

Universal concessive-conditional clauses in Spanish from the perspective of FDG

According to Haspelmath & König (1998), *universal concessive-conditional* constructions share semantic characteristics both with concessive and conditional clauses and express circumstances of a more general nature. For Haspelmath & König (1998: 610) they can be expressed by two different formal ways in Spanish:

- (1) WH pronoun + *quiera que*
Donde-quiera que vaya, nunca la dejará.
where-want COMP go:SBJV:3SG never her leave:FUT:3SG
'Wherever you go, he will never leave her.'
- (2) Subjunctive verb + WH pronoun + Subjunctive verb
Vaya adonde vaya, nunca la dejará.
go:SBJV:3SG where go:SBJV:3SG never her leave:FUT:3SG
'Wherever you go, he will never leave her.'

Keizer (2016) classifies these structures as *free relatives* – without an explicit head. According to the author, free relatives may have different syntactic functions within the main clause, and in these structures the subordinate and the main clause share an element, semantically and syntactically.

The main objective of this paper is to investigate, in the light of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), *universal concessive-conditional* clauses in Spanish, in order to discuss the semantic hybridity (concession x condition) and the status of these constructions, which is regarded in the literature either as being a free relative, or as an adverbial clause. My main hypothesis is that these constructions occur in the highest levels of layers proposed by FDG.

In order to achieve my objective, the following criteria are used: (i) construction type; (ii) level at which the concessive relation occurs; (iii) layer at which the concessive relation is established; (iv) syntactic function of the construction related to the main clause; (v) time and verbal mood of the clauses involved in subordination; (vi) position of the relative construction with respect to the main clause.

To investigate the structure *como quiera que* + subjunctive (146 cases) in written texts, the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) is used. The results show that these constructions tend to occur in sentence-medial position, to refer to discursive situations, in other words, the Concessive relation seems to occur between Moves, acting as Metalinguistic function.

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The ‘focus’ of Spanish periphrastic passives

The aim of this poster presentation is to offer an account informed by focus structure of so-called “periphrastic” passives in Spanish. There is a general consensus that passives are typically motivated by discourse-pragmatics. Existing accounts, however, are unclear as to whether (at least in Spanish) they should be understood as primarily patient-promoting or agent-demoting (or both). Likewise, it is unclear what their specific contribution may be, given that there are other (more conservative) strategies in the language which are also patient-promoting (e.g. object topicalizations) and agent-demoting (e.g. agent pro-drop and third-person impersonal constructions).

Spanish is a basic SVO, relatively free word-order language, with a relatively rigid clause-final focus assignment for non-contrastive focus. Based on the distribution of the different configurations in which passives are realized, and the particular discourse-contexts in which they occur, we will argue that Spanish periphrastic passives serve the information-structural goal of removing the patient from the post-verbal space which it occupies by default (and which constitutes the default focal position) in order to make this position available to some other focal constituent. This operation enables, then, the manifestation of the “speaker’s perspective” (Keizer 2014) in conditions where focus over the patient is uncalled for (but where the actual focus assignment remains otherwise rather flexible).

We believe that this naturally explains why, in usage, the passive subject strongly avoids the post-verbal slot, an option that is nevertheless grammatically available; that in the data the post-verbal space is overwhelmingly occupied, either by an explicit agent or by some other grammatically optional oblique (but not both) serving as the pragmatic focus, and that when this is not the case, the sentence is typically construed as having narrow focus on the predicate. At the same time, this strategy preserves the compatibility of the subject position with focal elements, so that an explicit passive subject need not be unambiguously marked as the sentence-topic, being often construed as part of the focus.

The data analyzed are of the sort presented in (1) and (2), and constitutes all the instances of periphrastic passives in a corpus of written Spanish from different varieties (ADESSE).

- (1) *Es evidente que no estamos ante una invención de la propaganda sino ante una realidad. Pero una realidad que ha sido [EXAGERADA o, mejor dicho, DESFIGURADA]_{FOCO}.*
‘It is obvious that we are not before an invention of the propaganda but a reality. But it is a reality that has been [EXAGGERATED or, better yet, DISFIGURED]’_{FOCUS}.
- (2) *Entonces llegó un momento en que las órdenes no le podían llegar porque [LA BASE YA HABÍA SIDO ATACADA]_{FOCUS}.*
‘Then there came a time when the orders could not reach him because [THE BASE HAD ALREADY BEEN ATTACKED]’_{FOCUS}.

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**A functional analysis of Spanish *tampoco*:
from additive negative marker to disapproval of the Communicated Content**

The Spanish word *tampoco* ('either', 'neither') is normally defined as a focal adverb of negative polarity that relates two negative propositions. It appears within the second segment of a complex linguistic structure to mark the negative polarity of that segment and, at the same time, to put it in relation, in an additive way, to the negation that appears in the first one (RAE-ASALE 2009: 3685f). Such a characterization corresponds to what we might consider the *prototypical use of tampoco*, which has two formal variants: if *tampoco* appears in a preverbal position (1a and 1b), it is the only negation of its syntagmatic segment; if it appears in a post-verbal position, the presence of the basic negative marker *no* ('do not', 'no', 'not') is required in a preverbal position, thus giving rise to a negative concord (1c):

- (1) a. Si tú *no* vas, *tampoco* yo voy
 'If you are not going, me *neither*'
 b. Si tú *no* vas, yo *tampoco* voy
 'If you are not going, *neither* am I'
 c. Si tú *no* vas, yo *no* voy *tampoco*
 'If you are not going, I am *not* going *either*'

The function of *tampoco* is not limited to its prototypical use. At times, it retains an additive value, but without the need to be preceded by an explicit negation (Schwenter & Zulaica-Hernández 2003). On the other hand, there are cases in which this word appears at the beginning of a Move (Schwenter 2003). Finally, we have attested in Mexican Spanish a use not described so far in the previous literature, which can be illustrated by means of the example (2):

- (2) Probablemente Miguel va a ser despedido de su trabajo mañana, *tampoco*
 'Probably Miguel is going to be fired from his job tomorrow, *it isn't fair!*'

In the current state of our research we propose that *tampoco*, in its prototypical use, acts as a polarity operator which can operate in various layers at the Representational Level. Other uses correspond to a modification of the Communicated Content at the Interpersonal Level, but their pragmatic effects are different. Example (2), in particular, is a case of *Disapproval*: the speaker considers that the Communicated Content must be evaluated negatively. Finally, the alternation between presence and absence of a negative concord, shown in (1), seems to be an encoding phenomenon, situated at the Morphosyntactic Level.

