

Point-of-view Adverbs in Portuguese

Advérbios de ponto de vista em português

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Abstract

This paper examines the syntactic and semantic properties of POV adverbs in Portuguese, with the aim of delineating their lexical, syntactic, and semantic properties in comparison with other adverbial classes. Within the Lexicon–Grammar framework, the analysis shows that POV adverbs display several properties typically associated with sentence-internal modifiers, although their distribution also overlaps with that of sentence-external modifiers. The study discusses this classification in detail on the basis of a lexicon of 745 *-mente* adverbs, 13 compound adverbs, and a set of adverbial constructions built with different operator-nouns. The analysis further identifies two additional subclasses of POV adverbs: *demonym-derived* and *eponym-derived* forms, which convey culturally and intellectually grounded perspectives. To our knowledge, this is the first study to document these formations as a productive subclass of POV adverbs in Portuguese and to offer a preliminary corpus-based account of their syntactic behavior and distribution.

Keywords: Point-of-view adverbs, syntax, Lexicon–Grammar, Portuguese.

Resumo

Este artigo examina as propriedades sintáticas e semânticas dos advérbios de ponto de vista (POV) em português, com o objetivo de delimitar com maior precisão as suas propriedades lexicais, sintáticas e semânticas em comparação com outras classes adverbiais. No quadro teórico da Lexicon–Grammar, a análise mostra que os advérbios de POV apresentam várias propriedades tipicamente associadas a modificadores internos à frase, embora a sua distribuição também se sobreponha à de modificadores externos à frase. O estudo discute esta classificação em detalhe com base num léxico composto por 745 advérbios em *-mente*, 13 advérbios compostos e um conjunto de construções adverbiais formadas com diferentes nomes-operadores. A análise identifica ainda duas subclasses adicionais de advérbios de POV: formas derivadas de demônimos e formas derivadas de epônimos, que veiculam perspectivas cultural e intelectualmente fundamentadas. Tanto quanto é do nosso conhecimento, este é o primeiro estudo a documentar estas formações como uma subclasse produtiva de advérbios de POV em português e a oferecer uma análise preliminar, baseada em corpus, do seu comportamento sintático e da sua distribuição.

Palavras-chave: Advérbios de ponto de vista, sintaxe, Lexicon–Grammar, português.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the syntactic and semantic features of point-of-view (henceforward, POV) adverbs in Portuguese, with the aim of delineating their lexical, syntactic, and semantic characteristics in comparison to other adverbial constructions. Point-of-view adverbs such as *financeiramente* ‘financially’ or *linguisticamente* ‘linguistically’ indicate the domain or perspective from which a statement is made, thus delimiting or restricting their validity. They typically derive from (non-predicative, relational) adjectives, e.g., *financeiro* - *financeiramente* ‘financial - financially’ *linguístico* - *linguisticamente* ‘linguistic - linguistically’, *universal* - *universalmente* ‘universal - universally’. In their analytical form, they can be paraphrased as *de um ponto de vista ADJ* ‘from an [adjective] point of view’ or *de um ponto de vista de NOUN* ‘from the point of view of [noun]’.

The empirical basis of this study is a lexical dataset extracted from the STRING lexicon (Mamede et al., 2012), which contains more than 7,000 Portuguese adverbs ending in *-mente*, of which 745 are identified as point-of-view (POV) adverbs. Of these, 178 items exhibit manner interpretations, while 8 adverbs also allow a subject-oriented manner reading. In addition, a new sub lexicon, currently under development, includes approximately 50 eponym-derived adverbs, and 50 demonym-derived forms. Finally, 13 POV multiword expressions (Müller et al., 2022, 2023, 2024a, 2024b) were also identified.

Despite their quantitative importance in the lexicon and their frequency in texts, this class has received limited attention in Portuguese linguistics, where it is typically mentioned only in broad semantic descriptions within the wider group of evaluative adverbs, with insufficient attention to their syntactic behavior. Nevertheless, these adverbs appear to constitute one of the largest (and possibly open) classes of adverbs in Portuguese, after manner adverbs. They share syntactic features with sentence-internal modifiers, such as *manner and subject-oriented adverbs*, along with sentence-external modifiers, particularly in their ability to appear in sentence-initial position, even in negative clauses. The literature offers conflicting accounts of the syntactic status of POV adverbs. While some authors analyze them as sentence-internal modifiers (Molinier & Levrier, 2000; Mørdrup, 1976); others treat them as sentence-external modifiers (Nölke, 1993; Quirk et al., 1985) and comparable to *disjuncts* (Grübl, 2018). Our analysis relies on a set of syntactic diagnostics commonly used to distinguish between sentence-internal and sentence-external modifiers. A related construction is formed by a *-mente* adverb with (or usually followed by) the gerund verb *falando* ‘speaking’, as in *legalmente falando* ‘legally speaking’ and *linguisticamente falando* ‘linguistically speaking’. These expressions exhibit a similar interpretation to the POV adverb alone and raise questions about the relationship between point-of-view and *disjunctive-style* adverbs (Grübl, 2018; Müller & Baptista, 2025).

Moreover, in their analytic forms, built with operator-nouns such as *ponto de vista* ‘point of view’ (*do ponto de vista de* ‘from the point of view of’), (*em termos de*, or *em matéria de* ‘in terms of’), they generate a wide range of combinations with adjectives and nouns.

The study is grounded in the Lexicon-Grammar methodological and theoretical framework (Gross, 1975, 1986, 1996), inspired by the Transformational Operator Grammar of Zellig S. Harris (Harris, 1982, 1991). In light of the properties briefly mentioned above, and the scarcity of detailed studies in Portuguese, this paper addresses two research questions: To what extent do point-of-view adverbs constitute a distinct formal class within the lexicon-syntactic-semantic organization of adverbial constructions in Portuguese? And in this sense, what is the lexical domain of these constructions, their main types, and structures?

1.1. General properties of POV adverbs

In this section, we outline the most salient syntactic-semantic properties of viewpoint adverbs (POV).

Domain restriction

POV adverbs, also referred to as *domain* or *perspective* adverbs in the literature (Ernst, 2008; Guimier, 1996; Molinier & Levrier, 2000), indicate the *domain* or *aspect* for which a statement is considered to be true,

and restrict the validity of the utterance to a particular referential field (Guimier, 1996, pp. 141–148). For example (1):

- (1) *Linguisticamente, as duas regiões são diferentes.*
'Linguistically, the two regions are different.'

By narrowing the scope/domain of a statement, it does not affect the truth value of the statement when that is meant for other domains, which can be illustrated by a contrastive use with the adversative conjunction *mas* 'but', as in (2); notice that the coordinated sentences can be reduced to a single adverbial phrase with the conjunction as its pivot (3):

- (2) *Linguisticamente, as duas regiões são diferentes, mas geograficamente não.*
'Linguistically, the two regions are different, but geographically, they are not'
(3) *Linguística mas não geograficamente, as duas regiões são diferentes.*
'Linguistically but not geographically, the two regions are different'

Constructions like (3) illustrate that POV adverbs can delimit alternative domains of evaluation, allowing contrastive structures in which the truth of the proposition varies across domains.

These adverbs are part of the classification of French adverbs ending in *-ment*, proposed by Molinier and Levrier (2000, pp. 219–237), and which are analogous to Portuguese adverbs ending in *-mente*, or the English suffix '-ly'. In Portuguese, derived adverbs ending in *-mente* (*Adv-mente*) exhibit three primary syntactic properties.

Fronting for a sentence under negation

First, they can appear in a fronted or detached position, introducing a negative sentence, a property commonly associated with sentence-external modifiers:

- (4) *Linguisticamente, as duas regiões **não** são diferentes*
'Linguistically, the two regions are not different'

Clefting or extraction

Secondly, they can undergo extraction (or clefting) with *ser . . . que* 'it is . . . that', a property generally associated with sentence-internal constituents, particularly verbal modifiers:

- (5) *É linguisticamente que as duas regiões são diferentes*
'It is linguistically that the two regions are different'

The possibility of clefting suggests that POV adverbs behave syntactically like sentence-internal constituents, since extraction structures of this type typically target elements within the clause structure.

