On the Semantics of the Temporal Auxiliary Verb
ir ('go') in Portuguese[1]

Telmo Móia
Universidade de Lisboa (Portugal)
Departamento de Linguística Geral e Românica, Faculdade de Letras
tmoia@letras.ulisboa.pt

Abstract: Like many other languages of the world, Portuguese uses motion verbs – in particular, *ir* ("go") and *vir* ("come") – as temporal auxiliary verbs, as a result of grammaticalisation processes. This paper aims at studying the semantic properties (mainly) of the first of these verbs (*ir*) as a temporal auxiliary expressing future – or rather, posteriority – values, focusing on the issue of its competition with regular tense forms. The main issues addressed are: its frequent coexistence with explicit posterior tense suffixes, without perceived redundancy; its use in non-past and past scenarios in competition with the synthetic future and with the synthetic conditional, or imperfective past, respectively; its possible (not entirely standard) use in structures expressing a relation of anterior location (in association with future perspective points). The analysis – using corpora data, in combination with illustrative constructed examples – shows that the grammaticalisation process affecting *ir* is still ongoing and incomplete.

Résumé: Comme de nombreuses autres langues, le portugais utilise des verbes de mouvement – en particulier, ir *(*aller*) et* vir *(venir) – comme auxiliaires temporels suite à des processus de grammaticalisation. Cet article a pour but d'étudier les propriétés sémantiques (principalement) du premier de ces verbes (*ir*) comme auxiliaire temporel exprimant des valeurs de futur – ou plutôt de postériorité – en se focalisant sur sa concurrence avec des temps verbaux traditionnels. Les principaux problèmes traités sont : sa coexistence fréquente avec des suffixes verbaux explicites de postériorité sans redondance perçue ; son utilisation dans des scénarios non passés et passés en compétition avec le futur synthétique et avec le conditionnel synthétique, ou passé imperfectif, respectivement ; son utilisation possible (quoique pas totalement standard) dans des structures exprimant une relation de localisation antérieure (en association avec des points de perspective futurs). L'analyse, qui repose sur des données de corpus combinées à des exemples construits illustratifs, montre que le processus de grammaticalisation qui affecte* ir *est en marche et demeure incomplet.*

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0. Introduction

Just like many other languages of the world (cf. e.g. Bybee *et al.* 1994, Dahl 2000), Portuguese uses motion verbs as temporal auxiliary verbs, as a result of grammaticalization processes. The present paper aims at studying the semantic properties of (mainly) one of these verbs – *ir* ('go') – as an auxiliary expressing posterior values, focusing on the issue of its competition with regular tense forms[2]. A Reichenbachian view of tense will be assumed, along the lines defined in Discourse Representation Theory (cf. Kamp & Reyle 1993), adapted to Portuguese in e.g. Peres (1993) or F. Oliveira (2013). Data from large electronic corpora (mainly containing newspaper texts, as typical representatives of the standard varieties of the languages) will be used in order to determine the predominant contemporary uses in the (neutral and/or formal registers of the) language, and ascertain the current stage of the grammaticalization process. Whenever relevant, differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese (the latter variety extensively studied in several works by J. Oliveira, e.g. J. Oliveira 2006 and J. Oliveira & Olinda 2008), as well as differences between Portuguese and other (mainly Romance) languages, will be underlined.

1. The role of auxiliary verb *ir* ('go') in the Tense System of Portuguese

In Portuguese, the motion verb *ir* – the counterpart of English *go*, or French *aller* – has grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb (or semi-auxiliary verb, as others classify it), which is described, in most grammars and research papers on Portuguese, as a *future marker* (cf. e.g. Lima 2001, for a summary of the historical changes of the verb). As many authors note, with this meaning, *ir* is described as an alternative (though not necessarily with the exact same distribution, a fact that I will not try to explore here)

– to the expression of future values via suffix markers in the main verb (i.e. the simple future, *futuro imperfeito*, exemplified in (1b), which, curiously, also originates from a grammaticalization process, affecting the Portuguese descendant of the verb *habēre*),

– or to the use of the simple present with a posteriority value (induced by e.g. future adjuncts), exemplified in (1c).

As a matter of fact, sentences like (1a)-(1c) are semantically equivalent (though they may exhibit stylistic/register differences), the first instantiating what some call *futuro perifrástico* (periphrastic future), as opposed to the *futuro sintético* (synthetic future), illustrated in the second example.

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[2] For a list of periphrastic uses in Portuguese, see appendix.

1. a. *Vai chover* amanhã. [periphrastic future]
goes rain$_{INF}$ tomorrow

   b. *Choverá* amanhã. [synthetic future / simple future]
will-rain tomorrow

   c. Amanhã *chove.* [simple present]
tomorrow rains

   'It {is going to rain / will rain} tomorrow.'

As a temporal auxiliary, *ir* integrates the tense system of the language. In my opinion, a few grammatical facts concerning the use of this verb as part of the tense system deserve further investigation. They have been discussed in the literature on Portuguese (cf. e.g. F. Oliveira 1985, Lima 2001, J. Oliveira 2006, J. Oliveira & Olinda 2008, Cunha 2015a, b), although sometimes only superficially; in any case, they have not been, as far as I know, fully explored, or comprehensively treated, a goal to which this paper tries to contribute. Three issues deserve special consideration.

Issue 1. A sign that the auxiliary verb *ir* is not fully incorporated in the standard grammar of Portuguese as totally equivalent to the future suffixes is its widespread use (at least, in written registers, such as those in newspapers) with a simple future inflection, without any sense of redundancy. In fact, in sentences like (2), the future form *irá* ('will go') is taken to be in free variation with the present form *vai* ('goes') by Portuguese speakers:

2. A sonda que foi agora enviada {*irá* / *vai*} aterrar em Marte.
the probe that was now sent {will-go / goes} land on Mars

   'The probe that was sent right now {is going to land / will land} on Mars.'

Issue 2. Rather than a mere future marker, auxiliary *ir* is best described as a *prospectivity marker*, given that it is widely used in past scenarios (hypothetical or real), as happens with its counterparts in many other languages. Compare the periphrastic constructions with *ir* in (3a) with the equivalent sequence with a synthetic form in (3b) (and note, moreover, that (3a)/(3b) parallel (1a)/(1b) above in all the relevant grammatical aspects):

3. a. Segundo os meteorologistas, {*iria* / *ia*} chover no dia seguinte.
according-to the meteorologists {would-go / went$_{IMPERF.PAST}$} rain$_{INF}$
in-the day following

b. Segundo os meteorologistas, *choveria* no dia seguinte.
according-to the meteorologists would-rain in-the day following

'According to the meteorologists, it {was going to rain / would rain} the next day.'

Issue 3. A sign that the grammaticalization of *ir* is an ongoing (not fully stabilised) process, with changes still underway, is that it sometimes occurs, in non-standard – slightly marginal (at least in European Portuguese) – constructions, like (4a), with values that are not at the core of its semantics, such as "*anterior* to a future perspective point" (i.e. as equivalent to the future perfect):

4. a. ?À meia-noite, o Pedro já *vai ter* escrito as cartas.
at-the midnight the Pedro already goes have written the letters

b. À meia-noite, o Pedro já *terá escrito* as cartas.
at-the midnight the Pedro already will-have written the letters

'At midnight (tonight), Pedro will have already written the letters.'

