser and the subject, the result is a grammatical sentence, which shows that such a movement must be treated as structure-preserving. If there is assumed to be a topic phrase (TopP) node between the CP and the IP (RIZZI, 1997 and FIGUEIREDO SILVA, 1996), then the topic-movement rule will be structure-preserving, and can occur in a subordinate clause.

- (45) *Eu disse que* [TopP *O Pedro*] [IP *a Maria não esteve com*] [DP *elei* ti].

Unlike a DP, however, a CP clause seems not to qualify for the topic function, which then means that it cannot satisfy the features of the Top nucleus<sup>21</sup>. The CP movement must have another type of motivation. One could consider the Adjacency Principle for assigning case, as proposed by Stowell (1981). CP can be seen as a barrier to the inflection of I's assigning (or checking) nominative case for the expletive. But that barrier would not need to exist if the expletive rose on its own, with no "pied-piping" of the CP in that ascent. That would be the most economic derivation, because assignment of case involves the expletive alone. All the rest would be deadweight and its rising would be pointless, in breach of the economy postulate. This leads us to restate the derivation proposed in (40) and to argue that the movement of the clause to the sentence-initial position occurs directly from its original position:

- (40) ' [CP *Que o Pedro esteja atrasado*] [IP *pro me aborrece*] [VP tv [t<sub>pro</sub> t<sub>CP</sub>]]

There remains the question of the motivation for the movement of the subordinate clause. Note that, in the sentence intonation marked with the clause placed before, that clause is removed from the locus of focal, primary stress. Capitalising the focal, stressed segment in the two forms gives:

- (46) a. *Me aborrece* [QUE O PEDRO ESTEJA ATRASADO]  
 b. [Que o Pedro esteja atrasado] ME ABORRECE

21 The Top nucleus can be assumed to require checking of something like the [+referential] feature or even a strong-D feature, which cannot be satisfied by CP.

The adjunction movement that was being proposed here thus has to do with what Zubizarreta (1998) has been calling P-movement, an operation that is immune to the principle of economy<sup>22</sup>. The next section will present arguments asserting that, in the post-verbal position, the subordinate clause behaves as a complement and that, in the initial position, it behaves as an adjunct.

### **The extraction criterion**

Following Quicoli (1972), it is proposed here that there is no such thing as a sentential subject. That proposal prevents CP from functioning as a subject and eliminates what, in traditional terms, constitutes a subject clause. The discomfort of the concept of a sentential subject would be averted and there would be no need to analyse as a subject something that displays properties which, overall, are improper in a subject: it appears in a post-verbal position (if it appears before the verb, it necessarily gains marked intonation) and has nothing to do directly with the nominative, which is proper to DPs. In such cases, the SpecIP, which is the canonical position for the subject, is occupied by an expletive (a null pronoun in Portuguese and a null subject in other languages).

If a clause-initial CP, as in (40), is treated as an adjunct, it will be explained why the so-called clausal subjects behave as “islands” for purposes of extraction of, for instance, interrogative expressions. It is thus a well-known fact that adjunct clauses are “islands” for extraction, while complement clauses are not. Proof of this can be seen in the contrast between (47) and (48):

- (47) a. *Maria acredita que a polícia falou com quem?* [Maria believes that the police talked to whom?]  
b. *Com quem Maria acredita que a polícia falou ti?* [To whom does Maria believe that the police talked?]
- (48) a. *Maria acredita na polícia porque falou com quem?* [Maria believes in the police because she talked with whom?]  
b. *\*Com quem Maria acredita na polícia porque falou ti?* [With whom Maria believes in the police because she talked?]

---

22 Note that, if it is assumed that the expletive rises to satisfy the case of the matrix I, nothing would require the CP to rise. Here, in fact, the CP rises so that the VP can be interpreted as Focus, an operation that apparently violates the greed principle. Zubizarreta (1998), however, argued that P-movement (which is prosodically motivated and not motivated by checking) is not subject to the notion of economy. An alternative approach, framing that movement as a checking operation, is given by Rizzi (1997), to whom the left periphery can code the new information (focus) or the old information (topic). From that perspective, the displaced sentence can be simply a topic (in Spec of TopP which has null Top) in the expanded version of CP.

There was a time when subject clauses were also said to be islands (cf. ROSS, 1967). If the subordinate clause in sentences with **parecer** were a subject, extraction of an interrogative element from within it should result in agrammaticality. That is not what happens, however:

- (49) a. *Parece que a Polícia esteve falando com quem?* [It seems that the police were talking with whom?]  
 b. *Com quemi parece que a polícia esteve falando ti?* [With whom does it seem that the police were talking?]

The grammaticality of [49b] shows that **com quem** was extracted from a complement. Examples will now be given in which the subordinate clause occurs after the verb or at the start of the sentence and interrogative extraction from within those positions will be tested:

- (50) a. *Te aborrece que o Pedro sempre confie em quem?* [It annoys you that Pedro always trusts in whom?]  
 b. *?Em quem<sub>i</sub> te aborrece que o Pedro sempre confie ti ?* [In whom does it annoy you that Pedro always trusts?]
- (51) a. *Que o Pedro sempre confie em quem te aborrece?* [That Pedro always trusts in whom annoys you?]  
 b.\* *Em quem<sub>i</sub> que o Pedro sempre confie ti te aborrece?* [In whom that Pedro always trusts annoys you?]

The contrast between (50b) and (51b) is clear. (50b) is not 100% good, because the verb **aborrecer** [to annoy] is factive and complements of factive predicates constitute weak islands (CINQUE, 1990). Note that, if the predicate is not factive, extraction of the post-verbal subordinate clause results in an absolutely well-formed sentence:

- (52) a. *É possível que Pedro confie em quem?* [It is possible that Pedro trusts in whom?]  
 b. *Em quem<sub>i</sub> é possível que Pedro confieti?* [In whom is it possible that Pedro trusts?]

It may not be idle to complete the paradigm here with the clause to the left and to note that, in that position, the extraction continues to be impossible:

- (52) c. *Que o Pedro confie em quem é possível?* [That Pedro trusts in whom is possible?]  
 d. *\*Em quem<sub>i</sub> que o Pedro confie ti é possível?* [In whom that Pedro trusts is possible?]

Returning to (51b), the agrammaticality of extracting the interrogative element from within its subordinate clause is considered to result from the latter's being an adjunct clause. Below, are data from Brazilian Portuguese that support the analysis proposed here.

To the extent that Brazilian Portuguese loses the properties of a null-subject language, there is a tendency to fill the initial position in impersonal sentences with an expletive, as shown by Duarte (1997):

- (53) a. *Isso tem dois anos.* [That was two years ago.]  
b. *Isso é o tipo de coisa que me irrita.* [That is the kind of thing that irritates me.]  
c. [*Se um adolescente tem um ataque*]<sub>i</sub> *issoi* é coisa de adolescente. [If an adolescent has a fit, that is an adolescent thing.]  
d. [*Que o PMDB fez muito mal em tomar essa posição*]<sub>i</sub> *issoi* é evidente. [That the PMDB was very wrong to take that position that is evident.]

What can be seen in (53d), for example, can be said merely to reflect what is being proposed here as regards the structure of Brazilian Portuguese, still with the null subject:

- (54) a. É evidente [DP *issoi* [CP *que o PMDB fez muito mal em tomar essa posição*]] [It is evident that that the PMDB was very wrong to take that position]  
b. [<sub>IP</sub> *issoi* é evidente [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>CP</sub> *que o PMDB fez muito mal em tomar essa posição*]]]  
c. [<sub>CP</sub> *que o PMDB fez muito mal em tomar essa posição*] [<sub>IP</sub> *issoi* é evidente [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* <sub>t<sub>CP</sub></sub>]]

It is thus possible that the predicate (or associated predicate) of the expletive rise or remain in place, depending on what is marked as the sentential focus.

### **Infinitive subject clauses?**

The last issue to be addressed here is the case of so-called infinitive subject clauses. Given that the infinitive has been analysed, in traditional grammar, as being nominal in nature, one first hypothesis would be to suppose that at least infinitive subject clauses exist. Proceeding to the tests presented above, using the examples from Quicoli (pp 45-6), one has:

- (55) a. É uma loucura irmos a Santos hoje. [It is crazy for us to go to Santos today.]  
b. *Irmos a Santos hoje é uma loucura.* [For us to go to Santos today is crazy.]  
c. *Fabiana acha que é uma loucura irmos a Santos hoje.* [Fabiana thinks that it is crazy for us to go to Santos today.]  
d. *Fabiana acha que irmos a Santos hoje é uma loucura.* [Fabiana thinks that for us to go to Santos today is crazy.]

Sentence (55d) can be asterisked here, but the authors' intuition and that of other Brazilian Portuguese speakers is that the sentence is perfectly grammatical. It can thus be supposed that **irmos a Santos hoje** [for us to go to Santos today] is not in the A' position but rather in the subject position. Consider now the extraction test.

- (56) a. É uma loucura irmos a Santos com quem? [It is crazy for us to go to Santos with whom?]  
 b. *Com quem* é uma loucura irmos a Santos hoje ti? [With whom is it crazy for us to go to Santos today?]  
 c. *Irmos a Santos hoje com quem é uma loucura?* [For us to go to Santos with whom is it crazy?]  
 d. *Com quem irmos a Santos hoje ti é uma loucura?* [With whom for us to go to Santos today is it crazy?]

Although more marked than (56b), which is as expected, the sentence (56d) is good here. In view of these facts, one is obliged to acknowledge that infinitives can be subjects in Brazilian Portuguese. However, what can also be said is that their inherently nominal nature equips them for that function. In a classic analysis of the infinitive, Raposo (1987) shows the following contrast and parallel:

- (57) a. *O rapaz receia [chumbar o exame].* [The boy fears he will fail the test.]  
 b. *O receio de [chumbar o exame].* [The fear of failing the test.]  
 c. *O rapaz está receoso de [chumbar o exame].* [The boy is afraid of failing the test.]

These examples show that the infinitive clause needs case. In (57a), it can receive the accusative, but in (57b) and (57c), as noun and adjective do not assign case, the preposition **de** is inserted to allow the infinitive clause. Nunes (1996) showed that, in old English, the infinitive occurred without the preposition **to**, which appeared also for reasons of case. In current terms, it must be said that what requires case is a DP, given that an NP is merely a predicate. What would be D in the case of infinitive clauses? It will be proposed here that, in Portuguese, it is the nominal affix **-r** of the infinitive form, because it needs case, as shown by Raposo.

- (58) a. [DP -r<sub>i</sub> [XP chumba- o exame]<sub>i</sub>]<sup>23</sup>  
 b. *O rapaz receia [DP -r<sub>i</sub> [XP chumba- o exame]<sub>i</sub>]*  
 c. *O rapaz receia [DP chumba-ri [XP tV o exame]<sub>i</sub>]*

To return to the cases of infinitive subject clauses, note that, unlike the complement clause, infinitive subjects can be inflected, leading one to believe that infinitive subject clauses are always personal. The form without inflection in (59b) is still personal, reflecting the third person singular inflection.

23 The category XP is used as projection of the verb root, because X can be realised as N or as V, as in Chomsky (1970).

- (59) a. *Iremos a Santos é uma loucura.* [Our going to Santos is crazy.]  
b. *Ir a Santos é uma loucura.* [Going to Santos is crazy.]  
c. *A gente/você ir a Santos é uma loucura.* [Our/your going to Santos is crazy.]

If the infinitive is personal, then the lexical subject receives the nominative case from the agreement inflection of the infinitive. However, the infinitive sentence itself requires case, which is assigned with the infinitive in pre-verbal position. The movement is thus within the computational operations of checking. What then of the infinitive clause in place as in (55a)? The only solution that can be suggested here is that, if the infinitive clause were marked as + F (Focus), then its phonetic materiality remains in place, because it is there that the primary stress falls. For checking of the nominative, all that rises are the formal features sufficient to satisfy the EPP<sup>24</sup>.

### Final remarks

To conclude this article, it can be said that syntactic theory has been developing towards restricting representations, by way of principles that postulate possible structures and only those that are possible. In addition, it provides instruments for determining whether whatever representations proposed are correct or not. For example, there is nothing to prevent one from saying that the subordinate clause of **parecer** is adjoined to the right of the VP. Even without the radical formulation of Kayne (1994), which does not admit adjunctions to the right, the extraction test says categorically that the subordinate clause is a complement.

The observation that the integral clauses in (37) and (38) are subjective is structurally inappropriate, but interpretatively correct, because the relationship between the expletive pronoun and the sentence is of an equational predication in which the references are established as being equal. This is the concept of “expletive associate”, which has been the subject of so many competing analyses in Generative Theory. The proposal advanced here constitutes a new alternative, which the authors consider simpler and more economic, because it reduces the case of insertion of the expletive to the most banal case of raising.

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24 It is admitted though that both DP and CP can have primary stress in the pre-sentential A' position, but in that case, neither the resumptive pronoun nor the expletive *isso* can materialise. Often the focalisation in sentence-initial position is contrastive in character and the study of that type of construction will be left to future work.

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## FROM CHAMELEON TO TYRANOSAURUS REX - THE SOCIOLINGUIST AS A PREDATOR<sup>1</sup>

*Emilio Pagotto*<sup>2</sup>

### ABSTRACT

The article discusses the relationship amongst the Theory of Variation and Change and models such as Structuralism and Generative Theory. Against the backdrop of the major controversies that inaugurated the Theory of Variation and Change itself, as well as those surrounding the work of Fernando Tarallo in Brazil, the text addresses the epistemological problem of incorporating hypotheses from other models. It assumes that these theories are incommensurable, and thus non-competing. However, it proposes an epistemological path to overcome the immobility that would result, within the scope of Variationist studies, from the awareness of this incommensurability. Basically, this path consists of taking the portions of language functioning that support the empiricism of such theoretical frameworks – common to the Variationist description – and re-signifying the relationship proposed within the Structural or Generative framework of origin not as the effect of a rule that responds to abstract concepts that only make sense within each frame, but as a force that acts within the scope of the functioning of language.

**KEYWORDS:** Linguistic Variation; Incommensurable Theories; Variable Rule.

### RESUMO

O artigo discute a relação entre a Teoria da Variação e da Mudança e modelos como o do Estruturalismo e da Teoria Gerativa. Tendo como pano de fundo as grandes polêmicas que inauguraram a própria Teoria da Variação e da Mudança, bem como aquelas cercaram o trabalho de Fernando Tarallo no Brasil, o texto aborda o problema epistemológico de incorporar ao quadro descritivo dos processos de variação hipóteses oriundas de outros modelos. Parte do princípio de que estamos diante de teorias não concorrentes, uma vez que são incomensuráveis. Propõe, porém, um caminho epistemológico para superar o imobilismo que resultaria, no âmbito dos estudos variacionistas, da constatação desta incomensurabilidade. Basicamente esse caminho consiste em tomar as porções do funcionamento linguístico que sustentam a empiria de tais quadros teóricos – comuns à descrição variacionista – e ressignificar a relação proposta no interior dos quadros de origem (estruturalista ou gerativista) não como o efeito de uma regra que responde a conceitos abstratos que só fazem sentido no interior de cada quadro, mas como força que age no âmbito do funcionamento da língua.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Variação Linguística; Teorias Incomensuráveis; Regra Variável.

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1 This article was first printed in *Laços – Revista da Associação de Estudos da Linguagem* v. 1 (1), 49-62, Jan /Dec. 2000 (available in Portuguese at [www.nemp-rj.com](http://www.nemp-rj.com)), when the author was a professor at UFSC. Twenty-two years later, it proves to raise an important discussion on the place of the Theory of Language Variation and Change and its necessary dialogue with a linguistic theory, since they are not in competition. They are in completely different worlds, using Pagotto's words, and occupy different spaces.

2 Emilio Pagotto is professor of linguistics at the Language Studies Institute and at the Postgraduate Program in Linguistics of the State University of Campinas. E-mail: [gozzeem@gmail.com](mailto:gozzeem@gmail.com).

## Introduction

There are numerous ways of thinking about what constitutes doing Science. In this century, the Theory of Science, which derives from Epistemology or Theory of Knowledge, has been concerned with discussing how scientific knowledge comes about, whether it evolves and, if it evolves, how it does so. I do not intend to revisit the debate between Variationist Sociolinguistics and Immanent Linguistics from each of these ways of conceiving Science, not least for lack of space and my own ability. What I do intend to do is to look at this debate to try to see the issues much more from the viewpoint of the Theory of Variation and Change than of Structural or Generative Linguistics.

By revealing how the Theory of Variation works and making some adjustments to it, we can evade the – apparently insoluble – dilemma thrown up by its use of the discoveries of Non-Variationist Linguistics and thus escape the immobility that rigid observance of scientific procedure can impose.

One major problem for the Theory of Science is the relationship between theory and empirical evidence. In one way or another, this relationship is the Achilles heel of theory validation, because it would be outlandish to produce Science whose assertions were unrelated to the world. They do bear some relationship; the question is how that relationship is conceived, that is, how it is possible to relate theoretical entities – in principle, the result of reasoning and thus unobservable – with observable entities.

## Labovian Sociolinguistics

Labovian Sociolinguistics can be summarised by the following statements:

- 1) language has a structure that is at the same time autonomous from, and governed by, social structure;
- 2) language comprises both categorical and non-categorical rules;
- 3) the whole process of variation is governed in such a way that both categorical and non-categorical rules are regulated.

Now, Labovian Sociolinguistics seeks to hold the middle ground between Structural or Generative Linguistics and a social perspective on the study of language as regards the way structural relations overlap with each other (and less as regards their ontology, as with Generative Theory, which places Linguistics in Biology).

Labov has been much criticised for not offering a scientific theory for language, as normally conceived; that is, the Theory of Variation is not predictive. It is impossible to know, *a priori*, what to expect from a process of variation, nor when it will begin or end, nor even what structural properties are important to the phenomena of variation. Moreover, if the theory

is not predictive, it cannot be explanatory either, since prediction and explanation overlap in a logical system that endeavours to model the world, assuming interrelations among observed behaviours and between these and the properties and laws described in the model. That is why Labovian Sociolinguistics can be written into the empirical branch of science sponsored by Bacon. First, look at the data and build generalisations about generalisations. Taking the route from Weinreich, Herzog, Labov (1968), through Labov (1981) to Labov (1994), one finds the discoveries being constantly reassessed to find the generalisations that make it possible to formulate more accurate hypotheses about how language functions as regards variation.

However, while that is the path generally taken, discoveries from the field of Non-Variationist Linguistics or even of cognitive psychology are also used, implicitly or explicitly, in formulating specific research and in raising hypotheses that support data observation and treatment. Moreover, in many cases, the descriptive arsenal of these theories is used and is placed on an equal footing with the description of the variation process.

The question that arises is: are variationist and non-variationist linguists talking about the same entities? In other words, are they commensurable? Does that actually produce knowledge or just relate entities that are not relatable and thus not actually produce knowledge? Can the Theory of Variation present itself as a theory in competition with those of Non-Variationist Linguistics (and therefore endeavour to refute such theories) or does the incommensurability between them make that impossible?

I think it is possible to answer some of these questions affirmatively, but others, negatively. Let us start with the latter question.