Interestingly, POV adverbs can appear in both structures, (4) and (5), hence their ambiguous status regarding sentence-internal/external modifiers.

Analytic paraphrases

In addition, they admit analytical paraphrases, using the noun *ponto de vista* 'point of view' and the corresponding base adjective (6):

- (6) *Do ponto de vista linguístico, as duas regiões são diferentes*
'From a linguistic viewpoint, the two regions are different'

We will call this noun an *operator-noun*, which serves as the support for the base adjective of the corresponding adverb ending in *-mente*.

Other nouns can also appear in this analytical structure: *ótica* 'optics', *plano* 'plan', *perspectiva* 'perspective', *termos* 'terms', etc., and some combinations exhibit a degree of lexicalization, e.g., *termos* 'terms' is consistently plural (7):

- (7) *Em termos teóricos=Teoricamente, o Pedro tinha de fazer isso*
'In theoretical terms=Theoretically, Pedro had to do that'

Some combinations, regardless of an *Adv-mente* equivalent form, often display idiosyncratic constraints and lexical restrictions, suggesting varying degrees of lexicalization, as in (8), where the determiner of the noun suffers variable constraints, depending on the noun heading the prepositional phrase:

- (8) *Em/Na teoria, *em/na prática, em/*na tese, o Pedro tinha de fazer isso*
'lit.: In (the) theory/practice/thesis, Pedro had to do that'
'In theory/practice, Pedro had to do that'

Non-gradability

Unlike *manner* adverbs, POV adverbs are non-gradable, i.e., they do not accept degree modification:

- (9) **Muito linguisticamente, as duas regiões são diferentes*
'Very linguistically, the two regions are different'

Morphological derivation

POV adverbs are often derived from *relational* adjectives, such as *filosófico* 'philosophical', *científico* 'scientific', *criminal* 'criminal', *político* 'political'; and not from *qualitative* adjectives such as *verde* 'green', *grande* 'large', and *agradável* 'pleasant'.

Sentence-level restrictions

Regarding the types of sentences, POV adverbs occur in *declarative* and *interrogative* sentences, but are incompatible with *imperative* and other directive sentences:

- (10) **Linguisticamente, escreva o artigo*
'Linguistically, write the article'

Coordination constraints

Lastly, POV adverbs may coordinate with other POV adverbs, in which "it is possible to omit the suffix in all members of the sequence except the last one" (Raposo, 2013, p. 1579, authors' translation), as demonstrated by the following ptTenTen23 corpus example:

- (11) *A recuperação judicial é um caminho por meio do qual uma empresa pode reorganizar se <sic> financeira, econômica e administrativamente*¹
'Judicial reorganization is a process through which a company can reorganize itself financially, economically, and administratively'

However, it has been noted that such a coordination of adverbs, in which the omission of the suffix *-mente* applies, seems to be possible primarily with adverbs belonging to the same syntactic–semantic class, in this case, POV.

An attempt to coordinate a POV adverb such as *linguisticamente* with adverbs from other syntactic–semantic class, such as an evaluative, sentence-modifying adverb like *felizmente* 'fortunately', even though each of them may occur detached in a sentence-initial position, as in (12), appears to yield an unacceptable utterance, regardless of the word order, as illustrated in (13-a)–(13-b):

- (12) *Linguisticamente/Felizmente, essa decisão (não) foi acertada.*
'Linguistically/Fortunately, this decision was (not) the right one'

- (13)
(a) **Linguística e felizmente, essa decisão (não) foi acertada.*
'Linguistics and fortunately, that decision was (not) the right one'
(b) **Feliz e linguisticamente, essa decisão (não) foi acertada.*
'Happily and linguistically, this decision was (not) the right one'

Compound forms

While adjective-derived POV adverbs ending in *-mente* form an extensive and potentially open class (several hundred items), compound adverbial structures, such as those in (7)–(8), appear to constitute a more limited set, comprising approximately a dozen expressions. Nevertheless, these expressions may generate a wide array of variations across determiners, pronouns, nouns, and adjectives, some of which appear clearly crystallized, as in (14):

- (14) *Aos meus olhos, ela é uma detetive mais interessante que Poirot.*²
'In my opinion, she is a more interesting detective than Poirot'

2. Theoretical background and literature review

This section reviews the main theoretical approaches to POV and domain adverbs, with particular attention to their treatment in the literature.

2.1. The Molinier and Levrier (2000) perspective

This study adopts the general syntactic–semantic classification proposed by Molinier and Levrier (2000), which we employ as the guiding framework for the POV class and for the other adverbial classes investigated in our previous work. According to the authors, *point-of-view* (POV) adverbs are defined by the convergence of three syntactic–semantic diagnostics rather than by any single property taken in isolation. The examples

¹ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 13164988024. Unless otherwise indicated, examples were retrieved from the ptTenTen23 corpus, accessible through the Sketch Engine platform: <https://app.sketchengine.eu/>

² Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 9417858699

below, taken from Molinier and Levrier (2000, pp. 219–221), illustrate these properties; we also display the corresponding Portuguese equivalents:

1. Acceptability in sentence-initial position (even in negatives), which indicates that the adverb is outside the scope of the negation, and suggests that this construction should be classified as a sentence-external modifier:

- (15) *Financièrement, cette opération ne fut pas un fiasco*
 Financeiramente, esta operação não foi um fiasco
 ‘Financially, this operation was **not** a fiasco’

2. The possibility of appearing in a cleft construction (or extraction) with *C’est ... que*, Portuguese *Foi ... que* ‘it is ... that,’ is a test generally interpreted as signaling a link between the adverb and the predicate, and therefore supporting the adverbs’ classification as sentence-internal modifiers.

- (16) *C’est financièrement que cette opération fut un fiasco*
 Foi financeiramente que esta operação foi um fiasco
 ‘It was financially **that** this operation was a fiasco’

3. The possibility of paraphrasing the adverb using the analytical phrase *d’un point de vue Adj*, Portuguese *de um ponto de vista Adj* ‘from an *Adj* point of view’, where *Adj* stands for the base adjective from whence the adverb is derived. This paraphrase renders explicit the **point-of-view** interpretation of the derived adverb ending in *-ment/-mente* ‘ly’:

- (17) *D’un point de vue financier, cette opération fut un fiasco*
 De um ponto de vista financeiro, esta operação foi um fiasco
 ‘From a financial **point of view**, this operation was a fiasco’

Crucially, it is the *conjunction* of these three formal properties that identifies the class and distinguishes POV adverbs from other classes. Individually, each property is not sufficient to define the class, since it may also be shared with other types of adverbs. Sentence-modifying adverbs, in a general way, and many temporal adverbs also occur in an initial detached position in a negative assertion, while certain manner adverbs modifying verbs, in specific contexts, may accept the ‘point of view’ paraphrase illustrated above. The importance of combining these properties also helps resolve another issue: homonyms; that is, adverbs that have two different constructions (and distinct senses), and may function either as **manner** or as **point-of-view** modifiers of a verb, depending on their context of use. For example, in (18), the adverb *diachroniquement/diacronicamente* ‘diachronically’ seems to be used in both senses:

- (18) *Le professeur a étudié diachroniquement le sens de ce mot*
 O professor estudou diacronicamente o significado dessa palavra
 ‘The professor studied the meaning of this word diachronically’

Here, the adverb *diachronically* functions as a **manner** adverb. Notice, however, it also receives the interpretation of **point of view**, as shown by the POV operator-noun paraphrase given by (19):

- (19) *Le professeur a étudié d’un point de vue diachronique le sens de ce mot*
 O professor estudou de um ponto de vista diacrónico o significado dessa palavra

‘The professor studied from a diachronic point of view the meaning of this word’

Still, one notices that this adverb, in the sense that it is used in this sentence with the verb *estudar*, does not accept the property of detachment to the beginning of a negative sentence (20):

- (20) **Diachroniquement, le professeur n’a pas étudié le sens de ce mot*
**Diacronicamente, o professor não estudou o significado dessa palavra*
‘Diachronically, the professor **did not** study the meaning of this word’

The unacceptability of the detached construction indicates that the adverb is interpreted as modifying the manner of the action rather than delimiting the domain of application of the statement.

