ORDERING OF REPRESENTATIONAL LEVEL ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS IN SPOKEN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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- ABSTRACT: Supported by the Functional Discourse Grammar theoretical model, as proposed by Hengeveld (2005), this paper aims to show that the order of modifiers of the Representational Level in spoken Brazilian Portuguese is determined by scope relations according to the layers of property, state-of-affairs and propositional content. This kind of distribution indicates that, far from being free-ordered as suggested by traditional grammarians, modifiers have a preferred position determined by semantic relations that may be only changed for pragmatic and structural reasons.

- KEYWORDS: Functional Discourse Grammar; word order; modifier; adverbial phrase.

1 Introduction

Previous researches on sentence constituent ordering have shown that SVO is the Portuguese word order pattern, as observed by Pádua (1960), for European Portuguese (henceforward EP), and by Pontes (1987), Decat (1989) and Berlinck (1989), for Brazilian Portuguese (henceforward BP). However, Pezatti (1992) argues that there are two word order patterns for BP sentences: SV(O) is preferred by sentences with transitive and non-existential intransitive verbs and VS is preferred by sentences with existential/presentative verbs. In other words, according to the word order pattern BP is a split ergative language.[2]

Following Dik (1981), Camacho and Pezatti (1997) postulate that SVO is diachronically derived from the postfield pattern P1 VSO, the subject NP having

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[2] The term *split ergative* refers crosslinguistically to languages in which the object is sometimes aligned with the transitive subject and sometimes aligned with the intransitive subject. The reason why split ergativity is a typological property of Portuguese is the fact that on one hand intransitive subjects of presentative/existential V**S** constructions are identified with such features as lexical, indefinite, post-verbal and new which are typically applied to objects and on the other hand the fact that when occurring in **S**V(O) constructions they are identified with such features as non-lexical, definite, preverbal and given which are applied to transitive subjects (cf. DUTRA, 1987 and PEZATTI, 1992)

displaced to P1 according to the ordering principles (SP4 and SP5) presented by Dik (1997a), taking into account that BP preserves some traces from postfield languages in the existential/presentative types of constructions.

This paper is framed in the context of the Functional Discourse Grammar model (henceforward FDG), as first proposed by Hengeveld (2004b, 2005) and later by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (Forthcoming). This model is hierarchical and modular and has a top-down organization, that is, decisions at higher levels and layers of analysis determine and restrict the possibilities at lower levels and layers of analysis.

Assuming that Brazilian Portuguese displays the SV(O) and VS ordering patterns for argument constituents, this paper analyzes the order of optional constituents of the Representational Level, defined as level 1, 2 and 3 satellites by Dik *et al.* (1990), with scope on a predicate (property), a predication (state-of-affairs) and a proposition (proposition content), respectively (hereafter s_1, s_2 and s_3). Until the nineties, Portuguese grammars postulated that adverbs and adverbial phrases would be provided with some relative mobility. According to Ilari et al. (2002), in the approach traditional grammarians have dedicated to the adverb analysis, there are two expectations living together that are to a certain degree irreconcilable: on the one hand, the expectation that adverbs occur after either the direct or the indirect object in clauses when adopting the so called 'direct order'; on the other, the expectation that the adverb should be represented as if it were provided with some relative mobility inside the clause. Evidently wrong when referred to the adverb class as a whole, these two apparently irreconcilable claims may be deemed correct if they are appropriately qualified and considered in the context of a less generic discussion about the adverb placement in the Portuguese clause (cf. ILARI et al. 2002, p.53). As a matter of fact, traditional grammarians as Cunha and Cintra (1985, p.533-534), for instance, are so cautious about adverb ordering that they are used to mitigating their assertions with many types of modals. Anyway, there would be a general consensus among these scholars about the relative freedom which the adverbial constituents are provided with inside the clause.

I agree with Ilari et al. that there is indeed a little bit of truth in both claims: if, on the one hand, there is a preferred position, on the other, there is also some mobility in adverb ordering. As it will be seen later, the semantic type and the pragmatic function can really determine the satellite position in the clause, thus disrupting the preferred position. This apparently contradictory behavior may be considered a possible consequence of Portuguese being typologically an SVO language. According to Dik, "the class of SVO language is typologically not uniform: unlike SOV and VSO languages, SVO languages do not allow solid predictions with respect to constituent order correlations in other domains" (DIK, 1997a, p.411).

This paper aims to show that there is some regularity in the distribution of this kind of presumably free-ordered constituents: like argument ordering, modifiers at the Representational Level are provided with a kind of fixed position determined by scope relations, which may only be changed for some pragmatic reasons defined by the Interpersonal Level and for structural reasons which are determined by Morphosyntactic Level. Samples of empirical evidence have been extracted from the *corpus* of *Projeto de Gramática do Português Falado* ('Spoken Portuguese Grammar Project').

This paper is organized as follows. Firstly, I show the methodological procedures. Secondly, I present quantitative evidence for the canonical position of the Representation Level modifiers. Thirdly, I focus on issues related to changes in linear ordering. Finally, some further generalizations are given by proposing specific templates for modifier ordering.

2 Methodological procedures

The database is the Standard Urban Norm Project (NURC), a *corpus* of socially symmetrical dialogues provided by university graduates from the following cities: Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Porto Alegre. My sample is restricted to the database called the minimal *corpus* of the Spoken Portuguese Grammar Project, which is restricted to one interview for each one of the three kinds of survey corresponding respectively to Formal Elocutions (EF:SP-405, RJ-379, RE-377. SSA-46 and POA-278); Dialogues between Informant and Interviewer (DID: SP-234, RJ-328, RE-131, SSA-231 and Poa-45); and Dialogues between two informants (D2: SP-360, RJ-355, RE-05, SSA-98 and POA-291).

