

# Adverbial clauses in Portuguese dialects

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- ✓ Adverbial gerund clauses in standard EP vs. Portuguese dialects
- ✓ Syntactic and semantic properties
- ✓ Internal and external syntax

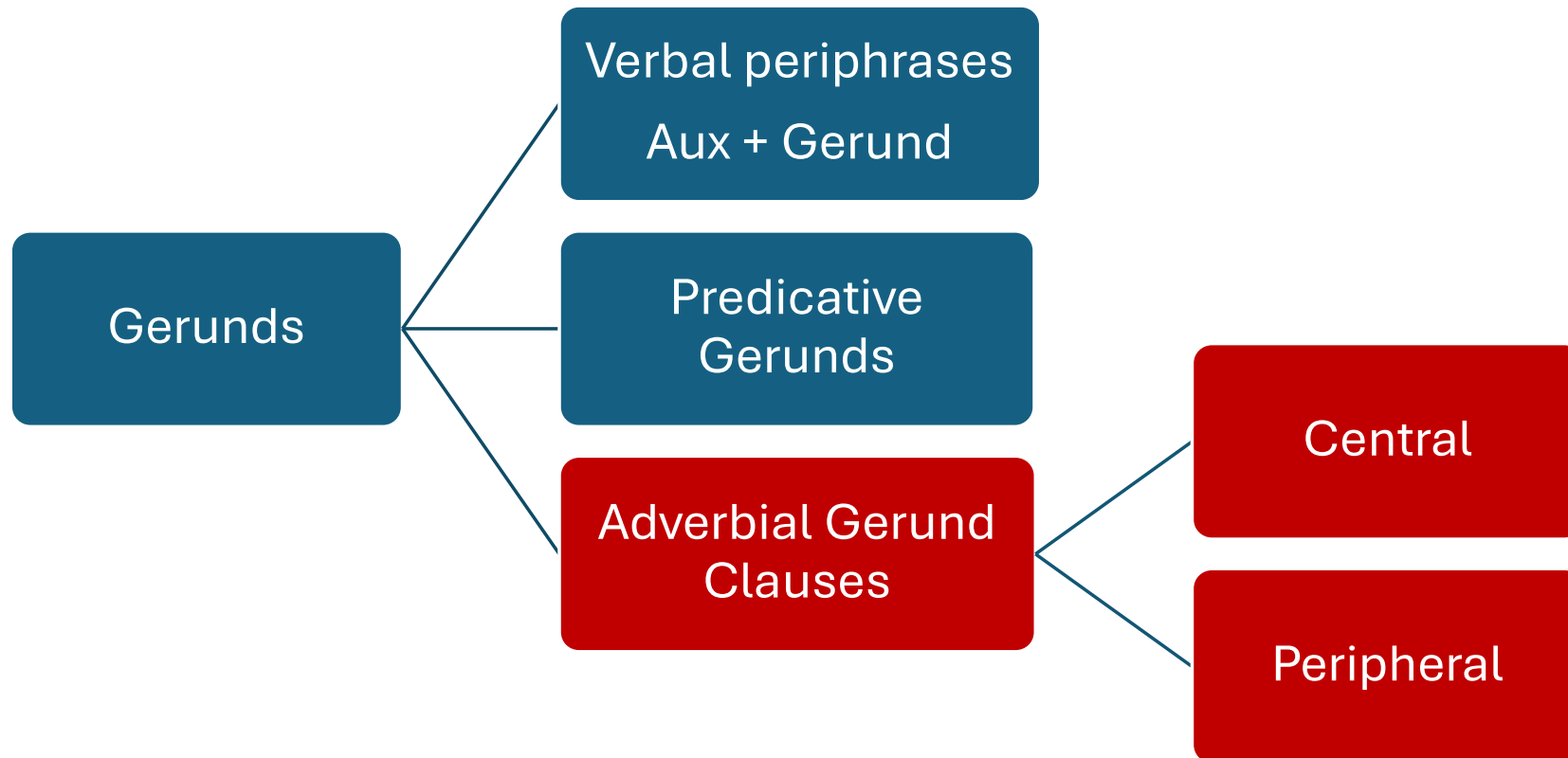
# Gerund forms

verb stem + thematic vowel + gerund suffix  
VS                      TV                      GER

- (1)      *cant + a + ndo*                      *beb + e + ndo*                      *part + i + ndo*  
VS + TV + GER                      VS + TV + GER                      VS + TV + GER  
'singing'                      'drinking'                      'leaving'

- (2)      a. *cantando*                      (simple gerund)  
            'singing'  
            b. *tendo cantado* (compound gerund)  
            'having sung'

# Distribution of gerunds in standard Portuguese



Lobo (2002), for Portuguese; Lonzi (1988, 1991), for Italian; Fernández Lagunilla (1999), for Spanish

# Distribution of gerunds in standard Portuguese

- (3) *Vou **andando**.*  
go.1SG walking  
'I am leaving'
- (4) *Chegou a casa **tremendo** de frio.*  
arrived.3SG to home shaking of cold  
'He arrived home shaking with cold'
- (5) *Este produto foi classificado como **sendo** altamente tóxico.*  
this product was classified as being highly toxic  
'This product was classified as being highly toxic'

# Distribution of gerunds in standard Portuguese

(6) *A Ana conseguiu tirar esta fotografia **subindo** para cima do muro.*

the Ana managed to take this picture climbing for top of the wall

‘Ana was able to take this picture by climbing on top of the wall’

(7) ***Sendo** já muito tarde, é melhor regressarmos a casa.*

being already very late, is better return. INF. 1pl to home

‘As it is already late, it is better to go back home’

# Properties of adverbial gerund clauses in EP

- ✓ They usually have **no connectives**, unlike finite and infinitival adverbial clauses.
- ✓ **Semantic interpretation** (as temporal, reason, conditional, concessive...) is driven by **different factors**:
  - simple or compound gerund
  - tense of main clause
  - presence of adverbs
  - aspectual verb class
  - position of gerund clause w.r.t. main clause
  - general word knowledge and inferences

## Properties of adverbial gerund clauses in EP

- (8) a. ***Estando doente***, a Ana *ficou* em casa.  
being sick, the Ana stayed at home  
'As she was sick, Ana stayed home'
- b. ***Estando doente***, a Ana *ficaria* em casa.  
being sick, the Ana would stay at home  
'If she was sick, Ana would stay home'
- c. ***Estando doente***, a Ana *ainda assim* foi trabalhar.  
being sick, the Ana even so went to work  
'Even though she was sick, Ana went to work'

