Temporal and aspectual properties of adverbial perfect participial clauses in varieties of Portuguese and English

Purificação Silvano¹ msilvano@letras.up.pt

António Leal¹ jleal@letras.up.pt

João Cordeiro² jpaulo@di.ubi.pt

¹Faculty of Arts and Humanities of University of Porto ¹Centre of Linguistics of University of Porto ²University of Beira Interior ²INESC TEC - Porto

Adverbial perfect participial clauses; varieties of Portuguese; English; temporal and aspectual relations

The main objective of this work is to make a semantic comparison of adverbial perfect participial clauses (APC), on micro and macro variation levels, regarding their temporal and aspectual properties. To achieve this aim, we will resort to the notion of Temporal Perspective Point and Reference Point as defined by Kamp & Reyle (1993) and use Moens' typology for the aspectual classes (1987).

First, we intend to compare adverbial clauses with *tendo* ('having') + past participle of the main verb in European Portuguese (EP) (1) to the same structures in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) (2), Mozambican Portuguese (MP) (3) and Angolan Portuguese (AP) (4), which have not yet been the object of a in-depth study. Second, we compare this structure in these varieties of Portuguese to a similar construction in British English (BE), that is, clauses with *having _ed* (5). The analysis focuses on relations between the situations represented by the subordinated (SC) and main clauses (MC), considering variables such as the position of the clauses and the aspectual profile and tenses of the predications.

- (1) <u>Tendo tomado uma opção</u>, não vou dizer quais são os pontos fortes e fracos que vejo nos três candidatos.
 - <u>Having taken an option</u>, I will not say what the strengths and weaknesses are that I see in the three candidates.
- (2) Este país na altura tinha apenas vinte anos, <u>tendo adquirido a sua independência em 1964</u>. This country at the time was only twenty years old, <u>having acquired its independence in 1964</u>.
- (3) No bairro Beiapeia, por exemplo, uma criança foi atacada por um crocodilo, tendo contraído graves ferimentos.
 - In the Beiapeia neighborhood, for example, a child was attacked by a crocodile, <u>having contracted</u> <u>serious injuries.</u>
- (4) Já Pernambuco, mesmo tendo reduzido o percentual de presos provisórios em 25 %, continua liderando o ranking das prisões mais lotadas do Brasil.
 - Pernambuco, <u>although having reduced the percentage of provisional prisoners by 25%</u>, continues to lead the ranking of the most crowded prisons in Brazil.
- (5) <u>Having won the championship</u> I was looking forward to defending it with what I believe to be a very competitive car.

The corpora were built from different newspapers using a "Crawling System", which is a process that sequentially scans a set of web sites for the purpose of finding and extracting the relevant information. In our case, this information consists of the well-formed sentences that contain a certain linguistic pattern, namely APC. Our set of websites corresponds to a set of selected Portuguese, Brazilian, Angolan, Mozambican and English online newspapers. For each

newspaper, the system performs a recursive search in the hyperlinks hierarchy, starting with the website's top page, avoiding links pointing outside the newspaper and links previously visited, during the same execution. The depth of the recursive call was limited to a maximum of seven levels.

Generally speaking, the quantitative and qualitative analysis shows, on the one hand, that these constructions can convey more meaning relations than those that are normally described in the literature for both languages and varieties (e.g. EP Cunha, Leal & Silvano (2015), PB Bechara (2002); BE, Kortmann (1995), Behrens (1998)), namely the simultaneity and posteriority readings in BE. As a matter of fact, these structures can exhibit all types of temporal readings in both languages and varieties and these readings are related to the position of the SC and to the aspectual profile of the predications, as argued by Leal (2011). The anteriority relation is only available when the subordinated clause occupies the initial position while the simultaneity and posteriority relations occur when the subordinated clause is in a final position. Although our data reveals the presence of all these temporal interpretations in both languages and varieties, they diverge in their preferential temporal readings when the SC occurs after the MC.

Furthermore, our analysis reveals that, despite these different temporal relations, the "having _ed" forms are always interpreted as being anterior to a time interval, which can be the utterance time or the one that includes the location time of the MC.

With respect to the interaction of tense and aspect, our study confirms its relevance to determine the final interpretation of APC. In sentences (6) and (7) from MP, for example, in which the adverbial clause is in a final position, the situations represented by the SC are both culminations and the different temporal relation between the two situations (posteriority in (6) and simultaneity in (7)) is determined by the aspectual nature of the situation of the MC, a culmination and a process, respectively.

- (6) Os destinatários da droga foram apanhados em flagrante durante a entrega da encomenda, <u>tendo sido detidos dois homens britânicos com 36 e 37 anos.</u>
 - The addressees of the drug were caught red-handed during the delivery of the order, <u>having been detained two British men</u>, aged 36 and 37.
- (7) Durante o debate, a deputada (...) elogiou o informe, tendo afirmado na sua intervenção que o fortalecimento das instituições judiciais constitui uma forma de proporcionar aos moçambicanos uma justiça célere, eficaz e eficiente.
 - During the debate, the deputy (...) praised the report, <u>having stated in her speech that strengthening</u> judicial institutions is a way to provide Mozambicans with speedy, effective and efficient justice.

Although there are some studies about sentences with APC, mainly for EP and BE, there is not, as far as we know, a comprehensive comparative analysis of not only different varieties of Portuguese but also of these to a Germanic language such is English. We argue that this analysis we will enable us to better understand the semantic behavior of these structures as well as to contribute to the characterization of variation in a particular Romance language.

References

Bechara, E. (2002) Moderna Gramática Portuguesa, Rio de Janeiro: Editora Lucerna.

Behrens, B. (1998) Contrastive Discourse. An Interlingual apporach on the interpretation and translation of free _ing participial adjuncts. Doctoral Dissertation.

Cunha, Filipe; Leal, António & Silvano, Purificação (2015) "Relações retóricas e temporais em orações gerundivas adverbiais". In Silvano, P & Leal, A. (orgs.) *Estudos de Semântica*. Porto: FLUP/CLUP, pp. 63-72.

Kamp, H. & Reyle U. (1993) From Discourse to Logic: Introduction to Modeltheoretic Semantics of Natural Language, Formal Logic and Discourse Representation Theory. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Kortmann, Bernard (1995) "Adverbial participial clauses in English". In Hapelmath, M & König, E. (eds.) Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds –. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Leal, António (2011) "Some semantic aspects of gerundive clauses in European Portuguese". In *From now to eternity. Cahiers Chronos, n. 22*. Amsterdam – New York: Editions Rodopi, pp.85-113.

Moens, M. (1987) *Tense, Aspect and Temporal Reference*. Ph.D. thesis. Edinburgh: Centre for Cognitive Science, University of Edinburgh.