In spite of Portuguese being ranked as a pro-drop language, only clauses with all argument constituents overtly expressed have been considered, since the possibility of non-overtly expressed constituents could affect the final results. Also only the constituents overtly expressed by means of a full NP or stressed pronouns have been considered, thus discarding those clauses with arguments or satellites in the expression form of clitics and relative pronouns.

The positions are defined as follows. Considering that the beginning of a clause always consists of a clearly marked border, both this initial position and any other positions preceding the subject (S) are coded as **1**. On the other hand, considering that the property/relation (verbal, nominal, adjectival or adverbial, all generically represented by V) is the clausal head, **2** stands for the position before the predicate, and **3** for the position after it. Taking into account that the end of a clause is just as clear a border as the beginning of it, **F** was coded to represent both the last position and the positions before the last one. My concern

here is restricted to constituents occurring inside either the predication or the proposition at the Representational Level, which represent a whole Discourse Act at the Interpersonal Level, a unit that would be considered as a sentence in a grammatical sense. Consequently slots for Themes and Tails will not be taken into account here because they consist of Discourse Acts by themselves and as such they are outside the scope of the principles that rule adverb ordering inside the sentence. So the pattern to be considered is I S 2 V 3 O F.[3]

Additionally, each modifier is analyzed according to the following functional parameters: layer, semantic function, pragmatic function, and structural complexity.

As for layer, the constituents focused are ranked according to the three levels of organization predicted by FDG: f-modifier (σ_1), e-modifier (σ_2) and p-modifier (σ_3).

As for the analysis of semantic function, the classification proposed by Dik *et al.* (1990) is basically applied with the addition of further changes suggested by Wanders (1993), Ramat and Ricca (1998) and Hengeveld (2004a). Therefore, for the innermost layer of property (**f-modifier (σ_1)**) I arrived at the following functions: Beneficiary, Instrument, Company and Inner Cause; Manner, Speed and Quality, Source and Direction, Path. *Novamente* 'again' was added according to Wanders' suggestion (1993).

For the next layer of state-of-affairs (**e-modifier (σ_2)**), the following functions were considered: Time, Frequency and Duration; Location; Circumstance, Cause and Condition, Reason and Purpose, Modal and Domain (RAMAT; RICCA, 1998). In addition to these-modifiers, Phasal ones such as *ainda* 'still' and *já* 'already' are considered too.

And finally, for the outermost layer of the Representational Level (**p-modifier (σ_3)**) I considered the following functions: Volitive, Epistemic, Evidential, Domain and, Concession (HENGEVELD, 2004a; RAMAT; RICCA, 1998).

As for Pragmatic function, the scope of this paper has been restricted to Focus, Emphasis and Contrast. In terms of structural complexity, the adverbials considered include both, adverbials and prepositional phrases.

Based on this procedure, 355 tokens are analyzed and the quantitative evidence is presented in the next section.

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3 Initially because of Portuguese's split ergativity, three patterns (SVO, SV and VS) of ordering were considered on the basis of the hypothesis that that they could determine some differences in the adverbial positions. Yet since these kinds of correlations were not found these suppositions were completely abandoned.

3 Evidence for non-marked position

Functional Discourse Grammar (HENGEVELD, 2004b, 2005) is designed as a modular architecture with a top-down organization, which works its way down from the Speaker's intention to articulation. As such, it is constituted by four components: the conceptual, the contextual, the grammatical and the output component, as shown in Figure 1.

The Grammatical Component is represented by means of ovals, boxes and rectangles: ovals stand for operations, boxes for primitives and rectangles for levels of representation. The operation of formulation in the Grammatical Component converts communicative intention into pragmatic and semantic representations at the Interpersonal and Representational Levels, respectively. In the next stage, the operation of encoding in turn converts these pragmatic and semantic representations into morphosyntactic and phonological representations; these representations constitute the grammar output and at the same time the input for the final operation of articulation, whose result is the linguistic expression.

The four levels of representation are hierarchically structured into layers of various kinds. The highest layer of the Interpersonal Level is the Move which consists of one or more Discourse Acts; these discourse acts are in turn organized into an Illocution, the Speech Participants and a Communicated Content, consisting of Subacts of Reference and Ascription. At the top of the Representational Level lies the Episode, which contains one or more propositional contents; this layer in turn contains one or more states-of-affairs, organized into individuals, properties, locations and times. The Morphosyntactic Level is responsible for providing structural representations in terms of linear properties of the linguistic unit and, similarly to the other levels, it is hierarchically organized into sentence, clause, and phrases.

