Chapter 10: A detailed study of Imperfeito

Imperfeito is an important tense in Portuguese, both because of its frequency and because of its undisputable aspectual import. In addition, one of its salient values is habituality, which poses various problems for formalization and which made me focus on this tense from a very early stage in this investigation.

On the other hand, the properties of Imperfeito are probably the most interesting question to pursue if one considers not only tense and aspect in Portuguese, but tense and aspect in general. The reason is that some features of French imparfait (traditionally equated with Imperfeito) are widely known, and have even motivated the formalization of tense in one of the most influential theories in the field, Discourse Representation Theory (Kamp, 1981b).

In this chapter, I shall investigate Imperfeito in detail, by means of two different studies, devised so that I could make good use of my corpus.

The first study, described in Section 10.2 (and previously reported in Santos (1994b)), focuses on the behaviour of Imperfeito in texts in Portuguese (original and translated). I attempt to distinguish among several different uses of Imperfeito and study their distribution, taking as point of departure a considerable number of properties suggested by Portuguese grammarians.

The second study, described in Section 10.3, looks into the translation pairs as additional evidence for the meaning and use of Imperfeito. Two substudies can be identified: I study Imperfeito as translation from English, and, on the other hand, how English conveys the meanings associated with Imperfeito.

Sections 10.1 and 10.4 provide a general introduction to the assumptions as well as a brief comparison with other work, and some discussion on the whole perspective gained with this study, respectively.

10.1 Introduction to the study

10.1.1 Methodological and theoretical assumptions

Let me start by highlighting some properties of this study which, in my opinion, distinguish it from other studies, and motivate the label "broad-coverage study" used in Santos (1994b).

1. I consider real text to be the only defensible input for language engineering, as opposed to the constructed sentences typical of theoretical linguistics. While much recent serious work in semantics has resorted to real text (see e.g. Sandström (1993), Caenepeel (1989)), it is still a selected, filtered, set of examples which constitutes the evidence for their investigation (as has been the case of traditional descriptive grammar in general). In this work, I have taken a more radical path in not performing any filtering whatsoever.

In other words, instead of the best examples, or the prototypical instances of a category or

use, I will consider <u>every instance of Imperfeito</u>. So, all occurrences of Imperfeito were annotated.[1]

2. The annotation described the meaning/use of the <u>clause</u> or <u>sentence</u> in Imperfeito. This is very important: it was <u>not</u> meant to describe exclusively the import of Imperfeito. This decision was due to my belief that, in natural language in context, several "components" cooperate to the same end. In other words, redundancy is a key property of an informative message.

It is customary, and has led to interesting insights and advances in linguistic theory as a whole, to divide aspectual import at least among the lexicon, the arguments and the temporal adverbials, in the computation of the final aspect of the sentence. Since Verkuyl (1972), aspect calculi have tried to arrive compositionally at the final sentence aspect (according to the intuitions of their author), starting from the aspectual import of their components. However, I have never seen a principled account of the analysis the other way around, i.e., given first the sentential aspect, "divide" or explain it afterwards through sentence internal features. In order to do so, one has to classify sentences in context, which is what I am doing here. I believe this way of proceeding has specific advantages, not the least being that aspect values from which it departs are more objective: it is generally agreed that a speaker has more intuitions about the meaning of a sentence (in context) than about its constituents (in isolation). Therefore, this method can more easily[2] be applied to real text.

3. Semantic objectivity, or, at least, consensual data about semantics, is hard to find or even define precisely. The most unbiased data I know are translations performed by a person with a non-analytic linguistic background (preferably a translation expert), who intends to render the meaning of a text (in a non-technical sense) in his/her native language.

It seems therefore a good idea to use translations as data. However, in order to be able to use translations as semantic data, one has first to deal with questions at least as difficult as the specification of meaning, namely, (i) the definition of the translation relation and of the differences among languages, (ii) the use of natural language in context, and in a text, i.e., questions of *parole* and not of *langue*, in the traditional sense, following Saussure (1916).

10.1.2 Related studies

The only studies using parallel[3] corpora for tense and aspect I was aware of at the time of conducting the present study were Slobin (1994) and my own (Santos, 1994a), already reported

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[1] With the exception of *ser que* constructions, corresponding to English it-clefts, e.g. <u>*era o cabo quem falava*</u> ('it was the cape that was speaking'); <u>*era*</u> *Joana que se levantava em silêncio* ('it was Joana who raised silently'). There is total agreement between the tenses of the verb *ser* and the clefted clause, i.e., the tense of *ser* is always the tense of the clefted clause (Imperfeito, Perfeito, Presente, etc.). Therefore, taking these numbers into consideration would only distort the quantitative distribution. Neither is it clear how such occurrences should be classified. (There would be, at least, a choice between assigning them the same label as the cleft or interpreting them as stative.)

[2] I am speaking here about manual analyses of aspect, not about computational ones.

[3] 'Parallel' in the sense of being composed by texts and their translations. There is another use of the term 'parallel' which refers to original texts in two or more languages sharing e.g. size, genre, subject, etc.

in Chapter 9.[4] In any case, I was aware that tenses were used for more than one reason in the two languages, and therefore, a finer analysis of their uses might produce better explanations for their translation.

If Santos (1994a) is too general, Slobin (1994), on the other hand, is too specific, since it only compares sentences describing 'motion events' in a corpus of English and Spanish novels and their corresponding translations, using Talmy's (1985) typology as frame of reference. Even though Slobin does not explicitly mention aspect anywhere in his paper, I believe that his findings are relevant to the more general problem of comparing the tense and aspect systems of the two languages.

Another relevant study for this subject is Leiria (1991), who studies the production of European Portuguese texts by non-native learners of the language. She compares the correct (input) text to the ones produced by her students, as far as the use of Imperfeito and Perfeito is concerned. Her work is relevant in the present context for two reasons. She uses a quantitative analysis of corpora, and presents a classification of verbs in context, not only a prototypical one.[5] While the specific details concerning language acquisition do not concern us here, Leiria (1991) poses an interesting question, namely, what is the relative weight of inherent (i.e., lexical) aspect versus context in the choice of the tenses. She concludes that verbs with clear inherent aspectual values lead non-native speakers to choose tenses which agree in aspectual values, while verbs with several aspectual profiles (or, in other words, with less marked lexical aspect) cause more difficulties to learners.

The main shortcoming of Leiria (1991) is the same of Santos (1994a): merging several phenomena under the same label makes it difficult to draw non-trivial conclusions.

Finally, the study described in Dahl (1985) is of relevance for the present study. Dahl attempted to characterize the uses of tenses and aspects in a broad range of languages, through the responses of native informants to a specially designed questionnaire. Dahl's methodology and conclusions were influential for interpreting the result of the present work. However, apart from the much larger object of study, two important differences should be highlighted: Dahl does not use real text, and, therefore, is unable to extract frequency or even plausibility of usage of the tenses that he studies. Moreover, he uses mainly data occurring in simple main clauses, and, therefore, many usages of tenses and aspects, that may be only used in narrative contexts, have not been taken into consideration. The same drawback was also acknowledged in Santos (1993), where I specifically mentioned that the characterization of Imperfeito I provided there did not take into account the use of this tense in discourse or narrative.

Dahl's (1985) and Leiria's (1991) conclusions about Portuguese Imperfeito will be further

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[4] This was obviously true only at the time of writing the present chapter. The rest of this dissertation makes reference to other studies, which unfortunately had no influence on the one reported here.

[5] Cf. Leiria (1991:172, my translation): "If we gather the verbs used by the different authors to exemplify a given kind, we verify that the choice was invariably of verbs and situations that raise no doubts [...] when it is the case, as here, of classifying a set of not previously selected verbs, many of these present properties much less well defined".

analysed in Section 10.4 below.

10.2 A monolingual study of Imperfeito

The monolingual study of Imperfeito was based on the thorough annotation of two texts in Portuguese with a set of features describing possible reasons for the use of Imperfeito.

Given that the annotation of every possible Imperfeito sentence is a labour-intensive task, I chose to restrict it to a subset of the main corpus, namely, to two texts, henceforth called Text 1 and Text 2 (elsewhere in this thesis called PE10 and EP1), namely *A noite que fora de Natal* by Jorge de Sena and the translation of Chapter 1 of *The Pearl* by John Steinbeck.

The use of two different texts was motivated by the need to evaluate the generality of the conclusions. Furthermore, given that the two texts were idealized (planned, generated) in two different languages, I wanted to see whether this would give rise to significant differences. While obviously more data have to be consulted for a definitive conclusion, I considered it a minimum to have two distinct objects of study.

Two different problems were addressed: (i) the meaning of Imperfeito in itself, i.e., what could be concluded from the individual analyses that made up the study, and (ii) the problems posed by a feature-based classification method for the semantics of real text, most notably for the study of tense.

10.2.1 Outline of the method

To make the reading of the whole section (Section 10.2) easier, and to describe how the actual study was performed, I begin by listing here the steps followed. They are in general mirrored by the structure of the present section:

1. I selected a set of labels, with a notional definition, and sometimes already with precise specification criteria as well.

2. I applied these labels to real text. (This, incidentally, was a hard task, whose output was subject to several radical revisions and changes of interpretation of labels and sentences alike.)

3. I observed the outcome of the classification and drew the more obvious conclusions.

4. I tried to understand more deeply the labels themselves, by observing their interrelationship.

5. Only then was I able to formulate objective criteria to assign them to running text.

6. I tried to come up with some global characterization of Imperfeito. This attempt was not based exclusively on the empirical results, however, as can be seen in Section 10.2.6.5.

10.2.2 The labels

After an initial systematization of the traditional descriptions of Imperfeito, inspired by descriptive Portuguese grammars (e.g., Cunha & Cintra, 1987) and based on Sten's (1973) extensive material and my own data, the following features were selected for the classification of the occurrences of Imperfeito in real text. The goal for this detailed analysis was to be able to

describe in a non-simplistic way the uses of Imperfeito. In fact, it is generally the case that formal theories tend to oversimplify, and therefore, lose objective grasp and evaluatability. In contrast, I take care here to account for most uses of Imperfeito in Portuguese.

I describe the uses of tense first notionally in informal semantic terms, and then by taking syntagmatic relations into consideration, i.e., the morphosyntactic objective clues that may mark such use. It is important to stress that such clues are neither obligatory, nor must they uniquely signal the use in question. Their description simply indicates that I believe their presence strengthens the interpretation described. This kind of "probable company" is termed "specification" by Mindt (1991), and I will use the term accordingly below. The importance of this syntagmatic description will be apparent when trying to objectively detect the role performed by a given occurrence of a tense in context.

In addition, I should stress that not all uses of a linguistic device have to be analysed as indicating features constitutive of its meaning. On the contrary, some of its uses may rather simply <u>follow</u> from its meaning. This is, incidentally, how I see the discourse role of tenses, so pervasively invoked in the literature on narrative interpretation.

10.2.2.1 Inventory of the labels used

HAB: habituality, a regularity turned property. I have argued for the importance of this (generally acknowledged[6]) value of Imperfeito elsewhere (Santos, 1993). One example is *Tibério bebia o sangue dos escravos* ('Tiberius used to drink the blood of the slaves'). It is important to note that I did not grant a separate status to indefinite frequency and habituality, as proposed e.g. in Antona & Tsujii (1993).[7] The habit can be quantified (vaguely) or not, either by the verbal adjuncts *muitas/raras/às vezes/de vez em quando* ('often', 'rarely', 'sometimes', 'once in a while'), or by the corresponding nominal quantifiers. In fact, interestingly, these (vague) quantifiers are often (if not preferably) present in the nominal arguments in Portuguese.

Ele <u>raras vezes</u> dava um livro aos filhos. ('He would rarely give a book to his children')

Ele dava <u>muitos</u> livros aos filhos. ('He would give many books to his children, he would often give books to his children')

Clauses conjoined by *quando*, *enquanto*, *mal*, *assim que* or *logo que*, provided both clauses are in Imperfeito, have always an habitual meaning as well:

<u>Quando</u> ele partia, levava no peito uma rosa a sangrar. ('When he left, he would carry...')

<u>Enquanto</u> ali permanecia, acudia a todos. ('While he was there, he would help everyone')

<u>Mal</u> aparecia, todos dispersavam. ('As soon as he appeared, all would disperse')

<u>Assim que</u> chegava, punha-se a cantar. ('He would arrive and start singing at once')

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[6] See among others Cunha & Cintra (1987:450), Leiria (1991:178), and Sten (1973:100).

[7] Neither did I find pertinent to distinguish between habituality or iterativity in terms of frequency, as is done in Mateus et al. (1989:95, my translation): "But while in (5a) the situation described occurs in all relevant subintervals of It [...], in (5b) the number of relevant subintervals of It in which such situation occurs is inferior to a value considered average; (5a) expresses a **habitual** value and (5b) an **iterative** aspectual value."

Logo que se lavava saía de casa. ('As soon as he was clean he would leave')

GRAD: gradual situation, either homogeneously or making reference to a definite end. Let me state at once that all instances of GRAD are also marked EXT (see below). During the classificatory process, I realized that I used this feature to signal two different things: (i) inherent or described graduality per se, e.g., *uma nuvem vermelha que se dissipava* ('a red cloud which dispersed'), and (ii) occurrence not yet arrived at its goal,[8] e.g., *uma saudade antecipada daquelas mãos que morriam* ('an anticipated longing for those hands that were dying').

Strict graduality can be marked by the adverbials *conforme*, *à medida que*, *a pouco e pouco*:

Conforme falava baixava o registro da voz ('While he talked he lowered down his voice')

X, à medida que ouvia o Sr. Y, punha-se mais vermelho ('the more he heard')

à medida que X descrevia o sucedido, (...) foi erguendo os olhos até os fixar no rosto dela ('while X described what happened he was raising his eyes until he stared at her')

A., a pouco e pouco, tornava-se reservado para todos. ('Little by little he became shy')

EXT: extended situation, whose endpoints do not matter. This feature, again, can signal either one single situation, or the successive repetition of extended situations without definite endpoints, cf. respectively *o imperador dormia* ('the emperor slept') and *Quintílio Vero torcia as mãos* ('Q.V. was twisting his hands').

EXT is marked by *quando*, *enquanto* with main clause in Perfeito, by verb subject inversion, and by the sentential adverb *entretanto*:

Quando construía a casa, encontrou um ... ('When he was building his house, he met...')

Uma tarde, regressava eu do liceu, ... ('One evening, I was coming back from school,...')

Entretanto, o Natal aproximava-se ('Meanwhile, Christmas approached')

entretanto, X não descansava na sua faina de... ('At the same time, X would not rest...')

The successive repetition has been called a "series" elsewhere (Santos (1991a, 1992a, 1993).

On the other hand, some functions of Imperfeito are traditionally described in connection with particular discourse structures: for example, Cunha & Cintra state that one use of Imperfeito is "to indicate, between simultaneous actions, the one in process when the other came" (Cunha & Cintra, 1987:450, my translation). This is obviously not a property of Imperfeito clauses, but of a particular combination of such clauses with other grammatical devices (tenses and connectives). Incidentally, this particular effect is unproblematically subsumable under EXT.

PROP: essential property (in opposition to a contingent one). The importance of the opposition of this value with TS (see below) for Portuguese has been stressed in Santos (1993). While it is uncontroversial that states (permanent or temporary) tend to be described by Imperfeito, Cunha

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[8] This last case, incidently, is the main definition of Cunha & Cintra (1987:380, my translation): "consider [the action expressed by the verb, DMS] as completed, i.e., observed in its end; or one can consider it as non-completed, i.e., observed in its duration, in its repetition."

& Cintra explicitly mention permanency as a key factor: "past facts conceived as continuous or permanent" (Cunha & Cintra, 1987:451, my translation and emphasis). Examples are *sorriu dos termos que a inversão impunha* ('he smiled at the terms which the inversion imposed'), *os deuses amavam-no* ('the gods loved him').

PROP was also used to signal the specification of Manner in Talmy's (1985) typology. For example, in *a voz uivava tanto, que deve ser verdade* ('the voice howled so much that it must be true'), an extended action is described and a property of such action is being ascribed, while in *a roseira que o envolvia* ('the rose bush which embraced it'), the description of the position is done solely through manner.

Obviously, specification of (this kind of) PROP can be done through manner adverbials:

Cantava bem. ('He sang well')

TS: temporary state, as opposed to permanent, was chosen to characterize two different kinds of situations: statements unambiguously temporary, like *Como estava velho!* ('How old he was!'); and bare specifications of location, such as *tropeçaram nos rolos que estavam no chão* ('They stumbled in the papers that were lying on the ground'). Incidentally, Imperfeito progressive in Portuguese is the prototypical example of a temporary state -- one could suggest it was in privative opposition to bare Imperfeito.[9]

Specification of temporary states is done through sentential *ainda*, *já* and *agora*.

..., ainda eu vivia em Lisboa ('I was still living in Lisbon')

ainda não eram cinco... ('It was not yet five o'clock')

..., já eu ia no patamar,... ('I was already on the landing')

O sol ameno batia agora em cheio a serrania verde. ('The sun was now bathing fully the green ridge of mountains')

IND: explicit marking of perspective. One of the uses of Imperfeito is to signal that things are being described through the view, perception and feelings of one character of the plot (or of the narrator[10]). In this connection, the phenomenon named in Portuguese 'discurso indirecto livre' (henceforth free indirect speech) is extremely relevant, as Cunha & Cintra also point out: "Imperfeito has particular relevance in the so-called free indirect speech, where author and character merge" (Cunha & Cintra, 1987:452, my translation). Sten also refers the use of Imperfeito to render "the contents of an observation, a dream, a vision" (Sten, 1973:102, my translation). Under IND, I include the cases of description of perception or of a mental state, which Sandström claims to be pertinent for English as well: some sentences of narrative

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[9] Another analysis, it should be noted, is that Progressiva is syntagmatically related to tense. In this analysis, *estar a* + Infinitivo selects a phase of the action described by the main verb (or a period leading up to it, if the action is punctual) and denotes a point in it. Imperfeito, applied to such temporary state, would only add that it held in the past, exactly analogous to its ordinary contribution with temporary states, like in *os livros estavam no chão* ('the books were on the ground').

[10] Of course, the question of perspective is a complex one. See Caenepeel (1989) for a discussion of personalized narrators; narrators situated inside or outside the fictional world; internal or external narrative perspective; directly presented or represented perspective, and the like.

discourse "can be, and sometimes must be, interpreted as denoting the content of an act of perception, contemplation, or speech, on the part of a protagonist" (Sandström, 1993:178). Examples are: *Ou chamava-o, mais uma vez, para aconselhá-lo ?* ('Or was he calling me, once more, to ask for advice?'), and *[Kino] afastou a manta do nariz [...]. Ao pé das silvas, dois galos cumprimentavam-se* ('Kino unvealed his nose. Near the bushes, two roosters were <u>greeting</u> each other'). In Section 10.2.4.1 below, I will discuss some differences between strict and free indirect speech.

COND: modal, conditional. This use of Imperfeito is related to the following construct "*se* <clause in Imperfeito do Conjuntivo>, <clause in Imperfeito>" (for example, *se ele me pedisse, casava* ('if he asked me, I would marry him')), but in many cases the *se*-clause is only implicit (a fact that is also noted by Oliveira (1986)). COND describes an explicit unreal, hypothetical action. Only one instance of this use was found in the two texts, and, symptomatically, in direct speech: *se as abrisse [...] seria alguém [...] a quem eu dava a morte* ('if I opened them, I would be someone to which I would <u>bring</u> death'). Contrarily to what some researchers have claimed (cf. Sten, 1973:102ff), this use of Imperfeito cannot be replaced by Portuguese Condicional. Examples of the COND use of Imperfeito, from Sten, are:

> *há uma pessoa por quem dava tudo* ('there is a person for which I would give everything')
> *tudo isso remediava-se bem* ('all that would be solved easily')

PIT: "pitoresco". This is a clearly marked use of Imperfeito, only found in planned writing, in connection with a specified definite temporal location. This use of Imperfeito is traditionally analysed as expressing vividness, but it may also be a perspectivation marker (coming under IND, thus -- see Section 10.2.4.5). However, since it is easy to spot and is commonly listed separately (cf. Sten, 1973:99ff), it was labelled apart. An example is *Momentos depois, [...] assomava à porta da biblioteca* ('In a moment, he turned up at the door of the library').

"Pitoresco" seems to be the past counterpart of what is variously called the historical present, "hot news" present, reportive reading or even "voyeur" present; in sum, a use of the English present for event sentences describing a semelfective occurrence. This usage is typical of jokes as well as sports reportage, and is usually dismissed by most researchers as a different matter. However, it is not irrelevant to note that in Portuguese there exists this use of Presente as well. Therefore, Imperfeito and Presente contrast in that with Imperfeito the writer conveys distance instead of personal involvement, though in both cases the writer wants closeness from the part of the reader/hearer.

Apart from a specific definite temporal location, it can also be specified by a *quando-inversum* structure:

> <u>*Dois minutos depois*</u> *R. vinha ao meu encontro* ('Two minutes after, R. was coming to me')
> *Como escrevia Antero <u>em 82</u>...* ('As Antero wrote in 1982')
> *E abraçavam-se, com certa efusão convencional, <u>quando explicou</u>:* (And they <u>embraced</u>, with some conventional warmth, when he explained:')

PLUR: this marker corresponds to extension in space rather than extension in time. The name originated in the fact that plural events are always distributed in space even though temporally they may overlap. Contrarily to the other features, gathered from the literature before the classification took place, this one was considered to be required during the analysis of the second text. Some examples that motivated it were *Os da frente passavam a palavra aos de trás* ('the people in front would tell the ones in the back') and *chegaram ao sítio onde as cabanas se acabavam e a cidade de pedra e cimento começava* ('they arrived at the place where the houses <u>finished</u> and the stone and cement city <u>began</u>'). Krifka (1990) noted that, in some sentences with plural participants, there is an event plurality distinct from the number of participants. It is this vague plural and therefore distributed event (or series of events) that PLUR is intended to mark.[11]

10.2.2.2 Labels not used

Several other uses proposed in the literature were not considered, for several distinct reasons. For example, **politeness** is a feature related to interaction and, since the texts considered had relatively few cases of direct speech, it would not be a relevant feature for most occurrences. On the other hand, I believe that to analyse Imperfeito as **future of the past** is misconceived: the examples invoked to illustrate this use are better placed under a perspective analysis, since they are pure instances of indirect speech, cf. Camara (1964) and Sten (1973:102-3).

The use of Imperfeito in *se*-clauses, amply discussed in Sten (1973:104ff), was not considered, either, since the only occurrence found was already clearly IND and PROP, not requiring a special label: *e que viria ele, na verdade, ali fazer, se o tempo não lhe chegava para tratar as pessoas ricas nas casas de pedra e de cimento da cidade?* ('And what would he do there, if the time <u>was</u> not enough to treat the rich people...?') However, I describe here the possible cases of occurrence of Imperfeito in this connection (the examples are borrowed from Sten):

a. *se* used in a 'whether' sense (indicating a question or doubt in indirect speech)

a ver <u>se</u> o mudávamos ('to see whether we would change him')

b. *se* A in Imperfeito, B: a contrastive use

rumos que, <u>se</u> não eram inteiramente novos, só então começaram a ser resolutamente trilhados ('tracks which, if they <u>were</u> not entirely new, only then started...')

<u>se</u> não gostava dele, não lhe tinha ódio ('if she did not <u>like</u> him, she did not hate him either')

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[11] Lauri Carlson (p.c.) remarked that there is also a plural use of Russian imperfective aspect: "He opened all the windows (ipf)" means he did it one by one, even though the event ends. Even though in a simple sentence denoting the plural event, in Portuguese one would have to use Perfeito, cf. *Ele abriu as janelas todas uma a uma* or *Ele abriu as janelas todas, uma de cada vez*, note that in a narrative context the corresponding sentence in Imperfeito could be actually an instance of the plural use of Imperfeito, meaning (or implying) roughly the same as the alleged Russian interpretation: *(Entrei em casa.) Ele abria todas as janelas* ('I entered the house. He was opening every window'). However, this case is so obviously a case of "in progress" (EXT) that no need to PLUR is apparent in Portuguese for it.

c. Imperfeito in an "oração intercalada" (comment clause) with *se*

sentimentos, se os tinha,... ('feelings, if he had them' - implying: I doubt he had them)

Possibly, this latter case is nothing else than a b. case where the B clause is implicit.

