THE CONCLUSIVE CLAUSE IN PORTUGUESE:
AN APPROACH COMBINING GRAMMATICALIZATION THEORY AND CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR THEORY

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Abstract

This paper constitutes an analysis of a type of clause that the grammatical tradition of the Portuguese language calls conclusive clauses, grounded on a usage-based approach, which combines theoretical principles of grammaticalization and construction grammar. Adopting a distinction between *schematization and grammaticalization,* this paper proposes that *g*rammaticalization is related to the construction patterns that undergo semantic change towards the grammatical end of the meaning *continuum*, which can be seen in clause-combining constructions. In this point of view, not only new grammatical morphemes rise with the process of grammaticalization, but also new constructions, so the reanalysis of grammatical markers which link the clauses are directly related to the grammaticalization processes that develop clause-linkage structures. Since constructions are connected by inheritance relations, this paper brings an example of how new functions developed historically by grammatical markers can be related to the rise of a new construction, presenting an overview of how the archaic conclusive *por ende* turned into the present day Portuguese *porém* with adversative value.

Keywords

grammaticalization; clause combining; construction; inheritance relations

Introduction

This paper constitutes a study of a type of clause that the grammatical tradition of the Portuguese language (Said Ali, 1969. Rocha Lima, 1976; Cunha and Cintra, 1985) calls conclusive clause[1]. Conclusive clauses are coordinate clauses (Hopper and Traugott, 2003) that are part of a clause-combining construction that express a *cause-consequence relation*, and denote the consequence, i.e., the result, or the logic conclusion of the event expressed in a clause previously mentioned. This structure is fixed, and the conclusive clause always goes after the clause that expresses the causative event, a feature that is shared with clauses linked by *e* (*and*), *depois* (*after*), or other connectives that denote addition of events in temporal sequence. That is, considering the relation between logical (cause > consequence) and temporal ordination, both structures exemplify the linear order principle (Givón, 1990), which means that the disposition of the clauses tend to correspond to the temporal order of the events they describe.

Besides, this kind of clause tends to show an overt grammatical marker that, in the majority of cases, serves simultaneously cohesive and anaphoric functions. Therefore, this grammatical marker represents, as part of the content of the second clause, the causative information expressed by the preceding clause to which it makes reference. Instances of these grammatical markers, in Portuguese, are *por isso* and *portanto*, among others. In some cases, the grammatical marker can carry out a sequential relation, since the consequence goes after the cause. Examples of such function can be seen in *por conseguinte*, *consequentemente* and *pois*[2], used in written discourse or in very formal interactional contexts.

The following example with the Portuguese grammatical marker *por isso* indicates the clause structure I am talking about:

(1) Eu não tenho dinheiro, **por isso eu não posso comprar um carro**.
   I not have money for this I not can buy a car
   '*I don't have money; that's why I can't buy a car.*'

In example (1), the causative and the conclusive or resultative event are conveyed by separate clauses and the anaphoric pronoun *isso*, preceded by

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[1] Some researchers like Diessel (2001) or Wechsler and Noh (2001), for instance, call this kind of clause *result clause*, but it seems that there is no consensual position in literature about the appropriate designation for this particular structure. Sometimes the term result clause denotes exactly what I mean by conclusive clause, sometimes it includes consecutive clauses of the type *I'm so happy that I could sing*. Besides, as this kind of clause indicates a causality-based relation, some authors treat it as causal clause, a whole group of clause relation connected by linguistic markers like *because, for, so, therefore, and*, that are slightly divergent in meaning and in morphosyntactic behavior.

[2] See details of the pragmatic-discursive structure of these Portuguese connectives in the analysis. For now, it is sufficient to know that their meaning corresponds to English items like *therefore, hence, consequently*, etc.

the preposition *por*, forms a unified structure (*por isso*) which connects the two clauses, and can be understood as a grammaticalized form. The result is a clause-combining construction in which the second clause denotes the consequence of what is expressed in the first one.

I assume that this clause-combining structure can be treated as a construction (Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor, 1988; Goldberg, 1995, 2006). It shows a morphosyntactic structure with specific features that carries a more general semantic interpretation that is independent of its parts and some particular pragmatic features[3]. The basic meaning of the construction represented as *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}*, for instance, is combined with formal components like the kind of connective, the word order relation, among others.

Some basic assumptions

In this paper, I adopt some basic assumptions that I present here briefly. Eventually, I will return to some of them, in more detail, in the course of the text, if it is necessary.

The emergent nature of linguistic structure

As pointed out in Bybee (2010), language must be viewed as emergent in the sense that it is characterized by repeated application of underlying processes. It means that understanding language change is crucial to deal with the individual's synchronic cognitive system for language and that diachronic and synchronic dimensions of language are inseparable.

Grammatical constructions – especially the kind of conclusive construction I am observing here – cannot be viewed as closed structures that the speaker knows by heart and learn how to use in the appropriate context. The speaker not only learns the structure of constructions, he also masters the cognitive and pragmatic processes underlying their development, so he is capable to extend their use with new instantiations and to create new constructions by analogy. This capacity is consistent with tenet 2, related to constructionist approaches, according to which "an emphasis is placed on subtle aspects of the way we conceive of events and states of affairs" (Goldberg, 2003, p. 219).

By following these principles, I am adopting a usage-based view of grammar (Bybee: 2010). This approach implies a dynamic view of language, in that it focuses on the creativity of the speaker to adapt the linguistic structures to the different contexts of communication. This dynamicity brings to language a great deal of variance, the possibility of units and structures to exhibit variation in synchronic use, and gradience, the impossibility of making categorical distinction between most of the structures of the grammar.

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3   Other authors have also treated clause-combining structures as constructions (Swetser: 1996; Ferrari: 2001, Torrent: 2009, Bybee: 2010).

The role of diachrony

According to what was presented in the previous section, grammar is viewed as a set of adaptive rules, related to processes of change that characterize the way of being of a language. Thus, language change cannot be left out in a synchronic theory and synchrony and diachrony should be taken as a unified whole (Bybee, 2010).

