Integration of Subsidiary Discourse Acts in Brazilian Portuguese

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze the process of integration of a Subsidiary Discourse Act into the ensuing Nuclear Act in spoken Brazilian Portuguese (BP). This phenomenon was treated in FG under the label of Integrated Theme (Dik, 1997) and received special attention in de Groot and Limburg (1986) as one of the pieces of evidence for the diachronic development of pronominal clitics through the cliticization of free pronouns. Contrary to what the authors propose, in constructions with integrated Subsidiary Discourse Acts in BP, the free pronominal element occupying the Referential Subact slot within the Nuclear Act is not developing into a clitic. Further evidence will be presented to show that BP has avoided clitics in general. Taking these facts into account, I conclude that there is indeed a grammaticalization process in progress in BP, according to which the free pronouns in constructions with integrated Subsidiary Acts are becoming agreement markers. However, since no signs of cliticization can be observed, the grammaticalization process in this language does not conform to the diachronic cycle proposed by de Groot and Limburg, which should therefore be reformulated to cover the BP facts.

1 Introduction[1]

The aim of this paper is to analyze, in spoken Brazilian Portuguese (BP), the process called 'Theme integration' in Functional Grammar (FG – Dik, 1997). In the next section, I will present a general overview of the phenomena of 'Theme, predication' and of 'Integrated Theme', according to Dik (1997), and a new approach of these phenomena according to the new model of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG – Hengeveld and Mackenzie, 2008). Then, in section 3, I will show how the phenomenon of 'Integrated Theme' was dealt with in different languages, according to the FG model. This section will be based mainly on the study by de Groot and Limburg (1986), who, considering both synchronic and diachronic data, propose a typology on the basis of which languages can be classified according to the type of constructions they have. Next, in section 4, I will describe constructions with 'Integrated Theme' in spoken BP within the FDG model and demonstrate that this language does not fit in the diachronic cycle as proposed by de Groot and Limburg (1986). In the last section, I make some final remarks.

2 'Theme, predication' and 'Integrated Theme' in FG and FDG

2.1 Theme in FG

According to the FG framework, Theme is a function of some extra-clausal elements (ECC) which precede the clause and serve to orient the addressee in relation to what will be said in the ensuing clause. Dik (1997:389) points out that a constituent with this function "specifies an ensemble of entities with respect to which the following clause is going to present some relevant information". In order to illustrate the phenomenon, the author presents the following examples:

(1) That guy, is he a friend of yours?
(2) That trunk, put it in the car!
(3) As for students, they won't be invited.

As can be seen in these three examples, their first constituents, placed before the comma, present a referent with respect to which further information will be produced.

The most important characteristic of elements with Theme function, according to Dik, is that they are outside the domain of the clause. The author presents some properties of Theme elements to confirm their 'independence' in relation to the clause: i) they usually precede the clause as a whole; ii) they can have their own illocutionary status; iii) they are often presented in absolute form; iv) they are normally followed by a hesitation, since the speaker often produces the Theme before having a clear idea of what kind of clause he is going to produce.

Although the Theme is clearly independent from the clause, the former can be related to the latter in two different ways, as the following representations show (Dik, 1997:393):

(4) a. $(x_i)_{Theme}$, $(\ldots(x_i)\ldots)_{Clause}$
     b. $(x_i)_{Theme}$, $(\ldots\ldots\ldots)_{Clause}$

The first representation (4a) comprises cases like the ones presented from (1) to (3), in which there is a resumptive pronoun inside the clause which is coreferential with the Theme.

The representation in (4b) could be that of the following sentence:

(5) As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is really spectacular.

In this case, there is no recurrence of the Theme inside the clause. The relation between them can be inferred from the knowledge of the world of speaker and addressee, i.e., from their pragmatic information.

The intonational break after the Theme, which is represented in all the sentences above by a comma, is a very important characteristic which distinguishes Theme+Clause constructions from the preposed Topic in languages which allow zero anaphora (6) or in languages which require a cross-referential element in any main verb corresponding to a certain function in the clause (7) (Dik, 1997:395):

(6) a. That man, I hate Ø.
     b. That man I hate.

(7) a. That man, he-hates me.
     b. That man he-hates me.