Finally, one of the most invoked parameters in the description of Imperfeito is its use for **background** instead of foreground, and the label BACK was therefore originally included in the classification set. However, as soon as the classification work began, I realized that this label was too difficult to assign, seeming to indicate that the notion of background might be simply a consequence of the kind of prototypical uses of Imperfeito, as noted e.g. in Fleischman (1985). Even though one should study the correlation between syntactic backgrounding and Imperfeito, this does not require human annotation of semantic features, and therefore this label was excluded from the classification set.

After the whole study had been conducted, I realized that the most obvious feature had been forgotten: namely, the notion of **past**. Going through all instances once again, I could find, in Text 1, 18 occurrences where pastness seemed relevant, all in direct speech, except for *Como ele gostava de Salerno!* (How much he liked Salerno!'), which is only free indirect speech, but recognizably past due to the context. In Text 2, no occurrences clearly conveyed past, except maybe the unique occurrence of Imperfeito in direct speech, namely *Aquilo -- dizia ele, é que era civilização* ('That, he used to say, was civilization'). This gave me a further *a posteriori* justification not to have included the feature PAST in the classification set, namely the same as for discarding politeness: Pastness was only pertinent to direct speech.

Incidentally, (assuming that past means prior to the speech time), this is predicted by Sandström's analysis of narrative discourse as "bracketing the speech point": "the speech time is not involved in the evaluation of tensed sentences in narrative contexts" (Sandström, 1993:130).

In addition, pastness was only found to be relevant for statives (including habituals). However, I am not sure whether this is a feature of the pastness of Imperfeito, since most instances of Imperfeito in direct speech in Text 1 are statives. This could be a property of direct speech *tout court* or even solely an idiosyncratic characteristic of Text 1.

10.2.2.3 The labels as a classification structure (I)

Looking at the labels chosen, one easily notices that they do not belong to the same linguistic levels of description. The same, as a matter of fact, happens in any characterization of Imperfeito or, for this matter, of French Imparfait (see e.g. Kamp (1981b).

In fact, (i) EXT, HAB, GRAD or PLUR concern features of the situation which is being described, albeit seen through the eyes of a narrator, (ii) in addition to that, PROP and TS may also be considered to concern the evaluation of the situation by the narrator as essential or temporary, (iii) COND and IND relate to explicit cognitive features of the text producer, the explicit consideration of non-actual situations, and the explicit introduction of another (i.e., different from the narrator) subject's consciousness, respectively. Finally, (iv) PIT marks the explicit use of a formal device regarding text elaboration.

One should therefore expect that several distinct motives for using Imperfeito could co-occur in a sentence. Furthermore, if one does not grant an *a priori* priority to any such level, there is no guarantee that in every instance any one label can always be regarded as primary.

However, even when facing classifications at the same level, where the reader might think that only one label should be assigned, it was found that often more than one label was employed.

One of the first conclusions of this annotation task was, therefore, that a clear understanding of clusters of features was at least as important as the analysis of cases classified by a single label. Note that this conclusion is independent of the appropriateness of the labels themselves: in fact, the fact that one needs to evaluate clusters of features may as well originate from the wrong choice of features or from the fact that natural language tends to convey combinations of features instead of unique meanings (or from both reasons).

I proceed by presenting the actual outcome of the classification, postponing till Section 10.2.6 a thorough discussion of the attribution of single versus multiple labels in order to characterize the use of Imperfeito in the two texts.

10.2.2.4 Objective classification tests

A necessary condition for the usefulness of a study like this is that it can be repeated by other researchers, and be applied to a wider range of new other texts. A relatively objective set of tests has to be provided to make these two goals attainable.

Prior to presenting a set of classificatory devices to decide on each label, though, I should state that these tests are an after-product of the actual classifications, i.e., first I employed my native competence and my judgement of the semantic properties during the classification process, and later on I tried to come up with a set of tests that would allow me (and anyone else) to arrive at roughly the same labels.

It should therefore be emphasized that the possible defectiveness of the tests should not automatically damage the results of the study. In other words, I believe it to be probable that the values assigned in the particular cases might still be reached by consensus by other Portuguese native speakers, even though an automatic procedure or a person following the tests blindly might not get the same end result.

Again, recall that the tests are supposed to apply to <u>clauses</u> in Imperfeito, and not to the tense meaning alone. Consequently, my examples are of Imperfeito sentences:

GRAD+EXT: if the verb inherent (lexical) aspect includes a goal, or if that goal is specified by an unambiguous goal expression, like *Ele ia para a loja* ('He GO-imperf to the shop'[12]). It is not applicable to atelic sentences, like *Ele andava no parque* ('He WALK-imperf in the park'), *Ele comia batatas fritas* ('He EAT-imperf chips').

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[12] I chose to present a literal rendering here, since an exact English translation would not allow me to render the subtle distinctions I am after in many cases. Section 10.3 below is devoted to the problem of expressing them in English.

PROP: if it expresses a property, *Ele era alto* ('He BE-imperf tall'), or attitude, *Ele achava mal* ('He THINK-imperf that it was wrong'); not if it is an occurrence, *Ele dava um livro* ('He GIVE-imperf a book'), or a state of mind, *Eu queria um livro* ('I WANT-imperf a book').

HAB+PROP: If that property (or attitude) manifests itself through repeated action:

One operational criterion for assigning this complex label pair is the ease of paraphrasing the sentences (in context) with periphrases of the kind "he had the attitude/the mood/the property that" or by specific nominal renderings, like "he was an excellent teacher" as a possible equivalent of *Que lições não dava ele às crianças* ('What lessons he not GIVE-imperf to the children'). In other words, the question of "when" is irrelevant.

HAB: If it cooccurs with indefinite frequency adverbs or their nominal counterparts, or if one can add the verb *costumar* without significant change: *Ele fumava muito* ('He SMOKE-imperf much'), *Ele costumava fumar muito*, and not *Ele gostava muito de Bach* ('He LIKE-imperf very much Bach').

PLUR: If it expresses a set of events, or an event with more than one participant (where not all participants are synchronized): *Ele construía casas* ('He BUILD-imperf houses'); not *Os homens estavam encostados à parede* ('The men BE-imperf leaned to the wall') because they are understood to be all leaning at the same time, nor *Ele mexia nos cabelos* ('He TOUCH-imperf the hair') for the (plural) hair is touched at the same time.

PIT: If a Perfeito rendering would be the normal way of expressing it, because of a definite temporal adverbial: *Às duas em ponto, ele virava a esquina* ('At two sharp, he TURN-imperf the corner'), *Em 1989, ele comprava o seu primeiro carro* ('In 1989, he BUY-imperf his first car'), not in *Durante o Verão fazia muitas compras* ('During the summer s/he DO-imperf many purchases').

TS: If the main verb is *estar* or if the substitution for progressive brings a meaning change, implying an 'almost' interpretation as plausible as a 'in progress' one, *Quando dobravam o cabo, ouviram* ('when they TURN-imperf the cape, they hear-PERF'), or *O filme começava* ('The film BEGIN-imperf'). Not *Os cabelos caíam-lhe para a testa* ('The hair FALL-imperf to his/her forehead') or *Eu tomava banho* ('I TAKE-imperf a bath').

COND: if the clause describes an hypothetical world. Such a clause is simply not felicitous with Perfeito: *Eu casava com ele* ('I MARRY-imperf him') or *se tivesse dinheiro comprava um comboio eléctrico* ('If I had money, I BUY-imperf an electrical train') but not *Eu gostava de gelados* ('I LIKE-imperf ice-cream').

EXT: if the verb's inherent aspect is extended, *Ele nadava* ('He SWIM-imperf'), not if it is punctual, *Ele mudava de cor* ('He CHANGE-imperf colour').[13]

If the substitution for progressive brings neither infelicitousness nor a different meaning, then the instance is not HAB, and should be marked EXT. *Quando eu tomava banho* ('when I

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[13] For the latter sentence to be felicitous, it would have to be understood as either habitual, conditional, marking perspective or Pitoresco.

TAKE-imperf a bath'), or *o homem que lia o jornal* ('the man who READ-imperf the paper'), but not *o homem que chegava ao tecto* ('the man who REACH-imperf the ceiling')[14] or *quando eu era pequena* ('when I BE-imperf little').

Finally, if the only change in the replacement by Perfeito is that simultaneity gives its way to sequence, it should be marked EXT, *nada mais sentia*. ('Nothing else s/he FEEL-imperf'). This is not a common case, however, since the application of this test requires a context where simultaneity can be (pragmatically) inferred.

My impression as to how I carried out the classification process is that the *a priori* lexical content of the verbs contributed to a large extent to the choice of the labels. (For example, GRAD was always attributed this way.) The number of cases where I felt that tense was the only responsible were relatively few. Of course, before performing the task I could not know whether the labels would be relevant or not. On the other hand, even if the labels were not particularly related to Imperfeito or to tense in general, these data might still be valuable in providing information about cooccurrence issues, correlation with lexical and other factors, and distribution of meanings in Portuguese.

A more severe conclusion would be that the task was simply badly conceived, and that the present description is an attempt to rationalize it afterwards. To some extent, this is true: I was not able to produce reliable specification tests at the start or even at the middle of the process of classification, which was thus done (and redone several times) relying on increasingly precise intuitions. Still, I believe that the classification tests I produced in the end, together with the discussion of the labels in notional terms provided in Section 10.2.2.1 above, give researchers of Portuguese better tools for the analysis of Imperfeito than previous descriptions in the literature.

10.2.3 The classification outcome: quantitative overview

In this section, I present the results concerning the distribution and frequency of the several cases; those related to the most conspicuous linguistic properties will be analysed in detail in Section 10.2.4 below.

Table 10.1 displays the general quantitative results, concerning 298 clauses in Imperfeito. The numbers in parentheses correspond to unique classification, irrespective of other levels (see next footnote for an example).

The first relevant figure is that only 64 occurrences[15] (21%) received a single classification. This may demonstrate the complexity of the language system, or simply indicate that the labels were not independent.

When more than one label was assigned, cases of ambiguity were much less frequent than

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[14] This sentence means something like "The man who was so tall that his head levelled with the ceiling" or "who could reach the ceiling with his hand".

[15] This figure is not directly obtainable from any of the tables, given that the numbers in parentheses in Table 1 correspond to exact classification at that level, i.e., for example the 4 HAB only instances in Text 1 may co-occur with IND or PIT, from another level. Only PIT, IND and COND only numbers correspond to the only annotation of the occurrence of Imperfeito.

cases of undecidedness or reinforcement: only 12 cases[16] (4,03%) were considered ambiguous. However, I should note that in theory no ambiguous cases should pop up. But, as has already been convincingly argued for in Sampson (1987), it is a myth that a human reader can select always one interpretation only.

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[16] This number corresponds to 4 HABvEXT + 5 HABvPROP + 2 HABvEXT+PROP + 1 EXTvPROP.

Table 10.1

annotation	Text1	Text2	Total
HABitual	24 (4)	41 (21)	65 (25)
HAB+PROP	15 (6)	7 (5)	22 (11)
HABvPROP		5	
(HAB+PROP)+EXT	7	2	9
HAB+EXT		10 (5)	
HABvEXT	13 (4)		
(HABvEXT)+PROP	2		
EXTended action	48 (15)	63 (30)	111 (45)
EXT+PROP	26 (15)	7	33 (22)
EXTvPROP		1	
GRADual action (+EXT)	7	9	16
PLUR	6 (3)	25 (10)	31 (13)
PLUR+HAB	2	4	6
PLUR+EXT	2	11	13
PROPerty	74 (44)	63 (43)	137 (87)
TStemporary state	15 (13)	19	34 (32)
CONDitional	1		
INDirect speech	18 (2)	32 (2)	50 (4)
PIToresco	6 (2)	5 (1)	11 (3)
Imperfeitos	130	168	298
Tensed clauses (approx.)	596	535	1131
Words	4410	3051	7461

As far as joint classifications across levels are concerned, I present in Table 10.2 the distribution regarding the first level, namely, the one concerning the features EXT, GRAD, PLUR and HAB. Taking all levels into account, 200 occurrences[17] (67%) have (any number of) labels of only one level.

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[17] This number was calculated thus: 100 level 1-only + 1 COND + 4 IND only + 3 PIT only + the number of TS only and PROP only instances taking out those marked IND or PIT, respectively 28 and 64.

Table 10.2

	Text1	Text2	Total
Level 1 only	37	63	100
Level 1 plus PROP or TS	32	20	52
Level 1 plus IND	4	13	30
Level 1 plus PIT	4	5	9
Total	66	103	169

As far as the same level is concerned, Table 10.3 displays the distribution in level 1, which in fact exhausts all possibilities, given that at the other levels no co-occurrences exist. This gives a total of 51 occurrences out of 169 which have more than one label, corresponding to 30%.

Table 10.3

	Text1	Text2	Total
Only one label	43	75	118
Two labels	22	22	44
Three labels	1	6	7
Total	66	103	169

10.2.4 The classification outcome: qualitative remarks

I turn now to the most relevant findings of this study in terms of the specification of the uses and of the systematic connections between labels.

10.2.4.1 Perspective and Imperfeito

The number of instances marked IND clearly shows that Imperfeito is used to signal that the sentences in question are to be read as "perspectivized", independently of (or in addition to) the properties of the situation described.

In order to keep Table 10.1 relatively simple, no complex co-occurrence labels were considered involving IND or PIT. It is striking, however, that, in Text 1, out of 18 IND, 5 cases are marked TS and 8 PROP, thus making up 72%. (In Text 2, of 32 cases marked IND, 20 are PROP, and one TS, thus corresponding to 66%). Hence, there is a strong correlation between IND and stativeness, which is undoubtedly related to the point made by Caenepeel (1989), in a dissertation devoted to the connections between aspect and perspective: Every stative sentence conveys some perspective.

The three IND cases which are marked GRAD-EXT correspond to strict indirect speech. This remark seems relevant, since it is very probable that strict indirect speech and free indirect speech have different properties. In fact, while free indirect speech is a device to which Imperfeito is tightly connected, as mentioned above, in strict indirect speech, on the other hand, Imperfeito has simply the role of rendering present tensed direct speech.

Thus, one could explain the difference of uses in the two cases by claiming that the properties of Imperfeito in strict indirect speech are simply the reflection of those of Presente, and that they do not concern us here. However, I do not agree with such a view, since there are many similarities between Imperfeito and Presente. Rather than a coincidence, this is a richness of the language, because Imperfeito tends to convey, while reporting Presente, the same features that it would transmit alone. One should however expect an imperfect match, in that there are cases (like the one above) where the use of strict indirect speech enlarges the normal range of application of Imperfeito. Incidentally, this comment applies as well to the case of the "future of the past" use (cf. Section 10.2.2.2), which, in my view, is just an instance of strict indirect speech rendering the futurate use of Presente.

10.2.4.2 Properties described as habits

The combination of the features HAB and PROP seems to be significant in Portuguese, signalling cases which appear to convey both an habitual action and the attitude depicted by such an action. Examples are:[18] *mas tu rias deles* ('but you laughed at them'); *queixava-se, sim, das dores que o não largavam* ('he would rather complain about the ever-present pains'); *do entusiasmo com que discutias, pela noite dentro* ('the enthusiasm with which you would discuss, at all hours of the night'); *que lições não dava ele às crianças* ('what good lessons he gave to the children').

In addition, the HAB+PROP classification co-occurs with the label EXT in the following instances: *o grande Tibério, que lembrava com saudade* ('the great T., whom he missed'); *não sabia o que fazia* ('I did not know what I was doing'); *uma noite cerrada em que nada se via* ('a dark night where nothing could be seen'); *até ele, [...] conspirava* ('even he conspired'); *Cláudio, que tremia de ser imperador* ('C., who shivered at the thought of being emperor'); *queixava-se, sim, das dores que o não largavam* ('he complained, rather, of the pains which would not leave him in peace'). The first three cases can be considered special in that the verb itself has relevant aspectual properties, and has long been identified as such (see e.g. Santos (1991a,b), where I called such verbs "acquisitions"). For example, the first sentence describes a mental property, *lembrava* ('remember') that could go on permanently, or only "occur" when people consciously directed their attention to it.

Given the definition I gave of HAB in the first place, one may argue that PROP is an integral part of HAB, or, at least, one connotation of it. However, it was clear that HAB-only instances were a distinct case from HAB+PROP. Examples of cases marked HAB alone are: *numa das conspirações que descobria todos os dias* ('in one of the conspiracies he found everyday'); *crucificava todos os dias o Senhor em mim mesmo* ('Everyday I crucified the Lord inside myself'); *dos míseros reais que raramente dava como esmola* ('the few pences he rarely gave to the poor'); *vinha sempre bater à porta humildemente* ('he always came humbly').

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[18] In case the examples involve more than one verb form, I underline the one I am talking about.

Not only the objective tests for the two cases were found to be different enough (see section 10.2.2.3 above), it was also striking to see that HAB+PROP cases in Text 2 never conveyed the attitude described by the habit. They either marked mental verbs, like *sabia*, *conhecia*, *lembrava*, *sentia* ('knew, remembered, felt') -- acquisitions, as noted above --; or, in the remaining three cases, forming a single unit, they represent the thoughts of a character about another (and are thus also IND), and a comparison is explicitly stated, therefore suggesting that we face a situation where PROP and HAB are independently motivated, and thus do not constitute a HAB+PROP case.

This absence of "true" HAB+PROP in Text 2 seems to indicate that English does not have any category relating to the Portuguese complex category HAB+PROP. This is additionally supported by the fact that, in the translation of Text 1, out of 13 HAB+PROP cases, 11 were rendered by past simple, while the two remaining cases had specific unrelated reasons to be translated with the help of modals. Given that past simple is the unmarked, most common past tense in English, and moreover the sentences had no distinguishing properties, no formal distinction could be found.

10.2.4.3 Habituality and perspective

One interesting correlation is that most, if not all, instances marked HAB (or HAB+PROP) are either in direct speech or in free indirect speech, in other words, they presuppose a human evaluation. Incidently, the same is also true of most (non-Manner) PROP-only instances: 31 out of 36 PROPs in Text 1 were found in direct or indirect speech.

This may indicate that HAB does not mainly reflect a temporal pattern, but a belief, an opinion, a way of viewing, and ought to be grouped with IND and COND (or, alternatively, with PROP and TS). Since it is known that English does not systematically distinguish between permanent and temporary states, while it does have formal markers for conditional uses (e.g., the modal *would*) and for perspective (for example, the progressive), comparing Portuguese with English seems to indicate that we should group HAB with PROP and TS. Thus one would distinguish Portuguese, with formal means of expressing this threefold stative character, from English, without such expressive means in the state realm. (That English and Portuguese differ in their partitioning of semantic domains and in the relative importance they give to different sides of a situation is, I believe, uncontroversial.)

One particular question should be raised here. In emphasizing the part of the viewpoint present in the feature HAB, and proposing it to be re-grouped with PROP and TS, I should recall that these latter labels, in addition to the evaluation content, concern a referential property of the situation in question, namely stativeness, and thus share with HAB the fact that they all relate to specific temporal properties **and** presuppose an evaluation from the speaker.

10.2.4.4 Manner and independence of tense

Whenever manner of actions was specified, the sentence received the classification

EXT+PROP. In this context, it was clear that the label PROP did not come from tense. In every instance (underlined), it was either present lexically in the verb or in an adjunct: *No clarão indistinto que difuso vinha* ('In the indistinct light that came diffusely'); [<utterance>] *-- e sorria* ('and he smiled').; *a voz uivava tanto, que deve ser verdade* ('the voice howled so much that it must be true'); *teve [...] um frio que lhe lambia as pernas depiladas* ('he felt a cold that licked his shaved legs'); *seguindo átis que corria* ('following Atis who was running')..

It is well known (see Talmy (1985), Slobin (1994)) that English gives more importance to manner than languages like Portuguese, which are "verb-framed" rather than "satellite-framed" in Talmy's terminology. It is therefore not surprising that tense (a grammatical device) is not related to manner in any way in Portuguese (while, in a study about English, it may be found that the contrary turns out to be the case).

The identification of the cluster EXT+PROP, not particularly relevant to Portuguese use of Imperfeito, might therefore be useful for translation purposes.

Surprisingly, EXT+PROP instances were much more frequent in Text 1, which might mean that the Portuguese translator either skipped the manner parts (common enough, according to Slobin (1994)), or did not render most of the manner-related clauses in Imperfeito.

10.2.4.5 Some light on Pitoresco

The Pitoresco usage of Imperfeito is always specified by a definite (often punctual) temporal specification (see Sten (1973:99f); Kamp & Rohrer (1983:256) make the same remark about the corresponding French Imparfait). Semelfactivity (i.e., once-only occurrence) is expressed through that temporal specification, and therefore the Imperfeito clause refers to a unique situation in progress. If the situation in itself is normally seen as extended, and therefore would be marked as EXT, no special effect is conveyed. However, if the situation is normally conceived as punctual (for example, an achievement), then the use of Imperfeito brings about a special colour, which Sten calls "pitoresco".

I was able to identify two slightly different grounds for PIT in the texts studied, namely, vividness in the description, exemplified respectively by *Momentos depois, [...] assomava à porta da biblioteca* ('Moments later, he appeared at the door of the library'); *E de, repente, saía-se com a mais inesperada das ideias* ('And, suddenly, she got the most unexpected idea'), and the signalling of perspective, as in *o imperador, que [...] agora fingia dormir* ('the emperor, who now feigned sleeping'); *Kino baixou os olhos. Agora a aurora alastrava rapidamente* ('Kino lowered his eyes. Now the dawn was enlarging rapidly'). In the two last sentences, the use of *agora* unequivocally signals that the situation is seen from the characters' side (it is not deictic in that it does not correspond to the moment of reading nor to the moment of writing, but to the 'now' of the narrative).[19]

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[19] It is curious that several of the examples Mateus Silva (1992) presents, analysing the interplay between tense and aspect in two Portuguese books, involve Imperfeito with *agora*. For example, regarding *O barco entrava agora definitivamente no mar alto* ('the boat was now definitively entering the deep sea'), she claims that "either the adverb *definitivamente* wins over the durative aspectual value attributed to the Imperfeito *entrava*, assigning to it one

If Pitoresco were simply a Portuguese-specific style device, one would foresee that it would appear only in Text 1. The existence of several PIT instances in Text 2 may show that PIT is more than only a question of style, and that its use may be required to cope with more tangible matters such as perspective change.

10.2.5 The classification outcome: comparison of the two texts

There are three global differences between the two texts: different original language, different author,[20] different genre (short story versus first chapter of a novel). I assume that the last difference is not particularly relevant here, given that the short story is also divided in three parts and can be looked upon as a small novel. Furthermore, while a larger text is liable to give more attention to detail, more descriptions of the characters, of the background, and of their thoughts, and contain more episodes whose aim is to illustrate relevant features (originating parallel episodic structures, according to Sandström (1993)), the English text chosen corresponds to a relatively straightforward narrative, making little use of these ingredients. In fact, Steinbeck's realist style makes the book simple in narrative structure. In turn, Sena's writing style in this short story also follows a relatively simple narrative structure, and the result is that the styles of the two authors are rather similar.

