$$
\begin{bmatrix} word \\ \text{ORTH} \ \langle \ Grammatik \ \rangle \\ \text{SYN}|\text{CAT}|\text{SUBCAT} \ \langle \ \text{DET} \ \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{IND} \ \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR} \ \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} grammar \\ \text{INST} \ \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} word \\ \text{ORTH} \ \langle \ 语法 \ \rangle \\ \text{SYN}|\text{CAT}|\text{SUBCAT} \ \langle \ \text{DET} \ \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{IND} \ \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR} \ \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} grammar \\ \text{INST} \ \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} word \\ \text{ORTH} \ \langle \ دستور \ \rangle \\ \text{SYN}|\text{CAT}|\text{SUBCAT} \ \langle \ \text{DET} \ \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{IND} \ \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR} \ \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} grammar \\ \text{INST} \ \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} word \\ \text{ORTH} \ \langle \ व्याकरण \ \rangle \\ \text{SYN}|\text{CAT}|\text{SUBCAT} \ \langle \ \text{DET} \ \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{IND} \ \boxed{1} \\ \text{RESTR} \ \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} grammar \\ \text{INST} \ \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation in Brazilian Portuguese

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Contents

Introduction

Our **phenomenon**:
the pronoun *a gente* 'we' in Brazilian Portuguese and its **grammatical** and **register-driven variation** with respect to agreement.

- grammar   → agreement variation
- usage   → usage preferences reflected in acceptability

Main questions:

- How can we account for the variation?   → **grammar**
- How can we reflect/predict the judgements?   → **usage**
- How can we embed **register-knowledge** in a **formal theory of grammar**?

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Phenomenon
   └─ Variation 1

Variation 1

In Brazilian Portuguese, there are **two different pronominal forms** to express 1.PL 'we':

(1)   a.   nós

        b.   a gente

The form *a gente* is "**relatively new**" and has developed from the NP 'the people', (= *a* 'the' + *gente* 'people').

(2)   A gente toca   jazz.
      A GENTE play.3.SG jazz
      'The people play jazz.'
      'We play jazz.'

The phenomenon is present in European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP), but it is more widespread and stable in BP.

<div align="right">(Lopes 1999; Seara 2000; Zilles 2005, 2007; de Alencar 2013)</div>

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Phenomenon
   └─ Variation 1

Both *a gente* and *nós* are **truth-conditionally equivalent** and can be used interchangeably (cf. (3a) & (3b)).

(3)   a.   Nós tocamos jazz.
          1.PL play.1.PL jazz
          'We play jazz.'

       b.   A gente toca   jazz.
          A GENTE play.3.SG jazz
          'We play jazz.'

Difference (at least in standard varieties): *a gente* retains the **morphosyntactic behaviour** of 3.SG – consistent with the properties of the noun *gente* (cf. (3b) & (4)) – in spite of its semantic 1.PL status.

<div align="right">(Lopes 2004: 52-53)</div>

(4)   A   banda toca   jazz.
      the band   play.3.SG jazz
      'The band plays jazz.'

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Phenomenon
   └─ Variation 2

Variation 2

Morphosyntactically, *a gente* is associated with **two agreement patterns** of subject-verb agreement:

▶ *a gente* agrees with the verb in 3.SG (5a).

▶ *a gente* agrees with the verb in 1.PL (5b).

(5)   a.   A gente come   batata.
          A GENTE eat.3.SG potato

       b.   A gente comemo(s) batata.
          A GENTE eat.1.PL   potato

<div align="right">... our main concern ...</div>

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Phenomenon
   └─ Variation 3

Variation 3

... to make things more complicated:

Some studies have shown that *a gente* can also **agree** with the **verb** in 3.PL, cf. (6).   (Vianna 2006; de Alencar 2013; Marcotulio et al. 2013)

(6)   [M]uito bom quando as   pessoas que a gente amam   se
      very   good when   the people that A GENTE love.3.PL REFL
      gostam
      like
      'It is very good when the people that we love like each other'

This variant is quite marginal in BP, it seems to be a **regional variant** that would need a different treatment within the grammatical system.

<div align="right">(Pereira 2003; Costa & Pereira 2013)</div>

<div align="right">... not our concern ...</div>

Variation 4

In BP, there is agreement with **adjectives** and **participles** used in **predicative position**.

