

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONTRAST AND NEGATION IN BRAZILIAN NATIVE LANGUAGES: A DISCURSIVE-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH¹

RELAÇÕES ENTRE CONTRASTE E NEGAÇÃO EM LÍNGUAS NATIVAS BRASILEIRAS: UMA
ABORDAGEM DISCURSIVO-FUNCIONAL

RELACIONES ENTRE CONTRASTE Y NEGACIÓN EN LAS LENGUAS NATIVAS BRASILEÑAS:
UN ENFOQUE DISCURSIVO-FUNCIONAL

Gabriel Henrique Galvão Passetti*

Gustavo da Silva Andrade**

Universidade Estadual Paulista

ABSTRACT: Negation is a way of conceiving the organization of the world in a way contrary to what is expected in reality. In natural languages, Negation is a unique phenomenological complex since extralinguistic reality can be negated in its totality or only partially. In Brazilian native languages, this way of conceiving the world seems to be more emphasized: cognitively, the way in which some peoples conceive the world is different from that through which we conceive it. In this work, we compare two grammatical categories in search of a generality of a group of native languages: the expression of negation and the codification of the contrast function. It is still an incipient work, in the light of the Discursive-Functional Grammar (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008), which attests to possible relations between these elements. Anyhow, in a partial conclusion, we identified a logical-semantic relationship between these categories that, to some extent, can be found in Brazilian native languages.

KEYWORDS: Negation. Contrast. Brazilian native languages.

RESUMO: A Negação é uma forma de conceber a organização do mundo de forma contrária ao que se espera na realidade. Nas línguas naturais, a Negação é um complexo fenomenológico ímpar, uma vez que a realidade extralinguística pode ser negada em sua totalidade ou, apenas, parcialmente. Nas línguas nativas brasileiras, essa forma de conceber o mundo parece ser mais ressaltada: cognitivamente, a forma como alguns povos concebem o mundo é distinta daquela por meio da qual o concebemos. Neste trabalho, em busca de uma generalidade de um grupo de línguas nativas, cotejamos duas categorias gramaticais, quais sejam: a expressão da negação e a codificação da função contraste. Trata-se de um trabalho ainda incipiente, à luz da Gramática Discursivo-Funcional

¹ This study was financed in part by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Brasil (CAPES) - Finance Code 001.

* PhD Student in Linguistic Studies, Unesp, Ibilce, São José do Rio Preto. Email: gabriel.galvao@unesp.br.

** PhD Student in Linguistic Studies, Unesp, Ibilce, São José do Rio Preto. Email: gustavo.s.andrade@unesp.br.

(HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008), que atesta possíveis relações entre esses elementos. À guisa de conclusão, identificamos uma relação lógico-semântica entre essas categorias que, em certa medida, parece ser encontrada em línguas nativas brasileiras.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Negação. Contraste. Línguas nativas brasileiras.

RESUMEN: La negación es una forma de concebir la organización del mundo de una manera contraria a lo que se espera en la realidad. En los lenguajes naturales, la negación es un complejo fenomenológico único, ya que la realidad extralingüística se puede negar en su totalidad o solo parcialmente. En las lenguas nativas brasileñas, esta forma de concebir el mundo parece estar más enfatizada: cognitivamente, la forma en que algunos pueblos conciben el mundo es diferente de la forma en que lo concebimos. En este trabajo, en busca de una generalidad de un grupo de lenguas nativas, comparamos dos categorías gramaticales, a saber: la expresión de negación y la codificación de la función de contraste. Sigue siendo un trabajo incipiente, a la luz de la Gramática Funcional Discursiva (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008), que da fe de posibles relaciones entre estos elementos. En conclusión, hemos identificado una relación lógico-semántica entre estas categorías que, hasta cierto punto, parece encontrarse en los idiomas nativos brasileños.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Negação. Contraste. Lenguajes nativos brasileños.

1 INTRODUCTION²

The language is a phenomenological complex with varied functions and is applied to different contexts. These functions are used by users of natural languages to *transport* what they want to say (BENVENISTE, 2005, p. 68), i.e. the morphosyntactically and phonologically encoded forms and structures reflect pragmatic-discursive and semantic intentions and motivations.