Taking into account that production starts with communicative intentions, which are processed into a top-down way, Hengeveld (2005) finds compatibility between this kind of organization and the idea of dynamic implementation of the grammar, as suggested by Bakker (2001). As a top-down organization, the efficiency of the FDG model is proportional to the way it resembles language production. In Figure 1, the pathways through the grammar are represented by arrows. According to Hengeveld (2005), the horizontal arrows concern the consultation of the sets of primitives by the various operations. The dynamic implementation, which is represented by vertical arrows, calls for Depth First Principle and Maximal Depth Principle; both of them meant to speed up grammar implementation.
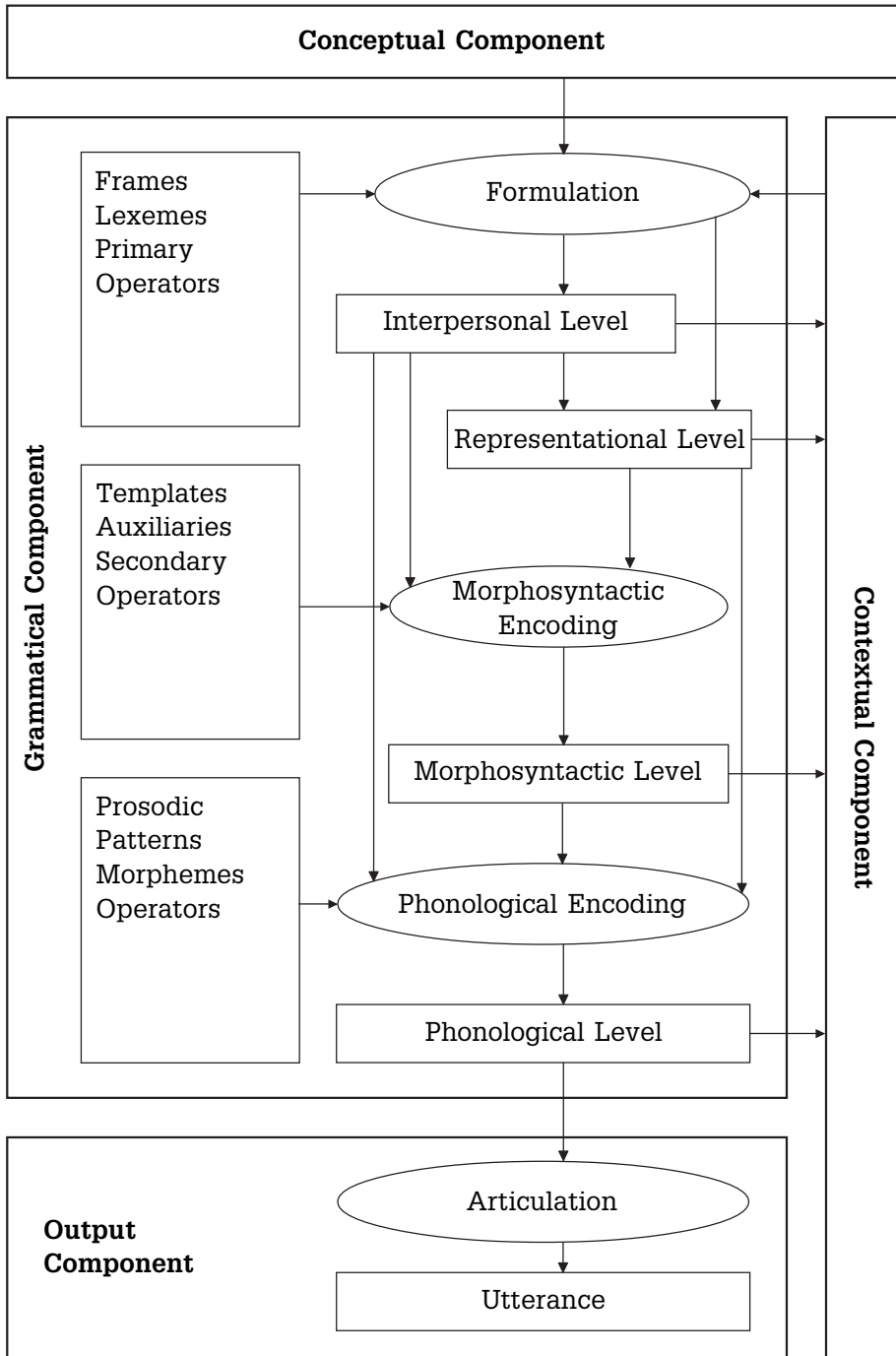
Figure 1 – Layout of FDG and pathways through grammar (HENGEVELD, 2005, p.75)

Given that this paper is restricted to the analysis of semantic modifiers, we will concentrate on the Representational Level and the way it is related to the Interpersonal Level. In the FDG model it is the Representational Level that deals with the semantic aspects of the linguistic units. According to Hengeveld and Mackenzie (Forthcoming), the term 'semantic' is used in a very restricted way. In one sense, which is very similar to Bühler's representational function or to Halliday´s ideational function, it is restricted to the ways in which language is related to the real or imaginary world it describes. Based on this thought, it is possible to say that many linguistic elements have no semantic meaning attached to them, as for instance, performatives and illocutionary satellites, which are related to the Interpersonal Level.

In another sense, the term 'semantic' is restricted to the meaning of lexical units (lexical semantics) of the complex units (compositional semantics), but independent from the way in which they are used in communication. The complex meanings are expressed by grammatical means, represented by operators or functions. The cases in which the compositional meanings result from the combination of lexical items, the combinatory possibilities are specified in representational frames, which are responsible for the compositional semantics, that is, for the means by which complex meanings may be produced through combinations of basic units.

By virtue of being the result of combinations of lexical items, the position of constituents in the linear linguistic expression is firstly determined at the Representational Level, where templates for modifiers of predicate, states-of-affairs, propositional contents and episodes are established. On the basis of quantitative evidence, more precisely on the basis of frequency of usage, a preferred order for modifiers at the Representational Level will be taken in account here together with the presupposition that changes in this preferred order are motivated only by pragmatic and morphosyntactic reasons at the Interpersonal and the Structural Levels, respectively. As discussed below, the preferred position for these modifiers is,, firstly determined by the relation between the modifier and its head. Let's start the discussion with some pieces of quantitative evidence.

In spoken Brazilian Portuguese, the overall distribution of the three types of satellite according to the layer at which they apply are summed up in Table 1.

Table 1 – Position of $\sigma_1/\sigma_2/\sigma_3$ in Brazilian Portuguese

Position		I	2	3	F	Total
σ_1	n.	7	7	22	50	86
	%	8	8	26	**58**	100
σ_2	n.	105	40	22	45	212
	%	**49**	19	11	21	100
σ_3	n.	32	15	6	4	57
	%	**56**	26	11	7	100
Total	n.	144	62	50	99	355
	%	**41**	17	14	**28**	100

As the figures indicate, 41% of the relevant satellites are placed in initial position and 28%, in final position. This suggests that in BP there is clear tendency to insert this kind of modifiers in **peripheral** positions (69%).