(7) a.   A   banda   está cansad-a.
the band.F.SG is   tired-F.SG

b. * A   banda   está cansad -as   / -o   / -os.
the band.F.SG is   tired -F.PL -M.SG -M.PL

A gente allows different patterns:

(8) a.   A gente está cansad -o   / -os.
A GENTE is   tired   -M.SG -M.PL

b.   A gente está cansad -a   / -as.
A GENTE is   tired -F.SG -F.PL

Gender agreement is influenced by **referential properties**.

Combining the **variation on the verb** (3.SG vs. 1.PL) and
the **variation on the predicative** (SG vs. PL), there are **4** attested
patterns that have to be accounted for.   (Vianna 2006)
ignoring gender agreement (→ referential) and the 3.PL variant (→ regional)

(9) [...] depois de 3 anos juntos   a gente fomos   indenizado
after   of 3 years together A GENTE were.1.PL compensated.M.SG
pela   urbeu [...]
by.the urbeu
'[...] after 3 years together we were compensated by Urbeu
[construction company] [...]'

(10) [...] a gente é   amigos   mesmo.
A GENTE is.3.SG friend.M.PL really
'We are really friends.'

Costa & Pereira (2013: 174) claim for EP that a particular variant of
subect-verb agreement blocks a conflicting variant of **predicate
agreement**, but see (9) & (10).

Variation 5

In **non-local contexts** with **anaphoric agreement**,
a gente is retrieved by *a gente* or *nós* (or its clitic form *nos*).

(11) a.   A gente$_1$ acha   [que a   Maria viu   a gente$_1$.]
A GENTE think.3.SG that the Maria saw.3.SG A GENTE
'We$_1$ think that Maria saw us$_1$.'

b.   A gente$_1$ acha   [que a   Maria nos$_1$ odeia.]
A GENTE think.3.SG that the Maria CL.1.PL hate.3.SG
'We$_1$ think that Maria hates us$_1$.'

c.   A gente$_1$ acha   [que a   Maria gosta   de nós$_1$.]
A GENTE think.3.SG that the Maria likes.3.SG of us
'We$_1$ think that Maria likes us$_1$.'

Variation 6

In **local contexts**, *a gente* preferentially **binds** the **reflexive proclitic** *se*.
(Menuzzi 2000; Reuland 2011)

(12) A gente$_1$ se$_1$ viu   na   TV.
A GENTE   REFL saw.3.SG on-the TV
'We$_1$ saw ourselves$_1$ on TV.'

A gente binding the 1.PL **reflexive clitic** *nos* has been judged as
ungrammatical in the literature.
(Menuzzi 2000; Reuland 2011; Costa & Pereira 2013; Marcotulio et al. 2013)

... but ...

A gente can also be a **local antecedent** for the **standard** 1.PL **reflexive clitic** *nos*.   (Taylor 2009; Brito & Sedrins 2017; Carvalho et al. 2018; Varaschin 2021)

(13) Ou seja, o   desafio   é eterno, válido e   sempre que a gente₁
      or be,   the challenge is eternal, valid and always that A GENTE
      nos₁   dá   chance de superar-lo, a gente cresce!
      REFL.1.PL give.3.SG chance to overcome-it, A GENTE grows
      'That means, the challenge is eternal, valid and every time we₁ give
      ourselves₁ a chance to overcome it, we grow!"

(14) É mais fácil a gente₁ nos₁   alegrarmos   depois de passar
      is more easy A GENTE REFL.1.PL make-happy.1.PL after of pass
      o   dia.
      the day
      'It is easier for us₁ to make ourselves₁ happy after the day is over.'

(15) [...] a gente₁ acaba   nos₁   iludindo
            A GENTE end-up.3.SG REFL.1.PL deceiving
      'We₁ end up deceiving ourselves₁.'

Configurations in which *a gente* locally binds *nos* (16) are **much less frequent** than *a gente* locally binding *se* (17) **but not ungrammatical**, as the data shows.

(16) [...] a gente₁ acaba   nos₁   iludindo
            A GENTE end-up.3.SG REFL.1.PL deceiving
      'We₁ end up deceiving ourselves₁.'

(17) A gente₁ se₁ viu   na   TV.
      A GENTE REFL saw.3.SG on-the TV
      'We₁ saw ourselves₁ on TV.'

A **descriptively adequate grammar** should be consistent not only with **large-scale generalizations**, but also with **marked and infrequent patterns** attested, for instance, in corpora.   (cf. Meurers & Müller 2009)

This should hold too for the different existing patterns of *a gente*.