This paper discusses a proposal for analyzing (it is a proposal because it does not present a definitive resolution for the analysis and description of a linguistic phenomenon, but it suggests a possible way of analysis and description of this phenomenon by relating its manifestation in different languages, described systematically under the same analytical criteria and with the same theoretical categories) the interaction between negation, and its scopes, and Contrast (cf. HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008),³ in the light of the Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), through sampling of data taken from corpora of several Brazilian native languages.

We guide our work from a typologically adequate perspective. Nowadays, both FDG and Typology are theoretical currents in dialogue and interaction since analyzing various and different languages (including, for this purpose, the various families and the various branches that exist) contributes to one of the central objectives of the FDG, which is to design a typologically valid Natural Language User Model.

In this sense, analyzing how negation interacts with Contrast in different languages is in line with a typological analysis as it allows pointing out ways of describing this interaction. This is because the contrast is a collation of information, for assuming one piece of information in comparison to another one; whereas negation acts by denying part of a statement or all of it.

We aim to attest the relationship between contrast and negation taking into account the *relationship/confrontation* between two parts of a statement or just one part of it with assumed information. These parts of the discourse are negated and/or contrasted, which allows us to outline an interaction between negation and contrast.

Having exposed our objectives, this paper is organized as follows: firstly, we briefly present the theoretical assumptions of FDG, bringing up the notions of contrast and negation in order to elucidate how the theory understands these phenomena. Then, the analysis methods used in this work are exposed. The results obtained are compiled in the following section. At the end of the paper, we show our final considerations and the references used.

² The data of the native languages used in this paper are the result of a collective work done by the students of the course called *Tipologia linguística sob abordagem funcional* (Linguistic Typological by functional approach), offered by the Postgraduate Program in Linguistic Studies of São Paulo State University (Unesp), Institute of Biosciences, Humanities and Exact Sciences, São José do Rio Preto.

³ When referring to specific FDG categories, we use words with the first capital letter.

2 FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

The theoretical model of FDG, as proposed by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), is a development of the Functional Grammar as postulated by Dik (1989; 1997). In this development, FDG incorporated the situated nature of linguistic communication in its theoretical model, i.e. it presents, in its own theoretical postulation, the interrelationship between language and context. This interrelation is expressed by the Conceptual, Contextual and Output Components, which give compatibility to FDG with a wider theory of verbal interaction: although FDG is, strictly, a grammar model, when we consider the interaction of the Grammatical Component with the others, it acquires a theoretical format that is both structural and functional.

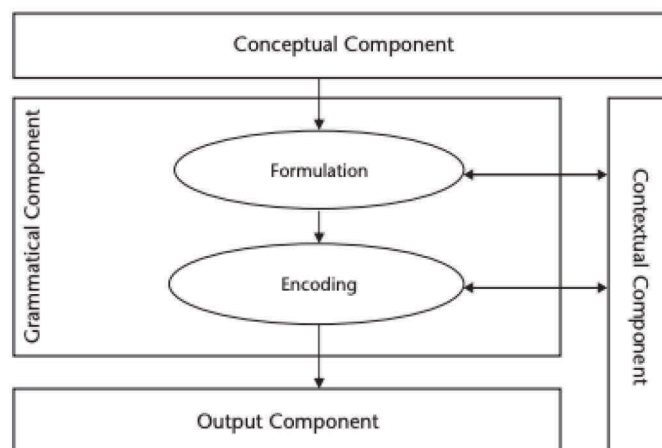


Figure 1: FDG as part of a wider theory of verbal interaction

Source: Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008, p. 6)

The Conceptual Component is pre-linguistic, responsible for the

[...] development of both a communicative intention relevant for the current speech event and the associated conceptualizations with respect to relevant extra-linguistic events and is thus the driving force behind the Grammatical Component as a whole. (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 6)

The Output Component, on the other hand, is responsible for generating the linguistic, acoustic, signed, or orthographic expressions, based on the information provided by the Grammatical Component. Therefore, its function may be understood as “translating the digital (i.e. categorical, opposition-based) information in the grammar into analogue (i.e. continuously variable) form” (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 8). The Contextual Component, in turn, contains two types of information.

