

Advérbios disjuntivos de estilo simples e multipalavra em português

Simple and multiword disjunctive adverbs of style in Portuguese

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Abstract

This paper examines the syntactic properties of some Portuguese simple and multiword adverbs, focusing specifically on disjunctive *adverbs of style* (noted PS). Also referred to as *enunciative*, *metalinguistic*, or *illocutionary* adverbs, PS adverbs function as sentence-external modifiers, typically conveying the speaker's attitude toward a given statement. They are systematically associated with performative operators, whose zeroing yields their particular syntactic properties. This study is based on 87 multiword disjunctive adverbs of style that have been identified among the approximately 3,700 multiword adverbs cataloged in our research (from both Brazilian and European Portuguese), along with 9 single-word adverbs ending in *-mente* from the same class. The aim of this paper is to define the formal properties and semantic nuances of this adverbial class. To that end, we propose a tentative semantic classification of these adverbs and distinguish them from other related constructions.

Keywords: multiword adverbs, compound, style disjunctive adverbs, Portuguese, syntax.

Resumo

Este artigo examina as propriedades sintáticas de alguns advérbios simples e locuções adverbiais do português, com foco específico nos advérbios disjuntivos de estilo (notados PS). Também chamados de advérbios enunciativos, metalinguísticos ou ilocutórios, os advérbios PS funcionam como modificadores externos à sentença, transmitindo tipicamente a atitude do falante em relação a uma determinada afirmação. Eles estão sistematicamente associados a operadores performativos, cujo apagamento dá origem às suas propriedades sintáticas particulares. Este estudo baseia-se em 87 advérbios disjuntivos de estilo formados por locuções, identificados entre aproximadamente 3.700 locuções adverbiais catalogadas em nossa pesquisa (abrangendo o português europeu e o português brasileiro), além de 9 advérbios simples terminados em *-mente* pertencentes à mesma classe. O objetivo do artigo é definir as propriedades formais e as nuances semânticas dessa classe adverbial. Para isso, propomos uma classificação semântica preliminar desses advérbios e os distinguimos de outras construções afins.

Palavras-chave: advérbios multipalavra, advérbios disjuntivos de estilo, português, sintaxe.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate a set of adverbs in Portuguese, more specifically, multiword disjunctive adverbs of style. The objectives of this paper are threefold: (1) to provide a syntactic description of this class of adverbs, grounded in the theoretical principles of Transformational Operator Grammar (Harris, 1976, 1991), namely by analyzing them with the help of the metalinguistic performative operator *Eu digo* 'I say'; (2) to distinguish their use as disjunctive style adverbs, from other classes of adverbs, mentioned in the literature, in

order to clarify differences in meaning and distribution; and (3) to analyze their behavior in discourse through corpus analysis.

This paper is organized as follows. We began with a general introduction to the objectives of the paper. Section 2 includes the definition and theoretical description of Disjunctive Style Adverbs. In Section 3, we describe the current work on Multiword Adverbs in Brazilian Portuguese, providing an overview of the construction of the lexicon and the syntactic-semantic classification proposed for Portuguese. We also make a tentative semantic classification for *Disjunctive Style Adverbs* and present a full list of these adverbs. Section 4 highlights the differences and similarities between Conjunctive (PC) and Disjunctive Style (PS) adverbs. Section 5 describes the relations between Disjunctive Style (PS), Manner (MV), and Subject-oriented adverbs (MS), demonstrating that certain adverbs may assume multiple semantic roles depending on whether they modify the sentence as a whole or a specific constituent. Section 6 examines PS adverbs in combination with other performative metalinguistic operators. Section 7 reviews related work across different languages, and finally, Section 8 concludes this work with future perspectives in analyzing this class of adverbs in a corpus. The paper concludes with an Annex presenting the style-disjunctive adverbs here studied.

2. Disjunctive adverbs of style: general definition and theoretical description

Disjunctive adverbs of style (henceforward *PS adverbs*) reflect the speaker's attitude with respect to the content of his/her utterance. These adverbs usually occur at the beginning of a sentence, establishing the tone of the speaker's statement. They include adverbs such as *francamente/com (toda a) franqueza* 'frankly, in all honesty', e.g.,

- (1) *Francamente/com toda a franqueza, a cidade está imunda*¹
'Frankly/in all honesty, the city is filthy'

In this example, the adverb *francamente* points to the *manner* in which the speaker utters the sentence. This meaning can be made overt by inserting the adverb in a sentence with a performative metalinguistic operator *eu digo* (Harris, 1991; Gross, 1986, p. 93):

- (2) *Eu digo francamente/com toda a franqueza que a cidade está imunda*
'I say frankly/in all honesty that the city is filthy'

In this sentence, the manner, subject-oriented, adverb *francamente/com toda a franqueza* modifies the verb *digo*. Before proceeding, let us define more precisely what manner, subject-oriented adverbs are considered here. To illustrate this, we will use a similar example but with a different subject (3):

- (3) *O Pedro disse isso francamente* 'Pedro said this frankly/in a frank manner'

Based on Molinier / Levrier classification framework on French adverbs ending in *ment* '-ly', which we adopted in this study, the adverb in (3) is considered to be a sentence-internal modifier of the verb because he does not admit *simultaneously* the following two properties: Firstly, it *cannot* be detached to the beginning of the sentence when the verb is negated, since, as a verb modifier, it falls under the scope of the negation adverb, (3a) and (3b):

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all examples are original and produced by the authors. Translations and glosses are approximate and primarily literal, aiming to highlight the linguistic phenomena under analysis. Their grammatical acceptability—or lack thereof—is not relevant to the discussion.

(3a) *O Pedro não disse isso francamente*
'Pedro did not say that frankly'

≠

(3b) °*Francamente, o Pedro não disse isso*
'Frankly, Pedro did not say that'

Notice that sentence (3b) is an acceptable utterance but with a different meaning than that of (3a), which is signaled by the symbol '°'. Hence, we are dealing with *two distinct constructions* here. While in (3a) the adverb indicated the manner of saying (and the corresponding attitude of the sentence's *subject*), in (3b) it conveys the *speaker's* attitude towards the content of the main clause. This second use corresponds, then, to the disjunctive-style adverbial construction we aim at in this paper. Secondly, the adverb *can* undergo clefting with *ser ... que* 'be ... that', like many other sentence-internal constituents, especially in a contrastive context, which enables one to continue the sentence with an adversative clause (3c):

(3c) *Foi francamente que o Pedro disse isso (e não hipocritamente)*
'It was frankly that Pedro said it (and not hypocritically)'

Finally, the adverb *francamente* is said to be *subject-oriented* due to the equivalence with an adjectival sentence taking the same subject as the verb (3d):

(3d) *O Pedro foi franco (ao dizer isso)* 'Pedro was frank (in saying that)'

This adjectival construction can also appear within a relative clause, in the analytical construction of the corresponding manner adverb, as the modifier an operator-noun *maneira* 'manner' (and its equivalent forms *modo*, *forma*, and *jeito*^{PB} 'way/manner'):²

(3e) *O Pedro_i disse isso de um modo que foi franco da sua_i parte*
'Pedro said that in a way that was frank on his part'

The equivalent multiword adverb *com toda a franqueza* has practically the same properties as *francamente*, occurring in the same syntactic slots as the simple-word adverb, except for the corresponding paraphrasis for (3d), since this is a predicative noun. One can, however, suggest a support-verb construction with *ser de* 'be of' (Baptista, 2005) as the base form for this noun, (3f) and (3g):

(3f) *O Pedro foi de uma certa franqueza (ao dizer isso)*
'Pedro was of (=showed) a certain frankness (in saying that)'

(3g) *O Pedro_i disse isso de um modo que foi de uma certa franqueza da sua_i³ parte*
'Pedro said that in a way that was of a certain frankness on his part'

In the remainder of the examples, we simplify the description by using the simple form *francamente*, referring to the multiword expression only when relevant differences warrant separate discussion.

² The 'PT' and 'PB' indices indicate the language variety the expression belongs to, namely the European or the Brazilian varieties of Portuguese, respectively.

