

Multifunctionality of *mas* ‘but’ in Portuguese*

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Abstract

Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 52) consider that the constructions with *mas* ‘but’ result from the combination of two Discursive Acts with different communicative statuses, there being a Nuclear Discursive Act, with greater communicative weight, and a Subsidiary Discursive Act, which will have a rhetorical function named “Concession”. This paper aims to investigate the various uses of *mas* ‘but’, according to Functional Discourse Grammar, in order to determine the pragmatic, semantic, and morphosyntactic properties of each case in real occurrences of Portuguese. The combination of linguistic units through *mas* ‘but’ always indicates interpersonal strategies, which are differentiated by the communicative intention of the speaker as well as reflected in the layer involved. However, *mas* maintains the capacity to attribute the most salient status of information to the unit it scopes or operates on. We identified four uses of *mas* ‘but’ in different layers: Move Operator in the Move layer, Emphasis Operator and Concession rhetorical function in the Discursive Act layer, and the Contrast pragmatic function in the Communicated Content layer.

1 Introduction

Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 52) consider that the constructions with *mas* ‘but’ result from the combination of two Discursive Acts with different communicative statuses, there being a Nuclear Discursive Act, with greater communicative weight, and a Subsidiary Discursive Act, which will have a rhetorical function named Concession. This paper aims to investigate the various uses of *mas* ‘but’, according to Functional Discourse Grammar, in order to determine the pragmatic, semantic, and morphosyntactic properties of each case in real occurrences of Portuguese. The combination of linguistic units through *mas* ‘but’ always indicates interpersonal strategies, which are differentiated by the communicative intention of the speaker as well as reflected in the layer involved. However, *mas* maintains the capacity to attribute the most salient status of information to the unit it scopes or operates on. We identified four uses of *mas* ‘but’ in different layers: Move Operator in the Move layer, Emphasis Operator and Concession rhetorical function in the Discursive Act layer, and the Contrast pragmatic function in the Communicated Content layer.

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At the authors’ request, the technical terms in this text are treated as proper nouns and are therefore written in capital letters.

- (1) S1 **eu fui para Porto Alegre mas, ah, eu fiquei em cida[...], hospedada numa outra cidade vizinha**, se não me engano, aí de Esteio, é perto de Canoas (BR80:SurpresasFotografia)
 ‘I went to Porto Alegre, but, oh, I was in the city[...], stayed in another neighbouring city. If I am not mistaken, coming from Esteio, it’s near Canoas’

However, we see constructions such as (2), (3), (4) and (5), in which *mas* ‘but’ cannot be considered a linking word which only indicates adversity or opposition.

- (2) S1 então, que é que o senhor acha dos jovens, por exemplo¹
 ‘So, what do you think of the young folks, for instance’
 S2 acha de quê?
 ‘What do I think of what?’
 S1 de hoje em dia? dos jovens... de hoje em dia. a cabeça deles, como é que vai ser tudo isso... com o pensamento que, que eles têm? o futuro dessa geração...
 ‘of nowadays? The young folks... nowadays, their mindset, how everything will play out... with the way of thinking they have? The future of this generation...’
 S2 é outra pergunta, também, meia, não é, para gente entender a mente de um jovem hoje em dia, está meio bravo.
 ‘That’s another question, kind of, isn’t it, for us to understand the mind of a young person nowadays is kind of hard.’
 S1 senhor acha?
 ‘Do you think?’
 S2 eu acho.
 ‘I do.’
 S1 **mas você se considera assim realmente de outra geração?** bem...
 ‘But do you really consider yourself to be from another generation?, Well...’
 S2 não, eu não me considero de outra ge[...], ge[...], geração, não! (BR80:CriarFilhos)
 ‘No, I don’t consider myself to be from another ge[...], ge[...], generation, oh no!’
- (3) S1 é que, quando [a mãe] ia a sair, em vez de utilizar o caminho que dava saída, portanto, de casa, eh, quis cortar. portanto, então viu que eu que estava ali, **sentado, mas adormecido** (MO86: Chuva)
 ‘The thing is, when [the mother] was about to leave, instead of taking the path which led out of the home, she wanted to take a shortcut. So, then she saw that I was there, seated, but asleep.’
- (4) S1 um outro médico, ah, grego, consegui demonstrar que **o que circula nos nossos vasos não é ar mas sim sangue.** (PT89:Pai Medicina)
 ‘Another physician, uh, a Greek doctor, was able to demonstrate that what flows in our veins is not air, but blood.’

¹ S1 indicates Speaker 1, S2 indicates Speaker 2.

- (5) S1 aí, lá fomos nós para Ouro Preto, Mariana e aquilo tudo. depois fomos a São João del Rei e Tiradentes. é o que eu te disse que adorei, **mas adorei!**
(BR80:ArteUrbana)
‘Then we went off to Ouro Preto, Mariana and all those places. Afterwards, we went to São João del Rei and Tiradentes. That’s what I told you I loved, but loved it!’

Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 52) consider that constructions such as (1) result from the combination of two Discursive Acts with different communicative statuses. Thus, there is a Nuclear Discursive Act, with a greater communicative weight, and a Subsidiary Discursive Act, which has a rhetorical function of Concession can be marked by *although* or *but*. The use of both *although* and *but* to indicate interpersonal Concession is conditioned to the type of Discursive Act (subsidiary or nuclear), meaning that *although* marks the Subsidiary Act, whereas *but* marks the Nuclear Act (cf. Hengeveld/Mackenzie 2008: 54–55).

The studies on Portuguese *mas* ‘but’ by Garcia (2016: 153–182), Garcia et al. (2021: 155–193), as well as Pezatti/Galvão Passetti (2021: 259–300), are based on Hengeveld/Mackenzie’s (2008) proposition. However, we do not think that the same analysis could apply to all examples above. The question which we intend to answer is: If *mas* does not mark the rhetorical function of Concession at the Interpersonal Level in (2), (3), (4), and (5), what role does it play in these occurrences?

Our purpose is, therefore, to investigate the different uses of *mas* according to the Functional Discourse Grammar in order to establish the pragmatic, semantic and morphosyntactic properties of each use in actual occurrences of Portuguese. These occurrences have been extracted from the corpus *Português Falado* (‘Spoken Portuguese’), developed by the by the *Projeto Português Falado: variedades geográficas e sociais* (‘Project Spoken Portuguese: geographical and social varieties’). In this paper we used the varieties spoken in Portugal (PT89, PT95, PT96), Brazil (BR80, BR87, BR93), Mozambique (MO86), São Tomé and Príncipe (TO-PR96).

2 The role of *mas* in Portuguese

We have found four different uses of *mas* ‘but’ in our data, whose pragmatic, semantic and morphosyntactic properties will be described below.²

2.1 Marker of the rhetorical function Concession

In example (1), repeated for convenience in (6), below, the use of *mas* ‘but’ establishes a contrast between two informational contents: *eu fui para Porto Alegre* ‘I went to Porto Alegre’ and *eu fiquei hospedada numa outra cidade vizinha* ‘I stayed in another neighboring city’. As we can see, these communicated contents are not contrastive in themselves but are conceived as such by the Speaker, based on their knowledge, assumptions, and inferences, given that, as well remarked by Sweetser (1990: 103), there cannot be contrast or disagreement outside of the speaker’s mental concept. In this occurrence, the Speaker retrieves the information that is already available to the Addressee, namely that they had been to a conference in Porto Alegre

² We are not covering social-linguistic aspects of different varieties.

and adds to their communicative purposes an argumentatively important information: the Speaker had stayed in a city near Porto Alegre.

- (6) S1 **eu fui para Porto Alegre mas, ah, eu fiquei em cida[...], hospedada numa outra cidade vizinha**, se não me engano, aí de Esteio, é perto de Canoas (BR80:SurpresasFotografia)
 ‘I went to Porto Alegre, but, oh, I was in the cit[...], stayed in another neighbouring city. If I am not mistaken, coming from Esteio, it’s near Canoas’

According to Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 55), each of the Communicated Contents in occurrence (6) consists in a Discourse Act with different communicative statuses. The first Act is the Subsidiary one, which present information considered to be available in some way to the Addressee and supports the second, the Nuclear Act, which, in turn, presents the argumentatively stronger piece of information (cf. Anscombe/Ducrot 1977: 23–40). This strategy is a characteristic of the rhetorical function Concession (C_{conc}) of the Subsidiary Act.

Garcia et al. (2021:155–193) state that the role of the Nuclear Act introduced by *mas* ‘but’ is to *add* or *replace* the Communicated Content presented in the previous Discourse Act. Nonetheless, Pezatti/Mackenzie (2022: 78f.) show that the opposition expressed by *mas* ‘but’ concomitantly indicates concessiveness (C_{conc}) at the Interpersonal Level as well as addition (Λ) at the Representational Level. To put it differently, the word *mas* ‘but’ expresses the combination IL: Conc + RL: Addition (Λ), to which we fully agree. These two properties, concessiveness (C_{conc}) and addition (Λ), trigger the insertion of *mas* ‘but’ at the Morphosyntactic Level, and not of *embora* ‘although’, according to the equation in (7), in addition to representations of each level in (7a), b and c.

- (7) IL: (...(A_1) C_{conc} ...) + NR: (p_1) Λ (p_2) = NM: (Gw_1 : **mas** (Gw_1))
 (7a) IL: (M_I : [(A_I : –eu fui para Porto Alegre– (A_I) C_{conc}) (A_J : –eu fiquei hospedada numa outra cidade vizinha– (A_J))] (M_I))
 (7b) RL: (p_i :–eu fui para Porto Alegre– (p_i)) (Λ p_j : –eu fiquei hospedada numa outra cidade vizinha– (p_j))
 (7c) NM: (Le_i : [(Cl_i : –eu fui para Porto Alegre– (Cl_i)) (Gw_i : **mas** (Gw_i)) (Cl_j : –eu fiquei hospedada numa outra cidade vizinha– (Cl_j))] (Le_i))

As clear indicated by the level representations in (7a), b, c, each Discursive Act corresponds to a Propositional Content at the Representational Level and a Clause at the Morphosyntactic Level.