Firstly, it houses the immediate information received from the Grammatical Component concerning a particular utterance which is relevant to the form that subsequent utterances may take. Secondly, it contains longer-term information about the ongoing interaction that is relevant to the distinctions that are required in the language being used, and which influence formulation and encoding in that language. (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 9-10)

This short- and long-term collection of information feeds and is fed by the operations of Formulation and Encoding that constitute the Grammatical Component, which, in turn, forms the grammar of a natural language. The operation of Formulation converts the communicative intention into pragmatic, at the Interpersonal Level (IL), and semantic representations, at the Representational Level (RL), which are then converted into morphosyntactic and phonological representations at the Morphosyntactic (ML) and Phonological Levels (PL), respectively, through Encoding operations.

As we can see in Figure 2, the FDG model is understood as a modular architecture with top-down organization, i.e. from the communicative intention, conceptualized in the Conceptual Component, to the form of linguistic expressions, forming the Articulation input, which translates these expressions into physical signals. This form of top-down organization is “[...] motivated

by the assumption that a model of grammar will be more effective the more its organization resembles language processing in the individual” (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 1-2), thus achieving psychological adequacy, and, on the other hand, by taking IL as hierarchically above other levels, it achieves pragmatic adequacy, as advocated by Dik (1989) in his principles of explanatory adequacy. Furthermore, in organizing the Grammatical Component with pragmatics governing semantics, both of them governing morphosyntax, and pragmatics, semantics, and morphosyntax governing phonology, as we can see in Figure 2, FDG takes the functional approach to its logical extreme; this is because the functionalist posture implies the “hypothesis that a wide range of formal categories can be insightfully explained if they are brought into correspondence with semantic and pragmatic categories rooted in human cognition and interhuman communication”⁴ (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2012, p. 48, our translation). Thus, FDG correlates functions to the structures, both of them based on the repertoire of the language over time, such as primitives of Formulation and Encoding, respectively.

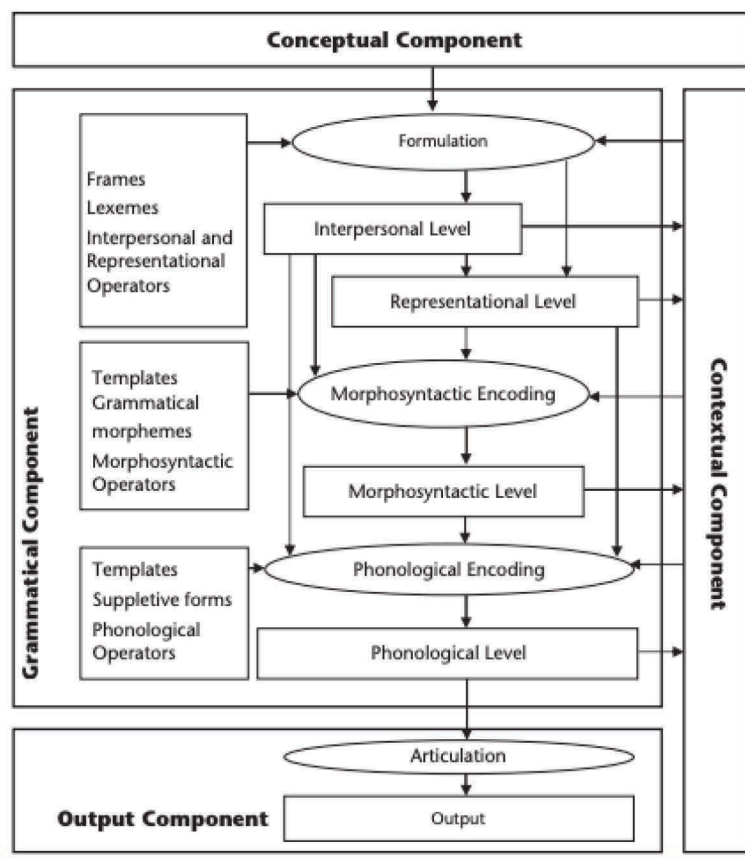


Figure 2: FDG general layout

Source: Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008, p. 13)

The levels that form the Grammatical Component are each structured in their own way. What they have in common is that they are all arranged in layers. Each layer is composed of a head (h) that can be restricted by a modifier (σ) and/or an operator (π) and it can also have a function (φ). While the heads and modifiers are lexical, the operators and functions are grammatical. It is important to say that the latter is relational, i.e. it establishes a relationship between units arranged in the same layer. Thus, (1) represents the general organization of the layers within the levels, with v being the variable of the relevant layer.

$$(1)(\pi v_i: h(v_i): \sigma(v_i))_{\varphi}$$

For this study, the Contrast ($_{CONTR}$) and the operator of negative polarity ($_{neg}$) are relevant, which are discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2, respectively.