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A hierarchical approach to the grammaticalization of *ainda mais* in Portuguese

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the architecture of a hierarchical approach to grammaticalization. Following mainly Hengeveld (2011; 2017), who sees grammaticalization as a combination of contentive and formal change, this study offers an account on the emergence of periphrastic forms by grammaticalization.

In order to do so, this research, based on real occurrences of contemporary Portuguese taken from *Córpus do Português* (Davies & Ferreira 2006), investigates the periphrastic form *ainda mais* as in (1) and pursues a twofold analysis: (i) one that describes functional and formal properties of *ainda mais*, and (ii) another one concerned with the representation, in FDG terms, of the grammaticalization of *ainda mais*.

- (1) Não podia estender mais aquela espera, ***ainda mais se o tumor estivesse se manifestando***.
(19Fic:Br:Carvalho:Bebados)
(*I could not wait any longer, **even more if the tumor was manifesting itself.***)
IL: (C₁: se o tumor estivesse se manifestando (C₁)_{SelCont})
ML: (Le: [(**G_W: ainda_mais (G_W)**) (Cl: se o tumor estivesse se manifestando (Cl))] (Le))

Ainda mais, as in (1), is a fixed form (Keizer 2013) and corresponds to a single primitive, a (pragmatic) function – a Selecting Contrast marker – in the Interpersonal Level, coded as a Grammatical Word in the Morphosyntactic Level. This paper argues that this form emerges from the combination of the emphatic operator *ainda* to the degree word *mais* in the context of a comparative sentence, as exemplified by (2).

- (2) inclusive **investir *ainda mais***, como em educação de trânsito e na área da informática
(19Or:Br:Intrv:Com)
(including *further* investments, as in traffic education and in the area of informatics)
IL: (T_i: investir (T_i): [(**emph T_i: mais (T_i)**)] (T_i))
RL: (f_i: investir_v (f_i): [(f_i: mais_{Deg} (f_i))] (f_i))
ML: (V_p: [(L_w: investir (L_w)) (**G_w: ainda (G_w)**) (L_w: mais (L_w))] (V_p))

This combination entails fusion of an item (*ainda*) to a host (*mais*), loss of compositionality and reinterpretation of morphosyntactic boundaries. In FDG terms, besides the increase in scope relation, within the Interpersonal Level, from Subact to Communicated Content layer (*contentive change*), this fixing/fusing process involves a *formal change* that can be represented as a shift from a *head-dependent relation* to a *grammatical primitive*.

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Coercion in Functional Discourse Grammar

The term ‘coercion’ has been widely employed in linguistic theory over the past few years, mostly in constructionist approaches to grammar, as a means of justifying the need for constructions as a linguistic primitive. Although the interpretations of coercion vary, they all seem to revolve around the same idea: coercion arises whenever there is a conflict between the semantics of a particular lexeme and the syntactic context in which it appears. This conflict may be resolved in different ways, but in all cases it involves something more than the strict semantic computation of the meanings provided by the intervening units. The following examples illustrate canonical cases of coercion processes, type coercion (1) and constructional coercion (2) (see Audring & Booij 2016: 621):

- (1) a. Some pillow
b. I’m practicing Brahms
- (2) a. He sneezed his tooth right across town
b. She smiled herself an upgrade

In (1a), the countable noun *pillow* is used as a mass noun, whereas in (1b) the proper noun *Brahms* is to be interpreted as ‘music composed by Brahms’. The examples in (2), which are taken from Goldberg (2006: 6-7), show the typically intransitive verbs *sneeze* and *smile* in ditransitive constructions with a motion sense, which is arguably contributed by the construction

In Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), coercion is defined by Keizer (2015: 300) as “a process whereby the class of a lexeme is adapted to the requirements of its syntactic position”. In other words, coercion results from a clash between the lexical properties of an item at the Representational Level and the need to occupy an unexpected syntactic slot at the Morpho-syntactic Level. As this process may produce the addition of a derivational affix at the ML, coercion is thus employed to account for derivational morphology (syntactic derivation) (see Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 404).

The aim of this presentation will be to evaluate the extent to which FDG is able to account for the different coercion processes that have been identified in the literature. In the first part of my presentation I will provide a general characterization of coercion. Next, I will discuss the theoretical options that have been suggested to account for coercion phenomena. Finally, I will show how FDG has dealt with coercion phenomena to date and I will defend that coercion should be understood as a creative, non-systematic process, which cannot be accounted for only by the grammar. On the contrary, it seems necessary to take full advantage of the theory of verbal interaction of which FDG is the central component.

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Blackfoot and the typology of demonstratives in Functional Discourse Grammar

This paper has two related objectives: first, to flesh out the treatment of demonstratives in Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008) based on the pragmatic and semantic typologies proposed by Himmelmann (1996), Diessel (1999) and Imai (2003); and second, to use this expanded treatment to provide an FDG-based account of demonstrative forms and uses in Blackfoot.

The typological literature recognizes four pragmatic categories of demonstratives: exophoric / situational / deictic uses; anaphoric/tracking uses; discourse deictic uses; and recognitional uses. I show that within FDG recognitional demonstratives can be analyzed as a subcategory of deictic (exophoric) demonstratives and propose a revised typology.

Imai (2003: 176) proposes a typology for the semantics of exophoric (deictic) demonstratives containing four semantic parameter classes: anchor; spatial demarcation; referent / region configuration; and function. Schupbach (2013) shows that the anchor parameter [speaker], the spatial demarcation parameters [proximal], [medial], [distal] and [interior], the referent/region configuration parameters [motion] and [invisible], and the function parameter [offerative] are relevant for the description of demonstratives in Blackfoot.

Blackfoot has a moderately complex demonstrative system based on the three basic stems -*am*, -*ann* and -*om*. These can combine with a diminutive suffix -*sst* and an additional interior spatial demarcation suffix -*o*. The resulting stems must then be inflected for the usual categories number, gender, and obviation in agreement with the noun, if present. These inflected forms can be followed by one of the referent / region suffixes -*ma*, -*ya*, -*ka*, -*hka*.

FDG analyzes the deictic (exophoric) use of demonstratives as expressions of operators of spatial localization applicable to Individuals (x) with respect to some anchor (Rijkhoff 2002, 2008). I will show that all of Imai's (2003) spatial demarcation parameters can be represented as operators applying to Individuals in the languages that make these distinctions and make a proposal for a set of operators to be added to the inventory. The referent / region configuration and function parameters, however, are more of a mixed bag and require individual consideration to determine how they are best accounted for in FDG.