The second pair of sentences is particularly interesting here. Dik (1997) distinguishes one sentence from the other in the following way: in (7a), there is a real Theme+Clause construction, i.e., there is an ECC before the proper clause; in (7b), on the other hand, there is what the author calls an 'Integrated Theme'. In other words, what was considered a Theme in (7a) is part of a simple construction in (7b), so the Theme is, in this case, not separate from the clause, but it is integrated in the clause.

It is this process of 'Theme integration' that is the focus of this study. I will try to explain how this phenomenon seems to be developing in spoken BP using the new model of FDG. In order to do so, I will first present how the Theme+Clause construction, from which I hypothesize the Integrated Theme originates, is analyzed within the framework of FDG.

2.2 Theme in FDG

The FDG model has been designed to include both units smaller than the clause and larger than the clause. In other words, unlike in FG, the largest unit of analysis is not the clause, but a unit which goes beyond it and includes constituents such as the so-called ECCs. This largest unit is called Move, which is a non-grammatical entity defined in

interactional terms as "the minimal free unit of discourse that is able to enter into an exchange structure" (Kroon, 1997:20). The Move consists of one or more Discourse Acts (A), which are defined as "the smallest identifiable unit of communicative behaviour" (Kroon, 1997:20). Each discourse act is characterized by its Illocution (F), which specifies a relation between the participants (P, the Speaker (S) and the Addressee (A)) and the Communicated Content (C). The Communicated Content consists of Ascriptive Subacts (T), by means of which the speaker evokes a property, and Referential Subacts (R), by means of which the speaker evokes an entity.

According to the labels of FDG, a sentence like the one presented in (1) above, repeated here as (8), is analyzed, at the Interpersonal Level, as a Move consisting of two Acts. These two Acts are related to each other in a dependent way: the first Act is a Subsidiary Act with the function of Orientation in relation to the second (Nuclear) Act. In other words, the subsidiary Act "That guy" is used by the speaker to introduce a referent before moving on to a new Act which is about that referent.

(8)   That guy, is he a friend of yours?

An interpersonal representation of the sentence (8) is:

(9) $(M_i: [(A_i:[(F_i: \text{DECL} (F_i)) (P_i)_S (P_j)_A (C_i:[(R_i)] (C_i))] (A_i))_{\text{Orient}}$
$(A_j: [(F_j: \text{INTER} (F_j)) (C_j:[(R_j) (T_i)] C_j))] (A_j)) \qquad] (M_i))_{\Phi}$

As can be observed in this representation, the Communicated Content of the Subsidiary Act is constituted by only one Subact of Reference. It is clear that 'That guy' is an Act by itself, rather than a Subact of A_2, since it has its own intonational contour and its own Illocution: A_1 is uttered with a Declarative Illocution and A_2 with an Interrogative Illocution. As Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) assert and as is clear from the example presented above, Illocution is a distinctive characteristic of Acts. In order to use a terminology adequate to the theory chosen in this study, I will refer to this kind of construction (formerly called Theme, predication) as an Orientational Subsidiary Act + a Nuclear Act.

The kind of construction referred to in FG as an 'Integrated Theme' construction is not mentioned by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) in their description of FDG. However, given their new account to constructions with an Orientational Subsidiary Act + a Nuclear Act, as explained above, 'Integrated Theme', in FDG terms, can be regarded as 'Integrated Subsidiary Act'. I will try to describe this Integrated Subsidiary Act within the new model with data from BP in section 4, after taking a brief look at how the process of Theme Integration was treated by de Groot and Limburg (1986) from a typological perspective in the next section.

3 Incorporated Theme from a typological perspective

De Groot and Limburg (1986), in a study based on both diachronic and synchronic data from different languages, attempt to establish the function of pronominal affixes marking heads (verbs, nouns, adpositions).

According to the authors, there is an old and well-known idea that verb agreement arises through the cliticization of personal pronouns. They refer to Hermann Paul's and

Givón's claims about this process. Givón's claims in particular are important here because they serve as basis for de Groot and Limburg to propose their typology for the different constructions types with pronouns.