Introduction

Phenomenon

Analysis (Proposal)

Distribution of the data

Register

Conclusions

References

Analysis (Proposal)

Which are the configurations that have to be accounted for?

(focussing on *a gente*)

▶ subject-verb agreement:

▶ *a gente* triggers 3.SG verb agreement
▶ *a gente* triggers 1.PL verb agreement

▶ anaphoric agreement:
  ▶ *a gente* binds *se*, a REFL.3.SG pronoun
  ▶ *a gente* binds *nos*, a REFL.1.PL pronoun
▶ agreement chains:
  ▶ *a gente* — V.3.SG — Pred.SG
  ▶ *a gente* — V.1.PL — Pred.SG
  ▶ *a gente* — V.3.SG — Pred.PL
  ▶ *a gente* — V.1.PL — Pred.PL

Morphosyntactically 3.SG

Agreement with verbs: *a gente* predominantly agrees with a verb in 3.SG.

<div align="right">(Marcotulio et al. 2013: 132)</div>

	3.SG	1.PL	3.PL
spoken samples	99%	1%	0%
	(1046/1054)	(8/1054)	(0/1054)
written tests	81%	18%	1%
	(334/411)	(73/411)	(4/411)

Table 1: SVA with *a gente* in spoken samples and written tests

---

Agreement with predicative adjectives: *a gente* predominantly agrees with predicative adjectives in SG.

<div align="right">(Marcotulio et al. 2013: 133)</div>

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
spoken samples	90%	0%	10%	0%
	(37/41)	(0/41)	(4/41)	(0/41)
written tests	70%	14%	13%	3%
	(242/344)	(47/344)	(46/344)	(9/344)

Table 2: PA with *a gente* in spoken samples and written tests

---

NP-internal agreement: *a gente* cannot co-occur with **plural nominal dependents** (cf. (18) & (19)), but only with **singular** ones (cf. (20)).

(18) {Nós / *A gente} três fomos à igreja.
     we   A GENTE three went to-the church
     'We three went to church.'

(19) {Nós / *A gente} brasileir-os gostamos de futebol.
     we   A GENTE Brazilian-M.PL like   of football
     'We Brazilians like football.'

(20) A gente brasileir-o tem um preconceito danado contra a
     A GENTE Brazilian-M.SG have a   prejudice   damn   against the
     internacionalização.
     internationalization
     'We Brazilians have a lot of prejudice against internationalization.'

Correspondence with **Agreement Hierarchy** (Corbett 2006, 2015)

attributive	>	predicate	>	relative pronoun	>	personal pronoun

Table 3: Agreement Hierarchy

For any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease).

<div align="right">(Corbett 2006: 207)</div>
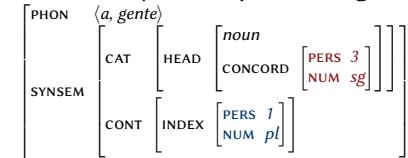
Constraining agreement

What do we need to give an analysis of the agreement mismatches?

- ▶ lexical entries for *a gente* and *nós*
- ▶ realisation constraint for the phonetic form of the verb
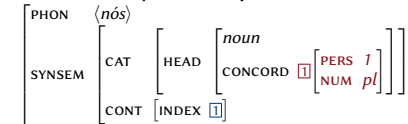- ▶ inflection rules allowing for the variation

---

***a gente*:** The values of CONCORD (syntactic PER and NUM values) and the values of INDEX (semantic PER and NUM values) are **different**.

(21) Lexical entry for the pronoun *a gente*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle a,\, gente \rangle \\
\text{SYNSEM} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} noun \\ \text{CONCORD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{NUM} & sg \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PERS} & 1 \\ \text{NUM} & pl \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

***nós*:** The values of CONCORD and INDEX are **structure shared**.

(22) Lexical entry for the pronoun *nós*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle nós \rangle \\
\text{SYNSEM} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} noun \\ \text{CONCORD} & \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{PERS} & 1 \\ \text{NUM} & pl \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(Kathol 1999; Wechsler & Zlatić 2003; Wechsler 2021)

We assume that **verbs** have also a **CONCORD feature**.

(following AGR in Kathol 1999)

The **function** Φ takes a *phonstring*, e.g. the stem of the verb *am-* 'love' and the CONCORD values of the *verb-word* and outputs the corresponding phonetic form.