³ The indice 'i' indicates coreference

Let us now return to sentence (2) with the verb *digo* ‘say’. This verb holds a special status within the theoretical framework adopted here (Harris, 1991, pp. 123–128). Transformational Operator Grammar posits that natural language contains its own metalanguage; more precisely, there is no external metalanguage to natural language. According to the theoretical principle of the *least grammar* , grammatical analysis should employ the minimal set of constructs necessary, so that constraints on word combination are kept to a minimum and are not redundantly stated in the generation of utterances (Harris, 1991, pp. 31–36). Within this framework, sentences such as (2), with the metalinguistic performative operator *Eu digo* ‘I say’ are considered to underlie all actual (declarative) utterances of the language, with the subject *Eu* ‘I’ corresponding to the speaker and the clausal complement representing the content of the utterance⁴. Furthermore, *Eu digo* ‘I say’ is used in the present-indicative tense, temporally anchored to the moment of utterance. When the metalinguistic operator *Eu digo* is zeroed—and the sentence is actually uttered, the adverb becomes a sentence-external modifier, that is, the performative operator is pragmatically nullified, yielding the sentence-initial adverbial element that appears detached from the sentence’s core structure. Thus, the adverb comes to modify the entire sentence and exhibits the characteristic properties of this type of construction, as defined by Molinier and Levrier (2000), which will be further explained below. Notice that the Harrissian framework, zeroing operations do not change the information constraints on the base sentences, only their surface form. In this sense, the zeroing of *Eu digo* does not alter the constraints of *francamente* on its argument (the performative *digo*) but can help explain its syntactic behavior as a sentence-external modifier once the performative has been zeroed.

To illustrate these properties, we resort to a clear-cut example of the style disjunctive construction of the adverb, (4a) and (4b). These properties consist of two, *simultaneously* observed, patterns: (i) Sentence-external adverb modifiers are typically placed at the beginning of the sentence, where they remain unaffected by the scope of the negation of the main clause, as illustrated in (4a); moreover, (ii) these adverbs cannot undergo *clefting* — in other words, they cannot be extracted using structures like *ser...que* ‘it is...that’, as demonstrated in (4b):

(4a) *Francamente, eu não confio nele*
‘Frankly, I do not trust him’

(4b) * *É francamente que eu confio nele*
‘It is frankly that I trust [in] him’

As mentioned above, sentence (4b) is acceptable only with a different meaning from that of (4a). In (4a), *francamente* ‘frankly’ expresses the speaker’s attitude toward the content of the utterance and falls outside the scope of the negation *não* ‘not’. In contrast, in (4b)—which is barely acceptable—the adverb would be interpreted as referring to the subject’s attitude while performing the act of *confiar* ‘trust’. This reading is semantically incongruous, which explains the negative acceptability judgment associated with (4b).

The analysis of the adverb *francamente* presented above considers, then *two* constructions: (a) a base construction as a sentence-internal, subject-oriented, manner adverb, in which it can modify a large set of verbal predicates; and (b) a special construction as the modifier of the performative metalinguistic operator *Eu digo* , which, after its reduction, leaves the adverb as a sentence-external modifier.

The use of a verb like *confiar* ‘trust’ in sentences (4a) and (4b) can be seen as a clear-cut example of the style disjunctive construction of the adverb *francamente* , as this adverb, from a semantical viewpoint, *cannot*

⁴ For simplicity, in the following analysis we ignore the indirect (dative) complement of the verb *dizer* ‘say’ (*Eu digo-te* ‘I say to you’) and later on, the second complement of the verb *falar* ‘talk/speak’ (*Eu falo contigo* ‘I speak to you’, corresponding in both cases to the addressee of the speech act.

be a manner, subject-oriented modifier of such verb.⁵ Notice that placing this adverb at the right of the verb, as in (5a) and (5b), produces unacceptable utterances, as this adverb cannot be a proper modifier of this verb:

(5a) **Eu confio nele francamente*
'I trust him frankly'

(5b) °*Eu confio francamente nele*
'I trust frankly [in] him'

Note that sentence (5b) is acceptable, but its meaning differs: in this case, *francamente* functions as a quantifier or intensity modifier (class MQi), typically applied to adjectives, as illustrated in (6). Sentence (5a), on the other hand, is even less acceptable, even when interpreted with the same quantifying sense.

(6) *O Pedro está francamente/muito cansado*
'Pedro is frankly/very tired'

The corresponding multiword adverb does not exhibit this behavior, as the sentence **O Pedro está com toda a franqueza cansado* is unacceptable. Naturally, this usage falls outside the scope of the present analysis.

Since the adverb *francamente* (in the sense here relevant) cannot be a modifier of *confiar*, its presence in sentence (4a) can only be explained by deriving this sentence from the one with the performative metalinguistic operator *Eu digo* 'I say', where the adverb occurs with a normal distribution (4c):

(4c) *Eu digo francamente que não confio nele*
'I say frankly that I don't trust him'

As mentioned before, PS adverbs typically introduce the tone of the speaker or their attitude concerning the content of the utterance. It may also express a belief, a criticism, a judgment, skepticism, or a mere impression. They present specific distinguishing characteristics (Molinier & Levrier, 2000), namely:

A. The property of functioning as manner adverbs modifying a performative verb *dizer* 'say' Harris (1976, pp. 155–158; 1991, pp. 137–144), found in a higher-level clause as demonstrated in (5):

(5) *Eu digo francamente/com toda a franqueza que eu não confio nele*
'I frankly say that I do not trust him'

⁵A search in the entire Portuguese *ptTenTen23* corpus (Kilgarriff et al., 2014), (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/ptten-ten-portuguese-corpus/>; 20 billion tokens), using Sketch Engine (<https://app.sketchengine.eu/>) and the CQL pattern [lemma="confiar"] []{0,5} [lemma="francamente"]—that is, the lemmas of the verb *confiar* 'to trust' and the adverb *francamente* 'frankly' within a window of up to five intervening words—returned only 17 occurrences. However, in most of these, the two words appear in separate sentences. Only three instances include both the verb and the adverb in the same sentence, and even then, they are syntactically unrelated. For example: (1) [...] *eu não confiava em nenhum deles para conversar francamente* ('I didn't trust any of them to speak frankly'), where the adverb modifies *conversar*, not *confiar*; or cases in which the adverb appears in a separate clause or parenthetical comment, functioning as a style disjunct rather than a manner adverb: e.g., (2) *Confio em si, meu caro doutor, é agora a única pessoa em que eu posso confiar, mas, francamente, não alcancei ainda compreender o seu plano!* 'I trust you, my dear doctor—you are now the only person I can rely on. But, frankly, I still haven't managed to understand your plan!'; or (3) [...] *como espera que depois de adolescente venham a confiar em você, francamente não vejo como* 'How do you expect them to trust you after adolescence? Frankly, I just don't see how.'. The intuitive unacceptability of the word combination *confiar-francamente* (functioning as manner, subject-oriented) appears to be supported by the absence of empirical evidence for such a combination in a corpus of this magnitude.

B. The property of appearing as a manner modifier of a gerundive form of *falar* ‘say’, *falando* ‘saying’ which functions in a similar way as a *verbum dicendi* (Baptista, 2010), as in example (6); in Portuguese, the adverb and the verb in the gerund can permutate: *falando francamente/francamente falando*:

- (6) Falando francamente/Francamente falando/Com toda a franqueza, eu (não) confio nele
 ‘Frankly speaking/Speaking frankly/With all honesty, I (do not) trust him’

Other constructions of *falar* and the adverb *francamente* can also be found, besides the gerundive, namely, *a/para falar francamente* ‘to speak frankly’. In this case, the permutation is not acceptable: **a/para francamente falar* ‘to frankly speak’. For simplicity, we will focus on the gerundive structure alone.⁶

The use of the gerund form *falando* (‘speaking’) calls for a more nuanced analysis. It may be argued that *falar* (‘to speak’) also assumes a metalinguistic function. Unlike the verb *dizer* (‘to say’), which foregrounds the speaker’s attitude towards the propositional content of an utterance, *falar* (‘to speak’) highlights the manner—or other pragmatic features—through which the utterance is conveyed. The occurrence of *falar* in a reduced gerundial clause, as seen in sentence (6), suggests that such constructions result from the reduction of an underlying structure involving a complex combination of two metalinguistic operators: *dizer* and *falar*, linked via the gerundive suffix *-ndo*, which is analyzed here as a subordinative-conjunctive (bound) morpheme. This type of concatenation is exemplified in (7a) and (7b), where the symbol ‘#’ indicates the sentence boundaries, and *-ndo* is the bound conjunctive morpheme concatenating the two base sentences⁷:

- (7a) Eu digo que não confio nele # -ndo # Eu falo francamente/com toda a franqueza
 (7b) Falando francamente/com toda a franqueza, eu digo que não confio nele
 ‘Frankly speaking, I say that I (do not) trust him’

It is worth noting that, although the adverb *francamente* can, in principle, modify both verbs (e.g., *dizer/falar francamente* ‘to say something/to speak frankly’), the two metalinguistic operators serve two distinct functions.