⁴ In the original: “[...] hipótese de que as categorias formais podem ser criteriosamente explicadas se consideradas em correspondência com as categorias semânticas e pragmáticas originadas na cognição humana e na comunicação inter-humana”.

2.1 THE PRAGMATIC FUNCTION CONTRAST

Contrast is one of the pragmatic functions provided by FDG. The pragmatic functions concern to “how speakers mold their messages in view of their expectations of the Addressee’s current state of mind” (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 46). This determines the parts of a linguistic unit that are particularly prominent. These IL functions are applied to the layer of the Communicated Content (C), which is one of the components of a Discourse Act (A), the smallest identifiable unit of the communicative intention. One Communicated Content contains what the Speaker wishes to evoke in the interaction with the Addressee. In terms of action, it corresponds to the “choices the Speaker makes in order to evoke a picture of the external world s/he wants to talk about” (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 87). Each Communicated Content is made up of Referential Subacts (R) and Ascriptive Subacts (T). While a Referential Subact represents the Speaker’s attempt to evoke a referent in the verbal interaction, an Ascriptive Subact is a way of applying a property to an entity. Pragmatic functions can be applied to both the Communicated Content and the Subacts that comprise it.

The pragmatic function Contrast, in particular, is responsible for collating information with other information, present in the context itself, in the register built and stored in the Contextual Component or in the discourse situation itself. From this comparison, the Speaker seeks to highlight particular differences between pieces of information. According to Dik (1989), who calls contrastive focus what FDG calls pragmatic function Contrast, the collation between pieces of information occurs in an explicit or presupposed way. In the first case, there is a parallel contrast, in which the contrasted elements are updated in the discourse. Where collation occurs implicitly, there is an assumption on the part of the Speaker in relation to the Addressee’s pragmatic information, being therefore called counter-presuppositional.

2.2 THE NEGATIVE POLARITY OPERATOR

The negative polarity operator, in turn, is applied to the layer of State-of-Affairs (e), which is located in time and space. It can also be evaluated in terms of its status as phenomenal reality, i.e. State-of-Affairs are events or states that occur or do not occur, that happen or do not happen, in a certain time interval and in a certain place. In this way, the negative polarity operator in a State-of-Affairs indicates its phenomenal unreality, that is to say, it shows its non-realization or non-occurrence.

3 METHODS

This work collates a set of methods of analysis that link it, even if in an incipient way, to those of typological description. To control the sample, we carried out a selection procedure, considering three elements: (i) grammars available on the internet, (ii) that made it possible to search for graphemes in the file and (iii) that had, in their summary, an item destined to negation.

Considering this control and given the rich linguistic diversity of Brazil, we chose to restrict the sample since it is not possible to make a typologically representative sample because most of these languages have not yet been described and/or do not have a detailed description of grammatical elements.

For this work, we selected eleven native languages that satisfactorily fulfilled the proposed criteria and that belong to different language families, according to Chart 1.

Language	Families
Araweté	Tupi-guarani
Dâw	Maku
Huariapano	Pano

Jarawara	Arawá
Kanoê	Tupari
Karitiana	Tupí
Kotiria	Tucano
Kwazá	Isolada
Mamaindê	Nambiquara
Tariana	Arawak
Trumáí	Trumáí

Chart 1: Brazilian native languages selected for data collection

Source: Drawn up by the authors

We adopted the way of referencing languages according to the grammars used. For the re-analysis of glosses, we used the classification of the negation proposed by FDG, analyzing under which layer and at what level the negation acts.