### **Incommensurable Theories**

The Labovian programme is largely coherent as regards constructing generalisations from various empirical endeavours pursued within the scope of the Theory of Variation and Change. On the other hand, however, there is major oscillation with regard to the theoretical status of these findings. Labov (1972) situated Sociolinguistics within the scope of Theoretical Linguistics, as an extension of it, and proposed only a more refined methodology for confirming hypotheses, as pointed out by Figueroa (1994). Labov (1994) seemed to distance itself from theoretical linguistics, as made explicit by Labov himself, who believed it was not worth investing in theoretical revisions carried out by Non-Variationist Linguistics on the same data, but rather that progress would be made only by discovering new facts. This oscillation in the status of Variationist Sociolinguistics itself has to do precisely with the challenge it proposes, which is nothing less than to challenge the Saussurean dichotomies *langue/parole* and *synchrony/diachrony* at their core. This is an impossible task, in the same way that it is impossible to decide positively what is cultural and what is natural in any phenomenon within the scope of Anthropology. The structuralist solution aims precisely to put the solution on hold, setting itself to discover only those relationships that are accessible. Labov, on the contrary, as pointed out by Figueroa (1994), takes the realistic stance that it is possible to describe the entities of the world,

that is, it is possible to arrive at the truth, at some point, by successive advances.

The Theory of Variation and Change, Structural Linguistics and Generative Theory are incommensurable. As a result, the former cannot position itself as a competitor with the others, so as to prove itself to be truer, because they speak of different entities. This means that language is not the same to a variationist as to a structuralist and it is not the same as to a generativist. To structuralists, language is a system of relationships between abstract entities, which are constructed by the theory itself and are supposed to have correlates in the real world. Generative Theory, meanwhile, is a modelling of the speaker's brain, confirmation of which is unattainable; what makes the theory plausible is its fit with a certain set of data, which are predicted by the theory itself and which, if confirmed, are conceived in a broader explanatory system. Both cases involve a set of unobservable entities and a system in which they are engendered that guarantees the explanatory nature of the theory (this applies more to Generative Theory, as it is questionable whether Structuralism is explanatory in nature). The entities that the Theory of Variation works with are, to begin with, those observable by perception and by technological devices. This is not to say that the Theory of Variation does not operate with idealisations and a structuralist notion of language. Labovian variation is structurally conceived and, just as in Structuralism, the speaking subject is constrained by the system, much more than an agent of it. Labovian Structuralism even comprises unobservable entities – variables – whose status is very difficult to specify. In the same way as phonemes in Structuralism, variables are the invariants of the sociolinguistic system, as the place where observable entities – variants – are equal. This structuralising view is what allows the Theory of Variation to position itself in the intermediate space between Structural Linguistics or Generative Theory and a social perspective on the study of language. To variationists, the system varies, but it is a system of invariants (without the latter notion, the phenomenon of variation as conceived by the theory would be inconceivable).

These theories – the Theory of Variation and Linguistic Structuralism – are very close then (the case of Generative Theory is more complicated, because the distance is much greater). The incommensurability resides particularly in the fact that, in the former, the variables are two-sided – linguistic and social – entities. As such, they are necessarily different from the entities of Structuralism, which are only linguistic. The notion of *phoneme*, for instance, is not co-extensive with that of *variable*. If it were, then the Theory of Variation would be a linguistics of *parole*, while Structural Linguistics would continue with its object, *langue*. But it is not this complementary view that Labov wants; on the contrary, he insists on liquefying the dichotomy. To do so, he has to deal with entities of another kind. The incommensurability is such that, when it comes to opposing structuralist or generativist hypotheses to a certain set of data found by variationists, all that structuralist or generativist theorists have to do is remake some aspects of the model and their theory is preserved. Accordingly, it is impossible for the Theory of Variation and Change to compete with either Structuralism or Generative Theory. They inhabit different worlds.

## **Where we are talking about the same things**

The previous section leaves a certain unease, because it entails that any attempt at dialogue between the immanent Linguistics and the Theory of Variation is doomed to failure. Moreover, that endeavour would produce no knowledge, because it would be like saying phrases such as *Money is a word that causes great social differences*, meaning that ‘Money causes great social differences’. Here, I would like to invest in the opposite direction, that is, to escape the immobility imposed by incommensurability, to a position where it is possible to make sense dealing with incommensurable theories. I will not be talking about the possibility of the Theory of Variation and Change surpassing the immanentist theories of language, because they are incommensurable, but of the Theory of Variation’s appropriation of knowledge accumulated by those theories – or, more specifically, parts of that knowledge.

This takes practical form when variationists transform properties discovered by these theories into hypotheses to be examined against the dataset they are analysing – or, more properly, in their formulating groups of factors to be tested as possibly conditioning the variation process.

Firstly, I would say that the biggest mistake is to think that the work of the variationist confirms or does not confirm the theory from which they originated. The variationist does not “confirm” Clements’ Feature Geometry or Generative Theory’s Prodrop Parameter or “prove them to be untrue”. Appropriation of these hypotheses rests on a resignification of some property discovered by these theories, without which the work of the variationist would make no sense. This gesture comprises perhaps three very important steps:

Recognising, at the observable level, which predicted entities are the same for both Non-Variationist Linguistics and the Theory of Variation;

Being clear that a rule postulated by a theory such as Generative Theory is not a real-world entity, but an abstraction of the model;

Transforming a property described by a rule of one or another theory into a *conditioning factor*. This entails a completely different view of the property and accordingly a different kind of entity.

The first stage concerns a kind of established convention – that is not made explicit and, if you like, goes back to the Greeks. All contemporary linguistics of whatever cast works by recognising that speech can be segmented on the phonic, morphological and syntactic levels. In that regard, we are all talking about the same things. You may operate with the idea that morphology is subordinated to syntax or not. This will make you see morphemes in one way or another, but you would hardly deny that words have meaning-bearing parts. You may, like Generative Phonology, work with the idea that features are the first entities of the system or, like Feature Geometry, that these features are hierarchical, but any of these theories will have to make room somewhere for phonic units, because they exist. Recognising these entities that

are common to all the theories does not necessarily mean that they have the same empirical basis. A theory's empirical basis – or the observable statements and entities that corroborate it – will vary according to the predictions each one makes – which, once again, contributes to the incommensurability of the theories, especially as regards Variationist Sociolinguistics and Structuralism and, to a greater extent, Generative Theory.

However, the fact that some of these entities do coincide leads to the belief that, at least in some respects, we are trying to describe the same entities that exist in language. It is the system they form that will not be the same.

Secondly are the laws that these theories postulate to account for certain behaviour by these observable entities. When linguists formulate a law or a rule, they are first highlighting a relationship that is not immediately observable, formulating a working model of the world in which a certain property is stated as plausibly existing. To that end, they postulate both unobservable entities (phonemes, features) and properties that relate these entities (assimilation of a feature, agreement relationship), which predict correlated behaviour in their empirical base. When variationists take this law to be a group of factors, they assume, in the first place, that the observable entities are the same (the acoustic segment realisation, for example, or, in the case of morphosyntax, one morphological form and not another). Secondly, they are admitting that there is a certain property involved in the behaviour of these observable entities that relates them to one another.

From there, it is then necessary to re-signify this property. Firstly, deriving from a theoretical framework within which it was conceived, it arises from the more general laws postulated by that framework. The Theory of Variation and Change is not – and cannot be – committed to this larger picture. If the law is taken as it is formulated and believe in the empirical reality of the unobservable entities and in the exact way the property is stated, its work of interpretation is rendered meaningless. In other words, we need to establish precisely what we mean when we say that such a property constitutes a *group of conditioning factors*, which is usually interpreted as a kind of **force** that impels the variant forms. The concept of **force** or pressure is incompatible with the concept of **rule** in Generative Theory or Structuralist Linguistics. **Force** relates to dynamic processes; **rule**, to static relationships. Perhaps we should shy from the notion of force and think about function, on a mathematical view (which, incidentally, is the view of the mathematical model used as a tool for the work of description), but that is not clear to me at the moment.

That clarity is necessary, especially because groups of factors from different theoretical frameworks tend to be listed for the same process of variation. If the relations described by these theoretical frameworks are taken literally, we are condemned not to make any sense or come to a dead end, because the unobservable entities and the rules postulated by these frameworks are different. When we take such hypotheses and apply them to the data, what we recognise is that

there is a property relating the observable entities that we take – and they are the same, but we don't know where this property is nor what it actually is.

Because of this, it is obvious that the Theory of Variation needs to advance somewhat in its theoretical formulation and to specify the status of the groups of factors more clearly, so that the explanatory level of the theory advances ‘in relation to the descriptive level. Otherwise, others will do this in the future.

### **Final remarks**

In an article that caused considerable controversy a few years ago, Fernando Tarallo (1986) compared the sociolinguist to Zelig, the chameleon (a Woody Allen character inspired in a famous psychiatric patient, who assimilated the personality of whoever he engaged with. Tarallo said that the sociolinguist is half-chameleon, needing to assume the most diverse shades of theory in order to account for the phenomenon of variation. His stance was heavily criticised for a certain levity that occasioned a lack of scientific rigor and the irrationality that it betrayed (cf. Borges Neto and Paula Muller, 1987). In a more recent article, Rajagopalan (1993), commenting on this position set out by Tarallo (1986), called attention to the fact that there could be something worthwhile to this non-orthodoxy, if considered in the light of “casuistry”, according to Josen and Toulmin (1988), because it made allowance for the hesitations that are necessary when addressing the mysteries of language.

I do not think the chameleon image is the most appropriate. Variationist sociolinguists are not beings who take on the personality of one theorist or another. The sociolinguist is a predator – a tyrannosaurus rex – that devours and metabolises its prey theory, recasting and resignifying its precious flesh, transforming matter into energy, in the endeavour to perceive, albeit intuitively, that matter and energy can be the same “thing”.

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## IN LANGUAGE, EVERYTHING IS CONNECTED

### Interview with Professor Uli Reich

## NA LÍNGUA, TUDO ESTÁ CONECTADO

### Entrevista com o Professor Uli Reich

*Uli Reich*<sup>1</sup>

*Eliete Figueira Batista da Silveira*<sup>2</sup>

*Danielle Kely Gomes*<sup>3</sup>

#### RESUMO

O professor Dr. Uli Reich possui mestrado em Literatura Espanhola pela Universidade de Munique (1996), doutorado em Linguística de Línguas Românicas pela Universidade de Munique (2000) e “Habilitation” pela Universidade de Colônia. Foi Colaborador Científico da Universidade de Colônia e Professor Visitante Estrangeiro pelo programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras Vernáculas da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Atualmente é Professor Ordinário pela Universidade Livre de Berlim. Tem experiência na área de Linguística, com ênfase em Teoria e Análise Linguística, trabalhando sobre pragmática, prosódia, sintaxe, sociolinguística e contato linguístico em português, espanhol e francês.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Entrevista; Pesquisador; Linguística.

#### ABSTRACT

Professor Uli Reich holds an MA in Spanish Literature from the University of Munich (1996), a PhD in Romance Language Linguistics from the University of Munich (2000) and a “Habilitation” from the University of Cologne. He has worked as a Scientific Collaborator at the University of Cologne and Visiting Foreign Professor at the Postgraduate Program in Vernacular Letters at Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Since 2008 he is Ordinary Professor at the Freie Universität Berlin. He has experience in Linguistics, with emphasis on Linguistic Theory and Analysis, working on pragmatics, prosody, syntax, sociolinguistics and multilingualism in Portuguese, Spanish and French.

**KEYWORDS:** Interview; Researcher; Linguistics.

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1 The researcher interviewed, Professor Uli Reich ([uli.reich@fu-berlin.de](mailto:uli.reich@fu-berlin.de)) works at the Institute of Romance Philology (Institut Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften), Freie Universität Berlin.

2 Eliete Figueira Batista da Silveira ([elietesilveira@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:elietesilveira@letras.ufrj.br)) is a professor at the Department of Vernacular Literature and the Graduate Program in Vernacular Literature at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. She is the associate editor of *Diadorim: revista de estudos linguísticos e literários*.

3 Danielle Kely Gomes ([daniellekgomes@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:daniellekgomes@letras.ufrj.br)) is a professor at the Department of Vernacular Literature, the Graduate Program in Vernacular Literature, and the Master's Program in Professional Literature at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. She is currently the associate editor of *Diadorim: revista de estudos linguísticos e literários*.

**Question 1**

**In a recent speech at *Abralin ao Vivo*, you identified yourself as a member of the “Brazilian linguistic community”. How has this partnership with Brazilian linguistics and Brazilian researchers been built in your academic career?**

**[Em recente fala no *Abralin ao Vivo*, o senhor se identifica como um membro da “comunidade linguística brasileira”. Como essa parceria com a linguística brasileira e pesquisadores brasileiros se construiu em sua trajetória acadêmica?]**

*I basically started my linguistic career in Brazil. In 1994, I was working as a teacher for German in Campinas and just dropped into the IEL at Unicamp to see if anything interesting was happening. At that time, I had no idea about linguistics. At Unicamp, I met a linguist who was working on the grammar of an indigenous language with only two speakers left and I learned about the projects on the grammar of spoken Brazilian Portuguese. In these perspectives on actual linguistic realities that mirror the rich diversity of human societies, I found an ideal field to combine my interests in foreign cultures and philosophy. Back in Munich, I concluded my studies of Spanish Literature in 1996, switched to linguistics and started a PhD project under the supervision of the late Wulf Oesterreicher who got very interested in Brazilian Linguistics. In 1997, I arrived at the University of São Paulo with a grant from the DAAD to stay for a year. My topic was the pronominal system and I learned generative syntax reading the articles from Mary Kato, Charlotte Galves and Sonia Cyrino. Sonia later invited me to Londrina where I gave the first public talk of my life. In São Paulo, I also participated in a course on Sociolinguistics led by Angela Rodrigues. We recorded so called Portuguese Popular in a small favela near the city airport and I learned Labovian variationist theory. I think that the unique blend of abstract representations of formal systems and the dedication to empirically controlled facts is what most attracted me to Brazilian Linguistics and I keep this scientific view point until today. That is one of the reasons why I think that in spite of being Bavarian by birth, I am a Brazilian linguist. The other reason, of course, are my colleagues from Brazil. Both Sonia and Angela later went also to Munich, where I had started to work as a Scientific Collaborator at the chair of Wulf Oesterreicher. We started an intense cooperation with several Brazilian universities and I met Célia Lopes who became an important colleague and friend of mine in Rio. She invited me later to apply for a position as a guest lecturer at the UFRJ in 2007 and I spent a whole year at the fundão. There, I had the pleasure to work not only with Célia Lopes, but also with Antonio de Moraes, Afrânio Barbosa, Dinah Callou, Eugênia Duarte, Silvia Rodrigues and many other colleagues. I learned a lot from all of them and many of their perspectives and insights still play a decisive role in my linguistic thinking.*

## **Question 2**

**Talking specifically about academic-institutional issues, you were a visiting professor at the Graduate Program in Vernacular Letters at Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) in 2007. What were your experiences with the Brazilian community of linguists?**

**[Falando especificamente sobre questões acadêmico-institucionais, atualmente o senhor está como professor visitante no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras Vernáculas da UFRJ. Quais são as suas expectativas/projeções para mais essa interlocução com pesquisadores brasileiros? Conte-nos sobre o projeto que o traz a mais uma vez à UFRJ.]**

*I think I experienced the best and the worst aspects of Brazilian universities. The worst are the poor facilities many scholars have to work with. This starts with the libraries that did not cover contemporary linguistic publications, let alone old documents and grammars from the colonial period. Also, funds for empirical projects are tight and the technical equipment is not always up to date. While the situation regarding recent linguistic publications is improving now, because of the spread of open access publications in the web, I hear from my colleagues that funding is getting even worse under the new government. The best aspects of working at the Fundação were the people. Both scholars and students turned out to be passionate, skilful and creative linguists who love what they are doing. We had many challenging discussions packed with new ideas and we had great fun in the courses and seminars I taught and participated in. I remember especially a course on Prosodic Phonology in the graduate program. The first day I noticed that Antônio de Moraes and Dinah Callou would participate. I got very nervous because, of course, they knew better than I did, but we managed to run the course together and it ended up as a very lively workshop in which we shared a lot of insights and ideas.*

## **Question 3**

**In addition to your dialogue with Brazilian linguists/Brazilian research, you recently became a member of the Association of Linguistics and Philology of Latin America (ALFAL), with a mandate from 2014 to 2021. One of the initiatives coordinated by you at ALFAL is the series “Linguística Latino Americana”, a collection of works published by De Gruyter. What is the importance of this series for ALFAL and for you?**

**[Além da interlocução com linguistas / pesquisa brasileira, o senhor atuou recentemente como membro vogal da Associação de Linguística e Filologia da América Latina (ALFAL), com mandato entre 2014 e 2021. Uma das iniciativas coordenadas pelo senhor no âmbito da Associação é a série “Linguística Latino Americana”, um conjunto de obras publicado pela De Gruyter. Qual a importância dessa série para a ALFAL e para o senhor?]**

I believe that LILA can become an important vehicle for Latin American Linguists. Beside all classical topics, we want to focus also on indigenous languages, the impact of African languages, and especially on theoretical contributions from Latin America hardly known abroad. In my opinion, Brazilian and Hispano-American Linguistics is far better than a survey of the impact of international publications makes us believe. USP, Unicamp, UFRJ, Colegio de México, UNAM, UBA, to name only a few, are all universities with very advanced researchers whose contributions to general linguistics are hardly known abroad. I also feel that the richness of linguistic diversity in Latin America still lacks the attention it deserves. Portuguese and Spanish are only two out of hundreds of languages spoken in Latin America that can feed our understanding of the many possibilities the human faculty for language provides to cope with very different ways of living. The Afro-American traditions in the historical formation of the two big Ibero-American Languages are also far from being well documented and sufficiently understood.

There is also a political intention in this new series. The hostility of the actual Brazilian government to the linguistic diversity of Brazil is very dangerous and we must work to improve the visibility of the indigenous communities in the international scientific community to strengthen the pressure on Brazil to protect them. I believe that the more we publish on these languages and the cultures they express, the more the general society, including politicians in governments, will be aware of the menace to assimilate indigenous people to the dominant cultural and economic patterns. LILA can contribute to this endeavor.