According to Givón (1976), the anaphoric pronouns in 'topic-shift' constructions may trigger the development of verb agreement. The entire process is explained in the following way: "the topic-shifted construction is de-marked, and the pronouns get re-analyzed as agreement markers. Even after re-analysis, they continue to perform their anaphoric function. In the last stage, they disappear again via phonological attrition, due to assimilatory, reductive processes within the verbal word" (de Groot and Limburg, 1986:9).[2] The following hypothetical constructions are given to illustrate this process:

(10) a. Me, I see him, John
   b. (Me,) I-see-him (,John)
   c. (Me) a-see-m (John)

On the basis of Givón's ideas, and using notions from FG, de Groot and Limburg (1986) propose the following three types of languages: i) free pronoun type, in which constructions like (10a) predominate; ii) clitic type, in which clitic constructions like the one in (10b) predominate; and iii) appositional type, for languages which present the type of construction illustrated in (10c). The following cycle proposed by the authors shows the diachronic relationships between the three types of languages:

A. FREE PRONOUN TYPE
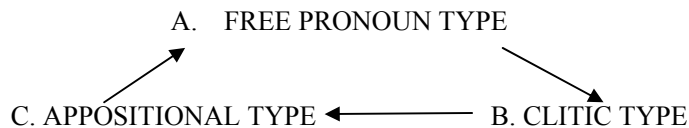
C. APPOSITIONAL TYPE ←   B. CLITIC TYPE

Figure 1. The diachronic cycle (de Groot and Limburg, 1986:10)

The authors assume that all languages can be located either within one of the stages A, B and C, or at some intermediate point between two stages.

Languages of the free pronoun type are the ones in which free pronouns are possible without co-referential clitics or affixes. In languages of this type, the verb presents no, or very few, morphemes to express relations with arguments, so the presence of free pronouns is, in most of the cases, obligatory. Free pronouns used in this kind of language are non-emphatic and non-contrastive (when compared to their use in the other two types of languages). Theme and Tail constituents in these languages are used only for special communicative purposes, like in the example below from English (de Groot and Limburg, 1986:13):

(11) John, he gave it to Mary, your book.

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[2] It is important to note that what Givón calls 'topic-shift constructions' coincides with 'theme, predication constructions' in FG and with 'Orientational Subsidiary Act + Nuclear Act' in FDG. In both FG and in FDG, constructions with an element with Topic function have different configuration from those given in (10). For an account of Topic assignment in FG and in FDG, see Dik (1997) and Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008).

Word order tends to be more rigid and to determine syntactic/semantic relations, since there is little morphology for doing so. Examples of this kind of language are the Germanic and the Sino-Tibetan languages.

The clitic type languages are characterized by the obligatory use of unstressed pronouns as forms bound to some constituent in the sentence. They are normally attached to the verb, which generally lacks distinctions for person/number/gender and agreement. If agreement is present at all, it is with the subject only. The following example from Standard French shows the occurrence of a free pronoun to be impossible in a construction like (12b), since the pronoun is obligatorily attached to the verb (de Groot and Limburg, 1986:12):

(12) a. *Marie a vu Pierre*.
'Mary has seen Peter.'

    b. **Elle a vu le*.
'She has seen him.'

    c. *Elle l'a vu*.

In languages of this type, there are two different sentence patterns, and examples from French again may illustrate them (de Groot and Limburg, 1986:16):

(13) a. *Jean   a   donné   ton   livre   à   Marie / à   elle*.
John   has given your   book   to Mary   to   her

    b. *Il-le-lui-a-donné*.
he-it-her-has-given

    c. *Jean, il-le-lui-a-donné, ton livre, à Marie/à elle*.

In (13a), the arguments of the verb are expressed by means of nominal NPs or emphatic pronouns, so there is no, or very little morphology. In (13b), the arguments are pronouns cliticized on the verb, which is a kind of verbal morphology, but there is no free pronoun or nominal forms within the sentence. Thus, when free pronouns or nominal forms are used with the second sentence pattern, they are placed outside the sentence, like in (13c), and the Theme and Tail constituents gradually become unmarked.[3] Another example of this type of language is Spoken Dutch.