Table 10.4

annotation	Text 1	Text 2
HABitual	24 (18%)	41 (24%)
EXTended	48 (37%)	63 (37%)
PROPerty	74 (57%)	63 (37%)
TStemporary state	15 (12%)	19 (11%)
PLURal	6 (4,6%)	25 (15%)

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perfective, punctual and conclusive, aspectual value (*entrou*), or the presentifying value of the adverb *agora*, keeping its imperfective value, is re-inforced, and it [the Imperfeito] is interpreted as present =*está a entrar*" (Mateus Silva, 1992:497, my translation). I disagree with her analysis of a disjunctive set of interpretations, but she has pin-pointed, in my opinion, the essence of Pitoresco: the co-occurrence of a punctual semelfactive action (*entrar* 'enter') which is unambiguously described as unique -- due to the punctual adverb *agora* ('now') -- with an Imperfeito. Such a combination places the reader in the middle of the action, thus as if it were a progressive (*estava a entrar*).

As to her specific suggestion, I think that the word *agora* is not marking present, but simple perspective, and thus I paraphrased *entrava* with the Imperfeito progressive.

[20] This is a consequence of the first difference, since, to my knowledge, there are no famous writers bilingual in English and Portuguese and with comparable works in the two languages.

INDirect speech	18 (14%)	32 (19%)
Imperfeitos	130	168

In Table 10.4, I present a quantitative abstract of the main categories. However, it should be borne in mind that there is no claim as for the statistical relevance of the differences, given that with two texts only it is not possible to estimate a statistical distribution.

Still, it was foreseeable that there would be more HAB and IND cases in Text 2 than in Text 1, due to the fact that a novel has more narrative density than a short story. Also, and since this seems to be a particular richness of Portuguese Imperfeito, HAB+PROP is much rarer in Text 2 than in Text 1. On the other hand, the apparently more frequent use of HAB in Portuguese text coming from English is explained, in my view, by the introduction (by the translation) of a vagueness not present in the English text (or at least not so conspicuously): in fact, since habituality is not marked by tense in English, all EXT-HAB instances are interpretable as simply EXT in Text 2.

One conspicuous difference between the two texts is the kind of perspective itself. While in Text 1 it is mainly reported thoughts, conceivable as internal speech, in Text 2 there are two salient kinds of perspective: (i) Simple perspective of perception, i.e., a stylistic "cinematographic" device of presenting the story through the eyes or senses of one character; (ii) Presentation of the words of the narrator explaining the character's feelings and opinions. (I chose only to signal instances of the second case as IND.) The difference between IND in Text 1 and in Text 2 has obviously to do with the properties of the main characters of the two texts: an intellectual and analytic mind in his mature and old ages (Marcus Sempronius) versus an illiterate young man (Kino). Therefore, if IND in Text 1 is closely related to free indirect speech, in few cases does the reader of Text 2 have the impression that the things perspectivized would be verbalizable by the character himself. They rather belong to the omniscient narrator that explains "his" characters.[21]

However, the difference (not quantified) between IND in Text 1 and perspective of simple perception in Text 2 is, in my view, to be ascribed to the language difference, namely, the relative preference of Portuguese to express opinions rather than facts, as opposed to English. This can be relevant for a typology of narrative, cf. Slobin's remark "I suggest that typologies of grammar have consequences for "typologies of rhetoric."" (Slobin, 1994:15).

10.2.6 Discussion: categorization issues

After a description of the most straightforward findings of this study, I take up the matter of the complex interrelationships among labels in more detail, trying to explain the difficulty of the classification task: In addition to the large number and the frequent co-occurrence of the labels, it was not an easy task to decide on which label(s) to assign to a given case, even though

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[21] This is even explicitly acknowledged by the narrator: *and if he had been able to speak it*, referring to Kino.

the features (classifications) used correspond in general to fairly traditional labels.

It seems thus worth while to look in more detail into the problems encountered.

10.2.6.1 Real examples of co-occurrence of EXT and HAB

I start by presenting five real cases of co-occurrence of the features EXT and HAB, all drawn from Text 1 and therefore originally Portuguese, in order to illustrate the complexity of a classification in context. In order to show more conspicuously the differences, I present a graphical representation of the possible temporal patterns, which should not be interpreted to mean that I believe that the features in question can be given that (or indeed any) fully extensional interpretation. Since I am presenting particular sentences, I will not make claims about systematicity or idiosyncracy of the examples.

Ambiguity between EXT and HAB: one interpretation excludes, or is different from, the other. (Given that ambiguity is a well-known linguistic phenomenon, I did not discuss it above.)

(1) *E divertiu-se a examinar o imperador, que, **pelos fugidios brilhos que entrevia nos seus olhos semicerrados**, agora fingia dormir.*[22]

'And he had fun examining the emperor, who, given the running glimpses he could sneak from his halfclosed eyes, now pretended to sleep'

One can either understand the sentence as describing a set of glimpses, a set of times when the character the sentence is about (Marcus Sempronius, henceforth M.S.) saw the sparks -- the HAB interpretation, <u>or</u> as depicting a steady perception activity: M.S. was steadily looking, an EXT action per excellence, and he saw a series of sparks. In fact, the question is whether the reader imagines M.S. as sometimes looking at the emperor, Tiberius, or rather staring at him. This difficulty, it should be noted, does not damage in any way our comprehension of the text, which unambiguously conveys that, through M.S.'s seeing of sparks in Tiberius' eyes, he understood that Tiberius was awake.

Figure 10.1

```
_____ EXT
- -- --- - --- - - -    --   - -  HAB
```
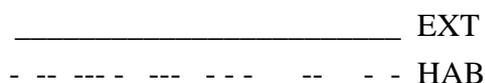
Reinforcement between EXT and HAB: the two interpretations are valid, and none can be considered to be prior to the other, for all we know.

(2) *e este   de agora, cuja vida (era evidente, **pois até ele, Marco Semprónio, conspirava**) devia estar por um fio.*

'and this pedant now, whose life (it was clear, since even he, M.S., conspired) should be finishing soon'

This sentence conveys both the existence of a set of times when he did conspiracy acts (HAB), and the fact that at the particular moment of the narrative he was involved in a

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[22] I signal in bold face the particular Imperfeito clause that the labels EXT and HAB classify.

conspiracy (EXT). Note that this last interpretation does not mean that at the particular moment of the narrative he was doing a conspiracy act (that is plainly false). The point is that *conspirar* may be seen as an extended activity that goes on in intervals (like "he reigned"), or as a habit.

Figure 10.2

```
_____|_____ EXT
- -- --- - ---  - - - |   --   - - HAB
                |  now
```
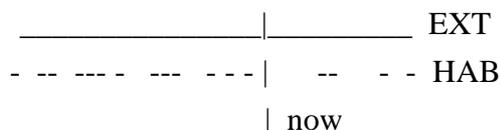
(3) *Marco Semprónio recordou os imperadores que a todos tinha conhecido de perto: o grande Tibério, **que lembrava com saudade**; ...*

'M.S. remembered all emperors he had met closely: the great Tiberius, whom he remembered with longing'

This sentence states that M.S. remembered Tiberius either with a given frequency (HAB) or for a long period, probably since he was dead (EXT). In other words, the situation described is a mental property that could go on permanently, or only 'occur' when people consciously directed their attention to it. The two classifications EXT and HAB are thus related: and EXT □ HAB, i.e., the periods relevant to HAB are contained in the period described by EXT. Contrasting with case (2) above, it is now possible, and even probable, that one of the cases of EXT overlaps with the 'now' of the narrative.

Figure 10.3

```
_____|_____ EXT
- -- --- -  --- -- --|-   --    -- HAB
                |  now
```
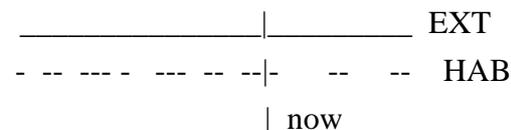
(4) *(e no tédio de Marco Semprónio desenhou-se a pequena praia com garotos saltando por entre o peixe **que saltava também**)*

'(and in M.S.'s tedium the small beach came to his mind with small boys jumping among the fish which leaped as well)'

In this sentence, it is not clear whether the description of the beach holds in general, and we have a HAB statement about the described beach, or the jumpings only encompass the time when M.S. recalled the beach (this independently of still other reasons to select Imperfeito). In other words, whether the description of the fish jumping relates to the real beach (HAB) or to the recollection that drew itself in M.S.'s mind (EXT). Anyway, the two classifications are again related, in that HAB □ EXT (i.e., the extended period recollected in M.S.'s mind could be just one of the many represented by HAB). A much better illustration of this case is, from Text 2, *[...] o caixote suspenso onde Coyotito dormia* ('the hanging box where Coyotito slept'), where he could sleep (and actually was sleeping) there <u>and</u> it was the place where he would sleep whenever he slept.

Figure 10.4

```
                        _|_           EXT
- -- --- -  --- -- --|-    --    --   HAB
                     |  now
```
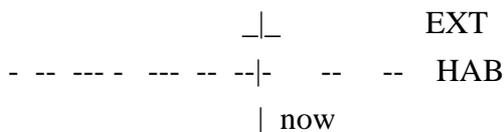
(5) *os dois filhos viviam longe, na Bitínia um, na Tarraconense o outro, ambos casados e felizes.*

'the two sons lived far away, in B. one, in T. the other, both married and happy'

If *viver* ('live in') is taken as a habit, it may encompass periods of non-being there, i.e., regularly they are there but not always (HAB). On the other hand, it may state that they live there (an EXT situation) irrespective of periods, linguistically irrelevant, where they are not actually there (cf. the usual discussions of "work from 9 to 5", e.g. Galton's (1984) broad versus narrow progressive) and one has again EXT □ HAB. Finally, this sentence may also assert that at the narrative time it was true that an extended period of them living there was occurring (EXT), and one has now HAB □ EXT). We have thus here two (conflicting?) interpretations of EXT, one homogeneous (patterning with case (4)), and one heterogeneous (patterning with case (2)).

Figure 10.5

```
                        _|_           EXT
- -- --- -  --- -- --|-    --    --   HAB
_____|_____ EXT
                     |  now
```
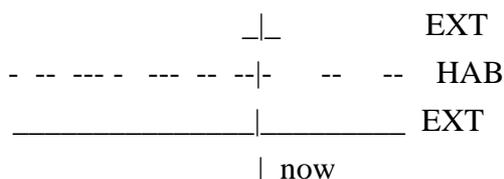
Summing up, these examples demonstrate that often many related classifications can be assigned, corresponding to subtly different interpretations of the lexical items or of the story itself. I have illustrated four different cases of cooccurrence of the very same two features, namely EXTvHAB (1), EXT□HAB (2,3), HAB□EXT (4) and EXT□HAB□EXT (5), which show, among other things, that the temporal inclusion between labels does not solely depend on the labels themselves, since either the EXT or the HAB interpretation can contain the other.

This context dependency, incidentally, has been claimed by Dunbar & Myers in a totally different setting: "people can flexibly generate different concepts in different contexts" (Dunbar & Myers, 1988:300). In particular, the temporal patterns implied by HAB and EXT seem to be dependent on the situation they describe.

These observations seem to merit a more principled discussion of the cooccurrence of the labels, to which I turn.

10.2.6.2 The labels as a classification structure (II)

Granted my native understanding of Portuguese and therefore of the texts involved, this inability to determine the intended interpretation should be investigated more closely.

Viewing natural language as a system for conveying information, redundancy and

interdependence seem to be intrinsic features of the knowledge organization of human languages. Therefore, the hope to devise a classificatory scheme which assigns <u>one</u> property only to each instance may be unwise. This has been pointed out by a variety of linguists, who suggest prototype theory (Rosch et al., 1976) as a better model for linguistic categorization. In prototype theory, the most representative instances of a category have all (or most) properties, in contrast with a classical classification scheme, in which clear instances are precisely those in which one label only describes the instance in a precise way. Apart from recent analyses of natural language phenomena (e.g. Sweetser (1990), Taylor (1989)) which have been able to tackle a broad range of issues, I should mention Dahl (1985) as the first to have studied extensively the tense and aspect categories of a wide range of languages following a prototype approach.

Given that more than one label per occurrence was frequently employed, let me thus survey several possible reasons for such a situation:

First, the cause may have to do with the particular labels chosen, as already acknowledged. Alternatively, it may be a property of natural language in general, irrespective of the (set of) labels one uses. Finally, it may simply be due to idiosyncratic features of the sentences in question.

This last alternative can be easily discarded, however, if we do not want to grant natural language an extreme degree of idiosyncracy.

For the sake of completeness, one should also consider whether the problem could have to do with the classification process itself. It is sentences/clauses as a whole that are being classified: Could it be that different features came from different factors? While this is an appealing idea, it does not seem to be realistic to suggest a complete separation of tasks between formal actors: for some of the labels, at least, it is easy to find different formal features carrying the same meaning: For example, a property can be encoded lexically or through a full sentence, cf. *He jumps five meters*.

Let us then suppose that the reason for multiple classification is systematic, be it in the labels or in the language. When one is unable to decide between (let us say, for ease of exposition, two) different labels, many distinct explanations can be sought:

1. Neither of the alternatives is at stake, rather, what is conveyed corresponds to a supercategory that encompasses the two classifications. If this is so, whenever the interpretation is felt to be unambiguous, it is due to specific lexical or world knowledge. I will dub this problem "excessive particularization", i.e., one tries to attribute to the system more information than it actually carries. This is obviously a problem of label choice.

2. The two labels are not independent, in the sense that one classification implies (or is causally or consequently related to) another, which is an example of a "subordinative contrast". This is, on the other hand, a clear case of a language property.[23]

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[23] For those to which this is not obvious, let me recall that subordinative contrasts are a main feature of the lexicon, see e.g. Lyons (1977, chapter 9) or Leech (1981, chapter 7).

(What I have in mind here is 'dog' as hyperonym of both 'dog' and 'bitch'. I.e., the same label ('dog') is assigned to two senses which are closely related. If one had instead tried to assign dog1 and dog2 to all occurrences of the word *dog* in real text, in most cases one would have to assign them both -- at least in all cases where 'dog' contrasts with 'bitch', one would have to assign the two labels.)

3. The two labels are not independent in that they are simply two different ways of naming the same thing. This seems a trivial case, but corresponds to intentionally in the classification.

4. The two labels are not independent in that one is a connotation of the other, i.e., one designates real-world properties of the referent(s) of the other (Leech, 1981:12). Since connotation is a notion difficult to formalize, this case can be more problematic than the one of 2.

The notion of connotation, in addition, is related to what Dahl calls 'conventionalization of implicatures,' namely, "if some condition happens to be fulfilled frequently when a certain category is used, a stronger association may develop between the condition and the category in such a way that the condition comes to be understood as an integral part of the meaning of the category" (Dahl, 1985:11). For Taylor (1989), this is an instance of metonymy, which, according to him, is one of the most powerful process of category expansion.

Finally, let me recall from the previous section, discussing the cases classified as both EXT and HAB, that yet other problems may lie in:

5. the labels being too coarse (or meaning two different things);

6. or the label "hierarchy" being dynamic.

Let me try, after having discussed the possible causes for label cooccurence in general, to find out the possible (definition-related) relations among them. In a way, this is the counterpart in terms of competence of the discussion in Section 10.2.4, where I attempted to reach some conclusions based on actual cooccurrences among labels, hence in terms of performance.

I start by looking at PROP and TS. Since both correspond to kinds of states, one could claim that Imperfeito only signals STAT (stativity), and one is in presence of a case of excessive particularization. However, PROP and TS do not seem to be members of an equipollent opposition. TS is clearly the marked element in this contrast (it is marked either lexically by *estar*, or by the progressive). This suggests that (in analogy with the lexical item "dog") PROP be both superordinate to TS and its unmarked counterpart, which favours the use of the two labels instead of a different one, STAT, as superordinate.

PROP and HAB are obviously related, either because PROP is a consequence of HAB (the repeated occurrence of something becomes a property), or because HAB is a special kind of property (one which is observable by a repeated kind of event). The fact that there seems to be a two way dependency between these two concepts is maybe the explanation for the importance of the HAB-PROP category.

EXT and HAB are also related, in that the observation of a habit must be done throughout an extended period (encompassing several occurrences of it). There does not seem to be any relationship the other way around. So, I conclude that EXT is a simpler feature.

EXT and PROP are relatable in the same indirect way: a permanent property remains through an extended period. So, PROP implies EXT (which does <u>not</u> mean that every Imperfeito sentence conveying PROP also conveys EXT! A property may be asserted to hold at an instant.)

GRAD1[24] implies EXT, and so does GRAD2, which also implies TS: a position before a goal implies necessarily a temporary state. This explains why GRAD always co-occurred with EXT.

EXT2 (the repetition of extended atelic processes) is clearly related to EXT again in a subordinative contrast: EXT2 is more specific than EXT. EXT2 implies PLUR as well. PLUR, in my opinion, is also related metaphorically (see below) to EXT, in that space is seen through time.

Finally, I used the label PROP (or EXT+PROP) to describe Manner. Manner seems to be an independent feature not related to Imperfeito. However, when present it will give rise to kind of PROP or a kind of EXT.

In Figure 10.6, I depict these dependencies/relations among labels: dominance means generalization, a dashed line represents metaphorical extension, and a dashed arrow (long dashes) stands for conventional implicature.

Figure 10.6
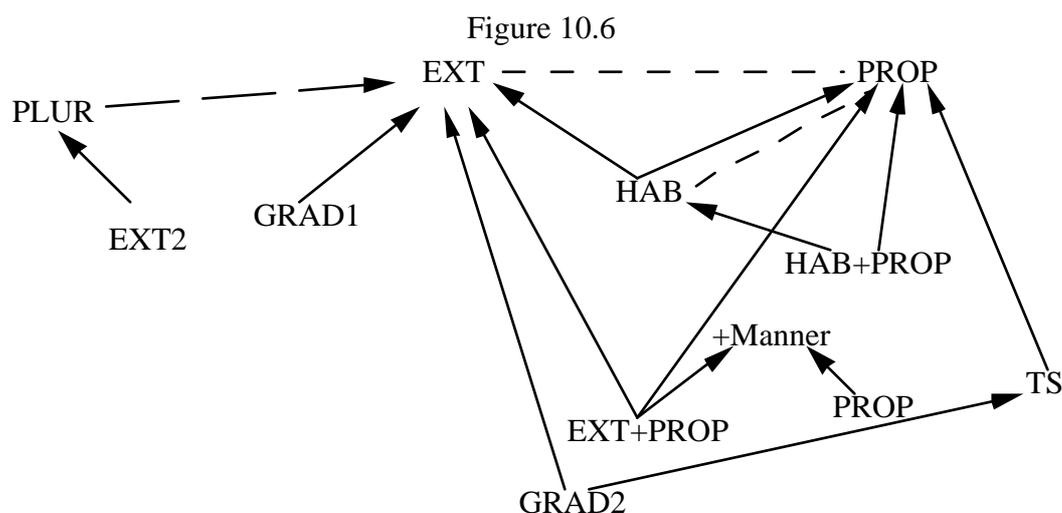
In order to explain the other labels, however, I have to make an excursion to more sophisticated theories of meaning.

10.2.6.3 A single unified meaning

The previous subsections raised the question whether a single unified meaning can be proposed for Imperfeito.

The relationship between the various "aspects" of meaning has been much discussed in the literature, and one approach that is sometimes followed is to divide the meaning of one linguistic construct into basic and secondary (or derived) meanings. What counts as basic is in general

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[24] By GRAD1,2 I refer to the corresponding sense included in GRAD, and described in Section 10.2.2 above: respectively inherent graduality and position before goal.

what remains valid across contexts / secondary meanings. However, if theoretically such descriptions can be appealing, in reality it is exactly the difficulty at getting at one operational common meaning that gave rise to such fragmentation (between basic and secondary meanings) in the first place. Let us have a look at the following plausible candidates to characterize all uses of Imperfeito:

Remoteness, bringing together the notions of modality (COND, PROP, and possibly HAB), distance from present (past), distance between the speakers (politeness), distance through mediation by someone else's consciousness (IND).

Extendedness, encompassing something that remains (PROP), that takes time (EXT), that is permanent (also PROP), that is in progress (GRAD), that has vague spatial contours (PLUR), that is recurrent through time (HAB).

One possible claim would thus be that the meaning of Imperfeito is remoteness in the modal axis and extendedness in the temporal axis. However interesting and enlightening as this formulation might be, for practical text understanding there would not be much advantage in such a model: In any case (in any real occurrence of Imperfeito), to understand what is conveyed, one would still have to answer the following question(s): remote regarding which direction(s)? extended in what way(s)? which brings us back (at least approximately) to the labels used above.

Interestingly, Taylor (1989:153ff), working within the "cognitive linguistics" paradigm, argues precisely the same way about the English past tense, rejecting a view of remoteness as common core to past reference, counterfactuality and politeness. Rather, he uses the notion of a polysemous prototypical category, described in terms of family resemblances, "a polysemous category whose various meanings are linked, some through metaphor, some through metonymy, to a central sense" (Taylor, 1989:147); "a common core would constitute but one possible structure of a family resemblance category" (ibidem, 142), which can consist of "sometimes quite extensive chains of distinct though related meanings" (ibidem). Back to past tense, he analyses past reference as its central sense; counterfactuality as metonymy (conventionalization of the implicature that past often implies that something no longer holds); and politeness as double metaphor: time in terms of space, and involvement as distance/proximity in space.

Not only are his analyses interesting in themselves, but they match in my opinion the relationships among the labels PAST, COND and POLIT which I used to describe uses of Imperfeito. To explain IND now, let me introduce the proposals of Sweetser (1990).

Sweetser, working in the same paradigm as Taylor, suggests that "systematic metaphorical connections link our vocabulary of the sociophysical domain with the epistemic and the speech-act domains" (Sweetser, 1990:13). According to her, "we model our understanding of logic and thought processes on our understanding of the social and physical world; and simultaneously, we model linguistic expression itself not only (a) as description (a model of the world), but also (b) as action (an act in the world being described) and even (c) as an epistemic or logical entity (a premise or conclusion in our world of reasoning)" (ibidem:21). This, she argues, explains the "persistent parallelism between formal markers of aspects of content, aspects of the speaker's

reasoning, and aspects of the current speech act" (ibidem).

This gives us a key to understand the perspective use of Imperfeito, which clearly belongs to the epistemic, rather than to the content, level (in Sweetser's terms described above). At the epistemic level, the subject matter is precisely the thoughts and reasoning processes of the actors in the narrative. I think that Imperfeito signals precisely epistemic mode. In other words, that the statements it applies to should be read as depicting reasoning, and not the "real" world. Of course, in the cases where the thoughts of a character describe something which in the real-world would also be described by Imperfeito, those occurrences are pragmatically ambiguous (i.e., about which level they relate to). Several examples of this kind of ambiguity can be found in Sweetser (1990) concerning e.g. conditionals, coordination, and conjunctions.

Before leaving the characterization of IND, however, I want to stress that all this shows that modal considerations (in the sense of the "expression of the attitude of the speaker towards what he says and his interlocutor") are strictly necessary to account for the occurrences of (this) tense. In other words, in addition to the properties of a real situation and to the expressive richness of a language system, one has also to model (have a representation of) the cognitive content of the speaker and hearer, in other words, their beliefs and attitudes. This claim is obviously an old one, about which I will not have anything to say in the present text, though.

Rather, I proceed in search of a satisfactory formulation of PIT - the least central label I have used. For this purpose, I have to survey briefly the descriptive basis of different theories of meaning.

10.2.6.4 Theories of meaning and language description

There are two seemingly complementary ways to handle natural language semantics. One is to look at the (common) properties of the situations described (reference) and study referential properties; the other (the structuralist view) is to look at the language system and study the various relations the linguistic devices establish among themselves. These relations are divided between syntagmatic and paradigmatic ones, the first regarding relationship with other categories, the second concerning relations to elements of the same category. Lately, cognitive linguistics has also brought to the fore questions of conceptual organization and metaphor across domains, as described in the previous section.

Formal semantics traditionally uses referential properties, and therefore e.g. habituality (in English) has been defined thus: "habituals simply posit the existence of some set of events of the specified kind" (Ramsay, 1992:229), or, as a second semantic interpretation that obtains through aspectual interpretation rules which "reduce the truth of a sentence on the relevant secondary sense to the truth of the same sentence in its basic primary sense in periods related in a systematic way to the period of evaluation" (Carlson, 1981:42).