I will consider these three issues separately, in sections 3, 4 and 5. Before that, in section 2, I will discuss the construction where the auxiliary *ir* is inflected in the simple present, which is more commonly addressed in the literature. After a brief historical excursus, with reference to current restrictions in the use of *ir* (section 2.1), a general analysis on the semantics of this temporal auxiliary, under a Reichenbachian perspective, is provided (section 2.2), which will be relevant for the subsequent sections. As is well known, the central tenet of the Reichenbachian perspective is that, in their temporal dimension, tense forms express relations – anteriority, posteriority or overlap – between the time occupied by the described eventualities and the "reference time" (termed "temporal perspective point" in Kamp & Reyle 1993), an anaphorically or deictically determined vantage point (past, present or future) with respect to which states of affairs are considered.

2. The construction *ir*SIMPLE PRESENT + INFINITIVE

2.1. Brief notes on historic development and current restrictions in use

Many authors note that the Portuguese motion verb *ir* – similarly to what happened in many other languages with comparable verbs – has grammaticalized into a future marker, in competition with the simple future. Cf. e.g.

It is well known that the construction *ir* ('go') + infinitive is grammaticalized as periphrastic future in competition with the simple future in Portuguese (Santos 1997, Gibbon 2000, Silva 2002, Malvar 2003, J. Oliveira 2006), just as happened with similar constructions in other languages (English, French, Spanish and Italian).

(J. Oliveira & Olinda 2008: 95, my translation)

Lima (2001) studies the grammaticalization steps the construction has undergone in Portuguese, noting two crucial milestones:

– between the 13th and the 16th century: clear predominance of the construction *ir* + infinitive + purpose clause, common in texts from as early as the 13th century, where the *motion value* is still quite evident, but combines with a *purpose value*, which necessarily implies *futurity*; distinct (symptomatic) constructions occurring in the same period, but clearly less frequent at the time, include those where (a) non-human subjects (e.g. a river) are involved, whence the purpose value obviously only makes sense if taken in a metaphoric way (e.g. [*o Ebro*] *vai entrar e~no mar Terreno* / gloss: [the Ebro] goes enter in-the sea Tyrrhenian), (b) no motion whatsoever is involved, a fact clearly deduced from the discourse context (e.g. *a mi* [*vós*] *ides dizer* / gloss: to me [you] go tell), and (c) both no purpose and no motion are involved, a particularly rare construction (e.g. *o mal que vos foi ferir* / gloss: the evil that$_{SUBJ.}$ you$_{DIR.OBJ}$ went hurt);

– from the 16th century onwards: (a) there is an increase (not quantified by the author) in the frequency of constructions with non-human subjects (i.e. no purpose value) and with no motion implied; (b) new possibilities of using *ir* emerge, with the verb applied to passive forms (e.g. *a cidade vai ser conquistada* / gloss: the town goes be conquered) and to clearly stative or eventive predicates, besides the mostly activity predicates of previous epochs (e.g. *vai ser o meu capelão* / gloss: goes be the my chaplain; *vai morrer* / gloss: goes die).

J. Oliveira (2006) notes, furthermore, that, before the use of *ir* + infinitive became widespread as a future periphrasis (which is the current situation), there was a time when another periphrasis – *haver de* + infinitive – was much more common. The latter periphrasis lost ground to the former, especially in the 20th century, according to the data explored in the study[3]. The same author stresses the incomplete

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[3] The data covers both oral and written data, from EP and BP. The author notes: "the periphrastic form *ir* + infinitive is posterior to the simple future and to the periphrasis *haver de* + infinitive, and can therefore be regarded as an innovation" (J. Oliveira 2006: 85, my translation).

character of the grammaticalization process, by noting that the combination of auxiliary *ir* with the main motion verb *ir* (e.g. *eu vou ir à praia* / gloss: I go$_{PRES}$ go$_{INF}$ to-the beach) is considered marginal in the standard uses of the language, though it often appears in dialects from southern Brazil, in child speech, and in utterances from illiterate speakers (cf. J. Oliveira 2006: 90).

The incomplete character of the grammaticalization of the auxiliary *ir* – in contemporary standard Portuguese – was documented in the corpora used for this study in three situations (whose deeper analysis will be left for further research):

– no combination with the main motion verb *ir* – in accordance with what was said above – and extremely infrequent (and possibly slightly marginal) combination with main motion verb *vir*[4]; no restrictions, however, are observed with respect to other roughly equivalent motion verbs, like *deslocar-se (a)* ('go to'), *dirigir-se (a)* ('go to'), *viajar (até)* ('travel to'), *regressar (a)* ('return to'), *voltar (a)* ('return to'), etc.;

– no combination with the modal epistemic verbs *dever* ('must') and *poder* ('may') nor with the modal deontic (homonym) verb *dever* ('ought to'); however, no restrictions are observed with respect to other comparable (non epistemic) modal verbs, like deontic *ter de* (roughly a synonym of deontic *dever*) or deontic/capacity *poder* ('may', 'can');

– strong (though imperfect) correlation – in the type of register considered – between the frequency of the synthetic (as opposed to the periphrastic) form and the stative (as opposed to eventive) character of the described eventualities (cf. Lima's 2001 observations regarding the possibility of using auxiliary *ir* in stative propositions from the 16th century onwards).

A few searches in the corpus CETEMPúblico (containing ca. 190 million words of journalistic Portuguese) with 6 predominantly stative and 7 predominantly non-stative predicates, randomly selected, give revealing results (though obviously further broader investigation – taking into account the compositional nature of Aktionsart – is needed in order to make stronger claims); one predominantly stative and two

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4   In this respect, Portuguese seems to behave (slightly) differently from other languages that have grammaticalized motion verbs, like French and English, which allow their co-occurrence with the non-grammaticalized homonyms – cf. inter alia Hagège's (1993: 202), who mentions this possibility apropos her "proof by anachrony principle", Grevisse (1993: 1193), or Bres & Labeau (2013: 18).

predominantly non-stative predicates go against the general trend, showing that no categorical rules seem to apply (as is emblematic of changes underway).

(Approximate) frequency of synthetic and periphrastic future with (a selection of) stative and non-stative predicates

stative predicates (3sg/pl)	synthetic future	periphrastic future		eventive predicates (3sg/pl)	synthetic future	periphrastic future	
		ir_{PRES}	ir_{FUT}			ir_{PRES}	ir_{FUT}
estar ('be')	25,017 (84%)	4,596	252	*propor* ('propose')	159 (17%)	691	95
permanecer ('remain')	1,064 (79%)	236	51	*contratar* ('hire')	14 (23%)	41	5
acreditar ('believe')	86 (73 %)	31	1	*adquirir* ('acquire')	68 (28%)	144	28
manter ('maintain')	1,723 (66%)	729	166	*vender* ('sell')	162 (36%)	258	34
continuar ('continue')	6,085 (61%)	3,655	240	*morrer* ('die')	232 (44%)	267	24

stative predicates (3sg/pl)	synthetic future	periphrastic future		eventive predicates (3sg/pl)	synthetic future	periphrastic future	
morar ('live', 'reside')	3 (14%)	15	4	*discursar* ('make a speech')	79 (69%)	23	12
				trazer ('bring')	1,204 (71%)	419	64

Searches involved only the 3rd person (singular and plural) forms: e.g. (i) "[E,e]stará|[E,e]starão"; (ii) "[V,v]ai|[V,v]ão" "estar"; (iii) "[I,i]rá| [I,i]rão" "estar". The numbers in this table are merely an approximation, because no scrutiny of the results obtained, in order to eliminate possible irrelevant results (e.g. cases with non-auxiliary *ir* or with simple future not expressing temporal values), was made. In any case, the irrelevant results do not seem to correspond to a very high percentage; for instance, the first 50 cases of *estarão* include 42 relevant structures (+ 8 where *estarão* has a mere modal, non-future, value), and the first 50 cases of *vão estar* and first 50 cases of *vai/vão trazer* are all relevant.