By contrast, POV adverbs never allow a manner paraphrase with *de manière Adj* ‘in an ADJ manner’, as the following examples show:

- (21) *Cette opération est réalisable techniquement*
*Esta operação é executável tecnicamente*³
‘This operation is technically feasible’
- (22) **Cette opération est réalisable de manière technique*
**Esta operação é executável de maneira técnica*
‘This operation is feasible in a technical manner’

The test above (22) reflects the semantic distinction between the manner modification and the domain of POV restriction.

Molinier and Levrier (2000) account for adverbs with both manner and point-of-view uses by positing two homonymous lexical entries, one in the class of point-of-view adverbs (MP) and another in the class of manner adverbs (MV). In our Portuguese lexicon, we assign these adverbs to the point-of-view class (MP) and, as additional information, indicate when they are also compatible with a manner construction (MV), thereby avoiding unnecessary lexical redundancy.

This joint distribution (properties 1, 2, and 3) explains the apparent paradox noted by Molinier and Levrier (2000) that although POV adverbs are classified as internal modifiers, they display behaviors typically associated with external modification. This apparent contradiction is central to the syntactic characterization of POV adverbs. Their ability to occupy a detached sentence-initial position gives them wide scope over the proposition, yielding the interpretation that they “frame” the sentence (or statement) as a whole rather than merely modifying the sentence’s predicate. Yet the cleft test, shown in (16), reveals that they remain syntactically integrated into the propositional structure. For this reason, POV adverbs may be described as occupying the maximally peripheral position within the subset of sentence-internal adverbs; they are internal with respect to syntactic dependency on the main verb/predicate; yet they are external in terms of semantic scope, operating at the level of the entire predication.

Another test proposed by Molinier and Levrier (2000) to distinguish a manner adverb from a POV is to add the word *parlant* (in Portuguese *falando*) ‘speaking’ to the *-ment(e)* adverb, which forces the structure to be interpreted as a sentence-external modifier and unsuitable for directly modifying the sentence’s predicate. The authors Molinier and Levrier (2000, pp. 234–235) assert that this paraphrase marks an enunciative

³ Note that there is a slight pause before the adverb, not captured by the orthography (a comma is necessary), so this could also be interpreted as a detached construction, as is *Tecnicamente, esta operação é executável*. By placing the adverb in front of the adjective, e.g. *Esta operação é tecnicamente executável* ‘This operation is technically feasible’, this pause disappears, making the comma unnecessary. The insertion of commas resumes the detached interpretation with a *distinguo* effect: *Esta operação é, tecnicamente, executável* ‘This operation is technically feasible’

operation, as the speaker is explicitly taking a standpoint, framing the entire sentence in relation to the domain (23):

- (23) *Techniquement parlant, cette opération est réalisable*
Tecnicamente falando, essa operação é viável
‘Technically speaking, this operation is feasible’

Note that another class of adverbs, the *stylistic disjuncts* (PS class) (Molinier & Levrier, 2000; Müller & Baptista, 2025) shares this ability to appear in the same configuration, namely in structures of the type *Adv speaking* (24):

- (24) *Franchement parlant, cette décision est discutable*
Francamente falando, essa decisão é discutível
‘Frankly speaking, this decision is questionable’

Since PS adverbs are generally analyzed as sentence-external modifiers, this raises the question of how POV adverbs should, then, be characterized with respect to the internal/external distinction. As it will be shown below, this issue is not merely terminological but reflects both the taxonomic choices adopted by different authors and the linguistic representations underlying their analyses. Before addressing this question in further detail, we first provide an overview of how several authors have treated POV adverbs and how they situate them within their respective grammatical frameworks.

2.2. Literature review

The literature presents conflicting classifications of POV adverbs. While some accounts analyze them as sentence-internal modifiers, others treat them as sentence-external elements within broader classes of evaluative or enunciation-related adverbs. The following discussion compares these approaches, focusing on points of divergence from Molinier and Levrier (2000) criteria-based classification. These theoretical contrasts help clarify the boundaries of the category, the interpretive issues they raise, and their broader theoretical relevance.

In European Portuguese, from the perspective of Costa (2008, p. 59), POV adverbs are treated as a *semantic* sub-subclass within *evaluative adverbs*, and they “have scope on the domain to which the assertion applies” (authors’ translation). In this respect, our approach is different as we endeavor to support semantic groupings of adverbs by well-defined formal/syntactic properties. This class of sentence-external modifiers comprises, in fact, four subclasses (designations of the classes/subclasses and examples taken from the author; The last two subclasses were presented in reverse order; but we have reordered them here for better discourse flow):

- a. speaker-oriented evaluatives: *fatalmente, francamente, (in)felizmente, lamentavelmente, manifestamente, surpreendentemente, sinceramente, honestamente, decididamente, estranhamente, incrivelmente, curiosamente, categoricamente, forçosamente, irremediavelmente, necessariamente, visivelmente, ostensivamente, erroneamente, exageradamente, oxalá, and notoriamente*
- b. listener-oriented evaluatives: *francamente, honestamente, sinceramente;*
- c. agent-oriented evaluatives: *apressadamente, astutamente, atentamente, cautelosamente, corre<c>tamente, cuidadosamente, deliberadamente, estupidamente, generosamente, ingenuamente, inteligentemente, intencionalmente, propositadamente, prudentemente, razoavelmente, sabiamente, surpreendentemente torpemente, and voluntariamente;* and

d. enunciation-oriented evaluatives, subdivided into:

(i) modality-related: *aparentemente, certamente, dificilmente efe<c>tivamente, evidentemete, facilmente, indubitavelmente, inquestionavelmente, obviamente, oxalá, politicamente, praticamente, presumivelmente, provavelmente, realmente, seguramente, sinteticamente, supostamente talvez, verdadeiramente, and virtualmente*;

(ii) code-related: *aproximadamente, concretamente, incidentalmente, literalmente, precisamente, resumidamente, sinteticamente, sumariamente, textualmente*, in which he also includes several adverbial locutions” (in our terminology, compound/multiword adverbs), such as *de alguma forma, já agora, ou melhor quer dizer*; and

(iii) **domain-related** (the ones here concerned): *cientificamente, comercialmente, localmente, musicalmente, politicamente*. The author also notes that typically this class resists to degree modification (e.g., **muito politicamente, *mais musicalmente, and *pouco cientificamente*. our examples, since the author does not provide an explicit example for this point). However, he also signals that some of them can also be used as manner adverbs, and in that case, the degree modification becomes acceptable (e.g., *Temos de tratar essa questão mais cientificamente* ‘We have to treat that question more scientifically’)

According to the same author, POV adverbs share properties with sentence-external evaluative adverbs (Costa, 2008, p. 59), such as *surpreendentemente* ‘surprisingly’, especially in that both may occur sentence-initially and detached (25):

(25) *Politicamente/Surpreendentemente, o Pedro era incompetente*
‘Politically/Surprisingly, Pedro was incompetent’

Notably, POV adverbs can also be embedded in sentences with verbs such as *considerar* ‘think/consider’ and other similar verbs (26):

(26) *Eu considero que, politicamente/surpreendentemente, o Pedro é incompetente*
‘I think that, politically/surprisingly, Pedro is incompetent’.