This use of the verb *falar* ‘to speak’ acts as a *framing device* for the entire utterance—that is, a (subordinate, gerundive) construction that appears at the left periphery of the sentence and sets the speaker’s stance or interpretive mode without affecting the core propositional content—where it introduces the adverb. The verb *dizer* ‘to say’, then, introduces the propositional content of the utterance. This distinction reinforces the sentential scope of the adverb. It may also explain why the two verbs are not interchangeable in such constructions:

⁶ In the Portuguese *ptTenTen23* corpus (Kilgarriff et al., 2014), we encountered the following constructions with *falar* ‘speak’ and the adverb *francamente* ‘frankly’: *falando francamente* ‘speaking frankly’ (731 occurrences) in both the initial position of a sentence, followed by a comma, and detached in the middle of the sentence, also separated by commas, which indicates in a clearer way their use as the style–disjunctive adverbial expressions here analyzed. The lack of these punctuation patterns yields many spurious instances of this word combination. The inversion *francamente falando* ‘frankly speaking’, following the same punctuation pattern, is less frequent (178), however, still significant. The word combination *a falar francamente* ‘to speak frankly’, although present in the corpus (12 occurrences), does not carry the adverbial function that is the object of this study. On the other hand, *para falar francamente* ‘to speak frankly’ (65 occurrences), appearing mainly in the middle of the sentence but not at the beginning, were practically all true instances of the target expression. No cases of adverb–verb inversion were found. The queries of the combinations of the verb *dizer* ‘say’ and the adverb *francamente* ‘frankly’: showed scarce number occurrences: *dizendo francamente* ‘saying frankly’ as an adverbial appears 6 times out of 7 in total; while the inversion *francamente dizendo* ‘frankly saying’ showed up twice, both corresponding to the adverbial. Lastly, *a dizer francamente* ‘to say frankly’ was not found in the corpus, and *para dizer francamente* showed 8 occurrences, all of them cases of the target expression. Again, no cases of adverb–verb inversion were found.

⁷ For simplicity, we do not detail the transformation here. It entails the subordination of the secondary clause to the first one, reducing of repeated coreferential material, and the permutation of the gerundive to the front of the main clause.

- (8) **Dizendo francamente/com toda a franqueza, eu falo que [eu] (não) confio nele*
 ‘Frankly saying, I speak that I (do not) trust him’

It should also be noted that, although the verb *falar* (‘to speak’) can appear with an object subclause in Brazilian Portuguese (BP)—as in *Eu falo que não confio nele* (‘I say I do not trust him’)—this construction is not usually accepted in European Portuguese (EP). While the unacceptability of example (8) in EP could be attributed to the absence of this syntactic pattern, the same explanation does not account for its unacceptability in BP.

This distinction between *dizer* and *falar* is also reflected in English, where *say* and *speak* exhibit a similar functional differentiation, as well as in other Romance languages, such as French. In English, *say* cannot be replaced by *speak* in comparable constructions, as the unacceptability of the translation of sentence (8) demonstrates:

- (9a) *Frankly speaking, I say that I (do not) trust him.*

- (9b) **Frankly saying, I speak that I (do not) trust him.*

A parallel pattern is observed in French, with the verbs *dire* ‘say’ and *parler* ‘speak’:⁸

- (10a) *À franchise **parler**, [je **dis** que] je (n’) ai (pas) de confiance de lui*

- (10b) **À franchise **dire**, [je **parle** que] je (n’) ai (pas) de confiance de lui*

These examples underscore the cross-linguistic robustness of the functional asymmetry between the two verbs, further supporting the analysis of *falar* as a performative framing operator and *dizer* as a performative content introducer.

C. Another key property of sentence-modifying, style-disjunctive adverbs such as *francamente* ‘frankly’ (or *com toda a franqueza* ‘with complete frankness’) is their restriction to occur only in assertive utterances, that is, with the performative operator *Eu digo* ‘I say’. These adverbs are typically excluded from sentences with interrogative (11a), imperative (11b), or exclamative (11c) modality:

- (11a) **Francamente, eu (não) confio nele?*
 ‘Frankly, do I trust him?’

- (11b) **Francamente, confia (tu) nele / não confies (tu) nele.*⁹

⁸ In the French *frTenTen23* corpus, with +23 billion words, we find several variants of these constructions, including the permutation of the verb and the adverb, and the variation of the initial preposition along with the verb form (*à* + infinitive, *en* + gerund). The following distribution is observed for the verb *parler* ‘speak’: *à parler franchement* (230 occurrences, with the targeted pattern of the detached adverbial attested), *à franchement parler* (174, idem), *en parlant franchement* (33, idem), *en franchement parlant* (0; no occurrences found), *parlant franchement* (80, idem), *franchement parlant* (39, idem). Interestingly, with *dire* ‘say’, the situation is different: *à dire franchement* occurs 714 times, but none of them corresponds to the adverbial in detached position; with permuted adverb, *à franchement dire*, only 4 occurrences were found, but they all correspond to the target expression; the *en* + gerund pattern *en disant franchement* occurs only 19 times, and none is the target expression, while no cases were found of the permuted adverb, *en franchement disant*. No instances of the gerund construction without preposition *disant franchement* were found that would correspond to the target expression. It seems, then, that in French, the combination with *dire* ‘say’, *à franchement dire*, is combinatorially more constraint than the more variable structure with *parler*.

⁹ Notice that, in the case of the imperative sentence (11b), a 2nd-person *tu* ‘you’ must be used as required by the imperative modality. For the interrogative, the use of a 1st-person *eu* ‘I’, while not impossible—as a rhetorical device, for example—is pragmatically awkward, since the person asking is also the person that is best placed to provide the answer. The sentence is much more natural with a 2nd-person, as illustrated in (11a).

‘Frankly, do / do not trust him.’

(11c) **Francamente, eu confio nele!*

‘Frankly, I do trust him!’

This is considered a direct consequence of the fact that the adverb *francamente* is semantically (distributionally) incompatible with the metalinguistic performative operators *Eu pergunto* ‘I ask/question’, *Eu peço/ordeno* ‘I ask/command’ and *Eu exclamo* ‘I exclaim’, which are considered to underly such sentences (Harris, 1976, 1991):

(12a) **Eu pergunto francamente se confias nele*

‘I ask/question you frankly whether you trust him’

(12b) **Eu peço/ordeno francamente que confies nele*

‘I ask/command you frankly to trust him’

(12c) **Eu exclamo francamente que confio nele*

‘I exclaim frankly that I trust him’

This distributional restriction is also closely linked to the incompatibility of such adverbs with fronted detached structures when the base sentence is negated. As Molinier and Levrier (2000, p. 65) explain, this constraint arises from the impossibility of simultaneously modifying how a declarative statement is uttered and superimposing an alternative modality (interrogative, imperative, or exclamative) onto it. The adverb presupposes a statement-like speech act, a meaning that is overtly made explicit in the base sentence with the performative metalinguistic operator *Eu digo* ‘I say’, which is disrupted when another modality is introduced. As negation does not change the modality of the main clause, this is further indirect evidence for the independence of PS adverbs regarding the utterance under their scope.

This said, there are instances of this and other similar adverbs appearing in (apparently) non-assertive utterances.¹⁰ These sentences required further analysis. For example, in (13a):

(13) *Francamente, fizeste isso?*

‘Frankly, did you do this?’

the adverb’s role in the sentence cannot be put in relation with *perguntar* ‘ask/question’, since there is no sentence **Eu pergunto-te francamente se fizeste isso* ‘I ask you frankly whether you did this’. On the contrary, *francamente* it is interpreted as a (negative) side comment, eventually expressing incredulity or criticism. This is also used in isolation, with an exclamative value:

(14) *Fizeste isso? Francamente!*

‘Did you do this? Frankly!’

The orthographic contrast of the two sentences above clarifies that the adverb is being used in (13) in much the same way as in (14), as a single-word, verbless utterance that is now clearly distinguished from the previous sentence using standard punctuation. Therefore, in (13), the adverb is not part of the interrogative, even if superficially it looks like it is, due to the punctuation here used.