# Central vs. peripheral adverbial gerund clauses

		Central adverbial gerund clauses	Peripheral adverbial gerund clauses
External syntax	Answer to wh-questions	√	*
	Clefting	√	*
	Scope of negation	√	*
Internal syntax	Overt subject	*	√
	Compound gerund	*	√
	Negation	+/-	√
	'free' null subject	+/-	√

Lobo (2024)

## Internal syntax

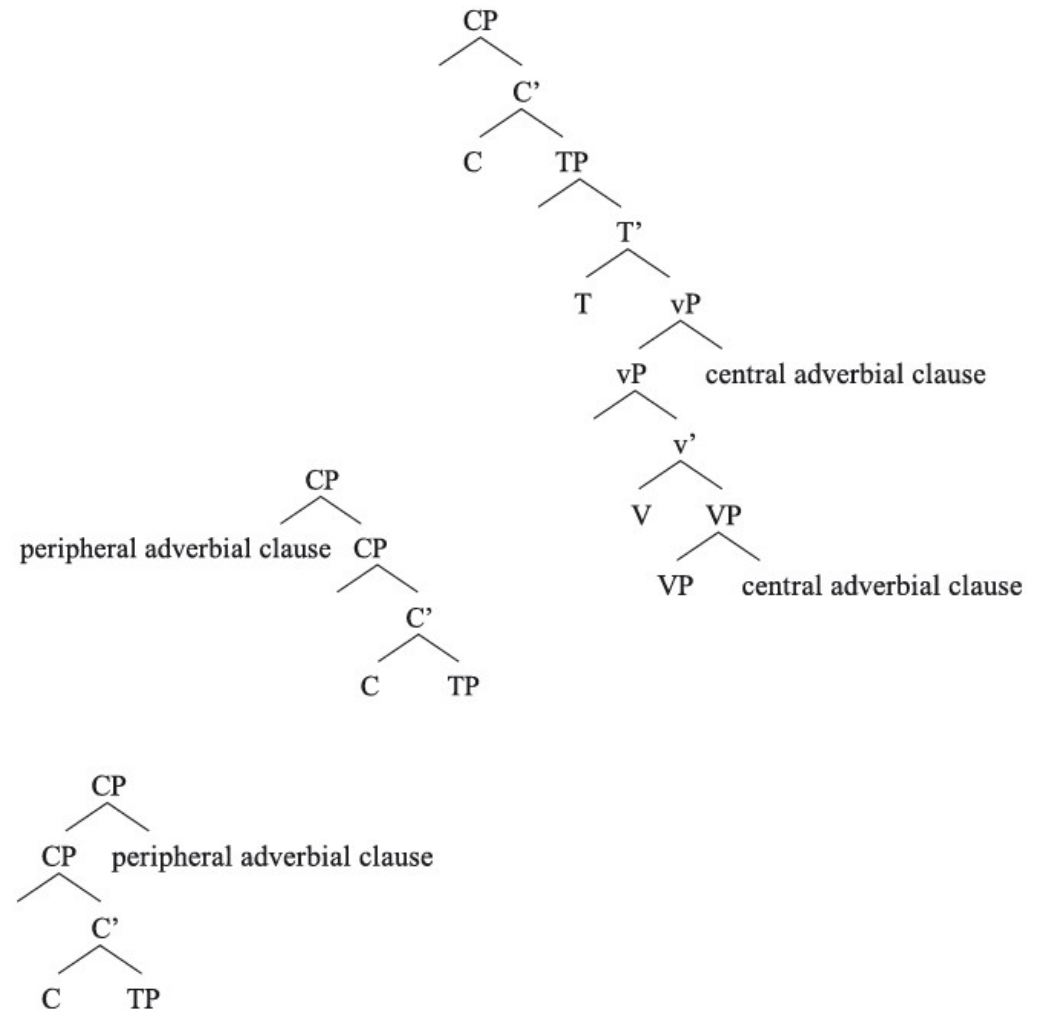
- (9) a. ***Tendo as crianças ficado com febre, a Ana teve de ficar em casa.***  
having the children become with fever, the Ana had to stay at home  
'As her children had fever, Ana had to stay home.'
- b. ***Não estando as crianças a sentir-se bem, a Ana teve de ficar em casa.***  
not being the children to feel-REFL well, the Ana had to stay at home  
'As her children were not feeling well, Ana had to stay home.'

→ subject-verb inversion required in standard EP

# Proposal

Lobo (2024)

- Central adverbial gerund clauses
  - low attachment
  - gerund T dependent on main T
- Peripheral adverbial gerund clauses
  - high attachment
  - gerund T is 'free'



# Portuguese dialects

- Unlike Italy, the linguistic landscape of Portugal is relatively homogeneous:
  - geographical varieties of EP;
  - contact varieties (e.g. *Barranquenho*);
  - Mirandese, a variety from Asturo-Leonese, officially recognized as a minority language.
- Following the Portuguese dialectological tradition (Cintra, 1964/1971; Segura, 2013), by “**Portuguese dialects**”, we mean:
  - any geographical variety of European Portuguese, that may display variation in lexical, phonological, morphological or syntactic features.

# The corpus

- **CORDIAL-SIN - Syntax-oriented Corpus of Portuguese Dialects**

- Data gathered between 1974 and 2004
- Speakers from rural and fishing communities, with the sociological profile of traditional dialectal informants: typically aged, non-educated and born and raised in the place of interview
- 68 hours of fieldwork interviews
- Transcriptions approx. 650.000 words
- 42 localities (mainland and islands)
- Selected excerpts of spontaneous and semi-directed speech, drawn from CLUL's speech recordings obtained within linguistic atlases projects

Martins, A. M. (Coord.) [1999-2022]

<https://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/projeto/cordial-sin-corpus-dialectal-para-o-estudo-da-sintaxe>