However, according to Molinier and Levrier (2000), a key distinction emerges in clefting, as shown in example (27), one of the key properties to identify POV adverbs:

(27) *Era politicamente/*surpreendentemente que o Pedro era incompetente.*
‘It was politically/*surprisingly that Pedro was incompetent’.

The clefting contrast suggests a syntactic distinction between POV adverbs and evaluatives, in line with Molinier and Levrier (2000) diagnostics.

According to Raposo (2013, p. 1663), both POV adverbs and evaluative adverbs apply to statements expressing a judgement about the world. Similar to Costa (2008), Raposo (2013) classifies POV adverbs as a subclass within the semantically heterogeneous class of *sentence-external evaluative adverbs*, which includes:

a. situation-evaluative adverbs: *admiravelmente, curiosamente, estranhamente, incrivelmente, inesperadamente, inexplicavelmente, (in)felizmente, lamentavelmente, paradoxalmente, surpreendentemente*; and adverbial locutions such as *para grande surpresa minha, para grande espanto meu*;

b. modal and intentional adverbs: *certamente, dificilmente, duvidosamente, eventualmente, forçosamente, improvavelmente, indiscutivelmente, infalivelmente, possivelmente, provavelmente, seguramente*, and adverbial locutions such as *com/de certeza, por certo* and *sem dúvida*;

c. adverbs that restrict the domain of propositional content: *linguisticamente, musicalmente, cientificamente, quimicamente, and historicamente*; The author also raises the possibility of a paraphrase with the noun *perspetiva*, as in *numa perspetiva linguística* ‘from a linguistic perspective’, as well as with constructions with *de um ponto de vista* + *Adj* (p. 1663). In addition, Raposo (2013) includes the construction *como* + *profession, activity or relatedness, como professor* ‘as a teacher, professor’, arguing that it similarly encodes a perspectival restriction by specifying the social, professional, or experiential role. (p. 1663).

Considering this example from Raposo, we listed and identified, through corpus searches, a set of structurally related constructions that appear to express similar perspectival meanings, that select a free component, including: *enquanto* + *N* ‘while + Noun’:

(28) *Enquanto linguista, não produziu as sínteses do seu vasto saber*⁴
‘As a linguist, he did not produce summaries of his vast knowledge’

na qualidade de ADJ ‘in the capacity of ADJ’

(29) *Na qualidade de acadêmico, elabora pareceres sobre os mais variados temas de Direito Privado*⁵
‘As an academic, he prepares opinions on a wide range of topics in private law.’

na visão ADJ ‘in ADJ’s view’,

(30) *E, na visão Espírita, muitos ainda tinham "coisas a resolver"*⁶
‘And, in the Spiritist view, many still had “things to resolve.”’

no papel de ‘in the role of’,

(31) *No papel de intelectual, que defendia o abolicionismo, assumia posições feminista <sic> e era sucesso de vendas junto ao público, ajudou a criar a Academia Brasileira de Letras (ABL)*⁷
‘As an intellectual who advocated abolitionism, took feminist positions, and was a best-selling author, he helped create the Brazilian Academy of Letters (ABL)’

em se tratando de N ‘when it comes to’,

(32) *Em se tratando de política, tudo é possível", provoca o conselheiro*⁸
‘When it comes to politics, anything is possible," provokes the advisor’

⁴ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 1686133718

⁵ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 18072520862

⁶ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 3144857057

⁷ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 12376750743

⁸ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 397209038

and *para* + *N* ‘for + *N*’

- (33) *Para académicos, "esta sugestão relativamente ousada do antigo governante não deve ser totalmente ignorada"*⁹
‘For academics, “this relatively bold suggestion from the former leader should not be completely ignored”’

The latter construction, however, may be ambiguous, as it can overlap with final position *para* + *N* structures expressing direction or goal ‘to + *N*’. We will not address these constructions at this stage, as they constitute a very broad domain and would require a separate study.

In peripheral positions, certain adverbs ending in *-mente* and derived from adjectives that express abstract notions or fields of knowledge restrict the statement’s validity to the specific domain they denote. The sentence is thus true within that domain, but not necessarily beyond it. The examples below (Raposo, 2013, p. 1663) illustrate this point:

- (34) *Esta cidade, musicalmente, é fantástica! Há concertos fabulosos todos os dias!*
‘This city, musically, is fantastic! There are amazing concerts every day!’

The author continues with a series of other groupings:

- d. adverbs evaluating the evidence for a proposition or commenting on its truth value: *evidentemente, manifestamente, corretamente, equivocadamente, erradamente, and incorretamente*;
- e. speaker-attitude adverbs: *confidencialmente, francamente, honestamente, sinceramente*, and the expressions *para falar com franqueza/sinceridade* ‘to speak frankly/sincerely’, *para ser sincero/honesto* ‘to be sincere/honest’;
- f. listener-exhortation adverbs: *sinceramente* and *honestamente*;
- g. metalinguistic adverbs: *literalmente, pormenorizadamente, resumidamente, sinteticamente, sucintamente*, and prepositional adjuncts *em poucas palavras, de forma breve/curta*.

Taken together, the analyses proposed by Costa (2008) and Raposo (2013) treat POV adverbs as a semantic subclass within the broader category of evaluative or enunciation-related adverbs, typically analyzed as sentence-external modifiers whose function is to delimit the domain of validity of the proposition. By contrast, Molinier and Levrier (2000) define the class through a *conjunction* of formal, syntactic diagnostics, such as sentence-initial detachment under negation, clefting, and analytical paraphrase with operator-noun constructions. Because of their taxonomic decisions regarding the internal/external classification of adverbs, the authors consider POV adverbs to be syntactically integrated modifiers of the proposition despite their broader semantic scope.

Across the literature, the classification of point-of-view (POV) or domain adverbs varies considerably depending on whether emphasis is placed on syntactic integration, semantic scope, or discourse function. Early accounts tend to treat these adverbs as integrated modifiers of the predicate, whereas later frameworks increasingly interpret them as operators that frame the interpretation of the utterance as a whole.

An early but influential example is Mørdrup (1976), who identifies point-of-view adverbs as a distinct subgroup within adverbs of manner. Although he acknowledges that these adverbs share several properties with sentence-level modifiers—such as wide scope, compatibility with negation and interrogatives, cleft

⁹ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 2895525

constructions, and *parlant*-type expressions, he nevertheless retains them within the class of manner adverbs on the grounds that they remain structurally integrated into the predicative configuration. Semantically, he characterizes them as indicating the domain for which an utterance is true, a definition that anticipates later accounts of domain or point-of-view adverbs. Rather than positing lexical homonymy, Mørdrup (1976) proposes that a single adverbial form may assume different functions depending on its syntactic role, with interpretation emerging from the interaction between lexical meaning and structural position.

A shift toward clause-level interpretation appears in descriptive grammars such as Quirk et al. (1985). In their framework, POV adverbs are classified as *POV adverbs subjuncts*, whose function is to specify the perspective from which the proposition is evaluated rather than to describe the manner of the event itself. Adverbs such as *economically*, *politically*, *technically*, and *morally* signal that the statement should be interpreted from a particular conceptual perspective and thus function as interpretive frames over the clause. These items are typically realized as *-ly* derivatives of adjectives, though formations in *-wise* such as *weather-wise*, *program-wise* are also attested, particularly in American English. Syntactically, *POV adverbs subjuncts* frequently occur in sentence-initial position and are generally non-gradable, distinguishing them from many adjuncts. Quirk et al. (1985) also note their equivalents in constructions such as *from an economic point of view*, and *economically speaking* reinforcing their interpretation as clause framing devices. Importantly, their classification is functional rather than lexical: the same adverb may assume different roles depending on its syntactic and semantic environment.