Therefore, the rhetorical function Concession marked at the Morphosyntactic Level by *mas* ‘but’ reflects concessiveness between the Discursive Acts at the Interpersonal Level, addition between Propositional Contents at the Representational Level and the order of the Concessive Clause (representative of the Subsidiary Act) before the Clause representing the Nuclear Act, which is always preceded by *mas* ‘but’. The construction as a whole displays the configuration of Coordination, a phenomenon which surfaces at the layer of Linguistic Expression, since two units which can be used independently are combined.

These pragmatic, semantic and morphosyntactic properties distinguish *mas* ‘but’ from *embora* ‘although’. At the Interpersonal Level, both join two Discourse Acts with different statuses (cf.

Hengeveld/Mackenzie 2008: 54–55). However, while *embora* ‘although’ marks the Subsidiary Act, which is a kind of afterthought (cf. Keizer 2015: 56), *mas* ‘but’ marks the Nuclear Act. Each Discursive Act which is involved stands for a Propositional Content at the Representational Level, but only the concessiveness with *mas* has the property of addition, which is not the case of *embora* ‘although’. These interpersonal and representational differences are reflected at the Morphosyntactic Level: the use of *mas* ‘but’ stands for Coordination at the layer of Linguistic Expression, since both Clauses can be used independently from each other; the use of *embora* ‘although’ reflects Linguistic Expression with a configuration of Cosubordination (cf. Garcia 2016: 173), in which one Clause is dependent and the other is independent, as displayed in (8a), b, c and (9a), b, c.

- (8a) IL: (M₁: [(A₁)_{Conc} (A₂)] (M₁))
 (8b) RL: (p_i) (Λ p_j)
 (8c) ML: (Le₁: [(Cl₁) (Gw₁) (Cl₂)] (Le₁))
 (9a) IL: (M₁: [(A₁) (A₂)_{Conc}] (M₁))
 (9b) RL: (p_i) (p_j)
 (9c) ML: (Le₁: [(Cl₁) (Gw₁) (^{dep}Cl₂)] (Le₁))

2.2 Move operator

As pointed out by Garcia et al. (2021: 184), example (2), resumed for convenience in (10), as opposed to (6), establishes a relation between two Discourse Acts: The Subsidiary and the Nuclear, which forms the core of a Move. The word *mas* ‘but’ also will control the interaction by signalling the introduction of a new Move, as displayed in (10).

- (10) S1 então, que é que o senhor acha dos jovens, por exemplo
 ‘So, what do you think of the young folks, for instance’
 S2 acha de quê?
 ‘What do I think of what?’
 S1 de hoje em dia? dos jovens... de hoje em dia. a cabeça deles, como é que vai ser tudo isso... com o pensamento que, que eles têm? o futuro dessa geração...
 ‘of nowadays? The young folks... nowadays, their mindset, how everything will play out... with the way of thinking they have? The future of this generation...’
 S2 é outra pergunta, também, meia, não é, para gente entender a mente de um jovem hoje em dia, está meio bravo.
 ‘That’s another question, kind of, isn’t it, for us to understand the mind of a young person nowadays is kind of hard.’
 S1 senhor acha?
 ‘Do you think?’
 S2 eu acho.
 ‘I do.’
 S1 ***mas*** você se considera assim realmente de outra geração? bem...
 ‘But do you really consider yourself to be from another generation?, Well...’
 S2 não, eu não me considero de outra ge[...], ge[...], geração, não!
 (BR80:CriarFilhos)
 ‘No, I don’t consider myself to be from another ge[...], ge[...], generation, oh no!’

The construction *mas você se considera assim realmente de outra geração?* ‘But do you really consider yourself to be from another generation?’ is characterized by the fact that (a) it was produced within a dialogue between two Speakers; (b) it is a single turn; (c) it can be paraphrased by *então você se considera assim de outra geração?* ‘So, do you really consider yourself to be from another generation?’; (d) it has an Intonational Phrase contour; (e) it elicits a reaction from the Addressee. These properties grant this expression the status of Move, specifically an Opening Move marked by *mas* ‘but’.

Opening Move in Portuguese can also be introduced by *mas* ‘but’ when the Speaker wants to address an aspect about the topic which has not been covered yet, as illustrated in (11).

- (11) S1 **sim, mas veja, isso no plano que nós analisamos.** porque nós estamos vivendo nessa sociedade, não é, em que as coisas são totalmente deturpadas.
 ‘Yeah, but look at this in terms we have analysed, because we are living in this society, isn’t it, in which things are totally distorted.’
- S2 não, não, no plano filosófico não, é em termos de, de aplicação prá[...], prática, não é,
 ‘No, not in philosophical terms, in terms of, of prac[...], practical application, isn’t it,’
- S1 certo.
 ‘Right.’
- S2 serve como concepção de vida.
 ‘It works as a life concept.’
- S1 concepção
 ‘Concept’
- S2 é
 ‘Yes.’
- S1 **mas vamos falar em termos de aplicações práticas.**
 ‘But let us talk in terms of practical applications.’
- S2 aí tem que partir para o lado político.
 ‘Then we must turn to the political aspect.’
- S1 exacto. o plano político, está, então nós sabemos que, ah, estão, tentaram aí porque eu acho que foi uma tentativa que se fizeram, não é, nos países do leste de implantação do socialismo. (BR87:EconomiaSociedade)
 Exactly. The political aspect is, as we know, uh, they are, they tried, because I think this was an attempt which they have made, isn’t it, to implement socialism in Eastern countries.’