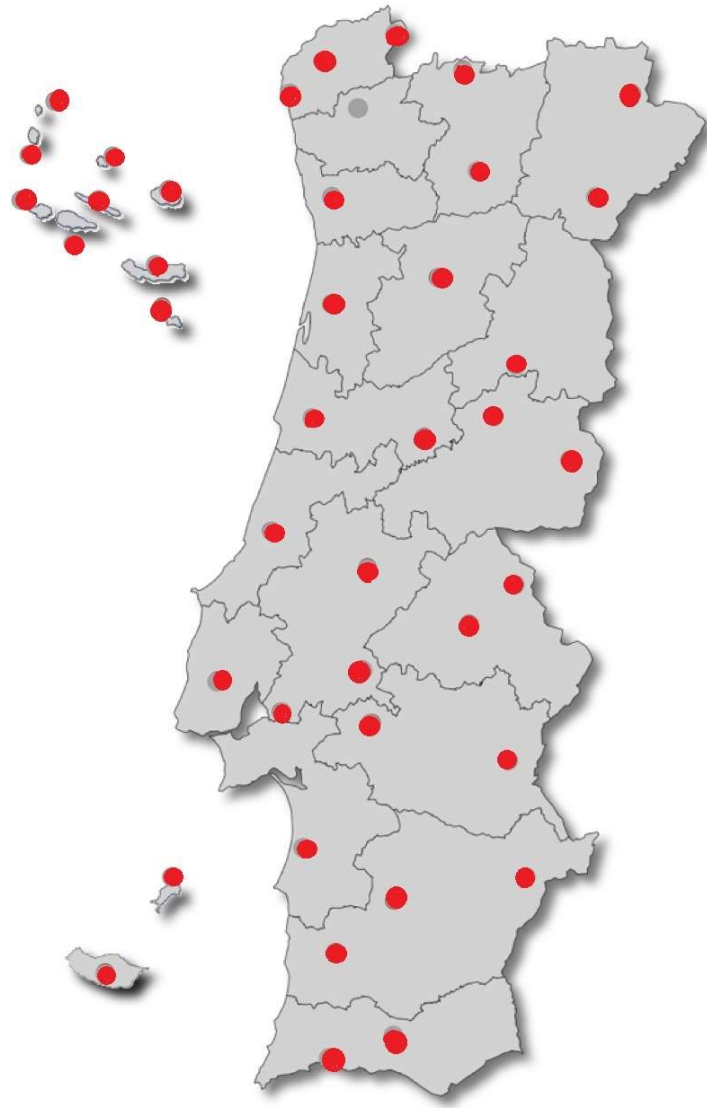
# Search and annotation

- Search by
  - POS tag
  - Connectives *quando* ‘when’ and *se* ‘if’
- Manual selection of adverbial clauses
  - discarding non-clausal domains, adverbial expressions, complement clauses...
- Manual coding

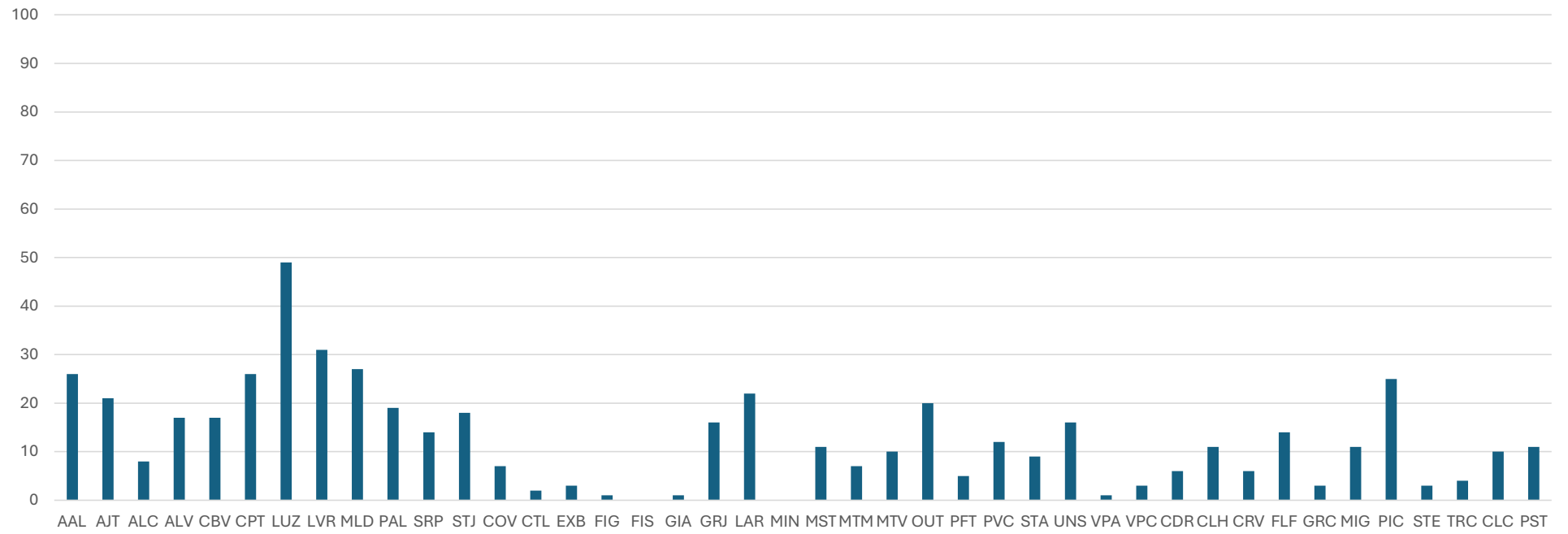
Gerund clauses	N = 523
‘when’ finite clauses ( <i>quando</i> )	N = 1589
‘if’ finite clauses ( <i>se</i> )	N = 1163