(following Wechsler & Zlatić 2003)

(23) Constraint on *verb-word*

$$verb\text{-}word \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } \Phi\left(phonstring, \boxed{1}\right) \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{HEAD} \mid \text{CONCORD} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}$$

(24) a. *am-* + 1.PL = am-amos
    b. *am-* + 3.SG = am-a

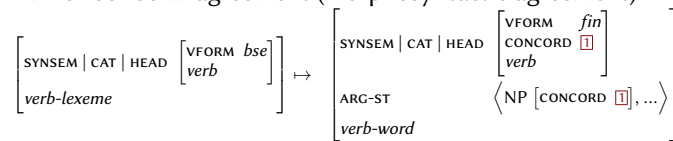(25) a. *com-* + 1.PL = com-emos
    b. *com-* + 3.SG = com-e

> *HPSG offers an integrated account of [agreement] phenomena. In most cases the analysis of agreement phenomena does not involve any special formal devices dedicated for agreement, comparable to the* probe *and* goal, *or the* AGREE *relation, found in Minimalist accounts (Chomsky 2000).*

(Wechsler 2021: 220)

We offer a **lexicalist account** for agreement (and its mismatches), based on two lexical rules that specify the CONCORD value of the verb w.r.t. its subject.

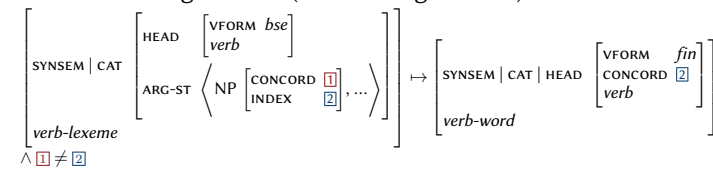(26) LR1 for CONCORD agreement (morphosyntactic agreement)

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} \; bse \\ verb \end{bmatrix} \\[4pt] verb\text{-}lexeme \end{bmatrix} \mapsto \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} \; fin \\ \text{CONCORD} \; \boxed{1} \\ verb \end{bmatrix} \\[8pt] \text{ARG-ST} \quad \big\langle \text{NP} \; [\text{CONCORD} \; \boxed{1}, \ldots] \big\rangle \\[4pt] verb\text{-}word \end{bmatrix}
$$

(23) Constraint on *verb-word*

$$
verb\text{-}word \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} \; \Phi(phonstring, \boxed{1}) \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{HEAD} \mid \text{CONCORD} \; \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(27) a. LR1 → a gente + am-a
      b. LR1 → nós + am-amos
      c. a gente + am-amos

(28) LR2 for INDEX agreement (semantic agreement)

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} \; bse \\ verb \end{bmatrix} \\[6pt] \text{ARG-ST} \big\langle \text{NP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CONCORD} \; \boxed{1} \\ \text{INDEX} \; \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix}, \ldots \big\rangle \end{bmatrix} \\[10pt] verb\text{-}lexeme \end{bmatrix} \mapsto \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} \; fin \\ \text{CONCORD} \; \boxed{2} \\ verb \end{bmatrix} \\[6pt] verb\text{-}word \end{bmatrix}
$$
$$\wedge \; \boxed{1} \neq \boxed{2}$$

(23) Constraint on *verb-word*

$$
verb\text{-}word \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON} \; \Phi(phonstring, \boxed{1}) \\ \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{CAT} \mid \text{HEAD} \mid \text{CONCORD} \; \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(29) a. LR1 → a gente + am-a
      b. LR1 → nós + am-amos
      c. LR2 → a gente + am-amos

Introduction

Phenomenon

Analysis (Proposal)

Distribution of the data

Register

Conclusions

References

Distribution of the data

Our **grammar** can produce these patterns,
but w.r.t. **usage** they are evaluated differently:

(30) a. LR1 → nós + am-amos   [more formal]
      b. LR1 → a gente + am-a   [neutral]
   c. LR2 → a gente + am-amos   [more informal]

A **descriptively adequate grammar** should be consistent not only with
large-scale generalizations, but also with **marked and infrequent
patterns** attested, for instance, in corpora.   (cf. Meurers & Müller 2009)

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└ Distribution of the data
  └ *a gente* vs. *nós*

a gente vs. *nós*

In **spoken language**, *a gente* is the **most productive variant** to express the semantic variable 1.PL across varieties of BP.