Assuming the importance of diachronic dimension for the comprehension of grammar – related to fluid and creative patterns of synchronic use of language – it is interesting, for the purposes of this paper, to make a distinction between two different aspects of the diachronic dimension. One aspect is related to the process of language change itself, and, if we talk about process we talk about motion in time, which means that the grammaticalization phenomenon implies some kind of step-by-step movement. This aspect of diachrony seems to have more to do with what happens in the speakers' mind when they process – or give rise to – linguistic constructions. The concrete use of a conclusive clause, for instance, seems to imply a movement of linking clauses in a more complex structure, which involves the choice of grammatical markers with specific features, and this process implies a group of cognitive abilities that encompass processes like categorization, transfer between cognitive domains and grounding, among others. So, in terms of production/comprehension of linguistic forms, the use of a construction may be highly automatized in specific pragmatic-discursive contexts or may be produced according to more open choice mechanisms. It depends not only on the level of entrenchment (i.e. cognitive routinization) of the structure, but also on the intersubjective pacts that rise in linguistic communication.

Another aspect intimately associated with diachrony is the historical amplitude of the process, given that the grammar of a language is a historical phenomenon, i.e., a product of historical developments. This aspect of diachrony seems to have more to do with the so-called external linguistic system and the ways it reproduces the regularities in mental processes in a language, which implies the frequency of the construction, its extension to new contexts and other parameters of change, which, in its way, reflect gradualness and intermediary stages as well. History is one of the empirical ways of attesting the dynamic reality of language, mainly by the observation of ancient texts.

However, it is not always possible to attest the process over time, which does not necessarily mean it did not occur. So it is possible to study the movements of grammaticalization by observing the cognitive and pragmatic phenomena that, by definition, underlie the process. It is also possible to use the findings from the study of pidgins and creoles or from the new proposals on the development of the evolution of human language (Heine and Kuteva, 2007) in order to perceive how new structures arise. Another possible strategy is to observe early child and primate communication (Givón, 2005) in order to deduce which structures tend to be more basic. Experimental approaches

are also useful in providing empirical findings to support or not the theoretical assumptions about language (Dickinson and Givón, 2000).

The scope of grammaticalization

The term grammaticalization is used in this paper as a process that implies some kind of development from lexical to grammatical forms or from grammatical to more grammatical forms (Hopper and Traugott, 2003; Heine and Kuteva, 2007; Bybee, 2010). Standard examples of grammaticalization are the development of future markers from Latin cantare *habeo* to *chanterai* in French, or *cantarei* in Portuguese (Hopper and Traugott, 2003); the development of a derivational suffix -*mente* from an ablative noun phrase of the type tranquila *mente* (Baldi and Cuzzolin, 2010); the rise of *be gonna* from the motion verb structure *be going to* (Bybee, 2010); the extension of the Latin demonstrative pronoun *ille*, which became the third person pronoun *ele* in Portuguese, as part of the more general process of DEM PRON > third person PRON > clitic PRON > verb agreement (Martelotta and Cezario, 2011). Most of them imply a reanalysis process involving morphosyntactic structures into more fixed and desemanticized forms.

Grammaticalization is not taken here as the development of new constructions in general[4], or, in Givón's terms, (1995, p. 10), "the rise of morpho-syntactic structure". Grammaticalization is related only to structures which include a unidirectional change from lexical to grammatical involving one of its components. I agree with Lehmann (apud Noël, 2007), in the sense that considering grammaticalization as creation of grammar renders the concept too inconsistent.

So I assume with Noël (2007) that, in spite of the difficulty to establish a sharp discrimination between the two concepts, it is possible to adopt a distinction between grammaticalization and schematization. The former is a development towards structural patterns that acquire their own meaning and transfer this meaning to their lexical components. The latter is related to the patterns that undergo semantic change towards the grammatical end of the meaning *continuum*[5]. Some constructional patterns can be identified as grammaticalized structures while some others cannot.

As it does not presuppose development from a lexical item or sequence of items to a grammatical function, I do not consider cases of grammaticalization word order fixation, development of prefabs or idioms in general, like *estar no*

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[4]   Tomasello (2003) also uses the term grammaticalization to make reference to more general emergent patterns that become consolidated into grammatical constructions.

[5]   I am aware that defining grammatical function is a very difficult issue. I agree with Hopper and Traugott (2003) that "the notion of grammaticalization will be determined by the limits of our understanding of what it means for a construction to be 'grammatical' or have a grammatical function".

papo and *mais vale um pássaro na mão do que dois voando*, which correspond, respectively, to the English idioms *be in the bag* (meaning *be certain to get or to achieve something*) and *a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*. In cases like these we can find fixation of structures and, certainly, ritualization by repetition and, in the cases of idioms, loss of compositionality, but not grammaticalization. And the same goes to schematic constructions that do not involve a change from lexical to grammatical of at least one of their components.

On the other hand, I will consider processes of clause linkage (Hopper and Traugott, 2003) as a phenomenon of grammaticalization, viewed as a unidirectional cline from structures that are more independent to structures with higher syntactic integration (as I consider that these structures can be seen as construction or clause patterns involving pairings of form with semantic or discourse-pragmatic function). But it is very difficult to sustain this position in a strictly historical approach, as Hopper and Traugott, (2003, p. 177) pointed out:

> The act of combining the clauses and signaling this combination linguistically is grounded in rhetorical production strategies. We have no historical textual evidence of a stage of a native language without complex clauses, followed by the emergence of complex ones. In other words, to our knowledge human languages have had complex sentence structure available throughout recorded history. But reorganization of complex combination is well evidenced, as we will see below, as is the association of certain complex sentences type with certain genres, especially of planned discourse.