**CORDIAL-SIN**

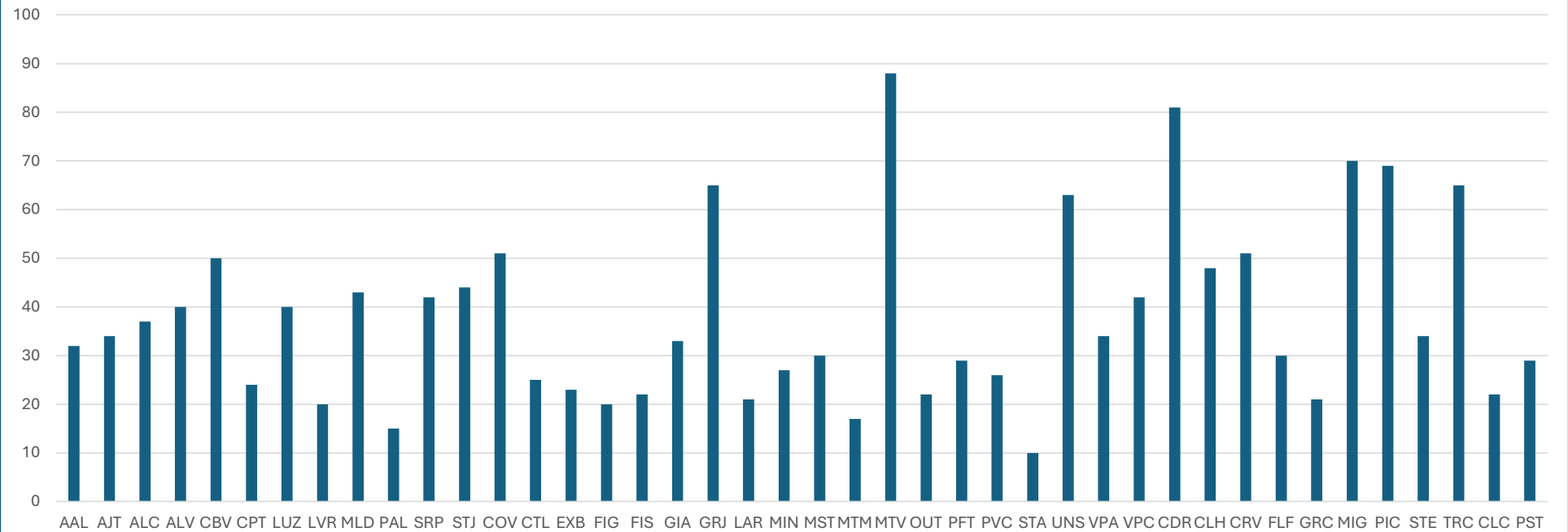
- **Adverbial gerund clauses**



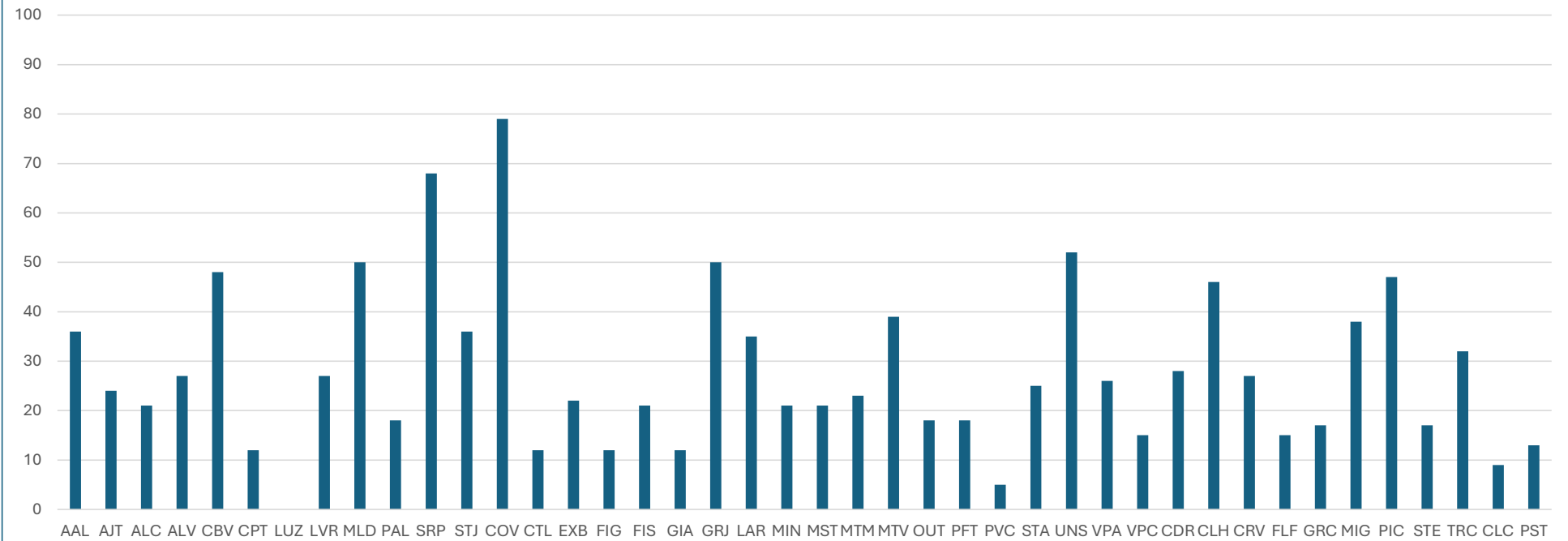
# Frequency of adverbial gerund clauses



## Frequency of adverbial 'when' clauses (*quando*)



## Frequency of adverbial 'if' clauses (se)



# Inflected gerunds

- (10)
- |                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| a. <i>estando</i>            | 1S |
| b. <i>estando</i> <b>s</b>   | 2S |
| c. <i>estando</i>            | 3S |
| d. <i>estândo</i> <b>mos</b> | 1P |
| e. <i>estandem</i> <b>m</b>  | 3P |

In some dialectal varieties, the gerund may display **Person/Number Agreement**

→ Predicative gerunds

→ Adverbial clauses  **Clausal domains**

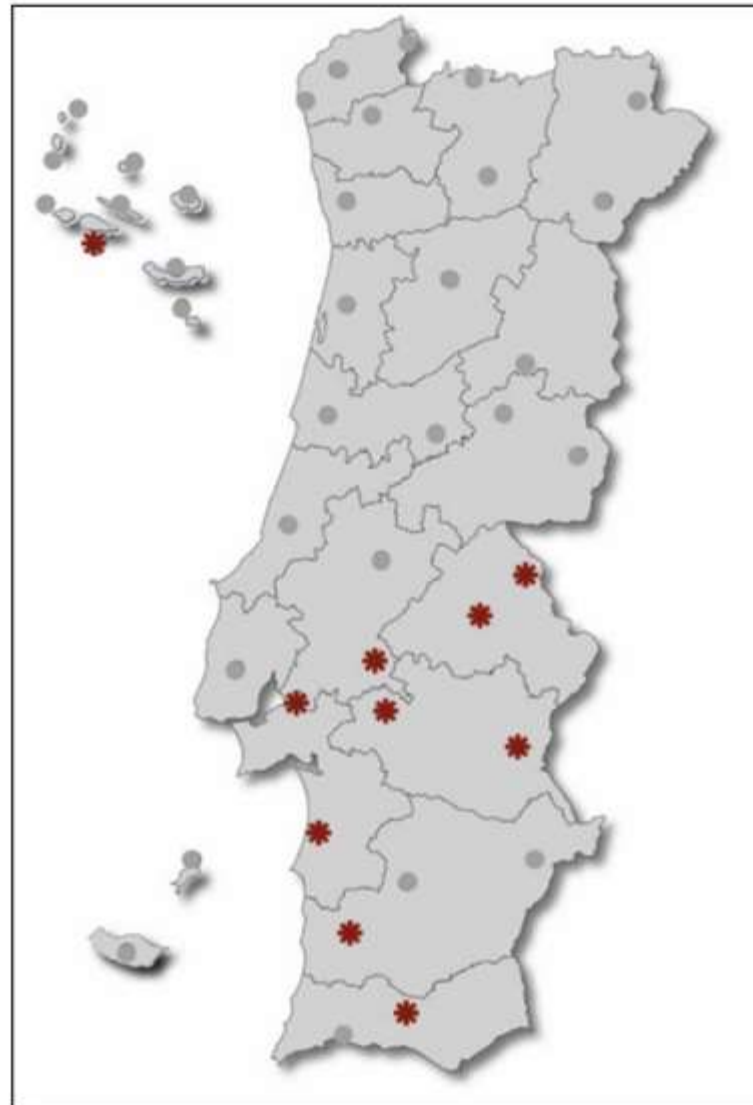
- (11) *São três! Mas **sendem** quatro ou cinco, é um bando.*

are three but being.3P four or five is a flock

‘They are three. But when they are four or five, it is a flock.’