Prevalence of *a gente* ranges **between 79% and 70%** (all regions).
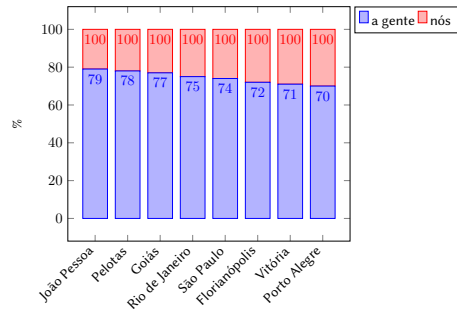
João Pessoa: Fernandes (2004), Vianna & Lopes 2012: 98)

Pelotas: Borges (2004: 129)

Goiás: Mattos (2013: 108)

Rio de Janeiro: Lopes (2004: 69)

São Paulo: Rubio & Gonçalves (2012: 1016)

Florianópolis: Seara (2000: 181)

Vitória: Mendonça (2012: 4)

Porto Alegre: Zilles (2002: 302)

Fig. 1: *a gente* vs. *nós* alternations in BP varieties

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└ Distribution of the data
  └ *a gente* vs. *nós*

No substantial **variation** across **regional** varieties (70% – 79%)

Studies: **mixed** samples

- ▸ diverse age-groups
- ▸ genders
- ▸ educational levels

4 out of 5 **macro-regions** in Brazil

- ▸ South (Pelotas, Florianópolis and Porto Alegre)
- ▸ Southeast (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Vitória)
- ▸ Central-West (Goiás)
- ▸ Northeast (João Pessoa)
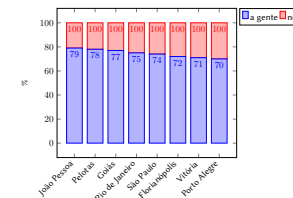
This indicates a relatively advanced **change in progress** (cf. Labov 1972):
a gente is **gradually replacing** *nós* in most contexts.

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└ Distribution of the data
  └ *a gente* vs. *nós*

Social embedding of *a gente* in the state of Goiás:

(according to Mattos 2013: 111–112)

Social variables	N/Total	Frequency	Weight
Age			
16–24	602/690	87%	.70
25–40	715/933	77%	.49
41–86	269/439	61%	.23
Education			
High School	703/812	87%	.69
College	883/1250	71%	.37
Gender			
Feminine	782/984	80%	.60
Masculine	804/1078	75%	.41
Total	1586/2062	77%	Input: .83

Table 4: Significant social variables for *a gente* vs. *nós*

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└ Distribution of the data
  └ *a gente* vs. *nós*

External factors identified for variation:

- ▸ **age:** *a gente* is more widespread among **younger speakers** than among older ones. (Seara 2000; Zilles 2005; Maia 2009; Rubio & Gonçalves 2012)
- ▸ **education:** *a gente* is more widespread among **less educated speakers** than among more educated ones.
  (Monteiro 1994; Omena 1996; Lopes 1998; Seara 2000; Rubio & Gonçalves 2012)
- ▸ **gender:** *a gente* is more widespread among **female speakers** than among more males.
  (Monteiro 1994; Seara 2000; Zilles 2005; Borges 2004; Mendonça 2012)

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Distribution of the data
   └─ *a gente* vs. *nós*

Some of these these mappings between *a gente* and social categories arguably become reflected in a difference in **social meaning** in comparison to the standard 1.PL form *nós*. (Eckert 2012)

Hence, *a gente* is perceived as
"**less old**", "**less educated**", "**less masculine**".

In contrast, *nós* is more **positively evaluated** in **careful** and **formal styles**. (Zilles 2005, 2007)

Several subjective reaction studies demonstrate that speakers do in fact perceive *a gente* as more **informal** and less **educated** than *nós*.
(Vianna 2006; Brustolin 2009; Freitag 2016; Freitas & Carvalho 2020)

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Distribution of the data
   └─ Agreement

Agreement

A gente is **more frequent** agreeing with verb in 3.SG.

Nós is **more frequent** agreeing with verb in 1.PL.
(Rubio & Gonçalves 2012: 1018)

	3.SG	1.PL
nós	14,5% (82/570)	85,5% (488/570)
a gente	94% (1505/1603)	6% (98/1603)

Table 5: Patterns of SVA with *nós* and *a gente*

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Distribution of the data
   └─ Agreement

Taking into consideration the distinction **spoken** vs. **written** in **subject-verb agreement** for *a gente*: (Marcotulio et al. 2013: 132)

	3.SG	1.PL	3.PL
spoken samples	99% (1046/1054)	1% (8/1054)	0% (0/1054)
written tests	81% (334/411)	18% (73/411)	1% (4/411)

Table 6: SVA with *a gente* in spoken samples and written tests

The use of the **plural agreement** increases in **written** texts.