Several textual use properties of Blackfoot demonstratives are amenable to an FDG account, including non-agreement between demonstrative and noun, pitch accent variation, iconic vowel lengthening, demonstrative doubling, and word order variation.

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Beyond the affectedness condition: the case of Yaqui external possessors

This paper examines external possessor constructions in Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan, México). The analysis focuses on possessive relations involving body parts (Lødrup 2009). The sentence in (1a) shows internal possession (the possessor and the possessum form a single constituent), and those in (1b-d) exemplify external possession. In the latter, the body part takes the general locative postposition *-po* ‘in’, while the possessor can take accusative case (1b) or one of the following postpositional markers: the dative-like directional *-u* (1c) and the locative-contact marker *-(e)t* ‘on, over’. In the analysis, we first show that (i) a body-part term cannot be internally possessed when serving as the transitive object (a restriction that does not apply to other entities); (ii) there is an additional participant that is not a part of the basic valency of the verb; (iii) the external possessor can be marked as an oblique argument, and (iv) not all cases of external possessors involve a ‘highly affected’ participant. Hence, we first show that Yaqui data satisfy some but not all the affectedness conditions proposed by Haspelmath (1999): while the possessum is coded as a locative PP, the dative-like possessor (1c) is much less frequent when compared to accusative (1b) and locative possessors (1d). Second, we explore how Yaqui external possessors can be accommodated in FDG (Van de Velde 2010; Mackenzie 2013).

- (1) a. *U ili uusi-Ø [a majka-wa] witta-k*
 DET little child-NOM 3SG.POSS paper-GEN scratch-PFV
 ‘The little boy scratched his mask.’
- b. *U ili miisi-Ø [pujba-po] [nee] witta-k*
 DET little cat-NOM face-LOC 1SG.ACC scratch-PFV
 ‘The little cat scratched my face.’ (lit. scratched me on the face)
- c. *U jamut-Ø_i tajorim [kuta-naa-po] [a-u_i] u’ura-k*
 DET woman-NOM cloth.ACC.PL neck-around-LOC 3SG.OBL-DIR take-PFV
 ‘The woman took off the scarf on her neck.’ (lit. took the scarf on the neck to her)
- d. *U jamut-Ø_i [kutanaa-po] koka-ta [a-et_i] yecha-k*
 DET woman-NOM neck-LOC necklace-ACC 3SG.OBL-LOCC put-PFV
 ‘The woman put the necklace on her neck.’ (lit. put on her the necklace on the neck)

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A FDG analysis of the so called ‘oblique object’ in native languages of Brazil

In the analysis of grammatical relations manifested in several native Brazilian languages, the presence of the so-called ‘oblique object’ is very frequent. According to the grammar model used to describe each language, the ‘oblique object’ is defined, by slightly different criteria, as an entity with no direct participation in the event which is identified by the presence of an adposition or a case marker accompanying the oblique NP. It is observed, however, that NPs with different semantic functions are also classified as ‘oblique objects’.

The aim of this paper is to offer a reanalysis of this grammatical relation showing that some of these NPs designated as ‘oblique object’ are, in fact, modifiers at different layers within the Representational Level. The reanalysis of the languages studied here demonstrates that the Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) model allows a more appropriate description of the apparent diversity of functions that those NPs fulfill in the clause, with evident gains for the typological description.

In order to demonstrate the applicability of this proposal, we analyse the ‘oblique objects’ in grammars of the Brazilian native languages, seeking to differentiate the functions of argument and modifier that are indistinctly attributed to them.

As Farrell (2005: 28) claims, “dependents of verbs that do not have one of the primary syntactic functions are generally considered to be obliques [...]. For marking obliques, languages generally use adpositions or case markers that can be related to semantic roles in a wide variety of ways”.

This relationship between semantic functions and grammatical relations is treated in a very specific way in FDG (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). While many theories assume the universality of grammatical relations, in FDG “syntactic functions are relevant only in those cases in which the formal properties of linguistic units cannot be reduced to the pragmatic and the semantic categories and functions underlying them, i.e. they are relevant when there is neutralization of semantic and pragmatic distinctions.” (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 316).

It is on the basis of this principle - the non-universality of syntactic functions - that we intend to discuss the diversity of roles that the so-called ‘oblique objects’ fulfill in these grammars. The points to be discussed concern the allegedly non-argumental character of the ‘oblique object’ and the presence of one of the three possible markers: an adposition, a case marking or other syntactic devices.

As we will show, the formal features described as basic to oblique objects are controversial, especially because it is not always possible to attribute the same semantic function to a grammatical relation. Our proposal is to consider two types of the so called ‘oblique object’: (i) the NP is an argument of the movement verbs, playing a Locative role; or (ii) the NP is a modifier, applying at the state-of-affairs layer with the semantic role of location or cause or acting on the configurational property layer with the semantic role of instrument, duration, comitative or beneficiary.

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Episodes, new topics, and conditionals in A'ingae (Cofán/Kofán)

A'ingae is a language isolate spoken in Colombia and Ecuador. It exhibits a number of grammatical features that demonstrate that the semantic category of Episode, as recognized in Functional Discourse Grammar, is highly relevant for the analysis of this language. In this paper I will first give an overview of these features and their interaction, and then move to one feature that has attracted attention in the typological literature: the fact that topics and conditionals are marked in the same way in A'ingae. Haiman (1978) was the first to notice this fact in a number of languages and explains it as follows: 'Conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition) or felicitous (if not).' (Haiman 1978: 564). I will claim that the sameness in marking of (new and contrastive) topics and conditionals should rather be attributed to the fact that both new topics and conditionals create new episodes.

The following examples (all taken from Borman 1990), show the marking of new topics (1-3) and of a conditional (4) in A'ingae:

- (1) Khai=ndekhû=**ta** fi'tti-ye atesû='fa='chu=ndekhû.
other=HUMPL=NEW kill-INF know=PLS=SUB=HUMPL
'Others knew how to kill.' (BC07.003)
- (2) Khaki=**ta** jaja='fa dûtsi'ye=ndekhû.
next_day=NEW go=PLS child=HUMPL
'The next day the young men went out.' (BC03.001)
- (3) Da va=ni=**da** tsa-'ka=mbi.
HES PROX=LOC=NEW ANA=CMP=NEG
'Uh, here it's not like that.' (BC24.055)
- (4) Pa-ji=**ta**, ma'caen =tsû?
be_sick-IMPF=NEW what=3
'If she is sick, what is it?' (BC19.093)

Episodes are defined in FDG as "one or more States-of-Affairs that are thematically coherent, in the sense that they show unity or continuity of Time (t), Location (l), and Individuals (x)." (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 157). As examples (1)-(3) show, a change in time (1), location (2), or individual participant (3) triggers the use of the new topic clitic =ta/=nda 'NEW'. The fact that this same marker is used for the conditional in (4) suggests that conditionals equally create new episodes. They do not mark discontinuity in location or time, but rather discontinuity in the reality domain within which an episode is to be interpreted. This would require a further adaptation of the definition of Episodes in FDG, and provide an alternative to Haiman (1978).