2.2. A Reichenbachian analysis of the (synthetic and periphrastic) future

One of the most interesting grammatical aspects concerning the periphrastic future (i.e. the construction *ir* + INFINITIVE) – one that I believe has not been sufficiently stressed – is the fact that it mimics the simple future in its wide variety of temporal uses.

If we adopt a Reichenbachian view of tense, the simple future in Portuguese has arguably two distinct basic values (one of them – section 2.2.2 below – subdivided in two), as advocated by e.g. Peres (1993). All of them are symptomatically available to the periphrastic future. Let us consider them separately.

2.2.1. Present perspective point: posteriority locating relation

The first use is deictic, in the sense that the utterance time is taken as the temporal perspective point, with respect to which the future eventualities are considered. See the following examples:

5. a. A sonda que foi agora enviada *aterrará* em Marte.
      the probe that was now sent will-land on Mars

      'The probe that was sent right now will land on Mars.'

   b. Estou certo de que o Pedro *fará* o que lhe pediste.
      [I] am sure of that the Pedro will-do the what him [you] asked

      'I am sure that Pedro will do what you asked him to do.'

   c. O primeiro-ministro [...] prometeu que não *forçará* os deficientes a trabalhar.
      (CETEMPúblico, ext695435-soc-97b-3)
      the Prime-Minister promised that [he] not will-force the handicapped to work

      'The Prime Minister promised he will not force handicapped people to work.'

All the sequences in (5) can occur with periphrastic verb forms instead of synthetic ones (*aterrará*, *fará*, *forçará*) in totally natural constructions: *vai aterrar* (goes land), *vai fazer* (goes do), *vai forçar* (goes force).

2.2.2. Future perspective point: either posteriority or overlapping locating relation (typically involving non-stative and stative eventualities, respectively)

The second use is anaphoric, in the sense that a future perspective point is introduced in the discourse context, normally prior to the future form, e.g. by means of a preceding clause or an initial time adjunct. The eventuality identified by the future

form is located with respect to that previously introduced perspective point (and not directly with respect to the utterance time). In some cases, it is *posterior* to that future perspective point:

6.　a.　A Ana chega amanhã ao meio-dia. O Pedro *levá-la-á* a passear.
　　　　the Ana arrives tomorrow at-the noon the Pedro will-take-her to walk

　　　　'Ana {arrives / will arrive} tomorrow at noon. Pedro will take her for a walk.'

　　b.　A sonda que vai ser enviada no próximo mês *aterrará* em Marte.
　　　　the probe that goes be sent in-the next month will-land on Mars

　　　　'The probe that is going to be sent next month will land on Mars.'

In some other cases, it may be – and frequently is, whenever stative predications are involved – *overlapping* with that future perspective point. Note that this possibility means that describing the future (be it synthetic or periphrastic) as involving a posteriority location relation is not totally rigorous (though, of course, overlapping with a future perspective point implies posteriority to the utterance time, i.e. posteriority lato sensu).

7.　a.　A Ana chega amanhã ao meio-dia. O Pedro *estará* no aeroporto à espera dela.
　　　　the Ana arrives tomorrow at-the noon the Pedro will-be at-the airport at-the waiting of-her

　　　　'Ana {arrives / will arrive} tomorrow at noon. Pedro will be at the airport waiting for her.'

　　b.　No dia 15, a Lua alcançará a fase de Quarto Crescente e, **quatro dias mais tarde,** *encontrar-se-á* **em plena constelação do Touro**, um pouco à esquerda da estrela Aldebarã.
　　　　(CETEMPúblico, ext146821-clt-97a-2)

　　　　gloss[5]: four days later, [the moon] will-find-*SE*INTRINSIC CLITIC (= will be located) in full (= right in the middle of) constellation of-the Taurus

All the sequences in (6)-(7) can also occur with periphrastic verb forms in totally natural constructions: *vai levá-la* (goes take-her), *vai aterrar* (goes land), *vai estar*

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[5]　Of sequence in bold, here and in all the subsequent examples.

(goes be), *vai encontrar-se* (goes find-*SE*_{INTRINSIC CLITIC}). Structures conveying an overlap with a previously introduced future perspective point are very common in newspapers (just like posteriority to a present perspective point); here is just one example:

8. A partir de Maio, [...] talvez o seu uso venha a ser intensificado. [...] **quem vier de Cascais para a Expo *vai poder* sair** no Cais do Sodré e seguir daqui de metro até à gare do Oriente.
(CETEMPúblico, ext1538421-soc-98a-2)

Gloss: [from May on] whoever comes from Cascais to the Expo goes be-able-to leave

As a final note, observe that the synthetic and the periphrastic future coexist in extremely close environments – such as main/subordinate clauses (as in (9a)-(9b)), or juxtaposed sentences (as in (9c)) –, which is a clear indication that speakers tend to consider them mere free variants (in many contexts, at least):

9. a. Pensamos que, dentro de uns milhões de anos, *vai haver* **planetas que *nascerão*** nestas regiões [...].
(CETEMPúblico, ext1196385-clt-soc-92b-1)

Gloss: goes exist planets that will-be-born

b. O PCP *vai apresentar* na Assembleia da República **um projecto de lei que *contemplará*** medidas de prevenção do consumo de drogas […].
(CETEMPúblico, ext769952-soc-92a-3)

Gloss: goes present a project of law that will-contemplate

c. **Cada programa *durará* 15 minutos. Os melhores momentos da semana *vão ser* transmitidos** num compacto ao domingo à noite.
(CETEMPúblico, ext593150-des-96b-4)

Gloss: each program will-last 15 minutes the best moments of-the week go be aired

3. The construction *ir*_{SIMPLE FUTURE} + INFINITIVE

It is quite intriguing to note that, for the various values of the future (posteriority to the present, and overlap with or posteriority to a future – anaphorically introduced – perspective point), the auxiliary verb *ir* may be inflected in the simple future itself.

This possibility has often been noted in the literature (cf. e.g. J. Oliveira 2006[6]), but its implications have not been sufficiently discussed.

The widespread possibility of using *ir* inflected in the (simple) future means that a redundant prospectivity marker (the future tense morpheme of the auxiliary verb) can be introduced in the relevant sequences. Furthermore, native speakers do not seem to perceive any redundancy. This fact may be an indication that the role of the two grammatical elements – future suffixes and auxiliary verb *ir* – is not felt, contrary to what is commonly (at least implicitly) assumed in the literature, as totally equivalent. This in turn suggests that the grammaticalization process has not produced total synonymy (or a sense of total synonymy), as yet.