**Distribution of inflected gerunds  
in CORDIAL-SIN**

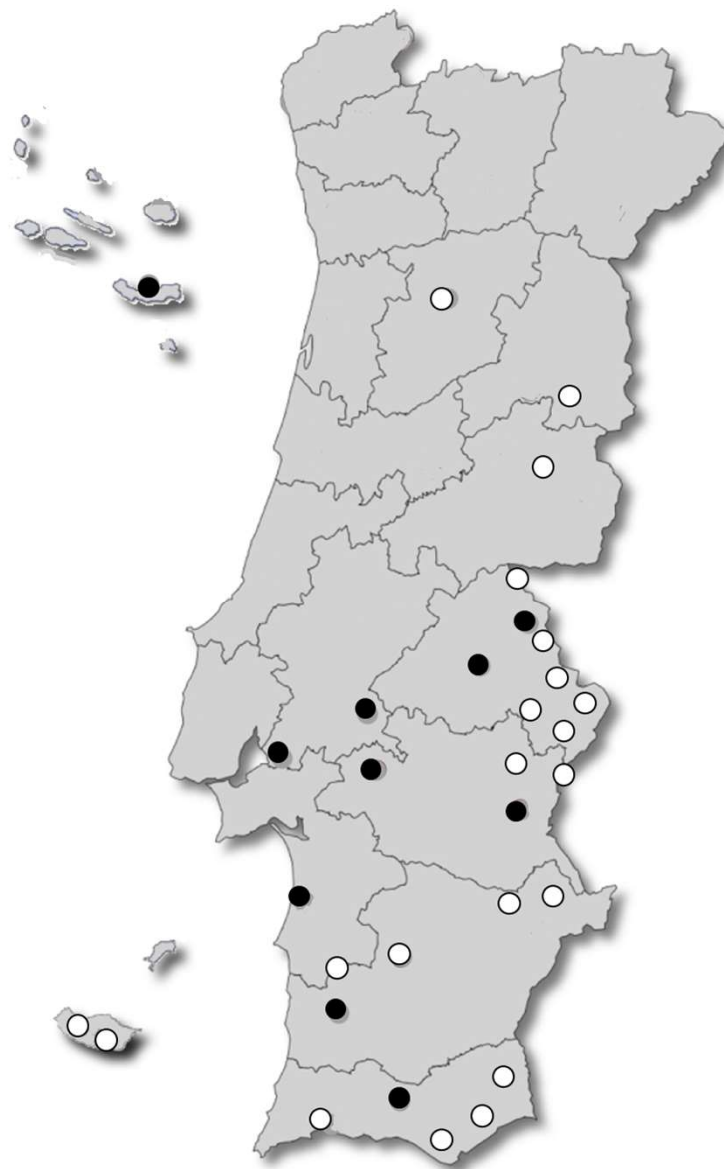
(adapted from Lobo 2008)



**Inflected gerunds**

○ monographies

● CORDIAL-SIN



Lobo (2016)



# Adverbial gerund clauses of Portuguese dialects: Semantic properties

- (12) ***Onde a gente morrendo***, (...) *os velhos, não deve de aparecer já cá mais nenhuns!* (MLD)  
where the people dying, the old.ones, not must P appear already here more no.ones  
'When we, the old ones, will die, I suppose no one will show up.' **TEMPORAL**
- (13) ***Então estandes em pé e a pequena nascendo***, *ela morre-te!* (PIC)  
then being.2S on foot and the small.one being.born, she dies-you!  
'If you are standing and you deliver your baby girl, she may die!' **CONDITIONAL**
- (14) ***Mesmo pagando o dinheiro***, *não há quem queira ir fazer* (PAL)  
even paying the money, not is who wants go make **CONCESSIVE-CONDITIONAL**  
'Even if you pay, there is no one willing to do it.'

# Adverbial gerund clauses of Portuguese dialects: Semantic properties

- (15) *E eu, **como sendo o mais velho**, é que fui sempre o mais escravo.* (AAL) **CAUSAL**  
and I, as being the more old, is that was always the more slave  
'And, as I was the oldest, I was always the one who worked more.'
- (16) *E tirava-se de a urdideira, **começando por cima*** (FLF) **MANNER**  
and took-CL of the weaver, beginning by top  
'and it was taken out of the weaver starting at the top'

# Adverbial gerund clauses of Portuguese dialects: Syntactic properties

- **Internal syntax**

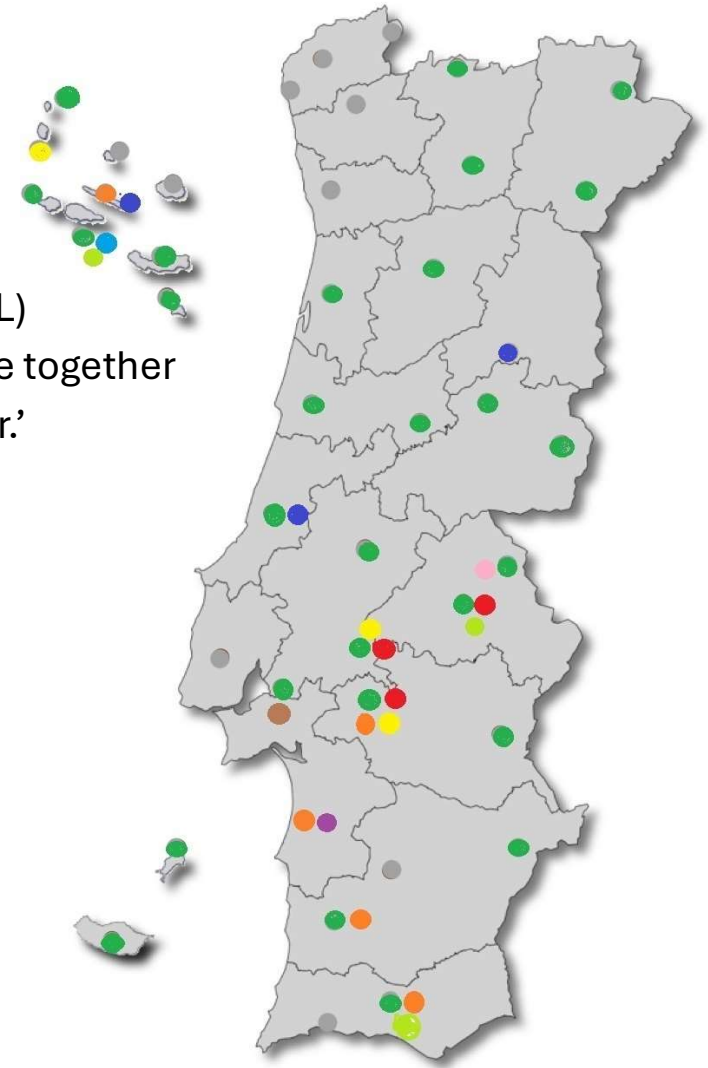
- ✓ Gerund form → All gerund clauses in the corpus have a **Simple Gerund**.
- ✓ Connectives → Gerund Clauses may be introduced by **different connectives**.
- ✓ Word order → Most Gerund Clauses with an overt subject, have **SV word order**.
- ✓ Null subjects → **Different types of null subjects** are available.
- ✓ Aspectual properties → Compatible with **all aspectual verb classes**.