In such a framework, most linguistic tests to elicit semantic categories play on co-occurrence with other (linguistic expressions denoting other) semantic categories, and are thus syntagmatic in nature (cf. for example the study mentioned above of the relationship of

Aktionsart with tense, Leiria (1991), or the ubiquitous tests of co-occurrence with specific kinds of adverbials to decide on aspectual properties).

Nevertheless, paradigmatic relations are also very important, even though they rely less on objective observation and more on semantic competence from the part of the analyst. Typical cases are tests looking for sameness/difference of meaning by employing another tense, or order change between clauses; cf. e.g. Sandström (1993:5): "A technique I have employed here and there is to manipulate authentic examples in various ways to see in what way interpretation is affected by changes in the surface form".

Even though for the "more referential" labels (those I dubbed of level 1, e.g. EXT or GRAD) a referential characterization will work and a paradigmatic one will possibly be superfluous, for labels such as PIT, which have no referential import, an intra-linguistic comparison of alternative ways of expression becomes essential. I will, in fact, give an account of PIT in exclusively paradigmatic terms, namely: The Pitoresco use of Imperfeito contrasts with a normal use of Perfeito in the description of a telic punctual and semelfactive event, producing a closeness effect (as if the reader is brought to the middle of the plot). (I should note, in passing, that the apparent incompatibility with other features of the 'Imperfeito' prototype, i.e., that Imperfeito can convey either remoteness or closeness, is claimed by Taylor (1989: 119ff) to be a common property of polysemous prototypes.)

PIT is, in addition, by far the most controversial label. In fact, most people would dismiss it in terms like "PIT is just a stylistic device of the basic semantics of the imperfective". However, this begs the whole question of what does imperfective mean. What should I label a PIT example then? Simply EXT? But if the tense says yes, the situation says no: there is a clear conflict. The tense cannot be there on the grounds that the situation is extended, because it clearly is not, and thus EXT does not apply. What does stylistic mean? That it is optional (in the hands of a skilful writer)? But what is conveyed by its specific choice? I believe one would want to be able to distinguish EXT from PIT in any actual case.

10.2.6.5 Summing up

I have resorted to a collection of different theoretical constructs to try to account for all labels identified in this work. Contrarily to the prevailing attitude of semanticists, I do not think that this is bad in itself. I think it is unfeasible to have a unique and well defined meaning for a grammatical category, moreover of the "accidence" kind,[25] especially if the analysis is extensive enough. A broad-coverage study cannot be expected to yield a well-behaved and neat semantics competing with theories based on logically devised fragments.

The fact that I was able to use insights from model theoretic semantics, structuralism and cognitive linguistics alike, proves (as common sense would have it) that all these theories have some grasp on the way natural language works. On the other hand, semantic theories rest in

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[25] Following Dahl (1985) in his borrowing from Aristotle, I use the term "accidence category" for those linguistic categories which are used systematically.

hypotheses which are non-directly testable, and, moreover, are concerned with specifically different problems. Therefore, it is not straightforward to compare them. Rather than choose among competing accounts, I found it preferable to use a combination of them, which I try to abstract here shortly.

Imperfeito signals a property in the past, typically a permanent one. From this it developed into conventionalizing indefinite temporal extension as an important meaning, though only in narrative discourse.[26] In (narrative) contexts where the existence of a goal is at stake, it furthermore developed the connotation of not completed, i.e., in progress. An important subcase of temporal extension is repetition, be it in time or in space, which therefore came to be rendered by Imperfeito as well (with the proviso that there were no definite count of the repetitions). Another kind of repetition which is described as essential in some way, habituality, represents a "mixture" of the two concepts EXT and PROP, and thus its evident association with Imperfeito. At a different level, the one representing our thoughts and attitudes, Imperfeito marks precisely epistemic mode. It is in this mode as well that, in connection with explicit or implicit conditional structures, Imperfeito has its conditional use, and its uses with *se* are to be understood. Finally, the use of Imperfeito in a situation where none of the above criteria is met is explained as a purely language internal device: through the marking of extension in time when the situation is objectively not extended, Imperfeito conveys closeness.

Now, to the question of assessing the meaning or semantic import of Imperfeito that I propose, and given that resorting to metaphor among conceptual domains is arguably a very abstract operation (according to Taylor, so far, there is no "principled means for deciding between alternative descriptions" (Taylor, 1989:121) based on metaphorical mappings -- barring fairly indirect clues such as diachronic change), I should be content to assess what is possible according to the frameworks I used. This means I may resort to entailment relations in model theoretic terms for the features described in such terms, but cannot do so for all features. This is why it becomes so important to check this characterization of Imperfeito as far as translation relations are concerned, as will be the subject of the following section.

10.3 The translation pattern

In this section, we analyse Imperfeito using English as an additional tool.

The initial motivation for this study was to make use both of the fine-grained semantic labelling produced in the previous one (Section 10.2) and of the tense translation regularities involving Imperfeito presented in Chapter 9. My hope was that this cross-fertilization of analytical tools and translation data would produce both more accurate translation rules and a more interesting description of Imperfeito itself.

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[26] I am not basing this description in any diachronic study, obviously. So, the present account is to be read primarily as a network of interrelated meanings, whose origin is, I believe, relatively irrelevant for the description of Portuguese at the end of the present century. This is not to deny that diachronic studies are relevant to an overall understanding of language.

This study thus set out to investigate the possible relations between the semantic labels for Imperfeito and the English tenses to which they are translationally related.

However, note that the two texts (and their pairs) cannot be studied together, since the information conveyed by the two pairings is different. In Text 1 and its translation, we can study the translation of Imperfeito **into** English, while Text 2 and its original provide evidence on Portuguese Imperfeito as translation **from** English. Consequently, the English version of Text 1 may reflect loss of Portuguese information, and addition of English one. Text 2, in turn, probably displays loss of English information, present in its English (original) version, while, at the same time, it may contain several Portuguese traits added by the translation.

The present study is thus an attempt to answer two separate questions, dealt with in Sections 10.3.1 and 10.3.2, respectively: First, do the translations of Imperfeito into English somehow reflect the semantic labels found in the study of Imperfeito only? And second, by studying the translations of English tenses into Portuguese meanings/uses can one learn more about English meanings and consequently on how to translate them?

10.3.1 Analysing the translation of Imperfeito

The pattern of the translations into English of Imperfeitos of Text 1 is presented in Table 10.5., by repeating here the relevant column of Table 9.6.[27]

Table 10.5

IMPERFEITO	127
past simple	101
past progressive	11
gerund	8
could	3
used to	2
conditional	1
passive gerund	1
past participle	1

In Table 10.6, I present the Imperfeitos identified according to semantic monolingual label, and their translation into English. PS stands for simple past, the other translations are specified after the number of occurrences. The goal of this table was to provide in visual form the correlation of English non-simple past translations with the uses found for Portuguese Imperfeito,[28] or, better, for whole clauses in Imperfeito.

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[27] Note that the difference between the number of 131 Imperfeitos analysed in the previous section, and that of only 127 whose translation into English was stored is due to the four cases of Imperfeito clauses being translated by non-clauses (e.g. an NP, PP or simple omission), and which were not counted during the annotation process.

[28] I do not present the inverse table, namely, the kind of translation distributed by fine-grained meaning, because I find it could be misleading: After all, the translation being from Portuguese into English, it could not be the form of the English that would influence the (reading of the translator of the) meaning of the original text!

Table 10.6

Imperfeito's annotation	PS	other translations (specified)
HABitual	18	6
HAB alone	3	1 (usedto)
(HAB+PROP)+EXT	5	1 (cond), 1 (could), 1 (ger)
HABvEXT alone	2	1 (prog), 1 (ger)
EXTended action	40	21
EXT alone	12	2 (prog), 1 (could)
EXT+PROP alone	9	5 (ger), 1 (could), 1 (prog)
GRADual action (+EXT)	3	3 (prog), 1 (pass ger)
PROPerty	56	18
PROP alone	36	1 (usedto), 3 (mod), 2 (0), 1 (pp), 1 (prog)
TStemporary state	11	1 (ger)
CONDitional	1	0
BACKground	5	1 (ger), 1 (prog), 1 (0)
PLUR	5	1(ger)
INDirect speech	12	4 (prog), 1 (0), 1 (mod)
IND only	0	2 (prog)
PIToresco	4	1 (prog), 1 (pass)

This table shows clearly that, whatever criteria were followed by the translator, they do not straightforwardly reflect (any of) the Portuguese categories I have proposed. Rather, the attribution of non-simple past translations seems either to be governed by different reasons or to reflect a different interpretation than mine.

Given this state of affairs, I could but study every instance in detail and try to suggest some regularities. Clearly, in most (if not all) cases, the evidence is too little to arrive at definite conclusions. But the tentative generalizations were additionally tested in the rest of the Portuguese to English corpus, as described in Section 10.3.1.7 below.

An explanation for every case analysed should not be required, though, since often there is translation choice (i.e., the solution provided by the translator is not unique), and, moreover, the translator may also fail to convey the source meaning. This is important to keep in mind in the sections to follow.

Since the vast majority of tensed clauses related translationally to Imperfeito are simple past clauses, the method I employed in this investigation was to single out the cases not translationally related to simple past, study them in some detail, and only proceed to analyse the cases involving simple past when required by a possible generalization.

After the detailed analysis of the subset of the whole corpus constituted by Text 1, the preliminary conclusions were subject to a validation in the rest of the corpus, where fine-grained

semantic labels were assigned on the fly, to see whether or not the hypotheses held.

10.3.1.1 Imperfeito to past progressive

Even though there were only eleven past progressive translations of Imperfeito in the whole text, it was easy to pin down several different motives for their use:

Process picking. Four cases involve situations describing a complex action with a process and a goal. The progressive focuses on the development of the process, where a past simple would present the whole action as if it had already taken place. This corresponds to the most well-known use of the English progressive. In Portuguese, this kind of situation was marked with GRAD(+EXT), even though there was another use for GRAD as well. Therefore, it came as no surprise that GRAD was often translated by the English progressive:

> *uma saudade antecipada e agradável daquelas mãos que **morriam***
> *longing for those hands that **were dying***
> 'a pleasant, anticipated 'saudade' of those hands who died'

> *fitou [...] a bacia onde o sangue **coalhava** espesso*
> *He looked [...] at the basin where the blood **was** thickly **coagulating***
> 'he stared at the bowl where the blood coagulated, thick'

> *um escravo [...] que se **esvaía** em sangue*
> *a [...] slave, while **being drained** of his life's blood*[29]
> 'a slave [...] who drained in blood'

> *-- Que foi que ele revelou antes de desfalecer? -- Que **morria** feliz*
> *"What did he reveal before he lost consciousness?" "That he **was dying** happy.*
> 'What did he reveal before dismaying? That he died happy'

Likewise, I believe that, although I simply marked as EXT the case of

> *aproximou-se do vulto que [...] **examinava** um rolo*
> *drew near to the figure who [...] **was examining** a scroll*
> 'approached the figure who examined a scroll'

the translator interpreted the activity of *examine* as bounded by the scroll length, and thus GRAD. (On the other hand, the specification of temporal co-occurrence in connection with relative clauses is also a plausible explanation here.)

However, not all GRAD were translated by the progressive: One puzzling example involves exactly the same verb and the same reported speech, now reported years later (instead of immediately after):

> *um escravo muito amado [...] anunciara, antes de morrer, [...] que **morria** feliz porque nascera um deus*
> *a dearly beloved slave [...] announced to the emperor before dying [...] that he **died** happy because a god had been born*

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[29] This case is not, strictly speaking, an instance of progressive (it was called 'passive gerund' in Tables 9.5 and 9.6), but it is not typical of gerundive clauses, either. The translator used here a reduced *while*-clause to translate the Portuguese relative clause. A plausible explanation for passive is the non-existence of an English verb with the same lexicalization pattern as *esvair* (i.e., with the experiencer as subject, in Talmy's (1985) typology).

'a very dear slave [...] had announced, before dying, that he died happy because a god had been born'

It may be that it is exactly the fact that at the first time 'he' was not yet dead forced the progressive, whereas simple world knowledge made it simply superfluous in the second time, or even anomalous given that it would convey that 'he' had not died on that occasion. In addition, one may argue that here one is describing the results, and not the occasion, contrary to the previous occurrence of this Portuguese clause (*que morria feliz*), cited above.

The other examples concern situations which are gradual without having a definite end, and are thus distinct from the point of view of English, which consistently renders them by simple past:

> *uma nuvem vermelha que se **dissipava***
> *a red cloud **dispersed***
> 'a red cloud which dissipated itself'

> *As imagens que haviam flutuado na noite, além do parapeito, **configuravam**-se agora na recordação daquele corpo* [30]
> *The images that had hovered in the night, beyond the parapet, **took shape** now in memories of that [...] body.*
> 'The images that had floated in the night, outside the parapet, configurated now in remembering that body'

Manner addition. In two cases, the use of the English progressive and of gerund seemed to be straightforwardly rooted in some characteristics in which English most notably differs from Portuguese: namely, locative expressions with the verb *estar*, labelled TS, were translated by more specific English location verbs (either in the progressive or only in t he gerundive form)

> *cuja vida [...] **devia** estar por um fio*
> *whose life **was** only **hanging** by a thread*
> 'whose life should be by one thread'

> *or rolos que **estavam** no chão*
> *scrolls **lying** on the floor*
> 'the scrolls which were on the floor'

This confirms the observation (made in Section 10.2.4.4) that English gives considerably more importance to manner than Portuguese.

Series. Obviously, I cannot suggest that progressive signals extended action, i.e., that EXT should be translated by the progressive, since only 4 out of 41 occurrences of EXT (discounting GRAD) were translated by the progressive. However, in the two cases where EXT signals a series, i.e., a continuous sequence of several unitary actions, progressive was chosen in English:

> *Quintílio Vero **torcia** as mãos*
> *Quintilius Verus **was twisting** his hands*
> 'Quintilius Verus twisted the hands'

---

[30] This sentence, in addition, was labelled PIT, because of the word *agora* ('now'). It is therefore not clear whether this Imperfeito is due to graduality or simply to "pitoresco" use.

> *Marco Semprónio **seguia** os movimentos do imperador*
> *Marcus Sempronius **was following** the emperor's movements*
> 'Marcus Sempronius followed the movement of the emperor'

While analysing the Portuguese text, I simply considered the actions as extended, because neither "basic action" can be delimited. From an English point of view, however, it seems that an homogeneous extended action and a series of repetitions are distinct phenomena as far as translation is concerned.

The description of a series may also be involved in

> *eu não sabia o que **fazia***
> *I didn't know what I **was doing***

which was marked HABvEXT, where *fazia* may be describing a series of (ill) doings. But one should note that here the alternative *I didn't know what I did* would convey a semelfactive meaning, and could thus not be used. This indicates that in some kinds of embedded contexts progressive is required to indicate co-extensiveness (see also Section 10.3.1.6 below).

A similar case of non-optionality of the progressive occurs in

> *E, seguindo Átis que **corria***
> *And, following after Athis, who **was running***
> 'And, following Athis who ran'

where the progressive[31] had to be chosen in order to prevent an inceptive reading, very common with activities, which I believe would be the most salient reading of *following after Athis, who ran*. So, it is clear that considerations of other unwanted interpretations may force one particular form in the translation.

Getting back to the subject of series and their translation, there is a strong affinity between series and PLUR, so it is interesting in this connection to see why no cases of PLUR in Text 1 were rendered by the English progressive.

> *apenas alongavam por ela dentro imagens que lhe **enchiam** a memória vaga.*
> *merely stretched along the distance the images that **filled** his vague memory.*
> 'they only stretched inside it images which filled the memory, vague'

> *Marco Semprónio olhava o poente que **avermelhava** as folhas das parreiras, e **punha** nos cachos, quase maduros, laivos purpuríneos.*
> *Marcus Sempronius watched the sunset which **reddened** the leaves of the trellised grapevine and **cast** a purplish hue on the nearly ripe grape clusters.*
> 'Marcus Sempronius looked at the sunset which made the grapewine leaves red, and put in the grape clusters, almost ripe, purple hue'

> *e um silêncio se demorou na biblioteca, durante o qual se ouviram, abafados, no crepúsculo que **punha** sombras pelos cantos, os ruídos domésticos da 'vila'.*
> *and in the library there lingered a silence through which could be heard, in the twilight that **brought** shadows to all corners, the muffled sounds of domestic life in the villa.*
> 'and a silence lasted in the library, during which were heard, muffled, in the

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[31] A double gerund here seems to be out of question for stylistic reasons (see also next section).

crepuscule which put shadows in all corners, the domestic sounds of the villa'

Note that the plurality is simultaneous (all shadows, and all leaves, are being created, or affected, at the same time). English progressive, on the other hand, is used to convey a pattern in time, that is caused by plurality <u>in time</u> and not only in space.

The two remaining examples, on the other hand, are irrelevant in this connection because they are classifed as HAB+PLUR and it is known that progressive cannot express habituality in English.

Perspective. The two cases whose only label was IND were both translated by the progressive, which may indicate that perspective is one of the uses of the English progressive. (This has incidentally been defended by Caenepeel (1989:130), who stated that "progressives have the capacity to describe a situation as the object of introspection on the part of a subject".)

However, not only is the number of cases too small to be conclusive, but the particular cases share other characteristics equally relevant, in my view, for this translation. Namely, the two actions depicted have not had a natural end, i.e., they can be conceived as either still developing, or at least having just taken place, (cf. Smith's (1991) notion of an imperfective resultative, illustrated by *John was sitting in a chair*). In fact, cf.:

> *Ou **chamava**-o, mais uma vez, para aconselhá-lo*
> *Or **was** he **calling** on him, once more [...]*
> 'Or did he call him, once more, for him to advise him'

> *Marco Semprónio achou que como sempre, Átis **dramatizava***
> *Marcus Sempronius thought that Athis, once more, **was being** overly dramatic*
> 'Marcus Sempronius thought that as always, Athis dramatized'

I wonder whether one is still calling when the other has not yet responded, and whether one is still being dramatic if the other has not yet responded. (This is what Couper-Kuhlen (1989:24) calls "left-boundedness", namely actions which have only an initial temporal bound.)

Note, in passing, the co-occurrence of "once more" in the two sentences,[32] which marks unambiguously the semelfactive character of the action described. Therefore, the English sentences were free from a series interpretation of the progressive.

In addition, the second example presents one of the progressive uses most discussed in the literature: the agentive colouring of the progressive with states. The text does not convey that Marcus Sempronius thought Athis was inherently dramatic, but, rather, that he thought that Athis on purpose wanted to be dramatic.

The question whether IND is a relevant reason for use of the progressive in its translation remains therefore open. Even though quantitatively only one third of INDs is translated by the progressive, the other two thirds have specific reasons not to use it, since they either contain stative main verbs, e.g.:

> *Como **estava** velho, cheio de refegos no pescoço e no corpo!*

---

[32] The second literally should have been "as usual".

> *How old he **was**, full of creases on his neck and body!*
> 'How he was old, full of creases in the neck and in the body!'
>
> *Como o nariz **parecia** uma tromba ou um sexo, e como o sexo **parecia** um nariz!*
> *How his nose **looked** like a trunk or his sex, and how his sex **looked** like a nose!*
> 'How the nose looked a trunk or a sex, and how the sex looked a nose!'
>
> *(**era** evidente, pois que até ele, Marco Semprónio, conspirava)*
> *(it **was** evident, for even he, Marcus Sempronius, conspired)*
> 'it was evident, since even he, Marcus Sempronius, conspired'
>
> *Como ele **gostava** de Salerno!*
> *How he **enjoyed** Salerno!*
> 'How he loved Salerno!'

or are also marked HAB, e.g.:

> *(como **sabia** histórias, como **era** músico, que lições de retórica não **dava** ele às crianças!)*
> *(what stories he **knew**, what a musician, what lessons in rhetoric he **gave** to the children!)*
> '(how he knew stories, how he was musical, what lessons in rethoric he gave to the children!)'

Finally, given my own unclear intuitions about this Portuguese sentence, I will not offer an analysis of:

> *e já o vulto se **voltava***
> *and already the figure **was turning** abruptly*
> 'and already the figure turned'

10.3.1.2 Imperfeito to gerund

It is not a straightforward matter whether gerund should be treated as significantly different from progressive. In fact, the two constructions are related, and the choice between gerund or the progressive may have mainly to do with the source syntactic form. For example, an interesting observation is that all translations by gerund correspond to Portuguese relative clauses. Not all relative clauses with Imperfeito were translated by gerund, though.

In this section I discuss the eight simple gerund translations.

Manner encoding. The most common situation in the translation into gerund (six out of the eight cases) had to do with EXT-PROP-only cases, i.e., the description of extended actions through manner:

> *Ouviram uma voz que **gritava**, não **gritava**, não, mas **soluçava**, **uivava***
> *They heard a voice **shouting**, no, not **shouting**, but **crying** out, **howling***
> They heard a voice that shouted, did not shout, no, but cried, howled'
>
> *um frio que lhe **lambia** as pernas depiladas*
> *a chill **licking** at his depilated legs*
> 'a cold which licked his depilated legs'

Finally, in

> *desenhou-se a pequena praia com garotos saltando por entre o peixe que **saltava** também*
> *visualized the small beach with young boys leaping about among the **leaping** fish*
> 'it was drawn the small beach with boys jumping around the fish which jumped as well'

even though it is labelled PLUR, and HABvEXT+PROP, one can conclude that the English translator focussed on the EXT(+PROP) contents.

It thus seems worth while to investigate whether a generalization can be found here. Let us see whether the ten exceptions to the rule that "Imperfeito clauses conveying Manner translates into gerund" can be systematically explained. (Recall that the fact that Manner is conveyed in a clause in Imperfeito does not mean that it is Imperfeito that conveys Manner; on the contrary, in Section 10.2.4.4 above I reached the opposite conclusion).

Five correspond to manner not rendered lexically by the verb, namely (I underline the manner-related constituent):

> <u>*bem*</u> *que eu **dizia***[33]
> *As **I said***
> 'Well that I said'

> ***era*** *um <u>rugido</u> triste*
> *it **was** a sad wailing*
> 'it was a sad roar'

> ***era*** *um <u>murmúrio</u> indistinto*
> *it **was** an indistinct murmur*

> *um escravo **vinha** <u>correndo</u> em direcção a ele*
> *a slave **came** running in his direction*
> 'a slave came running towards him'

> *No clarão distinto que <u>difuso</u> **vinha** [...]*
> *In the indistinct light which **emerged** diffusely*
> 'In the indistinct gleam which diffuse came'

where it would be awkward (if not impossible) to use a simple gerund in this situation (cf. *diffusely coming*).

Also, one case was found to require a progressive, not gerund, possibly only for stylistic reasons, to avoid two gerunds in a row, as described above:

> *E, seguindo Átis que **corria***
> *And, following after Athis, who **was running**.*
> 'And, following Athis who ran'

Another case falls under the more specific case of perception verbs, to be discussed in the

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[33] One should note that this example, which can be considered idiomatic, is not strictly speaking a relative clause. A more exact rendering of its meaning would be 'I was right in saying so'; however, considerations of conversational rules in English made the translator opt for a more idiomatic and common English phrase; which was right, in my opinion. This is nonetheless yet another case of Portuguese choosing a general property while English refers to an instance.

next subsection:

> *Quase se não **viam** um ao outro*
> *They **could** barely **see** each other*
> 'Almost they did not see each other'

In the next case, the translation is too free to have an equivalent of the verb in question:

> *pelos fugidios brilhos que **entrevia** nos seus olhos semicerrados*
> *with semi-closed eyes that shone fleeting*
> 'through the fugacious sparkles of which he caught a glimpse in his semi-closed eyes'

Finally, I believe the translation is poor in

> *-- Os meus amigos já morreram todos -- e **sorria***
> *"My friends have all died", and he **smiled***
> '"All my friends are already dead", he smiled'

because it fails to convey that the smiling did not follow the utterance, being instead simultaneous to it. I claim, in fact, that a better translation would precisely involve a gerund, namely *he said, smiling*.