Adopting the classification principles of the Lexicon-Grammar framework (Gross, 1986, pp. 97–99), these verbless, single-word utterances could have been classified as *frozen sentences* (Antunes et al., 2025, class

¹⁰ The authors wish to thank the anonymous reviewers who called our attention to such phenomena.

C0E), within the same category that includes other interjective/exclamative expressions. However, as the author notes, this represents a borderline case of the adverb category. Therefore, we have followed M. Gross (1986) perspective and treated these forms as adverbs (class PADV), representing them in the Lexicon-Grammar with an exclamation mark (*francamente!*).

3. The broader picture: building the lexicon-grammar of multiword adverbs in Portuguese

This study forms part of a broader research initiative aimed at constructing a comprehensive lexicon of multiword adverbs in Portuguese. The analysis is conducted within the Lexicon-Grammar theoretical and methodological framework developed by Maurice Gross (1975, 1981, 1986), which is itself rooted in Zellig S. Harris's (1991) Transformational Operator Grammar. In this framework, the elementary sentence is considered the primary unit of linguistic analysis, as both the syntactic properties and the semantic interpretation of linguistic expressions can only be fully characterized within this minimal context. Maurice Gross (1986, 1996) proposed a formal classification of adverbial expressions based on the notion of *adverbe généralisé* (ing. *generalized adverb*), which encompasses both compositional, syntactically transparent expressions and frozen, idiomatic, non-compositional forms. His approach relies on a taxonomic method that organizes expressions according to their internal grammatical structure, following the base sequence *Prep Det N Modif*, where *Prep* denotes a preposition, *Det* a determiner, *N* a nominal element, and *Modif* a modifier. In Gross (1986, pp. 93–100), the author revisits the Harrissian analysis of adverbs that have scope over different types of sentences (declarative, interrogative, or imperative), interpreting them as reductions of the corresponding performative verbs. Consequently, the distinction between the scope over a sentence (“portée sur une phrase”) and the scope over verbs (“portée sur des verbes”) is viewed as merely terminological.

Building on this theoretical foundation, the present study applies Gross's classification model to a large set of data, resulting in the identification of approximately 3,700 multiword adverbs in Portuguese, encompassing expressions from both European Portuguese (EP)—some of which were previously documented by Palma (2009)—and Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as described by Müller et al. (2022, 2023). The lexicon incorporates 12 out of the 16 formal subclasses proposed by Maurice Gross (1986). Table 1 provides an updated overview of the distribution across these formal classes, detailing the internal structure of each adverbial construction, accompanied by representative examples, and presenting the number of occurrences in EP, in BP, those shared by both varieties (EP-BP), and the overall total.

Table 1*Current Distribution of the Lexicon by Formal Classes in Portuguese*

Formal Class	Internal Structure	Examples	EP	BP	EP-BP	Total
PC	<i>Prep C</i>	<i>em vão</i> ‘in vain’	28	256	673	957
PDETC	<i>Prep Det C</i>	<i>pelo menos</i> ‘at least’	56	227	526	809
PAC	<i>Prep Adj C</i>	<i>de má vontade</i> ‘unwillingly’	11	46	232	289
PCA	<i>Prep C Adj</i>	<i>por maioria absoluta</i> ‘by absolute majority’	22	69	269	360
PCDC	<i>Prep C1 de C2</i>	<i>por conta da casa</i> ‘on the house’	22	81	211	314
PCPC	<i>Prep C1 Prep C2</i>	<i>da cabeça aos pés</i> ‘head to toes’	46	103	269	418
PCONJ	<i>Prep C1 Conj C2</i>	<i>em verso e prosa</i> ‘in verse and prose’	10	75	169	254
PF	<i>Frase fixa</i>	<i>dito isso</i> ‘this said’	2	43	89	134
PV	<i>Prep V W</i>	<i>até dizer chega</i> lit.: ‘until say enough’, ‘a lot’	4	4	27	35
PJC	<i>Conj C</i>	<i>e por aí vai</i> ‘and so on’	3	48	33	84
PACO	<i><ADJ> como C</i>	<i><surdo> como uma porta</i> ‘deaf as a door’	0	7	3	10
PVCO	<i><V> como C</i>	<i><trabalhar> como uma mula</i> ‘work like a mule’	0	26	25	51
Total			204	985	2,526	3,715

In addition to this formal classification, we adopt the syntactic-semantic framework proposed by Molinier and Levrier (2000), which distinguishes two major types of adverbs: (i) internal modifiers (M), which target specific components within the sentence and are divided into seven subclasses, and (ii) external modifiers (P), which operate at the propositional level and are organized into six subclasses. Table 2 presents the current syntactic-semantic distribution of multiword adverbs in our lexicon, organized into two major groups and their respective subclasses. It also provides figures for expressions exclusive to each variety (EP and BP), as well as those common to both (EP-BP). The totals in Table 2 slightly exceed those in Table 1, as some expressions occur in more than one syntactic-semantic class.

Table 2

Current Semantic Distribution of Multiword Adverbs in Portuguese

Class	Subclass	Examples	EP	BP	EP-BP	Total
PC conjunctive						
		<i>afinal de contas</i> ‘after all’	3	44	203	250
PS disjunctive of style						
		<i>com toda a franqueza</i> ‘in all honesty’	4	9	74	87
PA disjunctive of attitude						
PAa	evaluative	<i>por pura sorte</i> ‘by sheer luck’			21	21
PAm	modal	<i>com certeza</i> ‘certainly’	1	10	25	36
PAs	subject-oriented	<i>pelo meu lado</i> ‘for my part’		5	1	6
PAh	habit	<i>de costume</i> ‘usually’		3	15	18
MV manner verb-oriented						
		<i>a todo o gás</i> ‘at full throttle’ <i>de cabo a rabo</i> ‘from beginning to end’	221	754	1,469	2,444
MS manner subject-oriented						
		<i>de boa fé</i> ‘in good faith’ <i>sem pestanejar</i> ‘without hesitation’	3	21	103	127
MT time						
MTd	date	<i>a horas mortas</i> ‘at dead of night’	24	77	309	410
MTf	frequency	<i>dia sim dia não</i> ‘every other day’	5	24	55	84
MTu	duration	<i>anos a fio</i> ‘for years on end’		12	35	47
MP point of view					10	10
MQ quantitative			5	63	122	190
MF focus				10	19	29
ML locative			3	80	121	204
Total			269	1,111	2,582	3,962

Our investigation has identified 87 multiword disjunctive style adverbs in Portuguese. Their distributions are as follows: 4 exclusives to European Portuguese (signaled with the index ‘^{PE}’), 9 expressions exclusive to Brazilian Portuguese (signaled with the index ‘^{PB}’), and 74 shared by both varieties. To this we add 9 simple-word adverbs ending in *-mente*, common to both varieties. The list of these adverbs is provided in the Annex. Below, we present a tentative semantic classification of these adverbs.

Request: *por favor* ‘please’, *por especial favor*¹¹ ‘please’, *por gentileza*^{PB} ‘kindly’, *por obséquio* ‘please’, *por Deus* ‘lit.: by God, please’, *por tudo o que há de mais sagrado* ‘for all that is most sacred’, *por/pelo amor de Deus* ‘for God’s sake’, *se faz/fizer favor* ‘please/if you please’;

Manner of speaking: *concretamente* ‘specifically’, *francamente* ‘frankly’, *honestamente* ‘honestly’, *literalmente* ‘literally’, *modestamente* ‘modestly’, *seriamente* ‘seriously’, *sinceramente* ‘sincerely’; *com o devido respeito* ‘with all due respect’, *com franqueza* ‘frankly’, *com toda a franqueza* ‘in all honesty’;

¹¹ Although the expression *por favor especial* is grammatically correct, it is observed that the form with the adjective preceding the noun—*por especial favor*—is much more common, both in European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese, with 20 and 11 occurrences respectively in the ptTenTen23 corpus, compared to 0 occurrences in PT and 1 in BR of the form with the adjective following the noun. For this reason, we classify this expression as a compound adverb, class PAC.

com toda a sinceridade ‘in all sincerity’, *falando francamente/francamente falando* speaking ‘frankly/frankly speaking’, *modéstia à parte* ‘modesty aside’, *para ser sincero*^{PB} ‘to be honest’;