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└─ Distribution of the data
   └─ Agreement

Taking into consideration the distinction **spoken** vs. **written** in **agreement with predicative adjectives**: (Marcotulio et al. 2013: 133)

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
spoken samples	90% (37/41)	0% (0/41)	10% (4/41)	0% (0/41)
written tests	70% (242/344)	14% (47/344)	13% (46/344)	3% (9/344)

Table 7: PA with *a gente* in spoken samples and written tests

The use of the **plural agreement** increases in **written** texts.

Agreement mismatches and register-driven variation
└ Distribution of the data
  └ Interim summary

Interim summary

Our **grammar** can license the utterances that are **attested** in the data.

The **judgements** w.r.t. the different combinations **vary** according to some external factors.

► The perception of ***nós*** is more formal.

► The use of ***a gente*** is more productive, (more neutral).

► In **spoken** texts:

  ► *a gente* is used (almost) only with 3.SG.

► In **written** texts:

  ► the use of *a gente* with 1.PL increases.

To which extent can this be reflected by the grammar?

$\rightarrow$ register-driven variation

Register

Register variation: intra-individual variation in linguistic behaviour influenced by situational and functional settings   (Lüdeling et al. 2022: 2)

That is: In which **communicative situation** do we prefer a **linguistic form** over another?

This type of variation interacts with all levels of linguistic description:

(31)   Ich { **habe es** / **hab's**} gekauft.
       I   have it   have.it bought
       'I have bought it.'

(32)   Meine Frau ist { **Polizistin**   / **Bulle**}.
       my   wife is   policewoman   cop
       'My wife is a policewoman.'

(33)   I will arrive at {**3:32** / **half past 3**}.   (cf. Solt 2015)

Questions related to register:

► Which **grammatical framework** is well suited to deal with register-driven variation?

  (Jackendoff & Audring 2020; Adger 2006; Paolillo 2000; Bender 2001)

► Should we assume **multiple grammars** (one for each register) or **one single grammar**?   (Yang 2002; Adger 2006; Machicao y Priemer et al. 2022)

► Are we dealing with **discrete** or **probabilistic** differences?

  (Paolillo 2000; Asadpour et al. 2022; Schäfer et al. 2022; Machicao y Priemer et al. 2022)
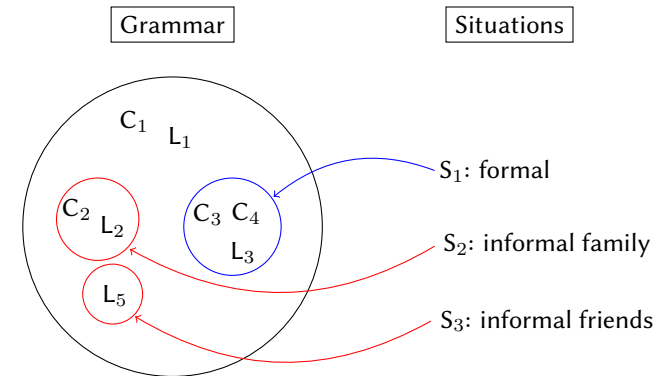
Slide 40

Grammar acquisition:
In the course of our life, we acquire **lexemes** and **constraints** to combine or transform linguistic objects (i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax).
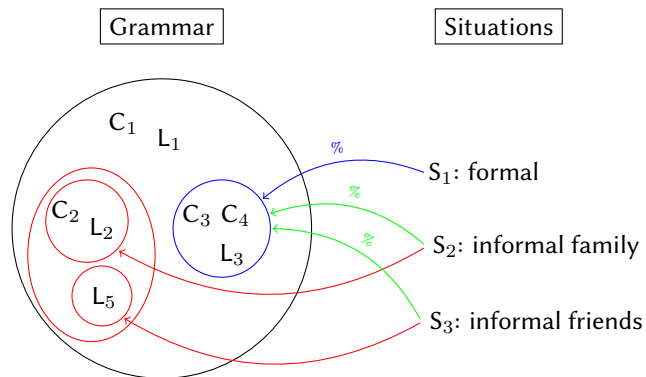