#### **Question 4**

**Your academic production covers multiple areas of investigation (intonation and its interfaces/morphosyntax/sociolinguistics/languages in contact). As a researcher, how does this variety of interests shape your scientific production? Do you currently devote special attention to any of them?**

**[A produção acadêmica do senhor transita por múltiplas áreas de investigação (entoação e suas interfaces/morfossintaxe/Sociolinguística/contato entre línguas). Como pesquisador, de que maneira a pluralidade de interesses molda a sua produção científica? Neste momento, o senhor dedica a alguma delas uma atenção especial?]**

*I consider myself a linguistic decathlete. Or better, as my friend and colleague Horst Simon once put it, I practice duck sciences. A duck is not the best animal in flying, nor in swimming, nor in walking, but it is one of very few animals that performs quite well in all three types of movement. In language, everything is connected and the subdisciplines are only a way to reduce the complexity of the phenomena we face in linguistics. To make these reflections a little more concrete, if you study pronouns for objects in Brazilian Portuguese for example, you need knowledge both of the syntax and the phonology of clitics, you need knowledge about the social*

*indexicality that governs the use of clitics and free pronouns in different situations and you might want to relate the prosodic, syntactic and social configuration of the whole inventory to historical situations of extreme multilingualism in which it arose.*

*At the moment, I am preparing a sociolinguistic project on the city of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, where more than 20 indigenous languages are spoken together not only with Portuguese, but also with Spanish because of the proximity to Colombia and Venezuela. The indigenous language that will be at the heart of the project is Nheengatú, maybe the most Brazilian of all languages, since it arose from the complex multilingualism in colonial Brazil and Grão-Pará e Maranhão. The Jesuits used it in their missionary practice, it dominated the communication across different communities and later it became nativized throughout the Amazon. Today it is one of the bigger languages of the Rio Negro, spoken by the Baré and other communities. I am cooperating with the FOIRN, the organization of indigenous people of the Rio Negro, who is founding right now the Academia do Nheengatú. Most scholars that go to São Gabriel da Cachoeira are looking for smaller communities upstream to study particular languages without regard to multilingualism, but nobody ever studied the sociolinguistic configuration of the city's languages. In this project, too, it will be important for me to show the impact of the multilingual feature pool on syntactic, morphological and phonological forms I can observe in linguistic performance. After all, I am a linguist and therefore I will have to relate all social configurations and communicative intentions to the form of linguistic expressions.*

### **Question 5**

**Thinking specifically about your considerations presented in the communication in *Abralin ao Vivo*, in what ways can Formal Pragmatics contribute to the unveiling of ideological discourses? How can we make these findings reach non-academic audiences?**

**[Pensando especificamente nas suas considerações apresentadas na comunicação no *Abralin ao Vivo*, de que maneira(s) a Pragmática Formal pode contribuir para o desvelamento do(s) discurso(s) ideológicos? Como fazer essas descobertas chegarem ao público não acadêmico?]**

*Formal Pragmatics helps to give a precise account of meanings that are not said explicitly, but elicited tacitly as assumptions about background beliefs or deliberately added as not-at-issue information. If we sum up these additional meanings, we arrive at a picture of the ideological configuration the speaker evokes. These meanings often are more stable and deeper than the actual meanings denoted by the expressions. Let me give you an example: If somebody says "The privatization of the state owned oil company is too slow", he says something about the speed of a particular, actual process, but he also conveys the presupposition that the privatization of the state owned oil company is desirable - something that is not taken for granted by all economists, since there are good grounds to believe that the state needs additional income to*

*set up programs for social security, health systems and education. Thus, the “only economies that maximize private profit are good and politics that want to control the market are evil” is smuggled into the discourse in the fashion of an axiom without explicit discussion. I think that we need to discuss underlying assumptions about economic systems openly in rational democracies. This is true for every field of politics, if we want a goal-oriented, fruitful debate, we need to understand the basic convictions and ideas of our interlocutors. If we build our analyses of political statements on the grounds of well-established linguistic theories of the interactional construction of meaning, we can identify underlying assumptions and discuss them in a controlled way.*

*The word “formal” in Formal Pragmatics points to the aspect of these theories that is probably not easy to convey outside of specialized scientific communities, namely the mathematical representation that serves precision and intersubjective control, but it is easy to show background meanings and implicatures in concrete utterances, everybody understands them immediately. Trained by Formal Pragmatics, we can raise the awareness for hidden meanings and unchallenged presuppositions. We can do this analyzing concrete statements in publications and everyday conversations, in the university, at the bus stop, in bars and restaurants and back home in our families.*

### **Question 6**

**Professor Uli Reich, you have said that “Linguistics cannot recommend political positions” (REICH, Abralin Online, June 29, 2020). How to maintain neutrality if linguistic analysis reveals the saying? In other words, what to do with the scientific evidence that discourses provide?**

**[Professor Uli Reich, o senhor disse que “a Linguística não pode recomendar posições políticas” (REICH, Abralin Online, 29 de junho de 2020). Como manter a neutralidade se a análise linguística revela o dito? Em outras palavras, o que fazer com as evidências científicas que os discursos fornecem?]**

*I did not say that scholars should maintain neutrality, what I said was that linguistics as a science cannot deliver arguments for moral and economic preferences that lie at the heart of the political discussion. Social justice, coined as the equal accessibility of economic and cultural resources, and the demand to protect the ecological balance that future generations need to live on this planet do not derive naturally from the theory of language. The position that cultural diversity and political autonomy of minorities enrich our world and therefore need to be protected against the interests of individual profits is not a linguistic law. What we can do is reveal the ideological configuration behind certain statements. Let me give you an easy example for some tacit meanings without using abstract symbols. If somebody says “O índio mudou. Cada vez mais o índio é um ser humano igual a nós”, he presupposes semantically*

*that there is a category of beings called “índio” that comprises the Baré, the Baniwa, the Dâw, the Ianomâmi and some 200 other communities that live in Brazil. The verb “mudou” and the adverbial expression “cada vez mais” presuppose a different state of affairs before the one that is reported, to be like us, again a category that opposes us to “the índio”. So the speaker does not say it, but he means that the people he subsumes under the cover term “índio” have not been humans before their integration into the society he subsumes under the cover term “nós”. Now you will find such a view point at least ignorant and probably disgusting, just as I do. But this evaluation is not linguistic in nature, it is moral. The linguistic analytical procedure only reveals the epistemic and ideological configuration of the common ground the speaker evokes, but it gives us no moral system to evaluate the revealed view point. I think that this is what we see generally in the relation between science and politics: science can help to understand what the world is like, but politics has to decide what to do with this knowledge. During the pandemic crisis of Covid-19, Brazil paid a very bitter price for this fact: One of the possibilities to handle scientific knowledge in politics is ignorance.*

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Professor Uli Reich, we are very grateful for another partnership with UFRJ, especially with *Diadorim: Revista de Estudos linguísticos e Literários*. The publishers and the Post-Graduate Program in Vernacular Letters are honored by your interview. Thank you very much!

**[Professor Uli Reich, estamos muito gratos por mais uma parceria com a UFRJ, especialmente com *Diadorim: Revista de Estudos linguísticos e Literários*. As editoras e o Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras Vernáculas estão honrados com sua entrevista. Muito obrigado!]**

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## CREATIVE, VARIABLE AND FORMULAIC USES IN CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Interview with Dr. *Konrad Szcześniak*

## USOS CRIATIVOS, VARIÁVEIS E FORMULAICOS EM GRAMÁTICA DE CONSTRUÇÕES

Entrevista com o Professor Doutor *Konrad Szcześniak*

*Konrad Szcześniak*<sup>1</sup>

*Marcia dos Santos Machado Vieira*<sup>2</sup>

*Mariana Gonçalves da Costa*

*Lais Lima de Souza*

### RESUMO

Konrad Szcześniak é Professor de Linguística na Universidade Palacký (República Tcheca) e na Universidade da Silesia (Polónia). É autor de alguns livros (SZCZEŚNIAK; ŁYDA, 2013; SZCZEŚNIAK, 2014) e outros textos, inclusive de artigos sobre a língua portuguesa (SZCZEŚNIAK, 2015, 2017, 2019ab). A presente entrevista centra-se em como as pessoas usam a língua fluentemente e como desenvolvem um domínio sólido da sua língua materna, com base em pesquisas apoiadas pelo subsídio 914106111UVV 2021-*Fond děkanky*.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Gramática de Construções; Variação; Futuridade; Significado; Português.

### ABSTRACT

Konrad Szcześniak is Professor of Linguistics at Palacký University (Czech Republic) and University of Silesia (Poland). He is the author of several books (e.g. SZCZEŚNIAK; ŁYDA, 2013; SZCZEŚNIAK, 2014) and other texts, including papers about the Portuguese language (SZCZEŚNIAK, 2015, 2017, 2019ab). The present interview focuses on how people use language fluently and how they develop a solid command of their mother tongue, based on research supported by grant 914106111UVV 2021-*Fond děkanky*.

**KEYWORDS:** Construction Grammar; Variation; Futurity; Meaning; Portuguese.

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1 Dr. Konrad Szcześniak ([konrad.szczesniak@us.edu.pl](mailto:konrad.szczesniak@us.edu.pl)) currently works at the Faculty of Pedagogy, Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic, and at the Institute of English Studies, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. His studies focus on Syntax, Pragmatics and Semantics. He is mainly interested in investigating grammatical structures (specially from English, Polish, and Portuguese) under the framework of Construction Grammar.

2 The interviewers Marcia dos Santos Machado Vieira ([marcia@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:marcia@letras.ufrj.br)), Mariana Gonçalves da Costa ([mariana.goncalves@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:mariana.goncalves@letras.ufrj.br)) and Lais Lima de Souza ([lais@letras.ufrj.br](mailto:lais@letras.ufrj.br)) are members of the research group Predicar Project, at Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Marcia dos Santos Machado Vieira is a Professor of Portuguese Language at the Department of Vernacular Letters (UFRJ) and the coordinator of Predicar Project. Mariana Gonçalves da Costa (PIBIC/CNPq Scholarship) and Lais Lima de Souza are both undergraduate students of Languages and Literature at UFRJ.



**Question 1**

**We would like to start by thanking Dr. Szcześniak for accepting our invitation for this interview. Could you tell us a little about your academic trajectory? How did you first become interested in Construction Grammar? What are your recent projects?**

Thank you for this opportunity to do an interview!

When I started my PhD program, Chomsky's grammar was the main school of thought. It was a compelling and exciting approach, one that I didn't think could be seriously challenged, much less replaced. But soon things looked less and less compelling, because I could see problems that generativism was not very good at handling. One prime example was the question of why native speakers are so much better than foreign learners at what I call *semantic intuitions*. Namely, when we are about to use a word in a new creative way, we feel a lot more confident about it in our mother tongue than in a foreign language. For instance, can I say something like *O país mergulhou nas mãos de Putin*? As native speakers of Portuguese, you will have an opinion about my lexical experiment. Thanks to your semantic intuitions, it'll either sound good to you or you'll say my experiment is a failure. Solid semantic intuitions make it possible to decide whether or not our experimental expression sounds acceptable and natural, but in a foreign language such intuitions are often insufficient. They do become stronger with time and increasing proficiency, but how does that happen? I realized that Chomsky's theory, as august and impressive as it was, didn't provide answers other than "it must be innate."

Construction Grammar makes it possible to study such puzzles because it takes formulaic expressions very seriously. Under Construction Grammar, each language is full of fixed expressions (such as *mergulhar no caos* or *mergulhar na anarquia*). These are treated as constructions, independent entries in our lexicons, which speakers use creatively to invent new experimental expressions. Generativism, on the hand, dismisses formulaic expressions as "periphery" of language, "uninteresting and not worthy of study." So at the moment, I am mostly interested in studying how people get creative with language and how they build their immense lexical knowledge.

**Question 2**

**Regarding your interest in investigating Portuguese, what motivated you to study the language? Which Portuguese corpora do you have access to? Do you consider Portuguese varieties and, among them, Brazilian Portuguese?**

Back in college, I listened to Faith No More's album *King For A Day*, where Mike Patton sings one song in Portuguese. I fell in love with the sound of the language and decided right then and there that I wanted to speak the magic language. Then I was lucky to get sent to study at Universidade de Aveiro in Portugal, where I started to really speak the language. Now I can use Portuguese both for pleasure and research purposes, and when I do research, I use *O Corpus*

*Creative, variable and formulaic uses in Construction Grammar: Interview with Dr. Konrad Szcześniak*  
Konrad Szcześniak, Marcia dos S. Machado Vieira, Mariana Gonçalves da Costa e Laís Lima de Souza  
*do Português* de Mark Davies. I am most at home with European Portuguese, but I have access to Brazilian Portuguese a lot, especially when listening to Gabriel o Pensador, O Rappa, Lenine or dozens of other Brazilian artists I love.

### **Question 3**

**Could you tell us about your experience in collaborating with the Brazilian journal *Ciência Hoje Online* (<https://cienciahoje.org.br/>), about, for instance, the experimental research involving 500 people in Brazil and Poland and so on?**

In the early 2000s, all *Ciência Hoje* articles were available online for free and I read them mainly to keep my Portuguese alive. At one point, I thought why not write an article in Portuguese and submit it to CH? My submission (*Palavras Relâmpago*) was not only accepted but it was featured as *artigo de capa*. I then became friends with the Editors Alicia Ivanissevich and Cássio Leite Vieira, wonderful people, whom I visited twice in Rio. Later several other papers came out, including the one you mentioned, reporting on an experiment focusing on people's perceptions of language errors. We found that when people hear a sentence, with or without errors, their evaluation of that sentence depends not only on the error itself, but also on who said the sentence. If the sentence comes from a foreigner, people like to expect mistakes almost automatically. On the other hand, if a native speaking professor makes a mistake, people often don't even hear that mistake. Life is not fair.

### **Question 4**

**Variation is a phenomenon that has been often overlooked in the field of Construction Grammar. What is your opinion on the growing interest in variation among constructionists? How do you see the relation between Construction Grammar and Sociolinguistics concerning language variation and change?**

Construction Grammar may not have been preoccupied with variation at the beginning, probably because it was mainly concerned with other goals. But time has shown that the framework of Construction Grammar has a lot of room for variation. I don't think I can speculate on the reasons behind the growing interest other than the fact that variation is an important part of how language is used. It's just a really good thing that serious efforts are made to understand it better, beyond the banal idea that "language changes". The relation I see is one of interdisciplinary research that combines insights from both fields to appreciate change for its fascinating nature.

What I mean is that language change may seem uninteresting at first glance and we may feel tempted to take it for granted. But on the other hand, it is a really remarkable phenomenon: you take a community of cariocas, and you can hear in an instant that they are not lisboetas. What other aspect of our behavior displays the same specialization? You can't identify a person as carioca based on the way they walk, laugh, breathe or even dance. Language variation is

unique in this respect. The brains can run two different sets of software. Each set is an immense high-precision system that our brains somehow manage to absorb, but at the same time, each system undergoes dramatic changes so that if you listen to recordings from the 1950s, you hear that cariocas sounded so strange that in your mind's eyes you almost see them wearing beaver hats. We can detect the slightest divergence of accent and we know the speaker is not from our times or from Rio. These are really interesting facts, too interesting to be ignored by linguists.

### **Question 5**

**What are the main arguments and observations of your study on variation/alternations motivated by analogy?**

I studied the behavior of the English construction [Verb *oneself* PP], typically used in examples like *argue oneself into a corner* or *drink oneself out of the job*. What most uses of the construction have in common is that they convey unpleasant meanings: 'finding oneself at a logical dead-end in an argument' or 'losing one's job because of drinking.' So there's an aura of pessimism around the construction that proficient speakers can sense. But now more and more uses also involve optimistic meanings, a change that probably began with uses like *paint oneself out of a corner* ('solve a serious personal problem'). What made such uses possible is the existence of fixed expressions like *paint oneself into a corner* ('get in trouble'). The thinking behind it was that if you can paint yourself *into* a corner, then you can also paint yourself *out of* it. Such opposite uses are possible (even logical) especially if there's an existing expression you can allude to. The main observation is that it's a short mental step from an unpleasant problem to a pleasant solution, and if we can take this step in using one expression, then by analogy it's also possible in other cases (with other verbs). And then if enough new uses are heard, variation starts spreading.

### **Question 6**

**Could you talk about the relation between the concepts of desire, intention, and futurity? Which kind of influence or interaction may polarity, modality and aspectuality have on such concepts?**

I think there may be more than one, but a relation that is almost certainly responsible for the link is the relation of ambiguity. In many situations, when I say that I *want* to do something, my intention can be understood as a plan or even guarantee that this something will get done. So there's the ambiguity of 'intention' plus 'guarantee'. What is really interesting is that, given enough time, the two interpretations start changing in people's minds. While 'intention' was originally the main meaning, a few generations later, it is the 'guarantee of future action' part that people hear more loudly. We know that these things happen, but we don't know exactly how or why. Why should the 'guarantee' meaning appear more salient than 'desire'? Why do these changes involve polarity, modality and aspect, I'm almost afraid to discuss here, because I'd have to go on forever, and most of it would be pure speculation.

### **Question 7**

**Could you briefly explain the contributions of Cognitive Semantics to the study of linguistic constructions? Which methods, techniques and tools contribute to cognitive semantic studies?**

Let's recall the new uses of the [Verb oneself PP] construction, where there's a salient link between opposite meanings of *paint oneself into a corner* and *paint oneself out of a corner*. You hear that someone managed to *paint himself out of a corner*, and you immediately get the reference to the existing expression *paint oneself into a corner*, which seems to function as an anchor. The association with this safe anchor is automatic and effortless. Similarly, if I say *Não meta o cavaleiro na chuva*, what happens in your Brazilian minds is that you will immediately activate the expression *tirar o cavaleiro da chuva* when interpreting what I may have meant. People are naturally good at seeing and exploiting such analogies. What is interesting is that, at such moments, language makes use of the same cognitive processes that are used in non-linguistic contexts.

Cognitive Semantics shows which processes happen to be present in language processing more often than others. Or what kinds of meanings tend to appear in grammar in language after language. A good example of that comes from Leonard Talmy. He points out that in many different languages, nouns have inflectional endings that signal things like number, gender or size, as in *gat-inha* (singular, masculine, small) but apparently never the color.

Research in cognitive semantics (and more generally in cognitive linguistics) takes advantage of many different methods, even more now than ever, thanks to computer technology. We can now search texts of immense sizes running in the billions of words, which show us interesting patterns in how constructions are used. These are things that would otherwise remain invisible without computers.

### **Question 8**

**Which methods of analysis do you use to study the meaning related to constructions and their content attributes?**

My favorite method is corpus analysis. Like I said, a corpus search shows us things that would otherwise be invisible or would not even occur to us. To take a rather banal example, a quick search shows two things about the combination *que nem*. One is that it is synonymous with *como*. The other is that it is only used in comparisons (*estúpido que nem uma porta, comer que nem um porco*). It cannot be used interchangeably with *como* in questions: *\*Que nem se chama?*

**Question 9**

**In the topic of language acquisition and language learning, what are some of the contributions of constructionist studies?**

This is where I think Construction Grammar shows its real power, especially in comparison with Chomsky's generativism. If you want to learn a foreign language, Chomsky will kill your dreams. According to the great man, in adulthood we no longer have children's innate predispositions, so learning a foreign language really well is practically impossible. Construction Grammar says there are no innate predispositions for language other than the general cognitive processes like generalization or pattern detection, which are equally accessible both for adults and children. The challenge is to learn all the constructions of the language, ranging from fairly schematic ones (with empty slots) like [Verb *oneself* PP] to concrete ones (without slots) like formulaic expressions *cada macaco na seu galho*. There's a lot to learn, so the task is not easy, but at least it's possible and you know what to do.

**Question 10**

**According to your studies, what are the insights you found on the process of emergence of a new construction? Have you identified any patterns? If so, which ones? Are there multiwords or complex verb constructions among them?**

One pattern is probably very obvious. A multiword expression like *cada macaco no seu galho* can appear in the language instantly. Someone famous will use it in a book and the next day people everywhere may start using it. But it takes a lot more time for expressions with empty slots to enter the language. For example, the [*não quer x*] construction (as in *O motor não quer pegar* or *A porta não quer abrir*) took some time to develop the meaning of difficulty / impossibility / future inaction. Originally it was used quite literally to express reluctance (*O filhinho não quer dormir*), and then it gradually took on the additional meanings, but it was a longer process.