Clarification: *a bem da verdade* ‘to tell the truth’, *a bem dizer* ‘strictly speaking’, *a propósito* ‘by the way’, *a rigor* ‘strictly speaking’, *em abono da verdade* ‘in all honesty’, *em linhas gerais* ‘generally speaking’, *em bom português* ‘in plain Portuguese’, *em português claro* ‘in clear Portuguese’, *em rigor* ‘strictly speaking’, *em/no sentido (mais) estrito/restrito (do termo/da palavra)* ‘strictly speaking’, *em termos gerais* ‘in general terms’, *em termos simples* ‘in simple terms’, *em toda a extensão da palavra* ‘in the full sense of the word’, *na acepção*^{PB}/*aceção*^{PE} *da palavra* ‘in the meaning of the word’, *na extensão da palavra*^{PB} ‘in the full sense of the word’, *para seu governo* ‘for your information’, *para todos os efeitos* ‘for all intents and purposes’, *por assim dizer* ‘so to speak’, *por bem dizer* ‘so to speak’, *por outras palavras* ‘in other words’, *strictu sensu* ‘strictly speaking’;

Validation: *fora de brincadeira* ‘no kidding’, *na boa*^{PB} ‘honestly’, *na moral*^{PB} ‘honestly’, *para abreviar razões*^{PE} ‘to cut a long story short’ *para começo de conversa*, ‘to begin with’ *para dizer a verdade* ‘to tell you the truth’, *para dizer/falar depressa e bem*^{PE} ‘to put it bluntly’ *sem brincadeira*^{PB}, ‘no kidding’, *sem exagero* ‘without exaggeration’, *verdade seja dita*^{PB} ‘truth be told’;

Concessive: *salvo erro ou omissão* ‘unless otherwise stated’, *salvo indicação contrária*, ‘unless otherwise indicated’, *salvo indicação em contrário*, ‘unless otherwise indicated’, *salvo melhor juízo*, ‘tentatively, pending better judgment’, *salvo melhor entendimento* ‘unless otherwise interpreted’, *salvo melhor opinião* ‘unless there is a better opinion’;

Self-reference concessive: *até onde sei/sabemos* ‘as far as we know’, *até onde é do meu/nosso conhecimento* ‘to the best of my/our knowledge’, *pelo que me consta*^{PB}, ‘as far as I know’, *pelo que sei* ‘as far as I know’; *salvo engano*, ‘unless I am mistaken’, *salvo erro (da minha parte)* ‘unless I am mistaken’, *salvo erro de memória* ‘unless my memory fails me’, *se a memória não me falha* ‘if my memory serves me well/correctly’, *se não me falha a memória* ‘if my memory does not fail me’, *se bem me lembro/recordo* or *se me lembro/recordo bem* ‘if I remember correctly/well’, *tanto quanto me lembro/recordo*, ‘as far as I remember’;

Irony: *entre aspas*, ‘in quotation marks’, *salvo seja* ‘except be’;

Conclusion: *resumidamente*, ‘in short’, *sumariamente* ‘briefly’, *em breves palavras* ‘in a nutshell’, *em duas palavras* ‘in two words’, *em poucas palavras* ‘in a few words’, *em suma* ‘in short’, *em resumo* ‘in summary’, *em síntese* ‘in synthesis’, *numa palavra* ‘in a word’ (see Section 4., below);

Secrecy (gossip): *aqui entre nós*, ‘between us’ *cá entre nós* ‘between us’;

The list of adverbial expressions presented above illustrates the richness and complexity of this class in Portuguese. The proposed semantic organization should be viewed as a preliminary attempt to systematize these expressions. It is noteworthy, however, to specify certain expressions regarding their distribution across both varieties. For instance, *por gentileza* ‘please’, while understood in European Portuguese, is more common and significantly more frequent in Brazilian Portuguese. Similarly, *por obséquio* ‘please, kindly’, tends to occur in more formal or even outdated registers in European Portuguese, while in Brazilian Portuguese it remains active and without any formality in register. The expression *na/numa boa* ‘easily’ presents an interesting case of functional variation: while in both EP and BP it maintains a more literal meaning as a manner adverb (modifying the verb) in both varieties,

- (15) *O Pedro fez isso na boa*
‘Pedro did it easily’

In Brazilian Portuguese, it also functions as a PS, such as in the following example (16), in which we can clearly place the performative metalinguistic operator *eu digo*:

- (16) (Eu digo) Na boa, *quem entendeu errado foi você!*¹²
'Honestly, you're the one who got it wrong!'

As for the expression *a bem da verdade* 'to tell the truth', it is attested in both European and Brazilian Portuguese, whereas the variant *a bem verdade* appears to be exclusive to Brazilian Portuguese. In Silva (2013), the form *a bem verdade* is listed within the context of Brazilian Portuguese, and we consider it equivalent in meaning and function to *a bem da verdade*. The *ptTenTen23* corpus confirms this observation, showing multiple occurrences of *a bem verdade*, exclusively in Brazilian usage.

A particularly interesting subgroup within these classes involves concessive expressions, which can be compared to those that are self-referential in nature. The main difference lies in who or what the concessive element refers to. In expressions like *salvo indicação em contrário* 'unless otherwise stated', the concessive clause doesn't necessarily point back to the speaker; it can refer to some other entity (*salvo indicação minha/de outra pessoa em contrário* 'unless otherwise indicated by me/another person'). On the other hand, expressions like *salvo engano (meu)* 'unless I am mistaken', are clearly self-referential, tied to the speaker as the subject of the utterance. This contrast is similar to what we see in examples such as

- (17) *Eu digo que isso foi assim salvo erro (meu/*teu)*
'I tell you that that was like that, unless (I'm/*you are) mistaken'
(18) *Eu digo que isso foi assim até onde (eu sei/*tu sabes)*
'I tell you that that was like that as far as (I/*you) know'

The expression *salvo seja* 'save be' functions as a marker that refers back to the speaker's own utterance, often signaling that a term or expression has been used in a possibly inappropriate, or non-literal, way. In other words, it invites the listener to interpret the marked expression with caution. It is very similar to the expression *entre aspas* 'in quotation marks', in which its oral usage is frequently reinforced by accompanying gestures with two stretched fingers of each hand representing the quotation marks.

4. Distinction between conjunctive and disjunctive style adverbs

The distinction between conjunctive adverbs (Müller et al., in press), noted (PC), and disjunctive style adverbs (noted PS) is not absolute. Molinier and Levrier (2000) argue that PS adverbs share similarities with some *Reformulative* and *Conclusive* classes of conjunctive adverbs.

Certains adverbes, du type reformulatif (cf. *en bref, en résumé, en conclusion, en d'autres termes ...*), répondent à la fois à la définition des adverbes conjonctifs et des adverbes disjonctifs de style. En raison de l'ordre institué dans le principe de classement, ces adverbes ont été versés dans la classe des conjonctifs. Sémantiquement, ces adverbes indiquent un certain type de rapport entre le locuteur et son destinataire ou l'énoncé lui-même, ou encore, ils formulent un commentaire du locuteur sur la forme de l'énoncé (Molinier & Levrier, 2000, p. 66).¹³

¹² Sketch Engine Token number: 11726755654. https://www.forumcarros.com.br/index.php?/profile/3624-everton-florentino-bueno/content/&type=forums_topic_post&change_section=1

¹³ Translation: Some adverbs of the reformulative type (cf. *en bref, en résumé, en conclusion, en d'autres termes...*) meet the definition of both conjunctive adverbs and disjunctive adverbs of style. Because of the order instituted in the principles of classification, these adverbs have been placed in the conjunctive class. Semantically, these adverbs indicate a certain type of relationship between the speaker and the

The emphasis of the disjunctive style is not so much on the content of an utterance but on how something is said. In Portuguese, we observed that a limited number of multiword adverbs may be accommodated in both classes, PC and PS. Some semantic sub-classes of conjunctive adverbs (PC), particularly *Contrastive* and *Conclusive* and *Order and Rank*, share certain syntactic features with disjunctive style adverbs (PS). Semantically, these adverbs indicate a type of relation between the speaker and the recipient or the statement itself, or they provide the speaker's commentary on the form of the statement. Some examples of these cases include:

- i. Contrastive: *só para contrariar* 'just to contradict', *só para variar* 'just for a change';
- ii. Conclusive: *em definitivo* 'definitely', *em resumo*, *em síntese*, *em suma*, 'in short', *em breves termos* 'in brief';
- iii. Order and Rank: *antes de mais nada* 'first of all', *em primeiro lugar* 'firstly'.