Further developments within discourse-oriented and enunciative frameworks emphasize the sentence-external character of such adverbs. Within his theory of *adverbiaux contextuels* ‘contextual adverbials’, Nølle (1993) treats point-of-view adverbs as contextual adverbials that operate at the level of the utterance rather than within the predicate. These expressions establish a contextual parameter that guides the interpretation of the proposition, delimiting the domain within which it should be evaluated. As such, they function as operators over the propositional content and typically occupy peripheral positions in the clause. Their behavior reflects discourse organizational functions rather than argument-structure relations, and they often interact with focus and information structure.

A closely related but more nuanced account is offered by Guimier (1996), whose discourse-based model of enunciation introduces the notion of *visée du discours* ‘aim of discourse’. Within this architecture, domain adverbs participate in the preliminary stage of the enunciative act by delimiting the perspective under which the utterance is to be interpreted. Guimier’s analysis is particularly important because it highlights the dual behavior of domain adverbs. In their *exophrastic* use, they delimit the perspective under which the proposition is valid and remain outside the scope of negation; in their *intra-predicative* use, however, they modify the process itself, may fall within the scope of negation, and may even allow gradation or coordination with manner adverbs. This functional duality—reflected in scope, prosody, and interpretation—accounts for much of the disagreement in the literature concerning the syntactic status of these adverbs.

More recent approaches have attempted to explain their distribution primarily through semantic principles rather than fixed syntactic categories. In a semantically driven theory of adjunct syntax, Ernst (2008) argues that domain adverbs such as *linguistically*, *politically*, or *economically* specify that some contextually salient entity within their scope belongs to the relevant domain. These adverbs therefore restrict the criteria under which the predication is evaluated rather than simply modifying the verb. Their distribution follows from interpretive constraints on scope rather than from rigid syntactic licensing, allowing them to adjoin at different structural levels depending on the semantic relations involved. Ernst also distinguishes a regular domain-restriction reading from a sentence-initial topic-framing interpretation, which he derives through a general semantic rule rather than through lexical homonymy.

A complementary perspective is provided by Grübl (2018), who analyzes domain readings within the Italian *-mente parlando* construction from a constructional and diachronic standpoint. According to this analysis, the modern domain interpretation emerges through a metonymic shift from a literal manner-of-speaking interpretation “speaking in a certain way” to a perspectival reading “arguing from a certain

perspective”, and eventually to a more general domain interpretation “concerning a given field”. In this view, domain adverbials function as modifiers that restrict the validity of the proposition to a particular conceptual domain, similarly to spatial or temporal frame setters. Diachronically, both stylistic and domain readings appear early, though domain uses expand significantly in later periods. Crucially, Gröbl argues that the boundary between *style-disjunct* and domain readings forms a continuum rather than a rigid lexical distinction.

Taken together, these approaches reveal a gradual shift in the treatment of POV adverbs or domain adverbs. Early accounts emphasize their syntactic integration within the predicate, while later discourse-oriented and semantic frameworks increasingly interpret them as sentence external framing devices operating at the level of the utterance. Against this background, the classification proposed by Molinier and Levrier (2000) occupies a distinctive position. Rather than defining the class primarily through semantic scope or discourse function, they identify point-of-view adverbs through a conjunction of formal syntactic diagnostics—including sentence-initial detachment under negation, cleft constructions, and paraphrases with *point-of view* expressions. These diagnostics indicate that POV adverbs remain syntactically integrated into the clause structure, even though their interpretation typically frames the proposition as a whole.

The approaches reviewed above tend to isolate syntactic distribution, semantic scope, or discourse function as if they were separable components of analysis. From the perspective of Harris’s Transformational-Operator Grammar (Harris, 1991), however, these dimensions do not need to be treated as separate levels of analysis. Harris proposes that many utterance-level phenomena can be derived from reductions of more explicit metalinguistic performative structures.

The apparent sentence-external behavior of POV adverbs does not require a separate structural module nor an independent pragmatic layer; rather, it can be derived from the internal organization of elementary sentences through the operation of metalinguistic performative operators. In this framework, natural language contains its own metalanguage, and declarative utterances are understood as reductions of more explicit performative structures.

Though we are unaware of Harris himself addressing this phenomenon, we here propose a Harrisian-inspired solution, analogous to that of performative operator *Eu digo* ‘I say’, which underlies any declarative sentence (Harris, 1991, pp. 31–36, 123–128). In the case of POV adverbs, we posit that they enter sentences as modifiers of a higher-level performative operator, typically *Eu acho* ‘I think’, which is used when ‘stating an opinion’ (and, thus, making a statement). The base configuration may be represented as in (35):

- (35) *EU acho* de um ponto de vista *ADJ* *que F*
 ‘I think from an ADJ point of view that S’

(where ‘F’ stands for the underlying sentence, in Portuguese *frase* ‘sentence’; ADJ corresponds to the base adjective and the *EU* pronoun ‘I’ represents the speaker of the utterance). In this structure, the POV adverb is a regular complement modifying the performative verb *acho* ‘think. When the metalinguistic operator *Eu acho* is zeroed — a standard reduction in Harris’s theory —, yielding the actual utterance, the sentence takes the surface form shown in (36):

- (36) *De um ponto de vista ADJ, F*
 ‘From an ADJ perspective, F’

The POV adverb thus appears detached and in a sentence-external function, while preserving its original distributional and syntactic relation with the performative operator. The further reduction of operator-noun *ponto de vista* in the analytical form to the suffix *-mente* would then be just part of the morphosyntactic apparatus of the language.

This analysis explains, in a unified manner, several properties traditionally treated as problematic. First, the mobility of POV adverbs follows from the fact that they are *not* internal modifiers of the predicate of

underlying subclause (under *acho*), but modifiers of the higher performative verb structure of *EU acho* ‘I think’, thus, having a scope on the entire sentence. Their being out of the scope of negation inside *F* is therefore expected, since negation targets the embedded proposition, not the performative frame. Likewise, their compatibility with cleft constructions (37):

- (37) *É de um ponto de vista técnico que F*
 ‘It is from a technical point of view that F’

often under a disjunctive or *distinguo* reading, it follows from the fact that clefting applies to sentence-internal constituents of *F*, whereas the POV adverb originates outside that domain. The constraints are thus structural, not merely interpretive.

In this respect, POV adverbs behave in a way parallel to style-disjunctive adverbs (Müller & Baptista, 2025), class PS, which are likewise analyzed as modifiers of a metalinguistic performative operator, in this case *Eu digo* ‘I say’, that has been subsequently reduced. The apparent sentence-external status of adverbs from both classes results, therefore, from their being considered as not entering the sentences of the base of the grammar (the so-called Harrisian kernel of the language), but instead from those sentences having a derived status in grammar, resulting from the reduction of performative, metalinguistic operators.

To conclude, rather than positing an additional discourse projection or a distinct pragmatic module, the Harrisian framework accounts for their behavior through operator insertion and later reduction, maintaining a minimal grammar in which syntactic position, semantic scope, and enunciative function are different manifestations of the same underlying configuration.

3. Lexicon

This section presents the lexical data underlying the analysis of POV adverbs in Portuguese. In 3.1, we examine the POV *-mente* adverbs retrieved from the STRING lexicon (Mamede et al., 2012). Particular attention is given to cases in which these adverbs alternate between POV and other adverbial functions, such as *manner* or *subject-oriented*. In 3.2, we examine the analytic paraphrases associated with POV adverbs, especially constructions involving operator-nouns such as *ponto de vista* ‘point of view’, *perspectiva* ‘perspective’, or *termos* ‘terms’, in order to illustrate the lexical and structural variation of this class. The section also briefly presents related subclasses currently being incorporated into the lexicon, including eponym and demonym-derived adverbs and a small set of multiword adverbial expressions. Together, these data provide the empirical basis for the syntactic and semantic characterization proposed in this study. Corpus searches were conducted on the *ptTenTen23* corpus (16.9 billion tokens) using the Sketch Engine platform (Kilgariff et al., 2014).