In this occurrence, the Speaker uses the sentence “let us talk in terms of practical applications” to introduce a discussion about “practical aspects”, considering that they had only discussed “philosophical aspects” so far. Notice that the Move *mas vamos falar em termos de aplicações práticas* ‘let us talk in terms of practical applications’ displays an Exhortative Illocution, as opposed to the Interrogative Illocution in (10).

On the other hand, the *mas* ‘but’ in (12) indicates the end of a reasonably extensive turn in which the Speaker argues that the behaviour of young men has been progressively changing,

since they care more about their looks and use more cosmetics than those from older generations. The expression *mas eu penso que os nossos jovens que já estão noutra direção* ‘but I think that our young folks are already moving in another direction’, retrieves in a certain sense the content at the beginning of his speech: “I think so. I think that over time a man may develop habits and changes. I think so”. In this case, *mas* ‘but’ marks the end of his turn.

- (12) S1 *sim, sim. eu penso que sim. eu acho que sim, que com o tempo que o homem vai... criando hábitos e vai mudando. acho que sim. mesmo hoje um homem já se interessa bastante por usar um after-shave, portanto a seguir à barba, eh, pôr uma água-de-colónia, enfim já acha es[...], que isso é um produto necessário, não é?, e já por norma o homem, isso usa. agora um creme hidratante ou, enfim, fazer um, um tratamento especial à, à cara é natural, pronto, que a maior parte não estejam de facto mentalizados. eh, pronto, eh, enfim, ainda perdura assim uma mentalidade um bocadinho antiquada. mas eu penso que os nossos jovens que já estão noutra direção.* (PT96:BomSenoRosto)

‘Yeah, yeah. I think so. I think that over time a man may develop habits and changes. I think so. Because nowadays a guy does care about using some after-shave lotion, like after having shaved, uh, using cologne, so, he thinks that it... that this is a necessary product, isn’t it? And, as a rule, a man uses it. Now a moisturizer or like a special facial treatment is natural, well, most of them are not really aware of it. Uh, well, uh, there’s still a mindset that is a little bit old-fashioned. But I think that our young folks are already moving in another direction.’

In the three latter cases, *mas* ‘but’ acts as a push operator of the Move (cf. Hengeveld/Mackenzie 2008: 52), highlighting the desire to introduce a new topic, as in (10), resuming or changing the direction of the developing discourse, as in (11), or even finish the interaction, as in (12).

2.3 Marker of the pragmatic function Contrast

In the sections 2.1 and 2.2, we have shown that either at the layer of Move or as a marker of the rhetorical function Concession, *mas* ‘but’ acts by linking non-equipollent Discourse Acts, or as an operator, introducing, resuming, closing and changing the direction of the current discourse. Nevertheless, the occurrence (3), resumed in (13) for convenience, seems not to match any of the previous cases.

- (13) S1 *então viu que eu que estava ali, **sentado, mas adormecido** (MO86: Chuva)*
 ‘then she saw that I was there, seated, but asleep,’

This is neither a Move operator to indicate the introduction, nor a rhetorical function operator between Discursive Acts, since this construction is not linked to the ways by which Speaker organizes the components of a discourse to influence the Addressee towards accepting their communicative purposes. In (13), the expression *sentado, mas adormecido* ‘seated, but asleep’ suggests a linguistic strategy of putting two shared pieces of information into contrast to give more emphasis to the information preceded by *mas* ‘but’. In other words, it indicates which of the two lexically expressed pieces of information should be highlighted. In this case, the concern lies in the way in which the Speaker gives shape to their messages based on their expectations about the Addressee’s mental state, by reinforcing parts of a linguistic unit, defining the

departure point as well as the units assessed as being known by the participants in the interaction.

Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 88) call these strategies for assigning different communicative statuses to linguistic units “pragmatic functions” and divided them into three types: *Topic*, whose counterpart is *Comment*, *Focus*, whose counterpart is *Background*, and *Contrast vs Overlap*. We are specifically interested in the Contrast function, which has received attention from various researchers. According to Bolinger (1961: 83), *contrast* is the phenomenon in which two or more items are opposed but still pointing out a preference for one (or several) of them. Chafe (1976: 34) explains that the phenomenon of contrastiveness involves three factors: (a) background knowledge (presupposed knowledge), (b) the set of possible candidates to fulfil the role in question and (c) the assertion of which candidate is the correct one. Taglicht (1984) understands contrast as being a pragmatic-contextual concept, which can be represented by antonyms (e. g., tall x small) or by syntactic structures (e. g., John is pleasant, but Peter is a nuisance). The author argues that the contrast can be explicit (with both units of the pair being expressed) or implicit (when only one unit of the pair is present). Moreover, Taglicht (1984) maintains that the form of enunciation is what suggests that something is presupposed.