Let us now turn to Table 2, which presents the location of different types of f-modifiers in spoken Brazilian Portuguese.

Table 2 – Position of σ_1 in Brazilian Portuguese

Position		I	2	3	F	Total
Manner	n.			15	16	31
	%			48	**52**	37
Instrument	n.	6	1	2	8	17
	%	35	6	12	**47**	20
Beneficiary	n.		4	3	8	15
	%		27	20	**53**	17
Company	n.			1	5	6
	%			17	**83**	7
Path	n.	1			4	5
	%	20			**80**	7
Quality	n.		2		1	3
	%		**66**		33	3
Cause	n.				3	3
	%				**100**	3
Direction	n.				3	3
	%				**100**	3
Speed	n.			1	1	2
	%			50	50	2
Source	n.				1	1
	%				**100**	1
Total	n.	7	7	22	50	86
	%	8	8	26	**58**	100

The f-modifier (σ_1) is placed in final position in 58% of the cases, as illustrated by (1). If this number is added to the 26% of the cases occurring in the position immediately after the predicate, as in (2), the result amounts to 84% of σ_1 filling slots on the right side of the predicate. It indicates that this is the non-marked position of f-modifiers.

(1) os patrões: procuram defender... suas causas... assim como os empregados... **através de seus órgãos**.   (DID-RE-131:269)

‘employers manage to defend... their causes... just like employees, **through their own respective institutions**’

(2) agora eu estou muito sozinha lá na praia... quando a gente ia **com a TURma** lá no SESC (DID-POA-49:252)
‘now I am very lonely there on the beach.... when we went **with the gang** there to SESC’

According to the figures in Table 3 (below), e-modifiers (σ_2) are spread throughout the clause, but the initial position is the preferred one in 49% of the cases, as shown by (3); 21% of the cases go to the final position, as illustrated by (4), and 30% of the cases occur in the medial positions (3 and 4), as shown by (5):

(3) **hoje em dia** os filmes são mais vazios sei lá (DID-SP-234:364)
‘**nowadays** films are emptier I don't know ’

(4) de manhã eu tomo café com leite **normalmente** (DID-RJ-328:296)
‘in the morning I have coffee with milk **normally**’

(5) a infecção primária ou primo-infecção **geralmente** passa desapercebida (EF-SSA-46:10)
‘the primary infection or first-infection **generally** goes unnoticed’

Table 3 – Positions of σ_2 in Brazilian Portuguese

Position		I	2	3	F	Total
Time	n.	45	4	5	23	77
	%	**59**	5	6	**30**	36
Frequency	n.	31	12	6	3	52
	%	**69**	23	25	7	24
Location	n.	14	2	1	12	29
	%	**48**	7	3	**42**	14
Phasal	n.	9	13			22
	%	41	**59**			10
Modal	n.	3	6	8	2	19
	%	16	31	**42**	11	9
Circumstance	n.	1	1	1	3	6
	%	17	17	17	**49**	3
Domain	n.	1	2	-	-	3
	%	25	**75**			1
Reason	n.	1	-	1	-	2
	%	50		50		1
Duration	n.				1	1
	%				**100**	0,5
Purpose	n.				1	1
	%				**100**	0,5
Total	n.	105	40	22	45	212
	%	**49**	19	11	**21**	100

The evidence just shown suggests that the initial position is the preferred one for this kind of modifier; however this conclusion may be not confirmed by a qualitative analysis, since all e-modifiers in this position are provided with pragmatic function, as it will be seen in the next section.

Discarding the initial position, Time and Location modifiers are more frequently placed in final position (at a rate of 72% and 80%, respectively); the preferred position for Frequency and Phasal modifiers, in turn, is the medial one, but just immediately before the predicate (at a rate of 57% and 100%, respectively); finally Modal modifiers are placed in the position immediately after the predicate in 50% of the cases, while 37% occur in the position immediately before the predicate, and 13% prefer the final position. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the non-marked position for Time and Location Modifiers is the final one, the position immediately before the predicate for Frequency and Phasal modifiers, and the position immediately after it for Modal modifiers.[4]

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[4] The number of tokens for other types of modifiers (Circumstance, Domain, Reason, Duration and Purpose) does not allow more definitive conclusions.

Table 4 displays the quantitative results for p-modifiers. The preferred position for this kind of modifier is the initial one (56%), 37% compete for the medial position, and only 7% are placed in final position, as illustrated in (6), (7) and (8), respectively.

(6) **naturalmente** eles... pensando que a Escola de Belas Artes precisa de papel, né? ...mandaram enganado o papel. (D2-RJ-355:1329)
'**of course** they... thinking that the School of Beautiful Arts is in need of paper, right? ... they sent the wrong paper'

(7) eu **realmente** não tenho curso, não fui preparado para isso (D2-RJ-355:502)
'I **really** do not have graduation, I have not been prepared for this'

(8) O meu quadro é assim... eu sou... eu sou solteiro **teoricamente**... (D2-RJ-355:121)
'That is my picture...   I am...   I am **theoretically** single...'

The preferred position of the epistemic kind of modifier is the initial one, or at most, the position immediately before the predicate, whereas Evidentials give preference for the second position, just after the predicate.[5] If the total number of tokens on the left side of the predicate is taken into account, it may be observed that this position is the most favorable for placing p-modifiers and, therefore, the initial one ends up being its preferred position.