Let us consider some figures concerning the use of this (let us say, for the sake of simplicity) *redundant periphrastic future* in written European and Brazilian Portuguese, in newspaper registers. In the Portuguese corpus CETEMPúblico, searches with adjacent *ir*$_{\text{SIMPLE FUTURE}}$ V$_{\text{INFINITIVE}}$[7] yielded 25,385 results, a clear indication that this redundant periphrasis is by no means a marginal or infrequent strategy. For comparison purposes, a parallel search with *ir* inflected in the present tense yielded 193,916 results (proportion: 11.5% vs. 88.5%)[8]. In the Brazilian corpus NILC-São Carlos, the proportion of *ir* inflected in the future is smaller (ca. 4% vs. 96%), but this six-times smaller corpus contains more than 1500 relevant tokens.

Here are some examples from CETEMPúblico, with present perspective – in (10) – and with future (anaphorically established) perspective – in (11):

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[6] In the 2,158 constructions with future value in written texts (spanning from the 13$^{\text{th}}$ to the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century) that this author studies in her Ph.D. dissertation, there are six different ways of marking posteriority (including periphrastic forms with the auxiliary verb *ir* inflected in the present and in the future) – cf. pp. 91-92. She mentions that the uses of *ir* as a temporal auxiliary inflected in the simple future are relatively rare, 8 (out of a total of 53 with *ir*), spanning different centuries: 14$^{\text{th}}$ (1), 15$^{\text{th}}$ (1), 17$^{\text{th}}$ (1), 18$^{\text{th}}$ (1), 19$^{\text{th}}$ (1), 20$^{\text{th}}$ (3). Example (from the 17$^{\text{th}}$ century) given in p. 91: ... *mas passada a festa* irei *logo* fazer *todas as diligências*. (gloss: but passed the party [I] will-go immediately do$_{\text{INF}}$ all the diligences).

[7] Search: [lema="ir" & temcagr="FUT_IND"] [pos="V" & temcagr="INF"].

[8] A quick overview of the results indicates that they are mostly of the relevant type; no attempt to count any possible irrelevant structures was made, though.

10. a. **Os tripulantes do Endeavour *irão levar* a cabo 419 manobras** – um recorde […].
(CETEMPúblico, ext1561416-clt-soc-94a-1)

Gloss: the crew of-the Endeavour will-go take to end (= perform) 419 manoeuvres

b. **O jovem, que se encontra detido e que *irá ser* julgado** no Tribunal de Guimarães, terá ateado as chamas para destruir diversas propriedades dos seus pais.
(CETEMPúblico, ext617460-soc-93b-1)

Gloss: the young-man, who *SE*_{INTRINSIC CLITIC} finds arrested (= is under arrest) and who will-go be judged (= stand trial)

11. a. [...] **o assunto será debatido nos próximos dias, durante uma reunião em Lisboa, onde *irão estar* presentes os representantes das principais associações de suinicultores** de todo o país.
(CETEMPúblico, ext146401-soc-95b-2)

Gloss: the issue will-be discussed in-the next days, during a meeting in Lisbon, where will-go be present the representatives of-the main associations of swine-producers

b. Para já, as lontras são as únicas habitantes que podem ser vistas **nos tanques do Oceanário, onde este mês deverão chegar [...] 70 pinguins, que *irão ocupar* o habitat do Antártico**, por enquanto ainda deserto de vida real.
(CETEMPúblico, ext36082-clt-97b-2)

Gloss: in-the tanks of the Oceanarium, where this month must_{FUTURE} arrive 70 penguins, that will-go occupy the habitat of-the Antarctic

With respect to this issue, a few comments are needed. First, redundant and non-redundant periphrastic future forms seem to be in free variation; not only do they combine regularly with the same predicates (compare e.g. (10) with (12) below), but they also, intriguingly and symptomatically, coexist in very close positions (even in coordination) within the same text (cf. (13)), as the following excerpts show:

12. a. [Mahmoud Abbas] Não precisou se *vão levar* a cabo a repressão generalizada exigida pelo primeiro-ministro israelita, Benjamin Netanyahu.
(CETEMPúblico, ext7888-pol-97b-2)

Gloss: go take to end (= perform)

b. Xanana Gusmão ***vai ser* julgado** por "atentar contra o Estado indonésio" [...].
(CETEMPúblico, ext93925-pol-93a-1)

Gloss: goes be judged (= stand trial)

13. a. O processo ***vai desenrolar-se*** por concurso e ***irá contemplar***, primeiro, a TV Cabo Lisboa.
(CETEMPúblico, ext1040-eco-95b-2)

Gloss: goes proceed / will-go contemplate

b. O Governo Civil de Faro não ***irá comercializar*** esta primeira reedição [...], mas ***vão fazê-lo*** duas instituições de solidariedade social farenses [...].
(CETEMPúblico, ext172509-soc-93a-1)

Gloss: will-go commercialize / go do-it

Secondly, the redundant periphrastic future also coexists with the simple future in close positions (even in coordination) within the same text, which indicates that the various forms of expressing future values tend to be used in contemporary written (at least European) Portuguese as genuine variants, not associated with marked stylistic distinctions:

14. a. […] a missa ***será celebrada*** pelo bispo auxiliar de Lisboa, […] e ***irá contar*** com a presença dos trabalhadores da TVI e seus familiares […].
(CETEMPúblico, ext809669-clt-92b-1)

Gloss: will-be celebrated / will-go count

b. ***Irá pedir*** toda a documentação relativa à preparação da presidência comunitária, mas ***saberá*** proteger-se.
(CETEMPúblico, ext555567-pol-91b-1)

Gloss: will-go ask / will-know

Finally, the relatively high frequency of the simple future in the auxiliary verb seems to separate Portuguese from other languages where motion verbs comparable to *ir* have undergone grammaticalization processes, namely Spanish, French and English. Cartagena (1999: 2966, my translation), for instance, notes about Spanish: "the construction with *ir* presents strong selective restrictions in its temporal value, since it occurs regularly in the present and the imperfective past (*voy a hacer* [gloss: go to do], *iba a hacer* [gloss: went$_{IMPERF}$ to do]), but not in other tense forms (*fue a hacer* [gloss: went$_{PERF}$ to do]), *iré a hacer* [gloss: will-go to do]), *iría a hacer* [gloss:

would-go to do]), [...]”. Grevisse (1993: 1192-1193) describes the use of *aller* as a future auxiliary in only three forms: *indicatif présent* (e.g. *va mourir*), *indicatif imparfait* (e.g. *allait tomber*), and – in literary uses only – *subjonctif présent* (e.g. *que j'aille mourir*). Bres (2015), who extensively discusses the defectivity of the auxiliary verb *aller*, observes that “[la] condition de la production du sens d'ultériorité proche [...] pourrait advenir avec le futur et le conditionnel, mais le français se refuse à user d'un double marquage [*il va/allait/*ira/*irait pleuvoir*]”.