Givón (1995, 30) identifies embedded clauses as structural and cognitively complex syntactic arrangements, presenting them as typical of formal written discourse, and assume that, in the process of language acquisition, there is a predominance of the initial juxtaposition. According to Givón, in the acquisition of first and second natural languages, pidgin communication mode and pre-syntactic grammar are invariably acquired before the grammaticalized structures. Heine and Kuteva (2007) show an amount of arguments in favor of a gradual vision of the process of recursion that underlies clause combining and other structures. They present, among other data, historically attested examples from the English-based creole Sranan of Suriname, showing that an originally demonstrative pronoun developed firstly the function of relative clause marker and it underwent a further grammaticalization into a marker of adverbial clause subordinator.

But the stronger argument is the development of correlated grammaticalization phenomenon, such as the rise of connectives and auxiliaries, which occurs with the mechanisms of clause linkage. On the one hand, the process of clause linkage usually implies the use of items whose function consists in establishing the link between clauses. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 181) connectives in coordinate sentence structures tend to be developed relatively late in languages and to be renewed frequently.

It is interesting to point out that the historical grammarians of Portuguese (Said Ali, 1971; Nunes, 1989) state that in the vast majority of cases Portuguese clause connectors whose origin is known were not inherited from Latin, but they are sourced from adverbs, pronouns of the relative-interrogative type, among other structures from Portuguese. This is prototypical of grammaticalization. The mechanism of clause linkage may imply the development of new items in a process of renewal which occurs when existing meanings take on new forms (Hopper and Traugott, 2003). In cases like these, the syntactic structure is basically the same, but the new item used to accomplish it is selected between existing structures. On the other hand, the new form used to serve the new function can motivate changes in the linked clauses, considered as a construction, which reflect *persistence* (Hopper, 1991) of its original morphosyntactic features in the new context.

It is also important to stress that the process implies a growing bond of integration between the clauses. The more cognitively-semantically integrated are the events expressed by the clauses, the more nominal will the morphology of the complement verb be (and the more intimately integrated are the two propositions into a single clause). So, in case of strong bond between clauses, the connective is suppressed, the verb of the main clause loses attributes of prototypical verbs (or main-verbs), becoming auxiliaries, while the verb of the complement clause acquires features of nouns. The process can lead to what Givón (1990, p. 538) calls co-lexicalization (ex: Mary *let-go* of John's arm) or to grammaticalization, as in the well-known case of the Latin verb *habere* which became a future tense suffix in romance languages, including Portuguese: *cantarei* (I will sing). Therefore, the subject is again reanalysis processes involving morphosyntactic structures into more fixed and desemanticized forms.

Grammaticalization and construction grammar

The early definitions of grammaticalization, namely the definitions of Meillet and Kurylowicz's (apud Noël, 2007) focused on the idea of an item or morpheme becoming grammatical. The notion of construction became more relevant to the grammaticalization theory in more recent studies, when it became clear that not only morphemes or single words turn into a grammatical element, but mainly complex lexical material with more than one word[6]. Examples of these structures can be seen in the English *while < þa hwile þe* "at the time that" (Traugott and König, 1991); *instead of < in stede of*, *indeed < in*

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[6] We can deduce that the development of the single item *siþþan* (*since*) and the more complex structure *þa hwile þe* are motivated by similar phenomena (Traugott and König: 1991). Similarly, the substantive *logo* (from the Latin *locus*) developed, in Portuguese, the function of conclusive marker as well as prepositional phrase like *portanto* (por + tanto).

dede (Traugott, 2003); *beside < by the side of*, *because < by cause of* (Heine and Kuteva, 2007); and in the Portuguese *vossa mercê > você* (Lopes and Duarte, 2003); *porém < por ende*, *embora < em boa hora* (Martelotta, 2008).

It seems that the concept of grammaticalization makes reference to the notion of construction in two different levels. The first and more basic level is related to a word or a group of words that undergo reanalysis, assuming grammatical function[7]. So, traditionally, when grammaticalization theorists mention phenomena such Heine's desemantization, decategorialization and erosion, the focus of their attention seems to be a group of elements that undergo reanalysis motivated by a larger context in which it occurs. As Noël (2007) points out, this is the focus of the notion of construction in the definition of grammaticalization presented in Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 18) "the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions".

The part of the definition which makes reference to "certain linguistic contexts" can be said to be a reference to the concept of construction in a second and highly linguistic level[8]. Traugott (2003, p. 645) argues that it is important to pay more attention to the morphosyntactic and the pragmatic context and characterizes them as "highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts" in which lexical material is assigned grammatical function.

Heine (2003) establishes a difference between *transfer model*, defined as a metaphorical process of conceptual transfer from concrete to less concrete domains of human experience, and *context model*, which emphasizes the pragmatic component of the process that leads to an increase in contexts of use of the element and hence to a gradual accretion of the frequency of its use. The key notions relating to this context model are "context induced reinterpretation, pragmatic inferencing, invited inference, conversational implicature, metonymy and the like" (Heine, 2003, p. 587). Of all the parameters of grammaticalization (extension, desemanticization, decategorialization and erosion), extension is directly associated to what I am treating here as a reference to the concept of construction in a second linguistic level. In fact, extension is considered by Heine and Kuteva (2007) the most complex of the parameters of grammaticalization for having a sociolinguistic, a text-pragmatic and a semantic component. According to Heine (2003), both models highlight significant properties of grammaticalization and are required to understand the rising of grammatical items. It means, in fact, that underlying metaphorical processes do not rise by themselves; they are rather motivated by discursive-pragmatic contexts.

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[7]   Hopper and Traugott (2003: 4): "Quite often what is grammaticalized is not a single content word but an entire construction that includes that word, as for example Old English *þa hwile þe* 'that time that > *hwile* 'while' (a temporal connective)".

[8]   It goes without saying that these two levels do not denote different concepts, but rather aspects of the one and same phenomenon, located in two extremities of a same continuum.

In more specific terms, the context that motivates grammaticalization has been related in the literature, on the one hand, to a very specific morphosyntactic structure and, on the other hand, to invited inferences that are applied on these structures by speaker and hearer who negotiate meaning in interactive ways (Traugott and Dasher, 2005). The proposal by Traugott and Dasher that every change in grammar involves a process of type A > A~B > B revisits Heine's three-stage model, called overlap model, according to which the change implies an intermediary ambiguity between A and B.