3.1. Derived Adv-mente POV adverbs

The data analyzed in this study were extracted from the STRING lexicon (Mamede et al., 2012), which contains over 7,000 Portuguese adverbs ending in *-mente*. Within this set, 745 items had previously been classified as POV adverbs, including forms such as *pedagogicamente* ‘pedagogically’, *posturalmente* ‘posturally’, and *sindicalmente* ‘from the point of view of a labor union’.

Among these POV adverbs, 178 forms can assume two functions, as seen in the following examples with the adverb *comercialmente* ‘commercially’, which can function either as a manner adverb (38), or a point-of-view adverb delimiting the domain of evaluation (39). The distinction becomes evident when the analytic paraphrase *de um ponto de vista comercial* ‘from a commercial point of view’ is applied:

- (38) *O estoque foi vendido comercialmente (*de um ponto de vista comercial) a cidades americanas e não em leilões*¹⁰
 ‘The stock was sold commercially to American cities and not at auction’
- (39) *Comercialmente (=de um ponto de vista comercial), o trabalho não teve muita repercussão*¹¹
 ‘Commercially, the work did not have much impact’

A smaller subset of eight adverbs can additionally display a subject-oriented manner function as illustrated by *criativamente* ‘creatively’. The following examples illustrate the differences: in a subject-oriented manner in (40-a) the adverb describes the manner in which the subject performs an action; whereas in (41-a) it introduces a POV reading that frames the evaluation of the proposition:

- (40)
- (a) *Está sempre pronta a trabalhar, a pensar criativamente*¹²
 ‘She is always ready to work, thinking creatively’
- (b) *Ela pensa **criativamente**. Ela é **criativa***
 ‘She thinks creatively. She is creative.’
- (c) *Ela pensa **criativamente***
**Criativamente (falando), ela pensa.*
 ‘Creatively (speaking), she thinks’
- (41)
- (a) *É difícil dizer onde mais essa banda pode ir, criativamente falando*¹³
 ‘It’s hard to say where else this band can go, creatively speaking.’
- (b) *Essa banda vai longe, de um ponto de vista criativo.*
 ‘This band will go far, from a creative standpoint.’
- (c) *Essa banda vai longe. Essa banda é criativa.*
 ‘This band will go far. This band is creative.’

These examples illustrate that some adverbs ending in *-ment* may participate in multiple syntactic–semantic configurations. As mentioned before, in the lexicon adopted here, such items are therefore classified primarily as POV adverbs, while their compatibility with other adverbial functions is recorded as secondary information, rather than treated as distinct lexical entries.

3.2. POV with other operator nouns

In addition to the standard construction involving the operator-noun *ponto de vista* ‘point-of-view’, POV meanings in Portuguese may also be encoded through formally related structures containing other operator-nouns (*Nop*) that introduce a perspectival restriction, frame, or domain. These constructions display the general pattern: *Prep + Nop + de + Noun/Adj* as illustrated below:

¹⁰ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 6051896083

¹¹ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 10623328804

¹² Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 13738671380

¹³ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 12488473587

(42) *politicamente* → *de o/um ponto de vista político*
'from a political point of view'

The notion of *operator-noun* is inspired by Gross (1975), who uses this term to describe nouns such as *facto* in factive complement constructions. In a related discussion, (Gross, 1986, p. 139) analyzes adverbs ending in *-ment* and associated with nouns such as *manière/façon* as resulting from “nominalization”, i.e. nominal constructions, e.g.:

Max se conduit/comporte d'une certaine façon → *Max a une certaine façon de se conduire/comporter*
'Max acts/behaves in a certain way' → 'Max has a certain way of conducting/behaving himself'
'Max age/se comporta de uma determinada maneira' → 'Max tem uma certa maneira de agir/se comportar'

In a comparable way, POV adverbs in *-ment* may be interpreted as deriving from an underlying nominal structure headed by an operator-noun, however, there does not seem to exist a parallel construction with an infinitive *de Vinf* subclause:

Max parle/dit quelque chose d'un certain point de vue
*Max a un certain point de vue *de parler/ de dire quelque chose*

even if the nominal construction exists:

Max a un certain point de vue
'Max has a certain point of view'
'Max tem um certo ponto de vista'

Max a un point de vue inadmissible
'Max has an unacceptable point of view'
'Max tem um ponto de vista inaceitável'

Because of these difficulties, we will not pursue this line of reasoning here and will instead accept the analytical structures that take operator-nouns as base forms.

The construction (*a partir de* | *de* | *em* | *sob*) + (*o* | *um* | *POSS*) + *ponto de vista* + (*ADJ/de N*) displays systematic variation across several structural parameters, including the choice of preposition, determiner, and complement type. The following patterns are attested in corpus data:

prep o POSS ponto de vista,
de (o/um) ponto de vista de N,
de (o) POSS ponto de vista,
em (o/um) ponto de vista de N,
em (o/um) POSS ponto de vista,
sob o ponto de vista de N,
sob o ponto de vista ADJ, and
sob POSS ponto de vista.

However, our search in Sketch Engine (corpus *ptTenTen23*) shows that, although all these variants are attested in both European and Brazilian Portuguese, their distribution is far from uniform. A search in the *ptTenTen23* corpus reveals that the construction *de o ponto de vista* + *ADJ* is the dominant configuration in both European and Brazilian Portuguese, with substantially higher frequencies with 22,272 occurrences

(16.151/M) in PT and 80,224 (58.175/M) in BR; see Table 1. The variant *do ponto de vista de N* is the second most frequent, in European Portuguese (12,765; 9.257/M) and Brazilian (50,844; 36.870/M). By contrast, the indefinite variant *de um ponto de vista* + ADJ is considerably less frequent, with 1,721 occurrences (1.248/M) in PT and 4,861 (3.525/M) in BR. Similarly, the possessive form *de o POSS ponto de vista* occurs 2,037 times (1.477/M) in European Portuguese and 4,449 times (3.226/M) in Brazilian Portuguese.

Finally, the least frequent pattern in both varieties is *de um ponto de vista de N*, with only 202 occurrences (0.146/M) in PT and 356 (0.258/M) in BR.

Table 1 presents the top 20 frequencies of the construction *de o ponto de vista* + ADJ in European (.pt) and Brazilian (.br) Portuguese subcorpora, respectively, in the *ptTenTen23* corpus of Portuguese (Kilgarriff et al., 2014).

Table 1

Frequency of de o ponto de vista + ADJ in Portugal (.pt) and Brazil (.br)

Portugal (.pt)			Brazil (.br)		
ADJ	Count	Freq./M	ADJ	Count	Freq./M
económico	1,473	1.068148234	económico	5,831	0.6192146949
técnico	974	0.7062976106	técnico	3,524	0.3742261336
social	847	0.6142033636	político	2,681	0.2847049557
ambiental	812	0.5888230593	jurídico	2,586	0.2746165668
político	771	0.5590918457	social	2,450	0.2601742415
financeiro	710	0.5148576011	ambiental	2,394	0.2542274017
jurídico	482	0.3495230475	financeiro	2,034	0.2159977173
científico	456	0.3306691072	legal	1,513	0.1606708684
físico	437	0.3168912277	científico	1,386	0.1471842852
energético	365	0.2646803161	prático	1,322	0.1403878969
legal	341	0.2472766788	histórico	1,233	0.1309366693
cultural	284	0.2059430404	teórico	1,183	0.1256269909
nutricional	284	0.2059430404	ético	1,141	0.1211668611
formal	283	0.2052178889	físico	1,088	0.115538602
tecnológico	283	0.2052178889	tecnológico	861	0.09143266203
estético	271	0.1965160703	moral	841	0.08930879067
teórico	268	0.1943406156	fiscal	838	0.08899020997
pessoal	259	0.1878142517	estético	783	0.08314956373
ético	245	0.17766213	psicológico	755	0.08017614382
histórico	225	0.1631590989	comercial	705	0.07486646542

As shown in Table 1, the construction is particularly productive with adjectives referring to institutional or evaluative domains such as *económico/econômico* ‘economical’, *técnico*, ‘technical’ *social*, ‘social’ *político*, ‘political’ and *jurídico*, ‘legal’, which reinforces the interpretation of POV adverbs as restricting the domain of validity of the proposition.