Grammar

C_1 L_1
C_2 L_2 C_3 C_4 L_3
L_5

Slide 41
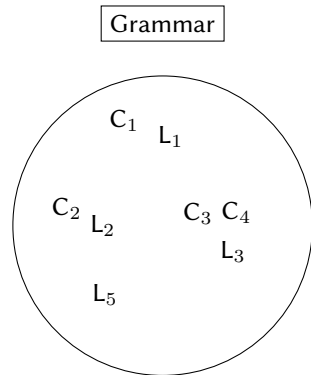
Register acquisition:
In **communicative situations**, we learn that there are different **external factors** (socio-cultural factors) and that according to them we use different parts for the grammar with a **higher probability** in one situation than in another. → building registers

Grammar   Situations

C_1 L_1
C_2 L_2 C_3 C_4 L_3 S_1: formal
L_5 S_2: informal family
  S_3: informal friends

Slide 42

Register acquisition:
In further **communicative situations**, we can cluster registers, or change their content (cf. "youth language"). → registers are dynamic

Grammar   Situations

C_1 L_1
C_2 L_2 C_3 C_4 L_3 S_1: formal
L_5 S_2: informal family
  S_3: informal friends

Slide 43

Register acquisition:
The combination of a linguistic form from an **informal** register with one of a **formal** register is possible and **grammatical**, but it is **less probable** and **less adequate**. → register clash

Grammar   Situations

C_1 L_1
C_2 L_2 C_3 C_4 L_3 S_1: formal
L_5 S_2: informal family
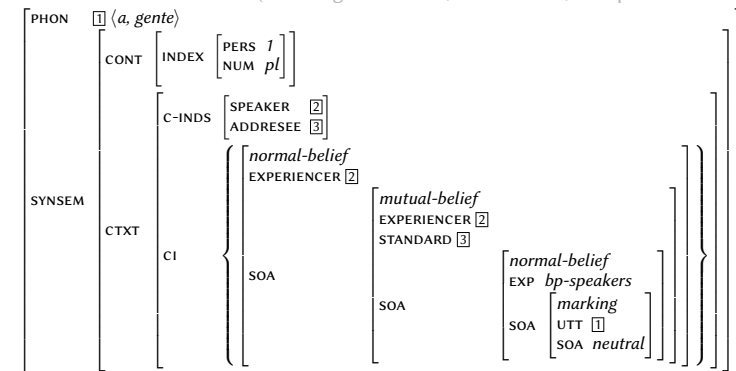 S_3: informal friends
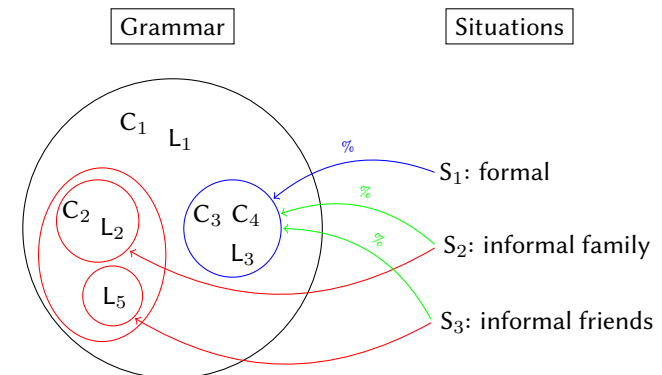
We assume that we abstract away from the real life situations and encode this information into the grammatical component as **social meanings**.

(following Paolillo 2000; Bender 2007; Asadpour et al. 2022)

Grammar	Situations

C_1 L_1

C_2 L_2

C_3 C_4 L_3

L_5

% → S_1: formal

% → S_2: informal family

% → S_3: informal friends

---
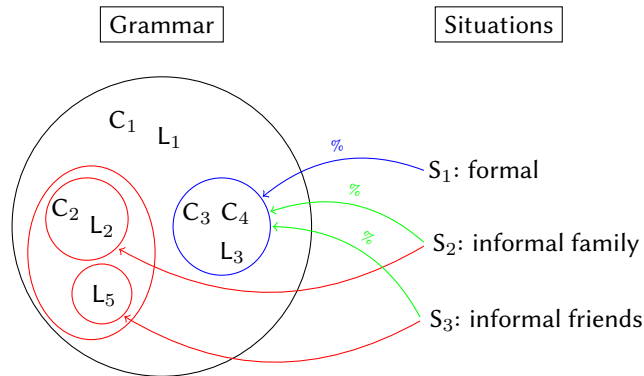
(34) Social meaning of *a gente* encoded as **conventional implicatures**