Table 4 – Positions of σ_3 in Brazilian Portuguese

Position		I	2	3	F	Total
Epistemic	n.	20	11	1	2	34
	%	**59**	32	3	6	**60**
Evidential	n.	8	4	5		17
	%	**47**	24	29		30
Volitive	n.	3				3
	%	**100**				5
Domain	n.				2	2
	%				**100**	3
Concession	n.	1				1
	%	**100**				2
Total	n.	32	15	6	4	57
	%	**56**	26	11	7	100

Summing up, the empirical evidence just discussed shows that the non-marked position of the modifiers in morphosyntactic templates is determined by the Representational Level in direct dependence on the kind and the semantic function of the modifier, which has much to do with scope relations. According

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5 The number of tokens for other types of modifiers (Volitive, Domain and Concession) does not allow more definitive conclusions.

to Dik modifiers "can be subdivided into distinct types which contribute to the specification of a particular layer" (cf. DIK et al. 1990, p.25). This distribution may be seen in the following quotation:

> **Predicate satellites** capture the lexical means which specifiy additional properties of the set of SoAs designated by a nuclear predication. **Predication satellites** capture the lexical means which locate the SoAs designated by a predication in a real or imaginary world and thus restrict the set of potential referents of the predication to the external situation(s) the speaker has in mind. **Proposition satellites** capture the lexical means through which the speaker specifies his attitude towards the proposition he puts forward for considerations (cf. DIK et al., 1990, p.28).

So, the standard position of f-modifiers is on the right of the sentence head (property), whereas the standard position of p-modifiers is on the initial part of the sentence. However, the non-marked position of e-modifiers is more strongly related to its semantic function, since the preferred position of Frequency and Phasal e-modifiers is just before the predicate, that of the Modal is just after it and that of Time/Location is the final one. In other terms, the preferred position of e-modifiers is determined by scope relations at the Representational Level.

The data analysis allows us to set up the following ordering template of-modifiers, at the Morphosyntactic Level, for Brazilian Portuguese taking into account the different types of optional constituent dealt with here so far. By virtue of scope relations, the adverbials modifying the lowest layers are placed closer to the head: σ_1 stands as closest as possible to the predicate, σ_2 stands as closest as possible to the predicate and its arguments and σ_3 stands as the head of the clause.

$$\sigma_3 \ S \ \sigma_{2 \ \text{Freq/Phasal}} \ V \ \sigma_1 \ \sigma_{2\text{-/Modal}} \ O \ \sigma_1 \ \sigma_2$$

4 Evidence for change in the non-marked position

Just as arguments, modifiers can be placed in positions other than the preferred one. The change in the standard placement may be triggered by pragmatic and structural motivations at the Interpersonal and Morphosyntactic Levels, respectively.

The Interpersonal Level deals with the formal aspects of linguistic units which reflect their role in the interaction between Speaker and Addressee. Since each Speech act participant has a communicative goal in mind, in certain cases this communicative goal is clear enough (as for instance, a job interview), whereas in

other cases it simply plays the role of supporting a social relationship (for instance, phatic communication). It is the goal of interaction to determine the best strategy to be adopted by each participant to achieve his/her communicative purpose.

The properties of interactions, which reflect the strategic, purposive nature of interaction, are studied in a range of disciplines covered by rhetoric and pragmatics. Rhetoric deals with the ordering of discourse components towards the achievement of the Speaker's communicative strategy and with the formal properties of utterances used by the Speaker to influence the Addressee, whereas pragmatics deals with the way the speaker moulds his/her message in terms of the addressee's current state of mind. This kind of speaker's expectation determines which part of a linguistic unit may be presented as particularly more salient, which part should be chosen as the speaker's point of departure and which part should be considered as shared by both speech participants. These kinds of strategies reflect the pragmatic functions known as Contrast, Focus, Emphasis and Topic.

Contrast signals the speaker's desire to bring out the particular differences and similarities between two or more Communicated Contents or between a Communicated Content and contextually available information. Emphasis signals the speaker's desire that the addressee should attend particularly to the Subact. Focus signals the speaker's strategy selection of new information. Topic function will be assigned to a Subact which has a special function within the Act, that of signaling how the Communicated Content relates to the gradually constructed record in the contextual component. (cf. HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, Forthcoming).

As English, Portuguese dispenses with the Topic function which is closely correlated to the syntactic subject; it is exactly because Topic function has no repercussion on the linguistic realization of the Act that there is no formal marking available for it. Only such pragmatic functions of saliency as Focus, Contrast and Emphasis were detected on the sample here analyzed, that is, the only ones that apply to modifiers at the Representational Level.

As seen before, the preferred position for σ_1 is on the right of the predicate. The change of the preferred position of f-modifiers is triggered by the Interpersonal Level, since the f-modifier assumes the initial position when the Subact which represents it signals the Speaker's desire to bring out the particular differences and similarities between it and contextually available information, as illustrated in (9), where the constituent *pela Lufhansa* 'by Lufthansa' contrasts this airline company with others previously mentioned in the discourse. It is worth noting that in this position, f-modifiers can only be assigned to the pragmatic function of Contrast and never Focus or Emphasis.

(9) acabei indo na Lufthansa... porque **pela Lufthansa** eles me conseguiam isso rapidamente (D2-RJ-355:181)

 'I ended up going by Lufthansa... because **by Lufthansa** they got me this quickly'

There was not any token of σ_1 playing Emphasis function which suggests that this kind of pragmatic function is signaled by other devices, as for instance particles and special constructions, as can be seen in (10)

(10) ele segue o salário dos jogadores **principalmente através da revista Placar**

 'he follows the news on the players' salary **mainly through the magazine Placar**'

As for linear ordering, there is evidence to argue that the preferred position for σ_1, i.e., its non-marked position, is immediately after the predicate, and in the final position when carrying new information (Focus), as can be seen in (2) and (1), respectively, repeated below for convenience. It takes the initial position when it signals the speaker's desire to bring out the particular differences and similarities between two or more communicated contents or between a communicated content and contextually available information, as (9) above.