**Question 11**

**In your opinion, what kind of prospects can we expect from the field of Construction Grammar in the next few years?**

I'd say that research in the framework of Construction Grammar is likely to provide more detailed answers to questions like: *how do people manage to use language creatively?* We now know that novel expressions (like *mergulhar nas mãos do tirano*) "feed off" existing phrases: The combination *mergulhar em x* (or in English, *plunge into x*) sounds acceptable by analogy and by association with *mergulhar no caos / na anarquia / na crise etc.* (*plunge into chaos / anarchy / crisis etc.*). We hear *mergulhar em x*, and our minds automatically create vivid associations with scary, sinister ideas that these fixed *mergulhar* expressions carry, and these ideas give enough color to the new expression to make it sound acceptable.

(As an aside, what's really fascinating about this is just how many fixed expressions exist. According to the latest estimates, an average speaker knows at least tens of thousands of multiword expressions. That's incredible – just think of how many phone numbers you know or how many historical dates you remember. And then, not only do we know so many expressions, but we can access them in the mental lexicon instantly. When you hear *cada macaco...* you can finish the expression before you even hear me say the second part. Note that when I say *mergulhar nas mãos de...*, in your mind you activate the other existing *mergulhar* expressions within a fraction of a second. All this is simply amazing.)

But I guess the most honest answer to your question should be “who knows what lies ahead?” I like to think that the best future discoveries are those we can't even imagine right now. Progress usually happens when people look for one thing and discover something else, something different and much more interesting than what they set out to find in the first place. This is known as *serendipity*, a mysterious sounding word which reflects the mysterious nature of discovery very well.

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## [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<sup>1</sup>

Bárbara da Silva de Miranda<sup>2</sup>

#### 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 papéis 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. Seleccionamos 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.

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

2 Master's student in Letters at Federal Fluminense University. E-mail: [barbara\\_miranda@id.uff.br](mailto: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 qualitative 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

*Dar* is a Portuguese polysemic and polyfunctional verb. It is the prototypical verb of the prepositional dative construction<sup>3</sup> 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<sub>AGENT</sub> V OBJ 1<sub>PATIENT</sub> OBJ 2<sub>RECIPIENT</sub>] – 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<sub>AGENT</sub> V OBJ 1<sub>PATIENT</sub> OBJ 2<sub>RECIPIENT</sub>] (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]<sup>4</sup>.  
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<sup>5</sup>  
[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. DIESEL, 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*<sup>6</sup>, 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 phrase (PP). Considering the former type, it was restricted to the Portuguese constructions *dar certo* and *dar errado*<sup>7</sup> for a long time, since other adjectives were not allowed by the construction [DAR ADJ].

- d. Nossa estratégia [deu certo]<sup>8</sup>.  
Our strategy [give-past right].  
*Our strategy [succeeded].*
- e. Seu plano de prejudicar a menina quase [deu errado]<sup>9</sup>.  
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-luta-de-uma-guerreira-contra-o-trabalho-escravo-no-brasil,1fab3f0ffe9b379e0c9805ea13f45a2fi3iamg-zk.html> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

9 Available at: <https://gshow.globo.com/novelas/orfaos-da-terra/noticia/miguel-faz-barraco-em-cassino-e-envergonha-camila.ghtml> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

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*<sup>10</sup>:

- (01) [Deu ruim], mas agora está tudo bem. Graças a Deus!<sup>11</sup>  
 [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]<sup>12</sup>?  
 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<sup>13</sup> [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](http://www.corpusdoportugues.org))<sup>14</sup>, which were analyzed by a quali-quantitative methodology and interpreted by the light of the assumptions of Usage-Based Linguistics (cf.; BYBEE, 2010; TRAUOGOTT & 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

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-spapos-infeccao> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

12 Available at: <https://legadodamarvel.com.br/bom-ou-ruim-leia-as-primeiras-reacoes-da-critica-para-vingadores-ultimato/> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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<sup>15</sup>: “**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 7<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

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

C is a construction iff<sub>def</sub> C is a form-meaning pair <F<sub>i</sub>, S<sub>i</sub>> 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, [DARADJ] 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

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

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).

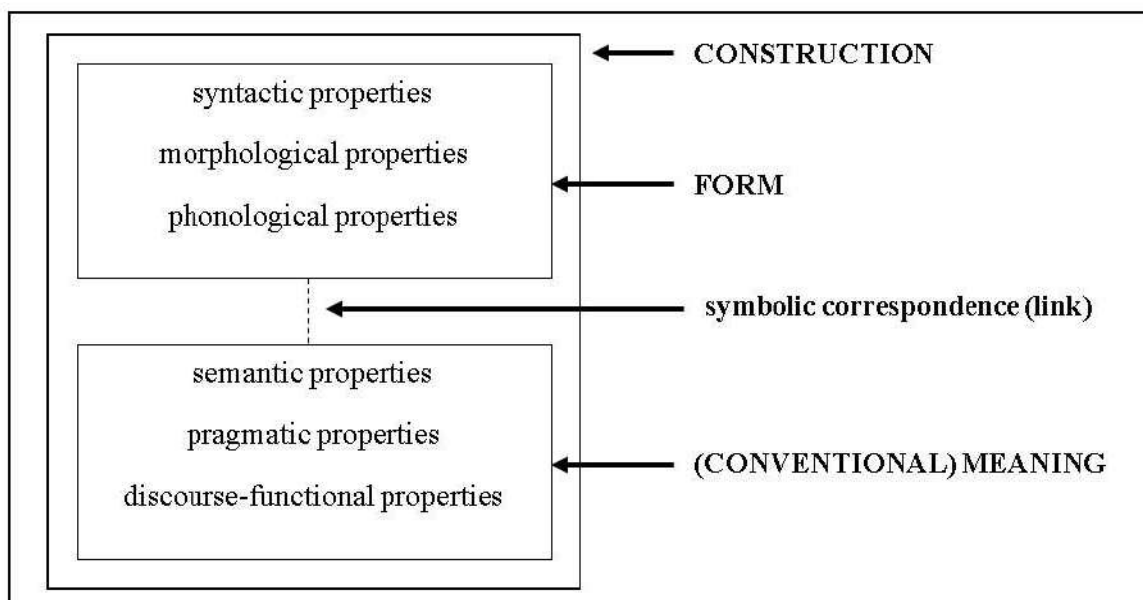
As we can observe in the examples above, although the adjective *good* modifies the noun *friends* – as it happens in any NP constituted by a noun and an adjective –, the expression

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

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

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<sup>16</sup>.  
*This way it is safer to travel through Virada, even because of its schedule advancing into the night. If it **failed...** keep calm.*

16 Available at: <https://entretenimento.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2019/05/18/guia-de-sobrevivencia-veja-dicas-para-aproveitar-a-virada-cultural-sem-perrengue.htm> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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<sup>17</sup>.  
*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<sup>18</sup>, 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.

17 Available at: <https://www.publico.pt/2019/06/11/opiniao/opiniao/cartas-director-1875969> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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<sup>19</sup>.

*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**<sup>20</sup>.  
*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**<sup>21</sup>?  
*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**<sup>22</sup>.  
*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-burro-e-cobra-consulta/> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

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

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

22 Available at: <https://twitter.com/anantunell/status/1424239719144112128> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 país*<sup>23</sup>. **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 para 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-direito<sup>24</sup>.

*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 resultado**<sup>25</sup>.

*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<sub>AGENT</sub> V OBJ 1P<sub>ATIENT</sub> OBJ 2RECIPIENT]. From this point of view, verb and noun phrase are less

23 Available at: <https://www.cadaminuto.com.br/noticia/341119/2019/06/21/as-mentiras-pornograficas-de-sergio-moro> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

25 Available at: [https://www.jm-madeira.pt/opinioes/ver/2467/O\\_cansaco\\_como\\_\\_\\_validacao\\_de\\_si](https://www.jm-madeira.pt/opinioes/ver/2467/O_cansaco_como___validacao_de_si) - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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<sup>26</sup>. 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<sup>27</sup>, 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
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>99</b>

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

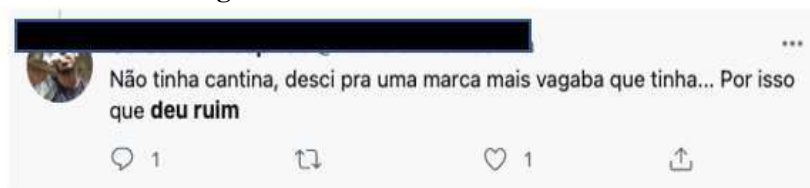


<sup>26</sup> We have Strong evidence that there are also differences regarding type frequency, but its proof depends on further investigation as we restricted our analysis for the most frequent patterns of the strings of verb + adjective.

<sup>27</sup> 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].

Source: Twitter<sup>28</sup>

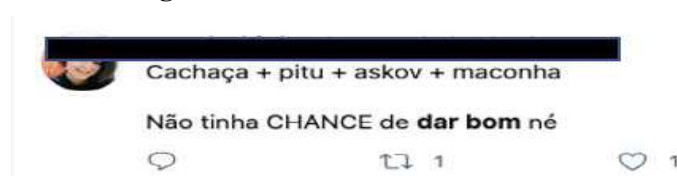
**Image 2.** Token #2 extracted from Twitter



Source: Twitter<sup>29</sup>

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.



Source: Twitter<sup>30</sup>

**Image 4.** Token #4 extracted from Twitter.



Source: Twitter<sup>31</sup>

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*

28 Available at: <http://twitter.com/usemylies/status/1424382218449956874> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021. Translation: I downloaded Shopee app, I will have problems with that.

29 Available at: <https://twitter.com/LeandroMh3/status/1424369918984720395> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021. Translation: There was no cantina (a wine brand), so I chose a poorer one that was available... That's why things went bad.

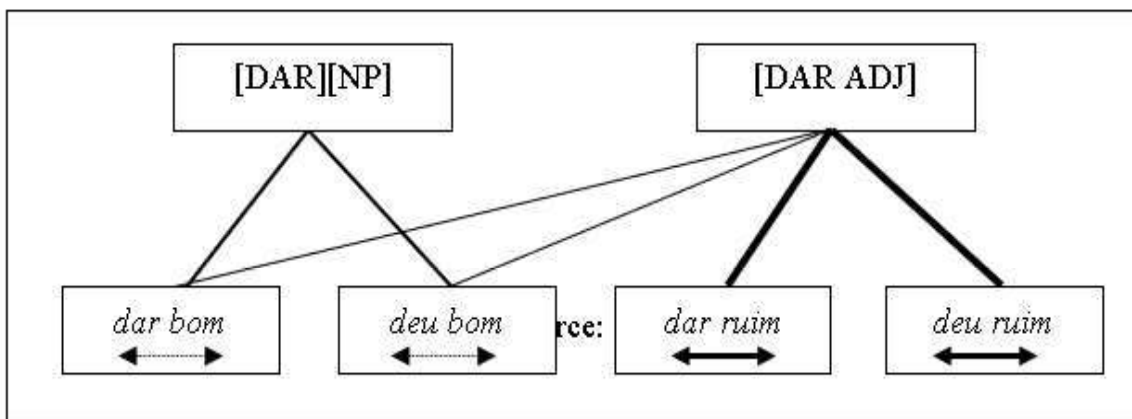
30 Available at: [https://twitter.com/t\\_wondrak/status/1424380477008453637](https://twitter.com/t_wondrak/status/1424380477008453637) - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021. Translation: cachaça + pitu + askov + hemp. There was no chance it would succeed.

31 Available at: <https://twitter.com/cabaceirah/status/1424382007698726916> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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” (DIESEL, 2019: 15).

Although chunks are the result of automatization, it 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. <b>4) Fusion of verb and adjective as a unit.</b>
	Syntactic properties	<b>5) Construction as a predication of a state-of-affairs.</b>
FUNCTION	Semantic properties	<b>6) Loss of semantic compositionality of the verb and the adjective, resulting in a new meaning.</b>
	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”

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<sup>32</sup>.

*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**<sup>33</sup>.  
*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-sofrenca/> - Access on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 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 8<sup>th</sup>, 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**<sup>34</sup>.  
*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 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021.



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## FUTURE REFERENCE IN PORTUGUESE: THE CASE FOR A VOLITIVE PERIPHRAISIS

### FUTURO EM PORTUGUÊS: ESTUDO SOBRE A PERÍFRASE VOLITIVA

*Mariana Gonçalves da Costa<sup>1</sup>*

*Lais Lima de Souza<sup>2</sup>*

#### RESUMO

O presente trabalho visa investigar as ocorrências de [*querer* + verbo no infinitivo] na língua portuguesa e suas implicações em comparação com [*ir* + verbo no infinitivo], duas construções que expressam futuridade. Com base na noção exposta por Bybee e Pagliuca (1987) de que o conceito de desejo seria uma das fontes lexicais mais comuns de marcadores de futuro, a ideia explorada no artigo é a de que existe uma associação entre volição e futuridade feita pelos falantes do português. Sob a perspectiva teórica da Linguística Funcional-Cognitiva e da Gramática de Construções, o estudo analisa usos da construção [*querer* + verbo no infinitivo] por falantes de português como construção indicadora de futuro. Considera-se que a construção licencie múltiplos usos que, então, podem ser acionados pelo falante durante a situação comunicacional. Nesse sentido, este artigo traz contribuições para pesquisas sobre perífrase verbal e futuro do ponto de vista da Gramática de Construções.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Verbos volitivos; Futuridade; Futuro perifrástico; Linguística Funcional-Cognitiva; Gramática de Construções.

#### ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to investigate the occurrences of [*querer* + verb in infinitive] in Portuguese and its implications in comparison to [*ir* + verb in infinitive], two constructions that express futurity. Based on the notion exposed by Bybee and Pagliuca (1987) that the concept of desire is one of the most common lexical sources of future markers, we propose that there is an association between volition and futurity made by speakers of Portuguese. The study draws on theoretical underpinnings of Usage Based-Linguistics and Construction Grammar to explore uses of [*querer* + verb in the infinitive] by Portuguese speakers as a construction that indicates future reference. We argue that this construction licenses multiple uses that can be activated by the speaker during the communicative situation. This paper contributes to research on verbal periphrasis and future reference from a Construction Grammar point of view.

**KEYWORDS:** Volitive verbs; Futurity; Periphrastic future; Cognitive-Functional Linguistics; Construction Grammar.

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1 Graduating student in Languages: Portuguese/English at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and PIBIC/CNPq scholar, [marianag.costa@gmail.com](mailto:marianag.costa@gmail.com).

2 Graduating student in Languages: Portuguese/English at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and PIBIC/CNPq scholar, [llais@ufrj.br](mailto:llais@ufrj.br).

## Introduction

This paper discusses the process of grammatical constructionalization of the volitive verb *querer* in the present tense followed by a verb in the infinitive [*querer* + verb in infinitive] in Portuguese. We understand that [*querer* + verb in infinitive] projects notions of futurity through the idea of intentionality. We argue that the future reference does not come from the verb *querer* but from the construction as a whole. Our objective is to look into occurrences of this construction and its implications in comparison to [*ir* + verb in infinitive], a well-established periphrasis for future tense marking in Portuguese, in order to investigate the variation between these two constructions for future reference.

Based on the theoretical underpinnings of Functional-Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar, the study centers on a corpus-based investigation to shed light on the factors that could possibly motivate the activation of each construction, as well as their formal and functional attributes. Our sample consists of data from both Brazilian Portuguese ( $\cong 85\%$ ) and European Portuguese ( $\cong 15\%$ ) extracted from the corpus “Portuguese Web 2011” available through the software *Sketch Engine*, as well as data collected from the social media platform *Twitter*.

As most studies on volitive verbs as future markers in Brazilian Portuguese have been developed within the framework of grammaticalization, this paper aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion covering cross-linguistic patterns in the development of grammatical markers of futurity within the perspective of Construction Grammar. We believe that by analyzing the phenomenon at the construction level we can identify patterns that better explain the productivity of the volitive verb *querer* in periphrastic position in Portuguese.

After this brief introduction, the paper is divided into five parts. Section 1 presents an overview of future references in Portuguese, elucidating the case for a volitive periphrasis that expresses future within the perspective of Construction Grammar. Sections 2 and 3 provide some insights regarding the study’s corpora and methodology. We discuss our results in Section 4 and present our final considerations afterward.

## Future reference in Portuguese

The study of future reference is a rich field of analysis in linguistics due to the multitude of different resources used by languages to locate events after the moment of speech. According to Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), since the speaker cannot directly access future events as concrete facts, future reference tends to involve hypotheses, desires, and projections, and usually requires the speaker’s perspective on the strength of that prediction attributed by the modality. Unlike past and present references, future reference often takes place metaphorically, which allows different forms of metaphorical expression of future to occur in the same language. Many studies have tried to account for the description of the future tense in present-day Portuguese

(GIBBON, 2014; SZCZEŚNIAK, 2017; SANTOS, 2019; COSTA, SOUZA & MACHADO-VIEIRA, 2020), pointing that throughout the historical course of the language there have been multiple co-occurring future forms, both in oral and written language.

Currently, the expression of future in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is mostly<sup>3</sup> associated with two structures, a synthetic and an analytic one. Prescriptive grammars, nonetheless, tend to ignore the different expressions of future and only provide records of the synthetic future (BRAGANÇA, 2008). The synthetic future is composed of a temporal morpheme attached to the infinitive form of the verb (“eu falarei”). Also referred to as morphological future, it is recognized as the standard future marking by grammarians and many books of language instruction. Consequently, it is a conservative variant, associated with written and polished language. Meanwhile, the analytical future is periphrastically expressed by the verb *ir* in the present tense followed by a verb in the infinitive (“eu vou falar”). This periphrastic verb form of future is regarded as colloquial language and largely associated with spoken Portuguese and informal register. Considering that movement verbs tend to display features of polysemy, overlapping the notions of time and space, the verb of movement *ir* (“to go”) in the periphrastic future has its sense of movement in physical space metaphorically abstracted into the idea of movement in time.

This duplication of future forms can also be found in other languages. In a seminal study focused on Romance languages, Fleischman (1982) highlights that “go-futures”, that is, complex verb structures composed of the ‘go’ verb with an infinitive, are present in many speech varieties of Romance languages. The author argues that the existence of several devices for the expression of future is related to the speaker’s search for new ways to indicate modal and aspectual meanings via use. That is why future reference can be conveyed through a multitude of different strategies, leading to a cyclical alternation between analytic and synthetic verb forms that happen simultaneously in the evolutionary process of future marking.

This is the case of Portuguese with the periphrasis [*ir* + verb in infinitive], which has long been recognized by linguistic studies as a productive expression of future in spoken BP (BRAGANÇA, 2008; GIBBON, 2014). Additionally, studies on the variable expression of verbal future in journalistic writing have found evidence that the morphological future is losing presence in specific contexts in favor of the periphrastic future, which is progressively more frequent in written language (OLIVEIRA, 2012; ARAÚJO & ANDRADE, 2018).