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Truth-conditionality and restrictiveness in Functional Discourse Grammar

It has long been acknowledged, by speech-act theorists and theoretical linguists alike, that some modifiers are truth-conditional while others are not. In FDG, where modifiers, on the basis of their semantic, syntactic and discourse-pragmatic properties, are assigned to a particular level and layer of representation, non-truth-conditional modifiers are analysed at the Interpersonal Level (IL), while truth-conditional modifiers are taken to belong to the Representational Level (RL) (e.g. Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 121, 128-129).

As it turns out, however, there are at least two groups of representational modifiers that are non-truth-conditional. First, there is the group of so-called subject-oriented adverbs, like *cleverly* and *rightly*, which are generally assumed to belong to a relatively low level of analysis (e.g. Cinque 1999; Ernst 2002), and which in FDG have been analysed at the Representational Level (in Dik et al. (1990) as modifiers of the proposition, in Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008)) as modifiers of the SoA); nevertheless, they do not affect the truth-conditional value of the proposition. The same is true for non-restrictive attribute adjectives (e.g. *beautiful* in *my beautiful wife*; Bolinger 1989: 198; Quirk et al. 1985: 1239; Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007: 334-335).

The present paper will consider the consequences of this apparent anomaly both for the analysis of the modifiers in question, and, more generally, for the role of truth-conditionality in FDG. It will be argued that the fact that adverbs like *cleverly* and non-restrictive adjectives are non-truth-conditional is not incompatible with their being analysed at the Representational Level, as long as they are not analysed as restrictors; instead a new way of analysing these “modifiers” at the Representational Level will be proposed in which they are treated as separate Propositional Contents consisting of a non-verbal predication. Data from the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English will be used to show that the proposed analysis is supported by the syntactic behavior of these expressions.

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Categorization in FDG of English *-ly* adverbs in complements of verbs and nouns

This paper will focus on the distribution of evidential *-ly* adverbs in verb complement clauses, and noun complement clauses across the FDG hierarchical Layers. Texts from recent British newspapers and the BNC will be examined for occurrences of evidential *-ly* adverbs.

It is expected that, in contrast to evidential *-ly* adverbs in main clauses, evidential *-ly* adverbs in verb complement clauses will only allow those readings that are compatible with the layers that are present in their underlying representation. In FDG, complement clauses are categorized in terms of the highest layer they contain as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: *Layers present in the underlying representation of the complements of verbs*

	C	p	ep	e
<i>say</i> (C) (indirect speech)	+	+	+	+
<i>believe, think</i> (p)	-	+	+	+
<i>regret</i> (ep)	-	-	+	+
<i>want</i> (e)	-	-	-	+
<i>see</i> (e) (direct perception)	-	-	-	+

Example (1) shows a complement clause of *think* with the inferential evidential adverb *seemingly*.

- (1) *Mr Campbell-Bell said he thinks the car had been dismantled for repair by a local soldier, but was then **seemingly** abandoned* (Classic care unearthed by archaeologists on Salisbury Plain, 14 Sept 2017, www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-wiltshire-41265294)

Noun complement clauses which appear in post-nominal position can be introduced by *that*, which connects a propositional noun, such as *fact*, and the following clause which makes explicit the content of *fact* as in (2).

- (2) *A question I would ask is that given the product which you had in June and the **fact that presumably** you have to take what goes [...]* (BNC 1 F7A S_meeting)

Presumably which is an inferential adverb appears in the complement clause.

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Conditionality in Brazilian indigenous languages: a typological-functional analysis

Conditional constructions are traditionally defined as structures formed by an adverbial subordinate clause, the “protasis” and by a main clause, “apodosis”. Among these clauses is established the relation “If *p* then *q*”. Thus, the protasis expresses a condition that, if realized, will allow the realization of the event expressed in the main sentence, the apodosis, as can be seen in the example below, from Brazilian Portuguese (BP):

- (1) *Se você conseguir os documentos necessários a tempo, você poderá se inscrever no processo seletivo.*
'If you get the necessary documents in time, you can apply for the selection process.'

In the linguistic literature, many studies are concerned with describing conditionality in the most varied languages, from different perspectives, and there are different ways of conceptualizing this category (Ducrot 1972; Haiman 1978; Dik 1990; Neves 2000).

What is observed, however, is that although there are many efforts to understand this category in BP, with respect to Brazilian indigenous languages, very little has been done to characterize the manifestation of conditionality. In studies about indigenous languages, conditional constructions, when analyzed, are treated very specifically in grammars and morphosyntactic studies of specific languages. There is still no research that studies conditionality in these languages in a more comprehensive way.

As far as conditionality is concerned, it is assumed in the present research that there are differences and similarities in the morphosyntactic coding of this category in indigenous languages, both with respect to the type of construction and with respect to the conditional relation established. In this sense, this research proposes to systematize the expression of conditionality in these languages, with the elaboration of a linguistic typology.

Functional Discourse Grammar's (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008) organization in levels and layers is a model especially suitable for typological studies and, therefore, for the present research, because, as Dall'Aglio Hattner (2012: 66) points out, “since the model carefully distinguishes, for each act of discourse, its interpersonal, representational, morphosyntactic and phonological characteristics, languages can be compared at each of these levels separately.” In this way, the main objective of this research is to propose a typological-functional analysis of conditionality in Brazilian indigenous languages according to the parameters established by FDG, and also to contribute to establish a closer relationship between Functional Linguistics and the area of Indigenous Linguistics.

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Arguments for a flatter morphosyntax

A salient characteristic of recent debates in grammatical theory and in psycholinguistic research has been discussion of the degree to which syntax is hierarchical (e.g. Frank, Bod & Christensen 2012). One prominent justification for flattening out morphosyntax comes from the desire to avoid duplication in the grammar: generalizations in semantic structure need not be restated in different terms in syntactic structure. FDG's approach to morphosyntax (Hengeveld & Mackenzie [H&M] 2008, Ch. 4) generally aligns with proposals for a relatively flat structure, positing the hierarchical structure Linguistic Expression – Clause – Phrase – Word, but permitting multiple linear sequences within any of these units. I will revisit the arguments for syntactic branching in FDG, identifying – where possible – opportunities for further 'flattening out' current Morphosyntactic Level analyses. In particular, I will focus on the Clause and Phrase layers and consider the following phenomena:

Subordination: (Co-)subordination is analysed as involving the embedding of a Clause within a Clause (H&M: 308-309), but this reduplicates the dependency or embedding relations shown at the Interpersonal and Representational Levels respectively.