Dik (1997) states that languages feature two main Focus strategies: Information Gap and Contrast. The latter is of our special interest since it “involves some kind of contrast between the Focus constituent and alternative pieces of information, which may be explicitly presented or presupposed” (cf. Dik 1997: 332f.-3). The Parallel Focus “is assigned to corresponding constituents in parallel constructions.” In the other contrastive Focus types, “the information presented is opposed to other, similar information which Speaker presupposes to be entertained by Addressee. These may be called cases of ‘counter-presuppositional’ Focus” and may indicate substitution; expansion; restriction; selection; rejection (cf. Dik 1997: 332).

Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 96–99), in turn, consider Contrast to be yet another pragmatic function, along with Topic and Focus. This function points out “the Speaker’s desire to bring out the particular differences between two or more Communicated Contents or between a Communicated Content and contextually available information” in the co-text or the discourse situation (Hengeveld/Mackenzie 2008: 96).

The important point to be noticed here is that contrast is a pragmatic-contextual concept which sets a correct candidate against other potential candidates to fulfil the role at hand, while taking into consideration the presupposed knowledge (background knowledge) of the participants. In each case, both members in a pair of opposites may be present in the enunciation or one of them may be implicit.

Galvão Passetti (2021: 162) considers that *mas* ‘but’ can both mark the rhetorical function concession between non-equipollent Discourse Acts, as in (14), and the pragmatic function Contrast between two Communicated Contents belonging to different Discursive Acts, as in (15), which he calls *non-clause adversative coordination of Contrast with Clarification*.

- (14) S1 **nada de excepcional, mas eu acho uma beleza** (BR80:ArteUrbana)
 ‘Nothing exceptional, but I think it is lovely’

- (15) S1 **e depois há outro treino técnico mas... de, da própria técnica em si**
 (PT95:JogarFutebol)
 ‘And afterwards there is another technical training, but... of the technique in itself’

Unlike Galvão Passetti (2021), Pezatti/Mackenzie (2022: 79–81) consider that, in the occurrence (13), the construction linked by *mas* ‘but’ (*sentado, mas adormecido* ‘seated, but asleep’) is a single Discourse Act, in which the contrast takes place between two Subacts forming a single Communicated Content. The use of *mas* to link Subacts consists in the linguistic strategy of putting two shared pieces of information into contrast, giving more emphasis to the information preceded by *mas*; in other words, it is a means to indicate, between two lexically expressed pieces of information, which one should be highlighted. In the epistemic domain, *seated* is in contrast with *asleep*, considering that, as a rule, *being seated* presumes *to be vigilant*. Despite being epistemically adverse, one does not exclude the other. On the contrary, the indication of addition, inherent to *mas* ‘but’, is easily noticeable, as previously shown. Thus, the pragmatic function Contrast assigned to the second Subact at the Interpersonal Level is combined with addition at the Representational Level, resulting in the combination [IL: Contr + RL: Addition], which is reflected in the use of *mas*, and not *embora*, at the Morphosyntactic Level, according to the representation of the three levels in (16a), b, c.

- (16) **sentado, mas adormecido**
 ‘seated, but asleep’

- (16a) IL: (A_I : (C_I : [(T_I: –sentado– (T_I)) (T_J: –adormecido– (T_J))_{Contr}] (C_I)) (A_I))
 RL: (e_i: [(f_i–sentado– (f_i)) (Λ f_j: –adormecido– (f_j))] (x_i)_U (e_i))
 ML: (A_p_i: [(A_w_i –sentado– (A_w_i)) (G_w_i: /**mas**/ (G_w_i)) (A_w_j –adormecido– (A_w_j))] (A_p_i))

The occurrence (4), resumed in (17) for convenience, also illustrates a case of Contrast between Subacts of the same Communicated Content, with both members of the pair of opposites being lexically expressed (*ar* ‘air’ and *sangue* ‘blood’). This example shows that the Speaker presumes that the Addressee has a piece of information X for which he (Speaker) has non-X (Dik 1997: 333). Therefore, in order to provide a piece of information to the Addressee which he considers to be the correct, appropriate, and most important for their purposes, the Speaker corrects the Addressee’s information, rejecting it. It is not a matter of adding information, but of rejecting one of the pairs by means of the negation operator *não* and assertion of the other, using the affirmation operator *sim*.³

- (17) um outro médico, ah, grego, conseguiu demonstrar que **o que circula nos nossos vasos não é ar mas sim sangue**. (PT89:Pai Medicina)
 ‘Another physician, uh, a Greek doctor, was able to show that what flows in our veins is not air, but blood.’

³ We understand that the word *sim* is the operador *afir*, which is opposed to the negation operator *não*. In this case, it is not a strategic action of the Speaker to convince the Addressee, it is a type of doxastic modality (an attitude that concerns the Speaker’s commitment to the Propositional Content, indicating an unquestionable belief) in semantic domain. The relationship established is between *sim* and *não*. Galvão Passetti (2021:162) calls this type of construction a substitutive non-clause adversative coordination.