4. Temporal auxiliary *ir* in past scenarios

The fact that grammaticalized motion verbs comparable to Portuguese *ir* are able of expressing posteriority both in present and past scenarios – in association with the inflection in the present or the (imperfective) past of the auxiliary itself – has been noted for many languages. For instance, Grevisse (1993: 1192) notes that *aller* as an ‘auxiliaire de futur’ can be inflected both in the ‘indicatif présent’ and the ‘indicatif imparfait’, and, in the latter case, “indique un futur par rapport à des faits passés”; Cartagena (1999: 2966) notes Spanish temporal auxiliary *ir* occurs regularly “en presente y ante-co-pretérito (*voy a hacer*, *iba a hacer*)”. As for Portuguese, though all these possibilities are taken into account by some dictionaries, many studies concentrate on present scenarios, often ignoring the past ones – cf. e.g. the concluding remarks of Lima's (2001) paper: “at the end of the grammaticalization process, the verb *ir*, as a future auxiliary, serves semantically to locate the described states-of-affairs with respect to a temporal axis whose reference point [...] is the utterance time [...]; the verb *ir* as a future auxiliary [...] has deictic value” (Lima 2014: 83, my translation). Other authors mention – though they do not explore in detail – the possibility of past scenarios – cf. e.g. the following observation of J. Oliveira (2006), quoting remarks from Neves (2000): “Neves (2000) rightfully introduces the verb *ir* as a temporal auxiliary, indicating futurity, in constructions with the infinitive [...]. She draws attention to the fact that, when inflected in the past, it indicates futurity within the past [...].” (J. Oliveira 2006: 24)[9]. Cunha (2015a, b) include, to my knowledge, the first in-depth analysis of the use of Portuguese *ir* in past scenarios and I will summarize some of the ideas in these papers below.

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[9] Original text, with examples, not included in the translation: “Neves (2000), com propriedade, apresenta o verbo *ir* como auxiliar de tempo, indicando futuridade em construções com o infinitivo, como em ‘Quando eu crescer *vou comprar* um carro bonito...’. Chama atenção ainda para o fato de que, quando conjugado no passado, indica futuridade dentro do passado, como em ‘O grande golpe *ia ser vibrado* e com o máximo de...’ (p. 65).” (J. Oliveira 2006: 24)

The parallelism between future (in-the-present) and future-in-the-past scenarios can be easily observed in sentences, like (1a) and (3a) above, repeated below; note that European Portuguese uses rather indistinctly the *condicional presente* (simple conditional) [3rd person: *iria*, *iriam*] – or *futuro do pretérito*, in the traditional Brazilian terminology –, and the *pretérito imperfeito* (imperfective simple past) [3rd person: *ia*, *iam*]; I will henceforth ignore this variation.

15. a. *Vai chover* amanhã.
         goes rain$_{INF}$ tomorrow

         'It {is going to rain / will rain} tomorrow.'

     b. Segundo os meteorologistas, {*iria* / *ia*} *chover* no dia seguinte.
         according-to the meteorologists {would-go / went$_{IMPERF.PAST}$} rain$_{INF}$
         in-the day following

         'According to the meteorologists, it {was going to rain / would rain} the next day.'

Note, furthermore, that a future-in-the-past perspective point, anaphorically introduced, can be present, in which case a posteriority or an overlapping locating relation may hold, in total parallelism with what happens for present scenarios. The overlap with a future-in-the-past case – typical of narrative contexts – is illustrated in the following sentence:

16.   A Ana chegou ontem ao meio-dia. Duas horas mais tarde, {*iria* / *ia*}
        estar numa reunião importante.
        the Ana arrived yesterday at-the noon two hours more late (= later)
        [she] {would-go / went$_{IMPERF.PAST}$} be$_{INF}$ at-a meeting important

        'Ana arrived yesterday at noon. Two hours later, she {was going to be / would be} at an important meeting.'

Note, finally, that the conditional tense itself is claimed to introduce a posteriority value in the structures where it occurs (whether periphrastic or not)[10]. Brazilian traditional terminology symptomatically names this tense *futuro do*

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[10] Arguably, the simple imperfective past introduces the same posteriority value (which is not the value it ordinarily conveys) in the same contexts.

pretérito ['future of the past']. Now, the fact that the auxiliary verb *ir* can be inflected in the conditional once again exemplifies a redundant / double marking of posteriority – by the verb *ir* itself and by the tense morphemes applied to it (as happens in structures *ir*SIMPLE FUTURE + INFINITIVE, for present scenarios).

Some of the most interesting grammatical facts about the use of *ir* inflected in the past/conditional that have been studied for Portuguese (in Cunha 2015a, b) include:

– the issue of the modal value of the described eventualities;

– the issue of the ambiguity of *ir* (immediately followed by an infinitival verb form), as a temporal auxiliary expressing posteriority or as a predicate that still retains (at least partially) traits of motion and agentivity.

Let us consider briefly these two issues.

As for the modal value of the described eventualities, what is worth noticing is that, with *ir* in the past/conditional, the eventuality may be presented:

a. as a mere possibility with respect to the past perspective, with no information provided as to whether it really came into being or not;

b. as a fact that indeed occurred after the past perspective point;

c. counterfactually, as something that did not take place in the actual world (and whose consideration requires possible alternative worlds)

Extensions *a*, *b* and *c* below prompt each of these interpretations, respectively:

17. {*Iria* / *ia*} *chover* muito no dia seguinte.
     {would-go / wentIMPERF.PAST} rainINF much in-the day following

     'It {was going to / would} rain a lot the next day.'

     a. Essas eram as previsões.
         those were the predictions

         'Those were the predictions.'

     b. Foi um alívio com que ninguém contava.
         [it] was a relief with which nobody counted

         'It was an unexpected relief.'

     c. Infelizmente, a seca manteve-se ainda por mais dois meses.
         unfortunately, the drought kept SEINTRINSIC CLITIC still for more two months

         'Unfortunately, the drought persisted for another two months.'

Furthermore, it can be used vaguely or ambiguously, i.e. in contexts where no clues are provided that unequivocally prompt any of the three readings. Cunha (2015b) extensively discusses the various possible (modal) interpretations at stake, and concludes that – despite the apparent differences – *ir* behaves as a temporal auxiliary in any of these situations.

It is also noteworthy and very intriguing to observe that in past scenarios, the verb *ir* ('go') competes with *vir* [*a*] ('come [to]'), and they may even be used roughly synonymously (a fact not discussed in the literature, to my knowledge):

18.   a.   O recluso fugiu. {*Viria* / *Veio*} a ser apanhado pouco tempo depois.
           the prisoner escaped [he] {would-come / came_PERF} to be caught
           little time after

      b.   O recluso fugiu. {*Iria* / *Ia*} ser apanhado pouco tempo depois.
           the prisoner escaped [he] {would-go / went_IMPERF} to be caught little
           time after

           'The prisoner escaped. He would be caught shortly after.'