One is thus left with three main clauses labelled as EXT+PROP and which received a past simple translation:

> *E a voz **uivava** tanto, que deve ser verdade*
> *And the voice **howled** so much that it must be true*

This sentence, in addition to specifying the manner of shouting, specifically focuses on its amount/intensity. It can thus be seen as an instance of PROP-only, and I believe this was the translator's interpretation. The next case is more complex:

> *os olhos [...] não **perscrutavam**, apenas **alongavam** por ela dentro imagens que lhe enchiam a memória vaga*
> *his eyes [...] **sought** out nothing, merely **stretched** along the distance the images that filled his vague memory*
> 'the eyes [...] did not scrutinize, only elongated into it images which filled his memory vague'

While, on one hand, gerund alone was syntactically forbidden, except for a wide restructuring of the sentences, the question remains why progressive was not used. Possibly, the English sentences above are understood as statives, and therefore progressive would convey the unwanted connotation of temporariness instead of long-standing position/activity (like in the pair *he was standing* vs. *he stood*), as well as indicate intentional action (which would clash with the subject "his eyes").

Manner addition. This case has already been discussed in connection with the progressive, related to the use of location verbs, namely:

> *rolos que **estavam** no chão*
> *scrolls **lying** on the floor*
> 'scrolls which were on the floor'

Series rendering. Finally, the following sentence was classified as HABvEXT, in that

Imperfeito could be describing the extendedness of a single announcement, or the existence of a series of possibly contiguous announcements. I believe that the English gerund conveys exactly the same impreciseness, and thus the translation is very good.

> *haviam ouvido, dentro da noite, uma voz que **anunciava** a morte do deus Pã*
> *had heard a voice in the night, **announcing** the death of the god Pan*
> 'they had heard, inside the night, a voice which announced the death of god Pan'

10.3.1.3 Imperfeito to modals

Some translations involving English modals correspond to Portuguese modals in Imperfeito, and I will not have anything to say about them here. I will only be concerned with the insertion of a modal in the translation.

The three translations of bare Imperfeitos by the modal *could* show a regular pattern: they correspond to non-agentive perception verbs in English (*hear*, *see*, *feel*):

> *Quase se não **viam** um ao outro*
> *They **could** barely **see** each other*
> 'They almost did not see each other'

> *uma noite cerrada em que nada se **via***
> *an overcast night in which nothing **could be seen***
> *'a dark night in which people saw nothing'*

> *nada mais **sentia***
> *he **could feel** nothing else*
> 'nothing else he felt'

These verbs are special in English because "they are straightforward cases of verbs inimical to the Progressive Aspect [...] The difference between the variant constructions with and without *could* is that the *could* form denotes a state, whereas the Simple Past form denotes an event" (Leech, 1971:20). This is interesting because tense in Portuguese is clearly relevant here -- in fact, eleven instances of these same verbs are not rendered with *could* when they translate Portuguese Perfeito; cf. e.g.:

> *só então **ouviu***
> *only then **heard***

10.3.1.4 Imperfeito to "used to"

Only two cases of translation of Imperfeito by *used to* were found, and, interestingly, not with event predicates. During the semantic annotation reported in Section 10.2 above, one case I had considered plainly habitual, the other I had marked as denoting a property:

> *Marco Semprónio pensou: "Tibério **bebia** o sangue dos escravos"*
> *Marcus Sempronius thought: Tiberius **used to drink** the blood of slaves*
> 'Marcus Sempronius thought: Tiberius drank slaves' blood'

> *Tu **gostavas** muito de Salerno*
> *You **used to enjoy** Salerno so very much*
> 'You loved Salerno'

In this last case, the translation may reflect a cultural difference: you <u>enjoy</u> (a particular brand of) wine in English (whenever you drink it), but you <u>like</u> (a particular brand of) wine in Portuguese (no temporal structure involved).

Should this be taken to prove that *used to* does not primarily mark habituality in English, but, rather, it simply conveys a repeated situation in the past? Let us see what is common in these two cases: first of all, *used to* is employed in direct speech, and then, it seems to be deictic, in that it contrasts with *now*. I should thus stress the part of pastness which is pertinent to the definition of *used to*, and that actually led Dahl (1985) to claim that it belongs to the cross-linguistic category HABPAST. In fact, as observed by Lauri Carlson (p.c.), *used to* indicates <u>remote</u> past: In the two previous examples, it is used to disambiguate the tense, signalling 'pluperfect' instead of concurrent past ("he had had the habit of...").

Given that *used to* is traditionally presented as making habituality explicit (see a.o. Comrie (1976:28ff), Dahl (1985:101-2), Bybee (1994:239)), it is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of Portuguese sentences marked by HAB were not rendered in English through this device. (In addition, only activities, *drink* and *enjoy*, co-occurred with it.) First of all, all cases of HAB+PROP were translated by simple past. The use of *used to* would, I believe, destroy the property connotation that I argued for in those cases, by stressing the repeated number of occurrences without further consequences, cf. *but you used to laugh at them* versus *but you laughed at them*. One could thus say that *used to* "extensionalizes" repetition.

Two other HAB-only instances were specified by a frequency adverbial in both Portuguese and English, and therefore did not require additional specification to be understood as habituals. In another occurrence, temporal overlap was part of the meaning, and therefore (remote) pastness was excluded (in addition to the fact that this case is actually underdetermined whether Imperfeito was used for EXT or HAB):

> *ouviram uma voz que **dizia**...*
> *they heard a voice that **said**...*
> 'they heard a voice saying...'

The remaining one could, I believe, be translated by *used to*, but the plurality information, conveyed by the plural object, is enough in the two languages to convey the information that the situation described was not unique in any way:

> *oh, eram experiências que nós **fazíamos***
> *oh, those were practices we **carried** out then.*
> 'oh, it was experiments we did'

(*Then* also seems to contribute to invoke a large frame where to place the habitual doings.)

Anyway, habituality as conveyed by Imperfeito, and the *used to* construction, seem to constitute a clear case of non-matching monolingual categories.[34]

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[34] There is also a verb (aspectualizer) in Portuguese, *costumar*, whose lexical meaning is habit, and which is possibly closer to English *used to*. Since, however, *costumar* was not present in the texts object of this study, I will not discuss it here.

10.3.1.5 Imperfeito to others

Conditional. The (only) translation into the English conditional is interesting, because it displays a set of concurrent English-internal reasons which are not directly conditioned by the Portuguese interpretation. In fact, while I considered that particular Imperfeito as describing a real situation, albeit through a subjective evaluation (EXT-PROP-HAB), the translator could have interpreted the clause as indirect speech (possibly dependent on *complain*) and choose *would* accordingly.

> *Queixava-se, sim, das dores que não o **largavam***
> *He complained, rather, of the pains that **would** not **leave** him.*
> 'He complained, yes, about the pains which did not leave him'

But, more to the point, a translation into simple past would actually be inappropriate, because it would leave out the connotations of "for a long time" and of "despite all attempts" that *would* carries and that the Imperfeito confirms. Later in Section 10.3.1.7, I will show this to be one case of translating a regularity by a future prediction.

Past participle. In the only translation of Imperfeito by past participle

> *tiraram do varão o gancho que **havia** na corda*
> *removed from the iron rod the hook **attached** to the rope*
> 'they took from the bar the hook there was in the rope'

manner is added: the existence verb *haver* in a relative clause is translated by a past participle. This is analogous to the case of the gerunds above, just this verb in English has a different lexicalization pattern, i.e., *attach*, unlike *lie* or *hang*, means preferably "cause to be attached".

Passive. The only translation pair Imperfeito to passive, marked PIT, is a case of *cum-inversum quando*-clause.

> *E **abraçavam**-se, com certa efusão convencional, quando*
> *And they **were** still **embraced**, in a certain conventional effusiveness, when*
> 'And they hugged, with some conventional effusiveness, when'

To denote the extendedness of the embrace as surrounding the action described by the *quando*-clause, the translator resorts to mentioning that the embrace was still taking place, or, rather, that it had not come to an end. Even though I think that the use of the progressive form could be justified in a clearly extended action, like *And I was walking towards him, when he said*, it seems to me that its use is excluded because of cultural differences: In fact, *abraçar com efusão* in Portuguese corresponds to an extended action normally including patting in the back and repeated movements, while *embrace* in English possibly only describes a static position relating two bodies. So, while *they were still embracing* would be the correct rendering had *embrace* the meaning of *abraçar com efusão*, it would be awkward given the English meaning (compare in this connection the equally odd *they were still sitting*).

It is interesting to note that *cum-inversum quando*-clauses seem always to have caused some trouble to the translator:

> *e **avançavam**, de braços estendidos, um para o outro, <u>quando</u> concluiu*

> *and they **advanced**, arms outstretched, toward each other, <u>while</u> he concluded*
> 'and they advanced, arms outstretched, toward each other, when he concluded'

In this case, the translator chose to underline the extendedness of the first action with respect to the second, by substituting a *while*-clause for the *when*-clause. This move seems to me ill-founded, because the English sentence then implies that the statement of "his" conclusion took as long as "they" were walking in each other's direction, while in Portuguese a punctual action of concluding is conveyed, located either precisely the end of their walking period or at least being a proper part of it.

Verb omission. The two cases of verb omission have different causes. In the first example, the verb *amarrava* ('tie') is discarded and replaced by a prepositional phrase describing the manner of location.

> *na corda que lhe **amarrava** os pés*
> *to the rope around his legs*
> 'in the rope that tied his feet'

Manner of location is thus explicitly added while manner of causing this location is on the other hand omitted: *amarrar* implies tightness, *around* by no means does so. Possibly, the more literal alternative phrase *tied around his feet* was not chosen to avoid a clumsy repetition of past participle clauses (cf. *attached to the rope tied to his feet*).

The next case seems to fall under a grammatical difference between the two languages, in that the *What a ...* construction in English does not require a copula, contrarily to Portuguese (if the conjunction *como* is involved). This is the (uninteresting) reason why the English translator omitted a literal *he was* in

> *como **era** músico*
> *what a musician*
> 'how he was musical'

10.3.1.6 First conclusions

An important conclusion seems to be that, even though at first sight no regularities could be spotted, I was able to explain many cases of apparent exceptions to a possible rule by a thorough consideration of other factors involved.

This study, in addition, confirmed that both features of referential properties **and** of the linguistic system as a whole are at play in translation choice. For example, in both languages, conveying perspective (subjective point of view) is a property of tenses and aspects. Imperfeito seems to indicate it, as well as progressive. However, the need for this explicit signalling is different in both languages, given that it interacts with other possible requirements for the same grammatical devices.

On the other hand, the influence of syntactic context, which I never looked systematically into, should not be forgotten. At this point I can say that its neglect was possibly the worst defect of the study described in the present chapter.

Let me now sum up the preliminary translation regularities suggested so far

1. GRAD is not grammatically distinguished in Portuguese, i.e., the existence of a complex action including both a process and a goal is not identified by tense. Imperfeito signals extension, GRAD actions are a kind of extended action. The existence of a goal in Portuguese is only detectable - if necessary - through the lexical meaning of the verb or specific arguments. On the other hand, and supporting what has been widely claimed in the literature (see a.o. Dowty (1979) and Landman (1992)), this feature is highly relevant in English for the choice between a progressive or a simple past rendering.

2. Habituality in the past, one of the uses of Imperfeito, is a covert category of English simple past, and thus requires adverbial specification. When this specification is non-existent in the Portuguese source text (the case of the combination HAB+PROP), and is not added by the English translator, habituality is either lost in the translation, or only understandable from the whole context. *Used to*, traditionally considered to convey exactly habituality in the past,[35] was found to have a considerably narrower scope.

Some specific properties of the latter construction may explain why it was not used as the translation of Imperfeito habituals: (i) it is related to present perspective (i.e., it has to contrast with the present, therefore it is felicitous only in direct speech or in non-narrative contexts), and (ii) it has a connotation of temporariness, as opposed to the permanency germane to Imperfeito. In addition, its distributional properties are clearly different: *My father used to have a car*, cited in Bybee (1994), would be at best translated by *Dantes o meu pai tinha (um) carro*, where the Imperfeito would not be considered HAB, but simply PROP.

3. Relative clauses expressing manner tend to be translated by gerundive clauses in English, provided that manner can be explicitly encoded by the verb in this language.

Incidently, this may provide an explanation for the small number of EXT-PROP cases found in Text 2, which was noted in section 10.2.4.4. The possible frequent use of non-finite clauses in English could have led the Portuguese translator to choose also a high number of such constructions in Portuguese.

4. Manner of location is added when Portuguese uses simple existence verbs. This can be done again through the present participle (the *ing*-form) or the past participle -- or corresponding progressive and passive in main clauses --, depending on the specific characteristics of the English verb; cf. *hanging* and *lying* vs. *attached*.

5. The use of Imperfeito or Perfeito with perception verbs correlates with the use of the modal *could* or the simple past.

6. *Cum-inversum quando*-clauses of the form <Imperfeito clause, *quando* Perfeito clause> are systematically problematic, even though there is a (possibly parallel) phenomenon in English, illustrated by e.g. *He was just about to leave, when* [..], cited in Sandström (1993:3). This kind of Portuguese structures seems never to translate into *cum-inversum when*-clauses, though.

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[35] This actually raises the question of whether there can be a cross-linguistic definition of "habituality"... English habituality has rather different properties than Portuguese habituality.

7. Another particular case of EXT (and/or PLUR), that of a series of smaller activities done in (strict) temporal sequence, seems to be marked by the English progressive or gerund as well, while not being formally distinguished in Portuguese.[36]

10.3.1.7 Validation

The generalizations suggested above were checked by looking at a larger body of data (i.e., the texts and their translations identified by PE11, PE12, PE3, PE6, PE8 and PE9), and classifying the source instances when necessary:

To verify the use of the progressive as described in 1. and 7. above, I checked manually all 71 occurrences of the translation of Imperfeito into progressive and obtained 11 instances of 'leading to a goal' (marked GRAD), 16 occurrences of series/plural events, and 22 occurrences of perspective marking (labelled IND), thereby supporting the hypotheses above.

In addition, it surfaced that progressive seemed to be required in some specific contexts to specify temporal overlapping; note the similarity with the example *eu não sabia o que fazia* discussed in Section 10.3.1.1 above:

> *sabia perfeitamente o que a esperava*
> *she knew perfectly what **was awaiting** her*
> 'she knew exactly what waited for her'
>
> *Umas vezes escrevera na verdade para saber o que **pensava***
> *At times he had indeed written in order to know what he **was thinking***
> 'Some times he had written really to know what he thought (his opinions)'
>
> *que nem queria sentir que ele a **olhava***
> *who didn't even want to know that it **was looking** at her*[37]
> 'who did not even want to feel that he looked at her'
>
> *logo a sua sensibilidade reconheceu quem **falava***
> *his sensibilities soon recognized who **was speaking***
> 'at once his sensitivity recognized who talked'
>
> *E, precisamente numa altura em que **discutiam** este assunto, a serpente e a alma haviam desaparecido.*
> *And precisely at a moment when they **were discussing** this matter the serpent and the soul had disappeared.*
> 'And, precisely at a time when they discussed the matter, the serpent and the soul had disappeared'

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[36] Still, in Santos (1991b), a study of verb aspectual class in Portuguese, I distinguished among activities and series. This latter category was assigned to lexical items corresponding both to a change and to an activity composed of several changes, exemplified by verbs such as *respirar*, *acenar*, *tossir* ('breathe', 'wave', 'cough'). The main distinctive criterion for the elements of this class, separating them from activities, was their interpretation in Perfeito as semelfactive, and in Imperfeito as a temporal sequence, rather than as a habit. I.e., while the most natural interpretation of e.g. *dançar* ('dance') in Imperfeito is habitual, for *tossir* ('cough') it is a sequence of small coughs, even though, of course, given the right context one can also interpret it as habitual.

[37] This particular translation is poor, because it fails to convey a regular pattern. Alternative translations would be *who would not even acknowledge his looking at her* or *who would not even stand his looking at her*.

Finally, I noted that position of human beings was also preferably specified with the English progressive:

> a mão que **pendia** para fora do catre
> the hand that **was hanging** over the cot
> 'the hand that hung out of the cot'

> Debruçando-se da mesa a que se **apoiava**
> Bending over the table on which he **was leaning**
> 'leaning over the table on which he leaned'

> um deles **encostava**-se à parede
> One of them **was leaning** against the wall.
> 'one of them leaned against the wall'

In the two last cases, a simple past could as well be read as the start of the position.

Regarding the translation of Imperfeito by *used to*, I checked manually all 13 occurrences, and the explicit marking of pastness was strikingly conspicuous in every case. For example, the next sentence describes the time when the old man was a boy:

> assentes nas tão grossas colunas que ele e os outros rapazes se **escondiam** dos mestres à volta delas
> atop the thick columns among which he and the other boys **used to hide** from their teachers
> 'placed upon the columns, so thick that he and the other boys hid from their teachers behind them'

while the following example explicitly sets the narration of a past situation:

> Voltemos aos "espíritos". Eu **comprava** cigarros numa estanqueira
> But back to the "spirits." I **used to buy** cigarettes from a woman
> 'Let's go back to the "ghosts". I bought cigarettes in a tobacconist'

and here there is a clear contrast with *before*:

> Antigamente, ela **vendia** muito
> Before, she **used to sell** a lot

There was only one case where there was no pastness involved, but in my opinion it corresponds to a clear translation error:

> Agora, assim alquebrado e impotente, tudo o que **pensava**, se o escrevesse, lhe parecia que
> Now, thus decrepit and impotent, everything that he **used to think**, if he were to write it, seemed to him to [...].
> 'Now, thus decrepit and impotent, all he thought, if he wrote it, seemed that'

In addition, this interesting general feature was apparent: all instances of *used to* appeared in direct or indirect speech (conceiving this latter broadly, encompassing thus narration in the first person and perspective marking).

As far as relative clauses denoting manner are concerned, I checked manually the first ten relative clauses in Imperfeito of each text, but the results were not so clear as in the previous issue. In fact, of the 60 relative clauses looked into, only five cases of manner Imperfeito to

gerund were found, and two of Imperfeito conveying manner into past participle.[38]

There was only one clear example of manner that did not translate into gerund, namely

> entre as potentes raízes que se **alteavam** como muralhas sombrias
> among the powerful roots that **rose** like shadowy walls

This may mean that there is free choice, since I believe that gerund would be possible here too. This case is special, though, in that an explicit comparison is at stake, contrary to all other cases of manner. Another relevant remark is that, while Portuguese describes manner of position, English *rise* can describe movement as well, and thus gerund in this case might add an unwanted connotation of movement.

In order to confirm the tendency of English to get rid of light verbs, I checked manually all translations of *estar* and *haver* in Imperfeito, as main verbs. There were 20 occurrences of *estar*, 16 concerning human beings. Only 7 cases were rendered by more specific position verbs (*lie* (three times), *stand* (three times), and *appear*); some I show here:

> E, ao aproximar-se da porta, quando suspirava de alívio, **estava** a seu lado, saindo também, o sujeito de preto.
> As he approached the gate, when he was breathing a sigh of relief, **there appeared** at his side the fellow dressed in black, who was also leaving.
> 'And, approaching the door, when he sighed of relief, was at his side, leaving too, the fellow in black'

> O frade insistiu nos apelos e eles regressaram até onde ele **estava**.
> The friar kept calling them until they came back to where he **stood**.
> 'The friar insisted on the calls and they returned to where he was'

> E nisso **estava** a diferença da poesia que escrevera na vida.
> And in this **lay** the difference from the poetry he had written throughout his life.
> 'And in that was the difference of the poetry which he had written in life'

Interestingly, all four concerning non-human subjects were rendered by specific verbs, namely the three instances of *lie* and the following idiomatic translation with *stand*:

> E **estava** nisto quando viu aproximarem-se os lenhadores
> And thus matters **stood** when he saw the woodsmen draw near
> 'And he was at this when he saw the woodsmen approach'

As far as *haver* is concerned, its 19 occurrences all concerned non-animate objects. Two of them were rendered by a more specific verb (*gather*, *attach*):

> nas lajes irregulares do passeio **havia** poças de água.
> pools of water **gathered** in the irregular flagstones of the sidewalk.
> 'on the irregular flagstones of the sidewalk there were water puddles'

> tiraram do varão o gancho que **havia** na corda que lhe amarrava os pés
> removed from the iron rod the hook **attached** to the rope around his legs
> 'they took from the bar the hook there was in the rope'

Four in turn omitted it (simply, or restructuring the sentence), and one last example added

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[38] Note that the distinction between gerund and past participle is syntactically determined: only subject relative clauses translate into gerund, and object into past participle.

deixis (*come*):

> *No coreto, **havia** vozearia abafada.*
> *From the bandstand **there came** a hushed clamor.*
> 'At the bandstand, there were hushed voices'

Despite the few instances of replacement of *estar* and *haver* with more specific manner/position verbs, I still believe that the hypothesis stands up to scrutiny in the light of these data, for two independent reasons:

First, a large proportion of *estar* and *haver* sentences were negative, respectively 3 and 9 cases, and it is reasonable to assume that it is more logical to assert that e.g. a person is not there than a person is not there in a certain way (except if that is precisely the intended message, and then it would have to be explicit in the source text as well).

Second, and this is important to keep in mind, the translator, in addition to producing a readable text in his own language, is also striving to preserve as much as possible the author's style and way of conveying information. One can thus expect that in an English text coming from Portuguese there will be more cases of *there be* and simple *be* than in a text created in English.[39]

I checked manually all 49 occurrences of the verbs *ver*, *ouvir* and *sentir* in Imperfeito and Perfeito, to investigate the correlation between these tenses and the use of the modal *could*.

It was clear that the strong correlation between tense and presence or absence of *could* was too rough a simplification. The data showed a quite different distribution. Even if I discard the twelve occurrences of the verb *sentir* ('feel'), all translated by the simple past, on the grounds of not being a perception verb in its main uses, I still have to account for a similar distribution into English of Imperfeito and Perfeito occurrences of the verb *ver* ('see'). In fact, eleven occurrences of Perfeito, and eight of Imperfeito, were translated by past simple, while three occurrences of Perfeito, and three of Imperfeito, were translated by *could*, and the four remaining ones (three of Imperfeito, one of Perfeito) were translated by other means. I tentatively formulated some additional translation hypotheses, and looked into the matter more carefully, and this will be the subject of Chapter 11.

As far as the question of the translation of *cum-inversum quando*-clauses, in the whole corpus only two others were found, namely:

> *e estava sentado com ela no meu colo, <u>quando</u> ouvi passos na escada*
> *and was seated with her in my lap when I heard footsteps on the staircase*
> 'and I was sitting with her on my lap, when I head footsteps on the staircase'

> *e estava nisto <u>quando</u> viu aproximarem-se os lenhadores*
> *and thus matters stood when he saw the woodsmen draw near*
> 'And he was at this when he saw the woodsmen approach'

therefore not much could be concluded. Still, there must be something to my hypothesis that *cum-inversum quando*-clauses are difficult to translate, since the translation of the first example

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[39] That this is actually the case will be verified in Chapter 14, when studying the translation into and from *be* in simple past.

seems to be a mistake: to my knowledge, no reason can be adduced to prevent the usual rendering of *estar sentado* by *was sitting*. On the other hand, the second example also loses some of the Portuguese contents in that in the source text a state of mind is described, that of hesitating, while in the English translation an external state is mentioned instead.

Finally, if one looks at Table 9.6, it is conspicuous that Text 1 (PE10) is not a good representative of three common translations of Imperfeito into English, namely the conditional, the passive and the pluperfect. Leaving the last subject to Chapter 13, I set out here to investigate whether the 53 translations of Imperfeito by the conditional and the 14 by the passive could unveil some regular patterns, even though this time no semantic annotation would be *a priori* available.