Empty Subjects. H&M (358-359) claim that passive morphology in a subordinate Clause requires postulating an empty Subject. However, it will be argued that this is not necessary and more generally that the Morphosyntactic Level should not contain empty elements.

Raising. H&M (370-372) consider raising that is triggered by morphosyntactic factors with Spanish *parecer* 'seem'. An alternative will be proposed to assuming subordination and an empty Subject, with reference to work by Cornillie (2008) and García Velasco (2013).

Phrases within Phrases. H&M (288-295) argue that in English verb chains, the lexical verb forms a Vp, i.e. (Vp₁: [(Vw_{1>4}) (Vp₂)] (Vp₁)) since it can also appear clause-initially, cf. *Swimming they must have been*. An alternative, flatter analysis will be defended.

Lexical elements always heads of Phrases. The analysis of "phrases within phrases" generalizes to the idea that "lexical elements are always the heads of Phrases" (H&M: 310). However, we can ban superfluous hierarchization from the Morphosyntactic Level by not restating the distinction between lexical and grammatical Words there.

The proposals together yield a Morphosyntactic Level that is 'flatter' than in current work. They also strengthen the mutual autonomy and domain-specificity of the four Levels of FDG. In investigating transparency relations between levels (e.g. Hengeveld & Leufkens 2018), it is important to ensure that the mapping relations are not skewed by cross-level duplications.

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The representation of comparative and superlative adjectives in FDG

Studies involving comparative and superlative adjectives are rare, if not inexistent in FDG. The present paper examines two different proposals for their formal representation in the Grammatical Component, i.e. Keizer (2015: 238), in which the author presents comparative and superlative operators, and Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 455), in which comparative constructions are represented as part of a predication frame. The aim of this paper is to propose a formal representation for comparative and superlative constructions in Brazilian Portuguese.

Regarding Keizer's (2015) approach, three major issues were identified: first, in Portuguese, comparison is expressed solely by lexical means, with constructions employing an adverb (*mais, menos, tão* - 'more', 'less', 'as') followed by a conjunction (*que* 'than'), similarly to the English lexical strategy; secondly, the operator proposal clashes with the fact that modification is possible for comparative constructions, as in *John is much bigger than his brother*; finally, comparison itself seems to be a relational phenomenon, which points to a *function* solution and not an *operator*.

Thus, Hengeveld and Mackenzie's (2008) approach seems more suitable for the representation of comparison, with its use of predication frames. However, the formal representation offered by the authors presents some small contradictions in some seemingly unnecessary functions, which calls for a simplified predication frame, borrowing from nominal complements and familiar relations frames.

The proposed frame for comparative constructions in the present work is as follows:

(1) (f₁: [(f₂: ADJ (f₂): (f₃: [(f₄: more/less/as (f₄) (x₁)_{Standard}] (f₃)) (f₂)) (x₂)_U] (f₁))

Relative superlatives would be represented by the same frame, only substituting the *Standard function* by the *Reference function*.

With this new general predication frame it is possible to account for many different comparative constructions in Portuguese, from prototypical ones, to ones involving other types of entities, like Quantities, and also constructions that feature an exception to Portuguese rules of suppletion of the adjective *grande* 'big' by the adjective *maior* 'bigger'. All occurrences below are extracted from the *Corpus do Português* (Davies 2016).

In conclusion, the application of this predication frame seems to be flexible enough to account for all types of comparative and superlative constructions, at least for Brazilian Portuguese. The next logical step would be to test if such frame is able to deal with non-romance and non-germanic languages, thus testing its typological adequacy.

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Optative constructions in Golden Age Spanish

The fundamental objective of this talk is to introduce the optative constructions that existed in Golden Age Spanish, and offer a grammatical analysis of them in the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG). For this purpose, I used data from a database I designed in SQLite, based on a corpus of twenty works from the 16th and 17th centuries that are characterized by the abundant presence of dialogues and the strong representation of oral language.

Optatives have not received the attention they deserved for centuries, and thus, definitions that refer to them in a partial and incomplete way have been perpetuated in the literature. Here they are redefined as constructions, because we are faced with grammatical units with certain syntactic and semantic characteristics. In some cases, they correspond to a sentence, in others with a smaller syntactic unit, and in others, they are combined with other elements to form a construction bigger than a sentence. Besides, they have specific discursive properties: they correspond to a Discourse Act as a unit on the Interpersonal Level, and the pragmatic functions that they can codify constitute a closed set and are closely related.

More concretely, an optative is a syntactically independent construction that belongs to the *irrealis* mood, in which the speaker expresses the desire to fulfill the state of affairs signified in it, and the inability, the lack of control, to do it himself or to get his interlocutor to do it.

Depending on the function of the Discourse Act the speaker wants to perform, there are some morphosyntactic and semantic properties that change in the optative construction, such as, for example, who is the recipient of the optative, or what the tenses are that are expressed in it. Optative constructions that are documented in Golden Age Spanish are constituted in the Interpersonal Level as: 1) Contentive Discourse Acts: 1a) Independent Discourse Acts; 1b) Dependent, Subsidiary or Parenthetical Discourse Acts; 2) Interactive Discourse Acts: 2a) Optative Adjacent Pairs; 2b) Series of Interactive curses.

The variety of optative constructions in Golden Age Spanish is very large: it is analyzed here for the first time and is useful not only for the Spanish of these centuries, but also for other periods and for other languages, since optatives haven't yet received such detailed attention, as we provide here, in any grammatical tradition.

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The grammaticalization of third person subject pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese

Most Romance languages have subject marking on the verb and allow for the specification of the subject by lexical (noun phrase) or grammatical (pronoun) means under certain circumstances. These languages have contextual agreement (Hengeveld 2012), which means that the subject is not specified as long as (i) it can be retrieved from the Contextual Component (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2014) and (ii) functions as the topic of the Discourse Act. An exceptional case in Romance is French, which combines verbal agreement with the obligatory nominal marking of the subject, i.e. it exhibits syntactic agreement.