Noël (2007, p. 180) proposes that DeLancey is perhaps the first to assign the importance of the morphosyntactic (and pragmatic) context, using the term construction. DeLancey proposes that "the starting point of the process of grammaticalization is a productive construction: NP with genitive dependent, matrix with complement clause, conjoined with chained clauses, etc."

In the scope of NP, it is interesting to report that Alonso (2010) found out that the development of the Portuguese numeral *um* (*one*) into indefinite article *um* (*a*, *an*) is related to a construction network that encompasses different types of binominal quantitative construction and degree modifier constructions[9]. Based on Alonso's research, consider the examples involving the Portuguese item *bocado*, which can be analyzed morphologically as being formed by *boca-* (mouth) + *-do* (past participle marker) and semantically to denote an amount of food taken in the mouth:

  (2) a. um **bocado** de pão vs. Dois **bocados** de pão
      one mouthful of bread / Two mouthfuls of bread
      '*one mouthful of bread*' 'two *mouthfuls of bread*'

     b. um **bocado** de pão
     a mouthful of bread
     '*a bit of bread*'

     c. um **bocado** de cansaço
     a mouthful of tiredness
     '*a bit of tired*'

     d. um **bocado** cansado
     a mouthful tired
     '*a bit tired*'

The structures in (2) a and b exemplify binominal quantitative constructions and particularly in (2) b the item *um* functions as indefinite article (with *bocado* denoting indeterminate quantity). In (2) c and d, the SN presents features of degree modifier constructions. Alonso (2010) has found usages of *bocado* as an autonomous item and in the literal sense, in phrases like *três*

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[9]   Traugott (2007) analyses the cline *binominal partitive construction > degree modifier construction* as a grammaticalization process.

bocados (*three mouthfuls*) or *seu bocado* (*his mouthful*) from the fourteenth century. The binominal quantitative construction *um bocado de* (*a mouthful of*) was not registered before the sixteenth century, but still in the literal sense, i.e., making reference to an amount of food: *um bocado de arrroz* (*a mouthful of rice*). From the seventeenth century onwards, constructions as exemplified in (2) c began to appear and, not before the eighteenth century, *um bocado de* as a degree modifier construction of the type demonstrated in (2) d was found.

The research suggests two interesting things. The first one is the gradualness of the process which is evident in the historical steps through which the new structure became more and more entrenched in the language system, as well as the non-instantaneous way the changes proceed. (Brinton and Traugott, 2005). The second one leads to the conclusion that it will probably be useful to observe the trans-linguistic cline numeral > indefinite (Heine and Kuteva, 2002) in terms of the constructional context in which this very same phenomenon occurs in different languages.

Since, for the purposes of this paper, DeLancey's proposition that processes related to clause-combining may be seen as constructions is a central issue, I will return to the discussion of some important aspects of grammaticalization across clauses. Bybee (2010, p. 106) observes that grammaticalization "takes place within particular constructions and further that grammaticalization creates new constructions". Making reference to the well-known case of English *be going to*, the author argues that since nowadays *be going to* has a different function from the original purpose-clause construction, the structure represented in [SUBJ *be going to* VERB] is a construction distinct of the earlier construction.

The fact that grammaticalization creates new grammatical morphemes defined in terms of the construction in which they occur implies that not only new grammatical morphemes rises with the process, but also new constructions. Bybee's proposal is interesting because it emphasizes the strong relationship between the structure that undergoes grammaticalization and its morphosyntactic (and pragmatic) context as a construction.

Following this idea, I will analyze some conclusive grammatical markers as a result of grammaticalization arguing that their development is related to the way the clauses are linked to each other, producing a morphosyntactic structure viewed as a construction, i.e., a specific structure that has a high frequency, being stored in the communication repertory of the speaker as a partially conventional device to manifest subtle aspects of the way humans conceive of events and states of affairs. As a next step, I will conclude my analysis by demonstrating one example of how new functions developed historically by the connective can be related to the development of a new construction, presenting an overview of how the archaic conclusive *por ende* turned into to the present day Portuguese *porém* with adversative value.

To accomplish this goal, I have adopted the conception of a network of constructions linked by inheritance relations "which motivates many of

the properties of particular constructions" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 67). Among Goldberg's four relevant psychological principles of language organization, I highlight at this point *the principle of maximized motivation*, according to which "if construction A is related to construction B syntactically, then the system of construction A *is motivated* to degree that it is related to construction B semantically". The notion of motivation is therefore very important since it can provide clues about the degree in which a specific structure is inherited from other constructions and, above all, supply linguistic material that the speaker can use as basic principles in trying to acquire new structures.

Another important concept is abduction. This kind of inference has been explored both in construction grammar and in grammaticalization theory and is "used in reasoning about relevance and importance, similarity and analogy, hypothesis and explanation" (Givón, 2005, p. 11). It is helpful to relate abduction reasoning to language learning, assuming that the language acquisition cannot be restricted to the early childhood. Research in sociolinguistics and in language acquisition has shown that not only people continue to develop language skills but also use it to give rise to innovative forms. It is also important to stress that acquisition of linguistic categories is functionally motivated. That is, the organization of categories in paradigms is the result of observation of a group of features like the role they play in communication, the linguistic context in which they occur, the structural composition they present, among others.