4 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONTRAST AND NEGATION

Ducrot (1987) describes negation as a polyphonic phenomenon in which two enunciators compete: while the first one affirms a proposition p , the other one negates this proposition $\sim p$. In this way, any negative statement brings with it its positive counterpart with which it establishes a relationship of opposition or, in other words, of contrast. However, there are cases in which the Speaker wishes to highlight this oppositional relationship in order to transform the Addressee's mental state. To this end, s/he has grammatical tools that encode the pragmatic function Contrast, which, in line with negation, substitutes one piece of information for another one, which the Speaker assumes to be the counterpart. This process occurs in different ways as will be detailed in the following subsections.

4.1 $P \wedge (\sim P)$

The relationship between contrast and negation $p \wedge (\sim p)$ (Type 1) is manifested when the Communicated Content – or one of its Subacts – of a Discourse Act is contrasted with existing information in the register built and stored in the Contextual Component or in the discourse situation (counter-presuppositional contrast) so that the contrasting relationship seeks to operate a substitution in the pragmatic information available to the Addressee.

Therefore, the Substitutive Contrast (CONTRSUBST) is the Speaker's strategy of replacing one piece of information of the Addressee, considered wrong, by another one, which s/he considers correct. Thus, in Type 1, the updated information in the speech, considered correct by the Speaker, is placed in opposition to the information that the Speaker believes to be part of the pragmatic information available to the Addressee, negating it.

Constructions traditionally called cleft in Portuguese, such as those formed by the verb *ser-que*, according to Pezatti (2017), serve this strategy. In (2a), for example, whose IL representation is (2b), the Referential Subacts *o cara* and *a classe dominante* evoke contrary entities to the building owner and to the oppressed class, respectively, then negated and not expressed, but presupposed in the Contextual Component, replacing them in the pragmatic information available to the Addressee.

- (2) a - e à cultura, o cara não tem direito a nada, meu, só vive que nem um animal.
 - e nem de acesso ao material que ele produz.
 - e é o cara, e é o cara **que** produz esse prédio aqui, em que a gente está morando e tudo mais. e então **é a classe dominante que** usufrui de, da cultura, pô
- and in relation to culture, the guy has no right to anything, man, he just lives like an animal.
 - nor access to what he produces.
 - and it's the guy, and it's the guy who makes this building here, where we are living and everything. and then it's the dominant class that enjoys culture, man
- (Bra87:EconomiaSociedade:44)⁵
- b (A_i: [... (C_i: [... (R_i: -o cara- (R_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (C_i))] (A_i))
 (A_j: [... (C_j: [... (R_j: -a classe dominante- (R_j))_{CONTRSUBST}] (C_j))] (A_j))

The same occurs in (3), an occurrence of *dâw*, a native language in Brazil, in which *j²ā̃m* is a Referential Subact that carries the Substitutive Contrast, marked by *a²*.

- (3) Dâw (ANDRADE MARTINS, 2004, p. 456).
- a nêd tih j²ā̃m-a²
 came 3.SG dog-CONTRSUBST
 'It's his dog that has already come'
 Literally: came him is the dog that
- b NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: [... (R_i: -j²ā̃m- (R_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (C_i))] (A_i))

4.2 ~P ∧ (P)

The relationship between contrast and negation $\sim p \wedge (p)$ (Type 2), in turn, similarly to Type 1, also occurs when the Communicated Content – or one of its Subacts – of a Discourse Act is contrasted with existing information in the register built and stored in the Contextual Component or in the discourse situation itself (counter-presuppositional contrast) through the pragmatic function Substitutive Contrast.

In Type 2, the information updated in the speech is considered incorrect by the Speaker, who then negates the State-of-Affairs in which it is contained. Thus, the Speaker seeks to lead the Addressee to replace this incorrect piece of information with another one that s/he considers correct and available. Constructions traditionally called cleft in Portuguese, aligned with the negative polarity operator, serve this strategy. In (4a), whose representation of the IL and RL is (4b), for example, the Referential Subact *o Bolsonaro* evokes an entity that opposes PSL (a political party in Brazil) of Fortaleza, which is who, according to the president of the acronym in the city, State Deputy André Fernandes, decides to support – or not to support – the candidacy of Captain Wagner (Pros) to the City Hall of Fortaleza.