A key property of conjunctive adverbs is their inability to appear at the absolute beginning of a discourse, though they might appear at an initial position of a clause. However, their function is to establish a nexus between different parts of the discourse, which might be a previous sentence, paragraph, or even other parts of the text, as, for instance, *em poucas palavras* 'in a few words', in the next example, which we interpret with a **reformulative** value:

- (19a) [Sugerir uma linha de ação claramente definida que facilite a sistematização de importantes dados e informações que vêm sendo construídas sobre os esportes na natureza, mas, em geral, de maneira mais ou menos dispersa.] *Em poucas palavras*, é essa a intenção deste trabalho¹⁴
 '[To suggest a clearly defined course of action that facilitates the systematization of important data and information that has been developed on nature sports, but which, in general, remains more or less scattered] In a few words, that is the intention of this work'

Still, *em poucas palavras* 'in a few words' can also be classified as a PS since it may be associated to a performative 'say' verb signaling how the content of the utterance is said. These types of sentences can be understood as a reduced version of the performative verb 'say', where this verb has been omitted, such as in the following example:

- (19b) (*Eu digo*) *Em poucas palavras (que) é essa a intenção deste trabalho*
 '(I say) In a few words (that) that is the intention of this work'

Disjunctive of style adverbs (PS) typically appear at the beginning of a sentence, as in (19a). However, there is nothing to prevent them from also appearing at the initial position of a discourse. Based on the work of Molinier and Levrier (2000), our classification system for multi-word adverbs also assigns precedence to PC adverbs over PS adverbs. In our lexicon, we have identified 18 PC multi-word adverbs that have similar characteristics to PS adverbs. To prevent multiple and redundant entries in the lexicon-grammar, PC adverbs holding a PS behaviour were given a feature indicating that, for those entries, this additional semantic value could be expressed.

addressee or the utterance itself, or else they formulate a comment by the speaker on the form of the utterance (Molinier & Levrier, 2000, p. 66; our translation).

¹⁴ Sketch Engine Token number: 45300794. <https://www.cev.org.br/biblioteca/por-um-programa-investigativo-para-os-esportes-natureza/>

5. Relation between style disjunctive (PS), verb-oriented (MV), and subject-oriented (MS) manner adverbs

In our previous analysis, we compared conjunctive and disjunctive style adverbs within a framework adapted from Molinier and Levrier (2000). This comparison led to the identification of additional multiword adverbs whose properties can be found in more than one subclass. In this section, we examine the relationships between subject-oriented adverbs (MS), manner adverbs (MV), and disjunctive style adverbs (PS).

As previously discussed, adverbs can be grouped into two broad categories: sentence-internal modifiers (M) and sentence-external modifiers (P). Within the sentence-internal modifier category, two relevant subclasses—manner adverbs (MV), which typically modify the verb by indicating how an action is performed, and subject-oriented adverbs (MS), which qualify not only the way the subject acts, but also qualify the human agent—share certain features with disjunctive style adverbs (PS). While PS adverbs primarily convey the speaker's stance or attitude toward the proposition, rather than the manner of the action itself, the boundaries between these categories are not always clear-cut. This section seeks to clarify these overlaps by outlining a set of distinguishing properties.

Depending on their syntactic position and the type of relation they establish—either with specific sentence constituents or with the sentence as a whole—adverbs typically classified as manner (MV) or subject-oriented (MS) may also function as disjunctive style adverbs (PS). Some illustrative examples include:

(i) MV (20) and PS (21) *em português claro* 'in plain Portuguese'

(20a) *Ela explicou em português claro todas as etapas do trabalho*
'She explained all the stages of the work in plain Portuguese'

(20b) **Em português claro, ela não explicou todas as etapas do trabalho*
'In plain Portuguese, she did not explain all the stages of the work'

(20c) *Foi em português claro que ela explicou todas as etapas do trabalho*
'It was in clear Portuguese that she explained all the stages of the work'

(21a) *Em português claro, este plano (não) vai dar certo*
= [*Eu digo*] *em português claro que este plano (não) vai dar certo*
'In plain Portuguese, this plan will (not) work'
'I say in plain Portuguese that this plan will (not) work'

(21b) **É em português claro que este plano não vai dar certo.*
'It is in clear Portuguese that this plan won't work.'

(ii) MS (22) and PS (23) *com todo o respeito* 'with all due respect'

(22a) *O jovem dirigiu-se ao presidente com todo o respeito*
'The young man addressed the president respectfully'

(22b) **Com todo o respeito, jovem não se dirigiu ao presidente*
'With all due respect, the young man did not address the president'

(22c) *Foi com todo o respeito que o jovem se dirigiu ao presidente*
'It was with all due respect that the young man addressed the president'

(23a) *Com todo o respeito, o presidente está se contradizendo*

‘With all due respect, the president is contradicting himself’

(23b) *Com todo o respeito, o presidente não está se contradizendo*

‘With all due respect, the president is not contradicting himself’

(23c) **É com todo o respeito que o presidente se está contradizendo*

‘It is with all due respect that the president is contradicting himself’

(23d) *Eu digo com todo o respeito que o presidente está se contradizendo*

‘I say with all due respect that the president is contradicting himself’

Additional examples of multi-word MV adverbs related to PS include: *em breves termos* ‘in brief terms’, *de brincadeira* ‘playfully’ *sem brincadeira, fora de brincadeira* ‘no kidding’, *na moral, a sério* ‘seriously’. In the same way, MS adverbs with a PS parallel construction include: *sem meias palavras*, ‘without mincing words’ *sem mais delongas* ‘without further ado’.

To avoid unnecessary duplication of entries, we adopted a strategy of adding these MV and MS adverbs, a feature that indicates they can also enter the PS construction.

6. PS adverbs on other performative metalinguistic operators

As previously noted, disjunctive style adverbs possess the capacity to modify performative verbs such as *eu digo* (‘I say’), indicating how a statement is made. These verbs carry a metalinguistic function and can, in actual usage, be omitted—leaving the adverb in a sentence-initial, detached position to signal the speaker’s stance independently. Our study has identified several PS adverbial expressions that may also be associated with other types of performative verbs beyond *eu digo*. These alternative verbs likewise operate metalinguistically, introducing how the speaker performs the speech act. Examples include imperative verbs such as *pedir* (‘to ask/request’), *mandar* (‘to order’), *suplicar* (‘to beg’), and *implorar* (‘to implore’), as illustrated in the following examples:

(24a) *(Eu peço-te/suplico/imploro-te) por/pelo amor de Deus, que não uses drogas!*¹⁵

‘I beg/plead/implore you, for God’s sake, do not use drugs’

(24b) *Por/pelo amor de Deus, não uses drogas!*

‘For God’s sake, don’t use drugs!’

The same verbs above may be found with the following expressions:

- *por favor, se faz/fizer favor, por gentileza*^{PB} ‘please’
- *por/pelo amor de deus* ‘for/by the love of god’¹⁶

¹⁵ Instead of the European Portuguese *tu*, here used, in Brazilian Portuguese, the *você* form of subject would be preferable:

^{PB}*Eu peço a você pelo amor de Deus que não use drogas! Pelo amor de Deus, não use drogas!*

¹⁶ In the ptTenTen23 (PT), the expression *por deus* ‘by God’ is rare, and it seems either associated to *jurar* ‘swear’ (e.g., *Documentos?... Ou a fonte é "juro por deus" ??*) or an exclamative value (e.g., *Mas, por deus, que convertable era aquele?*). No imperative (request) example was found. In the BP variety, the exclamative value seems to be more frequent, e.g., *Por deus, nunca pensei que eu estaria tão feliz como naquele momento. Por deus, o que ele tinha nas sacolas? Por deus, eu estou surtando. E, por deus, era tudo que ele queria fazer naquele momento.* The use with *jurar* ‘swear’; e.g., *Juro por deus, tá lá, pode ver.* and the imperative use: *Pelo diabo ou por deus, manda às favas a gramática.* are all attested. This exclamative (multiword) expression is to be considered in the same way either as the exclamative adverb *fancamente*, mentioned above, or as an exclamative frozen sentence (class C0E).