This synonymy applies only in factual (not in hypothetical or in counterfactual) contexts, because the use of *vir*, contrary to *ir*, strongly implies that the described eventualities did actually take place (i.e. *vir* has a smaller range of values than *ir*, in past scenarios). This could perhaps be associated with the hypothesis that *vir*, contrary to *ir*, has a strong deictic nature, in line with what Bres & Labeau (2013) assume for French *venir* (e.g. "ce mouvement abstrait [dans le processus de grammaticalisation] conserve la déicticité de *venir*, la non-déicticité d'*aller*", p. 18). In fact, when Portuguese *vir* is used in the past – as in 18a) –, an assessment of the narrated facts seems to be made from the utterance time: only if the described eventualities actually came to be will the speakers use *vir*. I will leave a further analysis of these grammatical facts – and the differences between *ir* and *vir* they reveal – for further research.

As for the issue of the ambiguity of *ir* (+ INFINITIVE), as a temporal auxiliary expressing posteriority (with no associated motion value, and able to co-occur with almost any verbal predicate), or as a predicate that still retains (at least partially) traits of motion and agentivity, it involves a complex set of grammatical facts, and crucially sets apart the uses of *ir* in the imperfective and in the perfective past. First, it must be noted that – as (Cunha 2015b) points out – the two interpretations of *ir* exist when the verb is inflected either in the present or the imperfective past; though the auxiliary interpretation is default in these cases, the non-auxiliary interpretation can emerge in quantificational/habitual contexts, like those with e.g. *habitualmente* ('habitually') or

todos os dias ('every day'). Cunha (2015b) studies in detail this ambiguity, and presents three distinctive linguistic arguments, to separate the temporal auxiliary *ir* from the motion verb *ir* (in pre-infinitive contexts):

– the motion verb *ir* (in pre-infinitive contexts), unlike the temporal auxiliary *ir*, is normally incompatible with descriptions of states (*Aktionsart* restriction)

19. O Pedro {*vai* / *ia*} ser jogador de futebol. [only temporal auxiliary]
the Pedro {goes / went$_{IMPERF}$} be player of football

'Pedro {is / was} going to be a football player.'

– the motion verb *ir* (in pre-infinitive contexts), unlike the temporal auxiliary *ir*, is incompatible with non-agentive interpretations (semantic role restriction)

20. A bomba {*vai* / *ia*} explodir. [only temporal auxiliary]
The bomb {goes / went} explode

'The bomb {is / was} going to explode.'

– the motion verb *ir* (in pre-infinitive contexts), unlike the temporal auxiliary *ir* (or the non-periphrastic verb forms, for that matter – cf. (22)), is compatible with a prepositional Goal phrase introduced by the prepositions *a* or *para* ('to')

21. O Pedro {*vai* / *ia*} visitar a Ana ao hospital todos os dias.
[only motion verb]
the Pedro {goes / went$_{IMPERF}$} visit the Ana to-the hospital all the days

'Pedro visits/visited Ana in the hospital every day.'

22. *O Pedro {*visitará* / *visitaria*} a Ana ao hospital.
the Pedro {will-visit/would-visit} the Ana to-the hospital

These three characteristics of the motion verb *ir* typically apply (cf. however, notes at the end of this section) when the verb is inflected in the *pretérito perfeito* (simple past) or in the *pretérito mais-que-perfeito* (past perfect) and, hence, arguably, *ir* inflected in these tenses is not normally an instance of a temporal auxiliary.

23. *O Pedro {*foi* / *tinha ido*} ser jogador de futebol.
the Pedro {went$_{PERF}$ / had gone} be player of football

24. *A bomba {*foi / tinha ido*} explodir.

the bomb {goes / went} explode

25. O Pedro {*foi / tinha ido*} visitar a Ana ao hospital todos os dias.

the Pedro {went_PERF / had gone} visit the Ana to-the hospital all the days

'Pedro {visited / had visited} Ana in the hospital every day.'

Cunha's contention that the auxiliary verb *ir* expressing posteriority does not occur in perfective forms (*pretérito perfeito*, *pretérito mais-que-perfeito*) seems quite uncontroversial. However, this does not mean, in my opinion, that *ir* inflected in those tenses is necessarily a main verb, and not some form of an auxiliary or auxiliary-like verb (related though it may be with the original motion verb *ir*, which takes simple locative PP-phrases as arguments). This issue also seems to require further investigation. I will just give some brief comments here. As a matter of fact, some Portuguese dictionaries distinguish different values for the auxiliary verb *ir*, the futurate being only one of them. For instance, Borba (1990) lists *ir*, when inflected in the *pretérito perfeito* and *pretérito mais-que-perfeito*, as an auxiliary verb indicating past values[11], and gives examples where the motion trait can only be considered (if at all) at a metaphorical level:

26. Não sei onde *fui achar* tanta coragem.

[I] not know where [I] went_PERF find so-much courage

'I don't know where I found the courage.'

Furthermore, *ir* can combine with states and non-agents in non-locative interpretations in specific senses, not covered by Cunha (2015a, b)[12], like the ones in the sentences below (to be contrasted with e.g. (23)-(24) above), where it can be paraphrased by 'it (somehow unexpectedly or undesirably) happened that':

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[11] "[O verbo auxiliar *ir*] Nas formas de perfeito e mais-que-perfeito + infinitivo, indica pretérito: *Palavra que não sei onde fui achar tanta coragem (AM, 21); Fui sair de novo na praça da paineira (JC, 33); E fora encolher-se à sombra da bananeira (CR, 44); [eu] tinha ido apanhar umas goiabas (CJ, 72).*"

[12] Cf. also this excerpt of a well-known 19th century Portuguese poem (*Nau Catrineta*, Almeida Garrett): "Deitaram sortes à ventura / Qual se havia de matar; / Logo **foi cair** a sorte / No capitão general."

27. O Pedro *foi* logo *ser* jogador de futebol. Poderia ter sido tantas outras coisas...

the Pedro went_PERF right-away be player of football [he] could have been so-many other things

'Pedro became a football player, of all things. He could have been so many other things in life...'

28. Foi muito azar. A bomba *foi* (logo) *explodir* numa zona de edifícios históricos.

was much bad-luck the bomb went_PERF (right-away) explode in-a zone of buildings historical

'It was such bad luck. The bomb exploded in an area (packed) with historical buildings.'

Possibly, this sense is (or is closely related to) what some authors name "extraordinary" (cf. e.g. Bres & Labeau (2012: 149): "Nous empruntons à Damourette & Pichon (1911-1936 [1970]: 107) le terme d'*extraordinaire* pour nommer le tour dans lequel *aller* + inf. introduit 'la notion d'une spontanéité, d'un élan personnel, d'une source propre d'action qui soit susceptible de venir perturber tout un développement d'événements'"), and will not be explored here.

5. The construction *ir* + *ter*_INFINITIVE + PAST PARTICIPLE

In this section, I will consider the (non-standard) use of the auxiliary verb *ir* in compound tense forms conveying anteriority to a future perspective point. In standard Portuguese, this form of anteriority is typically expressed via *futuro perfeito* (Future Perfect), a form composed of the auxiliary verb (*ter*) in the simple future + the past participle of the main verb:

29. À meia-noite, o Pedro já *terá escrito* as cartas.
at-the midnight the Pedro already will-have written the letters
'At midnight (tonight), Pedro will have already written the letters.'

This tense does not have a periphrastic alternative (with *ir*) in the standard variety of (Contemporary) European Portuguese (contrary to what happens, for instance in French: *Pierra va avoir écrit*[13]). That is, the anteriority location relation seems to normally block the use of *ir*.