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is developing from contextual towards syntactic agreement, as there is a strong tendency to use subject pronouns independently of the conditions that hold for contextual agreement. With respect to 3rd person reference, a consequence of this development is that the pronoun may refer to inanimate entities, which is atypical of Romance languages with contextual agreement:

- (1) *cê continua mexendo [o creme] para ele não perder essa consistência de creme* (Iboruna76)
you continue.2SG stirring the.M cream.(M) for he not lose.INF this
consistence of cream.(M)
'you go on stirring [the cream] so that it doesn't lose its creamy consistence'

This means that, in such instances, the pronoun is no longer an expression of the sex of the referent, but is relegated to agreement marking at the Morphosyntactic Level.

A further property of the uses of 3rd person subject pronouns is the fact that, in oral usage, they may occur in close apposition with a topical noun phrase, with both animate and inanimate referents, thus functioning as a Topic marker:

- (2) *o goleiro ele pode pedir o tanto que quiser*
the.M keeper.(M) he can.3SG ask.INF the how-much which wish.FUT.SUBJ.3SG
'the keeper (he) can ask as much as he wants' (Iboruna 119)
- (3) *a costela ela solta gordura*
the.F cutlet.(F) she exude.3SG fat
'the cutlet (it) exudes fat' (Iboruna 70)

Whereas the development illustrated in (1) implies a loss of semantic specificity, the one illustrated in (2) and (3) represents the acquisition of a new pragmatic function. It is the aim of this paper to pinpoint the sequence of these changes. From a FDG view on grammaticalization one would expect the occurrence of Topic marking uses of the pronoun to precede its use for inanimate referents. If this were indeed the case, this paper would support the FDG view on grammaticalization from an as yet unexplored perspective.

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The process of grammaticalization of *querer* + infinitive in Spanish: an FDG analysis

Based on the theoretical assumptions of the Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) and Hengeveld (2017), the present work aims to make an analysis of the periphrastic construction *querer* + infinitive in relation to the grammaticalization process that occurs within the Grammatical Component.

For the composition of our research, we have selected the investiture speeches by Rodríguez Zapatero (candidate for prime minister of the Spanish government in the years 2004 and 2008) and Pedro Sánchez (candidate for prime minister of the Spanish government in the year 2016), using for the qualitative analysis of the data the theoretical framework of the FDG and for the quantitative analysis the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science).

After the analysis of the occurrences and quantitative analysis of the data in the SPSS, we find that the *querer* + infinitive periphrastic construction operates on the layer of the Configurational Property (Representational Level) and the layer of the Discourse Act (Interpersonal Level). At the layer of the Configurational Properties, the verb *querer* acts as a lexical verb, presenting a low grammaticalization index and functioning as a volitional modifier, as in the example:

- (1) *Con la misma voluntad, quiero instituir una Conferencia de Presidentes* (Rodríguez Zapatero, 2004)
'A further desire of mine is that I want to establish a Conference of Presidents'

In the layer of the Discourse Act, the verb *querer* acts as a discursive element and presents a high grammaticalization index, as in the example:

- (2) *Quiero, en este momento solemne, agradecer la entrega y dedicación de Jueces, fiscales, policías y guardias civiles* (Rodríguez Zapatero, 2008)
'I want, in this solemn moment, to thank the dedication of judges, prosecutors, police and civil guards'

In this way, we concluded that periphrastic constructions with the verb *querer* accompanied by "performative" verbs present a low index grammaticalization; while being used with "dicendi" or "cognitive" verbs manifests a high index grammaticalization.

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Correlative construction in Portuguese

Functional Discourse Grammar theory (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), in treating with the organization of Linguistic Expression at the Morphosyntactic Level, admits five types of morphosyntactic arrangements for the combination of Phrases and Clauses, depending on the dependency status between them. In this work, we focus on Equiordination, that is the arrangement when there is mutual dependence between Clauses and Phrases. From this proposal, examples such as that in (1) are classified as clause constructions that have mutual dependence, since the use of correlative elements prevents any of the units being used independently.

- (1) *Então quer dizer muito mais evento desse deveria acontecer, não só com eles em si mas com a família deles, tudo. nós, como eu te falei vira uma família, a escola. então foi gostoso...* (Bra93: FestaEstudante) / ‘Then it means a lot more event like this one should happen, not only with themselves but with their family, everything. we, as I told you, become a family, the school. so it was nice’

This phenomenon is analyzed in linguistic literature of Portuguese description as a *correlation*. According to Rosário (2012), correlative structures are composed of syntactic constructions that are prototypically made from two interdependent parts, initiated by terms called correlators, which are related to each other. Besides to the correlative addition as observed in the occurrence (1), the syntactic process of correlation may also involve alternative, consecutive, proportional and comparative semantic relations.

Taking into account the object presented, this work aims to investigate the correlative constructions in Portuguese varieties, considering FDG. The main question that we seek to answer is: would all correlatives be cases of Equiordination or are there other morphosyntactic arrangements available in the organization of this type of construction? This questioning is based on the fact that there are constructions which, although apparently constituting a correlation, seem to place themselves among the processes of subordination – in cases of (2), since the first Clause is dependent on the second – and coordination – in the case of (3), where there is no dependence between the Clauses:

- (2) *Como você não respondeu minha carta, eu então retirei minha proposta.* / ‘Since you did not respond to my letter, I then withdrew my proposal.’
- (3) *E não há resistência capaz de livrar uma criatura de tais assaltos; quer queira quer não queira, ela há de beijar e há de ser beijada em plena rua, em plena luz* (19:Fic:Br:Lopes) / ‘And there is no resistance capable of delivering a creature from such assaults; whether she wants or not, she'll kiss and will be kissed in the street in full light’

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Pronominal subject expression in Brazilian Portuguese

In most Romance languages, such as Italian, Catalan and Spanish, the presence or absence of an explicit pronominal subject is pragmatically motivated. That means that topical subject pronouns are dropped, but focal subjects have to be fully expressed. In this sense, since the verbal marking cannot provide an independent contribution, they are not potentially referential and can be seen as agreement markers agreeing with a contextually given referent, following Hengeveld (2012).

However, as discussed in an earlier works (Barbosa et al. 2005; Duarte & Varejão 2013; Kato & Duarte 2014), BP behaves differently from the prototypical pro-drop languages, since it employs overt pronoun subjects in a variety of contexts and not just for pragmatic highlighting. The pragmatic or grammatical conditions determining whether subjects can be expressed by verbal morphology or by a pronoun in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) differ considerably from others Romance languages, and an overt subject is becoming the unmarked strategy. In other words, even though BP started out as a prototypical pro-drop language, it is now developing a different system to express subjects with identifiable referents.