- (4) a **Não é o Bolsonaro que** impõe, isso é uma ideia nossa. Precisamos de alguém que vise o futuro do Brasil, e não algum discurso populista. (O POVO, 2019).
- It's not Bolsonaro who imposes it, this is our idea. We need someone who aims at the future of Brazil, and not some populist speech.

⁵ Occurrence taken from the Lusophone Corpus (NASCIMENTO, 2001), which gathers data from spoken Portuguese of the 20th and 21st century, of all varieties of Portuguese (Portugal, Brazil, Macao, St. Thomas and Prince, East Timor, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Goa).

- b (A_i: [... (C_i: [... (R_i: Bolsonaro (R_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (C_i))] (A_i))
 (p_i: ... (neg e_i: -Bolsonaro impõe- (e_i)) ... (p_i))

The same phenomenon is observed in (5) and (6), occurrences of the languages Kwazá and Araweté, respectively. In (5), *hehỹ* encodes the Substitutive Contrast applied to the Communicated Content and *he* maps the negative polarity operator of the corresponding State-of-Affairs. The question (*qual você sabe?*), from Speaker I, reinforces this analysis since Speaker J, when saying that s/he does not know the story, leads Speaker I to try to recover the correct piece of information: the story that Speaker J knows everything about.

(5) Kwazá (VAN DER VOORT, 2004, p. 460).

- a ũce'nāi-he-da-hehỹ ay-'hỹ
 know-NEG-1SG-CONTRSUBST that-NMLZ

Speaker I: (tell the story of) the snake, that one who floats in the sky

Speaker J: I don't know that one (inaudible)

Speaker I: which one do you know?

Speaker J: of that one, that's what I will tell a story about, about when I still was an uninitiated nubile girl, an old story

- b NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: -ũce'nāida ay'hỹ- (C_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (A_i))
 NR: (p_i: ... (neg e_i: -ũce'nāida ay'hỹ- (e_i)) ... (p_i))

In (6), *we* encodes the Substitutive Contrast and *ja*, the negative polarity operator, as represented in (6b). The difference is that, in (6), it is the Referential Subact *puretfaha* that is contrasted, leading the Addressee to rescue the correct locative in which the Speaker saw himself, whereas, in (5), all the Communicated Content is contrasted, and it is the Addressee who must identify which incorrect piece of information should be replaced, which is the Referential Subact *ay'hỹ* in the occurrence.

(6) Araweté (SOLANO, 2009, p. 275).

- a. puretfaha-we ja we he Ø-ji-tfa-ha.
 mirror-LOC.EXACT NEG CONTRSUBST 1SG ASSV.ANAPH-REFL-see-ANR/PREDNR
 'It wasn't in the mirror (that) I looked at myself'
 Literally: is in the mirror that no look me of me

- b. NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: [... (R_i: puretfaha (R_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (C_i))] (A_i))
 NR: (p_i: ... (neg e_i: -he puretfaha jiftfaha- (e_i)) ... (p_i))

In the cases analyzed so far, contrast occurs in the IL while the negation is formulated in the RL. In (7), on the other hand, an occurrence of Jarawara, only one morpheme, *rihi*, is responsible for establishing the contrast relationship and, at the same time, for indicating that the Referential Subact *o* evokes the incorrect piece of information that must be replaced. Thus, in addition to contrasting, *rihi* negates the piece of information under its scope, so that, in this study, we say that this morpheme encodes the Negative Substitutive Contrast (CONTRSUBSTNEG).

(7) Jarawara (DIXON; VOGEL, 2004, p. 245).