# Connectives

(17) *Agora, em fazendem o resto das outras é que fica tudo ali junto, (AAL)*  
 now in doing.3P the rest of.the others is that remains everything there together  
 ‘Well, it is when they made the others that everything is held together.’

(18) *Quando aquilo estando batido, então armavam os taipais. (LUZ)*  
 when that being beaten, then settled.3P the wattles  
 ‘When that was beaten, they settled the wattles.’

● EM	‘in’	● SE	‘if’
● EM BEM	‘in well’	● CASO	‘(in) case’
● BEM	‘well’	● ONDE	‘where’
● QUANDO	‘when’	● MESMO	‘even’
● COMO	‘as/since’	● ATÉ	‘until’



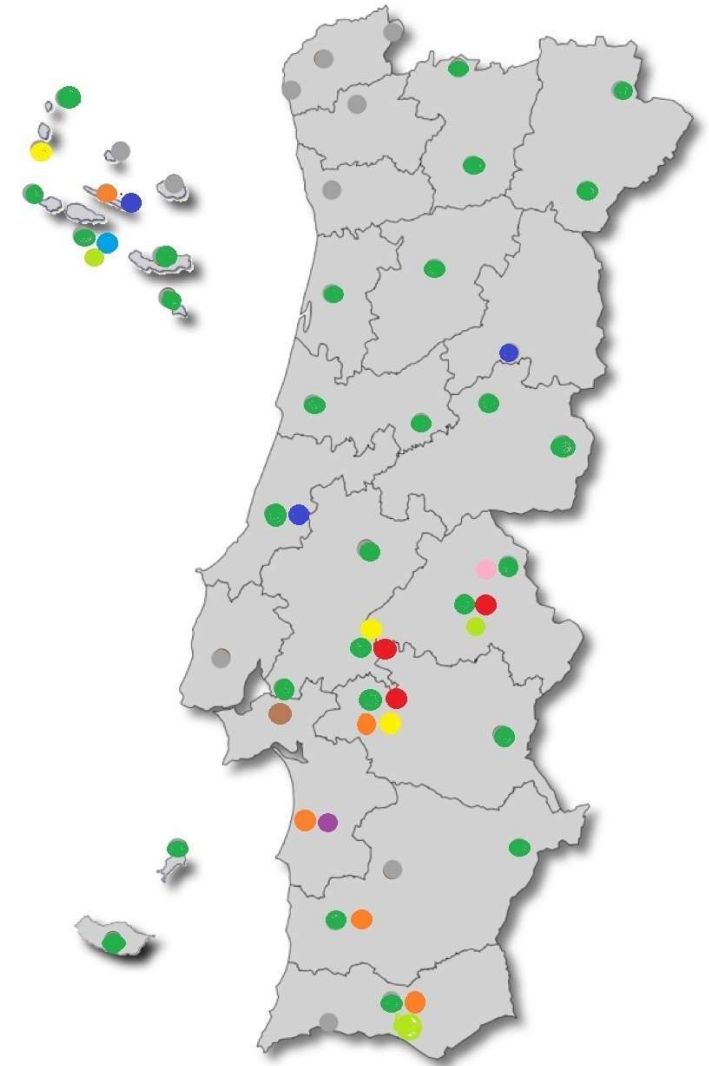
See also Pereira (2021)

# Connectives

→ In dialectal varieties, gerund clauses may be introduced by different connectives.

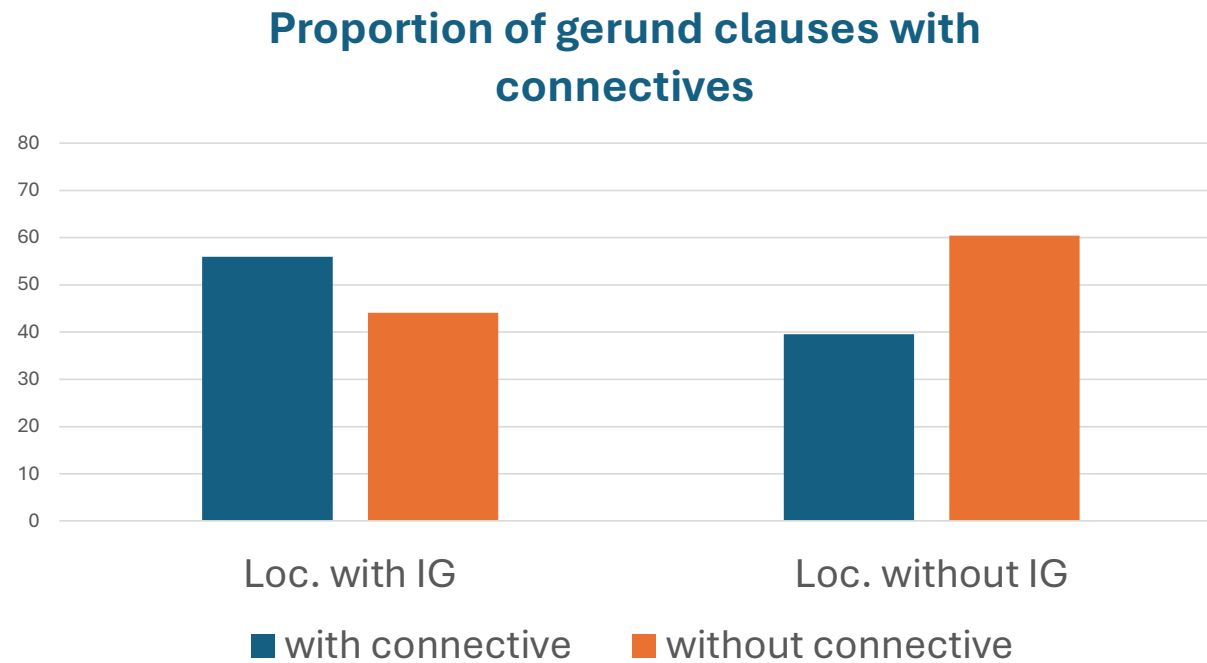
→ The connectives *como* ‘as/since’, *quando* ‘when’, *se* ‘if’, *caso* ‘in case’, *onde* ‘where’ can only introduce finite clauses in the standard variety.