Imperfeito to passive. I was able to detect four kinds of contexts where Imperfeito was rendered by the English passive. The first seemed to constitute a hard and fast rule: the impersonal subject *se* expressing a non-definite set of relevant people appearing in connection with cognitive verbs must be translated by an impersonal passive:

> *já que se **sabia** que o velho rei tinha morrido.*
> since it **was known** that the old king had died
>
> ***dizia**-se que o próprio Ministro [...] louvara a iniciativa.*
> It **was rumored** that the minister himself [...] had praised the project.
>
> *De resto, **afirmava**-se de Gustavo Dores que [...]*
> Besides, it **was said** of Gustavo Dores that [...]
>
> *e, na metrópole, **imaginava**-se que tinha sido desfeiteada a autoridade*
> and, in the Metropolis, it **was thought** that authority had been flouted
> 'and in the metropolis, people imagined that the authority had been affronted'
>
> *havia sempre um culpado, e **narravam**-se então casos de suborno honestamente repelido*
> there was always someone to be blamed, and stories **were** then **told** about bribes honestly rejected
> 'there was always a culprit, and people told then cases of bribe honestly rejected'

A similar context concerns non-specific subjects expressed by the null subject, as in

> *A comadre é que disse que tu, se quisesses, podias fazer, que toda a gente dizia que eras muito bom dizedor, e que fazias logo os versos que te **pediam**.*
> Your godmother's the one who said that you, if you wished, could do it, for everyone was saying you have a way with words, and that you could quickly write whatever verses **were asked** of you.
> 'The godmother said that you, if you wanted, could do, since everyone said you were a very good writer, and did at once the verses people asked you'

Another interesting context was the case of gradual verbs (expressions), or, at least thus interpreted by the translator. (Incidentally, those verbs are often reflexive in Portuguese.) Two cases should be distinguished: those describing habitual situations, and the ones depicting extended situations in progress.

The first group poses evidently more problems for translation into English; cf.:

> *quando alguns dos pequenos funcionários se **inclinavam** para os países totalitários [...], sentia uma certa volúpia administrativa; mas, se esse desprezo, tomando foros de aristocratismo, se estendia aos colonos [...], não **comungava***
> *when some of the minor bureaucrats **were inclined** to favor the totalitarian countries [...] he felt a certain administrative bliss; but when that contempt, putting on aristocratic airs, **was extended** to the colonists [...] Gustavo Dores [...] did not partake of their views*
> 'when some of the small civil servants leaned toward the totalitarian countries [...] he felt a certain administrative bliss; but if that disdain, taking an aristocratic turn, extended to the colonists, he did not share their view'

> *Toda a unção adquirida [...] se **perdia** naquele regresso a casa*
> *All of the unction acquired [...] **was lost** in the return home at afternoon's end*
> 'all unction acquired would get lost in that home return'

In fact, and although an attempt to convey the habitual interpretation is done through the addition of another *when*-clause in the English translation of the first example, the English text seems to me still vague between an habitual and a semelfactive reading.

The second example, in turn, tries to convey the habitual character of the (in itself gradual) situation through the generic description "return home at afternoon's end".

The second group of examples concerns two cases of Imperfeito describing an action in progress (both in *quando*-clauses), for which the translator chose a passive.

> *onde entrara em rapazinho quando as paredes da casa ainda se **erguiam**.*
> *which he had entered as a young lad when the walls of the buildings **were** still **being raised**.*
> 'where he entered as a small boy when the house buildings still rose'

> *Quando o tronco se **separava**, deu um salto*
> *When the trunk **was** nearly **cut**, the genie leaped forward*
> 'When the trunk separated (from the tree), he jumped'

The first one is particularly interesting, because in Portuguese it can be read in two different ways: as an impersonal *se* construction (someone was still building the walls at that particular time) or as a description of existence, with a reflexive verb (roughly, meaning that the walls were still there). The translator chose the first interpretation, and used the passive to convey impersonal subject (as above) and the progressive to indicate in progress.

The second case, however, though in Portuguese unambiguously describes the process of separation of the trunk from the tree, was mistranslated due to the translator's misinterpretation of Imperfeito meaning "nearly" instead of "in progress".[40]

Finally, the last kind of context, which is often rendered in Portuguese with a bare Imperfeito, is a stative description, concerning position, manner or material. In English, it is more naturally conveyed by a passive, as in:

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[40] In fact, to my knowledge, Imperfeito <u>never</u> means "nearly"; this must have been an interference originating from the meanings of the English progressive. In Portuguese, only the Progressiva can mean "nearly".

*um lenço preto que, à cabeça, **amarrava** as pontas no queixo*
*who wore on her head a black kerchief the ends of which **were tied** at her chin*
'a black scarf which, over her head, tied the ends in the chin'

*no quarto em que ficámos, a separação **era** de tabiques de madeira*
*in the room we took, the partition **was made** of thin wood*
'in the room we stayed, the separation was of wood partition wall'

Imperfeito to conditional. There are many cases of Imperfeito translated into conditional. I should however note that more than half of the instances (actually, 37 out of 53) were found in PE12 and PE6, which are almost exclusively constituted by direct speech and free indirect speech, and, in those texts, a large share of such translation pairs was due to

    a) indirect speech proper, cf.:

*e eu perguntei-lhe quando **voltava**, e ele respondeu que precisava perguntar-te do teu livro, mas não era pressa, **voltava** noutro dia*
*and I asked him when he **would** return, and he answered that he needed to ask you about your book, but there was no rush, he **would** come back another day*

*A maior parte julgou que não se **efectuava** a homenagem.*
*Most of them thought that the commemoration **would** not take place.*

    b) statement of intentions (free indirect speech about the future), cf.:

***Dizia** algumas palavras, **era** natural: fôra o promotor, o organizador, se ali estavam a ele se devia*
*He **would** say some words, that **would** be expected: he had been the sponsor, the organizer, if they were there it was owing to him.*
'He was saying some words, that was natural: he had been the promoter, the organizer, if they were there it was due to him'

***Voltava** atrás **punha**-as na sepultura, e **ia**-se embora.*
*He **would** go back, put them on the grave, and depart.*
'he was going back, putting them on the grave and leaving'

    and c) counterfactual (oral) reasoning

*mas logo lhe disse que [...] logo voltavas com fome e querias a tua ceia, e **ficavas** aborrecido se eu não estivesse em casa quando chegasses, para te dar o caldo,*
*but I told her right away that [...] you were coming back soon, hungry and wanting your supper, and that you**'d** get annoyed if I wasn't home to give you your soup when you arrived*
'but I at once told her that [...] soon you returned hungry and wanted your supper, and would be annoyed if I were not at home when you arrived, to give you the soup,'

*Se não fossem o Senhor Duque [...], eu queria ver de que é que tu **vivias***
*If it wasn't for the Duke [...], I'd like to see on what you**'d** live*

*Se não fosse a D. Clotilde, nem a pequena **tinha** por onde estudar as músicas.*
*If it were not for Dona Clotilde, the little one **would** not have had a place to practice her songs.*
'It it were not D. Clotilde, the girl would not even have where to study the music'

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If one analyses in turn the other texts, less oral in character, one sees a rather different pattern, where the origin of such translations is basically due to habituality (adding up to 18 instances):

a) pure habituals representing characterizing properties of a character

> *Apenas **saía** para pregar nas aldeias próximas*
> *He **would** leave only to preach in the nearby villages*
> 'He only left to preach in the near villages'
>
> *Era agora um gato ajuizadíssimo, que não **caçava** mesmo um mísero maina que lhe pousasse ao pé*
> *It now became an immensely wise cat, which **would**n't even hunt a small mynah that landed at its foot,*
> 'It was now an extremely wise cat, who did not even hunt a miserable mynah that landed near'

and b) describing the habitual repetition of events

> *E subitamente, [...] tudo se **repetia** e **recomeçava**.*
> *And suddenly, [...] it **would** all be repeated and **would** begin again.*
> 'and suddenly [...] everything repeated itself and began again'
>
> *quando [...] mostravam a gigantesca árvore a um forasteiro, que logo se **apressava** a uma substancial oferenda da enjoativa mistura.*
> *when [...] they showed the gigantic tree to a stranger who **would** soon hurry back bearing a substantial offering of the sickening food.*
> 'when [...] they showed the huge tree to a foreigner, who at once hastened to do a substantial oblation of the nauseating mixing'
>
> *era rara a noite, na qual os meus companheiros de casa não faziam coincidir um pé de cama com um dos buracos, o que, aliás, **repetíamos** uns aos outros,*
> *rarely did a night pass without my housemates managing to grind a foot of the bed into one of the holes, an act, incidentally, that we **would** all repeat,*
> 'it was rare the night in which my housemates did not make a bed leg coincide with one of the holes, which, incidentally, we repeated to each other,'

An equally common, and very interesting, case is the translation of a present property by a prediction (of which the example discussed in Section 10.3.3.5 is an example as well)

> *Isto o não **dizia** ele, nem nos seus resmungos de velho*
> *This he **would** never say, not even in his old-timer's muttering*
> 'This he did not say it, not even in his grumbles of old man'
>
> *tentações do demónio, como **diziam** os padres*
> *temptations of the devil, as the priests **would** say*
> 'temptations of the devil, as the priests said'
>
> *e ela respondeu que tu estavas mesmo muito acabado, e ele disse que tu não **acabavas** nunca*
> *and she answered that you really were very worn out, and he said that you **would** never wear out*
> 'and she answered that you were really very finished, and he said that you never finished'

*Não **fazia** diferença.*
*It **would** make no difference.*
'It did not make a difference'

*E, antes de tudo isto, **era** legalmente e ritualmente impossível retirar o homem do pau em que o tivessem enfiado.*
*And, prior to all this, it **would** be legally and ritually impossible to take the man off the stake where he would be impaled.*
'And, before all this, it was legally and ritually impossible to remove the man of the pole in which he had been pierced'

This last case describes an obligation (or prohibition) that in Portuguese holds atemporally, but in English holds only after "he" will be impaled.

Translation into a future event is sometimes even accompanied by a change in temporal reference

*seguros da sua falta de vista e da solidão, que os **protegiam** de ele os reconhecer mais tarde*
*confident that his poor eyesight and their situation **would** prevent him from recognizing them later*
'sure of his lack of sight and of the solitude, which protected them of him recognizing them later'

In fact, while the protection holds at the now of the narrative, the prevention only "takes place" at the time of recognizing, later, that is. In other words, the sentence in Imperfeito is a sentence about the present situation the characters are in, while the English translation reports their belief about future situations.

10.3.1.8 Summing up

Summing up, the criteria for marking in English what an original Imperfeito source conveys are not to be found in the specific semantic use of the whole sentence, but on special subsets of it (underlined in the following paragraphs).

So, gerund and past participial clauses are used for those cases where manner is expressed by the verb; while progressive is used for accomplishments in progress at the current time of the narrative. Progressive is also used for indirect speech reporting actions; and for describing series. Finally, in the cases where there is no concurrent specification of frequency or extended interval where the habit holds, the habitual meaning conveyed by Imperfeito is lost, except if it is a remote interval contrasting with the present, in which case it is rendered by *used to*, or if it can be transformed into the prediction of a future event, rendered by *would*.

Some other reasons which had not been attributed to Imperfeito in Section 10.2 were claimed to be important for the choice of English tenses and aspects, on the other hand:

(i) the marking of simultaneity by the progressive

(ii) the agentive colouring of states, also effected by the progressive, which may, however, be nothing else than perspective marking.

10.3.2 Analysing translations by Imperfeito

After the attempt at getting at more informative Portuguese to English translation rules, or tendencies, in the previous section, I investigated a related question, namely, what is the result of translating English into Portuguese.

It should be at once noted that this study was bound to be less productive in terms of new information than the previous one, for two unrelated but important reasons: The first is that I was looking now at a fine specification of translated text, but had no corresponding fine information about the source text meanings (only a distribution of tenses). In fact, as became apparent during the study, I hardly ever resorted to the labels I had assigned to Imperfeito.

The second is that, given that English and Portuguese differ in the general distributional properties of their past tenses -- English has a default tense, the simple past, and a marked construction, the past progressive, while Portuguese has two tenses with comparable frequencies, Perfeito and Imperfeito -- it is plausible, though not necessary, that a translator into Portuguese has to decide and choose a specific interpretation which is not forced by the English text more often than is the case in the other direction.

Finally, the fact that I used the work of one translator only (contrasting with the five translators involved in the Portuguese to English texts) may also contribute to make the analyses less representative.

In order to minimize the effect of the second factor above, I concentrated on the marked occurrences in the English text, whose choice had, therefore, to be motivated.

Table 10.7 shows the distribution of translations into Imperfeito in Text 2.[41] (In the table, and in the discussion below, I included as Imperfeitos two progressive Imperfeitos, four passives with *estar*, and three *ir* + gerúndio constructions. This should not be taken as a theoretical stand. On the contrary, I will note in section 10.3.3 a problem with the identification of bare Imperfeito with marked constructions.)

Table 10.7

IMPERFEITO	168
past simple	134
past progressive	6
gerund	3
could	6
no verb	12
conditional	1
pluperfect	3
infinitive	1

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[41] The differences between the relevant column of Table 9.17 and Table 10.7 are due to the 16 cases of Imperfeito which do not originate from a tensed clause, listed in Table 10.7.

pluperfect prog	1

Table 10.7, however, was not so relevant as Table 10.6, serving mainly to point out paths to explore. In fact, because of the different status of the data, I decided to follow a different method from the one of the study described in Section 10.2 above: I picked one (marked) construction at a time and studied its translations, not restricting the study to those in Imperfeito, even though trying to make out why Imperfeito has been used. In this process, I was able to make use of my native intuition about the Portuguese translations and other possible options.

In addition, I could use at once all further pairs of English original texts and their translations that constituted my corpus, since I did not crucially resort to my annotations of the uses of the Imperfeito in Text 2.

10.3.2.1 The translation of the English past progressive

The nine occurrences of the progressive in Text 2 could, after closer scrutiny, be summarized this way: One was rendered by the Portuguese progressive, two were translated by the aspectual construction *ir* + gerúndio, two others were translated by Mais que perfeito, one was not translated at all, and the three remaining ones were rendered simply by Imperfeito. Of these last case, one could be due to indirect speech, but the two remaining ones actually involved slight differences in meaning.

This quantitative abstract was very unsatisfactory: it did not uncovered any regular patterns. So, I decided to study every case hoping that more data would bring more structure to the translation pattern, which turned out to be the case.

I distributed the several instances among several groups, the first of which concerns the description of activities in main clauses; cf.:

> *His eyes **were shining** with excitement*
> *Os olhos de Kino **brilhavam** de excitação*
> 'Kino's eyes shone with excitement'
>
> *The flutes **were shining** black to brown*
> *Os canelados **resplandeciam** com reflexos entre o negro e o castanho*
> 'The flutes resplandished with reflexes between black and brown'
>
> *Before Kino and Juana and the other fishers had come to Kino's brush house, the nerves of the town **were pulsing** and **vibrating** with the news*
> *Ainda Kino, Joana e os outros pescadores não tinham regressado à cabana, já os nervos da cidade **estremeciam** e **vibravam** com a novidade*
> 'Still Kino, Juana and the other fishermen had not returned to the hut, already the nerves of the town shivered and vibrated with the news'
>
> *But the music of the pearl **was shrilling** with triumph in Kino.*
> *A música da pérola **vibrava** triunfalmente nos ouvidos de Kino*
> 'The music of the pearl vibrated triumphantly in Kino's ears'
>
> *Kino **was** not **breathing**, but his back arched a little*

*Kino não **respirava**. Mas as costas arqueavam-se-lhe.*
'Kino did not breathe. But his back curved.'

*his eyes searched the darkness, for the music of evil **was sounding** in his head*
*Sondou a escuridão com os olhos, porque a música do mal **soava** dentro dele*
'He sounded the darkness with the eyes, because the music of the evil sounded inside him'

*The roosters **were crowing** and the dawn was not far off. [...] Already the dawn birds **were scampering** in the bushes.*
*Os galos já **cantavam** e a madrugada não vinha longe. [...] Já os pássaros da madrugada se **agitavam** nas sebes.*
'The roosters sang already and the dawn was not far. [...] Already the birds of dawn moved in the bushes'

*there came a rush of exhilaration; some animal thing **was moving** in him*
*veio-lhe uma onda de alegria. Qualquer coisa de animal se **movia** nele*
'it came to him a wave of joy. Something of animal moved in him'

These sentences depict durative atelic situations which are seen from their middle (which is the standard definition of imperfective aspect) but one should note that progressive in English is actually used to convey both a moment and an interval: On the one hand, cf. Moens's accessibility test,[42] which holds for an instant, on the other hand, recall the connotation of repetition, which necessarily implies an extended period. These two different cases are illustrated by the two following examples, that show that both are also conveyed by Imperfeito:

*Kino was finished and **was rolling** a cigarette when Juana spoke sharply.*
*Kino acabara de comer e **enrolava** um cigarro, quando Joana chamou, aflita:*
'Kino had finished eating and rolled a cigarette, when Juana called, anxious:'

*But Kino's hand had closed tightly on the pearl again, and he **was glancing** about suspiciously,*
*Mas a mão de Kino fechara-se de novo fortemente e ele **olhava** à volta desconfiado.*
'But the hand of Kino had closed again tightly and he looked around suspicious'

Another group, closely related to the description of activities, is that of sentences stating instead the perception (physical or psychological) of activities (interestingly, all activities are syntactically realized by *that*-clauses):

*and in its momentary light Kino saw that two of the men **were sleeping***
*e, a essa momentânea claridade, Kino viu que os dois homens **dormiam***
'and, in that momentary clarity, Kino saw that the two men slept'

*he knew that whatever dark thing was in his house **was holding** its breath too*
*E percebeu que havia qualquer coisa escura ali em casa, a qual, fosse o que fosse, **continha** também a respiração*
'and he understood that there was something dark there in the house, which, whatever it was, held also the breath'

---

[42] namely, "when a stative expression is combined with a punctual reference time, the reference point can be temporally situated within the state" (Moens, 1987:99).

*And in the canoe above him Kino knew that Juana **was making** the magic of prayer*
*Kino sabia que lá em cima, no barco, Joana se **entregava** à magia da prece*
'Kino knew that there above, on the boat, Juana delivered herself to the magic of the prayer'

*Apolonia realized that she **was wearing** her second-best head shawl*
*Quando Apolónia reparou que **trazia** o xale de todos os dias*
'When Apolonia noticed that she carried the shawl of every day'

In a large number of cases, the activity described by the progressive has a goal (and thus an inherent termination): it is an accomplishment in progress.

*it felt for the source of the death that **was coming** to it*
*queria encontrar a causa da morte que o **rondava***
'it wanted to find the source of the death that prowled it'

*the stinging pain of the bite **was going** away*
*a dor da picada **diminuía***
'the pain of the sting diminished'

*He looked past his pearl, and he saw that the swelling **was going** out of the baby's shoulder, the poison was receding from its body.*
*Kino afastou os olhos da pérola e viu que o inchaço do ombro da criança **diminuía**. O veneno estava a sair do corpo.*
'Kino removed the eyes from the pearl and saw that the swelling of the child's shoulder diminished. The poison was leaving the body.'

*The weak moon **was losing** its light and the clouds thickened and curdled to the southward.*
*A pálida Lua **esmaecia** mais, as nuvens engrossavam e acumulavam-se para os lados do sul*
'The pale moon paled more, the clouds thickened and gathered on the South side'

*And to meet the attack, Kino **was** already **making** a hard skin for himself against the world.*
*Preparava-se para o ataque. **Urdia** já uma forte couraça para se defender do mundo.*
'He prepared for the attack. He built already a hard armour to defend himself from the world'

*The family song **was** alive now and **driving** him down on the dark enemy.*
*O Canto da Família estava agora vivo e **arrastava**-o para o negro inimigo.*
'The Song of the Family was now alive and dragged him to the black enemy'

*The sun **was settling** toward the western mountains and the shadows on the ground were long.*
*Como o Sol **estava** perto das montanhas do oeste, as sombras no chão já eram longas.*
'As the sun was close to the mountains in the west, the shadows on the ground were already long'

Note that, as stressed in Section 10.2, it is common, and desirable, that sentences containing one particular grammatical feature display more than one property that requires it. For example, the two last sentences, in addition to describing an accomplishment in progress, involve indirect speech.

> *and spread the word that Kino and Juana **were coming** back.*
> *e espalharam a notícia de que Kino e Joana **estavam** de volta.*
> 'and spread the news that Kino and Juana were back'
>
> *the hurrying newcomers were being softly informed [...] how the father and mother **were taking** it to the doctor*
> *os que se haviam agregado nos arredores iam sendo informados [...] de que o pai e a mãe a **levavam** ao médico*
> 'those who had joined in the suburbs were being informed [...] that the father and the mother took it to the doctor'

What is especially interesting about this group of translations involving English accomplishments, however, is that, contrary to the above cases of imperfective aspect and perception, whose requirements Imperfeito matches perfectly, most of the times the translation into Portuguese conveys a different meaning here.

For instance, in the first example, two reasons for the English progressive can be invoked: the approach of a goal, and the temporal co-occurrence of *feel* and *come*. The translation preserves the temporal co-occurrence information, but fails to convey the approaching to goal/end, since it employs a manner of movement verb, *rondar* (typically with connotations of evil). Even though this is somewhat atypical, given that it is English which usually adds manner, I must concede that there is no really good rendering involving the literal translation of *come*, namely *vir*.

In the second and third examples, there is again a difference in lexical aspectual class in the two languages, resulting in a subtle difference in meaning: English describes the process of pain disappearance by using an accomplishment (*go away*) in the progressive form; Portuguese in turn expresses a gradual process, *diminuir* ('diminish'), leaving it to the reader to infer that the endpoint of such process is no pain. An identical situation holds in the fourth example, where *lose* is translated by *esmaecer* ('grow weaker'), a gradual process which does not logically imply total loss.

In two other examples, in turn, the translation features a stative verb of position instead of describing a process: *estar perto* ('be near') and *estar de volta* ('be back') imply movement, but do not state it (and, obviously, they do not state that it is in progress, either).

So, what arises clearly from this survey is that accomplishments are not common with Imperfeito, so that rendering them in progress in Portuguese is generally done using a lexical item of a different class, namely a process or a state. An exception are gradual accomplishments, where there is again a perfect match between what is conveyed by the English progressive and Imperfeito, as can be seen in

> *and a brooding hate **was growing** in him*

*e um ódio surdo **crescia** dentro dele.*
'and a brooding hate grew inside him'

Finally, conveying perspective seemed to be the author's main purpose in using the progressive in the following instances, which constitute my fourth and last group:

*But the priest **was speaking** again.*
*Mas o padre **falava** de novo:*
'But the priest talked again:'

*And in his dream Coyotito **was reading** from a book as large as a house*
*E, em sonhos, Coyotito **aparecia**-lhe a ler um livro grande como uma casa*
'And, in dreams, Coyotito appeared to him reading a book large as a house'

*Juana **was whispering**, "Coyotito." She **was begging** him to be quiet.*
*Joana **ciciava**: "Coyotito." **Pedia**-lhe que estivesse quieto.*
'Juana murmured: "Coyotito.". She asked him to be quiet.'

*Now the darkness **was closing** in on his family; now the evil music filled the night*
*Agora as trevas **cerravam**-se em volta da família, a música do mal enchia a noite*
'Now the darkness shut around the family, the music of the evil filled the night'

Let us compare the translations into Imperfeito with those where progressive was kept, or yet another tense was chosen.

Starting with the three cases of translation into Mais que perfeito, one sees that aspectual class change is again a key issue. Consider the following two examples:

*He **was growing** very stout, and his voice was hoarse*
***Tornara**-se muito corpulento e enrouquecera*
'He had become very corpulent and had gotten hoarse'

*the early pigs **were** already **beginning** their ceaseless turning of twigs and bits of wood*
*os porcos **tinham começado** a fossar furiosamente, entre ramos quebrados e pedaços de madeira*
'the pigs had began to root furiously, among broken twigs and bits of wood'

In the first sentence, the natural translation of *grow* + adj is *tornar-se* + adj (roughly equivalent to English 'become' or 'turn into'), which belongs to a different aspectual class than e.g. *crescer* (the otherwise translation of *grow*). *Tornar-se* is an achievement in Portuguese (to the extent that these classes are relevant in Portuguese as well), and therefore the progressive aspect would be marked to a much greater extent,[43] emphasizing that "he" was still in the process of turning into a stout man, which is not the main information of the English sentence.