The last, appositional, type includes languages like Abkhaz, Non-Standard French and Berber, in which syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of a sentence are expressed by means of pronominal elements incorporated into the verb. This rich system of pronominal affixes expresses categories like person, number and gender. Free pronouns are never obligatory and, if used, they arguably carry special pragmatic values. The following sentence, from Abkhaz, shows the optionality of the free NPs:

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[3] This unmarked characteristic of Themes and Tails, as the authors point out, is clearly found in Non-Standard French. In this language, sentences like (13a) are never used and the only way to introduce nominal NPs is by using the sentence type (13c), a totally unmarked construction.

(14) (*sarà*) (*barà*) (*yarà*) *Ø-bə̀-s-te-yt*
     1SG   2SG.F   3SG   3SG-2SG-1SG-give-finite
     'I gave it to you (fem.sing.).'

Since pragmatic functions, such as emphasis, are performed by the (optional) free NP forms within the sentence, Theme and Tail constituents are seldom or never used. Thus, if the speaker wants to utter the content of (14) in an unmarked situation when he assumes the addressee can identify the referents indicated by pronominal affixes, he will leave the NPs out. However, if he wants to identify the referents, he will add them as NPs within the sentence, and not as Theme (or Tail) constituents.

    The following Table summarizes the relevant information presented by de Groot and Limburg (1986) about each type of language:

	FREE PRONOUN	CLITIC	APPOSITIONAL
Verbal morphology	None or very few morphemes to express relations with arguments of the verb. There is interference with tense/aspect.	None or very few morphemes to express relations with arguments of the verb. There is interference with tense/aspect	Extensive number of pronominal suffixes (person/number/ gender). There is no interference with tense/aspect.
Syntactic/semantic role expressed in verbal complex	None or only Subject.	None or only Subject.	Several
Free NP arguments of the verb	Obligatory or optional.[4]	Optional.	Optional. Free pronouns are used only for pragmatic purposes such as emphasis.
Unemphatic free pronouns	Used regularly.	Not used, since these cliticize onto some constituent as the verb.	Not used, since their function is fulfilled by the pronominal affixes.
Use of coreferential Themes and Tails	Pragmatically marked.	Pragmatically unmarked.[5]	Pragmatically marked.
Order of free NP forms	Syntactically fixed.	Syntactically free.	Syntactically free.

Table 1. Summary of the three types of languages as proposed by de Groot and Limburg, 1986

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[4] Since there is no or very little specification of the arguments of the verb in terms of verbal morphology in a free type language, one would expect these arguments to be obligatorily present in this type of language, but, as the authors observe, it seems that all languages types allow so-called 'zero-pronouns'.

[5] In Non-Standard French, for instance, the use of Theme and Tail is the only way to express nominal NPs. In this language, so, Theme and Tail are quite common and non-marked.

Like all diachronic processes, the development of pronominal elements is gradual, which means that some languages are in a transition from one stage to the other. Considering the existence of languages in these transitional stages, the authors propose another type, the 'inconsistent' one, to comprise this kind of language. According to them, a language can be called 'inconsistent' if it presents horizontal or vertical inconsistencies. By the former is meant "the situation whereby a particular construction is either in between two stages in its development, or, if it has reached a certain stage, displays asymmetries in its characteristics which are left over from the earlier stage" (de Groot and Limburg, 1986:33). The vertical inconsistencies consist of different developments at different levels, such as the sentence, the NP and the PP levels. For the sake of brevity, I will now move on to the analysis of the data of spoken BP to establish which type of language spoken BP belongs to.

4 Integrated Subsidiary Acts in spoken Brazilian Portuguese

The sample of spoken BP used in this study is part of the Iboruna database. Iboruna contains recently collected samples of BP spoken in the northwest of São Paulo State. The database is fully available for free search on the website http://www.iboruna.ibilce.unesp.br/.

For this study, the data were collected from fifteen different speakers. Each speaker was asked to produce (orally) five different kinds of texts: Life Experience Report (telling something that happened in his/her life); Procedure Report (explaining how to do something); Opinion Report (giving his/her opinion about some fact/person); Description (describing something/somewhere); Relayed Report (telling something someone else told him/her). The interviewer almost never intervenes during the speaker's report except to give some feedback. Thus the data analyzed here do not constitute 'dialogues' between people, but can be considered spontaneous reports. All the examples which will be presented in this section correspond to real data collected from the aforementioned database.