However, apart from the structures of future reference above mentioned, when we come across the language used in everyday communication, it is possible to notice utterances in which speakers of Portuguese seem to associate volition and future. This association is expressed in

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3 Previous studies on future time reference have shown that Brazilian Portuguese yields plenty of ways to express the future. In addition to the ones mentioned here, there are also certain uses of the present tense and the - now rare - periphrasis [haver de + infinitive], to point a few others.

the construction [*querer* + verb in the infinitive], with the verb *querer* occurring in periphrastic position, as seen in the examples below:

- (a) Eu quero conversar com você.  
*I want to talk to you.*
- (b) Acho que meu computador está querendo pifar.  
*I think my computer wants to break.*
- (c) Ela está doente e querendo vomitar.  
*She is sick and wants to vomit.*
- (d) Quero operar a garganta até o final do ano.  
I want to undergo throat surgery by the end of the year.
- (e) A criança está com sono e quer dormir.  
The kid is sleepy and wants to sleep.

Overall, the concept of volition is extremely similar to desire, although they differ in the degree of likelihood of action. Volition, as a semantic-functional (and cognitive) domain, can be defined as an act of will (OLIVEIRA & PRATA, 2020, p. 118), and would be positioned further along a continuum that begins with the speaker's will until the actual realization of the desired act. Volition goes beyond a mental process, also encompassing an actional process that will depend on factors such as "controllability, subjectivity, performativity, factuality and the potentization of the volitional event" (OLIVEIRA & PRATA, 2020, p. 118). Such factors will influence the degree of epistemic certainty attributed by the speaker to the event in question. As noted by Bybee & Pagliuca (1987), verbs that indicate desire and verbs of movement account for the two most common sources of future markers. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991) state that volitional verbs are prone to change towards a series of grammatical functions. In that sense, volition seems to be related to the idea of an intent that is projected into the future, as can be noted in (1), which is reinforced by the subsequent use of the verb "pretender" (to intend).

- (1) adoro o rbd ja tenho ate ingresso para os tres primeiros shows sou viciada em rebelde  
**quero ir** em todos os shows **pretendo** ir conhecer o Alfonso no show do texas no eua.  
*I love RBD I already have my ticket to the first three concerts I am addicted to RBD I  
**want to go** to every concert I **intend** to meet Alfonso at the concert in the USA, Texas.*

Metaphorical expressions of future with *querer* derive from the association between the future action and the underlying actionality of volitional verbs. There is an association between the desired event and the actual occurrence of that event through the notion of intentionality. As such, intentionality is recognized as one of the main cognitive pathways for future expression in many languages (BYBEE, PERKINS & PAGLIUCA, 1994).

If, on the one hand, the theoretical perspective of grammaticalization perceives this process as a movement in which a lexical item loses its lexical meaning as it acquires grammatical function, on the other hand, in the perspective of grammatical constructionalization, such process is perceived at the level of the construction. Thus, the linguistic context is of key importance to determine the meaning. Santos (2015, p. 23) affirms that when considering contextual, linguistic, and extralinguistic elements, the use of *querer* in BP as an auxiliary verb is not a mark of future expression, but an indication — it implies futurity. In that sense, the future is not marked by the verb *querer* but by the whole construction along with extralinguistic information. This affirmation can only be confirmed through methods that look precisely at the construction level instead of only at the lexical level. That is to say that it is not the verb *querer* that is interpreted as gaining grammatical properties but the whole construction. This helps to understand that the verb will not necessarily lose its lexical meaning in order to attain the grammatical function.

By understanding the phenomenon as grammatical constructionalization, we argue that the construction selects or emphasizes the lexical meaning of intention that is already present in the verb *querer* and may or may not also select the lexical meaning of desire. Therefore, we can perceive the phenomenon as several constructions that select different properties of the verb instead of several different verbs in different stages of grammaticalization co-existing in a language. This also opens room for interpretations of data that do not place the instances in a binary representation of either intention or desire allowing for the recognition of both meanings within the same example.

## Corpora

The data analyzed in this study were collected from two different sources: the social media *Twitter* and the corpus “Portuguese Web 2011” available through the software *Sketch Engine*<sup>4</sup>.

The first part of our corpus contains data from everyday language shared on *Twitter*. On this microblogging platform, users post text messages known as “tweets” with very few restrictions and no possibility to edit the posts. It is possible to collect a corpus of tweets by using *Twitter* API, which allows certain arrangements for the search, such as choosing the language in which the posts were written. However, collecting data from *Twitter* can be very limited as the platform does not support regular expressions, restricting the gathering of data. Additionally, as *Twitter* is an enormous corpus constantly growing and changing, we are not able to measure it in the same way we measure a stable and traditional corpus.

For this research, a major concern that we have in mind is to seek ways to record occurrences in order to understand their frequency. We wanted the examples within the corpus

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<sup>4</sup> More information about the corpus can be found in <https://www.sketchengine.eu/pttnten-portuguese-corpus/>.

to be selected randomly, without limiting entries of each construction. As we intended to apply the collocation analysis, we conducted a new data gathering on a different platform. This time we opted for *Sketch Engine* due to the possibility of easily recreating the study along with the benefits of using regular expressions and a thoroughly annotated corpus. Therefore, it was the most suitable option for the objectives we had in mind.

Although both corpora were contemplated in our qualitative analysis, only the data gathered through *Sketch Engine* was part of our quantitative analysis. In the following section, we further discuss the method of corpus data analysis that was used in this investigation, known as collocation analysis.

### Collocation analysis

Considering that our objective is to investigate the phenomenon at the level of the construction, we opted for applying the collocation analysis, as it is a method of collocational analysis that takes into consideration the constructional meaning (HILPERT, 2008). This type of analysis allows the identification of co-occurring lexical material by measuring their strength of association. As a result, an item that is more frequent in the corpus will not interfere with the result as the analysis is based on its expected frequency. Authors such as Gries et al. (2005 *apud* Hilpert, 2008, p. 3) argue that the speaker performance tends to be more influenced by collocational strength than by raw frequency, so an approach based on collocational strength may offer a more reliable view of the psychological reality.

Along with the qualitative analysis, the collocation analysis can assist grammatical description as it allows an objective approach to the meaning of a construction and determines the degree of attraction or restriction of a lexical item to a slot in the construction (STEFANOWITSCH & GRIES, 2003). The concept behind the analysis is that the meaning of construction is reflected in the lexical items that can occur in its slots. As we intend to describe the differences between the behavior of the future construction [*querer* + verb in the infinitive] and the most common future construction in Brazilian Portuguese [*ir* + verb in the infinitive], we opted for the distinctive collexeme analysis, as it measures the association between lexemes and pairs of alternating constructions to identify which construction the item favors (STEFANOWITSCH & GRIES, 2005, p. 9). We applied the distinctive collexeme analysis to the 35 most frequent verbs in our data and employed the R-package *collocations*, developed by the linguist Susanne Flach (2021), which uses log-likelihood as the association method.

Another important decision was to use an item-based approach instead of the corpus-based. Our data was first gathered on Twitter, therefore, we did not have access to the whole corpus as a unit due to the constant flow of new tweets. In fact, a corpus-based approach would be better aligned to the theory of Construction Grammar as all the occurrences should be considered as constructions. We aim to further apply the corpus-based approach to compare with our current results as we are now able to do so as our new data was collected from *Sketch Engine*. However,

we emphasize that our current results should not be discarded as studies have shown that there is little difference in the results when using the item-based approach (STEFANOWITSCH & GRIES, 2005).

Santos (2019) argues that the future expression with *querer* comes from the idea that an action is desired by the subject of the sentence. Thus, it is projected to the future, and the prediction is implicit in the intention of the subject. For this reason, we can expect a difference in the distribution of collexemes according to their positive or negative values (more or less desirable) and according to the agency licensed by the verb. Because of that, we would not expect uses of the construction referring to situations that cannot be controlled by the subject of the clause as these types of events would not match the notion of intention.

## Results

In tweets, the most frequent use of the verb *querer* was for invitations (2), a type of data that was not found in *Sketch Engine*. This was an expected outcome since the corpus “Portuguese Web 2011” does not contain many instances of interactions. We argue that cases of invitation can carry hints of futurity but they are better located in a margin between desire and intention than as a prediction (GIBBON, 2014, p. 39). As Gibbon (2014) explains, not every form that expresses futurity would be included in the functional domain of the future, and examples like this are located precisely in this area.

- (2) Alguém **quer jogar** Among Us?  
*Does anyone **want to** play Among Us?*

Although invitations can also be expressed by the construction [*ir* + verb in the infinitive], we did not encounter this type of use in our data. The alternation between the constructions appeared more clearly concerning the difference in the degree of certainty regarding the realization of the event. As we can see in (3) and (4), the future reference with *querer* indicates an uncertain intention while the future reference with *ir* indicates a more confident intention.

- (3) P.G. – **Quero entrar** no curso de Medicina Veterinária. E agora, a curto prazo, **quero tirar** um curso de Inglês, no Verão e pretendo continuar o meu trabalho [...]  
*P.G. - I **want to enroll** in the veterinary medicine course. And now, in the short-term, I **want to enroll** in an English course, in the summer, and I intend to continue my job [...]*
- (4) li o que não queria, **vou ficar** quietinha pra não arranjar briga com ele  
*I read what I didn't want to, I **will be** quiet so that I don't get into an argument with him*



One of the selected parameters of analysis was the distribution of adverbs of time. Some studies, such as Santos (2019), argue that adverbial phrases (along with other lexical elements) can be used to achieve a sense of predictability. Our data presented a similar behavior in the application of this resource in both constructions.

- (5) @USER **Quer ir** amanhã ?  
 @USER Do you **want to go** tomorrow?
- (6) tirei umas fotos pra marca de uma amiga e acho que **vou postar** amanhã mesmo pq não to me segurando.  
*I took some pictures to tag a friend and I think I **will post** them tomorrow because I can't contain myself.*

As volitional events imply a degree of epistemic certainty on the part of the speaker regarding the occurrence of the event, the temporal marker can indicate future reference not only by locating the event in a certain space of the timeline but also by assigning a greater degree of certainty of realization. Thus, uses with temporal markers are more likely to activate the degree of intentionality present in *querer*, indicating that potential action is greater.

Initially, we considered the example “A pergunta que não quer calar”, a common expression in Brazilian Portuguese, as an instance of the future value pointed out by Szcześniak (2017)<sup>5</sup>. The basis of this interpretation relied on the fact that “a pergunta” (the question) is an inanimate subject, and, therefore, does not allow the interpretation of desire.

- (7) Tá certo que em todas as quatro ocasiões eu tava bebum, mas a pergunta que não **quer calar**, o problema é comigo ou com a minha namorada?  
*It is true that I was drunk in all four occasions, but the question that **does not want to shut up**, the problem is with myself or with my girlfriend?*

We then encountered new instances of the use of the negative with the verb *querer* in tweets, such as “O wi-fi que não quer funcionar” (the wi-fi does not want to work) and “O instagram não quer enviar o story” (instagram does not want to send the story). These examples indicate the same type of circumstances, however, it was clear that they did not imply the future occurrence of the situation but its persistence in the present moment.

- (8) Já fiz tanto storys pra Amanda mas meu Instagram não **quer sair** desse bug dele.  
*I have already recorded so many stories to Amanda but my Instagram **does not want to get out of this bug**.*

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<sup>5</sup> This interpretation along with a brief explanation of how we got to this conclusion is available in Costa, Souza & Machado-Vieira (2020).

We considered the possibility of anthropomorphization, used in this context to denote the idea of stubbornness by the inanimate subject when refusing to do what the speaker expects<sup>6</sup>. However, even though we are able to identify the personification of the inanimate subject, we can see a clear difference between the use of the verb *querer* in comparison with other verbs that would also give the idea of a stubborn subject. If the speaker opted for the verb “negar” (to deny), for instance, the sentence would indeed convey the anthropomorphization of the inanimate subject but it would not carry the same syntactic characteristics present in the construction [negative + *querer* + verb in the infinitive].

After long discussions, we noticed that the verbs that occupy the slot in the construction are punctual (send, function, shut up), but when they appear in this construction, the situation is portrayed in such a way that the [-punctual] property of the verb *querer* creates an expansion of the event. In this sense, *querer* seems to act in a non-deictic way, as it modifies the internal structure of the situation (in this case, expanding it) and does not necessarily mark its location in time. We believe that the construction is used to modify the aspect of the sentence as it indicates the persistence of the event but not the location of the event in a timeline. We can verify this argument by changing the tense of the sentences. By doing so, we can easily locate the event at a different time without losing the characteristics of the construction. In this case, the interpretation of the possible recurrence of the event in the future comes from the aspectual property that creates the expansion of the event by modifying the telicity.

The margins of what constitutes or does not constitute predictions in constructions with verbs of desire are less stable and categorical than the ones with verbs of movement since there is more room for negotiation. The lexical meaning that attributes the idea of intention seems to be less fixed than the lexical meaning that attributes future with verbs of movement.

These examples also support our argument that the future reference does not come from the verb *querer* but from the construction as a whole. In order to provide better descriptions of the interaction of the adverb “não” with the construction, we need to gather more data with this type of occurrence as well as data with different adverbs interacting with the auxiliary verb *querer*. It is worth noting that we did not analyze instances of intervenient elements between the auxiliary and main verbs, and, because of that, examples with the adverbs “muito” (so/a lot) and “pouco” (a little) are not part of our analyzed data.

Regarding our hypothesis of collocational distribution, the following table contains the first ten lines of the distinctive collostructional analysis. It shows the most attracted collexemes, from the highest collostructional strength to the lowest.

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<sup>6</sup> We thank professor Szcześniak for assisting us with the development of a better explanation for this use of the verb *querer*.

Item	Construction	Log-likelihood
dizer (say)	[querer_Inf]	340821,1296
saber (know)	[querer_Inf]	121345,0511
ir (go)	[querer_Inf]	35653,89124
acontecer (happen)	[ir_Inf]	30495,06805
ter (have)	[ir_Inf]	29527,65759
ser (be)	[ir_Inf]	22308,33391
querer (want)	[ir_Inf]	14230,79112
poder (can)	[ir_Inf]	13723,86776
ficar (stay/become)	[ir_Inf]	9875,535708
ver (see)	[querer_Inf]	8769,466194
continuar (continue)	[ir_Inf]	8465,341766
começar (begin)	[ir_Inf]	7255,638425
procurar (search)	[ir_Inf]	7021,902325
receber (get)	[ir_Inf]	7002,145407
apresentar (present)	[ir_Inf]	5147,623334
ocorrer (occur)	[ir_Inf]	5044,910604
estar (be)	[ir_Inf]	4503,954827
dar (give)	[ir_Inf]	3524,258361
mostrar (show)	[querer_Inf]	2035,806527
fazer (make)	[querer_Inf]	1696,053169
aprender (learn)	[querer_Inf]	1538,718439
deixar (let)	[querer_Inf]	1258,254897
trabalhar (work)	[ir_Inf]	588,091453
morrer (die)	[ir_Inf]	528,594516
vir (come)	[querer_Inf]	294,152347
passar (wander)	[ir_Inf]	276,909161
seguir (follow)	[querer_Inf]	266,855802
reinventar (reinvent)	[querer_Inf]	173,081202
tornar (become)	[querer_Inf]	131,918002
aumentar (increase)	[ir_Inf]	110,685209
assistir (watch)	[ir_Inf]	84,834007
entrar (get in)	[ir_Inf]	21,893998
participar (participate)	[ir_Inf]	15,085521
falar (talk)	[ir_Inf]	7,143865
ler (read)	[querer_Inf]	1,613362

**Table:** Distinctive Collexeme Analysis - highest to lowest collostructional strength.

As can be noted in the table above, we were not able to identify any distributive tendency regarding the positive or negative connotation of the verb in the collostructional analysis. The most frequent verbs in the constructions were either neutral or part of a complex predicate in which their connotation depended on the construction as a whole. Although the verb “morrer” (*die*) was attracted to the construction [*ir* + verb in the infinitive], the same verb was often found in the construction with *querer*.

- (09) @USER ala ela **quer morrer!** Se tu fizer isso eu tenho meus isqueiro.  
@USER look she wants to die! If you do it I have my matches.

Besides, as mentioned by Costa, Souza & Machado-Vieira (2020), we can identify three instances of lexical constructionalization with the verb *querer*:

- (10) “@USER MAS OQ ISSO **QUER DIZER** VEI TU JA EH ASSIM quer dizer em partes”;  
“@USER but what **does it want to say** dude you are already like that, I mean, somehow”
- (11) “gente, não é engraçado como popularmente falamos sardinhas ao invés de sardazinhas, **quer dizer**, não existe um diminutivo correto pra sardas, mas sardazinhas seria o mais certo. Mas é engraçado como sempre usam sardinhas”;  
“guys, it is not funny how we publicly say ‘sardinhas’ instead of ‘sardazinhas’, **I want to say**, there is no correct diminutive to freckles, but ‘sardazinhas’ would be the most correct one. But it is funny how everybody say ‘sardinhas’”
- (12) “@USER @USER @USER **Quer saber**, esquece. Meu tempo é mais valioso que isso”.  
@user @user @user **Want to know**, forget it. My time is more valuable than this.

Although the collostructional analysis supported our initial claim that these verbs were attracted to the construction with *querer*, we still need to isolate these examples to analyze the future construction [*querer* + verb in the infinitive] without any interference. We can classify these constructions as lexical constructionalizations due to non-compositional meaning from the expressions.

We opted for grouping the verbs into semantic classes to look for distributional patterns, as proposed by Gilquin (2015). A large number of the verbs attracted to the construction with *ir* are non-volitional verbs, which can be defined as verbs that do not depend on the subject’s will (GILQUIN, 2015, p. 9), such as “acontecer” (*happen*), “ter” (*have*), “ser” (*be*), “querer” (*want*), “poder” (*can*), and “ficar” (*stay/become*). On the other hand, a large number of verbs attracted to the construction with *querer* are volitional verbs, such as “mostrar” (*show*), “fazer” (*make*), “aprender” (*learn*), “deixar” (*let*), “ler” (*read*), and “seguir” (*follow*). This distribution is aligned with the cognitive path of future reference with verbs of desire as the metaphorical reference is established from the subject’s intention. This semantic class is also directly related to agency.

Although the preference for volitional verbs by the future construction [*querer* + verb in the infinitive] was somehow predictable, the preference for non-volitional verbs in the main verb slot may indicate that the future construction [*ir* + verb in the infinitive] is preferred for strong predictions of the future. To better illustrate, the two instances below relate to intention: the first one represents an uncertain intention while the second one represents a more confident intention. This could also indicate a difference in the distance of the event in relation to the moment of utterance, however, this hypothesis still requires further investigation.

- (13) @USER completamente/ não se pressione a descobrir onde **quer chegar**, tá tudo bem não saber pra onde ir, querido  
 @USER *completely/ do not push yourself to find out where you **want to reach**, it is ok to not know where to go, dear*
- (14) Cheguei do cross, dar um 10 e ir para academia, **vou chegar** voando no final do ano  
*I got home from crossfit, I will wait 10 minutes and go to the gym, I **will reach** the end of the year flying.*

### Final considerations

The main purpose of this paper was to analyze the use of the construction [*querer* + verb in the infinitive] as a future reference considering the perspective of grammatical constructionalization. We conducted this analysis through qualitative and quantitative methods, including the colostruational analysis of distinctive collexemes. The study is situated within usage based-linguistics and construction grammar theoretical postulations.