- *por tudo o que há de mais sagrado* ‘for all that is most sacred’
- *pela minha/tua (rica) saúde* ‘for my/your (rich) health’
- *por alma de quem lá tens* ‘for the soul of whoever you have there’

It is worth noticing that the anaphoric reference of the key elements within these expressions may vary. While in *por favor* ‘please’ one could establish a paraphrase with *tu fazes-me um favor a mim*, ‘you do me a favor’, where the addressee is the subject; in *pela minha/tua saúde* ‘for my/your health’ the noun *saúde* ‘health’ can refer both to the speaker and the addressee; a similar remark could be made regarding the variants of expression *por tudo o que tenho/tens de mais sagrado* ‘for all that is most sacred’; on the contrary, in *por alma de quem lá tens* ‘for the soul of those you have there(=heaven)’ the noun *alma* ‘soul’ can only refer to the addressee; finally, in *por amor de deus* ‘for the love of god’ as the reference of *amor* is already explicitly encoded, no variation seems to be possible, e.g. **por amor do meu/teu deus* ‘for the love of my/your god’.

Other constructions may require different types of performative verbs, such as *jurar* ‘swear’ and *prometer* ‘promise’:

(25a) (*Eu juro*) *por tudo o que é/há de (mais) sagrado que [eu] não contei o seu segredo*
 ‘(I swear) by all that is sacred, that I didn’t tell your secret’

= (25b) *Por tudo o que é/há de (mais) sagrado, eu não contei o seu segredo*
 By all that is sacred, that I didn’t tell your secret’

(26a) (*Eu prometo*) *por tudo o que é/há de (mais) sagrado que [eu] não contarei o seu segredo*
 ‘(I promise) by all that is sacred, that I will not tell your secret’

= (26b) *Por tudo o que é/há de (mais) sagrado, eu não contarei o seu segredo*
 ‘By all that is sacred, that I will not tell your secret’

The use of the past tense in (25a) and (25b) in *contar* ‘tell’ clearly indicates the pragmatic value of the performative *jurar* ‘swear’. In (26a) and (26b), the performative *prometer* ‘promise’ requires the future tense, the past tense being unacceptable (**Eu prometo que contei* ‘I promise I told you’). However, the verb *jurar* can also be used in the same way as *prometer*, and in that interpretation the future tense is perfectly acceptable (*Eu juro que contarei* ‘I swear that I will tell’ $\approx$ *Eu prometo que contarei* ‘I promise that I will tell’). Still, there does not appear to be a clear-cut distinction in the distribution of these performative verbs in relation to the specialized adverbs, as both verbs seem to be used interchangeably.

7. Related work

This section compares key descriptive approaches to disjunctive adverbs in French and English to the emerging analysis of these adverbs in Portuguese. While the syntactic-semantic notion of disjunctive adverbs (PS) is recognized across languages, the criteria for classification, the range of adverbs, and the terminology show variation. References to these types of adverbs have been previously made in the literature, providing support for our analysis. These prior works provide a foundation. However, the specific behavior of Portuguese *-mente* adverbs and multi-word expressions remains under-described. This research aims to fill that gap.

As mentioned before, we adopt the syntactic classification leading to the constitution of the class of *disjunctive style adverbs* (PS) as they have been originally described by Molinier and Levrier (2000) in reference to French compound adverbs and single-word adverbs ending in *-ment* ‘-ly.’ The corresponding expressions operate in Portuguese in a very similar way. More recently, Álvarez-Prendes (2021) described a subset of eight of these French adverbs and called them *adverbes d’enunciation*, while trying to describe their diachronic

evolution. Earlier on, Guimier (1996) described them as *adverbes illocutifs*, as the illocutionary act is an element of the speaker's intention. Guimier also expands on an interesting point about these adverbs not necessarily forming a class, as some of them are *polysemous* and may operate in more than one function, sometimes performing as manner/quantifier internal modifiers or as external illocutionary markers. He explains the polyfunctionality with the following examples of where the adverb *honnêtement* 'honestly' is used (Guimier, 1996, p. 158):

An illocutionary adverb:

- (27a) *Aujourd'hui encore, je ne peux, honnêtement, me résoudre à trouver une diversion de la lâcheté* (Abellio)
 'Even today, I can't honestly bring myself to find a cowardly diversion'

An adverb of manner, oriented towards the subject:

- (27b) *J'aurais voulu mourir honnêtement, comme mon père et ma mère* (Pourrat)
 'I wanted to die honestly, like my father and mother'

An adverb modifying a verb:

- (27c) *Vivre honnêtement, qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?* (Abellio)
 'Live honestly, what do you mean?'

An adverb intensifying an adjective:

- (27d) *Elle était touchante, la jolie Elodie, honnêtement rondelette dans son blouson de tolie à manches courtes* (Sabatier)
 'She was touching, pretty Elodie, honestly plump in her short-sleeved tolie jacket'

Irrespective of the precise interpretation assigned to some of these examples¹⁷, it is clear that the illocutionary adverb exhibits a distinct meaning and syntactic behavior compared to other uses. Within the framework adopted for the description of such cases in Portuguese, we treat them as instances of *homonymy* — that is, distinct lexical-grammatical units with different meanings and constructions, despite sharing the same surface form.

Quirk *et al.* (1985, p. 615) describe *disjuncts* as having a superior role as they are syntactically more detached and seem to have a scope that extends over the sentence as a whole. *Style disjuncts* adverbs convey the speaker's comments and are separated into two types, namely:

- i. Modality and Manner: *candidly, honestly, seriously, strictly, truly, truthfully, confidentially*
- ii. Respect: *figuratively, generally, literally, personally, strictly*.

It is under the 'Respect' type that the authors include the longer phrases that include *generally speaking, strictly speaking*, and also other forms of corresponding *-ly* ending adverbs, which include examples such as *personally: to be personal, bluntly, if I may be blunt, or bluntly speaking*.

Style stance adverbials (Biber *et al.*, 1999, p. 854), which correspond to style disjuncts, are one of the three major semantic classes of *stance adverbials* proposed by this author, that include *epistemic, attitude, and style*.

¹⁷ In our view, the use of *honnêtement* 'honestly' in examples (27b-c) is the same. The quantifying interpretation in (27d) is unclear.

Sentence-initial adverbials are the term used by Larsen-Freeman and Celce-Murcia (2016, pp. 516–517) for the group of adverbs related to speakers' attitude, while adopting four functional categories proposed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), referring to four aspects of speaker attitude:

- i. Probability: *maybe, perhaps, certainly, surely*
- ii. Usuality: *usually, generally, typically, occasionality*
- iii. Presumption: *of course, obviously, clearly, evidently*
- iv. Desirability: *(un)fortunately, luckily, hopefully, regrettably*

In European Portuguese, Costa (2008) defines the classes of *advérbios avaliativos orientados para o falante* 'speaker-oriented evaluative adverbs', supporting that although there are small differences between the attitude or the expression of a judgment on the part of the speaker, these adverbs may be grouped since they all convey a predication about the speaker. Raposo (2013, p. 1666), on the other hand, places this category of *advérbios de atitude do falante* 'speaker attitude adverbs' under a major group of *evaluative adverbs* that include other subclasses such as *evaluative of the situation, modal and intentional adverbs, adverbs restricting the domain of propositional content, and adverbs exhorting the listener* as they have the property of expressing the speaker's evaluations.

In Brazilian Portuguese, disjunctive adverbs of style ending in *-mente* have already been the object of a preliminary study (Fernandes, 2011), who listed several adverbs as PS from the 1,000 most frequent adverbs. These include the following (with their classification/comment):

<i>concretamente</i> 'concretely', PS	<i>pessoalmente</i> 'personally', PS
<i>convincentemente</i> 'convincingly', Not PS	<i>objetivamente</i> 'objectively' PS
<i>decididamente</i> 'definitely', PS	<i>realmente</i> 'really', Not PS
<i>falsamente</i> 'falsely', Not PS	<i>simplesmente</i> 'simply', PS
<i>honestamente</i> 'honestly', PS	<i>sinceramente</i> 'sincerely', PS
<i>literalmente</i> 'literally', PS	<i>veementemente</i> 'vehemently', Not PS
<i>modestamente</i> 'modestly', PS & MS	<i>verdadeiramente</i> 'truly', PS

Some of these adverbs cannot be considered PS as they do not enter the definitory construction with the performative *Eu digo* (or another performative metalinguistic operator) and the equivalent reduced form with the detached adverb, that is, they do not allow for the equivalence: *Eu digo Adv que isso é assim = Adv, isso é assim*. This is the case of *convincentemente, falsamente, pessoalmente, realmente, and veementemente*.