In the second sentence, note that *begin* is somehow vague as to which period or point it refers to, and, in fact, one may as well conceive *begin* (or *começar*) as an achievement, or as an accomplishment (see Figure 10.7: does *begin* refer to an initial interval, or the initial point?). It seems that, in this particular pair, it is used as an achievement in Portuguese, and as an

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[43] Imperfeito would not be a choice here, since it could only be read habitually.

accomplishment in English, and thus the two sentences may be informatively equivalent.[44] This kind of vagueness will be further discussed in section 10.3.2.3 below.

Figure 10.7

```
          _____
        /
       /
      /
    | <--->|
```
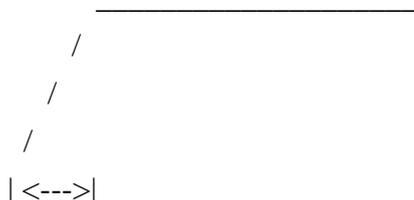
Finally, in the next pair the manner of approaching is lost and instead the result of their approach is stated.

> *The neighbors **were tumbling** from their houses now, and they watched the falling sparks and stamped them out to save their own houses.*
> *Os vizinhos **tinham acorrido** e estavam atentos às faúlhas que voavam e que eles pisavam logo para defenderem as suas próprias casas.*
> 'The neighbours had come in haste and were attentive to the sparks that flied and that they stamped at once to defend their own houses'

This time, the reason why Imperfeito was not used for *acorrer* is of a different nature altogether: it is due to the necessary contrast between one action (with a plural number of participants, that of neighbours arriving) and an indefinite repeated action (as many times as the sparks would fall near their houses). Since Imperfeito is the ideal tense to express this latter, the once-only action would better not be rendered by Imperfeito as well. Mais que perfeito is ideal for that purpose, even though temporally different situations are conveyed in the two languages.

Now, given that there are at least three "progressive-like" constructions in Portuguese, one may wonder why so few (actually, only eleven) instances of the English progressive were rendered by them. Three were translated by the construction *ir* + gerúndio, which marks explicit graduality:

> *the hurrying newcomers **were being** softly informed*
> *os que se haviam agregado nos arredores **iam sendo** informados precipitadamente e em voz baixa*
> 'those who had joined in the suburbs were being informed hastily and in a soft voice'
>
> *the sun **was warming** the brush house*
> *o sol **ia aquecendo** a cabana.*
> 'the sun was heating the hut'
>
> *Now the dusk **was coming**.*
> ***Ia caindo** a noite.*
> 'The night was falling'

---

[44] I wonder whether it matters that, while *begin* is used as main verb in English, *começar* is simply used as an auxiliary verb to *fossar*, a verb for pigs' activity.

It is not clear to me why this construction was used in the last example, where *Caía a noite*, i.e., bare Imperfeito, seems more appropriate to me.

As far as the eight cases cast in the simple progressive (with *estar*), some were necessarily so, as is the case of direct speech

> *"You **were dreaming**."*
> *-- **Estavas a sonhar**.*

The same is true of one case with a *quando*-clause: if Imperfeito had been used, the look would have been interpreted as response, following the awakening.

> *She **was looking** at him as she was always looking at him when he awakened*
> *E, como sempre quando acordava, ela **estava a olhá**-lo*[45]
> 'And, as always when he woke up, she was looking at him'

In the two next cases, the progressive with *já* makes the reader aware of an activity which was started before, and emphasizes the speed with which it was started.

> *He groped his way back to the sleeping mat. Already Juana **was working** at the fire.*
> *E foi aos tombos até à esteira. Joana já **estava a acender** o lume.*
> 'And he went tumbling to the mat. Juana was already setting on the fire'
>
> *But Kino was pushing his way through the crowd.*
> *Mas Kino já **estava a abrir** caminho por entre a multidão.*
> 'But Kino was already opening way through the crowd'

The next case is analogous, form the viewpoint of English, to the previous example of perception of sleeping (*Kino saw that two of the men were sleeping*). However, from the point of view of Portuguese, *comer* ('eat') and *dormir* ('sleep') are different in that *comer* in Imperfeito is mainly habitual, and thus, the progressive is strongly preferred.

> *And then Kino could see that they **were eating***
> *E então Kino percebeu que eles **estavam a comer***
> 'And then Kino understood that they were eating'

As far as the next example is concerned, the same situation is lexicalized in a rather different way in the two languages, but in both the progressive transmits a connotation of slowness which would otherwise not be present. Still, I believe that the plural *senses* ask more naturally for the progressive in English than the corresponding expression in Portuguese, where the process is by default instantaneous.

> *His senses **were coming** back and he moaned.*
> *Ele **estava a voltar** a si, gemia.*
> 'he was coming back to himself, moaning'

As to the next example, it is, interestingly, the inverse of the above discussed case of progressive accomplishments translated by Imperfeito: it translates a gradual accomplishment by an achievement, *sair* ('go out'). It is revealing that the achievement sounds much better in Portuguese in the progressive than in Imperfeito, adding to my claim that Imperfeito with

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[45] Note that there is considerable restructuring of this sentence in the translation. In particular, there is no verb corresponding to the second English progressive in the Portuguese rendering.

accomplishments and achievements is avoided for the expression of an on-going process.

> *the poison **was receding** from its body.*
> *O veneno **estava a sair** do corpo.*
> 'The poison was leaving from the body'

Finally, the progressive in the last example transmits, more than repetition, a connotation of difficulty (it was difficult to get through), of time elapsed before "he" realized that "something". In this case the progressive in Portuguese is more apt to transmit this nuance, even though Imperfeito could be used as well.

> *Something was wrong, some signal **was trying** to get through to his brain.*
> *Havia alguma coisa errada em tudo aquilo, alguma coisa **estava tentando** penetrar-lhe no cérebro.*
> 'There was something wrong in all that, something was trying to penetrate his brain'

To finish the analysis of the translations of the English progressive, I note that the following is a very free translation, involving some sort of gerund clause.

> *The distant roosters began to crow and the air changed and the dawn **was coming***
> *Galos longínquos começaram a cantar e o ar mudava: era a manhã a romper.*
> 'Distant roosters began to crow and the air changed: it was the dawn breaking'

The English progressive is either expressing perspective or simply temporal closeness. I think that *e a manhã estava quase a romper* would be more faithful.

Interestingly, one other progressive instance in Portuguese originated in a simple past idiom:

> *when Kino **was** almost **within reach** of it*
> *quando Kino **estava** quase **a alcançá**-lo.*
> 'when Kino was almost reaching it'

This is a clear use of the progressive in the two languages, namely, external closeness of some goal (which should be kept distinct from the specification that an inherently telic action is in progress, GRAD).[46]

10.3.2.2 The translation of *could*

The English text (Text 2) contains 16 instances of *could*, of which 6 were translated by Imperfeito, 3 by Perfeito, and 2 by Condicional.

In the direction from Portuguese to English, I investigated the correlation between the existence or absence of *could* with perception verbs and the original use of Imperfeito and Perfeito (cf. sections 10.3.1.3 and 10.3.1.7). Since the matter of perception verbs will be taken up in detailed in Chapter 11, I will only mention it in passing, concentrating on the cases which do not include such verbs.

Thus, of the seven occurrences of *could* in connection with perception verbs, four of them

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[46] Incidentally, this is a case of a clear contrast between Imperfeito progressivo and bare Imperfeito: Only the former can have this meaning, whereas both can convey a telic action in progress (GRAD).

were translated into Imperfeito, as expected. Three other instances, however, were rendered by Perfeito.

I will only deal here with the remaining translations of *could*.

> Kino **could** never **remember** seeing them closed when he awakened
> Kino não se **lembrava** de alguma vez os ter visto fechados ao acordar
> 'Kino did not remember any time having seen them closed awaking'

This case may be similar to the case of the perception verbs, in that *could remember* gets translated by Imperfeito *lembrava*. The scope of the negation and the existence of quantification of the English sentence require Portuguese restructuring, though: if the sentence describes one, rather than several, "remembering" occasions, no quantification is allowed.[47] Similarly, the negation takes wider scope in:

> And on the black velvet the great pearl glistened, so that the dealer **could** not keep his eyes from it.
> E, no veludo preto, o brilho da pérola era tal que o comprador não **tirava** os olhos dela.
> 'And, on the black velvet, the pearl brightness was such that the buyer did not remove the eyes from it'

In the next example, semantically negative as well, *custar a* is a lexicalization of precisely *could hardly*, meaning "to be difficult to":

> his mind **could** hardly make the leap
> quase lhe **custava** a imaginar
> 'it nearly was difficult for him to imagine'

Note that the *quase* ('nearly') is spurious in the translation, even though it is there because of *hardly*.

Now, the example:

> She **could** stand fatigue and hunger almost better than Kino himself
> **Suportava** o cansaço e a fome quase tão bem como o próprio Kino
> 'She bore fatigue and hunger almost as well as Kino himself'[48]

illustrates the formal marking, in English, of a disposition-like or predictive character, which can adequately be rendered by Portuguese Imperfeito. But note that while Imperfeito implies that "she" has already proved it through (at least some) occasions in the past, this is at most an implicature of the English sentence (which could be continued by *but she never did*).

Similar examples of general descriptions rendered in Imperfeito (or Presente) are:

> for in the midst of a laugh he **could** remember the death of your aunt, and his eyes **could** become wet with sorrow for your loss.
> No meio duma risada, **lembrava**-se subitamente da morte duma tia nossa e

---

[47] Actually, *Kino nunca se lembrava* can only mean habitually; *Kino nunca se lembrou* can only mean in a mutually understood number of times, while *lembrava nunca* or *lembrou nunca* are ungrammatical, and *não se lembrava nunca* and *não se lembrou nunca* are (roughly) equivalent to the first two cases discussed in this footnote.

[48] This example is interesting in that it may reflect a cultural difference: Women are praised in Portuguese as "almost as good as men", while in English the praise was "better than men". In any case, in Portuguese *quase melhor* ('almost better') sounds strange in any context, and this fact alone may have conditioned the translator's choice.

mostrava *os olhos molhados por causa da nossa desgraça.*
'In the middle of a laugh, he remembered suddenly the death of an aunt of ours and showed the eyes wet because of our disgrace'

This land was waterless, furred with the cacti which **could** *store water and with the great-rooted brush which* **could** *reach deep into the earth for a little moisture*
A região era seca, coberta de cactos, que ***armazenam*** *água, e de plantas de grossas raízes, que* ***sugam*** *um pouco de humidade lá para o fundo da terra*
'The region was dry, covered with cacti, which store water, and with plants with thick roots, which suck a little humidity there from the depth of the earth'

From this step they **could** *look out over the sunbeaten desert to the blue Gulf in the distance.*
Dali, ***avistava****-se tudo, desde o deserto tórrido até, lá muito ao longe, o Golfo azul.*
'From there, one could catch a glimpse of everything, from the torrid desert to, very far away, the blue Golf.'

They were high and graceful canoes with curving bow and stern and a braced section midships where a mast **could** *be stepped to carry a small lateen sail*
Eram barcos esguios e graciosos, com a proa e a popa curvas e um barrote no meio, onde se ***cravava*** *o mastro para fixar a pequena vela latina.*
'They were slim, gracious boats, with curving prow and stern and a beam in the middle, where the mast was stuck in to fasten the small Latin sail'

Regarding this last example, it is interesting to emphasize the difference in what is actually conveyed in the two languages: while the stepping of the mast is rendered habitually in Portuguese, it is merely implied in the English sentence, one extreme interpretation of which is that it was possible to raise it there, but might never have actually been stepped there. In fact, the English rendering most probably invokes a situation in which the mast would often be away, an interpretation that is much harder to find in the Portuguese version,[49] where the most natural interpretation is simply positional, meaning something like "where the mast stood".

Finally, another case of *could* translated into Imperfeito would probably be better analysed as an alternative lexicalization of *could* uses *saber* ('know') as main verb in Imperfeito:

and these people from the inland, these hunters, **could** *follow,* **could** *read a broken straw or a little tumbled pile of dust.*
e aquela gente do interior, aqueles caçadores, ***sabiam*** *seguir,* ***sabiam*** *descobrir uma palha partida ou um montinho de poeira revolvido.*
'and those people from the inland, those hunters, knew how to chase, knew how to discover a lost straw or a revolved little pile of dust.'

Note that from the point of view of English this example does not differ much from the previous ones,[50] in that it describes an ability which can be instantiated many times. From the point of view of Portuguese, however, it is lexicalized (and perceived) differently.

Some translations of *could* by Condicional, on the other hand, are also crucially related to

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[49] It is possible, though, if one reads "se" as an impersonal subject and not a reflexive pronoun.

[50] Still, as pointed out by Jan Engh, the previous example -- the one about the mast -- describes an aletic modality while this one -- about the hunters -- is clearly dynamic.

the statement of a rule or generalization:

> *a baby **could** easily die from the poison*
> *uma criança dificilmente **resistiria** a tal veneno*
> 'a child would hardly resist to such a poison'

> *Nothing **could** break down this wall, and they could remain whole within the wall.*
> *Mas nada **quebraria** aquela muralha, dentro da qual todos se cerravam.*
> 'But nothing would break that wall, inside which all locked themselves'

> *He **could** kill the doctor more easily than he **could** talk to him*
> ***Ser**-lhe-**ia** mais fácil matar o médico do que falar-lhe*
> 'It would be easier for him to kill the doctor than talk to him'

> *each one thought how the patron **could** not live forever*
> *cada um pensou para consigo que o patrão não **seria** eterno*
> 'each one though for himself that the boss would not be everlasting'

> *If the watcher, sensing movement, looked at the dark place against the stone which was his body, he **could** see him.*
> *Se o vigia, sentindo movimento, olhasse para a mancha escura que o seu corpo fazia na pedra, **vê**-lo-**ia**.*
> 'If the sentinel, feeling movement, looked at the dark spot that this body did in the stone, he would see him'

In the five cases, English *could* is there to highlight the hypothetical, rule-like flavour of the sentence,[51] while Condicional is used in Portuguese for such a purpose. The preference of Condicional over Imperfeito can be accounted in the following way: in the first two cases, the "resisting" (or "breaking") is placed in the future, while Imperfeito would denote a present prediction. In addition, Imperfeito could be read as denoting perspective alone, and thus such a translation would in fact produce a loss of information. To explain the third and fourth cases, it is enough to note that, in a stative context, Imperfeito is the unmarked tense, thus conditionality has to be (or is preferably) stated by Condicional.[52]

The last instance of *could* translated by Condicional is somewhat more complex, because from a Portuguese point of view *can read* can be claimed to correspond to *saber ler* ('know how to read'), i.e., to carry more information than simple possibility:

> *But Kino's brain burned, even during his sleep, and he dreamed that Coyotito **could** read, that one of his own people could tell him the truth of things*
> *Mas o cérebro de Kino nem mesmo durante o sono parava. Sonhava que Coyotito **aprenderia** a ler, que um dos seus poderia desvendar-lhe a verdade das coisas.*
> 'But Kino's brain not even during sleep stopped. He dreamed that Coyotito would learn how to read, that one of his would be able to reveal him the truth of things'

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[51] Note in passing Vendler's (1967) interesting remark on the modal *can* and states: He observes that, in conditional sentences, *could* is often interchangeable with *would* in connection with states.

[52] Cf. on this subject Fleischman (1989), who abundantly illustrates the existence of a scale of tenses, based on a distance metaphor, which can be used both for other "conceptual axes" (modality, evidentiality, etc.) and to explain diachronic changes, such as the disappearance of tense forms themselves.

However, instead of using such a turn (resulting in *Sonhava que Coyotito sabia ler...*), the translator chose to convey explicitly the event that would give rise to such a state, using the verb *aprender* ('learn'). Then he could not use Imperfeito (otherwise, the text would convey that Kino was dreaming that Coyotito was in the process of learning), and thus the rarer Condicional.

In any case, the cases above of Condicional (or Imperfeito) translating *could* add to my belief that Portuguese is a language more geared towards generalization (and thus rule-like character is encoded by its tenses - morphology), while English has more peripheral (not necessarily periphrastic) mechanisms to convey it (e.g., in the examples above, modals).

There was only one case where the Portuguese translation is more specific than the English one: rendering the possibility of paying by the statement of having money:

> *they were being married now that they **could** pay.*
> *agora podiam casar porque já **tinham** dinheiro.*
> 'now they could marry because they already had money'

For the sake of completeness, I present here the remaining cases of *could* translation in Text 2 which do not involve the Portuguese modal *poder* (its standard translation). Two of them describe an ability which is more faithfully maintained in the Portuguese translation than in the cases above:

> *His stinging tail was straight out behind him, but he **could** whip it up in a flash of time*
> *trazia a cauda rígida, **pronta** a erguer-se de súbito*
> 'he brought the tail rigid, ready to rise all of a sudden'

> *she **could** arch her back in child pain with hardly a cry*
> ***era capaz de** se torcer nas dores do parto quase sem um grito*
> 'she was able to twist in pain of childbirth almost without a cry'

Another one describes an internal inability as an external -- and thus less stringent -- rule

> *He **could** not move until the scorpion moved*
> *não **devia** mexer-se antes que o animal se mexesse*
> 'He should not move before the animal moved'

while the next case is totally rephrased in order to provide a more idiomatic translation, showing an interesting perspective switch:

> *when he had more than he **could** do to take care of the rich people*
> *se o tempo não lhe **chegava** para tratar as pessoas ricas*
> 'if the time did not suffice to treat the rich people'

In English, it is "he" who could not make it, while, in Portuguese, it is time which is not enough. (I.e., different circumstances are hold responsible for the same situation.)

10.3.2.3 The translation of English pluperfect into Imperfeito

Three out of the 37 pluperfects of Text 2 were rendered by Imperfeito in Portuguese, and this made me look into this kind of translation more carefully. Given the large number of pluperfects in the English text, I only analysed those which were rendered in Imperfeito. Later in Chapter 13, however, and due to the interesting phenomena uncovered in the present study, I set

out to investigate more thoroughly the (translation) relationship between pluperfects and simple tenses.

A large number of cases of translation of pluperfect into Imperfeito correspond to the description of the result state not as the consequence of a change of state, as in English, but as a state in itself:

*in his mind a new song **had come***
*um novo canto **dominava***
'a new song dominated'

*the thing **had become** a neighborhood affair*
***era** um problema de todos.*
'it was everyone's problem'

*I **had** not **heard** of it*
*Não **sabia** de nada...*
'I did not know anything...'

*electric strength **had come** to him*
*uma força electrizante o **dominava**.*
'an electrifying strength dominated him'

*But the buyer's eyes **had become** as steady and cruel and unwinking as a hawk's eyes,*
*Mas os olhos do comprador **estavam** frios, cruéis e fixos como os do falcão*
'But the eyes of the buyer were cold, cruel and steady as those of the hawk'

*Now the dealer's hand **had become** a personality.*
*Agora a mão do comprador **tinha** a importância de uma pessoa.*
'Now the hand of the buyer had the importance of a person'

*But Kino **had grown** tight and hard.*
*Mas Kino **estava** inflexível e duro.*
'But Kino was inflexible and hard'

*A lethargy **had settled** on him, and a little gray hopelessness.*
*Uma letargia e uma escura desesperança **dominavam**-no.*
'A lethargy and a dark hopelessness dominated him'

*he saw that a great hole **had been** knocked in the bottom.*
*viu que o barco **tinha**, no fundo, um buraco enorme.*
'he saw that the boat had, in the bottom, a huge hole'

*Her pain **was gone** now, her slowness.*[53]
*Já não **tinha** dores, já não andava com dificuldade.*
'She no longer had pains, no longer walked with difficulty'

*and when it settled the pearl **was gone**.*

---

[53] In English, *go* is one of the few cases that forms the perfect with the auxiliary *be*, even though the form *had gone* exists as well.

> *E quando esta se dissipou, a pérola já ali não **estava**.*
> 'And when this dissipated, the pearl was no longer there.'

Another case, also related to a (subtler) difference in aspectual class, involves verbs that can be interpreted as both punctual, or extended (as with *begin* and *começar* in section 10.3.2.1). In fact, *create* and *criar* and *accept* and *aceitar* depict a once for all event, or rather a continued activity / state of mind?

> *he **had created** it*
> *era ele que o **criava**.*
> 'it was him who created it'

> *and it was all right; she **had accepted** it,*
> *e achava-a justa. **Aceitava** a ideia.*
> 'and she found it fair. She accepted the idea.'

Turning now to the next example:

> *the day **had drawn** only a pale wash of light in the lower sky*
> *o dia mal **espalhava** uma pálida claridade no céu*
> 'the day hardly spread a pale clarity in the sky'

the word *only* describes the event as a gradual process, which then gets rendered in Portuguese by means of an inherently gradual sentence (both through lexical and tense choice). The adverbial *mal* (corresponding to *hardly*, *barely*) conveys, in addition, that the process has just begun.

The cases described so far can be summarized this way: When pluperfect of an eventive verb is translated into Imperfeito, Imperfeito describes the resulting state, or Imperfeito describes a process in progress which is related to the event. All cases involve a difference in verb aspectual class.

One other case translates (fairly) freely *as he had said* by *como pensava*, and thus cannot be taken into account here.

Another case was found whose grounds for translation clearly were altogether different:

> *For centuries men **had dived** down*
> *Há séculos que os homens **mergulham***
> 'It's centuries since the men dive'

In this sentence, English conveys repetition, and hence habituality, through a *for*-phrase modifying a past perfect, while Portuguese conveys it naturally by an habitual tense (Presente, in this case). Similar instances are

> *They **had been** suspicious of it from the first.*
> ***Desconfiavam** dela desde o princípio.*
> 'They suspected it from the start'

> *the roosters **had been crowing** for some time*
> *os galos **cantavam***
> 'the roosters crowed'

In the latter example, the English progressive form seems to be required in order to express

durativity and continuation of the process until the present moment (compare to *the roosters had crowed for some time*, which may imply that they were no longer crowing). The Portuguese translation, however, fails to convey all the information explicit in the English sentence, because it does not furnish any temporal bounds. The best translation, according to me, would involve simple Imperfeito in connection with a deictic adverbial and, crucially, the particle *já*: *os galos já cantavam há algum tempo* ('the roosters already crowed for some time').

Finally, the most interesting example is:

> They **had been** afraid of something like this.
> Já **receavam** qualquer coisa.
> 'they already feared something.'

Here, the connotations of perspective of the English pluperfect, associated to a particular interval (since "they" knew until that moment), are very well rendered by the particle *já*, conveying something like "before that moment". So, even though it is not expressed, the reason for the English pluperfect may be that some "until" is presupposed ("until it happened").

Salkie's (1989) contrastive description of pluperfects in English and French identifies the following contexts where English uses the pluperfect while French uses the imparfait (and Portuguese uses Imperfeito as well, as can be seen by the translations I suggested):

(i) statives with *for*-adverbials, like *He had lived in P. for twenty years -> Vivia em P. havia 20 anos*

(ii) relative statives (where English pluperfect is optional), like *one of them had given her once a bun from the corner bakery, which had contained a sticky sweet filling -> uma delas tinha- -lhe dado uma vez um bolo da padaria da esquina, que tinha um recheio doce peganhento*; and

(iii) habituals in the past (usually signalled by frequency adverbials), like *he remembered that his father had always served red and white wine with a meal -> lembrava-se que o pai servia sempre vinho branco e tinto à refeição*.

Our investigation agrees with Salkie's findings in that English utterances related to a past interval (with *for*, *since*, or *from*) do show this pattern.

One could also note that the example of *For centuries men had dived down* also concerns habituality, i.e., it is an instance of a combination of two of Salkie's three contexts, being habitual and involving a *for*-adverbial.