Although *ponto de vista* appears to be the most frequent operator-noun associated with POV meanings in Portuguese, several other operator-nouns (Nop) can introduce comparable perspectival frames. Corpus data from *ptTenTen23* indicate that in European Portuguese, *em termos de N* is the most frequent pattern (67.873/M),

followed by *em termos* + *ADJ* (35.398/M). Brazilian Portuguese shows the same pattern, though with lower normalized frequencies (23.258/M and 7.239/M, respectively). Table 2 presents the most frequent occurrences of the construction *em termos ADJ* in European and Brazilian Portuguese in this corpus.

Table 2

Frequency of em termos + ADJ in Portugal (.pt) and Brazil (.br)

Portugal (.pt)			Brazil (.br)		
ADJ	Count	Freq./M	ADJ	Count	Freq./M
homólogos	3,530	2.559784975	reais	4,314	0.4581190523
gerais	1,910	1.385039462	gerais	3,462	0.3676421323
económicos	1,707	1.237833697	absolutos	3,270	0.3472529673
absolutos	1,307	0.947773077	econômicos	2,846	0.3022268945
práticos	1,094	0.7933157967	práticos	2,306	0.2448823678
globais	1,054	0.7643097346	financeiros	2,151	0.2284223647
financeiros	976	0.7077479137	percentuais	1,627	0.1727769351
ambientais	852	0.6178291213	nominais	1,504	0.1597151262
reais	831	0.6026009388	técnicos	1,489	0.1581222227
sociais	802	0.5815715438	relativos	1,323	0.1404940904

A further construction expressing *perspectival* POV adverbs is *aos olhos de N* ‘in N’s eyes’ with possessive alternation, e.g., *aos olhos do Pedro* -> *aos seus olhos*, as a manifestation of a particular/individual point of view¹⁴. Corpus data from *ptTenTen23* show that the construction *aos olhos de/do/da/dos/das* + *N* is the dominant pattern in both European and Brazilian Portuguese, with comparable normalized frequencies (2.74/M in PT and 2.44/M in BR). The possessive variants are considerably less frequent: *aos POSS olhos* occurs at 0.9463/M in PT and 1.0167/M in BR, while *a POSS olhos* is rare in both varieties (0.1523/M in PT and 0.1730/M in BR). The construction *aos olhos de N* is particularly productive with collective or institutional POV adverb holders, as shown in Table 3.

¹⁴ The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewer who called our attention to the specific perspectival interpretation of this construction.

Table 3

Frequency of aos olhos de/do/da/dos/das + N in Portugal (.pt) and Brazil (.br)

Portugal (.pt)			Brazil (.br)		
N	Count	Freq./M	N	Count	Freq./M
de Deus	183	0.1327027338	de Deus	2,436	0.258687531
do mundo	171	0.1240009152	do mundo	1,223	0.129874733
do público	143	0.1036966718	do público	1,036	0.110016536
da sociedade	118	0.085567883	da sociedade	833	0.0884592421
da lei	104	0.07541576129	do Senhor	674	0.0715744648
dos portugueses	101	0.07324030664	da população	418	0.0443889114
da comunidade	94	0.06816424578	do consumidor	340	0.0361058131
dos cidadãos	91	0.06598879113	dos homens	338	0.0358934259

The expression *em matéria de N* ‘with regard to N’ similarly introduces a domain-specific frame restricting the scope of the proposition. Corpus data from *ptTenTen23* in Table 4 show that, *em matéria de N* is the predominant configuration in both European and Brazilian Portuguese, though with a markedly higher normalized frequency in the European corpus (25.522/M) compared to the Brazilian corpus (3.188/M). The adjectival variant *em matéria + ADJ* is less frequent in both varieties, occurring at 4.397/M in PT and 1.940/M in BR.

Table 4

Frequency of em matéria de N in Portugal (.pt) and Brazil (.br)

Portugal (.pt)			Brazil (.br)		
N	Freq.	Freq./M	N	Freq.	Freq./M
de segurança	1,246	0.9035388324	de direitos	1,075	0.1141580856
de facto	1,136	0.8237721618	de segurança	852	0.09047691992
de proteção	739	0.5358869961	de saúde	655	0.06955678703
de educação	622	0.4510442646	de política	504	0.05352155826
de política	601	0.4358160821	de direito	488	0.05182246117
de direitos	598	0.4336406274	de educação	446	0.04736233132
de saúde	576	0.4176872933	de fé	392	0.04162787865
de ambiente	520	0.3770788065	de proteção	354	0.03759252306
de direito	498	0.3611254723	de Direito	324	0.03440671602
de gestão	443	0.321242137	de defesa	286	0.03037136044

While the constructions discussed above are syntactically compositional, Portuguese also contains a small set of fixed multiword (compound) adverbs that encode POV meanings and behave as lexicalized expressions.

3.3. Compound adverbs

Furthermore, 13 multiword adverbs, such as *em tese*, *na prática*, *a Poss ver*, *a Poss olhos*, have been considered. Our survey of compound adverbs in Portuguese (which includes 13 different classes) has collected approximately 3,700 expressions distributed across different syntactic and semantic classes (Müller et al., 2022, 2023). Of these, only 13 expressions are classified as point-of-view compound adverbs. They are: *a meu ver* ‘in my view’, *a meus olhos*, *aos meus olhos* ‘as far as I can see’, *de direito* ‘by law’, *em teoria* ‘in theory’, *em termos práticos* ‘in practical terms’, *em termos teóricos* ‘in theoretical terms’, *em tese* ‘in principle’, *na POSS opinião* ‘in POSS opinion’, *na prática* ‘in practice’, *pelo que me toca* ‘as far as I’m concerned’, *segundo as más línguas* ‘according to the gossip’, *segundo dizem* ‘as they say’.

However, the constraints on the possibility of paraphrasing them by adverbs ending in *-mente*, seen above, along with the use of different determiners and modifiers, give rise to a wide range of complex combinatorial constraints, even if several forms remain quite common and can easily be attested in corpora. In particular, certain combinations should be considered fixed (compound) forms, since they exhibit restrictions on formal variation, e.g., *em teoria* vs. *na teoria*, but not **em prática*, whereas *na prática* is acceptable. These distributional constraints suggest a degree of lexical fixation rather than free syntactic alternation, occurring in expressions whose internal structure is only partially compositional. As a result, although these constructions remain related to their analytic counterparts, they function synchronically as lexicalized multiword adverbs. Their intermediate status between productive constructions and fixed expressions supports their treatment as compound adverbs in the lexicon.

3.4. Demonym-derived and Eponym-derived adverbs

This section examines two additional subclasses of Portuguese POV adverbs: (i) demonym-derived adverbs and (ii) eponym-derived adverbs, and highlights their role in encoding culturally grounded perspectives. Although POV adverbs have been widely discussed in the literature, the contribution of forms derived from gentile adjectives and proper names has received little attention and, to our knowledge, has not been systematically documented for Portuguese. The identification of these adverbs followed a simple methodological procedure. First, lists of gentilic and proper-name-derived adjectives were examined.¹⁵ Secondly, the corresponding *-mente* adverbial forms were generated and evaluated for grammatical plausibility. Finally, these candidate forms were validated through corpus survey using the large-scale *ptTenTen23* corpus. This allowed us to confirm their actual usage in contemporary Portuguese.