- (17a) IL: (A_I: (C_I: [(T_I: –ar– (T_I)) (T_J: –sangue– (T_J))_{Contr}] (R_I: –o que circula nos nos-
sos vasos– (R_I)) (C_I)) (A_I))
- (17b) RL: (e_i: [(**neg** f_i –ar– (f_i)) (**afir** f_j: –sangue– (f_j))] (x_i: –o que circula nos nossos
vasos– (x_i))_U (e_i))
- (17c) ML: (Cl_i: [(^{dep}Cl_j: –o que circula nos nossos vasos– (Cl_j))_{Subj} (Gw_i: não (Gw_i)) (Vw_i:
–é– (Vw_i)) (Nw_i –ar– (Nw_i)) (Gw_j: mas (Gw_j)) (Gw_k: sim (Gw_k)) (Nw_j –
sangue– (Nw_j))] (Cl_i))

The occurrences in (16) and (17) provide examples of the pragmatic function Contrast, in which the parts of information put into contrast are lexically expressed in the syntactic unit, representing the strategy of Parallel Focus, set forth by Dik (1997: 331). While in (16), information is expanded, in (17), one piece of information is replaced with another.

In sum, in Portuguese, supporting Hengeveld/Mackenzie’s proposition (2008), clearly distinguishes the pragmatic functions Topic and Focus from the function Contrast, i. e., the emphasis on particular differences between parts of information, which may be explicit or implicit. Furthermore, it uses two different strategies to indicate the pragmatic function Contrast: when the contrasted information is explicit (Parallel Focus in terms of Dik 1997: 331), the employed means is *mas* ‘but’. On the other hand, when only one piece of information is explicit and the other is contextually available (Counter-presuppositional Focus in terms of Dik 1997: 331), it resorts to particles such as *apenas* ‘only’, *só* ‘just’, *sobretudo* ‘especially’, *principalmente* ‘mainly’, *também* ‘also’, among others (Pezatti 2012: 87). *Mas* ‘but’ is the means employed in Portuguese to mark the pragmatic function Contrast, opposing two Subacts of the same Discourse Act.

2.4 Emphasis Marker

According to Pezatti/Garcia (2021: 107), the occurrence (5), repeated for convenience in (18), illustrates yet another usage of *mas* ‘but’. In this example, the informational content of the Discourse Act preceded by *mas* ‘but’ conveys identical or at least compatible information to the previous content, signalling the Speaker’s desire to reinforce parts of information.

- (18) S1 *é o que eu te disse que adorei, **mas** adorei!* (BR80:ArteUrbana)
‘That’s what I told you I loved, but loved it!’

In (18), there is no opposition between both Discourse Acts *é o que eu te disse que adorei* ‘that’s what I told you I loved’ and *adorei!* ‘I loved it!’, since *mas* ‘but’ cannot be replaced by adverbs such as *porém*, *contudo*, *todavia*, *entretanto*, *no entanto* (Bagno 2011: 891); quite on the contrary, repeating *adorei!* ‘I loved it!’ preceded by *mas* ‘but’ intensifies the Speaker’s appreciation for the cities, the subject of the conversation.

Castilho (2010: 680) defines intensification as a “resource to strengthen, intensify a process (verb), a quality (adjective) or a circumstance (adverb), by means of proper classes, collectively called *intensifiers*” (italics in the original). Another intensification tool typically observed in spoken Portuguese is the use of the structure *é...que* ‘it is...that’, recognized in functionalist research works as *cleft construction* and *Focus-be constructions* (Longhin 1999; Braga 2009). Nonetheless, Pezatti (2012: 92) argues, based on Functional Discourse Grammar, that cleft construction and Focus-be constructions are means to indicate pragmatic functions (Focus and

Contrast, respectively), whereas the construction *-(é) que* allows the Speaker to reinforce a Subact within the Communicated Content. To put it differently, this is the interpersonal category of Emphasis and not of pragmatic function, as shown in (19), whose Reference Subact, represented by *tubarão* ‘shark’, is highlighted.

- (19) S1 **mas** o tubarão que tem a fama **é que** se apossou do mar (TO-PR96: Pesca)
 ‘but the shark which has the fame is what seized the sea’

The intensification can be expressed by different means (grammatical suffixes, lexical words, and syntactic constructions). The purpose is to show, in accordance with Pezatti/Garcia (2021), that constructions introduced by *mas* ‘but’ in given contexts can also mark reinforcement or intensification.

Occurrences such as (18) cannot be analysed as an instance of Concession by means of *mas* ‘but’, as in (6), given that they do not have a rhetorical function, i. e., they are not related to the way the Speaker organizes the discourse components in order to convince the Addressee over to some communicative purpose which they have in mind. Neither can (18) be analysed as an instance of Contrast, as in (13) and (17), since no oppositional relationship between incongruent pieces of information is established, which is evoked by Subacts of the Discourse Act’s Communicated Content.

In the case of (18), the second unit *mas adorei!* ‘but loved it!’ does not provide descriptive information presenting distinct or opposite semantic contents. Rather, it conveys the same content, yet underlines the Speaker’s emphatic commitment to the communicated content (Keizer 2015: 87), which is called Emphasis.