- a. mii o-rihi, soo o-rihi,
 shit 1SG.SBJ-CONTRSUBSTNEG pee 1SG.SBJ-CONTRSUBSTNEG
 o-na-hara o-ke.
 1SG-LIST-RECPST.PERC.F 1SG.DECL.F
 'I neither shat, nor peed'

Literally: it was not me that shat, it was not me that peed

- b. NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: [... (R_i: o (R_i))_{CONTRSUBSTNEG}] (C_i))] (A_i))
 (A_j: [... (C_j: [... (R_j: o (R_j))_{CONTRSUBSTNEG}] (C_j))] (A_j))
 NR: (p_i: ... (e_i: -mii o- (e_i)) ... (p_i))
 (p_j: ... (e_j: -soo o- (e_j)) ... (p_j))

4.3 P ∧ ~P

The relationship between contrast and negation $p \wedge \sim p$ (Type 3) is similar to that of Type 1. The difference is that, in these cases, the Communicated Content – or one of its Subacts – of a Discourse Act is contrasted with a piece of information that is present in the discourse itself, not being therefore a counter-presuppositional contrast, but a case of parallel contrast. In (8), for example, an occurrence of *Araweté*, *Kamarati* replaces *Ajajuru*. For this purpose, the Speaker uses *ku*, which encodes the Substitutive Contrast applied to the Subact that evokes the piece of information that must be considered correct by the Addressee, at the same time that *ja* negates the State-of-Affairs *Ajajuru u?u*, indicating to the Addressee the piece of information s/he must consider to be incorrect.

(8) Araweté (SOLANO, 2009, p. 386).

- a. Kamarati ku iwahu u-?u u-?u ja Ajajuru.
 Kamarati CONTRSUBST honey 3-eat 3-eat NEG Ajajuru
 ‘it was Kamarati who ate the honey, it was not Ajajuru’
 Literally: it is Kamarati who honey ate, ate not Ajajuru

- b. NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: [... (R_i: Kamarati (R_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (C_i))] (A_i))
 (A_j: [... (C_j: [... (R_j: Ajajuru (R_j)) (C_j))] (A_j))
 NR: (p_i: ... (e_i: -Kamarati iwahu u?u- (e_i)) ... (p_i))
 (p_j: ... (neg e_j: -Ajajuru u?u- (e_j)) ... (p_j))

In (9), it is the Communicated Content *?āmùd kafām na??* that carries the Substitutive Contrast, marked by *a?*, while *ēh* negates the State-of-Affairs *?āh kafām*.

(9) Dâw (ANDRADE MARTINS, 2004, p. 505).

- a. ?ām-ùd kafām na?-a? ?āh kafām-ēh.
 2.SG-CONTRRESTR dead FUT-CONTRSUBST 1SG dead-NEG
 ‘In a while, only you will die; I do not die’
 Literally: it is you just who dead go; I dead not

- b. NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: -?āmùd kafām na?- (C_i))_{CONTRSUBST}] (A_i))
 (A_j: [... (C_j: -?āh kafāmēh- (C_j))] (A_j))
 NR: (p_i: ... (e_i: -?ām kafām na?- (e_i)) ... (p_i))
 (p_j: ... (neg e_j: -?āh kafām- (e_j)) ... (p_j))

4.4 ~P ∧ P

Finally, the relationship between contrast and negation $\sim p \wedge p$ (Type 4) also engenders a parallel contrast. In such cases, however, it is the State-of-Affairs corresponding to the first Discourse Act that is negated. In this negated State-of-Things, there is an incorrect piece of information that must be replaced by the correct piece of information present in the State-of-Affairs corresponding to the second Discourse Act. In (10), for example, *monetário* is replaced by that *da cultura*. For this, the Speaker makes use of *mas*, which, in this case, encodes the pragmatic function Contrast, and together with the negative polarity operator *não* contributes to the substitution of a piece of information for another one. It is worth mentioning that *mas* embraces all the Communicated Content of

the second Discourse Act since it integrates phonologically the second Intonational Phrase (IP).⁶ The identification of which Subject is actually in contrast is done by the Addressee. Addressee.