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[13] The possibility of a periphrastic future associated with anteriority locating values is briefly mentioned for French by Grevisse (1993: 1193): "L'infinitif [used with *aller* as an auxiliary verb] est parfois au passé: *Il se demandait même* [...] *ce que Marie* ALLAIT *avoir preparé* (ARAGON, Mentir-vrai, p. 193)".

30. ?À meia-noite, o Pedro já *vai ter escrito* as cartas.

    at-the midnight the Pedro already goes have written the letters

    'At midnight (tonight), Pedro will have already written the letters.'

However, rather intriguingly, a few examples of this non-standard construction may be found, even in mass-circulation Portuguese and Brazilian newspapers. A search in Portuguese corpus CETEMPúblico yielded only 2 (possibly, though not unequivocally) relevant results[14]. These may be slightly marginal in the relevant interpretation, albeit not totally ungrammatical, in my opinion:

31. a. **O Algarve**, até final do próximo ano, **vai ter resolvido o problema** de abastecimento público de água.
    (CETEMPúblico, ext599534-soc-98b-4)

    Gloss: the Algarve [...] goes have solved the problem

    b. **Os Hajakalma**, que ganharam o concurso de rock de Cascais em 1993, **vão ter editado, em princípio de Março, o seu registo de estreia** [...].
    (CETEMPúblico, ext1057215-clt-94a-3)

    Gloss: the Hajakalma [...] go have released, in beginning of March, the their record of debut (= debut album)

An identical search in the six times smaller Brazilian corpus NILC-São Carlos yielded 7 (unequivocally) relevant results, among which[15]:

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[14] Search "[V,v]ai|[V,v]ão|[I,i]rá|[I,i]rão" "ter" ".*do". Note that the order [*ter* PPLE ([Past] Participle) NP] is crucial, since [*ter* NP PPLE] (with necessary number-gender agreement between NP and PPLE) may be analysed as containing a small clause [NP PPLE], and not a compound tense form. The analysis as a small clause (with reversed constituent order [PPLE NP]) cannot be totally ruled out in the two examples above, whence they are not unequivocally of the relevant type (as they would be if, for instance, the NP was feminine or plural: *vai ter resolvido*$_{MASC}$ *a questão*$_{FEM}$, *vão ter editado*$_{SG}$ *os álbuns*$_{PL}$).

[15] Cf. also the following sentence, uttered by a character in the TV series Casos e Acasos, Globo, aired in Portugal in 14-05-2016: "Quando [o bebê] acordar, eu já vou ter voltado." [gloss: when the baby wakes I already go have come-back], which sounds odd in European Portuguese. Consulted Brazilian speakers informed me that the construction is normal for them.

32. a. Até o fim do mês de junho **o Shopping Center Iguatemi vai ter inaugurado cinco novas lojas**.
(NILC/São Carlos, par=Cotidiano--94b-1)

Gloss: the Shopping Center Iguatemi goes have inaugurated five new shops

b. Quando eu assumir o governo, **tudo** de bom que poderia ser privatizado **já vai ter sido vendido**.
(NILC/São Carlos, par=Brasil--94b-1)

Gloss: everything [...] already goes have been sold

c. Diz que se enjoar delas um dia "provavelmente vai 'tar bem velhinha e **a ciência vai ter inventado um jeito** de removê-las".
(NILC/São Carlos, par=Revista--94b-1)

Gloss: the science goes have invented a way

The fact that these constructions occur – and are not deemed totally preposterous by the speakers consulted – seems to be a clear indication that *ir* as a temporal auxiliary is expanding its scope to all structures involving prospectivity (more so in the Brazilian than in the European variety), including the previously unoccupied niche of anterior future.

Another symptom that this is an ongoing change that has not spread entirely to all possible situations is that no results – parallel to (30)-(31) – with the auxiliary *ir* in the future (rather than in the present) were found in the two mentioned corpora. However, in significantly larger ones, containing texts from very different types/genres, they may – though very infrequently – occur. In the nearly 1 billion word corpus (of Brazilian Portuguese) Corpus Brasileiro, there are 2 instances:

33. a. Até o final do ano, **o brasileiro *irá* ter disputado competições em 16 países diferentes**, quatro a mais do que em 1999.
(Corpus Brasileiro)

Gloss: the Brazilian will-go have played competitions in 16 countries different

b. Caso saia derrotado do confronto contra Arthurs ou nas partidas seguintes do Aberto dos EUA, **Kuerten *irá* ter acumulado sua 100ª derrota** quatro anos e quatro meses depois da sua estréia na elite do tênis.
(Corpus Brasileiro)

Gloss: Kuerten will-go have accumulated his 100th defeat

At least in European Portuguese, it seems that the use of these future forms in the auxiliary increases the sense of grammatical anomaly. This seems to indicate that the future inflection in the auxiliary *ir* might correspond to a posterior step in the grammaticalization process.

6. Conclusions (and clues for further research)

The data analysed in this paper – which include extensive searches in contemporary corpora of written Portuguese – show:

– that the grammaticalization of *ir* as a temporal auxiliary expressing posteriority is still an ongoing (not entirely stabilised) process, with strong competition among periphrastic and roughly equivalent synthetic forms taking place, and extension to non-standard usage occasionally emerging;

– that this process appears to be more advanced in the Brazilian than in the European variety, namely in what concerns the use of periphrastic perfect forms;

– that the posteriority feature – either associated with the location relation or with the temporal perspective point – determines the course of the process, and is pivotal in defining the available possibilities.

Concerning the latter fact, it must be underlined that – as is well known – there is no competition in Portuguese between periphrastic and synthetic forms (only the latter being used) in sequences with modal value, like

34. A Ana *terá* agora uns vinte anos, suponho.

the Ana will-have now some twenty years [I] suppose

'Ana must be about twenty years old, I guess.'

Various aspects concerning the use of the temporal auxiliary *ir* are not addressed in this paper. Among them, the possibility of inflecting *ir* not only in the tenses explored here (present, past/conditional and future), but also in subjunctive, gerundive and infinitival forms, as shown in the three examples below. This (poorly studied) fact is important for a more comprehensive view of the role of auxiliary *ir* in the Portuguese tense system, taking into account all its forms.

35. O presidente talvez {*vá* / *fosse*} mudar de opinião.

the president perhaps {go$_{\text{SUBJ.PRESENT}}$ / go$_{\text{SUBJ.IMPERF.PAST}}$} change$_{\text{INF}}$ of opinion

'The president {may / might} change his opinion.'

36. A fachada da igreja está a ser restaurada, o mesmo *indo* acontecer em breve ao claustro.

   the façade of-the church is to be [being] restored the same go_{GERUNDIVE} happen_{INF} in brief [soon] to-the cloister

   'The church façade is now being restored. The same will happen soon to the cloister.'

37. É preciso os impostos *irem* aumentar para o povo se revoltar.

   [it] is needed the taxes go_{INFL.INFINITIVE} raise_{INF} for the people SE_{INTRINSIC CLITIC} revolt

   'It takes income tax rates to (be about to) rise for people to revolt.'