More interestingly, and conform to my intuitions about the two languages, were the cases where habituality was expressed in Portuguese even though it would not be present in the English source; cf.:

> The beach was cut and scarred and padded by the feet of animals that **had come** to drink and to hunt.
> A praia estava cortada, marcada, patinhada pelos pés dos animais que ali **vinham** beber e caçar.
> 'The beach was cut, marked, waded by the feet of the animals which came there to drink and hunt'

*But this was a wasteful method, for often, in the excitement of bidding for a fine pearl, too great a price **had been paid** to the fishermen.*
*Mas era um processo ruinoso: muitas vezes, com o entusiasmo de apanharem uma pérola de qualidade, os compradores **chegavam** a um preço escusado.*
'But it was a ruining process: often, due to the enthusiasm of catching a good pearl, the buyers came to an unnecessary price.'

In fact, the first case illustrates a factual description of repeated instances in the past which is turned into an habitual statement in Portuguese. Past is thus missed by the Portuguese translation (which would have been alternatively rendered as *que ali tinham vindo beber*), but the expression chosen by the translator is much more Portuguese-like in character.

In the second case, whose pattern (and the meaning of the sentence in isolation) is identical to the previous example, there is no possibility of misinterpretation because this particular sentence follows an explicit statement (some sentences above) that this situation no longer held. Still, I would prefer a Mais que perfeito here.

10.3.2.4 The translation of the English passive into Imperfeito

Even though there were no instances in Text 2 of passive into Imperfeito, this is actually a common situation, as can be observed in Table 9.6.

One might argue that this, strictly speaking, is not a question of choice of Imperfeito, but first and foremost of active voice, and, only then, of Imperfeito. Still, one would predict that, given that regularities in English are often expressed in the passive, Portuguese would choose Imperfeito for that reason. This is in fact the case in the following examples:

*The dampness arose out of the Gulf and **was deposited** on bushes*
*A humidade subia do Golfo e **caía** em gotas salgadas sobre os matagais*
'The humidity came up from the Gulf and fell in salty drops on the bushes'

*Because they were disturbed, the oyster shells **were** tightly **closed**.*
*E as ostras, sentindo-se cobiçadas, **fechavam**-se com firmeza.*
'And the oysters, feeling coveted, closed firmly.'

*and any children who showed a tendency to scuffle [...] **were hissed** to silence by the elders.*
*Se qualquer criança tentava brigar, [...] logo os irmãos mais velhos a **obrigavam** a estar quieta.*
'If some child tried to quarrel, [...] at once the older brothers forced her to be quiet'

*but having set it up, other forces **were set** up to destroy it*
*mas mal o construía, logo outras forças se **formavam** para o destruir*[54]
'but as soon as he build it, other forces formed to destroy it'

---

[54] This example is actually flawed in that it adds a regularity that is not present in the English text: it conveys habituality when it should rather convey response to one single instance. I would thus propose as a much better translation for this case: *mal o construíra, logo outras forças tinham aparecido para o destruir* (i.e., two Mais que perfeitos).

> *and the canoes **were drawn** up in front of this area.*
> *e era em frente dessa zona que os barcos se **alinhavam**.*
> 'and it was in front of that zone that the boats were aligned'

This last example can in fact be analysed as *se*-passive, which would be *prima facie* a common case: one would predict that these two different kinds of passive would be often related by translation. Surprisingly, this was not the case, and only one further instance, discussed below, was found.

In fact, the main share of translation of passive into Imperfeito is due to factors other than the expression of regularities, the most important of which is different argument structure. It is conspicuous that many of the English passive sentences (in some cases, obligatorily), give origin to a corresponding active verb in Portuguese:

> *And the brush house **was crowded** with neighbors.*
> *A cabana **regurgitava** de vizinhos.*
> 'The hut was crammed with neighbours.'

> *He himself **was dressed** in new white clothes*
> *Ele próprio se **apresentava** com um fato novo, branco*
> 'He himself appeared with a new dress in white"

> *And Coyotito **was dressed** in a jacket*
> *E Coyotito **trazia** uma blusa*
> 'And Coyotito wore a blouse'

> *There **was**n't much **left** of it then anyway*
> *De qualquer modo, pouco **restava** dele*
> 'In any case, little remained oh him'

> *and if he could think of having a rifle whole horizons **were burst***
> *Mas, se era capaz de pensar em ter uma espingarda, todos os limites **desapareciam***
> 'But, if he was able to think of having a rifle, all limits disappeared'

> *The pearl buyers' offices **were clustered** together in one narrow street,*
> *As lojas dos compradores de pérolas **ficavam** numa ruazinha estreita*
> 'The shops of the pearl buyers were in a narrow little street'

Strictly speaking, the two last cases do not feature "corresponding" verbs, though, because they simply do not convey manner.

Another interesting case is that of stative verbs. This is, in fact, almost a grammaticality constraint. Stative verbs strongly resist passivization in Portuguese, and the default translation involves impersonal *se*:

> *Thus, in La Paz, it **was known** in the early morning through the whole town that*
> *Assim, mal a manhã rompera, já em toda a cidade de La Paz se **sabia** que*
> 'Thus, as soon as the morning broke, already in the whole town of La Paz people knew that'

even though an impersonal *toda a gente* ('everybody') may be inserted on stylistic grounds:

*It **was supposed** that the pearl buyers were individuals acting alone,*
*Toda a gente **supunha** que os compradores agiam individualmente,*
Everyone supposed that the buyers acted individually'

But if the sentence also conveys the subjects of the passivized stative verbs, as in the next example, the obvious choice is to render it by an ordinary active sentence:[55]

*It **was known** among the neighbors in the brush huts, among the pearl fishermen; it **was known** among the Chinese grocery-store owners; it **was known** in the church, for the altar boys whispered about it.*
***Sabiam**-no os vizinhos, nas cabanas, e os pescadores de pérolas. **Sabiam**-no os merceeiros chineses e **sabiam**-no na igreja, porque os meninos de coro cochichavam sobre isso.*
'The neighbours knew it, in the huts, and the fishermen of pearls. The Chinese grocers knew it and in the church knew it, because the altar boys whispered about it'

Finally, the following case is a rather free translation, which replaces a state by the description of the event which brings about that state in progress

*She went through the line of brush when the moon **was covered***
*Atravessou a linha dos arbustos, quando a Lua **mergulhava** nas nuvens.*
She crossed the line of the bushes, when the moon plunged into the clouds'

Summing up, Portuguese prefers the active voice. Furthermore, a vague, plural event without definite agents, something which is bound to be rendered in English by the passive, falls squarely within the conditions of applicability of Portuguese Imperfeito.

When the perfect meaning of passive is most salient, it is interesting that a different "tense" altogether is used in the Portuguese translation, which I have, in fact, identified as Imperfeito in the annotation and this is why it is mentioned in this section: the construction *ter* + noun phrase + past participle is possibly the historical antecedent of Mais que perfeito, and according to Bybee & Dahl (1989) it should be called "resultative".[56]

*Kino's eyes **were hooded** now, his cheeks **were drawn** taut.*
*Kino **tinha** os olhos **velados** e as faces **retesadas***
'Kino had the eyes hooded and the cheeks taut'

*for his eyes **were squeezed** from the outside glare*
*pois **trazia** os olhos **estonteados** do brilho da luz da rua.*
'for he had the eyes dizzy from the glare of the light in the street'

*His shirt **was torn** open and his clothes half **pulled** off.*
***Tinha** a camisa **rasgada** e os fatos meio **arrancados**.*
'He had the shirt torn and the clothes half torn away'

*Her back **was bent** with pain and her head was low.*

---

[55] Even though impersonal *se* in a sentence structurally more similar to the English original would also be a (marked) option; cf. e.g. *Sabia-se entre os vizinhos*.

[56] According to Bybee & Dahl (1989:70), this is a common phenomenon cross-linguistically, i.e., this kind of "tense" is in many languages the precursor of the perfect, and "the semantic change connected with the transition from resultative to perfect" provokes "lexical generalization" and "disappearance of agreement between a participle and the subject or object in the sentence".

> *Levava* as costas **curvadas** pela dor e a cabeça caída.
> 'She had the back bent by the pain and the head fallen'
>
> *Her mouth **was** still **swollen** where Kino had struck her*
> ***Tinha** o canto da boca que Kino esmurrara ainda **inchado***
> 'She had the corner of the mouth that Kino had punched still swollen'
>
> *to the place where the pearl **was hidden** under his clothes*
> *para o lugar onde, debaixo das roupas, **tinha** a pérola **guardada**.*
> 'to the place where, below the clothes, he had the pearl kept'
>
> *Kino's mouth **was open***
> *Kino **levava** a boca **aberta***
> 'Kino had the mouth open'
>
> The baby's face **was flushed**
> A criança **tinha** a cara **congestionada**
> 'The child had the face congested'

This construction focuses on the result holding at the time, but necessarily gotten at a previous time. Syntactically, it differs from Mais que perfeito in two ways: The past participle agrees in number and gender with the object of *ter* (while in Mais que perfeito the past participle is not inflected) and it requires the expression of the object between the auxiliary and the past participle. In addition to the auxiliary *ter*, it furthermore accepts *levar* and *trazer*.

10.3.2.5 The translation of English gerund by Imperfeito

When Imperfeito is introduced from a non-tensed clause, it came from gerunds in three cases. This is in line with the data in section 10.3.1.2. Gerundive clauses are more frequent (and stylistically accepted) in English than in Portuguese, which favours instead relative clauses.

> *an aching chord that caught the throat, **saying***
> *um tom de sofrimento que apertava a garganta e que **dizia***
> 'a tone of suffering that tightened the throat and said
>
> *his eyes went up to a flight of wild doves **twinkling** inland to the hills*
> *ergueu os olhos para um voo de pombas selvagens que **cortavam** o espaço em direcção às montanhas*
> 'he raised the eyes to a flight of wild doves which cut the space towards the mountains'
>
> *looked out at the **waiting** people*
> *olhou a gente que **esperava***
> 'he looked to the people who waited'

The last example is different from the previous two, however, because the translation was necessary, in contrast with the possible but not preferred maintenance of gerund in the former examples. This may not be independent from the position of the English gerund (i.e., atributive use inisde the NP versus free predicatives), but I have not enough data to propose such a generalization, given that I did not annotate tense creation during the annotation task.

Conversely, there were three cases of simple past sentences translated into gerundive clauses in Portuguese. However, they were not relative clauses in English, but second or third element of a series of conjoined clauses, cf. e.g.:

> *Kino's brother Juan Tomás and his fat wife Apolonia and their four children crowded in the door and **blocked** the entrance*
> *João Tomás, irmão de Kino, a gorda Apolónia, mulher dele, e os quatro filhos vieram das suas cabanas, amontoaram-se à porta, **barrando** a entrada*
> 'Juan Tomás, brother of Kino, fat Apolonia, his wife, and the four children came from their huts, heaped up at the door, blocking the entrance'

> *when he lifted it with his big hand, **lifted** it with the tips of thumb and forefinger*
> *quando ele a levantava na mão enorme, **segurando**-a nas pontas do polegar e do indicador*
> 'when he lifted it in the huge hand, holding it with the tips of thumb and forefinger'

It was not possible to study the phenomenon of gerund into Imperfeito in more detail, unfortunately, due to my initial option of only annotating tense transfer (see Chapter 9).

10.3.2.6 Introduction of an Imperfeito clause

For the same reason, the cases where a new clause was introduced by the translation were only identified in Text 2.

In that text, various non-clausal constructions were turned into a clause by the translation, adding up to twelve cases. Many included semantically light verbs, such as *ser*, *estar*, *ter*, or *haver*, which, as shown above (cf. sections 10.3.1.1-2,6-7) are not very common in English, where manner denoting verbs or simply no verb is preferred:

> *in the near dark*
> ***era** de noite*
> 'it was night'

> *A wonderful thing, a memorable thing, to want the doctor*
> *chamar o médico **era** uma coisa maravilhosa e memorável*
> 'to call the doctor was a wonderful, memorable thing'

> *the people in the door*
> *as pessoas que **estavam** à porta*
> 'the people who were in the door'

> *read the age of Kino's blanket*
> *perceberam quantos anos a manta de Kino **tinha***
> 'they understood how many years Kino's blanket had'

> *a little tight over the chest*
> ***estava** um pouco apertado no peito*
> 'it was a little tight in the chest'

> *others tried to look in*
> *outros vizinhos queriam saber o que **havia***

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'other neighbours wanted to know what there was'

This last, incidentally, is a rather free translation, in that it makes explicit the motive for looking in, while not mentioning the action proper.

One adverbial perspective marker, *yet*, is turned into a verb which explicitly represents the perspective:

> *yet perfect among mornings*
> ***parecia*** *a mais agradável das manhãs*
> 'it seemed the most pleasant of the mornings'

The case of:

> *her blue head shawl over her nose and over her breasts and around the small of her back*
> *com o nariz e os seios cobertos pelo xale azul que lhe **chegava** aos rins*
> 'with the nose and the breasts covered by the blue shawl which reached her back'

is an example of fairly free translation, where the 'over and over and around' construction was changed into a single prepositional phrase, modified by a past participle clause including a relative clause.

Of special mention is the sentence:

> *knew everything in the town*
> *sabiam tudo o que **ia** pela cidade*
> 'they knew everything that went through the town'

where the distribution and plural happenings can be rendered in English simply by a prepositional phrase, while in Portuguese they could not. The expression *ir por*, expressing not movement but distribution, is commonly used to describe plural vague events, which take time and are distributed over time and space.

Finally, the three remaning cases are instances of the phenomenon uncovered by Talmy (1985), and discussed by Aske (1989), Slobin (1994) and Santos (1995b): English sentences conveying action causing movement plus (i) goal or (ii) origin of the moving figure have to be rendered in Portuguese by two clauses. In two of them, the conjunction *e* ('and') was used:

> *broke little pieces of brush over it*
> *quebrava pedacinhos de lenha e **atirava**-os para o lume*
> 'she broke little pieces of wood and threw them to the fire'

> *they walked on their own shadows*
> *eles marchavam e **pisavam**-na*
> 'they marched and stamped on it'

while in the other, symptomatically depicting the source of the movement, a relative clause was employed instead:

> *Juana stood up from the glowing fire pit*
> *Joana, que **estava** inclinada para o lume, endireitou-se.*
> 'Juana, who was bent towards the fire, straightened up'

10.3.2.7 Summing up

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This investigation provided some insights into the use of Imperfeito as translation, but it mainly opened up paths for further research, which will be explored in the next chapters. Still, the most interesting general phenomena uncovered are, in my opinion:

1. Variation in aspectual class across the two languages, as was seen in connection with the cases of the progressive and of the pluperfect.

2. Correlation between English modals and Portuguese tenses, manifested in connection with perception verbs and description of rules.

3. Portuguese preference of tensed clauses in many instances where English chooses nominal or prepositional encoding.

10.3.3 Final remarks

These studies illustrated several contrasts between the English and Portuguese tense and aspect systems, many of which would not have been spotted without investigating real text.

As far as the validity of any conclusions whatsoever, I should acknowledge that this was a study on actual performance by human translators, and, therefore, not all choices and translation pairs should be taken as the right ones. (In fact, I have often disagreed with the actual choices.) Still, I believe one cannot dismiss the majority of the data as bad translations. If one finds recurrent patterns, it is probable that they do point at some structural similarities or differences among the two languages.

So, it is interesting to note that, in connection with translation both from English and into English, the features of Imperfeito (among the multitude of uses suggested in Section 10.2 above) which received most attention were:

(i) habituality

(ii) description of a state

(iii) gradual process

It is also interesting to compare my conclusions to what other researchers, also engaged in contrastive studies involving Imperfeito, concluded, namely Dahl (1985) and Leiria (1991).

Dahl's (1985) study, I recall, consisted in a thorough comparison of the answers to a questionnaire devised in English and translated into X languages, in order to identify cross-linguistic categories in the systems of tense, aspect, and mood.

Dahl classified the Portuguese Imperfeito as PASTi, i.e., a category indicating pastness in imperfective contexts. In my opinion, and given his own data, it should have rather been classified as HABPAST.

The reason for my claim is well empirically motivated: the HABPAST criterial questionnaire sentences are a proper subset of those of PASTi, and Imperfeito is the answer to the first and not to those that correspond to the set difference of the two. These latter would have to be rendered by Imperfeito Progressivo in Portuguese.

The reason for such a mistake in the classification of Imperfeito lies, I believe, in the possible encoding of the complex category Imperfeito Progressivo as both Imperfeito **and**

Progressivo, which is what Dahl refers to as 'double accounting' (Dahl, 1985:67). If my assumption is right, it means that "Imperfeito" in Dahl's study corresponds to both Imperfeito and Imperfeito Progressivo. While this is not an *a priori* wrong assumption (on the contrary, this is probably the usual way to see this combination), it resulted in the missed generalization of (bare) Imperfeito as HABPAST, while hiding, in addition, the contrastive influence of the Progressivo *versus* Imperfeito on its own.

This shows that the decision as to how to analyse a construct like Imperfeito Progressivo (where both constructs are independent and contrast with other elements in their own right) has far-reaching consequences. For example, if one analyses the output of Progressivo as a state (as it is often done and argued for by a variety of scholars for English), Imperfeito might as well be labelled PASTs and HABPAST instead of PASTi.

For those not familiar with Dahl's categories, PASTs means PAST restricted to stative contexts while PASTi means PAST restricted to imperfective contexts, as can be seen in Figure 10.8, adapted from Figure 3.3 in Dahl (1985:82):

Figure 10.8
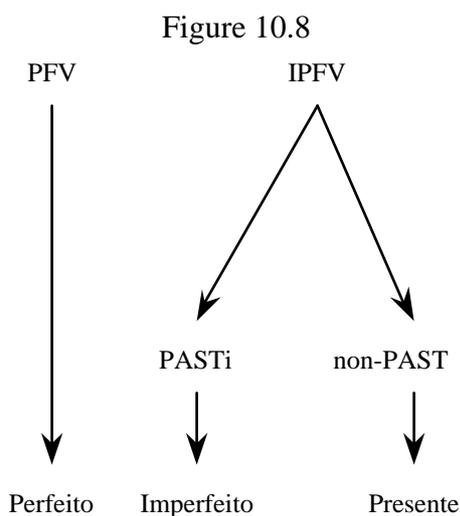
In fact, given my arguments, Dahl (p.c.) suggested that the right way to describe Imperfeito would be PASTi with a hole (where the Imperfeito Progressivo would be obligatory).

But this conclusion also seems to depend on his definition of the HABPAST category in the first place. As I have shown above, there is, in fact, almost no overlap between English *used to* and Imperfeito, and thus one is forced to conclude that there are (at least) two conflicting concepts of habituality.

Turning now to Leiria's conclusions, even though they focus specifically on Portuguese, her main preoccupation centres on the mismatches between native and non-native competence regarding the Imperfeito/Perfeito opposition rather than to establish (or confirm) empirically the meaning of such a distinction. It is thus not evident whether her results and mine can be compared. Nevertheless, I would like to attempt some convergence in the next lines.

After dividing Portuguese verbs in eight classes, according to the kind of situations in which they can occur (thus having classes like 'verbs which can occur as states, processes or

culminated processes', or 'verbs which denote processes which in telic situations behave like culminated processes'), Leiria studies the differences in distribution between the Imperfeito/Perfeito tense marking in native Portuguese texts and the one produced by non-native learners attempting to reproduce (in their own words, but as faithfully as possible) the original texts.

The verbs belonging to the classes sharing more situations are those which display more deviation from the original (expected) distribution, which makes Leiria conclude that foreign learners use the inherent aspect of the verb as a clue to choose the tense (and thus stative, or extended atelic verbs get Imperfeito, and eventive, punctual and telic get Perfeito). Even though she does not discuss what exactly is the reason that makes a native speaker choose one or the other tense, it is also true that the verbs she assigns to the clear classes have a more skewed distribution in the original texts than those that belong to the fuzzy classes, which in some cases are evenly distributed between Perfeito and Imperfeito.

In fact, I believe that a different status should have been assigned to the Imperfeito/Perfeito distinction for each class (or at least for some of the classes), and therefore studied separately. In other words, the forms considered marked should have been distinguished from the reasonably predictable: it is only to expect that learners would have much more problems with those than with the default cases (when there was a default). But this is probably material for further work.

Turning now to Leiria's specific contrastive findings, it is interesting to note that native speakers of English (corresponding to 16 subjects) were those who produced the lowest Imperfeito/Perfeito ratio, i.e, they used Imperfeito in less cases than any other speakers.[57] In more detail (cf. Quadro 12 in Leiria (1991:209)), this was due mainly to their use of Perfeito with stative and/or at least possible stative verbs (as psychological, perception or mental verbs). This tendency, if taken to indicate that the mental picture of English speakers regarding statives is more eventive-like than the Portuguese one, corroborates my findings in the present dissertation.

As to the influence of specific peculiarities of Portuguese on the difficulties of the learners, Leiria mentions that "activity verbs like *gastar* [('spend')...] or *jogar* [('play')...], because they are atelic or are found in an atelic situation, were those that, relatively, got more unexpected forms of Imperfeito" (Leiria, 1991:212, my translation), concluding that the opposition finished/non-finished is not obvious for non-natives of Portuguese. Although this seems to be possible for the specific case of English contrasting with Portuguese (recall the temporal co-occurrence value of Imperfeito mentioned above), a specific study of the contrast Imperfeito/Perfeito (the subject of Chapter 14 below) may be necessary in order to assess the importance and specificity of this distinction.

10.4 Discussion

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[57] Surprisingly, the converse case occurred with the (3) speakers of Scandinavian languages, the only group to produce more Imperfeito forms than the right ones

The present chapter on Imperfeito is the largest of the thesis, and it is actually made up of three distinct parts in terms of goals and method.

The study described in Section 10.2 offers a realistic description of what difficulties native speakers have in attributing precise labels to sentences whose interpretation is never consciously problematic.

Notwithstanding a long tradition of grammatical description using real sentences as illustrations of intuitive definitions, questions like "Why is this tense used here?" are very difficult to answer (and consequently to teach adult learners).

One of the reasons for this situation which is put forward by this study lies at the heart of the question of linguistic categorization itself: taxonomies which presuppose a partition among mutually disjoint categories are inappropriate to handle natural language utterances. Rather, it seems that a category strives to convey <u>several</u> pieces of information at the same time, and the more felicity conditions are verified the more appropriate it is. By contrast, a situation in which a single feature is appropriate means that other features would tend to result in other classifications and one is in presence of an atypical case, or even a case where there is tension.

I do not think that the study reported in Section 10.2 produced very much new information about the meaning of Imperfeito as a linguistic category. However, I believe it was worth while to conduct it and to report on it for at least the following reasons:

(i) first of all, it opened my eyes to several uses and particularities of Imperfeito and of Portuguese in general that helped to shape my understanding of the language;

(ii) it convinced me that traditional feature-based classification was inappropriate to natural language description, making me look into non-conventional formalizations (like the one of Moens used in this thesis);

(iii) it produced a wealth of detailed analyses and claims against which, I believe, subsequent research on Imperfeito has to be measured and confronted;

(iv) and, finally, this study more than any other taught me that natural language is complex, natural language analysis is tricky, and, as a corollary, any studies based on a handful of examples cannot but be very far indeed from producing a valid description of a linguistic phenomenon, at least as far as semantics is concerned.

The study in Section 10.3, on the other hand, was a detailed (first) lesson on how far one would be from describing two languages if one insisted on analysing translation as semantic equivalence.

Section 10.3.1 observes how the nuances of Portuguese Imperfeito are transferred to (or left out of) English, while at the same time the properties of English influenced the translation, while Section 10.3.2 investigates what kind of (marked) English contexts are conveyed by Imperfeito in a translation.

These studies were thus fundamental in shaping the contents -- and direction -- of the whole dissertation. In the next chapters, various other studies similar to Section 10.3 will be described, making up the empirical basis of the contrastive part of this dissertation. Part I, on the

other hand, can be read as their logical theoretical conclusion.