(following Green 1994; Paolillo 2000; Asadpour et al. 2022)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \boxed{1}\ \langle a,\ gente\rangle \\
\text{SYNSEM} &
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PERS} & 1 \\ \text{NUM} & pl \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CTXT} &
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{C-INDS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPEAKER} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{ADDRESEE} & \boxed{3} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CI} &
\left\{
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{normal-belief} \\
\text{EXPERIENCER } \boxed{2} \\
\text{SOA}
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{mutual-belief} \\
\text{EXPERIENCER } \boxed{2} \\
\text{STANDARD } \boxed{3} \\
\text{SOA}
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{normal-belief} \\
\text{EXP } \textit{bp-speakers} \\
\text{SOA}
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{marking} \\
\text{UTT } \boxed{1} \\
\text{SOA } \textit{neutral}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\right\}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The **speaker** believes that it is a **mutual belief** between speaker and addressee that it is the **normal belief** that BP speakers mark *a gente* as **neutral**.

---

(35) Social meaning of *nós* encoded as **conventional implicatures**

(following Green 1994; Paolillo 2000; Asadpour et al. 2022)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \boxed{1}\ \langle nós\rangle \\
\text{SYNSEM} &
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PERS} & 1 \\ \text{NUM} & pl \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CTXT} &
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{C-INDS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPEAKER} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{ADDRESEE} & \boxed{3} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CI} &
\left\{
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{normal-belief} \\
\text{EXPERIENCER } \boxed{2} \\
\text{SOA}
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{mutual-belief} \\
\text{EXPERIENCER } \boxed{2} \\
\text{STANDARD } \boxed{3} \\
\text{SOA}
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{normal-belief} \\
\text{EXP } \textit{bp-speakers} \\
\text{SOA}
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{marking} \\
\text{UTT } \boxed{1} \\
\text{SOA } \textit{formal}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\right\}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
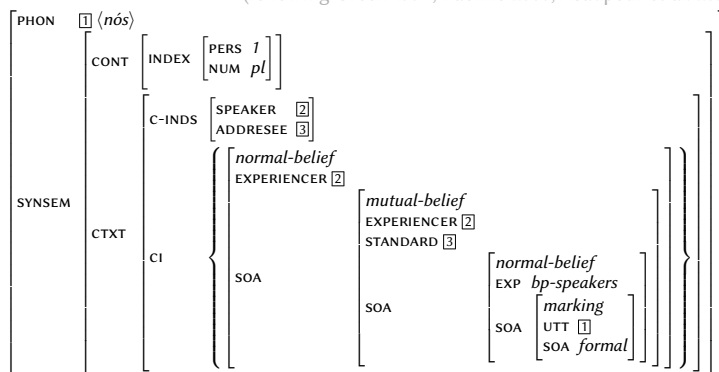
The **speaker** believes that it is a **mutual belief** between speaker and addressee that it is the **normal belief** that BP speakers mark *nós* as **formal**.

Interim summary

Our **grammar** can license the utterances that are **attested** in the data.

The **judgements** w.r.t. the different combinations **vary** according to some external factors.

- ▶ The perception of ***nós*** is more formal.
- ▶ The use of ***a gente*** is more productive, (more neutral).
- ▶ In **spoken** texts:
  - ▶ *a gente* is used (almost) only with 3.SG.
- ▶ In **written** texts:
  - ▶ the use of *a gente* with 1.PL increases.

Our hypothesis (/open questions):

- ***nós*** → *formal*
- ***a gente*** → *neutral*
  (at least becoming *neutral* because of productivity)
- **LR1** → *neutral*
  (syntactic agreement)
- **LR2** → *informal*
  (semantic agreement by mismatch with syntactic features)
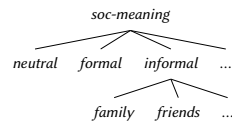
soc-meaning
neutral formal informal ...
family friends ...

(36) a. LR1 → nós + am-amos   [more formal]
      b. LR1 → a gente + am-a   [neutral]
      c. LR2 → a gente + am-amos   [more informal]

Conclusions

- on a **grammatical** level
  - the grammar allows for all attested variations
  - difference between CONCORD and INDEX agreement by means of LR1 & LR2
- on a **usage** level
  - by means of **social meanings** which are **reflexes of the communicative situations**
  - constraints that predict/describe the judgements of speakers
- open:
  - how to include **frequencies** into the grammatical component?

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