In BP free pronouns occur without co-referential clitics or affixes. As can be observed in the following example, the verb always agrees with the subject by means of verbal suffixes, which, besides carrying the distinction of person and number, also indicate tense and aspect: [6]

(15) *el-e-s*   *resolv-eram*   *trancar*   *a_gente num*   *quarto*
      3-M-PL   decide-PFV.3PL   lock.INF   1PL   in.a.M   bedroom
      'They decided to lock us in a bedroom.'   (AC–001; L.20-24)

Since the verb in BP presents some morphology to distinguish person and number, pro-drop is possible in some contexts. However, some studies have shown that there is a tendency in BP to fill the subject slot (see Lira, 1982; Paredes Silva, 1988; Duarte, 1993, 1995, 2003). The reason for this tendency seems to be the occurrence of certain changes in the verbal inflexion paradigm in BP: the second person pronouns – *tu* (singular) and *vós* (plural) – are not used anymore, having been replaced by the

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[6] Following de Groot and Limburg (1986), I distinguish pronominal affixes (with referential function) from agreement markers (without referential function). Thus, as can be seen in (15), BP only has agreement markers.

pronouns *você* and *vocês*; and the first person plural – *nós* – is gradually losing ground to the expression *a_gente*. Both *você*(*s*) and *a_gente* require a verb in the third person; consequently, the verbal paradigm in BP has become restricted to three distinct forms: first person singular, third person singular and third person plural, as can be seen in the following conjugation of the verb *cantar* (to sing) in indicative present:

Eu   *cant-o*
1SG   sing-PRS.1SG

Você   *cant-**a***
2SG   sing-PRS.3SG

Ele   *cant-**a***
3SG   sing-PRS.3SG

A gente *cant-**a***
1PL   sing - PRS.3SG

Vocês   *canta-m*
2PL   sing- PRS.3PL

Eles   *canta-m*
3PL   sing- PRS.3PL

In this new paradigm, it is not possible to distinguish, on the one hand, the second and third person singular and the first person plural, and, on the other hand, the second and third person plural. On the basis of this restructuring of the verbal inflectional paradigm, it may be predicted that the subject tends to become obligatory when the verbs appear in these forms, and that is exactly what some studies have shown.

The construction that I called Orientational Subsidiary Act + Nuclear Act is possible in BP and is used only for special communicative purposes, as it was shown before for English (see section 2). Thus, in the following example, the Subsidiary Act, which contains only one Subact of Reference, has the function of orienting the addressee to what the Nuclear Act will be about:

(16) *o*   *estrogonofe* *d-a*   *dona*   *I*[7]*....*   *el-e*   *é*   *bo::m...*
      DET.M strogonoff of.F   Mrs.   I.   3.SG-M COP.PRS good
      'Mrs. I.'s strogonoff, it is good.'   (AC–007; L.190)

The speaker of (16) uttered this sentence after being asked what he thinks of Mrs. I.'s strogonoff. It is clearly a more emphatic way of saying: 'Mrs. I.'s strogonoff is good.' The intonational break, characteristic of this kind of construction, can be observed right before the coreferential Referential Subact in the Nuclear Act.

The characteristics of BP presented so far, such as the unemphatic use of free pronouns, impoverished morphology to distinguish person and number, no morphology to distinguish gender and the tendency to obligatorily express the subject, lead to the classification of this language in the A type, i.e., in the free pronoun type. However, a very common construction in its spoken modality shows that the situation is not as

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[7] The names mentioned by the speakers have been omitted in the transcriptions.

straightforward in the actual stage of the language. The construction referred to is the one in which the aforementioned 'Integrated Subsidiary Act' can be found, as shown in the following example:

(17) *minha   mãe   el-a   mor-ou   em várias lugare-s*
POSS.1SG.F mother 3SG-F   live-PFV.3SG in several place-PL
'My mother she lived in several places.'   (AC-21; L.90)

At first sight, example (17) involves the same interpersonal units as (16): an Orientational Subsidiary Act with one only Subact of Reference '*minha mãe*', and a Nuclear Act with a Subact of Reference referring to the same referent as the Subsidiary Act. However, there is no break separating the two Acts and they are uttered in a single intonational contour. In this case, since the Subsidiary Act does not have its own illocutionary value, it should be considered part of the Nuclear Act, not a separate Act. It is this analysis which will be advocated for the BP data in this paper.