A few more issues that can broaden the perspective adopted here should also be examined. First and foremost, a finer analysis of the differences between *ir* ('go') and *vir* ('come') is needed, especially in contexts that directly involve their role in the tense system of the language (the focus of this paper), such as those discussed in section 4 – *o recluso fugiu, mas {**iria / viria a**} ser apanhado pouco tempo depois* ('the prisoner escaped, but he would be caught shortly after'). Curiously, *ir* and *vir* can be used roughly synonymously here in a scenario where the prisoner was actually caught, but only the use of *ir* can leave the catching of the prisoner as an open issue. Secondly, a thorough scrutiny of the contexts where synthetic and periphrastic future are not in free variation should come under scrutiny; for instance, as mentioned apropos example (34) above, there are contexts where only the synthetic, not the periphrastic, future can be used in Portuguese. Contrariwise, there are also contexts – even where *ir* is arguably also an auxiliary (with posteriority value) – where no synthetic future forms are used; such is the case of the expression of *imminent future*, in sequences like *cuidado! a jarra **vai cair** (vs. *cairá)!* ('be careful! the vase is going to fall!'), or *sai da frente! o carro **vai passar** (vs. *passará)!* ('get out of the way! the car is coming!'), of which orders – to be fulfilled immediately – are a particular example (cf. ***vais tirar** (vs. *tirarás) as tuas coisas todas daqui!*, 'you are going take away all your stuff!'[16]).

More generally, given the fact that motion verbs like *ir* and *vir* are extremely polysemous – a fact that is widely acknowledged in lexicographic studies –, deeper investigation (well beyond the scope of the present paper) is needed in order to establish an inventory of semantic values of these verbs in Portuguese (and compare

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[16] Cf. Bres & Labeau (2012)'s mention of "effets de sens dérivés de l'ultériorité, comme l'*ordre*" (p. 1).

it with the values in other languages – cf. e.g. Bres & Labeau (2012), and to comprehensively analyse their grammatical properties.

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Corpora

(available at http://www.linguateca.pt/ACDC/)

CETEMPúblico: v. 1.7, ca. 190 million words, containing only newspaper texts (*Público*) of European Portuguese.

Corpus Brasileiro: v. 2.3, ca. 990 million words, containing various types of texts and registers of Brazilian Portuguese.

NILC/São Carlos: v. 11.4, ca. 32 million words, predominantly (though not exclusively) containing newspaper texts (*Jornal do Brasil*, *Folha de São Paulo*) of Brazilian Portuguese.

Appendix

**Main verbal periphrases
with Portuguese verbs *ir* ('go') and *vir* ('come'),
without spatial value (based on lexicographic records)**

Ir ('go')

Semantic value	Examples	Grammatical notes
1. *Ir* + infinitive		
Posteriority / Prospectivity ("periphrastic future")	– *Vai/Irá chover* amanhã. goes/will-go rain tomorrow 'It's going to rain tomorrow.' – *Ia chover* no dia seguinte. was_{IMPERF} rain in-the day following 'It was going to rain the next day.'	– Various possibilities of inflection of *ir* (typically, tenses expressing non anteriority). – Normally replaceable by synthetic future forms.
Imminent future	Cuidado! A jarra *vai cair*! beware the vase goes fall 'Be careful! The vase is going to fall!'	Normally not replaceable by synthetic future forms.
Somehow unexpected, or undesirable, happening	Foi muito azar. A bomba *foi* / *vai* logo explodir numa zona de edifícios históricos. was much bad-luck the bomb went_{PERF}/goes right-away explode in-a zone of buildings historical 'It was such bad luck. The bomb exploded in an area (packed) with historical buildings.'	– Normally not replaceable by synthetic future forms. – Possible inflection of *ir* in tenses expressing anteriority.

Semantic value	Examples	Grammatical notes
2. *Ir* + gerundive (*-ndo*) form		
Gradual change in time	Com o tempo, o assunto *foi perdendo* importância. with the time the subject went_PERF losing importance 'As time went by, the subject gradually lost importance.'	
Non-occurrence (in the past) of an imminent situation; value similar to that of the adverb *almost*	O animal *ia morrendo*. the animal went_IMERF dying. 'The animal almost/nearly died.'	*Ir* typically inflected in the imperfective past

Vir ('come')[17]

Semantic value	Examples	Grammatical notes
1. *Vir* + *a*_{PREPOSITION} + infinitive		

Semantic value	Examples	Grammatical notes
Posteriority / Prospectivity; typically a situation coming at the end of series of (possibly non-explicited) events; often, value comparable to that of *acabar por* ('end up')	– O recluso fugiu. *Veio / Viria a ser* apanhado pouco tempo depois. the prisoner escaped [he] came$_{PERF}$ / would-come to be caught little time after 'The prisoner escaped. He would be caught shortly after.' – O jovem *veio a tornar-se* engenheiro civil. the young-man came$_{PERF}$ to become engineer. 'The young man ended up becoming a civil engineer.'	

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[17] Portuguese dictionaries mention the construction *vir de* + infinitive to express recent past events, as equivalent to *acabar de* + infinitive (cf. e.g. *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea*, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, editorial Verbo, 2001). The temporal use of *vir de* is, however, rather restricted: French sentences like *il vient d'arriver* or *il vient de pleuvoir*, for instance, can only be translated by *ele acabou de chegar* and *acabou de chover*, respectively (not by *ele vem de chegar* and *vem de chover*, which are ungrammatical sentences). The construction with temporal *vir de* is occasionally in written corpora – cf. the following four, from CETEMPúblico, followed by a gloss and a translation of the sequences in bold:

(a) Aceitando, no entanto, que **o que venho de dizer** não se justifica, [...]
(CETEMPúblico, ext123612-pol-98b-1)
the what [I] come of say
'what I've just said'

(b) [...] até porque **ele vem de sair de um divórcio** do qual ficou com muito pouco.
(CETEMPúblico, ext260035-pol-94b-1)
he comes of get-out of a divorce
'he has just gone through a divorce'

Semantic value	Examples	Grammatical notes
2. *Vir* + gerundive (*-ndo*) form		
Gradual change in time	– O assunto *vem* / *vinha perdendo* importância. the subject comes/came_IMPERF losing importance 'The subject has/had been (gradually) losing importance.' – A crise *vem-se agravando* ultimamente. the crisis comes SE_INTRINSIC CLITIC aggravate lately 'The crisis is getting worse lately.'	In European (but not in Brazilian) Portuguese, the sequence can equivalently use a compound tense form of *vir* (*ter* + *vindo*_PAST PARTICIPLE) followed by the proposition *a* and an infinitive verb form: *o assunto* tem/tinha vindo a perder *importância* (the subject has/had_IMPERF come to lose importance); *a crise* tem-se vindo a agravar *ultimamente* (the crisis has SE_INTRINSIC CLITIC come to aggravate lately)

(c) Quem o diz é **o Rui**, um lisboeta **que vem de terminar o 12º ano**.
(CETEMPúblico, ext543975-soc-92b1)
the Rui who comes of finish the 12th grade
'Rui, who has just finished his 12th grade'

(d) [...] dizem coisas velhas com **o ar inebriado de quem vem de descobrir a pólvora**.
(CETEMPúblico, ext172097-nd-93b-2)
the air inebriated of who comes of discover the gunpowder
'the elated look on the face of who has just reinvented the wheel'