(2) agora eu estou muito sozinha lá na praia... quando a gente ia **com a TURma** lá no SESC (DID-POA-49:252)

 'now I am very lonely there on the beach.... when we went **with the gang** there to SESC'

(1) os patrões: procuram defender... suas causas... assim como os empregados... **através de seus órgãos**.   (DID-RE-131:269)

 'employers manage to defend... their causes... just like employees, **through their own respective institutions**'

We saw that the preferred position for σ_2 is closely related to the respective semantic function it plays in the predication. So the tendency for Time and Location modifiers is to be located on the right of the predicate, as can be seen in (11) and (12) respectively.

(11) a gente se encontra **sempre todos os MEses nesse janTAR**... com os amigos (DID-POA-45:161)

 we meet **always every month at this dinner**... with our friends

(12) mas a gente podia andar **na... na Avenida Farrapos** (DID-POA-45:291)

 but we could walk on… **on the Farrapos Avenue**

The preferred position for Phasal and Frequency modifiers is just immediately before the predicate, as can be seen in (13) and (14) respectively.

(13) eles **ainda** vivem em BANdos (EF-SP-405:60)

 'they **still** live in groups'

(14) eu tenho a impressão que eles **normalmente** não usam aquilo...nas refeições (DID-RJ-328:366)

'I have the impression that they **normally** don't use that... on meals'.

Finally preferred position for Modal modifiers is just immediately after the predicate, as can be seen in (15).

(15) qualquer cirurgia... no campo médico... propriamente dito... implica... **obrigatoriamente**... em despesas (DID-RE-131:18)

'any surgery...in the medical area... as such… implies **obligatorily** some expenses'

Yet there is a great number of occurrences of Time, Location and Frequency modifiers standing in the initial position of the clause that require some further explanation. An accurate analysis of these cases shows that all kinds of e-modifier at this position are provided with pragmatic function. Therefore, it is not possible to infer that such position is the natural one for Time, Frequency and Location, as suggested by the quantitative results. It is possible to argue that the high frequency of the e-modifiers in initial position is explained by the assignment of pragmatic function at the Interpersonal Level.

E-modifier (σ_2) can be assigned to two pragmatic functions, that is, Contrast and Emphasis, as illustrated in (16) and (17), respectively, the former being more frequent than the latter. As observed, (16) establishes a sharp contrast between the Subact *hoje em dia* 'nowadays' and the contextually available information, the previous time, thus allowing the following paraphrase: 'I think that nowadays students are more interested in theater' (in contrast to what happened before). In example (17) the Subact *hoje* 'today', highlighted by means of the particle *mesmo* 'just', signals the Speaker´s desire that the Addressee should pay attention particularly to this information. It is interesting to note that the pragmatic function Focus determines the initial position of the clause to this kind of modifier and that the pragmatic function Emphasis is also marked by focalizing particles.

(16) **hoje em dia** eu acho que os estudantes estão se interessando mais... por teatro (DID-SP-234:482)

'n**owadays** I think that students are more interested in theater'

(17) **hoje** *mesmo* eu fiz uma viagem daqui prá Camaçari (D2-SSA-98:4)

'*just* **today** I made a trip from here to Camaçari'

Frequency modifiers specify the number of times a certain state-of-affairs occurs, and it is expressed by means of both phrases, such as in (18) and (19), and adverbs, such as *normalmente* 'normally', *geralmente* 'generally' as illustrated in (20).

(18) **Todos os meses** nós temos um jantar (DID-POA-45:13)
 'every month we have a supper'

(19) **às vezes** tem... tem fogão (DID-POA-45:35)
'**sometimes** there is a stove'

(20) **normalmente** existe... acredito eu... um colegiado (DID-RE-131:150)
'**normally** there is... I believe... a board of judges'

There is no doubt that, in (18), the phrase *todos os meses* 'every month' indicates that the state-of-affairs takes place once a month and, furthermore, that there is a sharp contrast between *month* and *week*, for instance. This highlighting Contrast function accounts for the initial position. The same explanation can be applied to (19) and (20).

There we can note the PB tendency to stress Time and Location, that is, to emphasize the temporal and spatial scenery of the state-of-affairs expressed by the clause.

On the other hand, *normalmente* 'normally' and *às vezes* 'sometimes', when occurring between the subject and the verb (position 2), seem to mitigate the meaning expressed in the predication, since it indicates the Speaker's non-commitment in relation to the number of occurrences of the state-of-affairs. So, it is not the pragmatic function of Contrast or Emphasis that determines the medial position, but a certain epistemic modality. This situation may be seen more clearly in the phrase *às vezes* 'sometimes' which in tokens such as (21) and (22) can be paraphrased by σ_3-Epistemic *talvez* 'maybe'.

(21) ele **às vezes** fica até apavorado amedrontado né?... (DID-SSA-231:700)
'**sometimes** he becomes even terrified, frightened, doesn't he?'

(22) em casa a mãe **às vezes** não tem condição de ensinar. (DID-SSA-231:97)
'**sometimes** at home the mother isn't able to teach'

(21') ele **talvez** fica até apavorado amedrontado né?
'**maybe** he gets even terrified, frightened, doesn't he?'

(22') em casa a mãe **talvez** não tem condição de ensinar.
'**maybe** at home the mother isn't able to teach'

Such results allow me to state that e-modifiers (Time, Frequency, Location, Circumstance and Reason) occur in initial position when conveying the pragmatic functions of Contrast or Emphasis, while at the final position they are always provided with new information which identifies it as the sentence Focus. The

only situation this constituent does not convey salient information is when it is placed in its usual or preferred position. It is very clear that, in these kinds of tokens, the position of modifiers, which is expressed by morphosyntactic templates, is motivated by choices at the Interpersonal Level.