   Both constructions, the 'Orientational Subsidiary Act + Nuclear Act' and the 'Integrated Subsidiary Act', are well represented in the corpus, as it will be shown in what follows. In order to facilitate comparison between the two construction types, the former will be henceforth referred to as SANA and the latter as ISA. Both SANA and ISA seem to be common in spoken BP; from the fifteen analyzed texts, nine present at least one kind of these constructions. In total, there are 36 occurrences, 15 of SANA and 21 of ISA. Although there is not a large amount of data to rely on, these numbers at least show that the non-standard construction (ISA) is as usual as the standard one (SANA) in the actual stage of BP. The slightly higher number of ISA may suggest that the marked construction SANA is becoming unmarked, and consequently more frequent, by losing the intonational break.

   The question is now whether the higher number of ISA reflects a higher variability in forms. To answer this question, I compared the two constructions by examining their behaviour with regard to a number of properties. The results are as follows:

i)   animacy:
Both SANA and ISA present animate and inanimate NPs within the Referential Subact. Animacy does not seem to play a role in the selection of one or the other kind of construction:

(18)   *meu   tio...   el-e   foi   um   pouco   cínico*
POSS.1SG.M uncle   3SG-M   COP.PFV.3SG   INDF.M little   cynical
'My uncle, he was a little cynical.'   (AC–001; L.20)

(19)   *a   chapa   grande…   el-a   é   cort-ad-a*
DET.F   metal sheet big   3SG-F   COP.PRS.3SG   cut-PTCP-F
numa   máquina cham-ad-a guilhotina   (AC–119; L.186)
in.a   machine   call-PTCP-F guillotine
'The big metal sheet, it is cut in a machine called guillotine.'

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(20)   *ess-a   minh-a   cunhada   el-a   tem   a*

DEM-F   POSS.1SG-F   sister-in-law   3SG-F   have.PRS.3SG   IND.F

língua   que   num   cabe   n-a   boca   (AC–062; L.193)

tongue   REL   NEG   fit.PRS.3SG   in-F   mouth

'This sister-in-law of mine she gossips a lot.'

(21)   *est-a   casa   el-a   era   assim   um-a   casinha bem*

DEM-F   house   3SG-F   COP.IPF.3SG   like this   IND-F   little house

simples   (AC–120; L.200)

simple

'This house it is like a very simple little house.'

ii) extension:

SANA presents NPs as long as or longer than ISA. Only in SANA I found NPs modified by a relative clause (22), by a further specification of the referent (23) and by additional information about the referent (24):

(22)   *ess-a   d-aí   que   tá   com-igo   a   D.... el-a*

DEM-F   of-DEM   REL   COP.PRS.3SG   with-1SG   DEF.F   D.   3SG-F

sempre   me   acompanh-a   (AC–140; L.81)

always   OBL.1SG   go along with-PRS.3SG

'This one who is with me, D., she always goes along with me.'

(23)   *a   economia…   ess-a   política   econômica... ela   vai*

DET.F   economy   DEM-F   politics   economical   3SG   AUX.PRS.3SG

influir   em   vári-o-s   setor   (AC–119; L.309)

influence.INF   in   several-M-PL   sector

'The economy, this economic policy, it will influence in several sectors.'

(24)   *o   meu   marido   com   ess-a   dificuldade motora aí…*

DET.M   POSS.M   husband   with   DEM-F   difficulty   motor

el-e   encontr-a   dificuldade   em lugare-s

DEM   3SG-M   find-PRS.3SG   difficulty   in   place-PL

públic-o-s   (AC–028; L.133)

public-M-PL

'My husband, with his moving difficulties, he faces difficulties in public places.'