The conclusive construction

As it was mentioned in the introduction to this paper, I am dealing with a kind of causal-consequence structure that the grammatical tradition of Portuguese (Said Ali, 1969; Rocha Lima, 1976; Cunha and Cintra, 1985) calls coordinate conclusive clauses. They are part of a clause-combining construction that denotes the consequence, i.e., the result or the logical conclusion of the event expressed in a preceding clause. The order of the clauses is fixed and tends to correspond to the temporal order of the events they describe, reflecting the linear order principle (Givón, 1990), as it happens in general with other coordinate clauses in Portuguese. In fact, it is one of the features that distinguish the conclusive clause from the prototypical adverbial causal clause, linked by connectives like *porque*, *já que* or *como* (*because*, *since*, etc.), that can switch places with its main clause, at least depending on the connective that links the clauses. The following example registers the conclusive structure:

(3) a. Ele está doente, **por isso não pode brincar no quintal**.
　　　He is sick for that not can play in the yard.
　　　'*He is sick; that's why he cannot play in the yard.*'

In cases like this, a low degree of integration is established between two events, by using a grammatical marker whose motivation is still relatively cle-

ar for the speakers, since it also tends to imply low degree of grammaticalization[10]: *por isso* (*that's why*) is formed by the preposition *por*, which can denote cause and *isso*, a spatial deictic pronoun widely used in similar anaphoric contexts. A causality-based relation is established between the events so that the second clause, headed by the grammatical marker, expresses the consequence of the prior event.

Usually, the grammatical marker, used as an element of connection, is a result of a grammaticalization process that involves anaphoric grounding with spatial/temporal pronouns or markers of textual progression related to consecutiveness. According to Givón (2005, p. 134), the grounding, among other processes, consists in "establishing a mental connection between the antecedent co-referent in episodic memory and its current activated locus in working memory/attention".

During the on-line discourse production and comprehension, speakers (and hearers) connect or ground the prior and the subsequent parts of the text, establishing anaphoric or cataphoric grounding. This mechanism is related to the rhetorical structure of the text which tends to exhibit not only the speaker's point of view (deixis, modality, discourse strategies), but also his concerns about how the hearer will react to what he is talking about and how he is doing it (mechanisms of activation of information in the shared current text, use of counter-expectation markers or politeness markers, etc.). In other words, grounding also reflects a group of specific mechanisms related to the notion of construal, like perspectivization and profiling, which are typical for the grammar rather than the lexical subsystem of natural languages.

Research in grammaticalization supports the fact that pronouns are usually sourced to establish coherence and grounding between clauses in different languages. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991, p. 179) mention a SPACE-TO-DISCOURSE metaphor, which is used to organize the structure of discourse in terms of spatial categorization. As a metaphoric process, it reflects a mapping relation between the "world of sensory-motor experiences, of visible, tangible objects of kinetic processes and of spatial and temporal relations to the world of discourse". One of the most common examples of this process is the use of demonstrative concepts whose spatial deixis basic nature is exploited to designate points of the text and establish different kinds of relations in discourse. The authors present several instances of different languages, involving development of demonstratives to clause subordinator, to relative clause marker, and the like.

Since relation between distance in the domains of space and discourse usually implies intermediary temporal values, distance in time may be derived from

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[10] Azeredo (2000; 2008), for instance, considers these grammatical markers as adverbs or conjunctive adverbs. He establishes a distinction between items like *logo*, *então*, *portanto*, *por isso*, which, as adverbs, can be moved in the clause, unlike other prototype conclusive connectives like *de modo que, de maneira que, daí que*, that invariably appear at the beginning of the clause.

spatial deixis. Hence it is possible to postulate a transfer involving spatial deixis, temporal reference and discourse deixis, reflected in the cline space > (time) > text (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer, 1991; Heine, 2007). And research on the polysemy of Portuguese connectives suggests that this cline is very productive (Martelotta, 2008; Gonçalves, Lima-Hernades and Casseb-Galvão, 2007).

The Portuguese item *logo* illustrates this polysemy which correlates space, time and text values. In nowadays Portuguese, *logo* can function only as temporal adverb, denoting short temporal sequence, with a similar meaning to English adverbs like *soon*. It can as well function – mainly in written discourse or in formal oral interaction – as a conclusive connective. It can be noted in the following examples, respectively:

(4) a. Ele vai chegar **logo**.
He go arrive soon.
'*He will arrive soon*'.

b. A casa é muito velha, **logo** ela pode desabar a qualquer momento.
The house is very old, so it can fall-down in any moment.
'*The house is very old, so it can fall down any moment now*'.

These two usages of *logo* are found in nowadays Portuguese. However, other interesting values of the item are inexistent today, although they can be attested in Portuguese texts from the thirteenth century: one as substantive and one as adverb signaling immediate temporal sequence. These examples from the text Orto do Esposo (Maler, 1956), from the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth, illustrate the ancient values:

(5) a. Lançados som fora do mũdo e descenderõ aos jnfernos e outros
Threw are out of world and descended to-the hells and others
se leuãtarõ ẽ seu **logo**.
themselves arise in their place
'They are threw out of the world and they descend into the hells and other people arised in their place.'

b. ...ueo subitamente sobre elles nuvẽẽs que lançauã sobre as cabeças delles cijnza
came suddenly above them clouds that above the heads their ashes
em **logo** de chuua...
in place of chuva
'"Clouds suddenly appeared upon them and it threw above their heads ashes instead of rain.'

c. Se tu diseres a este cego, ẽ no nome do teu deus, que receba uista e ell uir
if you say to this blind in-the name of your god, that receive vision and he see
logo eu creerey.
place I will believe
'If you say to this blind man in name of your god that he must see and he see, I will believe immediately.'

Adding these old uses of *logo* to the ones well-attested nowadays, polysemy that includes spatial and temporal meanings as well as textual values becomes clear. According to Heine (2003) the *transfer model* predicts a metaphorical process of conceptual transfer from concrete to less concrete domains of human experience. In this case, the abstratization process causes the development from the spatial use *logo* and the further replacive construction[11] present in (5) b *cijnza em logo de chuua* (*ashes instead of rain)*. In nowadays Portuguese, the correspondent construction *em lugar de* can be easily found as a replacive use. Becoming more abstract, *logo* turned out to be a marker of temporal relations and further began to perform connection in the world of discourse.