- (10) a. -> e não estou arrependido. hoje tenho uma linda coleção que... é, faz a admiração dos meus amigos.
 - e que vale uma fortuna, não é,
 -> não!
 - quanto é que calcula que vale a sua coleção?
 -> bem, não sei dizer, é muito difícil. eh, nã[...], não há, neste momento não há em jo[...], *não está em jogo o aspecto... monetário*
 - sim.
 -> **mas** *sim o da cultura.*
- > and I'm not sorry. today I have a beautiful collection that... yes, that admires my friends.
 - and it's worth a fortune, isn't it,
 -> no!
 - how much do you think your collection is worth?
 -> well, I can't say, it's very difficult. hmm, no [...], there is no, at this moment there is no [...], the monetary aspect is not at stake
 - Yes.
 -> but that of culture.
 (CV95:Colecionismo:32)⁷
- b. NI: (A_i: [... (C_i: -o aspecto monetário estar em jogo- (C_i))] (A_i))
 (A_j: [... (C_j: -o da cultura- (C_j))_{CONTR}] (A_j))
 NR: (p_i: ... (neg e_i: -o aspecto monetário estar em jogo- (e_i)) ... (p_i))
 (π p_j: ... (e_j: -o (aspecto) da cultura- (e_j)) ... (p_j))
 NF: (IP_i: /'naoNeS'taeN'ʒogooas'pektomone'tario/ (IP_i))
 (IP_j: /'mas'siNodakul'tura/ (IP_j))⁸

The marker *mas* does not specialize in the Substitutive Contrast since it can cause contrasting relationships other than substitution. Pezatti, Paula, and Galvão Passetti (2019), Galvão Passetti (2021), and Pezatti, and Galvão Passetti (2021) show that, in addition to substitution, *mas* also encodes the rhetorical function Concession (CONC), as in (11), in which *mas* indicates that the Speaker admits the truth value of the Propositional Content (p),⁹ (*viajar para o norte não é nada de excepcional*, understood, in some aspect, as incompatible with the truth value of the Propositional Content *eu acho uma beleza*, foreseeing and preventing a possible objection from the Addressee regarding the incompatibility of both of them.

- (11) a. Inf.: adorei. achei a melhor coisa que eu fiz assim em termos de viagem, assim de coisa pi[...], *nada de excepcional*, **mas** *eu acho uma beleza*. e depois assim aquele contraste muito grande, não é, entre as, as igrejas,

⁶ “An Intonational Phrase is characterized by internal and external properties: internally, it contains a nucleus, i.e. a pitch movement localized on one or more Syllables which is essential to the characterization of the Intonational Phrase as a whole; externally, the Intonational Phrase is separated from other Intonational Phrases by a pause, typically less long than the pause used to separate Utterances from each other” (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 432).

⁷ Cf. Footnote 5.

⁸ For phonemic representations of Portuguese, we used Silva (2003).

⁹ Propositional contents are mental constructs that do not exist in space or time, but that exist in the minds of those who formulate them. “Propositional contents may be factual, as when they are pieces of knowledge or reasonable belief about the actual world, or non-factual, as when they are hopes or wishes with respect to an imaginary world. Given their nature, Propositional Contents are characterized by the fact that they may be qualified in terms of propositional attitudes (certainty, doubt, disbelief) and/or in terms of their source or origin (shared common knowledge, sensory evidence, inference)” (HENGEVELD; MACKENZIE, 2008, p. 144).

itself in order to encode three types of functions: (i) the pragmatic function Contrast; (ii) the pragmatic function Substitutive Contrast; and (iii) the pragmatic function Negative Substitutive Contrast. With regard to this specification, in cases where the contrast is parallel, the languages covered by this study present the possibilities presented in Chart 2.

Language/ Marker specialization	CONTR + NEG	CONTRSUBST + NEG	CONTRSUBSTNEG
Portuguese	+		
Spanish Araweté Dâw Kwazá	+	+	
Jarawara	+	+	+

Chart 2: Specializations of the pragmatic function Contrast marker in contexts of parallel contrast in the languages studied in this paper

Source: Drawn up by the authors

In the grammars of the languages Huariapano (GOMES, 2010), Kotiria (STENZEL, 2013), Kanoê, (BACELAR, 2004), Karitiana, (EVERETT, 2006), Mamaindê, (EBERHARD, 2009), Tariana (AIKHENVALD, 2003), and Trumaí (GUIRARDELLO, 1999), there are no occurrences in which the pragmatic function Contrast operates, so it is not possible to verify the existence of relationships between this function and negation. Therefore, these languages are not listed in Chart 2.

As already indicated, we are not allowed to postulate any categorical generalizations, however, it seems possible to attest to an intimate relationship between the function of contrast and negation.

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Received in May 14, 2020. Approved in August 19, 2020.