Within this context, the main hypothesis to be investigated in this paper is whether BP is still a language of contextual agreement or it is developing a different system for coding referential subjects, using single reference, as illustrated in (1)

- (1) *você sabe-Ø o que eu sou do fulano?*
you know the what I COP.1SG of-the person (Gonçalves 2003)
'Do you know what I am to this person?'

As a general result, data showed that contextual agreement occurs for first person singular / plural and third person plural. Single reference is found for second person singular / plural, third person singular / plural and first person plural, being the most frequent means to express a first argument. This supports our main claim that in BP the referential pronoun with no verbal indication of the argument is becoming a unmarked strategy for subject expression in BP.

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The expression of negation in the native languages of the Maku family

This work investigates the expression of negation in native languages of the Maku family, aiming to deal with transparency by analyzing the different particles and structures that express negation in these languages. For this purpose, I make use of Functional Discourse Grammar framework as conceived by Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008), the theoretical work on transparency by Leufkens (2015) and Hengeveld & Leufkens (2018), as well as the work on negation by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (submitted).

According to Leufkens (2015), the negation of a sentence can be expressed by different means: inflection, independent negative marker, negative indefinite pronouns or quantifiers and negative polarity items. Considering the definition of transparency as the one-to-one relationship between and within the levels of analysis of grammar (Leufkens 2015), cases of double expression of negation in a sentence – by means of particles, pronouns, quantifiers and negative polarity items – represent a relation of redundancy, a non-transparent relation, since a single semantic negation corresponds to multiple morphosyntactic elements.

Hengeveld & Mackenzie (subm.) claim that operators with negative value can be found at all layers of the Interpersonal and Representational levels. Thereby, there are different layers and scopes of negation, which makes us think that different strategies have different functions in the language. Thus, the double expression of a negative value in the same sentence may not necessarily indicate opacity.

From these considerations, four native languages of the Maku family were analyzed: Dâw (Martins 2004), Hup (Epps 2005), Nadëb (Weir 1984) and Yuhup (Ospina Bozzi 2002). The partial results demonstrate that the languages of the Maku family have different strategies of negation that act at layers of the Representational and even of the Interpersonal Level. Each form of expression has a defined scope, and in some cases, more than one negation may appear in the same sentence. Thereby, it is possible to observe that the different forms of negation act at distinct layers, present different scopes and functions and, therefore, can be considered as transparent negative strategies. Although there is coexistence of two forms of negation in the same sentence, given the distinction of the scope, we can still say that there is transparency.

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Phrasal equiordination in advertisements

A construction type whose description has been largely neglected in the literature, consists of expressions such as

- (1) *Piscina gelada... nunca mais*
'Ice cold pool never again'

(1) is called Noun Phrase in the grammatical tradition because of its non-verbal nature. From a functionalist viewpoint, the studies available in the literature are Mackenzie (1998). In this paper, we treat two-member structures such as

- (2) ANTARCTICA | Simplesmente a melhor. [1AnunXX2CE]
'Antarctica | Simply the best.'

This construction type combines two mutually dependent phrases without a copula, thus resulting in the type of Linguistic Expression called Phrasal Equiordination by Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 308). The aim of this paper is to describe this construction type in order to find out whether it undergoes regular intraclausal rules and principles despite of not consisting of complete clauses. The main evidence is provided by authentic 19th and 20th century occurrences extracted from the corpus of the *Projeto para a História do Português Brasileiro*.

Our analysis shows that (i) at the Interpersonal Level this kind of utterance consists of a Move whose head is composed of a single Discourse Act with a declarative illocution. Each of the different Subacts is assigned a pragmatic function; (ii) at the Representational Level these constructions correspond to monovalent predications provided with three possible frames: classification, relational property, and one-place property; (iii) at the Morphosyntactic Level this structure corresponds to a Linguistic Expression formed by two phrases standing for a Referential Subacts always represented by an Np and for an Ascriptive Subacts, represented by an Np or an Adp; (iv) at the Phonological Level, this kind of structures is represented by an Intonational Phrase, in turn composed by two Phonological Phrases.

We conclude that these constructions behave like real clauses for being subjected to intraclausal rules and principles. Following (Dik 1997: 12) and Mackenzie (1998: 296), we argue that in many respects daily interaction is highly implicit by nature; so, entire utterances, generally taken to be elliptical and incomplete, turn out to be exemplary instances of the implicit character of conversation.

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Transparency and opacity in Brazilian and European Portuguese

Considering that transparency is a direct relation between form and meaning, the aim of the paper is to investigate both varieties of Portuguese (Brazilian- BP and European- EP), under the scope of FDG (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), in order to establish to what extent the phenomenon of languages in contact can contribute to the transparency of a language.

In order to achieve this goal, we mapped the linguistic system of both varieties using criteria from FDG that demonstrate the relations of transparency between and within the levels of the theory (Hengeveld 201; Hengeveld & Leufkens 2018), so then we are able to determine and to systematize transparent and opaque properties between these two varieties.

The corpus was composed by real occurrences extracted from the oral *corpora* organized by the *Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa*, where the occurrences related to EP were collected from, and by the *Minimum Corpora* collected by the Project of the Educated Urban Norm (NURC/Brazil), where the occurrences related to BP were collected from.

Taking into account the interface parameters, (i) I-R; (ii) I/ R-M; (iii) I/R/M-F, both varieties present the criteria of apposition, grammatical relations and morphosyntactic and phonological parallelism, with some differences in the form of use of clitics (1-2). Moreover, regarding the relations within morphosyntactic level, BP does not present the use of expletives, as the European variety does (3), even though it is non-standard and it has been claimed to be pragmatically rather than morphosyntactically motivated (Carrilho 2008).

- (1) *me desculpe...então você tem...você tem paciência* (NURC - Salvador- 98)
I am sorry ... so you have... you have patience
- (2) *vou a Lisboa e venho-me embora* (PT95 – Grandes Cidades)
I will go to Lisboa and I will come back
- (3) *seria muito mais importante vocês gravarem eles* (NURC-Recife- Inquérito 5)
it would be much more important you record them.

All in all, when the varieties undergo the transparency test, the results show that BP seems to present a more transparent grammar, as it was our initial hypothesis. It occurs not only because one of the operations foreseen by the theory for transparent relations was not found (no expletives), but also because this variety shows more transparent strategies while applying the parameters (the use of pronouns *ele* and *ela* –he and she– instead of clitics).