Demonym-derived adverbs are associated with socially recognizable stereotypes attached to places and their inhabitants. Rather than referring strictly to geographic origin, these forms evoke culturally constructed models of behavior, attitudes, or lifestyles. Examples include *brasileiramente* ‘in Brazilian terms/view’, *cariocamente* ‘in the Rio de Janeiro’s/carioca terms/view’, and *portuguesamente* ‘in Portuguese terms/view’ derived from the adjectives *brasileiro* ‘brazilian’, *carioca* ‘from Rio de Janeiro’, and *português* ‘portuguese’.

These adverbs may function either as POV adverbs, delimiting the cultural perspective from which a statement is interpreted; or as manner adverbs, describing the way in which an action is carried out. The examples in (43) and (44) illustrate this potential ambiguity:

(43) *Queremos existir, brasileiroamente falando, não apenas geograficamente mas também politicamente*¹⁶

‘We want to exist, in Brazilian terms, not only geographically but also politically’

(44) *Brasileiramente, somos campeões em resolver um problema criando outro maior*¹⁷

¹⁵ https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_gentilicos

¹⁶ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 13819242499

¹⁷ Corpus ptTenTen23, token number 12327197744

POV reading: ‘In Brazilian terms, we are champions at solving one problem by creating another bigger one’ or:

Manner reading: ‘In the Brazilian way, we are champions at solving one problem by creating another bigger one’

Eponym-derived adverbs by contrast, are anchored in person-related references and typically evoke intellectual, theoretical, or ideological traditions associated with historically salient figures; e.g. *pessoanamente* ‘in Pessoa’s point of view’, *freudianamente* ‘in a Freudian view’, and *marxianamente* ‘in a Marxist view’, linked to *Fernando Pessoa*, *Sigmund Freud*, and *Karl Marx*, respectively, signal that the proposition should be interpreted through a particular conceptual lens—whether literary, psychoanalytic, or scientific. In this way, these adverbs function as markers of doctrinal alignment or analytical orientation, enabling speakers to situate their statements within broader traditions of thought.

- (45) *Isto me leva a pensar numa voz que, pessoanamente, só produz sentido se se esvazia de significados [...]* ¹⁸

‘This leads me to think of a voice that, according to Pessoa, only makes sense if it is emptied of meaning’

- (46) *Freudianamente, eu penso que pode ser o inverso* ¹⁹

‘Freudianly speaking, I think it may be the other way around’

- (47) *Marxianamente falando, a nossa sociedade capitalista é composta pela luta antagônica entre burguesia e proletariado* ²⁰

‘Marxistically speaking, our capitalist society is composed of the antagonistic struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat’

Drawing on corpus evidence from *ptTenTen23*, this subsection shows that both demonym-derived and eponym-derived adverbs systematically participate in the class of POV adverbs. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to identify these forms as a productive subclass of POV adverbs in Portuguese and to offer a preliminary corpus-based account of their syntactic behavior and distribution. Since the compilation of these forms is still in progress, the inventory presented here is provisional, and additional items are expected as the lexicon expands. The complete list of demonym- and eponym-derived adverbs currently identified is provided in Appendix A.

4. Conclusion and future work

This paper has examined the syntactic and semantic properties of POV adverbs in Portuguese with the aim of clarifying their status within the broader system of adverbial modification. The analysis confirms that POV adverbs constitute a large and heterogeneous lexical class, including both derived *-mente* forms, a range of analytically related constructions involving operator-nouns and some few compound adverbs.

A central issue addressed in this study concerns the apparent paradox in the literature regarding the syntactic status of these adverbs. While POV adverbs often indicate the perspective or domain from which a statement is made, and their discourse function resembles that of sentence-external modifiers, several syntactic diagnostics indicate that they remain structurally integrated within the predicate. The evidence discussed here supports the analysis proposed by Molinier and Levrier (2000), according to which POV adverbs occupy a

¹⁸ Corpus *ptTenTen23*, token number 8096976112

¹⁹ Corpus *ptTenTen23*, token number 5722060132

²⁰ Corpus *ptTenTen23*, token number 2496550729

peripheral position within the domain of sentence-internal modifiers: although they have a wider scope over the entire proposition, they remain syntactically linked to the predicative structure of the sentence. This intermediate status helps explain the divergent classifications found in previous studies.

The lexical survey further highlights the breadth of this class in Portuguese. Based on the STRING lexical resource, the study identifies 745 POV adverbs in *-mente*. In addition, the corpus analysis shows that POV meanings are frequently realized through analytic constructions involving operator-nouns such as *ponto de vista* ‘point of view’, *perspectiva* ‘perspective’, *ótica* ‘optics’, and *termos* ‘terms’. The comparison between the European and Brazilian partitions of the *ptTenTen23* corpus reveals largely parallel distributions for these constructions, suggesting that the strategies used to encode perspectival restriction are broadly shared across the two major varieties of Portuguese.

Finally, the paper introduced two additional subclasses of POV adverbs *demonym-derived* and *eponym-derived* forms, which encode culturally and intellectually grounded perspectives. Although the inventories presented here remain preliminary, the corpus evidence suggests that these forms constitute a productive lexical domain that has not previously been systematically documented for Portuguese. Future work will aim to expand these inventories and further investigate their syntactic and semantic behavior across different registers and varieties of the language.

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Appendix A

The following Tables 1 and 2 list demonym-derived adverbs and eponym-derived adverbs, respectively, attested in the *ptTenTen23* corpus together with their raw frequency counts. The inventory is based on corpus attestation rather than purely morphological derivation. All frequency counts reported in this study were obtained through queries in the *ptTenTen23* corpus available in Sketch Engine, a large web-derived corpus of Portuguese comprising approximately 16.9 billion tokens (Kilgariff et al., 2014). These counts reflect occurrences in the *ptTenTen23* corpus at the time of extraction and may increase as the corpus expands.

Table A1

Demonym-derived Adverbs Attested in the ptTenTen23 Corpus

Adverb	Freq.	Adverb	Freq.
mineiramente	448	romanamente	10
brasileiramente	266	gauchamente	10
britanicamente	193	francesamente	9
ocidentalmente	114	argentinamente	8
portuguesmente	110	arabicamente	8
africanamente	89	japonesamente	8
latinamente	57	curitibanamente	7
germanicamente	48	suiçamente	7
baianamente	39	inglesmente	7
americanamente	38	niponicamente	6
lusitanamente	37	atlanticamente	5
cariocamente	36	londrinamente	4
pernambucanamente	31	portenhamente	3
italianamente	30	mediterraneamente	3
paulistanamente	29	francesmente	3
orientalmente	26	asiaticamente	2
européiamente	17	cabo-verdianamente	2
moçambicanamente	14	portuensemente	2
angolanamente	14	ibericamente	2
paulistamente	13	brasilicamente	2
nordicamente	11	madeiramente	2
espanholamente	11	caribenhamente	2
latino-americanamente	10	alentejanamente	2
mexicanamente	10		

Note. Frequencies correspond to raw occurrences in the corpus (16.9 billion tokens).

Table A2*Eponym-derived Adverbs Attested in the ptTenTen23 Corpus*

Adverb	Freq.	Adverb	Freq.
freudianamente	194	lulamente	14
darwinianamente	50	napoleonicamente	11
kafkianamente	32	marxistamente	9
weberianamente	28	foucaultianamente	9
peessoanamente	25	serramente	7
lacanianamente	22	joyceanamente	7
fellinianamente	17	dilmamente	6
caetanamente	15	habermasianamente	5
marxianamente	15	bolsonaramente	4
shakespeareanamente	4	camoneanamente	3
arendtianamente	3	cesarianamente	3
bolsonariamente	2	obamamente	2
borgesianamente	1	tarantinescamente	1
leninianamente	1	newtonianamente	1
adamsmithimente	1	xijinpingmente	1

Note. Frequencies correspond to raw occurrences in the corpus (16.9 billion tokens).