● EM	‘in’	● SE	‘if’
● EM BEM	‘in well’	● CASO	‘(in) case’
● BEM	‘well’	● ONDE	‘where’
● QUANDO	‘when’	● MESMO	‘even’
● COMO	‘as/since’	● ATÉ	‘until’



See also Pereira (2021)

# Connectives



→ Higher productivity of gerund clauses with connectives in localities with inflected gerunds.

# Word order

(19) **eles tendem** as coisas em casa, fazem a toda a hora (AAL)  
they having.3P the things at home, do.3P at every hour  
'when they have the stuff at home they do it all the time'

(20) **em o senhor falando**, pode ser que eu lhe saiba responder (AAL)  
in the sir speaking, may be that I him know.1S answer  
'If you tell me, sir, I may be able to answer you.'

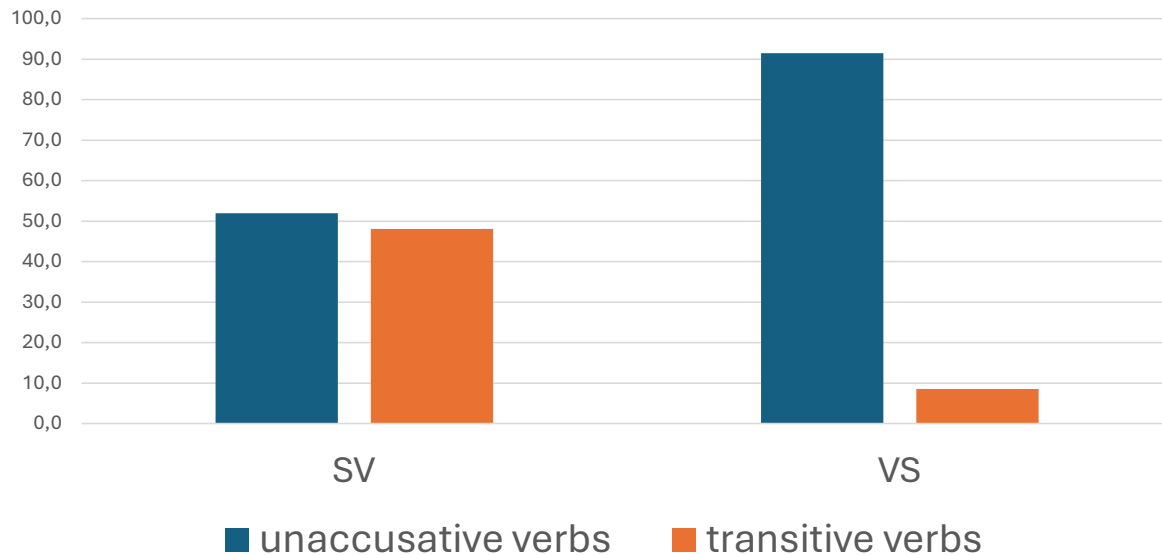
(21) Dizem que depois, **vindem as águas novas**, aparecem uns carochinhos. (LVR)  
say.3P that later, coming.3P the waters new, appear.3P some little\_bugs  
'They say that afterwards when the new waters come some little bugs appear.'

(22) **em chegando o tempo das pinhas**, vou às pinhas (LVR)  
in coming the time of.the pinecones, go.1S to.the pinecones  
'When the pinecone season comes, I fetch pinecones'

**SV**

**VS**

## Word order and syntactic verb type



(adapted from Fiéis & Lobo, 2018)

In dialectal varieties:

- **SV word order** is the **prevalent word order** (regardless of presence/absence of overt inflection, of presence/absence of connective, and of type of subject)
- **VS** is found mostly with **unaccusative or copular verbs**

- Dialectal varieties differ from standard EP and from Old Portuguese (Fiéis & Lobo, 2018):

- Standard EP → VS

- Old Portuguese → SV / VS

(but VS is predominant and not restricted to unaccusative or copular verbs)

# Adverbial gerund clauses of Portuguese dialects: Syntactic properties

- **External syntax**

- ✓ **Position w.r.t. main clause** → initial, final, medial (between subject and verb)
- ✓ **Scope of adverbs** → some gerund clauses are under the scope of só ('only')
- ✓ **Focus position** → some gerund clauses may be focused/clefted

**Limitation:**

- Judgments on the ungrammaticality of sentences are not available.
- It is not easy to determine whether the gerund clause is a central or peripheral adverbial clause.

# Position

- (23) ***Em o querendem levar, podem-no levar.*** (CBV) **INITIAL**  
in it wanting.3P take, can.3P-it take  
'If you want to take it, you may take it.'
- (24) *Isso criavam às vezes, **em não sendo anos de muitas invernas.*** (CPT) **FINAL**  
That raised.3P sometimes, in not being years of many winters  
'They raised it sometimes, if it was not a year with a severe winter.'
- (25) *A rã, **em sendo bem arranjada,** também é boa.* (AJT) **MEDIAL**  
the frog in being well prepared also is good  
'Frogs, if well prepared, are also good.'

# Position

- (26) ***Ele o tempo estando mais morno, há mais peixes*** (AJT) **INITIAL**  
it the weather being more warm, is more fish  
'The weather being warmer, there is more fish.'
- (27) *depois continuei a ir à escola, **sempre aprendendo bem*** (CPT) **FINAL**  
then continued.1S to go to school, always learning well  
'Then I continued to go to school, always learning well.'
- (28) *aquelas, **não estando a gente bem preparada**, elas ferram.* (LAR) **MEDIAL**  
those, not being the people well prepared, they bite  
'Those ones, if we are not well equipped, they bite.'