Nevertheless, as I argued above, the transfer model explains only part of the process. The *context model*, is require to account for processes like pragmatic inferencing, conversational implicature, and other phenomena associated to Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (Traugott and Dasher, 2005, p. 5), according to which the speaker operates rhetoric strategies in order to evoke implicatures and invite the hearer to infer them. Meanings tend to undergo subjectification (expression of the speaker's perspective) and intersubjectification (expression of the grounding related to speaker and hearer's communicative arrangements). It means that the presence of contexts of ambiguity, upon which the invited inference can perform its influence, is fundamental in order to motivate the linguistic change in interactive situations.

Regarding the different values of *logo*, I adopt here the proposal by Conclaves, Lima-Hernandez and Kasseb-Galvão (2007, p. 95) according to which in the example (5) a, as a part of the prepositional phrase ẽ *seu logo* (*in their place*), the item denotes a position in the concrete (or social) world, added by the idea of dislocation and succession. In the example (5) b *logo* indicates immediate posteriority in time. The idea of immediate sequence provides the context for the invited inference that motivates de conclusive value that the item has nowadays. The metaphor plays its role, but pragmatic inference first licenses the new uses of the item. Instances of *logo* – as I will argue below – fall into the second constructional pattern which I will analyze here, i.e., the pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) sequential item Event 2 (consequence)]}.*

Processes of change towards marker of clause linkage reflect what Givón (2005) points as one of the main sub-systems in the grammar of referential coherence, which implies the use of linguistic elements to establish cohesive relations between parts of the text. The use of these mechanisms has to do with constructions – or network of constructions – viewed as any linguistic pattern partly conventional partly motivated by semantic-pragmatic factors, which in some aspect is not predictable from its component parts (Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor, 1988; Gol-

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[11] Heine (2007) presents as a trans-linguistic phenomenon the cline space > replacive examples in different languages au lieu de (French), anstelle von (German), in.stead of (English), v.mesto (Bulgarian), among others.

dberg, 1995). Considering that the notion of construction implies subtle aspects of construal and on surface form (Goldberg, 2003), the conclusive clause reflects the way the speaker produces the meaning to the hearer, organizing the rhetoric structure of the text, reflecting notions like perspectivization, profiling, and other aspects related to the dynamic nature of grammar.

So I treat clause-combining structure as a construction, based on the fact that it shows a morphosyntactic structure with specific features that carries a more general semantic interpretation that is independent of its parts and some particular pragmatic features. And I also conventionally represent this structure in the form of constructional patterns like *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}* and *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) sequential item Event 2 (consequence)]}* which constitute syntactic formulas that can be materialized by different lexical items, according to the constructional restrictions.

The pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}*

As a kind of causal relation between two events, the clause combining that contains a conclusive construction may display at least two different constructional patterns. I will begin discussing the structure *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}* as a basic formula which reflects some cognitive mechanisms of establishing discourse--pragmatic relations between clauses in a system that involves the grounding of the clauses in their anaphoric context:

(6) a. Eu não tenho dinheiro. **Isso** anula minha possibilidade de comprar um carro.
   I don't have money. This suppress my possibility of buy a car.
   '*I don't have money. This suppresses my possibility of buying a car.*'

b. Eu não tenho dinheiro, ***por isso* eu não posso comprar um carro**.
   I don't have money for this I don't can buy a car
   '*I don't have money; that's why I can't buy a car.*'

In example (6) a, the deictic demonstrative *isso*, employed as an anaphoric item, makes reference to the prior clause in a typical juxtaposition relationship[12]. In (4) b, *isso*, preceded by the preposition *por*, forms a unified grammaticalized marker which functions as a connective: *por isso*. The anaphoric value remains and the link between the two clauses becomes stronger, with the presence of a connective, the punctuation and the unified intonation contour representing a single unit. This set of properties characterizes a higher degree of grammatical integration than juxtaposition presented in (3) a.

This structure is typical of this kind of constructional pattern and can be materialized by other grammatical markers that present the same features. Among

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[12]   Despite the link established by the anaphoric pronoun.

them there are conclusive items like *então* (*in + tum + ce*) and *portanto* (*por + tanto*):

  (7) a. Eu não tenho dinheiro, **portanto** eu não posso comprar um carro.
    I don't have money for-so-much I don't can buy a car
    '*I don't have money; therefore, I can't buy a car.*'

    b. Eu não tenho dinheiro, **então** eu não posso comprar um carro.
    I don't have money in-so-much I don't can buy a car
    '*I don't have money so I can't buy a car.*'

These items blend an intensifier and a correlative/anaphoric function, which is not unexpected. According to Leite and Jordão (1958), the original Latin words *talis*, *tantus*, *tot*, *tam* e *tum* are cognate of Latin demonstrative pronouns *iste*, *ista*, and *istud*. Considering specifically the connective *então*, Ernout and Meillet (1959, p. 193) point out a basic structure *tum + ce*. i.e., *tum* is appended by a "particule epideictique" -*ce*:

> 'particule demonstrative commune aux langues italiques, et que s'ajoute surtout aux pronoms demonstratifs comme hi-c (e), e illi-c (e) et aux adverbes tirés des themes demonstratifs sic (sicine), tunc, nunc, etc.'

The conclusive structure is, once again, instantiated by two clauses linked by a connective whose structure presents a preposition and a deictic/anaphoric item. Nevertheless, the preposition is not obligatory and, in this case, an adverb tends to be used as grammatical marker. Consider the following examples:

  (8) a. Começou a chover forte. Só **aí** eu abri o guarda-chuva.
    Begin to rain strong. Only there I open the umbrella
    '*It began to rain hard. Only then did I open the umbrella*".

    b. Começou a chover forte, **aí** eu abri o guarda-chuva.
    Begin to rain strong there I open the umbrella
    '*It began to rain hard. then I opened the umbrella*".

    c. Começou a chover forte, **aí** eu abri o guarda-chuva.
    Begin to rain strong there I open the umbrella
    '*It began to rain hard, so I opened the umbrella*".