The results of the analysis displayed several uses of the construction [*querer* + verb in infinitive] as a marker of intentionality and future. Our findings indicate that native speakers of Portuguese recognize the construction as a possible resource for future reference. The analysis sample and the discussion offered in this article allow us to verify that constructions with verbs of desire are situated in an ambiguous area allowing uses that trigger different parts and levels of their lexical meaning. Consequently, speakers are able to frame their predictions with a less categorical tone than what would be possible with future constructions with verbs of movement, such as *ir*.

Overall, the results of the colostruational analysis indicated the lexical constructionalization previously identified in Costa, Souza & Machado-Vieira (2020) and a distribution tendency regarding the volitional or non-volitional characteristics of the main verb. Volitional verbs, that is, verbs that indicate events that depend on the subject's will, showed a preference for the construction with *querer* whereas non-volitional verbs were attracted to the construction with *ir*. There was no significant distributional difference according to positive/negative values of the verb. We aim to further investigate the results of the colostruational analysis to identify

patterns that may have been overlooked. Further, we also aim to estimate the p-value of the collostructional analysis as a test of significance.

With this work, we intend to contribute to a greater understanding of the periphrasis [*querer* + verb in infinitive] in Portuguese under the scope of a functional and constructionist approach. We hope that the points tackled in this research encourage more studies to look into the behavior of the construction [*querer* + verb in infinitive] and the implications of its expression.

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**MATERIAL PROCESSES IN THE NEWS OF THE PARAENSE  
NEWSPAPERS ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE FROM THE  
IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION PERSPECTIVE**

**PROCESSOS MATERIAIS NAS NOTÍCIAS DE JORNAIS  
PARAENSES SOBRE VIOLÊNCIA DOMÉSTICA NA PERSPECTIVA  
DA METAFUNÇÃO IDEACIONAL**

*Bárbara Furtado Pinheiro<sup>1</sup>*

*Rosângela do Socorro Nogueira de Sousa<sup>2</sup>*

**ABSTRACT**

This research aims to analyze the material processes in the journalistic texts of Diário Online and G1 Pará about domestic violence in order to uncover the representations of victims and aggressors conveyed in these news. The theoretical and methodological assumptions are supported by Systemic-Functional Linguistics, whose authors that guided the research were Halliday and Matthiessen (2014); Furtado da Cunha and Souza (2011); Fuzer and Cabral (2014); Eggins (2004); Thompson (2014); Bloor and Bloor (2004). The methodology focuses on documentary and descriptive research, through which seventeen news items were chosen from the mentioned media vehicles. The results indicated that the newspapers most common transitivity scheme is Goal and material process. It is concluded that the newspapers Diário Online and G1 Pará portrayed the main participants involved in the cases of domestic violence through linguistic choices that contributed to particular forms of representation.

**KEYWORDS:** Material processes; Ideational Metafunction; Domestic Violence.

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1 Graduated in Arts Faculty – Portuguese Language from Universidade Federal do Pará – Abaetetuba Campus, Brazil. Substitute professor at UFPA, Abaetetuba campus. She was a member of the research group DIRE (Discursos e Relações de Poder, CNPq/UFPA) from 2019 to 2021. E-mail: [barbara.pinheiro@abaetetuba.ufpa.br](mailto:barbara.pinheiro@abaetetuba.ufpa.br)

2 Leader of the research group DIRE (Discursos e Relações de Poder, CNPq/UFPA). She is part of the Associação Brasileira de Linguística (ABRALIN), of the Asociación de Estudios sobre Discurso y Sociedad (Ediso/Spain) and is a member of the Rede Integrasul. Professor in UFPA (Universidade Federal do Pará, Abaetetuba Campus) of Linguistics and of Programa de Pós-Graduação em Cidades, Territórios e Identidades (PPGCITI), Brazil. E-mail: [rsns@ufpa.br](mailto:rsns@ufpa.br)



## RESUMO

Esta pesquisa tem como objetivo analisar os processos materiais dos textos jornalísticos do Diário Online e do G1 Pará sobre a violência doméstica, a fim de desvelar as representações de vítimas e agressores veiculadas nessas notícias. Os pressupostos teóricos e metodológicos estão amparados pela Linguística Sistêmico-Funcional, cujos autores que nortearam a pesquisa foram Halliday e Matthiessen (2014); Furtado da Cunha e Souza (2011); Fuzer e Cabral (2014); Eggins (2004); Thompson (2014); Bloor e Bloor (2004). A metodologia centra-se na pesquisa documental e descritiva, por meio da qual foram escolhidas dezessete notícias dos veículos de comunicação mencionados. Os resultados indicaram que o esquema de transitividade mais comum dos jornais é Meta e processo material. Conclui-se que os jornais Diário Online e G1 Pará retrataram os principais atores envolvidos nos casos de violência doméstica por meio de escolhas linguísticas que contribuíram para formas particulares de representação.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Processos materiais; Metafunção ideacional; Violência doméstica.

## Introduction

Domestic violence is a topic of international concern and a matter of public health and public policy. In this perspective, its confrontation is the responsibility of government agencies and society. According to Article 5 of Law 11,340, known as The Maria da Penha Law, domestic and family violence against women is “any gender-based action or omission that causes her death, injury, physical, sexual or psychological suffering and moral or property damage” (BRASIL, 2006). In the pandemic context of Covid-19 (disease caused by the new coronavirus), the crime of domestic violence against women has worsened, because they are living in the same residence as the aggressors for longer period of time. Thus, although social isolation is a precautionary measure against the disease, it has provided more risks to women living in situations of violence.

Given that the discourses that circulate socially affect social practices, the media has a relevant impact on the representations about domestic violence. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze how media discursive practices impact the way how society deals with violence against women committed domestically by the victims’ spouses. Thus, it is essential to discuss whether the media discourses maintain or confront the affective relationships in which the female body is taken as male property, legitimized by the marriage bond. In this vein, the objective of this article is to uncover the representation of domestic violence conveyed in the news of Diário Online and G1 Pará.

The specific objectives are to analyze, based on Systemic-Functional Linguistics, the material processes used in the news of Pará newspapers; investigate how lexicogrammatical choices constitute representations, social relations and social identities in these news; and discuss the effects of discursive events that contribute to the representation of women victims of domestic violence and aggressors. This article is organized in the following subsections: 1) Methodology; 2) The ideational metafunction – clause as representation; 3) Material processes in the news from Diário Online and G1 Pará about domestic violence; Ergativity in the systemic-functional model: Agent and Medium; Causative and ergative processes; Other

participants in material clauses: Extension, Beneficiary and Scope; Active and passive material clauses; 4) Quantitative results and 5) Conclusion.

## **Methodology**

The methodology adopted was centered on documental and descriptive research, and, for this research, the theoretical foundation was centered on the contributions of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL), according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). We also read Thompson (2014); Eggins (2004); Bloor and Bloor (2004); Fuzer and Cabral (2014); and Furtado da Cunha and Souza (2011). The corpus of the research is 138 material clauses extracted from 17 texts of the newspapers *Diário Online* and *G1 Pará* from the year 2012 to 2020, whose selection was based on the great repercussion of domestic violence crimes. From that, the material processes in journalistic news of the mentioned communication vehicle were analyzed, based on Systemic-Functional Linguistics. It was also analyzed through the linguistic-discursive resources how the particular representation of reality and the particular identifications of the actors involved in the news were constructed.

The analysis procedures were: selection of material sentences; description of participants, types of material processes and circumstances; analysis of lexicogrammatical functions performed by the elements in each sentence; interpretation in the light of Systemic-Functional Linguistics, especially the ideational metafunction; and construction of graphs and tables that schematized the results found in the analysis. To register the frequency of material processes and circumstances found in the corpus, the WordSmith Tools 8.0 (SARDINHA, 2009) program was used, through the WordList tool, which produces word lists containing the absolute and percentage frequency, and Concord, with which the contexts of lexicogrammatical items were identified

## **The ideational metafunction - clause as representation**

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) considers language as a potential of meanings, which can be constructed in three ways, that is, interpersonally, textually and ideationally, corresponding to the metafunctions respectively (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004). According to Barbara and Macêdo (2009), the ideational metafunction represents and constructs the meanings of human experience in the outer (social) and inner (psychological) worlds, through the transitivity system. In other words, in the ideational metafunction, the sentence is conceived as a representation, whose focus of analysis is the transitivity system. Still according to the authors, the ideational metafunction is subdivided into two components: the experiential and the logical. In this article we will focus on the experiential component, which refers to the internal content of a sentence, that is, the structure and transitivity. Thus, the part of grammar in which experiential meanings are manifested, as Fuzer and Cabral (2014) assert, is called transitivity system. In functionalist studies, transitivity is defined as the transfer of an activity from a given agent to a patient.

For Trask (2004, p. 298 apud FURTADO DA CUNHA; SOUZA, 2011, p. 31), transitivity is the “way a verb relates to Nominal Syntagms (SN) in the same sentence”. In this sense, it is through the transitivity system that one identifies the actions and activities of human beings that are expressed in discourses, as well as which reality is portrayed. Such identification, according to Furtado da Cunha and Souza (2011), occurs through functional terms that have transitivity roles: processes (performed by verbal phrases); participants (performed by nominal groups, who does what to whom?); and circumstances (performed by adverbial groups). According to what they represent, processes are classified into material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential (see HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004). In the present article, we focused on material processes to uncover the representation of victim and aggressor in journalistic texts.

### **Material process in the news of Diário Online and G1 Pará about domestic violence**

In this section, we will analyze and discuss the material processes found in journalistic texts from Diário Online and G1 Pará in the light of Systemic Functional Linguistics, in order to uncover the representations that the newspapers make about the victims of domestic violence and the aggressors. To do so, the definition of material processes, their types and participants will be presented, as well as examples taken from the research *corpus*. In this perspective, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) state that “material” clauses construct the processes of doing and happening as a sequence of concrete changes. From this perspective, in material processes, there is an input of energy that entails a certain amount of change in the flow of events.

The participant who has agentive power to exercise the material process is called by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) the Actor. Other non-obligatory participants in material clauses are: Goal, Extension, Recipient, Client, and Scope. In this sense, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain the concept and function of each participant. Generally, in material sentences, who has the agentive role to perform change is the Actor, the participant who does the action. He is the obligatory participant in material clauses, since he is the one who causes the process to unfold over time, leading to an outcome different from the initial phase of unfolding. Thompson (2014) states that material clauses are divided into: those that represent the action involving only the Actor and there are those that also affect or are “done to” another participant. This second participant is called the Goal, to which the action is directed.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain that when there is only the participant Actor, the material clause represents an event, and using traditional terminology, it is called intransitive. In this sense, Eggins (2004) calls this type of sentence “middle” and understands it as one in which “someone does something”. In other words, when the result of the process is confined to the Actor himself, the sentence represents an event and is called intransitive. On the other hand, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) say that when the process extends to another participant, the Goal, impacting it in some way, the clause represents a “doing” and is called transitive – or as Eggins (2004) classifies it, “effectual.” For example:

1. Um homem **matou** sua própria esposa na manhã desta quarta-feira (23), na cidade de Brasil Novo, região sudoeste do Pará. (Marido mata a esposa após descobrir noite de traição. *Diário Online*, 23/05/2018).

1. A man **killed** his own wife on the morning of these Wednesday (23), in the city of Brasil Novo, Southwestern Region of Pará. (Husband kills wife after discovering night of betrayal. *Diário Online*, 23/05/2018).

<i>Um homem</i>	<b>matou</b>	<i>sua própria esposa</i>	Freq.: 1 (0,03%)
A man	<b>killed</b>	his own wife	
Actor	<b>Transformative material process</b>	Goal	

Source: research data

The clause (1) is configured as effective and transformative, because in it, the Actor participant “a man” has agentive power to transform the flow of events and extend the process “killed” to another participant, the Goal “his own wife”, who is directly affected and transformed by the action. Therefore, the clause represents the doing of an agentive Actor and is called transitive. The victim, then, passes from a state of life to death after the violent act, whose verbal perfective aspect of the process indicates that the material action is completed. And, in the sentence, it is explicit who was the agent responsible for the victim’s death. In summary, according to Furtado da Cunha and Souza (2011, p. 72-73), intransitive clauses encode experiences by answering “someone does something” to the question “what did x do?”; whereas transitive clauses encode experiences by answering “someone does something to someone” to the question “what did x do to y?”.

### **Ergativity in the systemic-functional model: Agent and Medium**

For Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), there are two distinct but complementary models of interactive participation with processes in the notion of figures: particularist, which diversifies our experience into four domains (doing, feeling, saying or being), and generalist, which unifies our experience across the different domains. The first model represents the distinction between a small number of figures, with different processes involved and different participants inherent in them. This particularist model named by Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) refers to the study of transitivity, in systemic-functional grammar.

The generalist model presents the Medium participant, the central participant common to all processes, that is, it is the participant through which the process is actualized. In this perspective, the Medium is added to the process and forms the core of a figure. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 155), the Medium corresponds to, “regardless of the type of figure, the participant that is most intimately linked to the process”. The figure formed by Medium + process may, or may not, be caused by an external participant called Agent. The generalist model is directly related to ergativity.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) consider that transitivity is a case of extension, and ergativity is a case of deepening of the sentence. Viewed from the angle of transitivity, the clause can be either transitive or intransitive; if viewed from the point of ergativity, the clause of agency is studied. According to the ergative model, there are two important notions in the analysis: the Medium and the Agent. The relationship between these categories of ergativity in middle or effective clauses is essential in determining the characteristics of the participants of material clauses.

According to Martin, Matthiessen and Painter (2010), transitivity enables the identification of additional participants in a process, thus analyzing if the sentence has only the Actor (intransitive clause) or if it contains other participants such as the Goal (transitive clause). On the other hand, according to Halliday (1994), the semantic notion that covers the ergative model is causation. In this sense, the aspect discussed in the analysis of the ergative system is the presence or absence of an Agent that promotes the development of the process, that is, whether the process is represented as caused by an external force or as caused by itself. In this way, Ergativity analyzes whether the Agent of an action is internal or external to the process itself, and can be identified structurally or not. For example:

2. *O crime **ocorreu** no apartamento de um residencial localizado na estrada Itabira. (Homem suspeito de matar esposa a facadas é preso em Ananindeua. G1 PA — Belém, 06/04/2020).*

2. The crime **occurred** in a residential apartment located on Itabira Road. (Man suspected of killing wife by stabbing is arrested in Ananindeua. G1 PA - Belém, 06/04/2020).

<i>O crime</i>	<b>ocorreu</b>	<i>no apartamento de um residencial localizado na</i>	Freq.: 3
The crime	<b>occurred</b>	<i>estrada Itabira.</i>	(0,10%)
		<i>in a residential apartment located on Itabira Road.</i>	
Transitivity role: Actor	<b>Creative</b>	Location: Place	
Ergativity role: Medium	<b>material</b>		
	<b>process</b>		

Source: research data

3. *O crime **aconteceu** dentro do condomínio Itaoca, na estrada Itabira, no bairro do Maguari, em Ananindeua, na Região Metropolitana de Belém. (Marido mata esposa a facadas na frente do filho na Grande Belém. Diário Online, 06/04/2020).*

3. The crime **happened** inside the condominium Itaoca, on Itabira road, in the Maguari neighborhood, in Ananindeua, in the Metropolitan Region of Belém. (Husband stabs wife to death in front of son in Greater Belém. Diário Online, 06/04/2020).

<i>O crime</i>	<b>aconteceu</b>	<i>dentro do condomínio Itaoça, na estrada Itabira, no</i>	Freq.: 3
The crime	<b>happened</b>	<i>bairro do Maguari, em Ananindeua, na Região</i> <i>Metropolitana de Belém.</i>	(0,10%)
		inside the condominium Itaoça, on Itabira road, in the Maguari neighborhood, in Ananindeua, in the Metropolitan Region of Belém.	
Transitivity	role: <b>Creative</b>	Location: Place	
Actor	<b>material</b>		
Ergativity	role: <b>process</b>		
Medium			

Source: research data

In the transitivity analysis, the above clauses are classified as creative, because the Actor participant “the crime” - an inanimate, non-human entity - comes into existence in the outer world, that is, it is brought into existence in the development of the creative processes occurred and happened. According to Thompson (2014):

Another possible grouping is according to whether the process is intentional or involuntary. With involuntary processes, the Actor often seems like a Goal in some respects (and in fact there usually is no Goal). The process here appears to affect the Actor – a description that recalls the way we defined the role of the Goal (THOMPSON, 2014, p. 96).

In other words, there are “involuntary” processes in which the participant understood as the Actor does not seem to have the agentive power to perform a certain action. For this reason, the Actor resembles Goal. In this case, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 285) explain, ‘happening’ clauses mean that the actualization of the process is represented as being self-engendered. In this way, the processes ‘occurred’ and ‘happened’ can be understood as involuntary, since they are not represented as caused by an external force, but rather as caused by themselves. However, the participant still plays the function of Actor, but does not have the agentive power that he prototypically possesses.

As Martin, Matthiessen and Painter (2010) explain, some clauses present only the Medium through which the process is performed. For this reason, they are called middle clauses. In this sense, the clauses in the table above are middle, because they have only the participant with the ergative role of Medium. Thus, in the clause structure, there is no active participant, but by the context of the news, it is possible to understand implicitly that the aggressors are the ones who cause the crimes. In these sentences, the circumstances presented specify the temporal and spatial location of the occurrence of the feminicides. The clauses below are also middle and present involuntary processes:

4. Ela não suportou e **acabou morrendo** no local sem chances de socorro médico. (Mulher é morta friamente na frente das filhas. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).

4. She didn't withstand it and **ended up dying** on the place with no chance of medical help. (A woman is coldly killed in front of her daughters. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).

[ela]	<b>acabou morrendo</b>	no local	sem chances	Freq: 1
[she]	<b>ended up dying</b>	on the place	de socorro médico with no chance of medical help.	(0,03%)
Transitivity role: Actor	<b>Transformative</b>	Location: Place	Contingency:	
Ergativity role: Medium	<b>material process</b>		Default	

Source: research data

5. Uma cabo da Polícia Rodoviária Estadual **morreu** após ser baleada na noite desta terça-feira (15). (Marido da cabo também era policial militar. G1 PA — Belém, 15/09/2020).

5. A corporal of the State Highway Police **died** after being shot late on Tuesday (Husband of the corporal was a military police officer. G1 PA - Belém, 15/09/2020).

Uma cabo da Polícia Rodoviária Estadual	<b>morreu</b>	após ser baleada na noite desta terça-feira (15).	Freq.: 2
A corporal of the State Highway Police	<b>died</b>	after being shot late on Tuesday (15).	(0,07%)
Transitivity role: Actor	<b>Transformative</b>	Location: Time	
Ergativity role: Medium	<b>material process</b>		

Source: research data

6. Gislaine Santos **morreu** com um disparo na cabeça (Marido mata a esposa após descobrir noite de traição. Diário Online, 23/05/2018).

6. Gislaine Santos **died** from a gunshot wound to the head (Husband kills wife after discovering night of betrayal. Diário Online, 05/23/2018).