The application of the criteria exhibits that transparency in BP is an important factor to explain the differences between the two varieties, which contributes to the hypothesis that these differences are caused by the long historical contact of BP with other languages.

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The periphrasis *vir* + gerund in Brazilian Portuguese: a FDG approach

The aim of this paper is to analyze, from the perspective of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008; Hengeveld 2017), the uses of the periphrasis *vir* ‘come’ + gerund in Brazilian Portuguese, that is characterized by Travaglia (1985) and Castilho (2002) as a periphrasis that expresses different aspectual meanings. My purpose is to investigate if *vir* + gerund can really be defined as an aspectual periphrasis, and what are its defining features and how the different values of this periphrasis could be analyzed within the FDG model (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). The data were extracted from the *Corpus of Portuguese* (Davis & Ferreira 2006) (more than 45 million words), which includes spoken and written texts and enables the search by (i) Portuguese variety, (ii) historical period, and (iii) text type.

Table 1 shows the behavior of the periphrases *vir* + gerund and *ir* ‘go’ + gerund (for a comparison). The verb *ir* is considered to be the most grammaticalized one (Olbertz 1998):

Table 1. Criteria for assessing the degree of auxiliaries

	<i>vir</i> ‘come’	<i>ir</i> ‘go’
Impossibility to separate the periphrasis	–	+
Negation of the verbal construction as a whole	+	+
V1 and V2 share the same subject	+/-	+
Irreversibility of V1 and V2	+	+
No insertion of adverbial elements between V1 and V2	–	+
No possibility of the periphrasis to be divided into two clauses	–	+
Recursivity of the verbs	+	+
No possibility of V2 to be replaced by a manner adverb	–	+

In sum, I found that the periphrasis *vir* + gerund, in comparison to *ir* + gerund, is not fully consolidated in Brazilian Portuguese, and this affects its categorical status, which oscillates between operator and “lexical operator” (Olbertz 2016), according to FDG. I also observed that not all occurrences of the construction *vir* + gerund can actually be classified as cases of aspectual periphrases, since, depending on the temporal reference and the verbal mood, the meaning conveyed by the gerund form is like a manner adverb, i. e. a modifier, which means that the aspectual reading of this construction presents some morphosyntactic and semantic constraints, which, in comparison to the periphrasis *ir* + gerund, is defined as a high grammaticalized aspectual construction, could indicate a lower degree of grammaticalization of the auxiliary, in the sense that it allows, according to Olbertz (2016), the lexical substitution of the gerund form by the manner adverbial forms.

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Negation in Plains Cree: a survey and test for the FDG account of negation

The current paper will introduce the range of negation in Plains Cree, with data gathered through a small but important text corpus (<http://altlab.ualberta.ca/korp/>), one of the few available in a North American Indigenous language. The survey will thus include a variety of negative particles, primarily based on two distinct negative roots, *nama* and *ēkā*, and their syntax in phrases and clauses.

Previous descriptions of Cree negation have often identified this split between negators as associated with Independent (cf. *nama* ~ *namōya* in (1)) versus Conjunct (cf. *ēkā* in (2)) and Imperative (*ēkāwiya* as in (3)) Order verbs. In turn the Independent and Conjunct Orders have generally been associated with main versus subordinate clauses.

- (1) Independent
 namōya ni-nikamo-n “I don’t sing.”
 NEG 1-VAL.sing-SAP
- (2) Conjunct
 (kiskēyiht-am) ēkā ē-nikamo-yān “(S/he knows) that I don’t sing.”
 VTI.know-TH NEG CNJ-VAL.sing-1SG
- (3) Imperative
 ēkāwiya nikamo “Don’t sing!”
 NEG VAL.sing

However, it has been noted that the association of these negative particles with verbal order is not necessary and that Cree negation is considerably more complex than is commonly recognized. The recently proposed Functional Discourse Grammar account of Negation (Hengeveld & Mackenzie subm.) similarly indicates the complexity with which Negation can be analysed across languages, and it is within this FDG framework of Negation that the Plains Cree data will be explored.

Abbreviations

1	first person	SG	singular
CNJ	conjunct order preverb verb)	TH	theme (indicating transitivity and (in)animacy
NEG	negator, negative particle	VAI	animate intransitive verb
SAP	speech act participant	VTI	transitive inanimate verb

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Alignment in Coptic: competing paradigms of transitivity, information structure and semantic functions

The aim of the present contribution is to construct a comprehensive model of alignment in Bohairic Coptic (Afro-Asiatic) on the basis of the theory of Functional Grammar (Dik 1997) and Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). The questions to be addressed are how the individual strategies for argument expression in Bohairic relate to one another and how argument expression interacts with the rules for constituent ordering.

I intend to demonstrate that there are two competing paradigms of transitivity in Bohairic, differentiated by their semantic underpinning, distribution and frequency. The two paradigms are formally differentiated by different strategies for argument expression: head marking on the one hand and dependent or double marking on the other.

In traditional descriptions of Coptic, the head marking strategy, being a strategy inherited from the earlier stages of Egyptian, is presented as a ‘natural’, self-explanatory option. Dependent marking by means of prepositions, on the other hand, an innovation of Coptic from the diachronic point of view, is treated as a special strategy that needs to be explained.

In this presentation, I will argue that, in spite of the high token frequency of head marked subjects and objects, it is the dependent marking strategy which is the dominant one, that is the one with a higher type frequency. The head marking strategy appears to be motivated, among others, by factors related to information structure. Significantly, this strategy is preferably selected for non-topical first arguments and highly topical second arguments.

As regards the realizations of the second vis-à-vis third argument, I will discuss the factors that determine the selection of a particular prepositional marker. In Coptic, alternations known as Differential Object Marking and Differential Goal Marking appear partly grammaticalized and reflect a preponderance of the so-called characterizing function of case marking over the discriminating function. As it appears, the preposition *e-/ero=* ‘flags’ non-prototypical semantic features of the respective referents, human Undergoers and non-human or nonspecific Recipients.

Finally, the constituent order in Bohairic Coptic appears to reflect not so much the syntactic functions of the constituents as their scope: Predicate > Second Argument > Third Argument > First Argument.

A possible structural explanation of the peculiarities of Coptic is the absence of a canonical passive and the consequent shift from morphosyntactic to representational alignment. The discriminating function of case marking becomes functionally less essential in these circumstances, making room for the increasing role of the characterizing function. Moreover, as head marking of the realization of the first argument expresses its demotion (detopicalization) and head marked second arguments are highly topical, the head marking strategy can be seen as a kind of substitute for passivization.

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