In example (8) a there are two clauses juxtaposed and the second clause exhibits a spatial deictic adverb *aí*. In this particular context, the spatial adverb *aí* has an anaphoric function, assuming a temporal value, so that it makes reference to the moment in which it began to rain hard. When the adverb *só* is removed from the clause, as it happens in (8) b and c, a new situation arises. Invited inference motivates two kinds of implicatures: In (8) a, the original adverb *aí* is reanalyzed as a sequential marker that indicates a temporal se-

quence between the two events: *It began to rain hard* **after that/ and**[13] *I opened the umbrella*. Further, this sequential marker is reanalyzed as a conclusive connective as in example (8) c: *It began to rain hard,* **so/ therefore/ that's why** *I opened the umbrella*[14].

It needs to be stressed that the conclusive clause relation can be made by structures like *daí que* and other conclusive connectives like *de modo que*, *de maneira que*. These are structures that underwent grammaticalization according to which a construction [Prep de + N + que] arises. Nouns like *modo*, *maneira* are also important in the construction because they designate a similar meaning to the English word *manner*, i.e., they indicate some traces that characterize the way of being of things and events. Due to this semantic feature, these items can make reference to prior information, functioning as anaphoric elements. So, examples like the one presented below are not rare in nowadays Portuguese:

(9) a. Começou a chover forte, **de modo que**, **de maneira que** eu abri o guarda-chuva.

b. Começou a chover forte, **de maneira que** eu abri o guarda-chuva.

These groups of examples examined so far are grounded in the constructional pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}*. In all of the cases there is a clause-combining construction which expresses a *cause-consequence relation*, so that the conclusive clause, headed by the grammatical marker, expresses the consequence of the event presented in the prior clause.

Two different aspects particularize the pattern in question: *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}*. The first one is the nature of the grammatical marker that indicates the way by which the clauses are combined in a more complex syntactic structure. In general the grammatical marker is represented by a grammaticalized structure formed by a preposition (*por* in general) and a spatial deictic pronoun or by a simple spatial deictic adverb. In both cases, the spatial deictic item develops anaphoric function, leading to an invited inference that transforms the original structure in a conclusive construction that represents a cause-consequence logical relation, and sometimes a temporal construction, that exhibits the sequence of events over time. The second one is the informality that characterizes their uses. The pronouns and the adverbs are widely found in the every-day oral language.

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[13] Sometimes, the connective *e (and)* can convey the conclusive relation, but, in this case, the relation came from an implicature, since the value of the connective does not conventionalize this meaning in Portuguese.

[14] A similar situation can be seen with deictic adverb assim, from the Latin sic, which presents the demonstrative particle *-ce*, which tends to occur in demonstrative pronouns and adverbs (Ernout and Meillet: 1959). Assim originally used as an anaphoric marker develops the function of conclusive connective.

If the Principle of Maximized Expressive Power is taken for granted, and "the inventory of constructions is maximized for communicative purposes" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 67), it is possible to consider this constructional pattern as different from the one I will analyze in the next section, especially considering that there are pragmatic aspects not only in the ways of organizing information structure, but also in stylistic aspects of the construction such as register.

The pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) sequential item Event 2 (consequence)]}*

In some conclusive structures, clauses are linked by items that denote an idea of succession of events and I will represent these structures by the constructional pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) sequential item Event 2 (consequence)]}*. I have already argued that the connective *logo*, with its original contexts of sequential uses exemplifies this pattern. Other grammatical markers can be seen in this pattern: *por conseguinte*, *por consequência*, *consequentemente*, *pois*.

Beginning with the very similar cases of *por conseguinte*, *por consequência* and *consequentemente* (*as a consequence*, *consequently*), the motivation is very clear. Despite their tendencies for more formal contexts of use, all these terms are results of grammaticalization processes motivated by the constructional pattern as a linguistic context that leads these groups of items to be reanalyzed as connectives, expressing the idea that facts occur one after another.

(10) a. Você obedece a lei, **por consequência** não comete homicídio.
You obey the law for consequence not commit murder
'*You obey the law consequently you don't commit murder*'

b. Você obedece a lei, **consequently** não comete homicídio.
You obey the law consequently not commit murder
'*You obey the law consequently you don't commit murder*'

As can be seen in example (10) b, similarly to the pattern previously considered, the preposition is not obligatory, since the clauses can be linked by the adverb *consequentemente* (*consequently*). The same goes for the conclusive item *pois*, which is very restricted to written discourse or to very formal interactional contexts. A brief note about *pois* is required, because this use is very unusual in Brazilian Portuguese. According to most normative grammarians (Rocha Lima, 1976; Cunha, 1975), *pois* can't be employed at the beginning of the clause, but always after one of its terms. *Pois* proceeds from the Latin particle *post* (Said Ali, 1971), which was used as an adverb or as a preposition with very similar meaning to English words like *behind*, *after*, and *posterior*, both in a spatial and a temporal conception. Therefore it congregates the conditions to function as the sequential item typical to the pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) sequential item Event 2 (consequence)]}*, mainly if its high level of formality is considered.

The development of an adversative meaning and the rise of a new construction

So far I have described two kinds of conclusive constructions, which exhibit similar structures being arranged in a network of inheritance relations. I took in consideration the basic properties of each of the constructions and I observed the grammaticalization processes that underlie the rise of their grammatical markers. Now I intent to show a historical relation between the pattern *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}* and an adversative construction which implies the way the archaic conclusive *por ende* turned into to the present day Portuguese *porém* with adversative value. In other words, a change that occurs not only in the level of the clause linkage but also in the scope of the grammatical marker developed to establish the relation between the clauses. In nowadays Portuguese *porém* is basically used as adversative conjunction, as exemplified below:

(13) João é um bom profissional, **porém** comete alguns erros.
    João is a good professional but commit some mistakes
    '*João is a good professional, but he makes some mistakes*'

In this case, event 1 denotes that *João* is a good professional, which causes a good expectation about his behavior at work. But event 2 breaks this expectation. This adversative structure involving the connective *porém* is historically related to the conclusive structures I have analyzed so far. *Porém* developed from the archaic form *por ende* (*por ende > porende > porém/ porẽ*), composed by preposition *por* + the spatial deictic *ende*, which was used to function as a conclusive marker, just like it happens today with the connective *por isso*:

(14) O coraçõ ham fero e deseio bestial, e **porẽ** som muy enclinados
    The heart have ferocious and desire bestial and hence are very inclined
    pera luxuria.[15]
    to lust
    'They have a feral heart and bestial desires, thus they are much inclined to lust.'