# Scope and focus

✓ **Scope of adverbs** → some gerund clauses are under the scope of só ('only')

(29) *E bem **só** se veem **em chegando o tempo das águas novas**.* (LVR)  
and well only CL see.3P in arriving the time of.the water new  
'And you can only see them when comes the time of new rains'

✓ **Focus position** → some gerund clauses may be focused ('é que' cleft)

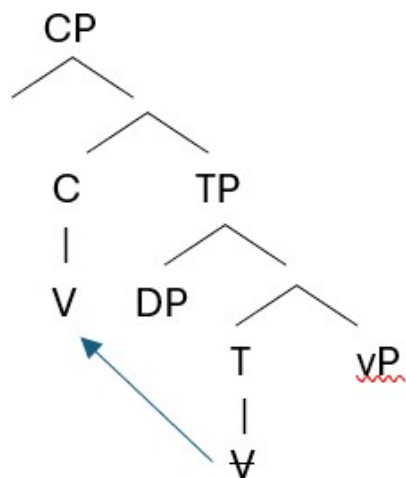
(30) ***Só partindo os chifres é que** se safava.* (MST)  
only breaking the horns is that CL get.away  
'Only breaking his horns did it get away.'

(31) *E **ele vindo de ali é que** se põe em pé outra vez* (MIG)  
and it coming from there is that CL put on foot another time  
'And it's when/if it comes from there that one puts it standing again.'

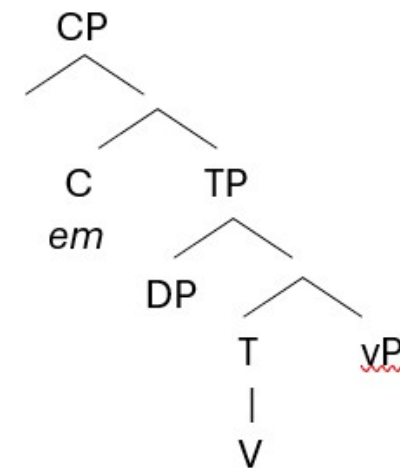
# Comparing adverbial gerund clauses in dialectal and standard EP varieties

	EP standard variety	EP dialects northern area	EP dialects central-south and insular areas
Gerund form	SG / CG	SG	SG
Word order	VS	SV / VS* *available with copular and unaccusative verbs	SV / VS* *available with copular and unaccusative verbs
Connectives	0	0 / <i>em</i>	0 / <i>em</i> / <i>em bem</i> / <i>bem</i> / <i>quando*</i> / <i>onde*</i> / <i>se*</i> / <i>caso*</i> / <i>como*</i> *typical of finite clauses
Agreement	no	no	(yes)

- Unlike standard EP, in gerund clauses of dialectal Portuguese varieties, there are no features in the left peripheral CP field that trigger V to C movement.
  - convergent with presence of connectives
  - convergent with VS associated to subject in situ (unaccusative and copulative verbs) and not to V-to-C



Standard European Portuguese



Dialectal European Portuguese

- If connective blocks gerund T dependency on main T, we expect dialectal gerund clauses with connectives in low positions to be able to have a richer structure than central adverbial gerund clauses in standard EP.

→ convergent with presence of connectives and overt subjects in gerund clauses in final position:

(32) *Tomas outra nova vida **quando um ano se passando*** (MLD)

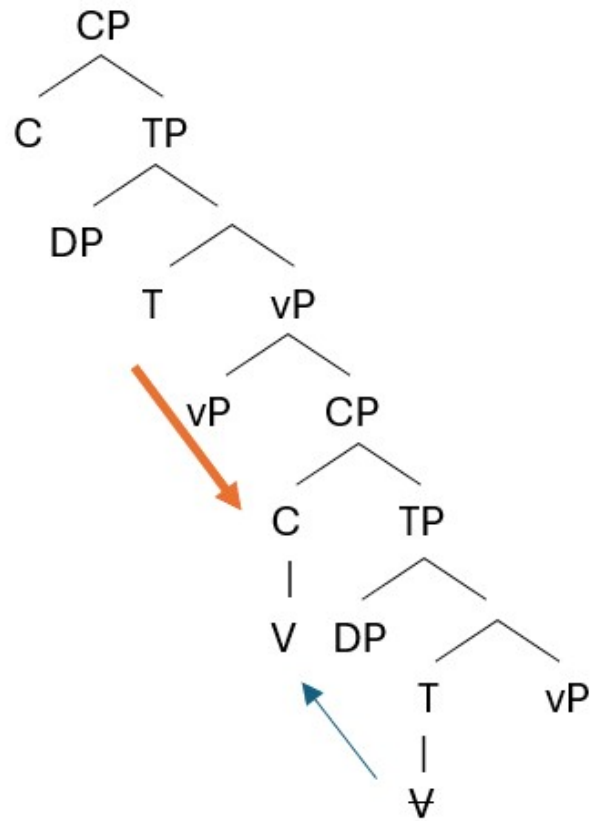
get.2S other new life when a year CL passing

‘You get a new life when a year will go by.’

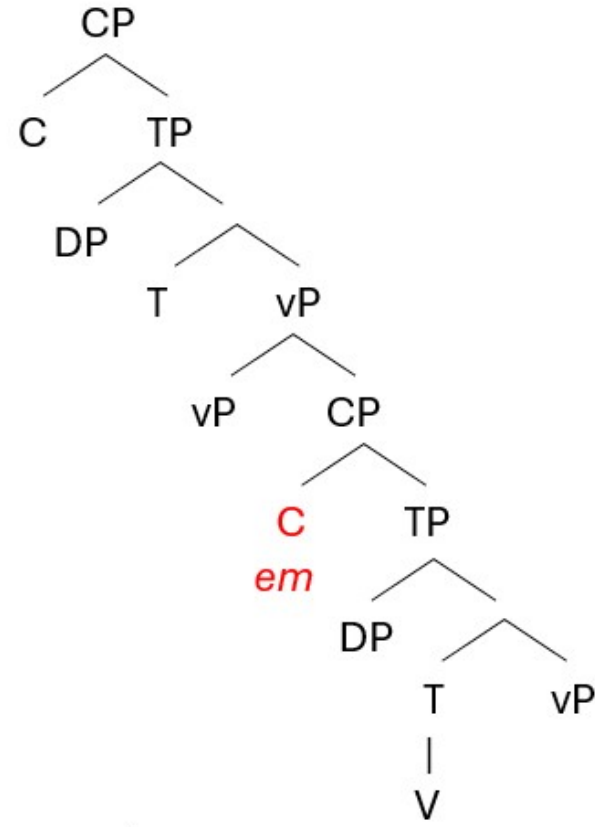
(33) *Ela compreende o que a gente diz **se estando a olhar para a gente.*** (MTM)

she understands what the people say if being P look to the people.

‘She understands what we say if she is looking at us.’



Standard European Portuguese



Dialectal European Portuguese

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