As a Speaker’s linguistic action, Emphasis is a category of the Interpersonal Level, which spans all its layers (Act, Illocution, Communicated Content and Subacts) except for Move and the Participants of the Speech Act.

The analysed data shows that, in addition to the emphatic (lexical) modification signalling annoyance and anger, as stated by Hengeveld/Mackenzie (2008: 64f.) and Keizer (2015: 59f.), a Discourse Act may be intensified to express reinforcement, thus having the representation in (20).

- (20) (**emph** A_I : [(F_I: ILL (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I)] (A_I)) (adapted from Keizer 2015: 60)

The clauses *mas adorei!* ‘but I loved it’ in (18) and *mas é linda* ‘but is it beautiful’ in (21) are examples of Discourse Acts with an Exclamative illocutionary force, since they express the Speaker’s strong appreciation, respectively, for the historical cities of Minas Gerais and the church of Santo António in the city of Mariana (cf. Keizer 2015: 61f.).⁴ In this case, *mas* ‘but’ works on the Discourse Act as a whole, highlighting the feeling of appreciation, as in (21a).

- (21) S1 você chegou a conhecer em Tiradentes aquela, aquela igreja de Santo António?
 aquela matriz de Santo António...
 ‘Did you get to know in Tiradentes that, that church of Santo António? That main church of Santo António...’

⁴ Exclamative, expressing the Speaker’s strong feelings about something or someone (delight, anger, surprise, excitement, etc.)

- S2 que coisa maravilhosa! aquela que tem, que tem o órgão?
 ‘What a wonderful thing! The one which has, which has the organ?’
- S1 que tem o órgão, o primeiro órgão.
 ‘Which has the organ, the first organ.’
- S2 ah, **mas é linda**, das mais lindas que eu achei! achei das mais lindas.
 (BR80:ArteUrbana)
 ‘Oh, but is it beautiful, one of the most beautiful I have found! I found it one of the most beautiful.’
- (21a) (emph A_I: [(F_I: EXCL (F_I)) C_I: (T_I: -linda- (T_I)) (C_I)) (A_I))

The status of Discourse Act operator can be verified by the fact that it applies to occurrences in (22), which is formed by a Discourse Act composed of a single Reference Subact *quinta-série*, ‘fifth grade’ with the pragmatic function Contrast, whose illocutionary force is Declarative, as in (21a).

- (22) S1 a gente [tá] sabendo inglês esse ano, tudo, não é, já vi na quinta série **mas só na quinta série**. (BR93:FestaEstudante:31)
 ‘We’re doing well in English class this year, everything, isn’t it? I had it in fifth grade, but only in the fifth grade.’
- (22a) (emph A_I: [(F_I: DECL (F_I)) (C_I: (R_I: -quinta série- (R_I))_{Contr} (C_I))] (A_I))

Furthermore, cases with two Emphasis markers, as in (23), show that each of them acts at a different layer, i. e., *mas* ‘but’ takes the Discourse Act under its scope, and *mesmo* ‘really’, only the Reference Subact *infância*, as represented in (23a).

- (23) S1 eu acho que pode existi(r) mas::... essa pesSOA tem que sê(r) sua amiga desde infân::cia... **mas inFÂnciA mesmo...** (AC-011; RP: L. 308)
 ‘I think it could exist but... this person must be your friend since childhood... but childhood really...’⁵
- (23a) (emph A_I: [(C_I: [(R_I: -infância- (R_I)) : mesmo]) (C_I)) (A_I))

This difference in scope can also be observed in (24), in which the Discourse Act *grande me(s)mo* ‘big really’ is reinforced by *mas* ‘but’, and the Attribution Subact *grande* ‘big’ is emphasized by *mesmo* ‘really’, according to the representation in (24a).

- (24) S1 bem grande né?
 ‘Quite big, isn’t it?’
- S2 gran::de gran::de **mas grande me(s)mo...** então éh::: pessoal... é legal. (AC-137; DE: L. 229)
 ‘Big, big, but really big... so uh, folks... it’s cool.’⁶
- (24a) (emph A_I: [(C_I: (T_I) : mesmo (T_I)] (C_I)) (A_I))

The Subact, the core of a Discourse Act emphasized by *mas* ‘but’, may have the pragmatic function Contrast, as illustrated in (25), in which *só* ‘only’ marks the Subact *quinta série* ‘fifth

⁵ Data extracted from the database *Iboruna* (Gonçalves: 2007).

⁶ Data extracted from the database *Iboruna* (Gonçalves: 2007).

grade’ and establishes a restrictive contrast with presupposed pieces of information, i. e., the other grades, as in (25a).⁷

- (25) S1 a gente sabendo inglês esse ano, tudo, não é?, já vi na quinta série **mas só na quinta série**. (BR93:Festa Estudante:31)
 ‘We’re doing well in English class this year, everything, isn’t it? I had it in fifth grade, but only in the fifth grade.’

