The pragmaticalization of *capaz* 'capable' in Brazilian Portuguese

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The main goal of this paper is to examine the properties of Brazilian Portuguese constructions involving the expression *capaz* 'capable' such as (1):

(1) Capaz   que   a   Maria   viajou   de   ônibus!
    capable   that   the   Maria   travelled   of   bus

This construction has different meanings depending on the intonation pattern associated with it. With a flat intonation, (1) is interpreted as 'it is possible/probable that Maria has travelled by bus'. In this case, *capaz* will be referred to as an epistemic *capaz*. On the other hand, by stressing *capaz* (as spoken in Southern Brazil), (1) can express the speaker's doubt/surprise or the speaker's contrary point of view about the proposition 'Maria has travelled by bus'. Therefore, by uttering (1) with this intonational pattern, the speaker can either mean (i) that (s)he is very surprised to hear that Maria has travelled by bus or (ii) that (s)he does not believe or (s)he denies Maria has travelled by bus. In the first case, *capaz* is equivalent to 'really?' or 'is it true?', meaning the speaker does not immediately accept the information presented by the interlocutor and reacts by questioning it. In the second case, *capaz* can be the equivalent to 'no', and the speaker's attitude can be expressed with more or less conviction and/or with some irony. In these situations, *capaz* will be referred to as a mirative *capaz*, based on the definition of mirativity as a descriptive category denoting new or unexpected information (De Lancey, 2001).

Regarding the properties of these constructions, we will show that: (i) epistemic and mirative *capaz* no longer function as the adjective *capaz* 'capable' in abilitative modal constructions (2a), they are fixed forms (2b); (ii) the epistemic *capaz* can also select an infinitive clause introduced by the preposition *de* 'of', while the mirative *capaz* selects only a finite clause headed by *que* 'that' (3a); (iii) with the epistemic *capaz,* the verb can have an inflected form for the indicative or subjunctive moods (3b), whereas in the mirative *capaz*, the verb can have an inflected form only for the indicative mood (3c); (iv) the epistemic *capaz* can be embedded (4a), while this is not possible in a sentence with the mirative *capaz* (4b), not even when it is under a speech verb.

(2) a. Eles são capazes   de fazer suas próprias escolhas. (abilitative modal)
      they are capable.PL of make their own   choices
      'They are capable of making their own choices.'
   b. *Capazes   que eles   viajaram! (either epistemic or mirative *capaz*)
      capable.PL   that they travelled

(3) a. Capaz da   Maria querer   comer bolo. (✓epistemic *capaz*; *mirative *capaz*)
      capable of+the Maria want.INF to eat   cake
      'It is possible that Maria wants to eat some cake.'
   b. Capaz   que vocês querem   / queiram   comer bolo. (epistemic *capaz*)
      capable that you   want.IND.3PL / want.SUBJ.3PL to eat   cake
      'It is possible that you want to eat some cake.'
   c. Capaz que a   Maria viajou   / *tenha viajado! (mirative *capaz*)
      capable that the Maria travel.PAST.IND.3SG / *have.SUBJ.3SG travelled
      'I do not believe that Maria has travelled!'

(4) a. O   João disse que capaz   que a   Maria viaje   este ano.
      the João said   that capable that the Maria travel.SUBJ.3SG this   year
      'João said that it is possible that Maria travels this year.'
   b. *O   João disse que capaz   que a   Maria vai   viajar!

the João said that capable that the Maria will travel
Intended: 'John said he does not believe that Maria has travelled!'

Our hypothesis is that *capaz* is an expression that underwent a pragmaticalization process (cf. Dostie 2004), becoming a pragmatic marker. Presumably, the source of this process is the abilitative modal expression *ser capaz* 'be capable' (2a) that lost its etymological meaning (*be capable*) and developed a more grammatical epistemic meaning of 'possible' (epistemic *capaz*), which is in line with studies on diachronic change for modals (Narrog 2012, a.o.). Therefore, *capaz* acquired a discursive function, becoming a pragmatic marker that codifies the speaker's attitude (mirative *capaz*). Considering the negative attitude or the doubt/surprise meaning of the mirative *capaz*, we propose that *capaz* can enter the attitude domain expressing surprise/incredulity/disbelief because the epistemic meaning of 'possible' allows the expression of doubt. Hence, the expression of incredulity can be intensified, acquiring a refusal/denial meaning. This hypothesis is in line with De Lancey's (2001) proposal, which states that there is interaction and an overlap among mirativity, modality and evidentiality, and that forms from one kind of system can develop each other's functions.

Concerning the structure of sentences that contain the epistemic *capaz*, as it can be embedded and followed by a subjunctive or an infinitival clause, we propose these sentences are biclausal structures: the epistemic *capaz* merges into a functional modal head Mod selecting a CP complement. Considering the mirative *capaz* cannot be embedded and can only be followed by a finite clause in the indicative mood, we argue that sentences containing the mirative *capaz* are monoclausal structures. To explain these structures, we adopted the concepts proposed by Speas and Tenny (2003) and Hill (2014). These proposals state that there are functional Speech Act projections above CP associated with the speech act and they are visible for the syntactic computation, in which pragmatic roles (hearer and speaker) are encoded:

(5) [$_{SAsP}$ Speaker [$_{SAs'}$ SAs [$_{SAHP}$ Hearer [$_{SAH'}$ SAH [$_{ForceP}$...

We claim that the mirative *capaz* is externally merged into this field, at the interface of syntax with conversational pragmatics. Assuming that vocatives are merged in Spec,SA$_H$P (cf. Hill 2014), the linear order observed in (6), with a vocative, suggests that *capaz* is realized in SA$_S$P (the speaker field). The mirative *capaz* in this position can be interpreted as an indication of the speaker's attitude.

(6) Capaz, cara, que a Maria viajou de ônibus!
capable, man, that the Maria travelled of bus
'Man, I do not believe that Maria travelled by bus.'

These analyses are compatible with Roberts and Roussou's (2003) generalization that "once an element enters the functional system, it will tend to be reanalysed successively upwards in the structure", creating grammaticalization paths. Moreover, we believe the data examined in this work constitute empirical evidence for the proposal of the Speech Act category, and, consequently, can contribute to the discussion about the syntacticization of discourse (Haegeman and Hill 2013).

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