In the longest NPs in ISA, two referents are coordinated, each one modified by a possessive (25), or a single referent is modified by a demonstrative and a possessive (26):

(25)   *minha   mãe   e   meu   pai   eles brig-aram   muito*

POSS.1SG.F   mother   and   POSS.1SG.M   father   3PL   discuss-IPFV.3PL   a lot

'My mother and my father they discussed a lot.'   (AC–21; L.104)

(26) *esse   meu   sobrinho   el-e com-e   até   passar mal*
DEM-M POSS.1SG.M nephew   3SG-F eat-PRS.3SG until   feel.INF bad
'This nephew of mine he eats it until he feels stuffed.'   (AC–128; L.270)

iii) definiteness:
SANA presents only definite and specific (non-generic) NPs (see sentences in (18), (19), (22), (23), (24)). Although most of the NPs in ISA are definite and specific (see sentences in (20), (21), (25), (26)), there are some occurrences of definite and generic NPs, like the ones presented in (27) and (28):

(27) *água   de prainha   ela   num   é   muito*
water   of little beach   3SG   NEG   COP.PRS.3SG   very
limpinha   não   (AC–062; L.287)
clean   NEG
'Water from the beach it is not very clean.'

(28) *o   adulto el-e   sab-e   distinguir   o   cert-o   d-o*
DET.M adult   3SG-M know-PRS.3SG   distinguish DET.M right-M of-M
errad-o   (AC–128; L.325)
wrong-F
'The adults they know how to distinguish between what is right from
what is wrong.'

An intriguing sentence is the one in (29), which presents an indefinite and specific referent:

(29) *uma   colega minh-a el-a   foi   assalt-ad-a ali   n-o*
INDEF-F friend   POSS-F 3SG-F   COP.PRT.3SG steal-PTCP-F there   in-M
viaduto   Jordão Reis   (AC–028; L.40)
viaduct   Jordão Reis
'A friend of mine she was robbed there in the Jordão Reis viaduct.'
According to de Groot and Limburg (1986:35), there is "a well-known (though unexplained) fact about languages [that] Theme and Tail cannot be specific indefinite." Thus, I would not expect to find sentences like (29), in which a new referent is introduced into the discourse by means of an indefinite Integrated Subsidiary Act. Although only one instance was found, it definitely does not seem unnatural in spoken BP.
Another remarkable sentence is the following one:

(30) a. *ela   teve   outr-a   menin-a também solteira a*
3SG   have.PST.3SG   other-F girl   also   single   DET
filha   tá   com   dezessete   ano   e   ess-e
daughter   COP.PRS.3SG   with   seventeen   year   and DEM-M
el-e   tá   com   vinte e quarto   (AC–140; L.193-194)
3SG-M COP.PRS.3SG   with   twenty-four
'She had another daughter again unmarried her daughter is seventeen and this
he is twenty-four'

The sentence in (30a) is uttered after a long report about a son whose mother went to live in another city and left him behind living with his grandmother. The speaker says that his mother did not get married again but that she had a daughter. After telling the daughter's age, the speaker reintroduces the boy by means of the Integrated Subsidiary Act filled with only a demonstrative pronoun *esse* (this). In a context like this, since the referent is no longer active and may be difficult to recover for the addressee, one would expect its reintroduction by means of a NP either in a non-marked way like:

(30) b. *a filha dela tá com dezessete ano e **o filho** tá com vinte e quatro ano*
         'Her daughter is seventeen and the son is twenty-four.'

or in a pragmatically marked construction:

(30) c. *a filha dela tá com dezessete ano... e **o filho,** ele tá com vinte e quatro ano*
         'Her daughter is seventeen and the son, he is twenty-four.'

The occurrence of ISA in a context like the one in (30) may be an indication that this kind of construction has been spreading in the language.

Taking into account only the extension and definiteness of the Subsidiary Acts, since animacy does not seem to play a role in characterizing one construction or the other, I can say that in SANA the pronoun which fills the slot of the Referential Subact in the Nuclear Act has a purely anaphoric function, especially when the Subsidiary Act is expressed in a long NP. When the extension of the NP filling the slot of the Subsidiary Act is short and there is no intonational break separating it from the Nuclear Act, which occurs in ISA, there is less of a communicative need to have an anaphoric pronoun within the Nuclear Act. Thus, in this kind of constructions, I assume that the resumptive pronoun is lacking its referential/anaphoric function. In addition, the fact that only ISA can be used with generic and indefinite NPs shows that this construction is being employed in more contexts than SANA, and that, consequently, the former is becoming more unmarked than the latter.