The data still show that the same position (I, 2, 3 and F) can be occupied by more than one modifier both from the same level and from different levels. In such cases, there are different reasons determining their ordering at the Morphosyntactic Level, as will be shown next.

Brazilian Portuguese tends to load the initial positions with constituents of the same level, as it may be seen in (23) and (24).

(23) por exemplo *numa igreja* **hoje** você tem imagens que representam... uma idéia religiosa...(EF-SP-405:4)

'for example *in a church* **today** you have images that represent... a religious idea'

(24) é e... mas... *depois* **diante das dificuldades de conseguir quem me ajudasse**... nós paramos no sexto filho. (D2-SP-360:33)

'but... *later* **due to the difficulties** to get somebody to help me... we stopped in the sixth son'

In the former occurrence, the sequence *numa igreja hoje* 'in a church today' reveals that the constituent exerting Focus function assumes the first position which is just immediately followed by constituents exerting Contrast function. Whereas Focus represents the Subact communicatively more salient, which signals the Speaker's strategic choice for new information, Contrast signals the Speaker's desire of highlighting differences and similarities between a Communicated Content and contextually anchored information (PRINCE, 1981). It is possible to conclude that Focus in PB tends to be located at extremely peripheral positions, that is, either at the initial or at the final position of the clause.

The e-modifier order in (24) is due to a matter of semantic ordering of the optional constituents according to the Principle of Iconic Ordering (their ordering iconically reflects the semantic content), because in the first place the state-of-affairs has to be temporally located by means of the modifier *depois* 'later on', and just after that, the reason for the state-of-affairs expressed in the main clause is started, since Cause specifies semantically a state-of-affairs whose occurrence triggers the occurrence of the state-of-affairs referred to in the main predication. Thus, Cause is a modifier which is more intimately related to the state-of-affairs than Time. On the order hand, (25) confirms the tendency of Phasal satellites being placed in their preferred position, that is, just immediately before the predicate, whereas modifiers exerting the pragmatic function of Contrast keep the first position.

(25) *nessa época* **ainda** não existe preocupação com composição (EF-SP-405:401)
      'at this time there is no concern with composition **yet**'

Satellites of different levels follow the sequence $\sigma_3\ \sigma_2$, as observed in (26). It is possible to conclude that s_3 satellites keep their non-marked position being followed by satellites σ_2 playing the Contrast function. This is the natural order because p-modifiers take the whole extended predication as scope, which implies including e-modifiers in their range.

(26) *provavelmente* **no segundo mês** ele ainda é positivo (EF-SSA-46:148)
      '*probably* **in the second month** he is still positive'

As for the medial positions (2 and 3), as already observed, there is a tendency in PB to not overload them; that is why the number of tokens with more than one satellite is reduced in these positions. However the example in (27) shows that constituents playing pragmatic functions have priority even in the position before the predicate because σ_1 meaning Contrast precedes σ_2. The example in (28) shows that the preferred position to $\sigma_{1Quality}$ is close to its head (*vocês*), while $\sigma_{2Phasal}$ remains in its non-marked position.

(27) ele pode fazer de três maneiras: translação, interpretação e extrapolação, mas isto *pra vocês*, **basicamente**, serve, basta que vocês me digam que que é compreensão (EF-POA-278:98)
      'he can do it by three means: translation, interpretation and extrapolation, but *basically* **for you** it is enough, it is enough you say me what what is comprehension'

(28) e a responsabilidade de vocês... *co:mo futu:ros profissionais do direito* **ainda** se torna maior (EF-RE-337:374)
      'and your responsibility... *as future Law professionals* becomes **even** greater'

As for the position after the predicate, the examples in (29) and in (30) suggest that structural complexity plays an important role in determining the linearization of modifiers, that is, more complex constituents follow less complex ones: *aqui* 'here' and *pra vocês* 'to you' are level 2 and level 1 satellites, respectively. This semantic nature would determine the order $\sigma_1\ \sigma_2$ and not $\sigma_2\ \sigma_1$ as they stand in the clause. As a kind of competing motivations (cf. DU BOIS, 1985), these cases follow SP7 (Specific Principle), as stated below:

> other things being equal, constituents prefer to be placed in an order of increasing complexity, which is defined as follows:
> (i) clitic < pronoun < noun phrase < adpositional phrase < subordinative clause;
> (ii) for any category X: X < X co X;
> (iii) for any category X and Y; X < X [sub Y].
> (co = coordinating element, sub = subordinating element) (cf. DIK, 1997a, p.411).

So, as a modifier working at the Representational Level, the pronominal adverb *aqui* 'here' may be considered less complex than the prepositional phrase *pra vocês* 'to you', which leads to the order $\sigma_2\,\sigma_1$. In such a case the Morphosyntactic Level is responsible for a non-preferred linearization of these modifiers.

(29) eu trouxe *aqui* **pra vocês** a medicação eu não vou falar mais sobre a medicação (EF-SSA-46:204)

'I brought the medicine *here* **to you** and I won't talk about medicine anymore'

(30) agora eu vou mostrar *aqui* **pra vocês** (...) como se dá o contágio (EF-SSA-46:52)

'now I am going to show *here* **to you** (...) how the infection happens'

Now turning our attention to the final positions, it is possible to note sequences of satellites both of the same level and of different levels. Sequences of σ_1 can occur with satellites of different setting, as (31). In this case, both satellites are located in their preferred position, or rather, on the right side of the predicate. In principle these constituents could be interchangeable but the placement at the final position is evidence that Manner (*acima de oitenta ou noventa... de velocidade* 'above a speed of eighty or ninety') is the New Focus, that is, it signals the speaker's strategy selection of new information.