(25a) (emph A_I : [(C_I : (R_I:)_{Contr} (C_I)) (A_I))

An important aspect to be noticed is that the emphasized Discourse Act consists in a Communicated Content composed of a single Subact; that is to say, it is commonly holophrastic and not seldom a repetition of a part of the previous Discourse Act, as showed in (18), repeated for convenience in (26), in which the Attribution Subact, represented by the verbal predicate *adorei* ‘I loved it’, is repeated in the emphasized Discourse Act.

- (26) S1 é o que eu te disse que adorei, **mas adorei!** (BR80:ArteUrbana)
 ‘That’s what I told you I loved, but loved it!’

Semantically, both Discourse Acts involved in the construction correspond to Propositional Contents, which, in turn, can encompass all lower layers of the model. Being holophrastic, the propositional Content is composed by a lexical core, which can be a configurational core having a two-place property such as *adorei* ‘I loved it’ in (26), represented in (26a).

(26a) RL: (p_i: e_i: [(f_i: -adorei- (f_i)_V) (x_i)_A (l_i)_U] (e_i)) (p_i))

The Discourse Acts addressed herein are morphosyntactically structured as a single unit, which can be a Clause, formed by one word, such as *adorei*, in (26), shown in (26b), or as (20), repeated for convenience in (27), represented by a prepositional syntagm, *in fifth grade*, according to (27a).

(26b) (Cl_i: (Gw_i: /mas/ (Gw_i)) (Vp_i: (Vw_i-adorei- (Vw_i)) (Vp_i)) (Cl_i))

- (27) S1 a gente sabendo inglês esse ano, tudo, não é?, já vi na quinta série **mas só na quinta série**. (BR93:Festa Estudante:31)
 ‘We’re doing well in English class this year, everything, isn’t it? I had it in fifth grade, but only in the fifth grade.’

(27a) (Le_i: (Gw_i: /mas/ (Gw_i)) (Gw_i: /só/ (Gw_i)) (Pp_i: -na quinta série- (Pp_i)) (Le_i))

The representation of the three analysis levels Interpersonal, Representational and Morphosyntactic of the model is illustrated in occurrence (28).⁸

- (28) S1 e ele era uma crian::ça exTREMamente agressiva... **mas MUIto agressivo** (AC-086; RO: L. 736)

‘And he was an extremely aggressive child... but very aggressive’

(28a) IL: M_I: (A_I: - ele era uma criança extremamente agressiva - (A_I)) (**emph A_J**: [(C_J: (T_J)) (C_J)) (A_J))

(28b) IL: (**emph A_J**: [(C_J: (T_J: -muito agressivo - (T_J)) (C_J)) (A_J))

(28c) RL: (p_j: (intens f_j: agressivo (f_j)) (x)_U) (p_j))

⁷ According to Pezatti (2012: 85).

⁸ Data extracted from the database *Iboruna* (Gonçalves: 2007).

(28d) ML: (Gw_j: /mas/ (Gw_j)) (Ap_j: [(Adv_{wj} –muito– (Adv_{wj})) (Aw_j: –agressivo– (Aw_j)) (Ap_j))

This section treated the pragmatic, semantic and morphosyntactic properties of Discourse Acts emphasized by *mas* ‘but’. The next section presents a summary of the uses of *mas* ‘but’ founded in the analyzed data.

3 Conclusion

Based on the Functional Discourse Grammar model, this study shows that there are four uses of *mas* ‘but’ in Portuguese: two as *operators* and two as *functions*, as summarized below.

1. *Push operator* at the Move layer, to indicate the introduction, resumption or ending of a topic in the current discourse, as shown by Garcia et al. (2021).
2. *Emphasis operator* at the Discourse Act layer, indicating the Speaker’s emphatic commitment to the content of the Discourse Act, as proposed by Pezatti/Garcia (2021).
3. *Rhetorical function Concession*, when combining two non-equipollent Discourse Acts, it marks concessiveness at Interpersonal Level, as shown by Garcia et al. (2021), and addition at the Representational Level, as proposed by Pezatti/Mackenzie (2022).
4. *Pragmatic function Contrast*, when combining two necessarily lexically explicit Subacts in a single Discourse Act, it marks Parallel Focus, as shown in Pezatti/Mackenzie (2022). In this respect, this proposition differs from Galvão Passetti’s (2021), who considers it to be a Contrast between two Discourse Acts, and not Subacts within a single Discourse Act. Furthermore, this proposition allows a clear distinction between Parallel Focus, marked by *mas*, and Counter-presuppositional Focus, marked by expletives, as pointed out by Dik (1997: 331).

	MAS	IL			RL			ML		
Operator	Push	M			P			Le		
	Emphasis		A						Cl	
Function	Concession		A		∧				Cl	
	Contrast			SB						Xp

Chart 1: Multifunctionality of *mas* in Portuguese in the light of FDG
(Source: elaborated by the authors)

In sum the combination of linguistic units through *mas* ‘but’ always signals interpersonal strategies which differ in the speaker’s communicative intention and are reflected in the layers involved. It is interesting to note that these strategies retain the ability of *mas* ‘but’ to give emphasis to the unit on which it is acting.

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