To sum up, and based on the descriptions above, we understand that PS adverbs in Portuguese exhibit shared features. They typically, or most frequently, appear detached at the beginning of the sentence and separated by a comma, although they can also appear at the end of the sentence, preceded by a comma; otherwise, they can appear detached by commas from the sentence they operate on. They have a scope on and modify the entire sentence. And, finally, they express the speaker's attitude towards the content of the utterance. Importantly, they contrast with manner adverbs, which directly modify verbs and do not comment on the utterance as a whole. This distinction helps refine the categorization of Portuguese adverbs within a broader typological framework. Our contribution, in this paper, lies mainly in the classification of multi-word adverbs in Portuguese (both European and Brazilian varieties). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to systematically compile a lexicon

of these multi-word adverbs, providing a clear and distinct syntactic and semantic classification within the framework of disjunctive style adverbs.

8. Conclusion and future work

In this paper, we examined the syntactic and semantic properties of a specific subset of Portuguese multiword adverbs, namely the disjunctive adverbs of style (PS). Within our current lexicon, which includes approximately 3,700 multiword expressions, we identified 87 expressions that fall into this category. For this paper, we also included 9 single-word adverbs ending in *-mente*. PS adverbs function as sentence-external modifiers, conveying the speaker's attitude toward the propositional content of the utterance. Some of these expressions may present other word senses, sharing features with conjunctive adverbs (PC), verb-oriented manner adverbs (MV), and subject-oriented manner adverbs (MS). We presented a set of syntactic and semantic criteria to distinguish PS adverbs from these overlapping categories. Furthermore, we proposed a tentative semantic classification of PS adverbs, organizing the main semantic types found within this class. This classification includes categories such as *request*, *manner of speaking*, *clarification*, *irony*, *validation*, *concessive*, *self-reference concessive*, and *conclusion*. These categories reflect the diverse ways in which speakers use PS adverbs to position themselves toward their utterances. Additionally, we identified performative verbs beyond *dizer* 'say', that appear in constructions with PS adverbial expressions and support their illocutionary and metalinguistic functions.

As part of future work, we intend to examine how these adverbs behave in authentic spoken language, using the *Roda Viva* corpus (Souza de Miranda *et al.*, 2024), an extensive collection of transcribed television interviews in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese. The spontaneous nature of these interviews provides an ideal environment to investigate the roles and discourse functions of PS adverbs in context. This corpus-based study will contribute to a deeper understanding of how these expressions operate in real-life communicative settings.

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Annex

List of disjunctive adverbs of style in Portuguese

Adverbs exclusive of the European (PT) or Brazilian (BR) variety are marked as such.

<i>concretamente</i> ‘concretely’	<i>no sentido restrito da palavra</i> ‘in the restricted sense of the word’
<i>honestamente</i> ‘honestly’	<i>no sentido restrito do termo</i> ‘in the restricted sense of the term’
<i>francamente</i> ‘frankly’	<i>numa palavra</i> ‘in a word, to sum it up’
<i>literalmente</i> ‘literally’	<i>para abreviar razões</i> ^{EP} ‘to cut a long story short, to make it brief’
<i>modestamente</i> ‘modestly’	<i>para começo de conversa</i> ‘to start with, for starters’
<i>resumidamente</i> ‘in short’	<i>para dizer a verdade</i> ‘to tell the truth’
<i>seriamente</i> ‘seriously’	<i>para dizer depressa e bem</i> ^{EP} ‘to put it quickly and clearly’
<i>sinceramente</i> ‘sincerely’	<i>para encurtar a conversa</i> ‘to cut the conversation short’
<i>sumariamente</i> ‘briefly’	<i>para encurtar a história</i> ‘to cut the story short’
<i>a bem da verdade</i> ‘truth be told’	<i>para ser sincero</i> ^{PB} ‘to be honest, to be sincere’
<i>a bem dizer</i> ‘strictly speaking’	<i>para seu conhecimento</i> ‘for your information’
<i>a bem verdade</i> ^{PB} ‘truth be told’	<i>para seu governo</i> ‘for your own awareness, just so you know’
<i>a propósito</i> ‘by the way’	<i>para todos os efeitos</i> ‘for all intents and purposes’
<i>a rigor</i> ‘strictly speaking, technically’	<i>para falar depressa e bem</i> ^{EP} ‘to speak quickly and well’
<i>aos meus olhos</i> ‘as I see it’	<i>pelo amor de Deus</i> ‘for the love of God’
<i>aqui entre nós</i> ‘between us, off the record’	<i>pelo mal dos meus/nossos pecados</i> ‘for the sin of my/our misdeeds, unfortunately’
<i>cá entre nós</i> ‘between us, off the record’	<i>pelo que me consta</i> ‘as far as I know, to my knowledge’
<i>com franqueza</i> ‘frankly’	<i>por amor de Deus</i> ‘for God's sake’
<i>com (todo) o devido respeito</i> ‘with all due respect’	<i>por assim dizer</i> ‘so to speak, as it were’
<i>com toda a sinceridade</i> ‘in all sincerity’	<i>por bem dizer</i> ^{PB} ‘broadly speaking’
<i>com toda a franqueza</i> ‘with complete frankness’	<i>por Deus</i> ‘for God’
<i>em abono da verdade</i> ‘in the interest of truth, to be fair’	<i>por especial favor</i> ‘as a special favor’
<i>em bom português</i> ‘in plain Portuguese’	<i>por favor</i> ‘please’
<i>em linhas gerais</i> ‘generally speaking’	<i>por favor especial</i> ‘as a special favor’
<i>em português claro</i> ‘in plain Portuguese’	<i>por gentileza</i> ‘kindly please’
<i>em poucas palavras</i> ‘in a few words, to put it briefly’	<i>por obséquio</i> ‘would you be so kind as to, please’
<i>em resumo</i> ‘in summary’	<i>por outras palavras</i> ‘in other words’
<i>em rigor</i> ‘strictly speaking, technically’	<i>por tudo o que há de mais sagrado</i> ‘by all that is sacred’
<i>em sentido estrito</i> ‘strictly speaking, in a strict sense’	<i>salvo engano</i> ‘unless I'm mistaken’
<i>em sentido restrito</i> ‘in a narrow sense, in a limited sense’	<i>salvo erro</i> ‘unless I'm mistaken’
<i>em síntese</i> ‘in synthesis’	<i>salvo erro de memória</i> ‘unless my memory fails me’
<i>em suma</i> ‘in sum’	<i>salvo erro ou omissão</i> ‘unless otherwise stated’
<i>em termos gerais</i> ‘in general terms’	<i>salvo indicação contrária</i> ‘unless otherwise indicated’
<i>em termos simples</i> ‘in simple terms’	<i>salvo indicação em contrário</i> ‘unless otherwise indicated’
<i>em toda a extensão da palavra</i> ‘in the full sense of the word’	<i>salvo melhor juízo</i> ‘tentatively, pending better judgment’
<i>entre aspas</i> ‘in quotation marks, so to speak’	<i>salvo melhor entendimento</i> ‘unless otherwise interpreted’
<i>falando francamente</i> ‘speaking frankly’	<i>salvo melhor opinião</i> ‘unless there is a better opinion’
<i>fora de brincadeira</i> ‘no kidding, all jokes aside’	<i>salvo seja</i> ‘lit.: save be’
<i>francamente falando</i> ‘frankly speaking’	<i>se a memória não me falha</i> ‘if memory serves me right’
<i>modéstia à parte</i> ‘modesty aside’	<i>se faz favor</i> ‘if you please’
<i>mutatis mutandis</i> ‘with the necessary changes made’	<i>se fizer favor</i> ‘if you please’
<i>na aceção da palavra</i> ^{PE} ‘in the sense of the word’	<i>se não me falha a memória</i> ‘if memory serves me right’
<i>na acepção da palavra</i> ^{PB} ‘in the sense of the word’	<i>sem brincadeira</i> ^{PB} ‘no joke, seriously’
<i>na boa</i> ^{PB} ‘seriously/honestly’	<i>sem exagero</i> ‘no exaggeration, honestly’
<i>na extensão da palavra</i> ^{PB} ‘in the extent of the word’	<i>strictu sensu</i> ‘strictly speaking’
<i>na moral</i> ^{PB} ‘seriously/honestly’	<i>tanto quanto me lembro</i> ‘as far as I remember’
<i>no sentido estrito da palavra</i> ‘in the strict sense of the word’	<i>tanto quanto me recordo</i> ‘as far as I recall’
<i>no sentido estrito do termo</i> ‘in the strict sense of the word’	<i>verdade seja dita</i> ‘truth be told’