Gislaine Santos	<b>morreu</b>	com um disparo	na cabeça
Gislaine Santos	<b>died</b>	from a gunshot wound	to the head
Transitivity role: Actor	<b>Transformative</b>	Manner: Means	Location: Place
Ergativity role: Medium	<b>material process</b>		

Source: research data

Armbrust (2006) characterizes the middle voice as one in which there is no trace of agentivity, neither structurally explicit nor implicit in the sentence. In this sense, in the sentence “and she ended up dying on the place with no chance of medical help”, there is only one participant that suffers or undergoes the process “die”: “she”, a pronoun that anaphorically resumes “Lana”, a victim of domestic violence. In this case, the presence of an agent that provoked the process is neither explicit nor implicit. On the other hand, in the second and third clauses above, there is no structural presence of an Agent who triggered the process, but implicitly there is the notion that someone caused the victims’ death (“A corporal of the State Highway Police” and “Gislaine Santos”). This is because the circumstances of temporal location and manner (means) attached to the process “die” indicate that the victim was shot and that he was shot in the head.

Therefore, it is understood that there was an Agent, but he is not expressed in the clause structures of the examples. Therefore, “dying” process can be classified as involuntary material, since there is no explicit external force in the oral structure that has caused the action. And considering the analysis of ergative in clause, the only participant of the process has an ergative function of Medium, by which the process is actualized; and in transitivity, it has a thematic function of Actor, even without performing agentive role as prototypically happens.

### **Causative and ergative process**

Moura Neves (2000 apud FUZER; CABRAL, 2014), classifies dynamic verbs of actions or activities (what someone does or what someone causes) and dynamic verbs of processes (what happens). In this sense, the author differentiates the examples in which verbs are effectively accompanied by an agent or causative participant from verbs in which there is a name that is a patient of (affected by) the action expressed by the verb. According to Azeredo (2013), there are verbs that express a change of state and are employed as transitive or as intransitive. This type of verb, the author calls ergative or inacusative, whose distinction is expressed through the configuration of the functions of the participants in relation to a single process. For example:

<i>O vento</i>	<i>esfriou</i>	<i>a comida.</i>
The wind	cooled	the food.
Actor/participant	material process	Goal

Source: Azeredo (2013)

<i>A comida</i>	<i>esfriou.</i>	Ø
The food	cooled.	
Participant	material process	

Source: Azeredo (2013)



In the clause “The wind cooled the food”, the participant “wind” is the Actor participant, whose material process “cooled” transforms the Goal “the food”, which suffers a transformation in its temperature. However, Azeredo (2013) considers that the “wind” may not be the Actor of the process, because it is a non-human participant, which could not consciously perform the act of cooling the food. It is worth noting that, for the author, there may be a human agent that would leave the food in the wind in order to cool it, and for this reason, it may be an implicit Actor, or even, there was no Actor in this case.

In the second example, the process “cooled” is intransitive, because there would be no need for someone to have caused this cooling, but for the food to have cooled naturally due to someone taking time to eat. Azeredo (2013) calls attention to the semantic implications between a sentence like “the food cooled” and “the food was cooled”. For him, in the second (hypothetical) example, there is a Goal (“the food”) and a material process with receptive structure (“it was cooled”). Thus, the interpretation of this clause is that someone purposely caused the food to cool down. In short, the author questions the identification of these participants in this type of process because of these different semantic implications.

In some clauses, there may be terms that performs the role of an additional agent, which, always have an agentive or causative role. Often there are verbs such as “cause” or “make”, whose cause is expressed in a clause that is structurally separate of the action that is caused (MARTIN; MATTHIESSEN; PAINTER, 2010). One of the ways in which causatives carve out their own functional niche is that they allow chains of agency (THOMPSON, 2014). For example:

7. *Mas ele teria provocado um tumulto dentro da unidade de saúde e fez com que funcionários acionassem as autoridades policiais (Homem agride sua companheira com mordida. Diário Online 13/08/2013).*

7. But he would have provoked a tumult inside the health unit and **made** the employees to call the police authorities (A man attacked his wife with bite. Diário Online 13/08/2013).

[ele]	<i>fez com que</i>	<i>funcionários</i>	<i>acionassem</i>	<i>as autoridades</i>	Freq.: 1
[he]	<b>made</b>	the employees	to call	<i>policiais</i>	(0,03%)
				the police	
				authorities	
Transitive role: Initiator	<b>Causative process</b>	Transitivity role: Actor	Process	Transitivity role: Goal	
Ergative role: Agent		Ergativity role: Agent		Ergativity role: Medium	

Source: research data

In the transitivity analysis we introduced the notion of an Initiator, a participant who brings about the action performed by the Actor. This function appears in the explicit causative structure with the verb “make” (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004, p. 509-510). In the clause above, the Initiator – represented by anaphoric pronoun “he” of causative material process “make” causes another entity (“the employees”) to engage in a material process. So, in the Ergativity, the clause’s structure is Agent+ Causative process + Agent + Process + Medium.

### **Other participants of material clauses: Extension, Beneficiary and Scope**

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain there are optional participants in the material clauses, such as Extent, Beneficiary and Scope. The first specifies the process, complementing it and it’s not affected by the action of the verb. For example: “They found a president at ease in office” (FURTADO DA CUNHA; SOUZA, 2011, p. 72) and “and the police found Maria Jesuína’s body with a rope around her neck” (Arrested man accused of killing his wife. Diário Online, 16/01/2016). The Beneficiary is classified by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) into two types: Recipient and Client. For the authors, Recipients and Clients occur in systemically different environment. That’s because the first occur only in transitive transformative material clause in the category Extent, because they receive goods. In this case, the Goal represents goods being transferred.

On the other hand, Clients receive services provided by the Actor, with that, these services can be constructed similarly as the Goal in creative material clauses, in which that participant is brought into existence by the process. Fuzer and Cabral (2014) consider that the Beneficiary benefits from verbal action, not necessarily associated with receiving something positive. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) add another participant that can appear in material clauses: the Scope, which is in no way affected by the development of the process. Structurally, the material clause, according to the authors, consists of the order syntagmatic: nominal group + verbal group + nominal group” and can be Actor + Process + Goal or Actor + Process + Scope.

The authors characterize the two types of Scope in Scope: entity and Scope: process. The first type can construct an entity that exists independently of the process takes place. For example: “The boy scouts followed the trail” (FUZER; CABRAL, 2014, p. 50) and “Follow the arrows and climb the steps” (MUNIZ DA SILVA; SOARES, 2018, p. 145). In other hands, Scope: entity constructs the domain in which the process takes place. When the participant constructs the process, it’s called Scope: process, which may be not an entity at all but rather another name for the process. For example: “Ana took a bath in the morning” (MUNIZ DA SILVA; SOARES, 2018, p. 145)<sup>3</sup>. The following examples, taken from the research corpus, illustrate linguistic constructs with Scope: process:

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<sup>3</sup> Bloor e Bloor (2004, p. 114) pointed out that English (together with some other languages) has a tendency to nominalize certain events which might be seen as essentially processes and which often have a non-nominal synonym. Sometimes these nominalizations are coupled with a verb which has little lexical meaning, a verb which is semantically almost empty. The authors mention the verbs “take” or “have”. We have “bathe” versus “take a bath” or “have a bath”.

8. Em seguida, [o suspeito] arrombou a porta da frente da casa, pegou uma faca na cozinha e **deu os golpes** em Lana, que estava deitada na cama, no quarto. (Mulher é morta friamente na frente das filhas. *Diário Online*, 08/12/2015).

8. Then [the suspect] broke down the front door of the house, took a knife in the kitchen and **gave the strikes** in Lana, who was lying on the bed, in the bedroom. (Woman is coldly killed in front of daughters. *Diário Online*, 08/12/2015).

<i>[o suspeito]</i>	<b>deu os golpes</b>	<i>em Lana</i>	Freq.: 1
[the suspect]	<b>gave the strikes</b>	in Lana	(0,03%)
Actor	<b>Scope-process</b>	Beneficiary (Recipient)	

Source: research data

9. Segundo a polícia, durante uma briga com a companheira, ele **deu uma mordida** tão forte na boca da mulher que os médicos precisaram costurar parte do lábio superior da vítima com oito pontos. (Homem agride sua companheira com mordida. *Diário Online* 13/08/2013).

9. According to police, during a fight with his partner, he **gave a bite** so hard on the woman's mouth that doctors had to sew part of the victim's upper lip with eight stitches. (A man attacked his wife with bite. *Diário Online* 13/08/2013).

<i>durante uma briga</i>	<i>com a companheira,</i>	<i>ele</i>	<b>deu</b>	<b>uma</b>	<i>na boca da mulher</i>	Freq.: 1
during a fight	with his partner,	he	<b>mordida</b>		on the woman's	(0,03%)
			<b>gave a bite</b>		mouth	
Location (time)	Accompaniment (comitation)	Actor	<b>Scope-process</b>	Beneficiary (Recipient)		

Source: research data

10. Na ocasião, ele **teria dado um soco** na boca dela (Mulher encontrada morta dentro de carro em Belterra foi estrangulada com uma braçadeira. G1 Santarém — PA, 23/03/2020).

10. At the time, he **would have given a punch** on her mouth (Woman found died in a car in Belterra was strangled with a clamp. G1 Santarém — PA, 23/03/2020).

<i>ele</i>	<b>teria dado um soco</b>	<i>na boca dela.</i>	Freq.: 1
he	<b>would have given a punch</b>	on her mouth	
Actor	<b>Scope-process</b>	Beneficiary (Recipient)	(0,03%)

Source: research data

The aggressors perform the thematic role of Actor and the victims of Beneficiary (Recipient), because the lexical items related to them – “in Lana”, “in the woman's mouth” and “on her mouth” – receive the violent actions of the aggressors. In this regard, Fuzer and

Cabral (2014) considers the Beneficiary as one who benefits from verbal action, not necessarily associated with receiving something positive. Corroborating the authors, Bloor and Bloor (2004) emphasize that the relative benefit or damage is of no significance, because the Recipient is still labeled Beneficiary.

The structure of the clauses is similar because they present Actor + Scope-process + Beneficiary (Recipient). Here, the verb “give” is lexically ‘empty’; so the process of the clause is expressed only by the noun functioning as Scope. In these cases, as explained by Moura Neves (2000 apud FUZER; CABRAL, 2014), the verb “give” functions as a “support verb”, that is, it has quite empty meaning that forms with the direct object – “the strikes”, “a bite” and “a punch” – a global meaning corresponding to that of other verbs, how to strike, to bite and to punch.

In terms of representation, the semantic value of the processes is attenuated, and with this, there is emptying of the violent actions of the aggressors. It is worth noting the use of the verbal form in the future of the past in the Scope: process “**would have given** a punch” in the third clause. In this case, the linguistic structure gives hypotheticity to the development of the process. Therefore, the neutral verb (“support verb”) “gave” and the Scopes “the strikes”, “a bite” and “a punch” are euphemic forms/structures that establish in the attenuation texts for cases of domestic violence.

### Active and passive material clauses

In transitive processes (also called effective), the clauses can be active or passive. The active clauses (also called operative) are probed by “what did x do (to y)?” (EGGINS, 2014, p. 216). For example:

11. *Ela ainda **teria travado** luta corporal com o assassino, mas a selvageria do suspeito foi maior (Mulher é morta friamente na frente das filhas. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).*

11. She **would still have fought** body fight with the murderer, but the suspect’s savagery was greater (A woman is coldly killed in front of her daughters. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).

<i>Ela</i>	<i>ainda <b>teria travado</b></i>	<i>luta corporal</i>	<i>com o assassino,</i>	<i>Freq.: 1 (0,03%)</i>
She	<b>would still have fought</b>			
Act	Textual	<b>Creative material</b>	Goal	Accompaniment
or	element	<b>process</b>		(comitiation)

Source: research data

12. *De acordo com informações do sargento da Polícia Militar (PM) José Carlos, lotado na 2ª Companhia (Cia) do 21º Batalhão de Polícia Militar (BPM) a vítima já **teria registrado** três*

*boletins de ocorrência contra o suspeito (Mulher é morta friamente na frente das filhas. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).*

12. According to information from Military Police sergeant (MP) José Carlos, established in the 2nd Company (Co) of the 21st Military Police Battalion (MPB) the victim **would have** already **registered** three police reports against the suspect (A woman is coldly killed in front of her daughters. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).

<i>a vítima</i>	<i>já teria registrado</i>	<i>três boletins de</i>	<i>contra o suspeito</i>	Freq.: 3
the	<b>would have</b> already <b>registered</b>	three police reports	against the suspect	(0,10%)
victim				
Actor	Textual element	Creative process	material ocorrência Meta	Cause (behalf)

Source: research data

*13. De acordo com informações de familiares e alguns vizinhos, Oziel da Silva de Freitas **teria cometido** o crime após descobrir que a mulher teria dormido na casa de um amante. (Marido mata a esposa após descobrir noite de traição. Diário Online, 23/05/2018).*

13. According to information from relatives and some neighbors, Oziel da Silva de Freitas **would have committed** the crime after discovering that the woman would have slept in a lover's house (Husband killed his wife after discovering the night of betrayal Diário Online, 23/05/2018).

<i>Oziel da Silva de Freitas</i>	<i>teria cometido</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>após descobrir que a mulher teria dormido na casa de um amante</i>	Freq.: 2
	<b>would have</b> <b>committed</b>	the	after discovering that the woman would have slept in a lover's house	(0,07%)
		crime		
Actor	Creative material process	Goal	Location (time)	

Source: research data

In the first two clauses above, the victim assumes thematic role of Actor and ergative role of Agent, whose processes “would have fought” and “would have registered” represent creative actions that affect the participants “body fight” and “three police reports”, respectively. In this sense, these lexicogrammatical elements are classified as Goal of the processes, since they suffer the impact of the actions, which change the flow of events. However, these processes have a hypothetical structure, which denotes a state of doubt regarding the performance of the actions. In terms of representation, the material processes attributed to the victims are represented by the newspapers as hypothetical acts.

In the last clause of the table, the aggressor has the role of Actor (in a transitivity analysis) and ergative role of Agent. This clause is a case in which the process has in the future of the past “would have committed” also possesses imperfect aspect, which implies in supposition as to the realization of the crime. It is worth highlighting the circumstances associated with this process: angle (source) and temporal location. The first expresses the source of the information conveyed in the news, and the second represents not only the time of hypothetical action, but also the cause that is considered the justification for violent action: “after discovering that the woman would have slept in the house of a lover”. Thus, the “inappropriate” behavior of the victim is treated in the text as the causative of jealousy in her partner, and consequently, the cause for violence domestic.

While in the transitive active clauses, a participant does something to another participant, the passive clauses are probed by “what happened to y?” (EGGINS, 2014). That’s means that with the passive (or receptive) clause we can ask “who by?”. Thereby the contrast between “operative” and “receptive” clauses is a contrast in voice. However, both clauses are the same experientially, because they represent a configuration of Actor + Process + Goal (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004). For example:

*14. Lana da Silva Maximiliana, 33 anos, que trabalhava como serviços gerais, foi assassinada com, no mínimo, 36 facadas dentro da própria casa, na passagem 15 de Agosto, na comunidade de Murinim, em Benfica (Mulher é morta friamente na frente das filhas. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).*

14. Lana da Silva Maximiliana, 33 years old, who worked with general services, **was murdered** with at least 36 stab wounds inside her own home, in the 15 de Agosto Passageway, in the Murinim community, in Benfica (A woman is coldly killed in front of her daughters. Diário Online, 08/12/2015).

<i>Lana da Silva Maximiliana</i>	<i>foi assassinada</i>	<i>com, no mínimo, 36 facadas</i>	<i>dentro da própria casa, na passagem 15 de Agosto, na comunidade de Murinim, em Benfica</i>	Freq.: 3 (0,10%)
	<b>was murdered</b>	with at least 36 stab wounds	inside her own home, in the 15 de Agosto Passageway, in the Murinim community, in Benfica	
Goal	<b>Transformative material process</b>	Manner (means)	Location (place)	

Source: research data

15. *Vítima foi morta a tiros (Corpo de mulher assassinada pelo marido é encontrado em terreno baldio, em Dom Eliseu. G1 PA — Belém, 06/05/2020).*

15. Victim **was killed** by shots (The body of a woman murdered by her husband is found on wasteland, in Dom Eliseu. G1 PA - Belém, 06/05/2020).

<i>Vítima</i>	<b><i>foi morta</i></b>	<i>a tiros</i>	Freq.: 4
Victim	<b>was killed</b>	by shots	(0,13%)
Goal	<b>Transformative material process</b>	Manner (means)	

Source: research data

Eggs (2004) affirms that the Actor may be omitted in the passive clauses. In this line of discussion, Thompson (2014, p. 97) says that there is usually a particular reason for choosing a passive clause, whereas an active clause is the natural choice when there are no particular reasons for not choosing it. In the examples above, the newspapers choose to use passive clauses in which the nominal groups “Lana” and “victim” are placed in first position in the clause structure, and moreover, the agents causing the violent actions are omitted. This resource implies in the concealment of the agentivity and of the responsibility of the aggressors for the crimes. In the table’s clauses below, the participant’s agentivity Actor is explicit:

16. *Uma mulher foi assassinada com um tiro no rosto pelo próprio companheiro na noite desta quinta-feira (7), no município de Benevides, Região Metropolitana de Belém (Marido mata própria esposa com tiro no rosto após discussão. Diário Online, 08/09/2017).*

16. A woman **was murdered** with one shot on her face by own her partner at the night of this Thursday (7), in the municipality of Benevides, Metropolitan Region of Belém (Husband kills his wife with shot in the face after discussion Diário Online, 08/09/2017).

<i>Uma mulher</i> A woman	<b><i>foi assassinada</i></b> <b>was murdered</b>	<i>com um tiro no rosto</i> with one shot on her face	<i>pelo próprio companheiro</i> by own her partner	<i>na noite desta quinta-feira (7),</i> at the night of this Thursday (7),	<i>no município de Benevides, Região Metropolitana de Belém</i> in the municipality of Benevides, Metropolitan Region of Belém
Goal/Medium	<b>Transformat ive material process</b>	Manner (means)	Actor	Location (time)	Location (place)

Source: research data

17. Ainda de acordo com testemunhas, Andreza **teria sido morta** pelo marido depois de uma briga (Cabo da Polícia Militar é baleada pelo marido após discussão no Pará. G1 PA — Belém, 15/09/2020).

17. Still according to witnesses, Andreza **would have been killed** by her husband after a fight (Husband of the corporal was a military police officer. G1 PA - Belém, 15/09/2020).

<i>Ainda de Andreza</i>	<i>teria sido morta</i>	<i>pelo marido</i>	<i>depois de</i>	Freq.: 1 (0,03%)
<i>acordo com</i>	<b>would have</b>	by her	<i>uma briga</i>	
<i>testemunhas,</i>	<b>been killed</b>	husband	<i>after a fight</i>	
Still according to witnesses,				
Angle (source)	Goal	<b>Transformative material process</b>	Actor	Location (time)

Source: research data

The explicit agentivity of the aggressors, in the above passive clause, does not mean representation of responsibility and guilt for violent actions, because the use of the lexical items “partner” and “husband” – concerning aggressors – contributes to understate and mitigate the guilt of these criminals for domestic violence. In addition, the media put in the first position, in the clause structure, the nominal syntagms referring to the victims (“a woman” and “Andreza”) in the foreground and put in the background the terms that identify the Actors.