Although I do not have diachronic data to analyze nor a great amount of synchronic data, it seems that there is a grammaticalization process in progress in BP which can be explained in the following way: due to the lack of morphological distinction in the verb for some persons, as demonstrated at the beginning of this section, the free pronoun becomes obligatory in order to distinguish these persons. Then, the Subsidiary Act in SANA constructions is drawn into the Nuclear Act and the ISA constructions gradually become unmarked. The absence of an intonational break separating the Subsidary Act from the Nuclear Act, in ISA constructions, indicates that the former has lost its illocutionary value becoming completely integrated within the Nuclear Act. It is, then, reanalyzed as a Referential Subact within the Nuclear Act. This 'reanalyzed' Referential Subact assumes, at the representational level, the subject function. At the same time, the pronoun which used to fill the Referential Subact within the Nuclear Act lacks its referential function and becomes a grammatical marker of person, number and gender agreement.

The phonological process in which the free pronoun gradually attaches to the verb, as predicted by de Groot and Limburg's diachronic cycle, has not occurred in spoken BP and there is no evidence, in the current stage of the language, that the free pronoun in ISA constructions will develop into a clitic, losing phonological material and getting

attached to the verb. On the contrary, there is evidence that BP has avoided clitics: the object pronouns, especially in the third person, are hardly ever used in enclitic constructions in spoken BP. The construction with a free pronoun with object function, as illustrated in (31a):

(31) a. *par-ô(u)*   *o*   *pessoal pa ajudá(r) el-a*   (AC–28; L.43-45)
      stop-3.PST.3SG   DET.M   people   to   help   3SG-F
      The people stopped to help her.'

is, in spoken BP, preferred to the construction with the clitic object pronoun, illustrated in the paraphrase presented in (31b), which is used in written language or in spoken language only in highly formal contexts.

(31) b. *parô(u)*   *o*   *pessoal pa ajudá-l-a*
      stop-3.PST.3SG   DET.M   people   to   help-3SG-F
      'The people stopped to help her.'

The data discussed here suggest that, although BP does not show any sign of cliticization of the pronoun in ISA constructions, it presents a characteristic of appositional languages: the reduplication of the reference. In other words, in ISA constructions in BP, there is an appositional relation between the referent of the integrated Subsidiary Act and the referent of the Nuclear Act. Taking these facts into account, I argue that BP does not follow the path of the cycle proposed by de Groot and Limburg (1986), since this language seems to be changing from a free-pronoun type ("A") to the appositional type ("C"), without cliticization of pronouns (characteristic of languages of type "B").

In sum, I believe that, as far as ISA constructions are concerned, a new path should be added to the diachronic cycle, the one from A → C, in such a way that the cycle becomes suitable to languages like BP.

5   Final remarks

In this paper I have described the phenomenon called Integrated Theme in FG (Dik, 1997) in BP. After explaining how this phenomenon was treated in FG, I have given it a new treatment according to the new model of FDG. I observed that both SANA and ISA constructions are common in BP, however, the slightly higher number of the latter and its use in more varied contexts indicate that it is becoming more unmarked than SANA. I have also shown that BP does not fit the diachronic cycle as proposed by de Groot and Limburg and have suggested the addition of a new path to the cycle.

Although the limited corpus used in this study was sufficient, at least, to confirm the initial prediction that the phenomenon of Subsidiary Act integration is becoming more and more common in spoken BP and to indicate some trends of such a construction, much more research is needed on this subject. Firstly, the corpus must be extended in such a way that it includes samples of BP spoken in other parts of the country. Secondly, a more detailed account of the occurrences found should be done, including analysis of the syntactic context in which each of the constructions occur and an acoustic analysis of the occurrences of both constructions in order to verify precisely

how long the intonational pause in SANA is and if there is, indeed, no pause in ISA (as it seems when it is heard). Thirdly, an analysis of diachronic data could reveal when this process of integration of Subsidiary Act started in the language.

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