(31) eu não viajo *nem num outro carro* **acima de oitenta ou noventa... de velocidade** a Kombi dá para fazer isso (D2-SSA-98:120)

'I don't travel, not *even in another car* **above a speed of eighty or ninety**'

Cases like (32) are well accounted for by the Principle of Iconic Ordering, since their positions are displaced according to the natural attention flow from Source to Goal (cf. DE LANCEY, 1981, p. 633). The order of the motion event goes from Source, represented by the pronominal adverb *aqui* 'here' to Direction, represented by the prepositional phrase *pra Camaçari* 'to Camaçari'.

(32) hoje mesmo eu fiz uma viagem *daqui* **prá Camaçari** (D2-SSA-98:4)

'just today I made a trip *from here* **to Camaçari**'

The occurrence of two **e-modifiers** in final position is also possible, as shown in (33), which is motivated by the Principle of Increasing Complexity, since the pronominal adverb *lá* 'there' precedes the prepositional phrase *durante o jantar* 'during the supper'.

(33) e tem muito sorTEIo *lá* **durante o jantar** (DID-POA-45:34)

'there are many raffles *there* **during the supper**'

The sequence of satellites of different levels occurs only between σ_1 and σ_2. Most cases follow the sequence σ_1-σ_2, which reflects a non-marked sequence determined by scope relations, since e-modifiers take the whole core predication as scope. There is a great number of this type of sequences in the sample, involving such different types of semantic function as Company and Time, as seen in example (34).

(34) saem... ahn... cinco... *comigo* **de manhã** (D2-SP-360:142)

'five leave... ahn... *with me* **in the morning**'

However, there are some changes in the sequence mentioned before, so that σ_2 precedes σ_1, as can be seen in (35) where the Time modifier expressed as an adverb is followed by the Manner satellite expressed by the prepositional phrase, which is appropriately explained by the Principle of Increasing Complexity too, as shown in (ii), where for any category X: X < X co X. So the complex coordinate phrase *com outros olhos com os nossos critérios de beleza e os nossos critérios de valor estético* 'with other eyes with our criteria... of beauty... and our criteria of aesthetic value' follows the adverb *hoje* 'today'.

(35) aí... a gente vê essa obra *hoje* com outros olhos com os nossos critérios... de beleza... e os nossos critérios de valor estético (EF-SP-405:295)

'we see this work *today* with other eyes with our criteria... of beauty... and our criteria of aesthetic value'

5 Conclusion

The linearization of modifiers in Brazilian Portuguese is determined, as shown above, by the scope relations at the Representational Level and these kinds of semantic relations trigger the appropriate template of the non-marked positions at the Morphosyntactic Level, according to (a)

(a) σ_3 **S** $\sigma_{2\ \text{Freq/Phasal}}$ **V** σ_1 $\sigma_{2\text{-/Modal}}$ **O** σ_1 σ_2

However, some information from the Interpersonal Level, such as assignment of pragmatic function to the subacts representing the modifiers, ends up determining, at the Morphosyntactic Level, the template (b) to the initial position and (c) to the position on the left side of the predicate. Thus, such pragmatic functions as Focus, Contrast and Emphasis trigger the first position of the sentence to the modifiers, even before the placement of p-modifiers (σ_3), which have the first position as their non-marked one and even before the placement of Frequency and Phasal kinds of modifiers, which have the position just immediately before the predicate as their preferred one.

(b) $\sigma_{\text{Focus/Contr/Emph}}$ σ_3 S $\sigma_{2\,\text{Freq/Phasal}}$ V σ_1 $\sigma_{2\text{-/Modal}}$ O σ_1 σ_2

(c) σ_3 S σ_{Contr} $\sigma_{2\,\text{Freq/Phasal}}$ V σ_1 $\sigma_{2\text{-/Modal}}$ O σ_1 σ_2

The template standing for the positions to the right side of the predicate, on the other hand, which depends on the structural complexity of the modifier, is precisely defined at the Morphosyntactic Level, or rather, the more formally complex is the modifier, the more extreme at the end of the sentence is its position according to the Principle of Increasing Complexity, as can be seen in (d).

(d) σ_3 S $\sigma_{2\,\text{Freq/Phasal}}$ V $\sigma_{\text{-complx}}$ $\sigma_{\text{+Complex}}$ O $\sigma_{\text{-complx}}$ $\sigma_{\text{+Complex}}$

As discussed above, PB is provided with four templates at the Morphosyntactic Level for the adverbial modifiers of the Representational Level. It is possible to arrive at the conclusion that preference for certain positions is determined by semantic relations of scope; however, these natural motivations may be changed whenever some other kind of motivations prevail, such as pragmatic and structural ones; so the semantic relations give some room, in the first place, to pragmatic motivations involving the Principle of Pragmatic Highlighting and in the second place, to structural motivations governed by the Principle of Increasing Complexity.

As a final note, the evidence discussed and the conclusions I have been able to draw show clearly that the FDG organization in levels and layers is a useful tool for accounting for complex relationships among different kinds of motivations as the ones focused here.

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- RESUMO: Tomando como suporte teórico o modelo da Gramática Discursivo-Funcional, como proposta por Hengeveld (2005), este trabalho tem como objetivo mostrar que a ordem dos modificadores do Nível Representacional no português brasileiro falado é determinada pelas relações de escopo de acordo com as camadas desse nível: propriedade, estado de

coisas e conteúdo proposicional. Esse tipo de distribuição indica que os modificadores têm uma posição preferida determinada pelas relações semânticas que só pode ser alterada por razões pragmáticas (no Nível Interpessoal) ou estruturais (no Nível Morfossintático).

- PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Gramática Discursivo-Funcional; ordem de palavras; modificadores; adverbiais.

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