It is worth mentioning that the clause with the verbal form “would have been killed” has imperfective aspect, what functions in the text as a linguistic choice of hypothetical structure. Consequently, it establishes doubts about the “kill” process. Regarding the circumstances found in passive clauses, they express the means as the processes occurred; the temporal and spatial location of the actions; and the source of the information conveyed in which the processes are inserted. Thus, newspapers do not attribute due blame to aggressors by means of the lexicogrammatical and structural choices conveyed in the clauses of the texts.

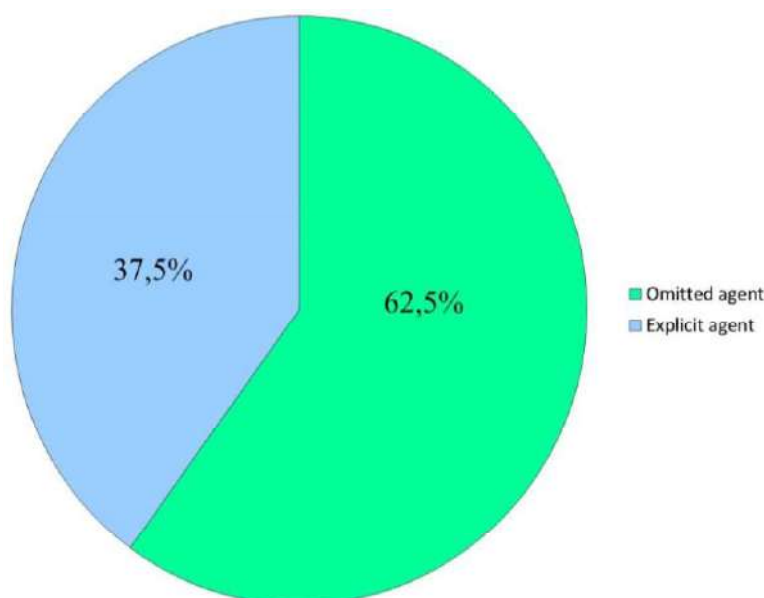
### Quantitative results

Next, the results of the analysis of the corpus will be presented quantitatively, which consists of seventeen news from the Diário Online and G1 Pará newspapers about domestic violence. These results are organized as follows: Frequency of passive clauses in which the agent “aggressor” is omitted and explicit; Number of thematic roles performed by victim and aggressor in the texts; Ways of identifying the aggressors in the texts; and Types and quantity in percentage of circumstances.



The corpus consists of 59 active clauses, 79 passive clauses; 118 transitive clauses and 21 intransitive clauses. Consequently, the most common transitivity scheme is Meta + Material Process. It is also worth mentioning that the newspapers chose to omit the agents in 59 passive clauses; and only in 25, the agent is explicit. In terms of representation, the predominant use of passive voice in the corpus is a resource used to prevent the identification of the Actor in material actions, whose agentive role is exercised by criminals, police and other participants. From this universe of data, this article highlights 27 clauses that represent the relationship between aggressors and victims in journalistic texts (Actor/Agent and Goal/Medium and Recipient/Beneficiary). The sentences that present the relationship between these participants are divided into 11 effective and 16 receptive. In this sense, it was possible to detect a preference of newspapers to represent this relationship in the receptive voice. In this scenario, the graph below shows the percentage of passive sentences in which aggressors are omitted, as well as the number of clauses in which they are explicit in the texts:

**Graphic 1 - Frequency of passive clauses in which the agent “aggressor” is omitted and explicit**



**Source:** Own elaboration based on research data.

In 62.5% of passive clauses, the lexical items concerning criminals were omitted. Thus, the results indicate that, in more than half of the clauses in the news of Diário Online and G1 Pará, these newspapers do not explicit who are the agents who committed domestic violence and the crimes of femicide. In only 37.5% of passive clauses, the criminals' agentivity (Actors/ Agents) is explicit. The following table shows the frequency of lexicogrammatical functions performed by victims and aggressors in the texts:

<b>Table 2 - Number of thematic roles performed by victim and aggressor in the texts</b>			
<b>Main participants</b>	<b>Transitive and ergative functions</b>		
Victim	Actor/Agent in 2 clauses (4,65%) Actor/Medium in 4 clauses (9,30%)	Goal/Medium in 34 clauses (79,06%)	Recipient/Beneficiary in 3 clauses (6,97%)
Aggressor	Actor/Agent in 2 clauses (50,54%) Actor/Medium in 4 clauses (1,09%)	Goal/Medium in 44 clauses (48,35%)	-

**Source:** Own elaboration based on research data.

The results show that the victims exercised the role of Actor in only 6 records of 138 material clauses of the 17 news analyzed. In 2 records, they performed the role of Actor, whose processes are in the future of the past – which implies hypotheticality to the actions taken by them. In 4 clauses, women have a thematic role of Actor in transitivity, but do not perform an agency role as prototypically happens. In these cases, they have an ergative role of Medium, by which the process is actualized. It is worth noting the use of the involuntary process “to die” implies the omission of the agent causing the death of the victims. The women performed, in the transitivity analysis, function of Goal, and in the ergative analysis, of Medium in 34 records, in which they were impacted by the actions of partners and other participants such as the Police, the *IML (Instituto Médico Legal)*, the medical team and a cyclist. And with the function of Beneficiary (Recipient), the victims appear in 3 clauses in which they receive violent actions from aggressors, whose acts are represented by euphemistic linguistic forms with Scope-processes.

In transitivity analysis, the aggressors performed the role of Actor, and in ergative analysis, of Agent in 46 material clauses, whose material processes with perfective aspect are 39, while only 7 have imperfective or hypothetical aspect. They also performed the role of Actor without agency, so it is understood that they assume the role of Medium of the process. With Goal function in transitivity and Medium in ergativity, the aggressors appeared in 44 clauses, in which they were affected by actions, mainly police. In the ergative analysis, the aggressor performed the role of Agent Initiator of the “do” process that caused an action on another participant (the hospital employees where the victim was treated). There was no record of the aggressors performing role of Beneficiary.

**Image 3 - Ways of identifying the aggressors in the texts<sup>4</sup>**

Word	Freq.	%	Texts
HOMEM	16	0,57%	1
SUSPEITO	15	0,53%	1
COMPANHEIRO	5	0,18%	1
MARIDO	3	0,11%	1
AGRESSOR	3	0,11%	1
ACUSADO	3	0,09%	1
DENUNCIADO	2	0,07%	1
INVESTIGADO	2	0,06%	1
BÊBADO	1	0,03%	1
ASSASSINO	1	0,04%	1
AUTOR	1	0,04%	1
RESPONSÁVEL	1	0,04%	1

**Source:** Search data entered in WordList of WordSmith Tools 8.0.

The lexical item “man” was the linguistic choice most used to identify the aggressor in the texts. “Suspect” was the second most common lexical use found in the clauses. This lexical item appears in the roles of Actor, Meta, as well as functions as Epithet (adjective). Thus, the newspapers describe criminals as those who have signs of authorship of the crime, but who are not found guilty of domestic violence against women. There is also occurrence of this Epithet<sup>5</sup> and the Qualifier<sup>6</sup> “of authorship of the crime” in the Extension “pointed out as the main suspect of authorship of the crime”; Epithet “suspected” + qualifiers (“of killing his wife by stabbing” and “of killing his partner with four shots”).

The terms “partner” and “husband” in the clause performed the transitive role of Actor and the ergative role of Agent, which reflected the marital relationship between the aggressors and the victims. The lexical items that express the guilt for the offenses are “aggressor” – whose thematic role was Actor and Meta, also appearing in circumstances of cause (behalf). “Accused” appears as a nominal group and as an Epithet attributed to the aggressor and is tied to the Qualifier “of murdering by strangulation the partner...” and “of killing the wife”. With this, he is portrayed as the person to whom it is being pointed authorship of criminal practice.

4 Man, suspect, partner, husband, aggressor, accused, denounced, investigated, drunk, murderer, perpetrator and responsible.

5 The Epithet indicates some quality of the subset, for example “old”, “long”, “blue”, “fast”. This may be an objective property of the thing itself (Experiential Epithet); or it may be an expression of the speaker’s subjective attitude towards it (Interpersonal Epithet), for example “splendid”, “silly”, “fantastic” (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004, p. 318).

6 The Qualifier has the function of characterizing the Thing (Noun) and it is a prepositional syntagma/ phrase or a clause (see HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004, p. 324).

The term “denounced” was found in circumstances of cause (purpose). “Investigated” appears as a nominal group; and “drunk” as an Epithet, which indicates that the aggressor was under the influence of alcohol at the time he attacked the victim. “Killer” appeared only in an occurrence within a circumstance of Accompaniment (comitation). The item “author” appears in the text as “author of the crime” with lexicogrammatical function of Goal; and “responsible” also as Meta (“a recorded video after a murder of a woman shows the person responsible for disposing of the corpse of the victim”). Another identification of the criminals was the use of proper names, as Sandro (4 occurrences and with transitive roles of Actor and Goal), José (3 records with transitive role of Goal), Ivan (2 occurrences as Actor and Goal), Oziel (2 records as Actor and Goal), Pedro (2 occurrences as Goal), Antônio (1 record as Goal), Sidney (1 occurrence as Actor) and Valdir (1 record as Goal). In summary, it is possible to observe in the image that the aggressors are, with low frequency, represented as the real guilty of domestic violence.

To conclude this section, it is essential to explain the meanings of the circumstantial elements present in the analyzed material clauses. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain, circumstances add meanings to clauses by describing the context in which the processes take place. They are usually performed by adverbial or prepositional groups, and may occur freely in several types of processes. The graphic below presents the quantity in percentage numbers of the circumstantial elements found in the corpus:

<b>Table 4 - Types and quantity in percentage of circumstances</b>			
<b>Types of circumstances</b>	<b>Quantity in the texts</b>	<b>Types of circumstances</b>	<b>Quantity in the texts</b>
1. Location (place)	41,98%	7. Cause (purpose)	4,41%
2. Location (time)	24,30%	8. Accompaniment (comitation)	1,65%
3. Cause (reason)	7,18%	9. Cause (behalf)	1,65%
4. Angle (source)	6,07%	10. Manner (degree)	0,55%
5. Manner (means)	6,07%	11. Extent	0,55%
6. Manner (quality)	4,97%	12. Contingency	0,55%

**Source:** Own elaboration based on research data.

The total number of circumstances found in the texts is 181. The circumstantial element that prevailed in the corpus was of Location (place), whose function in the texts is to refer to the location of events in space. Secondly, the circumstances of Location (time) were the

ones that most appeared. They express the temporal location in which the material processes occurred. The circumstances of cause (reason) expressed why the processes develop. The circumstances of manner (means) represented “with what” the aggressors committed the crimes of domestic violence. The circumstances of angle (source) identified the sources responsible for the information contained in the texts, such as police, experts, witnesses, relatives and neighbors. The circumstances of manner (quality) indicated how the processes developed. The circumstances of cause (purpose) expressed “for what” the processes took place.

The circumstantial elements of accompaniment (comitation) correspond to meanings such as “with whom?” and “with what?”, that is, prepositional groups expressed the idea of joint action, as well as the instrument that the aggressor carried at the time of arrest. The cause (benefit) indicated the target against whom the action was aimed. The only circumstantial element of manner (degree) found in the corpus was performed by an element adverbial that indicated the high degree of violent action of the aggressor. The extension (frequency) presented how many times the process occurred. The contingency (default) indicated the lack of medical care during the death of the victim.

## Conclusion

Given the reach that the media exerts on the way the readers deal with domestic violence against women, it was necessary to analyze how the discursive practices and linguistic choices of the newspapers *Diário Online* and *G1 Pará* constructs the representations of victims and aggressors in the news. To this end, it was necessary to carry out a study on the material processes, based on the Hallidayan Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL), in order to uncover the representation of these participants in the texts.

The victims had Actor function associated with material processes with imperfective aspect (“would have fought” and “would have registered”), which establish hypothetical structures. And when they performed the transitive role of Actor (with the involuntary process of “dying”, for example), this role was not agentive, since, in the ergative analysis, these women assumed the role of Medium. In such cases, the structural presence of an Agent that caused the process was neither explicit nor implied. However, implicitly, from the context of the news, there is the notion that someone caused the death of the victim.

Therefore, the victims are represented lexicogrammatically, with little or no expressiveness regarding the realization of tangible actions and visualizable. The processes linked to criminals have, mostly, perfective aspect. This means, in terms of representation, that the actions taken by them are portrayed, in the texts, as concrete. The aggressors were represented as subjects largely capable of producing something and agents of actions that affected the victims and other participants. However, the violent actions are inserted, mostly, in passive clauses – that put in the background the Actors –, and also, forms with Scope-process, which euphemize the criminal actions of these Agents.

It was possible to detect that the newspapers, through linguistic choices, opted for omitting the aggressors in the most clauses, which implies concealing their responsibility for the crimes. The linguistic choices that contributed to this were the majority use of passive clauses, involuntary processes in middle clauses, as well as some circumstances linked to the processes. According to Thompson (2014), the natural choice is the use of active clauses, while when passive clauses are used, there is a particular reason for choosing them. In this sense, the newspapers choose to omit the Agent of the material processes through the transitivity scheme: Goal + Material process.

When the aggressors are expressed in the clauses, most of the linguistic choices used to identify them in the texts, euphemizes and expresses dubiousness as to their guilt for the crimes committed against women at home. In this way, the newspapers represent the aggressors, mostly, as suspected of being the perpetrators of violence and femicide rather than in fact as those responsible for the crimes. It is worth noting that some circumstances of temporal location contributed to represent aggressors and victims in the news, because they expressed not only when the processes developed, but also the motivations considered by the newspapers as justifying the crimes of domestic violence, for example, fights and jealousy.

Through the analysis and description of the material processes employed in the newspapers *Diário Online* and *G1 Pará*, it was possible to characterize the representation in the clause level of the main social actors involved in cases of domestic violence, which are victim and aggressor. The aggressor was represented in the news as the “jealous” for the “inadequate” behavior of the victim, which generated fights and arguments between the “couple”; as “drunk”, which implies a supposed lack of conscience on his part at the moment of aggressions against the victim; and also, as the one who helped the woman after the aggressions. Mostly, the violent actions are represented in the newspapers in a euphemistic and attenuating way through linguistic forms with Scope-process and also in the passive voice with omission of the terms related to the aggressors.

Such representations are directly linked to the way the victim was treated in the news, since she is represented as the one who provoked jealousy in the aggressor due to her “improper” behavior as a married woman, consequently promoting conflicting discussions with the criminals. In short, she is portrayed as the culprit for the crime of violence in the domestic sphere. We conclude that the effects of meaning derived from the lexicogrammatical realizations are potentially conducive to guide reproductive readings of hegemonic discourses on domestic violence, in which there is victim blaming.

It is important to note that, as stated by Fairclough (1995), the media discourses exert great influence in the lives of people and that they act as educators and propagators of opinions through particular ways of representing the world and constructing identities and social relations. From this perspective, the newspapers *Diário Online* and *G1 Pará* present cases of aggression at the individual and family level, hiding the responsibilities of the State and society for the social

problem. Thus, they maintain hegemonic discourses on affective relations in which the female body is taken as male property, ratified by the marriage bond.

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### **Analysed news**

*Mulher encontrada morta dentro de carro em Belterra foi estrangulada com uma braçadeira*. Sílvia Vieira, G1 Santarém — PA, 23/03/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/santarem-regiao/noticia/2020/03/23/mulher-encontrada-morta-dentro-de-carro-em-belterra-foi-estrangulada-com-uma-bracadeira.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>7</sup>

*Homem suspeito de matar esposa a facadas é preso em Ananindeua*. G1 PA — Belém, 06/04/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/04/06/homem-suspeito-de-matar-esposa-a-facadas-e-preso-em-ananindeua.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>8</sup>

*Corpo de mulher assassinada pelo marido é encontrado em terreno baldio, em Dom Eliseu*. G1 PA — Belém, 06/05/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/05/06/corpo-de-mulher-assassinada-pelo-marido-e-encontrado-em-terreno-baldio-em-dom-eliseu.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>9</sup>

*Homem é preso suspeito de matar esposa a facadas no Tapanã, em Belém*. G1 Pará, 29/07/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/07/29/homem-e-preso-suspeito-de-matar-esposa-a-facadas-no-tapana-em-belem.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>10</sup>

*Mulher é assassinada dentro de casa no Tenoné, em Belém*. G1 PA — Belém, 10/08/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/08/10/mulher-e-assassinada-dentro-de-casa-no-tenone-em-belem.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>11</sup>

*Cabo da Polícia Militar é baleada pelo marido após discussão no Pará*. G1 PA — Belém, 15/09/2020. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/09/15/cabo-da-policia-militar-e-baleada-pelo-marido-apos-discussao-no-para.ghtml>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>12</sup>

*Homem é preso por agredir e ameaçar esposa no Tapanã, em Belém*. G1 PA — Belém, 19/10/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/10/19/homem-e-preso-por-agredir-e-ameacar-esposa-no-tapana-em-belem.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>13</sup>

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7 Woman found died in a car in Belterra was strangled with a clamp.

8 Man suspected of killing wife by stabbing is arrested in Ananindeua.

9 The body of a woman murdered by her husband is found on wasteland, in Dom Eliseu.

10 Man is arrested suspected of stabbing wife to death in Tapanã, in Belém.

11 Woman is murdered inside her home in Tenoné, in Belém.

12 Husband of the corporal was a military police officer.

13 Man is arrested for attacking and threatening wife in Tapanã, in Belém.



*Homem é preso por agredir esposa em Mosqueiro.* G1 PA — Belém, 01/11/2020. Available at: <<https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/noticia/2020/11/01/homem-e-preso-por-agredir-esposa-em-mosqueiro.ghtml>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>14</sup>

*Homem bêbado mata mulher no bairro do Marco.* Diário Online, 31/08/2012. Available at: <<https://www.diarioonline.com.br/noticias/policia/noticia-217311-homem-bebado-mata-mulher-no-bairro-do-marco.html>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>15</sup>

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14 Man is arrested for attacking wife in Mosqueiro.

15 Drunk man killed wife in Marco's neighborhood.

16 A man attacked his wife with bite.

17 Man is accused of stabbing and attacking his partner.

18 A woman is coldly killed in front of her daughters.

19 Arrested man accused of killing his wife.

20 Husband kills his wife with shot in the face after discussion.

21 Husband kills wife after discovering night of betrayal.

*Vídeo mostra homem levando corpo de mulher para desova<sup>22</sup> em Belém.* Diário Online, 01/11/2019. Available at: <<https://www.diarioonline.com.br/noticias/para/538795/video-mostra-homem-levando-corpo-de-mulher-para-desova-em-belem>>. Accessed: on 17th February, 2021.<sup>23</sup>

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22 The noun “desova”, in Brazilian Portuguese language, means hiding dead bodies, stolen cars, etc. The verb “dispose” has the closest meaning to this noun.

23 Video shows man taking woman’s corpse to dispose in Belém.

24 Husband stabs wife to death in front of son in Greater Belém.