Said Ali (1971, p. 187) proposes that the archaic use of *porém* developed the new adversative value in one specific kind of context in which it could be inferred, namely in negative sentences. So he describes a kind of change characterized by Traugott and Dasher (2005) as invited inference, according to which both speaker and hearer negotiate meaning in an interactive way. One of the author's examples of this context is reproduced below:
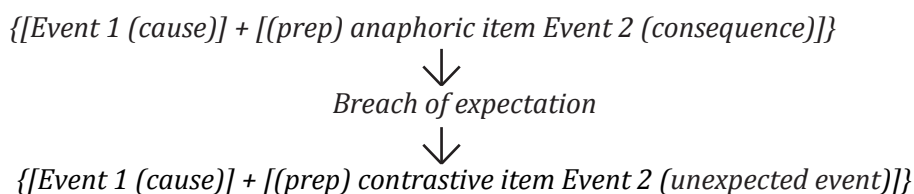
(15) a. E ainda que quando o levaram diante d'el-rei desmaiou,
    and although when him they take in front of the King he fainted

    não desfalleceu *porem* em sua firmeza, mas foi um natural pejo.
    not weakened for that in his firmness but was a natural shyness

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[15]   Another example from *Orto do Esposo* (Maler 1956).

'And although he fainted when they took him before the King, his firmness wasn't weakened for that reason, but was, in fact, a natural shyness.'

In this case, according to the author, *porém* still means *por isso* (expresses a conclusive relation) but the negative particle *não* (*not*) canceling the causative relation between the clauses stimulates the change. And this is the specific context in which the speaker evokes implicatures and invites the hearer to infer them (Traugott and Dasher: 2005). So I propose that parallel to the reanalysis *por ende* (por isso) > *porém* (but) there is a change in the construction structure that can be represented by the scheme:

{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}

↓

Breach of expectation

↓

{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) contrastive item Event 2 (unexpected event)]}

So a new construction arises, with its own morphosyntactic features as a formula that serves to produce similar meaning. Some processes of grammaticalization can be seen as related to these construction patterns. Items like *entretanto* (originally 'meanwhile') developed a contrastive meaning, and became adversative connectives in nowadays Portuguese; the archaic temporal item *entanto* became *no entanto* with adversative value, among others.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have chosen some basic data from grammaticalization research and tried to report, using some principles of the construction grammar, mainly in order to incorporate to this theory the dynamicity – or the diachronic perspective – which is so important to any usage-based model of grammar. I have tried to describe the coordinate conclusive clauses. Adopting a distinction between schematization, the rise of grammatical patterns in general, and grammaticalization, the development of structures that involve a change from lexical to grammatical of at least one of its components, I treated as constructions processes of grammaticalization related to clause linkage. So I described conclusive clause structures as a case of construction that can be related to grammaticalization processes that also involve the development of grammatical markers used to link the clauses.

Based on Goldberg (1995), I used the conception of a network of constructions linked by inheritance relations that motivates properties of particular constructions. So I proposed two kinds of constructional patterns related to conclusive clauses: *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) anaphoric item Event 2 (consequence)]}* and *{[Event 1 (cause)] + [(prep) sequential item Event 2 (consequence)]}*, each one presenting specific syntactic features and different discursive-pragmatic aspects. Further, I presented an example of how new functions

developed historically by the connective can be related to the development of a new construction, presenting an overview of how the archaic conclusive *por ende* turned into to the present day Portuguese *porém* with adversative value.

As a first step towards a better understanding of how to describe conclusive clauses in a usage-based approach, some points remain unsolved as, for instance, how to relate – if it is theoretically possible – the conclusive clause with other instances of cause-consequence relations as the adverbial causal exemplified in *He didn't see because he is blind*. Or, more specifically, how to describe possible relations with what some authors termed result or resultative structures like *John hammered the metal; consequently, the metal became flat*; *John hammered the metal flat* or *John is so strong that metal becomes flat*. I hope that the efforts employed in this work may contribute to the development of new research on this matter. ⊠

MARTELOTTA, M.E.T. AS CLÁUSULAS CONCLUSIVAS EM PORTUGUÊS: UMA BORDAGEM QUE COMBINA A TEORIA DA GRAMATICALIZAÇÃO E A TEORIA DA GRAMÁTICA DAS CONSTRUÇÕES

Resumo
Este trabalho consiste em uma análise de um tipo de cláusula que a tradição gramatical portuguesa chama de coordenada conclusiva, baseada em uma abordagem centrada no uso que une princípios teóricos da gramaticalização e da gramática das construções. Adotando uma distinção entre esquematização e gramaticalização, este trabalho propõe que gramaticalização está relacionada a padrões de construção que sofrem mudança em direção aos valores mais gramaticais que podem ser vistos em construções envolvendo combinações de cláusulas. De acordo com essa proposta, não apenas novos morfemas gramaticais surgem com a gramaticalização, mas também novas construções, de modo que a reanálise do marcador gramatical que liga as cláusulas está diretamente relacionada com os processos de gramaticalização que desenvolvem estruturas clausais complexas. Já que construções se relacionam por relações de herança, este trabalho apresenta um exemplo de como novas funções historicamente desenvolvidas por marcadores gramaticais podem estar relacionadas ao surgimento de novas construções, apresentando uma visão resumida de como a conjunção conclusiva arcaica por ende se transformou no atual porém, com valor adversativo.

Palavras-chave
gramaticalização; combinação de cláusulas; construção; relações de herança

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